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et Linguistique**

**THE LIMBUM NOUN PHRASE
(A GENERATIVE APPROACH)**

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the requirements for the award
of a postgraduate diploma
"Maîtrise" in Linguistics.

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DEDICATION

To Friends
and relatives
of goodwill

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND
SYMBOLS

A	Adjective
A-	Argument
AM	Associative marker
AP	Adjectival phrase
ADV.P	Adverbial phrase
Art.	Article
C	complementizer
cf	see
CL	Class
CP	Complementizer phrase
D	Determiner
eds.	Editors
E.C.P.	Empty Category Principle
Fo	Immediate future
Fig.	Figure
F.S.	Far from speaker
F.S.A	Far from speaker and addressee
GB	Government and Binding
Gen.P	Genitive phrase
H	High tone
I	Inflection
Interro	Interrogative
IP	Inflection phrase
L	Low tone
\bar{L} _a	Low floating tone
MT	mother tongue

N	Noun
N.A	Near addressee
NP	Noun phrase
N.S	Near speaker
Po	Immediate past
P1	Today past
P2	Yesterday past
P3	Remote past
Poss.	Possessive
PP	Prepositional phrase
Pres.t.	Present tense
P.S.	Phrase structure
Pron.	Pronoun
R+R	Referent plus referent
S+A	Speaker plus addressee
SM	Subject Marker
S+R	Speaker plus referent
V	Verb
VP	Verb phrase

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL INFORMATION ON LIMBUM

1.1.1 GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

Li means language and mbum refers to the speakers. Limbum is therefore the language of the Mbum people who are referred to as Wimbum.

The Wimbum occupy the northern extension of the Bamenda Highlands - the middle belt of Nkambe plateau of Donga-Mantung Division of the North West Province of Cameroon. The region lies between longitude 10°25" and 11°20" E and latitude 6°20" and 6°40" N.

PIETER (1986) says that the speakers of Limbum who have often been referred to as nsungli by the lamnsɔ? and Yamba speakers number well above 70.000 with some mbum communities in the Adamawa area. PIETER and VOORHOEVE (1977) state that the language originated as part of the outer Mbam-Nkam group of Bantu languages but ALCAM (1983:7) gives it number 903 meaning that it belongs to the subgroup of eastern grassfield languages.

Limbum is bordered by Mbembe in the north, dzodinka and mfumte in the north east, Yamba in the east, Lamnsɔ? in the south, nooni in the south west and nsari in the west. Speakers of the language occupy about 24 villages in Donga-Mantung Division including the divisional capital Nkambe.

1.1.2 HISTORICAL SITUATION

Historically, the Wimum are believed to be of the Tikari origin and to have come to the highlands during the early Fulani wars. They are believed to have come in three distinct groups. Warr, Tang, and Ya which today form three intermixed clans. FIORE (1977) and CHILVER and KAYBERRY (1967 p.27, 28) Share this view on the historical origin of the Tang and Ya groups but Jeffreys (1963) holds that the Warr people did not originate from somewhere else. He is of the opinion that they were natives of the area and spoke Limbum before the coming of the other groups.

It is really difficult to draw a clear cut linguistic distinction within the three clans other than that which FIORE (1977) provides because in every dialectal region, villages belonging to each of the three clans are found. For example, Mbot, Wat and Mbaa of Warr origin are found under the central variety which is supposed to be made up of villages of the Tang clan.

1.1.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

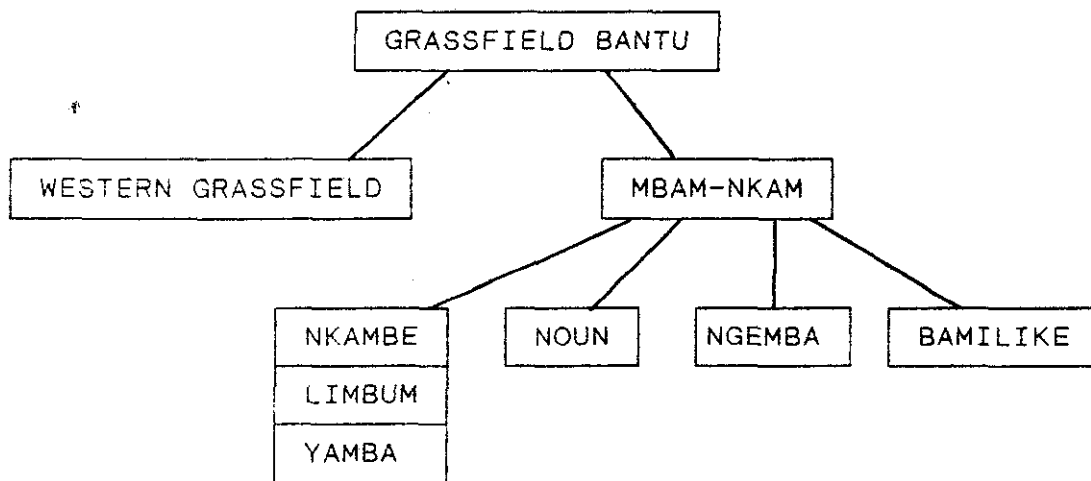
The Wimum live in a rural area. There are no industries and consequently few non-natives live in the area.

Economically, the Wimum are very dynamic. They practise much agriculture and have abundant land for this. The women do most of the farmwork while the men engage themselves chiefly in hunting, animal rearing and other commercial activities.

1.2 THE LANGUAGE

1.2.1 CLASSIFICATION

de Wolf (1971) classifies grassfield Bantu languages into two main groups namely: West and Mbam-Nkam. Limbum which consists of a cluster of inter-comprehensible dialects spoken in the Nkambe area belongs to the Mbam-Nkam group.



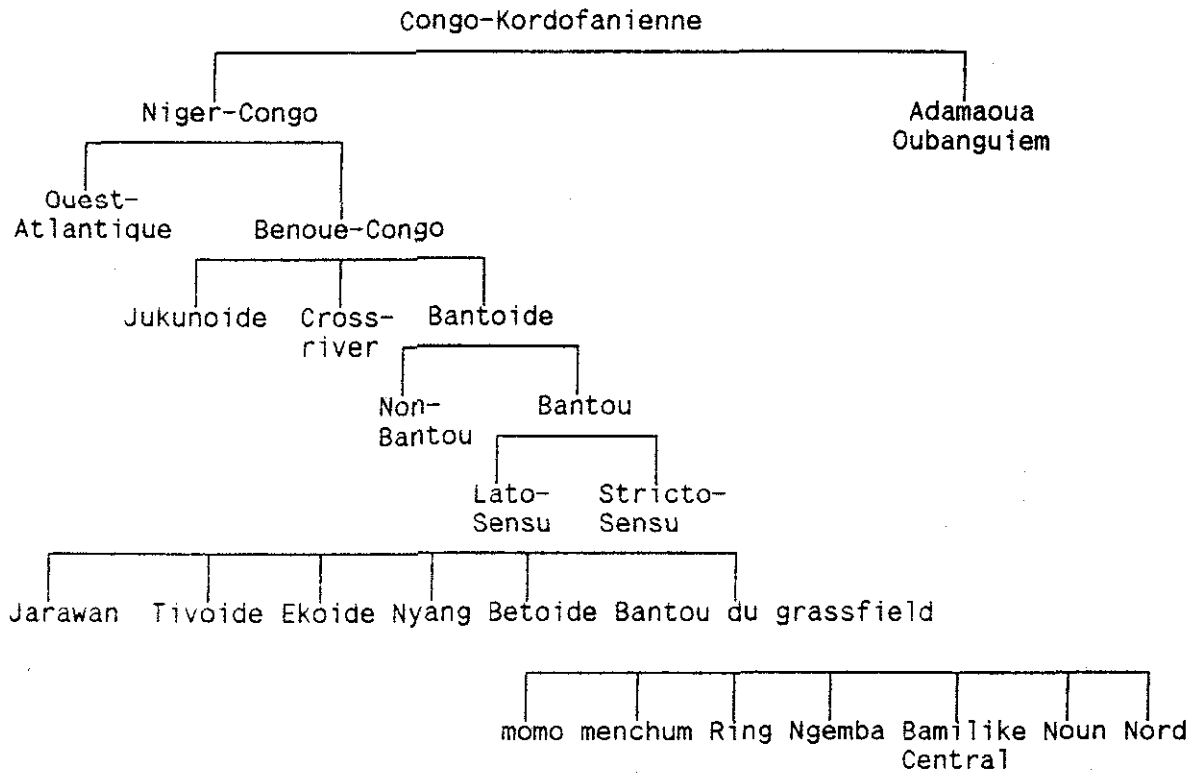
(Fig.I) (Adopted from de Wolf (1971))

Greenberg on his part classifies African languages into 4 major linguistic families.

- 1) Congo-Kordofanian
- 2) Nilo-Saharan
- 3) Afro-Asiatic
- 4) Khoisan

Of these 4 main families, the first three are represented in Cameroon. Limbum falls under the Congo-Kordofanian family. It is a grassfield Bantu language belonging to the Benue-Congo subdivision of the Niger-Congo

family. The language belongs to the northern group of Grassfield Bantu. This is verifiable on the chart below:



Limbum
dzodinka
mfumte
Yamba
mba?

(Fig.II) (Adpoted from ALCAM (1983))

1.2.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

Limbum is spoken by the Wimbun with quite a lot of dialectal variations. The differences are mostly tonal and phonemic and these lead to discrepancies in the writing system of the language. In spite of these differences, speakers of the various areas understand each other mutually. PIETER (1977) first distinguished the varieties as:

Western	(wat)
↓	
Nothern	(Nkambe)
↓	
Central	(Tabenken)
Southern	(Ndu)
South Western	(Taku)

FIGORE (1977) Classifies the varieties on the basis of pronunciation into Northern, Central and Southern. To her, the differences in the language are due to the influence of the languages in the north and south of the Wimbun area.

Variety	Location
Northern	Binshua, Nkambe, Kungi, Moo, Bi, Binka, Njap, Nge, Chup, and Tabenken
Central	Wat, Mbot, Luh, Taku, Talla, and Ngarum
Southern	Ndu, Ntumbaw, Wawo, Mbipgo, Ntundip, Sop,

and Sinna.

FIGORE holds that there is inter-relationship between the varieties and that the Northern and the Southern are greatly influenced by the Central variety. For example, "Kolanut" is pronounced with variations in the various regions. The North will pronounce it as bî while the South and Central pronounce it as rbî. In most works in Limbum, the latter option is adopted. There is also the pronunciation of "water" which varies. In the North, it is m-n-díp in the Central m-n-díp but in the South it is m-n-dzíp. The former pronunciation is adopted in most works in Limbum.

Apart from Limbum, there is also Pidgin which is spoken in the area though not widely spread. This is mostly spoken by the youths probably as a result of education or frequent contact with members of other speech communities especially in schools.

English

1.2.3 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Relatively much has been written on Limbum in general though very little or nothing at all exists on syntax. In this section, there will be a brief discussion on past works on the language that directly concern this study. Others will just be mentioned for the sake of future research on the language.

Of great importance is NFORGWEI (1991). In his dissertation, among other things, he treats nouns in Limbum

and attempts their classification. This is important to this study in that it helps in the collection of data and resolves some problems of orthography. He also treats pronouns and adjectives which have been of great help in the analysis of the modified NP in this study.

In addition HYMAN and VOORHOEVE (1981) exhaustively treat grassfields noun classes amongst which is the noun class system of Limbum. This has been of much use to this dissertation in that it has facilitated the determination of the various forms of the determiner. It is the noun class system proposed by VOORHOEVE in this document that has been adopted for our present study.

Moreover, there is MFONYAM (1988) who establishes that there are 3 phonemic level tones (H,M,L) and 5 glides or contour tones in Limbum. He proposes the marking of only the low and combinations of low and other tones in the orthography of Bantu languages. This proposition is not adopted in this study because a non-native speaker will hardly easily predict the unmarked tone.

Apart from the above, there are other works on Limbum. There is HIGGENS and BRADLEY (1985) who worked on "Limbum Language Learning Course", NDI et al (1983) who produced a first and second primer to teach reading Limbum, and MBURU and BOMNSA (1974) who in trying to establish a foundation in Limbum linguistics published "An introduction to Limbum". We also have PECK (1974) who concentrates mostly on Limbum words and their translations into English. PIETER and VOORHOEVE (1977) also published "Gender in Limbum". These and other works form the bulk of linguistic literature on Limbum.

TABLE OF CONCORDS IN LIMBUM

Class sign	PB	PN	Adj.	Poss.	Ind. Dem.	Subj. Conc.	Subj. Pron.	Obj. Pron.	Interr.	Numeral	'How many'	'Other'	'All'	Assoc.
A ₁	1a	∅-	n-	y'-∅	yi	á-	é-	yé	∅-	∅-	∅-	∅'	-	∅'
A ₂	1, 9	n-	n-	y'-∅	yi	á-	é-	yé	∅-	∅-	∅-	∅'	-	∅'
B ₁	2, 8	p-	p-	w'-p	p	ví-	ví-	ví	p-	p-	p-	p'	p-	∅'
B ₂		n-	p-	w'-p	p	yí-	yí-	ví	p-		p/yí-	∅'	∅	∅'
B ₃		m-n-	p-	w'-p	p	ví-	ví-	ví	p-	v-	p-	∅'	p-	∅'
B ₄		p-	p-	w'	p	á-	ví-	wówi	p-	á-	á-	∅'	p-	∅'
B ₅		p-	p-	w'	p	ví-	á-	wówi	∅-	á-	á-	∅'	p-	∅'
B ₆		p-	p-	w'		ví-	ví-	wówi	∅-		ví-	∅'		
X ₁	2	p-	∅-	y'-∅	p	á-	á-	wówi		á-	á-	∅'	p-	∅'
X ₂	8	p-	∅-	y'-∅	p	ví-	ví-	ví		v-	ví-		p-	
C ₁	3	n-	∅-	y'-∅					∅-			∅	-	∅'
C ₂	7	∅	∅-	y'-∅	yi	yí-	yí-	yí	∅-	∅-	yí-	yí-	-	∅'
C ₃		y-	∅-	y'-∅	yi	yí-	yí-	yí	∅-				-	
S	5	r-	r-	l'-r	r	lí-	lí-	lí	∅-	l-		∅-	-	∅'
D ₁	6a	m-	m-	m'-m	m	mí-	mí-	mí	m-	m-	m-	∅-	m-	∅'
D ₂		m-		m'-p										
D ₃		m-n-	m-	m'-m	m	mí-	mí-	mí	(m-)	m-		∅-		∅'
10	10	n-	∅-	y'-∅	p	yí-	yí-	yí	∅-	yí-	yí-	∅-	∅-	∅'

(Adapted from voorhoeve (1977))

The noun class system proposed for Limbum by VOORHOEVE.

A1/B1	bird, elephant, gorille, lamp, rope, stone	ø-sĩŋ / p-	"bird"
A2/B2	chief, thief	ŋ-kfĩ / p-	"chief"
A2/B3	bushcow, dog, leopard	m-bõŋ / p-	"bushcow"
A2/B3	animal, axe, belt, body, branch, fiy, god, chimpanzee, house, knife, male, market, monkey, snake, soup, vegetable.	m-àa / m-n-	"animal"
		n-jàa / m-ñ-	"axe"
A2/B4		m-óó / b-	"child"
A2/B5		ŋ-kár / p-	"friend"
A2/B6		n-dúu / b-	"husband"
A2/X1		ŋ-wèc / b-èe	"person"
A2/10	goat, hen, rat, sheep	m-bv̄ / m-	"goat"
C1/B3	back, crab, day, gun, heart, message, nose, root, slave, tail	ñ-jii / m-ñ-	"back"
C2/B1	bag, bamboo, bone, cloth, ear, head, hoe, hole, banana leaf, mouth, place, trap, tree, country, yam	ø-bàa / b-	"bag"
C1/D3		n-fée / m-n-	"leg"
C2/D1		ø-bô / m-	"hand"
C2/D3		ø-kòo / m-ŋ-	"foot"
C3/X2		y-ú / b-	"thing"
5/D1	arm, belly, breast, death, egg, eye, feather, horn, kola, mat, mountain, nail, name, navel, net, palmtree, pepper, pot, throat, tongue, tooth, work		

	r-kóo / m-	"arm"
5/D2	r-káa / m-	"debt"
5/D3	r-gv / m-ŋ-	"cadaver"
A1	maize, iron, war	
	ø-kwâ	"maize"
A2	rain, tobacco	
	m-bèn	"rain"
B1	bridge, brain, bed, bloos, face, thorn, wing	
	b-râa	"bridge"
B3	coul, hair	
	m-m-bã?	"cloud"
C2	cornbeer, ashes	
	ø-sà	"cornbeer"
5	r-bóo	"sky"
D3	beans, fat, oil, saliva, salt, water, medicine, wine	
	m-ŋ-kóo	"beans"
10	bee, cowry, dust, fire, firewood, fish, fruit	
	ñ-ú	"bee"
	m-băbv	"cowry"

and other works form the bulk of linguistic literature on Limbum.

1.3 GOALS, SCOPE AND METHOD OF WORK

1.3.1 GOALS AND SCOPE

PROPELCA has Limbum as one of the languages due to go on area extension soon. As a result, this study is aimed at increasing what has already been written on Limbum so as to facilitate the teaching and learning of the language in particular and mother tongue (MT) education in Cameroon in general.

Besides, this dissertation is aimed at describing the NP in Limbum with focus on the internal structure as well as the linear and hierarchical order of elements within the simple and modified NPs.

The choice of this topic has been triggered by the lack of or little work on syntax in Limbum as opposed to other areas of study in the language such as morphology and phonology. This study therefore aims at laying a foundation on Limbum Syntax.

1.3.2 METHOD OF WORK

This research has been carried out exclusively in Yaounde. The work has been based on a corpus of about 500 words, 150 phrases as well as a collection of vital data from what has already been done in Limbum. My informants Mr. Ndamnsa Clement aged 28, working with Cameroon National Family Welfare (CAMNAFAW) and John Jamba aged 22, a student

in the University of Yaounde did the oral translation from English to Limbum.

I have sometimes used my little knowledge of the language to ask them tricky questions that have gone a long way to clarify the doubts that I have had in my analysis.

The initial step consists in the syntactic analysis of the NP in order to bring out the various elements that modify the noun (N) in Limbum and indicate the linear order of these satellites within the modified NP in the language. After every analysis of the N and a modifier, a phrase structure (PS) rule will be postulated.

In the final analysis, the PS rules shall be collapsed so as to come up with a single generalized PS rule that can generate the NP in Limbum.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical orientation adopted for this dissertation is that of government and binding (GB) which is generative transformational syntax. It deals with how well-formed sentences are generated in a language. The study brings out rules which show the structural arrangement of elements in a sentence, describes the relations that the various elements have in the sentence, and shows how to form, interpret and pronounce sentences in the language. This theory is one of the most current theories in syntax. The overall organization of (GB) with all its components is shown below:

*NP phrase
se*

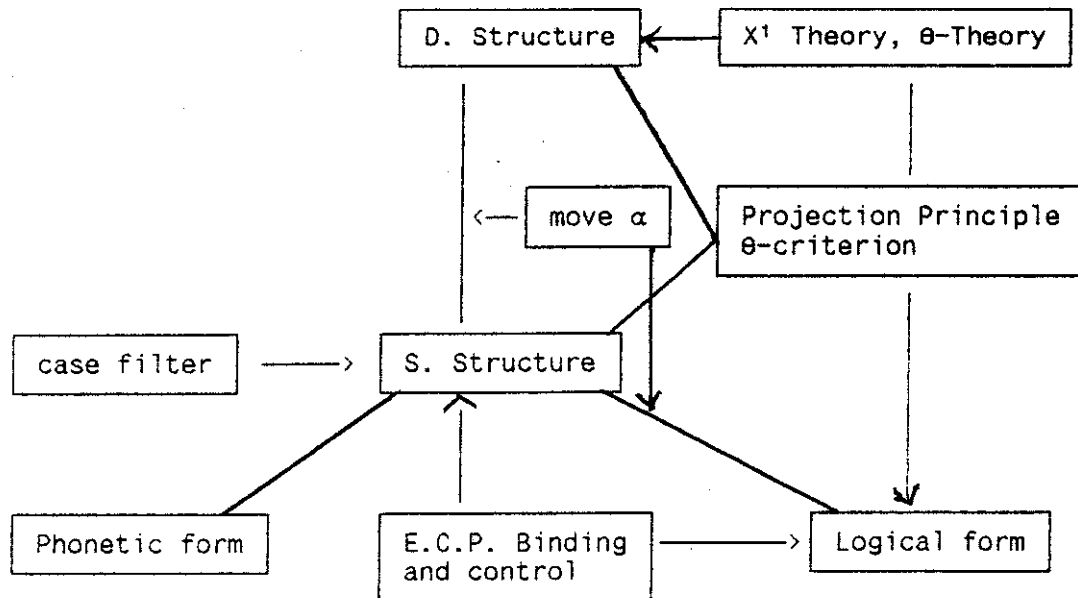


Fig.III

The sub-theories of GB that directly relate to this study include the X¹ theory (X-bar theory), theta theory (θ-theory) and the projection principle which are briefly presented below:

1.4.1 THE X¹ THEORY (X-BAR THEORY)

This is a theory that was developed by Chomsky in the 1970s. It is a more adequate and more generalized notation for characterizing phrasal and sentential structures. This theory establishes that any phrase in any human language has a head which gives the phrase its essential character. The head controls the other elements which are in turn closely related to it within the phrase. The head is usually a lexical (item) category such as N, V, P, A, etc.

X-bar theory recognizes 3 levels of projection: phrasal level or maximal projection level (X^{11}), the semi-phrasal level (X^1) and the zero or word level (X). The semi-phrasal level relates the maximal projection to the head. Maximal projections include NP, VP, AP, PP, IP, ADV.P, etc.

X as used above is a variable over any syntactic category. It captures linguistic generalizations. The X-bar theory establishes the linear and hierarchical order of elements within a phrase or sentence. Linear order here is understood to mean the successive occurrence of the elements while hierarchical order has to do with the manner in which lower level categories combine to form higher level categories.

1.4.2 THETA THEORY (θ THEORY)

This is a theory that provides semantic information that make up part of the lexicon of any grammar. GB believes that any lexical item must belong to a syntactic category. The theory then assigns θ -roles such as agent, patient, goal, source, genitive etc. to the various arguments. θ -role here is understood to mean the information given about the element which has been subcategorized for. This information is given within a subcategorization frame which specifies the kind of element that can come after the lexical item, and with selection restrictions which give information about the semantic nature of the element that is subcategorized for.

Example: Eat \square [-NP + edible]

Within the realm of θ -theory, there is θ -criterion which states that once a role is attributed to a structure, no matter what movement operation that structure may undergo, the role must not change. θ -criterion also holds that in any construction, only one element bears a particular θ -role and a particular θ -role is assigned only to one element. The elements that have the ability to assign θ -roles are verbs and prepositions.

1.4.3 PROJECTION PRINCIPLE

This is a well-formedness condition on syntactic representation which establishes a kind of relation between the requirements of lexical items and the syntax which fills those requirements. The principle states that

Syntactic representations are projected from the lexicon in that they uniformly observe the lexical properties of the items they contain. (RADFORD (1988 p.54))

Syntactic representations is here understood to mean structures that we get after the projection of the lexicon. Uniformly observed here implies that the lexical properties of an item must be respected at all levels of representation (Deep structure, Surface Structure or Logical and phonetic form).

In summary therefore, the projection principle assigns

appropriate lexical items to appropriate nodes of tree structures built out of P.S. rules.

1.5 OUTLINE OF WORK

Four chapters make up this study. The first is introductory and is aimed at acquainting the reader with what the work is all about. In it, we have the objective and scope of the study, a review of related literature, presentation of theoretical framework, general information on the language and its speakers, as well as the outline of the work.

Chapter two is concerned with the analysis of the NP in Limbum. It examines the internal constituent structure of the NP and establishes the linear and hierarchical order of the modifiers of the head N.

The third chapter takes a look at other phrase types and tries to determine the position of occurrence of the NP in relation to other constituent structures in larger constructions. It also shows the relationship between the NP and other phrase types and brings out the significant linguistic generalizations that characterize the various phrase types.

Chapter four which is the last contains a summary of the work, problems faced during research, significance of the project and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NOUN PHRASE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

ORE YUSUF (1992 p.5) defines the noun phrase (NP) as:

... the category that codes the participants in the event or state described by the verb. The NP is headed by the Noun (N), or pronoun (when it will not be modified)... The "head" of a phrase is the Single word that can stand for the whole construction; it is the single lexical item that can replace the whole phrase.

Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik (1975, p.251) say that:

A noun phrase is a phrase which can act as subject, object or complement of a clause or prepositional complement. It is called a noun phrase because the word which is its head is typically a noun.

From the above definitions, coupled with existing data on Limbum, it can be said that an NP in Limbum constitutes a head word (noun or pronoun) with or without satellites. When the NP is made up of the head word alone, it is said to be a simple NP. Examples in Limbum include: bíràn "groundnuts", baa "bag", m-baa "money" kwâ "maize" n-dáp "house", n-gwé "dog" etc. When the head word has satellites, the NP is described as modified or complex.

In Limbum, the NP-functions as subject, object or complement in a sentence as illustrated below:

- 1 m̄ɔ̄ yi ŋ-kvú yó ŋ-yè
child of chief is thief
"The child of the chief is a thief"
(subj) (prep obj) (comp)

Although both the noun and the pronoun, which are heads of the NP in Limbum, can function as unmodified NPs, only the head N can be modified as is evident from the examples below:

- 2 (a) m̄ɔ̄ cā (b) *yé cā
child this him this
"This child" *"This him"
- (c) bíràn cē mbér (d) *wáp cē mbér
groundnuts c raw theirs c raw
"Raw groundnuts" *"Raw theirs"
- (e) ŋ-gōrō (cē) nsí (f) *cânè mbvúu
mango c black that white
"unripe mango" *"white that"
- (g) bō ŋk̄l̄p (h) *b-cā b-bòŋbón
hand left these good
"Left hand" *"Good these"

As can be noticed above, any attempt to modify an NP which is a pronoun (Pron) leads to ungrammaticality.

Pronouns which mostly serve as NPs in Limbum are possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns and personal pronouns.

2.1 PRONOUNS

PRYSE (1984 p.3) defines pronouns as: "...words which are used instead of nouns to avoid the awkwardness of repeating names constantly in one sentence".

In Limbum, there are human and non-human pronouns which can replace nouns earlier mentioned in a discourse. The non-human pronouns function only as subjects while the human counterparts have diversified forms which mark subject, object of verb and object of preposition.

2.1.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are a group of words which stand in place of the name of a person or a thing. When the pronoun serves as a subject, it is said to assume the nominative case and when it serves as an object, it assumes the accusative case.

2.1.1.1 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

In Limbum, there exist simple subject human pronouns as well as compound subject human pronouns as shown on figures I and II respectively:

Simple Subject human Pronouns

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Limbum	English	Limbum	English
1st	mè	me	wèr	we
2nd	wè	you	wèe	you
3rd	é	he/she	wówèe	they

(Fig.I)

Compound Subject human Pronouns

Persons	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1+2	sò?	we (S+A)	sèe	we (S+As)
1+3	wèr	we (S+R)	wèr	we (S+Rs)
2+3	yèe	you (A+R)	yèe	you (A+Rs)
3+3	wówèe	they (R+R)	wówèe	they (R+Rs)

(Fig.II)

These pronouns are used as subjects in the examples below:

3 (a) mè mbú yé kwâ
I P2 eat maize

"I ate maize"

(b) wèr à mbú yé kwâ
we(1+3) sm P2 eat maize

"we ate maize"

(c) sò? à mbú só?sí n-yór
we(1+2) sm P1 wash self/body

"We took a bath" "we washed ourselves"

(d) yèe à yé m-bàa
 you(2+3) sm eat money
 "You have spent money"

2.1.1 2 HUMAN OBJECT PRONOUNS OF PREPOSITIONS

There also exist simple and compound pronouns of prepositions which are used as objects in Limbum. These types of pronouns can be seen on figures III and IV below:

Simple Prepositional object pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	m̄c	me	w̄r	we
2	w̄c	you	w̄e	you
3	yé	him/her	w̄w̄e	them

(Fig. III)

Compound prepositional object Pronouns

Persons	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1+2	s̄c?	we (S+A)	s̄e	we (S+As)
1+3	w̄r	we (S+R)	w̄r	we (S+Rs)
2+3	yèe	you (A+R)	yèe	you (A+Rs)
3+3	w̄w̄e	they (R+R)	w̄w̄e	they (R+Rs)

(Fig. IV)

The sentences below illustrate the use of some of these pronouns:

4 (a) mē fá nī wówèè
I give to them
"I have given to them"

(b) fá nī mē
give to me
"Give to me"

(c) é kó sé yé
he take from him
"He has taken from him"

(d) é kó sé wówèè
he take from them
"He has taken from them"

The human pronouns that substitute for verb objects in Limbum are not different from the pronouns of preposition already discussed above.

2.1.1.3 NON-HUMAN PRONOUNS

As earlier mentioned in 2.1, non-human pronouns in Limbum function as subjects only. Their forms depend on the class of the nouns which they substitute for. The table below shows the various forms of non-human pronouns in Limbum and their corresponding noun classes.

Singular	Plural	Gloss	N.cl.
lí	mí	it, they	D3, 5/D1
á	yí/ví	it, ther	All others

(Fig.V)

The use of these pronouns as subjects is illustrated in the sentences below. The noun which is substituted for is in paranthesis.

5 (a) lí (rbì) mbú bíté
 it (Kolanut) P2 rotten
 "It got rotten"

(b) á (ŋ-wà?) mbú bíté
 It (book) P2 rotten
 "It got rotten"

(c) mí (m-n-díp) mbú kúté
 it (water) P2 spill
 "It spilled"

(d) ví (b-ŋ-wà?) mbú sásī
 they (books) P2 tear
 "They got torn"

2.1.2 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

Reflexive pronouns are formed in Limbum by adding "nyór" (body or self) to the possessive adjectives which we have in 2.2.1 (I) below:

Singular		Plural	
Limbum	English	Limbum	English
yà-nyór	myself	yèr-nyór	ourselves
yò-nyór	yourself	yēe-nyór	yourselves
yī-nyór	himself/ herself/ itself	wàp-nyór	themselves

(Fig.VI)

Examples of sentences with reflexive pronouns are:

6 (a) mē gèe nī yà-nyór

I do with myself

"I have dealt with myself"

(b) é bí vè mbéná nī yī-nyór

he Fo come here with himself

"He will come here himself"

(c) ō bí vè mbéná nī wàp-nyór

they Fo come here with themselves

"They will come here themselves"

2.1.3 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

These pronouns which mark possession are noun class dependent. Taking into consideration the proposed noun class system for Limbum by VOORHOEVE (1981), Figure VII below shows the possessive forms of mass nouns (D3) and nouns of class (5/D1). Figure VIII shows the possessive forms of the rest of the nouns in Limbum.

Possessive Pronouns forms for N.cl. D3, 5/D1

Singular	Plural	Gloss
lá	má	mine
ló	mó	yours
lí	mí	his
lísèè	mísèè	ours
lé	mém	yours
láp	máp	theirs

(Fig. VII)

Possessive Pronouns forms for all other N.cls.

Singular	Plural	Gloss
yà	wá	mine
yò	wó	yours
yì	ví	his
yèr, yísèè	wér/vísèè	ours
yèe	wée	yours
yàp	wáp	theirs

(Fig. VIII)

The use of some of these pronouns is exemplified in the sentences below:

7 (a) bàa cǎ á yà
bag this is mine
"This bag is mine"

(b) m̄ɔ cǎ á yèr/yísèe
child this is ours
"This child is ours"

(c) rbì cǎnè á ló
Kolanut that is yours
"That Kolanut is yours"

(d) m-bì m-cénà á mǎp
Kolanuts those are theirs
"Those Kolanuts are theirs"

The pronouns discussed above are those which directly concern this part of the dissertation. They serve as unmodified NPs in Limbum. NFORGWEI (1991) also treats pronouns in Limbum though not in the same light as in this study. There shall be more on pronouns in subsequent sections.

From the above analysis, the possible PS rule that can generate an NP that consists only of a pronoun or a noun is:

PS rule I NP \longrightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} N \\ \text{Pron} \end{array} \right\}$

In the next section of this study, there will be an examination of the modified NP and the various satellites that make up such an NP.

2.2 THE MODIFIED NP

The modified NP is an NP that consists of an obligatory head N with modifying elements. In Limbum, these modifying elements can be premodifiers or postmodifiers.

Welmers (1973 p.249) holds that "Many works on African Languages... show a remarkable lack of linguistic sophistication in their treatment of noun modifiers." Talking about Niger-Congo languages in particular, (p.250) he says: "... it should be recognized that the status of forms used as noun modifiers in these languages, and of related forms, is intrinsically difficult to define." In this wise, he prefers using the term "adjectivals" to define the satellites that accompany the noun in a modified NP.

While Welmers's "adjectivals" is welcome because it conflates the categories of determiners and adjectives and thus limits our inventory of categories, there seems to be no empirical evidence to support such a proposition in Limbum. Any attempt to analyse determiners as adjectives in Limbum will lead to a number of problems.

First, there is supposed to be a distinction between

the determiner and the adjective which states the qualities of the noun as can be seen in the examples below:

8 (a) ŋ-wē cā
person this
"This man"

(b) ŋ-wē mbvúu
person white
"whiteman"

Besides, adjectives can be stacked indefinitely to the right of the head N they modify. This distributional evidence makes them different from determiners which can not be recursively stacked to the head N which they determine.

9 (a) ŋ-gwá bõnbõn cē nsí
wife goodgood c black
"The very good dark in complexion wife"

(b) *rwē cénà cā
cat that this
*"This that cat"

Moreover, determiners and adjectives have different distributions when they are used together to modify an N.
The determiner always precedes the adjective.

why
D

10 (a) yá m-bvé nsí
 my goat black
 "my black goat"

(b) n-kár yá yéni
 friend my good
 "My good friend"

(c) yó m-bàa mfì
 your money new
 "Your new money"

*Interesting
 why???*

In addition, determiners can be coordinated with other determiners of the same type just as adjectives can be coordinated with others of the same type. However, determiners cannot be coordinated with adjectives. Consider the examples below:

11 (a) n-dáp cã ó cénà
 house this and that
 "This and that house"

(b) kwâ mbér cé nfi
 maize raw c new
 "Raw fresh maize"

- (c) * Cénà ó kwâ mbér
That and maize raw
*"That and raw maize"

Furthermore, adjectives can be reduplicated morphologically to lay emphasis on the degree of the quality attributed to the noun but determiners do not have this morphological property.

- 12 (a) ŋ-kàa bòn bòn
basket goodgood
"A very good basket"

Reduplication

- (b) njínwè ntátáp
woman hard hard
"A very hard woman"

- (c) * b-lábá? b-cã cã
shoes these these
*"These these shoes"

Finally, adjectives have a stricter selection restriction than determiners. Specific adjectives modify specific nouns. This restriction is rigid with adjectives but liberal with determiners.

13 (a) ŋ-wê fée
 person sense
 "intelligent person"

(b) *kan fée
 pan sense
 *"Intelligent pan"

(c) ŋ-wê cénà
 person that
 "That person"

(d) kân cénà
 pan that
 "That pan"

The use of the adjective fée "intelligent" is limited to humans but the use of the determiner cénà "that" goes with both animate and inanimate things.

Having examined the distinction between determiners and adjectives, it is clear that descriptive adequacy will be achieved if the two categories are not conflated.

In the discussion of the modifiers of the head N which follows, determiners will be treated as belonging to a category different from that of adjectives.

2.2.1 DETERMINERS

As earlier mentioned, the determiner determines the head N. In Limbum, determiners include the demonstrative pronoun, the interrogative pronoun, the definite and indefinite pronouns, the definite and indefinite articles, and the ordinal and cardinal numerals.

A The demonstrative Pronouns

In Limbum, there are demonstrative forms that designate objects near speaker (NS), objects far from speaker (FS) and near the addressee (NA) and objects far from speaker and addressee (F.S.A). This is illustrated on the table below:

All Other Classes				N.Cl. D3 and 5/D1
Singular		Plural		
Limbum	Gloss	Limbum	Gloss	
cã	this (NS)	b-cã	these (NS)	m-cã
cânè yânà	that (FS) (NA)	b-cânè b-yânà	those (FS)(NA)	m-cânè
cénà	that (FSA)	b-cénà	those (FSA)	m-cénà

(Fig.IX)

The column to the extreme right shows forms which are used mostly with mass nouns (D3) but one finds out that there are some non-mass nouns which take the same demonstrative forms. There is the example of "Kolanut" rbi which belongs to noun class 5/D1.

14 (a) rbì cǎ m-bì m-cǎ
Kolanut this Kolanuts these
"This Kolanut" "These Kolanuts"

(b) rbì cǎnè m-bì m-cǎnè
 yǎnà m-yǎnà
Kolanut that Kolanut those
"That Kolanut" "Those Kolanuts"

(c) rbì cénà m-bì m-cénà
Kolanut that Kolanuts those
"That Kolanut" "Those Kolanuts"

(d) m-n-díp m-cǎ
water this
"This water"

(c) m-n-díp m-cǎnè
 m-yǎnà
water that
"That water"

(f) m-n-díp m-cénà
water that
"That water"

As can be seen in the examples in 14 and the various

demonstrative forms in figure IX, the forms of the demonstrative pronouns are noun class dependent in Limbum.

The most probable reason why kolanut and water take the same form for the demonstrative should have been that they belong to one class but VOORHOEVE (1981 p.189-90) presents them as belonging to classes 5/D1 and D3 respectively. There is no information at the moment to clarify the situation.

The PS rule capable of generating an NP which is made up of a noun modified by a demonstrative pronoun will be:

PS rule 2 NP \longrightarrow N(D)

The optionality of the determiner is due to the fact that a head noun without modifiers has the potentialities of a full NP as in the example below:

15 M-n-díp m-bòní
 water good + pres.t.
 "Water is good"

This sentence can be said to be made up of an NP and a VP in which case the NP is a single N.

B The Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative determiner is noun class dependent in Limbum. There are the following forms for the interrogative in the language:

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
cē-fé/yí-fé	which one?	mí-fé/ví-fé	which ones?
fé	where?	fé	where ?
ké	what?	ké	what ?
ndáa	whom, who, whose?	ndáa	who, whom, whose?

(Fig.X)

The use of these interrogative forms is illustrated in the sentences below:

16 (a) n-dáp cē-fé m-n-dáp ví-fé?
 yí-fé houses which
 house which "which houses?"
 "which house?" (Amongst many others)
 (Amongst many)

(b) m-n-díp mí-fé?
 water which
 "Which water?"

(c) n-dáp ndáa? m-n-dáp ndáa?
 house who houses who
 "whose house?" "whose houses?"

(d)	n-dáp	ké?	m-n-dáp	ké?
	house	what	houses	what
	"What house?"		"What houses?"	

(c)	n-dáp	fé?	m-n-dáp	fé?
	house	where	houses	where
	"Which house?"		"Which houses?"	

mi-fé is used with nouns of classes D3 (liquids) and 5/D1 such as rbi "Kolanut" as we have in 16 (b) above. Cē-fé or yí-fé are used when what is talked about is present amongst many other things. When the object is absent, fé is used as we have in 16 (c) above.

yí-fé and ví-fé are rarely used in the language. The former is used mostly by non-native speakers and the latter especially by children.

The P.S. rule for an NP modified by an interrogative determiner in Limbum is.

PS rule 3: NP → N (D)

the determiner being optional because the noun can still function independently as a full NP.

C The definite Pronoun

In Limbum, the definite pronoun morphemes include:

Limbum	English
wé msíp	all
mō?.....kà?	none

(Fig.XI)

Mō? means "other" and kà? is a marker of negation.

18 (a) mē kōŋ mō? ó wówèè kǎ?
I like other of them not
"I like none of them"

(b) nó m-rò? m-cǎ msíp
drink wine this all
"Drink all this wine"

(c) nó m-rò? m-cǎ wé
drink wine this all
"Drink all this wine"

It is worth noting that the definite pronoun in Limbum is not noun class dependent because its form is invariable with respect to the noun it determines.

19 (a) mē yé bíràŋ msíp/wé
I eat groundnuts all
"I have eaten all the groundnuts"

(b) ó yóo b-bàa msìp/wé
they buy bags all

"They have bought all the bags"

(c) bèe ô nó shà wé/msìp
people s.m. drink cornbeer all

"People have drunk all the cornbeer"

The definite pronoun is always positioned to the right of the noun it determines.

The PS rule that can generate the NP consisting of a noun modified by a definite pronoun is:

PS rule 4: NP \longrightarrow N (D)

The determiner is optional because of the status of N. It (N) can independently function as an NP.

D The indefinite Pronoun

Like the definite pronoun, the indefinite pronoun in Limbum is not noun class dependent. Forms for the indefinite pronouns include those in figure XII below.

Limbum	English
m̄ɔʔ	some, certain
ḡɔr	many, several, much
k̄aʔ...+interro Pron.	any

(Fig.XII)

M̄ɔʔ has many meanings depending on the context in which it is used. It variously means "other", "some", "certain" and "one" (when counting). But if "one" is used with a noun as a numeral e.g. one man, we use m̄ɔʔsír.

As an indefinite pronoun, m̄ɔʔ means "some" or "certain".

20 (a) η-wè m̄ɔʔ
 person some
 "Somebody"

(b) bèe m̄ɔʔ
 people some
 "Some people"

(c) η-wè m̄ɔʔ à mbé vá
 person some s.m. P2 come
 certain
 "Somebody came"
 "A certain person came"

express any aspect of negation. To mean "any", we have $k\bar{a}?$ + interro.Pron. Consider the examples below:

23 (a) $k\bar{a}?$ ndáa
any who
"Anybody"

(b) $k\bar{a}?$ ké
any what
"Anything"

(c) $k\bar{a}?$ cē-fé
any which
"Anyone"

(d) $k\bar{a}?$ mī-fé
any which
"Anyone" (N.C1.D3)

The possible PS rule that can generate an NP in which the noun is determined by an indefinite pronoun is:

PS rule 5 NP \longrightarrow $\left. \begin{array}{l} N (D) \\ (D) N \end{array} \right\}$

E The definite Article

Morphologically, the form of the definite article in Limbum is similar to that of the near speaker (NS)

demonstrative pronoun. They only differ in that they bear different tones. The (NS) demonstrative bears a contour tone as in cà "this" while the definite article bears a register tone (L) as we have in 24 below:

24 (a) mōcà cà é mbé dú
child the s.m. P2 go
"The child went"

(b) é mbé dú nī ŋ-wà? cà
he P2 go with book the
"He went with the book"

The definite article in Limbum is noun class dependent as illustrated in the examples below:

25 (a) bōo b-cà ví bébí
things the s.m. spoil
"The things are spoilt"

(b) yó cà à bébí
thing the s.m. spoil
"The thing is spoilt"

(c) m-n-díp m-cà mí kété
water the s.m. spill
"The water is spilt".

Sometimes, the definite article is not marked as in example I repeated as (26) for the sake of convenience.

26 mōo yi ŋ-kvú yó ŋ-yè
child of chief is thief
"The child of the chief is a thief"

The PS rule for an NP in which the head N is modified by the definite article is:

PS rule 6: NP → N (D)

The determiner is optional because the noun can act as a full NP with or without the determiner.

F The indefinite Article

The indefinite article is not morphologically marked in Limbum. The structures below illustrate this.

27 (a) fá mē ŋ-gòrò
give me mango
"Give me a mango"

(b) lór n-sàrà?
take needle
"Take a needle"

- (c) η-wè yó mbà n-dàp
person is in house
"A person is in the house"
"There is someone in the house"

The possible PS rule for an NP modified by the indefinite article will be:

PS rule 7: NP → N

The determiner is not just optional here but absent because the indefinite article is not morphologically marked in the language.

G. Cardinal Numerals

As NFORGWEI (1991 p39) points out, "In Limbum, cardinals are commonly used and are formed on base 10."

28	1 mō?	6 ntūunfú
	2 bāa	7 sāambā
	3 táar	8 wáamí
	4 kjèe	9 bē?é
	5 tâ	10 rùe

After 10, we have ncōp + simple numbers.

- 29 11 ncōp-mō?
12 ncōp-bāa
13 ncōp-tāar

Cardinal numerals are noun class dependent in Limbum as can be seen in 30 below:

- 30 (a) tóbó mōʔsír m-tóbó m-bāa
finger one fingers two C2/D1
"One finger" "Two fingers"
- (b) cāʔ mōʔsír b-cāʔ b-bāa
clothe one clothes two C2/B1
"One clothe" "Two clothes"
- (c) mōo mōʔsír bōo b-bāa
child one children two A2/B4
"One child" "Two children"
- (d) rbī mōʔsír m-bī m-bāa
Kolanut one Kolanuts two 5/D1
"One Kolanut" "Two Kolanuts"

When a cardinal numeral determines a noun, it is always positioned to the right of the said noun. The PS rule that can generate an NP modified by a cardinal numeral is:

PS rule 8: NP → N (D)

D is optional because of N's ability to function as a full NP independently.

H. Ordinal numerals

Unlike the cardinals, ordinals are less frequently used in Limbum. This may be because they are very limited in number. There are ordinals in Limbum which express "first" (ahead), "next" (behind) and "last". They, unlike the cardinals, are not noun class dependent as can be observed in 31 below.

- | | | | | |
|--------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 31 (a) | sín | éntōmbì | p-sín | éntombì |
| | bird | first/ahead | birds | first/ahead A1/B1 |
| | "First bird" | | "First birds" | |
| (b) | m-bòn | éntōmbì | m-m-bòn | éntōmbì |
| | bush cow | first/ahead | bush cows | first/ahead A2/B3 |
| | "First bush cow" | | "First bush cows" | |
| (c) | n-kár | ēmbēnjì | p-kár | ēmbēnjì |
| | friend | next (behind) | friends | next/behind A2/B5 |
| | "Next friend" | | "Next friends" | |

We can therefore postulate the PS rule for an NP containing a noun which is determined by an ordinal numeral as:

PS rule 9: NP → N (D)

D is optional because of the potentiality of N which can function independently as a full NP.

I The possessive determiner

The possessive determiner in Limbum is noun class dependent. This can be observed on the table below:

Why before the noun

N.C1.	Singular		Plural	
	Limbum	English	Limbum	English
C2/B1	yà bàa	my bag	wá b-bàa	my bags
	yò bàa	your bag	wó b-bāa	your bags
	yì bàa	his bag	ví b-bāa	his bags
	yēr bàa	our bag	wér b-bàa	our bags
	yée bàa	your bag	wée b-bàa	your bags
	yàp bàa	their bag	wáp b-bàa	their bags
A2/B4	mōo wà	my child	bōo wà	my children
	mōo wò	your child	bōo wò	your children
	mōo yì	his child	bōo vì	his children
	mōo wèr	our child	bōo wèr	our children
	mōo wèe	your child	bōo wèe	your children
	mōo wàp	their child	bōo wàp	their children

(Fig. XIII)

In most cases, the possessive determiner precedes the N in Limbum but in some cases, it comes after the head N as can be seen on figure XIII above. The latter case is

peculiar with nouns of class A2/B4. They, unlike other nouns reverse the general order of [Poss. N.].

The PS rule that can generate this sequence of head noun and the possessive determiner is:

PS rule 10: NP \rightarrow N (D)
(D) N

In the discussion of the noun and determiners so far, we have postulated the following PS rules:-

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) N + demonstrative Pron. | NP \rightarrow N (D) |
| 2) N + interro. Pron. | NP \rightarrow N (D) |
| 3) N + definite Pron. | NP \rightarrow N (D) |
| 4) N + indefinite Pron. | NP \rightarrow N (D)
(D) N |
| 5) N + definite art. | NP \rightarrow N (D) |
| 6) N + indefinite art. | NP \rightarrow N |
| 7) N + Cardinal numerals | NP \rightarrow N (D) |
| 8) N + Ordinal numerals | NP \rightarrow N (D) |
| 9) N + Poss. Pron. | NP \rightarrow N (D)
(D) N |

A conflated PS rule for the noun and determiners will be:

PS rule 11: NP \rightarrow N (D)
(D) N

2.2.2 ADJECTIVES

An adjective is a word which qualifies the noun with which it is used in an NP. It assigns a particular quality to the noun unlike the determiner which specifies or determines the noun with which it is used. From the above definition, adjectives in Limbum will include mainly the attributive adjectives. All other adjectives serve more as determiners than as adjectives. The form of the adjective is determined by the noun class of the qualified noun.

A The attributive adjective

This type of adjective attributes a quality or qualities to the noun with which it is associated as can be seen on the figure below. Its form depends on the class of the noun it modifies.

Singular		Plural		N.C1.
Limbum	English	Limbum	English	
rbì bòn bón	Kolanut goodgood verygood Kolanut	m-bì m-bòn bón	Kolanuts goodgood very good Kolanuts	5/D1
cûu gôr nsí	mouth big black "Big black mouth"	b-cûu b-gôr b-nsí	mouths big black "Big black mouths"	C2/B1
kwâ ntó?	maize wet "Fresh maize"	kwâ ntó?	maize wet "Fresh maize"	A1
		m-ŋ-kóo m-ntó?	beans wet "Fresh beans"	D1

(Fig. XIV)

The attributive adjective in Limbum always comes after the head N.

The PS rule necessary to generate this NP type is:

PS rule 12: NP \rightarrow N (A)

A is optional because N can function as a full NP without it (ie A).

2.2.3 THE ASSOCIATIVE NP

TAMANJI (1991 p.74) says: "The associative construction is used to express a variety of semantic aspects of association such as: possession, time of use, material, contents, origin, quality, quantity, function, place of use etc."

In an associative NP in Limbum, there are two nouns: N1 and N2. They are linked by an associative marker (Am) which is either a floating tone or a segmental unit of CV structure. The form of the (Am) depends on the class of N1. Consider the examples below:

32 (a) n-dáp l̥ b-lôr n-dáp b-lôr
 house Am stones
 "House of stones"

(b) n-gúp L bá n-gúp bâ
fowl Am father
"Fowl of father"
"Father's fowl"

(c) n-dúu yî mákfú
husband Am grandmother
"Husband of grandmother"
"Grandmother's husband"

(e) m-n-díp mî nînkòr
water Am yesterday
"Water of yesterday"
"Yesterday's water"

What we realize from the examples above is that the noun (N1) which is modified is always to the extreme left of the phrase. This leads us to the postulation of the PS rule below for the associative NP:

PS rule 13: NP → N (Gen.P.)

As in previous PS rules, the rule indicates that the N can function as a full NP without any modification.

2.2.4 THE COMPLEX NP

A complex NP is one in which the modifier is an embedded sentence that usually functions as a relative clause. The

Complex NP - 49 -

embedded sentence is always introduced in Limbum by the complementizer cē as we have in the examples below:

33 (a) bíràṅ cē nfò à mbé yé nà
 groundnuts c Nfor s.m. P2 eat the
 "The groundnuts which Nfor ate"

(b) m-ṅ-gúr cē mbé kàté nà
 oil c P2 spill the
 "The oil which spilled"

(c) ṅ-gúp cē māmá am fá mē nà
 fowl c mother sm P3 give me the
 "The fowl which mother gave me"

From the examples above, the PS rule that can generate the complex NP in Limbum is

PS rule 14: NP \rightarrow N' D
 N' \rightarrow N (C')

The C' is optional for the obvious reason that the N can alone function as a full NP. This PS rule indicates that the satellites of a head N may not only be a single modifier but also a phrase.

Our foregoing analysis of the modified NP in Limbum implies that there are two levels of categories.

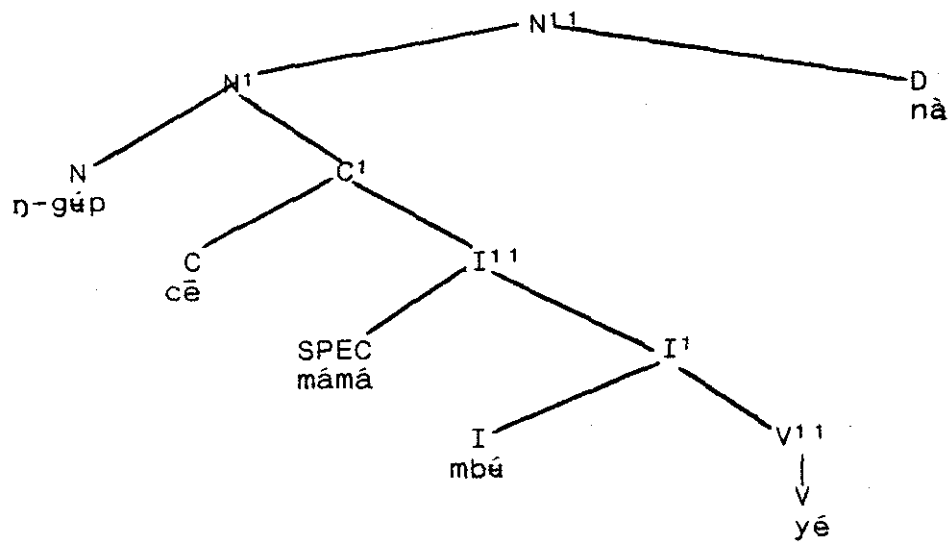
- Word-level categories e.g. N, A, P, D etc.
- Phrase-level categories e.g. NP, VP, Gen.P, CP etc.

We established in (1.4.1.1) that the X-bar theory recognizes three levels of projection: Phrasal level or Maximal projection level, Semi-phrasal level and zero or word level. It was also said that the semi-phrasal level relates the maximal projection to the head. Taking into consideration the X-bar theory and basing our analysis on information got so far from the NP types discussed, we are going to verify the existence or non-existence of the semi-phrasal level category in Limbum. Let us consider 33 below:

33 η-gūp cē māmá mbú yé nà
 fowl c mother P2 eat the

"The fowl which mother ate"

The phrase marker for example (33) will be (34) below:



fowl which mother P2 eat the
 "The fowl which mother ate" ate the

This means that in Limbum we have all the three levels of projection that characterize phrasal and sentential structures.

The PS rule that can generate this NP type will be:

- PS rule 16:
- N1' → N1 D
 - N1 → N C'
 - C' → C I1'
 - I1' → SPEC I'
 - I' → I V1'
 - V1' → V

The determiner in this NP is not optional because N1' is not a full NP and it is not an N that can function independently as a full NP.

So far, the discussion on the NP in Limbum has led to the postulation of the following PS rules:

1) $NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} N \\ \text{Pron} \end{array} \right\}$ (for an NP with only a noun or pronoun)

N (D)

2) $NP \rightarrow (D) N$ (for the N and determiners)

3) $NP \rightarrow N (A)$ (for N and adjectives)

4) $NP \rightarrow N (\text{Gen.P})$ (for the associative NP)

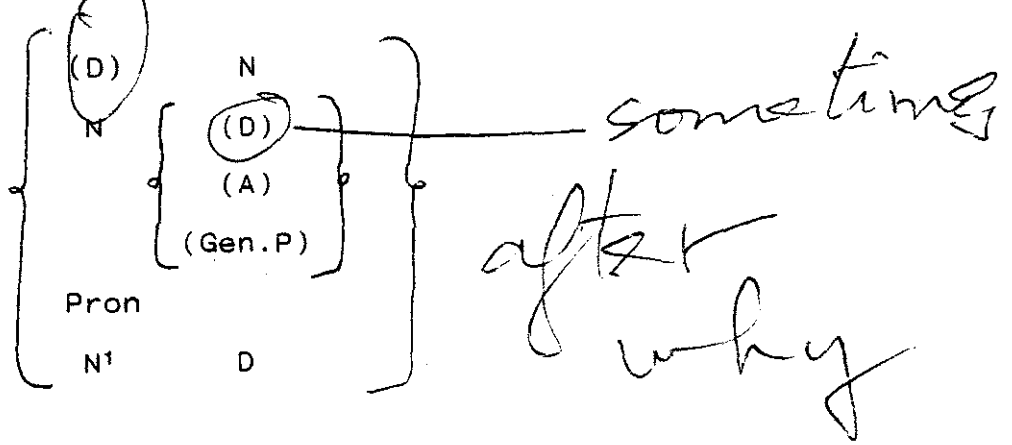
5) $N^1 \rightarrow N^1 D$ (for the complex NP)

In order to achieve a significant linguistic generalization, the rules will be collapsed so that we have one generalized rule which will generate an NP out of either an obligatory pronoun or noun with or without modifying elements.

A generalized PS rule for the NP in Limbum will be (17) below:

Sometimes before

PS rule 17:



The discussion on the noun and its satellites in Limbum has revealed that whenever a noun is modified by a possessive determiner, the determiner precedes the head N but the case of nouns of class A2/B4 is peculiar in that they reverse this order of occurrence. With them, it is instead the noun which precedes the determiner.

The discussion has also shown that mass nouns (class D3) have similar morphological features with nouns of class 5/D1. For example in 2.2.1 (A), the forms of the demonstrative pronouns for the nouns of these classes are the same:

36 (a) m-n-díp m-cã
 water this N.Cl. D3
 "This water"

(b) m-bi m-cã
 Kolanuts these N.Cl. 5/D1
 "These Kolanuts"

Word order in the language is not very rigid. In the NP, the head mostly occupies the leftmost position but sometimes a determiner occupies this position which is indicative of the fact that word order in the language is not very strict.

Moreover, the discussion has revealed that only a pronoun or a noun can function as a head in the NP. While the two serve as unmodified NPs, only the noun can be modified.

CHAPTER THREE

OTHER PHRASE TYPES

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to examine a few other phrase types in order to determine the position of occurrence of the NP in relation to other constituents in larger constructions, show the relationship between the NP and other phrase types, and bring out the relevant significant linguistic generalizations that characterize the various phrase types. In this wise, there will be an examination of the inflection phrase (IP), the prepositional phrase (PP), the adjectival phrase (AP) and the verb phrase (VP) in terms of their constituent structures and the linear and hierarchical order of the constituents.

3.1 THE INFLECTION PHRASE

The IP is equivalent to the sentence(s). It is headed by I which always bears tense and concord properties. Talking about the IP with reference to Bafut, TAMANJI (1991 p.93) has this to say:

"In the IP, I is expanded by the VP into I' which is in turn expanded by a specifier (usually an NP) into IP."

This also holds true for Limbum as seen in the following sentences:

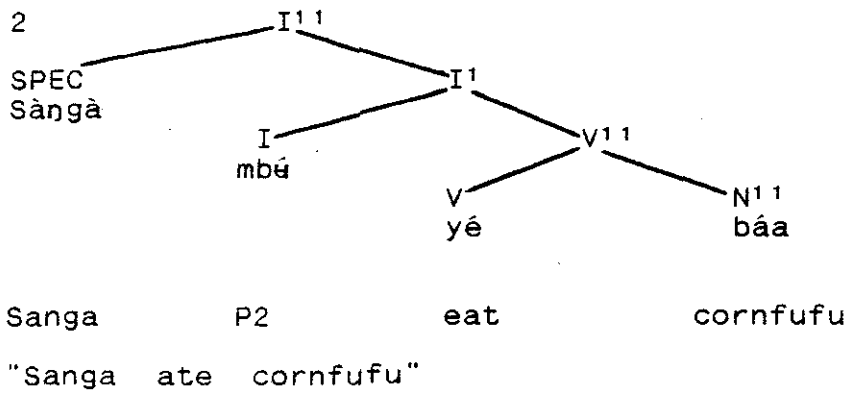
1 (a) ŋ-wê bí vù àjànsì
person Fo come tomorrow
"Somebody will come tomorrow"

(b) Sàngà à vù
Sanga Pres.P. come
"Sanga has come"

(c) Sàngà bā dū
Sanga P1 go
"Sanga went"

(d) Sàngà mbú yé bāa
Sanga P2 eat cornfufu
"Sanga ate cornfufu"

In (d) sàngà is the specifier, mbú is the I and yé is the VP (V¹¹) while bāa is an NP (N¹¹) functioning as a direct object. yé expands mbú into I' which is in turn expanded into I¹¹ by the specifier Sanga. This projection is illustrated below:



The PS rule capable of generating the IP is:

PS rule I: IP → SPEC I'
I' → I V'1
V'1 → V N'1

Other complex IPs could lead to some changes on this PS rule but we shall maintain the present rule since it serves the purpose of this study.

3.2 THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

The head word in the PP is a preposition which often expresses possession, instrument, direction, accompaniment, location, etc. The following prepositions can be identified in Limbum: nì, mbé, mbà, kò, njé.

The preposition nì functions as a marker of direction, accompaniment and instrument as can be observed in the sentences below:

3 (a) é bá fá m-bàa nì yé
he P1 give money to him
"He gave money to hime"

(b) é mbú cép n-tóo nì wè
he P2 send message to you
"He sent a message to you"

(c) é m-nvù nì m-bàa
he P3 come with money
"He came with money"

(d) é mbú vú nì mōo yì
he P2 come with child his
"He came with his child"

(c) é mbú gbár yé nì sà?
he P2 cut him with cutlass
"He cut him with a cutlass"

(f) é mbú dú nì yì tâ
he P2 go with his father
"He went with his father"

The preposition mbé is always used to express location. The examples below illustrate the use of mbé as a marker of location:

4 (a) é mbé nōŋ mbé kóo
he P2 sleep in bed
"He slept in bed"

(b) é yó mbé n-dàp
he is in house
"He is in the house"

(c) é mbé cú mbé n-tá?
he P2 sit on chair
"He sat on a chair"

(d) lè bō mbé n-jî
put hand on back
"Put your hand on the back"

The prepositions mbà and kò function as markers of direction and location. The only difference which exists between them is that geographically, the former indicates something which is down while the latter indicates something which is up. The sentences below demonstrate the use of the two prepositions:

5 (a) é bá dú mbà n-dàp
he P1 go to house
"He went to the house" (which is down)

(b) é bá vé kò n-ndàp
he P1 come to house

"He came to the house" (chich is up)

(c) n-fò mbé vé kò là?
Nfor P2 come at home

"Nfor came home" (which is up)

(d) n-fò mbé vé mbà là?
Nfor P2 come at home

"Nfor came home" (which is down)

The preposition *njé* indicates direction, location and provenance. Its use can be seen in the sentences below:

6 (a) é bá vé *njé* n-dàp
he P1 come to house

"He came to the house"

(b) *tâtá* yó *njé* n-wà?
Tata is at book

"Tata is at school"

(c) é cí vé *njé* dówálá ntíní
he pres. come from Douala today
cont.

"He is coming from Douala today"

(d) n-jíké mbú vé njé Kùmbà nìnkùr
Njike P2 come from Kumba yesterday
"Njike came from Kumba yesterday"

From the above discussion, the following PS rule can be postulated for the generation of the PP in Limbum:

PS rule 2: PP → P NP (ADV.P)

3.3 THE ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

This phrase is called an AP because the head word in it is an adjective. Below are examples of phrases in which adjectives function as the heads of the AP.

7 (a) á ñ-wè nsí ná
Pres.t person black this
"This is a black man"

(b) á ñ-wè mbvúu ná
Pres.t person white this
"This is a white man"

(c) m̄o mbânrù
child male
"Male child"

- (d) m̄ɔɔ ŋkɛʔ
child little
"A little child"

Apparently, the adjectives in the examples above have no complements but if we take into consideration structural symmetry among phrase types, we can assume that A can be expanded into A-bar (A¹) which can in turn be expanded into A-double bar (A¹¹). That is to say, A can be expanded from the word level category into the intermediate semi-phrasal category. This can in turn be expanded into the phrasal or maximal projection level. In this wise, we can posit the following PS rule for the AP in Limbum.

PS rule 3: AP → A

3.4 THE VERB PHRASE

The VP is headed by a verb. As in English, the verbs in Limbum are divided into transitive and intransitive verbs. The intransitive verbs do not take NP complements as in the examples below:

- 8 (a) yà má cí bómī
my mother Pres. sleep
Cont.

"My mother is sleeping"

(b) n-gwé à kwé
dog Po die
"A dog has died"

(c) é bí kwé
he Fo die
"He will die"

(d) é mbú wár
he P2 cry
"He cried"

Taking into consideration the above examples, the PS rule that can generate the VP in Limbum will be:

PS rule 4: VP → V

The transitive verbs on the other hand take NP complements. The examples in (9) testify this assertion.

9 (a) mánjù? à yé kwâ
Manjuh Pres.P. eat maize
"Manjuh has eaten maize"

(b) tálá? bí lór m-bàa
Talah Fo take money
"Talah will take money"

(c) Tálá? bá nǒ m-n-díp
Talah P1 drink water
"Talah drank water"

The following rule will generate the VP in the above sentences:

PS rule 5: VP → V NP

Both transitive and intransitive verbs take PP complements as in the following examples.:

10 (a) yà má cí bómī mbé n-dàp
my mother Pres. sleep in house
Cont.

"My mother is sleeping in the house"

(b) n-wè à kwé kò là?
person Pres.P. die at home
"Someone has died at home"

(c) yò má cí bíí kò là?
your mother Pres. dance at home
cont.

"Your mother is dancing at home"

- (d) yò má bí fá m-bàa nì yé
your mother Fo give money to him
"Your mother will give money to him"

The PS rule that can take care of such a VP as shown in the sentences above is:

PS rule 6: VP → V (NP) PP

The transitive verb takes the NP and PP complements while the intransitive verb takes only the PP complement as seen in (10) above.

The verb can also take an embeded sentence as a complement. The embeded sentence is always introduced by the complementizer nā. This is shown in the examples below:

- 11 (a) māmá rīŋ nā ndì bí vū
mother know c Ndi Fo come
"Mother knows that Ndi will come"

- (b) ŋ-gàlá à là nā é bí vé
Ngala Pres.P. say c he Fo come
"Ngala has said that he will come"

- (c) ŋ-gàlá à vū nā yè fá yé m-bàa
Ngala Pres.P. come c you give him money
"Ngala has come so that you (pl) give him money"

The PS rule that can generate a VP from the above examples is:

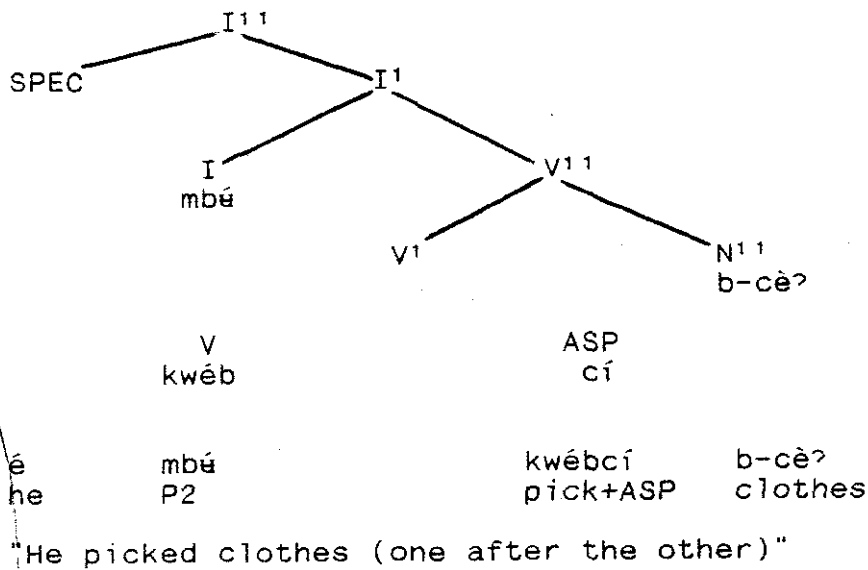
PS rule 7: VP → V C'

The VP contains aspectual markers such as —cí which raise the V' into V''.

12 (a) m-bòŋ mbé cò?cí n-jà njé kìn
 Mbong P2 remove + Asp meat from pot
 "Mbong removed meat (slice after slice) from the pot"

(b) é mbú kwébcí b-cè?
 he P2 pick + ASP clothes
 "He picked clothes (one after the other)"

This last example can be represented on a tree diagram as 13 below:



So far, the following PS rules have been posited for the VP in Limbum.

- VP → V
- V NP
- V (NP) PP
- V C'

A generalized PS rule for the VP in Limbum will be:

$$\text{PS rule 8: } VP \rightarrow V \left(\begin{array}{l} (NP) \quad (PP) \\ (C') \end{array} \right)$$

In this chapter, it can be realized that the subject NP precedes any other phrase type with which it occurs in the same construction (clause or sentence) in Limbum.

In addition, one notices that, unlike in the NP, in the PP, AP, VP and IP, the head word consistently appears to the left of its complements. In the NP (cf ch.2) the head word often precedes its satellites but sometimes it follows them. Limbum is therefore not a Head First Language per se and word order is not very rigid in the language.

This chapter has also revealed a general phenomenon which characterizes phrase types in Limbum. This phenomenon is that phrase types have three levels of projection viz: the (zero) word-level, the (single bar) intermediate or semi-phrasal level, and the (double-bar) maximal or phrasal level.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

4.0 SUMMARY OF WORK

The main purpose of this study has been to describe the NP in Limbum within the generative approach.

To attain the envisaged goal, general information on Limbum was given in chapter one. There was the presentation of the geographical, historical and socio-economic situation of the people after which the classification of the language was discussed and its sociolinguistic situation briefly examined. There was also a review of literature related to the language and theoretical frame. The goals and scope of the project were stated and its outline given.

In chapter two, attention was focussed on the NP, its constituents and their linear and hierarchical order. Here, it was pointed out that an NP is a head word (noun or pronoun) with or without satellites. It was also stated that only the head noun could be modified unlike the pronoun. After the analysis of the NP, it was realized that word order is not very strick in the Limbum NP because sometimes the head noun precedes its satellites and at other times it is preceded by the satillites.

In chapter three, there was a brief look at other phrase types and a comparison between them and the NP revealed that the subject NP always precedes any other phrase with which it occurs in a larger construction. As

concerns other A-positions in other phrase types, it was realized that the NP occurs only after the head of the phrase in which it is found. It was also realized that the language has three levels of projection viz: word level, semi-phrasal level and phrasal level.

4.1 LIMITATIONS

One cannot claim to have exhaustively treated the NP in Limbum because in the course of its analysis, problems to which adequate solutions might not have been found and others which might have escaped notice arose. One of these problems concerns the A.P. It was not possible to find any satellites of the A and we had to rely on categorial symmetry to assume that there could be another constituent that could expand A into A' and that A' could be expanded into A'' by another constituent. Since the data available might not have been sufficient to establish whether the A has morphologically marked satellites or not in Limbum, it is felt that this could serve as an area of future research.

Another problem which surfaced during the analysis concerns the noun and its satellites. It was not easy to differentiate between some modifiers namely determiners and adjectives. The ordinal numerals are not noun class dependent while the cardinal numerals are noun class dependent. The problem then was whether the former should be treated as a determiner and the latter as an adjective, or the two be treated as determiners or adjectives. To solve the problem, it was tentatively decided that they be

treated as determiners taking into consideration the fact that none of them could behave as an adjective per se. A more detailed research on numerals could reveal whether they are determiners or adjectives, or one is a determiner and the other an adjective.

These major problems and some minor ones which might have escaped notice came up during the analysis of the NP in Limbum. Such problem areas could then serve as areas of future research.

4.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF PROJECT

In spite of the above problems for which tenable solutions could not be found, it is hoped that this study will contribute to the growth of Limbum linguistics, and more importantly, to the progress of Mother Tongue (MT) education in Cameroon.

This dissertation may also be of inter/est to students of linguistics in general, and potential syntacticians in particular because it hopefully lays a foundation for syntactic studies in Limbum. It could also be of importance to national and international linguistic bodies which are interested in the study of African languages.

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