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**VERB MORPHOLOGY AND THE
STRUCTURE OF IP IN MPUMPU**

*A Dissertation presented in Partial fulfilment of the
requirement for the award of a Maitrise Degree in Linguistics*

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DEDICATION

To my parents

LEBIKA NKONDA NYAMSI

and

CATHERINE GISELE YATCHOU

To all my brothers and sisters

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I am firstly grateful to the Almighty who accompanied me during my researches and the whole work. ✓

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ALCAM	:	Atlas linguistique du Cameroun
ALAC	:	Atlas linguistique d'Afrique Centrale
SIL	:	Summer Institute of Linguistics
G	:	Glide
C	:	Consonant
V	:	Vowel
DP	:	Determiner Phrase
VP	:	Verb Phrase
IP	:	Inflectional Phrase
AgrP	:	Agreement Phrase
TP	:	Tense Phrase
AspP	:	Aspect Phrase
NegP	:	Negative Phrase
NP	:	Noun Phrase
T', V', I', Agr', Asp', Neg', N'	:	intermediate categories
T°, V°, I°, Agr°, Asp°, Neg°, N°	:	heads
SM	:	Subject Marker
TM	:	Tense Marker
Neg	:	Negative Marker
Impf	:	imperfective
Perf	:	perfective
F	:	future
P	:	past
Pres	:	present
Lim	:	Limitative
Fin	:	final

In	:	Infix
Pf	:	post-final
Ind	:	Indicative Mood
Cond	:	Conditional Mood
Imp	:	Imperative Mood
Inf	:	Infinitive Mood
Sub	:	Subjunctive Mood
Caus	:	Causative
Rec	:	reciprocal
Ref	:	reflexive
Pas	:	passive
Sim	:	Simultaneous
Ins	:	Instrumental
App	:	Applicative
Sep	:	separative
Rep	:	repetitive

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CHAPTER I:

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The present study describes the verb morphology of Mpumpun and relates this morphology to functional projections above VP and feature checking in the sense of Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1995). In this first chapter which is entitled General Introduction, the objectives and significance of our study will be presented in section one. In the second section, we present the sociolinguistic considerations. Section three follows with methods of data collection and analysis and theoretical considerations. The last section, section four, presents the synopsis of the chapters.

1.2. Objectives and significance of the study

1.2.1. Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are two fold. In the first place, the study seeks to present a description of the morphology of the verb in Mpumpun, by characterizing the various elements that make up the verb group and specifying their distribution vis-à-vis the verb root. The second objective of the study is to relate the verb morphology to feature checking and functional projections in the sense of Chomsky (1995) and Pollock (1989). The study proposes that although the verb group is morphologically very rich, we need only four functional projections above VP to account for feature checking on the verb.

1.2.2. Significance of the study

After Djiafeua (1989) and Ngangoum (2002) who studied the phonology and noun morphology, we consider a study of the verb morphology as the next logical step in the description of the Mpumpuŋ language. It is clear that there is still a lot to be done concerning the entire description of the language. But, the present study, added to Djiafeua (1989) and Ngangoum (2002) will certainly provide language teaching experts with basic material needed for primers, post primers and pedagogic grammars on Mpumpuŋ. The study will also be of benefit to those who want to continue the description of the language, and to theoretical linguists who need more data in order to write more adequate theories of language.

This study contributes to the development of Bantu languages. In fact, it is a contribution to Universal Grammar.

1.3. Sociolinguistic considerations

1.3.1. Historical situation

Mpumpuŋ and neighbouring cantons, according to oral literature, belong to the Bantu group and are said to have the same ancestors. However, it is still difficult to determine the exact origin of these ancestors, for their descendants are dispersed. Djiafeua (1989) had noted the following two trends.

According to Akoa Bat, an old man of about 80, they came from kolokon around the kribean coast. The actual dispersal of the cantons is due to the abandonment of some members of the group during the difficult journey to the East province.

According to Adang njonda, Mpumpuŋ and their neighbours came from Angola. He attributed the actual dispersal on the geographical plan to tribal wars.

Apart from the foregoing information from Djiafeua (1989), my own informants such as Didier Abono, student at the University said that they came from Angola and Gabon. They were chased from these countries during wars orchestrated by Islam. They finally found themselves in the Congo valley. Just as they established themselves, they were made prisoners by the Konzime. Unfortunately for the Konzime, their princess fell in love with a Mpumpuŋ. For a start, it was a catastrophe, because the king had decided to kill the man and his brothers, if that love could not end. Fortunately, the princess helped her beloved and his brothers to run away. This escape was the last; they established their settlement in Yokadouma. He attributed the actual dispersal to the fear of being caught again. So each family head took his family members and went away. That is why we find them today in Yokadouma, Moloundou and Lomie.

All these versions have a convergent point, that is the recognition of Yokadouma as the emblem of Mpumpuŋ canton. Yokadouma (*Zok a дума* meaning "*never will the elephant fall again*") is a chief who was killed by the German administration. It is the murder of this chief that gave the name Yokadouma to the town.

1.3.2. Geographical situation

Though our work is based on Mpumpuŋ, we will give some information about the neighbouring cantons Kunabembe, Mezime, Banyantu, Mpoman. The following geographical situation is taken from Johnson and Beavon (1989).

The Mpompo people live mainly in the south and the west of Yokadouma in the Boumba and Ngoko division in the East province of Cameroon. They are bordered to the south by Kunabeeb speakers, to the west by Konzime speakers, to the North by Yangere speakers and to the east, extending into the central African Republic, by speakers of Mpyemɔ. In the North West of Mpompo dialect area in the district of Mbang, live the Mezime (West of Mbang) and

CAMEROUN

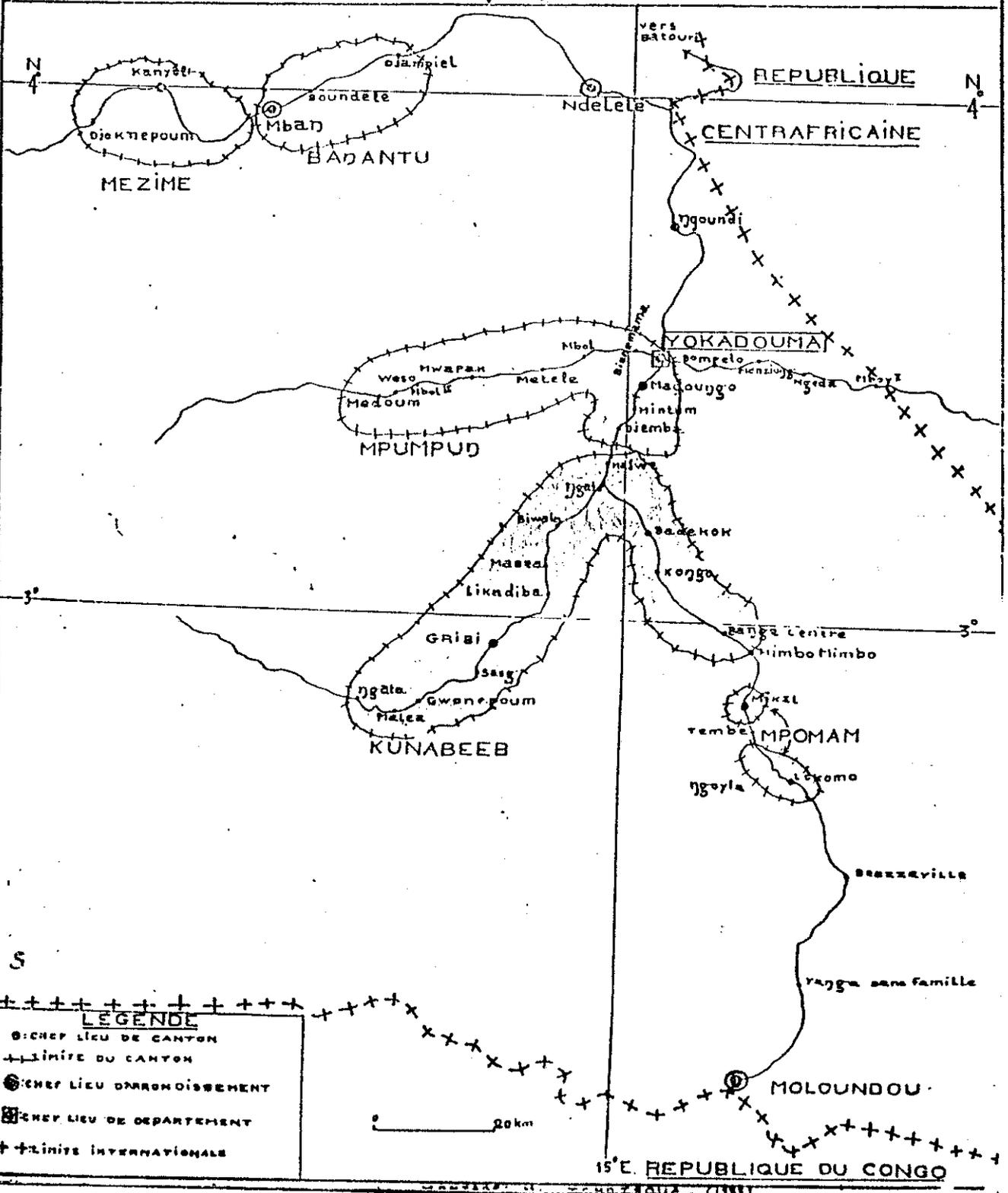
PROVINCE DE L'EST

LAINE NILEYNAA

1500km



source Johnson A.E & Beaven K, 1988



Bayantu (East of Mbang) speakers. Speakers of the Boman dialect are located just south of the Kunabeeb about halfway between the cities of Yokadouma and Moloundou.

The area in which these groups live is all dense tropical forest. The principal administrative and commercial center for the Mpompo and Kunabeeb dialect areas is Yokadouma, while for the Mezime and Bayantu areas it is Mbang. For the Boman, it is Moloundou. Roads between these areas are unpaved, but are generally kept in good condition. Access to villages located off these main roads is difficult without a 4-wheel drive vehicle, particularly during and immediately following the rainy season.

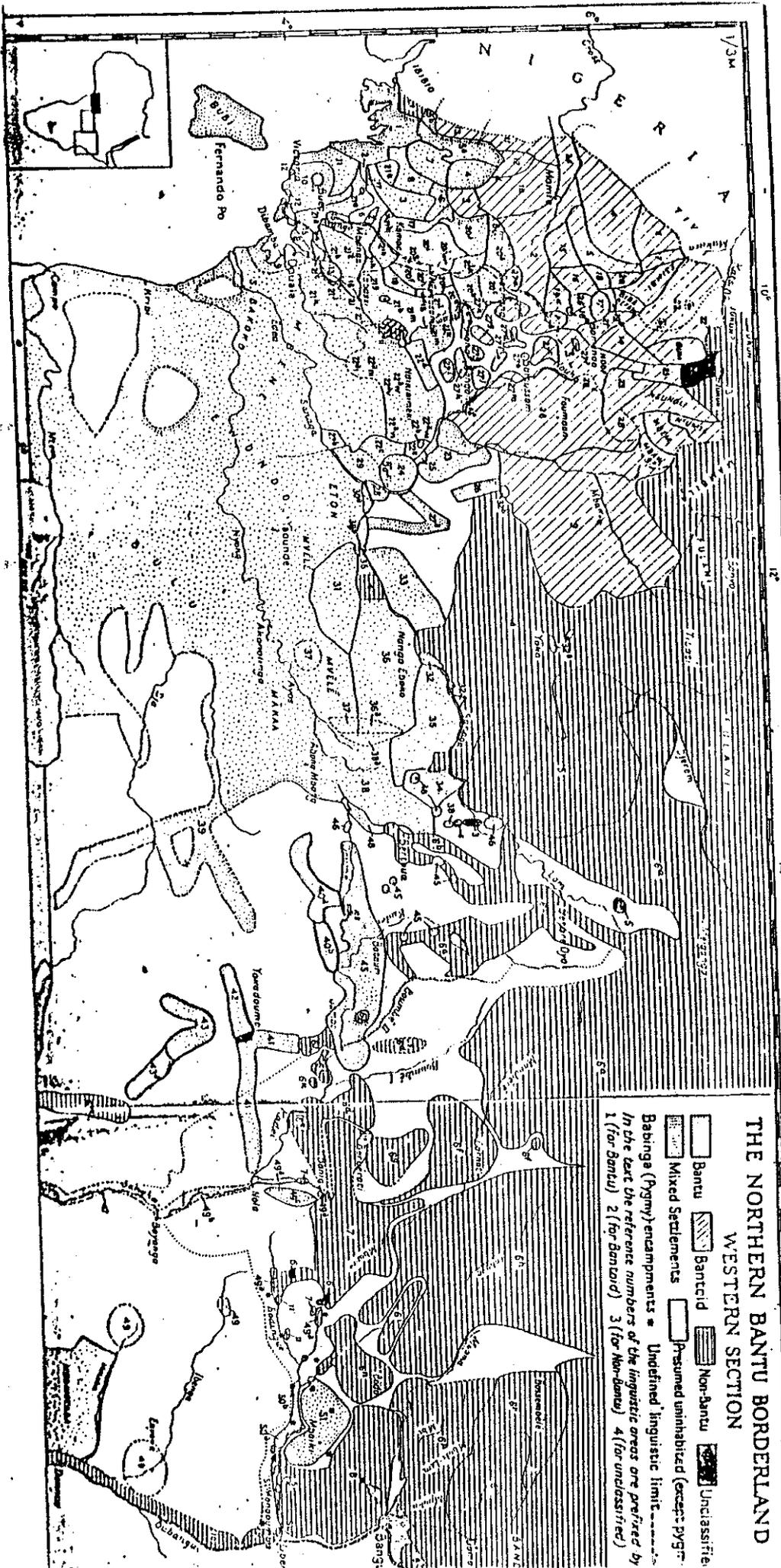
The Mpumpuy canton is made up of ten villages namely Medoum, Mbol, Mbol II, Weso Nwapak, Metele, Bienamama, Medoungé, Mintoum, Djemba. The principal village is Medoungé.

1.3.3. Socio-economic situation

The cultural and traditional patrimony has been deeply damaged by the passage of the coloniser. Nevertheless, there are still some important things as our informants told us. "keke" is the main danse. Concerning their behaviour, we were told that Mpumpuy are characterised by disdain for pride and zeal. The identity symbol of the Mpumpuy man is a drink called "*siso decoction*".

Concerning the economy, the Mpumpuy population is highly agricultural. The principal cash crops are cocoa and robusta coffee. Banana is cultivated here and used in many different ways, but not eaten.

Handicraft, animal rearing and hunting are practised for local consumption. Apart from the presence of some sawmills, industrialisation has not yet reached this canton.



— AIR MILEYNAE

SOURCE: GUTHRIE, M. A. I., 1956

**THE NORTHERN BANTU BORDERLAND
WESTERN SECTION**

[Stippled] Bantu [Horizontal lines] Bantoid [Vertical lines] Non-Bantu [Dotted] Undersettled
 [Diagonal lines] Mixed Settlements [Dashed line] Presumed uninhabited (except PYGM)
 Bantoid (Pygm) encampments = [Dotted] Undefined linguistic limit
 In the text the reference numbers of the linguistic areas are prefixed by
 1 (for Bantu) 2 (for Bantoid) 3 (for Non-Bantu) 4 (for unclassified)

1.3.4. The language: its name and its linguistic classification

1.3.4.1. The name

The language presently called Mpumpuŋ has had different appellations in various linguistic studies. In the *Atlas linguistique du Cameroun*, the language is referred to as Mpo. In the *Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique centrale* (ALAC), the dialects of Mpo are Mpoman, Bajantu, Mezime, Mpumpuŋ and Kunabembe. Probably because this appellation was not satisfactory, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L) undertook a study to validate the work of ALAC². S.I.L. used for its research:

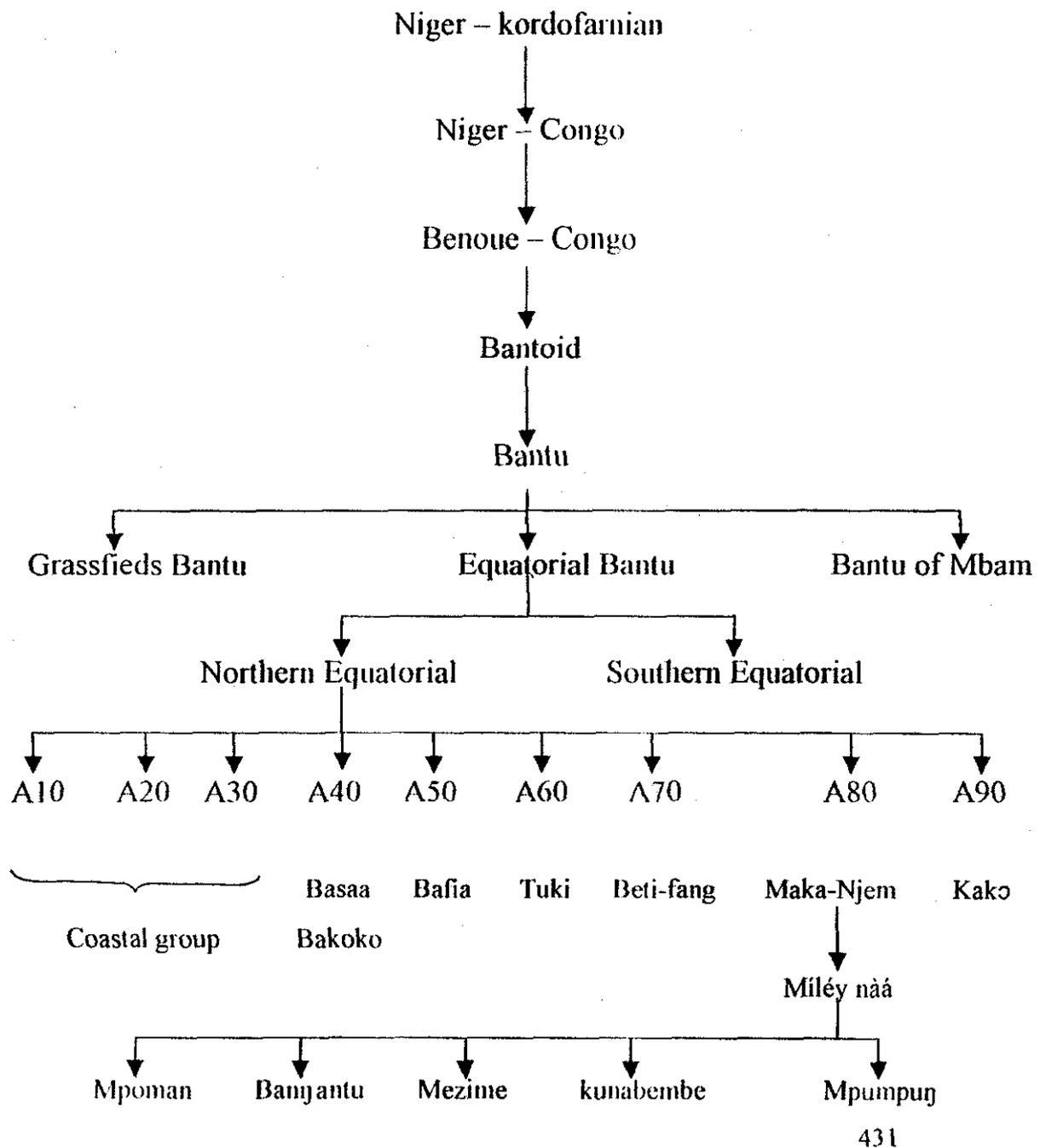
- Lists of words
- Intelligibility tests
- Sociolinguistic questionnaires
- Informal interviews

After this work, they came out with conclusions which state that Mpumpuŋ is the standard dialect, Mpumpuŋ as written here is the correct form. Finally, the speakers of the language gave a general name to the language: Míléy nàá (I'm saying that).

1.3.4.2. Linguistic classification of Mpumpuŋ

Mpumpuŋ is a bantu language spoken in Cameroon, particularly in the East province. Guthrie classified it under group A80 with Mezime, Bajantu, Kunabembe and Mpoman. ALAC presented all these dialects as belonging to the 4th zone, and the code of Mpumpuŋ is 431.

The diagram that follows shows the genealogical descent of Mpumpuŋ and the other dialects of Míléy nàá.



1.3.5. Review of related literature

Concerning the literature on Mpumpuŋ, two studies were undertaken, namely the phonology and the noun morphology.

1.3.5.1. The phonology

Djiafeua (1989) has written a dissertation on "*Esquisse phonologique du Mpumpuŋ*". He came out with the following conclusions.

Mpumpuŋ has 7 vowels, 30 consonants and 4 main tones. The alphabet has 37 letters. The following tables will respectively present tones, vowels and consonants.

Table 1: Tones

Tones	signs
High	/
Low	\
Rising	v
Falling	^

Table 2: Vowels

	Front	Back
Closed		u
Half-closed	e	o
Half-opened	ɛ	ɔ
Opened	a	

centrale?

manque /i/ cf. p. 22 et 24

Table 3: Consonants

			Palatal	Dental (Alveolar)	Bilabial	Velar	Labio-velar
Occlusive	Stops	vl	p	t	c	k	kp
		vd	b	d	j	g	gb
	Half-nasal	vd	mb	nd	nj	ng	mgb
	Nasal	vd	fm	n		d	
Constritive	Median	vl	f	s			
		vl	v	z			w
	Lateral	vd		l	y		
	Aspired	vl	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	kp ^h

The syllable in Mpumpuŋ is defined as the presence of a tone on a vowel. He proposed the following formula:

$$(c) (s) V \left(\begin{matrix} \vdots \\ c \end{matrix} \right)^1$$

NB: The elements in parenthesis are optional.

There are two types of syllable structures in Mpumpuŋ: The monosyllabic and the dissyllabic. The monosyllabic structure is recurrent.

Concerning tones, it is very common to come across many simple tones in a word than to come across many modulated ones. In Mpumpuŋ, low tone is recurrent as shown in example (1).

¹ I am not very sure about what Djiafeua's formula implies. Probably what he imbedded was (c) (G) $\begin{matrix} \vdots \\ \vdots \end{matrix}$ (c).

- (1) é̀dàglà : to pray
 é̀syâghé̀l : to sift
 é̀bómà : to meet
 é̀p^hûmsà : to mix
 é̀tìl : to write

1.3.5.2. Noun morphology

"Noun morphology and the internal structure of the nominal construction in Mpumpuŋ" is the title of the dissertation written by Ngangoum (2002). Here, we will present a resume of her work.

The noun in Mpumpuŋ is made up of a prefix plus a stem. Nouns may be classified into more than one class depending on the prefix adjoined to them. This can be clearly seen in the following table.

Table 4: Noun in Mpumpuŋ

Class	Prefix	Stem	Gloss
5	d-	-ís	eye
6	m-	-ís	eyes
5	d-	-él	village
6	m-	-él	villages

There are nine noun classes in Mpumpuŋ presented in the following table:

- Object of verb: mí í sùm ndzá
 I have built a house

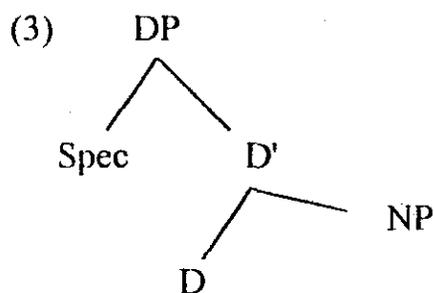
- Object of preposition: mí í to mĕ pyémb
 I go to the farm

Possessive, interrogative and demonstrative pronouns agree in class and number with the noun they modify.

Concerning the noun plus the determiner, the noun occurs at the initial position and the determiner follows. The agreement features on the determiner are determined by the class and number of the preceding noun.

In Mpumpuɲ, a noun can be modified by a possessive, associative, adjectival, quantified or relativized nominal constructions. The agreement features on modifiers are determined by the class of the modified noun.

Concerning agreement in Mpumpuɲ nominal constructions, she adopted the determiner hypothesis (Abney 1987), according to which the determiner, as a functional category, heads the nominal group and selects NP as its complement in the same way that I' selects VP as its complement. Her DP structure is schematised below in (3).



The basic DP is headed by a covert (null) or by an overt determiner, and the pronominal DP is considered as a head D with a null complement.

In generative constructions, DP is modified by a lexical genitive or by a possessive determiner embedded in a generative phrase.

While non numeral quantifiers modify a DP in terms of a head-complement relation, numerals objectives and relative clauses modify the DP in terms of an adjunction structure.

After phonology, noun morphology, the next step towards the standardisation of a language is the verb morphology. So, this review of past works on Mpumpuɔ helps notice to what extent works have been done in the language and what logically follows. This review, finally, helps to better understand the language.

1.4. Methods of data collection

1.4.1. Informants

Data used in this study, were collected with the help of Mpumpuɔ native speakers. The following table contains their names and some information related to them.

Table 6: List of informants

Name	Village	Age	Level of studies	Profession
AGNOPA Valentin	medounɔge	26	Baccalauréat	Student at INJS
ABONO Anclaire	Parny	24	Baccalauréat	Law student
Mme veuve MEBEL	Barny	45		House wife
ABONO Didier	Parny	28	Bachelor Degree in Science	Teacher
ZHELL Jacques	Parny	27	Baccalauréat	Computer student

1.4.2. Data collection

Words for this work were collected for a start in isolation, then in association. The following scheme was used:

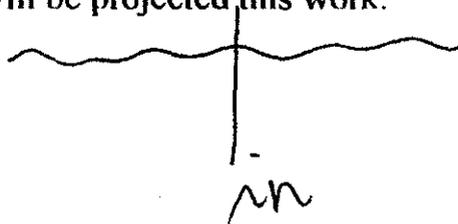
- verbs in the infinitive
- verbs + personal pronouns
- verbs in different tenses
- verbs in negative form
- verbs in different moods
- verbs + extensions
- simple sentences
- complex sentences

These data were collected with a dictaphone and transcribed immediately. The Dictaphone was again used later for verifications.

1.5. Theoretical considerations

From chapter two to four, our work employs a purely structural approach to the description of the verb group in Mpumpuy, as used by native speakers. In chapter five, we depart from the purely structural approach and use minimalist approach to account for agreement in Mpumpuy verbal constructions. In respect to this, we have adopted Pollock's (1989) proposals regarding the structure of the verb group and Chomsky's (1995) views on feature checking as expressed in the minimalist program.

Concerning the structure of IP, Pollock (1989) proposes that the IP formally considered as the highest articulated structure be divided in different functional projections. It is following that view that we have AgrP, a TP, an AspP and a NegP that will be projected this work.



1.6. Synopsis of the chapters

This work is divided in six chapters. The first one which is the introduction states the objectives of the work and presents the sociolinguistic background of the Mpumpuŋ language. In chapter two, we examine the verb group in its internal structure looking at Infinitive, verbal elements and syllabic structures of the verb stem. After comes the third chapter based on verbal extensions. Then comes the fourth chapter based on verb modalities, here inflectional categories are examined. In chapter five, we take a step towards integrating our analysis into generative grammar. Here the verb morphology of Mpumpuŋ will be related to feature checking and functional projections in the sense of Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1995). The last chapter of this work is the general conclusion which summarises our findings and presents problems and areas of further research.

CHAPTER II : **THE MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE VERB GROUP IN MPUMPUNJ**

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we study the morphological structure of the verb in Mpumpunj focusing on the elements that make up the verb group. According to Essono (2000:) the verb is:

'Une catégorie morphologique variable. Il est construit par agglutination de deux éléments : Affixes et base verbale'

In other words, the verb is a morphological category which is likely to change. It is made up of two principal elements, affixes and a verb base. These elements, that make up the verb group (affixes and verb base), will be the focus of attention in this chapter. In the first section, the infinitive form of the verb will be presented. In the second section we will examine verbal elements in the sense of Meeussen (1967) ; and in the last section we discuss the syllable structure of the verb stem.

2.2. The infinitive

The infinitive form of the verb in Mpumpunj is comprised of the infinitive affix plus the verb base. The infinitive affix here is the prefix [ε -] which bears a low tone. A formula for the infinitive can be presented as follows.

[ε] + verb base

The examples in table (1) bellow illustrate the infinitive form of the verb in Mpumpunj.

Table 1: Infinitive form of the verb in Mpumpuŋ

Prefix	Verb base	Infinitive	Gloss
é-	- kɛ́	ékɛ́	To walk
é-	- dɛ́	édɛ́	To eat
é-	- til	étíl	To write
é-	- bóma	ébóma	To meet
é-	- lúma	élúma	To inject
é-	-Kwômbɛ́l	ékwômbɛ́l	To organise
é-	-nwɔŋ	énwɔŋ	To take
é-	-bàwél	ébàwél	To wound

2.2.1. The prefix

The prefix or the infinitive marker is the equivalent of the French infinitive markers (er; ir...) or in the English infinitive marker 'to'. In Mpumpuŋ, it functions also as a noun prefix as in many other African languages. It belongs to class 5. Table (2) that follows illustrates the use of [é-] as both an infinitive and a noun prefix.

Table 2 : [è-] as infinitive marker and noun prefix

Infinitive	Gloss	Nouns	gloss
èbà	To get married	èbà	marriage
èkpwă	To be ill	èkpwă	illness
èdzèsà	To forget	èdzèsà	omission
ègòyà	To wrangle	ègò yà	wrangle
èbyên	To denie	èbyên	denial

2.2.2. The verb base

According to Welmers (1973: 330) 'a verb base is defined as:

'That part of the infinitive form which follows the infinitive prefix'.

Furthermore, the verb base is made up of a stem plus extension(s). It is the nucleus of the verb group; that is to say, it is the element to which all the other elements of the verb group dock to.

Depending on the type of extensions the verb base receives, it can be simple or extended. (1) and (2) respectively present the types of verb base.

- (2) [-dè] : The idea of eating
 [-bà] : The idea of getting married
 [tìl] : The idea of writing
 [-Syâgh-èl] : The idea of sifting
 [-p^hûm-sà] : The idea of mixing
 [-dâg-lâ] : The idea of praying

- (3) [i-d é-yâ] : To be eaten
 [d é-s é] : To cause to eat
 [t é-bò má] : To sell oneself

*add some
explanato*

[li-nímb-là] : To hate each other

NB: Verbal extensions will be presented in detail in the next chapter.

The roots of the verb base are also used to form nouns. Table (3) contains some examples.

Table 3: Derivation of nouns from verb roots

Verbs	Gloss	Nouns	Gloss
É-bà	To get married	É-bà	marriage
É-kÉ	To walk	É-kÉ-nd	walk
É-kàl	To curse	kàlÉl	curse
É-dùl	To drive	n-dùl	driving
É-mwôgh	To cull	mÉmwôghà	gathering
É-syâgh-Él	To sift	syâgh-sà	sifter

2.3. Meeussens' verbal elements

The expression '*verbal elements*' was used by Meeussen (1967) and Guthrie (1967) to designate constituents that make up the structure of the verb. The two authors, however have not divided these elements in the same way. Guthrie (1967) classified them in three groups:

- a) Prefixes, infixes and suffixes
- b) Reflexive and negation
- c) Tense markers

Meeussen presented them in a quasi strict order of occurrence. He proposed ten elements which enter in the morphology of the verb; Here are these elements.

- 1- Pre-initial
- 2- Initial

- 3- Post- initial
- 4- Formative
- 5- Limitative
- 6- Infix
- 7- Radical and suffix
- 8- Pre-final
- 9- Final
- 10- Post-final

We think that Meeussen has presented these elements in greater detail and so ,we have decided to work with his own categorisation of verbal elements.

All these elements proposed by Meeussen are found in Mpumpuŋ ,except the infix and the pre-final.

2.3.1. Pre-initial (PI)

According to Bitjaa (1990:341) the pre-initial in Bantu group A languages is a floating high tone which precedes the morpheme that marks agreement between the subject and the verb. In Mpumpuŋ , it is also a floating high tone which is attested, it docks to the tone of the morpheme that marks agreement in the third person singular and plural. (4) and (5) are illustrations of the pre-initial.

- (4a) - màrí ' é r é d ě
 (4b) - màrí ě r é d ě
 (4c) - màrí é r é d ě
 mary Sm TM+ eat

"Mary is eating"

In (4a), the floating high tone is represented near to the agreement marker. And in (4b), the foating high tone has been reported on the agreement marker

and in (4c), it has been simplified. In fact, it has made a fusion with the tone of the agreement marker.

(5)a-	àwà'	é	é	ɔ́ɛ̀
b-	àwà	é	é	ɔ́ɛ̀
c-	àwà	é	é	ɔ́ɛ̀
	Awah	SM	TM	eat

"Awah has eaten"

2.3.2. Initial (I)

According to Meeussen (1967):

'Normally, the initial is the verbal prefix with low tone for persons, but high tone for classes. [...] In the imperative, there is no prefix.'

Notice that, there are two types of verbal prefixes: the persons and the nominal classes. Here we are concerned with persons. In Mpumpun, the initial is the morpheme which marks agreement between the subject and the verb. Even Bitjaa (1990: 343) considers the initial as:

'Le prefix d'accord sujet verbe'

the initial in Mpumpun has a high tone. Consider the following data:

[mí] indicates the first person singular

[ú] indicates the second person singular

[é] indicates the third person singular

[ní] indicates the first person plural

[bí] indicates the second person plural

[bé] indicates the third person plural

The initial morpheme [ní] becomes [zì] when the person speaking is not included, in reported speech for example. (6) illustrate this.

(6)a 'ní rēbwàlkà'
we TM dance

"we are dancing"

(6)b é é lè 'zì rēbwàl'
he TM say we TM dance

"he has said: we are dancing"

2.3.3. The post-initial

In Mpumpun as in many other Bantu languages, this post-initial position is occupied by a negative morpheme. It is found in between the initial and the tense marker. In Douala for example, it is materialised by the morphemes [sí] or [si] as (7) shows.

(7) múnà à - sí - mápò pé
child SM Neg TM come again

"The child will not come again"

In Mpumpun, it is marked by a long vowel [a:]. Its tone changes according to the tense in which it is employed (8), (9) and (10) are illustrative examples.

(8) UR: mí -á -ǎ: dĕ

SM TM Neg eat

PR:/mǎ : dĕ/

"I will not eat soon"

(9) UR: ná mí - ǎ: ǎ̀

that SM+Sub Neg eat

PR: / ná mǎ ǎ̀ /

"That I don't eat"

(10) UR: ú - rē -á: ǎ̀

SM TM Neg eat

PR / wá: ǎ̀ /

"you are not eating"

(Neg : negative marker)

2.3.4. The formative

In Mpumpun, formative equals to 'tense markers'. These tense markers are amalgamated, for they can express at the same time tense, mood and aspect. They occupy the place just before the verb base. The example in (11) below illustrate the position of the formative within the verb group. We illustrate this by using the future tense morpheme.

In Mpumpun, the second future tense marked [á ghù] is used to express an action that will be realised later than the moment of speaking.

(11) á ghù kè
SM+F₁ F₂+impf+ indM walk

"I will walk later"

(IndM: indicative mood)
(Impf: imperfective Aspect)

2.3.5. The limitative

According to Bitjaa (1990)

'Il s'agit d'une classe de morphèmes qui en basaa peuvent apparaître à la place du constituant "formative" sans pour autant qu'ils renvoient à un mode ou à un temps. Ils peuvent cependant marquer un aspect [...]'

In other words, the limitative is an aspectual marker that can occur in the place of the formative, without necessarily referring to mood or tense. In mpumpuu, the limitative is an aspectual marker, but it comes after the formative. Below are some examples.

(12) mí i lwà dɛ
SM TM lim eat

"I have just eaten"

Here, the aspect is perfective.

(13) má tónɛ til
SM+TM lim write

"I will always write"

Here, the aspect is inherent

(14) mí rî syâghèl
 SM lim sift

"Sometime I sift"

Here, the aspect is imperfective

2.3.6. The infix (In)

Meeussen (1967) defines the infix as a personal pronoun object which is placed between the formative or the limitative on the one hand and the verb base on the other hand, in some bantu languages. In Basaa, for example, there is no infix, the personal object pronoun is always placed next to the finite verb base as (15) shows.

(15) mĕ ntT (bé) wé
 I pres+give Neg you

"I am not giving you"

In mpumpuj as in Basaa the infix is not attested.

2.3.7. The pre-final

According to Meeussen (1967: 110)

'An element -ag- (and variant -ang-) is largely attested, its meaning ranging from imperfective to 'repetitive' or 'habitual' is difficult to state more exactly for the proto period'.

In fact, it is an aspectual marker which directly affects the verb base when it is used. The aspectual morpheme marks either durative imperfective, habitative or progressive, depending on languages. Looking at Basaa, we can

see, with Bitjaa (1990: 352), that the prefinal is also an aspectual suffix [-vk] which is linked directly to the finite verbs base. The following examples in (16) illustrate the prefinal in Basaa.

(16)	jé	→	àjék
	eat		cating
	óm	→	àómôk
	prick		pricking
	unûp	→	àúnbàk
	irritate		irritating

In Mpumpuŋ, the pre-final does not exist or the pre-final is the same thing as the limitative although it has the meaning of the pre-final in other languages as illustrated in (17) and (18) below. It is marked by [né]

(17)	èlúmà	→	nélúmà
	to inject		injecting
	èbè	→	nébè
	to see		seeing
	èbyêlà	→	nébyêlà
	to find		finding

(18)	é	réŋù	né	ɔé
	SM	TM+drink	Asp	eat

"He is drinking while eating"

2.3.8. The final (Fin)

According to Meeussen (1967: 110), morphemes that are found at this position mark perfective, subjunctive or negative. In Mpumpuŋ, this place is

occupied by the marker of subjunctive and imperative. These morphemes are [e] with a high tone and [-ká] with a low tone.

The morpheme [-é] is used to mark the imperative singular and subjunctive when the verb ends with a consonant.

(19) a- tìlè : write!

 Námbé : chew!

b- ná mí tìlè
 that I write

"That I write"

The morpheme [-kà] is used in the first person imperative plural and in the first person plural of all tenses.

(20) a- ní tìlkà
 SM write+fin

"let us write!"

b- ní dékà
 SM eat+fin

"let us eat!"

c- ní rêkè kà
 SM TM+walk+fin

"we are walking"

3.9. The post-final

According to Meeussen (1967):

'one such element, can be established: -ni (and regional variant -i) in the plural of the imperative'.

In Mpumpuŋ, we clearly find this morpheme in the second person plural of imperatives. It comes just after the final [kà]. It is materialised by the morpheme [na] with a low tone. (21) is an illustration.

- (21) dǎkàná : eat !
tǐlkàná : write !
kǎkàná : walk !

This position, that is the post-final, is also occupied by a floating tone which replaces the tone on the vowel in final position. It is a high tone placed on the last vowel at the imperative.

- (22) èdǎ → dǎ
to eat eat
èt^hǎ → t^hǎ
to come back come back!
èsàlá → sàlá
to work work!

2.4. Recapitulation

It appears clearly that ten elements take part in the formation of the verbal group in Mpumpuŋ. Eight of which were attested in Meeussen's analysis of proto Bantu. The following chart summarises these findings.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Meussen (1967)		Pre-initial	Initial	Post initial	formative	Limitative	Infix	Verb base	prefinal	Final	Post final	
Role in proto Bantu	Ø	Mood marker	Concord prefix	Negative marker	Tense marker	Aspect marker	Object marker	Core	Aspect marker	Tense and markers	Imperative marker	
Role in mpumpug	Infinitive marker	r	Concord prefix	Negative marker	Tense marker	Aspect marker	Ø	Core	Ø	Imperative sing subjunctive markers	1 st person plural all person marker 2 nd	
Morphemes representing positions in Mpumpug	é -	H ₀	mi ú é ní bí bé	a:	ré i ã ä be á á ghú wà p ^h ú	opend class	Ø	opend class	Ø	-é	-ká	-ná

2.5. The syllabic structure of the verb root in Mpumpuŋ

Bitjaa (1990 : 351) defines the verb root as follows:

'le radical est un lexème, c'est-à-dire une unité significative minimale qui doit nécessairement s'associer à d'autres morphèmes pour engendrer les constituants syntaxiques ou verbaux (selon les cas) d'une langue'.

This definition rejoins the one proposed by Meeussen (1967) which states that the verb root is an indispensable part of the verbal base to which extensions are added.

The verb root in Mpumpuŋ can be classified under two different structures:

- the monosyllabic
- the dissyllabic

2.5.1. Monosyllabic structures.

There are two types of monosyllabic structure

- CV
- CVC

The verb root with this structure, has a low tone. Tables (4) and (5) respectively present monosyllabic verb roots.

Table 4: CV structure

Verb root	Gloss
- d̄ é	The idea of eating
- b̄ è	The idea of sowing
- b̄ à	The idea of getting married
- d̄ ò	The idea of laughing
- b̄ ò	The idea of splitting

Table 5: CVC structure

Verb root	Gloss
- làŋ	The idea of reading
- til	The idea of writing
- sùm	The idea of building
- vòl	The idea of helping
- nàŋ	The idea of ripping
- tàp	The idea of talking
- mìn	The idea of wolfing

Most of the verbs with this structure are transitive verbs. Furthermore, the are verbs of motion.

2.5.2. Disyllabic structure

In Mpumpun, there are three types of disyllabic structures.

- CV.CV
- CGVC
- CGV

Most of verbs with the CV.CV structure have the following sequences of tones: high - low or low - high. the other two structures mostly have verbs with a falling tone. The tables (6), (7) and (8) illustrate this.

Table 6: CVCV structure

Verb root	Gloss
- bómà	The idea of meeting
- búlà	The idea of coming back
- sálà	The idea of working
- bárà	The idea of squeezing (the hand)
- kúnà	The idea of touching
- bòmá	The idea of selling
- báɣà	The idea of imitating
- sóghà	The idea of frightening

It is worth noting that all the verbs with this structure have the vowel [a] in final position.

Table 7: CGVC structure

Verb root	Gloss
- mwàɣ	The idea of taking
- byén	The idea of denying
- lwâr-	The idea of clenching (teeth)
- pwâl	The idea of plucking
- dzyúk	The idea of burning
- kwôm	The idea of keeping
- lyăgh-	The idea of teaching
- syăgh-	The idea of slicing

Table 8: CGV structure

Verb root	Gloss
- gbwâ	The idea of putting
- byâ	The idea of delivering
- dzwî	The idea of giving

The verbs of the CGV structure are less recurrent in the language.

2.6. Summary

In this chapter, based on the morphological structure of the verb group in Mpumpuŋ, we observed. That the infinitive of the verb is formed by adding the prefix [ɛ̃] to the verb base. This prefix has the same form as the nominal prefix in class 5 nouns. The verb base can be simple or extended depending on the type of extension it receives. We realised also that apart from the prefinal and the infix which are not found in Mpumpuŋ, all the other elements proposed by Meeussen (1967) are attested. The infinitive marker is added to these verbal elements to form the verb group. In Mpumpuŋ, the verb root has two types of structures. The monosyllabic and the disyllabic.

The next chapter provides a detailed discussion of the reflexes of the verbal extensions in Mpumpuŋ.

CHAPTER III: **VERBAL EXTENSIONS**

3.1. Introduction

According to Meeussen (1967) quoted by Bitjaa (1990), verbal extensions are verbal suffixes which are added to the verb root to produce new verb base. In Mpumpuj, verbal extensions are affixes, that is to say, they can be suffixes or prefixes. Certain notions which are expressed by verbal extensions in some Bantu languages are expressed by prepositions or complex verb forms in Mpumpuj. Mpumpuj verbal extensions can be divided into two main groups.

- Non-productive verbal extensions
- Productive verbal extensions

These two types of extensions will be studied in this section. But before that, there is a term necessary to the comprehension of verbal extensions that must be defined, that is the verb valency.

3.2. Verb valency

According to Hedinger (1992), verb valency is:

'The number and kinds of verbal complements including subject, object, indirect object, instrument, etc. which are obligatorily present with a given lexical item'.

The addition of an extension to a verb root may necessitate the addition of a complement such as object, instrument or other noun phrase in a clause. In other words the valency is being increased. In some cases, the addition of an extension decreases the valency. In the present work, we cannot treat verb valency for it will be too large a topic.

3.3. Non-productive verbal extensions

Non productive verbal extensions are grammatical suffixes without a specific meaning. As said before, they consequently have no impact on the verb valency. The question that logically follows after this statement is: 'What then is the *raison d'être* of these extensions?' Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 183) provide an answer to this question in the following terms:

'It is possible that they are use simply for stylistic effects. It could also be assumed that in languages with dialectal differences, non-productive verbal extensions are used to mark differences between the various dialects'.

They continue by saying that Akɔɔɛ has two dialects (Mwetug and Mwanenyɛ) which are differentiated at times, at the level of non productive verbal extensions. In Mwetug the suffix vowel is [-ɛ] while in Mwanenyɛ , the suffix vowel is a long [-a], but they have the same meaning. Here are some examples.

(1)	Verb root	Mwetug	Mwanenyɛ	Gloss
	ɲwàk	ɲwàgɛ̀n	ɲwàgáán	'to resemble'
	seem	séémèn	séémaàn	'to examine'

The present study is limited to the description of the Mpumpuɲ variety, so we cannot pretend to make a comparison with other dialects. May be studies on the other dialects will present those differences. Here, we will simply present non-productive verbal extensions in Mpumpuɲ .

Non-productive verbal extensions in Mpumpuɲ can be a zero morpheme or a monosyllabic morpheme.

3.3.1. Zero morpheme

We talk of zero morpheme when the verbal base is constituted of the root only. Table 1 contains some examples.

Table 1 : Non-productive verbal extensions : Zero morpheme

Root	Zero morpheme	Verb base	Gloss
-dɛ̀	∅	-dɛ̀	The idea of eating
-vòl	∅	-vòl	The idea of helping
-bɛ̀	∅	-bɛ̀	The idea of sowing
-bi	∅	-bi	The idea of beating

3.3.2. Monosyllabic morpheme

The monosyllabic morpheme is a grammatical suffix which is attached to the verb root to form a new verb base. Table 2 presents the different monosyllabic verbal extensions in Mpumpuŋ.

Table 2: Monosyllabic non-productive verbal extensions

Verb root	Monosyllabic morpheme	Verb base	Gloss
-lyâgh-	-ɛ̀l	-lyâghɛ̀l	The idea of teaching
-bà-	-wɛ̀l	-bàwɛ̀l	The idea of wounding
-dâg-	-là	-dâglà	The idea of praying
-p ^h ûm-	-sà	-p ^h ûmsà	The idea of mixing

The non-productive verbal extensions give rise to a simple verbal base or a primitive base.

3.4. Productive verbal extensions

Productive verbal extensions are morphemes with a specific meaning that are attached to the verb root to create a new verb base. These extensions include.

- causative
- applicative
- reciprocal
- instrumental
- reversive
- repetitive
- reflexive
- passive
- impositive etc...

The following productive verbal extensions are attested as pure verbal extensions in Mpumpuj :

- Causative one²
- reciprocal
- reflexive
- passive

Notions such as:

- causative two and three
- instrumental
- applicative
- separative
- repetitive

which are expressed by purely verbal extensions in other languages are expressed either by prepositions or complex forms in Mpumpuj . In this part, we will present these different types of verbal extensions.

² The first causative, for there are three types of causative.

3.4.1. Pure verbal extensions

3.4.1.1. causative one (caus₁)

According to Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 177) the causative has the meaning:

'- to cause or to make somebody do something [...]'.

In Mpumpuɲ, this type of causative is expressed by the suffix [-sɛ̀l] meaning 'to cause to'. It is a suffix used to express vital actions. It increases verb valency. (2) and (3) are the illustrations of this suffix in Mpumpuɲ.

(2)	Verb	gloss	verb + caus ₁	gloss
	[ɛ̀dɛ̀]	'to eat'	[dɛ̀ -sɛ̀l]	'to cause to eat'
			eat-caus ₁	
	[ɛ̀tɪ]	'to live'	[tɪ-sɛ̀l]	'to cause to live'
			live caus ₁	
	[ɛ̀ɲɪ]	'to drink'	[ɲɪ-sɛ̀l]	'to cause to drink'
			drink-caus ₁	
	[ɛ̀dà]	'to sleep'	[dɛ̀-ɛ̀l]	'to cause to sleep'
			sleep-caus ₁	

(3)	é	é	dɛ̀sɛ̀l	mwân
	he	+TM	eat + caus ₁	child
	he has caused the child to sleep			

"He has made the child sleep"

3.4.1.2. *The reciprocal (Rec)*

Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 181) define the reciprocal as a suffix which modifies the meaning of the verb by adding the idea of reciprocity. Furthermore, it indicates that the action inherent in the verb is received by more than one element. These elements act as agents of the action in addition to functioning as the goal(s). In Akɔɔsɛ, the reciprocal is marked by the suffix [-nə], in bafut by the suffix [-ɛŋ], in pinyin by a body part [mbəŋmə] and a pronoun [zəbə] translated respectively as 'skins' and 'them'.

In Mpumpuŋ, the verb combines with a prefix [tí-] and a suffix [-là] to bring forth the notion of reciprocity. The following sentences illustrate the reciprocal in Mpumpuŋ.

- (4) bǎ bɛ bɛ tí-dzù-là
they+TM have In *Rec* wash *Rec*

"They had washed each other"

- (5) Jón nɛ Màrí bɛ é tí-kpwè-là
john and Mary they TM *Rec* love *Rec*

"John and Mary have loved each other"

- (6) bǎ bɛ tí-nimb-là
they+TM have *Rec* hate *Rec*

"They hated each other"

3.4.1.3. *The reflexive (Ref)*

In Bantu languages, the reflexive is a morpheme which shows that the agent's action is upon himself. This extension renders the simple transitive verb base intransitive and the agent is deleted. In Basaa, this extension is materialised by the suffix [-bà] and Bitjaa (1990: 254) considers it the passive 2 as shows (7).

(7)	Verb	gloss	verb + Ref	gloss
a-	bép	beat	bép - bà	beat oneself
b-	pùù	give a bit	pùù + bà	give a bit to oneself
			give Ref	
			a bit	

In Mpumpuṅ, the verb combines with the prefix [tê] to express the notion of reflexivity. Here are some examples.

(8) tē-nimb
Ref hate
 "To hate oneself"

(9) tē-bómà
Ref sell
 "To sell oneself"

(10) ā bē é tē-dzwâ
 he P₃ In *Ref* wash
 "he had washed himself"

3.4.1.4. The passive (Pas)

According to Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 180); 'in some African languages, passivity is marked by a verbal prefix. The addition of the passive morpheme usually modifies the meaning of the verb as well as the verb valency. [...]. The grammatical subject which is the agent of the action becomes the syntactic object'.

In Mpumpuŋ, it is quite the same thing; the only difference is that the verb combines with the prefix [i-] and the suffix [-â] to render the notion of passivity. This suffix becomes [-yâ] when it is preceded by a vowel and becomes [-âyâ] when it is preceded by the consonant [-l-]. The following examples express the notion of passivity in Mpumpuŋ.

(11)	Verb	gloss	verb+Pas	gloss
	édê	to eat	i-édê-yâ	to be eaten
			<i>Pas eat Pas</i>	
	-édzèmb	to sing	i-dzèmb-â	to be sung
			<i>pas sing Pas</i>	
	-ètjèl	to hang	i-tjèl-âyâ	to be hung
			<i>Pas hung Pas</i>	

(12)	ikwànd	bé	ri-édê-yâ	bès
	bananas	they	Pres+Pas eat Pas	uncook
	"bananas are eaten uncooked"			

3.4.2. Verbal extensions expressed by prepositions

There are four verbal extensions which are expressed by prepositions in Mpumpuŋ.

|| no!!!

3.4.2.1. *The causative two (caus₂)*

This type of causative has the idea of causing somebody to become somebody or something else. In Mpumpuŋ, it is expressed by the preposition [tò p], meaning 'because of' and it is placed just after the verb, as we can see in the following example.

- (13) é é dzyě tòp tólá
he TM die caus₂ money

"He is dead because of money"

3.4.2.2. *The instrumental (Ins)*

The instrumental suffix in Bantu languages modifies the meaning of a verb so as to imply that the action is done with an instrument of any kind. In most cases the instrument is an inanimate object. In Akɔɔsɛ for example, the notion of instrumental is expressed by the suffix [-ɛn], whereas in Bantu grassfields, it is expressed by a preposition. In Mpumpuŋ, it is the latter which is observed. So, the notion of instrument is marked by the preposition [nɛyɛ] meaning 'with' placed just after the direct object. The examples below illustrate this notion.

- (14) ɛtil nɛyɛ
to write *Ins*

"To write with"

(15) èsyâghèl nèyè
to sift Ins

"To sift with"

(16) é é yáy òsù nè níl mèlénd
she TM fry fish Ins oil palm

"She has fried fish with palm oil"

When the preposition [nèyè] is involved in a sentence, the [-yè] disappeared, as seen in (16).

3.4.2.3. The accompaniment (Acc)

The notion of accompaniment, according to Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 179), expresses:

'The idea that some action is performed being accompanied by somebody or by something'.

In Mpumpuŋ as in Bantu grassfield languages, accompaniment is expressed by a preposition meaning 'with'. In Mpumpuŋ, it is marked by the preposition [nè] when the action performed is accompanied by an object; it is placed just before the object in question as the following example shows.

(17) é é kènd é nè məkàná
he TM send him Acc letter

"He has sent him with a letter"

The notion of accompaniment is also expressed by the proposition [bã nê] when the action performed is accompanied by a person, it is placed just before the person. The following examples are illustratives.

(18) é rêtíl bã nê pól
 he TM+write Acc Paul

"He is writing with Paul"

(19) ní rêdékà bã nê silví
 we TM+eat+fin Acc Silvie

"We are eating with Silvie"

It is worth noting that when the action performed is accompanied by someone closely related to the person performing the action or by something belonging to the person performing the action, the preposition [nê] is used as we can see in (20).

(20) ă bê rêbê wà nê nwán
 he+TM have TM+be here Acc child

"He was here with his child"

3.4.2.4. *The applicative (Appl)*

Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 179) define the applicative as a very productive category which generally indicates that the state or the action described is for the benefit of somebody else. In Mpumpuḡ as in grassfields

Bantu languages, the notion of applicative is expressed through the use of a preposition which means 'for'. In Mpumpuṅ, this preposition is [tɛ́] placed after the direct object.

(21) bɛ́ ɛ́ dɔ̀ zók tɛ́ súlè
 they TM kill elephant *Appl* him

"They have killed an elephant for him"

(22) ǎ bɛ́ ɛ́ zyê tɛ́ mírà
 he+TM have in come *Appl* Mira

"He had come for Mira"

3.4.2.5. *The separative (Sep)*

The separative verbal extension as defined by Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 180) expresses the meaning of an object coming from a certain source being separated from another with which it formally had a relationship. In Mpumpuṅ it is expressed by the preposition [bɛ́] meaning 'from' placed before the indirect object as illustrated in (23).

(23) ɛ́ ɛ́ nwòŋ bík bɛ́ yàm
 he TM take pen sep me

"He has taken the pen from me"

"He had come from Douala"

3.4.3. Verbal extensions expressed by complex forms

In Mpumpuŋ as in Pinyin, some verbal extensions are expressed by complex forms

3.4.3.1. The causative three (*caus₃*)

This is an other way of expressing causative which means 'make that'. It is marked by the expression [sà nà]; [sà] is the verb 'to make' or 'to do' and [nà] is the complementizer 'that'. It is placed before the direct object of the verb, the verb itself comes at the end. There are some examples.

(25) mot é é sà nà mí dè
man he TM *caus₃* I eat

"The man made me eat"

(26) mí r êsà nà é dzè
I TM+*caus₃* he cry

"I am making him cry"

(27) má sà nà ndòmàm é dàmb sá
I+TM *caus₃* husband+my he cook plumbs

"I will make my husband cook plumbs"

3.4.3.2. The separative (*Sep*)

In Mpumpuṅ, the separative is also marked by the complex form [t jèrá tjàrá] meaning 'far away from' as shown in (28).

(28) má tò tjàrá tjàrá wá
I TM go *Sep* here

"I will go far away from here"

3.4.3.3. The repetitive (*Rep*)

The repetitive morpheme is a verbal extension used to express an action which is carried out once more, for insistence or memorizing.

In Mpumpuṅ, it is marked by the group of words [têbàkà] which means once more., placed before the verb. This can be seen in (29) and (30) below.

(29) é têt bákà lánj
he TM+*Rep* red

"He is reading once more"

(30) é têt bákà zyê
he TM+*Rep* come

"He is coming again"

3.5. Summary

In Mpumpuṅ, verbal extensions are divided into two groups, non productive and productive verbal extensions.

The non productive verbal extensions or grammatical suffixes are achieved through two types of morphemes: the zero morpheme and the monosyllabic suffix. They give rise to simple or primitive verb bases.

Productive verbal extensions produce extended verb bases through the use of affixes, prepositions and complex forms. They have an impact on verb valency; apart from the reciprocal which decreases verb valency, the rest increases it. It is worth noting that these propositions are not considered as verbal extensions *per se* because they can move along with the noun phrase and not with the verb.

The next step in this study after this chapter is to study the verb modalities in Mpumpuj.

CHAPTER IV: **VERB MODALITIES**

4.1. Introduction

The verb in Mpumpuŋ does not only signal the syntagmatic relationship between sentential elements; it marks also the time frame of the event it represents. To illustrate this, we will examine in this chapter, what Welmers (1973) calls '*verbal constructions*'. That is, the inflectional categories such as mood, tense, Aspect. The use of negation and these verb modalities will also be examined in this chapter.

4.2. Mood and Tenses

The notions of mood and tenses are intimately linked, that is why we have decided to treat these notions in the same part. Mood is the manner in which an action or a state is experienced or realised. According to Bybee (1985: 167).

'Mood is a marker of the verb that signals how a speaker chooses to put the proposition into the discourse context'.

In other words, mood expresses the manner in which a subject conceives and presents an action expressed by the process or the verb. Following this view, we have five different moods in Mpumpuŋ :

- the indicative
- the conditional
- the imperative
- the infinitive
- the subjunctive

If mood refers to the way verbs express states or actions, tense is, on the other hand, according to Bybee (1985: 191):

'the category that covers reference to time divided into three parts in some languages: time preceding the speech event, time simultaneous with the speech event, and time subsequent to the speech event'.

We can therefore say that tense situates an action in relation to the moment of discourse. Furthermore, it apposes the present moment of speech to the non present. The non present being the moment before or after the time of speech. In the sections that follows, we describe the different tenses as used in various mood.

4.2.1. Indicative moods and related tenses

In Mpumpuŋ, we distinguish six tenses in the indicative mood, mood which expresses a high degree of certainty; the mood of reality. They are classified under past, present and future tenses.

Past two (P ₃):	mǎ	bê	mí kè	: I had walked
Past two (p ₂):	mǎ	bê	rêkê	: I walked
Past one (P ₁):	mí	kè		: I have walked
Present (Pres):	mí	rêkê		: I am walking or I walk
Future (F ₁):	má	kè		: I will walk soon
Future two (F ₂):	má	ghù	kè	: I will walk later

4.2.1.1. Past tenses

According to Comrie (1985), the past tense is the location of a situation prior to the present moment. To express such actions. Mpumpuŋ distinguishes three different types of past tenses.

4.2.1.1.1. The remote past (P₃)

The remote past expresses an action that took place a long time ago. In other words, it is an action that took place before another one in the past. It is marked by the morpheme [a] with a rising tone which is attached to the initial, the verb 'have' and the subject marker. A formula for the remote past can be presented as follows.

SM + P₃ + bĕ + SM + VB

The following examples illustrate this tense.

(1)a- mǎ bĕ mí kĕ

I+P₃ have SM walk

"I had walked"

b- silví ǎ bĕ é dĕ

Sylvie she+P₃ have SM eats

"Sylvie had eaten"

c- bwân bã bĕ bé sùm ndzá

children they+P₃ have SM build a house

"Children had built a house"

d- nǎ bĕ ní sálà

we+P₃ have SM work

"We had worked"

4.2.1.1.2. the distant past (P₂)

The distant past refers to events that may have taken place months or weeks prior to the time of speaking. It is marked by the morpheme [ã] placed after the subject marker, followed by the verb to have plus another tense marker that is the morpheme [ré-] added to the verb base. In fact, it is marked by the discontinuous morpheme [ã----ré-]. A formula for the P₂ can be following:

SM + P₂ + to have + [P₂] + verb base

The following examples in (2) illustrate this tense:

(2)a- mǎ bĕ rĕkĕ

I+P₂ have P₂+walk

"I walked"

b- sidó ã bĕ rĕsùm ndzá

sido she+P₂ have P₂+built house

"Sido built a house"

c- nǎ bĕ rĕđh glàkà

we+P₂ have-P₂+pray+fīn

"We prayed"

(NB: fīn stands for final)

d- byǎ bĕ rĕzyè

you+P₂ have P₂+come

"You came"

4.2.1.1.3. The recent past (P₁)

The recent past is also referred to as the yesterday past. In Mpumpuṅ, it expresses events that have taken place a while or one two days ago. It is marked by the reduplication of the vowel of the subject marker with its tone. It is positioned between the personal pronoun and the verb base. The following sentences in (3) illustrate this tense.

(3)a- é é nwòṅ bík
he p₁ take pen

"He has taken a pen"

b- ú ú d̄ɛ còc̄ó
you P₁ eat yesterday

"Have you eaten yesterday?"

c- mí í d̄ɛ còcò
you P₁ eat yesterday

"Have you eaten yesterday?"

d- bé é fim kwòṅ
they P₁ sweep floor

"They have swept the floor"

4.2.1.2. *The present tense (Pres)*

The present tense expresses an action which is taking place at the moment of speech. According to Comrie (1985), it is the coincidence between the time of the situation and the present moment. The state or the event thus have a psychological being at the present time. In Mpumpuŋ, as in many other African languages, the present is equal to the present continuous. It is marked by the morpheme [ré-] added to the verb base. The following sentences illustrate the present tense in Mpumpuŋ.

(4)a- mí rébómà
I Pres come back

"I come back or I am coming back"

b- ú rébómà
you Pres come back

"You come back or you are coming back"

c- é rébómà

"He comes back or he is coming back"

d- ní rébómàkà

"We come back or we are coming back"

e- bí rébómà

"You come back or you are coming back"

f- bé rébómà

"They come back or they are coming back"

4.2.1.3. *The future tenses*

The future tense expresses an action which has not yet been realised. For Comrie (1985), the future tense is the location of a situation after the present moment. This tense sets itself apart from the past and the present moments with two distinguishing temporal markers for two forms of future type that are found in Mpumpuɲ: the immediate and the distant future.

4.2.1.3.1. *The immediate future (F₁)*

The immediate future expresses an action which will take place a short while after the present moment. In Mpumpuɲ, it is marked by the morpheme [a] with a high tone which docks to the tone of the personal pronoun. The following sentences in (5) illustrate the use of the immediate future tense.

(5)a- bá sùm ndzá
 they+F₁ build house

"They will build a house soon"

b- èstél á bwàl èmyáŋ
 Estelle she+F₁ dance tomorrow

"Estelle will dance tomorrow"

c- má dò pyé
I+F₁ kill dog

"I will kill a dog soon"

4.2.1.3. *The distant future (F₂)*

The distant future expresses an action that will take place weeks, months or years after the moment of speech. It is marked by two morphemes: the morpheme of the immediate future and the morpheme [ghu] with a low tone placed just before the verb base, glossed as '*some day*'. The sentences in (6) below illustrate the use of this tense.

(6)a- á ghù dĕ
he+F₁ F₂ eat

"He will (some day) eat"

b- zá ghù kâl pjêr
we+F₄ F₂ curse Pierre

"We will (some day) curse Pierre"

The tense markers discussed above are summarised in the following table.

Table 1: Tense markers in the indicative mood

Types of tense	Abbreviation	Markers
Past tenses		
Remote past	P ₃	-ǎ
Distant past	P ₂	-ǎ----- rĕ-
Recent past	P ₁	v
Present tense	Pres	rĕ-
Future tenses		
Immediate future	F ₁	-á
Distant future	F ₂	-á ghù

4.2.2. The imperative mood

The imperative mood is used to give command or to persuade in a bid to get an effective result. In Mpumpuy as in many other African languages, the imperative mood is expressed at second person singular and first and second persons plural. Its mark changes according to the personal pronoun which is used.

4.2.2.1. The second person singular

In the second person singular in Mpumpuy, there is no personal pronoun. When the verb base ends with a vowel there is no change, whereas when it ends with a consonant, a suffix is added to it. That is, the suffix is [e] with a low tone. (7) is a series of examples.

- (7) a- ɛɔɛ ɔɛ
to eat eat!

b-	èkè	kè
	to walk	walk!
c-	èsálá	sálá
	to work	work!
d-	ètil	tile
	to write	write!
e-	ènwò ñ	nwò ñpè
	to take	take!
f-	èdàmp	dàmpè
	to cook	cook!

4.2.2.2. *The first person plural*

In the first person plural, the personal pronoun is used and the morpheme (suffix) [kà] is added to the verb base. (8) is a series of examples

- (8)a- ní tilkà : let us write!
 We write
- b- ní dǽkà : let us eat!
 We eat
- c- ní dàmpkà : let us cook!
 We cook

4.2.2.3. *The second person plural*

In the second person plural, there is no pronoun, but the morpheme [ká] remains. Another morpheme is added to the [ká], that is the [ná]. [ná] is the mark of imperative second person plural. In (9) are some examples.

- (9)a- tilkàná : write!
b- lwi:kàná : talk!
c- dũlkàná : drive!
d- dzwákàná : look!
e- bwàmkanà : buy!

4.2.5. *The infinitive mood*

The infinitive mood is a non personal and non temporal mood. It is used to give advice, to prevent people from a certain situation. It does not make allusion either to person or to time. Precisions on the subject and the action are given by the general context. Generally, it takes the marks of the third person singular. In (10) are some examples.

- (10)a- ɛdzyè tɔk iridiyà
to give birth is difficult

"To give birth is difficult"

- b- ɛkpɛl ivàn sínó
to love good thing

"to love is a good thing"

4.2.4. The conditional mood

The conditional mood expresses a hypothetical condition under which a claim is made. In Mpumpuŋ, the 'if' is expressed by a floating low tone which takes the place of the tone of the personal pronoun. There are three different ways of expressing conditional in Mpumpuŋ. When it comes to complex sentences, the two parts of the sentence are divided by the morpheme [nà] which means 'then' or simply a comma.

4.2.4.1. The first conditional (*cond*₁)

This type of conditional is made up of the present tense and the future tense, divided by [nà]. It expresses a present action submitted to a condition. Here is an example.

- (11) Dyân è dzyé nà bwân bá dzù
Diana she+if die then children the+F₁+suffer

"If Diane dies, children will suffer"

4.2.4.2. The second conditional (*cond*₂)

The second conditional expresses a present fact submitted to a non realised condition. It is marked by the morpheme [wà] placed after the pronoun of the conditional sentence. (12) is a series of examples.

- (12)a- mí wà ké
I cond₂ walk

"I would walk"

b- mǎ bĕ rébĕ nè nwôní nà mí wà bwân màtwá
 If+P₂+ I have P₂+have money then I cond₂ buy car

"If I had money, I would buy a car"

4.2.4.3. The third conditional (cond₃)

The third conditional expresses a past fact submitted to a non realised condition. It is marked by the morpheme [p^hù] placed before the personal pronoun in conditional sentence. (13) is a series of examples.

(13)a-p^hù mí kĕ
 cond₃ I walk

"I would have walked"

b- mǎ bĕ mí bĕnĕ nwôní nà p^hù mí bwân màtwá
 I+If+p₂ have I have money then cond₃ I buy car

"If I had had money, I would have bought a car"

4.2.5. The subjunctive mood (sub)

The subjunctive mood expresses an action as being thought in the mind. This action expresses a wish, a desire. The subjunctive mood is introduced by the free morpheme [nà] which is placed before the personal pronoun. When the verb ends with a consonant, a low tone suffix is added to it, that is the suffix [è]. (14) is an example.

(14)a- nà mí tilè
sub I write

"That I write"

b- nà é dàglà
sub he pray

"That he praises"

c- nà bí dàmpè
that you cook

"That you cook"

4.3. Aspect

Aspect is defined as the manner in which verbal action is experienced as completed or in progression. According to Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 185) :

'While tense is concerned with time relations, that is, relating time of the situation referred to some other time, usually the moment of speaking, aspect deals with the manner in which verbal action is experienced in terms of progression or completion. Aspect is concerned with the duration of action complete or incomplete, perfect or imperfective'.

In Mpumpuṅ, we have two types of aspect:

- The general aspect (perfective and imperfective)
- The inherent aspect

4.3.1. General aspect

4.3.1.1. The perfective aspect

According to Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 185)

'The perfective aspect expresses the notion of completion. It indicates that the action suggested by the verb was indeed carried out and at the moment of speaking, the action had come to an end.'

In Mpumpu, we have three types of perfective aspects.

4.3.1.1.1. Result

This type of perfective marks a situation in which the present state is the result of past actions. It is not lexicalised; only the tense morpheme expresses the idea of a result. In (15) below are some examples.

(15)a- é é dò pyé
he P₁+Asp kill dog

"He has killed a dog"

b- ä bè é dò pyé
he P₃+Asp have he kill dog

"He had killed a dog"

c- é é tük tàà
he P₁+Asp slaughter goat

"He has slaughtered a goat"

4.3.1.1.2. *The recent past*

Mutaka and Tamanji (2000: 185) say that the perfective of recent past indicates that the present relevance of the past situation referred to is one of temporal closeness, that is, the past situation is very recent. In Mpumpuṅ, it is marked by the morpheme [lwâ] or [lwâ nè], glossed 'just', placed before the verb. Here are some examples.

(16)a-é é lwâ nè tɔ̀k tàà
 he P₁ Asp kill goat

"He has just killed a goat"

b- é é lwâ kè
 he P₁ Asp walk

"He has just walked"

4.3.1.1.3. *The completive*

Here, the action expressed by the verb is completed. In Mpumpuṅ, it is marked by the verb [ɛ̀si] meaning 'finish' placed before the verb. (18) is an illustration.

(17)a-zí í silè dò
 we P₁ Asp+eat

"We have finished to eat"

b- mí í sil èdò pyé

I P₁ Asp kill dog

"I have finished to kill the dog"

4.3.1.2. *The imperfective*

Contrary to the perfective, which indicates the notion of completion, the imperfective indicates that the action suggested by the verb is still going on. In Mpumpuŋ, there are four types of imperfective.

4.3.1.2.1. *The progressive*

According to Essono (2000)

'Le continuatif ou aspect non-ponctuel exprime le procès en cours de réalisation. Il fait ressortir le déroulement de l'action exprimée par le verbe sans tenir compte ni de son début, ni de sa fin'.

In other words, the progressive is a non punctual aspect which describes an action in progress, it does not take into consideration the beginning or the end of the action. It is found under the morpheme that marks the present tense. (18) is a series of examples.

(18)a- mí rêbwál

I Pres+Asp dance

"I am dancing"

b- ú rêswísèl míkànd

you Pres+Asp+wash clothes

"You are washing clothes"

c- é rɛ́ɛ̀ sà
 he Pres+Asp+eat plumbs

"He is eating plumbs"

4.3.1.2.2. *The inchoative*

The inchoative is an aspect which expresses an action which is about to begin. In Mpumpuŋ, the auxiliary verb of this aspect is [ɛ́nyɛ̀] translated as 'start'. In (19) are some illustrations.

(19)a- é é nyɛ̀l isɛ̀:
 he P₁ Asp work

"He has started work"

b- bá nyɛ̀l ɛ̀tjùkɛ̀l bilé
 we+F₁ Asp cut tree

"We will start to cut trees"

c- bé é nyɛ̀l ɛ̀fim kwɔ̀ŋ
 they P₁ Asp sweep floor

"They have started to sweep the floor"

4.3.1.2.3. The iterative

The iterative states that the action expressed by the verb is repeated. It does not take into consideration the beginning or the end of the action, but its renewal. In Mpumpuŋ, it is marked by the morpheme [tɛ̀bàkà] meaning 'repeat'. Here are some examples.

(20)a- é tɛ̀bàkà làŋ
he Asp read

"He is reading once more"

b- é tɛ̀bàkà nwɔŋ
he Asp take

"He is taking once more"

c- b é tɛ̀bàkà zyè
they Asp come

"They are coming once more"

4.3.1.2.4. The habitative

The habitual aspect states that the action expressed by the verb has become a habit; in other words, it expresses a situation which lasts over an extended or uninterrupted period of time. It is marked by the morpheme [ri] translated as 'used to'. In (21) are some examples.

(21)a- màmí é rísyâghèl fufú
 mami she Asp+sift fufu

"Mami used to sift fufu"

b- Lòrén é ríyù m̀̀dyù
 Loren she Asp+drink water

"Loren used to drink water"

4.3.2. The inherent aspect

The majority of the inherent aspects has no mark, for they are indissociable from the verb; Comrie (1976: 40) talks of 'semantic aspectual'. It means that the verb expresses the action and its development. In Mpumpuṅ, we have four inherent aspects.

4.3.2.1. The punctual aspect

According to Comrie (1976: 42),

'Punctuality is the quality of a situation that does not last in time. Punctual situations do not have any duration, not even duration of a very short period.'

(22) is illustrative

(22) ègùs	to throw
ètòmbò	to fall
ètjèl	to jump
èlùmá	to inject

4.3.2.2. *The durative aspect*

The durative aspect, unlike the punctual, expresses situations that last over a period of time Comrie (1976: 41) says that durativity simply refers to the fact that a given situation lasts for a certain period of time. (23) represents the durative in Mpumpuŋ.

- | | | |
|------|----------|--------------|
| (23) | èb é | to sow |
| | èlyâghèl | to teach |
| | èdzès | to learn |
| | ègwâmbèl | to sweep out |

4.3.2.3. *The static aspect*

Comrie (1976: 49) talks of the static aspect in the following terms.

'... with a state, unless something happens to change that state, then the state will continue... to remain in a static situation requires not efforts'

In other words, the static aspect describes the subject as being in a situation of immobility. (24) is an example.

- | | | |
|------|------|----------|
| (24) | èdà | to sleep |
| | èsyê | to die |

4.3.2.4. *The dynamic aspect*

Contrary to the static aspect that expresses immobility, the dynamic aspect implies the mobility of the subject and the production of efforts. Comrie (1976: 49) says it better in the following terms.

'with a dynamic situation on the other hand, the situation will only continue if it is continually subject to new input of energy...to remain in a dynamic situation does require effort whether from inside or from outside'.

- (25) ébwál to dance
 énànb to chew
 édùm to grind
 ésyâghêl to sift
 ékê to walk
 édùg to fight

The table below summarises the aspectual markers.

Table 2: Aspect markers

Type	Subtype	Markers
Perfective	Resultative	v
	Recent past	lwâ, lwâ nè
	Completive	é si
Imperfective	Progressive	r é-
	Habitulative	ri-
	Inchoative	ényél
	Iterative	tê baká
The inherent Aspects		∅

4.4. Negation

In Mpumpun, negation is marked by the morpheme [a:] in all tenses and moods. If another morpheme is used the [a:] will always be there, as shown in (26).

(26)	tátá	á:	lwí	tél	è	niná
	tata	she+Neg+TM	speak	no longer	to	us

"Tata is no longer speaking to us"

But, the difference is made at the level of the tone that the [a:] bears. It changes according to the tense that is used. This morpheme docks to the subject marker.

4.4.1. Negation with the indicative mood and its tenses

4.4.1.1. Negation with past tenses

In the past tense, negation is marked by the morpheme [a:] with a falling tone. As each tense is concerned, there are some slight differences.

4.4.1.1.1. Negation with P_3

Apart from the morpheme [â:] which marks negation, there is also a floating high tone which takes the place of the tone on the last vowel of the verb as we can see in (27).

(27)a-	â:	kóm	lò
	he Neg+ P_3	comb	hairs

"He had not combed his hair"

b- bwàn bâ: bwál
children they-Neg P₃ dance

"Children had not danced"

4.4.1.1.2. Negation with P₂

Here, negation is marked by the morpheme [â:] plus the morpheme [ni] just before the verb base, (28) is illustrative.

(28)a- pyɛr â: ni mɛ: nwòŋ
Pierre he Neg P₂ Neg catch snake

"Pierre did not catch a snake"

b- mâ: ni kɛ
I+Neg Neg walk

"I did not walk"

4.4.1.1.4. Negation with P₁

In P₁, negation is simply marked by [â:].

(29)a- â: sùm ndzá
he+Neg+P₁ build house

"He has not built a house"

b- â: ɖɛ
he+Neg+P₁ eat

"He has not eaten"

4.4.1.2. Negation with the present tense

In the present, negation is marked by the morpheme [a:] with a high tone.

(30) is an illustration of this type of negation.

(30)a- wá: dĕ
 you+Neg+Pres eat

"You are not eating"

b- áwáh á: dāmp
 Awah she+Neg+Pres cook

"Awah does not cook"

c- dzwés yá: kàs
 sun it+Neg+Pres shine

"The sun is not shining"

4.4.1.3. Negation with future tenses

In future tenses, negation is marked by the morpheme [a:] with a rising tone, as illustrated by the following examples.

(31)a- mǐrá ǎ lwòŋ nká:
 Mira she+Neg+F₁ wear basket

"Mira will not wear a basket soon"

b- mirá ǎ ghù lwòŋ nká:
 Mira she+Neg+F₂ wear basket

"Mira will not wear a basket later"

c- sidó ǎ sùm ndzá
 Sido she+Neg+F₁ build house

"Side will not build a house soon"

4.4.2. Negation with imperative mood

Negation is marked in the imperative mood by the morpheme [a:] with a high tone.

(32)a- (w)á: kĕkà
 (you) Neg run

"Don't run"

b- ná dĕkà dów bi
 we+Neg eat+fin foot this

"Let us not eat this food"

c- á: búlakàná
 Neg go back+fin+PF

"Don't go back"

4.4.3. Negation with the conditional mood

The conditional mood also forms its negation with the morpheme [a:] with a rising tone. (33) is an illustration.

(33)a -mǎ wà ɔ́ɛ
I+Neg cond₁ eat

"I would not eat"

b- phù mǎ ɔ́ɛ
cond₂ I+Neg eat

"I would not have eaten"

When it comes to complex sentences, the first part marks negation by adding the verb [ɛ́ɔ́r] meaning 'to be' to the negation morpheme [a:] which at this moment has a high tone. (34) illustrates it.

(34) Dyàn é ɔ́rǎ: dzwè nà, bwàn bǎ: dzù
Diane she+if be+Neg kill then children they Neg+F₁ suffer

"If Diane is not killed, children will not suffer"

4.4.4. Negation with subjunctive mood

Here, negation is also marked by [a:] with a rising tone as in future tenses.

(35)a-nà mǎ tilè
that I+Neg write

"That I don't write"

b- nà ǎ: dàglà
sub he+Heg pray

"That he does not pray"

c- nà byǎ: dàmpè
sub you+Neg cook

"That you don't cook"

4.4.5. Negation with infinitive mood

Here, negation is marked by [a:] with a high tone. (36) is an illustration.

(36) ɛ̀dzú yá: bɛ̀ vàn sínò
to steal it+Neg have good thing

"To steal is not a good thing"

5. Summary

In this chapter based on the verb modalities in Mpumpuṅ, we have realised that tenses, moods and aspects are morphologically marked by inflectional morphemes. As far as tenses are concerned, there are six markers in Mpumpuṅ, expressing past, present and future events. All these tenses are found in the indicative mood. Apart from the indicative mood, Mpumpuṅ distinguishes four other types of mood, that is the subjunctive, the infinitive, the conditional and the imperative moods. Concerning aspect, two types were studied here, the general and the inherent aspects. The last part of this chapter was based on negation. In Mpumpuṅ, the negative marker is [a:] for all tenses

and moods; the difference exists at the level of tone. If ever an other morpheme is used, it only comes to add to the morpheme [a:].

The next step of our study and the last will be more theoretical in nature relating verb morphology of Mpumpuŋ to feature checking and functional projections.

CHAPTER V : **VERB MORPHOLOGY AND THE STRUCTURE OF IP**

5.1. Introduction

The study of the verb group was presented in the preceding chapters, describing the various constituents of the verb and the varying positions they can occupy vis-à-vis the verb root. In this chapter, we will relate this verb morphology to feature checking and functional projections. For this purpose, we have adopted the views of Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1995) concerning the structure of the IP. That is the inflectional phrase according to which inflection, as a maximal projection, heads the inflectional phrase and selects VP as its complement in the same way as D' selects NP as its complement. The position of AgrP, TP, AspP and NegP will be examined. In the views of Pollock (1989), it is the presence of relevant morphology on the verb that triggers the projection of these functional projections. Along the same line of thinking, we will answer the question, if the presence of morphology marking verbal extensions warrants the projection of another functional projection in Mpumpuŋ and other languages that employ verbal extensions.

5.2. Overview of Pollock (1989)

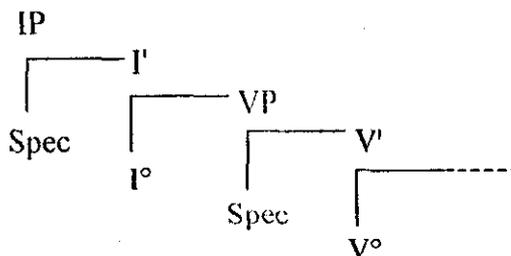
Pollock (1989) made an attempt to shed some light on a few syntactic differences that exist between French and English with respect to the syntax of sentence negation, question, adverbs, floating quantifiers and quantification at a distance. According to Pollock, the article can be:

*'Viewed as an attempt to show how recent proposals in the
'principles and parameters' framework of generative grammar can be*

brought to bear on long-standing problems and puzzles and how they in fact provide real explanations for them'.

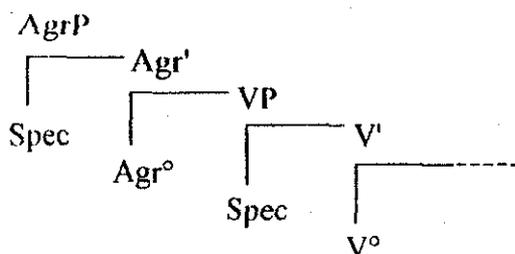
In the write-up, Pollock adopted the approach according to which the IP, considered as the more highly articulated structure is no more a constituent with two different sets of features (agreement and tense). Rather each of these sets is a syntactic head of a maximal projection. Agreement phrase (AgrP) and Tense phrase (TP). The following examples (1-5) illustrate the IP structure and the new maximal projections he adopted.

(1) IP structure

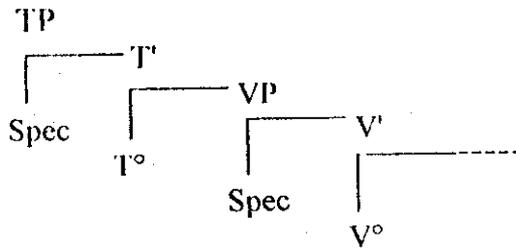


The head of IP bears all types of inflections that the verb can carry (tense, agreement, modals, auxiliaries, negation...) Pollock (1989) then proposed to break IP into its various components such that each inflection corresponds to a functional projection. Thus, we have an AgrP, a TP, a NegP and AspP.

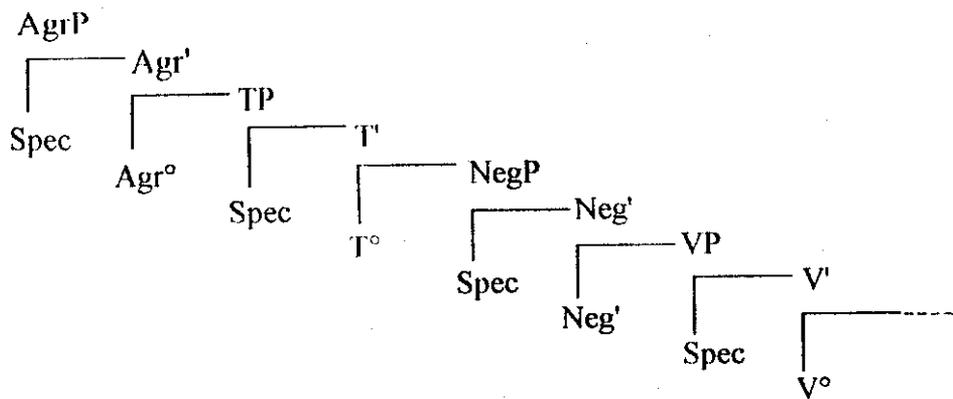
(2) AgrP



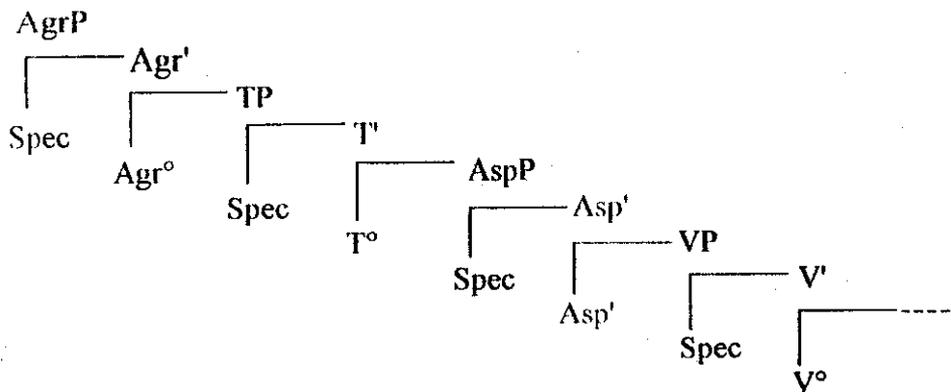
(3) TP



(4) NegP



(5) AspP



The presence of the relevant morphology in Mpumpuŋ also warrants the projection of these functional projections. In the following subsections, we briefly present each of them.

5.3. Functional projections in Mpumpuŋ

5.3.1. Agreement phrase (AgrP)

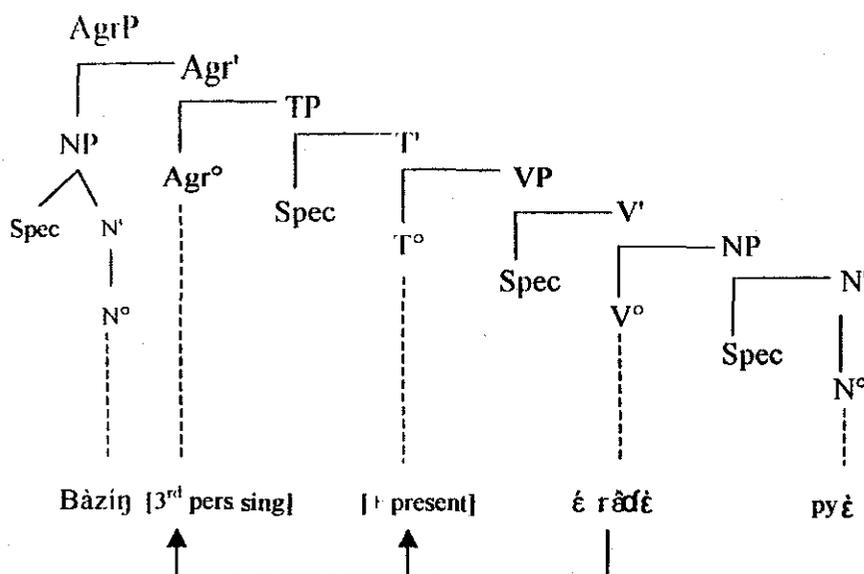
According to Pollock, Agreement is a category on its own, distinguished from tense, aspect negation, etc. It is the head of the Agreement phrase (AgrP) and contains a morpheme that marks agreement between the subject and the verb. According to Pollock AgrP contains all the other elements that were found under IP, as Chomsky (1986) assumed. In Mpumpuŋ. The verb moves to check agreement features in Agr^o in a head-head configuration the following example illustrates the AgrP in Mpumpuŋ.

Let us assume that the verb moves to check its features via overt movement. If all movements are overt then, we will conclude that the verb moves in Mpumpuŋ by an overt movement. We have used this type of movement because it is very easy to understand.

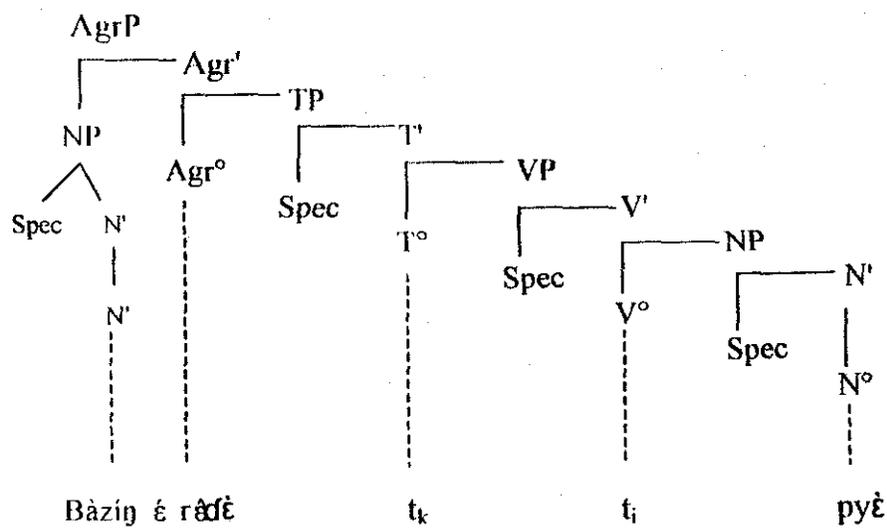
- (3) Bázíŋ é rǎǎfɛ pyɛ
 Bazin he Pres+eat dog

"Bazin is eating a dog"

(3)a



(3)b



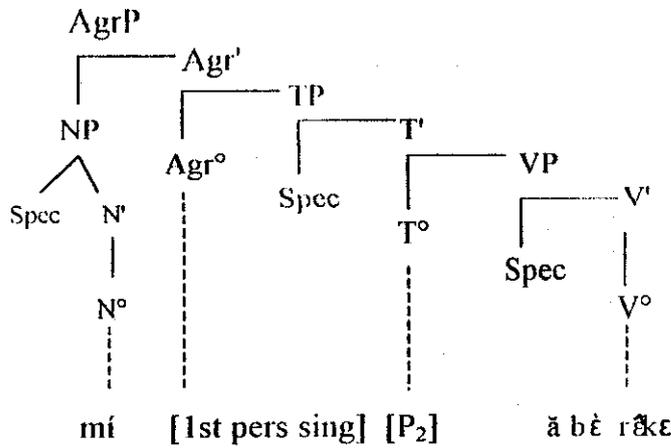
5.3.2. Tense phrase (TP)

Pollock defines tense as a category on its own, different from agreement, negation, etc.. It is the head of a functional projection called tense phrase (TP). Contrary to AgrP that marks number and gender, TP contains elements or features that mark tense. On a tree structure, TP is the complement of Agr°. The example in (4) below illustrates TP in Mpumpuŋ.

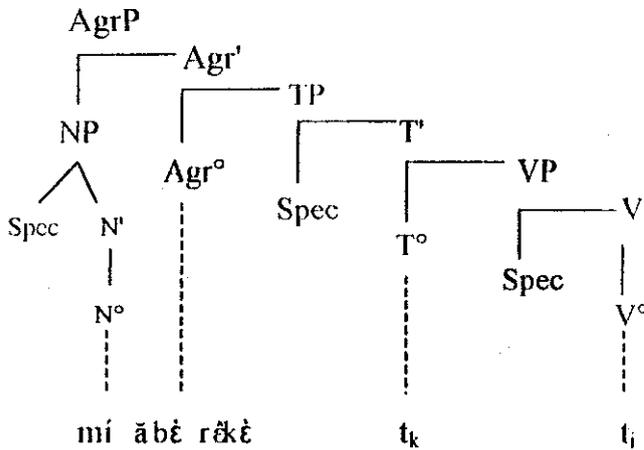
- (4) mā b é rǎk è
 SM+P₂ have+P₂ walk

"I walked"

(4)a



(4)b



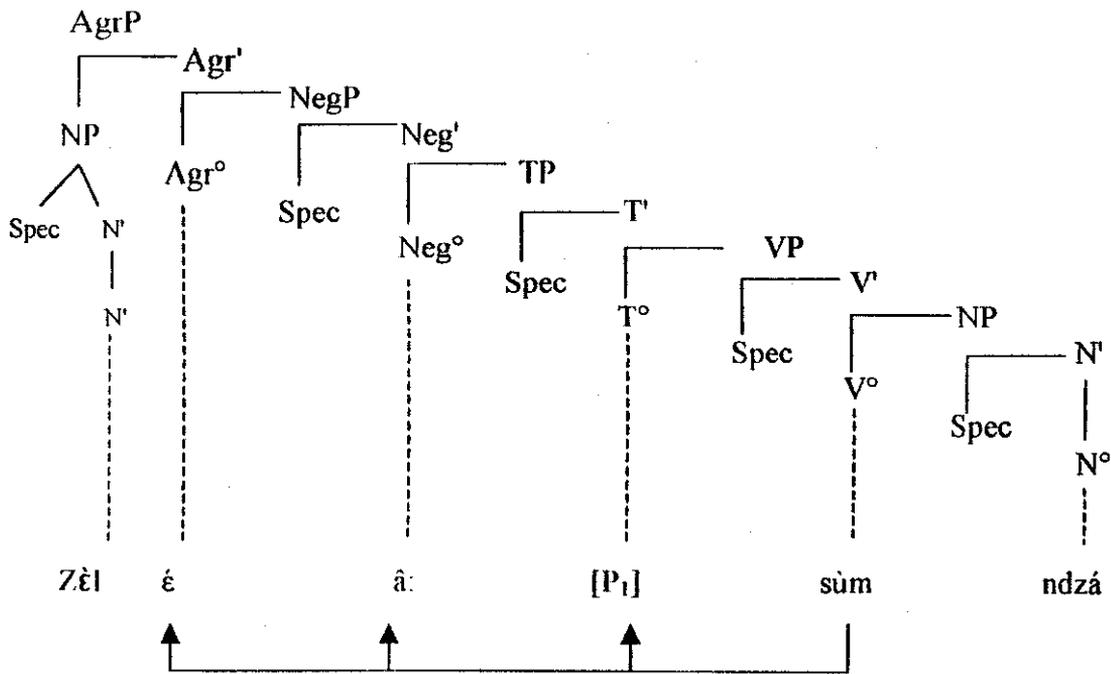
5.3.3. Negative phrase (NegP)

Besides AgrP and TP. There is also NegP (Negative phrase). It is found in between AgrP and TP. A negative morpheme heads this phrase. In Mpumpun. Negation has two elements. One which is compulsory [a:] and the others [tɛ] and [ni] that are optional or dependent of the tense used. (5) and (6) that follow present respectively a tree structure with [a:] only, and another with [a:] and [ni].

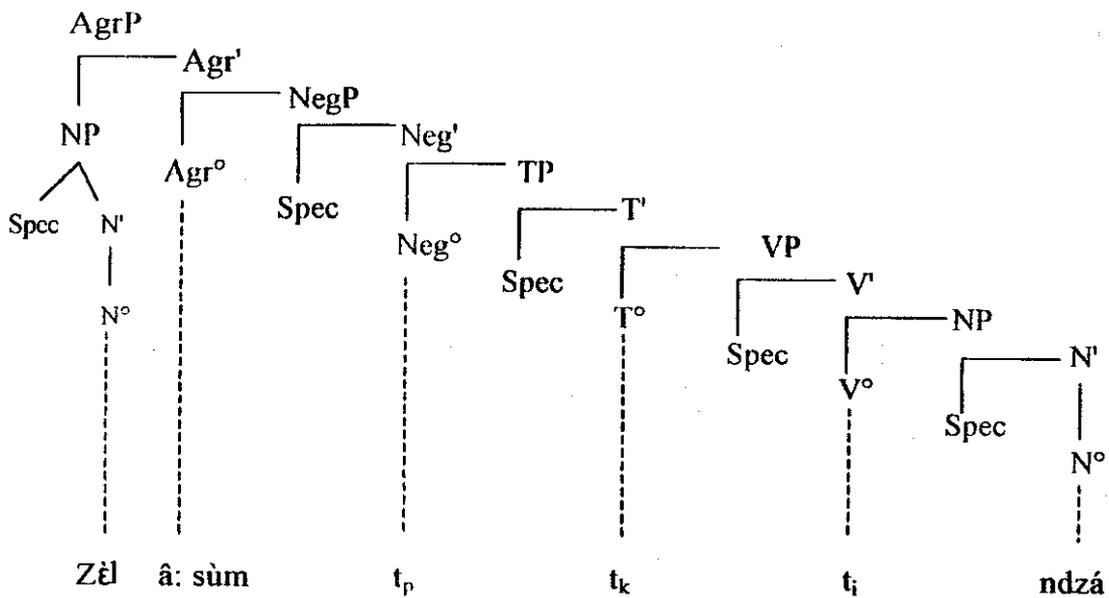
(5) Zèl ã: sùm ndzá
 Zhell SM+Neg+P₁ build house

"Zhell has built a house"

(5)a



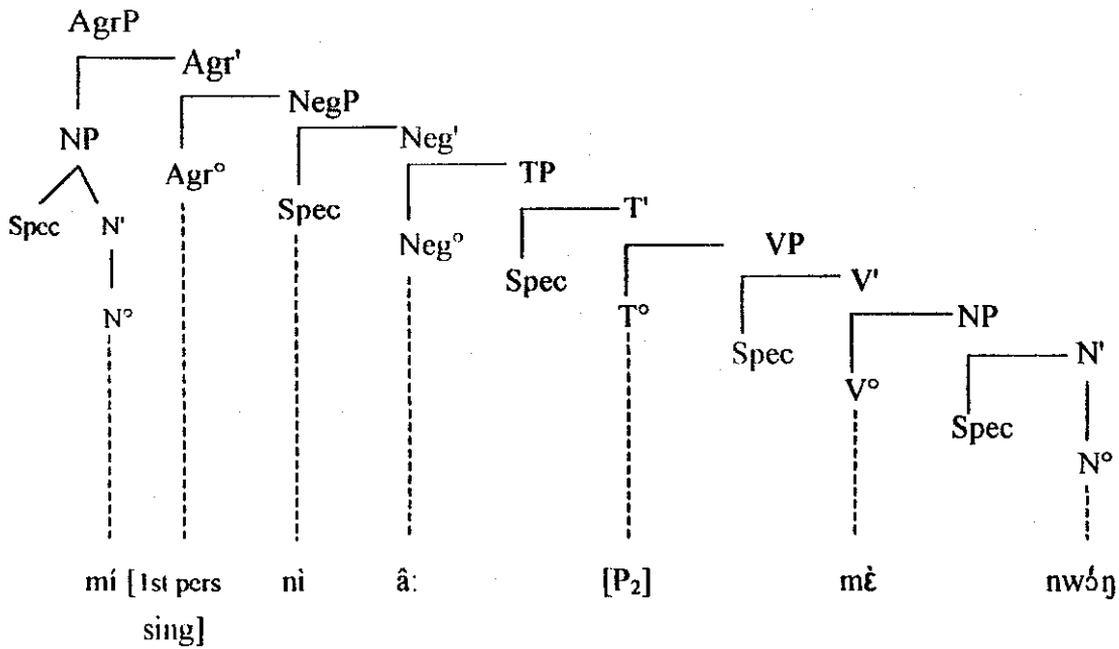
(5)b



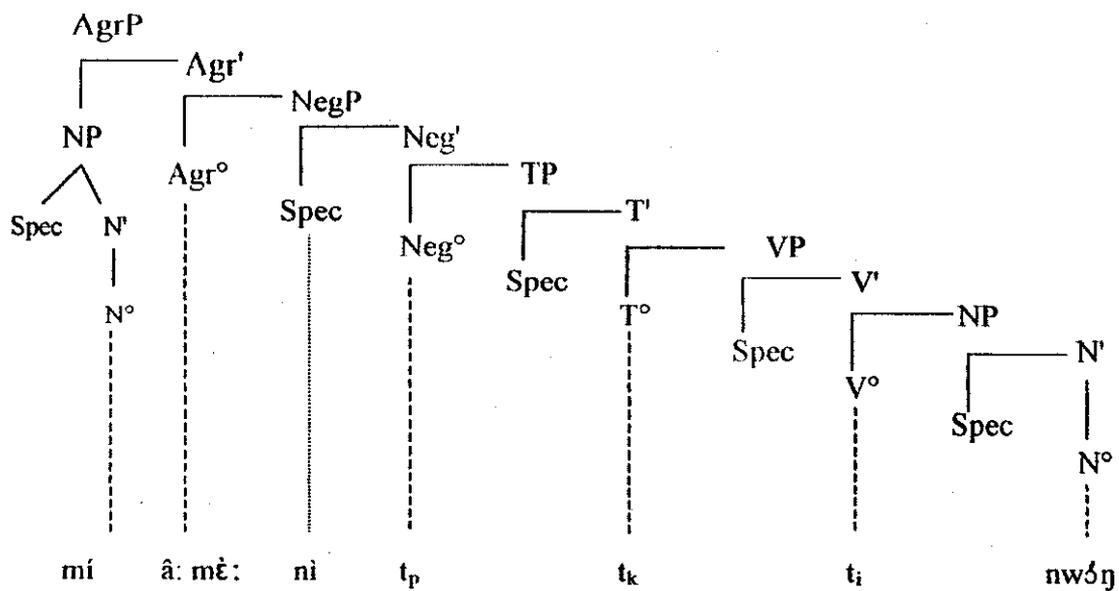
(6) mâ: ni mĕ: nwóŋ
 SM+Neg+P2 Neg catch snake

"I did not catch a snake"

(6)a



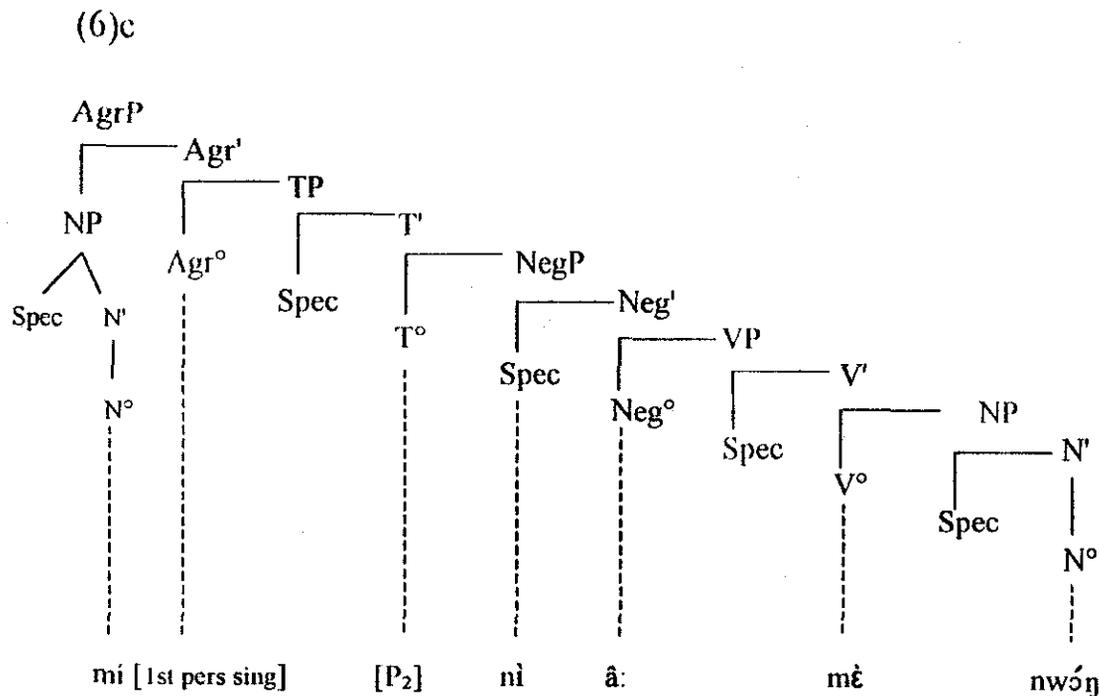
(6)b



As far as Negation with the optional element [ni] is concerned, there is a problem. At the beginning, we assumed that the verb moves overtly right up to Agr^o in Mpumpuŋ. If we maintain this view, then we end up with ungrammatical structures since the negative marker will remain in Neg^o. Let us then assume that features of the verb are checked via percolation when a negative marker is present. According to Radford (1997: 268), percolation is

'An operation (also known as attraction) by which a feature which is attached to one category comes to be attached to another category higher up in the structure'.

Another tree structure for (6) will be the following.



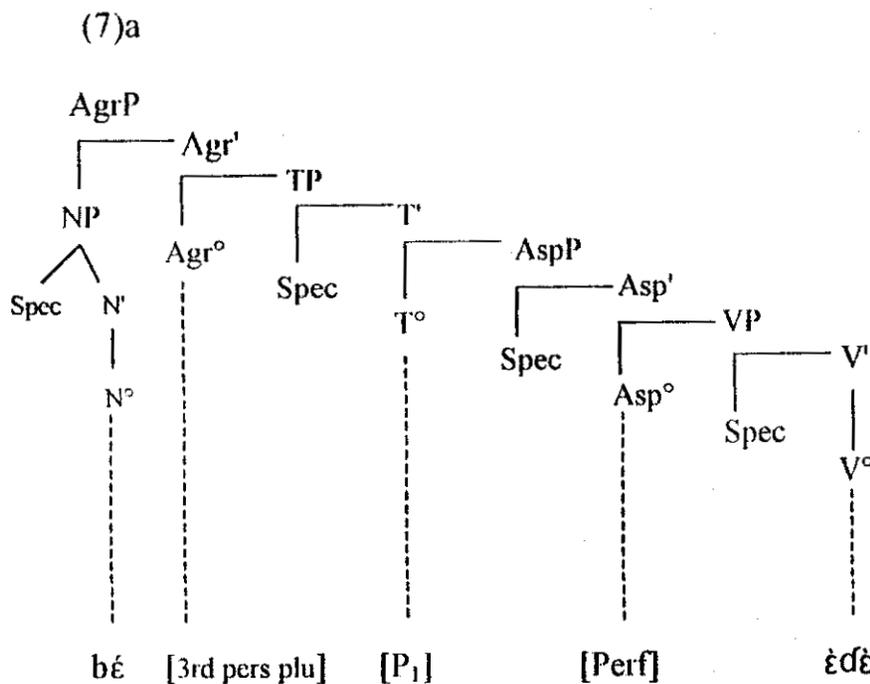
Percolation is not an overt movement, at the logical form Agr^o will attract the features it needs. (Neg^o, T^o and V^o). It therefore seems that like in many Bantu languages, the presence of a negative morpheme blocks verb movement in Mpumpuŋ.

5.3.4. Aspect phrase (AspP)

Aspect is the manner in which verbal action is experienced as completed or in progression. Aspect is a feature that has been projected in head of a functional projection the AspP (Aspect phrase). AspP is the complement of TP. In (7) is an illustration of the AspP.

- (7) bÉ é sil éǰé
 we P₁ Asp eat

"We have finished to eat"



(7)b

Before taking into consideration the problematic verbal extensions, let us make a brief resumé of what we have done up to this point. We have projected four functional projections in Mpumpuñ AgrP, TP, NegP and AspP. We have also proposed that the features on the head positions of these functional

projections are checked via percolation. The corresponding features percolate from V° through AsP° , Neg° , T° and finally to Agr° .

5.4. The verbal extensions

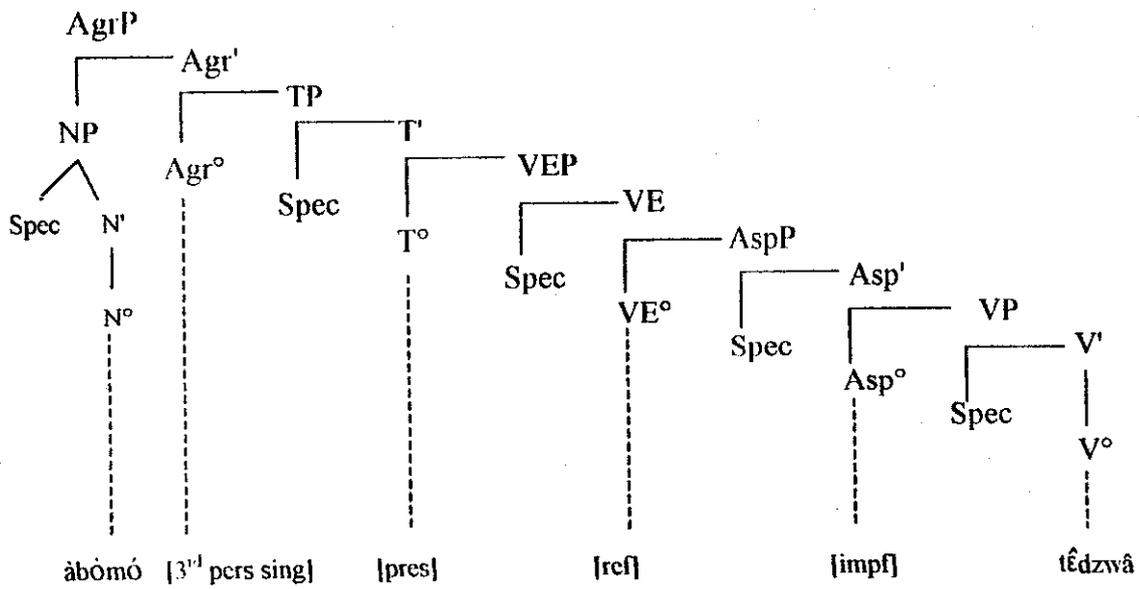
We have said before that verbal extensions are in general affixes that are added to the verb root to form a new verb base. The presence of morphology marking these extensions in Mpumpun is not a total hazard, for there are certain ideas that cannot be transmitted without employing verbal extensions. But, the important question to ask here is, how does the presence of a verbal extension on a verb root influence the structural representation of the entire utterance? In other words, do we need additional projections to represent verbal extensions?

As said earlier, in section 5.2, based on Pollock (1989), the IP is considered by most contemporary work as a highly articulated structure. According to Pollock (1989), it is no more a constituent with two different features (Agreement and Tense) rather, each of these sets is the syntactic head of a maximal projection. It is in this spirit that he projected a negative phrase (NegP) and an aspect phrase (AspP). Following this approach, we are also tempted to project a new functional projection that will account for verbal extensions, may be a VEP (verbal extension phrase). The example in (8) can thus be represented by the tree structure in (8)a and (8)b.

- (8) àbòmó é tédzwâ
 abomo SM Pres+Ref+wash

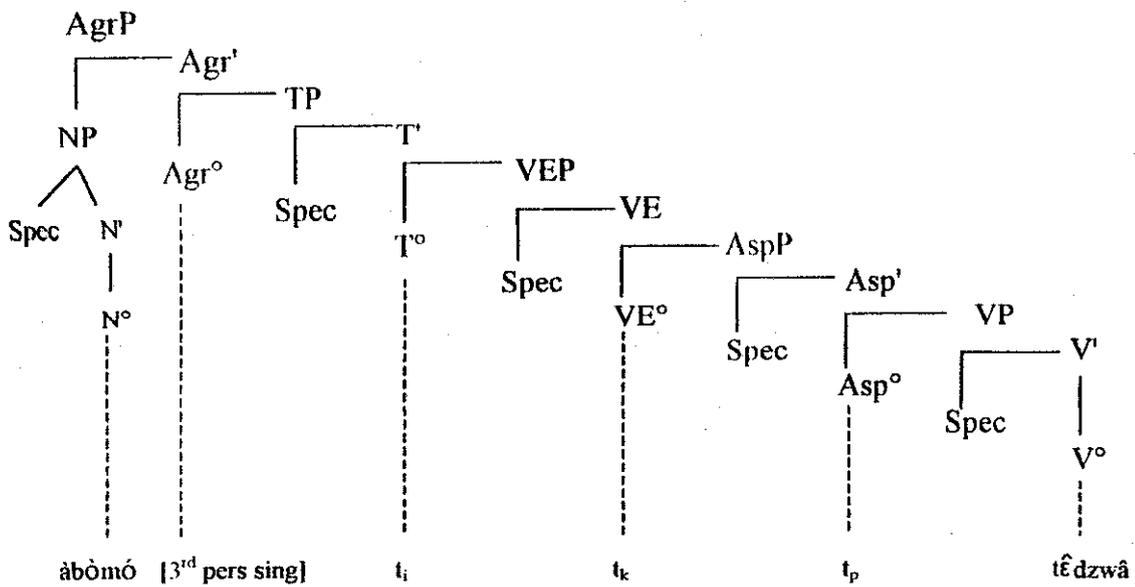
"Abomo is washing himself"

(8)a



After the movement of the verb through Asp°, VE°, T° to Agr° for purposes of checking the relevant features, we then have the structure in (8)b.

(8)b



The first remark we make after the presentation of this tree structure is that there is lack of economy which is an important principle as far as the minimalist approach is concerned. According to Radford (1997:259) Economy is

'a principle which requires that syntactic representations should contain as few constituents and syntactic derivations and involve as few grammatical operations as possible'.

But this tree structure contains superfluous projections, and some of the movement can actually be avoided.

The second remark is that, a part from hosting the verbal extension features the VEP plays no other role in the syntax. In fact as far as we can see, the presence of the VEP in the structural representation of Mpumpuŋ is superfluous.

In reality, the present structure (i.e the elaborated structure with AspP, NegP, TP and AspP) can actually accommodate verbal extensions without the need for an additional functional projection to represent verbal extensions. First notice that a verbal extension expresses the same kind of meaning as an aspectual marker. Thus the following Mpumpuŋ verbal extensions express various aspectual meaning as indicated:

- causative
- reflexive
- reciprocal
- passive

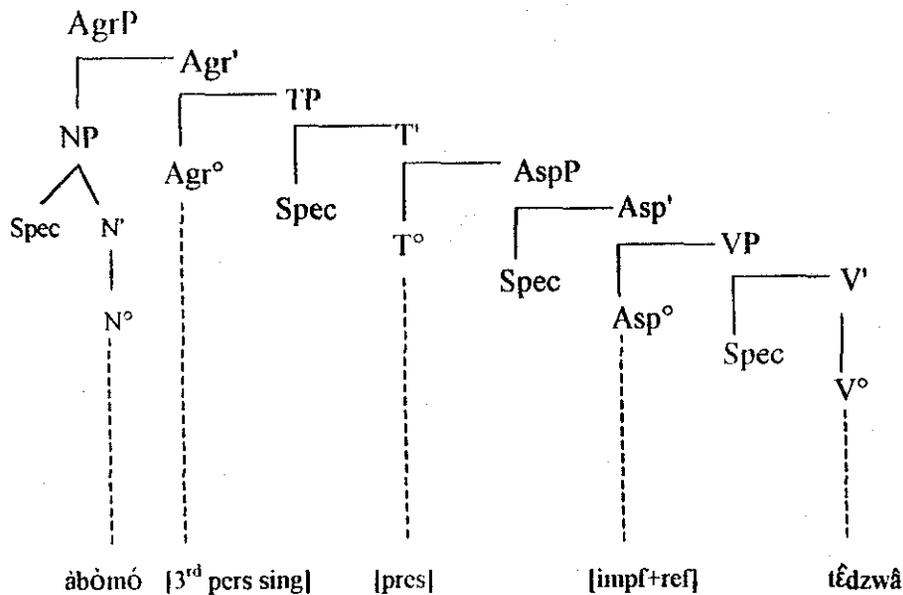
The various aspectual meanings they indicate are the following:

- causativity
- reflexivity
- reciprocity
- passivity

So, if the actions expressed in the verbs can be carried out according to all these ways (i.e. reciprocally, on oneself, etc.), we can therefore conclude that

verbal extension features can be projected under the AspP. The correct structure for (8) will therefore be the following.

(8)c



At the logical form, the Agr° will attract tense features (pres) and Aspect features (impf and ref).

5.5. Summary

In this chapter, we have related the verb morphology of Mpumpunj to feature checking in the sense of Pollock (1989), concerning IP structure and Chomsky (1995) concerning checking techniques. Pollock has broken the IP into many different functional projections which are all found in Mpumpunj. Namely, AgrP, NegP, AspP and TP. Verbal extensions treated in the last part of this chapter were proposed to be projected under the head of the aspect phrase. It would have been uneconomical projecting a new functional projection to account for verbal extensions, especially as this new projection would have no role to play in the syntax. Given that verbal extensions have aspectual meanings like normal aspectual markers, we thought that it was adequate projecting them under Asp°.

CHAPTER SIX : **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

The motivation for this field of research stems from the fact that the scientific study of language has been of great concern to researchers on African Languages especially Bantu languages, with all their complexities. The structure of an African language is even more complex when it comes to the verb as part of speech. Although this part of speech is a very complex one, it is quite interesting. That is one of the reasons why we have decided to describe the verb morphology of Mpumpuŋ.

The first step of our work was the sociolinguistic background of the Mpumpuŋ language and people. Under this, we presented geographical, historical, socio-economic and linguistic situations of Mpumpuŋ.

After the background information, the next step was the morphological structure of the verb in Mpumpuŋ. This study of the verb revealed that the *infinitive form of the verb in Mpumpuŋ is made up of two parts: the prefix [ɛ-] and a verb base.* Verb elements, as proposed by Meeussen (1967), were studied in this part, apart from the prefinal and the infix, all the other verbal elements were identified in Mpumpuŋ. The last part of this section was based on the syllable structure of the verb. In Mpumpuŋ, there are two types of syllable structures: the monosyllabic and the dissyllabic.

Furthermore, we examined verbal extensions in the language. There are two types of verbal extensions the non productive and the productive verbal extensions.

The productive verbal extensions produce new verb bases with new meanings, whereas non-productive verbal extensions do not change the meaning of the verb base. The study of the productive verbal extensions revealed that

there are only four purely productive verbal extensions in Mpumpuŋ. The rest of productive verbal extensions are expressed by complex forms and prepositions.

From the study of verb Modalities, we came out with six tenses (P₁, P₂, P₃, Pres, F₁ F₂) in the indicative mood. Apart from the indicative mood, Mpumpuŋ distinguishes four other Moods: the Infinitive, the subjunctive, the imperative and the conditional. Looking at aspect, two types were studied here, the general and the inherent aspects. The last part of this section was based on negation. The negative marker is [a:] for all tenses and moods, the difference arises at the level of tone. Whenever another morpheme is added, it only comes to add to [a:].

The last section of this work departs from the purely structural description to a minimalist approach. We adopted Pollock's (1989) approach concerning the structure of the IP. In fact, he divided IP into different functional projections namely AgrP, TP, NegP and AspP. As far as feature checking is concerned, we adopted chomsky's (1995) view. The most interesting part of this discussion concerned the representation of verbal extensions. The major question was where to project verbal extensions in the tree structure. After a great number of analyses, we proposed to project verbal extensions under Asp^o, for they have aspectual meanings.

After the phonology and Noun morphology of Mpumpuŋ, we have work on verb morphology, and we hope that this work, added to the previous ones, will contribute to the standardisation of the Mpumpuŋ language. This study will also be of benefit to theoretical linguists who need more data in order to write more adequate theories of natural language. We also hope that it will be a contribution to universal grammar.

This work is certainly of scientific nature, but we cannot pretend to have explored all the morphological processes of the Mpumpuŋ verb. The morphophonological phenomena in the language were not studied nor the auxiliaries. The semantic characteristic of the verb in Mpumpuŋ was not studied also. This, we hope, can be part of further research work on the language.

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APPENDIX

èvòl	:	to help
èbà	:	to get married
èbàwél	:	to wound (oneself)
èbè	:	to see
èlwârèl	:	to clench (teeth)
èbára	:	to squeeze (hand)
èsò	:	to spread
èsóghà	:	to frighten
èdàmp	:	to cook
èbèn	:	to rise
ègwé	:	to grow up
ègù	:	to know
èzyúghèl	:	to pouch
ètósèl	:	to reduce
èkúnà	:	to touch
èbómà	:	to meet
èbòmá	:	to sell
èdí	:	to be
ègùghèl	:	to listen
èbo	:	to rot
èbwâ	:	to dress
èpwâl	:	to pluck
èsámptà	:	to overthrow
ègwók	:	to irritate
èlò	:	to peck
èdè	:	to eat
èkè	:	to walk
èbí	:	to beat
èpémà	:	to leave
èlwòh	:	to wear
èkè:	:	to carry

èdi	:	to pierce
èfèk	:	wise
èbĩs	:	to stay
èkĩn	:	to abandon
èkwândz	:	to vomit
kúnò	:	near
ègà	:	to win
èsyě	:	to narrate
èsà ìdún	:	to play
èbwâmb	:	to have a chance
èsà ghò	:	to bustle
èbwâmb	:	to harvest (groundnuts)
èpû	:	to dig
èlò	:	to bite
èsò	:	to brosh
èbòŋ	:	to kneel down
mbû	:	year
èdzyàŋ	:	to take a walk
èmĩn	:	to wolf
èdĩmbé l	:	to lose
èdèl	:	to burry
ètũmp	:	to light
èkóghèl	:	to knock
èkàmp	:	to run away
èkùrô:	:	to bend
èkwòŋ	:	to lie
èdũmb	:	to grind
èkwèl	:	to want
èbúwèl	:	to taste
èbwônd	:	to wait
èpyâ	:	to mock at
ètĩnt	:	to wipe

ètis	:	to save
èbàrà	:	to imitate
èp ^h úmsà	:	to mix
èk ^h òjèl	:	to snore
ègbàlà	:	to rest
ègwômb	:	to wish
èdzwák	:	to look, to observe
èdò	:	to laugh
èbwâ	:	to wear
èdissò:	:	to put up with
èbwâm	:	to buy
ètò kènd	:	to travel
ètò sok	:	to repeat
èsò	:	to hunt
èlè	:	to narrate
èswò	:	to hide
èkù	:	to move
èkò	:	to divide
èpílèl	:	to fly (bird)
ètáp	:	to speak
ègbá	:	to go out
èdàṅ	:	to fetch
kàlèl	:	Curse
kènd	:	walk
èdùl	:	to drive
ndùl	:	driving
èmwôgh	:	to cull
mèmwôghà	:	gathering
èbwàl	:	to dance
lwà	:	just
tonè	:	always

ndzá	:	house
bwân	:	children
ébyéla	:	to find
éŋi	:	to drink
éthà	:	to come
édò	:	to laugh
ébò	:	to split
èlàŋ	:	to read
èsùm	:	to build
ènàn	:	to rip
ètáp	:	to talk
ébúlà	:	to come back
édyûk	:	to burn
èkwôm	:	to keep
élyâghèl	:	to teach
ésyă glèl	:	to slice
èbgwâ	:	to put
èbyâ	:	to deliver
édwî	:	to give
èkpwèl	:	to love
édzwà	:	to wash
édà	:	to sleep
édzèmb	:	to sing
ètàngèl	:	to hung
ikwànd	:	bananas
ébès	:	uncook
édzyě	:	to die
tòlá	:	money
nùl	:	oil
mèlénd	:	palm
òsú	:	fish
éyâŋ	:	to fry

mə̀kàná	:	letter
zók	:	elephant
èzyè	:	to come
ndòmàm	:	husband
sà	:	plumbs
tj ùk	:	birth
ìvàn	:	good
sínò	:	thing
èdzù	:	to suffer
ètj ùk	:	to kill
èsi	:	to finish
èswisèl	:	to wash (clothes)
ènyél	:	to start
èfim	:	to sweep
ègùs	:	to throw
ètòmbò	:	to fall
ètjèl	:	to jump
ègwâmbèl	:	to sweep out
ènànb	:	to chew
èdùŋ	:	to fight
èkòm	:	to comb
èdò	:	to kill
èmè	:	to hold, to catch
èbùgh	:	to break
èkwôghél	:	to bite
èbè	:	to sow
èk ^h wɔŋ	:	to lie
èdi	:	to stay
èbéyé	:	to have
èsàlà	:	to work
èsò	:	to cross
mís	:	eye
dís	:	eyes
dèl	:	village
èlwí	:	to speak

mòt	:	man
pyémp	:	farm
ètò	:	to go
ètìl	:	to write
èlúmà	:	to inject
èkwômbèl	:	to organise
ènwòh	:	to take
èkpwã	:	to be ill
èdzèsà	:	to forget
ègóyà	:	to wrangle
èbyên	:	to denie
èsyâghèl	:	to sift
èphûmsà	:	to mix
èdàglà	:	to pray
ènímb	:	to hate
èkàl	:	to curse
bà	:	marriage