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WH-MOVEMENT IN MUNGAKA : A GENERATIVE APPROACH

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Post-Graduate Degree in Linguistics

By

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to:

My beloved Parents:

Mr. John Awah,

Mrs. Grace Sega Awah,

Mrs. Lucy Awah,

for all their love and support.

To My Aunts:

Mrs. Nukuna Florence,

Mrs. Munang Lucy,

Miss Malo Victorine.

And

My Triplet Sisters:

Mrs Eric Vera

and

Miss Vivian Awah,

for having been there when I needed them most.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

a	:	Anaphor
A-position	:	Argument Position
A^{L}-position	:	Non-Argument Position
Comp	:	complementizer
et al	:	and others
ECP	:	empty Category Principle
F	:	Female
M	:	Male
vd	:	voiced
vl	:	voicedless
v	:	vowel
c	:	consonant
i.e.	:	that is
T	:	Termination Marker
Syn-ele	:	Syntactic element
Inter-ele	:	Interogative element
P1	:	Today Past
P2	:	Recent Past
P3	:	Distant Past
P4	:	Remote Past
P	:	Pronominal
iff	:	If and only if

sg	: singular
pl	: plural
Pf	: Phonetic form
Lf	: logical form
VP	: Verb Phrase
NP	: Noun Phrase
PP	: Prepositional phrase
P&P	: Principle and Parameters Theory
D-structure	: Deep-Structure
S-Structure	: Surface-Structure
Intro	: Introduction
ˇ	: rising tone
ˆ	: falling tone
`	: low tone
'	: mid tone
F1	: Immediate future
F2	: Distant future
Perf	: Perfective Aspect
S	: Subject
V	: Verb
O	: Object
Ps	: Phrase structure

INFL	: Inflection
Aux	: Auxilary
IP	: Inflectional Phrase
CNPC	: Complex Noun Phrase Constraint
CSC	: Co-ordinate Structure Constraint.

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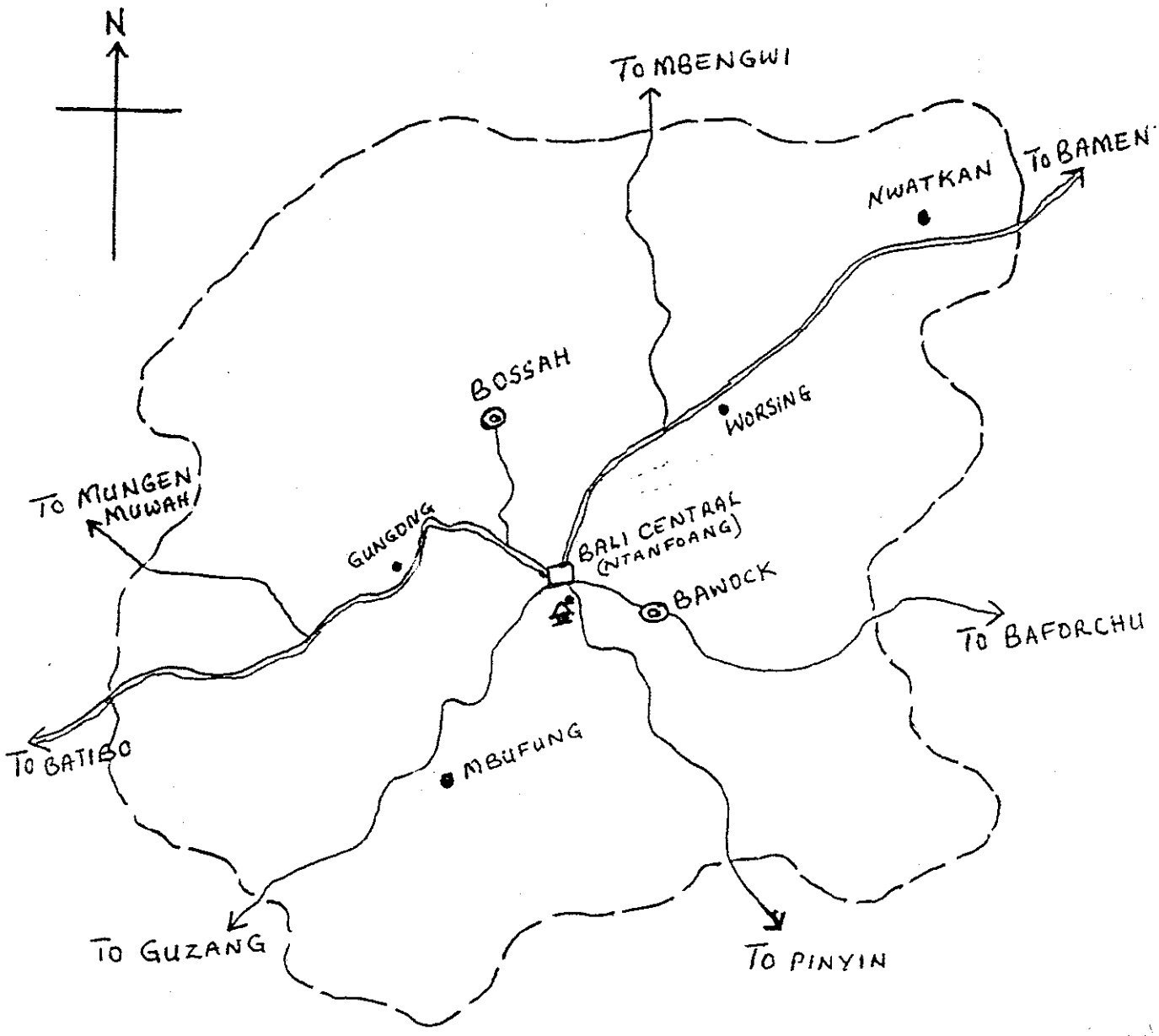

KEY

--- Boundary
—— Secondary Roads
═══ Bamenda-Mamfe Road
□ Bali Central (Ntanfoang)
FON'S PALACE
SUB-CHIEFDOM'S
● Renowned Quarters

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Chapter One

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The central concern of this chapter is an outline of the framework of this research endeavour. In this light, it concerns itself with stating the goal and importance of the research, the scope and methodology and the theoretical frame-work. It also discusses the geo-historical background, the linguistic classification and language situation of Mungaka.

1.1 Goal and importance

This dissertation has as its goal the description of wh-movement in Mungaka, using the generative approach. Close attention is paid to:

i) The interrogative elements in Mungaka.

ii) The occurrence and distribution of Yes-No questions, cleft constructions and other question types in Mungaka.

iii) The target of wh-movement, its extraction and landing sites.

iv) The comparison of wh-movement with NP-movement, topicalization and extraposition.

The study of Wh-movement will not only contribute to the volume of written works in Mungaka, but will also be of great help to linguists and analysts who might want to work on similar topics in similar languages.

1.2 Scope and Methodology

1.2.1 Scope

The fundamental objective of this research is to study wh-movement in Mungaka. Other types of movement such as NP-movement, topicalisation and extraposition, will be examined for the following reasons:

i) A study of other movement types alongside wh-movement will bring out possible syntactic relations that exist between these movement types and wh-movement.

ii) The structure of the wh-phrase vis-à-vis other phrases will be better understood.

1.2.2 Methodology

The data was collected with the help of a word list in English, which I later translated. This list was later on cross-checked with some native speakers of Mungaka[1]. The informants were contacted individualy. At no point in time were they brought together.

1

Informants	Age	Status	Sex
Ba Ndangam A.G.	45-55	Retired civil servant	M
Mr. Lima A.S.	45-55	Senior lecturer	M
Dr. Ndifontah	35-45	Diplomat	M
Mrs. Lucy Munang	30-35	Teacher	F
Mr. Eric Tita	35-45	Civil servant	M

TABLE 1

Information about the history of Mungaka was obtained from books like Ndifontah D.B. (1988), Titanji et al (1988), Koyela J.F. (1985), Tischhauser G. (1992) and Nti D.F. (1973). It was orally narrated by Lima Adolf S. and Ba Ndangam A.G.

1.3 Theoretical frame-work

This work is based on the principles and parameters theory, (henceforth P&P). P&P presupposes that languages consist of three levels of representation. D-structure, S-structure, phonetic and logical forms. These three levels are linked by transformational operations. D-structure is a representation of the argument structure and the thematic relations of the sentence. Chomsky and Lasnik (1991:95) assert that:

> "D-structure expresses lexical properties in a form accessible to the computational system."
> Chomsky & Lasnik (1991:95)

(1) **yohanne to ta? ŋga ba fuŋ wɔ̀ e?**

John will want that we call who (T3)

"John would prefer for us to invite whom?"

S-structure is the product of the application of transformational rules to D-structure.

(2) **à wɔ̀$_i$ yi yohanne to ta? ŋga ba fuŋ t$_i$ a e?**

it who that John will want that we call T1 T3

Whom; would [John [prefer [us to [invite]]]]
CP IP VP IP VP

The phonetic and logical forms specify aspects of sound and meaning respectively. Pf is the level that encodes the surface properties

of the sentence. It helps us to arrive at the appropriate representation of the interpretation of sentences. The transformation move-a maps S-structure on to Lf.

The occurrence, distribution and interpretation of the P&P theory is subject to natural groupings into modules of languages such as: X-bar theory, projection principle, case theory, θ-theory, binding theory and the empty category principle. All these account for the well formedness of sentences.

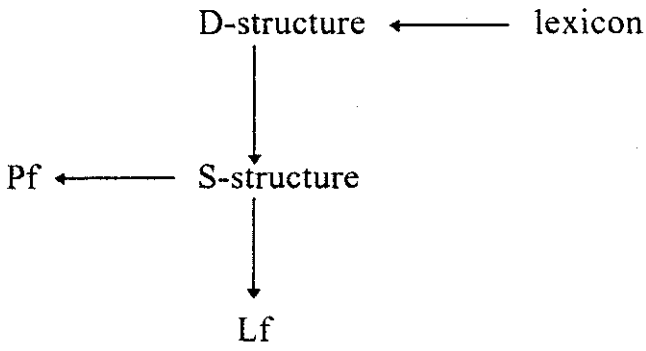


Fig. 1: Adopted from Chomsky & Lasnik (1991:6)

1.3.1 X-bar theory

It is a theory which helps in bringing out

> "Commonality between the different types of phrases." (Haegeman (1991:134).

It makes explicit the notion of the head of a phrase. The theory holds that all phrases are headed by lexical heads e.g. N,V,P, etc. It distinguishes two levels of projections: the intermediate and maximal projections. NP, VP and PP are maximal projections, while V^{1} N^{1} P^{1} are intermediate projections. X-bar theory also accounts for the well

formedness of sentences at D-structure. X-bar theory can be summarized thus.

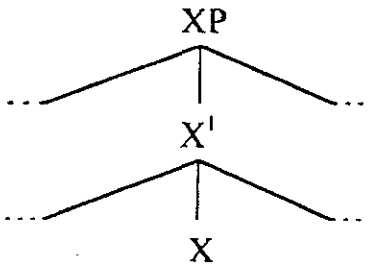


Fig. 2: Where X stands for N, V, A or P (Haegeman (1991:95)

1.3.2 The projection principle

It posits that at each syntactic level, theta roles must be assigned. Hence arguments must be present at D-structure and at S-structure. This implies that once an argument exists at one level, its presence is obligatory at all other levels. For example, if there is an NP in a certain sentence at one level, that NP position must be maintained at all other levels:

(3) D-structure: **bo to kàti kə̀ e?**
They will draw what (T3)
"They will draw what?"

(4) S-structure **a (bə) kə̀$_i$ yi bo to kati t_i a e**
It is what that they will draw travel T1 T3

The trace (t_i) in (4) is a member of a chain and it shares its θ-role with its antecedent. In (3) the internal role of kati "draw" is assigned to the argument NP kə "what". At corresponding S-structure level, the internal role of kàti "draw" is assigned to the chain "kə$_i$ t_i".

1.3.3 Case theory

Case theory is the module of grammar concerned with the distribution of NPs. Chomsky and Lasnik (1991:74) accentuate that:

> "The basic idea of case theory grew out of the investigation of the distribution of overt NPs".
> Chomsky & Lasnik (1991:74)

The case theory embodies the case filter. The case filter states that, any structure that contains an NP with lexical content but no case is ungrammatical.

The case filter therefore imposes licensing of NPs. It is similar to the θ-criterion, in that only one case is assigned at a time, just as only one θ-role is assigned at a time. In some languages (Sanskrit, latin.) case is morphologically manifested. While in others (English, Mungaka, French...) it has little or no overt realization. Verbs and prepositions asign accusative case to NPs and PPs respectively. Norminative case is assigned to an NP which is a sister to a finite I as shown in (5) below:

(5) **bisɔna ni ŋgə ma ndanwa?ni.**
Bisona prog. go to house book
"Bisona is going to school."

In sentence (5), the progressive marker ni assigns norminative case to Bisona while the preposition ma assigns accusative case to ndawa?ni "school".

1.3.4 Theta theory

According to Haegeman (1991:41):

> "The component of the grammar that regulates the assignment of thematic roles is called θ-theory."

θ-theory deals basically with semantic information. Thus, it is concerned with meaning. θ-roles are assigned at D-structure and each θ-role is assigned by a head within its domain, either internally or externally. The most prominent θ-roles include:

i) Agent: The one who initiates the action expressed by the predicate.

(6) **na?dzeła ka fa ndzi le mbo fe**
Nahjella P3 give dress the to Feh
"Nahjella gave the dress to Feh"

ii) Patient/theme: The entity affected by the action or state expressed by the predicate.

(7) **basuŋ kà fa nwa?ni le mbo yakob.**
Basung P3 give book the to Jacob.
"Basung gave the book to Jacob."

iii) Experiencer: It is the entity that experiences some (psychological) state.

(8) **ŋwana ni ndzaŋ**
ŋwana pray sick
"Nwana is sick."

iv) Benefactive: The entity that benefits from the action expressed by the predicate.

(9) **ndaŋgɔʔ ka fa ŋwaʔni le mbo maɲi**
Ndango P3 give book the to Manyi
"Ndango gave the book to Manyi."

v) Goal: The entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is directed.

(10) **Nina kà dzun kedzu le**
Nina P3 eat food he
"Nina ate the food."

vi) Source: The entity from which something is moved as a result of the activity expressed by the predicate.

(11) **Sama ka dzun nkwin le mbo Josep.**
source
Sama P3 buy wood the from Joseph
"Sama bought the wood from Joseph."

vii) Location: The place in which the action or state expressed by the predicate is situated.

(12) **Sama ka dzun ndzi le ma lʌndən**
Location
Sama P3 buy dress the in London.
"Sama bought the dress in London."

The subcategorization frame of lexical items acts as a reservoir of information of θ-roles which make up the lexicon. Though θ-roles are assigned at D-structure, the θ-criterion uniquely applies. This implies that each argument is assigned one and only one θ-role, each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument.

1.3.5 Binding theory

The binding theory helps in the interpretation of relations between NPs and also cover the distribution of ordinary and reflexive pronouns. This theory plays a significant role in the distribution of empty categories. Haegeman (1991:198) defines binding thus:

> "A binds B iff
> a) A C - commands B and
> b) A and B are coindexed."

Taking into cognizance this definition, three types of norminal categories can be distinguished:

i) bound anaphors:

(13) **Petro$_i$ kà sŭʔ mbum i$_j$**

Peter P3 wash body his

"Peter$_i$ washed himself$_i$."

ii) Pronominals

(14) **Petro$_i$ kà suʔ i$_i$**

Peter P3 wash him

"Peter$_i$ washed him$_j$"

iii) R-expressions (full referential NPs)

(15) **Petro ka sŭʔ yohanne**

Peter P3 wash John.

"Peter washed John."

In the examples (13-15), we notice that each NP type has a unique binding condition. This implies that an anaphor (+a-p) must be bound within its governing category, a pronominal (-a,+p) must be free within

its governing category and an r-expression (-a, -p) must be free. The features (± p) also classify types of empty categories as indicated below:

ii) (-a, -p) Wh-trace

(+a, -p) NP-trace

(-a, +p) Pro ("little" or "small" pro)

(+a, +p) Pro ("big" Pro)

The above features imply that a Wh-trace can never be bound, an NP-trace is, bound and pro is free within their respective governing categories.

(-a, -p) and (+a, -p) respectively, can be illustrated in (16) and (17) thus:

(16) **à wɔ̀ yi petro ka sŭʔ e a eʔ**

It who that Peter P3 wash Wh-trace TV T3

"Who did Peter wash e?"

(17) **Petro$_i$ lɔʔ sŭʔ e$_i$**

Peter P1 wash NP-trace

"Peter$_i$ washed $\underline{e}_i$"

In (16) the Wh-trace "e" is free while the NP-trace "e$_i$" in (17) is bound. Examples (13-17) are all grammatical because they respect the binding theory. A violation of the binding theory will therefore lead to ungrammaticality as shown in (18) below:

(18) **Petro kà sŭʔ Mbum i**

Peter P3 wash body his

"Peter washed himself."

ii) **Petro$_i$ ka sŭʔ i$_i$**

Peter P3 wash him

"Peter$_i$ washed him$_i$"

iii)* **Petro$_i$ ka sŭʔ John$_i$**

Peter P3 wash John

"Peter$_i$ washed John$_i$"

iv) **a (bə) wò$_i$ yi Petro ka sŭʔ e$_i$ a eʔ**

It (is) who that Peter P3 wash wh-trace T1 T3

"Who$_i$ did Peter wash e$_i$

v) **Petro lòʔ sŭʔ e**

Peter P1 wash NP-trace

"Peter was washing e"

The ungrammaticality of 18(iv) also indicates that the binding theory only applies to A-binding (binding by a category in an A-position).

1.3.6 Empty category principle

The ECP is a well-formedness condition which ensures the governing of empty categories created by movement. The ECP states that:

> "A trace must be properly governed. Proper government
> A properly governs B iff.
> (a) A governs B and A is lexical (N, V, A or P)
> or
> (b) A locally A$^{\prime}$ binds B."
>
> Sells (1985:62)

As stated in the definition of ECP, the possibility of I (inflection) functioning alone to license the occurrence of an empty category at

subject position is excluded because I is usually not a proper governor. The subject position is out of the domain of any lexical head (N, V, A or P). This means that if it is governed at all, the governor in question is I, unlike the case of all other A-positions which are governed by lexical heads. An empty category will appear at subject position if and only if another category such as C (complementizer) is involved in government. When this occurs, the subject NP, either substitutes for an empty C position or leaves its trace at C after a subsequent movement, such that the subject NP or its trace will locally A'-binds the empty category. A constituent A will thus locally A'-binds a category B if both are within the same maximal projection and A is in an A'-position, A C-commands B, and is coindexed with B. What is important about the argument on the ECP is that an empty category at S-structure can only be licensed by a proper governor, a noun, a verb, an adjective, a preposition or a local A'-binder.

1.4 Geo historical background

Mungaka is the present language of the Bali Nyonga people, one of the Chamba kingdoms of the North-west province of cameroon. Bali Nyonga is bounded to the North and East by Bamenda central sub-division, in the South by Batibo sub-division and in the West by Mbengwi sub-division, Titanji et al (1988:9). History holds that the Bali Nyonga people migrated from Adamawa and later abandoned their mother tongue Mubakoh. Another school of thought believes Mungaka

to be a fusion of Bati and Bamum (Fumbam) clans, both found in the Western province of Cameroon. They therefore see Mungaka as a hybrid language. Both schools of thought see Mungaka as a language of the Bati. The Bali Nyongas under the reign of His Royal highness Galega I settled at their present site around 1823. The manner in which Mungaka completely replaced Mubakoh cannot be definitely ascertained.

1.5 Linguistic classification

German scholars classified Mungaka as a semi-Bantu language, but the English Linguists who found nothing in common with the semi-Bantu language but for few imported words, styled it a Bantoid-language.

Greenberg (1955:12), (1963) later classified Mungaka with languages of the semi-Bantu type. He therefore sees Mungaka as an Eastern grassfield, semi-Bantu language of the Niger-kordofanian phyllum.

Koenig et al (1983:29) in their classification of Cameroon Home languages, agree with Greenberg's classification. They classified Mungaka as a sub-type under Bantu. Greenberg's and Koenig et als' classification of Mungaka can be simplified as follows:

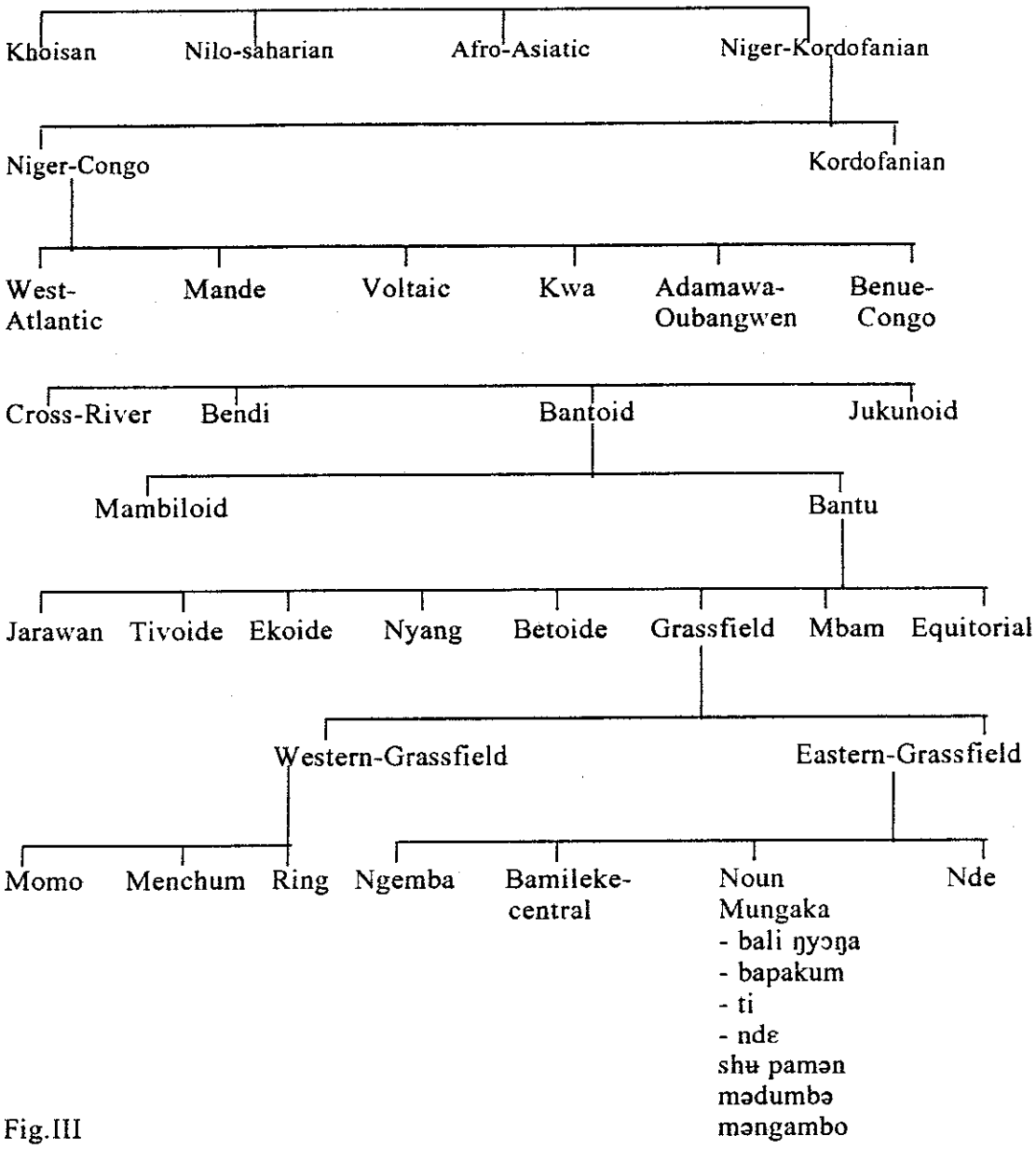


Fig.III

1.6 Language situation

The word Mungaka which means "I say", is composed of three elements. Mu "me" ŋga "I + say" and ka emphatic element. Mungaka gained its written prowess from the German-swiss missionaries of the Basel Mission, whom Fonyonga I heartily welcomed and supported. Mungaka is the main language in Bali Nyonga. Its dialects include bali

ŋyɔŋa which is spoken in Bali Nyonga, bapakum which is spoken in Baba I, Ndop central in the North-west province ti spoken in Bati and ndɛ spoken in Bafoussam, both in the Western province. Mungaka is considered a lingua franca in the Grassfield.

What is peculiar about Mungaka, is the fact that certain aspects of the spoken form vary with the more formal standardized written form. For example, in speech, the y in yi "his/her" or "that" is deleted. So is the case with the interrogative marker e (T3) when it is preceded by the movement identifier or termination marker for subordinate clauses a (T1) as shown below:

(19) Written: **a bə yi wɔ e**
It is his/her who T3
"It is whose?"

Spoken: **a i wɔ e?**
It his who T3
"It is whose?"

(20) Written: **a (bə) ila? ndzi yi i kà dzun a e?**
It is which dress that he P3 buy T1 T3
"Which dress did he buy?"

Spoken: **à ilà ndzi i, i ka dzun a**
It which dress that he P3 buy T1
"Which dress did he buy."

Mungaka is used by preachers, especially in the presbyterian churches in the North west province. It is used daily such as in meeting houses, giving instructions, making public announcements and in homes.

Mungaka, though widely spoken and understood by non-native speakers in the North-west province of Cameroon, has only about 50,000 native speakers.

Pidgin English is the vehicular language used between the people of Bali-Nyonga and foreigners. The influence of other languages on Mungaka such as English and Portuguese cannot be ignored. Some Portuguese loan names in Mungaka include:

(21) Petro - Peter.

Yohanne - Johannes (John)

English loan words include:

(22) wasipita - hospital

plankɯti - blanket

teibili - table

posimasta - post master

gomna - government

lampud - lamp.

1.7 Outline of work

This work comprises four chapters and a conclusion. Chapter One which is the introduction is devoted to the goal and importance of the dissertation, the scope and methodology and the theoretical frame-work, the geo-historical background of Mungaka, its linguistic classification and language situation.

Chapter Two examines the sound system, tense, aspect, mood and word order of Mungaka.

Chapter three treats the structure of Wh-constructions, the target of movement, the landing site of moved Wh-phrases and constraints on movement.

Chapter four discusses other types of movement, such as NP-movement, extraposition and topicalisation.

The conclusion wraps up the work by first of all giving a summary of its findings and suggestions on future research topics.

Chapter Two

MORPHO-PHONOLOGY OF MUNGAKA

2.0 Introduction

This Chapter gives an account of the Mungaka phonology, morphology and syntax. It therefore examines the phonemes, tone, syllable structure of (prefix and stem) tense, aspects, mood and word order in Mungaka.

2.1 Phonology

It involves the sound system in a language. This include the vowels, consonants and the suprasegmental features specifically tone.

2.1.1 Consonant sounds

Mungaka has twenty-one consonants. Below is a chart of the consonants in Mungaka adapted from Nti (1973:25) with slight modifications. This is in keeping with the transcription system for Cameroonian languages as developed by Tadadjeu M. et al (1984).

Place of Articulation / Manner of Articulation		Bila-bial	Labio Dental	Alvedor	Velar	Glottal	Labio-Velar
Stops	vl	p		t	k	ʔ	
	vd	b		d	g		
Fricatives	v						
	vl					h	
Affricates	vl	f	s	ts	ɣ		
	vd	v		dz			
Nasales	vd	m	n		ŋ		ɲ
Laterals	vl						
	vd		l				
Approximant	vl						
	vd	w					j

TABLE II: Mungaka consonant chart.

The modifications on the chart include a change in the manner of articulation of /j/ which Nti (1993:25) classifies as a frictionless continuant alongside /w/. The name frictionless continuant is not widely known, thus, it has been changed to approximant borrowing from Titanji et al (1988:124). The velar /ɣ/ was also left out by Nti (1973). In his discussion of the consonants in Mungaka, Nti (1973) considered the labialised variants of /t/, /s/, /g/, /ts/, /dz/ and /n/ as separate phonemes. We are of the opinion that these sounds are variants, thus allophones of the same phonemes, thus explaining their exclusion from the consonant chart. We have also included the glottal stop /ʔ/ which Lima in Titanji and al (1988) leaves out, though he discusses it with vowels. The consonants in Mungaka are distributed as follows, in actual usage in words.

Sound	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
p	paʔ (spoil)	ŋkumpiʔ (a kind of dance)	-
b	ba (father)	bàbti (flat)	tab (shoe)
t	tă (fly)	làti (lick)	-
d	dù (bee)	tadndùʔ (big pot for palmwine)	kwěd (tie/hang)
k	ked (throw)	kôku (jigger)	-
g	gib (to doubt)	ngam (conversation)	gag (go off hands in morals)
ts	tsen (forehead)	montsi (option)	-
dz	dzun (buy)	dzaŋdzaŋ (a kind of tree)	-

h	han (superlative of whiteness)	-	-
v	vagli (be clumsy)	vava (waterfall)	-
s	săd (comb)	sisi (black)	-
ɣ	ɣan (thief)	ɣɯ ɣɯn (a fool)	-
m	mandzi (road)	mamti (snatchup)	kem (squeeze)
n	nàn (prevent/hinder)	lànwo (rock)	mon (child)
ɲ	ɲo (snake)	ɲɲoʔmùn (murderer)	-
ŋ	ŋàti (fold up)	-	ɲoŋ (lick off)
l	lam (to many)	tali (palour)	-
w	wɔ̀bti (ring)	bɯ wi (women)	-
y	yab (theirs)	yayin (shame on you)	-

TABLE III

From the above examples, it can be concluded that all the consonants in Mungaka occur at initial positions in words.

2.1.2 Vowels

Mungaka has nine short vowels. In speech, these vowels could be lengthened, though length is not phonemic in the language under study. All the vowels in Mungaka are monophthongs. Of the nine vowels, eight occur with the glottal stop /ʔ/. Below is a chart representing all the vowels in Mungaka.

	Front	center	back
high	i	ɯ	u
mid	e	ə	o
	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

TABLE IV: Mungaka vowel chart.

The short and truncated vowels, Ndangam (1972) can be established through substitution as shown below:

Short non-truncated vowels.

Vowel	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
/i/	ited (three)	lin (know)	dzi (dress)
/e/	ø	ked (throw)	kwe (to return)
/ɛ/	ø	lɛn (old)	sɛ (also)
/a/	a (it)	lan (clean)	ba (father)
/ɔ/	ø	bɔŋ (good)	wɔ̀ (who)
/o/	ø	mon (child)	wo (stone)
/ə/	ø	ɣə ɣə (center)	ɣə (go)
/u/	u (you)	kun (bed)	ndù (palmwine)
/ɯ/	ø	nɯŋ (put)	fuɯ (look like you mean look like)

TABLE V: NB ø = Zero occurrence.

Glottalized and truncated vowels.

Vowel	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
/iʔ/	ø	fiʔti (immitate)	miʔ (swing)
/eʔ/	ø	meʔti (to finish)	ibeʔ (other)
/ɛʔ/	ø	mɛʔmɛʔ (altogether)	mɛʔ (all)
/aʔ/	ø	maʔti (to allow)	ilàʔ (which)
/ɔʔ/	ø	mɔʔŋka (once more)	kɔʔ (bridge)
/əʔ/	ø	fəʔti (to blow)	kəʔ (cough)
/u/	ø	suʔti (give way)	sŭʔ (wash)
/ɯ/	ø	sɯʔti (hiccup)	sɯʔ (cooperative work)

TABLE VI0:

2.1.3 Tone

Mungaka has three level tones and two contour tones. The high tone is unmarked e.g a "it", the low tone is marked e.g ilàʔ "which" and the mid tone is also marked mu̱ "perfect aspect marker". The contour tones are falling (ˆ) and rising (ˇ) tones. The tones in Mungaka are phonemic as illustrated below. Mungaka is therefore a tone language.

Mungaka	Gloss	Mungaka	Gloss
ku	(die)	mô	(honorific expression for greeting a sub-chief)
kù	(foot/leg)		
ba	(father)		
bà	(plural marker)		
ndab	(house)	mŏ	(chat round the fire)
ndàb	(cotton)	mù	(perfective tense marker)
saŋ	(tail)		
sàŋ	(star)		
nsɔŋ	(pull out)	mu	(your)
nsɔ̀ŋ	(tooth)	mù	(I/me)
baŋ	(red)	sa?	(case (litigata)
bàŋ	(stick)	să?	(snatch away)

TABLE VII

2.2 Morphology

This involves the conbination of morphemes to form words. Mungaka is both analytic (isolating) and agglutinating in its formation of words. The structure of the words in Mungaka will be discussed through an examination of the syllabic structure of words and the prefix markers.

2.2.1 The analytic type

A language is said to be analytic or isolating, when its words consist of a single morpheme. This implies that most of the words

consist only of a root. In Mungaka, the tense is expressed by a free morpheme. This therefore makes Mungaka an isolating language:

(1) **ba mù lɔ̀? bə su? mù mbum i.**

father my Pl already wash perf. body its.

"My father has already bathed"

2.2.2 The agglutinating type

An agglutinating language makes extensive use of words containing two or more morphemes i.e. (a root and one or more affixes). In Mungaka the number category i.e. (sg/pl) is generally agglutinating in nature:

(2) sg

mù-sisi	**bùn-sisi**
(African)	(Africans)
m-on	**b-on**
(child)	(children)
mfɯ	**ba-mfɯ**
(blind person)	(blind persons)

2.2.3 Syllable structure

The syllabic structure of words in Mungaka varies as follows:

Syllable structure of stem	Word	Gloss
C	ŋ	(yes)
V	i	(he/she/it)
CV	li	(sleep)
VCVC	ilà?	(which)
CVC	saŋ	(tail)

CCV	mba	(mad person)
CCVC	nkan	(monkey)
CCCVC	nkwan	(slave)
CVCCCV	mɯngwi	(woman)

TABLE VIII

The structure above can be summarised thus: C^3 initial i.e. C^3... and C^1 final (max) i.e. ... C^1. It should be noted that the initial C element in the C^3 and above cluster is always a nasal.

The prefix markers in Mungaka are structured as follows:

Syllable	Word	Gloss	Syllable structure of prefix
C	b-on	(children)	C-
CV	bà-ndo	(grand father)	CV-
	bu-mbaŋ	(men)	CV-
CVC	bùn-baŋ	(European)	CVC-
	n-dum	(husband)	C-
	ŋg-wi	(wife)	CC-

TABLE IX

2.3 Syntax

An examination of tense, aspect mood and various types of sentences will help us understand better the word order of Mungaka.

2.3.1 Tense Aspect and Mood

Tense, aspect and mood in Mungaka are characterised by elements known as "verbal particles" Ndangam A. (1972) which indicate change in tense, aspect and mood. In his treatment of tense in Mungaka,

Ndangam (1972) postulates fifteen verbal particles. Below is a revised version of the verbal chart proposed by Ndangam (1972). This has been done to facilitate reading and comprehension. Thus, instead of using the notation (P1-P15) we have used (P1-P4) to indicate past tense, (F) for the future and (T) for the termination markers. Table X below:

P1	P2	P3	P4		F1	F2			
Today Past	Recent Past	Distant or Yesterday Past	Remote Past		Immediate Future	Distant Future	T1	T2	T3
lɔ̀ʔ	kă(ni)	kà	ka làʔ		to	làʔ	a	bə	e

TABLE X

2.3.1.1 Present tense

In Mungaka, the present tense is unmarked. It is expressed in two ways. Either by a single verb:

(3) **to-** "come"
fa- "give"

or the subject and the predicate:

(4) **u kwe ya e?**
You return where T3
"Where are you from?"

2.3.1.2 Past tense

The past tense an Mungaka is expressed in four different ways: today past, recent past, yesterday or distant past and remote past.

2.3.1.2.1 Today past

It expresses on event which took place on the same day of speaking. Today's past tense marker is lɔ̀ʔ.

(5) **yohanne lɔ̀ʔ ngə ma ntan ni ɲum iba**
John P1 go to market during sun two,
"John went to the market at 2 O'clock"

The tense marker lɔʔ (P1) remains the same for all pronouns except the first person singular where mu "I" and lɔʔ (P1) become contracted to ndɔ̀ʔ:

(6) **ndɔ̀ʔ Mbumti ba u.**
It P1 meet father your.
"I met your father."

2.3.1.2.2 Recent past

It expresses an action which just occurred. The recent past is usually characterised by the reduplication of the verbs. The reduplicated form of intransitive verb occurs together while the reduplicated form of the transitive verbs is separated by an NP. It should be noted that the presence of "just" which preceeds the verb, influences the verb to become nasalised.

(7) **fe kă ni nto-to**
Feh P2 just come
"Feh has just arrived."

(8) **ba mu kă ni ndzun ndzi le dzun.**
father my P2 just buy dress the buy.
"My father has just bought the dress."

The recent past tense marker is kă ni (P2) as shown above. The tense markers kă and kà remain the same for all persons but for the first person singular where mu (I) and kă or kà become contracted to nkă and nkà:

(9) **nkă ni ntse-tse.**
It P2 just arrive-arrive
"I have just arrived."

2.3.1.2.3 Yesterday or Distant past

It expresses an action that took place either before the day of speaking or any known time in the past. The yesterday past tense marker is kà.

(10) **nkà dzun kedzu ni ŋku?**
It P3 buy food during yesterday.
"I bought food yesterday."

(11) **Galega ikusi kà ku ni 1985**
Galega the first P3 die in 1985
"Galega I died in 1985."

2.3.1.2.4 Remote past

It expresses an action that occured at some unknown or forgotten distant time in the past. The remote past tense marker is kà là? (P4).

(12) **nikɔb kà là? mbɯd ŋgɔŋ ba Muntun ntsun-tsun.**
God P4 turn country PL Muntun upside-down
"God turned the land of the Muntun tribe upside-down."

Another way in which Mungaka expresses the past is.

"future in the past" Ndangam A. (1972)

(13) **ngɔ? yo ndzə nu kà (ni) ndà? bo a.**
so this how things P4 (It P4) be T1
"So this is how things were to turn out."

2.3.1.3 Future tense

The future tense in Mungaka is expressed in two ways: The immediate future and the distant future.

2.3.1.3.1 Immediate Future

It expresses an action that will occur on the day of speaking. The immediate future tense marker is to (F1).

(14) **na?dzəla to-to ni nsa?**
Nahjella F1 come during afternoon.
"Nahjella will come in the afternoon."

(15) **bɯ to su? ndzi ni mbonum**
we F1 wash clothes during evening.
"We will wash clothes in the evening."

2.3.1.3.2 Distant future

It expresses an action that will occur at anytime but not on the same day of speaking. The distant future tense marker is la? (F2).

(16) **bo la? ɣə ma ntan ni ŋgab.**
They F2 go to market during next week.
"They will go to the market next week."

2.3.2 Aspect

An aspect is a verbal form that relates activity to the passage of time. It therefore expresses simple action, repetition, beginning and duration. In Mungaka, a change in aspect leads to a change in tense. Mungaka makes use of four different aspects: Progressive, perfective, pluperfect and iterative or duration.

2.3.2.1 Progressive aspect

It expresses an action that continues over a period of time. In Mungaka the progressive aspect is expressed by all the three tenses. The simple present, the past and the future tenses. The progressive aspect marker in Mungaka is ni (prog) as illustrated in the following sentences:

(17) **Simple present tense:** **mon u ni nkəŋ**
child your prog. cry
"Your baby is crying."

(18) **Today past:** **ndɔ̌ ni ŋgə ma nda?nikɔb**
(I+P1) prog. go to house God
"I was going to church."

(19) **Future tense:** **u to (ti) ni mfa? kə ndib**
You F1 be prog. give what time
mbonɰm e?
evening T3
"What will you be doing in the evening."

2.3.2.2 Perfective aspect.

It denotes a complete action. In Mungaka it is expressed by the simple present and past tenses. The perfective aspect marker in Mungaka is mɯ "perf."

(20) **Simple present:** **i** **ɣə** **mɯ**
He/she go perf.
"He/she is gone."

In the past tense the perfective aspect is expressed in three ways:

(21) **Today past:** **i** **lɔ?** **mbə** **tse** **mɯ**
She (P1) already arrive perf.
"She has already arrived."

(22) **Distant past:** **fɔɲɔŋa** **i** **kusi** **kà** **(bə)**
Fonyonga the first P3
ku **mɯ** **lɔ̀?** **kwam.**
die perf. since long.
"Fonyonga I had died long ago."

(23) **Remote past:** **nkà** **la?** **bə** **dzun** **mɯ** **yɔ** **mbom**
I+P4 F4 be buy perf. this type
ndzi **le**
dress the
"I had once bought this same dress."

2.3.2.3 Pluperfect aspect

It denotes an action that happened before some past action referred to. It therefore expresses an action completed before some past time

implied. This aspect is expressed by the past tense in two ways. The pluperfect aspect marker in Mungaka is mbo "plup".

(24) **Today past:** **ndib u lɔ̌? bi to a ŋgwi a**
time you P1 want come T2 wife my

mbo ɣǎ mʉ̀.
plup. go perf.
"When you arrived, my wife had already left."

(25) **Yesterday past:** **ndib ù kà bi to a ŋgwi**
time you P3 want come syn-ele women

u bo kà mbo ɣǎ mʉ̀
you had P3 (plup) go (perf.)
"When you came your wife had already gone."

2.3.2.4 Iterative or Duration aspect

The iterative aspect expresses an action that is repetitive, while the duration aspect expresses an action that is continuous in time or an action that is indefinite. The iterative aspect is expressed by the immediate future tense and the duration aspect by the distant future. The iterative or duration aspect marker is ti? (ni).

(26) **Immediate future:** **ba to ti? (ni) ngə**
we F1 Iterative marker go
"We will be going."

(27) **Distant future:** **ba la? ti? ngen ntan**
we F2 (Duration marker) market(v) market (n)

ni **lum.**
during dry season
"We shall trade during the dry season."

2.3.3 Mood

Mood expresses the state of something i.e. certainty, possibility, doubt or habitual. The moods in Mungaka include: the imperative, adhortative, optative, habitual and potential-moods. The imperative mood, adhortative mood and optative moods are marked by a high tone while the potential and habitual moods are not.

2.3.3.1 Imperative mood

It expresses a command. In Mungaka the imperative form is often followed by an emphatic particle la. Ndangam (1972).

(28) **bi** **ye** **ba** **tsaʔtɨ** **nikɔb.**
pl. you make we thank God.
"Let us pray."

(29) **bi** **ye** **ba** **nɯŋ** **bɛn**
pl. you make we dance(v) dance (n)
"Let us dance."

2.3.3.2 Potential mood

It expresses possibility. In Mungaka it is formed with bofa "be able". Lĭn "may, or can" may be used for emphasis.

(30) **bofà** **bi** **ɲɔʔ** **mbi** **eʔ**
be able pl. you kill goat T3
"Are you able to kill a goat?"

(31) **bofà bi lĭn mà tsam mon e?**
be able (pl.) you my can to carry chile T3
"Are you able to carry a child?"

2.3.3.3 Habitual mood

It expresses a habit i.e. something that is done often:

(32) **nkă ni no ndiba**
I+P2 drink cigarette
"I still smoke."

Mungaka is predominantly an S.V.O. language. This assumption will be attested through an examination of the word order of the different types of sentences that exist in Mungaka. In Mungaka a sentence is either declarative, affirmative, interrogative or negative in nature. Some of these sentence types are characterised by the presence of termination markers which distinguish them from one another. (Fig. II)

2.3.4.1 Declarative sentence

A declarative sentence is a sentence which expresses certainty. The structure of this sentence type is made up of all the tenses and their aspects.

(33) **ɣan le tɛn mɯ̀**
S V
thief the run perf.
"The thief has escaped."

(34) **bɯ̀ kà tse ni ŋku?**
we P3 arrive during yesterday
"We arrived yesterday."

2.3.4.2 Affirmative sentence

It is a sentence that asserts positively or confidently. Declarative sentences are sometimes affirmative in nature. In Mungaka an affirmative sentence usually has the termination marker a which is also a syntactic particle at the end of most subordinated clauses.

(35) **bo kà we ɣan le yi i ka tɛn**
They P3 catch thief the who he P3 run

lɔʔ ma ndatsaŋ a
from at house prison T1
"They caught the thief who escaped from the prison."

(36) **a bɔŋ mɯ**
It good me
"It is good."

(37) **mbim mɯ**
I + agree me
"I agree/accept."

2.3.4.3 Interrogative sentence

It is a sentence which questions. In Mungaka interrogative sentences end with an interrogative marker (e) T3 (Fig. II).

(38) **u la? ɣə ya ni ngab e?**
S V
you F2 go where during week T3
"Where shall you go next week?"

(39) **na u ma ndab e?**
mother your at house T3?
"Is your mother in the house?"

(40) **ba u kwe mʊ̀ ma ŋgwen e?**
S V
father your return (perf.) at farm T2
"Has your father returned from farm?"

2.3.4.4 Negative sentence

It is a sentence which expresses denial, refusal or prohibition. A sentence that lacks positive quality and fails to affirm. It is therefore the opposite of an affirmative sentence. In Mungaka the negative sentence usually ends with a negative marker by (T2) legaition in Mungaka can be expressed thus:

(41) **a kʊ̀ bɔŋ bə**
SV
It not good T2
"It is not good."

(42) **mù ma mbim bə**
me (negative + agree T2 SV
or "I do not agree

nku mbim bə
I + not I + agree T2

ŋga ya
no me
"No."

In the negative form the verbal element la? (F2) changes form and becomes nda?.

(43)	**u**	**ma**	**ni**	**nda?**	**ɣə**	**bə**	**SV**
	you	(negative particle with imperative)	to	(negative + F2)	go	T2	

"You shall not go."

From the above analysis, the following conclusion can be made: while English has only one past tense marker for regular verbs, Mungaka makes use of four past tense markers. Mungaka also makes use of termination markers to determine sentence types which is not the case with English. Mungaka and English have a common structure (SVO).

Chapter Three

WH-MOVEMENT

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the nature and status of Wh-movement that mediate the relation between D-structure and S-structure in Mungaka. The basic claim is that Mungaka is a [+movement] language. This discussion will justify this view. To attain this objective, we will first of all establish what exactly a wh-question is, secondly, we will consider the target for movement and the landing sites of moved wh-phrases, through an examination of wh-movement in wh-question formation, cleft sentences, embedded wh-phrases and relativization. Finally we will discuss the contraints that check wh-movement in Mungaka.

3.1 Wh-question

According to Radford (1988:462) wh-questions are so called because,

> "...in English, they typically involve the use of an interrogative word beginning with wh (who, what when, which, why) with the exception of how."

The interrogative pronouns in Mungaka diffrentiate between singular and plural, as well as animate and in inanimate (Table XI)

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
Animate	wɔ	bawɔ	who
	yi	bi	who/whom
Inanimate	ya	----	where
	ndikə	----	when
	ila?	bila?	which
	mbĭ?kə	----	why

TABLE XI: Interrogative pronouns

In Mungaka the aforementioned interrogative pronouns are usually followed by the interrogative element e, as shown below:

(1) **u ɣə ya e?**
you go where/inter-ele
"Where are you going?"

(2) **à bə wɔ e?**
It is who inter-ele
"Who is it?"

(3) **u ni lab mon le mbi?kə e ?**
You prog. beat child the why inter-ele
"Why are you beating the child?"

Apart from wh-questions, other question types that occur in Mungaka include: Yes-No questions, echo and non-echo questions and direct and indirect questions. There is a major typological difference

between Yes-No questions and wh-question. The Yes-No questions are those questions that warrant ŋ "Yes", or ŋgang 'no", as replies (4):

(4) Speaker A: **na u ma ndab e?**
mother your at house inter-ele
"Is your mother at home?"

Speaker B: **ŋ**
"Yes"

ŋgang
"No"

Another typological division which is independent of the Yes-No/wh-distinction, is that between echo and non-echo questions. In echo questions, the speaker's speech is echoed by the listener as shown below:

(5) Speaker A: **mu ni ngə**
me prog. go
"I am going."

Speaker B: **u (ni) ngə e?**
you prog. go inter-ele
"You are going."

In (5) speaker B makes use of the Yes-No echo question while speaker B in (6) uses a wh-echo question.

(6) Speaker A: **Fe lɔ? dzun ndzi le**
Feh P1 buy dress the
"Feh bought the dress."

Speaker B: **Fe lɔ? dzun kə e?**
Feh P1 buy what inter-ele
"Feh has bought what?"

On the other hand, non echo questions do not echo others but they are questions which act as initiators for a conversational topic, such as meeting an old friend, one can initiate a conversation as follows:

(7) **u kă ndə mu bə ya e?**
you P3 hide for where inter-ele
"Where have you been hiding?"

A third typological distinction is between direct and indirect questions. The structure of a direct question is an independent sentence such as:

(8) **u lɔ̀? ni ntsu bi wɔ e?**
you P1 prog. talk with who inter-ele
"Who were you talking to?"

Indirect questions are dependent clauses which are embedded after verbs like: beti "ask" and tsă "wonder".

(9) **ii lɔ̀? beti a mùn yi ŋka ntsu mbo yi a**
He P1 ask me person that I+P2 talk to him inter-ele
"He asked me the person I spoke to?"

From our examination of other question forms, we discovered that wh-questions in Mungaka share certain similarities with echo questions, non-echo questions and direct questions.

3.1.1 Target for Movement

In wh-question formation, movement usually involves a constituent, whose identity or specification the speaker is requesting

information about. This might include either a wh-NP, wh-AP or a wh-PP as illustrated below:

(10) **a bə kə yi u ni dzɯ a —— e?**

It is what that you prog. eat syn-ele inter-ele

"What are you eating?"

(11) **u kwə ya e?**

You return where inter-ele

"Where are you from?"

(12) **a bə wɔ e?**

It I who inter-ele

"Who is it?"

The dash (—) indicates the location of the moved NP. Using (10) as a typical example of wh-question formation in Mungaka, we can therefore generate a phrase structure (hence forth PS) rule for Mungaka as follows:

(13) PS 1: S → NP INFL VP.

Assuming that in (10) the wh-phrase originated from the gap, we will therefore have (11) as the underlying structure of the wh-question.

(14) **u ni dzɯ kə e?**

You prog. eat what inter-element

"You are eating what?"

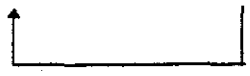
The underlying structure above can be represented as follows:

(15) **x Wh y**

x and y are the environments before and after the wh-phrase respectively.

Wh-movementr moves the wh-phrase to the initial position of a sentence, i.e. pre-x. the movement can be represented as follows:

(16) **X WH Y**



The arrow in (16) indicates wh-movement. Wh-movement in Mungaka is optional. This is because failure to move still results in normal wh-question interpretation. Thus (17a) and (17b) are equivalents in Mungaka.

(17)a **u ni naŋ kə?**
You prog. cook what
"What are you cooking?"
or
"You are cooking what?"

(b) **à bə kə yi u ni naŋ—a e?**
It is what that you prog. cook-syn-elle inter-ele
"What are you cooking?"

In Mungaka, wh-movement is induced by the use of the copula à "it" bə "is":

(18) **ba u to niŋ ilà? nwa?ni ma dzi bam**
father your F1 put which book at inside bag
le e ?
the inter-ele
"Which book will your father put inside the bag?"

(19) **à (bə) ilà? nwa?ni yi ba u to niŋ — ma**
It is which book that father you F1 put at
dzi bam le a e ?
inside bag the syn-ele inter-ele
"Which book will your father put in the bag?"

Considering (19), we can therefore refer to the target for movement in Mungaka as the wh-phrase which the speaker wants to put into communicative prominence. The use of bə̲ "is" as indicated by the brackets is optional in Mungaka.

3.1.2 The landing site of wh-phrase

The landing site of the wh-phrase in Mungaka is the specifier position of comp (for complementizer). This landing site can be illustrated as follows:

(20) **Maria ka dzun ila? ndab e ?**
Maria P3 buy which house inter-ele
"Maria bought which house?"

(21) **à (bə) ila?$_i$ ndab yi Maria ka ndzun t$_i$ a e?**
CP IP
It (is) which house that Maria P3 buy syn-ele inter-ele
"Which house did Mary buy?"

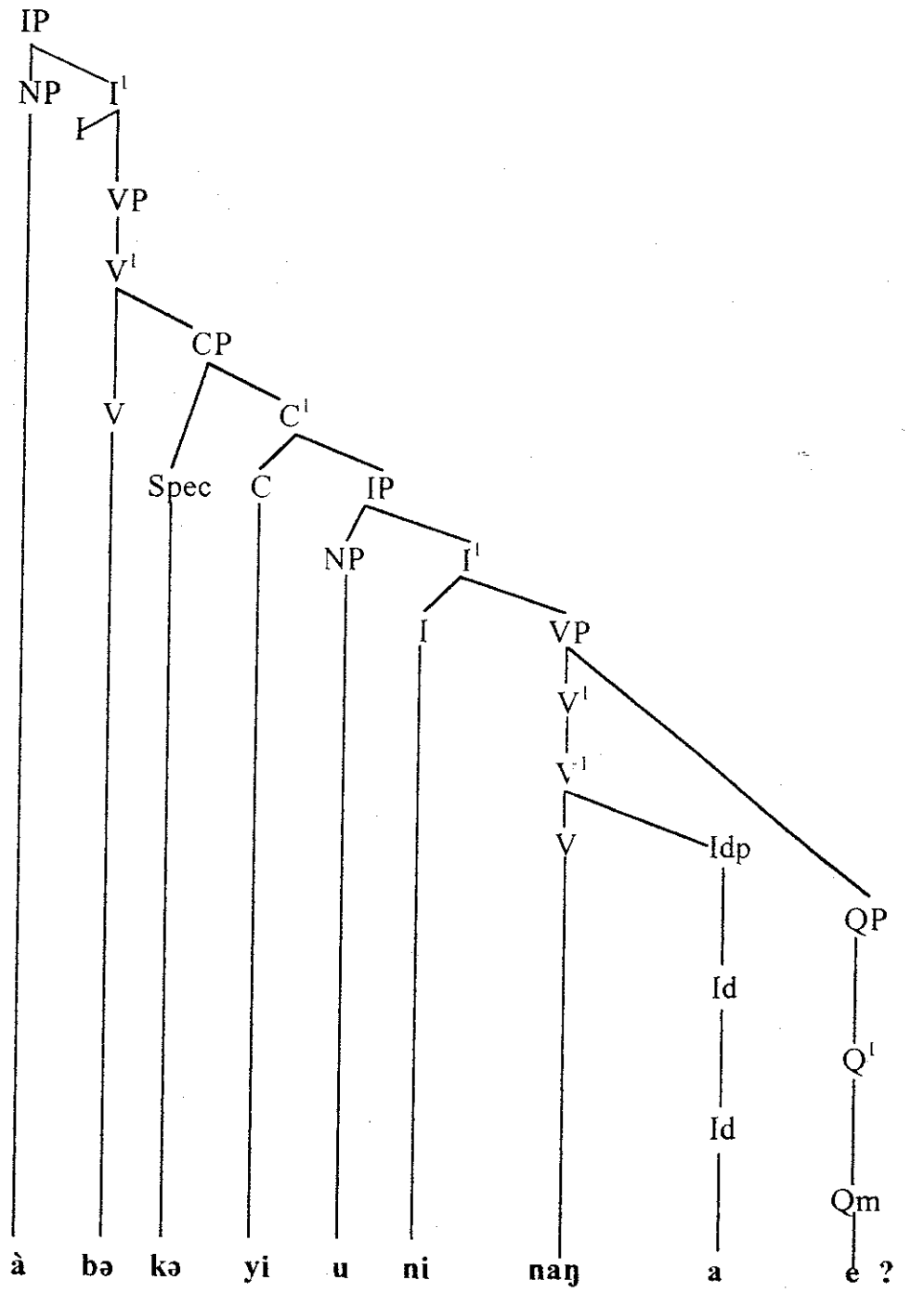
Considering (21) our PS rule for wh-question formation in Mungaka can be revised as follows:

(22) PS-rule 2: a. = S' → COMP S

b. = S NP → AUX VP

The movement of a wh-phrase in Mungaka can be illustrated on a tree diagram as follows:

(23)



"What are you cooking?"

Having discussed the landing site of moved wh-phrases, the inherent properties of moved wh-phrases in Mungaka can be summarized as follows:

a. A moved matrix wh-phrase yields a wh-phrase in the specifier position of CP (25).

(24) **ba u to we? kə e?**
Father your F1 wear what inter-ele
"Your father will wear what?"

(25) **à bə kə yi ba u to we? a e?**
It is what that father your F1 wear syn-ele inter-ele
"What will your father wear?"

b. The movement of a wh-phrase leaves a co-indexed gap (ti) (26) at the extraction site.

(26) **à bə wɔ yi ndaŋgɔ ka nɯd** t_i **a e?**
It is who that Ndango P3 push syn-ele inter-ele
"Who did Ndango push?"

c. The moved wh-phrase is usually followed by a complementizer yi "that" (25-26).

d. The movement of a wh-phrase obeys subjacency (This will be explained later.)

3.2 Cleft sentences

As earlier mentioned (3.1.2) the movement of wh-phrases in Mungaka is induced by the use of the copula a "it", bə "is" (28).

(27) **mon le to dzɯ kə ndio e ?**
child the F1 eat what today inter-ele
"What will the child eat today?"

(28) **à (bə) kə yi mon le to dzɯ ndio —a e**
It is what that child the F1 eat today syn-ele
"What will the child eat today?"

From (28), we realize that wh-movement in Mungaka is characterized by clefting (28 and 30).

(29) **laŋgmia ka ɣə ni ila? ndip e?**
Langmia P3 go prog. which time inter-ele
"Langmia left when?"

(30) **à bə ila? ndip yi laŋgmia ka ɣə a e?**
It is which time that Langmia P3 go syn-ele inter-ele
"When did Langmia leave?"

From the (28) and (30) we can conclude that in Mungaka, the structure of a sentence with moved wh-matrix phrase is similar to a cleft sentence.

3.3 Relativization

In Mungaka, there is a general relative pronoun yi, PL bi, which introduces relative clauses:

(31) **yohanne ɲɔ mù mbi le (yi) maria ka ndzun—a.**
John kill Perf. goat the which Mary, P3 buy—syn-ele
"John has killed the goat which Mary bought.

The relative pronoun in Mungaka is often omitted (32):

(32) **Mathieu dzɥ mù kedzu le naʔsala ka naŋ - a**
Mathew eat perf. food the Nahsala P3 cook syn-ele
"Mathew has eaten the food which Nahsala cooked."

In Mungaka, the extraction of an NP out of a relative clause is illicit as the ungrammaticality of (33) shows:

(33)* **ŋ lin mùn yi ka dzɥ yi naʔsala ka naŋ - a**
I know person who P3 eat which Nahsala P3 cook-syn-ele
"I know the person who ate which Nahsala cooked."

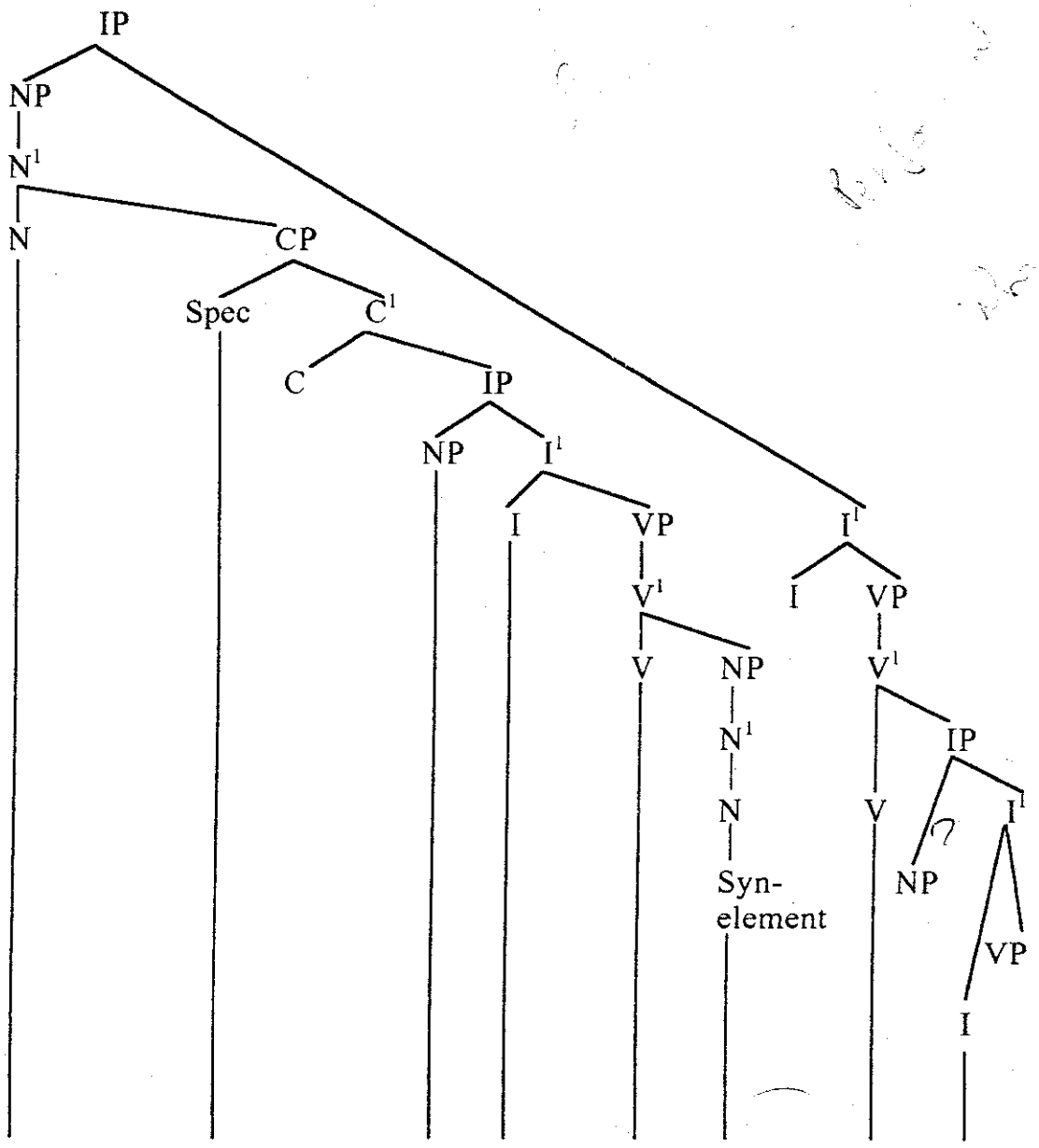
Having analysed wh-relatives, the properties of wh-relatives in Mungaka can be summarized as follows:

a. The use of the relative pronoun yi, pl, bi is optional (32).

b. There is a gap left by the moved wh-relative phrase.

c. Relativization in Mungaka obeys subjacency. This is justified by the illicit nature of (33) which is as a result of the violation of the CNPC. Wh-relative in Mungaka can be phrase marked as follows:

(34)



"The woman who was sick is dead."

d) Wh-relatives in Mungaka have as landing site the specifier position of CP (34).

3.4 Embedded wh-phrases

In Mungaka, embedded wh-phrases are introduced by verbs like beti "ask" bati "think" and tsă "wonder". The wh-word is usually preceded by an animate or inanimate noun:

(35) **à tsă a mùn yi bob to lam — a**
It pass me person who Bob F1 Mary syn-ele
"I wonder whom Bob will Marry."

(36) **i lɔ̀? bèti a yum yi fe to dzɯ - a**
He P1 ask me thing which Feh F1 eat syn-ele

In Mungaka the use of any other wh-word apart from yi in embedded context is illicit:

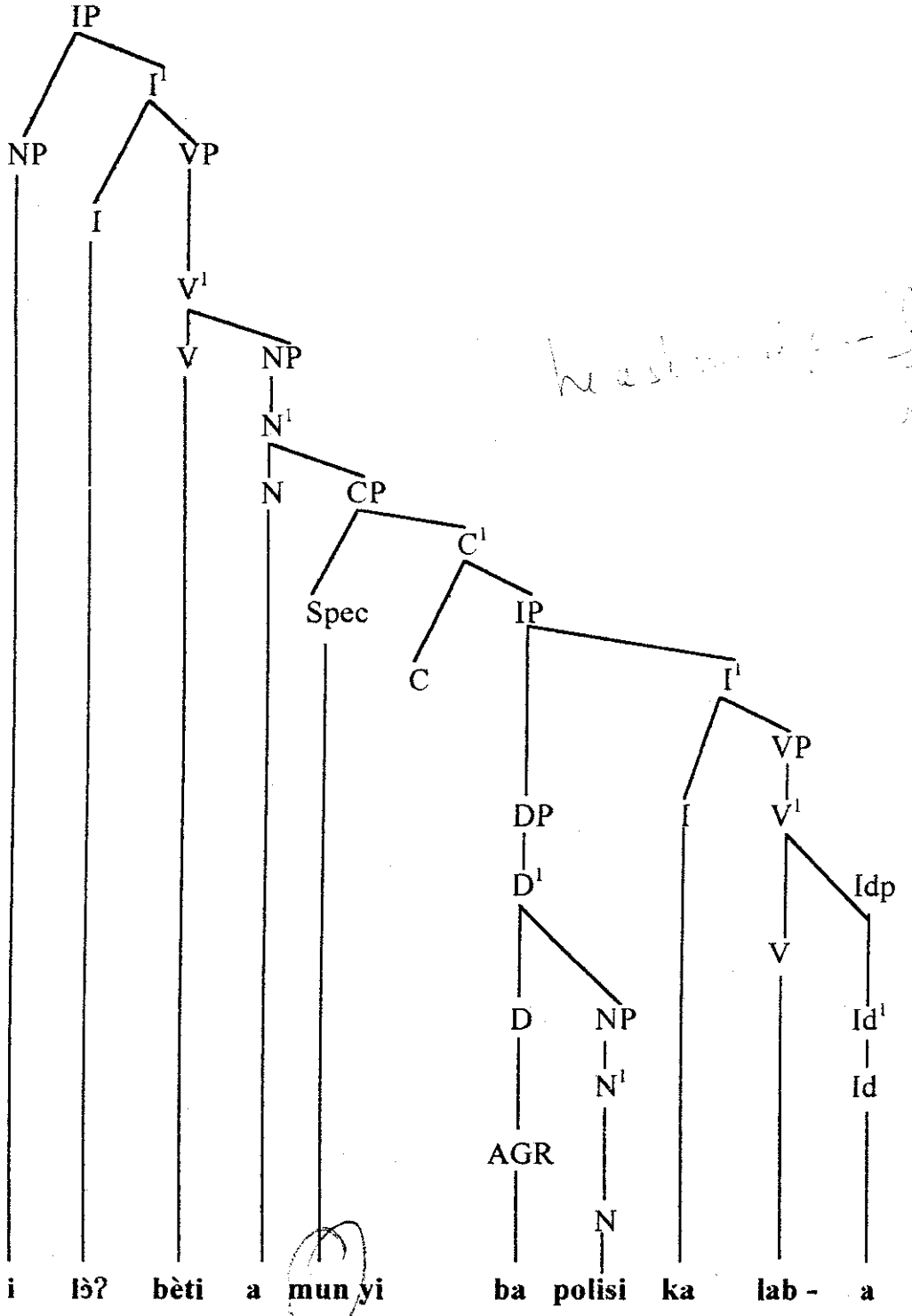
(37)* **a tsă a wɔ bob to lam - a**
It pass me who Bob F1 Marry syn-ele
"I wonder who Bob will Marry."

(38)* **i lɔ? beti a kə fe to dzun - a**
He P1 ask me what Feh F1 buy syn-ele
"He asked me what Feh will buy."

The ungrammaticality in (37) and (38) implies that Mungaka has a general interrogative pronoun yi which introduces embedded clauses. The inherent properties of the movement of a wh-phrase in embedded context in Mungaka, can be summarized as follows:

a. The movement of a wh-phrase in an embedded context yields a wh-phrase in the specifier position of CP.

(39)



"He asked me whom the policemen beat."

b. The movement of a wh-phrase in an embedded context leaves a gap (ti) at the extraction site.

(40)* **yakɔb lɔ̀? bèti a yum yi na mu ka**
Jacob Pl ask me thing which mother my P3
naŋ a.
cook syn-ele
"Jacob asked me what my mother cooked."

c. The gap is coindexed with the wh-element in Spec of COMP:

a tsă a [yum yi$_i$ [bisɔna to dzun t$_i$ a
CP IP
It pass me, thing which Bisona F1 buy syn-ele
"I wonder what Bisona will buy."

d. The movement of wh-phrase in embedded context obeys subjacency:

(41)* **a wɔ yi a tsă u bob to lam a e ?**
It who that it pass you Bob F1 marry syn-ele inter-ele
"Whom do you wonder Bob will marry?"

In (41), a wh-phrase has been extracted from an embedded clause which is dominated by a CP. This therefore accounts for the violation of subjacency above.

3.5 The status of a (Syn-ele)

In our examination of wh-movement in Mungaka, we realized that when-ever there is movement, a syntactic element precedes the interrogative element e:

(42)a **bi lɔ̀? we? ilà? ndzi e?**

You(pl.) P1 wear which dress inter-ele

"You wore which dress?"

b) **a (bə) ilà? ndzi yi bi lɔ̀? we? a e**

It is which dress that you(pl.) P1 wear syn-ele inter-ele

"Which dress did you wear?"

Ndangam (1972) refers to a as a termination marker at the end of a declarative sentence while Tishhauser (1992) considers it as a marker at the end of a subordinate clause. Since a appears when ever there is movement, it might be mistaken for a resumptive pronoun left by movement:

(43)a **mon le ni kwet kə e ?**

child the prog. Chew what inter-ele

"The child is chewing what?"

b) **a (bə) kə yi mon le ni kwet a e**

It is what that child the prog. chew syn-ele inter-ele

"What is the child chewing?"

We say a is not necessarily a resumptive pronoun because when there is a PP a does not occupy the extraction site, rather, it occupies the position after the PP:

(44)a **diŋgana to nɯŋ kə ma dzi garage e ?**

Dingana F1 put what at inside garage inter-ele

"Dingana will put what in the garage?"

b) **a (bə) kə yi diŋgana to nɯŋ- ma dzi**
It is what that Dingana F1 put - at inside
garage a e ?
garage syn-ele inter-ele
"What will Dingana put in the garage?"

Considering the above analysis of a, we can therefore refer to a as a syntactic element which indicates movement. a is therefore known as an identifier in Mungaka.

3.6 Constraints

In the previous sections, we established the fact that wh-movement moves constituents to the initial position of a sentence. i.e. to COMP:

(45) D-structure : **yohanne ka dzun ila? ndab e ?**
John P3 buy which house inter-ele
"John bought which house."

(46) S-structure : **a (bə) ilà? ndab yi yohanne ka**
It is which house that John P3
dzun- a e ?
buy syn-ele inter-ele
"Which house did John buy?"

In this process, we might have wrongly believed wh-movement in Mungaka, to be unlimited. Since grammars are highly disciplined, the illicitness of (47b), reiterate the fact that we cannot move anything to

anywhere without justification. This therefore implies that movement in Mungaka is restricted:

(47)a **ba mù ka dzun ndzi sisi bô tab bàŋ**
father my P3 buy dress black and shoe red
"My father bought a black dress and a pair of red shoes."

b)* **yɔ bə tab le ba u ka dzun ndzi**
this is shoe the father your P3 buy dress

sisi bô a.
black and syn-ele

"This is the shoe your father bought the black dress with."

In (47b) an NP tab which is a conjunct of a coordinate structure has been wrongly extracted. This extraction violates CSC. The violation of CSC accounts for the aberrant nature of (47b). If movement had no restrictions, (47b) would be accepted as grammatical. The conditions which check excesses in movement are known as "constraints" Ross (1967).

3.6.1 The [+wh] comp condition

It states that,

> "not all comps are legitimate targets for wh-movement."
>
> Ouhalla J. (1994:69).

To better understand the above quotation, let us compare (48) and (49):

(48) **ndɔ̀? bɛti ŋga à ilà? ndzi yi bo ka dzə a?**
I+P1 ask that it which dress that they P3 steal syn-ele
"I asked which dress they stole."

The verb bɛti "ask" subcategorizes for an interrogative clause, while bati think subcategorizes for a declarative clause. The ungrammaticality of (50) is the result of a wrong subcategorization frame:

(50)* **ndɔ̀ bati ŋga à ila? ndzi yi bo ka dzə a**
I + think that it which dress that they P3 steal syn-ele
"I think which dress they stole."

The aberrant nature of (50) proves that in Mungaka, wh-movement can only move wh-phrases to a comp which is [+WH]. The rule move wh is therefore revized as:

"Move wh-xp to [+Wh] - comp.
Ouhalla (1994:69).

3.6.2 The wh-island constraint

An environment that forbids any extraction is called an island. It is illicit to extract a wh-phrase out of a clause whose comp position dominates a wh-phrase:

(51) **à tsă a yum yi a (lɔ̀?) yə bob kwət**
It pass me thing which it P1 make Bob eat

nyam le a
meat the syn-ele
"I wonder why Bob ate the meat."

(52)* **à kə yi à tsă u yum yi à yə bob**
It what that it pass you thing which it make Bob

kwət a e
eat syn-ele inter-ele.
"What do you wonder why Bob ate?"

The wh-island constraint also blocks the questioning or relativization of an NP that is part of an indirect question:

(53) **yosep lɔ? bɛti mun yi na?sua to lam a**
Joseph P1 ask person who yi nahsua F1 marry syn-ele
"Joseph asked who Nahsua will marry."

(54)* **à wɔ yi yosep lɔ̀? bɛti na?sua to lam - a e**
It who that Joseph P1 ask Nahsua F1 marry syn-ele inter-ele
"who did Joseph ask Nahsua will marry?"

The ungrammaticality of (54) is the result of the questioning of an NP which is part of an indirect question. The wh-island constraint accounts for (52) and (54).

3.6.3 The complex NP constraint (CNPC)

A complex NP is a relative clause. The CNPC states that:

> "No element contained in a S dominated by an NP with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that NP by transformation".
> Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:25)

The CNPC applies to wh-movement of NPs in Mungaka as follows:

(55)a **Bila ka wě mubaŋ le yi i ka dzə**
Bila P3 catch boy the who he P3 steal

tab le a.
shoe the syn-ele
"Bila caught the boy who stole the pair of shoes."

b.* **a (bə) kə yi bila ka wě mubaŋ le yi i**
It is what that Bila P3 catch boy the who he

ka dzə — a e
P3 steal syn-ele inter-ele
"What did Bila catch the boy who stole?"

c.* **tab le yi bila ka wě mubaŋ le yi i**
shoe the which Bila P3 catch boy the who he

ka dzə a tɯn ti.
P3 steal syn-ele strong too much.
"The pair of shoes which Bila caught the boy who stole is very strong."

In (55b) and (55c) the questioning and extraction of the NP tab le "the shoe" violate the CNPC.

3.6.4 Strict cycle condition

It states that:

> "No rule can apply to a domain dominatd by a cyclic node A [i.e., an s-node] in such a way as to affect solely a proper subdomain of A dominated by a node B which is also a cyclic node."
>
> (Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:61)

The above rule ensures that step I in (56b) can only take place on the CP3 cycle, step II only on CP2 and step III only on CP1:

(56)a **à ilà? ndab yi u ka tsu ŋga gake? bati ŋga**
It which house that you P3 talk that Gakeh think that

tita to dzun a e?

Tita F1 buy syn-ele inter-ele

"Which house did you say that Gakeh thinks that Tita will buy?"

b. [Comp **u ka tsu [Comp gake? bati [Comp tita dzun [ilə? ndab e]**]]]

you P3 talk Gakeh think Tita buy which house inter CP3 CP2 CP1

P1 CP2 CP3 -ele

III II I

"Comp you said Comp Gakeh thinks Comp Tita will buy which house?"

The wh-NP ila? ndab "which house" in (56b) moves in a successive cyclic manner. Having explained how wh-movement operates in Mungaka, let us consider (57) below:

(57)a* **a ilà? ndzi yi u lɔ̀? bɛti petro li? yi**

it which dress that you P1 ask Peter place which

piona ka dzun a

Pauline P3 buy syn-ele

"Which dress did you ask Peter where Pauline bought."

b.* Comp [**u lɔ̀? bɛti petro [Comp [Piona ka dzun [il? ndzi ma] [ila? li? e?]]]]**

CP1 IP CP2 IP

I

In (57a) the Comp on the CP2 cycle is filled by ilà? li? "where"; hence ila? ndzi "which dress" can only move directly to the higher Comp on the CP1 cycle: The wh-island violation in (57a) is therefore accounted for by successive cyclic wh-movement and the strict cycle condition.

3.6.5 Subjacency condition

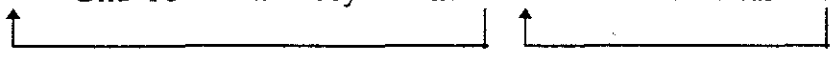
It is the constraint on the distance of movement. A violation of the CNPC and wh-island constraint violates subjacency. The bounding nodes for Mungaka are NP and IP:

(58)* **à bə̀ kə yi Bila ka wě mubaŋ le yi**
It is what that Bila P3 catch boy the who

i ka dzə a e?
he P3 steal syn-ele inter-ele
"What did Bila catch the boy stole?"

In (58) the second step of wh-movement crosses both an NP and an IP boundary:

(59) Comp [**Bila ka wě [mubaŋ le]** [**i ka dzə kə e]]]]**
IP NP CP Comp IP
Bila P3 catch boy the he P3 steal what inter-ele



"Comp Bila caught the boy Comp stole what?"

For the NP kə "what" to get to Comp, it crosses more than one bounding nodes. The ungrammaticality of (58) reiterates the fact no part of an NP can be extracted directly to Comp in Mungaka.

Let us consider the following wh-island violation:

(60)* **à (bə) ilà? moto yi u ka bɛti fe li? yi**
it is which car that you P3 ask Feh place which

buma ka dzun a
Buma P3 buy syn-ele

(61) **[Comp [u ka beti fe Comp [buma ka dzun ila moto [ya e**

IP IP

II

In (61) the wh-NP crosses two bounding nodes i.e. IP and IP to get to Comp. This therefore violates subjacency which states that:

> "No rule can relate X, Y, in the structure
> ...X...[α [β... Y... (or ...Y ...] β...] α... X...)
> where α and B are bounding nodes.
> Riemsdjirk and Williams (1986:62)

In Mungaka it should be noted that the wh-element, which moves into Comp, must always cross the S-boundary last.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined wh-movement in Mungaka and the contraints that check this movement. In our discussion of wh-movement in Mungaka, we discovered that:

a) In Mungaka the wh-words do not begin with wh- as is the case with English:

(62) **wɔ** - "who"
kə - "what"

b) Mungaka distinguishes between animate and inanimate wh-words:

(63) inanimate: **ilà?** - "which"
ya - "where"
mbi?kə - "why"
kə - "what"

animate : **wɔ** - "who"

c) Some of the wh-words have plural morphemes.

(64)

sing.	pl.	Gloss
ila?	**bila?**	"which"

d) Wh-movement in Mungaka is optional. This implies that when the wh-phrase fails to move, we still have a normal question interpretation:

(65)a **u ni naŋ kə e**
you prog. cook what inter-ele
"What are you cooking?"

b. **a bə kə yi u ni naŋ a e?**
It is what that you prog. cook syn-ele inter-ele
"What are you cooking?"

e) Wh-movement in question formation is by clefting:

(66)a **diŋgana to nɯŋ kə ma dzi bam le e ?**
Dingana F1 put what at inside bag the inter-ele
"What will Dingana put in the bag?"

b. **a (bə) kə yi diŋgana to nɯŋ ma dzi bam**
it is what that Dingana F1 put at inside bag
le a e?
the syn-ele inter-ele
"What will Dingana put in the bag?"

f) In Mungaka, the moved wh-phrase is always followed by the complementizer yi "that".

(67)a **lema ka lab wɔ e ?**
Lema P3 beat who inter-ele
"Lema did beat who?"
"Who or did Lema beat?"

b. **a (bə) wɔ yi lema ka lab a e ?**
it is who that lema P3 beat syn-ele inter-ele
"Who did lema beat?"

g) In Mungaka, wh-question always ends with the interrogative element e.

h) In Mungaka, the movement of the wh-phrase leaves a gap which is usually followed by the syntactic element a (67b).

i) Wh-movement is by substitution to the Spec of CP:

(68) **a bə kə yi u ni kàti ti a e**
CP i IP
it is what that you prog. draw syn-ele inter-ele
"What are you drawing?"

j) Through an examination of various constraints we discovered that Mungaka obeys subjacency. The bounding nodes for Mungaka are NP and IP:

(69)* **a bə kə yi ba u to dzɯ gali bo a e?**
it is what that father your F1 eat gari and syn inter-ele ele
"What will your father eat gari and?"

(70) Comp **ba u bo dzɯ [gali bo kə e ?**

IP NP

father your F1 eat gari and what inter-ele.

"[Comp [your father will eat [gari and what?"

F3 NP

In (70), the NP of a coordinate structure which is a conjunct has been wrongly questioned. This accounts for the violation of the CSC hence subjacency. For kə "what" to get to Comp it crosses the NP and IP-boundary, thus violating subjacency.

Chapter Four

OTHER TYPES OF MOVEMENT

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines other types of movement such as: NP movement, Topicalization and extraposition in Mungaka. To this effect, we will first of all discuss the afore-mentioned types of movement, followed by a comparison between wh-movement in Mungaka and these other types of movement.

4.1 NP-movement

In English, NP-movement is generated through passivization and raising (verb and adjective). This section will determine whether these structure generate NP-movement in Mungaka.

4.1.1 Passivization

In general, passivization induces the object to move to the subject position. The phenomenon can be attested in English (1b), Duala (2b) and Piyin (3b) as shown below:

(1)a David broke the window.

b. The window$_i$ was broken t_i by David.

Duala

(2)a **na** **lóŋgi** **bolóŋgi**
I build house
"I built a house."

b. **bolóŋgi bo loŋga-bɛ (na mbá)**
house sm build pass by me
"The house was built (by me)" (Biloa 1994:102)

Pinyin

(3)a **pɛn lɛ sàn wɯndo**
Penn pas break window.
"Penn broke the window."

b. **a wɯndo lɛ sàn pɛn**
the window pas break Penn
"The window was broken by Penn."

On the contrary, in Mungaka passivization induces the verb to move as follows:

(4)a **ba mɯ lɔ̀? ɲɔ? mbi le.**
father my P1 kill goat the.
"My father killed the goat."

b. **à lɔ̀? ɲɔ?$_i$ ba mɯ t$_i$ mbi le.**
it P1 kil father my goat the
"The goat was killed by my father."

In (4b) above, while the object remains insitu, the verb moves to the initial position of the sentence. This movement changes the structure of the sentence from SVO to VSO:

(5)a Maria **lɔ̀? sàn ntu? le.**
S V O
Mary Pl break cup the
"Mary broke the cup."

b. **à lɔ̀? sàn$_i$ maria t$_i$ ntu? le.**
V S O
"The cup was broken by Mary."

It should be noted that in Mungaka the value of à "it" is invariable. This implies that there is no agreement between à "it" and the NP that follows it:

(6)a **bɯ? lɔ? lab bon le.**
we pl. beat children the
"We beat the children."

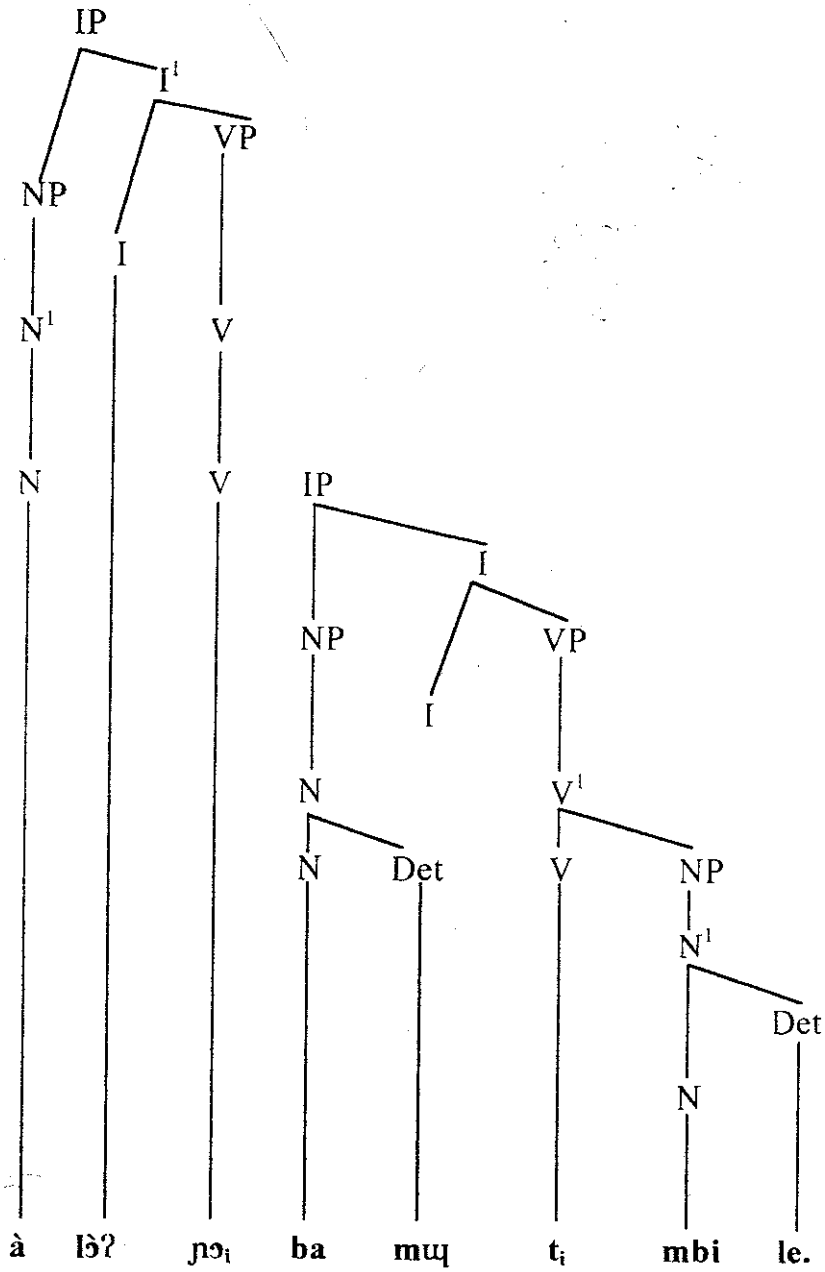
b. **à lɔ? lab bɯ? bon le.**
it pl. beat we children the
"The children were beaten by us."

(7)a **ndɔ̀? kwet mbiaŋ le.**
It + pl. eat groundnuts the
"I eat the groundnuts."

b. **à lɔ̀? kwet mɯ mbiaŋ le.**
It pl. eat me groundnuts the
"The groundnuts was eaten by me."

Passivization in Mungaka can be represented on a tree diagram as follows:

(8)



"The goat was killed by my father."

4.2 Topicalization

According to Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:107).

> "... topicalization involves a movement to Comp that is governed by subjacency."

In Mungaka topicalization is by adjunction to IP.

(9) **u bati ŋga naʔsaŋ ka fa musiŋ le mbo**

you think that Nahsang P3 give bird the to

wɔ e ?

who inter-ele

"You think Nahsang gave the bird to who?"

The topicalized counterpart of (9) is (10) below:

(10) **u bati ŋga musiŋ ɔ le$_i$ naʔsaŋ ka fa t$_i$ mbo**

you think that bird this the Nahsang P3 give to

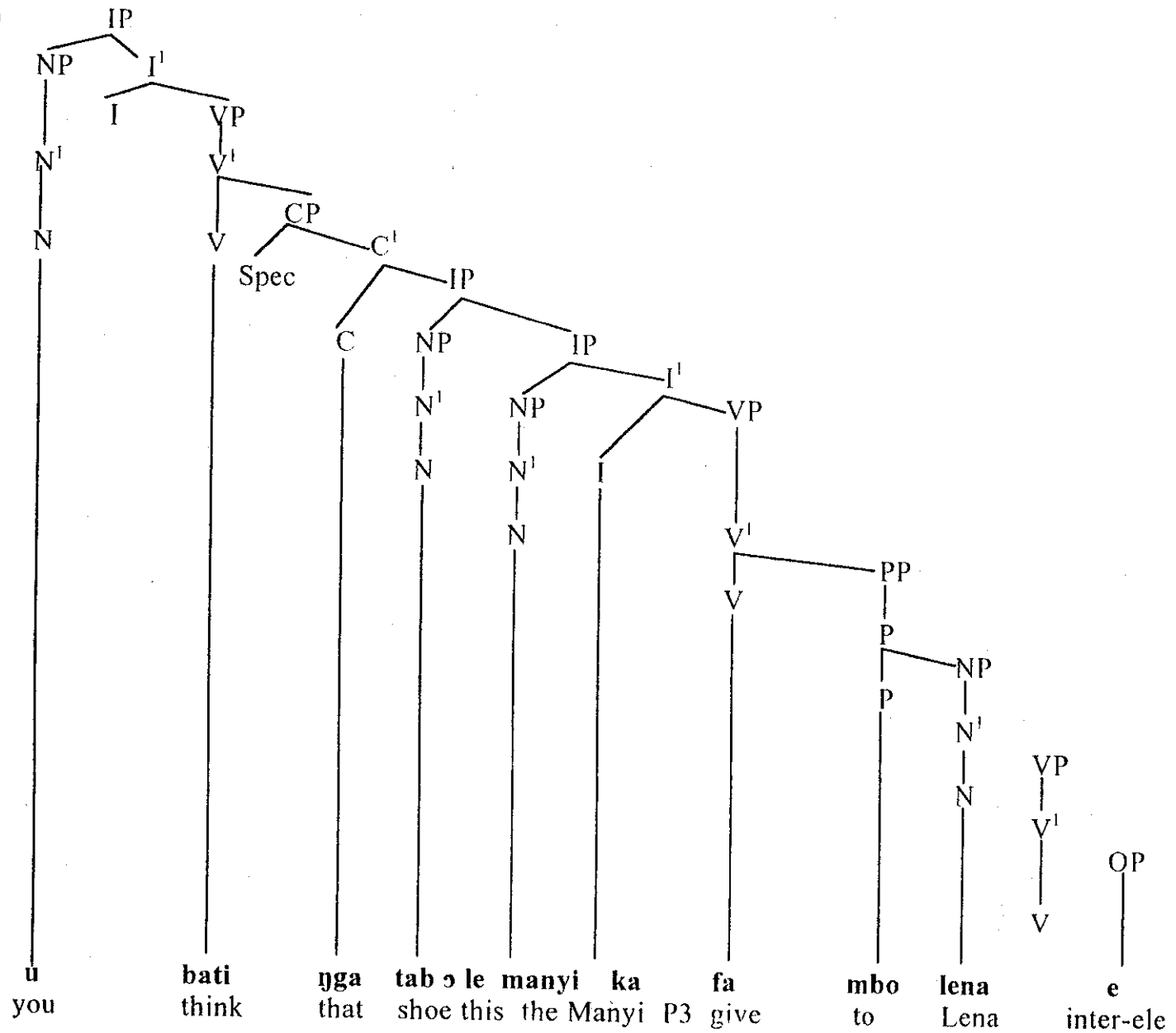
wɔ e?

who inter-ele

"You think that this bird Nahsang gave to who?"

Topicalization can be represented on a tree diagram as follows:

(11)



"You think that this shoe Manyi gave to Lena?"

Mungaka obeys subjacency as the ungrammaticality of (12) shows:

(12)* **à wɔ̀$_i$ yi [u bati [ŋga [musiŋ ɔ le [na?saŋ**
IP C NP IP
it who that you think that bird this the Nahsang

ka fa mbo t_i a e?
P3 give to syn-ele inter-ele
"Who do you think that this bird Nahsang gave to?"

In (12) above, a wh-phrase has been extracted over a topicalized constituent. This extraction leads to ungrammaticality because topicalization is both island sensitive and island creating. The ungrammaticality of (12) is also accounted for by the illicit extraction of a wh-word across more than one bounding node i.e. NP and IP. This movement can be illustrated as follows:

(13)* **a wɔ$_i$ yi u bati ŋga tab ɔ le lena ka fa mbo t_i**
it who that you think that shoe this the lena P3 give to
CP IP NP IP

a e]]]]]
syn-ele inter-ele
"Who do you think this shoe Lena gave to?"

In (13) above, the wh-word wɔ "who" crosses two IPs and an NP bounding nodes in order to get to the initial position of the sentence. This movement is illegal, thus accounting for the violation of subjacency in Mungaka.

4.3 Extraposition

Extraposition involves the rightward movement of the sentential subject of the matrix clause:

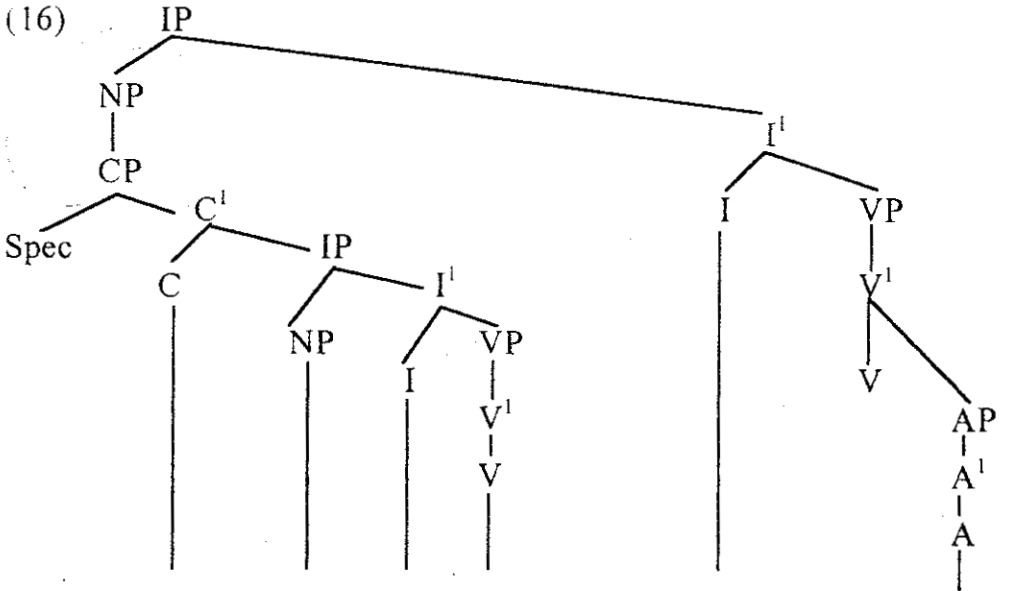
(14) **mbo Yohanne ma to to bɔn.**
for John to come F1 good.
"For John to come will be nice."

To derive (15), a rightward movement of the sentential subject of the matrix clause is effected to the predicate:

(15) **à to bɔŋ mbo yohanne ma to.**
it F1 nice for John to come.
"It will be nice for John to come."

In (15) the sentential subject mbo Yohanne ma to "for John to come" has been extraposed. The extraposed constituent lands inside IP. This movement can be illustrated on a tree diagram as in (16):

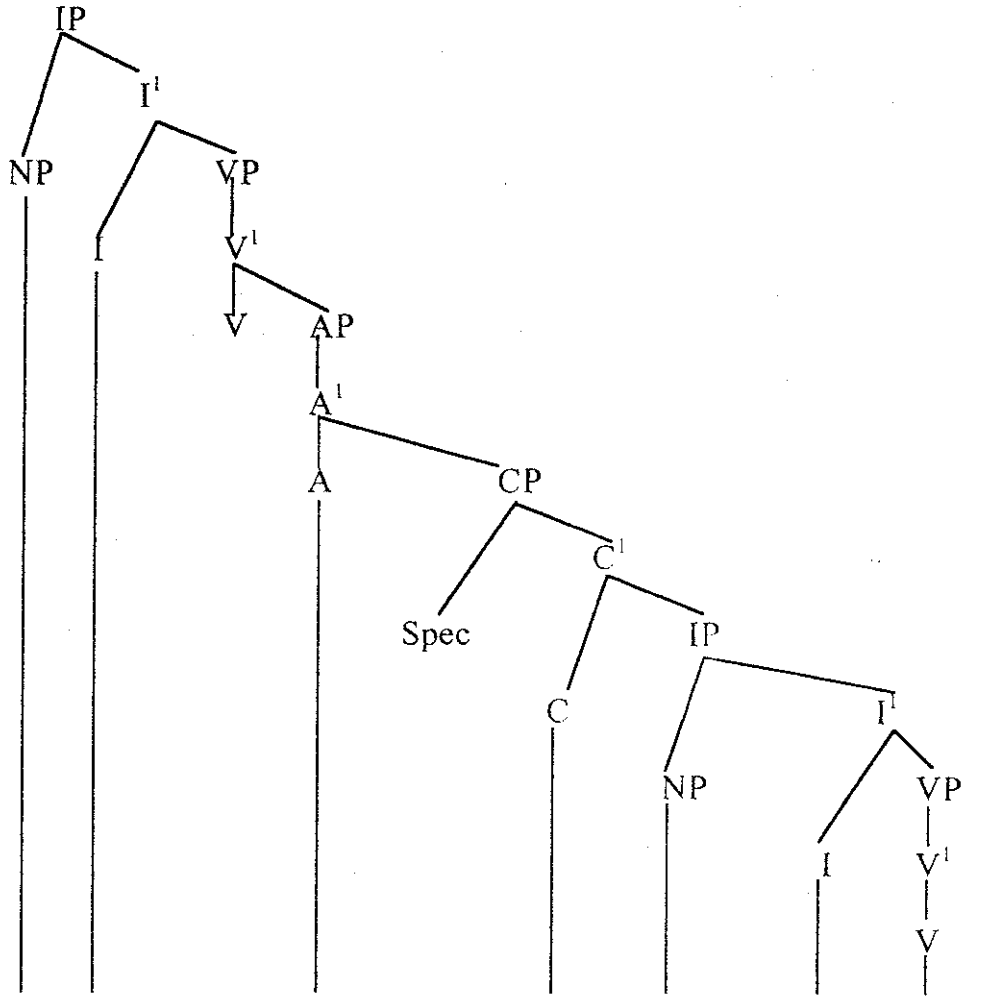
(16)



"For John to come will be nice."

Extraposition moves the sentential subject rightward as follows:

(17)



"It will be nice for John to come."

In Mungaka, extraction out of an extraposed constituent (20) is illegal:

(18) **mbo mon le ma li to bɔŋ**
for child the to sleep F1 nice
"For the child to sleep will be nice."

(19) **a to bɔŋ mbo mon le ma li**
it F1 good for child the to sleep
"It will be nice for the child to sleep."

(20)* **sama lab mɯ mon le à to bɔŋ**
Sama beat perf. child the it F1 good
mbo ma li a
for to sleep syn-ele.

In (20) the NP mon le "the child" has been wrongly extracted from an extraposed constituent, hence, the ungrammaticality. In Mungaka the extraposition of a constituent does not observe Ross's upward-bounded constraint. This constraint prohibits the movement of an element which has been moved right-ward by transformation, out of the next higher node S i.e. (IP):

(21) **ma li mbo mon le ni sà? bə nù.**
to sleep for child the in afternoon is thing
ntsànikɛd.
"difficult.
"For the child to sleep in the afternoon is difficult."

(22) **ma li ni sa? mbo mon le bə nù nstsànikɛd**
to sleep in afternoon for child the is thing difficult.
"To sleep in the afternoon for the child is difficult."

(23) **[ma li ni sa? t_i] bə nù ntsànikɛd mbo mon le_i.]**
IP IP IP

In (23) the extraposed constituent mbo mon le "for the child" remains grammatical when it goes out of the first IP-node up. This therefore implies that the upward-boundedness constraint cannot be used to justify the violation of subjacency in Mungaka.

Having discussed other types of movement, we will now examine the similarities and differences that exist between wh-movement and topicalization, extraposition and NP-movement in Mungaka.

Wh-movement, topicalization and passivization all move constituents to the left. This therefore implies that in Mungaka they are all leftward movements:

(24)a **Sema to we? kə e ?**

Sema F1 wear what inter-ele

"Sema will wear what?"

b. **a (bə) $kə_i$ yi Sema to we? t_i a e ?**

It is what that Sema F1 wear syn-ele inter-ele

"What will Sema wear?"

(25)a **mbati ŋga nà?lela ka fa nkab le mbo manyi**

I + think that Nahlela P3 give money the for Manyi

"I think that Nahlela gave the money to Manyi."

b. **mbati ŋga nkab ɔ le_i na?lela ka fa t_i mbo manyi**

I + think that money this the Nahlela P3 give to Many

"I think that this money Nahlela gave to Manyi."

(26)a **bɯ lə? dzɯ kedzɯ le.**

we pl. eat food the

"We ate the food."

b. **à lɔʔ dzɯ$_i$ bɯʔ t$_i$ kedzɯ le.**

it pl. eat we food the

"The food was eaten by us."

In (24b), (25b) the arrow shows the leftward movement of the wh-phrase, topicalization and the verb in Mungaka.

In Mungaka wh-movement, topicalization and passivization leave a gap at the extraction site. This phenomenon is indicated by the trace (t$_i$) in (24b), (25b) and (26b).

While wh-movement and topicalization move constituents to the left, extraposition moves constituents to the right (27b).

(27)a **mbo naʔ ma to to bɔŋ**

for Nah to come F1 good

"For Nah to come will be good."

b. **a to bɔŋ mbo naʔ ma to.**

it F1 good gor Nah to come.

"It will be good for Nah to come."

In Mungaka, wh-movement moves constituents to CP, topicalization is adjunction to IP and extraposition moves constituents inside IP. This therefore implies that all three movements have different landing sites in Mungaka.

From the above discussion, we can therefore conclude that wh-movement in Mungaka has very little in common with other types of movement.

Conclusion

Summary

The main objective of this work has been to discuss wh-movement in Mungaka, using the generative approach.

In chapter one, we examined the goal and importance of the dissertation, the geo-historical background of Mungaka and the classification of the language. The chapter ended with a discussion of the language situation of Mungaka and an outline of the work.

Chapter two centred around the sound system, tense, aspect, mood and word order in Mungaka. In our discussion of tense, we discovered that the present tense is unmarked, while the past tense has three past tense markers for regular verbs and three future tense markers.

Chapter three was devoted to an analysis of wh-movement in Mungaka. In our discussion of wh-question, we discovered that wh-movement is characterised by clefting. We also discovered that wh-movement is optional and it is by substitution to the Spec of CP. We also discovered that wh-movement in Mungaka leaves a trace which is identified by an identifier a which is a syntactic element in Mungaka. The interrogative pronoun in Mungaka is usually followed by an interrogative element e which comes at the end of a question.

In Chapter four, other types of movement were treated. In our discussion of the NP movement, we discovered that while passivization leads to the movement of the object i.e. NP in languages such as Duala,

Piyin and English, in Mungaka it is the verb that moves. There is therefore no NP movement in Mungaka. I movement in Mungaka is impossible because of the ever presence of the complimentizer yi "that" in Comp.

Significance

The main focus of this work was to study wh-movement in Mungaka within the confines of the principle and parameters theory. The work though a starting point for more detailed studies has contributed to the volume of written works in Mungaka.

This work may help researchers or analysts who might want to work on a similar topic in other languages.

As further research, other researchers might carry out a more detailed studies in:

(1) Clefting in Mungaka.

(2) V-movement vis à vis passivization in Mungaka.

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