NOUN MORPHOLOGY AND THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTION IN Mpumpun̤

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the MAITRISE DEGREE.

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DEDICATION

To
Jesus-Christ, my Lord and Shepherd.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Dr. P. N. Tamanji for supervising this work. His guidance, insightful comments and suggestions have contributed to give this work its present shape. I also greatly appreciate all his personal documents he put at my disposal to help me have a better understanding on the topic of my dissertation. Many thanks indeed!

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To all of you, and to those who have not been mentioned here, but who have in one way or the other contributed to the success of this work, I express my sincere appreciation; And, from the bottom of my heart, I pray that GOD Almighty rewards you according to His promise in Matt 10: 40-42.
### SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

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CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The need to have a written version of African languages in general and of Cameroonian languages in particular cannot be over emphasized. A good number of studies have been undertaken in this respect, ranging from phonology, morphology, syntax to entire dictionaries. But despite the bulk of work done to this day, it is a matter of fact that much, and indeed very much still has to be done. It is in this light that we undertake yet another study on a Cameroonian language: "Noun Morphology and the Internal Structure of the Nominal Construction in Mpumpun". The present dissertation is a study of the noun and other constituents of the nominal construction. The major objective of this research is to bring out the relational patterns existing between the constituents of the nominal construction in terms of distribution and agreement.

1.2. THE LANGUAGE

Spoken in the East province of Cameroon, Mpumpun is the native language of the Mpú-mpón people.

1.2.1. Geographic situation.

Johnson and Beavon (1989) gives the following physical situation of the Mpú-mpón and related peoples.

"The Mpompo people live mainly in the south and west of Yokadouma in the Boumba and Ngoko division of the East province of Cameroon. They are bordered to the south by Kunaheeb speakers, to the west by Koozime speakers, to the north by Yangere speakers and to the east, extending into the Central African Republic, by speakers of Mpyemo. In the northwest of the Mpompo dialect area in the district of Mbang, live the Mezime (west of Mbang) and Banya (east of Mbang)"
Map 1: Situation of Mpumpungi in Cameroon

Adapted from Johnson & Beavon (1989)
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 Mpombo and Kunabeeb dialect areas is Yokadouma, while for the Mezime and Bajantu 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 rainy season."

This geographic situation takes into consideration not only the Mpumpuŋ speakers but the Mezime, Kunabeeb, Bajantu and Poman speakers as well. This shall be understood as we discuss the linguistic classification of Mpumpuŋ below.

1.2.2. Linguistic classification

1.2.2.1. Mpumpuŋ: a language variety

There have been many controversies as to whether Mpumpuŋ should be considered as a language or as the dialect variety of another language. In Guthrie’s classification reproduced in Mutaka & Tamanji (1995), Mpumpuŋ is considered to be a dialect variety of the Mpiemo language, coded A86. Grimes (2000) on her own considers Mpumpuŋ and Mpiemo as two different languages, each with her dialect varieties (see map 2). In the classification of ALCAM(1983), both Mpiemo and Mpumpuŋ, together with six other dialects, are considered as varieties of a Mpo language. Apart from the above classifications, three is a more recent analysis, which was proposed by the SIL after a sociolinguistic survey among the languages of Guthrie’s A80. From the latter analysis are stated the followings:
Mpumpuŋ, Kunabeeb, Mezime, Baŋantu and Poman are dialects of a single language.

There is mutual intelligibility among the speakers of all five varieties.

There is a high degree of intelligibility between the Mpyemọ speakers and the speakers of the five dialects aforementioned. But strong negative feelings exist between the Mpyemọ and the Mpumpuŋ peoples, thus affecting and limiting to a great degree the possible extension of Mpumpuŋ literature to the Mpyemọ population

Speakers of all four other dialects would be happy to use Mpumpuŋ as their written standard.

1.2.2.2. Mpumpuŋ: the language standard

These facts led members of the SIL research team to draw the following conclusion:

"It is the survey team's consensus that one written language will be satisfactory in the eyes of the great majority of the speakers of Mpompo, Kunabeeb, Boman, Baŋantu and Mezime. This will be even more satisfactory if the dialect chosen as the language standard is Mpompo. It is well understood throughout the area. It is spoken at the main urban center in the division of Boumba and Ngoko..." P 12

This final statement added to some other fact certainly led Djiafeua (1989) to choose Mpumpuŋ as the standard variety. In the present study, we do not depart from this standard. We also maintain the appellation Mpumpuŋ. The diagram below gives the genetic situation of Mpumpuŋ, which is followed by the linguistic map of the southeastern Cameroon.
Niger-Kordofanian
Niger-Kongo
Benoue-Kongo
Bantoid
Bantu

Grassfield Bantu
Equatorial Bantu
Bantu of Mbam

Northern equatorial

A 10 A 20 A 30 A 40 A 50 A 60 A 70 A 80 A 90

Coastal group
Basaa Bafia Sanaga Bati maka
Bakoko
faŋ
Mpo
Mpumpunŋ
1.2.3. Sketch of the phonology

This phonological sketch is based on Djiafeua (1989).

1.2.3.1. phonemic Account

1.2.3.1.1. Vowel phonemes

There are 7 vowel phonemes attested in Mpumpuŋ. Below is the representative table.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height of tongue</th>
<th>Position of lips</th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (mid)</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low (mid)</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
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1.2.3.1.2. Consonant phonemes.

Aspiration is contrastive in Mpumpuŋ. Table 2 represents consonantal phonemes of the language.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner articulation</th>
<th>Place of articulation</th>
<th>Labial</th>
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<th>Lab-velar</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>p&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>t&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ts&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>k&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>kp&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-nasalized</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ndz</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ngb</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
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<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
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<td>s</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
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<td>Liquids</td>
<td></td>
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<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
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<td>Glides</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
1.2.3.2. Syllabification

As is well known, every language has restrictions on the patterns it makes use of to organize segments into syllables. Monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic structures are found in Mpumpun. There are very few cases of four syllables words.

1.2.4.2.1. Monosyllabic structures

There are many types of monosyllabic structures attested in Mpumpun. These are V, VC, CV, CVC, CV:, CGV, CGVC, etc. Below are some illustrations.

a) V structures
e.g. ᵇ “he”
      ᵇ “you”

b) CV structures
e.g. mĩ “I”
    kʊ “pig”
    só “friend”

c) CVC structures
e.g. wɔn “groundnut”
    pùm “fruit”

d) CGV structures
e.g. lwí “talk”

e) CV: structures
e.g. tɔ: “room”

f) VC structures
e.g. ɔk “this”

g) CGV: structures
e.g. pyo: “shadow”

h) CGVC structures
e.g. zwom “wild bush cow”
    myândz “type of bag”
    pyan “over there”
    pwon “hair”
1.2.4.2.2. Disyllabic structures

The following disyllabic structures are attested in Mpumpuŋ.

a) CV-CV
   e.g. mûmá    "woman"
   sísó       "duck"

b) CVC-CV
   e.g. sûklá  "soap"

c) CV-CVC
   e.g. sísîmb "spirit"

d) CGV-CV
   e.g. pyâlà  "peace"

e) CGV-CVC
   e.g. ñbyâlîmb "okra"

f) CV-CGV(C)
   e.g. síswâs "naked"
   kûsyê     "a type of rat"

g) C(G)V-CV:
   e.g. tsélh:  "intelligence"
   syâlô:    "meek"
   tsândô:   "clean"
   twôkô:    "slim"

h) CGVC-CV
   syâksâ    "sifter"

1.2.3.2.3. Trisyllabic structures

Below are some of the trisyllabic structures found in Mpumpuŋ.

a) V CV CV
   e.g. âlambâ  "needle"
   âkôátâ    "grasshopper"

b) CV CV CV
   e.g. mênâlô  "cat"
   kûkûmá    "chief"

c) V CGV CV
   e.g. èbwôtâ "toad"
d) V CGVC CV  
e.g. ègwóklà "ignorance"

e) V CV CVC  
e.g. étánkúl "difficulty"  
mèpàpåp "scales"

f) CV CGV CVC  
e.g. bâgbwàmòt "frog"

g) CV GGVC CGVC  
e.g. bâtúwèn-twèn "dragonflies"

1.2.3.2.4. Four syllables words

Four syllable words are almost non-existent in Mpumpuŋ. They are found mostly in compound words. But since compound words are combinations of two or more separate words with their separate syllable structures, we will not treat them under this sub-heading. We, however, have four syllable words when consonant initial trisyllabic words are added to their plural prefixes. Below are some such instances.

V CV CV CV examples
a. imànggòlò "mangoes"  
b. åbòkòndòg "a type of frog"  
c. itátálà "mirrors"  
d. itùùtà "motorcycles"

CV CV CV CV examples  
mìkùkùmá "chiefs"  
bàbòkòndòŋ "frog"

1.2.3.3. Tones

Four tones are identified in Mpumpuŋ: two simple tones (high and low) and two contour tones (high-low and low-high).

1.2.3.3.1. The high tone (à)

Examples  
sâńg "father"  
nâńg "mother"  
tìt "meat"
1.2.3.3.2. The low tone (è)
Examples

kwând  "plantain"
zòk    "elephant"
tëndz  "shelf"

1.2.3.3.3. The high-low tone (ê)
Examples

nôm     "beautiful"
kpêndz  "broom"
pyô:    "shadow"

1.2.3.3.4. The low-high tone (à)
Examples

zôm  "flower"
zăm  "leprosy"
pâp  "wall"

Tone is contrastive in Mpumug as can be seen in the following examples:

péndz  "cockroach"  pêndz  "fence"
só     "friend"      só     "hiding place"
kû     "gazelle"     kû     "hen"
kél    "sister"      kél    "pineapple"

1.2.3.3.5 Combination of tones

Two or more tone sequences are found in disyllabic or trisyllabic words. We find low/low, high/high, low/high, high/low, low/high-low, high/low-high etc...

Low/low combination
e.g. pôndô  "trap"

Low/high combination
e.g. fúmbú  "orange"

High/low combination
e.g. dzúlûk "smoke"
.lîmà     "dream"

High/low-high combination
e.g. títô  "twig"
12

Low/low-low combination
  e.g. ɪ̀r̀ùnà  "crowd"

Low/low-high combination
  e.g.  mèmbà  "drunkard"

High/high-high combination
  e.g.  kúkúmà "chief"

High/high-low combination
  e.g. kúmà "cassava"

High/low-low combination
  e.g.  l alumnos  "pepper"

1.3. State of research

The only descriptive work we have found on Mpumpun is that of Djiafeua (1989). Djiafeua (1989), however mentions a four page work done on Mpumpun class prefixes in 1976 by a team from the SIL. We have unfortunately not seen this work to this date.

1.4. Significance of the study

Considering the state of linguistic research on Mpumpun, the present study comes as a contribution to the description of this language. After Djiafeua’s (1989) innovation with the phonology, some light is shed on the noun structure, on where the noun may occur in the nominal group and of how it relates to other constituents. Of course, more aspects still have to be studied before one can talk of a grammatical account of Mpumpun. Were the present work to be considered as the infant stage of the description of Mpumpun, it would be an encouragement to many who may work to take it to adulthood through the intermediate teens stage.

Beside the description of Mpumpun as a sample, this work also contributes to the description of the nominal constituent of Bantu languages. How the
agreement is spelt out, and how it is distributed within the nominal group, thus exposing relation of constituents to each other. This sheds more light on the agreement system of Bantu languages.

The above facts and some others could be summarized in a single statement. This study is a contribution to universal grammar.

1.5. METHODS AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.5.1 Methods

1.5.1.1. Source of information

The language related information used for this study was provided by native speakers of Mpusumpu, some of who are listed in Table 3 below.

Table 3: List of informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Level of study</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Profession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Abono Anclaire</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bacc</td>
<td>Parny</td>
<td>Law student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main informant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nkombo Flavien</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bacc</td>
<td>Mbol II</td>
<td>student of theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abono Deshannel</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Bacc</td>
<td>Parny</td>
<td>student of sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mme Veuve Mebel</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Parny</td>
<td></td>
<td>House wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Abono Jean Pierre</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bacc</td>
<td>Parny</td>
<td>student of theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pastor Shal Edmond</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Bacc</td>
<td>Mendoungue</td>
<td>student / Pastor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.1.2. Method of data collection

The 2000 Basic English Word List of W. Grebe was used in association to Bouquiaux and al (1992). Words were collected in isolation first, then in association as presented below:

⇒ Noun (sg)
⇒ Noun (pl)
⇒ noun + demonstrative
The various combinations were used in both singular and plural forms. Data were transcribed directly and were often retranscribed for verification.

1.5.2. **Theoretical considerations**

From chapter two to chapter four, this work is a structural description of theMpumpunj nominal group as used by native speakers to respond to their daily communicative needs. We, however, depart from the structuralist approach as the need to account for agreement arises in chapter five. In this respect, we adopt Chomsky’s (1995) proposal regarding checking theory.

We however do not adopt a strict minimalist program as we maintain the minimal, intermediate and maximal projections in our phrase markers, and thus stick close to the principles and parameters framework as we also maintain deep and surface structures in our derivations. These derivations take place not in NP (as traditionally understood), but within the extended projection, the DP as proposed by Abney (1987) and many others; among whom Carsten (1991), Nkemnji (1995) and Tamanji (1999) which stand as a source of inspiration for our analysis of agreement.
1.6. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

We set out in this work to describe the nominal construction, looking at the distribution of its constituent elements and at their relational patterns in regard to agreement. As it is impossible to describe the nominal construction without at least a succinct knowledge of the morphology of the noun, we start by giving a brief account of the noun morphology of the language. We, however, do not linger over phonological and tonological details as may be expected from a study on morphology, as our aim here is to gather needed background material for the analysis of the nominal construction. Despite the fact that sentences were collected in our data, we do not analyze utterance types and tense variations in our study, nor do we present an actual study of case variation as this can be best done while studying the verbal phrase. Finally, our study of agreement is limited to agreement within the nominal group. Agreement within a text, as is recurrent in the language, is excluded from the scope of the present study.

1.7. LAYOUT OF CHAPTERS

The first part of this work (chapter two) studies noun morphology. Starting with the noun class prefix, we continue with noun formation processes and end with the integration of loan words into the language. In the second part of the work (chapter three and four), we examine the nominal group in its internal structure, looking at the distribution of the constituents of the nominal group, at word order variations, related interpretations and considering the significance of the noun class system in the relation of constituents to each other. Finally, in the last part of our study, we take a step toward integrating our analysis into the DP theory, while giving an account of agreement within the nominal construction in Mpumpuŋ.
CHAPTER TWO
NOUN MORPHOLOGY

This chapter studies the morphology of the noun in Mpumpun. According to Kenmogne (2000), "The noun morphology can be divided into stem formation and class morphology, (The latter being richer than the former)." The first section of this chapter examines the noun class system, while the second examines other noun formation processes that may be used to expand the lexicon.

2.1. THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

The Mpumpun noun is made up of a prefix plus a stem. The prefix bears a low tone, which is phonetically raised into a mid-high tone when followed by a high tone. A particular prefix, adjoined to different stems, produces different meanings. Nouns sharing the same prefix are grouped together and referred to as a class.

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>tól</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>Sðη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>Sú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>Sə̊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>Pyé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The class is thus assigned to a noun stem by its prefix. A stem by itself may not be said to belong to a class. This may be observed in the data below:

(2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>d-īs</td>
<td>&quot;eye&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>m-īs</td>
<td>&quot;eyes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>d-èl</td>
<td>&quot;village&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>m-èl</td>
<td>&quot;villages&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these examples, we observe that -īs for example is assigned to class 5 when suffixed to the prefix d-, while it is assigned to class 6 when suffixed to m-.
As such, a noun stem usually belongs to two or more than one class. This means that a noun stem associated with a specific meaning belongs to a class gender.

In assigning figures to the noun classes, we have not adopted the Bantu semantic criterion where class 1 for instance is the class for humans, 6a that of liquids/mass nouns, 9 for animals, etc. This is because Mpumpuŋ morphological classes do not necessarily correspond to semantic groupings. Following Kadima (1969) we consider agreement as the pre-eminent criterion in the determination of classes. In Kadima’s (op. cit.) sense, two classes are distinct if:

1. They exhibit a difference in agreement
2. Both their nominal prefixes and pairing systems are different - in case they share common agreement features.

To exemplify, the two forms /nézyŋŋ/ and /ñizilà/ may be considered as class 9 nouns because of the nasal prefix. But we notice that their pairing system is different as the first has its plural in class 2 and the second in class 8. Thus we rely on their agreement patterns to classify them in class 1 for the first and in class 3 for the second. Following this criterion, we notice that all nouns with the syllabic nasal prefix Ñ share the same agreement patterns either with nouns of class 1 or with those of class 3. This eliminates class 9 whose sole criterion of determination would have been the prefix.

Below is a presentation of the noun classes attested in Mpumpuŋ.

### 2.1.1. Noun class 1

The majority of nouns in class one are kinship terms although, as is often the case with present day Bantu class systems, nouns of other semantic groupings are also found in this class. Class one nouns divide into four subgroups depending on their prefixes.

**Group 1.**

The prefix of this group is mû-. When this prefix is attached to a vowel-initial root, the tautosyllabic vowel sequence which results produces either a vowel deletion or a glide formation process. This prefix can thus take the following forms:
18

⇒ /mù/ before consonant initial stems;
⇒ /mw/ before vowel initial stems;
⇒ /m/ before vowel initial stems.

The following are examples of nouns in this class.

(3)
m-ôt "human being"
m-ôrôm "man"
mû-má "woman"
mw-ân "child"
m- ièl "wife"
mw-âs "crefish"

Group (b).

This subclass designates insects, little animals etc. The prefix for this class is a-. Below are some examples:

(4)
à-Ìwl "ant"
àdwám "frog"
àngisà "head tie"
àlúlà "needle"
àlâmù "pepper"

Group (c).

This group has a a prefix and is made up mostly of animals, though some humans nouns as well as body parts are also found in this class.

(5)
ças "friend"
çosàŋ "father"
ços-tól "elder brother"
ços-kêl "gun"

Group d

This group is made up of nouns with the nasal prefix, but which share common agreement patterns with other nouns of class 1.

(6)
àdzyaŋ "stranger"
àmbôp "pipe"
àmbùsà "regret"
àgùmnà "governor/administrator"
Although the nouns in (a), (b), (c) and (d) do not share the same prefix, we have grouped them under the same class I because they trigger the same agreement on the possessive determiner as illustrated below.

(7)

a) m-ôróm wâm "my man"
   man my
   mû-má wâm "my woman"
   woman my

b) ànqîsâ wâm "my head tie"
   head tie my
   àlûlâ wâm "my needle"
   needle my

c) o-Sànj wâm "my father"
   father my
   o-kêl wâm "my gun"
   gun my

d) mbósâ wâm "my regret"
   regret my
   ñdzyôn wâm "my stranger"
   stranger my

These nouns also trigger the same agreement patterns on demonstratives as seen in the examples below:

(8)

mâmô: "this woman"
woman: this

môrômô: "this man"
man: this

âlâmô: "this paper"
paper: this

ànqîsâ: "this head-tie"
head-tie: this
There is a vowel deletion process in the examples above. The underlying structure for the first example in 8 for instance should be mûmâ-5. But the attachment of 5 to a vowel final word causes a tautosyllabic vowel sequence which leads to the deletion of 5 and to the subsequent lengthening of 5 giving:

mûmâ:

(9)

kêl- 5 "this gun"
gun this
tût- 5 "this elder brother" elder this

2.1.2. Noun Class 2

Nouns of this class are subdivided into (a), (b) and (c). This is the corresponding plural class for some nouns of class 1.

Group (a).

The prefix for this group is bù-. This prefix causes a vowel deletion when it is attached to some vowel initial stem. It may also result in a glide formation process. We thus have three realizations as for class 1a: /bù/, /bú/ and /b/. Below are some examples:

(10)

a) b-dê "human beings"
b) b-ôrôm "men"
c) bw-ân "children"
d) bù-wá "women"
e) b-èl "wives"

Group (b).

The prefix of this group is similar to class 2 proto Bantu prefix bà-., though semantically speaking they are different. There is for instance no human noun in this subgroup.

(11)

a) bà-ngisà "head-ties"
b) bà-lûlà "needles"
c) bà-dvám "frogs"
Group (c).

The prefix of this group is ɗ-. It is the corresponding plural class for class Ic, which has mostly animals' names.

(12)

a) ɗ-sąŋ "fathers"
b) ɗ-nąŋ "mothers"
c) ɗ-sů "fishes"
d) ɗ-pyę "dogs"
e ɗ-nwąŋ "snakes"

The nouns in class 2 (a), (b) and (c), though not sharing the same prefix, trigger the same agreement patterns on the possessive determiner as illustrated below.

(13)

a) bą-lulą bąm "my needles"
   needles my
b) bąngisą bąm "my head-ties"
   head-tie my
c) bw-ąn bąm "my children"
   children my
d) ɗ-sů bąm "my fishes"

2.1.3. Noun Class 3

This class is subdivided into two subgroups. The first subgroup has a zero prefix and designates trees, fruits, furniture and miscellaneous objects.

(14)

a) ɗ-pŏndó "trap"
b) ɗ-bęmb "spoon"
c) ɗ-dęŋ "bed"
d) ɗ-łę "tree"
e) ɗ-fąmbù "orange"

Class3b

This subgroup has a nasal prefix as in the example below.

(15)

ńdżįlà "successor"
2.1.4. Noun class 4

This is the corresponding plural class for some class 1c nouns. Some nouns of class 3 also have their plurals in this class. The prefix for this class is mi-. This class designates parts of body, fruits and miscellaneous objects. Below are some examples.

(16)

a) mi-ndza' "houses"
b) mi-ndá "intestines"
c) mi-ló "heads"
d) mi-sivók "corns"
e) mi-kpálá "cutlasses"

2.1.5. Noun class 5

This class is subdivided into (a) and (b) and the nouns designate parts of the body, goods, some animals and miscellaneous objects. Class 5a, whose prefix is d-, is made up of vowel initial stems, while class 5b with the prefix è is made up of consonant initial stems.

Class 5(a).

The prefix of this class is d-.

(17)

a) d-is "eye"
b) d-ó "nose"
c) d-s "navel"
d) d-in "name"

Class 5(b).

The prefix of this class is è-

(18)

a) è-kót "back of the neck"
b) è-kók "stone"
c) è-kúmá "cassava"
d) è-tyé "egg"

Though (a) and (b) do not share the same prefix, they are grouped under the same class 5 because they trigger the same agreement on modifying words as illustrated below:
2.1.6. Noun class 6

This is the corresponding plural class for some nouns of class 1(c), of class 3, and for the nouns of class 5 and class 7. The prefix is m- for the nouns of class 5 and mè- for others. We subdivide this into (a) and (b).

Class 6a. Prefix m-.

(20)
a) m-is "eyes"
b) m-5 "navels"
c) m-in "names"

Class 6(b).

(21)
a) mè-kô "feet"
b) mè-pèmb "spoons"
c) mè-tsês "legs"
d) mè-zyèl "beards"

2.1.7. Noun class 7

The prefix for this class is ø. The corresponding plural forms for some of the nouns are found in class 6, while some do not have any plural form.

(22)
b) ø-zyēl "my fear"
c) ø-bwōŋ "fear"
d) ø-kōmwal "darkness"
e) ø-tūmb "power"
f) ø-tō: "room"
g) ø-kūl "strength"
h) ø-zyōŋ "ax"
l) ø-tsūŋ "neck"

Despite the fact that nouns in this class share a zero prefix with those of class 3, we do not place them in the same class because the agreement they trigger on the possessive is different as illustrated below.

(23)
a) ø-zyēl nyām "my beard"  
b) ø-bwōŋ nyām "my fear"  |  Class3  
c) ø-zyōŋ nyām "my ax"  
d) ø-pondō yām "my trap"  
e) ø-dōŋ yām "my bed"  
f) ø-bēmb yām "my spoon"  |  Class3

2.1.8. Noun class 8

This is the plural class for the majority of nouns in class 3. The prefix is i-.

The nouns of this class are mostly inanimate designating tools, plants, but most diminutives are also found in this class.

(24)
a) i-pān "bows"  
b) i-kā "leaves"  
c) i-tāg "bottles"  
d) i-lūŋgā "fences"  
e) i-li-lyékłé "small teachers"  
f) i-nil-nōn "small birds"
2.1.9. Noun class 10

The prefix for this class is pi-. So far, this is a small class made of two nouns.

These are:

(25)

a) pi-ŋŋ "beds"

b) pi-ín "fingers"

This class shares the same agreement morphemes with the nouns of class 7. But they are classified under two different classes because while class 7 nouns are all singular, class 10 nouns are plural.

(26)

a) pyíŋŋ nyám "my beds"

b) piːn nyám "my fingers"

c) zyèl nyám "my beard"

d) tumb nyám "my power"

Table 4: Noun classes and concordial affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>pref.</th>
<th>poss.</th>
<th>class</th>
<th>pref.</th>
<th>poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mù-</td>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>bù-</td>
<td>bām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td>wám</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>bā-</td>
<td>bām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td>wám</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>myám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>yám</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>lám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>lám</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>mām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>è-</td>
<td>bām</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ṭ-</td>
<td>byám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ṭ-</td>
<td>byám</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>pì</td>
<td>nyám</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.10 Noun classes and gender

2.1.10.1. Double and single class gender system

As seen in the above inventory, the features identifying different classes are noun prefixes. Not all classes have prefixes. Classes 3 and 7 for example are assigned a default zero prefix. The nouns of these classes are identified as belonging together by means of the agreement patterns they trigger on modifying elements. The same noun stem associated with a specific meaning forms a gender, which is made up of a singular and a plural class for double class gender. Mpumpuŋ has the following double class genders:1/2, 1/4, 1/6, 3/6, 3/8, 3/10, 5/6, 7/6. There are however some nouns, though few in number which are always either singular or plural. Single class nouns are often found in classes 3, 5, 7, for singular, and in classes 2, 6 and 8 for the plural forms.

2.2. NOUN FORMATION PROCESSES

Derivation, reduplication and compounding are respectively examined in 2.2.1, 2.2.2 and 2.2.3., while section 2.2.4. examines the integration of loan words in Mpumpuŋ.

2.2.1. Derivation

The derivation of nouns from some verbs is achieved in Mpumpuŋ through the process of prefixation. Here, nouns are derived from action verbs by adding a nominal prefix to the verb stem. This nominal prefix, è, is equivalent to the infinitive prefix. Thus, the derived noun, which is a class 5 noun may also be considered as the infinitive form of the verb. Below are some examples:

(27)
a) bé: gwōsōl bwōk "they have organized the feast"
   they organized feast

(28)
b) ègwōsōl bwōk "the organization of the feast"
   organization feast
There are also cases of zero prefixation in the derivation of nouns from verbs. Here, the noun is derived from the verb stem in what could be considered as a direct conversion process. In the examples in 29, the verb stem is added its infinitive prefix so as to render the translation into English easier.

(30)

ēdo "to laugh" dō "laughter"
ēndzilā "to replace" ādzila "successor"
ētsim "to cry" tsim "a cry"
ēkōs "to cough" kōs "cough"

2.2.2. Reduplication

Reduplication is used to form diminutives in Mpumpuŋ. In the examples below, we have a case of partial reduplication. Here, the reduplicated particle is made up of the initial consonant of the stem plus a high tone ṭ. Below are some examples:

(31)

a) pyēmb : "farm"
   pi-pyēmb : "Little farm"
b) dōŋ : "bed"
   dī-dōŋ : "little bed"
c) ādzā : "house"
   ādī-ādzā : "little house"
These nouns, when used to refer to parts of the body or to humans have a pejorative meaning and may be interpreted as insults.

(32)

a) nùp "mouth" ní-nùp "little mouth"

b) lyéklé "teacher"
   li-lyékle "little teacher"/"not fit to be one"

### 2.2.3. Compounding

Compounding is a process where two or more words are combined to form a new noun. The essential feature of a compound seems, according to Meeussen (1967: 95), to be that it has two stems in what is otherwise treated as one word. Compound nouns in Mpushu are mostly made up of the structure noun + noun, though some noun + verb compound may however be found.

#### 2.2.3.1. Noun + Noun compounds

a) Agentive nouns

Most common in the noun + noun compounds are agentive nouns, which literally mean "the man of....". Below are some examples

(33)

- mòt- myén "a mad man"
  - man madness
- mòt- òkán "selfish man"
  - man selfishness
- mòt- èlwòk "a fisherman"
  - man fishing
- mòt- zùm "the builder"
  - man building
- mòt- èbòmsá "the trader"
  - man trade
- mòt- èbòmsá ítà: "sheep-seller"
  - man trade she
b) Qualificative nouns

Animals' names, parts of the body, different kinds of oils, names of trees and fruits are also found among Noun + Noun compounds. In these examples, the second noun is a qualificative noun which, when collocated with the head noun yields an associative construction. Examples 33 to 36 illustrate these respectively.

(34)

a) ñjó- dyůk "wild board"
pig

b) zók- mè- dyů "hippopotamus"
elephant AM. water

c) èsýés-zók "young female elephant"
girl elephant

d) ñgbvándz-zók "young male elephant"
boy elephant

(35)

a) kél- pòmb "shin"

b) bónb lò "scalp"
head

c) pwòpòlò lò "skull"
head

d) ñit- mè- dzyé "gum"
meat AM. tooth
(36) múl- mé- lënd "palm oil"
  oil AM. palm

múl- mé- wón "groundnut oil"
  oil AM. groundnut

múl- mé- tit "meat oil" (Fat)
  oil AM. meat

d) múl mé mìbáŋ "kernel oil"

(37) lé-èbèl "cola tree"
  tree cola

bùm-tàn "grain of beans"
  grain
  beans

tù-pùsá "cob of corn"
  cob corn

(38)
  a) ndóm tàà "sheep"
     male Goat

  b) ndò kù: "roaster/cock"
     male hen

2.2.3.2. Verb + Noun compound

(39) ětãŋ kúl "difficulty/incapacity"
  to pass strength
2.2.4. Loan words

Mpumpuŋ makes use of borrowing as a process to expand her lexicon. Borrowing takes place in many ways among which are second language learning, cultural influence, imitation of prestige patterns, etc. More interesting however is the integration of loan words into the source language. In Mpumpuŋ, many of these words are integrated into positions 1/4 and 3/8. Below are examples from English, French and Ewondo.

### 2.2.4.1. Examples from English.

(40)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mpumpuŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altar</td>
<td>əltə</td>
<td>àlətə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>markit</td>
<td>mákfs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>bлю:</td>
<td>bəłʊm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>səuldǝə</td>
<td>sòdə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>doktə</td>
<td>dɔtə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coat</td>
<td>kəut</td>
<td>kɔt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>mənι</td>
<td>mɔnι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>gəvǝntənt</td>
<td>ƞgonã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouser</td>
<td>trauze</td>
<td>tRɔnʃıs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.4.2. Examples from French

(41)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Mpumpuŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avocat</td>
<td>avoka</td>
<td>ávɔkà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jupe</td>
<td>yp</td>
<td>dzyúp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rechaud</td>
<td>Re o</td>
<td>Rɛtsɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cahier</td>
<td>kaje</td>
<td>káyé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.4.3. Examples from Ewondo.

(42)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Ewono</th>
<th>Mpumpuŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>tɔyà</td>
<td>tɔyà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luggage</td>
<td>mimbǝkà</td>
<td>mimbèpόk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.4.4. Loan adaptation

Loan words are generally subjected to phonological and morphological restructuring in order to conform to the structure of the target language. Some of these processes are discussed below:

2.2.4.1. Prothesis

Prothesis involves the introduction of new sounds at word-initial position. This is mostly observed in plural forms as seen below:

(43)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mpumpuj</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi aŋ</td>
<td>misón</td>
<td>imisón</td>
<td>mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaut</td>
<td>kót</td>
<td>mi-kót</td>
<td>coat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.4.4.2. Epenthesis

Vowels may be inserted to break consonant clusters as in the examples below.

(44)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mpumpuj</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flaua</td>
<td>fúláwá</td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åltu</td>
<td>ålátà:</td>
<td>altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blu:</td>
<td>bulum</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.4.4.3. Re-interpretation of segments

When some sound segments attested in the source language are not found in the target language, the latter changes them into other sounds known to her. For example œu, ai and t become respectively ɔ, e, and s as seen below.

(45)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mpumpuj</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>souldza</td>
<td>sódà</td>
<td>soldier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taim</td>
<td>tém</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kit in</td>
<td>kísín</td>
<td>kitchen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3. **SUMMARY**

The Mpumpum noun is made up of a prefix plus a noun. The prefix bears a low tone which may be phonetically raised to become a mid-low tone when followed by a high tone. The Mpumpuŋ noun stem may be classified in more than one class depending on the prefix. There are 9 noun classes in Mpumpuŋ. These are arrived at on the basis of:

1. Agreement
2. Noun prefix + pairing system.

Both single and double class genders are attested in Mpumpuŋ.

Derivation, reduplication, compounding and borrowing are devices used to expand the lexicon. Loan words are integrated in the class system of the language. This class system is of great significance in the relationship among constituents of the nominal construction as shall be seen in the following chapters.
CHAPTER THREE
THE SIMPLE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTION

This chapter examines the structure of the simple nominal construction. The simple nominal construction as used in this work refers to the nominal construction that is made up of a noun only, a pronominal element only, or a noun plus a determiner.

3.1. THE NOUN

The nominal group can be made up of a noun only. This noun may have a generic as well as a specific interpretation.

(1) A simple noun: ndza: "house"
⇒ A compound noun: mot myen "mad man"

These nouns can function as subject or object of verb, as well as object of preposition.

3.1.1. Single nouns functioning as subject

(2)
a) kúkúmá é bú: ndòmb
   chief S.M too old
   "the chief is too old"

b) mot é lwí: nè nám
   man SM tns. talk to me
   "a man has spoken to me"
3.1.2. Single noun functioning as object of verb

(3)
a) mi í süm ndzá: "I have built a house"
I Asp build house

3.1.3. Single noun functioning as object of preposition

(4)
a) mi tò mè pyémb "I go to the farm"
I go to farm

3.2. PRONOUNS

The word pronoun is traditionally defined as a word used in place of a noun expression. Unlike nouns, pronouns have no intrinsic descriptive content, and so are functors. Below we examine personal pronouns (subject, object of verb or preposition, focus pronouns and reflexive pronouns) in section 3.2.1; possessive pronouns in section 3.2.2; interrogative pronouns in section 3.2.3 and demonstrative pronouns in section 3.2.4 respectively.

3.2.1. Personal pronouns

Mpumpunj distinguishes among subject personal pronouns, object of verb personal pronouns, object of preposition personal pronouns, focus personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns. Below is a representative table.
3.2.1.1. Subject personal pronouns

There are six forms corresponding to the three singular persons and the three plural persons. The first person plural, however, manifests two alternative forms, one standing for the inclusive and the other being the exclusive form.

3.2.1.1.1. First person singular

a) mi rë Súm ndzá: "I am building the house"
   I Asp build house

b) mi n dé Súm' ndzá: "I have built the house"
   I Asp build house

3.2.1.1.2. Second person singular

a) ú rë dë ékúmá "you are eating cassava"
   you Asp eat cassava

b) ú á dë "you don’t eat"
   you Neg eat

1 Tense is marked by a tonal morpheme.
3.2.1.1.3. Third person singular
In Mpumpuŋ, the same form is used for "he", "she" and "it"

(7)
a) é rè bè dú: "he is seeing fire"
   he Asp see fire
b) é é bè dú: "he has seen fire"
   she/he/it Asp see fire

3.2.1.1.4. First person plural
The first person plural has an inclusive marker (ka). In the subject form the inclusive morpheme ka is separated from the pronoun by the verb.

(8)
a) ni rè de-kà médyú "we are drinking water"
   we Asp drink+ incl water
b) ni í de-kà médyú "we have drunk water"
   we Asp drink+ incl water

3.2.1.1.5. Second person plural

(9)
a) bí rè bè půsá "you are growing corn"
   you Asp grow corn
b) bí í bè půsá "you have grown corn"
   you Asp grow corn

3.2.1.1.6. Third person plural

(10)
a) bé rè dãl tõlõ "they are smoking tobacco"
   they Asp smoke tobacco
b) bé é dãl tõlõ "they have smoked tobacco"
   they Asp smoke tobacco

Table VI Subject personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mí</td>
<td>ní (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ní kà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>bé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1.2. Object of verb personal pronouns

There is one form corresponding to each of the persons, except for the first person plural with both inclusive and exclusive forms.

3.2.1.2.1. First person singular

(11)

a) bi 1 bè mé "you have seen me"
   you Asp see me

b) bi ré dzù mé móni "you are giving me money"
   you Asp give me money

3.2.1.2.2. Second person singular

(12)

a) mi ré bè 3 "I am seeing you"
   I Asp see you

b) bé ré dzù 5 mèdyù "they are giving you water"
   they Asp give you water

3.2.1.2.3. Third person singular

(13)

a) mi 1 dzù é móni "I have given him money"
   I Asp give him money

b) mi ré dzù é mèdyù "I have given him water"
   I Asp give him water

3.2.1.2.4. First person plural

There is a difference between the inclusive and the exclusive form. Unlike in the subject form with a stranded inclusive marker is not stranded from the pronoun.

(14)

a) bé ré bè bíná "they are seeing us"
   they Asp see us
b) е ré bè kà-bínā "she is seeing us"  
   she Asp see incl us

   The first person plural, unlike other verb object personal pronouns, manifests case distinction as can be observed from the difference between 14b and 14c below:

c) ú ré dzù bés vég "you are giving us the bag"
   you Asp give us bag

   "Us" translated in 14b as bínā (objective). But it is rendered as bés in 16c. This example leads us to the observation that a verb which has another argument in addition to its internal (object of verb) and external (subject) arguments may assign a case other than objective and subjective. But whether the case of bés is assigned by the verb dzù "give" or by some other element cannot be examined within the scope of this study. We just want to draw attention to the fact that bés is different from bínā in terms of case, though both seem to be objects of verb.

3.2.1.2.5. Second person plural

Unlike for the first person plural, there is no case distinction arising with verbs like dzù. Here bèn “you” is used for both primary and secondary internal arguments. Below are some illustrations:

(15)
a) е е dzù bèn mōnī "he has given you money"
   he Asp give you money

b) е ré bèn "he is seeing you"
   he Asp see you

c) lyéklé е ré dzò bèn "the teacher is calling you"
   teacher he Asp call you

3.2.1.2.6. Third person plural

(16)
a) sāng е ré dzù bē mōnī "the father is giving them money"
   father he Asp give them money
b) mi i bè bè "I have seen them"
                             I Asp see them

Table VII: Object personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mé</td>
<td>bíná (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kà-bíná (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>bén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>él</td>
<td>bè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.3. Personal pronouns object of preposition

The personal pronoun functioning as complement of a preposition has a form different from that of object or subject of verb personal pronouns. Here the pronoun is separated from the verb by a preposition as illustrated below.

3.2.1.3.1. First person singular

(17)

á: lwì ë nám "she does not talk to me"
    she + neg. Talk + tns to me

There is a contracted form in 17, that is á: which results from the combination of á; (she) and ë, (negative particle).

3.2.1.3.2. Second person singular

(18)

mi i lwì ë nò "I have spoken to you"
    I Asp spoken to you

3.2.1.3.3. Third person singular

(19)

a) ú ú lwì ë né "you have spoken to him"
    you + Asp speak to him

b) mi i lwì ë né "I have spoken to him"
    I + Asp speak to him
3.2.1.3.4. **First person plural**

(20)

a)ماما ে ré lwí è níná "mama is speaking to us"
mama she Asp speak to us
b)ماما á: rá lwí tél è níná
mama S.M.+neg Asp speak no longer to us

"mama is no longer speaking to us"

3.2.1.3.5. **Second person plural**

(21)

a)می ré lwí è nén "I am speaking to you"
I Asp speak to you
b)نام گ وینا á: rá lwí è nén
mother our S.M.+neg Asp speak to you

"our mother is not speaking to you"

3.2.1.3.6. **Third person plural**

(22)

è lwí è nő "she speaks to them"
she speak+tns to them

| Table VIII Object of preposition personal pronouns |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| **Person** | **Singular** | **Plural** |
| 1          | nám       | biná (excl) |
| 2          | nő        | nén       |
| 3          | né        | nő:       |

3.2.1.4. **Focus pronouns**

It is important to state that personal pronouns as well as noun expressions can be made emphatic by placing them at phrase or sentence initial position. In
this position, the noun expression keeps its form, while the pronoun may have its form changed. In the present discussion, we leave aside cases where the pronoun keeps its form, focusing on the changed form. Like the subject personal pronoun, the focus pronoun has one form corresponding to each person.

3.2.1.4.1. First person singular

(23)

a) ¹ miyám bè bè  "they have seen me"
   It's me they see + tns

b) ¹ miyám lwï ê nï  "I am the one who is speaking to you"
   It's me speak + tns to you

The focus pronoun, *miyám*, is bi-morphemic, made up of the subject personal pronoun, *mï*, plus the person morpheme of the possessive, *âm*, whose combination gives *mï + âm = miyám*

3.2.1.4.2. Second person singular

(24)

i wô bè ê bè  "it's you they have seen"
   It's you They Asp see

b) i wô lwï nè nè
   It's you speak + tns with him

"it's you who speak with him"

As for the first person, the subject and complement of the verb have the same form *wô* made of the subject personal pronoun *ô*, plus the person morpheme of the possessive *ñ* which, after a devocalisation process, gives the form *wô*.

3.2.1.4.3. Third person singular

(25)

a) i nè nyë nî lwï  "we speak with him"
   It's to him we speak + tns
b) ì nyé lwí "he speaks"
   It's him speak + tns

3.2.3.4.3. First person plural
(26)
   a) bé bè kà bíná "they see us and no one else"
       they see + tns incl. us
   b) ì nyó lwí kà "we speak"
       if's us speak + tns incl

3.2.3.4.4. Second person plural
(27)
   a) ì byó lwí "you speak"
       it's you speak + tns

3.2.3.4.5. Third person plural
(28)
   a) ì bó: lwí "they speak"
       it's they speak
   b) ì bé bë bë "they see them"
       if's them they see + tns

Unlike the first two singular forms, the 3rd person singular and the three plural forms are not made up of the subject personal pronoun plus the possessive. They have the form ó in common. This form is preceded by ní, bí, and bó for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural respectively. The 3rd person singular on its own is made up of ní plus ó (subject pronoun).

Table IX Focus pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myám</td>
<td>nyó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wó</td>
<td>byó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nyé</td>
<td>bó:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1.5. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are not attested in Mpumpuŋ. Verbs like to bathe, which take a reflexive pronoun in English and French do not take one in Mpumpuŋ. For the idea of reflexivity to be expressed, there is a need for one to add “möt é” (this man) which is then preceded by some pronominal element varying from one person to the other. Below are some examples.

(29)

a) mî ré dzwâ "I am bathing"
   I Asp wash

b) mî ré dzwâ myá möt é "I am bathing myself"
   I Asp wash my man this

(30)

a) ú ré dzwâk "you are looking"
   you Asp look

b) ú ré dzwâk wó möt é "you are looking at yourself"
   you Asp look you man this

(31)

a) é ré dâ "she is lying down"
   she Asp lie down

b) é ré dâ nyé möt é "she is lying down herself"
   she Asp lie down her man this

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table X Reflexive pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.2. Possessive pronouns

Mpumpuŋ has two types of possessive forms. The possessive determiner and the possessive pronoun. Possessive determiners, which cannot stand alone, but must always accompany the noun, will be discussed in the modified nominal construction in chapter 4. Possessive pronouns on their own, can stand all alone and function as full nominal constructions. Below are some examples.

(32)

a) bé mindzá: myám "these are my houses"
   these are houses mine

b) jiké á bé myám "those one are not mine"
   those one neg. be mine

c) ipyèmb biné bì byó "those farms are yours"
   farms those are yours

d) ipyèmb biné bì byám "those farms are my mine"
   farms those are mine

The possessive pronoun agrees in class/number with the noun, and has the same morphemes (person morpheme plus gender/class morpheme) as the possessive adjective, the only difference being that the pronoun can stand alone as a single full noun, while the adjective cannot.
3.2.3. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative words are used in constructions or phrases to ask information about the identity, quality or quantity of an element. But they can be used in a pronominal fashion, standing alone and functioning as a noun phrase. Below are some examples.

(33)

a) dzō bwān  "call the children"
   call children

b) bó bwān  "which children?"
   which children

c) bō "which ones?"
   which

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mine</td>
<td>Yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mù</td>
<td>wám</td>
<td>wò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>á</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bù-</td>
<td>bám</td>
<td>bó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>yám</td>
<td>yó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mì-</td>
<td>myám</td>
<td>myó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>lám</td>
<td>ló</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mè-</td>
<td>mám</td>
<td>mó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>nyám</td>
<td>nyó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>byám</td>
<td>byó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pì</td>
<td>nyám</td>
<td>nyó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XI Possessive pronouns
Interrogative pronouns are bimorphemic, that is, they are made up of two morphemes. The stem morpheme, which is the interrogative particle, is preceded by the class/number morpheme. The latter agrees in class and number with the head noun. From the illustrations below, we observe that while the class/number morpheme varies according to the class and number of the modified noun, the interrogative particle ș remains constant.

(34)  
a) wš mwän "which child?"  
   (1) which 2 child
b) wš "which ones?"  
   which

(35)  
a) yš bèmb "which spoon?"  
   (3) which spoon
b) yš "which ones?"  
   which

(36)  
a) myš mingöp "which shoes?"  
   (4) which (4) shoes
b) myš "which ones?"  
   (4) which

(37)  
c) lš dıs "which eye?"  
   (5) which (5) eye
b) lš "which one?"  
   (5) which

(38)  
a) mš mępemb "which spoons?"  
   (6) which (6) spoons
b) mš "which ones?"

2 The numbers in parenthesis are class number.
Interrogative pronouns can function in clauses like full nouns as shown in the examples below.

(41)

a) *myi* mikánd mínyè "which clothes are torn?"  
(6) which (6) clothes (6) torn  

b) *myi* mínyè "which ones are torn?"  
(6) which torn  

(42)

a) *yó* bëmb bús "which spoon is broken?"  
(3) which (3) spoon broken  

a) *yó* bús "which one is broken?"  
(3) which broken

Interrogative pronouns may ask information about quantity as in the examples below.

(43)
3.2.4. Demonstrative pronouns

In Mpumpuŋ there are two forms of demonstrative adjectives. The first form designates something or somebody close to the speaker, while the second designates what is far from the speaker. The demonstrative pronoun is derived from the near speaker demonstrative adjective. This demonstrative form, which can be used alone, has exactly the same form as the demonstrative adjective, with the exception that the final consonant K is well articulated in the pronoun form, while it is tending to be left aside when the demonstrative adjective is uttered. In the examples that follow, the demonstrative is used in its adjectival form in (a), while it is pronominalised in (b).

(44)
a) bwān bā "these children"
    children thése
b) ɓák  "these ones"
children

(45)
a) ṝkùmá lí "this cassava"
(5) cassava (5)
b) lík "this one"
(5) this one

(46)
a) mèkùmá má "these cassava"
(5) cassava these
b) mák "these ones"
these

(47)
a) pòndó ĕk "this trap"
trap this
b) ĕk "this one"
this

(48)
a) ipòndó bǐk "these traps"
traps these
b) bǐk "these ones"
these
The Oxford advanced learner’s Dictionary of current English defines the determiner as a word that determines or limits the noun that follows. According to Radford (1999), determiners, which can be used either prenominally (i.e. in front of a noun), or pronominally (on their own), are typically used to modify a noun, but have no descriptive content on their own. In this section, we discuss noun plus demonstrative in 3.3.1, while noun plus definite article are discussed in 3.3.2.

### 3.3.1. Noun + Demonstrative

Two types of demonstrative are attested in Mpunung. The near speaker demonstrative and a second demonstrative form designating that which is far from the speaker. The demonstrative is bimorphemic, that is, made up of two morphemes: A constant consonant-\(K\) preceded by the varying class/number morpheme. The stem consonant-\(K\) is usually not pronounced and many young native speakers seem unaware of it. One may not say if it ever existed in the far

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Dem. pronoun</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Dem. pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mù-</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>bù-</td>
<td>bāk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ń-</td>
<td>5k</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ο-</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>mì-</td>
<td>mīk</td>
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<td>Ń</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>lik</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>māk</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>i-</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>nyīk</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>nyīk</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
from speaker demonstrative form, as it is never articulated when this form is used, even in the speech of quite elderly people. In the examples below, (a) illustrates near speaker demonstrative, while (b) illustrates far from the speaker demonstrative.

(49)

a) mwān ęk "this child"
   (1)child (1)this (close to the speaker)

b) mwān oun "that child"
   (1)child (1)that (far from the speaker)

(50)

a) bwān bá "these children"
   (2)children (2)these (close to the speaker)

b) bwān bīné: "those children"
   (2)children (2)those (far from the speaker)

(51)

a) bēmb ěk "this spoon"
   (3)spoon (3)this (close to the speaker)

b) bēmb īné: "this spoon"
   (3)spoon (3)that (far from the speaker)

(52)

a) mindzā: mīk "these houses"
   (4)houses (4)those (close to the speaker)

b) mindzā: mīné: "those houses"
   (4)houses (4)those (far from the speaker)

(53)

a) ēkūmā lík "this cassava"
   (5)cassava (5)this (close to the speaker)

b) ēkūmā līné: "that cassava"
   (5)cassava (5)that (far from the speaker)

(54)

a) mēpēmb mák "that spoon"
(6) spoon (6) these (close to the speaker)

b) mèpèmb miné: "those spoon"
(6) spoon (6) those (far from the speaker)

(55)
a) zyɔŋ ník "this ax"
(7) ax (7) this (close to the speaker)

b) zyɔŋ níné: "that ax"
(7) ax (7) that (far from the speaker)

(56)
a) ipɔndɔ bǐk "these traps"
(8) traps (8) these (close to the speaker)

b) ipɔndɔ bíné: "these traps"
(8) traps (8) those (far from the speaker)

(57)
a) pyɔŋ ník "these beds"
(10) beds (10) these (close to the the speaker)

b) Pyɔŋ níné: "those beds"
(10) beds (10) those (far from the speaker)

Table XIV Demonstrative determiners

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>mú-</td>
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<td>bá</td>
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<td>à-</td>
<td>ónó:</td>
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<td>ónó:</td>
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<td>mi-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>fíné:</td>
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<td>mníné:</td>
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<td>d-</td>
<td>lík</td>
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<td>m-</td>
<td>mák</td>
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<tr>
<td>è-</td>
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<td>fíné:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mníné:</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ník</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>bǐk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>níné:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bíné:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>ník</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>níné:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the examples presented in 49 to 57, we have a linear structure with the noun at the initial position. The demonstrative determiner is thus post-posed to the noun.

### 3.3.2. Noun + Def. Article

The element we here refer to as the definite article is used to refer to an element already mentioned, especially when telling a story. This element is however not a relativiser, but a referential element that may be likened to Carstens (1991) aforementioned demonstrative. The constructions below illustrate definite articles in use.

(58)

a) mí fí bè mòt "I saw a man"

1 + Asp see + tns -man

b) mòt ték é ñgbwándz "the man has a boy"

man the he has boy

c) ñgbwándz ték é dì bè kànd

boy the he is at town

"the boy lives in the town"

If the story continues, one will get phrases like the following.

d) kúkúmá ték "the chief in question"

(3) chief the

e) dél é ték "the village in question"

(5) villages A M the

f) bùwá ó ték "the women aforementioned"

(2) women (2)A M the

g) mèsyé mé ték "the girls aforementioned"

(6) girls (6)A M the

h) mìkúkúmá mí ték "the chiefs in question"

(4) chief (4)AM the
As can be observed from the examples above, tēk remains constant and may agree with the noun it follows via an associative marker which agrees in class and number with the noun as seen in the examples above.

3.3.3. A Demonstrative or a definite article slot?

Like the demonstrative, the definite article is postponed to the noun it determines. Both have a constant element which agrees with the noun through a noun class prefix which clings to them as seen below.

(59)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Dem.</th>
<th>Def Art</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mīk</td>
<td>mītēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ōk</td>
<td>ōtēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>māk</td>
<td>mētēk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though this similarity may not go very far, the most interesting in the use of these two elements is that they never co-occur. Whenever tēk is present, the demonstrative is absent and vice-versa. This may be checked through the recurrent translation of phrases containing both a demonstrative and a definite article, rendered always with only one of these.

(60)

a) mōt tēk "the man"
   man the

b) mōt ōk "this man"
   man this

*c) mōt ōk tēk "the man in question"
   man this the

d) kūkūmá dél lik "the chief of this village"
   chief village this

e) kūkūmá dél tēk "the chief of (the) village"
   chief village the

*f) kūkūmá dél lik tēk "the chief of the village in question"
We observe from the data above that ték and the demonstrative are mutually exclusive. The possessive adjective on the contrary can co-occur with the demonstrative determiner as in 61a. 61b shows how the possessive co-occurring with the definite article as well. We see that 61ad b are grammatical unlike 60c and f.

(61)
a) dél lē lī "that village of his"
village his that

b) dél lē ték "his village in question"
village his the

From all the facts given above, we argue that ték and the demonstrative determiner belong to the same syntactic category, but occur in different contexts and in different forms. Carsterns(1991) discusses a subcategory of demonstrative determiners referred to as the "aforementioned demonstrative". We may liken ték to this element. We thus refer to ték as the narrative or the aforementioned demonstrative. It therefore occupies the same slot with other demonstrative forms discussed in 3.3.1, wherefore their mutual exclusiveness.

3.4. Summary

The simple nominal construction in Mpumpunj may be made up of a noun alone, a pronoun alone or a noun plus a determiner. The single noun may function as subject or object of verb, or as object of preposition. Possessive, interrogative and demonstrative pronouns agree in class and number with the noun they replace. Like personal pronouns, possessive pronouns show person distinction and have a constant element for each of the three singular and plural persons. The simple nominal construction may also be made of a noun plus a determiner. The noun always occurs at phrase initial position, while the determiner follows. The agreement features on the determiner are determined by the class and number of the preceding noun.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE MODIFIED NOMINAL CONSTRUCTION

In this chapter, we will discuss the structure of nominals modified by possessives, other nouns, adjectives and quantifiers in Mpumpuŋ. We will be discussing the order of modifiers relative to the head noun, the variation in this distribution and the interpretation associated with these variations in word order.

4.1. THE POSSESSIVE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTION

There are possessive forms corresponding to each of the three singular and plural persons; the exception being the first person plural which has two possessive forms meaning "both of us" for the first, and "all of us" for the second. Below are illustrations.

(1)

a) ďis ʟám
   (5) eye (5) my
   "my eye"

b) ďis l5
   (5) eye (5) your
   "your eye"

c) ďis lɛ
   (5) eye (5) his
   "his eye"

d) ďis lɛ
   (5) eye (5) our
   "our eye"
e) dis liná mís míná
   eye our(excl) eyes our(excl)
   "our eye" "our eyes"

f) dis lén mís mém
   eye your eyes your
   "your eye" "your eyes"

g) dis: ló mís mó:
   eye their eyes their
   "their eye" "their eyes"

From the examples above, the possessive is made up of a stem (person morpheme which is a high tone vowel) and the concord morpheme (a consonant). This is illustrated in the following columns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Concord</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Concord</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers sing.</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ám</td>
<td>mís</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>ám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers sing.</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ő</td>
<td>mís</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>ő</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers sing.</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>mís</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers pl.</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>íná</td>
<td>mís</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>íná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers pl.</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>én</td>
<td>mís</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers pl.</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ő:</td>
<td>mís</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>ő:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem (person morpheme) is different but constant for each person. On the other hand, the concord morpheme which is an agreement morpheme, varies with the class and number of the modified noun.
4.1.1. Linear structure and the possessive in focus position.

In everyday normal speech, the possessive stands in a position post-posed to the modified noun. This suggests the following linear structure of the possessive nominal construction: Noun + possessive determiner.

In focus constructions however, the possessive always precedes the modified noun as in the examples below.

(3)

a) bè wàm mwàni "this is my own child"
   this my child

b) wàm mù-mó: "this woman of mine"
   my woman-this

c) yàm nòn é "my own bird"
   my bird-this

d) lám èkúmà lèk "my own cassava"
   this cassava this

From the examples in (3), one observes a different linear structure, which may lead us to say that there are two separate structural representations for the possessive nominal construction. This difference in linear order however corresponds to a difference in interpretation. There is therefore a need for the syntax to account for and reflect this difference. This will be tackled in chapter 5. For now we focus on the forms of the various possessive determiners.
Table XV Possessive determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mine</td>
<td>Yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>à-</td>
<td>wán</td>
<td>wó</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bà-</td>
<td>bám</td>
<td>bó</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ñ-</td>
<td>yám</td>
<td>yó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>myó</td>
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<td>ló</td>
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<td>m-</td>
<td>mám</td>
<td>mó</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>nyám</td>
<td>nyó</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>byám</td>
<td>byó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pì</td>
<td>nyám</td>
<td>nyó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2. THE ASSOCIATIVE CONSTRUCTION

A noun can be modified by another noun. Such constructions are often referred to as associative constructions. The associative construction can express a relation of possession, material make-up, content, purpose, origin, etc. Below are some examples.
4.2.1. Types of associative construction.

4.2.1.1. Content

(4)

íták médyû "a bottle of water"

bottle water

4.2 1.2. Material make-up

(5)

a) syá mí dzâŋ "a bamboo chair"

chair AM bamboo

b) dôŋ mí dzâŋ "a bamboo bed"

bed AM bamboo

4.2.1.3. Origin

(6)

a) sú twônd "a fish from the sea"

fish sea

b) osú ó twônd "fishes from the sea"

fishes AM sea

c) sú máŋ "a fish from the ocean"

fish ocean

d) ósú ó máŋ "fishes from the ocean"

fishes AM ocean

4.2.1.4. Purpose

(7)

a) migôp mí pyêmb "shoes for the farm"

shoes AM farm

b) di ñdzá: sükül "a school bench"

bench house school
4.2.15. Possession

(8)

a) myàndz mì kúkúmá "the chief's bag"
   bag A.M. chief

b) kó mì ŋgono "the foot of Ngono"
   foot A.M ŋgono

4.2.2. The associative marker

There is an associative marker that links the first noun to the second. This associative marker may fall into one of three categories. In the first category, the shape of the associative marker is determined by the class of the head noun. In the second, the associative marker is segmentally null even when N1 has a visible prefix. In the last category, the form of the associative marker is segmentally marked, but its shape is not determined by the class of the head noun. The three situations are subsequently discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.2.2.1. Associative marker identical to N1 prefix.

This happens when the head noun is from classes 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8.

(9)

a) bwān 6 sāng "the children of the father"
   (2) children (2) AM (1) father

b) mindzá: mì sāng "the houses of the father"
   (4) houses (4) AM (1) father

 c) dis ē sāng "the eye of the father"
   (5) eye (5) AM (1) father

d) mis mé sāng "the eyes of the father"
   (6) eyes (6) AM (1) father

 e) ipöndö 1 sāng "the traps of the father"
   (8) traps (8) AM (1) father
4.2.2.2. Segmentally null Associative marker

While nouns of classes 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8 always take a segmental associative marker, nouns of classes 1, 3, 7 and 10 do not. Classes 3 and 7 have zero prefix, while nouns in classes 1 and 10 have visible prefixes as illustrated below.

(10)
a) ̀lùlà  sàŋ “the needle of the father”
(1) needle (1) father

b) mù-àń  sàŋ “the child of the father”
(1) child (1) father

c) ̀pì-IN  sàŋ “the fingers of the father”
(10) finger (1) father

d) ̀Pì-òN  sàŋ “the beds of the father”
(10) beds (1) father

Faced with the absence of a segmental associative marker in some Bafut noun of noun expressions, Ambe (1989:167) postulates that the native speaker intuitively senses the link between N1 and N2 despite the absence of the AM. Nkemnji (1995:35) goes further to propose that the associative marker is always marked by a tonal morpheme, whether the segmental marker is present or not. Drawing inspiration from this, we analyzed Mpumpun as being marked only tonally for classes 1, 3, 7 and 10; while classes 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8 are marked both segmentally and suprasegmentally.

The associative marker for class 1 and class 3 is a high tone. This we deduce from the observation of the data below.

(11)
a) ̀làmbà  pepper

b) ̀lùwól  Ant

c) ̀làmbà ̀lùwól “The pepper of the ant”

d) sá  “plum”
ìlyéklè  teacher
d) sá ilyéklé "The plum of the teachers"

In citation form, dlámhà has a final vowel with a low tone. For it to bear a contour tone in the construction ãlámhà ilyéklé and in ãlámhà ãlwóf, there needs to be a floating high tone in its surroundings. In example (d), we propose that the floating high tone is still present, but fuses with the high tone on sá "plum", wherefore the surface sa’ ilékklé. Example c’ and d’ lead us to say that the AM for class 1 and class 3 is a high tone. Having observed that all segmental associative marker also bear a high tone (class 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8), we deduce that class 7 and 10 also have a high tone for associative marker.

4.2.2.3. The associative marker differs from N1 Prefix

In our discussion of section 4.1.2.1, we presented nouns of classes 2, 4, 6 and 8 as generating associative markers of an identical class when they happen to be head nouns. We nevertheless come across situations where this associative marker is followed by another one. This second associative marker is always of class 4. It always occurs before the noun kúkúmá “chief”. Below are some illustrations:

(12)

a) Ndzá: mí Kúkúmá “the house of the chief”
   (1) house (4) AM (1) chief

b) bwán ó mí kúkúmá “the children of the chief”
   (2) (2)AM (4) AM (1) chief

c) ëgbès él mí Kúkúmá “the door of the chief”
   (5) door (5)AM (4) AM chief

d) òsàng ó mí kúkúmá “the fathers of the chief”
   (2)fathers (2)AM (4) AM (1) chief

The expected associative marker in example (b), (c) and (e), are ó, él, ó respectively. One may attribute the mí preceding them to a sociological fact mirroring through language, and according to which one may not attribute something to the chief directly. This may be further confirmed by the example in
13, where kûkûma being N1, generates an associative marker agreeing in number and class not with N2, but with N1 as should be expected.

(13)
a) kûkûma dél "The chief of the village
(1) chief (5) village
b) mikûkûma mî mêl "The chiefs of villages
(4) chief (4)AM (6) villages

There are however some situations where mî (AM) occurs alone and, which is most striking, after nouns of class one which normally do not generate segmental associative markers. This is illustrated in 14 below.

(14)
a) tit Ŭkó "pork/(pig’s meat)"
(1) meat (1) pig
b) tit mî Ŭkó "the meat of the pig"
(1) meat (4) AM (1) pig
c) tit pyê "dog’s meat"
(1) meat (1) dog
d) tit mî pyê "the meat of the dog"
(1) meat (4) AM (1) dog

Table XVI: Associative markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Ass m</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Ass m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a) mû-</td>
<td></td>
<td>a) bû-</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) â-</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>b) bà-</td>
<td>ô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) N-</td>
<td></td>
<td>c) ô-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>mî-</td>
<td>mî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ê-</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>mè-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>õ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>î-</td>
<td>î</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ñl-</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3. NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS MODIFIED BY ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are usually termed attributive or predicative, depending on their use. According to Radford (1997), attributive adjectives are used to modify a following noun expression, and contrast with predicative adjectives which are linked to the noun they modify by a copular verb. In Mpumpuŋ, adjectives are used both predicatively and attributively. Unlike predicative adjectives which have a unique and regular pattern, attributive adjectives present a varying and very rich pattern. In section 4.3.1, we discuss predicative adjectives, and attributive adjectives follow in section 4.3.2.

4.3.1. Predicative adjectives

Two major elements normally separate the head noun from the predicative adjective. These are the copular verb preceded by the subject marker. The head noun may however be followed by an immediate determiner: here a demonstrative or a possessive. The predicative adjective, unlike many other modifiers, does not agree with the noun it modifies. Examples 15 and 16 are illustrations of predicative adjectives in use.

(15)

a) pw̃̃nỹ̃nĩ rĩ dzỹ̃nd "her hair are black"
   hair her they be black

b) pw̃̃nỹ̃nĩ rĩ lỹ̃l "her hair are hard"
   hair her the be hard

(16)

a) mûmá ñ e rĩ bỹ̃ó "this woman is wicked"
   woman this SM be wicked

b) bûwá bá bê rĩ bỹ̃ó "these women are wicked"
   women these SM be wicked
4.3.2. Attributive Adjectives

As illustrated in 17 and 18 below, attributive adjectives may be pre- or post-posed to the noun they modify.

(17)

a) pŏndŏ ályẽlyẽl "a solid trap"
   trap solid
b) ipŏndŏ byályẽlyẽl "solid traps"
   trap Agr solid
c) ńdzá: áfufuf "a clean house"
   house clean
d) mindzá: myáfufuf "clean houses"
   houses Agr. clean

(18)

a) bŏl kwánd "rotten plantain"
   rotten plantain
b) ibŏl by-íkwánd "rotten plantains"
   rotten Agr plantains
c) yánăr sů "fried fish"
   fried fish
d) miyánăr my-ósů "fried fishes"
   fried Agr fishes

The adjectives in 17 agree in class and number with the preceding noun. In 18, the pre-posed adjective has a class prefix and the agreement marker which links the noun to the adjective is triggered by the pre-posed adjective. Examples like these shall be further examined in section 4.3.2.4. under nominal adjectives.
4.3.2.1. Types of adjectives

Tamanji (2000) groups adjectives into three broad categories:

⇒ pure adjectives which are very limited, if not rare,
⇒ verbal adjectives which are derived from verbs,
⇒ and nominal adjectives which are pure nouns assuming the evaluative function of adjective via inheritance.

Ndemnji (1995:135) terms pure adjectives "those lexical items that are specified in the lexicon as belonging to the category of adjectives". They semantically bear colour and size meaning. This classification does not necessarily correspond to the facts encountered in Mpumpuŋ. In our data, colour adjectives for instance are derived from verbs like verbal adjectives. Example 19 below shows some colour adjectives stemming from verbs.

(19)

a) ëtwàm "to redden" átwàmtwàm "red"

b) êdyùndël "to make black" ádzyùdzyùnd "black"

c) épìmël "to whiten" ápìpìm "white"

The facts in example 19 do not enable us to consider colour adjectives in Mpumpuŋ as pure adjectives. We will instead classify them among derived adjectives. Also, the constituent morphemes of colour and size adjectives, as well as their distribution within the nominal group is similar to that of derived adjectives. The table below compares the morphology of colour/size adjectives with that of other derived adjectives.
In view of these facts, colour and size adjectives are classified as verbal adjectives in our discussion of adjectives in Mpumpug.

4.3.2.2. Pure adjectives

So far, we have found only one pure adjective in Mpumpug. It expresses quality. It is always pre-posed to the noun it modifies, and does not agree with it.

(21)

a) váŋ můl "good oil"
   good oil

b) váŋ měmůl "good quality oils"
   good oils

c) váŋ zingi "nice dress"
   nice dress

d) váŋ izingi "nice dresses"
   nice dresses

4.3.2.3. Verbal adjectives

Verbal adjectives in Mpumpug express size, colour, quality, etc. They are mostly used as post-modifiers of the noun. But they are sometimes also used as pre-modifiers. In this second case, they bear a nominal prefix and trigger agreement on the noun as nominal adjectives do. Because of this similarity in behavior, the pre-modifying verbal adjectives will be discussed alongside nominal
adjectives in section 4.3.2.4. For the moment, let us consider those which post-modify the noun.

The verbal adjectives that post-modify the noun all agree with the noun in class and number as illustrated below.

(22)

a) ká ábwóbwòk "a large leaf"
   leaf large

b) iká by-ábwóbwòk "large leaves"
   leaves Agr large

c) vég ádzyúdzyúnd "a black bag"
   bag black

c) mívég my-ádzyúdzyúnd "black bags"
   bag Agr black

In these examples, agreement on the adjective is triggered by the pre-posed noun.

4.3.2.4. Nominal Adjectives

Nominal adjectives behave like nouns in that they bear an inherent class prefix. They are found in classes 1 and 3 for the singular forms, and in classes 2, 4 and 8 for the plural forms. Nominal adjectives are always pre-posed to the noun they modify, and the agreement morpheme between the noun and the pre-posed adjective is a concordial affix of the same class with the prefix of the adjective. Below are illustrations.

(23)

a) ibyólá f-bùwá bák "these wicked women"
   wicked women these

b) ótómá ó-bùwá óná "four old women"
   old women four
c) miyáná mi-ôsú "fried fishes"

Examples a) and b) show that while the nominal adjective triggers agreement on the noun it modifies, this agreement pattern does not extend to numerals and demonstratives.

In the Nweh examples discussed by Tamanji (2000), nominal adjectives extend their agreement patterns beyond the modified noun to determiners that follow. But in Mpumpuŋ, nominal adjectives do not trigger agreement on determiners. Even in constructions with the quantifier all, the latter agrees with the noun it quantifies and not with the adjectives as can be seen below.

(24)

a) mindómb my- ônâng bâm bák
   (4)old (4)Agr (2)mothers (2)my (2)these
   "these old mothers of mine"

b) mindómb my- ônâng bâm mëez
   (4)old (4)Agr (2)mothers (2)my (2)all
   "all my old mothers"

Noun expressions modified by nominal adjectives have a structure identical to that of noun of noun constructions. There is however a difference in these two constructions as regard headedness. In associative constructions, the head noun stands at initial position, while the modifiers follow. In the adjectival construction, the head noun stands at final position and is preceded by its modifier. The linear structure for nominal constructions modified by nominal adjectives is thus: Adjective+Noun.
4.4. NOUNS MODIFIED BY QUANTIFIERS AND NUMERALS

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

4.4.1. Nominals modified by non-numeral quantifiers

Radford (1997) defines the quantifier as a type of determiner used to denote quantity. There are eight non-numeral quantifiers in Mpumpun. They are listed in (25) below:

(25)

i. kát "no one"
ii. dákè "every"
iii. bèl "some"
iv. tū:n "many, much"
v. tā:bū "not many"
vi. ebēbū "too many"
vii. bībyōk "few"
viii. ēz "all"

4.4.1.1. Pre-posed non-numeral quantifiers

dákè, bèl, kát, and tū:n are always pre-posed to the noun, and never agree with the quantified noun. Below are illustrations.

(26)

a) dákè mwān "every child"
    every child

*b) dákè bwān "every children"
    every children
    dákè is used only with singular nouns.

(27)

a) kát mwān "no child"
no child

*b) kát bwân "no children"
   no children

kát is used only with singular nouns.

(28)
  a) bèl böt "some people"
     some people

*b) bèl môt "some man"
   some man

bèl is used only with plural nouns.

(29)
  a) tûn bwân "many children"
     many children

*b) tûn mwân "many child"
   many child

tûn is only used with plural nouns.

4.4.1.2. Post-posed quantifiers

ébùbù, tâ:bu, and éz are always post-posed to the noun they quantify.

ébùbù

In its non reduplicated form, bu is also used as an adverb expressing
degree. ébùbù expresses the idea of a crowd, uncountable, exceedingly great
number. Example a) below is the quantifying form, while example b) is an
adverbial form.

(30)
  a) bwân ébùbù "too many children/a crowd of children"
     children too many

b) sâng é bu: ndòmb "the father is too old"
child S.M. too old

tá: bù

tá: is a negative particle modifying the meaning bù. tá:bù means not many.

((31)

a) bwàŋ tá:bù "not many children"

   children not many

* b) mwàŋ tá:bù "few child"

   child not many

   ëz:"all"

(32)

a) bwàŋ byëz "all the children"

   children all

b) mèkùmà myëz "all the cassavas"

   cassavas all

c) èkùmà lyëz "all the cassava"

   cassava all

Unlike other quantifiers, ëz always agrees in class and number with the noun it modifies. The table below presents the various forms of ëz as it varies with the class and number of the noun it modifies.

Table XVII: ëz and concordial affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pref.</th>
<th>Quant.</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pref.</th>
<th>Quant.</th>
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<td>bà-</td>
<td>byëz</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>nyëz</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>i-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>pì-</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nyëz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bibyk: an adjectival quantifier

bibyk is used to denote little quantity. But it is also an adjective meaning small, little. In its quantifying use bibyk may be used both pre-nominally or post-nominally. It however does not agree with the noun it quantifies.

(33)

a) bwän bibyk "few children"

b) bibyk púsá "a small quantity of corn"

4.4.2. Nouns modified by numerals

Both cardinal and ordinal numerals are attested in Mpumpunj. We'll discuss ordinal numerals in section 4.4.2.2.

4.4.2.1. Cardinal numerals

There are simple and complex cardinals in Mpumpunj.

(34): Simple cardinals

gwát "one"

ibá "two"

ilél "three"

iná "four"

itén "five"

twó "six"

kám "ten"

tset "one hundred"

(35): Complex cardinals

a) tén é gwát "six"

five with one

b) tén é ibá "seven"

five with two
c) kám ë gwa't "eleven"
   five with one

   c) kám ë íbâ "twenty"
   five with two

   Cardinal numerals are always post-posed to the noun they modify. Below
   are illustrations.

   (36)
   a) bwän ñbá "two children"
      children one

   b) bwän ñtën ë ñlîl "eight children"
      (2)children five with three

   c) ìpòndo ìbá "two traps"
      (8)traps two

   d) pyùŋ mbá "two beds"
      (10)beds two

   e) ëkòk ë gwa't "one stone"
      (5)traps A.M. one

   e) kò ë gwa't "one foot"
      (1)foot A.M. one

   Cardinal numerals agree in class/number with the noun they modify. Like
   in noun of noun constructions, the agreement marker is segmentally marked only
   for classes 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8. Other classes are not marked segmentally. The table
   below contains cardinal numerals and their related concordial affixes.
Table XVIII: Numerals and concordial affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pref.</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pref.</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>ø</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>bà-</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>å-</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>ê-</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>måv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>œ</td>
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<td>m-</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pì-</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cardinal numerals can be used pronominally. Even then, they do agree with the noun they replace as illustrated below in example 38(b).

(37)

a) bwān ótén bé: tò "five children have gone"
   children five S.M. tns- go

b) ótén bé: tò "five have gone"
   five S.M. tns- go

4.4.2.2. Ordinal numeral

Apart from the first, èsòk, which differs from one gwạ́t, ordinal numerals have the same form with cardinals in Mpumpuŋ. Like cardinals, ordinal numerals are always post-posed to the noun they modify. Unlike cardinals, they do not vary with the class of the nouns they modify, except when the ordering system is dealing with plural items like in "the first two wives", "the three younger children", etc.

(38)

b) pyèmb èsòk "the first farm"
   farm first

b) ñdzá: èsòk "the first house"
   house first
Example 40: Ordering plural items.

a) īpyèmb bi- èsók "the first farms"
   farms Agr first

b) īpyèmb i bi "the second farms"
   farms Agr second

c) mindzá: mi- lél "the third houses"
   houses Agr three

The linear structure of nominal constructions modified by numerals is thus

N + Numeral

4.5. THE COMPLEX NOMINAL CONSTRUCTION

Quoting Ross (1986), Mutaka and Tamanji (1995) presents the complex NP as one that dominates an S’node. The complex nominal construction is thus a noun expression modified by a clause (here a relative clause). In many languages, the relative clause functioning as a noun modifier is preceded by the relative marker. In Mpumpuŋ, the relative clause is distributed as described in the two situations below:

1) The relative clause immediately follows the modified noun and is followed by an element that we name R° for the purpose of argumentation. Here we have the linear order {Noun-Rel clause -R°}
2) The relative clause is preceded by an element that we name R and is followed by the already mentioned R°. Here we have the linear order {Noun-R-rel.clause-R°}.

Examples 41 and 42 below illustrate situations 1 and 2 respectively.

(40)
a) mwän am di ré dzwà yè "my child who is bathing"
   child my tns asp bathe R°

b) mwän mi kükumá di ré dzëmb yè
   child A.M chief tns Asp sing R°
   "the child of the chief who is singing"

c) dòŋ mi di ré bè yè "the bed which I am seeing"
   bed I tns Asp see R°

(41)
a) dél é mi di ré bè yè "the village which I am seeing"
   bed -R- I tns Asp see R°

b) bwän ọ mi di ré bè yè
   children R I tns Asp see R°
   "the children whom I am seeing"

c) bwän biné ọ mi di ré bè yè
   children those R I tns Asp see R°
   "those children whom I am seeing"

d) bwän bám ọ mi di ré bè yè
   children my R I tns Asp see R°
"my children whom I am seeing"

d) bwan ọ mì kúkúmá ọ dí ré dzỳēmb yè
children AM AM chief R tns Asp sing R°
"the children of the chief who are singing"

The question we will first of all want to answer following these examples is the status of the element yè (R°).

A first possibility is to treat yè as a relative marker. If we consider Yè as the relative marker, we would be faced with two questions:

- Why does it not agree in class with the noun it replaces?
- Why does it stand after the relative clause?

To the first question, one may want to say that the relative marker in some other Bantu languages does not always agree with the noun it replaces. We have the example of fè’fè’ to corroborate this observation.

(42)
a) mù: yì ngox móc ndì lòc "the child that I am seeing"
child whom I Asp see foc

b) pè’ yì ngox móc ndì lòc "the house which I am seeing"
house which I Asp see foc

c) ka’ yì ngox móc ndì lòc "the pan which I am seeing"
pan which I Asp see foc

The relative marker, yì in the fè’fè’ examples is a constant element not subject to agreement.

To the second question, we have no answer, especially that if we were to continue relating Mpumpuŋ to other Bantu languages, we would identify a similar element which also stands after the relative clause as the "yè" in Mpumpuŋ.
our \( \text{fê} \text{fê} \) examples above, we may parallel the distribution of ictionary to that of "yê". The ictionary element in \( \text{fê} \text{fê} \) is no relative element, but a focalysing element referring back to the relativised noun. A similar element with the same distribution is also found in Bafut and is a focalysing element as in \( \text{fê} \text{fê} \). We deduce from these facts that "yê" in Mpumpu may not be a relative marker, but instead a focalysing element.

Considering the second element in the construction R, we want to propose that R is the relative marker. It will then be said to have the same distributional pattern as the relative marker in \( \text{fê} \text{fê} \). The two main differences being that in Mpumpu it agrees with the class of the relativised noun, while it does not in \( \text{fê} \text{fê} \). Also, it is present for all noun classes in \( \text{fê} \text{fê} \), while it is present only for classes 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8 in Mpumpu, and is unmarked for classes 1, 3, 7 and 10.

### 4.6. Summary

The modified nominal construction may be a possessive, an associative, an adjectival, a quantified or a relativised nominal construction. The agreement features on modifiers is determined by the class of the modified noun.
CHAPTER FIVE
AGREEMENT IN THE MPUMPUN Nominal Construction

From chapter two to chapter four, we presented the noun and the nominal
group, describing the varying positions of nouns and their modifiers. In usual
daily speech, the noun is at phrase initial position, while modifiers follow. In the
present chapter, we visually represent the structure of the nominal group and also
account for the agreement system in the Mpumpun nominal group. For this
purpose, we adopt the determiner phrase 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 1° selects VP as its
complement. The basic DP, the pronominal DP, the genitive DP, the adjectival
DP, the numeral DP, and the DP modified by a relative clause are respectively
discussed in section 5.1. through section 5.6.

5.1. THE BASIC DP

According to X-bar theory in which the DP analysis is incorporated, every
XP (maximal projection of X) has X as an obligatory constituent. Still in X-bar
terminology, the obligatory constituent of a maximal projection is called the head
of that maximal projection. These assumptions lead us to postulate that there can
be no DP without a determiner, its head. The D⁰ slot may however be empty or
filled by some determiner. We thus have two types of basic DPs: DP, with a null
determiner, and DP, with overt determiner. Below is the phrase marker of the
basic DP.
5.1.1. Null determiner DPs

According to Radford (1997), null determiners have the same quantificational, person and complement selection properties as typical overt determiners. So we analyse bare nominals in Mpunung as DPs headed by a null determiner. Below are some examples.

(2)

a) sáŋg "father"  
b) náŋg "mother"

According to Radford (op. Cit.: 96), these nominals headed by a null determiner are given a generic interpretation. In Mpunung sáŋg or náŋg may be given a generic or specific interpretation depending on the speaker or on the context. But the question we seek to answer at this point is how the number feature associated with the morphology of the noun are checked on bare nominals.

2b is the phrase marker of example 2a below.

(2b)

In Carstens' (1991) opinion, number in Bantu languages is phonologically spelled-out by noun class prefixes. She postulates number (#) as a functional head which selects NP as its complement. The noun must then raise to #° to check its
number feature. This is done, according to Tamanji (1999) in a "head-head" configuration. This derivation is illustrated in 2c below.

\[
\text{(2c)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\text{Spec} \\
D^0 \\
\text{D'} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Spec} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{N'} \\
\text{N''} \\
\end{array}
\]

5.1.2. DPs with overt determiners

This DP construction differs from the one discussed above because the Det head is not empty, but filled by an overt determiner, a functional element. In Mpumung, the D^0 slot is supposedly filled by one of two elements: the demonstrative article and the referential/narrative demonstrative. As discussed in chapter three, these two elements never co-occur, which is a proof (to our understanding) that they belong to the same category. In the DP analysis, NP is the complement of D. How then do we account for the surface position with the noun initial order?

According to Ouhalla (1999: 203) “There are languages where N carries overt agreement inflection which parallels the agreement inflection of V in sentences. In these languages, the agreement inflection of N is in agreement with the features of the subject, presumably an instance of spec-head agreement”. Ouhalla’s view corroborates Carstens’ (1991) claim that Bantu languages phonologically spell-out number through class prefixes. There is thus a need for N, base generated at a lower position as shown by 2c to be in a spec-head relation with D^0 to check agreement on det. As #^0 containing the noun cannot cross D^0
without violating the H.M.C, the entire #P is moved to spec DP, giving the surface order where N precedes the determiner. This derivation is outlined in 2d and e. Below.

(2d)

In the derivation, the noun first raises to #0 where it checks its number feature in a head-head configuration. Then the entire #P moves to spec-DP where the number plus class features in D⁰ are then checked in a spec-head configuration.
5.2. PRONOMINAL DPs

Pronouns are pro-forms as they can stand for a whole nominal group. Following our assumptions on X as an obligatory constituent of XP, we deduced that pronouns are Det elements without a complement. So, their phrase marker is the following.

```
DP
   Spec
      D'
         D°
           NP
              pronoun [e]
```

But pronouns in Mpumpug show class number distinctions as seen in the examples in 3 below.

(3)

a) by5 ipɔndɔ "which traps?"
   which traps

b) by5 "which ones?"

c) y5 pɔndɔ "which trap?"
   which trap

d) y5 "which one?"

The pronouns in 3 show class and number features. This leads us to project a number phrase in our preceding phrase marker for pronominal DPs. The number feature in #° are then attracted to D° covertly, thus enabling D° to check its number feature. The derivation is outlined below in 4.
5.3. GENITIVE DPs

In our analysis in chapter four, pronominal and lexical genitives both surface at a position post-posed to the noun they modify. In 5.3.1. below, we discuss pronominal genitives while lexical genitives are examined later in 5.3.2.

5.3.1. The pronominal genitive

In the Mpumpuŋ genitive construction, the head noun may be modified by a pronominal genitive as illustrated below.

(5)

\[ \text{ip̂and̄ bȳ̄} \] "your traps"

traps your

According to Tamanji (1999), the pronominal genitive is a three morpheme complex comprising a class/number concord consonant, a genitive morpheme (a tone) and the possessive vowel which is a determiner generated under D⁰. Below is the underlying structure proposed by Tamanji (1999).
Transferring this structure to Mpumupuŋ, we obtain the underlying phrase marker as in 7a and the surface phrase marker as in 7b.
In the derivation, the possessive determiner cliticises to the genitive marker. \( N^o \) raises to \#^o \) as usual to check its number feature. From the derivation we obtain the surface structure in 7b in which the head noun precedes the pronominal genitive.
In its landing site in #^0^, the noun omisses the pronominal genitive contained in Gen^0^. The number feature of the genitive raise covertly to #^0^ where they enter into a checking relation with the features of the noun. For us to obtain the focus position with the possessive at phrase initial position, the genitive phrase raises to spec DP giving possessive in focus position as examplified in 4.2.2. 7c is this last phrase marker.
5.3.2. Lexical genitives

According to our discussion in 4.1.3., lexical genitives are post-posed to the noun they modify. But Tamanji (1999) following Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) proposes three positions where lexical genitives are base generated in relation to the noun they modify. When the associative noun is an agent, that is "a person who deliberately causes some state of affairs to come about", it is generated in spec NP as illustrated in 8a below.

(8a)

when the associative noun is a theme/patient, that is the person "associated with the entity undergoing the effect of some action", it occupies the complement position of the modified noun as shown in 8b.
(8b)

If the associative noun is possessor, the person owning the entity described by the modified noun, it is base generated as an adjunct to the modified noun as shown in Example 8c.

(8c)

Of the three genitives represented above, none stands in the standard spec-head relation with the noun. But agreement between the head noun and the genitive nouns can be checked in a structural government position as proposed by Carstens (1991) and modified by Tamanji (2000). Here, the head noun in \( ^0 \) dominates all lexical genitives whose number features can raise covertly to \( ^0 \) in order to enter into a checking relation with the features of the head noun. Example 9b below illustrates the case of the agent genitive in 9a.

(9)

a) mín mé säng "the names of the father"

names AM father
After the derivation, we obtain a surface structure like 9c below, which corresponds to the linear order in 9a.
5.4. Adjectival DPS

In X-bar theory, adjectives are excluded from the single bar domain because they are not complements of the noun they modify. Adjectives are said to be adjoined to NP. In Mpumpuŋ, verbal adjectives are right adjoined to the noun they modify, while pure and nominal adjectives are left adjoined. We propose that both the right and left adjoined surface structure are derived from an underlying structure like 10 below.
Examples 11 below, which represents verbal adjectives, would be represented by the phrase marker in 12.

(11)
ziŋqí á-púpúm é "this white dress"
dress white this
The phrase marker shows the adjective at final position and the demonstrative at initial position, unlike 11 with a noun initial and determiner final position. In the derivation, the noun raises at #^0 to check its number features. In this position, N^0 structurally governs AP. The features of the adjective are then raised covertly to the noun in #^0 where they enter into a checking relation with the features of the noun. The surface structure in 11 is obtained through further movement of the #P to spec,DP.

Coming to the nominal adjective, the phrase marker in 10 may still be reproduced as 14 to structurally represent example 13 below.

(13) mĩ-ndòmb mĩ-ònàŋ bàk "these old mothers"
    old Agr mothers these
In the derivation, N₀ raises to #₀ as usual to check its number features. But unlike for verbal adjectives whose features alone raise to #₀, the AP here moves to spec,#ₚ, from where agreement features between the noun and the adjective are checked in a derived spec-head configuration with the noun in #₀ and the adjective in the specifier position. Here, the trigger of agreement is the adjective and the noun the agreeing element. Subsequent movement of the entire #ₚ to spec,DP brings about the linear surface order as in 13, with the nominal adjective at initial position and the determiner at final position. This derivation is displayed in 15 below.
Example 16 displays the surface structure obtained.
5.5. Quantified DPs

In chapter four, we presented quantifiers as subdivided into numeral and non-numeral quantifiers. Apart from éz "all", all other non-numeral quantifiers do not agree with the head noun. Éz behaves like cardinal numerals in agreeing in class and number with the noun it modifies.

5.5.1. Non numeral quantifiers

Example 17 below shows that non numeral quantifiers can be phrase initial or phrase final.

(17)

a) tū:n mīnūp "many mouths"
many mouth

b) mīnūp mīyēz "all mouths"
mouth all

c) mēzyē mē dél līk mīyēz
paths AM village this all
"all the paths of this village"

We propose that the quantifier projects a quantifier phrase as shown in the phrase marker in 18a.
Agreement between the noun and the quantifier is checked in a spec-head fashion when the #P containing the raised noun stops in Spec QP. The #P raises from there to Spec DP, giving the correct surface order as in 18b below.
There is however the need to account for cases where the quantifier is always pre-posed to the noun. This may be done through a focus phrase projected above DP as seen in 18c.

(18c)
We thus obtain 18d for the surface structure of pre-posed quantifiers.

(18d)

5.5.2. Numeral quantifiers

Numeral quantifiers are always post-posed to the noun they modify. Cardinal numerals always agree with the noun they modify as shown below.

(19)

a) bwan óbá "two children"  
   (2) children (2) two

b) iponó óbá "two traps"  
   (8) traps (8) two

c) mǐndzaː mǐmbá "two houses"  
   (4) houses (4) two

When they co-occur with possessive determiners or with demonstratives, numerals directly follow the noun as in 20.

(20)

a) bwan óba bám "my two children"  
   children two my

b) bwan óbá bíné byéz "all those two children"  
   children two those all
We proposed that numerals are base generated as an adjunct phrase to NP in (21) below.

\[ (21) \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Spec} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{D} \\
\text{QP} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{D} \quad \text{biné} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{Q} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{Q} \quad \text{byéz} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{Numb} \\
\end{array}
\]

The head noun raises to \(^\#\) and subsequent mouvement of \(^\#P\) to Spec-DP gives rise to the correct surface word order in

\[ 5.6. \text{ THE RELATIVE DP} \]

The relative clause is adjoined to DP as illustrated by the phrase marker in (22). a and b show that the relative marker can be preceded by a demonstrative or a possessive determiner.

\[ (22) \]

a) \[ \text{bwàñ bínè ó mí dì ré bé yé} \]
children those RM I tns Asp see Foc
"those children that I am seeing"

b) \[ \text{bwàñ bám ó mí dì ré bé yé} \]
children my RM I tns Asp see Foc
"my children that I am seeing"

These constructions are derived from a structure like (23) below.
(23)

```
(23)  

\[ (D\text{P}) \quad (C\text{P}) \quad \text{Spec} \quad D' \quad \text{D}' \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{bínē} \quad \text{bwaŋa} \quad \text{ò} \quad \text{mí} \quad \text{dì} \quad \text{ré} \quad \text{bé} \quad \text{yé} \]
```
Once $N^o$ is moved to $\#^o$, agreement is checked between $N^o$ contained in $\#^n$ and $C^o$ in a quasi head-head configuration. The correct order is then derived through movement of $\#^p$ to spec-DP. This surface structure is seen below in 25.
5.7. CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, the nominal construction is a determiner phrase which selects NP as its complement. The basic DP is headed by a Covert (null) or by an overt determiner. The pronominal DP on its own is considered as a head D with a null complement. In genitive constructions, the DP is modified by a lexical genitive or by a possessive determiner embedded in a genitive phrase. Finally, while non-numeral quantifiers modify DP in terms of a head-complement relation, numerals, adjectives and relative clauses modify DP in terms of an adjunction structure.
GENERAL CONCLUSION

Stepping from the necessity to describe African languages, we set out in this study to describe the nominal construction in Mpumpuŋ, a Bantu language spoken in the East province of Cameroon. The major objective of the study was to bring out the relational patterns which exist between the constituents of the nominal group. For this to be done, we used a three-step procedure: first, we examined the noun in its internal structure in part one. Secondly, we investigated the nominal construction as a whole, paying attention to the external distribution of the noun and other constituents within the nominal group, to word order variations and related variations in interpretation. Finally, we examined the agreement patterns relating the constituents of the nominal group to each other. A combination of the structuralist and generative approaches was used as both were needed to give a descriptive account of the nominal group of Mpumpuŋ, and to account for the agreement system within the nominal group.

As should be expected, each step of our analysis provided us with some information on the language under study. Our findings are summarized below.

- The Mpumpuŋ noun is made up of a prefix plus a stem. The noun may be classified in more than one class depending on the prefix adjoined to it.

Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d-</th>
<th>is</th>
<th>&quot;eye&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>&quot;eyes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>·pref.</td>
<td>stem</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- There are ten noun classes in Mpumpuŋ. These are arrived at not on the sole basis of class prefixes but also on the basis of agreement triggered on modifying elements.

- Both single and double class genders are attested in Mpumpuŋ.
Derivation, reduplication, compounding and borrowing are devices used to expand the lexicon. Loan words are integrated in the class system of the language and sometimes adapted even phonemically.

The nominal construction may be simple or modified. The simple nominal construction is made up of a noun alone, a pronoun alone or a noun plus a determiner. Each of these can function as subject, object of verb or of preposition. The modified nominal construction can be a genitive, an adjectival, a quantified or a relativized nominal construction.

The last part of our study brings out the following facts: The nominal construction is a DP whose head selects NP as its complement. While functional categories check their agreement features in a spec-head fashion, lexical categories check theirs in a head-head relation with the noun.

The present study was limited to examining the noun in its internal structure, and in its external distribution in relation to other constituents within the nominal construction. There are many interesting aspects which could not be analyzed here: Case and its source for example, as manifested through personal pronouns; the reason why copular verbs are segmentally null in constructions like "The father is old" while the subject marker is marked segmentally; The variation of tone in accordance with tense variation, etc were questions we could not address within the scope of this study but which unquestionably drew our attention.

Our wish is that further research be done on these points and others like verb morphology, tone assignment, the syntax of the relative clause, etc. May the present study motivate many so that Mpumpunj be further studied and analyzed.
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