

**THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I
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**FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS
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**DEPARTEMENT DE LANGUES
AFRICAINES ET LINGUISTIQUE**

**IDENTIFICATIONAL VS
INFORMATION FOCUS IN MAKAA AND
ÑGYÁMBÓÓN: INTERACTION
BETWEEN SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS**

A dissertation submitted to the Department of African languages and linguistics in partial Fulfilment of the Award of a Maîtrise degree in General Linguistics.

By

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Année académique 2006 /

2007

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I
FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CERTIFICATION

We hereby certify that this dissertation entitled Identificational Focus vs. Information Focus in Makaa and ᵑgyεmbɔɔn: Interaction between syntax and semantics.

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DEDICATION

To my parents:

Mr. APANG DJITOUAI

And

Mrs. Lucie Valerie APANG

To my brothers and sisters

To my Supervisor:

Pr. Pius TAMANJI NGWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to begin by acknowledging the fact that no one can boast to have single-handedly designed a maiden study like this. Because of this, I owe appreciation to a great number of persons. First of all, I wish to begin with special thanks to God Almighty for His love, care, protection, guidance and strength He enkindled in me for the entire period I undertook this study.

Secondly, I would like to express special gratitude to Prof Pius TAMANJI, for his commitment in supervising this work. The amount of time and quality of thought he put into supervising this work is far beyond what any student could expect. He accepted, without complaint, the burden of reading long and often incoherent sections of this essay, and suggesting ways out of the confusion. His support has been invaluable, and his love for personal initiative and hard working crucial from the conception of this topic till its achievement.

More especially, our profound gratitude goes to Dr Gratiana NDAMSAH who despite her extremely tight schedules, found time to read through this work and to make valuable contributions.

We cannot forget to express, in a very special way, our gratitude to the entire staff of the Department of African Languages and Linguistics particularly Prof Edmond BILOA, Pr. Sammy Beban CHUMBOW, Dr Clédor NSEME, for their guidance, assistantship, scientific orientation and relentless encouragement and advice.

We also render our very cordial acknowledgment to Mr. and Mrs APANG, EPEE, ABBA and Mr Didier MA'A for their financial and moral support during this study.

We also owe sincere gratitude to our informants Mr Omer DJIEME, Mrs Christy ABOMO, Mr Achille NTSENE, Mr Bertrand LONFO and Miss SOKENG NDIFFO whose contribution have been crucial in the realisation of this work.

Many thanks are due to Mr Stephen ANDERSON and Mrs Rhonda THWING of SIL for their scientific and moral assistance.

Our heartfelt gratitude goes to our friends: Theophile, Junior, Michelle Josephine, Clarisse, Lydia, Gaston, Richard, Julia, Marie Lucie, Patience, Amadou, Ninon, Raïhanatou, Mispas and Bernadette, Beatrice, Rosine and Lilien.

We are also indebted to the computer typists Mrs ESSAKA, Miss Marie Lucie NGAYAMBENA and Gladys NUMFOR who gave us a push while transforming the manuscript into hard copy.

To the rest of our friends and well-wishers whose names are not mentioned here, we owe them much gratitude. May the Lord Almighty bless you all abundantly for your love and support.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

Cop: Copula

DALL: Department of African Languages and Linguistics

FP: Focus phrase

FI: Full Interpretation principle

Foc: Focus marker

Hab: Habitual aspect

Hort: Hortative mood

Ibid: In the same book

IMP: Imperative mood

Imp: Imperative aspect

LF: Logical form

NP: Noun phrase

Om : object marker

PP: Prepositional phrase

Prep: Preposition

Prog: Progressive aspect

Pron: Pronoun

PT : polar tone morpheme

Reim: realis or irrealis mood

Rel: Relative pronoun

SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics

Sm : subject marker

Spec: Specifier

SVO: Subject verb object

Tm : tense marker

TopP: Topicalisation phrase

V: Verb

Vbst: verb stem

VD: Voiced

VL: Voiceless

UG: Universal Grammar

Symbols

α : Alpha

β : Beta

θ : Theta

ϕ : not marked

? : marks a morpheme which nature and role have not yet been determined.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURES	Pages
Figure 1: Geographical situation of Makaa	6
Figure 2: Geographical situation of ḡgyembɔɔn	7
Figure 3: Linguistic classification of the Makaa and the ḡgyembɔɔn languages adapted from ALCAM (1983)	9

TABLES	
Table 1.1 Presentation of informants.....	20
Table 2.1: Makaa consonant chart	25
Table 2.2: Makaa vowel chart	26
Table 2.3 Makaa tones	27
Table 2.4: ḡgyembɔɔn consonant chart	27
Table 2.5: ḡgyembɔɔn vowel chart	28
Table 2.6: ḡgyembɔɔn tones	28
Table 2.7: Makaa noun classes	29
Table 2.8: ḡgyembɔɔn noun classes	30

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the notion of Focus in two Bantu languages viz: Makaa and ḡgyembɔɔn. We propose that Identificational Focus (which expresses exhaustive identification and occupies the Spec-of a functional projection) should be consistently distinguished from Information Focus (which conveys new information and involves no syntactic reordering). The motivation for such a claim arises from the fact that in both Makaa and ḡgyembɔɔn, there is a visible distinction between the two kinds of Focus mentioned above. Secondly, Identificational focus has syntactic and semantic features that Information focus does not share. Finally, Identificational focus itself is not uniform across the languages we study; it is subject to parametric variation.

To achieve the main goal of this work, we proceeded by describing the various technics or processes Makaa and ḡgyembɔɔn speakers use to convey the two kinds of Focus we are dealing with in this work. It resulted from our analysis that the claims we put forth were motivated. We found in both Makaa and ḡgyembɔɔn that, there were a visible distinction between Identificational focus and Information focus. Further, we noticed that whereas Makaa uses clefting as the only means to portray exhaustive identification, ḡgyembɔɔn uses both clefting and constituent focus markers. In addition to this, we discovered from our analysis that the focus operation in these languages is the same and constraints governing these operations are also very similar, if not identical in both languages.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLES	PAGES
Certification	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of abbreviations and symbols	v
List of tables and figures	vii
Abstract	viii
Table of contents	ix
Chapter one: General Introduction	1
1.1. Introduction	2
1.2. Goal and significance	2
1.3. Scope and limitation of work	3
1.4. The languages and their people	4
1.4.1. The languages	4
1.4.1.1. Makaa	4
1.4.1.2. ḡgyembɔɔn	4
1.4.1.3. Linguistic classification	8
1.4.1.3.1 Makaa	8
1.4.1.3.2. ḡgyembɔɔn	8
1.4.2. History of the peoples	9
1.4.2.1. The Makaa people	9
1.4.2.2. The ḡgyembɔɔn people	10
1.5. Theoretical framework and methodology	11

1.5.1. Theoretical framework	11
1.5.1.1. X-bar theory	13
1.5.1.2. Theta-theory	14
1.5.1.3. C-command and Government theory	15
1.5.1.4. Binding theory	16
1.5.1.5. Case theory	17
1.5.1.6. The projection principle	17
1.5.1.7. Conditions on movement	18
1.5.1.8. Some notes on the Minimalist Program	18
1.5.2. Methodology	20
1.6. Review of related literature	20
1.7. Outline of the work	22
Chapter two: Preliminaries	23
2.1. Introduction	24
2.2. Phonology	24
2.2.1. Phonology of Makaa	24
2.2.1.1. Consonant sounds	24
2.2.1.2. Vowel sounds	25
2.2.1.3. Tones	26
2.2.2. Phonology of ḡgyɛmbɔɔn	27
2.2.2.1. Consonant sounds	27
2.2.2.2. Vowel sounds	28
2.2.2.3. Tones	28
2.3. Morphology	28
2.3.1. Morphology of Makaa	28
2.3.1.1. Noun morphology	29
2.3.1.2. Verb morphology	30

2.3.2. Morphology of ḡgyembɔɔn	34
2.3.2.1. Noun morphology	34
2.3.2.2. Verb morphology	34
2.4. Syntax	38
2.4.1. The phrase structure of Makaa and ḡgyembɔɔn	38
2.4.1.1. Word order and variability	39
2.4.1.2. The internal structure of the inflection (+tense)	40
2.4.2. Relative clause formation	44
2.4.2.1. Relative clause formation in Makaa	45
2.4.2.2. Relative clause formation in ḡgyembɔɔn	45
2.5. Conclusion	46
Chapter three: Focus constructions in Makaa and ḡgyembɔɔn	47
3.1. Introduction	48
3.2. Identificational focus	48
3.2.1. The case of Makaa: clefting	49
3.2.2. The case of ḡgyembɔɔn	51
3.2.2.1. Focus by clefting	51
3.2.2.2. Focus via focus marker	53
3.3. Information focus	56
3.3.1. The case of Makaa	56
3.3.1.1. Focus via repetition	56
3.3.1.2. Focus via intonation	58
3.3.1.3. Focus via stylistic processes	61
3.3.2. The case of ḡgyembɔɔn	62
3.3.2.1. Focus via repetition	62
3.3.2.2. Focus via intonation	66
3.3.2.3. Focus via stylistic processes	67

3.4. A case study: Topicalisation	68
3.4.1. The case of Makaa	68
3.4.1.1. Subject as the topic	68
3.4.1.1. Adverbial complement as the topic	69
3.4.2. The case of ḡgyembəɓɓɔn	70
3.4.2.1. Subject as the topic	70
3.4.2.1. Adverbial complement as the topic	71
3.5. Conclusion	72
Chapter four: Towards explanations and constraints	74
4.1. Introduction	75
4.2. Features specific to Makaa	75
4.2.1. Repeated verbs	76
4.2.2. Clefted NPs	77
4.3. Features specific to ḡgyembəɓɓɔn	82
4.3.1. Focus via the use of focus markers	82
4.3.2. Repeated verbs	89
4.3.3. Repeated complements	91
4.4. Features common to Makaa and ḡgyembəɓɓɔn	97
4.4.1. Exhaustive identification Vs new information	97
4.4.2. The use of quantifiers	100
4.4.3. The use of adverbials	104
4.4.3.1. First hypothesis: WH-island constraint	106
4.4.3.2. Second hypothesis: clefting and topicalisation target NPs and not PPs.....	107
4.4.3.3. Third hypothesis: time adverbial-support	108
4.5. Conclusion	109
Chapter five: General conclusion	110

5.1. Summary111
5.2. Limitations and suggestions113
Appendix A115
Appendix B116
References117

CHAPTER ONE :
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to outline the framework of this research endeavour. Hence, the chapter concerns itself with stating the goal and significance of the study, the scope, the methodology and the theoretical framework. Like many other works in linguistics, it also highlights some details on the languages to be studied (namely: Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጋ) and their peoples (their historical, social, economical and linguistics background). The chapter also contains a review of related literature and the outline of the work.

1.2. GOAL AND SIGNIFICANCE

The research reported in this dissertation results from a comparative analysis of FOCUS in two Bantu languages viz: Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጋ . The fundamental objective of this work is to argue, based on data collected from Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጋ that there do exist in these languages two distinct sub-categorizations of focus. These sub-categories are: identificational focus¹ and Information focus². It is worth noticing that the kinds of focus we describe within this dissertation are purely semantic notions but which are also syntactically “differentiable”. Thus, an item performs Identificational focus within a sentence when, for purposes of focus, this item is left dislocated and expresses exhaustiveness. Therefore, the interpretation of a constituent as the Identificational focus of its clause is strictly restricted to the correlation between syntactic and semantic facts. On the other hand, a constituent conveys Information focus when it is used within a focus process aimed at expressing new or nonpresupposed information. In addition, while Information focus is

¹ The term Identification Focus is variously called: contrastive focus, counterassertive focus or narrow focus.

² Information Focus is sometimes called presentational focus, wide or assertive focus. It is worth mentioning that these terms are not ours. They appear in KISS (1988). For more information on the various types of focus and how they are expressed, cf THWING (1987), LAMBRECHT (1994), WATTERS (1979), WIESEMAN et al (1984).

expressed in both languages via repetition, high-intonation and stylistic devices, Identificational focus rather is express in Makaa by clefting only and in ገጃምቦን by both clefting and focus particles.

As for the significance of our study, it is worth noticing that such an analysis should be considered as a great contribution towards the elaboration of the Makaa and the ገጃምቦን grammars. The material analysed within this dissertation raises interesting debates that can constitute further research questions.

1.3. SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF WORK

This work attempts a contribution on how focus should be studied and incorporated into the theory of UG. An obvious question raised by this analysis is why we need two languages for our study, if our idea is to study the differences between Identificational focus and Information Focus. Recall, we claimed in section 1.2 that identificational focus itself is not uniform across languages because it is subject to parametric variation. Thus, the main reason for using two languages in this study is to highlight the different ways in which focus is encoded across languages. While Makaa uses clefting only to express Identificational focus, ገጃምቦን instead uses both clefting and constituent focus markers³.

In presenting our data, we have generally limited ourselves to simple sentences. For purposes of economy we have also limited discussion to the variation of Focus within the characteristic declarative, positive sentences, although occasional interrogative, complex and negative sentences are mentioned where relevant.

³ This term refers to two distinct morphemes used in ገጃምቦን to give prominence to arguments. /zɔ/ for subject and /pɔ/ for complements, for more explanation see chapter three.

1.4. THE LANGUAGES AND THEIR PEOPLE

In this section, we will provide background information on the languages we are about to study and their people.

1.4.1. The languages

This sub-section focuses on information related to Makaa and ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ

1.4.1.1. Makaa

Makaa is a language spoken in the upper Nyong Division of the Eastern Province (Messamena, Abong-Mbang, Doume, Nguelemendouka subdivisions) and in the Center Province precisely in the Nyong et Mfoumou Division (Akonolinga and Endom). It has about 89 500 speakers (GRIMES: 2000).

HEATH (2003) describes Makaa as a language still heavily used in oral communication, even among highly educated speakers. She also indicates that this language has many sub-dialects due to intertribal marriages or to the mixing of family groups by colonizers at the beginning of the twentieth century. She identifies four major dialects (Mbwanz, Bebend, Shikunda and Besəp). These dialects also designate ethnic groups. Further, they present mostly phonological and lexical differences. Bebend and Besəp are related respectively to Bikele and Byep. Other neighbouring languages of Makaa are Koozime, Baka, Kwakum, Bebele, Ewondo, So and Kol. For more information, see appendix A (page 115) and for the geographical situation of Makaa see Figure one (page 6).

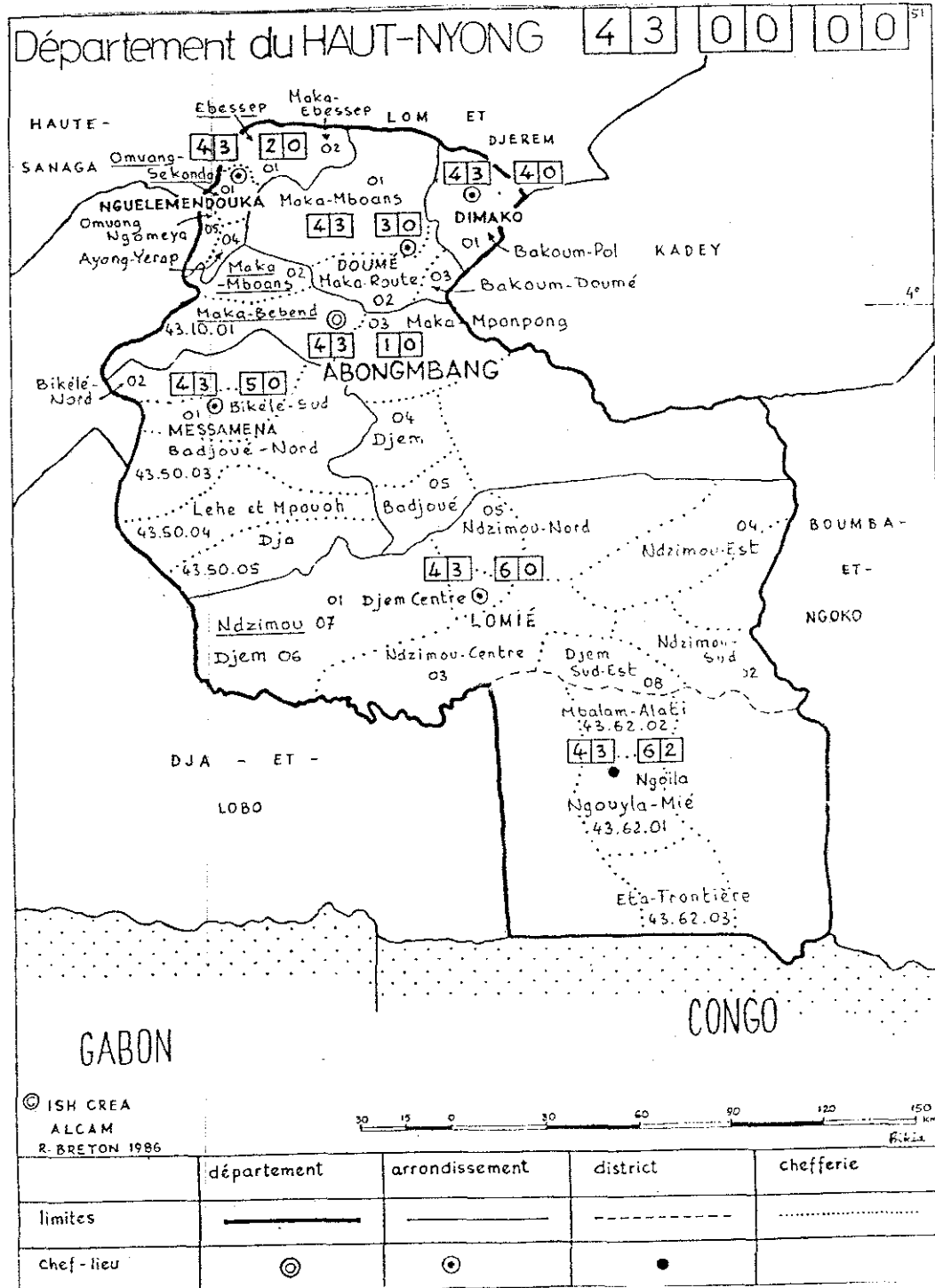
1.4.1.2. ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ

ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ is also called Nguemba, Bamileke-ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ . The language has about 100,000 speakers with 50 percent monlinguals (GRIMES: 2000). It is a language spoken mostly in the Northwestern corner of the Western

Province of Cameroon, precisely in five traditional Chiefdoms (Bangang, Batcham, Balatchi, Balessing and Bamougong). HENRY (1983) describes ɲgyembɔɔn as a language mostly used in informal situations: non-formal education, in the market, for traditional rituals, in trade, in conversation and in church. Besides, contrary to GRIMES (2000) who identifies three dialects of ɲgyembɔɔn (Batcham, Balatchi, Bamougong), HENRY (Ibid) identifies two, that is the Bangang dialect spoken in Bangang, Balatchi and Bamougong and the Batcham dialect spoken in Batcham and Balessing. According to HENRY (ibid), these two dialects are completely mutually intelligible and the present minor phonological differences which enables the Batcham speakers to read the Bangang dialect without difficulties rather than vice versa. The Bangang dialect therefore is considered as the reference dialect and it is used in writing. Neighbouring languages to ɲgyembɔɔn are: Yɛmba, Ngombale, Ngomba and Ghɔmála’.

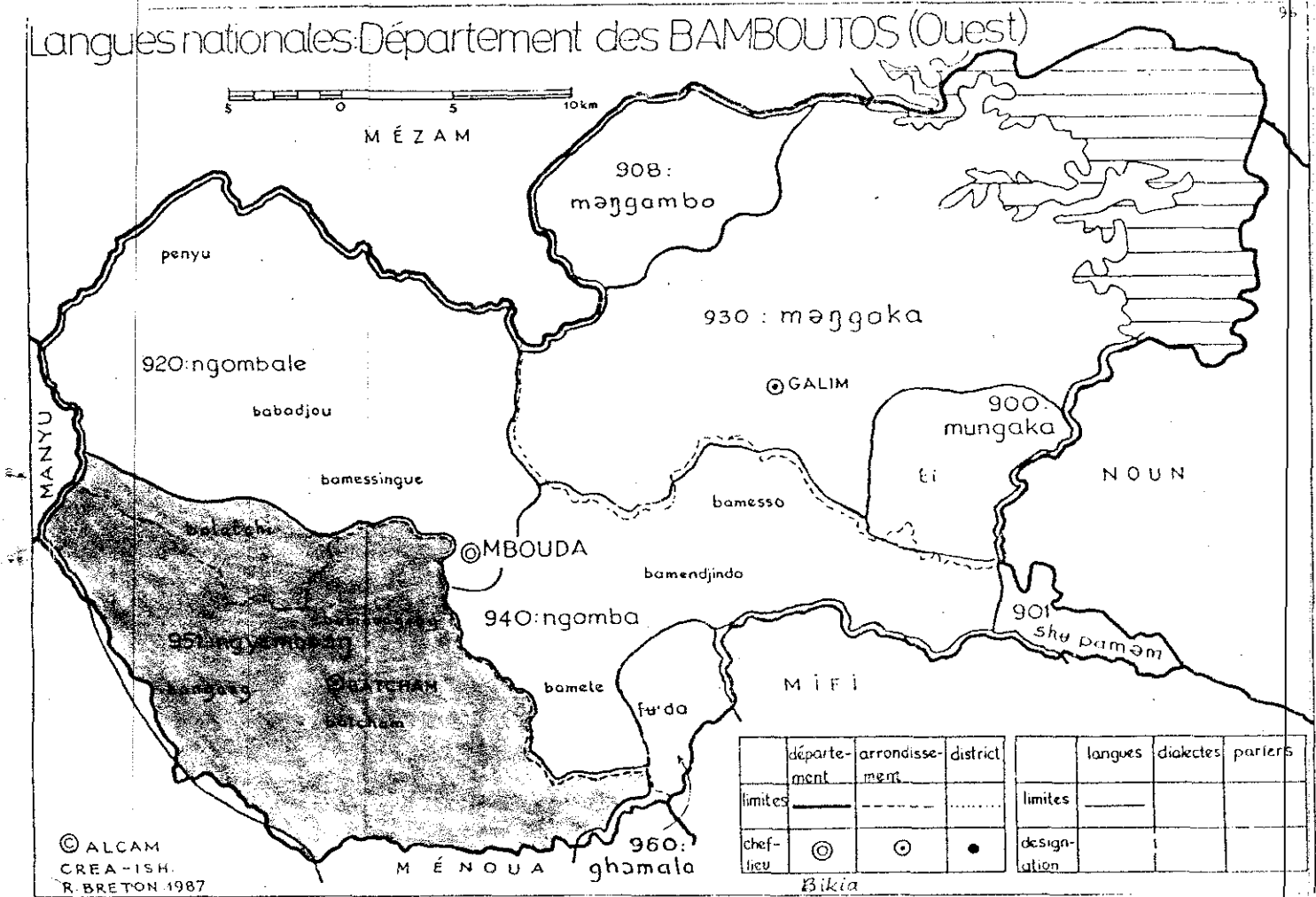
For the geographical situation of ɲgyembɔɔn , see figure two (page 7) and for more information on the language see appendix B (page 116).

Figure1: Geographical situation of Makaa



Source: Adapted from DIEU et RENAUD (1983:66)

Figure 2: Geographical situation of *ngyembəɔn*



Source: Adapted from DIEU et RENAUD (1983: 111)

1.4.1.3. Linguistic classification

This section provides information on the genealogy of both Makaa and Ngyembɔɔn languages.

1.4.1.3.1 Makaa

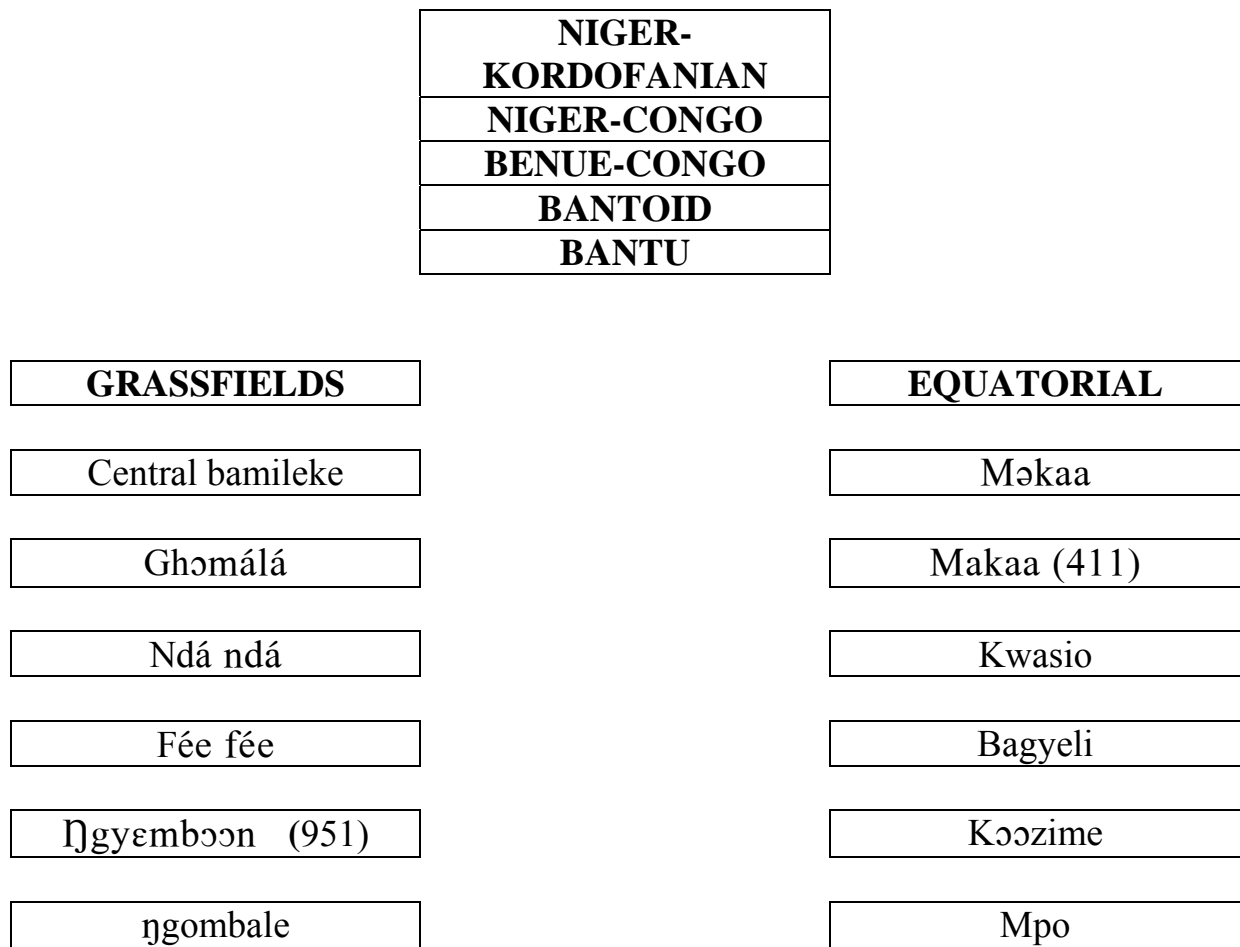
GUTHRIE (1971) identifies Maka as (A83), part of the Maka-Njem group. GRIMES (2000) lists it as Makaa (or Mekaa, South Maka, South Mekaa). DIEU and RENAUD (1983) classify it in Zone 4 (411) under the Equatorial branch of the Bantu languages and refer to it as Məka. They also indicate that the administration uses the names Maka and Makya, whereas neighbouring peoples use the names Məkyɛ, Məkaɛ, Məkay, Məka or Mika. In linguistic write-ups, the name Makaa is used when writing in English. GRIMES (2000) classifies Makaa as follows: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, NorthWest, A, Makaa-Njem (A80).

1.4.1.3.2. Ngyembɔɔn

ANDERSON (1976) identifies Ngyembɔɔn as a language which belongs to the Bamileke sub-group of the Mbam-Nkam sub-division of the Grassfields Bantu language group. He goes further by saying his classification of Ngyembɔɔn follows the classifications of the GBWG (Grassfields Bantu Working Group, as in Stallcup, 1980: 54 and Leroy, 1977), which list the village of Bangang as representative of the Ngyembɔɔn language. GRIMES (2000) classifies Ngyembɔɔn as follows: Niger-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide grassfields, Narrow-grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke. DIEU et RENAUD classify it in Zone 9 (951) under the Grassfields branch of the Bantu languages.

The Classifications illustrated above can be simplified as in the following tree:

Figure 3: Classification of the Makaa and the ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ languages adapted from DIEU and RENAUD (1983)



1.4.2. History of the peoples

This section provides necessary information on the origins and lifestyles of the Makaa and the ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ peoples.

1.4.2.1. The makaa people

The Makaa people refer to both themselves and the language as Məkaa. We learn in MVENG and BELING (1983) that at the arrival of Westerners in Cameroon, the southern and central areas were occupied by Bantu. Moreover, the authors claim that in the mid-eighteenth century, the Makaa⁴ people coming

⁴ The term Makaa varies with regard to our sources.

from equatorial Africa (from the Bakota people) penetrated into Cameroon through the North-east. Shoved up later on by the Baya, they went further to occupy the southern forest where they met the Ndjem people coming from the South-east. Nowadays, they are located in the Upper-Nyong Division. The Makaa people are generally not very wealthy and practise subsistence farming. In addition, history informs us that the Makaa people were living in a well-structured community. They had a paramount chief ruling the entire community. He was therefore a patriarchal and religious authority. These days, chiefs look more like civil servants, government representatives placed at the head of villages to keep watching over the people and to assure they live according to the law.

For several years, the Makaa people had a negative linguistic policy they inherited from the colonial masters. Instead of their language, the Makaa people had been using neighbouring languages (Bulu, Ewondo) for commerce and mass celebrations. Thanks to the Health family kindly called “mīṭáṅjīmǎká⁵”, the Makaa people have started showing a great interest in learning, writing, and using their own language for various purposes.

1.4.2.2. The ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ people

In MVENG and BELING (ibid), we learn that it is a difficult task to exactly state the origin of the Bamileke people in general. However, with the help of oral tradition, they claim that the Bamileke people came from upper-Mbam and that around the eighteenth-century, perhaps, under the pressure of the Fulani people, they emigrated to the south. To be established where they are located today, the ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ people like any other Bamileke community had to battle, not only to defend their territory but also for freedom. They were ruled by the Bandjoun Chiefdom and they had to wait till 1900-1905 during the German Conquest to be independent.

⁵ . This term means Makaa whitemen. The Makaa people affectionately gave it to the team making research on their language

In HENRY (ibid), the Ḳgyembɔɔn people are presented as a very progressive people, generally open to changes that they think will benefit them, especially if these changes will help them to improve economically and socially. The Ḳgyembɔɔn people like other grassfields communities have an eight day week. One day per week is the “day off” from farming, and one day is the market day (which varies according to sub-chiefdoms).

The traditional religion of the Ḳgyembɔɔn people is animism. Today 40 per cent of the population practises this exclusively. The other 60 per cent have joined catholic or protestant churches. However, they still participate in some traditional religious practices.

The Ḳgyembɔɔn traditional authority is well-structured. Each chiefdom is ruled by a paramount chief called “Fong”. He gets to the throne after an apprenticeship known as “Lakam”. After him in hierarchy comes the Queen-mother called “Mafo⁶”; the dignitaries; the Tchinda and Wala⁷; the subchiefs called “Fonte” and finally the people organized in religious or vocational groups.

1.5. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Our attention in this section will focus on the the theories and method we used to analyse our data.

1.5.1. Theoritical framework

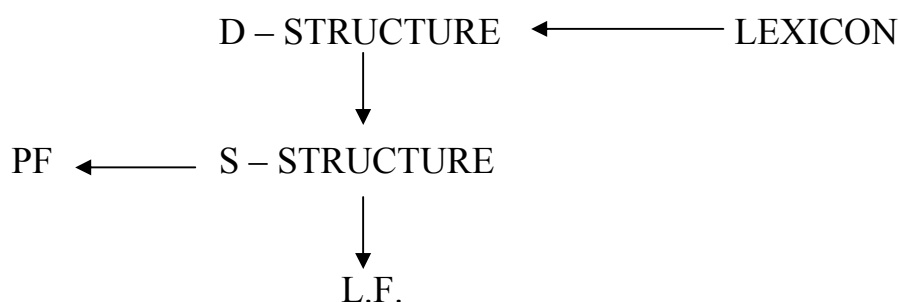
The framework adopted in this dissertation is based on the Theory of Principles and Parameters (henceforth PPT) (CHOMSKY 1981, 1982, 1986, 1991; CHOMSKY / LASNIK 1991) and on the recent scheme concerning minimalist inquiries.

⁶ Dignitaries: In the Bamilke community, this term is used to designate members of the king’s personal council. They are seven or nine depending on the community.

⁷ “Tchinda” are servants and “Wala” refers to a priestly castle

The PPT is a theory devised by Chomsky in work over the past two decades which maintains that universal properties of natural language grammars reflect the operation of a set of universal grammatical principles, and that grammatical differences between languages can be characterized in terms of a restricted set of parameters (RADFORD 1997). Thus, for a given language L, the properties of L structures will be the result of the interaction between general invariant principles and parameters set one way or another.

In the Government and Binding theory, a module of the PPT, each linguistic expression is taken to be a sequence of representations at several levels: D-Structure, S-Structure, P (honetic) F (orm) and L (ogical) F (orm). These levels constitute the computational system of the language, which is fed by a separate lexicon. D-structure is said to be a pure representation of thematic relations; the linking level between the lexicon and the computational system, formed by an all-at-once insertion of lexical items. Mapping the following level, S-structure, takes place through the application of a general rule, Move α , which displaces an element leaving a trace in the original position. S-structure branches to LF and PF independently. LF is the interface with the conceptual-intentional faculties of the brain. PF is the interface level with the articulatory-perceptual faculties. S-structure is related to each of the three other levels simultaneously. The well mapping of these levels of representation account for the well formedness of sentences.



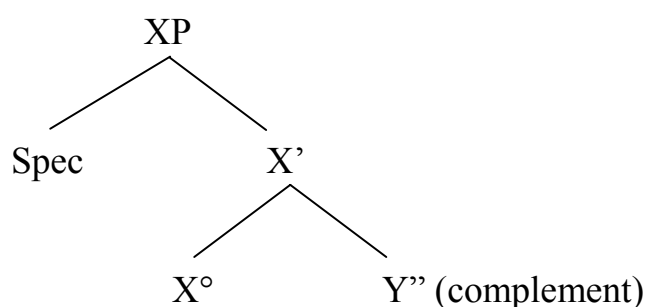
Source: Adopted from CHOMSKY and LASNIK (1991: 6).

1.5.1.1. X-bar theory

X-bar theory was first proposed by JACKENDOFF (1977). It distinguishes between lexical categories (Noun (N), Verb (V), Adjective (A) and Preposition (P) and functional categories Inflection (I), Complementizer (C), Determiner (D). The X-bar theory is a language-wide template for characterizing phrasal and sentential structures. Each phrase is considered a projection of head which is the element that gives the phrase its essential character.

An X-bar structure is composed of projection of heads selected from the lexicon. It has been established that the way in which the head projects higher constituents of a corresponding categorial type is subject to certain constraints (CHOMSKY (1970); JACKENDOFF (1977)):

- (I) The presence of a head implies either the existence of a maximal projection (XP or X'') or one intermediate projection (X').
- (II) The levels where the arguments of the head are attached are clearly defined.
- (III) X' consist of X^o and its complement.
- (IV) The narrowest plausible hypothesis is that X-bar structures are restricted to the form below.



BILOA (1995) states that X-bar theory fails to predict the linear order in which phrases occur with regard to the head of the maximal projection that

contains them. However, this problem has its solution in KOOPMAN (1984) and TRAVIS (1984) who suggest that the linear order of phrases with respect to the head of their maximal projection is constrained by case and theta-role.

1.5.1.2. Theta-theory

According to HAEGEMAN (1991: 41):

“The component of the grammar that regulates the assignment of thematic role is called θ -theory”.

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

- (I) Agent: the person who initiates the action expressed by the predicate.
- (II) Patient / theme: the entity affected by the action or state expressed by the predicate.
- (III) Experiencer: it is the entity that experiences some (psychological) state.
- (IV) Benefactive: the entity that benefit from the action expressed by the predicate.
- (V) Goal: the entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is directed.
- (VI) Source: the entity from which something is moved as a result of the activity expressed by the predicate.
- (VII) Location: The place in which the action or state expressed by the predicate is situated.

The sub-categorization frame of lexical items acts as a reservoir of information of θ -roles which make up the lexicon. Through θ -roles are assigned

at D-structure, the θ -criterion uniquely applies. This implies that each argument is assigned one and only one θ -role, each θ -role is assigned to one and only one argument.

1.5.1.3. C-command and government theory

C-Command and government theory are structural relations used by almost every module of the grammar. These notions are defined as follows:

1.5.1.3.1. C-command

AOUN and SPORTICHE's (1982) cited by BILOA (1995:3) definition of C-Command is as follows:

A c-commands B if and only if:

- A does not dominate B and
- The first branching node dominating A also dominates B.

Still in BILOA's (ibid), we learn that, capitalizing on AOUN and SPORTICHE's suggestion on c-command, CHOMSKY (1986) coined the term m (i.e. maximal) command: A m-commands B if and only if the maximal projection dominating A dominates B.

1.5.1.3.2. Government theory

In CHOMSKY (1981), the notion of government is formulated as follows:

α is the governing category of β if and only if α is the minimal category containing β , a governor of β and accessible⁸ subject to β .

CHOMSKY (1995) version of minimation requires that if the minimalist program is to be pursued, the notion of government should be eliminated

⁸ α is accessible to β is in the domain c-commanded by α .

through reformulation with regard to the critical role that head government plays in all modules of grammar.

1.5.1.4. Binding theory

Any native speaker of a given language has the ability to distinguish coreference possibilities between a pronoun and its antecedent. Among the imaginable anaphoric relations among NPs, some are possible, some are necessary, and still others are proscribed, depending on the nature of the NPs involved and the syntactic configurations in which they occur. Thus, binding theory accounts for whether an R-expression can, might or might not refer to the same individuals as some other nominals in the sentence. However, in discourse, coreference is determined by binding conditions between an R-expression and its anaphor. Three principles of the bounding theory regulate the behaviour of the two notions above:

A: An anaphor is bound in its local domain.

B: A pronoun is free in its local domain.

C: An R-expression is free.

Principle A states that anaphors must have an antecedent or “binder” in a local domain⁹. They receive their reference from their antecedent. An R-expression is co-referential with its antecedent (i.e. they are co-indexed), and must C-command it.

Principle B states that a pronoun has to be locally disjoint in reference. A pronoun must be free in a local domain, that is, it must not be co-indexed with a C-commanding item in an argument position.

Finally, Principle C states that a noun (R-expression) must be free everywhere. It can only co-refer with non-commanding arguments.

1.5.1.5. Case theory

⁹ The local domain of an element is the minimal phrase containing it

In some languages (Sanskrit, Latin, Russian...), case is morphologically manifested, while in others it has little (English, French...) or no (Chinese...) overt realization (CHOMSKY (ibid)). In line with our general approach, we assume that case is always present abstractly.

Case theory is the module of grammar concerned with the distribution of NPs. It embodies the case filter. The case filter states that, any structure that contains an NP with lexical content but no case is ungrammatical. The case filter therefore imposes licensing of NPs. It is similar to the θ -criterion, in that only one case is assigned at a time, just as only one θ -role is assigned at a time. Furthermore, an NP cannot be assigned two cases.

In addition, it is standardly assumed that the spec-head relation enters into structural case for the subject position, while the object position is assigned case under government by V, including constructions in which the object case-marked by a verb is not its complement (exceptional case marking)¹⁰. The narrower approach we are considering in our framework requires that all these modes of structural case assignment be recast in unified X-bar theoretical terms, presumably under the spec-head relation. Furthermore, CHOMSKY (ibid: 161) argues that he is not aware of other convincing evidence for case transmission, so he suggest that the property can be eliminated from UG, in favour of LF movement, driven by FI (Full Interpretation)¹¹.

1.5.1.6. The projection principle

It is mentioned in BILOA (1995: 5), that the projection principle is formulated as follows:

The θ -criterion holds at D-structure, S-Structures and LF.

¹⁰ In CHOMSKY 1981a and in other words, structural case is unified under government, understood as m-command to include the spec-head relation (a move that was not without problems; in the framework considered here, m-command plays no role

¹¹ The principle of full interpretation specifies that the representation of an expression must contain all and only those features which are relevant to determining its interpretation at the relevant level. For more information, cf RADFORD(1997).

The projection principle implies that traces must exist so that θ -assignment at S-Structure can match θ -assignment at D-Structure, even though NPs have been moved between D-Structure and S-Structure.

The projection principle also prohibits any movement of NPs that does not leave traces. It prohibits the movement of an NP from a non θ -position to a θ -position. The mapping between S-Structure and LF is also constrained by the projection principle.

1.5.1.7. Conditions on movement

It is generally assumed that move α maps D-Structure to S-Structure. There are two subtypes of Move α : A'-movement which raises maximal projections to A'positions and A-movement which raises NPs to A-position. Another type of movement we will discuss here is head movement. It is an operation involving movement from one head position to another.

Move α is also constrained by the bounding theory (subjacency) which states that wh-elements may not cross more than one bounding node.

1.5.1.8 Some notes on the Minimalist Programm

The Minimalist Programm is a theory of grammar (outlined by CHOMSKY 1995) whose core assumption is that grammar should be described in terms of the minimal set of theoretical and descriptive apparatus necessary (RADFORD 1997). Below are some notes on some of the minimalist scheme inquiries implied in this framework.

1.5.1.8.1. The minimal link condition

The minimal link condition is a principle of grammar requiring that the links in movement chains should be as short as possible (hence that constituent should move from one position to another in the shortest possible step).

1.5.1.8.2. The uniform theta-assignment hypothesis

The U.T.A.H. is a hypothesis (put forward in Baker 1988) which maintains that each theta-role assigned by a particular type of predicate is canonically associated with specific syntactic position. e.g. Spec-VP is the canonical position associated with an Agent argument.

1.5.1.8.3. The economy principle

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

1.5.1.8.4. Greed principle

The Greed principle is a principle of grammar proposed by CHOMSKY, which specifies that constituents move only in order to satisfy their own morphological requirements.

1.5.1.8.5. Pied-piping

A process by which a moved constituent (or set of features) drags one or more other constituents (or sets of features) along with it when it moves. For example, if we compare a sentence like “who were you talking to?” with “To whom were you talking?”; we might say that in both cases the pronoun who (m) is moved to the front of the sentence, but that in the second sentence the proposition “to” is pied-piped along with whom, while in the first sentence the preposition is stranded.

1.5.2. Methodology

The data made up of variety of sentences (depending on the two kinds of focus studied here), was collected through the use of interviews administrated to four informants. Each time, we ask them to provide the equivalence of a given sentence. Whenever the answer was not satisfactory or did not present the characterizations we expected; we proceeded by reformulating the sentence. Finally, when we had what we needed, we then transcribed it. In analysing our data, we did a comparative analysis of the characteristics of Makaa and ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ sentences. The purpose was to find out the areas of analogy and mostly disparity. This is in accordance with CHOMSKY (1965: 6) who says, “*It is quite proper for a grammar to discuss only exceptions and the irregularities in any detail*”. It was from these irregularities that the research problem was arrived at.

The chart below gives information on the informants:

TABLE 1: PRESENTATION OF INFORMANTS

INFORMANTS	Dialect	Residence	Social status	Age	Sex
Mr Ewole Omer NDJIEME	Bwanz	Yaounde	Teacher	32	M
Mrs Christy L. ABOMO	Shikunda	Yaounde	Teacher	30	F
Mr Bertrand LONFO	Bamougong	Yaounde	Student	26	M
Miss V. NDIFFO SOKENG	Bamougong	Yaounde	Nurse	25	F
Mr Achille NTSENE	Bebend	Yaounde	Touristic Guide	32	M

1.6. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A good number of scientific works has been carried out on both languages. Presently, thanks to some SIL translators such as Stephen ANDERSON (for the ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ language), Daniel and Teresa HEATH (for Makaa language) and their language helpers that Makaa and ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ are vital languages today saved from extinction. They are the central distributors of

most of the existing literature in these languages, as there is no existing local suprastructure that could take on the task.

With regard to their various publications, we can say many have been done on the phonology, the morphology and the structural syntax of these languages.

As for Makaa, HEATH (2005) examined focus and argued that, in the Makaa language, the focus constituent is marked by the morpheme /ó/ which immediately follows it, thus separating the focused constituent from the rest of the clause. Besides we learn that, the focus marker highlights important elements such as participants. It is often part of a focus presupposition construction (henceforth F-P), sometimes referred to as a cleft sentence. The focus constituent is usually the subject of the clause in the F-P in a narrative. The focus marker can highlight other constituents of the clause, such as locative. This focus marker can also occur in the presentational construction where the copula has been dropped (e.g: Mbimbə ó ní = there is corpse).

Moreover, the authors argue that focus does not only highlight the main assertion of an utterance, but also stops the progression of the argument, and thus cause some sort of discontinuity in the expected flow of the discourse.

Obviously, Heath and Heath analysis of focus differs from that tackled in our dissertation in the sense that they simply did a description of focus in Makaa listing the functions of a focus like-construction (namely Focus-presupposition or clefting). In our dissertation however, we attempt to establish the visible distinction which do exist between Identificational focus and Information focus, laying emphasis on their functions and its implications on syntax.

As concerning ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱟᱹᱠᱟᱹ language, nothing has been published on focus. However, during a personal conversation with Stephen Anderson, I discovered that the author wrote something on focus he never published.

1.7. OUTLINE OF THE WORK

In order to facilitate reading and understanding; and for logical presentation of facts, orderliness this has been divided into five chapters.

Chapter one is the general introduction of this work. It introduces the reader to the languages under investigation and the basic notions of the PPT and minimalist program under the light of which this investigation is conducted. This chapter also provides the aim and significance of the study, the scope and limitation of work, the geographical, historical, socio-cultural and linguistic background of the Makaa and Ḳgyembóon peoples and languages.

Chapter two presents some phonological, morphological, and syntactic aspects which may be crucial for the understanding of our study.

In chapter three, we describe the various technics or processes Makaa and Ḳgyembóon speakers have recourse to in order to express Identification focus and Information focus.

In chapter four, we attempt an explanation of the irregularities which arise in our data aiming to establish the similarities and dissimilarities between Makaa and Ḳgyembóon .

Finally, chapter five, the general conclusion of our dissertation presents the findings, indicates limitations and makes suggestions for further research projects.

CHAPTER TWO : PRELIMINARIES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at outlining some of the core of the empirical phenomena which are considered crucial for the understanding of this work. It provides thus a brief and concise summary of Makaa and ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ phonology and morphology as discussed in previous works, highlighting alongside some shortcomings. Further we proceed by examining some key concepts in syntax.

2.2. PHONOLOGY

In this section we will pay attention on Makaa and ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ phonological system.

2.2.1. Phonology of makaa

Under this heading, we will examine the phonology of the Makaa language.

2.2.1.1. Consonant sounds

In HEATH (2003: 336), we learn that Makaa has twenty-two simple consonants and eight prenasalized stops. Further, the author argues that the voiceless stop [p] is not a distinct phoneme because it occurs only with prenasalization [mp] or in the doubly articulated stop [kp]. It is worthwhile recognising that [p] is quite rare in the Makaa language. Additional data however suggest that [p] can appear singly within a word in the Makaa language and can be contrasted with other phonemes.

/P/ is considered a phoneme through contrast in the following minimal pairs:

mp/p

[paam]: Poverty

[mpaam]: Favour

P/b

[paam]: Poverty

[baam]: Scar

Consequently, the examples above show that [p] does not only occur with prenasalization or in the doubly articulated stop [kp]. It also occurs at the initial and middle position of few words in Makaa Viz: /Pəm/: cassava; /pəpǎg. : tooth brush; in borrowing such as /Pwǒpwǒ/: pawpaw.

Thus, with this additional consonant, we can suggest that Makaa has twenty-three consonants. These consonants are represented on table 2.1 below adapted from HEATH (2003).

Table 2.1. Makaa consonant chart

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
Stops	vl	p	t	c	k	
	vd	b	d	j	g	
Prenasalized stops	vl	mp	nt	nc	ŋk	
	vd	mb	nd	nj	ŋg	
Nasals	vd	m	n	ny	ŋ	
Fricatives	vl	f	s	sh	h	
	vd	v	z	zh		
Lateral	vd		l			
Glides	vd			y		w

2.2.1.2. Vowel Sounds

According to HEATH (ibid: 335), Makaa has eleven vowels; four front; /I, i, e, ε/, two back; /u, o/ and three central /i, ə+a/. Only two of the vowels, ε and o, have phonemic nasal counterparts, ɛ and o, even though the entire vowels are nasalized before z and zh.

On the contrary, referring to KOUAMB et al (1999), and with regard to some additional data, we think that instead of three central vowels, Makaa has four viz : i, a, ə+ɯ.

/ɥ/ is considered a phoneme through contrast in the examples below:

ɥ /ə

[bɥd]: chest [kəɭ]: to hang

[bədɔ̃]: to lay [kɥɭ]: to throw away

ɥ /u

[bud]: a kind of farm

[bɥd]: chest

Regarding the additional data above, we thus identified twelve vowel phonemes as listed in table 2.2.

Table 2.2. : Makaa vowel chart

	Front	Central	Back
High	ɪ	i ɥ	u
	i		
Mid	e	ə	ɔ̃ o
	ɛ ɛ		
Low		a	

The chart above is adapted from HEATH (2003).

2.2.1.3. Tones

Makaa is a tone language with contrastive high and low. The tones may occur singly or in sequences, resulting in high-low and low-high tone sequences. Both single and contour tones are attested in Makaa. Table 2.3 below outlines Makaa tones.

Table 2.3. Makaa tones

Tones	Diacritics	Examples	Glosses
Low	[`]	nɕi	Gorilla

High	[ˊ]	fəf	Paper
Rising	[ˊ̃]	kǎlə	To go
Falling	[ˆ]	kâ	Down there

2.2.2. Phonology of *Ŋgyembɔɔn*

In this section, we will provide the various sounds and tones used in writing *Ŋgyembɔɔn* as presented in ANDERSON (1983).

2.2.2.1. Consonant sounds

We learn in ANDERSON (1983) that, since the *Ŋgyembɔɔn* language is spoken in a region where French is the official language, its sound system has been modified to include the writing of various allophones. These consonant sounds are listed on table 2.4 below from ANDERSON (ibid).

Table 2.4. : *Ŋgyembɔɔn* consonant chart

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	vl	p	t	k
	vd	b	d	g
Nasals	vd	m	n	ŋ
Affricatives	vl	pf	ts	c
Fricatives	vl	f	s	sh
	vd	v	z	j
Glides	vd	w̥	y	w

2.2.2.2. Vowel sounds

The chart below adapted from ANDERSON (1983) presents the seven vowel sounds that *Ŋgyembɔɔn* has.

Table 2.5. : Ḳgyembɔɔn vowel chart

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low	ɛ	a	ɔ

2.2.2.3. Tones

The Ḳgyembɔɔn language has four discrete tonal levels (High, low, rising and falling tones) as illustrated in 2.6.

Table 2.6. Ḳgyembɔɔn tones

Tones	Diacritics	Examples	Glosses
High	[´]	tutúá	Yard
Low	[`]	mùḡ	I
Rising	[ˇ]	týö	tree
Falling	[^]	nê	to

2.3. MORPHOLOGY

This section will focus on some important aspects of Makaa and Ḳgyembɔɔn noun and verb morphology.

2.3.1. Morphology of makaa

Under this heading, we will examine Makaa noun and verb morphology.

2.3.1.1. Noun morphology

The summary of the noun class system presented in this section follows HEATH’s classification of Makaa nouns. According to HEATH, Makaa nouns are grouped into ten classes with regard to the following criteria:

The 1/2 gender includes most nouns referring to humans and many animals. Nouns denoting paired body parts often are in 5/6, derived diminutives and nouns denoting objects or tools are often in 7/8. Cl 6 includes most mass nouns (liquids and uncountables) and abstract derived nouns. Cl 4 or 8 include abstract nouns for qualities or habits. Cl 10 is made up of collective nouns. The single class genders are 4, 6, 8 and 10; the double class genders are 1/2; 1a/2a; 3/4; 3/6; 5/6; 7/8; 7/10 and 9/6. The ten noun classes and their prefixes are listed in 2.7 adapted from HEATH (2003).

Table 2.7. Makaa noun classes

Classes	Noun prefixes	Examples	Glosses
1	m-	m-ùùd	Person
	N-	n-jòŋ	Stranger
1a	Ø-	Ø-kám	Monkey
		Ø- àcéncéńĩ	Star
2	b-	b-ùùd	People
	ò	ò-jòŋ	Strangers
2a	ò	ò-kám	Monkeys
	w-	w-àcéncéńĩ	Stars
3	L-	L-lám	Heart
4	Mĩ	mĩ-lám	Hearts
5	Ø-	Ø – lùùn	Hole
	d-	d-éńd	Home village
6	mə-	mə-lùùn	Holes
	m-	m-éńd	Home village
7	j-	j-wôw	Day
	L-	L – ká	Leaf
		L – bùmé	(one) seed
8	m-	m- woêw	Days
	ĩ	ĩ-ká	Leaves
		ĩ-bumé	Seeds
9	Ø	Ø-fà	Cutlass
10	N-	N - pumə	Seed

2.3.1.2. Verb morphology

This section examined the notions of tenses, mood and aspect in Makaa.

2.3.1.2.1. Tense

According to HEATH (2003: 344), Makaa distinguishes five tenses namely: distant past (P2) /á/; recent past (P1) /ámə/; present (Po) /ø/; near future F1) /é/ and distant future (F2) /bá/.

Additional data however suggest that instead of five tenses as it is argued in HEATH, Makaa has seven tenses. The additional tenses are immediate past (P1) /mə/ and remote future (F3) /é bá/. These tenses and their markers are illustrated as follows:

- Remote past P3: /à/

This tense is sometimes referred to as the narrative tense because it is used to express events that are long dated. It is lexically marked by the morpheme /á/. It is glossed as “a long time ago”.

1. Mwán á də məkala mēba
Child P3 eat doughnuts two
“The child ate two doughnuts”

- Recent Past P2: .ámə .

This tense is also referred to as the “yesterday” past tense. This is because it is used to describe events that occur one or two days before the time of utterance. It also expresses an action which took place many hours within the same day.

2. Mwán ámə də məkala mēbá
Child P2 eat doughnuts two
“The child ate two doughnuts”

- Immediate Past P1: /mə.

The time frame for the immediate past stretches anywhere from many hours within the same day to minutes from the time of utterance. This tense is generally referred to as “a while ago”. It is marked by the morpheme /mə. .

3. Mwán mə də məkala məbá

Child P1 eat doughnuts two

“The child ate two doughnuts”

- Present tense Po: ø

The present tense coincides with the time of utterance. In Makaa, this tense is not morphologically marked and benefits from the support of the progressive aspect /ŋgə. -

4. Mwán ø ŋgə də məkala məbá

Child Pres Prog eat doughnuts two

“The child is eating two doughnuts”

- Immediate future F1: /é/

The immediate future in Makaa is marked by the morpheme /é/ and glossed as “later today”. It describes events which will occur a short while after the present moment.

5. Mwán é də məkala məbá

Child F1 eat doughnuts two

“The child will eat two doughnuts”.

- Near future F2: /bá.

This tense is used in describing events or situations that will occur the next day or in a week’s time. It is marked by the morpheme /bá. . This tense could be used alongside with optional time adverbials like next weeks, tomorrow etc.

6. a. Mwán bá də məkala məbá

Child F2 eat doughnuts two

“The child will eat two doughnuts”

b. Mwán bá də məkala məbá mán

Child F2 eat doughnuts two tomorrow

“The child will eat two doughnuts tomorrow”

- Remote future F3: /é/ + /bá.

The distant future in Makaa is formed by combining F1 marker /é/ with F2 marker /bá. . It describes situations due to take place in several months, years or in an indefinite period.

7. Mwán é bá də məkala məbá

Child F3 eat doughnuts two

“The child will eat two doughnuts”

2.3.1.2.2. Aspect

A three-way aspectual distinction exists in Makaa, perfective (is zero marked \emptyset -), progressive ($\eta g\emptyset$), and habitual or iterative ($d\dot{i}$). The aspect marker follows the tense marker and precedes the verb root within the sentence as in the examples above.

8. a. Jean amə $\eta g\emptyset$ də

Jean P2 Prog eat

“Jean was eating”

b. Jean é $d\dot{i}$ də fwán

Jean F1 Hab eat corn

“Jean will usually eat corn”

The habitual and progressive markers may both occur together in a given sentence as illustrated below.

9. Mə é di dǐg ndǎ wo ɲgə dǎ yí
 I F1 Ha see as you Prog eat Rel.art
 “I will be seing as you are eating”

2.3.1.2.3. Mood

Still in HEATH (ibid), we learn that Makaa distinguishes three moods: indicative, hortative and imperative.

The indicative is the unmarked or default construction used to express realis or irrealis situations. Auxiliaries, adverbs, or clause markers (e.g Jé “might”) are used to indicate different degrees of necessity or possibilities.

The hortative and imperative are both marked by the inflectional clitic /-g/ and a high tone. In the hortative, the high tone replaces the first tone of the macrostem.

10. Wo cá1-ig (from càl)
 You cut down + Hort
 “You should cut down”.

In the imperative the high tone occurs on the final vowel of the first word of the macrostem.

11. cá1-ig (from càl)
 cut down Imp
 “Cut down!”

2.3.2. Morphology of Ịgyembɔ̀n

Under this heading, we will discuss Ḥgyembóon noun and verb morphology.

2.3.2.1. Noun morphology

The summary of the noun class system presented here follows ANDERSON’s classification of Ḥgyembóon nouns. In ANDERSON (1980: 38), we learn that Ḥgyembóon nouns are grouped into ten classes. We wish the criteria used in grouping these nouns were well labelled in ANDERSON (1980) to be highlighted here. Single class genders are 1a; 3a; 4a; 5a; 6a; 7a; 8a and 10. Double class genders are 1/2; 3/4; 5/6; 7/8; 9/4; 1/10. The ten noun classes and their prefixes are listed in table 2.8 adapted from ANDERSON (1980).

Table 2. 8. Ḥgyembóon noun classes

Classes	Noun prefixes	Examples	Glosses
1	Varies	Pfóm	Ant
2	mè	mè-pfóm	Ants
3	Ñ-	ḡ-‘ká	Field
4	mèN-	mèḡ-‘ká	Fields
5	lè-	lè-pfo°	Kolanut
6	mè-	mè-pfo°	Kolanut
7	(à)-	à-póon	Sac
8	(è)-	è- póon	Sacs
9	Ñ-	ḡ-‘tú	Calabash
10	Ñ-	ḡ- kó°	Roosters

2.3.2.2. Verb morphology

Under this heading, we will discuss the notions of tense, mood and aspect in Ḥgyembóon .

2.3.2.2.1. Tense

ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱠᱷᱚᱸᱰ has nine tenses as illustrated in the sentences below:

- Remote Past P4: . là. * . lá’.

This tense is used to describe events or situations which took place a long time ago.

12. Steve là lá’ guá nê tÿõsoŋ

Steve P4 go to city

“Steve went to the city”. (a long time ago).

- Distant Past P3: /là/

It is used in describing events or situations which took place some time ago.

13. Steve là guá nê tÿõsoŋ

Steve P3 go to city

“Steve went to the city”. (some time ago).

- Recent Past P2: /kà/

P2 also known as “yesterday” past is used to express actions which took place one day prior to the time of utterance.

14. Steve kà guá nê tÿõsoŋ

Steve P4 go to city

“Steve went to the city”. (yesterday).

- Immediate Past P1: /ně’/

The time frame for the immediate past stretches anywhere from many hours within the same day to minutes from the time of utterance. This tense is generally referred to as “a while ago”.

15. Steve nə' guá nê tjösoŋ

Steve P1 go to city

“Steve went to the city”. (earlier today).

- Present Tense Po: ø

Po is used in ገጃምቦን to express actions which take place at the present moment.

16. Steve né guá nê tjösoŋ

Steve Prog go to city

“Steve is going to the city”.

- Immediate Future F1: /gè/

The immediate future in ገጃምቦን is used to describe events which will occur a short while after the present moment.

17. Steve gè guá nê tjösoŋ

Steve F1 go to city

“Steve will go to the city”. (later today).

- Near Future F2: /tó/ or /gyò

This tense is used in describing events or situations that will occur the next day or in a week’s time. It is marked by /tó/ or /gyò.

18. a. Steve tó guá nê tjösoŋ

Steve F2 go to city

“Steve will go to the city”. (tomorrow).

b. Steve gyò guá nê tjösoŋ

Steve F2 go to city

“Steve will go to the city”. (tomorrow).

- Distant Future F3 : /lù/

F3 in ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱟᱱᱟᱛ describes situations due to take place weeks or months after the present moment.

19. Steve lù guá nê ṭỵǒsoŋ

Steve F3 go to city

“Steve will go to the city”. (sometime from now).

- Remote Future F4 : /lá’/ or /fó/

F4 time frame last over several months, years or within an indefinite period. It is marked either by /lá’/ or /fó/.

20. a. Steve lá’ guá nê ṭỵǒsoŋ

Steve F4 go to city

“Steve will go to the city”. (a long time from now).

b. Steve fó guá nê ṭỵǒsoŋ

Steve F4 go to city

“Steve will go to the city”. (a long time from now).

2.3.2.2.2. Aspect and mood

In ANDERSON (1980), we learn that ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱟᱱᱟᱛ distinguishes two moods: the realis and the irrealis. These moods are marked with polar tones within the sentence. The realis polar tone precedes the verb stem or follows it. Any sentence is either realis or irrealis in mood.

As concerns aspectual distinction, ANDERSON identifies four aspects viz: the perfective, the imperfective, the progressive and the non-progressive. The progressive aspect is marked by the morpheme /nè/ alone, /ssé’/ or both of them together.

21. a. Jean là nè ndjuù mbab
 Jean P3 Prog buy meat
 “Jean was buying meat”
- b. Jean là ssé' ndjuù mbab
 Jean P3 Prog buy meat
 “Jean was buying meat”
- c. Jean là ssé' nè ndjuù mbab
 Jean P3 Prog Prog buy meat
 “Jean was buying meat”

The imperfective aspect is marked by a morpheme suffixed to the stem of the verb as in (22).

22. Paul là lá' nè nzá'à mbab
 Paul P4 Prog cut+ Imp meat
 “Paul was cutting meat”.

The imperfective aspect can also be marked by a tone added to the verb root as other aspects.

2.4. SYNTAX

In this section, we will examine some syntactic features crucial for the understanding of this work.

2.4.1. The phrase structure of Makaa and Ḵgyembɔɔn

In this section, we will provide a basic discussion of Makaa and Ḵgyembɔɔn phrase and word order, leading to the postulation of a configurational “SVO”-type structure. Further, we will discuss relativisation in

both languages in order to establish later on the link existing between relative clause and cleft constructions.

2.4.1.1. Word order and variability

One basic, uncontroversial fact about Makaa and Ṛgyembɔɔn is that, both languages are most definitely SVO languages with most word order patterns following a head-initial syntax. Let us consider the following sentences (23) for Makaa and (24) for Ṛgyembɔɔn .

23. Sal mə də ipəm
Sal P1 eat cassava leaves
“Sal ate cassava leaves”.

24. Mary kà jùu kàbà yê
Mary P2 buy kaba her
“Mary bought her kaba”.

In each of the preceding sentences, the two NPs have the grammatical relations “subject-of” and “object-of” the verb. Moreover, be it in Makaa or in Ṛgyembɔɔn , the subject always precedes the verb while the object follows it. Whenever an indirect object (IO) is added to, it obligatorily precedes the direct object (DO) and follows immediately the verb as in (25a) for Makaa, while in Ṛgyembɔɔn it comes after the direct object (as in 25b).

- Makaa

25. a. Mə ámə cíló Bertrand Kálád
I P2 write Bertrand letter
« I wrote a letter to bertrand ».

- ገጃምቦን

25. b. Mṁṁ nə ḡwe'e ḡwa'ne né Bertrand
 I P1 write letter to Bertrand
 “I wrote a letter to Bertrand”.

Whenever an adverbial phrase is added to the sentence, be it in Makaa or in ገጃምቦን, this adjunct follows the direct and indirect object as in the following example (26.a for Makaa and 26.b for ገጃምቦን).

- Makaa

26. a. Mə ámə cíló Bertrand Kálád pəmán éga
 I P2 write Bertrand letter morning this
 “I wrote a letter to Bertrand this morning”.

- ገጃምቦን

26. b. Mṁṁ ká ḡwe'e ḡwa'ne né Bertrand ba'amba'ṁṁ
 I P2 write letter to Bertrand morning this
 “I wrote a letter to Bertrand this morning”.

2.4.1.2. The internal structure of inflection (+ tense)

Here, we will analyse the notion of inflection in both Makaa and ገጃምቦን.

2.4.1.2.1. The case of Makaa

Let us consider the following sentence:

27. Aminatou nyə a ngə ε dīg
 Aminatou Sm Tm Prog Om see
 « Aminatou was seing her ».

In (27), the verb is preceded by the following constituents: the subject marker (Sm): **nyə**; the tense marker Tm: **á**; the progressive marker (Am): **ḡgə**

and the object marker (Om): ϵ . Thus, the verbal unit in (27) has the following linear structure:

28. Sm-Tm-Am-Om-Verb Stem.

One should bear in mind that the verb in Makaa as in various languages can contain any extension morpheme. This extension usually marks the imperative mood. The indicative is unmarked however; it is expressed via the use of auxiliaries, adverbs or clause markers. Where would negation marker fit in the schema above?

29. a. Mə a cyɛl- ϵ də
 I Neg wish+Neg eat
 “I do not wish to eat”.

b. Mə a shigɛ ϵ dɨg
 I P3 Neg him see
 “I did not see him”

c. Ku ϵ dɨg
 Neg him see
 “don’t see him”

d. Aminatou a ŋgɛnə də
 Aminatou Neg Prog + Neg eat
 “Aminatou is not eating”

e. Jean shigé də
 Jean Neg eat
 “Jean didn’t eat”

f. Paul shigé gwiimb

Paul Neg play

“Paul didn’t play”

The way negation is displayed in Makaa is a bit complex. In a general way, negation is expressed by a discontinuous clitic /a... ε or é/. In the indicative mood, as concerns past tenses P1 and P2 a counter-assertive morpheme “**shigε**” is used and it substitute after the tense marker. In P3, the counter assertive morpheme comes after the tense marker (as in 29b). In the present tense, the morpheme /a/ follows the subject marker and the morpheme /é/ is suffixed to the verb as in (29a). Moreso, if the verb conjugated in Po needs the support of the progressive marker /ḩgə/, the morpheme /a/ still appears after the subject and the second clitic becomes /εnə. and is suffixed to the progressive marker resulting in /ḩgenə/ as in (29d). In the hortative and the imperative moods negation is marked by the morpheme /ku/.

We can now propose the structure of the (+tense) inflection in Makaa as follows:

30. Sm-Neg1 - Tm (Neg2)-Am (Neg3) - Om - Verb Stem - Neg4.

In the formula above, (Sm) is the subject marker, (Neg1) is the optional negative marker, Tm is the tense marker, (Neg2) is the optional mood marker, (Am) is the aspect marker, (Neg3) is the optional progressive marker, (Vbst) is the verb stem and (Neg4) is the optional verb stem negative marker.

2.4.1.2.2. The case of Ḳgyembóon

Let us consider the following sentence (from ANDERSON 1983).

31. a là lá nè nzá'á mbàb
 He P4 Prog cut+Imp meat
 “He was cutting meat”

Referring to ANDERSON, we do learn that the Ḳgyembóon verbal unit can be structured as in (32):

32. (Reim) PT Vbst (PT) (I)

As can be seen in the preceding formula, only the verb root and a preceding polar tone morpheme (either realis or irrealis) are obligatorily present in all verbs. The optional items, in parentheses, are present only when their particular features call for them, with the exception of the toneless verb suffix whose presence is specified in the lexicon for each affected verb. The polar tone morpheme preceding the verb is only obligatory in that the same position is occupied by both realis and irrealis in mood. Where does the negation marker fit in the structure above?

The main marker of negation in the indicative mood is the bipartite morpheme /tè...wó/. The morpheme /tè/ in the past tenses follows the TM (P1, P2, and P3) as in (33a) or is inserted in between the tense marker morphemes (P4) as in (33b). In the future tenses it precedes the TM as in (33c). /wó/ in all the tenses occurs at the end of the clause. However, Po is the only exception to the general negation marking rule, in the sense that its own bipartite negation marker is /ka...wó/ as in (33d).

33. a. à là tè nzá' mbàb wó
 He P3 Neg cut meat Neg
 “He did not cut meat”
- b. à là tè la' nzá' mbàb wó
 He P4 Neg P4 cut meat Neg
 “He did not cut meat”
- c. à tè tó nè ngwǒ'ǒ mbab wó
 He Neg F2 Cop pounding meat Neg
 “He will not be pounding meat”
- d. à kà zá' mbàb wó
 He Neg cut meat Neg
 “He did not cut meat”

Consequently, the ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ sentence structure can be written as in (34) (ANDERSON *ibid*):

34. Snp (T) (Neg) (RP) (P) V ONP (W)

In the formula above (Snp) is the subject noun phrase, (T) is the optional tense marker, (Neg) is the optional negative marker, (RP) is the optional realis progressive marker, (P) is the optional progressive marker, (V) is the verb, (ONP) is the object and (W) symbolizes the optional sentence-final negative marker /wó/.

2.4.2. Relative clause formation

In this subsection we will study relativisation and its characteristics in Makaa and in ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ .

2.4.2.1. Relative clause formation in Makaa

Relativisation in the Makaa language involves the movement of wh-phrases which have antecedent. Relative clauses in Makaa always follow the antecedent of the pronoun. What makes the specificity of relative clause formation in this language is that the relative pronoun or relativizer, which refers and agrees with its antecedent, occurs at the end of the relative clause. The relativiser varies as follows: **ye** (cl 1); **wá** (cl2); **yi'**(cl3), 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10); **myá** (cl4) and **má** (cl6) .This is illustrated in (35) below.

35. a. O-kâm ó bwó ámə kíim nə kugu wá
 cl2-Monkey Foc SM P2 shout prep. yesterday Rel-cl2
 “It was monkeys which shouted yesterday”

b. Mə-kumá ó mǎ ámə dzham má
 C6-cassava Foc I P2 cook Rel. C6
 “It was cassava that I cooked”.

2.4.2.1. Relative formation in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ

Contrary to what happens in Makaa, relative formation in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ looks simple. It is formed exactly as in English. It also involves movement of constituent within sentences. Relative clauses in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ are introduced by a relative pronoun which precedes them. The relative pronoun has the morpheme /-ie/ as root and a concord consonant is prefixed to it depending on the antecedent noun class (the Examples below are from ANDERSON 1980).

33. a. ᱨ-’kà’ gw̃ie pó jú
 C3-field C3-that they bought
 “The field that they bought”

b. ñ-'kò' gyɛ pó jú
C10-roosters C10-that they bought
“The roosters that they bought”

c. lè-pfò siè pó jú
C5-kolanut C5-that they bought
“The kolanut that they bought”

2.5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this Chapter was to provide a summary of some phonological and morphological aspects. During our discussion, we attempted to examine phonemically some additional sounds found in this work. From this analysis, it results that Makaa has twenty-three consonants instead of twenty-two and twelve vowel sounds instead of eleven. Furthermore additional data led us to distinguish seven tenses in Makaa instead of five as posited by HEATH (2003). In addition, we also discussed some key concepts of grammar in order to familiarise the reader with the theme discussed through out this dissertation. For the interested readers, all of the phonological, morphological and syntactic concepts described in this Chapter are developed in HEATH (2003) and ANDERSON (1976, 1979, 1980 and 1983).

The next Chapter will establish what exactly the notion of focus refers to and how it is encode in both Makaa and ʘgyɛmbɔɔn to convey Identificational focus and Information focus.

***CHAPTER THREE: FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS IN
MAKAA AND ἡgyembɔɔn***

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the various technics or processes Makaa and ገገምጃጃጃ speakers have recourse to in order to emphasize on a given element of an utterance. The way focus is encoded in both languages via various processes is the most salient reason which has motivated us within this dissertation to posit that two different types of Focus should be distinguished: Identificational focus and Information focus. The former expresses exhaustiveness and is left dislocated while the latter conveys new or nonpresupposed information and most often remains in situ.

In a general way, an element of a sentence is said to be emphasized when it is marked for Focus. The notion of Focus here refers to processes whereby an item is manipulated within the structure of sentences in order to give it prominence. The judicious ordering and placing of emphasis becomes important for the understanding of the message portrayed and its implications. In the following sections we will present focus phenomena in Makaa and in ገገምጃጃጃ . We discuss two major categories of focus (Identificational focus and Information focus) describing alongside the different mechanisms employed to mark these focus types in the two languages.

3.2. IDENTIFICATIONAL FOCUS

Most often, an item of a given utterance performs Identificational focus when, for purposes of focus, this item is left dislocated and expresses exhaustiveness. Therefore, the interpretation of a constituent as the identificational focus of its clause is strictly restricted to its structural position within the sentence and to its semantic function. The identificational focus constituent fills its semantic function when it contrasts with other items present in the discourse and when it is considered as being the only item of a given set for which the rest of the sentence is valid. In (1) below “Virginia” is focused via

being singled out of a group of girls present contextually and receives identificational focus because it is the only item of the group of girls for which the rest of the clause is true.

1. It is Virginie that Ike danced with

Various mechanisms including clefting and use of focus markers are employed to mark identificational focus in Makaa and ɪgyembɔɔn .

3.2.1. The case of Makaa: Clefting

Cleft construction is the only process used by Makaa native speakers to express identificational focus.

As in many other languages, cleft sentences in Makaa begin with the pronoun **di** “it” followed by the copula **sə** “be”. This is in turn, followed by the element on which the focus is laid. The focused constituent itself is immediately followed by a focus particle /**ó**. which separated the focused constituent from the rest of the sentence. The rest of the sentence here is a relative clause. In the Makaa language, all grammatical relations can be focused by clefting as illustrated below.

- Subject focus

2. a. (di sə/di) Mwán ó amə də fyâ

It is It's child Foc P2 eat pear

“It is the child (and not someone else) who ate a pear”

b. (di sə/di) Anabi ó nyə é gulə mə fambə

It is It's Anabi Foc Sm F1 clear me farm

“It is Anabi (not someone else) who will clear a farm for me”

- Direct objet focus

3. (di sə/di) kúwo ó mə ámə yə Jean yε
 It is It's chicken Foc I P2 give Jean Rel
 “It is chicken (not something else) I gave to Jean”

- Indirect objet focus

4. (di sə/di) Jean ó mə é yə cúdú yí
 It is It's Jean Foc I F1 give meat Rel
 “It is to Jean (and not somebody else) that I will give chicken”

- Adverb of time focus

5. (di sə/di) nəkúgú ó Jean ámə də cúdú yí
 It is It's Yesterday Foc Jean P2 eat meat Rel
 “It is yesterday (and not some day else) that Jean ate meat”

- Adverb of place focus

6. (di sə/di) Kwádé ó mə ámə diḡ Jean yí
 It is It's village Foc I P2 see Jean Rel
 “It is at the village (not somewhere else) that I saw Jean”;

In sum, the peculiarity of cleft constructions in Makaa is that the relative clause follows immediately the emphatic constituent and the relative pronoun appears at the end of the clause. Moreso, when the subject NP is clefted, the relative pronoun does not appear at all. Why so? It is difficult to say. In the meantime, may be for reasons of economy or euphony, Makaa native speakers often leave out the couple **di** + **sə** (which can be contracted to **di**) especially in rapid speech. The focus element has the full implication of contrastive focus: the

rest of the clause is taken as given, and a contrast is inferred with other items which might have filled the focal position in the sentence.

3.2.2. THE CASE OF ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱩᱠᱩᱨ

ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱩᱠᱩᱨ speakers make use of two focus processes in order to express Identificational focus viz : cleft constructions and use of focus markers.

3.2.2.1. Focus by clefting

In the ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱩᱠᱩᱨ language, any cleft NP is preposed to the beginning of the sentence and preceded by the pronoun **e** “it” + High tone or **a** “it” + High tone which in turn is followed either by a verbal low tone morpheme or by a copula. The verbal low tone morpheme and the copula are mutually exclusive i.e. they cannot appear at the same time. Whenever a speaker opts for the structure containing a verbal low tone morpheme, this tone coalesces with the tone borne by the pronoun resulting in **â** “it is” or **ê** “it is”. The pronoun is either /**a**/ or /**e**/ depending on the noun class of the focused NP. It is /**a**/ for classes 1 and 7 and /**e**/ for classes 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10. The focused constituent is separated from the rest of the sentence by a relative pronoun which agrees with its antecedent. The following examples highlight the features described above.

- Subject focus

7. a. **ê** gubé fuð giě ně njyo ngwoon

It is children chief that P1 eat banana

“It is the chief’s children (and not his wives) that ate bananas”

NOTE: When the copula is used (as in 7b) instead of the verbal low tone morpheme the contrast and exhaustiveness expressed by the focus constituent are more reinforce.

b. é wó gubé fuð giě ně njyo ngwoon
 It cop children chief that P1 eat banana
 “it is (only) the chief’s children that ate bananas”

- Indirect object focus

8. á kâ pwo tsiŋe nda ye gie Jean ka nyé shû we
 It P2 to family his that Jean P2 presented friend his
 “It was to his family that Jean presented his friend”

- Direct object focus

9. é ká melù’ mie Jean ka ná né Steve
 It P2 beer that Jean P2 give to Steve
 “It was beer that Jean gave to Steve”

- Adverb of time focus

10. á kâ júᵛ tá Steve gÿa nê lá’
 It Cop yesterday that Steve go + Past to village
 “It is yesterday (not someday else) that Steve went to the village”.

With regard to examples given above, one can postulate that cleft constructions, as displayed both in Makaa and ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ, presents similarities and dissimilarities. Concerning the structure of the cleft constructions, what both languages share in common is that there do exist in each language a couple of morphemes standing for “It + be” though Makaa native speakers rarely make recourse to it in speech. As for dissimilarities, we

notice the following: in the Makaa language there is an invariable morpheme /ó/ which appears immediately after the focus item separating it from the rest of the sentence. Moreso, the relative pronoun does not introduce the relative clause; rather it appears at the end of the clause. On the other hand, as concerning ᠒gyembɔɔn the equivalent of the pronoun “it” varies depending on the noun class of the cleft NP. Further, a tone can be used to play the role of a copula within the cleft sentence.

3.2.2.2. Focus via focus markers

In the previous sub-section, we have shown that arguments of the verb could be focused by clefting. In the present sub-section we discuss another type of focus involving use of focus particles. We distinguish two kinds of focus particles in ᠒gyembɔɔn : /zɔ/, the subject focus marker (SFM) which occurs immediately after the subject and /pɔ/, the complement focus marker (CFM) which precedes the focused complement. These particles are used to mark Identificational focus and they can be used to focus all grammatical relations.

3.2.2.2.1. Subject focus

In the ᠒gyembɔɔn language, the subject NP is focused via the use of the SFM /zɔ/ placed immediately after it as illustrated below

11. a. Steve zɔ ka gɥa nê lá’
 Steve Foc P2 go to village
 “It is Steve (not someone else) who went to the village”

- b. mɥɛ zɔ ka njyo ɲgwoon
 I Foc P2 eat banana
 “It is I (not someone else) who ate banana”

It is worth noticing that the particle /zɔ/ does not agree in noun class with the focused constituent.

3.2.2.2.2. Complement focus

In Ḳgyembɔɔn whenever focus is on a complement (direct or indirect objects, adverbs of place or time) the complement appears at its normal position and is preceded by the focus marker /pɔ/. The following examples illustrate complement focus.

- Direct object focus

12. a. mɜŋ ka njyɔ pɔ ŋgwoon
 I P2 eat Foc banana
 “I ate (only) banana” (and nothing else)

b. Nina la pɛ̂ pɔ shum
 Nina P3 eat Foc food
 “Nina ate (only) food” (and nothing else)

- Indirect object focus

13. a. Ibas ka fũ ŋwa’ne pɔ̂ ne lonfo
 Ibas P2 lend book Foc to lonfo
 “Ibas lent a book (only) to lonfo” (and not to somebody else)

b. Peter ka nə melu’ pɔ̂ ne Jacob
 Peter K2 give beer Foc to Jacob
 “Peter gave beer (only) to Jacob” (and not to someone else)

- Adverb of place focus

14. a. Steve ka gʊa pɔ nê lá’

Steve P2 go Foc to village

“Steve went (only) to the village” (and not somewhere else)

b. Gùbé fuḁ ně ngyo megya pɔ tʊtʊa

Children chief P1 make plays Foc yard

“The Chief’s children play (only) in the yard” (and not somewhere else)

- Adverb of time focus

15. a. Steve ka gʊa nê lá’ pɔ juḁ

Steve P2 go to village Foc yesterday

“The Steve went to the village (only) yesterday” (and not some other day)

b. Tabi ně jú njyo metʊa pɔ mba’amba’ɔɔn

Tabi P1 buy cloth market Foc morning this

“Tabi bought a piece of cloth (only) this morning” (not some other time)

It is worthwhile noting that whereas the subject focus particle precedes the focused constituent, the complement focus particle follows the focused constituent. In Makaa and ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ any item conveying identificational focus must be dislocated and must infer contrast and exhaustiveness with other items present contextually. In other words, a constituent is considered as being the identificational focus of a given sentence with respect to its structural position within the sentence and to its semantic interpretation. In addition, as we can notice, Identificational focus differs from one language to another. While Makaa uses cleft constructions to express this kind of focus, ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ uses both cleft constructions and focus particles to express the same realities.

3.3. INFORMATION FOCUS

Generally, a constituent conveys information focus when it is used within a focus process aimed at expressing new or non presupposed information; i.e. information not supplied within the context and thereupon, not shared by both the speaker and the listener. A diversity of technics are used both by Makaa and ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ speakers to encode or to emphasize on new information.

3.3.1. The case of Makaa

A good number of processes are used by Makaa native speakers to convey new information. There are three to be considered in this language: repetition, high intonation and stylistic constructions.

3.3.1.1. Focus via repetition

Repetition is a focus technic which consists in repeating the constituent on which the emphasis is laid. The verb, the adjective and the adverb are constituents which can be repeated in Makaa for purposes of focus. The following subsections describe verb, adjective and adverb focus via repetition.

3.3.1.1.1. Verb focus

Many reasons can be given to justify what may motivate a Makaa native speaker to repeat a verb in order to emphasize on given information. For example, he/she will utter a sentence (16) to insist on the fact that the only thing Jean did during the day was to eat over and over.

16. Jean àmé dé, shín dé, kwǎ dé
Jean P2 eat finish eat still eat
“Jean ate over and over”

In addition, a verb can be repeated as in (17) as a means of emphasizing both on the action undergone by somebody and on his unpleasant behaviour towards the speaker.

17. Mə ámə lás nə né nzhi á ɲgə ngul ngul-íg
 I P2 talk to him but he Prog drink drink ?
 “I talk to him but he kept drinking over and over”

With regard to (17) we notice that in some environments, whenever the scope of focus lies on the verb, the second form of the repeated verb contains a suffix which usually marks the persistence of the action. The suffixed morpheme is */-ig/* when the verb ends with a consonant sound (as in 17 or */-g/* when it ends with a vowel sound as in (18) below.

18. Valerie ɲgə də də-g
 Valerie Prog eat eat ?
 “Valerie keeps eating”

3.3.1.1.2. Adjective focus

Adjectives are usually repeated in order to insist on the truth value or the quality expressed as in the following examples.

19. a. wə ámə yə mə bwǒl bwǒl nci
 You P2 give me rotten rotten gorilla
 “You gave me an extremely rotten gorilla”

- b. Aissatou di djoŋ djoŋ sás
 Aissatou Cop beautiful beautiful girl
 “Aïssatou is a very beautiful girl”

3.3.1.1.3. Adverb focus

Like an adjective, a repeated adverb can also be used to stress on the truth value it conveys as in (20).

20. Julia ɲgə dzhĩ gwǒw gwǒw
 Julia Prog cry up up
 “Julia is crying loudly”

Moreover, an adverb could be repeated in order to insist on the exact time of some actions.

21. Anabi é ciló mə kaàlad pəman péuman
 Anabi F1 write me letter morning morning
 “Anabi will write a letter for me early in the morning”

With regard to the examples given above, one may say that repeated items (adjectives, adverbs, verbs) share the same features viz : they occur in their normal positions within the sentence ; the repeated forms are generally identical despite the fact that some are separated by the preposition **nə** “with” (ɲkul nə ɲkul roughly) ; and finally they convey new information. However, the repetition of the verb presents some peculiarities in the sense that in some specific environment, the second form of the repeated verb takes an extension which indicates that the action undergone by the subject persists.

3.3.1.2. Focus via Intonation

Focus by intonation refers to the focus process in which attention is drawn to a particular element of a sentence by rising or falling of the height of the voice during speech. This kind of focus can be used to lay emphasis on the subject, the verb, the adjective, the adverb, the complement and even on the

predicate. Constituents focus via intonation is marked here in bold. An item may be given prominence through intonation simply to convey new information as in the following examples.

- Subject focus

22. a. **tow** mə də fwán

Goat P1 eat corn

“Goat ate corn” (Goat and not someone else)”

b. **l tɕ`** ŋə gusa

Woman Prog take a bath

“The woman is taking a bath” (the woman and not someone else)”

- Verb focus

23. a. Jean mə **ŋftk** fyán

Jean P1 drink soup

“Jean drank the soup” (he didn’t do other thing with it)

b. mwán ŋə **ɕ«**

Child Prog eat

“The child is eating” (he is not doing something else)

- Adjective focus

24. a. kúkú má ŋə **av`ɛ**

Chief Prog sick

“The chief is sick” (he is not feeling fine)

b. Paul mu **btɔtk**

Paul cop old

“Paul is now old” (he is no longer young)

- Adverb focus

25. a. Ji-g nə shyɛɛ

Stay+ Imp calm

“Stay calmly or quietly” (don’t disturb)

b. Mə é kə l`m

I F1 go tomorrow

“I will go tomorrow (and not someday else)

- Complement focus

26. a. Jean é də **máj tɪ á**

Jean F1 eat casava

“Jean will eat cassava” (and nothing else)

b. Mə é yə @khl`

I F1 give Alima

“I will give it to Alima” (and to nobody else)

- Predicate focus

27. a. Lonfo: zé amé yé wo zhaag ?

Who P2 give you pineapple

“Who gave you pineapple?”

Ibas: mə ámə kusə dwo
 I P2 buy it
 “I bought it” (I didn’t steal it...)

b. Lonfo : Jean mə dzhaa shí
 Jean P1 sleep loc
 “is Jean sleeping?”

Ibas: a ḡgə dzhígəlí
 He Prog learn
 “He is learning” (and not sleeping)

To conclude this section, we will say that intonation can also focus more narrowly on a particular word of a sentence. Focus via intonation, though it is usually used to convey nonpresupposed or new information can also, express contrastive focus as in the example above depending on the context. Contrastive focus refers to a type of focus in which emphasis is laid on a given item which has been uttered aiming at correcting information the speaker considers as being wrong.

3.3.1.3. Focus via stylistic processes

Stylistic devices such as figurative language are among technics used by Makaa native speakers to lay emphasis on a given item. Thus, either exaggeration or metaphors may be used for such a purpose. For example a speaker will utter (28) in order to emphasize on the intensity of the punishment that Steve gave to his daughter.

28. Steve ámə kwaag fílə yé
 Steve P2 grind daughter his

“Steve bit his daughter mercilessly”

Further, a Makaa speaker may utter (29) to focus on the fact that people had a nice time at a party.

29. Záj yá nəkugu yə ámə bə okám līgə ib_{ʊʊs} b̥i shiXɛ shiyɛ

Party of yesterday Sm P2 cop. Monkeys leave raw (fruits) Hold unpleasant food

“During yesterday’s party monkeys left aside what they usually eat to sake for unpleasant food”

The sentence above means that the party was so successful that people nearly went mad of joy, drinking and eating.

In sum, in figurative devices prominence is not conveyed by a single constituent as in the other focus processes. One needs to understand the whole sentence in order to guess the speaker’s intentions.

3.3.2. The case of Ḳgyembɔɔn

Ḳgyembɔɔn also makes use of various processes to convey new or nonpresupposed information. As in Makaa three processes are to be considered here: repetition, intonation and stylistic devices.

3.3.2.1. Focus via repetition

Generally, Ḳgyembɔɔn speakers have recourse to repetition in order to give prominence to the subject, the verb, the adjective, the adverb or the complement.

3.3.2.1.1. Subject focus

The subject can be repeated in Ḳgyembɔɔn in order to insist on the truth value of what is being asserted. Examples given below illustrate this.

30. a. lagá myo láa nɕa na manzye wɔɔn wɔ. M̥ɛngap m̥ɛngap làa wó ɕhá

Any thing P3+Neg pass on road this Neg Hen hen P3+Neg there pass

“Nothing has passed through this road. Even a hen has not passed”.

b. mbʉà tɔɔn mɔɔn vɔ sʉe sʉe . Muó muô tɛ wó wó.

Home man this cop Empty empty. Child child Neg there Neg

“This man’s house is quite empty. Even a child is not there”

3.3.2.1.2. Verb focus

Verbs are usually repeated in ʘgyembɔɔn for contrastive purposes, i.e. in order to weaken a previous statement given by somebody. The repeated form of the verb is placed after the object NP if there is one.

31. a. mʉŋ jũ mááŋwəle wɔɔn jũ

I buy+Past mango this buy+Past

“I bought this mango” (I didn’t steal it or pick it)

b. a ně mpfɛ mekû pfɛ

He P1 eat beans eat

“He ate beans” (he didn’t throw it.)

For the case where the object NP is omitted as in (32), the forms of the repeated verb appear together.

32. a. Lepala: ɔ lógó maangwele wɛ fo nzɔ ?

You with mango that from where

“Where have you got that mango?”

Lonfo: mʉŋ jũ ju

I buy buy

“I bought it” (I didn’t pick it...)

b. Tane la te pfɛ mǎndó’ mé pfɛ wó, a la mite mite

Tane P3 Neg eat cassava that eat Neg He P3 swallow swallow

“Tane did not eat cassava, he swallowed it”

3.3.2.1.3. Adjective focus

Adjectives are repeated in order to insist on the quality they assign to words and the truth value they convey. These are some examples.

33. a. nzyo ju ẽ pepàṅ
dress your cop red

“Your dress is red” (unmarked for focus)

b. nzyo ju ẽ páṅ pàṅ
dress your cop red red

“Your dress is really red”

c. Tane a vǒḡ
Tane cop Short

“Tane is short” (unmarked for focus)

d. Tane a vóḡ vǒḡ
Tane cop Short short

“Tane is really short”

3.3.2.1.4. Adverb focus

Just like an adjective, a repeated adverb can also be used to emphasize on the real value it expresses. Adverb focus does not operate only via repetition. The adverb is also placed at sentence initial position (as in 34 c and d).

34. a. Kiεε melɔ̀n mê tyo
hang up shoes these up there

“hang up these shoes” (unmarked for focus)

b. Kie melɔɔn mē t̥yɔ t̥yɔ
 hang up shoes these up up
 “hang up these shoes right up”

c. Tane laa fuɔ’sab g̃yá.Mbt’dɔɔn mbu’dɔɔn a laa wo g̃yá
 Tane P3+Neg Bafoussam go Mbouda Mbouda He P3+Neg there go
 “Tane has never gone to Bafoussam neither did he go to Mbouda”

d. Lonfo ně te sekúd g̃yá. Tsw̃ɛ tsw̃ɛ a ně te wo g̃yá
 Lonfo P1 Neg school go farm farm he P1 Neg there go
 “Lonfo did not go to school neither did he go to farm”

Moreover, an adverb could be repeated as in the example below in order to insist on the exact time an action took place.

35. a. Jean ka kúú jɔ̀ɔn pɔ̀ jùš juš, a wɔ̃ nkwɛ̃ nda yé
 Jean P2 arrive here Foc yesterday yesterday he cop build house his
 “Jean came recently but he has already built his house”

b. mɛɲ ka te Jean jùš gié.liɛ’ɔɔn liɛ’ɔɔn mɛɲ kàà yɛ giɛ
 I P2 Neg Jean yesterday see today today I P2+Neg him see
 “I did not see Jean yesterday neither did I see him today”

3.3.2.1.5. Object focus

The object can be repeated within a sentence in order to insist on the truth value of the assertion. The following examples illustrate object focus via repetition.

36. a. Jean te zéyé lé tsà nkɛ̃ wɔ̃. Ngwoɲ ngwoɲ a te zeye le jù’ wɔ̃

Jean Neg know to tap raffia Neg farm farm he Neg know to cultivate Neg
 “Jean does not know how to tap raffia neither does he know to cultivate”
 b. Markus te lága’ myo ndá ye gweèn. Kaᅇ a kaᅇ a te gween
 Markus Neg any thing house his have dish dish he Neg have
 “Markus has nothing in his house neither dishes does he have”

With regard to the examples given above, one may say that repetition, as displayed in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ, shares some features in common with repetition in Makaa. The similarities arise from the fact that repeated items in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ as in Makaa occur most often in their normal position and the repeated forms are generally identical in spite of some exception. Finally, repetition in both languages conveys new or nonpresupposed information. However, repetition as displayed in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ differs from repetition in Makaa in the sense that, whenever focus lies on the verb, and when there is an object NP within the sentence, this complement can be inserted in between the repeated verb. Moreover, the repeated forms of the verb may undergo some morphological modifications, i.e. one of the repeated forms may contain either a suffix or a prefix (a homorganic nasal). In Makaa on the other hand, the forms of the repeated verb appear together and it is the second form which usually undergoes modifications which consist of containing an extension morpheme which generally denotes that the action continues.

3.3.2.2. Focus via intonation

Intonation is also used in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ to focus on a given constituent. As in Makaa, intonation is used to portray new information. Focus via intonation can be laid on any major lexical category depending on the speaker’s intentions. Below are few examples. The focal element on which the emphasis is laid is written in bold.

- Verb focus

37. mbuᵛ **lút**
 rain fall+Past
 “It was raining cats and dogs”

- Predicate focus

38. Muó wəɔn **zǝg** **pfe shum**
 Child this during the day eat food
 “This child has seriously eaten along the day”

3.3.2.3. Focus via stylistic processes

Figurative language is also among the various technics ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ speakers have recourse to in order to emphasize on given information. For example, to focus on the fact that a driver drove too fast, a ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ speaker will say:

39. matua wa tyě manzye ndie' zie
 Car that on road fly fly
 “The car was driven at breakneck speed”

Moreso, to emphasize on the rough way “Martha” beat a child, a ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ speaker could utter (40) below:

40. Martha kwă' nzwë muó wá
 Martha cop+really kill child that
 “Martha seriously beat that child”

As in Makaa, one needs to understand the whole sentence in order to guess the meaning. However, the examples above are not difficult to understand because the speaker simply uses exaggerations to portray his ideas.

3.4. A CASE STUDY: TOPICALISATION

Topicalisation is one of the many processes both Makaa and Ɔgyembɔɔn speakers employ in order to lay emphasis on a constituent. It is a process whereby an item is singled out and placed at the initial position of a sentence in order to be given prominence. The topicalised constituent is separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause in speech and a coma in writing. The peculiarity of topicalisation with regard to other focus processes is that it does not mark new information. Rather it marks “given” or presupposed information, i.e. it emphasises an element already present within the discourse.

3.4.1. The case of Makaa

In the Makaa language, only the subject and the adverbial complement can be topicalised.

3.4.1.1. Subject as the topic

The subject grammatical relation is made prominent in this language via topicalisation. In this process, the subject is left dislocated and occupies a pre-subject position. The singled out constituent is replaced by a resumptive pronoun. This pronoun can be a personal or a reflexive pronoun. When it is a personal pronoun as in (41a) attention is drawn on the fact that it is the subject that undergoes the action expressed by the predicate. When it is a reflexive pronoun, it denotes the fact that the subject undergoes also the action expressed by the predicate (41b).

41. a. Lucas nyə ámə gwiimb bumó

Lucas he P2 play seed

“Lucas played ball”

b. Jean nyəméfwó ḩgə də

Jean himself Prog eat

“Jean himself is also eating”

(41b) Describes a situation for example whereby Jean is unable to answer to a call or to fulfill somebody’s wish because he is also eating like those who where unavailable.

3.4.1.2. Adverbial complement as the topic

In the exaple below “**múus**” is singled out via topicalisation just to emphasize on this information already given within the discourse.

42. a. mə é kə ngwóla múus

I F1 go city today

“I will go to the city today” (unmarked sentence)

b. Múus, mə é kə ḩfwóla

Today I F1 go city

“Today, I will go to the city”

Concerning adverbial complements, only the adverb of time can be singled out via topicalisation in order to be given prominence. Adverbs of manner and adverbs of place are never topicalised in Makaa. However, for the adverb of place to be topicalised, it needs to be preposed at the beginning of the sentence following the adverb of time. By implication, if there is no time adverbial, the place adverbial cannot be topicalised. This is illustrated in the examples below.

43. a. mə ámə dɪg Jean múus ɲgwəla
 I P2 see Jean today city
 “I saw Jean today in the city” (unmarked sentence)
- b. múus ɲgwəla, mə ámə dɪg Jean
 Today city I P2 see Jean
 “Today in the city, I saw Jean”
- c. * ɲgwəla, mə ámə dɪg Jean múus
 City I P2 see Jean today
 “In the city, I saw Jean today”

The underlying question therefore remains why adverbials of place and adverbials of manner cannot be topicalised? We will attempt an answer to this question after examining topicalisation in ʘgyembɔɔn .

3.4.2. The case of ʘgyembɔɔn

Topicalisation in ʘgyembɔɔn shares almost the same features with that in the Makaa language. In this language, the subject, the adverbial complement and some clauses are items which can be given prominence via topicalisation.

3.4.2.1. Subject as the topic

As in Makaa, the subject is made prominent by being dislocated to a pre-subject position. A resumptive pronoun surfaces and occupies the subject position. In ʘgyembɔɔn , contrary to Makaa, a personal pronoun cannot occur as resumptive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun is the only pronoun which can surface at the subject position.

44. a. * Nina a la pʃe shum
 Nina she P3 eat food
 “Nina ate food”

- b. pó selé sɔg mbum yɔb
 They themselves wash+Past body their

“They washed themselves” (nobody helped them to do so).

(44a) is considered unacceptable because it reflects the language of a non-native speaker, somebody learning the language. In addition, the reflexive pronoun is used to focus on the fact that the subject did the action expressed by the predicate alone i.e. without the help of someone.

3.4.1.2. Adverbial complement as topic

As in the Makaa language, only the adverbial of time is singled out, in ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱠᱷᱚᱸᱰ, via topicalisation.

45. a. Tabi ně jú njyo metɕa mba’amba’ɔɔn
 Tabi P1 buy cloth market morning this
 “Tabi bought a piece of cloth this morning at the market”
 (Unmarked sentence)
- b. mba’amba’ɔɔn Tabi ně jú njyo metɕa
 Morning this Tabi P1 buy cloth market
 “This morning, Tabi bought a piece of cloth at the market”
- c. * á metɕa, Tabi jú njyo mba’amba’ɔɔn
 Prep Market Tabi buy cloth morning this
 “At the market, Tabi bought a piece of cloth this morning”

An adverbial of place, however, to be topicalised needs the support of an adverbial of time exactly as in Makaa.

46. á wɔ̃ metɕ` , mba’amba’ɔɔn, Jean ju` njyo
 Prep Cop Market morning this jean buy cloth
 “At the market today, Jean bought a piece of cloth”.

To summarize, topicalisation in Makaa as in ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ does not mark new information. The dislocated constituent is placed at the beginning of the sentence and separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause. In addition, in both languages the adverb of time and the adverb of place (with the support of place adverbial) can undergo topicalisation. However, dissimilarities arise from the fact that whereas in Makaa the topicalised subject can be replaced by both a personal and a reflexive pronoun, in ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ it can only be replaced by a reflexive pronoun.

3.5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to provide a description of the structure of focus constructions in both Makaa and ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ. It appears clearly with regard to the way focus is encoded in both languages that the claim according to which two sub-categorizations of focus can be distinguished is not based on intuition: Identificational focus, which expresses exhaustiveness and is left dislocated and Information focus, which conveys new or non presupposed information and involves no syntactic reordering. It results therefore from our description that, whereas Information focus is made in both Makaa and ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ via repetition, high-intonation and stylistics devices, Identificational focus rather is conveyed only clefting in Makaa and by both clefting and focus markers in ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ. In sum, with regard to the way focus is encoded in these languages, we conclude that focus operation in Makaa and ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ are the same.

On the other hand, after examining topicalisation in ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ, it still remains a difficult task to state exactly the reason why place adverbials and manner adverbials cannot be topicalised in Makaa and in ᱠᱟᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱫ. With regard to the structure and the distribution of adverbial constituents, we might postulate that topicalisation seems to target only noun phrases and not

prepositional phrases. This is one of the claims we are going to examine in the further chapter in order to attempt an answer to the problem.

***CHAPTER FOUR: TOWARDS EXPLANATION AND
CONSTRAINTS***

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, we talk about the notion of focus describing the various types of focus constructions and devices employed to mark focus cross-linguistically. Throughout our discussion, it followed that the way Makaa and ʘgyembɔɔn speakers manipulate their language for focus purposes confirms the claim that two types of focus may be distinguished viz: Identificational Focus vs Information Focus. Finally, we arrived at the conclusion that the focus operations in the two languages exhibit lot of similarities.

In the course of the discussion, we encountered, but did not account for some peculiar characteristics of the focus operation. In the present chapter, we will attempt explanations for some of the characteristics and propose what might eventually turn out to be constraints on the focus operation. In informal terms, a constraint, in this case, will be considered as a rule or law that regulates, limits or restricts the application of a phenomenon within a process or device. In section 4.2 and 4.3, we will account for respectively characteristics specific to Makaa and those specific to ʘgyembɔɔn . We will demonstrate that though Makaa and ʘgyembɔɔn are so distant genetically, they share similar processes and characteristics. Finally, we will arrive at the conclusion that while a good number of constraints regulating the application of certain phenomena receive a purely syntactic explanation, some of them can only be accounted for by combining both syntactic and semantic facts.

4.2. FEATURES SPECIFIC TO MAKAA

In this section, we will pay attention to features of the operation of processes marking focus in the Makaa language.

4.2.1. Repeated verbs

Generally, in the Makaa language, a verb is focused in order to insist on the action undergone by the agent:subject. Focus on the verb is usually achieved by repetition and the verb's repeated form may appear separated by lexical items (as in 1.a), or together (as in 1.b and 1.c)

1. a. kul ámə bə láas, shín láas, kwǎ láas

kul P2 cop talk finish talk still talk

“Kul kept talking over and over”

b. mwán ḡgə kíim kiim-íg

child Prog shout shout ?

“The child is shouting over and over”

c. Jean ámə ḡgə minə minə - g

Jean P2 Prog swallow swallow ?

“Jean kept swallowing over and over”

The repeated forms do not undergo any modification when they occur separately. However, if these reduplicated forms appear grouped as in 1.b and 1.c, the second form contains the suffix /-g/ if the preceding form ends with a vowel or /-íg/ if it ends with a consonant. Thus, the question which needs to be addressed here is why does this element appear and what is its function? To attempt an answer to this question, we will posit that in 1.a, the repeated verb does not contain /-g/ or /-íg/ because the speaker has recourse to lexical items such as **shín** “finish”..... **kwǎ** “still” in order to convey the duration or continuation of the action expressed by the verb. Thereupon, whenever lexical items are not used, the last repeated form must contain this suffix, which expresses the fact that the action described by the verb lasts over a long period, i.e it is durative.

4.2.2. Clefted NPs

The behaviour of cleft constructions in Makaa leads us to distinguish between cleft NPs and complement NPs.

Whenever the scope of focus lies on the object NP as in (2), it is preceded by **di** (the contracted form of **di sə**) “it is” and followed by the morpheme /ó/ which separates the focal item from the rest of the sentence. The entire construction closes off with a pronominal element which varies depending on the nominal class of the emphatic constituent (see chapter 2 section 2.4.2.1).

2. a. di fya_i ó Jean ḡgə də y_i
 It’s cl 7-pear foc Jean Prog eat c7-Pron
 “‘It is a pear that Jean is eating”

- b. di məgwəla_i ó Valerie nyə ámə də ma_i
 It’s cl 6-bananas foc Valerie Sm P2 eat c6-Pron
 “‘It were bananas that Valerie ate”

When the scope lies on the subject NP as in (3), the emphatic element is also preceded by **di sə** and followed by **oʔ** A pronominal element however does not close the construction as in (2).

3. a. Jean ó ḡgə də fyá
 Jean Foc Prog eat pear
 “‘It is Jean who is eating pear”
- b. Valerie ó nyə ámə cal lĩ fumbĩ
 Valerie Foc SM P2 cut-down tree orange
 “‘It is Valerie who cut-down the orange tree”

What is of interest in (3) is the fact that contrary to (2) whereby complement NPs are focused, a pronominal element does not appear at the end

of the sentence. Why does it not appear? A closely related question which arises is; what is the nature of the particle appearing at the sentence final position:

- a. a relative pronoun?
- b. a resumptive pronoun?

With regard to (2) and (3), we may postulate that it is a resumptive pronoun first because it appears in the position vacated by the dislocated item. Secondly, it agrees with the focused NP. If it is a resumptive pronoun however, we expect it to always occur in the position vacated by the moved NP. However, as we can see from the examples in (4), a subject NP has moved but the pronominal element still occurs in sentence final position and not in subject position.

4. a. mə ɲgə díg mudá_i ɲgə kíim yɛ_i
 I Prog see cl 1-woman Prog shout c1- Pron
 “I am seeing the woman who is shouting”
- b. mə cɛl fya_i yə ámə kud yɛ_i
 I want c1-pear SM P2 fall c1-Pron
 “I want the pear that felt”

It is worth noticing that the sentences in (4) contain relative clauses. In such cases where a NP is relativised, a pronominal element like in (2) also surfaces at the end of the sentence. From the examples in (4) therefore, it looks more plausible to conclude that the pronominal element we have been talking about is a kind of clause-level relativiser. A clause-level relativiser is a new terminology we introduce within this dissertation to designate an item which relates or serves as a link between two clauses (a main clause and a subordinate clause). It is worth noting that this element is different from a relative pronoun though it plays the same role within the sentence.

The next question that arises is, if it is a relativiser, why does it appear in cleft constructions? To attempt an answer to this question, we will posit that clefting in Makaa language can be considered as involving relativisation. Let us consider the following sentences whereby (a) is a relative construction and (b) involves both clefting and relativisation.

5. a. Muda kúkúmá ámə yə zimbi yé mə wóos
 Cl 1-woman chief P2 give army cl1-Pron P1 arrive
 “The woman (that) chief gave to the army has arrived”
- b. Muda ó kúkúmá ámə yə zimbi yé
 c1-woman Foc chief P2 give army c1-Pron
 “It is a woman that the chief gave to the army”

In the preceding examples, the focus construction in (5b) and the relative construction in (5a) show striking formal similarities which suggest that there is some deep relationship between the two constructions. The most tenable hypothesis about the nature of this relationship seems to be that both constructions involve the promotion of material from an embedded clause into a matrix clause, a syntactic process that may be correlated with the semantic process of foregrounding one part of the sentence at the expense of the rest.

According to the hypotheses elaborated above, we will hold that the pronominal element appearing at the end of cleft complement NPs and relative constructions in Makaa is a clause level relativiser. But two main questions still remain to be answered: why does this clause level relativiser appear only when complements are clefted? Why is it absent when subjects are clefted?

Before giving a response to the questions above, let us consider the following sentences paying attention to the emphatic constituent.

6. a. Jean ámə də nywáag
 Jean P2 eat mango

“Jean ate mango”

b. Jean ó nyə ámə də nywáag

Jean Foc SM P2 eat mango

“It is Jean who ate mango”

c. Nywáag ó Jean ámə də yí

mango Foc Jean P2 eat Pron

“It is a mango that Jean ate”

Regarding the sentences above, the claim we put forth to justify the fact that the clause level relativiser appears only when complements are clefted is that these items undergo relativization in the Makaa language whenever they are cleft. In other words, the promotion of the focal object from its base position to the initial position of the sentence changes the sentence word order. The dislocated element becomes member of a matrix clause for which the rest of the sentence is subordinated. The clause level relativiser therefore, is needed within the cleft object NP construction to subordinate the rest of the sentence to the matrix clause containing the emphatic object NP.

On the other hand, we posit that what triggers the non appearance of the clause level relativiser at the sentence final position whenever the subject NP is focused is the fact that the subject grammatical relation is inherently topicalised in the Makaa language. Remember that in chapter 3, section 3.4.1, while discussing topicalisation, we said the subject in Makaa as in many Bantu languages was inherently focus as in (7) below.

7. a. Lucie nyə ámə də fyá

Lucie SM P2 eat pear

“Lucie ate pear”

b. bwán bwo ámə də fwán

Children SM P2 eat corn

“The children ate corn”

Regarding the examples above, we postulated that when the subject is topicalised, it moves to a pre-subject position and a resumptive pronoun surfaces in the vacated position. Its movement therefore, does not change the sentence linear order. Thus, the cleft subject construction in Makaa remains an independent clause, reason why the clause level relativiser does not appear. If this is the point, then we expect the clause level relativiser to be barred from occurring in cleft constructions whereby the subject grammatical relation is relativized. How do we therefore explain the occurrence of the clause level relativiser in (8) a sentence where the subject NP seems to be relativized?

8. Mə ḡgə dǐg múdá nyə ámə yə wo idəw yé

I Prog see woman SM P2 give you food Pron

“I am looking at the woman who gave you food”

To attempt an answer to the question above, we will postulate, as argued previously, that the occurrence of the clause level relativiser is triggered by both syntactic and semantic facts. In (8), for example though **múdá** is the direct object of the clause **mə ḡgə dǐg múdá** “I am seeing the woman”, it is also the subject of the verb **ámə yə** “gave” in the clause **múdá nyə ámə yə wo idəw yé** “The woman who gave you food”. The fact that **múdá** is relativized here violates the claim which states that subject grammatical relations are not relativizable in Makaa. However, the presence of the clause level relativizer in (8) seems to be semantically motivated because it subordinates the relative clause **múdá nyə ámə yə wo idəw yé** to the main clause **Mə ḡgə dǐg** “I am seeing”.

To summarise, we have described features specific to the Makaa language. We learned that repeated verbs do not undergo modifications when

they are separated by lexical items which mark the durative aspect of the action. Moreso, if the speaker does not have recourse to lexical items to express duration, the reduplicated forms appear together and the last one must contain a suffix marking the persistence of the action expressed by the verb. On the other hand, as concerning cleft constructions, the pronominal element appearing at the end of the cleft sentences whenever a complement NP is focused has turned out to be a clause level relativizer and the reason why it does not appear or appears lies on syntactic and semantic facts. Finally, we arrived at the conclusion that clefting is a sort of relativization.

4.3 FEATURES SPECIFIC TO Ḩgyembóon

In this section, we will focus on the irregularities and characteristics proper to focus processes and devices in Ḩgyembóon .

4.3.1. Focus via the use of focus markers

One strategy that Ḩgyembóon speakers employ in order to express exhaustiveness is the use of focus markers. These particles can be sub-categorized into two distinct types: subject focus marker and complement focus marker. The subject focus marker /zɔ/ occurs immediately after a focused subject and /pɔ/, the complement focus marker, precedes a focused complement as illustrated in (9).

- 9 .a. Tane zɔ ka pʔé mǎndɔ́'
Tane Foc P2 eat cassava

“It is Tane who ate cassava” (not somebody else)

b. Tane ka pḥé pɔ mə́ndóʼ

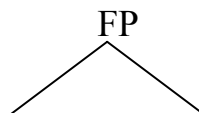
Tane P2 eat Foc cassava

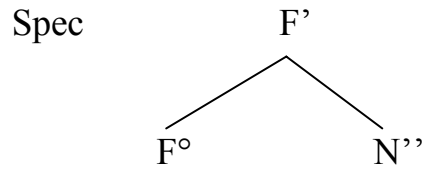
“Tane ate nothing else but cassava”

The sentences in (9) show that the position of the focus marker varies in ገገይምቦን depending on whether it is the subject or the complement which is focused. The surface word order in subject focus constructions is Noun+focus marker (NP + **zə**) as in (9.a), while complement focus constructions exhibit a focus marker + Noun (**pɔ** + NP) word order as in (9b). Which of these patterns is basic and which one is derived is a fundamental problem for linguists describing the grammar of ገገይምቦን . To attempt an answer to this problem, we will consider two alternative analyses.

Adopting a proposal of BRODY’s (1990, 1995), of BILOA’s (1995) and with regard to recent developments in generative theory, we will assume that a focused dislocated constituent has as landing site, the specifier position of a functional projection called Focus Phrase (Henceforth FP). Accordingly, we postulate that focus particles occupy F° , the head of FP further, we will argue that the basic form among the two patterns given above is the form focus marker + noun with respect to X-bar theory which states that any phrase must contain at least a head (X°), a specifier and an intermediate category (X'). We will also assume, following earlier discussions that ገገይምቦን is a head first language. With regard to these assumptions, we propose then that internal structure of the focus phrase is the following:

10.

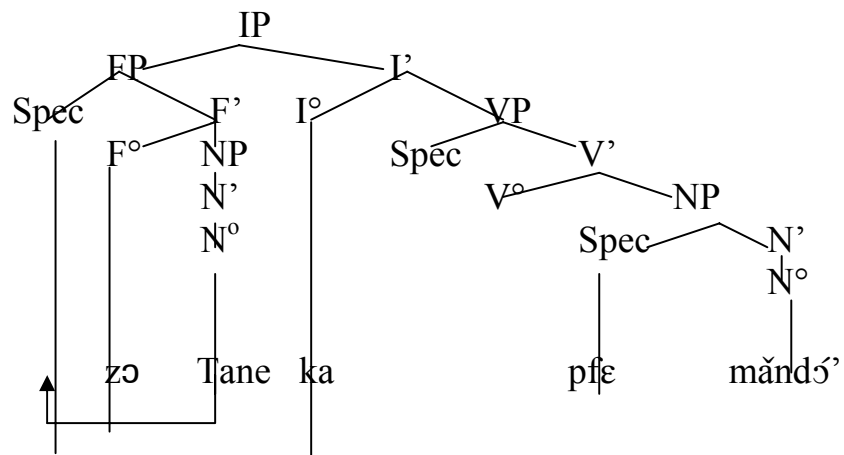




This FP can then occur in either the cleft position in spec IP or complement of verb position depending on the type of focus involved. Now, given this structure, how then do we derive the word order in subject focus where the noun precedes the focus particle /zə/? We propose that the noun moves from complement of F° to spec of FP as in tree representation in (11).

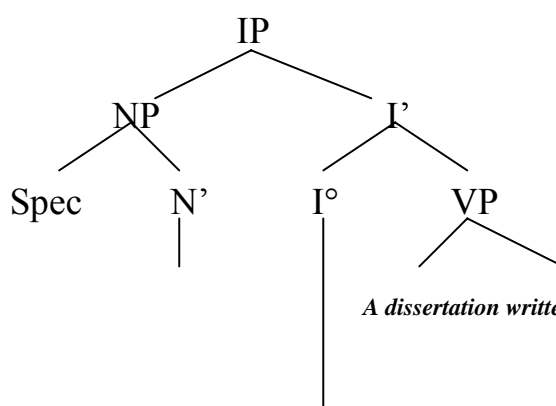
- Subject focus
-

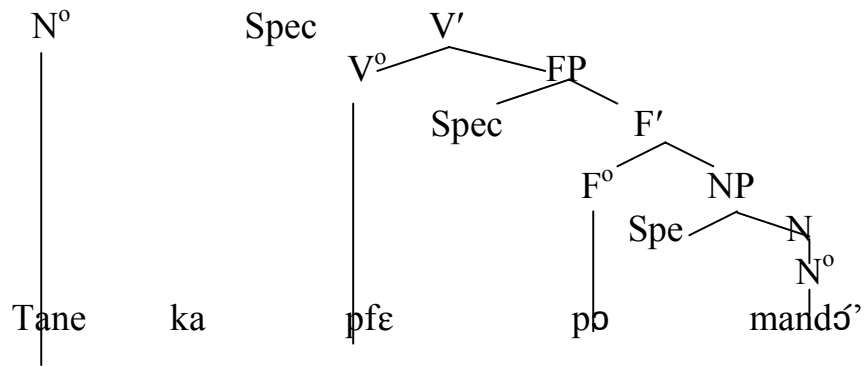
11.



- Complement focus

12.





This account of the focused subject leads us to conclude that the noun moves only in subject position but it does not move when focus is in object position. An obvious question, which is begged by the subject movement analysis, is why should the subject be raised to spec-FP in subject and not in complement position. Using a metaphor developed by CHOMSKY (1995), let us assume that FP occurring in spec-IP has strong specifier features which have the power to lure extracted NPs on which focus lies. Hence, a subject is required in spec-FP to check its specifier features. On the other hand, spec-FP in complement position is left empty because it is conversely weak; i.e spec-FP in complement position does not have the power to trigger the complement NP movement.

Though the discussion above attempts to provide reasons why the NP is raised to spec-FP in subject position, and blocked in complement position, numerous questions of detail and potential problems still arise. How do we explain the fact that spec-FP contains strong features in subject position and not in complement position? Are the subject focus and the complement focus via focus particles the same kinds of focus constructions?

Another alternative we might provide to solve the vexing debate as to know which of the patterns (NP+zɔ) or (pɔ+NP) is the basic form, is to assume that, there is only one surface word order in these constructions namely focus

marker+noun and that the variant (NP+zɔ) results from the movement of the subject NP from a position within the VP to spec-FP. Let us consider the following sentences.

13. a. mʉŋ ka pʁɛ pɔ mbab
 I P2 eat Foc meat
 “I ate meat” (nothing else)

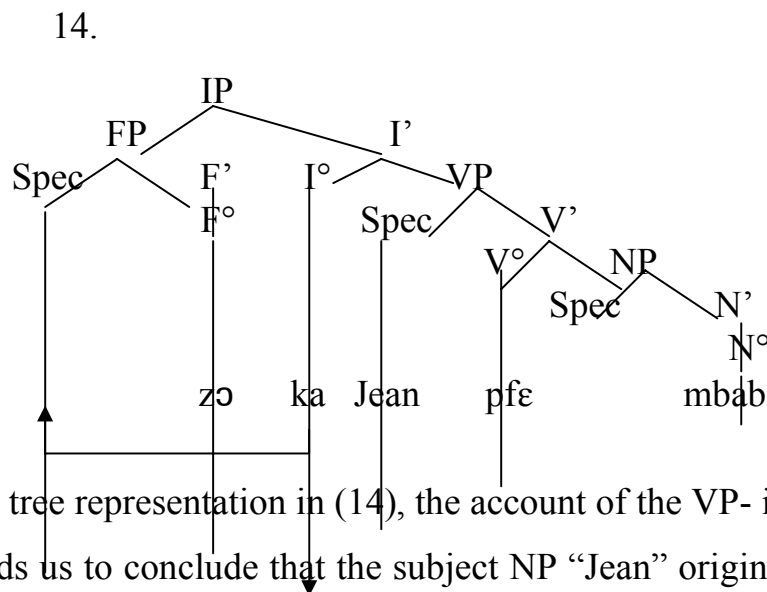
b. ê mbab gie mʉŋ ka pʁɛ
 Its meat that I P2 eat
 “*It is meat that I ate*” (and not something else)

c. mʉŋ zɔ ka pʁɛ mbab
 I Foc P2 eat meat
 “*It is I who ate meat*” (and not somebody else)

With regard to the sentences given above, as concerning complement focus, the difference between (13a) and (13b) is that in the former, the complement **mbab** is focused in situ whereas in the latter, it is dislocated via clefting to the initial position of the sentence. Thereupon, it seems logical positing that in Ḳgyembɔɔn complements can either be focused in situ (as in 13a) or focused by being dislocated to a higher position within the sentence where they will check focus features (as in 13b). Accordingly, we postulate that only one surface word order is attested in Ḳgyembɔɔn as concerning the position of focus markers and NPs viz: focus marker + noun. Then, how do we proceed to obtain the structure whereby the subject NP precedes the focus marker?

To attempt an answer to the question above, we will take the VP- internal subject hypothesis into consideration. The reason is that by positing that subjects originate internally within VP with respect to the fact that arguments of a verb

are θ marked by merger with a lexical (θ -assigning) category, we succeed to capture the focus via focus markers phenomena in ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ without raising the debate on which surface word order is the basic form. Let us consider (14), a tree representation of the sentence in (13c).



With regard to tree representation in (14), the account of the VP- internal subject hypothesis leads us to conclude that the subject NP “Jean” originates within VP and then moves from spec-VP to spec-FP. One final question which remains to be answered is, if the subject originates in spec-VP, then what triggers its movement to spec-FP? One answer might be: to satisfy ROTHSTEIN’s (1995) prediction principle, which requires that syntactic predicates should have subjects. Alternatively, we might look to checking theory to provide us with an answer. Therefore, a checking account will be to suppose that subjects carry a strong nominative case feature which can only be checked if subject raises to spec-IP. Thereupon, due to the fact that (14) is the representation of focus construction and that spec-IP hosts FP, the subject NP raises to spec-FP to check both nominative case feature and focus features.

To summarize, we have put forth two hypotheses concerning focus particles. First, we posit that two surface order patterns could be distinguished in ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ : NP + /zɔ/, for subject focus and /pfe/ + NP for complement focus. We argued that the form (focus marker + noun) was the basic pattern and

that the noun raises to spec-FP only in subject position and it is blocked in complement position. The reason was that FP in subject position has strong features which trigger the movement of the subject whereas in the complement of the verb position, spec-FP features are weak and spec-FP therefore can be left empty. The second hypothesis was to capture the irregularity raised by subject focus with respect to VP-internal subject hypothesis. Positing that subjects originate internally within VP and that they move from spec-VP to spec-FP enabled us to justify why subject NPs precede focus markers. It is worth noting that though our hypotheses bring both solutions to the problem encountered, we think the second one is more tenable because it raises few problems.

Finally, in passing it is worth mentioning that focus of the subject NP usually presents very peculiar characteristics across Bantu languages. In Limbum for instance, when we wish to focus the subject of a sentence in the active voice, the sentence is subject to a kind of passivation. The object of the active voice becomes the subject of the focus construction; and the subject becomes the object and it is preceded by the focus marker /a/ as illustrated in (15b).

15. a. Nfɔ̃ ce nɔ mrù'
Nfor Prog drink wine
“Nfor is drinking wine”
- b. mrù' ce nɔ a Nfɔ̃
wine Prog drink Foc Nfor
“Nfor is drinking wine” (not somebody else)
- c. mrù' ce nɔ Nfɔ̃
wine is drink Nfor

“Wine is drank by Nfor”

Based on suggestions from NDAMSAH (Pc), what makes the peculiarity of (15b) is the fact that we do not expect a verb such as **nɔ** “drink” to have Nfor [+human] as a complement because this verb’s selection restrictions want its complement to be [+liquid]. However, in Limbum grammar sentence (15b) is grammatical.

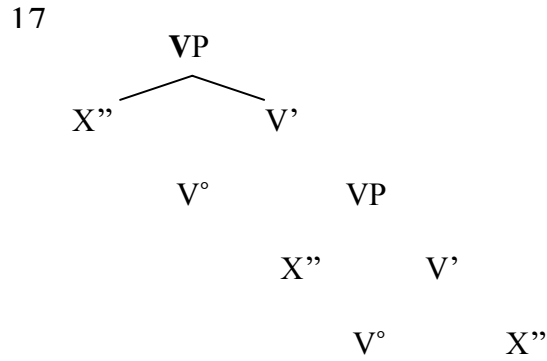
4.3.2. Repeated verbs

Verbs in Ḳgyembɔɔn are usually repeated for contrastive purposes, i.e in order to contradict previous information. In some environments, the reduplicated forms contain a homorganic nasal sound prefixed to the first repeated form. This nasal is usually associated to past tenses in the Ḳgyembɔɔn language and marks aspect at times (such as perfective, habitual...) as in (16a). Moreso, in some specific environment, i.e whenever an object NP is present within the sentence, the repeated form of the verb is placed after the object NP as in (16b).

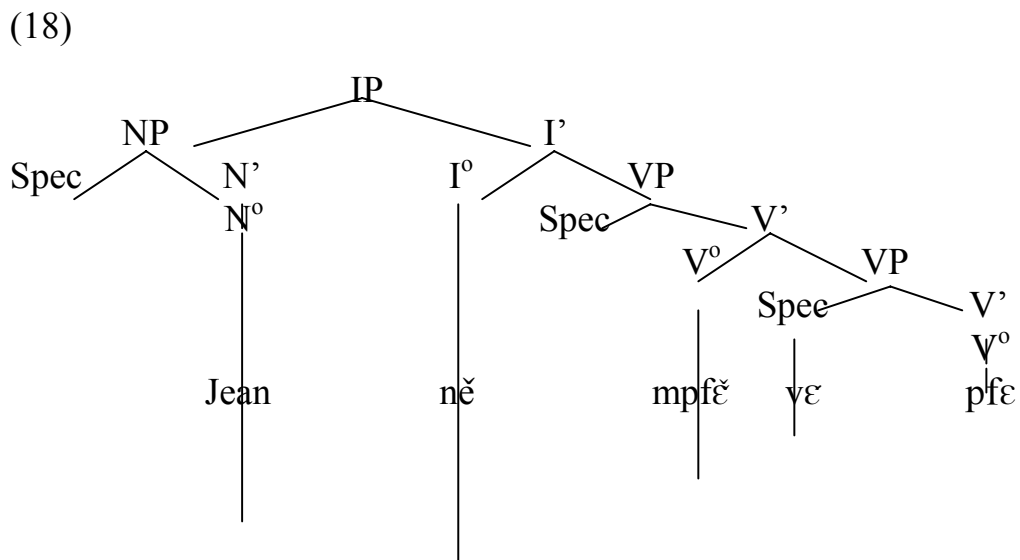
16. a. Jean ně mpfě vɛ pŋě
 Jean P1 eat wildcat eat
 “Jean ate wildcat” (he didn’t throw it away or give it to some one)
- b. Lonfo jũ mbab jũ
 Lonfo buy+past meat buy+past
 “Lonfo bought meat” (he didn’t steal it...)

The distribution of the verb and the object NP as illustrated in (16) raises a question about the structural representation. In (16a) for instance if the main verb **mpfě** is in V° and the NP **vɛ** in object position, what slot then does the repeated verb **pŋě** occupy ? LARSON’s (1988, 1990) VP shells provide us a

solution. We will assume that VPs have a complex internal structure, comprising an inner VP and an outer VP shell as illustrated in (17) below.



Further, though the NP *vε* can occur in any of the three argument positions (X'') available within the VP shell in (18), we will posit that it originates within the inner VP shell, i.e in the specifier of the inner VP. With regard to assumptions given above, we propose then that (16a) should be represented as in the phrase below.



With regard to the phrase marker above, the slot occupied by the repeated verb becomes clear; it is the head of the inner VP and the complement NP occurs in its specifier position.

4.3.3. Repeated complements

Generally, complements (objects, adverbials) are made prominent in ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱵᱟᱫᱽ via repetition and subsequent placement in clause initial position. The most salient observation we make while having a look at constructions containing a repeated complement is that they are in the negative form and the surface word order changes from SVO to SOV and even OSOV. Let us consider the sentences below.

19. a. Sylvie la-a nê səkúid gǎá. Nká' nká', a la-a wo gǎá
 Sylvie P3 Neg to school go farm farm he P3 Neg there go
 “Sylvie didn’t go to school neither did she go to farm”

b. Jean te zéyé lé tsa nkĕă wó. Ngwoŋ ngwoŋ, a te zéyé lé jù' wó
 Jean Neg know to tap raffia Neg field field, he Neg know to cultivate Neg
 “Jean does not know to tap raffia neither did he know to cultivate”

In (19), negation and the SOV pattern are compulsory features without which sentences (19a) and (19b) won’t make sense.

A similar problem surfaces in Tamanji’s (2002) analysis of Bafut. Tamanji notices that the surface word order in positive sentences is SVO, while negative sentences exhibit an SOV word order. Therefore, he investigated the underlying word order of Bafut in order to determine which of the two patterns cited above is the basic one. Compare the sentences in (20) below from Tamanji (2002) with those in (19)

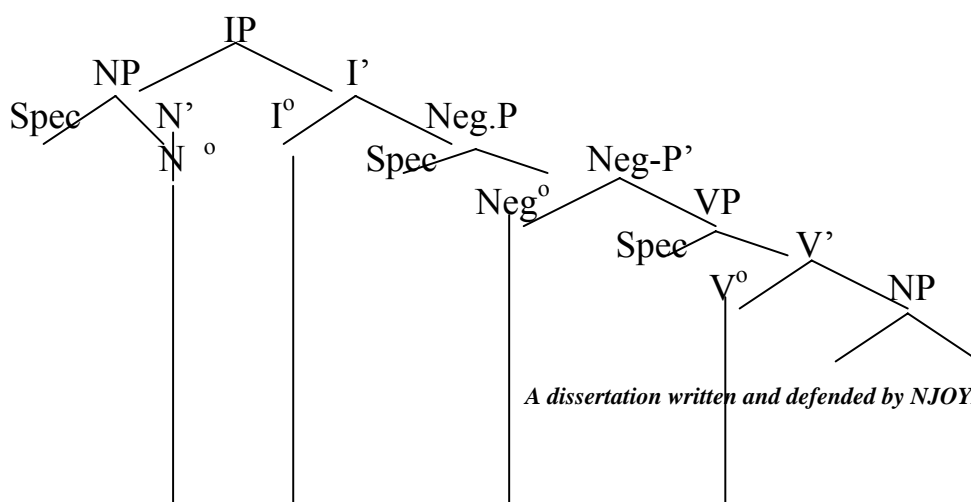
20. a. ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ mfɔ yá ka bú'ú ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ
 monkey chief the TNS play drum
 “The chief’s monkey will play a drum”

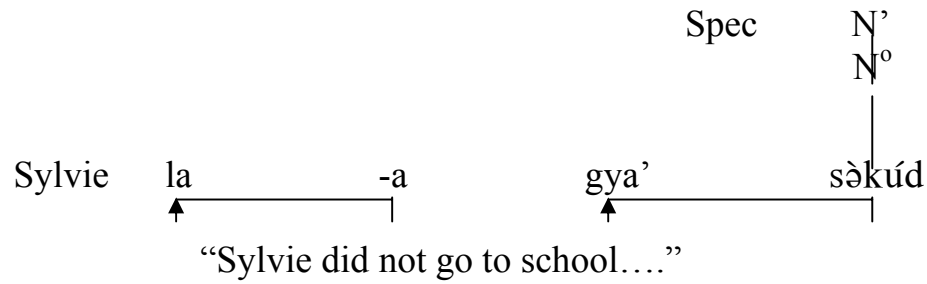
b. k̄āā ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ mfɔ yá k̄ā wā'a ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ bú'ú
 Neg monkey chief the TNS Neg drum play
 “The chief’s monkey will not play a drum”

Remember in chapter two, section 2.4.1.1 we demonstrated that ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ was most definitely an SVO language type. With regard then to (19) and (20), the underlying question therefore remains which features do the ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ focus construction and the Bafut negative constructions share together that trigger the SOV word order.

Considering foregoing discussion, the proposal made by Tamanji (ibid) and theoretical assumptions, we will postulate that ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ as well as Bafut is an SVO language and the surface SOV structure in (19) is derived from the basic SVO pattern. Variant surface word orders (OSV, SOV) are then derived via NP movement and verb raising. The object NP raises to spec-VP in both positive and negative sentences and the verb move to I° by the need to check tense features. However, in negative sentence, the presence of the negative morpheme blocks verb raising, and thus the verb remains inside the VP where it occurs to the right of the raised object as illustrated in (21) below which is a representation of the first clause in (19a).

21.





Thus far, to recapitulate, our discussion has focused on the similarities and features shared by the *Ŋgyembɔɔn* focus constructions containing a repeated object and Bafut negative sentences. What is common to Bafut and *Ŋgyembɔɔn* is that the SOV pattern attested in both languages derives from the basic SVO order, and what blocks the verb in negative sentences to raise to I° to check tense features as it is the case for positive sentences is the negation morpheme. On the other hand dissimilarities between the two languages arise from the fact that the SOV pattern surfaces in Bafut whenever the sentence is in the negative form whereas in *Ŋgyembɔɔn* it results as a response to focus processes. More so, what makes focus constructions containing a repeated item interesting in *Ŋgyembɔɔn* is the peculiarities observed. Consider the following sentences.

22. a. Junior la-a nê t̄yosɔŋ ḡyá. Met̄θa, met̄θa a la-a wó ḡyá
 Junior P3 Neg to city go market market he P3Neg there go
 “Junior did not go to the city neither did he go to the market”

b. Markus te lágá myo nda ye gween. Kaŋakáŋ, a te gween
 Markus Neg any thing house his have dish dish he Neg have
 “Markus has nothing in his house even a common dish he doesn’t have”

Regarding the sentences above, it is the first sentence which usually appears in the SOV word order. The last sentence, rather appears in the OSV pattern if the scope of focus lies on an object (as in 22b) or in a strange “OSV” form within which the morpheme *wó* surfaces between the subject and the verb

(as in 22a). This form arises whenever a place adverbial is focused. What therefore remains a main problem for concern in the foregoing is to sort out the following questions:

1. What is the particle **wó**?
 - a- A resumptive pronoun?
 - b- A stranded preposition?
 - c- An adverbial of place?
2. Which position does the extracted constituent occupy within the sentence?

If **wó** is a resumptive pronoun then we expect it to look more like a pronoun and thus agree with the dislocated item. Rather, in (22a), it sounds more like an adverb. It means something like “there”. For this reason, we will not consider **wó** as a resumptive pronoun. Alternatively, claiming that **wó** is a stranded or orphaned preposition implies that **wó** and the NP *metəa* “market” in (22a) were at the origin united within a single PP and that due to focus effects, **wó** by virtue of the fact, has been stranded, i.e has been separated from its complement (the NP which has moved to the initial position of the sentence). If this is the point, we then expect **wó** and the NP to appear together in a sentence where no transformation has been applied. If **wó** is a preposition left orphaned, one might then wonder why (23b) below is ungrammatical.

23. a. Tane la-a gya metəa
 Tane P3 Neg go market
 “Tane did not go to the market”

b. * Tane la-a gya wó metəa
 Tane P3 Neg go there market
 “Tane did not go there market”

With regard to the foregoing discussion, there is therefore evidence pointing to the fact that **wó** “there” is place adverbial which plays the role of an object within (22a). One question still arises: How do we explain the presence of **wó** in (22a)?

Having established the nature of the particle **wó** within the construction in (22a), we will go further postulating that **wó**'s appearance results as a consequence of the contact between French and ገገይጫጫጫ. Remember in chapter 2, section 2.2.2.1, we said due to the fact that ገገይጫጫጫ is spoken in an area where French is the official language, its sounds system has been modified under the influence of French (ANDERSON 1979). Thus, we have reasons to think that French influence has not just limited to the ገገይጫጫጫ phonological system, it has also extended right to its syntax. The strange “OSV” in (22a) results to be an OSOV pattern. The OSOV word order is also attested in its French equivalent as illustrated in (24) below.

24. Au marché, je n’y suis pas allé.

In the sentence above, the adverbial of place “y” is the equivalent of the morpheme **wó** “there”. Its appearance in (24) is triggered by the movement of the focused PP “au marché”. “**Au marché**” being fronted to the initial position of the sentence and separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma, needs thus to be replaced within the matrix clause by an item (resumptive pronoun) which plays the same role namely: to complete the meaning of the verb.

Now, to attempt an answer to the question as to know which position does the extracted constituent occupy, we will postulate regarding the assumptions made within this framework that since topicalisation is a kind of focus construction, the extracted element moves to spec-FP or spec-TopP if we consider the fact that the sentence is dominated by the Topic Phrase (henceforth TopP).

To recapitulate, we studied features specific to the ᱠᱟᱹᱦᱩᱞᱟᱫ language. It results from our discussion that repeated verbs contain at times a homorganic nasal sound which usually expresses aspect. More, in some specific environments the sentence containing the repeated verb is subject to some transformations. In addition, we learned that when emphasizing grammatical relations via focus particles some peculiarities arise and we put forth two claims to justify them. First, we claimed that focused subjects move from their base positions to spec-FP in subject position while complements NPs remain in situ. Secondly, we postulated that if we capture the phenomena differently, i.e taking into consideration the VP-internal subject hypothesis, it enables us to avoid to run into problems. Finally, we learned that complements focused via repetition are not only repeated but they are also dislocated to the clause initial position. They are separated from the rest of the clause by a comma and replaced within the matrix clause by an adverbial of place **wó** “there” which assumes the same function.

4.4 FEATURES COMMON TO MAKAA AND ᱠᱟᱹᱦᱩᱞᱟᱫ

We have, in the previous sections, discussed specific features that govern the operation of processes marking focus in the Makaa and ᱠᱟᱹᱦᱩᱞᱟᱫ languages. In this section, we will concentrate on interesting features that are common to both languages. First, let us summarise the major differences between the two categories of focus that we are dealing with.

4.4.1. Exhaustive identification vs new information

In Makaa as well as in ᱠᱟᱹᱦᱩᱞᱟᱫ, Identificational Focus is achieved via cleft constructions. The focal item is left dislocated and preceded by **à** or **è** + Low tone verbal morpheme for ᱠᱟᱹᱦᱩᱞᱟᱫ and **dí sə (di)** for Makaa. In these

languages a constituent performs exhaustive identification if and only if it fulfills the following criteria:

- It must be singled out of a set of items in order to infer contrast and express exhaustive identification with other items present within the discourse.
- It must be left dislocated by clefting from a lower position to a higher position where it is preceded by a particle marking it out as focused.

Let us consider the following sentences:

- Makaa

25. a. Eto’o Fils mə bá shilə Côte d’Ivoire
 Eto’o Fils P1 marry girl Ivory Coast
 “Eto’o Fils has married an Ivorian girl”

b. (dĩ) shilə côte d’ivoire_i ó Eto’o Fils mə ba t_i yí
 It’s girl Ivory Coast Foc Eto’o Fils P1 marry Pron
 “It is an Ivorian girl that Eto’o Fils has married”

- ᱫᱷᱟᱥᱱᱟᱫᱽ

26. a. Eto’o Fils ně 3ó’ muo côte d’ivoire
 Eto’o Fils P1 marry girl ivory coast
 “Eto’o Fils has married an Ivorian girl”

b. ă muo côte d’ivoire_i gwie Eto’o Fils ně 3o t_i
 It’s girl ivory coast that Eto’o Fils P1 marry
 “It is an Ivorian girl that Eto’o Fils has married”

In (25b) and (26b), the NP *shil« côte d’ivoire* or *muɔ côte d’ivoire* “Ivorian girl” is clefted and it performs exhaustive identification because the sentence means that within all the relevant girls present in the discourse, it is an Ivorian girl (and not a girl from another nationality) that Eto’o Fils has married. More so, it is worth noticing that the constituent known as identificational focus resulting in both Makaa and Ḳgyembɔɔn from clefting moves from a lower position (marked by *t*) to a higher position whereby it c-commands, i.e. dominates the sentence part following it.

Contrary to identificational focus which moves within the sentence to a pre-sentence position, information focus rather appears or is focused in situ. Moreover, it is not restricted or constrained to surface in a particular position within the sentence. Thereupon, the fact that information focus does not move within the sentence implies that it cannot enter into a higher position whereby it will c-command the sentence part following it. An information focus scope possibility depends rather on the length and the nature of the element which is intended to mark new or nonpresupposed information. This means that the scope of an information focus can lie on a single constituent, a predicate or an entire sentence. Makaa and Ḳgyembɔɔn use the same processes and features (e.g: repetition, high intonation and stylistic devices) to convey new information in spite of a few insignificant differences. The sentences below illustrate the information given above.

➤ Makaa

- Focus via high intonation

27. a. Sal á mə də fyá **múus**

Sal P2 eat pear today

“Sal ate pear today” (and not another day)

- Focus via repetition

b. Steve ḡgə sey gwǒw gwǒw

Steve Prog sing up up

“Steve is singing loudly”

➤ Ḳgyembɔɔn

- Focus via repetition

28. a. Jean nə mpfɛ pɛ

Jean P1 eat eat

“Jean ate” (he didn’t do something else)

- Focus via intonation

b. Tane ka gÿá nê **fuɔ’sab**

Tane P2 go to Bafoussam

“Tane went to Bafoussam” (not somewhere else)

To summarize the observations made above, we can say in spite of insignificant differences, Makaa and Ḳgyembɔɔn use the same processes and devices to express both exhaustive identification and information focus. The difference between the two notions arises from the fact that whereas an identificational focus performs exhaustive identification with respect to its structural position and its semantic interpretation, an information focus simply convey new information and it is not restricted to a specific position within the sentence.

Having summarized this distinction between Identificational Focus and Information focus, our next task is to examine features governing the two processes which are common to both Makaa and Ḳgyembɔɔn .

4.4.2 The use of quantifiers

In Makaa and ʘgyembɔɔn as well as in many other languages, some elements namely universal quantifiers (even-phrases, also-phrases) and some existential quantifiers (some-phrases) are barred from occurring in Identificational focus constructions. Let us consider the following examples from ʘgyembɔɔn : (these examples are adapted from KISS (ibid))

29. a. Mary ka juu kwâ' yê kaba
 Mary P2 buy for (herself) kaba
 “Mary bought a kaba for herself”

b. * á ka yĩŋ ŋwó kaba gie Mary ka jũ kwa yé
 It P2 also Cop kaba that Mary P2 buy for (herself)
 “It was also a kaba that Mary bought for herself”

c.* á ka mbaa John gwie Mary ka gũ linɔɔn yé
 It P2 even John that Mary P2 invite party her
 “It was even John that Mary invited to her party”

d. * á kâ tso myo gie Mary ka juu kwâ' yé
 It P2 something that Mary P2 buy for herself
 “It was something that Mary bought for herself”

Examples (29b-d) containing a cleft universal quantifier, an (also-phrase; even-phrase; or some-phrase) are all ungrammatical because the universal quantifiers present in these sentences perform identification without exclusion, violating therefore the constraint of exhaustiveness. The Makaa equivalents of sentences in (29) display a similar restriction: also-phrases; even-phrases and some-phrases cannot occur as _{cleft} constituents.

30. a. Mary á kusó kaba shuàl dé

Mary P3 buy kaba for her

“Mary bought a kaba for herself”

b. * kaba nómə ó Mary a kusé shúl dé yĩ
 kaba also Foc Mary P3 buy for her Pron
 “It was also a kaba that Mary bought for herself”

c. * ɲgwěɪl sá ó Mary á kusé shúl dé yĩ
 some thing Foc Mary P3 buy for her Pron
 “It was something that Mary bought for herself”

d. * Jean nómə ó Mary á yó fya yĩ
 Jean also Foc Mary P3 give pear Pron
 “It was also to Jean that Mary gave a pear”

With regard to the examples above both from Makaa and ɲgyɛmbɔɔn , the idea that universal quantifiers cannot express identificational focus appears to be semantically motivated. In examples (29b-d) and (30b-d), the quantifiers identify in each sentence a member of the relevant set of entities for whom the predicate holds excluding any member for whom it does not hold. Since Identificational Focus implies exhaustiveness, there is therefore no place for these quantifiers in the constructions in (29) and (30).

On the other hand, a cleft universal quantifier can be grammatical in Makaa and ɲgyɛmbɔɔn , precisely in a context where it can be understood as identifying a member of a relevant set in addition to one or more members identified previously as such for which the predicate holds; with the rest of the set still excluded. This is exemplified in (31) drawn from Makaa.

31. Ibas : Mital á də kúmá
 Mital P3 eat cassava

“Mital ate cassava”

Lonfo : mbǒ, kul ó nyə a də kúmá

No, Kul Foc SM P3 eat cassava

“No, it is Kul who ate cassava”

Junior: Jean nómó ó á dê kuámá

Jean also Foc P2 eat cassava

“It is Jean also who ate cassava”

In the example above, Lonfo identifies **Kul** as the member of the set of men who ate cassava, excluding the rest of men. Junior adds Jean to the man identified by **Lonfo**, excluding everybody except **Kul** and **Jean**.

If it is true that **also**-phrases in a certain context can express exclusion, **some**-phrases, however, are inherently incapable of expressing exclusion; if **somebody** in the Makaa sentence in (32) operates on a set of persons at all, it certainly does not exclude a subset of them as such that did not die.

32. ᱵᱤᱨᱫᱟᱹᱜᱟᱲ múud ámə fudə

Some body P2 die

“Somebody died”

Whereas universal quantifiers, **even**-phrases, **also**-phrases (except in special contexts) are barred from identificational focus positions, they can have the properties of information focus: they can convey nonpresupposed information and can bear a high intonation as illustrated in the ᱵᱤᱨᱫᱟᱹᱜᱟᱲ sentences in (33).

33. a. ɔ ka gǔ wó linɔɔn júú?

You P2 invite who party your

“Who did you invite to your party?”

b. m፱ገ ka gu meshu pón tsem

I P2 invite colleague my every

“I invited every colleague of mine”

c. m፱ገ ka ጎጎጎ tonጐ ngan nkwo’ፊ mb፱a wፊፊፊ

I P2 also call neighbour my

“I called over also a neighbour of mine”

Based on the behaviour of universal quantifiers in both Makaa and ገገይምቦን, we assume that **some**-phrases cannot function as information foci; rather, they appear to be inherently incapable of bearing a high intonation.

To summarize: exhaustive identification in both Makaa and ገገይምቦን is subject to distributional restrictions; it cannot be constituted or expressed by a universal quantifier: by **some**-phrases, by an **even**-phrases and **also**-phrases (except for special purposes). Information focus, on the other hand, is exempt from most of these distributional restrictions. **Some**-phrases cannot function either as identificational focus or as information focus.

4.4.3. The use of adverbials

Generally, whenever the scope of focus targets adverbials, be it in Makaa or in ገገይምቦን, the various constructions containing them present similar restrictions: only adverbials of time undergo clefting and/or topicalisation. Whereas as for place adverbials, they undergo clefting in Makaa as (34.f) and are banned from displaying topicalisation as in (34.d). As concerns the ገገይምቦን language, adverbials of place are barred from performing clefting and topicalisation as in (35d-e):

- Makaa

34. a. múus ó Junior ámə kə fambə yĩ
 Today Foc Junior P2 go farm Pron
 “It is today that Junior went to farm”

b. múus, Junior é kə fambə
 Today Junior F1 go farm
 “Today, Junior will go to the farm”

c. Múus ṅgwəlá, mə ámə kusə kwám
 Today city I P2 buy bag
 “Today in the city, I bought a bag”

d. * shikûl, lonfo amə kə pəman ega
 school, lonfo P2 go morning this
 “To school, Lonfo went this morning”

e. * Mákíd, Jean ámə kusə kwám
 market, Jean P2 buy bag
 “At the market, Jean bought a bag”

f. mákíd ó Jean nyə ámə kusə kwam yĩ
 market Foc Jean Sm P2 buy bag REL
 “It is at the market that Jean bought a bag”

- Ἰγγεμβῶን

35. a. á kâ mba’amba’ῶṅ tá Jean ně ṅgÿá ně mbu’dῶṅ
 It P2 morning this that Jean P1 go to Mbouda
 “It was this morning that Jean went to Mbouda”

- b. mba'amba'ɔɔn, Jean ně ɲgɣa' nê mbu'dɔɔn
 morning this, Jean P1 go to Mbouda
 “This morning, Jean went to Mbouda”
- c. á wǒ metɥa juɔ, Sylvie ně nju nɔyǒ
 prep cop market yesterday Sylvie P1 buy dress
 “At the market yesterday, Sylvie bought a dress”
- d. * á kâ metɥa gwie Jean jǔ nɔyǒ juó
 it P2 market that Jean buy+past dress yesterday
 “It is at the market that Jean bought a dress yesterday”
- e. * Metɥa, Jean ka jù nɔyǒ juó
 market Jean P2 buy dress yesterday
 “At the market, Jean bought a dress yesterday”

The most important observations we make while having a look at constructions in (34) and (35) is the fact that only adverbs of time can be singled out via topicalisation and clefting in order to be given prominence (as in 34a-b and 35a-b). Whereas adverbials of place are never topicalised or clefted in ʘgyembɔɔn, they can be clefted and not topicalised in Makaa, reason why (34d-e) and (35d-e) are ungrammatical. However, if one really needs to topicalize an adverbial of place in both Makaa and ʘgyembɔɔn, the latter needs to be part of a larger construction containing a time adverbial as in (34c) and (35c). In addition, regarding the foregoing examples, it is worthwhile noticing that whenever time and place adverbials are extracted together, the time adverbial must precede the adverbial of place, as concerning Makaa, and as for

ገጅምቦን , it usually follows it. One question therefore arises: why do adverbials of place fail to undergo topicalisation both in Makaa and ገጅምቦን and clefting in ገጅምቦን ? To attempt an answer to the question above, we will examine and compare three hypotheses:

4.4.3.1. First hypothesis: WH-island constraint

At first sight, while having a look at (34) and (35), one might postulate that it is something similar to the wh-island constraint which forces place adverbials to move only when they are in a larger construction. This means that the place adverbial may be contained in a large constituent within which extractability is forbidden. This therefore implies that extracted place adverbials are originally PPs though at times the preposition is covert. The NP extraction therefore is barred because it violates a constraint which requires that an item should not be removed from an island, either the entire constituent moves or it remains in situ. Therefore, the entire constituent which is allowed to move in this case is a PP.

If it is actually an island constraint at work here barring a place adverbial from moving except when it is accompanied by a time adverbial, we then expect movement of PPs in these languages to be always grammatical. However, consider the examples in (36) in which PP clefting and topicalisation are illicit.

❖ ገጅምቦን

36. a. * á wǒ nê sekúd gwíe lonfo ně gýá mba'amba'ጅን

It cop to school that lonfo P1 go morning this
 “It is to school that lonfo went this morning”

b. * á wǒ nê sekúd, lonfo ně gýá mba'amba'ጅን

prep cop to school lonfo P1 go morning this
 “To school, lonfo went this morning”

Considering these ungrammatical examples, we are forced to conclude that it is not an island constraint which bars the adverbial of place from being clefted, or topicalised in Makaa or in ገጅምቦን . We therefore need to turn somewhere else for explanation.

4.4.3.2. Second hypothesis: clefting and topicalisation target NPs and PPs

Another hypothesis which we can consider to attempt an answer to the question we are debating on here is to claim that adverbials of place fail to undergo topicalisation or clefting because they are PPs. However, when we examine scrupulously our data, it results that there are cases where a PP can be clefted in both Makaa and ገጅምቦን as illustrated below.

❖ Makaa

37. Jean ó mə ámə yə gwǎla yĩ

Jean Foc I P2 give banana Pron

“It is to Jean I gave a banana”

❖ ገጅምቦን

38. á kâ pwo tsiŋe nda yé gie Paul ka nye shû we

It P2 to family his that Paul P2 presented friend his

“It is to his family that Paul introduced his friend”

Consequently, having examined the two possibilities given above, none of these hypotheses seems apt to describe or capture what happens to the Makaa and ገጅምቦን data as far as adverbials of place focus is concerned. To continue the debate, we will turn to the third hypothesis we think enables us to account and justify why place adverbials must move with time adverbials.

4.4.3.3. Third hypothesis: time adverbial-support

Remember we said within this framework that in both Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጎ, for an adverbial of place to be clefted or topicalised, it needed to be part of a larger construction containing a time adverbial. By implication, this means that if one really needs to cleft or to topicalise an adverbial of place in these languages, one need to have recourse to time adverbial-support with which the place adverbial is pied-piped to the sentence initial position. This looks exactly like the *do*-support in English which requires the usage of the dummy auxiliary **do** to form questions or negatives in sentences which would otherwise contain no auxiliary.

To recapitulate, while time adverbials can undergo clefting and topicalisation in both Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጎ, place adverbials rather are barred from undergoing these focus processes. However, if one needs to cleft or topicalise place adverbials in these languages, one needs to resort to time adverbials-support. To conclude this section, we will posit that the fact that place adverbials are barred from undergoing clefting or topicalisation is not due neither to *wh*-island constraint nor to the fact that topicalisation and clefting target only NPs in both Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጎ. With respect to the foregoing discussion, we will postulate that this restriction is governed by a constraint peculiar to both Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጎ, which requires that time adverbials should be used whenever place adverbials are intended to be focused via clefting or topicalisation.

4.5 CONCLUSION

In the course of this chapter, we have studied constraints that govern the operation of processes marking focus. We have demonstrated that though Makaa and ገጃምቦጋጎ are so distant, they share the same focus processes and constraints inspite of a few insignificant differences. More, our study has demonstrated that while some of the constraints receive purely syntactic

explanation (clefted and topicalised NPs...), some of them can only be accounted for by combining semantic and syntactic facts (the use of quantifiers...).

CHAPTER FIVE : GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1. SUMMARY

The main goal in this dissertation was to show on the basis of Makaa and ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ material that two sub-categorizations of focus could be distinguished namely: Identificational focus and Information focus. This claim appeared to be motivated in the sense that though Makaa and ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ are genetically far, they however make recourse to similar processes and devices to mark or express the two notions of focus mentioned above.

To understand this account of focus, we thought it was necessary to divide the work into five chapters. As such, in chapter one, the aim and scope of the study was presented. It was indicated that Makaa is spoken in the upper Nyong Division of the Eastern province and in the Center province particularly in The Nyong et Mfoumou Division while ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ is spoken in the Northwestern corner of the Western province. Further, Makaa is placed under the Equatorial group of the Bantu languages whereas ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ is placed under the Grassfields group of the same branch. In this chapter also, the theoretical frameworks adopted for the study were presented. As far as earlier works on the languages are concerned, it was discovered that not much has been done on Makaa and ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ in the field of syntax especially using the generative approach.

In chapter two, in a bid to lay a sound foundation to the understanding of this study, the Makaa and ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ noun and verb morphology and some syntactic aspects were presented. It was revealed that, there are twenty-three consonants, twelve vowels sounds, two level and two contour tones in Makaa. Further, we showed that the reason given by HEATH (2003) to account for why /p/ should not be considered as a distinctive phoneme was not convincing enough. Contrary to what she claimed, /p/ does not only appear with prenasalization [mp] or in doubly articulated stop [kp]. /p/ can also occur singly as in **pəm** “cassava leaves”. As for ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ, we count twenty-one consonants, seven vowels and four discrete tones which can combine to give glide tones.

The study of noun morphology revealed that in both languages, nouns are grouped into ten classes. Further, after examining modalities, we came up with seven tenses in Makaa instead of five as proposed by Heath, three aspects and three moods. The tenses include: the remote past /**á** /, the recent past /**ámə**/, the immediate past /**mə**/, the present tense /**ø**/, the immediate future /**é**/, the near future/**bá**/ and the remote future /**é + bá**/. Aspects include habitual, iterative and progressive. As for mood, Makaa counts three: indicative, hortative and imperfective. In addition, it was revealed that the notion of time as expressed in ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ spans from a remote time in the past through the present to a remote future with morphological distinctions of four past tenses and four future tenses. As for aspect, ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ distinguishes four: the perfective, the imperfective, the progressive and the non-progressive aspects. Looking at mood, we came up with two types: the realis and the irrealis moods.

In terms of word order, it was indicated that Makaa and ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱥᱤᱞᱟᱹ are strict SVO languages with most order patterns following a head-initial syntax.

After providing necessary background information in the preceding chapters, in chapter three we focused on the various focus processes and devices

attested in both Makaa and Ngyembɔɔn . It resulted from our analysis that, the claim according to which two sub-categorizations of focus could be distinguished was not based on intuition. Makaa and Ngyembɔɔn speakers used the same focus operation to mark Identificational focus and Information focus. As concerns the latter, both languages use repetition, high intonation and stylistic devices to mark it. As for the former, while Makaa uses cleft constructions, Ngyembɔɔn uses both cleft constructions and focus markers to convey the same reality.

In chapter four, we extended our account of focus analysing the irregularities that arise while describing the various focus technics and processes attested in Makaa and Ngyembɔɔn . We demonstrated that Makaa and Ngyembɔɔn share the same processes and constraints in spite of few insignificant differences. In addition, we also demonstrated that while some of the constraints receive purely syntactic explanations, some of them can only be accounted for by combining both semantic and syntactic facts. We attempted explanations for some of these characteristics and proposed solutions which might eventually turn out to be constraints on the focus operation.

Hopefully, this work will contribute not only to the study of Makaa and Ngyembɔɔn (respectively Equatorial and Grassfield Bantu languages) in particular but also to the more general study of Cameroonian languages and why not African languages. The search for information about languages of the world and possibilities of generalisation being at the center of linguistic research lead us to wonder why and how could constraints and processes on the focus operation look very similar, if not identical in Makaa and Ngyembɔɔn whereas this languages are genetically far? Thus, we have reasons to think that the characterisation of processes and constraints applying in the Makaa and the Ngyembɔɔn languages are not specific to the latter but might be a generalisation in Bantu languages. In that case, the seeds of a future generalisation of constraints and processes on the focus operation in Bantu could

already be present in this framework. Whether these steps are on the right track or not, of course, only time will tell.

5.2. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

In spite of its scientific nature, this work does not explore all the focus system of Makaa and ገጃምቦን languages. There is still much to be done. For example, it has been discovered within this dissertation that there do exist a narrow link between Focus, negation and word order in the ገጃምቦን language. That is, in a certain context, a ገጃምቦን native speaker will need to have recourse to negation within a focus construction in order to make his message comprehensible. The presence of the negation morpheme therefore changes the sentence linear order from SVO to OSOV. With regard to the foregoing remarks, the following questions arise:

- 1- Is negation a kind of focus construction in ገጃምቦን ?
- 2- If not, how far is negation semantically and syntactically related to the notion of focus?

The questions above have not been answered within this dissertation. Thus, they could be examined in further research.

As for Makaa, a problem also surfaced. We wondered why in this language, a cleft subject NP could not be relativized whereas a clefted object NP could. We proposed a solution to this problem though we are afraid that it was not very tenable. Therefore, the remark above could be analysed in subsequent works on Makaa in order to confirm or to weaken our proposal bringing alongside valid suggestions.

APPENDIX A

MAKAA**Key Information**

Alternate names	MEKAA, SOUTH MAKAA, SOUTH MEKAA
Population	80,000 (1987 SIL).
Region	Essentially the whole northern part of Upper Nyong Division (Messamena, Abong-Mbang, Doume, Nguemendouka subdivisions), East Province.
Linguistic affiliation	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Northwest, A, Makaa-Njem (A.80)
Dialects	BEBENT (BEBENDE, BIKEN, BEWIL, BEMINA), MBWAANZ, SEKUNDA
Comments	Related to Byep and Kol.
Dictionary	Yes
Literacy rate in first language	Below 1%
Literacy rate in second language	5% to 15%
Bible portions	Yes

**Lexicon/Dictionary in HTML format**

There is no lexicon/dictionary in HTML format available.

Publications in PDF format

The following publications are available as PDF files. The titles are links to the actual files, which you may view using Acrobat Reader or save to your own disk.

Source: http://www.sil.org/africa/cameroun/by_language/languages/makaa.html

APPENDIX B

NGIEMBOON

Key Information

Alternate names	Nguemba, Ngyemboon, Bamileke-Ngyemboon, Bamileke-Ngiemboon
Population	100,000 (1987 SIL). 50,000 monolinguals.
Region	West Province, Bamboutos Division, Batcham Subdivision and western Mbouda Subdivision in Balatchi; Menoua Division, north of Penka-Michel.
Linguistic affiliation	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke
Dialects	Batcham, Balatchi, Bamoungong
Comments	Distinct from Ngemba. Foot of Mt. Bamboutos, red soli. Savannah. Agriculturalists: various crops, coffee. Traditional religion, Christian.
Literacy rate in second language	25% to 50%
Bible portions	Bible portions: 1984-1999

Lexicon/Dictionary in HTML format

There is no lexicon/dictionary in HTML format available.

Publications in PDF format

The following publications are available as PDF files. The titles are links to the actual files, which you may view using Acrobat Reader or save to your own disk.

Language	Title	Author	Pages	Size KB
NGIEMBOON	How Bamiléké Music-Makers Create Culture in Cameroon	Brian Edward Schrag	341	9038

Source: http://www.sil.org/africa/cameroon/by_language/languages/ngiemboon.html

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