# UNIVERSITE DE LA SORBONNE NOUVELLE PARIS III 

Academic Year 1995-1996

## CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

## NOMINAL DETERMINATION

Focus on a Few Operators of Cameroon Pidgin English

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Paper submitted in fulfilment of the end-of-year requirements for the award of the Master's Degree.

## DEDICATION

To my Mum and my Dad

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to my relatives; Mr. \& Mrs. KOMGUEP, Mr. \& Mrs. KAPNANG, who have always been catering for all my needs.

Special thanks are due to Prof. DELMAS Claude who kindly accepted to supervise this work. Above all, he provided theoretical and methodological data for the achievement of this research.

This work has been made possible thanks to the suitable corpus Mr. NIGEL Watt generously availed for the on-going research.

I owe a special debt to Myriam TOCAIL for her sparing no effort to contribute to my bookish researches.

It is impossible to mention all the individuals who generously assisted me. I express my gratitude to Emmanuel LEOUE, David POUSSIN, and all my class-mates for their moral assistance.

## PREFACE

More or less rooted into Structural Linguistics (Cf. F. de Saussure's Descriptive Linguistics; A. Martinet's Functionalism; L. Tesnière etc.) as well as Formal (or Formalist) Linguistics (Cf. N. A. Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar), I was never exposed to the MetaOperational Grammar until I entered this ‘intellectual shrine’ few months ago.

Following the saying that 'in Rome behave as Romans do', I purposefully decided to sail according to the wind. This paper thus stands as my first go throughout the Meta-Operational Analysis. In one way or another, its content may be found awkward (by readers who are meta-operationally experienced); I will only long for their looking solely upon implied meanings.

Though indebted to Prof. H. Adamczewski and C. Delmas, this paper has been so cautious as to avoid making any reference to their theory whenever an operational assumption could be doubtful or not (in fact, this work may theoretically sound holistic).

May it be looked upon as a humble attempt to contribute to the enrichment of human knowledge on 'Pidgins’ -and languages in a roundabout way.

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## CHAPTER ONE

## General Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to bring forth certain linguistic features of Cameroon Pidgin English pairing with the Standard English Language -which stands as its contrastive counterpart. As regard the said approach, many a reader may be tempted to argue that this paper is carrying out nothing but an intra-language or a dialectal study; viz. English Language Vs English Language study. Such a viewpoint can only rise from the fallacious conception that considers 'Pidgin Englishes' as mere deviants of the Standard English Language. In the same course, Tom Mc Arthur (1992) brought out a classification of the "World English " whereby he considered 'Pidgin Englishes' as part of the basic archetypal stratum: the "archilect" called English Language (also known as the world English) ${ }^{1}$. This naive and idealistic view is governed by a boring search for sameness or uniformity. This paper stands on the other pole to argue that a 'Pidgin English' is no English unless it is barely called "English Language". Subsequently the notion of 'pidgin' actually needs a thorough survey.

[^0]In this light, a striking problem rises from many scholars' failing to deep into the internal and autonomous functioning of 'Pidgin Languages'.

By so doing, they have always been defining 'Pidgin Englishes' in keeping with English Language. Hence the alien and barbarous nomenclature attributed driftlessly to the linguistic system called 'Pidgin':

1. Argots
2. Artificial Languages Languages
3. Bastard Jargons
4. Bastard Languages
5. Beach-la-Mar
6. Broken English
7. Compromise Languages
8. Contact Languages
9. Contact Vernaculars
10. Creoles
11. Emergency Languages
12. Folk Speech
13. Hybrid Languages
14. Jargons
15. Kindergarten Languages
16. Kitchen Kaffir
17. Language of Wider Communication
18. Linguas Francas
19. Makeshift
20. Marginal Languages
21. Marginal Tongues
22. Minimum Languages
23. Mixed Languages
24. Mongrel Lingoes
25. Pidgins
26. Sabirs
27. Slave Jargons
28. Slave Languages
29. Speech Mixtures
30. Trade Jargons
31. Trade Languages
32. Trade Pidgins
33. Vehicular Languages
34. Working Languages

The foregoing list which is far from being exhaustive epitomises
the lack of accuracy in the survey of 'Pidgin Englishes'. The above appellations
thus denote nothing but the foggy observance of that linguistic reality called 'Pidgin'.

The latter is being made to dangle in-between the notion of 'Language' and 'Mixture' on the one hand, and the notion of 'Jargon' and 'Argot' on the other hand.

Moreover the disparity existing among these denotations highlights the shortcoming of each definition. At this junction it would be non-operating to extend on theoretical considerations irrelevant to those definitions. Instead, it would rather be necessary to break off by implementing a better contextual consideration and an accurate definition to the notion of 'Pidgin'.

In an attempt to get rid of any deceitful consideration, other linguists focused on the origination of 'Pidgins'. They elaborated many theories which unfortunately started a new controversy. One of these theories locates the functioning of 'Pidgins' to the likelihood of the primary gloomy step of the acquisition of a language. 'Pidgins' are thus looked upon as sub-languages through the famous Baby-Talk Theory, supported by Bloomfield(1933) and Jespersen(1922). Throughout other theories ${ }^{2}$ competing with the latter ,none of the hypotheses put forward is actually relevant; neither do they throw light on the intrinsic reality of 'Pidgins'. They are:

[^1]Theory, supported by Robert A. Hall, Jr.(1966).
-The Nautical Jargon Theory; supported by John Reinecke(1938) \& Al.
-The Monogenetic or Relexification Theory; advocated by Dalby(1970) and Al.

The quest for an invariant among 'Pidgins' makes the foregoing theories converge somehow with bloomfield's. In the same course, the Monogenetic Theory explains that all European-Language-based Pidgins derived from a fifteen century Portuguese Pidgin which was probably a relic of the medieval Lingua Franca -called 'Sabir'. If it could be assumed that such a position is tenable, relexification (i.e. 'the replacement of the lexicon of one stock by the lexicon of another.') would be of value. But a survey of Cameroon Pidgin English lexicon helps set it aside in an hand-off way: the German and French relexifications are questionable, or else doubtful.

Also, it is known for certain that Cameroon Pidgin English deepened most of its lexicon into English Language ${ }^{3}$ : 85\%; the remaining part of its lexicon (i.e. 15\%) came from native languages(13\%) and other European Languages(2\%).However does it suffice to justify the "necessary" relationship

[^2]between English or Portuguese Language and the so-called 'Pidgin English' (which is then considered as a "Broken Language")?

The foregoing lexical distribution prompted other linguists to make use the terms "Mixed Languages". The question is: Is borrowing not worth of linguistic validity? Now and again it should be said utterly that every language submits to the linguistic process of 'borrowing' and exhibits in turn a relative amount of loan-words. In this course a focus on a European language such as French Language reveals that on 4,700 'French' words ${ }^{4}$, 27,000(57,44 \%)came from Latin; 8,500(18,8\%)words from Greek, 1,800(3,82 \%) from Germanic, 1,200 from Italian, 723 from English, 519 from Arabic, 317 words from Celtic, 302 from Provençal, and 1,800 words are ancient names submitted to catachresis. Henceforth is this not large enough to rule the definition of French Language as a "Mixed Language" or as a "Pidgin Latin"? Needless to focus on the 'Standard English' loan-words.

At this stage it is worth emphasising that many scholars were short-sighted by driftless considerations when carrying out researches on 'Pidgins'. Others have been considering them as "skeletal", "poor" or "extinguishing" languages ${ }^{5}$. Those who stretched further observed - socio-

[^3]linguistically -the Lexical Process, Pidginization(and stabilisation),and Nativization or Creolization ${ }^{6}$

Moreover 'Pidgin' has been given internal autonomous status in the realm of a prospective study. As an 'off-spring' from an acrolect and a basilect, the mesolect ${ }^{7}$ or interlect (i.e. 'Pidgin') belongs to neither 'ancestors': the acrolect being the dominant language and the basilect the 'dominated' language. Proceeding from the alternance of code, innovation by 'calque', borrowing and interference, the mesolect thus operates as a zone of appropriation which questions the very principles of "reduction" and "paucity" so far claimed by many linguists.

Inwardly, 'Pidgins' convey operations which inter-act in a wide range of logic and predictability. Thus it won't be a matter of haphazard to state that a 'Pidgin' is merely a Linguistic System. Nowadays the definition of a 'Pidgin' should straightly appeal to the meaning of the meta-term "language"(Needless to postulate that all languages are Pidgins.). Backgrounded on Gustave Guillaume's ${ }^{8}$ Psycho-mechanics, this paper will

[^4] Bernabé, J. 1983. Grammaire Basilectale des Créoles Guadéloupéens et Martiniquais.

8 Contemporary to Saussure and 'neo-Saussurian', Gustave Guillaume (1883-1960) is a famous French Linguist whose theory treats 'language as a highly abstract entity'; hence the utmost relevance of 'Significance' in language and the dynamic dichotomy Language/Discourse. An update viewpoint entails Metalinguistics (as well as Cognitive Linguistics) in the framework of The Meta-operational Grammar.
therefore define 'Pidgin' as an economic operational system or a synthetic operational system.

Put differently, a 'Pidgin' is a system which underlying mechanisms(or operations) generating utterances are linearly conveyed with pretty much economy. However this does not preclude its being an analytic system.

In this vein, very substantial will be the attempt to implement the Meta-operational Grammar in the structuring processes of a prototypal system: Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE). It can thus be postulated that underneath any CPE utterance there are operations available in contemporary languages such as English, French, Spanish, African Languages, etc. Nevertheless it would be ambitious to carry out a research in keeping with all living languages. This paper will therefore be proved fruitful for its bringing out a contrastive linguistic analysis involving Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) and the Standard English Language (SE) ${ }^{9}$ with respect to their definite meta-operational scope. Subsequently, this will be achieved -after broad linguistic considerations- as regard few operators involved into nominal determination.

[^5]
## CHAPTER TWO

## Broad Linguistic considerations

### 2.1. The Geo-linguistic setting of CPE

### 2.1.1. Cameroon: A Linguistic 'Melting-pot'.

As its initial graphy "C" suggests, CPE is the 'Pidgin English' spoken in Cameroon. Cameroon is a central African country spreading over a superficy of $475,000 \mathrm{Km}^{2}$. She has often been described as "Africa in miniature". Like Africa, Cameroon is multilingual (over 200 indigenous Languages ${ }^{10}$ for a population of about 12 millions); and, she has known three colonial masters (i.e. Germany, France and England.) as well as trade links with Portugal, Spain and The Netherlands. Nowadays, Cameroon has two official languages: French and English Languages. They were given official status in the framework of The Reunification(1972) which brought together Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians into the same nation.

[^6]Apart from European Languages (and African Languages), Cameroon has also learnt the value of 'Lingua Francas' on top of which is CPE, followed by the "Vehicular Hausa" and the "Ewondo Populaire". CPE is thus the wide-spread language for it is spoken by perhaps $50 \%$ of the whole population and, it is becoming a mother-tongue in some urban communities ${ }^{11}$. Spoken by 75\% of the population living in Anglophone areas (South west and North West Provinces: $1 / 5$ of the total population) and $33 \%$ of the population in Francophone areas (4/5 of the total population), CPE is commonly used in large towns and markets. However, this does not preclude its undergoing slight variations.

### 2.1.2. CPE : A Continuum of Varieties

The homogeneous outward shape of CPE actually hide the existence of many a variant. The CPE Continuum displays four variants based on the social and linguistic background of its users (i.e. Anglophones Vs Francophones ; Literate Vs illiterate). Nevertheless the neutrality of these variants to mutual intelligibility suggests their actual irrelevance.

[^7]All the same the following graph ${ }^{12}$ is worthwhile for the understanding of further developments:


CPEA: CPE as spoken by Anglophones.

CPEA1: CPE as spoken by illiterate Anglophones:
Africanising ${ }^{13}$ variant.
CPEA2: CPE as spoken by literate Anglophones:
Anglicising ${ }^{14}$ variant.

CPEF: CPE as spoken by Francophones.

[^8]CPEF1: CPE as spoken by illiterate Francophones:
Africanising variant.
CPEF2: CPE as spoken by literate Francophones:
Gallicising ${ }^{15}$ variant.

From the foregoing presentation, it is worth noticing that the overwhelming majority of 'pidginophones' are illiterate (Africanising variants).

So, they make use of stage ${ }_{1}$ variants which are therefore the wide-spread variants. However, despite the diagrammatic distinction drawn upper, the following figure neatly exhibits the scope of total intelligibility of CPE.


CPEA $_{2}$

The discriminating feature among these variants is mainly based on the oral rendition -that reveals the background of CPE speakers. Nevertheless disparities found in current grammatical use are so tiny that the notion of Continuum is highly enhanced. The characteristic that basically remains invariant is the internal organisation and the distinctive value of the tonal system of CPE.

Needless to notice that the tone is an intrinsic feature of neighbouring African Languages; for the latter are tone-ruled systems.

Unlike Mbakong's research ${ }^{16}$ that was carried out on the CPEF1 variant, this paper aims at surveying the CPEA $_{1}$ variant. Nevertheless, all salient linguistic features are supposedly similar; for the continuum is somewhat tough. However the existence of CPE variants has been generating an orthographic controversy Subsequently, the search for a corpus involves tactful requirements.

[^9]
# 2.2. The Corpus and the Orthographic Controversy 

The first corpus we laid hands on was entitled THE SUNDAY GOSPEL AND EPISTLE wITH SHORT EXPLANATIONS IN PIDGIN ENGLISH and translated by Father A. Kerkvliet. This title is actually suggestive: it is factually a CPEA 2 translation. The very problem is that the latter entails many a fallacy: first it is translated with close reference to the SE morphology; secondly, it gives no hint to the primary -and not the least- aspect of the language(i.e. the spoken aspect); for there is no bi-univocal correspondence between SE graphemes and CPE phonemes. For instance, it still makes use of the segments 'th-' which respective allophones $/ \Theta /$ and $/ ð /$ do not actually exist in CPE rendition.

Though jeopardising for trying to submit CPE to the SE morphology, Father A. Kerkvliet's translation is nevertheless faithful in conveying lexical equivalence. However the accuracy of the syntactic cohesiveness is somewhat questionable.

As it will be made factual in this paper CPE is obviously different from SE as far as the linear representation of the same meta-linguistic operation is concerned.

This does not imply that there is no similarity between CPE and SE ; for similarity is often subsumed by a contrastive viewpoint in any language study. Moreover Kerkvliet's Germanic orthography cannot help a Pidginophone use his language without being trapped by the SE interference. In order to part with Kerkvliet's biased orthography, it is worth recommending a CPE phonemic transcription as a basis to an ethno-phonemic orthography ${ }^{17}$; for a bare phonemic transcription might give way to another complex network of symbols- relative to Bantu Grass field Languages- such as /̧, ng, \#, .../.

Still, the quest for an ethno-phonemic transcription provided another corpus entitled DI GUD NYUS HAWE ST. MARK BI RATAM (literally: the Good News as St. Mark wrote it.) translated by "Société Biblique du Cameroun". Unlike Kerkvliet's transcription, the foregoing corpus exhibits a transcription whose close reference to the CPE oral rendition helps assess the accuracy of operations (linguistic as well as meta-linguistic ones.). Hence the achievement of the mesolectal autonomy. For the sake of evidence, let's consider the following extracts (Mark 6; 47-49) from both corpuses:

[^10]
## A. The Sunday Gospel and Epistle(...). p.55.

. For them time, for late evening timeApostle them canoe i there for nindero water, and Jesus he one there beach, - And how he look how Apostle them look trouble too much for push canoe,- for breeze $i$ be against them,Jesus He come for them like for three o'clock morning time.- He de walka for up for water,and He make like He want for pass them.- But Apostle them - how them look He de walka for up for water,- them member say na some die man, - and them de halla for fear.
B. Di Gud Nyus Hawe St. Mark Bi Ratam. p.23.
47. Den wen net bi dong kam, yi pipu bi de fo nindru wata fo insai kanu an yi bi de yi wan fo graun fo di kona wata. 48. Den wen yi bi siam sey dem bi get trobu fo mek di kanu fo go bifo foseka bris bi di blo fo dem sai, an wen i bi lek fo aklok fo net, yi bi waka fo top wata fo kam mit dem, an yi bi nyia fo pas dem; 49. Bot wen dem bi si yi hawe yi bi di waka fo wata, dem bi ting sey na som devil, an dem bi krai fo trong.

How far are the disparities flagrant in the foregoing excerpts? The first transcription(i.e. A.) suggests a 'disgrammaticalised' version of SE and therefore, it substantiates Bodmer's deceitful viewpoint which states that "everywhere the new speech product consists of more or less deformed words strung together with a minimum of grammar.". Nevertheless it can be recalled that the awkward aspect of the above English-oriented transcription instead stand as a proof for the autonomy of both systems (i.e. CPE and SE). Needless to question the translational accuracy of A.:"...three o'clock morning time." as compared to B.:"...fo aklok fo net,..."

Moreover, corpus A. makes use of graphemes such as "them, like, breeze"...which SE pronunciation is alien to CPEA $_{1}$; for the phonological system of the latter is also shaped by African Languages. Yet CPE differs from the latter. As a matter of fact the mesolectal prospect is thus highlighted by the second transcription(B.). Therefore, it stands as the more suitable corpus for this paper. All the same its being accurate will be emphasised in the realm of a phonological survey of CPEA1

### 2.3. A Brief Phonological Survey.

A phonological survey can be considered irrelevant in this paper. This would be obviously true if some CPE meta-operational devices did not overlap with phonology. Hence a focus bound on the basic phonological principles of CPEA $_{1}$. Belonging neither to SE nor African Languages, the CPEA 1 phonological system exhibits 22 consonantal phonemes and 8 vocalic phonemes ${ }^{18}$.

### 2.3.1. The Chart of CPE(A1) Vowels.


a

[^11]
### 2.3.2. The chart of CPE(A1) Consonants.

|  | Bilabial | Labiodental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Plosive | p b |  | t d |  | K g |  |
| Fricative | (f v) | f V | S 2 | sh |  | h |
| Africate |  |  |  | j ch |  |  |
| Nasal | m |  | n | ny | ng |  |
| Liquid | W |  | r | ny |  |  |

The foregoing charts actually favour the second corpus which can thus be referred to as an ethno-phonemic transcription. For there is likely a symmetric correspondence between the phonemic and the graphematic representations.

What this paper has been explaining hitherto would result into mere intellectual speculations if there were no thorough survey of several operational processes involved in CPE autonomous structuring.

## CHAPTER THREE

## Introduction to Nominal Determination

### 3.1. The Noun Phrase: Descriptive Viewpoint.

Relative to the Noun Phrase, determination is viewed in traditional terms as the supply of a specification or modification to the Head. In this light there is a subsequent distinction between items occurring before the Head and those occurring after it. The former are known as Pre-modifiers whereas the latter are known as Post-modifiers.

In meta-operational terms, the operation of determination involves the limitation (or the binding) of a notional domain(or scope). The resulting string can be meta-linguistically thematic -or else rhematic depending on its referential potential ${ }^{19}$. As such, nominal determination (i.e. the binding of nominal notions) offers a field of great concern in CPE. It entails the use of articles as well as deictic operators and anaphora.

[^12]However quantification is not left aside since it actually bears similar subjacent operations. The foregoing considerations will be given detailed explanations throughout this section. All the same let's consider the comparative approach below.

### 3.1.1. The Noun Phrase: Comparative Diagrams.

A. The SE Noun Phrase. ${ }^{20}$

[^13]| Category | Predet | Centr.det. | Postdet. | Adj. P/ | N | S/PP/... |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Half All Double, | Art.Poss. Pron <br> Dem.Pron |  |  |  |  |
| Function | Specifier | Specifier | Specifier | Premod. | Head | Postmod. |
|  | Half <br> both <br> all | the <br> a <br> his <br> these <br> that <br> the <br> no <br> the tramp's <br> the | two <br> ten <br> five | lovely <br> German <br> French <br> Dutch | tramp page magazin e children boys girl soldiers students milk John magazin e news | with red hair <br> who survived the crash. <br> of English <br> in bottles <br> that he was ill |


| Category | Predet. | Centr.det. | Postdet. | Adj. P/... | N | S/PP/... |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $01 . .$. | Art.Poss. Pron: Dem .Pron. | Num. |  |  |  |
| Function | Specifier | Specifier | Specifier | Premod. | Head | Postmod. |
|  | 01 | di <br> som <br> dis <br> dat <br> di <br> yi <br> di <br> God yi <br> no <br> di som | fos <br> tu <br> nomba tu | smol <br> kot kot <br> bik bik | tok <br> vos pikin dem wuman <br> sik <br> biabia <br> pipu <br> masinja dem <br> man <br> nem <br> wata | fo di Gud Nyus <br> weh yi bi kam fo ya <br> fo Judea <br> fo Peter |

Though the foregoing distributional ranging can be questionable, it seemed necessary to start with such descriptive sets no matter their taxonomic potential. The purpose is to target over the relevance of CPE syntactic organisation. In fact the validity of CPE linguistic operations is thereby reckoned but with many a feebleness. However the usage of boundless
columns (for the 2nd diagram) helps avoid any straight and tough categorisation.

This will thus serve as a "starting-point" for the deepening of meta-linguistic investigations. To begin with, it can be digressively stated that the 'head' operates as a 'nucleus' surrounded by 'electrons' that help determine its notional scope. Henceforth a prospective study needs a primary focus on the bare nucleus before the operations conveyed by its 'determiners'.

### 3.2. The Nominal Notion and its recursion: Paratactic structuring.

### 3.2.1. Focus on the Head.

The meta-term "nominal notion" conveys in this context the shape of what is customarily known as the 'head of a noun phrase'. Syntactically it operates as the grammatical subject.

[^14]E2. Wan man weh yi bi tanap fo deh bi muf yi
kotlas an yi bi chapia di ia fo di ticha yi ninga an yi bi kot.

In the above examples the underlined segments make up the Noun phrases and the 'heads' are bold-faced. The latter are bound leftwards and rightwards by determinative operators ranging from the simplest to the most complex. Two nominal notions such as "tok" and "man" can however be enseamed through the use of the following connectors (or co-ordinative operators): "an", "na" and "weti". There is thus a paratactic ${ }^{21}$ structuring of the NP. Linearly the resulting string is the recursive ${ }^{22}$ realisation of the head. Meta-linguistically, there is a congruence of notion or a notional broadening.

[^15]
### 3.2.2. Parataxis: "an"; "weti"; "na".

## E3. Yi bi tok fo James an John an Simon an

## Andrew.

E4. Wuna no sabi di ting weh David bi duam fo di tam weh yi weti di pipu weh yi na dem bi di hangri an* dem no bi get som ting fo chop?

It is worth elucidating that the operator "an" as recursively used in E3. entails a paratactic sequence which elements share a common syntactic value (object). Moreover if it can be assumed that "an" equals the SE paratactic operator "and", "weti" however entails a tighter paratactic connection. Thus the use of "an" involves items whose notional domains (heterogeneous) are viewed as separated in the connected structure; there is a remoteness or a loose connection. As concern the operator "weti", it involves a fusion of notional domains which is being homogeneously conceived as a whole; there is a tight connection. The latter seems less rhematic than "an" (or else thematic). The contrast conveyed by the point raised hitherto can be substantiated in the metaphrastic ${ }^{23}$ equivalencies of E3. and E4. as follows:

[^16]```
    E3'. "He spoke to James, John, Simon and
Andrew."
```

E4'. "You don't know the thing that David and his people did when they[he and they] were hungry and* they had nothing to eat."

Thereby, it is factually made clear that unlike CPE, there is no linear distinctive clue -for loose or tight connections- in SE. All the same it is to be noticed that the CPE paratactic "an*"(SE "and*") in E4.(') is a 'clausal' operator which survey will be carried out in further researches. Moreover, the paratactic "weti" is to be distinguished from the adverbial "weti" and "the prepositional "weti". It will be pointed out in forthcoming developments that the prevailing discriminating feature is supra-segmental and functional. Nevertheless let's consider the following distinctive illustration:

[^17]E5. Som stun botol weti som fan smeling oya. [paratactic "weti"].

Metaphrase: "A bottle containing (and) a pretty (an important) fragrance".

E6. Weti(i) yu get fo du weti(ii) wi? [weti(i): adverbial; weti(ii): prepositional.]

Metaphrase: "What(i) do you have to do with(ii) us?"

Unlike "weti" and "an", "na" is a paratactic operator which occurrence entails an anaphoric structure as a prerequisite. "Na" is thus a clue for thematicity. subsequently, it can be viewed as a phase 2 operator as compared to "an" and "weti" which are thus rhematic.
"Na" is therefore the overtaking of "weti" since the paratactic structuring is not simply rendered homogenous; it is hereby thematised.

E7. Jesus bi tek di blan man yi han, an* yi na yi bi komot fo taun.

Metaphrase: "Jesus held the blind man's hand and they[he and he] went out of the town."

The thematicity of the operator "na" in the sequences "...yi na dem..."(E4.); "...yi na yi..."(E7.) is enhanced by the nominal anaphora conveyed by "yi" and "dem" (SE "he" and "they" respectively.).The point raised here is also accurate for the use of "weti" instead of "na" in the structure "...yi weti di pipu..." whereby "di pipu" is simply made recursive and its thematicity is still questionable. Henceforth the thematic potential of "na" is obviously salient. Once more, there is no straight equivalence with the SE "and". Nevertheless phonological hypotheses can be put forward for the explanation of the graphematic form "na".

In the absence of numerous instances from the corpus it can be postulated that for the sake of hiatus ${ }^{24}$, the post-vocalic occurrence of "an" (i.e. after a vowel sound.) triggers the epenthetic ${ }^{25}$ use of the phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$. The resulting strings would be "nan". But because of superfluous di-nasalisation (/n-n/) -and the progressive and regressive assimilation of the intermediate phoneme /a/- ,the phonological principle of apocope ${ }^{26}$ ascribed the deletion of the final "-n" from "nan". As a result, "an" would become "na" mainly after nominal substitutes (i.e. pronouns.) which final segments are essentially

[^18]vocalic in CPE (except "dem" and reflexives). At this junction the survey of CPE pronouns is not of least importance.

### 3.2.3. The System of Pronouns.

Similarly to the SE system, CPE Pronouns do not need -in functional terms- any determination in the linear structure. As nominal substitutes or anaphora, they actually convey thematic relationships; hence their metalinguistic potential. Typically, CPE pronouns do not display great morphological variations relative to syntactic operations.

That is, the classical notion of 'case marker' does not influence the morphology of CPE pronouns. The latter can be descriptively distributed in a detailed diagram as follows:

| CPE PRONOUNS |  | Subject / <br> Agentive | Object / <br> Accusative |  | Possessive / <br> Genitive | Reflexive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Singular | 1st <br> 2nd <br> 3rd | $\overline{\overline{\mathrm{a}}}$ <br> yu yi; i | mi <br> yu <br> yi | -am |  | ma sef yoa sef yi sef |
| Plural | 1st <br> 2nd <br> 3rd | wi <br> wuna <br> dem | wi <br> wuna <br> dem |  | wi <br> wuna <br> dem | wi sef <br> wuna sef <br> dem sef |

E8. Di wuman(1) bi fia an $\left.\mathbf{y i}{ }_{(1}{ }^{\prime}\right)$ bi di shek, foseka yi(1') ${ }^{\text {bi }}$ sabi di ting(2) weh $\mathbf{i}_{\left(\mathbf{2}^{\prime}\right)}$ bi dong hapun fo $\mathbf{y i}_{\left(1^{\prime}\right)}$, an $\mathbf{y i}\left(_{\left(1^{\prime}\right)}\right.$ bi kam an $\mathbf{y i}_{\left(1^{\prime}\right)}$ bi fol fo daun fo Jesus(3) $\left.\mathbf{y i} \mathbf{( 3 '}^{\prime}\right)$ bifo an $\mathbf{y i}\left(\mathbf{1}^{\prime}\right)$ bi tel $\mathbf{y i}\left(\mathbf{3}^{\prime}\right)$ fo tru ol di ting(2') weh $\mathbf{i}_{\left(2^{\prime}\right)}$ bi dong hapun.

Metaphrase: "The said woman(1) was afraid and she $_{\left(1^{\prime}\right)}$ was trembling because she (1') knew the thing(2) that $\left[\mathbf{i t}_{\left(2^{\prime}\right)}\right.$ ] happened to $\operatorname{her}_{\left(1^{\prime}\right) ;}$ she (1') came and [she(1')] kneeled down before $\underline{\text { Jesus (3) }}$ ) and $\left[\right.$ she (1') $^{\prime}$ ] told him(3') all the truth on the thing(2') that [it(2')] happened."

E9. Mi a di tel wuna sey, ene ting(1) weh yu go asam(-am(1')) fo God fo preya mek yu bilif sey yu dong getam(-am(1')) an yu go getam(-am(1')).

Metaphrase: "(Verily) I am telling you that anything(1) you will ask [it, that(1')] from God in prayer, just believe that you have got it(1') and you'll get it(1')."

E10. If som kontri(1) go bigin fo vare yi sef(1'), dat kontri go fol.

Metaphrase: "If a country(1) begins to split [itself(1')] up, that country will fall apart (it runs its downfall)."

```
    E11. den ol di pipu(1) bi wanda plenti an dem(1')
bi tok fo dem sef(1') sey, "Na weti dis?"(...)
    Metaphrase: "Then, the crowd(1) were astonished
and they(1') were asking (to) themselves(1'); "what is
this?".
```

The foregoing examples display -throughout their respective metaphrastic equivalents- the meta-operational scope of CPE pronouns. The recursion of nominal units is anaphorically marked by its prime index (i.e. number: $1 \rightarrow 1$ '). Needless to expand on the anaphoric devices conveyed by the above sets. Contrastively, it goes without saying that the operator "- am" has no SE equivalent. This peculiarity will be thoroughly made factual in a further development (i.e. predicative operations). Nevertheless the distribution of CPE nominal substitutes is not to be taken for granted. It would seem abusive to look upon it as a matter of haphazard; or to argue that the lack of gender -linearly- in the third person singular (cf. SE Pronouns) is a clue for absolute paucity. Suffice to recall that such a feature is inherent to Bantu Languages.

The study carried out so far has been dealing with notions or operators sharing the traditional syntactic values of "pronoun"; "head noun" or
"lexical head". However the prerequisite for the latter to be operationally valuable is the foremost and primary operation of determination.

However it would be unfair to close up this section without focusing on certain substitutive (or else recursive) operations that have always been considered as teratological structures.

### 3.2.4. Nominal Anaphora and the operation of dis-agentivation.

The operation of dis-agentivation is viewed in this section as the loss of agentive potential of which the subject of the utterance were virtually endowed. Thereby there is a deletion (in terms of operation) of the subject of the utterance and, subsequently the utterer's impact on the utterance is enhanced. As a result there is a take off toward thematisation in keeping with the modalising impetus. Typically, the said operation concerns CPE utterances structured on the model "Mi a dong baptas wuna weti wata."

At first glance, $\underline{\text { mi }}$-though topicalised- can be considered as an expletive ${ }^{27}$ because of its co-occurrence with "a"; both of them are first person pronouns with common referential value. Further observations may implement

[^19]the assumption that the said structuring entails performative utterances from the following:

E12. Jesus bi tok fo di man sey, "Pikin mi $\underline{a}$ dong chus yu fo yoa bad.".

Metaphrase: "Jesus said to the man: "I forgive your sins."

E13. "Mi a di tok fo yu ; tanap, tek op yoa bed an go fo yoa haus."

Metaphrasis: "I say this; stand up, take up your bed and go home."

E14. "Mi a go gif yu ene ting weh yu lekam."
M. "I promise to give you everything you
like."

E15. "Mi a get sori fo dis pipu (...)."
M. "I am sorry for this hungry crowd (...)."

If the performative potential can be disclosed throughout the foregoing exemplification, E15. is nonetheless questionable as regard performative devices. Also the CPE version in E14. is somewhat questionable. Therefore, it can be argued that the structure under survey rather conveys the
dis-agentivation of "á" and the subsequent enhancement of "mi" which is the enunciative spot.

Henceforth the thematising prospect of the utterance entails the utterer's liability on the predicative relation. Needless to stress on predicative relations in this section.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## The System of Articles.

Forming part of what may be called 'Central Determinants', articles primitively convey the withdrawal of entities from their bare notional setting. For this to be achieved, operations are needed. Depending on the referential potential of the structuring operation, three stages of operation are differentiated in CPE: $\varnothing$; som; and di.

## 4.1. $\varnothing$ and The Notional Domain.

$\varnothing$ implies the absence of article. It is the signal for the minimum operation primarily known as linguistic operation. In referential terms, $\varnothing$ still has a direct clue with the notion (in its loose sense) and in a round about way with the extra-linguistic class. that is, there is a straight blend with the referent.

E16. "Ø Tam dong kes an God yi kontri dong nyia,.."

Metaphrasis: "The time has come and the Kingdom of God is near;..."

E17. Folo mi an mi a go mek wuna fo kes $\varnothing$ pipu as wuna di kes fis.
M. "Follow me and I'll make you catch $\varnothing$ people as you catch fish."

E18. Den fo $\varnothing$ moni tam yi bi wikop.
M. "Then, in the morning, he woke up."

So far it is to be noticed that unlike SE, CPE refers to the bare notion as regard generic temporal referentiality as in the segments "tam"(E16.); and "Moni tam"(E18.). Nevertheless CPE operates as SE in keeping with proper nouns and the plural form of other rhematic items or mass nouns.

E19. Den $\varnothing$ James weti $\varnothing$ John, $\varnothing$ Zebedee yi pikin dem, bi kam fo $\varnothing$ Jesus.
 Zebedee, came to $\varnothing$ Jesus."

E20. Fo dat tam, $\varnothing$ John yi krus bi bi $\varnothing$ biabia fo camel weti $\varnothing$ nkanda weh yi bi di taiam fo yi wes, den yi chop bi bi $\varnothing$ lukos weti $\varnothing$ honi.

Metaphrasis: "In those days, $\varnothing$ John's clothes
were (made out of ) $\varnothing$ camel hair and a belt that he used to tie on his waist. his food was $\varnothing$ locusts and $\varnothing$ honey."

### 4.2. The operator "Som".

"Som" is a rhematic operator that may be equated to the SE "some"; "a"; or "an". As a determiner, it marks the lack of exactness; indeterminacy or the fractionating from the whole; in this last case "som" bears the value of quantification (studied further: § 7.3.1.). Operationally, "som" starts the process of enumeration but it locks it at its origin. Therefore the notional scope of the rightward item is primitively limited and highlights subsequently the contrast with the broad aggregate.

E21. Som vos bi komot fo heven.
Metaphrasis: "A voice came down from heaven."

E22. Wuna go si som jakas weh dem dong taiam(...).
M. "You will see a donkey that they've tied(...)."

E23. Yi bi kam bak weti di hed fo som pan.
M. "He came bak with the head on a tray [in a dish]."

SO far it is noticeable that "som" lays out the +/- specific effect on the determined notion. The above illustrations need no further comments; nevertheless "som" will be given more consideration in the realm of quantification (cf. § 7.3.1.). However, unlike the rhematic use conveyed by "som", "di" operates in the linear scheme as an index of thematisation.

# 4.3. The operator "di" and the scope of thematisation. 

Operating as a metalinguistic tool par excellence, "di" has to do with remoteness from the primitive binding of the notion. That is its occurrence is triggered by an item that is more or less remote from the extralinguistic. Thus "di" signals in the linear structure that the determined item is being made recursive or anaphoric. Therefore, it can be likened to the SE "the". but the former proves to be more endowed than the latter in a certain contextual resumption.

E24. Jesus bi go fo insai di Jews dem god haus agen, an som man bi de fo insai weh yi han bi dong dai.(...) Jesus bi tok fo di man weh yi bi get di dai han sey, "Tanap fo op an kam fo bifo.".

Metaphrase: "Jesus went back to the Jews' church (synagogue) and there were a man whose hand was dry (paralysed). (...) Jesus said to the man who had the paralysed hand :'Stand up and come ahead.'"

E25. Som [sid] bi fol fo di ples weh $\varnothing$
chukuchuku bi de deh. Wen di chukuchuku bi gro fo op, dat sid no bi get chan fo gro.
M. "Some seeds fell on the places where there were $\varnothing$ thorn bushes. Wen these thorns grew up, those seeds could not grow alike."

It goes without saying that the meta-linguistic value conveyed by "di"(E24.) is so far similar to the achievements of the SE "THE". However "di" in E25. does not only convey contextual or situational anaphora; it also involves the proceedings of deixis 28 (as exemplified by the metaphrastic equivalents: these/those.).

E26. Den som lepros man bi kam, an beg Jesus (...). Jesus bi sori fo di man, an yi bi sen yi han fo bifo an tos di man.<br>Metaphrasis: "Then, a leper came and besought Jesus (...).Jesus was sorry for that man (leper); he stretched his hand and touched that man (him)".

[^20]Once more the operator "di" conflates the anaphoric potential and the deictic implementation, which is essentially contextual or endophoric ${ }^{29}$. As a result, there is a saturating effect in the re-launching of anaphora; for the latter is coupled with a deictic localisation in CPE. How far is the deictic relation implemented in CPE.

[^21]
## CHAPTER FIVE

## The Deictic Implementation

## 5.1. "Dis"; "Dat" and the deictic relation.

The micro-system "dis/dat" can be equated to the SE "this"; "that" and their respective variants "these"; "those". "Dis" and "dat" convey the linear translation of the underlying need for prime location as regard an axiality or a "starting point". In meta-linguistic terms, "dat" is a clue for thematisation (secondary operation) unlike "dis" which is a phase 1 operator (primary operation).

### 5.1.1. "DIS" and the primary deixis.

```
E27. Mi a get sori fo dis pipu foseka dem no get som ting fo chop.
Metaphrase: "I am sorry for this people because they have nothing to eat."
```

E28. Dis bi ma pikin weh mi a lekam plenti, mek wuna hia yi.
M. "This is my (lovely) son whom I like too much; trust him."

E29. Jesus bi as yi fada sey, "hau mene tam di pikin dong bi lek dis? Di fada bi tok sey, "sins dem bi dong bon yi."
M. "Jesus asked his father: 'How long has the child been like this?' The father answered: 'since his birth(when he was born).'"

It can be noticed that there is a symmetry in the operations conveyed by "dis" and the SE "this". "Dis" in E28. conveys a cataphoric value coupled with a presentative impact. All the same, the deictic operation conveyed in E29. through the sequence"...dong be lek dis?" entails an exophoric ${ }^{30}$ value; it is likely to be considered as a thematic operation. However the deictic relation is being posed by Jesus as new( $\neq$ given, i.e. thematised).

[^22]
### 5.1.2. "Dat" and the secondary deixis.

As it has been stated above, "dat" deals with a deictic operation which thematicity is relevant in terms contextual resumption in CPE. That is, it carries out a deictic reference in keeping with nominal distanciation. Put differently, the determined (rightward) entity is contextually made recursive.

E30. Yi fulop weti devil dem king, an na weti di pawa fo dat king weh yi di muf bad spirit fo pipu.

Metaphrase: "He connives with the king of devils; and it is the power of that king he uses to drive out all evil spirits from people."

E31. Lukam, yi de fo dat ples! mek wuna no gri di ting weh di man di tok.
M. "[see it;] He is in that place; do not believe in what that man is saying."

E32. I bi di sem ting if som famili go vare yi sef, den dat famili go fol.
M. "It is the same thing (likewise,) if a family must part (themselves); that family will fall apart."

E33. Ene man weh yi di du di ting weh God lekam, dat man bi ma brother, ma sista an ma moda.
M. "Any person who (achieves God's will) does the thing that God likes(, that person) is my brother, my sister and my mother."

At this stage, it is made clear that the operator "dat" is contextually motivated. Still, its secondary impact (i.e. contextual anaphora) is noticeable from the underlined segments.

## CHAPTER SIX

## Nominal Complementation / Deictic Remanence

### 6.1. The Operation $N \varnothing N$.

The structure $\mathbf{N} \varnothing \mathbf{N}$ epitomises the bringing together of two notional domains whereby the first evolves the complementation of the second. This gives way to an enseamed notional domain which rhematic value is factual; for there is an extra-linguistic basement.

E34. John bi baptas yi fo Jordan $\varnothing$ wata.
M. "John baptised him in the Jordan $\varnothing$ river."

E35. Mek wuna lan som ting fo di ting weh fig $\varnothing$ stik di duam.
M. "You may learn something from the thing (what) the fig-tree is doing."

E36. Yi bi tok God $\varnothing$ palava fo di Jews dem god $\varnothing$ haus.

```
Metaphrase: "He said the words of God (preached) in the Jews'god's house (synagogue)."
```

From the foregoing sets, it is noticeable that the operation $\mathrm{N} \varnothing \mathrm{N}$ conveys a notional complementation in CPE as well as in SE. There is an iconic closeness with the extra-linguistics. However in E36., unlike the CPE "God palava", the SE "words of God" (instance of remoteness) entails less rhematic value. So is the SE structure "god's house that entails a deictic potential. For the latter (deixis) to be achieved in CPE, there is an involvement of the operators; "yi" and "dem".

### 6.2. The operation N \{Yi/Dem\} N .

This operation may be likened to the SE genitive structuring N's $\mathbf{N}$ operation. But, the former proves to be more saturating than the latter. It marks the maximum determination by the leftward entity. Nevertheless this operation overlaps with the involvement of a deictic reference ${ }^{31}$; hence a submission to a contextual or situational agreement.

[^23]Put differently, the leftward entity -which helps determine the right notion- sets out its thematisation as a prerequisite for the validity of the above mentioned operation. This is why it entails the thematic and deictic use of the nominal substitutes "Yi"; "dem". Also, the latter convey the linear index for the linking of the left and the right entities.

E37. Simon yi mother-lo bi di sik weti fiva.
Metaphrasis: "Simon's mother-in law was suffering from fever."

E38. Christ bi David yi pikin.
M. "Christ is the son of David."

E39. God yi masinja dem bi lukot fo yi.
M. "God's messengers (angels) looked after
him."

E40. Den dem bi kam fo Capernaum an di Jews dem res dey bi di ris.
M. "Then, they went to Capernaum and, the Jews' rest day was coming."

E41. Di klak fo di Jews dem god haus bi kam fo Jerusalem.

Metaphrase: "The clerk (scribe) from the Jews' god's house (synagogue) came to Jerusalem."

From the foregoing set of instances, it is noticeable that whereas SE makes use of a crase form (' $s /-s$ ') to mark the knitting of the surrounding entities, CPE entails the use of nominal substitutes (3rd person anaphora: yi/dem) that convey the contextual resumption of the leftward entity and its number (plural/singular) as well; besides, they make up the deictic use of the rightward entity (vis-à-vis the leftward one which serves as the deictic reference). In the structure "...di Jews dem god haus...", the operator 'dem' resumes the item 'Jews' while conveying the clue for its plural number and, the utmost deictic location of the structure 'god haus'. (The final '-s' in the meta-term 'Jews' has nothing to do with the SE plural morpheme.). Henceforth the operator 'dem' whose attributes have been varying so far requires a foremost survey.

### 6.2.1. "Dem" as an archi-operator.

The meta-term 'archi-operator' is a loan from Delmas(1993). Such an attribute has been found suitable for 'dem' conflates many an operational value. Hereby the scope of 'dem' will only be limited to nominal determination. ‘dem' operates as: (a) a nominal substitute (subject/object); (b) a deictic operator and, (c) a number marker (plural).

E42. Mary Magdalene bi go an yi bi tel di pipu weh dem bi dong bi weti Jesus sey,....

Metaphrase: "Mary of Magdala went and (she) told the people who [they] had been with Jesus that...."

E43. Yi bi kam weti dem.
M. "He came with them."

E44. [God yi nchinda dem.] Dem go put dem han fo sik pipu an di pipu go wel.
M. [The disciples] "They will lay their hands on the diseased and they shall recover."

Examples E42-43. actually display the anaphoric use of 'dem' (as what may be termed 'personal pronoun'). Thus, the latter is a predicationoriented operator. This is also true for the first (topicalised) 'dem’ in E44; as concern the second 'dem'(E44.), it carries out a deictic operation in keeping with the rightward determination of the item 'han'. So, unlike the anaphoric 'dem' whose rightward impact enhances the predicative operation, the deictic 'dem’ is right-oriented on a nominal entity. Beside the foregoing instances, ‘dem’ as a number marker is operationally left-oriented. That is, 'dem’ signals the plural value of the entity occurring before it. Contrastively, 'dem' is not suffixed to the leftward determined entity unlike SE number marker '-s'.

E45. Sen wi fo insai that swan dem, so wi go inta
fo dem.
M. "Send us into those pigs so that we go into [beguile] them."

E46. Juda Iscariot bi gif Jesus fo


Metaphrase: Juda Iscariot gave (betrayed) Jesus to his (Jesus') enemies.

Hereby it is obvious that the post-nominal occurrence of 'dem' entails the customary 'number category'. All the same, the intermediate occurrence of 'dem’ entails the 'number’ (leftward) together with anaphora (leftward) and deixis (rightward) [vide supra]. Thus, it can be broadly stated that in terms of number, 'dem' makes up -in the linear structure- the index for the quantitative switch from one unit to units. This ultimate consideration brings forth the scope of quantification.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## Operations of Quantification

Operations of quantification entail the prospect of determining notional aggregates. That is, a determined entity is hereby amounted either throughout a single operation or a supplementary operation. As a result it brings about an inquiry on the referential amount of the determined notion; it may be precise (numerals) or loosely suggested.

### 7.1. Numerals and the Process of Countability.

Numerals convey the primary operation that covers a broad process ranging from the finite extraction of the unique and the structuring of the plurality (cf. referential data). Formally the operation is rhematic in CPE and, it can be made thematic throughout the use of a leftward operational context (mainly anaphoric).

E47. Dem bi de lek tu tosin an ol dem bi dai fo di wata.

Metaphrase: "They were about two thousand and, all of them died in that river."

E48. Som sid bi fol fo gud graun, den i bi gro op fain and $i$ bi bia, som weti tati sid fo insai, som sikti $\varnothing$ an som wan hondre $\varnothing$ pas hawe $i$ bi de bifo. (Mark 4; 8)

E49. 'Na faf bred weti tu fis.' (...) Den wen Jesus bi tek di faf bred an di tu fis, yi bi luk op fo heven an yi bi gif tenk fo di chop.
M. "‘There are five pieces of bread (loaves) and two fish.' (...) Then, when Jesus took the five [loaves] pieces of bread and the two fish, he looked up and gave thanks for the food."

E50. Den Jesus bi kam weti di twef $\varnothing$ fo ivin tam.

Metaphrase: "Then, Jesus came with the twelve apostles (of them) in the evening."

At this junction, it can be noticed that the operation of countability in CPE is being carried forward with close similarity to SE. Likewise the quantification conveyed in E47-48. is rhematic whereas in E44. it submits to a thematic structuring triggered by the anaphoric -or else recursive- use of the segments 'faf bred'; 'tu fis' as well as the co-occurrence of the metaoperational tool 'di' in the left position. In E50., thanks to the context and the co-text, the thematic process of economy is being achieved in CPE. It thus causes the nominal 'nchinda' to drop; subsequently, the numeral 'twef' entails an 'elliptical head' (di twef) whose SE equivalent requires the achievement of a re-thematised (or else anaphoric) structuring of the head: 'the twelve of dem'. Furthermore, it is worth noticing that the category of number (as suggested upper) is actually entailed by the numeral; so there is no subsequent need for the leftward impact of the operator 'dem' (as in ?di faf bred dem.).

The operation of quantification studied hitherto strictly entails a finite delineation from the referential data (or the extra-linguistics). Beside the latter there are other types of Quantification that loosely suggest an aggregate which may either be shrank or enlarged.

# 7.2. Reducent Quantification: The operators 'Smol'; 'Daso'. 

In CPE, 'smol' and 'daso' entail the abridgement of the quantitative value of the determined nominal entity. Put differently, they are the linear clues for the lessening or the lowering of the rightward item; that is, there is an index of quantitative shortage. 'Smol' (also spelled 'simol') can be equated to the SE 'small'; '(a) little'; and '(a) few'. In fact 'smol' is much more complex and, if it can be related in one way or another to the SE 'small', it should be worth noticing that the former underwent a deep process of 'bleaching'32. As concern 'daso', it may be referred to throughout the SE use of the meta-term 'only'.

### 7.2.1. The operator 'Smol'.

E51. Kam weti mi fo som kwat ples an res fo
smol tam.
Metaphrasis: "Come with me in a quiet place so
that we rest a little while."

[^24]E52. Smol wuman yoa bilif dong mek yu wel.
M. "Little girl, your belief (faith) has saved you."

E53. Jesus weti yi pipu bi di pas fo som smol rud fo kon fam fo di Jews dem res dey.
M. "Jesus and his disciples went on a small road (path) through a corn farm (corn-yard) on the Jews' rest day."

E54. Mek wuna go fo dat smol taun.
Metaphrase: "Go to that little town."

E55. Smol pipu bi kam fo dat ples.
M. "Few people came to that very place."

E56. Den Jesus yi moda weti yi smol broda dem bi kam.
M. "Then, Jesus' mother and his junior brothers came."

The foregoing examples illustrate the synthetic operational value entailed by the operator 'smol'. Every derived value is determined by the nexus that is being established as regard the (determined) nominal entity on the one hand, and the situation on the other. In referential terms, 'smol' applies to a primitive determination and, it invariably conveys the withering of a given amount. 'Daso' instead applies to pre-determined context on which its scope might suggest the utterer's involvement in the assessment of the shared quantity.

### 7.2.2. The Operator 'Daso'.

'Daso' does not carry a semic quantitative value in itself. It rather makes up either the shrivelling of a definite quantification -when its target is a fore-quantifying structure (e.g. numerals etc.)- or the denial (or else the selection) of opposition pairs involving the class of the determined nominal. Put differently, when it occurs before a quantified structure, 'daso' constricts the amounting put forward by the latter; but when 'daso' occurs before a non quantified (explicitly) nominal class, it conveys the closure of a possible paradigmatic choice.

E57. Yi bi chop di huli bred weh lo di tok sey na daso di bik bik ticha dem fit fo chopam.

Metaphrase: "He ate the holy bread (which) the law says only the highest priests can eat(it)."

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E58. 'Simon yu di slip? Yu no fit lukam daso fo wan awa?'
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M. "'Simon, are you sleeping? Can't you wake (only) just for an hour."

E59. Den Jesus weti yi nchinda dem bi lef di ples fo insai kanu an dem bi go fo bush, daso dem.
M. "Then, Jesus and his disciples left that place by boat and, they went through a bush, only them."

From the foregoing examples, the metalinguistic value of the operator 'daso' is factually achieved and, it thus needs no overflowing comment. Nevertheless the contextual use of 'daso' in E59. renders its metaphrastic equivalent questionable; the SE structure would be: ‘Only Jesus and his disciples (and no one else) left the place by boat and they went through a wood.'.

In a nutshell, 'daso' and 'smol' convey an index of a quantitative shortage of the rightward entity, as well as the enhancement of a more or less sating (or else saturating) effect. Beside the latter there are operators which do not convey any saturation at all (or little); they rather involve a deficiency of saturation.

## 7.3. "Som"; "Ene" and the +/- Deficiency of

## Saturation.

'Som' and 'ene' refer to an implicit amounting that swings between a quantitative load and a semic lightness. Hence a deficiency of saturation. In other words, the quantitative impact conveyed by these operators is loosely (or indefinitely) expressed.

### 7.3.1. 'Som' as an Operator of Quantification.

In quantitative terms 'som' (also written 'son')can be equated to the SE ‘some’; 'a'; ‘an’ or 'any’. As a determiner (see § 4.2.), 'som' targets the rightward item whose quantitative value may range from the unique to the indefinite expression of the plural amounting.

When the target of 'som' is a bare notion such as 'man', the SE equivalence is either 'someone' (a man) or 'anyone'; when the target is 'ting', the SE equative structure is either 'something' or 'anything'.

E60. Mek wuna hia! Som man bi go fo plan chop fo graun; (...).

Metaphrase: "Listen! A man went to plant crops in the soil; (...)."

E61. Som klak fo di Jews dem bi sidong fo deh. M. "Some (Jewish) scribes were seated there."

E62. Mek wuna lukot so som man no go ful wuna.
Metaphrasis: "Watch out; any man (anyone) should not deceive you."

E63. Wen yi kombi dem bi hia di nyus, dem bi tok sey som ting de fo yi hed.
M. "When his friends heard those words, they said that something was in his head (that he was witty /resourceful)."

E64. Foseka faya go bi fo man as sol bi fo som ting. Sol bi som fan ting.

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M. "Because the fire will be for mankind what salt is for something (a sacrifice). Salt is something important."
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It is worth noticing that the di-molecular structure of the CPE 'som ting' is much more free unlike the SE coalesced form 'something'. This enables the leftward determination of the nominal entity (cf. E64. 'som fan ting') and enhances the bare quantifying value of 'som'.

Unlike Mbakong (1984) who stated that "Les aspects fractionaires et indeterminés sont les plus rendus en PEC par le quantifieur /son/ qui par ailleurs n’apparaît jamais seul ; car il appartient à la classe des formes que nous avons appelées plus haut 'liées’ par opposition aux formes libres pouvant apparaître seules. ", it is to be argued that the operational scope entailed by 'som’ overtakes a mere descriptive device. In fact, in a thematising context, 'som' can be submitted to the process of nominalisation whereby it conflates the functions of the quantifier and the unexpounded head element. Thus 'som' can be viewed as a clue for the elliptical head; hence a 'forme libre' (descriptively).

E65. As hawe yi bi di plantam, som(1) sid bi fol fo kona rud, an som(2) bed dem bi kam pikam an chopam. Som $\varnothing$ bi fol fo stun graun, den wantam i bi komot, (...). Som $\varnothing$ bi fol fo di ples weh chukuchuku bi de deh. (....) Som $\varnothing$ bi fol fo gud graun, den i bi gro op fan, an i bi bia, Som $\varnothing$ weti tati sid fo insai, som $\varnothing$ sikti an som $\varnothing$ wan hondre pas hawe i bi de bifo (Mark 4; 4-8).
'som(1)' and 'som(2)' (E65.) determine indefinitely the quantitative extension of the nominal notions 'sid’ and 'bed’ respectively. they refer to the previous amounting value (vide supra). Other 'soms' ( $+\varnothing$ ) make use of the ellipsis of the head noun 'sid' thanks to the thematic structuring. The latter is being rendered progressive and ellipsis stretches to the deletion of the verbal entity. The last three occurrences would thus yield 'som chop bi bia tati sid fo insai, som chop bi bia sikti sid an som chop bi bia wan hondre sid pas hawe i bi de bifo.’.

At the close of this survey, 'som' appears as a much more inclusive operator; what will then be the scope of the operator 'ene'?

### 7.3.2. The Operator 'Ene'.

"Ene" is an operator that entails the denial of a definite quantitative load. In a broad way, it can be glossed by the SE "any" (and even 'every'). when it targets out a loose nominal notion such as 'man'; tam'; 'ples', the resulting structure is rendered in SE by the proforms or the 'circumstants' (cf. adjuncts) 'anyone'; 'anytime' and 'anywhere' respectively. Moreover CPE makes use of 'ene' as a predicational operator. In this light, it relays the denial of the predicative relation previously launched by 'no'. Thus the denial extends to a possible quantitative content of the determined (rightward) nominal entity.

E66. Ene man weh yi go bi masa fo wuna mindru mos bi wuna boi.
M. "Anyone who will (wants to) be the master among (all of) you must be your servant."

E67. Jesus bi tok dem sey, "pipu di fia God yi nchinda fo ene ples."<br>Metaphrase: "Jesus said: ‘people do not trust a prophet everywhere.'"

E68. Yi [Jesus] bi tok sey, "Yu no far fo God yi kontri". Apta dis kwesong ol pipu bi fia fo as yi ene kwesong agen.

```
M. "He [Jesus] said: "You are not far from (God's land) the Kingdom of God." After that question, all the people were unable to ask him any (other) question."
```

E69. Ene tam weh yu tanap fo mek preya, mek chus if yu get palava weti ene man.
M. "Every time you stand up to prey, be forgiving if you have ? problems with someone (anyone?)."

E70. Wen di chukuchuku bi gro fo op, di sid no bi get chan fo gro, an i no bi bia ene frut.
M. "When the thorny plants grew up, the said crops could not gro and, they did not yield any fruit."

At this junction, it can be noticed that the operator 'ene' pertinently functions as a clue for the denial of any definite amounting; thus the quantitative scheme is tacitly stated and the experienced binding of the nominal notion is merely suggestive. In E70. 'ene' poses a virtual amounting of 'frut' that is quantitatively emptied by the fore-occurring 'no'.

Therefore the assumption of the meta-term 'deficiency' reaches its completeness. This is also true for the operator 'som'; but the latter is not coupled with non-assertive impacts on the deficiency of a definite quantitative load.

All the quantifying devices studied so far, have been dealing with the process of definite amounting -be it referential (cf. numerals) or reducentand the operation conveying a loose or indefinite aggregate ('som' and 'ene'). Beside these, there is an operation that inflates the quantitative load of the determined nominal entity.

### 7.4. Broadening or Expansive Quantification: The Operators 'Plenti'; 'Ol'.

The operation of expansive quantification subsumes indefinitely the +/- entire quantitative notion of the determined entity. Similarly to other quantitative operations studied so far, expansive quantification targets out -in the linear structure- the rightward entity. The ensuing structure entails the semic value of multiplicity or profusion. This operation is carried out by 'Plenti'; and 'Ol'

Nevertheless it is worth mentioning that the seemingly and deceitful 'bleaching' of the adjectival item 'bik' prompted Mbakong(1984) to assume that the latter is a "quantifier"; such an assumption is unlikely to be seated in this paper.

### 7.4.1. The Operator 'Plenti'.

The semic distribution of the operator 'Plenti' is so large that it can be equated to the SE meta-terms 'plenty'; 'a lot of/lots of'; 'much/many' and 'enough' as well. Quantitatively, the operator 'plenti' subsumes and stretches the indefinite amounting of the determined nominal entity. That is, the use of 'plenti' inflates the minimum aggregate involved by the determination of the substantive which may be 'countable or 'uncountable'. Such an operation can be referred to by alluding to the French use of the meta-term "beaucoup".

E71. Jesus bi komot fo di kanu, an yi bi si plenti pipu, an yi bi sori fo dem, foseka dem bi bi lek som kau weh dem no get ganako; den yi bi tich dem plenti ting.

Metaphrase: "Jesus came out from the boat and, he saw a lot of people; he was worried for them because they were like cows that have no shepherd; then, he taught them many things."

E72. Yi no bi get plenti moni fo dat tam.
M. "He did not have plenty of (much/a lot of)
money in those days."

E73. Plenti jendru pipu bi put plenti moni fo di bok.
M. "(Many; numerous) kind people threw enough money in the basket."

The foregoing instances that are far from being exhaustive (nonextensive corpus) illustrate the quantitative potential involved by the operator "plenti". Hereby, it targets the rightward nominal entity that can be qualitatively 'pre modified' (as in 'plenti + jendru pipu') or barely notional (as in 'plenti $+\varnothing$ moni'). No matter how, the ensuing string ascribes a puff of the minimum quantitative load. Furthermore, 'plenti may also function as a predicational operator. In such a case it entails an 'adjunctive' impact as regard the process (i.e. the verbal entity). As a result there is an adverbial use
involving a quantitative realisation of the unexpounded head noun (in object 'position').

This can be instantiated in the structure "yi bi dring plenti." metaphrasable into "He drank a lot/too much." It is worth noticing that such a structuring involves one-participant predicates endowed with a two-participants potential (i.e. transitive/intransitive structuring).

### 7.4.2. The Operator "Ol" and the Quantitative Saturation.

Contrarily to "plenti" that stands as an inflating operator, "ol" brings about the re-launching of the quantitative load involved into a structure yet determined. That is, "ol" seems not to target out bare notional entities; instead, its quantitative use entails a focus on a structure that may either be primarily bound (cf. earlier sections) or made anaphoric (or else recursive). Put differently, "ol" targets a fore-structuring that may be thematic or rhematic. If "ol" can be equated to the SE meta-term "all" (and even 'whole'), it goes without saying that the former brings forth certain operational disparities. In the linear structure, the quantitative impact of "ol" can be conveyed rightward or leftward on the determined structure (or entity). Nevertheless the leftward impact focuses mainly on a thematised structuring.

E74. Ol pipu fo Judea weti ol di pipu fo Jerusalem bi go fo yi, an yi bi baptas dem fo Jordan wata.

Metaphrase: "(Many) All the people from Judea and all those (the very) people from Jerusalem [the city] went to him and he baptised them in the Jordan River."

E75. Mek wuna waka fo ol di wol an tel di Gud nyus fo ene man.
M. "(?Walk throughout all the world ) Go throughout the whole world and say (preach) the Good News."

E76. Ol dem bi tok sey yi get fo dai.
M. "They all said that he must die.

E77. Den yi bi tok fo dem ol sey, "Som man di kam...".

Metaphrase: "Then, he told all of them (that); 'Someone is coming...'".

From the foregoing, it can be noticed that "ol" targets a rightward entity (or structuring), that may be rhematic (E74. «Ol pipu fo Judea") or thematic [italicised segments] ("...ol di pipu fo Jerusalem..."). But when the target of "ol" is leftward, the latter is supposedly anaphoric; hence the structure "Yi bi tok fo di pipu ol sey..." would be alien to the speakers' intuition. No matter how, "ol" spots out the quantitative index involved by the determined structure (i.e. a structuring that is foreshadowed by a plural amounting). By so doing it conveys the resumption of the inclusiveness or the totality of the implied amounting. So, the rightward rising of the number marker "dem" on the determined entity is obviously superfluous (or redundant as in "Ol man dem go lef yu..."); for the relation entailed by "ol" is already saturating.

Similarly to "plenti", the operator "ol" can carry out a predicational potential; that is, it can ascribe an argumentative use vis-à-vis the verbal entity. Hence an adverbial value in "Fo dat tam, fo di tam weh san bi dong finis $\underline{\mathbf{o l} \mathbf{~ o l}}$, di pipu bi bring ol di sik pipu.". However for the sake of tidiness, this section will not expand on predicative devices. Nonetheless the reduplication (i.e. the recursive use) of the operator "ol" (in the structure "...finis ol ol, ...") is not a feature of least importance.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

## Towards Intensifying Effects: REDUPLICATION.

The process of reduplication can be viewed as the recursive achievement of a given entity. Put differently, reduplication entails the repetitive use of a given item in a structural scheme. It goes without saying that the operation of reduplication is a paramount basilectal feature. That is, it is part of Grass-field Bantu Languages (and African Languages in a roundabout way). In terms of 'categorisation', the operation of reduplication focuses on nominal, adjectival, verbal and adverbial entities as well. This operation that has been viewed by Mbakong(1984; 88) as a mere "technique de création lexicale" does not actually involve a need for lexicon make up or coining. It rather involves sequential operations that give way to a plural amounting of the reduplicative structure coupled with the prospect of intensity. This assumption will be made factual throughout the survey of utterances availed by the corpus.

Many a nominal entity endowed with dense and compact semic components (i.e. SE 'uncountable nouns') ascribe very often to a reduplicative structuring.

It can be postulated that such an operation conveys an iconic potential since the recurrence of identical entities suggests the plural amounting of grouped or adjacent elements. Nonetheless this attribute is not devoid of intensive impetus; for there is an over-amounting structuring. Moreover the implied iconicity stretches to the linear structure whereby the reduplicative form is being enseamed or blended.

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { Bia }(+) \text { Bia } \longrightarrow \text { Biabia } \\
{[\text { (Trans-)diachronically: bia }=\text { hair }<\text { beard }]}
\end{gathered}
$$

E78. Fo dat tam, John yi krus bi bi biabia fo kamel (....).

Metaphrasis: "In those days, John's clothes were (made out of ) camel's hair (...)."

E79. Som [sid] bi fol fo di ples weh chukuchuku bi de deh; (...).
M. "Some seeds fell in the places where there were (thorns and thorns) thorny plants (bushes)."

E80. Di pikin fo man no bi kam sey pipu go bi boiboi fo yi.

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    M. "The son of man did not come so that people
become servants (and servants again) for him. [his
servants]"
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So far the relevance of the intensifying effect proceeding from the quantitative potential (involved by nominal reduplication) may seem slight or questionable. However adjectival(as well as adverbial and verbal) entities help throw more light on reduplication. As concerned the adjectival reduplication the recursive structure involve a sequential determination of the nominal entity. That is, the rightward entity of the reduplicative structure (i.e. the second) conveys the structuring of the primary determination whereas the leftward one (i.e. the first) targets the whole rightward structuring. As a result there is an over-determination of the nominal entity as sketched in the following instantiation:

= Plenti plenti pipu.

E81. Den wen dem kam fo yi [Jesus'] oda pipu, dem bi si hawe plenti plenti pipu bi raun dem, an di Jews dem klak bi di tok trong trong weti yi [Jesus'] pipu.

Metaphrase: "Then, when they met Jesus' other disciples, they (saw) noticed the way (many many) lots of people surrounded them ; the Jews' priest (scribe) was speaking (very) gravely (and gravely) [solemnly] to his [Jesus'] disciples."

E82. Di kotkot sik bi komot fo yi skin an yi bi wel.
M. "The cut(and cut) sickness (leprosy) came out from him and he recovered."

E83. Di bad bad spirit bi komot fo yi.
Metaphrase: "The very evil (and evil) spirits came out from him."

E84. Dem lek hai hai chia fo di Jews dem god haus (...) and dem di mek long long lailai preya.
M. "They like (high and high) very important chairs in the synagogue (...) and, they make (long and long) very long and (false and false)fallacious prayers."

E85. Mek wuna lef di smol smol pikin fo kam fo mi.
M. "Let (small and small) [very] little children come to me."

E86. Den fo moni moni tam fo di fos dey fo di wik, dem bi go fo di bere graun (...).

Metaphrasis: "Then, (in the morning of the morning) very early in the morning, they went to the burial ground (...)."

It is of deep interest noticing that the process of reduplication enhances either the quantitative or the qualitative load involved in a given structuring. As a result, there is an overloading that triggers the prospect of intensity. Thus, leprosy (E82. "...di kotkot sik... ") is viewed as a 'disease that cuts [very] sharply' (i.e. that amputates); the 'morning' coming -iconicallybefore 'the morning' (E86.) is the 'earliest morning' (superlative structuring) or the 'dawn'. Hereby the reduplication of the nominal entity 'moni' is not mingled (vide supra) because the latter entails an adjunctive potential. Furthermore, it is to be noticed that the quantitative impact (tacitly conveyed by reduplicative nominal and adjectival entities ) is so overloading that the leftward occurrence -in the linear structuring- of the number marker "dem" is supposedly superfluous if not emphatic (as in "...smol smol pikin dem...").

It is noticeable that all the operations studied hitherto did take place -linearly- before the main notional entity or the 'Head'. In classical terms (or else descriptive), they would be viewed as 'Premodifiers' (or Specifiers, etc. in functional terms). Indeed, it is not a matter of coincidence or haphazard; it has been purposefully devised for the sake of tidy and smooth (but paramount) detachment from any descriptive approach. Henceforth, what about operations that are carried out after the 'head element'?

## CHAPTER NINE

## Theme-Oriented Operations.

The above heading (another coinage) may give way to a deceitful search for operational invariants. However it seems necessary to begin with such a postulation before deepening through exemplification. The meta-terms "theme-oriented" stands for all operations that merely convey the straight search (or the implementation) for the theme (i.e. the 'GIVEN' as opposed to the 'NEW'). However the ensuing implementation does not necessarily entail a thematic structuring. Thus, these operations involve either a thematic (re)launching or a deictic prospect. So far, the foregoing cogitation is still to be made factual in the CPE structuring.

### 9.1. The Operation $N, N$ and the thematic launching.

In the linear structure, the operation $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{N}$ may simply be viewed as an appositive structuring because of the adjacency of two or more nominal entities.

In operational terms, the rightward nominal entity conveys the semic resumption of the leftward one in order to lay down the theme. Hence the thematic launching. Put differently, the operation $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{N}$ entails the linear adjacency two nominal entities sharing a semic identification. The second entity resumes the first one while highlighting the scope of a thematic structuring. This process can also be somewhat recursive; as a result, the switch to the enhancement of the theme is sequential.

E87. Jesus, pikin fo David sori fo mi.
Metaphrasis: "Lord Jesus, son of David, have pity on me."

E88. Wan Simon, som Cyrene man, di papa fo Alexander an Rufus, bi di kam fo fam.
M. "(A Mr.) Simon, a man of Cyrene, the father of Alexander and Rufus, was coming from the farm."

E89. No bi dis di kapenta, Mary yi pikin, an broda fo James an Joses an Simon?
M. "Isn't he the (very) carpenter, Mary's son, the brother of James, (and) Joses and Simon?

Bold-faced segments convey the semic resumption of the leftward (underlined) entities and, in a roundabout way they make up the thematic implementation of the whole segments. In sequential resumption, italicised segments achieve the intermediate switch to thematisation. E88. factually displays the progressive switch to a thematic structuring (primary quantitative binding: 'wan Simon'; implied quantification/locative potential: 'som Cyrene man'; thematic structuring: 'di papa fo Alexander an Rufus'.) However the N,N operation is not devoid of discursive devices as regard the achievement of pragmatic attempts. Hence the utterer's involvement in E89. whereby the validation (assertive) of the predication -by the addressee- is no more questionable; for 'the very carpenter cannot be a prophet'. Also, E87. entails a pragmatic achievement coupled with a vocative implementation.

Beside the linear adjacency involved by the $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{N}$ structuring, there is an operation that entails the prospect of deixis throughout the impact of a nexus.

### 9.2. The operation N fo N and the deictic prospect.

The operation ' N fo N ' is the structuring of two nominal entities brought together by means of a nexus; the operator "fo". For this operation to be achieved in CPE, the rightward ' N ' should be "given" (i.e. thematic) and subsequently, it should make up a deictic reference in keeping with the leftward ' N '. The ensuing structuring evolve a thematic attempt whereby the thematic shape of the leftward ' N ' is backgrounded by the scope of the deictic reference. Contextually, there is a thematic take-off that needs a recursive structuring (i.e. $\{\mathbf{Y i} / \mathbf{D e m}\} \mathbf{N}$ ) in order to be achieved.

E90. Den di gel bi kam bak wantam kwik kwik fo di king, an yi bi tok sey, "Di ting weh ma hat lekam bi sey mek yu gif mi wantam fo som pan di hed fo John [di Baptist]." (...) Den wantam, di king bi gif oda fo som yi soja, an sen yi fo go an bring John yi hed, an di soja bi go an kot John yi hed fo prisin. (Mark 6; 25-27).

E91. Di klak fo di Pharisees dem bi follow yi tu.

Metaphrasis: "The priest of the Pharisees
followed him too."

E92. Di pipu fo di Jews dem god haus bi de deh.
M. "Believers (of) from the Jews' church were there."

E93. Di fos tok fo di gud nyus fo Jesus Christ, God yi pikin.
M. "The first words of the Good News of Jesus

Christ, the son of God [This is the Good News about Jesus Christ, the son of God]."

From the foregoing instances, it is noticeable that the operation " $\mathbf{N}$ fo $\mathbf{N}$ " makes up a structuring whose contextual resumption is launched -if necessary- by the operation " $\mathbf{N} \mathbf{\{ Y i / D e m}\} \mathbf{N}$ " for thematic evolvement (E90. di hed fo John $\longrightarrow$ John yi hed). Both structuring can overlap when the thematic 'N' (rightward) entails a "N \{Yi/Dem\} $\mathbf{N}^{\prime}$ structuring as in E92. "Di pipu ( $\mathbf{N}$ ) fo ( $\mathbf{N} \mathbf{\{ Y i / D e m \}} \mathbf{N}$ ) di Jews dem god haus...". The leftward entity may be theme-like (di pipu) throughout the cataphoric use of the operator "di" (di klak) that instanciates the located entity of the deictic structuring.

This structuring may however be sequential as in E93. whereby the most right entity of the structure " $\mathbf{N}$ fo $\mathbf{N} \mathbf{f o} \mathbf{N}$ " conveys the deictic reference.

The operator 'fo' that have been made recursive (so far) in the above structuring may uphold many an operational device.

### 9.2.1. 'Fo' as an Archi-operator: Location/Telos.

Apart from the nexus implementation of 'fo' for deixis and cohesiveness, 'fo' is an operator whose inclusive value overshadows an extensive set of operators known -taxonomically- as prepositions. It may thus be considered as a 'Super-preposition' or an 'Archi-preposition'. Though, many pidginists have been looking upon 'fo' (or 'for') as the sole preposition, it is of paramount importance noticing that besides the latter, there is 'weti' that can be equated to the SE 'with' (cf. 3.2.2.) and 'onda' (cf. this section). However, 'fo' is so endowed that it co-occurs with 'onda'. In operational terms, such a view straightway appeals to the search for an invariant (or else a remanent potential) that helps 'fo' trigger all (nearly) prepositional use (and more) with varying operational impact. Therefore, in an attempt to find out any operational device, hypotheses are to be put forward. 'Fo' can thus be regarded either as a locative operator or as a telic ${ }^{33}$ operator (as concern nominal determination only).

[^25]So, as regard the predicational potential, 'fo' operates primarily in terms of telic relation and triggers 'in situ' a locative operation. But in predicative ${ }^{34}$ use, 'fo' carries out a nexus for the achievement of the semic connection 'Topic-Focus'.

E94. Bot apta dem dong put dat sid fo graun an i komot fo op, i di gro pas di oda smol smol stik dem ol, an yi un han di bik bik sotee bed fo heven di kam bil dem haus fo onda yi.
M. "But, after that (very) seed has been put in the soil, it comes (?) up [it sprouts] and (it) grows bigger than (all) other (very) little plants; and, its branches grow so larger that birds of heaven come and build their (house) nest (?) under dem.

In the argumentative (predicate) evolvement, the telic impetus of the operator 'fo' triggers (rightward) an adjunctive structuring that implements the locative operations $\mathbf{F o} \longrightarrow$ graun (locative) $\mathbf{F o} \longrightarrow \quad$ op (locative); the structure "bed fo heven" though locative, rather entails the deictic prospect (cf. § 9.2.).

[^26]As concern the structuring "fo onda yi", the telic impact of 'fo' targets the overloaded locative structuring 'onda yi' as sketched below:

structuring)

Contrastively, when the SE locative structuring is overloaded (i.e. saturated), there is no linear need for a telic index as in the segments 'come $\varnothing$ up'; (komot fo op) ' $\varnothing$ under them' (fo onda yi) 'go $\varnothing$ there' (go fo deh) etc. However, the telic relation and the locative structuring can overlap in the operator 'fo' that can thus stand for many a SE preposition and structuring.

E95. Ene man weh yi go spol ene wan fo dis smol smol pikin dem weh dem bilif fo mi fo du som bad ting, i go gud fo yi sey, if dem go tek som bik bik fufu stun an dem go hang fo yi nek an truwe yi fo som bik wata. If yoa han di fan palava fo mek yu du bad, kot di han an truwe, i beta fo yu fo inta fo heven weti haf bodi pas fo get tu han an go fo hell fo di faya weh i no di kwench. (Mark 9; 42-43.)

Instances of non-italicised 'fo' are predicational tools that convey either a directional impact or a locative potential; they can thus be equated to the SE operators 'of (...one of these little children...); in (...who believe in me...); for (it would be better for him...); on (...hung on his neck...); into (...and throw him into a large river [sea]...); for (...it is better for you...); $\varnothing$ (...to enter Ø heaven...); to (...and go [off] to hell,...); and to (...to the fire that never ...)' respectively. Italicised 'fo' are predicative operators that trigger the structuring of what might be considered as the 'infinitive form'. Nonetheless 'fo' makes up the minimum predicative nexus as in "i beta fo yu <fo> inta...". However, the purpose of this section does not allow any thorough survey of predicative devices.

So far, it would be ill-advised to close up without differentiating between 'fo' as an archi-operator and 'fo' as a numeral. The discriminating feature between both FO's is based on distinctive tonal rendition (i.e. supra segmental). The former 'fo' (arhi-operator) has a falling tone: /fò/ whereas the latter (numeral: SE 'four') entails a rising intonation: /fó/.

E96. Som pipu bi kam fò yi weti wan man fò bed weh yi no bi get pawa fò waka, an na fó pipu bi di kari yi.

Metaphrasis: "People came to him with a man on a bed (bedridden) who had no power to walk (paralysed); and, there were four men carrying him."

In a nutshell, it is to be stated that for trying to implement the operational scope of 'fo', this section stretched too far (purposefully) from the bare deictic prospect, and the thematic instanciation as well. It was rather a slight predicative survey. In this vein, other predicative operations are to be focused on, still in keeping with nominal determination on the one hand, and the thematic implementation on the other.

### 9.3. The Operation $N$ Weh $S$ and the Thematic Implementation: the Scope of Anaphora.

Known as relativisation, the operation $\mathbf{N}$ Weh S makes up a nominal complementation -throughout the use of an embedded clause or relative clause: 'S'- so as to achieve the topic structuring. The operator (main clue) that triggers this operation is the nominal substitute (anaphora) 'Weh'.

Since the operation hinges upon it, 'Weh' plays a paramount semantaxic role and, it can be equated to the SE 'WH- (or THAT)' relative structuring.

Contrastively, 'Weh' proves to be a much more meta-linguistic tool; for unlike 'Wh-elements', it simply carries out -through anaphora- the switch to a rightward thematic implementation without achieving any agentive potential. Thus, there is the remanence of a synthetic relative operator; for, not only does 'Weh' subsume the evolvement of SE 'relative pronouns', it goes further in ascribing respective agentive nominal substitutes (anaphora) for coreferential structuring (and non-coreferential as well). Such an operational potential can be diagrammed as follows:

| CPE <br> ANAPHORA | Standard English Equivalents |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Coreferential structuring | non-coreferential structuring |
| Weh - mi | Whose/Who - $\varnothing$ |  |
| Weh - yu |  |  |
| Weh - yi |  |  |
| Weh - i | Which/That... - $\varnothing$ |  |
| Weh - wi | Whose/Who - $\varnothing$ |  |
| Weh - wuna |  |  |
| Weh - dem |  |  |

From the foregoing diagram, the operational scope of 'Weh' in the thematic relaunching is being made evincive. The analytic prospect involved into 'weh' structuring is so factual (and tough) that the structuring "*Weh - Ø " would be merely ungrammatical.

E97. Pipu weh dem wel no get nid fo dokta.
Metaphrase: "People who $\varnothing$ are healthy do not need a doctor."

In the above example, 'weh' and 'dem' are coreferential to the notional entity 'pipu'. Most of all, 'weh' targets the thematic implementation of the anaphoric substitute 'dem' (that stands as the contextual resumption of the segment 'pipu') coupled with agentive potentials.

E98. Mi a no sabi dat man weh wuna di kol yi nem.

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M. "I don't know the man \(\varnothing\) you are talking about." [weh - Wuna: non-coreferential]
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E99. I beta fo yu (...) pas fo go fo di ples weh dem wam no di dai (...).
M. "It is better for you (...) than going to the place where their warms do not die (...)."

E100. Di pipu weh dem bi dong si di ting bi tel pipu di ting weh i bi dong hapun.

Metaphrasis: "Those who (had seen) saw that thing told the people the (very) thing that (had) happened."

E101. 0 ! yu weh yu fit fo spol di temple an bilam fo tri dey (...).
M. "Aha! you who can (could) tear down the Temple and build it up (again) in three days."

E102. Ol ting bi izi fo di man weh yi bilif.
M. "Everything is easy for the one who is
faithful."

The metalinguistic impact conveyed by the operator 'weh' is hereby elucidated throughout the contrast brought forth by respective metaphrastic equivalents.

In coreferential structuring, the rightward anaphoric substitute is compulsory since the utterance "*Ol ting bi izi fo di man weh Ø bilif" (E102.) will be ungrammatical. Also, (unlike SE substitutes) 'weh' is never optional in non-coreferential structuring (cf. E98. *Mi a no sabi dat man Ø wuna di kol yi nem.'). Subsequently the impact of 'weh' is being enhanced; 'weh' stretches further beyond a mere anaphora. it carries out the nexus that implements the rightward switch to a thematic layout.

## CONCLUSION

At the close of this study on few operators (and operations as well), it can be factually elucidated that any descriptive or categorising viewpoint on language is merely deceitful. CPE has been making use of many operators whose scope was not necessarily meant to match SE operations (nor any other language). An intantiation will simply refer to the meta-use of the archi-operator ‘Fo’ (and ‘Dem’ also) in previous chapters.

Though alien to SE, the operation of reduplication has been proved productive in CPE. The underlying need for 'intensifying' operations in both systems is factual but the way they are implemented make up the internal and autonomous contrast among languages. Furthermore, SE proved to be more endowed -linearly- as regard the analytic use of operators of quantification.

Other operations such as the deictic implementation did overlap (operationally and formally) in both systems; be it a linguistic inheritance or not, the question lies on the basic complex concept involving the notion of 'Advanced Languages' as opposed to 'Primitive Languages'. In this vein, N . A. Chomsky35 (1970; 22) stretched further so as to acknowledge that "Pidgins may not function as means of thought and self expression". To such a mis-conception, a straightforward reply will appeal to this concise viewpoint from Guillaume (1964. 206) "Les actes de représentation appartiennent au plan profond de l'esprit et [sont] d'une toute autre nature que les actes d'expression, relativement superficiels, dont le discours est constitué36. "

However, this study is not yet expansive enough so as to avail sufficient data in favour of Mind Oneness as concern discursive structuring (Cf. operations). Put differently, there is likely an operational invariant ruling the skilful switch from language to discourse (this does not imply the illusory search for a Universal Grammar).

The very problem is that this modest study threw light on the fact that CPE avails distinctive operational clues that are alien or synthetic in SE (the reverse is also true).

[^27]The mesolectal attributes of CPE can thus be looked upon as the epitome of a perfect linguistic tool (cognitive or not); for the latter actually bridges the gap (if any) between Indo-European Languages and African Languages. So, may it help apprehend certain operational devices that are still overshadowed by awkward analytic prospects in other languages.

The foregoing postulations can be found idealistic or guilty for ‘overgeneralising’ since this paper has been focusing on tiny (but paramount) aspects of the language (i.e. nominal determination). Moreover, for want of concision and space, operators such as 'qualifier'; ordinals; etc. have been left aside. And, above all, predicative operations have not yet been focused on.

Though it is not yet evincive, this paper is to be viewed as a 'take-off' for further deepening into the widest operational potential of CPE (and other living languages as well).

[^28]
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Tom, Mc Arthur. 1992. English Today Cambridge University Press; p. 32

[^1]:    2 From Todd Loreto, Pidgin and Creole Languages

[^2]:    3 From Schneider, G.D.. 1966. West African Pidgin English. p. 5

[^3]:    4 From Quid 1995
    5 Jourdain, E. 1956. Du Français aux Parlers Créoles. p. 74

[^4]:    6 Dell, Hyme. Pidginization and Creolization .
    7 Bickerton, B. 1975. Dynamics of Creole Systems .CUP.

[^5]:    ${ }^{9}$ Throughout this work, the abbreviations SE and CPE stand for Standard English Language and Cameroon Pidgin English respectively.

[^6]:    10 Geenberg, J. The Languages of Africa.

[^7]:    11 Todd, Loreto. International English Usage.

[^8]:    12 Adapted from Mbakong's (Pidgin English Camerounais.).
    13 Africanized variants submit to the influence of African Languages such as: Bantu Grass field Languages, Sawa, ....

    14 The Anglicising variant undergoes the interference of English Language.

[^9]:    15 The Gallicising variant undergoes the interference of French Language.
    16 Mbakong, Tsendé A.1984. Pidgin English Camerounais (Thesis)

[^10]:    17 An Ethno-phonemic Transcription requires that each phoneme of the language should simply generate a one-to-one corresponding grapheme and vice-versa.

[^11]:    18 Mbakong acknowledged an inventory of only 7 vocalic phonemes and 20 consonantal ones.

[^12]:    19 The meta-term 'referential potential' simply refers to the 'Theory of Phases'; in metalinguistic terms, it stands for the capability of an entity to relate to the extra-linguistics (i.e. the referent). When the said capability is primary or direct, the entity (or operator) belongs to 'Phase 1 '. But when it is indirect or secondary, there is a switch to 'Phase 2'. All the same, this entails the utterance whereby the utterer's involvement is a prerequisite for 'Phase 2' (also known as thematic structuring; as well, a 'Phase 1 construction will be said rhematic.). The foregoing notice will be usefully exemplified throughout this paper.

[^13]:    20 From Herman, Wekker \& Liliane, Haegeman(1985). A Modern Course in English Syntax.

[^14]:    E1. Di fos tok fo di Gud Nyus fo Jesus Christ God yi Pikin. (N.P.)

[^15]:    21 Parataxis is the relationship between units of equal status; viz. co-ordination. A paratactic relation is syndetic when it entails the use of a connector (or conjunction); if not it is said asyndetic.

    22 Recursion is the property of any language to repeat any unit (lexical or syntactic) indefinitely. (cf. Angela Downing \& Al (1992)).

[^16]:    23 For the comprehension of many an example withdrawn from the corpus (vide supra), their respective SE versions have been found in many ways fuzzy for the impetus of operations under survey. Since the aim of this paper is not to carry out a mere inter-textual or translational analysis, an

[^17]:    inter-language explanatory device was still to be designed. Therefore, in an attempt to highlight structuring operations in CPE, the SE paraphrastic equivalents have been formulated in keeping with close homotaxis (syntactic homonymy) to CPE utterances. This translational device might be suitably called "Trans-paraphrase" or "Transliteration". But for the sake of non abusive coinage, the meta-term METAPHRASIS (also spelt METAPHRASE and abridged M.) has been chosen to stand for the said device everywhere the SE translation did not provide so much elucidation for the operation under survey.

    However the acceptability of Metaphrastic equivalents may be -to certain extendquestionable; in such a case the autonomy of CPE will be factually highlighted.

[^18]:    24 Hiatus is the coming together of two vowels in successive syllables of words.
    25 Epenthesis is the addition of a letter or letters in the middle of a structure.
    26 Apocope refers to the loss of one or more sounds, or letters from the end of a word.

[^19]:    27 An expletive is a word not necessary to the sense, introduced to fill up; such as an interjection or a word added for emphasis.

[^20]:    28 Deixis entails the use of any entity that stands as a referential location vis-à-vis another one.

[^21]:    29 An endophoric use is discursively contextual; that is, utterance-oriented (or textual).

[^22]:    30 An exophoric use discursively situational; that is, oriented towards extra-linguistic.

[^23]:    31 A deictic reference serves as an axial location for the determined notion.

[^24]:    32 The process of Bleaching happens when the semantic content of an item is made to dwindle; as a result, there is a metalinguistic enrichment of the said item.

[^25]:    33 A telic use is a directional implementation whose +/- remote achievement (>telos) is on-going.

[^26]:    34 This paper distinguishes between the meta-terms 'predicational' and 'predicative'. The first has to do with the whole predicate (i.e. the verbal entity and its arguments.) whereas the second chiefly involves the implementation of the node (or nexus) between the 'theme' and the 'predicate'.

[^27]:    35 Notes from Cartesian Linguistics. Queen's University Library.Belfast.

[^28]:    36 Gustave, Guillaume. 1964. Langage et Science du Language. Québec,(...); quoted from Catherine Fuchs \& Al.(1992). p. 45

