

Das Tempussystem im West-Ring (Graslandbantu, Kamerun)

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Die westlichen Ring-Sprachen des Graslandbantu (Kamerun) besitzen ein relativ elaboriertes Tempussystem, das konzeptuell sowohl den Tageszyklus als auch Parameter der Nähe/Ferne berücksichtigt (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 98, de Haan 2013: 448f.) und grundsätzlich drei synthetisch markierte kategoriale Stufen der Vergangenheit und zwei der Zukunft differenziert. Universal rangieren diese Systeme somit im oberen Feld morphologischer Komplexität nach den Maßstäben von Dahl & Velupillai 2005 und de Haan 2013. Auf solches Basissystem finden sich – sprachspezifisch – weitere reduzierte Subsysteme daraufgesattelt, z.B. Aspektfokus (perfektive Vergangenheit), Evidentialität und (Un-)höflichkeit. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, über einen vorläufigen ring-internen Vergleich auszuloten, inwieweit sich die Domäne des Tempussystems als Diagnostikum für einer Subklassifikation der Ringsprachen eignen könnte.

(1) Canonical order of markers in the inflected verb

<i>má</i>	<i>má</i>	ʼ <i>lámá</i>	<i>wô</i>
<i>má</i>	<i>má`</i>	<i>lámá</i>	<i>wò</i>
1sg	P1.FOC	wait.PF	2sg
SM	TAM	V	O ¹

‘I HAVE waited for you (sg).’

(3) Aspectual opposition for hodiernal past P1 (*mà*) with *búní* ‘sleep’

	perfective P1: ‘I slept (today)’	imperfective P1: ‘I was sleeping (today)’
1sg	<i>má mâ búní</i>	<i>má mâ bvúná</i>
2sg	<i>wò mà búní</i>	<i>wò mà bvúná</i>
3sg	<i>ù mà búní</i>	<i>ù mà bvúná</i>
1pl.excl	<i>ɣè mâ búní</i>	<i>ɣè mâ bvúná</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ɣà mâ búní</i>	<i>ɣà mâ bvúná</i>
2pl	<i>ɣà mâ búní</i>	<i>ɣà mâ bvúná</i>
3pl	<i>ɣú mâ búní</i>	<i>ɣú mâ bvúná</i>

(4) Past tense markers and categories

	plain pasts	offensive pasts	focalised pasts
immediate (P0)	∅	<i>mâ [mà]</i>	<i>má`</i>
hodiernal (P1)	<i>`mà</i>		
hesternal (P2)	<i>`kà</i>	<i>kâ [kà]</i>	<i>máà</i>
remote (P3)	<i>ká` ~ ^</i>		<i>má'á</i>

¹ The following abbreviations will be used: CF clause focus, CFG centrifugal, CPT centripetal, CPx concordial prefix, D1 proximal demonstrative, D2 distal demonstrative, FOC focus, F1 hodiernal (near) future, F2 definite (distant) future, IMP imperative, IPF imperfective, IS impersonal subject, NEG negative, O object, OF out-of-focus marker, P predicative marker, P0 present/immediate past P1 hodiernal past, P2 hesternal past, P3 remote past, PF perfective, POSS possessive, R root, S subject, SM subject marker, TAM tense, aspect, mood, V verbal stem. Numbers refer to person when followed by sg (singular), pl (plural), incl (inclusive), excl (exclusive) or log (logophoric). Otherwise, they refer to noun classes.

(5) West Ring comparison of tense markers²

	Aghem	Isu	Weh	Zoa	Kuk	Men	Kung
P0	∅	∅	∅	∅	?	ˈ ˈ	ˈ ˈ
P1	m̀̀	ˈm̀̀	m̀̀	m̀̀	?	fə	
P2	[ˈ]m̀̀	ˈk̀̀	m̀̀	ˈk̀̀	k̀̀	a	
P3	?	k̀̀ ~ ˆ	?	?	?	tə	
F1	s̀̀	k̀̀	ì	k̀̀	ì	ǹ̀	k̀̀ (arch. s̀̀)
F2	l̀̀	ǹ̀	ǹ̀	ǹ̀	k̀̀	ǹ̀	ǹ̀
F3	-	-	-	-	-	t̀̀	?
P0.FOC	ˈ ˈ	m̀̀	ˈ ˈ ~ m̀̀	ˈ ˈ ~ ˈ ˈ	= P0	= P0	= P0
P1.FOC	m̀̀	m̀̀	m̀̀	m̀̀	-	-	-
P2.FOC	m̀̀	m̀̀	m̀̀	?	-	-	-

(6) Perfective pasts with the H tone verb *b̀̀ǹ̀* 'sleep'

	P0 ∅	P1 ˈm̀̀	P2 ˈk̀̀	P3 k̀̀ ~ ˆ
1sg	m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	m̀̀ m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	m̀̀ k̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	m̀̀ k̀̀ ˈb̀̀ǹ̀
2sg	ẁ̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ẁ̀ m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ẁ̀ k̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ẁ̀ k̀̀ ˈb̀̀ǹ̀
3sg	ù b̀̀ǹ̀	ù m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ù k̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ù k̀̀ ˈb̀̀ǹ̀
1pl.excl	ɣ̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ ˈb̀̀ǹ̀
1pl.incl	ŋ̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ŋ̀̀ m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ŋ̀̀ k̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ŋ̀̀ k̀̀ ˈb̀̀ǹ̀
2pl	ɣ̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ ˈb̀̀ǹ̀
3pl	ɣ̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ m̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ b̀̀ǹ̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ ˈb̀̀ǹ̀

(7) Perfective pasts with the L tone verb *z̀̀* 'go'

	P0 ∅	P1 ˈm̀̀	P2 ˈk̀̀	P3 k̀̀ ~ ˆ
1sg	m̀̀ z̀̀	m̀̀ m̀̀ z̀̀	m̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀	m̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀
2sg	ẁ̀ z̀̀	ẁ̀ m̀̀ z̀̀	ẁ̀ k̀̀ z̀̀	ẁ̀ k̀̀ z̀̀
3sg	ù z̀̀	ù m̀̀ z̀̀	ù k̀̀ z̀̀	ù k̀̀ z̀̀
1pl.excl	ɣ̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ m̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀
1pl.incl	ŋ̀̀ z̀̀	ŋ̀̀ m̀̀ z̀̀	ŋ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀	ŋ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀
2pl	ɣ̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ m̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀
3pl	ɣ̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ m̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀	ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ z̀̀

² Aghem data: Hyman & Watters (1984: 252), Hyman & Watters (1979: 164); Weh, Zoa, Kuk, Men and Kung data: fieldwork RK.

(8) Contrastive examples of all pasts

(a) Immediate “hot news” perfect P0 ∅

γύ bóní

3pl sleep.PF

‘They sleep / have fallen asleep.’

(b) Hodiernal past P1 `mà

γύ mà bóní [zìy, *ázwá⁺, *á⁺fwó⁺sí]

3pl P1 sleep.PF [today, *yesterday, *day before yesterday]

‘They slept (earlier today).’

(c) Hesternal past P2 `kà

γύ kà bóní [ázwá⁺, *zìy, *á⁺fwó⁺sí]

3pl P2 sleep.PF [yesterday, *today, *day before yesterday]

‘They slept (yesterday).’

(d) Remote past P3 ká `

γύ ká ⁺bóní [á⁺fwó⁺sí, *ázwá⁺, *zìy]

3pl P3 sleep.PF [day before yesterday, *yesterday, *today]

‘They slept (some time before yesterday).’

(9) Evidentiality: contrast of inferential P3 kâ ~ ^ vs. direct evidential P2 `kà

(a) Inferential P3 kâ ` ~ ^`

zà k-á fàt dìy dzài wò ùtsòd ú ⁺wé â mbòη

spirit 7-D1.P3 instead cry say CPT trouble 3 3sg.POSS to Mbong

‘This god instead complained about his problems to Mbong (as they say).’

(b) Direct evidential P2 `kà

zà k-à ká fàt dìy dzài wò ùtsòd ú ⁺wé â mbòη

spirit 7-D1 P2 instead cry say CPT trouble 3 3sg.POSS to Mbong

‘This god instead complained about his problems to Mbong (I’ve witnessed it).’

(c) Inferential P3 kâ in opening formula of narratives

á ká dâ ká ηwô á⁺n-íná?

1pl P3 be ASS CF in-country

‘We used to be in a country once upon a time ...’

(10) P3 kâ contraction

(a) P3 reduction to ‘â

wúη á ⁺bémá

Wung P3 agree.PF

‘Wung accepted.’

(b) P3 reduction to \acute{V}

ká? á 'kú 'wáy nà
 Ka' P3 know.PF NEG that
 'Ka' did not know that ...'

(c) P3 reduction to $\hat{\text{^}}$

síy 'bé má
 Siy P3.agree.PF
 'Siy accepted.'

(11a) Full form vs. contraction of P3 $k\hat{\text{^}}$ with L verb $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$ 'leave'

	P3 $k\hat{\text{^}}$	Contraction
1sg	<i>má ká $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>	<i>má $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>
2sg	<i>w\grave{\text{d}} ká $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>	<i>w\check{\text{d}} $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>
3sg	<i>ù ká $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>	<i>ú $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>
1pl.excl	<i>γè ká $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>	<i>γě $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ηgà ká $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>	<i>ηgǎ $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>
2pl	<i>γà ká $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>	<i>γǎ $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>
3pl	<i>γú ká $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>	<i>γú $\eta w\grave{\text{d}}$</i>

(11b) Full form vs. contraction of P3 $k\hat{\text{^}}$ with H tone verb $fyí$ 'go out, exit'

	P3 $k\hat{\text{^}}$	Contraction
1sg	<i>má ká 'fyí</i>	<i>má 'fyí</i>
2sg	<i>w\grave{\text{d}} ká 'fyí</i>	<i>w\check{\text{d}} 'fyí</i>
3sg	<i>ù ká 'fyí</i>	<i>ú 'fyí</i>
1pl.excl	<i>γè ká 'fyí</i>	<i>γě 'fyí</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ηgà ká 'fyí</i>	<i>ηgǎ 'fyí</i>
2pl	<i>γà ká 'fyí</i>	<i>γǎ 'fyí</i>
3pl	<i>γú ká 'fyí</i>	<i>γú 'fyí</i>

(12) P3 $k\hat{\text{^}}$: full segmental retention vs. reduction

(a) P3 segmental reduction for indicating sequentiality

Tsân-Káy' bémá nìy ná w\grave{\text{d}} ùkwáam ú 'wé,
 Tsang-Kay.P3 accept take keep CPT dagger 3 3sg.POSS

γú 'kwé ní γ\grave{\text{d}} àw\acute{\text{d}}
 S3pl P3.tie.in.bundle enter CFG hands

'Tsang Kay accepted and brought forth his dagger, and then they started wrestling.'

(b) P3 segmental retention

yú ká 'kwé ní yà àwó
 S3pl P3 tie.in.bundle enter CFG hands
 'They started wrestling.'

(13) Offensive perfective pasts vs. plain pasts with H tone verb *búní* 'sleep'

	Offensive		Plain (non-offensive)	
	P1 <i>mà</i>	P2 <i>kà</i>	P1 <i>`mà</i>	P2 <i>`kà</i>
1sg	<i>má mâ búní</i>	<i>má kâ búní</i>	<i>má mà búní</i>	<i>má kà búní</i>
2sg	<i>wò mà búní</i>	<i>wò kà búní</i>	<i>wò mà búní</i>	<i>wò kà búní</i>
3sg	<i>ù mà búní</i>	<i>ù kà búní</i>	<i>ù mà búní</i>	<i>ù kà búní</i>
1pl.excl	<i>yè mâ búní</i>	<i>yè kâ búní</i>	<i>yě mà búní</i>	<i>yě kà búní</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ngà mâ búní</i>	<i>ngà kâ búní</i>	<i>ngǎ mà búní</i>	<i>ngǎ kà búní</i>
2pl	<i>yà mâ búní</i>	<i>yà kâ búní</i>	<i>yǎ mà búní</i>	<i>yǎ kà búní</i>
3pl	<i>yú mâ búní</i>	<i>yú kâ búní</i>	<i>yú mà búní</i>	<i>yú kà búní</i>

(14) Offensive perfective pasts vs. plain pasts with L tone verb *bù* 'come'

	Offensive		Plain (non-offensive)	
	P1 <i>mà</i>	P2 <i>kà</i>	P1 <i>`mà</i>	P2 <i>`kà</i>
1sg	<i>má mâ bù</i>	<i>má kâ bù</i>	<i>má mà bù</i>	<i>má kà bù</i>
2sg	<i>wò mà bù</i>	<i>wò kà bù</i>	<i>wò mà bù</i>	<i>wò kà bù</i>
3sg	<i>ù mà bù</i>	<i>ù kà bù</i>	<i>ù mà bù</i>	<i>ù kà bù</i>
1pl.excl	<i>yè mâ bù</i>	<i>yè kâ bù</i>	<i>yě mà bù</i>	<i>yě kà bù</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ngà mâ bù</i>	<i>ngà kâ bù</i>	<i>ngǎ mà bù</i>	<i>ngǎ kà bù</i>
2pl	<i>yà mâ bù</i>	<i>yà kâ bù</i>	<i>yǎ mà bù</i>	<i>yǎ kà bù</i>
3pl	<i>yú mâ bù</i>	<i>yú kâ bù</i>	<i>yú mà bù</i>	<i>yú kà bù</i>

(15) Focalised past tenses

	P0 <i>mâ</i> < * <i>'mà</i>	P1 <i>mâa</i> < * <i>'mà à</i>	P2 <i>má'á</i> < * <i>'mà á</i>
1sg	<i>má má 'búní</i>	<i>má mâa búní</i>	<i>má má'á búní</i>
2sg	<i>wò má 'búní</i>	<i>wò mâa búní</i>	<i>wò má'á búní</i>
3sg	<i>ù má 'búní</i>	<i>ù mâa búní</i>	<i>ù má'á búní</i>
1pl.excl	<i>yè má 'búní</i>	<i>yè mâa búní</i>	<i>yè má'á búní</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ngà má 'búní</i>	<i>ngà mâa búní</i>	<i>ngà má'á búní</i>
2pl	<i>yà má 'búní</i>	<i>yà mâa búní</i>	<i>yà má'á búní</i>
3pl	<i>yú má 'búní</i>	<i>yú mâa búní</i>	<i>yú má'á búní</i>

(16) Plain vs. focalised past tense

(a) *γύ κά 'búní*
S3pl P3 sleep.PF

'They had slept (the other day).' (no specific presupposition)

(b) *γύ má'á búní*
S3pl P3.FOC sleep.PF

'They HAD indeed slept (the other day).' (denial of contrary presupposition)

(17) F1 *kì* and F2 *nì* with the H tone verb *búní* 'sleep'

	F1 <i>kì</i>		F2 <i>nì</i>	
	Imperfective	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfective
1sg	<i>má kî bvúná</i>	<i>má kî búní</i>	<i>má nî bvúná</i>	<i>má nî búní</i>
2sg	<i>wò kî bvúná</i>	<i>wò kî búní</i>	<i>wò nî bvúná</i>	<i>wò nî búní</i>
3sg	<i>ù kî bvúná</i>	<i>ù kî búní</i>	<i>ù nî bvúná</i>	<i>ù nî búní</i>
1pl.excl	<i>γè kî bvúná</i>	<i>γè kî búní</i>	<i>γè nî bvúná</i>	<i>γè nî búní</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ηγά kî bvúná</i>	<i>ηγά kî búní</i>	<i>ηγά nî bvúná</i>	<i>ηγά nî búní</i>
2pl	<i>γà kî bvúná</i>	<i>γà kî búní</i>	<i>γà nî bvúná</i>	<i>γà nî búní</i>
3pl	<i>γύ kî bvúná</i>	<i>γύ kî búní</i>	<i>γύ nî bvúná</i>	<i>γύ nî búní</i>

(18) F1 *kì* and F2 *nì* with the L tone verb *bù* 'come'

	F1 <i>kì</i>		F2 <i>nì</i>	
	Imperfective	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfective
1sg	<i>má kî bèε</i>	<i>má kî bù</i>	<i>má nî bèε</i>	<i>má nî bù</i>
2sg	<i>wò kî bèε</i>	<i>wò kî bù</i>	<i>wò nî bèε</i>	<i>wò nî bù</i>
3sg	<i>ù kî bèε</i>	<i>ù kî bù</i>	<i>ù nî bèε</i>	<i>ù nî bù</i>
1pl.excl	<i>γè kî bèε</i>	<i>γè kî bù</i>	<i>γè nî bèε</i>	<i>γè nî bù</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ηγά kî bèε</i>	<i>ηγά kî bù</i>	<i>ηγά nî bèε</i>	<i>ηγά nî bù</i>
2pl	<i>γà kî bèε</i>	<i>γà kî bù</i>	<i>γà nî bèε</i>	<i>γà nî bù</i>
3pl	<i>γύ kî bèε</i>	<i>γύ kî bù</i>	<i>γύ nî bèε</i>	<i>γύ nî bù</i>

(19) Aspect opposition in F1

(a) Imperfective:

wò kî bvúná ηwò fá'
2sg F1 sleep.IPF CF here

'You will be sleeping here.'

(b) Perfective:

wò kî búní fá'
2sg F1.PF sleep.PF here

'You will / should sleep here.'

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