



SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN CHRAMBO (BAMBALANG): A BANTOID LANGUAGE OF NORTH-WEST CAMEROONⁱ

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Abstract:

The present article attempts to describe the syntactic structure of Chrambo multiple verb constructions using the Chomskyan generative theory and a descriptive-analytical approach. Analyses of data from secondary sources indicate that Chrambo exhibits a variety of serial verb constructions: instrumental, aspectual, sequential and directional. The paper reveals that Chrambo exhibits consecutivisation among processes of serial verb constructions. It is demonstrated that when they occur in series, all the verbs do not always count as one verb in this Bantoid language; however, the grammatical features and negation apply to the entire sentence. Also, the present paper demonstrates that SVCs, in this language, play a number of roles such as TAMs marking, verb valency indication, motion expression, direction indication, etc.

Keywords: Chrambo (Bambalang), serial verb construction (SVC), consecutivisation, evenhood, clausehood, verb valency

Résumé:

Le présent article essaie de faire une description de la structure syntaxique des constructions en série des verbes en chrambo selon la théorie générative de Chomsky et l'approche descriptivo-analytique. Les analyses des données extraites des documents existants indiquent que la langue chrambo contient une variété des constructions des verbes en série telles que les constructions instrumentales, aspectuelles, séquentielles et directionnelles. Cet article révèle que la consécutive fait partie des processus qui permettent de construire ces structures. Il démontre que quand elles apparaissent dans cet ordre, tous les verbes ne sont pas analysés comme un verbe unique quoique les traits grammaticaux et la négation s'appliquent toujours à toute la phrase. Aussi, ce travail de recherche montre que les constructions des verbes en série assument plusieurs fonctions dans cette langue bantoïde : elles marquent les TAMs, indiquent la valence verbale, la direction, expriment le mouvement, etc.

ⁱ LA SERIALISATION DES VERBES EN CHRAMBO (BAMBALANG): LANGUE BANTOÏDE DU NORD-OUEST CAMEROUN

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Mots clés : chrambo (bambalang), construction des verbes en série, consécutive, événement, proposition, valence verbale.

1. Introduction

Chrambo, also called Bambalang, is an eastern grassfields Bantu language spoken in the North-West region of Cameroon by Bambalang people. A number of works, such as the alphabet, *The Noun and Verb Phrase in Chrambo (Bambalang)* by Wright Jennifer in 2009 and *An Introduction to the Grammar of Chrambo* by Mbuh Martha Njui in 2020, have been done. This article describes the serial verb constructions which were not discussed enough in the language. Our data is provided from *An Introduction to the Grammar of Chrambo* by Mbuh Martha Njui. In other words, one exploits secondary source data collected from a published book.

Concerning the theoretical framework, the article attempts the syntactic structure of Chrambo multiple verb constructions using the Chomskyan generative theory, precisely, the descriptive-analytical approach. In fact, the generative theory, the minimalist program in particular, which accounts for linguistic universals (Ndiribe, 2019), is helpful in the economy of derivations and representations of syntactic structures.

In this paper, my concerns are the typologies, the valency and the architecture of serial clauses. It comprises five sections: (1) previous works and puzzle, (2) the Chrambo SVC's typologies, (3) the analysis of the concepts of verbhood, clausehood and eventhood in the Chrambo SVCs, (4) the SVCs' functions in Chrambo, and (5) the syntactic representation of the Chrambo SVCs.

2. Previous works and puzzle

Both Wright Jennifer (2009) and Mbuh Martha Njui (2020) have mentioned multiple verb constructions in their works. For Wright Jennifer (2009): "*Sometimes, a serial verb phrase can be split by the presence of an argument of one of the verbs....*". She gives only one typology of SVCs in Chrambo, which is the directional SVC. Mbuh Martha Njui (2020) describes Chrambo SVC as a single morphosyntactic constituent. In order to see if further analyses are possible, let us look at the following data:

- 1) Púòŋ tie ntɔ maŋ papa ntã jĩ
Children run bring food father their eat
The children ran and brought food, their father ate.
- 2) Yua ɲí shĩ ɲə jĩ ɲã a pɔ she
Tomorrow 1sg Fut go see if 3sg be well
Tomorrow, I will go and see if he is fine.
- 3) Khiki à nì tsɔ nkwey mɛ́wí nɔ lɛ pie
Khiki SM.3sg TNS.P2 come take knife for day this

Khiki came and took the knife a few days ago.

- 4) Sob á ní tsə jwé mítoa ngəi nɔ
Sob SM.3sg TNS.P2 come kill snake go with
Sob came, killed the snake and went with it.
- 5) Á nì tsí ntá ngəi
3sg TNS.P2 stand want go
He stood up for going.
- 6) Eboh à shǐ ngəi tán ghə yuŋ nya'a
Eboh 3sg TNS.Fut go market the buy meat
Eboh will go to the market and buy some meat.

The above data show that combinations of verbs in single clauses without linking words are attested in Chrambo, as claimed by Wright Jennifer (2009) and Mbuh Martha Njui (2020). The language allows the construction of two consecutive finite verbs which almost function independently. Some can undergo the same grammatical behaviors, such as agreement in aspect, tense, mode, intonation, etc., as is the case in example (5); others can denote the same actions (see example 6).

According to Alexander Andrason (2018: 1), serial verb constructions are SVC prototypes that he defines as “...two finite verbs that can occur independently outside an SVC”. For him such a structure “...exhibits a unitary TAM interpretation, polarity value and arguments structures; denotes a single event; exhibits a cohesive intonation pattern; functions as a single predicate and a single clause which precludes any type of clause combining in particular, subordination, complementation(conjunctive), coordination and consecutivisation...”.

An observation of example (1) indicates that some Chrambo verbs of the SVC almost occur on their own. In fact, the consecutive finite verb constructions seem not to function as a single predicate. It means that individual verbs in such constructions can select their own arguments; they “may have the same or different transitivity values” as declared by O. Babarinde (2013: 469).

The questions which arise from the above observations are the following: Which types of SVCs exist in Chrambo? Given the complexity of the language’s structures, how are the concepts of verbhood, clausehood and eventhood defined? How are subject-verb agreement and complementation achieved? Finally, one would like to know if the structure can be projected with respect to the X-bar theory. Answers to these questions constitute the sections of the present communication.

3. Typologies of Chrambo SVCs

The classification of Serial verb constructions in Chrambo depends on the semantics and the morpho-syntax of SVCs. They permit the distinction between sequential, aspectual, directional and instrumental serial verb constructions.

3.1 Sequential SVC

Velázquez-Catillo (2004): *“Sequential verb-framed constructions include the ground in their core schema and tend to must form a single.”* In order to see if the Chrambo language aligns with this definition, let us have a look at the data that follows:

- 7) Púòŋ tie ntɔ maŋ papa ntã jĩ
Children run bring food father their eat
The children ran and brought food, their father ate.
- 8) Nĩ ndwí nɔ shĩ ngɔní múa boke
You put dress TNS.Fut wash inside bucket
You put clothes to wash in the bucket.

The above paradigm shows that it is possible to build correlated events interpreted sequentially in Chrambo language. We can see that in each sentence containing SVCs above, actions described by V1, V2 and V3 such as in example (7) are micro-event of the general event. They are sequences of the macro-event denoted by the whole sentence. Each sequence of the whole event or each micro-event can be interpreted independently. In sentence (8) for instance, V1 “ndwí” (put) and “ngɔní” (wash) constitute a chain of the event described in the sentence.

3.2 Instrumental SVC

In instrumental SVC types, the instrument meaning follows an introductory preposition such as “with”, “for”, etc. Let us consider the following data:

- 9) Ngala á kwó tsɔ nkwéy mɛ́nwí
Ngala SM.3sg Aux. Come take knife
Ngala has come and has taken the knife.
(He has come to take the knife.)

A look at the Chrambo sentence (09) that precedes reveals that this Bantoid language does not exactly conform to the definition of instrumental serial verb constructions which stipulates that the instrument meaning should follow a preposition. The structure of example (9) indicates that there is no preposition between V2 and the instrumental argument in Chrambo. Here, we notice that the V2 “nkwéy” (take) directly selects the instrumental argument “mɛ́nwí” (the knife). In other words, there is not an overt use of a preposition between the SVC and the instrumental argument.

3.3 Directional SVCs

In his definition of Directional SVCs, Nuttanart Muasuwan (2000) writes that “*they involve motion-related verbs*”. They form a double-headed Verbal in Yoruba as analyzed by Baker (1989). In Chrambo, “*...direction is always expressed in the verb rather than in a preposition/locative marker.*” (Wright Jennifer, 2009: 61). It means that directional SVCs in Chrambo involve verbs that indicate directions or describe movements related to a given direction such as “go”, “come”. Examples are found in the following lines:

- 10) Ndogma à shĩ ngəi tao nkí
 Ndogma SM.3sg TNS.Fut. go fetch water
 Ndogma will go and fetch some water.
- 11) Yua nĩ shĩ ngəi ji nã à pə she
 Tomorrow 1sg Fut go see if 3sg be well
 Tomorrow, I will go and see if he is fine.
- 12) Sob à nĩ tsə jwé mítoa ngəi nə
 Sob SM.3sg TNS.P2 come kill snake go with
 Sob came, killed the snake and went with it.

Here, one realizes that at least one of V1 and V2 indicates a direction. Even though the above verbs seem not to indicate a precise direction, “tsə” (come) and “nga” (go) are related to motion as underlined by Nuttanart Muasuwan (2000). Thus, the SVC containing such verbs in Chrambo can be analyzed as examples of directional serial verb constructions. Instead of conveying a complementation reading proposed by Sebba (1987) and Winford (1990), illustrations (10), (11) and (12) reveal that Chrambo’s Directional SVCs stand in a covert coordination relation.

3.4 Aspectual SVCs

SIL International (2004) defines a serial verb construction as “*...a string of verbs or verb phrases within a single clause that expresses simultaneous or immediately consecutive actions,and are marked or understood as having the same grammatical categories, such as aspect, modality...*”. Some series of verbs mark aspects in Chrambo as illustrated in the following example

- 13) Á nĩ tsə kǒ
 3sg TNS.P2 start cry
 He is crying/started crying. (Progressive aspect)

This construction indicates that the V1 carries the aspectual features, the grammatical functions, whereas the V2 describes the action or the event, it denotes the semantic interpretation of the sentence. In other words, aspectual SVCs in Chrambo are examples of consecutivisation where the first verb denotes aspect and the second verb functions as the main verb. As claimed

by Alexander Anderson (2018), *“the lexical type of event draws from the semantics of V2”* in the consecutive-verb construction in this Bantoid language.

4. The concepts of Verbhood, Clausehood and Eventhood in the Chrambo SVCs

The concepts of verbhood, clausehood and eventhood are very complex in the Chrambo SVCs.

4.1 The verbhood

According to Joseph Lovestrand (2021): *“The most obvious issue regarding verbhood in serial verb constructions is whether two verb roots that make up a single morphosyntactic word should count as two verbs or just one”*. An examination of Chrambo data leads me to assume that SVCs in this language are endowed with the two characteristics. To answer this question, I will first consider the verb's semantic and grammatical roles, then the modal verbs and TAMS as criteria to define the concept of verbhood in this grassfield language.

4.1.1 Verb's semantic role in Chrambo SVCs

Let us look at the morphology, function and the behavior of root verbs contained in serial verb constructions that follow:

14) Khiki à nì tso nkwéy mípwí nò lè pie
Khiki SM.3sg TNS.P2 come take knife for day this
Khiki came and took the knife a few days ago.

15) Pùòŋ tie ntò maŋ papa ntă jĩ
Children run bring food father their eat
The children ran and brought food, their father ate it.

16) Nĩ ndwí nò shĩ ngoní múa boke
You put dress TNS.Fut wash inside bucket
You put clothes that will be washed in the bucket.

One realizes after a look at the sentences above that in (14), the two root verbs combine to almost denote one event, the one of taking the knife. In (15), the first two first verbs of the sentence (V1 and V2) “tie” (run) and “ntò” (bring) are related to the same action, the one of bringing food, and they have the same subject “pùòŋ” (children) and the same object “maŋ” (food), whereas V3 “jĩ” has its subject and describes an action which is slightly different from the first one. Thus, the semantic value of verbs can account for their uniqueness or difference. In contrast to root verbs in (14) and (15), one notices in sentence (16) that the action described by V2 will take place in the future, whereas the one in V1 takes place in the present. The degree of the relation between the two events seems to be less little.

The above remarks lead to the conclusion that, despite the absence of linking words, it seems to be the case that the two or three finite verbs make, not always one morphosyntactic word, but possibly two or more. When they denote one event, each verb in the sequence plays a specific role that contributes to the uniqueness of the event. This argumentation allows

concluding in the sense of Watters (2000: 221) who claims that “...in a sequence of two verbs, one verb may be more of an auxiliary than the other, which conveys the core meaning in the clause.”

4.1.2 (Modal) verbs’ roles and TAMs

Another significant criterion that characterizes verbhood in Chrambo is TAMs and main verbs, which have the grammatical characteristics of modal verbs.

4.1.2.1 Subject-verb agreement and TAMS

Westerman (1930: 36) declares that “...all consecutive verbs are of the same tense or mode.” It means that verbs contained in the SVCs share identical TAM’s. Let us look at the following sentences:

17) Sob à nì tsɔ jwé mítoa ngəi nɔ
Sob SM.3sg TNS.P2 come kill snake go with
Sob came, killed the snake and went with it.

18) Eboh à shĩ ngəi tán ghɔ yuŋ nya’a
Eboh 3sg TNS.Fut go market the buy meat
Eboh will go to the market and buy some eat.

A look at sentences (17) and (18) shows that both the agreement marker and the tense marker apply to the whole sentence, i.e. to all consecutive verbs in Chrambo as claimed by Westerman (1930) and many other linguists.

This analysis is not correct with all the sentences in the languages, such as in (19):

19) Nĩ ndwí nɔ shĩ ngɔní múa bɔkɛ
You put dress TNS.Fut wash inside bucket
You put clothes which will be washed in the bucket

In the examples above, the two root verbs “ndwí” (put) and “ngɔní” (wash) are not of the same tense and probably of the same aspect. The future tense marker “shĩ” applies only to V2.

4.1.2.2 Auxiliaries and modal verbs

Chrambo language does not totally align with the analyses that “one verb may be more of an auxiliary than the other...” as declared by Watters (2000). In some circumstances, it resorts to specific items which play the role of auxiliaries. Let us examine the following sentences:

20) Ngala à kwô tsɔ nkwéy mɪnwí
Ngala SM.3sg Aux. come take knife
Ngala has come and has taken the knife.
(He has come to take the knife).

In the above structure, for instance, there is a specific auxiliary marker: “kwô” which is located in a position higher than the two consecutive verbs contained within the sentence. The later does contain neither a tense marker nor a modal indicator. Given the semantics of the construction, this auxiliary item seems to apply to the two verbs.

From the above analysis, although I agree with her that “kwô” is endowed with auxiliary’s characteristics in Chrambo, I can argue that Wright Jennifer (2009: 60)’s declaration: “...in many instances of serial verb phrases, all but the final verbs are auxiliary verbs which cannot stand alone.” falls short. One sees that “kwô” is located in a position higher than the series of finite verbs. Let us look at sentences (21) and (22) for further analysis:

21) Á nì tsí ntá ɲgəi
 3sg TNS.P2 stand want go
 He stood up for going.

22) Á à tsɛ kǒ
 3sg TNS.P2 start cry
 He started crying.

Contrary to (20), an observation of sentences (21) and (22) reveals that Chrambo can also use verbs which denote auxiliary and modal roles. They just allow the following verbs, which convey the semantic interpretations of the sentence, to be properly conjugated. The modal auxiliary verbs indicate aspect and do not have a semantic value or grammatical properties to select complements. In fact, the meaning of helping-verbs or of verbs behaving as such falls into one of the following: helped verbs in Chrambo SVCs. In example (22), for instance, “tsɛ” (start) conveys an aspectual role which indicates that the action of crying is progressive.

4.1.3 The verb valency

According to Watters (2000: 11): “All the verbal groups are underlined, but it is the last one in each series that realizes the benefactive or circumstantial role, such as beneficiary, location, reason,...”. A thorough examination of data in Chrambo in the preceding sections reveals that it is only the last verb of a sequence of SVC which has the grammatical properties to select complements. This observation is indicative that illustrations which contain many verbs with different complements have different verbs or distinct sequences of SVCs.

The above observations lead to the conclusion that serial verb constructions do not always count as one verb in Chrambo-type languages. The structure can share the same subject and object, or each verb can have its own arguments.

23) Nĩ ndwí nɔ shĩ ɲgɔní múa bokɛ
 You put dress TNS. Fut wash inside bucket
 You put clothes to wash in the bucket.

In the sentence above, the two verbs that appear in series share the same subject “Nĩ” (you) but separate complements. The V1 “ndwĩ” (put) is a transitive verb which takes as complement the NP “nɔ” (dress/cloth), whereas the V2 “ngonĩ” (wash) selects a circumstantial complement of place “múa bokɛ” (inside the bucket). This analysis is supportive of the hypothesis that not all verbs in SVCs behave as a single verb; the different verbs can have “*same or different transitivity values*” as claimed by O. Babarinde (2013: 469).

4.2 The clausehood

The hypothesis of the existence of SVCs with verbs behaving either as single verbs or as distinct verbs in Chrambo indicates that the nature of clausehood may also be complex. Let us come back to some examples in the lines below:

24) à nì tsɔ nkwéy mɪɲwí
SM.3sg TNS.P2 come take knife
She came and took the knife.
(She has taken the knife).

25) Púòŋ tie ntɔ maŋ papa ntă jĩ
Children run bring food father their eat
The children ran and brought food, their father ate it.

26) Pigi shĩ aŋgə tán ghɔ yuŋ nya’a
We TNS.Fut go market the buy meat
We will go to the market and buy some eat.

The problem that concerns the clausehood in serial verb construction is the definition and the number of clauses. In fact, one would like to know if they make one clause or they are juxtapositions of independent clauses.

In order to determine the clausehood, one will resort to the criteria of verbs’ arguments, the number of predicates and negation.

4.2.1 Verbs’ arguments and the number of predicates within Chrambo SVCs

Up to now, it is known that the number of predicates depends on the number of finite verbs within the sentence. Looking at Chrambo sentences above, one assumes that Chrambo language permits both mono-clause and multiple-clause serial verb constructions, as we can see in sentences that follow.

27) Á nì tsí ntá aŋgə
3sg TNS.P2 stand want go
He stood up for going.

- 28) Khiki à nì tsə nkwéy mípwí nɔ lɛ pie
Khiki SM.3sg TNS.P2 come take knife for day this
Khiki came and took the knife a few days ago.

One notices, after an observation of verbs in the paradigm above, that they all have the same subject and the same object. This is an indication that they act together as a single morphosyntactic constituent: they are examples of mono-clause SVCs. Let us consider the sentences below for further analysis:

- 29) Púòn tie ntə maŋ papa ntă jǐ
Children run bring food father their eat
The children ran and brought food, their father ate it.
(The children ran to bring food that their father ate).

- 30) Nǐ ndwí nɔ shǐ ngəní múa bokɛ
You put dress TNS.Fut wash inside bucket
You put clothes to wash in the bucket.
(You put clothes which will be washed in the bucket)

- 31) Eboh à shǐ ngəi tán ghə yuŋ nya'a
Eboh 3sg TNS.Fut go market the buy meat
Eboh will go to the market and buy some meat.

In contrast with sentences (26) and (27), we realize that verbs in 28, 29 and 30 seem not to act together. In 29, V1 and V2 share the same subject but do not have the same complement. In 28, V1 and V2 have the same subject “púòn” (children) and the same object “maŋ” (food), while V3 has its own subject “papa” (father). It seems to be the case that “maŋ” (the food), the object of the first consecutive verbs (V1 and V2) can be interpreted as the subject of V3. Also, one can notice after a look at (29) that the object of V1 is the subject of V2.

These relations indicate that the sequences of SVCs may share grammatical relations. The functions of objects and subjects above indicate that the first sequence of SVC plays the role of the main clause while the following SVC play the role of the subordinate clause in Chrambo.

Those remarks reveal that verbs in the above examples may not act together, and the different clauses should be analyzed either as co-subordinations (28 and 29) or juxtapositions (30). In other words, they are illustrations of multiple-clause SVCs.

In fact, the criterion of verbs' arguments and the number of predicates leads to the conclusion that both mono-clause SVCs and Multiple-clause SVCs are attested in Chrambo.

4.2.2 The criterion of negation

According to Mbuh Martha (2020), the negation marker generally occurs in the sentence beginning position to apply to the entire sentence. That is not the case in (31).

- 32) Ngala á kwɔ tsɔ mba'a nɔ̃ki nkwe
Ngala 3sg Aux. come Neg cut wood
Ngala came, but he did not cut firewood.

The negator in the above construction applies only to V2. It means that negation in Chrambo can apply to the whole sentence if it is entirely negated; it can concern a specific sequence of the sentence, as illustrated in (31), which is an example of multiple-clause SVC.

4.3 The eventhood

Bisang (2009: 805) speculates that a closer look across the areas of events “*may well reveal that the only common property shared by all the languages that have SVCs is eventhood in the sense that an SVC as a whole covers one single event*”; a single event that he defines as a macro-event property (MEP). This definition is completed by Bohemeyer et al. (2007: 497) who claim that “*a construction has the MEP if temporal operations such as time adverbials, temporal clauses and tenses necessarily have scope over all events encoded by the construction.*”

The question which arises consists to know whether the complexity of Chrambo sentences accommodates the above definitions of eventhood or not. Let us look at the following sentences to answer this question.

- 33) Njoh à nì tsɔ jwé mítoa ngəi nɔ
Njoh SM.3sg TNS.P2 come kill snake go with
Njoh came, killed the snake and went with it.

- 34) Ndogma à shĩ ngəi tao nkĩ
Ndogma SM.3sg TNS.Fut go fetch water
Ndogma will go and fetch water.
(Ndogma will go to fetch water.)

- 35) Ngala à kwô tsɔ nkwéy mɨ́wí
Ngala SM.3sg Aux. Come take knife
Ngala has come and has taken the knife.
(He has come to take the knife)

- 36) à nì tsɛ kǒ
3sg TNS.P2 start cry
He started crying.

When we look at the above sentences, we see that the characteristics of SVCs, which cover one single event, are correct in Chrambo. In effect, the different root verbs above describe micro-events that constitute the macro-event, as noticed in section 1.

However, some examples indicate that though the micro-events are related, their degree of relationship within the sentence may lead to the analysis that they may denote slightly different events, as we can see in the examples below:

37) Púòŋ tie ntɔ maŋ papa ntă ĵĩ
Children run bring food father their eat
The children ran and brought food, their father ate it.

38) Nĩ ndwí nɔ shĩ ngɔní múa bókɛ
You put dress TNS.Fut wash inside bucket
You put clothes to wash in the bucket.

In (37), the tense marker applies only to a sequence of the sentence which describes a specific event that will take place in the future. In example (36), the different root verbs do not share the same arguments, meaning that they may denote almost different events as assumed above. As claimed by Maura Velazquez-Castillo (2004), I can say that such constructions are predicate chains which designate “...a single macro-event and that eventhood is a matter of degree”.

In short, one can conclude from the nature of verbs, clauses and events in Chrambo SVCs that the omission or absence of linking words between finite verbs does not always count for verbhood, clausehood and eventhood in serial verb constructions.

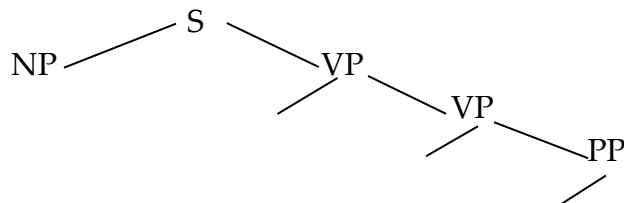
5. The Chrambo SVCs functions

Analyses in the preceding sections permit us to write that SVCs in Chrambo have a number of grammatical and semantic roles. Among these roles or functions, there are TAMs marking, verb's valency indication, modal verb expression, motion expression, direction indication, etc.

5.1 The syntactic representation of the Chrambo SVCs

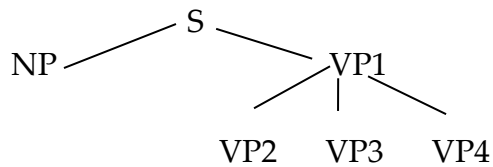
Baker (1989) suggests “...a double-headed verbal phrase structure for SVCs...where both heads theta-mark one NP-argument” represented in tree diagrams such as the one which follows:

(39)



He proposes a most appropriate diagram represented as follows:

(40)

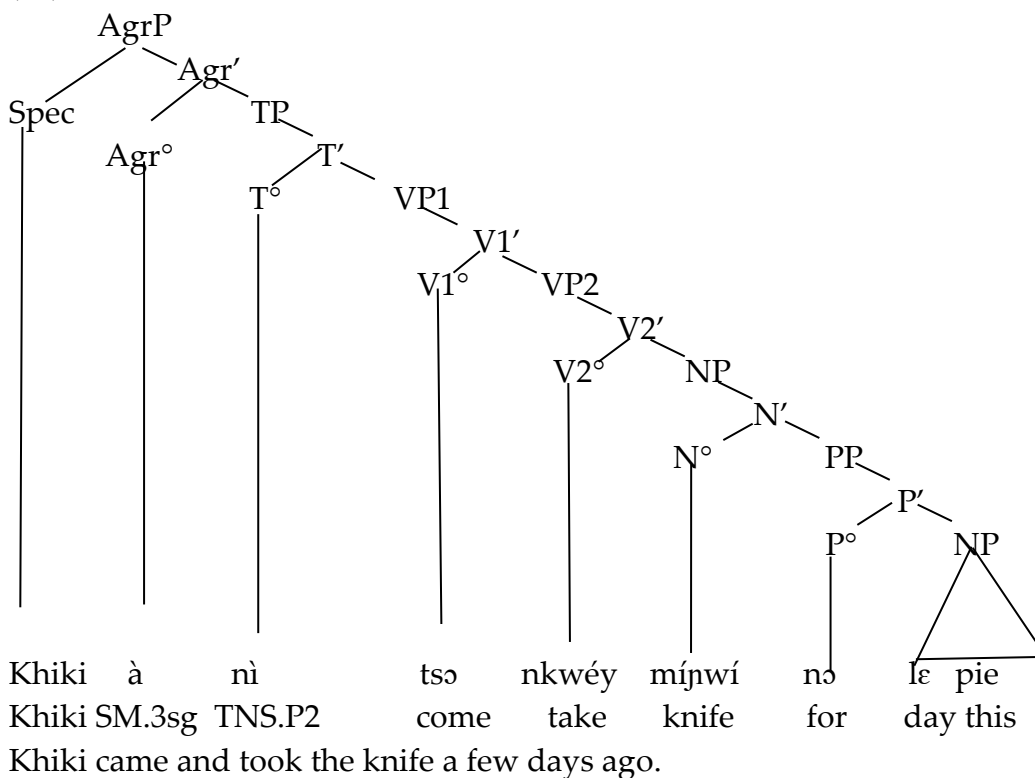


The Chrambo data above with the possibility of building both mono-clause SVCs and multiple-clause SVCs suggest that two types of tree diagrams can be drawn:

5.2 The syntactic representation of the Chrambo mono-clause SVCs

The analysis that V1 and V2 act as a single verb indicates that V2 which selects complement stands itself as the complement of V1 as illustrated below:

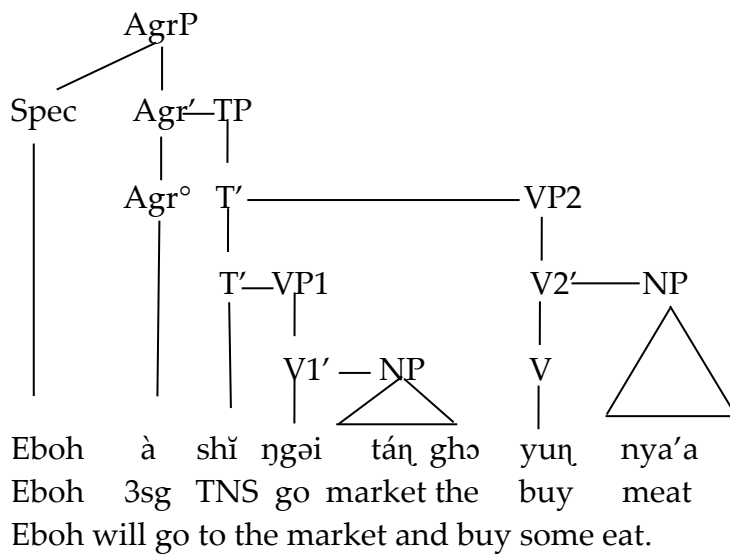
(41)



5.2 The syntactic representation of the Chrambo multiple-clause SVCs

The possible insertion of complements between V1, V2, V3, etc. supposes that they cannot be complement for one another. Thus, each VP branches to a distinct T' and selects its complements as we can see in (42).

(42)



As illustrated above, the tense scopes over the SVC in Chrambo-type languages. Each of the two verbs branches to a distinct T'.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, analyses of Chrambo sentences indicate that 4 SVCs are possible in the language: the directional, the aspectual, the sequential and the instrumental. It was demonstrated that Chrambo SVCs do not always act as a single morphosyntactic word; they can denote different sequences of events with the possibility to build mono-clause SVCs and multiple-clause SVCs. Also, analyses have permitted us to write that SVCs express motion, mark aspects and auxiliary, indicate direction and determine verb-valency. In the last section, it was demonstrated that the Chrambo SVCs are examples of double-headed VPs when the verbs act together and distinct VPs when they act as distinct words in the sentence.

Conflict of Interest Statement

I declare that there are no conflicts of interest.

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