

"Bring" Without a Dedicated Verb: Deictic Motion Constructions in Shupamem

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Abstract

There is not a counterpart of the verb "to bring" in Shupamem i.e. in this language, there is not a specific verb that means "to bring". In this vein, this paper looks at the various strategies that are used to denote the action "of bringing" in Shupamem. Building on Shupamem data provided by nine informants through the elicitation namely questionnaires, interviews and documents, it is revealed that there is not a one-to-one correspondence of "to bring" in Shupamem, as it is the case in languages like French and English for instance. Fundamentally, Shupamem realizes "bring" meaning through deictic motion verbs rather than a dedicated transfer verb. In this language, there are three verbs that are used when one is asking someone to bring something or somebody. These three verbs are *twó* (to come), *já* (to come) and *lú* (go). In Shupamem, "bring" arises via deictic motion verbs plus an object NP, with imperative-specific constraints for *já* and interchangeability conditions for *twó/lú*. More specifically, when *twó* (to come) and *lú* (go) are followed by an NP it means "to bring". Whereas in imperative sentences, when *já* (to come) is followed by an NP it means "to bring". It is shown that *já* (to come) is only used in imperative structures. Finally, it is revealed that only *twó* (to come) and *lú* (go) are interchangeable and this is in both monoclausal and embedded structures.

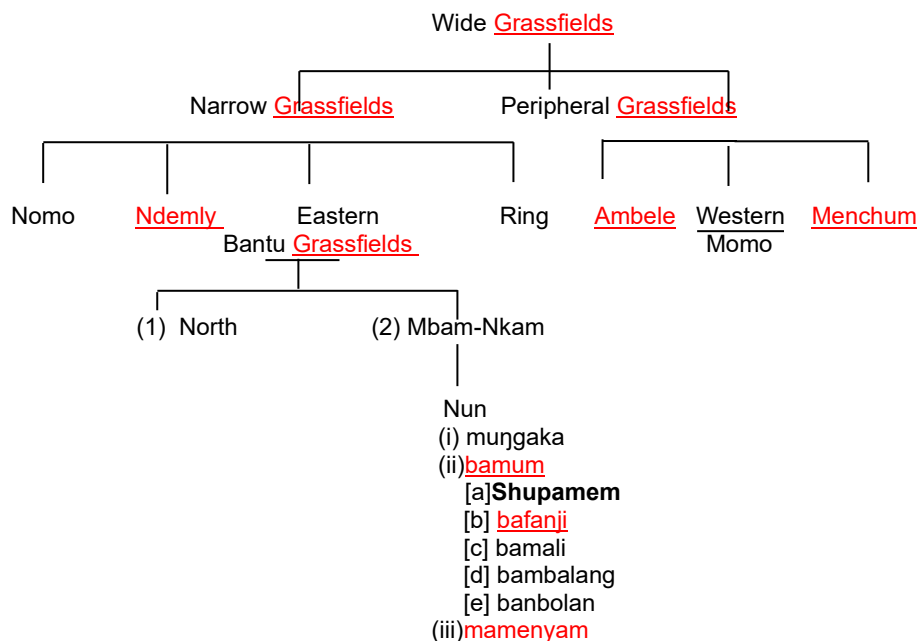
KEYWORDS

shupamem; grass fields bantu languages; verb; to bring

Introduction

This paper seeks to identify the verb "to bring" in Shupamem. In fact, one wants to know how one can ask somebody to bring "someone" or "something" in this language. It is unfortunately observed that in Shupamem, there is not a one-to-one correspondent of the verb "to bring". In this language, the verb "to bring" is not clearly identified as it is the case in languages like French in which "apporter" means "to bring" or English "to bring" just to name these two languages in which there is specific a verb to convey this action. In this vein, this investigation strives to answer the following questions: (1) What is "to bring" in Shupamem? (2) Which strategy is used in Shupamem to derive "to bring"? Notice that in Shupamem, "to bring" involves a motion toward a deictic centre + accompaniment/transport of theme; possibly with transfer implicatures. Thus, native speakers of Shupamem make use different strategies to convey messages in which the verb is "to bring". In Shupamem, "to bring" is derived from come/go verbs plus NP objects with systematic distributional constraints with an imperative-specific constraints for *já* and interchangeability conditions for *twó/lú* in mono clausal and embedded structures. This is in line with (C. Wang, 2018) who states that "the motion verbs come and go have a large number of non-literal or idiomatic uses". This means that come/go can mean something else. Hence, this paper addresses this question in Shupamem by bringing

Figure 1. Shupamem classification among the Grassfields Bantu languages (adapted from Nchare (2012:9))



The map above localizes Shupamem in Cameroon among the various local languages spoken in the country.

factual instantiations in one hand and in the other hand, it looks at how Shupamem expresses this particular concern that is how do we say for instance *bring me a child* in this language.

This paper is structured as follow: section 1 deals with the methodology. Section 2 presents an insight of the language under discussion. Section 3 identifies how “to bring” is expressed in Shupamem. Section 4 looks at the position of *já* (come), *twó* (come) *lú* (go) within the sentence which are the different verbs that denote the action of “bringing” in Shupamem.

Background On Shupamem

Following (Njifon Ngoupayou 2017, 2023a, 2023b), the term Shupamem is an association of two items: “Shu” which means language and “pamem” which stands for Bamun, Bamum, Bamoun or Bamoum i.e. an ethnic group in the West region of Cameroon. This said, etymologically, Shupamem means the language of Bamun. Shupamem is a narrow Eastern Grassfields Bantu tonal language spoken in Cameroun in the West region and particularly in the Noun division. This is the only language that is spoken by the Bamun community in this linguistics area. It is worth noting that that this language has no dialect. To finish, Dieu & Renaud (1983) classify Shupamem in zone 9. (See Figure1).

What is a verb?

According to Bussmann, (1996), “Verbs indicate phenomena which take place during time: activities, processes, and states. Morphologically, they are marked by conjugation, as well as the grammatical categories of voice, mood, tense, person and number”. On his part, Njifon (2023a: 206) considers the verb as the most essential element of a sentence. It is for this reason that there are some sentences that are only made up of a verb. E.g. Come!

This is surely the reason why Rodríguez-Navarro, (2004) states that: “of the obligatory elements in a sentence, the main verb is the one that wholly or largely determines what form the rest of the structure will take.

Motion verbs

It is important to have a look at the notion of motion verbs before diving into the discussion. Many scholars have a paid a particular attention to motion verbs cross linguistically. These include Greek (Soroli & Verkerk 2017); Uyghur (Tusun & Hendriks 2022); French and Chinese (Shen 2025); Arabic (Othman 2025); Changan (Menete & Guiying 2024); Chinese (Chen 2025); Swedish (Podolsák 2025); Changa (Sitoe 2001); Kirundi (Misago 2018) etc. Following Holmatova (2022), motion verbs are the ones that indicate motion to the reader and specify what is going. Motion verbs are usually categorised into path verbs (go, come, leave...) and manner of motion verbs (run, jump, skip...), Sarda (2019).

Methods

In the course of this investigation, the researcher will make use of primary and secondary data. Following Mazhar et al., (2021), primary data refer “to data that are collected for the first time, and are original and fresh” these data are collected through questionnaires, interviews, observation etc. while secondary data are data that were collected by someone else and have undergone the statistical process already. Ganesha & Aithal, (2022) stress the importance of secondary data in these terms, “This type of data is required in research to support or corroborate the background/motivation for formulating the research question. Secondary data are collected through previously published articles, PhD thesis etc. The data used in the course of this investigation are collected through questionnaires, interviews and documents. The results of this investigation are therefore derived from the analysis and the interpretation of these data. Moreover, as a native speaker of Shupamem, my knowledge of the language has played an instrumental role in the analysis and

interpretation of the data all along this inquiry.

Additionally, the empirico-inductive method is used in the course of this investigation. This method is very suitable in this work because the results of this investigation are generated from the data as it was indicated earlier in this section.

Data and Elicitation

First of all the informants were told that the information collected would be used for investigation sake only and they consented. The elicitation task used in the course of this investigation was the following. A and B are at home. A asks B to bring the child to him. This was meant to see what verb will be used by A to ask B to bring him the child and especially which strategy will be used. Later on, A will also ask B to bring a cup of water to him. This was meant to see if in Shupamem there is a specific verb for human and object; i.e. if for instance bring the child and bring me the cup use the same verb or two different verbs. This task was repeated several times in different circumstances (homes, markets, schools etc.) and by different people. To validate our data, there was a re-elicitation with different speakers. This was meant to ensure that the data were accurate and consistent.

Questionnaires

The questionnaires consist of a translation task. The informants are given a number of sentences in English that they have to translate into Shupamem. Each of the sentences has a specific goal. The hidden idea was to identify which strategy the native speakers of Shupamem use to derive the verb “to bring” in their daily conversation. In order to check the judgments, the questionnaires were given to different informants. This has permitted us to crosscheck our data and make sure that they are consistent.

Interviews

The interviews consist of a number of structures that were not clear in our mind. In fact, we wanted to know if for instance, in Shupamem, “bring” in bring me the book and bring the book to him is the same. The interviews were very important to this investigation because they permitted me to discuss with the informants. As tool for data collection interviews are very important, it is in this line that [Sani, \(2013\)](#) indicates that “The purposes of an interview are many, such that, it may be used as the main instrument of the research. It may be used to test hypotheses or suggest new ones. It may also be for gathering facts at the exploratory stage of research. Interview can also be used to identify variables and relationship”. In this same line, [Sukmawati et al., \(2023\)](#) posit that interviews are of utmost importance because they enable the researcher and the informant to exchange deeply on a particular topic.

Documents

The documents used in the course of this work consisted of published texts (PhD thesis and articles).

Population and Sample/Informants

The population used in the course of this study are the native speaker of Shupamem. This population is located in the Noun division, West region of Cameroon. The following table is that of our informants. (See [Table 1](#))

Table 1. List of informants

N°	Informants	Age	Sex
1	S1	44	M
2	S2	55	M
3	S3	43	M
4	S4	50	M
5	S5	45	F
6	S6	50	M
7	S7	42	F
8	S8	46	M

Research Location

The study was carried out in Foumban in the West region of Cameroon. Notice that Shupamem is the native language in this locality. This is the only language spoken in this area. This is why the investigation was carried out in this part of Cameroon.

Instrumentation or Tools

The data used in the course of this investigation were collected through questionnaires, interviews and documents.

Data Collection Procedures

First of all, the informants were told what was expected from them and how they would fill the questionnaires. After this, the questionnaires were handed over to them. All these procedures lasted for three days. It is also worth noting that the documents were used to sort out some useful data. This includes articles, thesis etc. In addition to the questionnaires and the documents, interviews were also used in the course of this inquiry. The main objective of interviews was to further clarify some of the complex structures.

Result and Discussion

Analysis: Expressing ‘Bring’

This section analyses and interprets the data. In fact, it looks at the various strategies used to derive “bring” in Shupamem. Shupamem lexicalizes basic motion (*come/go*) and derives transport/transfer readings via constructional meaning (motion verb + theme NP + deictic context). Notice that this is not specific to Shupamem i.e. this is not the only language that makes use of this strategy to convey messages. [Papafragou & Selimis, \(2009\)](#) observed that in English the manner of motion is expressed using verbs like *roll*, *pop* whereas in Greek, the path of motion is lexicalized through verbs like *ascend* and *pass*.

On his part, [Tenny, \(1995\)](#) observes that it is very difficult to have one meaning of a verb. This is why the same verb can have many meanings depending on the environment in which it occurs. This position is furthermore supported by [Botne, \(2006\)](#) and [Crane et al., \(2019\)](#) who notice that the

deictic verbs come/go can be used as future markers as these examples from (Beuchat 1966), (Ittmann 1939) & (Hyman 1980) cited by Botne (2006) and Crane & Mabena (2019) indicate:

- (1) *ngi- yo -fika* ngalelonga.
1S -F2 -arrive on that day
"I will arrive on that day."

Zulu, (Beuchat 1966: 22), Ex 2

In this example from Zulu, the future marker is *yo* which means to go. In Duala, the future is *maya* (come) as the sentence below indicates:

- (2) a *mayă* nanga wase.
3sg will lie down
"He will lie down" (imminent).

Duala, (Ittmann 1939: 95). Ex 7b

As (2) shows, in Duala, the immediate future is indicated by *maya* (come). Furthermore, in Yemba, *le-sut?* (to come) is grammaticalized into a future marker as the sentence below shows:

- (3) àà *le-sut?*é tánj
3gs F3 bargain
"He will bargain (tomorrow)."

(Hyman 1980: 228), Ex 28

In Yemba, the future marker is *le-sut?* as shown in (3) above.

The above examples from Zulu, Duala and Yemba are clear evidence that in other languages, the motion verbs come/go is used as future markers. This indicates that Shupamem is not the sole language that makes use of the deictic *twó* (go) to mark future. However, apart from using *two* (go) as future marker, Shupamem "to bring" is derived from *twó/já* (come/go) verbs. This is what differentiates Shupamem from other languages like Zulu, Duala and Yemba. In the next sections, we will dive into the different strategies that Shupamem uses to derive "to bring".

The verb "to bring" in Shupamem

There is not a specific verb per say that is translated as "to bring" in Shupamem. As it was noted earlier, contrary to languages like French and English that have explicit verbs to convey such processes. In Shupamem, it is either *twó* (to come), *já* (to come) or *lú* (go) that is used in such circumstances. This means that it is *twó* (to come), *já* (to come) and *lú* (go) which are grammaticalized into "bring" in Shupamem. As it can be noted, these three verbs do not originally mean "to bring". Furthermore, it is important to note that these three verbs cannot be used in all situations. Each of them is used in a specific environment. This will be discussed in the next sections.

Twó as a polysemic expression

In Shupamem, *twó* (come) is a polysemic expression; its meaning depends on the environments in which it occurs. In this vein, it can be used in three specific ways:

1. It can be used as the future marker;
2. It can be used to as the verb "to come" i.e. when we are asking someone to come;
3. It can be used as the verb "to bring".

Twó as the future marker

In some Bantu languages especially Duala, Lamnso', Chindali, Zulu etc., the motion verbs come/go can be grammaticalized to mark future (Botne 2006). In these languages, these deictic verbs play a dual role; they can act as full verbs and future markers. In Shupamem, *twó* can be used as the future marker (Matateyou, 2002). Notice

that as the future marker, *twó* is always in preverbal position as the sentences below show:

- (4) a. í nà twó-jun ndàp ndié.
sg SM F1 buy house today
"He will buy a house today."
- b. mǎ nà twó- pié pón.
1sg SM F1 take children
"I will take the children."
- c. pú nà twó- ngwón má ndàp.
3pl SM F1 go to house
"They will go home."

In (4a, b & c) above, *twó* is used to encode the future tense in Shupamem. In this particular case, *twó* directly precedes the verb in the sentence. More specifically, in this language, *twó* is used to mark the immediate future (F1).

Twó as the verb "to come"

Originally, *twó* means to come in Shupamem as the sentences below indicate:

- (5) a. Twó?
come
"Shall I come?"
- b. Ali twó.
Ali come
"Ali has come."
- c. í twó fí?nè nè?
3sg come when QM
"When is he coming?"
- d. má twó ma ndap.
1sg come to house
"I have come to the house."

In the sentences above, *twó* means to come. This leads us to ask a number of questions concerning this verb: (1) how is it that *twó* which originally means "to come" is used as the verb "to bring"? (2) Why is there not a verb "to bring" per say in Shupamem?

Well, it is important to note at this juncture that Shupamem is one the rare language that does not have a specific verb that encodes the verb "to bring". In this language, there are three verbs that are used as the verb "to bring" and *twó* (come) is one of these verbs. Note that the native speakers of this language express the action of "bringing" using a number of constructions. This will be debated in the next sections.

Já (to come) as the verb to come

It is important to note that *já* originally means "to come" as the sentences that follow show:

As indicated earlier, in Shupamem, one can ask someone to come by using *já* (to come) as shown in the structures that follow:

- (6) a. í ria mi Ali já.
3sg say that Ali come
"He says that Ali will come."
- b. já njáì.
come here
"Come here."
- c. já!
come
"Come!"

d. *já* *kwot*
 come take
 "Come and take."

e. *já* *fá*
 come give
 "Come and give."

In (6a, b, c, d & e) above, *já* is translated as "come".

Lú (to go) as the verb to go

This section looks the instances in which *lú* is used as "to come". Let us look at the sentences below:

(7) a. *petro* *ná* *ntáp-* *ló?* - *lú* *í*
 peter SM Neg- F2 go 3sg
 "Peter will not go."

b. *nă* *jà* *lú* *ŋkúɾə*.
 Mother my go yesterday
 "My mother went yesterday."

c. *í* *lú* *ma ndap* *nduəɾə*.
 3sg go to house rapidly
 "He quickly went home."

In (7a, b & c) above, *lú* means "to go".

So far, we have looked the examples in which *twó*, *já* and *lú* mean respectively "to come" i.e. for *twó*, *já* and "to go" for *lú*. In the next sections, it will be unveiled that *twó*, *já* and *lú* can also mean "to bring" in Shupamem.

The verb "to bring" in Shupamem

In Shupamem, there are three verbs that are used to express "to bring". These verbs are *twó* (to come), *já* (to come) and *lú* (go). As it can be noted, none of these verbs means *to bring*. *twó* (to come), *já* (to come) and *lú* (go) are deictic words as Levinson cited by Stapleton, (2017) indicates; it is the environment in which they are used that determines the meaning of these words. This said, let us observe the following sentences in which *twó* (to come), *já* (to come) and *lú* (go) are translated as *to bring*:

(8) a. *Ali* *twó* *matwa*.
 Ali come car
 "Ali has brought the car."

b. *má* *twó* *mín*.
 1sg come it
 "I have brought it."

c. *ú* *twó* *mín* *pó* *fí?nè* *nè?*
 2sg come it FocM when QM
 "When are you bringing it?"

(9) a. *já* *matwa!*
 come take
 "Bring the car!"

b. *já* *món!*
 come child
 "Bring the child!"

c. *já* *ní* *ŋáji* *ndia*.
 come him here today
 "Bring him here today."

(10) a. *ma zon* *mi* *u* *lú* *mín* *fúmʒà*.
 1sg want that 2sg go it tomorrow
 "I want that you to bring it tomorrow."

b. *nă* *já* *lú* *paju* *kwori*.
 mother my go food plenty
 "My mother has brought a lot of food."

c. *petro* *ná* *ntáp-* *ló?* *lú* *í* *mátwà*.
 Peter SM Neg- F2 go 3sg car
 "Peter will not bring the car."

In (8a, b & c) above, "to bring" is translated as *twó*. Whereas in (9a, b & c), "to bring" is translated as *já* and in (10a, b & c) "to bring" is *lú*. Notice that "bring" and "take" are two separate verbs in Shupamem. Sentences (8a, b & c), (9a, b & c) and (10a, b & c) above raise a particular question, that of knowing if *twó* (bring), *já* (bring) and *lú* (bring) can be used interchangeably in different structures in order word, it is possible to replace *twó* (bring) by *já* (bring) or by *lú* (bring) in a structure without altering the meaning of that structure? To answer this question and for the sake of convenience, the above examples will be used. Hence, let us observe the sentences below:

(11) a. *Ali* *twó* *matwa*.
 Ali come car
 "Ali has brought the car."

b. *má* *twó* *mín*.
 1sg come it
 "I have brought it."

c. *ú* *twó* *mín* *pó* *fí?nè* *nè?*
 2sg come it FocM when QM
 "When are you bringing it?"

(12) a.* *Ali* *já* *matwa*.
 Ali come car
 Intended: "Ali has brought the car."

b.* *má* *já* *mín*.
 1sg come it
 Intended: "I have brought it."

c.* *ú* *já* *mín* *pó* *fí?nè* *nè?*
 2sg come it FocM when QM
 Intended: "When are you bringing it?"

The sentences above indicate that in Shupamem one cannot substitute *twó* (bring) by *já* (bring). As one can notice, (12a, b & c) are agrammatical because instead of the *twó* (bring) it is *já* (bring) that they have used. This is a clear indication that that despite the fact that these two verbs mean the same thing, they are not interchangeable. This said, let us now move to the case of *já* (bring) and *lú* (bring). Our concern here is to see if these two verbs are interchangeable in imperative structures. Consider the following sentences:

(13) a. *já* *matwa!*
 come car
 "Bring the car!"

b. *já* *món!*
 come child
 "Bring the child!"

c. *já* *ní* *ŋáji* *ndia*.
 come him here today
 "Bring him here today."

- (14) a. lú matwa!
go car
Intended: "Bring the car."
- b. lú món!
go child
Intended: "Bring the child."
- c. lú ní njájl.
go him here
Intended: "Bring him here."

As (13a, b & c) and (14a, b & c) above indicate, *já* (bring) and *lú* (bring) are interchangeable in Shupamem. However, notice that *já* (bring) and *lú* (bring) are only interchangeable in imperative sentences.

Let us now observe how *lú* (bring) and *twó* (bring) behave.

- (15) a. ma zon mi u lú mín fúmzè.
1sg want that 2sg go it tomorrow
"I want that you to bring it tomorrow."
- b. nã já lú paju kwori.
mother my go food plenty
"My mother has brought a lot of food."
- c. petro ná ntáp- ló? -lú l mátwà.
peter SM Neg-F2 go 3sg car
"Peter will not bring the car."

- (16) a. ma zon mi u twó mín fúmzè.
1sg want that 2sg come it tomorrow
"I want you to bring it tomorrow."
- b. nã já twó paju kwori.
Mother my come food plenty
"My mother has brought a lot of food."
- c. petro ná ntáp- ló? - twó l mátwà.
peter SM Neg- F2 come 3sg car
"Peter will not bring the car."

As (15a, b & c) and (16a, b & c) above indicate, *lú* (bring) can be used as a substitute to *twó* (bring) in Shupamem vice versa. Let us now look at *lú* (bring) and *já* (bring). Let us consider the sentences below:

- (17) a. ma zon mi u lú mín fúmzè.
1sg want that 2sg go l tomorrow
"I want you to bring it tomorrow."
- b. nã já lú payu kwori.
Mother my go food plenty
"My mother has brought a lot of food."
- c. petro ná ntáp- ló? - lú í mátwà.
Peter SM Neg- F2 go 3sg car
"Peter will not bring the car."
- (18) a.* ma zon mi u já mín fúmzè.
1sg want that 2sg come it tomorrow
"I want that you to bring it tomorrow."
- b.* nã já já paju kwori.
Mother my come food plenty
"My mother has brought a lot food."
- c.* petro ná ntáp- ló? - já
peter SM Neg- F2 come
"Peter will not bring the car."

lú (bring) cannot be replaced by *já* (bring) in a structure as the above sentences indicate.

For the moment, it should be noted that the reason why (18a, b & c) are ungrammatical is because in these sentences, *lú* (bring) is replaced by *já* (bring). Nonetheless, this is not the sole reason why *já* (bring), *twó* (bring) *lú* (bring) are interchangeable; other reasons will be identified in the sections dedicated to the distribution of *já* (come), *twó* (come) and *lú* (bring).

Distribution and (non-)interchangeability

This section looks at the distribution of *twó* (bring), *já* (bring) and *lú* (go). In the first instance, we are going to look at the distribution of *já* (bring).

The distribution of *já* (come)

This section examines the distribution of *já* (bring) in Shupamem. Let us observe the following sentences:

- (19) a. já matwa njájl!
come car here
"Bring the car here!"
- b.* Ali já matwa njájl
Ali come car here
Intended: "Bring the car here"
- c. Ali, já matwa njájl!
Ali come car here
"Ali, bring the car here."
- (20) a. já mín njájl!
come take here
"Bring it here!"
- b.* polo já mín njájl
Paul come take here
Intended: "Bring it here!"
- c. Polo, já mín njájl
Paul come take here
"Paul, bring it."

It is important to note that *já* is tied to clause structure (verb-initial imperatives) and in information structure (topicalized addressee) as indicated in (19a & c) above. *Já* (bring) is used in imperative sentences that is when an order is given to someone. It is what is indicated in (19a & 20a) above. In addition, a close look at (19a & 20a), shows that *já* (bring) is always used in sentence initial position. *Já* (bring) is also used in sentences with a topicalized subject as in (19c & 20c) above where *Ali* and *Paul* are topicalized respectively.

Having identified the context in which *já* (bring) is used, let us now look at the position of *twó* (bring) within the sentence.

The distribution of *twó* (bring)

This section examines *twó* (bring). It looks at the environment of this structure within a sentence. Consider the following sentences:

- (21) a. í twó min njájl.
3sg come it here
"He brought it here."
- b. twó min njájl!
come it here
"Bring it here."
- c. nã twó món.
mother come child
"The mother brought the child."

- d. *twó* *món!*
 come child
 "Bring the child."

(21a & c) reveal that in Shupamem, *twó* (bring) is used whenever there is a subject. It can also be used in imperative sentences as in (21b & d). Notice that *twó* (bring) is always associated with the deictic "here".

The distribution of *lú* (go)

Consider the following sentences:

- (22) a. *i* *lú* *min* *ma* *ndap.*
 3sg bring it to house
 "He has brought it home."
- b. *lú* *min* *ma* *ndap.*
 bring it to house
 "Bring it home."

(22a & b) show that *lú* requires a subject. It is also used in imperative structure. Note that *twó* (bring) is always associated with the deictic "there".

Twó (bring), *já* (to bring) and *lú* (go) in embedded structures

In line with Berman and Slobin (1994) cited by Y. Wang & Wei, (2021), a clause is either syntactically simplex sentences or complex sentences containing a unified predicate. Following Saady, (2020), a clause refers to a sentence or a part of a sentence. In this line, sentences are generally made up of dependent and independent clause. The dependent clause is what is usually referred to as embedded clause. While an independent clause can stand alone, an embedded clause cannot, Helmie et al., (2022). For (Beason & Lester (2011), Prihandoko et al. (2019) & Youngsun et al. (2024) cited by (Octasary et al., 2024), "an independent clause is a clause that includes a subject and a verb and does not rely on any other element to complete the sentence".

An embedded clause is a clause that appears inside the main clause and whose role is to add more meaning to the main clause. E.g. *The boy, who stays here, is very tall.* In this sentence, the embedded clause is *who stays here*. This clause adds more meaning to the main clause. In the literature, they usually discriminate between a monoclausal and a biclausal structures. A monoclausal structure is one which contains a single clause. E.g. *Paul stays in this house*. Whereas a biclausal structure is the one that contains two clauses. E.g. *The boy, who is talking, is my brother*. This structure has two clauses: *The boy is my brother* and *who is talking*. This section examines *twó* (bring), *já* (to bring) and *lú* (go) in embedded structures.

Twó (bring) in embedded structures

Let us observe the following sentences in which *twó* (bring) occurs in embedded structures.

- (23) a. *Tasa, juo po twó min nè, pa pokeri.*
 Dish that 3pl bring ind Comp be good
 "The dish that they brought is good."
- b. *Matwa, juo u twó min nè, pa metwi.*
 Car that 2sg bring ind Comp be small
 "The car that you brought is small."

As the sentences above indicate, *twó* can occur in embedded clause. However, this is not always the case

with all the verbs. This is what is indicated in the sentences that follow:

- (24) a. *tasa, juo po twó min nè, pa pokeri.*
 Dish that 3pl bring ind Comp be good
 "The dish that they brought is good."
- b.* *Tasa, juo po já min nè, pa pokeri.*
 Dish that 3pl bring ind Comp be good
 Intended: "The dish that they brought is good."
- (25) a. *Tasa, juo po lú min nè, pa pokeri.*
 Dish that 3pl bring ind Comp be good
 "The dish that they brought is good."
- b.* *Matwa, juo u jun já nè, pa metwi.*
 Car that 2sg buy bring Comp be small
 Intended: "The car that you brought is small."

As indicated in the structures above, *twó* and *já* are not substitutable

Já (to bring) in embedded structures

This section looks at the usage of *já* (to bring) in embedded structures. Let us observe the following sentences:

- (26) a.* *Dgbóm, juo Ali já min nè, pa pokeri.*
 corn that Ali bring ind Comp be good
 Intended: "The corn that Ali brought is good."
- b.* *Pájù, juo Polo já min njáji nè, pa pokeri.*
 Food that Paul bring ind here Comp be good
 Intended: "The food that Paul brought here is good."

As (26a & b) show, in Shupamem *já* (to bring) cannot be used in embedded structures.

Lú (go) in embedded structures

Consider the following sentences:

- (27) a. *Luga, juo í lú min nè, pa ju.*
 Pot that 3sg bring ind Comp be yours
 "The pot that he brought with him is yours."
- b. *món, juo í lú matwa nè, won.*
 Child that 3sg bring car Comp go
 "The child who brought the car has gone."

Lú (bring) is used in embedded structures as the sentences above indicate.

Discussion and typological implications

This section identifies the various rules that govern the distribution of the deictic verbs *já* (come), *twó* (come) and *lú* (go). For consistency reason, the different examples used in the sections above dedicated to the distribution of the deictic verbs *já* (come), *twó* (come) and *lú* (go) will be used here. Let us consider the sentences below:

- Já* (come)
- (28) a. *já matwa njáji!*
 come car here
 "Bring the car here!"
- b. *Ali, já matwa njáji!*
 Ali come car here
 "Ali, bring the car here."

twó (come)

- (29) a. *nǎ* *twó* *món.*
 mother come child
 "The mother brought the child."

 b. *twó* *món!*
 come child
 "Bring the child."
 lú (go)

- (30) a *i* *lú* *min* *ma ndap.*
 3sg bring it to house
 "He has brought it home."

 b. *lú* *min* *ma* *ndap.*
 bring it to house
 "Bring it home."

(28a & b) reveal that *já* occurs in two specific environments: (1) in imperative sentence and (2) in topicalized structure especially when the subject is topicalized.

From (29a & b) above, it is observed that *twó* (come) can be used: (1) with a subject and (2) in imperative sentence.

(29a & b) show that *lú* (go) occurs: (1) with subject and (2) in imperative structure.

The analysis of (28a & b), (29a & b) and (29a & b) generates the following rules:

- 1) *JÁ* occurs in imperative sentences;
 - 2) *JÁ* can occur in clause-initial position;
 - 3) *JÁ* does occur in embedded sentences;
 - 4) *JÁ* also occurs in topic structures when the subject is topicalized;
-
1. *JÁ* is addresser-oriented/deictic "here" oriented;
 2. *TWÓ* and *LÚ* require an overt subject except in imperative; (See [Table 2](#))
 3. *TWÓ* is addresser-oriented/deictic "here" oriented;
 4. *TWÓ* and *LÚ* alternate in embedded clauses;
 5. *LÚ* is used in embedded clauses;
 6. *LÚ* is addressee-oriented/deictic "there" oriented;

Table 2. Usage of *JÁ TWÓ and LÚ*

N°	Verb	Usage
1	<i>JÁ</i>	Imperative structures/ clause-initial position/ embedded sentences/ addresser-oriented/deictic "here" oriented
2	<i>TWÓ</i>	Overt subject except in imperative/ addresser-oriented/deictic "here" oriented/ alternate with <i>LÚ</i> in embedded clauses
3	<i>LÚ</i>	Overt subject except in imperative/ alternate with <i>TWÓ</i> in embedded clauses/ used in embedded clauses/ addressee-oriented/deictic "there" oriented

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This table summarizes the different usage of *JÁ*, *TWÓ* and *LÚ*.

Conclusion

This investigation was motivated by the fact that there is not a particular verb in Shupamem that is used to say "bring". In fact, there is not a one-to-one correspondence of the verb "to bring" in Shupamem. In Shupamem, "bring" is derived from the process of grammaticalization of the deictic motion verbs come/go. To be more precise, Shupamem realizes "bring" through constructional composition of deictic motion verbs come/go with systematic distributional constraints with an imperative-specific constraints for *já* and interchangeability conditions for *twó*/*lú* in mono clausal and embedded structures (motion verb + theme NP + deictic context). *Já* is tied to clause structure (verb-initial imperatives) and in information structure (topicalized addressee). Hence, when *twó* (to come) and *lú* (go) are combined with an NP in object position, they mean "to bring", the same observation is also attested when *já* (to come) is followed by an NP in imperative sentences.

In Shupamem, *já* (to come) can only be used in imperative structures. In embedded clauses, *twó* (to come) and *lú* (go) are used interchangeably. For future work, the data might be expanded to a wide range of informants in totally different settings (speaker/hearer location shifts). This will certainly enhance our understanding of the process of the grammaticalization as far as the deictic motion verbs come/go are concerned.

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