

UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES



**A SEMANTIC-SYNTACTIC STUDY
OF THE BAFUT VERB**

**A Dissertation Presented in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Obtaining of a Post - Graduate Diploma in Linguistics.**

By;

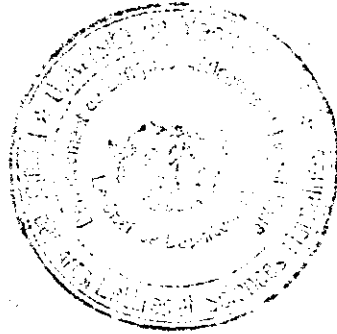
BILA EMMANUEL NEBA

B. A. (HONS)

SUPERVISOR: Jacquéliné LEROY
chargé de cours

SEPTEMBER 1986.

DEDICATION

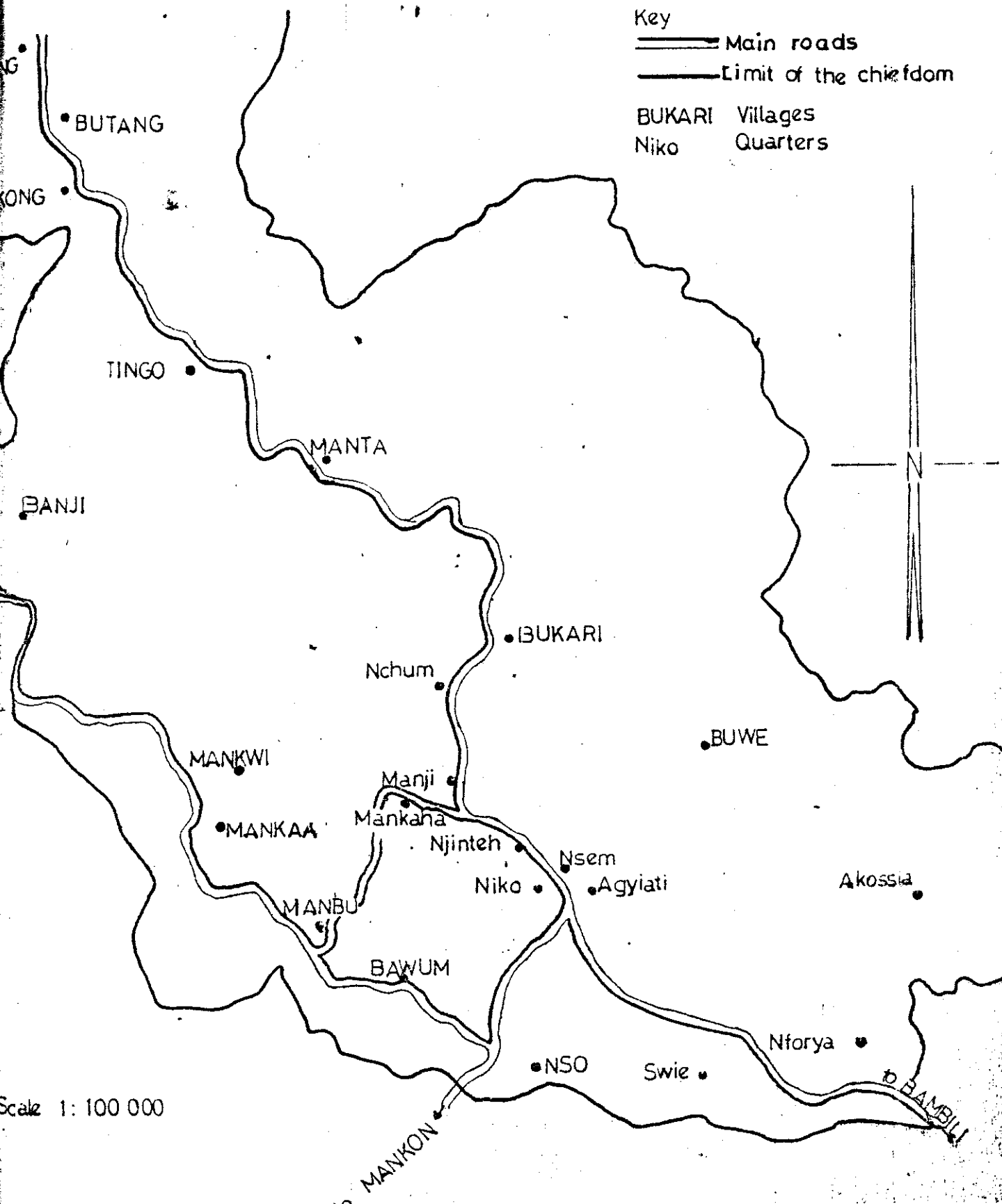


To my parents: JOSEPH BILA

 MARY BIH

And to: All Constructive critics.

E BAFUT CHIEFDOM: Some villages and quarters



After Ngwa Nebasina, *The Bafut Chieftdom: A Study in Rural Geography*

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

The present maiden venture could not have been successfully carried out single-handedly. I wish, therefore, to express my gratitude to the following people, who in one way or the other placed themselves at our disposal.

Priority of place goes to Mme. Jacqueline LEROY who unhesitatedly consented to supervise this work; whose patience and keen interest in the work served as a good and whose library I almost monopolised during the course of the work, I wish I could do more than just thanking her.

I also wish to thank our principal informant, Pa NKWETI Barnabas and all those who indirectly or otherwise furnished us with substantial information for this work.

My thanks also go to Mr. Joseph MFONYAM who unreservedly gave us some guidelines and also to Mr. Jackson TANCHO who permitted me to use the V.C.E.F. library in Bafut.

May my parents Mr. Joseph BILA and Bih Mary who financially assisted in the realisation of this work, also find here, my expression of thanks.

May all those who assisted us in one way or the other, but whose names do not feature here, also feel how much I am indebted to them.

Lastly, may the members of the jury who will take the pains of judging the value of this work also accept my heart-felt acknowledgement for the pains they have taken.

While calling on the above-mentioned personalities to accept my gratitude for their assistance, I wholly assume the responsibility of any faults which might be discerned in my compilation of data.

E. N BILA

P R E F A C E

This work is an attempt to demonstrate the centrality of the Bafut verb in the linguistic expressions of the Bafut language. In order to demonstrate this centrality of the verb, we adopted a functional approach. Through this approach, we have shown the ability of the verb in assigning both semantic and syntactic functions to the elements with which it collocates in utterances in Bafut.

We are conscious of the fact that a semantic-syntactic study of the Bafut verb cannot receive the elaborate treatment, which it deserves, in this present work. The inability of the verb to receive such an exhaustive treatment owes to the handicap of space and time, to which this work is a victim. Owing to these constraints, we have, therefore, not subjected the verb to all the possible linguistic expressions in the Bafut language. We have, attempted to portray the centrality of the verb by subjecting it only to the context of simple sentences in a predominantly present progressive tense.

Within this frame, we proceeded in the task, by classifying the verbs from their semantic and syntactic viewpoints; illustrating the semantic and syntactic functions which the verbs attribute to the elements with which they cohere, in the Bafut language; illustrating the process by which these verbs take on some identified suffixes and also demonstrating the semantic and syntactic effects of these suffixes on the other elements to which the verb is directly related in the illustrative utterances.

In order to be able to treat the verb within a semantic-syntactic frame, and given the constraints of time and space, which tend to be a bulwark to an exhaustive exploration of this topic, we also adopted the semantically-oriented model of communication propounded by Maskey (1979) and Cook (1979). This model presupposes that the syntactic functions of the elements collocating with a verb can be derived from the semantic functions which the verb attributes to these elements. Thus, there has been simultaneity in both the semantic and syntactic analysis of the verb.

In spite of the parochial context within which the Bafut verb has been analysed, in this work, we are, however, convinced that no reader, be he Bafut or non-Bafut speaking, will be left indifferent to the validity of this work, after perusing it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication.....	1
Title page.....	1
Acknowledgement.....	2
Preface.....	3
Abbreviations and Signs.....	6
CHAPTER 1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION	
1. Aim.....	7
1.2.0: Brief Presentation of the Bafuts and Bafut.....	9
1.2.1: Geographical and demographic Situation.....	10
1.2.2: Socio-economic situation.....	11
1.2.3: Historical situation.....	12
1.2.4.0: Linguistic situation.....	14
1.2.4.1: Linguistic Classification.....	15
1.2.4.2: Earlier studies on the Bafut language.....	17
1.2.4.3: Neighbouring languages.....	18
1.3.0: Data collection and method of analysis.....	19
1.4.0: Outline of alphabet.....	22
1.5.0: Presentation of chapters.....	23
CHAPTER 2: THE BAFUT VERB STRUCTURE.....	
2.0: Introduction.....	25
2.1.0: The composition of the verb.....	25
2.1.1: C V Pattern.....	26
2.1.2: CVC Pattern.....	27
2.1.3: CVV Pattern.....	28
2.1.4: CV.CV Pattern.....	29
2.1.5: CVC.CV Pattern.....	29
2.1.6: CVV.CV Pattern.....	30
2.1.7: CV.CV.CV Pattern.....	31
2.2.0: The tonal system of the verbs.....	32
2.2.1: High tone verbs.....	33
2.2.2: Low tone verbs.....	34
2.2.3: Rising-falling and falling rising tones.....	35
2.3.0: Verb forms.....	37
2.3.1.0: The radical.....	37
2.3.2.0: The radical + Suffix.....	38
2.3.2.1.0: Derived suffix.....	39
2.3.2.1.1: The -tə derived suffix.....	40
2.3.2.1.2: The -kə derived suffix.....	41
2.3.2.1.3: The -sə derived suffix.....	42
2.3.2.1.4: The -nə derived suffix.....	43
2.3.2.1.5: The mə derived suffix.....	45

2.3.2.1.6:	The l_2 derived suffix-----	46
2.3.2.1.7:	Reduplication of the radical-----	47
2.3.2.1.8:	Verbs with homorganic nasals-----	48
2.3.3.0:	Formal suffixes.....	52
2.3.3.1:	The t_2 formal suffix-----	53
2.3.3.2:	The - s_2 formal suffix-----	53
2.3.3.3:	The - n_2 formal suffix-----	54
2.3.3.4:	The - k_2 formal suffix-----	55
2.3.3.5:	The - m_2 formal suffix-----	55
2.3.3.6:	The - l_2 formal suffix-----	56
2.3.4.0:	Co-occurrence of derived and formal suffixes-----	56
2.4.0:	Conclusion-----	59

CHAPTER 3: THE BAPUT VERB FROM A SEMANTIC SYNTACTIC VIEWPOINT

3.0:	Introduction-----	60
3.1.0:	Verb classification-----	60
3.1.1.0	Basic verb.....	61
3.1.1.1.0	Basic verb and its arguments-----	63
3.1.1.0:	Basic Action verbs-----	65
3.1.1.1.1:	One - place basic action verbs-----	67
3.1.1.1.2:	Two - place basic action verbs-----	70
3.1.1.1.3:	Three - place basic action verbs-----	73
3.1.1.1.4:	Benefactive Action verbs-----	75
3.1.1.1.5:	Locative Action verbs-----	77
3.1.1.1.6:	Experiential Action verbs-----	80
3.1.1.2:	PROCESS VERBS.....	81
3.1.1.2.1:	One - place process verbs-----	82
3.1.1.2.3:	Two - place basic process verbs-----	82
3.1.1.2.3:	Benefactive process verbs-----	83
3.1.1.2.4:	Locative process verbs-----	84
3.1.1.2.5:	Experiential process verbs-----	85
3.1.1.3.0:	STATE VERBS.....	86
3.1.1.3.1:	One - place basic state verbs-----	87
3.1.1.3.2:	Benefactive state verbs-----	88
3.1.1.3.3:	Locative state verbs-----	89
3.1.1.3.4:	Experiential state verbs-----	90
3.2.0:	Conclusion-----	91

CHAPTER 4: THE EFFECTS OF THE SUFFIXES ON VERBS:

4.0:	Introduction-----	93
4.1.0:	The - t_2 derived suffix-----	93

4.2.0:	The - nə derived suffix	95
4.3.0:	The - kə derived suffix	97
4.4.0:	The - sə derived suffix	100
4.5.0:	The - mə derived suffix	103
4.6.0:	The - lə derived suffix	104
4.7.0:	Reduplication of the verb root	105
4.8.0:	Conclusion:	107

CHAPTER 5: GENERAL CONCLUSION

APPENDIX 1:	Maps	
APPENDIX 2:	Earlier works on the Bafut language	109
APPENDIX 3:	Bafut - English verb list	109
BIBLIOGRAPHY		117

A: Agent Case

B: Beneficiary case

E: Experiencer case

L: Locative case

O: Object case

NP1: Subject noun phrase

NP2: Direct object noun phrase

NP3: Indirect object noun phrase

VP: Verb phrase

_____ : to be read as: becomes;•

CERDOTOLA: Centre de recherche et de documentation sur les traditions orales
et pour le développement des langues africaines. Yaounde

DGRST: Délégation Générale à la Recherche Scientifique et Technique.
Yaounde.

GUERD: Groupe Universitaire d'Etude et de Recherche pour le Développement.

SEIAF: Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France. Paris.

SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

VCEP: Village Community Experimental Project.

1.1.0: AIM OF WORK

The centrality of the verb in any verbal communication cannot be over-emphasised. The aim of the present work is therefore an attempt at presenting a Bafut grammar which is built around a central verb which according to Cook (1979), "...has a valence, or a set of dependency relations, which spring from the verb. These dependency relations are expressed in terms of underlying case roles"¹.

According to Cook's assertion above, the verb imposes some semantic functions on the elements with which it collocates and also expresses the relationships which hold between these elements. The semantic functions imposed by the verb, on the elements with which it collocates can be mapped onto syntactic structures of linguistic expressions. Our base for this study will be the sentence; and according to Chafe (1970), a sentence is composed of

"...a central verb accompanied by one or more nouns, each of which stands in some particular semantic relation to the verb"²

This assertion once more lays emphasis on the favoured status which the verb holds within a sentence.

Following the above opinions by Cook (1979) and Chafe (1970), and for the purpose of a semantic-syntactic study of the Bafut verb, we took off from the premise or hypothesis that: the verb is central in all verbal communications and it attributes varying functions to nouns with which it occurs. These functions, at the semantic level; will be referred to as "cases" and since a semantic structure is not very much interested in a systematic arrangement of the elements in an utterance, but in the roles which these elements play, we deemed it necessary to introduce a syntactic structure in order to yield a systematic patterning of these elements within an utterance. This syntactic structure will, through the roles assigned by the semantic structure, serve as a systematic means of preserving a speaker's perception of a situation.

This syntactic structure, will through the roles assigned by the semantic structure, serve as a systematic means of preserving a speaker's perception of a situation. This will consequently assist a hearer to decode the utterance in a way which will enable him to share the speaker's intended message. This preservation of perception" will, of course be done by arranging the elements perceived, into sentences.

PAGE 9 . (REFERENCE)

1. Walter A. Cook (1979): Case Grammar: Development of the Matrix Model (1970-1978) Georgetown, U.S.A.
 2. Wallace Chafe (1970): Meaning and the structure of language. Georgetown, U. S. A.
-

We are conscious of the fact that a semantic-syntactic study of the Bafut verb demands a more elaborate treatment than it is possible for us to provide within the constraints of the present work. To overcome this handicap, our aspiration, therefore, is not the provision of an exhaustive array of grammatical rules which govern the Bafut language. We have therefore adopted a semantically-based model of communication as applied by Moskey (1979:12). This model allows for a system whereby a syntactic structure can be projected from a semantic structure, imposed by the verb on the elements perceived by a speaker.

Owing to the centrality of the verb, it can be noticed that any modification of the verb's structure, through suffixation, inevitably has repercussions on the noun phrases with which the verb occurs in an utterance. These repercussions, which will be at both the semantic and syntactic levels, will be more profoundly exploited in Chapter 4.

In view of the fact that the Bafut verb attributes certain functions to the noun phrases to which it is related, we deemed it apt to deploy a functional approach in the semantic - syntactic treatment of the verb. This approach is as propounded by Dik (1970) and Moskey (1979). This approach permitted us, in Chapter 3, to be able to classify the verbs from the semantic and syntactic

viewpoints. It also permitted us to be able to give the number and type of arguments which the Bafut verbs permit in their surface structures. In Chapter 4, this approach also permitted us to unravel the repercussions which the verb has on its arguments, when this verb takes on any of the identified suffixes.

A venture of this calibre was undoubtedly propelled by some motivations. The first cause of inspiration was the realisation that the Bantu verb, in general, and the Bafut verb, in particular, has eluded much devoted linguistic analysis. Work to this direction has been done by a few linguists like E. Dunstan (1963) who wrote an article on Ngwe verbs, Hyman (1971-81)¹ Voorhoeve (1974) and J. Leroy (1977)². In Leroy's work, she brings out the complexity of the verbal system in Mankon. According to her, this complexity is brought about by:

- (i) Whether the verbs simultaneously express tense and aspect.
- (ii) Whether the verb forms undergo modifications depending on whether they appear in the affirmative, interrogative, negative or relative constructions.
- (iii) The tonal system which can be better understood when a system of underlying floating tones is established.

Owing, therefore, to the fact that Bafut is a Bantu verb; we were coaxed into picking up this topic in an attempt to present one aspect of the Bantu verb, as shown by the title of the present work.

In order to obtain material for this venture, we embarked on a verb-finding mission. But, before presenting the procedure pursued in the collection of this data, and the method employed in its analysis, we will first of all briefly present the Bafuts and their language.

1.2.0: Brief Presentation of the Bafuts and Bafut

In this section, the Bafut community will be presented from the following viewpoints: geographical, historical; socio-economic and linguistics.

1.2.1: Geographical and demographic situation :⁴

Bafut is found in the North West Province of the Republic of Cameroon. From the administrative viewpoint, it falls under the Tubah district in Mezam Division.

According to Nebasina (1981-82), Bafut is situated between longitudes 10°00' and 10°13' east of the Greenwich and between latitudes 6°05' and 6°10' north of the meridian, in the Republic of Cameroon. It is situated to the north eastern fringes of the North West Province.

-
- 1; Larry Hyman: (1971): Consecutive Construction in féfé'.
 2. Larry Hyman (1981): Noni Grammatical Structure
 3. J. Leroy (1977): Morphologie et Classes Nominales en Mankon: (Cameroun)
 4. We are indebted to N. Nebasina's: A rural geographical study of the Bafut Chieftdom, (1982)
-

It has an area of 425 km² and according to a 1982 survey, a population of approximately 35,000 inhabitants. Bafut is situated in an elevated basin and bounded thus:

WESTERN Boundary: Oshie-Ngie range.

EASTERN Boundary: Bamenda, Oku, Kumbo, Njinikom high plateau.

NORTHERN Boundary: Bambui, Bambili etc.

SOUTHERN Boundary: Wum, Tingo etc.

The vegetation of Bafut is of a Sub-equatorial type which is modified by altitude since this chieftdom is bounded by the Oshie-Ngie hills. Bafut has a nine months' rainy season with an annual rainfall of 2,400mm and three months' dry season. The high areas in Bafut experience cold climatic conditions with a temperature of sometimes 14°C in the early morning. On the other hand, the Bafut basin experiences humid and warm climatic conditions with a maximal average yearly temperature of 24.50C. The cold period in Bafut is the heart of the rainy season, while the hot period is the start of the rainy season.

1.2.2: Socio-economic situation:

Socially, Bafut is composed of heterogeneous quarters which function harmoniously around a central figure - the Fon, and a central place - the palace. The heterogeneity of Bafut is portrayed by the fact that it comprises ten villages and twenty-one quarters. According to Ngwa Nebasina (1982), and in the context of Bafut, a village is defined as:

" Units within Bafut which were originally settled by aborigines or by specific groups of people who migrated into the area with their own administrative lifestyle somehow different from that of the aborigines and also from that of the main Bafut unit"¹. The above definition manifests the fact that the Bafuts have different origins and this therefore provokes the controversy in the search for a common origin for the Bafut people. In making a distinction between a "village" and a "quarter", Ngwa Nebasina

1. Ngwa Nebasina (1981-1982) : A Rural Geographical Study of the Bafut
Chieftdom: PP. 35.

(1982: 35) provides a definition of a quarter as:

" a transitional administrative unit within the Chieftdom"

In the course of this work, any reference to either a "village" or a "quarter" will be taking into consideration the above definitions by Ngwa Nebasina. In spite of the presence of Europeans in Bafut during the colonial era and the presence of people of other tribes, the Bafut people still cling staunchly to a traditional way of living.

At the economic level, the Bafut people, like over 70% of Cameroonians, derive their mainstay from agricultural activities. Its economy is therefore very much agriculture oriented. This is evident in the cultivation of cash crops, food crops, fruit trees and the breeding of livestock. Cultivation rests more on the womenfolk while the men reserve, almost exclusively, the right of farming cash crops such as rice, cocoa, coffee and the breeding of livestock.

Apart from these agricultural activities, there is also craftwork, hunting and fishing which constitute a secondary economic activity. The flourishing craft work is sustained by the abundance of raw materials and the assistance of some missionary bodies. As concerns missionary activity, handicraft is promoted in Handicraft Centres in Nsem (a quarter in Bafut, by the Presbyterian mission, and at Mambu (another quarter in Bafut), by the Catholic mission. At the village level, only few specialist jobs are practised. These include, bricklaying, shoe-mending, carpentry and tailoring. These secondary economic activities are only subsidiary to agriculture because before being either a carpenter, a bricklayer or a tailor, the Bafut village is first of all farmers.

1.2.3: Historical Situation ¹

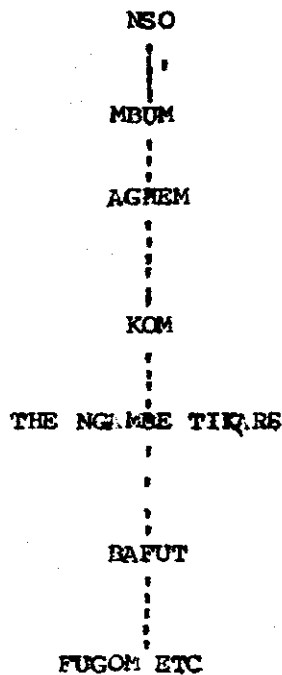
There has been much controversy about the origin of the Bafut people. This controversy has been greatly strengthened by the fact that any information, pertaining to the origin of the Bafut people, is based solely on oral tradition. In the midst of this controversy, we will, however

1. We are indebted for this section to J. P. Warnier /Nchoji (1982) :

Elements for a History of the Western Grassfields; Yaounde, and to
N. Nebasina (1982).

attempt to situate the possible regions of origin of the Bafut people. While some geographers and historians assume that Bafut has a Tikar origin, some anthropologists and sociologists assert that it is not easy to provide a common point of origin for all Bafut people. In Nebasina (1982), one has the impression that the Bafut people are of a Tikar origin as he presents the following genealogy tree:

TIKAR GROUPINGS.



(The descending arrows above do not imply that one tribe is derived from another. These arrows merely show that according to oral tradition, these tribes are of a common origin).

While the above account presents the whole Bafut community as having a common Tikar origin, J. P. Warnier and Nkwi Nchoji (1982), on their part, allow us to partially believe the above assertion as they say that:

"In most Chiefdoms located between the Mbam River Valley - the homeland of the Tikar - and a line running from Bafut to Ndu Via Kom, the royal dynasties claim a common origin from Tikar country referred to as Tikar "Ndobo" or by the more specific names of Kimi and Rifum. This is the case in Bamoun, Baba, Bamessing, Bamessi, Bamali, Nkwen, Nso, Bafut, Kom, Ntem, Wiya, Tang, Mbam"¹.

An application of the above observation more specifically to Bafut community will drive us to the conclusion that it is only the royal family in Bafut which can be said to have a Tikar descent. This conclusion is further concretised by Warnier and Nchoji as they assert that:

J. P. Warnier/Nkwi Nchoji (1982) - Ibid - pp. 12.

"A careful investigation of the commoner lineages and quarters having Tikar dynasties reveals the existence of many groups having different traditions of origin. Some claim an origin in a neighbouring Chiefdom, while others claim that they have always been where they are. In DAFUT, for example; most quarters and lineages claim a Widikum origin, and very few, besides the Chief and his sons, look towards the Tikar country as their original homeland"¹.

In view of the facts presented by the Sociologists above, one is left to shun the long-held affirmative opinion that the whole Dafut community has a Tikar origin. It will, therefore, henceforth, be safer to hold the opinion that this community has mainly both a Tikar and Widikum origin. Thus, the allegation that the Dafut people are of a Tikar origin would henceforth be a dissociation between the royal dynasties and the commoner lineages. The former holds staunchly to a Tikar origin while the latter hold firmly to a Widikum origin.

1.2.4: Linguistic Situation:

As Dafut falls under Bantu languages, we will attempt, in dealing with the linguistic situation of the Dafut people; to present some works which have been done in the classification of the Cameroon Bantu languages. But first of all, we will briefly show how an interest in the study of African languages began. History has it that studies on African languages were started by the Church Missionary Society in Freetown - Sierra-Leone. This was aimed at aiding the missionaries in the dissemination of Christian doctrines. In Cameroon, this was shown by the interest laid on Mungaka in the present North West Province; Douala in the present South West Province and part of the Littoral Province; and bulu in the present Centre and South Province.

1. J. P. Warnier/N.Nchoji - Ibid PP. 13 ;

Thus according to sigismund Koelle (1963)¹, missionary bodies worked on African languages from 1806-1818 and assisted in the codification of some in Sierra-Leone. It is probably in accordance with this initiative that other linguists took more interest in work on African languages in general, and bantu languages in particular.

After this brief presentation of how work on African languages probably started, we will proceed by attempting to situate the Bafut languages in the frame of bantu languages. This will be, through a presentation of the different classifications made from Guthrie (1948)² to the activities of the Grassfield Bantu working Group (1977-1978)³. In this section, we will also present earlier linguistic works on Bafut and a presentation of the languages which are neighbours to Bafut.

1.2.4.1: Linguistic Classification.

In the classification of African languages, Guthrie (1948) classified Bafut and other Ngemba languages as Semi-bantu languages. In this classification he based his judgement on the fact that:

" These languages obey the first criterion but not the others. That means that while they have a system of grammatical gender and agreements operated by means of prefixes, they show little or no relationship of vocabulary with full Bantu languages. In addition, they do not display even the rudiment of structure features laid down in the third criterion; more over, their vowel system is frequently complicated. An example of this may be seen in BAFUT..."³

Since Guthrie's assertion, there have been several attempts at modifying this classification. Kay Williamson, (1971) and Voorhoeve (1976) and Greenberg (1963), have through a study of lexical items proved that these Ngemba languages can be classified as Bantu languages.

-
1. Sigismund Koelle: 1963: Polyglotta African, Austria.
 2. Malcolm Guthrie 1948: The Classification of Bantu Languages.
 3. Malcolm Guthrie in Leroy (1977): PP. 18.

Similar, in a research on grassfield languages, the GBWG recognised these languages as Bantu languages and thus gave the following four divisions:¹

- 1) Eastern Grassfields: Damileke, North East, Ngemba and Noun.
- 2) Menchum
- 3) Momo
- 4) Ring.

Through the above division, Bafut was placed under the Ngemba Sub-group of the Eastern Grassfields group. For the sake of this work, we will present only the classification of the GBWG concerning the Ngemba Sub-group and also the dialectal additions made by J; Leroy (1977). The GBWG, therefore, presented the following classification of eleven (11) main Bantu languages of the Ngemba Sub-group:

NGEMBA LANGUAGES²

- Mandum I
- Bafut.
- Bambuzi.
- Bambili.
- Nkwen.
- M Mankon.
- Mandankwe.
- Akum.
- Awing.
- Pinyin.

In a further sub-classification of some of these Ngemba languages, J. Leroy (1977), who formed part of the GBWG, proposed the following additions to the list:³

- Shomba (Chomba, Bamechom, alamatson).
- Songwa (bangwa, ngwa, nsongwa).
- Mbutu (bambutu, alamatu).
- Njong (banjong).
- Akum (babanqu).
- Mudum I (mberewi, bamundum I).

..../-

- Mundum II (anyang, bamundum II).
- Alating
- Babaji (beba, mubadji)✓

-
1. Atlas Linguistique de l'Afrique Central: 1983, PP. 134.
 2. Ibid, PP. 139.
 3. J. Leroy. 1977, : Morphologie et Classes Nominales en Mankon; PP. 17.
-

The above additions by J. Leroy (1977) were adopted in ALAC (1983:362) and those treated as dialects of some of the main Ngemba languages, notably Mankon. Thus, through the above, most recent, classification of Ngemba languages, it has been established that the Ngemba languages, among which is Dafut, are bantu languages. This therefore erases Guthrie (1948)'s classification of these languages as semi bantu languages.

The Dafut language has two main dialects. According to Mfonyam (1982) these dialects can be divided into a central dialect and the peripheral dialect. According to Mfonyam (1982) the central dialect is spoken in quarters around the Dafut palace. These quarters can be regarded as lower Dafut. On the other hand, the peripheral dialect is spoken in the hilly villages like: Dawum, Nkwi, Mankaa and Mbebeli. These villages can be regarded as upper Dafut. The differences between these dialects can be found mostly at the levels of phonology and lexical items. It should be noted however, that it is the central dialect which has a higher frequency of usage during interactions between the native speakers.

1.2.4.2: Earlier Studies on the Dafut Languages:

According to N. Nebasina (1982:49), written documents exist on Dafut and the Dafuts ranging from pure literary works, through sociological, historical, religions, peripheral geographical descriptions to a few linguistic documents. In this paper, we will however, make reference only to linguistic works on Dafut, which are however very limited.

The Dafut language has so far not been an object of much devoted linguistic exploration. This might probably be due to the fact that some neighbouring Ngemba languages like Mankon and others like Metta had earlier attracted the attention of linguists. Thus the linguists prefer to devote enough time on and adequate analyses of these languages before breaking fully into new fields.

According to Mfonyam (1982:10), Crozier (1980) mentions that the first concrete reference to the Bafut language was made by Koelle (1854). Since then, not much has been done on this language. The few works which focus either partially or entirely on Bafut include those by J. Leroy (1977, 1979, 1980) in some of which she treats Ngemba tones and draws attention to the tone pattern of Bafut nouns in the citation forms; Crozier 1980 (a)-(b), Chilver and Kaberry (1974), who provided a word list containing Bafut verbs in imperative forms, pronouns, and Mfonyam (1982)¹ who treats, exhaustively the tone pattern in the orthography of Bafut. This work, like J. Leroy (1979)'s work are in the frame of applied linguistics whereby theories are tested and adopted for specific languages. Mfonyam's work, partly, permitted him to divide the Bafut verbs into two classes according to whether they take either a low or a high tone.

Owing to the dearth of material on the Bafut language, our present work, on the semantic-syntactic study of the Bafut verb, has as its ambition an addition of a valuable document on this language. We hope that the present venture will also serve as a basis for the establishment of a more concrete resemblance between Bafut and other Ngemba and even other Bantu languages.

1.2.4.3: Neighbouring Languages:

Bafut has as its neighbours some other grassfield bantu languages which are however not all of the Ngemba sub-group.

To the West, Bafut is immediately bounded by the Metta language. Metta is a grassfield bantu language but it belongs to the Momo sub-group.

To the East, Bafut has as neighbours: Nkwen Bambui, and Bambili languages. These three languages, like Bafut are also of the Ngemba sub-group, of grassfield bantu languages.

To the South, the Mankon language bounds the Bafut language. Mankon like Bafut is also a grassfield bantu language of the Ngemba sub-group.

To the north, the bafut language is bounded by the Mundani language. The latter language is also a grassfield bantu language, but of the Momo Sub-group like metta.

Since language exists in a continuum, "...the principal bafut dialect- the bufe is spoken between mankon (913), to the south, and mundani (911), to the north..."² (my translation)

1. The titles of the works referred to, on the bafut language will be presented as Appendix 1 at the end of this work.
2. Atlas Linguistique de l'Afrique centrale, (1983): pp. 123

As it has been shown above, most of the languages immediately neighbouring bafut are Ngemba languages, in particular, while all of them are grassfield bantu languages. Due to the proximity of these language, it is possible, therefore, to record a high degree of intelligibility between them. The Metta language is however an exception.

1.30: Data Collection and method of analysis:

In order to get our data of 600 verbs, we had recourse to two principal informants:

Pa Nkweti Barnabas: Aged about 67 years. Born and brought up in Bafut. He is presently a farmer resident in Agyati in Bafut. (Agyati is a quarter in Bafut.) It is through his help that we were able, apart from collecting some of the verbs, to, also mark the tones on the verbs both in their citation forms and their contextual forms.

The second principal informant was the writer of this work.

All the verbs collected are exclusively bafut verbs.

When the corpus of 600 verbs was constituted, we proceeded to an analysis of the verbs. We used cards in which we made several entries. Each card therefore contained a verb and its translation, and an illustrative sentence. We also entered the seven identified suffixes and sentences, through which we illustrated the different significations of these suffixes.

Each verb was accompanied by a predicate frame through which we were able to determine the number of arguments which each verb with or without a suffix, can take in its surface structure. Through these predicate frames and accompanying sentences, we were able to bring out the semantic and syntactic effects of the suffixes on the radical or verb.

Another task, with which we were confronted, was the classification of the verbs and the choice of the type of arguments necessary for the expression of the full meaning of each verb. At the syntactic level, this classification was basically a distinction between, transitive and intransitive. At the semantic level, we had recourse to the definitions of Chafe (1970) in grouping the verbs into either process, state or action verbs. In a further sub-classification of the process, state and action verbs into either benefactive, locative or experiential verbs, we based our work on those of Cook (1979) and Moskey (1979). These verbs, were further grouped into the number of "places" or arguments which they obligatorily require in their surface structures.

After the above classifications and sub-classifications, we proceeded to a choice of the types of arguments necessary for a complete expression of the meanings of the verbs. In this, we pursued the procedures carved out in Cook (1979), namely the analytic procedure and intuitive judgement. These procedures conveyed us to Cook's distinction between "propositional" and "modal" cases. According to Cook (1979:87), propositional cases are those elements which are indispensable, in different combinations, for a total understanding of the verb's meaning. Cook (1979:87) also considers modal cases as optional elements, not indispensable for the verb's surface structure.

Furthermore, we also made a distinction, according to Cook (1979:87), between "Overt" and "Covert" cases. The former are propositional elements implied by the verb and which obligatorily appear at the surface structure of the verb; while the latter is implied by the verb but is not indispensable at the surface structure of the verb.

Through these distinctions, we capitalised on five main cases laid down in Cook (1979:87). These cases are: Agent (A), Experiencer (E), Benefactive (B), Object (O) and Locative (L). These five cases are Cook's reduction of Fillmore (1969:366)'s inventory of nine cases.

Since we adopted a semantic model of communication, whereby syntactic structures can be constructed from the semantic roles the verb attributes to the elements with which it occurs, we therefore, through these cases, constructed predicate frames for the verbs as illustrated in the table below:

ASSIGNMENT OF SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

VERB	MEANING	ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCE	MEANING	'SEMANTIC'	SYNTACTIC
				ROLES	FUNCTIONS
fá ^ˆ	to give	mà fà mòà mbo ngwà	I giving...to...	A,O,E,	NP1+VP+NP2+
táá ^ˆ	to chew	mà tsáá mbà	I am chewing meat	A,O	NP1+VP+NP2
zhá ^ˆ	to see	mà zhà ngwà	I am seeing Ngwa	E,O	NP1+VP+NP2
L 1 sá ^ˆ	to hide	mà l)l) sá...mum ng	I am hiding..in..	A,O,L	NP2+VP+NP2+N

The above table illustrates the five principal cases which have been adopted for this work. At the syntactic level, these cases have been represented as NP1, NP2, or NP3. More explanations for a better understanding of the attribution of these functions are reserved for subsequent chapters. The above table also shows the possible number of arguments which a verb can take. These do not exceed three, when only the principal cases are taken into consideration.

In the identification of tones, we based our judgment both on the melodic pattern of the voice during the production of the verbs and on the outline provided by Mfonyam (1982) which was consequently adopted in the Guide Pour le Développement Des systèmes D'écriture Des Langues Africaines (1983). We, therefore, identified two register tones: high (H) and low (L); and two contour tones: Rising-falling (HL) and falling rising (LH). It was noted however that these contour tones were present only in the citation forms of the verbs. Thus, when the verbs were used in simple sentences in the present progressive tense, the HL tone was realised as a H tone while the LH tone was realised as a L tone. This change to either a H or a L

tone justifies Mfonyam (1982)'s distinction between high-tone and low-tone verbs.

After classifying the verbs: at the semantic and syntactic levels; making a choice of arguments, identifying tones, and the derivational suffixes, we proceeded to a search of the functions of these suffixes. In order to tackle this problem, we based our analysis on the works of Leroy (1979), which is her treatment of the suffixes in Mankon, and L. Hyman (1981)'s treatment of the functions of derivational suffixes in Noni. From these works, we were able to discern the causative, repetitive, distributive ... etc functions of the suffixes. As regards the perfective function of one of the suffixes, we turned to Mfonyam (1982). In the subsequent Chapters, these suffixes will be treated elaborately. We will also provide the number of verbs which are capable of taking the various suffixes.

Throughout the analysis of the verb and its arguments, we used the sentence because according to Lehmann (1975:229-230).

"....One approach to words is the exploration of the entities that may be used with them...we determine the use of words in any language by studying their collocations and uses".

Thus, through the sentence, we were able to discover the elements with which the verb must occur. These elements are therefore, the collocations' of the verb.

1.4: Alphabet:

The consonants and vowels used for this work are in conformity with the consonant and vowel graphemes presented in Guide Pour le Developpement des Langues Africaines. (1983:24;29). The graphemes extracted from the charts are as follows:-

<u>Consonant Graphemes:</u>	<u>Vowel Graphemes</u>
b (...by, bw, mb)	i
f (...fw, mf)	e
t	E

Consonant Graphemes:

Vowel Graphemes

d (...dw)	ɨ
ts (...tsy,nts)	ə
dz (...dw,ndz)	a
k (...kw,ky)	u
g (...ng)	o
l	ɔ
m	
n	
ny	
ŋ (...nw)	
s	
sh	
zh	
ʃ	
gh	

Note: The brackets after the consonant graphemes contain different realisations or representations of the consonants accompanying these brackets. The graphemes in the brackets therefore indicate instances of palatalisation, labialisation or prenasalisation of the main grapheme. The graphemes presented above are only those used in this work. Thus, eighteen (18) different consonant graphemes and nine (9) different vowel graphemes have been used in the present work.

1.5: Presentation of Chapters:

The present work is divided into the following chapters:

CHAPTER 1 : GENERAL INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 2 : THE BAFUT VERB STRUCTURE

In this chapter, we have treated: the morphology of the bafut verbs; the tonal system of the verbs and suffixes; a terse introduction of the identified derivational suffixes and a quasi-exhaustive treatment of formal suffixes which is accompanied

by adequate illustrative sentences. We have also treated verbs which take a homorganic nasal before derivational suffixes are suffixed. We have also treated the possibilities of the co-occurrence of both formal and derivational suffixes.

CHAPTER 3 : THE VERB FROM A SEMANTIC - SYNTACTIC VIEWPOINT

This chapter is devoted to: a classification of the verbs at both the semantic and syntactic levels; a correlation of the verbs with arguments; a classification of the verbs according to the number of places; a choice of propositional overt cases and a provision of the different simple sentence structures demonstrating the surface structures of the verbs. These structural descriptions are restricted to the:

$(NP_1 + VP)$, $(NP_1 + VP + NP_2)$ and $(NP_1 + VP + NP_2 + NP_3)$ patterns.

CHAPTER 4 : THE EFFECTS OF THE SUFFIXES ON THE VERBS

This chapter tends to be a harmonisation of chapters 2 and 3. The derivational suffixes identified in chapter 2 are affixed to the verbs classified in chapter 3 and through this combination, we have attempted to portray the effects which these suffixes have in changing the meanings of the verbs and the sentence patterns in which the verbs can enter when they take on these suffixes.

THE DAFUT VERB STRUCTURE2.0: INTRODUCTION:

After a presentation of the Dafuts and their language in the preceding chapter, we will devote the present chapter to the structure of the Dafut verbs. Like other Bantu and Bantoid languages, the Dafut verb is composed of a radical and one suffix which can either be lexical or derivational. This treatment of the Dafut verb will fall within the realms of verb morphology. Thus, we will present the verbal morphology of the Dafut verb from the following viewpoints:

- 1) The syllabic structure of the verbs
- 2) The tonal patterns of the verbs
- 3) The verb radical and its suffixes

A distinction will be made between lexical or formal suffixes and derivational suffixes. We will also present instances where a homorganic nasal consonant (either -n or -ŋ) is affixed to a verb before it can take on a derivational suffix.

2.1.0 The Composition of the verb:

As discovered in the data for this work, the Dafut verbs are predominantly monosyllabic and disyllabic. There are, however, also instances where we discovered trisyllabic verbs. Thus, from a morphological viewpoint, the Dafut verbs have the following syllabic structures.

- 1) Mono-Syllabic Verbs: CV
CVC
CVV
- 2) Disyllabic Verbs : CV.CV.
CVC.CV
CVV.CV

3) Trisyllabic Verbs : CV.CV.CV

It was also noticed, from the data, that some consonants at the initial position of the verbs were followed by either -w or -y. This was regarded as instances of labialisation and palatalisation respectively and so such consonants were treated as single modified consonants rather than as a sequence composed of two separate consonants. In treating the verb composition according to the syllabic segmentation of the verbs, we will present a definition of a consonant as:

"...what one perceives, during speech, as being the smallest stretch of sounds "1 (my translation)

As a supplementary addition to the above definition, I will add

-
1. Wiesmann, Sadembono, Tadadjeu: Guide Pour le Développement Des Systèmes D'écriture Des langues Africaines, PP.60.

that the syllable) of Dafut verbs, comprises a nucleus which is usually a vowel though the nasals -m, -n and -ŋ can also be syllabic. These syllabic segments bear tones. The syllable can either be regarded as an open or a closed syllable. An open syllable is one which has no consonant element coming after the nucleus vowel while a closed syllable has a consonant following the nucleus vowel.

From the above information, it can be inferred that the Dafut verb can be grouped into the seven morphological patterns below:

2.1.1 : CV. Pattern

This pattern is one which is made up only of a single consonant, which can either be simple (-C₁) or modified (CW) or (CY) From the data we discovered 49 verbs which have this segmental pattern. These verbs include the following sample:-

tâ	"to kick"	nyâ	"to pinch"
nô	"to drink"	nyî	"to excrete"
bî	"to plant"	mî	"to swallow"
f	"to clasp"	kyâ	"to pluck"
bâ	"to dry with fire"	kyâ	"to comb"

tô	"to fight"	byá	"to glance"
mâ	"to mistake somebody for another"	tî	"to sort"
tsô	"to fetch water"	dzi	"to under-rate"
shwě	"to poke"	mě	"to finish"
kwě	"to cut"	fî	"to resemble"
wyě	"to laugh"	kwî	"to grow"
lî	"to pass the night"	lô	"to leave"
lî	"to jump"	wě	"to slaughter"
fâ	"to give"	zhâ	"to see"
shwâ	"to snatch"	wyo	"to fall"
tsô	"to perish"	tswî	"to sit"
zhî	"to know"	lwi	"to be bitter"
kwô	"to die"	tsyá	"to pass"
sô	"to pierce"	kô	"to catch"
twî	"to crack"	tû	"to pay"
dzwî	"to give birth"	tswâ	"to hold"

Judging from the sample above, it can be seen that with the verbs..."

C V-pattern, the final vowel, in the infinitive or imperative forms, of the verb, usually carries either a falling () and a rising tones(V).

2.1.2: C V C Pattern.

This pattern presupposes that the verb has the sequence $C_1 VC_2$. This pattern is however noticed only in sentences and affects mostly verbs which end with an - a which comes either after m- or n-. In sentences, the - a is therefore deleted in the pronunciation of the verb. From the data, 20 verbs were discovered with this behaviour. Verbs with this pattern are represented by the following samples:

sânâ	"to dry"	l+na	"to mise"
shúnâ	"to pull"	yona	"to follow"
tsúnâ	"to knot"	t na	"to blow"

tsónâ	"to sex"	nṯnâ	"to trample"
sánâ	"to count"	swónâ	"to say"
sàna	"to scatter"	tana	"to dery"
lṯnâ	"to lick"	kânâ	"to fry"
nónâ	"to suck"	tumâ	"to shoot"

In order to illustrate what has been said in the introduction to this section, I will use the following simple sentences:

má sàṅ àtsà'á	"I am drying a cloth"
má shùṅ àtsà'á	"I am pulling a cloth"
má tsùn àtsà'á	"I am knotting a cloth"
má sán nkábà	"I am counting money"
má kân mbà	"I am frying meat"

From the above sentences, it can be realised that the final vowel - a is deleted when the verbs are used in sentences, or during speech.

2.1.3: C V V Pattern.

This pattern presupposes that the verb which is monosyllabic is made up of a consonant and two vowels in the same syllable. We discovered from the data that 83 verbs have a C V V morphological structure. The following are sample of the verbs

k	"to peel, shave, scrape"	káá	"to be tired"
ghàá	"to speak"	swùá	"to borrow as a habit"
yáá	"to sing"	ghéá	"to stroll"
ghúú	"to invite"	yèè	"to pull off"
bàá	"to hate"	kàá	"to streak"
kwùá	"to beat"	twèè	"to cook (for a long time)"
bii	"to agree"	ts'á	"to fetch"
swii	"to suck in"	ywii	"to spin"
sáá	"to sneak away, to saw"	tsáá	"to chew"
bèè	"to unhook"	fèè	"to loose"

fɪɪ	"to lock"	yuu	"to buy"
kɛɛ	"to mend"	bwɛɛ	"to pick up"
k ^{ɛɛ} ɛɪɪ	"to filter" "to push"	tɔɔ	"to be standing"
dzwɛɛ	"to break through"	bɔɔ	"to mould"
nii	"to bare (the teeth)"	fwii	"to roof"
tuu	"to refuse"	bɛɛ	"to nail"
nɛɛ	"to lift"	twɛɛ	"to twist"
		tswɛɛ	"to trim"

2.1.4: C V . C V Pattern:

This pattern presupposes that the verb is disyllabic with the pattern C₁ V C V . An analysis of the data, for this work, showed that there were

314 verbs with this structure. Samples of these verbs are as follows:

nwà'â	"to spark"	dɔrâ	"to play"
zhùgâ	"to speed"	dɪ'â	"to show"
zhùgâ	"to roast"	kwɪnâ	"to hit"
bwàrâ	"to scold"	mɛ'â	"to Efeat"
tswirâ	"to dry"	fà'â	"to work"
lwitâ	"to burn out"	ɔwɪnâ	"to weed"
yɔrâ	"to whither"	lànâ	"to tap wine"
isurâ	"to leak"	lɔgâ	"to take"
ghè'â	"to glow"	tswá'â	"to contribute"
yà'â	"to cry"	bɪ'ɔ	"to lose"
yɔbâ	"to wail"	lɪgâ	"to cultivate"
kwákâ	"to quack"	bá'â	"to weave"
		kwérâ	"to take"

2.1.5: C V C . C V : Pattern:

This pattern as the one immediately above, concerns disyllabic verbs. In such verbs, the first syllable has a C₁ V C pattern while the second syllable has a C V pattern. We realised, from the data, that there were 18 verbs having this morphological pattern.

These verbs include the following:

nĩṅṣâ	"to suckle"	bõnnâ	"to make an appointment"
dzansâ	"to hold downwards"	shũnnâ	"to argue"
dz+ṅsâ	"to confuse"	taṅtâ	"to arrange"
tsũmnâ	"to confer with..."	tãnsâ	"to roll"
ts+mtâ	"to make something round"	nĩnsâ	"to tickle"
nãnnâ	"to creep"	ywĩntâ	"to try"
t+nnâ	"to better"	tsũmtâ	"to whisper"
sĩṅsâ	"to tantalize"	h r+tsâ	"to appease"
nãnsâ	"to lay down"	tsũnkâ	"to lag"

Judging from the verbs above, it can be seen that the Dafut verbs with the C V C . C V morphological structure are those verbs which have lexical. These suffixes; as it will be realised later on in the course of this work, are an inseparable part of the verb. They can therefore not be deleted from the verb's structure with the verb still being meaningful.

2.1.6: C V V. C V Pattern

Like the verbs in 1.1.4 and 1.1.5 above, the Dafut verbs with the C V V.. C V morphological structure are disyllabic verbs. The first syllable is usually composed of one initial syllabic consonant which is followed by two vowels. The second is composed of a consonant and a vowel in that order. An analysis of the data put into relief 32 verbs with this structure. Samples of this type of verbs are as follows:

toõnsâ	"to purge"	faãnsâ	"to squint"
swiĩnsâ	"to crucify"	h+ṅnsâ	"to raise from the ground"
dzãũnkâ	"to spurt"	bããnsâ	"to bid someone goodbye"
taãnsâ	"to put across"	fããtâ	"to separate"
lããntâ	"to hide oneself"	m)õntâ	"to touch"
kwããnkâ	"to stumble against"	kããlã	"to rumple"
kããnsâ	"to spy on"	l+ṅmã	"to wrap"

faansâ "to chase hotly"

sânâ "to disperse"

làansâ "to level"

bânâ "to get up"

ywiinâ "to revive"

koonâ "to bear fruits"

The verbs above show that the C V V . C V morphological pattern of the Bafut verbs occurs only when the first syllable of the verb has a long vowel. It should also be noted that the second syllable is composed partly of a lexical suffix which is separated from the long vowel of the first syllable by an insertion of a homorganic nasal, either -n- or -m-, as the case may be, between the long vowel and the second or final syllable of the verb with the C V V . C V morphological pattern. Instances where a homorganic nasal is inserted between the verb radical and the suffix will be illustrated in the treatment of the derivational suffixes later on in this work.

2.1.7: C V . C V . C V. Pattern.

Unlike the morphological patterns of the Bafut verbs already treated above, which concerned the structures of either monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs. As the pattern indicates, each syllable is made up of a consonant and a vowel. We discovered 90 verbs with this morphological pattern. Among these verbs were the samples below:-

ghàb'trâ "to babble"

dâ'akâ "to stagger"

ni'isâ "to estimate"

tâg'tlâ "to struggle"

n'isâ "to sight"

nyi'ilâ "to drizzle"

ts'ò'sâ "to borrow"

d't'tâ "to counsel"

ghù'ùsâ "to hail"

l'btâ "to estimate"

tá'g'sâ "to mortgage"

ghá'átâ "to regurgitate"

m'r'sâ "to train"

gú'útâ "to squat"

dórâtâ "to be happy"

kwi'inâ "to fade"

wà'átâ "to remember"

dzi'inâ "to sneeze"

k'j'tâ "to kindle"

yú'tnâ "to obey"

ywi'ítâ "to taste"

kwà'anâ "to tempt"

iswi'itâ	"to take a handful"	ɲwâ'âââ	"to write"
bâg+lâ	"to pretend"	ghâ'ânâ	"to envy"
lâ'ésâ	"to sprain"	lɔ̀'èsâ	"to hide"
		tswâ'âtâ	"to be smart"

Like the verbs in 1.1.6 already treated above the verbs with the CV,CV.CV pattern end with a formal suffix. Like the verbs in 1.1.6, the formal suffix of the verbs above cannot be deleted with the verb still maintaining its original meaning. After treating the morphological structure of the Dafut verbs I will tersely present the tonal system of the Dafut verb.

2.2.0: The Tonal System of the verbs:-

A more elaborate work on the tonal system of the Dafut language has been done by Mfonyam (1982). In this work, he treats the tonal system of noun as well as verb structures by placing these word classes in the context of sentences and drawing some conclusions of tonal behaviour within this context. Inspiration for this section is largely drawn, therefore, from Mfonyam (1982) and also from observations we gathered from the data for this work. When Mfonyam subjects the verbs into sentences, he made a distinction between high tone and low tone verbs.

- Concerning high tone verbs, he says that the last syllable of each high tone verb bears a high tone (H). He therefore presents the following patterns:-

H + suffix -----> H - H : This is for monosyllabic verbs which take on a suffix.

HH + suffix -----> HH - H : This is for disyllabic verbs which take on a suffix.

- Concerning low tone verbs, Mfonyam considers them as those whose last syllables bear a mid tone (M). He accordingly presents a structure which can be schematized thus:

\widehat{LM} + Suffix -----> L - M:
 LM + Suffix -----> LL - M:

As it has already been mentioned above; this pattern was obtained in sentences. But the citation forms of the verbs, as seen from the data, manifested the patterns whereby all the verbs have a rising and falling tone at their final syllable: whether the preceding syllables has a high or a low tone. But monosyllabic verbs, in their citation forms and which end with a short vowel, carry either a rising-falling or a falling-rising tone on the final vowel. We noted, however, that when the verbs with either the falling-rising or the rising-falling tones were used in sentences, these tones were realised as low (L) and high tones respectively. This change, it should be noted is morphological and not phonological, and can be due either to tense or the mood in which the verb is used. Concerning the tense, I will like to mention that the change incurred by these tones was arrived at when the verbs were used in the simple progressive tense.

From the foregoing analysis, it can be inferred that the Dafut verb has two basic regular tones: High and low tones which can be accompanied by either a rising and falling or a falling and rising tone in the citation forms of the verbs. The above phenomena will be illustrated in the following sections.

2.2.1: High Tone Verbs:

We will borrow the term "high tones" from Mfoniam (1982) but with the modification that these verbs do not have a high tone on the last syllable as Mfoniam presents them. In order to make this label adaptable to the present work, we will say that "high tone" verbs, in their citation forms are those which have a high tone in all other syllables except the last syllable which has a rising and falling tone. This pattern will be schematized thus: - H-H - HL for trisyllabic verbs and H - HL for disyllabic verbs. It should be noted that the hyphen between the labels has no orthographic signification here. It is just to put the rising-falling tone, of the final syllable, into relief.

Samples of verbs with the H-H- HL pattern are as presented below:-

1) HH - HL : pattern:

n+r+sâ	"to handle with care"
nũ+sâ	"to raise the back:shoulders"
k+r+sâ	"to mark"
bw'+sâ	"to deceive"
kãr+sâ	"to encircle"
yù'ù'+â	"to listen"
tàng'+â	"to destroy"
t.'sâ	"to mortgage"

2) H - HL pattern.

twisâ	"to postpone"
kwetâ	"to help"
y+ma	"to be selfish"
twonâ	"to read, call"
tswabâ	"to snatch"

In order to justify the fact that the rising and falling tone is converted to a high tone in a sentence of the present progressive tense, the following illustrations are provide:

- 1) H H - HL: má n+r+sâ akana "I am handling a pan with care"
- 2) H - HL : má kwetâ nõ "I am helping you"

As it is manifested in the sentences above, the rising-falling tone of the last syllable has been converted into a high tone, through a regressive assimilation.

2.2.2; Low tone Verbs:

We will once more borrow from Mfonyam (1982)'s notion of the low tone verb, but with the following modification. That the low tone verb, in its citation form, has a rising-falling tone, instead of a mid tone on its final syllable. With this modification, the following verbs are samples with a LL - HL or L - HL patterns.

1) LL - HL pattern:

swiinâ	"to be hanging down from"
ti'inā	"to slide"
tsà'atā	"to greet"
fīg'tā	"to show"
nwà'anā	"to write"

2) L - HL pattern:

tì'ô	"to wedge"
fətā	"to fuck"
fə'ô	"to go out"
lātā	"to guide"
mà'a	"to throw"
fumā	"to bake in ash"

When the above verbs were used in sentences with the present progressive tense, it was realised that the rising - falling tone becomes a low tone, as illustrated below:-

- 1) LL - HL: má tsà'atā nō "I am greeting you"
- 2) L. HL: má tì'ô n'ng'ô "I am wedging a plantain plant"

Once more, through a process of regressive assimilation, the rising-falling tone has been converted into a low tone. It should once more be noted that this low tone has a morphological rather than a phonological motivation. Thus, the meaning of the verb is not modified in any way by the tonal change.

2.2.3: Rising-Falling and Falling-Rising tone verbs:

As it has already been mentioned in section 2.2.0 above, the rising-falling and falling-rising tone patterns are peculiar of monosyllabic verbs which end with a short syllable. As in the cases of modified tones above these tones, will change to either high or low tones when the verbs are used in sentences with the present progressive tense. The following are verbs which illustrate these tone patterns:-

1) Rising - Falling tone: ˨˨

tswâ	"to hold"
tû	"to pay"
dzwî	"to give birth"
tê fê	"to sort out"
twî	"to crack"
kô	"to catch"
kwô	"to die"
zhî	"to know"

2) Falling - rising tone: ˨˨

dzi ^v	"to under-rate"
lô	"to leave"
wâ ^v	"to slaughter"
wyô ^v	"to fall"
lwi ^v	"to be bitter"
tsyâ ^v	"to pass"

The verbs above are only samples of monosyllabic verbs with either a rising-falling or a falling-rising tone, which were found in the data.

When these verbs are used in sentences, there is a morphological change incurred by the verbs. Thus, the rising-falling tone becomes a high tone while the falling-rising tone becomes a low tone. These situations are illustrated as follows:-

Verb in citation form	Meaning	Sentence in the present progressive tense	Meaning
1: tswâ	to hold:	mă tswâ nŏ	I am holding you.
tû	to pay	mă tû nŏ	I am paying you.
2: tsyâ ^v	to pass	mă tsyâ	I am passing.
dzi ^v	to under-rate	mă dzi nŏ	I am under-rating you.
lô ^v	to leave	mă lô	I am leaving.

the simplex radical is made up of segments which are the same as either one or the other of the segments identified in this work as a derivational suffix. The difference here lies, however, in the fact that the final segments of the radical modify the verb neither semantically nor syntactically. This situation will be discussed in the sections that follow.

2.3.2.0: The Radical + Suffix:

It was realised from the data, for this work, that the radical part of the Dafut verb can take on some suffixes which tend to enhance either a semantic or syntactic modification of the verbs. As it will be seen in Chapter 3, the semantic effect of the derivational suffixes is that they can either increase or reduce the number of arguments which the verb takes; they can also change the verbs into either action, process or state verbs; thirdly, these suffixes can bring a modified meaning to the verb. At the syntactic verbs can change intransitive verbs into transitive verbs and vice versa; they can also introduce a causative element into the *in* or even derive new word classes from the verbs.

-
1. Malcolm Guthrie (1970) : Comparative Bantu, Volume 1, pp. 14.
 2. Ibid.
-

As already mentioned earlier, the simplex radical can have a structure similar to that of an extended radical. In such cases, it is necessary to make a distinction between these endings in terms of types. Thus, I will say that this distinction will be based on the judgement whether these endings of both simplex radicals and extended radicals do or do not modify the verb either semantically or syntactically. In making this judgement, I will take recourse in the works of some linguists.

The type of suffixes which modify the Dafut verbs have been differently referred to as "derived suffixes"¹ or as "class-changing"² suffixes. These are the type of suffixes which will attract more attention in the present semantic and syntactic study of the Dafut verb.

On the other hand, those suffixes which do not modify the verbs in any way have also been varyingly referred to by linguists as: "formal suffixes"³ or "class-maintaining suffixes"⁴ or "lexical suffixes"⁵. Writing about lexical suffixes, Hyman says that they are

"those which occur on a verb form but do not constitute a separate meaningful part".

From the above definition, we can correlate lexical suffixes with those suffixes which form an inseparable part of a complex radical in Bafut. In opposition to these lexical or formal suffixes, one can put the derived suffixes. For the sake of the present work, we will maintain the following terms in treating the suffixes:

- 1) Derived suffix: This is that suffix which can modify the verb either semantically or syntactically.
- 2) Formal suffix: This will refer to the suffix that has no modifying effect on the verb.

In Bafut as in Wankon (Leroy, 1979) the suffixes -sa, -ta, -na, and -ka were found as having the same meaning. This will be further explained in Chapter 3. In addition to these suffixes found in Wankon, we discovered that there also existed the derivational suffixes -ma, -la, and a duplication of the verb. More specifically to Bafut, we also discovered that there were formal suffixes which had the same -sa, -ta, -na and ka structure as the derivational suffixes. A terse presentation of these suffixes will be made in the following sections.

-
1. Larry Hyman, (1981): Noni Grammatical Structure, pp. 34.
 2. Howard Jackson Analyzing English: An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, pp. 102.
 3. Jacqueline Leroy in Le Verbs Wankon, pp. 126 - 177.
 4. Howard Jackson Ibid.
 5. Larry Hyman (1981) Ibid.
 6. Larry Hyman (1981) Ibid.
-

2.3.2.1.0: Derived Suffixes:

We discovered from the data, that there were six derived suffixes in Bafut and these suffixes are: -sa, -ka, -ta, -na, -ma and -la.

In Leroy (1979) the first four of these suffixes were found in Mankon, and as it will be realised in the course of this work, these suffixes have the same meaning in Dafut as presented in Leroy (1979). Out of the 600 verbs which form the basis of this study, some took on all of these suffixes while others took on either one or the other of the suffixes. On the other hand, all the Dafut verbs take the -ma derived suffix. In the terse presentation of the meanings of these suffixes, some reasons will be evoked to explain why a verb can take on one of the suffixes and not the other.

In presenting these suffixes, we will also illustrate situations whereby a homorganic nasal, either -n- or -ŋ- is inserted between the simple x radical and the derived suffix.

2/3.2.1.1: The -ta derived suffix:

In treating the -ta derived suffix in this section, we will only give a brief presentation of this suffix. A more exhaustive treatment, which will portray the semantic and syntactic implication of this suffix, is reserved for Chapter 3. Out of the 600 verbs used for this work, 338 of them were found to have this suffix. This suffix was found to have three implications namely diminutive, repetitive, quantitative.

1. DIMINUTIVE -ta:

We realised that 314 verbs can take the -ta diminutive suffix. This suffix suggested that the action is either "short-lived" or just a small quantity of something is done" or only "part of" a greater action is done with "less intensity".

2) REPETITIVE -ta:

It was discovered from the data that out of the 338 verbs which could take the -ta derived suffix; 16 of them had a repetitive function. Verbs with this suffix show a change in the meaning of the verb in that the action suggested by the verb is capable of being repeated. Thus this suffix has the meanings: "several times" or "over and over",.

3) DISTRIBUTIVE -ta:

When this derived suffix is affixed to a simplex radical, it shows that action falls on individuals or a group of individuals who form a larger group. This situation will be exploited more in Chapter 3.

2.3.2.1.2: The -ka derived suffix.

It was discovered, from the data, that 388 verbs can be suffixed with the -ka derived suffix. This suffix when suffixed to the verb radiates the following meanings: distributive, repetitive, quantitative and spontaneity. This suffix will be briefly presented here as a prelude to a more elaborate treatment in Chapter 3. The -ka derived suffix can therefore be treated as:

1) "Distributive - ka"

Out of the 388 verbs which were discovered to receive the -ka derived suffix, 320 of them were found to receive the -ka suffix with a distributive meaning. When this suffix is added to a verb, it shows that several similar actions are done at different times; or that the same action is done by different people or groups of people at the same time. These functions of the -ka distributive can therefore be summarised as: "separately", or "one after the other" or at "different times". In this last function, the -ka distributive function is similar to the repetitive - ta.

The difference here, however, is that the repetitiveness of -ta is continuous, while with the -ka distributive suffix it is suggested that there is a pause between the first execution of an action and the subsequent execution of the same action.

2) Repetitive -ka

It was discovered from the data that 28 verbs were discovered to receive the repetitive -ka derived suffix. When a verb takes on this suffix, the verb's meaning is modified to suggest that an action is done several times continuously. This -ka suffix is, therefore similar in function to the

repetitive **-ta** presented above. The meaning of the repetitive **-ka** will therefore be represented in illustrative sentences as: "several times" or "time and again" or "several things".

3) Spontaneous -ka.

This, derived suffix, when added to a verb indicates that the action suggested by the verb is capable of going on without the assistance of an external agentive force. We discovered from the data that out of the 388 verbs with the **-ka** derived suffix, 16 of them suggested spontaneity. Thus, when the spontaneous **-ka** is affixed to a verb, we will give it the meaning: "by itself". As it will be realised later on, the spontaneous **-ka** has the same functional meaning as the spontaneous **-na**.

4) Quantitative -ka:

We realised from the data that 20 verbs out of the 388, which permit the use of the **-ka** derived suffix, have a quantitative function. This indicates that there is a large number of objects which are referred to or which are affected by the action effected by the agent or subject of the Verb. When this suffix is used on a verb. Therefore, it would be regarded as implying "several.." or "many..".

From the foregoing analysis, it can be inferred that the **-ka** derived suffix can radiate five different meanings. These meanings have been grouped above in the headings: "Distributive **-ka**", "repetitive **-ka**", "Simultaneous **-ka**", "Spontaneous **-ka**" and "Quantitative **-ka**". An analysis of the data also showed that there was another derived suffix, **-sa**, which also modifies either the syntactic or semantic quality of the verb to which it is affixed. This suffix will be presented below:

2.3.2.1.3: The -sa derived suffix:

Unlike the **-ta -ka** and later on the **-na** derived suffixes which modify the verb both at the semantic and syntactic levels, the **-sa** derived suffix

affects the verb exclusively at the syntactic level. Thus, as it will be illustrated later on, in the course of this work, when the -sa derived suffix is added to the verb, it adds a causative quality to the verb. Through this function, therefore, the -sa suffix increases the valency of verbs. In this way therefore, intransitive verbs are changed into transitive verbs. From the data, we discovered that out of the 600 verbs forming the data, 117 of them could take on the -sa causative suffix. In cases whereby a verb cannot take on the causative -sa, the morpheme "gh⁺ra" which means "to make someone to do something" was added, to the sentence, to serve the causative function. There is however, no discernible way to predict when a verb takes on either -sa or "gh⁺ra" because while -sa applies exclusively to intransitive verbs, the morpheme "gh⁺ra" applies to intransitive as well as to transitive verbs. As regards the insertion of "gh⁺ra" into sentences in order to adorn the verb with a causative characteristic, 483 verbs were discovered to demand this morpheme. The above situations, where verbs take on either -sa or "gh⁺ra" as causative elements will be expounded more during the treatment of the semantic and syntactic implications of the suffixes in chapter 3.

Another derived suffix which is common to both Dafut and Mankon as can be inferred from Leroy (1979) is the -na derived suffix.

2.3.2.1.3: The -na derived Suffix:

An analysis of the data showed that the -na derived suffix has both a semantic and syntactic modifying effect on the verb. At the semantic level, the -na derived suffix adds three different meanings to the basic meaning of the verb. These meanings are: "reciprocity", "simultaneity" and "spontaneity". These different meanings will be briefly introduced in this section and further exploited later on in the work. At the syntactic level, when -na is added to a verb, it reduces verb valency. This syntactic function of the -na derived suffix ties up with the semantic functions of "reciprocity" and "spontaneity" already mentioned above.

An analysis of the data showed that out of the 600 verbs, 171 of them received the -na derived suffix indicating the different meanings already presented above. The different functions of the -na suffix and the number of verbs fulfilling either of the functions can be briefly presented thus:

1) The "reciprocal" element of -na:

It was discovered from the data that out of the 171 verbs which receive the -na derived suffix, 52 of them added a meaning of reciprocity to the verb. This reciprocity suggests retaliatory action, that is, all the arguments involved in an action affect each other through the derived verb. In illustrating this function of the -na suffix in sentences the "reciprocal" element of -na will be represented as "each other". While at the semantic level the "reciprocal" -na will be translated as "each other", at the syntactic level, this -na suffix reduces verb valency. It can also change a verb into another part of speech. When added to the verb, the "reciprocal" -na will be taken to mean "each other".

2) Spontaneous element of -na:

We discovered from the verbs which can take on the -na derived suffix that 47 of them were found to add a spontaneous quality to the verb. This spontaneous element, as it has already been seen with the spontaneous -ka, shows that action suggested by the verb is capable of being executed without the assistance of any agentive force.

As it has been seen with the "reciprocal" -na above, the spontaneous -na also has a syntactic function in that it reduces the number of noun phrases with which the verb can occur. The spontaneous element will be read as "by itself".

3) Simultaneous element of -na:

In presenting the -ka derived suffix, we said that this suffix can be used to mark simultaneity in action. We therefore said that the simultaneous -ka is used to mean "at the same time". This is also the meaning

carried by the simultaneous *-na*. Thus this suffix indicates that the same action is carried out by different groups of people at the same time of the same time. This suffix will therefore be taken as adding the meaning "at the same time" or "together" to the basic meaning of the verb. At the syntactic level, this suffix neither reduces nor increases the number of noun phrases occurring with the verb. It was discovered that 72 verbs took on the simultaneous *-na*.

The derived suffixes presented above, were also discovered in Mankon, as shown by Leroy (1979), and they had some common significations. Apart from these suffixes presented in Mankon, by Leroy (1979), we also discovered three other derived suffixes in Dafut which are: *-ma*, *-la* and a duplication of the simplex radical.

2.3.2.1.5: The *-ma* derived suffix:

It was realised through an analysis of data, that all the 600 verbs which form the basis for this study took on the *-ma* derived suffix. This suffix can be explained in terms of its opposition to the diminutive *-ta* suffix. This opposition is in the fact that the *-ma* suffix indicates the perfective aspect of the verb to which it is affixed. The term "perfective" is used here in accordance with Comrie's definition in which he says that the perfective aspect:

"Presents the totality of the situation without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with the beginning, middle and end rolled into one..."¹

According to Comrie's definition, therefore, the *-ma* suffix in Dafut can be said to be a morpheme which emphasises that the action, suggested by the verb, had already been actually carried out. With such a function of *-ma*, its opposition to the diminutive *-ta*, already presented earlier becomes clear.

In this situation the diminutive -ta demonstrates an "imperfective" aspect of the verb. Once more, according to Comrie, the imperfective aspect:

"presents a situation or action with internal temporal structure... viewed from within as having a beginning, a middle and an end or simply drawn".²

Adopting Comrie's definition, of the imperfective aspect of the verb for the Dafut diminutive -ta suffix one can say that this suffix presents an action as being segmented or as being in process. In presenting the above opposition, though not in unravelling the relationship existing between -ma and diminutive -ta Mfonyam (1982), says that one can "...bring out the distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspects as one of opposition between the notion of completion and incompleteness or duration"³

This distinction between the notions of "completion" and "incompletion" will be illustrated by the following two sentences using the -ma and diminutive -ta suffix:-

- 1) nô "to drink" mǎ nótà nki "I am drinking a bit of water"
- 2) nô "to drink" mǎ nò mǎ nki "I have already drunk water"

1. Bernard Comrie in Tonology in the Orthography of Dafut, Mfonyam (1982) PP. 197.

2. Ibid: PP. 197.

3. Ibid: PP. 197.

Sentence 1 above shows that the agent or subject effecting the action is still in the process of executing the action. On the other hand sentence 2 shows that the action of "drinking" has actually been carried out. These two sentences therefore portray the contrast between the imperfective diminutive -ta and the perfective -ma respectively.

2.3.2.1.6: The -la derived suffix:

The derived -la suffix is one of the suffixes which were discovered to effect some modification on the verb.

Unlike syntactic effect on the verbs, the -la derived suffix has:

It was discovered from the data of 600 verbs that 112 of the verbs can be extended by the use of the -la derived suffix. When the -la suffix is added to the verb, it usually has three significations namely: "randomness", "roughness", and "on several parts." Out of the 112 verbs which were found to accept the -la suffix, 64 of them denote "randomness", 22 carried the meaning of "roughness" while 7 of them conveyed the meaning "on several parts/points".

2.3.2.1.7: Reduplication of the radical:

In his treatment of Noni verb forms, Larry Ngman (1981) states that "a dozen verbs...have been found which derive the meaning of 'continuously', 'often', 'manytimes', by reduplicating their root syllable"¹ Taking Hyman's discovery as a premise and applying it to the Safut verbs, we discovered that out of the 600 verbs which compose our data, 583 verbs were seen to duplicate their roots to mean "several times", "many" and "thoroughly."

For the course of this work, the different meanings have been labelled as follows:-

When the reduplication of the verb root indicates that an action is done "several times" we will say that the reduplication has a repetitive function. 470 verbs out of the 583 whose roots can be duplicated, conveyed this meaning.

1. Larry Hyman (1981): Noni Grammatical Structures: SC.O.P.I.L; NO. 9,

When the reduplication indicates that the action suggested by the verb affects many objects, we will say that the reduplication has a "quantitative" function. Out of the 483 verbs whose roots can be duplicated, 78 cases demonstrated the "quantitative" function. This quantitative function is marked by "too much"

Thirdly, when the duplication indicates that the action was done thoroughly, we will say that this duplication has an "emphatic" function. In sentences this emphatic function will be represented by "very..." or "too..." These situations will be exploited in Chapter 3. We discovered from the data that 35 verbs, whose root can be reduplicated, were found to convey the "emphatic" meaning.

In the course of adding the derivational suffixes to verbs, we realised that some of the verbs underwent a morphological conditioning before taking on any of the derivational suffixes. This conditioning involved an insertion of a homorganic nasal, either -n- or -ŋ- between the verb root and the derivational suffix. This situation will be explained in the following section.

2.3.2.1.8: Verbs with homorganic nasals: (-n-, -ŋ-)

As it has already been mentioned above, some verbs require the insertion of either -n- or -ŋ- between the verb root and the derivational suffix. We discovered, from the data, that 80 verbs were prone to this behaviour. We also noticed that it was the initial consonant of the suffix which determines whether it is -n-, or -ŋ- which should be inserted between the verb root and the suffix. This shows a case of homorganicity. This phenomenon will be illustrated in the following table:-

TABLE I

VERB ROOT	MEANING	VERB ROOT + -n- + SUFFIX	MEANING
1 ghòḥ	1. to be sick	1. ghòḥ-n-tâ	1. to be a bit sick
2 lòḥ	2. to be hot	2. lòḥ-n-sâ	2. to make something to be hot.
3 kòḥ	3. to peel	3. kòḥ-n-tâ	3. to peel a bit.
4 lii	4. to look at	4. lii-n-tâ	4. to look at... for a short time.
5 bwii	5. to sleep	5. bwii-n-sâ	5. to make someone to sleep.
6 nòḥ	6. to smile	6. nòḥ-n-tâ	6. to smile a bit.
7 tswéé	7. to trim	7. tswéé-n-tâ	7. to trim...a bit.

From the table above, we have presented cases whereby -n- is inserted between the verb root and the suffix. It should be noted that the hyphens separating the nasal, -n-, from the verb and the derivational suffix have no orthographic significance. These hyphens have been inserted just to throw the inserted nasal into relief. The above table illustrates instances whereby the alveolar nasal, -n-, is inserted in the verb.

Instances where it is the velar nasal, -n-, which is inserted, between the verb root and the derivational suffix, will be presented in the following table:-

TABLE 2.

	VERB ROOT	MEANING.	VERB ROOT + -n-+ SUFFIX*	MEANING
1.	ghòó	1. to be sick	1. ghòó-n-kâ	1. to be sick one after the other
2.	ñùù	2. to smile	2. ñùù-n-kâ	2. to smile one after the other
3.	kóó	3. to peel	3. kóó-n-kâ	3. to peel separately
4.	káà	4. to be tied	4. káà-n-kâ	4. to be separately tired.
5.	yáà	5. to sing	5. yáà-n-kâ	5. to sing separately.
6.	fùù	6. to punch	6. fùù-n-kâ	6. to punch several times.
7.	swii	7. to suck in	7. swii-n-kâ	7. to suck in one after the other.

As it can be deduced from the tables above, the nasals are inserted between the verb root and the suffix only when the verb root takes either the a -la, a -sa, or a -ka derivational suffix. The conditions under which the nasals are inserted can be explained as follows:-

Firstly, the verb which demands the insertion of the nasals must end with a long vowel on the same syllable. The length of the vowel is shown by a doubling of the same vowel. This is evident in the tables above. Thus, a verb which ends with a short vowel does not need either of the identified nasals to be inserted between the verb root and the derivational suffix. This phenomenon can be illustrated with the following verbs ending with a short vowel:

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 1) sigâ | "to climb down" | 1) s+gâsâ | "to make someone" |
| 2) fâ'à | "to be blind" | 2) fâ'àkâ | "to be separately blind" |
| 3) l+gâ | "to cultivate" | 3) l+gâtâ | "to cultivate a small area" |

The above illustrations can be contrasted with the illustrations in the preceding tables.

Secondly, whether it is -n- or -ŋ- which is to be inserted between the verb and the derivational suffix, depends on whether the consonant of the suffix is alveolar or velar. Thus, when the consonant of the suffix is an alveolar consonant, it is -n- which has to be inserted and when the suffix consonant is velar, it is -ŋ- which is inserted. This shows a situation of homogeneity which will be illustrated by the examples below:

A single verb will be used for this illustration:

- yàà "to sing"

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. Yàà "to sing" | 1. Yàà-n-tâ "to sing for a short time" |
| 2. Yàà "to sing" | 2. Yàà-n-sâ "to make someone to sing" |
| 3. Yàà "to sing" | 3. Yàà-ŋ-kâ "to sing separately " |

From the examples above, it is clearly seen that when the verb takes on either the -ta or the -sa derivational suffix, the nasal inserted is -n-. This is, as explained earlier, because /t/, /s/ and /n/ are all alveolar sounds. When, however, the verb takes on the -ka suffix, the the nasal inserted is -ŋ- since both /k/ and /ŋ/ are velar sounds.

It was also noted that the insertion of the above nasals also occurred when the verb root is reduplicated. Once more, there is a case of homogeneity. Thus, if the verb root has as its initial sound an alveolar consonant, the nasal -n- is inserted, while when the initial consonant is a velar consonant, the nasal -ŋ- is inserted. When however the initial consonant is either -n- or -ŋ-, there is no more insertion. These situations will be demonstrated below:-

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1) dzû "to eat" | 1) dzû-n-dzû "to eat too much" |
| 2) kó'ô "to bring up offspring" | 2) kó'o-ŋ-kó'o "to bring up offspring time and again" |
| 3) ñoô "to smile" | 3) ñoô-ñoô "to smile time and again" |
| 4) nùgâ "to crush" | 4) nùgâ-nùgâ "to crush several times" |

Example 1 above illustrates a situation where the initial consonant of the verb root is an alveolar consonant. Thus, in reduplicating this root, -n- is placed before the reduplicated form.

Example 2 illustrates a case where the initial consonant of the verb root /k/ is a velar consonant. Thus, -n- which is a velar nasal is placed before the reduplicated verb root.

Examples 3 and 4 demonstrate instances where the initial consonants of the verb roots are the nasals /ŋ/ and /n/ respectively. /n/ For these cases, therefore, there is no insertion of either /n/ or /ŋ/ before the reduplicated root."

While the suffixes -ta, -ka, -sa and reduplicated verb roots demand the insertion of either /n/ or /ŋ/ between the verb root and the suffix, other suffixes like -ma, -na and -la do not require these insertions. The case of -na can be explained by the fact that the initial consonant of this suffix is a nasal and therefore needs no insertion of another nasal. But while this plausible explanation can be given concerning the -na suffix, no reason was however found as to why -la does not need either of the nasals, seeing that the consonant /l/ of the suffix is alveolar. The case of -ma can be partially explained by the fact that the consonant /m/ of the suffix, though a bilabial consonant, shares some nasal features with -n- and -ŋ- which are usually placed before the suffixes. Illustrations of cases where verb roots take on the -ma and -la derivational suffixes, but without the insertion of any of the nasals, are presented below.

1. Verb Root + -ma:

- | | | | |
|--------|------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1. dzû | "to eat" | 1. mà dzû-mâ | "I have already eaten." |
| 2. kuù | "to enter" | 2. mà kuù-mâ | "I have already entered" |
| 3. tô | "to fight" | 3. mà tô-mâ | "I have already fought" |

2. Verb Root + -la

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| tswâi | "to trim" | 1. tswâi-lâ | "to trim at random" |
|-------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 2. fwīī "to roof" | 2. fwīī-lâ "to roof roughly" |
| 3. n)') "to press" | 3. n)')-lâ "to press on several parts." |

It should be borne in mind that the hyphens ~~within~~; the verbs above, like elsewhere, have no orthographic significance. They are inserted in the verbs just to distinguish the verb root from the various derivational suffixes. As it is evidenced by the illustrations above, neither the -ma nor the -la suffix requires a homorganic nasal before it.

So far, the above analyses have been focussed on derivational suffixes which can be applied to modify either the semantic or syntactic meanings of the Dafut verbs. But, it was also discovered that there are some "suffixes" which do not modify the meaning of the verb in any way. As it was noticed in 1.3.2.0, this category of suffixes was labelled "formal suffixes"

2.3.3.0; Formal Suffixes:

The definition of formal "suffixes": in section 1.3.2.0, identified them as an integral part of the verb and can therefore not be extricated from the verb by any means. Any attempt at deleting this "suffix" from the verb will render the remaining part of the verb unmeaningful. It should be noted that the term "suffix" is used in this section just as a matter of convenience. This is because the traditional definition of a suffix defines it as:

"...letter(s) or syllable(s) added at the end of a word to make another word."¹

If the above definition is strictly adhered to, then we will not be justified to speak of "formal suffixes" or "lexical suffixes" because these do not create new words, neither do they modify the existing verb in any way. But, we will use the label "formal suffixes" because these suffixes have the same structure as the identified suffixes and secondly the "formal suffixes" also occur at the final position of the verbs where the derived suffixes also do.

With the above clarifications which justify the adoption of the label; "formal suffixes" we discovered that there were seven different formal suffixes which the Dafut verbs can contain. These suffixes, which are similar in structure to the derived suffixes are: -ta, -ka, -na, -sa and -la. In all, 214 verbs, out of the 600 verbs in our data, were found to take on either one or the other of the formal suffixes. Illustrations of these cases will be offered in the following sub-sections.

2.3.3.1: The -ta formal suffix:-

We discovered from our data that out of the 214 verbs which have either one or the other of the formal suffixes, 80 of them have the -ta formal suffix. Samples of verbs with this suffix are provided below.

shùg'tâ	"to provoke"	gítâ	"to wind round"
yägätâ	"to lean with the back against something"	ghontâ	"to strike"
wá'átâ	"to remember"	lántâ	"to check on someone"
ywi'ítâ	"to taste"	kú'ótâ	"to kindle"
ywintâ	"to try"	dzútâ	"to cheat"
kwétâ	"to help"	tsà'átâ	"to greet"
bitâ	"to ask"	fítâ	"to tuck"
tswi'ítâ	"to take a handful"	fàátâ	"to separate"
bítâ	"to sharpen"	míntâ	"to tough"
bintâ	"to set a trap"	fíg'tâ	"to point at"

As the examples above portray, the -ta formal suffix conveys none of the modifying implications suggested by the derivational -la suffix.

1. Advanced Learner's Dictionary: 19 pp. 1009.

2.3.3.2: The -sa formal suffix:

We discovered from our data that out of the 214 verbs with the formal suffixes, 57 of them have the -sa formal suffix. Like the other formal suffixes, the -sa formal suffix does not modify the verb in any way. Samples of verbs with this suffix are presented below:-

té'ésâ	"to mortgage"	bwisâ	"to disclose"
tsj'isâ	"to borrow"	tânsâ	"to put across"
sânsâ	"to multiply"	kârsâ	"to encircle"
zhûsâ	"to convalesce"	lînsâ	"to announce"
kûsâ	"to cover"	lânsâ	"to tease"
bôsâ	"to frighten"	lînsâ	"to mark"
tswisâ	"to creak"	lânsâ	"to level"
twisâ	"to post-pone"	kû'ûsâ	"to add"
tóonsâ	"to purge"	fânsâ	"to chase hotly"
mîrsâ	"to train"	fânsâ	"to squint"

From the examples above, it can be realised that some of the verbs with the formal suffixes are similar in structure to some extended simplex radicals. This resemblance can however be disturbing, if the extended simplex radicals and the complex radicals are confronted in isolation. But when these two classes of verbs are used in a sentence, the contexts in which they are found will enhance the adequate interpretation of these verbs.

2.3.3.3: The -na formal suffix:

It was noticed from the data that 50 verbs have the -na formal suffix. These verbs include the following:-

bînâ	"to dance"	shwi'inâ	"to come out in lumps"
ti'inâ	"to slide"	lwinâ	"to age"
mîrtne	"to become immune to"	koonâ	"to bear fruits"
dzi'inâ	"to sneeze"	nwà'ânâ	"to write"
dzânâ	"to be sorry"	tswânâ	"to cease"
dwinâ	"to weed"	kwinâ	"to hit"
wînâ	"to tattoo"	zh'itnâ	"to hesitate"
nônâ	"to crowd"	kwi'inâ	"to fade"
tûgnâ	"to bend down"	tsûmnâ	"to confer with each other"
ttnâ	"to hold still"	wi'inâ	"to awake"
		ghà'ânâ	"to envy"

2.3.3.4: The -ka formal suffix:

An analysis of our data showed that 11 verbs have the -ka formal suffix. These verbs are:-

kwàànkâ	"to stumble against something"	fàànkâ	"to meander"
tsɔ̀j̀kâ	"to dwindle"	tminkâ	"to lag"
dzà̀nkâ	"to spurt"	b̀nkâ	"to stumble"
dá'á'kâ	"to stagger"	ɲwànkâ	"to glitter"
kwàkâ	"to quack"	tsikâ	"to take courage"

From the examples above, it can be inferred that though the verbs have final syllables similar to the derivational suffix, these final syllables of the verbs with the formal suffixes do not convey any of the meanings conveyed by the -ka derivational suffix.

2.3.3.5: The -ma formal suffix:

This suffix, like the other formal suffixes is inextricably linked to the complex verb radical. It was realised that 9 verbs in the corpus have this suffix. These verbs are:

yí'mâ	"to be selfish"	kùmâ	"to pull down"
fùmâ	"to bake in ash"	dùmâ	"to grunt"
fùmâ	"to be poor"	ɣí'mâ	"to bend"
tsí'mâ	"to stop crying"	lùmâ	"to smell"
tùmâ	"to shoot"		

Although the verbs above are regarded as having the formal suffix -ma, the final vowel /a/ is usually dropped in sentences. This deletion however, does not destroy the meaning of the verbs. Thus, one can have the following utterances:-

- 1) má túm s'ín or má túmá s'ín "I am shooting a bird"
- 2) mé fúm dz'j) or má fúmá dz'j) "I am baking plums in ash"
- 3) má g'm áti or má g'má áti "I am bending a stick"

2.3.3.6: The -la formal suffix:

When the -la formal suffix appears on a complex verb radical, it does not have either the meanings of "randomness" or "roughness" or "several parts" contained by the -la derivational suffix. We realised from our data that out of the 214 verbs with formal suffixes, only 6 of them have the -la formal suffix. These verbs are:-

- | | | | |
|---------|---------------|---------|--------------|
| báq+lâ | "to pretend" | nyí'ilâ | "to drizzle" |
| tâq+lâ | "to struggle" | kaâlâ | "to rumple" |
| shûq+lâ | "to struggle" | mí'ilâ | "to wriggle" |

It should be borne in mind that the examples illustrating either the derivational or the formal suffixes are strictly based on the corpus of 600 verbs used for this study. I am convinced that with a collection of more verbs, one can find more examples of verbs with the formal suffixes and which can take either one or the other of the derivational suffixes.

When the verbs were used in sentences, it was realised that there can be a co-occurrence of some of the derivational suffixes and the formal suffixes. This situation will be exploited below.

2.3.4.0: Co-occurrence of derived and formal suffixes:

The combination of both the derivational suffixes and the formal suffixes concerns mostly two derivational suffixes. These are the perfective -ma suffix and the auxiliary causative morpheme "gh+ra". These two derivational morphemes can combine with any of the other formal or derivational suffixes. This occurs on the same verb. This situation can be illustrated below.

- 1) Derivational -ma + derivational suffixes:

	RADICAL	MEANING	RADICAL + DERIVED SUFFIX	MEANING	RADICAL + DERIVED SUFFIX + -mâ	MEANING
1	bwi'í	to explode	bwi'itâ	explode a bit	bwi'itâ-mâ	...already exploded a bit.
2	bwi'í	to explode	bwi'ikâ	explode separately	bwi'ikâ-mâ	already exploded separately.
3	bwi'í	to explode	bbwi'inâ	explode at the same time	bwi'isâ-mâ	already exploded at the same time.
4	bwi'í	to explode	bwi'isâ	cause to explode	bwi'isâ-mâ	already caused ... to explode.
5	bwi'í	to explode	bwi'í-mbwi'í	explode several times	bwi'í-mâ- mbwi'í	has already exploded several times.
6	tsú ^v	to damp	tsù-lâ	to damp on several parts.	tsù-lâ-mâ	...already damped on several parts.

The above table shows a progression from a simple radical to an acquisition of at most two derivational suffixes by the radical. When the extended verb radical still takes on the -ma suffix, it is realised, as shown in the table, that the verb tends to take on the meanings of both the -ma suffix and any of the derivational suffixes with which the -ma suffix combines.

Since "gh'ra" is only an auxiliary of the -sa derivational suffix, we will not belabour the point of illustrating its combination with other derivational suffixes.

As the -ma derivational suffix co-occurs with other derivational suffixes, so can it also co-occur with formal suffixes, on the same verb. This situation is illustrated in the following table:

2. Verbs with formal suffixes + -ma:-

VERB + FORMAL SUFFIX	MEANING	VERB + FORMAL SUFFIX + -mâ	MEANING
1 shùg'tâ	to provoke	shùg'tâ-mâ	...has already provoked
2 tē'sâ	to mortgage	tē'sâ-mâ	...has already mortgaged...
3 y'mâ	to be selfish	y'mâ-mâ	...has already been selfish...
4 bāg'lâ	to pretend	bāg'lâ-mâ	...has already pretended...
5 tsōkâ	to dwindle	tsōkâ-mâ	...has already dwindled...
kwi'inâ	to fade	kwi'inâ-mâ	...has already faded...

As it is evident in the table above, the only meaning added to the verb with either of the formal suffixes is the perfective meaning. This perfective meaning is brought about by the affixation of the -ma suffix to the verb. It should be noted that all the 214 verbs having formal suffixes can also take on the -ma derivational suffix without first of all deleting the formal suffix.

On the other hand, if any of the verbs with the formal suffix has to take any of the other derivational suffixes, except *-ma*, and the auxiliary causative morpheme "gh^hra", the formal suffix has first of all to be deleted.

2.4.0: Conclusion:

From the foregoing analysis, some ^{observation} observations can be made concerning the Dafut verb. Firstly, that from a morphological viewpoint, the Dafut verbs can be grouped into seven syllabic patterns which are either mono, bi- or tri-syllabic. Secondly, that the verbs can also be grouped into either low tone or high tone verbs. Concerning the tonal system of the verbs, some ~~clarifications~~ clarifications were provided as regards the changes in the tones of the final syllables and suffixes. Thirdly, the suffixes which accompany the verb were classified into both derivational and formal suffixes. The former category of suffixes was shown as modifying the verb either semantically or syntactically, while the latter forms an inseparable part of the verb. A more profound exploitation of the effects of these suffixes has, however, been reserved for Chapter 3. Fourthly, after tersely presenting these suffixes, we examined the co-occurrence of some of the derivational suffixes. Some of the verbs, before taking on any derivational suffix, required the insertion of a homorganic nasal between the verb and the suffix. The conditions under which this happens were also proffered in this chapter.

Thus, after the above examination of the verb and its morphological components, we will proceed, in the next chapter, to the examination of the radical and the arguments with which it can occur in sentences. This will place the verbs in both semantic and ^{syntactically} syntactic divisions. The next chapter will therefore entail a classification of the verbs from the semantic and syntactic viewpoints.

CHAPTER 3

THE VERB FROM A SEMANTIC - SYNTACTIC VIEWPOINT

3.0: INTRODUCTION:

I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation that though semantics and syntax can be considered as two independent grammatical disciplines, they can, however, not be completely dissociated one from the other. Thus, in this section, the Hafut verb will be simultaneously discussed from both the semantic and syntactic viewpoints. An attempt will therefore be made at classifying the verbs collected, taking into consideration the semantic and syntactic characteristics manifested by these verbs. After classifying the verbs I will also present the verbs with their arguments, at the semantic level, and I will also at the syntactic level, present the verb and the number of noun propositions with which the different verbs can be employed. I use "proposition" here as used by Fillmore as he says that a proposition is:

"the verb and all those nominal elements which are relevant to the subclassification of the verbs"¹

It is from the semantic analysis of the verb in relation to its arguments, that I will provide the syntactic frame in which the verb can enter since, according to Fedor Janet,

"The semantic structure provides information necessary to derive both the syntactic structure and meaning of any sentence of the language... the deep semantic structure is simultaneously the deep syntactic"² structure"

3.1: Verb Classification:

As it has already been mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the verbs can be classified either from a semantic viewpoint or from a syntactic viewpoint.

At the syntactic level, the verbs have been classed either into transitive or intransitive verbs. At the semantic level, the verbs have

been classified as:

- 1) Either action, process or state verbs.
- 2) Benefactive, experiential or locative verbs. This classification takes into account the cases which the verbs intrinsically suggest. This would be in opposition to basic verbs.
- 3) The verbs (process, action, state) have also been grouped,

1. Charles Fillmore in Moskey (1979): Semantic structures and relation in Dutch: An introduction to case Grammar, George town University Press, U.S.A. P. 17. iv

2. Feder Janet in Stephen Moskey: Ibid.

according to the number of cases that the different verbs can take in a proposition.

In classifying the verbs semantically, I will first of all attempt a distinction between a "basic verb" and a "derived verb" or a verb which takes on specific cases and can therefore be identified with such cases. The definition of a "basic verb" which would emerge from this distinction would then be separately applied to the action, process and state verbs identified in Bafut. b8

3.1.1: Basic Verbs:

The concept of the "basic verb" has been treated by many linguists. The most prominent works concerning this concept are those of Fillmore (1968, 1971), Chafe (1970), Anderson (1971) Cook (1972, 1979) ¹. According to Cook (1979) ² the state verb can be considered as a basic verb as he says:

"The state verb is assumed to be basic, the process is derived from the state by the inchoative derivation and the action is derived from the process by the pausative derivation" ².

This assertion can however not be really relied upon because there is no direct process by which an action verb can be derived from a state verb.

With the case of the Dafut verbs, it would be noticed that one type of verb can be derived from any other verb through the use of different suffixes. Cook's assertion therefore does not hold with the Dafut verbs.

According to Chafe (1970)³, it can be deduced that a basic verb is a verb which takes on neither a benefactive, experiential or locative case. This notion has been tersely been summarised by Moskey (1979). Thus, according to Moskey, a basic verb can be considered as

"... a verb which does not have an experiential, beneficiary, or locative case; ~~is~~ is in its semantic structure... (but) must have at least one object in its case frame."⁴

In order to adopt the above more plausible definition, the following two rectifications will be made: Firstly, that by saying that the "basic

-
1. This information has been collected from: Stephen Moskey (1979): Semantic structures and Relations in Dutch: An Introduction to Case Grammar.
 2. Walter A; Cook (1979) P. 26 Case Grammar: Development of the Matrix 1978), George town University Press, U.S.A.
 3. Wallace Chafe (1970): Meaning and the structure of Language. G.U.P., U.S.A.
 4. Stephen Moskey: Ibid. P. 26.
-

verb" must have at least one object in its case frame" Moskey appears to be assuming that there cannot be an action verb with only an agent. This is, however, not true of the Dafut action verb which, at the syntactic level can have a covert object which does not obligatorily appear at the surface structure of a proposition. The second rectification is that for Moskey's definition to be accepted in the treatment of the Dafut verb; it should be added that this supposed basic verb must have no derivational suffix.

After profering a definition for basic verbs and providing some rectifications, which will enable this definition to be adopted to the present work, I will proceed in the treatment of the different types of

verbs by giving their semantic and syntactic characteristics and the number of arguments or cases which the verbs can take at the semantic level. As regards the syntactic level, I will also give the number of noun phrases which the verbs can take in simple propositions.

3.1.1.0: Basic Verbs and their arguments:

In assigning cases to the elements which show the valency of the verbs, I deem it necessary to proceed as follows:

- a) A definition of the types of cases.
- b) A limitation of the number of cases necessary for the valency of a verb.
- c) A presentation of the link between semantic case roles and the syntactic noun phrases which occur with the verb.

a) According to Cook (1979) there are two main cases namely overt case roles and covert case roles. Concerning these case roles and their relationship with verbs, Cook (1979) says that case grammar presents:

"... a picture of grammar built around a central verb. This verb has a valence, or a set of dependency relations, which spring from the verb. These dependency relations are expressed by case roles."¹

As regards these case roles, Cook (1979) classifies these cases into Covert and overt roles. According to Cook (1979), Covert cases are those which sometimes occur in surface structure and sometimes do not. On the other hand, Cook refers to Overt cases as those which are implied by the verb and are obligatory in the surface structure.

1) Walter L. Cook (1979): Case Grammar: Development of the Matrix Model (1970-1978) G.U.P. P. 82.

For the moment, we will content ourselves with this terse presentation of the types of verbs since this situation will be exploited more profoundly when I will be treating the basic verbs.

b) After introducing the types of cases, I will also limit the array of cases which will be necessary for this paper, basing the limitation on the work of Cook as reviewed by Moskey (1979). According to Cook (1976) it is necessary to reduce the number of arguments because:

"The fewer the number of cases in a given case grammar model, the more abstract the model is and closer to generative semantics. The more cases added, the more concrete the model becomes and further removed from generative semantics."¹

The above assertion by Cook is based on the distinction which he makes between propositional and modal cases. According to Cook (1979)² there fore, propositional cases are those which are required in various combinations in order for the meaning of the verb to be fully expressed. On the other hand, he regards modal cases as those which are not indispensable for the valency of a verb. In Moskey (1979), it is realised that Fillmore (1971)³ provided an inventory of nine cases. But Cook's model, though based on Fillmore's model provides the following five propositional cases: Agent, Object, Beneficiary, Location and Experiencer.⁴ This inventory as mentioned above, emerged as a result of the distinction which Cook (1979) makes between propositional and modal cases. Cook applied these cases with action, process and state verbs. This is what will also be done in my treatment of the Defut verbs. In using these propositional cases outlined by Cook, I will not however not ignore the modal cases which according to Cook (1979) are the following: time, Cause (Cs), purpose, result (Rs), Manner (m) (including Instrument, Outer benefac-ture (Bo) and Outer locative (Lo). These modal cases will be taken into consideration because inspite of the fact that they do not necessarily enter into propositions, in order to fully express the meaning of verbs, this does not imply that these modal cases are not meaningful when they are used in sentences.

-
- 1) Cook in Moskey (1979): Semantic Structures and Relations in Dutch: An Introduction to Case Grammar, G.U.P. U.S.A. P. 12
 - 2) Walter L. Cook (1979): Case Grammar: Development of the Matrix Model (1970-1978) G.U.P., U.S.A., P. 87.
 - 3) Fillmore in Moskey: Ibid, P. 11.
 - 4) Walter L. Cook (1979): Ibid, P. 87
-

c) After introducing covert and overt case roles and delimiting the cases, I would attempt at linking the semantic and syntactic criteria used in selecting the dependent elements which occur with the Dafut verbs. This link will be established, basing my judgement on Fillmore (1971 'a') where he states that:-

"If there is an Agent, it becomes the subject; otherwise, if there is an Instrument, it becomes the subject. Otherwise, the subject is the Object"¹

The above assertion assumes that the syntactic subject or object of the verb are got through a subject selection hierarchy which ranks cases according to their relative importance in conveying information whether or not this information is present in a given semantic structure. The assertions of both Fodor, mentioned earlier, and Fillmore, referred to immediately above, prove that in the grammar of a language, priority is given to the semantic base of sentences since this base contains all the relevant information which can be "mapped" on the sentence structure. This "mapping" can be done through the application of transformation rules which are syntactic. Thus, a syntactic structure is usually derived from a semantic base. This assertion will be adhered to in the treatment of the Dafut verbs and the elements with which they occur. It should also be noted that the verbs determine the number of arguments with which they must occur.

After the foregoing introductory notes, I will proceed by presenting the basic verbs as process, action, and state verbs, together with their characteristics together with the number of elements with which these verbs can occur.

3.1.1.1: Basic action verbs:-

The definition which has already been given for basic verbs holds true for basic action verbs.

This section will therefore be devoted only to the provision of the characteristics of basic action verbs, the number of arguments the different basic verbs can receive. I will also present the action verbs not just as a basic verb but as either an experiential, benefactive or locative action verbs. In defining action Verbs, Chafe (1979) says that action verbs are verbs which:-

1) Fillmore in Boskey (1979) : Semantic structures and Relations in Dutch: An introduction to Case Grammar, G.U.P, P. 7

"...express an activity or something which someone has done or does.... An action sentence will answer the question "what did X do?"¹ In this case, X is the actor.

As a characteristic, an action verb at the semantic level has at least one object which is affected by action by action suggested by the verb. At the syntactic level, the action verb in Dafut can be regarded as a transitive verb though it is not in all occurrences that this verb obligatorily takes on an object at the surface level. This is the case with one-place basic action verbs which will be treated later on in the chapter.

According to Ghosh,

"A verb is said to be transitive when the action or state that it denotes is regarded as passing over to an object."²

In accordance with the above definition, one can infer a relationship between a semantic action verb and a syntactic transitive verb. This definition presupposes therefore, that the transitive verb must obligatorily have at least one object in the surface structure of a sentence in which this verb is employed. Such a presupposition however does not necessarily apply to the surface structure of one-place action verbs in Dafut.

From the foregoing analysis, it has been mentioned that verbs can either be action, process or state verbs which can further be subclassified

into one-place, two-places and three-places basic verbs. With this in mind, and having preferred a definition of a basic action verb and its semantic and syntactic characteristics, I will further present the basic action verb as being either a one-place, two-places or three-place basic action verb.

3.1.1.1.1: One-place basic action verbs:

In the analysis of the data for this paper, we realised that there were 55 cases of verbs which can be regarded as one-place basic verbs. In classifying verbs into places, I am basing my judgement on Moskey (1979) according to whom, a one place verb is one which needs one argument; two-place verbs are those which need two arguments; while three-

1) Wallace Chafe (1970): Meaning and the structure of language

University of Chicago Press Ltd; London, P. 91

2) R.P. Ghosh

place verbs are those which need three arguments in their surface structure. According to Chafe (1970), Cook (1979), Moskey there can be no one-place action verb. This can hold true for English verbs but in Dafut, this is not the case, at least at the surface syntactic level. Thus, the one-place basic action verb in Dafut usually has only the agent while the object is usually optional at both the semantic and syntactic surface structures. Such objects are those referred ^{to} by Cook (1970) as "partially covert" or "totally covert" case roles. This is because, the object in this case is believed to be derived from the verb and it is therefore contained in the verb. According to Ghosh (1960)³⁰ such "covert" case roles can be considered as cognate objects. In treating these ^{cognate} objects, Ghosh distinguishes five categories which are:

- 1) Cognate in both form and meaning.
- 2) Cognate in meaning but not in form.
- 3) A noun describing a cognate noun understood.

4) An adjective qualifying the cognate noun understood.

5) A cognate noun expressed by IT.

But in Bafut, the type of cognate objects noticed from the data described for the present work are those which are cognate in both form and meaning.

Thus, the following verbs have been classified as one-place basic action verbs:-

yà'á	"to cry"	hó'ò	"to bark"
dzá'á	"to urinate"	kwá'á	"to cough"
nyí	"to excrete"	híná	"to dance"
dzú	"to eat"	má'á	"to bleat"
kwáka	"to quack"	núra	"to groom"
dzá'á'ná	"to sneeze"	yá'á	"to yawn"
shá'á'tá	"to hiccup"	dá'áká	"to stagger"
wyé	"to laugh"	má'á'tá	"to stammer"
tónná	"to shout"	zhwiá	"to breath"
ké'á'tá	"to limping"	dórá	"to play"
dzá'á'á	"to belch"	gháá	"to speak"
kwi'iná	"to retaliate"	k'á	"to run"
		nó'ná	"to suck"

The above verbs can be used in sentences to illustrate instances of partially covert and totally covert case roles:

1) R.P.Ghosh (1960)³⁰: Good English spoken, and written: P. 65

A: Illustration of partially Covert roles:

- 1) má k'á "I am running a race"
- 2) má dzú "I am eating food"
- 3) má dzéé "I am urinating urine"
- 4) má wyé "I am laughing laughter"

- 5) mà yà'á "I am crying"
- 6) mà kw ' "I am coughing a cough"

In the examples above, it can be realised that once the verb is used without any specifications, the accompanying object, though not expressed either at the surface semantic or syntactic structures, is immediately understood. As covert roles, these objects can however be added at the surface semantic and syntactic levels without however adding to the meaning of the sentence. For the above sentences the partially covert roles are respectively:

- 1) n'k'á "a race"
- 2) m'dzù "food"
- 3) m'dzèè "urine"
- 4) n'w'ye "laughter"
- 5)
- 6) àkwé'è " a cough"

The above cognate objects, have similar forms and meanings to the forms of the verbs asserted (Hyeshoshi (1960))"

B: Illustration of totally Covert roles:

Totally covert roles are those which can never occur at either the surface semantic or syntactic ^{surface} structures. This situation can be illustrated with the following sentences:

- má sh'í'tá "I am hiccupping"
- má dzà'á "I am belching"
- má bínà "I am dancing"
- mbí mé'è "A goat is bleating"
- mbú bó'ó "A dog is barking"
- ngù kwàkà "The fowl is quacking"

Contrary to the illustrations in A above, showing verbs with partially covert object roles, the illustrations in B show that the verbs can never take on any object.

In the two sets of sentences, though there is some activity suggested by the verbs, this activity is not affecting any object. The verbs merely show that either the agent or the subject (semantic and syntactic distinctions) is involved in an activity. It is on this basis, that it can be said that contrary to the opinions held by Moskey (1979) and Cook (1979), there can be one-place action verbs in Dafur. From the foregoing analysis, the verbs can be said to have the following semantic and syntactic surface structures:

1) Surface semantic structure: $\underline{[-A, O]} / O$ -deletable. The object case is deletable when this case is partially covert. But when the object case is totally covert, it does not occur in the surface semantic structure.

2) Syntactic surface structure: $\underline{[- NP_1 + VP + NP_2]} / NP_2$ -deletable.

In situations where the NP_2 role is partially covert it is optional and so it can be deletable and yet understood at the deep syntactic structure. NP_2 however does not occur with verbs which exclusively require totally covert case roles as demanded by the selective nature of the verb.

3.1.1.1 .2: Two-place basic action verbs.

An analysis of the data for this work showed that 304 verbs can be treated as two-place basic action verbs. Two place basic action verbs will be treated here as those action verbs which at surface semantic level compulsorily take on an agent and an object case; while at the surface syntactic level, they are obligatorily accompanied by a subject noun phrase (NP_1) and an object noun phrase (NP_2). These elements which are implied by the verb and which compulsorily appear with the verb in surface structures are what Gleason calls "statable elements."¹ In accordance with the foregoing ~~opinions~~, two-place basic action verbs will have the following surface structures:

Semantic Structure: $\underline{[-A, O]}$

Syntactic structure: $\underline{[- NP_1 + VP + NP_2]}$

..../-

The Agent of the Dafut action verb can either be concrete or **abstract**. By concrete agents or subject, as the case may be, I mean those subjects which have a physical quality which can be perceived by a greater proportion of the human senses. This can be illustrated by the following sentences:-

- 1) nàg⁺ so àkora yâ : "Spear grass has pierced my foot"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 A VP O
- 2) ngwà tún stn : "Ngwa has shot a bird"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 NP₁ VP NP₂

(Note: The first sentence above makes use of semantic labels while the second sentence makes use of syntactic labels.)

Though there are agents or subjects which can be perceived by human senses, there are some without a physical quality. Such agents/subjects are therefore abstract and are referred to by Moskey (1979) as an "abstract-potent force."¹ Instances where abstract potent forces can act as agents

or subjects are illustrated in the sentences below:

- 1) nàlwin zhwitá bá : "Old age kills people"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 Abstr. Pot. A VP O
- 2) àfisa ná'á àbà'á : "The wind is opening a door"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 Abstr. Pot. NP₁ VP NP₂

(Note: Sentences 1 and 2 are given semantic and syntactic labels respectively.)

After presenting a definition of two-place action verbs, their surface structures and a distinction of some types of agents or subjects I will further present a sample of the 300 two-place action verbs which were

found in the data. Later on, I will construct single simple sentences to demonstrate how these verbs can be used. Here therefore is a sample of the verbs:

1. Stephen Moskey (1979) : Semantic Structures and relations in Dutch P. 37

bàgâ	"to break"	ghùrâ	"to build"
bàgâtâ	"to insult"	ghùrâ	"to cure"
tîj	"to burn"	lâà	"to cook"
kùrâ	"to eat (something Hard)"	ghè'j	"to grind"
bóò	"to hunt"	lòò	"to bite"
tônâ	"to dig"	kârâ	"to fold"
shì'î	"to wash"	sàrâ	"to split"
y'rá	"to select"	l+í	"to poison"
kèè	"to filtre"	kânâ	"to ^{fr} poison"
kô	"to catch"	fèè	"to slap"
hwí'isâ	"to deceive"	fèè	"to loose"
mùgâ	"to unroot"	nè'j	"to press"
ts+gâ	"to shake"	ghótâ	"to gather"
ts+gâ	"to wipe"	fùrâ	"to uncover"
yí'	"to sweep"	fùrâ	"to send away"
nèè	"to lift"	l+gâ	"to cultivate"
mèntâ	"to touch"	tswâ	"to hold"
shùngâ	"to pull"	ná'a	"to open"
sò	"to pierce"	twî	"to crack"

Using some of the above sample verbs, one can construct the following two-place basic action verb sentences.

- 1) má mùgâ nghèè "I am unrooting grass"
- 2) má lèè mbà "I am cooking meat"
- 3) má twî mbàn "I am cracking nuts"

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 4) mǎ kó hǎrà | "I am catching a ball" |
| 5) mǎ ts'gà ndâ | "I am shaking a house" |
| 6) mǎ qhǎ'ò m'ndzù | "I am grinding groundnuts" |
| 7) mǎ sò mbà | "I am piercing nest" |
| 8) mǎ l+'+' fòrà | "I am poisoning rat" |
| 9) mǎ ts'gà álán | "I am wiping a chair" |

It can be noticed from the sentences above that the verbs ~~inevitably~~ require an agent or subject and one object. This is unlike the case with one-place basic action verbs whereby the object of the sentences can either be optional or completely absent at the surface structure of sentences.

3.1.1.1.3: Three-place basic action verbs:

Following the definition given in section 3.1.1, of a basic verb, and the rectifications proposed in order to make the definition adaptable to the Dafut verbs, it can be said that there exist three-place basic action verbs in Dafut. These verbs can enter into constructions with the following syntactic and semantic surface structures:

surface semantic structure: $\langle \text{A}, \text{O}, \text{O} \rangle$

surface syntactic structure: $\langle \text{NP}_1 + \text{VP} + \text{NP}_2 + \text{NP}_3 \rangle$.

The above frames show that three-place basic action verbs obligatorily have one agent at the semantic level or one subject noun phrase (NP₁) at the syntactic level and two object noun phrases.

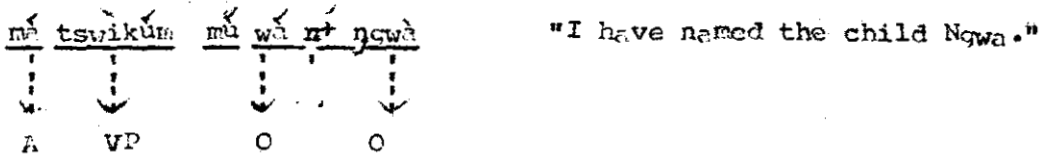
In analysing the data for this paper, 12 verbs were found to be basic three-place action verbs. These verbs include:

tàsâ	"to occupy space (untidily)	kár'tsâ	"to encircle"
tsà'átâ	"to greet"	lwinsâ	"to fill up"
kùmâ	"to pull down"	sònsâ	"to tantalize"
tùmâ	"to shoot"	gàà	"to force"
tswikùm	"to name"	tswàà	"to cleave"
kúsâ	"to cover"	kà'â	"to trigger"

When the above verbs are used in sentences, it is realised that the agent (semantic) or subject (syntactic) may either relate the two objects to each other and cause them to interact with each other, or identify one object as the other. The latter case was however noticed only with the verb.

tswikú "to name"

in a sentence such as:



Concerning the other three-place basic action verbs, it was realised that the second object case or NP₃ was usually represented by an instrumental case at the semantic level. At the syntactic level, this object is represented as NP₃. This situation is illustrated by the sentences below:

Below:

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------|--------------|-----------|------------|--|
| 1) | <u>má</u> | <u>kusa</u> | <u>m'dzú</u> | <u>n'</u> | <u>áfú</u> | "I am covering food with food." |
| | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | |
| | A | VP | O | | I | |
| | | | | | | |
| 2) | <u>má</u> | <u>lwinsa</u> | <u>antú</u> | <u>n'</u> | <u>nki</u> | "I am filling up a pot with water" |
| | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | |
| | A | VP | O | | O | |
| | | | | | | |
| 3) | <u>má</u> | <u>ká'a</u> | <u>ngart</u> | <u>n'</u> | <u>ábô</u> | "I am triggering a gone with the hand" |
| | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | |
| | NP1 | VP | NP2 | | NP3 | |
| | | | | | | |
| 4) | <u>má</u> | <u>tswá</u> | <u>n'hwá</u> | <u>n'</u> | <u>nwi</u> | "I am cleaning a pumpkin with a knife" |
| | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | |
| | NP1 | VP | NP2 | | NP3 | |

(Note: Sentences 1 and 2 are labelled for semantic functions, while sentences 3 and 4 are labelled for syntactic functions)

The sentences above show that the verb relates the two objects to each other and makes them to interact with each other.

The foregoing analysis has presented the action verb from the viewpoint of the number of arguments which the basic action verb can take. But apart from classifying action verbs according to the number of arguments and according to whether these action verbs are basic or not, the action verb can also be considered as being either benefactive, locative or experiential.

3.1.1.1.4: Action benefactive Verbs : /-A, O, B/

Some 221 action verbs were discovered from the data, to fall under the class of benefactive verbs. According to Cook (1970), "...benefactive verbs deal with gain, loss or transfer of property, The beneficiary case which refers to the person who possesses or loses something... is required by the meaning of benefactive verbs. The benefactor may simply possess or lose something; or this possession or loss may come about as the result of an action by an agent."¹ The above definition will be applied to the Bafut verbs and thus, when later on in this chapter I will be treating process and state verbs, the definition will still hold true. According to Cook's definition therefore the following can be regarded as benefactive verbs.

1. Cook in Doskey, 1979: Semantic structures and Relations in Dutch P. 63

dwĩngâ	"to weed"	shwâ*	"to sieze"
fâ	"to give"	fii	"to sell"
fâ'â	"to work"	twõngâ	"to read"
lång	"to tap wine"	hõ's	"to lose"
kwĩrâ	"to receive"	y'râ	"to be selfish"
lĩgâ	"to take"	hĩnsâ	"to refund"
l'gâ	"to cultivate"	kwĩtâ	"to help"

.../-

tsw bā	"to snatch"	yùu	"to buy"
bà'ā	"to dress a wound"	yàrà	"to steal"
ghùrà	"to cure"	dzū^	"to win"
tswà'ā	"to donate"		
tsàrà	"to decide"		

When some of the verbs above are used in sentences, the benefactive case is suggested by the existence of a directional preposition which immediately precedes this benefactive case. This directional preposition is "mbo" which has the following interpretations:-

- mbo : "to"
- "for"
- "on the behalf of"
- "from"

The use of the benefactive action verbs can be illustrated by the sentences below:-

with "to" mà fà mhá mbo wo "I am giving meat to you"

↓ ↓ ↓

A O B

mà fii mhá mbo wo "I am selling meat to you"

↓ ↓ ↓

A O B

with "for" mà yùu mhá mbo wo "I am buying meat for you"

↓ ↓ ↓

A O E

with "from" mà yàrà nkabf mbo wo "I am stealing money from you"

↓ ↓ ↓

A O B

na tsw ba mhá mbo wo "I am snatching meat from you"

↓ ↓ ↓

A O B

with "on behalf of"

<u>má</u>	<u>ltqà</u>	<u>nsóó</u>	<u>mbó</u>	<u>wò</u>	"I am cultivating a farm on your behalf."
A		O		B	

<u>mí</u>	<u>tsàrà</u>	<u>sá'á</u>	<u>mbó</u>	<u>wò</u>	"I am deciding the case on your behalf."
A		O		B	

At the syntactic level, the benefactive action verbs enter the /-NP1+VP+NP2/ pattern. After presenting the action verbs above as benefactive action verbs I will proceed by presenting these verbs also as locative action verbs.

3.141.1.5: Action Locative Verbs:

In the corpus for the present work, I discovered that there were 50 cases of action verbs which can be considered as locatives. According to Cook (1976) as viewed by Moskey (1979):

"Locative verbs involve a spatial orientation, location or situation of an object or person. All locative verbs require a locative case in their semantic structure although the syntactic valency of some verbs allows it to be deleted in surface structure. The object may move towards a location by itself or as a result of agentive intervention"¹

It is this definition that will be adhered to in the treatment of process and state verbs later on in the chapter. I will also in this section illustrate, with sentences, cases where the locative case is implied by the verb at the deep semantic level but deleted at the surface syntactic level. Following Cook's definition therefore, the following verbs are some of those action verbs which obligatorily require a locative case at both the semantic and syntactic surface structure.

- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>sí'á</u> | "to insert" | <u>tí'á</u> | "to stand" |
| <u>ywí'í</u> | "to reach" | <u>kùmá</u> | "to spray" |
| <u>múrâ</u> | "to immerse" | <u>lârâ</u> | "to glide" |
| <u>tsô</u> | "to go fetch water" | <u>yâgâtâ</u> | "to lean with the back against" |

ghãê	"to go"	bãná	"to hang up"
shwi'í	"to pour"	làántá	"to hide oneself"
mà'á	"to throw"	swiinsá	"to crucify"
fó'ó	"to splash"	n'pá	"to put in"

1. Cook in Loskey (1979) Semantic Structures and relations in Dutch: P. 77

In order to illustrate the occurrence of the locative cases of these action verbs, the following sentences will be used.

má sá'ó áti múm mhorá "I am inserting a stick in a hole"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 A O L

má múra átàá múm nki "I am immersing a calabash in water"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 A O L

má té'è ántòò nshyê "I am standing a pot on the ground"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 A O L

nki làrà nshyê "Water is gliding on the ground"
 ↓ ↓
 A L

má mà'á mà nshyê "I am throwing meat on the ground"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 A O L

From the sentences above, it can be seen that the locative case appears at the semantic surface structure. At the syntactic surface structure, this semantic locative case is labelled NP2 or NF3 as it is the case with verbs. show that the locative case must occur at the surface structure of sentences there also exist some locative action verbs whereby the locative is implied by the deep semantic structure of the sentence but the surface syntactic str deletes the locative. In the data for this work 14 verbs were discovered with such behaviour. They are:-

bɪtɪà	"to return from somewhere"
dzɛɛ	"to urinate somewhere"
sàná	"to dry something somewhere"
bàrà	"to carry something on the back"
bì'í	"to carry something on the head"
fùmá	"to bake in ash"
sámsá	"to sue someone somewhere"
kwéé	"to return from somewhere"
zhíá	"to come"
kúúá	"to enter somewhere"
íí	"to jump something somewhere"
kwé	"to cut something at a position"
míí	"to pile something somewhere"
tíná	"to tether something somewhere"

The following sentences show the deletions of the locative cases at both semantic and syntactic surface structure:-

SENTENCES	MEANING	CASES AT DEEP SEMANTIC LEVEL	CASES DELETED AT SURFACE SYNTACTIC LEVEL
má bàrà mû	I am carrying a child on my back	A, O, L	L
má tɪnà mbi	I am tethering a goat to a stake	A, O, L	L
má sámsà n'ŋ	I am suing you to the court	A, O, L	L
má fùmá dzɛɛ	I am baking plums in ash	A, O, L	L
má bì'í ngò'ò	I am carrying a stone on my head	A, O, L	L
má kwéé	I am returning from the farm	A, L	L

It is evident from the table above that while the deep semantic structure of an action verb can imply the occurrence of a locative case, the surface syntactic structure deletes this case.

Following Cook's classification, verbs can also be classified as experiential verbs.

3.1.1.1.6: Experiential action Verbs:

According to Cook (1976:68), "experiential verbs deal with the experience of sensation, emotion or cognition."¹ In view of this definition and following some examples of this type of verbs presented by Cook in English I discovered 7 cases of experiential verbs in Dafut. These are:-

twónâ	"to read to someone"
swónâ	"to tell someone"
d+â	"to teach, show"
kwínâ	"to hit someone"
l'ânâ	"to sprain"
lââ	"to wound oneself"

The action experiential verbs above demonstrates only cases of Cognition whereby the verb suggests that one of the participants acquires some knowledge about something transmitted by the agent or subject of the verb.

The following sentences will illustrate the above assertion.

má twónâ anwàlà mbó wò "I am reading a book to you"

A O E

má swónâ kúmghá mbó wò "I am telling you my name"

A O E

má d+â mándzi mbó wò "I am showing you the road"

A O E

The three sentences above which use the verbs: "twónâ , swónâ" and "d+â" show that the experiencer in each of the sentences tends to gain knowledge transmitted by the agent. At the surface syntactic level, it should be noted that the experiencer case (E) will be represented by NP2.

The foregoing analysis has put into focus the action verbs. It has been demonstrated that action verbs can be classified as follows: basic action verbs, one-, two- or three- place action verbs and as benefactive, locative and experiential action verbs. The classifications of the action verb was at each level accompanied by a semantic as well as a syntactic analysis of the verb. Through this analysis, sentences were constructed to demonstrate the different structures into which the verbs can enter during speech. Thus, after this analysis of the action verb, I will proceed by giving the same treatment to ~~process~~ process verbs.

3.1.1.2: Process verbs:

In the treatment of the basic process verbs, I will adhere to the definition of basic verbs put forward in section 3.1.0. In this section, I will present the basic process verbs in terms of one-place and two-place process verbs. Later on, I will also treat the process verb as either a benefactive, locative or experiential process verb.

According to Chafe (1970)¹ a process verb is one which suggests a change in the state or condition of the noun which accompanies the verb. Furthermore, Chafe asserts that this process verb cannot be used in the imperative mood but it can be used with the progressive tense. Following this definition, the following characteristics can be attributed to process verbs:

- 1) They contain a noun which is affected by the action suggested by the verb. The object changes its state involuntarily.
- 2) They have a dynamic quality.
- 3) The process verb has one or two objects.
- 4) The process verb can enter into the following surface syntactic structures:

1) $\left[_ _ _ \text{-NP}_2 + \text{VP} _ \right]$

2) $\left[_ _ _ \text{-NP}_2 + \text{VP} + \text{NP}_3 _ \right]$

- 5) The process verb can enter into the following surface semantic structures:

1) $\left[_ _ _ \text{-0,0-} _ \right]$

2) $\left[_ _ _ \text{-0,0} _ \right]$.

According to Chafe's definition of process verbs, 66 cases of process verbs were discovered from the corpus on Bafut verbs destined for this work. In this number, 39 of the verbs were found to be basic process verbs. These basic process verbs will be analysed as one- and two-place basic process verbs.

1. Wallace Chafe (1970): Meaning and the structure of language. p. 99, 101.

3.1.1.2.1: One-place basic process verbs (- 0)

It was discovered from the corpus that 36 verbs were one-place process verbs. These one-place basic process verbs portray a change in the state of the object accompanying the verb. The verbs include the following;

yóò	"become dry"	fúúú	"to become white"
tswánᵛ	"to cease"	kwi	"to grow"
mù'ú	"to sprout"	kwó	"to die"
ghà'ᵛ	"to grow"	lúᵛ	"to foam"
bàᵛ	"to redden"	kàlá	"to harden"
bòᵛ	"to weavel"	lúú	"to become full"
bwénᵛ	"to go off"	mòᵛ	"to swell"
bwitᵛ	"to pop"	bwí'í	"to explode"
sáᵛ	"to melt"	tsúᵛ	"to dwindle"
kwi' inᵛ	"to fade"	tswí'ᵛ	"to drip"
lwinᵛ	"to age"	tsá	"to perish"
ywiinᵛ	"to revive"	lwitᵛ	"to burn out"
yáᵛ	"to whither"	bwèᵛ	"to begin to rot"
bwii	to sleep"	yànᵛ	"become light"
		fii	"become dark"

When the above verbs are used in a sentence, the lone object which accompanies it changes its state. This is illustrated in the following sentences.

<u>máíᵛ</u> ghàᵛ	"The fire is glowing."
0	
<u>àbóó</u> yá mòᵛ	"my hand is swelling."
0	
<u>má</u> kwó	"I am dying"
0	
<u>àtsàᵛ</u> yá kwi'inᵛ	"The cooh is fading"
0	
<u>f+kwii</u> fyá lwitᵛ	"The wood is burning out"

From the sentences above, it can be realised that at the semantic level, the verb has only an object while at the syntactic level, the verb requires only one noun phrase (NP₂) which is also the object of the verb.

3.1.1.2.2: Two - place basic process verbs. (- 0, 0), (NP₂ - VP - NP₃)

According to Moskey (1979) one can have two-place basic process verbs. In this case, it should be noted that there exist two objects at both the surface semantic and syntactic structures of the verb.

According to Moskey (1979) when this occurs, there is no causative element linking the objects, as it is the case with action verbs, but there is rather a dynamic relation which is predicated between the objects in the semantic and syntactic structure with this type of central verb. From this notion by Moskey (1979), it could therefore, be noted that it is simply the same object which either transform to a different form or acquires a quality different, from the original. Applying this notion to the Bafut verbs, 4 verbs were discovered in the data, for this work, being two-place basic process verbs. These verbs are:

- bəgə "become"
- bəsə "to frighten"
- bɔ'ɔ "to fear"
- kwɪnsə "to change into"

Applying the above verbs into sentences, one will have the following constructions:

má bəgə əjɔ̀ "I am becoming a wizard"
 | | |
 0 0

má bəsə ɔ̀ "I am frightening you"
 | | |
 0 0

má bɔ'ɔ nɔ̀ "I am afraid of you."
 | | |
 0 0

An examination of the above sentences shows that though there are two objects accompanying these verbs, there is however, no interaction between them, as it is the case with action verbs. Apart from being classified as either one-two-, or three-place basic verbs, process verbs can also be classified as either locative, benefactive or experiential process verbs. We therefore proceed by treating the process verbs as such.

1.1.2.3: Benefactive Process verbs:

According to Moskey (1979:63) a process benefactive verb is one which involves a person who undergoes a gain or a loss of an object. The verb therefore suggests that the person is entering into a state of gain or loss. Applying this explanation to Bafut verbs, we discovered that there are 6 cases of verbs which can be considered as benefactive process verbs. These verbs are:

- kwɛrə "to receive"
- fɪnə "to become poor"
- tsikə "to take courage"
- zhɪnsə "to convalesce"
- lɪ'ɪnə "to forget"

These verbs and the benefactive cases they take are demonstrated in the following sentences:

mà kw r mbà "I am receiving meat"
B 0

mà d fùm "I am becoming poor"
B

mà zhùs "I am convalescing"
B

mà l+ +n no "I am forgetting you"
B 0

Sentences 1 and 3 above show that the person concerned is entering into a state of gain. On the other hand, sentences 2 and 4 show that the person concerned is entering into a state of loss. This interpretation corresponds to Moskey's definition of a process benefactive verb. Judging from these sentences, one can say that benefactive process verbs have the following surface semantic and syntactic structures:

- 1) Surface semantic structure: $\left[_B, 0 _ \right]$ or $\left[_ _B _ \right]$
 2) Surface syntactic structure: $\left[_ NP_2 + VP + NP_3 _ \right]$ or $\left[_ _ NP_2 + VP + \emptyset _ \right]$

11.2.4: Locative process verbs.

According to Moskey (1979:83), process locative verbs "... involve movement of an object towards or at a location. The object does not however, move of its own volition or have control of itself." Through this definition, it can be inferred that the object is usually compelled to move or be subjected to a change by a causative force which appears neither at the surface semantic structure nor at the surface syntactic structure of the verb. Taking Moskey's definition as a premise, and applying it to Bafut verbs, we discovered verbs, from the data, which can be treated as locative process verbs. These are:

wyo	"to fall"
t+ +n	"to slide"
mwi in	"to accumulate"
n n	"to crowd"
l r	"to float"
ko	"to down"
b+ k	"to roll"

When the above verbs are used in sentences, they reveal the following surface structures:

- 1) Surface semantic structure: $\left[- O, L \right]$
- 2) Surface syntactic structure: $\left[-NP_2 + NP_3 \right]$

These structures are evident in the following examples:

- 1) $\begin{matrix} m\grave{a} & wyo & nshy\grave{e} \\ \downarrow & & \downarrow \\ 0 & & L \end{matrix}$ "I am falling to the ground"
- 2) $\begin{matrix} m\grave{a} & l r & t\grave{u} ki \\ \downarrow & & \downarrow \\ 0 & & L \end{matrix}$ "I am floating on water"
- 3) $\begin{matrix} m\grave{a} & t+ +n & fa\grave{e} \\ \downarrow & & \downarrow \\ 0 & & L \end{matrix}$ "I am sliding here"

The examples above show that in Bafut, the locative process verb cannot have more than two arguments. After treating the locative process verbs, we will, still in the realm of process verbs, proceed to the treatment of experiential process verbs.

3.1.1.2.5: Process experiential verbs:

According to Moskey (1979:48)'s definition of an experiential verb, already mentioned earlier, we discovered that one can find verbs in Bafut which are amenable to this definition. Only 4 verbs however were discovered from the data to apply themselves to this definition. They are:

- f\grave{u}m "to suffocate"
- zh "to see"
- ya "to hurt, pain"
- w\grave{a} 'a't "to remember"

The above verbs, when used in sentences require either one argument or two arguments. They can therefore occur in sentences with following structure:

- 1) Surface semantic structure: $\left[-E, O \right]$ or $\left[-E \right]$
- 2) Surface syntactic structure: $\left[-NP_2 + NP_3 \right]$ or $\left[-NP_2 + VP + \emptyset \right]$

The following sentences will illustrate these above structures.

- 1) $m\grave{a} zh no$ "I am seeing you"
- 2) $m\grave{a} w\grave{a} \grave{a} t no$ "I am remembering your"
- 3) $\grave{a}zhwi y\grave{a} f\grave{u}m$ "my breathe is being suffocated"

bōō yá yáy.ǎ

"my hand is paining."

Sentences 1 and 2 above present experiential process verbs which need two arguments at their surface levels, while sentences 3 and 4 treat verbs which require one argument at their surface structures. It should be noted that when only one argument is needed, this must, at the semantic level be the experiencer while at syntactic level, it is an object noun phrase (NP2) which precedes the verb. It should also be noted that the experience to which the experiencer is subjected is instantaneous.

In the foregoing analysis, we have presented the process verbs from the following objectives:

- 1) The process verb as a basic verb
- 2) The characteristics of process verbs.
- 3) A classification of the basic process verb into one- and two-place process verbs.
- 4) The process verb as a benefactive, locative and experiential verb.

Where it was necessary, we also presented the types of sentence structures in which the process verb can occur, both at the semantic and syntactic levels, and in the treatment of the process verb, we will proceed to the treatment of the state verb by following the same scheme used for the process verbs.

1.3.0: non-state verbs

While action and process verbs can be globally defined as dynamic verbs, there are some verbs which are stative. According to Chafe (1970:98), state verbs can be defined in terms of their opposition to state verbs as he says:

As a rule of thumb, nonstates can be distinguished from states by the fact that they answer the question what happened? ... what's happening?... A nonstate is a happening. Following this definition, one can insinuate the following characteristics for state verbs:

- 1) State verbs have a timeless quality—that is no reference is made to how the object noun which accompanies the verb reached the state suggested by the verb.
- 2) The object of state verbs exists in a no-change position.
- 3) State verbs can be used in the imperative and progressive moods.

Applying the above definition to the Dafut verbs which serve as a basis for the present work, 42 state verbs were discovered. A sample of these state verbs is presented below:

ǎ	"to stand"		
	"to be bitter,"	fii	"to be black"
	"to be sweet"	fú'ú	"to be white"
	"be cold"	yò'ò	"to itch"
	"to be bad"	nògǎ	"to lie down"
	"to end"	bóngǎ	"to lack"
	"to be sour"	tswí	"to sit"
	"to be immune"	nú'á	"to stench"

fù u	to be blunt	bot	"to crouch"
wa k	"to glitter"	m nt	"to rest"
gh	"to be sick"	tù n	"to bend down"
n	"to be sad"	dor t	"to be happy"
swa e t	"to be smart"	s+	"to feel cold"
w ri ki	"to be baptized"	loo	"to be hot"
wiin	"to hang down"	f	"to be blind"
wiin	"to be drowsy"	f+	"to be sterile"
zù	"to cluster"	l k	"to feel weak"

When the above verbs were used in sentences, it was realised that only one-place basic state verbs existed. The state verbs take on two arguments or two noun phrases only when either the benefactive, locative or experiencer cases are added. In view of this realisation, we will treat the state verbs in this order.

- 1) One-place basic state verbs.
- 2) Benefactive state verbs.
- 3) Locative state verbs.
- 4) Experiential state verbs.

3.1.1.3.1? One-Place basic state verbs:

[-O(s)] /, [- NP₂+ VP]

One-place basic state verbs are those state verbs which require only one object at both the semantic and syntactic surface structures of the verbs. These verbs therefore enter into sentences of the following surface structures:

- 1) Semantic structure: - [- O(s)]
- 2) Syntactic structure: [NP₂+ VP]

The object of the state verb will be marked by the subscript (-s). This is to differentiate the stative object from the objects of action and process verbs. This distinction is according to Moskey (1979). From the corpus, 17 one-place basic state verbs were discovered. These verbs are:

fù u	to be white.	m+r+n	"to be immune"
bwe	"to be rotten"	kù ù	"to be blunt"
fii	"to be dark"	wà k	"to glitter"
b+	"to be bad"	gh	"to be sick"
lii	"to be sweet"	dz n	"to be sorry"
lwi	"to be bitter"	b r	"to flame"
kh	"to be enough"	tswà à	"to be smart"
bàlà	"to be sour"		

When some of the above verbs were used in sentences, the following results

- 1) ndà yà fu u "The house is white"
 O(s)
- 2) ndà yà yà pà a "The soup is sour"
 O(s)
- 3) mà n gh "I am sick"
 O(s)

The sentences above illustrate the fact that the object which accor-
 ies the verb is affected by the condition suggested by the verb, in a stative
 way. This implies that there is neither an agentive force nor a subject noun
 phrase which tends to affect the object through the verb.

3.1.1.3.2: Benefactive state verb: [- B, O(s)] / O(s) deletable. [NP2+VP3]

"According to Moskey (1979:63, a benefactive state verb.....
 is one which involves a beneficiary who either has some thing in his possession
 or lacks something; Nothing in the verb shows how the beneficiary has come
 to be in the benefactive state. Taking Moskey's explanation as a premise and
 applying it to the Bafut verbs, 7 benefactive state verbs were discovered.

These verbs are:

bo	"to lack"
tswin+	"to have"
f	"to be blind"
f+r	"to be sterile"
kw r+ ki	"to be baptized"
ban	"to be pregnant" (used only with animals.)
kwat+kaa	"to be confirmed" (as a religious rite)

When the above verbs were applied in sentences, it was realised that they
 can enter into the following sentence structures.

- 1) Semantic structure: [- B, O(s)] or [- B]
- 2) Syntactic structure: [-NP2+VP+NP3] or [-NP2+VP+Ø]

The above situation is evident in the sentences below:

- 1) mà bo kab "I lack money"
 B O(s)
- 2) mà f "I am blind"
- 3) mà
- 3) mà tswin+ kàb "I have money"
 B O(s)
- 4) mà kw r+ ki "I am baptized"

<u>tə</u>	<u>átú</u>	<u>álàj</u>
↓	↓	↓
v	v	
		L

"I am standing on a chair"

o(s)

All the sentences above, which contain locative state verbs tend to precise the position where the stative object is situated. It should be noted, as it was the case with earlier sentences with state verbs, that the semantic case: Object o(s) and locative (L) are syntactically represented as NP2 and NP3 respectively. The sentences only present the object as existing at a particular position but no reference is made as to how this object came to that position. Neither is reference made as to how long the object has been or will remain at such a position.

1.1.1.3.4: Experiential state verbs:

In selecting experiential state verbs from our data, judgement was based on the general definition of experiential verbs and also on the specific definition of experiential state verbs as found in Moskey (1979:48) The general definition of experiential verbs holds that they are verbs which deal with the experience of sensation, emotion or cognition and that this experience may be spontaneous or intentional. Pertaining more specifically to experiential state verbs and according to Moskey (1979), state experiential verbs involve an experiencer who is disposed towards something in a static way. Adopting this definition to the Bafut verbs we discovered 10 verbs which can be treated as experiential state verbs. These verbs are as follows:

- | | |
|--------|----------------|
| lɔ̀kə | "to feel weak" |
| bwiina | "to be drowsy" |
| dórətə | "to be happy" |
| yù'ù | "to hear" |
| fwùè | "to be cold" |
| lòò | "to be hot" |
| yò'ò | "to itch" |
| stjə | "to feel cold" |
| nù'ù | "to stench." |
| tswɛrə | "to brag" |

After sorting out the experiential state verbs, they were used in sentences in order to test whether the experience which the object undergoes is spontaneous or intentional. The following sentences are hoped to bring about classifications on the point.

1) má bwiina "I am feeling drowsy"
 ↓ ↓
 E V

2) má dórətə "I am happy"
 ↓ ↓
 E V

ndá	yá	fwúè
v	v	v
E		V

"The house is cold"

àbó	yá	yò'ò
v		v
E		V

"my hand is itching"

ndá	yá	nń'ú
v		v
E		V

"The house is stenching"

The illustrative sentences above show that experiential state verbs are used in sentences with following structures.

1) ^{Semantic} ~~Semantic~~ structure: $[\text{E} - \text{E}]_1$ experiential, as illustrated above.

2) Syntactic structure: $[\text{ } - \text{NP}_2 + \text{VP} \text{ }]$

A second realisation is that the experience which the experiencer in the sentence undergoes comes about spontaneously. That is, there is no agentive force which inflicts the sensation on the experiencer, as it is the case with action verbs.

3.2.0: Conclusion:

So far, the present chapter has been devoted to the classification and sub-classification of the basic verbs in Bafut. This classification has been at both semantic and syntactic/under levels simultaneously with these classifications, an attempt made at every stage to provide at the syntactic level, the word order of the elements which make up the simple declarative sentences which were used for illustrations.

At the semantic level, the Bafut verbs were classified and discussed as either basic process, action or state verbs. Further on, these basic verbs were discussed as either one-place, two-place or three-place basic verbs. Later on, and still at semantic level, the verbs were also classified as either benefactive, experiential or locative verbs, and the action, process and state verbs were treated as such.

At the syntactic level, the main distinction between the Bafut verbs was that made between transitive and intransitive verbs. The semantic action and process verbs were roughly coalesced with syntactic transitive verbs while the semantic state verbs were syntactically regarded as intransitive verbs.

Following the classification, and illustrative simple declarative sentences following syntactic word order was established for the sentences:

1) $[\text{ } - \text{NP}_1 + \text{VP} + \text{NP}_2 \text{ }]$ This structure is for one and two-place action, and process or jointly transitive verbs which need only one object noun phrase which is NP2.

[-NP1+VP+NP2+NI 3]:

This structure is for verbs which needed a subject or agent and two objects.

[-NP2 + VP]

This is the structure for intransitive verbs with one object.

[-NP2+VP+NP3]

This is the structure for state or intransitive verbs which need two object noun phrases.

It should ^{be} noted that the treatment of the verbs in this chapter dealt only with non-derived verbs. In the next chapter, therefore, ^{we} will present verbs which have been derived from these non-derived verbs through the use of some suffixes. The effects of these suffixes on the verb both at the semantic and syntactic levels, will be examined.

.../93

CHAPTER 4

THE EFFECTS OF THE SUFFIXES ON VERBS4.0: INTRODUCTION

In chapter 1, and among other aspects of the Bafut verb, we briefly presented the different suffixes which the verb can take. In chapter 2, we provided a classification of the Bafut verb at both the semantic and syntactic levels. In the present chapter we will make a combination of both the verbs and the different suffixes. Through this combination we are going to devote our attention to the semantic and syntactic effects or implications which these suffixes have on the hitherto non-derived verbs. At the semantic level, we will, through illustrations show how these suffixes modify the meaning of the verbs. At the syntactic level, an attempt will be made at showing how the suffixes can convert verbs of intransitive sentences into transitive verbs, thus, generating transitive sentences. Since we can not satisfactorily dissociate semantics from syntax, we will simultaneously treat the semantic and syntactic effects of the suffixes, on the verbs.

4.1.0: The - tɔ derived suffix:

In 1.3.2.1.1, we mentioned that at the semantic level, the - tɔ derived suffix has three effects on the non-derived verb, while at the syntactic level, it neither reduces nor increases verb valency. The following are illustrations of these situations.

1. Diminutive - tɔ

This suffix suggests that either the action is "short-lived" or that the extent of the action is weakened. These meanings will be represented by "a little" or "a bit" as illustrated below:

Non-derived verbs	Meaning	Derived verbs	Meaning
nɔ	to drink	nɔtɔ	to drink a little...
dzɔ	to eat	dzɔtɔ	to eat a little of..
yɔtɔ	to cry	yɔtɔtɔ	to cry a bit
fɔrɔ	to uncover	fɔrɔtɔ	to uncover...a bit
dzɔrɔ	to crush	dzɔrɔtɔ	to crush...a bit.

2. Repetitive - tɔ

This suffix indicates that instead of executing an action as a single action, the same action is carried out several times. This situation is illustrated below:

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
ɔtɔ	to count	ɔtɔtɔ	to count several times
sɔ	to pierce	sɔtɔ	to pierce several times
bɔtɔ	to break	bɔtɔtɔ	to break into several pieces
tɔmɔ	to shoot	tɔmɔtɔ	to shoot several times
bɔtɔtɔ	to insult	bɔtɔtɔtɔ	to insult time and again
mɔtɔ	to uproot	mɔtɔtɔ	to uproot time and again
ntɔtɔ	to trample	ntɔtɔtɔ	to trample several times

Quantitative - tɔ.

When this suffix is used with a verb, it presupposes that the action suggested by the verb affects several objects. The presence of this suffix is therefore signalled by "many..." or "Several..." as shown below:

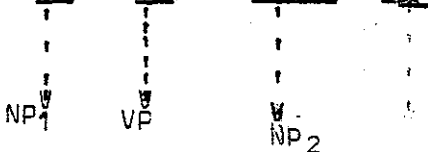
Non-derived verbs	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
bɛnɔ	to hang	bɛntɔ	To hang several.....
tɔɔ	to burn	tɔntɔ	to burn many.....
tɛ'ɛ	to stand	tɛ'ɛtɔ	to stand many.....
bɛɛ	to unhook	bɛɛntɔ	to unhook many.....
báà	to cling to	báántɔ	to cling in great number
dàngá	to cross	dàngtɔ	to cross many.....
tɔngá	to tether	tɔngtɔ	to tether many.....

The difference between the repetitive - tɔ and the Quantitative - tɔ suffixes resides in the fact that, the former refers to the same action which is being repeated. While the latter suffix does not necessarily suggest that the action affects one and the same object.

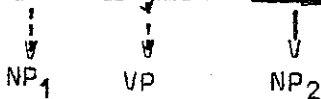
As it was mentioned earlier, the - tɔ derived suffix neither reduces nor increases the valency of the verb, at the syntactic level. Since verbs taking this suffix are predominantly bivalent, they remain as such even when they take on the - tɔ suffix.

The following sentences will adequately illustrate this situation:

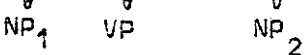
A: 1. má sɔ àkòrɔ yá "I am piercing my leg"



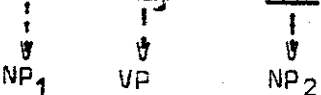
2. má tɔngá mbi "I am tethering a goat"



B: 1. má sɔtɔ àkòrɔ yá "I am piercing my leg several times"



2. má tɔngtɔ mbi



"I am tethering many goats"

As it can be realised from the groups of sentences above, whether the verb is non-derived or derived, it still enters into sentences of the (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) pattern. The valency of the verb is therefore not changed in its derived form. Thus, transitive verbs, as in 'A' above, remain transitive verbs even when they receive the

2.0: The - nə derived suffix: (NP₁ + VP + NP₂)----- (NP₂ + VP)

In 1.3.2.1.4, we discovered 171 verbs which could take on the - nə derived suffix. At the semantic level, this suffix modifies verbs in three ways while at the syntactic level, it makes verbs which are used in transitive sentences and are capable of entering only into intransitive sentences.

At the semantic level, the modifications of the meanings of the verbs are as follows:-

1. Spontaneous - nə:

When the spontaneous - nə is affixed to verbs, it modifies the meaning in the sense that the action, suggested by the verb, is capable of taking place without the assistance of any discernible agentive force. Spontaneity is shown therefore by the addition of "by itself" to the basic meaning of the verb. This situation will be illustrated with the examples below:

Non-derived verb:	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
kùrnə	to demolish	kùrnənə	to be demolished by itself
kùrnə	to spill	kùrnənə	"to be spilled by itself"
yə̀l	to pull off	yə̀lnə	"to pull off by itself"
gámə	to bend	gámənə	to bend by itself.
tsə̀gə	to shake	tsə̀gənə	"to shake by itself"
yə̀nə	to tilt	yə̀nənə	"to tilt by itself"

With the following sentences, spontaneity, as expressed by the - nə suffix can be better illustrated:

- A: 1. má kùrn ndá "I am demolishing a house"
 2. ndá kùrnənə "A house is being demolished by itself"

In sentence 1 above, there is an agent which demolishes the house while in sentence 2, the house crumbles on its own without being affected by any agentive force.

2. Reciprocal - nə:

This suffix modifies the meaning of the verb by showing that the agents, involved in the action, react on each other. The following are samples of verbs with the "reciprocal" - nə suffix.

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
tsà'ətə	to greet...	tsà'ànə	to greet each other
zhí	to know...	zhínə	to know each other
ghàà	to speak to..	ghàànə	to speak to each other
bàà	to hate....	bàànə	to hate each other
lɪ'ɪ	to poison...	lɪ'ɪnə	to poison each other
tsó'ə	to peck....	tsó'ənə	to peck each other
kòŋə	to love....	kòŋnə	to love each other

From the table above, it can be realized that the presence of a case of "reciprocity" is signalled by "each other".

7. Simultaneous - nə :

The - nə suffix, which suggests "simultaneity," shows that the same activity is carried out by different people but at the same time. The samples below will assist in illustrating instances whereby verbs take on the derivational - nə suffix which marks simultaneity:-

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
dũmŋ	to groan	dũmnŋ	to groan at the same time
dzũ	to eat	dzũnŋ	to eat together
konŋ	to drown	kõnŋ	to drown together
nũrŋ	to grumble	nũrənŋ	to grumble at the same time
mÉ'É	to bleat	mÉ'Énŋ	to pleat at the same time
yɔbŋ	to wail	yɔbənŋ	to wail at the same time
dzɔ'ɔ	to belch	dzɔ'ənŋ	to belch at the same time

As it is evident in the table above, the existence of the simultaneous - nə is indicated by either "at the same time" or by "together".

The foregoing discussion has focussed on the semantic effect of the - nə derivational suffix on verbs. At the syntactic level, we will, through sentences show how this suffix changes bivalent verbs into monovalent verbs, thus turning transitive sentences into intransitive sentences. In illustrating this situation, we will first of all construct sentences using the non-derived verbs and later on, we will use the verbs in their derived forms.

A. Sentences with non-derived verbs: (NP₁ + VP + NP₂)

má tsà'át nŋ	"I am greeting you"
má ts+gə̀ ngò'ɔ̀	"I am shaking a stone."
má bàà nŋ	"I am hating you"
má yəŋə̀ ngò'ɔ̀	"I am tilting a stone"

The sentences, with the non-derived verbs above have in their surface structure one subject noun phrase, a verb phrase and an object noun phrase. These sentences therefore have an (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) surface structure. But with an affixation of the - nə derivational suffix, one of the noun phrases is deleted, as illustrated by the sentence below.

B. Sentences with derived verbs: (NP₂ + VP.)

s+ tsà'ànə̀	"You and I are greeting each other"
ngò'ɔ̀ ts+gənə̀	"A stone is shaking by itself"
s+ nááŋnə̀	"You and I are hating each other"
ngò'ɔ̀ yəŋnə̀	"A stone is tilting by itself"

In the sentences in 'B' above, it can be seen that when the verbs take on the - nə derivational suffix, one of the arguments, which accompanied the non-derived verbs in the sentences in 'A', is deleted. Thus, the non-derived verb which is

transitive, become intransitive when it receives the -n derivational suffix. In this case, we have a change from a (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) sentence pattern, to a (NP₂ + VP) sentence pattern. Thus, the sentences in 'B' above, which fall into the (NP₂ + VP) pattern show that with the affixation of the -n derived suffix, there is no need for an agentive force to effect action. As mentioned by Leroy (1979) in her study of extensions in Mankon, the -n suffix suggests that the action is capable of being carried out spontaneously. Thus, the noun phrase preceding any verb, with this suffix, functions as the object being subjected to the action and not as the subject effecting the action.

While both the "Spontaneous" -n and the "reciprocal" -n suffixes turn transitive verbs into intransitive verbs, at the syntactic level, the "Simultaneous" -n does not change verb valency. It only suggests a plural subject. This situation will be illustrated by the following sentences:

A. Sentences with non-derived verbs:

(NP ₁ + VP) - má dùmà	"I am groaning"
má yǐbà	"I am wailing"
má dzè'ǎ	"I am belching"

(NP₁ + VP + NP₂):

má dzú m+dzŭ	"I am eating food"
má k+ǎ n+k+ǎ	"I am running a race"

The above sentences show the verbs with a singular subject while when these verbs take on the "Simultaneous" -n, they will need a plural subject as shown below:

B. Sentences with verb + Simultaneous - n:

(NP ₁ + VP): s+ dumnè	"You and I are groaning at the same time"
s+ yǐbànè	"You and I are wailing at the same time."
s+ dzè'ǎnè	"You and I are belching at the same time"

(NP ₁ + VP + NP ₂): s+ dzùn m+dzŭ	"You and I are eating food at the same time"
s+ k+ n n+k+	"You and I are running a race at the same time"

From the above examples, it can be inferred that the "simultaneous"-n is exclusively used with intransitive verbs or partially intransitive verbs. By "partially intransitive verbs" we mean, those verbs whose objects can be deleted at the surface syntactic level, without marring the meaning of the sentences in which they are used. Thus, a verb remains either intransitive or partially intransitive, whether it takes on the simultaneous -n or not.

4.3.0: The -kǎ derived suffix: (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) ---- (NP₂ + VP)

We mentioned in 1.3.2.1.2 that the -kǎ derived suffix has four semantic implications which are: "distributive," "repetitive," "quantitative" and spontaneous". At the syntactic level, the -kǎ derived suffix, like the -n derived suffix, turns transitive sentences into intransitive sentences. Thus, a sentence with an (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) structure will have an (NP₂ + VP) pattern when the verb takes on the -kǎ derived suffix. First of all, we will present the semantic implications of the -kǎ.

1) Distributive -kə:

This suffix modifies the meaning of the verb by showing that several people are performing an action separately. This is not necessarily at the same time. Thus, the action is plural as shown by the sample below:

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
dzŭ	to eat	dzúkə	to eat separately
fà'á	to work	fà'ákə	to work separately
dwínə	to weed	dwínkə	to weed separately
yəgŭ	to learn	yəgəkə	to learn separately
wé'É	to wear	wé'Ékə	to wear individually
ghŭŭ	to be sick	ghŭŭkə	to be separately sick
kŭŭ	to peel	kŭŭkə	to peel separately
mú'ŭ	to sprout	mú'ŭkə	to sprout separately

The -kə derived suffix above is translated as "separately" to signify that the action suggested by the verb is divided among different individuals or groups of individuals.

2. Repetitive -kə:

This suffix shows that an action is done several times or over and over. Thus, the suffix means "several times" or "continuously" or "one after the other." Samples of verbs with the repetitive -kə are shown below:

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
wyŭ	to fall	wyókə	to fall several times
kwŭ	to die	kwókə	to die one after the other
dzÉÉ	to urinate	dzÉÉkə	to urinate several times
wyÉ	to laugh	wyÉkə	To laugh several times
shwáà	to dangle	shwáàkə	to dangle continuously
tánə	to deny	tánkə	to deny several times

From the examples above, it can be inferred that the repetitive -kə is used exclusively with intransitive verbs. Due to the repetitive quality of this suffix, it at times suggests completed action. This therefore makes the -kə suffix to be similar to the -nə suffix as shown below:

kwÉ	"to chop"	kwékə	"to chop completely"
sà'á	to tear	sà'ákə	"to tear completely"
tsúrə	to leak	tsúrəkə	"to leak completely"

There is also a Quantitative -kə which indicates that the action suggested by the verb falls on many objects. This can be illustrated by the samples below:

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived form	Meaning
ɔ̀nɔ̀	to castrate...	sɔ̀nkɔ̀	to castrate many....
ɔ̀a	to rank..	taánkɔ̀	to rank several.....
ɔ̀witɔ̀	to list (names).	twikɔ̀	to list many.....
ɔ̀arɔ̀	to split.....	sàrəkɔ̀	to split many.....
ɔ̀a'a	to dress(a wound)	bà'əkɔ̀	to dress many (wounds)
ɔ̀úfɔ̀	to clear.....	bú'úkɔ̀	to clear many.....
ɔ̀rɔ̀	to float	lárəkɔ̀	to float(in great numbers)

When the -kə derived suffix indicates that the action suggested by the verb is capable of taking place on its own, we have the spontaneous -kə. This case is demonstrated by the following examples:

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
mùgɔ̀	to uproot	mùgəkɔ̀	to be uprooted by itself
sàrɔ̀	to split	sàrəkɔ̀	to be split by itself
zhwi	to peel off	zhwíkɔ̀	to peel off by itself
dzwà'a	to shatter	dzwà'əkɔ̀	to be burst by itself
fɛ̀ɛ̀	to loose	fɛ̀ɛ̀nkɔ̀	to be loose by itself
sà'a	to tear	sà'əkɔ̀	to tear by itself
yórɔ̀	to wither	yórəkɔ̀	to wither by itself

As we saw with the spontaneous -nə, where the element of spontaneity was expressed by "by itself," so also is the presence of the spontaneous -kə denoted by the modifying "by itself." This addition to the basic meaning of the verb is the effect of the spontaneous -kə on the verb, at the semantic level.

The -kə derived suffix also has a syntactic effect on the verb in that it changes hitherto transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. Thus sentences which hitherto were transitive, because they had a transitive non-derived verb, become intransitive when the verb in the sentence receives the -kə derived suffix. In order to illustrate this situation, the verbs in the table above will be used. Firstly, the verbs will be used in their non-derived forms. Secondly, these same verbs will be used in their derived forms.

Sentences with non-derived verbs: (NP₁ + VP + NP₂)

<u>má</u>	<u>sàrɔ̀</u>	<u>àtí</u>	
↓	↓	↓	
NP ₁	VP	NP ₂	"I am splitting a stick"

<u>má</u>	<u>sà'a</u>	<u>àtsà'a</u>	
↓	↓	↓	
NP ₁	VP	NP ₂	"I am tearing a dress"

<u>má</u>	<u>mùgɔ̀</u>	<u>ngɛ̀ɛ̀</u>	
↓	↓	↓	
NP ₁	VP	NP ₂	"I am uprooting grass"

The sentences above show that the non-derived verbs enter the (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) sentence pattern. The sentence therefore has two noun phrases which include a subject noun phrase (NP₁) and an object noun phrase (NP₂). But when the non-derived verbs take on the intransitive -kə suffix, we realised that NP₁ disappears from the syntactic structure of the sentence. The following sentences will testify this fact:

Sentences with derived verbs: (NP₂ + VP)

àti sàràkə "A stick is splitting by itself"
↓ ↓
NP₂ VP

àtsə'ə sà'ákə "A dress is tearing by itself"
↓ ↓
NP₂ VP

ngEE mùgəkə "Grass is being uprooted by itself"
↓ ↓
NP₂ VP

As it can be seen from the sentences above, the derived verbs tend to require only an object noun phrase. The intransitivity of the sentences and the spontaneity of the action related by the sentences show a harmonisation of both the semantic and syntactic implications of the suffixes on the verbs. The derivational -kə suffix, as seen through a comparison of sentences A and B above provokes a change from an (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) sentence structure to simply an (NP₂ + VP) sentence pattern.

4.4.0: The -s derived suffix: (NP₂ + VP)------(NP₁ + VP + NP₂)

As we mentioned in 1.3.2.1.3, the -sə derived suffix adds a causative element to a non-derived verb. This causative element tends to increase verb valency. Thus, unlike the -nə and the -kə derivational suffixes which usually turn bivalent verbs into monovalent verbs, the -sə derivational suffix instead turns monovalent verbs into bivalent verbs. There are, however, cases where bivalent or transitive verbs also take on the -sə derived suffix. In this case, the valency of the verb is not increased but it is the causative element which is added to the basic meaning of the verb. Similarly, some verbs with the formal suffix, were also found to have a double interpretation. These cases will be exploited later on in this section. In all, 117 verbs were found to have the causative element accompanying their basic meaning.

Firstly, let us examine the transitive -sə suffix. This suffix tends to convert intransitive verbs into transitive verbs. In this syntactic function, therefore, verbs which hitherto could be used only in sentences of the (NP₂ + VP) pattern, can be used in the (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) structure when they take on the transitive -s suffix. In all, 83 verbs were discovered to be capable of receiving the transitive -sə. The following are samples which will be used in illustrative sentences.

Non-derived verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
yò	to fall	wyòsṣ	Make someone to fall
wii	to sleep	bwiinsṣ	make someone to sleep
syá	to pass	tsyàsṣ	to make someone to pass
ò'á	to cry	yà'òsṣ	make someone to cry
ò'ò	to itch	yò'òsṣ	make something to itch
òò	to be hot	lòònsṣ	make something to be hot
swi	to sit	tswisṣ	make someone to sit
wi	to be bitter	lwisṣ	make something to be bitter
ii	to be sweet	liinsṣ	make something to become sweet
wè	to laugh	wyèsṣ	make someone to laugh
ghàà	to speak	ghàànsṣ	make someone to speak
òrò	to flame	bòròsṣ	make something to flame
lúgò	to foam	lúgòsṣ	make something to foam

The change from intransitivity to the transitivity of the above verbs can be illustrated with the following groups of sentences:

Sentences with non-derived verbs: (NP₂ + VP)

má wyò "I am falling"
 ↓ ↓
 NP₂ VP

má bwii "I am sleeping"
 ↓ ↓
 NP₂ VP

má wyè "I am laughing"
 ↓ ↓
 NP₂ VP

òkì wá lii "The water is sweet"
 ↓ ↓
 NP₂ VP

The four sentences above with the non-derived verbs are intransitive sentences since the action suggested by the verb is effected on the lone noun phrase which is the object noun phrase (NP₂) of the verb. But when these same intransitive verbs receive the transitive -s suffix, there is an increase in the noun phrases to be obligatorily taken by the verbs. The following sentences will exemplify this situation:

Sentences with derived verbs: (NP₁ + VP + NP₂)

1. $\begin{array}{ccc} \acute{O} & \text{w}y\acute{o}s\grave{a} & n\grave{a} \\ | & | & | \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ NP_1 & VP & NP_2 \end{array}$ "You are making me to fall"
2. $\begin{array}{ccc} \acute{O} & \text{b}w\acute{i}i\acute{n}s\grave{a} & n\grave{a} \\ | & | & | \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ NP_1 & VP & NP_2 \end{array}$ "You are making me to sleep"
3. $\begin{array}{ccc} \acute{O} & \text{w}y\acute{e}s\grave{a} & n\grave{a} \\ | & | & | \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ NP_1 & VP & NP_2 \end{array}$ "You are making me to laugh"
4. $\begin{array}{ccc} m\acute{a} & \text{l}i\acute{i}\acute{n}s\grave{a} & \eta ki \ w\grave{a} \\ | & | & | \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ NP_1 & VP & NP_2 \end{array}$ "I am sweetening the water"

The sentences of B above show that when a hitherto intransitive verb, as in A, takes on the $-s\grave{a}$ suffix, this verb becomes transitive. When this intransitive verb takes on the suffix, it can no more be used in sentences of an $(NP_2 + VP)$ pattern as in A but obligatorily in sentences of an $(NP_1 + VP + NP_2)$ pattern as in B. This transitive quality of the $-s\grave{a}$ suffix manifests a syntactic effect of this suffix on the verb. There are, however, cases where transitive verbs also receive the causative $-s\grave{a}$.

Few, however, are the transitive verbs which receive the causative $-s$. From the data, we discovered 23 of such rare cases. Samples are as follows:

shwi'i	"to pour"	shwi'is\grave{a}	"to make something to pour"
l\acute{t}\acute{m}	"to wrap"	l\acute{t}\acute{m}s\grave{a}	"to make something to wrap"
m\acute{o}\acute{o}	"to pile"	m\acute{o}\acute{o}\acute{n}s\grave{a}	"to make something to pile"
fi'i	"to remove"	fi'is\grave{a}	"to send out something"
ts\acute{g}\acute{s}	"to wipe"	ts\acute{g}\acute{s}s\grave{a}	"to make something to wipe"
gh\acute{o}'\acute{s}	"to grind"	gh\acute{o}'\acute{s}s\grave{a}	"to make something to beground"
y\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{s}	"to tilt"	y\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{s}s\grave{a}	"to make something to tilt"
b\acute{a}\acute{a}	"to hate"	b\acute{a}\acute{a}\acute{n}s\grave{a}	"to make someone to hate another"

The examples above illustrate non-derived transitive verbs which take on the causative $-s\grave{a}$. This suffix however does not add to the valency of the verb but it rather modifies the meaning of the verb by adding the causative meaning to the basic meaning of the verb. The following sentences will clarify this point more:

- 1.(a) $\begin{array}{ccc} m\acute{a} & \text{sh}w\acute{i}'i & \eta ki \\ | & | & | \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ NP_1 & VP & NP_2 \end{array}$ "I am pouring water"
- (b) $\begin{array}{ccc} m\acute{a} & \text{sh}w\acute{i}'i\acute{s}\grave{a} & \eta ki \\ | & | & | \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ NP_1 & VP & NP_2 \end{array}$ "I am making water to pour"

(a) $\overset{m}{\underset{v}{\text{má}}} \quad \overset{l}{\underset{v}{\text{l+im}}} \quad \overset{a}{\underset{v}{\text{atsà'á}}}$ "I am wrapping a dress"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 NP₁ VP NP₂

(b) $\overset{m}{\underset{v}{\text{má}}} \quad \overset{l}{\underset{v}{\text{l+imsá}}} \quad \overset{a}{\underset{v}{\text{atsà'á}}}$ "I am making a dress to wrap"
 ↓ ↓ ↓
 NP₁ VP NP₂

From the sentences above, it can be seen that whether the verb has a derivational affix or not, it enters the (NP₁ + VP + NP₂) pattern. But the difference comes when the sentences with the verbs having the causative -sə suggest that NP₁ is not directly involved in the action but it is the cause of the action.

It was discovered that some verbs with the -s formal suffix are capable of having a double interpretation. Firstly, the verbs can be interpreted without the causative element. Secondly, these some verbs can also be interpreted with the causative element in their meaning. We discovered 11 verbs from the data capable of being subjected to this double interpretation. The following samples are illustrative of this situation:

hinsə	"to raise something" or "to make something to be raised"
əngsə	"to roll somethin" or to make something to roll"
àansə	"to level something" or "to make something to be level"
ərsə	"to appease" or "to make something to become appeased"
sənsə	"to squint" or "to make (one's eye) to squint"
ú'fsə	"to raise (the shoulders)" or "to make (the shoulders) to be raised"
əz+ngsə	"to confuse" or "to make someone to be confused"

Whether the verbs above are interpreted as having the causative element in their meaning or not, the fact is that the verbs undergo neither a semantic nor a syntactic modification.

4.5.0: The -mə derived suffix

Unlike the -sə derived suffix which has an exclusively syntactic effect on the Bafut verbs, the -mə derived suffix has an exclusively semantic effect on the verbs. All the 600 verbs of our data were capable of taking on this suffix.

When the -mə derived suffix is affixed to a verb, it modifies the meaning of the verb by showing that the action suggested by the verb was actually carried out. Thus, this suffix demonstrates a "completion" of action and therefore creates a distinction between the "perfective" aspect of the verb and its "imperfective" aspect. This distinction was succinctly presented in 1.3.2.1.5, when we took recourse in De Comrie's definition of the "perfective" as well as the "imperfective" aspects of the verb. The following verbs will be used in sentences to illustrate the "perfective" function of the -mə derived suffix:

gámâ	"to bend"	ə̀râ	"to pull off"
dzû	"to eat"	n'ô	"to press"
tswánâ	"to cease"	kúsâ	"to cover"
twÉÉ	"to twist"	yó'ô	"to marry"
kí'i	"to operate"	bwàrâ	"to scold"

Some of the above verbs will be used firstly in their non-derived forms and secondly in their derived forms with the difference between them unravelled:

A. Verbs in their non-derived forms:

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. mà gám gkàrâ | "I have bent a rope" |
| 2. mà dzû m'dzû | "I have eaten food" |
| 3. mà twÉÉ gkàrâ | "I am twisting a rope" |
| 4. mà yó'ô | "I am getting married" |

B. Sentences with derived verbs:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. mà twÉÉnâ gkàrâ | "I have already twisted a rope" |
| 2. mà gám mà gkàrâ | "I have already bent a rope" |
| 3. mà dzûnâ m'dzû | "I have already eaten food" |
| 4. mà yó'ômâ | "I have already married" |

A juxtaposition of the sentences in A and B, above, shows that in A the action suggested by the verb is either in process as in A3 and A4 or the action has been effected as in A1 and A2. In B, where the verbs have the -nâ suffix, the action is also seen as having been executed. But the difference between A1, A2 and the sentences in B is that in B, it is emphasised that the action suggested by the verb actually took place and was therefore complete. The completed action in B is demonstrated by the adverb "already!" But in A1 and A2, we are not really sure whether the action was actually completed.

From the foregoing analysis, we therefore concluded that the -nâ derivational suffix has a unique semantic function. This function is that the suffix emphasises that an action was actually carried out in its complete form. It should be recalled here that in section 3.3, we evoked a resemblance between the -k derived suffix and the -nâ derived suffix. In 3.3, we said, therefore, that due to the repetitive function of -kâ, there are instances where this repetitiveness suggests a completed action.

4.6.0: The -lâ derived suffix

In section 1.3.2.1.6, we said that there were 112 verbs, out of 600 verbs in the data, which received the -lâ derived suffix. This suffix was found to modify the meaning of the verb by adding three separate meanings to the verbs when the -lâ suffix is affix on the verbs, it may mean "on several parts" or "randomly" or "roughly".

When the suffix denotes "randomness" it shows that the action suggested by the verb is done irregularly. The following are samples to demonstrate this function of the -lâ derived suffix:

kóó	"to scratch"	kóóíá	"to scratch at random"
kwé'É	"to cough"	kwé'Éíá	"to cough at random"
mé'É	"to bleat"	mé'Éíá	"to bleat at random"
tsù'á	"to rattle"	tsù'áíá	"to rattle at random"
bwí'í	"to sow"	bwí'ííá	"to sow at random"
byá	"to glance"	byáíá	"to glance at random"
kyá	"to comb"	kyáíá	"to comb at random"

At certain times, when the *-lá* suffix is affixed to a verb, it shows that the action suggested by the verb affects several parts of the same object. The examples below will illustrate this situation:

yóó	"to become dry"	yóóíá	"to become dry on several parts"
mòòntá	"to touch"	mòòíá	"to touch on several spots"
nò'á	"to press"	nò'áíá	"to press on several spots"
só	"to pierce"	sóíá	"to pierce on several spots"
bwèrâ	"to begin to rot"	bwèrâíá	"to begin to rot on several parts"
féé	"to slap"	fééíá	"to slap on several parts"
lòò	"to bite"	lòòíá	"to bite on several spots"
tsí'í	"to decorate"	tsí'ííá	"to decorate on several spots"

Since the *-lá* suffix above shows that action falls on "several parts" of an object, we can say that this suffix has a rapport with the distributive *-ká* derivational suffix.

There is also a third semantic function of the *-l* derived suffix. This is when the suffix shows that the action introduced by the verb is done without much care. Thus, we labelled this function as: "roughly." The examples below will serve as further clarifications:

yé'É	"to sweep"	yé'Éíá	"to sweep roughly/without care"
tswé'É	"to trim"	tswé'Éíá	"to trim roughly/without care"
kwírâ	"to tie"	kwírâíá	"to tie roughly"
kòrâ	"to scrub"	kòrâíá	"to scrub roughly"
fwà'á	"to water"	fwà'áíá	"to water without care"
shì'í	"to wash"	shì'ííá	"to wash roughly"
zhúgâ	"to roast"	zhúgâíá	"to roast roughly"
ghírâ	"to make, fabricate"	ghírâíá	"to fabricate roughly"

Since, at the syntactic level, our distinction has so far been between transitive as against intransitive verbs, we noticed that the *-lá* derived suffix has no syntactic effect on the verbs. As noticed from the illustrations, above, the *-lá* suffix affects the verbs uniquely at the semantic level, by modifying the meaning of the verbs in three ways.

4.7.0 Reduplication of the verb root:

The reduplication of the verb root, as seen in section 1.3.2.1.7 of this work,

was discovered as serving as a suffix which affects the radical solely at the semantic level. When the verb root is reduplicated, it may serve a "repetitive" function, a 'quantitative' function or it may serve an "emphatic" function.

When the reduplicated verb root serves a repetitive function, it shows a plural action which is repeated time and again. The following verbs will illustrate the repetitive function of the reduplicated verb root:

kwùḡ	"to beat"	kwùḡkwùḡ	"to beat often"
núrḡ	"to groan"	núrḡnúrḡ	"to groan time and again"
tì'ínḡ	"to slide"	tì'ínḡntì'ínḡ	"to slide several times"
tḡ	"to spit"	tùntḡ	"to spit time and again"
tíi.	"to push"	tííntíi	"to push time and again"
sà'á	"to dismantle"	sà'ánsà'á	"to dismantle time and again"
wá	"to slaughter"	wánwá	"to slaughter time and again"
fúmḡ	"to be poor"	fúmḡfúmḡ	"to be often poor"
káá	"to be tired"	kááḡkáá	"to be often tired"

As the verbs above indicate, the repetitive function of the reduplicated verb root is signalled by "time and again," "often," or "several times."

A second function of the reduplicated verb root is that it suggests that the action effected by the verb affects many objects. Thus, the reduplicated root has a "quantitative" function and therefore derives the meaning of "much," "many" or "in great numbers!" The following examples testify this function:

kwÈ'É	"to pluck"	kwÈ'ÉnkwÈ'É	"to pluck many....."
fàrḡ	"to prune"	fàrḡmfàrḡ	"to prune many....."
yúù	"to buy"	yúùnyúù	"to buy many....."
dzó	"to eat"	dzúndzó	"to eat much....."
tò'ḡ	"to wedge"	tò'ḡntò'ḡ	"to wedge many....."
sáḡḡ	"to count"	sáḡḡnsáḡḡ	"to count many....."
bí	"to plant"	bímbyí	"to plant a great number of.."
nó	"to drink"	nónó	"to drink much....."
sáḡḡ	"to sift"	sáḡḡnsáḡḡ	"to sift a large amount of.."

At times, due to the repetitive function of the reduplicated verb root, it tends to take on an "emphatic" function. We discovered 35 verbs whose reduplicated verb roots indicate the "emphatic" meaning. The following verbs will throw, this function of the reduplicated verb root, into relief.

yàrḡ	"to select"	yàrḡnyàrḡ	"to select thoroughly"
kḡḡ	"to run"	kḡḡḡkḡḡ	"to run very much"
yámḡ	"to be selfish"	yámḡnyámḡ	"to be too selfish"
tsì'í	"to decorate"	tsì'ínttsì'í	"to decorate very well"
tswÉrḡ	"to be proud"	tswÉrḡntswÉrḡ	"to be too proud"
tsúḡḡ	"to pound"	tsúḡḡnttsúḡḡ	"to pound very well"

fî	"to resemble"	fímfi	"to resemble very much"
dzi	"to underrate"	dzindzi	"to underrate too much"

The "emphatic" function of the reduplicated verb root is indicated by "thoroughly," "too much," "very well." The following sentences can also serve in illustrating this function.

- | | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. má yímô | "I am selfish" | 1. mà yimányimô | "I am too selfish" |
| 2. mà fí ghô | "I resemble you" | 2. mà fí ghó mfímfi | "I resemble you very much" |
| 3. má tswÉrô | "I am proud" | 3. má tswÉrôntswÉrô | "I am too proud." |
| 4. má yàrò m+kúù | "I am selecting beans" | 4. má yàrò m+kúù nyàrònyàrò : | "I am selecting beans thoroughly" |

A juxtaposition of the sentences above will show the type of modification which the reduplicated verb root has on the verb. This modification is strictly semantic. Thus, the "emphatic" reduplicated verb root like in its "quantitative" and "repetitive" functions, has no syntactic effect on the various Bafut verbs.

4.8.0: Conclusion:

As this chapter drives to a close, we deem it necessary to make a recapitulation of what has so far been discussed in the chapter. This chapter has been devoted to the examination of the effects of the different derivational suffixes on the verbs both at the semantic and syntactic levels. The combination of the non-derived verb and the suffixes has necessitated the following observations:

Firstly, that some of the suffixes affect the verbs both at the semantic as well as the syntactic levels. These suffixes include the -nə and the -kə derivational suffixes. At the semantic level, these suffixes were seen to modify the basic meanings of the verbs in several ways, while at the syntactic level, these suffixes tended to reduce verb valency. That is, they turn transitive verbs into intransitive verbs.

Secondly, it was observed, that some of the suffixes had only a semantic implication on the verbs. These types of suffixes include: the -mə , the -lə , the -tə and the reduplicated verb roots. These suffixes only helped in modifying the basic meanings of the verbs.

Thirdly, we observed that while some suffixes affect the verbs strictly at the semantic level, another suffix affects the verb strictly at the syntactic level. We discovered that the -sə causative suffix had this function. Thus, unlike the -nə and -kə suffixes which reduced verb valency, the causative -sə instead increased verb valency. Thus, hitherto intransitive verbs become transitive verbs when the causative -sə suffix was affixed to them.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL CONCLUSION

We went through the introduction, the body, and now, we have arrived at the terminal, of this paper. At this juncture, we deem it necessary to pinpoint some observations gathered in the course of the work and also to situate this work in the frame of its future validity.

In the course of the work, we were made to understand that Bafut belongs to the ngemba sub-group of Eastern Grassfield Bantu languages. In this language, we realised that the verb has a central role in the linguistic expressions of this language. This centrality was illustrated by the ability of the verb to specify the arguments with which it must occur and the repercussions which the verb has on the arguments whenever this verb is modified by suffixes.

We also observed that there are suffixes which can be employed to modify either the verb's meaning or its structure. These suffixes were: derivational, as well as normal.

Taking cue from the above observations, we can say, without any complex, that we have been able, through this semantic - syntactic study of the Bafut verb, to achieve our basic two-fold objectives which are:

- A demonstration of the centrality and the exigences of the Bafut verb when it is used in linguistic expressions.
- An extension of the devotion given to the bantu verb in general and the Bafut verb in particular. This therefore throws more light on one aspect of the Bafut grammar, which is, the verb.

Though we cannot feign that the present work is very exhaustive, to be final, we hope however that it will have a far from negligible vitality in the future.

Firstly, the ideas propounded in this work, will serve as a substantial basis for comparative study between bantu languages and more particularly, the bantu languages of the Ngemba sub-group.

Secondly, the work will serve as a practical starting point for any further linguistic work, which might be done in future, pertaining to the Bafut verb.

Thirdly, the accompanying list of verbs will obviously serve as a source of data collection for any work on the Bafut grammar.

Owing to the above envisaged contributions of the present work, we hope that it is welcome.

APPENDIX 2: Earlier Works On The Bafut Language

EROY Jacqueline - 1979 - "A la recherche de tons perdus: Structure du nom en Ngemba"
 - JALL - pp. 55-71 912. Bafut - 913. Mankon - 915. Bambui -
 916. Pinyin

LEROY Jacqueline - 1980 - "The Ngemba group: Mankon, Bangangu, Mundum I, Bafut, Nwen, Bambui, Pinyin, Awing" in L'expansion bantoue, Vol. 1, pp.111-141

CROZIER David (ed), A. Forlem, T. Numfor-1980(a) - How to read and write the Bafut language, SIL - Yaounde - 59pp.

CROZIER David - 1980(b) - Bafut Phonology, SIL, Yaounde

MFONYAM Joseph - 1982 - Tone in the Orthography of Bafut, 3e cycle Dissertation, University of Yaounde

APPENDIX 3: Bafut - English Verb List

(All verbs are given in their citation or infinitive forms)

b

baà	"to cling to"	bwú'0	to write
bàa	to hate	bii	to accept
bàrɔ̃	to carry on the back	bitɔ̃	to ask
bâ	to dry(with fire)	bétɔ̃	to make pointed
byá	to glance	bintɔ̃	to set a trap
bag+ɩɔ̃	to pretend	bɔ̃rɩsɔ̃	to appease
bwàrɔ̃	to scold	bɩɩnɔ̃	to raise from the ground
bà'â	to dress a wound	bɔ̃ɔ̃	to lose
banɔ̃	to take in(used for animals only)	bwii	to sleep
ba'â	to weave	bɔ̃ɔ̃	to be soft
bátɔ̃	to cater for	bwii'í	to explode
bà'átɔ̃	to give way	bɩɩ	to return
bà'â	to be sour	bɩɩnɔ̃	to get up
bwitɔ̃	to pop	bwiiɩnɔ̃	to be drowsy
bàànsɔ̃	to bid someone goodbye	bɩnkɔ̃	to tumble
bwitɔ̃	to hail	bwɛ	to be rotten
bwii'isɔ̃	to deceive	bɔ̃ɔ̃	to flame
buntɔ̃	to spur	bòò	to weavel
bwɛnɔ̃	to go off	bú'0	to clear(affarm)
bú'ɩnɔ̃	to start	bó'0	to scream
bùurɔ̃	to confuse	bwii'í	to sour
bwisɔ̃	to disclose	bwɛɛ	to pick
bɩnɔ̃	to upset	bɔ̃ɔ̃	to mould
bɛɛ	to unhook	bɛɛ	to nail
bí	to plant	bòò	to hunt
bɔ̃ɔ̃	to break	bòò	to meet
bótɔ̃	to crouch		

bòŋŋ	to lack	bó'ókŋ	to bark
bəgŋ	to insult	bwÉrŋ	to begin to rot
bánŋ	to transform	bósŋ	to frighten
bínŋ	to dance	bu'úŋgòo	to raise an alarm
bÉtŋ	to await	bòŋŋŋ	to make an appointment
bŋ	to be	binsŋ	to refund
bÉnŋ	to hang up	bwÉtŋ	to put off
o		b+'ŋ	to be bad
		b+ntŋ	to retreat
		b'ŋ	to fear

d

dàŋŋŋ	to cross	d+'tŋ	to counsel
da'ákŋ	to stagger	darŋ	to play
dwinŋ	to weed	darŋtŋ	to be happy
d+'ŋ	to trouble	dùm^	to grunt
d+'ŋ	to show, teach		

dz

dzà'á	to scatter	dzwí	to give birth
dzwàà	to break through	dzí	to under-rate
dzi'inŋ	to sneeze	dz+nsŋ	To confuse (someone)
dzəŋŋŋ	to be sorry	dzjŋŋ	to crush
dzənsŋ	to hold downwards	dzwóŋŋ	to burst
dzwi'inŋ	to slump	dzù'ŋ	to rumble
dzÉÉnkŋ	to spurt		
dzə'ŋ	to belch	dzùtŋ	to cheat
dzÉÉ	to urinate	dzúnŋ	to cluster
dzi'i	to pin down	dzùrŋ	to harvest prematurely
dzÉÁÉ	to feed		
dzinŋ	to punch		
dzinsŋ	to cork		

f

fá	to give	fà'á	to disengage
fwáárŋ	to gobble	fwà'á	to water
faansŋ	to chase hotly	fàrŋ	to prune
fààtŋ	to separate	farŋ	to stuff
fànsŋ	to err	fàrŋ	to whip
fàŋŋ	to grip	f+g+n^	to compare
fánŋ	to grow fat	fəŋtŋ	to cool (by blowing with air)

fà'á to work
 fúrǎ to send away
 fǎ'ǎ to fan
 fǎǎnsǎ to squint
 fi'i to remove
 fii to be dark
 fwi'i to bubble
 fE to clasp
 fǎngkǎ to meander
 fǎ'ǎ to be blind
 fE'ǎ to go out
 fwii to roof
 f+ǎ to lock
 fEE to loose
 fǎrǎ to found
 fi to resemble
 fEE to slap
 fE'ǎ to go out
 f+rǎ to be sterile
 f+rǎ to blame

g

gáánsǎ to force
 g+mǎ to bend
 gú'útǎ to crouch

gh

ghàá to speak
 gháá to stroll
 ghàbǎrǎ to babble
 ghEE to go
 gh+rǎ to make
 ghǎngǎ to gnaw
 ghǎ'ǎ to glow
 ghǎ'ǎn^ to envy
 ghó'ótǎ to call out

iii
 f+g'itǎ
 fEtǎ
 fǎ'ǎ
 f+gǎ
 figǎ
 fi'imǎ
 fwǎ
 fùgǎ
 fúmǎ
 fúmǎ
 fúmǎ
 fù'ǎ
 fú'ǎ
 fúrǎ
 fúrǎndzǎm
 fútǎ
 fúrǎ

to point at
 to luck
 to splash
 to disenter
 to measure
 to abort
 to go (to the farm)
 to dig
 to suffocate
 to be poor
 to bake in ash
 to harvest
 to be white
 to uncover
 to back
 to clear
 to chase

K

kàa to swear
 kǎa to squeeze
 kǎa to be tired
 kǎa to be tired

kon^ to drown
 kwon^ to mulch
 kwu to beat
 kwu to beat

kàà	to streak	kwé	to cut
kàā	to drain	kwō	to die
káálṣ	to rumple	kÉE	to filtre
kyā	to pluck	kó'ónṣ	to behave childishly
kyā	to comb	kò'ṣ	to remove(from the fire)
kwàànkṣ	to stumble against	kwÉ'É	to cough
kwàntṣ	to warn	kùgṣ	to nod
kwagṣ	to clang	kóntṣ	to scratch
kámṣ	to gather(strength)	kṣṣ	to shave
kanṣ	to fry	kÉE	to mend
kàngṣ	to roll	k+ṣ	to crack(groundduta, egusi)
ká'ā	to harden	ki'i	to operate
kà'ā	to schedule	kúsṣ	to cover
kwà'ānṣ	to tempt	kògṣ	to hit
kárṣ	to claim(debt)	kṅṣ	love
kwàrṣ	to trim	kumṣ	to pull down
kár+sṣ	to encircle	kṣṣ	to peel
kwà'atṣ	to brood over	kumṣ	to spray
kwákṣ	to quack	kúrṣ	to eat(something hard)
kárṣ	to turn round	kúrṣ	to spill
kàtṣ		ká'ṣ	to measure(quantity)
kwátṣ	to repeat	kwÉ'É	to pluck*
kwát+kàà	to have confirmation	kóónṣ	to bear fruits
kòō	to sound	kóónṣ	to gulp
kwÉE	to return(from somewhere)	k+ṣ	to run
kúù	to enter	kō	to catch
kṣ'ṣṣ	to shift	kṣṣ	to fold
kṣ'ṣṣ	to kindle	kwírṣ	to tie
kíí	to illuminate	kórṣ	to scrub
kṣ'ṣ	to climb up	k+ṅṣ	to block
kwí'inṣ	to fade	kwí	to grow
kù'0	to be blunt	ka'ā	to bring up (offspring)
kÉ'Éṣ	to limp	kánsṣ	to spy
		kà'ṣ	to make something loose balance
kwí'inṣ	to retaliate	kà'ṣ	to trigger (a gun)
k+r+sṣ	to mark	kwÉrṣ	to receive
kÉntṣ	to stop	k+ṣṣ	to hurry
kútṣ	to shut off (the palm)	kor^	to take 8th (as hostage)
kyàṣ	to hatch	kwínṣ	to hit
kÉṣṣ	to cut(bounds off 8th)	k+rṣ	to look grudgingly (at S.O)

kitə	to condole with	kù'sə	add
kwEntə	to knock (on a door)	k+r+tso	seem
kwEtə	to help	kwEr+nki	to be baptized
kwi'i	to respond	kù's	to be enough
korə	to bundle		

L

lää	to cook	lwins	to age
läänsə	to level	lɔrə	to float
lānsə	to tease	lwi'i	to end
lārə	to glide	lòò	to be hot
l+gə	to cultivate	lwinsə	to fill
l+g+nə	to sweat	lɔɔ	to search
lwi	to be bitter	l+'f	to poison
lwitə	to burn out	lɔə	to beg
lwisəntɔŋ	to be angry	lɔə	to wound (oneself)
lɔ'sə	to hide (sth)	lĕ	to pass the night
lɔəntə	to hide (oneself)	lɔnə	to hang
lɔə	to keep	lɔnə	to tap (wine)
lɔ's	to curse	lɔə	to fish
lĕ'ĕsə	to sprain	lòò	to bite
l+ŋə	to miss		
l+ŋə	to lick	lwogə	to wail
lii	to look	lĕnsə	to announce
lii	to be sweet	lĕnsə	to rinse
lɔŋtə	to check on something	l+'ə	to jump
		lɔtə	to entreat
l+mə	to wrap	lɔb+tə	to estimate
lúgə	to foam	lɔ	to leave
lúgə	to stir (something)	lĕ	to sling
luù	to be full	lɔŋkə	to feel weak

lì'ínâ
lǎ'ǎ
lǎgǎ

to forget
to flatter
to take

lǎntǎ
*lǎnsǎ

to provoke
to mark

M

mǎ
mǎ'ǎ
mwa'ǎ
mǎngǎ
mǎ'ǎ
mǎ+rǎnǎ
mǎ
mǎ++ntǎ
mǎ'+tǎ
mǎ+rǎsǎ
mǎ
mǎ'i

to confound
to throw
to agitate water
to finish
to bleat
to be immune to
to finish (by: itself)
to rest
to stagger
to train
to swallow
to yank

mǎ'ilǎ
mwi'inǎ
mǎǎ
mǎǎntǎ
mǎrǎ
mǎgǎ
mǎ'u
mǎ'ǎ
mǎrǎ

to wriggle
to accumulate
to pile
to touch
to swell
to uproot
to throw (into the mouth)
to sprout
to immerse

n

nǎ
nǎ
nǎngǎ
nǎrǎ
nwe
nǎ'ǎ
nǎg+tǎ
nǎrǎ
n+tǎ
n+tǎ
nǎ

to ignore
to snub
to repair
to stretch out (the 1
legs)
to melt
to nag
to hasten up sme (of)
body)
to stretch (the body)
to trample
to put
to drink

nǎ'ǎ
nǎ'ǎsǎ
nǎnǎ
nǎ'ǎ
nǎ'ǎ
nǎngǎ
nǎngǎ
nǎngǎ
nǎ'ǎ
nǎ'ǎ
nǎrǎ

to press
to sight
to crowd
to lie down
to suck
to lay down
to suckle
to crush
to season
to stench
to groan.

n

gǎngǎ
gǎ'ǎ
gwǎng kǎ
gwǎ'ǎ
gwǎ'ǎnǎ
gyǎ
gyǎrǎ
gyǎ
gyǎ

to creep
to open
to glitter
to spark
to write
to pinch
to stir
to lift
to lay bare

gyǎ
gyǎsǎ
gyǎ'ilǎ
gyǎ'isǎ
gyǎtǎ
gyǎ'trǎsǎ
gyǎǎ
gyǎtǎ
gyǎ'tsǎ
n + s

to excrete
to tickle
to drizzle
to imitate
to light up (a fire)
to handle with care
to smile
to wind round
to raise the shoulders.
to raise the

s

sǎǎ

to push aside

sǎgǎ

to point at

sà'á	to dislodge	s+gǎ	to descend
sá'á	to judge	s+ǎ	to stain
sà'è	to thin out	s+ǎ	to to feel ceel
sǎgǎ	to spread out	sǎgǎ	to sift
sǎǎ	to dry	s	to scatter
sǎǎnǎ	to melt	s	to cout
sǎǎ	to split		
sǎǎ	to carry a child (with its legs astride)		
sǎǎnǎ	to disperse	sǎǎ	to slice
sǎǎnsǎ	to multiply	sǎ to pierce	
sǎntǎ	to straighten	swǎǎ	to say
swǎ	to suck in	sǎ	sneak away
swǎǎnsǎ	to hang down	sǎnsǎ	to sue
swǎǎnsǎ	to crucify	sǎǎ	to castrate
swǎ'í	to pull out in strands	sǎǎnsǎ	to tentclize
swǎ'í	pump air	sǎ'í	to insert
sǎǎ	to conceal	sǎǎ	to pull off
		swǎ	to borrow as a habit.

sh

shwǎ	to sieze	shǎ'í	to hiccup
shwǎǎ	to dangle	shǎ	to send out air
shwǎǎǎ	to dirty	shǎǎ	to bellow
shwǎǎǎ	to harpen	shǎǎ+lǎ	to struggle
shwǎtǎ	to reduce	shǎǎ+tǎ	to provoke
shwǎ	to poke	shǎǎǎ	to pull
shǎ'í	to wash	shǎǎnǎ	to contest
shwǎ'í	to pour	shǎǎǎ	to drink (a large quantity)
shwǎ'ínǎ	to come out in a lump		

t

tǎ	to kick	ti'ínǎ	to slide
tǎǎ	to rank	tínǎ	to cut
tǎǎnsǎ	to put across	twǎ	to crack (nuts)
tǎǎ+lǎ	to struggle	twǎ'í	to peel
tǎǎǎ	to be resistant	twǎǎ	to postpone
tǎǎǎ	to price	twǎtǎ	to
tǎǎǎ'	to deny	tǎnsǎ	to hold still
tǎǎǎ'+	to destroy	tǎǎnǎ	to fether
tǎǎǎ'nǎnǎ	to conspire	tǎǎ	to stand
tǎǎǎ		tǎǎǎ	to reward
tǎǎǎnshǎ	to frown	tǎǎ fight	to fight
tǎǎǎ	to occupy space (untidily)	tǎǎ	to send
tǎǎtǎ	to pack, arrange	tǎǎnsǎ	to punge
tǎ'á	to churn	tǎǎǎ	to dig

té'f	to sort out	tó'gtə	string together
té'f'	to set upright/ stand	tótə	to indoctrinate
té'f'sə	to mortgage	twó'gə	to read,
twé'f	to cook (for a long time)	twó'gə	to call
twé'f'	to twist	tó'gə	to burn
tii	to push	tó'gə	to hoot
tó'gnə	to shrill	tí'u	to refuse
tó'g'	to wedge	tú'mə	to shoot
tó'g'nə	to resolve	tú'ngə	to bend down
tú	to spit	tú'ú	to fetch (sth.liquid)
tú	to pay	twín'ə	to bury

ts

tsáà	to chew	tsi'í	to decorate
tsáà-tswigə	to sigh	tswí	to sit
tsábə	to invigil	tswikún	to name
tsá'f'	to disrespect	tswínə	to have
tsá'f'	to be restless	tswírə	to drip.
tsá'f'tə	to greet	tswísə	to coax
tswá'	to hold	tswí'itə	to take a handful.
tswáà	to cleave	ts+ə	to fetch (wood)
tswágə	to bedraggle	ts+gə	to shake
tswá'f'	to donate	ts+gə	to wipe
tswínə	to cease	ts+mə	to stop crying
tswá'f'tə	to be smart	ts+ntə	to make somethin round
tsyě	to press	ts+rə	to fill up (a hole)
tsyəsə	to escort	ts+rə	to grow (wild)
tsétə	to chop	tsó'g-nə	to circumcise
tswé'f'	to flirt	tsèrə	to decide
tswé'bə	to snatch	tsó	to go fetch (water)
tswérə	to boast	tsó	to perish
tsé'f'kwə	to bet	tsó'f'	to peck
tsíi	to wait (for a long time)	tsó'kə	to dwindle
tsikə	to take courage	tsó'gə	to sex
tsínə-ntswí	to set upright	tsó'g'nə	to hop
tsí sə	to rectify	tsó'f'sə	to pull out, wrench
tsítə	to hush	tsú	to borrow
tsítə	to shut	tsúrə	to damp, to stip
tsúgə	to pound	tsú'kə	to be wayward
tsúmənə	to confer (with each other)	tsú'kə	to lag

tsuntə	to to whisper	tsu'ə	to rattle
sú'ə	to knot	tsu'á	to wash.

W

rá	to slaughter	wyě	to laugh
rəgəə	to shove	wá'ě	to wear
rərə	to overtake	winə	to tatoo
rə'á	to ponder, brood over	wi'ínə	to awake
rə'ətə	to remeber	wyó	to fall, fail.

Y

rá	to carry(shoulder- high)	yəgə	to learn
rāá	to scatter	yəgətə	to lean with the back again
rāgə	to pain	yəgə	to tilt
rə'ə	to become light	yərə	to steal
yərə	to select	yə'ə	to cry.
yətə	to distribute	yə'ə	to yawn
yə'ə	to sweep	ywérə	to boo at
kə	to pull off	yóo	to become dry
yi'i	to go over	yəgə	to follow
ywii	to spin	yə'ə	to itch
ywii	to whistle	yəbə	to wail
ywiinə	to revive	yəgə	to quarrel
ywintə	to bribe	yərə	to burble
ywigtə	to try	yərə	to whilher
ywi'i	to reach	yə'ə	to to marry, appoint
ywi'itə	to taste	yúu	to buy
y+gə	to press down	yú'+ná	to obey
y+gə	to be grip	yú'á	to hear
y+nə	to be selfish	yú'á	to hear
yə'ə	to sing	yú'+tə	to wait
yə'ə	to wake up somebody	yú'útə	to listen.

Zh

zhə	to see	zhügə	to speed
zhí	to know	zhügə	to roast
zhí	to come	zhüsə	to convalesce
zh+rə	to swell(after death)	zhwi	to breath
zh+'nə	to hesitete	zhwitə	to kill

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIBALD A. Hill(ed) - 1975- Linguistics, Voice of America
forum lectures, 317PP.

Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale: Atlas Linguistique du

Cameroun (inventaire préliminaire)- 1983,- CERDOTOLA-DGRST

Yaoundé, 475PP.

- CHAFE Wallace - 1970 - Meaning and the structure of Language,
University of Chicago Press Lts PP
- COOK A Watter - 1979 - Case Grammar: Development of the Matrix Model (1970-1978))
Georgetown University Press, U.S.A. PP
- DIK C. Simon - 19 - Functional Grammar,
- GREENBERG Joseph - 1955 - Studies in African Linguistic Classification, New Haven,
The Compass Publishing Company, 116 PP.
- GROZIER David, (ed), A Forlem, T. Numfor - 1980 - How to read and write the Bafut
(preliminary edition)- SIL -Yaounde, 59PP.
- GUARISMA Glady, Gabriel NISSIM, Jan VOORHOEVE:(eds)- 1982-Le verbe Bantou,
Paris: SELAF, PP
- GUTHRIE Malcolm -1948- The Classification of Bantu Languages, London: International
African Institute PP
- GUTHRIE Malcolm -1967-Comparative Bantu, Vol 1 Gregg Press Ltd, LondonPP
- GUTHRIE Malcolm-1971- Comparative Bantu:- An Introduction to Comparative Linguistics
and a Pre-history of Bantu Languages; Vol 2, Gregg Press Ltd
London
- HOWARD Jackson-1980 Analyzing English: An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics,
Pergamon Press, London
- HYMAN Larry -1981-Noni Grammatical structure: with Special reference to verb
morphology SCOPIE 9à 121PP
- KOELLE Sgismund -1963-Polyglotta Africana, Printed in Austria
- LEFMANN P. Winfred - 1975 - Descriptive Linguistics, A Introduction Austin,
Texas - 339 PP.
- LEROY Jacqueline-1977-Morphologie et Classes Nominales en Mankon(Cameroun)-Paris:
Bibli SELAF 61-62, 196 PP.
- LEROY Jacqueline-1980-"The Nemba group: Mankon, Bagangu, Mundum I, Bafut Nkwen,
Bambui Pinyin Awing" in L'Expansion bantoue, Paris: SELAF;
(n° special 9) -Vol. 1 PP. 111.141
- LEROY Jacqueline-1982"Extensions en Mankon" in Le Verbe Bantou-Paris: SELAF,
PP 125-138.
- MARCKVARDT H. Albert-1975-"Linguistics and Instruction in Native Language" in
Linguistics, Archibald Hil (ed) Voice of America Forum
Lectures, PP. 131-143
- MFOONYAM Joseph -1982-Tone in the Orthography of Bafut- 3e Cycle Dissertation,
University of Yaounde, PP
- MOSKEY T. Stephen-1979- Semantic structures and Relations in Dutch: An Introduction
to case Grammar, Georgetown University Press, U.S.A.
- NGWA E Nebesine-1982- A rural Geographical Study of the Bafut Chiefdom: For the
village Community Project, G.U.E.R.D, Younde, PP
- POSTRAL Paul- 1967- Constituent Structure: A study of Contemporary models of
syntactic Description -Bloomington, R-C-I-SO 122PP

- TADADJEU Maurice, Etienne SADEMOUO (edp -1979-General Alphabet of Cameroon Language
Yaounde, DLAL (PROPELCA), 31PP
- TESNIERE Lucien-19 Eléments de syntaxe structurale
- GHOSH P. Robert-1960- Good English: Spoken and Written, D.C.Bose-Bankim Chatterjee
Street, Calcutta-12 PP
- GLEASON, A. Henry- 1955- An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, New York,
Holt Rinehart and Winston, 503PP.
- WARNIER Jean-Pierre, Paul N NCHOJI -1982- Elements for a History of the Western
Grassfields, Department of Sociology,
University of Yaounde, -SOPEC.M-236PP
- WIESEMANN Ursula-1981 "Native Speaker Reaction and the Development of writing
systems for Unwritten Languages" in Cahier du Département de
Langues Africaines et Linguistique N°.1-FLSH-Universite de
de Yaounde -PP. 29-43.
- WIESEMANN Ursula, Etienne SADEMOUO, Maurice TADADJEU-1983- Guide Pour le Développement
des systèmes d'écriture des Langues Africaines, SIL, Yaounde 220

Brief Guide for the