Bakweri Verb Morphology

By
Ann Katherine Hawkinson
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Abstract

This thesis has two objectives. The first is informational. Bakweri, the language studied, is an unwritten Bantu language spoken in Cameroon in West Africa. It is hoped that the data described will contribute to our understanding of Bantu grammatical structure in general and provoke further research into the processes of semantic differentiation and diachronic development in these languages.

The second goal of this dissertation is to demonstrate the value of certain theortical constructs in the analysis of language. The concepts of interest are those of *meaning,* as opposed to *message*, and *system, substance,* and *value*. *Meaning* is defined as "the information which a linguistic form conveys in any and all instances of its use". *Message* is that idea or notion which is *inferred* from the use of a particular *meaning* in a given context. *Meanings* cannot be understood in isolation from one another: they acquire their *value* through semantic opposition to other *meanings* in a given semantic *system*. The grammar of a language consists of a number of different *systems,* each of which conveys information concerning a given semantic *substance*, such as time, focus, person, number, etc. Within each *system* there are different forms which signal different *values* of the *substance* classified. So, for example, **plural** in the system of number in a language which has no **dual** means more than one. In a language which does exihibit **dual** this is not necessarily the case; **plural** may mean only more than two. By analyzing

Bakweri verb morphology using these theoretical constructs, it becomes possible to explain instances of synchronic semantic differentiation which might otherwise appear unmotivated.

Bakweri exhibits characteristics found throughout Bantu languages: namely, an extensive system of noun classification and complex agglutinative verb morphology. It is the latter which is the focus of interest in this dissertation. However, to provide the reader with the necessary linguistic background to interpret examples given throughout the text, the noun class system and the phonology of the language are briefly described (Chapters 3 and 4). Chapter 1 provides language classification information, while Chapter 2 describes the theoretical orientation, cf. above. Chapters 5-11 cover various aspects of the verb. They are described here briefly.

Chapter 5 provides a description the basic structure of verb roots in the language, as well as dicussions of root types which constitute exceptions to the general patterns observed. Chapter 6 focuses upon the system of verbal concord prefixes which refer to different noun classes found in the language. It also contains a discussion of passive constructions. Chapters 7 and 8 contain descriptions of verbal derivational suffixes used to signal information about roles which entities involved in events play. Chapter 9 treats reflexive constructions. Chapter 10 describes tense and aspect affixes in affirmative verbs; Chapter 11 treats the same for negative verbs. In conclusion, Chapter 12 reviews the analytical questions raised by the phenomena described in preceding chapters and suggests avenues for further research.

Dedications

This thesis is dedicated to three people, each of whom has special significance for me.

First and foremost, it is dedicated to my mother, Jane, in recognition and deepest appreciation of her loving support for whatever I choose to do in my life.

It is also dedicated to my father, Don, who always wanted me to go to graduate school. I am sorry that he was not here to see it happen, and to share with me in the joy of completion.

And finally, it is dedicated to one of my students, Carrie Hansen, whose recent meeting with death reminded me just how precious life is...at a time when I risked forgetting.

Acknowledgements

The writing of this dissertation has been facilitated and supported by a number of different people throughout my graduate studies, and subsequent to them. Each has contributed in a different way, and I would like to acknowledge each and every one of them personally for their support and encouragement of my work. For anyone whom I do not mention specifically, I hope that they will forgive the omission.

First and most importantly, I would like to convey great appreciation to my principal informant, Mr. Martin Musonge, for his patience and persistence during our work together. Clearly, without him, this thesis would not have been possible. Special thanks belong also to my secondary informant, Ms. Mary Eposi Westbrook, in particular for her willingness to work with me in the collection of texts and in providing me additional time to gather material on short notice.

Of great importance in another way, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Larry Hyman. He encouraged my early interest in Bantu linguistics and supported all my work in this area. It was he who made it possible for me to undertake the research project during which I gathered the data upon which this thesis is based, and encouraged me to develop it into my doctoral dissertation. I suspect that it would never have come to be were it not for his support and direction when I needed it. His comments on earlier versions of the text also helped me achieve a greater clarity and cohesion in presentation.

I would also like to convey my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Robert Kirsner for his support and encouragement of my interest in the Form-Content

approach to linguistic analysis from which my theoretical orientation derives. His comments on an earlier version of this thesis were invaluable in helping me refine my analyses of various grammatical structures. They also guided me in changing certain aspects of presentation to facilitate the accessability of the material covered to non-Bantuists.

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Although not directly involved with the content of this dissertation,

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writing an earlier version of this thesis while I was living with them; my friends and colleagues during my graduate studies, in particular, my dearest friend Piyale Cömert; my friends and colleagues at the Experiment in International Living, in particular, Claire Stanley. A final thanks is due to the makers of the Macintosh at Apple Computer; without them, the writing of this dissertation would have been much more time-consuming and painful.

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0.0 Introduction

0.1 Goals

Bakweri is a Bantu language spoken in West Cameroon around Mount Cameroon, cf. Figure 1.1, p. 5. It is an unwritten language, with no established orthography or complete grammatical description available. The primary goal of this study is to record information about the language which might be of use to researchers and students of the language, as well as to native speakers who are interested in studying their language.

A secondary goal of this thesis is to provide, wherever possible, semantic characterizations for the linguistic structures examined. This aim stems from the following assumptions which I hold about the purpose of linguistic analysis:

The inventory of grammatical forms in a language is finite. Yet, it is used by speakers to convey an infinite number of meaningful messages. A linguistic analysis is explanatorily adequate to the degree that it can demonstrate how a finite set of forms is used to express an infinite variety of messages. This can be achieved with an examination of grammatical forms in terms of their individual semantic contributions to the utterances in which they are used, and an analysis of how these meanings are exploited in different contexts to express particular messages.

The semantic analyses set forth in this thesis are intended to provide an orienting framework for working with the Bakweri language according to these assumptions. It is hoped that they will be of interest to Bantuists working with related languages, as well as to individuals studying Bakweri itself.

0.2 Background

Most of the material upon which this study is based was collected from Mr. Martin Musonge, a native speaker of Bakweri, as part of a research project undertaken by myself and a colleague, Ken Stallcup, in Los Angeles, California in 1979. The project received funds from the Grassfields Bantu Working Group, supported by the National Science Foundation grant number BNS76-81261 and administered by Larry Hyman at the University of Southern California. A lesser amount of material was gathered from work with Mary Eposi Westbrook, also a native speaker of the language. This material was collected during a field methods class offered at the University of California, Berkeley in 1978 under the direction of Charles Fillmore, and during private sessions conducted in 1985. She provided the texts included in Appendices V and VI (pp. 273-87).

0.3 Organization

Chapter 1 of this thesis contains information about where Bakweri is spoken and how it is linguistically classified. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical orientation underlying the analyses presented in the chapters treating individual affixes. Chapters 3 and 4 describe Bakweri phonology and noun morphology respectively. This material is intended to facilitate the reader's understanding of phonological and grammatical features of the language which are not the main focus of this study.

This rest of the material presented in this thesis is organized into chapters which focus on different parts of the verb. For this reason, it is useful to provide an overall schema for Bakweri verb morphology here.

The verb in Bakweri is agglutinative in structure where different affixes are attached to a verb root. Affixes are prefixal and suffixal; there are no infixes. When all are present, they occur in the configuration shown below. Instances where all are present in one verb are relatively rare. Examples of more common configurations are provided in Appendix IV (pp. 264-272).

Subject Prefix	Tense/Aspect Prefix	Object Prefix	Reflexive Prefix	VERB ROOT	Derivational Suffix	Passive Suffix	Tense Suffix/ Final Vowel

Chapter 5 presents information about the verb roots to which the affixes are attached. Subsequent chapters discuss the various affixes in the following sequence:

Chapter 6 - Concord Prefixes (Subject and Object)

Chapter 7 - Derivational Suffixes isE, EIE, and ea

Chapter 8 - Derivational Suffixes n and EnE

Chapter 9 - Reflexive Affixes

Chapter 10 - Affirmative Tense/Aspect Affixes

Chapter 11 - Negative Tense/Aspect Affixes

Each affix will be discussed with respect to three aspects:

i. Form: Phonological realizations of the affix.

ii. Messages: The different messages which are expressed using the affix, cf. 2.1-2, pp. 11-14.

iii. Meaning: The central semantic contribution which each affix makes to every utterance where it occurs, cf. 2.1-5, pp. 11-18.

Chapter 12 provides concluding remarks about the material presented in preceding chapters.

Throughout discussions of various aspects of verb morphology in Bakweri, certain abbreviations are used to simplify reference to particular verb affixes. They are:

Subject Prefix - SP

Object Prefix - OP

Tense Prefix - TP

Tense Suffix - TS

Aspect Prefix - AP

Reflexive Prefix - RP

Derivational Suffix - DS

Passive Suffix - PS

Final Vowel - FV

Floating Tones -FT

1.0 The Bakweri Language

1.1 Bantu Languages

Bantu languages are spoken throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. In Cameroon alone over 130 Bantu languages are spoken. They are characterized by an agglutinative grammatical structure which includes an extensive system of noun classification. Most of them are register tone languages, where different syllables are pronounced at different steady pitch levels.

1.2 Bakweri Speakers

Bakweri, called **Mokwe** or **Vakwe** by native speakers, is a Bantu language spoken by people living on the southern and western slopes of Mount Cameroon, see Figure 1.1. According to an 1956 estimate (Bryan, 1959), there were approximately 15,000 speakers at that time.

Bakweri speakers live in a number of towns and small villages. Their locations are indicated in bold in Figures 1.2 and 1.3.[1] When looking at Bakweri-speaking communities located in traditional Bakweri territory, it is important to distinguish those which have homogenous populations which speak Bakweri as a first language from those where there has been an influx of speakers of other languages, and where Bakweri is now only one of several languages used. Towns like Buea, Muea, Soppo, Ekona, Victoria, Tiko, and Mutengene are of the mixed type (Kuperus, 1985: personal communication).

The economy of the area where Bakweri is spoken is subsistence and plantation agriculture. The main crops are bananas, rubber, palm oil and

tea. The towns of Tiko and Victoria are seaports. Victoria is also a commercial area which is becoming a resort area as well. Buea was the former adminstrative capital of the West Cameroon.

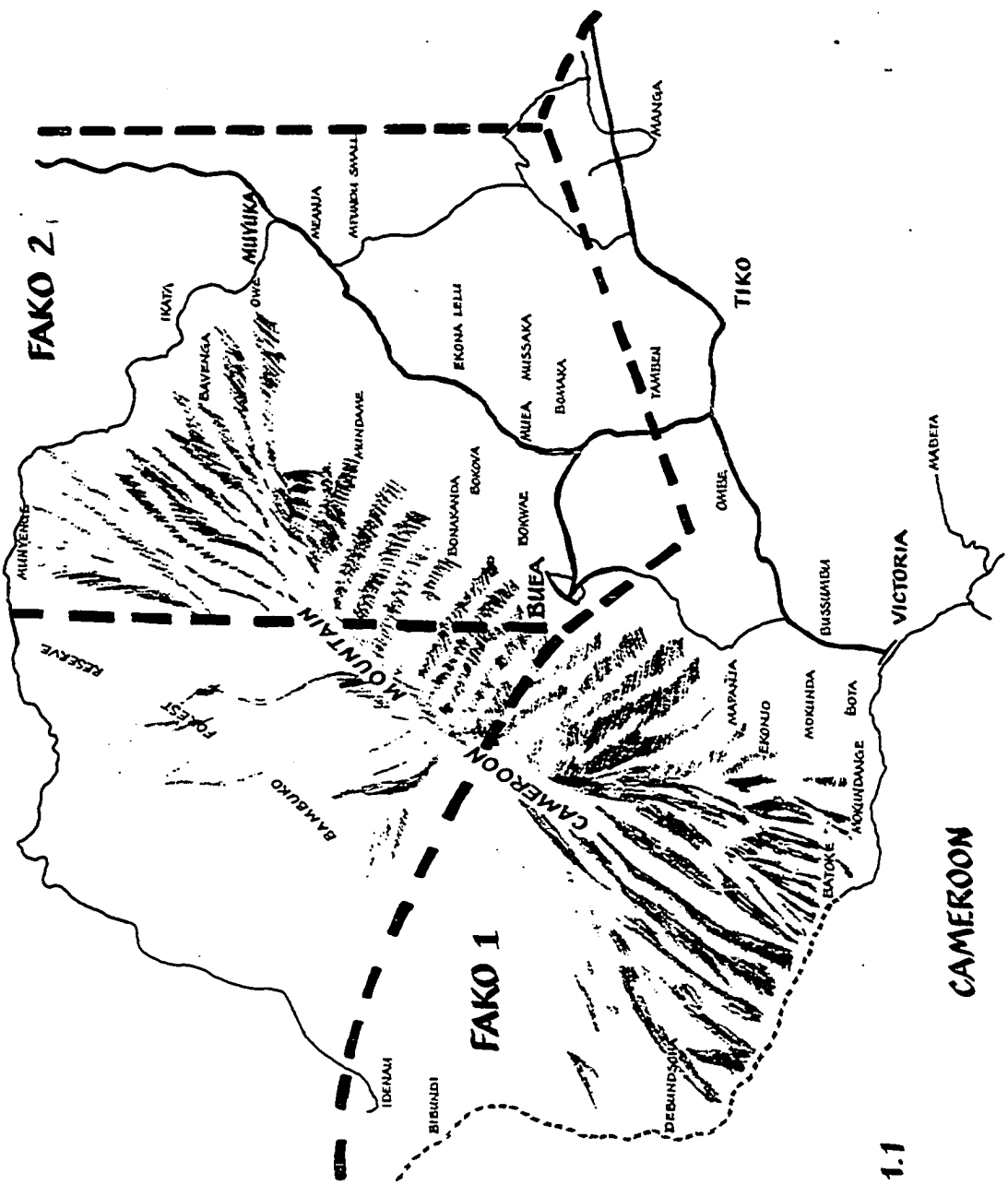
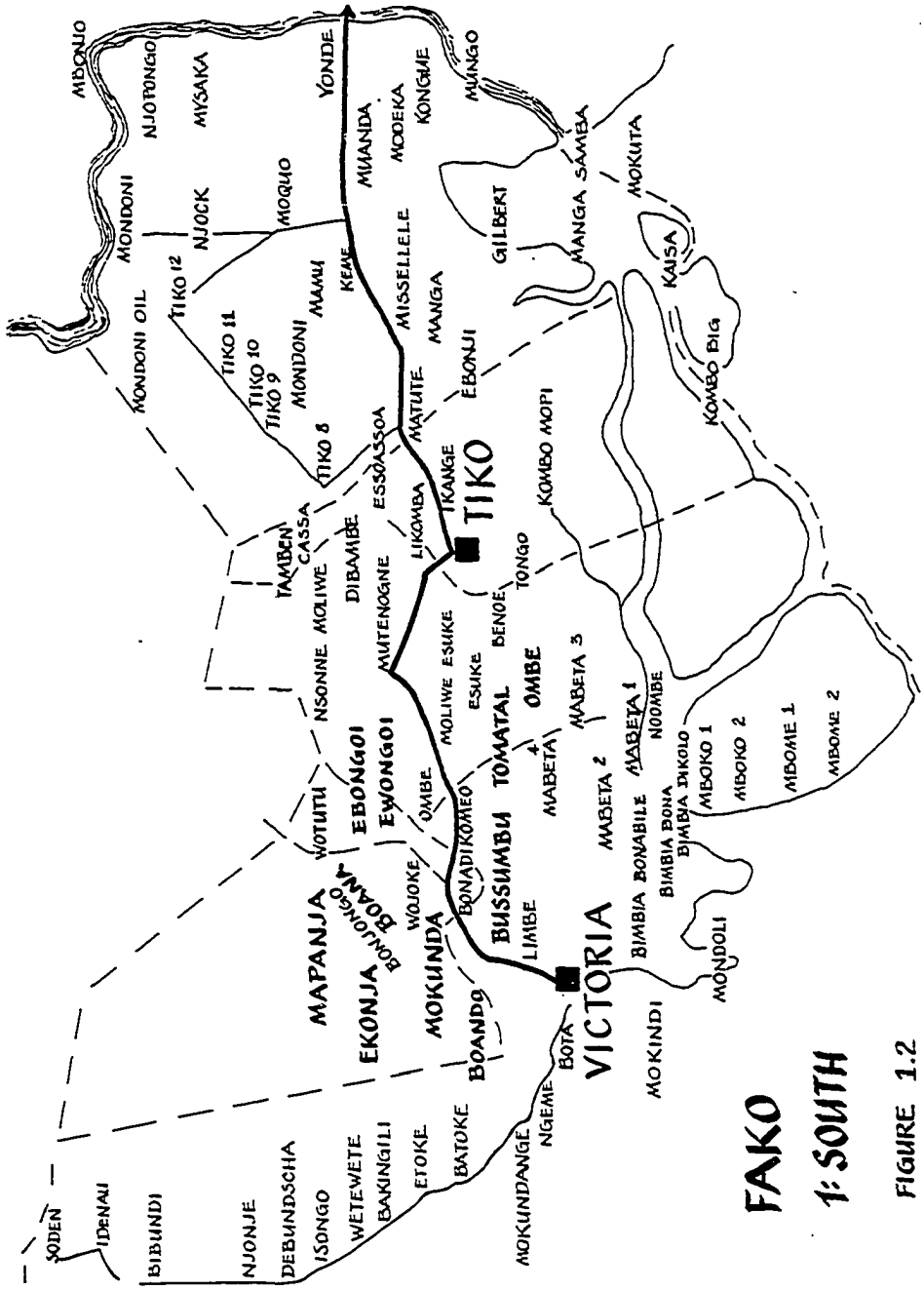


FIGURE 1.1



FAKO

1: SOUTH

FIGURE 1.2

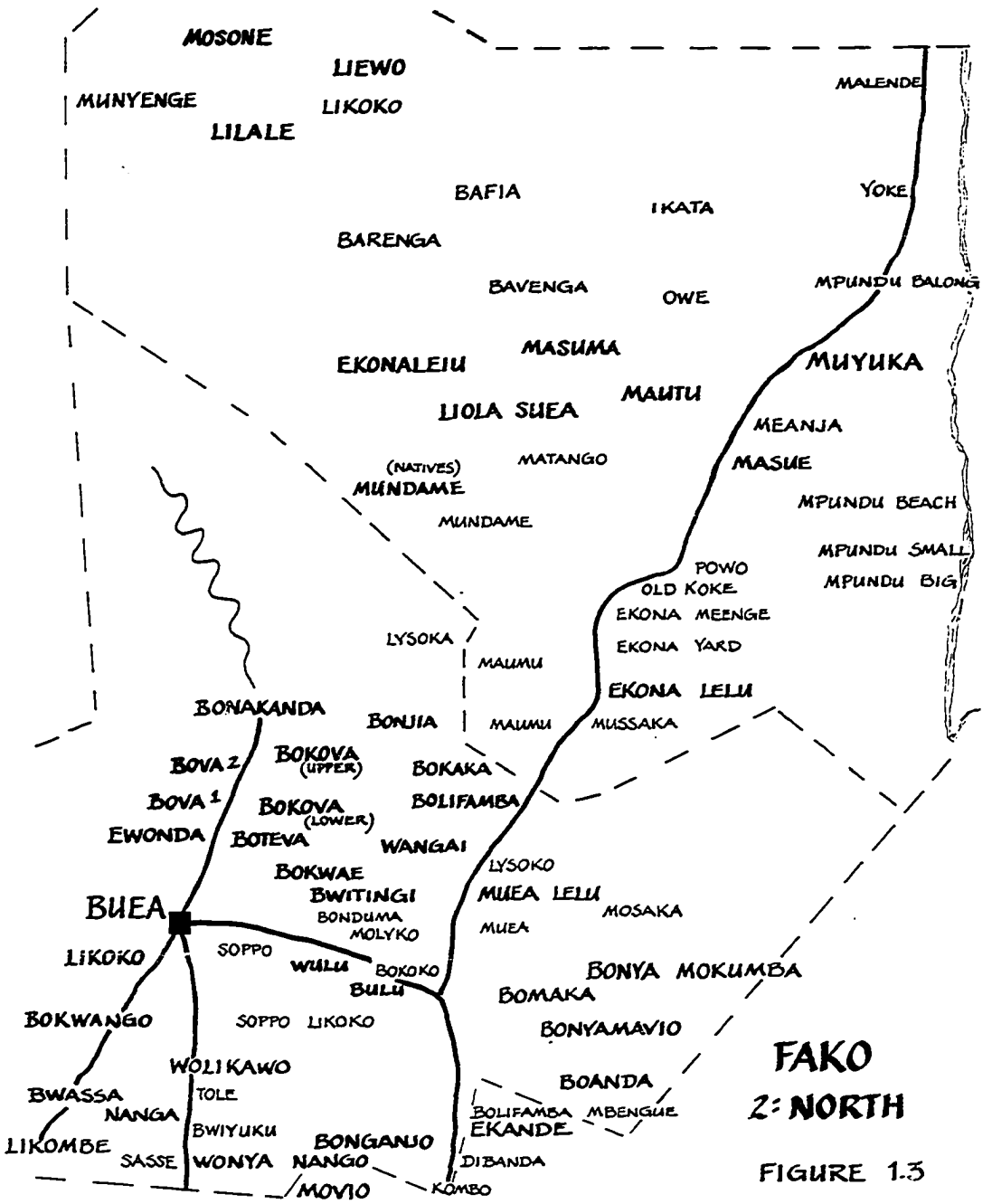


FIGURE 1.3

1.2 Linguistic Classification

Bakweri, also referred to by various analysts of the language as Bakwiri (Lorch, 1958), Baakpe (Guthrie, 1953) and Kpe (Ardener, 1956), has been genetically classified (Guthrie, 1953) as part of the northwestern group of Bantu languages, Zone A. According to Guthrie, it belongs to the Duala group of languages, A 20. This group consists of the following languages:

A 21 Mboko

A 22 Bakwiri

A 23 Isubu, Wimbia

A 24 Duala

A 25 Wuri, Ewodi

A 26 Pongo, Mungo

A 27 Malimba

Of these languages, Bakwiri is most similar to Mboko, but further subclassification studies show that both these languages have a very close linguistic relationship to languages classified in a neighboring subgroup of Zone A, the Lundu-Mbo group, A 10 (Kuperus, 1979). However, our informant, Mr. Martin Musonge confirms that both Mboko (A 21) and Isubu (A 22) are intelligible to Bakweri speakers and more recent lexico-statistical studies still include Bakwiri in a separate group of languages with Duala (Breton and Dieu, 1985: 23).

2.0 Theoretical Considerations

2.1 Inference

Language is finite. That is, all languages consist of a limited set of grammatical and lexical elements. While the total lexical inventory of a language contains more members than can be remembered by any one human speaker, the grammatical component consists of a much smaller set, which is easily retained by the human mind. Somehow, when this finite grammar is used in conjunction with items from an individual's personal lexical inventory, people are able to communicate and understand an infinite number of unique messages. *Inferencing* (Bialystok: 1983) is the cognitive strategy which allows people to *infer* things beyond what is actually stated; the following two examples illustrate (Kirsner, 1980: 93):

	Inference
My dog brought me my slippers.	(in its mouth)
My son brought me my slippers.	(in his hand)

In these two examples, information is inferred beyond what is actually described using the grammatical and lexical elements of which the utterances are composed. In this instance, the resulting *message* is a complex inference, based on the meanings of the grammatical and lexical elements in the sentence and considered in the context of real world possibilities, i.e. people usually bring things in their hands while dogs do not.

2.2 Meaning and Message

In the following chapters, a distinction will be made between the *meaning* of a grammatical morpheme and the *messages* which that morpheme is used to convey. The *meaning* of a morpheme is defined as the semantic information which is consistently associated with it when it is used, regardless of the context in which it is used. So for example, the meaning of the morpheme <bring> is something like "movement of something toward something else". There is no specification of the means of movement. The means of movement is something which is inferred from the context in which the word is used; it is not signalled by <bring> itself. The *message* of a morpheme is context specific. It consists of the totality of the communication, inferred from the meaning of the linguistic element plus information from the context in which it is used. Another way to distinguish *meanings* and *messages* has to do with their precision: *Meanings* are relatively imprecise, while *messages* are more precise. The precision of messages is due to the fact that people "fill in", i.e. *infer*, details for themselves, based on the context and situation in which a particular utterance is used. In the remainder of this chapter and in chapters that follow MEANINGS will be written with capital letters and "messages" will be enclosed in quotation marks.

Context is used broadly here. It includes both real world information, such as in the preceding examples, as well as the meanings of other linguistic items used in conjunction with the item under consideration. So, to continue with the same examples, the fact that the "bringing" occurred in the past is not signalled by the morpheme <bring> but rather, it is signalled by the past tense form of the verb.

The preceding examples illustrate how the message conveyed by a

particular lexical item is more specific than its meaning. Or, to state it another way, they show that the meaning of a linguistic form is less precise than the message it is used to convey in a particular context. This imprecision of meanings is also observed for grammatical elements in a language. So the following examples illustrate how the messages conveyed with the English grammatical morpheme BE...ING are more precise than its meaning.

Form	Meaning	Example	Message
BE...ING	NON-PAST, POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT	I'm going tomorrow.	"Event happening after moment of speaking.
		Don't interrupt me, I'm reading.	"Event happening at the moment of speaking.

In both of these examples, the event described does not happen in the past, and its occurrence has not ended. In one case, the event has not yet occurred, hence, part of its meaning is postulated as one of POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT rather than as actual or completed development. The real time reference in both examples is also different: in one instance, the event is occurring at the moment of speaking; in the other, at some future time. Hence, its meaning is not "future" or "present". Its meaning is more imprecise than "present" or "future"; the notion of NON-PAST is intended to capture this imprecision. The messages of "future" and "present" are inferred from the context in the following way: In the first example the lexical meaning DAY AFTER DAY OF SPEAKING of the word "tomorrow" establishes a future context, and so "futurity" is inferred. In the second example, real world knowledge about what the speaker is doing while speaking, i.e. s/he has a book in her/his hand, will cue the inference of "present".

The preceding examples illustrate another distinction between meanings and messages. Messages are much more detailed than meanings. Meanings are less precise. They are in fact abstractions, intended to capture the semantic essence of a linguistic form, independent of particular details or nuances inferred from the context where it occurs.

2.3 Lexical and Grammatical Meaning

Lexical meanings in language differ from *grammatical meanings* in terms of their *referentiality*. In general, they designate to things which are perceived to exist in the world, actions, objects, qualities, concepts, etc. In this way, they are seen to have specific *referents*. Grammatical meanings are not referential in the same way. In addition, they cannot be used alone; they always co-occur with lexical items, and provide additional information about the referent of that item. So for example, BE...ING provided information about the time and nature of the occurrence of the event of <bring> in the first examples used in this discussion. Alone, BE...ING conveys very little. <bring>, on the other hand, does trigger an image of the action of "bringing", even if uttered alone.

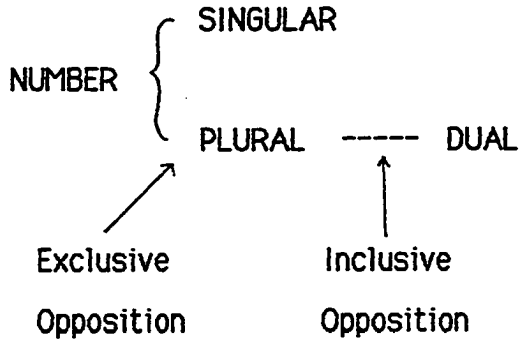
2.4 Semantic Oppositions

Grammatical meanings differ from lexical meanings in another way: they occur in semantically related groups which are more tightly interrelated than lexical elements (Garcia, 1975: 46). Such sets of semantically related grammatical elements form systems which provide exhaustive classifications of particular semantic substances, such as person, number, time, etc. (Kirsner, 1978: 30). Their number of members is fixed, and the meanings of the members are oppositional. So for example, the substance of NUMBER is covered in English by an opposition between SINGULAR and PLURAL.

Oppositions in grammatical systems are not necessarily binary. So for example, in a language with dual and trial person forms, such as Arabic, the system contains three members (SINGULAR, DUAL, PLURAL) and the choice of one is determined by looking among three meanings to find the one most appropriate to the situation. The notion of "most appropriate" refers to the oppositional relationship obtained between members of a single grammatical system: the choice of one member in a particular situation is determined in part by the inappropriateness of other members in the set. So for example in Arabic, SINGULAR may only be used when the item being described is not PLURAL or DUAL.

Different types of semantic oppositions exist in language. An oppostion may be exclusive, where the meaning of one member does not overlap with the meaning of another, such as in the opposition between SINGULAR and PLURAL in English. The meanings are in fact mutually exclusive; something which is singular cannot be plural. An opposition may also be inclusive, where the meaning of one member includes that of another. This is seen in the Arabic system of NUMBER where PLURAL can

be used to describe instances of two, as well as instances of more than two. Here then, we see that some members of the Arabic set are in oppositions of inclusion while others are in oppositions of exclusion:



In oppositions of exclusion, speakers are often forced to use one member of the oppositon because the other is inappropriate, i.e. what is singular is not plural. In oppositions of inclusion on the other hand, speakers have more of a choice. One member is more general, i.e. less precise, than another, but both may be used in certain circumstances. So in Arabic, when a speaker is describing two entities, s/he may choose to use the more precise meaning of DUAL or a less precise one of PLURAL. This choice will depend upon her/his communicative purposes, i.e. how precise s/he wants to be.

2.5 Semantic Systems, Substance, and Value

Grammatical forms signal semantic information. The *substance* of the meaning is the semantic content itself. So for instance, the substance of NUMBER was discussed in 4.4. Languages may have grammatical forms concerned with the same substance; for example, Arabic and English both have forms signalling meanings concerned with NUMBER. Languages may also have systems concerned with substances not found in other languages. So for instance Bakweri has a grammatical system of NOUN CLASSES which groups nouns into different grammatically distinguishable categories while English does not. In characterizing grammatical meanings then, it is necessary first to identify its semantic substance.

Grammatical forms in a language concerned with the same semantic substance form a *system* in which the substance is divided up among the different members. The forms together provide an exhaustive classification of the substance. This is another way in which grammatical and lexical meanings differ: lexical meanings do not always provide an exhaustive classification of semantic substance.

Different languages may divide up the semantic substance of a particular system differently. So we saw that Arabic divides up the substance of NUMBER among three members, while English divides it between two members. Therefore the identification of the semantic substance of a linguistic form is not alone a sufficient characterization of its meaning. In order to fully understand how it is used to communicate, it must be also be examined in terms of its relationship to other members in the same grammatical system. Its relationship to other members is called its *value*, and is defined system-internally (Garcia, 1975: 46).

2.6 Interlock

Grammatical forms may signal simultaneously meanings from more than one semantic system. So for example, most pronominal systems signal meanings from a system of NUMBER as well as meanings from a system of PERSON. The pronoun <me> in English signals meanings from three systems: it signals SINGULAR from the system of NUMBER; FIRST PERSON from the system of PERSON; and LOW PARTICIPANT from the system of PARTICIPANT ROLES, cf. 6.3: 78-79. When a speaker utters this word, a hearer knows (i) that there is one referent, (ii) that it is first person in reference, and (iii) that it is not the participant doing the action being talked about.

3.0 Phonology

3.1 Syllable Structure

The Bakweri sound system is composed of twenty consonants cf. 3.2: 23, and seven vowels cf. 3.3.1: 30. Syllables are open, composed of an optional initial consonant followed by a vowel: **(C)V**. Each syllable carries a tone cf. 3.4: 37. In this chapter and those that follow, all high tone syllables will be marked with (´). All unmarked syllables are low tone. Syllables marked (ˇ) have a rising tone, and those marked (ˆ) have a falling tone. Downstep is indicated with (ꜜ), cf. 3.4.3: 39.

As mentioned in 0.3: 3, Bakweri words are agglutinative in structure. They are composed of a root plus various affixes. Prefixes and suffixes occur; infixes do not occur.

3.1.1 Nouns

Most nouns consist of three syllables in their basic form, a prefix syllable plus two syllables in the root. Some prefixes are a single vowel while others have an initial consonant. So the basic syllable structure for most nouns may be represented as: **(C)V-CVCV**. Examples are:

li-wObÉ (pumpkin)

mo-ɱbáki (adult)

Most exceptions to this pattern can be accounted for through the diachronic loss of a consonant, or through (synchronic or diachronic) derivation from a root of the basic form. For example:

Diachronic Loss of Consonant:

mo-ána --> ngwána (child)

ána comes from Proto-Bantu ***yána** (Guthrie, 1967-71, Index A: 148), through a loss of the proto-consonant ***y**.

Derivation:

e-nyalí-nyali --> **enyalínyali** (bladder)

enyalínyali has been derived through reduplification from **nyali** which in turn comes from **mí-nyali** (urine).

mo-ókoe-li --> **moókoeli** (learner)

moókoeli is derived from **óko** (learn) through the addition of an agentive suffix **eli**.

3.1.2 Verbs

Most verb roots consist of a single syllable which begins and ends with a consonant. So the basic syllable structure for verbs can be represented as CVC. Examples are:

lángg (read)

til (write)

As with nouns, most exceptions can be accounted for through diachronic changes or derivation:

Diachronic Loss of Consonant:

íb (steal)

íb comes from Proto-Bantu ***yib** (Guthrie, 1967-71, Index A: 155), also through the loss of the Proto-consonant ***y**.

Derivation:

onggóIÉ (pack) derived from **ongg** (pack) + **IE** (facilitative). Today the verb **onggó** does not occur, but a form of **IE**, **EIE**, is still productive cf. 7.4: 10.

nÉnggama (be tilted) derived from **nÉngga** (tilt) + **ama** (stative). Today the verb **nÉngg** does not exist, and **ama** is no longer productive cf. 5.7.3: 67.

Various affixes are attached to the verb root in Bakweri. These are discussed in detail in Chapters 7-11.

3.2 Consonants

3.2.1 Consonantal Inventory

Bakweri has twenty consonant phonemes; they are shown in the Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1: BAKWERI CONSONANTS [2]

	Biliabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar
Voiced	v	l	j		gw
Voiceless	f	t	s	k	kw
Nasal	m	n	ny		ngw
Prenasalized	mb	nd	nj	ngg	nggw
Semivowels			y (y)		w (w)

3.2.2 Bilabial Consonants

The bilabial sounds **/f/** and **/v/** are fricatives produced by rounding the lips slightly and forcing air through the small opening remaining at the center, like blowing out a candle. Examples:

fót	(report)	**vav**	(sprinkle)
fef	(choose)	**vÉny**	(insult/abuse)
fik	(shut in)	**ví(a)** [3]	(know)
fánj	(jump)	**vend**	(plait)

The difference between **/f/** and **/v/** is sometimes difficult to perceive because **/f/** is usually voiced for its duration; it is only voiceless at its onset. Thus, phonetically it is like a combination of a voiceless and voiced bilabial fricative, i.e. **[fv]**. The degree to which **/f/** is voiced after its onset depends upon the context in which it occurs. So

there is less voicing when it occurs word initially, as in **fungúá** (mix), than when it occurs medially, as in **afá** (blaze/burn).[4]

/m/ is a nasal sound pronounced with the lips completely closed, with voicing. **/mb/** is the bilabial nasal coarticulated with a voiced bilabial stop **[b]**. The voiced bilabial stop does not occur in isolation in the language. Examples:

mEnÉ	(measure)	**mbóko**	(cripple)
mitá	(squeeze/press)	**mbEtE**	(kindling)
maÉzE	(twins)	**mbeze**	(youth)
mófo	(head)	**mbaki**	(cloud)

3.2.3 Alveolar Consonants

The alveolar sounds are all articulated with the tip of the tongue resting on the alveolar ridge. **/l/** is pronounced with the dorsal area of the tongue facing down. **/t/** is aspirated. Examples:

tán	(be ripe)	**lak**	(borrow/lend)
titó	(wipe)	**lEmb**	(hold/touch)
túm	(pluck/pick)	**lok(É)**	(believe)
tÓnd	(strip/peel)	**lÓngg**	(look)

3.2.4 Palatal Consonants

The palatal sounds are pronounced with the blade of the tongue resting on the front part of the hard palate, just behind the alveolar ridge. **/s/** and **/y/** are articulated without any contact between the tongue and the center of the hard palate. The contact occurs with the inner surface of the upper molars in the back of the mouth and the alveolar ridge nearer the front. **/s/** is pronounced with the tip of the tongue slightly retroflexed.

The affricate **/j/** is pronounced with an initial contact of the tongue and hard palate followed by a release with the tongue in the retroflexed **/s/** position. Examples:

sík	(grind/rub)	**ján**	(bring)	**yazá**	(peeling)
sás	(clear with machete)	**jO**	(laugh)	**yó**	(vomit)
sEs	(clear with shovel)	**jOlu**	(trunk)	**yázo**	(chin)

/s/, like **/f/**, is complicated in that it is only voiceless at its onset. Voicing begins somewhere during the middle of the segment. Hence its actual phonetic realization is more like a combination of a voiceless and voiced alveolar fricative, i.e. [sz]. Like **/f/**, the amount of actual voicing depends upon the context in which it occurs. However, since there is no voiced counterpart in phonemic opposition to it in the language, it often sounds more like [z] than [s] in contexts where voicing is more likely, i.e. medially.[5] In fact, Stallcup (1980: CONS-15) delineates a voicing hierarchy for **/s/** where it is least voiced initially, more voiced when occurring at the beginning of a word root and most voiced when found medially in a root:

Least Voiced --->	More Voiced --->	Most Voiced
sombo	**li-songgá**	**kOsi**
(baboon)	(tooth)	(midday)

/y/ often appears as a transition between vowels when the first of two co-occurring vowels is a front vowel. So for example, **meanggá** (kernals) may be pronounced **meyanggá.** This even occurs when the two vowels are the same; **mEEndi** (messages) may be realized as **mEyEndi.** In addition, **/y/** occurs as a result of a process of consonantalization (Stallcup, 1980: CONS-11). This happens under certain circumstances,

such as when the noun class prefix vowel **e**, cf. 4.2: 44, is affixed to a root beginning with a vowel.[6] In this context, the tendency of the language to have consonant initial syllables causes the initial prefix vowel to be raised to become a consonant. The high front vowel is replaced by its high front glide counterpart **/y/**:

e-óma --- yóma (thing)

e-OzO --- yOzO (leash)

This is only occurs when the root begins with a back vowel. Before front vowels, the prefix coalesces with the root initial vowel:

e-EKÉ --- EkÉ[7] (black hawk)

Although it does not occur as a transition consonant between vowels, the palatal affricate **/j/**, like the palatal glide **/y/**, also occurs as a result of consonantalization. This happens when the noun class prefix vowel **i** is attached to a root beginning with a vowel. Again the process is only observable before back vowels, and the vowel is raised to its consonantal counterpart **/j/**:

i-OkE --- jOkE (truth)

i-unggu --- junggu (mosquito)

3.2.5 Velar Consonants

The velar sounds are pronounced with the back of the tongue against the soft palate. **/k/** is aspirated. **/ngg/** is a velar nasal coarticulated with a voiced velar stop; it does not occur initially. Examples:

kek	(try/taste)	**vángga**	(hemp)
kOk	(calculate)	**ewánggi**	(wealth)

kú	(mock)	**mOtÓnggO**	(chigger)

Neither **/ng/** nor **/g/** occur in isolation in the language. Both **/k/** and **/ngg/** are slightly palatalized when followed by a front vowel.

3.2.6 Labiovelar Consonants

The labiovelar consonants are the most complex series of consonantal sounds in Bakweri. One reason for their complexity is that they exhibit a lot of variation in their actual pronounciation. Another reason is that, as their classfication indicates, they are formed with simultaneous articulations at the lips and at the velum. The velar closure is always complete, **[k]** or **[g]**, so that a stop component is always present. The labial closure may be either complete, **[p]** or **[b]**, or partial, **[w]**, or both. For this reason, the phoneme **/kw/** may be produced (and perceived) as either **[kw]**, **[kp]**, **[kpw]**, and the phoneme **/gw/** as **[gw]**, **[gb]**, or **[gbw]**. Examples:

kwány	(be crazy/mad)	**gwitó**	(story)
kwée	(enter)	**gwÉnggi**	(tapping)

For the prenasalized consonants, labial closure is almost always complete. Thus, the labiovelar nasal is almost always realized as **[ngmw]** and the prenasalized labiovelar as **[ngmgbw]**. Examples are:

ngwána	(child)	**nggwâ**	(dog)
ngwindi	(shore)	**nggwÉlÉ**	(spoon)

The labiovelar glide **/w/**, like its palatal counterpart, may occur as a transition between two vowels when the second is a back vowel. This

usually occurs when two high back vowels are juxtaposed. Examples are:

mo-anggá --->**mowanggá** (kernal)

mu-úlu ---> **muwúlu** (breath)

Like the palatals **/y/** and **/j/**, the labiovelar **/w/** occurs as a result of consonantalization. The simplest case occurs when the verbal subject concord prefix **o** is attached to a verb root beginning with the vowels a,E,e, or i, cf. 61.1: 69.

o-Én-E ---> **wÉnE.** "You will see."[8]

o-agw-a ---> **wagwa.** "You will climb."

/w/ also consonantalizes when the noun prefixes for noun classes 1, 3, and 14, cf. 4.2: 44, are attached to certain vowel-initial roots.[9] In these cases, the labiovelar consonants **/nggw/** and **/gw/** result. This occurs in the following way:

/nggw/: The basic prefix form for classes 1 and 3 is **mo**. When **/o/** is raised to become **/w/** through the process of consonantalization, the velar element of the **/w/** spreads back to the labial consonant of the prefix to create the labiovelar consonant (Stallcup, 1980: CONS-13):

Class 1: **mo-ána** ---> **nggwána** (child)

Class 3: **mo-Éli** ---> **nggwÉli** (moon)

/gw/: The basic prefix form for class 14 is **wo**. The **/w/** is articulated higher than the vowel **/o/**. When the **/o/** is raised to its consonantal counterpart, the relative difference in tongue height is maintained between **/o/** and **/w/**. This raising of **/w/** results in a velar closure which produces **/g/** (Stallcup, 1980: CONS-13):

Class 14: **wo-avá --- gwavá** (snake)

3.2.7 Nasalized Glides

Nasalized glides are found in a few words in Bakweri. They are:

nyuw̃e	(white hair)	**uw̃a**	(meet)
ów̃	(kill)	**w̃á̃**	(die)
yã̃	(give birth)	**tée̋**	(small)[11]
káw̃á	(potash)[10]		

In these words the glide consonant is strongly nasalized and the nasalization spreads to both preceding and following vowels. Nasal vowels do not occur anywhere else in the language, and this is one reason why there is no justification for assigning the nasality to the vowels rather than to the glides. Another evidence for the phonemic status of **/w/** is the following minimal triplicate (Stallcup, 1980: CONS-9,5):

uw (meet) **úngw** (stab) **úw** (be native to)

Because there are so few examples, the phonemic status of the nasalized glides in Bakweri is synchronically unclear. Hence, they are indicated in the chart in 3.2.1: 23 in parentheses.

3.3 Vowels

3.3.1 Vocalic Inventory

Bakweri has seven vowels, shown in Table 3.II below:

TABLE 2.II: BAKWERI VOWELS [12]

	Front		Back
High	i		u
High Mid	e		o
Low Mid	E		O
Low		a	

3.3.2 Vowel Quality

/i/ is a high front vowel, pronounced with the lips spread. **/u/** is a high back vowel, pronounced with the lips rounded. The vowel quality of these two high front vowels seems to be equivalent to that represented by the International Phonetic Alphabet symbols **[i]** and **[u]**. **/e/** and **/E/** are mid front vowels, also pronounced with the lips spread. **/o/** and **/O/** are mid back vowels pronounced with the lips rounded. **/E/** and **/O/** are pronounced somewhat higher than the vowels represented by [ɛ] and [ɔ] in the IPA; their quality appears to be in between the IPA sounds represented by [e,ɛ] and [o,ɔ]. **/a/** is a low central vowel, closer in quality to the sound represented by the IPA **[a]** than that represented by [ɑ]. Examples:

ík	(put/place)	úk	(arrive)
ék	(praise)	ók	(be sick)
Én	(see)	Ók	(bathe)
		ák	(pass)

Allophonic variation in the vowels is not noticeable. Rounding of back vowels increases in the environment of labials and sometimes causes particular vowels to sound like their higher counterpart, e.g. the difference between /O/ and /o/ becomes less apparent. /i/ is lowered somewhat in front of a nasal, sounding more like the IPA [I] than [i] (Kingston, 1979: 5).

3.3.3 Vowel Harmony

There is a system of vowel harmony in Bakweri which constrains the co-occurrence of certain types vowels within the word. Specifically, high mid vowels (/e/ and /o/) cannot co-occur with low mid vowels (/E/ and /O/). So, words with the following combinations of vowels do not occur in the language:

*/e/-/E/ */e/-/O/ */o/-/E/ */o/-/O/

Instead, words contain only low mid vowels, or only high mid vowels. So the following combinations are found, in any sequence.

/e/-/e/, /e/-/o/, /o/-/o/, or /E/-/E/, /E/-/O/, /O/-/O/

The occurrence of vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/ is not constrained in this system. They occur with any vowel of the set, as well as with one another.

This partial system of vowel harmony affects how certain prefix vowels and suffix vowels assimilate when affixed to roots with mid vowels. These assimlations are described in the following section (3.3.4: 32). It also determines how final vowel (FV) affixation occurs. This is discussed in 5.2: 53-54, and below.

Final vowel affixation occurs in Bakweri when a simple verb root of

the basic structure CVC, cf. 3.1.2: 21 is used without a derivational, e.g. 7-8.0: 98-144, or inflectional suffix, e.g. tense suffix, cf. 10.2.3: 164 and 10. 3: 168. In this instance a vowel is affixed to the verb to preserve the basic CV canon of the language, cf. 3.1: 20. The choice of FV is made according to the following rule: If the root vowel is a low mid vowel, i.e. /E/ or /O/, then the FV is the same as the root vowel. If the root vowel is not a low mid vowel, then /a/ is attached as the FV. Examples are:

Low Mid Root Vowel: **kÓm + O --> kÓmO** (greet)
vÉny + E --> vÉnyE (insult)

Non-Low Mid Root Vowel: **fend + a --> fendá** (lock)[13]
sos + a --> sosá (wash)
lib + a --> libá (slap)
vav + a --> vavá (sprinkle)
túm + a --> túma (pick)

3.3.4. Assimilation

There are a number of specific contexts where vowel assimilation occurs in Bakweri.

Noun Prefixes for Classes 3/4 cf. 4.2: 44: Assimilation occurs when noun prefixes containing the high mid vowels e and o are attached to roots whose initial vowels are low mid vowels. In this case, the high mid vowels assimilates to the low mid ones:

Class 3: Prefix **mo**

mo-lOmbí --> mOlOmbí (worm)
mo-lElí --> mOlElí (food)

Class 4: Prefix me

me-lOmbí --> mElOmbí (worms)

me-lElí --> mElEli (foods)

In addition, the high mid vowels of the prefixes also assimilate to high vowels if they are attached to a root which begins with a high vowel:

Class 3: mo-umbu -->muumbu (lip)

Class 4: me-umbu --> miumbu (lips)

The usual pattern of vowel asssimilation of high mids to low mids occurs when the vowel initial root begins with a low mid vowel:

Class 3: mo-Oli --> mOOli (rope)

Class 4: me-Oli --> mEOli (ropes)

Subject Prefix for Second Person: Assimilation occurs when the high mid vowel subject prefixes o (you, singular) and e (you, plural) immediately precede a verb root whose initial vowel is low mid:

o-kÓlO --> OkÓlO "You (one) will sew."

o-sEnggE --> OsEnggE "You (one) will sift."

e-kÓlO --> EkÓlO "You all will sew."

e-sEnggE --> EsEnggE "You all will sift."

Verbs: The basic vowel suffix for verb roots in Bakweri is a. However, if the root vowel is E, the suffix vowel is E; and if the root

vowel is O, the suffix vowel is O:

kóma (pick) **kÓlO** (sew/weave) **sEnggÉ** (sift)

There are only a few exceptions to this generalizations; in all cases, the final suffix vowel is E where we would expect a (Stallcup, 1980: VOWEL-4). Some examples are:

ifÉ (cook) **kíE** (love) **úlE** (remove)

Tense/Aspect Prefixes

The vowels of tense/aspect prefixes **ma** and **'má** assimilate to the vowels e, E, o, and O when they are affixed immediately preceding them.[13] This occurs with vowel-initial verb roots, and with vocalic object prefixes:

na- ma- Én-É --> na-mE-Én-É. Root: **Én**

Subject-Tense-Verb "I saw."

3.3.5 Vowel Coalescence

Vowel coalescence is the process whereby two vowels coalesce into one when they occur together. In Bakweri, this happens at most word boundaries. Always, the second of the two juxtaposed vowels takes precedence over the first. So, for example, the following sentence is actually pronounced as indicated below:

ná'mágwéá éwoló ebánjá amanobéa

I have done the work because s/he told me to

Pronounciation: **ná'mágwééwolebá'njámanobéa.**

Two vowels, juxtaposed within a word, do not coalesce in Bakweri. So, for example, the vowels within the following words are both articulated:

igwié (banana tree)
moókoeli (learner)
ónggoana (help someone with something)

Sequences of more than two vowels do coalesce, even within a word. An example of this occurs when a verb beginning with a vowel carries a vocalic object concord preceded by a tense prefix which ends in a vowel. In this case, the sequence of three vowels coalesces into a sequence of two vowels:

na- ma- e- Én-É --- na-mEÉnÉ
Subject-Tense-Object-Verb "I saw it, e.g. **enyama** (meat)

Vowels at the beginning of a word do coalesce in certain circumstances. For example, the noun class prefix e (Class 7) coalesces with a root initial front vowel:

Class 7: e-EkÉ --- EkÉ (black hawk)

Similarly, vowels at the end of a word coalesce in certain circumstances. This occurs with monosyllabic verb roots where the final vowel of the verb root coalesces with the root vowel when both are the same vowel, cf. 5.4: 60.

kÉ-E --- kÊ (cut)

Vowel length is not considered phonemic in Bakweri because words having sequences of two vowels of the same quality rarely contrast with words having a single vowel (Stallcup, 1980: VOWEL 6,7). For the most part, doubly articulated vowels occur only at morpheme boundaries, when a prefix is attached to a root beginning with a vowel. Examples are:

Nouns:	**i-ilé ---> iilé**	(dizziness)
	mo-oli ---> mooli	(volcano)

Verbs:	**na-mo-o-ÉnÉ ---> namooÉnÉ.**	
	SP- TP- OP-Verb	"I saw you."

3.4 Tones

3.4.1 Tone Levels

Bakweri is a tone language where different syllables are pronounced at different steady state pitch levels. Contour tones exist only as a result of two tones combining to form a rising or falling tone; examples are given in 3.4.2: 37. Phonemically, it has three phonemic tones: high, low and a downstepped high tone. The phonemic status of the downstepped high tone is problematic because in many occurrences it can be derived from a sequence of low and high tones) cf. 3.4.4: 40. However, there are enough instances where its presence cannot be explained with reference to a combined sequence of low and high tones for it to merit phonemic status. One such example is discussed in 3.4.4: 40; others are noted when they occur.

Words in Bakweri do not usually differ by only one tone; usually they differ by two tones. On monosyllabic roots, the two tones are realized as either a rising or falling tone, cf. 3.4.2: 37. Pitch differences can be represented in brackets as shown below. Note also that the nasal element of prenasalized consonants does not carry a separate tone:

High-Low: [¯ _], e.g. **ngwána** (child)
Low-High: [_ ¯], e.g. **ngwaná** (proverb)
Low-Low: [_ _], e.g. **ngweze** (beak)
High-High: [¯ ¯], e.g. **ngwézé** (daytime)

3.4.2 Rising and Falling Tones

Rising and falling tones are also found. Examples of the four types of tones that occur on single syllables are:

High: **kO**	(snail)	[¯]
Low: **ne**	(with)	[_]
Rising: **kE**	(hang)	[ˇ]
Falling: **nyO**	(drink, smoke)	[ˆ]

Rising and falling tones are not considered phonemic because they can be shown to derive from a sequence of [high+low] and [low+high] tones respectively. As noted in 3.3.5: 34, when two identical vowels co-occur at the end of a word in Bakweri, they coalesce. When the word is isolated or at the end of a sentence, the tones of the two vowels coalesce into a single tone. If the tones are the same, the coalescence is not apparent. If they differ, the result is a rising or falling tone:

Nouns			Verbs		
High/Low:	**ngwâ**	(year)	**kÊ**	(cut)	Root: **kÉ**
Low/High:	**ngwǎ**	(hoe)	**kĚ**	(hang)	Root: **kE**

While it is not possible to show synchronically that the rising and falling tones of the nouns **ngwâ** and **ngwǎ** come from **ngwáa** and **ngwaá**, it is possible to do so for the verbs **kÊ** and **kĚ**.

As noted in 3.1: 20, verb roots in Bakweri consist of an optional initial consonant plus a vowel plus a final consonant. They may be either high or low in tone. When the verb is inflected, a final suffix vowel appears, cf. 5.2: 53. In citation form, the basic tone of the suffix vowel is opposite to that of the root. So, for example:

Root tone high, suffix tone low: **kóm-a** (pick)

Root tone low, suffix tone high: **kOk-Ó** (calculate)

The fact that all monosyllabic verb roots have a rising or falling tone in their citation form is due to the addition of the final suffix vowel and its associated tone, according to the procedure described above. Vowel coalescence results in the rising and falling tones:

kĚ comes from kE-É while kÊ comes from kÉ-E.

3.4.3 Downdrift

Bakweri tones are not absolute pitches, rather the actual pitch at which a given tone is pronounced is determined by the nature of the tones which precede and follow it. Usually, the pitch of the voice tends to descend during the course of an utterance, which means, for example, that high tones at the end of the utterance are pronounced at a lower pitch than high tones at the beginning of the utterance.

In Bakweri, as in many register tone languages, this descending tone process is built into the language in a consistent way. So when there is a tone sequence of high-low-high, the second high tone is automatically pronounced at a slightly lower pitch level than the preceding high tone as [¯_−] rather than [¯_¯]. This happens every time there is a low tone or series of low tones before a high tone or series of high tones. The low tones also lower as the sequence progresses, but not as noticeably as the high tones. Some examples are:

OvÉní veónó na kasála? (Do you have yams and cassavas?)

[_¯¯ _¯¯ _ _¯_]

A véli ndí EyÓlE. (He is a peacemaker.)

[_¯_ ¯_¯_]

This regularized lowering of high tones after low tones is called 'downdrift' (Stallcup, 1980: TONE-5).

3.4.4 Downstep[14]

A 'downdrifted' tone is given phonemic status in a language when the low tone responsible for the lowering is lost, either through assimilation or deletion (Hyman, 1975: 227). Such lowered high tones are called 'downstepped' high tones. If the assimilation or deletion process is synchronically productive, then it can be predicted and the downstepped high tone need not be given phonemic status. If however, the original low tone responsible for the lowering is not apparent synchronically, then the downstepped high tone should be given phonemic status. Both situations exist in Bakweri and examples are discussed briefly below.[15]

A synchronically productive process of downstepping is observable when vowel coalescence, cf. 3.3.5: 34, occurs. When vowels coalesce across word boundaries in Bakweri their individual tones combine according to the patterns described here. If the tone of the first vowel is the same as the tone of the second vowel, the coalesced vowel retains that tone:

efúm á étání	**--> efúm étání**	(H+H -- H)
orange ripe	"a ripe orange"	
múnyán a awawí	**--> múnyán awawí**	(L+L -- L)
man tall	"a tall man"	

If, however, the tone of the first vowel is low, and the tone of the second vowel is high, the tone of the coalesced vowel is downstepped:

mokálá á ólo	**--> mokálá 'ólo**	(H+L -- 'H)
whiteman big	"a big whiteman"	

Downstepped high tones do not occur after low tones, i.e. there is no contrast between high tones and downstepped high tones after low tones.

If the tone of one vowel is high and that of the other is low, the coalesced vowel is high, regardless of the order of the tones in the two original vowels. Note the context of preceding low tones in the following examples:

ewaki **étee** --> **ewakétee** (L+H -> H)
chimpanzee small "a small chimpanzee"

ngwEní atatí --> **ngwEnátatí** (H+L -> H)
request angry "an angry request"

One clear case where a downstepped high tone must be given phonemic status in Bakweri occurs in the tense affix system. Here we find a downstepped high tone **'má** aspect prefix[16]. There is no high tone **má** prefix in the language today, although there is a low tone **ma** prefix. Similarly, there is no preceding low tone apparent synchronically which will account for the downstepped high tone of **'má**. In fact, to further complicate analysis, the subject prefix obligatorily carries a high tone with this tense prefix although it does not with other tense prefixes. Examples are:

High tone subject prefix: **ná'má lángga** "I have already read."
Low tone subject prefix: **namalánggá.** "I have read."

It is possible to speculate on a number of different ways in which this tense prefix may have come into existence diachronically, but it does not alter the fact that synchronically the downstepped high tone of **'má** is phonemic.

3.4.5 Floating Tones

"Floating tones" are tones which occur without a vocalic segment. Their presence is evidenced by tonal alternations when words are sequenced together. They occur in Bakweri in a number of instances. One is in the case of noun class prefixes for nouns in classes 9 and 10, cf. 4.2: 44. Here, the prefix form is a floating low tone. When a word from these classes is uttered in isolation, there is no evidence of the prefix tone. But a word whose initial syllable is high follows a a high tone syllable, the floating low tone manifests in the downstepping of the second high tone:

Noun: **mbóa** (village) Phrase: **ó 'mbóa** "In a village"
ndáo (house) Phrase: **ó 'ndáo** "In a house"

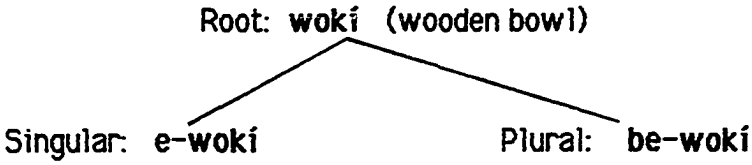
Floating tones will be noted in parentheses when present.

4.0 Nouns

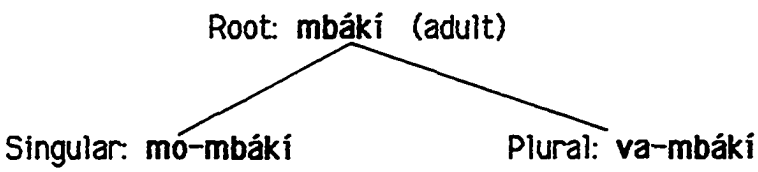
4.1 Bantu Noun Classes

Nouns in Bakweri, as in other Bantu languages, are characterized by an extensive system of noun classification. Nouns are grouped into different classes according to the form of their nominal prefixes, as well as the forms of various concord prefixes which refer to them on other parts of speech, e.g. verbs, pronouns.

Bantu noun classes classes can be paired according to singular and plural. This is because noun roots occur with one class prefix when they are singular in reference, and with another when they are plural in reference. For example:



Bantu noun classes are referred to by a conventional set of numerals which are used by researchers in the description of all Bantu languages in order to facilitate comparison across different languages.[16] The classes are distinguished by prefix form as well as semantically-based criteria in many cases. The clearest examples are classes 1 and 2 which contain human referents, singular and plural respectively:



4.2 Noun Class Prefixes

Twenty noun classes have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Meeussen, 1967: 97).[17] Of those twenty, Bakweri has nouns belonging to classes 1-10, plus nouns for classes 14 and 19. The basic form of the nominal prefixes are consonant-vowel, although in some cases there is only a vowel or a floating tone. Each prefix has a basic form plus a number of phonologically conditioned allomorphs. All class prefixes are low.

There are three different forms for most prefixes in Bakweri:[18]

(1) The basic form, which is found on noun roots beginning with a consonant; see Table 4.I: 45;

(2) The 'strong' form which occurs on roots beginning with a vowel and whose vowel does not coalesce with the root vowel; see Table 4.II;

(3) The 'weak' form which is found on roots beginning with a vowel and whose vowel either coalesces, cf. 3.3.5: 34, or is consonantalized, cf. 3.2.4: 25-26. and 3.2.6: 27; see Table 4.III.

Tables 4.I-III provide basic prefix forms and illustrative examples for each type of prefix form[19].

Classes 9 and 10 are exceptional in Bakweri because they have no segmental form. There is no visible difference between noun forms in these two classes. The prefix consists of only a floating low tone, cf. 3.4.5: 42. This tone is observable only in certain contexts: (a) when the noun root has a high tone on its initial syllable; and (b) when that noun follows a high tone. When this occurs, the class prefix manifests itself through a downstepping of the tone of the initial syllable of the noun:

ngweó	**mó**	**'wúva**	"the chicken's egg"
egg	of	chicken	

TABLE 4.1: BASIC PRE-CONSONANTAL NOMINAL PREFIX FORMS

Class	Non-Harmonized			Harmonized		
	Prefix	Example		Prefix	Example	
1	mo-	mo-mbáki	(adult)	mO-	no examples	
2	va-	va-mbáki	(adults)	none		
3	mo-	mo-ndindi	(thumb piano)	mO-	mO-tO:ggO	(jigger)
4	me-	me-ndindi	(thumb pianos)	mE-	mE-tOggO	(jiggers)
5	li-	li-wondé	(cup)	none		
6	ma-	ma-wondé	(cups)	none		
7	e-	e-tulu	(lamp)	E-	E-tEndE	(scar)
8	ve-	ve-tulu	(lamps)	vE-	vE-tEndE	(scars)
9		(`)nggwa	(dog)	none		
10		(`)nggwa	(dogs)	none		
14	wo-	wo-lué	(waist)	wO-	no examples	
19	i-	i-ndokó	(pepper)	none		

TABLE 4.11: STRONG NOMINAL PREFIX FORMS

Class	Non-Harmonized			Harmonized		
	Prefix	Example		Prefix	Example	
1	mo-	mo-ókoeli	(learner)	mO-	no examples	
				mu-	no examples	
2	va-	va-ókoeli	(learners)	none		
3	mo-	mo-angga	(kernel)	mO-	mO-OmbO	(plaintain leaf)
				mu-	mu-(w)úlu	(breath)
4	me-	me-angga	(kernels)		no examples	
5	li-	li-OnggO	(spear)		no examples	
6	ma-	ma-Onggo	(spears)		no examples	
7	e-	embe	(corpse)		no examples	
8	ve-	be-embe	(corpses)	vi-	vi-ulu	(puddles)
				vE-	vE-OlE	(animal legs)
9	(`)	(`)Ónyízi	(onion)		no examples	
10	(`)	(`)Ónyízi	(onions)		no examples	
14	wo-	no examples		wO-	wO-OnggO	(brain)
19	i-	i-ile	(dizziness)		no examples	

TABLE 4.III WEAK NOMINAL PREFIX FORMS

Class	Prefix	Example	
1	ngw-	ngw-ána	(child)
	m-	m-u	(devil)
2	v-	v-ána	(children)
3	ngw-	ngw-indi	(shore)
	m-	m-una	(load)
4			no examples
5	l-	l-ía	(palm tree)
6	m-	m-ía	(palm trees)
7	y-	y-alí	(leaf)
8			no examples
9			no examples
10			no examples
14	gw-	gw-itó	(story)
	w-	w-OnggO	(enema)
19	j-	j-Ombi	(begging)

4.3 Noun Class Groupings

Bakweri noun classes form the following singular-plural class pairings:

Classes		
1/2	**mo-mbáki/va-mbáki**	(adult/s)
	ngw-ána/vána	(child/ren)
3/4	**mo-kokó/me-kokó**	(sugar cane/s)
	ngw-ánja/me-ánja	(ocean/s)
5/6	**li-wondé/ma-wondé**	(cup/s)
	l-ía/m-ía	(palm tree/s)
7/8	**e-tulu/ve-tulu**	(lamp/s)
	y-alí/ve-alí	(leaf/ves)
9/10	**(`)nggoá/(`)nggoá**	(pig/s)
	(`)Ónyízi/(`)Ónyízi	(onion/s)
14/6	**wo-lúé/ma-lúé**	(waist/s)
	gw-ító/ma-ító	(story/ies)
19/8	**i-nOní/ve-nOní**	(bird/s)
	i-ínggO/ve-ínggO	(throat/s)

However, it is not possible to designate particular classes as singular or plural because nouns which have no corresponding plural are found in all classes, those associated with plurality as well as those associated with singular reference. Examples are:

Class		
1	**mo-wekeli**	(Creator)
2	**w-unya (+ noun)**	(clan of entity named by noun)
3	**mo-name**	(wealth)
4	**mE-vElE**	(blame)
5	**li-vánggí**	(running)[20]
6	**ma-ijá**	(blood)
7	**E-jOkE**	(truth)
8	**be-tato**	(anger)
9/10	**mbengge**	(south/down)
14	**gw-Énggi**	(act of tapping)
19	**j-itítí**	(darkness)

In Bakweri, there are no obvious semantic groupings determining noun class membership, except that Classes 1 and 2 contain only human referents. Human referents are, however, also found in other noun classes. Certain of the groupings found in many Bantu languages are apparent in the Bakweri system, although perhaps not as clearly as in other languages are because nouns of other types also occur in these classes.[21] They are:

Classes 3/4 -- plant products/parts, tools

Examples: **mokokó** (sugar cane), **ngwanggá** (root/kernal) **mozinggé** (nail), **mOtOni** (pestle), **mokako** (torch)

Classes 5/6 -- body parts

Examples: **livai** (liver), **luunggá** (belly), **litanggá** (foot)

Classes 7/8 -- inanimate objects

Examples: **etulu** (lamp), **ewoki** (wooden dish), **ekaka** (mat)

Classes 9/10 -- animals

Examples: **nggandó** (crocodile), **nggoá** (pig), **mbóli** (goat)

4.4 Preprefix

The preprefix in Bantu languages is a prefix which is attached in front of a noun prefix to convey a meaning having to do with specificity and/or definite reference. In Bakweri, its use is similar to that of the definite article in English. It is used on nouns which have been previously mentioned in a conversation and/or on nouns which the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify. It may also be used generically, to refer to all entities of the type named by the noun.

Although historically the Bakweri preprefix may have been attached in front of the noun prefix, it replaces the regular prefix for many noun classes today. The only exception to this are classes 1, 9, and 10 where the preprefix is attached in front of the nominal prefix; recall however that there is no segmental prefix for classes 9 and 10, cf. 4.2: 42. Examples:

	Preprefix	+	Noun Prefix	+	Noun Root		
Class 1:	é	+	mo	+	to	---> **emoto**	(person)
Class 9:	é	+	`	+	nggútu	---> **é'nggútu**	(lid)
Class 10:	í	+	`	+	nggútu	---> **í'nggútu**	(lids)

Preprefixes for other noun classes replace the noun prefix when they are used. They are segmentally the same but have a high tone instead of a low tone. This high tone is followed by a downstep, observable only when the initial tone on the root to which it is attached is also high. Presumably, the downstep reflects the presence of the low tone noun prefix following the preprefix at some point earlier in the history of the language. Table 4.IV gives all preprefix forms with illustrative examples.

TABLE 4.IV: PREPREFIX FORMS

Class	Preprefix	Examples	
1	e-	é-múnyáne	(the man)
2	vá'-	vá-'múnyáne	(the men)
3	mó'-	mó-'jengge	(the brief visit)
4	mé'-	mé-'jengge	(the brief visits)
5	lí'-	lí-'kándo	(the roof)
6	má'-	má-'kándo	(the rooves)
7	é'-	é-'kéké	(the shell)
8	vé'-	vé-'kéké	(the shells)
9	e-	e-nggoá	(the pig)
10	í'-	í-nggoá	(the pigs)
14	wó'-	wó-'lúé	(the waist)
19	í'-	í-'ndókó	(the peppers)

5.0 Verbs

5.1 Final Vowel Affixation

The basic structure of Bakweri verb roots is consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC). There are however several types of exceptions to this basic pattern. They will be discussed in different sections in this chapter. First however, it is necessary to discuss the process of FV affixation which permits speakers to maintain the basic consonant-vowel (CV) syllable canon of the language, even when most verb roots do not fit this pattern.

As noted in 3.1: 20, the basic syllable canon in Bakweri is CV. When a derviational or inflectional suffix is attached to a verb root, the syllable canon of the language is automatically maintained since all such suffixes begin with a vowel. Examples are:

Verb Root: **lingg** (be happy)

Derivation: --> **ma- lingg- o** (happiness)
Class 6- Verb- Vowel Suffix

Inflection: --> **na- lingg- éái.** "I was happy today."
Subject- Verb- Tense

When there is no dervational or inflectional suffix attached to a verb root, a final vowel (FV) is added. This occurs in two contexts: in verbal nouns and in verbs inflected with tense/aspect prefixes. The former are described here; the latter are the subject of Chapters 10 and 11.

Nominal verb forms are formed in Bakweri using the noun class prefix for class 5, **li**. The choice of FV to be added is determined

according to vowel harmony and assimilation processes outlined in 3.3.3-4: 31-34. The chart below shows the final vowels associated with the seven possible root vowels. When such verbal nouns are formed with li, the tones of all syllables following the first syllable are polarized (Hyman, 1975: 224) being given a tonal pitch level which is opposite to the tone of the initial syllable. So, for example, an initial high tone root takes a low tone FV, and vice versa.

Verbal nouns formed with the nominal prefix li translate into English as infinitives or gerunds, cf. examples in Table 5.I.

TABLE 5:I FINAL SUFFIX VOWELS

Root Vowel	FV	Root		Nominal Form	
i	a	sík	(groan, moan)	li-sík-a	(to groan/groaning)
e	a	vend	(plait)	li-vend-á	(to plait/plaiting)
E	E	lEmb	(hold/arrest)	li-lEmb-É	(to hold/holding)
a	a	fáf	(hit)	li-fáf-a	(to hit/hitting)
u	a	tút	(sweep)	li-tút-a	(to sweep/sweeping)
o	a	kot	(light fire)	li-kot-á	(to light/lighting)
O	O	kÓm	(greet)	li-kÓm-O	(to greet/greeting)

There is one exception to the FV assignment patterns shown in Table 5.I. A small set of verbs whose root vowel is not E which still occur with E as the FV. This appears to be idiosyncratic to certain verbs. Verb roots of this type are:

túmb	(roast)	**li-túmb-E**	(to roast/roasting)
tut	(wash hands)	**li-tut-É**	(to wash/washing)
!uk	(believe)	**li-!uk-É**	(to believe/believing)
ímb	(injure)	**li-ímb-E**	(to injure/injuring)
ángg	(tie around neck of an animal)	**l-ángg-E**	(to tie/tying)

There is no way to predict which verbs which root vowel **a,i,e,o,u** will take E instead of the **a** . In addition, certain verbs with the root vowels E and **O** which should occur with the FVs E and O respectively take the FV **a** instead. Again, this is idiosyncratic to these verbs and cannot be predicted. When such exceptional verb are cited, the actual FV will be indicated following the root.

5.2 Lexical Tone

The basic tone of a verb can be identified from the tone of the initial syllable of its nominal form. Two types of verb roots occur through lexical tone differentiation, high and low. Table 5.II. includes all tonally contrastive pairs identified during this research project, cf. 0.2: .2.

TABLE 5.II: TONALLY CONTRASTIVE PAIRS OF VERB ROOTS

High Tone		Low Tone	
áv-a	(rotate/turn)	av-á	(sell)
ɛ́ɣ-a	(be sharp)	ɛɣ-á	(cry)
ɛ́mb-a	(sing)	ɛmb-á	(recognize)
ɛ́t-a	(owe)	ɛt-á	(be hard)
índ-a	(gossip)	ind-á	(stay long)
ók-a	(be sick)	ok-á	(play)
fáf-a	(hit)	faf-á	(sprinkle)
kák-a	(tie/fold)	kak-á	(be sour/stale)
kék-a	(obstruct)	kek-á	(try/taste)
kók-a	(bite)	kok-á	(grow)
kɔ́k-ɔ	(calculate)	kɔk-ɔ́	(chew/crush)
kóm-a	(pick)	kom-á	(pour)
kón-a	(hint)	kon-á	(dry up)
kóo-a	(drag)	koo-á	(fly)[1]
kú-a	(be finished)	ku-á	(mock)
lí-a	(leave behind)	li-á	(sit/dwell)
lóm-a	(scold)	lom-á	(reach first)

5.3 CV Roots and Monosyllabic Forms

There are a number of verb roots in Bakweri of the basic form CV instead of CVC. Most take FVs according to vowel harmony patterns described in 3.3.3: 31.

li-kú-a. (to be finished/being finished)

li-tu-á (to be small/being small)

li-só-a (to throw away/throwing away)

li-so-á (to shave with scissors/shaving with scissors)

When the CV root takes a FV that is the same vowel as the root vowel, i.e. when the root vowel is **O, E,** or **a,** the FV coalesces with the root vowel. This results in a monosyllabic root in certain forms, e.g. in verbal nouns. Tonal polarization of the FV is still apparent in monosyllabic verb forms. So for instance, when the two vowels coalesce in verbal nouns, their tones combine to form either a rising (low + high) or a falling (high + low) tone. Table 5.III lists all monosyllabic verbs identified during the research project.

TABLE 5.III: MONOSYLLABIC VERBS

High Tone		Low Tone	
li-gwâ	(to crack)	li-jă	(to come)
li-kwâ	(to fall)	li-jŏ	(to laugh)
li-yô	(to fall, rain	li-kă	(to estimate price)
li-nyâ	(to defecate)	li-lŏ	(to be good)
li-nyô	(to drink)	li-mĕ	(to swallow)
li-sâ	(to dance)	li-nggwă	(to give)
li-sô	(to be far)	li-sĕ	(to brush teeth)
li-lâ	(to eat)	li-yĕ	(to give birth)
li-nwâ	(to die)		
li-wô	(to be lost)		

Minimal Pairs

li-vâ	(to marry)	li-vă	(to divide)
li-kê	(to cut)	li-kĕ	(to hang)
li-kô	(to be dirty)	li-kŏ	(to hate)
li-tê	(to shout)	li-tĕ	(to be sweet)
li-tô	(to leak)	li-tŏ	(to talk)

The behavior of these roots in various inflected forms will be discussed in sections on *form* in the chapters that follow.

5.4 Vowel-Initial Roots

A large number of verb roots in Bakweri do not have an initial consonant. In many cases, this is a result of diachronic processes in the language, where an initial consonant in Proto-Bantu has been dropped in Bakweri today. For example:

*Proto-Bantu[22]			Bakweri
***kángga**	(fry)	--->	**ángg-a**
***yímba**	(sing)	--->	**émb-a**
***yíba**	(steal)	--->	**ív-a**

The difference between vowel-initial and consonant-initial verb roots is important when various affixes are attached to the roots in inflected verb forms. So for example, special pre-vocalic forms of the concord prefixes (SP and OP) referring to nouns are used. These variant forms are given in Tables 6.I-III. In the case of the tense/aspect prefixes **ma** and **'má**, the vowel of the prefix coalesces with that of the verb root. In addition, the tone of the prefix replaces that of the verb root, so that tonal distinctions between verbs are absent in these inflections:

na-ma-índ-á ---> **namíndá.**[23] "I gossiped."

na-ma-índ-á ---> **namíndá.** "I stayed long."

Procedures for attaching various verbal affixes to vowel-initial roots will be described in the section concerned with *form* in the chapters that follow. A complete listing of all vowel-initial roots collected for this project is included in Appendix II (pp. 257-260). Appendix I contains all consonant-initial roots (pp. 250-256).

5.5 Vowel-Final Roots

In addition to verb roots of the form CV which end in a vowel, cf. 5.3: 57, there are also a number of polysyllabic verb roots which end in a vowel rather than a consonant. Their root structure is one of (C)VCV rather than (C)VC. There are three sets of such forms, one ending with **u**, one with **o**, and one with **e**. The latter set is discussed in 5.6.1: 62. Examples of those ending in **u** and **o** are given below. The FV attached to these roots is **a**, as is expected from vowel harmony patterns, cf. 3.3.3: 31.

u		**o**	
likútu	(to unfold/unfolding)	**lilifó**	(to open/opening)
lifunggú	(to mix/mixing)	**likató**	(to scratch/scratching)
lifufú	(to de-feather/ing)	**líjo**	(to ask/asking)

These verb roots behave as consonant-final roots when various suffixes are attached; that is, the suffix is attached following the vowel, which is pronounced separately from any suffix vowel, for example:

na-kútu-éái ĭ'mbOtí. "I unfolded the clothes today."

It is possible that these roots, like those described in 5.6: 62, derive historically from roots plus derivational suffixes. In this case, **o** and **u** would have been derivational suffixes at an earlier point in the history of the language. Two suffixes formed with the vowel **u** (***ud** and ***uk**) which have to do with reversing actions, similar to the prefix <un> in English, e.g. <undo>, <unhappy>, have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Meeussen, 1967: 92). Unfortunately, there is not enough synchronic semantic consistency among the roots carrying these vowels in Bakweri to

determine if they could have been derived from this suffix, or from another semantically based derivational suffix.

5.6 Historically Derived Verb Roots

Another exceptional type of verb root are those which were historically derived through the affixation of a derivational suffix, but which are synchronically single morphemes since the original root no longer occurs in the language. These are of several types:

5.6.1 Verb Roots Ending in ea

The suffix **ea** is found elsewhere in the language associated with messages of "benefit", cf. 7.5: 113. It is also found less frequently associated with "states", cf. 5.7.1: 65. It is reconstructed in Proto-Bantu as a high front vowel followed by a voiced alveolar stop ***id** (Meeussen, 1967: 92). Roots ending in **ea** which are not synchronically derived are:

kanéá	(govern)	**kanggéá**	(float)
kíméá	(threaten/curse)	**kósea**	(cough)
kóvea	(lie)	**kwéea**	(enter)
laéá	(stamp on)	**límamea**	(squint)
lutéá	(think)	**ókanea**	(listen)
Onggea	(look after)	**séea**	(be burned)
sósomea	(plead/beg)	**tánea**	(encounter)

5.6.2 Verb Roots Ending in isE

The suffix **isE** is used productively in Bakweri to convey messages of "causation", cf. 7.3: 108. It is reconstructed in Proto-Bantu as a high front vowel, possibly followed by a voiceless palatal fricative ***iç** (Meeussen, 1967: p. 92). Such derived roots whose simple form is not synchronically attested are:

kÉnjisE	(change money)	kÓkisE	(punish)
mOnggísÉ	(tickle)	lakísÉ	(forgive someone)
OkísÉ	(be sick/dizzy)		

5.6.3 Verb Roots Ending in ElE(lE) and lE

ElE(lE) is also a productive suffix in the language. It is associated with messages of "facilitation" as well as of "benefit", cf. 7.4: 110. The suffix lE is not productive; it is found on a few verbs expressing "causation of state", cf. 5.7.2: 73. There is no Proto-Bantu reconstruction for this suffix; see 7.6.3: 120, for a discussion of the possible historical origin of this suffix. Roots which are not synchronically derived are:

ámbElE	(wait)	vÉlE	(call)
kovÉlÉ	(feed by hand)	nyambÉlÉ	(be acquainted)
OnggÉlÉ	(remember/think)	OnggÉlÉlÉ	(peep)
somÉlÉlÉ	(give blessings)	tOOlÉ	(be late)

5.6.4 Verb Roots Ending in EnE and n

The suffixes EnE and n are also used productively in Bakweri. They are associated with messages of "co-agent", cf. 8.3: 138. The proto-Bantu reconstruction for both suffixes is a low central vowel followed by an alveolar nasal *an. Roots which are not synchronically derived with EnE and n are:

kakÉnÉ	(promise)	kómbEnE	(be near)
kúmEnE	(cover)	onggóáná	(help someone)

5.6.5 Verb Roots Ending in **ama**

The suffix **ama** is no longer productively used in the language. It occurs with a few roots expressing a "stative" message, cf. 5.7.3: 73. Roots which are not synchronically derived are:

ándama	(be quiet)	**ímbama**	(be powerful)
nĒnggámá	(be tilted)	**sónggama**	(enter into)
téama	(be wide)		

5.7 Verbs Derived with Non-Productive Derivational Suffixes

There are three suffixes in Bakweri which are no longer used productively but which appear on certain verb roots and which are consistently associated with the same message. They are: **ea** naming "states" resulting from actions designated by the verb, **lE** describing "causation" of a state named by the verb root, and **ama** designating "states" resulting from actions named by the verb root.

Since they are not used productively in the language, they are discussed briefly here as special cases of verbal derivation rather than being included in chapters concerned with the use of productive derivational suffixes.

5.7.1 "States" Expressed With ea

Although **ea** is used productively to convey messages of "benefit" in Bakweri this suffix, although segmentally the same, appears to be semantically distinct, cf. 5.6.1: 69. All examples collected are included in Table 5.IV.

TABLE 5.IV: VERBS OCCURRING WITH ea TO DESCRIBE STATES

Root		Derivation	
Én	(see)	Énea	(be visible)
fáf	(hit)	fáfea	(be hit)
fángg	(spoil)	fánggea	(be spoiled/bad)
fó	(open something)	fóea	(be open, like a pot)
gwâ	(break something)	gwééá	(be broken)
kató	(scratch)	katóéá	(be scratched)
sis	(frighten)	siséá	(be frightened)
únggw	(stab/shoot/sting)	únggwea	(be stabbed/shot/stung)
kók	(bite)	kókea	(be bitten)
lEmb	(catch)	lEmbéá	(be caught)

5.7.2 "Caused States" Expressed with lE

The suffix lE, cf. 5.6.3: 70, is used with certain stative verbs to show that the state named by the root has been caused by someone. Those found are:

Root: wÓ (be lost) na-ma-wÓ- lÉ eká'áti.
SP-TP-verb-DS
"I lost the book."

Root: kú (be finished) na-ma-kú- lÉ éwoló.
"I finished the work."

Root: vía (know) na-ma-vía- lÉ engwána.
"I taught, i.e. made know, the child."

Root: anji (move away) na-ma-anji- lÉ váána.
"I moved the children away."

5.7.3 "States" Expressed With **ama**

The suffix **ama**, cf. 5.6.5: 71, is used with certain verbs to designate a state resulting from the action named by the verb. Its use is idiosyncratic to certain verbs; hence the suffix can no longer be considered productive although presumably at some point earlier in the history of the language it was so. All examples of this derivational suffix collected are included in Table 5.V. In some cases the "stative" message is not apparent in the derivation. The earlier form of the suffix may have been **m** which was affixed following the FV (as is the case for the agentive suffix **n**, cf. 8.1: 126, and the passive suffix **v**, cf. 6.4: 87). In this case, the FV would have been repeated after the suffix, as it is with the **n** and **v** suffixes. The following example suggests this to be the case; it is however the only such sample found.

Root: **kE** (hang) --- Derivation: **kE-É-m-É** (be hung)

TABLE 5.V: VERBS DERIVED WITH ama

Root		Derivation	
fan/É	(hang/suspend)	fanámá	(be hanging/suspended)
fik	(shut in by accident)	fikámá	(be shut in by accident)
ít	(swell)	ítámá	(be swollen)
kák	(tie)	kákama	(cling)
kas/É	(lift/raise)	kasámá	(be in high elevation)
kÉnj/a	(be smart)	kÉnjama	(be vigilant)
ónd	(be full)	óndama	(be full)
óng	(build)	óngama	(follow on behind)
tingg/É	(catch in trap)	tinggámá	(be caught in trap)
tongg	(make round)	tonggámá	(surround)
új	(be full)	újama	(bend down)
ut	(keep/hide)	utámá	(be hidden)

6.0 Concord Prefixes

6.1 Form

Following conventions in other Bantu studies, we use the terms "subject prefix" and "object prefix" to refer to the following positions in the inflected verb, cf. 0.3: 3.

The "subject prefix" (SP) is the initial prefix attached to the verb.

The "object prefix" (OP) is the prefix which immediately follows the tense prefix, if one is present:

1. **na-ma-vá-fáyá.** "I chased them (other people)."
   SP-TP- OP
   "I" "them"

If no tense prefix is present, the OP immediately follows the SP:

2. **na-vá-fáya.** "I will/usually chase them."
   SP-OP

6.1.1 Allomorphic Variants of Concord Prefixes

Different concord prefixes are used to refer to entities according to the noun class to which their referents nouns belong, and according to differences in personal reference. They vary in form depending upon whether they precede a vowel or a consonant. Table 6.I gives prefix forms for personal reference. Their nominal referents may belong to any noun class, but are typically found in Classes 1 and 2, cf. 4.3: 49. Prefix forms for other noun classes are in Tables 6.II-III. All concord prefixes exhibit vowel harmony, coalescence, and assimilation patterns described in 3.3-5: 31-36, as well as consonantalization processes discussed in 3.2.4: 25-26, and 3.2.6: 27. Phonological contexts responsible for allomorphic variations, and the resulting variant forms, are indicated.

TABLE 6.1: PERSONAL CONCORD PREFIXES (CLASSES 1 AND 2)

Number	Person	Pre-Consonantal Prefixes		Pre-Vocalic Prefixes	Following Vowel[24]
		Subject	Object		
Singular	First	na			all vowels
			no		i,e,u,o,a
			nO		E,O
				n	all vowels
	Second	o			all vowels
			o		i,e,u,o,a
			O		E,O
				u	u
				o	o
				O	O
				w	i,e,E,a
	Third	a		a	all vowels
			mo	mu	u
				mo	o
				mO	O
				ngw	i,e,E,a
Plural	First	i	i	j	all vowels
	Second	e	e	y	all vowels
	Third	vá	vá	v(´)	i,e,E
				w(´)	u,o,O
				vá	a

TABLE6.II: CONCORD PREFIXES FOR CLASSS 3-7

Class	Pre-Consonantal Prefixes		Pre-Vocalic	Following Vowel
	Subject	Object		Prefixes
3	mó			
		mó		i,e,u,o,a
		mO		E,O
			mú	u
			mó	o
			mO	O
			ngw(´)	i,e,E,a
4	mé		mí	i,u
			mé	e,o,a
			mÉ	E,O
		mé	mé	i,u,o,a
			mÉ	E,O
5	lí	lí	l(´)	all vowels
6	má	má	m(´)	i,e,E,u,o,O
			má	a
7	é		y(´)	all vowels
		é		i,e,u,o,a
		É		E,O
			É	E,O
			é	i,e,u,o,a

TABLE6.III: CONCORD PREFIXES FOR CLASSES 8-10, 14, 19

Class	Pre-Consonantal Prefixes		Pre-Vocalic	Following Vowel
	Subject	Object	Prefixes	
8	vé		ví	i,u
			vé	e,o,a
			vÉ	E,O
		vé	vÉ	E,O
			vé	i,e,u,o,a
9	e		y	all vowels
		e	E	E,O
			e	i,e,u,o,a
10	i	ji	j(´)	all vowels
14	wó	wó	wú	u
			ẅó	o
			wÓ	O
			w(´)	a
			gw(´)	i,e,E
19	i	ji	j(´)	all vowels

6.1.2 SP Variants When Preceding OPs

The allomorphic variations of SP and OPs shown in Tables 6.I-III occur when these prefixes immediately precede a vowel-initial verb root or a vowel-initial tense prefix. Prevocalic SPs are also used in front of OPs which consist of only a vowel but, in this case, an additional change occurs: The OP vowel is lengthened, and carries the tone of the SP on its first mora and its own tone on the second mora. Table 6.IV gives examples of this for the SPs for first and second person singular.[25] This is one context where SP tone is preserved with pre-vocalic forms. Usually, SP tone is not preserved when pre-vocalic forms are used while OP tone is, cf. 6.1.3: 73.

TABLE 6.IV: FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SP ALLOMORPHS PRECEDING VOCALIC OPS

Subject	Object	Combination	Example	
na "I"	o "you"	no-o	no-o-nOnggO	"I will follow you."
	é (Cl. 7)	ne-é	ne-é-nOnggO	"I will follow it."
	e (Cl. 9)	ne-e	ne-e-nOnggO	"I will follow it."
o "you"	é (Cl. 7)	we-é	we-é-nOnggO	"You will follow it."
	e (Cl. 9)	we-e	we-e-nOnggo	"You will follow it."

6.1.3 Tonal Assimilation With Pre-Vocalic OPs

If an OP has a high tone, it retains its tone even when the vocalic segment with which it is usually associated is gone, for example, when pre-vocalic prefix forms are used. These floating tones, cf. 3.4.5: 42, which have no associated vocalic segment, are indicated in parentheses in Tables 6.I-III.[26] Their presence influences the tone of the vocalic

segments which follow them in the following way:

In inflected verbs formed with pre-vocalic OPs, the high tone of the OP causes the raising of any following low tone. This occurs when the lexical tone of the verb is low, cf. 5.2: 56. The original low tone of the verb is preserved with a downstep. The placement of the downstep depends upon the phonological nature of the OP. If the OP contains a vowel, the first syllable of the verb root is downstepped. This occurs with OPs for Classes 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9. If the OP does not have a vowel, then the second syllable of the verb, and all following syllables, are downstepped. This occurs with the OPs for classes 1, 3, 5, 10,14 and 19. It only appears in verb inflections where the non-initial syllables of the verb are high tone, e.g. with the tense prefix **ma**.[27] Examples are included in Table 6.V.

TABLE 6.V: TONE ASSIMILATION WITH PRE-VOCALIC OP FORMS

Verb	Class	Prefix	Basic Structure	Actual Realization	
asa "want"	1	ngw	na-ma-ngw-asá	namangwa'sá	"I wanted him/her."
	2	vá	na-ma-vá- asá	namavá'ásá	"I wanted them."
	3	ngw(´)	na-ma-ngw-asá	namangwá'sá	"I wanted it."
	4	mé	na-ma-mé- asá	namamé'ásá	"I wanted them."
	5	l(´)	na-ma-l´- asá	namalá'sá	"I wanted it."
	6	má	na-ma-má- asá	namamá'ásá	"I wanted them."
	7	é	na-ma-é- asá	namaneé'ásá	"I wanted it."
	8	vé	na-ma-vé- asá	namavé'ásá	"I wanted them."
	9	e	na-ma-e- asá	nameeasá	"I wanted it."
	10	j(´)	na-ma-j´- asá	namajá'sá	"I wanted them."
	14	w(´)	na-ma-w´- asá	namawá'sá	"I wanted it."
	19	j(´)	na-ma-j´- asá	namajá'sá	"I wanted it."

6.2 Concord Prefix Meaning: Referent Identification

Verbal concord prefixes signal information about the identity of their referent. They do this by using different prefixes depending upon the noun class to which their referent noun belongs. Bakweri grammar is more specific than English in this way. The concord prefixes enable Bakweri speakers to signal information about the noun class to which the referent noun belongs. This in turn provides hearers with relatively specific information about the identity of the referent being talked about. This can be seen by comparing the different OP forms in Table XIII with their English translations; for example, English has one form "it" where Bakweri has ten different forms which can refer to a single inanimate object, cf. 4.2: 44-47.

Personal concord prefixes in Bakweri signal meanings from two different systems, person and number. The grammatical system of person consists of an opposition of three members: first, second and third person. The grammatical system of number consists of a binary opposition: SINGULAR and PLURAL. The two systems are interlocked, cf. 2.6: 19, so that different prefix forms signal both person and number of their referent. These concord prefixes are only used to refer to animate referents. Usually these are humans, but animals also occur with personal concord prefixes, particularly when they perceived as acting like humans. The "humanlike" nature of the animal's behavior, as opposed to "animal-like" behavior, can be see from the different messages expressed in Examples 3 and 4 below.

3. é-lela e- ma- já. "The duck came."
The duck Cl. 7- TP-come

4. é-lela a- ma- já. "Mr. Duck came."

3rd pers. sing.

Figure 6.1 shows the interlocked meanings for the personal concord prefixes in Bakweri. SP forms are used to illustrate.

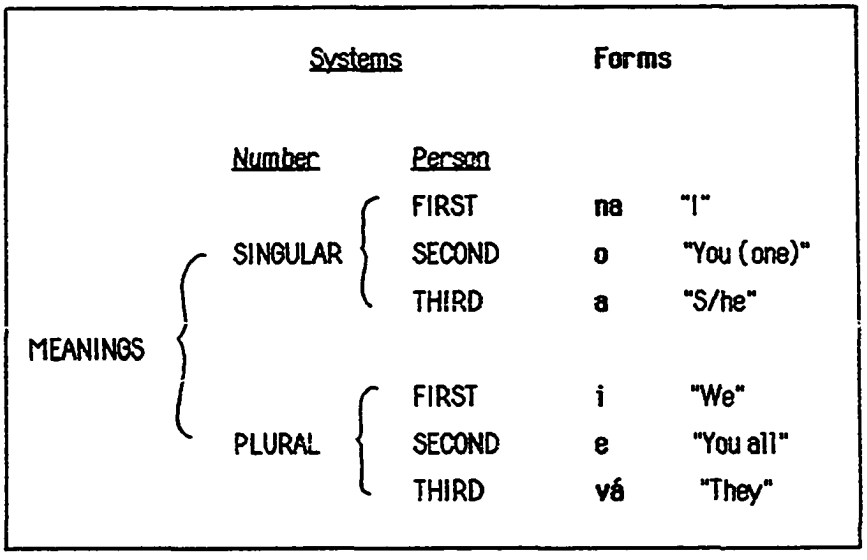


Figure 6.1: Meanings of the Personal Concord Prefixes

Non-personal concord prefixes only signal meanings from one grammatical system, that of noun class. The system of noun class differentiates nouns referring to entities in the world by type. So nouns belong to different type groups, i.e. classes. Thus a noun may belong to Class 7 or Class 9, or Class 14. Since some noun classes are usually associated with singular referents while others are associated with plural ones, the different forms from the noun class system can be used to correctly infer the number of the referent. However, we cannot say that there is interlock between the grammatical system of number and noun class since the various noun classes are not consistently associated with

the same members from the number system, i.e. SINGULAR and PLURAL. This was mentioned in 4.3 (pp. 48-49) where examples of singular nouns which belong to noun classes usually associated with plural referents were given. Figure 6.2 shows the different meanings for the non-personal concord prefixes. Again, SP concord prefix forms are used for purposes of illustration. Notice that the grammatical meanings signalled by the prefixes concerns MEMBERSHIP in certain groupings, which are not semantically based.

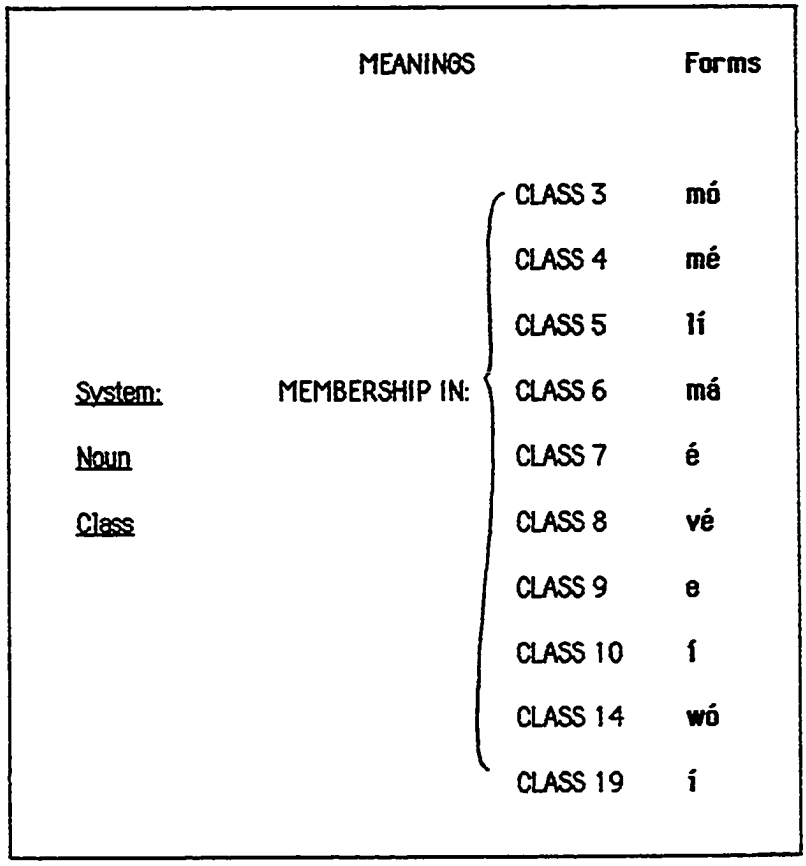


Figure 6.2: Meanings of the Non-Personal Concord Prefixes

6.3 SP and OP Meaning: Participant Roles

6.3.1 Participants

People in general perceive and describe events happening in the world around them by referring to entities which are participating in them. In particular, interest is focussed upon entities directly affected by an event, such as those responsible for making it happen and those affected by the event. In the following chapters, we will refer to entities who are somehow directly involved in the occurrence, or non-occurrence, of an event as participants in those events. As a result of people's preoccupation with who is doing what in an event, all languages have developed grammatical structures which allow speakers and hearers to keep track of the roles which different participants play in events, such as "agent", "patient", "instrument", etc. In Bakweri, this is accomplished by three sets of grammatical structures:

SP and OP positions on the verb.

Verbal Role Suffixes: Suffixes which indicate relative degrees of participation for additional participants in events.

Order of nouns following the verb.

The rest of this chapter concerns the meanings of SP and OP and how they are used to signal information about who is doing what in an event. The meanings of the suffixes themselves is examined in detail in Chapters 7 and 8. Word order is discussed in each chapter where relevant.

6.3.2 Active Sentences

In active sentences, the basic word order is Subject-Verb-Object.[28] This is shown in Example 5.

5. **emúnyána a-ma-lánggá eká'áti.** "The man- read-the book."
   man SP-TP the book Subject- Verb- Object
   Subject Verb Object

All inflected verbs in Bakweri must carry an SP signalling the noun class membership of the subject noun. This occurs regardless of whether the noun is mentioned in the same sentence or not. An OP, on the other hand, may not be used if the noun to which it refers occurs in the sentence. It is usually used when its referent noun is not mentioned in the same sentence, and when the speaker wants to signal to the hearer that the identity of its referent should be known to the hearer, i.e. when it is "old information" known from the situation or from previous mention. In this case it translates in English as a pronoun.

6. **emúnyána a- me-é-lánggá.** "The man read it (book)."
   SP-TP-OP

Since the identity of the subject is referenced by the SP in all inflected verbs in Bakweri, its noun referent need not be mentioned once it has been introduced in a discourse. In this case, the SP, like the OP, translates as a pronoun.

7. **a- me-é-lánggá.** "He read it."
   SP-TP-OP

Since reference to participants in an event can be adequately accomplished by using the subject and object prefixes alone, word order variations are possible in Bakweri. So for example, an object noun may be dislocated to the left and placed at the beginning of the sentence. This is

done to show emphasis and when it occurs the verb must carry an OP:

8. **é'ká'áti, (emúnyána) a- me-é-lánggá.** "The book, (the man)
SP-TP-OP read it."

Subject nouns may also be dislocated and placed at the end of the sentence. This occurs only with a pause intervening between the end of the sentence and the dislocated noun.

9. **A-ma-lánggá eká'áti, emúnyána.** "He read the book, the man."
SP-TP

Right dislocated constructions may also be formed with object nouns. Again, a pause is present and an OP is obligatory.

10. **A-me-é-lánggá, é'ká'áti.** "He read it, the book."

6.3.3 SP and OP Meaning

The preceding examples show how concord prefixes are used in Bakweri to keep track of who is doing what in an event. In all examples, the SP refers to the doer of the event, while the OP indicates the object being acted upon. When word order follows the basic sequence Subject-Verb-Object, the the OP is unnecessary for keeping track of participant roles. SP reference plus the placement of the noun following the verb is sufficient for distinguishing who is doing what. However, when word order varies, or when the nouns are not mentioned in the sentence, the OP becomes crucial for differentiating participant roles.

The entities referred to by SP and OP differ from one another in terms of their relative degrees of responsibility for the bringing about of the event named by their verb root. The SP is reserved for reference to the

participant who is MOST RESPONSIBLE for the event's occurrence. It may be an entity doing an action, i.e. an "agent"; an entity causing someone else to do an action, i.e. a "coercive causer"; or an entity somehow enabling or permitting someone do an action, i.e. a "permissive causer". These three possibilities are shown in Examples 11-13.

11. **engwána a- ma-lánggá eká'áti.**
child SP-TP book
"agent"
"The child read the book."

12. **emúnyána a-ma-lángg-ísÉ engwána eká'áti.** [29]
man SP-TP DS child
"causer"
"The man made the child read the book."

13. **emolána a-ma-lángg-ÉlÉ emúnyána eká'áti.** [30]
woman SP-TP DS
"facilitator"
"The woman let/enabled the man read the book."

The OP, in contrast to the SP, is used to refer to any participant who is not the most responsible for an event's occurrence. That participant may be the one who is least responsible for the event, i.e. the "object" of the action, cf. Example 10 (p. 80), or it may be someone who is somehow responsible, but who is less responsible than the most responsible participant. This occurs when derivational suffixes are used to signal the presence of various types of less responsible participants, e.g."causees",

"beneficiaries", "recipients", "antagonists", "instruments". Examples 12 and 13 illustrated instances where "causees" and "enabled agents" were involved in the event named by the verb. Like "objects", these participants may be referenced with an OP. This is shown in Examples 14 and 15.

14. **emúnyána a-ma-<u>mo</u>-lángg-ísÉ eká'áti.**
SP-TP-OP
"The man made him/her, e.g. **engwána**, read the book."

15. **emólána a-ma-<u>mo</u>-lángg-ÉlÉ eká'áti.**
"The woman let/enabled him/her, e.g. **emúnyána**, read the book."

The meaning of the SP is imprecise. This is why it may be used to infer the presence of an "agent", cf. Example 11, as well as a "causer", cf. Examples 12,14. An agent is inferred when a causer is not present because speakers know that in the real world "causers" are more efficacious for making events happen than "agents".[31] So it is the *absence* of a "causer" that allows speakers to infer the role of "agent" from the meaning MOST RESPONSIBLE, rather than the meaning of the SP itself.

The derivational suffix isE is used in Bakweri to signal the presence of a participant who is more efficacious in an event than an "agent", cf. 7.3: 108. Such participants are typically "causers". Thus, when the suffix isE is present, speakers infer that the MOST RESPONSIBLE participant, i.e. the entity referenced by SP, is a "causer" rather than an "agent". They do so because more efficacious entities are, by definition,

more responsible for making things happen than less efficacious ones. The fact that the SP can be used to refer to both "causers" and "agents" demonstrates that neither of these is the meaning of the SP. Rather, they are messages based on the following kinds of information:

1. the meanings of SP, i.e. MOST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT;
2. knowledge which speakers have about the kinds of participants who are more and less efficacious in events in the real world, e.g. "causers" are more efficacious than "agents"; and
3. the meanings of the verbal role suffixes.

The same is true for the meaning of the OP.[32] Since the OP can be used to refer to several different participant roles, its meaning is not specifically any one of these roles. Rather it is less precise. Sentences where both less and least responsible participants, cf. Figure 6.3 (p. 86), are equally likely to play the same role in the event allow us to identify the meaning of OP. This is shown in Examples 16 and 17.

16. **na-ma-vá-jan-éá emólána.**
    SP OP
    "I brought them, e.g. **váána** (children) to the woman."

17. **na-ma-mo-jan-éá váána.**
    SP OP
    "I brought her/him, e.g. **emólána** (woman) to the children."

It is impossible to convey the message "I brought her to the children" using the Bakweri sentence given in Example 16. This is because the OP is reserved for reference to a less responsible participant, as

opposed to a least responsible one, when both less and least responsible participants are equally likely to be playing the same roles in an event. What this suggests then is that the meaning of the OP is NON-MOST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT, as opposed to MOST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT signalled by SP. What we will see however in 7.2.2: Examples 14 and 15 (p. 104), is that the meaning NON-MOST is too general, and that the meaning is more precise. Specifically, it is LESS RESPONSIBLE.

As with SP, the specific roles of "antagonist", "beneficiary", etc. are messages inferred from the context in which OP reference is used, i.e. the meanings of the derivational suffixes. The role of "object" is inferred from the *absence* of a derivational suffix.

It is important to recognize that the use of OP to refer to a least responsible participant under certain circumstances is not inconsistent with the relative semantic values of SP and OP. That is, a least responsible participant is still *less* responsible than a *most* responsible one. When there is no derivational suffix on the verb, speakers do not need to concern themselves with the difference between a less and a least responsible participant; there is only a least responsible one involved. So speakers are free to use the OP to reference that participant, knowing that there will be no confusion of participant roles.

What is of interest, however, is how speakers can use the OP to refer to a least responsible participant when a less responsible one is also present. This occurs when the two participants are entities which, in the real world, are not equally likely to be playing the same roles in the event. This occurs when one entity is human and one is inanimate, cf. Examples 14 and 15: 82. In this instance, since humans are more likely to be

"causees" or "enabled agents" than inanimate objects, speakers may rely upon real world knowledge to infer participant roles and use the OP to refer to the least responsible participant instead of the less responsible one.

18. **emúnyána a-me-é-lángg-ísÉ engwána.** [33]
SP-TP-OP
"The man made the child read it, e.g. **eká'áti** (the book)."

19. **emólána a-me-é-lángg-ÉlÉ emúnyána.**
SP-TP-OP
"The woman let/enabled the man read it, e.g. **eká'áti** (the book)."

Here then, speakers rely upon inferential strategies based upon real world knowledge instead of upon grammatical meanings. The reason why they may want to do this derives from the meaning which OP signals from another grammatical system, that of focus. This will be discussed in detail in 6.4: 87. What is important to recognize is that the relative difference between SP and OP remains constant: The SP always refers to a the most responsible participant while the OP to some other participant, i.e. a less or least responsible one. The use of OP to refer to less responsible participants as well as least responsible ones is consistent with the relative value of OP, defined in opposition to SP.

The meanings of MOST and LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT belong to the grammatical system of participant roles. The way in which speakers use this semantic opposition and real world knowledge about entities who are more responsible for effecting events to infer specific participant roles, is represented in Figure 6.3.

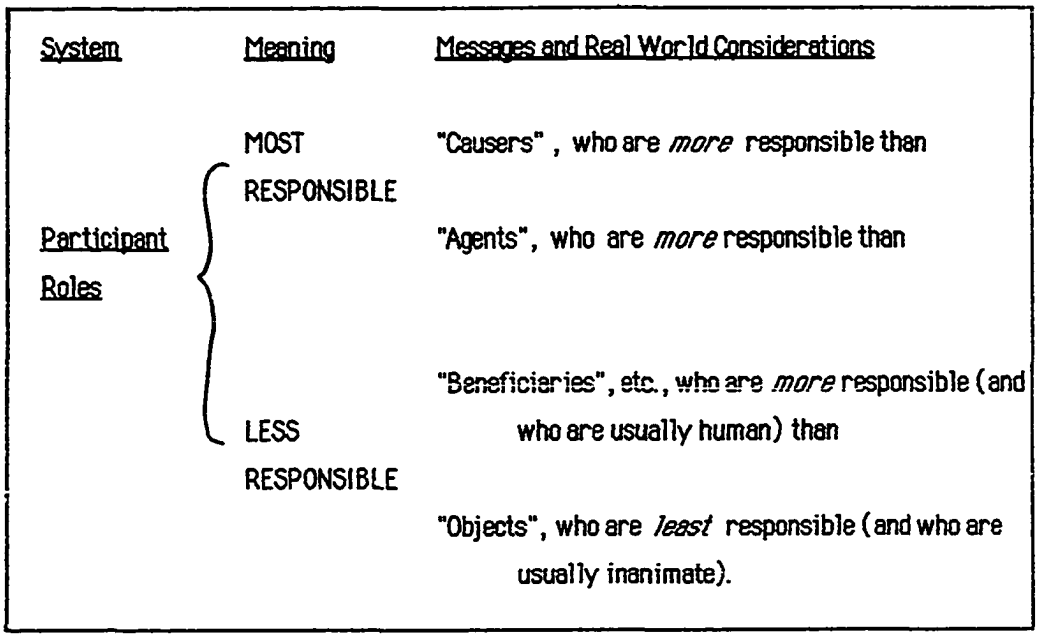


Figure 6.3: The Use of SP and OP Meanings to Infer Participant Roles

6.4 SP and OP Meaning: Focus

6.4.1 Focus

In Bakweri, the grammatical system of participant roles is interlocked with the system of focus. This means that SP and OP simultaneously signal meanings from two grammatical systems, one meaning from the participant role system and one from the focus system.

The semantic substance of focus concerns the concentration of a speaker's attention upon a particular participant in an event (Garcia, 1975: 69). In Bakweri, SP and OP signal meanings HIGH and LOW FOCUS respectively. The interlock between the focus system and the participant role system can be represented as shown in Figure 6.4.

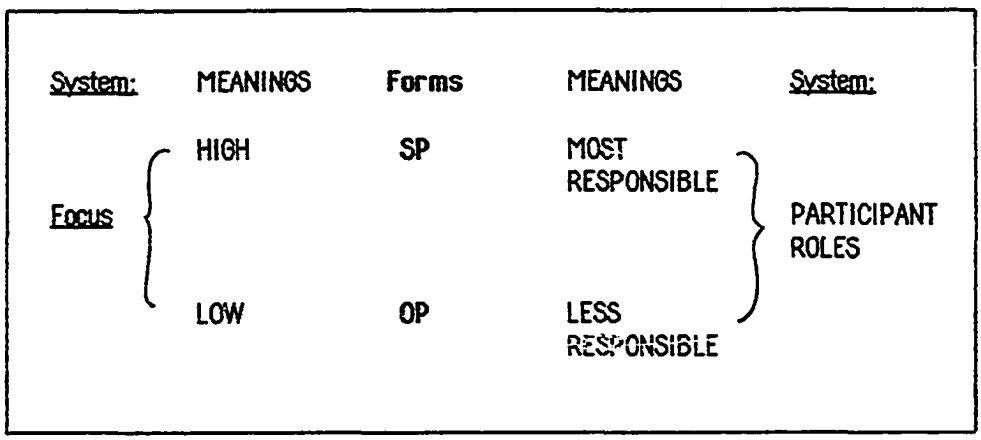


Figure 6.4: Interlock Between Systems of Focus and Participant Roles

In active sentences in Bakweri, HIGH FOCUS is automatically signalled for the most responsible participant in an event since only that participant may be referenced with SP, cf. 6.3.2: 79. This is probably not a problematic constraint for users of the language for the following reason: Since the event would not happen without that entity's involvement, they are likely to be focussing their attention upon her/him when talking about

the event anyway. In fact, the grammatical constraint itself is probably a reflection of this common interest in participants most responsible for making events happen.

In active sentences then, the Bakweri speaker cannot use HIGH FOCUS to refer to non-most responsible participants. In this sense, her/his options for using the grammatical meaning HIGH FOCUS is limited to some extent in this context. S/he is, however, less constrained in the use of the meaning of LOW FOCUS. Using LOW FOCUS, the speaker may indicate interest in either a less responsible participant or a least responsible one, cf. Examples 14/15 (6.3.2: 82) and 18/19 (6.3.3: 84-85). S/he also has the option of not signalling LOW FOCUS at all, since the OP is optional. S/he may refer to the participant with a noun and avoid using LOW FOCUS at all.

The ways in which these grammatical meanings are exploited change in passive sentences, where HIGH FOCUS is used to focus on a non-most responsible participant. In order to look more closely at how meanings from the <u>focus</u> system are exploited in contexts other than active sentences, it is necessary to consider them in passive sentences.

6.4.2 Passive Sentence Form **v**

Passive sentences are formed in Bakweri with the passive suffix **v** in Bakweri. In these sentences, the SP refers to a participant who is not the MOST RESPONSIBLE one. The noun designating the participant precedes the verb if it is mentioned; and the SP concord signals its noun class.

20. **f'ká'áti** **f-ma-jan-** **<u>á</u>-** **v-** **<u>á</u>.** "The books were brought."

SP- TP-verb-FV_X-PS-V_X

21. **emúnyána a-ma-lángg-ís É-v-É í'ká'áti.**

"The man was made to read the books.

The passive suffix **v** is attached to the verb following the derivational suffix **isE**, cf. 7.3.1: 108, and preceding the suffixes **EIE**, cf.7.4.1: 110 and **EnE**, cf. 8.2.2: 136. It does not occur with the suffixes **ea**, cf. 7.5.2: 115 and **n**, cf. 8.1.2: 131.[34] It is affixed following the final vowel of the verb. This may be the FV associated with an underived root, as shown in Example 20, or the last vowel of a DS, as shown in Example 21 with the suffix **isE**. For canonical reasons, the vowel preceding **v** is then repeated after it.

With the suffixes **EIE** and **EnE**, **v** is attached after the FV of the verb, with the DS following. Examples are given in Table 6.VI (p. 91). With monosyllabic verb roots the FV does not coalesce with the root vowel:

22. **enyama e-ma-kÉ- É- v- É** "The meat was cut."

The form of the passive suffix **v** is **w** when preceding the vowel **O**. This occurs only in passive sentences formed with verb roots which do not have a DS and which contain the root vowel **O**. Example 23 illustrates:

23. **í'mbOtí í-ma-kÓl-Ó-w-Ó.** "The clothes were sewn."

With a DS present, the vowel following **v** is always **E**, cf. Table 6.VI (p. 91).

In passive sentences, the noun referenced with the SP is placed in front of the verb. It may be any participant except the most responsible one. If both a less and least responsible participant are involved in an event, either may be referenced with the SP. The remaining noun follows

the verb. Examples of passive sentences with different participants referenced in SP are given in Table 6.VI. Their active sentence counterparts are also included.

TABLE 6.VI: Active and Passive Sentences

ACTIVE SENTENCES	PASSIVE SENTENCES
"Agent" in SP:	"Object" in SP:
emúnyána a-kÓl-O í'mbÓtí man	í'mbÓtí í-kÓlO-w-O clothes
"The man will sew the clothes."	"The clothes will be sewn."
"Agent" in SP:	"Beneficiary" in SP:
emúnyána a-kÓl-ee engwána í'mbÓtí. "Beneficiary" "Object"	engwána a-kÓl-O-v-ElE [35] í'mbÓtí. "Beneficiary" "Object"
"The man sewed the clothes for the child."	"The child was sewn the clothes."
	"Object" in SP:
	í'mbOti í-kÓl-O-v-ElE engwána. "Object" "Beneficiary"
	"The clothes were sewn for the child."
"Causer" in SP:	"Causee" in SP:
emúnyána a-kÓl-isE engwána í'mbÓtí. "Causee" "Object"	engwána a-kÓl-is-E-v- E í'mbOtí. "Causee" "Object"
"The man will make the child sew the clothes."	"The child was made to sew the clothes."
	"Object" in SP:
	í'mbÓ'tí í-kÓl-is-E engwána. "Object"
	"The clothes were made to be sewn by the child." [36]

6.4.3 Passive Suffix Meaning

The passive suffix **v** in Bakweri signals the meaning LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT IN HIGH FOCUS. With it, speakers are able to use the SP to focus upon a participant who is not the most responsible one without losing track of who is doing what in an event. In contrast to active sentences then, passive ones are distinguished by the fact that the SP is used to signal HIGH FOCUS upon some participant other than the most responsible one. In fact, in this context in Bakweri, any mention of the most responsible participant in the passive sentence is uncommon. This can be seen by comparing the acceptability of Example 24 with the unacceptability of Example 25.

24. **f'mbÓ'tí i-ma-kÓl- Ó- w-Ó.**

"The clothes were sewn."

25. ***f'mbÓ'tí i-ma-kÓl- Ó- w-Ó n-engwána.**

"The clothes were sewn by the child."

The unacceptability of Example 23 is consistent with the meaning of the passive suffix, i.e. LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT IN FOCUS. If a speaker is foccusing attention upon a participant who is not most responsible for an event, it is because either (1) the most responsible one isn't of interest or (2) a non-most responsible one is of more interest. In either instance, the most responsible one is not important enough to reference with HIGH FOCUS. It is not surprising then, then s/he wouldn't be mentioned at all in the same sentence. Again, a grammatical constraint in the language, i.e. no mention of most responsible participants in passive sentences, is explicable in terms of the meanings of the grammatical forms being used, cf. use of SP in active sentences described in 6.4.1: 87.

6.4.4 Exploitation of Meanings in Focus System

In passive sentences, the OP may also be used to signal LOW FOCUS upon a participant. Recall that in active sentences, this participant may be any entity except the one most responsible for an event's occurrence. In passive sentences, if the non-most responsible participants are equally likely in the real world to play particular participant roles, the semantic opposition between the participant role meanings of SP and OP enable speakers to keep track of who is doing what in an event. In this context then, the SP refers to the participant who is the more responsible of the two for the event's occurrence, i.e. a less responsible participant as opposed to a least responsible one. This is seen in Examples 26 and 27.

26. **(emolána) a-ma-vá- óm- ís -É- v-É.**

SP-TP-OP-verb-DS PS

"She (the woman) was made to send them (e.g. children: **váána**)."

HIGH FOCUS LOW FOCUS

LESS RESPONSIBLE LEAST RESPONSIBLE

27. **(váána) vá-ma-mo- óm-ís- É- v- É.**

SP-TP- OP-verb-DS PS

"They (the children) were made to send her (e.g. woman: **emolána**)."

HIGH FOCUS LOW FOCUS

LESS RESPONSIBLE LEAST RESPONSIBLE

Examples 26 and 27 show how, when the entities involved in an event are equally likely to play the same roles, the semantic opposition

between SP and OP is maintained to keep track of who is doing what: In these examples, the participant who is more responsible of the two mentioned must be referenced with the SP. Thus, in passive sentences where the entities being talked about are equally likely to play the same roles in the real world, a speaker can only use the meaning HIGH FOCUS for the participant who is less (as opposed to least) responsible. Again, her/his options are limited in this context: S/he can not use the meaning of HIGH FOCUS for a least responsible participant, even if s/he is most interested in that participant. S/he may either (i) give that participant LOW FOCUS status, using OP in opposition to SP, or (ii) not focus on it at all, and refer to it with a noun.

The situation is different, however, if the entities involved in the event are not equally likely to play certain roles in the real world. In this instance, a speaker has more options for exploiting the grammatical meanings available to her/him. Situations where certain participants are less likely than others to play certain roles arise when one participant is inanimate (or non-human) and one is human. In this context, the speaker has the option of using the meaning HIGH FOCUS for a least responsible participant. In addition, s/he can also use the meaning LOW FOCUS for a less responsible participant. This is shown in Example 28.

28. **(enyama) e-ma- mo-kÉ- ís-É- v- É.**

SP-TP-OP-verb-DS PS

"It (meat) was made to be cut by her/him (the child: **engwána**)."

HIGH FOCUS LOW FOCUS

Example 28 illustrates how a speaker can rely upon inferential

strategies based upon the noun class meanings of the concord prefixes for conveying messages about participant roles. S/he can do this because the difference in animacy between the two participants, signalled by their different concord prefixes e (Class 9) and mo (Class 1), will allow hearers to correctly infer participant roles without relying upon the participant role meanings of SP and OP. In this context then, speakers may choose to use the focus meanings of SP and OP together with the noun class meanings of the actual prefix forms themselves to keep track of participant roles *instead of* meanings from the participant role system.[37] This occurs only under particular circumstances, and constitutes an interesting example of how speakers may opt *not* to rely upon a form's meaning in one system, i.e. that of participant roles, if they have a particular communicative need for its meaning in another system, i.e. that of focus. Obviously, since the two systems are interlocked, this is a very treacherous endeavor, only to be undertaken when other grammatical information in the context, i.e. the noun class meanings of the prefixes, can be relied upon to help people correctly infer who is doing what.

It is also possible to use HIGH FOCUS for a least responsible participant when both participants are inanimate but, again, this is an option *only when* noun class meanings make it possible to infer different participant roles. This can happen when the nouns referring to the entities come from different noun classes. The noun class meanings of the concord prefixes, cf. 6.2: 77, allow for the correct inference of participant roles as long as the entities involved in the event do not belong to the same noun class. Their prefix forms differentiate them from one another and, since certain entities in the real world are more likely to play certain

roles than other entities, people can figure out which entity is playing which role. This is seen in Example 29 and discussed following.

29. **(luwÉndi) lí-mE- E-kÉ- É- v- ÉnÉ**[38]

SP-TP-OP-verb- PS-DS

"It (knife) was used to cut it (meat: **enyama**) ."

HIGH FOCUS LOW FOCUS

In this example, the concord prefix **lu** used for <knife> is morphologically distinct from e used for <meat>. In actual conversation, once the topic of conversation has been introduced, speakers know that they are talking about <knives> and <meat>. They also know that <knives> are more likely to be instruments in the real world than <meat>. Thus, they can use the noun class meanings to identify entities and then rely upon "common sense", i.e. real world knowledge, to figure out that the <knife> is being used to cut the <meat> and not vice versa.

The different ways in which the FOCUS meanings of SP and OP may be exploited depending upon the context in which they are used are summarized in Figure 6.5.

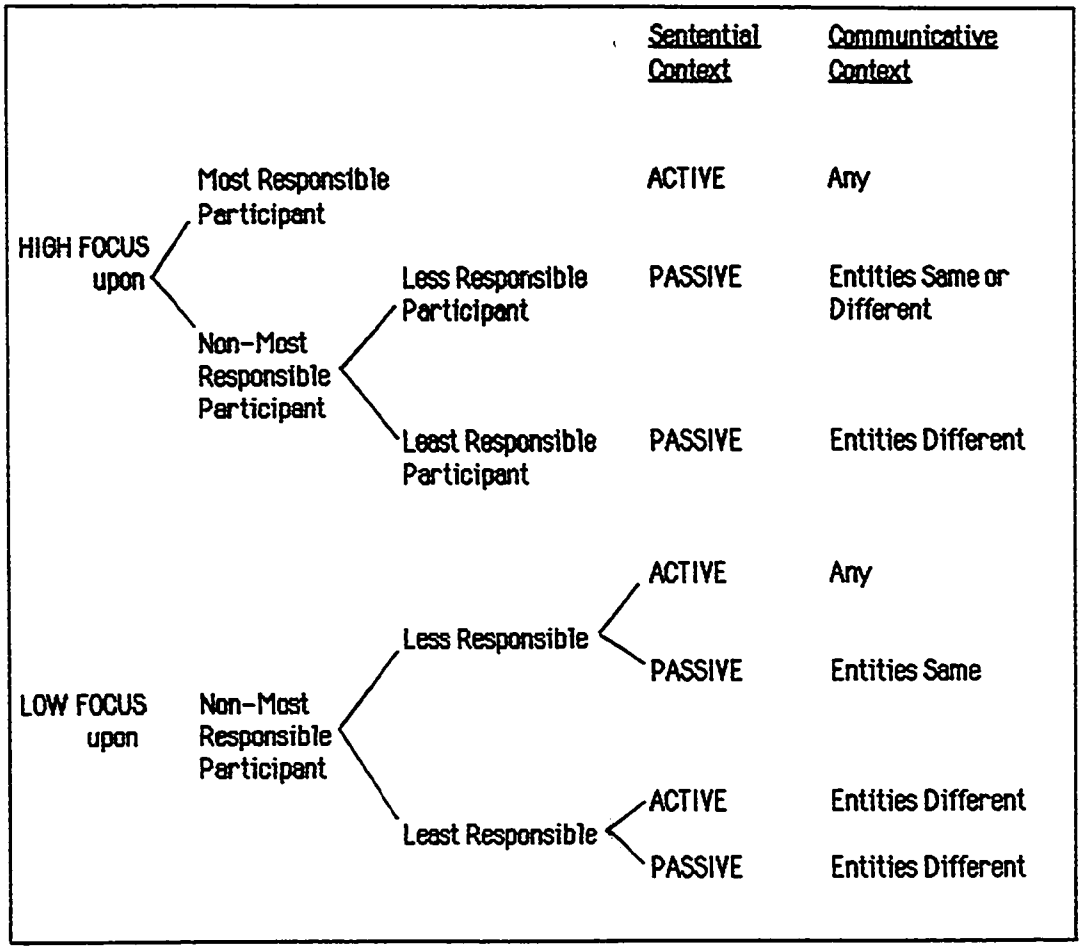


Figure 6.5: Options for Using SP and OP to FOCUS upon Different Participants

7.0 Derivational Suffixes **isE, EIE,** and **ea**

7.1. Additional Participants

In Examples 12 and 13 in 6.3.3: 81, derivational suffixes (DS) are attached to the verb root. Each of them signals that some participant other than the ones most and least responsible for the event was somehow involved in the event. We shall refer to such entities as <u>additional participants</u>, as opposed to those who are most and least responsible, whom we shall designate as <u>original participants.</u>

When there is only one entity involved in an event, and the verb root does not carry a DS or a passive suffix (PS), that participant is referenced by the SP. The actual role it plays in the event is inferred from the lexical meaning of the verb root: verbs denoting actions are done by "agents"; verbs denoting states are done by "experiencers", cf. Examples 1 and 2. Both are referenced with the SP.

1. **emogweli a-ma-linggá.** "The worker was happy."
   worker SP-TP
2. **engwíbe a-ma-vanggá.** "The thief ran away."

When there are two participants, roles are still inferred from the lexical meaning of the verb plus the meaning of SP: the SP refers to the participant who is MOST RESPONSIBLE for the event's occurrence. Any other participant is inferred to be the least responsible one, i.e. since there are only two, one will be most and one will be least responsible. In this instance, the most responsible participant is the "agent" and the least responsible one is the "object".

When there are additional participants, the relative semantic values of SP and OP remain the same. However, now there is an additional

participant involved in the event, i.e. some participant *other than* the most and least responsible ones. Different additional participants are distinguished in terms of their degree of participation or efficacy in an event. So, for example, additional participants may do very little themselves to bring about the event; in this instance their degree of participation is low. They usually play roles of "beneficiary" or "recipient", as shown in Example 3:

3. **emólána a-ma-lángg- éá engwána eká'áti.**
   woman SP-TP IS child book
   "The woman read a book to/for the child."
   "Beneficiary/Recipient"

Or, their degree of participation may be very high; they may be in fact the participant who is doing the event. In this instance, they play the role of "causee" or "agent"; this type of participant is shown in Example 4.

4. **emólána a-ma-lángg- ísÉ engwána eká'áti.**
   "The woman made/had the child read a book."
   "causee"

The additional participant may also be involved to some degree intermediate between that of a "beneficiary/recipient" and a "causee/agent". S/he may be doing the event but with the guidance or permission of the most responsible one. This type of participant is exemplified in Example 5. They usually play a role of "permitted agent" or "enabled agent".[39]

5. **emúnyána a-ma-jan- ÉlÉ engwána ékaka.**

"The man let/had/enabled the child to bring the mat."

"Enabled Agent"

Additional participants may also be participating with an original participant in the event. In this instance, a number of different participant roles may be inferred, such as an "instrument", shown in Example 6, a "co-participant", shown in Example 7:

6. **emolána a-ma-kÉ- ÉnÉ ebléti luwEndi.**

"The woman cut the bread with a knife."

"Instrument"

7. **emolána a-m-emb-áná engwána mOsOkO.**

"The woman sang a song with the child/against the child's wishes"

"Co-Agent" "Antagonist"

Example 7 shows that a co-participant may be playing a role antagoinistic to that of the original participant, i.e. acting so as to hinder the original the participant from performing the action instead of co-operating with her/him in bringing it about. Co-participation then does not mean co-operation; rather it is co-participation to the same degree, whether it be towards the same goal or an opposing one. Whether the participation is antagonistic or not is inferred from the broader discourse context.

Co-participation may also be of the kind where two most responsible participants are doing the event together, i.e. at the same time. This is shown in Example 8:

8. **vá'ána vá-ma-lángg-ÉnÉ í'ká'áti.**

"The children read the books together/at the same time."

In Examples 3-8, the semantic value of SP remains constant. SP always signals the MOST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT. It is the meanings of the verbal suffixes that enable speakers and hearers to infer the specific role being played by that participant, based on the role played by the additional participant in the event. The various suffixes are discussed individually in the sections indicated below. They are[40]:

Causative suffix **isE**:	7.3: 108-9.
Facilitative suffix **EIE**:	7.4: 110-12.
Applicative suffix **ea**:	7.5: 113-15.
Agentive suffix **n**:	8.1: 126-134.
Co-Agentive suffix **EnE**:	8.2: 135-137.

7.2 Sentences with Additional Participants

7.2.1 Word Order

When more than two participants are involved in an event, the basic word order of nouns following the verb is:

LESS RESPONSIBLE -- LEAST RESPONSIBLE

This sequence was illustrated in Examples 3-5 and 7-8 above.[41] Word order positions constitute forms in the participant role system which signal different meanings, specifically: the position immediately following the verb signals LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT while the position immediately following that position signals LEAST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT. This is seen by comparing Examples 9 and 10.

9. **na-ma-jan-éá emólána váána.**

woman children

LESS LEAST RESPONSIBLE

"I brought the children to/for the woman."

10. **na-ma-jan-éá váána emólána.**

children woman

LESS LEAST RESPONSIBLE

"I brought the woman to/for the children."

In these two examples, word order is the only grammatical structure which enables speakers to infer who is doing what. That is, it is impossible to communicate "I brought the woman to/for the children" by using the Bakweri sentence given in Example 9. These meanings are formally distinguished from one another by relative positioning of the

nouns in the sentence. They can therefore only be exploited by speakers when there are two nouns following the verb. When there is only one noun, there is no formal difference so word order following the verb cannot be depended upon for distinguishing participant roles. This situation arises when the speaker is focussing attention upon one entity using the OP.

7.2.2 OP Reference

It was observed in 6.3.3: 81 that the OP may be used to focus upon either a less responsible or a least responsible participant, *as long as* they are not equally likely to be playing the same role in the event, i.e. equally likely in the real world. The OP is used when the speaker wishes to signal the meaning LOW FOCUS on a particular participant. When this occurs, the participant <u>not</u> referenced by the OP is usually named by a noun or pronoun following the verb, cf. Examples 11 and 12.

11. **na-ma-<u>mo</u>-jan-éá jó'ónggo. (emólána)**
OP pot woman
"I brought him/her the pot."

12. **na-ma-<u>ji</u>-jan-éá emólána. (jó'ónggo)**
OP woman
"I brought it (pot) for/to the woman."

13. **na-ma-ji-jan-éá Emô.**
her/him[42]
"I brought it (pot) for her (woman).

However, if real world considerations are inadequate for correctly

inferring participant roles, i.e. when both less and least responsible participants are equally likely to play the same role, the OP is reserved for reference to the participant which is the most responsible of the two, e.g.. a "beneficiary" rather than an "object", cf. Examples 14 and 15:

14. **na-ma-<u>mo</u>-jan-éá EwÔ.** "I brought them <u>to her/him</u>."
OP OP
NOT: "I brought <u>him/her</u> to them."
OP

15. **na-ma-<u>vá</u>-janéá EmÔ.** "I brought her/him <u>to them</u>."
OP OP
NOT: "I brought <u>them</u> to him/her."
OP

Examples 14 and 15 demonstrate that the OP signals the meaning LESS RESPONSIBLE participant. It is impossible to convey the message "I brought her/him to them" using the Bakweri sentence in Example 14; this sentence can only express "them to her/him".

These examples, plus those in the preceding section, cf. 7.2.1: 102, show that there are three meanings in the <u>participant role</u> system in Bakweri: MOST, LESS, and LEAST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT. The meaning MOST RESPONSIBLE is signalled by one form: **SP.** A second form correlates, but is not necessary for inferring participant roles: **Noun preceding verb.** The meaning LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT is signalled by two forms in Bakweri: **OP** or **First position following the verb**. And the meaning LEAST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT is signalled by one form: **Second Position Following the Verb.** Use of the

meanings of word order placement depends upon whether or not nominal reference is used for both less and least responsible participants. Whether this is the case depends upon the communicative needs of the speaker: If s/he wishes to signal LOW FOCUS for the less responsible participant, word order can not used to signal participant role meanings. But if s/he does not wish to focus upon that participant, word order forms may be so used.

The meanings in the participant role system and the forms which signal them when the entities in the event are equally likely to play the same roles are represented in Figure 7.1.

System	Meaning	Forms		
		Concord Prefixes		Word Order
Participant Role	MOST RESPONSIBLE	SP		(Position preceding verb)
	LESS RESPONSIBLE	OP	or	First position following verb
	LEAST RESPONSIBLE			Second position following verb

Figure 7.1: Grammatical Meanings and Forms in the Participant Role System

The reason why OP, which signals LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT,

may be used to refer to a least responsible participant in situations such as those shown in Examples 14 and 15 (p. 104) derives from the interlock between the grammatical systems of participant role and focus described in 6.4.1: 91-92 and the relative values of the meanings in the participant system being discussed in this chapter.

In the grammatical system of FOCUS, OP signals LOW FOCUS, as opposed to HIGH FOCUS signalled by SP. When real world considerations make it likely for particular entities to play certain roles, then the LOW FOCUS may be given to the least responsible participant. The nature of the entities themselves will allow for the correct inference of participant roles. This then is a context where speakers may opt to use "common sense", i.e. real world knowledge, to infer participant roles so that they may exploit the meaning of LOW FOCUS for reference to a least responsible participant. And, since least responsible participants are still less responsible for events than most responsible ones, the value of OP, i.e. defined in opposition to SP, in the participant role system is still maintained cf. Figure 6.4 (p. 91).

If however all the entities involved in the event are equally likely to play the participant roles involved, the speaker is limited in how s/he can use the available grammatical meanings. S/he can either signal LOW FOCUS for a less responsible participant, or not signal LOW FOCUS at all and refer to the less responsible participant with a noun. In the first instance, the meaning LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT is signalled simulataneously with the meaning LOW FOCUS. In the second, the meaning LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT is signalled by post-verbal word order and the meaning LOW FOCUS is not signalled at all. The different ways in which SP and OP are exploited to convey different messages is represented

in Figure 7.2.

Form	Meanings	Messages	Linguistic Context	Communicative Context
SP	MOST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT + HIGH FOCUS	"causer"	Causative suffix isE	Any
		"agent"	No causative suffix isE	Any
OP	LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT + LOW FOCUS	"causee"	Causative suffix isE	Any
		"enabled agent"	Facilitative suffix EIE	
		"co-agent	Agentive suffix n/ENE	
		"beneficiary"	Applicative Suffix ea	
		"object"	No interaction suffix OR Any interaction suffix	Any Entities Different
No OP + Post-Verbal Word Order	LESS RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT Precedes LEAST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT	"causee"	Causative suffix isE	Any
		"enabled agent"	Facilitative suffix EIE	
		"co-agent"	Agentive suffix n/EnE	
		"beneficiary"	Applicative suffix ea	
		"object"	Any interaction suffix	Any

Figure 7.2: Options and Contexts Determining Participant Role Messages in Active Sentences

7.3 The Causative Suffix

7.3.1 Basic Form isE

The basic form for the causative suffix is **isE**, cf. Examples 15 and 16. It is attached to the verb root in place of the final vowel (FV) and takes the FV tone associated with the inflected verb.

16. **na-ma-jan- ísÉ emúnyána jÓ'Ónggo.** "I made the man bring
    SP-TP S man pots the pots."

17. **na-ma-kOl- ísÉ emólána í'mbÓtí.** "I made the woman
    woman clothes sew the clothes."

When attached to a monosyllabic verb root with the root vowel **a**, the root vowel itself harmonizes to the suffix vowel, as shown in Examples 17 and 18.

18. **na-ma- ji-ísÉ engwána.** Root: **ja** (come)
    "I made the child come."

19. **na-ma-lí-ísÉ engwána.** Root: **lá** (eat)
    "I made the child eat."

When occurring on a verb with the passive suffix **v**, the form remains the same. **v** is attached following it, and the final vowel E of the suffix is repeated as described in 6.4.2: 89 . See Table 6.VI (p. 91) for examples.

7.3.2 Messages

The suffix **isE** is used to infer the presence of an additional participant who is being caused to effect or experience the event

designated by the verb. Examples 16-19 illustrate situations where the most responsible participant is making the less responsible one do an action. Examples 20 and 21 illustrate situations where the less responsible participant is experiencing some state due to the most responsible one's efforts.

20. **na-ma-kÓ- ísÉ engwána.** Root: **kÓ** (be dirty)
    I child
    "I dirtied the child."

21. **o-ma-no-tOOl- ísÉ.** Root: **tOOl-E** (be late)
    you me
    "You delayed me."

7.4 Facilitative Suffix

7.4.1 Basic Form **ElE**

The basic form of the facilitative suffix is **ElE**, cf. Examples 22 and 23. Like the causative suffix, it is attached in place of the FV and takes whatever tone is associated with the FV in different verbal inflections.

22. **na-ma-jan-ÉlÉ engwána jÓ'ÓnggO.**

"I had/let/enabled the child bring the pots."

23. **na-ma-kÓl-ÉlÉ emólána i'mbÓtí.**

"I had/let/enabled the woman sew the clothes."

When affixed to a verb with the passive suffix **v**, it is attached following the suffix cf. Examples in Table 6.VI (p. 91) and in the following section 7.4.2: 111-112.

7.4.2 Messages

The suffix **ElE** is associated with two distinct sets of messages. In most active sentences, it is used to infer the presence of a participant who is somehow being permitted or enabled to effect an event. Given the range of possibilities, this suffix translates in a number of different ways in English, some of which, e.g. "<u>have</u> someone do something", overlap with messages conveyed by **isE**.

In certain specific contexts, **ElE** is used to infer someone for whom or towards whom an action is being done. The contexts in which this occurs are:

i. When the verb root ends in **ea**, cf. 5.7.1: 65. in this instance **ElE** replaces **ea**:

24. **na-ma-Ongg- ÉIÉ emolána engwána.** Root: **Ongg-éá**

"I looked after the child for the woman"

ii. When the verb root ends in E. This may be the FV of an underived root, cf. 5.1: 53, and Example 25:

25. **na-ma-vÉI- ÉIÉ emolána váána.** Root: **bÉI-E**

"I called the children for the woman."

In this situation the suffix may be reduplicated This appears to be idiosyncratic to certain verbs:

26. **na-m -if-ÉIÉIÉ engwána.** Root: **if-É**

"I cooked for the child."

The final E vowel may belong to a derivational suffix, e.g. **isE**. This latter situation is shown in Example 27.

27. **na-m -ey-is-EIEIE emólána váána.** Root: **ey-á**

"I made the children cry for the woman."

iii. In passive sentences, cf. :

28. **emólána a-ma-kÓI-Ó-v-ÉIÉ í'mbOtí.**

"The woman was sewn clothes."

NOT: "The woman was enabled to sew clothes."

29. **emúnyána a-m-om-á-v-ÉIÉ ekâ'áti.**

"The man was sent a book."

NOT: "The man was enabled to send a book."

iv. In reflexive sentences, cf. 9.0: 145-155. In this context,

reduplication is also common:

30. **na-ma-á-lá'ngg-ÉlÉ(lÉ) ekáˈáti.**

"I read the book to/for myself."

With certain verbs ElE may refer to either a "beneficiary/ recipient" or a "facilitator".

31. **na-m -uk-ÉlÉ engwána.** Root: **uk-á**

"I had the child arrive." ("Facilitator)

or "I arrived for/because of the child." ("Beneficiary")

The ambiguity between "facilitator" and "beneficiary/recipient" is idiosyncratic to only a few verbs. With most verbs, ELE is reserved for facilitators in active sentences.

7.5 The Applicative Suffix

7.5.1 Basic Form ea

The basic form for the applicative suffix is **ea** cf. Examples 32 and 33. It is attached to the verb root in place of the FV and takes the FV tone associated with the inflected verb.

32. **na-ma-jan-<u>éá</u> emúnyána jÓ'ÓnggO.** "I brought the pots to/
SP-TP RS man pots for the man."

33. **o-ma-kOl-<u>éá</u> emólána ĭ'mbÓtí.** "You sewed the clothes
woman clothes for the woman."

ea harmonizes according to vowel harmony patterns described in 3.3.3: 31 when it is attached to a monosyllabic verb root with the root vowel E or O cf. Table 5.III (p. 58). This is seen in Example 35.

35. **na-ma-kÉ-<u>Éá</u> emolána enyama.** Root: **kÉ**
"I cut the meat for the child."

When attached to a monosyllabic verb root having the root vowel **a**, the root vowel harmonizes with the suffix vowel:

34. **na-ma-<u>gwé</u>-éá engwána molélí.** Root: **gwá**
"I gave food to the child."

7.5.2 Messages

ea is typically associated with the presence of some participant for whom or towards whom the event is directed. This may be a "beneficiary", or "a recipient" cf. Examples 31-34, or a "location" cf. Examples 36 and 37.

36. **o-ma-nyÓ- ea liwondé.** "You drank from a cup."

37. **o-m-iv- éá eluwa.** "You stole near/by a market."

ea may be used to infer inanimate "beneficiaries/recipients" as well as "locations". The difference between the two messages is maintained using the locative preprefix **ó** in the following way: if the message is one of "location", either the noun occurs with **ea** and no nominal preprefix cf. 4.4: 51, as in Examples 36 and 37, or the noun occurs with **ea** and the locative prefix **ó**. This latter situation is shown in Examples 38 and 39 below. If the message is one of "beneficiary/ recipient" then **ea** occurs with a noun carrying a preprefix. This is illustrated in Example 40.

ea and locative prefix **ó**: "location"

38. **o-ma-nyÓ- éá ó-liwondé.** "You drank from the cup."

39. **o-m-utám- éá w-éluwa**[43]. "You stole by the market."

Noun with a preprefix: "beneficiary"

40. **o-ma-gwé- éá e-ndáo líofá.** "I made a door for the house."

If the distinction between "beneficiary/recipient" and "location" messages is not maintained using the grammatical forms described above, the resulting sentence is anomalous. So a sentence formed with a noun having a preprefix which designates something which is unlikely to be a "beneficiary" or a "recipient" is uninterpretable. This is shown in Examples 41 and 42.

41. ? **na-ma-bángg- éá endáo.** ? "I ran for the house."

42. ? **na-m-und- éá endáo.** ? "I fell for the house."

The preceding examples demonstrate how **ea** is used in active sentences to convey a number of different messages in grammatically distinct contexts. The apparent divergence between "beneficiary/ recipient" and "location" messages is not therefore due to any dual meaning for the suffix itself since it is predictable from the grammatical context in which the suffix is used. Rather, the various messages are based on different inferences made according to changes in context. What is consistent throughout all instances of **ea** is that the additional participant is someone who is not actually doing the event and who is not the participant least responsible for the event, i.e. the "object".

The applicative suffix does not appear in passive or reflexive sentences. Instead, EIE is used in these contexts to convey messages associated with **ea** in active sentences, cf. 7.4.2: 111 It is possible to venture an explanation for this differential distribution of messages if we consider the relative semantic values of these two suffixes. This is discussed in the following section 7.6: 116.

7.6 Meanings in the Participation System

7.6.1 The System

The grammatical system from which the suffixes ise, EIE, and ea signal meanings is called participation. It is concerned with the degree of activity displayed by additional participants in an event. The three suffixes differ in terms of the relative degrees of participant involvement which they signal. This difference is necessarily defined in terms of both the most responsible and the additional participant since the more one is involved the less active the other needs to be.

With isE, the additional participant is the entity who actually *performs* the event. The most responsible participant is responsible for her/his doing of the event but not actually making it happen. In fact, s/he might not even be present when the additional participant performs the event. With EIE there is more involvement on the part of the most responsible participant, although here there is a range of possibilities. S/he may be helping the additional participant, or simply doing something to facilitate the additional participant's action. With ea, on the other hand, the additional participant doesn't do the event at all. S/he is participating in bringing about the event to a much lesser degree than with EIE and isE

The relative semantic values of these three suffixes is represented in Figure 7.3.

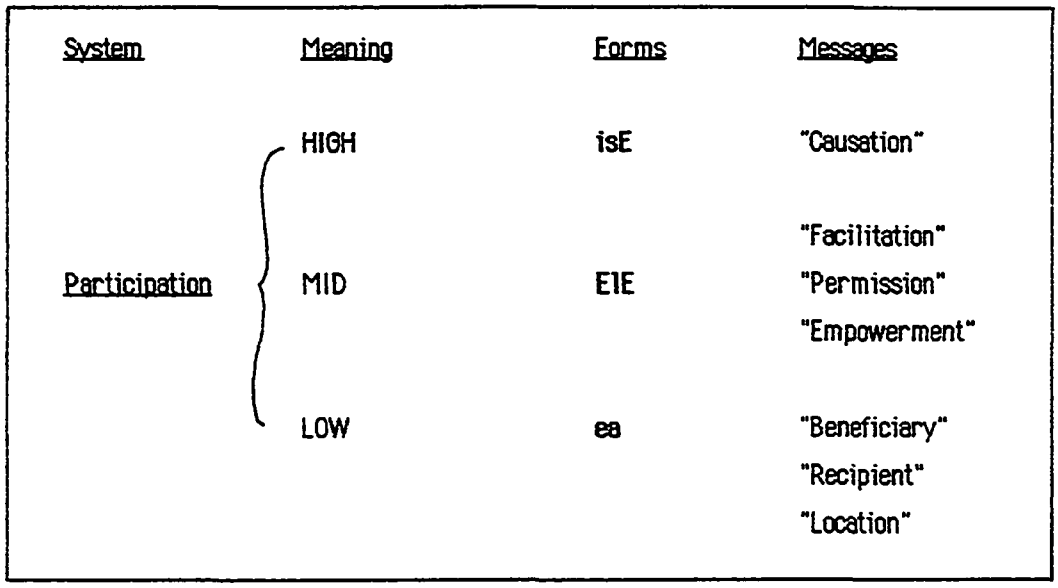


Figure 7.3: Grammatical Meanings and Forms in the Participation System in Active Sentences

7.6.2 Use of the System

In active sentences, the derivational suffixes isE, EIE, and ea are used to convey the messages indicated in Figure 7.3. Different messages are inferred based on the lexical meaning of the verb and knowledge about the kinds of roles which participants in those events are more likely to play. Also, the identity of the participants themselves is important. So for example, "locative" messages are inferred when one entity designates a location. Although one might not predict that speakers would use the meaning LOW PARTICIPATION for locations, this use is certainly not inconsistent with its meaning. "Beneficiaries" don't *do* actions, and neither do "locations". Using the meanings MID or HIGH PARTICIPATION for locations would be inconsistent since these suffixes signal , i.e. that the participants are somehow involved in the doing of the event.

Since ea signals the presence of LOW PARTICIPATION, it is possible to infer a "location" from it, although this is probably pushing the limits

of inference. It is in fact precisely because speakers *are* pushing the limits of inference by using ea to signal "location" that they need to rely upon other grammatical meanings, specifically those of the locative prefix and the preprefix, for correctly differentiating "locations" from "beneficiaries", cf. Examples 38 and 40 in 7.5.2: 114. The reason why the preprefix is associated with messages of "beneficiary" may be something like the following: "Beneficiaries" are more involved in events than "locations", even though they resemble "locations" in that both are less involved than "causees" and "enabled agents". The language has a grammatical form which is attached directly to the noun which specifically signals location, i.e. the prefix **ó**. Such a form does not existon nouns for signalling "beneficiary". What does exist is the preprefix, signalling a meaning having to do with definite reference. Definite reference is given to things which have been previously and are still being talked about. Things being talked about are of interest to the people who are talking or they wouldn't be talking about them. "Beneficiaries" are usually of more interest when describing an event than "locations" because they are more involved than the latter in bringing the event to pass. Certainly, instances where location is crucial can be envisaged but, because people are usually most interested in what other people are doing, and because "beneficiaries" are typically people, "beneficiaries" are most often in focus in conversation.

It is therefore consistent with the meaningof the preprefix, i.e. KNOWN INFORMATION, to use it more freqently with "beneficiaries" than with "locations", and to therefore associate it in general with that type of participant. Simply because "locations" are *in general* of less interest than "beneficiaries" do we find the latter more associated with preprefix

usage. Hence, we find that nouns without the preprefix, as well as nouns with the locative prefix, are inferred to be "locations" rather than "beneficiaries": if they were "beneficiaries" they would be of more interest and they would therefore have the preprefix.

Characterizing the meanings of the suffixes in terms of relative values rather than absolute categories allows us to understand why one, EIE, is used instead of another, ea, in structural contexts where the latter does not occur. These contexts were described in 7.4.2: 110. In these contexts there is no formal mechanism for signalling the a three-way opposition among the meanings HIGH, MID and LOW PARTICIPATION. Instead only two forms are available. The reason why there are only two forms has to do with how the forms were distributed at an earlier point in the development of the language. This will be discussed following in section 7.6.3: 120.

In general, when there is no linguistic form available to signal a semantic opposition, two options exist for speakers of the language: either they can use the meaning of the existing form to infer the messages signalled by two forms elsewhere in the language, or they can express some of the messages using other means, such as paraphrase. The existence of certain verbs which can convey either "facilitative" or "beneficiary" messaages cf. Example 30 in 7.4.2: 112 illustrates this first option. The fact that messages concerned with "facilitation" and "permission" are simply not inferred from EIE in particular contexts, such as in passive and reflexive sentences, exemplifies the second strategy. In this case, speakers will have to explain the relationship by using paraphrastic devices. Messages of "indirect causation", i.e. "have someone do something", may in fact be inferred from the use of isE in certain

discourse contexts. Such situations then would exemplify another instance of the first strategy.

What we have then is a situation where some ELE messages EIE are inferrable with ea while others are conveyed with isE. The use of ea to express ELE messages is fairly limited: it only occurs with certain verbs and cannot occur in passive and reflexive sentences where the form is absent. The use of isE to convey messages of indirect causation is more widespread: it occurs in passive and reflexive sentences, as well as in certain active ones, i.e. depending upon the intent of the speaker in particular discourse contexts. This phenomenon of different forms being used to convey the messages conveyed by a third form is explicable when we consider the relative value of the forms under consideration: EIE signals semantic content intermediate between the EIE and ea, cf. Figure 7.3 (p. 108). But the difference among the three forms is relative rather than absolute. So it is not surprising that each neighbor could be associated with the others' messages: this overlap in messages occurs at boundaries between values.

While the preceding discussion suggests why isE and ea might express messages in one context that are elsewhere conveyed by EIE, it does not address the question of why EIE signals LOW PARTICIPATION in passive and reflexive sentences instead of ea. Why does ea not occur in these contexts? If it did, EIE could be used to signal the same value that it has in active sentences, i.e MID PARTICIPATION. It is this phenomenon that can be explained with reference to diachronic considerations.

7.6.3 Diachronic Considerations

While Proto-Bantu reconstructions have been made for the causative and applicative suffixes, there are no such reconstructions for the facilitative suffix, cf. Meeussen (1967), Guthrie (1967-71). Comparative data does reveal, however, that there are two forms for the applicative suffix in many Bantu languages, each occurring in certain structural contexts. The basic form of the suffix is reconstructed as a single high front vowel followed by an alveolar consonant, cf. Meeussen (1967: 92). In languages where two variants exist, one is the vowel alone, and the other is the vowel plus consonant combination. This is exemplified by Swahili, where the applicative suffix form is **i** if the verb root ends in a consonant, and **li** if it ends in a vowel. This is shown in the following examples:

Applicative **i**: **ni-li-ku-pik- i- a chakula.** Root: **pik**
SP-TP-OP-verb-DS-FV food
"I cooked food for you."

Applicative **li**: **ni-li-ku-chagu- li-a koti.** Root: **chagu**
SP-TP-OP-verb- DS-FV coat
"I chose a coat for you."

Comparative data then demonstrates how different forms of the applicative suffix are used in different structural contexts. Presumably, at an earlier point in the development of the language, this was the case in Bakweri. The vocalic form of the prefix would have been **e** with the final vowel **a** attached through the same vowel affixation processes that account for the FV found on verb roots in particular contexts, cf. 5.1: 53. The variant form would have involved an **l**, used in the specific contexts outlined in 7.4.2: 111. At some point in the history of the language, a

vowel E preceding **l** in the variant form would have been introduced and normal vowel harmony processes would have affixed the FV E instead of **e(a)**, cf. 3.3.3: 31.

As indicated by comparative data, the original semantic opposition in the system was binary, between the causative and the applicative suffixes. It was used to distinguish "causation" from "benefit" (cf. Meeussen, 1967:92) This explains why the messages of "beneficiary/recipient" are retained over messages of "facilitation/ permission": they are the messages which were associated with the original opposition; those of "facilitation" are a relatively recent innovation.

What is of interest then is the process of semantic differentiation which resulted in the synchronic system. At some point in time, Bakweri speakers began to use a form which already existed in the system in certain contexts to signal a *new* value in contexts where it had not previously occured. The semantic substance signalled by the form remained the same. What changed was its relationship to other values in the system. So, with this available form, it was possible to differentiate one value into two, and a binary opposition evolved into a ternary one. The new value enabled speakers to infer a range of messages somewhere between the two values of the original system. This process is represented in Figure 7.4.

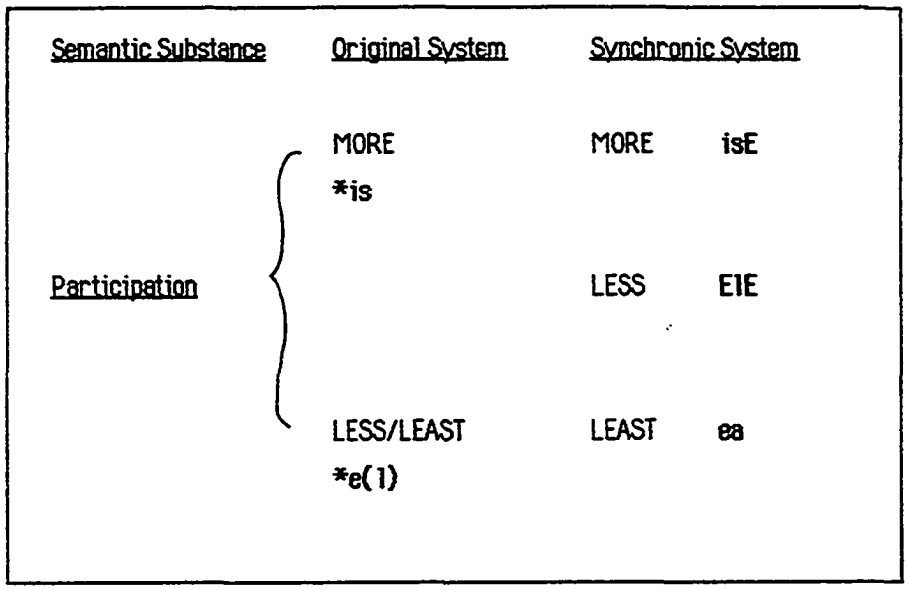


Figure 7.4: Diachronic Development of Semantic Oppositions in Active Sentences in the Grammatical System of Participation

Historically, EIE was probably an allomorph of ea, predictably occurring in certain contexts. This is still true. What is innovative, is its new value in contexts where it is not an allomorph of ea, e.g. in active sentences. Its semantic substance remains the same in both contexts; what differs is its value. It has one value where the system has a binary opposition, i.e. in active sentences, and another value in contexts where the system has a tertiary opposition.

7.7 Verbs with both isE and EIE

7.7.1 Form

isE and EIE may both occur on one verb. When this happens isE precedes EIE, and EIE is often reduplicated. The final vowel of isE and the initial vowel of EIE coalesce.

43. **na-m- ey-ís-É-lÉlÉ emólána váána.**
"I made the children cry for the woman."

44. **na-ma-jan-ís-É-lÉlÉ engwána molélí.**
"I had food brought to the child."

7.7.2 Messages and Meaning

When both isE and EIE are used on the same verb, they signal HIGH and LOW PARTICIPATION respectively since this is a context where ea does not occur, cf. 7.4.2: 110. What is of interest is that, while HIGH PARTICIPATION is signalled, the participant so involved is not usually specifically mentioned in the sentence. So, it is impossible to communicate the message "I had the child bring food (to someone)" using the sentence given in Example 44.

In these sentences, the first noun following the verb is regularly inferred to be the "beneficiary/recipient" and not the "causee". It is in fact impossible with this combination of suffixes to name the "causee" without naming the "beneficiary/recipient". Both may be identified, but this results in an unnaturally long sentence which speakers are uncomfortable with. More commonly, the identity of the "causee" is given elsewhere in the discourse, if it is important. When both "causee" and "beneficiary/recipient" are named by nouns, the "beneficiary/recipient"

noun precedes the "causee" noun.

45. ? **na-m-jan-ís-É-lÉlÉ engwána emúnyána molélí.**

"I made the man bring food to/for the child."

Just as first position following the verb is reserved for a "beneficiary/recipient" in verbs with both isE and ElE, the OP is reserved for the same. So it is impossible to reference the "causee" with the OP in this context:

46. **na-ma-mO-jan-ís-É-lÉlÉ engwána molélí.**

"I made the child bring food to her/him."

not *"I made her/him bring food to the child."

8.0 Derivational Suffixes **n** and **EnE**

8.1 Agentive Suffix

8.1.1 Basic Form **n**

The basic form of the agentive suffix is **n**. It is attached following the FV of a verb root and that vowel is repeated following the suffix, cf. Examples 1 and 2. The resulting final syllable has the same tone as the preceding one.

1. **emólána a-m-emb-á- n-á engwána.**

"The woman sang with the child/against the child's wishes."

2. **emúnyána a-ma-kÓl-Ó- n-Ó emólána.**

"The man sewed with the woman/against the woman's wishes."

With monosyllabic verbs, the FV does not coalesce with the root vowel:

3. **na-ma-kÉ-É- n-É enyama luwEndi.**

"I cut the meat with a knife."

8.1.2 Messages

In active sentences, the agentive suffix is associated with several different kinds of participants. It is used to infer the presence of an instrument, as shown in Example 3 above, and Example 4.

4. **o-ma-kÓl-Ó- n-Ó embÓti mésingga mí'índá.**

cloth thread black

"I sewed the cloth with the black thread."

Or the means by which an event is accomplished, as in Examples 5 and 6:

5. **a-m-End-É- n-É etiléni.** "S/He went by plane."

6. **a-ma-n-uk-ís-É- n-É mó'tóa.** "S/he brought me by car."

It is also used to indicate the presence of an inanimate agent which is responsible for the occurrence of some state:

7. **a-ma-sÓngg-Ó- n-Ó ígwê.** "S/He was dried by the sun."

8. **a-ma-til-á- n-á embúa.** "S/He was wet with rain."

Or the presence of a participant who is somehow accompanying the most responsible participant:

9. **na-ma-jam-á- n-á engwána.** "I bent down carrying the child."

10. **a-m-uk-á- n-á emólána.** "S/He arrived with the woman."

11. **o-ma-jan-á- n-á engganggo.** "You came with the umbrella."

And it may be used to infer the presence of something accompanying a least responsible participant:

12. **na-m-omá- n-á engwána jÓ'ÓnggO.**
child pot
"I sent the pot with the child."

It may be used to refer to a participant away from whom something is taken:

13. **a-m-iv-á- n-á engwána eká'áti.**
"S/He stole a book from the child."

14. **na-ma-and-á- n-á emolána jÓ'ÓnggO.**
"I bought the pot from the woman."

Or a participant who does not want the event to occur:

15. **na-ma-kÉ-É- n-É engwána enyama.**
"I cut the meat against the child's wishes."

16. **o-ma-an-á- n-á emúnyána váána.**
"You beat the children against the man's wishes."

In most instances, the meaning of the verb and/or the nature of the entities involved in the event will help hearers to correctly infer participant roles. So for example, a message of "from someone" is inferred with the verbs **and** (buy) and **ib** (steal) in Examples 13 and 14, while a message of "means" is inferred from the verbs **End** (go) and **ukisE** (make arrive) when they are followed by an entity naming a vehicle. The preprefix, cf. 4.4: 51, is also used to disambiguate, in much the same way as was observed for messages conveyed with the applicative suffix, cf. 7.5.2: 114 and 7.6.2: 118. This is shown in Examples 17 and 18:

17. **a-ma-n-emb-á- n-á mÓsOkO.** "S/He sang the song with me."

18. **a-ma-n-emb-á- n-á mOsOkO.** "S/He sang a song against me."

In Example 17, the message of "co-agent/assistant" is inferred when the noun **mOsOkO** (song) carries a preprefix, while the message of "antagonist" is inferred in Example 18 when the preprefix is not used. This can be explained in the following way: When speakers talk about events which occur they usually describe them with reference to entities who are involving in bringing them about. This is because the event would not have

occurred without those entities; they are therefore of interest. The preprefix itself is used on things which are of interest, cf. 7.6.2: 118. When two entities co-operate together in the bringing about of an event, the event occurs as expected, and the expected product results. In this instance, then, interest in the product, indicated with use of the preprefix, correlates with interest in the entities who helped bring the event to pass. If however, one entity is somehow working against the event, there is a risk that it will not occur. Its product therefore is not as likely to be of as much interest as the entity who is threatening to prevent the event from occurring in the first place. So lack of a preprefix in this instance is due to the fact that all the speaker's interest is focussed upon the "antagonist"; this is signalled by reference to that entity in LOW FOCUS. Use of the preprefix on the noun for <song> would detract attention from the entity in LOW FOCUS and, since s/he is threatening to prevent the event, the speaker is much more interested in her/him than in the result of the action. If s/he has her/his way there wouldn't be any result anyway.

The use of the preprefix for differentiating participant roles only occurs when the less responsible participant is referenced by an OP. This is consistent with the meanings of OP and the preprefix: OP signals LOW FOCUS. The preprefix signals interest in an entity named by a noun. If the speaker wants to signal interest in two entities simultaneously, s/he can do so. One can be referenced with OP and one with the preprefix. In the normal course of affairs, events are effected by people to achieve some outcome. When this occurs, speakers are likely to be equally interested in *who* is doing the event and *what* they are doing. If however, a participant is threatening to prevent the occurrence of an event, it is likely to be of more interest than anything else. *Not* using the preprefix

on the noun naming the result of the action allows all attention to remain with the entity referenced with the OP. This occurs when that entity is of special interest. And who is more interesting - someone doing what they are expected to do, i.e. helping the event along, or someone who is doing something else, i.e. interfering. Obviously, the latter. Non-use of the preprefix allows speakers to get maximum communicative strength from the FOCUS meaning of OP.

The preceding examples show that **n** is used in active sentences to express a wide variety of messages about additional participants in events: "instruments", "means", "sources", "antagonists", "assistants", "accompaniers", etc. These roles all differ from those conveyed by the other derivational suffixes in terms of the relationship which exists between the most responsible participant and the additional participant. With these suffixes, the additional participant was somehow *subordinate* to the most responsible participant, cf. Figure 7 (p. 117). With **n**, the additional participant is somehow *coordinate* with an original participant. Usually the coordination occurs with the most responsible participant; however, it may occur with the least responsible one, cf. Example 12 (p. 127).

We are using the term *coordination* here in the sense of "acting at a similar level of power". This is clearest in the case of "instruments", cf. Examples 3 and 4 (p. 126), and "accompaniments", cf. Examples 9-11 (p. 127); both types of participants are acting *with* the most responsible one to effect the action. In fact, the action is effected by *both* of them working together. For messages of "inanimate agent", cf. Examples 7 and 8 (p. 127), and "means", cf. Examples 5 and 6 (p. 126), the difference in message has to do more with the nature of the activity named by the verb

than with a change in meaning for n, i.e. the verb designates a state when there is the message of "inanimate agent" while it denotes movement for the message of "means". When the verb denotes an action upon an object the message is one of "instrument.". With "antagonists", cf. Examples 15 and 16 (p. 128), and "sources", cf. Examples 13 and 14 (p. 127-8), the additional participants are acting in opposition or cooperation, but neither controls the other's participation. Again the lexical meaning of the verb may determine the nature of the message: cooperation is inferred for a transaction which is advantageous to both parties, such as "buying" cf. Example 14 (p. 128); opposition is inferred when the action is detrimental to one participant, such as "stealing" cf. Example 13 (p. 127). If the lexical meaning of the verb does not disambiguate messages, the situational context will. So if you are cutting the meat mentioned in Example 15 (p. 128) with the child helping you to hold the knife, the message will be one of "assistent" or "co-agent". But if the child is crying and trying to stop you from cutting the meat, the message will be one of "antagonist".

The agentive suffix does not appear in passive sentences; instead another suffix, EnE, is used to infer the different participant roles described above. This suffix is discussed in 8.2: 135.

8.1.3 Word Order

The order of post-verbal nouns in sentences containing a verb with n differs from that described for other derivational suffixes in 7.2.1: 102 in one instance. Specifically, variant ordering is possible when n is being used to convey a message of "instrument". In this context, the instrument noun typically follows the object noun, cf. Example 19.

19. **na-ma-kÉ-É-n-É ebléti luwEndi.**

"I cut the bread with a knife."

If, however, the instrument is named using a noun with the preprefix, cf. 3.4: 51, its referent noun may precede the object noun. This is not possible if the preprefix is not used. Compare the acceptability of Example 20 with the unacceptability of Example 21.

Instrument named with a noun with the preprefix:

20. **na-ma-kÉ-É-n-É lúwEndi ebléti.**

"I cut the bread with the knife."

Instrument named with a noun without the preprefix:

21. ***na-ma-kÉ-É-n-É luwEndi ebléti.**

If we assume that "instruments" are more responsible for events than "objects", the ordering of instrument nouns following object nouns may be considered as an exception to the ordering generalization outlined in 7.2.1: 102. There is, however, no reason a priori why this might be the case. Since the most responsible participant physically wields the "instrument", it may be that it should not be regarded as an *independent* coordinate participant and thus ordering conventions need not follow the basic order for other coordinate participants. Certainly the fact that the instrument noun can be ordered either in front of or following the object noun suggests that "instruments" are viewed differently than other additional participants. And this differential status is not surprising: "instruments" are inanimate while most other less responsible

participants are human, cf. Examples in Chapter 7.0: pp. 98-124. Indeed, when **n** is used to infer the presence of a human co-participant, i.e. "antagonist", "accompanier" or "assistant", the ordering of the referent nouns must follow the basic pattern, cf. Examples 12-16 (pp. 127-128).

If we accept the explanation that word order following the verb varies from the sequence LESS -- LEAST RESPONSIBLE because "instrument" nouns are not like other less responsible participants, i.e. in that they are not human, then we still need to account for why an "instrument" noun may *not* precede an "object" noun unless it has a preprefix, cf. Examples 20 and 21 (p. 132). The question to pose, and to answer, is: what do less responsible participants and entities referenced with the preprefix have in common?

Less responsible participants are of interest to speakers because they are involved in the bringing about of events. Nouns with a preprefix are things which are of interest since to be definite in reference they need to have been previously mentioned or be identifiable in some other way, cf. 3.4: 51. Things that have been mentioned already or that are somehow identifiable must be of interest, i.e. they are known, or have been mentioned and are still being talked about. Less responsible participants usually occur in first position following the verb and, since they are inherently interesting because of their involvement in the event, it may be that the position immediately following the verb has come to be associated with *more interest* than the second position following it. Certainly the fact that first position correlates with OP reference is consistent with this notion: OP reference signals LOW FOCUS and participants occurring in first position after the verb are the only ones who may have LOW FOCUS when the entities involved are equally likely to

be playing the same role in the event, cf. 6.3.3: 83. If initial post-verbal position is associated with speaker interest, then speakers would not want to put a noun which does *not* have a preprefix in that position while leaving a noun *with* a preprefix in second post verbal position. Since preprefixes are also associated with *interest* the meanings of the post-verbal positions would be in direct conflict with the use of the preprefix. So sentences like those in Examples 19 and 20 (p. 132) where the noun in initial post-verbal position has a preprefix are acceptable, while sentences such as that in Example 21 (p. 132) where the noun in initial post-verbal position does *not* have a preprefix are not.

8.2 Co-Agentive Suffix

8.2.1 Basic Form EnE

The basic form of the co-agentive suffix is **EnE**. It is formally indistinct from the agentive suffix **n** on verbs whose FV is E. Table 8.1 provides sample forms of verb roots with both agentive suffixes.

TABLE 8.1: VERB ROOTS WITH AGENTIVE SUFFIXES

Root		With n		With EnE	
vángg-a	"run"	**vángg-a-n-a**	"run with/against"	**vángg-EnE**	"run together"
émb-a	"sing"	**émb-a-n-a**	"sing with/against"	**émb-EnE**	"sing together"
kÓl-0	"sew"	**kÓl-0-n-0**	"sew with/against"	**kÓl-EnE**	"sew together"
sík-a	"grind"	**sík-a-n-a**	"grind with/against"	**sík-EnE**	"grind together"
sEngg-E	"sift"	**sEngg-E-n-E**	"sift with/against/together"		

8.2.2 Messages

Like **E1E**, cf. 7.4.2: 110-112, **EnE** is used to infer two distinct sets of messages. In active sentences, it is used to convey that more than one agent is doing the event, and that the agents are doing the event <u>together</u>. It occurs most often with plural SP referents, or with the preposition **na** "with" preceding the co-agent(s), cf. Examples 22 and 23.

22. **i-ma-vangg-EnE.** "We ran together."

23. **na-ma-vangg-EnE n-engwána.** [44]
"I ran together with the child."

The fact that **EnE** is specifically associated with multiple agents is what enables people to correctly infer co-agents even when there is no formal distinction between **EnE** and **n**, cf. 8.2.1: 135. This can be seen by comparing Examples 24 to 25 and 26.

24. **na-ma-kÉ-É-n-É engwána enyama.**
"I cut the child's meat, i.e. with or against her/him."

25. **na-ma-kÉ-ÉnÉ enyama n-engwána.**
"I cut the meat together with the child."

26. **i-ma-kÉ-ÉnÉ enyama.** "We cut the meat together."

In passive sentences, **EnE** is associated with all the messages found with the agentive suffix **n** in active sentences. And the message of co-agents with which it is associated in active sentences is no longer conveyed, cf. Examples 22-24 (p 135-6). When the passive suffix **v** is used with the derivational suffix **EnE**, it precedes the suffix.

27. **engwána a-m-emb-á-v-ÉnÉ mOsOkO.**
"The child was sung a song against."[45]

28. **emolána a-ma-and-á-v-ÉnÉ enyama.**
"The woman was bought the meat from."

29. **í'mbOtí í-ma-kÓl-Ó-v-ÉnÉ mésingga míí'ndá.**
"The clothes were sewn with black thread."

Again, as was the case with **ElE**, cf. 7.4.2: 110-112, a divergence in

message type correlates with specific differences in structural context. In both cases, the difference between active and passive sentences is critical. And, as with EIE, cf. 7.6.2: 120, the message divergence is explicable through reference to the relative semantic values of the forms involved.

8.3 Meanings of the Suffixes n and EnE

8.3.1 The System

n and **EnE** belong to a grammatical system concerned with a semantic substance which we will call participant coordination. They provide information about additional participants who coordinate their activities with original participants to effect events. As mentioned in 8.1.2: 130, *coordination* is being used here to characterize an equality of status for an additional participant vis-a-vis another in the bringing about of an event. It is not intended to imply that both participants are necessarily working together, i.e. cooperating to effect the event. Clearly with "antagonists" this is not the case. But the "antagonist" is not subordinate to the participant doing the event, as is the case with the suffixes concerned with participation cf. 7.6: 116. The two participants somehow operate on a coordinate level whose presence is signalled with **n** or **EnE**. In the case of "antagonists", the "push-pull" of the two participants is crucial to the way the event was effected; both their roles were equally important.

The two suffixes differ from one another in terms of the degree of participant coordination which they signal. **EnE** signals MORE COORDINATION. So it is used with participants who are doing *the same thing* as their coordinate participants. They are maximally coordinate. Furthermore, they are also always most responsible participants, cf. 8.2: 135. **n** signals LESS COORDINATION. Participants associated with this signal act in a variety of different ways. They may oppose their coordinate participant, as in "antagonist" messages; they may assist them, as in "assistant" messages; they may merely accompany them, as in "accompaniment" messages; they may do something for the participant, as

in "instrument" messages; etc. The opposition is represented as in Figure 8.1.

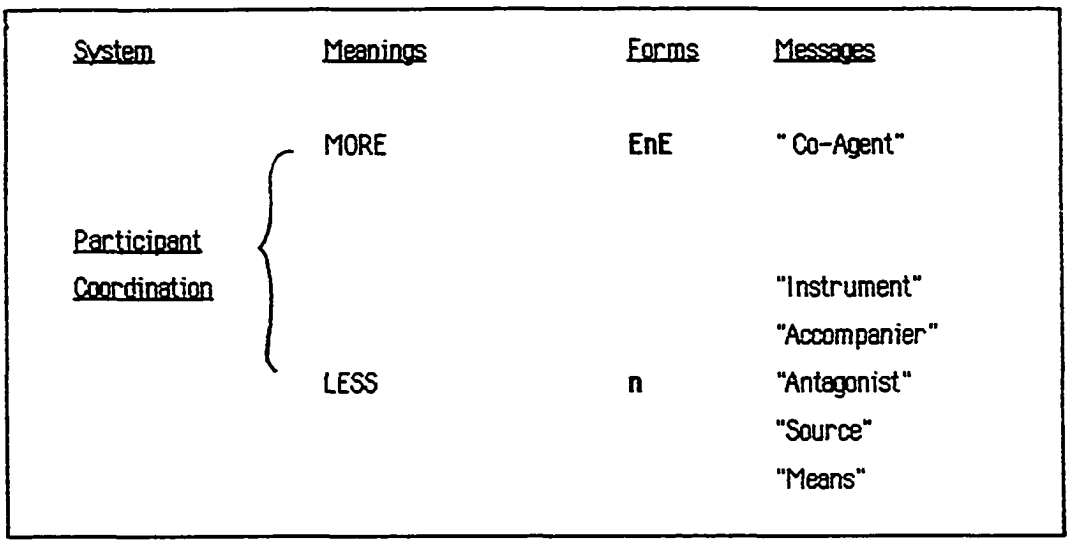


Figure 8.1: Meanings, Forms and Messages in the Participant Coordination System

8.3.2 Use of the System

In active sentences, the suffixes **n** and **EnE** are used to convey the messages indicated in Figure 8.1. Certain contextual cues are regularly associated with use of **EnE**. Specifically, it occurs only with multiple most responsible participants. This means than even in the morphological context where there is no formal distinction between **n** and **EnE**, i.e. with verb roots whose FV is E, the different messages can still be appropriately inferred through reference to the context in which the suffix is used. Different messages for **n** are inferred from the lexical meaning of the verb, as well as from the nature of the actual entities participating in the event. So for example, an "instrument" is inferred when the event is "cutting" and the additional participant is a "knife", while an "antagonist" or an "assistant" is inferred when the additional participant is a person.

The discourse context in which the sentence is used enables speakers to further distinguish these two messages.

The fact that both suffixes are concerned with the same semantic substance allows us to understand why one can be used for the messages conveyed by another in contexts where the latter does not occur, i.e. why EnE is used instead of n to signal LESS COORDINATION in passive sentences. The reason why n only occurs in active sentences is not clear from synchronic data alone. Comparative data allows us to hypothesize about how this situation may have evolved.

8.3.3 Diachronic Considerations

There is only one Proto-Bantu reconstruction which corresponds to these two Bakweri suffixes. It is a low vowel a followed by an alveolar nasal. This reconstructed suffix is associated with messages of "reciprocality" (cf. Meeussen, 1967: 92), so semantically and formally it appears to be the original form for the suffixes in Bakweri's system of participant coordination. The fact that only one proto-form has been reconstructed suggests that at an earlier point in the development of the language, there was only one suffix, presumably n. One of its allomorphs was, and still is, EnE. It occurrs with verbs with E as an FV, and is formed through vowel affixation, cf. 5.1: 53, and harmonization processes, cf. 3.3.3: 31, which are still productive in the language. At some point in the development of the language, speakers began to use the allomorph EnE to signal a semantic value in opposition to that of n. This occurred only in contexts where it was not an allomorph for n, i.e. with verbs which did not have E as a FV. A system that originally only had one meaning, signalled by three forms depending upon the phonological context, i.e. EnE, OnO, and

ana, cf. 8.1.1: 126, evolved into one which had a binary opposition in certain contexts. This was accomplished by using one allomorph as a signal for a new value in contexts where it was not an allomorph of the original meaning, i.e. on verbs which occurred with the allomorphs **OnO** and **ana**. The process was presumably the same as observed for **EIE** and **ea** in 7.63: 120. It is represented in Figure 8.2.

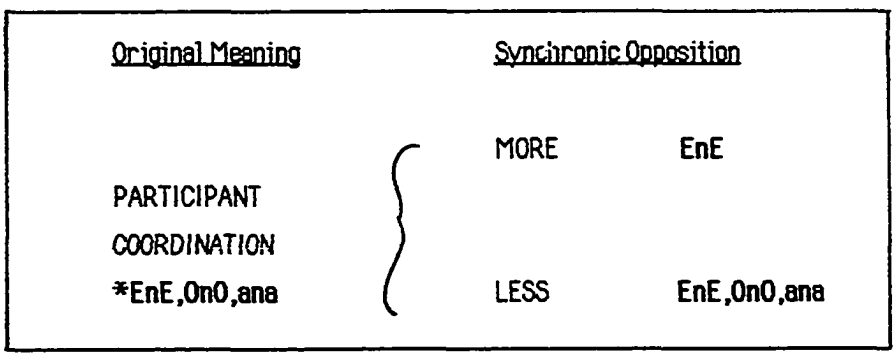


Figure 8.2: Diachronic Development of the Semantic Oppositions in the Participant Coordination System in Active Sentences

Figure 8.2 shows that **EnE** was originally an allomorph of the suffix **n**. It still is. What has changed is that its semantic substance has become more differentiated in active sentences than in reflexive and passive sentences. In the former instance, the substance is signalled by two values: MORE and LESS PARTICIPANT COORDINATION. In the latter, only one value exists: PARTICIPANT COORDINATION. The value differentiation does not alter the semantic nature of the substance being signalled. What it *does* do is allow speakers to differentiate values within the substance more precisely in one context, i.e. in active sentences.

8.4 Verbs with both Agentive and Participation Suffixes

8.4.1 Verbs with **isE** and **n**

isE and **n** may both occur on one verb. When this happens, **isE** precedes **n**.

30. **na-ma-fángg-ís-É-nÉ engwána ewoló.**

"I caused the child's work to be spoiled."

31. **na-ma-anj-ís-É-nÉ emúnyána í'ká'áti.**

"I had the man's books taken away, i.e. from the man."

32. **na-ma-vend-ís-É-nÉ emólána váána.**

"I had the woman's children's hair plaited, i.e. she didn't want me to have it done."

This combination of suffixes is used to signal HIGH PARTICIPATION *plus* MORE COORDINATION. There is no opposition between **n** and **EnE** in this context. The messages which are inferred from **n** when used in conjunction with **isE** are more limited than when it is used alone. In fact, only one is possible: the role of "antagonist". As when **isE** was combined with **EIE**, cf. 7.7: 124, **isE** is used to infer "causation" but the "causee", is not usually mentioned. Instead, the noun which immediately follows the verb is inferred to be the "antagonist".

OP concords may be used for either the "antagonist" or the "object". They may not be used for a "causee".

8.4.2 Verbs with **n** and **ea**

ea and **n** may also be used on one verb. When this occurs, **n** precedes **ea**. With this suffixal combination, different messages are inferred according to the particular verb root used. This appears to be idiosyncratic and therefore possible messages cannot be predicted without reference to the particular verb root being used. Three possibilities were observed.

i. The action is done with something for the benefit of someone. Examples are:

agw-a-n-ea "climb with something for someone"

timb-a-n-ea "return with something for someone"

nOngg-O-n-ea "follow with something for someone"

ii. The action is done to the detriment of one person for the benefit of another. Examples are:

anggw-a-n-ea "throw someone's thing for someone else, i.e. without permission"

vángg-a-n-ea "run away with someone's thing for someone else, i.e. without permission."

The two preceding sets of messages can be predicted from combining the meanings of the two suffixes, i.e. LOW PARTICIPATION, e.g. "beneficiary", *plus* LOW COORDINATION, e.g. "co-agent" or "antagonist". The last set of examples appears to deviate from this pattern: while two suffixes are present, the messages inferred are the same as those inferred from the presence of **n** alone.

tínd-a-n-ea "put something aside without someone's permission"

la-a-n-ea "eat something without someone's permission"

More data must be collected before an explanation can be ventured for examples such as this.

8.5.3 Verbs with E1E and **n**

When this E1E and **n** co-occur, E1E precedes **n**. E1E is used in combination with **n** in active sentences to convey that an event has been facilitated to the detriment of someone. As with verbs where **isE** and **n** co-occur, the less responsible participant is not usually mentioned.

33. **na-ma-ák-É1É-nÉ engwána eká'áti.**

"I had the child's book passed, i.e. s/he didn't want me to."

Again the message is explicable in terms of the two suffix meanings: MID PARTICIPATION, e.g. "enabled agent", *plus* LOW COORDINATION, e.g. "antagonist". E1E is also used with **n** in reflexive sentences. These sentences are discussed in detail in 9.2.3: 156.

9.0 Reflexive Affixes

9.1 Basic Form á...E

The basic form of the reflexive prefix is **á** accompanied by a final vowel (FV) E which is attached to the verb following the passive suffix and any derivational suffixes, if present. In addition, a high floating tone (FT) occurs on the verb. Its placement depends upon the lexical tone of the root, as well as the type of tense/aspect affix used on the verb. There are two basic formations:

(i) Addition of the FT on the first or second syllable of the verb . In this instance, the FT appears as a downstepped high. This formation occurs with the tense affixes **ma, éái,** and **î,** and the occurrence suffix **e.** See 9.1.1: 145-148 for detailed discussion and examples.

(ii) Addition of the FT on the final syllable of the verb. This occurs with the aspect prefixes **áa** and **'má,** plus with verbs inflected without a tense/aspect affix. See 9.1.2: 148 for examples and discussion.

9.1.1 Reflexives Formed with Tense Affixes **ma, éái, î,** or the Occurrence Suffix **e.**

Reflexives formed with low tone verb roots inflected with the tense prefixes **ma, eai, î** occur with the high FT added to the first syllable of the root. The original low tone of the root causes it to be downstepped from the preceding high tone, cf. Examples 2, 4, 6, 8.

Distant Past **ma** (cf. 10.2: 162):

Active:	Reflexive:
1. **na-ma-sOs-á.**	2. **na-ma-á-'sOs- É.**
SP-TP-verb-FV	SP-TP- RP-verb-FV
"I washed."	"I washed myself."

The reflexive FV does not replace the tense suffix **ééi**:

Past Today **ééi** (cf. 10.2.3: 164)

Active:	Reflexive:
3. **na-sós-ééi.**	4. **na-á-'sós-ééi.**
SP-verb-TS	SP-RP-verb-TS
"I washed today."	"I washed myself today."

The reflexive FV replaces the tense suffix **î**, and retains the falling tone of the tense suffix:

Non-Past **î** (cf. 10.3)

5. **na-sós-î**	6. **na-á-'sós-E**
SP-verb-TS	SP-RP-verb-FV
	"I just washed myself."

The reflexive FV replaces the occurrence suffix **e**, and the high FT replaces the low tone of the occurrence suffix.

Expected Occurrence **e** (10.5.2: 188)

7. **ná-sós-e.**	8. **ná-á- 'sós-É.**
SP-verb-OS	SP-RP-verb-FV
"I should wash."	"I should wash myself."

The FT's for reflexives formed from high tone roots inflected with one of these affixes, occur with a downstep following the initial high tone of the root, cf. Examples 9-12 (p. 147). This constitutes a context where downstep is phonemic in Bakweri, cf. 3.4.4: 40.

Past:	9. **na-ma-á-kÓ'sÓ.**	"I wounded myself."
Past Today:	10. **na-á-kÓ's-éái.**	"I wounded myself today."
Non-Past:	11. **na-á-kÓ's-É.**	"I just wounded myself."
Expected:	12. **na-á-kÓ's-É.**	"I should wound myself."

The reflexive prefix coalesces with the initial vowel of vowel-initial roots in reflexives formed with the tense prefix **ma**. With high-tone vowel-initial roots, the FT is manifested as a downstepping of all non-initial syllables in the same way as was observed for consonant-initial roots, cf. Examples 2, 4, 6, 8 (p. 146).

Active:	Reflexive:
13. **na-m-emb-á.**	14. **na-ma-é'mb-ísÉ.**
"I sang."	"I made myself sing."

With low-tone vowel-initial roots, the downstepping of the initial syllable observed with consonant-initial roots is not apparent since the preceding vowel is low (downstepping is only apparent after a high tone syllable, cf. 3.4.4: 40).

15. **na-m- ey-á.**	16. **na-ma-éy-ísÉ.**
"I cried."	"I made myself cry."

In reflexives formed from low tone monosyllabic verb roots and which carry the tense prefix **ma** (cf. 10.2.1: 162), the vowel of the root coalesces with the reflexive FV if they are the same, i.e. if the root vowel is E.

17. **na-ma-sÉ.**	18. **na-ma-á-'sÉ.**
"I brushed."	"I brushed myself"

In contrast, the root vowel E does not coalesce with the reflexive FV in **ma** tense reflexives formed from high tone monosyllabic roots. This permits the realization of the expected downstep following the initial syllable of the verb.

Active:	Reflexive:
19. na-ma-kÉ.	20. na-ma-á-kÉ-'É.
"I cut."	"I cut myself."

In summary then, reflexives formed with the tense affixes **ma, éái, î**, and the occurrence suffix **e** occur with an FT which consists of a downstep occurring on the first syllable of low tone roots, and on the second syllable of high tone roots. Special considerations only affect the formation of reflexives with **ma**. They are: (i) the reflexive prefix vowel coalesces with the root vowel of vowel-initial roots; and (ii) the reflexive FV coalesces with the root vowel of low tone monosyllabic roots.

The downstep of the first syllable in low tone roots constitutes an example of synchronic processes of downstep formation from an original low tone. The downstep of the second syllable in high tone roots exemplifies phonemic downstep, since its presence cannot be explained in terms of an original low tone.

9.1.2 Reflexives Formed With Aspect Prefixes or the Unmarked Occurrence Form

Reflexives formed from roots inflected with the aspect prefixes **áa** and **'má** (10.4: 179-185) or unmarked for tense/aspect (10.5: 192-194) occur with the high FT on the last syllable of the inflected verb. The high FT combines with the low FV tone associated with these verb inflections

to form a final rising tone. The reflexive FV E replaces the FV of the verb.

The second vowel of the aspect prefix **áa**, coalesces with the reflexive prefix vowel **a** to form a single vowel with a rising tone. These changes are shown in Examples 22 and 24.

Active:	Reflexive:
21. **n- áa-sÓs-a**	22. **n- á- a- sÓs- Ě.**
SP-TP-verb-FV	SP-TP-TP+RP-verb-FV+FT
"I am washing."	"I am washing myself."
23. **n-áa-kÓs-O.**	24. **n-á-a-kÓs-Ě.**
"I am wounding."	"I am wounding myself."

The reflexive prefix vowel does not coalesce with the vowel of the aspect prefix **'má.**

25. **ná-'má-sÓs-a.**	26. **ná-'má-á-sÓs-Ě.**
"I have already washed.	"I have already washed myself."

The reflexive prefix vowel is attached immediately following the SP, or the OP if one is present, in verbs which are unmarked for tense/aspect/occurrence. Prevocalic SP forms are not used in this context.

27. **na-sÓs-a.**	28. **na-á-sÓs-Ě.**
"I will/usually wash."	"I will/usually wash myself."

With monosyllabic verbs, the changes observed for reflexives formed with the tense prefix **ma** also occur with the aspect prefixes **áa** and **'má,** and with the unmarked occurrence form, cf. 9.1.1. So the FV

coalesces with the vowel of high tone verbs whose root vowel is E, while it does not for low tone verbs.

High Tone Verbs

Active:	Reflexive:
29 n-áa-kÊ.	30. n-á-a-kÉ-Ě.
"I am cutting."	"I am cutting myself."
31. ná-'má-kE.	32. ná-'má-á-kÉ'É.
"I have already cut."	"I have already cut myself."
33. na-kE.	34. na-kÉ-E.
"I will/usually cut."	"I will/usually cut myself."

Low Tone Verbs

35. n-áa-sE.	36. n-á-a-sĚ.
"I am brushing."	"I am brushing myself."
37. ná-'má-sE.	38. ná-'má-á-sĚ.
"I have already brushed."	"I have already brushed myself."
39. na-sE	40. na-á-sĚ.
"I will/usually brush."	"I will/usually brush myself."

In summary, reflexives formed with the aspect prefixes 'má and áa, and the unmarked occurrence form, occur with a high FT which combines with the low FV tone to form a final rising tone. Special considerations for vowel-initial and monosyllabic roots are the same as

those noted in 9.1.1.

9.1.3 Reflexive Imperatives

In verb forms which do not carry an SP, the reflexive prefix consists of a double vowel aa. In the imperative cf. 10.1: 159, both vowels are high-toned (Gensler: 1980, 15). The high FT occurs as a downstep preceding the final falling tone found in imperatives. It is only apparent when the preceding syllable is high. Again, this is an instance of phonemic downstep.

41. áá-' sÓs-'Ê. "Wash yourself!"
RP-verb- FV

9.1.4 Reflexive Verbal Nouns

In verbal nouns, cf. 5.1: 53, the first vowel of the prefix is low in tone while the second vowel is high. The high FT combines with the final low tone of the noun to form a falling tone:

41. ì-aá-sÓs-â "To wash oneself/Washing oneself"

In verbal nouns formed with vowel initial roots, the high tone of the prefix is absent:

42. ì-a-émb-isÊ "To make oneself sing"

9.1.5 OP Concords with the Reflexive Prefix

OP concords may be used in reflexives. When used, they are affixed in front of the RP. Pre-vocalic OP forms are used, cf. Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-72). Examples 44, 46, and 47 illustrate use of OP concords in reflexives.

No OP:

43. **na-ma-á-kÉ'É lí'á.**
hand
"I cut my hand."

OP for "object":

44. **na-ma-l- á-kÉ-'É.**
SP-TP-OP-RP
"I cut myself it (hand)."

No OP:

45. **na-ma-á- kÉ- 'É- n-É lí'á luwEndi.**
SP-TP- RP-verb-FV-DS hand knife
"I cut my hand with a knife."

OP for "instrument":

46. **na-ma-l-á-kÉ-É- n- É lí'á.**
SP-TP-OP-RP FV-DS-V
"I cut my hand with it (knife)."

OP for "object":

47. **na-ma-l-á-kÉ-É n-É luwEndi.**
"I cut it (hand) with a knife."

9.2 Meaning and Messages

9.2.1 Meaning

The reflexive prefix **á...(')** signals MOST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANT PLAYING ANOTHER PARTICIPANT ROLE, i.e. in addition to that of most responsible participant. The role may be that of a least responsible participant, as is the case with underived verb roots, or that of a less responsible one. This latter situation arises when the verb root carries a derivational suffix.

48. **na-ma-á-kÉ'É.** "I cut myself."
"Agent"+"Object"

49. **na-m-á-é'mb-ís-É.** "I made myself sing."
"Agent"+ "Causee"

9.2.2 Messages: Reflexives with E1E and E1E1E

á...E occurs with all derivational suffixes except **ea**. In this way it is like the passive suffix **v** which also does not co-occur with **ea**. However, the two differ in that a formal mechanism exists in reflexives for distinguishing MID PARTICIPATION from LOW PARTICIPATION, cf. Figure 7.3 (p. 117) while a formal distinction does not exist in passives. In reflexives, the reduplicated form **E1E1E** signals LOW PARTICIPATION, as opposed to the unreduplicated form **E1E** which signal MID PARTICIPATION.

Recall that in active sentences, **E1E** and **E1E1E** are alternative forms when a root ends in E, cf. 7.4.2: 110. In this context the reduplicated form signals the same meaning as the non-reduplicated form, i.e. LOW PARTICIPATION. Reflexives constitute the only context where a semantic opposition is signalled by the reduplicated versus unreduplicated **E1E**

forms. Examples 50-53 illustrate.

Reduplication:	No Reduplication:
50. **na-ma-á-lá'ngg-ÉIÉIÉ eká'áti.**	51. **na-ma-á-lá'ngg-ÉIÉ eká'áti.**
"I read the book to/for myself."	"I had/let myself read the book."
52. **na-ma-á-'ján-ÉIÉIÉ jó'Ónggo.**	53. **na-ma-á-'ján-ÉIÉ jó'Ónggo.**
"I brought the pots to/for myself."	"I had/let myself bring the pots."

Examples 50-53 show that in reflexive sentences, EIEIE signals MID PARTICIPATION, as opposed to EIE which signals LOW PARTICIPATION. This semantic opposition occurs only when the most responsible participant is singular in reference. It does not occur with multiple most responsible participants. In this case, EIE and EIEIE are allomorphic variants signalling, again, the meaning LOW PARTICIPATION.

54. **i-ma-á-lá'ngg-ÉIÉ í'ká'áti.**	55. **i-ma-á-'ján-ÉIÉ jó'Ónggo.**
or	or
i-ma-á-lá'ngg-ÉIÉIÉ í'ká'áti.	**i-ma-á-'ján-ÉIÉIÉ jó'Ónggo.**
"We read the books to/for ourselves."	"We brought the pots to/for ourselves."

This then appears to be another instance where Bakweri speakers have used a form which is an allomorph for a particular value in a semantic system in one context to signal another value from the same system in another context. In one context, the semantic substance of the system is more differentiated than in the other. Specifically, EIE, an allomorph for the meaning LOW PARTICIPATION in passives, is used in active sentences to signal MID PARTICIPATION. And here we find that EIEIE, an allomorph for LOW PARTICIPATION in active sentences with verbs ending in E and in reflexive sentences with verbs referring to multiple most responsible participants, signals LOW PARTICIPATION in

reflexives with singular most responsible participants. This relationship is summarized in Figure 9.1.

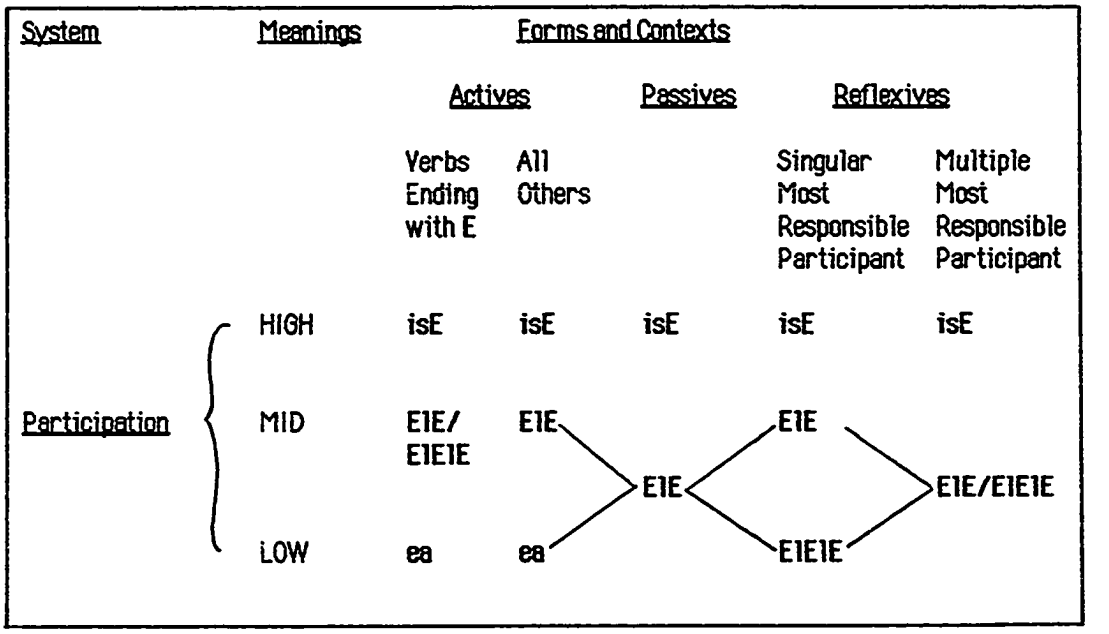


Figure 9.1: Formal and Semantic Differentiation in the Participation System

This then appears to be another synchronic context where Bakweri speakers use existing allomorphs to signal additional degrees of semantic differentiation in a semantic system, cf. 7.6.3: 120 and 8.3.3: 140. Recall that the suffix form E1E was probably historically an allomorph of ea, cf. 7.6.3: 121. The two then became semantically differentiated in certain contexts. Now E1E1E, an allomorph of the original allomorph E1E, is being used to allow speakers to maintain the more recent semantic opposition in a context where ea does not occur, i.e. contexts where it historically never occurred. As the language evolves we might expect this process to continue and spread to contexts where the opposition is still not signalled,

i.e. passive sentences and reflexive sentences with multiple most responsible participants.

9.2.3 Messages: Reflexives with **n**

In reflexives, as in passives, there is no semantic opposition between MORE and LESS COORDINATION (except when the verb also carries **EIE**). The agentive suffix form used in reflexives is **n** except as noted following (p. 157). When the most responsible participant is singular in reference the agentive suffix **n** implies the presence of an "instrument", cf. Examples 43-47 (p. 152). When the most responsible participant is plural, **n** conveys the presence of co-agents acting upon one another, i.e. "reciprocal" messages. This is accomplished by considering the meaning of the reflexive prefix together with the meaning of the agentive suffix: COORDINATION by MOST RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANTS PLAYING ANOTHER PARTICIPANT ROLE implies coordination among the participants, so they are inferred to be acting out both roles to one another, i.e. "reciprocally".

56. **i-ma-á'-fáf-á-nÉ.** "We hit each other."

57. **i-ma-á-kÉ-'É-nÉ.** "We cut each other."

When **n** is used with **isE** in a reflexive verb, it is attached following **isE**. The message is one of "reciprocality" in an event involving "causation". This inference derives directly from the meanings of the two suffixes, HIGH PARTICIPATION plus COORDINATION: Two participants who are cooperating and participating more (HIGH) actively are "making" each other do the event, or participants who are "letting" each other do the event.

58. **i-ma-á-lá'ngg-ísÉ-nÉ.** "We made each other read."

When **n** is used with EIE, it precedes **n**. The message is one of "reciprocality" in an event involving "benefit" or "receipt". This is inferred from the meanings LOW PARTICIPATION plus COORDINATION. In this context there is no distinction between MID and LOW PARTICIPATION. So, two participants who are coordinated and participating less (LOW) actively are doing the event "for" or "to" each other.

59. **i-ma-á-'ján-ÉIÉ-nÉ í'ká'áti.** "We brought books to/for each other."

The suffix EnE also occurs with EIE. When it does, it follows EIE. The message inferred is one where the participants are seen to be doing the action for themselves individually, rather than for each other.

60. **i-ma-á-'ján-En-EIE í'ká'áti.** "We brought the books for ourselves."

It is not clear whether there is a semantic opposition between MORE and LESS COORDINATION in this context, or whether EnE is an allomorph of **n** as it is in passives. One consideration which suggests the latter is the more appropriate analysis is that it is difficult to explain the message conveyed in sentences such as Example 60 with reference to the combination of the meanings MORE COORDINATION plus LESS PARTICIPATION. In contrast, it is possible to explain the message if we consider that EnE signals simply COORDINATION (as an allomorph of **n**) and that the sequence EnE + EIE (Example 60) as opposed to EIE + EnE (Example 59) is what is responsible for the change in message. In Example

59, **n** is attached *following* the DS and conveys a "reciprocal" message. The formation is formally and semantically parallel to that of reflexives formed with **n** and **isE**. In Example 60, on the other hand, **EnE** precedes **EIE**. Recall that **EnE** alone was used to infer agents doing the action "together", i.e. "at the same time", but not *to* one another. Perhaps then, speakers first infer "at the same time" from the meaning COORDINATION, and then infer "benefit" from the following meaning LOW PARTICIPATION. So the resulting inference is (a) that the agents are doing the action at the same time, and (b) that there is "benefit" involved. So the final message is that people are doing the event at the same time but individually, i.e. for themselves instead of for each othe

10.0 Affirmative Verbs

10.1 Tense/Aspect Affixes

There are two morphologically distinct sets of inflectional affixes in Bakweri. One is a set of prefixes attached immediately following the SP, cf. 0.3: 3; the other is a set of suffixes attached in place of the final vowel of the verb, cf. 0.3: 3. Each affix, in addition to its own tone, occurs with floating tones (FT) which attach to all non-tone bearing syllables of the verb, i.e. syllables other than the initial syllable of the verb, cf. 5.2: 56. These syllables may be part of the root, or the result of final vowel (FV) affixation, cf. 5.1: 53, and/or derivational suffix affixation, cf. Chapters 8-9: 126-158. So for example, with the distant past prefix **ma**, cf. 10.2.1: 162,the FT are high tones attached to all syllables of the verb following the initial one.

1. **na-ma- lángg-á.** "I read prior to today."
   SP-TP FV+FT
2. **na- ma- lángg-ísɛ́ engwána ekáˈáti.**
   SP-TP DS+FT
   "I made the child read the book prior to today."

With the near past suffix **ééi**, cf. 10.2.4: 166, the FT are also high tones, but in this instance they occur on all syllables intervening between the initial syllable of the verb and the tense suffix itself. The tense suffix begins with high tones, but the last syllable is low. With most underived verb roots, there are no intervening syllables, cf. 5.1: 53, as shown in Example 3.

3. **na-lángg- ééi.** "I read today."
   SP TS

Intervening syllables occur on verb roots which deviate from the usual pattern of CVC, cf. 5.6 and 5.7: 62-68, or which carry derivational or passive suffixes. Example 4 illustrates the addition of the FT on the causative suffix.

4. **na-lángg- ís- éái engwána eká'áti.**
   SP DS+FT- TS
   "I made the child read the book today."

Tense/Aspect affixes may also also occur with an FT which affects the tone of the SP. This occurs with the prior aspect prefix **'má**, cf. 10. 4.3: 48. This prefix occurs with a high SP tone which replaces any low SP tone, e.g. the low tone of most personal SP concords. As with the preceding affixes, **'má** occurs with a FT. In this case the FT is low, as in Example 5, unless the verb is followed by a noun, pronoun or adverb. In these instances, the final FT is high; any preceding FT remains low. This is shown in Example 6 below.

5. **ná-'má-lángg-a.** "I have already read."
   SP- TP FV+FT
6. **ná-'má-lángg-isÉ engwána eká'áti.**
   SP- TP DS+FT
   "I have already made the child read the book."

In addition to verbs inflected with tense/aspect affixes, it is also possible to inflect a verb without affixes. This occurs in imperatives and in verbs which translate with "will" or "usually". In both instances the inflection consists of only a FT. This is seen in Example 7. In this case, a

low FT occurs on all non-tone bearing syllables of the verb.

7. **na-lángg-a eká'áti.** "I will/usually read the book."

Verb inflections in Bakweri may be distinguished semantically into three types. The first set signal meanings concerned with *time*. These will be referred to as *tense affixes* ; two are suffixes and one is a prefix. The second set signal meanings concerned with *the way in which* an event occurs. These will be referred to as *aspect prefixes* since both are prefixes. The third set signal meanings concerned with the *occurrence* of an event, irrespective of tense and aspect. These will be referred to as *occurrence inflections*; one is formed with a suffix and two with only the addition of a FT.

The different ways in which verbs are inflected in affirmative sentences in Bakweri are discussed in the following sections.

10.2 Past Tense Affixes **ma** and **ééi**

10.2.1 Prefix **ma**: Basic Form

The basic form of the past tense prefix is **ma**. The tone of the prefix itself is low and the FT occurring with it is high. Examples 1 and 2 (p. 159) illustrate how consonant-initial verbs are inflected with **ma**.

With vowel-initial roots, the vowel of the prefix coalesces with the vowel of the root, unless that vowel of the verb is **a**. When the two vowels coalesce, the vowel of the verb root takes the tone of the tense prefix. This means that the distinction between high and low tone verb roots is lost in this tense, as can be seen by comparing Examples 8 and 9.

8.	**na-m-ok-á.**	"I was sick."	Root: **ók**
9.	**na-m-ok-á.**	"I played."	Root: **ok**

As noted in 3.3.5: 35, the tense prefix vowel **a** does not coalesce with a following **a** vowel:

10.	**na-ma-and-á**	**liwondé**	"I bought a cup."

When **ma** is attached to low tone monosyllabic roots, the FT combines with the low tone of the verb to form a rising tone. No such change occurs when it is attached to a high tone monosyllabic root since the two high tones simply coalesce. Compare Examples 10 and 11.

11.	**na-ma-jă.**	"I came."	Root: **ja**
12.	**na-ma-lá.**	"I ate."	Root: **lá**

When preceding an OP which is a vowel, the vowel of **ma** assimilates to that of the OP. This occurs with OPs for nouns classes 7 and 9, and for the OP for first person plural and second person singular and

plural. Recall that the OPs themselves assimilate to following vowels, cf. Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-72). Some examples are:

Class 9: 13. **na- mE- E- kÉ.**
SP- TP- OP
"I cut it, e.g. **enyama** (the meat)."

Second Person Singular: 14. **na-mO- O- kÓm-Ó.**
SP- TP- OP
"I greeted you."

Second Person Plural: 15. **a- me-e-kÓm-Ó.**
SP- TP-OP
"S/He greeted you all."

If a sequence of three of the same vowels results from **ma** preceding a vocalic OP which has assimilated to a following vowel, cf. Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-72), the sequence is simplified to two vowels, as shown for second person singular in Example 16.

16. **na-ma- o-unggw-á --> na-m-u-unggwá.**
SP- TP- OP
"I met you."

The OP for second person plural **e** coalesces with the vowel of **ma** when attached to a vowel-initial root beginning with **a**. Recall that the pre-vocalic form for this OP is **j** in all other contexts, cf. Table 6.I (p. 70).

17. **vá-ma- e-ák-á --- nameáká.**
SP-TP- OP
"They passed us."

10.2.2 Prefix **ma**: Messages

The distant past prefix **ma** is used to describe events that have happened in the past sometime prior to the day of speaking. The "day of speaking" is defined with reference to waking hours, i.e. and not periods of 24 hours beginning and ending at midnight.

18. **na-ma-gwé-á éwoló evánjá a- ma- no- v- é- á.**
SP-TP- do- FV work because SP-TP- OP- tell-DS-FV

"I did the work because s/he told me." Roots: **gwá** (do)
óv (tell)

19. **na-ma-ja na-m- u-unggw-á.**
SP-TP-come SP-TP-OP-meet- FV

"I came (and) I met you." Roots: **ja** (come)
unggw (meet)

10.2.3 Suffix **éái**: Basic Form

The near past suffix **éái** is attached to the verb in place of the FV, cf. Examples 3 and 4 (p. 159-160) The final vowel may be the FV of the root, or the final vowel of a derivational or passive suffix The FT, which affects syllables occurring between the initial syllable of the verb and the suffix is high, cf. Examples 3 (p. 159) and 20 (p. 165).

20. **na-kakÉn-ééi.** "I promised today."

With vowel-initial roots, the SP is attached directly to the verb root, unless there is an OP or the reflexive prefix. Pre-vocalic forms are used in this case, cf. Table 6.I-III (pp. 70-72). In high-tone vowel-initial verbs which have an SPs for first person singular, or first or second person plural, the low tone of the SP replaces the high tone of the verb. With these SPs then, the distinction between low and high tone verb roots is absent:

21. **y-ok-ééi.** "We played today." Root: **ok**

22. **y-ok-ééi.** "We were sick today." Root: **ók**

When **ééi** is attached to monosyllabic verbs with the root vowel a, the root vowel assimilates to the initial vowel of the suffix:

23. **na-lé-ééi.** "I ate today." Root: **lá**

24. **na-je-ééi.** "I came today." Root: **ja**

There is one exception to this: the root vowel of the verb **sá** (dance) does not assimilate:

25. **na-sá-ééi.** "I danced today." Root: **sá**

When the vowel of a monosyllabic root is E or O, the initial vowel of the suffix assimilates to the root vowel, following vowel harmony patterns described in 3.3.3: 31.

26. **na-yO-Éái.** "I laughed today." Root: **yO**

27. **na-tÉ-Éái.** "I shouted today." Root: **tÉ**

10.2.4 Suffix **éái**: Messages

The near past suffix **éái** is used to describe events which have happened sometime during the same day when the moment of speaking occurs. It is not used for events happening right at the moment of speaking or immediately prior to it. It can translate in English as "a while ago" as long as "a while ago" is understood to mean "sometime today".

28. **na-jé-éái n- u-unggw-éái.**

SP TS SP-OP TS

"I came (and) I met you a while ago (today)."

29. **na-til- éái ekáʼáti móne élélé**

SP-write-TS the book this morning

"I wrote the book this morning."

As with **ma**, cf. 10.2.2: 164, "today" is defined in terms of waking hours.

10.2.5. Past Tense Prefixes **ma** and **éái**: Meaning

The affixes **ma** and **éái** both signal meanings concerned with the semantic substance of <u>past time</u>. The suffix **éái** is specifically concerned with events happening in the past sometime during the day when the moment of speaking occurs. The prefix **ma** covers past events happening at any other time in the past. We will differentiate **ma** and **éái** semantically using the notions of NEAR and DISTANT PAST, where NEAR refers to the time period which begins at the beginning of the day of speaking and ends prior to the moment of speaking. DISTANT refers to the time period prior to that. The semantic opposition between the two

affixes is represented in Figure 10.1.

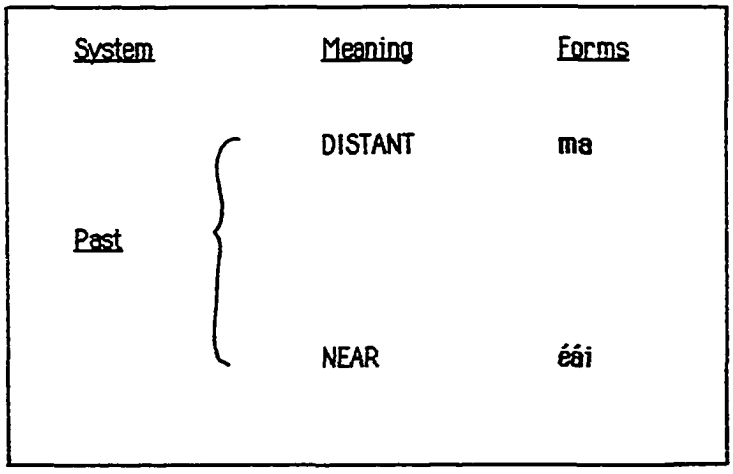


Figure 10.1: Meanings of Past Tense Affixes

In traditional stories, the distant past prefix **ma** is used to desribe past events that somehow set the scene for the main story line events. This is consistent with its meaning of DISTANT PAST: in this context, it is used to describe events happening somehow *before* other past events and/or to set a past context in which the story line events will unfold. Examples are preceded with * in the Mbela text in Appendix V (p. 273-276). The near past suffix **eai** does not appear in such texts. This also is consistent with its meaning, which is used to refer to events happening only on the day of speaking: events in traditional stories do not occur on the day of speaking.

10.3 Non-Past Suffix

10.3.1 Basic Form î

The present suffix varies in form depending upon morphological characteristics of the verb root and the actual identity of the verb root, i.e. some variations are idiosyncratic to certain verbs. The basic form of the suffix is **î** and it is attached to the verb root in place of the FV. The FT is low and occurs on all syllables of the verb intervening between the initial one and the suffix itself, except in certain cases where the falling tone of the suffix is spread over two syllables, e.g. Examples 32 and 33 below.

Morphologically, several features are important in determining the form of the suffix: the number of syllables in the verb root, the nature of its FV occurring with that root, the nature of the final segment of the root, i.e. consonant or vowel.

With polysyllabic consonant-final verb roots which take the FV **a**, the form of the suffix is **î**. It is attached in place of the FV of the verb.

30. **na-vángg-î.** "I run/I ran just now."

31. **na-sangg-î mánggola.** "I gather mangos/just now."

Two exceptions to this are the verbs **nangg** (sleep) and **ik** (put). With **nangga**, the suffix **î** is attached following the FV, instead of in place of it. The falling tone of the suffix is spread across both vowels.

32. **na-nangg-a-î .** "I'm asleep."

In the case of **ik**, both forms are possible.

33. **n-ik-á-i.** or **n-ik-î.** "I put/I put just now."

For polysyllabic verbs taking the FV E or O, the suffix form is a

floating falling tone, added to the FV.

34. **n-Ot-Ô.** "I'm tired."

35. **na-túmb-Ê enyama.** "I roast the meat/just now."

This is the form of the suffix used with all verbs carrying a DS which ends in E, as well as for most underived roots ending in that vowel.

36. **na-lángg-isÊ engwána.** "I make the child read/just now."

Certain verbs taking the FV E or O occur with the suffix vowel i:

37. **n-Ong-î.** "I follow/just now."

38. **n-Ev-î.** "I mourn/just now."

Others occur with either the suffix vowel and falling tone, or the falling tone alone.

39. **na-nyÓngg-î.** or **na-nyOngg-Ô.** "I suck/just now."

40. **na-tut-î.** or **na-tut-Ê.** "I wash/just now."

With vowel-final roots ending in the vowel e, cf. 5.6.1: 62, or roots carrying the DS **ea**, cf. 7.5: 113, the suffix form is **éli**. It replaces both the FV and the vowel e.

Root ending in e:

41. **na-kan-éli.** "I govern/just now." Root: **kane**

42. **n-Énggw-éli** "I weed/just now." Root: **Énggwe**

Exceptions are:

43. **na-véi.** or **navê.** "I hear/just now." Root: **vé**

44. **na-kí-E váana.** "I like children." Root: **kíE**

45. **mísOli mákû.** "Tears are finished." Root: **kua**

Root with the DS **ea**:

46. **na-lángg-éli engwána.** "I read to the child/just now."

47. **n-emb-éli emólána.** "I sing to the child/just now."

Vowel-final verb roots ending in **o** or **u** take suffix form **î**:

48. **na-fungu-î.** "I mix/just now."

49. **na-anggo-î.** "I'm vigilant."

The tone of SP concords for first person singular and second and third person plural combine with the basic tone of vowel initial roots to which they are attached. If the root is low, the two tones coalesce. If the root is high, the two tones combine to form a rising tone.

50. **n-ok-î.** "I play/just now." Root: **ok**

51. **n-ok-î.** "I'm sick." Root: **ók**

For monosyllabic verbs, the suffix form varies depending upon the verb, and the nature of the root vowel. For roots with the vowel **a**, two suffix forms exist:

(i) **éli** occurs with the roots **lá** (eat), **kwá** (fall), **ja** (come), and **gwa** (give). It replaces the coalesced root and final vowel.

52. **na-j-éli.** "I come/just came."

(ii) **î** occurs with the roots **sá** (dance), **ba** (share), and **ka** (estimate price). The falling tone is manifested across the root vowel and

the suffix vowel. In this case, the difference between high and low tone roots is not apparent.

53. **na-sá-i.** "I dance/just now."

54. **na-vá-i.** "I shared/just now."

Most monosyllabic verbs with the root vowel E also take the suffix form described in ii. above.

55. **na-kÉ-i.** "I cut/just now."

56. **na-sÉ-i.** "I brush/just now."

Exceptions are **tE** (be sweet) and **vÉ** (be):

57. **má-tÊ.** "It's sweet."

58. **na-v-éli.** "I am."

The suffix form which consists of the falling tone alone occurs on monosyllabic verbs with the root vowel **O**.

59. **na-yÔ.** "I laugh/just now."

60. **na-lÔ.** "I am handsome/beautiful."

One exception is **yÓ** (rain):

61. **e-yÓ-li** "It rains/just now."

10.3.2 Messages

The non-past suffix **î** conveys a variety of messages. One important contextual feature which influences the type of message inferred is the semantic nature of the verb root to which it is attached. If the verb root designates a state, the message conveyed is "occurrence at the moment of

speaking" of the state. This is exemplified in 62 and 63:

62. **na-nangg-ái.** "I'm asleep."

63. **na-lingg-î.** "I'm happy."

An implication with **î** in this context is that arrival into the present state is relatively recent. This can be seen by comparing the message conveyed with **î** with that conveyed by the aspect prefix **'má**, cf. 10.4.2: 180.

64. **na-waw-î** "I'm tall, i.e. I've just arrived into the state of being tall because I put on high heels.

65. **ná-'má-waw-a** "I'm tall, i.e. in my general height."

With non-stative verb roots, two messages are possible: "action occurring in general in the present" and "action occurred just prior to the moment of speaking, i.e. 'just now'".

66. **na-vángg-î.** "I run (often)" or "I ran just now."

Discourse context determines which of these two messages is being expressed. So, for example, if someone comes into a room breathing heavily and says Example 66, the inference is that s/he ran "just now." If on the other hand two people are having a conversation, and have been together for awhile and one says Example 66, the inference is that s/he runs "often" or "regularly".

In the following example from the Mbela text (Appendix V, p. 273, line 4), the message of "ongoing" is inferred rather than a message of "prior" because the preceding context describes an activity which can only occur if something else is happening. So the act of "hearing" can only be

perceived if there is something to "hear", and therefore the "shouting" which is described using the non-past suffix **î** is inferred to be happening *at the same time as* the "hearing" is occurring rather than *prior to* it.

...**sĭ áEndÉ ó'ngwánú ya ndÉki lEndÉ likEenjisÉ í'káfá já**
then he goes up stairs to go to change money for

ndio á'véá ndí moto ndí a-mo-tÉ-É-ní lí'ína...
transport (and) he hears someone who is calling his name...

The suffix **î** is also used to describe a hypothetical situation, i.e. situations that might occur or might have occurred. This is seen in Examples 67 and 68.

67. **na-m-end-é omá n-o-kÉ-i.**
"If I had gone, I would have seen you."

68. **a-vángg-î tÉ na-mo-lEmbE.**
"If s/he runs then I will catch him/her."

In traditional stories, **î** is also used to describe events which are to happen *after* other events in the main story line. Again, it is used to describe events in relation to events which are not described with reference to past time. This is seen in another example from the Mbela text (Appendix V, p. 274 ,line 11).

sĭ ikOme amá "j-uk-i tÉ ó sOfÓ mbéla alí'ía ó mbúsa...

then ikome says "when we arrive at sofo mbela will remain behind...

10.3.3. Meaning

The suffix **î** differs from the distant past prefix **ma** and the near past suffix **éái** in that it is used to described events without reference to their occurrence in past time. It is used to describe hypothetical events in the future, real events happening around the moment of speaking, and, in traditional stories, events that happen at the same time or following events *not* described with the distant past time prefix **ma**. Its meaning is therefore best characterized as NON-PAST in opposition to PAST, cf. 10.2.5: 166. This characterization is necessarily imprecise; it is intended to capture the semantic contribution which **î** makes in all instances of its use. The more precise messages are inferred from informantion in the context in which **î** is used. The meaning of **î** is represented in Figure 10.2 in terms of its relationship to the past tense suffix meanings described in Figure 10.1 (p. 167).

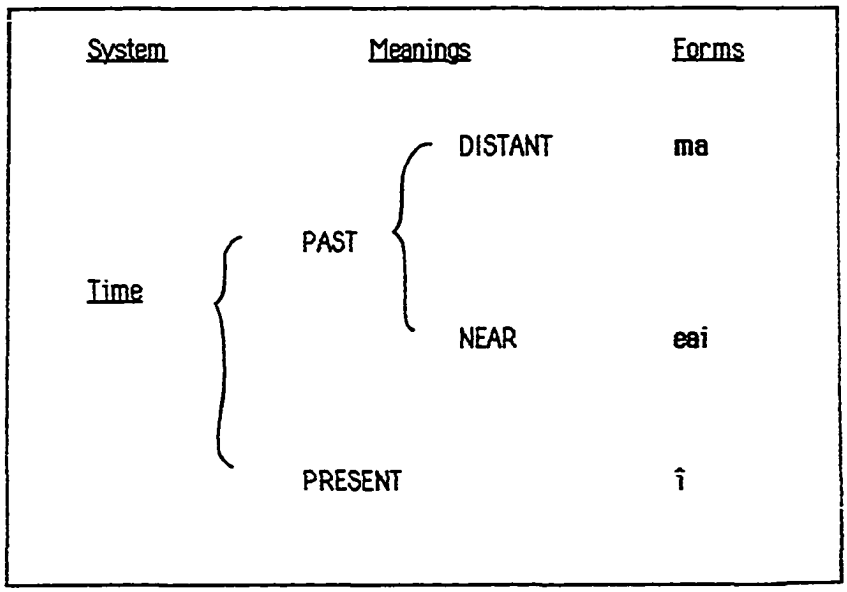


Figure 10.2: Meanings in the Tense System

Figure 10.2 shows the basic semantic oppositions which exist between the tense affixes. It does not explain how the oppositions are exploited by speakers in the actual communication of messages. This was discussed in 10.3.2: 171 and is discussed further below. What is important to recognize is that the meanings are abstractions, designed to capture the essence of the semantic information signalled by the tense affixes. The actual messages inferred from sentences with verbs carrying the affixes are much richer and more nuanced. This is because speakers "fill in" the details surrounding an event from information in the context in which a sentence is uttered. Context includes other words in the sentence and their meanings, as well as extra-linguistic information.

A clear example of how speakers rely on information beyond the meaning of a particular grammatical form to infer the message being communicated can be seen when î is used on verb roots describing states. Recall that in this instance, the message was one of "general existence" rather than "occurrence immediately prior to the moment of speaking". The reason why the message of "occurrence immediately prior to the moment of speaking" is often not associated with stative verbs, particularly when elicited independent of a particular situation, has to do with the nature of the events described by those verbs and how people view them. The difference may be described in the following way: States of being are viewed as existing over a period of time; in some cases they are even seen to be more or less "permanent", as in the case of "being tall" or "being fat" etc. Often their precise beginning and ending points are difficult to identify; they may begin and end gradually. Non-states, on the other hand, have easily identifiable beginning and ending points. It is easier to see when someone begins or finishes "running" than it is to see

when s/he begins or finishes "being tall". Example 64 (p. 172) illustrates this difference insofar as it describes a situation where the beginning of the state is easily identifiable. Indeed, in this instance the inference is one of "occurrence immediately prior to the moment of speaking" as opposed to "general existence". So actually, given a situation where a state is beginning at a precisely identifiable moment, î does in fact express the same message of "just now" that it expresses with non-stative verbs. It is simply because this type of situation is less commonly found in the real world that an inchoative message is not easily inferred from stative roots occurring with the suffix î. States are, in fact, more often perceived with reference to their duration than their inception. Thus some language have overt inchoative markings to signal the less obvious instance, i.e. "inception of state".[46] That the message is in fact regarded to be somewhat "unique" for states is further illustrated by the following instance of semantic differentiation in Bakweri.

10.3.4 Semantic Differentiation

With a few stative verbs, the difference between the two types of messages, i.e. "occurrence immediately prior to the moment of speaking" and "general occurrence/existence" is specifically signalled through the use of different suffix forms. For the message of "occurrence immediately prior to the moment of speaking" the suffix form î is used. For the message "general existence of state" the suffix form of a falling floating tone, cf. 10.3.1: 168, is used. This contrast is shown in Table 10.I.

TABLE 10.I: STATIVE ROOTS WITH THE NON-PAST SUFFIX I

Root		"Occurrence Immediately Prior to the Moment of Speaking"		"General Existence of State"	
ôlo	"be fat/big"	no-ló-i.	"I just got fat/big."	no-lô	"I'm fat/big."
Ok	"be bitter"	y-Ok-î.	"It just got bitter."	y-OkÔ.	"It's bitter."
tú	"be short"	na-tú-i.	"I just got short."	na-tû.	"I'm short."
ánggo	"be vigilant"	na-ánggo-i	"I just got vigilant."	na-ánggô.	"I'm vigilant."
bé	"be cooked"	e-vé-i	"It just got cooked."	e-bê.	"It's cooked."
imo	"be woken"	n-imó-i	"I just got woken."	n-im-û	"I'm awake."

The non-past suffix î provides us with another context, cf. 7.6.3: 120-3, and 8.3.3: 140-1, where variant forms of one suffix have come to be used in particular contexts to signal a semantic opposition. The context here is limited to certain stative verbs. What is of particular interest is that the opposition has evolved in the one context where it is needed, i.e. where one message is harder to infer than the other, cf. 10.3.3: 173. Since it is more difficult to infer "occurrence of a state immediately prior to the moment of speaking", it is not surprising that Bakweri speakers, in the instance where they have various suffix forms available, have begun to use the forms to signal a semantic opposition in value which is not observed elsewhere in the language. No such differentiation is needed in the case of non-stative verbs where it is relatively easy to infer either "immediate" or "general" occurrence. It is useful in the context where such differences are not easy to infer.

The new values of the two suffix forms î and ˆ are represented in

Figure 10.2. The notions of SPECIFIC versus GENERAL are intended to capture the difference between messages of "just now", i.e. at a specific non-past time, and "in general".

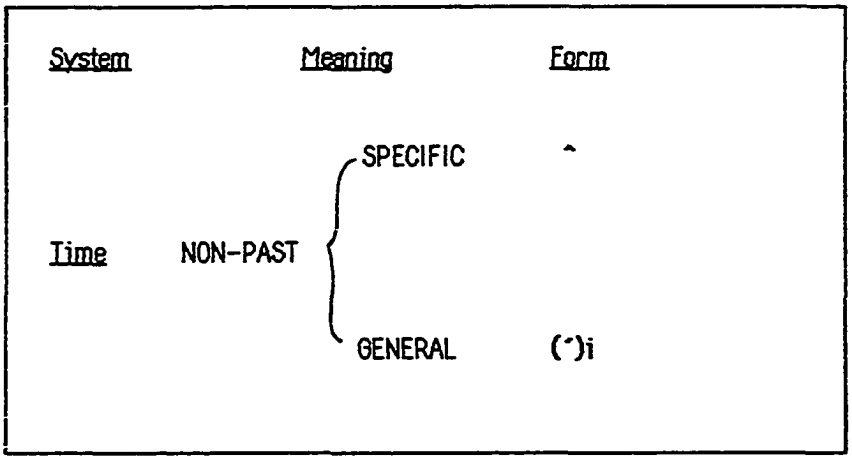


Figure 10.3: Semantic Differentiation of Non-Past Tense Suffix with Certain Stative Verbs

10.4 Aspect Prefixes áa and 'má

10.4.1 Prefix áa: Basic Form

The basic form of the aspect prefix is **áa**. The FT occurring with it is low, unless the verb is followed by a noun, pronoun or adverb. In this case, the final FT is high; all the others remain low. The difference is shown in Examples 69-72. Pre-vocalic forms of the SP are used with **áa** and any low SP tone is lost. The SP concord **a** for third person singular also coalesces with the aspect prefix, since three vowels of the same nature would result if it remained, cf. 10.2.1:163.

Nothing Following:

69. **n-áa-lángg-a.** "I am reading/about to read."
70. **áa-til-a.** "S/He is writing/about to write."

Noun/Pronoun Following:

71. **n-áa-lángg-á eká'áti.** "I am about to/reading the book."
72. **n-áa-til-á EyÔ.** "I am about to/writing it (book)."

When **áa** is attached to a vowel-initial root whose lexical tone is high, the second vowel of the prefix coalesces with the vowel of the root. The root vowel remains. The original low tone of the coalesced vowel **a** is manifested in the downstepping of the initial high tone of the verb:

73. **á-'únd-a.** "S/He is about to/falling."
74. **v-á-'índ-a.** "They are about to/gossiping."

With low tone vowel-initial roots, the prefix vowel also coalesces. Its original tone is not evident since the following tone is already low:

75. **n-á-Ev-E** "I am about to/mourning."

76. **vá-á-Ot-O.** "They are about to/getting tired."

10.4.2 Prefix **áa**: Messages

Like **î, áa** is associated with different messages depending upon the semantic nature of the verb root to which it is attached. With stative roots, the message is one of "inception" of the event, as shown in Example 77.

77. **n-áa-lingg-a.** "I am beginning to be happy." or
"I am getting happy." or
"I am about to be happy."

With non-stative verb roots, two types of messages are possible: "inception" or "ongoing":

78. **n-áa-lángg-a.** "I am about to read" or
"I am reading."

Here again, the situational context will determine which message is inferred. If the speaker walks into the room with a book in hand, the inceptive message "about to read" is more likely to be inferred than "be reading". If however, the speaker is sitting in a chair with an open book in hand, the message "be reading" is more likely to be inferred.

The aspect prefix **áa** is not restricted in reference to events happening in the present. It may also be used in the past and the future; this is shown in Examples 79 and 80.

79. Past:

imavÉ lEndÉ ógwea lÓnggO vésúa sĭ ímotánéá

when we were going to Buea to see wrestling (then) we met her/ him

ó njía áa-vángg-a.

on (the) road (s/he was) running.

80. Future:

efóndá jÉndE ómooli lisá mâlé imotánea

when we will go to Mooli to dance we will meet her/him

áa-tómb-a .

(s/he will be) passing by.

Verbs with the aspect prefix **áa** may also occur following the connecting particle **si**, which is found more often in text followed by the unmarked occurrence form of the verb, cf. 10.5.3: 192. The difference in message concerns a closer relationship between the two events in real time: when **áa** is used the two events are happening more closerly together in time, if not at the same time, cf. Example 81; when the unmarked occurrence form is used, the second event is perceived to happen in sequence following the first, cf. Example 82 (p. 182).

81. Aspect Prefix **áa**:

ná-ma-lángg-e s- áa-j-a.

then

"When I had finished reading, then there s/he was coming."

82. Unmarked Occurrence

ná-ma-lángg-e s-á-j-a.

"When I had finished reading, then s/he came."

In these contexts, the message conveyed is "ongoing" rather than "inceptive". Examples 79-82 show that the context in which **áa** is used determines its time reference. When used to describe something which is not set in a past or future time reference by preceding discourse, the moment of speaking becomes the relevant context and present time is inferred, cf. Examples 69-78 (pp. 179-180).

10.4.3 Prefix **'má**: Basic Form

The basic form of the aspect prefix is **'má**.[47] As with **áa**, the FT occurring with it is low, unless the verb is followed by a noun, pronoun, or adverb. In this case, the final tone is high; all other non-tone bearing syllables remain low. The prefix **'má** also occurs with a high tone SP. In this way it differs from all other tense affixes, which occur with SP tones associated with each noun class as indicated in Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-72). With **'má**, any low tone SP are changed to high tone, e.g. all personal concord prefixes except for third person plural.

83. **ná-'má-til-a.** "I have already written."

84. **ná-'má-til-á eká'áti.** "I have already written the book."

All prefix changes described for the distant past prefix **ma** in 10.2.1: 162-164 also affect the aspect prefix **'má**. So for example, when attached to a vowel-inital root, the high tone of the prefix replaces any initial low tone of the root. The prefix vowel itself coalesces with the

root vowel:

85. **ná-'m-émba.** "I have already sung." Root: **émb**

86. **ná-'m-émba.** "I have already recognized." Root: **emb**

10.4.4 Prefix **'má**: Messages

The aspect prefix **'má** is used to describe events that have happened in the past sometime *prior* to other events. They are events whose *prior* occurrence with respect to other events is of interest to the speaker, and this relationship is therfore made explicit using **'má**. This is shown in Examples 87 and 88 below.

87. **<u>ná-'má-gwé-á</u> éwoló ebánja a-ma-no-bé-a.**
work because
"<u>I have (already) done</u> the work because s/he told me to.

88. **<u>ná-'má-la</u> wéngga na-liéái ó-'ndáwo.**
"<u>I had eaten</u> so I stayed (today) at home."

Like **áa**, **'má** can be used in both past and future contexts. In both instances, it is used to describe an event with respect to its prior occurrence:

89. Past:
namangwÉnÉ wélua á-'má-tímb-a ó'mbóa.
I saw her/him at (the) market (after) he had returned home

90. Future:
nangwÉnE wélua á-'má-tímb-a tÉ ó'mbóa.
I will see her/him at (the) market when s/he will have returned home.

And again, when a future or past time reference is not established by context, cf. Examples 87-90, the moment of speaking is taken to be the axis of relationship for the prior occurrence, cf. Examples 83-86 (pp. 182-3).

As will **áa** and **î**, the message conveyed by **'má** when it is attached to a stative verb root differs from that which is conveyed with other verbs. Like **î**, the message is one of "continuing existence" when it is used with a stative root.

91. **ná-'má-lingg-a.** "I'm happy."

What is of interest here is that **'má** appears to express the same message expressed by **î** in this context, cf. 10.3.2: 171-3. However, as shown in Examples 64 and 65 (10.3.2, p. 172) the message is not quite identical. The prefix **'má** is used when the state being described is seen to occur over a longer period of time. The suffix **î**, on the other hand, is used when the state is more temporary, i.e. when it has begun more recently and is not assumed to be of a durative nature.

10.4.5 Aspect Prefixes **'má** and **áa**: Meaning

The difference between **'má** and **áa** does not have to do with differences in time. Rather, the difference concerns the way in which the event being described relates to other events. In the present, the moment of speaking is the axis of relationship. The prefix **'má** is used to describe events which happen PRIOR to other events. They may be events in the past, or the future. If no past or future events are specified in the discourse, then the relevant point is the moment of speaking. The prefix **áa**, on the other hand, is used to describe events that are not happening

PRIOR to other events; they are either happening at the same time as other events, or are about to happen. We will characterize its meanings as NON-PRIOR, defined in oppostion to PRIOR. Again, if no past or future events are specified, the relevant point of reference is the moment of speaking. The opposition between these two prefixes is represented in Figure 10.4.

System	Meanings	Forms	Messages
Aspect	PRIOR	'má	"already occurred" "prior occurrence"
	NON-PRIOR	áa	"about to occur" "occurring"

Figure 10.4: Meanings in the Aspect System

10.5 Occurrence Inflections

The semantic substance which we are calling occurrence concerns claims about whether an event will occur or not. Verbs inflected for meanings from this system differ in terms of the strength of the speaker's claim about the potential occurrence of an event. So for example, Example 92 differs from Example 93 by making a stronger claim that the event described will indeed occur:

92. **lángg-â!** "Read!"

93. **ó-lángg-e.** "You should read."

In contrast to Examples 92 and 93, Example 94 makes the strongest claim of all:

94. **na-lángg-a.** "I will/usually read."

The notion of "strength" of claim has to do with the amount of doubt which the speaker allows regarding the potential non-occurrence of the event. So in Example 94, there is no doubt; the event will, or usually does, occur. In Examples 92 and 93 the potential non-occurrence of the event is acknowledged, more so in Example 93 than in 92.

The three verb inflections illustrated in Examples 92-94 will be discussed individually in subsequent sections of this chapter. The first two are usually referred to in Bantu linguistics as imperative and subjunctive forms of the verb; reconstructions for both have been made, cf. Meeussen (1967: 112). The third has been referred to as a future/present tense, cf. Kingston (1979: 160); we will refer to it as the unmarked occurrence verb form, since its only overt morphology consists of the addition of a low floating tone to the non-tone bearing syllables,

and because it is not restricted to use in future/present contexts. The meanings of these inflections is represented in Figure 10.4.

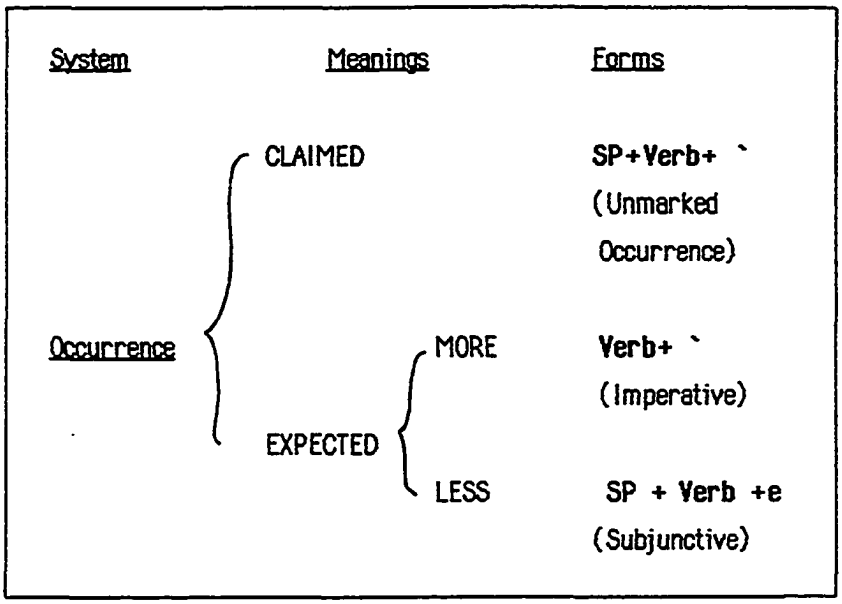


Figure 10.5: Meanings and Forms in the Occurrence System

The meaning of CLAIMED as opposed to EXPECTED is intended to capture the distinction between events for which the speaker is claiming actual occurrence versus those for which s/he is claiming potential occurrence. MORE versus LESS represents the difference in degree of strength in expressing potential occurrence. This means that events which are signalled with the meaning MORE EXPECTED OCCURRENCE are more likely to occur than events signalled with the meaning LESS EXPECTED OCCURRENCE.

10.5.1 Imperative Verbs

Imperatives are formed in Bakweri with the addition of a final falling tone, cf. Example 92, and Example 95.

95. **and-â!** "Buy!

All syllables intervening between the initial and final syllable are low in tone.

96. **fungu-â!** "Mix!"

With high tone monosyllabic verbs, the final low tone is not realized. Compare the following imperative forms of high and low tone monosyllabic verbs.

High:	97.	**kÉ!**	"Cut!"
	98.	**nyÓ!**	"Drink!"
Low:	99.	**mÊ!**	"Swallow!"
	100.	**lÔ!**	"Be nice!"

The imperative verb form may not be used if there is a participant for which the speaker wishes to signal LOW FOCUS, i.e. use an OP. In this case, the subjunctive form is used, cf. 10.5.2: 188.

Imperative verb forms are used only when giving commands to one person; the LESS EXPECTED OCCURRENCE form e is used when giving commands to more than one person. This is discussed in 10.5.3: 192.

10.5.2 Subjunctive Verbs

The subjunctive is formed with a high tone SP plus the addition of

the final low tone vowel suffix **e**. The segmental form of the suffix varies depending upon the morphological structure of the verb.

If the verb ends in the vowel **a** or **O**, the suffix vowel **e** appears, substituted for the FV of the verb root:

101.	**ná-til-e.**	"I should write."	Root: **til-á**
102.	**ná-kÓl-e.**	"I should sew."	Root: **kÓl-O**

Some exceptions to this generalizaion occur:

103.	**n-ík-a.**	"I should put."	Root: **ík-a**

If the verb ends in **E** or **ea**, there is no vowel suffixation. The final tone remains low:

104.	**ná-túmb-E.**	"I should roast."	Root: **túmb-E**
105.	**n-Énggw-ea.**	"I should weed."	Root: **Énggw-ea**

With monosyllabic roots, there is no final vowel suffixation. The low tone of the suffix combines with the root tone in the following ways:

(i) If the root is high, the two tones combine to forms a falling tone.

106.	**ná-nyÔ.**	"I should drink."	Root: **nyÓ**
107.	**ná-kÊ.**	"I should cut."	Root: **kÉ**

Exceptions: 108. **ná-j-e.** "I should come. Root: **ja**

(ii) If the root is low, the two tones combine to form a single low.

109.	**ná-tO**	"I should talk."	Root: **tO**
110.	**ná-sE**	"I should brush."	Root: **sE**

Verbs in the subjunctive form are used to express a variety of messages. They are used to convey requests for permission as well as suggestions for occurrence:

111. **na-lángge.** "Let me read" or
"I should read"

112. **í-j-e.** "Let's go" or
"We should go"

They are also used in sentences where expected occurrences are being discussed. Thus it is found following verbs expressing hope and desire:

113. **a-mo-asá amá ó-j-e.** "S/he wanted you to come."

The subjunctive inflection is also used to make polite requests:

114. **ó-lángg-e.** "Why don't you (singular) read" or
"Shouldn't you read?" or
"(It would be nice if) you read."

There are a number of contexts where the subjunctive must be used, and certain formal changes in tone occur in some of these contexts.

(i) It must be used for commands to more than one person, cf. 10.5.1: 188.

115. **é-lángg-e.** "You all read"
Also: "Why don't you all read." or
"Shouldn't you all read?" or
"(It would be nice if) you all read."

(ii) The subjunctive must also be used when making a command following an initial command. The first command may be signalled with the imperative if it is directed towards one person. In this case, the final tone is falling instead of low.

116. **ja ó-l-e.** "Come and (you) eat!"

117. **é-ị-e é-l-e.** "(You all) come and (you all) eat!"

(iii) The subjunctive must also be used when the verb carries an OP, cf. 10.5.1: 188. In this case the final tone is also falling.

118. **ó-mO-nOngg-ê.** "You (should) follow him/her."

Certain other formal changes occur in particular structural and communicative contexts.

(i) When the subjunctive is not used to make a command, the final tone changes if an OP is present. In this case, it is high instead of low. Compare Examples 119 and 120.

119. **ná-nOngg-ɛ̱ emúnyána.** "I should follow the man."

120. **ná-mO-nOngg-ɛ́.** "I should follow him/her."

(ii) In questions, a high tone is added to the final syllable, resulting in a final rising tone if the preceding syllable is low in tone. If it is high tone, the rising tone is simplified to a downstepped high tone. Compare Examples 121-122.

121. **ná-til-e?** "May/Can/Should I write?"

122. **ná-lá'ngg-é?** "May/Can/Should I read?"

In the context of questions, the vowel suffix **e** does not occur with verbs

which have O as the FV when the SP refers to the second person. Compare Examples 123-4 with Examples 125-6.

SP refers to second person:

123. ó-kó'l-ó? "Can/Would you sew?"

124. é-kó'l-ó? "Can/Would you all sew?"

SP does not refer to second person:

125. ná-kó'l-é? "Can/May I sew?"

126. í-kó'l-é? "Can/May we sew?"

The examples in this section show how the subjunctive is used to communicate messages concerned with EXPECTED OCCURRENCE in a variety of situations.

10.5.3 Unmarked Occurrence Verbs

Verbs which signal the meaning OCCURRENCE CLAIMED carry no morphological markings other than a low tone which occurs on all non-tone bearing syllables of the verb. The final tone of the verb is high if a noun, pronoun or adverb follows the verb; otherwise it remains low. Compare Examples 127 and 128.

127. na-til-a. "I will/usually write."

128. na-til-á eká'áti. "I will/usually write the book."

When formed with vowel-initial roots, pre-vocalic SP forms are used except in the case of first person singular. When it is attached to a verb root whose initial vowel is a, the pre-consonantal form is used; the

pre-vocalic form is used in all other context.

129. **na-and-a.** "I will/usually buy."

130. **n-índ-a.** "I will/usually gossip."

If the verb is low and the SP is high tone, the high SP tone replaces the low tone of the verb. In this context, the difference between low and high verb roots is lost.

131. **v-ók-a.** "They will/usually play." or
"They will/usually be sick."

If the verb is high and the SP is low, the two tones combine to form a rising tone.

132. **n-ok-a.** "I will be/usually am sick."

133. **w-emb-a.** "You will/usually sing."

Unmarked occurrence verb forms are used indifferently to describe events happening in the past, present, or future. The particular time iof occurrence is inferred from the context. If used in a past context, past time is inferred:

134. **na-m-End-É ó-'sáfi sǐ <u>ná-and-á</u> nggwéo.** [48]

go buy

"I went to the store and <u>bought</u> eggs."

In a present context, present time is inferred.

135. **n-áa-kÓl-O tÉ <u>na-tat-a.</u>**

sew be angry

"When I'm sewing, I'm angry."

And in a future context, future time is inferred:

136. n-End-E w-Eluwa l-and-á molÉli sǐ n-á-j-a ó-ndáo.
go to-store to-buy food then come to-home
"I will go to the store to buy food, then I'll come home.

This is the form used most frequently to narrate main story line events in traditional stories, as can be seen in the texts in Appendices V and VI (pp. 273-287).

10.6 Verb Inflections: Comments

10.6.1 Diachronic Considerations

Meeussen (1967: 112) makes the following comment about Bantu tense systems:

> "Judging by the present-day languages, Proto-Bantu must have a highly structured tense system; unlike the concord system, however, conjugation apparently is an unstable system in Bantu: at present it differs from language to language, and this leads us to the conclusion that many changes must have occurred since the proto-period, such as to veil for us the initial situation which we seek to reconstruct."

Certainly, Bakweri is no exception to this commentary. Its tense/aspect system is based on several different semantic substances, i.e. time, aspect and occurrence, and the distribution of the morphology itself across the systems suggests that a number of changes have taken place over time.

One obvious question concerns the relationship between the two *ma* prefixes. Although synchronically they signal meanings from different semantic systems, the phonological similarity between the two gives cause for speculation about a common historical origin. In 3.4.4: 40-41 the historical origin of downstep in noun class prefixes was discussed: the synchronic existence of phonemic downstep was seen to be the result of certain historical changes, in particular the loss of the phonological segment to which the original tone was attached. As noted there, phonemic downstep occurs in certain contexts in Bakweri, but it is usually the result of productive processes of tonal simplification occurring when low and high tone syllables coalesce. And while there is no synchronic

evidence to support such an analysis for the aspect prefix **'má**, it is likely that this instance of phonemic downstep derives historically from a coalescence of the tense prefix **ma** with some other tense/aspect affix. Hence, while **'má** and **ma** are clearly semantically and morphologically distinct in the synchronic system, a common historical origin for them seems likely, and would account for the observed similarity between the two today.

Another area in the tense/aspect system that calls for comment concerns the near past suffix **éái**. Although synchronically, it is in semantic opposition to **ma**, the morphological assymetry in the system, (i.e. past time is signalled by one prefix and one suffix) suggests that it developed independently and moved into the past time system to signal a portion of past time (i.e. NEAR PAST) previously included in the meaning of the prefix **ma**. That is, while PAST time is a meaning signalled consistently throughout Bantu languages, NEAR PAST is not. It thus appears to be a more recent innovation, unique to Bakweri. As seen elsewshere in the language, cf. 7.6.3: 120-3 and 8.3.3: 140-2, a grammatical system which consisted originally of a single value (PAST TIME) evolved into a binary system (NEAR and DISTANT PAST TIME).

One of the implications of an unstable tense system is that continuing changes result in changing values and relationships among grammatical forms in semantic systems. As this occurs, the types of messages conveyed by particular grammatical forms are likely to overlap. That is, our original premise, cf. 0.1: 1 and 2.1: 11, was that the grammatical inventory of a language is finite, and that speakers use inference to communicate an infinite variety of messages using the finite set of elements at their disposal. Certain conventionally agreed upon

inferential strategies enable people to consistently infer similar messages from the same set of elements used in similar contexts, cf. 10.4.5. It stands to reason, however, that if the existing set of elements changes, the strategies for using the meanings of the elements will shift depending upon what is available for use. So, for example, PAST will be used to describe events happening on the day of speaking as long as there is no grammatical form which is more precise, i.e. NEAR PAST. Once such a form exists, however, speakers might decide to use it to describe situations happening on the day of speaking. They may not decide to do so in all cases; it is equally possible that they decide to use it only when the more precise meaning is what they want to signal. Either strategy is possible; Bakweri speakers have chosen the former, and now **ma** is used only to signal PAST *prior* to the day of speaking. But this is a convention that has evolved over time and presumably, at some point earlier in the history of the language, there was an overlap in the messages conveyed by the two forms. At this point in time, the opposition between the two forms would have been *inclusive* , cf. 2.4: 17, as opposed to the *exclusive* one which exists in the language today. So the fact that Bantu tense/aspect systems may be continually changing may account for observed instances of morphological assymmetry in the synchronic system. We will see more instances of morphological assymmetry when we examine negative verb inflections in Chapter 11: pp.210-231.

10.6.2 Communicative Considerations

Another area of interest in the Bakweri tense/aspect system involves the apparent instances of overlap in messages for certain forms. So we find that, in certain contexts, three different inflections can be

used to express what appear to be the same or similar messages. The inflections are: **î, 'má,** and the unmarked occurrence form. So for example, with non-stative roots, **î** and the unmarked occurrence form express similar messages:

137. **na-lángg-a.** "I usually read."

138. **na-lángg-î.** "I read in general."

And with stative roots, **'má** conveys this same sort of "general existence" message; the unmarked occurrence form continues to convey this message but **î** no longer does, cf. 10.3.2: 171-2.

139. **ná-'má-lingg-a.** "I am happy in general."

It is possible to explain this overlap in message with reference to the meanings of the forms. Each form signals a meaning from a different semantic system. All of the systems somehow involve information about events. They differ in that they are concerned with different features of an event's occurrence. Different systems exist because events can be viewed from a variety of different perspectives, e.g. time, manner of development, likelihood of occurrence, etc. Since events can be perceived differently, speakers will use meanings from the system concerned with the particular semantic viewpoint which is of interest to them when they are speaking. They will use a meaning in that system which most closely approximates how they are perceiving the event. Hence, forms from different systems may be used to express similar messages. The similarity derives from the fact that they are all concerned with describing events. The differences in message concern the perspective from which the event is being viewed, and sometimes such differences are not readily apparent.

10.7 Tone to Signal Proximal Relationships Between Events

Tonal changes are used in Bakweri verbs to show that the verbal event is in some kind of proximal relationship to another event. We will refer to these events as *secondary events*. Those events which secondary events proximally related to are *primary events*. In English, secondary events are those which are introduced by English subordinators such as <when>, <who>, <which>, etc., as exemplified below:

140. **ná-lángg-éái , a-nangg-éái.** Change: High tone SP
"When I read (today), s/he slept."

141. **na-m-En-E emúnyána a-má-jan-á** Change: High tone TP
"I saw the man who came."

In Bakweri, secondary events are distinguished by using floating tones. Different tonal changes occur depending upon the tense/aspect inflection of the verb and the type of secondary event being described, cf. Examples 140 and 141. These various changes are described following.

10.7.1 Simultaneous Secondary Events

Simultaneous secondary events are signalled with a high tone SP. A final low or falling tone is also added with certain verb inflections. These verbs may be introduced with the word **efóndá** (when), but this is not obligatory.

Verbs inflected with **éái** and **î** occur with a high SP tone when describing secondary events happening at the same time as primary events. With low tone verbs, the high first syllable of the verb is also high; the original low tone of the verb is still apparent in a downstep on the initial

syllable of the verb. Compare primary and secondary events forms with these suffixes.

Primary Events:

142. **na-til-éái, a-na-lángg-éái.**
"I wrote, s/he read (today)."

143. **na-til-î, a-na-lángg-î.**
"I wrote, s/he read (just now)."

Secondary Events:

144. **ná-'tíl-éái, a-na-lángg-éái.**
"When I wrote, s/he read (today)."

145. **ná-'tíl-î, a-na-lángg-î.**
"When I wrote, s/he read (just now)."

In verbs inflected with **ma**, a simultaneous event is signalled by a high tone SP plus a final low tone. The added low tone combines with the final high tone occurring with **ma**, cf. 10.2.1: 162, to form a falling tone.

Primary Event:

146. **na-ma-til-á, a-ma-lángg-á.**
"I wrote, s/he read (prior to today)."

Secondary Event:

147. **ná-ma-til-â, a-ma-lángg-á.**
"When I wrote, s/he read (prior to today)."

Simultaneous events are also described using the prefix **ma** and the final vowel **e**. The final high tone of the verb with **ma** combines with the low tone of **e** to form a falling tone. It is used with **ma** to describe a past event that occurred at a definite moment, as opposed to one that occurred over a period of time. This can be seen by comparing Examples 148 and 149.

148. **ná-ma-lángg-ê.** "When I read..."
NOT: "When I was reading..."

149. **ná-ma-lángg-a.** "When I read..." or
"When I was reading..."

It is not clear if this **e** suffix is the same morpheme as found in the subjunctive, cf. 10.5.2: 188. It is not found anywhere else, and in this context does not appear to be related semantically to the subjunctive **e**.

This form of simultaneous secondary event is frequently found in traditional stories. They are used to describe situations in which the main story line events unfold, and establish the time reference for those events, which are usually narrated with a non-past verb form, cf. 10.5.3: 194. This can be seen in the following exerpt from the **via** text, Appendix VI (lines 31-2, pp. 280-1):

víá á-ma-ny-ê nánu méa méénί méasÉ méwunduea
when **víá** defecates like that her intestines all fall out
Critical Event

nyangÉ á-ma-j-ê atÊ amá "nÉ náwó'wéá ngwána wámi?"
when her mother comes she shouts "how will I take my child?"
Critical Event

In verbs inflected with **áa** and **'má**, simultaneous events are marked by the addition of a final falling tone. This tone is added to the final low tone occurring with the aspect prefixes, cf. 10.4.1: 179. Presumably the

SP is also high but since the SP in verbs with **'má** is already high and pre-vocalic SP forms are used with **áa**, there is no observable difference in tone for the SP in primary and secondary events described with the aspect prefixes.

Primary Event: 150. **ná-'má-til-a, á-'má-lángg-a.**
"I have already written, s/he has already read."

151. **n-áa-til-a, áa-lángg-a.**
"I am writing, s/he is reading."

Secondary Event: 152. **ná-'má-til-â, á-'má-lángg-a.**
"When I had written, s/he had already read."

153. **n-áa-til-â, áa-lángg-a.**
"When I am writing, s/he is reading."

Simulataneous events in the unmarked occurrence form are marked with a high tone SP, plus a final falling tone.

Primary Event: 154. **na-til-a, a-lángg-a.**
"I will write, s/he will read."

Secondary Event: 155. **ná-til-â, a-langg-a.**
"When I will write, s/he will read."

The preceding contrastive sets of examples illustrate how tonal changes, in particular high tone SPs and the addition of final low or falling tones, signal some kind of link between two events. In these examples, the link was one of co-occurrence. The link may also be one of subsequent occurrence. This is described in the following section.

10.7.2 Subsequent Secondary Events

Subsequent events are signalled in Bakweri with a high tone SP. Any original low tone of the SP is preserved with a downstep on any following high tone syllable.

156. sĭ ná-'lángg-a...
and then I read...

Subsequent events are usually introduced by the particle si (and then),[49] cf. Example 156. This particle is, however, not obligatory, as the following exerpt from the **Mbela** text (Appendix V, p. 273, lines 7-8) illustrates.

"...isó'nÉni." vá-ny-Ó mí'imba sĭ ngwámbO
"...we haven't seen you." (then) they drink wine then soon

emólána ikOmE sĭ á-j-a...
ikOmE's wife then she comes...

The most common verb inflection found with si is the unmarked occurrence form. Less frequently, the aspect prefix áa and the tense suffix éái occur. Subsequent events may be described in the past or future. Discourse context establishes the time reference; this is consistent with the use of the unmarked occurrence form and áa in describing primary events, cf. 10.5.3: 193 and 10.4.4: 183. Again, the final tone of the verb is low unless it is followed by a noun, pronoun, or adverb. In this case, it is high, cf. 10.5.3: 192 and 10.4.3: 182.

157. na-m-End-É ó-'sáfi sĭ ná-mu-ungw-a.

"I went to the store and then s/he saw me."

158. **n-End-E sĭ ná-j-a ó-'ndáo.**

"I will go walking and then I'll come home."

That the high tone SP signals the secondary relationship of the event following si to the preceding event can be seen when we compare sentences where the SP is not high. In this instance, the event described without the high tone SP is seen to be occurring at a later time than the primary event.

159. **n-End-E ó-'sáfi sĭ á-'n-Én-E.** [50]

"I will go to the store and then s/he will see me."

160. **n-End-E ó-'sáfi sĭ a-n-En-E.**

"I will go to the store, then sometime later s/he will see me."

Example 161 shows how the high tone SP signals some kind of proximal relationship between the two events being described. This type of relationship between events is not restricted to sequences of two events. Any number of events may be so linked:

161. **n-End-éái, sĭ ná-lu-éái liyaí, sĭ ná-li-fimb-éái.**

"(Today) I walked, and (then) I found a rock, and (then) I threw it."

Events may also be related to one another because of a common participant. Such instances are discussed in the following section.

10.7.3 Relative clauses

Secondary events which provide information about participants in other events are usually called *relative clauses*. We shall distinguish relative clauses from non-relative clauses by referring to the latter as *main events*.

In Bakweri, relative clauses are also formed by using floating tones. They may be introduced by the subordinator **émá** but this is not necessary. They are formed differently depending upon whether they describe a participant referenced with the SP in the main event or another participant. Again, different tonal changes occur depending upon the tense/aspect inflection of the verb.

With the suffixes **î** and **ééi**, relative clauses describing an SP participant in the main event are formed by adding a final high tone to the verb.

î: 162. **ná-'Én-É emolána (émá) a-jan-í.**
"I see the woman who just came."

ééi: 163. **n-Én-ééi emolána (émá) a-jan-ééí.**
"I saw the woman (today) who came (today)."

With **ma**, a high tone is added to the tense prefix itself. The original low tone of the prefix is preserved with a downstep on any following high tone. The original low tone is therefore only apparent when the verb root is high; compare Examples 164 and 165.

ma: 164, **na-m-En-E emolána (émá) a-má-jan-á.**
"I saw the woman who came (prior to today)."

ma: 165. **na-m-En-E emolána (émá) a-má-'kÓl-O.**
"I saw the woman who sewed (prior to today)."

With the aspect prefixes and the unmarked occurrence form, a final high tone is added; it combines with the low tone of the verb inflection to form a final rising tone. Non-tone bearing syllables are also high.

áa: 166. **ná-'Én-É emolána (émá) áa-jan-ǎ**.

"I see the woman who is coming."

167. **n-EnE emolána (émá) a-jan-ǎ**.

"I will see the woman who will come."

With **'má** the final vowel is E.

'má: 168. **ná-m-En-E emolána (émá) á-'má-jan-Ě**.

"I've seen the woman who has come."

Often, following a high tone, the final rising tone of verbs in these relative clauses is simplified to a downstepped high.

áa: 169. **ná-'Én-É emolána (émá) áa-kó'l-ó**.

"I see the woman who is sewing."

170. **n-En-E emolána (émá) a-kó'l-ó**.

"I will see the woman who will sew."

Relative clauses describing non-SP participants are characterized by the same tonal changes observed for secondary simultaneous events, i.e. high tone SP plus final low or falling tones. In addition, the final vowel in verbs inflected with **ma** is e, cf. 10.7.1: 199.

ma: 171. **eká'áti (émá) ná-ma-lángg-ê....**

"The book which I read...."

The final vowel in verbs inflected with 'má is E.

'má: 172. eká'áti (émá) ná'má-lángg-Ê...

"The book which I have read..."

Table 10.2 summarizes the formal changes noted in verbs describing simultaneous secondary events and relative clauses.

TABLE 10.2: SIMULTANEOUS EVENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION

Inflection	Simultaneous	Non-SP Relative Clause	SP Relative Clause
î	High Tone SP *High Initial Syllable of Verb	High Tone SP	Final High Tone
ééi	High Tone SP	High Tone SP	Final High Tone
ma	[High Tone SP [Final Low Tone *Final vowel e (semantic option)	[High Tone SP [Final Low Tone *Final vowel e	*High Tone TP
'má	[High Tone SP [Final Falling Tone	[High Tone SP [Final Falling Tone *Final vowel E	Final High Tone *Final vowel E
áa	[High Tone SP [Final Falling Tone	[High Tone SP [Final Falling Tone	Final High Tone
Unmarked	[High Tone SP [Final Falling Tone	[High Tone SP [Final Falling Tone	Final High Tone

Table 10.2 allows us to see the following basic tonal change patterns for signalling a proximal relationship between two events.

(i) Proximity of SP participant in a secondary event is signalled with a final high tone in all cases, except with **ma** where the high tone occurrs on the TP. This may be due to the fact that **ma** inflections already have a final high tone.

(ii) Proximity of any other secondary event, i.e. simultaneous or non-SP participant in the event, is signalled with a high tone SP, plus a final low or falling tone. In all cases, the final tonal pitch level of the verb is low. Other minor changes, idiosyncratic to certain tense/aspect inflections, are indicated in Table 10.2 (p. 207).

It would seem from the above that the basic tonal patterns described in (i) and (ii) constitute grammatical forms in the language which signal particular meanings. The meanings may be distinguished in terms of whether the proximity being signalled between two events is because of the participant in HIGH FOCUS, i.e. referenced with SP, or not. This is shown in Figure 10.6.

System	Meanings	Forms	Messages
Event Proximity	TO HIGH FOCUS	**High Final Tone**	"SP who/which..."
	TO NON-HIGH FOCUS	**High SP Tone + Final Low/ Falling Tone**	"Non-SP participant who/which..." "When ..."

Figure 10.6: Meanings in the Event Proximity System

Figure 10.6: Meanings in the Event Proximity System

What is particularly interesting about the verb forms for signalling proximal relationships between events is that there is a correlation between the form used and the meaning conveyed. That is, the association between the linguistic form and the meaning is not arbitrary as it is in the case of most linguistic signs. So for example, there is no obvious reason why the sounds **m** and **a** would be used to signal DISTANT PAST. But here we find that PROXIMITY TO NON-HIGH FOCUS is signalled by a tonal change on the linguistic form signalling HIGH FOCUS. It would appear, that the tone usually found for HIGH FOCUS allows people to infer two messages:

(i) That a main event with a participant in HIGH FOCUS is being described; or

(ii) That a secondary event proximally related to another event *because of* the participant in HIGH FOCUS is being described.

In both instances, attention remains with the participant in HIGH FOCUS, either because s/he is the only one in HIGH FOCUS, as in (i), or because s/he is in HIGH FOCUS in two events, as in (ii).

A tonal change in the SP signals that the norm is no longer true. Either: (i) Two events are related because of a participant who is not in HIGH FOCUS; or

(ii) Two events are related because of some other connection, e.g. simultaneous or subsequent occurrence.

In both cases, attention is divided between the entity in HIGH FOCUS in the main event and the entity in HIGH FOCUS in some other event. That entity might also be involved in the main event, as in (i), or it may not be, as in (ii). In either situation, what better way could there be to linguistically signal that the main event's HIGH FOCUS participant is not the only important one than a change in form referring to that participant?

11.0 Negative Verbs

11.1 Negative Prefixes sa and si

Negative verbs are formed using the negative prefixes si and sa. They are attached directly following the SP, in the position on the verb where tense prefixes usually occur, cf. 0.3: 3. They vary in tone depending upon the tone of the SP[51] and the inflection of the verb. This will be described in detail in 11.4: 224-231.

Like affirmative verbs, negative verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, and occurrence. However, the negative forms which signal meanings from these systems differ from those used in affirmative verbs. In negative verbs, all inflectional meanings are signalled by suffixes. So for example, instead of using the prefix ma to signal DISTANT PAST, the suffix e is used in a negative verb.

1. na-sí-til-e. "I didn't write prior to today."

In addition, fewer semantic distinctions of tense, aspect, and occurrence are found in negative sentences than occur in affirmative ones. As a result, different messages are inferred from different inflectional meanings. So for example, the messages "be doing" and "be about to do" are inferred from the meaning NON-PAST in negative verbs instead of from the meaning NON-PRIOR, cf. 10.4.2:180.

2. na-sá-til-i. "I do not usually write." or
"I did not write just now" or
"I am not writing." or
"I am not about to write." or
"I do not write in general."

The distribution of messages among affirmative and negative verbs is shown in Table 11.1.

TABLE 11.1 MESSAGE DISTRIBUTION AMONG AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE VERBS

	Affirmative		Negative
til-a!	"Write!		"Don't write!"
		o-sí-til-á	"Please don't write."
o-til-e	"Please write."		"You should write."
	"You should write."		
o-til-a	"You will write."	o-sá-til-á	"You will not write."
	"You usually write."		"You are not writing"
o-til-î	"You write in general."		"You do not usually write."
	"You just wrote."		"You do not write in general."
		o-sá-til-i	"You did not just write.
w-áa-til-a	"You are writing."		"You are not writing."
	"You are about to write."		"You are not about to write."
o-til-áái	"You wrote today."	o-sá-til-eai	"You didn't write today."
o-ma-til-á	"You wrote prior to today."	o-sí-til-e	"You didn't write prior to today."
ó-má-til-a	"You have written."	o-sí-til-í	"You haven't written."
	"You have already written."		"You haven't written yet."
			"You haven't written already."

Table 11.1 shows how messages conveyed by one verb inflection in affirmative verbs is not necessarily expressed by its formal counterpart in negative sentences. So for example, while the meaning OCCURRENCE CLAIMED is used to infer the message "do usually" in affirmative sentences, cf. 10.5.3:193, it is not so used in negative ones. In this context, the meaning NON-PAST, cf. 10.3.3: 174, is used to convey this message. Because the messages conveyed by various tense, aspect, and occurrence meanings differ in negative and affirmative verbs, and because the forms for the inflections are themselves different in many cases in negative verbs, it is more useful to analyze negative verbs independently of affirmative ones. Setting up negative-affirmative pairings obscures the semantic system underlying verbal inflections which accounts for the messages conveyed in negative verbs. This will be discussed in 11.3: 217. First it is necessary to consider the negative prefixes themselves.

11.2 Negative Prefixes: Meaning

When used with a tense or aspect suffix, the two negative prefixes si and sa are allomorphs for the meaning NEGATIVE OCCURRENCE. The meanings signalled by the various tense/aspect suffixes in negatives and the distribution of the negative prefixes among the different inflections are shown in Table 11.II.

TABLE 11.II: OCCURRENCE OF NEGATIVE PREFIXES WITH DIFFERENT VERBAL INFLECTIONS

Negative Prefix	Inflections	Meanings
si	´	OCCURRENCE QUESTIONED
sa	´	OCCURRENCE CLAIMED
sa	i	NON-PAST
sa	eai	NEAR PAST
sí	e	DISTANT PAST
sí	i	PRIOR

Table 11.II shows that each negative prefix occurs with inflections signalling meanings from all three semantic systems, i.e. tense, aspect, and occurrence. So for example, si is used with OCCURRENCE EXPECTED from the system of occurrence, DISTANT PAST from the system of tense, and PRIOR from the system of aspect. This suggests that there is no semantic motivation based on inflectional meanings for the distribution of the two negative prefixes among different inflections. And their semantic

contribution is the same in all cases: NEGATIVE OCCURRENCE for the event described. There also does not appear to be any structural motivation for their distribution, since all the inflectional markings are the same structural type, i.e. suffixal.

It is more probable that diachronic changes are responsible for the distribution of negative prefixes among different verb inflections. Certainly, the fact that **si** is used in negative forms corresponding to affimative verbs where both **ma** prefixes are used is consistent with this hypothesis. Thus we could propose that, at some earlier point in the history of the language, there was only one **ma** prefix, and its negative counterpart was **si**. Unfortunately, comparative data does not allow us to confirm this analysis. While the proto-Bantu negative prefix ***ti** (Meeussen, 1967: 114) is a possible origin for the prefix **si**, it has been reconstructed for negative subjunctives and not for negative pasts. Once again the apparent instability of Bantu tense systems makes it difficult to do much more than speculate, cf. 10.6.1.

Table 11.3 also shows that **si** and **sa** are semantically distinct when they do *not* occur with tense/aspect suffixes. In this context they both occur with a final high tone on the verb. This then constitutes another instance in Bakweri where a semantic system is divided differently in different grammatical contexts, cf. 7.5.2: 115, 8.2.2:136. In this case, the substance of negative occurrence is distinguished into OCCURRENCE QUESTIONED and CLAIMED when there is no tense/aspect affix on the verb. If there is such an affix; no distinction between OCCURRENCE QUESTIONS and CLAIMED is possible. Figure 11.1 shows the distribution of the two negative prefixes according to the contexts where they occur.

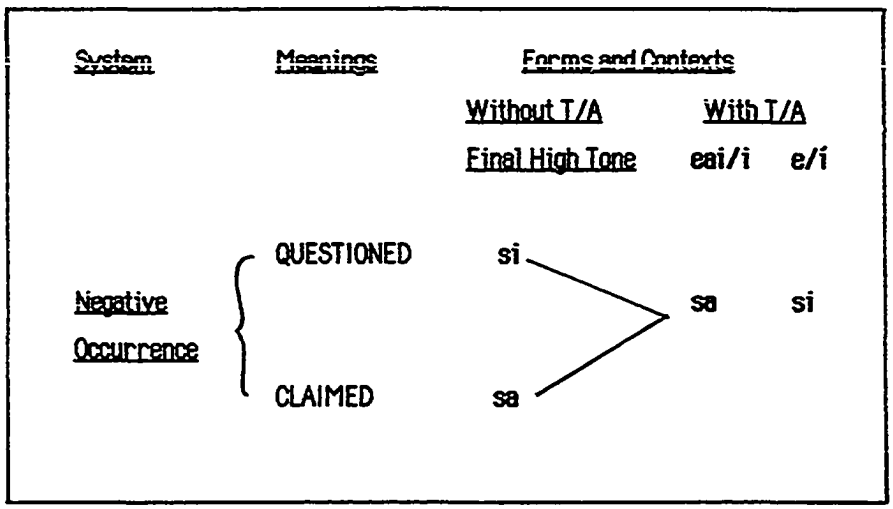


Figure 11.1: Meaning and Forms in Negative Occurrence System

Again, the instability of Bantu tense systems makes it impossible to determine from comparative data why this distribution of morphemes came about. While there is a reconstructed form from which si could have evolved, cf. above, there is no such reconstruction for sa. There is also no comparative data to suggest whether the two were originally allomorphs which were then redistributed to signal new values as was observed for the derivational suffixes EIE and EnE in 7.6.3: 122 and 8.3.3: 141. Nor is there synchronic data to suggest that the two prefixes existed independently and are utilized differentially with tense/aspect suffixes according to some semantic criterion. Given the nature of the present system and the lack of comparative data suggesting an earlier allomorphic relationship for the two prefixes, it seems most likely that the two prefixes existed independently, and entered into use in the language at different times. Their occurrence with particular tense/aspect suffixes may be due to the introduction of certain inflections at the same point in time. So, for example, si could have originally been a negative, used in a

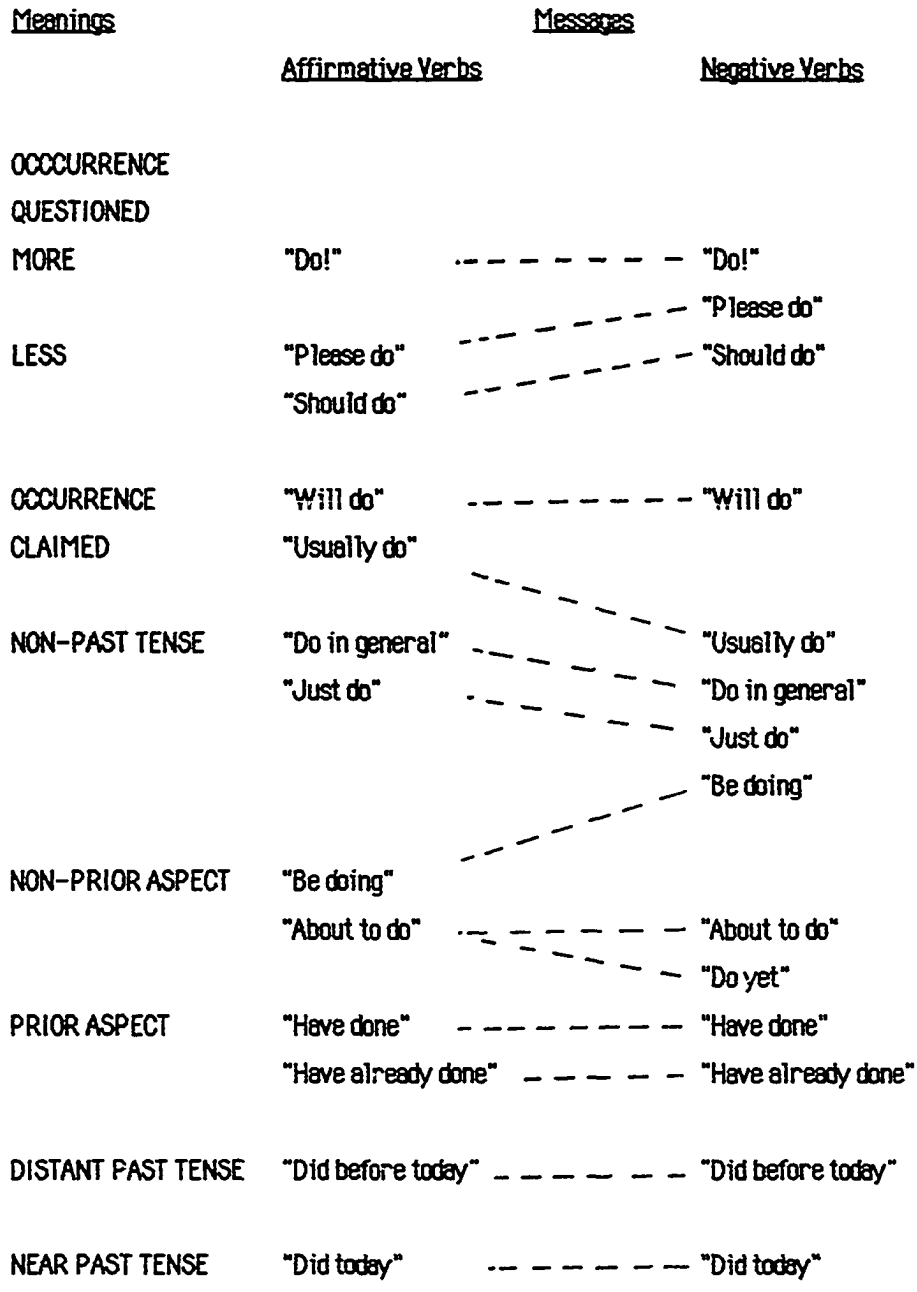
tense system which had, at least, subjunctive and past tense forms. The prefix sa could have been introduced later, and was then available for use with all inflections developing after its introduction, e.g. **eai, î**. Tenses found in the earlier system where si occurred may have been lost, along with their negative forms, resulting in the distribution of prefixes observed today. In any case, the system found today is that represented in Figure 11.1 (p. 215). It is now important to turn to the meanings of the tense/aspect suffixes which occur, and to examine how they are used to signal messages in negative verbs.

11.3 Negative Prefixes: Messages

In affirmative verbs, eight semantic distinctions are made in aspect, tense, and occurrence. In negative verbs, only six are made. While such an asymmetry between the two contexts is not necessarily expected, it is not surprising: The smaller number of distinctions in the negative context is certainly consistent with the fact that in negatives the event described does *not* occur. Given this, it is understandable that speakers might be less concerned with semantic differences. Why differentiate events that don't happen? On the other hand, events that happen are likely to be of more interest. It is therefore not surprising to find more grammatical morphology invested in differentiating them. It would be peculiar if the reverse were true, i.e. if more morphology were invested in distinguishing non-occurring events.

In negatives, the systems of occurrence and aspect are not as differentiated as in affirmatives. In the occurrence system there is no opposition between OCCURRENCE QUESTIONS MORE and LESS; and in the aspect system there is no opposition between PRIOR and NON-PRIOR. The reduced inventory of available meanings in negative verbs results in a different distribution of messages expressed by particular meanings. This is shown in Table 11.III. The negative aspect of the messages has been omitted to facilitate comparison.

TABLE 11.III: AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE INFLECTIONAL MEANINGS AND MESSAGES



The observed differences in message in Table 11.3 are explicable with reference to the *appropriateness* of remaining meanings for signalling particular messages. So in the occurrence system, the loss of the oppostion between OCCURRENCE QUESTIONED MORE and LESS results in a binary opposition where a ternary one previously existed. The remaining opposition is between OCCURRENCE QUESTIONED and OCCURRENCE CLAIMED. Of these two meanings, the former is more appropriate for signalling messages previously signalled by the two meanings. In fact, it *includes* (2.4: 16) those two meanings, and is therefore the appropriate choice in a context where those two meanings are not distinguished. This inclusive relationship is shown in Figure 11.2.

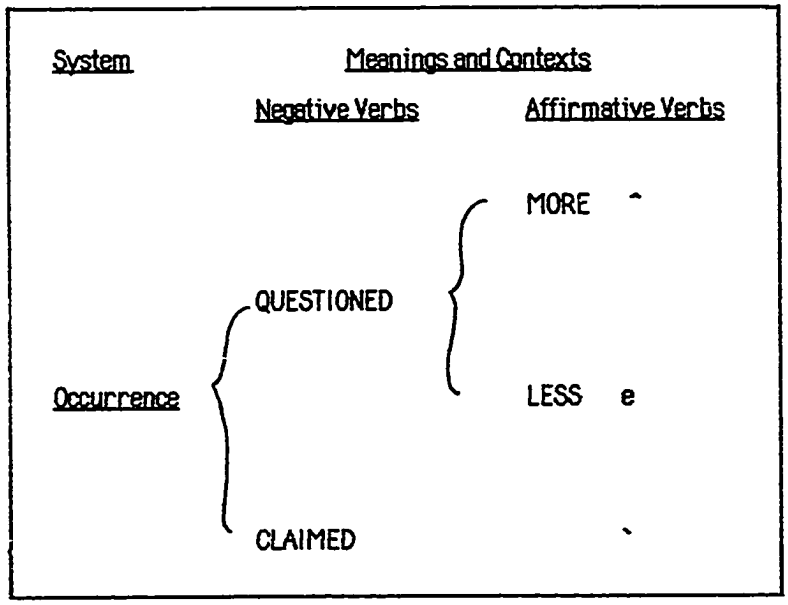


Figure 11.2: Meanings and Contexts in the Occurrence System

What we have in the occurrence system then is another instance of differing values within the system depending upon the context. This phenomenon has been observed elsewhere in Bakweri, e.g. the derivational suffixes EIE and EnE. Again, the theoretical notion of *value* allows us to explain apparent shifts in meaning in different structural contexts. In this instance, although the same form is not used to signal different values in different contexts as was the case in other instances of apparent semantic variation, the principle is the same: The substance of one semantic system is differentiated more in one context than in another. But the semantic *content* of the system remains constant. What is different is the values within the system. In one context, i.e. affirmative verbs, one value is more differentiated than in another, i.e. negative verbs. Again, the existence of the asymmetry according to affirmative and negative context is explicable in terms of the hypothesis that speakers have more of a need to differentiate events that actually occur than to distinguish events that do not occur.

In the aspect system, the situation is a bit different. Here, the absence of an opposition results in a single meaning in the system, that of PRIOR ASPECT. This meaning may be used to signal the negative instance of situations described by both NON-PRIOR and PRIOR depending upon the message which the speaker wants to express. So the message "not yet done" can be seen as the a negation of "be about to". This is shown in Figure 11.3.

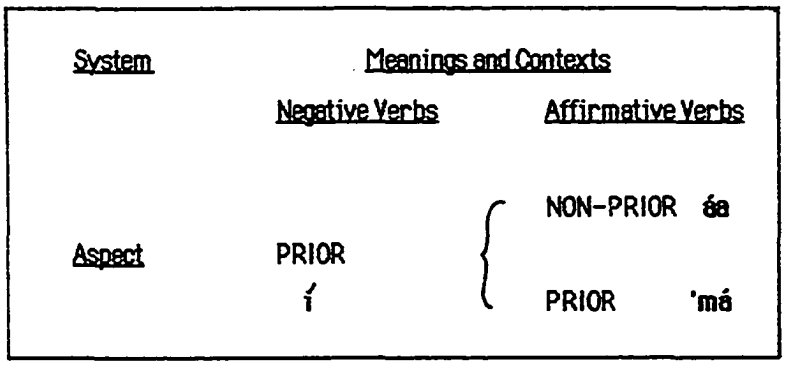


Figure 11.3: Meanings and Contexts in Aspect System

In addition to using the remaining meaning in the system to express negative messages parallel to those conveyed by two meanings in affirmative verbs, a meaning from another system is also used. So what we see in Table 11.III is that the tense meaning of NON-PAST is used for certain messages, e.g. "be doing". This is understandable when we consider the two meanings of NON-PRIOR and NON-PAST for signalling the messages under consideration.

The meaning NON-PAST concerns events which do not occur in the past. They may still be happening, so it is possible to infer the message "do in general" from this meaning. They may not still be occurring; so it is also possible to infer the message "just done". The notion of continuing development is not part of the semantic content of NON-PAST; it is not precluded, nor is it specified.

The meaning PRIOR, on the other hand, concerns events happening PRIOR TO something else, either another event being talked about, or the moment of speaking if no other event is specified. In either event, continuing development is not very consistent with the meaning itself since the event described with PRIOR is seen to have already developed. It is more difficult to infer a message of continuing development in this

instance. Even if used in a future time reference, it is not something which is continuing to develop. It has happened, and something else is going on afterwards.

The meaning NON-PRIOR concerns the potential development of an event. So it is used to convey messages of "be doing" where the event may continue, and messages of "about to do" where the event is perceived as just beginning to develop. Of the two meanings PRIOR and NON-PAST available in negative verbs, the latter is better suited to infer these messages since it does not imply the non-continuation of the event in the same way as the former. Hence, speakers use it to convey this message. This exemplifies how speakers will look for the *least inappropriate* meaning to convey the message they want to convey, and that they will use one from another system if it is more appropriate than the meaning remaining in the system where an additional semantic value exists in another context.

The other instance where messages conveyed by one meaning in affirmative verbs are expressed with another meaning in negative verbs occurs for the message "usually do". In affirmative sentences, the meaning OCCURRENCE CLAIMED is used to infer this message. In negative sentences, the meaning NON-PAST TENSE is used. This may be understood in the following way: The exact nature of the messages inferred by speakers of a given language.depend upon conventions of usage within a speech community. The fact that speech communities use different inferential strategies for the communication of messages is one reason, if not the only one, why different dialects exist across languages. As the different strategies develop and are maintained, the language changes and, through time, different languages eventually evolve. Certainly we have

seen in Bakweri a number of instances where the speech community has been innovative in creating semantic oppositions where they did not previously exist, cf. Figures 7.4 (p.123) and 8.2 (p. 141). What we have in the case of the "usually do" message shifting from the meaning OCCURRENCE CLAIMED in affirmative verbs to the meaning NON-PAST TENSE in negative verbs appears to simply be an instance of strategy change. Neither is inconsistent with the message, so either could, in theory, be used in either context to convey the message. There is no semantic or structural reason why the change need occur, i.e. there is no loss in form as observed in other instances where a message shift occurs. So the shift must have to do with conventional usage. Presumably this derives from some perceived difference between affirmative and negative descriptions of events, but it is not clear in this instance what the difference is which would explain the change in inferential strategy.

11.4 Negative Verb Forms

As noted in 11.1: 210, the negative prefixes occur with different tones depending upon the tone of the SP and the inflection of the verb in which they are used. A number of other tonal changes occur with various inflections. All of the changes are described here and are summarized in Table 11.IV. in 11.4.6: 229.

11.4.1 Negatives with **i** (NON-PAST) and **eai** (NEAR PAST)

Near past negatives with **i** occur with **sa**. Its tone is polarized (5.1: 54) with that of the SP, so it is high when preceded by a low tone SP and low when preceded by a high tone SP. All non-tone bearing syllables of the verb are also low.

i:	3. **na-sá-til-i.**	"I didn't just write."
	4. **vá-sa-til-i.**	"They didn't just write."
eai:	5. **na-sá-til-eai.**	"I didn't write today."
	6. **vá-sa-til-eai.**	"They didn't write today."

When the high tone prefix is followed by another high tone, e.g. a high tone verb root or a high tone OP, the following high is downstepped.

7. **na-sá-'lángg-i.** "I didn't just read."

When followed by any vowel except **a**, the prefix vowel coalesces. If it is high, it replaces any following low tone.

8. **na-s-ók-eai.** "I didn't play today."

If it is low, and is followed by a high tone, the two tones combine to form

a rising tone.

9. **vá-s-Ěn-i.** "They didn't just play."

If it is high tone and followed by a high vowel **a**, the following **a** vowel is downstepped in the same way that high-tone consonant-initial roots are downstepped, cf. Example 5.

10. **na-sá-'ámbEl-eai** "i didn't wait today."

11.4.2 Negatives with **e** (DISTANT PAST)

Distant past negatives occur with the prefix **sí**. It remains high in tone regardless of the tone of the SP. All non-tone bearing syllables of the verb are low.

11. **na-sí-lángg-e.** "I didn't read prior to today."

12. **vá-sí-til-e.** "They didn't write prior to today."

When followed by any vowel except **a**, the prefix vowel coalesces with the following vowel. The tone of the prefix replaces any following low tone. When followed by **a**, the prefix vowel assimilates instead of coalescing.

13. **na-s-ók-e.** "I didn't play prior to today."

14. **va-sá-agw-e.** "I didn't climb prior to today."

11.4.3 Negatives with **í** (PRIOR ASPECT)

Prior aspect negative with **í** are formed with the prefix **sí**. It is high tone regardless of the tone of the SP. In addition, it causes all following low tones in the verb to also be high. This includes the syllable

which carries the lexical tone of the verb as well as all non-tone bearing syllables. The original low of the following syllable causes a downstepping of that syllable.

15. **na-sí-langg-í.** "I haven't read yet."
16. **na-sí-'tíl-í.** "I haven't written yet."

This raising of the verb tone occurs even when there is a high tone OP intervening between the negative prefix and the verb. The only context where it does not occur is when there is an intervening low tone OP. In this case, only the suffix vowel **í** is high tone. This is seen by comparing Examples 17 and 18.

17. **na-sí-lí-'lÉmb-í.** "I haven't held it (knife) yet."
18. **na-sí-mo-bvand-í.** "I haven't forgotten her/him yet."

When followed by any vowel except **a**, the negative prefix vowel coalesces. Its high tone replaces any following low tone. The original low is preserved with a downstepping of any following high.

19. **na-s-ók-'í.** "I haven't played yet."

When followed by **a** the vowels assimilate rather than coalesce. The tone of the negative prefix still causes a raising of any low tones in the verb, and the original tone is preserved with a donwstepping of the raised high.

20. **na-sá-'ágw-í.** "I haven't climbed yet."

11.4.4 Negatives with sa (OCCURRENCE CLAIMED)

Occurrence claimed negatives occur with the prefix **sa** and a final

high tone on the verb. All non-tone bearing syllables of the verb are also high. The tone of the negative prefix is polarized with that of the SP, cf. 11.4.1: 224. So if the SP is high, its tone is low, and vice versa.

21. **na-sá-til-á.** "I won't write."

22. **vá-sa-til-á.** "They won't write."

As seen in near past and non-past negatives, any following high tone is downstepped following the negative prefix if the tone of that prefix is also high, cf. 10.4.1: 224.

23. **na-sá-'lángg-á.** "I won't read."

In addition, if the prefix is high and is followed by a high tone OP, all low tone syllables in the verb are raised. Their original low tone is preserved with a downstep.

24. **na-sá-lí-'lÉmb-É.** "I won't hold it (knife)."

This does not occur when the OP is low:

25. **na-sá-mo-vand-á.** "I won't forget her/him."

When followed by any vowel except a, the prefix vowel coalesces and the tone of the prefix is added to the tone of the following vowel in the following manner:

(i) If the prefix vowel is high and the following vowel is high, the following high is downstepped:

26. **na-s-É'n-É.** "I won't see."

(ii) If the following tone is low, the two tones combine to form a

falling tone:

27. **na-s-ôk-á.** "I won't play."

(iii) If the prefix vowel is low and the following vowel is low, the two combine to form a single low:

28. **vá-s-ok-á.** "They won't play."

(iv) If the prefix vowel is low and the following vowel is high, the prefix tone replaces the tone of the following vowel:

29. **vá-s-Én-É** "They won't see."

When the following vowel is a high tone a vowel, and the prefix is also high tone, the second vowel is downstepped:

30. **na-sá-'ágw-á.** "I won't climb."

11.4.5 Negatives with the Prefix si (OCCURRENCE QUESTIONED)

Occurrence questioned negatives are formed with the prefix si and a final high tone on the verb. All non-tone bearing syllables of the verb are also high. The prefix si is low in this context, regardless of the tone of the SP.

31. **na-si-til-á.** "I shouldn't write."

32. **bá-si-til-á.** "They shouldn't write."

As observed for occurrence claimed negatives, any low tones of the verb are raised if there is a high tone OP, cf. 11.4.4: 226 The original low tone is preserved with a downstepping of the following high tone.

33. **na-si-lí-'lÉmb-É.** "I shouldn't hold it (knife)."

This does not occur with a low tone OP.

34. **na-si-mo-vand-á.** "I shouldn't forget her/him."

With any following vowel except **a**, the vowel of the prefix coalesces and its tone replaces that of the following syllable.

35. **na-s-En-É.** "I shouldn't see."

With **a**, no changes occur.

36. **na-s-ambÉl-É.** "I shouldn't wait."

11.4.6 Negative Verb Forms: Summary

A number of tonal changes are consistently found in various negative verb forms. They are:

(i) Prefix polarization with the tone of the SP;

(ii) Downstep of an original high tone following a high tone negative prefix;

(iii) Raising of lexically low verbs, with original low tone preserved through downstepping; and

(iv) Raising of lexically low verbs when following a high tone OP.

While all these changes occur in negative verbs, their distribution across the various forms does not appear to be semantically or structurally motivated, except possibly in the case of the NEAR PAST and NON-PAST tense suffixes. In this case, the structural parallelism of the two forms

may account for why their negative counterparts are formed in the same way, i.e. they are both formed with the same segmental suffix found in affirmatives. The only difference between affirmative and negative is in the tone of the suffix (and the presence of the negative prefix). The distribution of the tonal processes can be seen in Table 11.IV where their occurrence is indicated for each inflectional form where they are found.

TABLE 11.IV: TONAL PROCESSES IN NEGATIVE VERB

Inflections	Prefix Form	Polarization	Downstep of Following High Tone	Raising of Lexical Tone of Verb With Downstep	Raising of Lexical Tone of Verb With High Tone OP
DISTANT PAST e	sí	no	no	no	no
NEAR PAST eai	sa	yes	yes	no	no
NON-PAST i	sa	yes	yes	no	no
PRIOR í	sí	no	no	yes	yes
OCCURRENCE CLAIMED ´	si	no	no	no	yes
OCCURRENCE QUESTIONED ´	sa	yes	yes	no	yes

Table 11.IV shows that various tonal processes occur in different combinations among the various inflections found in negative verbs, and that a clear synchronic criterion for determining which processes occur with which inflection is not apparent. Once again, it appears that changes occurring at various points in the diachronic development of the tense/aspect system are probably responsible for the apparently arbitrary distribution of the phonological features of the synchronic system.

12.0 Conclusions

12.1 Bantu Linguistic Studies

It is hoped that the information about Bakweri grammatical structure included in this thesis will stimulate further interest in the study of this language, as well as in the analysis of other Bantu languages with reference to some of the issues raised here. Specifically, a deeper understanding of Bantu tense/aspect systems is needed, at least among the languages which are more closely related to Bakweri, cf. 1.2: 10. The apparent asymmetry of the negative and affirmative tense/aspect affixal systems is not internally explicable. Comparative data may provide the evidence needed to fully explain the evolution of the present system.

On the other hand, existing comparative data has made it possible to hypothesize the probable diachronic development of the synchronic derivational suffixal systems. So for example, the Proto-Bantu reconstruction (Meeussen, 1967: 92) of a high front vowel followed by an alveolar consonant for the applicative suffix, cf. 7.6.3: 121, has provided us with the probably historical origin of the two suffixes ea and EIE which are semantically distinct in certain grammatical contexts in Bakweri, while not in others, cf. 7.6.1: 116-123. What needs to be pursued further in Bantu linguistics studies is the inquiry into such synchronically ongoing processes of semantic differentiation as has been observed in Bakweri derivational suffixes. Such studies will be of use for deepening our understanding not only of historical change in the area of Bantu language studies but also in the field of historical semantics in general, cf. 12.2 : 233.

12.2 Semantic Differentiation

The process of semantic differentiation or *repartition* has been observed in past works on semantics, although its existence is denied by some philologists, cf. Bréal, 1964: 27. It is useful here to cite a definition of the process:

> "We define 'Differentiation' as the intentional, ordered process by which words, apparently synonymous, and once synonyms, have nevertheless taken different meanings, and can no longer be used indiscriminately." (Bréal, 1964: 27.)

Working with this definition, it is possible to see that the Bakweri derivational suffix systems constitute examples of the process of semantic differentiation *in process*. So we find, for example, that the two suffixes **ea** and **EIE** (7.4-6: 110-123) are *apparently synonymous* in certain grammatical contexts while *have taken different meanings*, which we have defined as *values*, in other grammatical contexts. So both the beginning point for the process of semantic differentiation, i.e. synonymy, and the ending point, i.e. (semantic) autonomy, co-exist in the synchronic system. Bakweri thus provides us with a context to actually observe the process while it is occurring, rather than to speculate on it after it has been completed.

The way in which differentiation is occurring in Bakweri also exemplifies another general principle of historical semantics: "the nearer words approximate in form, the more do they invite Differentiation" (Bréal, 1964: 33). In all instances observed, cf. the tense suffix **î/ˆ** (10.3.4: 176-178), and the derivational suffixes **ea/ELE** (7.4-7.6:110-123), **n/EnE** (8.1-8.3: 126-141), and **EIE/EIEIE** (9.2.2: 153-156), formally similar allomorphs are undergoing semantic differentiaion.

12.3 Semantic Analysis: Meaning and Message

In our semantic analysis of Bakweri verb morphology the distinction between the *meaning* of a form and the *message* which it conveys in particular contexts has allowed us to explain what would otherwise appear to be groups of semantically related homonyms. So, for example, we would have to admit into our grammatical analysis the existence of a locative suffix **ea** and a beneficiary suffix **ea**, cf. 7.5.2: 113-115, or an instrumental suffix **n**, and a means/method suffix **n**, and an antagonist suffix **n**, etc. cf. 8.1.2: 126-131. Without an understanding of the essentially unitary nature of grammatical meaning, and the infinite creativity of human inferential strategies, we would have to postulate an inventory of grammatical forms which would be too large for human memory to retain. The distinction between *meaning* and *message* thus allows us not only to *explain* how a finite set of grammatical forms can be used to communicate an infinite number of messages, but also to identify and characterize a set of realistic size.

It is important to recognize is that the *meaning* of a given form is an abstraction, designed to capture the essence of the semantic information actually signalled by the aspect prefixes. *Meanings* alone do not constitute a complete linguistic analysis. It is also necessarch to show how they are realted to one another, and how oppositions between them are exploited by speakers in the actual communication of messages. The way in which they do this derives from conventions of usage developed in the speech community. While they are consistent with the meanings of the prefixes, they are not necessarily *predicatable* from them. So for example, while it is understandable that people would use **'má** to describe states which are of longer duration than states described by **î**, cf. 10.3.2: 172, this is a pattern

of usage that could not be *predicted* from the meaning of the suffix. Speakers could just as well decide to use **î** in all contexts and not bother to use **'má** at all. Herein lies the creative aspect of language: Speakers have a finite grammatical system at their disposal. Each form in the system has a basic, abstract meaning. Through the process of communicating people develop common strategies of inference which enable them to use this finite set of the forms in different contexts to convey an infinite range of messages. The messages communicated are much richer and more nuanced because people *infer* additional details. They build *images* [52] of the things being talked about which include details which are not specifically mentioned. They do this by relying on past experiences with events in the real world, and by using extra-linguistic information. These common strategies are maintained as long as people want to communicate those particular messages, and it is these patterns of usage which are observable to the analyst working with the language. But patterns of usage are not grammatical meanings. So the notion of "present existence" conveyed by **'má** when it is used with the moment of speaking as a time reference is *not* its *meaning*; it is only the *message* inferred from it in that context, cf. 2.2: 12.

12.4 Semantic Analysis: Substance and Value

Finally, the distinction between *substance* and *value* has proven to be invaluable in the description and explanation of processes of semantic differentiation in Bakweri. It has made it possible to describe how such processes may develop and be maintained by speakers. So we have seen that what changes initially is the *value* of a form in relation to other forms in a given semantic system, not its *substance*. And what might appear to be an arbitrary distribution of allomorphs, e.g. **ea** occurring in active sentences and **EIE** in passive and reflexive ones, cf. 7.6.1: 116-120, is seen to be semantically motivated in terms of the semantic *values* found in a particular grammatical system. By characterizing the meanings of **EIE** and **ea** in terms of their oppositional relationship to one another in the same grammatical system, it becomes possible to understand how they have come to signal what appear to be similar *as well as* differing "meanings". In reality, what is different is their *value* , and not their semantic *substance*.

Footnotes

[1] These maps are "carnets topographiques" prepared by geographer Roland Breton for the Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun in Yaoundé, Cameroon. They are designed to include all villages located in particular administrative divisions without trying to place them in their exact physical relation. Using these maps, linguists administered questionnaires and marked which languages were spoken in which village (Julianna Kuperus, University of Leiden, Amsterdam. Personal communication: 1985).

[2] The symbols used in this chart are those chosen for orthographic purposes to be used throughout this text. In general, symbols were chosen which are (1) available to most typists and printers and (2) reflect as accurately as possible the phonetic characteristics of the sounds as defined for particular symbols in the International Phonetic Alphabet. Rationale for choices for particular sounds are footnoted in the sections when appropriate.

It should be acknowledged that since the language has no standard orthography that all the choices made for the purpose of this discussion are subject to modification. If Bakweri scholars should decide to and standardize an orthography for the language, then that system would certainly take precedence over the one used here.

[3] Final vowels (FVs) are affixed to verb roots in Bakeri according to processes described in 5.1: 53-5. However, certain exceptions to the

patterns outlined there do occur. In these cases, the expected FV is not found; rather some other FV occurs. When such exceptional roots are cited, the actual FV is indicated in parentheses following them, as in this example.

[4] Given the voicing characteristics of **/f/**, it could have been written with **/v/** rather than **/f/**. In this case then it would have been necessary to use a symbol such as **/b/** for Bakweri **/v/**. This would not have allowed us to capture the opposition between these two Bakweri sounds: they differ with respect to only one feature - voicing. Using **/b/** could also have implied that a voiced bilabial stop occurs phonemically in the language, when it only occurs in a prenasalized form **/mb/**. We have therefore chosen to use **/f/** and **/v/**, acknowledging that they are both fricatives.

[5] As with **/f/**, **/s/** has could have been written with the symbol **/z/**. We have chosen **/s/** for consistency in the system. In both cases then the symbols represent the voicing quality of the sounds at their onset rather than in its duration.

[6] See Stallcup, 1980: NOUN 5.5 for further discussion of the process of consonantalization.

[7] See 3.3.3: 31 for a discussion of vowel harmony.

[8] See 10.5.2: 188 for a discussion of this verb inflection.

[9] See Stallcup, 1980: CONS 12-13 for further discussion of consonantalization in this context.

[10] **káw̃á** is a borrowing from Hausa, via Pidgin English. It therefore can not be used alone as evidence of the phonemic status of nasalized glides in Bakweri.

[11] **tɛ́ɛ́** is an ideophone in Bakweri. Ideophones are onomatopoetic words which are used to add descriptive color to what is being said. They function in many African language as both adjectives and adverbs depending upon what is being modified and may be said to be "grammatically periperal" in that they may contain sounds which do not occur anywhere else in the language (Stallcup, 1980: ID-1). The word **tɛ́ɛ́**, owing to its status as an ideophone, cannot therefore be used alone as evidence for the phonemic status of nasalized vowels.

[12] Again, the symbols used for representing the vowels have been chosen because (1) they are available to all typists and printers, and (2) they are as consistent as possible with the values assigned particular symbols in the International Phonetics Alphabet.

[13] For a discussion of these tense/aspect prefixes see 10.2.1-2: 162-4 and 10.4.3-4: 182-4.

[14] Examples of downstep in noun phrases used in this section are taken from Stallcup, 1980: TONE 7,8).

[15]For additional examples of contexts where downstep is phonemic and further analysis, see Stallcup, 1980: TONE 6-14).

[16] See 10.4.3-5, pp. 182-5 for a description of the 'má tense prefix.

[17] See Meussen (1967: 97) for a compiete listing of Bantu noun classes and their forms as reconstructed for the proto-language.

[18] See Stallcup (1980: NOUN 1-6) for a discussion of historical and grammatical factors accounting for synchronic forms of nominal prefixes.

[19] "No examples" is used when no examples exhibiting the particular phonological features indicated in the tables were found during the research project, cf. 0.2: 2. See Stallcup (1980: NOUNS) for a discussion of the implications of some of the gaps.

[20] The prefix for noun class 5 **li** is used to form verbal nouns, cf. 5.1: 53.

[21] See Stallcup (1980: CONTENT OF NOMINAL GENDERS 1-5) for a complete listing of noun referents found in each noun class during the research project, cf. 0.2: 2.

[22] From Guthrie (1967-81)

[23] See 10.2: 162-164 for a discussion of the tense prefix **ma**.

[24] In certain instances, the initial vowel of the root influences pre- consonantal prefix forms. In these cases, the pre-consonantal forms are listed separately from the pre-vocalic ones, and the relevant vowels are included under the column marked "Following Vowel". When the pre-consonantal forms are not listed separately from the pre-vocalic ones, the vowels in the " Following Vowel" column are those which determine pre-vocalic forms. Pre-consonantal forms in these instances do not change in form depending upon the initial vowel of the root.

[25] See Gensler (1980: page 15 of Verb Tables) for further examples.

[26] This applies only to the personal concord prefix for third person plural as the tones of all other personal prefixes are low.

[27] See10.1: 159-161 for a discussion about tone assignment on non-tone bearing syllables in the verb.

[28] Following conventional usage in Bantu studies, we are using the terms "subject" and "object" to designate pre- and post-verbal positions in the sentence.

[29] The meaning of **isE** is discussed in 7.6: 116-120.

[30] The meaning of **ELE** is discussed in 7.6: 116-120.

[31] I am indebted to J. Matisoff for pointing out the use of the word "efficacious" to describe this phenomenon, from personal communcation and in Matisoff (1976: 425).

[32] Here we are discussing sentences which have an OP. Sentences where there is no OP present are described in 7.2: 102.

[33] Vowel assimilation of the **ma** prefix is described in 3.3.5: 34 and in 10.2.1: 162-4.

[34] This phenomenon and its implications is discussed in 7.0-8.0: 98-144.

[35] **EIE** is used in passives where "beneficiaries" and "recipients" are present. This is described in 7.5.2: 113-115.

[36] Sentences such as this are difficult to translate smoothly into English. The awkwardness of the translattion is due to constraints in English syntax and does not reflect any awkwardness of the Bakweri version.

[37] The importance of differences in animacy for the correct inference of participant roles has been noted elsewhere in the analysis of other Bantu languages, cf. Hawkinson and Hyman (1974), Hawkinson (1976), and Morolong and Hyman (1977).

[38] See 3.3.4: 32 and/or 10.2.1: 162-4 for a discussion of vowel assimilation with the **ma** tense prefix.

[39] Since both "enabled agents" and "causees" are agents acting under the direction of someone else in some sense, events where either are present can be translated with "have someone do something" in English.

[40] The suffix names follow conventions in Bantu linguistics, cf. Meeussen (1967: 92) with the exception of the facilitative and the co-agentive suffix for which no Proto- Bantu reconstructions have been made. See 7.6.3: 120 for a discussion of the implications of this.

[41] See 8.1.3: 131-4 for a discussion about the placement of "instrument" nouns following the verb.

[42] Independent pronoun forms are:

Class 1: **EmÔ**	Class 2: **EwÔ**
Class 3: **EIÔ**	Class 4: **EmÉO**
Class 5: **EIÔ**	Class 6: **EmÔ**

Class 7: EyÔ Class 8: EbÉO

Class 9: EyÔ Class 10: EjÔ

Class 14: EwÔ

Class 19: EjÔ

[43] The locative prefix ó is realized as w(') when followed by a vowel.

[44] The vowel of the preposition na (with) coalesces with a following vowel.

[45] English does not allow for a smooth translation of passives where the agentive participant is in HIGH FOCUS.

[46] James Matisoff, personal communication.

[47] See 10.6.1: 195 for a discussion about the implications of the formal similarity between the two ma tense/aspect prefixes.

[48] The SP tone is often high following the conjunction sǐ (and then). See 10.7.2: 203 for a discussion of this.

[49] The tone of sǐ (and then) varies. Sometimes it is low; other times it is high. In slow speech the rising contour shown in the examples in this discussion are usually heard. The SP of verbs following sǐ is high; see 10.7.2: 203 for a discussion of this phenomenon.

[50] The rising tone which results when a low tone OP is attached to a high tone vowel initial root is simplified to a downstepped high when preceded by a high tone SP.

[51] This applies only to sa. The tone of si varies only depending upon inflection.

[52] The notion of *image* used here is that proposed by Earl Stevick, during lecutures given at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont in Novemaber 1983, December, 1985.

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Appendix I: Consonant-Initial Verbs

/f/

fáf-a	hit	**fimb-á**	throw away for good
faf-á	sprinkle	**fóngg-a**	forget
fák-a	shove, push away unpleasantly	**fót-a**	report; peel yams
		fǾlǾl-Ǿ	slide
fát-a	pick, pluck (e.g.fruit) something	**fǾnd-Ó**	sort rocks from rice or beans
fan-É	hang	**fǾs-Ó**	choose
fánj-a	jump	**fÓt-Ǿ**	seize, grab
fángg-a	spoil	**fufú-á**	de-feather
fáy-a	drive away, hunt chase, follow	**fum-á**	snatch
		fungw-á	die and rise from the dead
fef-á	choose choosily		
fend-á	lock	**funggú-á**	mix; unload
fik-á	shut something in something by accident		

/gw/

gwá-a	crack, break	**gwe-á**	do, make

/j/

ja-á	come	jO-Ó	laugh
jan-á	bring	jú-a	copulate

/k/

ka-á	estimate price	koó-á	fly
kánd-a	cut open	kow-á	chat
kák-a	tie, fold	kÓ-O	be dirty
kak-á	be sour, stale	kO-Ó	hate
kákam-a	cling	kÓve-a	lie, tell untruth
kakÉn-É	promise something	kÓkis-E	punish
kané-á	govern	kOk-Ó	chew, crush, pound
kanggé-á	float	kÓl-O	sew, weave
kas-É	lift, raise, praise	kOmb-Ó	be hoarse
kató-á	scratch	kÓm-O	greet
kev-á	burp	kÓs-O	remove (e.g. clothing
kék-a	obstruct		when shocked)
kek-á	try, taste	kOt-Ó	pay back dowry when
kemb-á	take something		wife sent home
	somewhere early	kOw-Ó	set trap
kÉ-E	cut	kÓk-O	calculate
kE-É	hang	kÓm-O	greet
kÉk-E	hatch (an egg)	kÓse-a	cough
kÉnj-a	be smart	kÓs-O	wound slightly

kÉnjis-E	change money	**kú-a**	be finished
kEngg-É	surround, circle, turn	**ku-á**	mock
		kúl-E	finish, complete
kí-E	love	**kumb-á**	play an instrument, knock
kóvEl-E	feed by hand		
kok-á	grow, e.g. children	**kúmEn-E**	cover
kóm-a	pick	**kus-á**	discover, get
kom-á	pour	**kútu-a**	unfold, uncover, open
kómbEn-E	be near	**kwá-a**	fall, fail
kón-a	hint	**kwány-a**	be crazy, mad
kon-á	dry up	**kwée-a**	enter
kot-á	light fire		

/l/

lá-a	eat	**lok-É**	believe
laé-á	stamp on	**lóm-a**	scold
lak-á	borrow, lend	**lom-á**	reach somewhere first
lakís-É	forgive someone		
lángg-a	read	**longgÉl-É**	pack
lEmb-É	hold, arrest, touch	**lO-Ó**	be good, handsome, beautiful, nice
lí-a	leave behind		
li-á	be well, seated, dwell	**lÓngg-O**	look
		lu-á	discover, get, receive
lím-a	be quenched (fire)	**lukÉlÉ**	lie
liv-á	slap	**lumb-á**	take away in a hurry,

lifó-á	open something		snatch
límam-a	squint	**luté-á**	think
lingg-á	be happy	**luw-á**	discover, realize, get
lit-a	be heavy, pregnant		

/m/

mE-É	swallow	**mit-á**	squeeze, press
mEn-É	measure	**mOnggís-É**	tickle

/n/

nam-á	be rich	**nyál-a**	be spread, e.g. plants
nangg-á	be asleep		growing all over; be
nÉnggam-a	be tilted	**nyám-a**	tighten
ngwá̋-a	die	**nyamÉl-É**	be acquainted
ngwEt-É	twinkle	**nyangg-á**	catch
nggwa-á	give	**nyÉngge-a**	be melted
nOngg-O	follow, accompany	**nyingg-á**	shake, tremble
nOn-O	snatch, steal	**ñyÓ-O**	drink, smoke
nOt-O	bend something	**nyÓki-a**	swim
nyá-a	defecate	**nyÓngg-O**	suck
nyãá̋w-á	tear	**nOm-O**	stalk, sneak behind

/s/

sá-a	dance	**sim-á**	be cold, damp, wet
samb-á	gossip	**síngg-a**	snore
sángg-a	be clear, clean	**sínggo-a**	wipe
sás-a	clear with machet	**sió-á**	breathe
sasó-á	comb	**sis-á**	frighten
sée-a	burn	**só-a**	shave with scissors
sE-É	brush (teeth)	**so-á**	throw away
sEm-éá	lean on	**sólo-a**	undress
sEngg-É	sift	**somÉlÉl-É**	give blessings
sEnggwÉ	filter	**songg-á**	give enema
sEs-É	clear ground with shovel so only dirt remains	**sónggam-a**	enter into
		sOs-á	wash, bathe
		sósóme-a	plead, beg
sí-a	press, e.g. clothes	**sÓ-O**	be far
siv-á	go, climb down	**sÓ-O**	spit
síim-a	pull along, drag	**sÓmb-O**	lick
sík-a	groan, moan, grind, rub, caress	**sÓnj-O**	be dry
		sÓs-O	sharpen
		sum-á	fall forward

/t/

tak-á	be poor, suffer	**tingg-É**	catch in a trp

tam-á	be doubtful, wonder, be surprised	**tit-á**	wet something
		titó-á	wipe
tán-a	be ripe, shiny, clean, white, bright	**tóngg-a**	crow (of rooster), blow (of whistle)
táne-a	encounter	**tOnd-Ó**	strip, peel
tán-E	be able, enough	**tÓ-O**	leak, drip
tángg-a	pay	**tO-Ó**	talk
tat-á	be angry, sad	**tÓl-E**	fetch water
té-a	be red	**tOÓl-É**	be late
téam-a	be wide	**tÓw-O**	quarrel
tÉ-E	shout	**tú-a**	cut open
tE-É	be sweet	**tu-á**	be tiny, small
tÉm-E	stand	**túm-a**	pluck, pick
tÉt-E	carry in hand	**tumb-á**	burn cleared land
tí-a	beat someone, hit	**túmb-E**	roast
tík-a	be thick, stuck	**tun-á**	treat a sick person
tíko-a	exchange something	**tút-a**	sweep
til-á	write	**tut-É**	wash hands
timb-á	go back		
tínd-a	put something aside		

/v/

vá-a	marry	**vé-a**	feel, sense
va-á	divide, share	**ven-á**	be wounded
vav-á	sprinkle	**vÉ-E**	be
vák-E	press down	**vÉl-E**	call

vánd-a	cover	**vEm-É**	leave, stop, leave something someplace
vand-á	forget someone		
van-É	carry in hand, on head	**vend-á**	plait
		vÉnd-E	snap
vángg-a	run away, escape	**vÉn-E**	own, have
vát-E	shake hands	**vÉny-E**	insult, abuse
vé-a	be cooked	**ví-a**	know

/w/

w̃á-a	die	**wÓk-O**	be fat
wám-a	be smart, well	**wÓkOm-O**	stop talking
waw-á	be tall, long	**wÓt-O**	dress self
wó-a	take	**wul-É**	scatter
wóm-a	be drunk	**wun-á**	struggle for something
wónd-a	propose marriage		
wonggísÉnÉ	prepare	**wundú-a**	unfold
wónggo-a	take care of, give food, shelter	**wús-a**	go out, come out, sprout; be closed (of school, meeting)
woté-á	begin		
wÓ-O	be lost	**wúu-a**	scrape hair off of animal for cooking

/y/

yá-a	give birth	**yó-a**	vomit

Appendix II: Vowel-Initial Verbs

/a/

aá-jul-E	be patient, suffer	**an-á**	fight
aá-kímEl-E	hiccup	**and-á**	buy
aá-sas-E	make amends	**ándam-a**	be quiet
aá-saso-E	grumble, complain	**anjí-á**	move away
aá-t-E	swear at someone	**ángg-a**	count; fry
áv-a	rotate, turn	**ángg-E**	tie around neck of
av-á	sell		animal
af-á	blaze (as of fire)	**ánggo-a**	be intelligent,
agw-á	climb, go up	**anggw-á**	throw, shoot
ák-a	pass, surpass,	**ány-a**	shave with razor
	cross	**as-á**	find, want, seek,
amb-á	be difficult		desire, look for
ámb-E	blow (as of nose)	**áy-a**	separate two people
ámbEl-E	wait		or animals fighting

/e/

é-a	be sharp	**émb-a**	sing
e-á	cry	**emb-á**	recognize
ev-á	sharpen	**éme-a**	agree, accept
ek-á	praise	**ény-a**	be ashamed
em-á	be confused	**ét-a**	owe
		et-á	be hard

/E/

Ev-É	mourn	**Én-E**	see
End-É	go, walk, travel	**Énggwe-a**	weed

/i/

íb-a	steal	**imE-É**	swallow
if-É	cook	**imó-á**	be awake
íjo-a	ask	**in-á**	dip
ijó-á	twist	**índ-a**	be black; gossip
ík-a	put, place, add	**ind-á**	stay long
ím-a	dig	**ínggo-a**	roll
imb-á	bend	**inj-á**	stare
ímbam-a	be strong, poweful	**íny-a**	urinate
ímb-E	injure, make painful	**íny-E**	give
		ít-a	swell
íme-a	bury, dig for		

/o/

óv-a	speak, tell; clear land roughly	**ónd-a**	be full of water
		óngg-a	build
óf-a	hold, have	**ongg-á**	grow up
ók-a	be sick	**óngam-a**	follow behind

ok-á	play	onggó-á	stack, accumulate
óko-a	study	onggól-É	pack
ókane-a	listen	ós-a	gather up and carry
ólo-a	be big, fat		away
óm-a	send	ő-ã	kill
ón-a	plant	ow-á	blaze (of fire)

/O/

Okís-É	be sick	ÓndOnd-O	be slippery
Ók-O	bathe	Ónj-O	cheat
Ok-Ó	be bitter, painful	OnggÉl-É	remember, think
Ól-E	catch up with	OnggÉlÉl-É	peep
Ómb-O	beg	Óng-O	look
Om-Ó	remove by pulling	Ot-O	be tired
	out	Os-Ó	gather

/u/

ú-a	go and return	úngw-a	stab, pierce, shoot
únd-a	fall	ungw-á	meet
új-a	be full	únggEl-E	blow
újam-a	bend down	unggw-á	smell
úk-a	arrive, reach	úngwEl-E	show
úl-E	remove, empty	ut-á	keep, hide

úmb-a	close, shut	**utám-á**	hide
un-á	be old	**útu-a**	be short
únd-a	fall	**úw-a**	originate from

Appendix III: Verb Derivations

Verb Root: **agw** (climb, go up)

agw-éá	climb on behalf of/for/to someone
agw-ÉlÉ	have/let/enbale someone to climb
agw-ísÉ	make someone climb
agw-ánáá	climb using something
agw-ÉnÉ	climb at the same time
agw-ísÉnÉ	climb something without someone's permission, i.e. against someone's wishes
agw-anea	climb with something for someone

Verb Root: **and** (buy)

and-éá	buy on behalf of/for someone
and-ÉlÉ	have/let/enable someone to buy
and-ísÉ	make someone buy
and-ánáá	buy from someone/buy without permission, i.e. against someone's wishes
and-ÉnÉ	buy at the same time
and-ísÉlÉ	have someone buy for someone

Verb Root: **váng** (run)

vángg-ea	run on behalf of/for someone
vángg-ElE	have/let/enable to run
vángg-isE	make someone run
vángg-ana	run with someone or something
vángg-EnE	run at the same time
vángg-isElEl(lE)	have someone run for someone
vángg-isEnE	make someone run with something without permission, i.e. against someone's wishes
vángg-anea	run away with something for someone without permission, i.e. against someone's wishes

Verb Root: **til** (write)

til-éá	write on behalf of/for/to someone; on something
til-ÉlÉ	have/let/enable someone to write
til-ísÉ	make someone write
til-áná	write with something; with someone's help
til-ÉnÉ	write at the same time
til-ísÉlÉ	make someone write for someone

Verb Root: **tat** (be angry, sad)

tat-éá	be angry on behalf of/for someone
tat-ÉlÉ	make someone angry
tat-ísÉ	make someone angry
tat-ánáá	be angry with someone
tat-ÉnÉ	be angry at the same time.
tat-ísÉlÉ	make someone angry for someone
tat-ísÉnÉ	make someone angry without permission, i.e. against someone's wishes

Verb Root: **lángg** (read)

lángg-ea	read on behalf of/for/to someone
lángg-ElE	have/let/enable someone to read
lángg-isE	make someone read
lángg-ana	read something without permission
lángg-EnE	read at the same time; with someone
lángg-isElE	have someone read for someone

Appendix IV: Verb Paradigms

A. Consonantal SP Forms, cf. Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-72)

Verb:	sO-O "be far"	
Class 1:	na-sO	"I will be far ."
	o-sO	"You will be far."
	a-sO	"S/He will be far."
Class 2:	i-sO	"We will be far."
	e-sO	"You all will be far."
	va-sO	"They will be far."
Class 3:	mó-sO	"It will be far today."
Class 4:	mé-sO	
Class 5:	lí-sO	
Class 6:	má-sO	
Class 7:	é-sO	
Class 8:	vé-sO	
Class 9:	e-sO	
Class 10:	í-sO	
Class 14:	wó-sO	
Class 19:	í-sO	

B. Vocalic SP Forms, cf. Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-2)

Verb: **únd-a** "fall"

Class 1:	**n-únd-a**	"I will fall."
	u-únd-a	"You will fall."
	a-únd-a	"S/He will fall."
Class 2:	**j-únd-a**	"We will fall."
	y-únd-a	"You all will fall."
	w-únd-a	"They will fall."
Class 3:	**mú-únd-a**	"It will fall."
Class 4:	**mé-únd-a**	
Class 5:	**l-únd-a**	
Class 6:	**m-únd-a**	
Class 7:	**y-únd-a**	
Class 8:	**ví-únd-a**	
Class 9:	**y-únd-a**	
Class 10:	**j-únd-a**	
Class 14:	**wú-únd-a**	
Class 19:	**j-únd-a**	

C. Consonantal OP Forms, cf. Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-72)

Verb: jan-á "bring"

Class 1:	a-no-jan-a	"S/He will bring me."
	n-o-jan-a	"I will bring you."
	na-mo-jan-a	"I will bring him/her."
Class 2:	a-i-jan-a	"S/He will bring us."
	n-e-jan-a	"I will bring you all."
	na-vá-jan-a	"I will bring them."
Class 3:	na-mó-jan-a	"I will bring it."
Class 4:	na-mé-jan-a	
Class 5:	na-lí-jan-a	
Class 6:	na-má-jan-a	
Class 7:	n-é-jan-a	
Class 8:	na-vé-jan-a	
Class 9:	n-e-jan-a	
Class 10:	na-jí-jan-a	
Class 14:	na-wó-jan-a	
Class 19:	na-jí-jan-a	

B. Vocalic OP Forms, cf. Tables 6.I-III (pp. 70-72)

Verb: ÉnE "see"

Class 1:	a-n-Én-E	"S/He will see me."
	na-w-Én-E	"I will see you."
	na-ngw-ÉnE	"I will see him/her."
Class 2:	a-j-Én-E	"S/He will see us."
	na-y-Én-E	"I will see you all."
	na-v-Én-E	"I will see them."
Class 3:	na-ngw-Én-E	"I will see it."
Class 4:	na-mÉ-Én-E	
Class 5:	na-l-Én-E	
Class 6:	na-m-Én-E	
Class 7:	n-É-Én-E	
Class 8:	na-vÉ-Én-E	
Class 9:	n-E-Én-E	
Class 10:	na-j-Én-E	
Class 14:	na-gw-Én-E	
Class 19:	na-j-Én-E	

E. Active Verbs with Derivational Suffixes, cf. 7-8.0: 98-144.

Verb: and-á "buy"

na-anda	"I will buy."
na-and-isE	"I will make (someone) buy."
na-and-EIE	"I will have/let (someone) buy."
na-and-ea	"I will buy for (someone)."
na-and-a-n-a	"I will buy with (something/one)."
na-and-EnE	"I will buy at the same time (as someone)."

F. Active Verbs with Derivational Suffixes and OP's

na-vé-and-a	"I will buy it/them (Class 8)."
na-vé-and-isE	"I will make (someone) buy it/them."
na-ngw-and-isE	"I will make him/her buy."
na-vé-and-EIE	"I will let (someone) buy it/them."
na-ngw-and-EIE	"I will let him/her buy."
na-vé-and-ea	"I will buy it/them for (someone)."
na-ngw-and-ea	"I will buy for him/her."
na-vé-and-a-n-a	"I will buy it/them with (something/one)."
na-ngw-and-a-n-a	"I will buy with him/her."
na-vé-and-EnE	"I will buy it/them at the same time as s.o."
na-ngw-and-EnE	"I will buy at the same time as him/her."

G. Passive Verbs with Derivational Suffixes, cf. 6.4.2: 88-91.

Verb: **jan-a** "bring"

na-jan-a-v-a	"I will be brought."
na-jan-isE-v-E	"I will be made to bring."
na-jan-v-EIE	"I was made to bring for."
na-jan-v-EnE	"I was made to bring with."

H. Passive Verbs with Derivational Suffixes and OP's, cf. 7.3.2: 108, 7.4.2: 111, 8.2.2: 136.

Verb: jan-a "bring"

na-vé-jan-isE-v-E	"I will be made to bring it/them (Class 8)."
vé-na-jan-isE-v-E	"It will be made to be cut by me."
na-vé-jan-v-EIE	"I will be made to be brought it/them."
vé-no-jan-v-EIE	"It will be made to be brought for me."
na-vé-jan-v-EnE	"I will be made to be brought with it/them."
vé-no-jan-v-EnE	"It will be made to be brought with me."

I. Reflexive Verbs with Derivational Suffixes, cf. 9.0: 145-158.

Verbs: **bend-a** "plait", **vángg-a** "run", **and-a** "buy"

na-á-vend-a	"I will plait myself."
na-á-vángg-ísE	"I will make myself run."
na-á-nd-ÉlE	"I will buy for myself."

J. Reflexive Verbs with Derivational Suffixes and OP's

Verb: **kÉ-E** "cut"

n-é-á-kÉÉ-ís-E	"I will make myself cut it (Class 9)."
n-é-á-kÉÉ-l-E	"I will cut it for myself."
n-é-á-kÉÉ-n-E	"I will cut it for myself with (something)." "I will cut for myself with it."

K. Active Verbs with Two Derivational Suffixes, cf. 7.7: 124-125, 8.4: 142-144, and OP's.*

Verb: jan-a "bring"

Suffixes: isE and E1E(1E)

na-jan-is-E-1E1E	"I will have (something) brought to/for (someone)."
na-mo-jan-is-E1E1E	"I will have (something) brought to/for him/her."
na-vé-jan-is-E1E1E	"I will have it/them (Class 8) brought to/for (someone)."

Suffixes: isE and n

na-jan-isE-n-E	"I will have (something) brought against (someone)."
na-mo-jan-isE-n-E	"I will have (something) brought against him/her."
na-vé-jan-isE-n-E	"I will have it/them (Class 8) brought against (someone)."

*Note that these constructions are rare, owing presumably to their length. Other suffixal combinations are even rarer, and the messages which they convey are less systematic, cf. 8.4.2: 143-144.

L. Passive Verbs with Two Derivational Suffixes and OP's.*

Verb: jan-a "bring"

Suffixes: isE and ElE

na-jan-isE-v-ElE	"I was made to be brought for."
na-vé-jan-isE-v-ElE	"I was made to be brought it/them for."
na-mo-jan-isE-v-ElE	"I was made to be brought him/her for."

Suffixes: isE and n

na-jan-isE-v-EnE	"I was made to be brought against someone."
na-vé-jan-isE-v-EnE	"I was made to be brought it/them against someone."
na-mo-jan-isE-v-EnE	"I was made to be brought against him/her."

*Again, these constructions are rare, and speakers have trouble interpreting them in isolation.

Appendix V: Text **Mbela**

1-ndómE wămi wa múnyána avÉ'lÉvÉ mbelE *ámEndê ónĚ mbóa
my brother who is called mbela went (there) home

2-amá *ámukê ó luwálá sĭ *ámaákê ó kÓstOm sĭ áEndÉ
just when he arrived at duala and passed through customs, he goes

3-ó 'ngwánú ya ndÉki lEndÉ likénjisE í'káfá já ndio
upstairs to go change money for transportation

4- á'véá ndí moto ndí amotÉÉní lí'ína amá áfEngE nánu mÉnÉ
(and) hears someone who is shouting (his) name. as he glances like that

5- á'ÉnÉ ndí ikomE na esuka. wÓ ndí vávánggă lijă
he sees it is ikome and esuka (and) they run to come

6- lingwásanggálÉ'nÉ vámá "mbela owá ó'nó isó'Éní ková
embrace him saying "mbela it is you we have not seen for a

7- méne méá méasÉ wÉÉndea ó amÉlika isó'Éní."
long time all these years since you went to America we have not seen."

8- ványÓ mí'ímba sĭ ngwámbO emólána wamá lkOmE sĭ ája
they drink wine then soon ikomE's wife then comes

9- mÓfÉ aásanggalEnE mbelE amá "ojéli ó'nó" *vámaákÓmÓ'nÉ

too and embraces mbelE saying "you have come here". When they have

10- sĭ wônggolE vé'émá ó motóa sĭ váwotéá lagwá

greeted one another they pack the things in the car and start to climb

11- ó gwea. *vámukê ó tíkó sĭ ikOme amá "jŭki tÉ

to buea. When they arrived at tiko ikOme says "when we have arrived

12- ó sOfÓ mbéla alí'ía ó mbúsa imbá nEndE ó woso lEndÉ

at sOfO mbela will remain behind I will go first to go

13- livímoa. *vámukê ó sOfÓ efóndá *emavÉ ndí efasu

awaken them. When they arrived at sOfO the time it was half

14- yá líómE na fÓkÓ lá wû wéngga tátE na iyakE *vámavÉ

past eleven at night so father and mother were

15- linanngá ndengganá vétulu véasÉ vé ndáo *vémalímá

sleeping then all the lights of the house were out

16- éki yâsé 'tánánáná....' sOfÓ vá'sÉ *vámavÉ ndí lisíima í'jÓ.

everywhere 'shhhh (silence) all were sleeping

17- mótóa *mómatÉmÉ mbEnggE ya njiá sĭ váwúsísÉ béwonggó

when the car stood at the end of the road they removed the boxes

18- sĭ ikome áEndÉ ó wosô álifóá líofá. Ewokolo *ámavéyê
then ikome went first (and) he knocked (on) the door. ewokolo heard

19- mÓtŏ mÉnÉ sĭ áwúsáná étulu ámOnggÓ mÉnÉ á'ÉnÉ ndí
a noise then she comes out with the lamp, she looks and sees it is

20- ndómE wení mbéla áfáká étulu átÊ ávángga
her brother mbéla she shows the light, screams, (and) runs

21- lingwásanggálÉ'nÉ. tátE *amavÉ ó tŭ vámá eyă ngwEndE ívă
to embrace him. father was in the room, they say about 2 months

22- *amavÉ ndí ó linOnggO na enyambÉ. aasî tÉ litÉmE
he was in bed with sickness. if he wants to stand

23- íyaka avÉnî limotÉkElEnE éeyé. ndí wónó wû tátE na
mother has to suppport him with the cane. on this night father and

24- íyE *vámavéê líiná lámá ngwána wú váwumÉnÉ
mother when they heard the name of their child they get up together

25- ó linOnggO. tátE átÉmÉ 'ngwíti lijă lásanggálÉ'nÉ
from bed. father stands alone to come to embrace

26-ngwána wení *émavé ndí eya yá mányáká tOímá moto
his child it was something of wonder, everyone

27- *amatamá. íyaka mÓfÉ *ámajê luwá kolo luwá lá malinggo.
was surprised. mother also came everywhere (there was a) crying of joy

28- mbéla amá vángwinjî tÉ nánu vália ó sé.
mbéla says when they stare at him like that they sit down.

29- vávÉlÉ vánĚ vato vá sOfÓ tOímá moto *ámajê
they call other people of sOfO when each person came

30- atÉÉnÉ malinggo. Mbéla amá así'línggí nánu
s/he shouts (for) joy. mbéla says he has not been happy like that

31- wúnyá ó longgÉ lÉní amá akúlÉ tÉ ió'ókoa léní
(any) day of his life. he says when he finishes his studies

32- atimba ndí ngeli fÓkÓ ó 'mbóa.
he will return at once home.

Appendix VI: Text viá

1- wúnyá wOkO ómavÉ mólána mOkÓ na ngwána weni

one day there was one woman and her child

2- líiná léni viá. sĭ wúnyá wOkO nyangó yeni amá aEndE

her name (was) viá. then one day her mother says she is going

3- ó wanggá. enggé wanggá aEndE esÓlÉnÊ sái sái wéngga

to the farm. that farm she is going is very far so

4- viá avéni liliia ó ndáo. sĭ viá amá "ole". sĭ

viá has to stay at home. then viá says "yes". then

5- nyanggó weni áwotéá lEndÉ áEndE nátE á'úká

her mother begins to go she goes until she arrives

6-ó wanggá átiá mákao sĭ átimbá ó ndáo viá amEnÉ

at the farm she tills coco yams then she returns home when viá saw

7- nyanggÉ alingga nátE. wÓnĚ wúnyá viá nyanggÉ áwotéá

(her) mother she was very happy. the next day when viá's mother begins

8- ionggólÉ lEndÉ ó wanggá viá amá mÓfÉ aEndE. nyangó weni

to pack to go to the farm viá says also she is going. her mother

9- amá "jáE" asá'tánE lEndÉ ewánjá ewanggá esÓlÉnÊ sái sái

says "no" she isn't going because the farm is very far

10- ndengga moto asái'nyá ndengga asá'nyá eya énggé wanggá

and one cannot urinate and defecate in that farm

11- sĭ ángwásangalEnĔ ámoóvea amá atimba ngwáná mbO. viá

then she embraces her she tells her that she will return soon. viá

12- ámaliiá ó 'ndáo É'sÓlísÓlí éngwáka sĭ amá

was sitting at home longing overpowered her then she says

13- "násá'liiá ánu mbá'mbíti mbávÉ nEndE." áEndÉ nátÊ áÉnÉ

"I will not stay here alone I too will go. She goes until she sees

14- nyanggó weni ó wosó sĭ viá áwotéá lEndÉ fia fia.

her mother in front then viá begins to go slowly

15- nyangó weni amá áfEnggE ó 'mbúsa sĭ viá á'újámá ó

when her mother is about to glance back then viá bends down into

16- vèwulé áutama sǐ nanggÉ weni áwotéá lEndÉ sǐ mÓfÉ

the grass she bends down then her mother begins to go then also

17- ámonÓmO ngwáná mbO mÉnÉ nyanggó weni amá

she follows her quietly. in a little while soon her mother as

18-áfEnggÉ nánu aÉnÉ ndi viá ndi ajǎ átÊ amá "viá wafÉ

she glances like that she sees that viá is coming she shouts " viá you too

19- ojéli".amá "ey nasátá'néá liliia ó 'ndáo mbá'mbíti ó 'ndi

you have come." she says "yes I was not able to stay at home alone that is

20- nóonÓnggî ". nyanggó weni amá "olé í'másOlÉnÉ

why I have followed you. her mother says "yes, we are far away

21- yÓndO wénggá isá'tánÉ litimbá nânggÊ" sǐ váwotéá

(on the) journey so we cannot return now. then they begin

22- lEndÉ yÉndÉ nátÊ vámá vá'úká ó wanggá viá amá

to go. they go until as they arrive at the farm viá says

23- aasa liinya nyanggó weni amá "ené wanggá

she wants to urinater her mother says "this farm

24- esí'nyávÉ!É wéngga jâ nu oninyéá ó waná sĭ

cannot be urinated in so come here (and) urinate in my mouth. then

25- víá á'ínyéá ó waná yamá nyanggÉ sĭ váwotéá lEndÉ

víá urinates in the mouth of (her) mother then they begin to go

26- wú'ká ó wanggá sĭ enanggó ewotéá litía. á'tíá nátE

they arrive at the farm then mother begins to till. she tills until

27- sĭ ngwána mbO viá amá aasa línyâ. nyanggÉ weni

then soon viá says she wants to defecate. her mother

28- amá "vÊ! nÉ 'nágweá nyanggÉ línggí nánu nasá'tánÉ

says "oh! what (can) I do (as) mother all that (feces) like that I can't

29- lílímE wéngga jÊndE ó sáwá ya moóndá líima efOndí

to swallow so let's go to the edge of the farm to dig a hole.

30- sĭ wÓ na nyanggÉ vÉndÉ. nyanggÉ á'ímá efOndí

then they and mother they go. mother digs a hole

31- sĭ víá ámanyê nánu méa mééní méasÉ méwunduea

when víá defecates like that her intestines all fall out

32- nyangÉ ámajê atÊ amá "nÉ náwó'wéá ngwána wámi?"

when (her) mother comes she shouts "how will I take my child?"

33- sĭ ámoóngéá líwondo amá "óvée tÉ líló lémbana

then she builds her a hut she says "if you hear a voice that sings

34- líni líló lámi ólifoe líofá ovêe tÉ líló lindÉnE

like my voice you open the door if you hear a big voice

35- osilí'lífóá"

don't open it (door)."

36- víá 'é víá 'é, wá wá

37- víá ná'nángga ó 'ndáo, wá wá

víá I sleep in the house

38- wáfE ó'nángga ó 'wóká, wá wá

you too sleep outside

39- víá véto véolê, wá wá

víá rats that they eat

40- mbáfÉ véso vénolê.

I too, that chimpanzees eat me.

41- sĭ víá amá "olé" sĭ nyanggÉ weni áEndÉnÉ jé'émbo

then víá says "yes." then here mother leaves with singing

42- ó 'ndáo. wû wómuké sĭ yóma ndÉnE ája áwotéá

toward home. when night arrived then the big thing comes (and) begins

43- lémba mÓsOkO. víá asilifóé lìofá ewánjá liló leni

to sing songs. víá doesn't open the door because its voice

44- lísívÊ nă ElÓ lámá nyanggÉ weni sĭ wónĔ wúnyá

is not like that of her mother then the other day

45- nyangÉ weni ája áwotéá lémba sĭ víá álifóá lìofá

her mother comes (and) begins to sing then víá opens the door

46- nyanggÉ weni ámongwă mó'léli á'lá. sĭ nyanggÉ weni

her mother gives her food (and) she eats. then her mother

47- ámovéá amá asilifóá lìofá yóma ndÉnE ajéli tÉ.

she tells her that she shouldn't open the door if the big thing comes.

48- sĭ nyanggÉ weni áwotéá lEndÉnÉ jé'émbo. yóma ndÉnE

then her mother begins to go with singings. the big thing

49- amEndÉ ó nggangga amá "mbOsí ónotitóê mbO mbOsí

went to the sorcerer he says "mbOsí you wipe me mbO mbOsí

50- mbO. ekuku luwá mbO mbOsí mbO. MbOsí ónotitóé mbO

mbO. nine times mbO mbOsí mbO. mbOsí you wipe me mbO

51- mbOsí mbO" sǐ mbOsí amá "má'mÉ ó'jÉlÉlÉ anu?"

mbOsí mbO." then mbOsí says "why have you come here?"

52- sǐ mbOsí ámoovéá nÉ enggé nyama yÉ'ndéli ó'sáwá ya

then mbOsí tells him how that meat has gone to the edge of
(the child viá)

53- wanggá ndí esáasá lilifóá liofá wéngga yóma ndÉnE

the farm (and) it didn't want to open the door so the big thing

54- aasa amá mbOsí ámogwě liló lítuwe sǐ mbOsí

wants that mbOsí make his voice grow then mbOsí

55- ámavéyê nánu mÉnÉ á'viá ngeli fÓkÓ amá ngwána ngOndO

when he heard that then he knows at once that the woman child

56- ndí áEndéli ó wanggá sǐ álukÉlÉ yóma ndÉnE amá

is stuck at the farm then he lies to the big thing he says

57- álê vekolókolo vendÉnE lí'ló lení lítua. yóma ndÉnE

he should eat big butterflies (so) his voice will grow. the big thing

58- áEndE álá vekolókolo vendÉne á'vélá á'vélá nátE

goes (and) he eats big butterflies he eats them he eats them until

59- á'úja sĭ enggómbé áwotéá lEndÉ ó liwóndo. á'múkê

he is full then in the evening he begins to go to the hut. when he arrives

60- wé'wóka áwotéá lémba.

in front he begins to sing. (song from page 281)

61- ámembê nánu lí'ló lení lóloa ndí nánu mÉnÉ

when he was singing like that his voice grows bigger like that still

62- sĭ yóma ndÉnE átata amá "mbOsí anolukÉlÉ liló lámi

then the big thing is annoyed he says "mbOsí he lies to me my voice

63- lí'tÉÉni ndí nánu mÉnÉ nEndE limuúngwElE eya

remains like that still I will go to show him something

64- sĭ áwotéá litimbá wêkí yámá mbOsí. ámaáká

then he begins to return to the place of mbOsí. as he was passing

65- ó'kÓtÓ sĭ á'tánéá nyanggá viá "ó'né úú'wÉlÉlÉ ?"

by a fence then he meets viá's mother "where are you coming from?"

66- amá "nuwÉlÉlÉ ndí ó 'ndáo yámi nEndE ndí ó wanggá

she says "I am coming from my house, I am going to the farm

67- sĭ nyanggá viá áaka áEndE ó wanggá á'émba viá

then viá's mother passes, she goes to the farm, she sings, viá

68- álifóá líofá ámongwă ékwăkoko á'lá sĭ efóndá lEndÉ

opens the door, she gives her food, she eats then the time to go

69- émukê sĭ nyanggÉ wení ámovéá amá ové'é tÉ liló

arrives then her mother tells her, she says "if you hear a big voice

70- lindÉnE tO liló lí'sémbá nă elá'ámi osikeká lilifóá

or a voice which does not sing like mine don't dare open

71- líofá viá amá "olê" sĭ áEndE. wû wómukê

the door". viá says "yes" then she goes. when night arrives

72- sĭ yóma ndÉnE ája á'émbáná liló lívÉli witítení viá

then the big thing comes he sings with a which is medium viá

73- áova ó ngwéma amá seké liló lámá nyangá wámi

says in (her) heart she says "(it is) not the voice of my mother

74- linggi wéngga nasálifóá líofá. sĭ yóma ndÉnE ámEnÉ

at all so I won't open the door. then the big thing sees

75- amá líofá lísalifoavi sĭ átimba ómá mbOsí amá

that the door isn't opened then he returns there (to the)mbOsi he says

76- "mbOsí onolukÉlÉ osánŏvéli té EjokE nolâ.

"mbOsi you lied to me you didn't tell me the truth I will eat you.

77- sĭ mbOsí ngwé'éma ngwení mókwâ sĭ amá "EndÊ ólê

then mbOsi's heart falls then he says "go (and) eat

78- vekolókolo vesali" sĭ yóma ndÉnE ámalê wengge

small butterflies" then the big things ate those

79- vekolókolo sĭ liló leni lítua sĭ amá "nEndE lilă

butterflies then his voice gets smaller then he says "I will go eat

80- enggé nyama nânggÊ." ámEndÉ wûwû á'émbá jé'émbo sĭ

that meat now. he went (at) night he sings songs then

79- viá álifóá liófa amá "íya ojéli wúnuwû" aÉni ndí

viá opens the door she says "mother you have come at night" she sees

80- yóma ndÉnE ndí ajéli sĭ yóma ndÉnE ámolâ. é'élélé

the big thing has come then the big thing eats her. (in the) morning

81- nanggá viá ámajê sĭ á'ÉnÉ ndí líwondo ndí límúndĔ

when viá's mother came then she sees the bush hut is falling down

82- sĭ átimbáná lúwa ónEE mbóa. ânggá ndí násúwéli.

then she returns with crying to the village. there I finish.