

THE KAPSIKI LANGUAGE

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DAVID MARTIN SMITH  
1969



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

THE KAPSIKI LANGUAGE

presented by

DAVID MARTIN SMITH

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Anthropology

Date June 23,



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## ABSTRACT

### THE KAPSIKI LANGUAGE

By

David Martin Smith

The thesis represents an original analysis of the Kapsiki language with special emphasis on the verb system. Through an analysis of the grammatical and semological structure of the verbs, an attempt is made to specify something of the Kapsiki speaker's conception of action, which this structure reflects.

The grammatical and semological analysis is based on a stratificational model of language. That is, language is viewed as a coding mechanism, composed of strata, standing between the world of reality as experienced by speakers and the sounds used in speech. Language, so viewed, enables a speaker to encode information concerning the world of reality into units of sound and conversely to decode sound symbols.

An ethnographic sketch, noting the salient ecological, cultural and social features of the Kapsiki's total context of action is provided in the first section. This is followed by a rather detailed sketch of the structure of the language in general, including a description of word and construction classes.

The third section contains an analysis of the verbs, first, as grammatical realizations of the semology and secondly, as semological realizates. Several dimensions of actions, perceived by speakers, and symbolized in the semology are examined.

Finally, several suggestions are tendered as to what this analysis of verb semology reveals of the Kapsiki's view of this segment of reality.

THE KAPSIKI LANGUAGE

by

David Martin Smith

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1969

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During our stay in Cameroun the following rendered invaluable aid in a number of ways. The Reverend and Mrs. Lyle Hunter of the Lutheran Brethren Mission provided facilities, help and friendship. Mrs. Hunter deserves special thanks for permitting me free access to her language notes. In addition the Reverend Father André Durier of the Catholic mission at Siir proffered friendship and help on a number of occasions. It will be gratifying if this analysis should incidently prove helpful to these people in their struggles with the language.

I am also indebted to the many laborious hours of help rendered by Mr. Luc Sunu my field assistant as well as the services of Mr. Matthieu Kweji Zama and Mr. Joseph Zera Mpa. It is impossible to mention all of the Camerounian friends who helped us.

Many thanks are due my Ph.D. committee for their patient work and encouragement, to Professor Alfred B. Hudson my chairman, to Professor Charles C. Hughes, director of the African Studies Center and to Professor Charles Kraft.

Finally, I owe a real debt of gratitude to my wife, Janet F. Smith, for her help in typing manuscripts.

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## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Except where specifically noted in the text the following abbreviations and notational conventions have been used in this thesis.

[ ]	enclose phonetic material.
/ /	enclose phonemic units.
{ }	enclose morphemic units.
	enclose morphophonemic units.
CAPS	mark semological units.
M/	indicates the following is a morphological realization.
L/	indicates the following is a lexemic realization.
S/	indicates that the following is a semological realization.
R	is realized as.
( )	In the text enclose parenthetical material, in examples indicate optional units.
V	verb, with subscripts, e.g., $V_2$ indicates class of verbs.
N	noun, with subscripts, e.g., $N_2$ indicates noun class.
pro	pronoun.
spc	specifier
prep	preposition
conj	conjunction
mkr	verb marker
dem	demonstrative
coor	coordinator
/v/	vowel
/c/	consonant
/ʧ/	syllabic consonant
#	marks beginning or ending of an utterance.
—	(underlining) sets off Kapsiki units in the English text.

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' ' enclo

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self:

Page 52 sy

Page 93 sp

Page 157 g2

- " "   enclose English glosses in the text.
- ' '   enclose English explanations or tags in the text, for example,  
      pa 'Consecutive Sequential Indicator'.
- order   The ordering of examples is as follows. If the example is  
          not too long the Kapsiki appears on the left, an idioma-  
          tic English gloss to the right, the text reference in  
          parentheses to the extreme right with a literal English  
          gloss directly below the Kapsiki. If the example is long  
          the idiomatic English gloss is found below the literal  
          one.

See also the following explanations of abbreviations in the text it-  
self:

Page 52   symbols used in the tone examples.

Page 93   special conventions used in Construction Class examples.

Page 157   glossary of notations used in the Semological Network.



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## SECTION ONE

### THE PEOPLE

#### 1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND

##### 1.1.1 Introduction.

The Kapsiki are a tribe of between 22 and 25,000 who inhabit the Mandara hill region on the Cameroun side of the Nigeria-Cameroun border. Whether or not the several thousand people living in the adjacent area of Nigeria and speaking the several dialects of Higi, should be considered part of the same tribe is a question still not settled. Some of these villages use a dialect that is evidently mutually comprehensible with that of the Kapsiki and most of the villages belong to the same enemy-brother village complex as those in Cameroun. However, except for a few instances in which comparative data are introduced, this paper focuses on the people living in Cameroun and the term Kapsiki will be used only with reference to them.

This tribe is the main inhabitant of the administrative division (canton) of Mogode which is ruled by the Lambdo who resides in the village of Mogode. The canton is a sub-division of the Margui-Wandala Department of Eastern (ex-French) Cameroun and the department capitol is located at Mokolo.

The name Kapsiki, rarely used by the people themselves, is a transliteration of the verb psukú which describes the action of Guinea corn fermenting in the process of beer making and the prefix ka- meaning something like, "the people who". Thus this appellation, evidently first used by the Fulbe<sup>1</sup> invaders, means, "those who make beer." Indeed, the preparation, distribution and drinking of beer is an important element in Kapsike life.

---

<sup>1</sup>The term Fulbe is used here for the ethnic group known in the literature as Fula, Fulani, Peul, etc. Fulbe is the term they use in reference to themselves. (cf., 1.2.2 for a fuller discussion.)

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The people ordinarily refer to themselves as Margi, both to distinguish themselves from neighboring tribes (but including the Higi) and, in a narrower sense, in opposition to the Fulbe who may, in fact, be simply Kapsiki turned Moslem. I use the term Kapsiki because; (1) it has come into general use with reference to this group, (2) the term Margi is used in the literature for another large tribe in Nigeria and (3) the Kapsiki themselves are now accepting and using this name.

#### 1.1.2. Where they live.

The Canton of Mogode is located on a plateau about 4,000 feet in altitude, 12 to 15 miles wide from west to east and at least twice as long. Both the eastern and western edges of the plateau are composed of small but fairly rugged mountain ranges which give way to vast plains--on the west the plains of Nigeria and on the east the plain of Maroua.

The plateau itself is dotted with rather unique "mountains" which are in fact the granite cores of very old extinct volcanoes. These striking bosses rise abruptly, often to a height of several hundred feet and those which are located near villages usually have religious and historical significance for the village.

The plateau floor is relatively level, free from rocks and trees, being not badly suited to agriculture. However, the villages are strung out in two roughly parallel lines in the hills at either side of the plateau. These were the most easily defended from the mounted Fulbe raiders who invaded the territory in the last part of the 19th century. Even today most planting is done on terraces built on the rocky sides of the hills. The area in between is considered bush and is inhabited only by a few pastoral Fulbe and some Kapsiki who have recently left the sanctuary of the mountains.

The vegetation is of the savanah type characteristic to this kind of semi-arid climate. It consists of coarse grasses, several varieties of shiny-leaved shrubs, some thorn trees and a few baobabs. During the dry season the bush and fields are burned off.

The dry season starts the first part of October and heavy rains don't come again until the month of June. This long dry period with a consequent dearth of surface water is probably the most persistantly

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troublesome physical feature of the environment the Kapsiki have to deal with. Given the short rainy season with a total average annual rainfall of under 25 inches, it is obvious that slight reductions in either the length, regularity or quantity of the rains will have serious repercussions on the food supply and economy of the people.

Water for domestic use is especially a problem during the latter months of the dry season. By February the deep wells dug by the government in some villages have dried up and the villagers are dependent upon the pools remaining in swamps and stream beds, which are often far from residences. Rituals to ensure adequate water supplies and disputes over access rights to available sources are common features of Kapsiki life.

#### 1.1.3 Where they came from.

The ultimate origin of the Kapsiki is not a matter to be treated in this paper but certain histories of recent migrations have direct bearing on the social and linguistic situation presently existing. The Kapsiki live in a number of rather scattered villages with populations of from less than 500 to more than 1,500. These villages are arranged in complexes of brother-enemy groups. Brother villages supposedly have a common ancestor while enemy villages have been traditional rivals. To this day membership in one of the two groups affects the treatment of intervillage disputes.

Mogode, along with a number of villages in Nigeria are brothers, in opposition to the "enemy" villages of Kamale, Guria, Sedakote, Rufta and Sir. Apart from the fact of their alliances, these groups exhibit other peculiarities. In Mogode, for example, the dialect of the language used does not have a sex-gender distinction in the third person personal pronouns. Speakers living in the villages mentioned as members of the rival group regularly make such gender distinctions. Apart from this distinction and a number of lexical and tonal differences, the dialects are not very divergent.

However, the two groups possess radically differing explanations of origin. The residents of Mogode claim that their ancestors came originally from a village nearly 100 miles to the east, near Maroua. The inhabitants of the other group of villages trace their

ancestry in the opposite direction, about 100 miles to the west, near Mubi, Nigeria.

There is evidence to suggest that in general terms these claims of origin may be accurate and further, to indicate that the Mogode group came later than the others, splitting the first settlement in two parts. The implications for such a convergence of widely separated people who have come now to speak the same language, on an understanding of language change, although intriguing, are beyond the scope of this study. However, some awareness of the situation will shed light on the linguistic description to follow, which will be based almost exclusively on the Mogode dialect.

#### 1.1.4 Who they are related to.

Kapsiki is a Chadic language (Greenberg 1966. 46) and thus a member of the Afro-Asiatic language family. It is closely related to Matakam spoken to the North and northeast and to Bana, spoken to the south and southeast. It does show some striking differences to these languages, however, for example, the noun class system so important in Bana is entirely lacking in Kapsiki. Its relationship to Higi on the west has already been mentioned. Both Higi and Kapsiki are closely related to the Bura-Margi languages to the northwest and are probably members of the same sub-group.

The material culture and social-organization (eg., the significance of the blacksmith in the society) show close affinities with the other mountain peoples of north Cameroun. In the literature all of these people are often discussed together under the rubric of Kirdi.

#### 1.2 HOW A KAPSIKI SEES HIMSELF.

With his identity, furnished by this sketch of his physical and ethnic environment, an attempt will follow to explain how the Kapsiki views himself. An understanding of this will help explain why he relates to others in the ways that he does.

It appears that he sees the people in his universe as members of certain quite rigidly defined classes. These classes are identifiable by certain objective referents and form a series of increasingly

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smaller binary oppositions. These can be conceptualized as horizontal groupings. (In the diagram they are separated by solid vertical lines.) Crosscutting this classification is a series of vertical categories based on residence and lineage affiliations (represented by the broken horizontal lines). The first set of categories will be discussed in this section and the latter in section 1.3.

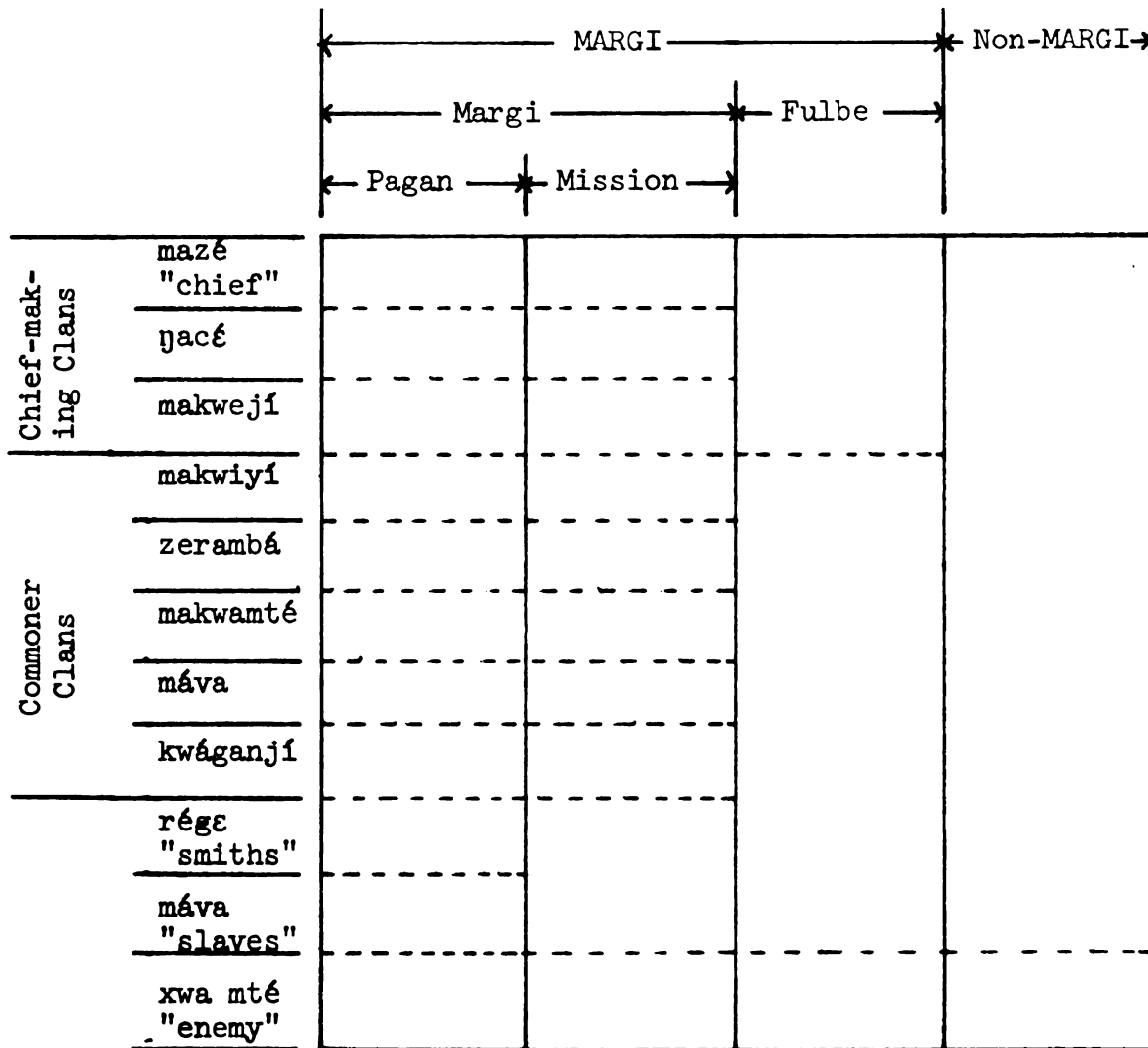


Figure 1  
Kapsiki Social Organization

### 1.2.1 MARGI or Other.

The first distinction the Kapsiki makes is between the Kapsiki tribe and everyone else. In articulating his identification at this level he would use the term "MARGI" (here capitalized to distinguish it from the same term used at the next level, indicating a contrast with Moslem.) He includes not only the residents of Cameroun in the category of MARGI but his brothers in Nigeria, the Higi.

MARGI is defined by several components, including (1) a common language--although the dialect differences may be significant enough to justify postulating more than one language from an objective linguistic point of view, (2) a common or related history--again from his point of view, (3) certain similar but differing in detail, rituals such as marriage and initiation practices, and (4) the fact that the MARGI constitute the primary reservoir of potential marriage partners.

The entity described by the referents outlined here is what we have termed the tribe. The Kapsiki has a keen tribal awareness, enhanced somewhat by the prominence it has been given in recent attempts to attract tourists to the area and the rather condescending attitude expressed toward the Kapsiki by both the present administration at Mokolo and the larger Matakam tribe to the north.

### 1.2.2 Margi or Fulbe.

To the average villager a more significant distinction is between what he terms the persunú, that is, Fulbe and the Margi or non-Moslems. As used here Fulbe is synonymous with Moslem. It includes the Fulbe (ethnically) who represent the administration in the villages and the cattle Fulbe who live in the bush and any Kapsiki who has converted. In addition to these there is a fairly large Fulbe population in the village of Mogode attached officially or unofficially to the Lambdo or canton chief. This population includes, Malams, dancers, musicians, prostitutes, the Lambdo's councilors, chauffeur, bodyguards and their dependants. Many of these live off the largess of the Lambdo who extracts tribute from the non-Moslems.

For a Kapsiki, becoming a Moslem, involves a drastic change of cultural identity. He must (1) be circumcised, (2) renounce pagan sacrifices, (3) observe taboos on eating pork, (4) observe the fast

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of Ramadan and (5) allow his children to be instructed in the Koranic tradition. In addition he is supposed to (6) observe the moslem calls to prayer and (7) refrain from drinking beer. Furthermore, he will (8) ordinarily relocate in the Fulbe part of the village.

As a result of his conversion he will no longer be expected to work in the fields and his wives will try to confine their cultivation to cash crops and gardens, he will be able to eat at the Lambdo's table, he will be exempt from public labor (but is supposed to pay a slightly higher head tax) and can expect preferential treatment in any litigation brought by a non-Moslem.

The Moslem finds it difficult to translate this "political" advantage to economic. As a result of his disinclination to cultivate and a habitual unwillingness or inability of the administration or Lambdo to dispense the money promised them, the Moslems as a class are probably worse off economically than either the pagans or Christians.

Furthermore, despite the stature the Fulbe have in the eyes of the government, this is in effect a closed class. No real attempt is made to convert the pagans in general but real pressure is brought on the select few who have been "tapped" to rise in the governmental hierarchy.

### 1.2.3. Pagan or Christian.

The Margi, or non-Moslems, constitute by far the bulk of the Kapsiki tribe. This group is divided into Christians (Mission) and Pagan. There are two Christian Missions working among the Kapsiki. An American Protestant group has a small station with an occasional resident Missionary family at Mogode, and the Roman Catholics have a large mission with a staff of 6 or 7 (mostly French), a dispensary, church and school at Sir. Neither missions--for different reasons--expect or demand a very traumatic conversion experience in terms of culture change.

Among the things which differentiate the Christians from the pagans are, (1) a reluctance to participate in sacrifices, (2) among the protestants a de-emphasis on beer drinking and (3) for both protestants and catholics a sometime enforced prohibition against taking a second wife. No change in residence patterns, food taboos or

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Whereas converting to Islam confers certain "political" advantage, conversion to Christianity often results in economic advantage. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, any accumulation of wealth by the pagans would be used to procure additional wives. For the Christians, on the other hand, it can be used to acquire either status symbols (radios, metal roofing, market goods) or capital goods (sewing machines, bikes--which are rented, wholesale marketable goods.) Furthermore, opportunities for employment by the missions as houseboys, guards, errand boys and informants are ordinarily offered to the Christians first.

As a result of the economic consideration, and a number of others, the Christian population in parts of the Kapsiki area is quite large. The informants for this study (as noted in the appendix) include mainly Christians and Pagans.

### 1.3 HOW HE ORDERS HIS LIFE

The vertical categories intersecting those discussed above, affect all Kapsiki to some degree. That is, in determining how they will order their relationships with others, pagan, Moslem or Christian alike, they are concerned to know village and clan affiliations. Although this is true in principle there are certain inherent restrictions on the compatibility of the two sets of categories. For example, the significance of clan affiliation is greatly attenuated for the Moslems and also the place of residence for a Moslem is, in most cases, Mogode.

#### 1.3.1 The Village.

There are about 18 Kapsiki villages. The villages are not compact but are spread over rather wide areas. They are composed of polygynous family dwellings surrounded by gardens and connected by footpaths often very picturesquely bordered with euphorbia. The villages are always located either in the mountains or at the foot of a mountain.

Village affiliation is extremely important to the Kapsiki and is, at the village level, viri-patrilocal. A person belongs to the

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village of his father. If a person does move away, including women who marry outside, he retains strong natal village ties, going back in times of family crisis, maintaining at least vestiges of his village "language" and eventually being returned there for burial.

Each village is characterized as (1) having a particular "language", (2) having its own set of clans or lineages, (3) having a sacred mountain (here sacrifices are offered and often judgements rendered), (4) having its own form of initiation, marriage and death rites and (5) being under the jurisdiction of a single Aranado or village chief.

The village is the effective unit of political activity among the Kapsiki. Each village is headed by a chief. He acts as arbiter of disputes, assists in making sacrifices, serves as spokesman and deputy for the Canton Chief and Prefect. These two roles, that of spokesman for the administration and representative of the people, are often in direct conflict resulting in serious personal dilemmas for the chief.

Because of the complexity of his social status, choosing a chief is often a complicated procedure. While final approval of a new chief is reserved to the administration, in order to function properly in his dual role he must enjoy the support of the people. In Mogode, he is chosen from the chief's clan and this choice is made by the three aristocratic clans. He is not necessarily the oldest member of his clan but has to be one who has demonstrated his wisdom, ambition and carefulness about family traditions and responsibility.

The administration can and often does depose a chief, if he is thought to be lax in doing the things it requires. The people can force his "retirement" if the village doesn't prosper under his leadership. His rule is far from autocratic, partly due to the limitations on his authority imposed by the administration but also as a result of a tradition of decision making by consensus. In any important decision he consults his councilors--an informal and changing group drawn from several segments of the society.

In addition to the village chief the villages are divided into wards each with a sub-chief. The role of the ward chiefs is similar



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to that of the village chief. They are called upon to collect taxes directly from the people, to judge minor disputes, to rally the wards for public work projects and together with the village chief form an advisory group to the chief of the canton.

### 1.3.2 The Clan.

Within every Kapsiki village are found lineage groups, which will be referred to as clans. Descent is reckoned patrilineally so a person is a member of his father's clan. Every village has different lineages and thus, with a great deal of overlapping, different clan names. The discussion in this section is almost entirely based on the situation in Mogode. There are eight major clans in Mogode. Of these three are classed together as aristocratic or chief-makers and the remaining five as commoners. The clans have descriptive names--which may at one time have referred to the occupational interests or social standing of the group--and membership in a clan is expressed by using the name with the prefix meaning person or people of. Thus there is a clan ṅacé and the members say, "we are ka ṅacé."

The three aristocratic clans trace their origin to the founder of the village and the others to sons of the founder as well or to strangers who attached themselves to the group in the beginning. Of the chief-making clans, one, called Mazé which means simply 'chief', and which claims descent from the third and lazy son of the founder, always produces the village chief. One of the commoner clans is ka Máva meaning 'those who are slaves'. This must be distinguished from the máva or 'slaves' who still exist as a group in the society. The clan Máva is composed of those who trace their ancestry to slaves long since freed and who enjoy equal rights in the society.

Within the village there is a tendency, but my informants insist no compulsion, to reside in a ward peopled by one's brothers or patri-clan. Thus, although any Kapsiki is free, provided he can get the consent of whomever controls the land, to settle wherever he wishes, in fact, census figures indicate a strong desire to live with paternal relatives. This undoubtedly stems from an ancient practice, still in existence in a few villages, of sons living with the father in extended family groups by building onto the compound.

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Clan consciousness is very real for the Kapsiki. Lineage membership which is clearly articulated in times of crises or village celebrations also affects the daily relationships a person enjoys with others. Marriage, for example, must be clan exogamous. For a girl both the clan of her father and of her mother (that is, her father's brothers and mother's brothers) have institutionalized roles to play in making marriage arrangements.

Furthermore, the privileges and obligations one enjoys or is enjoined to perform is determined often by clan affiliation. For example, it is the maternal nephews who are obliged to dig the grave for a deceased person and who can be pressed into virtually any service wished. It is the paternal clan which must insist on revenge should a person be injured or killed and the maternal relatives who counsel moderation and insist on indemnification. It is the paternal relatives who are obligated to provide money for bride price and the maternal who must provide hospitality whenever needed.

The clan, in addition to its importance as a principle of social organization, is also an important unit of religious activity. The elders of the arisocratic clans along with the village chief and the chief blacksmith are responsible for making the semi-annual village sacrifices. Furthermore, there exist mountains sacred to various of the clans where it is the duty of the clan elders to discharge the required religious obligations for the good of the village as a whole.

### 1.3.3 The Family.

As the village is the effective political unit and the clan the principle nexus of socio-political activity, the family is the primary economic unit. Although closely related to the clan it is distinguished by several particulars. First by its economic activity. Within the family lies the control of the production, distribution and consumption of subsistence goods and also the production and exchange of marketable goods. In addition, unlike the clan, the family exhibits a residential feature. It is composed of an adult male (with the exception of a few old women who live alone) and his dependents who include wives, children and often a widowed mother.

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for making sacrifices, distributing food, paying taxes, keeping peace, arranging marriages for young females in the family and pressing inheritance claims among other duties. He is the only really permanent member of the household since the children leave at marriage and a type of defacto serial polygamy is customary.<sup>1</sup> It is the rule that when the head of the family dies the compound is abandoned with the division of his moveable property being accomplished at a formal hearing when any claims must be presented. The wives are inherited by one of the deceased's clan brothers (if they, that is, the wives and brothers wish) and the dependents go to brothers.

Households vary greatly in size but an informal census at Mogode indicates that the average number of persons in each compound is five. One of the reasons it is so low is the high infant mortality rate. A demographic study conducted in 1956 indicated that at that time the incidence of children's death stood at 70 per cent before reaching the age of 5. (Padlewski, 1960).

#### 1.3.4 Blacksmiths and Slaves.

Although the above groupings, village, clan and family, represent the major vertical categories into which Kapsiki individuals are classed, there are two more groups which need mention. They are the blacksmiths, whose very interesting and unique role has been discussed in the literature on neighboring tribes, and the dwindling class of slaves.

The blacksmiths, as the name implies, are the group of craftsmen who make tools, i.e., hoes, adzes, axes, knives, razors as well as the pottery and, to some extent, the jewelry used by the tribe. The smiths are the religious leaders as well, for it is they who lead the village in making sacrifices, in performing the several rituals involving the village, and it is they who are the main practitioners of the arts of healing and divination. The smiths alone handle the dead.

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<sup>1</sup>Although the expressed ideal is for a girl to marry at puberty and continue the marriage relationship throughout life, in fact, my data have not turned up a single case of a woman staying with the man she first "married". A further discussion of marriage follows in this section.

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They are also the only drummers and as such an indispensable part of most group ceremonies.

As a group the smiths exhibit some of the traits of the lineages discussed above, but not all of them. Every ward in Mogode has at least one smith living in it and each lineage has at least one smith attached to it. The smiths are not subject to the same food taboos as the rest of the tribe and, as a rule, smiths and others refuse to eat or drink from the same containers. Marriage for a smith must be with the daughter of another smith. If a non-smith wishes to marry the daughter of a smith--and this is very rarely done--she must undergo extensive purification procedures. The blacksmiths, therefore, form the only endogamous caste in the society.

The attitude of the others in the tribe toward the smiths is characterized by a great deal of ambivalence. On the one hand they are despised as taboo-breakers and on the other hand they are feared for the awesome power--both mythical and real--that they possess. There are two chief blacksmiths at Mogode. One is chief in matters concerning the care of the dead and questions of village rituals and the other in the realm of hoe making which is mystically related to the productivity of the land.

Unlike the smiths, the slave population is insignificant both in terms of numbers and impact on the society. Slavery is prohibited by law and thus officially there are none and in fact, the acquiring of new slaves has ceased. However, there are still a few left. As is generally true in Africa, slaves are practically indistinguishable from the rest of the population. They have families, access rights to land and enjoy the use of certain kinds of personal property. However, his owner does have the right to seize the personal property of a slave if he needs it and to decide how it will be divided when the slave dies. Children of slaves belong to the owner who makes the marriage arrangements for daughters. Upon death the slave is buried with a ceremony markedly different from that accorded a freeman. Slaves were ordinarily the spoils of war and could subsequently be sold for goods or currency. I had occasion to investigate only one verifiable case of slavery, a middle aged man, owned jointly by a resident of Mogode and a resident of Siir.



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### 1.3.5 Ceremonies.

Although this section has been primarily concerned with categories into which the Kapsiki see themselves as classed, a number of institutionalized ceremonies also serve as aids in ordering their lives and in establishing the principles governing their relationships to each other in the society.

One of the most important of these is the gwela or boys' initiation rite. It is held each spring for boys who, having reached puberty and having been deemed ready by their parents, have acquired enough money to pay the expenses. The gwela is a rite de passage marking the attainment of manhood by the initiate. After the ceremony the boy goes from the status of shepherd and errand boy for the village to that of a responsible adult member of the community and lineage. Only after the ceremony can he be held liable for his own actions in any litigation, participate in village rituals and marry.

The rite itself involves instruction in the values and traditions of the society by a guardian, a great number of symbolic elements which serve to relive past traditions and anticipate the initiate's role of the future and several tests of endurance, both real and symbolic. At the ceremony, lineage affinity is carefully articulated and sex roles are clearly delineated with the responsibilities and privileges contingent upon them emphasized.

There is a rite, different in detail and in design, but coinciding each year with the gwela, for girls. It is a ceremony involving those (usually aged 13-15) who have contracted their first marriage during the past year. The celebration is not nearly as elaborate as the gwela, the girls having participated in an involved marriage ceremony earlier in the year. It entails a great deal of symbolism, again aimed primarily at delineating the roles the girls are expected to follow in the society and at insuring their fertility.

Lineage affiliation is not stressed in the proceedings, probably because her clan has ceded most of its claims on her to her husband's at the occasion of the earlier marriage ceremony.

Besides the marriage ceremony, which will be discussed below, the semi-annual sacrifices, the annual harvest festival and the

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The fall and spring sacrifices offered on gungedú "the head of Mogode", which is the sacred mountain of the village, involve the killing and eating of a specially chosen goat as well as an offering of beer. It is performed by the chief blacksmith assisted by the village chief and several of the village elders. Others are strictly forbidden to participate on pain of "spoiling" the village. Faithful enactment of this ritual is necessary to ensure the health of the villagers and the harvest of a good food crop.

The harvest celebration is the big festive occasion of the year. It involves all the members of the village and often attracts visitors from other villages. During the two or three days of dancing, feasting and drinking, several important rituals are enacted. Offerings are made to the ancestors (and these must include meat), recognition is accorded newly married couples and the chief and elders formally visit various wards of the village seeking the support of the sub-chiefs and affirming the general health of the village. Mock battles--occasionally taking a serious turn--are fought between the aristocratic and commoner clans by newly initiated boys.

Measures designed to ensure an adequate supply of rain are essential to most of the people of this semi-arid region. Kapsiki villages ordinarily have rainmakers, people who are endowed with the ability to bring or withhold rains. In times of drought they are supplicated and paid to cause rain.

The people of Mogode, however, were explicitly forbidden to consult rainmakers by their mythical village hero, whose own exploits are continually reviewed in story telling sessions. Rather, if the rains seem tardy or too slight the smith who makes hoes will take measures. Sometimes these will include a rather elaborate rain-making ceremony in which he gathers the young men of the village who with their drums and flutes trek the several miles to the tomb of Xwemptla (the culture hero) where they make an offering and implore him to pray with them for rain.

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### 1.3.6 Marriage.

One other ceremony needs mention because of its direct involvement in the ordering of Kapsiki interpersonal relationships and because of its significance in displaying the important categories important to the social structure. It is the makwat or first marriage ceremony for girls.

The Kapsiki use the French verb "marier" and its cognates, "mariage, mari, marie(e)" with a number of seemingly different referents. Marriage is used with reference to any union between two persons of the opposite sex when sexual intercourse is at least potentially involved.

If a young girl is chosen by a young man and if his intentions are to establish a liaison, and if this meets with her approval, they are said to be married. If a man sends a token gift to a father, signifying a desire to take his daughter and the gift is not returned the man and the girl can be considered married. In order to show her desire to have a certain man as husband, a girl will sometimes come and spend several days with him. They are described as married. When the bride wealth has been paid and the makwat ceremony has been completed a girl is said to be married. When the wife leaves to take up residence with another man the new couple is now considered husband and wife.

There are, thus, several different types of marriage arrangements possible for the Kapsiki. Each of them involves institutionalized role changing and the entire situation is fraught with the potential for tension.

The only marriage relationship dignified by a ceremony is the makwat. (The term is used for any of the individual ceremonies constituting the complex or for the girls who are themselves involved.) Makwat marriage may be contracted when a girl is very young (occasionally even before birth) and is not finalized until after the birth of the first child. As with many African marriage arrangements, it involves a contract between two groups. The principals in this case are the man and his patrilineage and the girl's patrilineage. Her maternal relatives have a part in the arrangements as well

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The proceedings begin with the prospective husband sending a pot of beer to the girl's father. If he is in favor of opening negotiations he asks for the approval of the girl's maternal uncles. Protracted negotiations for the marriage payments now follow. There is no set bride price but a reasonable average is considered to be goods and money totaling about 10 to 12,000 francs or 40 to 50 dollars. The father collects by demanding periodic gifts, payments and labor from his future son-in-law and threatens to offer his daughter to someone else if he doesn't come through. The husband will resist the demands giving only enough to keep the father from carrying out what is no idle threat. This process will continue, with the fiance urging the father to set a date for the marriage and the father protesting that his daughter is too young (since any delay will enable him to extract more money) until the pressure of the couple and of the groom's family force the father to stop. Thus a wiley father can get a better price than a dull one and an unscrupulous man can collect from several bridegrooms who rarely get all their money or goods back.

When a day is settled upon to celebrate the bride's moving-in, a great feast is prepared. The bride comes to her husband's house where she stays in semi-seclusion for several days. The feasting and drinking take on important symbolic significance. The husband's brothers (lineage males) drink together and collectively bless the marriage. The most important blessing, courted by the provision of good beer and plenty of meat, as well as gifts, is bestowed by the maternal uncles of the groom. The blessing is conveyed by spitting in a calabash of beer which the bride is supposed to either drink or pretend to.

Only the barest outlines of the very involved makwat ceremony have been sketched here. Although many men can never afford to contact a makwat (some have several) everyone aspires to. It is without doubt the single most important event in the life of a woman. Failure to contract a makwat marriage has the same kind of effect failure to undergo the gwela has for males. It tends to impugn her claim to legitimate adult status in the society. Furthermore, since she will invariably leave her husband for someone else, her submission to the



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ritual invests her decisions as to what role she will play with real significance. Her husband's lineage now has legal claims on her and she cannot renege on her responsibilities without risking supernatural sanctions on the lineage and village.

#### 1.3.7 Summary.

The Kapsiki individual finds himself assigned to a kin, a residence and a social class. Certain ceremonies are conducted periodically which function to articulate the limits of these categories, to reassign individuals within the structure and to ensure the well being of the society. The way in which the individual accepts the statuses assigned him (that is, the way he plays his role) within the structure and how he performs in the rituals, determines not only the nature of his relationships to others (that is, the ordering of his activities within the society) but the shape of the society as well. An understanding of these categories and ceremonies related to them is essential to an understanding of the kinds of activities which demand his attention and energies. Some of these will be discussed in the following sections.

#### 1.4 HE SETTLES HIS DISPUTES

One of the functions of the kind of social arrangements sketched above is to provide for the continuation in time of the society as an entity. This means that measures must be provided to resolve conflicts arising between elements of the structure, conflicts which usually take the form of disputes between individuals. Although the inventory of potential disputes is practically infinite--there are a few general types which recur with regularity. These recurrences probably reflect some of the unresolved areas of tension within the structure.

The most frequent disputes stem from marriage relationships and these usually concern questions of bride price. Ideally a man chooses a girl, makes the negotiations, pays the price, she comes to live with him contributes her labor to his household and produces children for his lineage. In fact, pressures to deviate from this norm are many and the whole relationship tends to spawn contention.

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The commonest complaints involve women who have left their husbands. The reasons for leaving are varied. Many woman only marry a particular man in the first place because the pressures to contract a makwat are important and the number of men who can afford one is limited. She may leave her husband because he has mistreated her, because she hasn't been able to have children by him, because he is impotent or, as often happens, in response to urgings from her father who hopes to reap economic advantage from the change.

If a married woman, who has borne no living children, wishes to change partners, the new husband is required to pay her father. The father, in turn is legally obligated to return the original husband's payment so he can reinvest in a second wife. Actually it is difficult for the cuckolded husband to collect all of his earlier bride payment and it is possible for the father to gain considerably in the transaction.

When a woman leaves her husband, therefore, complaints may be (1) against the wife--in an effort to get her back, (2) against the father for refusal to repay, (3) against the husband whom the father accuses of reneging on the original transaction or (4) against the husband whom the wife accuses of failure in his marital duties. The disposition of such cases varies. However, a woman will ordinarily be forced to return to her husband although seldom to stay.

Another occasion of controversy stemming from terminated marriages is the problem of custody of children--a serious matter in a society structured on principles of lineality. In theory if a child is living (or has lived for a year) the living child is given into custody of the father and no bride price need be refunded. However, if the child is nursing he will be remanded into the temporary care of the mother. In practice there is pressure applied from the administration to award children to the mothers, a tendency viewed with great alarm by the village elders.

Failure to produce children may trigger disputes of a different nature between spouses or between one spouse and an outsider. Such failure is ordinarily charged to sorcery or the breach of an important taboo on the part of the wife. Rarely, unless they lead to an open

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Probably the next most common source of disputes is the complicated system of access rights to water, trees, and land.

Although water is in short supply tradition decrees that it is public property. However, with the coming of the few Europeans and evolués to the area, garden sites around the water holes have become valuable and a number of disputes have arisen from alleged attempts to monopolize the water sources.

Trees are also scarce commodities. They are "owned separately from the land on which they stand and are generally never cut down although wood, fruit and bark are ~~harvested~~ from them. As with land use rights, disputes arise most frequently when a dead owner has purportedly given someone permission to use the tree's produce without the deceased's heirs being privy to the arrangements.

Land, although not actually in short supply for farming, is the focus of a great deal of litigation. These disputes result from the very complex and often not carefully applied rules of tenure and inheritance. There are at least two kinds of rights to the land. They can be termed primary and secondary access rights. Primary rights are those based on claims of original occupancy of the land. Secondary access rights are those which have been secured from the original claimants to the land and may be acquired by taking unchallenged possession of unused lands or through the permission of the original claimant.

To understand how land right disputes arise it is necessary to know something of how the land is distributed and used. Each Kapsiki compound is surrounded by small garden plots. These fields are fertilized by refuse from the compound and can be cultivated every year. Most of the cultivation, however, is done in fields located in the bush which may be over two kilometers from the compound. These fields were originally cleared and claimed when the risk of attack from other villagers or from Fulbe raiders was high and so the closest and most desirable fields tend to be those of the oldest inhabitants. The land is cultivated for from three to five years and then is left fallow for

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several years. This, of course, means that a man who had claimed one field, in a few years had to find another probably at some distance from the first. Thus he would be left in time with claims to a number of disconnected bits of land. Upon his death these already discontinuous bits of property, some of which already had secondary claims against them, would be divided among his heirs.

After this process has been repeated for several generations and with each generation making its own claims to new land, the situation becomes involved. Boundaries are not always clearly marked and often no witnesses can be found to past transactions. This situation is fertile ground for disputes over conflicting claims to land use rights.

Finally, the political authorities, as might be expected among a people with a reputation for violence, are often called upon to deal with accusations that physical injury has been inflicted by someone on the person of another. Such injury may be the result of sorcery, poison or physical violence. Motivations for causing physical harm include jealousy, hope of inheriting a relative's belongings or wives, revenge (especially where sorcery is suspected), simple lack of judgement (particularly at beer drinks) and arguments over women.

Both death and sickness caused by sorcery and by poison are common occurrences. Often the perpetrator of the act is known and in many cases his action is considered justified and not criminal. Therefore, in judging cases of personal injury or death the question to be settled are not simply those of innocence or guilt but also the determination of measures to be taken to heal the breach in relationships evidenced by the action. This may include compensation to the injured person or his lineage and under certain circumstances a sacrifice.

#### 1.4.2 Structures and Processes.

The formal machinery which exists to settle disputes includes the hierarchy of chiefs, already mentioned. These are the ward chiefs, the village chiefs, the chief of the canton and then on the department level the prefect and the sous-prefect. Also at the department level there is a judge and a tribunal but their function, as far as it



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concerns the Kapsiki, is to hear cases of murder or theft with the government acting as plaintiff. Each of the chiefs in the system is assisted by his own group of councilors who help by supplying information, offering opinions and reminding the company of precedents and traditions.

Any complainant can appeal a decision to a higher official or go directly to the village or canton chief. For the most part the pagans, especially the women, are reluctant to go beyond the level of the village chief. The reasons being, first, it is expensive and also, "they judge badly," meaning either the judgement is unfair or that it is not based on traditional principles.

Hearings are ordinarily conducted at the entry to the chief's house and to the outside investigator have an air of disconcerting informality. The two principles will present their cases with the chief and elders interrupting to give comments and to ask questions. Witnesses may be summoned and asked to give their accounts. Then the elders make long speeches, which may have little to do with the case at hand, but which invariable decry the general depravity of the present and cite cases from the past. Their main concern in reaching a decision is that the village not be "spoiled". Generally the chief has the last word, again, in a long speech the tenor of which describes how well-off the village is under his leadership and how pained he is at the present turn of events. He reviews the main points of the case and sometimes renders a formal opinion as to what should be done. More often, however, in the course of discussion a general consensus will have been reached and no formal opinion is needed. It is then up to the disputants to decide whether to carry out the decision or to reject it.

Neither the village chiefs nor the ward chiefs have the authority to levy fines or to administer corporal punishment. However, a woman who fails to fulfill her marital obligations is often severely beaten, usually by her father or a brother, with the general approval of the chief and elders. Nevertheless, if a chief enjoys the support of the village (or ward) as a whole, his decisions are greatly respected and to flout them is to risk public opprobrium, possible supernatural sanctions and the treat that the case will go to a higher level.

If the problem is serious, involving flagrant murder or theft, or so notorious as to risk having repercussions on the canton or

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department level, the village chief will insist that it be argued before the chief of the canton. The canton chief may levy fines, incarcerate or have the guilty beaten. The last two measures are not "legal" from the administration's standpoint.

When there is insufficient evidence to arrive at a clear decision the chief may send the disputant to gwempetla (a sacred mountain) where judgement will be rendered by the resident deity. To get his opinion each party takes along a rooster. In the presence of a neutral representative of the chief the two birds are released at the foot of the mountain. The innocence of one of the individuals is attested by the crowing of his cock.

Apart from these formal measures a number of other courses are open for the settlement of disputes. A wronged individual may seek adjustment of his grievance through sorcery, poison, direct confrontation with his antagonist or by seeking to mobilize public opinion. In the latter connection, for instance, it is not uncommon to hear a woman run through the village decrying in a loud voice the mistreatment she has suffered from her husband.

In most cases the settlement of a dispute does not require the punishment of the guilty but rather the compensation of the innocent. A possible exception would be death caused by an unknown killer in which case the killer might find his own life in jeopardy as a result of the supernatural forces marshalled by the victim's patrilineage. However, even in the matter of death, if the killer is known and is not a member of an enemy village he can compensate for his act through payment.

Unless disputes are of such magnitude as to very seriously threaten the welfare of the village, in settling them no formal placation of the supernatural powers associated with the destiny of the village is ordinarily called for. The deities may be called upon to avenge a wrong or to reveal the identity of a guilty person. They are not, however, endowed with the kind of "personality" which suffers affront in cases of interpersonal conflict.

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## 1.5 HE RELATES TO REALITY

### 1.5.1 Religious Beliefs.

The Kapsiki, as intimated throughout the above discussion of his interpersonal relationships, is constantly faced with the presence of forces which he cannot see (usually) nor understand (although for him this lack of understanding is not particularly mysterious) but which to a very important degree control his life. It is the nature of his relationship to these forces which gives his character much of its flavor, including the "fatalism" so exasperating to westerners.

For the most part individuals are not concerned with being able to articulate a systematic description of the supernatural in categories in the language. A number of facts, however, which can for the sake of convenience, be considered supernatural, are simply accepted by him. These include the knowledge, (1) that supernatural beings, called šalá exist, (2) that certain places and objects (trees, stones, termite mounds) are dangerous if not treated with care, Probably because a šalá is associated with them, (3) that certain practices will risk unpleasant consequences but (4) that others (sacrifices, for example) can counteract them or bring desirable results and (5) that certain people can "do things" others cannot. Furthermore, it is assumed that (6) individuals have an existence apart from the physical and that (7) they have a continuing interest in the welfare of their descendants after death.

Although these seven elements do not constitute an exhaustive inventory of Kapsiki religious beliefs, some understanding of them will shed light on the considerations which shape much of the individual's view of reality.

The term šalá, which has been translated "God" by the Christians, has a number of referents. It may be qualified and used to mean the "all powerful God." It may be used in a very general sense as simply "god" to whom prayers are addressed in public gatherings. It may refer to the guardian deity of a village or clan residing in a sacred hill. It is also believed that each individual has a šalá which determines the bent of his fortunes.

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terious beings encountered from time to time in certain places. These encounters take the form of unusual or inexplicable things happening. For example, losing or finding money as one steps over a stone in the path, falling sick or seeing an apparition under a specific tree or, more dramatically, being possessed. (Possession by a "spirit" or "devil" is a common occurrence among the Kapsiki. Its causes, symptoms and treatment, although beyond the scope of this paper, would be worth investigating.) These encounters have the effect of "sanctifying" the location of a nearby object. A sacred tree or grove, for example, will not be cut for wood, a stone along the path will be rubbed and insignificant gifts will be left around it. Termite mounds are also considered sacred in some sense and sacrifices of beer and grain offered on them are particularly efficacious for infertile women.

Furthermore, all villages, and usually clans, have sacred mountains sanctified by historical events. These mountains serve as the locale for periodic sacrifices.

The primary negative sanction imposed for desecration of a sacred object or locality and for breaking taboos in general is impotence for men and infertility for women. Apart from the matter of sacrilege, taboos generally operate in the areas of food consumption and sexual intercourse.

Sacrilege includes cutting sacred trees, removing sacred objects from the village, allowing strangers to view village secrets and intruding on the sacrifices of others. Forbidden foods are reptiles, certain birds and monkeys for everyone except the blacksmiths, and certain objects which can adversely affect the fertility of adults, such as animal testicles which are forbidden as food to women. Among controls imposed on sexual intercourse are the interdiction of incestuous relationships and a prohibition against women submitting in open fields or during menstruation. It is also forbidden for a person who has recently indulged in sexual intercourse to aid in threshing millet or to accompany a hunt.

Although breaking a taboo can have serious adverse effects on individuals and even on the village, the breach can usually be healed with an appropriate sacrifice. Sacrifices are of several kinds and



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Individuals make sacrifices of beer, millet and animals in efforts to get pregnant, to restore potency, to ensure good harvests, and at all life crisis ceremonies. Family offerings are called for before making major decisions, when dedicating a new compound or re-dedicating one after a prolonged absence and simply to ensure the continued favor of providence on its activities. Village and lineage sacrifices are performed at the semi-annual ceremonies discussed above, at the death of a lineage member and when serious misfortune seems to be plaguing the village.

In determining the occasion and nature of a sacrifice, individuals with powers of divination are consulted. All smiths possess this power to some degree but not all diviners are smiths. The commonest divining device is the crab. A crab is released in a pot of wet sand in which have been arranged a number of carved objects, pieces of calabash and sticks. Each object represents something found in the speaker's real world. The crab is implored to speak and is left alone for a few minutes. The way in which he rearranges the objects in the sand are then examined by the diviner who, in return for a gift, will interpret the message for the seeker. Diviners are consulted for every major decision, for example, when, how and if to marry, when to plant, how to compensate for a broken taboo, whether to go on a hunt or to fight, where to build a house and on many other occasions.

The crab diviner is not the only individual with special powers. There are other diviners, very few, who are much more powerful and can reveal any secret. They are greatly feared and only consulted in cases of very grave emergency. There are healers, ordinarily the wives of blacksmiths or the smiths themselves who know about medicines. In addition there are at least two kinds of sorcerers which are carefully distinguished by the Kapsiki. One class is composed mostly, although not exclusively, of women who leave their bodies at night and eat the hearts of others. Evidently their activities are sometimes involuntary and the power is both contagious and inheritable. The possessors of this ability are usually known and feared by the

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The other type of sorcery is usually practiced by men. These are men who have the ability to leave their bodies at night and engage others in battle. If they succeed in wounding or killing their opponent he will fall sick or die in real life. These individuals, unlike those of the first type, are not considered dangerous to the village since one only does battle with members of an enemy village. Both types of sorcerer can be held legally responsible for their actions, the first being subject to payment of appropriate compensations and the second being in danger of revenge. In addition to these more explicit powers, sorcerers are believed to be the cause of most otherwise inexplicable accidents.

Other individuals possessing particular powers, although not given special names play important roles in tribal life. There are recognized effective prayers and sacrificers (prophets), people with "medicine" effective in getting others to work for them and others recognized for their prowess as hunters or warriors. The aid of these individuals is solicited in cases of specific need.

In addition to the special case of sorcerers who can leave their bodies to "do things" the Kapsiki recognize that all men have souls which can exist separate from the body. Certain individuals have seen these šinankwé of the dead in their dwelling place beneath the ground. Although the continued existence and interest of the ancestors is recognized, apart from Xwempetla and possibly a recently deceased father, no particular attention is accorded them. This contrasts sharply with the treatment of ancestors in some of the tribes surrounding the Kapsiki.

#### 1.5.2 Birth and Death.

The Kapsiki's conception of the supernatural is most clearly revealed in the life-crisis rites designed to establish and readjust his relationships to the world he is experiencing. A sketch of birth and death practices will serve to illustrate this.

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Their development and enculturation is the rationale for many ceremonies demanding time, energy and expense. It therefore follows that all necessary precautions will be taken to ensure conception, uncomplicated delivery and the healthy physical development of children.

A barren woman will seek the advice of a blacksmith. He will prescribe any of a number of remedies such as sacrifice at termite mounds, change of residence or sexual intercourse with an uninitiated boy. Confirmation of conception is an occasion of great joy for the parents but no unusual change in the daily routine is followed during pregnancy. The prospective mother continues her usual arduous chores with a consequent high incidence of miscarriage.

At birth the new mother is attended by her mother (the first time she visits her son-in-law's compound) and by an old woman of the father's lineage. When the child is born a chicken is sacrificed, its sex corresponding to that of the child, and its blood smeared on the wall of the compound. The baby's cord is cut with a stalk of millet, he is made immediately to drink water from a special container and red mud is smeared on his umbilicus. This latter practice is a frequent source of fatal tetanus, the single most frequent cause of death among the newborn.

During the first month the child is not referred to by name but as mimi "blood". During this period both the mother and child remain in seclusion. At the end of the month a coming-out ceremony is held in which the old women of the village participate in rites designed to ensure the infant's health and in which the child is presented to his father and paternal grandfather.

For the first year the baby's head remains unshaven and he is supplied with such amulets as the smith, upon consultation with his crab, may suggest. When the year is up the maternal grandfather sacrifices a goat and at a great feast bestows a number of gifts on his daughter thereby symbolically relinquishing his claims to her.

The sacrifices, feasts, symbolic exchanges and other elements of the birth rites are designed both to ensure the health of the child and to guarantee his integration into the society.

If a child should die before puberty the occasion provokes intense sorrow on the part of the family and if sorcery is suspected

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or if there is a series of such deaths, some measures may be called for to heal the sickness in the community. Sorrow for a child, however, is short lived, the body is buried the day of death in the compound and no community action is required.

When death, which is represented in the folklore as a one-eyed, one-armed, one-legged man, overtakes an adult it is a serious matter for the entire village. All farm activities cease and a festival of at least three days ensues.

As soon as a person dies the blacksmiths are called. They, along with relatives of the deceased, wash the corpse which is then placed on a raised platform and guarded the first night. The next day relatives, bringing beer for the smiths, gather with the rest of the villagers at the compound and dance while the smiths dress the body. The clothing consists of a deep purple shroud and yards of brightly colored cloth loaned by the dead person's lineage. When dressed the corpse is lifted to the shoulders of one of the smiths and it is carried to a dancing place where the entire village gathers to dance with it for about three days. Both extemporaneous and traditional songs are chanted--often addressed to the corpse--during the dance which is accompanied by the drums and flutes of the smiths.

On the day of the burial, using a pointed stick, the maternal nephews of the deceased dig a grave having a small opening and a large chamber beneath the ground. That morning the dead person's family provides a goat which is killed, its flesh (except for one leg) given to the smiths and the skin used to dress the corpse. In the evening the smith, followed by the family of the dead person, carries the corpse to the grave. After removing all the clothing except the skin and the shroud (from which he cuts a piece with which to make clothes for himself) he smears the head with red earth and oil and puts the body in the grave. Then he goes in after it and arranges it, facing the east.

If a diseased organ or sorcery is the suspected cause of death an autopsy is performed and the diseased organ buried separately.

The following day close relatives, both affines and consanguines, shave their heads, cook the leg of the goat killed the day before and eat a meal over the grave. Then they gather stones and dirt to form



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A month after burial, beer, (called te ncimu "beer for raising the soul") is prepared and in a ceremony attended by the chief smith and children of the deceased man poured on the grave. Again after about six months another graveside ceremony is held. At this time all claims against the estate of the deceased must be presented and certain objects symbolizing his status while alive are placed on the grave. Finally another ceremony is performed at the end of a year and from then on no more attention is accorded that individual.

### 1.5.3 The Smith.

Throughout the above discussion repeated allusions have been made to the unique role of the blacksmith in the social organization. His position is largely due to his particular religious function. Many of the activities which involve the supernatural revolve around a blacksmith.

Although isolated from the rest of society by a veritable thicket of interdictions and suspicions he is nevertheless an important adjunct to the most intimate activities of every individual. He is feared for his power, respected for his knowledge, despised for his flaunting of taboos and needed for his influence on and insight into the supernatural. His presence, although a source of discomfort, is expected at every important village function, though he is never given a place of honor.

Taken for granted when village fortunes prosper, he serves as a convenient scapegoat when things go awry. He enjoys some of the aura and prestige at one time associated with clergy and physicians in our culture but has to suffer the stigma attached to a consort of death.

## 1.6 HE MAKES A LIVING.

### 1.6.1. Annual Cycle.

Next to questions of fertility and health the Kapsiki's concern with properly relating to the supernatural is best revealed in the area of crop production, that is, the fertility of the land and

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the control of the climate. Given the importance of an adequate harvest this is not surprising.

The Kapsiki are basically subsistence agriculturalists, practicing a system of shifting cultivation. They reap one crop of millet, their staple food, each year and since their tradition of using hill-sides coupled with their method of hoe cultivation precludes the planting of large fields they must realize a good return on their seed. When millet is in short supply they reluctantly substitute sweet potatoes, corn or manioc. In addition to the millet which is ground into flour and prepared as mush, their diet is supplemented by several kinds of vegetables (follere, peanuts, ground and pod-beans, okra), a few wild fruits (tamarind, berries) and some meat. Since meat is in short supply and consists mainly of chicken, rarely goat, mutton or beef, an occasional mouse and from time to time some game, their diet is generally lacking in protein.

In addition to the food crops most men and women raise some peanuts for a cash crop. The peanuts are bought at a set price by a government controlled company and the proceeds are used to pay the head tax and to buy cloth.

The climatic conditions, described above, are rather predictable and as a result the annual cycle of activities is fairly constant. The first heavy rains in May, which are often accompanied by ferocious storms, are the signal to plant millet. This is done on fields that have been burned, cleared and hoed during the last part of the dry season. The millet is supposed to be hoed twice during the course of the rainy season.

As soon as the millet is in, the wetter fields are prepared for sweet potatoes and manioc. These crops are planted in June and in July peanuts and beans. Each of these is usually hoed once before they are harvested.

The big red guinea corn is mature by September and its harvest is the signal to prepare for the big fall festival. During the harvest of the main millet crop in October the feast is held and soon after it the main sacrifice is made on the mountain. In November the peanuts are dug and as soon as they can be shelled are ordinarily marketed to meet the December deadline on taxes.

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In September and October long grass is cut and any spare time is devoted to making mats and thatch from it. The last few weeks of the rainy season is also the best time to build new houses since water is plentiful and the rains tend to be lighter. In addition to planting, hoeing, harvesting and threshing the crops, provision must be made for their storage. This involves building and repairing granaries, erecting temporary drying facilities and making new tools. Therefore, the months from April to November are extremely busy.

December to February are cold and dry while March and April are extremely hot. The first three of these months comprise the slack season and is the time for hunting, gathering wood, holding beer drinks and, for the young people, indulging in evening dances. In April the fields are again cleared, the initiation festival is held and the spring sacrifice is offered.

#### 1.6.2 Division of Labor.

Everyone, including children, chiefs and smiths, works in the fields during each stage of crop production. Apart from this, there is a sharp division of labor between the sexes and to a lesser extent between the uninitiated boys and men.

Women take care of the domestic chores such as cooking grinding, gathering wood, carrying water, brewing beer and at the same time care for their children. Furthermore, after harvest it is their duty to pound and winnow the millet. Single men will, if they have no alternative, prepare food and carry water but they never do the threshing.

In addition to their labor in the fields, men build the houses, weave mats, thatch and rope, do the hunting and compulsory public work on the roads. As children, girls stay with their mothers and learn by doing. They are provided with little water pots, hoes and even small grinding platforms. The boys have much more freedom unless their family happens to have livestock and in this case they are given the job of guarding them and in the rainy season when goats and sheep must be locked up, of cutting fodder.

Both men and women take care of their own personal property. They sew and wash their own clothes, repair their tools and utensils, and both raise cash crops guarding the money for their own personal use.

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If remunerative employment such as the opportunity to serve as a domestic, to get a sewing machine or to work as a temporary laborer for the government, becomes available it is the men who profit.

## 1.7 HE ADJUSTS TO THE MODERN WORLD.

### 1.7.1 National Identity.

In our discussion of the Kapsiki people, attention has focused on the tribe and the village as the primary units of concern to the individual. However, they are also part of the Federal Republic of Cameroun and no effort has been spared on the part of the government to create an awareness of national identity. Indeed, the average Kapsiki is aware of the administration's presence but often as a bothersome thing rather than a source of pride. This presence takes the form of taxes, compulsory public labor, harangues against using millet for beer and burdensome regulations (such as the requirement that clothing be worn or that identification cards be carried).

For the older generation insult is added to injury by the only known government representatives being Fulbe. There are few apparent positive advantages to be gained from the government's presence. The services expected of the administration such as schools, medical facilities, justice and economic betterment, are often lacking, inadequate or exist for the benefit of someone else.

With the young, however, the efforts of the government, especially through the youth arm of the ruling political party, are reaping some dividends. There is a growing sense that one is a Camerounian, and some dawning suspicion that this might be more significant than the fact of being a Kapsiki. This is still only true of a minority, and in many cases even these individuals have little real sense of belonging to a country.

### 1.7.2. Schooling.

Attitudes toward formal schooling are reflected in the small success the government has had in its effort to instill a sense of national awareness. A frequent complaint by administrators in the field of education is that the Kapsiki refuse to send their children to school.



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There are two government schools in the Kapsiki area, one at Mogode and the other at Rumsiki. In addition, the Catholics operate a school at Sir. The government schools offer only three years of elementary education and the mission school six. To complete the elementary course it is necessary to go to Mokolo, about twenty-five miles away, in Matakam country, and the nearest secondary schools are in Garoua and Maroua.

Although schooling is supposedly required of all boys and strongly urged for girls, no effort is made to enforce these ideals among the pagans. In fact, with the facilities available it would be impossible. This, combined with the natural conservatism of the people results in a very small part of the children actually getting any formal education, less than a half dozen a year finishing their elementary education and only very rarely in one going on to secondary school.

This situation carries serious implications for the future of the tribe and for its present position. In the first place, since the schools are the only sources of instruction in French, very few of the people know enough French for it to be a viable means of communication. This in turn means that a great number of Government services and programs are effectively closed to them. Furthermore, this precludes the development of a cadre of trained leaders drawn from the tribe itself, and since they-- with their already strong tradition of distrusting outsiders--must be led by others, often this means by Fulbe officials. This also means that the vivid stereotype of the Kapsiki, as troublesome, backward, hard drinking, and dispute-prone, is reinforced in the minds of the administrators.

### 1.7.3. Aspirations and Traditional Values.

Despite the rather isolated nature of much of Kapsikiland and the inherent conservatism of many of the people, an awareness of the outside is developing and this affects the aspirations as well as challenges the validity of traditional values held by individuals.

Among the values evidenced by the general deportment of the Kapsiki are; (1) a belief in the importance of hard work, in fact they literally practice the rule, "he who doesn't work won't eat." (2) A defensive, albeit fierce attachment to tradition--defensive because of

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a collective inferiority complex vis-a-vis the Fulbe and the larger tribes around them which throws some doubts on the efficacy of tribal tradition, and fierce because it is the most significant cohesive element with which to face the threat. (3) An admiration for those possessing nsexwelé a word which must be translated variously as "trickery, ability, means, charisma" referring to the qualities that enable a person to succeed as a hunter, chief, organizer, wife-getter, etc. and, (4) a strong sense of lineage loyalty which has the effect of directing the force of the nsexwele to the outside.

The advent and present near ubiquity of transistor radios, the encouragement of tourism, and the increasing number of immigrants (government officials and mission personnel) are all causing adjustments in feelings about these values. Although hard work is a virtue encouraged by the government and the missions, it has become obvious that the rest of the world has more things and that they were not acquired with a hoe. This partly explains the constant desire of the young to get away from the fields.

The same elements have reinforced the self doubt concerning the desirability of following tribal traditions, to the extent that there is an almost fanatical desire on the part of some to change the stereotype of the tribe. This concern may be viewed in the efforts to get people clothed, interdictions on picture taking by tourists, wearing western style clothes and the building aluminum-roofed houses. It is further expressed in the bitter self-deprecations so often heard in conversations with the young.

Finally, while the value placed on nsexwele is still in evidence, its possession is used for new purposes. For one thing, the constraints of lineage loyalty seem to be weakening. It is fashionable to acquire possessions and stature for oneself, even though this might be at the expense of a fellow villager or brother. Bicycles, radios, clothes, European style homes, paying jobs, watches and etc., are the kinds of things people want. They probably always did want things, but now they desire them to permit an escape from the group rather than as a benefit to it.

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1.7.4 Summary.

In summary, it seems accurate to observe that the Kapsiki fall fairly far to the right on the receptive-to-change/conservative continuum. They are conservative. Several factors--in addition to a possible psychological bent--contribute to this. Among them are their relative geographical isolation and the lack of modern educational facilities. However, the realities of the present with the influence of such outside forces as taxes, tourists, missions and radio is forcing change by at the same time necessitating a readjustment of values traditionally endorsed and by creating new aspirations.

## 2.0 INTRODUCTION

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## SECTION TWO

### THE LANGUAGE

#### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

The first section was designed as an ethnographic sketch of the Kapsiki, serving to provide background for the linguistic analysis. In much the same manner this second section constitutes an outline of the phonology and the grammar and is included as a backdrop for the more detailed analysis of the verbal system to follow. Taken together these two sections should serve to substantiate the conclusions presented in section three, where some of the relationships between the Kapsiki language and the socio-cultural organization of the society are discussed.

Although not designed primarily to explicate a particular linguistic theory, the analysis presented here proceeds on the assumptions concerning the nature and role of language which are basic to a stratificational model as developed by Lamb, Gleason, et. al.<sup>1</sup>

In Stratificational theory, as explained by Gleason,

A language can be viewed as an apparatus for the transduction of information from one form to another. It enables a human user to produce a sequence of vocal sounds in response to his perception of an event, for example, in such a way that a second human user may reconstruct from the sounds a useful approximation to the original perception of the event. the apparatus is symmetrical, in that the transduction can proceed in either direction, from experience to sound and from sound to experience. (Gleason, 1964. 75)

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<sup>1</sup>It should be understood that the stratificational model is only the general conceptual framework within which this analysis proceeds. Since the purpose of this paper is not to present a description of the mechanics of speech production, other models will be used when they are deemed to more clearly and simply depict the feature under scrutiny. See for example 2.3.2, where a slot and filler approach clearly explicates the clause structure and is used in the analysis.



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So conceived, language can be viewed as standing between the two entities which it relates--the world of reality as experienced by the speaker and the continuum of speech sounds. (This relationship is conventionally depicted with experience at the top of the model, the speech sounds at the bottom and with the language standing in between.) Historically the relationship of language to experience has been the concern of semantics and its relationship to speech sounds the domain of phonetics. Descriptive linguistics has dealt only with the apparatus in between, that is, the language.

This apparatus, which serves as an encoding and decoding device, can further be viewed as comprising several strata or levels, each of which processes information moving up or down from the external points of contact, that is, each stratum functions to take the "units" in the level above it and realize them as those of the level below, or vice-versa. Focus on one of these strata defines the subject matter for the sub-disciplines of descriptive linguistics--phonology, morphology, lexology and semology.

In the present study, this section treats in summary form the phonology and grammar of the language in general.<sup>1</sup> In the last section, the verb system is singled out for closer examination both grammatically and as a set of semological realizations. Attention is focused on the point of contact between the semology and the world of reality, an area of particular interest to the linguistic anthropologist.

It is hoped that by doing this light will be shed on several theoretical problems. One of these is the nature of the relationship between language and experience. This relationship is mediated primarily, although not exclusively through the semology.

In describing this relationship, Gleason says:

We may call these regions [the areas of contact] interfaces because, intimate as the contacts may be, the boundary is not

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<sup>1</sup> Since Kapsiki exhibits few morphological problems, the lexology and morphology are telescoped into one stratum, the grammatical, in this presentation. In the few cases where distinguishing the two strata would enhance the analysis, note is made of this. Thus, essentially a three strata model is describe here, the strata being, phonological, grammatical and semological.

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broken. A language maintains its characteristic internal organization entirely intact right up to the interface. Beyond it another type of structure, or a real or apparent lack of structure, takes over. There is no intergradation or mingling. The boundary is not broken, but is, in these two regions, permeable. The membrane in the classical model of the living cell is an excellent metaphor. (Ibid. 76) (Brackets mine.)

Does this model really represent the nature of the relationship, or does the world of experience in some specifiable way interpenetrate language? This may well turn out to be an infertile area of inquiry, devolving to a simple matter of definition. However, if the world of experience is perceived as segmented and classed in a manner reflected by the semological structure of the language, this raises several other questions.

One theoretical problem which presents itself in this matter of the relationship between language and reality is, what is the nature of the effect the two exert on each other? Again Gleason addresses himself to this question:

While it [language] can be described without external reference, the whole complex organization seems to be determined (in broad outlines) by the external phenomena contacted through these interfaces. It is, as it were, adjusted to the environment. (Ibid. 76) (Brackets mine.)

This position contrasts sharply with the role assigned to language by the Sapir-Whorf theorists. The analysis presented here addresses itself in part to this problem.

Finally, at least part of the justification for descriptive linguistics defining semantics out of its legitimate field of enquiry, is that the elements of "reality" are not easily or at least not apparently, systematized. What role does culture--verbal and non-verbal culture--play in structuring and delimiting the infinite variety of things existing in a given speaker's universe? Or, to put it another way, how does culture affect what and how entities or events can be talked about?

## 2.1 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1.1 Vowels.

#### 2.1.1.1 Vowel

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## 2.1 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1.1 Vowels.

#### 2.1.1.1 Vowel Inventory.

There are only five vowel phonemes used in the dialect of Kapsiki spoken in Mogode. There are, however, some phones treated as allophones which may have phonemic status in other dialects of the language.

The vowel phonemes are:

- /i/ high, front, unrounded [i]
- /ɛ/ mid, front, unrounded [ɛ]
- /e/ mid, central, unrounded [ə]
- /a/ low, central, unrounded [a]
- /u/ back vowel with two allophones:
  - [u] high, rounded occurs in the environment /w\_/.
  - [ɯ] mid, unrounded, occurs in all other phonological environments.

The articulation of the vowels is generally fairly close and, with the exception of the lower back allophone, ordinarily lax. In addition to the rounding effect /w/ exerts on the back vowel, in some speech styles, it affects a preceding vowel as well. Thus, the sequence /-ewu-/ in words like dewuvé "tamarind" when pronounced in casual conversation, is realized phonetically as [ö:] where [ö:] represents a mid, back, slightly rounded long vowel sound. Since this is a stylistic variation, [ö:] is not analyzed as enjoying the status of an allophone.

#### 2.1.1.2 Length of vowels

For the most part vowel length is not contrastive. However, there are a few morphemes which contain a long vowel in free variation with vowel-consonant combinations. Thus /aá/ represents one of the free variant forms, i.e., allomorphs, of the verbal extension morpheme {awá} "go down. (cf., 3.1.2.2 for a discussion of the extension suffixes.)

In addition there are two question markers, náá and wáa as well as one word borrowed from Fulfulde, xaa, which occur with long

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vowels. These rare occurrences of length are treated as sequences of phonemes, an analysis further supported by the presence of contrasting pitch levels on some of them.

### 2.1.1.3 Vowel Distribution.

Vowels normally occur interconsonantly (C\_C) or finally (C\_#). With one exception, vowels are found in initial position in only a few interjections. The exceptions is amá "but" which is probably borrowed from Hausa or Fulfulde.

Following are some examples of the occurrence of vowels in similar or identical environments:

#### C\_#

xí	"repair"	li <sup>1</sup>	"leave"
xé	"they"	lé	"metal"
xé	"shoot"	le	"with"
xá	"millet"	lá	"dig"
xú	"flour"	lú <sup>1</sup>	"leave"

#### C\_C

tlíbu	"sack"	mbise	"suck"
		peké	"washed"
tlené	"work"	mbexwé	"a little"
		petle	"kill"
tlamté	"cut"	mberefán	"seven"
		pavé	"sold"
tlógú	"root"	mbara	"kill"
		púkwú	"appear"
		mburuóú	"let us"

### 2.1.2 Consonants.

#### 2.1.2.1 Consonant Inventory.

The following consonant phonemes are used in the dialect of Kapsiki spoken in Mogode.

/p/	Voiceless, bilabial, explosive, stop
/t/	Voiceless, alveolar, explosive, stop
/k/	Voiceless, velar, explosive, stop
/ʔ/	Voiceless, glottal, stop
/b/	Voiced, bilabial, explosive, stop
/d/	Voiced, alveolar, explosive, stop

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<sup>1</sup>These are dialect variations both used at Mogode.



/g/	Voiced, velar, explosive, stop
/b/	Voiced, bilabial, implosive, stop
/d/	Voiced, alveolar, implosive, stop
/'y/ <sup>1</sup>	Voiced, back palatal, implosive stop
/ts/	Voiceless, alveolar, affricate
/c/	Voiceless, alveo-palatal, affricate
/dz/	Voiced, alveolar, affricate
/j/	Voiced, alveo-palatal, affricate
/tɬ/ <sup>1</sup>	Voiceless, laterally released, alveolar, affricate
/dɬ/ <sup>1</sup>	Voiced, laterally released, alveolar, affricate
/f/	Voiceless, labio-dental, fricative
/s/	Voiceless, alveolar, fricative
/ʃ/	Voiceless, alveo-palatal, fricative
/x/	Voiceless, velar, fricative
/v/	Voiced, labio-dental, fricative
/z/	Voiced, alveolar, fricative
/ɣ/	Voiced, velar, fricative
/r/ <sup>1</sup>	Voiced, flapped, alveolar, resonant
/l/	Voiced, lateral, alveolar, resonant
/m/	Voiced, bilabial, nasal
/n/	Voiced, alveolar, nasal
/ny/	Voiced, alveo-palatal, nasal (phonetically [ɲ])
/ŋ/	Voiced, velar, nasal
/w/	Voiced, bilabial, semi-vowel
/y/	Voiced, alveo-palatal, semi-vowel
/ɸ/ <sup>1</sup>	Voiced, bilabial flap

There is in addition to the above, a series of labialized phonemes, homorganic with the velars and the glottal. They are: /kw, gw, xw, ɣw and 'w/.

There is also a series of nasalized phonemes, homorganic with each of the stop and affricate phonemes. They are: /mp, nt, ŋk, ŋkw, ŋ'w,<sup>2</sup> mb, nd, ŋg, ŋgw, mb, nd, ŋ'y, nts,<sup>1</sup> nj, ntl, ndl/.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., 2.1.2.2 for a description of these phonemes.

<sup>2</sup>The Glottal stop is an exception to this general statement. A prenasalized, labialized glottal phoneme occurs but no \*/ŋ'/.

## 2.1.2.2 Description of Consonants.

The following chart, depicting point and manner of articulation of the consonant phonemes, will serve to illustrate the above listed inventory.

		LABIALS	ALVEOLARS	ALVEO- PALATALS	VELARS	GLOTTAL
STOPS	Vl.	(m)p <sup>1</sup>	(n)t		(ŋ)k(w)	(ŋ)'(w)
	Vd.	(m)b	(n)d		(ŋ)g(w)	
		(m)ɸ	(n)ɸ	(ŋ)'y		
AFFRI- CATES	Vl.		(n)ts, (n)tl	(n)c		
	Vd.		(n)dz, (n)dl	(n)j		
FRICA- TIVES	Vl.	f	s	ʃ	x(w)	
	Vd.	v	z	ʒ	g(w)	
RESONANTS	(Vd.)		r, l			
NASALS	(Vd.)	m	n	ny	ŋ(w)	
SEMI- VOWELS	(Vd.)	w		y		
LABIAL FLAP		ʋ				

Figure 2  
Consonant Phonemes

<sup>1</sup>The symbols enclosed in parentheses indicate that pre-nasalized and/or labialized phonemes also occur in that slot. For example, there are four voiceless velar stops, /k/, /ŋk/, /kw/ and /ŋkw/. The one exception is the glottal stop where there are only three phonemes, /'/, /'w/ and /ŋ'w/.

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The phoneme /ndz/ is often realized with an attenuation of the plosive quality, phonetically [nz]. However, in the absence of any contrast between \*/nz/ and /ndz/ and by analogy with the behavior of the other affricates and fricatives, only one phoneme is postulated, and that the fricative /ndz/.

The phonetic constitution of the phonemes /ŋ'w, 'w, ŋ'y and 'y/ is not entirely clear. An alternative analysis to that presented in the above chart would consider /'w/ and /'y/ as glottalized semi-vowels and /ɛ'w, ɣw, ŋ'y and ny/ as prenasalized semi-vowels. However, this would introduce an unnecessary element of asymmetry into the analysis. Furthermore, there is some support for the first analysis, which considers /'y/ as a stop, from other dialects of Kapsiki, where a phoneme /gʔ/ is used in place of the /'y/ used in Mogode.

The voiced, implosive stops /b, mb, d, nd/ are articulated by releasing a partial closure at the back of the oral cavity, causing an inrush of air. They are similar phonetically to the co-articulated stops common to Niger-Congo languages, (cf. /gb/ of Igbo) and even more closely related to the /b/ and /d/ of Hausa and Fulfulde. It has already been noted that some dialects of Kapsiki evidence an imploded velar stop as well in place of the palatal of Kapsiki.

The digraphs /tl/ and /dl/ represent laterally released affricates. These are occasionally heard as inter-dental, lateral fricatives [thl] and [ɖl] and are often represented in orthographies of related languages, for example Matakam, as /sl/ and /zl/. In Kapsiki, at least in the Mogode dialect, the use of fricatives instead of affricates, appears to be a matter of style or idiolect. Therefore if [thl] and [ɖl] are to be considered allophones of /tl/ and /dl/, they are used in free variation.

The phoneme /r/ is ordinarily realized as a tip, alveolar flap [ɾ]. However, when serving as a syllabic consonant (ɾ̥) it is sometimes lengthened resulting in a trill.

The labial flap /ʙ/ occurs in only a few words which are almost exclusively ideophones. However, their use is common enough to demand its inclusion as a phoneme. It is formed by placing the lower lip behind the upper lip which in turn is curled around the upper teeth. The

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lower lip is then released accompanied by vibration of the vocal chords.

For example:

<u>ven</u>	"noise of a cork being pulled out."
<u>kevawú</u>	"It is finished." (A verb used in the formula for ending a fable.)

### 2.1.2.3 Palatalization.

The most common consonant allophones result from the palatalizing effect of the front vowels ( $V^f$ ) on preceding consonants. / $\epsilon$ / has a general palatalizing influence while / $i$ / affects a more restricted group of consonants.

All consonants, except the labialized velars, the semi-vowels, glottal stop and / $r$ / are palatalized when preceding an / $\epsilon$ /. Since there are palatal fricative and affricate phonemes this means there are restrictions on the distribution of / $\epsilon$ /. That is, it never occurs in the environment / $C^a$ /, where / $C^a$ / stand for any alveolar fricative or affricate. There are several other cases in which further analysis might change the status of palatalized allophones to phonemes. For example, viya "rainy season" is normally realized phonetically as [vya]. However, the paucity of such cases and the lack of clear contrasts argues against analyzing such sequences as  $CYV$  (where  $CY$  stands for a palatalized phoneme) rather than  $CVCV$ , as is done in this treatment.

/ $\epsilon$ / has the affect of pulling back and raising preceding front consonants (alveolars and labials) and of pulling forward and raising the velars.

/t $\epsilon$ /	"red beer"	is phonetically	[t $^Y\epsilon$ ]
/kwet $\epsilon\eta$ /	"one"	is phonetically	[kwet $^Y\epsilon\eta$ ]
/ŋ $\epsilon$ /	"itself"	is phonetically	[ŋ $^Y\epsilon$ ]
/l $\epsilon$ /	"metal"	is phonetically	[l $^A\epsilon$ ]

The phonemes / $x$ ,  $g$  and  $l$ / exhibit allophones when followed by / $i$ /. / $x$ / and / $g$ / are fronted, raised and produced with a very notable reduction of friction while / $l$ / is raised, as in the environment / $\_ \epsilon$ / above. Thus:

/x $i$ /	"fix"	is phonetically	[x $i$ ]
/gi/	"child born to a woman who is not properly married"	is phonetically	[g $i$ ]

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2.1.2.4. Dis

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/lɪ/ "leave" is phonetically [lʰɪ]

#### 2.1.2.4. Distribution and Restrictions.

Normally consonants only occur in the environments /#\_V/ or /V\_V/. However, in a few cases they are found finally (/V\_#/) or in clusters (CC).

##### (a) /V\_#/

The voiceless stops, the nasals and /f/ occasionally are used in word final position. This usage is restricted to ideophones and to the numerals where they are used in free variation with other morphemes. Thus:

krép	"all"	(ideophone)
fét	"all"	(ideophone)
píŋ	"plop"	(ideophone)
kwetɛŋ	"one"	alternates freely with kweténé
wufá'	"four"	alternates freely with wufádé
mcéf	"five"	alternates freely with mcéfé
meŋ	"ten"	alternates freely with meŋé

##### (b) Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters are of two kinds. ÇÇ (where Ç stands for a syllabic consonant) and CC (where one C is a fricative, nasal or /r/ and the other is a stop.)

The consonant sub-class Ç consists of /r/ and /C<sup>n</sup>/. For example:

<u>mc</u> ɛ	"Friend"	<u>mt</u> é	"death"
<u>mc</u> éf	"five"	<u>mz</u> ù	"honey"
<u>hs</u> ú	"eyes"	<u>fd</u> à	"earth"

Examples of CC include the following. (It should be noted that several of these words have morpheme alternates, realized in very slow speech, in which an unstressed vowel /e/ is articulated between the two consonants of the CC.)

<u>tr</u> é	"moon"	<u>br</u> émé	"grass" (type)
gur <u>du</u>	"pig"	sásurg <u>wá</u>	"star"
max <u>kén</u>	"three"	psú <u>dú</u>	"coals"
p <u>š</u> í	"baboon"	<u>šk</u> wu	"market"
lɛ <u>šk</u> wenɛ	"ant"		



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### (c) Dropping

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### 2.1.3 Morpho

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#### 2.1.3.1 a<sub>1</sub>-C

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#### 2.1.3.2 The

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"these" and

final vowels

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written as k

menté from {mené} plus {-te}, meneté<sup>1</sup> "worked"  
 gezté from {geze} plus {-te}, gezeté<sup>1</sup> "worked"

### (c) Dropping of initial /w/

Occasionally at Mogode, and apparently regularly in other dialects, the /w/ in the environment /#\_u/ is not actually articulated. For example, wufá "four" is sometimes heard as ufá'. Charles Kraft has found the following forms at Kamale, [uvye] "faces /wuvε/ at Mogode, [uní] "heart" /wunú/ at Mogode. There is no way of knowing if the forms used at Kamale would be phonemically the same as those at Mogode. (Charles Kraft, personal correspondence, 8/29/68).

### 2.1.3 Morphophonemics.

Affixation and the use of a demonstrative qualifier result in several changes in the vowels of nouns, verb roots or prefixes.

#### 2.1.3.1 a||\_Cu||/e/

When an affix is used the vowel ||a|| is represented by /e/ with the juxtaposition of a syllable containing /u/. For example:

{ka-} (verb prefix) plus {xú} "grind" becomes /kwxú/<sup>2</sup> "is grinding." {tlá} "cut" plus the suffix {-gu} becomes /tlégu/<sup>1</sup> "cut and take away."

#### 2.1.3.2 The near and far demonstratives.

Before the demonstratives nya "this", nyaga "that", nyi "these" and nyigi "those", the following changes take place in the final vowels of nominals:

||ε, e|| are represented by /i/

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<sup>1</sup>These forms represent the orthography used in this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>In the orthography used in this thesis the morphophonemic changes are not reflected. However, this discussion describes the realization rules so no ambiguity need be encountered. Thus, /kexú/ is written as kaxú and /cinya/ is written as cε nya.

||u|| i

||i, a

For example:

{ce}

{dzeve}

{tlu}

{xu}

{šalá}

2.1.3.3 Suf

Ther

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$\|u\|$  in the environment  $/c^v\_/_2$  is represented by  $/i/$   
 $\|i, a\|$  and  $\|u\|$  /elsewhere/ remain unchanged.

For example:

{cɛ}	"house"	plus {nya}	"this" becomes /cɪnya/ <sup>1</sup>	"this house"
{dzeve}	"hand"	plus {nyi}	"these" becomes /dzevɪnya/ <sup>1</sup>	"these hands"
{tlu}	"name"	plus {nya}	"this" becomes /tɪɪnya/ <sup>1</sup>	"this name"
{xu}	"flour"	plus {nya}	"this" remains /xunya/	"this flour"
{ʃalá}	"god"	plus {nya}	"this" remains /ʃalánya/	"this god"

### 2.1.3.3 Suffixes with initial /a/.

There are a number of constructions in Kapsiki in which a word final vowel may be juxtaposed to an /a/. These constructions include; noun phrases (NP) consisting of a nominal plus aʃɛ "the thing referred to" (cf. 2.2.3.4), NP's consisting of a nominal head plus another nominal related to it by the masculine genitival particle (cf., 2.2.1.1b) and the several verb stems consisting of a verb root plus an extension suffix containing an initial /a/ (cf., 3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.2).

The morphophonemic changes resulting from these constructions may be summarized as follows:

- (1)  $a\|v^f\_/_\|/ya/$
- (2)  $v^c a\|\_/_\|/a/$
- (3)  $ua\|c^v\_/_\|/uwa/$
- (4)  $ua\|elsewhere\|/u/$

(1) Rule one indicates that  $\|a\|$  coming immediately after a front vowel is articulated /ya/.

For Example:

{mɛɛ}	"friend"	plus {aʃɛ}	becomes /mɛɛyaʃɛ/ <sup>1</sup>	"that friend"
{ʃi}	"grand parents"	plus {aʃɛ}	becomes /ʃiyaʃɛ/	"those grand-parents"

{cɛ}	"house"	plus {ɪkɛ}	"his" takes the genitive particle {a},
$\ cɛ a \, \eta kɛ\ $	and becomes /cɛyaɪkɛ/ "his house"		

(2) Rule two indicates that the sequence, central vowel plus

<sup>1</sup>Cf., footnote 1 on page 47 (section 2.1.3.1).

<sup>2</sup>  $c^v$  stands for any velar consonant. The notation is read as, /u/ in this, phonemic environment, that is, preceded by any velar consonant becomes /i/.

/a/ is repres  
final vowel of  
{za} "man"  
{za a pɛ́} and  
{xánpa} "d  
{xelepé} "i  
{sé} "come

(3) R

the /u/ is pre  
example:

{gu} "head  
{gu a pɛ́} and  
{xu} "flou

(4) R

the /u/ is no  
For example:

{tlu} "na  
{tlu a dǎ} be  
{wusi} "t

#### 2.1.4 Tone a

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/a/ is represented phonemically by a single vowel /a/. That is, the final vowel of the preceding word is assimilated to /a/. For example:

{za} "man" plus {ŋkɛ} "her" takes the genitive particle {a}, ||za a ŋkɛ|| and becomes /zaŋkɛ/ "her husband".

{káŋka} "chicken" plus {aʃɛ} becomes /kaŋkaʃɛ/ "that chicken"

{kelepɛ} "fish" plus {aʃɛ} becomes /kelepaʃɛ/ "that fish"

{sé} "come" plus {-awa} becomes /sáwa/ "come down"

(3) Rule three indicates that the sequence /u/ plus /a/, when the /u/ is preceded by a velar consonant, is articulated as /uwa/. For example:

{gu} "head" plus {ŋkɛ} "his" takes the genitive particle {a} ||gu a ŋkɛ|| and becomes /guwaŋkɛ/ "his head"

{xu} "flour" plus {aʃɛ} becomes /xuwaʃɛ/ "that flour"

(4) Rule four indicates that the sequence /u/ plus /a/, when the /u/ is not preceded by a velar consonant, it articulated as /u/. For example:

{tlu} "name" plus {dɔ́} "my" takes the genitive particle {a} ||tlu a dɔ́|| becomes /tluɔ́/

{wusú} "thing" plus {aʃɛ} becomes /wusuʃɛ/ "that thing"

#### 2.1.4 Tone and Stress.

Tone in Kapsiki presents some very intriguing analytical problems. Not all have been adequately solved in this thesis.<sup>1</sup> This discussion outlines some of these major problems and describes the basis for the notational conventions used herein.

Tone does not play as significant a role in Kapsiki as in many African languages. It is lexical and not grammatical and there are, moreover, only a handful of words which are distinguished by pitch differences alone. There are at least two possible hypotheses which can account for the relative insignificance of tone in Kapsiki.

The Chadic languages are a branch of the Afro-Asiatic family. (Cf. Greenberg, 1963, pp. 45-48.) Most of the branches of this family are not composed of tone languages. Chadic presumably acquired its

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<sup>1</sup>I am in the process of preparing a detailed analysis of Kapsiki tone which, it is hoped, will appear in print shortly.

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tonal qualities in the relatively recent past as compared with other African language families. This could account for the low functional load carried by tone in Kapsiki.

On the other hand, the tonal behavior of the language, could be interpreted as providing evidence that in fact, Kapsiki is a tone language in the process of changing to a stress-intonation type language. This type of change is not unprecedented. No attempt is made to answer these questions in this thesis. The tone and stress phenomena are treated as follows.

#### 2.1.4.1 Basic Tone

There are only two contrasting pitch levels or tonemes, relative high (H) and low (L). High is marked with an acute accent over the vowel of the syllable carrying the tone and low is left unmarked (except in a few cases where syllabic consonants are marked to distinguish them from consonant clusters or digraphs.) The pitch pattern of roots, articulated in isolation is termed basic tone. A few of the limited number of words distinguished by tone alone are listed below.

xé	"they"	xɛ	"night"
zá	"surpass"	za	"man, husband"
má	"hunger"	ma	"mother"
kaxé	"grinding"	kaxe	"shooting"
vídi	"full"	vídi	"night"
tléné	"work"	tlené	"tooth"
xwúlú	"cactus"	xwulú	"sweat"
méxá	"old"	mexa	"burn"

A check of two lists of isolated words totaling 283 items, of which 183 were nouns and 83 verb roots, indicates that about 63 per cent are disyllabic, 23 per cent are monosyllabic, 12 per cent are trisyllabic and only four words contained four or more syllables. (In actual usages, of course, the percentage of longer words increases since verbs are rarely used without affixes.)

The tone patterns for the above sample were as follows: Nearly one half of the disyllabic words exhibit the pattern LH, only one out of eight has HL, one quarter has HH and the other one-eighth LL. Of



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the other polysyllabic words or stems, four-fifths had high tone on the last syllable. The monosyllables were about evenly split between low and high with nouns tending to be low and the verbs high. Therefore, two out of four of these words, elicited in isolation, exhibit final high tone, a fact of some significance in understanding tonal behavior.

#### 2.1.4.2 Tone Changes.

In constructions the basic tone patterns are often altered. The changes are of two types--that induced through affixation and that resulting from phrase or clause formation.

##### (a) Tone and affixation.

Some affixes exhibit the same tone pattern with all roots. Other change according to the basic tone of the root. On the other hand, the process of affixation may result in changes in the tone patterns of the root. The patterns resulting from affixation are termed secondary tone patterns.

The tone changes occasioned in affixation are illustrated in the examples included throughout the grammatical sketch. Apart from the changes discussed in (b) below, the verbal prefixes (ké-, ka-, te- and kwá-) retain their basic tone and do not affect the tone of the root. Verb suffixes are either (1) always high or (2) contrastive, that is, low with high roots and high with low roots. The high suffixes are marked with an acute accent when cited in isolation and the changing are unmarked. (Cf., 3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.2).

Monosyllabic roots and polysyllabic roots with the basic tone patterns HH or LL retain their basic tone when suffixed.<sup>1</sup> Polysyllabic roots with basic tone patterns HL become HH with the addition of a suffix. And those with basic patterns LH become LL.

The following examples illustrate these changes:

mené	"do"	plus -mté	becomes menemté
kélé	"take"	plus -te	becomes kéléte
mexa	"burn"	plus -te	becomes mexaté

---

<sup>1</sup>Only the tone of the last syllable is changed by suffixation. Therefore, polysyllabic words of over two syllables need not be represented here.

## (b) Changes in grammatical constructions.

Basic and secondary tone patterns are heard in short utterances. However, in longer constructions (of several clauses) basic and secondary tone distinctions tend to disappear. They are replaced by a phrase level phenomena. This is realized as a raising of pitch and an increase in intensity on the ultima or penult of the intonation phrase and can be termed primary stress.

If the phrase ends in (1) a syllable with basic high tone, (2) a syllable with changing tone (some prepositions, for example) or (3) a phrase terminator expletive (cf., 2.2.5.3), this will carry the primary stress. If the final syllable has a non-changing low basic tone (nde "he, she, it", for example) the primary stress will be realized on the syllable preceding it, that is the phrase penult.

Although tone distinctions, as indicated, tend to be obliterated in constructions of any length, if the intonational phrase is long (over 5 or 6 syllables) a non-final syllable having basic high tone may be articulated at a higher pitch level than the rest of the utterance. This can be termed secondary stress.

In summary, relative pitch must be considered at three levels. On roots as a phonemic phenomenon, on stems, that is, on roots with their affixes, and in combination with intensity, on grammatical constructions. The following examples illustrate some of these features.

Key: Dashes indicate basic tone patterns or secondary tone patterns.  
 Superscripts (<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>) mark primary and secondary stress.  
 Horizontal, upward-curving lines indicate intonational contours or pitch levels in constructions.  
 Glosses under the Kapsiki transcriptions are literal.  
 Glosses in quotes are idiomatic.

male	[- ˀ]	"Woman"
woman		
male	ta ŋkɛ <sup>1</sup> [- - - ˀ]	"His wife."
woman	of him	

---

<sup>1</sup>Nouns serving as heads of genitival noun phrases behave tonally as suffixed roots. That is, the LH basic tone pattern becomes LL.



'a male kese [ - - - ] "The woman came."  
 did woman come

'a male ta ŋkɛ kese [ - - - ] "His wife came."  
 did woman of him come

male kadziyi gɛ a nci [ - - - ] "The woman is  
 woman-ing go house of them  
 "The woman is going to their house."

naxe dugwu kenefe pa nta xu kwa [ - - - - - ]  
 finish pot boil then give flour in  
 "When the pot boiled she put flour in (it)."

The following illustrate the use of phrase terminator exple-  
 tives. They are underlined.

pa mbeli xkake wu [ - - - ] "Then someone called  
 then people called (her)."

nda se 'ya ni kanegɛ ɗa nde [ - - - - ]  
 when come I -ing wait I he  
 "When I came he was waiting for me."

## 2.2 WORD CLASSES

### 2.2.0 Introduction.

This and the following section on construction classes are concerned with the identification of and distribution of morphemes. For the most part it deals with grammar. However, the relationship between these morphological constructions and the underlying semological structures of which they are realizations will be discussed in a later section.

Words are defined, albeit imprecisely, sufficiently for the purposes of this discussion as any utterance which can occur in isolation, i.e., in the environment /#\_#/ . Thus words may be roots--simple and reduplicated--or roots with affixes. Since there are very few derivational affixes and even fewer inflectional affixes, most words are simple roots consisting of one morpheme. The following classification is an attempt to indicate basic or native categories reflected by the kinds of elements which can be chosen to fill various slots in grammatical constructions. Thus, the criteria for this classification are the use of words in longer constructions, i.e., phrases, clauses, sentences and discourses.

in very general terms five major classes of words can be defined, nominals, verbs, qualifiers, relators and expletives. In terms of function, nominals normally serve as the realizations of agents, recipients or beneficiaries of action events in the semology, or in descriptive clauses which have no verb, as foci of the description, that is, as realizations of non-action event sememes. Qualifiers serve to specify or otherwise modify the nature of an action or to indicate the qualities of a noun referent. Verbs are used to realize action sememes and in a limited number of cases to depict states of existence. Relators are of many different kinds and operate at several levels. They serve to connect elements of grammatical constructions either to each other or to non-linguistic entities in some manner. Expletives constitute a special phenomenon in that they do not pattern in larger constructions like other words. Expletives must be distinguished from ideophones (although ideophones may be expletives) in that many of the common and regularly used qualifiers

are ideophones.

The above is a functional sketch of the words used in Kapsiki. Following is a more detailed sub-classification of each major category based on formal criteria. The discussion of each category includes (1) a description and (2) a sketch of the distribution of the words.

### 2.2.1 Nominals.

There are two main types of nominals, nouns (n) and pronouns (pr). Although pronouns serve as noun substitutes and thus fill the same grammatical slots they differ from nouns in exhibiting formal case distinctions.

#### 2.2.1.1 Nouns

##### a. Number

Number is usually not indicated by a change in noun morphology. If number is to be indicated in nouns it may be done: (1) by the use of a numeral, (2) by the presence of a plural demonstrative, (3) with a plural qualifier, or (4) in rare cases, by the use of yε which is placed directly before the noun.

Examples: (Numbering of examples refers to numbers directly above.)

- |     |                   |               |              |              |                       |                                 |
|-----|-------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | dziyí             | ŋa            | vare         | <u>cε</u>    | maxkéné               | Go past three houses. (WS268)   |
|     | go                | you           | past         | house        | three                 |                                 |
|     | <u>gε</u>         | <u>mcéf</u>   | te           | ŋkwa         | ašé                   | Five houses are there. (PO4)    |
|     | house             | five          | on           | place        | that                  |                                 |
| (2) | <u>šugwu</u>      | <u>nyi</u>    | nzá          | berete       | mbé...                | Sticks which are strong. (SP3)  |
|     | stick             | which         | exist        | strong       | in                    |                                 |
| (3) | <u>kwélékwelé</u> | <u>kelepé</u> | kédza        | ŋé...        |                       | Many fish went. (WS283)         |
|     | many-many         | fish          | go           | themselves   |                       |                                 |
|     | <u>kánka</u>      | va            | 'yá          | <u>béxwé</u> |                       | I have some chickens. (WS194)   |
|     | chicken           | are           | I            | little       |                       |                                 |
| (4) | taga              | <u>yε</u>     | <u>gwezú</u> | le           | <u>yε</u> <u>wufé</u> | There is grass and trees. (PS4) |
|     | there             |               | grass        | with         | tree                  |                                 |

A limited number of words have plural and singular counterparts with the plurals, in some cases, appearing to exhibit the vestiges of a plural suffix. Most nouns with singular and plural pairs refer to classes of people or animals. The following list is nearly exhaustive of plurals used in Mogode.

za	man	šeli	men
malé	woman	miyi	women

wuzegé	child	(ŋ)walé	children
kwe	goat	kwí (rare)	goats
tému	sheep	tímatí	sheep (pl.)
káŋka	chicken	káŋkelí	chickens
mciyá	bull	mcímciyalí	bulls
wusú	thing	wuší	things
máva	slave	maveší	slaves
mentíbu	guest	mentíbuší	guests
féléxwé	seed	féléxwéší	seeds
žɛfa	billy goat	žɛfélemú	billy goats
gamé	ram	gamélemú	rams
ɣulu	cock	ɣulemú	cocks
žɛgwú	kid, lamb	žɛgwulemú	kids, lambs

Furthermore, there are several qualifiers which occasionally serve as nominal replacives also, and which have plural forms. Whether used as replacives or qualifiers they will take the plural form if the noun being replaced or modified is plural.

For example:

kweté	a certain	kwecí	some
nya, nyaga	this, that	nyi, nyigi	these, those

#### b. Sex-gender

Although the sex-gender system into which nouns can be classified appears to be vestigial, it does evidence itself when nouns are used in a genitival construction. In this type of construction the noun head is connected to its dependent nominal by the genitive particle, which takes the form /ta/ after feminine nouns and /a/ after masculine. Every noun is assigned to one of the two gender classes.

Examples:

malé	woman	male ta dá	My wife.
xwa	knife	xwa ta Yɛŋé	John's knife.
cɛ	house	cɛ a ŋké <sup>1</sup>	His house.
ɲwalé	children	ɲwale a ncí <sup>1</sup>	Their Children.

Since membership in a gender class does not affect either the form or the distribution of nouns, apart from their use in genitival noun phrases, no indication as to the gender of a noun will be given in the following discussions.

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<sup>1</sup>The morphophonemic changes resulting in the formation of noun phrases using the masculine genitival allomorph, /a/, are described in 2.1.3.3. A noun serving as the head of a NPgen behaves tonally and morphophonemically as a suffixed root.



A sample of feminine nouns (this seems to be the smaller class) includes:

xa "millet", malé "woman", dzeve "hand", dafá "mush",  
kwe "goat", gená "word", melemé "village", tlené "work",  
kwala "penis"

Some of the masculine nouns include:

nifi "yams", ce "house", za "man", mcé "friend", wunu  
 "heart", tli "meat", nši "eyes".

Most verbal nouns, that is, verb stems used in nominal positions (cf., 2.2.1.1f below), take the ta particle when used in NPgen constructions. For example, se ta dá "my coming" or pa ta nké "Its price".

Words that can stand as a head in a genitive noun phrase are assigned to a noun class designated by  $N_1$ .

### c. Noun Sub-classes

There are a number of words which can be considered nouns even though they don't belong to the class  $N_1$  discussed above. These may be assigned to one of four noun sub-classes: Locative nouns, Time nouns, Interrogatives and Verbal nouns.

#### Locative nouns ( $N_2$ )

Any locative preposition may take the nominalizing suffixes -ga and -ke, to form an independent, locative noun, specifying farness or nearness respectively. These are assigned to the noun sub-class  $N_3$ .

For example:

ge mcéf te nkwa ašé                      There are five houses there. (P04)  
 house five on place that

se teke 'yá mbedá ní...                      I came here yesterday... (WS206)  
 come here I yesterday

kasiyi      nde tagá kwa xwéjkwá She is there coming in the road.  
 come        she there in road

pelé "up" peléga "up there" peléké "up here"

kwa "in" kwagá "in there" kwaké "in here"

láká "by" lákága "by there" lákáke "by here"

$N_2$  nouns are only used to fill the place (PL) slot in clauses. They never serve as subjects of clauses or heads of noun phrases and

are analyzed as nouns primarily because they fill the same slots as locative noun phrases.

### Time nouns ( $N_3$ )

A number of words can fill the time slot (T) in clauses. Since these slots can also be filled with noun phrases and since these words can serve as dependent nominals in genitive noun phrases, they are considered to be nouns and are assigned to the sub-class  $N_3$ . Like  $N_2$ 's they do not ordinarily occur as subject of verbs nor as heads of noun phrases.

Examples:

tsé, tsétsé, tsétsénya "now", beší "today", xénde "tomorrow", mbéda "yesterday", xéši "in a short time", mešina "a short time ago", xéca "a long time ago."

sé <u>xénde</u>	Come tomorrow!
mbá mbe melemé <u>tsétsénya</u>	He is in the village now.
<u>mbéda</u> nsexé geŋ'yé teké	Yesterday we arrived here.
<u>xétwéđí</u> nsexé geŋ'yé taḡá	In the evening we arrived there.
gena ta <u>xéca</u>	A story of olden times.

### Interrogatives ( $N_4$ )

Interrogative words pattern as objects of verbs and are most easily analyzed as nouns with very restricted distribution. They are assigned to the sub-class  $N_4$ . They can only occur as objects of interrogative clauses, never as subjects nor as heads of noun phrases and must be distinguished from the interrogative expletives occurring at the ends of interrogative clauses. The most commonly used interrogative nouns are:

wá "what" (also, wá nde "who", wá wusú "which"), tsemá "how", temá "where", xwéŋkwa "when", wareberé "why", ŋkwiní "how many, how much".

Possibly the forms ending with -ma should be analyzed as complex words with -ma an interrogative suffix. Occasionally it is used with other words to give an interrogative sense, as in:

kadze <u>ma</u> dze <u>ma</u> ye wáa	Where are you (pl) going?
kwa nya <u>ma</u> gwelepé škeyi mpeldi 'yá wáa	In which pot should I pour the beer?

Other examples of  $N_4$ , in constructions, include:

<u>wá</u> yandeke ḡá nde wáa	What is he giving you?
------------------------------	------------------------

wareberé dziyí taga wáa  
ɲkwini temú ve wáa  
xwénkwa sé nde wáa  
temá yite a ɲá wáa  
wá wusú kwa kwacigá wáa

Why did he go there?  
 How many sheep does he have?  
 When did he come?  
 Where is your father?  
 What is in the pot?

### Verbal Nouns (N<sub>5</sub>)<sup>1</sup>

Virtually all un-inflected verb stems can serve as nouns, that is, they can stand as head of noun phrases

Examples:

(cf., 2.2.1.1b, page 57, for two examples)

newe ta ɲké kanewe dá kí      Look at the look he is giving you! (SS51)

## 2.2.1.2 Prounouns

### a. Personal Prounouns

The personal pronouns can be arranged in the following paradigms. The personal pronouns function as subjects, objects, indirect objects of verbs and as dependent nominals in NPgen. In the first function they take the form of the nominative case. With the exception of the third person, where special forms are used in indirect object and genitive constructions, the oblique form is used for the latter three functions.

	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Oblique</u>
1 sing.	'yá	dá
2 sing.	na	ɲá
3 sing.	∅, nde <sup>2</sup>	∅, ɲké <sup>2</sup>
dual	mu (gebu) <sup>3</sup>	bu

<sup>1</sup>The assignment of verbal nouns to a noun sub-class, N<sub>5</sub>, is made primarily for the sake of easy reference. In fact, uninflected verb stems can be considered to belong to two form classes--N<sub>5</sub> and Verb.

<sup>2</sup>The third singular pronoun is normally realized phonemically as zero. However, on occasion the alternative forms are used, particularly to avoid ambiguity.

<sup>3</sup>The forms in parentheses are the emphatic forms and are included in this paradigm because with the dual and first person plural they are sometimes used in non-emphatic contexts.

1 plural (incl)	bumú (gebumú)	bumú
1 plural (excl)	ŋ'yé (geŋ'yé)	ŋ'yé
2 plural	ye	ŋaye
3 plural	xé	xé

The genitive and indirect object forms are the same as the oblique except as follows:

3 singular, genitive	ŋké	"of him"
3 singular, ind. Ob.	nda	"to, for him"
3 plural, genitive	ncí	"of them"
3 plural, ind. Ob.	nda (Object) ke xé	"to, for them"

Examples of Personal Pronoun constructions:

#### Subjects

'a 'yá képaké maruré	I bought rice.	(WS190)
kasé <u>xé</u> xénde	They will come tomorrow.	(WS202)
'a <u>nde</u> sé teké	He should come here.	
'a <u>geŋ'yé</u> kédexwú tlí	We are eating meat.	(WS316)

#### Direct Objects

'a na kémpavé <u>dá</u>	You hit me.	(WS320)
'a kémpavé (Both sub. and obj. morphemes are realized as /ø/.)	He hit him.	(WS321)
kađe <u>bu</u> mbelí nyí (dual)	These people like us.	(WS383)

#### Indirect Objects

nta <u>dá</u> 'wú'we	Give me money!	(WS318)
tlene yamené <u>ndá</u> nde	He is working for me.	(WZ14)
pa xé viyi kweté wundú kapá <u>nda</u> ke <u>xé</u>	Then they put a certain person to sell (it) for them.	(PJ4)
genaké dá Timatiyé ka geze <u>ndá</u> gena ta kanferánse	Timothy sent me to tell him about the conference.	

The verb geze "tell, talk, say" (see example directly above) and some other verbs of saying, regularly take the nda object even when the sense is not clearly that of an Indirect Object. For example:

geze <u>ndá</u> biyitsá	Say it again!	(WS196)
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#### b. Emphatic Personal Pronouns

With the exceptions of the first and second persons singular, the emphatic form of the personal pronouns is formed by prefixing ge- to the object pronouns. The emphatic of the first person singular is 'i'yá, that of the second person singular, ga. The emphatic pronoun,

whether serving as subject or object, precedes the verb in constructions. Following is a paradigm of the emphatic pronoun.

	<u>sing.</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
1 person	'i'yá	gebu	gebumú (Inclusive) geŋ'yé (Exclusive)
2 person	ga		ge'yé
3 person	geŋké		geŋcí

Following are several contrasting examples of the use of emphatic and normal personal pronouns.

<u>ga</u> kapa xwá	YOU are buying a knife. (PZ1)
xwá yapá <u>na</u>	You are buying a knife.
'i'yá kađe kadziyi širé	I want to go to Siir. (TS1)
kađe 'ya katli dá teke...	I want to leave here... (PZ3)
Notice also:	
sáyí <u>ga</u> 'yá nza le	Only YOU will I stay with. (PZ3)
<u>geŋké</u> nde mene tlené	HE's the one who works. (SS34)
<u>geŋké</u> yageze nda 'yá	IT's this I am saying. (NS1)
<u>ga</u> nde meneté nya	It's YOU who did this. (WS412)

c. Possessive Pronouns: dependent and independent.

The dependent possessive pronoun is simply the object pronoun used in the genitival construction discussed in 2.2.1.1b above. For example: gu "head", gu a dá "my head"; xwá "knife", xwá ta ncí "their knife".

The independent possessive personal pronoun is formed by prefixing /ŋa-/ to the object pronoun, as illustrated below.

	<u>sing.</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
1 person	ŋadá	ŋabu	ŋabumú (Inclusive) ŋaŋ'yé (Exclusive)
2 person	ŋaŋá		ŋaŋayé
3 person	ŋaŋké		ŋaŋcí
pá wuferké ndá <u>ŋaŋké</u>	Then she hid his for him... (PJ2)		
hide for him his			
kaxwe xé le <u>ŋaŋcí</u>	They are running with theirs. (PJ4)		
run they with theirs			
dziyi 'yá vaké tenuwe ŋadá	I went by here to see mine. (PZ1)		
go I by-here see mine			



flexive sense. For example:

'a	gena	kénéxéve	gevá...	The news spread....	(WS399)
	word	divide	body		

Some verbs take the noun gu "head" as an indirect object in reflexive constructions when the beneficiary of the action is the same as the actor. For example:

'a	'yá	kémeneté	ndá	ke	<u>gu</u>	a	dá	I did it to myself.	(WS519)
	I	do		to	head	of	me		

#### e. Indefinite Subjects

The nouns mbelí "people", ndé "person" and occasionally, ɲkwa "place", are used as indefinite subjects meaning "one". For example:

kayide	dá	<u>mbelí</u>	Some one makes fun of me.
--------	----	--------------	---------------------------

In much the same way the specifier kweté, kwecí "a certain, some" and the demonstratives, although normally qualifiers, serve as noun replacers in some constructions. Since they, however, behave as normal nominal subjects in these cases they warrant no special treatment as pronouns.

#### 2.2.2 Verbs

Since the verb system will be treated in more detail in section three, only a simple sketch of the main grammatical classes and subclasses will be presented here.

Verbs are ordinarily the morphological realizations of action sememes. The minimal form in which a verb can occur is, as a simple root. To the root may be added any one of a number of derivational suffixes which form an extended stem and which serve to change the sense of the verb in some way. The action expressed by the simple root or extended stem may be specified or qualified in a number of different dimensions. This is accomplished by use of one or a combination of the following: (1) inflectional prefixes, (2) markers, (3) auxiliary verbs, (4) qualifiers or (5) reduplication of the root.

In their active forms verbs can function as predicates and as heads of verb phrases (VP). There are at least three non-active forms which the verb may take; (1) the stative, (2) the participle, which is formed by prefixing ké- to the root, and (3) the verbal noun which is the root used to fill a grammatical slot normally taking a nominal. Not all of the verbs occur in all of the active and non-active forms

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discussed here. For example, mba "stay" is only stative, wuba "big" only occurs as a participle. However, no practical purpose would be served in classifying verbs on the basis of this type of differential distribution.

Following are a few examples of the various forms verb roots may take. (cf., section three for a full description.)

#### Stative verb forms

mbá 'yá mbe cɛ kajaŋá jaŋá ta dá I'll stay in the house and read.  
stay I in house read read of me (TS1)

ntiʃɛ 'yá gena dáfá I sat beside the food. (TS4)  
sit I over mush

#### Verbal nouns

nexwene ta dá my crying (Gr51)  
(cf., 2.2.1.1f for other examples.)

#### Participles

kéline ɲé yemú nya This water is cold. (Gr13)  
colds self water this

Most of these verbs can also occur in some of the active forms as well, for example:

'a 'yá kéntiʃɛ ɲé I sat down.  
I sit self

#### 2.2.2.1 Class I Verbs ( $V_1$ ).

Class I verbs include by far the greatest number of verbs in the language. They share the following characteristics. (1) The roots can be extended by a particular set of extension suffixes. (cf., 3.1.2 for a complete inventory.) (2) in complex verbal constructions, verbs following a  $V_1$  and standing in a purposive relationship to it will take the form /ka- plus root/. (3) Although in practice most  $V_1$ 's are used transitively, most of them appear to be neutral in this respect. (4) Roots of class I verbs are used to realize generalized action sememes and are normally imperfective while the addition of an extension suffix, in addition to changing the basic meaning of the root also serves to make the stem perfective.

Examples of roots and stems:

kamené tlené 'yá I work.  
do work I

'a 'yá kémeneté tlené                      I worked.  
I        do        work

'a 'yá kémenemté tlené                      I did all of the work.  
I        do        work

Examples of a  $V_1$  plus a second verb in a purposive relation:

pa Hunter ndeke dá cə́ɛ kapa xá        Then Hunter gave me money to buy  
                 give me money buy millet                      millet.

'a kégaté kanexwené                      (He) started to dance.  
start        dance

Examples of transitive and intransitive uses of  $V_1$ :

pɛ yapɛ nde<sup>1</sup>                      He is bathing.  
wash wash he

'a kép 'wuší                      (He) laughed.

Two minor sub-classes of  $V_1$  need to be mentioned. The first includes the verbs vé "put", kelé "take one thing" and fu "take many things". These behave like other class I verbs except they occur with a series of extension suffixes which are not ordinarily used with the others. (cf., 3.1.2.3 for illustrations.)

The other sub-class includes a small number of roots which are used to realize event sememes the recipients of which are singular or, as the case may be, plural.<sup>2</sup> For example,

Verbs realizing events with singular recipients.		Verbs realizing events with plural recipients.	
kelé	"take"	vú	"take"
petlé	"kill"	mpú	"kill"
mté	"die"	badlé	"die"

#### 2.2.2.2 Class II Verbs ( $V_2$ )

This class is composed of verbs of motion. The two main roots are sé "come" and dze "go". Several other verbs of motion share some of the unique characteristics of these two and must be included in the same class. They include, lí "leave", tli "leave", šéké "come home" and jigɛ "go home". In addition, xwɛ "run" and dzegwá "walk" exhibit some of the properties mentioned below.

<sup>1</sup>This is a transitive verb with a cognate object giving the construction an intransitive sense.

<sup>2</sup>The conditioning here is semological, since on the grammatical stratum the recipient may be realized as subject or object.

These verbs are distinguished by: (1) occurring with a set of extension suffixes different from those found with class I verbs. In general these suffixes indicate the topography over which the action realized by the verb proceeds. (2) When followed by a second verb standing in a purposive relationship to the first the second will have the form /te- plus root/. (3) These verbs, although basically intransitive, sometimes occur with a reflexive object. (4) They are often used in pleonastic constructions. (5) The addition of an extension suffix does not make the stem perfective as with  $V_1$ . (6) The stative form of  $V_2$  is often used as a locative with an extension suffix indicating "down", "over", "up" and etc. The following examples illustrate these properties.

Extended  $V_2$  roots.

ntíjù kasamé start come-up	(She) started to come up. (PS4)
'a kéšavé mbe ce come-out in house	(He) came out of the house. (WS279)
ntíjù 'yá kasaté... start I come-up	I started to come up. (TS9)

$V_2$  plus a second verb in the purposive.

'a 'yá kadziyí tela nifi dá I go-over dig yam me	I am going over there to dig my yams. (Gr10)
---	---

Intransitive use of  $V_2$ .

kadziyí kwe ašé go-by goat that	The goat referred to is passing by. (PS4)
kelepé kédzaa ɲé... fish go-down selves	Fish went in . . . (WS283)

Pleonastic uses of  $V_2$ .

dziyí va xulu dziyí xwénkwa go-by by river go-by road	The road goes by the river. (WS497)
sé nya sé nde come this come it	It came about.

Extended stems in the imperfect.

kadziyí kwe ašé	The goat is passing by. (PS4)
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The Stative form as a locative relator.

wá yamené na dziyí va xulu wáa what do you go-by by river ?	What are you doing over near the river? (PZ4)
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It is possible that this latter use of class II verbs is the

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same as the first verb in the pleonastic constructions. The first verb can be viewed as filling the place (PL) slot in the clause as it can in the above example.

### 2.2.2.3 Class III Verbs ( $V_3$ ).

Classes III, IV and V are composed of a very restricted number of verb roots with behavior so unique as to warrant considering them 'pseudo-verbs'. They function as verbs in that they are the realizations of action sememes and in some cases pattern like verbs in clauses but they are never inflected and each exhibits other unique features.

Class III includes only the root ke "say". ke has the following allomorph: /pa/ used with first person singular pronoun subjects, and with second person singular subjects which are themselves realized as /ø/.

The main function of the verb is to serve as a quotation marker. It comes at the beginning, at the end or both at the beginning and end of a quotation. Occasionally it is used in other clauses simply as the verb "say".

As a quotation marker it may be preceded by several particles, ma "introducer", at the beginning of a quote and, wawa, wa'a or 'a at the end. For example:

ma ké kangwedú ša Pugu ní (quotation) 'a ke xé (NT1)  
said Mogodians to Pungu, ". . . ." said they  
káyí wa'a ké Deli Dlexwé "Kai!" said Deli Dlexwe. (NT1)

As illustrated here, the recipient of the action of ke is marked by the preposition ša. ša is the regular preposition indicating "action toward" used after verbs of Class II. When the agent of the verb or the recipient of the action is represented by a personal pronoun, certain changes take place in the form of the verb, i.e., the allomorph discussed above is used. The following examples illustrate these changes:

pa 'yá ša ga	I said to you.
say I to you(sg.)	
pa 'yá šé	I said to him.
say I to	
pa 'yá ša xé, or ...ša gencí	I said to them.
say I to them to them(emph.)	

pá	You(sg.) said.
pa šé say to	You (sg.) said to him.
ke ša ga say to you(emph.)	He said to you.
ke xé ša 'i'yá say they to I(emph.)	They said to me.
ke mú ša šalá say we to god	We say to god.
wawa ké ša gebumú thus say to us	He said to us all.
"... 'yá kašemá zele gena ašé" pá I not believe word that say	"...I don't believe that word," you say. (SB2)
ke mbelí šá geze say person to saying	One says.
pa 'yá šá geze say I to saying	I say.

#### 2.2.2.4 Class IV Verb ( $V_2$ ).

The Class IV verb, va, has two allophones, /va~ve/ and like ke is uninflected. It is used to show possession, as a locative verb and on occasion indicates action toward. (Like  $V_3$  and  $V_5$ , which also show phonological affinities to prepositions, this verb may be etymologically related to the preposition va "near", "by".)

The ve form of the verb is found in final position, that is, before the  $\emptyset$  realization of the third singular pronoun. (Notice in the examples directly above the change from ša to šé in the preposition when used in this same environment.)

Examples:

ṅkwájé kaṅkelí <u>va</u> 'yá six chickens I	I have six chickens. (WS358)
...ṅké keleté dá lekvesa ta dá he take me shirt of me	...he took my shirt to John for me. (TS1)
<u>va</u> Žanjé to John	
pá 'yá keleté wusu <u>vé</u> then I take thing has	Then I took the thing he has. (TS11)

Occasionally the particle ya is prefixed to the verb. This same particle is sometimes used before prepositions to indicate location. The use with va appears to be entirely optional.

Examples:

degwe ménéfé yavé                      He has a new pot.                      (WS453)  
 pot new is to him

žegwe yavé kí gε                      She has a kid in the house.                      (PS4)  
 kid is in house

The verb va should be distinguished from the relator va "because" (cf., 2.2.4.5). Again the two words may be etymologically related but the relator is found in very different grammatical environments, for example:

galá xε kelεtetí kambεxwé va                      The dogs barked all night be-  
 all night dogs barked because                      cause of the hyenas. (SP2)  
 degwava ηwe.  
 hyeana

šewe 'yá va má                      I am hungry.                      (WS 429)  
 hurt I because hunger

#### 2.2.2.5 Class V Verb(V<sub>5</sub>).

The pseudo-verb ša is used as a verb replative. It may be related to the preposition ša which is used with V<sub>2</sub> to indicate action toward something. As a verb or verb replative ša is used in constructions with an ideophone which enjoys a semantic relationship to the verb being replaced. For example, láné and nzáké are ideophones both used to qualify the verb kelé "take". (Cf., 2.2.3.1 for a description of ideophones.) They are commonly used in clauses with the verb, as, for example:

nzáké keleté telεyá                      Suddenly (he) took the cache-  
 pow! take cache-sexe                      sexes.                      (NML)

Very often, however, the verb is omitted in such constructions and the ideophone is used with the pseudo-verb ša. For example:

nzáké ša yεmú                      (He) suddenly took water.                      (NML)  
 pow! water

láné ša geta a mega a η'yé                      (He) grabbed the stick of our chief.  
 suddenly stick of chief our                      (NT1)

dáxé 'yá ša xεdí                      Immediately I picked up dirt.                      (NN1)  
 pop! I dirt

gá'á ša tε wugá                      (He) prepared beer then.                      (NT1)  
 beer then

mbíké ša livu ηké                      (She) tied on her apron.                      (FM1)  
 apron of her

### 2.2.3 Qualifiers.

The qualifiers, in terms of their occurrence in constructions, fall into five sub-classes. They are (1) ideophones, (2) numerals, (3) the specifier, (4) demonstratives and (5) verb markers. Qualifiers occur in constructions with either nominals or verbs. When used to modify nominals they normally occur in the syntactic slot \_N if the nominal precedes the verb and in the position N\_ when the nominal follows the verb of the clause.

The qualifiers do not constitute a mutually exclusive class in every environment. For example, verbs can on occasion serve to modify other verbs and qualifiers (notably the specifier) sometimes function as noun or pronoun replacers in verbal constructions. Furthermore, nominals may be modified by verbs occurring; in an active reflexive construction, or the stative form tied to the nominal by the relators kwa or nya. For example,

yemú nya <u>liné</u> water this colds	Cold water.	(Gr3)
<u>kéliné</u> ɲé yemú cooled self water	Cold water.	(Gr3)
<u>ganéké</u> nde <sup>1</sup> goods it	It is pretty.	(PJ5)
'a kékeleké kwáciga <u>gané</u> brought basket good	(He) brought a pretty basket.	(WS444)
... <u>kégané</u> ɲé goods self	(It) is pretty.	(PJ5)

A number of qualifiers always occur as reduplicated forms. For example; kwélékwelé "many", "much". In addition, both ideophones and numerals can be reduplicated to indicate intensity, continuous action, or, in the case of numerals, enumeration. For example:

kadzegwá wuzege nyaga <u>ntár ntár ntáré</u> walks child that	That child kept walking like a toddler. (FM3)
...xa maxkéné <u>bák bák</u> yedla corn three two two ears	...three stalks of corn with two ears each. (PO )

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<sup>1</sup>Since gané and several other verbs that function almost exclusively as qualifiers occur in the slot ordinarily filled by ideophones, it would be possible to assign them to a sub-class of qualifiers. However, since these can all occur in verbal constructions and with verb affixes, it is more efficient to consider them as verbs with a peculiar distribution, analagous to that of ideophones.



## 2.2.3.1 Ideophones.

Ideophones, which are common in African languages, have been amply discussed in the literature (cf., Stennes 1967. 17-20. Samarin 1963. et. al.). Ideophones in Kapsiki exhibit several characteristics not common to other words. (1) the class as a whole is productive, that is, new and sometimes idiolectal forms are continually being formed. (2) Many ideophones are onomatopoeic. (3) Along with numerals, ideophones reflect the presence of a phono-tactic sub-system which results in tone and consonant-vowel patterns not found elsewhere in the language. For example, pitch of ideophones is often higher than normal high and final consonants are common. (Cf., 2.1.2.4a above)

Ideophones themselves are of two types. The first can be termed adverbs, since they function exclusively as verb modifiers or verb substitutes. The others can serve as nominal, verb or clause modifiers.

## a. Adverbs

Adverbs ordinarily occur in the syntactic environment // \_SV or more rarely, # \_VS. They may modify  $V_1$ ,  $V_2$  or  $V_5$ . Most adverbs evidence a semantic identity with verb stems or classes of verb roots they modify, reflecting an 'ordered downward and' relationship between the semological and grammatical strata. It is this quality which permits adverbs to serve as verb substitutes and to modify the pseudo-verb ša., (Cf. discussion and examples in 2.2.2.5 above.)

Adverbs are often onomatopoeic and when qualifying verbs depicting repeated or continuing activity may be reduplicated. Following are some examples of adverbs, first, with verbs, then serving as verb substitutes and finally with ša.

pékwé késé nde Suddenly she came. (FM3)  
appear! come she

tséxpétlú tséxpétlú tséxpétlú nde kadziyí ɲé She went walking  
(imitation of a frog walking) she went self like a frog.  
(FM1)

nzáké keleté (He) took (it). (FM3)  
pow! took

vénú kelexwú gu Whang! (She) took off his head.  
whang took-off head (FM3)

<u>ntínú</u> <sup>1</sup>	male ašé kazekwú	That woman returned.	(FM3)
left	woman that return		
<u>cápe</u> <sup>2</sup>	kajige ɲé	(He) returned home.	(PP4)
left	go home self		
<u>pélésé</u>	Kwejí mbele ɲé	Kwaji escaped.	(PP4)
zoom!	Kwaji escape self		
<u>nzáké</u>	kwagambá	Kwagamba took it.	(FM1)
suddenly	Kwagamba		
<u>dáxé</u>	ša xa	She picked up the millet. (In a business-like	
	millet	way.	(FM1)
<u>pá'á</u>	ša velupú kwa	Plop! She put the beetles in (it).	
plop!	beetles in		(FM3)
<u>gwu gwu gwu</u>	ša geta dēwé	Bang, bang, bang, the stick (hit) the	
bang bang bang	stick wall		

#### b. Ideophones (general)

Ideophones of the second type may either precede or follow the word or construction being modified. These qualifiers are used to express a wide range of meanings. The sub-class embraces quantifiers, locatives and qualificatives, including most morphemes referring to colors. Some examples follow:

mbelí	<u>cúk</u> <sup>3</sup>	All of the people.	(WS181)
melemé	<u>fét</u> <sup>3</sup>	All of the villages.	(WS182)
kwe ta dá	<u>krép</u> <sup>3</sup>	All of my goats.	
goat of me	all		
'a káfúte	kulu <u>pét</u> <sup>3</sup>	(He) picked up all of the	
take piece	all	pieces.	(WS345)

<sup>1</sup>ntínú presents some problems analytically. It is used commonly with V<sub>2</sub> and often with what seems to be the purposive form of the verb, as<sup>2</sup> above. This suggests that it is a defective verb. This analysis is supported by the rare occurrence of examples where it is used with finite verb affixes. However, the tone pattern, the slot it fills and its frequent occurrences with non-purposive verb forms seems to justify the inclusion of it in the adverb class. The occasional uses as a finite verb can be explained by analogy, since it does enjoy a close semantic relationship with V<sub>2</sub>'s.

<sup>2</sup>cápe, although rarer, appears to be a synonym with ntínú.

<sup>3</sup>cúk, fét, pét and krép(é) are all synonyms and, insofar as my data indicate, may all be used interchangeably.

<u>tákwá</u> <u>tákwá</u> kwe yité near near goat beside	The goat was near (her). (PP4)
<u>kwélékwelé</u> sé mbelí kala timétí many-many come people like sheep	The people were coming as numerous as sheep. (SP3)
pa za a ɲlé tsaxeké <u>kwélékwelé</u> man of her thank much-much	Then her husband thanked her very much. (PZ3)
'a kékeleké kwe <u>díbé</u> <u>díbé</u> take-here goat fat fat	(He) brought a fat goat. (WS442)
<u>gémé</u> <u>gémé</u> pels nyi tagá red red stone these on-there	These stones are very red. (WS460)

### 2.2.3.2 Numerals.

As already indicated, the numerals in Kapsiki behave like the ideophones in many respects. When used to modify a nominal the cardinals may either precede or follow the nominal, depending on the position of the verb in the clause.

For example:

<u>bák</u> mbelí or mbelí <u>bák</u>	Two people.
<u>mcéf</u> kwacigá or kwacigá <u>mcéf</u>	Five baskets.

The numbers from 1-10 are realized as simple morphemes while the higher cardinals are poly-morphemic.

kwetɛɲ	one	ɲkwáɲ(é)	six
bák(é) <sup>1</sup>	two	mberefáɲ	seven
maxkén(é)	three	degesé	eight
wufád(é)	four	metlí	nine
mcéf	five	meɲ(é)	ten
meɲ kwetɛɲ gumbe	eleven		
ten one			
meɲ bák gumbe	twelve		
ten two			
báké ɲsú	twenty		
two			
mcéfé ɲsú	fifty		
five			

I cannot positively identify the meanings represented by the

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<sup>1</sup>The final phonemes which are enclosed in parentheses, represent allomorphs which appear to occur in free variation in the simple forms and in some to the combined forms as obligatory.

particles gumbe and msú since they don't occur elsewhere in my data.

There is in Kapsiki a term for one hundred, gumsúkú but it is rarely used. The Fulfulde term temere being more common. The word for one thousand is the word for 'sack'. This parallels the Fulfulde usage although either the Fulfulde word, burxa or the Kapsiki word tlíbú may be heard.

Ordinals are composed of the cardinal connected to a preceding nominal by the kwa relator, followed by the particle zege "times".<sup>1</sup>

Thus:

za	kwa	bák	<u>zege</u>	The second man.	(SP1)
man	rel.	2	times		

"first", however, is expressed by using the verb gate "start, begin" connected to the preceding nominal by the relator kwa.

za	kwa	<u>gate</u>	The first man	(SP1)
man		start		

#### 2.2.3.3 Specifier.

The specifier, kweté (sing.), kwecí (pl.) "a certain, some", may modify any noun, function as a noun substitute and incidentally serve as a number marker. For example:

wa	nyi	<u>kwecí</u>	nyi	mbelí	teké	kaxé	kelepe	ta	ncí	gí
Here	now	certain	these	people	here	fishing	fish	of	them(excl.)	

kwetéŋ	ŋé	<u>kweté</u>	te	kwembewele	a	ŋké	te	ndurú.	maxkéne
one	himself	other	on	boat	of	him	on	lake	three

<u>kwecí</u>	peléké.	<u>kweté</u>	biyitsá	te	kema	ta	xulú	(PS3)
others	up-on	another	still	on	face	of	river	

Here are some people fishing. One is by himself in his boat on the lake. Three others are up here. Still another is in front of the river.

ntíŋú	<u>kweté</u>	wuža	makwá	kadzemté	A certain girl left to go to
left	certain	girl	go-to-bush	to the bush.	(P01)

'a	<u>kwecí</u>	mbelí	kenaké	Some people saw him.	(WS192)
	some	people	saw		

#### 2.2.3.4 Demonstratives.

The demonstratives, like the specifier, have singular and non-singular forms. There are three sets of demonstratives, nya, nyi

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<sup>1</sup>Possibly this should be analyzed as a verbal clause. kwa is usually used to relate verbs to a nominal. (cf., 2.2.4.2) Thus zege could be considered a verb with limited distribution.

"this", "that", nyaga, nyigi "these", "those" and ašé<sup>1</sup> "the one referred to". In addition to their function as nominal modifiers, the near demonstratives can also serve as relators (cf., 2.2.4.2 below.)

The near and far demonstratives may either follow or precede the nouns they modify, but they ordinarily follow, while ašé always follows.

Examples:

kéwuba gé cɛ nyagá                      That house is big.                      (WS219)  
bigs self house that

nya xwá ta dá                      This is my knife.                      (WS212)  
this knife of me

wá wusú nya wáa                      What is this?                      (WS213)  
what thing this ?

báké nyigi mbe dzeve va wundú ašé                      (PS3)  
two those in hand of person referred to  
Those two are in the hand of that person.

wá tlené nya mené miyi nyi ki gɛ a ncí wáa                      (PO1)  
what work this do women these in house of them ?  
What work do these women do in their houses?

wá meleme ašé wáa                      What village is that?                      (FC7)  
what village referred to?

wundu ašé ndé ngwedú                      That person was ngwedú.                      (FC7)  
person that one ngwedú

'a šé kave ndá xa gané ke male ašé wé                      (FC8)  
able give it millet good to woman referred to not  
He didn't give good millet to that woman.

mené nde kalá nyaga                      She did like that.                      (FC8)  
do she like that

wuba má cɛ nya ké nya                      This house is bigger than this.                      (SS3)  
big -er house this to this

As illustrated in the last two examples above, the demonstratives can also occur as replacers for nouns or longer constructions. When used in this manner the antecedent must occur in the immediate environment.

The phonological sequence /nya/ also occurs frequently as a particle suffixed to words of other classes. Whether this is the same

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<sup>1</sup>Although written disjunctively here, ašé can possibly be analyzed as a noun suffix since (1) it always follows the noun directly, and (2) it causes the phonological changes described for suffixes in 2.1.3.3 above.

morpheme as nya "this" is unclear from my data. For example, lsetse "now", a time word, sometimes occurs as tsetsenya and vanya, vadanya "because", a relator, sometimes occurs as va.

#### 2.2.3.5 Verb Markers.

Verb markers, as part of verbal constructions, are dealt with in some detail in section 3.1.3. This section will simply provide an inventory, a statement concerning distribution and several examples.

Verb markers are free morphemes which function to in some way specify the action of a verb. They occur only with the active form of verbs and ordinarily occupy the syntactic slot #(time)\_SVO(sat)#. The exceptions are the negative marker, wé and the interrogative markers, náá and yí, which come at the very end of the sentences they serve to negate or make interrogative.

The verb markers are: 'a 'active marker' (cf., 3.1.3.1), pa 'consecutive sequential marker' (cf., 3.1.3.6), nda 'incompleted sequential marker' (cf., 3.1.3.9), keža 'purposive marker' (cf., 3.1.3.10), wé 'negative marker' (cf. 2.3.3.3b), yí and náá 'interrogative indicators' (cf., 2.3.3.3c).

Following is an example of each type of marker:

- |   |                                   |         |
|---|-----------------------------------|---------|
| <u>'a</u> kwecí mbelí kenaké                        | Some people saw him.              | (WS192) |
| some people saw                                     |                                   |         |
| <u>pa</u> ndeke dá wusú <u>pa</u> dzegwa njé le xwé |                                   | (SS29)  |
| then gave me thing then walk himself with running   |                                   |         |
| Then he gave me something and then ran away.        |                                   |         |
| ma <u>nda</u> késé nde <u>nda</u> tezeme 'yá        | When he comes, I'll eat.          |         |
| when comes he then will-eat I                       |                                   | (WS312) |
| cíkéké <u>keža</u> fa kwada...                      | (She) paused to hear the noise... |         |
| pause for hear noise                                |                                   | (PS1)   |
| kance ndá gevá nde ké mbelí <u>wé</u>               | She didn't show herself to the    |         |
| show body she to people not                         | people.                           | (FM6)   |
| kažene mpí nde <u>yí</u>                            | Is he breathing?                  | (WS223) |
| remains breath he ?                                 |                                   |         |

#### 2.2.4 Relators.

Relators are function words which serve to relate grammatical units to one another. They fall into several different distribution classes which are termed: (1) introducer, (2) relatives, (3) prepositions, (4) genitive particles, and (5) conjunctions.

## 2.2.4.1 Introducer.

The introducer, ma, occurs in the initial slot of clauses and serves simply to introduce the clause. It is used in a number of different grammatical contexts. Following are some examples.

It is frequently found preceding the verb ke "say" introducing quotations.

ma ke xé šé ní "(quote)"      They said to him, "...." (FM3)  
say they to

ma ke mbe gu a nké "(quote)"      (He) said to himself, "...."  
say in head of him      (FM4)

It is sometimes used to introduce stories or fables.

ma kweté wundú gé xwa kangwedú gé ní.      A certain person among  
certain person among Mogodians      the people of Mogode.

In introducing the first clause of a compound sentence it may be used with an uninflected verb stem, when there is no necessary temporal connection between the actions of the two clauses, or with one of the verb indicators discussed in 3.1.3, below.

ma zeze 'yá ní kameneté 'yá      I think I can do it. (WS262)  
think I do I

ma kwamenemté tlené nde ntígú nde      After finishing the work he  
after-do-all work he left he      left. (Gr70)

ma nda tesé vá náxé cε kéndlá ɲé      When the rain came the house  
when come rain did house fall self      fell. (Gr70)

In a very few cases ma is used with the particle ya to introduce an action which didn't eventuate.

ma ya kademá va késé nda katendlá cε wé      (Gr68)  
if not rain come then fall house not  
If the rain hadn't come the house would not have fallen.

## 2.2.4.2 Relatives

There are two relatives, nya and kwa. In some grammatical contexts they are only distinguished stylistically but in others they are used to express different kinds of relationships.

kwa is ordinarily used to relate words or constructions to nouns which they qualify. For example:

male ašé kwa juni ta za a nké      That woman is her husband's  
woman that loved of man of her      beloved. (PS4)

lekwesá kwa nkíréyí yáve      (He) has black cloth. (WS477)  
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In the terms for "left" and "right" the kwa relative plus a qualifying verb is used as a single lexeme ordinarily filling a syntactic slot reserved for nominals. The noun to which kwa might have originally related the verb (probably dzeve "hand") normally is not used in this construction. For example:

...pa na žereté geva te kwa zemé ...then you turn to your right.  
then you turn body on which eat (WS268)

wufé dzemé vagé kwa gwelá<sup>1</sup> Trees are to the left of her.  
tree go beside which (PO2)

nya has a much wider distribution than kwa. Like kwa it may serve to relate a qualifying word or phrase to a nominal. In the two examples of this construction below, the first illustrates its use as the pleonastic subject of a clause, in which case it parallels the behavior of the emphatic personal pronouns discussed in 2.2.1.2b above.

wundú nya kexwé kaxkaxé ndé ŋ'wuvu wusú (SP)  
person who run fast one wins thing  
He who runs fast wins.

nde nya ketliyaxé ŋé He is thin. (Gr14)  
he who thinned himself

nya is also used to relate two clauses. This construction normally takes the following form:

$S_2$  nya  $V_1$  (O) (IO) nya  $S_1$   $V_2$  (sat)

Clause<sub>2</sub> is imbedded in Clause<sub>1</sub>. Clause<sub>1</sub> also functions as the object of  $V_1$ . If  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  are realizations of the same sememe,  $S_1$  is realized morphemically as  $\emptyset$ . For example:

wundú nya geze nya 'yá gení náxé késé (SP1)  
person who speak I then! finish come  
The person about whom I spoke has come.

wundú nya naké nya na genké ŋké The person who you saw, that's  
person who saw you HE him him. (SP2)

ce nya xé nya mú mbe náxé kéndé ŋé (SP11)  
house which slept we in finish burn itself  
The house which we slept in has burned.

In the above illustrated types of construction, the second nya is frequently omitted with no apparent change in meaning. For example:

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<sup>1</sup>While right can literally be translated "(hand) which eats", the meaning of gwelá--if it had one--seems to be lost and it is used with kwa to form a lexeme meaning simply "left". Thus, "left hand" is dzeve kwa gwelá

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2.2.4.3

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tla nyi geze 'yá náǵsé teké xé The cows about which I spoke  
 cow who speak I before here they are here. (SP9)

#### 2.2.4.3 Prepositions.

Prepositions serve to relate nominals or noun phrases to clauses in a type of satellite (sat) construction. They are used to express several different kinds of relationships. The most commonly used prepositions and the relationships they realize are listed below.

(a) Locatives; mbe "in" (as in a hand), kwa "in" (as in a basket), ki "in" (used exclusively for in a house), va, vare "beside", te "on" (very general), yitá "near", "beside" (as in the vicinity), pele "up on", laka "over by", xwa "among", kwélé "between", genú "over" and kenú "on". (b) Instrumental or accompaniment; le "with". (c) Goal; ke "toward".

The above glosses must be considered very rough approximations since the prepositions in Kapsiki cover very different segments of the semantic field from those in English. This is true from the standpoint of differences in meanings (see for example, the several prepositions glossed "in" above) and from the standpoint of the function of the class as a whole. In Kapsiki, for example, prepositions do not modify in any way the action expressed by the verb but simply specify the relationship of the satellite to the action. Thus one says:

'a kélakaa wuzegé <u>pele</u> wufé	He took the child down from the
take-down child up tree	tree. (WS278)
'a kéšáve <u>mbe</u> ce	(He) came out of the house.
come-out in house	(WS279)

It is apparent from the above examples that much of the function of English prepositions is assumed in Kapsiki by the verb stems. This will be discussed in some detail in section three below.

The several examples that follow illustrate the range of meaning, normal distribution and special functions of prepositions.

##### a. Locatives

'a kémenamé ñši <u>mbe</u> zewé	He made a knot in the rope.
did-in knot in rope	(WS343)
...pa 'yá belaxe dá <u>mbe</u> xa	...then I laid down in the corn.
then I lie me in corn	(TS1)
wá wusú nya <u>kwa</u> kwacigá wáa	What is this in the basket?
what thing this in basket ?	(WS509)

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dziyi laká ge dá dziyi ŋé nde He passed my house. (WS380)  
go by house me go himself he

kwélé wuve a dá melemé wuve a ŋké (WS501)  
between farm of me town farm of him  
His farm is between the village and my farm.

nde ... katepá te šekwu tenzá Perhaps he will sell them in  
he will-sell on marked perhaps the market. (PS3)

pa dzexwú ŋé xwá xa Then it went into the millet.  
then go itself among millet

xwa is also used to express a temporal relationship, meaning  
"during". For example:

xwa vá ndla ŋé cε During the rain the house fell.  
during rain fall self house (Gr69)

laka is occasionally used to express an instrumental relation-  
ship in a passive construction (cf., 3.2.4.2).

laka genké ndeke dá geva xwá The knife was given to me by  
by HIM gave me body knife him. (Gr40)

#### b. Instrumental

The preposition le is used to express a number of types of re-  
lationships. The most common being instrumental and accompaniment.

For example:

kamené tlené 'yá le wufú I work with a hoe. (Spl5)  
do work I with hoe

'a kégeze le berté (He) spoke loudly. (WS253)  
spoke with strength

... kapaké ye kelepe le gwené . . . (she) will buy fish and  
buy (pl.) fish with salt salt (PZ2)

kateta dafá le<sup>1</sup> She will cook mush with (it).  
will-cook mush with (PJ2)

mcé xé le male ašé They are friends. (PZ5)  
friend they with woman that

... pa dzegwa ŋé le xwé Then (he) ran away. (WS520)  
then walk self with run

taga ye guzú le ye wufé There are grass and trees there.  
on-there grass with tree

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<sup>1</sup>When the preposition relates a nominal which has already been mentioned so that the third singular pronoun would normally be used, this is realized phonemically as /ø/ so that the clause ends with a preposition.

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### c. Goal

Like le, the preposition ke covers a wide range of relationships. Some of its functions have already been discussed, as its use as an indirect object marker (cf., 2.2.1.2a).

ke is used to relate a second entity to a first in a comparison.

jámájamá má cɛ kaMargí ke kaLemté (SP1)

big pass house Kapsiki to Mafa

The houses of the Kapsiki are bigger than those of the Mafa.

biya má šəgwu nya ké nya This stick is longer than this.  
long pass stick this to this (SS7)

ke is used to express the relationship of ownership.

wundú ké kwe taga wé The goat's owner isn't there.  
person to goat there not (PO2)

ke is used occasionally to relate a qualifying word (descriptive verb or qualifier) to a nominal. Unlike the relatives, kwa and nya, in this type of construction the qualifier precedes the nominal.

linɛ ké yɛmú The water is cold. (WS435)  
cold to water

yɛmú nya 'yana ké The water is hot. (Gr14)  
water which hot to

ke also functions to relate a nominal to a verb as the goal of the action of the verb.

megelá nde berté ké He is well, he has strength.  
good he strength to (NMI)

nzáké ke ša kweté wusú He took a certain thing for him-  
took to certain thing self. (FM2)

### 2.2.4.4 Genitive Particles.

The genitive particles, which have been described in the section on nominals (cf., 2.2.1.1 above) function to relate nominals to each other in genitival constructions. In these noun phrases, the particle a/ta is used to connect a genitival modifier to a preceding nominal. For example:

nde kataké keža xé le za a nké le wale a nké (PZ2)  
she cooks for they with man of her with children of her  
She cooks for her husband and her children.

'a kelemté dzeve ta dá (He) pinched my arm (WS339)  
pinch hand of me

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## 2.2.4.5 Conjunctions.

The conjunctions serve to relate a number of different kinds of grammatical units. For the most part they operate at the phrase or clause level. The preposition le is the primary form conjoining nominals at the word level. In the following discussion the most important conjunctions are listed, their normal distribution sketched and they are illustrated.

a. amá "but"

Although borrowed from Fulfulde, ama is very commonly used in Kapsiki speech. It ordinarily relates two clauses in a contrastive relationship. For example:

cíkéké keža fa kwada za a ŋké késé amá kénaká kasé wé (PZ2)  
 paused for hear noise man of her come but ripe come not  
 (She) paused to listen for the coming of her husband but it was  
 not yet time for him to come.

kafiyá wuže ašé amá 'a šé kaye nda gena wé (PS4)  
 forbid girl that but able respect it word not  
 That girl tries to stop it, but it won't mind.

pa ntléte balé amá kétebúké wé He jumped but couldn't reach it.  
 jump jump but reach not

b. ba'á "and"

ba'á is a rarely used coordinating conjunctions. It is optionally used in connecting verb clauses denoting simple succession of actions, which are usually marked by the verb marker pa, and in a few other cases.

geŋké sé keža zeme wusú ba'á keža mené tlené (Gr73)  
 HE come to eat thing and to do work  
 He came to eat and to work.

pa ndeke dá cédé ba'á pa geŋ'yé gezaké gena (Gr73)  
 gave me money and then we talked word  
 He gave me some money and then we talked.

c. scyí, dla "only"

These two conjunctions are used interchangeably or in combination. scyí is borrowed from the Fulfulde while dla appears to be the vernacular Kapsiki term.

ma kwampavé 'yá scyí nexwené ya nexwené nde (Gr(?)  
 after hit I only cry cry he  
 When I hit him he only cried.

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wusú šé kamené nde wé sɛyi dla nzá mbe cɛ kaxé (Gr7?)  
 thing able do he not only stay in house sleep  
 He doesn't do anything except stay in his house and sleep.

d. kála "like", "as"

kála is used to relate two nominals or other grammatical constructions as being comparable or equivalent.

wufé dziyi taga ... kála mangweré The trees there are like  
 tree go on-there like mangoes mangoes. (PS4)

mene ndá nde ke za a nké kála nya She does for her husband like  
 does to she to man of her like this this. (PS1)

e. vanya, vadanya, tumberekénia, vatse "because"

These conjunctions may all be used interchangeable, as illustrated below.

malé nya kagú miké vanya dzemté za a nké (PS1)  
 woman this cooks gruel because goes man of her  
 This woman is cooking gruel because her husband is away.

male ašé kwa juni vatsé mene ndá nde ... (PS1)  
 woman that which love because do it she  
 That woman is the loved one because she does . . . .

fárefaré wune a megeyé tumberekénia xúke nde (PZ2)  
 happy heart of mother because grind-bring she  
 Her mother is happy because she ground for her.

... vadánia nza nde gáre gweze ašé . . . because there is much  
 because is it much grass that grass there. (PO4)

2.2.5 Expletives.

Expletives are uninflected words used to get attention, make responses, mark hesitation or to otherwise vocally punctuate speech. As used here, the term expletive includes, interjections, grammatically acceptable exclamations and a number of other words which are not easily classified.

In addition to these functions alluded to immediately above, expletives in Kapsiki appear to serve the purpose of providing morphemes to carry the rising pitch which is typically heard in phrase final position. The presence of an expletive, which adds nothing to the meaning of the phrase, permits the realization of this intonational phenomenon even when the final phrase syllable would normally carry low tone. In some speaking styles the expletives, ní ~ né, wí, wugá, wuká, gɛ, gení, ná, are heard very commonly as phrase terminators.

Examples of the most common expletives are listed below with

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some attempt made to describe their normal distribution. The latter task is complicated by the fact that expletives represent largely stylistic and individualistic variations of speaking.

#### 2.2.5.1 Expletives of Attention.

In addition to the introducer, ma, which in some respects functions like an expletive, there are a number of words which serve to catch a hearer's attention. The most common are:

##### a. ndá(á) "here"

The optional long vowel probably reflects the fact that this expletive is borrowed from Fulfulde.

<u>ndáá</u>	fa	'yá kéde	kamené	gevá	le	'yá	gé	(TS1)
here	hear	I wish	do	body	with	I	then	
Here then, I'll understand what will happen to me.								

##### b. ndé "here"

This is often used when offering someone something, either as a physical act or as a matter of speaking, for consideration.

<u>ndé</u>	dafá	Here, eat!	(Gr50)
here	mush		

<u>ndé</u>	mu	Come here! (Plural)	(Gr48)
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##### c. yéwu "O. K. then"

This expletive is possibly also borrowed from the Fulfulde (cf., Stennes, 1967. 159). It is often used to start a story, especially in response to a request.

<u>yéwu</u>	fa	mu	ndedekú	Now then, listen well.
O.K.	then	listen	well	

<u>yéwu</u>	kála	gena	nyi ...	O. K. then, like these words.
				(SB2)

Frequently the alternative pronunciations, yáwáa or yá are heard. This appears to conform more closely to the Fulfulde form of the exclamation.

<u>yáwáa</u>	ma	mešina ...	O. K., in a little while . . . .
--------------	----	------------	----------------------------------

<u>yá</u>	xanaké	Sunú	Good then, thank you, Sunu
O.K.	thanks	Sunu	

##### d. a "Ah"

a is used to introduce statements about which the speaker feels some hesitancy.

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a 'yá kédepe wusú nya ...  
ah I know thing this

Ah, I don't know about this  
thing.

a kademá ŋ'welu dá kageze  
ah not voice me say

Ah, my voice isn't working.

Some speakers, particularly the Christians who have had some formal education in Fulfulde, tend to use Fulfulde words as expletives of attention. Notably among these are xa or xa'a (haa in Fulfulde as written by the protestant missions) and káyi (written kay in Fulfulde). For example:

káyi malé nya ní ...

Wow! this woman.

#### 2.2.5.2 Expletives of response.

There are two commonly used expletives of response, one indicating assent and the other disagreement. There are, however, a number of idiolectal variants of these words recorded in my data. Only the general terms will be illustrated here.

##### a. 'á'á "no"

'á'á kénaká 'yá xevé kwa cérácérá No! I haven't even caught  
no not-ripe I catch which tiny a tiny one. (PZ1)

##### b. e, e'é "yes"

This expletive, or a variant of it, is used frequently, either as an affirmative response to a question or as an indication of agreement in the telling of a story or making of a statement.

'a nda saté na šé tsé. e'é Then you have come to his house  
then came you to now yes now? Yes. (CK2)

#### 2.2.5.3 Phrase Terminators.

This rather disparate class of expletives is defined by always terminating a phrase, always having high tone--often higher than normal high--and, as with the other expletives, exhibiting a great deal of idiolectal variation. The most common and generally used are illustrated below.

##### a. ní ~ né

ní, which is sometimes heard as né, is always pronounced with a very high tone and indicates that something more is coming after it. It is the most common of the phrase terminators and is frequently used in combination with others.

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kadzegwa xé te yamú <u>ní</u>	kakesé ... They are going on the water
go-on they on water	to-catch to catch . . . (PZ1)
ma ke <u>ní</u> kéjavé ...	She said, "if I give . . . ."
said give	(PJ5)
ma zeze 'yá <u>ní</u> kameneté 'yá	I think I can do it. (WS262)
think I do I	
túmú veci <u>ní</u> kazeme wusú 'yá	I eat every day. (SS4)
every day eat thing I	
kézané yita gu a dá <u>gení</u>	I have forgotten it, then.
forget beside head me then	(NK16)
ma nele ná 'yá nantse <u>tsení</u>	I scolded you a few minutes ago,
scold you I recently then	then. (NY2)
ma <u>gená</u> nya bandá <u>né</u> ...	This word then . . . . (NY2)
word this thus then	

b. gé (Sometimes heard as gá, ká)

This expletive, like ní, occurs by itself or in combination with other morphemes, for example, gení (cf., directly above) wúgá, wúká, and gégú. In the combined forms the final tone is normally a high rising tone. The simple form is ordinarily used clause finally and may have the force of making the clause a rhetorical question. The combinations with wú always signal a question, either rhetorical or one demanding a response.

... kadzaté ge a ncí <u>gá</u>	. . . going to their house.
go house them	(PS4)
ndé súnkwe ná <u>gé</u>	Here is your money, then.
here money you then	(CP2)
... nwalé va xé <u>gégú</u>	. . . they have children then?
children have they then	(CP2)
vatamedá n'yé <u>wúká</u>	Last year we (fished) like that?
last-year we then	(NY2)

c. wú

The expletive wú can also occur in a number of combined forms (cf., the examples directly above). It is used either as ní simply to end a phrase or to give a clause the force of a question.

'yá laté Geru <u>wugá</u>	When I was up to Guria? (CP2)
I up Guria then	
ndedeku né kanasaré pérú <u>wú</u>	Whites are also good, isn't that
good self Whites also then	so? (CP2)
" ... " ké <u>tsewuká</u>	" . . . ." he said, didn't he?
say then	(NY2)

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d. kí

The expletive kí is normally used as an intensifier with the imperative but occasionally occurs with other types of constructions.

gaŋé geyé kaŋgwedú <u>kí</u>	You people of Mogode are very	
good YOU people of Mogode	good.	(NY2)
zema ké <u>kí</u>	Eat a little!	(Gr51)
newe gereŋé ta ŋwalényi <u>kí</u>	Look at how those children are	
look stand of children those	standing!	(Gr51)
ndeme <u>kíki</u>	Taste, please!	(Gr51)

## 2.2.5.5 Exclamations.

The expletives in this sub-class do not function in any of the specific ways mentioned above. Again, my data reveal a great deal of stylistic variation in usage.

a. bandá

The exact meaning of bandá is hard to specify but it usually denotes some uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

kave ndá ndgremi mbelí ke wundú <u>bandá</u> náá	(NY2)
give it poverty one to person thus ?	
Should one make another poor, do you think?	

xwa gambá wuže ašé tenzá <u>bandá</u>	Perhaps that girl is in the
in bush girl that perhaps	bush, I don't know. (PS4)

b. šandá

This expletive is normally used to mean something like, "even so" or "never-the-less".

katexwé nde <u>šandá</u>	He will run never-the-less.
will-run he never-the-less	(Gr71)
dla 'yá meneté <u>šandá</u>	I must do it even so. (Gr71)
only I do never-the-less	

c. wuší

This is used to mean something like, "you say" or "you don't say" in English.

... gwene kata tlí ašé <u>wuší</u>	. . . salt to cook the meat, you
salt cook meat that you-say	say? (CP2)
'yá <u>wuší</u> Luc	It's me, you don't say, Luc.
I you-say Luke	(CP?)

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### 2.3 CONSTRUCTION CLASSES.

This analysis of construction classes is an attempt to posit constructs in the grammatical stratum. It considers discourses as basic and defines clauses as constructions which can fill positional slots in discourses, phrases as filling positional slots in clauses and words as filling positional slots in phrases. Sentences are postulated as another order of construction, that is, as fruitful analytical constructs but outside of the framework sketched here. They cannot be defined as simply filling a positional slot, they are particular kinds of clause combinations (cf., 2.3.3 below).

The brief sketch of these major construction classes in Kapsiki is designed to serve as background to the more detailed discussion of verbs in the following section. Each class is briefly considered by means of a working definition, a review of major sub-types and a number of illustrations.

#### 2.3.1 Phrases.

Phrases may be defined as constructions which can fill clause slots. Most phrases are constructed around either verbs, forming verb phrases (VP), or nominals, forming nominal phrases (NP).

##### 2.3.1.1 Nominal Phrases (NP)

Nominal phrases are constructions with a nominal head (Nh) which may fill a time (T), subject (S), indirect object (IO), object (O) or satellite (sat) slot in a clause. There are three main types of nominal phrases, distinguished by the kinds of relationships exhibited between dependent words and the Nh. In addition, a few unclassifiable nominal phrases will be noted.

##### a. Genitival Noun Phrases (NPgen)

NPgen take the shape, Nh plus genitival particle Nd. The Nh may be any noun except locatives, time words or interrogatives. The Nh determines the shape of the genitival particle as discussed in 2.2.1.1b and the dependent nominal (Nd) can be a class I noun, a personal pronoun (cf., 2.2.1.2) or another NP.

Examples:

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## (1) noun plus noun

xwéta ta kwará                      donkey skin  
skin of donkey

## (2) noun plus prounoun

gɛ a ncí                              their house  
house of them

## (3) noun plus NPgen

gená a meleme ta ncí              news of their village  
word of town of them

## (4) noun plus NPqual (cf., 2.3.1.1b)

kweturumbé a va bák              two years earlier  
behind of year two

Examples of NPgen in clauses:

## (1) in a time (T) slot

kweturumbé a va bák gala wumevé    Two years before he had mar-  
behind of year two            marry            ied.                      (TS2)

vatamdá<sup>1</sup> pelɛ Garewá              Last year (I) was at Garoua.  
last year on            Garoua                              (TS2)

## (2) in a subject (S) slot

ʒala ta Kwejimté nde fa              The god of Kwejimte hears.  
god of Kwejimte he hear                              (NA3)

sé yasé yɛ yite a dá le miyi dá                      (WS522)  
come come father of me with mother of me  
My father and my mother are coming.

## (3) in a satellite (sat) slot

wundú kašeká dagevá yitá wuže ta kwa zeremá              (FM6)  
person come discuss marriage for girl of which not loved  
Some one is coming to discuss marriage for the child of the  
unloved wife.

kateméné tlené geŋ'yé le wuzege ta kaxeci              (TS4)  
will-do work we with child of Kortchi  
We will work with someone from Kortchi.

## (4) in an object (O) slot

katevindiya gená a meleme ta ncí 'yá                      (TS4)  
will-write word of village of them I  
I will write the language of their village.

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<sup>1</sup>Although vatamdá "last year" is written as one word in this thesis, it is derived from the genitive noun phrase \*[va ta mbedá] which would be translated literally, "year of yesterday". In fact, this latter construction (which is starred) never is heard in actual speech.

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- (5) in an indirect object (IO) slot

'a 'yá kémenté ndá ke gu a dá I did it for myself. (WS'49)  
I did it to head of me

mene ndá nde ke za a ɲkɛ She does it for her husband.  
do it she to man of her (PJ1)

#### b. Qualificative Noun Phrases (NPqual)

Qualificative noun phrases take the shape Nh plus qualifier or qualifier plus Nh (cf., 2.2.3 for a discussion of word order). NPqual's can fill any clause level slot filled by nominals, barring semological restrictions. Most NPqual's are of one of the following types:

- (1) ideophone plus Nh

gémégéme pelé nyi taga There are red stones there.  
red red stone these there (WS460)

wuši fét kwa kwetle kwa ɲkɛ Everything is in her basket.  
things all in basket of her (PZ2)

- (2) Nh plus numeral

pa ge mɛɛf te ɲkwa ašɛ There are five houses there.  
houses 5 on place that

- (3) Nh plus demonstrative

malé nya kédepe. This woman knows (PM1)  
woman this knows

wuzege ašɛ va megeké That child is at his mothers.  
child that is mother (PM1)

petleké wundú nyaga mbelí Someone killed that person.  
killed person that one (PM1)

- (4) Nh plus specifier

pa kweté tasá mbe dzeve (He) has a certain plate in  
certain plate in hand (PJ4)

kwecí mbelí kwa kwembewalé Some people are in a boat.  
some people in boat (PJ4)

#### c. Prepositional Noun Phrases (NPprep)

Prepositional noun phrases take the shape, preposition plus Nh. The Nh may be any noun except locatives, timewords or interrogatives, and personal pronouns or other NP's. NPprep's ordinarily fill a satellite slot in the clause, phrases using the preposition le may be marked with the coordinating particle yɛ and serve as a coordinate subject or object.

- (1) preposition plus noun

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tlamté le xwá Cut (it) with a knife! (WS404)  
cut with knife

'a xwá te xedí The knife fell to the ground.  
knife on ground (WS406)

(2) preposition plus pronoun

sɛyí kweténj wundú nya kexevé kelepé xwa xé (PZ1)  
only one person this caught fish among them  
Only one of them caught any fish.

bák kwembewalé te Two boats are on it. (P03)  
two boat on it

(3) preposition plus NP

te kweté wusú In a certain thing. (PS3)  
on certain thing

xé le za a nké le wale a nké (PZ2)  
they with man of her with children of her  
They, with her husband and with her children.

(4) coordinator plus preposition plus Nh

mené tlené yɛ Davité le Yakúbu David and Jacob will work.  
do work David with Jacob (TS4)

taga yɛ gwezú le yɛ wufé There are trees and grass.  
there grass with trees (PS4)

d. Miscellaneous Noun Phrases

There are several constructions, sometimes treated as single words, which appear to be NP's. Even though the Nh may be identifiable in these constructions, the type of relationship expressed between it and the dependent words is unique to the construction and thus cannot be classified. For example:

wuši ɲe sedá animals (Gr46)  
things foot

wundú ɲe le human being (Gr46)  
person ? ?

wusú ke zemé food (WS208)  
thing eat

There are also several constructions in general use employing the relative kwa but which are not relative clauses. For example:

kwa gwelé left (as in left hand) (P02)

kwa zerema the unloved one (FM6)

kwa juní the loved one (FM6)

2.3.1.2

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## 2.3.1.2 Verb Phrases (VP).

Verb phrases are constructions built around a verb head (Vh) and filling a slot in a clause. There are three main types of VP, verb marker (Vm) plus Vh, dependent verb (Vd) plus Vh and adverb (adv) plus Vh. These ordinarily function to fill the predicate slot in the clause. In addition there are a number of locutions built around verbs which, like the miscellaneous NP's, are difficult to classify.

## (1) Vm plus Vh

<u>pa</u>	<u>'yá</u>	<u>dzaa</u>	Teki	Then I went to Teki.	(TS2)
then	I	go	Teki		
<u>'a kempavé</u>				(He) hit (him).	(WS321)
hit					

## (2) Vd plus Vh

<u>késé</u>	<u>'yá</u>	<u>de</u>	wé ...	I didn't want . . . .	(SS9)
come	I	wish	not		
<u>'a késé</u>	<u>tša</u>	lewelá		(He) cried out.	(WS301)
come	cut	cry			
<u>'a šé</u>	<u>zeme</u>	dafá	wé	(He) isn't eating.	(SS10)
able	eat	mush	not		

## (3) adv plus Vh

<u>kwá'a</u>	<u>ketsake</u>	ŋá		Pow! It strikes you.	(NA1)
pow	cut	you			
<u>ntíŋú</u>	<u>kasáte</u>	le		Suddenly (he) came with (it).	(FM6)
suddenly	come	with			
<u>nzáké</u>	<u>kéleté</u>	<u>téréké</u>	<u>beteyí</u> te ...		(PM1)
pow	took	splash	poured on		
(She) grabbed it and 'splash' (she) poured it on . . . .					

Miscellaneous Verbal Constructions

The verb sé "come" and dze "go" with various extension suffixes, are frequently found in the type of phrase, verb plus nya plus verb with the meaning, "it came to pass" or "it happened". The extension suffix, when used, indicates how it came about. For example:

<u>sé</u>	<u>nya</u>	<u>sé</u>	wundu	ašé ...	It happened that the person
come	which	come	person	that	referred to . . . . (FC7)
<u>sáte</u>	<u>nya</u>	<u>sáte</u>	nde ...		It happened that he . . . .
come	which	come	he		(FC7)

In addition, several of the conjunctions and other function words, although treated as single units since their constituent parts can not be easily identified, appear to be constructed around verb

roots. For example:

vanyanza "because" appears to be composed of va plus the demonstrative, nya and the verb stem nza "stay", "exist".

### 2.3.2 Clauses.

Clauses have been defined as constructions which fill positions in discourses. Functionally, however, they reflect the semology and can be defined as the grammatical realizations of event configurations. Reflecting this theoretical orientation, clauses in Kapsiki may be sub-typed as Verbal and Non-verbal. Verbal clauses are the realizations of configurations in which the event is conceived as an action and non-verbal clauses the realizations of event configurations with entities, relationals or descriptions as events. (The terminology is based on that of Gleason, 1968 and Stennes, 1969.)

#### 2.3.2.1 Verbal Clauses.

##### a. Clause Slots

Verbal clauses contain an obligatory predicate (PRD) slot and optional subject (SUB), object (OBJ), indirect object (IOB), locative (LOC), temporal (TMP), modifier (MOD) and satellite (SAT) slots. The fillers of SUB, OBJ and IOB slots are generally the realizations of concomitants playing participant roles in the semology while LOC, TMP, MOD and SAT slot fillers are the realizations of circumstantials. The presence or absence of the first three slots are used as the defining characteristics of the major clause sub-types. In addition to being generally filled by the realizations of participant sememes, these slots stand positionally in the closest proximity to the PRD slot and with some verbs are obligatorily filled.

The order of slots in the clause is not rigidly set in Kapsiki; however, some general tendencies can be noted. Certain forms of the verb usually precede the subject while certain others ordinarily follow it. The present progressive form of the verb is always formed by placing the OBJ before the verb and the SUB after. Furthermore, in keeping with what has been noted concerning word order of nouns and noun modifiers (ideophones) the clause can be considered to be verb-centric. That is, the primary slots are found in closest proximity

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to the verb, either following or preceding it and secondary slots are found farthest removed. For example:

galá xε | klεketí | kambεxwé | va degwava gwé (SP1)  
all night dogs bark because hyena  
TMP SUB PRD SAT

|secondary| primary | secondary |  
The dogs barked all night because of the hyenas.

katexí | gε a dá | 'yá | xénde | le pélé (SP1)  
will-fix house my I tomorrow with stones  
PRD OBJ SUB TMP SAT

| primary | secondary |  
Tomorrow, I will repair my house with stones.

kwa gwa | sé | malé nya | le šimú | yita dzeve ta gké  
in river come woman this with broom beside hand of her  
LOC PRD SUB SAT SAT

|secon. | primary | secondary |  
This woman came from the river with a broom in her hand. (PM1)

The following brief discussion of the clause slots should clarify the examples of clause sub-types.

### (1) PRD slot

The PRD slot is obligatory in a verbal clause. It may be filled by a verb or a VP. If the filler is a VP it may take any of the shapes described above (cf., 2.3.1.2) or a Vh morphologically realized as /φ/ plus an adverb (cf., 2.2.3.1a). The form of the PRD filler determines the order and the obligatoriness of the other primary slots. For example, if the PRD is filled by a VP the SUB falls between the dependent word or phrase and the Vh. If the verb is in the progressive form the OBJ will precede the verb and the SUB follow it. Otherwise the normal order is, PRD (IOB) OBJ SUB. This is by no means fixed and much stylistic variation occurs.

### (2) SUB slot

The filler of the SUB can be either a nominal or a NP. If it is a pronoun third person singular it usually takes the phonological form /φ/. In most cases, although not necessarily, the SUB filler is the realization of an entity sememe.

### (3) OBJ slot

Like the SUB this slot is ordinarily filled with a nominal or NP. Many verbs obligatorily take an object, however; the common collocation of PRD-OBJ in the surface grammar is the realization of a



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a number of very different relationships at a deeper level. That is, the units filling the OBJ slot are the realizations of sememes which stand in a number of different relationships to the event sememes in the semology. These differences are dictated by semological categories into which the events fall. For example, verbs of motion often require a locative sememe which is connected to it by a goal relational and is realized grammatically as an object. This type of object is rare with other verbs.

#### (4) IOB slot

This slot is filled by either a personal pronoun of the first or second person oblique case, or by nda. When filled by nda, if the indirect object is a third person singular personal pronoun form nda stands by itself. If the indirect object is a third person plural pronoun or a noun, the pronoun or noun is placed in a SAT slot as a NPprep of the type ke plus Nh. Examples of the IOB slot follow.

'a kémeneté		<u>dá</u>		tlené		(He) worked for me	(WS14)
did		me		work			
PRD		IOB		OBJ			

'a kémeneté		<u>nda</u>		tlené		ke xé	(He) worked for them.	(WS14)
did		it		work		to they		
PRD		IOB		OBJ		SAT		

geze		<u>nda</u>		ke yite	a	ná		sé nde	Tell your father to come!
say		it		to father	you			come he	
PRD		IOB		SAT				OBJ	(WS331)

#### (5) TMP slot

This slot is usually filled by a time noun or a NP which is the realization of a circumstantial serving to specify the temporal setting of the event. The slot is optional with all types of event realizations. Unless preceded or followed by a MOD slot, it normally comes either clause initially or finally.

#### (6) LOC slot

This slot is normally filled by either a time noun or a NP which is the realization of a circumstantial serving to specify the spatial setting of the event. It may either precede or follow the primary slot configuration. This slot is optional with all classes of verbs. With verbs of motion it is replaced by an OBJ slot.

(7) MOD slot

This slot is almost exclusively filled by ideophones serving to qualify the action of the verb or the clause as a whole. It is optionally filled in all types of phrases. For example:

'a		'yá		képamté		maruré		<u>kwélékwelé</u>	I sold lots of rice.	
		I		sold		rice		much		(WS372)
		SUB		PRD		OBJ		MOD		
wá nde		geze		ŋá		<u>wáa</u>			Who told you?	(WS512)
who		say		you		?				
SUB		PRD		IOB		MOD				

(8) SAT slot

The SAT slot is filled with constructions expressing a variety of relationships to the clause core. Included are NPprep's indicating an instrumental or accompaniment relationship of a circumstantial to the main event, verbs, VP's or dependent clauses realizing events which stand in a purposive relationship to the main event in the semology, and the realization of several other types of circumstantials. (Cf., for example, the discussion of the IOB slot fillers above.)

b. Clause Sub-Types

Since the only obligatory slot in verbal clauses is the PRD, verbal clauses can be represented as having the canonical shape:

PRD (IOB) (OBJ) (SUB)<sup>1</sup>

Only the primary slots, that is, those normally filled by the realizations of participant sememes are represented since the secondary slots may be optionally filled in any of the verbal clause sub-types and are not diagnostic. This canonical form yields eight possible sub-types. A few of the possible types, namely, the PRD OBJ and PRD IOB OBJ configurations are relatively rare in my corpus. They regularly occur with the realization of only a very few event classes.

(1) PRD only

This clause type only occurs with verbs in the imperative.

zemé		Eat!	(Gr48)
PRD			
zexwú	cúk	Eat everything!	(Gr48)
eat	all		
PRD	MOD		

---

<sup>1</sup>Items in parentheses are optional.

(2) PRD

ged  
sa  
PR

ged  
sa  
PR

It could

of /4/ P

(3) PRD

kél  
put  
PR

pel  
pu  
PR

(4) PRD

ma

MOI

'a

PR

'a

PR

(5) PRD

ge  
sa  
PR

rt  
si  
PR

(6) PRD

sa  
ch  
PR

'y  
l  
SU

(7) PRD

(2) PRD IOB

geze	ndá	biyitsá	Tell him again!	(WS196)
say	him	again		
PRD	IOB	MOD		

geze	dá	Tell me!	(SS7)
say	me		
PRD	IOB		

This is the only verb used with this clause type in my corpus. It could be analyzed as exhibiting an OBJ slot filled with a morpheme of /ø/ phonemic shape.

(3) PRD OBJ

kélawiyí	lekwesá nyaga	tagá	Hang the cloth there!	(WS400)
put-up	cloth that	there		
PRD	OBJ	LOC		

peliyí	keši	te xədí	Spread the mat on the ground.	(WS400)
put	mat	on ground		
PRD	OBJ	LOC		

(4) PRD SUB

ma	kwansexevé	geŋ'yé	After we arrived . . . . (TS2)
	arrived	we	
MOD	PRD	SUB	

'a	tli nya	kéde	This meat is spoiled.
	meat this	spoil	
PRD	SUB	PRD	

'a		ké 'wuší	(He) laughed.	(WS245)
	he	laugh		
PRD	SUB	PRD		

(5) PRD IOB OBJ

geze	ndá	ke xé	sé xé	Tell them to come.	(WS332)
say		to them	come they		
PRD	IOB	SAT	OBJ		

nta	dá	'wú'wu	Give me some money.	(WS318)
give	me	money		
PRD	IOB	OBJ		

(6) PRD OBJ SUB

pa	wuzé a miyi dá	késevé	kəmé	My brother caught a
then	son of mother my	caught	duiker	duiker. (TS?)
PRD	SUB	PRD	OBJ	

'yá	temené	tlené	beší	I will work today.	(TS?)
I	will-do	work	today		
SUB	PRD	OBJ	LOC		

(7) PRD IOB SUB

mene	ndá	nde	keža za a	ɲké	She does like this for her husband.	
do		she	for man of	her		(PZ8)
PRD	IOB	SUB	SAT			

wune a	ɲké	kaže		ndá	He is unhappy.	(PS1)
heart of him		pains		to-him		
SUB		PRD		IOB		

(8) PRD IOB OBJ SUB

tlené	yamene	ɗá		nde	He is working for me.	(WS14)
work	ing-do	me		he		
OBJ	PRD	IOB		SUB		

'a	'yá	kégwenegú	ndá	'wú'wu	He sent money to him.	(WS398)
	I	sent		to-him money		
PRD	SUB	PRD		IOB	OBJ	

### 2.3.2.2 Non-verbal Clauses .

Non-verbal clauses can be conceptualized as clauses built around the realizations of event sememes which are not actions. The most common type of non-verbal clauses are descriptive. Reflecting the semology of which they are realizations, descriptive clauses may be classified as: (a) locational, (b) equational and (c) qualificative.

Non-verbal descriptive clauses are, for the most part, the realizations of event configurations built around a descriptive event sememe. However, they are only one of the possible grammatical realizations of descriptive event configurations. For example, locational descriptions are often realized as a  $V_2$  or a  $V_5$  (cf., 2.2.2.2, 2.2.2.5) and qualificative descriptions as a  $V_1$  in a non-active form. Conversely, identical grammatical constructions may be the realizations of very different relationships in the semological stratum. (Cf., for example, the OBJ SUB type equational clauses below, where in one case the participant-event relationship exhibits a possession valence and the other a description valence.)

Non-verbal clauses may be analyzed as having an obligatorily filled SUB slot. However, this is not equivalent to the SUB slot in a verbal clause which is normally filled by the realization of a participant standing in an agentive relationship to the action event in the semological stratum. Neither is the SUB slot filler necessarily the realization of the event. The event may be an entity or a relational realized as a LOC, MOD or OBJ filler. The SUB will reflect one of

several possible relationships to the event, such as, possession, equation, location, recipient or interrogation.

### a. Locational Clauses

These are normally realizations of event configurations constructed around an event realized as a LOC slot filler, that is a  $N_2$  or a NPprep.

te gwu   dugwú	The pot is on the fire. (WS494)
on fire pot	
LOC SUB	
kwembewe   teké   mbe Kapsuku   yí	Are there canoes in the
canoes here in Kapsiki ?	Kapsiki country? (PM1)
SUB LOC LOC MOD	
tákwátákwa   wuve a dá   vare ɲajké	My farm is near his.
near-near farm of me by his	
MOD SUB LOC	

### b. Equational Clauses

Equational clauses are composed of an OBJ and a SUB slot both of which are usually the realizations of entities which are related by possession, description or interrogation valences.

tsemá   wuzege ta ɲá	How is your child? (CP1)
how child of you	
OBJ SUB	
ɲadá   wuzegeteza nya	This boy is my son. (WS356)
mine child-man this	
OBJ SUB	

### c. Qualificative Clauses

Qualificative clauses are normally composed of a MOD slot and a SUB slot, the filler of the MOD being a qualifier or a non-active form of a  $V_1$ . This filler is the realization of a descriptive event sememe in the semology.

dífédífé   kwe nyaga	That goat is fat. (WS433)
fat-fat goat that	
MOD SUB	
mcélu   nde	He is rich. (WS488)
rich he	
MOD SUB	
mégéla   nya	This is good. (WS481)
good this	
MOD SUB	

### 2.3.2.3 ya Clauses.

The event-participant or event-circumstantial relationship which is normally not formally marked grammatically in the realization of descriptive event configurations (cf., the examples above in 2.3.3.2) is sometimes realized grammatically as ya. This is possibly the same morpheme, having the same phonological shape, used to relate an object to a verb in the continuous form of verbs. However, this type of clause, illustrated below, is very rare in my corpus.

šišf		yá		mbe	dlérá	The snake is under the rock.
snake		is		under	rock	(Gr15)
SUB				LOC		

wusú	kéwindi		yá		te	tabelé	The pen is on the table.
thing	to-write		is		on	table	(Gr15)
SUB					LOC		

Compare the above with the following example of ya as the OBJ-PRD relator (analyzed as a verb prefix) in the continuous form of the verb.

mé		yamé		va		The rain is falling. (Gr15)
fall		falling		rain		
OBJ		PRD		SUB		

### 2.3.3 Sentences.

Sentences may be defined as concatenations of clauses exhibiting a formally marked grammatical relationship. As such they constitute a different order of construction from phrases, clauses and discourses in that they don't fill a positional slot in a higher level construction.

The grammatical relationship exhibited between the clauses of a sentence may take one of the following forms: (1) temporal, (2) dependent or subordinate, and (3) logical.

#### 2.3.3.1 Temporally Linked Clauses .

Temporal linkage of clauses is ordinarily marked by verb markers or affixes which are the realizations of sequentials in the semantic structure. (These are treated in detail in section three and will only be briefly illustrated below.)

Clauses may be linked to show simple succession of action, that one action was finished before another started, that two actions



take place simultaneously, that a state was interrupted by an action or that one action was started while another was in progress. For example:

a. Simple Succession

pa	wuze	a	miyi	dá	késevé	kámé	pa	xkaké	ɲ'yé <sup>1</sup>	
then	son	or	mother	me	caught	duiker	then	called	us	
mkr			SUB		PRD	OBJ	mkr	PRD	OBJ	

My brother killed a duiker and then called us. (TS2)

b. One Action Completed Before Another

ma	kwansexevé	geɲ'yé	ntáké	geɲ'yé	kawutsé		(TS2)
	after-came	we	started	we	dance		
MOD	mkr PRD	SUB	MOD	SUB	PRD		

c. One Action Interrupting Another

ma	nda	náxé	tlené	náxé	nde	kédzegwa	ɲé	(Gr62)
before	finish	work	finish	he	go	himself		
MOD	mkr	PRD	OBJ	PRD	SUB	PRD	OBJ	

d. An Action Interrupting a State

metleté	geɲ'yé	nda	dzembé	nde	We were standing	when he	
stand	we	when	go	he	went in.	(Gr35)	
mkr PRD	SUB	mkr	PRD	SUB			

2.3.3.2 Subordinate Linked Clauses.

Sentences composed of subordinate linked clauses are of three types, reflecting different kinds of dependent relationships between actions or states. These are: (a) relative clauses, (b) purposive clauses, and (c) auxiliary clauses.

a. Sentences with Relative Dependent Clauses

wundú	nya	geze	nya	'yá	gíní	náxé	késé
person	which	say	which	I	then	finish	come
SUB	rel	PRD	rel	SUBd	MOD	mkr	PRD

b. Sentences with Purposive Dependent Clauses

These sentences are marked in two ways, possibly realizing different, but hard to specify, relationships on the semological stratum. One type is marked with the prefix /ka- ~ te-/ The second is marked with the marker (mkr) keža preceding the verb in the purposive

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<sup>1</sup>In these examples phrases are separated by a single vertical line, (|) and clauses by double vertical lines, (||). Dependent clause slots are marked with a small 'd', for example, PRDd.

clause. These represent only two of three possible realizations of a single relationship between event configurations on the semological stratum. The third possible type of grammatical realization, is by the use of a sentence composed of logically related clauses (cf., 2.3.3.3).

pa	xkaké	'y'		keža	zeme		Then he called us to eat.	
then call		us		for	eat			(TS2)
PRD		OBJ		mkr	PRDd			

pa	geŋ'yé	naké		kamexa	ndá	gwu		(TS4)
then	we	saw		light	to-it	fire		
mkr	SUB	PRD		PRDd	IOB	OBJ		

Then we saw the judgement of . . . .

kwecí	mbelí	sé		tenewe	ɲá		Some people came to see you.	
some people		came		to-see	you			(WS189)
SUB		PRD		PRDd	OBJ			

#### c. Sentences with Auxiliary Dependent Clauses.

The expression of modality, temporality, negation and even of completion is sometimes realized on the grammatical stratum by the use of auxiliary verbs. This type of construction can be conveniently analyzed as a complex clausal unit, that is, a sentence. The most common auxiliary verbs are: de "wish", sé "come" (used to indicate past action), and demá "not".

'a	'yá	kédé		kasemé	<sup>1</sup>	I wanted to eat.	(Gr34)
	I	wish		to-eat			
mkr	SUB	PRDa		PRD			

kédemá	wundú		kakelé	...	A person does not take . . . .	(SP4)
not	person		take			
PRDa	SUB		PRD			

'a	késé		tsá		'yitlá		(He) coughed	(WS420)
	come		cut		cough			
	PRDa		PRD		OBJ			

#### 2.3.3.3 Sentences with Logically Linked Clauses .

The term 'logical linkage' is used with reference to clauses which may be related grammatically by: (a) a clause level conjunction, (b) a negative marker, or (c) an interrogative marker.

##### a. Conjunctive Sentences

ntínú	geŋ'yé	kašeke	xetwəfí		vanyanza		'yá		kamene	
suddenly	we	came	yesterday		because		I		do	
MOD	SUB	PRD	TMP		conj		SUB		PRD	

---

<sup>1</sup>The small 'a' in these examples means "auxiliary verb".

Example, continued from page 102.

tlené		bešf			We returned home yesterday because I had	
work		today			work to do today.	(TS2)
OBJ		TMP				

	gejke		sé		keža zeme		wusú		bá'á		keža mene		tlené	
	He		came		for eat		thing		and		for do		work	
	SUB		PRD		PRDd		OBJ		conj		PRD		OBJ	

He came to eat something and to do some work. (Gr73)

#### b. Negative Complex Sentences

The negative marker wé may be used to negate a number of clauses thereby relating them logically into a sentence. Generally if several related clauses are to be negated some form of the auxiliary verb šé "able" precedes them and the marker wé comes at the end of the entire construction.

	'a	šé		xwá	nya		kédemá		kazeme		katláve		tli		wé	
	able			knife	this		not		to-eat		to-cut		meat		not	
	PRDa			SUB			PRDa		PRDd		PRD		OBJ		MOD	

This knife won't cut the meat. (WS268)

	kédepú		kwa	nya		lí		xwé	kwa	ašé		mbelí		te		wé	
	know		place	this		go		road	that		person		on		not		
	PRD		OBJ		PRD		SUB				SUB		LOC		MOD		

No one knows where this road goes. (PO3)

#### c. Interrogative Marked Sentences

The interrogative markers yí and náá behave in much the same way as the negative marker, that is, they can serve to make several preceding clauses interrogative and thus link them into one sentence.

	púkwú		telí		ŋké		depú		wundú		náá	
	far		goes		it		know		person		?	
	MOD		PRD		SUB		PRD		SUB		MOD	

(PO3)

#### 2.3.4 Discourses .

Discourses constitute "the true minimal free form" (Hoenigswald, 1960. 1) of the language. A discourse may comprise a single phrase, or it may, theoretically, contain an infinite number of clauses. Some discourses, such as fables and conversations, may have a formally marked beginning and ending. Others while lacking these features, reflect a logical relatedness of the constituent clauses. This is not to be confused with the logically marked linkage forming the sentence types discussed in 2.3.3.3.

Discourses are marked grammatically by; (a) the use of proforms,

(b) optionally being enclosed in the formal openers and closers referred to above, and (c) by being preceded and followed by silence.

Reflecting the semological structure of the language, discourses can be conceived of as the grammatical realization of complexes of event configurations. Following the lead provided by Taber and Stennes, who have published extensive semological analyses of African languages (cf., Taber, 1966 and Stennes, 1969.), it seems fruitful to conceptualize Kapsiki discourse as being constructed around an event line. (In fact, this concept has underlain the discussion of the grammar up to this point.) The event line is composed of a series of events realized grammatically as predicates, if they are action events, or in various other ways if they are not.

Related to the events and to each other in a number of different ways (referred to as valences) may be other sememic units, that is, participants and circumstantials. The set of participants, circumstantials and event, along with the set of relationships exhibited among the parts, constitutes an event configuration. This is realized grammatically as a clause. The total complex of related event configurations is realized grammatically as a discourse and any break in the event line will be realized in the grammar as a discourse boundary.

No attempt is made here to devise a formal taxonomy of discourse types. However, among those used in the corpus under consideration for this thesis are (1) fables (gena xéca "stories of old"), (2) sermons, (3) conversations, (4) narratives (general accounts of events or descriptions), and (5) addresses. The several examples of formal openers and closers are followed by an example of a discourse analyzed to provide illustration of all the construction classes discussed in section 2.3.

#### 2.3.4.1 Discourse Types.

##### a. Fables

Fables are usually introduced and concluded formally. They are recited frequently by the old men of the village after the evening meal in an area set apart for gatherings in each section of the village. They are also frequently cited during 'judgements' to provide some type of precedent and are generally known by everyone in the village.

The commonest discourse opener is pekwuké (meaning uncertain) either by itself or in a phrase. For example:

<u>pekwuké</u> pa kweté za ... then certain man	Here is a story. A certain man . . . . (FM6)
<u>pekwuké</u> késé nde came he	Here is the story of how he came. (FM3)
<u>pekwuké</u> kweté another	Here is another story (FM4)

At times the formal opener is dispensed with and the fable is simply introduced as a "story of old".

tetlá bumú gena xéca 'yá gé will-cut us word old I then	I will tell us a fable then. (FM1)
ma sé ta kangwedú né Sunú né coming of Mogodians then Sunu	This is the coming of the people of Mogode then, Sunu. (FC7)

Fables may be formally closed by the use of an ideophone not heard in any other context. The first sound is formed by pinching the nostrils with the thumb and forefinger and suddenly letting go so that the air comes out accompanied by voicing.

ʒʒʒ kévawú	It is finished. (FM4)
ʒʒʒ kévawú gena xéca	The story is finished. (FM3)

Occasionally the ending is simply a statement to the effect that this was a fable.

tsagá kweté gena xéca nya veší there another story this before	This was another old story of before. (FM1)
wawa ké mbelí geŋké tsetsé sé nde thus say people he now come he	Thus say people, his coming was like this. (FC7)

## b. Conversations

Conversations are introduced in various ways, usually by some reference to the time of day and how the person engaged has spent the preceding segment of it. For example:

'a na kévegwú Luc? you spend-day Luc	You have spent the day Luc? (CP6)
'a na kéxe náá Sunú you sleep ? Sunú	You have spent the night, Sunú?

Conversations often end with a reference to a future meeting.

(Pierre) sɛyí xéši only a little while	Until later. (CP3)
(Luc) yéwú O. K.	O. K.



## c. general

Most discourses have no formal opener or closer. However, a general topic may be introduced by explicitly calling attention to it. For example:

wá	nya	Zerá	nya	...	Here then is Zera . . . .	(CD9)
here		Zera	this			

Any discourse can be introduced with the introducer ma, the verb marker pa or the expletive of attention, yéwá "O.K.". For example:

má gená nya nde nya ní                      This then is the story. (N4)  
word this it this then

pa xwá mbe dzeve ta ŋkɛ                      He has a knife in his hand.  
then knife in hand of him                      (PM1)

yéwú pa šalá ndeke ŋ'yé wusegé O.K., then God gave me a child.  
O.K. god give us child

yéwú fu mú      ndefekú      O.K., hear me well!      (N13)  
O.K. hear      well

2.3.4.2 Discouse Analyzed.

The following short narrative discourse is a description of a picture. Words are separated by space, phrases by a single vertical line (|), phrases embedded other phrases are marked by brackets ([...]) clauses are enclosed in double vertical lines (||) and sentences by parentheses (...). Below each word is a word by word gloss, below this the word class is indicated and finally phrase types and clause slots are marked. Slots are indicated to the right of the hyphen and the filler to the left. Thus, NPqual-SUB would read, "subject slot filled with a qualifying noun phrase." The clauses are numbered consecutively by an arabic superscript to their left.

<sup>1</sup>   kweté    nya    wundú			kaya      wuši a    nké			<sup>2</sup>    kadé		<sup>3</sup> nde		
certain this person			guarding thing of him			wants		he		
spc        dem        N <sub>1</sub>			V <sub>1</sub> N <sub>1</sub> pro			V <sub>1</sub>		pro		
NPqual-SUB			PRD        NPgen-OBJ			PRDa		SUB		
kalí	<sup>4</sup> katewumé		malé   )		<sup>5</sup>   [ ge a nci ]		nyigi		dziyi      taga	
go	to-marry		woman		house of them those		go		there	
V <sub>2</sub>	V <sub>1</sub>		N <sub>1</sub>		N <sub>1</sub> pro        dem		V <sub>2</sub>		N <sub>2</sub>	
PRD	PRDd		OBJ		NPgen-Nh of NPqual		PRD		LOC	





le	yé	[	xa	ta	ncí	]	<sup>6</sup>	xawanya		nya		náá	<sup>7</sup>	náxé		kwe	ta
with	and		millet	of	them			corn		this		is	it	finish		goat	of
prep	coor	N <sub>1</sub>		pro				N <sub>1</sub>		dem		mk		V <sub>1</sub>		N <sub>1</sub>	
NPprep	with	NPgen	for	Nh-SAT				OBJ		SUB		MOD		PRDd		NPgen-	
ɲké		kémbele		ɲé	<sup>8</sup>	kaxwé		nde	<sup>9</sup>	béréda	béréda	béréda					
him		escaped		self		running		it		gallop,	gallop,	gallop					
pro		V <sub>1</sub>		pro		V <sub>1</sub>		pro				adv					
SUB		Vh	of	VP-PRD	OBJ	PRD		SUB				MOD					
∅		kacade	<sup>10</sup>	katelf	<sup>11</sup>	katekesé		∅		ya	<sup>12</sup>	kweté					
it		running		will-go		will-catch		it		if	not	or	other				
pro		V <sub>1</sub>		V <sub>2</sub>		V <sub>1</sub>		pro		conj		spc					
SUB		Vh	of	VP-PRED	PRD	PRDd		OBJ				OBJ					
kalí	<sup>13</sup>	katewumé		male	ta	ɲké		le									
go		will-marry		woman	of	him		with									
V <sub>2</sub>		V <sub>1</sub>		N <sub>1</sub>		pro		prep									
PRD		PRDd		NPgen-OBJ		NPprep-SAT											

### Translation

This other man is guarding this thing. He wants to go and marry a woman (with it). That is their house over there along with his millet. Is that corn, instead? The goat has escaped. It is running. Clippity, clippity, clippity it is running away. He will go and catch it or if not he will catch another to marry his wife with. (PM6)

The above discourse serves to illustrate the following clause types:

Verbal independent clauses: 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12.

Verbal dependent auxiliary: 2.

Verbal dependent purposive: 4, 11, 13.

Non-verbal equational: 6.

### Discourse markers

The agent participant, CERTAIN PERSON, is realized as a N<sub>1</sub>-SUB when it is introduced in the first clause. Thereafter a pronoun is used. The other major participant, GOAT, is realized when it is introduced in clause 7 as a N<sub>1</sub> serving as the Nh of a NPgen and whenever after referred to is realized as a pronoun. There is no formal opener or closer, as is normal with narrative discourses.

## SECTION THREE

### VERBS

#### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

This section is a detailed summary of the grammatical sketch which has preceded. It is an attempt to analyze the verbs as grammatical units in their grammatical context. However, this is done in a further attempt to specify the semological realizations of the verbal constructions as a step in gaining insight into the Kapsiki's culturally determined conception of "reality", hence the relevance of the ethnographic sketch constituting the first section of the thesis.

Some further clarification of the theoretical construct supporting this analysis is in order at this point. As already indicated (section 2.0) the analysis so far has been presented within the general framework of stratificational theory. That is, the language is viewed as essentially a coding device capable of transducing information concerning the world of reality as the Kapsiki perceives it, into a particular set of vocal symbols. This mechanism is conceived of as containing at least three strata, the phonological, the grammatical and the semological. The focus has been placed on the explanation of the grammatical stratum.

The rationale for this emphasis is the contention that an analysis which specifies the grammatical units (morphemes and lexemes) and their arrangement (tactics or syntax) into symbols will permit the analysis of sememes which in turn have an isomorphic relationship to the Kapsiki's perception of reality.

With this theoretical orientation, the verbs will be examined from the standpoint of the grammatical forms they exhibit. The structuring of these grammatical units provides the main clue as to how the Kapsiki have learned to structure the world of experience about which they talk. Since verbs are normally the realizations of action events, the various grammatical forms should indicate Kapsiki belief concerning the nature of action. Focusing on the overt grammatical markings which

convey information about actions, several types of semological features will be investigated. These include the expression of modality, temporality, aspect, roles and semantic field as segmented and classified.

Implicit in this approach is the assumption that actions have some kind of "physical reality" Which exists apart from the abstract classifications imposed on them by a perceiving human being. (Obviously to talk of segmenting bits of reality units called actions is a tacit admission that one is already operating on a certain level of abstraction. This is analagous to making the statement that phones are sounds and units of speech and not language, because language is an abstraction and speech is its physical realization. In fact, sounds themselves (phones) are more or less arbitrarily selected segments of a continuum and thus represent a certain level of abstraction.)

This unavoidable disclaimer notwithstanding, just as it proves fruitful to distinguish between phones and phonemes for analytical purposes, it seems useful to proceed on the assumption that actions can conceptually--if not empirically--be described as existing apart from the structure of any expression system into which information about it is transduced.

From this point of view, any action can be conceived as (1) having existence in time, (2) having existence in space, (3) being related in some way to the one speaking about it, (4) exhibiting certain characteristics relative to itself, and (5) enjoying a relationship relative to participants. In addition, (6) any action is itself a symbolizable part of "reality" differing, in various culturally determined degrees, from other parts. Quite obviously there may be other dimensions which the writer's own culture either precludes his conceiving or at best makes conceptualization very difficult.

Although these dimensions of action can in some sense be considered universals--maybe in the sense that pitch and intensity are sound universals--the manners in which they are conceived, chosen for expression and expressed, are unique to any given language. For example, it is conceivable that the point in time when an action takes place is not considered important every time the action is referred to so that this is not marked obligatorily in the grammar. Or, if time is marked, it can be viewed as relative to some point other than the speaker's

present. (In fact this seems to be the case in Kapsiki where verbs are not ordinarily marked to show tense but sequentials are commonly realized grammatically reflecting when one action took place relative to another action or a described state.)

In Kapsiki, as expected, no single set of grammatical features related to verbs, corresponds exactly to the possible dimensions of action sketched in the paragraphs above. As each feature is examined, however, an attempt will be made to indicate its role (non-technical sense) in expressing the Kapsiki's conception of these dimensions of action.

### 3.1 GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

This section reviews the main grammatical features realized in verbal constructions, including (1) the root, (2) the stem and (3) markers and prefixes. The following section will discuss the semological features realized by these grammatical features.

#### 3.1.1 Verb Roots.

All verbal constructions have as a minimal form a verb root. For example, the imperative sé "Come!", although it may constitute an entire discourse, is simply a verb root. The normal phonological shape of verb roots has been reviewed in 2.1.

A verb root may be defined as the morphologically simplest grammatical realization of an action event sememe. This is not to say that verb roots are the realizations of what are in some sense simpler sememes than are stems. In fact, quite the contrast may be true. A Kapsiki verb root may be the realization of a sememe referring to a class of actions or, at least, a generalized conception of action, whereas the use of a stem, indicates that the action can be considered more particularized<sup>1</sup> or restricted in scope.

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<sup>1</sup>The notion of general and particular is basic to an understanding of event semology and the reflection of this in the grammar is what led Hoffman to contend that Kapsiki verb roots are basically imperfective while stems are perfective. In fact, this is not strictly accurate even though there is a statistical correlation between the use of extended roots and perfective markers. The reason for this is simply that stems are the realizations of particularized events and they can most easily be so specified if they have already happened (completed aspect) or are viewed as under the control of the speaker (imperative mood.)

## 3.1.1.1 Distribution of Roots.

An indication in the footnote below, roots are the realizations of sememes denoting a generally conceived type of action or of an ongoing state. On the grammatical stratum they may occur inflected or uninflected and may fill a number of slots including, the PRD of an independent clause or the PRD of any type of dependent clause, i.e., auxiliary, purposive or relative.

Examples:

- |                        |                   |                     |                                      |                                 |
|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>sé</u> <sup>1</sup> | ta                | ɲké                 | His coming.                          | (Gr51)                          |
| come                   | of                | him                 |                                      |                                 |
| ...tli                 | yadé <sup>2</sup> | nde                 | katéta <sup>3</sup>                  | ...she wants to cook meat (PMI) |
| meat                   | wishes            | she                 | will cook                            |                                 |
| ...male                | nya               | kédepé <sup>4</sup> | newé <sup>5</sup> za ɲké             | ...this woman knows how to      |
| woman                  | this              | know                | see man her                          | look after her husband (PMI)    |
| sa <sup>6</sup>        |                   |                     |                                      | Drink! (GR48)                   |
| 'a                     | mené <sup>7</sup> | tlené               |                                      | He must work                    |
|                        | do                | work                |                                      |                                 |
| náxé <sup>8</sup>      | nya               | kékesevé            | This one has finished catching (PMI) |                                 |
| finish                 | this              | caught              |                                      |                                 |

In the above examples the following slot filler and inflectional statuses were illustrated. (Numbers refer to superscripts found after the root in the examples.)

- 1 uninflected, verbal noun
- 2 inflected, auxiliary PRD
- 3, 4 inflected, independent PRD
- 5 uninflected, dependent PRD
- 6 uninflected, independent PRD (imperative)
- 7 uninflected, independent PRD (optative)
- 8 uninflected, auxiliary PRD

## 3.1.1.2 Reduplicated Verb Roots.

Kapsiki verb roots occur both completely and partially reduplicated. Although relatively rare in my corpus, the partially reduplicated roots are found with both the ka- and ke- inflectional suffixes when in the simple root form. Stems are also used with reduplicated roots. When in the unextended form, reduplicated roots usually denote habitual action, when used with stems they seem to indicate that the

action was done several times or was directed toward several goals.<sup>1</sup>

For example:

kamemené tlené nde                    He works all the time. (Gr27)  
do-do        work    he

kadzedzegwá nde                    He walks all of the time. (Gr27)  
go-go walk    he

'a képepesé                    It has been growing (at least some of it). (Gr27)  
did grow-grow

'a kézezemaké                    He has eaten (a little of several different things).  
did eat-eat                    (Gr27)

Complete reduplication is used to show emphasis. For example:

...gwezé ...kepesépesé                    ...the grass...has really grown. (P02)  
grass    grow-grow

If the verb is used to express a noun quality, the emphatic form (with the extension suffix-mte on the first occurrence of the verb root) is used to indicate that the quality exists in excess.

'a lekwesá nya kétli yaxemté tli yaxé                    This cloth is too narrow.  
did cloth this narrow-all narrow                    (WS452)

zewe nya kébatlimté batlɪ                    This rope is too short. (Gr14)  
rope this    short-all short

### 3.1.2 Verb Stems.

All verb roots which occur in an active form can occur with a number of derivational extension suffixes.<sup>2</sup> The exact meaning of a few of these extension suffixes is difficult to specify from my data. However, most of them can be shown to reflect the dimensions into which the action realized by the root is conceived to be particularized.<sup>3</sup>

The extension suffixes fall into three major classes.

<sup>1</sup>Although these "meanings" have been checked with an informant, the paucity of examples in my data, suggests they be considered very tentative.

<sup>2</sup>In this discussion the term root will mean the unextended root and stem will mean the extended root, although technically roots can be considered stems also, in that they do occur with inflection-affixes.

<sup>3</sup>In a few cases the suffix appears to function only as a grammatical marker, indicating that the action has been completed. However, this does not nullify the contention that the use of roots and stems reflects general and particularized conceptions of action. The unspecifiable cases may be due to insufficient data or may mean that the action is particularized as finished or past. (cf., Hoffman. 1966).

(a) those which may be used with any  $V_1$ , (b) those which are normally only used with verbs of "putting" and "taking" and (c) those used normally only with verbs of motion, that is,  $V_2$ . The main extension suffixes are discussed below.

### 3.1.2.1 Suffixes used with $V_1$ .

- a. -xwú "to do for oneself, to do all of something for the doer".

'a kévenexwú tévenexwú      He vomited.  
did vomit-all vomit

'a gwu kétsexwú wuši ya dá pēt      The fire burned all of my  
fire burned things of me all things. (WS225)

This suffix is ordinarily used with the particularized<sup>1</sup> form of the verbs "to eat" de and sa "drink".

pa xé dexwú dafa ašé...      Then they ate that mush...(PZ3)  
then they ate mush that

pa geŋ'yé saxwú      Then we drank. (TS1)  
then we drank

\*'a 'yá kéláxwu<sup>3</sup>      I dug it for myself. (Gr41)  
did I dug

- b. -gu<sup>4</sup> "to do something and go away with it, or do something at one place when the effect will be felt elsewhere".

'a 'yá kégwenegu ndá 'wú'we      I sent money to him. (WS396)

\*tlegu le xwá      Cut it with the knife and take it away!

<sup>1</sup>When the term 'particularized' is used to describe grammatical forms it refers to stems in any type of grammatical constructions where they are used--completive aspect, optative and imperative moods, etc.

<sup>2</sup>Two common stems are used to realized the semene EAT. zemé is used as the generalized form or the root and de (always with -xwú) in the particularized. However, occasionally the root zemé will be used with the suffix -xwu in what would expectedly be a generalized verb. Thus: pá kazexwú ŋaŋké "Then she eats her's." (PJ2)

<sup>3</sup>Examples preceded by an asterix (\*) in this section indicate that the utterance recorded were not taken from discourses but represent examples elicited in isolation. Due to obvious semological restrictions, many of the possible verb forms with extension suffixes do not occur frequently. For this reason a number of 'paradigms' were elicited, then checked for accuracy when possible with several informants.

<sup>4</sup>There appears to be a semantic relationship between -ga and -ke, the locative nominalizing suffix described in 2.2. , and these two verb suffixes. However, no explanation for the phonological differences between -ga and -gu is apparent from my data.

Obviously the uses of the extension suffixes will vary with the individual verbs. With the verb ntlé "part, divide(?)" plus the object balé "jump", in which the construction means roughly "jump" the use of -gu indicates that the action was over something, while other suffixes, -te, for example, indicated that it is particularized in other ways.

Thus:

- 'a k<sup>é</sup>ntlégu balé dzaa g<sup>é</sup>ná ma<sup>n</sup>kwelaje      He jumped over the log.  
                  divide jump go over log      (WS293)
- 'a k<sup>é</sup>ntléte balé jivé te xw<sup>é</sup>nkwa      He jumped across the road.  
                  divide jump go on road      (WS294)
- 'a k<sup>é</sup>ntlákawa balé pelé wufé      He jumped down from the tree.  
                  divide jump upon tree      (WS295)
- c. -ke<sup>1</sup> "to do something and bring here."  
      pá nde gúke ŋ'yé y<sup>é</sup>mú      Then she dipped and brought us water.  
                  she dip us water      (TS1)
- \*'a 'yá k<sup>é</sup>láke      He dug and brought it. (Gr41)  
                  I dug

d. -mte -mte :/mte~nte/, with the two allomorphs occurring in free variation. "the action is finished (emphatically)".

- pá k<sup>é</sup>lemte wusu...      She took off the thing... (PS2)  
                  take thing
- 'a 'ya k<sup>é</sup>pámte<sup>2</sup> marure kw<sup>é</sup>lékwelé      I sold a lot of rice.  
                  I sell rice much      (WS322)
- 'a k<sup>é</sup>ntlemte zewe      The rope broke. (WS375)  
                  divide rope
- e. -ve "to get some benefit from the action".  
      páve d<sup>á</sup> wusú ...      Buy me the thing...! (PJ5)  
      buy I thing
- \*'a k<sup>é</sup>menevé tlené      He did the work for wages. (Gr90)  
                  do work

...wundú nay k<sup>é</sup>xevé kelepé xwa x<sup>é</sup>      ...this person among them  
                  person this catch fish among they      caught fish. (PZ1)

f. -yi (The exact phonemic shape of this suffix is difficult to specify. The final vowel of the verb is always changed to /i/ when this suffix is used.) "to do something and leave it, not to take it up again ---at least not soon; to do something and not expect to receive direct

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<sup>1</sup>Cf., footnote #4 of Section 3.1.2.1.

<sup>2</sup>The verb root pá means "sell" when used with the suffix -mte and "buy" when used with the suffix -ve.



benefit from the action."

'a kɛntifiyɪ te xɛɸi He spit on the ground. (WS254)  
spit on ground

\*tliyɪ le xwá Cut it with a knife! (As grass, for  
cut with knife example) (Gr12)

This suffix is sometimes used on the cognate verb object in a continuous aspect form. The corpus yields insufficient data to deduce a meaning for the suffix in these constructions.

xíyɪ yaxu nde She is grinding. (PZ2)  
grind grind she

nsiyí yanse gevá nde ... She is hurrying. (PS2)  
hurry hurry body she

g. -akɛ "to do a little of something, to start something and not finish it."

'a kédzegakɛ kakwadé amá... He tried to reach it but... (WS385)  
try touch but

pa za ŋkɛ tsáxákɛ Then her husband started to thank her. (Gr59)  
man her thank

\*'a ke menákɛ tlené He started to work and then quit. (Gr90)  
do work

Several verbs use this form regularly for the particularized form of the verb with no demonstrable relationship to the meaning indicated above. For example:

nakɛ "saw", generalized root: newé and gwenakɛ "sent", general root gwene

kénakɛ 'ya wé I didn't see him. (WS199)  
see I not

'a 'yá kegwenakɛ ša megé I sent him to the chief (WS395)  
I sent to chief

h. -kɛ It is difficult to find any meaning to assign to this suffix. However, it is usually used with verbs of cooking or preparing food (cf., Hoffman, 1966) in the completive aspect and other particularized forms and is used with other verbs in the completive aspect. It is often found in constructions where a verb is used with a third person singular object pronoun realized as suggesting that it might in fact be a denasalized form of the personal pronoun ŋkɛ.

pa yábékɛ wušɪ Then she washed her things. (PJ2)  
wash thing

'a képeke dzeve  
wash hand

He washed his hands. (WS348)

tsemá take wusú kézeme nya na wáà      How did you cook this food?  
how cook thing eat this you      (WS507)

'a kénéfেকে yemú  
boil water

He boiled water. (WS364)

sereke

Leave it!

i. -te This is the most commonly used of the verb suffixes and seems to frequently function as a completive aspect or past time marker.

xwéjkwá meneté tlené nde wáà      When did he work? (Gr21)  
when do work he

(this example should be contrasted with: xwéjkwá temené tlené nde wáà, "When will he work?")

pa kéléte mbete ta gké  
take pot of her

Then she took her pot. (PZ3)

'a kégezeté le berté  
speak with strong

He spoke loudly, (with strength)  
(WS253)

### 3.1.2.2 sé and dze Stems.

The verbs sé "come" and dze "go" and sometimes vé "put" take a different set of extension suffixes with different functions and differing grammatical behavior from those used with V<sub>1</sub>. Generally speaking, these stems indicate the nature of the terrain over which the action expressed by the root has taken or is taking place. Although sé frequently occurs as a root, either inflected or uninflected<sup>1</sup>, dze seldom does and is replaced by lí "leave, go" in situations where a root alone is used. (lí, on the other hand, never occurs as a stem.)

Unlike V<sub>1</sub> stems, V<sub>2</sub> stems, while still the realizations of more particularized sememes, often occur in generalized grammatical constructions. The reason is to be found in the kind of particularization they realize. Since they specify the action with reference to the terrain over which it proceeds, or the direction it takes, this can be observed in the actual performance of the action. So, for example, one may say, kasaté xé "They are coming up."

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that dzegwa "walk, go", while behaving like a root, quite probably is composed of dze plus -gwa although the meaning of the second morpheme is not specifiable. This is one of the few examples of a unit which could probably be best explained by recourse to a lexemic stratum.

The main V<sub>2</sub> extension suffixes with their meanings are:

a. -awa' /-aa~-awa/ "to come or go down precipitously, as from a tree or a steep embankment." The allomorphs occur, insofar as I can determine, in free variation, being only stylistic or idiolectal variations.

'a kəsáwa He came down. (WS275)

'a kəntlákáá balé sáá pelɛ wufé He jumped down from the  
cut jump came down on tree tree. (WS295)

'a kwecí mbelí kédzawá kadzənté... Some people went down  
some people go down to go to dead to the bush. (PZ1)

...nde kadzaa gwa ...she goes down to the river (PZ3)  
she go down river

b. -(a)me "to go or come up precipitously, (the converse of -awa)"

ntíqú kasamé Suddenly she comes up (from the river)  
left come up (PZ3)

same dá yémú kwáliné Bring me some cold water. (WX434)  
come up for me water cold

'a kédzeme wufé (He) climbed the tree. (WS272)

nya malé dzemé va cɛ... This woman is standing near her  
this woman come up near house house. (PO2)

c. -ate "to come or go up but not too steeply" (This is used with sé to indicate the action of standing up, but to describe the state of standing normally dze plus -me, cf. the last example above, is used.)

Pá 'yá sáte Then I got up. (TS1)  
I came up

ntíqú 'yá kasaté... Then I left to come up... (TS1)  
abruptly I come up

kadzaté kwa The goat is going on the road up by their  
goes up goat house. (TS1)

xwénkwa kadzaté gɛ ncí  
road goes up house them

pá 'yá dzaté gɛ Lɛwá Then I went up to Lewa's house. (PS4)  
I go up house Lewa

d. -iyi "to go or come down but not too steeply, (the converse of -ate)"

---

<sup>1</sup>In all of the examples to follow, as well as those in 3.1.2.3, when the suffix starts with /a/ the phonological changes in the final vowel of the root are the same as those described in 2.1.3.3.

- kasiyí nde taga kwa xwéŋkwa She is coming up the road  
come up she that in road there. (PS2)
- siví teké siyí ɲé nde He passes by here. (WS379)  
come up here come self he
- malé kadziyí ɲé a nci Woman is going to their house.  
woman goes up house of her (PZ1)
- dziyí 'yá vaké... I am going by here... (PZ1)  
go I by-here

e. -ve (with the morphophonemic changes, the initial vowel of the root is palatalized and the vowels change. /e/ in sé becomes /a/ and in dze becomes /i/ i.e., se[\_ve]||ša||, and dze[\_ve]||ji|| "to go or to come across, to come up out of."

- kwembéwalé ašé jivé te gwa nya That boat is going across  
boat that goes on river this this river. (PO3)
- 'a kntlégu balé jivé te xwéŋkwa (he) jumped across the road.  
cut jump go over on road (WS294)
- šáve mbe melemé ɲéy'yé... We came from the village...  
come in village we (WS288)
- kweté malé šáve ki ɲé a nci A certain woman came from  
some woman came out house of them her house. (PZ3)

f. -mbe "to go in" This is only used with dze and seems to function parallel to šáve plus a NPprep with mbe.

- pa dzembé cɛ ... Then (he) went into the house...(Gr65)  
go in house
- ...miké ɲké kadzembe gwu. ...her gruel is (boiling over)  
gruel her's goes in fire into the fire. (PS1)

g. Two other pairs of stems occur frequently in my corpus, although whether they represent the same sort of suffixation discussed above is problematical. They are ji and šá always used with ɲé "compound" to mean "go" or "come home", and šeké/dzementé meaning "come from" or "go to the bush".

- xwé yaxwé kwe ašé kaji ɲé That goat is running to go  
run run goat that to go home home. (PS4)
- ...šá ɲé ɲké le ysmú She is coming home with the  
come home of her with water water. (PO2)
- ntíjú 'yá kadzementé I abruptly went to the bush. (TS1)  
suddenly I go bush

Often this is used to indicate simply going away. For example,  
... dzementé jaxaŋgalé zaajké "her husband has left on a trip."  
leave trip man of her

má nda šeké geŋ'yɛ.... When we returned.... (TS1)  
 when return we

### 3.1.2.3 fú, and kélé stems.

Commonly used with these roots is a set of extension suffixes closely paralleling those used with sé and dze. Phonologically they differ only in the presence of a /ak/ segment preceding the suffix, for example, -ame, discussed above is paralleled by -akame with a related meaning.

Although these suffixes are most frequently used with the roots noted above, they (1) may occur with other roots, that is, any restrictions are semological and not grammatical, and (2) they do not all occur in the discourses constituting my corpus and a number have had to be elicited in isolation. Since they are not used with enough frequency to specify with any degree of certainty their exact function, they will be simply listed and briefly illustrated here. It should further be noted that both of these roots, fú and kélé occur most commonly in particularized form with one of the common  $V_1$  extension suffixes described in 3.1.2.1). Thus,

fuvé	wuši	Bring the things.	(SP2)
pa <u>kélémté</u>	wusú mɛ	Then she took off the lid.	
then took	thing mouth		(PS1)

The suffixes elicited or occurring in my corpus are the following.

- a. -akawa/-akaa ~ akawa/ "take or put something down from up on something."  
 \*<sup>1</sup> 'a 'yá kékélakaa šagá te ŋkawa I took the pot down from  
 I took down pot on place up on the place. (Gr57)
- b. -akame "to take or bring up out of something."  
 'a kékélakame xwa kwa gwengwen (He) took the knife out of  
 took out knife in gong-gong the tin can. (WS281)
- c. -akate "to bring or take up, but not too steeply"  
 'a 'yá kéfuakaté xa gwa I brought the millet up from  
 I brought up millet river the river. (Gr56)
- d. -akayi "to take or bring down slightly"  
 'a 'yá kékélayi šagá laté gɛ a Hunter I took the pot down  
 I took down pot up there house of from Hunter's (Gr57)  
 Hunter.

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<sup>1</sup>Starred forms here are those elicited in isolation.

e. -akave /-akavɛ ~ akave/ "to bring or take over or across"

\*'a 'yá kéfuakavɛ xa pelɛ melemé I brought the millet over  
I brought millet over village from the village. (Gr56)

f. \*'a 'yá kékelakambe šagá mbe cɛ I took the pot out of the  
I took out pot in house house. (Gr56)

Following are several examples of these suffixes with verbs other than fú or kélé.

pa kanefakáá Then (it) boiled over. (PZ2)  
then boil-down

'a 'yá kélákate I dug (it) and brought it down. (Gr42)  
I dig-bring

### 3.1.3 Markers and Affixes.

In Kapsiki the sememes corresponding to the dimensions of action (cf., 3.0) conceptualized by the speaker are realized grammatically by one or more of a series of grammatical indicators. These indicators take the shape of markers (free morphemes which have no meaning apart from the verb they qualify, i.e., which are the realizations of relational or circumstantial sememes), prefixes and suffixes (bound morphemes with functions nearly identical to that of markers but realizing different specific sememes) and auxiliary verbs.

Unlike English, the markers and affixes in Kapsiki are often optional. That is, the verb stem or root may be used if the context is clear as to "how" or "when" the action expressed by the verb takes place or if this information is not germane to this particular expression of the action. (cf., 3.1.4 for a fuller discussion of this.)

In this section the markers and affixes will be simply inventoried and illustrated. Their use in realizing the various dimensions of action will be described. Markers, which have been mentioned in 2.2.3.5, differ from affixes only in grammatical form. Therefore, both will be described together and will be differentiated by the convention of representing the affixes with a hyphen (-).

The description to follow must be understood to represent the analysis of the data I have in hand. Thus, although the corpus on which it is based represents a wide range of speaking styles and includes examples of the speech of several dozen individuals, it has presented some analytical problems which can only be finally checked with informants. In the few cases where the following description should be considered as

tentative, this will be indicated.

Following are the main verb markers and affixes used in Kapsiki.  
(The tone markings represent the basic tone, cf., 2.1.4.1)

### 3.1.3.1 'a "Active Marker".

The exact meaning of this marker is difficult to specify since it is used in a variety of constructions. However, at least one function seems to be that of marking verbs as active although they may be uninflected (as in the imperative) or inflected with an affix giving the verb a stative referent in certain constructions. 'a is used in the following constructions:

- a. To mark the active form of a perfective verb in a simple clause.<sup>1</sup>

'a xé kéǵáte cǵ                      They built the house. (WS350)  
they built house

'a ŋ'yǵ kǵsé kǵméné tlené mbéǵa                      We worked yesterday. (SS1)  
we came do work yesterday

- b. To mark the active form of both verbs in a compound clause relating simultaneous actions. The first verb takes a completive form and the second the imperfective. (This use of 'a is relatively rare, in fact I didn't discover it for several months and then only heard it three or four times, apart from elicited examples.)

...gezeté Yǵsú 'a nde kǵzemé gwemé                      ...Jesus said as he was  
said Jesus he goes up heaven going up into heaven. (SB10)

'a kégezeté ǵǵ 'a nde katlí                      He spoke to me as he was leaving.  
said to me he leaves (Gr31)

- c. To mark the optative, used with an uninflected verb root or stem.

'a ŋkǵ kelte ǵǵ lekwesá...                      He should take my shirt for me.  
he take (for) me cloth (TS1)

'a na gwenakǵ                      You must send (him). (Gr90)  
you send

### 3.1.3.2 ké 'Perfective Indicator'.

The label 'perfective indicator' has been used to indicate that the ké- prefix, although primarily an aspect marker in actual usage also

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<sup>1</sup>Although this marker occurs very frequently in my corpus it is used much more sparingly in normal discourses. It is never used in conjunction with sequential indicators, nor if the verb is qualified by an adverb. For these reasons it occurs mainly in conversations and in short, elicited responses.

has a temporal referent. That is, unless overtly marked with a time word, most verbs exhibiting the perfective prefix refer to actions which have taken place prior to the speaker's present. This prefix is used in the following constructions: a. without any active marker ('á a sequential marker or adverb), to form the participle, indicating a state resulting from a previous action. In many cases the reflexive pronoun ɲé is used in this type of construction.

newe ye tsé képesépesé You (pl.) see now! (It) is grown.  
see you now grown-grown (P02)

kéwuba ɲé ce ca That house is big. (WS432)  
big self house that

b. Without an active indicator, to express what would be translated into English as the 'gerund' form of the verb. In this type of usage it sometimes occurs with the potential aspect prefix te-.

kanewe wundú nya kémene tlene xé They are looking at the  
looks person this doing work they person who is working.  
(Gr25)

'á kéřrté gu keža newe wundú (He) turned his head in order  
turned head to see person to see who was coming.  
nya kétésé (WS267)  
this would come

c. Without an active indicator, to express the negative perfective.

...kédepu wusu ašé 'yá wé I didn't know. (TS1)  
knew thing that I not

kéxeve kelepé xé wé They didn't catch any fish.  
caught fish they not (PZ1)

d. With an active indicator (either 'a an auxiliary verb, or an adverb), to express completed action in the past. (Note restrictions on the use of 'a in the footnote to 3.1.3.1. above.)

'a késaté (He) stood up. (WS255)

náxé kékelemté wusú mé (She) took off the lid. (P01)  
finish took off thing mouth

fffám kémté ɲyé nde Bam! She died (CK1)  
died herself she

e. Frequently ké- plus a verb is used to express doubt about the future completion of an action or to indicate that something should follow its eventual completion.

má kédziyí genaké Yeɲú... When you are there tell John...  
when go-over tell John (TS1)



## 3.1.3.3 ka- 'Imperfective Indicator'

Unlike ké-, this prefix rarely marks temporality.

a. Unmarked a verb in the imperfective can be used refer to any action not viewed as completed. The action may be in progress, not have started yet or be in the past.

pa kažere (She) will stir it. (PZ2)

kadzegwa xé te yemú They are going on the water.  
go they on water (PZ4)

b. ka- is used to indicate habitual action.

kayidé dá mbelí One makes fun of me. (PZ5)  
harrass me people

c. In sentences (cf., 2.3.3.2b) ka- may indicate a purposive relationship of the verb so marked to the first verb.

kadzaa šekwu kapá kelepé (She) is going down to market to  
go-down market buy fish fish. (PZ2)

d. With te-, ka- expresses an action not yet taking place or one that would have taken place.

katexí ge a dá 'yá xénde I will repair my house tomorrow.  
will-fix house my I tomorrow (SP1)

má nda 'a na késé nda katezeme mú If you had come we would  
when you came will-eat we have eaten. (SS8)

e. Prefixed to verbs marked with 'a, ka- indicates simultaneous action in the past. (cf., 3.1.3.1b above for examples.)

## 3.1.3.4 te- 'Potential Indicator'.

This prefix seems to be a time indicator but it marks the time of an action relative to the agent's present, rather than the speaker's. It is used in the following types of construction:

a. By itself, that is, without other markers or affixes, to mark the purposive construction in sentences with a V<sub>2</sub> and a few V<sub>1</sub>'s in the PRD of the main clause. (cf., 2.3.3.2b).

dziyí 'yá vaké tenewe na dá I am going over to see mine.  
go-over I by-here to see mine (PZ1)

'a kéze gu tesé (He) forgot to come. (Gr64)  
forget head to- come

b. Preceded by ka- to mark either future action or conditional action in the past. (cf. 3.1.3.3d above for examples.)

c. Preceded by ké- in an unmarked verb to indicate a future 'gerund'. (cf., 3.1.3.2b)

'á xé kenaké wundu nya ketemené      They saw the man who was  
they saw person this doing      going to come. (Gr25)

d. Used with a number of verbs to realize a dubiative sememe.<sup>1</sup>  
There are several forms this use of te- may exhibit, that is either marked or unmarked and with or without the perfective prefix.

máya 'á va késé ní nda      If the rain had come the house may  
if rain came then      have fallen.

náxé cē ketendlá      (Gr68)  
finish house would-fall

'á ketetsáte watxé      Perhaps he sneezed. (Gr17)  
would-cut sneeze

mcɛlú tenzá nde      He is rich. (It appears so, at  
rich stays he      least.) (WS489)

### 3.1.3.5 ya-<sup>2</sup> 'Continuous Aspect Indicator'.

The prefix ya- with the object preceding the verb is used to mark the continuation of the action expressed by the verb either in the past or the present.

dzemté wume za yadé na...kageze      Do you want me to talk to  
leave marry man wish you say      you about leaving to  
marry a man. (CK1)  
ya 'yá  
you I

gwambé yaxe xé      They were catching frogs. (PJ1)  
frog catch they

wupé yawupé yemú      The water is boiling. (WS368)  
boil is boiling water

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that in several locutions the three prefixes, ké-, ka- and te-, are used apparently interchangeably, i.e., occur in free variation. For example, tenzá, kenzá and (k)anzá are all used to mean "perhaps". Also, the interrogative nominal "where" can take either the shape temá or kemá.

<sup>2</sup>Possibly this morpheme is the same one used as a copula before certain prepositions as in, gwu yambe yemú "Fire is under the water" and as a relator between some emphatic pronouns and a verb, as genké ya gese nda 'yá "It is this I told to him."

3.1.3.6 pa 'Consecutive sequential Indicator'.

pa is used to indicate that the action of the verb marked by it either follows or precedes in time another action or state. It is used in the following constructions:

a. Before an uninflected verb to indicate consecutive completed action. (In other words, when pa is used, the ké- prefix is not.)

dziyí xé <u>pa</u> xé xeve kelepé	They went across and then
went they then they finished fish	they fished. (PZ1)

<u>pa</u> saté <u>pa</u> dzembé cə <u>pa</u> dexwú...	(he) got up, went in the
got up went in house ate	house, ate... (Gr72)

b. Occasionally before a verb exhibiting an imperfective prefix. This is rare since other sequential indicators are usually used in these constructions.

<u>pa</u> kazexwú ɲaŋké...	Then she eats hers... (PZ2)
then eats hers	

<u>pá</u> kažere	Then she will stir (it). (PJ2)
then stirs	

c. Sometimes this marker is used to indicate a state, which while not following an action in time, follows the description of an action in the narration.

<u>pa</u> feluré mbe dseve vé	Then, there is a flower in (her)
then flower in hand to	hand. (PJ2)

<u>pa</u> kweté wufé te kwagwela ta ɲké	Then there are some trees
then some tree on left of her	to the left of her.
	(PS2)

3.1.3.7 me- 'Indicator of a State Interrupted by an Action'.

me- occurs very rarely in my corpus. This is due to the fact that it qualifies a highly restricted class of verbs, namely, those referring to positions of the body, such as, "standing, sitting, kneeling" and etc. Furthermore, it is only used when such a body state is described as being interrupted by an action.

metleté ɣeɲ'yé nda dzembé nde	We were standing when he came
standing we when came-in he	in. (Gr35)

mentišé 'yá nda sé nde	I was seated when he came.
seated I when came he	(Gr77)

3.1.3.8 kwa- 'Completive Sequential Indicator'

kwa-, often preceded by the introducer má, is used to indicate the completion of one action before the commencement of another.

kwafedere 'yá te xε pa 'yá dzate...      When I had wakened, I  
awoke      I on sleep then I went-up      went up to ... (TS1)

má kwasé nde náxé 'yá kédexwú      When he came, I had eaten  
after came he fininsh I eaten      (SS7)

(Cf., also, 3.1.3.3a for an example.)

3.1.3.9. nda 'Incomplete Sequential Indicator'.

nda is used to indicate that an action was/is not completed (either in process or not started) when another action took/takes place. Nda is used in the following constructions:

a. Without any inflection on the verb to indicate that one action was going on when another started.

mbá 'yá kawindiyá nda geze nde... I continued to write when  
continued I write when said he he told (me)...(TS1)

nda sé 'yá ni kanag-dá nde                      When I came he was waiting.  
(SS11)

b. With verbs in the potential to indicate that an action will take place when conditions have been met.

má nda tesé    nde náxé 'yá kédexwú      When he comes I will have  
when comes    he finish I eaten      eaten. (SS3)

má nda tesé na kazeme wusú 'yá                      When you come I will be  
when come you eating thing I    eating. (SS5)

c. Before a verb with the perfective prefix to indicate that an action would have happened, but didn't, if the act expressed by the perfective had been completed.

má ya 'á va késé nde náxé ce kendlá      If the rain had come  
if      rain came      then finish house fell  
the house would have  
fallen.      (Gr68)

d. Before a verb in the imperfective to indicate that a not yet finished action (either not started or in process) will either precede or follow another action. The order is marked by the verb used to express the other action.

má nda kasé nde nda tezeme 'yá      When he comes I will eat.  
when comes he then will-eat I      (SS5)

3.1.3.10 keža 'Purposive Indicator'.

keža is used to indicate that an action expressed by a verb is the direct result of a first action, the first action having been expressly performed to bring about the second. Whether this marker is used to realize a sememe different from that realized by the purposive use of ka- (cf. 3.1.3.3c), is not entirely clear. It appears, however, that keža indicates a more emphatic or deliberate element of purpose whereas the ka- construction may serve as a simple explanation.

keža occurs in the following types of construction:

- a. Before an uninflected verb stem or root. (This is by far the most common use of the marker.)

...lí šá	gɛ	keža	mene	tlene	ta	ŋké	...(she) goes to her house
leave	to	house	to	do	work	of	her
							to do her work. (PS2)
teké	kaxu	mbelí	keža	li	kanžɛŋwé...		Here people grind in
here	grind	people	to	go	greet		order to go and greet...
							(PZ2)

- b. Occasionally before a noun to indicate that it represents the recipient of the action of the preceding verb.

...kasé	ŋké	le	keža	wale	a	ŋké	...she comes with (it) for her
come	she	with	to	child	of	her	children. (PZ2)
geŋké	kaxú	keža	xu	ki	ŋké		She grinds to have flour in her
she	grinds	to	flour	in	her		house. (PZ2)

3.1.3.11 -akwe 'Completive Sequential Indicator'.

This suffix appears to be both semantically and grammatically related to kwa- (cf., 3.1.3.8). However, it is used only in pleonastic constructions in which the first occurrence of the verb root takes this suffix, being otherwise uninflected and the second occurrence being an uninflected stem. Sometimes this construction occurs with a cognate object.

<u>menakwe</u>	'yá	menté	tlene	ta	dá	I did my work before coming here
did	I	did	work	of	me	a little while ago.
						(GR62)
	saté	'ya	mešína			
	come	I	while	ago		
<u>pyakwe</u>	nde	péke	pé	nda	télí	nde
						He bathed before leaving.

3.1.3.12 -te 'Completive Indicator'

Although this is technically an extension suffix explained in

3.1.2.1i, it sometimes serves no other apparent function than to indicate that the action expressed by the verb is completed.

(cf., 3.1.2.1i for examples of this.)

3.1.3.13 sɛyi, dla "only", 'Indicators of a Very Strong Wish'.

Although these two words were listed in 2.2.4.5 as conjunctions. However, in some constructions they function to mark the action expressed by the verb as being nearly imperative.

dla 'ya meneté šandá                    I must do it, anyhow. (Gr71)  
only I        do despite

sɛyi dla mu kenzá le wunú nya      We must have the heart which  
only we stay with heart which      Jesus gives us. (SB4)

ndeke bù Yĕsu  
gives us Jesus

#### 3.1.4 Uninflected and Unmarked Stems.

As noted in 3.1.3, stems and roots are often used in Kapsiki without formal grammatical indicators in several types of constructions. In some cases this usage can be considered as optional, that is, where the context serves to realize the dimensions of the action expressed by the speaker. In other cases the absence of indicators is obligatory in that the lack is a formal grammatical marking in itself. Several of these usages are illustrated below.

#### 3.1.4.1 Stative Form of the Verb.

There are at least two common uses of the stative form of the verb (not including uninflected stems which are found after certain markers and auxiliaries, which are not considered stative). These are (a) stems used with reference to states resulting from actions in the immediate speech context, and (b) roots which are normally used in the stative form to express a general or continuing state. The following examples illustrate both.

a. ntĩnú kádzekĩ gɛ. ee. dzekĩ belaxɛ      One goes into the house.  
leaves goes in house. yes gone in lies      Yes. In the house she  
down      lies down. (CK1)

b. mbá 'yá mbe cɛ kajajá... I'll stay in the house and read...  
stay I in house to read (TS1)

...yitá nzá nde butébuté                  ...inorder that it remain hot.  
in order stay it hot-hot                      (PZ2)

## 3.1.4.2 Imperative use of Stem.

The imperative is formed, if second person singular, by the simple verb stem and in any other person (except first plural exclusive for which there is no form) the stem plus a pronoun. The second plural pronoun is mu which ordinarily is used as an inclusive pronoun.<sup>1</sup>

zeme	Eat'. (you sg.) (Gr48)
sa mu	Drink! (you pl.) (Gr48)
peke mu pe	Wash yourselves! (Gr48)
gerege nke	That he stop! (Gr48)
zeme bu mu	Let's eat'. (all of us) Gr49)
dzegwe bu	Let's go! (the two of us) Gr49)

There are two special imperative stems for the verb dze "go".

ngara	go! (You sg.)
ngara bu	Let's go! (The two of us)
mbala	Go! (You sg.)
mbala bu or more commonly <u>mbibu</u>	Let's go! (The two of us)

## 3.1.4.3 Stem as Verbal Noun.

Roots and stems often function as nouns. As such they can fill nearly any grammatical slot filled by V<sub>1</sub>. For examples and a fuller description of this use of stems see 2.2.1.1f.

3.1.5 Auxiliary Verbs.

A number of the sememes in Kapsiki corresponding to the dimensions of action conceived by the speakers, are realized by the use of auxiliary verbs. Dependent clauses built around auxiliary verbs have been discussed in 2.3.3.2c and have been noted in several examples.

Auxiliary verbs behave differently. Some may be inflected as may the main verb of a clause, others, due to semological restrictions, only occur in the stative form. Following are the most important auxiliary verbs.

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<sup>1</sup>Whether the inclusive pronoun is to be considered first or second person is, of course, a matter of convention. It can be glossed, "you and I". It seems possible, from the use of the imperative pronoun that in Kapsiki it should be considered second.

3.1.5.1 mbá "continue", tému "repeat, last", nzá "stay, exist".

These verbs are all commonly, although not exclusively, found in the stative form. In many constructions they serve as auxiliaries to another verb, that is, they function to indicate the duration, the continuation or the repetition of the action expressed by the second verb. (cf., 3.1.4.1 for illustrations of this).

3.1.5.2 de "wish, want, like, love".

de used, with or without inflectional prefixes, indicates a desire to have an action completed on the part of a participant in the action.

káde nde kalí...  
want she go

She wants to go... (PS4)

má ke za nya tsétsé de 'yá kafa... This man now said, "I want  
said man this now wish I hear (her) to understand..(PZ3)

'á kedé kabeté beteké (He) wanted to throw it out (Gr38)  
wanted throw throw

3.1.5.3 ašé "able"<sup>1</sup>.

This verb is usually used with the negative marker wé to indicate a nonperfective negative. The auxiliary may take either the form ašé or kašé, which occur in free variation, and the verb may take the imperfective prefix or occur as a stem.

kašé dzegwa wé  
able walk not

(He) can't walk. (WS271)

ašé kazeme dafá wé  
able to eat mush not

(He) doesn't eat. (SS10)

ašé 'yá meneté wé  
able I do not

I can't do it. (WS198)

3.1.5.4 náxé "finish".

This is very commonly used as a completive aspect marker. In fact, the unusual tone pattern (high-high) and its frequent occurrence would suggest that it has become more of a marker than verb, however, it does occur occasionally as a finite verb, meaning to finish. As an auxiliary it is always found in the stative form.

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<sup>1</sup>Evidently ašé is a shortened form of kašé. Although this type of elision is not common it is not without precedent in the language. cf., the footnote to 3.1.3.4.



náxé duxwu kenefé pa nta xú kwa      When the pot has boiled then  
 finish pot boiled then put flour in      she will put flour in it.  
 (cf., also numerous examples in text.)      (PZ2)

### 3.1.5.5 demá "does not".

demá is a negative verb possibly formed from the root de "wish" and a negative suffix. It usually marks negative perfective action and may be used with either the ké- or ka- prefix or as a root.

kademá nde kasé  
 didn't he come

He didn't want to come. (SS9)

kademá nde va 'yá pér  
 isn't it to I at all

I don't have any. (PZ5)

kédemá malé tagá pa 'yá...  
 not woman there than I

If she is not there then I (TS1)

xérédé xé demá kesé kelepe  
 gave up they not catch fish

They have given up on catching any fish. (PZ4)

### 3.1.5.6 naka "ripe, ready".

naka is used with the negative marker wé to indicate that the action hasn't yet taken place.

amá kénaká kasé wé  
 but ripe coming not

But (he) was not yet coming.  
 (PP5)

kénaká ná xevé wé  
 ready you caught not

You haven't yet caught any.  
 (PZ1)

### 3.1.5.7 žekwa "turn around".

žekwa is used to indicate the repetition of an action.

mbelí kežekwa mbaketé biyitsá  
 person turned added again

Some one has added some again.  
 (SB2)

mbelí ašé nde težekwa kašré kalá  
 people those who again turn like  
 mbelí ŋi...  
 people which

Those people who will again  
 turn like people which  
 (SB1)

### 3.1.5.8 sé "come".

sé both as a simple root and inflected is used as a past time marker. With some verbs, namely the many uses of tsa "cut", and descriptions of body states, sé appears to be a genuine past marker. With other verbs it appears to have a recent past meaning, in the sense that, "one comes from doing something."

šewú sé nde va gudlunú  
 disturbed him because of fear

He was afraid. (WS238)

kése kajene dá wé  
came reply me not

She didn't answer me. (TS1)

ži yasé nde mbisé  
sore come he suck

He was sucking my sore. (WS340)

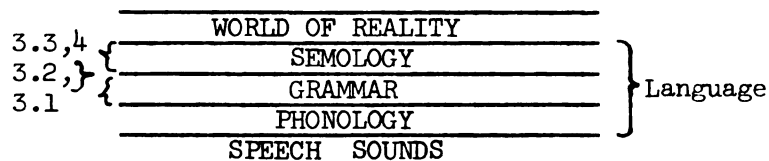
'a kése tsá 'yitlá  
came cut cough

(He) coughed. (WS420)

### 3.2 SEMOLOGICAL REALIZATIONS

The foregoing description of the formal grammatical properties of verbs has served to illustrate in itself how verbs may be the realizations of action sememes. It has also shown a number of the dimensions of action perceived by the Kapsiki speaker and the grammatical realizations of these dimensions. In the present section I will attempt to classify some of the dimensions of action represented in the semology as suggested by the analysis of the grammar and to describe, insofar as possible, the Kapsiki's conception of these semological features.

Four semological features related to action sememes (that is, which are realized as verbs or verb indicators) will be discussed to show the relationship between this part of the semological structure and the grammatical realizations. Since, however, the actual mechanics or tactics involved in the realizations are not the issue, no reticula will be depicted. In a following section (3,4) some slight attempt is made to describe the semantic field symbolized by the features under consideration here. Thus in diagrammatically representing Section 3 the following simple illustration will indicate the general areas of concern.



This presentation departs significantly from the traditional (neo-bloomfieldian) approach to grammar. That is, the grammatical features described up to this point are being classed according to the semological structure they realize rather than according to the formal grammatical properties they exhibit. This is, however, not a return to older grammars which attempted to explain grammatical phenomena by a "Latin" model through intuitive processes based on an internalized set of Indo-European language principles--although the categories they often worked within were semological. Rather, a serious attempt has been made to specify, through the careful examination of usages in context, the semological units realized by the verbs and the verb indicators in the grammatical stratum.

The rationale for this approach rests on the conviction that the comparative study of semological features of a language can have significance for the social scientist interested in explaining human behavior. Like phonology, semology, standing as it does "close" to physical reality (in comparison to the grammatical strata of language) should exhibit a greater response to and should reflect a closer relationship to external stimuli than the rest of language. Thus, in much the same manner in which comparative phonology has yielded important results bearing on non-linguistic behavior, so too should comparative semology. A necessary first step, however, must be the isolating of comparable units.

In addition to the above theoretical justification, the following considerations govern the format and the choice of content in this presentation. (1) Since most of the grammatical constructions on which this discussion is based have been amply illustrated few examples will be included here. (2) Since as noted above, some of the semology can only be finally described when a great many more data are available and some of those at hand can be checked, much of the following will be suggestive and tentative. (3) Finally, while aspects of the total verbal and non-verbal context of speech in themselves serve to realize much of the semology of events, this discussion is limited to those features realized by verbs or the verbal indicators discussed in 3.1.

The four semological features considered here are: (1) temporality, (2) aspect, (3) modality, and (4) roles. This classification of

features does not pretend to be exhaustive and is recognized to be somewhat arbitrary and conceptual rather than empirical. However, sememes symbolizing these dimensions of language can be posited for Kapsiki and some description of them and of their grammatical realizations should facilitate the comparison of Kapsiki semological structure with others, our own, for example.

### 3.2.1 Temporality.

Temporality refers to the sememic representation of the time context of actions as conceived by speakers of the language. Kapsiki sememes reflect the conception of at least two different kinds of time and possibly three in the verbal expression of actions. (1) Time relative to the speaker's present. (2) Time relative to another action, and possibly (e) Time relative to a participant's present.

#### 3.2.1.1 Time relative to the Speaker's Present.

This kind of time is only optionally marked by verbal indicators in Kapsiki. The lack of indication, however, is of two kinds, (1) that where non-verbal grammatical features serve to realize the temporal semology, as for example total context in a gena a xéca "fable" or by a time word and (2) that in which the verb is truly neutral as regards time, as for example, often happens in descriptions. This second type of unmarked time probably reflects an extension of the principle of general and particular action which has been noted in 3.1.1.0 and which will be more fully discussed in 3.2.2.

When time relative to a speaker's present is marked this is usually done by the use of the auxiliary sé if the action took place in the speaker's past, and by the prefix te- when the action takes place in the speaker's future. (cf., the uses of te- as described in 3.1.3.4) With sé other semological features such as aspect and role are realized by the verb indicators accompanying the auxiliary, thus the occurrences of késé, yasé, etc. described in the discussion of the auxiliary use of sé. (cf., 3.1.5.8) With the potential indicator these features are realized by other indicators accompanying the main verb.

In independent clause constructions, particularly in one clause discourses or in conversations, the construction composed of the verb in the participial form with an action marker can be considered to mark

this kind of time. However since this only occurs if the total semological context is exactly right, it can also be argued that this, not the verb indicators are the grammatical realizations of the temporal sememes. (cf., also the discussion in 3.2.1.3) Thus, 'a késaté "He stood up.", while realizing a past sememe when uttered as a complete discourse, can be analyzed as follows. The marker 'a serves to realize ACTION,<sup>1,2</sup> the prefix ké- PERFECT and the context SPEAKER'S PAST.

### 3.2.1.2 Time Relative to Other Actions.

This kind of time is ordinarily realized by sequential indicators. Many of the sequentials realize complex sememes, that is, both temporality and some kind of aspect. Thus nda, while indicating that one action is conceived as taking place in a particular temporal relationship to another, also indicates that the action realized by the verb it qualifies is imperfective. kwa- and -akwa, on the other hand, indicate that the actions of which they realize a dimension, is completed before the start of a second action. me- must be considered both a sequential and an aspect indicator since it marks a state but only relative to a simultaneous action. pa and the combination 'a...ké plus 'a...ka-, may on occasion realize simple temporality but in other contexts they are distinguished from each other in the kinds of action qualification they realize.

The relative frequency of sequential indicators in many styles of discourse would appear to logically follow from the observation that grammatical constructions tend to be verb-centric. (cf., 2.2.3.0) It would appear that some segments of the semological structure are also action centered. That is, that attention is focused on one action and that other events (action or description) are conceived as standing in a temporal relationship to it.

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<sup>1</sup>Sememes are represented by English words in high case letters. This serves to distinguish them from morphemes or lexemes usually represented by lower case letters which are underlined when used in the text.

<sup>2</sup>These sememes are more fully discussed in 3.2.2.

### 3.2.1.3 Time Relative to Event Participants or Circumstantials.

Whether or not this kind of time is formally marked grammatically and/or symbolized<sup>1</sup> semologically, is not certain. It appears possible that the use of the participle (i.e., the kéV form) without an active indicator and perhaps on occasion with one, is used to mark the time of an action relative to an agent participant. For example, kéwuba né cε "The big house", 'the house sometime in it's past became big, and now is big.' However, this can also be analyzed to reflect time relative to the speaker's present, or in many contexts, since focus would be on some particular action in the discourse, time relative to another action.

At any rate, the distinction between the uninflected stative and the participle which is also a non-active form of the verb, seems to include a realization of temporality.

### 3.2.2 Aspect.

The conception and realization of aspects of action is a highly complex, and so far, little understood problem. From the data presented in this thesis, however, at least three types of aspect can be assumed to be reflected in Kapsiki semology. They can be most easily expressed as three sets of binary oppositions of sets of continua with the oppositions depicted as polar extremes. They are (1) active - inactive, (2) general - particular and (3) perfective - imperfective.

It must be understood that the term aspect is here used with a semological and not a grammatical referent and thus differs somewhat from its use in many traditional grammars. Furthermore, the exact nature of the interrelationship of these three sememes is not entirely clear. They are not mutually exclusive in a single action event configuration nor are they all obligatorily present. In fact, the notion of neutral - non-neutral may be an important kind of general - particular sememe or hypersememe.

In depicting the semological network graphically it would

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<sup>1</sup>The term symbol is used to express the relationship between the semology and reality. This is to distinguish this type of relationship from that enjoyed between strata which is referred to as one of realization.

probably be necessary to posit at least two strata, that is, a hyper-sememic and a sememic to represent these relationships. (cf., Lamb 1966, pp. 31-33). This is to say, it appears that some of these aspect sememes are arranged in some type of hierarchy. However, since our discussion is not primarily concerned with the mechanics of the system it will be limited to simply pointing out how parts of this network are realized grammatically.

### 3.2.2.1 Active - Inactive.

In the grammatical sketch three types of inactive verb forms are noted, verbal nouns (2.2.1.1d), stative verbs (2.2.2.0 and 3.4.3.7) and participles (2.2.2.0). Since all of these can be the realizations of events (although in some cases, particularly with verbal nouns, they can also be the realizations of referential sememes functioning as participants or circumstantials) and since all can be shown to exhibit morphological relationships to active verbs it seems fruitful to consider their occurrences in some contexts as the realizations of aspects of action as conceived by the speaker.

It might be that the difference between the verbal noun and the stative or participle is one of degree of imputed activeness. When the stative is used this seems to indicate that attention is being focused on the continuation of a state which is existing, either relative to the speaker's present or relative to a point in time relative to an event in the discourse. Whereas, the use of the participle focuses attention on either the quality a state which has resulted from an action confers upon a participant, or to the fact that an action has resulted in a state.

Thus, at least part of the distinction between the following two uses of the non-active verb, is explained.

'a xé kenaké wundú nya késé	They saw the man who was coming.
they saw person this coming	(Gr25)

mentišé 'yá nda sé nde	I was seated when he came.
seated I when come he	(Gr77)

These examples illustrate verbs which may occur with or without active indicators, although the few which can occur with me- realize a special sub-class of sememes. Class IV verbs which always occur in the stative form (cf., 2.2.2.4) present a different problem

of semological analysis. They can be considered the realizations of events other than actions or they may be analyzed as the realizations of inactive aspects of action events with no corresponding active sememe retained in the language. (The status of the grammatical units, i.e., their classification as verbs, is at least in part predicated upon the fact that they occur in constructions with the nominative form of the personal pronoun.)

The realization of the sememe ACTIVE as a dimension of an action has been described and illustrated at several points in the grammatical analysis and needs no further comment here.

### 3.2.2.2 Perfective - Imperfective.

At some points the conception of perfective and imperfective aspects converge with the aspects just discussed. Participles, for example, may be viewed as the realizations of perfected actions resulting in a state, or as the state resulting from a perfected action. However, stative verbs appear to realize states with little regard as to whether the action resulting in the state (if in fact one is viewed as causing it) is perfected or not.

There are several means for realizing perfective action with verb indicators apart from their contextual realizations. The most commonly used is ké-, either as a participial formant or with an active marker. The others, include the uses of kwa-, -akwa and -te. (cf., 3.1.3) Perfective action is conceived as being finished, either in the past or at any other point in time.

Imperfective action, on the other hand, is viewed as not being finished either from the perspective of the speaker's present, or from another vantage point, as for example, is the case when a second event is realized as a purposive verb in a kaV construction. (cf., 3.1.3.3c). Imperfective aspect indicators may be of several different types and the distinctions serve to realize significant relationships in the semological hierarchy. These indicators include ka-, te-, ya-, nda and their several combinations. (cf., 3.1.3) nda and ka- seem to be the realizations of generalized imperfective actions, the former used in sequential constructions. The realizations of the potential indicator te- and the continuous indicator ya- have been discussed in 3.1.3.4



and 3.1.3.5 respectively.

The auxiliary verbs (cf., 3.1.5.1) which function grammatically to qualify verbs, should not be viewed as realizing the imperfective aspect of action since they are normally used with other imperfective (or, as the case may be, perfective) indicators. Rather they serve to realize the intensity, the duration and etc. of the imperfected action. (This, of course, can be also considered a realization of aspect.)

### 3.2.2.3 General - Particular.

The notion of general and particular as it applies to the conception of actions, has been alluded to a number of times (cf., 3.1.1.0, 3.1.2.1, 3.2.1.1). As with the question of neutral and non-neutral in respect to temporality, as well as the question of imperfective discussed above, this could best be depicted graphically by the positing of hypersememic and sememic strata in the semology. No general sememe of particular aspect appears to be realized and thus if posited must be done so at a hypersememic level. (Possibly the grammatical unit 'verb suffix' could be considered the realization of such a sememe, but this seems not to be a fruitful approach, since each suffix does realize a certain kind of particular.)

The most pervasive kind of particularization seems to have to do with spatial context of action. In class I verbs this is expressed relative to a participant (usually the agent). In class II verbs the spatial context relative to the agent is included in the semantic field symbolized by the sememe realized as a root, and the particularized aspect refers to the terrain over which the action unfolds. The several exceptions to this do not necessarily vitiate the argument but might, with additional data, suggest a refinement in the analysis. Thus -te should perhaps not be considered an extension suffix and thus a stem formative but a verb indicator, as well as, possibly, -ke and -ake and -ake. (cf., 3.1.2.1)

Virtually all of the other extensions realize, at least in some contexts, spatial sememes. Thus, -ke refers to action progressing toward the speaker, -gu action away from the speaker, -yi indicates action downward in some semological contexts and over in others, -mte refers to separation from the agent, etc. This is also true of the suffixes

found primarily with kelé and fú, that is, they realize spatial dimensions of the act of taking.

As has been indicated in section 3.1, the sememe GENERAL is usually realized by the unextended use of the verb root. The various particularized sememes are realized by the stem formatives described in 3.1.2.

### 3.2.3 Modality.

One of the things distinguishing human language from animal speech systems is the ability to express moods, or as Greenberg has termed it, the quality of multimodality. (Greenberg 1968. 9) The exact parameters of modality are not easy to define and certainly it is empirically difficult to distinguish from the expression of other dimensions of action. As a semological phenomenon, modality, here, refers to the subjective commitment to the event on the part of the speaker.

Precisely how many different modes are conceived by the Kapsiki as distinguishable from each other and from other dimensions of action is impossible to determine from the data at hand. Probably the degree of subjective commitment to an action can best be viewed as a point on one of a series of continua. That is, a speaker may at one extreme be opposed to an action taking place and at the other extreme desire it so strongly as to command its accomplishment. In between can be expressed various kinds of interest in seeing the action completed including disinterest, suggesting it be done and hoping or wishing for it. This, of course, represents only one of the continua into which the subjective relationship to an action can be mapped. Another is that of disbelief - positive affirmation. Various points upon each of these continua, it appears, are realized by Kapsiki verb indicators. These are briefly discussed below.

#### 3.2.3.1 Imperative - Interdiction Axis.

The realizations of five separate sememes have been identified which can be viewed as occupying points in an imperative - interdiction continuum. They are, (a) imperative, (b) emphatic desire, (c) subjunctive, (d) optative and (e) negative imperative. Each of these is realized by a different set of verbal indicators in the grammar. Furthermore, it

should be understood, that these labels have been more or less arbitrarily chosen to symbolize posited semological structures distinguished formally in the grammar.

a. Imperative.

The imperative expresses the strongest desire on the part of a speaker that an action be performed.<sup>1</sup> As indicated and illustrated in 3.1.4.2, the imperative form is used to command a person directly (realized as a verbal construction composed of a stem and a first or second person personal pronoun subject) or to express a very strong wish that a third party perform the action (realized by a verb stem and a third person subject.) There seems to be no conceptual difference in the semology between what would be glossed as a hortative or a subjunctive in English, and what is realized as imperative. At least there is no formal grammatical distinction, the root or stem of the verb with an appropriate subject, which in the case of a second person singular pronoun may be optionally omitted, being used as the realization. (cf., 3.1.4.2 for examples of the imperative.)

b. Optative.

The optative is used with reference to the grammatical constructions built around a verb marked by the auxiliary verb de. This construction is used to realize a wish on the part of a participant in an event. The participant may or may not be the speaker as well. As illustrated above, if other dimensions of the action are realized grammatically, this will be done by the use of indicators affixed to or marking the auxiliary verb. (cf., 3.1.5.2 for illustrations of the optative.)

c. Subjunctive.

The subjunctive mood is realized by the uninflected verb stem marked with the active marker 'a. Semologically the subjunctive symbolizes a suggestion on the part of the speaker that an action be performed. The suggestion may be made directly to the person involved

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<sup>1</sup>Perhaps a still stronger form can be posited. The imperative may be used with ki which appears to act as a strengthener or emphasis marker. This kind of construction could be interpreted as realizing a sememe standing at the end of the hypothetical axis described above. However, it has been treated as not being distinct from the imperative.

or it may be made concerning a third party. The distinction being marked by the subject of the verb in the grammatical construction. (cf., 3.1.3.1c for illustrations of the subjunctive.)

d. Emphatic Wish.

The emphatic is used to realize a feeling of 'oughtness' or obligation on the part of a speaker or participant as conceived by a speaker. It is indicated grammatically by one or both of the markers dla and sɛyi. (cf., 3.1.3.13 for examples of the emphatic use of dla and sɛyi.)

It should be understood that although these three moods, optative, subjunctive and emphatic, are distinguished on the grammatical stratum, they may on occasion all be realizations of the same sememe. Furthermore, there may be features other than modality--as conceived here--which are realized by these grammatical forms and which may thus make the choice of one or the other obligatory in some contexts. This analyst's competence in the language is not great enough to make such specification at this point.

e. Negative Imperative.

The negative imperative (discussed in 3.1.3.14--notice particularly the uncertain assignment of meaning to mba) appears to realize a strong wish or command on the part of the speaker that an action not be performed. It is realized by the marker mba plus the participle form of the verb.

It should also be understood that negative can be used to express a wish or hope that the action not be accomplished. For example:

aʃé	kwe	aʃé	kade	kazá...wé	That goat doesn't want to stay.
able	goat	that	wish	to-stay not	(PS4)

The auxiliary verb demá (cf., 3.1.5.5) seems to be used to realize this mood as well, although in some semological contexts it serves as a negative indicative marker.

3.2.3.2 Disbelief - Positive Affirmation Axis.

The semantic relationship between negatives and interrogatives in African languages has been noted by other linguists. (William E. Welmers presented a paper on the subject as it related to Igbo in Ann Arbor in 1965.) In Kapsiki there are contexts in which an interrogative marker--either an intonation pattern or a marker--is used

apparently to signal negation. Furthermore, it appears that from the semological stratum, grammatically marked negation and interrogation can often be viewed as the realizations of points on an axis indicating degrees of subjective interest in the action on the part of a speaker. This subjective interpretation can range from conviction that the action did not, is not or will not take place to the positive affirmation that it has, is or will. In between can be expressed various degrees of dubiousness. Thus on this continuum action can be conceived as not happening, perhaps happening, hopefully happening, not known as happening, and affirmed. Some of these moods are realized grammatically by the verbal constructions (a) negative, (b) dubiative, (c) interrogative and (d) affirmative. Other degrees of doubt or affirmation can be realized contextually or by non-verbal constructions.

#### a. Negation.

As has been discussed in sections 3.1 and 3.2.3.1, there are a number of different grammatical forms negative constructions may take. For the most part they can all be subsumed under the heading treated here, that is, the realization of semological modality. The variations reflect realizations of other dimensions of action. Thus, while wé realizes general negation, ašé plus wé usually realizes non-perfective negated action, demá negated perfective action and mba imperative negation. (cf., 3.1.3 for examples of all these constructions).

In addition to these negative constructions the interrogative marker náà is frequently used to realize a type of negation in that it marks a question expecting a negative response. For example:

púkwú telí	ɲké	depu	wundu	náà	Maybe it (the road) goes a
far	will-go	it	knows	person no?	long ways. (P03)

#### b. Dubiative.

The grammatical construction labeled dubiative is formed by the use of the verb nzá "stay, rest, remain, etc." with any of the verbal prefixes (ka-, ké-, te-) discussed in 3.1.3. (cf., especially footnote to 3.1.3.4d). This is, of course, only one of several possible realizations of the sememe DUBIATIVE. Others include the use of the verb depu "know" plus the interrogative marker náà as illustrated immediately above, and apparently the use of the potential indicator or contextually, as perfective. Thus:

'á kětetsaté yitlá nde  
did-will-cut cough he

Perhaps he coughed. (Gr18)

### c. Interrogative.

The several interrogative markers described in the grammar, yí, náà, wáà and possibly wú (identified as a clause terminator expletive) may be used to realize a question on the part of the speaker as to the actual performance of the action symbolized by the event, or a question concerning a participant in the event. This, plus the fact that various degrees of doubt may be expressed, explains the different realizations of INTERROGATION. Thus, for example, yí usually marks a question regarding the actual performance of an action or existence of a state.

mbá te gweme yí  
rests on life?

Is she living? (WS248)

'á na kékíte ngamengame yí  
you did-fix net ?

Did you fix the net? (WS413)

wáà ordinarily indicates that the speaker is entertaining a question with reference to a participant or circumstantial in the event configuration.

wá yamené na wáà  
what is-doing you ?

What are you doing? (WS410)

wá nde sé wáà  
what one come ?

Who came? (WS226)

náà and wú, the latter in various combinations with other expletives described in 2.2.5.3c, are used to express mild degrees of questioning, if not, in fact, rhetorical questions. If a response is to be elicited it will be negative with náà and affirmative with wú. The following excerpt from a conversation between two individuals (Kwadafe and Luc) illustrates the use of wú.

(K) pa mbelí xkaké wú  
then person called ?

Then one called her, O.K.?

(L) é

Yes. (CK1)

### d. Affirmation.

Positive affirmation of the performance of an action is realized by the lack of any indication to the contrary. This has been illustrated throughout the thesis. The affirmation may be emphasized in a number of ways, but since these techniques, with the possible exception of the use of ki (cf., 2.2.5.3d), are not realized as verb indicators, they

are not discussed at this point.

#### 3.2.4 Roles.

It is not possible at this time to provide a complete description of the semological structure relative to roles in Kapsiki. However, selected features are discussed which reflect significant aspects of the relationships conceived to exist between participants and events in the semology. Roles, for the purposes of this discussion are therefore, defined as the sememes symbolizing the relations between actions and actors or objects involved in the action, excluding the speaker whose relationship is symbolized as modality. These relational sememes are realized grammatically by a number of phenomena, including, subject - verb, object - verb, indirect object - verb constructions, transitivity, passiveness, reflexiveness and cognate object constructions.

A thorough and accurate understanding of these relational sememes is a necessary precondition to understanding the Kapsikis' view of the universe or universes in which they live. However, such an understanding can probably only come with complete enculturation and this includes the acquisition of a high degree of competence in the language. Lacking this, the analyst can hope to make some general hypotheses which should at least provide accurate hints at the nature of these phenomena, i.e., the nature of the relational sememes. Several of these broad hypotheses, stemming from the analysis of the grammatical structure presented up to now, are adduced at this point. Although the conclusions presented here must be considered as somewhat unrefined hypotheses, since they are not predicated primarily on intuitive processes, they should be amenable to verification or, at least, refinement by the analysis of new data.

In choosing a format for discussing roles, as defined above, it is impossible to delineate categories which admit to empirical demonstration of mutual exclusiveness. However, the two closely related features, (1) transitivity and (2) the characteristics of participant - event relationships, while only conceptually distinguishable, merit a brief discussion.

## 3.2.4.1 Transitivity.

To attempt a universal classification of verbs (grammatical units) on the basis of transitivity - intransitivity appears fruitless. Most verbs seem to be neutral in this respect. That is, depending on the particular context of the semological realize, they may be either. In the semological stratum, on the other hand, events must be conceived as having recipients or beneficiaries, or not. The lack of such a participant may be realized by: (a) an intransitive verbal construction, (b) a noun with a general realize as object, (c) a construction with a cognate object, (d) a verb with a general realize in which case the event is realized as a noun filling the object slot, or (e) some kind of reflexive object construction.

Option (a), while theoretically possible with all verbs, and actually occurring with a number, is rare. This would seem to suggest that the normal tactic pattern dictated by the grammatical strata is characterized by a VO type construction. Options (b) through (e) represent techniques used by the grammar to achieve conformity to this pattern in the realization of event configurations with no recipient or beneficiary participant. The following examples should illustrate these usages.

(a) Intransitive Constructions.

'yá kantifú	I spit. (Gr7)
má kasé nde kaseme 'yá	He comes while I am eating. (SS4)
comes he eat I	

(b) General Noun Object.

má nda sesé na kazeme wusú 'yá	Whenever you come I am eating.
when come-come you eat thing I	(SS6)

Note: this last example realizes the same sememe with the VO as does the V in the second example under (a) above. However, it should be understood that the noun wusú is in many other contexts used to realize a different type of sememe.

(c) General Verb Predicates with Object Realizing the Event.

<u>katsa</u> 'yitlá nde	She coughs. (Gr17)
cuts cough she	
'yá <u>tša</u> bambá	I swim. (On top of the water.)
I cut swim	(Gr8)



(d) Cognate Object Constructions.

'a képeké pe  
did-wash wash

He washed. (WS347)

venexwú yavcnexwú nde  
vomit is-vomiting he

He is vomiting. (Gr8)

(e) Reflexive Object Constructions.

Reflexive objects may be of two types. They may be nouns realizing the sememe BODY or part of the body of the agent participant or they may be the pronoun ne.

'á zewé kentle ne  
rope did-break itself

The rope broke. (WS376)

'a gena kénéxéve gevá...  
word divided body

The news spread...(WS399)

The above examples illustrate the realizations of event configurations without recipient or benefactive participants. This conclusion follows from the analysis of the contexts in which they were used and comparison to other examples. The same type of constructions can also be used to realize such participants. This is even true of the intransitive constructions illustrated under (a), since certain appear to realize in addition to aspect the presence of a recipient participant as well, for example:

'á kezezexwú  
ate-ate all

He ate everything (of several things?)  
(Gr27)

It would seem from the above illustrations that the presence or absence of an object may reflect either the tactics of the grammar or the semo-tactics. Since no classification of verbs at the grammatical stratum suggests itself for explaining this, the solution may lie in classes to which the sememes are assigned by the language. Thus, there are evidently certain sememes which can be posited as exhibiting allo-semes in their grammatical realizations. The sememe EAT for example, may be realized as: zeme (that is, a verb root) or zeme wusú (verb root plus object).

On the other hand, it is entirely possible that there are certain verbs, pe "wash" for example, which are required by the tactics of the grammar to take an object and when no recipient participants are symbolized in the semology, a cognate construction results. At any rate, from an analytical point of view these are trivial problems which

should yield solution with the application of additional data.

The class II verbs deserve special mention here. The roots used to realize actions of coming and going, realize both a goal participant (distinguished from recipient by the kind of relationship it enjoys to the event) and the event itself. Therefore, they are not normally found in constructions with beneficiary or recipient participant realizations. They thus fall outside the general consideration of transitivity - intransitivity discussed above.

### 3.2.4.2 Characteristics of Participant - Event Relationships.

The above discussion involved the question of the presence or absence of recipient and benefactive participants in the semology. The characteristics of the participant - event relationships and their realizations is the wider topic alluded to here. Participants usually symbolize entities in the world of reality. These may be animate or inanimate objects or abstractions. Reflecting the nature of their relationship to events, participants fall into two general classes. Those which are involved in the performance of the action (agent and causer participants) and those which are in some sense the target of the action (recipient, benefactive and goal participants). Participants are distinguished from circumstantials by being more directly involved in the action and thus connected to the event by one of the valences referred to above, such as, agent, benefactive causer, recipient or goal. Participants are normally realized as nominals or NP's and when pronouns, the nominative case is used with performer participants and the oblique case with target participants (cf., 2.2.1.2). Exceptions occur in the speech of certain dialects where ŋkɛ 'third, singular, oblique' is used optionally in place of *nde* ~  $\emptyset$  'third, singular, nominative' (cf., example in 3.2.3.2a). The zero realizations observed for third singular and second singular in the imperative are not considered exceptions but allo-morphs used in free variation.

Normally, agent participants are realized as nouns filling a subject slot in the clause, beneficiary participants as indirect object slot fillers, recipients as direct objects and goals by the verb root with class II verbs and possibly as extension suffixes with

some class I verbs. Still another construction which can be considered as the realization of role configurations in the semology is the purposive construction discussed before (cf., 2.3.3.2b). For the most part purposive participants are themselves event configurations. However, as has been noted, they too may be referentials realized as nominals.

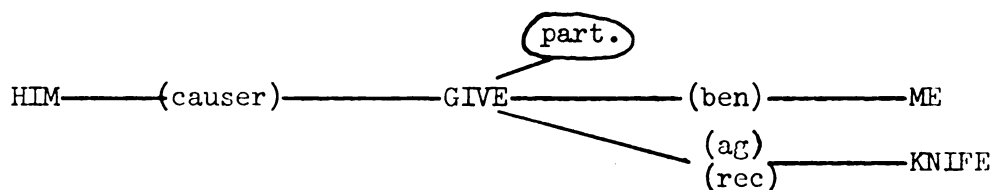
The distinction between causer and agent participants is difficult to demonstrate empirically and the following analysis must be considered highly tentative. Causer roles refer to the participant - event relationship realized by what would be glossed as a passive construction in English. These constructions, marked by the use of the verb laka "by", are very rare in my corpus. For example:

laka gejke ndeke da geva xwá      The knife was given to me by  
by he! gave me body knife      him. (Gr79)

(Literal translation: The knife gave itself to me by him.)

Here the object of the verb is the realization of a general referential sememe (gevá) standing in recipient relationship to the event while the subject of the verb is the realization of a participant standing in an agent relationship to the verb. Another participant stands in the causer relationship to the event. This latter is realized as a nominal in the emphatic form, marked as causer by functioning as subject of laka standing in a logically dependent relationship to the main clause.<sup>1</sup> (cf., 2.3.3.3 for a discussion of logically linked clauses.)

Thus the semological relationship can be graphically represented as follows:



<sup>1</sup>There is a possible alternate analysis of this type construction. laka could be considered a preposition and the phrase formed by it a NPprep realizing a circumstantial to the event. In this case it would not be necessary to posit a causer sememe. However, since laka doesn't realize instrumentality, since it does take the nominative form of the pronoun and since HE appears to stand in a very intimate relationship to the event, the analysis presented in the text appears preferable.

Roughly speaking the realization rules would include:

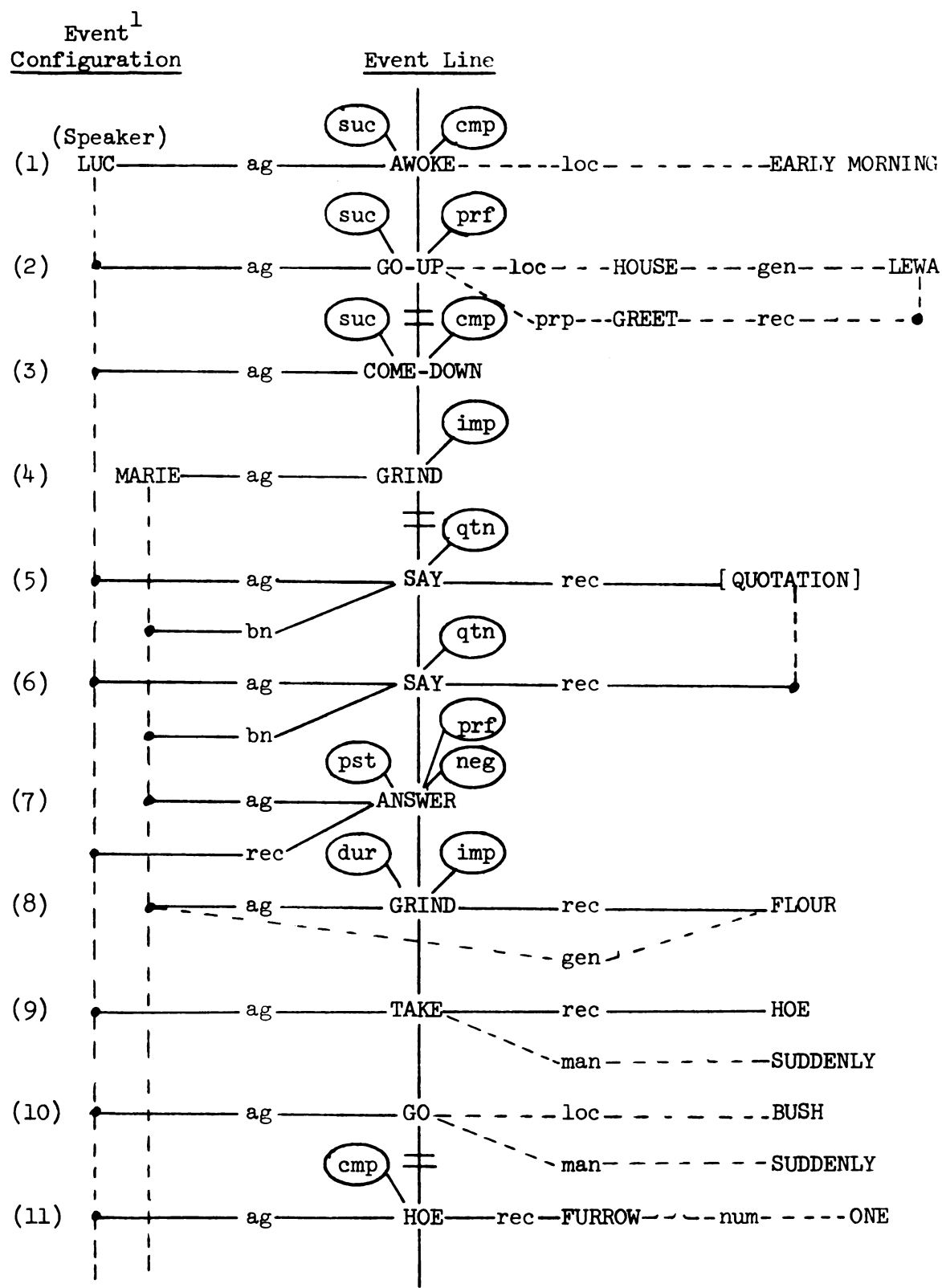
1. causer R<sub>y</sub> laka plus subject in the emphatic form (pro. third, sing.)
2. benefactive R<sub>y</sub> indirect object filled by pronoun, first, sing.,  
oblique.
3. agent R<sub>y</sub> subject filled by noun.
4. recipient R<sub>y</sub> object filled by gevá.
5. participle R<sub>y</sub> by ké-.

### 3.3 A SEMOLOGICAL NETWORK

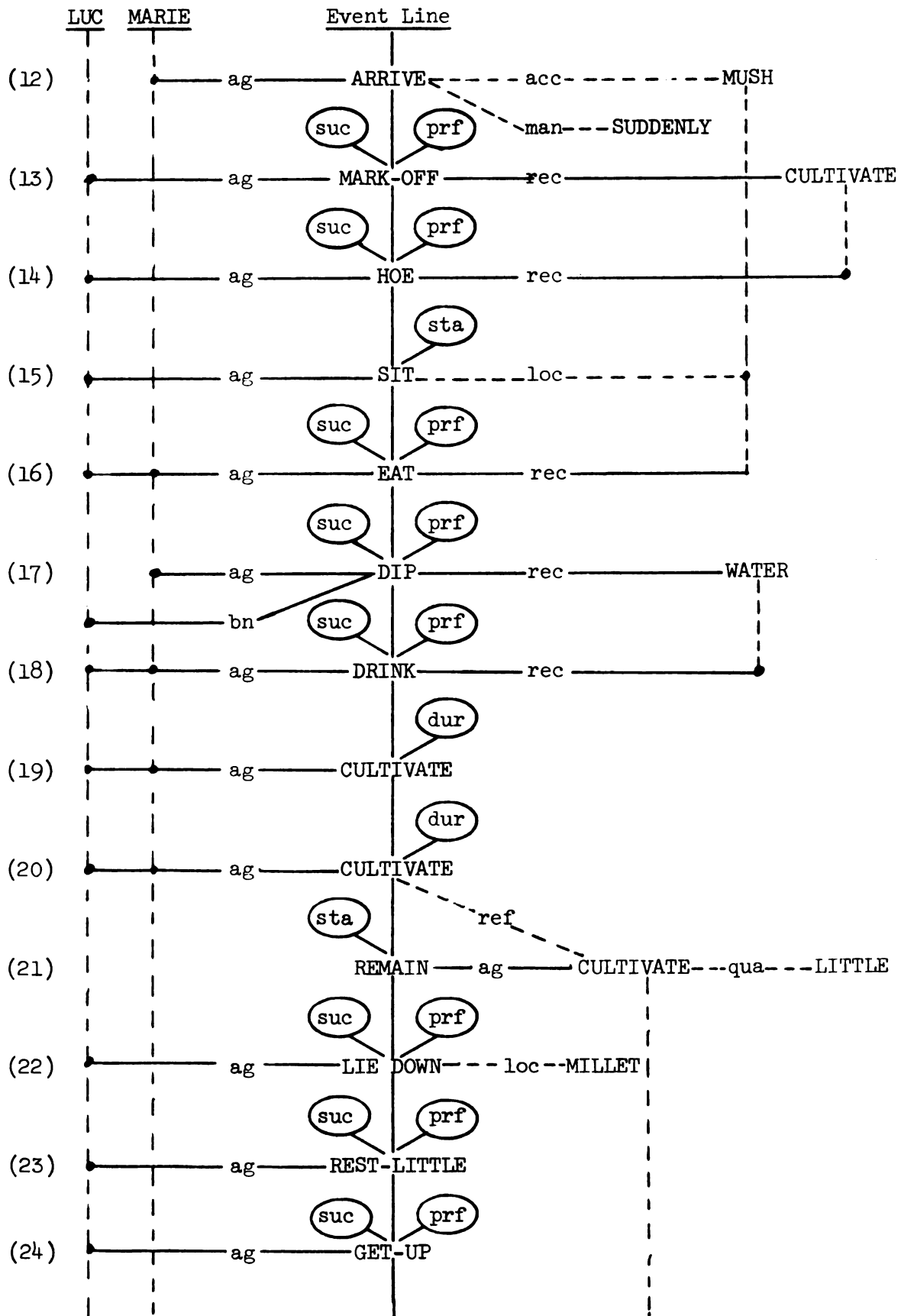
#### 3.3.1 The Network

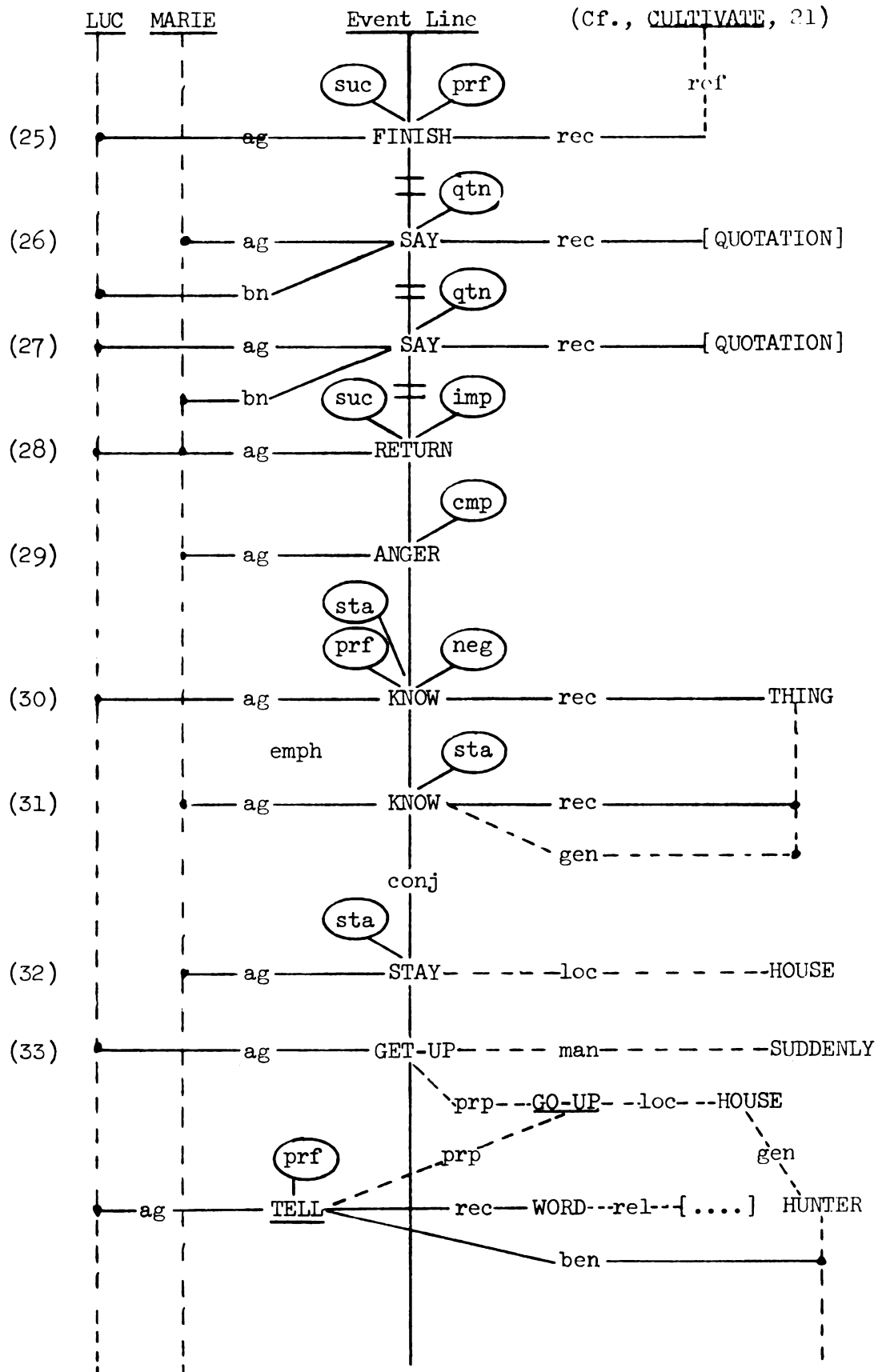
I present now a preliminary attempt, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, to represent graphically the semological network underlying a portion of the narrative discourse, TS1, alluded to several times in the thesis. This narrative was recited by Mr. Luc Sunu who worked for me as a general assistant. One afternoon he came up to my office and, after he had sat for a while trying to work my typewriter, I asked him to tell me what he had done that day. The following discourse is the result.

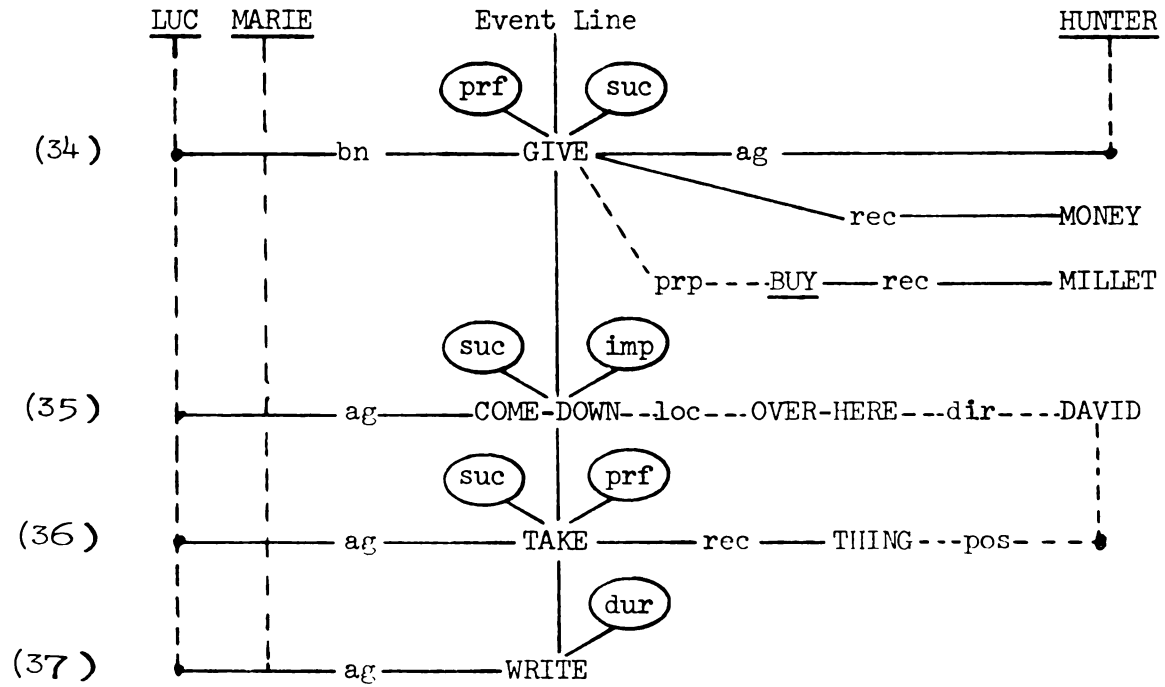
(Cf., 3.3.3 for the meaning of the notations used in this network.)



<sup>1</sup>The numbers of the Event Configurations correspond to the numbers of the clauses in the discourse (cf., 3.3.2).









### 3.3 A SEMOLOGICAL NETWORK.

#### 3.3.2 The Discourse (TSI) (Recorded August 10, 1967)

<sup>1</sup>mešíná mašké-mašké kwafedegé 'ya te xε<sup>2</sup> pa 'yá dzáte  
 recently morning-morning after awoke I on sleeping then I go-up  
 gε a Lewá kanjewe Lewá. <sup>3</sup>má kwasiyí 'yá ni<sup>4</sup> kaxú Marí.  
 house of L. to-greet Lewa after came-down I thus, grinding Marie  
<sup>5</sup>má pa 'yá šε ní xwéŋkwa tedzemté mu nda xú na tsétsé-  
 said I to her thus, when will-go-to-bush we grinding you now  
 nya wáà <sup>6</sup> á pa 'yá šε <sup>7</sup>késé kažene dá wé <sup>8</sup>mbá nde  
 ? thus said I to her (past) answer me not stay she  
 kaxu xu ta ŋké <sup>9</sup>nzápé 'yá te wude a dá <sup>10</sup>ntíŋé 'yá  
 grinding flour of her thump! I on how of me left! I  
 kadzemté <sup>11</sup> má náxé 'ya ketereke temé kwetén <sup>12</sup>pékwé  
 go-to-bush (intr.) finish I hoe-in-furrow furrow one appeared!  
 nde le dafá <sup>13</sup>pa 'yá ŋáve kweté wuza <sup>14</sup>pa 'yá tereketé  
 she with mush then I cut-out another cultivate then I hoed-into-furrow  
<sup>15</sup>ntišé 'yá gena dafá <sup>6</sup>pa 'yá dexwú <sup>17</sup>pa nde guke ŋ'yé  
 seated I next to mush then I ate then she dipped for us  
 yémú <sup>18</sup>pa geŋ'yé séxwu <sup>19</sup>mbá geŋ'yé wuza <sup>20</sup>mbá geŋ'ué wuza  
 water then we drank continued we cultivate cont. we cultivate  
<sup>21</sup>tené wuza ašé dexwé <sup>22</sup>pa 'yá belεxe dá mbe xa <sup>23</sup>pa 'yá  
 remained cult. that little then I laid down me in millet then I  
 šεneké mpi <sup>24</sup>pa 'ya sáte <sup>25</sup>pa 'ya kedáŋte wuza ašé. má ké  
 rested-a-bit rest then I got-up then I finished cultivate that said  
 šá 'yá are ŋ'yé kéwuza 'iyá kadé kadziyí širé <sup>27</sup>ke máke  
 to I when we cultivated I want to-go-over Sir said if  
 dziyí na 'á na genaké Yeŋú kadzemé Sedakwuté 'á  
 go-over you should you tell Yeŋú to go-up to Sedakote should  
 kelte dá kekwesá ta dá va Žaŋé Zerá wá pá 'yá šé  
 take for me shirt of me to John Zera Thus said I to her  
<sup>28</sup>má nda seke <sup>29</sup>geŋ'yé náxé kexwepeté wunó <sup>30</sup>kédepu wusú ašé  
 while returned we finish tied heart knowing thing that  
 'yá wé <sup>31</sup>geŋké nde depu wusú a ŋké áre <sup>32</sup>mba nde ki gε  
 I not it is she she knows thing of her when stay she in house

<sup>33</sup>ntifú 'yá kasaté Kadzáté ɛɛ a Hunter <sup>34</sup>pa Hunter ndeke  
 abruptly! I get-up to-go-up house of Hunter then Hunter gave

dá cédɛ kapá xa be'á kɛʒa gena nya genake dá 'Timetiyé  
 me money to-buy millet and for word which said to me Timothy

kageze ndá gena ta kanferáns kadza Berexá kamené nda  
 to-tell to him news of conference to-go Bourha to do then

siyi da 'yá lakake šá Davité <sup>36</sup>pá 'ya kéléte wusú ve  
 came down me I here to David then I took thing at his

<sup>37</sup>mbá 'yá kawindiyá  
 continued I writing.

### Translation:

Early this morning after I woke up I went up to Lewa's house to greet him. When I came back home Marie was grinding. I said to her, "Why are you grinding now since we are going to the bush? She didn't answer me, she just kept on grinding her flour. I grabbed my hoe and left for the bush. I had just finished hoeing up one furrow when she appeared with some mush. I marked out another furrow then I hoed it up. I sat down next to the mush and I ate. Then she dipped some water and brought it to us and we drank it. We continued to cultivate for some time. When there just remained a little bit to do I laid down in the millet and took a little nap and then I got up and finished it. She said to me, "when we have cultivated, I want to go to Siir." I said, "If you go you should tell Yengu to go up to Sedakote for me and take my shirt to John Sera." When we came home she was angry. I don't know why. She is the only one who knows. She stayed in the house and I got up to go to Hunter's house. Hunter had given me some money to buy corn and (I went up) to talk to him about the conference in Bourha that Timothy had told me to discuss with him. Then I came down here to David's and took this thing (typewriter) of his. I wrote for some time.

### 3.3.3 Glossary of notations.

ag	agentive	pos	possessive
bn	benefactive	prf	perfective
cmp	completive	prp	purposive
dir	directional	pst	past
dur	durative	qtn	quotative
emp	emphatic	rec	recipient
gen	genative	ref	referred to
imp	imperfective	rel	relative
man	manner	sta	stative
neg	negative	suc	successive
nom	nominalise	tmp	temporal
num	numerative	qua	qualificative

Solid horizontal lines (————) relate participants to events.

Broken horizontal lines (-----) relate circumstantials to events or to other sememes.

Solid vertical lines relate events in the event line.

Broken vertical lines indicate the continuation of a participant through the discourse.

Horizontal dashes (≡) on the event line indicate a change in subject or arena.

Heavy dots (•) indicate that the participant introduced earlier is involved in that event configuration.

Brackets ([ ]) indicate that material has been omitted, either a quotation or a relative construction. These materials could be depicted as existing along separate Event Lines standing in the relationship to the main event indicated by the connecting line.

Event and Referential sememes are depicted with high case English letters.

Events not situated along the main event line are underlined.

Relational and Dimensional sememes are represented as small case English abbreviations, the former imbedded in lines and the latter encircled.

### 3.3.4 Realization Rules.

The reason for including this network was to depict graphically the semology of actions as structured by the Kapsiki language. This is done to illustrate the points made in the preceding discussions. It should be kept in mind that a two dimensional representation is not adequate to reflect the multidimensional network conceptualized by the speaker. However, most of the salient features of action symbolization as events can be mapped into such a diagram.

The rules listed below indicate how this network is realized in the grammar. Technically these are semo-lexic and semo-morphic realization rules. However, since the discussion to this point has predicated a three strata model, with few exceptions, they may be considered semo-grammatical rules. One of the exceptions is the event sememe ANGER, (#29 above).  $S/ANGER$   $R_L/tic-one's-heart$   $R_M/xweta$  wuné. In this case both semo-lexic and lexo-morphic realization rules are necessary.

No rules will be necessary for the realization of particularized action. This type of aspect has been included in the network as hyphenated to the representation of the event, where a meaning has been identifiable. Thus in event #3 COME represents the event and -DOWN the particularized aspect. This convention has been adopted to simplify the presentation and eliminate the necessity for depicting a hyper-sememic stratum.

Following are the most important realization rules:

Referential Sememes are Realized as:

$M/noun$ : 1) when first occurrence other than SPEAKER-ag.

2) when related with  $S/ref$ .

$M/pronoun$  nominative: 1) bn of SAY-qtn. (cf., 2.2.1.2 for gramm. rules)

2) ag if non-first occurrence.

3) SPEAKER-ag first occurrence.

$M/pronoun$  oblique: bn, gen, rec non-first occurrence.  
(cf., 2.2.1.2 for grammatical rules)

Event semons are realized as:

M/verb roots

M/ verb root ~  $\emptyset$ <sup>1</sup> when found related to a referential semon of manner. (cf., 2.2.3.1a)

Relational semons are realized as follows:

ag	R <sub>v</sub>	Clause	SUB slot	(cf., 2.3.2b)
bn	R <sub>v</sub>	Clause	IOB slot	(cf., 2.3.2d)
rec	R <sub>v</sub>	Clause	OBJ slot	(cf., 2.3.2c)
gen	R <sub>v</sub>	NPgen		(cf., 2.3.1.1a)
man	R <sub>v</sub>	adv slot in VPadv		(cf., 2.3.1.2)
tmp	R <sub>v</sub>	Clause TMP slot		(cf., 2.3.2e)
num	R <sub>v</sub>	qual slot in NPqual		(cf., 2.3.1.1b)
dir	R <sub>v</sub>	verb <sub>5</sub>		(cf., 2.2.2.4)
pos	R <sub>v</sub>	verb <sub>4</sub>		(cf., 2.2.2.4)
prp	R <sub>v</sub>	kaV ~ keža plus Cldep		(cf., 2.3.3.2b)
ref	R <sub>v</sub>	M/ašé		
rel	R <sub>v</sub>	Relative Dependent Clause		(cf., 2.3.3.2a)
qua	R <sub>v</sub>	qual slot in NPqual		(cf., 2.3.1.1b)

Dimensional semons are realized as follows:

#### Simple

emp	R <sub>v</sub>	emphatic pronoun	(cf., 2.2.1.2b)
dur	R <sub>v</sub>	M/mbá	(cf., 3.1.5.1)
imp	R <sub>v</sub>	kaV	(cf., 3.1.3.3)
neg	R <sub>v</sub>	M/wé	(cf., 2.2.3.5 and 3.2.3.2a)
prf	R <sub>v</sub>	keV	(cf., 3.1.3.2 and 3.2.2.2)
qtn	R <sub>v</sub>	M/ke with agent R 3rd. pers. sing. M/pa elsewhere	(cf., 2.2.2.3)
sta	R <sub>v</sub>	verb stem	

#### Complex

suc prf	R <sub>v</sub>	M/pa...Vstem <sup>2</sup>	(cf., 2.2.3.5 and 3.1.3.6)
suc cmp	R <sub>v</sub>	kwaV	(cf., 3.1.3.8)
suc imp	R <sub>v</sub>	nda V	(cf., 3.1.3.9)
prf pst	R <sub>v</sub>	M/késé...V	(cf., 3.1.5.8)

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<sup>1</sup>Allomorphs when indicated occur in free distribution.

<sup>2</sup>With s/sta no action marker ('a or adverb) is realized, otherwise one is.

### 3.4 SEMOLOGICAL REALIZATES.

This section represents simply a summary and some very preliminary hypotheses concerning the relationship between the semological structure and the world of reality. In the introduction to section 2 it was suggested that language can be viewed as a coding device, standing between two aspects of physical reality. I have gone to some pains to describe the nature of the Kapsiki version of that device. It consists essentially of a set of principles for creating vocal symbols relating to segments of the world of experience. Part of the thesis of this dissertation was that being able to specify these symbols would shed light on the segmentation and classification of this world. In other words, describing the language would indicate how a speaker of the language conceives the universe he lives in as structured.

It was recognized in the attempt that any results obtained would be tentative and highly hypothetical. This is due in part to the level of competency the analyst has attained in the language, and in part, to the impossibility of verifying conclusions. However, the effort has been deemed worthwhile for several reasons. First of all, the results can hopefully be checked at a later date. Furthermore, most of the really important attempts to do this kind of semological analysis of language have been done by people who are effectively bilingual in English and the language described. (cf., Stennes, 1969 and Tab r, 196 ) In such cases it is possible to intuit analytical decisions. If meaning can only be analyzed by recourse to intuition or upon the acquisition of a very high level of user competency in a language, significant results in this endeavor will be seriously limited. At least one question posed for this thesis has been, can a technique be devised to analyze the meanings of speech without having internalized all of the principles engendering it? It seems there is no conceptual barrier to this kind of analysis. The preceding analysis of a semological network is presented in evidence.

There are obviously some serious weakness in the analysis and some extremely tentative conclusions presented. However, it is safe to assume that these weaknesses and uncertainties could yield to

careful application of more data. This is to say, there seems to be no conceptually insurmountable obstacles to accurate analyses of semology using the technique of comparing lower strata emic units in a variety of contexts--a major technique long used in the analysis of grammar and phonology. By the same token, semological analyses must submit to the same limitations imposed upon any other level constructs. Grammatical, phonological or semological analyses can only be judged by their ability to account for and predict actual behavior, that is speech. Thus, any proposed analytical construct is susceptible to refinement and revision as new behavior is observed and must be accounted for.

Recognizing the limits of the construct presented here, there remains only to point out what it reveals about the Kapsiki conception--and possible perception--of the universe of reality in which he lives. In light of the ethnographic sketch introducing this study, several possible areas of illumination suggest themselves.

Before discussing these areas an important precaution concerning the relationship of world view and language must be voiced. A great deal of effort has been expended to demonstrate that language reflects, or does not reflect, world view. Usually the evidences adduced are correlations, or lack of correlations between the language similarities or differences and socio-cultural similarities and differences (cf., for example, Bright and Bright, 1965).

One of the serious problems encountered in putting hypotheses to this kind of testing is that, whereas it is generally recognized that on the language side, speech behavior does not reflect a direct, isomorphic relationship to the world of reality it transmits information about and symbolizes, but rather represents a complex process of transduction, the same is not recognized or at least the process is poorly understood, on the socio-cultural side. It seems reasonable to assume that if cultural and social behavior also reflects a world view, this too can only be understood when the 'realization rules' (that is, internalized principles or culture) engendering this behavior have been analyzed.

Since presumably the abstract processes by which the inculcated conceptions concerning the real world is transduced to symbolic expression

as cultural behavior could include the processes of neutralization and portmanteau realizations, similar world views could result in very different kinds of socio-cultural organization as well as very different languages. This kind of analysis of the socio-cultural organization has not been done for the Kapsiki. For this reason the following areas of possible relationship between the language and a particular view of reality must assume the status of suggestions for further investigation. However, the foregoing analysis of the semological structure would strongly suggest that such investigations would be fruitful.

#### 3.4.1 A Dynamic View of Reality.

From a grammatical point of view, most grammatical constructions can be viewed as verb-centric. At the semological level, it seems most fruitful to analyze most event configurations as action centered and to explain other phenomena in terms of their relationship to the action event. It has also been noticed that statistically the active forms of verbs far out number the stative forms. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that many relationships expressed in English by adjectives, perhaps indicating that qualities appear to be viewed as inherent (and thus symbolized on a higher level in the sememic stratum) rather than states resulting from an action, as may be the case in Kapsiki.

In light of these facts, the question poses itself, 'does all of this reflect a world view that is basically different from ours, for example, in that theirs is in some sense more dynamic?' The answer is not easily forthcoming. The kinds of non-linguistic behavior recorded in my corpus do little to support such a view.

#### 3.4.2 Spatial Dimensions of Actions.

In the ethnographic sketch mention was made at several points of the relationship between the people and the land. They are mountain people and their entire pattern of living reflects this fact. The hills provide a feeling of security, they are the focus of religious ritual and mythology and their houses are oriented to the lay of the land. In short this feature of the physical environment constitutes an important element in the universe experienced by the Kapsiki. Few actions can take place which are not affected by this.



It is not surprising that verbs symbolizing the actions of 'coming' and 'going' should reflect this orientation. However, a couple of significant theoretical questions pose themselves in this respect. First how did the verbs acquire this characteristic and secondly, how and why did class I verb stem formative suffixes acquire the meaning of spatiality? These questions involve the problem of language and its relationship to the physical world as well as the problem of language change. It has been suggested that the semology, standing as it does juxtaposed to the world of experience, should reflect most sensitively the phenomena encountered here. The conceptualization of the spatial contexts of action as semological aspect would seem to bear this out. Although stem formative suffixes are not rare in African languages, for the most part they indicate dimensions of action quite different from those represented by those in Kapsiki. For example, in Fulfulde, Stennes lists among the meaning of the extension suffixes, repetitive or reversive, associative or intensive, causitive, manner, reciprocal and dative with one distal suffix, indicating, "that the action of the root is taking place at a distance from the speaker." (Stennes, 1967. 132-135).

Some Kapsiki suffixes too, as has been discussed, do not have a spatial referrent and others seem to be used with two quite different (although perhaps logically related) meanings. For example, the suffix -mte can mean "do something completely or finally". On the other hand, it can carry the notion of separation or removing away in a spatial sense. Etymologically it appears related to the verb mté "die" or "death". Notice the following usages of -mte and mté:

kwa <u>mté</u> in dead	In the bush. (PS4)
xwa <u>mté</u> among dead	In enemy villages.
ntíńú xε <u>kadzemté</u> left they go-away	They went away.
kwanáxémte tlené ŋ'yé... finish-all work we	After we finished all of the work... (SS2)
náxé kekelemte wusú mε finish took-from thing mouth	(She) took the thing away from the mouth. (P01)
'á keséxwémte xwá wiped-all knife	(He) wiped the knife dry. (WS349)

'á kebelem <u>té</u>	šugwú	He broke the stick. (WS373)
broke-entirely	stick	
dzem <u>té</u>	jaxangalé za a gké	Her husband is on a trip. (PS1)
go-away	trip man of her	

The above examples would suggest that the suffixe, depending on the action symbolized by the event and realized by the verb. represents a sense of finality and/or removal. (The same kind of observation can be made with the suffixe -yi which with class I verbs represents a sense of downward motion or of doing something with the intention of leaving it.) Whether this kind of dual meaning reflects a process of meaning shift in the direction of spatiality is a moot question.

It seems feasible to suggest that when the Kapsiki entered the mountain area they used the suffixes on class II verbs to reflect the actions of coming and going over mountainous terrain. Then by analogy some of the class I verb suffixes, having the same phonemic shape, came to express spatial dimensions of action roughly similar to that expressed by their class II counterparts. That the process is not completed or that the original meanings still have significant functions could account for the two meanings attached to some of the suffixes.

This reconstruction, of course, represents only one of the possible processes explaining the present state of events. If, however, it should prove correct, it would serve to illustrate something of the kind of relationship existing at the sememic-reality interface of language as well as the process of language change occasioned by changes in the world of reality.

A partial check could be made by searching for cognates to the verb suffixes in related languages, particularly in areas near the reputed origins of the Kapsiki, especially since these areas are considerably less mountainous than that now occupied. If cognates could be found which didn't reflect a spatial referent this would help confirm the above hypothesis.

At any rate the presence of stem formatives, realizing semological phenomena more basically related to the event than temporal or modal dimensions of action and which have a spatial referent in the world of experience outside the language, suggests the kind of

preoccupation with the mountainous features of the environment which is reflected in other aspects of Kapsiki life.

### 3.4.3 Temporality and Spatiality.

Although expressions of temporality and spatiality occasionally overlap in English, the notions of time and space are ordinarily kept conceptually distinct. This does not appear to be the case for the Kapsiki. Several linguistic evidences reflect this.

In the first case, the verb sé "come" is, as has been discussed, used to mark a temporal context of action in the realization of action events. There is also some tendency to use lí "go" as a marker of future action. This, of course, closely parallels the English and French usage of 'go' to express future action. In addition to these, the preposition xwa meaning "among" when used as a locative marker also functions as a temporal marker to mean "during". For example, xwa va ndla ɲé cɛ "During the rain the house fell." (Gr69)

Furthermore, two of the stem formative suffixes discussed above, -te and -ke are often used with no discernable meaning other than to mark an action as completed. There is also in the language two prepositions taking the same phonemic shape which are ordinarily used as locatives. It seems possible that -te and te as well as -ke and ke are cognates serving as temporal-spatial markers.

## SECTION FOUR

### CONCLUSION

The goal of this thesis has been an examination of the use of verbs by speakers of Kapsiki. This attempt represents more than a straightforward linguistic analysis of the verb system. Starting from speech, the vocal behavior engendered by the language, the verb was analyzed, first as a grammatical entity, that is, as a part of the language and then as the symbolic representation of an aspect of the universe experienced by the Kapsiki.

Underlying this analysis and accounting for the particular format used in the presentation, were several basic assumptions. First of all, the assumption that language is an abstract set of principles learned by members of society by which they encode information concerning their perceptions of the world about them into vocal symbols. Furthermore, this same set of principles is used to decode sensorially perceived vocal symbols resulting in the conceptualization of the world of reality approximately as perceived by the speaker.

A second assumption is that the stratificational model (cf., 2.0 for a discussion of this) serves to adequately explicate the language and to explain the speech data.

Finally, I have assumed that every society, that is, group of individuals behaving by a common set of principles or culture, including the use of a common language, conceives of and probably perceives of the world of experience in a particular and unique way. The language reflects these cognitive and perceptual processes.

Part of the goal of this presentation, therefore, has been to specify how the Kapsiki conceives that segment of the world of reality symbolized in the language by the verb system. The methodology involved primarily an examination and comparison of verbs in various grammatical constructions and then a comparison of the various "segments" of reality apparently symbolized by these construction.

This resulted in the postulation of a number of sememes (linguistic units enjoying an isomorphic relationship to perceived segments of the world of reality) and to the formulation of a number of "rules" serving to realize these units into grammatical units. From this it has been possible to make the suggestions included in the preceding section (3.4) concerning the Kapsiki conceptualization of reality.

While the evidence is far from unequivocal, it would appear that the Kapsiki view their world in a manner quite different from others (including our own -- although the exact nature of our own world view is impossible to specify.) This, of course, is in keeping with the findings of other attempts to study perceptual differences cross-culturally. For example, Segal and Campbell, after examining the responses to geometric illusions by individuals from 15 societies, concluded,

that to a substantial extent we learn to perceive; and that in spite of the phenomenally absolute character of our perceptions, they are determined by perceptual inference habits... (Segal, Campbell and Herskovits, 1966. 214)

For example, the discovery that the spatial context of action appears to be conceived as so intimately associated with action as to be an important and frequently symbolized dimension of that action, (cf., 3.4.2) tends to support another conclusion of Segal and Campbell, that perceptual differences may be produced ecologically. (cf., Ibid, 185). This contention seems to be born out by other investigations, notably that undertaken by Allport and Pettigrew and reported in their article, "Cultural Influence on the Perception of Movement, the Trapezoidal Illusion among Zulus", (Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 1957). In this it was reported that Zulus living in rural areas responded differently from urban dwelling Zulus to the illusion created by a rotating trapezoidal window.

In the introduction to the language section of this thesis (2.0) several general theoretical problems were raised and the suggestion was made that perhaps this analysis would provide a step toward finding a solution to them.

First, the general claims of the stratificational model to accurately reflect the relative position of language vis-à-vis the

speaker's world of reality appears to have been vindicated. Secondly while the discussion of semology has shed some light on the nature of the language-experience relationship, little has been discovered of an unequivocal nature concerning the causal effects the two exert on each other. However, in the discovery of an imputed spatial dimension to actions symbolized by class I verbs, one possible example of this mutual effect is suggested.

Finally, while once again the intimate relationship between the structure of a language and the segmentation and systemitization of the universe of experience symbolized by speech behavior has been demonstrated, no positive evidence has been adduced to indicate whether we are, in fact, dealing with purely cognitive or with cognitive and perceptual phenomena.

In summary, the thesis presents a description of the Kapsiki culture, social structure and language. From the analysis of the language and the description of the socio-cultural context within which the individual acts, some of the meanings expressed by the verbs have been analyzed. This in turn has led to the formulation of several possible hypotheses concerning the world view of the Kapsiki and of the relationship between this perception of reality and the nature of the language.

The first sections are presented as an attempt to add to the scholarly knowledge of a little researched and little understood part of the world, the Chadic speaking people of Africa. The latter sections are presented as groundwork for future empirical research into the area of the relationship between language and non-linguistic behavior, viz, human perceptual and cognitive processes.

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## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

### THE CORPUS

The corpus on which this analysis is based is very roughly estimated to consist of about 75,000 words collected by me personally during my stay in Mogode, Cameroun between March 1967 and April 1968. For the most part the material was first taped on a Uher 4000 Report-L tape recorder then, with the help of my assistant Mr. Luc Sunu or another informant, transcribed and glossed.

A number of speaking styles and a wide sample of speakers is included in the corpus. The examples given, with the exception of a few short ones, and indexed to indicate who the informant was and what style of speech they represent.

The following set of notations has been used to identify the examples in the text. These symbols appear in parentheses at the extreme right of the page. The first letter indicates the source in my notes and for the most part reflects the style of the speech from which it was taken. The second letter refers to the informant and the number indicates the number of the discourse in my notes.

Thus, on page 57, line 26 the notation (PO4) means, "picture elicitation, André Ousman, picture number 4".

Following is a list of the abbreviations used in the thesis.

#### DISCOURSES

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| P | Picture elicitation--discussions describing pictures of common activities.            |
| C | Conversations between two or more people.   |
| N | Narratives--stories of ordinary events by individuals.                                |
| S | Short elicitations, except where followed by 'B'. SB refers to sermons by Martin Bera |
| W | Word, phrase and sentence lists.  |
| T | Texts--recitations of common and current events (cf., N above).                       |

- F Fables, stories of old, myths, etc.
- Gr A collection of miscellaneous material including sentences, utterances elicited while checking and specific elicitations, using a number of different informants.

#### INFORMANTS

- A The Aranado or village chief with the name, Maze Wú saxwaxwele. No French, some pidginized Fulfulde.
- B Martin Bera, Catechist for the protestant church. A native of Guria. Sermons taken from a record. Some French and fluent in Fulfulde.
- C Timothé Teri Pouh, Catechist for the protestant church in Mogode. Native of Mogode. Some French fluent Fulfulde.
- J Joseph Zera Mpa, has a few years in French school at Siir, French and Fulfulde quite good. Young man (16?).
- K Kwade De, young girl, no French of Fulfulde, native of Mogode.
- M Marta (wife of Tlimu, see below). Some French and Fulfulde education, speaks both well.
- O André Ousman, student at the French elementary school at Siir. French fairly good, Fulfulde good.
- P Pierre Vandu, school teacher at Siir. Native of Mogode living in Siir since 1961. French good, Fulfulde fair.
- S Luc Sunu, young man (20?) native of Mogode, several years of formal French, French and Fulfulde both good.
- T Yakubu Tlimu, native of Mogode, studying to be protestant pastor, some French training in mission school, French poor but fluent in pidginized Fulani.
- Z Matthieu Kweji Zama, young man (18?), native of Mogode, no French schooling, French poor Fulfulde fairly good.



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