

Transitivity and the Pragmatics of Object Suffixes on Mofu Verbs

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Abstract

Two of Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity parameters are shown to relate to the selection of the object, benefactive, and causative extension suffixes on Mofu-Gudur verbs: Individuation (referents must have already been specified) and Affectedness of the Object (the presence versus absence of the causative extension often corresponds with whether the object is fully affected or not). Another factor which relates to the selection of the same suffixes is the Orientation of the discourse vis-à-vis animant versus inanimate non-rhematic referents.

Résumé

Le présent article montre que, parmi les paramètres de transitivité décrits par Hopper et Thompson (1980), il en existe deux qui influencent le choix des suffixes qui s'attachent aux verbes mofu pour marquer, soit un complément d'objet, soit une fonction de bénéficiaire, ou bien encore, une extension causative. Il s'agit plus précisément des paramètres d'« individuation » et d'« influence ». Dans le premier cas, un référent doit déjà être spécifié, tandis que, dans le second cas, la présence ou l'absence de l'extension causative est souvent fonction du degré d'« influence » que subit l'objet. Ces mêmes suffixes sont aussi influencés par l'orientation par rapport aux référents non-rhématiques animés ou inanimés.

1.0 Introduction

In Mofu-Gudur object suffixes may or may not appear on the verb in a two or three argument sentence, i.e., a sentence with subject and object(s). The example in (1) is a two argument sentence with no object suffix in the verb. Example (2) illustrates the same sentence with an object suffix in the verb.

(1) A səp-ey guzlam.
3 seek-NM chicken.enclosure
She seeks a chicken enclosure.

(2) A səp-a guzlam.
3 seek-O chicken.enclosure
She seeks a chicken enclosure.

These kinds of examples raise the question "What are the semantic and pragmatic considerations that influence Mofu speakers to choose to include the object suffix in the verb?"

The causative extension (suffix) may or may not appear on certain verbs. What are the semantic and pragmatic considerations that cause Mofu speakers to prefer one form or the other in a certain situation? The answer has to do with an inherently intransitive verb being used transitively.

(3) A m-ey a wuded.
3 return-NM to granary

She returns to the granary.
(4) A ma-da a wuded.
 3 return-CAUS.O to granary
 She returns (the bird) to the granary.

In looking at examples of Mofu texts, primarily from narratives, it becomes evident that when a speaker chooses to use certain verb suffixes, what he really is doing is deciding on the degree of transitivity he wants to express. In other words, varying degrees of the verb's involvement with/on an object (O) or benefactor (BEN) can be indicated by the speaker's use or non-use of object suffixes and/or the causitive extension. But what are the factors influencing these choices?

In this paper¹ we delineate three factors that influence the selection of object (O) and/or benefactor (BEN) suffixes on Mofu-Gudur² verbs. One factor has to do with how much the verb affects the object. A second factor has to do with the object or benefactor having been already specified or known by the speaker and hearer. The third factor has to do with the object or benefactor being human or animate.

These three factors relate to two transitivity parameters from among the ten³ listed by Hopper and Thompson (1980:252), namely, INDIVIDUATION of the object and AFFECTEDNESS of the object. One factor--how much the verb affects the object--relates directly to the AFFECTEDNESS parameter. The remaining two factors of the object being known and being animate relate to two properties of the parameter of INDIVIDUATION that Hooper and Thompson cite from Timberlake (1975, 1977): the property of "referential, definite vs. non-referential" and the property of "human, animate vs. inanimate." To distinguish the latter two factors, both relating to INDIVIDUATION, the factor having the property of "animate vs. inanimate," is tagged as "ORIENTATION of discourse" in this paper.

These two transitivity parameters will be presented separate sections. The use of the causative extension will be discussed in both the INDIVIDUATION and AFFECTEDNESS sections. In Mofu, as in other Chadic languages,⁴ an increase in transitivity can be signaled by the causative extension⁵ and/or the presence of an object suffix form. Use of one or more of these forms signals a concomitant increase in the affectedness of the object and/or benefactor.

Section 2 is a discussion of how the parameter of INDIVIDUATION influences the choice of object and benefactor suffixes. The discussion begins with a chart of the object and benefactor suffix forms found on verbs. The chart developed in this paper arranges the suffix forms to call attention to the number and type of verbal arguments they imply. Following the chart are examples illustrating how third person object and benefactor suffixes, including those used with the directional extension, only occur when the object or benefactor has been individuated and is non-rhematic.

Section 3 is a discussion of the parameter of AFFECTEDNESS. Here we attempt to show that use or non-use of the causative extension suffix is influenced, among other factors, by the degree to which the referent is affected.

Section 4 looks at the parameter named ORIENTATION operating in a higher level, functional framework of a narrative discourse. The ORIENTATION of a discourse is shown to influence the selection of a verb form as to whether it is marked for one, two, or three arguments, i.e., a

form marked only for subject (one argument), for subject plus object or benefactor (two), or for subject, object, and benefactor (three).

2.0 Individuation

In this section we want to show that in order for a verb suffix that indicates the object and/or benefactor to be used, the referent(s) must be individuated and non-rhematic.

The parameter of "Individuation of O," according to Hopper and Thompson (1980:253), has at least six properties (in a list taken from Timberlake (1977:162)).⁶ "Individuation" in Mofu relates only to the property of "referential, definite." That is, "Individuation of the O" in Mofu consists of an object or benefactor suffix which refers to a definite object already specified or known by speaker and hearer.

In order to see the referential property of a marked object it might be helpful to first look at verbs without definite objects. In Mofu, intransitive verbs do not have object suffixes, indeed one would not expect an intransitive to have an object at all! However, there are verbs, seemingly intransitive, as well as transitive, which seem to have objects but they do not have object suffixes. The following is an example:

(5) a nək-am dey
3 look.PL eye
They look.

The object in the previous example does not function as a real object (i.e., as patient) and the verb will not end with an object suffix. (See (15) for another example of objects which are not patients.) Objects in these cases are closely linked with certain verbs. It is as Hopper and Thompson (1980:288) have observed occurs in many languages: "...this suggests that such an O is not really an object, but is rather in the nature of an adverbial accompaniment to the verb." The absence of any object suffix in examples of this sort hints at the fact that use of an object suffix marks the object as a known referent.

In Mofu the verb suffix(es) of argument referent(s) must refer to a specific object or benefactor which has been previously mentioned or is named in the clause of which the verb is a part. That verb suffixes do have a referential property will be seen in all the examples following the chart of verb suffixes.

In confirming the referential property of verb object/benefactor suffixes we have noted not only the lack of verb suffixes on verbs where the object acts as a sort of adverbial accompaniment, we also should note that not all verbs that could have verb object/benefactor suffixes have suffix forms. (We will discuss this further in section 4.) When there is no object referent or when there is no need to refer to a specific object, then no object suffix form is attached to the verb, the verb ends in a neutral ending *-ey* or *-m* depending on whether the subject is singular or plural respectively.

The following chart shows all possible third person object and/or benefactor suffixes and their meanings. In section 2.1 are example sentences for each form.

Barreteau (1988b:50-52) has given an extensive listing of the personal pronouns employed in Mofu for subject, object, and indirect object (here called benefactor), together with paradigms illustrating their presentation on a verb⁷. For clarity and simplicity the data is restricted to third person referents. The plural subject suffix *-m(-)* is also included in the chart.

(6) Chart 1 - third person object suffixes in Mofu

number of suffixes (S / O)	verbs without pronominal object suffix		transitive verb with definite pronominal suffix	
	---	+ BEN	+ 0	+ BEN
SG / SG	-ey	-ar	-á	-ará
PL / SG	-m	-mar	-mará	-mará
SG / PL	(-ey)	-tar	-ta	-tará
PL / PL	(-m)	-matar	-mafa	-matará
SG / CAUS	---	---	-da	-dará
PL / CAUS	---	---	-da mará	-damará
SG/SG/DIR + CAUS	-wa ---	---	-ə rwa/-ará wa -də rwa	---
PL/SG/DIR + CAUS	-má wa ---	---	-mə rwa -da mə rwa	---
SG/PL/DIR + CAUS	---	---	-tə rwa -da matə rwa	---
PL/PL/DIR + CAUS	---	---	-matə rwa -da matə rwa	---

The examples in section 2.1 serve to exemplify how the suffix forms in the above chart are found in context. The pragmatics of why a form marking an Individuated object or benefactor was chosen over another possible form will be discussed in section 4.

2.1 Forms without extensions

The *-ey* in the first column of suffixes is not really a suffix at all since it has no morphological content to it. It only serves phonologically as an ending when there are no other suffixes. Thus the *-ey* occurs on a verb when there is a singular subject and no reference to another argument⁸. This is true for both inherently intransitive and transitive verbs, irregardless of tense/aspect, as exemplified in the two following examples (found in neutral aspect or *grundaspekt* as is common for Mofu folktales)⁹: editing note: move footnote to Bird]

(7) *Dyaŋ... a nj-ey a ray wudez.*
 bird 3 sit-NM at head tree
 Bird (specific character) sat on the tree.

(8) *Mazawal...zakw, zakw, a zək-w-ey məkal.*
 goat IDEO IDEO 3 pour.out-NM grease
 Goat extracts the grease, squeeze, squeeze.

A plural subject is indicated by the suffix *-m(-)* as in (9). The preceding *-a* is not an object suffix, but only an epenthetic vowel.

- (9) A diy-am.
3 go-PL
They go.

The following two examples illustrate a two-argument axis (S and BEN) where the subject is singular and plural respectively. The benefactor is expressed by the verb suffix *-ar*. In (10) the benefactor is additionally expressed by a noun phrase.

- (10) A ləv-ar a bay...
3 say-BEN to chief
He says to the chief...

- (11) Ta' , a vəlmar.
then 3 give.PL.BEN
Then, they gave (some of the things to eat) to him.

One final example of the *-ar* suffix shows that it is possible for both the benefactor and direct object to be stated in noun or prepositional phrases in the sentence, but only have the benefactor stated as a verb suffix.

- (12) Dīyaŋ kaa a zɪ-ar walay a bay da way.
bird LOC 3 sing-BEN song to chief at house
Bird there sang the song to the chief at his house.

For reference to be made to the benefactor by a suffix on the verb, the referent has to have already been individuated. In example (12), the benefactor is known already, and he is referenced here by a prepositional phrase for reasons of referent clarity, i.e., they bird sang not for just any chief, but the one mentioned and in his house. The teller of this story could have chosen to additionally mark the object by use of another suffix, but he did not. The reason for not choosing to additionally mark the object as a third argument in the verb will be explored in section 4 when the parameter of ORIENTATION is discussed.

The following two examples illustrate a two-argument axis (S, BEN) when the benefactors are plural. In (13), the subject is singular; in (13), the subject is plural. In both examples, the benefactors are expressed by a verb suffix, as well as by a prepositional phrase. In other contexts, the verb suffix could appear without the prepositional phrase.

- (13) A ləv-tar a ŋwas ta dam aŋga,...
3 say-BEN.PL to woman and daughter her
He says to the woman and her daughter,...

- (14) A ləv-ma-tar a ŋusay kaa heyey,...
3 say-PL-BEN.PL to women LOC ANA

They said to the women there,...

Example (15) illustrates a two-argument axis (S, BEN) that appears to be a three-argument axis with the benefactive expressed by an object suffix and an object noun phrase. Here, as in (5), the object is not individuated. More to the point, the noun phrase is not a true object (i.e., patient), but it serves to modify the semantic range of the verb and thus finds no reflection in the suffixation on the verb. The benefactor in (14) is plural.

- (15) A ka-tar hwaray dāba.
 3 made-BEN.PL shame now
 He caused them to be ashamed.
 (literally: He made shame for them.)

The following four examples illustrate a two-argument axis (S, O) where instead of the benefactor being indicated by a suffix on the verb, it is the object being reflected by suffixation. The examples show singular and plural subjects and objects. As in previous examples, in order for the object to be encoded as a suffix on the verb, the object must have already been individuated.

- (16) Bay kaw! a kərz-a.
 chief IDEO 3 seize-O
 The chief seizes it Bird], whoop!
- (17) A kəɗ-ma-ra gaŋgaŋ ŋga ray hay heyey.
 3 beat-PL-O drum of head PL ANA
 They beat the drum (made from) the heads.
- (18) A mb-ey, a fən-ta siya hay.
 3 pretty-NM 3 surpass-O.PL other PL
 She was beautiful, she surpassed the others (sisters).

- (19) Kaw! Kaw! a kərz-ama-ta.
 IDEO IDEO 3 seize-PL-O.PL
 Whomp! They seized them.

The last examples in this section illustrate the suffixes in the last column of Chart 1. Barreteau (1988b:50) lists the *-ara* form as a variant of the *-a* object form. In the texts examined to day there has not been found a sentence with the *-ara* suffix that also has both the object and benefactor expressed as a noun phrase. There are, however, examples of *-ara* where a case could be made to say that this suffix encodes both object and benefactor to make a three-argument axis (S, O, BEN) on the basis of known participants. It is assumed, as in previous examples, that in order for the object and benefactor to be encoded as a suffix on the verb, the referents have to have been previously specified, i.e., individuated.

The object and benefactor form (*-ara*) with a singular subject is very rare (see section 4). In example (20) we interpret the suffix as encoding both the object and benefactor because one could say *a sasəra*.

(20) Ta' , a sasər-ar-a.
 then 3 spin.BEN.O
 So, she spins it (the cotton) for him (Squirrel).

Most often the object and benefactor is encoded in the suffix but only the object is expressed as a noun phrase as in example (21).

(21) Dam kede heyey na, a mbaf-ar na,
 daughter DEM ANA TOP 3 please-BEN TOP

 aa ma zl-ar-a walay la ...
 3 REL begin-O-BEN song CMP
 As for the daughter, (the bird) pleased her, (the bird)
 having sung a song (for her) (the daughter hid it in the granary
 she slung it into a jar filled with oil.)

Like the subject singular three-argument form, there are few plural subject plus -ara examples where a three-argument axis (S, O, and BEN) is clearly indicated. This form is primarily used for two arguments (S, O) as in (22).

(22) A zlədmara vөгed da way jeleleŋ.
 3 dig.PL.O hole at house deep
 They dug the hole at (his) house deep.

Example (23) seems to be a fairly clear case of at least the benefactor, and probably both object and benefactor, being encoded in the suffix -ara. The context is that the chief has asked the monkeys to sing their song.

(23) A zl-am-ar-a dəba na: "Huze, huze..."
 3 begin-PL-BEN-O now TOP (nonsense syllables)
 They sing it for him: "Blah, blah,..."

Like the previously cited suffix -mara, the object or benefactor plural form, -tara, does not occur frequently. In searching a corpus of 24 narratives by a variety of narrators, the subject plural with plural object or benefactor (-*matarā*) was found to occur only in subordinate clauses. The -*tara* suffix can refer to plural object or plural benefactor or both. The object and benefactor can be interpreted several ways, depending on the context, as in example (24).

(24) A zl-ata-ra.
 3 sing-O-BEN
 It (Bird) sings the songs (for her/them) *or*
 It sings (the song) for them.

Usually the context makes the meaning encoded by the suffix clear. The object or benefactor can be expressed by a noun phrase to aid the interpretation as in the following two examples..

(25) Ta' , ŋgwas kaa a t-ata-ra daf fa aslaw kede heyey.
 then woman LOC 3 cook-PL-BEN food with meat DEM ANA

Then, the wife there cooks them food with the meat.

(26) ŋgusay kaa, ta', a vəl-ma-tar vəley hay heyey.
women LOC then 3 give-PL-BEN.PL calabash PL ANA

Ata ma pər-ma-tar-a cay, ŋgusay kaa a ləv-ma-tar,...
3.PL REL wash.PL.BEN.O.PL PERF women LOC 3 say-PL-BEN.PL
Then, the women give them the calabashes. After having washed
them for them, the (other) women there say to them...

2.2 Individuation and the directional extension

The Mofu directional extension has elsewhere been described (Hollingsworth 1986:15-16 and Barreteau 1978:25, 1983:55, 1989:44). Barreteau (1989:44) defines *-wa* as marking an action that returns or refers back to the current center of discourse. A more comprehensive definition of the Mofu directional is essentially the same as the widespread Chadic directional often called «ventive.» Schuh's (1972:26) definition for the Ngizim ventive extension can also be applied to Mofu:

This extension indicates action which takes place in the direction of, or for the benefit of, some person or place of reference (often the speaker or the speaker's location). Sometimes the event itself may have taken place somewhere else, but it ultimately affects the place or person of reference...

The directional extension is included in this paper because it is found co-occurring with third person suffixes whose referent may not be the same as when the form appears without the directional. For example, in the previous examples it is shown that third person forms with *-r-*, e.g., *-ar*, *-ara*, *-tar*, *-tara*, are associated with benefactors; however, when occurring with the directional, e.g. *-(t)ərwa*, these *-r-* suffixes usually encode an individuated object rather than the benefactor. The following two examples serve as illustrations.

(27) ya fəc-ara-wa ver la.
1 sweep.out-O-DIR bedchamber CMP
I will sweep out the sleeping hut.

(28) Ta', a bəl-tər-wa.
the 3 chase-O.PL-DIR
Then, he chases them (sheep) (back home).

First and second person object suffixes which co-occur with the directional indicate a first or second person benefactor rather than an object. See endnote ¹⁰ for examples. The following Chart 2 gives the possible third person object suffixes co-occurring with the directional.

(29) Chart 2 - the directional and third person object suffixes

number of suffixes	verb without object suffix		verb with object suffix	
		+ BEN	+ 0	+ BEN
(S sg) O sg + DIR	<i>-wa</i>	---	<i>-ərwa/-arawa</i>	---
(S pl) O sg + DIR	<i>-mawa</i>	---	<i>-mərwa</i>	---
(S sg) O pl + DIR	---	---	<i>-tərwa</i>	---
(S pl) O pl + DIR	---	---	<i>-matərwa</i>	---

In Mofu, the directional extension itself denotes no individuation as far as objects are concerned (see Barreteau 1989:44-45). When the directional extension occurs without co-occurring with an object suffix it can, however, be accompanied by an object expressed by a noun phrase as in (30).

- (30) *Ndaw məlak heyey na, a da lalawa papərakw heyey.*
 man stranger ANA TOP 3 FUT steal.DIR hoof ANA
 The stranger is going to steal a hoof (for himself).

In an instance like example (30), the directional marks no definite object reference. Nevertheless, due to the nature of the directional's benefactive meaning, a previously mentioned non-subject animate could be an implied (but not specified) benefactor. If there is no animate to act as benefactor, often the subject could be an implied benefactor, as in (30). Example (31) illustrates the the directional no co-occurring with an object suffix where the subject is plural.

- (31) *A sla-ma-wa guzer kede heyey dəba.*
 3 cut.PL.DIR grass DEM ANA now
 They cut (some) grass (to bring back/for themselves).

When the third person object suffix co-occurs with the directional the object suffix may have different forms. A third person object suffix with a directional extension has as the full form *-ara-wa*. This form only appears on monosyllabic verb roots and roots fulfilling certain phonological rules (see Hollingsworth 1986). The reduced form *-ərwa* is found on other verb roots with singular subject and all verbs with plural subject, plural object, or causative suffixes.

The next three examples illustrate *-wa* co-occurring with a third person suffix. Example (32) illustrates the full form, (33) illustrates the reduced form with singular object (*-ərwa*) and (34) illustrates the plural third person object with the directional (*-tərwa*).

- (32) *A lal-ara-wa papərakw.*
 3 steal-O-DIR hoof
 He (went and) stole the hoof.

- (33) *A səp-ər-wa dəkw aŋga.*
 3 search-O-DIR goat his
 (He goes and) looks for his goat (to bring it back).

- (34) *Ta' , a bəl-tər-wa.*

then 3 exit-O.PL-DIR
Then, he chased them (sheep) back.

The third person referent suffix form with the directional, especially in its 'full form,' looks like the object plus benefactor suffix form. However, the individuated referent is almost always an individuated object, although because of the directional, the benefactor may be implied.

Insight into when a speaker would choose to have an object suffix co-occur with a directional can be obtained by comparing (25) and (27). These two sentences are taken from adjoining sentences in a narrative text. (30) has no object suffix because 'hoof' is not a known specific hoof. In (32), the object suffix is used to indicate that a specific hoof was stolen.

Before this section is ended, it would be appropriate to make a few comments on first and second person object suffixes which were not included in the chart. The directional, when co-occurring with a first or second person object suffix, always marks the first or second person as a benefactor rather than an object. Example (35) illustrates a second person object without the directional extension. Examples (36) and (37) illustrate the directional co-occurring with a second or first person suffix which is always interpreted as a benefactor. In (37), the *-i-* is a collapsed form of the first person object pronoun *ya*.

(35) *Ya jəw-ka.*
1 tie.up-2sgO
I tie you up.

(36) *Ya jəw-ka-wa.*
1 tie.up-2-DIR
I tie for you.

(37) *Kaa sər-i-wa gagəmay a ba?*
2 spin-1-DIR cotton ANA NEG
You are not spinning cotton for me?

In the next section we will discuss the use of the causative extension and how it affects the object. One should note that in Mofu the directional extension does not occur with the causative unless there is also an object referent.

(38) *Zləŋ a zləŋg-da-m-ər-wa.*
IDEO 3 haul.out-CAUS-PL-O-DIR
With great tugging, they hauled him out.

3.0 The causative extension and affectedness of the object

The causative extension *-da* generally increases the transitivity of the verb. As Barreteau (1989:45?) notes, all Mofu verbs seem to be able to accept the causative extension. (The one exception is the irregularly formed *masawa* 'come'.)

According to Hopper and Thompson (1980:253), one of the components of high transitivity is the "Affectedness of the object." In other words, the verb with a totally affected object is higher in transitivity than a verb with the object not totally affected or not affected at all. This section describes how the presence of the causative extension in Mofu often serves to indicate that the object is totally affected.

(39) Chart 3 - Causitive, directional and third person object suffixes

number of suffixes	verb without object suffix		verb with object suffix	
	---	+ BEN	+ O	+ BEN
(S sg) O sg + CAUS	---	---	-da	-dara
(S pl) O sg + CAUS	---	-damara	-damara	-damara
(S sg) O sg/DIR + CAUS	---	---	---	---
	---	---	-dərwa	---
(S pl) O sg/DIR + CAUS	-mawa	---	-mərwa	---
	---	---	-damərwa	---
(S sg) O pl + CAUS	---	---	-ta	-tara
	---	---	-data	-datara
(S pl) O pl + CAUS	---	-matar	-mata	-matara
	---	-damatar	-damata	-damatara
(S sg) O pl/DIR + CAUS	-wa	-matar	-ɔ̄ rwa/-arā wa	-tərwa
	---	-damatar	-dɔ̄ rwa	-datərwa
(S pl) O pl/DIR + CAUS	---	---	-matərwa	---
	---	---	-damatərwa	---

The following sentences illustrate the combinations of the causative extension and the markers of object and benefactor which appear in Table 3 above.

(40) Maja təbaŋ maaya na, ya fa da vəl-da daa ba.
 because sheep good TOP 1 P/H FUT give-CAUS CMP NEG
 Because the sheep is good, I am not about to give (it to you).

(41) A wuz-da-r-a.
 3 show.CAUS-BEN-O
 She shows it to him.

(42) Cuwete a pək-da-m-ara.
 together 3 take.walk-CAUS-PL-O
 Together they travel with it (carry it around).

(43) Ta', a han-da-m-ara bəzey kaa heyey fa bay.

then 3 carry-CAUS-PL-O child LOC ANA to chief
Then, they carry the child to the chief.

(44) A mbəɖ-da-m-ara anda kede
3 turn.CAUS-PL-BEN like that
They reply to him like that.

(45) Zləŋ a zləŋg-da-m-ər-wa...
IDEO 3 come.out-CAUS-PL-3.O-DIR
Whoop! They pulled him out (of the hole).

(46) aŋga ma zəka-da-ta sem
3 REL throw.away-CAUS-3O CMP
He has destroyed them.

(47) A wuz-da-tar-a.
3 show-CAUS-3.BEN.O
He shows it to them.

(48) Ta', a təl-da-m-ata.
then 3 transmit-CAUS-PL-O.PL
Then, they carry them.

(49) A han-da-ma-tar yam dəba.
3 carry-CAUS-PL-BEN.PL water now
They bring them water.

For most verbs, the presence of *-da* changes the semantic interpretation of the verb root. The increase in valency of the verb means that intransitive verbs become transitive and transitive verbs exhibit a higher transitivity potential.

The next set of examples illustrate how the addition of the causative extension to an intransitive root makes the verb transitive. The first two are from Barreteau (1989:34-35?). The second verb *cərdara* in (52) illustrates the causative with the third person object and benefactor form.

(50) Wuzam kaa a cəɾ-ey.
beer DEM 3 tasty-NM
This beer has a good taste.

(51) Ya cəɾ-da lar (ta manda).
1 be.tasty-CAUS sauce with salt
I seasoned the sauce with salt.
(I made the sauce tastier.)

(52) Ya hand-ər-wa manda ŋga cəɾ-d-ar-a lar ŋga mamay

1 carry.CAUS-3-DIR salt for be.tasty-CAUS-BEN-O sauce of mother.my
I brought salt to season the sauce for my mother.

The causative is also used to increase the number of arguments associated with a verb when first or second person is involved. This is illustrated for first person in the following pair of examples, the first sentence has two arguments with nothing marked by the verb. The second sentence shows the benefactor encoded in the verb.

(53) A k-ey wasa.
3 do-NM game
He plays (a game).

(54) A ka-da-ya wasa.
3 do-CAUS-1BEN game
He is playing (a game) with me.

Barreteau (1989:36?) says one CAN (emphasis mine) use the causative extension to present the instrumental complement. This is true, however, a concordance of Mofu narrative texts reveals that few verbs with causative extensions are accompanied by instrumental phrases. More often, the presence versus absence of the causative extension is determined by whether the object is or is not completely affected.

This presence/absence dichotomy is illustrated by the following pair of examples:

(55) A s-ey yam.
3 drink-NM water
He drinks water.

(56) A sa-da yam.
3 drink-CAUS water
She drinks (all) the water.

Example (55) might be used if a speaker wants to just make a statement about drinking water (as opposed to beer, for example). There is no suggestion as to how much water is affected by the verb. In (56), however, it is to be understood that the water was totally affected by the verb. This is achieved by adding the causative extension to the verb.

Similarly, when a benefactor is marked on the verb, the causative extension is added only if the verb is totally affected as illustrated by the following two examples:

(57) A s-ar yam.
3 drink-BEN water
She gives him (some) water.

(58) A sa-d-ara yam.
3 drink-CAUS-BEN water
She gives him (all) the water.

The next four examples further illustrate how the causative extension is used to indicate that the object is totally affected. Examples (59) and (60) involve the transitive verb *key* 'make, do'. Without the causative extension (50), only some of the piles of cotton are affected; with the causative, as in (51), all of them are.

(59) Ya da ka-ta kwara?

1 FUT do-O.PL how
How will I do them (some of several piles)?

(60) Ya da ka-da-ta kwara?
1 FUT do-CAUS-O.PL how
How will I do them (all)?

The following two examples, (61) and (62), involve the intransitive verb *həvey* 'cultivate' and illustrate how the causative extension is not used for non-affected objects. A discussion of why follows the examples.

(61) Ndəhay fa həv-am.
men P/H cultivate-PL
The men were cultivating (the field).

(62) Ndəhay da ley bay a gwa-m-ara ŋga həvey saba.
men in field chief 3 can-PL-O to cultivate no.more
The men in the chief's field couldn't cultivate it any more.

The use of the causative extension has to do with marking an object as being totally affected by the action. In (61), the object is not referred to in the verb, since the field, even though it is "known" from the previous sentence, is not completely affected by the act of cultivating. Rather, the men are only in the process of cultivating it; they have not cultivated all of it. By contrast, in (62), the object suffix¹¹ is attached to the auxiliary "can." The field, negatively, is totally affected by the action of cultivating, since the men are unable to complete the cultivation of the field. This does not mean that the causative extension is never used in a negative sentence.

As this section comes to a close we should note that the use of the causative extension to mark the object as totally affected is one of several devices in Mofu to show total involvement, namely when the action is completed on an object. When the emphasis is on the completion of the action rather than the action being completed on an object Mofu uses tense markers to indicate that an action is fully completed. These markers, which have been described in Hollingsworth (1989), are the following:

ta...la 'past;' *ma...la* 'past completeive;'
ta...sat/sem/cay 'perfect.'

(63) Tatakw, tatakw ndav.
IDEO:pour.out.completely IDEO all

Aa ma tatukwmara la dəba na...
3 REL pour.out.PL.O.BEN CMP now TOP
Pour, pour, pour it all out. Having poured it all out for him...

In (63), the ideophones indicate that the implied, but unnamed object referent is being acted upon, but has not been totally affected. In the second sentence of (63), that the action is completed is indicated by the use of the past completeive.

It remains to be seen whether the use of the causative extension in Mofu to indicate that an object is totally affected is related to the use of extension suffixes¹² in other Chadic languages which refer to a specific action rather than a «generalized conception of action» (Smith 1969:110). (See also Wolff's (1983:137) discussion.)

4.0 Orientation

In the previous sections, a speaker's choosing to reference an object or benefactor with a verb suffix has been shown to have as prerequisites Individuation (section 2) and Affectedness (section 3). Nevertheless, there remain many instances in which an individuated object or benefactor could have been referred to in the verb, but was not. In such instances, a third factor influencing the choice comes into play. It may be called Orientation, because this third factor has to do with the marking of a re-orientation of a story.

Although Mofu can refer to both the object and the benefactor in the verb, it tends only to refer to either one or the other. Most commonly, episodes of a narrative are oriented with respect to two individuated, animate participants. No verb reference to an inanimate or abstract prop is made, even when it is previously introduced, individuated, and totally affected by the action of the verb. Nevertheless, there are instances when the speaker overrides these normal constraints in order to change the axis of orientation and the prop is the referent in the verb. In such instances, the story may be said to be oriented with respect to the prop, rather than the animate participants.

An illustration of a change of axis of orientation to prop is found in the following extract from a Mofu text concerning a bird who sings for a chief. Example (64) is presented in English except for the verbs. The Mofu verbs are charted in a column so that the verb suffixes are more readily compared. The object and benefactive suffixes have previously individuated referents.

(64)

1.	One certain day		Ø	(there was)	a workparty in the chief's field
2.	People		fa həvam	(P/H hoe.pl)	
3a.			Fa həvam	(P/H hoe.pl)	TOP,
3b.	bird		a sawa	(3 come.DIR)	IDEO
3c.		IDEO	a njeý	(3 sit)	on tree
3d.		then	a zely	(3 begin(sing))	song: < contents of song >
4a.	They in the field		a læcam	(3 stop.PL)	everyone,
4b.			a nəkam	(3 look.PL)	all together.
5a.	This Bird		fa zla	(P/H sing.O)	song
5b.			fa zla	(P/H sing.O)	song
5c.			fa zla	(P/H sing.O)	song
6.	The chief		a lævey	(3 say)	«Bird, I want you.»
7.			A lævey	(3 say)	«If you want me, I'll come.»
8.		Then,	a daw	(3 go)	to the chief's hand.
9.	The chief	IDEO	a kərza.	(3 seize.O)	
10.		Then,	a zla	(3 sing.O)	song.
11a.			A zla	(3 sing.O)	song TOP,
11b.	People in chief's field		a gwamara	(3 can.PL.O(BEN))	hoe (it for him) no longer
12.			A sləkdamawa	(3 leave.PL.DIR)	for home.
13.	Bird there		a zlar	(3 sing.BEN)	song to chief at home, [contents of song]

14a.			A zlar	(3 sing.BEN)	song
14b.			a zlar	(3 sing.BEN)	song.
15a.			A zlar	(3 sing.BEN)	song TOP,
15b.	this chief	then,	a pa	(3 put.O)	in the granary on sesame seed.
16a.	Any time that		a wudey	(3 want)	TOP,
16b.			a larawa	(3 take(out).O.DIR)	
16c.			a zlar	(3 sing.BEN)	song.
17.		Afterwards	a pa	(3 put.O)	back in its place.

In sentences 5 to 10, the orientation is around the song. This is referred to in the verb of sentences 7 and 10. Furthermore, although the chief and the bird address each other (sentences 6 and 7), no verbal reference to them as addressees is made, even though they are previously introduced, individuated participants. It is the song which makes the bird special and which attracts the chief to the bird. The orientation of the story around the song ends with sentence 12, which is a comment on how the song affected people. When the orientation is around the song notice the lack of an animate (benefactor) referent in the verb in sentences 5, 10, and 11.

In sentences 13 to 17, the orientation changes to the two animate participants: the bird and the chief. Each time one or the other is the addressee, the verbal reference is made to him (sentences 13-16). Furthermore, although the same song is sung as in sentence 5 and 10, no verbal reference to the song is made in sentences 13-16.

As stated earlier, Mofu generally prefers animate rather than inanimate referents with verbs, and Mofu prefers two arguments rather than three. There are, however, occasions when it is appropriate to refer to all three arguments in the verb. The following passage is the beginning of a story which illustrates how both inanimate object and animate benefactor are expressed as referents (sentences 4 and 5a), before the orientation is changed to a two-argument system.

(65)

1.	Squirrel		a daw	(3.go)	to Old Woman with cotton.
2.			A ləvar,	(3.say.BEN)	«Old Woman, my cotton, spin for me, please?»
3.	Old Woman		a ləvar,	(3.say.BEN)	«Yes, Takwaw, why shouldn't I spin for you?»
4.		Then,	a sasərara.	(3.spin.O.BEN)	
5a.			A sasərara	(3.spin.O.BEN)	TOP,
5b.	Elephant		a daw	(3.go)	with his (cotton) also.
6.			A ləvar	(3.say.BEN)	«Old Woman, spin my cotton for me, please?»
7.			Ø		«No, Big Chief, I took, I spin for Takwaw here, as for that, it's better I finish it, otherwise how can I do them both?»
8.	Elephant		a njerey,	(3.complain)	«Humph! Is Takwaw greater than I, Old Woman?»
9.			Ø		«No, Big Chief!»
10.	Old Woman	IDEO	a təba	(3.accept.O)	the cotton of the Elephant.
11a.		Then,	aa səra	(3.spin.O)	
11b.			aa səra	(3.spin.O)	

The story in (65) has three animate participants, Old Woman, Elephant and Squirrel. The conflict is between the two animate participants, Elephant and Squirrel, each with a pile of cotton (a prop). However, at sentence 4, only one animal participant, Squirrel, and his cotton, has been introduced. As there is only one major animate and one inanimate referent to be kept track of at this point, they both can be referenced in the verb (*sasərara* - spin.O.BEN) without a clarifying accompanying noun phrase. Furthermore, the Squirrel (known by his name, Takwaw) and his cotton can be referred to by verbal suffix because the only salient information in sentence 4 is the action "spin." The object and benefactor referents in the verb (cotton and Squirrel) are previously individuated and non-rhematic, thus explaining why we find both object and benefactor forms on the verb in sentence 4.

With the arrival of the antagonist, Elephant, in sentence 5, the orientation changes. In sentences 6-8, the interaction is between two animate participants. Then, in sentences 10-11, the orientation switches to the prop, as the woman accepts it and then spins it (the repetition of the verb in sentence 11 indicates that the salient information is the action). Elephant fades from the scene and, when Squirrel reappears, the woman is still spinning cotton. In sentence 10 the cotton is identified as "the cotton of Elephant." In sentence 11 the speaker can return to the preferred two argument sentence (as opposed to three argument), but he uses marked orientation of referring to the prop rather than the benefactor. Because of the identification of cotton with Elephant in sentence 10, the speaker uses the marked orientation in sentence 11 to remind us of the tension developing between Elephant and Squirrel over the cotton. Instead of saying "she spins it for Elephant" as in sentence 4, which would mark both "cotton" and "Elephant" as individuated or "she spins for Elephant," in order to reference the animate which would have been the expected, the speaker switches orientation to an inanimate object and has highlighted the prop as important to the story.

5.0 Conclusion

Mofu verbs can take a variety of suffixes. The pragmatics of which suffixes might or should appear have to do with degrees of transitivity. Of Hopper and Thompson's parameters of increased transitivity, Individuation and Affectedness are most applicable in considering Mofu verb suffixes. The causative extension, which increases transitivity, marks total affectedness of the object referent. Object and benefactor suffixes occur only when they have already been individuated and are non-rhematic.

First or second person pronoun object suffixes when co-occurring with the directional extension mark first or second person benefactors. What appears to be a third person benefactor suffix, when co-occurring with the directional, is really an object referent.

Mofu sentences with transitive verbs tend to be of a two-argument axis referring to animate beings. However, this preference may be overridden because of story orientation, so that an inanimate object is the second argument or so that both an inanimate object and a benefactor are attached to the verb.

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ENDNOTES

¹ The original draft of this article was written under Research Permit No. 15/91 authorized by the Ministry for Higher Education, Computer Services, and Scientific Research (now Ministry of Scientific and Technical Research) of the Republic of Cameroon. The primary texts used in the study for this paper were stories told by ZAMAKAI Laban, SEKWAR WAY David, and GALLA Golived. Glosses for the stories were provided by GALLA Golived and ALMARA Jean-Baptiste. ALMARA Jean-Baptiste, FARIKOU David, KERMI Mamoudou, and NGABANÁI Andre were consulted on various points of interpretation of Mofu. I am very grateful to Dr. Stephen Levinsohn and Dr. James Roberts for the insights and considerable guidance they offered as this paper was written.

Examples are presented in phonemic orthography. Most of the letters have straightforward values, but the following symbols require explanation: the two-tier tone system is not written, ' represents glottal stop, *b* and *d* represent voiced glottalic ingressive stops, *c* and *j* represent voiceless and voiced palato-alveolar affricates, and *sl* and *zl* represent voiceless and voiced alveolar lateral fricatives. Current orthography practice does not include the marking of tone which in Mofu is phonemically a two-level system. For this reason, tone is only marked in Chart 1.

Abbreviations used in glosses and text are

1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, ANA anaphoric, BEN benefactive (including malefactive), CAUS causative, CMP completive, DEM demonstrative, DIR directional exention, FUT future, IDEO ideophone, INJ interjection, lit literally LOC locative, NEG negative, NM neutral or null verb suffix, NP noun phrase, O object, PERF perfect, P/H progressive/habitual, PL plural, PAST past, QM question marker, S subject, TAG tag question, TOP topic.

If no number occurs in connection with BEN or O, the referent is understood to be third person.

² Mofu-Gudur, also called Mofu-South, is a Chadic language spoken in the Far North province of Cameroon. For the rest of this paper the shortened form Mofu will be used. Dieu and Renaud (1983:357) have placed Mofu in the Central Branch, Mafa group, in a subgroup with Giziga.

³ The parameters are PARTICIPANTS (two or more versus one), KINESIS (action versus non-action), ASPECT (telic versus atelic), PUNCTUALITY (punctual e.g., <kick>] versus non-punctual e.g., <carry>]), VOLITIONALITY (volitional acting purposefully] versus non-volitional), AFFIRMATION (affirmative versus negative), MODE (realis versus irrealis), AGENCY (agent high in potency versus agent low in potency), AFFECTEDNESS OF O (O totally affected e.g., <I drank up the milk>] versus O less affected e.g., <I drank some of the milk>]), INDIVIDUATION OF O (O highly individuated versus O non-individuated).

⁴ Some documented languages include Gouffe 1962:189 Hausa]; Smith 1969 Kapsiki]; Schuh 1972:29ff Ngizim]; Haller, et al. 1980:24ff Zulgo]; Wolff 1983 Lamang]; Newman 1983:405 Hausa]; Caron 1987 Hausa]; and Barreteau and Le Bleis 1990 Mafa].

⁵ Newman (1973:334) defines the concept of extensions as «purely optional additions that serve to expand or modify the meaning of the basic verb.» He also notes that «...the extensions are not mutually exclusive.» Newman's definition is the working definition taken for this paper.

For some verbs such as *handa-* <carry> and *cānda-* <hear>, the root plus the CAUS extension has become lexicalized.

⁶ The properties of INDIVIDUATED/NON-INDIVIDUATED objects are listed by Timberlake (1977:162) as proper vs. common; human, animate vs. inanimate; concrete vs. abstract; singular vs. plural; definite vs. indefinite. Hooper and Thompson (1980:253) add count vs. mass.

⁷ Mofu is a two-tier tonal language and Barreteau's (1988b:50) list of direct and indirect object suffixes shows a basic distinction between direct object suffixes and indirect object suffixes. Except for third person singular, first person dual, and first person inclusive, the direct object suffix is low tone with a preceding high tone, whereas the indirect object is high tone with a preceding low tone. Because current orthography practice does not include the writing of tone and because the tonal distinctions do not change the thrust of this paper, tone markings have not been included in this paper.

⁸ The *-ey* suffix is not used with the verbs *madaw* <go> (**medey* <to go>) and *masawa* <come> (**mesey* <to come>.) <Come> always appears with the directional extension.

<i>a daw a luma</i>	<i>a diy-am a luma</i>
3 go to market	3 go.PL to market
He goes to market.	They go to market.

<i>a sa-wa da luma</i>	<i>a sa-ma-wa da luma</i>
3 come.DIR from market	3 come.PL.DIR from market
He comes from market.	They come from market.

⁹ In African folktales, it is common for an animal character to be considered much as a human participant. The name of the animal is often the name by which they are addressed and so the species name becomes their personal name. It is capitalized to so indicate this usage. In this story, Bird is a specific character.

¹⁰ *Akwar ta pər-ma-ndara vəley hay la.*
You PST wash-PL-O.1.EX calabash PL CMP
You have washed for us the calabashes

Vəl-ma-ndar vəley hay a, ya pər-ma-kwara may ta.
give-PL-BEN.2 calabash PL ANA 1 wash-PL-BEN.2 please
Give those calabashes to us please and we will wash them for you.

¹¹. Because there is neutralization between the O only form and the O + BEN form for plural subjects, it is not evident whether the benefactor (<for the chief>) was intended or not. Also, the neutralization obscures the amount of affectedness of the object. However, context helps in this case.

¹² LeBleis and Barreteau (1987) have shown that in Mafa, there exist five extensions: directional, causative, locative, inachievement and overachievement. The inachievement and

overachievement extensions find a parallel in the Hopper and Thompson's Affectedness of object parameter. In Mofu, Affectedness is not marked by a suffix dedicated only to Affectedness, but marked by a verbal suffix primarily dedicated to mark causative.