ON THE INTRANSITIVE COPY PRONOUNS IN CHADIC

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is an analysis of the rules that govern the derivation of ICPs in some Chadic languages. The specific goal of this paper is to explain the function of the ICPs in the verbal system of the Chadic languages and to show the relationship between this type of suffix and some other formatives with which it forms a system.

The term "intransitive copy pronouns" (proposed by Newman [1971]) designates pronouns suffixed to a verb, and having the same features for number, gender, and person as the subject of the sentence, e.g. in Kanakuru

(1) Basha a ga-to mana 'Basha entered the house' [Newman 1974:23]
    enter-ICP house

where -to, 3.p.f pronoun agrees with Basha, a feminine proper name.

Newman [1971:189] postulates a rule which states that in certain tenses, viz. perfective, relative perfective, subjunctive, and imperative, when the construction is intransitive, the ICP is obligatorily suffixed to the verb. This rule is retained in Newman [1974:23], and the class of intransitive sentences is specified as containing simple intransitives with motion verbs, and agentless sentences with objective as subject. Newman stresses that the notions "transitive" and "intransitive" apply to sentence types and not to classes of verb roots. The above rule for Kanakuru appears to add a redundant feature to sentences that are fully specified by some other means. Thus, the rule describes what happens in Kanakuru but does not explain why it happens.

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In Pero, a related language belonging to the same branch of Chadic, the ICPs occur as well. But the rule that has been postulated for Kanakuru is not valid for Pero; specifically, Pero verbs of motion do not require an ICP, e.g.

(2) mákúl-kò 'he has wandered about' < mákkúlò 'wander about'  
Perf.  
but not *mákúl-k-ee -nì  
Perf. ICP

(3) nì-cúg-inà 'I have fallen down' < cúgà 'fall down'  
Perf. Vent.  
but not *nì-cúg-in-ee-nò  
ICP

Sentences with motion verbs are not the only intransitive constructions in which the ICPs do not occur, e.g.

(4) nì-cín-kò 'I slept'  
lp. Perf.  

Thus, in Pero an intransitive construction does not automatically require an ICP suffix.

2. Analysis of the ICPs in Pero

2.1. ICP with intransitive verb. From the data collected, it appears that the ICPs occur only when the sentence consists of V and only one NP (locative, time, and instrumental NPs are not taken into consideration). All the examples in this section will serve to illustrate this point. The above observation is of course true for Kanakuru also. In Pero it constitutes the first condition for the occurrence of an ICP suffix.

2.2. No ICP with objective. If the verb has the inherent property of occurring in the syntactic frame [A,O], i.e. is inherently transitive, then, if it occurs with an objective only the second condition for the occurrence of an ICP is met, e.g.

(5) a. péngúrò 'get something back, retrieve something'  
b. píngír-g-ée-nì  
Perf.ICP

(6) a. nì bélo-kò jírè vúró-ì 'I broke the branch off the tree'  
I break-Perf. branch tree-Def.  
b. jók bél-k-ée-tò 'the chair got broken'  
chair Perf.ICP (3f)

(7) a. itukkò jándè 'hide the yam'  
b. tuk-t-ée-ji 'hide yourself (f)'  
hide-vent. ICP (2f)
However, not all sentences that are intransitive and contain an inherently transitive verb require an ICP. Consider the following examples, all of them containing a transitive verb:

(8) dúè ìv-áahì 'the bird is caught' < ívù 'catch'
    bird stative
(9) mín-ì wúll-ánì 'the beer is brewed'
    beer-Def. brew-stative
    cf. tà-wúllò mín 'he will brew beer'

Note that in the above examples, the meaning of the verbs is stative. The following is therefore postulated as the third necessary condition for the suffixation of ICPs in Pero.

2.3. ICP with change of state. The ICP in Pero will occur only when the meaning of the sentence involves a change of state. It will not occur in stative sentences such as (8) and (9). The difference between sentences (10) and (11) is the one between stative and inchoative meaning.

(10) yé díge ícc-áanì 'the pot is dry'
    inside pot stative
(11) yé-díge íccé-k-ée-ò
    Perf.ICP (3f) 'the pot dried'
(12) nì-tà-íccò díge '[hdeéccò díge] I will dry the pot'

2.4. ICP gives inchoative meaning. It appears that there is yet another function of the ICP suffixes in Pero, related to the one described in 2.3. If the verb is inherently stative, then by adding an ICP suffix, one obtains the meaning of entering the state, i.e. it has an inchoative meaning. An example of this distinction in English may be the pair 'to be seated' and 'sit down'. The following is an example from Pero:

(13) nì-d-ínà tù gbandum 'I lived in Gwandum' (no ICP)
    Perf. Loc.
(14) nì-dí-jì tù gbandum 'I live in Gwandum' (no ICP) cont.
(15) nì-wàn -nà fífà nì-nd-ée-nù 'I came to Filiya and settled'
    come Perf. I conj. ICP

2.5. The stative suffix -ánì. Sentences (8)-(10) illustrate one of the functions of this suffix, which can be described as adding the stative meaning to the non-stative verbs. The meaning of this type of sentence is 'X is in the state Y', where Y consists of the semantic components of the verb. A few more examples of this type of sentence:

(16) yá ówè núdd-ánì 'the gruel is stirred'.
There are a few other functions of this suffix in Pero, some of them related to its stative meaning, but they do not have a bearing on the system which is described in this paper.

2.6. "Causative" suffix -n. If the verb has an inherent property of occurring with objective NP only, then, if it has to occur in the syntactic frame [A,O], a morpheme -n "causative" is suffixed to the verb and the object of the verb may be introduced by the preposition ka, e.g.

(19) cékkú-tò-n dóè  'lose everything'  < cékò 'to be lost'
    cf. kúrbè tà jígú-tù 'the money will be lost' (vent.)
      money fut.
(20) íllo-n kà né  'get me up'  < íllo 'get up'
      with me
      péto-kò-n bírà   'he took it out'
    cf. péto kò bírà    'he went out'

etc. This suffix has some other functions in Pero but they do not pertain to the system under consideration.

2.7. Summary of the system in Pero. It appears that the crucial information for the operation of the ICP suffixes as well as the stative and the causative suffixes in Pero are the inherent semantic and syntactic properties of verbs. Among the syntactic properties, the only important information is whether the verb occurs with one argument or with two arguments, V (NP,NP). The only semantic information that is important is whether the verb is inherently stative or not. Thus, one can postulate the following types of verbs in Pero:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (NP)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (NP,NP)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that if a verb is [+stative] it will be [+V (NP)]. Some examples to illustrate various types of verbs.

Type I: cékò 'be lost'; dì 'be seated'; cíñà 'sleep'; céto 'stand'; etc.
Type II: ámbò 'climb'; péto 'go out'; wáliù 'go, walk'; wállò 'wander about'; etc.
Type III: vúndò 'cook'; pǐlù 'sell'; cúbù 'show'; etc.
Use of any of the above verbs in the syntactic frame different from its inherent frame or in the semantic frame different for the feature stative from its inherent frame requires addition of a suffix. Thus, if the verb is of the type I, its use in the semantic frame of type II will require addition of an ICP. If the verb is of type II, its use in the syntactic frame of type III will require an addition of the suffix -n. The same rule operates when a verb of type I has to occur in the syntactic frame of type III. If the verb of type III has to occur in the frame of type I, the suffix -ani is added. It appears that Pero, unlike English, cannot have a situation in which a verb of type II occurs in the frame of type I. Thus, the pair 'to go' and 'gone' does not have an equivalent in Pero.

There are several verbs in Pero that appear to have the property of belonging to more than one type, and it appears that because of this, the speakers sometimes apply to them the rules outlined above and sometimes not. The following are a few examples of such verbs: ìccò 'to dry' was said to belong to type III (cf. sentences (10)-(12)). However, there are sentences that indicate that this verb may be treated as belonging to type II, e.g.

(22) dlge ìccò-kò 'the pot dried' (no ICP, no stative suffix)

Interestingly, along with two different syntactic classifications goes a semantic distinction. Sentences (10)-(12) indicate a pot which had had water in it, while (22) indicates a freshly made clay pot.

3. Analysis of Other Chadic Languages

The following analysis has a twofold purpose: it aims to find out whether the system proposed for Pero has equivalents in other Chadic languages, and second, to determine the functions of the ICPs in other languages. The data are from some twenty languages from the West, Biu-Mandara, and East Branches of Chadic, arranged according to the classification of Newman [1977]. My conclusions have to be treated as very tentative for several reasons. First, I did not have adequate data for the languages from the East Branch, and none for Masa, which Newman [1977] considers to be the fourth branch of Chadic. Second, sources for other languages, excellent otherwise, were sometimes not very helpful as far as the ICPs are concerned. Several writers admitted that they did not understand the meaning and function of the ICPs, or stated that the use of the ICPs is redundant.

3.1. West Branch, Subbranch A. Hausa: Hausa preserves only traces of the ICPs, used only with the verbs je 'go' and zo and ya 'come' (cf. Newman [1971:194]). Newman claims that "at a not too distant period in the past, Hausa intransitives in Aux 1 were regularly and systematically marked by a fully operative icp agreement system." I will return to this hypothesis la-

Sources for particular languages are mentioned in the text. I have followed the system of transcription as used in the sources cited. For Pero, I have been using my own field notes.
ter in this paper. For the time being, it is important to find out which verbal forms have taken over the function or functions that used to be indicated by the ICPs. The reason that one is seeking an answer to this question is not only the fact that there are some traces of the ICPs, but also the fact that Hausa has the other elements of the system described earlier in this paper. Thus, it has a causative suffix -as (grade V in Parsons' classification), which, among other functions, changes an inherently intransitive verb into a transitive. There are at least three forms available in Hausa to indicate stative: one of them is the verbal form ending in -u (Parsons' grade VII), e.g. täaru 'collect, assemble', jèerú 'line up', ràbú 'part', etc. [Parsons 1960/61:25]. Another is the use of so-called participial forms of the type dàfàffèe 'cooked' as predicates and finally the use of deverbal stative nouns (Parsons' VANS) as in the following sentence:

(23) sù nàa kaamé dà Gàràayí'i 'they have the thieves under arrest'
     they Prog. arrest assoc. thieves

     [Parsons 1961:121]

It seems that the prime candidate to complete the system is the verbal form ending in -a and having the tonal structure for the bisyllabic verb LH (Parsons' grade III). A perusal of the grade III forms in Parsons [1960/61] and Parsons [1971/72] did not turn up a verb in this grade that would have stative meaning.

Kanakuru: The main function of the ICPs in Kanakuru appears to be that of changing inherently transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. Compare the following examples:

(24) nà por panda 'I took out the mat'
(25) nà poro-no 'I went out'

But since the ICPs have to be added to all intransitive constructions, it appears that their usage has been expanded and they are not perceived as intransitivizing suffixes only. Thus, all the intransitive verbs of motion have this suffix, e.g.

(26) à do-to 'she came'

When such a verb is used in a transitive construction, the ICP is retained, e.g.

(27) à do-to-nu 'she brought it'

Stative in Kanakuru is formed by suffixation to the verb stem of the nominalizing suffix -ma and a pronoun which differs from the ICP, e.g.

(28) wo-nàa til-mo-nò u 'I am not burnt'
(29) shìjì jáŋ-ŋa-jì 'you (f) are cured'
Newman [1974:34] provides several arguments for not equating ICPs with the pronoun set occurring in stative constructions. Although I am not going to deal with this problem in this paper, it should be noted that the phenomenon of suffixing the pronouns to the adjectives is frequent. It occurs in at least two branches of Chadic, having been noted in Ngizim, Margi, and Kapsiki, to mention just a few languages.

**Bolanci:** In Bolanci a structure of the form verb + jii + possessive pronoun changes a transitive verb into an intransitive, e.g.

(30) bó1-áa-jìi-nì 'it will break'

Lukas [1971:12] has noted that the same type of construction is used with intransitive verbs, and he considers the ICPs in this usage to be redundant, e.g.

(31) pet-é-jìi-tò 'she went out'\(^3\)

Bolanci has another construction in which an inherently transitive verb occurs with only one NP, e.g.

(32) 'n-gówú-wo 'I was hit'
(33) 'n-gowá 'I will be hit'
(34) 'n-gówú-woo-yìí 'I have hit it'

Lukas [1970-72:132] states that the lack of morpheme yìí with transitive verbs is a marker of passive. We will come across similar constructions in other languages later on.

The stative in Bolanci is formed by suffixing possessive pronouns to the verbal noun, e.g.

(35) motá-nì 'he is dead'
    bolá-nì 'it is broken'
    mi"ya ganda-su 'the people are lying down'

Bolanci has also a transitizer -t-, used with inherently intransitive verbs, which apparently is restricted to only a few verbs (Russell Schuh, personal communication).

Unfortunately, I was not able to determine from Lukas [1970-72] and Lukas [1971] the difference between the so-called passives of the structure NP Vtr and the intransitive constructions of the type NP Vtr + jìi + ICP. Since

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\(^3\)Russell Schuh [personal communication] indicated that the gloss here should be 'she will go out'.

Bolanci has a construction specifically indicating stative, it would seem that the difference between NP Vtr and NP Vtr + jii + ICP cannot be the one between non-stative and stative. However, there is still another possibility. If the stative construction in Bolanci is limited to the present tense only (or, which is more likely, if it is tenseless), then the difference between the so-called passive and the stative construction will be only one of tense, i.e. the passive construction would replace the stative in all tenses but the present. The difference between the "passive" and the construction with the ICP might be the one between stative and non-stative. Although the data in Lukas [1970-72] do not contradict this hypothesis, nevertheless, it should be checked on a larger body of data.

Ron languages: In Fyer, the object suffixes are often attached to intransitive verbs, and Jungraithmayr [1970:50] describes their function as "reflexive medial", which implies, in my understanding, an inchoative meaning.

Bokkos has remnants of an intransitive marker -at, e.g. bukât 'trip', hatat 'turn (intr)', sunat 'dream'. That the suffix -at is not productive is indicated by the fact that verbs which have this suffix do not have counterparts without it. In monosyllabic verbs, ICPs have a [-stative] meaning. Compare the following examples [Jungraithmayr 1970:118]:

(36) tì -i fót -a yá
    Tns. Ip. lose 2p. completely
    'I have lost you'

(37) tì-í fót-un
    Ip.sg.
    'I hid myself'

(38) tì-í fót
    'I am lost' (stative)

Note that in Bokkos, as in Bolanci, the lack of any overt object marker with transitive verbs is an indicator of an intransitive construction. In the case of Bokkos, this construction has a stative meaning, judging from the examples given by Jungraithmayr [1970].

3.2. West Chadic, Subbranch B. Ngizim: Schuh [1972:28] considers ICPs as the allomorphs of the totality extension which are suffixed to intransitive verbs, so it would appear that the only thing that the ICPs in Ngizim have in common with the ICPs in languages described so far is the fact that they occur in intransitive constructions. But their function appears to be different. However, Ngizim does have other elements of the system. Thus, if verbs that are inherently intransitive (Schuh calls them "basic intransitives") are used in a transitive construction, a transitivizing suffix -náa or -dù is added.

Stative predicates can be derived from verbs by adding a prefix dá to the verbal noun, e.g.

(39) akəraucin da-jiba
    'the thieves are caught'
Schuh [1972:80] states that statives derived from intransitive verbs may take the totality extension, i.e. ICP, e.g.

\[(40)\]  
\[\text{ii dar'yi-gaa} \]  
\[\text{I Iep}\]  
\[\text{'I am standing'}\]  

The usage of ICPs with such verbs as 'to stand', 'to sit', and 'to lie down' is a convincing indicator that the function of the ICPs here was not that of totality, but rather inchoative, similar to the function of ICPs in several other languages. That this function is not primary anymore is indicated by the fact that ICPs are preserved in the stative construction.

Finally, verbs that are inherently transitive may either be used in intransitive constructions without any markers of intransitivity or the ICP may be added to them as to any other intransitive verb.

3.3. Biu-Mandara Branch, Subbranch A. Tera: The stative marker in Tera is -an, similar to the stative in Pero. That this is not an accidental similarity is shown by the fact that the same form that indicates stative in both languages indicates $\emptyset$ anaphora as well, e.g.

\[(41)\]  
\[\text{mban xɔ$^*$-an}\]  
\[\text{'the belly is swollen' (stative)}\]  

\[(42)\]  
\[\text{tem $^\prime\prime$ yoɔt$^*$-an}\]  
\[\text{'we are dyeing (them)' (\$ anaphora)}\]  

There is an OV construction in Tera, similar to Bokkos, e.g.

\[(43a)\]  
\[\text{woy-a wà ruba}\]  
\[\text{boy injure}\]  
\[\text{'the boy was injured'}\]  

\[(43b)\]  
\[\text{ʃu-a ká zurə}\]  
\[\text{'the meat will be fried'}\]  

Intransitive verbs in Tera may take an ICP, e.g.

\[(44)\]  
\[\text{koro-a wà xa varan xa}\]  
\[\text{donkey-the prf sat himself down}\]  
\[\text{'the donkey sat himself down'}\]  

Newman [1970:49] says, "I am unclear about the semantic difference between [this] sentence and [(45)]\]."

\[(45)\]  
\[\text{koro-a wà xa ya}\]  
\[\text{'the donkey sat down'}\]  

As a possible explanation, one could perhaps postulate that the verb xa 'to sit' is inherently stative, and therefore the inchoative is realized by an ICP suffix. Thus, the only function of the ICP in Tera would be that of changing a stative verb into a non-stative. There is, however, an obstacle for the proposed analysis of Tera: Newman [1970:61] gives the sentence

\[(46)\]  
\[\text{Ali xar-an ya}\]  
\[\text{'Ali is seated' (stative)}\]  

which would at the first sight contradict the hypothesis that the verb xa
is inherently stative. In order to resolve the problem, I would like to know if there are sentences similar to (46) in other tenses, e.g. in the past or future. If there are not, then (46) does not contradict the hypothesis. The system of grammatical relations in Tera would include the ICP to indicate inchoative and passive to indicate intransitive and stative. Stative and passive would supplement each other in the system of tenses, in which stative is not marked for any tense.

**Margi**: The ICPs in Margi are suffixed to the intransitive verb followed by a possessive linker. Hoffmann [1963:209] states that they are frequently suffixed to the verbs of motion. The fact that they are suffixed to the verbs meaning 'lie' and 'sit' indicates that they might have had an inchoative meaning. Compare the following example quoted by Hoffmann [1963:209]:

(47) dé ìṣhádú gà lì ìrá mádièmá gándà gà pìdà gándà
   'and the squirrel went in under his shelter and lay down'
   (ICPs are underlined)

The causative suffix -ani has, as in most other Chadic languages, two functions: one Hoffmann describes as "cause person or thing to do (the action of the verb)" and the other is clearly transitivizing, e.g.

(48) hyà 'to rise, to stand up' hyànì 'to raise, to wake up (tr)'
    mzù 'to spoil (intr)' mzànì 'to spoil (tr)'

The participle, formed through reduplication, may be used as a predicate. From the examples provided by Hoffmann [1963:165], it appears that if a verb is inherently [-stative], the participle will be [+stative], e.g.

(49) òwìvù 'to become thin, lean' òwìòwìvù 'emaciated, lean, meagre'
    'ùl 'to dry (intr)' òùììùl 'dried, dry'
    ògyù 'to burn (intr)' ògyììgù 'burnt'

A transitive verb may occur with only one HP, without any marker of intransitivity.

4. **Summary**

4.1. **The functions of the ICP.** There appear to be differences between the functions of the ICPs in the West and Biu-Mandara branches. In the West branch, ICPs have both transitivizing and inchoative functions. They can be added to inherently transitive verbs, changing them into intransitive and probably inchoative, and they can be added to intransitive stative verbs, changing them into inchoative. In the Biu-Mandara branch, they can be added to intransitive verbs only, changing them into inchoative in those languages in which the system is productive.

The claim that intransitives in Hausa were at one time marked by a fully
operative ICP agreement system cannot be defended in the light of the data from Pero and other languages. If Hausa had a system of ICP agreement, its function might have been either to indicate inchoative or intransitive or both, but it was not a system to mark redundantly every intransitive construction. The situation in Kanakuru seems to be unique among Chadic languages in that the ICPs are obligatorily added to every intransitive sentence.

There seems to be yet another function of ICPs in Chadic. In a number of languages from both the West and the Biu-Mandara branches, a set of pronouns is added to predicatively used adjectives. This set of pronouns differs from the ICP set if a language has one. I am not able now to say whether there is any relationship between these two phenomena.

4.2. Grammatical/semantic functions marked in proto-Chadic. It appears that proto-Chadic had a system to indicate the following grammatical and/or semantic functions in a sentence:

a. transitivity  
b. stative  
c. intransitive  
d. inchoative

These elements are realized by various means in different languages, but regardless of the means, one can still detect the existence of the system. ICPs realized the inchoative and the intransitive functions; stative was realized by several means including a morpheme of the form -an(V). Inherently intransitive verbs could be made transitive with a "causative" morpheme which can be found in most of the present languages.

REFERENCES


