CHADIC EXTENSIONS AND PRE-DATIVE VERB FORMS IN HAUSA*

Paul Newman
Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden

Two derivational extensions are reconstructed for Proto-Chadic:
a Distant extension *(a)wa, which places the action of a verb
at some distance from or in the direction of the speaker, and a
Destinative extension *in, which relates the action to a person
as its destination, beneficiary, or otherwise affected party.
These extensions are illustrated by descriptions of the form
and function of their reflexes in present-day Chadic languages
belonging to two of the major branches of the family (West and
Biu-Mandara). Hausa, which retains the Distant extension in
the grade 6 form of the verb, appears to have lost the Destina-
tive. It is argued, however, that a reflex of the Destinative
can be identified in Hausa, although it no longer functions as
a derivational extension. This is the unusual pre-dative form
with final -r̃/-m of grade 2, 3, and 7 verbs. The interpreta-
tion of this pre-dative form as a Destinative is offered as a
counterproposal to Parsons' analysis of this form as a "borrowed"
grade 5.

1. Introduction

In most Chadic languages the meaning of a verb can be developed or
modified by the addition of derivational extensions, e.g. Hausa fít-óo
'come out' < fìtá 'go out'; Bole yàw-tú 'take down' < yàwwú 'get
down'; Margi sà-nyà 'drink all' < sà 'drink'. The extensions are
usually indicated by bound suffixes, but separable particles, prefixes,
vocalic replacements, and tonal changes are also used. In some languages
the extensions are highly productive derivational affixes, while in others,
they have become lexically restricted or have moved in the direction of

becoming inflectional/grammatical markers. Viewed comparatively, one finds that some of the extensions found in individual languages are unique and show no resemblance to extensional elements in other languages, while other extensions (such as the "transitizer/causative" da , the "totality" anya , and the "completive" kwa) have a wide distribution throughout the family.[1] It can be assumed that Proto-Chadic made use of verbal extensions, although exactly how many and which ones is not known.

In this paper, I shall focus on two particular extensions that I believe can be reconstructed for Proto-Chadic with a high degree of certainty. These are the DISTANT extension *(a)wa and the DESTINATIVE extension *in . First I shall describe the presumed nature of these extensions in Proto-Chadic and then present evidence from present-day languages to support the reconstructions. In so doing, I shall also be illustrating the various ways in which these extensions have altered over time. Finally, I shall turn to a peculiar problem in Hausa morphology and suggest a solution based on the identification of a previously unsuspected reflex of the Proto-Chadic "Destinative".

2. DISTANT *(a)wa

2.1. Function. The original meaning of the Distant extension would have been to indicate that the action of the verb was done "there" at some distance from the speaker. With motion verbs, it may also have indicated movement in the direction of the speaker. In many present-day languages, this "Ventive" sense of "do towards someone" or "do and come to someone" has been generalized so that it applies to all verbs. Moreover, where this directional "Ventive" sense is now primary, as opposed to the original spatial "Distant" sense, the extension sometimes also has accompanying benefactive/dative connotations, i.e. indicating action in the direction of *or* for the benefit of someone. It is unlikely that these benefactive/dative meanings pertained to the proto Distant extension, which was probably entirely locative in nature.

---

[1]The exact phonological shape of these three extensions in Proto-Chadic is yet to be reconstructed. The forms given here are simply approximations noted for referential purposes.

2.2. Position. In Proto-Chadic, the Distant was probably the exten-
sional suffix most closely bound to the verb stem, i.e. occurring im-
mediately after the verb (which might be inflected for aspect or number)
and before pronominal suffixes or other extensions. Note the following
example from Gisiga, where the presumably original position of the
Distant marker has been preserved: a m-o taŋ de /he/return-Dst/them/
Transitizer/ 'he returned them back here'.

2.3. Reconstruction. Reconstruction of the Distant morpheme *(a)wa [2]
is supported by evidence from the following languages, representing two
of the three major branches of Chadic.[3]

(1)

West Branch		Biu-Mandara Branch	
Sha	-ó	Gisiga	-awa/-o(o)
Hausa	-óo/-wóo	Bachama	-á(a)
Ngizim	-àyí/-ài/-ée	Tera	á

2.3.1. Sha. In Sha [Jungraithmayr 1970], one of the languages in the
Ron group, a verb stem indicating action at a distance from or in the
direction of the speaker (= "*Distanzstamm*") is formed by adding a suf-
fix -ó to the verbal base, whether simple (the "*Grundaspektstamm*") or
reduplicated (the "*Habitativstamm*"), e.g. (mid tone unmarked):

(2) mbùt   'seek'   mbùt-ó   'seek (for me)'
     bân   'jump'   bən-ó   'jump this way'
     dèŋ   'pull'   dèŋ-ó   'pull towards here'
     dyàŋàŋ   'pull (hab)'   dyàŋàŋ-ó   'pull (hab) here'
     lwágág   'go up (hab)'   lwágág-ó   'come up (hab)'

---

[2]The proto-form cannot be reconstructed with a final -o, in spite of its
repeated occurrence in a number of present-day languages, since this vowel
almost certainly did not exist in the Proto-Chadic phonemic inventory.

[3]In Newman [1977], the Chadic family is subdivided into three major
branches (West, Biu-Mandara, and East) plus an isolated group (Masa) that is
treated as an independent branch. Unfortunately, I was not able to find
information on East or Masa languages that had a bearing on the two ex-
tensions in question.

In forming verb stems used in the perfect tense, the extensional suffix -ó is added before the perfect marker -(h)i .[4]

(3) mbùt-í   'seek (perf.)'   mbùt-ó-hí   'seek (for me) (perf.)'
     bén-i   'jump (perf.)'   bən-ó-hí   'jump this way (perf.)'
     dèŋ-í   'pull (perf.)'   dèŋ-ó-hí   'pull towards here (perf.)'

2.3.2. <u>Hausa</u>. In Hausa, the proto Distant extension is to be found incorporated in the "grade 6" Ventive verb stems [Parsons 1960/61] , i.e. those with (Hi) ... Hi tone ending in -óo/-wóo ,[5] e.g. fít-óo 'come out' < fìtá 'go out'; fáaɗ-óo 'fall this way' < fáaɗì 'fall'; sáy-óo 'buy and bring' < sàyí 'buy'; háng-óo 'espy at a distance' < hàngí 'espy'; w-óo (= y-óo = yí-wóo)'do and come' or 'do for me' < yí 'do'; jáa-wóo 'pull here' < jáa 'pull'; kíráa-wóo 'call here' < kíráa 'call'. As just illustrated, the full suffix -wóo is only used with Cí , Cáa , and CVCáa verbs. All others simply replace the final vowel of the verb by -óo . Contrary to the presumed proto-pattern, the Ventive suffix in Hausa is not necessarily the first extension to be attached to the verb when more than one is used, e.g.

(4) já-ny-óo   'pull all this way' (vb-Totality-Vnt)
     káry-ák-óo   'break up and bring' (vb-Intensive-Vnt)[6]
     fíd-d-óo   'bring out' (vb-Causative-Vnt)

---

[4]Jungraithmayr treats -i as the perfect suffix and the /h/ as an epenthetic consonant (and similarly for the perfect marker (h)e in the closely related Kulere language). Historically, hi is the original form (cognate with Pero ko , Bole Wo , Ngizim -w , etc.), of which the isolated vowel -i represents a phonological reduction.

[5]The final vowel of grade 6 verbs is long in all positions. It does not shorten before noun objects, as originally stated but later corrected by Parsons, nor can it be said to be short in pre-pausal position in spite of the fact that it is characterized there by a non-distinctive glottal closure usually associated with final short vowels.

[6]The function of this extension -ak- (or -ikk-) is unclear. It is not found in standard Hausa and has received only sketchy description in the dialects in which it occurs. According to Taylor [1959:102], "it intensifies the meaning of the simple verb." Historically, it may be a reflex of the Proto-Chadic Completive extension, preserved in many West Chadic languages as a perfect marker (see footnote 4).

The third example in (4), with the dialectal "decausative" [Gouffé 1962], can be contrasted with the equivalent standard Hausa form fít-óo dà 'bring out' with the order of extensions reversed.[7]

2.3.3. <u>Ngizim</u>. In Ngizim [Schuh 1972], as in closely related Bade, the extension termed "Ventive" has two suppletive allomorphs, a form -EN used in the imperative and "2nd subjunctive", and a form -AY used in all other tenses. This latter allomorph itself has grammatically conditioned subvariants: -ée in the perfective, -ài in the subjunctive, and -àyí in the imperfective (verbal noun), e.g. (taken from Schuh 1972:26-27):

(5) tə̀fə́-w [tə̀fú] 'he went in'   tə̀f-ée-w   'he came in'[8]

     tə̀fə́-dù   'he took in'   tə̀f-ée-dù   'he brought in'
                                                            (vb-Vnt-Transitizer)

     jà màsə́ márdû 'we bought millet' jà màs-ée márdû 'we bought
                                                        (and brought) millet'

     dà máshí   'that he buy'   dá màs-ài   'that he buy and bring'

     zə̀dàpù   'alighting'   zə̀dàp-àyí   'alighting here'

This -AY allomorph is almost certainly a relex of Proto-Chadic *(a)wa . The -EN allomorph, to be described in section 3.3.1, can be related to the Proto-Chadic Destinative. Thus what synchronically are suppletive allomorphs of a single extension are the historical result of a merger in Ngizim/Bade of two originally distinct extensions.

2.3.4. <u>Gisiga</u>. In Gisiga [Lukas 1970], the Distant extension (= "*Entfernungs-morphem*") is indicated by a suffix -awa (tone not indicated). In non-final position, awa → o(o) , e.g.

---

[7]The distinction between ventive-causatives and simple ventives followed by the sociative preposition dà 'with' is generally neutralized in surface structure. It does, however, show up in the continuous tenses, e.g. yánàa fítóo dà káayáa 'he is bringing out the loads' (causative) vs. yánàa fítòowáa dà káayáa 'he is coming out with the loads' (sociative). Arguments for the interpretation of the dà one finds in Hausa causatives as a genuine transitizer/causative marker, historically distinct from the preposition dà , are presented in Newman [1971].

[8]The suffix -w is a perfective marker used in certain positions. For details of tense/aspect formation in Ngizim, see Schuh [1971].

(6) m-awə   'return here' < mə 'return'
     a m-oo le   'he has returned here'
     ŋgəl-awa   'pick at a distance' < ŋgal 'pick'[9]
     a zəl-oo gawla pal   'he called a servant here' < zal 'call'

The Distant marker occurs before any of the other extensions but
after the morpheme ak that indicates plurality of the subject, e.g.

(7) b-o-de   'take it here' (vb-Dst-Causative)
     a b-ak-awa   'they came out' (subject v_b-pl-Dst)
     a s-ak-o-de   'they brought it' (subj. v_b-pl-Dst-Caus)

2.3.5. Bachama. In Bachama [Carnochan 1970], the Distant extension (=
"*adessive*") is formed by a suffix -á(a) plus some associated internal
vowel changes not accounted for in Carnochan's description. The suffix
is equally used with simple stems and with plural stems (inflected forms
generally agreeing in number with the object of transitive verbs or the
subject of intransitive verbs), e.g.

(8) nda dùmè   'he went out'   nda dùmá   'he came out'
     lèrì   'hurry and go'   làrá   'hurry and come'
     nda ŋgəl sàlàkey   nda ŋgàlá sàlàkey
                  'he pulled the rope'   'he pulled the rope this way'
     ŋga 'úsè   'she cooked'   ŋga 'úsá   'she cooked and came'
     taa 'ósè   'they cooked'   taa 'wásá   'they cooked and came'
     nda pyér vənye   nda pyáará vənye
                  'he thatched the huts'   'he thatched the huts there'

When co-occurring with other extensions, such as the Causative dè or
the Deprivative gə , the Distant is always the first added to the verb,
e.g.

(9) ŋgàl-áa-dè   'cause to pull this way'
     dàw-á-gə   'go there and cut down without person's knowledge'

_____

[9]The change in the verb stem vowel is due to a more general phonologi-
cal alternation in Gisiga between /a/ and /ə/, and is not a specific
property of the Distant extension.

2.3.6. Tera. In Tera [P. Newman 1970], the Distant extension is
marked not by a suffix, as is usually the case, but by a preverbal
marker á ,[10] which phonologically becomes attached to preceding and/
or following pronoun/tense markers, e.g.

(10)   kə́su   'catch it'   á kə́su   'catch it there'
       tá-ŋ vi nə́ dàm 'and I went out' tá-ŋ-á vi nə́ dàm 'and I came out'
           /sequential-I/leave/to/out/
       nùn masá nda ɓá   nùn-á masá nda ɓá
           'you (pl.) didn't buy it'   'you (pl.) didn't buy it there'
       wà kaɓ gàwà   á-à kaɓ gàwà
           'he planted corn'   'he planted corn there'

In Ga'anda [R. Newman 1971], a language belonging to the same group
as Tera, the difference between Distant and neutral verbs has been re-
duced to a tonal distinction, Hi vs. non-Hi on the first syllable of the
verb, e.g.

(11)   yimu sə́ 'go into'   yímu sə́ 'come into'
       tə̀rù xár 'take some and leave' tə̀rù xár 'fetch some there and bring'

Since Ga'anda and Tera are quite closely related, we can assume that
the Hi tone and the á are cognate forms of the same Distant morpheme.
Whether they are in fact reflexes of Proto-Chadic *(a)wa is a more diffi-
cult assertion to prove, although given the match with the Bachama Hi tone
marker -á(a) , the historical connection is not unlikely in spite of the
change in position from suffix to prefix.

3. DESTINATIVE *in

3.1. Function. The primary meaning of this extension was to indicate that
the action of a verb was destined for, done for the benefit of, or otherwise
affected or pertained to someone. It was probably most commonly used in
sentences containing an indirect object. Originally, the notion "destination
of action", as expressed by this extension, would have been "destination"

---

[10]Tera also has a Distant marker ɗá . This, however, is probably
made up of the verb ɗə 'go' + á , i.e. tə́ ɗá gwà 'and he found it
there' < *tə́ ɗə á gwà .

in a purposive rather than a locative sense. The Destinative would thus not have been used with motion verbs to indicate simple action in the direction of the speaker, for which one would have used the Distant extension. Later, particularly in the West Chadic branch, the Destinative did pick up "Ventive" meanings and functions, with the result that in many languages the originally clearcut distinction between the Destinative and the Distant was lost.

3.2. <u>Position</u>. The Destinative was presumably a bound suffix, although less closely bound to the verb than the Distant marker. It was probably more bound and positionally closer to the verb than extensions such as the Completive and the Totality (and the Transitizer/Causative (?)), but this is still to be established.

3.3. <u>Reconstruction</u>. Reconstruction of the Destinative *in is supported by evidence from the following languages, belonging to the West and Biu-Mandara branches of the family.

(12)

West Branch		Biu-Mandara Branch	
Ngizim	-én/-ìiná	Ga'anda	ín
Bole	-N	Daba	-eŋ
Pero	-ínà	Margi	-əri

3.3.1. <u>Ngizim</u>. In Ngizim, the extension labelled "Ventive" by Schuh [1972] indicates both action in the direction of and for the benefit of a person. The extension has two grammatically conditioned suppletive allomorphs: -AY, the presumed reflex of the Proto-Chadic DISTANT extension (see section 2.3.3.), and -EN, the presumed reflex of the Proto-Chadic Destinative *in . Although originally derived from two different extensions, the two allomorphs now equally indicate the full range of meanings of the combined extension. The -EN allomorph itself has two grammatically conditioned forms: -én in the singular imperative, and -ìiná in the plural imperative and the 2nd subjunctive, e.g.

(13) á ràurí   'call'   á ràur-én   'call here'
      à wání   'send'   á wàn-én   'send here'
      à wáná   'send (pl)'   á wàn-ìiná   'send (pl) here'
      wà màsá   'let's buy it' wà màs-ìiná   'let's buy (and bring) it'

When co-occurring with the Transitizer extension, the Ventive (whether marked by -EN or -AY) is attached to the verb first, e.g.

(14) dà kàlàkt-ʼliná-dù   'they should return it here' < kàlaktə 'return'
      á vòr-én-dù   'bring it out' < vòrə 'go out'
      cf. vòr-ée-dù   'he brought it out'

3.3.2. <u>Bole</u>. Bole [Lukas 1971, P. Newman field notes[11]] has one extension, which I shall call the "Ventive", that covers the range of distant/ventive/destinative/benefactive meanings. This extension has three suppletive allomorphs: kó used in the continuous, tú used in the subjunctive and imperative, and -N used in the perfective, e.g.

(15) ʼísìŋ màa-kó   'he will be coming back'
      dóolè kà mée-tú (= mét-tú) 'you must come back'
      ʼísì mé-ŋ gò[12]   'he came back'
      cf. ʼísì máa wò   'he went back'

The -N is realized as a homorganic nasal and, with a-final verbs, is accompanied by the change of preceding a's to e . If the verb has a pronoun object, the suffix -N appears twice, once immediately attached to the verb and once after the pronoun, e.g.

(16) ʼísì bèsé-m Béllò   'he shot Bello (there)'
      ʼísì bèsé-n-nì-ŋ gó   'he shot him (there)'
      cf. ʼísì básaá nì wó   'he shot him'

---

[11]Examples are taken from my notes on the Gombe dialect. They conform very closely to Lukas's description (of the Fika dialect) except for minor details. Interestingly, Lukas uses exactly the same term (*"Entfernungsmorphem"*) for this Bole extension, derived from the proto Destinative, as for the -awa extension in Gisiga (see section 2.3.4), which is derived from the proto Distant extension.

[12]The perfective/completive marker has the form wo after a vowel, go after a nasal consonant, and ko when abutting with k . I am not clear about the rules governing the tone and vowel length.

(16) cont.

'ìsì wùndí-ŋ gòo 'í[13]	'he called (to come here)'
cf. 'ísì wùndú wòo 'í	'he called'
'ìsì wùndí-ŋ-ká-ŋ gò	'he called you (to come here)'
cf. 'ísì wùndí káa wó	'he called you'

In forming verb stems with more than one extension, Bole adds the Transitizer first, then the Ventive, and then the Totality (which behaves like a pronoun as far as the repetition of the -N marker is concerned), e.g.

(17) 'ìsì yàw-tí-ŋ gòo 'í   'he brought it down this way' < yàwwú
                                 'get down' (vb-Trans-Vnt)

      'ìsì ŋgòrí-n-tù-m bàayà   'he tied up all the slaves there' < ŋgórú
                                 'tie' (vb-Vnt-Tot-Vnt)

      'ìsì ɓòl-tí-n-tù-n dóɓɓó 'he broke all the pots there' < ɓólú
                                 'be broken' (vb-Trans-Vnt-Tot-Vnt)

The historical sources of the kó and tú allomorphs of this extension have not been identified. The -N allomorph is presumably a reflex of the Destinative *in . The destinative/benefactive character of this extension in Bole shows up in the fact that in the perfective (where -N occurs), the extension is obligatory when indirect object pronouns are used, e.g.

(18) 'ìsì bèsé-n-nì-ŋ kòsúm   'he shot a rat for him'

      'ìsì sùrrí-n-tá-n lò   'he fried meat for her'

In sentences such as the above with an indirect object, it is not possible to make a distinction between a neutral verb and one with a spatial/directional meaning since the use of the -N is obligatory.

3.3.3. Pero. In Pero,[14] a language belonging to the same larger group as

---

[13]In my notes, but not in Lukas's description, final u changes to i before -N , e.g. my wùndíŋ = L's 'ùndúŋ . This is probably due to a more general process of final vowel weakening in Bole and is not a specific property of the -N morpheme.

[14]My information on Pero is drawn almost entirely from unpublished field materials of Zygmunt Frajzyngier, to whom I am most grateful. In the examples, I have taken the liberty to modify somewhat the transcription system used in Frajzyngier's notes.

Bole, but to a different subgroup, the Destinative has also been pre-
served as one of the suppletive allomorphs of the "Ventive" extension,
a form -ínà .[15] As with Bole -N , this -ínà form is limited to
verbs in the perfective, the other allomorph -tù occurring in all other
tenses. In Pero, however, the close association of the -ínà allomorph
and the perfective tense has been carried further, to the extent that
-ínà now functions as a combined "ventive-perfective" marker in con-
trast to the "neutral-perfective" marker kò , with which it may not
co-occur. This development from derivational extension to tense/aspect
marker, still in an incipient stage in Pero, is interesting since it
illustrates a process that has been repeated independently a number of
times in Chadic, especially with the Completive and Totality extensions.
For example,

(19) lée kò   'he cut it'   lée-nà   'he cut it (there)'
      lá   'cut'   lí-tù   'cut it (there)'
      pétò kò   'he went out'   pét-ínà 'he came out'
      nì áɗò kò cúrà 'I ate peanuts' nì áɗ-ínà cúrà 'I ate peanuts (there)'
      nì pécò kò túrúmì   nì péc-ínà túrúmì
            'I shot a lion'   'I shot a lion (there)'
      cf. ndà pícú-tù túrúmì   'I shall shoot a lion (there)'

3.3.4. <u>Ga'anda</u>. In Ga'anda [R. Newman 1971], the presumed reflex of the
Destinative extension is a particle ín that indicates action directed to
or for a person. While ín sometimes indicates action "towards the
speaker", it is not essentially a locative/spatial extension and thus it
can be functionally and semantically distinguished from the Hi tone
Distant marker (section 2.3.6) with which it may co-occur. The marker ín
is a free adverbial-like particle that occurs late in the sentence,

---

[15]Pero also has a suffix -n that in some of its uses could be
characterized as benefactive, thereby suggesting a comparison with the
Destinative. While this comparison seems reasonable at first sight, I
would suggest that this -n is historically unrelated to the Destinative,
rather being derived from an old transitizer extension or, in other cases,
from a frozen third person masculine singular pleonastic indirect object
pronoun.

separated from the verb by the subject, indirect object pronoun, direct
object, etc., e.g.

(20)   ə hlə́n-úcə́-ndá wànɓəɓá ín   'they sent medicine to you'
/past/send/you/they/medicine/ín/

ə yàrk-àn-ndá p̀ìrshà ín ì kútìrá 'they stole and brought the horse
                                  to the chief'
/past/steal/him/they/horse/ín/to/chief/

(Note: -an is a pleonastic i.o. pronoun co-occurring with the
noun i.o., a grammatical phenomenon extremely common in Chadic.)

kə̀ sə̀r-án hlìwdî̠ ín   'you should fry this meat for him'
                       (i.e. and give to him)

cf. kə̀ sə̀r-án hlìwdî̠ sə́ 'you should fry this meat for him'
                       (i.e. on his behalf)

In Ga'anda, indirect object is a functional category. The semantic
reading (or underlying case relationship) of the indirect object in rela-
tion to the verb depends to a great extent on the choice of the extensional
particle, whether ín 'to', sə́ 'for', fá 'at', or xár 'from'.

From phonological and semantic points of view, the identification of
Ga'anda ín with the Proto-Chadic Destinative *in could hardly be better.
The only doubt concerns the equation of a free particle with what must
originally have been a bound suffix. However, given the adjustments that
Ga'anda presumably underwent in its shift from an SVO to a VSO language,
the forced move of the extension out of the verb stem and its change in
status to a free particle is not so difficult to imagine.

3.3.5. <u>Daba</u>. In Daba, the extension -eŋ , called "*destinatif*" by Mouchet
[1966]--from whom I have taken the term--has preserved essentially the form
and function of the original extension. According to Mouchet, the Desti-
native in Daba is no longer productive--this being a good indication of its
archaic nature--having been found with less than ten verbs, e.g. (tone not
indicated):

(21)   mitis a hem-eŋ ta   'hunger troubled them' < ham 'to itch'
ə njə ke ced-eŋ ta ma   'he spoke to them'
təv ku wud-eŋ ni   'I shall pay him'
kat hi ami vəl-eŋ ni   '<u>I</u> gave it to him'

3.3.6. <u>Margi</u>. Margi has a productive extensional suffix -ərɨ (with copy tone) indicating "that action is done for somebody or to somebody ... [and] also to indicate direction of the action 'to', 'towards' ..." [Hoffmann 1963:143]. (In phonologically conditioned environments, the initial and/or final vowel(s) of the suffix are dropped.) Interestingly, when the extension is used, a suffixed object pronoun (which is formally unmarked for case) is generally interpreted as an indirect object; otherwise it is understood to be a direct object, e.g.

(22) ɓə̀l   'break'   ɓə̀l-ə̀rɨ̀   'break for person'

      nə̀   'say'   nə̀-rɨ̀   'tell a person'

      tɨ̀də̀   'creep'   tɨ̀də̀-rɨ̀   'creep up to a person'

      kə̀ɦɨ̀lə̀-dâ   'chase me'   kə̀ɦɨ̀lə̀-r-dâ   'chase to me'

      ŋà-mə̀r   'call us'   ŋà-r-mə̀r   'call for us'

Since Margi /r/ is a regular reflex of Chadic *n [Newman and Ma 1966:227], and since the Margi suffix so closely matches the presumed original meaning and function of the Proto-Chadic Destinative, the interpretation of -ərɨ as being derived from *in seems justified in spite of Hoffmann's earlier suggestion [1963:143] that Margi -ərɨ be compared with a somewhat similar Bura suffix -tà .

4. <u>The Destinative in Hausa</u>

Taken as a whole, the evidence presented above points unmistakably to the existence in Proto-Chadic of two semantically related but clearly distinct verbal extensions: a Distant *(a)wa and a Destinative *in . One of these, the Distant, has a readily identifiable reflex in Hausa (see section 2.3.2). By contrast, the uncovering of the Destinative in Hausa requires delving into a puzzling problem of Hausa grammar, to which we now turn.

For most "grades" of Hausa verbs (see [Parsons 1960/61]), the predative form (henceforth the D-form), i.e. the form of the verb occurring before the markers wà (+ noun) and má (+ pronoun),[16] is the same as

_____

[16]In normal speech, the má usually assimilates to the vowel of the following pronoun, e.g. mákà 'to you (masc.)', míkɨ̀ 'to you (fem.)', múkù 'to you (pl.)'. In northern and western dialects of Hausa, the dative marker before nouns is mà rather than wà .

the citation form,[17] e.g.

(23) Gr. 1 yáa káamàa   yáa káamàa wà sárkíi
                'he caught it'   'he caught it for the chief'

      Gr. 4 yáa rúfèe   yáa rúfèe mínì
                'he closed it'   'he closed it for me'

      Gr. 5 yáa sáyár̃   yáa sáyár̃ másà
                'he sold it'   'he sold it to him'

      Gr. 6 yáa káawóo   yáa káawóo mánà
                'he brought it'   'he brought it to us'

With grades 2, 3, and 7, however (plus some "irregular" verbs), the D-
forms are invariably different from the underlying forms, e.g.[18]

(24) Gr. 2 nèemí   yáa néemàa másà   or   yáa néemám másà
                'seek'   'he sought it for him'

      Gr. 2 zàabí   náa záaɓaa wà sárkíi   or   náa záaɓár̃ wà sárkíi
                'choose' 'I chose it for the chief'

      Gr. 3 dìrá   táa dírám másà
                'swoop down' 'she pounced on it'

      Gr. 3 túubá   yáa túubám mínì
                'repent' 'he apologized to me'

      Gr. 7 'àukú   yáa 'áukám mátà
                'happen' 'it befell her'

In most Hausa manuals, the facts regarding the unusual D-forms of
these verbs are simply described as such without any attempt at explanation,
e.g. "They [Gr. 2 verbs, etc.] may either become high-high(-high) and
suffix -r (which assimilates to -m) ... or they may become high-low
(-high) ..." [Kraft and Kirk-Greene 1973:78]. The only in-depth grammati-
cal study of Hausa in which a serious attempt is made to account for these
D-forms is by Parsons [1971/72]. In Parsons' analysis, the D-forms used
by Gr. 2/3/7 verbs are forms that have been "borrowed" from other grades,

---

[17]The differences in final vowel length that exist (depending on what
one takes to be the underlying/citation form) can be ignored for purposes
of this discussion.

[18]The presentation of the examples here, specifically the adoption of
the citation form with final -i for Gr. 2 and the labelling of Hi-Hi
intransitive verbs as Gr. 3, is in accordance with the analysis in Newman
[1973].

i.e., néemàa (D-form of nèemí) would have been borrowed from Gr. 1
(cf. káamàa) while záaɓár̃/záaɓám (D-form of zàaɓí) would have been
borrowed from Gr. 5, the "causative grade" (cf. sáyár̃). Thus for
Parsons, it is not the forms themselves of the pre-dative verbs of the
néemàa or záaɓár̃/záaɓám patterns that are irregular, but only their
usage. In Newman [1973], I adopted Parsons' analysis, as far as the
borrowed Gr. 1's were concerned, but suggested that it was better to
describe these D-forms in terms of switching *grades* rather than of
borrowing grade *forms*. In other words, the D-form néemàa is not
merely a Gr. 1 form, it *is* Gr. 1, and the change from nèemí to néemàa
is as much a change in grade as, for example, the change to the Gr. 6
néemóo . The explanation I offered for the shift to Gr. 1 was that
these Gr. 1's were not really semantically neutral basic verbs, but
rather were derived stems containing an applicative extension, whose
phonological identity with basic Gr. 1's was due to accidental
homonymy.[19] In any case, whether described in Parsons' original terms
or according to my approach, the interpretation of the D-forms of the
néemàa pattern as Gr. 1's seems correct and uncontroversial.[20]

4.1. Are r̃/m D-forms "borrowed" grade 5's? The problem concerns the
analysis of the Hi-Hi consonant-final D-forms (záaɓár̃ , néemám ,
'áukám , etc.), that I shall henceforth refer to as the r̃/m D-forms.[21]

---

[19]The existence of this applicative extension hidden within Gr. 1 verbs
was first proposed (with some doubt and hesitation) in Newman [1973]. The
question only a few years later is not whether some Gr. 1's contain an
applicative extension--which now seems certain--but whether there are any
Gr. 1 verbs that etymologically are *not* derived. For a description of
the historical/comparative background against which Hausa phenomena must
be viewed, see the excellent study by Schuh [1977].

[20]The analysis that I have suggested of switching to Gr. 1 was taken
for granted by Abraham [1959:29] and, following him, by Pilszczikowa [1969:
20].

[21]The r̃ with the tilde represents a roll or tap, that in Hausa contrasts
with a flap r , written without a diacritic. The distinction between the
two, commonly (but mistakenly) ignored by Hausaists as being synchronically
insignificant, is of great importance historically, as, for example, in
treating the problem at hand.

Consistent with his desire to treat essentially everything in the Hausa
verbal system within the confines of his seven grades, Parsons pro-
posed that these D-forms be analyzed as forms borrowed from Gr. 5, the
causative grade.[22] In equating these r̃/m D-forms (his "borrowed 5D
forms") with the true Gr. 5's, Parsons was nevertheless aware that the
forms were not entirely identical. First, as Parsons himself noted [1971/
72:74n., 80n.], the supposedly underlying final -r̃ of the putative
borrowed 5D forms almost always assimilates to the má- dative marker,
whereas the assimilation is much less general in the case of the real
Gr. 5's, i.e. one normally finds záaɓám másà (borrowed 5D) but kóoyár̃
másà 'teach him' (true 5D), both in everyday pronunciation and in
writing.[23] Secondly, while some speakers of some dialects still have -s
as the final consonant of the Gr. 5 causative, i.e. kóoyár̃ = kóoyás (s
being the historically older consonant from which the more usual r̃ is
derived), this -s is never found in the supposedly borrowed 5D forms.
Parsons [1971/72:203] argues that the reason for this is that the dialects
that use -s in the causative are the same dialects whose dative markers
are má-/mà (instead of má-/wà), and thus the final -s that one might
expect to find on borrowed 5D forms can never show up since the sequence
s-m is ruled out on phonological grounds. However, when one looks into
earlier works on Hausa, one does find examples of -s followed by the
dative markers má-/mà but *only* in the case of true causatives, e.g.
(tone not indicated):

(25)   ina bayas ma talaka kurdi   (< Mischlich [1906:50])
        'I am giving money to the poor'

        sayas mini da doki   (< Mischlich [1906:444])
        'sell me a horse'

---

[22]The suggestion had actually been made earlier by Pilszczikowa
[1969:20]: "It seems ... that the -R form [of grade 2] is just a var-
iant of the causative form (Grade 5) before Indirect Object."

[23]The fact that the distinction between neemam masa and kooyar̃
masa is consistently made in written works by Hausa people themselves
(e.g. Abubakar Imam's *Magana Jari Ce,* Parsons' "Bible" on Hausa linguis-
tic matters) indicates that as far as the linguistic consciousness of
Hausa people is concerned, the true causatives and the "borrowed 5D
forms" cannot be equated.

(25) cont.

    ka gayaz mini da gidanka   (< Taylor [1923:77])[24]
    'greet your family for me'

    aka seyas musu da ita   (< Taylor [1923:77])[24]
    'one sold it to them'

Finally, there doesn't seem to be any explanation as to why a Gr. 2 or
Gr. 3 verb should "borrow" a highly marked causative form to use in pre-
dative position, or why this borrowed 5D form should thereby lose all
of its original semantic attributes.[25] Consider, for example, the follow-
ing pairs of sentences, the first from Parsons [1971/72:189], the second,
drawn from two different dialects, from Gouffé [1962:196].

(26)   sái kà káwám mínì kàɗán   < Gr. 3 kàwá = káu 'to move'
     'just move away from me a bit'
     sái kà káwár̃ mínì dà shíi kàɗán < Gr. 5 káwár̃ 'move something'
     'just move it away for/from me a bit'
     náa sáyám másà dóokìi (Agades) < Gr. 2 sàyí 'buy'
     'I bought him a horse'
     náa sáyár̃ másà dà dóokìi (Kano) < Gr. 5 sáyár̃ 'sell'
     'I sold him a horse'

Having expressed his own doubts at various points about the proposed
interpretation of the r̃/m D-forms as Gr. 5 verbs, Parsons [1971/72:205]
concluded on a strong note: "I see no reason to make any systematic
separation (on a synchronic analysis) among the level-toned forms of the
verb with a final consonant, -s/-r/-d/-m , diverse as their function,
and somewhat erratic as their contextual and dialectal distribution is ...
I call them all grade 5 forms ..." It is clear to me, however, that the
mass of the evidence points in the opposite direction, and that there is
in fact little reason to relate the r̃/m D-forms to the causatives. I
would argue, rather, that the theory of "borrowed grade 5's" should be

_____

   [24]In a later edition [Taylor 1959], these forms were "corrected" to
gayam mini and sayar musu .

   [25]The switch to Gr. 1, on the other hand, is reasonable in this re-
spect since the formal change is accompanied by the addition of the
applicative sense proper to that grade (see Newman [1973]).

rejected and that an alternative explanation be sought for these special
pre-dative forms.

4.2. <u>Evidence for the Destinative origin of the r̃/m D-form</u>. In treating
the alternation found in néemár̃ wà (+ noun) vs. néemám má (+ pronoun),
all previous analyses of Hausa have assumed that the r̃ was basic and that
the m was due to a low-level assimilation rule (e.g. Abraham [1959:28];
Kraft and Kirk-Greene [1973:78]). If, however, one broke with tradition
and took -n as the basic form of the suffix (with automatic assimilation
to m before ma) and r̃ as the secondary variant (resulting from
recent historical developments, partly phonological, partly analogical),
then the identification of the suffix as a reflex of the widespread Des-
tinative *in would become an immediate possibility. From the point of
view of function and meaning, the analysis of these grammatical pre-dative
forms as being derived verbs containing an extension fits nicely with
what one finds elsewhere in Chadic, cf. Bole, for example, where the use
of the Destinative/Ventive extension -N is obligatory before indirect
object pronouns (see section 3.3.2).

Given this analysis, the semantic contrast sometimes found between
borrowed Gr. 1 forms and borrowed Gr. 5 forms--inexplicable in Parsons'
analysis--could then be understood in terms of the difference between two
derivational extensions, the Applicative and the Destinative,[26] e.g. (ex-
amples from Parsons 1971/72:81):

(27)   yá sóokàa mínì wúr̃áa   'he stuck a knife into me'   (Applicative)
       yá sóokám mínì ràar̃úmíi   'he stabbed my camel'   (Destinative)
       yá góogàa másà mâi   'he rubbed polish on it'   (Applicative)
       káa góogám mínì r̃áfàa (táa)   'you brushed against my leg' (Destinative)[27]

---

[26]Compare Ga'anda (section 3.3.4), where the meaning of an indirect
object depends very clearly on the choice of one or another extension.
If one assumes for Hausa that, in appropriate contexts, non-extended, non-
derived verbs could have been used in pre-dative position, then forms
such as *sòokí(i) másà should have existed alongside sóokàa másà and
sóokám másà --as they still do! (See the extremely important but neglected
description of pre-dative forms of this type in Pilszczikowa [1969:20-22]).

[27]With some verbs, the Applicative and Destinative have merged, e.g.
náa záaɓàa/záaɓám másà dóokìi 'I chose him a horse'; táa háifàa/háifám
másà 'yáa'yáa 'úkù 'she bore him three children'. This does not, however,
lessen the importance of distinguishing between the two extensions to
account for the cases where they do contrast.

The above discussion only proves that the interpretation of these
D-forms as containing a derivational extension is plausible, both inter-
nally and comparatively. What is of course still needed before one could
really be justified in relating the Hausa forms to the Destinative *in
is some evidence that the final consonant of these ř/m D-forms was in
fact originally -n . Such evidence does exist.

The first fact, noted earlier, is that the final consonant of these
D-forms is almost always pronounced m before the dative marker má ,
i.e. néemám másà , not néemář másà . While there is nothing unusual
in Hausa about the assimilation of ř to m in the environment of m ,
it is far from an automatic rule, as evidenced not only by pre-dative caus-
atives such as sáyář másà , but also by non-assimilated sequences within
a word, e.g. gàřmáa 'large hoe', fàřmákíi 'sudden attack'. The differ-
ence between néemám másà (D-form of Gr. 2) and sáyář másà (D-form of
Gr. 5) argues for the essential distinctiveness of the two final conso-
nants, -n in the first place, and -ř (< *s) in the second.

Second, Hausa has a small number of fixed (and presumably archaic)
verbal expressions made up of a verb plus dative marker, e.g. táasám-mà
'approach, attack', cím-mà 'overtake', 'ím-mà 'control', where the form
of the dative marker used before i.o. nouns is mà in all dialects, in-
cluding those where wà is the usual pre-noun marker, e.g. yáa néemář wà
màatářsà 'he sought for his wife', but yáa táasám-mà màatářsà 'he
attacked his wife' (< táashì 'get up'). If one assumes that -ř is
the original form of the final consonant and that wà rather than mà
is the older form of the dative marker (as is generally done),[28] there
is no way to account for the transition from *táasář wà to táasám-mà .
If, however, the final consonant of the verb stem were originally a nasal,
then the transition from *táasán wà to táasám-mà [29] would be explicable

_____

[28]Contrary to the usual view that wà is original and that mà is
due to analogic levelling under pressure from the pre-pronoun forms másà ,
mátà , etc., Eulenberg [1972:33-36] has suggested that mà is original
and that the change from mà to wà was a result of a general process of
lenition affecting the standard Hausa dialect. My guess is that the
traditional view is correct, although Eulenberg's proposal cannot be re-
jected out of hand.

[29]Assimilation in Hausa is usually regressive; but for the change
postulated here, note gánwóo (W. Hausa) > gámmóo (Standard Hausa)
'head pad'.

in terms of a simple assimilation of wà to mà accompanying the fusion
of the verb root and the dative marker into what could be considered a
new lexeme.

Finally, direct confirmation of the claim that the final consonant
was originally - n is provided by examples, previously overlooked in
the literature, of r̃/m D-forms where the final consonant is -n even
though the adjacent dative marker is not ma (which is generally taken as
as the necessary conditioning for the appearance of the nasal) but wà !
Note the following remarkable examples cited in Taylor [1959:101], who
explicitly describes these verbs as taking an "n form" (tone not indi-
cated):

(28)   gudun wa   'run away from'
        zaaburan wa   'spring upon'
        sanan wa   'inform' (cf. the causative sánád dà)
        taasan wa   'approach' (cf. the more usual táasám-mà)

Taking all the evidence into account, I would conclude that the
original final consonant of the Hi-Hi, r̃/m pre-dative forms was almost
certainly -n . While the circumstances under which -r̃ developed re-
main unclear, there is little doubt but that the direction of change was
from n to r̃ and not r̃ to n .[30] Having reconstructed the phono-
logical shape of these pre-dative forms with a final -n , I would sug-
gest that there is no reason not to interpret this -n etymologically as
an extensional suffix deriving from the Proto-Chadic Destinative *in .
Contrary to the Distant/Ventive extension, which still retains its exten-
sional qualities in Hausa in the form of grade 6, the Destinative has
been grammaticalized to the point where its original character as an
optional derivational suffix with its own semantic attributes has
essentially been lost. Nevertheless, the recognition of the r̃/m
D-forms as Destinatives not only solves this particularly perplexing

---

[30]In any case r̃ as such could not be basic since it, as opposed to
the flap r , is a historically secondary consonant of fairly recent vintage,
having developed in syllable final position out of other alveolar consonants.

puzzle in Hausa grammar, but it is certain to prove important in our understanding of other synchronic and diachronic problems in Hausa as well.

5. Conclusion

Among the verbal extensions that existed in Proto-Chadic, two are reconstructed in this paper: a Distant extension *(a)wa and a Destinative extension *in . The former served to place the action of a verb in space at some distance from the speaker or in the direction of the speaker; the latter served to relate a person to the action as the destination, beneficiary, or otherwise affected party. In the course of Chadic linguistic history, these two extensions have encroached on each other's territory, in some cases the result being the demise of one or the other extension, in other cases the result being the merger of the two extensions and the reassignment of the originally distinct suffixes as allomorphs of a single morpheme. In Hausa, the reflex of the Distant extension is still visible as the -oo/-woo Ventive ending on Grade 6 verbs. The Destinative, which at first sight would seem to have been lost in Hausa, was shown to have in fact been preserved, not, however, still functioning as an extension, but buried deep in the grammatical system as an inflectional ending on verbs in pre-dative position.

REFERENCES

Abraham, R.C. 1959. *The Language of the Hausa People.* London: University of London Press.

Carnochan, Jack. 1970. "Categories of the verbal piece in Bachama." *African Language Studies* 11:81-112.

Eulenberg, John B. 1972. "Complementation phenomena in Hausa." Doctoral dissertation, University of California at San Diego.

Gouffé, Claude. 1962. "Observations sur le degré causatif dans un parler haoussa du Niger." *Journal of African Languages* 1:182-200.

Hoffmann, Carl. 1963. *A Grammar of the Margi Language.* London: Oxford University Press.

Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1970. *Die Ron-Sprachen: Tschadohamitische Studien in Nordnigerien.* Afrikanistische Forschungen 3. Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin.

Kraft, C.H., and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene. 1973. *Hausa.* Teach Yourself Books. London: The English Universities Press.

Lukas, Johannes. 1970. *Studien zur Sprache der Gisiga (Nordkamerun).* Afrikanistische Forschungen 4. Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin.

Lukas, Johannes. 1971. "Über das erweiterte Verb im Bolanci (Nordnigerien)." In Paul Newman (ed.), *Special Chadic Issue,* pp. 1-14. *Journal of African Languages* 10(1).

Mischlich, A. 1906. *Wörterbuch der Hausasprache.* Berlin: Reimer.

Mouchet, J. 1966. *Le parler daba.* Recherches et Études Camerounaises 10. Yaoundé.

Newman, Paul. 1970. *A Grammar of Tera: Transformational Syntax and Texts.* University of California Publications in Linguistics 57. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Newman, Paul. 1971. "Transitive and intransitive in Chadic languages." In Veronika Six et al.(eds.), *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen-- Ein Querschnitt* (Festschrift J. Lukas), pp. 188-200. Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde 14. Hamburg.

Newman, Paul. 1973. "Grades, vowel-tone classes and extensions in the Hausa verbal system." *Studies in African Linguistics* 4:297-346.

Newman, Paul. 1977. "Chadic classification and reconstructions." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5(1):1-42.

Newman, Paul, and Roxana Ma. 1966. "Comparative Chadic: phonology and lexicon." *Journal of African Languages* 5:218-51.

Newman, Roxana Ma. 1971. "A case grammar of Ga'anda." Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.

Parsons, F.W. 1960/61. "The verbal system in Hausa." *Afrika und Übersee* 44:1-36.

Parsons, F.W. 1971/72. "Suppletion and neutralization in the verbal system of Hausa." *Afrika und Übersee* 55:49-97, 188-208.

Pilszczikowa, Nina. 1969. *The Changing Form (Grade 2) of the Verb in Hausa.* Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Schuh, Russell G. 1971. "Verb forms and verb aspects in Ngizim." In Paul Newman (ed.), *Special Chadic Issue,* pp. 47-60. *Journal of African Languages* 10(1).

Schuh, Russell G. 1972. "Aspects of Ngizim syntax." Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.

Schuh, Russell G. 1977. "West Chadic verb classes." In Paul Newman and Roxana Ma Newman (eds.), *Papers in Chadic Linguistics* pp. 143-66. Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum.

Taylor, F.W.   1923.   *A Practical Hausa Grammar.*   London: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, F.W.   1959.   *A Practical Hausa Grammar.*   2nd edition.   London: Oxford University Press.