CHADIC EXTENSIONS AND PRE-DATIVE VERB FORMS IN HAUSA*

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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 Destinative. 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 -f/-m of grade 2, 3, and 7 verbs. The interpretation 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 fíit-ôó 'come out' < fítá 'go cut'; 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

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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. 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.

1The 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 extensional suffix most closely bound to the verb stem, i.e. occurring immediately 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Branch</th>
<th>Biu-Mandara Branch</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sha -ó</td>
<td>Gisiga -awa/-o(o)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hausa -ó/-wóo</td>
<td>Bachama -á(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngizim -ày/-ài/-éé</td>
<td>Tera á</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 suffix -ó to the verbal base, whether simple (the "Grundaspektstamm") or reduplicated (the "Habitativstamm"), e.g. (mid tone unmarked):

(2) mbût 'seek' mbût-ó 'seek (for me)'
     bän 'jump' bän-ó 'jump this way'
     dän 'pull' dän-ó 'pull towards here'
     dyàŋəŋ 'pull (hab)' dyàŋəŋ-ó 'pull (hab) here'
     lwágág 'go up (hab)' lwágág-ó 'come up (hab)'

²The proto-form cannot be reconstructed with a final -ó, 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.

³In 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 extensions in question.
In forming verb stems used in the perfect tense, the extensional suffix -ó is added before the perfect marker -(h)i .

(3) mbût-í 'seek (perf.)' mbût-ó-hí 'seek (for me) (perf.)'
bën-í 'jump (perf.)' bën-ó-hí 'jump this way (perf.)'
dân-í 'pull (perf.)' dân-ó-hí 'pull towards here (perf.)'

2.3.2. Hausa. 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, e.g. fít-óó 'come out' < fitá 'go out'; fáad-óó 'fall this way' < fáadí 'fall'; sáy-óó 'buy and bring' < sáyí 'buy'; hàng-óó 'espy at a distance' < hàngí 'espy'; w-óó (= y-óó = yí-wóó) 'do and come' or 'do for me' < yí 'do'; jáa-wóó 'pull here' < jáa 'pull'; kíráá-wóó 'call here' < kíráá 'call'. As just illustrated, the full suffix -wóó is only used with Cí, Cáa, and CVCAa verbs. All others simply replace the final vowel of the verb by -óó. 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-óó 'pull all this way' (vb-Totality-Vnt)
káry-ák-óó 'break up and bring' (vb-Intensive-Vnt)
fíd-d-óó 'bring out' (vb-Causative-Vnt)

Jungraithmayr treats -í 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 Perko, Boole Wo, Ngizim -w, etc.), of which the isolated vowel -í represents a phonological reduction.

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.

The function of this extension -akk- (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" [Gouffe 1962], can be contrasted with the equivalent standard Hausa form fit-òo da 'bring out' with the order of extensions reversed.7

2.3.3. Ngizim. 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 -àyf in the imperfective (verbal noun), e.g. (taken from Schuh 1972:26-27):

(5) tèf-òw ['tèf] 'he went in' tèf-ée-òw 'he came in'8
tèf-dù 'he took in' tèf-ée-dù 'he brought in'
jà màs-ée màrdù 'we bought millet' jà màs-ée màrdù 'we bought (and brought) millet'
dà màs-ài 'that he buy and bring'
zèdàp-àyf '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. Gisiga. In Gisiga [Lukas 1970], the Distant extension (= "Entfernungsmorphem") is indicated by a suffix -awa (tone not indicated). In non-final position,awa → o(o), e.g.

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

8The suffix -w is a perfective marker used in certain positions. For details of tense/aspect formation in Ngizim, see Schuh [1971].
The Distant marker occurs before any of the other extensions but after the morpheme ak that indicates plurality of the subject, e.g.

\[(7)\]  
\[\text{b-o-de} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{a b-ak-awa} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{a s-ak-o-de} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  

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.

\[(8)\]  
\[\text{nda dûmè} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{nda dëmá} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{lèrì } \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{làrâ} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{nda ñgel sàlàkey} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{nda ñgàlà sàlàkey} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{ñga 'úse} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{ñga 'úsá} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{taa 'òse} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{taa 'wasá} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{nda pyérv venye} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{nda pyáará venye} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  

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

\[(9)\]  
\[\text{ñgâl-áa-dè} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  
\[\text{dàw-á-ge} \quad \text{\text quotations}
\text{'}\text{\text quotations}
\]  

\[\text{9The change in the verb stem vowel is due to a more general phonologi­cal alternation in Gisiga between } /a/ \text{ and } /o/, \text{ and is not a specific property of the Distant extension.}\]
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, which phonologically becomes attached to preceding and/or following pronoun/tense markers, e.g.

\[(10)\] kásu 'catch it' á kásu 'catch it there'

tá-ŋ vi né dàm 'and I went out' tá-ŋ-á vi né dàm 'and I came out' /sequential-I/leave/to/out/
nún masá nda bà 'you (pl.) didn't buy it' nún-á masá nda bà 'you (pl.) didn't buy it there'

wà kaɓ gàwà 'he planted corn' á-á kaɓ gàwà '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 reduced to a tonal distinction, Hi vs. non-Hi on the first syllable of the verb, e.g.

\[(11)\] yimu sá 'go into' yimu sá 'come into'

tèrù xár 'take some and leave' tèrù 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 difficult 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"
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. Position. 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. Reconstruction. Reconstruction of the Destinative *in is supported by evidence from the following languages, belonging to the West and Biu-Mandara branches of the family.

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<tr>
<td>Ngizim -én/-liná</td>
<td>Ga'anda ́n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bole -N</td>
<td>Daba -en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pero -lná</td>
<td>Margi -ari</td>
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3.3.1. Ngizim. 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 -liná in the plural imperative and the 2nd subjunctive, e.g.

(13) a ràurí 'call'    a ràur-én  'call here'
    à wàní 'send'      a wàn-én   'send here'
    à wáná 'send (pl)' a wàn-líná 'send (pl) here'
    wà màsà 'let's buy it'  wà màs-líná '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-ìñà-ðù 'they should return it here' < kàlàkt 'return'
    á vèr-èn-ðù 'bring it out' < vèr 'go out'
    cf. vèr-èé-ðù 'he brought it out'

3.3.2. Bole. Bole [Lukas 1971, P. Newman field notes] 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, tó used in the subjunctive and imperative, and -N used in the perfective, e.g.

(15) 'ìsì màa-kó 'he will be coming back'
    dòolè kà mèe-tú (= mèt-tú) 'you must come back'
    'ìsì mè-ì gò12 'he came back'
    cf. 'ìsì màa 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) 'ìsì bèse-m Béllò 'he shot Bello (there)'
    'ìsì bèse-n-ìl-ì gò 'he shot him (there)'
    cf. 'ìsì bàsaá nì wò 'he shot him'

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11Examples 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.

12The 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.
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) 'ísí yáw-tí-ŋ gòō 'í 'he brought it down this way' < yáwwú 'get down' (vb-Trans-Vnt)
    'ísí njórí-n-tú-m báayà 'he tied up all the slaves there' < njórú 'tie' (vb-Vnt-Tot-Vnt)
    'ísí bòl-tí-n-tú-n dòbbò 'he broke all the pots there' < bòlú '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 *ín. 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) 'ísí bèsté-n-ń-ŋ kòsúm 'he shot a rat for him'
    'ísí súrrí-n-ń-a nò '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,\(^1\) a language belonging to the same larger group as

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\(^{13}\) In my notes, but not in Lukas's description, final ū changes to í before -N, e.g. my wúndíŋ = L's 'úndúŋ'. 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 preserved as one of the suppletive allomorphs of the "Ventive" extension, a form -ínà.\textsuperscript{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 contrast to the "neutral-perfective" marker ìòà, 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 ko 'he cut it' lée-nà 'he cut it (there)'
lá 'cut' lì-tù 'cut it (there)'
peò ko 'he went out' peò-ínà 'he came out'
nì ãòko cúrà 'I ate peanuts' nì ãò-ínà cúrà 'I ate peanuts (there)'
nì pècò ko túrùmì nì pèc-ínà túrùmì
'I shot a lion' 'I shot a lion (there)'
cf. ndà pícú-tù túrùmì 'I shall shoot a lion (there)'

3.3.4. Ga'anda. 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,

\textsuperscript{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) à hlon-úcé-ndá wàñb då în 'they sent medicine to you'
    /past/send/you/they/medicine/ín/
à yàrk-àn-ndá pírshà ın 1 kùltërà '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.)

kà sàr-àn hìlwìdì ın 'you should fry this meat for him'
    (i.e. and give to him)
cf. kà sàr-àn hìlwìdì só '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 relation to the verb depends to a great extent on the choice of the extensional particle, whether ın 'to', só 'for', fà 'at', or xár 'from'.

From phonological and semantic points of view, the identification of Ga'anda ın with the Proto-Chadic Destinative *ìn 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. Daba. In Daba, the extension -en, 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 Destinative 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-en ta 'hunger troubled them' < ham 'to itch'
a nje ke ced-en ta ma 'he spoke to them'
tav ku wud-en ni 'I shall pay him'
kat hi ami wel-en ni 'I gave it to him'
3.3.6. Margi. Margi has a productive extensional suffix -əri (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) bəl 'break' bəl-ər| 'break for person'
    nə 'say' nə-r| 'tell a person'
    tədə 'creep' tədə-r| 'creep up to a person'
    kəfıl-də 'chase me' kəfıl-r-ər| 'chase to me'
    nə-mər 'call us' nə-r-mər '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 -əri as being derived from *in seems justified in spite of Hoffmann's earlier suggestion [1963:143] that Margi -əri be compared with a somewhat similar Bura suffix -tə.

4. The Destinative in Hausa

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 pre-dative 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

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16In normal speech, the má usually assimilates to the vowel of the following pronoun, e.g. mákə 'to you (masc.)', má̱kə 'to you (fem.)', mūkə 'to you (pl.)'. In northern and western dialects of Hausa, the dative marker before nouns is mà rather than wà.
the citation form,\textsuperscript{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 sáyár yáa sáyár màsà
    'he sold it' 'he sold it to him'  
Gr. 6 yáa káawòo yáa káawòo mànà
    '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.\textsuperscript{18}

(24) Gr. 2 nèemí yáa nèemàa màsà or yáa nèemàm màsà
    'seek' 'he sought it for him'  
Gr. 2 zàaabí nàa zàaabà wà sárkíi or nàa zàaabà wà sárkíi
    'choose' 'I chose it for the chief'  
Gr. 3 dírá tàa dírá màsà
    'swoop down' 'she pounced on it'  
Gr. 3 túbúbà yáa túbúbà mínì
    'repent' 'he apologized to me'  
Gr. 7 'àukú yáa 'àukú màtà
    '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 grammatical
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,

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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., nëemmàa (D-form of nëemí) would have been borrowed from Gr. 1 (cf. kàamàa) while zàaabāř/zàaabām (D-form of zàaabí) would have been borrowed from Gr. 5, the "causative grade" (cf. sàyāř). Thus for Parsons, it is not the forms themselves of the pre-dative verbs of the nëemmàa or zàaabāř/zàaabām 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 nëemmàa is not merely a Gr. 1 form, it is Gr. 1, and the change from nëemí to nëemmàa is as much a change in grade as, for example, the change to the Gr. 6 nëemóò. 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. In any case, whether described in Parsons' original terms or according to my approach, the interpretation of the D-forms of the nëemmàa pattern as Gr. 1's seems correct and uncontroversial.

4.1. Are ř/m D-forms "borrowed" grade 5's? The problem concerns the analysis of the Hi-Hi consonant-final D-forms (zàaabāř, nëemám, 'àukám, etc.), that I shall henceforth refer to as the ř/m D-forms.

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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 ř with the tilde represents a roll or tap, that in Hausa contrasts with a flap ṟ, 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 proposed that these D-forms be analyzed as forms borrowed from Gr. 5, the causative grade.\(^{22}\) In equating these \(\bar{p}/m\) 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 \(-\bar{r}\) of the putative borrowed 5D forms almost always assimilates to the \(\bar{m}\)- dative marker, whereas the assimilation is much less general in the case of the real Gr. 5's, i.e. one normally finds \(\bar{z}a\bar{a}b\bar{a}m\) más\(\bar{a}\) (borrowed 5D) but \(k\bar{\text{o}}\text{oyâ}\) más\(\bar{a}\) '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. \(k\bar{\text{o}}\text{oyâ} = k\bar{\text{o}}\text{oy\(\bar{a}\)s}\) (\(s\) being the historically older consonant from which the more usual \(\bar{r}\) 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 \(\bar{m}\text{á}/m\text{à}\) (instead of \(\bar{m}\text{á}/w\text{à}\)), 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 \(\bar{m}\text{á}/m\text{à}\) but only in the case of true causatives, e.g. (tone not indicated):

\[
\begin{align*}
(25) & \quad \text{ina baya5 ma talaka kurdi} \quad (< \text{Mischlich [1906:50]}) \\
& \quad 'I am giving money to the poor' \\
& \quad \text{sayas mini da doki} \quad (< \text{Mischlich [1906:444]}) \\
& \quad 'sell me a horse'
\end{align*}
\]

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

\(^{23}\)The fact that the distinction between \textit{neemam masa} and \textit{kooyaâ masa} is consistently made in written works by Hausa people themselves (e.g. Abubakar Imam's \textit{Magana Jari Ce}, Parsons' "Bible" on Hausa linguistic 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.
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 Gouffe [1962:196].

(26) sai kà käwám mìnì kàdàn < Gr. 3 käwá = káu 'to move' 'just move away from me a bit'
sai kà käwář mìnì dà shíì kàdàn < Gr. 5 käwář 'move something' 'just move it away for/from me a bit'
ñàa sáyám màsà dòoklí (Agades) < Gr. 2 sàyí 'buy' 'I bought him a horse'
nàa sáyář màsà dà dòoklí (Kano) < Gr. 5 sáyář 'sell' 'I sold him a horse'

Having expressed his own doubts at various points about the proposed interpretation of the ŋ/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 ŋ/m D-forms to the causatives. I would argue, rather, that the theory of "borrowed grade 5's" should be

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24 In a later edition [Taylor 1959], these forms were "corrected" to gayam mìnì 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. Evidence for the Destinative origin of the r/m D-form. In treating the alternation found in neemâr wâ (+ noun) vs. neemâm mâ (+ pronoun), all previous analyses of Hausa have assumed that the r was basic and that the m was due to a low-level assimilation rule (e.g. Abraham [1959:28]; Kraft and Kirk-Ürreene [1973:78]). If, however, one broke with tradition and took -n as the basic form of the suffix (with automatic assimilation to m before mâ) and r 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 Destinative *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. (examples from Parsons 1971/72:81):

(27) yá sóökâa mâni wûkâa 'he stuck a knife into me' (Applicative)
yá sóökâm mâni râaðûmi 'he stabbed my camel' (Destinative)
yá góogâa másâ mâl 'he rubbed polish on it' (Applicative)
kâa góogâm mâni kâfââ (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 *sóökî(m) másâ should have existed alongside sóökâa másâ and sóökâm másâ---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. nàa zàâbâa/zàâbâm másâ dóökî 'I chose him a horse'; tàâ hâifââ/hâifâm másâ 'yàâa'ýàâ 'úku '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 internally 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 ŋ/m D-forms was in fact originally ŋ. 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 mà, i.e. néémàm màsà, not néémàr màsà. While there is nothing unusual in Hausa about the assimilation of ŋ to m in the environment of m, it is far from an automatic rule, as evidenced not only by pre-dative causatives such as sàyàr màsà, but also by non-assimilated sequences within a word, e.g. gàrìmà 'large hoe', fàrmákì 'sudden attack'. The difference between néémàm màsà (D-form of Gr. 2) and sàyàr màsà (D-form of Gr. 5) argues for the essential distinctiveness of the two final consonants, ŋ in the first place, and ŋ ('*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. tàssàm-mà 'approach, attack', cìm-mà 'overtake', 'ím-mà 'control', where the form of the dative marker used before i.o. nouns is mà in all dialects, including those where wà is the usual pre-noun marker, e.g. yàa néémàr wà màätàrśà 'he sought for his wife', but yàa tàssàm-mà màätàrśà 'he attacked his wife' (< tàashì 'get up'). If one assumes that ŋ 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 *tássàr wà to tàssàm-mà. If, however, the final consonant of the verb stem were originally a nasal, then the transition from *tássàn wà to tàssàm-mà 29 would be explicable.

28Contrary to the usual view that wà is original and that mà is due to analogic levelling under pressure from the pre-pronoun forms màsà, màtà, 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 rejected out of hand.

29Assimilation in Hausa is usually regressive; but for the change postulated here, note gánwòò (W. Hausa) > gámmóó (Standard Hausa) 'head pad'.
in terms of a simple assimilation of \( \text{wa} \) to \( \text{ma} \), 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 \(-\text{n}\) is provided by examples, previously overlooked in the literature, of \( \text{r}/\text{m} \) D-forms where the final consonant is \(-\text{n}\) even though the adjacent dative marker is not \( \text{ma} \) (which is generally taken as as the necessary conditioning for the appearance of the nasal) but \( \text{wa} \)

Note the following remarkable examples cited in Taylor [1959:101], who explicitly describes these verbs as taking an "n form" (tone not indicated):

(28)  
\begin{align*}
\text{gudun wa} & \quad \text{'run away from'} \\
\text{zaaburan wa} & \quad \text{'spring upon'} \\
\text{sanan wa} & \quad \text{'inform' (cf. the causative \( \text{sânád dà} \))} \\
\text{taasan wa} & \quad \text{'approach' (cf. the more usual \( \text{táasám-mà} \))}
\end{align*}

Taking all the evidence into account, I would conclude that the original final consonant of the Hi-Hi, \( \text{r}/\text{m} \) pre-dative forms was almost certainly \(-\text{n}\). While the circumstances under which \(-\text{r}\) developed remain unclear, there is little doubt but that the direction of change was from \( \text{n} \) to \( \text{r} \) and not \( \text{r} \) to \( \text{n} \).\(^{30}\) Having reconstructed the phonological shape of these pre-dative forms with a final \(-\text{n}\), I would suggest that there is no reason not to interpret this \(-\text{n}\) etymologically as an extensional suffix deriving from the Proto-Chadic Destinative *\( \text{in} \).

Contrary to the Distant/Ventive extension, which still retains its extensional 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 \( \text{r}/\text{m} \) D-forms as Destinatives not only solves this particularly perplexing

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\(^{30}\) In any case \( \text{r} \) as such could not be basic since it, as opposed to the flap \( \text{r} \), 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**


