

On the verbal system of Gashua Bade

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Abstract

This paper is an outline of the verbal system of the Gashua dialect of Bade, a West Chadic-B language spoken in the area in and around Gashua in northern Yobe State, Nigeria. Bade is dialectally quite diverse and might be considered to be a group of closely related languages rather than a single language. Overviews of the verbal systems of languages from the Bade-Ngizim group are available for Western Bade (Schuh 2007), Ngizim (Schuh 1971) and Duwai, posted by Schuh (2008) on the internet. Therefore, this paper fills a gap in descriptions of the verbal systems of languages from this linguistic group, which though similar, have interesting differences and are important from a comparative Chadic perspective.

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Artikel wird das Verbalsystem des Gashua Bade, einer westtschadischen B Sprache des nördlichen Bundesstaates Yobe, Nigeria, dargestellt. Bade ist dialektal äußerst divers und wird manchmal auch als eine Gruppe von eng verwandten Sprachen angesehen. Beschreibungen der Verbalsysteme von Sprachen der Bade-Ngizim Gruppe sind bereits vorhanden für das Western Bade (Schuh 2007), Ngizim (Schuh 1971) und Duwai (Schuh 2008). Obwohl die Verbalsysteme dieser Sprachen ähnlich sind, zeigen sich dennoch interessante Unterschiede, die vor allem aus einer komparativen Perspektive wichtig sind.

1. Introduction

<1>

In this paper a brief overview of the verbal system of Gashua Bade is given. The aim is to outline the major differences between the verbal systems of Gashua Bade and Western Bade, as described in Schuh (2007). Gashua Bade is a West Chadic sub-branch B language (Newman 1990), spoken in northern Yobe State, Nigeria. Together with Ngizim, Duwai and the extinct languages Teshena, Auyo and Shira (Broß 1997, Schuh 2001) it constitutes the Bade-Ngizim group. Gashua Bade and Central Bade, form a dialect continuum called Northern Bade. Although Central Bade has many linguistic features in common with Gashua Bade, it also shares some features with Western Bade. Another main dialect variety is Southern Bade. However, Bade is dialectally very diverse, to the extent that one could also speak of several 'Bade languages'. For a detailed discussion of Bade dialects see Schuh (1981). The major languages, which are adjacent to the Bade speaking area, are Kanuri in the East, and Hausa in the West. The history of north-eastern Nigeria, as well as linguistic scrutiny suggests that Bade is heavily influenced by its neighbouring languages in several linguistic domains. Besides borrowing of content words and a high amount of function words, the linguistic influence of Hausa and Kanuri on Bade becomes also evident in some grammatical domains, e.g. borrowing of derivational morphology (Schuh 2011, Ziegelmeier 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2010). The data presented in this article predominantly come from my fieldwork in northern

Yobe State during the years 2008 to 2010¹ which consist of free interviews, e.g. narratives, and grammatical elicitations. Further examples are drawn from unpublished texts which were recorded and transcribed by Russell Schuh (2008).

<2>

In §2 brief remarks on the typology of Bade are given. §3 illustrates the framework for the grouping of verb classes in Bade, while in §4 the specific characteristics (i.e. form and function) of Gashua Bade TAMs are outlined. §5 shows examples for the use of intransitive copy pronouns, and in §6 several verbal extensions are discussed. §7 shows the formation of so called pluractionals. Finally in §8 major features of the verbal systems of Gashua Bade and Western Bade are contrasted.

2. Brief remark on Bade typology

<3>

Bade has the basic word order SVO, and case is not morphologically marked. It is rather an aspectual than a tense language, where temporal aspectual information is encoded in distinctions in tone and final vowel of verbs, accompanied by distinct preverbal subject agreement clitics and in some cases auxiliaries.

3. Verb classes

<4>

The framework for the grouping of verb classes in Bade comes from Lukas (1970-72), who established five verb classes in Bole. According to Schuh (2007) these five verb classes are at least reconstructable for proto-West Chadic. Reflexes of this system are found in Bade and several other West Chadic languages. The different classes are particularly reflected in certain TAM-forms of the verb. The perfective provides the basis for identifying different verb classes, which are labelled with capital letters A to D. Classes A and B can be sub-classified with respect to word and syllable structure (labelled with numbers and small letters). Table 1 illustrates the verb classes of Gashua Bade and in Table 2 several examples are given.

Table 1: Verb classes of Gashua Bade

Verb class	Root	Ending
A1	CVC	-u
A2	CVVC, roots with more than two Cs	-u
B1	CVC	-au ²
B2	CVVC	-au
C	CV	-u
D	CV	-au

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² In Western Bade the ending is -o.

Table 2: Examples of different verbs in Gashua Bade

Verb class	Verb	Gloss	Class	Verb	Gloss
A1	<i>màsu</i> ³	buy	B1	<i>bàtau</i>	suffice
	<i>àbdu</i>	ask		<i>àzgau</i>	know
A2a	<i>kàadu</i>	bite	B2	<i>càakau</i>	weave cloth
	<i>kòotu</i>	call			
A2b	<i>càptu</i>	collect	C	<i>ju</i>	go
	<i>àgbàdu</i>	pound guinea corn			
A2c	<i>kàlàktu</i>	return	D	<i>bǎu</i>	get
	<i>àzvàvìyu</i>	wash grain		<i>sau</i>	drink

4. Tense Aspect Mood (TAM) in Gashua Bade

<5>

Gashua Bade has six different TAM categories in affirmative sentences. In negative sentences only four of the six TAMs occur. Negation is realized by means of a clause-final negation marker *bai* or its variants *pai* and *bai*, respectively. There are a few exceptions where the negation marker can be followed by other operators. Especially various conjunctions may follow the negation marker *bai* which in course is monophthongized to *bii*, e.g. *bii kwàrà* = *bii dà* 'or', *bii ni* 'if it's not the case that'. Table 3 outlines the TAM-categories of Gashua Bade.

Table 3: TAM-categories in Gashua Bade

Affirmative	Negative		
perfective	perfective	+	<i>bai</i>
imperfective	imperfective	+	<i>bai</i>
progressive/habitual	progressive/habitual	+	<i>bai</i>
subjunctive	second subjunctive	+	<i>bai</i>
second subjunctive			
imperative	second subjunctive	+	<i>bai</i>

<6>

The primary indicators for TAMs are tone patterns and final vowels of verbs. Further indicators are different preverbal subject agreement clitics and/or auxiliaries with TAM-specific characteristics. In the following sections the TAM-specific features are outlined.

³ Transcription: *aa*, *ii*, etc. = long vowel; *a*, *i*, etc. = short vowel; *ə* = high central vowel; *à(a)* = low tone; *â(a)* = falling tone; *ǎ(a)* rising tone; high tone is unmarked; *b*, *d* = laryngeal implosives; *y* = glottalized palatal glide; *tl* and *jl* = lateral fricatives, *ɾ* = apical tap/roll, *c* and *j* = palato-alveolar affricates.

4.1. Perfective

The perfective is characterized by the verb-final vowels **-u** or **-au** (in medial position often **-ə** and **-a**) and a (...L)-H tone pattern. The specific subject agreement clitics are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Perfective subject agreement clitics

1SG	<i>nə, nə, nən, nən</i>	1EXCL	<i>jə, jən</i>
		1INCL	<i>gù, gùn</i>
2M	<i>kə</i>	2PL	<i>wùn</i>
2F			
3M	<i>(acî)</i>	3PL	<i>(aksi/akci)</i>
3F	<i>(atû)</i>		

<7>

First person subject clitics ending in *-n* are used when the verb begins in a consonant (example 1), otherwise the short forms are used (example 2). The tone of first person singular subject clitics is polar to the tone in the first syllable of the following verb. Note that in West Chadic languages the perfective of third persons is usually expressed by bare verbs, i.e. without subject agreement clitics (Schuh 2007). Gashua Bade is unusual in this respect, since even in simple declarative sentences overt subject agreement clitics of third persons are preferred (example 3). However, they are never used, when the subject is expressed by an overt nominal (example 4).

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| (1) | <i>tau</i> | eat | <i>nən ta</i> | <i>kajlùwà</i> |
| | | | 1SG eat.PERF | mush |
| | | | I ate mush | |
| (2) | <i>ə̀r̀b̀ùtu</i> | write | <i>nə-̀r̀b̀ùtə</i> | <i>wàsiikàa</i> |
| | | | 1SG-write.PERF | letter |
| | | | I wrote a letter | |
| (3) | <i>gàfau</i> | catch | <i>acî g̀àfa</i> | <i>v̀ǹàkəu</i> |
| | | | 3M catch.PERF | fish |
| | | | he caught a fish | |
| (4) | <i>Muusaa</i> | <i>g̀àfa</i> | <i>v̀ǹàkəu</i> | |
| | Musa | catch.PERF | fish | |
| | Musa caught a fish | | | |
| | <i>*Muusaa</i> | <i>acî g̀àfa</i> | <i>v̀ǹàkəu</i> | |
| | Musa | 3M catch.PERF | fish | |

<8>

In Gashua Bade and in Western Bade the negative perfective uses the same set of subject clitics as the perfective. However, while Gashua Bade uses the regular terminations *-u* and *-o* (> *-ə* and *-a* in medial position) marking verb class, in Western Bade verbs of all classes add the termination *-àCa-*, where C is a copy of the stem-final consonant. In addition to this, Gashua Bade uses the clause-final negation marker *bai* (examples in 5), whereas in Western Bade the most frequent mark of negation is *-m* added to the end of the clause (examples in 6).

(5)	<i>àr̀b̀ùtu</i>	write	<i>nə-r̀b̀ùtə</i>	<i>wàsiikàa</i>	<i>bai</i>
			1SG-write.PERF	letter	NEG
			I didn't write a letter		
	<i>g̀àfau</i>	catch	<i>acî g̀àfà</i>	<i>bai</i>	
			3M catch.PERF	NEG	
			he didn't catch (it)		
(6)	Western Bade				
	<i>m̀asu</i>	buy	<i>m̀asàasa-m</i>		
			buy.PERF-NEG		
			didn't buy		
	<i>g̀àfo</i>	catch	<i>g̀àfàafa-m</i>		
			catch.PERF-NEG		
			didn't catch		

<9>

The perfective expresses notions of anteriority, completion, temporal limitations with active verbs but result-state with stative verbs (example 5). The canonical use of the perfective is to report completed events in non-complex, often mono-clausal statements. However, TAMs in Bade are unspecific for tense and the deictic notion of past-time event is relative to a given time-point. The reference time is usually the moment of speaking, and unless there is a context to the contrary, the perfective can be translated with English past or present perfect. If the reference time is in the past or in the future, the perfective can be translated with English pluperfect or future perfect, respectively.

4.2. Imperfective

<10>

Primary indicators for the imperfective are a set of subject agreement clitics in first and second persons, and TAM-specific auxiliaries in third persons (Table 5). The tones of first person singular and third persons are polar to the initial tone of the following verbal noun. First person plural and second persons always have L tone clitics. Vowel length of the clitics is also conditioned by the initial tone of the verbal noun, i.e. short before an initial H tone and long before an initial L tone.

Table 5: Imperfective subject agreement clitics and auxiliaries

1SG	<i>ǹà, na, ǹàa, naa</i>	1EXCL	<i>j̀à, j̀àa</i>
		1INCL	<i>g̀ẁà, g̀ẁàa</i>
2M	<i>ỳà, ỳàa</i>	2PL	<i>ẁùǹà, ẁùǹàa</i>
2F	<i>m̀à, m̀àa</i>		
3M	<i>(acî) à, a, àa, aa</i>	3PL	<i>(aks/cì) à, a, àa, aa</i>
3F	<i>(atù) à, a, àa, aa</i>		

<11>

The imperfective is also characterized by the use of a verbal noun (§4.4.) rather than a finite verb. Therefore, in the imperfective a construction of a verbal noun and a direct object is identical to a genitive construction (example 7). Also a pronominal direct object is realized with a genitive pronoun in the imperfective (example 8), but with a direct object pronoun in

the perfective (example 9). Note that third person auxiliaries are also used when the subject is expressed by an overt nominal (example 7).

(7) *Paatəmà aa-bànnà-k àwai*
 Fatima AUX-cook.VN.IMPERF-GEN sauce
 Fatima will cook sauce

(8) *naa-bd-aali* < [*naa + àbdà + aali*]
 1SG-ask.VN.IMPERF-GEN3M
 I will ask him

(9) *nâ-bd-acî* < [*nâ + àbdu + acî*]
 1sg-ask.PERF-DO3M
 I asked him

<12>

In Gashua Bade the previous reference marker (PRM) **-ku* (> *-w(u)*) is added to the verbal noun, when the object of a transitive verb is not overtly realized (example 10). Note that Western Bade does not add the previous reference marker in constructions of this type.

(10) *nà-taksà-w*
 1SG-tie.VN.IMPERF-PRM
 I will tie (it) up

<13>

The imperfective denotes an event that is not completed at the time of reference and highlights the internal time-structuring of the situation relative to a given time point. The English translation may be progressive or future. The imperfective partially overlaps with the progressive/habitual (§4.3.). Note that in several Chadic languages, e.g. Ngizim, the imperfective denotes future, progressive and habitual events. This is not the case in Gashua Bade, where the imperfective is predominantly used for events which will take place in the future (examples 11 and 12), whereas the progressive/habitual is used for progressive or habitual events.⁴

(11) *sànak nàa-dàbdà-k goomâk-ənkau*
 tomorrow 1SG-buy.VN.IMPERF-GEN ram-DEM
 tomorrow I will buy this ram

(12) *yàa-bda-w kwàayà, tanuu dāa-gwà*
 2M.ask.VN.IMPERF-PRM COND now town-POSS1INCL
wùd-ùw màma Gàsiwà bìi bi?
 name-PRM COMP Gashua NEG Q
 if you will ask, now, isn't the name of our town Gashua?

(13) *aksi tà-vèlii lawà, aks-a-lawà,*
 3pl aux-go.out.SUB.for run.VN 3PL-aux-run.VN.IMPERF
aks-a-lawà, aks-a-lawà ii
 3PL-AUX-run.VN.IMPERF 3PL-AUX-run.VN.IMPERF to

⁴ In elicitation Hausa future was almost always translated with Bade imperfective, and Hausa imperfective with Bade progressive/habitual, respectively.

dâa jàk wunya
 town associated.with girl
 they set out for running, and they were running and running to the town of the girl

- (14) *àa-nee5 dâa-ksi nà, atu teek-i tà-dûwàtl-i*
 AUX-go.VN.IMPERF.to town-POSS3PL when 3F AUX.see-SUB AUX-tire-SUB
 when she was going to her town, she recognized that she was tired

4.3. Progressive/habitual

<14>

The primary indicator for the progressive/habitual is a preverbal auxiliary *và/va* which is preceded by an independent pronoun (Table 6). Like the imperfective (§4.2.), the progressive/habitual uses a verbal noun (§4.4.) rather than a finite verb, and a following direct object is realized by means of a genitive construction. It seems that tone of the auxiliary *và/va* follows the same rules as the third person clitics of the imperfective, i.e. polar to the initial tone of the following verbal noun.

Table 6: Subject agreement clitics and auxiliaries of the progressive/habitual

1SG	<i>nii và, va</i>	1EXCL	<i>jà và, va</i>
		1INCL	<i>gwà và, va</i>
2M	<i>gùì và, va</i>	2PL	<i>wùnà và, va</i>
2F	<i>gàm và, va</i>		
3M	<i>(acî) và, va</i>	3PL	<i>(aks/cì) và, va</i>
3F	<i>(atû) và, va</i>		

<15>

The progressive/habitual in Gashua Bade is an innovation. Corresponding forms are absent from Western Bade, where progressive and future events are expressed by the imperfective, and also from closely related Ngizim, where the imperfective expresses progressive, future and habitual events. Note also that Western Bade has a habitual verbal extension which is absent in both Gashua Bade, and Ngizim. It is likely that the split in Gashua Bade into imperfective and progressive/habitual is conditioned by contact with Hausa which exhibits future expressing tense (future-time reference) and a range of modal (attitudinal) meanings, as well as imperfective encompassing dimensions of durativity (action-in-progress) and habituality (cf. footnote 3). The source of the progressive/habitual marker in Gashua Bade is not totally clear. It is argued in Tarbutu (2004) that the progressive marker *và = gwà* comes from the verb *àgvu* 'fall'. However, this hypothesis would constitute a cross-linguistically rare or even unique grammaticalization process. The following sentences illustrate the progressive (examples 15-18) and habitual (example 19) use of this TAM-form.

- (15) *aksà tàks-ə koořau aksà*
 3PL tie-PERF donkey 3PL
và -waanyà-k any-uw, và-waanyà-k any-uw
 AUX-milk.VN.PROG-GEN milk-PRM AUX-milk.VN.PROG-GEN milk-PRM
 they tied up the donkey, and they were milking and milking (her) milk

⁵ The form *nee* is a coalescence of /*na + ii*/, i.e. the verbal noun of the verb 'go' and the preposition *ii* 'to'.

- (16) *nda a gàaku, nda a gàaku àman gàawa,*
 people at place people at place year many
nda va-jlami kalvâ a gàaku
 people AUX-make.VN.PROG chieftaincy at place
 it was like this for many years, and the chieftaincy was presiding at (this) place
- (17) *aawun-nàa jàbà-tkwà, nii vâ-dàaktà-w*
 corn-POSS1SG spill.PERF-body 1SG AUX-pick.one.by.one.VN.PROG-PRM
 my corn was spilled, and I was picking one by one
- (18) *aci vaa-bdà-w⁶ màma gaada kàm?*
 3M AUX-ask.VN.PROG-PRM COMP because.of Q
 why is he asking?
- (19) *àbjlám də kàyak aksi vâ-nee balà*
 hyena and squirrel 3PL AUX.go.VN.PROG.to hunting
 the hyena and the squirrel used to go for hunting

4.4. Verbal nouns

<16>

Gashua Bade has several patterns for the formation of verbal nouns. Although the relation between stem shape and verbal noun type is to some extent predictable, a given stem shape may also prefer a different verbal noun type. A comprehensive discussion of verbal nouns is beyond the scope of this paper.⁷ Table 7 shows the most productive patterns of verbal nouns in Gashua Bade, i.e. verbal nouns ending in *-à*, and verbal nouns ending in *-i*. Note that monoconsonantal roots add a suffix *-'yi* rather than just changing the vowel to *-i*. Furthermore, the vowel of in the root of the verbs in the second column becomes ə, presumably by assimilation to the final *-i*.

Table 7: Verbal nouns ending in *-à* and *-i*

Perfective	Verbal noun	Gloss	Perfective	Verbal noun	Gloss
<i>nau</i>	<i>nà</i>	count	<i>tau</i>	<i>tà 'yi</i>	eat
<i>bàlu</i>	<i>balâ</i>	hunt	<i>bau</i>	<i>bà 'yi</i>	give
<i>làwau</i>	<i>lawà</i>	run	<i>tàsau</i>	<i>tàsi</i>	find
<i>kiiđu</i>	<i>kiidâ</i>	eat (e.g. meat)	<i>kàtau</i>	<i>kàti</i>	return
<i>tàksu</i>	<i>taksâ</i>	tie	<i>bàlu</i>	<i>bàli</i>	give
<i>bànu</i>	<i>bànà</i>	cook	<i>àzgau</i>	<i>sàgi</i>	know
<i>àbzu</i>	<i>àbzà</i>	put, place	<i>mtu</i>	<i>màti</i>	die
<i>bàřtànũ</i>	<i>bàřtànà</i>	turn around			
<i>sànòotu</i>	<i>sànòotà</i>	recognize			

⁶ The preverbal auxiliary is sometimes realized with a long vowel, which might be conditioned by verb class. However, the precise rules are still unclear to me.

⁷ For the formation of verbal nouns in Western Bade see Schuh (2007).

4.5. Subjunctive

<17>

Primary indicators for the subjunctive are the verb-final vowel **-i**, and (...L)H tone pattern. In addition to this, the subjunctive has a specific set of preverbal clitics (Table 8). The forms with a long vowel are used with some class D verbs, e.g. *nau* 'count' and *dau* 'remove'. In third persons preverbal *tà/tàa* is also used when the subject is realized by an overt nominal.

Table 8: Subjunctive subject agreement clitics and auxiliaries

1SG	<i>nà, nàa</i>	1EXCL	<i>jà, jàa</i>
		1INCL	<i>gwà, gwàa</i>
2M	<i>kà, kàa</i>	2PL	<i>wùnà</i>
2F			
3M	<i>(acî) tà, tàa</i>	3PL	<i>(aks/cì) tà, tàa</i>
3F	<i>(atû) tà, tàa</i>		

<18>

In Bade and several other Chadic languages the subjunctive has a wide range of functions. Following Schuh (2003:20) the basic function can be summarized as "signalling an event which will have its inception subsequent to the moment of speaking and/or to an event in a superordinate clause".

In Gashua Bade the basic functions of the subjunctive comprise:

- expression of wishes or requests,
- complements to the verb *ñcu* 'want, like, love' and other expressions of necessity, propriety,
- 'before'-clauses introduced with *kàabdàrò*, *kàabò* 'before',
- purpose clauses introduced with *gàadâk* 'in order to',
- expression of events which are in direct sequence to another event, irrespective of the TAM of the preceding event.

(20) *Kàaka tà-mbàanàat-iigì!*
 God AUX-help-SUB.you
 may God help you (2M)!

(21) *acî ñcu tà-kwt-atù ii patlà bai*
 3M want.PERF AUX-take-SUB.her to marriage NEG
 he doesn't want to marry her

(22) *bàlân pùkařãřan tà-naið àbzàku*
 it.is.good students AUX-come.SUB today
 it is good, that the students come today

(23) *kàabdàrò nàa-vəl-i, bariì nàa-tk-i vèdau*
 before 1SG-go.out-SUB let 1SG-kill-SUB urine
 before I go out, let me (first) urinate

⁸ *nai* is the subjunctive of the irregular ventive verb *dàawau* 'come'.

- (24) *aksì dàawau aksì tà-kwt-i kare-nsì*
 3PL come.PERF 3PL AUX-take-SUB goods-POSS.3PL
 they came, and (then) they took their goods

<19>

The subjunctive is negated by the second subjunctive (§4.7.), except for its function as a marker of sequence. In this case the negative perfective or negative imperfective is used.

4.6. Imperative

<20>

Primary indicators for the imperative are the verb-final vowels *-i* (SG) and *-a* (PL) and a (...L)H tone pattern. The imperative is also characterized by the preverbal clitics *à-*, *a-* (*àa-*, *aa-* with certain verbs, e.g. *làgu* 'stop') for second person singular and plural. The tone of the proclitic is polar to the first tone of the verbal base. In Gashua Bade also the first person plural inclusive has an imperative form characterized by the proclitic *gwà-*. The imperative expresses commands, exhortations, etc. Negative command is expressed by the second subjunctive (§4.7.).

- (25) *a-jlàb-i a-jlàb-a gwà-jlàb-a*
 AUX-sit.down-IMP.SG AUX-SIT.DOWN-IMP.PL 1INCL-sit.down-IMP.PL
 sit down!(2M and 2F) sit down!(2PL) let's sit down!

- (26) *aa-làg-i! aa-làg-a!*
 AUX-stop-IMP.SG AUX-stop-IMP.PL
 stop! (2M and 2F) stop! (2PL)

- (27) *amarya-w vā-zənā-w māmā: 'gwà-zən-a!'*
 young.woman-PRM AUX-say.VN.PROG-PRM COMP 1INCL-say-IMP.PL
 the young woman was saying: let's say (it)!

<21>

Note that Western Bade requires gender/number marking suffixes with imperatives, e.g. catch! *à-gàf-ii* (2M), *à-gàf-m* (2F), *à-gàfa-wà* (1INCL), *à-gàfa-wun* (2PL).

4.7. Second subjunctive

<22>

Primary indicators for the second subjunctive are the verb-final vowel *-a* and a (...L)H tone pattern. The second subjunctive is also characterized by a specific set of preverbal clitics (Table 9).

Table 9: Subject agreement clitics and auxiliaries of the second subjunctive

1SG	<i>nà</i>	1EXCL	<i>jà</i>
		1INCL	<i>gwà</i>
2M	<i>kà</i>	2PL	<i>wùnà</i>
2F			
3M	<i>(acì) tà</i>	3PL	<i>(aks/cì) tà</i>
3F	<i>(atú) tà</i>		

<23>

The basic function of the second subjunctive is to replace the subjunctive (except for its function as a marker of sequence) and the imperative in negated clauses (examples 28-31). In Gashua Bade negation of the second subjunctive is realized by the marker *bai*, whereas Western Bade suffixes the negation marker *-m* to the verb (example 32).

- (28) *a-jlàb-i!* *kà-jlàb-a* *bai!*
 AUX-sit.down-IMP.SG 2SG-sit.down-SUB2 NEG
 sit down! do not sit down!
- (29) *kà-tùwày-a* *bai!*
 2SG-forget-SUB2 NEG
 don't forget (it)!
- (30) *nàn-dàps-ə* *tâgwda-w* *gàadâk* *acî* *tà-ba* *bai*
 1SG-hide-PERF money-prm in.order.to 3M AUX-find.SUB2 NEG
 I hit the money lest he finds it
- (31) *tô,* *kàyak* *ma:* *'kà-jlám-a* *nanu* *bai!'*
 well squirrel COMP 2SG-do-SUB2 this.way NEG
 well, the squirrel said: 'don't make it this way!'

Western Bade

- (32) *nà-gày-a-m!*
 1SG-climb-sub2-NEG
 don't climb (it)!

<24>

The second subjunctive also functions as a hortative for the first person singular, first person exclusive and third persons, e.g.

- (33) *kâi,* *nà-ja* *nà-hàpt-i9* *daagàm* *fii-nàm* *ba*
 well 1SG-go.SUB2 1SG-lift.SUB for.you thing-your TOP
 well, let me go and lift your thing for you

5. Intransitive Copy Pronouns

<25>

Gashua Bade, like many other Chadic languages, has a specific set of intransitive copy pronouns (ICPs) which may follow intransitive verbs and copy person, gender and number of the subject. While in some Chadic languages, e.g. Kanakuru, ICPs are obligatory with all intransitive verbs, this is not the case in Gashua Bade. ICPs are especially found with imperatives of intransitive verbs. In other TAMs ICPs are not common. Note that in imperatives of the second person singular there is no gender distinction (cf. §4.6.), except for intransitive verbs which are followed by an ICP.

⁹ Note that the second verb is in the subjunctive, which is normal in a sequence of events, regardless of the TAM of the first verb.

- (34) *à-ji!* *à-ji* *naagì!*
 AUX-go.IMP.SG aux-go.IMP.SG ICP2M
 go! (2M or 2F) go! (2M)
- à-ji* *naagàm!*
 AUX-go.IMP.SG ICP2F
 go! (2F)
- à-ja* *nâwùn*
 AUX-go.IMP.PL ICP2PL
 go! (2PL)
- (35) *tàřžanà à-ji-naagàm ìi sək lakài!*
 folktale AUX-go.IMP-ICP2F to underside.of bed
 folktale, go under the bed! (closing of folktales)

6. Verbal extensions

<26>

Bade has several derivational processes which modify the meaning of the basic verb. In addition to a frozen process which is probably a remnant of a totality extension, there are four productive extensions attested in Gashua Bade:

*Totality	- <i>dù</i>
Transitive	- <i>dù</i>
Instrumental	- <i>du</i>
Intransitive	- <i>a-</i>
Ventive	- <i>àawo</i>

<27>

Western Bade has all these extensions in common with Gashua Bade. However, Western Bade has also a habitual extension which is marked by a suffix *-ag-*, e.g. *à dābdā-m* 'sell (it)!' vs. *à dābd-àgā-m* 'keep on selling (it)!'. The habitual extension is absent in Gashua Bade, instead habitual events are expressed by the progressive/habitual (cf. §4.3.).

6.1. Totality

<28>

Gashua Bade has several verbs which can add the suffix *-dù* without causing any change in meaning, e.g.

<i>àbzu</i>	=	<i>àbzə-dù</i>	leave (alone)
<i>àlmau</i>	=	<i>àlmə-dù</i>	leave thing behind
<i>kùlāvnu</i>	=	<i>kùlvə-dù</i>	accompany
<i>ntu</i>	=	<i>ntə-dù</i>	swallow

<29>

The suffix *-dù* is most probably a remnant of the totality extension which is attested in a number of Chadic languages, e.g. in closely related Ngizim one of the allomorphs for the totality extension is *-dù*.

6.2. Transitive

<30>

Verbs for which the grammatical subject is the agent and also the patient of an event, i.e. unaccusative and unergative verbs, can be transitized by the suffix **-dù**, and appear in all TAMs, e.g.

<i>ju</i>	go	<i>jə-dù</i>	take, transport, carry
<i>làgu</i>	stop, remain	<i>làgə-dù</i>	stop something
<i>àstu</i>	perform naming ceremony	<i>àstə-dù</i>	give someone a name
<i>àtfu</i>	enter	<i>àtfə-dù</i>	put in
<i>vàlu</i>	go out	<i>vələ-dù</i>	bring out something

(36) *tà-tàatl-i* *dəm*, *tà-vəlidiù* *ii* *àjgàməkəbdàm*
 AUX-split-SUB wood AUX-bring.out.SUB to side.of.road
 she split firewood and brought it out to the side of the road

(37) *ndà* *tà-niidiù* *kwàm* *màřemmà* *àmànuw* *vàd*
 people AUX-bring.SUB bull huge year.PRM five
 they brought a huge five years old bull

6.3. Instrumental

<31>

In Gashua Bade the verbal extension **-du** can be used in order to mark an omitted oblique object which is in most cases an instrument. The English translation is most often 'perform something with it', e.g.

(38) *atû* *và-làakan-du*, *và-làakan-du*
 3F AUX-walking-with.it.PROG AUX-walking-with.it.PROG
 she was going and going with it

(39) *gwà-jləm-du* *tàm?*
 1INCL-do.VN.IMPERF-with.it Q
 what will we do with it?

6.4. Intransitive

<32>

Bade has a productive process which derives intransitive middle verbs from transitive verbs by means of an infix **-a**¹⁰, i.e. from transitive verbs of the form ...CVC-, where V = ə, intransitive verbs can be derived by infixing **-a**, e.g.,

¹⁰ Note that Bade and many other Chadic languages have the possibility to use one and the same verb as a transitive verb or an intransitive middle verb. For instance, in *aci kùbu màgvuw* 'he closed the door' *kùbu* is a transitive verb with an agentive subject, whereas in *màgvuw kùbu* 'the door is closed' *kùbu* is an intransitive middle verb, designating a change of state of the subject.

- (44) *nà-kagd-àyi-iwà* *vəřdāmu*
 1SG-pluck-IMPERF-for.us ebony.fruit
- awùn* *yi* *wùnà-càpt-i-iwà*
 2PL TOP 2PL-collect-SUB-for.us
- I will pluck for us ebony fruits, and you, you should collect (them) for us

7. Pluractionals

<35>

Bade like most other Chadic languages has so called pluractional verbs. According to Newman (1990:53-54): "pluractional verbs sometimes relate to plurality of a nominal argument in the sentence (e.g. subject, direct object, even indirect object), [however G.Z.], the essential semantic characteristic of such verbs is almost always plurality or multiplicity of the verb's action". Pluractional verbs are rare in my free interviews, however, I was able to elicitate the following pluractional patterns:

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|----|----------------------------------|---|--|-------|
| 1. | Cu | > | CəC(a)u | | 2. | əC ₁ C ₂ u | > | C ₁ aaC ₁ C ₂ u | |
| | <i>ju</i> | | <i>jəju</i> | go | | <i>əsfu</i> | | <i>sàasfu</i> | sweep |
| | <i>sau</i> | | <i>səsau</i> | drink | | <i>əsku</i> | | <i>sàasku</i> | shave |
| | <i>tau</i> | | <i>tətau</i> | eat | | | | | |
| 3. | C ₁ əC ₂ u | > | C ₁ aaC ₁ əC ₂ u | | 4. | C ₁ aC ₂ u | > | C ₁ aaC ₂ əC ₂ (a)u | |
| | <i>dəřu</i> | | <i>dàadəřu</i> | wait | | <i>màsu</i> | | <i>màasəs</i> | buy |
| | <i>kəlu</i> | | <i>kàakəlu</i> | steal | | <i>bàku</i> | | <i>bàakəku</i> | roast |
| | <i>pəmu</i> | | <i>pàapəmu</i> | strike | | <i>gəfau</i> | | <i>gàafəfau</i> | catch |
| 5. | Verbs with more than two consonants | | | | | | | | |
| | <i>əskùnu</i> | | <i>sàaskùnu</i> | begin | | | | | |
| | <i>ədgùnu</i> | | <i>dàadgùnu</i> | put, place, put on clothes | | | | | |
| | <i>càptu</i> | | <i>càpcàptu</i> | collect | | | | | |
| | <i>bàнку</i> | | <i>bànkùku</i> | vomit | | | | | |
| | <i>kàzàyu</i> | | <i>kàzàyàyu</i> | be angry, be dissatisfied with what one is given | | | | | |
| | <i>pàgdu</i> | | <i>pàagdàdu</i> | beat | | | | | |

- (45) *kədāw-u* *nà* *jà-nai* *jà-pàagdàd-i*
 dry.up-PERF COND 1EXCL-come.SUB 1EXCL-beat-SUB
- jà-pàagdàd-i* *dək* *dəm* *sai ...*
 1EXCL-beat-SUB with stick until ...
- when (it) is dry, we come, and beat (it), and beat (it) with a stick until ...

8. Conclusions

<36>

The description of the verbal system of Gashua Bade aims at illustrating differences as well as similarities with the verbal system of Western Bade, as outlined in Schuh (2007). In addition to this, the comparison of Gashua Bade with Western Bade and closely related Ngizim makes it possible to establish innovations and retentions found in the verbal systems of Bade-Ngizim

group languages (cf. Schuh 1981). First of all we find certain differences concerning subject agreement clitics and auxiliaries outlined in Table 10.

Table 10: Subject agreement clitics and auxiliaries in Gashua Bade and Western Bade

	Perfective		Imperfective		Progressive/Habitual	
	GB	WB	GB	WB	GB	WB
1SG	<i>nə, nə, nən, nən</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>nà, na, nàa, naa</i>	<i>na, naa</i>	<i>nii və, va</i>	—
2M	<i>kə</i>	<i>gə</i>	<i>yà, yàa</i>	<i>yà, yaa</i>	<i>gii və, va</i>	
2F			<i>mà, màa</i>	<i>mà, maa</i>	<i>gəm və, va</i>	
3M	<i>(acî)</i>	<i>(aci)</i>	<i>(acî) à, a, àa, aa</i>	<i>(aci) à, aa</i>	<i>(acî) və, va</i>	
3F	<i>(atû)</i>	<i>(atu)</i>	<i>(atû) à, a, àa, aa</i>	<i>(atû) à, aa</i>	<i>(atû) və, va</i>	
1EXCL	<i>jə, jən</i>	<i>jə</i>	<i>jà, jàa</i>	<i>jà, jaa</i>	<i>jà və, va</i>	
1INCL	<i>gù, gùn</i>	<i>wə</i>	<i>gwà, gwàa</i>	<i>wà, waa</i>	<i>gwà və, va</i>	
2PL	<i>wùn</i>	<i>awùn</i>	<i>wùnà, wùnàa</i>	<i>awùnà, awùnaa</i>	<i>wùnà və, va</i>	
3PL	<i>(aks/cì)</i>	<i>(akci)</i>	<i>(aks/cì) à, a, àa, aa</i>	<i>(akci) à, aa</i>	<i>(aks/cì) və, va</i>	
	Subjunctive		Imperative		Second subjunctive	
	GB	WB	GB	WB	GB	WB
1SG	<i>nà, nàa</i>	<i>nà, naa</i>			<i>nə</i>	<i>nə</i>
2M	<i>kà, kàa</i>	<i>gà, gaa</i>	<i>à(a), a(a) V-i</i>	<i>à(a) V-ii</i>	<i>kə</i>	<i>gə</i>
2F				<i>à(a) V-ə-m</i>		
3M	<i>(acî) tà, tàa</i>	<i>(aci) dà, daa</i>			<i>(acî) tà</i>	<i>(aci) dà</i>
3F	<i>(atû) tà, tàa</i>	<i>(atu) dà, daa</i>			<i>(atû) tà</i>	<i>(atu) dà</i>
1EXCL	<i>jà, jàa</i>	<i>jàa</i>			<i>jə</i>	<i>jə</i>
1INCL	<i>gwà, gwàa</i>	<i>wàa</i>	<i>gwà V-a</i>	<i>à(a) V-a-wà</i>	<i>gwə</i>	<i>wə</i>
2PL	<i>wùnà</i>	<i>awùnàa</i>	<i>à(a), a(a) V-a</i>	<i>à(a) V-a-wun</i>	<i>wùnə</i>	<i>awùnə</i>
3PL	<i>(aks/cì) tà, tàa</i>	<i>(akci) dà, daa</i>			<i>(aks/cì) tà</i>	<i>(akci) dà</i>

<37>

Following Schuh (1981) second person singular subject clitics can be reconstructed with initial **k-* for proto-Bade-Ngizim. An innovation has taken place in Western Bade, where second person singular subject clitics are always voiced. In addition to this, second person plural clitics display a prefix *a-*, which is absent in other varieties. Concerning subjunctive preverbal auxiliaries of third persons, it is rather unclear whether the voiced type (Western Bade and Ngizim) or the unvoiced type (Gashua Bade) constitutes the conservative type.

<38>

In the perfective Gashua Bade displays subject agreement clitics with final *-n* used before verbs beginning in a consonant. Clitics of this kind are absent in Western Bade and Ngizim and, therefore, can be analysed as an innovation in Gashua Bade. Perfective verb suffixes *-au* in class B and class D verbs occur in Gashua Bade and Ngizim. In Western Bade an innovative monophthongization *-au > -o* has taken place. Negation of the perfective in Gashua Bade and Ngizim uses a clause-final negator *bai*, whereas in Western Bade **bai* is reduced to *-m*. Note that besides nunation¹¹, negation of the perfective is one of the main features separating Gashua Bade from Western Bade. A special reduplicated form in the negative perfective is found in Western Bade (example 6) and in Southern Bade, e.g. *nə jàajà bai* 'I didn't go', but absent in Gashua Bade and Ngizim. Therefore, it is difficult to say which construction

¹¹ In Western Bade citation forms (\approx indefinite forms) for common nouns have a final *-n* (frequently referred to as nunation) which originally comes from a definite determiner. For nunation in Western Bade see Lukas (1968) and Schuh (1975).

type constitutes the innovation. However, given the fact that many languages in northern Nigeria (e.g. Hausa, Miya, Guruntum and several other Chadic languages, as well as Kanuri and Fulfulde) display a dichotomy in standard negation, i.e. negation of the perfective is differently marked from negation of the imperfective, we might hypothesize that the reduplicated form in the perfective constitutes a retention (cf. Ziegelmeyer 2009b).

<39>

The most important innovation concerns the split of the imperfective in Gashua Bade. While in Western Bade and Ngizim the imperfective expresses future reference as well as durativity (action in progress), in Gashua Bade the imperfective most often denotes future events, and a new innovative TAM-form denotes progressive and habitual events. It was already stated above that the split in Gashua Bade into imperfective and progressive/habitual is probably conditioned by contact with Hausa which exhibits a future TAM expressing tense (future-time reference) and a range of modal (attitudinal) meanings, as well as an imperfective TAM encompassing dimensions of durativity (action-in-progress) and habituality. With respect to expressions of habituality, Ngizim probably constitutes the conservative type, where the imperfective also encompasses this dimension, whereas in Gashua Bade habituality is expressed by the progressive/habitual and in Western Bade in terms of a habitual verbal extension (cf. §6). Furthermore in Gashua Bade and Ngizim constructions with a transitive verb in the imperfective and progressive/habitual (Gashua Bade only) with no overt direct object add the previous reference marker to the preceding verbal noun. This construction type is not used in Western Bade.

<40>

In the subjunctive mood several innovations have taken place in Western Bade. While all other Bade varieties have a (...L)H tone pattern on subjunctive verbs, in Western Bade tone of subjunctive verbs is conditioned by the initial consonant, i.e. verbs beginning in a voiced obstruent have a low tone on the first syllable, all other verbs have a high tone. In addition to this preverbal subject agreement clitics exhibit a polar tone to the first syllable of the verb, except for first and second person plural which always bear a low tone (for a more detailed description of the subjunctive in Western Bade see Schuh 2007). For instance Western Bade *ga gàfi* 'that you catch' and *gà karmì* 'that you chop' can be contrasted with Gashua Bade *kà gàfi*, and *kà kàrmì* respectively.

<41>

Another innovation in Western Bade concerns the negation of the second subjunctive, and is partially parallel to the negation of the perfective. Again the proto-Bade-Ngizim negation marker **bai* has been reduced to *-m*.

<42>

Yet another innovation in Western Bade can be found in the imperative paradigm which distinguishes gender in the second person singular. This differentiation is absent in all other varieties.

<43>

Finally, as concerns verbal extensions, we can note that both Gashua Bade and Western Bade have a transitive, intransitive, instrumental and ventive extension. Only Western Bade has an additional habitual extension (cf. §6). Proto-Bade-Ngizim probably also had a totality extension. While this extension is still productive in Ngizim, in Gashua Bade and Western Bade only remnants of this extension are found.

Abbreviations

AUX	auxiliary	PL	plural
C	consonant	POSS	possessive pronoun
COND	conditional marker	PRM	previous reference marker
DEM	demonstrative	PROG	progressive/habitual
DO	direct object	Q	question word
F	feminine	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SUB	subjunctive
H	high tone	SUB2	Second subjunctive
ICP	intransitive copy pronoun	SVO	subject-verb-object
IMP	imperative	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
IMPERF	imperfective	TOP	topicalizing particle
L	low tone	VN	verbal noun
M	masculine	V	vowel
NEG	negation	1EXCL	1 st plural exclusive
PERF	perfective	1INCL	1 st plural inclusive

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