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Une nouvelle voix pour les langues et les cultures d'Afrique

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Linguistique et Langues Africaines

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_ Sur l'origine du suffixe du pluriel dans le groupe Nyun-Buy
_ L'indexation du sujet et de l'objet dans les langues atlantiques nord
_ Serial Verb Constructions in Papiamentu: Historical, Synchronic and Comparative Observations
_ A Note on the (Non-Existing) Passive in Matengo
_ Notes et documents - Bure Verbs
_ Comptes-rendus de lecture

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Bure Verbs

Gian Claudio BATIC [1]

1. Introduction

The Bure language [2] is a moribund language spoken in northern Nigeria in the village of Bure (Bauchi State, Kirfi Local Government). It belongs to the Bole-Tangale group of the West branch of the Chadic family (A.2, Bole-Tangale, Bole proper). Spoken only by a few people of great-grand parental generation, the language seems doomed to die within the next 15-20 years. The two available socio-linguistic surveys on Bure (Haruna 2000, Batic 2013c) leave no space for a more optimistic prevision.

This note aims at presenting a first list of Bure verbs, with a special attention paid to the perfective aspect. The verbs have been collected during two fieldwork trips (July-August and November-December 2012) [3] made within the frame of an ethno-linguistic documentation project on Bure. [4]

2. A list of Bure verbs

The list includes 85 label verbs (see 2.1) and 21 <**'EY-** 'do' + noun> periphrastic constructions (see 2.2). Regarding the label verbs, the main entry is the verbal stem, that is, the form taken by the verb in the plural perfective aspect minus the perfective marker and with no indication of tone. In the plural form of the perfective, the stem is followed by an

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1. University of Naples.

2. ISO code: 639-3 bvh. The vernacular name of the language is **Bùbbúrè** (lit. 'mouth [of] Bure'), a Bure person is **nò Búrè** and the Bure people are **mà Búrè**. The language is also known with the Hausa term *buranci*.

3. The research has been carried out in the village of Bure. The collection of data has been made possible by the assistance of two main informants: Malam Rama and Malam Alhaji Magaji Gargajiya. They both belong to the very small group of elders who can still speak the language with accuracy. Malam Rama and Malam Alhaji Magaji, aged 65-75, were born in Bure before Hausa took over replacing **Bùbbúrè** in everyday linguistic exchange. They are both competent speakers of *Bùbbúrè* (their first language, nowadays rarely used) and Hausa (the language they shifted to). They speak also Nigerian Fulfulde [fuv] and understand Deno [dbb], a neighbouring Chadic language spoken in the area west of Bure.

4. The two fieldtrips have been sponsored by the *Kay Williamson Educational Foundation* (UK) and the *Association for Endangered Languages* (Köln) respectively.

from the plural, the singular form of the perfective does not always display all the stem consonants: in a significant number of cases, for example, the second stem consonant is assimilated to the perfective marker **-kò**. This assimilation results in the gemination of **k**, as shown in (1):

(1)

meaning	*perf. sg.*	*perf. pl.*		*stem*
'open'	**'ók-kò**	**'òf-íkò**	>	'OF-
'chop'	**dák-kò**	**dàs-íkò**	>	DAS-
'take'	**gék-kò**	**gèt-íkò**	>	GET-
'put'	**jók-kò**	**jòb-íkò**	>	JOB-

Apart from the stem, each entry provides the following data: the meaning of the verb in English, the tone of the verb (given in brackets), the corresponding Hausa lexeme in standard orthography, and finally the singular and plural forms of the perfective.

The tone of the verb is determined by considering the first syllable of the plural form.

(2)

meaning	*perf. sg.*		*perf. pl.*			*tone*
'cut, chop'	**dák-kò**	(H)	**dàs-ínkò**	(L)	>	(L)
'follow'	**nák-kò**	(H)	**nàf-ínko**	(L)	>	(L)
'slaughter'	**sék-kò**	(H)	**sèk-íyò**	(L)	>	(L)
'want'	**dál-íyò**	(H)	**dál-íkò**	(H)	>	(H)
'feel, hear'	**kól-íyò**	(H)	**kól-íkò**	(H)	>	(H)
'enter'	**rí-íyò**	(H)	**rí'-íkò**	(H)	>	(H)

The morpheme marking the perfective, **kò**, is realized by two allomorphs: **-yò**, in the singular, and **-kò**, in the plural, both preceded by an epenthetic high vowel. Since the tonal pattern of the epenthetic vowel plus the perfective marker is invariably H-L, the only tone-based distinction we can draw between verbs must target the first vowel of the perfective plural form. As (2) shows, the tonal pattern displayed in the singular form cannot be used as a discriminant feature to operate a tonal categorization. L-tone verbs with the second stem consonant undergoing assimilation (e.g. 'cut', 'follow' and 'slaughter'), regular H-tone verbs (e.g. 'want' and 'feel/hear'), and H-tone verbs dropping the second consonant of the stem (e.g. 'enter') are all tonally classifiable only considering the plural form, where the full sequence (i.e. stem + perfective morpheme) is displayed.

'AƊ- 'bite' (L)
Ha. **ciza**
perf. sg. **'ák-kò**
perf. pl. **'àƊ-íkò**

'AF- 'answer' (L)
Ha. **amsa**
perf. sg. **'ák-kò**
perf. pl. **'àf-íkò**

'AL- 'soak' (L)
Ha. **jiƙe**
perf. sg. **'àll-íyò**
perf. pl. **'àll-íkò**

'EY- 'do' (L)
Ha. **yi**
perf. sg. **'í-íyò**
perf. pl. **'èy-íkò**

'OF- 'open' (L)
Ha. **buƊe**
perf. sg. **'ók-kò**
perf. pl. **'òf-íkò**

'OF- 'pierce' (L)
Ha. **huda**
perf. sg. **'òp-íyò**
perf. pl. **'òp-íkò**

'UP- 'show' (H)
Ha. **nuna**
perf. sg. **'úp-íyò**
perf. pl. **'úp-íkò**

'US- 'grill, roast' (H)
Ha. **gasa**
perf. sg. **'ùs-íyò**
perf. pl. **'ùs-íkò**

BAN- 'know' (L)
Ha. **sani**
perf. sg. **bán-kò**
perf. pl. **bán-íkò**

BER- 'break' (L)
Ha. **karya**
perf. sg. **bèèr-íyò**
perf. pl. **bèrr-íkò**

BET- 'fall' (L)
Ha. **faɗi**
perf. sg. **bèt-íyò**
perf. pl. **bètt-íkò**

BI'- 'wash' (L)
Ha. **wanka**
perf. sg. **bí-íyò**
perf. pl. **bì'-íkò**

BIS- 'sting' (L)
Ha. **harba**
perf. sg. **bìs-íyò**
perf. pl. **bìss-íkò**

DAAM- 'worry' (L)
Ha. **damu**
perf. sg. **dààm-íyò**
perf. pl. **dààm-íkò**

DAL- 'want' (H)
Ha. **so**
perf. sg. **dál-íyò**
perf. pl. **dál-íkò**

DAN- 'press' (L)
Ha. **danna**
perf. sg. **dànn-íyò**
perf. pl. **dànn-íkò**

DAS- 'chop, cut' (L)
Ha. **sara**
perf. sg. **dák-kò**
perf. pl. **dàs-ínkò**

DAW- 'kill' (L)
Ha. **kashe**
perf. sg. **dàw-íyò**
perf. pl. **dàw-íkò**

DEF- 'get, obtain' (L)
Ha. **samu**
perf. sg. **dék-kò**
perf. pl. **dèf-íkò**

DINK- 'cook' (L)
Ha. **dafa**
perf. sg. **dìnk-íyò**
perf. pl. **dìnk-ínkò**

Ha. **dole**
perf. **dóólè**

DOP- 'look for' (L)
Ha. **nema**
perf. sg. **dòpp-íyò**
perf. pl. **dòpp-íkò**

ƊAAT- 'put on' (L)
Ha. **sa, ɗora kan**
perf. sg. **ɗààt-íyò**
perf. pl. **ɗààt-íkò**

ƊAL- 'swallow' (L)
Ha. **hadiye**
perf. sg. **ɗàl-íyò**
perf. pl. **ɗàl-íkò**

ƊI'- 'climb' (H)
Ha. **hau**
perf. sg. **ɗī-íyò**
perf. pl. **ɗī'-íkò**

ƊOR- 'be tired' (L)
Ha. **gaji**
perf. sg. **ɗòr-íyò**
perf. pl. **ɗòr-íkò**

FAT- 'go out' (L)
Ha. **fito**
perf. sg. **fàt-íyò**
perf. pl. **fàtt-íkò**

FEED- 'wake up' (H)
Ha. **farka**
perf. sg. **fééd-íyò**
perf. pl. **fééd-íkò**

FEEL- 'blow' (L)
Ha. **farka**
perf. sg. **fèèl-íyò**
perf. pl. **fèèl-íkò**

GAAN- 'understand' (L)
Ha. **gane**
perf. sg. **gàn-íyò**
perf. pl. **gààn-íkò**

Ha. **gafarta**
perf. sg. **gààfàrt-íyò**
perf. pl. **gààfàrt-íkò**

GEL- 'meet' (L)
Ha. **tara**
perf. sg. **gèll-íyò**
perf. pl. **gèll-íkò**

GET- 'take' (L)
Ha. **ɗauka**
perf. sg. **gék-kò**
perf. pl. **gèt-íkò**

GIY- 'cut grass' (L)
Ha. **yanka (ciyawa)**
perf. sg. **gí-íyò**
perf. pl. **giy-íkò**

GOD- 'thank' (L)
Ha. **gode**
perf. sg. **gòd-íyò**
perf. pl. **gòd-íkò**

GUB- 'burn' (L)
Ha. **ƙona**
perf. sg. **gùbb-íyò**
perf. pl. **gùbb-íkò**

JAƁ- 'spoil, damage' (L)
Ha. **ɓata**
perf. sg. **jàɓ-íyò**
perf. pl. **jàɓ-íkò**

JEEY- 'put away, store (L)
Ha. **ajiye**
perf. sg. **jééwò**
perf. pl. **jèèy-íkò**

JOB- 'put' (L)
Ha. **sa**
perf. sg. **jók-kò**
perf. pl. **jòb-íkò**

JUW- 'turn round' (L)
Ha. **juya**
perf. sg. **jùw-íyò**
perf. pl. **jùw-ínkò**

Ha. **kamata**
perf. sg. **kàmààt-íyò**
perf. pl. **kàmààt-íkò**

KEN- 'learn' (L)
Ha. **koya**
perf. sg. **kènn-íyò**
perf. pl. **kènn-íkò**

KET- 'touch' (L)
Ha. **taɓa**
perf. sg. **kèt-íyò**
perf. pl. **kìtt-íkò**

KOL- 'feel, hear' (H)
Ha. **ji**
perf. sg. **kól-íyò**
perf. pl. **kól-íkò**

KOR- 'wait' (H)
Ha. **jira**
perf. sg. **kór-íyò**
perf. pl. **kór-íkò**

LOOY- 'say' (H)
Ha. **ce**
perf. sg. **lóó-yò**
perf. pl. **lóó-yíkò**

MAƊ- 'come back (L)
Ha. **dawo**
perf. sg. **màɗ-ínkò**
perf. pl. **màɗɗ-íkò**

MAL- 'untie' (L)
Ha. **kwance**
perf. sg. **màl-íyò**
perf. pl. **màll-íkò**

MEL- 'get lost' (L)
Ha. **ɓata**
perf. sg. **mèl-íyò**
perf. pl. **mèl-íkò**

MOR- 'steal' (L)
Ha. **sata**
perf. sg. **mòr-íyò**
perf. pl. **mòr-íkò**

Ha. **bari**
perf. sg. **mún-kò**
perf. pl. **mùn-íkò**

MUT- 'die' (H)
Ha. **mutu**
perf. sg. **múk-kò**
perf. pl. **mútt-íkò**

MUUN- 'forget' (L)
Ha. **manta**
perf. sg. **mùùn-íyò**
perf. pl. **mùùn-íkò**

NAF- 'follow' (L)
Ha. **bi**
perf. sg. **nák-kò**
perf. pl. **nàf-íkò**

NAS- 'bring' (L)
Ha. **kawo**
perf. sg. **nàs-ínkò**
perf. pl. **nàs-ínkò**

NEEY- 'see' (L)
Ha. **gani**
perf. sg. **nééwò**
perf. pl. **nèèy-íkò**

NGAB- 'shatter, disperse' (L)
Ha. **fasa**
perf. sg. **ngàbb-íyò**
perf. pl. **ngàbb-íkò**

NGOL- 'throw' (L)
Ha. **jefa**
perf. sg. **ngòl-íyò**
perf. pl. **ngòl-íkò**

NOK- 'rest' (L)
Ha. **huta**
perf. sg. **nòkk-íyò**
perf. pl. **nòkk-íkò**

ŋAAR- 'tie' (L)
Ha. **ɗaura**
perf. sg. **ŋààr-íyò**
perf. pl. **ŋààr-íkò**

PIS- 'spit' (L)
Ha. **tofa**
perf. sg. **pìss-íyò**
perf. pl. **pìss-íkò**

RI'- 'enter' (H)
Ha. **shiga**
perf. sg. **rí-íyò**
perf. pl. **rí'-íkò**

RUNGUM- 'embrace' (LL)
Ha. **runguma**
perf. sg. **rùngùm-íyò**
perf. pl. **rùngùm-íkò**

RUT- 'uproot' (L)
Ha. **toni**
perf. sg. **rùt-íyò**
perf. pl. **rùtt-íkò**

SAAT- 'repeat' (L)
Ha. **kara**
perf. sg. **sààt-íyò**
perf. pl. **sààt-íkò**

SAAT- 'add' (L)
Ha. **kara**
perf. sg. **sààt-íyò**
perf. pl. **sààt-íkò**

SAN- 'spend the night' (L)
Ha. **yi kwana**
perf. sg. **sán-kò**
perf. pl. **sàn-íkò**

SEEY- 'drink' (L)
Ha. **sha**
perf. sg. **séé-wò**
perf. pl. **sèèy-íkò**

SEK- 'slaughter' (L)
Ha. **yanka**
perf. sg. **sék-kò**
perf. pl. **sèk-íyò**

SET- 'squeeze' (L)

SIINK- 'smell' (L)
Ha. **sansana**
perf. sg. **sìink-íyò**
perf. pl. **sìink-íkò**

SOB- 'ask' (L)
Ha. **tambaya**
perf. sg. **sòbb-íyò**
perf. pl. **sòbb-íkò**

SOL- 'pull' (L)
Ha. **ja**
perf. sg. **sòll-íyò**
perf. pl. **sòll-íkò**

SOR- 'stand up' (L)
Ha. **tsaya**
perf. sg. **sòr-íyò**
perf. pl. **sòr-íkò**

SUP- 'suck' (L)
Ha. **tsotsa**
perf. sg. **sùpp-íyò**
perf. pl. **sùpp-íkò**

SUUN- 'kneel down' (L)
Ha. **dunƙule**
perf. sg. **sùùn-íyò**
perf. pl. **sùùn-íkò**

TAT- 'unload' (L)
Ha. **sauke**
perf. sg. **tàtt-íyò**
perf. pl. **tàtt-íkò**

TI'- 'eat' (L)
Ha. **ci**
perf. sg. **t-íyò**
perf. pl. **tì'-íkò**

TOF- 'catch' (L)
Ha. **kama**
perf. sg. **tók-kò**
perf. pl. **tòf-íkò**

TUK- 'finish' (H)

TUL- 'pluck' (L)
Ha. **cire, fige**
perf. sg. **tùll-íyò**
perf. pl. **tùll-íkò**

TUN- 'sit down' (L)
Ha. **zauna**
perf. sg. **tùng-íyò**
perf. pl. **tùng-ínkò**

TUUR- 'push' (L)
Ha. **tura**
perf. sg. **tùùr-íyò**
perf. pl. **tùùr-íkò**

WAL- 'skin, peel' (L)
Ha. **feɗe**
perf. sg. **wàll-íyò**
perf. pl. **wàll-íkò**

YARD- 'agree' (L)
Ha. **yarda**
perf. sg. **yàrd-íyò**
perf. pl. **yàrd-íkò**

2.2 <'EY- 'do' + noun > periphrastic constructions

EY- 'àptá 'yawn'
Ha. **yi hamma**

~ **'ìntá** 'swim'
Ha. **yi iyo**

~ **démbùyè** 'talk'
Ha. **yi magana**

~ **fìlà** 'hunt'
Ha. **farauta**

~ **jínnò** 'weep'
Ha. **yi kuka**

~ **jóbò** 'be silent'
Ha. **yi shiru**

~ **jòò jàkùlkùlù** 'tickle'
Ha. **yi cakulkuli**

~ **júrá** 'laugh'
Ha. **yi dariya, dara**

~ **kòbò** 'shout'
Ha. **yi ihu**

~ **kòkóltó** 'cough'
Ha. **yi tari**

~ **kùɗɗà** 'work'
Ha. **yi aiki**

~ **lássò** 'vomit'
Ha. **yi amai**

~ **mòrò** 'sweat'
Ha. **yi gumi**

~ **nóósìnà** 'breathe'
Ha. **yi numfashi**

~ **ŋóórà** 'snore'
Ha. **yi minshari**

~ **pèèlà** 'whistle'
Ha. **yi fito**

~ **síníŋè** 'urinate'
Ha. **yi fitsari**

~ **sùtá** 'work'
Ha. **yi aiki**

~ **súúníŋè** 'dream'
Ha. **yi mafarki**

~ **tíssó** 'sneeze'
Ha. **yi atishawa**

~ **tóɗè** 'sleep'
Ha. **yi barci**

2.3 English-Bure glossary

'add'	**SAAT-**	'pierce'	**'OP-**
'agree'	**YARD-**	'pluck'	**TUL-**
'answer'	**'AF-**	'press'	**DAN-**
'awake'	**FEED-**	'pull'	**SOL-**
'bite'	**'AD-**	'push'	**TUUR-**
'blow'	**FEEL-**	'put (~ away)'	**JEEY-**
'break'	**BEER-**	'put (~ on)'	**ƊAAT-**
'bring'	**NAS-**	'put'	**JOB-**
'burn'	**GUB-**	'repeat'	**SAAT-**
'catch'	**TOF-**	'rest'	**NOK-**
'climb'	**ƊI'-**	'roast'	**'US-**
'come (~ back)'	**MAƊ-**	'say'	**LOOY-**
'cook'	**DINK-**	'see'	**NEEY-**
'cut [grass]'	**GIY-**	'shatter'	**NGAB-**
'cut'	**DAS-**	'show'	**'UP-**
'die'	**MUT-**	'sit (~ down)'	**TUN-**
'dip (~ in)'	**'AL-**	'skin'	**WAL-**
'do'	**'EY-**	'slaughter'	**SEK-**
'drink'	**SAAT-**	'smell'	**SIINK-**
'eat'	**TI'-**	'soak'	**'AL-**
'embrace'	**RUNGUM-**	'spit'	**PIS-**
'enter'	**RI'-**	'spoil'	**JAƁ-**
'fall'	**BET-**	'squeeze'	**SET-**
'feel'	**KOL-**	'stand (~ up)'	**SOR-**
'finish'	**TUK-**	'steal'	**MOR-**
'follow'	**NAF-**	'sting'	**BIS-**
'forget'	**MUUN-**	'suck'	**SUP-**
'forgive'	**GAFART-**	'swallow'	**ƊAL-**
'get'	**DEF-**	'take'	**GET-**
'go out'	**FAT-**	'thank'	**GOD-**
'grill'	**'US-**	'throw'	**NGOL-**
'hear'	**KOL-**	'tie'	**ƊAAR-**
'kill'	**DAW-**	'tired (be ~)'	**ƊOR-**
'kneel (~ down)'	**SUUN-**	'touch'	**KET-**
'know'	**BAN-**	'turn (~ round)'	**JUW-**
'learn'	**KEN-**	'understand'	**GAAN-**
'leave'	**MUN-**	'unload'	**TAT-**
'look (~ for)'	**DOP-**	'untie'	**MAL-**
'lost (get ~)'	**MEL-**	'uproot'	**RUT-**
			KOƁ-

List of abbreviations

H High (tone)
Ha. Hausa
L Low (tone)
perf. perfective
pl. plural
sg. singular

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