

## Topics in Chadic Linguistics X

CHADIC LINGUISTICS  
LINGUISTIQUE TCHADIQUE  
TSCHADISTIK

edited by / édité par / herausgegeben von

Dymitr Ibrizimow (Bayreuth), Henry Tourneux (Paris),  
H. Ekkehard Wolff (Leipzig)

Volume / Tome / Band 11

# TOPICS IN CHADIC LINGUISTICS X

Papers from the 9<sup>th</sup> Biennial International Colloquium  
on the Chadic Languages  
Villejuif, September 7-8, 2017

Edited by  
Henry Tourneux & Yvonne Treis

In Memoriam  
Russell G. Schuh



RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG · KÖLN

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://www.dnb.de>

ISBN 978-3-89645-530-7

© 2019 The Editors

RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG

P.O. Box 45 06 43

50881 Cologne

Germany

*www.koeppe.de*

All rights reserved.

Production: Klever GmbH, Bergisch Gladbach / Germany

⊗ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines of the ANSI to ensure permanence and durability.



Russell Schuh giving his lecture at the Hamburg BICCL 2013

*In memoriam*

**Russell G. Schuh**

(March 14, 1941 – November 8, 2016)



## CONTENTS

<i>Avant-propos</i> .....	9
<i>Foreword</i> .....	10
<i>Vorwort</i> .....	11
<b>Paul NEWMAN</b> <i>Russell G. Schuh: An overview of his Chadic scholarship</i> .....	13
<b>Umma ALIYU MUSA, Esther MORGENTHAL &amp; Henning SCHREIBER</b> <i>Less commonly documented literacy practices: secular Hausa Ajami as situated social literacy</i> .....	23
<b>Sergio BALDI &amp; Rudolf LEGER</b> <i>Animal names in Hausa and Kupto: Their specific characteristics mirrored in proverbs, epithets and sayings</i> .....	53
<b>Gian Claudio BATIC</b> <i>Verb classes and TAM system in Kushi (Nigeria)</i> .....	67
<b>Roger BLENCH</b> <i>Current research on the A3 West Chadic languages</i> .....	85
<b>Philippe CASSUTO &amp; Victor PORKHOMOVSKY</b> <i>Les stratégies de traduction de l’Ancien Testament dans les trois versions haoussa de la Bible : un problème d’interprétation ?</i> .....	113
<b>Emma KUIPERS</b> <i>Verb classification in Mogum (Eastern Chadic)</i> .....	143
<b>Joseph LOVETRAN</b> <i>Ideophones in Barayin</i> .....	159
<b>Joseph McINTYRE</b> <i>Patterns of organisation in the Hausa grade system</i> .....	177
<b>Nina PAWLAK &amp; Joseph McINTYRE</b> <i>Semantic and pragmatic motivations of gender assignment in Hausa</i> .....	197

<b>James ROBERTS &amp; SOULOKADI Albert Camus</b>	
<i>On ideophones in Musey</i> .....	215
<b>Olga STOLBOVA</b>	
<i>Lexical links between Chadic, Cushitic and Omotic languages</i> .....	227
<b>Henry TOURNEUX</b>	
<i>Le syntagme nominal dans le parler « kotoko » de Kousseri</i> .....	241
<b>Melanie VILJOEN</b>	
<i>Gavar verb morphology</i> .....	257



## Avant-propos

Depuis plusieurs années déjà, une grande partie de la zone d'extension des langues tchadiques est victime des exactions d'un groupe terroriste aux obscures ramifications, qui a adopté la rhétorique et les oripeaux du salafisme. La langue haoussa s'y est vue « promue » comme l'une des langues « officielles » de ses leaders.

Des localités dont les noms nous sont chers – Maiduguri, Potiskum, Mubi, Gwoza, Chibok, Maroua, Mora, Waza – sont désormais associées à des images d'enfants transformés en bombes humaines, de corps déchiquetés ou martyrisés, de jeunes filles enlevées, de villages, d'écoles, de lieux de culte incendiés.

Des dizaines de milliers d'hommes et de femmes sont morts ou ont été blessés dans d'atroces conditions. Des centaines de milliers ont dû fuir de chez eux et, à l'heure actuelle, n'ont pas encore pu regagner leur domicile ou ce qu'il en reste.

C'est sur cet arrière-fond tragique que s'est déroulé à Villejuif (France), les 7 et 8 septembre 2017, notre neuvième colloque international bisannuel consacré aux langues tchadiques (BICCL) et dédié à la mémoire de notre ami et collègue Russell G. Schuh, récemment disparu. Vingt et une communications y étaient attendues, mais certaines n'ont pas pu être présentées du fait que plusieurs de nos collègues africains n'ont pas réussi à obtenir le visa et les fonds nécessaires pour se rendre en France.

La troïka originelle qui organise le BICCL depuis 2001, à savoir le professeur Dr Dymitr Ibriszimow (Lehrstuhl Afrikanistik II, Université de Bayreuth), le Dr Henry Tourneux (directeur de recherche émérite, LLACAN – CNRS / INALCO / USPC – Villejuif / Paris), le professeur émérite Dr phil. habil. H. Ekkehard Wolff (Lehrstuhl Afrikanistik, Université de Leipzig), a passé le relais à une nouvelle équipe : le Dr Henning Schreiber, professeur d'études africaines à l'Université de Hambourg, le Dr Yvonne Treis, chargée de recherche et directrice adjointe du LLACAN, le Dr Georg Ziegelmeyer, enseignant-chercheur à l'Institut für Afrikawissenschaften, Université de Vienne.

Les organisateurs de la 9<sup>e</sup> édition du BICCL tiennent à remercier le LLACAN pour son accueil et son soutien permanent.

Henry Tourneux & Yvonne Treis

## FOREWORD

For many years now, a large area of the Chadic language extension zone has been victim of the abuses of an obscure terrorist group, which has adopted the rags and rhetoric of Salafism. Its leaders are “promoting” Hausa as one of its “official” languages.

Places whose names are dear to us – such as Maiduguri, Potiskum, Mubi, Gwoza, Chibok, Maroua, Mora, and Waza – are now associated with images of children transformed into human bombs, bodies mutilated and tortured, young girls abducted and raped, villages, schools, and places of worship burned down. Tens of thousands of men and women have died or been injured in atrocious conditions. Hundreds of thousands have had to flee and have not yet been able to return to their homes or what remains of them.

It is against this tragic background that the 9<sup>th</sup> Biennial International Conference on Chadic Languages (BICCL) took place in Villejuif, France, on 7 and 8 September 2017, dedicated to the memory of our recently departed friend and colleague Russell G. Schuh. Twenty-one papers were on the programme, but some could not be presented because several of our African colleagues were unable to obtain the visas and funds needed to travel to France.

The original team which has been organizing the BICCL since 2001, namely Professor Dr Dymitr Ibrizimow (Lehrstuhl Afrikanistik II, University of Bayreuth), Dr Henry Tourneux (Emeritus Research Director, LLACAN – CNRS / INALCO / USPC – Villejuif / Paris), and Emeritus Professor Dr H. Ekkehard Wolff (Lehrstuhl Afrikanistik, University of Leipzig), has passed the baton on to a new team: Dr Henning Schreiber, Professor of African Studies at the University of Hamburg, Dr Yvonne Treis, Researcher and Deputy Director of LLACAN, Dr Georg Ziegelmeyer, Senior Lecturer at the Institut für Afrikawissenschaften, University of Vienna.

The organisers of the 9<sup>th</sup> BICCL would like to thank LLACAN for its welcome and ongoing support.

Henry Tourneux & Yvonne Treis

## Vorwort

Seit Jahren ist ein großer Teil der Region, in der die tschadischen Sprachen gesprochen werden, Opfer von Übergriffen einer terroristischen Vereinigung mit undurchsichtigen Verästelungen, die sich in Rhetorik und Äußerlichkeiten einen salafistischen Anstrich gibt. Ihre Anführer haben die Hausa-Sprache zu einer ihrer „offiziellen“ Sprachen „befördert“.

Orte, denen wir verbunden sind, wie Maiduguri, Potiskum, Mubi, Gwoza, Chibok, Maroua, Mora, Waza und andere, sind von nun an unwiderruflich mit grausamen Ereignissen und Bildern verknüpft: mit Kindern, die man zu menschlichen Bomben gemacht hat, mit zerstückelten und malträtierten Leibern, mit entführten und vergewaltigten Schülerinnen, mit niedergebrannten Dörfern, Schulen und Kultstätten.

Zehntausende Männer und Frauen sind unter abscheulichen Bedingungen ermordet oder verletzt worden. Hunderttausende mussten fliehen, wobei ihnen bis heute die Rückkehr in ihre Heimatorte – oder was von diesen übrig geblieben ist – versperrt ist.

Vor diesem tragischen Hintergrund fand am 7. und 8. September 2017 in Villejuif (Frankreich) die neunte internationale Konferenz der tschadischen Sprachen (BICCL) statt, die alle zwei Jahre ausgerichtet wird. Sie war dem Gedenken an unseren kürzlich verstorbenen Freund und Kollegen Russell G. Schuh gewidmet. 21 Vorträge standen auf dem Programm, von denen manche jedoch ausfallen mussten, da einige unserer afrikanischen Kollegen kein Visum für ihre Reise nach Frankreich erhalten hatten oder ihre Teilnahme nicht finanzieren konnten.

Seit 2001 organisieren Prof. Dr. Dymitr Ibrizimow (Lehrstuhl Afrikanistik II, Universität Bayreuth), Dr. Henry Tourneux (Directeur de recherche émérite, LLACAN – CNRS / INALCO / USPC – Villejuif / Paris) und Prof. Dr. em. H. Ekkehard Wolff (Lehrstuhl Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig) die BICCL-Konferenzen. Diese Gründungstroika hat die Organisationsverantwortung nun an ein neues Team abgegeben, das von Prof. Dr. Henning Schreiber (Asien-Afrika Institut, Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik, Universität Hamburg), Dr. Yvonne Treis (Chargée de recherche und stellvertretende Direktorin des LLACAN) und Dr. Georg Ziegelmeyer (Senior Lecturer am Institut für Afrikawissenschaften, Universität Wien) gebildet wird.

Die Organisatoren der neunten Auflage des BICCL möchten sich beim LLACAN für die freundliche Aufnahme und die beständige Unterstützung der Konferenz bedanken.

Henry Tourneux & Yvonne Treis

# Verb classes and TAM system in Kushi (Nigeria)<sup>1</sup>

Gian Claudio BATIC<sup>2</sup>

## 1. A note on Kushi

Kushi (*fɔk Gòjì* ‘mouth of Kushi’, ISO 639-3 <kuh>, Glottocode <kush-1236>, West Chadic, A.2, Bole-Tangale, Tangale proper) is spoken on the northeastern fringe of the Muri mountains (Nigeria, Gombe State, Chonge District, Shongom LGA, N9°35.542' E11°11.242'). The toponym Kushi indicates the “village area”, i.e. the area encompassing the hamlets of (from west to east) Lapandintai, Kauri, Latogam, Kommo, Dirang, Gomle, Tabakro, Dankpani, Tanzania and Kugwayum.<sup>3</sup> The distribution of the hamlets, spread relatively far apart from each other, is consistent with the perception the inhabitants of Kushi have of their own language: the Kushi of Gomle and Dirang (east Kushi) is considered more conservative and closer to the language spoken by the ancestors, whereas the Kushi spoken in Kauri and Kommo (west Kushi) is seen as more open to phonetic change and lexical borrowing (mainly from Hausa and Pero).

The table below offers a typological profile of the language.

Table 1. A typological profile

Feature	Description
<i>Consonants</i>	Moderately large inventory (31).
<i>Vowels</i>	Large inventory (10). Vowels harmonize.
<i>Syllabic structure</i>	Moderately complex: CV, CVV, CVC, and rarely CVVC.
<i>Tonal system</i>	Simple: two-way contrast. Tone levelling towards low tones has been observed (cf. Tangale, Piya and Widala, LEGER 2014: 233).
<i>Word order</i>	Clause constituents: underlying SVO with the possibility of VOS. Phrase constituents: N-Gen, Adj-N.

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper would have been impossible without the assistance and patience of my Kushi teacher, Malam Alhassan Shehu Kuro.

<sup>2</sup> University of Naples ‘L’Orientale’.

<sup>3</sup> An extensive account of the area can be found in ADELBERGER et al. (1993).

Feature	Description
<i>Gender</i>	Gender is not a lexical category. The default gender is feminine. Pronouns are gender sensitive (see also LEGER 1998).
<i>Noun plurality</i>	Nouns plurals are not productive. Only two suppletive plurals have been found.
<i>Relativization strategy</i>	Gap.
<i>Verbal plurality</i>	Subject plurality is not marked in the verbal form. The language has instead developed verbal derivations to mark pluractionality (duration and/or iteration of action).
<i>Verbal extension</i>	Altrilocal (or ventive/destinative) extension. Altrilocal is marked with two different morphemes depending on the aspect.
<i>Intransitive copy pronouns</i>	Productive in a significant number of verbs.
<i>Logophoric pronouns</i>	Productive.
<i>TAM system</i>	Aspect is marked by means of verbal inflection, tense-mood through satellite markers.

## 2. Verbs and verbal classes

Kushi verbs are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. For operational reasons, the citation form used throughout this paper is the imperative form. The imperative is the most stable form across the Kushi TAM system and allows for derivation of other verbal forms. Moreover, it is the first form – followed by the perfect – given by speakers when asked about a verb (cf. FRAJZYNGIER 1985: 10).

(1)	MONOSYLLABIC	DISYLLABIC
	CV	CV.CV
	<i>fõ</i> ‘finish’	<i>bìrù</i> ‘beat’
	<i>rì</i> ‘enter’	<i>kàshò</i> ‘harvest’
	<i>shò</i> ‘drink’	<i>tèmò</i> ‘filter’
	CVV	CVC.CV
	<i>bêé</i> ‘shoot’	<i>kpìsshò</i> ‘warm water’
	<i>k<sup>h</sup>àa</i> ‘greet’	<i>tòkkò</i> ‘knot’
	<i>k<sup>h</sup>òò</i> ‘go’	<i>làdđò</i> ‘weave’
		CVV.CV
		<i>bwààrò</i> ‘divide’
		<i>kpààlò</i> ‘throw’
		<i>shùùrò</i> ‘thresh’

Kushi verbs can be grouped into three main classes. These classes are established according to the root shape plus either the ATR± feature or the quality of the final vowel. Knowing the class of a verb (that is the morpho-phonological pattern of the imperative, which is adopted here as the citation form) allows prediction of its TAM forms. The root shapes on which the classification is based are: CVCC-/CVC- (class A), CVVC- (class B), and CV/CVV (class C). The classes and subclasses that allow to pinpoint the perfect, progressive/future, and subjunctive forms are illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Verb classes

A	A1	CVCC <sub>ɔ</sub> CVCC <sub>o</sub>
	A2a	CVCV (+ATR)
	A2b	CVC <sub>ɔ</sub> CVC <sub>ɔ̄</sub>
	A2c	CεC <sub>ɔ</sub>
B	B	CVVC <sub>ɔ</sub> CVVC <sub>o</sub>
C	C1	CV (-ATR)
	C2	CVV (-ATR)

Whereas for the prediction of the perfect and progressive/future forms it is sufficient to know the sign of the ATR feature (so that, if this was the scope, one could merge A and B into one single class with no need for further sub-categorization), to extend the prediction to the subjunctive more information is needed.

Table 3 illustrates the verbal classes according to the root shapes, the ATR feature, and the inflectional morphemes.

Verbs belonging to class A can be divided into 2 groups: A1 (CVCC- root) and A2 (CVC-). A1 verbs are characterised by the gemination of the second consonant and by the subjunctive ending in *-ma/-inə*. A2 verbs can be in turn subdivided into three sub-classes: A2a (+ATR), A2b (-ATR), and A2c (-ATR). A2c could also be regarded as a sub-class of A2b: A2c verbs present a CVC-shape with the requirement that V be ε. The characteristic of A2c verbs is that the subjunctive form changes into +ATR.

Table 3. Verbal classes: Root shape and final vowel

	A				B	C	
	A1	A2a	A2b	A2c	B	C1	C2
IMP	-ɔ/-o	-u/-o/-ə	-ɔ/-ʊ	-ɔ	-ɔ/-o	–	–
PFCT	-aa/-əə	-əə	-aa	-aa	-aa/-əə	-aa	-a
PROG	-anɪ/-ənɪ	-ənɪ	-anɪ	-anɪ	-anɪ/-ənɪ	-anɪ	-anɪ
SUBJ	-ina/-inə	-i	-ɪ	-i	-Ca/-Cə	(-ɪ/-e)	-na
	CVCCɔ CVCCo	CVCV	CVCɔ CVCʊ	CɛCɔ	CVVCɔ CVVCo	CV	CVV
	±ATR	+ATR	–ATR–	–ATR (+ATR in SUBJ)	±ATR	–ATR (±ATR in SUBJ)	–ATR

Class B verbs display a long vowel root. The underlying subjunctive ending in *-ma/-inə* is realised as *-Ca/-Cə*, where C is either *n* or the second root consonant. Hence, in some cases the second root consonant is assimilated to the nasal element of the subjunctive ending (*shìurò* ‘thresh’: \**shìurinə* > *shìunnə*) and in others is the nasal element that undergoes assimilation (*tìullò* ‘pierce’: \**tìulinə* > *tìullə*) (see Table 4). This assimilation phenomenon is not observed in the subjunctive forms of A1 verbs.

Class C verbs are monosyllabic. In the first sub-class (C1), the monoradicality manifests itself in the imperative (and aoriste-preterite) and in the subjunctive. C1 verbs display a short root vowel and a subjunctive form generally ending in *e* (that is +ATR, but consider the subjunctive of *fð* ‘finish’, which is *fɪ* –ATR). In the second sub-class (C2), the monoradicality is limited to the imperative (and aoriste-preterite). Here the root vowel is long and the subjunctive display the morpheme *-na*, similarly to A1 and (partly) B verbs.

Table 4 below exemplifies the verb classes.

Table 4. Verbal classes: examples of inflected forms (singular)

Class		Syllable structure	IMP/PRET-AOR	PFCT	PROG/FUT	SUBJ/HAB	GLOSS
A	A1	CVC.Cɔ	<i>ʔàmm-ò</i> <i>lòḡḡ-ò</i>	<i>ʔàmm-aa</i> <i>lòḡḡ-aa</i>	<i>ʔàmm-àni</i> <i>lòḡḡ-àni</i>	<i>ʔàmm-inà</i> <i>lòḡḡ-inà</i>	‘climb’ ‘mix’
		CVC.Co	<i>lìmm-ò</i> <i>jùbb-ò</i>	<i>lìmm-əə</i> <i>jùbb-əə</i>	<i>lìmm-àni</i> <i>jùbb-àni</i>	<i>lìmm-inə</i> <i>jùbb-inə</i>	‘repair’ ‘jump’
	A2a	CV.CV	<i>díg-ù</i> <i>jír-ò</i>	<i>díg-əə</i> <i>jír-əə</i>	<i>díg-àni</i> <i>jír-àni</i>	<i>díg-i</i> <i>jír-i</i>	‘build’ ‘steal’
	A2b	CV.Cɔ	<i>bàl-ò</i> <i>lwàr-ò</i>	<i>bàl-aa</i> <i>lwàr-aa</i>	<i>bàl-àni</i> <i>lwàr-àni</i>	<i>bàl-i</i> <i>lwàr-i</i>	‘be tired’ ‘pluck feathers’
		CV.Co	<i>dāḡ-ò</i> <i>dōr-ò</i> <i>kòm-ò</i>	<i>dāḡ-aa</i> <i>dōr-aa</i> <i>kòm-aa</i>	<i>dāḡ-àni</i> <i>dōr-àni</i> <i>kòm-àni</i>	<i>dāḡ-i</i> <i>dōr-i</i> <i>kòm-i</i>	‘wait’ ‘unload’ ‘agree’
	A2c	Cɛ.Cɔ	<i>mèn-ò</i> <i>pèr-ò</i> <i>shèn-ò</i>	<i>mèn-aa</i> <i>pèr-aa</i> <i>shèn-aa</i>	<i>mèn-àni</i> <i>pèr-àni</i> <i>shèn-àni</i>	<i>mèn-i</i> <i>pèr-i</i> <i>shèn-i</i>	‘migrate’ ‘go out’ ‘push’
B	B	CVV.Cɔ	<i>nyàar-ò</i> <i>shàam-ò</i>	<i>nyàar-aa</i> <i>shàam-aa</i>	<i>nyàar-àni</i> <i>shàam-àni</i>	<i>nyàam-nà</i> <i>shàam-inà</i>	‘lose’ ‘curse’
		CVV.Co	<i>shùur-ò</i> <i>tùul-ò</i>	<i>shùur-əə</i> <i>tùul-əə</i>	<i>shùur-àni</i> <i>tùul-àni</i>	<i>shùun-nà</i> <i>tùul-là</i>	‘thresh’ ‘pierce’
C	C1	CV	<i>fō</i> <i>kpà</i> <i>mà</i> <i>rì</i> <i>yò</i>	<i>fōw-aa</i> <i>kpèy-aa</i> <i>mèy-aa</i> <i>rìy-aa</i> <i>yèy-aa</i>	<i>fōw-àni</i> <i>kpèy-àni</i> <i>mày-àni</i> <i>rìy-àni</i> <i>yèy-àni</i>	<i>fì</i> <i>kpè</i> <i>mè</i> <i>rè</i> <i>yè</i>	‘finish’ ‘fetch’ ‘go back’ ‘enter’ ‘call’
	C2	CVV	<i>gbòɔ</i> <i>lòɔ</i> <i>pèɛ</i>	<i>gbòɔ-ya</i> <i>lòɔ-ya</i> <i>pèɛ-ya</i>	<i>gbòɔ-àni</i> <i>lòɔ-àni</i> <i>pèɛ-àni</i>	<i>gbòɔ-nà</i> <i>lòɔ-nà</i> <i>pèɛ-nà</i>	‘knock’ ‘hang’ ‘thatch’

### 3. An overview of the TAM system

The TAM system can be described as a tripartite system consisting of three aspectual categories – perfective, imperfective, and neuter – and seven aspectual sub-categories, i.e. perfect, progressive, future, habitual, subjunctive, aoriste-preterite and imperative. The criteria adopted to assign each TAM to its respective aspect – apart from the inherent semantics – are morphological and syntactic. The perfective aspect consists of three sub-categories: perfect, aoriste-preterite and imperative. All these TAM forms are verbal and do not display satellite markers. Semantically opposed to the perfective, the imperfective has two sub-categories, progressive and future. Both TAMs consist of a nominal form derived from a verbal base plus a satellite marker. The third category, which I name with the term “neuter” (following LEGER 1994 and BATIC 2014), has been introduced for those TAMs that seem to fall outside the perfective-imperfective dichotomy, i.e. the subjunctive and the habitual. These two sub-categories present a verbal form along with a TAM marker.



Table 5. Overview of the TAM system<sup>4</sup>

PERFECTIVE		
aspectual sub-category	aspect	
PFCT	∅	+ -A
AOR-PRET	∅	+ -O/-U
IMP	∅	+ -O/-U
	satellite	inflection

IMPERFECTIVE		
aspectual sub-category	aspect	
PROG	<i>tì k<sup>h</sup>ò</i>	+ -AnI
FUT	<i>tà</i>	+ -AnI
	satellite	inflection

NEUTER		
aspectual sub-category	aspect	
SUBJ	<i>ʔin</i>	+ -InA/-I
HAB	<i>tì</i>	+ -InA/-I
	satellite	inflection

#### 4. Order of clause constituents

The default order of clause constituents is the following:

- (2) Affirmative: < SUJ – (TAM marker) – verb – (OBJ) >  
 Negative: < (NEG) – SUJ – TAM marker – verb – (OBJ) – NEG >

The subject can be either pronominal or nominal. In narrative context, the subject of a series of actions is stated once at the beginning of the event chain. The subject can be placed at the end of the sentence with no difference in meaning:

- (3) Affirmative: < (TAM marker) – verb – (OBJ) – SUJ >  
 Negative: < (NEG) – TAM marker – verb – (OBJ) – SUJ – NEG >

#### 5. Aspectual sub-categories of the perfective

##### 5.1 Perfect

The perfect connotes an action that has taken place. The perfect present displays an ending in -AA.

- |     |               |                |                |
|-----|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| (4) | IMPERATIVE    | PERFECT        | GLOSS          |
|     | <i>fiyò</i>   | <i>fiyaa</i>   | ‘to spit’      |
|     | <i>jìrì</i>   | <i>jìrəə</i>   | ‘to steal’     |
|     | <i>khàrò</i>  | <i>khàraa</i>  | ‘to slaughter’ |
|     | <i>lì</i>     | <i>lìyaa</i>   | ‘to put’       |
|     | <i>shòmmò</i> | <i>shòmmaa</i> | ‘to suck’      |

<sup>4</sup> Hereinafter, vowels whose ATR value is not assigned will be written in small capitals.

The final vowel of verbs belonging to class C2 is short.

### 5.2 Aoriste-preterite

Identical to the imperative form, the aoriste-preterite has two main functions: (a) it replaces the perfect form in negative contexts, and (b) it is used in non-finite environments.

#### ► Negative perfective-perfect

- (5) a. *tèi rìy-aa*  
3SG.F enter-PFCT  
'She entered.'
- b. *tèi rì-ò-m*  
3SG.F enter-AOR-NEG  
'She didn't enter.'
- (6) a. *shìr pèr-aa*  
3SG.M go out-PFCT  
'He went out.'
- b. *shìr (?à) pèr-ò-m*  
3SG.M NEG go out-AOR-PFCT  
'He didn't go out.'
- (7) a. *shìr bìr-əə b̄àr*  
3SG.M beat-PFCT dog  
'He has beaten a dog.'
- b. *shìr (?à) bìr-ù b̄àr-m*  
3SG.M NEG beat-AOR dog-NEG  
'He hasn't beat a dog.'
- (8) a. *shìr mùr-əə-nì*  
3SG.M die-PFCT-3SG.M.ICP  
'He died.'
- b. *shìr (?à) m̄òr-ò-m*  
3SG.M NEG die-AOR-NEG  
'He didn't die.'

#### ► Non-finite environment

- (9) a. *nè àmm-aa*  
1SG climb-PFCT  
'I climbed.'

- b. *shèr-ò mò nè àmm-ò*  
 let-IMP COMP 1SG climb-AOR  
 ‘Let me climb.’
- (10) a. *shìr wàr-aa*  
 3SG.M come-PFCT  
 ‘He came.’
- b. *shìr tèy-à yè mò pèemò wàr-ò*  
 3SG.M tell-PFCT REL COMP 3SG.M.LOG come-AOR  
 ‘He told that he should come.’
- (11) a. *mìnùì àdà-à*  
 1PL eat-PFCT  
 ‘We ate.’
- b. *nèennàa shìr ?ìn àdà-ò*  
 better 3SG.M SUBJ eat-AOR  
 ‘It is better for him to eat.’

### 5.3 Imperative

The imperative form is used to give orders. The imperative is restricted to the second person of the singular and, with *mà*, to the second person of the plural.

- (12) a. – *?àdà-ò* ‘eat!’ (sg)  
*mà ?àdà-ò* ‘eat!’ (pl)
- b. – *yìw!* ‘catch (it)!’ (sg)  
*mà yìw!* ‘catch (it)!’ (pl)

## 6. Aspectual sub-categories of the imperfective

In this paragraph, I will illustrate the two sub-categories of the imperfective: progressive and future.

### 6.1 Progressive

The progressive is rendered by means of a satellite marker followed by a verbal noun. The satellite can be analysed as a grammaticalised locative phrase whose constituents are *tì* ‘to, into, onto’ and *k<sup>h</sup>ò* ‘head’.

- (13)
- |            |               |                 |                       |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
|            |               | <i>tèmm-àni</i> | ‘he is sweeping’      |
|            |               | <i>wùll-àni</i> | ‘he is boiling water’ |
| <i>shù</i> | <i>tì kʰò</i> | <i>tòkk-àni</i> | ‘he is knotting’      |
| 3SG.M      | PROG          | <i>shùw-àni</i> | ‘he is loosing’       |
|            |               | <i>pìl-àni</i>  | ‘he is buying’        |

6.2 Future

The future consists of a marker *tà* (usually realised [rà]) followed by the verbal noun.

- (14)
- |            |           |                  |                       |
|------------|-----------|------------------|-----------------------|
|            |           | <i>yàll-àni</i>  | ‘it will melt’        |
|            |           | <i>yèmm-àni</i>  | ‘she will carve wood’ |
| <i>tèi</i> | <i>tà</i> | <i>wùl-àni</i>   | ‘she will finish’     |
| 3SG.F      | FUT       | <i>nèssh-àni</i> | ‘she will rest’       |
|            |           | <i>pàal-àni</i>  | ‘she will slap’       |

It is possible to express the future with *wàra*, an auxiliary form of *kʰò* ‘go’:

- (15)
- |             |           |             |                 |                      |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>tèi</i>  | <i>tà</i> | <i>wàra</i> | <i>wùl-àni</i>  | ‘she will finish’    |
| <i>kʰèi</i> | <i>tà</i> | <i>wàra</i> | <i>pàal-àni</i> | ‘you (m.) will slap’ |

7. Aspectual sub-categories of the neuter

7.1 Subjunctive

The subjunctive requires the use of the satellite marker *?in*. In presence of a subject pronoun, the morpheme *?in* can be reduced to the enclitic *-n*.

Table 6. Subjunctive markers and pronouns

	Long form		Short form
1SG	<i>nè</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>nè-n</i>
2SG.M	<i>kʰè</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>kʰè-n</i>
2SG.F	<i>shì</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>shì-n</i>
3SG.M	<i>shù</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>shù-n</i>
3SG.F	<i>tèi</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>tè-n</i>
	Long form		Short form
1PL (INCL)	<i>minùì</i>	<i>?in</i>	–
1PL (EXCL)	<i>kàmà</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>kàmà-n</i>
2PL	<i>mà</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>mà-n</i>
3PL	<i>shìnùì</i>	<i>?in</i>	<i>shìn-in</i>

## 7.1.1 Use of the subjunctive

The subjunctive is obligatory in complement clauses following ‘it is better that’ constructions, in some temporal clauses, and when employed to encode the prohibitive function.

## 7.1.1.1 ‘It is better that’ constructions

- (16) a. *yòwà kpaŋ tɛ ʔin shè dɔɔ*  
 doing good 3SG.F SUBJ drink.IPFV water  
 ‘It is better for her to drink water.’
- b. *nènnàa kʰɛ-n bìr-i shinù*  
 better 2SG.M-SUBJ beat-IPFV 3pl.OBJ  
 ‘It is better that you beat them.’

## 7.1.1.2 Temporal clauses

The subjunctive is required in clauses introduced by *kàafin* ‘before’ and *tùn-yàw* ‘since’.

- (17) *kàafin shinù ʔin kʰɔɔ-jò, shinù dāyl-a mna-ɪ dɪŋ*  
 before 3PL SUBJ go-3PL.ICP 3PL destroy-PFCT house-DEF all  
 ‘Before they left, they had destroyed all the houses.’

## 7.1.1.3 After volition/prohibition verbs

Complement clauses following verbs of volition or prohibition are introduced by the subjunctive.

- (18) *nè lɛy-a kʰɛ-n wàr dɔɔŋ*  
 1SG want-PFCT 2SG.M-SUBJ go farm  
 ‘I want you to go to the farm.’

## 7.1.1.4 Prohibitive

The subjunctive is also used to express negative commands. The prohibitive function is rendered with the non-finite complementizer *mɔ* followed by the subject pronoun plus the subjunctive form without the subjunctive marker *-n*. The negative marker *-m* is placed at the end of the sentence.

- (19) a. *mɔ kʰɔ rì-m!* ‘do not enter!’ (sg)  
*mɔ mà rì-m!* ‘do not enter!’ (pl)
- b. *mɔ kʰɛ shà-m!* ‘do not eat!’ (sg)  
*mɔ mà shà-m!* ‘do not eat!’ (pl)

7.2 *Habitual*

The habitual sub-aspect consists of a marker *tì* (realised [rì]) plus the inflected form.

- (20)
- |            |           |               |                                      |
|------------|-----------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
|            |           | <i>kèm-ì</i>  | ‘you (f.) usually fill’              |
| <i>shì</i> | <i>tì</i> | <i>kʰè</i>    | ‘you (f.) usually cut’               |
| 2SG.F      | HAB       | <i>wè</i>     | ‘you (f.) usually find’              |
|            |           | <i>tò-nnà</i> | ‘you (f.) usually beat’              |
|            |           | <i>shùr-ì</i> | ‘you (f.) usually prepare the field’ |

8. **Negation**

Kushi displays a discontinuous negation consisting of the markers < *ʔà ... -m* >. When preceded by a subject (be it a noun or a pronoun), the negative particle *ʔà* can be omitted. The omission is not allowed when the SVO order is reversed. The clitic morpheme *-m* is placed at the very end of the sentence.

- (21) a. *kʰèr (ʔà) tì kʰò wùll-àni dɔɔ-m*  
 2SG.M NEG PROG boil-IPFV water-NEG  
 ‘You are not boiling water.’
- b. *nè (ʔà) tà tèm-m-àni-m*  
 1SG NEG FUT sweep-IPFV-NEG  
 ‘You are not sweeping.’
- c. *shì (ʔà) tà pèrè-nì pèewè-m*  
 3SG.M NEG FUT go out-IPFV out-NEG  
 ‘He will not go out.’
- d. *shì (ʔà) tì wè-m*  
 2SG.F NEG HAB find-IPFV-NEG  
 ‘You (f.) usually don’t find (it).’

Also the negative form of the subjunctive requires the discontinuous marker < *ʔà ... -m* >.

- (22) *ʔà yòwà kpaŋ nè ʔin ʔàŋŋ-inà-m*  
 NEG doing good 1SG SUBJ pay-IPFV-NEG  
 ‘It is better for me not to pay.’

### 9. Altrilocal extension and motion verbs

The suffixation (or, when an ICP is present, infixation) of the altrilocal (or ventive) extension is – upon conditions of semantic reasonability – always possible. Kushi displays two different altrilocal morphemes: *-nA* for the perfective-perfect and *-rU* for all the other TAMs.

- (23) a. *shù* *ʔàm-nà* *shìk-nò* < PFV - PFCT  
 3SG.M climb-PFV.VENT body-1SG.POSS  
 ‘He climbed towards me.’
- b. *tèi* *shùg-nò* (*shìk-nò*) < PFV - PFCT  
 3SG.F fall-PFV.VENT body-1SG.POSS  
 ‘She fell.’ (towards point of reference, e.g. ‘towards me’)
- c. *shù* *tùmàə-nə-rò* < PFV - PFCT  
 3SG.M bow-PFV.VENT-3SG.F.ICP  
 ‘He bowed down.’ (towards point of reference, e.g. ‘towards me’)
- (24) a. *shù* *tà* *ʔàm-rò* (*shìk-nò*) < IPFV - FUT  
 3SG.M FUT climb-IPFV.VENT body-1SG.POSS  
 ‘He will climb (towards me).’
- b. *tèi* *tì* *khò* *shùg-rù* < IPFV - PROG  
 3SG.F PROG head fall-IPFV.VENT  
 ‘She is falling.’ (towards point of reference, e.g. ‘towards me’)
- c. *nèennàa* *tè-n* *tùum-rù-rò* < NEUT - SUBJ  
 better 3SG.F-SUBJ bow down-IPFV.VENT-3SG.F.ICP  
 ‘It is better she bows down.’ (towards point of reference)

The aspectual dichotomy marked by the complementary distribution of the altrilocal morphemes is represented across motion verbs.

Table 7. Motion verbs and ventive morphemes

	IMP	PROG/FUT	HAB/SUBJ	PFCT	
	-rU			-nA	
'arrive (there)'	<i>fɔɔrà</i>	<i>fɔɔràni</i>	<i>fɔɔrà</i>	<i>fɔɔraa</i>	} cf. Hausa <i>isà/isoo</i>
'arrive (here)'	<i>fɔɔtò</i>	<i>fɔɔnaa</i>	<i>fɔɔnnà</i>	<i>fɔɔnaa</i>	
'go back'	<i>mèeyà</i>	<i>mèeyàni</i>	<i>mèe</i>	<i>mèeyà</i>	} cf. Hausa <i>koomàa/koomoo</i>
'come back'	<i>mèerù</i>	<i>mèerù</i>	<i>mèerì</i>	<i>mèenà</i>	
'go out'	<i>pèrɔ</i>	<i>pèrèni</i>	<i>pèrè</i>	<i>pèra</i>	} cf. Hausa <i>fità/fitoo</i>
'come out'	<i>pìrù</i>	<i>pìrù</i>	<i>pèrù</i>	<i>pènnà</i>	
'enter'	<i>rì</i>	<i>rìyàni</i>	<i>rì</i>	<i>rìyà</i>	} cf. Hausa <i>shìga/shigoo</i>
'come in'	<i>rìrò</i>	<i>rìrò</i>	<i>rìrò</i>	<i>rìnnà</i>	

**10. ICP verbs**

A significant number of verbs allow (or require) the use of the intransitive copy pronoun (ICP). In most of the cases, the ICP is not obligatory and, according to the Kushi speakers I have been working with, carries the notion of 'certainty' or 'action already done'.

ICP verbs can be divided into two main groups: motion verbs (primary motion verbs as well as motion verbs with integrated altrilocal morpheme, e.g. come in, come out, etc.) and verbs implying a non-dynamic quality.

- (25) *ʔàmmɔ* 'climb'
- dìyà* 'sit'
- ʔillɔ* 'stand up'
- tùmò* 'bow down'
  
- kʰɔɔ* 'go'
  
- fɔɔrà* 'arrive (there)'
- fɔɔtò* 'arrive (here)'
  
- mèe* 'go back'
- mèerù* 'come back'
  
- pèrɔ* 'go out'
- pìrù* 'come out'
  
- rè* 'enter'
- rìrò* 'come in'



The verb *kòttò* has two different meanings according to whether it is used with an ICP or not.

- (26) +ICP     *kòttò*     ‘lie down’  
 -ICP     *kòttò*     either ‘lie down’ or ‘prepare soup’<sup>5</sup>

Some verbs encoding a non-dynamic quality require an obligatory ICP.

- (27) *ʔissà*     ‘dry up’  
*mòrò*     ‘die’  
*ʔòwì*     ‘be swollen’

Non-motion verbs with an optional ICP include the following.

- (28) *ɓàlɓ*     ‘be tired’  
*kʰòrò*     ‘hate’  
*nii*     ‘ripe’

The set of ICPs is TAM independent.

- (29) a. *shòwê-ɪ ʔissà-a-rò*     < PFCT  
 wood-DEF dry up-PFV-3F.ICP  
 ‘The wood dried up.’
- b. *nè tì kʰò fɔɔr-ò-nò*     < PROG  
 1SG PROG head arrive-IPFV-1SG.ICP  
 ‘I am arriving (there).’
- c. *shìni tà ʔill-ò-jò*     < FUT  
 3PL FUT stand up-IPFV-3PL.ICP  
 ‘They will stand up.’
- d. *nèennàa kʰê ʔin dɛe-kò*     < SUBJ  
 better 2SG.M SUBJ sit-IPFV-2SG.M.ICP  
 ‘It is better for you to sit.’
- e. *mà pèr-ò-mà*     < IMP  
 2PL go out-IPFV-1PL.ICP  
 ‘Go out!’

<sup>5</sup> It is a case of polysemy where the relation of contiguity and the semantic extension linking the two meanings is unclear and open to speculation. Kushi speakers are quite firm in identifying *kòttò* as one single verb with two (apparently unconnected) meanings, thus discarding the hypothesis of homophony.

### 11. Adjectival past participles

Adjectival past participles are derived by affixing the low tone morpheme *-An* to the verb root.

- (30) a. *mìnùì kòsh-aa m̀àn*  
 1PL filter.PFCT beer  
 ‘We filtered the beer.’
- b. *kòsh-àn m̀àn* ‘filtered beer’
- (31) a. *shòwè-ì tà ʔìssh-à-rò*  
 wood-DEF FUT dry up-IPFV-3F.ICP  
 ‘The wood will dry up.’
- b. *ʔìssh-àn shòwè-ì* ‘the dried wood’
- (32) a. *nè kʰèŋŋ-aa dìye*  
 1SG FILL-PFCT pot  
 ‘I filled the pot.’
- b. *kʰèŋŋ-àn dìye* ‘filled pot’
- (33) a. *shìr wìssh-aa l̀-ì*  
 3SG.M roast-PFCT meat-DEF  
 ‘He roasted the meat.’
- b. *wìssh-àn l̀-ì* ‘the roasted meat’

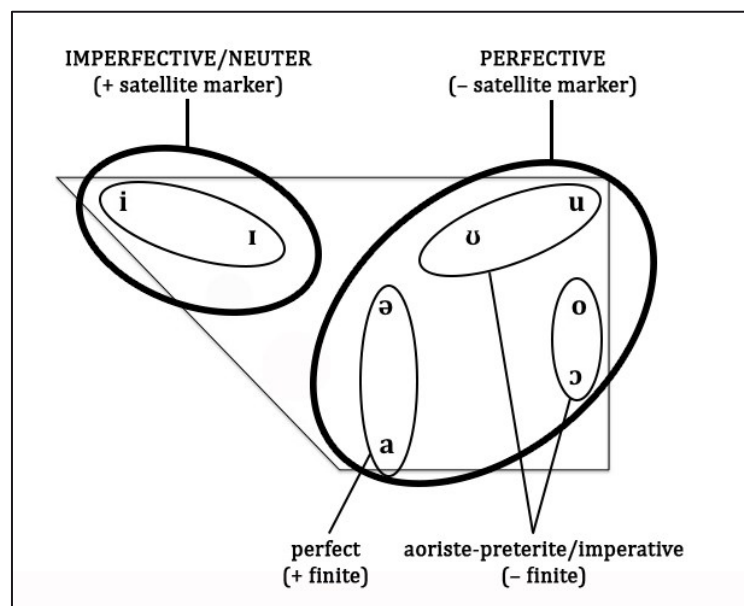
### 12. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I propose a classification of Kushi verbs and outline the organization of the tense-aspect-mood system. The main features highlighted by the analysis are the following:

- Kushi displays three major root-based verbal classes.
- The TAM is marked by verbal inflection and satellite morphemes.
- Verbal inflection marks the aspect, satellite morphemes mark the tense-mood (TM) sub-categories.
- The quality of the final vowel marks the aspect. The function of front, central, and back vowels is summarized as follows (see Figure 1 below).

- The central and the back round vowels mark the perfective aspect: central vowels encode the perfect and round vowels encode the aoriste-preterite and the imperative.
- The verbal nouns used in the imperfective display a final front vowel.
- The subjunctive and the habitual, which I have inserted in third aspectual category labeled “neuter”, display a final front vowel. Contrarily to the progressive and the future, the neuter sub-categories are represented by verbal forms.
- The distribution of the two altrilocal morphemes across the different aspectual sub-categories indicates a distinction between a perfective-finite environment (i.e. perfect) and a non perfective-finite environment (i.e. all TAMs but the perfect).

Figure 1. The role of vowels in TAM encoding



These findings are the outcome of an on-going project aiming at the description and documentation of Kushi. The verbal system is a section of a language particularly hard to mine. Although in this paper I dealt with regularities, showing an economic morphological mechanism, much work has to be done on the irregular side of the system. In this sense, the issue of the (always challenging) nature and role of the subjunctive will likely be one of the priorities of further research.

**13. Abbreviations**

AOR	aoriste	OBJ	object
COMP	complementizer	PFCT	perfect
DEF	definite	PFV	perfective
F	feminine	PL	plural
FUT	future	POSS	possessive
HAB	habitual	PRET	preterite
ICP	intransitive copy pronoun	PROG	progressive
IMP	imperative	REL	relative
IPFV	imperfective	SG	singular
LOG	logophoric pronoun	SUBJ	subjunctive
M	masculine		

**14. References**

- ADELBERGER Jörg, Karsten BRUNK & Ulrich KLEINWILLINGHÖFER. 1993. Natural environment and settlement in Chonge district, eastern Muri mountains, northeastern Nigeria. An interdisciplinary case study. In *Berichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs 268*, ed. by Günter NAGEL, vol. 2, pp. 13-42. Frankfurt/Main: Goethe University.
- BATIC Gian Claudio. 2014. *A Grammatical Sketch of Bure*. Cologne: Köppe.
- FRAJZYNGIER Zygmunt. 1985. *A Pero-English and English-Pero Vocabulary*. Berlin: Reimer.
- LEGER Rudolf. 1994. *Eine Grammatik der Kwami-Sprache (Nordostnigeria)*. Cologne: Köppe.
- 1998. Grammatical gender in some southern Bole-Tangale languages: Kwami, Kupto, Kushi and Piya. In *Africa: Society, Culture and Language*, ed. by Institute of African Studies, pp. 204-216. Moscow: IAS.
- 2014. Some observations on typological features in languages of the Bole-Tangale group. In *Fading Delimitations. Multilingual Settlements in a Convergence Area – Case Studies from Nigeria*, ed. by Anne STORCH, Johannes HARNISCHFEGER & Rudolf LEGER, pp. 229-262. Cologne: Köppe.
- SIMONS Gary F. & Charles D. FENNIG (eds.). 2017. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 20<sup>th</sup> edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <<http://www.ethnologue.com>>.

