#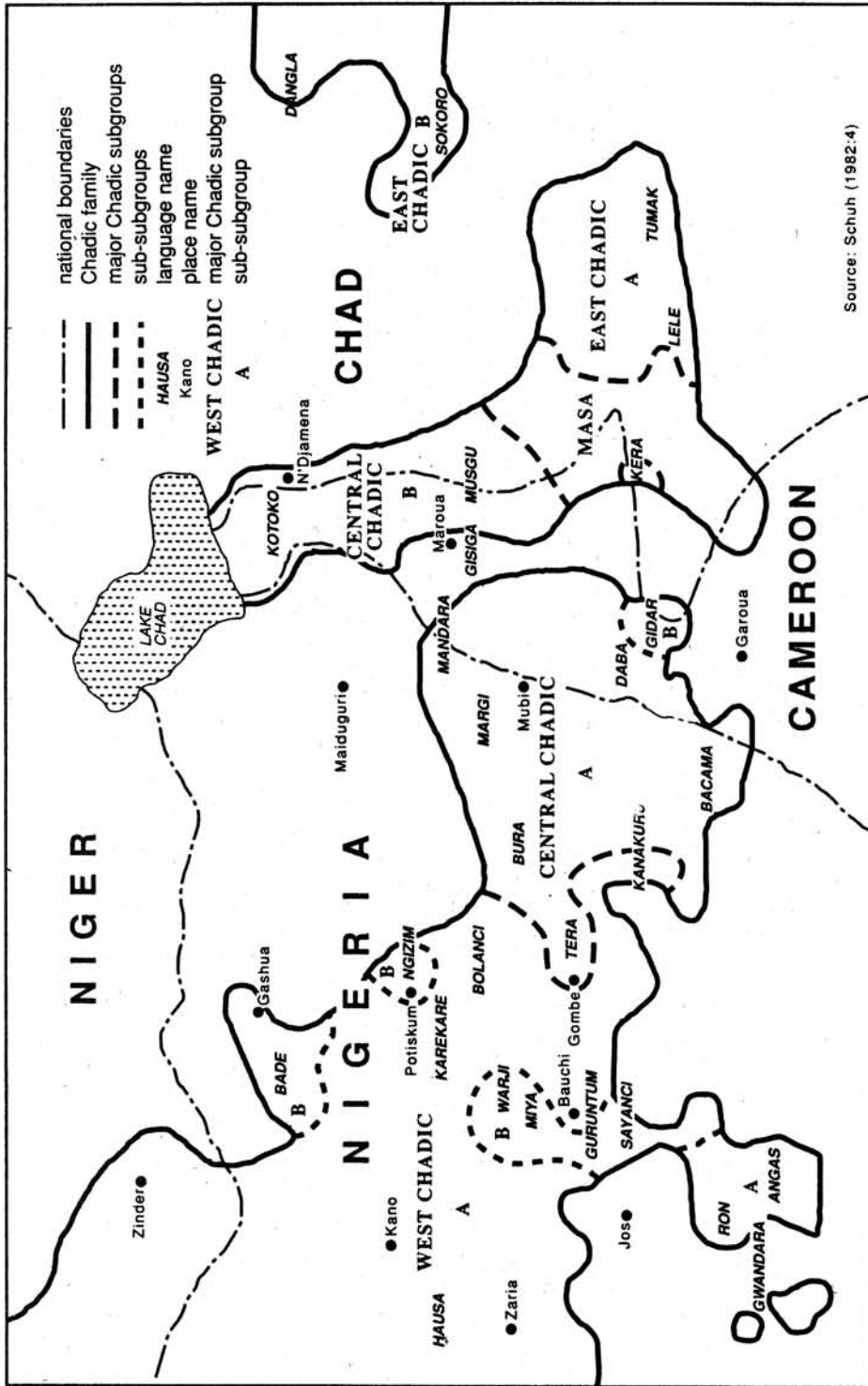 SOME "UNEXPECTED" FORM-MEANING CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN HAUSA (WEST CHADIC-A) AND GURUNTUM (gùrdùŋ) (WEST CHADIC-B) – HOW DO WE EXPLAIN THEM?*

PHILIP J. JAGGAR

1. Introduction.

Guruntum (gùrdùŋ) is an SVO West Chadic-B language of the "South Bauchi" group; other major languages in the group include Zaar (Sayanci) and Boghom (see Newman 1977 for the most recent classification of Chadic). It is spoken by perhaps 10,000 people, most of whom live in the Pali and Duguri districts of the Alkaleri Local Government Area in the southeastern part of Bauchi State, Nigeria (see map). Hausa – by far the largest and best researched of all Chadic languages – belongs to the separate West Chadic-A branch.

There are two morphological formations which, to my knowledge, have only been reported for Hausa to date – so-called "abstract nouns of sensory quality" (sec. 2) and "affected-subject verbs" (sec. 3). It turns out, however, that Guruntum also has two derivational operations which bear a remarkably close form-meaning resemblance to these particular formations (Jaggar 1988a). These similarities are regarded as "unexpected" because not only were "abstract nouns of sensory quality" (ANSQs) and "affected-subject verbs" (ASVs) thought to be derivational processes unique to Hausa – they had never even been documented for any of the genetically and geographically closer West Chadic-A languages, let alone a supposedly more distantly-related West Chadic-B language like Guruntum. This paper describes the above morphological correspondences and proposes that, all things considered: (1) true cognation is the most likely explanation of the ANSQ equivalents; (2) ASVs probably represent an independent but parallel innovation. In arguing against any interpretation of the resemblances as the result of Hausa → Guruntum borrowing, the paper also considers the possible implications of these discoveries for comparative (West) Chadic.

Source: Schuh (1982:4)

Legend:

—·—·—	national boundaries
———	Chadic family
———	major Chadic subgroups
— — —	sub-subgroups
HAUSA	language name
Kano	place name
WEST CHADIC	major Chadic subgroup
A	sub-subgroup

NIGER

NIGERIA

CHAD

CAMEROON

LAKE CHAD

Zinder●

Gashua●

●Kano

●Zaria

Jos●

Bauchi●

Gombe●

Maiduguri●

N'Djamena●

Maroua●

Garoua●

Mubi●

HAUSA

WEST CHADIC
A

GWANDARA
RON
ANGAS
A

SAYANCI
GURUNTUM
MIYA
WARJI
B

KAREKARE
NGIZIM
B

BADE
B

BOLANCI

TERA
BURA
MARGI
MANDARA
CENTRAL CHADIC
A

KANAKURU
BACAMA
DABA
GIDAR
B

KOTOKO
CENTRAL CHADIC
B
MUSGU
GISIGA

KERA
MASA

EAST CHADIC
A
LELE
TUMAK

EAST
CHADIC B
SOKORO

DANGLA

WEST CHADIC
A

2. "Abstract nouns of sensory quality" (ANSQs).

Parsons (1955) was the first to provide an in-depth analysis of what he termed "abstract nouns of sensory quality" in Hausa, defining them in terms of their semantic and morphotonological uniformity. Semantically, he defined ANSQs as signifying "qualities or attributes of people, animals, or things that are perceptible by one or more of the senses" (p. 376), e.g. zaafii'heat', sanyii 'coldness', faadii 'breadth', kaurii 'thickness', nauyii 'heaviness', zaaƙii 'sweetness', ɗaacii 'sourness', waarii 'bad smell', daaɗii 'pleasantness' etc.[1] As these examples show, ANSQs in Hausa also have the following morphological features in common: they are disyllabic, have a heavy initial syllable (CVV or CVC), end in long -ii, and have all Hi tones.[2]   Because of this phonological and semantic regularity, Newman (1986:253-54) has suggested that ANSQs should in fact be analyzed as derived nominals, even though most of them have no independently-occurring stems. Parsons (1955:401-402) does, however, identify related (source) forms for several ANSQs, e.g. ɗaacii 'bitterness'/ɗaatàa 'bitter tomato-like fruit' (cf. Newman's (1977:22) Proto-Chadic root *d-t- 'bitter'), gʷiiɓii 'viscidity'/gʷiiɓàa 'sediment', zaaƙii 'sweetness'/zaaƙòo 'sweet cassava' (cf. too zaafii 'heat'/zuf(f)àa 'hot weather').

Guruntum (G) also has a class of ANSQs which, though lexically more restricted than its Hausa (H) counterpart, displays a remarkable degree of similarity (Jaggar 1988a:176).[3] Thus, Guruntum ANSQs are characterized by semantics identical to those of ANSQs in Hausa – qualities/attributes perceived in a sensory manner – and near identity of two of the canonical morphological features of ANSQs – final -i and all Hi tones, e.g. giisi 'heaviness',[4] ani 'heat', mʷaɗami 'sweetness', ngʸoɲi 'sourness', timi 'goodness' etc. (see TABLE 1). Moreover, since Hausa nouns are reconstructable with final short vowels historically (Greenberg 1978; Newman 1979:174; Schuh 1984:196), and assuming (see below) that the two processes are probably cognate, then there must have been a perfect tone/termination match prior to final vowel-lengthening of Hausa nouns – final -i with homotonic Hi tones on ANSQs in both languages!

In view of the parallel morphosemantic uniformity of Guruntum ANSQs, it seems reasonable to assume that, like their Hausa counterparts, they too are analyzable as derivative nominals. As is the case with most ANSQs in Hausa, however, the presumed source words for ANSQs in Guruntum are either obsolete or remain as yet unidentified.

TABLE 1. List of Guruntum ANSQs.

ANSQ	Gloss
ani	'heat'
asi	'bitterness'
ɗuŋɗi	'stench'
giisi	'heaviness'
kʷami	'strength'
lushi	'softness'
mʷaɗami[5]	'sweetness'
ngʸoŋi	'bitterness'
saaɓidi[5]	'unpleasantness'
sani	'coldness'
səri	'length'
timi	'goodness'
wulnʸi	'width'

Syntactically, ANSQs occur in a number of directly comparable frames which are common to both languages (relevant tokens in examples typed in **boldface** throughout):

Hausa

Guruntum

Frame: Imperfective + dà 'with' + ANSQ

Imperfective + ANSQ[6]

(1) wannàn ɗaakìi (ya)nàa   dà **ƙʷaarii**   gìdi măi ti(yà)   **kʷami**
DEM   hut   3sm.IMPERF with strength   hut   DEM 3s.IMPERF strength
'this hut is strong (well-built)'

(2) zumàa (ya)nàa   dà **zaaƙii**   zuwun ti(yà)   **mʷaɗami**
honey 3sm.IMPERF with sweetness   honey 3s.IMPERF sweetness
'the honey is sweet'
(cf. H madìi 'sweet drink' and the Zaar (Sayanci) reduplicate mʷàamʷaa (= Mid-Hi tones)
'sweet' (Schneeberg 1974:158))

(3) gado-nkà (ya)nàa   dà **laushii**   gèdu-gù ti(yà)   **lushi**
bed-your 3sm.IMPERF with softness   bed-your 3s.IMPERF softness
'your bed is soft'

(4) goonaa (ta)nàa   dà **faaɗii**   wăl ti(yà)   **wulnʸi**
farm   3sf.IMPERF with width   farm 3s.IMPERF width
'the farm is wide/large'
(cf. Zaar woŋnì 'wideness' (Schneeberg 1974:151))

(5) yaarò-nkà (ya) nàa   dà nauyii   gèru-gù ti(yà)   giisi.
     boy-your 3sm.IMPERF with heaviness   boy-your 3s.IMPERF heaviness
                    'your boy is heavy'

(cf. the obsolete/reconstructed H ANSQ *gaushii 'burliness' listed by Parsons (1955:381))

Frame: Verb yi 'do' + ANSQ   Verb fi 'do' + ANSQ

(6) kâr àbinci yà   yi sanyii   kâr shau ti   fi sani   dà
     NEG food 3sm.SJV do coldness   NEG food 3s.SJV do coldness NEG
                    'the food should not go cold'

(7) wannàn ƙasaa taa   yi zaafii   yĭl   kì (ti)   fi ani[7]
     DEM   country 3sf.PERF do heat   country DEM 3s.PERF do heat
                    'this country is hot'

(8) naamàa yâa   yi waarii   lăam tâa   fi dundi
     meat   3sm.POT do stench   meat 3s.FUT do stench
                    'the meat will (probably) stink'

Frame: NP-poss suffix + ANSQ   NP [± poss linker] + ANSQ

(9) taa   shaa ruwa-n sanyii   ti   sai màa (gè) sani
     3sf.PERF drink water-of coldness   3s.PERF drink water of coldness
                    'she drank cold water'

(10) àkwai ruwa-n zaafii nân   àyà   màa (gè) ani bài
     EXIST water-of heat   here   EXIST water of heat here
                    'there is some hot water here'

Frame: Existential predicator + ANSQ   Existential predicator + ANSQ

(11) ruwa-n kòogin nàn bâa   daadii   màa sala kì àyà saaɓidi
     water-of river   DEM NEG EXIST pleasantness water river DEM EXIST unpleasantness
                    'the water of this river is unpleasant'

(12) wannàn maagànii àkʷai daacii   wùunu kì àyà asi
     DEM   medicine EXIST bitterness   medicine DEM EXIST bitterness
                    'this medicine is bitter'

Although, as examples (1-12) show, the exploitation of ANSQs in predicate position overlaps
in the two languages, there are some ANSQ syntactic functions which are specific to either
Hausa or Guruntum. Thus, unlike their Guruntum counterparts, some Hausa ANSQs may
freely occur as agent-like clausal subjects:

(13) zaafii yaa   dàamee nì   (14) zurfi-nsà yaa   yi yawàa
     heat   3sm.PERF bother me   depth-its 3sm.PERF do lot
     'the heat is bothering me'   'it is very deep'

Another common syntactic site available only to ANSQs in Hausa is to the right of the polysemic preposition gà/gàree '(in relation) to, in the possession of etc':

(15) ƙarfii gà   Muusaa/gàree shì
      strength PREP Musa/PREP   him
      'Musa/he is strong'

Guruntum has a comparable possessive/indirect object marker gà 'of, to, for', but it cannot be used in this environment.

On the other hand, Guruntum ANSQs are regularly used, with an attributive adjectival function, to qualify a preceeding NP in equational constructions marked with the copular a, a syntactic option with no analogue in Hausa:

(16) yìŋsù kì a   səri   (cf. H siɽiiɽìi 'thin, slender')[8]
      path DEM COP length
      'this path is long'

(17) yìl   kì a   sani   (18) rau-gù   a   timi
      country DEM COP coldness   work-your COP goodness
      'this country is cold'   'your work is good'

Turning now to the problem of how to account for the data, three possible explanations are available. The uncanny form-meaning correspondences between ANSQs in the two languages are the outcome of: (1) independent innovation; (2) Hausa → Guruntum borrowing; (3) cognation. Whilst it is possible that both H and G independently developed a morphological rule for deriving ANSQs, I believe that the formal resemblances are too striking to be the outcome of some historical accident producing near-identical morphosemantic results, and that the explanation thus lies in either borrowing or cognation.

Even the most cursory inspection of present-day Guruntum reveals a noticeable degree of contact-induced borrowing from Hausa,[9] especially in the lexicon, so borrowing of the ANSQ formation at some stage is clearly a possibility, especially when we compare such Hausa~Guruntum pairs as sanyii~sani 'coldness', laushii~lushi 'softness', where the phonetic identity is clearly very close; cf. also the possibly related (1) H ƙwaarii ~ G kʷami 'strength', (5) H *gaushii 'burliness' ~ G giisi 'heaviness', (2) H madìi 'sweet drink' ~ G mʷadami 'sweetness' and (16) H siɽiiɽìi 'thin, slender' ~ G səri 'length' noted above.[10] On the other hand, comparison of the remaining ANSQs reveals no demonstrable phonetic relationship (aside from the canonical morphology of all Hi tone and final -i (i) that is), i.e. there are no recognizable cognates for most of the ANSQs across the two languages (though more detailed knowledge of the sound laws affecting the South Bauchi group might of course show phonetically dissimilar items to be related).

This leaves us with cognation. On balance, I believe the most likely explanation of the remarkable cross-language correspondences is that ANSQ formation is an archaic derivational process shared by Hausa and Guruntum. The suggestion that true cognation is the most plausible hypothesis means, of course, that derivational ANSQ formation must be a feature traceable to West Chadic prior to the split into the A and B branches, a consequence which raises the problem of explaining why no present-day relics of the process have as yet been reported for other West Chadic languages. I have no ready response to this obvious problem except to say that the presumed reflexes may have either disappeared or simply not have been identified yet, and that fuller information on West Chadic languages in general, and languages closely related to Guruntum in particular, might indeed expose further survivals of ANSQ-formation and shed further light on this interesting comparative issue.

3.   "Affected-subject" verbs (ASVs).

In a number of Chadic languages, if the semantic patient of a 2-place verb is selected as the grammatical subject of the same verb, the expression receives an "affected-subject" interpretation, as in (19a) and (20a):

Tera (Central Chadic-A)

(19) a. woy-a wà   ruɓa
         boy-the PERF injure.ASV
         'the boy was injured'
         (Newman 1970:59)

cf: b. wà   ruɓa woy-a
         PERF injure boy-the
         'someone injured the boy'

Kanakuru (West Chadic-A)

(20) a. kilei à   taɗe-ni
         pot   PERF break-ICP.ASV
         'the pot broke'
         (Newman 1974:16, 23)

cf: b. guwari à   taɗe kilei
         stone   PERF break pot
         'the stone broke the pot'

Notice that in Tera and Kanakuru, the operation is simply signalled by a change in the linear order of sentence-constituents, i.e. there is no special morphology on the verb itself.[11]

Hausa also has a class of affected-subject verbs (= Parsons' (1960) "Grade 7") which was considered to be distinctive in two respects. Firstly, ASVs in H <u>do</u> undergo specific morphological modification, a Lo-Hi tonal configuration and final -u being superimposed on the underlying (disyllabic) verb, e.g. gʸàaru 'be completely repaired' (< gʸaaràa 'repair'), kòoru 'be completely driven off' (< kòoraa 'drive off'). Secondly, many of them guarantee

the additional reading that the single-argument grammatical subject is completely, thoroughly etc. affected by the verbalized action.

Prior to Jaggar (1988b), no plausible cognates for the Hausa final -u verbal extension had ever been isolated within (West) Chadic. In Jaggar (1988b), I argued that the -u suffix was not a morphological formation unique to Hausa but was in fact relatable to a Chadic "Completive" extension (see below for details). At the time, I was unaware that this same derivational operation also had a strikingly similar form-meaning equivalent in Guruntum, where affected-subjects verbs display a near-isomorphic shape − Hi-Hi tones with final -u − and semantics − the grammatical subject (= semantic patient) is completely affected by the action of the derivative verb (Jaggar 1988a:175), e.g. bəru 'be completely given' (< bəri 'give'), dabu 'be completely finished' (< dabi 'finish'). The class of affected-subject verbs in G appears to be much smaller than its H counterpart, however, and is restricted to occurrence in the perfective (see note 13):

	Hausa	Guruntum

(21) kaayaa yaa   **ɗauku** (< ɗaukàa 'carry')   màa kì **panu** (< pani 'carry')[12]
loads   3sm.PERF carry.ASV   water DEM carry.ASV
'the loads were all carried'   'this water was all carried'

(22) àbinci yaa   **dàfu** (< dafàa 'cook')   shau **kʸuru** (< kʸuri 'cook')
food   3sm.PERF cook.ASV   food cook.ASV
               'the food has been completely cooked'

(23) shirì-nsà yaa   **gàmu** (< gamàa 'finish')   rau-sì **dabu** (< dabi 'finish')
plan-his   3sm.PERF finish.ASV   work-his finish.ASV
'his plans are all complete'   'his work is completely finished'

(24) gidâ-n   yaa   **bùuɗu** (< buuɗèe 'open')   bìiŋ-mǎi **ɓudu** (< ɓudi 'open')
house-DET 3sm.PERF open.ASV   house-DEM open.ASV
               'the/this house is opened up'

(25) wuƙaa taa   **wàasu** (< waasàa 'sharpen')   No G equivalent
knife   3sf.PERF sharpen.ASV
'the knife has been completely sharpened'

No H equivalent   (26) shingʸùruŋ-âi **bəru** (< bəri 'give')
                                 money-DET   give.ASV
                                 'the money has all been given'

The same derivational morphology which allows patients to assume subject-like properties and so produce semantic passives is also manipulated to form ASV expressions in both H and G where the grammatical subject is agential but also undergoes a physical and/or

psychological change of state (= affected-agent):

(27) an   **tàaru** (< taaràa 'gather')   a   **rombu** (< ròmbi 'gather')[13]
      IMPERS.PERF gather.ASV   IMPERS gather.ASV
                          'they (one) gathered/assembled'

Arriving at a historical explanation of these points of resemblance is again problematical. However, in attempting to account for this second group of systematic correspondences, there are several pieces of evidence which could once again, on balance, be construed as ruling out H → G borrowing. Firstly, with the exception of the verb-pair H bùuɗu - G ɓudu 'be opened up' in (24), there is no recognizable phonological relationship even between those ASVs with similar meaning in H and G. Secondly, since G has a lexical class of verbs with Lo-Hi tone, e.g. ròmbi 'gather' in (27), why, in the course of borrowing, should it change the tone pattern of verbs borrowed with Lo-Hi to the now attested Hi-Hi? Thirdly, why didn't G lift ASVs which have a high-frequency in H, e.g. àuku/fàaru 'happen', yìwu 'be possible', dàamu 'be concerned', ràbu 'separate from', hàɗu 'meet' etc? Finally, if borrowing did indeed take place at some stage, why are ASVs in G now restricted to use in the perfective, whereas in H they occur freely in other tense-aspects, including the imperfective where they take on a "potentiality" interpretation, e.g. kaayaa sunàa ɗaukuwaa (loads 3p.IMPERF carry.ASV) 'the loads can be carried' (Jaggar 1988b:394-95)?

Looking at the wider comparative picture, there is no evidence to suggest that a morphologically-signalled ASV derivational rule can be reconstructed for proto-West Chadic, i.e. the ASV formations in H and G are not retentions of an old morphological feature predating the split into West Chadic-A and West Chadic-B. It could be, therefore, that in contrast to ANSQs where I argued for cognation, we are dealing here with an independent, parallel innovation, with the ASV formation in Guruntum having evolved along the same lines as I have postulated for ASVs in Hausa. In Jaggar (1988b:405ff.) I suggested that final -u ASVs in Hausa are ultimately related to a widespread Chadic "Completive" extension reconstructable as *-kʷo, a suffix which has been reanalyzed as a Perfective marker in some West Chadic languages. The essence of my argument was that since there is a considerable semantic overlap between the notions "Completive" and "Perfective", and that a Perfective → Passive (= AS) diachronic route is a well-documented cross-linguistic fact, then an analogous Completive → ASV development for Hausa represents a reasonable scenario. Guruntum has so far not presented any other verbal extension which might be identified as a plausible reflex of this particular suffix, so it is possible that it has taken the same diachronic route as H and independently reworked an original Completive extension into a morphological marker of ASVs.[14]

4. Summary.

This paper has described two separate morphological formations which to date were thought to be exclusive to Hausa, but which turn out to have strikingly close form-meaning equivalents in Guruntum. Whilst we cannot exclude the historical possibility that Guruntum borrowed the processes of ANSQ- and ASV-formation direct from Hausa, a number of facts pose difficulties for any account which attempts to explain the correspondences in terms of contact-induced borrowing. I have argued instead that, all things considered, the available evidence tends towards the conclusion that: (1) the ANSQ-formation is directly relatable and should be considered an archaic derivational operation shared by the two languages; (2) ASV-formation, on the other hand, is the outcome of a convergent development.

Whatever view one takes of the findings, they are of some significance for the study of comparative West Chadic. A more accurate historical picture than is at present possible will hopefully emerge when fuller descriptive data become available on languages closely related to Guruntum.

Notes

[1] Transcription system: long vowels data are indicated by double letters; low (Lo) tone = à/àa; falling tone = â/âa; rising tone = ǎ/ǎa; high (Hi) tone is left unmarked. In morphological glosses, the following abbreviations are used: ASV = affected-subject verb; COP = copular; DEM = demonstrative; DET = determiner; EXIST = existential predicator; f = feminine; FUT = future; ICP = intransitive copy pronoun; IMPERF = imperfective; IMPERS = impersonal subject; m = masculine; NEG = negative; p = plural; PERF = perfective; POT = potential; PREP = preposition; s = singular; SJV = subjunctive. Items enclosed in parentheses are optional.

[2] Welmers (1973:117) was thus wrong in claiming that, with the possible exception of ideophones, no "systematic correlation between tone and semantic categories is ever found" in tone languages.

[3] Parsons (1955:380-85) lists a total of 69 ANSQs for Hausa. For Guruntum, however, I have only been able to elicit 13 or so tokens so far (TABLE 1) – itself an indication that we are probably dealing with a process of some antiquity. It should be noted that Guruntum, like Hausa, has common nouns with the same general phonological shape as ANSQs – Hi-Hi tones and final -i (i) – which do not have ANSQ semantics however.

[4] This ANSQ was incorrectly recorded as Lo Hi glisi in Jaggar (1988a:185).

[5] Guruntum, unlike Hausa, allows trisyllabic ANSQs.

[6] The Guruntum imperfective used in this context is the paradigm which co-occurs with a following non-verbal predicate – ANSQ, locative phrase, or possessed NP (Jaggar 1988a:179).

[7] From a West Chadic perspective, Guruntum, like Hausa, is atypical in that it codes TENSE (= tense, aspect, mood) on an independently-occurring INFL (= subject-agreement + TENSE) to the left of the verb. In many West Chadic languages, the verb itself is inflected for TENSE, by affixes and/or tone. The INFL (ti) in this G example is parenthesized because, in the perfective, the presence of INFL in Guruntum is optional when the subject NP is overtly expressed – when absent, a perfective reading is automatically supplied by default. This option is not possible if the INFL has any other TENSE – cf. examples 6 and 8.

[8]The meaning-difference between an ANSQ occurring in this copular construction and its use with an imperfective INFL, as in examples (1-5), is as follows: the copular + ANSQ construction implies that the designated quality is more inherent and time-stable, e.g. gàru gà maazì a timì 'the girl is good' (intrinsically) vs (imperfective + ANSQ) gàru gà maazì ti(yà) timì 'the girl is good' (but maybe not always). Cf. Hausa (ANSQ-derived adjectival-nominal + copular) wannàn yaaròo ƙàƙƙarfaa nèe 'this boy is strong' vs (imperfective + dà + ANSQ) wannàn yaaròo (ya)nàa dà ƙarfii 'this boy is strong', with the former copular construction implying inherent strength. Unlike Hausa, Guruntum cannot manipulate its ANSQs to form derivative adjectival-nominals and verbs, e.g. H ANSQ zurfii 'depth' → zùzzurfaa 'deep' and zurfàfaa 'deepen'.

[9]Zaar – the closest South Bauchi language for which we have any descriptive data – has also been heavily influenced by Hausa (Schneeberg 1974). Historical evidence points to long-established commercial contact and population movement from Hausa-speaking areas to the southern Bauchi region (Aliyu 1980), so one would expect to find evidence of Hausa linguistic influence on languages in the area.

[10]Regarding the short final -i on the Guruntum ANSQs, G would, on this interpretation, have either lifted the ANSQ formation prior to final-vowel lengthening in Hausa (see above), or simply shortened the final long -ii to bring it into line with its own phonology (G only allows long (final) vowels on monosyllabic nouns).

[11]The -ni suffix on the AS verb tade-ni in (20a) is the so-called 'intransitive copy pronoun', a widespread Chadic feature involving suffixation of a pronoun on intransitive verbs, whether ASV or not.

[12]Notice the obligatory absence of any perfective INFL following the overtly expressed affected-subject NP in the G examples (21-25). This incompatibility might derive from the fact that since AS expressions in G can only have a completive/perfective interpretation when the AS argument is a semantic patient, the inclusion of any perfective INFL would involve semantic overspecification. Had no subject NP been present, an INFL would have been obligatory.

[13]This particular affected-agent verb – the only token so far elicited – differs from affected-patient verbs in G (21-26) in that it can be used outside the perfective:

(a)   âa   rombu   tituu-kì
        IMPERS.FUT gather.ASV now-DEM
        'they will gather (together) right now'
(b)   a-bà   rombu
        IMPERS-IMPERF gather.ASV
        'they are gathering (together)'

Another unusual feature common to Hausa and Guruntum is the specialized use of an impersonal subject as a regular INFL in preverbal position (Jaggar 1988a:178-79). Although an unspecified subject morpheme is reconstructable for West Chadic and is present in a number of languages, e.g. Bolanci (Lukas 1970-72:246, 249; Newman and Schuh 1974:12), Kanakuru (Newman 1974:45), Miya, Bade and Ngizim (Schuh, p.c.), it is

only used as a "place-holder" in these languages, equivalent to third person expressions with no overt subject. Hausa and Guruntum have thus both upgraded the unspecified subject to the status of a fully-fledged INFL, operating throughout the TENSE system.

[14]Schuh (1977) reconstructs *-u, together with *-a, as the lexically final vowels for verbs in proto-West Chadic – cf. Newman's (1975) proto-Chadic verb-final *-a and *-ə classes – and has suggested (p.c.) that final -u verbs in both Hausa and Guruntum are simply reflexes of the basic final *-u class. There are two problems with this proposal. Firstly, unlike the Completive → ASV scenario I have suggested, deriving AS verbs in H and G from a semantically neutral lexical verb class in final *-u does not explain why both classes have (independently) developed the same distinctive ASV semantics. Secondly, it fails to account for the large class of lexically basic final -i verbs in H and G, which derive from an original final *-ə class according to Newman (1975). Newman (p.c.) still believes that this lexically specific vowel was probably either *-i or *-ə, and that final -i "Grade 2" verbs in Hausa are identifiable reflexes of this class.

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