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# South-Bauchi West Pronominal and TAM Systems

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## Abstract

This study of the SBW pronominal and TAM system is based on personal data collected in Nigeria on 8 languages : Zaranda, Langas, Dir, Danche, Baraza, Dott, Sigidi and Zaar. In their pronominal system, these languages have lost the gender, inclusive/exclusive and dual marks characteristic of AfroAsiatic (AA) languages. They have in common a system that has eroded and realigned to the point that (i) the exponents of persons are the same in the plural and the singular ; (ii) number is expressed by specific elements : a change of tone, a –N suffixed to the pronoun or addition of a suffix to the verb. It should be noted that the AA feminine mark \*t- has become the general common mark for the 3s pronouns. As far as TAM systems are concerned, Zaar stands out as oddly original : it has three tone levels, when the others have two ; it has ten TAM paradigms that can combine, when the others only have between three and five that don't ; it marks aspect, tense and mood, whereas the others don't express time in their verbal system, the future being a clear case of mood subcategorization. These differences have sociolinguistic origins: whereas all the other SBW languages are spoken in no more than one village and its wards, Zaar is spoken in over sixty, close to eighty if we add Sigidi. The Zaars have come to their present situation by incorporating exogeneous populations which are still identified by the clan system : Angas, Boi, Pyem, Jaar, etc. It has resulted in a complexification of the language which goes against the general assumption that when absorbing a large quantity of foreign population, a language goes through a process of pidginization.

## Résumé

Cette étude des systèmes de pronoms et de marques de conjugaison des langues SBW repose sur des matériaux originaux récoltés au Nigeria sur 8 langues : zaranda, langas, dir, danche, baraza, dott, sigidi et zaar. Dans leurs systèmes pronominaux, ces langues ont perdu les marques de genre, ainsi que le duel et l'opposition inclusif/exclusif caractéristiques des langues Afroasiatiques (AA). Ils ont en commun un système qui s'est érodé et recomposé au point que (i) les exposants de la personne sont les mêmes au singulier et au pluriel ; (ii) le nombre est exposé par des éléments spécifiques : un changement tonal, un –N suffixé au pronom ou au verbe. On notera que la marque \*t du féminin est devenue la marque neutre pour les pronoms 3s. Pour les systèmes de conjugaison, le zaar frappe par son originalité : il a trois niveaux tonals, les autres deux ; il a dix paradigmes de conjugaison qui peuvent se combiner, alors que les autres en ont entre trois et cinq qui ne se combinent pas ; il marque l'aspect, le temps et le mode, alors que les autres ne marquent pas le temps dans leur système verbal, le futur étant un exemple clair de souscatégorisation modale. Ces différences ont une origine sociolinguistique : alors que les autres langues SBW sont généralement parlées dans un seul village, le zaar en couvre soixante, près de quatre-vingt si l'on y inclut le sigidi. Les Zaar ont acquis leur statut actuel en incorporant des populations exogènes qui sont identifiées par le système des clans : Angas, Boi, Pyem, Jaar, etc. Il en résulte une complexification de la langue qui contredit l'opinion générale selon laquelle, par absorption d'une grande quantité de population exogène, une langue subit un processus de pidginisation.

## List of abbreviations

1, 1<sup>st</sup> person ; 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> person ; 3, 3<sup>rd</sup> person ; AA, AfroAsiatic ; AOR, Aorist ; COMP, Complementizer ; COMPL, Completive ; COND, Conditional ; CONT, Continuous ; COUNT, Counterfactual ; DAT, Dative ; DO, Direct Object ; FUT, Future ; GEN, genitive ; GL, Genitive Link ; H, Hi tone ; HAB, Habitual ; ICOMPL, Incompletive ; ICP, Intransitive Copy Pronoun ; IMM, Immediate ; INDEP, independent ; INFL, Inflection ; L, Lo tone ; TAM, Tense-Aspect-Mood ; P, plural ; PCW, Proto-Chadic West ; PST, Past ; PUNCT, Punctual ; REC, Recent ; REM, Remote ; S, singular ; SBW, South-Bauchi West ; SUBJ, Subjunctive ; TAM, Tense-Aspect-Mood. ; VN, Verbal Noun.

## INTRODUCTION

The 27 or so lects grouped into the SBW sub-group of Chadic languages (Shimizu 1978) are spoken in the South of the Bauchi state (Nigeria) stretching from Bauchi to the south of the state over less than 100 kms. Among them, only *Zaar* is relatively less unknown (Caron 2002a; Caron 2002b; Schneeberg 1971; Schneeberg 1974) and is often used to characterise the whole SBW group.

These languages or dialects are obviously closely related when their basic vocabulary is compared. However, various elements tend to set *Zaar* (Saya) and *Gùùs* (Sigidi) apart :

- From a socio-linguistic and historical point of view : the name *barawa* used by Shimizu to name the group is not acknowledged by the *Zaar* (Sayawa) and *Gùùs* (Sigidi) people. If all the *barawa* agree to be closely related and all originate from the same area, viz. the Buli and Zaranda hills near Bauchi, the Zaars say they came from Bornu through Zaria ; they say they settled in the hills South of Tafawa Balewa after some cohabitation with the Angas, Pyem and Jarawa.
- *Zaar* and *Gùùs* have three tone levels, the others only two.<sup>1</sup>
- *Zaar* and *Gùùs* have a very elaborate and profusive TAM system when compared to the other languages.

All these elements single out the SBW group of languages for what Petr Zima has called a laboratory for the study of language evolution. This gives us an opportunity to first describe the extraordinary variation among languages that are so small in terms of number of speakers, and so close in terms of geographical and genetic proximity, and then to try and account for this variation.

In order to do so, we have picked one language from the Geji, Polci and Zeem clusters (resp. *Bùù*, *Nyámzàk* and *Cààrí*) and two from the Dass and Saya clusters : *Bàràázà* (Baraza) and *Zòdí* (Dott) for Dass ; *Gùùs* (Sigidi) and *Zaar* for Saya.

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<sup>1</sup> Hi is marked with an acute accent ; Lo with a grave ; Mid is left unmarked.

SBW CLASSIFICATION<sup>2</sup>

Language clusters			Languages	(Dialects)			
Sub-group North	Geji	viii	10	Migang	(Booluu)		
			11	Pelu			
Polci	Polci	ix	12	Gyannzi	(Gèèjì)		
		x	13	Buu	(Zàràndaa)		
			14	Zùl			
			15	Barang	(Baram)		
			16	Dìir	(Baram Dutse)		
			17	Bili	(Bùlì)		
			16	Nyámzax	(Lajás)		
Sub-group South	Zeem		17	Lundur			
			17	Posi	(Polcì)		
		xii	18	Zeem			
			19	Tule	(Tulai)		
			20	Chaari			
		xiii	21	Dokshì	(Lushi)		
		Dass	Dass	xiv	22	Dikshì	(Bàraza)
					23	Bandas	(Dùr)
				xv	24	Bòodli	(Zumbul)
					25	Wangdày	(Wandì)
Saya	Saya		26	Zòdì	(Dwàt)		
		xvi	27	Zàksì	(Zàkshì)		
			28	Bòòt	(Boto)		
			29	Zaarə	(Zari)		
				Sigidi			
		xvii	30	Zaar of Kàl			
			31	Zaar of Gàambar			
	32	Lèère					
		Zaar of Lùsa					

## SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

Syntactic functions in Chadic are originally marked by word order, sometimes reinforced by particles. As a consequence, personal marks in Chadic and SBW in particular show few syntactic variants. The existence of a specific paradigm will be the criteria of the pertinence of a syntactic function for personal marks.

**Independent pronouns**

They appear as topic, and as one of the two terms in an identification relation. See an example of identification in Zaar :

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<sup>2</sup> Shimizu 1978, p. 13

**nə myááni<sup>3</sup>**

be 1S.INDEP

*It's me.*

and an example of topic in Zodi :

**èrì à wóm-tì wát**

3S.INDEP 3S.ICOMPL feel-VN hunger

*He feels hungry*

## Subject pronouns

### *Non-verbal predicates*

Non-verbal predicates are used to attribute a quality, locate, express possession, etc. Pronominal subjects of such predicates belong to a specific paradigm. See the expression of possession in Zaar :

**mì tó mààjín**

1P with motorbike

*We have a motorbike*

### *Verbal predicates*

Pronominal subjects of verbal predicates are fused with TAM markers into an inflection. The INFL can be either a clitic or a word preceding the verb. In SBW, at least one paradigm of these subject+TAM, called the Aorist, has a zero TAM morpheme, leaving only the bare subject pronoun. See an example in Guus.

**mà mbwaa yààǵí.**

1P.AOR shoot bird

*We shot a bird.*

In the comparison, we will use the Ø TAM (Aorist or Completive, depending on the language) to exemplify subject pronouns.

## Intransitive Copy Pronouns

They are personal pronouns cliticised to intransitive verbs, marking the agreement with the subject of the verb. They are not common in SBW. See an example in Luri :

**à yát m̀ m̀ ríǵà = m̀.**

3S.AOR want COMP 1P.AOR leave=1P.ICP

*He wants us to leave.*

## Direct Object pronouns

Direct object pronouns are clitics, as can be seen from Zaar phonological processes : 2s /k/ > [y] /V\_V ; the L tone of the verb spreads on to the direct object :

<sup>3</sup> Zaar and Gùs (Sigidi) have 3 tone levels ; the other languages have 2. Hi is marked with an acute accent ; Lo with a grave ; Mid is left unmarked. List of abbreviations : 1, 1<sup>st</sup> person ; 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> person ; 3, 3<sup>rd</sup> person ; AOR, Aorist ; COMP, Complementizer ; COMPL, Completive ; COND, Conditional ; CONT, Continuous ; COUNT, Counterfactual ; DAT, Dative ; DO, Direct Object ; FUT, Future ; GEN, genitive ; GL, Genitive Link ; HAB, Habitual ; ICOMPL, Incompletive ; ICP, Intransitive Copy Pronoun ; IMM, Immediate ; INDEP, independent ; INFL, Inflection ; P, plural ; PCW, Proto-Chadic West ; PST, Past ; PUNCT, Punctual ; REC, Recent ; REM, Remote ; s, singular ; SBW, South-Bauchi West ; SUBJ, Subjunctive ; TAM, Tense-Aspect-Mood. ; VN, Verbal Noun.

**á v̀̀r = kə. [v̀̀r = ɣ̀̀]**  
 3S.AOR give = 2S.DO  
*He gave (it) to you.*

### Dative pronouns

Contrary to Hausa, there is no specific paradigm for Dative in SBW. Direct object pronouns are used with a dative particle at the end of the sentence. Ex : Zaar **món** :

**t̀̀ mán fi-mí z̀̀kn món.**  
 3S.SUBJ come do.1P medicine DAT  
*[...] in order for him to come and do magic for us.*

### Genitive pronouns

Genitive pronouns have two structures in SBW, corresponding to two structures of the nominal genitive construction : the ‘heavy’ structure <N Genitive link N> and the ‘light’ structure <N N>. In Zaar for example, the light structure keeps the trace of the Genitive link (**kə/gə**) in the form of a floating tone that attaches to the preceding noun :

heavy		light
<b>kot ḱ nóóno</b>		<b>kòt nóóno</b>
calabash GL milk		calabash.GL milk
<i>calabash of milk</i>		<i>id.</i>

The corresponding genitive pronouns are :

heavy	light
<b>b̀̀nd̀̀ g-wàà</b>	<b>b̀̀nd̀̀ = wàà</b>
pot GL-2s	pot=2s.gen
<i>your pot</i>	<i>id.</i>

The heavy structure (Genitive link-Pro) forms the independent genitive pronoun : **gwàà** = ‘yours’.

## TAM SYSTEMS

All SBW’s TAM systems conform to the same structure : conjugation is expressed in a pre-verbal morpheme which includes a person mark. The verb itself is not touched by TAM, with two exceptions : floating tones (or tone proagation) and the use of Verbal Nouns for the Continuous. When the subject is nominal, the personal mark is dropped and a variant of the TAM marker appears alone.

What can be noted though is the common existence of a ‘zero’ TAM (H. Jungrathmayr’s ‘*Grundaspekt*’), where only the bare Pro is used to conjugate the verb. We have chosen to name this TAM Aorist when it is opposed to the couple Completive + Incompletive, and Completive when it is opposed to an Incompletive only. We have named Continuous the TAM with a locative structure involving Pro’s having the form of subjects of non-verbal predicates, and a Verbal Noun.

**Bùù (ZARANDA)**

	AOR	COMPL	CONT	FUT	SUBJ
1S	à	àá	ámíí VN	àm	tà
2S	kè	ká	kíí VN	kèm	kà
3S	tè	tá	tíí VN	tèm	tè
1P	mè	màá	míí VN	mòm	tèn Vb(-ní)
2P	kè Vb-ní	kàá Vb-ní	kíí VN-ní	kìm VN-ní	kè Vb-ní
3P	sè	sàá	síí VN	sèm	sè Vb(-ní)

The *Bùù* TAM system is characterised by the use of the plural marker **-ní** suffixed to the Verb and Verbal Noun in the 2P. In the subjunctive, **-ní** can be used for the 1P and 3P as well.

- **Aorist.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + Ø ».
- **Completive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + á ». With a noun subject, the marker is **ap**. Achievement of the process (perfect) is expressed by the addition of **ʔi** at the end of the Verb Phrase. The Negative Completive is formed with the negative marker **wèè** at the end of the sentence. **ʔi** and **wèè** are in complementary distribution.
- **Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + íí », followed by a Verbal Noun. With a noun subject, the marker is **đó**. The Negative Incompletive is formed with the discontinuous marker **đáá ... wèè**. Ex : **kíí đáá VN ... wèè** (2S), etc.
- **Future.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + m », followed by a Verbal Noun. With a noun subject, the marker is **nóm**. The Negative Future has two variants : one is expressed through the Negative Incompletive ; the other uses a discontinuous marker **kóm ... wèè** : **kí kóm VN ... wèè** (2S), etc.
- **Subjunctive.** The form with a noun subject is **tè**. The paradigm of the Subjunctive is very similar to that of the Aorist. The only difference appears in 1S and 1P. This can be explained by the incorporation of **tè**. Its position indicates that it may be a complementiser. The Negative Subjunctive has two forms. With a noun subject they are (1) S **ḡáá Vb** and (2) S **bè Vb ... wèè**. With pronominal subjects, **ḡàà** and **bè** form new paradigms :

	NEG SBJ (1)	NEG SBJ (2)
1S	<b>ḡá</b>	<b>bàà ... wèè</b>
2S	<b>ḡì</b>	<b>bùù ... wèè</b>
3S	<b>ḡè</b>	<b>bè ... wèè</b>
1P	<b>ḡán Vb-ní</b>	<b>bàn ... wèè</b>
2P	<b>ḡì Vb-ní</b>	<b>bùù Vb-ní ... wèè</b>
3P	<b>ḡè Vb-ní</b>	<b>bàs ... wèè</b>

**Dir**

	COMPL	ICOMPL	CONT	FUT
1S	à H	á	ám dàn	âr kè
2S	kè H	kó	kó dàn	kóró kè
3S	yàà H	yáá bó	yàx dàn	yààr kó yaa bár kè
1P	mù L	mú -R	mì dàn	mûr kè
2P	kè L- -nè	kó -R	kèn dàn	kórè kè
3P	wù H	wú	wú dàn	wûr kè

Negation is expressed with **yáḡ ḡhè** at the end of the sentence.

- **Completive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + Ø ». It is followed by a floating L tone in 1p and 2p. The plural. -nè is suffixed to the verb in 2P. (NB : contrary to *Bùù*, -nè appears in this context only.) Achievement of the process is expressed by the addition of **wi** at the end of the Verb Phrase.
- **Incompletive.** It is restricted to the expression of habits and future events. The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + Ø » and bears a H tone. With noun subjects, the form is **bè/bà**. A **bé** variant appears between the subject pronoun and the verb in the 3S.
- **Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern of a locative construction « Pro + **dàn** + VN » using the pronominal paradigm of non-verbal predicate subjects.
- **Future.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **rókè** ». With a noun subject, the future marker is **bàr**.

### *Nyámzàk* (LANGAS)

	COMPL	ICOMPL	CONT	FUT I	FUT II
1S	à	á	àm pɔ́	nàà	à rógè
2S	kè	káá	kè pɔ́	kàà	kàà rógè
3S	yáá	yáá	yáx pɔ́	yáà / yáá dè	yáá rógè
1P	mè H-	máá	mì pɔ́	màà	màà rógè
2P	gè H-	gáá	gèn pɔ́	gàà	gàà rógè
3P	wù	wáá	wùr pɔ́	wàà	wàà rógè

The negation is formed with **ràŋ** at the end of the sentence.

- **Completive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + Ø ». Its functional values are those of general past, subjunctive, and default TAM for state verbs (i.g. "love"). Perfect is expressed by the addition of **wì** at the end of the Verb Phrase.
- **Incompletive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **aa** », except for 1S where the vowel is short. With a noun subject, its form is **dó**.
- **Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern of a locative construction « Pro + **pɔ́** + VN » using the pronominal paradigm of non-verbal predicate subjects.
- **Future I** is derived from the Incompletive through apotony : H > L. With a noun subject, its form is **dè**. The 1S /n/ in **nàà** is probably etymological.
- **Future II** is a more recent derivation from the Incompletive through the insertion of the **rÉgÈ** morpheme, as can be seen from the 1s **à rógè**. With a noun subject, its form is **rógè**.

### *Cààrí* (DANCHE)

The survey of *Cààrí* was very short and the data collected is not very reliable. However, since *Cààrí* is the only surviving language of the Zeem subgroup, the other three (Zeem, Tule and Dokshi) being extinct, we have decided to include it here to give some idea of its TAM system.

	AOR	COMPL	ICOMPL	FUT
1S	mó	áá	ámó	mír
2S	ká	káá	áká	kír
3S	tó	táá	tóká	tír
1P	mè	màà	mèká	myèèrì
2P	kè	kàà	kèká	kyèèrì
3P	tè	tàà	tèká	tyèèrì



**Bàráázè (BARAZA)**

	COMPL	ICOMPL	HAB	SUBJ
1S	á	ámáá	ám tó	nàà H-
2S	kó	káá	kó tó	nókè H-
3S	yèè	yàá/yàà H-	yèè tó	náyèè H-
1P	mù	màá/màà H-	mù tó	nómè H-
2P	kù	kwàá/kwàà H-	kù tó	nókù H-
3P	kì	kyàá/kyàà H-	kì tó	nókì H-

- **Completive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + Ø ». The Perfect is expressed by the addition of **ḃá** at the end of the Verb Phrase. It is in complementary distribution with the negation **ḃáá ... bà**. Iteration is expressed by the addition of the combination **róó ḃá** at the end of the Verb Phrase.
- **Incompletive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + aa ». In the Continuous, the same inflection is followed by a Verbal Noun instead : **ḃàù**, "slaughter" > **ḃàù-tè**, "slaughter-ing".
- **Habitual.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + tó ».
- **Subjunctive.** The inflection follows the pattern « nḃ + Pro ». It takes a Lo tone and is followed by a floating Hi tone. The Subjunctive is substituted for the Completive in [+Foc] contexts.

Negation is expressed with **ḃáá ... bà**, both for the Completive and the Incompletive. The TAM markers being the same, the difference is in the predicate : a verb for the Negative Completive, and a VN for the Negative Incompletive.

	NEG COMPL & ICOMPL
1S	ám ḃáá ... bà
2S	kó ḃáá ... bà
3S	yèè ḃáá ... bà
1P	mḃḃ ḃáá ... bà
2P	kù ḃáá ... bà
3P	kì ḃáá ... bà

**Zòḃi (DOTT)**

	COMPL	ICOMPL	FUT
1S	a	ám	máá
2S	ú	kyàà	kíí
3S	Ø	tyàà	Ø
1P	mà	màà	màn
2P	kò	kwàà	kòn
3P	tì	tàà	tìn

- **Completive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + Ø ». The Perfect is a combination of the Completive + **CaK** at the end of the Verb Phrase. The habitual is marked by **ḃa** inserted between the Completive subject pronouns and the verb.
- **Incompletive.** Except for 1S, the inflection follows the pattern « Pro + àà ». It is followed by a VN. With a noun subject, the Incompletive mark is **à**.
- **Future.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + VV » in the singular and « Pro + n » in the plural. With a noun subject, the Future mark is **níí**.

<sup>4</sup> The variation **u / ə** for the vowel of the 1P inflection is a phonological phenomenon quite common in SBW languages. **i/ə** is a weak vowel that replaces the others in conditions that need to be further studied.

## Gùùs (SIGIDI)

### Aspect

	AOR	COMPL	ICOMPL	HAB
1S	<b>ma</b>	<b>map</b>	<b>məkap + H</b>	<b>məka / mak + H</b>
2S	<b>ka</b>	<b>kap</b>	<b>kəkap + H</b>	<b>kəka / kak + H</b>
3S	<b>ʃa</b>	<b>ʃap</b>	<b>ʃikap + H</b>	<b>ʃika / ʃak + H</b>
1P	<b>mà</b>	<b>màp</b>	<b>məkàp + H</b>	<b>məkà / màk + H</b>
2P	<b>kà</b>	<b>kàp</b>	<b>kəkàp + H</b>	<b>kəkà / kàk + H</b>
3P	<b>ʃà</b>	<b>ʃàp</b>	<b>ʃikàp + H</b>	<b>ʃikà / ʃàk + H</b>

- **Aorist.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **a** ». With a noun subject, the marker is **a**.
- **Completive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **ap** ». With a noun subject, the marker is **ap**.
- **Incompletive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **kap** ». With a noun subject, the marker is **kap** followed by a floating Hi tone.
- **Habitual.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **ka/ak** ». With a noun subject, the marker is **ak**, followed by a floating Hi tone.

### Tense

	IMM.PST	REC.PST	REM.PST	FUT
1S	<b>maa</b>	<b>mam + H</b>	<b>məsên</b>	<b>mə + H</b>
2S	<b>kaa</b>	<b>kam + H</b>	<b>kəsên</b>	<b>kə + H</b>
3S	<b>ʃaa</b>	<b>ʃam + H</b>	<b>ʃisên</b>	<b>ʃi + H</b>
1P	<b>màà</b>	<b>màm + H</b>	<b>məsên</b>	<b>mè + H</b>
2P	<b>kàà</b>	<b>kàm + H</b>	<b>kəsên</b>	<b>kè + H</b>
3P	<b>ʃàà</b>	<b>ʃàm + H</b>	<b>ʃisên</b>	<b>ʃi + H</b>

- **Immediate Past.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **aa** ». With a noun subject, the marker is **aa**.
- **Recent Past.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **am** », followed by a floating Hi tone. With a noun subject, the marker is **am**.
- **Remote Past.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **sên** ». With a noun subject, the marker is **âsên**.
- **Future.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **Ø** », followed by a floating Hi tone which differentiates it from the Subjunctive. With a noun subject, the marker is **və**.

### Mood

	SUBJ	COUNT
1S	<b>mə</b>	<b>məs</b>
2S	<b>kə</b>	<b>kəs</b>
3S	<b>ʃi</b>	<b>ʃis</b>
1P	<b>mè</b>	<b>mès</b>
2P	<b>kè</b>	<b>kès</b>
3P	<b>ʃi</b>	<b>ʃis</b>

- **Subjunctive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **Ø** ». With a noun subject, the markers are **gu** for the singular and **gi** for the plural.

- **Counterfactual.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + s ». With a noun subject, the marker is **âs**. The mark appears both in the conditional and in the main clauses, and it functions like the Hausa **dàà...dàà**.

### Zaar (SAYA)

#### Verb classes

Zaar has 2 verb classes : Middle (M) and Hi (H), which can be observed in the Completive. The M class includes both 1- and 2-syllable verbs. A variant appears with some TAM (sp. the plural Incompletive) and depends on the [+/-V] nature of the initial consonant of the verb : [+V] = nonimplosive voiced obstruent. For short, we call the Completive form ‘simple’ (= lexical), and the other one ‘complex’ (= modified). This is probably a complex case of tone propagation from the TAM markers to the verb.

Verb class	H	M ; +V	M ; 2syl ; +V	M ; -V	M ; 2syl ; -V
Simple	<b>súú</b>	<b>bwaa</b>	<b>daambár</b>	<b>taar</b>	<b>tuurá</b>
Complex	<b>sùú (R)</b> <b>love</b>	<b>bwàà (L)</b> <b>choose</b>	<b>dàambár (LH)</b> <b>dísturb</b>	<b>táàr (F)</b> <b>clear</b>	<b>tùurá (FH)</b> <b>push</b>

#### Aspect

	AOR	COMPL	ICOMPL	PUNCT	CONC	CONT
1S	<b>mə</b>	<b>máá</b>	<b>myáá</b>	<b>miyii/myii</b>	<b>myáánaa</b>	<b>miyá / myaá</b>
2S	<b>kə</b>	<b>káá</b>	<b>kyáá</b>	<b>kiyii/kyii</b>	<b>kyáánaa</b>	<b>kiyá / kyaá</b>
3S	<b>á</b>	<b>àà</b>	<b>tʃáá</b>	<b>yii</b>	<b>tʃáánaa</b>	<b>tʃiyá / tʃaá</b>
1P	<b>mé</b>	<b>màà</b>	<b>myàá</b>	<b>mààyi</b>	<b>myàánaa</b>	<b>mìyá / myàá</b>
2P	<b>ké</b>	<b>kàà</b>	<b>kyàá</b>	<b>kààyi</b>	<b>kyàánaa</b>	<b>kìyá / kyàá</b>
3P	<b>té</b>	<b>tàà</b>	<b>tʃàá</b>	<b>tààyi</b>	<b>tʃàánaa</b>	<b>tʃiyá / tʃàá</b>

- **Aorist.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + Ø ». It has a narrative functional value. The verbs appear with a high tone on their first syllable in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons of the singular. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and in the plural, they appear in the complex form.
- **Completive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + áá ». The form of the verb is the simple form.
- **Incompletive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + yáá ». The verb appears in the simple form in the singular, and in the complex form in the plural.
- **Punctiliar.** The meaning is both punctiliar and iterative. The closest equivalent is the periphrastic Hausa ‘*yi ta*’. The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + yii ». The verb appears in the simple form.
- **Concomitant.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + yáá + naa ». The verb keeps the simple form.
- **Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + yi + ká + VN ». **yi+ká** is realised [**iyiá**]. In the monosyllabic variant, the opposition singular vs plural is marked by a tone contrast between a rising Mid-Hi tone in the singular and a rising Lo-Hi in the plural. It is the only place in the language where this contrast is observed. However, it seems to be unstable and is sometimes replaced by a contrast between Mid in the singular and Rising in the plural.

### Tense

	IMM.PST	REC.PST	REM.PST	FUT
1S	míí	mənáá	mətá	ma
2S	kíí	kənáá	kətá	ka
3S	ájí	ánáa	áta	wò
1P	mù	mənàà	mètà	má
2P	kù	kènàà	kètà	ká
3P	ƙù	tènàa	tètà	tá

- **Immediate past.** The Immediate Past refers to events which occurred earlier the same day. The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + yi ». The first syllable of the verb receives a low tone.
- **Recent Past.** The Recent Past refers to events which occurred on the previous day. The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + náá ». The verb keeps the simple form.
- **Remote Past.** The Remote Past refers to events which occurred more than two days ago. The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + ta ». The verb keeps the simple form.
- **Future.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + a ». The verb appears in the simple form in the singular, and the complex form in the plural.

### Mood

	SUBJ	COND	COUNT
1S	mè	myáá	mí/míyí
2S	àà	kyáá	kí/kíyí
3S	tè	yáá	ƙí/yí/ƙíyí/tíyí
1P	mè + L	myaá	mì/mìyì
2P	àà + L	kyaá	kì/kìyì
3P	tè + L	yaá/ƙaá	ƙì/ƙìyì/tìyì

- **Subjunctive.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + low tone ». In the plural, a low tone is added to the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable of the verb.
- **Conditional.** The inflection follows the pattern « pronoun + yáá ». In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons singular, the verb takes a high tone on the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable. In the other persons, the verb appears in the complex form
- **Counterfactual.** The inflection follows the pattern « pronoun + yí ». The verb appears in the complex form. The Counterfactual is introduced by yáàn, *if* and is used in contexts that would be translated by a *dàà ... dàà* Hausa construction.

### Composition

#### Compound aspects

The three basic aspects (Completive, Incompletive, Aorist) cannot be combined.

	COMPL.PUNCT	ICOMPL.PUNCT	ICOMPL.CONT	COMPL.CONT
1S	mááyí	myááyí	myááyíyá	miyíiyáyá
2S	kááyí	kyááyí	kyááyíyá	kiyíiyáyá
3S	àáyí	ƙááyí	ƙááyíyá	yíiyáyá
1P	màáyí	myàáyí	myàáyíyá	míyíiyáyá
2P	kàáyí	kyàáyí	kyàáyíyá	kíyíiyáyá
3P	tàáyí	ƙàáyí	ƙàáyíyá	tíyíiyáyá

- **Completive Punctiliar.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **áá** + **yi** ». All verbs following the **yi** punctiliar morpheme have a simple form. This is true for all combinations.
- **Incompletive Punctiliar.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **yàá** + **yi** ».
- **Incompletive Continuous.** The structure of the inflection is « Pro + **yàá** + **yi** + **ká** ». **yi** + **ká** is realised [**yiáyá**]. The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun.
- **Punctiliar Continuous.** The structure of the inflection is « Pro + **yii** + **yi** + **ká** ». **yi** + **ká** is realised [**yiáyá**]. The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun. This combination is not common and Zaar speakers prefer to use the Imperfect continuous instead.

## Tense and aspect

	FUT.PUNCT	FUT.CONT	REM.PST COMPL	REM.PST ICOMPL
1S	<b>mayi</b>	<b>mayiyá</b>	<b>máátá</b>	<b>mətáyáá</b>
2S	<b>kayi</b>	<b>kayiyá</b>	<b>káátá</b>	<b>kətáyáá</b>
3S	<b>wòyi</b>	<b>wòyiáyá</b>	<b>àátá</b>	<b>átayáá</b>
1P	<b>máyí</b>	<b>máyiyá</b>	<b>màátá</b>	<b>mətáyáá</b>
2P	<b>káyí</b>	<b>káyiyá</b>	<b>kàátá</b>	<b>kètáyáá</b>
3P	<b>táyí</b>	<b>táyiyá</b>	<b>tàátá</b>	<b>tètáyáá</b>

  

	REM.PST PUNCT	REM.PST CONT	REC.PST COMPL	REC.PST COMPL	REC.PST ICOMPL
1S	<b>mətáyí</b>	<b>mətáyiyá</b>	<b>máánáá</b>	<b>máánáá</b>	<b>mənáyáá</b>
2S	<b>kətáyí</b>	<b>kətáyiyá</b>	<b>káánáá</b>	<b>káánáá</b>	<b>kənáyáá</b>
3S	<b>átáyí</b>	<b>átáyiyá</b>	<b>àánáá</b>	<b>àánáá</b>	<b>ánáyáá</b>
1P	<b>mètáyí</b>	<b>mètáyiyá</b>	<b>màánáá</b>	<b>màánáá</b>	<b>mənàáyáá</b>
2P	<b>kètáyí</b>	<b>kètáyiyá</b>	<b>kàánáá</b>	<b>kàánáá</b>	<b>kènáyáá</b>
3P	<b>tètáyí</b>	<b>tètáyiyá</b>	<b>tàánáá</b>	<b>tàánáá</b>	<b>tènáyáá</b>

  

	REC.PST PUNCT	REC.PST CONT	IMM.PST ICOMPL	IMM.PST CONT
1S	<b>mənáyí</b>	<b>mənáyiyá</b>	<b>mááyí</b>	<b>míiyáyá</b>
2S	<b>kənáyí</b>	<b>kənáyiyá</b>	<b>kááyí</b>	<b>kíiyáyá</b>
3S	<b>ánáyí</b>	<b>ánáyiyá</b>	<b>àáyí</b>	<b>áyiyáyá</b>
1P	<b>mènàáyí</b>	<b>mènàáyiyá</b>	<b>màáyí</b>	<b>míiyáyá</b>
2P	<b>kènàáyí</b>	<b>kènàáyiyá</b>	<b>kàáyí</b>	<b>kíiyáyá</b>
3P	<b>tènàáyí</b>	<b>tènàáyiyá</b>	<b>tàáyí</b>	<b>tíiyáyá</b>

- **Future Punctiliar.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **a** + **yi** ». The verb keeps the simple form.
- **Future Continuous.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **a** + **yi** + **ká** ». The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.
- **Remote Past Perfect.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **áá** + **tá** ». The verb is in the complex form.
- **Remote Past Imperfect.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **ta** + **yáá** ». The verb appears in the simple form in the singular, and in the complex form in the plural. (cf. Imperfect).

- **Remote past Punctiliar.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **ta** + **yi** ». The verb keeps the simple form. This combination is associated to the **ǒgóró / ɲgòbíyà** dialect by the Lusa speakers. They prefer to use the Recent Past Imperfect.
- **Remote Past Continuous.** The inflection has the structure : « Pro + **ta** + **yi** + **ká** ». The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.
- **Recent Past Perfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **áá** + **náá** ». The verb appears in the complex form.
- **Recent Past Imperfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **náá** + **yáá** ». The verb appears in the simple form in the singular, and in the complex form in the plural. (cf. Imperfect).
- **Recent past Punctiliar.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **náá** + **yi** ». The verbs keep the simple form (cf. Imperfect). This combination is associated to the **ǒgóró / ɲgòbíyà** dialect by the Lusa speakers. They prefer to use the Recent Past Imperfect.
- **Recent past Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **náá** + **yi** + **ká** ». The verb is in the form of a verbal noun.
- **Immediate Past Perfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **áá** + **yi** ». The first syllable of the verb receives a low tone.
- **Immediate Past Imperfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **yii** + **yáá** ». The verb appears in the simple form in the singular, and in the complex form in the plural. (cf. Imperfect).
- **Immediate Past Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern « Pro + **yi** + **yi** + **gá** ». The verb appears in the form of a verbal noun.

#### Mood and aspect

	REC.PST	REM.PST
	COUNT	COUNT
1S	<b>mínaa</b>	<b>míta</b>
2S	<b>kínaa</b>	<b>kíta</b>
3S	<b>tínaa</b>	<b>títa</b>
	<b>ʃínaa</b>	<b>ʃíta</b>
1P	<b>mìnàà</b>	<b>mìtá</b>
2P	<b>kìnàà</b>	<b>kìtá</b>
3P	<b>tìnàà</b>	<b>tìtá</b>
	<b>ʃìnàà</b>	<b>ʃìtá</b>

#### Comments

Just looking at the number of paradigms, the situation varies from 3 different paradigms (Zodí) to 13 (Zaar) or more if combinations are included. Zaar and Guus are the only languages with three past tenses (when the other SBW languages only have a future tense), counterfactual and conditional moods. From now on, all that will be said concerning Zaar holds for Guus as well. Zaar's main innovations lies in the presence of 3 past tenses, and a great number of aspects.

The diversity can be explained by the development from a basic opposition between a  $\emptyset$  TAM, and an Incomplete. The Incomplete is generally formed with **-aa**, although in Dir, the contrast between Compl and Incompl is tonal. At this stage, the functional value of the opposition is not differentiated from the point of view of tense, aspect and mood. Each morpheme is a mixture of functional values. The  $\emptyset$  TAM combines narrative, past, perfect and subjunctive functions (cf.

*Nyámzàk* Completive). The Incompletive is basically non-past (present and future), progressive and habitual. Depending on the language, either can be used as the default TAM to conjugate state verbs.

Then, new TAM's appear to convey a specification that is absent in the original system. The Continuous is formed through a locative construction. Other TAM's are made through the integration of particles that are prefixed (Subj : *Bùù*, *Bèráázè*) or more generally suffixed (Zaar pasts ; *Bùù* and *Dìr* future). These restrict the functional value of the original TAM's. The Completive for example can be reduced to the expression of the subjunctive (Zaar), or the narrative and conjugation of state verbs such as 'want/like' (*Bùù*). The Incompletive can be reduced to the expression of the habitual, although the negative Incompletive is generally still used to negate the Future, and sometimes alternates with a specific Negative Future TAM.

## PRONOUN SYSTEMS

SBW languages have lost the gender, inclusive/exclusive and dual marks characteristic of Afro-Asiatic (AA) languages. Except for the genitive pronouns, it is the feminine mark \*t which has survived as the neutral 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular.

### *Bùù* (ZARANDA)

	INDEP	SUBJ (AOR)	SUBJ (NOM)	ICP	DO	GEN
1S	ámì	à	ámí	-nè	-éη	yíí(ní)
2S	kíí	kè	kí	-k	kí	wáà/wáágì
3S	tíí	tè	tí	-t	tí	wáàs/wáásì
1P	míí	mè	mì	-mè	mí	yìinóη
2P	kìníí	kè Vb-ní	kì	-nóηkìn	kíη	wáàkóη
3P	síí	sè	sì	-sè	sí	wáàsóη

### *Dìr*

	INDEP	SUBJ (COMPL)	SUBJ (NOM)	DO	GEN
1S	ám	à H	ám	-óm	-(y)èní
2S	kó	kè H	kó	-(úú)Ø	-è
3S	yàx	yàà H	yàx	té	-ès
1P	mì	mù L	mì	mó	-gèémí
2P	kèn	kè L- -nè	kèn	-(úú)n	-èní
3P	wúrí	wù H	wúr	-úúr	-èzóní

### *Nyámzàk* (LANGAS)

	INDEP	SUBJ (COMPL)	SUBJ (NOM)	DO	GEN
1S	ám	à	àm	-èn/-ìim	-gè
2S	kóη	kè	kè	kè/gè	-gèη
3S	yáx	yáá	yáx	tè/dè	-gès
1P	mù	mè H-	mì	mù	-gèémí
2P	gèn	gè H-	gèn	gèn	-gèn
3P	wúr	wù	wùr	wùr	-gèzón

**Cààrí (DANCHE)**

	INDEP	SUBJ (AOR)	DO	GEN
1S	ám	mó	-əm	-íínì
2S	kí	ká	kə	-wáágà
3S	jí	tá	tə	(?)
1P	mèè	mə	myèè	-wòòkən
2P	kèè	kə	kyèè	-yèèkèn
3P	ƒèè	tə	ƒyèè	-wòòsən

**Bàráázà (BARAZA)**

	INDEP	SUBJ (COMPL)	SUBJ (NOM)	DO	GEN
1S	ám	á	ám	-óm	-kíní
2S	kó	kó	kó	kó	-gə
3S	yèè	yèè	yèè	yèè	-kííyè
1P	mə	mù	mə	mə	-gəm
2P	kò	kù	kò	kò	-gən
3P	kèè	kì	kì	kéé	-kèè

**Zòdí (DOTT)**

	INDEP	SUBJ (COMPL)	SUBJ (NOM)	ICP	DO	GEN
1S	ám	à	ám	H	-(ə)m	gìn
2S	kí	ú	kí	-kí	kí	gèè
3S	ə̀rì	∅	ə̀rì	-tí	ə̀rì	gəs
1P	mà	mà	mà	-mà	mà	gəm
2P	kò	kò	kò	-kò	kò	gə̀ŋ
3P	sə̀ŋ	tì	sə̀ŋ	-sə̀ŋ	sə̀ŋ	gəsə̀ŋ

Three kinship terms (**baa**, *husband* ; **kon**, *son* ; **ƒénsi**, *mother's brother*) have a special genitive paradigm :

	Genitive	uncle	husband
1S	-nǐí	ƒèníí	bààníí
2S	-níŋgee	ƒèníŋgèè	bààníŋgèè
3S	-nəs	ƒènés	bàànés
1P	-nə́ma	ƒèné́mà	bààné́mà
2P	-nə̀ŋgə̀n	ƒèné̀ŋgə̀ŋ	bààné̀ŋgə̀ŋ
3P	-nəsə̀ŋ	ƒèné̀sə̀ŋ	bààné̀sə̀ŋ

- ICP's are cliticised to the verb, with frequent consonant assimilation. The 1<sup>st</sup> person singular is marked by a Hi tone on the last syllable of the verb.

NB : In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, out of the AA forms \*si for the masculine and \*ta for the feminine, it is the feminine form \*ta that has survived in the ICP, -tí and the Continuous **tyàá**. Elsewhere, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person mark is replaced by the word **ə̀rì**, which is to be compared to the word **ə̀rám**, *thing*.



**Gùùs (SIGIDI)**

	INDEP	SUBJ (AOR)	DO	GEN
1S	<b>ɲááni</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>-(ə)m</b>	<b>gùgè / -gè</b>
2S	<b>kyááni</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>kə</b>	<b>gwààgí / -ààgè</b>
3S	<b>ʃááni</b>	<b>ʃa</b>	<b>tə</b>	<b>gwààʃí / -ààs</b>
1P	<b>ɲààné</b>	<b>mà</b>	<b>mé</b>	<b>gwàámmí / -ààgmè</b>
2P	<b>kyààné</b>	<b>kà</b>	<b>kón</b>	<b>gwààgóní / -ààgèn</b>
3P	<b>ʃààné</b>	<b>ʃà</b>	<b>ʃán</b>	<b>gwààgósan / -ààgèsàn</b>

The singular DO pronouns have a Mid tone which assimilates to any preceding Lo tone.

**Zaar (SAYA)**

	INDEP	SUBJ (AOR)	SUBJ (NOM)	DO	GEN
1S	<b>myááni</b>	<b>mə</b>	<b>mi</b>	<b>-əm</b>	<b>-(g)ədn</b>
2S	<b>kyááni</b>	<b>kə</b>	<b>ki</b>	<b>-kə</b>	<b>-(g)wàà</b>
3S	<b>yááni</b>	<b>á</b>	<b>ʃi</b>	<b>-tə</b>	<b>-(g)wòs</b>
1P	<b>myààní</b>	<b>mó</b>	<b>mì</b>	<b>-mí</b>	<b>-(g)wòbɪm</b>
2P	<b>kyààní</b>	<b>kó</b>	<b>kì</b>	<b>-kí</b>	<b>-(g)wààn</b>
3P	<b>yààʃí</b>	<b>tó</b>	<b>ʃì</b>	<b>-ʃí</b>	<b>-(g)wààsən</b>

**Comments**

In this work, my assumption, following Shimizu 78, has been that SBW languages derive from a common original language that was spoken around the lake Chad some 400 years ago. However, it is now interesting to examine the result of synchronic mechanism as a cause of diachronic changes through analogy.

The weakening of the pronominal vowels (generally to the central vowel i/ə) has built a system that has eroded and realigned to the point that (i) the segmental exponents of persons are the same in the plural and the singular ; (ii) the exponent of number is expressed by specific elements : a change of tone, a change of vowel, a –N suffixed to the pronoun or to the verb in case of subject pronouns.

If we sum up these processes by building a common SBW pronominal system, and compare it to Proto-West-Chadic pronouns (PCW) as reconstructed in (Newman & Schuh 1974), the main feature to be observed is that SBW pronouns do away with the plural dimension :

	PCW	SBW
1S	<b>*ni</b>	1 <b>*n/m</b>
2S	<b>*ka (m), *ki (f)</b>	2 <b>*k</b>
3S	<b>*si (m), *ta (f)</b>	3 <b>*t/*s</b>
1P	<b>*mu</b>	
2P	<b>*ku</b>	
3P	<b>*su</b>	

Zaar and Guus independent pronouns are characterized by extensive suffixes : **-aani** (s) ; **-aane/-aashi** (pl).

The AA feminine mark **\*t** has become the general common mark for the 3s. **\*s** is only observed for 3s in the genitive. 3s **yaa/ye** (Dir, Langas, Baraza) could be either an innovation (cf. Dir **əri** < **əram**, ‘thing’) or a retention of AA 3sm **\*y**, opposed to 3sf **\*t**.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to go back on *Zaar*. The morphological and functional status of *Zaar* TAM's as compared to the others look very odd. The basic process at work in the evolution of the *Baraawaa* languages has been pushed a step further in its case : proliferation of TAM's ; possibility of multiple combinations ; development of past tenses. As was mentioned in the introduction, this goes with the appearance of a third tone level (may be an infra-low tone linked to +V consonants). This can be explained by the history of the *Zaars*. Their population far exceeds that of the other languages : over 125,000 for *Zaar* ; less than 600 for those that are still well spoken (i.e. B'oto, Zodi, Zaranda, Dir, Baraza), a handful for those that are dying (Luri, Zeem, Zumbul, Tulai, Lushi). They have mixed with and incorporated alien populations (Angas, Pyem, Jarawa, Boi, etc.), whose existence is still acknowledged in the identity of clans. But what is remarkable is that, far from becoming a communication language characterized by its morphological pidgin-like simplification, this has led to a process of phonological, morphological and functional complexification.

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