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NON-VERBAL SENTENCES IN CHADIC¹

1. Introduction

The non-verbal sentences are sentences in which there is no explicit aspect marking and no verb. The predicate position of such sentences is usually filled by nouns, noun phrases, prepositional phrases or adverbials.

The non-verbal sentences constitute one of the main types of sentence structures in Chadic languages. The predicate in such sentences may be indicated by word order alone, but in a way characteristic of a given language, e.g.:

B. *dánemo kírdi* 'he is a pagan'
(he - pagan)

(Lukas, 1939: 75)

L. *ùnd rxà málà Abdù* 'mister Abdu is a nice person'
([person-nice]-[mister-Abdu])

(Wolff, 1983: 217)

Very often the predicate is additionally introduced by some special indicators. Syntactically, they represent particles or prepositions. Copula, which substitutes the verbal element, belongs to such indicators, too. The main subject of this work is to discuss the typological features of such "overt markers" in Chadic non-verbal sentences. For practical reasons, all of them are captured by the

1 This paper is supposed to constitute part of a work on particles in Chadic which tends to analyze the typological features and function of the independent grammatical morphemes in Chadic. The ongoing research is based on written materials (mostly grammars) of the documented languages. The list of the languages discussed, and their abbreviated names, is annexed at the end of this paper.

name 'particles'. This term is referred to relaters, independent grammatical morphemes, non-nominal and non-verbal lexemes, and as such is often used in the descriptions of many Chadic languages.

The typological data of contemporary Chadic languages may be useful for diachronical investigations as well. The Chadic languages which have no historical records in a written form, reflect various stages of development in present-day structures. The comparative analysis of the relevant structures taken from the cognate languages may allow us to predict their proto-forms.

2. Semantic differentiation of non-verbal sentences

The non-verbal sentences are basically used to render the notions "to be" and "to have", i.e. the ideas which are expressed by these two verbs in various languages. Semantically, several different aspects of these meanings can be distinguished. The meaning of "being" is strongly diversified, the peculiar meanings that are to be distinguished are as follows:

- a: identification, e.g. 'it is a dog',
- b: identity, e.g. 'John is my father',
- c: description, e.g. 'John is tall'
- d: location, e.g. 'John is in school',
- e: existence, e.g. 'There is such a man',
- f: presentation, e.g. 'Here's my wife'.

(Ceesay, 1990: 5)

The linguistic material analyzed here is taken from written sources. It is by no means sufficient to make a comparative analysis of all the types of such constructions in various Chadic languages. The different aspects of the idea "to be" are not always clear without the context of its use. In the present work the analysis is primarily based on the structure of the sentence which is important in this sense that the different meanings seem to be strongly connected

with the different types of sentences. It has been assumed, however, that the structural basis for expressing the particular meanings may be different in various languages.

The non-verbal predicates of the Chadic languages contain two syntactical elements which are widespread in the structure of Chadic sentences, i.e. existential predicate and copula.

3. Existential predicate

The exponents of existential meaning do not constitute a separate lexico-syntactical category in Chadic. To recognize their nature and function and to point out the role of particles in expressing existentiality, some general remarks on the other types of constructions should be made first.

3.1. Verbal predicates

The non-verbal sentences are not the only means of expressing the above mentioned meanings in Chadic languages. As it has been stated for the Hausa language (Ceesay, 1990: 7), "both ideas –'being' and 'having'– can be also expressed by means of verbs, but the semantic characteristic of those verbs includes also different meanings other than 'to be' and 'to have', e.g. the verb *zamā* means not only 'to be', but also 'to become', 'to dwell', 'to remain' and the verb *māllakà*, besides implying possession means 'to rule'". In Kanakuru, too, the equational sentences may be formed by using a true verb 'to become' instead of non-verbal construction. Such replacement is strongly preferred in the sentences referring to the future action (Newman, 1974: 31).

In some Chadic languages there exist verbal constructions which are used to render the notion 'to be'. The status and the use of such existential verbs is interpreted differently for various languages. In Musgu the verb *na* 'to be' represents a special paradigm, different from the other verbs (with suppletive alternative forms in singular and plural, cf. Meyer-Bahlburg, 1972: 121). In Fyer the verb 'to be' has the following conjugational shapes:

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Singular: 1. ya 'I am' | Dual: kwa 'we are' |
| 2m. ha 'you are' | Plural: 1.incl. ka 'we are' |
| 2f. sha 'you are' | 1.excl. ya...nyí 'we are' |
| 3m. ma 'he is' | 2. wa 'you are' |
| 3f. ta 'she is' | 3. min 'they are' |

(Jungraithmayr, 1970: 71)

Such conjugation is interesting in this sense that it differs from the pattern applied to the common verbs which remain unchanged.²

The languages which have the verb 'to be' in their lexical resources also display the feature of 'not independent' character of these words on syntactical level. They are regarded as defective verbs and mostly function as auxiliaries in grammatical systems. The Lamang *xà* 'exist' is a defective verb for verbal existential sentences, because its use is restricted to some aspectual forms (i.e. to the aorist and the preterite of the aorist, cf. Wolff, 1983: 234). The Buduma verb expressing the meaning 'to be' has some alternative forms (phonetical variants), i.e. *kol*, *kul*, *ko*, *ku*. Its main function is to form the continuous aspect (Lukas, 1939: 55), similarly to the verb *li*³ in Logone (Lukas, 1936: 42). The Ngizim introducer of predicate and locative sentences *àa* does not belong to the class of verbs and it is also used as the marker of imperfective aspect, e.g.:

- N. *mâamáu áa vèdà* 'the children are outside'
(children-are-outside)
- N. *máayìm àa ráwà* 'the boy is running'
(boy-IMPERF-running)

(Schuh, 1981: 1)

2 "Die Konjugation erfolgt nicht am Verbalstamm, der grundsätzlich in allen 10 Personen unverändert bleibt, sondern nur durch das vorantretende Subjektspräfix" (Jungraithmayr, 1970: 65).

3 This verb has also its negative lexical counterpart *šen* 'not to be'.

However, there are also some other verbs which render the existential meaning, e.g. *kasàncē* in Hausa, *bunda* in Musgu, *náy, dáy, yò* in Daffo-Butura. They form a regular conjugational paradigm and, as it has been stated for Hausa, they are rather rarely used in constructions expressing existentiality (Ceessay, 1990: 25).

3.2. Non-verbal predicates

The language material discussed here is insufficient to draw general conclusions concerning the nature of existential constructions in Chadic languages, but the data assembled seem to suggest that "to be" in existential meaning is expressed by special lexical exponents in all of them. Structurally, the exponents of existentiality may be situated somewhere on the periphery of the regular grammatical systems. If they are not regular (though defective) verbs, they represent a special category of semi-verbs, pseudo-verbs or verbals. In some grammars they are classified as the particles. Such strong differences in terminology reflect not only the different grammatical status of these words in contemporary languages but also their diversified etymology. They are characterized by the fact that they always occur without aspectual marking common to verbs. They are used to render the meaning 'there is/there are', e.g. in Hausa it is non-aspect verbal *àkwai* (Kraft, Kraft, 1973: 345), in Margi 'the pseudo-verb *á'ì* (Hoffmann, 1963: 227), in Gude *tá'ì* which is termed the existential predicate of non-verbal sentences (Hoskinson, 1983: 62); in Kera it is the existential predicate *yan* situated on the list of particles (Ebert, 1979: 256). In Pero – it is the particle *kám* (Frajzyngier, 1989: 205), in Kanakuru *yiki* which is structurally interpreted as the preposition *yi* 'at/with' and the anaphora marker *k(i)* (Newman, 1974: 33). The defective verb *xà* of Lamang has a double form *xàxà* in alternative existential constructions. Apart from it (and from verbal construction with *xà* 'exist') there is non-verbal means to express existentiality in Lamang, i.e. *dé*. In these and the other languages such words represent simply the expression of existence which is equivalent to the expression 'there is/are' or more precisely 'there exist(s)', e.g.

H. *àkwai kudī* = K. *ayim yiki* 'there is money'. N. *naa beeza* 'there is salt' (*beeza*'salt'), Ke. *pépé yaŋ* 'the God exists'. The existential predicate in Tera consists, like in some other languages, of the marker *a*, which precedes the particle (*nde*), e.g. T. *guno-ku a nde* 'there are goats'. The marker *a* is presented as an obligatory element, but one has to mention, that in some types of constructions it is absent.⁴

The existential predicates like those mentioned above may be negated not only by means of the negative particle characteristic of a given language, but also by separate lexemes, e.g.:

| | There is/are | There is/are not |
|-------|--------------|------------------|
| Hausa | ákwai | bābù (bâ ...) |
| Kera | yaŋ | paapá |
| Gude | tə'i | pooshi |

To stress the typological differences of Chadic existential predicates it is worth mentioning that there is no identity in their syntactical features. In Margi the subject usually precedes *á'ì*, but with subject pronouns inversion is possible, e.g.:

M. *ími á'ì* 'there is water'

M. *á'ì já* 'he is present' (in a reply).

(Hoffman, 1963: 227-228)

In some languages the difference in word order between the verbal and non-verbal sentences is to be noted. The existential

4 P. Newman states in his grammar of Tera (Newman, 1970, p. 24): "A proper explanation of the distribution, function and semantic content (if any) of *a* will have to await further research".

predicates (particles) may precede their subject noun phrases in languages with SVO word order.⁵ This is to compare:

H.: a) *yârā sun tâfi cikin gidā* 'the boys went into the house'
(boys-they PAST-go-/to/ the house)

b) *âkwai yârā cikin gidā* 'there are boys in the house'
(there are-boys-/in/ the house)

3.3. The function of existential predicate

Apart from existential constructions *par excellence*, the existential predicates are also used in *l o c a t i v e* sentences with indefinite subject,⁶ e.g.:

G. *tə'i nwanwu də Gyala* 'there is a chief at Gella'
(there is-chief-at-Gella)

(Hoskinson, 1983: 71)

H. *âkwai kōfā kusa dà tågà* 'there is a door near
the window'
(there is-door-near-to-window)

The existential predicate may also form the base of *p o s s e s s i v e* constructions. In Ngizim it is simply the same *nàa* phrase predicate as in existential sentences but with noun phrase subject, i.e. *naa kwaara* 'there is a donkey', (cf. *ci naa kwaara* 'you have a donkey'). In Hausa a possible way to express possession is the existential particle *âkwai/dā* and the prepositional phrase (usually with *gà/gàrē* 'in the presence of'), e.g.:

H. *âkwai kudī gàrē shì* 'he has money'
(there are-money-in the possession of-him)

5 The source material allows to make such a statement for Hausa and, occasionally, for Margi; initial position of existential expressions in Lamang and Gude is the same as of verbal predicates.

6 Structurally, the locative sentences can be analyzed as being of two different types; cf. English *there is a man at the door* and *the man is at the door*. On semantic ground, the sentences with locative predicates and indefinite subjects serve as existential expressions, while those with definite subjects are some kinds of equational sentences.

H. dà mōtā̀ gārē shì 'he has a car'
(there is-car-in the possession of-him)

The use of the existential predicate *tə'i* (and its negative equivalent *pooshi*) in Gude is the only way to express the meaning 'to have', 'to possess' (Hoskinson, 1983: 72), e.g.:

G. tə'i minə nga Kwali 'Kwalia has a wife'
(there is-wife-of-Kwalia)

In Fyer, which has no existential predicate of non-verbal character, the verb 'to be' (see above) (and the preposition *ti* 'with') is used in possessive constructions, e.g.:

F. yít ta ti ra 'she has a husband'
(she-she is-with-husband)

(Jungrathmayr, 1970: 77)

The existential predicate must not be regarded as a structural basis for possessive construction. The Kera language, for which the existential particle is also postulated, does not use it in the possessive constructions, e.g.:

Ke. ye dè bèké àblàw 'they have many goods (cattle)'
(they-with-cattle-many)

(Ebert, 1979: 214)

In Kanakuru, too, the exponent of possession is quite different from that postulated for existentiality (see below). In Margi the existential predicate *á'ì* appears in possessive construction, but only in its negative form; in this case it is the initial part of general negative marker, e.g.:

M. céde á'ì aráyú mài 'I don't have money'
(money-NEG with me-NEG)

M. mbày àràjà 'he has cassava'
(cassava with him)

(Hoffman, 1963: 241)

3.4. The etymology of existential predicates

The morphological structure which may reveal the etymology of such expressions is not always clear, but in some cases it is possible to recognize their complex nature, e. g. the Lamang 'xàxà, 'there is' contain the verb *xà* 'to be, to exist'. The alternative means to express existentiality, i.e. *dé* is simply the overt subject marker of the 3rd person singular, which is suffixed to the modified stem of the predicative noun, e.g. *mákwádé* 'there is a girl' (Wolff, 1983: 222). A possible construction combines these two means to express the notion 'to be', i.e. *xàd(è)*, *xàxàd(è)*, e.g. *xàxàd...re?*. 'is there...?', *xàxàdè* 'yes, there is' (Wolff, 1983: 234). In Logone the existential predicate is based on the verb *li* 'to be'; it has the singular form *nā-li* 'there is' and the plural form *tā-li* 'there are' (Lukas, 1936: 42). Etymologically, the Margi *á ì* might consist of the preposition *a*- and the noun 'ì' 'ground, earth, soil, country' (Hoffmann, 1963: 228). The Kanakuru existential construction is formed with the preposition *yi* 'at/with' and the anaphora marker *k(i)*: it is then *yiki* (Newman, 1974: 33).

Following the data presented above, the sources for Chadic expressions of existence may be established as follows:

- the verb 'to be',
- the prepositional phrase (with the preposition *a*),
- anaphora marker,
- personal pronoun.

The language evidence presented up to now is to demonstrate that an existential predicate, though typical of the Chadic languages,⁷ on typological level has less in common in various lan-

7 On the ground of this feature the Chadic languages are not to be contrasted with many other languages in which this type of predicate occurs, too, e.g. English *there is/are*.

guages. The diachronical aspect of typological comparison is that the etymology of non-verbal predicate is to be established independently for each language.

4. Copula

4.1. Typological differentiation of the constructions with copula

Copula is a non-verbal part of sentence which connects a subject and the complement. There are two kinds of copulas: the first one connects the subject and the predicate which are expressed in the surface structure; the second one is met in the clauses with indefinite subject. In the latter case the subject is not expressed and the copula belongs syntactically to the predicate. Some of the copulas of the Chadic languages may occur only in one type of clauses, but there are also languages in which the copula is identical in both types of clauses.

Not all languages under consideration have the copulas distinguished independently in their grammatical systems. According to the descriptions of these languages (see the Bibliography), the copula which is sometimes termed as 'verbal particle' or 'stabilizer',⁸ exists in Hausa, Lamang, Bidiya, some Ron languages, Bole-Tangale languages⁹ and Mupun. The first languages mentioned have the forms of their copula *nē/cē*, *-ya* and *'a* respectively, e.g.:

H. *sarkī nē* 'it is a king'
(king-COP)

L. *káríyá* 'it is a dog' (*káré* 'dog')
(dogCOP)

8 The descriptions in French prefer to use the term 'actualisateur', the Polish 'łącznik' is etymologically related to 'joining' function of this morpheme.

9 Copula is not overtly distinguished in the description of Bole-Tangale languages (cf. R. Schuh, 1978), but for Gera and Geruma the marker *a* is presented as an exponent of identificational sentences (p. 78).

F. *yís-a* 'it is him'
(he-COP)

In the above examples with indefinite subject, the copula occupies post-predicate position of the clause.

However, in the other languages the copula precedes the predicate, e.g.:

Ga. *á naa* 'its me'
(COP-I)

The structure of sentences with the definite subject is not to establish for all languages in the same way. In Hausa the copula is used in the final position, e.g.:

H. *Mūsā mālāmī nè* 'Musa is a teacher'
(Musa-teacher-COP)

In Mupun the copula *a* occupies the position between the subject and the predicate, e.g.:

Mp.: *miskóom á náàt* 'the chief is a white man'
(chief-COP-white man)

(Frajzyngier, 1986: 377)

In Bidiya the copula is attested only in such constructions in which it occupies the intermediate position between the subject and the predicate, but some variant forms are noted:

Bi. *ɲanda 'á miidò* 'this is a man'

ɲanda 'ákà 'ulnyóok 'he is beautiful'

What concerns the syntactical features of the copula in particular languages, they have less in common with one another.

In Hausa the copula is a kind of an enclitic particle. The tone of its single syllable is opposite to the tone of the preceding syllable. It is also a gender-marked particle. In the clauses consisting of a single noun the copula varies according to gender/number of the noun. It is *cē* if the noun is feminine (in singular), *nē* otherwise,

i.e. *yārò nē* 'it is a boy', *àkwiyà cē* 'it is a goat'. In the other type of sentences, a subject nominal is followed by a predicate nominal and then followed by *nē/cē*, e.g. *Audu yārò nē*. The choice of the proper form of the particle is determined generally by the head noun of the subject, but in some cases also by the head noun of the predicate.¹⁰

In Bidiya, the differentiation between the variant forms of copula reflects the gender/number distinction, i.e. *'ákà* is for singular masculine, *'átà* for singular feminine, *'ákà* for plural. In the same way the distinction is marked in the determiners *kà*, *tà*, *kù*.

In Lamang there is a suffixed copula *'ya* which varies according to the differentiation of the sentence between definite predicate noun phrase and indefinite noun phrase. The distinction in terms of definiteness is marked by the stem selection for the predicate noun: definite predicate nouns take their modified noun stem, i.e. the stem ending in *-á/*, indefinite predicate nouns take the simple stem (Wolff, 1983: 219). Phonetical processes result in the characteristic endings of the predicative nouns: *-íyá* for indefinite nouns and *-áyà*, *-éyà* for definite ones, e.g.:

L. *kóró* + *'yá* = [*kóríyá*] 'it is a dog'

L. *mbík-á* + *'yá* = [*mbíkéyà*] 'it is the jackal'

(Wolff, 1983: 88)

In Fyer the copula *-a* (*-a*) is suffixed to nouns or personal pronouns with no distinction of gender/number. The variant forms such as *yín-a/yín-na* 'it is me' and *yít-a/yít-ta* 'it is she' are explained to be a result of assimilating process while connecting *-n* or *-t* with *-a* (Jungraithmayr, 1970: 76). What is interesting, in the other Ron language (i.e. Bokkos) a verbal particle (*Verbalpartikel*) *'á* is distinguished, function of which seems to be similar to *'a* of Fyer. It is, however, a prefixed, not a suffixed particle, e.g.:

10 The particular motivation for the selection of *nē* or *cē* is discussed in F. W. Parsons (1963: 166-207) as well as in P. Schachter (1966: 34-37).

Bo. 'á 'atin 'it is a nose'
(COP ?-nose)

What has been claimed to be a copula in Bolewa (Frajzyngier, 1986: 372), occupies the same syntactic position as a preposition. Similarly, the data of Logone provide us with an example of the preposition in the function of copula, e.g.:

L. *ɲkénehī na lebūnatan* '(your) skin is your clothes'
(skin-COP-your clothes)

With nominal phrases, the preposition *na* is used to render the meaning 'on, in, at, from' (Lukas, 1936: 55).

Pero is supposed not to have a copula, but some of the functions of copula are carried by the particle *īC-* (C is identical with the first consonant of the following item) (Frajzyngier, 1989: 103).

4.2. Quasi-copula and its 'overt' etymology

In some languages in which there is no copula, the existence of 'a quasi-copula' is postulated to connect subject and predicate. It means that what functionally is a copula, structurally is related to other grammatical and lexical items. For Margi the personal pronoun *nàjà* (and the plural *nàndà*) has such function, together with *ɲú*, *ɲ*, *jàɲú*, *jàɲ* which are related to the demonstrative,¹¹ e.g.:

M. *hyà kù nàjà màlà* 'this dog is a bitch'
(dog-this-PRON.3m.sg.-bitch)

M. *fàtì_ ɲ* 'it is a lie'
(lie-DEM)

M. *nàndà nú = nàndà_ ɲ* 'it is they'
(they-DEM)

(Hoffmann, 1963: 89)

11 It is a reconstructed demonstrative *ɲú* (used mostly in its shorter form *ɲ*) suffixed to nouns or pronouns to indicate that they are used as a predicate. As a demonstrative it is found only in a few words, e.g. *ùwəɲ* 'here' (Hoffmann, 1963: 88).

Etymologically demonstrative, but structurally the relative pronoun *za* is the possible means to render the meaning 'to be' (in equational sense) in Tera, e.g. *zeman za Dala* 'his name (is) / Dala' (Newman, 1970: 63).

The nominal predicate in Musgu is introduced by the subject pronoun, e.g.:

Mu. *muta mu Alau* 'I am the God'
(I-PRON 1sg.-God)

(Meyer-Bahlburg, 1972: 171)

The personal pronouns may occur in non-verbal sentences in the function of copula in some other languages, but mostly in form of s.c. person-aspect pronouns which form the conjugational prefixes typical of Chadic. They usually vary according to gender/number of the subject, e.g.:

H. *yārò yanà cikin gidā* 'the boy is in the house'
(boy-P/A PRON 3 m.sg.-in-house)

H. *yârâ sunà cikin gidā* 'the boys are in the house'
(boys-P/A PRON 3 pl.-in-house)

Similarly to Hausa, Kanakuru also makes use of person-aspect pronouns (labelled as tense pronouns or auxiliaries, Newman, 1974: 31) to form the non-verbal predicates. A noun (or noun phrase) follows immediately such person-aspect pronoun. But differently to Hausa, in which only the person-aspect pronouns of continuative aspect may occur in such constructions, the Kanakuru non-verbal clauses make use of the markers of all the tenses, e.g.:

K. *m̀̀n duwo-mu anomaləmi* 'we (habitually) are the teachers'
(we-P/A PRON habitual-teachers)

(Newman, 1974: 31)

A special type of copula represents the Hausa variant of *ne/ce* (see 4.1.), i.e. *k̀̀ nan*. In its structure an exponent of relative continuous aspect (*k̀̀*) and the demonstrative (*nan*) is to be recognized, e.g. *nī k̀̀ nan* 'it is me'.

The markers which represent the copula (and its equivalents) in various Chadic languages may be presented in the following chart:

| Language | Copula | Quasi-copula related to | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| | | Demonstr. (Relative) | Pronoun | Preposition | Subject Marker |
| BIDIYA | 'á ákà/átà/ ákú | | | | |
| BOLE-TAN GALE lgs Gera Galambu | a a | | | | |
| BUDUMA | – | | | | |
| BOLEWA | a | | | | |
| GUDE | | | | | na |
| HAUSA | nē/cē kè nan | | p/a pron. (cont.) | | |
| KANAKURU | – | | p/a pron. | | |
| LAMANG | 'ya | | | | |
| LOGONE | – | | | na | |
| MARGI | – | nú. ń | nàjà nàndà | | |
| MUSGU | – | | s u b j e c t pron. | | |
| MUPUN | () a | | | | |

| Language | Copula | Quasi-copula related to | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| | | Demonstr. (Relative) | Pronoun | Preposition | Subject Marker |
| PERO | -(iC) | | | | |
| RON Bokkos Daffo-Butura Fyer | 'á -à -a | | | | |
| TERA | (ke) | za | | | |

4.3. The semantic functions of copula

What concerns the semantic function, the most common type of constructions with copula is the clause labelled as 'it is X', i.e. the constructions implying *i d e n t i f i c a t i o n*. On semantic ground, identification is a kind of equational meaning, which is expressed by a clause with indefinite subject. In this type of clauses the 'true' copula as well as 'quasi-copula' is to be met (cf. the copulas of Lamang, Fyer and Hausa and the demonstrative of Margi).

Other type of constructions with copula has the structure 'X is Y', i.e. the constructions expressing *i d e n t i t y*. The term *e q u a t i o n a l* clauses is being applied mostly to this type of expressions. There are two kinds of such constructions: nominal and adjectival clauses. In both of them the Hausa copula *nē/cē* is usually present in final position, e.g.:

H. Mūsā mālāmī nē 'Musa is a teacher'
(Musa-teacher-COP)

H. Wannàn rānā mūhimiyā cē 'this day is important'
(this-day-important-COP)

One has to notice that the copula of identificational meaning is not always used in equational clauses. The copula of Lamang is supposed to function only in identificational meaning (equality is expressed by word order only). What concerns the Fyer language, the examples usually given to illustrate the equational meaning of copula *-a* (Jungrathmayr, 1963: 76) may be interpreted differently. In such sentences the verb 'to be' is inserted between the subject and predicate element. The copula suffixed to the subject seems to represent the sentence with focus construction, e.g.:

F. *yis-a ma doóhò* 'he is your father'
(he-COP-he is-your father)

(Jungrathmayr, 1970: 77)

In Margi, the copula of equational sense is based on the pronoun, but that of identificational meaning on the demonstrative.

Both types of equational constructions seem to have the same exponents in the languages analyzed. However, the examples of Musgu suggest the possibility of different exponents in nominal and adjectival predicate (the case of adjectival predicate with the verb 'to be', see below).

The person-aspect pronouns are also used to form the clauses of equational meaning. In Hausa and Kanakuru the constructions are typologically similar, i.e.:

H. *kanà shùgàbā* 'you are a leader'
(P/A PRON.2m.sg. cont.-leader)

K. *Musa shii namaləm* 'Musa is a teacher'
(Musa-P/A PRON.3m.sg.cont.-teacher)

One type more of equational copula has been claimed to exist in Chadic. It is a *l o c a t i v e* copula which functions as an equivalent of 'to be' in the clauses of the type 'X is at Y', e.g.:

F. *yis-a-à-táá* 'he is there'
(he-COP-in-there)

Bo. kòún à gá àmá 'a buffalo is in the water'
(buffalo-COP-in-water)

The problem of existence of locative copula in Chadic still seems to be under discussion. The majority of languages do not have a locative copula. It is postulated for Fyer and¹² Bolewa. The examples as presented above are to confirm it. The syntactically independent status of locative copula should be testified by the analysis of the whole grammatical system of these languages. The language data that are possible to obtain up to now allow to distinguish such a type of copula in Chadic. Two structurally similar examples of Fyer containing the verb 'to be' (*ma/taa/min*) on the one hand, and copula on the other, speak in favour of the above proposal:

F. ma-á-na 'he is here'
(he is-in-here)

F. yis-a-à-táá 'he is there'
(he-COP-in-there)

(Jungraithmayr, 1963: 78)

The locative meaning of the constructions discussed here may be expressed by the use of person-aspect pronouns. The examples come from Hausa and Kanakuru, the very closely related languages. In Hausa the person-aspect pronouns of the continuous are followed by a locative complement, just like in Kanakuru; but unlike in Hausa, Kanakuru makes use of all the tense pronouns, e.g.:

H. yārò yanà gidā 'the boy is in the house'
(boy-P/A PRON cont.-house)

K. Ngoje shii mōna 'Ngoje is at home'
(Ngoje-P/A PRON cont.-home)¹³

(Newman, 1974: 33)

12 Cf. Z. Frajzyngier, From Preposition to Copula, *Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 12, 1986, pp. 371-386.

13 In Kanakuru, the locative construction requires the deletion of the continuous tense pronouns with inanimate subjects (Newman, 1974: 33).

This type of locative clauses is semantically related to equational constructions with the definite subject.

The language material presented up to now allows to regard the equational meaning as the main semantic function of the copula in Chadic. On syntactical level, there is also another type of construction typical of Chadic which makes use of copula. It is a *f o c u s c o n s t r u c t i o n*. The base for its structure is the copula in identificational meaning, e.g.:

H. *yārò nē* 'it is a boy'
(boy-COP)

H. *yārò nē ya zō* 'it is the boy who came'
(boy-FOC-he came)

The copula of Lamang is rather difficult to recognize in focus construction. But according to E. Wolff (1983) it is found in the structures analyzed in diachronical terms. The suffix of the focused nouns *-é* (a high tone stressed vowel) is morphologically defined as originating from a "definite" copula construction in which the noun takes the form of the modified stem which is followed by the suffixed copula *-'ya*. The emergence of the final *-é* is explainable through systematic contraction of the final and prefinal syllables, or by deletion of the final vowel of the suffix, i.e.:

L. *mákw-á + 'ya* > **mákway* > [makwe(e)] 'it is the girl'
(Wolff, 1983: 96)

The contrastive focus construction in Margi is formed with a demonstrative pronoun and in this function it is similar to the construction of identificational meaning, e.g.:

M. *nì ñ_ átsíanyi* 'I am the one who killed him, I killed him'
(I-DEM-I killed him)

(Hoffman, 1963: 89)

The exponents of equality discussed here are also used to form the *p o s s e s s i v e* constructions. It is characteristic of them that the 'true' copulas are not used in such type of expressions. In Hausa and Kanakuru they are formed with the person-aspect pronouns of

the continuous followed by a prepositional phrase (which has a preposition 'with'), e.g.:

H. *yārò yanà dà dōkì* 'the boy has a horse'
(boy-P/A PRON.3m.sg.cont.-with-horse)

K. *Ngoje shii gən dok* 'Ngoje has a horse'
(Ngoje-P/A PRON.3m.sg.cont.-with-horse)

(Newman, 1974: 32)

4.4. Etymology of copula

The linguistic data discussed here show that the Chadic copula may be understood in two ways: a) as a 'true' copula with structurally and functionally independent marker, and b) as a 'quasi-copula' which is based on some other elements of syntactic structure of a given language.

What concerns the copula distinguished as an independent morpheme, its development may be related to the demonstratives in some languages, the clear examples provide Bidiya and Hausa. The morpheme *a* is attested in the function of copula for many other languages and one is tempted by this fact to reconstruct the copula in this form for Proto-Chadic. But this *a* is structurally different even in closely related languages. For some of them it is reconstructed as an *a* of prepositional function. It seems, that *a* may be regarded simply as stabilizer not on structural but on phonetical level of the utterance. In a fixed form it is recognized as a separate morpheme. For the Lamang -'ya and Hausa *kē* (nan), however, no etymology of this kind can be adopted.

The sources of 'quasi-copula' markers may be summarized as follows:

- personal pronouns,
- demonstratives,
- relative markers,
- person-aspect markers,
- prepositions.

In contemporary languages, the above devices used in function of copula may reveal structural independence in the relation to their 'original' function what is supported by phonetical differences between them. The basic element may not be used now, e.g. the demonstrative *ηú* of Margi, reconstructed only in this form, as such found in a few words.

Such elements submit the etymology of the copula. The 'true' copula and the 'quasi-copula' seem to represent the different stages of the process of grammaticalization in various languages. Typologically, the copula in identificational meaning has much in common with the demonstrative, the equational copula with the pronouns, and the locative copula with the preposition.

4.5. Equational sentences with the exponents of presentation

Presentation means identifying a given object and in this sense it covers the meaning similar to the existence. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that the identifying is usually accompanied by either showing the object or pointing to it (Ceessay, 1990: 20). Such meaning may be translated as 'here it is', 'there it is', 'this is'. The descriptions of the languages discussed give rather poor exemplification of the constructions expressing presentation, but the available data allow to conclude that such constructions contain a special exponent which is etymologically related to other words, e.g. in Kera the constructions *kána tó* 'here he is', *kəyáa kel kátán* 'this is my story' (Ebert, 1979: 216) are based on demonstratives (*kána* 'here', *kəyáa* 'this') and have no other "overt" markers of the existential meaning. The demonstratives *nú* (*η*) constitute also a basis for deictic sentences in Margi which are marked by *jànú* (*jàn*). In Kulere (the Ron language) three different exponents (pointing to the gender/number distinction) represent the same type of constructions, i.e. *mú-nò* (m.sg.), *mú-nò* (f. sg.), *mi-nyò* (pl.). They are also related to the demonstratives (*mana*, *munu*, *mini* respectively), e.g. *'ayán mánò* 'this is a hole', *kòd munò* 'this is a hen', *ayánègy mínyò* 'these are holes' (Jungraithmayr, 1970: 321).

Demonstratives are classified within the nominal class of words in Chadic. Various types of sentences which express the presentation are structurally identical with the equational sentences and the exponents of presentation fill either the predicate or the subject position of the sentence.

Some kind of different exponent of presentation exists in Hausa. It is *gà* which probably has etymological reference to the verb *gani* 'to see', e.g. *gà ruwā* 'here is water'.

5. Historical implications of present-day evidences

5.1. Typological data

It becomes evident from the data presented here that the structural basis of the expressions denoting 'to be' in Chadic is different in various languages. On the other hand, the same (from typological point of view) devices are used to render the different meanings. The structure of these relationships may be presented in the following way:

| Exponent | Meaning |
|-----------------------|---|
| Existential particle: | existentiality location possession |
| Copula: | identification focus construction equality (identity and description) location (?) |
| Demonstrative: | identification focus construction presentation |

| Exponent | Meaning |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Personal pronoun: | equality |
| Person-aspect pronoun: | equality location possession |
| Preposition: | equality location |

Thus, the means to express various aspects of the notion 'to be' as well as 'to have' in Chadic may be typologically defined as follows:

| Meaning | Exponent |
|---------------------|--|
| Equality: | copula personal pronoun person-aspect pronoun preposition verb 'to be' |
| Identification: | copula demonstrative |
| Focus construction: | copula demonstrative |
| Existentiality: | verb 'to be' existential particle |
| Location: | existential particle person-aspect pronoun preposition copula (?) |

| Meaning | Exponent |
|---------------|---|
| Possession: | existential particle person-aspect pronoun |
| Presentation: | demonstrative deverbal particles |

The typologically distinctive features, which are to be noticed now, first of all concern the existential particle and the demonstrative. Both of these exponents represent the ways to express the notion 'to be' but not in an equational meaning. On the other hand, the copula (at least in the languages discussed) is not used to express existentiality.

What concerns the different aspects of the meaning labelled as 'to be', it is to note the typological similarity (with regard to the exponents) of the constructions expressing identification and the focus marker.

The possessive and locative expressions seem not to have their original exponents in Chadic. They are of derivational character and make use of the devices expressing existentiality and equality. Presentation is semantically and structurally based on deictic expressions.

The typological data allow to distinguish three basically different constructions which represent the structural differentiation of non-verbal clauses common to Chadic. They are *existential*, *equational* and *identificational* (focus) constructions. It is to mention, that the equational expressions may be constituted without any of the overt markers of equational meaning. The equality (identity or description) is then expressed simply by word order. It is characteristic of all the languages analyzed that they have such a possibility, used either exclusively or alternatively with the exponents mentioned earlier. For example, in Buduma it is the only way to express various aspects of equational meaning, e.g.:

B. dánemo kírdi 'he is a pagan'
(he-pagan)

(Lukas, 1939: 75)

For Musgu it is defined as one possible way to mark the nominal predicate (the subject pronouns and the verb 'to be' represent the other ways), e.g.:

Mu. àtǎŋ Túpúri 'he is a Tupuri'
(he-Tupuri)

cf. Mu. muta mu Alau 'I am the God'
(I-PRON 1sg.-God)

Mu. mú ná mǎéfǎŋ 'I am not well'
(I-am-ill)

(Meyer-Bahlburg, 1972: 170-171)

6. Proposals for reconstruction of non-verbal expressions

The typological data discussed here suggest the importance of some types of constructions in historical perspective. The language material presented above allows to divide the means of expressing the meaning 'to be' and 'to have' into two groups:

- a) the constructions which may be regarded as 'basic' ones.
- b) the periphrastic constructions based on some other basic expressions (grammatical devices),

The 'basic' types of constructions have been distinguished as those expressing existentiality, equality and identity. The examples of the languages included into the present analysis show that the non-verbal exponents of the notion 'to be' (as well as 'to have') are not to be assigned to the proto-Chadic system. They have developed in the Chadic languages on the basis of other grammatical and lexical devices. They may be defined as follows:

- demonstrative,
- personal pronoun,
- person-aspect pronoun,

- anaphora marker,
- preposition,
- prepositional phrase.

What concerns the copula and the existential particle, it seems that they are also of derivative nature and may not be reconstructed as syntactically independent units in proto-Chadic. In contemporary languages they represent some different stages of grammaticalization processes. A typological feature of the variety of their structure and etymology may support the statement that they have developed independently in the Chadic languages. Some language data speak in favour of the existence of the verb 'to be' in Chadic language heritage.

7. Archaic and non-productive forms

As it has been stated earlier, some exponents of non-verbal sentences are still the meaningful items or are undoubtedly related to them. What concerns the copula used in identificational meaning, the available data show that the demonstrative may serve as such a counterpart.¹⁴ The languages which have such means of expression preserve such archaism (in Margi, as in the example presented on p. 17, the different functions of the demonstrative are reflected in its phonetical variants). The copula of equational meaning and the locative copula seem to be an innovation based either on the analogy with the identificational constructions or on the other sources. All the languages taken into consideration may express the equality with nominal predicate simply by juxtaposition of two basic elements. Such expressions may represent the archaic type of nominal sentences. In Hausa, which developed at least three different exponents of equality (copula *nē/cē* and *kē nan*, person-

14 The question of what is the source and what is its derivational product does not exist while discussing the copula and its counterparts in various contemporary languages. The problem arises in establishing the relation between the copula and the focus marker (see Frajzyngier, 1986: 383).

aspect pronouns), the juxtaposition occurs in specific kinds of texts (proverbs, maxims, etc.):

H. haifùwā māgànin mutuwà
 (birth-medicine of-death)
 'the birth (is) a medicine for the death'

Kanakuru equational sentences (with nominal as well as with locative predicates) are formed in the same way, but only in the case when the subject is inanimate. In terms of the transformational grammar it is interpreted as the deletion of the tense pronouns (since the other equational constructions make use of them, cf. Newman, 1974: 33), but from the diachronical point of view they probably represent the old type of construction, e.g.:

K. takini goro panda 'the shoes are under the mat'
 (shoes-under-mat)

cf. K. tɪŋai shèe nemna gən kurnje
 (ewe-she is-close-with-baobab)
 'the ewe is close to the baobab'

The possessive constructions, for which the existential or equational exponents serve usually as a source, have no the overt predicative marker in some languages. It seems that such non-verbal expressions which make use of the prepositions only (mostly 'with') may be regarded as the common Chadic archaism, e.g.:

Ke. ye dè bèké àblàw 'they have many goods (cattle)'
 (they-with-cattle-many)

(Ebert, 1979: 214)

Kanakuru has two kinds of expressions: those with and without the tense pronouns. However, those two constructions have quite different meaning, e.g.:

K. Ngójè shii gán dók 'Ngoje has a horse'
 (Ngoje-he is-with-horse)

K. Ngójè gán dók 'Ngoje and the horse'
 (Ngoje-with-horse)

(Newman, 1974: 32)

The personal pronoun with the function of possessive exponent seems to be innovation not only in Kanakuru but in some other Chadic languages.

The archaisms in Chadic non-verbal sentences support the investigations concerning the nature and development of grammatical morphemes in many world languages. The archaisms in terms of Chadic structural exceptions seem to be represented by the existence of the verb 'to be'. In languages for which it is attested, either it reveals the feature of irregularity or has an ambiguous status within the grammatical system. Because of verbal inflexion in its paradigm (the case of Fyer, also of Musgu), it may represent the old type of Chadic existential construction.¹⁵

8. Final remarks

Verbal exponents expressing the notions 'to be' and 'to have' in Chadic need further research as the new Chadic languages are being discovered and documented. The present analysis was concentrated on non-verbal exponents of a representative group of languages. A thorough investigation of the language data seems to indicate that all non-verbal clauses in Chadic can be considered as innovations.

15 Interesting examples are to be found in Musgu in which the verb 'to be, to exist' is used in equational sentences but not with the nominal predicate, e.g.: M. *mú ná mēfēŋ* 'I am not well' (lit. I-am-ill), M. *mú Mùjùk* 'I am Musgu (man)' (lit. I-Musgu man), M. *mú ná à màgy plis* 'I am on the horse' (lit. I-am-on-head of-horse). The question is whether the verb *ná* '(I) am' in Musgu belongs to s.c. quality verbs, widely represented in West African languages (cf. Ceesay, 1990: 6). Poor exemplification of this feature in the language evidence analysed does not allow to support such a statement for Musgu and for other Chadic languages.

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR NAMES OF LANGUAGES

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| B. Buduma | L. Lamang |
| Bi. Bidiya | Lo. Logone |
| Bo. Bolewa | M. Margi |
| F. Fyer | Mp. Mupun |
| G. Gude | Mu. Musgu |
| Ga. Galambu | N. Ngizim |
| H. Hausa | P. Pero |
| K. Kanakuru | T. Tera |
| Ke. Kera | |

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