# Chapter 3

# Nominal affixing in the Kainji languages of northwestern and central Nigeria

Roger M. Blench
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge

The Kainji languages of northwest and central Nigeria remain little-researched and sparsely described. Their nominal morphology strongly resembles Bantu typologically, but finding segmental cognates remains problematic. They show systems of alternating prefixes and alliterative concord, as well as diminutive and augmentative prefixes and CV- prefixes with underspecified vowels, where the -V of the prefix harmonises with the stem vowel. The limited segmental cognates point to radical restructuring through affix loss and renewal. Indeed one language, Shen, has lost all nominal morphology and it is severely reduced in some branches. Reshe is typologically similar to other Kainji languages, but the affixes seem to have been completely restructured. The paper presents an overview of the literature on Kainji and then describes the nominal affixing in individual branches. It concludes by suggesting what hypotheses can be made about the Kainji system as a whole.

## 1 Introduction: the Kainji languages

Kainji (formerly Plateau 1a,b) is a family of some eighty languages or lects spoken in northwestern and central Nigeria. A large subset of these, the East Kainji languages, are spoken north and west of the Jos Plateau and are geographically separate from the other branches. Rowlands (1962); Greenberg (1963); Gerhardt (1989) and Crozier & Blench (1992) treat 'East Kainji' and 'West Kainji' as a primary division of the family, but there is no linguistic evidence to support this. Kainji languages are characterised by an extremely diverse morphology and relatively low percentages of common lexical items. It is only comparatively recently that their unity and distinctiveness have been recognised. They form one branch

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of the East Benue-Congo family,[1] itself a major division of Niger-Congo, and their nearest relatives are Plateau and Jukunoid (Williamson 1971; 1989; Williamson & Blench 2000).

Typologically, Kainji languages are difficult to characterise, but the more conservative branches have both nominal and verbal morphology highly reminiscent of Bantu (as indeed the *-tu* root for 'person'). The nominal systems are characterised by alternating affixes and concord on adjectives and some numerals. In some branches these affixes have either collapsed or been heavily restructured, resulting in contrastive consonant length as well as alternating C- prefixes, and rare systems of double-affixing. At least one language, Shen, has lost all trace of nominal affixes and has compensated by evolving a complex tonal inventory. The alternating affixes of one language, Reshe, show almost no segmental cognates with the remainder of the group and an innovative system must somehow have developed. Some branches have complex verbal morphology highly reminiscent of Bantu, with verbs taking long strings of suffixes. Word order is typically S (AUX) V O. Kainji languages are grossly under-represented in standard typological sources such as WALS and the summaries of existing material are quite inaccurate.

Most of the West Kainji languages are still commonly spoken, which is surprising, given that some are encapsulated by Hausa (McGill & Blench 2012). However, East Kainji languages, with few exceptions, are severely threatened and some have disappeared in recent decades. A few Kainji languages have significant numbers of speakers, but most populations are under 10,000. Western Kainji languages have been the subject of numerous literacy projects and these community initiatives appear to be sustainable, but Kainji languages otherwise have a very low profile in the media.

The human geography of Kainji-speaking peoples is very striking. As Figure 1 shows, there are outliers of Kainji spoken near Makurdi, far from the likely homeland area in the northwest. It is likely that the dispersal of the Basa peoples is a consequence of the destructive effects of the nineteenth century slave-raiding era, although this is not confirmed by recorded oral traditions. However, the twentieth century has also seen important migrations. The Hun-Saare peoples

[1]This term has a tortuous history. Originally 'Benue-Congo' included Plateau, Kainji, Jukunoid, Cross River and Bantoid. Later 'Benue-Congo' was expanded to include 'Eastern Kwa', i.e. Yoruboid, Edoid, etc. Williamson & Blench (2000) subsequently divided Benue-Congo into two branches: West and East. The West branch consisted of the previous 'Eastern Kwa' while the East branch consisted of the previous 'Benue-Congo' languages. Thus, 'East Benue-Congo' used here is equivalent to the original 'Benue-Congo' used in the literature from the 1960s to the 1990s.

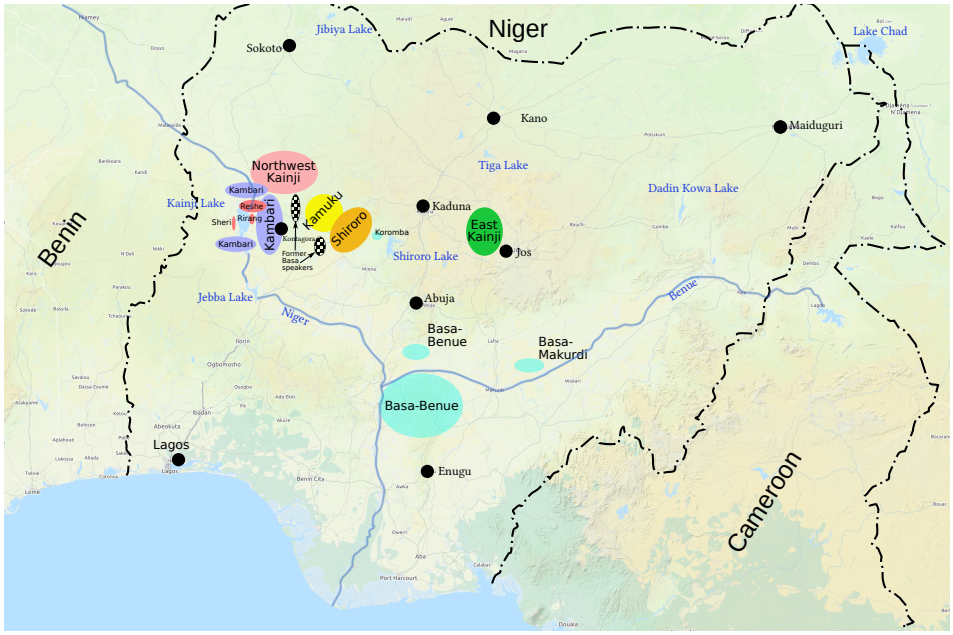


Figure 1: : The Kainji languages. Background map © OpenStreetMap contributors.

have formed a number of colonies outside their home area to take advantage of more fertile farmland.

Kainji languages are spoken in quite inaccessible areas, and even today, the home areas of many languages can be reached only through arduous motorbike trails. This explains why a comprehensive list of these languages is still to be established. The first attempt to compile a comparative Kainji wordlist was the work of Clark Regnier, a young SIL linguist who began surveys in the late 1980s. Clark was unfortunately the victim of a fatal motor accident in 1992. From the dry season of 2010, a joint programme to physically visit and record the speech of as many Kainji communities as possible has been undertaken by Roger Blench and Stuart McGill. Much of the data used in this paper was collected by the author and Stuart McGill in 2010-2012 and remains unpublished, although an extensive comparative wordlist is available online. At the same time, there has been considerable progress in the development of literacy in individual languages, strongly associated with literacy and bible translation projects (McGill & Blench 2012).

The first lexical material on a Kainji language appears to be the *Kambali* lists in Koelle (1854). Johnston (1919-22, I:732-746) noted that the noun-class systems of the 'Semi-Bantu' languages of northwestern Nigeria showed marked resemblances to those of the Bantu languages and published comparative wordlists linking Kamuku, Gurmana and Basa. Thomas (in Meek 1925, II:137) put the known West Kainji languages into 'Nigerian Semi-Bantu' but joined Lopa and Laru with Bariba in 'Volta' i.e. Gur. In the 1950s, Westermann & Bryan (1952: 70) largely followed Thomas, although recognising that Kambari, Hun-Saare [Duka], and possibly Kamuku and Lela [Dakarkari] were grouped together. These languages were then listed in a catch-all category 'class languages' under the general heading of 'isolated units'. The recognition that the group now known as West Kainji forms a genetic unit is due to Bertho (1952: 264-6) who asserted its coherence on the basis of unpublished wordlists. Bertho rejected the Gur affiliations of Lopa and Laru proposed by Thomas and stated that the affiliations of the '*groupe Kamberi*' were with central Nigerian Plateau languages. A nearly simultaneous classification was proposed by Greenberg (1955) who created a large Plateau group encompassing what would now be called East and West Kainji (as Plateau 1a and b) as well as Tarokoid and Jukunoid. The term Kainji was informally introduced in the 1980s but was established in an article on Plateau in the reference volume on Niger-Congo published at the end of the decade (Gerhardt 1989). No evidence was put forward to support the classification published. Since that date there has been a significant expansion of field data, most of it still in manuscript. The major unpublished sources are listed in Table 30 in the Appendix A.

As our knowledge of the Kainji languages has improved, we can better characterise their internal structure and relationships. The main points are:

1. The distinction established in Rowlands (1962) and Greenberg (1963) between 'East and West Kainji' (1a and 1b in Greenberg) has never been demonstrated and seems unlikely to be valid.

2. Kainji divides into a number of distinct subgroups, each with highly marked but extremely diverse morphological characteristics.

3. Although Proto-Kainji has structural properties similar to Proto-Bantu, segmental cognates of morphology are difficult to establish.

Figure 2 shows an abbreviated high-level subclassification of the Kainji languages, which proposes names for nodes at different classificatory levels. If further work confirms the tree outlined here then these names can either be adopted

or replaced by something more culturally appropriate. More detailed subclassifications of each major branch are given in the relevant numbered sections of §3 below.

Figure 2 arranges the subgroups of Kainji roughly west to east, except for East Kainji, and the arrangement of §3 follows the same ordering. For reasons of space, information about other aspects of these languages is very reduced and the material is strictly confined to the data available for actual languages and what can be reasonably reconstructed.

This chapter provides an overview of Kainji nominal affixes and associated concord systems. These are very similar to those described for Bantu and consist of (usually) a prefix on a noun root which marks number and which changes in the plural. Typically there is alliterative concord, where the corresponding affix on a qualifier (adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, lower numerals) shows agreement with the prefix. A couple of examples illustrate how this operates. The first example is from the Ut-Ma'in [Fakai] languages, described in Smith (2007). A typical alternating prefix would be

(1) Ut-Ma'in: alternating prefix
*ə̄r-tā?ār* 'stone' *ə̄t-tā?ār* 'stones'

The class prefix is C4 (i.e. noun class 4) and both the quantifier and the demonstrative show alliterative concord with 'shea tree' using C4 concord markers.

(2) Ut-Ma'in: alliterative concord
*ə̄s-fàr* *ə̄s-bɛ̄:t sɛ̄* *hɛ̄:g*
C4-shea.tree C4-all C4.DEM fall.PST
'all the shea trees fell'

Cicipu, a language in the Kambari cluster, has an extremely transparent agreement system (McGill 2007).

(3) Cicipu agreement system
*màdíyá mè-pénâu* 'big hare'
*ìndíyá ìm-pénàu* 'big hares'

Various publications and theses have described the noun class systems for individual languages (e.g. Crozier (1984), McGill (2009); Paterson (2012)) but little has been written concerning the overall pattern they form. The chapter begins with a summary table of nominal affixing systems and then goes through what

is known about each branch. A tentative model of the situation that can be attributed to Proto-Kainji is given in a final section together with a summary of the evidence for nasal affixes in Kainji. The numbers assigned to noun classes are those in the source materials. Analysis is far from the point where a standard system of numbers can be established for Kainji languages.

It cannot be emphasised too strongly that the quality of data for different branches is very uneven and that as the great majority is unpublished it should be treated as preliminary. It is unfortunate that a lack of pressure to publish means that preliminary language analyses circulate in manuscript and are made available by the authors on an informal basis. In particular, individual authors use affix numbering devised for a specific language and thus comparison across languages is more difficult. Tone-marking in particular is somewhat impressionistic. In general, in three-tone languages such as Reshe, mid-tone is unmarked. Where the data is too poor to mark tone with certainty, this is flagged in the text.

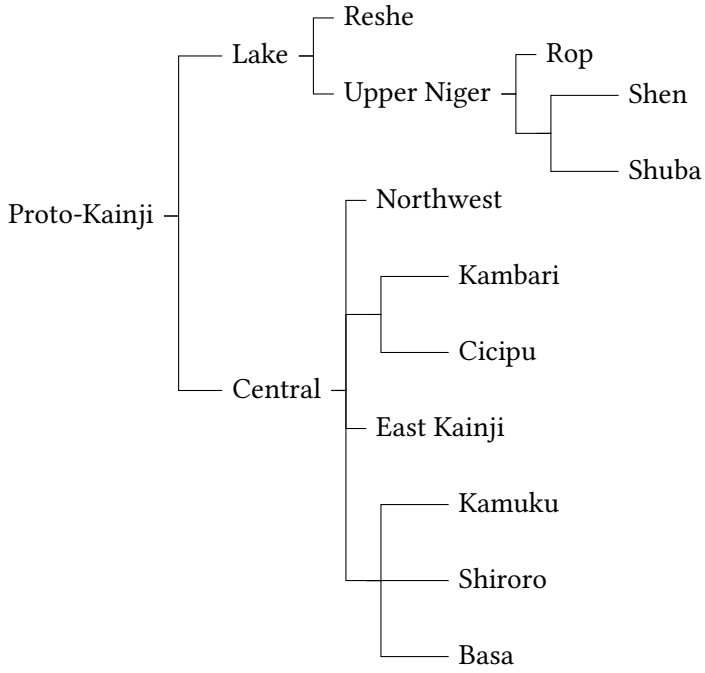


Figure 2: Subclassification of Kainji languages

## 2 Nominal affixes: overview

Given the prevalence of alternating affixes and concord in some Kainji languages, it is reasonable to suppose that a system of this type was present in Proto-Kainji. Nonetheless, the synchronic diversity within the family is such that these systems are lost or severely reduced in many languages. Table 1 & 2 summarise the situation in various Kainji subgroups.

## 3 Nominal affixes by subgroup

### 3.1 Reshe

Tsureshe, the language of the Reshe people, is spoken at the northern end of Lake Kainji (Dettweiler & Dettweiler 2002).[2] Reshe has a characteristic Niger-Congo noun class system, reminiscent of Bantu in several ways, although the class pairings are much reduced.[3] The noun stem is preceded by a class marker, either V- or CV-, which alternates between singular and plural and shows concord with adjectives and other parts of speech. There are six paired classes, four of which clearly have semantic motivation: those containing human beings, animals, body parts and mass nouns, although the class including body parts is more weakly defined than the others (Table 3). Class 6, which is invariant, includes mass nouns such as liquids, powders and similar items. Membership of the other two noun classes appears to be arbitrary. Table 3 summarises Reshe noun-class pairings. The tones of the prefixes are highly variable, so it is difficult to determine the underlying tone of the prefix. There is no evidence for tonal changes in the stem between singular and plural and the tone of the plural prefix is always the same as the singular.

Reshe has a complete set of object pronouns which correspond to the nominal affixes. However, where the pronoun refers to something unknown or despised, *là*, a generic pronoun not marked for number is used. This is an allomorph of the subject pronoun for inanimates, *lə*.

[2] Throughout this chapter, class prefixes are deleted in language and ethnic group names to create a uniform reference term.

[3] Work on Reshe was conducted jointly between the author and Appollos Agamalafiya in 2010 and 2011. See also the unpublished Boettger & Boettger (1967).

Table 1: Nominal affixing in Kainji Languages

| Branch | Subgroup | Language | Comment |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reshe | | Reshe | Alternating affixes and concord |
| Upper Niger | Rerang | Rop | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | Laru | Shuba | Affix system very reduced |
| | | Shen | Affix system absent |
| Northwest | Lela | cLela | Reduced affix system with C-prefixes and concord |
| | Hun | tHun/ sSaare | Reduced affix system with C-prefixes and concord |
| | Gwamhi | Gwamhyə, Wurə, Mba | Reduced affix system with C-prefixes and concord |
| | ut-Ma'in | All | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | ? | Damakawa | Moribund |
| | | CiShingini | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Tsivaɗi | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Baangi | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Tsɨkimba | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Agwara | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Cicipu | Alternating affixes and concord |
| East | | All | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Shama | Alternating affixes and concord |

Table 2: Nominal affixing in Kainji Languages (continuation of Table 1)

| Branch | Subgroup | Language | Comment |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kamuku | | Rogo-Shyabe | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Səgəmuk | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Cinda | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Regi | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Kuki | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Zubazuba | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Hungwəryə | Complex alternating affixes and concord |
| Shiroro | | Fungwa | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Rin | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Wəgə | Unclear since moribund |
| | | Gurmana | Alternating affixes and concord |
| | Baushi | All | Affix system in partial breakdown |
| Basa Basa | | | Extinct |
| | | Basa-Gumna | Extinct |
| | | Kɔrɔmba | Affix system functional |
| | | Basa-Gurara | No information |
| | | Basa-Benue | Three-term alternating affixes and concord |
| | | Basa-Makurdi | Affix system in breakdown |

Table 3: Reshe noun-class affix pairings

| No. | sg. | No | pl. | Semantic content |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *u~w* | 2 | *bV-* | human |
| 3 | *hi~hy-* | 4 | *i~y-* | animals and borrowed words |
| 6 | *mV-* | | invariant | mass nouns |
| 7 | *ú-* | 8 | *á-* | body parts |
| 9 | *ú~w-* | 10 | *tʃ~ts(u)~Ø-* | miscellaneous |
| 11 | *ri~ry-* | 12 | *a-* | miscellaneous |

(4) Reshe: generic pronoun *là*
*ù sárì là*
s/he cut it/them
's/he cut it/them'

There are a small number of unusual items, shown in Table 4, that do not form part of the noun class pairings given above. These are invariant nouns, either mass nouns or inherently plural.

Table 4: Extra-systemic Reshe nouns

| Tsureshe | Gloss |
|---|---|
| *ɛ̀hɛ̃* | 'tears' |
| *èena* | 'waves' |
| *ɔ́-ʃìmà* | 'fat' |
| *ɔ́-rira* | 'river' |

Surprisingly, if they are replaced by a pronoun in a sentence, the pronoun is *ɔ́bɔ̀* usually associated with humans.

Reshe, like many languages in this region, has distinctive incorporated possessives for kin terms and related nouns for persons. The affixes appear on the surface to have class-pair alternation, but the associated concord is that of the underlying noun. So, for example, in the word for 'age-mate', the *mu-/ba-* alternation strongly recalls Bantu prefixes, but in Reshe these probably originate with possessives (Table 5).

Table 5: Reshe: *mu-/ba-* alternation recalls Bantu prefixes

| Sg. | Pl. | Gloss | Literal |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mú-banɛ* | *bà-* | 'age-mate, colleague' | lit. 'my another' |

The singular first person possessive is *mú*, which has been paired with the usual class 1/2 plural prefix *bà-*.

(5) Reshe
*mú úlɔ́*
'my friend'

## 3.2 Upper Niger (Shen and Rerang)

Like the Reshe, the Laru (Shen) and Lopa (Rerang) are fishing peoples who live around the edge of Lake Kainji. Research in 2011 and 2012 showed that 'Lopa' is in fact two distinct languages. Even more surprisingly, despite the ethnic label Rerang and the assertion of a common culture between the Rop and the Shuba, Shuba is clearly a conservative type of Shen, but which still retains at least some nominal morphology. The correct terminology for the Upper Niger languages is shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Ethnonyms and reference names of the Upper Niger Group

| Usual name | Group name | One person | People | Language | Reference name |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laru | | *shen* | | *shen gwe* | Shen |
| Lopa | Rerang | *dɔɾìɾɑ̃́ŋ* | *ò:ɾìɾɑ̃́ŋ* | *òl:èɾɑ̃́ŋ* | |
| | Rop | *dɔɾóp* | *ò:ɾɔ́p* | *òl:ɔ́p* | Rop |
| | Shuba | | | | Shuba |

Shen exhibits a virtually complete loss of the nominal morphology system. All nouns either have no plural, or a plural suffix *bà(u)*. Shen has come under heavy influence from the Busa language, which is Mande and thus also has similar characteristics. Despite their different morphology, Shuba and Shen clearly share a significant amount of common lexicon.

By contrast, Shuba has not only a relatively rich system of nominal affixation, but demonstrates reprefixing, with unproductive prefixes now incorporated into

the stem. Shuba, like many other Kainji languages, has underspecified vowels in CV- prefixes which frequently show harmony with the stem vowels. The following examples[4] show typical singular//plural pairs.

(6) Shuba prefixation

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. ø-/SV- | | |
| ‘tree’ (generic) | *ʃə* | *ʃi-ʃə* |
| ‘leaf’ | *fwã* | *sə-fwã* |
| b. ø-/a- | | |
| ‘moon/month’ | *’yuuru* | *a-’yuuru* |
| ‘sun’ | *gwi* | *a-gwi* |
| c. rV/a- | | |
| ‘field’ | *ra-hãi* | *a-hãi* |
| ‘seed/stone/pip’ | *re-kero* | *a-kero* |
| ‘mountain’ | *ri-yam* | *a-yam* |
| ‘nose’ | *ro-hɔ̃ro* | *a-hɔ̃ro* |

The word for ‘nose’ is an interesting example of double affixing, which probably arises through the copying of demonstratives (see Hoffmann 1967 for examples from cLela). Shuba is cognate with tHun *r-ho* for ‘nose’ and the prefix has been copied as a suffix.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| d. fV/a- | | |
| ‘rubbish-heap’ | *fə-kũhũ* | *a-kũhũ* |
| ‘tooth’ | *fo-yefə* | *a-yefə* |
| ‘farm’ | *fu-tuma* | *a-tuma* |
| e. sV/a- | | |
| ‘dew’ | *sə-myem* | *a-myem* |
| ‘room’ | *su-rukwə* | *a-rukwə* |
| f. N/a- | | |
| ‘water’ | *m-mi* | *a-mi* |
| ‘sorghum-beer’ | *ŋ-kwa* | *a-kwa* |
| g. do-/bV- | | |
| ‘person/people’ | *do-hũmwa* | *bo-hũmwa* |
| ‘man’ | *do-rumburu* | *bu-rumburu* |
| h. ø-/bV- | | |
| ‘child’ | *bi* | *bu-bi* |
| ‘chief/ruler’ | *tɔ̃ĩʃa* | *bə-tɔ̃ĩʃa* |

[4]Unfortunately, when the data was collected, tones were not marked

But:

i. ø-/-bə-

| Gloss | Sg. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| 'father' | *metõ* | *mebətõ* |
| 'friend' | *medo* | *mebədo* |

The infixing of a *-bə-* sequence is probably a special case of *ø-/bV-*. The *me-* is probably a fused possessive, cognate with Reshe *mú-* (see above).

As an example of how reprefixing works, the word for 'vulture' is almost certainly a borrowing from Nupe *gùlǔ*. When first borrowed, it seems to have been attributed an *sV-* prefix, rather like 'tree' above. However, it was then re-analysed as part of the sV/a- class, hence the current synchronic form. Similarly with 'pot' which has an old rV- prefix, fused with the stem and also copied as a final syllable.

(7) Shuba reprefixing

| Gloss | Sg. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| 'hooded vulture' | *saguru* | *a-saguru* |
| 'pot' | *ruburu* | *a-ruburu* |

This diversity suggests that many of the prefixes are innovative. The nasal in mass nouns recalls the Class 6 prefix and the plural of *do-/bV-* Class 2, the plural of 'persons'. Figure 3 summarises the Shuba singular/plural affix alternations: The merger of many plural affixes to *a-* resembles the universal plural prefix *a-* in the Gbari languages (Hyman & Magaji 1970).

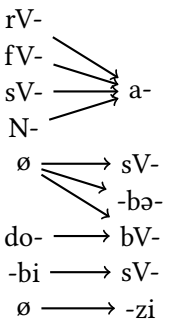


Figure 3: Shuba noun-class affix pairings

### 3.3 Northwest Kainji

Lela (as Dakarkari) is often used as a cover-term for the peoples of the region between Rijau and Donko in reference books such as Gunn & Conant (1960). This name is now generally rejected, and it is here proposed to adopt the term 'Northwest Kainji' to cover this branch, which consists of the cLela, Hun-Saare, Kag clusters and the Wurə-Gwamhyə-Mba languages. The group is unified by a striking morphological feature, the reduction of nominal prefixes to single consonants. A consequence of this is the loss of harmony between prefix and stem vowels. Nominal affixing in the Northwest Kainji languages is relatively well-described, with analyses for cLela (Dettweiler 2015), Hun-Saare (Bendor-Samuel et al. 1973) and Ut-Ma'in (Paterson 2012). A particular feature of this group is affix copying (first noted in Hoffmann 1967) which results in suffixes in animate classes (cf. an example in §3.3.1 below).

Figure 4 shows a subclassification of the Northwest Kainji languages, based on lexical innovations. Damakawa is a moribund language recorded by McGill (pers. comm.) for which the data is too fragmentary to classify it with certainty.

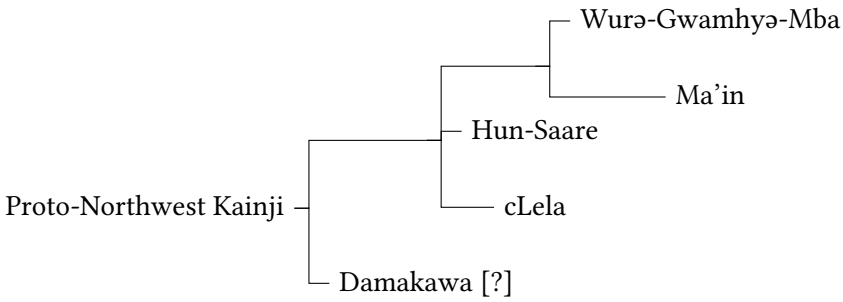


Figure 4: Subclassification of the Northwest Kainji languages

#### 3.3.1 cLela (Dakarkari)

cLela has ten noun classes marked by six consonant prefixes: *c-, d-, k-, m-, s-, v-*; three vowel prefixes: *a-, i-, u-*; and a common noun *-n* suffix (Hoffmann 1967; Dettweiler 2015). Number is marked on inanimate nouns with prefixes; while in animates plurality is indicated by an -nV suffix. Classes 1-9 are all inanimates, while animates are all grouped in a single class.

Table 7 summarises the noun class affixes of cLela in Dettweiler (2015).

Table 7: cLela noun class affixes

| Singular | | Plural | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Prefix | No. | Prefix (Inanimate) | Suffix (Animate) |
| 1 | *a-* | 2 | *c-* | – |
| 3 | *u-* | 2 | *c-* | – |
| 4 | *d-* | 2 | *c-* | – |
| 5 | *k-* | 2 | *c-* | – |
| 6 | *v-* | 7 | *s-* | – |
| 8 | *i-* | 9 | *m-* | – |
| 9 | *m-* | | | – |
| 10 | *ø-* | 10 | – | *-nV-* |

A published dictionary of cLela provides a broad variety of examples of noun-class pairings (Rikoto et al. 2001). The singular and plural affixes are exemplified below in Table 8.

Table 8: Examples of cLela noun class affix pairings

| Class | Singular | Gloss | Class | Plural | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *a-cù* | ‘face’ | 2 | *c-cù* | ‘faces’ |
| 3 | *u-bèlà* | ‘farm‘ | 2 | *c-bela* | ‘farms’ |
| 4 | *d-isá* | ‘eye‘ | 2 | *c-isá* | ‘eyes’ |
| 5 | *k-wècé* | ‘cloud‘ | 2 | *c-wècé* | ‘clouds’ |
| 6 | *v-hwèn* | ‘rope‘ | 7 | *s-hwèn* | ‘ropes’ |
| 8 | *i-hònò* | ‘calabash‘ | 9 | *m-hònò* | ‘calabashes’ |
| 9 | *m-hò* | ‘water‘ | | | |
| 10 | *nàamá* | ‘cow‘ | 10 | *nàam.ná* | ‘cows’ |
| 10 | *nètà* | ‘woman‘ | 10 | *nètà.ná* | ‘women’ |

The animates class *ø-/-nV* is related to the forms in the neighbouring tHun language but is innovative within Kainji. Only the mass noun prefix *m-* (here class 9) corresponds to Niger-Congo 6, but has merged with the plural of Class 8 above.

Like Shuba and Reshe, cLela has *mV-* for inalienable possession of kin (Dettweiler 2015). Thus:

(8) cLela: inalienable possession

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *hə̀n-mí* | 'sibling-my' | *hə̀n-mí-nì* | 'sibling-my-PL' |
| *ʧə̀t-mé* | 'father-my' | *ʧə̀t-mé-nè* | 'fathers-my-PL' |

where *-nV* is the Class 2 plural for persons.

A striking feature of Northwest Kainji is double-affixing in compounds, first noted in Hoffmann (1967). This arises when the prefix of the head noun is displaced to the associated noun and precedes its own prefix. Thus:

(9) cLela: double-affixing in compounds

| Gloss | cLela | Components |
|---|---|---|
| 'spine' | *tɛ̀l k-ə̂dcìnə̀* | *k-tɛ̀lɛ̀* 'bone' + *d-cìnə̀* 'back' |

This displacement also occurs on demonstratives:

(10) cLela: displacement of nominal prefix to demonstratives

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *c-gyàŋ* | 'eggs' | *gyàn cə́hnà* | 'these eggs' |

### 3.3.2 Hun-Saare (Duka)

The Hun-Saare people live directly south of the Lela, straddling the border of Niger and Kebbi States. They are conventionally divided into two groups, the Hun and the Saare, but are commonly known in Hausa as Duka and their language as Dukanci (Dettweiler & Dettweiler 2003b). They are first mentioned by Temple (1922: 96-100). The noun-phrase is described in Bendor-Samuel et al. (1973). An electronic dictionary and grammar of tHun (Dukawa) is available, associated with the translation and literacy project (Heath p.c. a,b).

The presentation of Hun-Saare nominal affixing is far from transparent and is moreover, given in orthographic representations. The class marker can move from before to after the noun root. When the marker is before the noun it is the object of the verb and when it follows, the noun is the subject. Table 9 shows the system of tHun nominal affixes and concord, based on Heath (p.c.). Note that Bendor-Samuel et al. (1973) give a somewhat different presentation.

An example of the movement of affixes in relation to intraclausal position is the following (Heath n.d.):

Table 9: tHun nominal affixes and concord

| | Singular | | | Plural | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Affix | Pronoun | No. | Affix | Pronoun | Semantics |
| 1 | *o-* | *wə* | 6 | *-nɛ* | *ɛ* | persons |
| 2 | *-ər-* | *ɔ* | 7 | *-ɛgɛ-, -ɛ-* | *yo* | miscellaneous |
| 3 | *-m-* | *yo* | 8 | *-ət-* | *sɛ* | miscellaneous |
| 4 | *ø-* | *de* | 9 | *-ər-* | *rɔ* | miscellaneous |
| 5 | *-m-* | *mɔ* | 10 | *-m-* | *mɔ* | mass, uncountable |

(11) tHun: nominal affix on subjects and objects
*hɔ.m ʃo'ostɛ o.wak*
water.CM filled CM.swamp
'water filled the swamp'

As with cLela, a class pair marking persons and a mass noun affix can be discerned, but otherwise, tHun shows few cognates with other systems.

### 3.3.3 The Kag (Ut-Ma'in or Fakai) cluster

The first mention of the languages of the Kag cluster is Temple (1922: 89) who refers to 'Kelinchi' [? = Kelanci, i.e. Ker-ni]. Rowlands (1962) gives short lists of nouns in 'Fakawa', Kelawa and Zusu. Regnier (2003) conducted a sociolinguistic survey among five of the eight named Fakai cluster members in 1991-1992. Paterson (2012) represents new in-depth fieldwork on the Ror language, now named Ut-Ma'in by its speakers. Table 10 shows the peoples and languages of this cluster.

Table 10: Peoples and languages of the Kag cluster

| Hausa name | People | **Language** |
|---|---|---|
| Fakkawa | Kag-ne | ət-Kag |
| Fakkawa | əs-Us | ət-Us |
| Gelawa | a-Jiir | ət-Jiir |
| Zuksun | a-Zuksun | ət-Zuksun |
| Kukumawa | əs-Fer | ət-Fer |
| Kelawa | Kər-ni | ət-Kər |
| Tuduwa | aor | ət-maor |
| Kuluwa | a-Koor | ət-ma-Koor |

Table 11: Ut-Ma'in noun classes (Paterson (2012))

| Class | Prefix | Object Pronoun | Ut-Ma'in | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1a | *ū-* | *ú/wá* | *ū-mákt* | 'barren woman' |
| | | | *ū-rāg* | 'stupid person' |
| 1b | *ø-* | *wá* | *ø-hámɘt* | 'visitor' |
| | | | *ø-z$^{w}$àr* | 'young man' |
| 2a | *ø-* | *ɛ* | *ø-ná* | 'oxen, bovines' |
| | | | *ø-h$^{j}$ɘ* | 'guinea corn (pl)' |
| | | | *ø-rɛgɛr* | 'stars' |
| 2b | *ø-* | *-nɛ* | *ø-nɛtnɛ* | 'people' |
| 3a | *ū-* | *ɔ* | *ū-bù* | 'house' |
| | | | *ū-k$^{h}$óm* | 'arm' |
| | | | *ū-sɛp* | 'song' |
| 3b | *ø-* | *ɔ* | *ø-bòʔ* | 'dream' |
| | | | *ø-ʤāb* | 'heart' |
| | | | *ø-s$^{w}$ás* | 'fish trap' |
| 4 | *ɘs-* | *sɛ* | *ɘs-bòʔ* | 'dreams' |
| | | | *ɘs-rā* | 'muscle' |
| | | | *ɘs-bà:t* | 'medicine' |
| 5 | *ɘr-* | *dɛ* | *ɘr-kɔk* | 'calabash' |
| | | | *ɘr-ʤāb* | 'liver' |
| | | | *ɘr-hí* | 'head' |
| 6a | *ɘt-* | *tɔ* | *ɘt-kɔk* | 'calabashes' |
| | | | *ɘt-ís* | 'eyes' |
| | | | *ɘt-rīn* | 'charcoal' |
| 6b | *ɘm-* | *mɔ* | *ɘm-nɔ:g* | 'oil' |
| | | | *ɘm-h$^{j}$ɘ* | 'blood' |
| | | | *ɘm-h$^{j}$ɘrɘg* | 'sand' |
| 7a | *ū-* | *já* | *ū-ná* | 'bovine' |
| | | | *ū-ʧān* | 'feather' |
| | | | *ū-nín* | 'tooth' |
| 7b | *ø-* | *já* | *ø-tʃāmpá* | 'man' |
| | | | *ø-mārímárí* | 'the dead' |
| | | | *ø-r$^{j}$âm* | 'cripple (n)' |
| AUG | *ā-* | *á* | *ā-kɔk* | 'huge calabashes' |
| | | | *ā-bà* | 'big lake' |
| DIM | *ī-* | *ɛ* | *ī-kɔk* | 'tiny calabash' |
| | | | *ī-g$^{w}$á* | 'tiny (piece of) grass' |
| | | | *ī-ràndí* | 'thread' |

Table 11 shows the thirteen noun classes in Ut-Ma'in, following Paterson (2012). Three classes share the same *ū-* prefix, but their distinct concords suggest class merger. Four classes have a null ø- prefix, but with similarly diverse agreement

morphemes. I have added Class 2b, which is the *-nɛ* plural suffix marking some persons, cognate with similar *nV-* suffixes in cLela and tHun. The first column gives a class affix number, corresponding to Bantu where possible. For the diminutive and augmentative classes of ut-Ma'in the labels DIM and AUG are used. The second column shows the nominal prefix and the third column represents the agreement targets, indicated by the object pronoun. The last two columns give sample lexemes from each class.

As elsewhere in the group, the 1/2 class pairing marks persons and the *ə́m-* prefix marks uncountable nouns. A common feature of Northwest Kainji is the suffix *-nV* marking the plural of nouns for 'persons'. In Kainji languages and elsewhere in Benue-Congo (cf. the Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist) *-net* is a common word for person and it is possible the suffix is an old compound which has been generalised across the group. If so this creates a certain amount of redundancy. For example:

(12) Ut-Ma'in: suffix *-nV* for plural of nouns for 'persons'
'persons' *nɛ́tnɛ*

No other clear source for this suffix has been identified.

## 3.4 Kambari

### 3.4.1 Introduction

The Kambari are perhaps the largest of the Kainji subgroups, numerically. Their languages have been studied more extensively than others in the group although much research has never been completely published. Kambari (Kamberi, Cumbri etc.) is an outsiders' name, but since there is no overall name for the group it is retained here.

Present studies suggest that Kambari has two major divisions, usually referred to as Kambari I and II. These crudely correspond to east and west, but in some regions the two are territorially intertwined (Blench 1982). Table 12 shows the common names of the various Kambari sub-groups and the correct names of the people and language. The initial consonant of the root is marked with upper case.

Table 12: The Kambari languages

| Usual Name | Other Names | One person | People | Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kambari I | | | | |
| Agadi | Kakihum | | *aGaɗi* | *tsiGaɗi* |
| Abadi, Evadi | Ibeto | | *aVaɗi* | *tsiVaɗi* |
| Bangawa | | *vuBaangi* | *aBaangi* | *ciBaangi* |
| | Salka | *sShíngíní* or *məShíngíní* | *əShingini* | *ciShingini* |
| Kambari II | | | | |
| Agaushi | Auna, Wara | | *aGaushi* | *tsiGaushi* |
| Kimba | | | *aKimba* | *tsɨkimba* |
| Ngwunci | Agwara | *maWunci* | *ŋWənci* | *tsuWənci* |
| Cicipu | Acipawa | *Cípù* pl. | *Àcípù* | *Cìcípù* |

### 3.4.2 Cicipu

Cicipu, the Western Acipa language, was formerly considered part of the Kamuku cluster, along with eastern Acipa.

Table 13 lists the Cicipu noun classes and corresponding prefixes.

Class 1, 3b, 4, 6, 7 and 9 prefixes occur with singular nouns.

Class 2, 3a and 5 prefixes occur with plural nouns.

Class 8 prefixes can occur with either singular or plural nouns.

Dettweiler & Dettweiler (2003b) present a comparative wordlist for three lects spoken in the towns Kumbashi, Kakihum and Karisen. In this report they point out that 'Western Acipa' is so different from all the other languages in the group that it would be better to assign it to a separate branch. Stuart McGill (2007; 2009; 2010) proposed that this language has been misclassified and is in fact part of the Kambari group. Alternatively, it could have come under extremely strong influence from Kambari (not impossible since the two languages are neighbours in Kakihum). However, now that a more in-depth description of the grammar and morphology of Cicipu is available, this seems less likely.

The Cicipu noun class system is similar to the Kambari languages, and so the numbering system used by Hoffmann (1963) and Crozier (1984) for Central Kam-

Table 13: Cicipu noun class prefixes (Adapted from McGill (2009)

| Class | Noun prefix | Agreement prefix | Example | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | kA- | kA- | *kà-bárá* | 'elder' |
| | | | *kɔ̀-kɔ̃́* | 'egg' |
| | | | *kò-jóo* | 'lizard' |
| | | | *kè-téré* | 'bone' |
| | | | *kɔ́-ɔɓí* | 'he-goat' |
| 2 | A- | A- | *à-bárá* | 'elders' |
| | | | *ɔ̀-kɔ̃́ɔ* | 'eggs' |
| | | | *ò-jóo* | 'lizards' |
| | | | *è-téré* | 'bones' |
| 3a | i-/y- | i-/y- | *ì-námà* | 'meat' |
| | | | *yɔ́-ɔmɔ́* | 'monkeys' |
| 3b | ri- | | *rì-hyɑ̃́'ɑ̀* | 'arrow' |
| | | | *rú-usì* | 'rainy season' |
| 4 | mA- | mA- | *mà-díyá* | 'hare' |
| | | | *mɔ̀-tɔ́ɔ* | 'chick' |
| | | | *mò-kóotó* | 'kitchen hut' |
| | | | *mè-pésé* | 'twin' |
| 5 | N-, mi- | N-, mi- | *ǹ-díyá* | 'hares' |
| | | | *ǹ-tɔ́ɔ* | 'chicks' |
| | | | *m-pésé* | 'twins' |
| | | | *mì-nnú* | 'birds' |
| 6 | ti-, tu-, ci-, cu- | ti-, tu- | *tì-sɪ̃́'ɪ̀* | 'hair' |
| | | | *tù-mócì* | 'friendship' |
| | | | *cì-lúu* | 'leopard' |
| | | | *cù-kúlú* | 'tortoise' |
| 7 | u-/w- | u-/w- | *ù-pépí* | 'wind' |
| | | | *wɔ́-ɔvɔ́ɔ* | 'fear' |
| 8 | Ø-, C-, v- | Ø-, C-, v- | *Ø-cìccérè* | 'star' |
| | | | *c-cɔ́'ɔ̀* | 'sheep' |
| | | | *d-dɔ̂ɔ* | 'horse' |
| | | | *z-zá* | 'person' |
| | | | *vɔ́-ɔmɔ̀* | 'monkey' |
| 9 | ku-/kw- | ku-/kw- | *kù-cígà* | 'cockerel' |
| | | | *kwé-etú* | 'medicine' |

bari is followed. Cicipu has a very coherent system of underspecified vowels in noun prefixes, usually copying $V_1$ of the root. Where $C_1$ is palatalised, the vowel of the prefix is -i.

Figure 5 shows Cicipu noun-class affix pairings. The dotted lines indicate pairings only rarely attested.

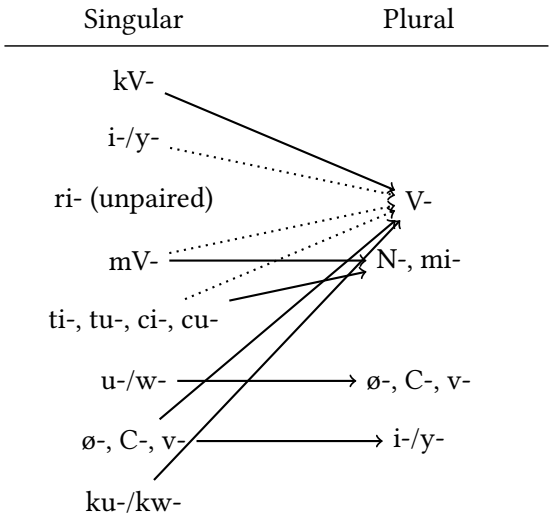


Figure 5: Cicipu noun-class affix pairings (Adapted from McGill (2009)

There appears to be no semantic unity in the noun classes and that even common Niger-Congo classes such as Class 6 for mass nouns[5] and 1/2 for persons are absent. If we count the number of noun classes by the prefix on the noun there are ten morphological classes. However, two of these (3a and 3b) share the same agreement markers and should possibly be merged.

### 3.4.3 Cishingini (Salka Kambari)

The nominal affixing of Cishingini, the Kambari of Salka is described in Hoffmann (1963) and Crozier (1984). Table 14 shows the noun class and concordial prefixes in Cishingini as summarised in Crozier (1984). Figure 6 illustrates the pattern of Cishingini noun-class affix pairings.

The classes have not been renumbered, but the unpaired *ma-* and *tsi-* classes, containing mass nouns, language names and nouns of manner and style, correspond to Proto-Bantu classes 6 **ma-* and 7 **ki-*. Unlike Bantu, Cishingini classes 3

[5]Or else the Class 4 *mV-* prefix has been re-assigned.

Table 14: Noun class and concordial prefixes in Cishingini (Adapted from Crozier (1984)

| Class | Number | Prefix | 1. Polar Tone | 2. Low Tone 2 | 3. Low Tone 2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | sg. | *a:-* | *a:-* | *à:-* | *̀- à:-́* |
| 2a | | *a-* | *a-* | *à-* | *̀- à-́* |
| 2b | pl. | *naN-* | | | |
| 3 | sg. +/- pl. | *i:-* | *i:-* | *ì:-* | *̀- ì:-́* |
| 4 | sg. | *mV-* | *ma-* | *mà-* | *̀- mà-́* |
| 5 | pl. | *N-* | *N-* | *ǹ-* | *̀- ǹ- ́* |
| 6 | sg. +/- pl. | *tsi-* | *tsi-* | *tsi-* | *̀- tsi-́* |
| 7 | sg. | *u:-* | *u:-* | *ù:-* | *̀- ù:-́* |
| | | *C-* | | | |
| 8a | sg. +/- pl. | *vi-* | *C-* | *̀C-* | *̀- ̀C-́* |
| | | *li-* | *vi-* | *vi-* | *̀- vi-́* |
| 8b | sg. | *0-* | | | |

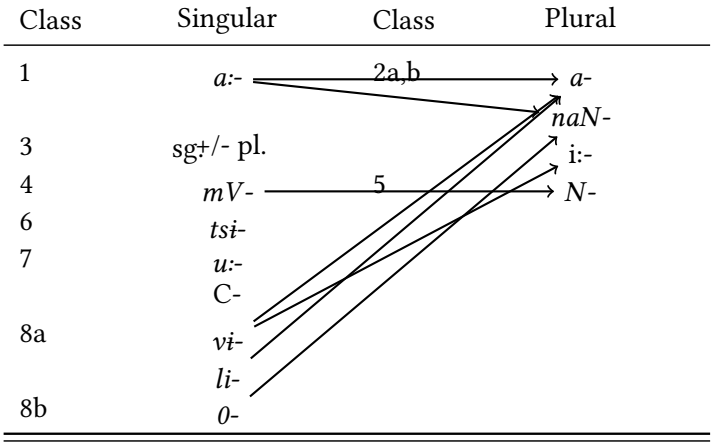


Figure 6: Cishingini noun-class affix pairings (Adapted from Crozier 1984)

and 8a occur as both singular and plural when paired with other classes. The class pair 1/2a includes the majority of nouns. In contrast to Bantu, Cishingini has only three sets of concordial prefixes. Crozier (1984) analysed noun semantics and showed that the majority of humans are associated with the affix pairs 8/2, while other animates fall into 4/5 and 8a/3. Inanimates are common in 1/2a. The *mV-* prefix Class 4 shows harmony between the prefix and stem vowel and corresponds to a syllabic nasal prefix, class 5. The majority of words in this class pair seem to be animals and plants.

## 3.5 East Kainji

### 3.5.1 General

The East Kainji languages are a poorly studied group of some 35 languages spoken north and west of the Jos Plateau in Central Nigeria. Compared with the branches of West Kainji, which have undergone a wide variety of morphological changes, the East Kainji languages for which data exist are comparatively similar to one another. Shimizu (1979; 1982a; 1982) collected numerous short wordlists of East Kainji languages and sketched the noun-class prefix pairs that could be extracted from this material. The two languages for which detailed information on nominal prefixing exist are Map (Di Luzio 1972; Anderson 1980) and Boze [=Buji] (Blench & Boze Literacy Committee (BLC) n.d.). Shimizu (1968) is a sketch of the noun-class system of iBunu. Data for many languages consists of fragmentary wordlists, often orthographic with no tones or plurals. Figure 7 show the languages and internal structure of East Kainji as far as can be gauged from existing data.

Some of the names are new, representing languages first recorded in 2016. Former names are given in square brackets, but languages such as Ngmgbang will not be found in standard references.

The threat to East Kainji languages cannot be emphasised too strongly; many have only a few speakers and are rapdily switching to Hausa. Others are only now remembered and can be recovered by urgent fieldwork. Figure 8 shows Sarkin Yakubu, the last rememberer of Ziriya, interviewed in 2003. No more information can now be recovered about the Ziriya language.

A new wordlist of TiZora was taken in March 2016, which can be compared with the one collected by Shimizu (1979) in 1973. During this period TiZora went from being spoken on a daily basis to one spoken between men over seventy in scattered settlements, under heavy pressure from Hausa. As a consequence, although speakers are quite fluent, the noun-class system has undergone sys-

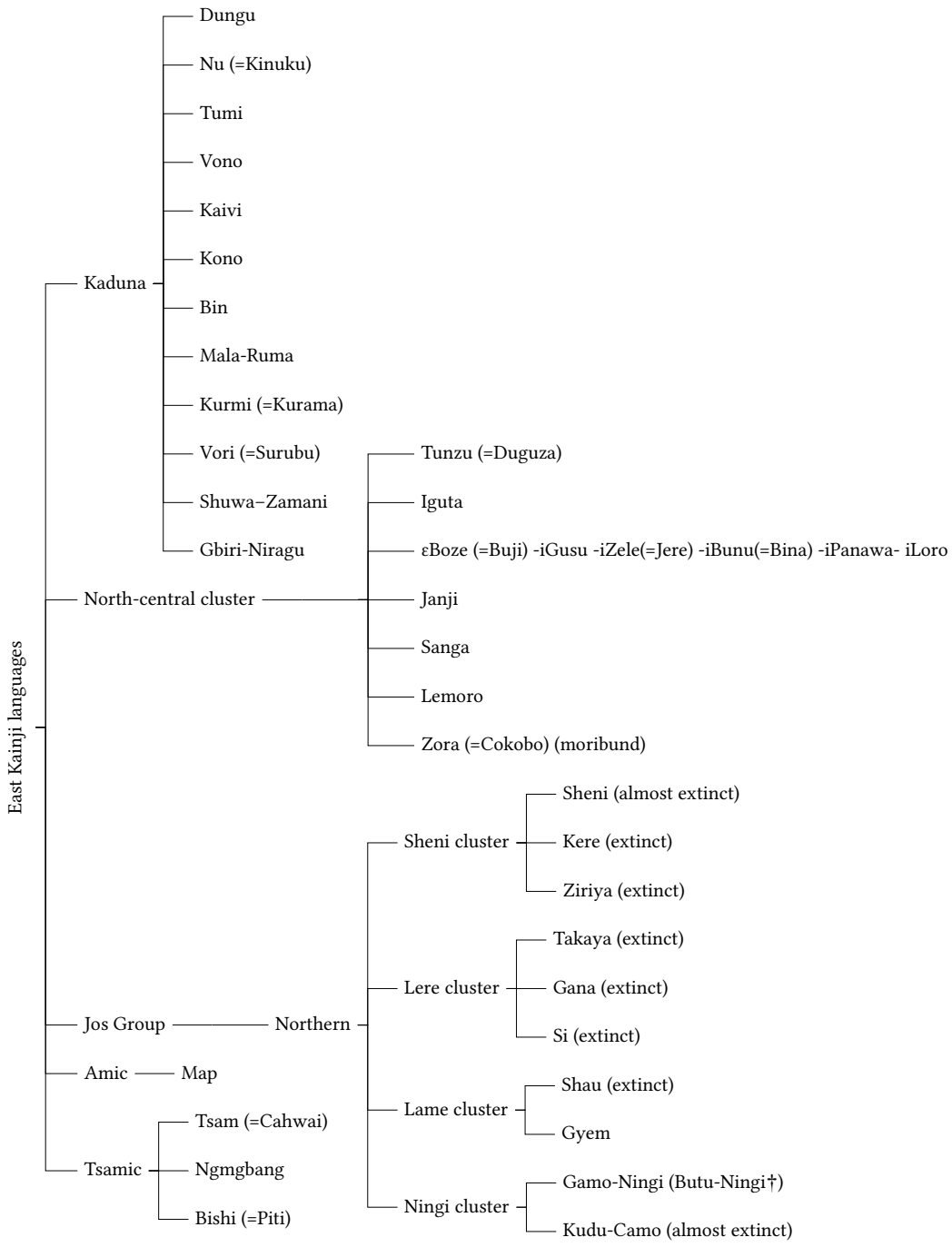


Figure 7: East Kainji languages and their internal structure

Figure 8: Sarkin Yakubu [left], the last rememberer of Ziriya, 2003

tematic collapse. This is described briefly in §3.5.4 to exemplify the rapidity with which morphological change can occur.

### 3.5.2 εBoze [=Buji]

The εBoze language is spoken in some seven villages west and northwest of Jos. The language has been threatened by the spread of Hausa but has recently undergone a significant revival. Boze has a rich inventory of prefixes with underspecified vowels and a variety of realisations.[6] Table 15 shows a summary of the underlying affixes and their allomorphs.

Marking tone on εBoze prefixes is something of a hostage to fortune and they are only noted in the table where the evidence is quite strong. Broadly speaking, εBoze has a rule where the singular prefix is low and the plural (both prefix and stem) tones are one level higher. However, there are many unexplained irregularities resulting from the influence of the stem tone on the prefix.

[6]Work on εBoze has been conducted since the early 2000s in conjunction with John Nengel and the Boze Literacy Committee (BLC).

Table 15: Prefixes and their allomorphs in ɛBoze nouns

| No. | Singular | | Plural | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Prefix | Allomorphs | Prefix | Allomorphs | Semantics |
| 1a | *O-* | *ɔ-, o-, u-* | *a-* | | persons |
| 1b | *`VnV-* | *ono, OnO-, unu-, uno-* | *anV́-* | *ana-, ano-, anu-* | persons |
| 2 | *b`V-* | *be-, bɛ-, bə-, bi-* | *i-* | | animals, people, tools |
| 3 | *àa-* | | *tV̀-* | *t-, te-, tɛ-, ti-, tu-* | miscellaneous |
| 4 | *ɛ-, (ə-), i-* | | *N-* | *n-, ŋ-, m-* | abstracts, miscellaneous |
| 5 | *ø-* | | *tV-* | *t-, te-, tɛ-, ti-, tu-* | insects, reptiles |
| 6a | *màa-, m-, n-* | | *ø-* | | mass nouns, abstracts |
| 6b | *màa-, m-, n-* | | *i-* | | miscellaneous |
| 7 | *Ò-* | *ɔ-, o-* | *tV-* | *t-, te-, tɛ-, ti-, tu-* | objects |
| 8 | *ùu-* | | *ti-* | | plants, foods, tools |
| 9a | *rV̀-* | *re-, ri-* | *a-* | | miscellaneous |
| 9b | *rV̀-* | *re-, ri-* | *sV-* | *se-, sɛ-, si-* | miscellaneous |
| 10 | *ka-, kɔ-, ku-* | | | | diminutive |
| 11 | *A-* | *a-, ə-* | *a-* | | verbal nouns |

The table only represents common pairings, but ɛBoze has numerous examples of unexpected pairings, where the singular/plural gender is only represented by one or two attestations. The vowel in prefixes often harmonises with the stem, although vowels tend to be either front or back; only the allomorphs of *tV-* show the broad range of vowels. It is striking that in Class 2, the class which includes persons, the singular prefix is *bV-*, where it might be expected to mark plural.

ɛBoze shows occasional signs of a feature much more common in Plateau, the 'intrusive nasal'. In common examples a nasal is inserted between the prefix and the stem vowel in either the singular or the plural:

(13) ɛBoze: Intrusive nasal
Sg. *ituma* 'work'
Pl. *intúmá* 'works'

The likely explanation is that n- was originally a nominalisation prefix applied to a verb stem. When the verbal noun was incorporated into the nominal system, it acquired a new prefix, without the previous one being deleted.

### 3.5.3 Map [=Amo]

The correct name for the language of the Map people is tiMap. Its noun classes are described [under the name Amo] in (Di Luzio 1972; Anderson 1980). Table 16 shows Anderson's (1980: 156) summary of tiMap noun classes and concord. Table 17 shows the tiMap nominal prefix pairings and their semantics, where these can be identified. Nasal prefixes in tiMap do not appear to be homorganic and do not change in relation to the following consonant.

As with other Kaniji languages, tiMap has a diminutive and an augmentative. However, in striking contrast to Boze (see above) it has a very static concord system with the prefixes copying the nominal affixes directly. The underspecified vowel in Boze has been lost and tiMap prefixes are all static.

### 3.5.4 ìZora

The ì-Zora language was recorded in 1973 by Shimizu when it still had a functioning system of noun classes. Table 18 shows the nominal prefix pairings which were functioning at that time.

Table 16: tiMap nominal prefixes and concord (Anderson 1980: 156)

| Class | Prefix | Map | Gloss | Concord |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ù-* | *ù-là* | 'fire' | *u* |
| 2 | *à-* | *à-fà* | 'leaf' | *a* |
| 3 | *kù-* | *kù-fà* | 'leaves' | *ku* |
| 4 | *tè-* | *tè-là* | 'fires' | *te* |
| 5 | *lè-* | *lè-kpì* | 'rat' | *le* |
| 6 | *ǹ-* | *ǹ-fép* | 'breath' | *mi* |
| 7 | *kì-* | *kì-té* | 'place' | *ki* |
| 8 | *nì-* | *nì-té* | 'places' | *ni* |
| 9 | *fè-* | *fè-ʃù* | 'bee' | *fe* |
| 10 | *ì-* | *ì-ʃù* | 'bees' | *i* |
| 11 | *kà-* | *kà-vín* | 'goat' | *ka* |
| 12 | *mà-* | *mà-ví* | 'big goats' | *ma* |

Table 17: tiMap nominal prefix pairings and semantics

| Class Pair | Prefix | Semantics |
|---|---|---|
| 1/ 2 | *ù-/ à-* | mostly humans |
| 1/ 4 | *ù-/ tè-* | unclear |
| 3/2 | *kù-/ à-* | unclear |
| 5/2 | *tè-/ à-* | body parts and diverse |
| 5/4 | *lè-/ tè-* | diverse |
| 6/4 | *ǹ-/ tè-* | mass nouns |
| 7/8 | *kì-/ nì-* | diverse |
| 9/10 | *fè-/ ì-* | animals, crops and diverse |
| 11/8 | *kà-/ nì-* | domestic animals and diverse |
| 1a | *ù-* | uncountable |
| 2a | *à-* | uncountable |
| 4a | *tè-* | uncountable |
| 6a | *ǹ-* | uncountable |

Table 18: ì-Zora nominal prefix pairings

| Paired classes | Sg. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| | *ù-* | *à-, ì-, ʃì-, m-, mV-* |
| | *lV-* | *à-, ʃì-* |
| | *ì-* | *í-, bì-* |
| | *rì-* | *à-, ʃì-, sù-* |
| | *bì-* | *ì-, à-* |
| | *ø-* | *à-* |
| | *ʻN-* | *ì-* |
| Unpaired classes | | |
| | *à* | |
| | *ì-* | |
| | *ò-* | |
| | *ù-* | |
| | *ø-* | |
| | *mà-* | |
| | *mɨ-* | |

Unpaired class prefixes associated with uncountable nouns are highly diverse but there is a strong correlation in (14) between the *mɨ-* prefix and liquids:

(14) i-Zora: *mi-* prefix and liquids
*mɨ-ɲùŋu* 'blood'
*mɨ-ʃìyà* 'oil'
*mɨ-ɲf* 'water'

By 2016, the situation had changed radically. Only nineteen individuals now speak ì-Zora, and they do not live in the same location. To record the language, they had to be brought together (Figure 9). Less than ten per cent of nouns were remembered as having any plural, and the majority of nouns had acquired a 'default' singular prefix *ù-* and a plural *à-*. Table 19 shows a comparison between the forms recorded in 1973 and in 2016.

This also illustrates other changes, including the change from labial-velars to labialised velars (*kp* > $k^w$) and the loss of palatalised consonants ($k^y$ > *ke*). This likely reflects the pressure from the phonology of Hausa, in which all speakers are bilingual and illustrates how rapidly morphological systems can change in particular sociolinguistic contexts.

Figure 9: Recording the Zora language, 2016

Table 19: ì-Zora nominal prefix pairings compared

| Gloss | Shimizu (1979) | Blench (2016) |
|---|---|---|
| 'meat' | *ǹ-námá* pl. *ì-* | *ùnámá* |
| 'fish' | *ù-kpàlà* pl. *ì-* | *ùkwálá* |
| 'stone' | *rì-kyàlé* pl. *à-* | *ùkélé* |

## 3.6 The Kamuku group

### 3.6.1 Introduction

The Kamuku peoples, following Gunn & Conant (1960) and Rowlands (1962) have conventionally been divided into 'Acipa' and 'Ucinda'. The Acipawa, correctly the Acipu, are linguistically part of the Kambari cluster, and are treated in §3.4 The whole Kamuku area consists of a complex of related languages, and each lect traces its origin to the individual hills in the Mariga area. A study of Kamuku lects has added a great deal to our understanding of these languages but also added many new possible languages (Yoder et al. 2008). Several languages seem to be either extinct or moribund, but their names and locations are known. The two languages for which there are descriptions in some depth are Hungwəryə (Hackett & Davey 2009) and Cinda (Mort 2012). Figure 10 shows the likely subgrouping of the Kamuku languages, based on speakers' impressions.

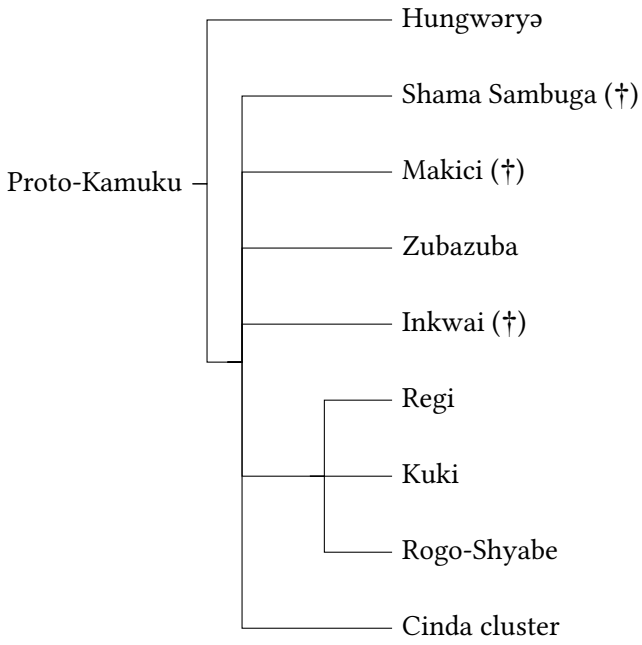


Figure 10: Subclassification of the Kamuku languages

### 3.6.2 Hungwəryə [=Ngwoi]

The cəHungwəryə language [Ungwai, Ngwoi in older sources] has been described in Hackett & Davey (2009). Hungwəryə has between 13 and 17 noun class affixes which encode both number and size. The feature marking of size is also reported for tHun (Bendor-Samuel et al. 1973) and its optionality may mean that it is more common than is recognised. The class marker indicates whether the referent is small, normal-sized, or large. Other features distinguish the Hungwəryə system from its neighbours, including leftwards nasal harmony of the prefixes. Where the stem vowel is nasalised, this feature spreads to the prefix vowel. In many plural prefixes the vowel has been lost and a C- prefix now abuts the stem directly, a typological change which has developed and been generalised in the Northwest Kainji languages.

Hungwəryə is characterised by extensive allomorphy of its prefixes. Table 20 shows the singular and plural class markers, re-arranged from the data in Hackett & Davey (2009). To match the mass noun affix in class 6 and the person class 1, as well as merging classes where the prefixes seem to be allomorphs, I have been obliged to re-assign their numbering.

Table 20: Hungwəryə singular and plural class markers (Restructured from Hackett & Davey (2009).)

| Number | Singular | Plural | Example | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1a | *bu-,* | *ə-,* | *bú-ləgəsə, ə-ləgəsə* | ‘boy’ |
| | *bo-¨* | *a-¨* | *bó-mátã̀, á-mátã̀* | ‘father-in-law’ |
| 1b | *bʷ-* | *s-* | *bʷ-á:rʲè, s-á:rʲè* | ‘husband’ |
| 1c | *bi-,* | *i-,* | *bí-tʃítʃí, í-tʃítʃí* | ‘caterpillar’ |
| | *bʲẽ* | *ẽ-* | *bʲẽ̀ -ɾʲẽ́ , ẽ̀ -ɾʲẽ́* | ’mouse’ |
| 2a | *i-,* | *mu-,* | *í-pəpì, mú-pəpì* | ‘bat’ |
| | *e-,* | *mo-,* | *é-káŋgàzà, mó-káŋgàzà* | ‘girl’ |
| | *ʔɛ-,* | *mɔ-,* | *ʔẽ́ -hɔ́ , mɔ́ -hɔ́* | ‘day’ |
| | *j-* | *mʷ-* | *j-ã̌ rɔmà, mʷ-ã̌ rɔmà* | ‘chick’ |
| 2b | *i-* | *h-ː*[1] | *í-jɛlà, h-ɛ:là* | ‘tooth’ |
| 3 | *ə-,* | *sə-,* | *ə-gúbə, sə-gúbə* | ‘hawk’ |
| | *a-,* | *sə-,* | *á-tābɔ, sə-tābɔ* | ‘spoon’ |
| | *ə-/a-* | *tʃə-* | *á-mʷɔnʲé, ʧə-mʷɔnʲé* | ‘hemp leaf’ |
| 4a | *u-,* | *hə-,* | *ú-kʷəgə:, hə-kʷəgə:* | ‘chameleon’ |
| | *o-,* | *ha-,* | *ó-bʷɔmbá, há-bʷɔmbá* | ‘leaf’ |
| | *ʔũ-,* | *hə-,* | *ʔṹ -wə́ , hə́ -wə́* | ‘water monitor lizard’ |
| | *ʔɔ*[3]*,* | *ha-,* | *ʔɔ-tá, há-tá* | ‘bow’ |
| | *w-* | *h-* | *w-ələmí, h-ələmí* | ‘teacher’ |
| 4b | *w-* | *s-* | *w-ã́ rɔmà, s-ã́ rɔmà* | ‘chicken’ |
| 5a | *ø-* | *sə-* | *-wâ:, sə-wâ:* | ‘arm’ |
| 5b | *ø-* | *i-* | *-bʷɔná, í-bʷɔná* | ‘leg’ |
| 5c | *ø-* | *ha-* | *-bʲa̰tɔ, há-bʲa̰tɔ* | ‘medicine’ |
| 6 | *m-* | | *m-ĩ́ jə́* | ‘water’ |
| | | | *m-əhṵ̄tù* | ‘burning embers’ |
| | | | *m-àɾʲé* | ‘food’ |
| | | | *m-úhʲúwə* | ‘smoke’ |
| | | | *m-ɔnʲégʷà* | ‘meat’ |
| 7 | *ʧì-* | | *tʃí-lã̄ põ̀* | ‘shirt’ |
| 8a | *ka-, ka-,kə-* | | *ká-tʃɛbà* | ‘mousetrap (karaku)’ |
| | | | *ká-tābɔ* | ‘medium spoon’ |
| | | | *kə-zəgí* | ’small loud drum’ |
| 8b | *kə-* | *sə-* | *kə-gúbə* | ‘medium hawk’ |
| 8c | *ki-* | *mu-* | *kí-pəpì* | ‘small bat’ |
| 8d | *ku-* | *hə-* | *kú-kʷəgə:* | ‘large chameleon’ |

In some cases, what must have been a high back vowel in the prefix has now become labialisation (Table 21).

Table 21: High back prefix vowel becoming labialised

| Class pair | Sg. | Pl. | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| y-/m$^{w}$- | *y-ãˇ rɔmà* | *m$^{w}$-ãˇ rɔmà* | 'chick' |

Notable features are the unpaired class 7, which has few members and the prefix marking size in class 8. In other languages *kV-* is always a diminutive, but in Hungwəryə there appears to be a relationship between vowel quality and size. Where the *-V-* is back, a larger size of the referent is marked, while central and front vowels seem to denote small and medium referents. Table 22 presents hypothesised abstract underlying forms for the allomorphs of singular and plural prefxes.

Table 22: Hungwəryə underlying nominal affix pairings

| Underlying | Singular allomorphs | Underlying | Plural allomorphs |
|---|---|---|---|
| *A-* | *a-, ə-, ø-* | *S-* | *sə-, ʧə-* |
| *I-* | *i-, e-, ʔɛ-, y-* | *MU-* | *mu-, mo-, mɔ-, m$^{w}$-* |
| *U-* | *u-, o-, ʔũ-, ʔɔ-, ɯ-, ø-* | *hV-* | *hə-, ha-, hə-, h-* |
| *U-* | *ɯ-* | *S-* | *s-* |
| *ø-* | *ø-* | *I-* | *i-* |
| *bU-* | *bu-, bo-* | *A-* | *ə-, a-* |
| *bU-* | *b$^{w}$-* | *S-* | *s-* |

Nasalisation, although phonemic, is not treated as a feature of the underlying form. There is no trace of the nasal classes characteristic of Bantu and Bantoid.

### 3.6.3 The Kamuku complex

The following discussion is based on the description of Cinda in Mort (2012). Cinda noun-classes are defined by their agreement markers, shown in Table 23 but renumbered to represent allomorphy and to align the mass noun prefix with Class 6. I have entered the semantics based on lexical evidence from wordlists.

Table 23: Cinda noun class and agreement markers

| No. | sg. | Allomorphs | No. | pl. | Allomorphs | Semantics |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ʔA-* | *a-, ɨ-, ɨː-* | 9 | *ʃE-* | *ʃe-, ʃɛ-, ʃi-, ʃiː-* | Miscellaneous but includes numerous animals |
| 2 | *E-* | *ɛ-, ɛː-, i-, iː-* | 10 | *mO-* | *mo-, moː-, mɔ-, mu-, muː-* | Miscellaneous |
| 3 | *O-* | *o-, oː-, ɔ-, u-, uː-* | | | | Plants and animals |
| 4 | *bE-* | *bɛ-, bi-* | 11 | *E-* | *ɛ-, i-* | Plants and animals |
| 5 | *bO-* | *bu-, bo-, bɔ-, bʷ-* | 12 | *A-* | *a-, aː-, ə-, ɨ-, ø-* | Persons |
| 6 | *mA-* | *ma-, mɨ-* | | | | Mass, uncountable |
| 7 | *tV-* | *tɛ-, tɔ-, tu-* | | | | Miscellaneous but includes body parts |
| 8a | *kA-* | *ka-, kɨ-* | | | | Rare |
| 8b | *kE-* | *kɛ-, ki-* | | | | Rare |
| 8c | *kO-* | *kɔ-, ku-, kʷ-* | | | | Rare |

The affixes are grouped according to whether they are used for singular, plural, uncountable and as derivational prefixes.

Class markers harmonise for height with the first vowel of the root or word where they are prefixed. There may be an additional small class similar to class 1, containing singular nouns with *ʔA-* agreement markers, but with *A-* class markers on the noun. However, there is some variability between speakers, and even for the same speaker.

There is a loose semantic basis for grouping noun roots into classes and genders. Class 6 contains non-count nouns, such as *mɨ-ní* ‘water’, *mà-nɛbɛ* ‘oil’. The

gender 5/12 is used almost solely for people. Classes 2, 4, 7 and 8, forming genders 2/8, 4/8 and 4/7 are broadly associated with smaller items, although some larger things are also included, for example 'cows' *bɛ-ná ɛ-ná* ( gender 4/7). Class 7 *tU-* is a derivational prefix commonly attached to a verb to create a noun, but can also be attached to a noun to derive another noun. The resultant noun behaves like other nouns, with the class marker *tU-*. This class is occasionally used for uncountable nouns which have no obvious derivation from a verb or another noun, like *tɛgá* 'porridge'. Classes 8a-c are rare, with only a total of eight examples recorded to date. The most common of these is *kɔ-ɯ́gɔ* 'food' which probably derives from *ɯa* 'to eat'.

### 3.7 The Shiroro languages

The Shiroro group consists of four languages, usually known as Rin, Fungwa, Baushi and Gurmana.[7] Baushi can be considered as language cluster with six members. The name proposed here is based on the proximity to Shiroro lake. The Shiroro languages have previously been treated as part of the Kamuku cluster, but there is no evidence for this and here they are treated as an independent branch of Kainji. The Rin (= Rĩ, formerly Pongu) language was surveyed by Dettweiler & Dettweiler (2003a) and MacDonell & Smith (2004) have circulated a phonology and grammar of Rin. For the other languages there is only wordlist data. The Rin system of nominal prefixes is quite reduced, with a *bV-* singular prefix predominant, and several class pairings with a zero singular prefix. Unlike many other Kainji languages, the correspondences with Niger-Congo classes have been somewhat better preserved. Figure 11 shows the likely subgrouping of the Shiroro languages.

Table 24 is a summary table of Rin nominal affixes, re-arranged from the data in MacDonell & Smith (2004) with a column listing the allomorphs of the singular prefixes which are reflected in different affix pairings. Tone is not marked in the source.

Rin has retained the Niger-Congo Class 6 prefix for liquids and mass nouns and a possible trace of the persons class (1/2). The predominance of the *a-* plural affix recalls the Kambari languages and the *tV-* prefix for mass nouns resembles the *tsV-* prefix also found in Kambari.

[7]For reasons that are unclear (perhaps typographical error?), Gerhardt (1989) placed Fungwa and Rin with Kamuku in opposition to Baushi and Gurmana. The present group was proposed and provided with some justification in Blench (1988) and has been confirmed by more detailed work (Dettweiler & Dettweiler 2003a; see especially their footnote 11).

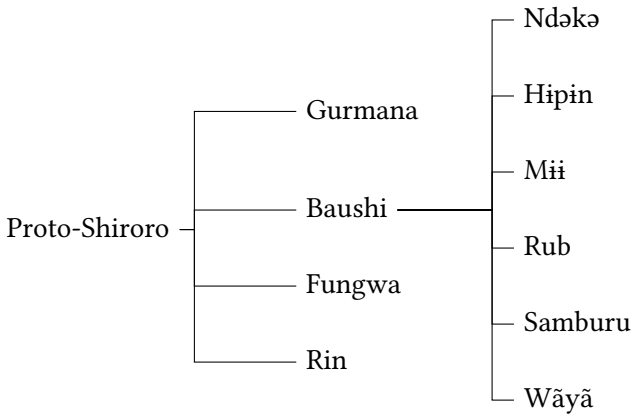


Figure 11: : The Shiroro languages

Table 24: Rin nominal affixes

| No. | Singular | Allomorphs | Plural | Semantics |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *bV-* | *bi-* | *N-* | animal, object |
| | | *bi-* | *i-* | animal |
| | | *bu-* | *a-* | human |
| | *Ø* | *Ø* | *a-* | object |
| | | *Ø* | *a-* | animal |
| | | *Ø* | *N-* | animal |
| | *a-* | *a-* | *su-* | animal |
| 6 | *ma-* | | — | mass, non-count |
| | *ri-* | *ɾi-* | *a-* | object |
| | *tV-* | *tə-* | — | mass, non-count |
| | *u-* | | *N-* | object |
| | | | *a-* | object |

## 3.8 The Basa cluster

The Basa languages are spread across a wide area of central Nigeria, scattered among unrelated languages. This is probably the result of nineteenth century slave raiding. In many of the communities in the northwest, the language is moribund or only remembered by elderly speakers. As far as the fragmentary

evidence goes, the Basa languages are all closely related, with Table 25 showing a cluster rather than a set of distinct languages.

Table 25: The Basa languages

| Basa language cluster |
|---|
| Basa-Kontagora (†) |
| Basa-Gumna (†) |
| Kɔrɔmba (formerly Basa-Gurmana) |
| Basa-Gurara |
| Basa-Kwali |
| Basa-Benue (formerly Basa-Kwomu) |
| Basa-Makurdi |

The Basa languages probably fall into seven groups as shown in Figure 12. The subclassification is based on impressions of lexical differences.

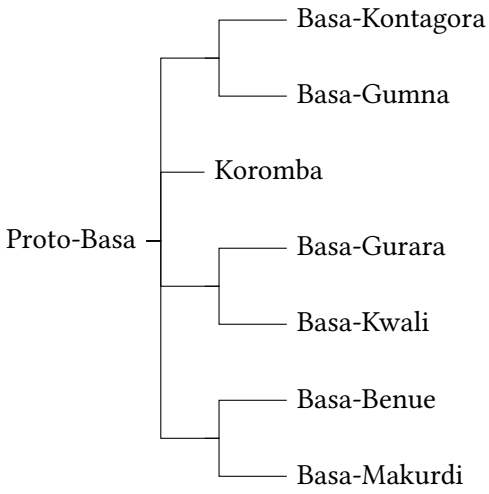


Figure 12: The subclassification of the Basa languages

Fieldwork was conducted on Basa-Benue in conjunction with Paul Imoh and the late Robert Hyslop in 1984; for other languages in the cluster only wordlist data exists. Imoh (2002) is a preliminary phonology and morphology of Basa

which differs somewhat from the account presented here. Tones were not marked when this data was collected.

One of the early names for West Kainji was "Basa-Kamuku", mainly because these were the languages for which data was accessible. However, the impression has remained that Basa and Kamuku have a privileged relationship, for which there seems to be no evidence. Basa-Benue noun prefixes are unique among Kainji languages in having developed three-way number marking, even if some traces of this exist in the Kambari cluster. As with Nilo-Saharan, the middle term or first plural applies to the item in general, or in an undefined quantity. In other words it is a non-countable plural where an additional plural has developed. Only a minority of nouns have three-term number marking, and those with a nasal prefix on the primary plural seem to be excluded. The second plural is countable and applies to groups or clusters of the item and, but can also be used as a distributive. The singular is a singulative, i.e. it implies a unique item. So:

(15) Basa-Benue noun prefixes: three-way number marking

a. Chili pepper
*i-kpekpe* 'single chili pepper'
*o-kpokpo* 'chili pepper(s), generic'
*ʃi-kpokpo* 'piles of chili peppers'

b. Broom
*bi-ʃoʃo* 'single broom'
*i-ʃeʃe* 'broom(s), generic'
*n-ʃoʃo* 'groups of brooms'

The prefixes are either V- or CV-. Basa permits a large number of nominal affixes and pairings, probably the consequence of the breakdown and re-analysis of the three-way number marking.

In addition, the -V in nominal prefixes in Basa can affect both the $C_1$ of the stem and the stem vowels. Table 26 shows the far from transparent relationship between a singular stem *-a-* and *-E-* in the plural.

However, as the second set shows, there are a variety of isolated possibilities for vowel change which do not seem to be predictable. A less common alternation is *o↔(w)e*. The absence of phonological conditioning is shown by the pair of words in Table 27.

Where the first syllable of the stem begins with either a palatal or a labial, the -V of the prefix can act both to delete the semi-vowel and sometimes cause changes in the vowel. Thus (16):

(16) Basa-Benue: prefixes on stems with initial palatal or labial consonants

| Gloss | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 'guinea-fowl' | *u-yogwu* | *ʃa-igwu* |
| 'child' | *yɛ-u* | *myà-wɔ* |

Other examples of vowel mutation are more difficult to explain. Basa can also manifest intrusive nasals in the plural stem as in (17), a phenomenon more common in Plateau languages.

(17) Basa-Benue: intrusive nasals in plural stems

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'large bowl' | *u-gbaʤo* | *o-gbonʤo* |
| 'home' | *u-hwɛ* | *n-hwan* |

The vowel in some CV- prefixes is underspecified and can change in order to harmonise with the 'underlying' second vowel in the noun stem. This is most

Table 26: *a/E* vowel alternations in Basa number marking

| Gloss | Singular | Middle | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'grass sp.' | *bu-baza* | *tu-baza* | *i-bɛzɛ* |
| 'horse' | *bu-dakwa* | — | *i-dɛkwɛ* |
| 'hand' | *u-ala* | — | *i-ɛlɛ* |
| 'bow' | *u-ta* | — | *i-tɛ* |
| 'dog' | *u-wɛwɛ* | — | *ʃì-wawa* |
| 'termite' | *u-da* | — | *i-de* |
| 'antelope sp.' | *bɛ-ʃɛmba* | — | *i-ʃimbɛ* |
| 'tree' | *u-'wu'wu* | — | *i-'wɛ'wɛ* |

Table 27: Non-phonologically motivated vowel alternations

| Gloss | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 'chick' | *bi-yoyo* | *o-yoyo* |
| 'goat' | *bi-yoyo* | *i-yweywe* |
| and: | | |
| 'rope' | *u-hwohwo* | *i-hwehwe* |
| 'bicycle' | *i-cece* | *n-coco* |

marked in the case of the *ʃV-* plural prefix. The prefix allomorphs are shown in Table 28.

Table 28: Prefix and stem harmony in Basa

| | Example | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *ʃa-* | *ʃa-luma* | 'hens' |
| *ʃɛ-* | *ʃɛ-mbɛ* | 'grasses' |
| *ʃe-* | *ʃe-jeʒe* | 'rays' |
| *ʃi-* | *ʃi-lala* | 'pestles' |
| *ʃo-* | *ʃo-rubo* | 'francolins' |

There are no cases of *ʃɔ-* and *ʃu-* at present recorded. The *ʃi-* prefix is most common and can apparently occur with any stem vowel, synchronically. This prefix is widespread in related languages and is probably the underlying form inherited from Proto-Basa.

A similar plural prefix *tV-* has a more limited range of variants. In this case, the *tu-* form is dominant and again this corresponds to a similar prefix in other languages. The exact logic of the prefix vowels remains to be understood.

Table 29: Basa Benue variation with plural prefix *tV-*

| Form | Example | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *tɛ-* | *tɛ-jɛrɛka* | 'stone wedges' |
| *ti-* | *ti-kpeku* | 'hills' |
| *tu-* | *tu-zogu* | 'bush-melons' |

With a few exceptions, words that have singular prefixes beginning in *m-*, *s-*, or *t-* do not form plurals. These affixes may originally have been applied only to uncountable nouns, such as liquids, but presently they seem to have no semantic unity and may have been generalised by analogy to countable nouns.

## 4 Conclusions

The Kainji languages demonstrate clear evidence for an original system of noun classes defined by nominal affixing and alliterative concord. However, the poten-

tial to reconstruct a proto-system is limited by the sparsity or absence of descriptions for many subgroups. Beyond that, however, the affix systems seem to show remarkable diversity, with only limited correspondences between branches. The observations of McGill (2009) on the noun-class system of Cicipu could apply to much of Kainji:

> It will be clear to anyone familiar with the Benue-Congo or Bantu literature that, superficially at least, the Cicipu system is very different to both the suggested Proto-Benue-Congo (PBC) reconstructions (e.g. de Wolf 1971) and the present-day Bantu systems. There are fewer classes, and the forms of the original PBC prefixes have in some cases changed beyond recognition. Nevertheless, there are also striking similarities, in particular the robust and ubiquitous alliterative agreement … Much the same could be said about the other Kainji languages for which we have data – the prefixes and class pairings are much changed from PBC, but the mechanics of the agreement system have been retained.

The systems have eroded and been renewed in a variety of ways in different subgroups, and in particular some languages seem to have evolved highly divergent 'new' prefixes. One of the distinctive features of Kainji languages is the apparently random way singular and plural affixes shift their number marking. Thus Reshe has a Bantu-like *u-*/*bu-* (1/2) person marking affix pairing. Shuba has *bV-* marking plural persons but the singular prefix is the unfamiliar *do-*. In Hungwəryə the singular class marker for persons is bu- now paired with a plural *ə-*. A preliminary hypothesis to explain this would be that the three-way number marking found in Basa languages was formerly more widespread, and as the classes collapsed innovative class pairings resulted.

The following generalisations about Proto-Kainji seem to be supported by the data.

a) Proto-Kainji had a rich system of nominal prefixes and alliterative concord. It is possible the affixing originally showed a three-way distinction, still attested in Basa.

b) Proto-Kainji had the bilabial unpaired affix *mV-* for liquids and other mass nouns attested widely in Niger-Congo and usually assigned to Class 6.

c) Proto-Kainji had a class pair for persons, perhaps *u-/ba-* which can be treated as cognate with Bantu 1/2.

d) Proto-Kainji had underspecified vowels in a *kV-* and possibly also *tV-* and *SV-* nominal prefixes, whereby the *-V* shows harmony with the stem vowel.

e) Proto-Kainji had a diminutive (and perhaps augmentative) affix marker *kV-* (also found in some Plateau languages) which has become homophonous with a separate *kV-* marker.

f) Proto-Kainji allowed prefix swapping to indicate characteristics of the noun, marking qualities such as length or personhood.

g) If Proto-Kainji had a homorganic plural nasal prefix, the evidence is now hard to discern, since it is only clearly attested in some East Kainji and Kambari cluster languages.

Once languages where the affixes are eroded are discounted, there remains the problem of whether Reshe can be said to be part of the system. There are almost no correspondences between the Reshe system and the other branches, suggesting it is a renewed system of unknown origin. Understanding Kainji should be a priority goal in the light of its importance in the reconstruction of Proto-East Benue-Congo, but this will require a great deal more data collection and analysis.

## Acknowledgements

Individual assistants and informants for particular languages are listed in the Appendix and acknowledged in particular sections, as well as in the Appendix. This chapter could not have been prepared without access to a substantial body of unpublished data, and much of the material has been re-analysed from this. However, I would also like to thank a large number of people for discussion and help in the field. These include Appollos Agamalafiya, Jennifer Davey, Steve and Sonia Dettweiler, David Heath, David & Liz Crozier, Robert (†) and Joyce Hyslop, John Nengel, Barau Kato, James McDonell, Gareth and Katherine Mort and Stuart McGill, Becky Paterson and Clark Regnier (†). Larry Hyman acted as a reviewer and made many helpful comments, as well as suggesting comparisons and extensions of these ideas. A significant update on the East Kainji material has been possible following fieldwork in Nigeria in February-May 2016. Thanks to Luther Hon and the Elm House Survey Department for help with logistics and community relations.

## Abbreviations and conventions

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | any central vowel | O | any mid-back vowel |
| C | consonant | S | s or ʃ |
| E | any mid-front vowel | V | Vowel |
| N | any nasal | | |

## Appendix A. Data sources for the Kainji Languages

Table 30: Principal unpublished sources for Kainji languages

| Branch | Subgroup | Language | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reshe | | Reshe | Harris, mss., Agamalafiya, Blench, Dettweilers |
| Upper Niger | Rerang | Rop | Meek, Blench, McGill |
| | Laru | Shuba | Blench, McGill |
| | | Shen | Meek, Sterk, Blench, McGill |
| Northwest | Lela | cLela Zuru | Hoffmann, Rikoto, Dettweilers, Regnier, Blench |
| | | cLela Ribah | Blench |
| | Hun | tHun | Skitch & Cressman, Regnier, Dettweilers, Heath |
| | | sSaare | Regnier, Dettweilers, Blench |
| | Gwamhi | Gwamhyə | Regnier, Rowlands, Blench, McGill |
| | | Wurə | Regnier, Blench, McGill |
| | | Mba | Blench, McGill |
| | ut-Ma'in | Kag | Blench, Regnier |
| | | Fer | Regnier |
| | | Jiir | Regnier |
| | | Kər | Regnier |
| | | Koor | None |
| | | Ror | Smith, Regnier |
| | | Us | Regnier |
| | | Zuksun | Rowlands |
| | ? | Damakawa | McGill |

Table 31: Unpublished sources for Kainji languages (continuation of Table 30)

| Branch | Subgroup | Language | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kambari | | CiShingini | Hoffmann, Crozier, Stark et al. |
| | | Tsivaɗi | Lovelace, Blench |
| | | Baangi | Blench |
| | | Tsɨkimba | Blench, Stark et al. |
| | | Agwara | Mierau, Stark et al. |
| | | Cicipu | McGill, Dettweilers |
| East | | Gbiri | Wenger |
| | | Boze | Blench |
| | | Sheni | Blench |
| | | Moro | Blench |
| Kamuku | | Shama | Regnier, Yoder et al., McGill |
| | | Rogo-Shyabe | Regnier, Yoder et al., Blench, McGill |
| | | Səgəmuk | Regnier |
| | | Cinda | Regnier, Blench, Mort, Yoder et al. |
| | | Regi | Regnier, Omanor, Yoder et al. |
| | | Kuki | Regnier, Blench, Yoder et al. |
| | | Zubazuba | Yoder et al., Blench, McGill |
| | | Kagare | Yoder et al. |
| | | Hungwəryə | Davey |
| Shiroro | | Fungwa | Blench, McGill |
| | | Rin | Rowlands, Regnier, Dettweilers, Blench, MacDonell & Smith |
| | | Wəgə | Blench, McGill |
| | | Gurmana | Johnston, Blench, McGill |
| | Baushi | Ndəkə | Regnier |
| | | Hɨpɨna | McGill |
| | | Rubu | None |
| | | Mɨɨn | Gimba, Blench |
| | | Samburu | None |
| | | Wãyã | Dettweiler |
| Basa | | Basa Kontagora | Rowlands, Blench |
| | | Basa-Gumna | Blench |
| | | Kɔrɔmba | Blench |
| | | Basa-Gurara | Sterk |
| | | Basa-Benue | Blench |
| | | Basa-Makurdi | Blench |

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