#### Areal diffusion in the Chadic-Kanuri contact zone

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#### **Contact linguistics in the Lake Chad region**

- Focus on the linguistic impact of Kanuri on neighbouring languages, e.g.:
  - on Chadic languages such as Bade, Buduma, Malgwa, Ngizim, and on Shuwa Arabic and on Adamawa Fulfulde (e.g. Awagana 2001; Cyffer 2006; Löhr 1998; Mohammadou 1997; Owens 1998; Schuh 2003, 2011; Ziegelmeyer 2009a, 2009c, 2010, 2014).
- Kanuri imprint on neighbouring languages is without controversy
- Becomes manifest especially in the lexicons, e.g. borrowing of content words, and function words, and to a lesser degree in the transfer of derivational morphology

## **Contact linguistics in the Lake Chad region**

- Against an exclusively unidirectional line of "Kanuricisation" of Chadic languages
- Kanuri itself owes a fair degree of its typological structures to interference with Chadic languages
- Recognized e.g. by Cyffer (1998): the Kanuri TAM system departs from a much less elaborate system still found in Teda-Daza and Beria
- Also recognized by Wolff & Löhr (2005): changes in the Kanuri TAM system, especially with respect to coding information structure, result from interference by Chadic substratum languages

# Kanuri and its neighbours

- Historically rather recent invasion of Kanuri speakers into Lake Chad region
- Kanuri speakers have been in contact with speakers of Chadic languages, at the least since the expansion of the Kanem-Borno empire into regions west of Lake Chad
- Before its advent in the Lake Chad region Kanuri probably was part of a different linguistic alliance in the East
- Heine's (1976) typology of African languages points out a convergence
  zone of Nilosaharan and Afroasiatic languages in north-eastern Africa

# Kanuri and its neighbours

- By the same token Amha & Dimmendaal (2006) discuss typological convergence between Nilosaharan languages (Saharan and Nubian) and Afroasiatic languages of Ethiopia (Omotic, Cushitic and Semitic)
- As shared typological properties they propose:
  - converbs
  - verb-final syntax
  - extensive case marking
- Today Saharan and Nubian languages exhibiting this set of typological features do not form a contiguous geographic zone, however, there is some paleo-climatic evidence pointing to an ancient contact zone in northeastern Africa

### **Contact in the Lake Chad region**

- We can show that Kanuri and Chadic languages have been in mutual contact, e.g. Schuh (2003) argues, that Chadic loanwords entered Kanuri particularly in the domains of native flora and fauna
- On the other hand, there has been strong impact of Kanuri on the lexicons of several neighbouring languages, e.g. Bade, Buduma, Malgwa, Ngizim (cf. Schuh 2003, Ziegelmeyer 2009c)
- The phonetic realization of Kanuri loanwords in neighbouring languages suggests that its influence has been particularly strong during the expansion of Kanem-Borno Empire

#### Language contact in the Lake Chad region

 Proposed periods of influence and directions of transfer in the wider Lake Chad region (Ziegelmeyer 2009c):

Chadic	$\rightarrow$	Kanuri	early history
Kanuri	$\rightarrow$	Chadic	16 <sup>th</sup> to 19 <sup>th</sup> century
Kanuri	$\rightarrow$	Adamawa Fulfulde	16 <sup>th</sup> to 19 <sup>th</sup> century
Fulfulde	$\rightarrow$	Chadic (in Adamawa)	19 <sup>th</sup> and 20 <sup>th</sup> cent.
Hausa	$\rightarrow$	Fulfulde, Kanuri, Chadic	present

### **Contact-induced changes in the Lake Chad region**

- The **results of mutual language contact** in the wider Lake Chad region are evident **in different linguistic domains**, e.g.:
  - **1.** Borrowing of content words (cf. Schuh 2003)
  - 2. Extensive borrowing of function words, e.g. coordinators, subordinators, discourse markers (cf. Schuh 2011, Ziegelmeyer 2009a, 2009c, 2009d)
  - **3. Transfer of derivational morphology**, e.g. derivation of agentive nouns in Bade (cf. Ziegelmeyer 2014)
  - 4. Semantic calquing, e.g. semantics of the verbs "eating" and "drinking"
  - 5. <u>Diffusion of structural features</u> (cf. Ziegelmeyer 2009c)

## **Diffusion of structural features**

- Typological features which are thought to be relevant for
  establishing the convergence zone at issue will be discussed
- The methodology has been to survey the presence and absence of a certain candidate feature esp. in Chadic and Saharan languages
- Strong evidence for the "Chadicisation" of Kanuri comes from features which are shared between Kanuri and Chadic languages, but which are absent in the Saharan languages Teda-Daza and Beria

## **Summary of features**

	Feature	Н	Ch	K	Knb	T-D	В
1	ATR harmony	-	R	-	+	+	+
2	Exceed comparatives	+	F	+/-		-	-
3	TAM coding information structure	+	R	+	+	-	-
4	Predicative possession: conjunctional	+	F	+		-	-
5	Pluractionals with reduplication	+	F	+		-	-
6	NP conjunction: "with"	+	F	+		-	+/-
7	Vague future	+	R	+		-	-
8	Dichotomy in standard negation	+	F	+		-	-
9	Special prohibitive	+	F	+	-	-	-
10	Non-verbal predication possible	-	F	+		+	-
11	Mixed order of adverbial subordinator	-	R	+	+	-	-
12	Polar question particle	+	F	+		+	-
13	Emphatic reflexives with "head"	+	F	+		-	-

H = Hausa, Ch = Chadic except for Hausa, K = Kanuri, Knb = Kanembu, T-D = Teda-Daza, B = Beria, R = rare, F = frequent

## Areal feature 1: Lack of ATR vowel harmony

- According to Jakobi & Crass (2004) ATR vowel harmony plays an important role in the morphophonology in Beria
- They further state that: "Le système vocalique du teda, equissé par Mark Ortman (comm.pers., 30.10.2001), est identigue à celui du beria." Jakobi & Crass (2004: 38).
- Dazaga exhibits vowel harmony based on the feature [ATR], cf. Walters 2015
- **ATR vowel harmony** is also attested in **Kanembu** varieties, e.g. Kanembu of Ngaldoukou (Jouannet 1982: 74), pers. comm. Bondarev & Löhr
- Kanuri is the only Saharan language without ATR vowel harmony, therefore, loss trough contact with Chadic languages is a plausible explanation

## **Areal feature 2: Exceed comparatives**

 Stassen (2013a) identifies two types of comparative constructions in African languages, i.e. exceed comparatives, e.g. in Hausa and Margi and locational comparatives, e.g. in Kanuri and Teda-Daza. Including Beria locational comparatives seem to be the typical pattern in all Saharan languages, where a locative postposition or suffix follows the standard NP.



#### **Locational comparatives**

#### Kanuri

Musà	Kanò- <b>rò</b>	lejîn		Musà	Alì- <b>rò</b>	kurà	wò	
Musa	Kano-DIR	go.3sg.im	PF	Musa	Ali-dir	big	СОР	
Musa is tr	avelling to	<i>Kano</i> (Cyffer 1991: 3	33)	Musa is b	igger than	Ali (Cyffer	1991: 86)	
Teda-Dazo	a							
kasúgu		du	adé-num		nta	du	addę́-yo	
market		LOC	wife-poss2	2sg	2sg	LOC	small-if/wh	ien
at the ma	<i>rket</i> (Lukas	s 1953: 158)	when you	r wife is sn	naller than	<i>you</i> (Luka	s 1953: 159)	
áì this	áì = rừ this=DAT	case enclitic can be u kóré short <i>in this</i> (Walters 2015:		nparative o	constructio	ons		
<b>Beria</b> bègìdìnǐı tree there is a	tree in froi	bìὲgí- <b>rέ</b> house-ADV <b>2</b> nt of the house (Jakol	áā- <b>rē</b> mouth-AD bi & Crass 2		<del>J</del> ÎI COP			
àbéʃè Abeche <i>Abeche is</i>	•	a- <b>rě</b> na-ADV2 very.smal <i>an N'Djamena</i> (Jako		2004: 162)	)			13

#### **Areal feature 2: Exceed comparatives**

HausaAudùyaafiMuusaawàayooAuduЗм.ргexceedMusaclevernessAudu is cleverer than Musa(Jaggar 2001: 474)

Marginàjàgàmdíadàdádzègàm/dzègàmkùr3sgNARRsurpass.1sg.withtall/tallnesshe is taller than I (Hoffmann 1963: 71)

*Miya* mà **ra**-tlá ma(a) aa mban-uw you.PF exceed-her NEG for beauty-NEG *you are not more beautiful than her* (Schuh 1998: 315)

Bade Bàlaa kàɗa Mammàn ii tâgwda
 Bala surpass.PF Mamman in money
 Bala is richer than Mamman (field notes 2008)

#### **Areal feature 2: Exceed comparatives**

#### Kanuri

ModùFatìnèmkurà-nkozənàModuFatibigness-LOCsurpass.3sg.PFModu is bigger than Fati(Cyffer 1991: 142)

Màidùgùri Kanò nàmcintà-n **kozənà** Maiduguri Kano distance-LOC surpass.3sG.PF *Maiduguri is farther than Kano* (Cyffer 1991: 142)

#### Shuwa Arabic

káano	ba'íid	b-ufúut	jós		
Kano	far	it-passes	Jos		
Kano is farther than Jos (Owens 1993: 195)					

# Areal feature 3: T/A for information structure

- **Tense/aspect** as **coding means for information structure** is known from several West African languages, among them **Hausa**, **Fulfulde** and many others (cf. Frajzyngier 2004).
- This feature is not restricted to the Chadic-Kanuri contact zone
- This phenomenon typically concerns focus constructions, e.g. in Hausa there are two morphologically different paradigms for the perfective and the imperfective
- In addition to their tense/aspect functions such multiple systems also carry pragmatic functions
- Kanuri converged insofar as it operates a similar system in the completive aspect

# T/A as coding means for information structure

Hausa

AudùyaatàfikàasuwaaneutralAudu3m.PFgomarketAudu went to the market (Newman 2000: 188)

Audù(nee)yatàfikàasuwaafocusAudu(FSEM)3m.FOC\_PFgomarketIt is Auduwho went to the market (Newman 2000: 188)

yanàabaayanbishiyàaneutral3m.IMPFbehindtreehe is behind the tree (Newman 2000: 188)

baayanbishiyàayakèfocusbehindtree3m.FOC\_IMPFit's behind the tree he is (Newman 2000: 188)

# T/A as coding means for information structure

Kanuri

Musà	Kanòrò		lèwonò			neutral
Musa	Kano. D	IR	go.3sg.p/	AST		
Musa w	<i>ent to Kano</i> (Cyffer	2000: 169)	)			
	Musà-ma	Kanòrò		lèzô		focus
	Musa-FOC	Kano.dir	ł	go.3sg.n	EP	
	it was Musa, who	went to K	ano (Cyffe	r 2000: 16	9)	
Musà	sawànzə	curò				neutral
Musa	friend-poss3sg	3sg.see.	PAST			
Musa sa	w his friend (Cyffer	2000: 169	)			
	sawà-nzə-ma-gà		Musà-yè		surò	focus
	friend-poss3sg-fo	C-DO	Musa-AG		3sg.see.nep	
	it's his friend who Musa saw (Cyffer 2000: 169)					

# T/A as coding means for information structure

- Note that neither Beria nor Teda-Daza exhibit a special tense or aspect form which is used with focus constructions. E.g. in Dazaga focus is indicated by case markers and/or preverbal position, (cf. Walters 2015)
- According to Walters (2015: 185): "Other *focus constructions, which do not involve case markers or the preverbal position, are reported in Kanuri* (Wolff & Löhr 2006; Ziegelmeyer 2011). These focus constructions do not appear to have parallels in Dazaga".

	Kanuri	Hausa	Fulfulde
Imperfective	-	+	+
Perfective	+	+	+
Relative clause	-	+	+
Narrative	-	+	+
Negation	-	-	-

Use of "Focus"-TAMs in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri

#### Areal feature 4: Predicative possession = conjunctional

Stassen (2013b) proposes a typology of predicative possession. Among the strategies he distinguishes between transitive constructions, i.e. Have-Possessive, where the possessor NP and the possessed NP function as the subject and the direct object of a 'have'-verb, and syntactically intransitive constructions the possessive construction has the basic form of an existential sentence.



#### Areal feature 4: Predicative possession = conjunctional

- It appears that Beria and Teda-Daza exhibit a 'have'-verb (e.g. TD ta (2)). "Locative existential predicates are not used to express possession in Dazaga ... Rather, like many Nilo-Saharan languages ..., possession is expressed by a transitive verb meaning 'have' " (Walters 2015: 164)
- In Kanuri no verb for 'have' exists, instead predicative possession has to be expressed either by a locational strategy, or by the prominent option within the conjunctional possessive, i.e. by the use of the comitative marker 'with' on the possessed NP (often referred in the literature to as the with-possessive), e.g.
  - redìyò kùruwù-**à** a) nânyîn mbəji b) kərì adà səmò place.my radio dog this long-com EXIST ear I have a radio (Cyffer 1991: 39) this dog has long ears (Cyffer 1991: 97)
- **Conjunctional possessives are prominent in Chadic languages**, and the with-type is found e.g. in Hausa, Western Bade, Ngizim, Malgwa.



- according to (Newman 1990: 134) "pluractional verb formation which is and was an extremely common and productive Chadic feature"
- E.g. in Hausa and languages of the Bade-Ngizim group pluractionals are typically formed by reduplication of a root consonant, i.e. pluractional verbs differ from the simple root by addition of a CV(V) syllable.
- Reduplication is also found in Fulfulde. (Klingenheben 1963: 212) "Die Reduplikationsstämme haben intensiv-iterative Bedeutung. Sie können in der Reduplikation der ganzen Wurzel [...] oder in der des letzten Radikals der Wurzel [...] bestehen.", e.g. hathad- "prevent repeatedly" < had-"prevent", torr- "molest" > tor- "beg".

 According to Khidir (2005) Beria forms pluractionals by either a different verb base or by addition or change of vowels, e.g.

tɛn	kui	put	ır	ırar	break
ti	bε	place, put	kεdε	kɔdɔ	bring
cb	tε	carry			

- Jakobi & Crass (2004: 84-87) report suppletive verb roots differing in number of subject, and number of object. In Teda-Daza, suppletion seems to be related to number of objects only (cf. Lukas 1953: 61, Walters 2015: 115).
- In Teda-Daza pluractionals are often formed by vowel change (cf. Lukas 1953), e.g.

dil	dal	dye
lu	la	dig
l <mark>u</mark> s	las	hang up
y <mark>i</mark> t	yet	kill

 Although Kanuri has some cognate verbs with Teda-Daza, i.e. pluractional verbs dal, dye', la, dig', they have no pluractional meaning in present-day Kanuri. Instead pluractionals are usually formed by reduplication of the first syllable(s), e.g.:

mangin	mamangin	I am looking for repeatedly
saladin	<mark>sala</mark> saladin	they keep on selling
fiwono	fifiwono	he/she kept on pouring
baksana	babaksana	they have battered

## Areal feature 6: "With" NP conjunction

"... most of the languages of Africa in and below the Sahara ... have with-status." Stassen 2013c. For instance, in most Chadic languages the markers for noun phrase conjunction and comitative phrases are the same, e.g. in Hausa NPs are conjoined with the conjunction dà 'and' which is identical with the comitative preposition dà 'with'.



# Areal feature 6: "With" NP conjunction

 In Kanuri NPs are conjoined by the correlative use of a suffix -(C)a which is also employed in associative/comitative construction, e.g.

kâm	kamu- <b>à</b>	fê- <b>à</b>	fər- <b>a</b>
man	woman-com	COW-COM	horse-com
a man wi	th his wife	a cow and a horse	(Cyffer 1998: 70)

• According to Lukas (1953) **Teda-Daza uses different strategies** for NP conjunction and comitative constructions, e.g.

dána	du	túrku	ye	molofúr	ye
force	COM	jackal	COO	hyena	COO
with forc	e (Lukas 1953: 159)	the jacka	and the	hyena (Lul	kas 1953: 166)

In Beria the situation seems to be more complex. On the one hand the adverbializer1 -du/-tu/-ru (which according to Jakobi & Crass (2004: 157) corresponds in form and function to Kanuri -ro and Teda-Daza -du) can have interpretations of NP conjunction as well as comitative construction. On the other hand Beria also employs a comitative copula, which cannot be related to NP conjunction.

## Areal feature 7: Existence of "vague future"

- Vague future or potential (future) refers to a TAM form which expresses a range of attitudes like uncertainty, doubt, indefiniteness, probability, vagueness, etc. as to the future realization of an action or event.
- The vague future is typically found after conditional clauses, **indicating that something might happen** if the condition is fulfilled.
- Such special TAM forms are found in Hausa, Fulfulde (eastern varieties only),
  Kanuri and possibly in Miya and Kwami.
- The areal character of this feature has already been mentioned by Schubert (1971-73), Ziegelmeyer (1999) and Cyffer (2000). The following examples illustrate the semantics and functions of this specialized TAM form.

#### Areal feature 7: Existence of "vague future"

#### Hausa

bà **mâ** kaamà ɓàraawòn ba NEG 1PL.V\_FUT catch thief.DET NEG *we <u>will probably</u> not catch the thief* (Newman 2000: 587)

#### Kanuri

dulìnəmmaarantiròyìkkəmiyàkərà-à ...calòchildren.yourschool.togive.1sg.DEP\_FUTreading-coo ...learn.3PL.V\_FUTif you put your children to school, they'<u>ll probably</u> learn reading ...(Cyffer 1991: 149)

#### Fulfulde (Nigeria)

mi yahay luumo yalla/koo mi fott-**uma** e maako 1sg go.FUT market on.chance 1sg meet-v\_FUT with him *I'll go to the market on the chance that I <u>may</u> meet with him* (Arnott 1970: 275)

## Areal feature 8: Dichotomy in standard negation

- Standard negation can be defined as the basic way a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses.
- By dichotomy in standard negation I simply mean that negation of the perfective differs from negation of the imperfective (cf. Ziegelmeyer 2009b)
- The differences typically concern **form and/or position of the negative markers**.
- For instance, in Hausa negation of the imperfective employs a clause-initial negative marker baa, whereas in negation of all other indicative TAMs the finite clause subject-agreement pronoun and the predicate are surrounded by the discontinuous negative markers bà(a) ... ba, e.g.:

#### Areal feature 8: Dichotomy in standard negation

#### Hausa

baa	tàa	sooyà	kàazaa
NEG	3f.IMPF	fry	chicken
she is no	ot frying o	chicken (N	Newman 2000: 360)
bà	sù	daawoo	ba
NEG	3pl.pf	return	NEG
thev did	n't returr	n (Newma	an 2000: 357)
/		•	,

#### Kanuri

kərma	kulòlàn		cìdàjîn- <b>bâ</b>		
now	farm.at		work.3sgneg_impf		
now she is not working on the farm (Cyffer 1998: 39)					
biskà	Musà	Kanòrò	lèzə̂- <b>nyi</b>		
yesterday	Musa	Kano.to	go.3sgNEG_COMP		
yesterday Musa did not travel to Kano (Cyffer 1998: 40)					

#### Areal feature 8: Dichotomy in standard negation

- Apart from Hausa dichotomy in standard negation is also found in some Chadic languages, e.g. Western Bade, Miya, Guruntum (cf. examples below).
- According to Walters (2015) in Dazaga standard negation is expressed by suffixation of -ní or its allomorphs -mí, -dí to the verb. The same strategy is also used with negative imperatives. It is only in non-verbal clauses that other negation markers are used
- Beria shows no dichotomy in standard negation. The Negative Perfective and the Negative Imperfective take the suffix -3 which replaces the suffix -1 for the affirmative (Jakobi & Crass 2004: 93).

## Areal feature 9: Special negation in the prohibitive

- Special negation of non-indicative mood is found in many languages of northern
  Nigeria. The following criteria have been used for the classification of a special negative:
  - Negation markers of non-indicative mood are morphologically different from those engaged in indicative mood and/or,
  - 2. negation **markers** used in non-indicative mood **take different positions** in the sentence compared to those used in the indicative mood.
- Non-indicative mood is usually labelled as *imperative* and *subjunctive* typically expressing commands, exhortations, obligations, etc. In this case negation results in a *prohibitive*. In both cases negation of non-indicative mood differs from negation of indicative mood.

### Areal feature 9: Special negation in the prohibitive

luwù-mi!

*don't go out!* (Cyffer 1991: 123)

go.out-NEG\_COMP.2SG

#### Hausa

tàashi!	kadà	kà	taashì!
get.up.IMP	PROH	2m.sub	get.up
get up! (2sg.c.)	don't ge	<i>et up!</i> (2m.) (Newr	man 2000: 262-63)

#### Kanuri

luy-e!	
go.out-IMP.2sg.	
go out!	

#### Fulfulde

war(u)!	taa	war(u)!
come.IMP.2sg	PROH	come.IMP.2sg
come!	<i>don't come!</i> (Arn	ott 1970: 249 and 251)

wànde

PROH

# Areal feature 9: Special negation in the prohibitive

Note that the value "special imperative + special negative" cannot be corroborated for Dazaga. According to Walters (2015: 169) the suffix -ni is used to form "negative" **imperatives**", in addition to negating indicative clauses. "Negative imperatives" are identical in form to negated second person perfective indicative verb forms.



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#### Areal feature 10: Non-verbal predications and copulas

"Non-verbal predications are commonly encountered in clauses expressing
 identification, existence, location, or attribution of qualities ... Uncontroversial
 examples of non-verbal predications are those involving mere juxtaposition of non verbal words or constituents devoid of any predicative marking (noun phrases,
 adposition phrases, adverbs) ..." Creissels et al. (2008:130), e.g. in Kanuri

Bintù	ferò	Musà	Kanò-làn	nyi	kurà
Bintu	girl	Musa	Kano-Loc	2sg	big
Bintu is	a girl	Musa is	in Kano	you are	big

 "This type exists also, for example, in equational clauses of some Chadic languages, [e.g. Bade, Margi G.Z.], but on the whole, it is not particularly frequent in Africa." Creissels et al (2008: 131).
### Areal feature 10: Non-verbal predications and copulas

Although this type exists also in Teda-Daza (cf. Lukas 1953, Stassen 2013d, Walters 2015) it seems to be absent in Beria. Beria exhibits a set of copulas, e.g. copula of identification, copula of location, a locative-existential copula with future sense, and a comitative copula. Note that Beria copulas show inflectional values, e.g. person (except for 3<sup>rd</sup> persons) and

negation.



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### Areal feature 11: Order of adverbial subordinator and clause

As an effect of **mutual borrowing of function words**, in this case **adverbial subordinators**, **Kanuri and some Chadic languages converge with respect to the order of adverbial subordinator and clause**, exhibiting what Dryer (2013a) calls a **mixed type**. The **mixed type cannot be corroborated for Dazaga**: (Walters 2015: 231) "As is typical for SOV languages, subordinating morphemes in Dazaga are postpositional"



#### **Areal feature 12: Polar Questions**

According to Creissels et al. (2008) in African languages, verbal systems including special interrogative forms are not common, while **interrogative particles are particularly common**. Most **Chadic languages**, e.g. Hausa, Bade, Mupun, Tera, **have question particles**. Dryer (2013b) discusses different strategies for forming polar questions; the important features here are **question particles** vs. **interrogative verb morphology**.



#### **Areal feature 12: Polar Questions**

• In Kanuri polar questions take the particle **wa**, e.g.

Alì	isənà	wa?	manà	gùlzənàdə	jirè	<b>wa</b> ?	
Ali	come.3sg.pf	Q	talk	say.3sg.pf.det	truth	Q	
did Ali come?			is it the truth what he said?				

In Beria polar questions are formed by a suffix -a, which attaches to the finite verb in final position. Tone of the suffix -a is conditioned by the aspect (low in the imperfective and falling in the perfective), i.e. the suffix - a combines with inflectional values of the verb, cf. Jakobi & Crass (2004)

#### **Areal feature 12: Polar Questions**

 According to Lukas (1953) in Teda-Daza polar questions put the adverb da at the end of the sentence, e.g.

gənnajenəmma?(ma < da)</th>everythingprepare.2sg.PFQdid you prepare everything?

In Dazaga (cf. Walters 2015) polar questions are marked by the clause-final enclitic =rà and its allomorphs. The enclitic =rà always occurs clause-finally, cliticizing to the final word whether it is a verb or a word from another grammatical category. The yes/no question enclitic has an allomorph [mà] which occurs following a clause final [m].

#### Areal feature 13: Emphatic reflexives with the noun "head"

- A common feature of Saharan languages is a verbal extension with the morpheme -t-. This derivation is used to produce verb forms that lend themselves to translation as intransitive, passive, reflexive, or reciprocal verb forms in other languages, e.g. Kanuri rúkin "I see" > túrúkin "I see myself".
- Other reflexive expressions seem to be absent in Beria and Teda-Daza, e.g. Walters (2015: 109) writes: "There are no reflexive pronouns, and derived reflexive verbs are the only means of forming reflexive constructions".

#### Areal feature 13: Emphatic reflexives with the noun "head"

- Kanuri, however, also has emphatic reflexives constructions which use the noun kəlâ "head" (rô "life, soul", or nósku "life, soul") with possessive suffixes, e.g. wú kəlânyí cída ádə cidáko "I myself did this work".
- The Kanuri construction with "head" probably comes from Chadic
  languages which frequently use the noun "head" for both, basic, as well
  as emphatic reflexives, e.g. Hausa, Bade, Miya, Malgwa, Margi.
- Cf. Hausa: taa cùuci kântà "she harmed herself"; Hàliimà ita kântà zaa tà
  zoo "Halima herself will come"

 The structural features presented together with borrowing of content and function words, transfer of derivational morphology, and semantic calquing clearly point out a convergence zone in the Lake Chad region, and may corroborate historical findings in the one or other way.

 It has been proposed that Chadic (Nilotic, and Narrow Bantu) does not really belong to the Macro-Sudan belt (Güldemann 2008), as features are mostly untypical for them, but occur recurrently in member languages which border on the area and which thus could be viewed as participating in it.

Nevertheless, the further we go north towards the wider Lake Chad region it becomes obvious that a different linguistic alliance comes into effect which cannot be brought in line with neither Güldemann's Macro-Sudan belt nor with Clements & Rialland's (2008) Sudanic belt.

	Macro-Sudan belt	Sudanic belt	Chadic	Hausa	Kanuri
logophoricity	F		R	-	-
labio-velar stops	F	F	R	-	-
ATR harmony	F	F	R	-	-
S-(AUX)-O-V-X	F		A	-	-
V-O-NEG	F		F	+	-
labial flaps	F	F	R	-	-
absence of P-sounds		F	R	(+)	-
implosives		F	F	+	-
nasal vowels		F	A	-	-
3+ tone levels		F	R	-	-
"lax" question markers		F	?	+	<u>4</u> 5

- It becomes apparent that the linguistic alliance of the wider Lake
  Chad region cuts into a wider convergence zone, if we define the
  Sudanic belt or Macro-Sudan belt in its wideset sense as a broad
  sub-Saharan belt from the western end of the continent to the
  escarpment of the Ethiopian Plateau.
- I would like to put forward the hypothesis that speakers of Chadic languages spread into a part of the Sudanic belt, i.e. the wider Lake Chad region, from the north or northeast at a rather early point in history.

 Being in early contact with, or replacing Niger-Congo languages,
 Chadic languages probably took over features which are rather untypical for Afroasiatic, e.g. exceed comparatives, tone.

 Some Chadic languages on the southern fringes continued, and still continue to take over features of neighbouring languages of the Sudanic belt, e.g. logophoricity in Mupun, ATR harmony in Tangale, labio-velar stops in some languages of the Bole-Tangale group.

- Much later, but latest in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Kanuri speakers came from the east, and began to play an important role in the Lake Chad region.
- Although Kanuri also had some impact on neighbouring Chadic languages, the features presented here show that Kanuri departs in several respects from other Saharan languages.
- I hope my presentation helps to expand our understanding of areal phenomena in the Lake Chad region, and how those phenomena can contribute to a better understanding of the diachronic mechanisms in the macro-zone of the Sudanic belt.

# Thanks for your attention

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