

Bóde, Dgo:djin and Dó:ai in the Polyglotta Africana

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This report is based on research in progress in the Northeast State of Nigeria. The author is a Senior Research Fellow with the Centre for the study of Nigerian languages, Ahmadu Bello University and is currently based in Gashua, the headquarters of the Bade Division. The main informant for Western Bade (Koelle's Bóde) was Múuzà Gàná of Ámshì; the main informant for Duwai (Koelle's Dó:ai) was Zènáà, known as Bà'áskàrè, of Gàngàwà; the main informant for Ngizim (Koelle's Dgó:djin) was Málám Dán Bòoyí Kwàaná of Potiskum. Most of the Ngizim research was conducted in Potiskum during 1969-70 under the auspices of a US National Science Foundation grant, no. GS-2279 (Paul Newman, Principal Investigator).

Among Koelle's "Central African Languages" (Group VII) are listed three closely related languages, referred to by him as the "Bode dialects" Bóde, Dgó:djin and Dó:ai or Dó:ei (classed as VII. B. 3. a, b and c respectively). The modern pronunciations of the first and third of these names are Bádè and Dúwái respectively. The language which Koelle called Dgó:djin is today called Ngózóm.¹ While Koelle's name at first appears to be his orthographic representation of Ngózóm, it is in fact more likely to be the village name Ngwàjín, which was formerly an important fortified town of the Ngizims, though it is now only a small farming village. The village name itself is said to come from Kanuri ngójìn 'it will take' because when the original settlers arrived there they said àndíyà ngójìn '(this place) will take us'.

Some background on contemporary geographical distribution and linguistic relationship between these and other closely related dialects will give a basis for discussion of Koelle's lists. These languages all belong to the Bade-Ngizim group of the Chadic language family, classified as group 1. b in Greenberg (1963). Today, the dialects represented by Bade and Duwai in the Polyglotta, along with several dialects not found there, are known collectively as Bade. The name Duwai will be retained in discussion here though it is actually a name applied to this dialect by speakers of other Bade dialects. Ngizim, although it is geographically separate (see Fig. 2 below) and has a different name, is very

much a part of the same dialect group. It is, in fact, linguistically more closely related to the remainder of Bade dialects than is the so-called Duwai dialect of Bade. Fig. 1 gives the main contemporary dialect groups and their linguistic relationship to each other.

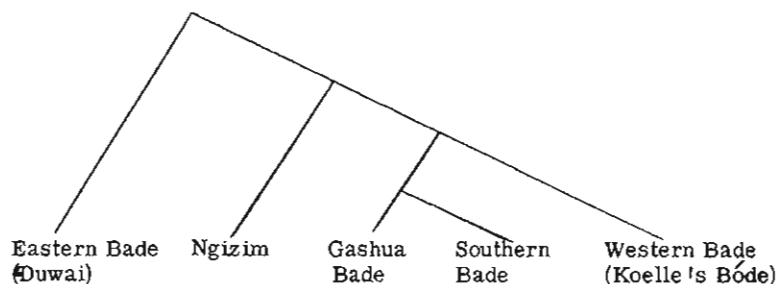


Fig. 1

The rough geographical distribution of these dialects is seen in Fig. 2.

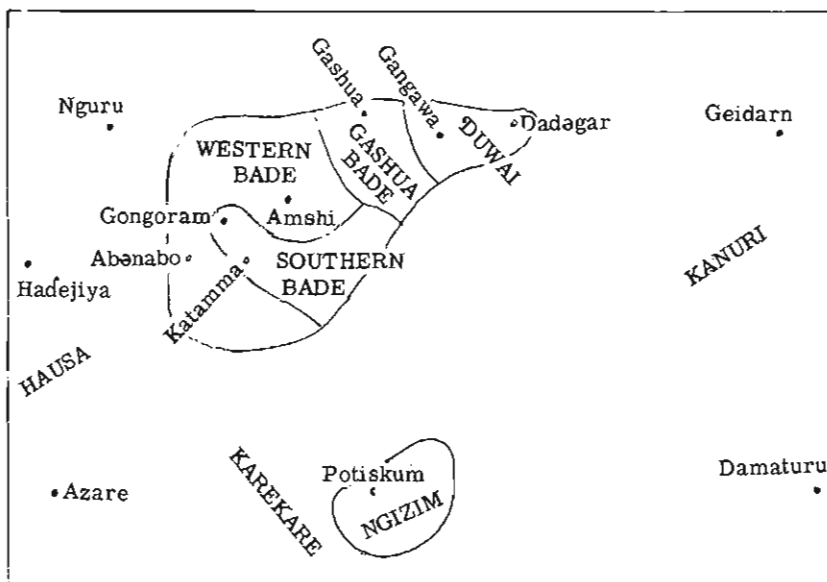


Fig. 2

From Figs. 1 and 2 it can be seen that, geographically and linguistically, Koelle's lists represent the three most remote points of the

Bade-Ngizim linguistic group. Koelle's Bade (= Western Bade) informant is said to come from A:bunógo. This must be the village Àabénàbó, situated on the western edge of the Bade speaking area. It was not possible to consult an informant from this particular village, but the Koelle list leaves little doubt as to the general dialect affinity. Koelle himself apparently recognized this affinity. In his introductory remarks (p. 10) he mentions a speaker from the "Ámosh district" (clearly the village of Amshì or Àmès, the village from which comes the Western Bade dialect cited in this paper). While he notes that his Amshi dialect is "somewhat different" from that of Abonabo, he chooses to include his remark on it under the Bóde of A:bunógo notes.

Koelle gives no village of origin for his Ngizim informant, but since Dgó:djin is apparently the village name Ngwajin rather than the language name Ngizim, we can speculate that Ngwajin was the informant's home town. There is very little linguistic variation within the Ngizim-speaking area anyway, so his exact village of origin is not too important.

The Duwai informant is said to have come from Getá:boma. This may be the village now called Kátámmá, but it seems unlikely that Koelle's Duwai informant was raised there even if he was born there, since Katamma is situated in the Southern Bade dialect area. Southern Bade is much more akin to Western Bade than to Duwai.

The dialect affinities can readily be seen by comparing words from Koelle's list with those words as pronounced in modern dialects:

	<u>Bade</u>		<u>Ngizim</u>		<u>Duwai</u>	
	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>modern</u>	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>modern</u>	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>modern</u>
'one'	gáde	gàdé	kéde:n	kídén	gúdi:o	gúdíyò
'two'	sélin	sérén	shílin	shírín	shílin	shírì
'three'	á:koa:n	kwán	kóa:n	kwán	ko:	kô
'six'	zdu	èzdù	sédu:	zèdù	ɛldégrma	èldègèrmà
'seven'	gádga:sa	gátkásà	gádga:sa	gátkásà	shléfaseli	tlèwèsèri
'eight'	shída:ko:a	tlédàkwà	dándafudu:	dándàfédú	shleda:ko	èldíákò
'pot'	gútko:án	gútkwán	dá:wei	dáawài	sá:ia	sáyà
'moon'	téla:n	təlán	téra	təřá	kí:a	kíyà
'tree'	dámun	dámón	dəm	dèm	í:dəm	íidèm
'horse'	du:an	dùwún	dú:ka	dùukà	dú:wok	dùwúk
'serpent'	kúgoa:n	kúwáan	bígda	mbíikdà	dófan	dèwèn
'black'	púlka	pólkà	áiwa	àayùwà	páləg	pélək

These examples demonstrate not only how lexical variation between dialects in the Koelle lists corresponds to that between the modern dialects, but also how more subtle pronunciation variations among cognate items correspond.

Little more need be said about the Ngizim and Duwai lists. Those languages as represented in Koelle's lists show almost no difference from lists of the same items in the modern languages. One must take into consideration certain idiosyncracies of Koelle's transcription system, of course. As in other lists in the Polyglotta, Koelle had difficulty in correctly distinguishing voiced and voiceless obstruents. Thus, for example, in the word for 'seven' in the Bade and Ngizim lists, he writes the medial consonants as voiced while they are in fact voiceless (see the table on p. 292 facing), but in the word for 'night' he writes a medial voiceless consonant whereas it is voiced, viz. Ngizim *də̀víd* (Koelle *deffíd*), Duwai *ə̀də̀víd* (Koelle *dofid*).

Modern Ngizim and Duwai (as well as some other Bade dialects) distinguish two "r" sounds ¹- a tongue-tip trill and a retroflex flap. All dialects also have l in contrast with the r(s). In the present paper, the trill in Ngizim and Duwai is written ř and the flap simply as r. (Modern Western Bade has only trilled r so no diacritics have been used.) Koelle consistently writes the flapped r as l, e. g. Ngizim *kúlam* 'hoe' is now pronounced *kùráam*, Duwai *élekai* 'bed' and Ngizim *láka* are now pronounced *rəkà* and *rákà* respectively (but cf. 'scorpion' Ngizim *wú:rdji*, Duwai *wú:rdji* written with r by Koelle and pronounced today as *wũřjí* and *wũřjí* respectively, with trilled r's.). Because of this transcription for flapped r used by Koelle, it is not possible to determine from his lists which words have true l, e. g. the word for 'black' in the table on p. 292, and which have flapped r.

We cannot explain Koelle's use of l for the sound that is realized today as flapped r by postulating a sound change *l > r which has occurred since the mid-nineteenth century². Such a change is out of the question for the following reason: l and r are in contrast in modern dialects. Thus, a putative *l > r change would have had to be sporadic, changing some l's but leaving others unaffected. Both Duwai and Ngizim today have flapped r and l in contrast. These dialects have been separated for several hundred years, so an *l > r change would have to have affected them separately. Yet in cognate items between these dialects, there is

virtually perfect correspondence between those containing *r* versus those containing *l*, e. g. the words for 'two' (Ngizim *shírín*, Duwai *shírì*) and 'bad' (Ngizim *rálàì*, Duwai *rèkàì*) with *r*, but the word for 'good' (*bèlân* in both dialects) with *l*. It would be against statistical odds for a sporadic **l* > *r* change to affect only some *l*'s and yet to affect *l*'s in exactly the same words in two geographically separated dialects³.

Like nearly all nineteenth century writers on African languages, Koelle failed to distinguish glottalized stops (*ʔ*, *ɗ̥*) from plain stops (cf. the word for 'one' in the table on p. 292). To Koelle's credit, however, he very consistently distinguished lateral fricatives from other fricatives usually transcribing them *ʃl* (here *shl*, see p. 259), e. g. 'meat' Ngizim *shlu:ei* (*tùwáì*), Duwai *shluwi*: (*tùwí*); 'chest' Ngizim *á:shla* (*áadlâ*), Duwai *gëshla* (*ègɗlà*).

While the Ngizim and Duwai lists offer little that is startling or different from the corresponding contemporary dialects, the same cannot be said of the Bade list. As stated above, this dialect may be identified with Western Bade in Figs. 1 and 2. One basis for this identification is the existence in Koelle's Bade list of a number of lexical items peculiar to Western Bade, e. g.

	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>modern</u>	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>modern</u>	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>modern</u>
'house'	<i>ká:son</i>	<i>káasón</i>	<i>sísou</i>	<i>sésàu</i>	<i>shki</i>	<i>àakì</i>
'axe'	<i>rá:pa:ŋ</i>	<i>ràapáan</i>	<i>góua</i>	<i>gáwâ</i>	<i>gú:a</i>	<i>gùwà</i>
'good'	<i>dáfa:</i>	<i>dàvâ</i>	<i>bála:n</i>	<i>bèlân</i>	<i>béla:n</i>	<i>bèlân</i>
'today'	<i>sá:bu</i>	<i>sâabú</i>	<i>gúsku</i>	<i>gùskú</i>	<i>kófto</i>	<i>káftò</i>

A further interesting lexical peculiarity is seen in the word for 'chicken', *ká:sedáko* (*káazèdákón*), found in Koelle's phrase for 'I kill a fowl'⁴. The feminine suffix *-ako-* is not used with this word in any other modern dialect (cf. Ngizim *gá:sa* (*gaaza*), Duwai *kí:sha* (*kízhìyá*)).

Clear morphological evidence that this dialect falls within the Western Bade complex is the presence of a phenomenon called nunation by R. Lukas (1968), J. Lukas (1968), and, following the Lukases, by Schuh (to appear). Nunation, as defined in these articles, is a suffix *-n* found on nearly all nouns in citation forms as well as in certain syntactic environments. Nunation is used only in the Western Bade dialect area. Koelle's Bade shows nunation, e. g.

	Bade		Ngizim		Duwai	
	Koelle	modern	Koelle	modern	Koelle	modern
'leg'	sgórèŋ	əzgərən	ságèr	zəgér	ségr	əzgér
'fire'	á:kan	ákàn	áka	ákà	á:ka	áakà

In Schuh (to appear) I argue, using wide-ranging dialect evidence, that the use of nunation must have been an innovation in Western Bade. The existence of nunation in Koelle's Bade would thus indicate that it must have closer affinity to Western Bade than to any other dialect. This conclusion is in turn bolstered by the existence of lexical items like those noted above and by the geographical location of Koelle's informant's village.

So far, the lexical evidence on the one hand and the existence of nunation on the other would seem to clinch the affinity of Koelle's Bade to Western Bade. However, there are problems on both counts. Let us look first at the lexical evidence.

Of the 280 items in Koelle's list, Bade has something entered for 242 of them. When these 242 items were checked with a Western Bade speaker from the village of Amshi, it turned out that he was unable to identify approximately 35 per cent of them as representing the word in Koelle's list, and he was unable to recognize most of that 35 per cent as being Bade at all. While there is a considerable amount of local dialect variation within the Western Bade area, one would be hard put to place two dialects sharing only 65 per cent cognate items into a single dialect group where one would expect at most only minor variations⁵.

As for the existence of nunation, while a considerable number of words in Koelle's Bade list have nunation, many do not, e. g. *máŋga* 'friend' (modern Western Bade *māngáan*), *wúra* 'throat' (modern *wùráan*). This is in contrast to modern Western Bade where all nouns except those in a few well-defined classes (proper names, time words, points of the compass, and a few others) have nunation. In some cases, the absence of nunation in words in the Koelle list is explicable. Some words were given with demonstratives or possessive suffixes, e. g. *da: tku* 'town' (*dáa-tkú* 'this town'), *á:mu* 'water' (probably *áamú-w* 'the water'), *a:dátka* 'head' (*ádá-tk-âa* 'my head', lit. 'head-of-me'). In such cases the suffixed morpheme(s) would replace nunation. No such explanation for the absence of nunation is possible in all cases, however.

One could explain the discrepancies between Koelle's Bade and

modern Western Bade by simply classifying them as separate dialects. However, I believe that the identification of Koelle's Bade with modern Western Bade is correct but that (1) Koelle's informant had lost native-like command of his language, and (2) he frequently either misunderstood Koelle or did not give entirely accurate responses to Koelle's questions.

One indication that his command of the language was failing is the relatively large number of omitted items (38 omissions in 280 items, over 13 per cent). While some of the omissions could be expected since the items were not known or were uncommon in the Bade area ('gun', 'powder', 'palm-oil' etc.), failure to remember how to count above 'ten' (Koelle states under 'eleven' that the informant "knows no further") would be unusual for someone who had a reasonable command of his language. In this connection, one may note that the entry given for 'twenty', **gúma: fura:nserin**, is actually 'twelve', viz. **gùumáa vèràan sèrón**.

It was mentioned that a speaker of modern Western Bade was unable to identify approximately 35 per cent of the entries in Koelle's Bade list as being proper renderings of the items in question. In some cases this may be attributed to true dialect differences, but for most of these words, cognates cannot be identified in any other dialect of the Bade language group. The words in question include many common items, e. g. 'vein' is given as **súue**, but the five modern dialects known to me all have reflexes of reconstructed ***dèzi**; 'bow' is given as **mólekə̀**, whereas all modern dialects have reflexes of reconstructed ***(a)bak**. Yet those words in Koelle's Bade which are cognate with Western Bade are virtually phonologically identical with the Western Bade forms. This extreme phonological similarity would seem to preclude any hypothesis that Koelle's Bade is a distantly related dialect which has undergone considerable lexical differentiation from the remainder of the Bade dialects. It appears, rather, that this informant was using words from some language which he had become familiar with subsequent to his departure from the Bade language area.

Further indication that Koelle's Bade informant had lost command of his language and/or did not give accurate responses to Koelle's questions can be seen in numerous items which can be identified as Bade but which are incorrect glosses of Koelle's words, e. g. 'female breast' is **fóàan** or **ányàan** in modern Western Bade, while the word given by Koelle, **ána:nu**, appears to be the word for 'testicles' (**ànanón**) or poss-

ibly 'the testicles' (**ànànú-w**); 'ewe (sheep)' is **tàmàkún**, while the word given by Koelle, **á:ku:yit**, is some form of the word for 'goat' (**ákùn**); 'I died' is **né mtú**, while the phrase given by Koelle, **mú teg**, apparently is 'I killed' (**né tkú**). In other cases, the glosses could not possibly be grammatical Bade phrases, e. g. 'daughter' should be **wúnyán gàmá** (lit. 'female daughter') but Koelle has **ma:nyimo: gá:ma** which literally means 'female boy'; 'I do not dance' should be **náa skwáarl-m** ('I dance-not') but Koelle gives **mu suá:le ná:be**. Literally, this means 'I dance there-is-not', but the use of **nàabé** 'there is not' is impossible with verbal phrases in any modern dialect. Moreover, the use of **mu** for 'I' in this and other verbal phrases in Koelle's list is bewildering. There is no subject pronoun **mu** for any person in any sentence type in any modern Bade dialect.

While the above remarks cast doubt on the trustworthiness of Koelle's Bade list, certain useful information about sound changes in Bade can be gleaned from it. One such sound change is flapped *r > ř. It was mentioned above that modern Western Bade has only one "r" sound, viz. the trilled ř. However, the true "native" r of Bade-Ngizim has to be reconstructed as flapped r, which Koelle transcribed as l. In those dialects having both flapped and trilled r's, the trill appears almost exclusively in borrowed words, ideophones, and as an obligatory allophone of /r/ before the alveolars t, d, d', n, tl, and dl.

From Koelle's list, it appears that a change of flapped *r > ř was in progress in Western Bade during the mid-nineteenth century, since Koelle used l in his Bade list to transcribe some words which today contain r in Western Bade, e. g. 'two' **sélin** today is pronounced **sóřén**; 'I give thee' **mu báll:gi** is today realized as **né bǎřígli**. The change must have actually been in progress at the time since many words with flapped r in Ngizim and Duwai are already transcribed by Koelle with r rather than l in Bade (cf. the words for 'bed' **réken (rákén)** and 'leg' **sgóřəŋ (əzgəřén)**).

A second change which must have been in progress in the mid-nineteenth century was a change from CəCV . . . to əCCV This change has today affected almost the entire Bade area, though not Ngizim⁶. In the affected dialects, there are today no words of the form CəCV . . . where the two consonants could permissibly abut⁷. This sound change had clearly begun during Koelle's time as we can see in words like

'leg' *sgárɔŋ* (modern Western Bade *əzɡərɔn* -- cf. Ngizim *zàɡér*); 'skin' [sic, should be 'body'] *étkū* (modern *ətkwán* -- cf. Ngizim *tàkà*). However, many words which now have the structure əCCV ... were pronounced with CəCV ... in Koelle's time, e. g. 'monkey' *vú:dja:n* (modern *əvjáan* -- cf. Ngizim *vəjí*); 'I fall' [sic, actually 'he fell'] *gúfu* (modern *əgvú* -- cf. Ngizim *vəgú*⁸).

In summary, Koelle's Ngizim and Duwai lists correspond well with the modern dialects spoken in those respective areas. Many lexical and phonological features characteristic of these dialects are to be found in his lists. While Koelle's Bade can be identified with the modern Western Bade dialect complex, there are a number of discrepancies. These discrepancies can apparently be attributed mainly to Koelle's informant's hiatus with daily use of his native tongue. Nonetheless, interesting comparative information can be obtained from the Bade list.

NOTES

1. Citations from Koelle employ the conventions set out in *African Language Review*, Vol. 3, 1964, p. 58, and repeated on p. 259 above. For the orthography used in citing the modern languages, the following should be noted: acute accent (´) represents high tone, grave accent (`) low tone, circumflex accent (^) falling tone, tick (´) downstep. Doubled vowels indicate length. The symbol ə represents a high central vowel, phonetically [ɨ]. The digraphs *tl* and *dl* represent voiceless and voiced lateral fricatives respectively. In the following discussion the modern spellings Bade, Ngizim, and Duwai will be used.
2. In fact the opposite change, viz. flapped *r > l has taken place in the Gashua Bade dialect, not represented in the *Polyglotta*, e. g. Gashua Bade has *lakai* 'bed' (cf. the Ngizim and Duwai forms in the preceding paragraph). Moreover, while there has never been a change *l > r in Bade, there has been a change of flapped *r > ɾ in Western Bade. Evidence for this change in Koelle's lists is discussed below.
3. Koelle's use of l to transcribe flapped r is not unique to the Bade-Ngizim-Duwai lists. This same transcription is used in the Hausa lists. In Hausa, there is no question about many of Koelle's l's having been r's, since other nineteenth century writers on Hausa actually wrote r.
4. The form given under Koelle's entry 'fowl (hen)', *ká:seda*, is incomplete. This can be attributed to the informant's faulty command of Bade (see below).
5. In a list of approximately 240 items which I have been using for dialect survey work, both Southern and Gashua Bade have between 85-90 per cent cognation with Western Bade, and sub-dialects within

Western Bade have even higher rates of cognation with each other.

6. The change of CəCV ... to əCCV ... is an areal change rather than a change which can be isolated in any one dialect. That is, due to continued contact between contiguous dialect areas of Bade it is even sweeping across dialect boundaries. Apparently the only part of the contiguous Bade region which has not yet been fully affected by this change is the far eastern tip of the Duwai dialect. Compare the Duwai forms of Gangawa with those of Dadəgar, the easternmost Bade-speaking village:

	<u>Gangawa</u>	<u>Dadəgar</u>
'leg'	əzɡér	səɡér
'road'	əbdàm	bədàm

This sound change has not affected Ngizim, which is geographically separated from the rest of Bade.

7. There are certain consonant sequences which are not possible, notably the sequences obstruent-sonorant and obstruent-glottalized. Thus, the canonical shape CəCV ... is preserved in all dialects in words such as *təmà* 'mortar', *dəbà* 'watering an animal'.
8. Bade dialects other than Duwai and Ngizim have frequently metathesized the sequence obstruent-V-velar to become velar-V-obstruent. Along with the word for 'fall', cf. 'he buried' (Bade) *təgbú*, (Ngizim) *dəbgú*; 'son' (Bade) *màktám*, (Ngizim) *màtkám*.

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