

# Kándin

## in the Polyglotta Africana: Two languages in one

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Reference material for Tamazhaq was collected in Kano, Nigeria during two months in Spring 1974. The main informant was Salikhu ag Hamedou from the Tanout region of Niger. Though his dialect probably differs slightly from that of Koelle's informant, it is part of the same dialect complex. My knowledge of the ethnographic makeup of Agadez is based on two years' residence there from 1965-67 as a volunteer in the US Peace Corps. Knowledge of northern Hausa dialects was also acquired during this time.

Had Koelle grouped his Kándin on the basis of the verbal phrases beginning with 'I go' (p. 157) and ending with 'I do not dance' (p. 187), he would have classified it as C. 5. c rather than C. 1. These phrases would show Kándin to be a Hausa dialect, quite similar to the Hausa dialects listed as C. 5. a and b.

Specifically, the verbal phrases and various other entries in Koelle's list show Kándin to be typical of modern western and northern dialects of Hausa (WH and NH) in a number of respects. Phonologically, one may note the following:

(a) Syllable final labials have not become w as in modern "Standard Hausa" (SH)<sup>1</sup>, e. g.

	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>WH and/or NH</u>	<u>SH</u>
'cotton'	abdiga	ábdùgáa	áudùgáa
'I sit down'	na: sámna	náa zámnaa	náa záunàa

(b) In words where syllable final obstruents have weakened to sonorants<sup>1</sup>, they appear as l in NH but as f in SH, e. g.

'knee'	guíwalkáfa (lit. knee of leg)	gwíwál káfáa	gwíwáƴ káfàa
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(c) Words having [f] in SH before front vowels have [h] in NH and WH, e. g.

'I go'	na: téhi	náa tàhí	náa tàfí
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(c) Words having [j] in SH have [ʒ] in NH (though the modern orthography uses j for either sound), e. g.

'chair'            kúshɛ:la            [kúʒɛɛráa]            [kújɛɛráa]

Morphologically, one may note the following indications of NH affinity in Koelle's Kandin list:

(a) The causative verb suffix which appears as -aĩ in SH retains the more conservative -as in NH and WH, e. g.

'I sell'            na: sɛ:as            náa sáyás            náa sáyáĩ

(b) The third masculine singular subject pronoun in certain aspects appears as ya in SH but as shi in NH and WH, e. g.

'sick'            shínadjíu:            shínàa cíwòò            yánàa cíwòò  
(lit. he is sick)

Finally, one lexical feature which is typical of NH is the use of the word gújíyáa (Koelle gúshi:a) for 'groundnut'. In most Nigerian dialects this word refers to the 'Bambara groundnut' while 'groundnut' is gyádáa.

However, if one considers only the items from pages 3-157 in the Polyglotta Africana, one can easily see why Kándin is not classed by Koelle as a Hausa dialect. While there is a heavy admixture of Hausa, this language is actually the Aĩr dialect of Tamazhaq, the Berber language spoken by the Tuareg people.

Consider Koelle's remarks on his informant (p. 17 of the 'Introductory remarks'):

" The list was collected from A:bárshi, or Andrew Aitkin, of Waterloo, born at Ábsɛɛ, a town of E:gades<sup>2</sup>. He was about twenty-eight years of age when he was kidnapped by the Ká:nuris, which is now about seven years ago. He has been six times at Balma in the desert, in order to fetch salt, a journey of eleven days from his home. He is the only representative of the Kandins in Sierra Leone. After the lapse of several months, I revised the specimens with him, when I had scarcely any alterations to make, but some additions. What he gave me as plural forms, seem rather to be different words in some cases. "

From this passage the name Kándin is easily explained, for [kándin] is the Kanuri name for the Tuareg. Kanuris were Abarshi's captors. Further evidence that he was a Tuareg is found in the inform-

ation that he had been to Bilma (Koelle **Báima**) to collect salt. Salt caravans travelling between Agadez (Koelle (E:gadss) and Bilma are operated exclusively by the Tuareg.

The language is easily recognized as Tamazhaq. Compare the number 1-10 with the modern Aïr forms in parentheses:<sup>3</sup>

'one' **dí:a:ŋ** (iyən), 'two' **díshij** (i-ššin), 'three' **kára:d** (kəraḍ), 'four' **ndúks** (okkoz), 'five' **súmɔ:s** (sɛmmos), 'six' **shíshes** (sɛ gɛ), 'seven' **isa** (i-ssam), 'eight' **íta:ŋ** (i-ṭṭam), 'nine' **tísa:** (ti-za), 'ten' **má:rau** (məraw). Certain features even allow the language to be pinpointed as being part of the Aïr dialect complex. Two such features are the following:

(a) Initial prefix vowel **e-** in many masculine nouns or **te-** in feminine nouns where Algerian dialects (and probably others) have **a-** and **ta-** respectively, e. g.<sup>4</sup>

	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>Modern Aïr pronunciation</u>
'man'	é:lis	elɛs
'male slave'	é:kili	ekli
'female slave'	té:kilit	teklit
'horse'	e:s	eys

(b) the Aïr dialect has consistently palatalized alveolar obstruents before **i** while other dialects have not<sup>5</sup>, e. g.

'dog'	í:shi	iži
'eye'	djit	čič
'ears'	djɛnderge:n	čindžergen

While the language in Koelle's list (excluding the verbal expressions) is essentially Tamazhaq, the list includes a considerable amount of Hausa, sometimes in surprising ways. Out of the 223 items where there is something entered and where the word(s) given can be identified as either Tamazhaq or Hausa, the following statistics emerge:

Tamazhaq word(s) only: 90 items, e. g.

	<u>Koelle</u>	<u>Modern pron. or spelling</u>
'man'	é:lis, pl. mɛ:dan	elɛs, pl. meddɛn
'pot'	téiin, pl. djɛ:nan	tin, pl. činen
'great, large'	í:səwúraŋ	izuwwurɛn

Hausa word(s) only:	71 items + all verbal items, e. g.	
'grandfather'	ká:ka (ká:ka:na, ka:nkarka)	kàakáa (kàakáana 'my g. ', kàakánkà 'your g.')
'elephant'	gí:wa, pl. gí:wa:e	gíwáa, pl. gíwàayée
'well'	shína:lá:fi:a, bá:shidjfu:	shínà láaffyàa 'he's well' bâa shí cíwòdo 'he's not sick'

Tamazhaq and Hausa given as alternatives: 40 items, e. g.

'tongue'	f:lis ; há:li:shi, pl. há:li:su:na	il̩:s; háls̩hèe, pl. háls̩únàa
'meat'	i:san; nama	isan; náamàa
'leopard'	tasó:ri; kú:la	t̩zori; kúuráa (sic, 'hyena' in both languages)

Tamazhaq given as singular and Hausa given as plural : 20 items, e. g.

'neck'	f:ri, pl. wúya	iri; wúyàa
'belly'	téd̩is, pl. dj̩ki:	ted̩is; c̩k̩di
'house'	éhan, pl. dá:kúna	eh̩n; dáakúnàa
'ewe'	té:le, pl. túma:ki	teli; túmáakfi

Hausa given as singular and Tamazhaq as plural: 2 items, e. g.

'female breast'	nó:no, pl. ffa:fan	nóondo; ifafan
'mosquito'	sáwúló, pl. e:ǰ̩shi	sáuróo; eǰ̩ši

A glance at these facts explains Koelle's remark that the plurals often seem to be different words from the singulars, viz. the singulars and "plurals" are from different languages. In some cases it is even the Hausa singular rather than the Hausa plural which is given as the "plural" (see 'neck' and 'belly'), and for 'mosquito' the Tamazhaq singular is given as the 'plural'.

Tamazhaq seems to have been the informant's preferred language in that the majority of the entries are either exclusively Tamazhaq or have a Tamazhaq alternative. Moreover, when there are alternatives, the Tamazhaq word is almost always the first given and when the singular and plural are not from the same language, it is almost always the singular which is Tamazhaq.

The question remains why this informant was led to include so much Hausa in his list if he was a native Tamazhaq speaker. In some cases, a Tamazhaq word was probably non-existent or highly esoteric, e. g. 'cotton tree' (Koelle **í:mi**, modern Hausa **r̩ímfí**) is unknown in the

area, and 'elephant' (Koelle *gí:wa*, modern Hausa *gíwáa*) would certainly be rarely if ever seen by any Tuareg, though there is a native Tamazhaq word, *ilu*. In other cases, when pressed for names of two things for which either Tamazhaq or Hausa had only one word, he may have given a word from each language, e. g. for 'butter' he gives *mai* (modern Hausa *mái*) but *wí:shi* (modern Tamazhaq *wíži*) for "melted butter". Koelle mentions that in a second session with the informant he made "some additions". This probably accounts for many of the Tamazhaq/Hausa alternative entries, especially if the informant was on a "Tamazhaq mental track" the first time and a "Hausa mental track" the second. Finally, many of the so-called "plurals" may simply be the result of a misunderstanding on Koelle's part as to what he was getting or on the informant's part as to what was requested.

This informant clearly knew both Tamazhaq and Hausa well. The fact that he seems to have had virtually equal command of each is explained by the information on his original home, Agadez. While Agadez is in the heart of the Tuareg region of northern Niger, it is essentially a Hausa town, populated by people who are principally Hausa in custom and many, if not most of whom, speak Hausa as their first or only language. Any Tuareg who has any dealings in Agadez would certainly speak Hausa, and this would include any caravaniers. Abarshi probably knew both Hausa and Tuareg from his earliest years and spoke both with equal fluency.

The Káandin list in Koelle is entered as an "Unclassified Central-African Language". At the state of knowledge of African language classification during Koelle's time, this would be a reasonable way to enter the language if only the Tamazhaq portion of the list were included. However, the list actually is comprised of two languages in about equal proportion and for those interested in dialect classification, language change since Koelle's time, etc. it could profitably be separated into two lists, one Tamazhaq and one Hausa.

#### NOTES

1. For a description of the Hausa sound changes labial > w and alveolar > l/ʃ in syllable final position, see Klingenberg (1928) and Schuh (1972). A further remark must be made with respect to l and r. Hausa (all dialects) has three liquid phonemes: /l/ and two "r" sounds generally described respectively as a "trill",

transcribed here as  $\tilde{r}$ , and a "retroflex flap", transcribed here simply as  $r$ . Koelle consistently transcribed the latter as  $l$ . This must be attributed to a peculiarity in Koelle's transcription, not to a sound change  $l \rightarrow r$  which has taken place since his time.

Citations from Koelle follow the conventions set out in the African Language Review, 3, 1964, p. 58 (see also p. 259 above). In the orthography for modern Hausa citations, doubled vowels indicate length, acute accent (´) is high tone, grave accent (`) is low tone.

2. Koelle has reversed the names here. The region is called Abzen or Azben while the name of the town is Agadez, the largest town in the Aïr massif and an important centre for caravan trade.
3. The numbers 'one', 'two', and 'four' in Koelle's list show an initial (**n**) not found in the modern forms cited. No modern dialects of Tamazhaq that I know of have such an initial element, but I believe its presence can be explained from the numbers 11-19. These are formed as follows: **məraw d-iyən**, **məraw d-ĩššín**, etc., lit. 'ten and-one', 'ten and-two', etc. The influence of such forms and long absence from hearing the language may have caused Koelle's informant to give what, in fact, are complex forms. Other differences such as in 'six' and 'seven' probably represent intra-dialectal variation.  
 In the orthography used for the modern Tamazhaq citations, **ə** is a low, central unrounded vowel while **ĩ** is a high, central unrounded vowel. Other symbols should be self-explanatory.
4. At the time of this writing I do not have access to published materials to ensure accurate citation from other Tamazhaq dialects. The examples given here can be compared with the relevant forms in Foucauld (1951-2), who deals with the Tahaggart dialect of Algeria.
5. A further indication that the Tamazhaq dialect here is from the Aïr is that some dialects which have palatalized **t** before **i** have shifted the palatal to [ **š** ] while the Aïr dialects have [ **č** ] (which Koelle transcribes as **ds**, here rendered as **dj**), e.g. 'cattle', heard as **čitan** in the Aïr, is heard as **šitan** in some other areas.

#### REFERENCES

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