

**SHIRA, TESHENA, AUYO: HAUSA'S (FORMER)
EASTERN NEIGHBORS***

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to the memory of John Lavers

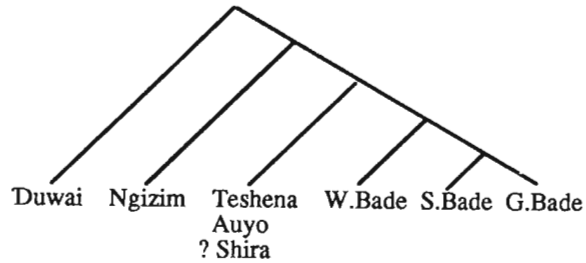
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1 The Bade/Ngizim group of languages: Hausa's northeastern neighbors

Excluding Hausa, the languages which today occupy the northwest corner of the Chadic-speaking area are the languages of the Bade/Ngizim group, classified by NEWMAN (1977) as belonging to the "B" sub-group of West

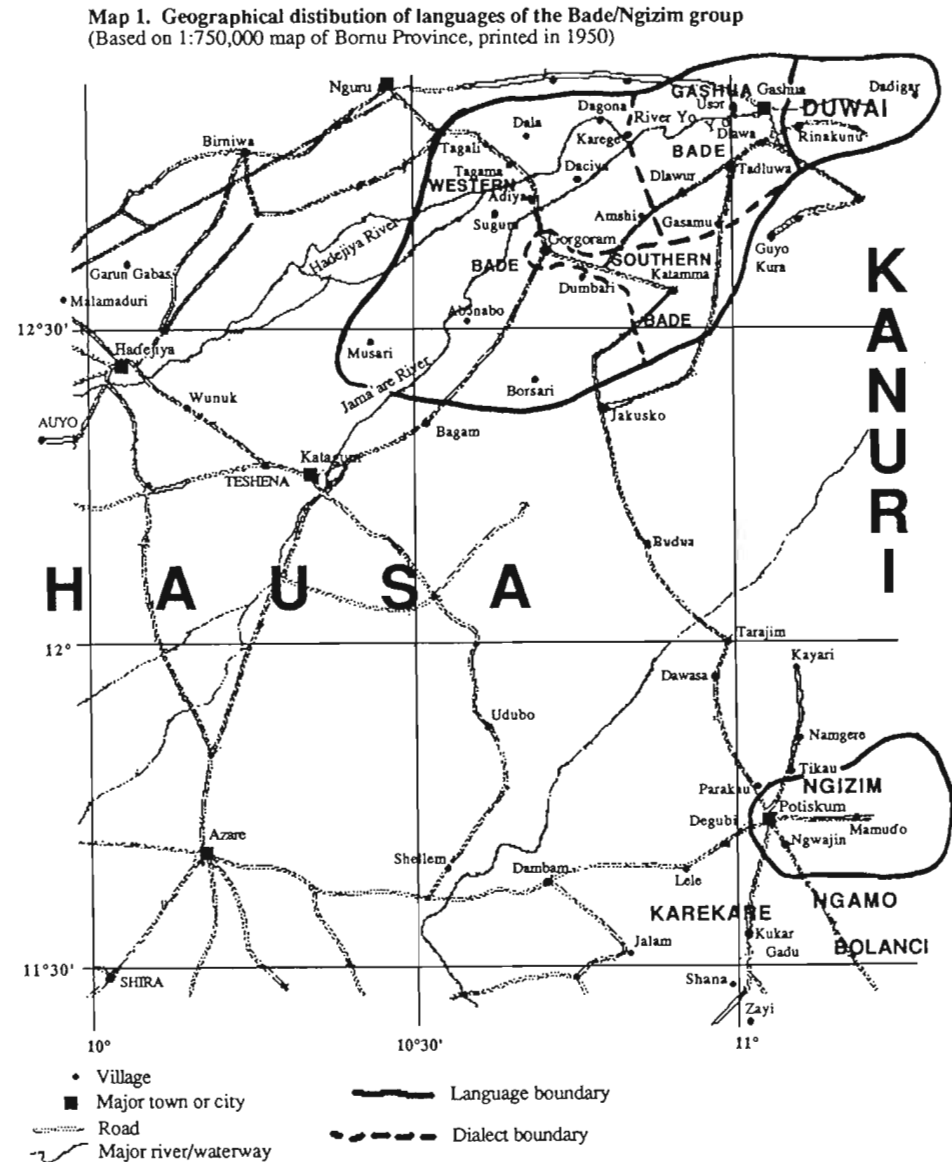
Chadic. These languages are flanked on the west and southwest by Hausa, on the north and east by Kanuri, and on the southeast by other West Chadic languages, primarily Karekare and Bolanci. Today, there are only three distinct languages spoken in this group: Bade (Bádè), Ngizim (Ngózám), and Duwai (D'ùwái). Map 1 shows the approximate areas now occupied by these languages. Of the three, Bade is the largest and shows the most dialect diversity. SCHUH (1981a) discusses features distinguishing Bade dialects and identifies three major dialect areas, also shown on Map 1. Some cross-language phonological and grammatical features are found in SCHUH (1977, 1978, 1982a). The tree diagram in Figure 1 shows the relative closeness of these languages to each other, including the relationship between the three major Bade dialects or dialect groups. This diagram also includes the language(s) which will be the focus of this paper.

Figure 1. Relationship of the Bade/Ngizim languages.



There is no question that the remaining languages of the Bade/Ngizim group are under pressure from their large linguistic neighbors, Hausa and Kanuri. In earlier times, the Kanuri influence was particularly strong, as the large number of Kanuri loanwords in all these languages show. Indeed the language of the court of the Bedde Emirate is Kanuri, not Bade, and moreover, the variety of Kanuri spoken among the traditional Bade leaders is a very conservative dialect in many ways, indicating that it was adopted before certain innovations took place in modern Kanuri.¹ Today, Hausa has become the major outside linguistic influence. Most recent loanwords in these langua-

Map 1. Geographical distribution of languages of the Bade/Ngizim group (based on 1:750,000 map of Bornu Province, printed in 1950).



Map 2. Nigeria outline.

ges come from Hausa, and whereas one or two generations ago, Kanuri would have been used as a lingua franca, today Hausa is the universal lingua franca and most younger people do not speak Kanuri well, if at all.

Despite the outside linguistic pressures, Bade, Ngizim, and Duwai have been remarkably stable. KOELLE (1854) has wordlists from Bade, Ngizim, and Duwai (see SCHUH 1975 for discussion). KOELLE's Bade speaker was from "A:bunógo" (probably Àbónàbó), and his Ngizim speaker was from "Nó:djin" (Ngwàjín). Both these towns are still within the areas where the languages are spoken. KOELLE gives the village of his Duwai speaker as "Getá:boma" (probably Kátámmà), which is now in the Southern Bade dialect area, to the southwest of the present Duwai area. I suggest in SCHUH (1975) that KOELLE's Duwai speaker may have moved there from elsewhere, though it could be the case that Bade has expanded eastward to the expense of Duwai, which is the least viable of the three languages today.

Writing a little over a half-century after KOELLE, MIGEOD (1924:240), who was traveling from east to west through Bornu, reached Garindoile, a town which he called "the beginning of the real Bedde country". This town, on the main road about 15 km east of Gashua, would have been in the Duwai-speaking area but is now primarily Kanuri- and/or Hausa-speaking, as are most towns on the main roads in this region. However, villages north of Garindoili are still Duwai-speaking, and Migeod mentions Linokuno (Riinákùnù), a village about 6 km west of Garindoili, which is still Duwai-speaking, as well as Jawa (Jáwà) and Juwor (Dlääwúr), villages slightly further west,

which are still Bade-speaking.

MIGEOD (1924:243ff) considered Bade to be a "dying language":

It is now difficult to get the pure Bedde. ... The young Mai [i.e. Mai Sule, at that time "a young man of about 21"] with the aid of his councillors wrote me out a long list of words in Bedde and Hausa. They said they mix their Bedde much with Kanuri, and the language now spoken is seldom pure. The Bedde language they are all forgetting. Before long the Hausa and Kanuri languages will actually meet, and there will be no remnant of Bedde-speaking people except perhaps at some remote villages off the main roads. At Gorgoram the languages are Hausa and Kanuri, with Bedde as a dying language. I inquired which was prevailing, Hausa or Kanuri, and since all the small boys insist on learning Hausa, I concluded that Hausa will gain the day.

Fortunately, MIGEOD was premature in predicting the imminent death of Bade! In 1973-75, I visited most of the larger towns and villages of Bade emirate, where I collected wordlists, texts, and other linguistic materials. Bade is still the first language of virtually every town in Bade emirate, including Gorgoram. MIGEOD's view undoubtedly derived from the fact that he worked with the Mai and his councillors rather than with "commoners". As already noted, Kanuri, not Bade, was and still is the language of the Bade court, but Bade is the first language of everyone else. In short, assuming that KOELLE's (1854) speakers were middle-aged at the time he interviewed them, available evidence suggests that with the exception of some inroads, primarily from Kanuri in the east, Bade and Duwai have suffered remarkably little retrenchment over the past 200 years. Ngizim to the south likewise remains alive and well, though it has apparently given way to Kanuri to some extent in the northeast.

1.2 Close relatives of Bade and Ngizim: Mober, Shira, Auyo, and Teshena

Many sources from the mid-nineteenth century onward mention Bade and Ngizim. All early references to "Bade" or "Bedde" clearly refer to the people and area which have this name today, and where linguistic data is available, it can be shown to be allied to one of the modern Bade dialects. I

have already mentioned the affiliation of KOELLE's (1854) list with modern Western Bade, and MIGEOD's (1924:316ff) list, which he collected in Gorgoram, is accurately enough transcribed and extensive enough to show in detail that it is exactly the Southern Bade dialect spoken in Gorgoram today.

The term "Ngizim" (with its variants "Ngisam", "Nguzum", etc.) is problematic. This term is often found in reference to some sub-group of the Bade. The Duwai refer to the the Bade of the Gashua area as *ɲgùzmòk* (SCHUH 1981a:206), and while doing field research in the Bade area, I heard the term used to refer to some vaguely designated Bade-speaking people in the southern or southwestern part of Bade country. MIGEOD (1924:319) collected the numbers 1-10 and a few nouns in "Ngizim" in Bagam, a town northwest of Katagum in what would be today the southwestern edge of Badeland, if it is still Bade-speaking at all (see Map 1). Though MIGEOD's list is very small, his "Ngizim" is demonstrably a form of Bade. The word for 'seven' is *gatkwassa* and the word for 'nine' is *ureya*. As we will see, a feature distinguishing Bade from its now extinct western linguistic relative(s) is the fact that 'seven' in Bade is *gátkàsà* whereas in the other language(s) it is something like *kusi*. On the other hand, the word for 'nine' in MIGEOD's Ngizim is similar to the word for 'nine' in Bade but distinct from 'nine' in the Ngizim of Potiskum, which is *kúd-kùvdà*. FREMANTLE's (1910/11:303) reference to the "Nguzumawa" as being "east of Hadeija" ties in with MIGEOD's collection of "Ngizim" data in Bagam.

However, several writers remark on another group of "Ngizim". FREMANTLE (1910/11:304) says,

There are Nguzums in South-West Bornu who cover a large district and appear to be a distinct tribe, with whom the Beddos [*sic*] claim connection. ... Their languages are said to be similar. They have no relation to the Nguzums in Hadeija.

Similarly, MIGEOD (1924:255f) says,

[The people of Bagam] told me that they have no connection whatever with the Ngizim to the southward, who now speak the Bola language.

MIGEOD's assumption about linguistic affiliation of Potiskum Ngizim to "Bola" (Bole) is mistaken, but it is understandable given the fact that the region surrounding Potiskum is presided over by the Emir of Fika, a Bole. FREMANTLE's and MIGEOD's references must be to the same people, *viz.* the people in the Potiskum who speak the language called "Ngizim" in all modern works. In contrast to these sources, who dissociate the two "Ngizims", TEMPLE (1922:310) links the two groups of Ngizims historically, calling them "an offshoot of the Bedde" and stating that they lived in Bornu, West of Birni Gazargamo, until the Fulani captured that town in 1790. Temple goes on to say,

The Ngizim consequently migrated to Kaiuri² and thence to Potiskum, where they conquered the Keri-Keri. Some remained in the Geidam Division [east of Gashua], whence they were driven out by the Shehu Omar [about 1860] ... A few settled in the Bedde Independent District, and a small number trekked westwards to Hadeija and Katagum.

Though this account of a single people who moved west in two distinct migrations would explain the use of the same name for two distinct ethnic groups, I am skeptical.³ This story would place Duwai between the original homelands of the Ngizim and the Bade. Yet Ngizim and Bade are clearly linguistically more closely related to each other than either is to Duwai. It seems more likely that the ancestors of all the people called "Ngizim" occupied an area to the south of and contiguous to what is now Bade country. The Ngizim of Potiskum either moved south, or were cut off linguistically from the original contiguous Bade–Ngizim homeland by incursions of Kanuri and/or Hausa. Separation left Bade and Ngizim of Potiskum to evolve in different ways.

To conclude, regardless of whom the term "Ngizim" is applied to, as a linguistic appellation, it always refers either to a dialect of Bade or to the Ngizim language of Potiskum, but never to some language distinct from these two.

In addition to Bade and Ngizim, a number of sources mention one or more of the languages and/or ethnic designations below:

- (1) a. Mober, Mobber
 b. Shira, Shirawa, Shiranci
 c. Auyo, Awuyo, Auyokawa, Awiaka, Aweak, Auweya
 d. Teshena, Teshenawa, Teshenanci

I will refer to the people and their languages by the first listed designations in (1). The suffixes *-awa* and *-anci* are the Hausa suffixes meaning ‘people of’ and ‘language of’ respectively.

The Mober live(d) to the northeast of the current Bade region. The only published ethnic or linguistic information that I know of on these people is MIGEOD (1924:109), who says,

As to the tribes along the River Yobe, first [moving east to west] come the Mobber, who are largely Bedde by origin, but now only speak Kanuri, though not very purely. Nobody ever says, I am Mobber. He will say he is Bedde or some other tribe, or a man of some particular town, generally the latter.

With this limited information, I will have nothing more to say about Mober, though the historical linguistic affiliation with Bade does seem to be supported.

The other three languages/ethnic groups are to the west or southwest of the modern Bade-speaking area, and we have more information on them. This paper will concentrate on those three. Given the number of rather distinct appellations in (1c), counting “Auyo” as a single language requires some justification. MIGEOD (1924:261) says,

There is some confusion in the names Awuyo or Auyo and Awuyoka or Awuyaka as Awiaka is often spelt, thus claiming a connection between the town and the people, the suffix ‘ka’ being unexplained. ... Since the inhabitants of Awuyo say they found the Awiaka already here 700 or more years ago, a statement which was made to me, which may or may not be correct, still it points to a dissociation of that people from the town of Awuyo in the far past, a dissociation which has since disappeared.

A distinction between “people inhabiting Auyo” and an ethnic designation “Awiaka”, if it ever existed, would thus long predate the period of interest here and can safely be ignored.

After a summary of what is known of the history of these people, the remainder of this paper will examine the available linguistic data from the Shira/Auyo/Teshena area. The linguistic discussion will have two main purposes: first, to present data which has been previously unpublished or of only difficult access; second, to assess the relative linguistic affinity of Shira, Auyo, and Teshena to Bade, Ngizim, and Duwai, the three languages still spoken today. The linguistic picture should, in turn, have implications for the early history of the people who spoke the languages.

2 History of Shira, Auyo, and Teshena

Sources recognize a close connection between Bade and the group consisting of Shira, Auyo, and Teshena. For example, MIGEOD (1924:246) says,

The Bedde tribes consist of the pure Bedde, the Awiaka and the Teshena to the west of them.

However, the reported oral traditions are consistent in linking Shira, Auyo, and Teshena as a group distinct from Bade,⁴ and, as we will see below, the three also share elements of recent history distinct from the Bade.

Bade oral tradition has the Bade being driven from the city of Badr in Saudia Arabia by the Prophet Mohammed because they refused to pray. At one point, they settled at Dadigar (east of Gashua, see Map 1), whence four brothers separated. Ago remained at Dadigar to become the progenitor of the Bade, and Musa went north to become progenitor of the Tuareg. Accounts of the other two brothers differ, but one is said to have gone south to become progenitor of the Ngizim (see SCHUH 1981a:203ff for a summary of the tradition of the founding of the Bade). Note that any mention of Shira, Auyo, or Teshena is absent in this account.

Traditional accounts of Shira, Auyo, and Teshena unify the three in that they were founded at the same time by three brothers, named Sheri (Shiri), Auweya (Awuyo), and Teshe respectively. Sources vary on the putative origin of these brothers. FREMANTLE (1910/11:300) says,

The tradition is that three members of the Marghi tribe, by name Sheri, Teshe, and Auweya, came and founded the towns which bear their name.

By contrast, MIGEOD (1924:260) states,

In a far distant age three leaders names Awuyo, Teshe, and Shira, with their following, came out of Yemen while still pagans.

MIGEOD (1924:262) goes on to recount other legends on the founding of Auyo, one connecting Auyo directly to the Bade (“the Bedde are said to be representatives of the male line of the original tribe and the Awiaka of the female line”), another claiming the brothers Awuya, Teshe, and Shiri to be sons of a Bagirmi king who left Bagirmi because “the origin and family of [Awuya’s] mother were not known [to the Bagirmi people]” and hence they would not allow Awuya to accede to the throne of his father. MIGEOD is skeptical of the latter legends and concludes, “There is therefore considerable mixture in the legends.”

TEMPLE (1922:32) says,

[Auyo, Shiri, and Teshe], variously described as Marghi, or as coming from Bagirmi territory east of the Shari, found three towns about the year 1211 A.D. The date is, however, disputed.

Despite the discrepancies in the reported oral traditions, a common thread is that Shira, Auyo, and Teshena share the element of simultaneous fraternal founding, and prior to the 19th century they seem to have shared a long history as being the main recognized kingdoms at the northeastern frontier of what is now Hausaland.⁵ FREMANTLE (1910/11:299) notes that “the only large towns in pre-Fulani days were Auyo, Teshona [sic], Shira, and Shellem,”⁶ and he speaks of king lists going back several hundred years. Most of these were apparently destroyed in the 19th century as the result of conquest or natural elements, though MIGEOD (1924:264f) does give a list of forty kings of Auyo dating back to 1209.

In the same way that the Bades have an oral tradition distinct from Shira, Auyo, and Teshena, their more recent history is also distinct. Whereas

Bade interaction, both as adversary and as client, was with Bornu and the Kanuri to the east, interaction of the other three was with Kano and the Fulani to the west. Indeed, FREMANTLE (1910/11:299) refers to the Katagum and Hadejiya Divisions, which encompass the original Shira, Auyo, and Teshena kingdoms, as being a “buffer” region, where the “tribal connection is with the east, political with the west”, and where

after the Fulani rising, the various states, from their situation, formed a buffer district between the Bornu and Fulani spheres of conquest.

FREMANTLE (1910/11:309ff) gives the fullest published account of the history of Shira, Auyo, and Teshena from the beginning of the 19th century onward. I will briefly summarize his account. The demise of these three kingdoms, and presumably the beginning of the demise of the original languages of their inhabitants, took place in the first decade of the 19th century, during the Fulani and Kanuri conquests of religious reform and empire expansion. Shira was conquered in 1807 by the Fulani, Malam Zara, who subsequently gave the town over to a famous teacher and military leader, Zakiyo Ibrahim of Yaiya, better known as Malam Zaki. Auyo fell in 1808 to Sarkin Fulani Umoru and his brother, Sambo, who settled in the nearby village of Hadejiya. After the Shira and Auyo campaigns, Malam Zaki met with Sambo, who had become the ruler in Hadejiya upon the death of his brother, and they established a boundary roughly corresponding to the old Auyo/Teshena boundary (now the boundary between the Hadejiya and Katagum Divisions). Teshena was conquered in 1809 by Malam Zaki, who subsequently chose the village of Katagum as the seat of government for the area encompassing the Teshena and Shira regions.

In conclusion, it seems that the shared early history and ethnic identity of Shira, Auyo, and Teshena, as distinct from Bade, played a role in the different turns taken by their more recent history despite the close linguistic links. The linguistic result has been that Bade has remained a robust spoken language whereas the language or languages of the other three kingdoms had essentially died out by the beginning of the 20th century. In the next section,

we will examine what data are available in order to assess, as best we can, how the linguistic relationships correlate with the ethnic and historical relationships.

3 The Shira, Auyo, and Teshena languages

3.1 Available data

All published sources and other evidence indicate that the Shira language died out with no recorded trace. While doing field work on Ngizim in Potiskum in 1969/70, I heard that there was a village named Shana, southwest of Potiskum, which was founded and inhabited by “Shirawa”. Thinking that I would be the first to document this long lost language, I visited Shana, and with pen and paper in hand, I eagerly awaited the response as I asked how they said *ɗaya* (‘one’ in Hausa) in Shiranci. The answer was, “D’aya”. And so it went with *biyu*, *uku*, etc. “Shiranci” was simply Hausa, indistinct in any ways that I could discover, from the variety of Hausa spoken by everyone else in the area! Later inquiries in the town of Shira itself about speakers of a “Shiranci” language distinct from Hausa were equally fruitless. In fact, it seems likely that the last speakers of Shira had died by the beginning of the 20th century at the latest.⁷ By all accounts, Shira was the most powerful of the three kingdoms; e.g. FREMANTLE (1910/11:301) says, “Shira was the most important of [the three]”, and HARRIS (1927) speaks of “Teshena being much less important in every way than Shira.”

Ironically, the early demise of the Shira language may have resulted from the very fact of the town’s importance. After the 19th century conquests, Auyo and Teshena became rather unimportant, isolated villages, supplanted by Hadejiya and Katagum respectively, whereas Shira remained a sizable town on a main road. Throughout this region, towns on main roads have tended to become Hausa- or Kanuri-speaking while rural villages only short distances from the roads retain the original languages of the area. This linguistic shift undoubtedly takes place as a lingua franca comes to be preferred over the local language (cf. the suggestion of HARRIS for the demise of Shira in fn. 7).

It is particularly unfortunate that we have no record of Shira, because unlike Auyo and Teshena, which sources claim were the same language, or at least very similar, there is no such unanimity about Shira. Thus, although FREMANTLE (1910/11:301) says, “These three tribes, known as Shirawa, Teshenawa, Auyukawa, had the same language,” MIGEOD (1924:260) says that “the Shira, though long associated with [Awiaka and Teshena], were a different people and spoke a different language.”

Turning to Auyo, I know of only one small data set, viz. MIGEOD’s (1924:320) short Awiaka word list. On the source of his information, MIGEOD says,

It was at the village of Wunuk Gana that I got most of my information about these people. My principal informants were two old men and the Chief of the Village as well as the chief of Awuyo, a Fula. The two old men were said to be the only two who still remembered the old Awiaka language. Everybody speaks Hausa only.

The list, given in the appendix, consists of the numbers 1-10, the tens from 20-100, the “Old Awiaka Names of Days of the Week”, and a phrase, *Allah wuchua* ‘many thanks’. Not much useful can be gleaned from the days of the week, which are forms of the Arabic day names, and I am unable to identify the verb root in the phrase, which probably means, ‘May Allah help us’, or the like. In the discussion below, however, I will show that the numbers provide enough information to identify Awiaka (Auyo) as a member of the Bade/ Ngizim language group and as being particularly closely related to Teshena within that group.

Ironically, it is Teshena, the people and language least discussed in the published sources, for which we have the most linguistic information. This information consists of two word lists discovered in the Kaduna Archives by John LAVERS and John PADEN in 1984. These lists, cited as HARRIS (1927) in the bibliography, are an appendix to a report, dated February 1, 1927, from P. Graham HARRIS, the District Officer of Katagum Division, to the Resident of Bauchi Province. I quote in full the first two paragraphs of HARRIS’s report, regarding his field work and the nature of the lists:

I attach a vocabulary recently made by me of the Teshena language. When particulars regarding various languages were originally asked for in 1921 ... the only person believed to know any Teshenanchi was an old man whose memory was bad and his knowledge limited. He died in 1924. It was, however, reported to me while on tour that an old woman existed who was able to speak this language and I attach the vocabulary containing the information supplied by her. In some respects this corresponds to that given previously and in some it differs. It will be seen that the vocabulary bears little or no resemblance to Hausa but would appear to be similar in some respects to N'Gizmanchi⁸ when compared with the vocabulary of the latter existing in this office.

Several points presented difficulties. The woman in nearly every case gave the form of the singular and plural as the same. This may have been so but more probably this is the same use of the singular as now is used in Hausa by the less educated classes (e.g. *doki biyu* for *dawaki biyu*). Secondly demonstratives were not known. Finally when it came to the sentences the declension of verbs gave considerable trouble and some of the sentences could not be translated.

The nearly complete lists are given in the appendix along with lists from Western Bade, the dialect geographically contiguous to Teshena, and Ngizim (of Potiskum), the most closely related non-Bade language in the group. "Teshena I", the list collected in 1921 from the old man, contains the following: 97 nouns and adjectives; the numbers 1-30, 40, 50, 100, and 1000; six verbs; and a couple of personal and interrogative pronouns. The only grammatical information is a paradigm of the verb 'to go', two sentences with adjectival predicates, and a few noun phrases consisting of noun+demonstrative and genitive phrases. "Teshena II", the list collected in late 1926 or early 1927 from the old woman, contains the following: 103 nouns and adjectives; the numbers 1-13, 20, 100, and the word 'many'; about 14 verbs (which I extracted from full sentences); and a couple of personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. For Teshena II, there are also about three foolscap pages of phrase and sentence level data, including about 75 short sentences and about 12-15 noun phrases, mainly genitives and noun+adjective.

HARRIS's informants were advanced in age, and they had undoubtedly spent many years without actively using Teshena. These facts combined with the "noise" resulting from the list being collected by a colonial officer with-

out formal training in linguistic research working through a language that neither investigator nor informant spoke natively (assuming that HARRIS worked through Hausa) all lead to rather modest expectations about what might be learned from the lists. However, close examination of these lists, with compensation for the problems listed here, reveals that the quality of the data is remarkably high, permitting rather detailed observations about how the versions of Teshena in the lists relate to each other, how Teshena is related to the rest of Bade/Ngizim, and what some of the phonological and morphological features of this language were.

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to analysis of the Teshena data. The principal conclusions will be the following:

- (2) a. The two Teshena lists represent a linguistic unity within the Bade/Ngizim group. This can be demonstrated through innovations in Teshena which are not shared by other languages in the group. It may be that the two Teshena lists represent distinct dialects of that language.
- b. Within the Bade/Ngizim group, Teshena is most closely related to Bade. This can be demonstrated through innovations shared by Teshena and Bade but not by other languages in the group. Further evidence comes from innovations in Ngizim not shared by Teshena or Bade, showing a period of the evolution of Ngizim separate from the other two languages.
- c. Teshena can probably be considered a language distinct from Bade in the sense that both Teshena and Bade show non-shared innovations from the reconstructed ancestral language, but there was probably considerable mutual intelligibility between the two languages, blurring the "language" vs. "dialect" distinction.
- d. There is at least one important innovation shared by Teshena and only the westernmost dialects of Bade. This innovation would contradict a. and c. in that it would suggest that Teshena is a dialect of Bade, not an entity which underwent a period separate from Bade as a whole. I will suggest that this innovation is probably a result of areal diffusion rather than a phenomenon resulting from shared evolution.

3.2 Analysis

The Bade, Ngizim, and Duwai data use the following symbols: *b*, *d* represent bilabial and alveolar voiced implosives respectively; *tI*, *dI* represent voiceless and voiced lateral fricatives; doubled vowels represent long vowels;

ə represents a high vowel ranging phonetically across [i, ɨ, u], exact quality being conditioned by consonantal and contiguous syllable environment (SCHUH 1978); ˊ, ˋ, ˆ, ˊ̄ over the first or only vowel of a syllable represent high, low, falling, and downstepped high tones respectively. I transcribe the data from HARRIS (1927) and MIGEOD (1924) exactly as they have it except for using all lower case letters whereas they usually began the first or only word of a citation with upper case. In general, their orthography corresponds in a straightforward way to the pronunciation they were attempting to transcribe. They failed to distinguish the implosive consonants from the voiced non-implosive counterparts. They transcribed the voiceless lateral fricative as *s* or *sh* and the voiced lateral fricative as *j*.⁹ They transcribed the vowel ə as either *i* or *u*, less frequently as *a*, whichever it sounded most like to their ears. They did not mark tone or vowel length.

3.2.1 Three sound changes

Two sound changes have affected Bade as a whole. Voicing dissimilation caused a non-glottalized, voiced obstruent to devoice when the next syllable began in an obstruent of this type. Resyllabification resyllabified the sequence $*\#C_1\text{ə}C_2V$ to $\#C_1C_2V$ where C_1 and C_2 did not form an impermissible sequence.¹⁰ In contrast to the first change in Bade, Ngizim underwent a change of voicing assimilation, which caused a non-glottalized, voiceless obstruent to become voiced when the next syllable began in an obstruent of this type. The sound changes are summarized with relevant data in (3). Data in the “Other Chadic” column represent the reconstructed configuration (H = Hausa, B = Bolanci):

(3) Three sound changes in Bade/Ngizim

- a. *Voicing dissimilation:*
(Bade and Teshena)
- $$* \begin{bmatrix} -\text{son} \\ +\text{voice} \\ -\text{glot} \end{bmatrix} > [-\text{voice}] / ___ V(C) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{son} \\ +\text{voice} \\ -\text{glot} \end{bmatrix}$$

	W. Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II	Other Chadic
‘guinea fowl’	<i>sáavànyín</i>	<i>záabànú</i>	<i>asabuwin</i>		H: <i>zàabóo</i>
‘blood’	<i>tádámán</i>	<i>dádám</i>		(<i>kuḡan</i>)	B: <i>dòm</i>

- b. *Resyllabification:* $*\#C_1\text{ə}C_2V > \#C_1C_2V$
(Bade)

	W. Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II	Other Chadic
‘six’	<i>əzdù</i>	<i>zədù</i>	<i>shuddu</i>	<i>sudu</i>	H: <i>shídà</i>
‘person’	<i>médán</i>	(<i>nèn</i>)	<i>mud’ai</i>	<i>mudin</i>	H: <i>mùtùm</i>

- c. *Voicing assimilation:*
(Ngizim)
- $$* \begin{bmatrix} -\text{son} \\ -\text{voice} \\ -\text{glot} \end{bmatrix} > [-\text{voice}] / ___ V(C) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{son} \\ +\text{voice} \\ -\text{glot} \end{bmatrix}$$

	W. Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II	Other Chadic
‘chicken’	<i>káazədàkón</i>	<i>gáazá</i>	<i>kazai</i>	<i>kasán</i>	H: <i>kàazáa</i>
‘six’	<i>əzdù</i>	<i>zədù</i>	<i>shuddu</i>	<i>sudu</i>	H: <i>shídà</i>

These three sound changes support hypotheses (2a) and (2b). Hypothesis (2b) claims that Bade and Teshena form a group distinct from Ngizim. This is demonstrated by the fact that Bade and Teshena share voicing dissimilation. In fact this change is more manifest in Teshena than it is in Bade. In Bade, resyllabification has obscured many cases where voicing dissimilation must have applied in early Bade. Thus, the word for ‘road’ must have undergone the following development: $*b\acute{a}dam- > *p\acute{a}dam- > *əp\acute{a}dam- > əbdam-$. That is, when resyllabification took place in the third stage, the formerly devoiced initial consonant would have become revoiced because of a restriction against obstruent sequences disagreeing in voice. However, Teshena has not undergone resyllabification and hence retains the voiceless consonants which arose from voicing dissimilation, e.g. T1 *fudau*, T2 *fadamin* ‘road’. Other examples in the HARRIS list in addition to ‘road’ and ‘guinea fowl’ in (3a) above are ‘chief’, ‘drum’, ‘hyena’, ‘leg’, ‘night’, ‘slave’, and possibly ‘heavy’.

The fact that Teshena and Bade share the innovatory sound change, voicing dissimilation, whereas Ngizim has undergone the essentially opposite change of voicing assimilation, would seem to constitute clear evidence for grouping Teshena and Bade as a group separate from Ngizim. There is a scenario by which this sub-grouping would not follow, *viz.* if Proto-Teshena-Bade-Ngizim had undergone voicing dissimilation, then this would be a shared retention for the languages where its effects can still be seen, with Ngizim voicing assimilation being a more recent change which reversed the effects of the earlier dissimilation. I have no positive evidence to rule this out. However, there is no evidence at all in Ngizim for dissimilation having ever taken place, and the preponderance of evidence below supports a closer relationship between Teshena and Bade than between Ngizim and either of the other two.¹¹

Hypothesis (2a) claims that Bade as whole is a linguistic unity distinct from Teshena rather than Teshena being a dialect of Bade. Resyllabification supports this. This change is shared throughout Bade. For example, the word for ‘road’ is *əbdàmən* in Western Bade and *əbdàm* in both Southern and Gashua Bade; the word for ‘six’ in (3b) is identical in all Bade dialects. Resyllabification must therefore have operated in Bade as a linguistic unit after the split from Teshena.

3.2.2 Numbers

Data on numbers is available not only for the two Teshena lists, but also for Auyo (= MIGEOD’s Awiaka). This data provides useful diagnostics for classification.¹² The lists in the appendix show that the numbers 2-6 and 10 are more or less identical in all the languages, modulo orthographic idiosyncracies and the sound changes mentioned in the preceding section. But consider the numbers 1, 7-9, and formation of numbers from 11-99:

(4) Data from numbers suggesting relative linguistic relationships

	W. Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Auyo
1	<i>gàd'é</i>	<i>káǎǎn</i> (counting) <i>gàyí</i> (enumeration)	<i>gada iwo</i>	<i>kiding</i>
7	<i>gátkásà</i>	<i>gátkásà</i>	<i>kussi</i>	<i>kwísi</i>
8	<i>tládàkwà</i>	<i>dándàfúǎ</i>	<i>ishtakuwa</i>	<i>sitokwa</i>
9	<i>wúráyà</i>	<i>kúdkúvdá</i>	<i>wulaiya</i>	<i>ureya</i>
12	<i>gùm áa vèràan</i> <i>sérán</i>	<i>gúm áa vèrə šírín</i> = <i>gúmà áyáawáw šírín</i>	<i>gomar usirrin</i>	? ¹³
20	<i>gùmóo sérán</i>	<i>gùmú šírín</i>	<i>gomar sirrin</i>	<i>gumushrin</i>
25	<i>gùmóo sérán àa</i> <i>vèráaw vàǎi</i>	<i>gùmú šírín áyáawáw</i> <i>vàǎf</i>	<i>gomar sirrin awu</i> (no data) <i>wadi</i>	

The form *kussi/kwísi* for ‘7’ in Teshena and Auyo distinguishes these languages from the others. Since other evidence suggests strongly that Bade, Ngizim, and Teshena/Auyo form a unit within the larger group (see Figure 1), and moreover, that Bade and Teshena/Auyo are more closely related to each other than either is to Ngizim, we can assume that the form *gátkásà* in Bade (all dialects) and Ngizim is a shared retention. The form *kussi/kwísi* in Teshena and Auyo must therefore be a shared innovation which took place after the separation of these languages from the others in the group, meaning that they must either be the same language or languages which themselves form a distinct sub-group of the Bade/Ngizim group.

Given the small amount of data for Auyo, it is difficult to say how closely it is related to Teshena. The numbers 1-10 are virtually identical in the two, suggesting they can be considered one language. This correlates with observations from sources cited above (cf. the first paragraph of 3.1). However, they may have been distinct dialects. One indicator is the word for ‘1’, which is given in Teshena as *gada iwo* (Teshena I) or *gadayu* (Teshena II) but as *kiding* in Auyo. This may, however, reflect a distinction between a “counting” form and an “enumeration” form, still preserved in Ngizim but not in any dialect of Bade. Another suggestion that Auyo and Teshena

may have been distinct dialects comes from the “tens” (‘20’, ‘30’, etc.). Auyo uses a form of ‘10’, *gumu*, plus the unit number for all of these. Teshena is recorded as having *gumar* (Teshena I) or *guma* (Teshena II) plus the unit number. If this transcription for Teshena is accurate, this may be an innovation found only in this language, since in other languages of the group, the word representing ‘10’ in the words ‘20’, etc. ends in a back round vowel (-*u* in Ngizim and Auyo, -*o* in Bade).

Another apparent Teshena innovation suggesting a period of development separate from Bade is the way “teens” are marked. Bade and Ngizim share a construction which places an element *aa var-* or *aa vər-* between the word for ‘10’ and the word for units. Teshena, on the other hand, places something like (*ay*)*u* (cf. the Teshena I form for ‘12’ above and the Teshena II form *gumayu sirrin*). As with the words for ‘7’, the Bade and Ngizim constructions must represent a retention, with Teshena being the innovator. Ngizim has an alternative construction using *áyâawaw* instead of *aa var-* (the former construction is required for compound numbers from ‘21’ and above). The latter is recognized by Ngizims as being the more conservative; the former is actually the word ‘grains (of corn, peanuts)’ and is probably related to the word *aw* ‘guinea corn’. This in turn resembles the Teshena form. It may thus be that both ways of expressing ‘-teen’ can be reconstructed and that Bade and Teshena have innovated in opposite directions by losing one of the forms. This scenario would likewise support a period of development for Teshena independent of Bade.

The remaining forms in (3) in need of comment are the words for ‘8’ and ‘9’. Here, Ngizim has clearly innovated. This is confirmed by the fact that Duwai, the most remote language in the group, has forms for ‘8’ and ‘9’ which are cognate with Bade and Teshena (Duwai *ə̀d̀l̀d̀á̀á̀k̀ò̀* and *wá̀ar̀í̀yà̀* respectively). While the data here are consistent with the classification in Figure 1, they do not necessarily show that Bade is more closely related to Teshena than to Ngizim inasmuch as Bade and Teshena share a retention, not an innovation.

3.2.3 Nouns, adjectives, and verbs

A commonly used method for linguistic subgrouping is lexicostatistics, particularly comparing percentages of shared cognates. In the noun, adjective, and verb lists in the appendix, there are 168 items for which Teshena items can be compared to Bade and Ngizim.¹⁴ The figures in (5) are raw counts of shared cognate items. “Teshena” here lumps the two Teshena lists, i.e. the Teshena item is counted as a cognate as long as at least one Teshena item is cognate with Bade and/or Ngizim:¹⁵

(5) Bade, Ngizim, Teshena all cognate:	97	(57.7%)
Bade and Ngizim cognate, Teshena not cognate:	28	(16.7%)
Bade and Teshena cognate, Ngizim not cognate:	11	(6.5%)
Ngizim and Teshena cognate, Bade not cognate:	5	(2.9%)
All three languages non-cognate with each other:	27	(16.1%)
Total Item Count	168	

Rather than supporting hypothesis (2b) that Teshena and Bade form a unit within the group, these raw cognate counts would appear to group Bade with Ngizim (125 shared items, vs. 108 shared items between Bade and Teshena). However, this is surely a result of the “well-known language syndrome”. I collected data from Bade and Ngizim over a nearly three-year period from speakers for whom these were active first languages, and I benefited from extensive experience working on these and related languages. Similar field conditions for work on Teshena would surely greatly raise the cognation rate between Teshena and both the other languages.

Moreover, were it the case that Bade and Ngizim formed a sub-group as opposed to Teshena, we would expect at least some of the items to represent innovations shared by Bade and Ngizim, with Teshena having more conservative items. This does not seem to be the case. For most items, Bade and Ngizim seem to share a retention, i.e. a form reconstructable for this sub-group of Chadic, whereas the Teshena item is probably not the original form.¹⁶ In some cases, the Teshena speaker gave a Hausa borrowing (T1 *giwa*

‘elephant’) or a phrase in Teshena (T2 *garribatta* ‘elephant’, literally *garrī + batta* ‘big-one of bush’). In some cases, there seems to have been a natural shift of meaning in Teshena which would be at best a weak diagnostic for subgrouping, e.g. T2 *sanau* ‘morning’, cognate to Bade *sānā* ‘tomorrow’, or T2 *akuran* ‘bee’, which is also the word for ‘honey’. In most cases of non-cognation with Bade and Ngizim, the Teshena item is simply of questionable accuracy. Some items can be identified as questionable from within the list, e.g. T2 *kusabura* ‘red’ [sic], not cognate with Bade and Ngizim ‘red’, alongside *kusarbura* ‘tall’, which is cognate with Ngizim *gāz-bāf*, or T2 *tigan* ‘rope’ [sic], which would be the form reconstructable for ‘arrow’ (given as an apparent phrase, *misuma sumo*, in T2). Others must represent misunderstanding on the part of the speaker or HARRIS and/or inability of the speaker to remember the original word, e.g. T2 *kugan/kurmun* ‘blood’ or *bachinidal* ‘knee’, which do not resemble the words for ‘blood’ and ‘knee’ elsewhere in Bade/Ngizim or in any other neighboring languages.

One item would appear to be a retention in Teshena but an innovation in Bade and Ngizim. This is the word ‘know’ (Bade *əzɡó*, Ngizim *zəɡáú*, T1 *sunun*, glossed ‘to know’ in the list). NEWMAN (1977) reconstructs the root **sənə* ‘know’ for Proto-Chadic, and this is the form in the “North Bauchi” languages (the West Chadic “B” group most closely related to Bade/Ngizim), e.g. Miya *sən-*. However, the **zəg-* root for ‘know’ is also found in Duwai (*əzgyā*), meaning that this root in this meaning is reconstructable for Proto-Bade/Ngizim. It is therefore difficult to see how the **sənə* root could show up as a historical retention in Teshena. One explanation is that it is borrowed from Hausa *sanī*, but this is admittedly a proposal designed to sweep a historical puzzle under the rug.

Turning to items shared by Bade and Teshena but not Ngizim, most again seem to be shared retentions,¹⁷ with Ngizim being the innovator. The numbers ‘8’ and ‘9’ have already been mentioned in 3.2.2. Another example is Ngizim *bəIân* ‘good’, borrowed from Kanuri. There is one clear shared

innovation between Bade and Teshena, viz. ‘meat’: Bade *sāsáan*, T2 *sas-san*, Ngizim *tIùwái*. The Ngizim root is reconstructable not only for Proto-Bade/Ngizim (cf. Duwai *tIùwái*), but also for Proto-Chadic (**hIəw* in NEWMAN 1977). This item thus unequivocally supports hypothesis (2b), grouping Bade and Teshena.

Ngizim and Teshena share five items not shared by Bade: ‘guinea corn’, ‘hear’, ‘peanut’, ‘potash’, ‘river’. ‘Guinea corn’ is only included here by default — I was apparently unable to elicit a generic term for ‘guinea corn’ in Bade, so this item and any cognate is simply absent in my Bade list. ‘River’ is complex semantically and culturally. In the Bade and Teshena area, there are a number of large watercourses, some of which have water throughout the year. In the Ngizim area, there are no large watercourses, much less permanent waterways. Bade, and probably Teshena, distinguish various types of watercourses — large rivers, small streams, dry waterways, etc. In the Teshena list, the word for ‘river’ is cognate with the Ngizim word for ‘(dry) watercourse’, a root which I did not find in Bade. The word given in Bade for ‘river’, *dùwán*, is cognate with Ngizim ‘well’. Ngizim *gwádánú*, T2 *n’gandundo* ‘peanut’ appear to be cognate and are obviously distinct from Bade *jádáan*, T1 *gedan*, borrowed from Hausa. It is unlikely, however, that the Ngizim and T2 words represent a shared innovation.

The words ‘hear’ (Ngizim *kəmáú*, T2 *kim-*) and ‘potash’ (Ngizim *árá-awà*, T1 *alauwan*) are of interest because they are shared retentions (cf. Duwai *kəmùwó*, *àrkùwái* respectively), whereas Bade has innovated (*dùkwú*, *mánkón* respectively). ‘Potash’ may represent several independent innovations within Bade (cf. Gashua Bade where the cognate word, *áláawà*, means ‘salt’, and ‘potash’ is *álásfū*, probably a compound based on ‘potash’). However, ‘hear’ is uniform across Bade (cf. Gashua Bade *dəgwú*), indicating a period of pan-Bade development independent of Teshena.

To summarize, though lexical counts are somewhat equivocal for subgrouping, examination of individual items supports hypothesis (2b) that Bade and Teshena form a sub-group within Bade and Ngizim. The high

count between Bade and Ngizim is probably aberrant because of a combination of the “well-known language syndrome” and defects in the Teshena lists. Significantly, even contending with these problems, the Bade+Teshena count is higher than the Ngizim+Teshena count, a result which would not follow if Bade and Ngizim shared a particularly close relationship. Moreover, one clear shared lexical innovation, the word for ‘meat’, groups Bade and Teshena. There are no such innovations grouping Ngizim with either Bade or Teshena. Examination of the items shared by Ngizim and Teshena reveals one clear innovation affecting all of Bade, *viz.* the word ‘hear’. This supports hypothesis (2a) that Teshena is a unit separate from Bade rather than a dialect of Bade.

This section has focused on lexical counts and simple cognation. The next three sections look in detail at word structure as a diagnostic for sub-grouping.

3.2.3.1 Teshena as a linguistic unit, independent of Bade

We can demonstrate the independence of Teshena from Bade in two ways. First, we can show that Teshena has innovated in ways not found in any dialect of Bade. Second, we can show that all Bade dialects share certain innovations not found in Teshena and therefore, Bade as a whole must have undergone development separate from Teshena.

(6) Items showing Teshena innovations

	Western Bade	Other Bade	Ngizim/Duwai	Teshena I	Teshena II
‘ear’	<i>gùtáan</i>	G: <i>gút</i>	N: <i>àgúf</i>	<i>gutduwan</i>	<i>guttuwan</i>
‘white’	<i>hèetà</i>	G: <i>pèetà</i>	D: <i>péet</i>	<i>futa</i>	<i>futa</i>
‘good’	<i>dàvâ</i>	S: <i>dàvâ</i>	(N/D: <i>bə̀lân</i>)	<i>kadauwan</i>	<i>kadabán</i>

The word for ‘ear’ has an extra syllable not found elsewhere. The word for ‘white’ has the vowel *-u-* internally rather than *-e-* found elsewhere. The word for ‘good’ has a prefix *ka-* not seen in Bade. This is probably a velar

adjectival prefix found in other words such as Western Bade *gàamán* ‘woman, female’ (cf. *ámán* ‘wife’) and passive participles of verbs, e.g. *gánáwá* ‘ripe’ < *nàwó* ‘ripen’. The probable Proto-Bade root, *dàvâ*, has been replaced by the Kanuri loan *bə̀lân* outside Western and Southern Bade, so it is not possible to verify with certainty whether Teshena is the innovator here.

(7) Items showing Bade innovations

	Western Bade	Other Bade	Ngizim/Duwai	Teshena I	Teshena II
‘bad’	<i>bàksó</i>	G: <i>bàksáw</i>	N: <i>gáβshú</i>	<i>kubbusi</i>	? <i>shirin</i>
‘tamarind’	<i>másáakōn</i>	G: <i>másáakāu</i>	D: <i>mə̀šənòk</i>	<i>musanakum</i>	
‘nose’	<i>ətIkàńń</i>	G: <i>əstán</i>	N: <i>tón</i>	<i>tiran</i>	<i>tinin</i>

In the word for ‘bad’, Bade has metathesized the first two consonants. In ‘tamarind’, Bade has a diminutive or feminitive suffix *-aakau*, added here and there to many words throughout the group (cf. the words for ‘chicken’, ‘fish’, and ‘star’ in the appendix). It is not entirely clear how this relates to the cognate Duwai, Ngizim, and Teshena words, which have an *-n-* not found in the Bade words. It looks as if Bade somehow reinterpreted the final “*-Vnak-*” as the suffix mentioned here and reinterpreted the morphology accordingly. Whatever the exact scenario, this is clearly an innovation found throughout Bade and only in Bade. The word for ‘nose’ can be reconstructed as having looked much like the Ngizim item (cf. NEWMAN’S [1977] Proto-Chadic reconstruction **atən*). The Bade forms may represent two independent innovations, in which case this item would not illustrate the unity of Bade.

It is worth pointing out that Western Bade has undergone a number of innovations separate from the rest of Bade. This dialect is the one neighboring Teshena, and as we shall see in 3.2.3.3, there must have been considerable linguistic interaction between this part of the Bade-speaking area and Teshena. If Teshena were merely a dialect of Bade, we would have expected at least some of these Western Bade innovations to have spread to Teshena. However, most, if not all the Western Bade innovations have re-

mained restricted to Western Bade (or, in some cases, Western + Southern Bade). A possible example was seen in ‘nose’ in (7). Other examples are given in (8):

(8) Items showing Western Bade innovations not shared by Teshena

	Western Bade	Other Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
‘chicken’	<i>káazə̀̀dàkón</i>	G: <i>kázā</i>	N: <i>gāazá</i>	<i>kazai</i>	<i>kasan</i>
‘dog’	<i>wúnàajáan</i>	G: <i>jà</i>	N: <i>jǎ</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>chayin</i>
‘hut’	<i>káasōn</i>	G: <i>sósàù</i>	N: <i>sósàù</i>		<i>sosun</i>

Western Bade has added the diminutive/feminitive suffix mentioned in the preceding paragraph to ‘chicken’. The Western Bade word for dog is a compound, ‘son of dog’, probably also a sort of diminutive form. The word for ‘hut’ in Western Bade is either a lexical replacement or a morphologically changed form.

3.2.3.2 The unity of Teshena and Bade

To conclusively demonstrate hypothesis (2b) that Bade and Teshena together form a sub-group, we need examples of innovations shared by these two languages but no others. It turns out that there are very few clear cases. Most cases where Bade and Teshena share a feature not found elsewhere are shared retentions. Nonetheless, there are a few shared innovations. One example was the word ‘meat’ discussed in 3.2.3. Another is the word for ‘woman’, in which both Bade and Teshena have the velar adjectival prefix mentioned following (6). In Bade this prefix distinguishes ‘woman’ from ‘wife’, which lacks the prefix (see discussion following (6)). The same is probably true for Teshena, though the lists do not include the word for ‘wife’. In the other languages, ‘woman’ and ‘wife’ are identical: WB *gàamán* ‘woman’, *ámán* ‘wife’; GB *gàamà* ‘woman’, *ámá* ‘wife’; T2 *gamin* ‘woman’; Ng *ámá* ‘woman, wife’; D *mà* ‘woman, wife’.

Thus, although there is some evidence supporting a grouping of Bade

and Teshena within the Bade/Ngizim group, the dearth of clear shared innovations between the two and the “lukewarm” evidence from lexical counts (3.2.3) suggest that there was not a long period of common development of Bade+Teshena before they separated.

3.2.3.3 Nunation and gender marking: areal diffusion as an explanation for similarities between Bade and Teshena

Even a cursory glance at the compared lists reveals a remarkable shared feature between Western Bade and Teshena which is found neither in other Bade dialects nor in other languages of the group. This is *nunation*, i.e. the presence of a suffix *-n* on nouns in their citation form, e.g. ‘hair’ GB *yát*, Ng *yàd*, D *dyát*, but T1 *yattin*, T2 *yetsin*, WB *dàcín*. I have hypothesized elsewhere that this is grammaticalization of a definite determiner as a nominal marker (see LUKAS 1967/68; SCHUH 1974/75, 1977:§1.3) for discussion of the phenomenon in Bade, and GREENBERG (1978) for typological and theoretical background). In all my previous work on Bade (SCHUH 1974/75, 1977, 1978), I have assumed that this was a Western Bade innovation. However, in this paper I have been arguing that Western Bade is part of a single dialect complex which constitutes a language separate from Teshena. How can we resolve the conflicting claims that Western Bade be grouped with the remainder of Bade, yet that it shares an innovation with a separate language? One resolution, of course, would be to claim that Teshena and Western Bade independently developed nunation. This seems untenable, given the remarkable nature of this innovation and the fact that it is just the Bade dialect neighboring Teshena which has this feature. Another possibility is that hypothesis (2a), the claim that Teshena is a separate language, not a dialect of Bade, is wrong. However, I have presented a number of pieces of evidence from sound change and lexical innovation in support of this hypothesis, and nunation, after all, represents only a single change, though it affects a large number of items.

had been innovated in Western Bade and spread to Teshena, we would have to say that once they had spread, the original feminine marker disappeared without a trace in Bade. On the other hand, if the innovation took place in Teshena, we can explain why only the *-n* suffix is found on both masculine and feminine: when Bade began to assimilate nominal suffixation, the gender marking distinction was not “understood” by the Bade speakers, who simply applied the most frequently occurring suffix to all their nouns. Alternatively, it could be that nominal suffixing was spread into Bade from a Teshena dialect which had already generalized the *-n* suffix to all nouns, as seems to be the case in Teshena II.

3.2.4 Pronouns

The data on pronouns in HARRIS (1927) provides only limited information. There are no systematically collected paradigms and not enough data to piece together full paradigms. I will briefly examine two types of pronouns: the independent pronouns and pronominal suffixes on verbs.

3.2.4.1 Independent pronouns

Consider the pronouns in (10):

(10) Independent pronouns

	Western Bade	South Bade	Gashua Bade	Ngizim	Teshena II
1 sg.	<i>áyū</i>	<i>íyù</i>	<i>níyù</i>	<i>íyù</i>	<i>aiyu</i> (= T1)
2 m.sg.	<i>ágì</i>	<i>gìi</i>	<i>gìi</i>	<i>cì</i>	(?T1 <i>yenni</i>)
2 f.sg.	<i>ágəm</i>	<i>gəm</i>	<i>gəm</i>	<i>kəm</i>	<i>akum</i>
3 m.sg.	<i>áci</i>	<i>áci</i>	<i>áci</i>	<i>áci</i>	<i>asi</i> (= T1)
3 f.sg.	<i>átù</i>	<i>átù</i>	<i>átù</i>	<i>átù</i>	<i>atu</i> (= T1)
1 pl.excl.	<i>ájà</i>	<i>jà</i>	<i>jà</i>	<i>jà</i>	
1 pl.incl.	<i>áwà</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>gwà</i>	<i>wà</i>	
2 pl.	<i>áwùn</i>	<i>wùn</i>	<i>wùn</i>	<i>kùn</i>	<i>?akakum</i>
3 pl.	<i>áksi</i>	<i>áksi</i>	<i>áksi</i>	<i>áksi</i>	<i>akche</i>

The Teshena II list has considerably more grammatical information than the Teshena I list. Where the same information occurs in both lists, it agrees. The T1 pronoun glossed “thou (m)” is questionable since it bears no resemblance to this pronoun in any other Bade/Ngizim language, nor indeed in any other Chadic language that I know of. The second person pronouns from the T2 list were extracted from sentences such as *akum fezze* ‘you are a Teshinawa’ and *akakum modin?* ‘who are you?’ (lit: “you who?”, which would be the normal structure in Bade, e.g. WB *ágìi tèt?* ‘who are you (m.sg.)?’). The only 2nd person singular pronoun in the T2 list is *akum*, which must be the feminine form (recall that the informant for this list was a woman). The most notable feature of the Teshena independent pronouns is the fact that they all begin in *a-*. Except for the third person pronouns, this feature is elsewhere found only in Western Bade. This therefore looks like shared innovation between Teshena and Western Bade. However, an innovation in Bade which separates it from the rest of the language group is the voicing of the velar consonant in Bade 2nd person singular pronouns (cf. GB *gəm* vs. Ng *kəm*, T2 *akum*). Examples of the Bade voicing but the original voiceless velar in Teshena in other paradigms are seen below in the subject pronoun for 2m.sg. in (11) and in the indirect object pronoun in (13), first examples of PERFECTIVE.

3.2.4.2 Person marking suffixes on verbs

Across Chadic languages, there are two kinds of pronominal suffixes which agree with verbal subjects. I will refer to these as intransitive copy pronouns (ICP) and suffix conjugation respectively. The ICP, first described in NEWMAN (1971), by definition is suffixed only to intransitive verbs. In most languages (including those of the Bade/Ngizim group), addition of the ICP to a verb imparts a meaning of finality or intensity to the action. The “suffix conjugation” appears on both intransitive and transitive verbs. Among living West Chadic languages, I am aware of the suffix con-

jugation only in Western Bade, and there, only in the subjunctive. Even in the subjunctive, it is not obligatory, but I was unable to discover what meaning, if any, its presence or absence contributes. The two sets of Bade pronominal suffixes are illustrated in (11) with the verbs ‘return’ and ‘enter’ respectively. The Teshena I forms are all glossed as the present tense of ‘go’ (‘I go’, ‘thou goest’, etc.).¹⁹ The pronominal suffixes are underlined.

(11) Pronominal subject copy suffixes

	W. Bade ICP	W. Bade suffix conjugation	Teshena I	Teshena II
1 sg.	<i>nù-gzè-<u>náanē</u></i>	<i>nà-kfí-<u>yū</u></i>	<i>iu <u>yu</u></i>	<i>n'yagwan'yū ajama nueI</i> 'I am going away to hoe'
2 m.sg.	<i>gù-gzè-<u>náai</u></i>	<i>gà-kf-<u>íi</u></i>	<i>(ku jawu)</i>	
2 f.sg.	<i>gù-gzè-<u>náam</u></i>	<i>gà-kf-<u>m</u></i>		
3 m.sg.	<i>áci ùgzè-<u>náarī</u></i>	<i>dà-kf-<u>cí</u></i>	<i>iu <u>ushi</u></i>	<i>mudinga motosī</i> 'my child is dead'
3 f.sg.	<i>átú ùgzè-<u>náarā</u></i>	<i>dà-kf-<u>tú</u></i>		<i>zawan tashujū</i> 'the stick is broken'
1 pl.excl.	<i>jù-gzè-<u>náajà</u></i>	<i>jàa-kf-<u>jà</u></i>	<i>?iu <u>ina</u></i>	
1 pl.incl.	<i>gù-gzè-<u>náawà</u></i>	<i>wàa-kf-<u>wà</u></i>		
2 pl.	<i>nù-gzè-<u>náawùn</u></i>	<i>nàa-kf-<u>wún</u></i>	<i>?iu <u>chi</u></i>	
3 pl.	<i>ákí ùgzè-<u>náakī</u></i>	<i>dà-kf-<u>kí</u></i>	<i>dawu <u>shī</u></i>	<i>kosabanan n'yagwanochi</i> 'the slaves go away'

The parenthesized form for 2nd m.sg. in T1 has no suffix. It is included here only because it was part of HARRIS's (1927) paradigm. The translations of the two forms preceded by question marks are suspect. It seems more likely that *iu ina* is 2nd plural and *iu chi* is third plural.

The Teshena suffixes clearly correspond to the Bade suffix conjugation rather than the ICP. All the examples in (11) are with intransitive verbs, but as in Bade, the Teshena suffixes can also occur with transitive verbs:

(12) WB:	<i>dà-kwt-<u>ś-cí</u> kárēn</i>	'that he take the load'
T2:	<i>n'uoyu maso-<u>yo</u> bunán</i>	'I want to buy fish'
	<i>wuno akarba-<u>shī</u> kwun</i>	'the boy should untie the goat'

There is no evidence in the available Teshena data that this language

had a counterpart to the Bade/Ngizim ICP. Absence of examples of the ICP in the Teshena data could be fortuitous, of course, but there are numerous intransitive verbs in the data, and the ICP in Bade and Ngizim is so commonly occurring that it seems likely that at least some examples would have come up in Teshena if the form had existed. Assuming that Teshena did not have an ICP, its loss must have been an innovation showing a period of development separate from Bade. The alternative, independent innovation in Bade and Ngizim, is implausible given the rather complex nature of the construction.²⁰

As for the suffix conjugation, the most likely scenario is that the ancestral language of this group be reconstructed with such a conjugational pattern, possibly restricted as to tense. Bade and Ngizim would have innovated after splitting from Teshena by losing this conjugational pattern, the only vestige being its restricted use in Western Bade subjunctive. In Teshena, on the other hand, it seems to have remained more robust, possibly even with innovatory spread. An alternative scenario of borrowing the suffix conjugation either from Bade to Teshena or *vice versa* seems unlikely.

To conclude this section, the proposed scenarios for the history of pronominal subject suffixes, particularly patterns of innovatory loss, are consistent with hypotheses (2a-b).

3.2.5 Further remarks on morphology

In this section I will comment briefly on two further aspects of comparative Bade and Teshena morphology.

Verb tense, aspect, mood (TAM) marking. The Teshena lists reveal three features of TAM marking which can be compared with Bade. In the imperative, Teshena, like Bade, has a prefix *a-* on the verb and the verb ends in *-i* in the singular. Several of the verbs in the T1 list seem to be cited in the imperative, e.g. *amasi* 'buy'. The imperfective (expressing future or simultaneous action) is marked by a preverbal *a* and the verb is a verbal noun,

marked by final *-a* for most verbs. Other TAM's (primarily perfective and subjunctive) have no preverbal marker other than a person marking pronoun. In the examples, I have used HARRIS's (1927) transcription, but I have added morpheme breaks marked by hyphens.

(13)	IMPERATIVE	Western Bade	Teshena II
	'give me the knife'	<i>à-bàrí-yāa wúdān</i>	<i>a-bari-ya u-din</i>
	'tie this rope'	<i>à-tàksí zàyáan</i>	<i>a-taxsun tigar²</i>
	IMPERFECTIVE		
	'the man (he) is eating'	<i>gàmsán (ác-) á tāw</i>	<i>gamsin as-a-tau</i>
	'why are you laughing?'	<i>y-àa gáamsāw gàadá kəm?</i>	<i>ka-agamsau gake?</i>
	PERFECTIVE		
	'I give you the knife'	<i>nó bàrí-gìi wúdān</i>	<i>n'bari-yiku u-din</i>
	'the stick is broken'	<i>zāwán tàt1ó-náarā</i>	<i>zawan tashu-ju</i>

Genitive constructions. The only genitive pronoun in the Teshena lists for which the data in the lists is consistent is the first person singular. This form is of interest for classification, however. Consider the data in (14):

(14)	W. Bade	G. Bade	Ngizim	Duwai	Teshena II
	'my hut'	<i>káasóo-ŋ- âa(né)</i>	<i>sésúu-n- âa(nái)</i>	<i>sésúu- gâa(nái)</i>	<i>àsk-áə-tì sosu-n- ga</i>

It is difficult to piece together the exact reconstructed form and the developments in the various languages, but roughly, it looks as if the first person originally used a velar linker, widespread in Chadic and used in N+N constructions in Bade and Ngizim, e.g. GB *yàt kó t1à* 'hair of cow', Ng *gùzàb gé dègàm* 'slave of chief'. This velar element in first person is still overt in Ngizim and Teshena and is evident in the velar nasal of Western Bade and probably the long *əə* of Duwai, which may be a contraction of **əyə* (*ə* does not occur long lexically). The "real" first person genitive pronoun was probably just the vowel *aa*, as is the case, for example, in Hausa, though all Bade dialects and Ngizim may optionally add *nai* as part of this construction. The *n-* of this optional element may be associated with the

n- typical of first person subject pronouns. Regardless of the exact history, Bade has clearly innovated as a unit by losing the *-g-* of the first person genitive construction, still retained in Teshena and Ngizim. The *-nai* addition does not appear in the available Teshena data, but this negative evidence does not show that it did not exist. The *-n-* preceding the *-g-* in *sosu-n-ga* may be the *n* of nunation, though in Bade, nunation drops whenever any suffix is added to a noun.

In N+N genitive constructions, Teshena II shows a clear innovation.

(15)	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena II
	'buffalo' ('cow of bush')	<i>əktlā-k pātān</i>	<i>t1ā-k pātā sasshin masa-batta</i>

As the data in (15) shows, Teshena II uses a genitive linking element *masa*, in contrast to the velar linker seen in Bade and Ngizim. This is probably derived from a demonstrative (cf. WB *gwàmà-msó* 'this ram', Teshena I *masu madim* 'this man'). Creation of linking morphemes from various nominal determiners is ubiquitous in Chadic, and indeed this is the origin of the velar linker mentioned here (see SCHUH 1983 for a survey of this development across Chadic). The *masa* linker appears at several other points in the Teshena II data, e.g. *kosabanan masa-tagum* 'the chief's slave', *masoro masa-malamin* 'paper' ('? of teacher'), and also *kosabanan massa-da* and *kosabanan masa-damanga* glossed as 'my slave' and 'thy slave' respectively, though the glossing of the possessors seems dubious. Not all apparent genitives used the *masa* linker. This may reflect a productive distinction between "direct" genitives (typically used for "inalienable possessions" and in compound-like constructions) and "linked" genitives (typically used for true "possessive" constructions), also a widespread feature of Chadic languages, though now lost in Ngizim and Duwai and restricted to only a small number of lexically specified cases in Bade (SCHUH 1977). Thus, in Teshena II we find *garri-batta* 'elephant' ('big one of bush') and *kisabu batta* 'warthog' ('warthog of bush'). Also, with the exception of the expression glossed 'my slave' above, all the examples of 1st sg. possession (*sosunga* 'my hut',

danga ‘my house’, *kaminga* ‘my farm’, *shenga* ‘my children’) lack the *masa* linker. None of the genitive constructions in Teshena I exhibit this linker (*yeshin gama* ‘hair of woman’, *ayam-shan* ‘butter’ = ‘fat of cow’, *be-badan* ‘lion’ = ‘thing of bush’), but these are all expressions that would typically use the direct genitive construction, being inalienable genitives or compound-like constructions. We thus have no way of knowing whether the *masa* genitive construction was shared by Teshena I and Teshena II, but it certainly represents an innovation within Teshena.

To conclude this section, information from verb tense marking shows a number of features that Teshena shares with other languages in the Bade/ Ngizim group, confirming that the linguistic resemblances among these languages extend beyond lexicon. However, there are no obvious subgrouping features. On the other hand, a Bade innovation in 1st sg. genitive constructions shows a period of development of Bade separate from Teshena and Ngizim, while an innovation in N+N genitive constructions shows a period of development of Teshena separate from the other languages.

4 Conclusion

Bade, Teshena, Auyo, and probably Shira were closely related languages of the Bade/ Ngizim group of West Chadic “B”. Despite their close linguistic relationship and geographic contiguousness, a review of what is known about the folk history and the more recent history reveals that Teshena, Auyo, and Shira as a group had political and cultural ties distinct from those of Bade. Parallel to this political and cultural division, comparison of linguistic data from Teshena and Auyo, collected from the few remaining speakers alive in the first two decades of the 20th century, suggests strongly that these languages (or this language) must have gone through a period of independent development separate from the Bade language, i.e. although Bade itself is dialectally diverse, Teshena (and Auyo) are distinct enough to be considered separate languages (or a separate language), not a dialect of

Bade. The evidence for this claim comes primarily from sound change and lexical innovation, with some evidence from pronominal systems and morphology. I suggest that one apparent and very striking feature shared by Teshena and Western Bade alone within Bade, *viz.* a nominal marking suffix *-n* attached to all nouns in citation form, is not a shared innovation but rather a result of areal diffusion, specifically from Teshena to the contiguous portion of Badeland.

NOTES

* I began research on Ngizim in 1969 as part of a comparative Chadic syntax project sponsored by the National Science Foundation (grant #GS-2279, Paul NEWMAN, Principal Investigator). I did most of my research on Bade and Duwai in 1973-75 when I was employed as a Research Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, at that time part of Ahmadu Bello University. I am grateful to the many linguists who have influenced my thinking and the many speakers of the languages with whom I have worked. I would like to single out the late John LAVERS of Bayero University, to whom this paper is dedicated. John, more than any other individual, made me realize the interest that the study of these languages could have for history and the interest that knowledge of history could have for the study of the languages. It was John who brought to light and made available the archive manuscripts on Teshena without which this paper would not exist. Those of us who have worked in northern Nigeria will miss his encyclopedic knowledge of Bornu history and his good humor.

¹ In order to see how the Kanuri of the Bade court compared with “Standard” Kanuri of Maiduguri and the Manga dialect, which is the dialect spoken contiguous to Bade, I elicited a few words and phrases from Duci Kura, Wazirin Bade, in Gashua in 1975. Whereas the latter two dialects have undergone a number of intervocalic consonant weakenings and consonant-to-consonant assimilations, the Kanuri of the Bade court preserves the Proto-Kanuri pronunciation in normal speech. Compare the following forms (Maiduguri forms from CYFFER & HUTCHISON 1990, Manga forms from my field notes):

	“Bade” Kanuri	Maiduguri	Manga
‘three’	<i>yàskú</i>	<i>yàkkà = yàskà</i>	<i>yàkkú</i>
‘five’	<i>úgú</i>	<i>úwú</i>	<i>úú</i>
‘this’	<i>átì</i>	<i>ádà</i>	<i>áđì</i>

² During field work on Ngizim in 1969/70, I asked Ngizims about the extent of Ngizim country. They considered Kayuri the northernmost town of the original Ngizim domain.

However, on visiting this town, I found no evidence that Ngizim is still spoken there. The main language was Hausa, though many people also spoke Kanuri.

³ TEMPLE (1922:310) gives, as his “authorities”, Capt. J.M. FREMANTLE and Capt. J. HOPKINSON. As seen above, FREMANTLE claimed no particular connection between the Ngizim who live in Bade country and the Ngizim of Potiskum. TEMPLE gives no further information about Capt. HOPKINSON. The source of TEMPLE’s information about the origin of the Ngizim is thus not known.

⁴ Some sources suggest that Auyo and/or Teshena have a particularly close association with the Bade, e.g. TEMPLE (1922:33) says, “Native authority claims that the Auyokawa are of the same stock as the Bedde, originating from a town called Badr, east of Bagirmi.” Nonetheless, the most consistent thread is the “three brothers” account, given below, which links Shira, Auyo, and Teshena as separate from Bade.

⁵ My own belief is that the area directly west of Shira/Auyo/Teshena was originally populated not by people who spoke Hausa, but by people who spoke now extinct West Chadic languages, most likely languages that were close linguistic relatives of Hausa (SCHUH 1982b). However, I know of no local traditions, much less documentation, referring to any languages other than Hausa being spoken west of Shira/Auyo/Teshena.

⁶ FREMANTLE has little more to say about Shellem. This town is now but a small village, located northwest of Dambam. We have no data on the language(s) originally spoken in this area, which today is entirely Hausa-speaking. FREMANTLE (1910/11:307) says, “The pagan Keri-keris of Dambam have their own language, but they can understand Hausa.” Karekare, now spoken to the west and south of Potiskum, is a West Chadic “A” language, and hence is not closely related to Bade/Ngizim within West Chadic. MIGEOD (1924:308f) has a wordlist of a language called “Chellem”, but we can assume that this is from the town *Shellen*, on the Benue River in Adamawa Province. The Chellem list closely resembles Tangale and Kanakuru, both spoken in that region, and MIGEOD’s informant was a boat pilot on the Benue River (MIGEOD 1924:53).

⁷ The absence of any linguistic data on Shira is affirmed by the following comment from a 1928 memo by P. Graham HARRIS, the District Officer of Katagum Division who collected the Teshena data discussed later in this paper: “... no one has ever succeeded in tracing any Shirenci. I am inclined to think that the reason for this is that as the Shira kingdom contained a mixture of races, Hausa must have been the lingua franca for a considerable period before 1808.” This memo is quoted in a letter of September 19, 1994 to Philip JAGGER from Peter A. ROGERS, an archeologist now working in the Katagum/Shira area. My thanks to JAGGAR for making this information available.

⁸ This undoubtedly refers to the Bade dialect spoken in the southwestern Bade area rather than the Ngizim of Potiskum (cf. 1.2).

⁹ Failure to provide distinct transcriptions for the implosives and the lateral fricatives are the only systematic deficiencies in orthography. There are also a few cases where the transcription of labial obstruents is questionable, based on the Bade and Ngizim cognates, e.g. T1 *atuwoddo*, T2 *tubidin* ‘night’ as compared with Bade *əgyiidán*, Ngizim *dəyíd*, or T1 *fijiman* ‘hyena’ as compared with Bade *əbdlámán*, Ngizim *əbdlámú*. Such cases are rare enough that they have little effect on the usefulness of the lists.

¹⁰ In SCHUH (1978, 1981b), I refer to resyllabification as “prothesis”, based on the idea that the medial *ə* in the reconstructed form is deleted and a prothetic *ə* is added. I now believe that this derivational account, based on surface phonetic effects, does not really capture the true nature of the change.

¹¹ Teshena has sometimes devoiced initial consonants beyond those in the environment of (3a). In the list we find T1 *shan*, T2 *chayin* ‘dog’ (cf. Ngizim *jä*), T1 *kwayin* ‘egg’ (cf. Ngizim *əgwáí*), T1 *taiyn*, T2 *tan* ‘eye’ (cf. Ngizim *dä*), and T1 *timai*, T2 *tamin* ‘tree’ (cf. Ngizim *dəm*). However, there are many words which retain initial voiced obstruents.

¹² HARRIS’s informant for Teshena II showed confusion in the numbers, apparently substituting ‘3’ and ‘7’ for ‘4’ and ‘5’, respectively, and reversing ‘7’ and ‘8’. HARRIS elicited the numbers in this list only in phrases with the word ‘finger’, e.g. ‘1 finger’, ‘2 fingers’, etc. The speaker may have simply forgotten the numbers, of course, but an alternative explanation is that HARRIS was showing her the number of fingers in question, and she became confused in some way about how many fingers she was being asked to enumerate.

¹³ For the teens, MIGEOD (1924:320) does not give the individual numbers, but says, “As 1 to 9, Kiding, etc.” I cannot interpret this remark.

¹⁴ This count includes the numbers 1-10 and 100. Among other items, it omits the words ‘new moon’, ‘full moon’, ‘rain’, and ‘twins’, where I lack satisfactory data for Bade and/or Ngizim, and the word ‘foot’, which repeats material from ‘leg’ and ‘thigh’. The word ‘peanut’ is counted twice because Bade and Teshena I are cognate, but are distinct from Ngizim and Teshena II, which are, in turn, cognate with each other.

¹⁵ The languages here are clearly all closely related. Bade and Ngizim share 125 items (74.4% cognation), and though Bade and Ngizim speakers cannot easily understand each other, they readily recognize the similarities between their languages. As a comparison figure, I counted the same items for Western Bade and Gashua Bade, the dialects most distinct from each other within Bade. Of the 166 items where I had data from both dialects, 149 were cognate (89.8% cognation).

¹⁶ The 28 items shared by Bade and Ngizim, but not Teshena, are as follows: arrow, bee, blood, bow, boy, buffalo, butter, camel, cassava, cry, donkey, elephant, finger, grandfather, heart, iron, knee, know, maize, morning, red, rope, sell, seven, spear, tongue, war, witch.

¹⁷ The eleven items are as follows: big, eight, good, hand, honey, meat, nine, peanut, pot, sit, white.

¹⁸ Paul NEWMAN (pers. comm.) has pointed out that Warji, a West Chadic “B” language of the North Bauchi group, has an ending *-na* on masculine nouns and *-ai* on feminine nouns, e.g. *cin-na* (m) ‘nose’ but *kum-ai* (f) ‘ear’. The parallel with Teshena is remarkable, and one is tempted to posit a pair of gender marking suffixes **-n* (masc), **-i* (fem) for Proto-West Chadic-B, retained in Teshena and Warji but lost elsewhere. However, I doubt that this is the case. First, if this were a retention in Teshena and Warji, with loss elsewhere, we would nonetheless expect to find lexicalized traces of this gender marking system in closely related languages. Such traces do not exist. Second, I do not believe that the Teshena *-i* is cognate with the Warji counterpart. The *-i* of the Warji feminine suffix is from **t* through a regular sound change in Warji and some other North Bauchi languages of non-final **t/d > y*, e.g. Warji *kəyin-na* ‘crocodile’ < **kədəm*. This is not a change shared by Bade/Ngizim, and indeed Bade/Ngizim languages freely allow stops to appear word-final. If the *-i* in Teshena feminine words does come from **t*, this would have to be a change affecting this sound only in this morpheme. NEWMAN, in comments on a draft of this paper, has suggested that a system of gender marking by suffixes may have been incipient in Proto-West Chadic-B, eventually taking hold in some languages but not others. Such a common origin for the Teshena/Bade and Warji suffixes is not implausible, but the issue in this paper is why just the Bade dialect in contact with Teshena shares the feature of nominal suffixation with Teshena, not the ultimate origin of the suffixes.

¹⁹ Several apparently differing forms are translated ‘go’ in the Teshena examples. The verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ throughout Bade/Ngizim use three suppletive roots, *d/ɟ*-, *n*-, and *y*-. Choice of root depends on tense/aspect of the verb, person of the subject, and whether the meaning is ‘go’ or ‘come’. There is some variation between languages in how the roots are distributed (see SCHUH 1981b:xxiii for a typical paradigm). All three roots occur in Teshena, but the sketchy data and unreliable translation of tenses makes it impossible systematically to compare Teshena with the other languages. Both the *d/ɟ*- and *y*- roots appear in the T1 examples in (11). Examples of the three roots from T2 are as follows: *d/ɟ*: *kitzá dao-si* ‘yesterday he came’, *ajin* ‘go away!’; *n*:- *gamin a-nina* ‘the woman is coming’; *y*:- *ayam* ‘come here!’ (2nd f.sg. imperative) and possibly *-yagwa-* in the examples in (11).

²⁰ The ICP uses what was originally a form of the genitive pronoun (cf. WB *zàyàa-rí* ‘his rope’ with the ICP and the subjunctive suffixes in (11)).

²¹ The final nasal on the verb may be a 2nd f.sg. agreement marker (again, recall that the informant was a woman). Some Western Bade subdialects add gender marking suffixes to imperatives, though not the subdialect on which I did most of my elicitation. The Teshena II data is not consistent with respect to this affix, however, e.g. *a-karbu* ‘untie (it)’ with no affix.

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APPENDICES

These appendices include essentially the complete Teshena lexical lists for HARRIS's (1927) and the Auyo (= Awiaka) numerical list from MIGEOD (1924). "Teshena I" is a list collected from an old man, dated November 15, 1921. "Teshena II" was collected by HARRIS from an old woman, probably in late 1926 or early 1927 — the list is not dated, but HARRIS's report to the Resident is dated February 1, 1927.

Appendix I*Numbers*

The Teshena I list in HARRIS (1927) has the numbers 1-25, 30, 40, 50, 100. The Teshena II list has 1-11, 20, 100. The Auyo (= Awiaka) list in MIGEOD (1924) has 1-10, all the "tens" 20-90, and 100. Of the "teens", MIGEOD makes the bewildering comment, "11 to 19. As 1 to 9, Kiding, etc." Since the "teens" and the "tens", insofar as they are given in the lists, are formed predictably on the models here for 12, 20, 25, the full lists are not given here.

	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II	Auyo
'1'	<i>gàdè</i>	<i>kóǎén, gàyí</i>	<i>gadaíwo</i>	<i>gadayu</i>	<i>kiding</i>
'2'	<i>sárán</i>	<i>šírín</i>	<i>sirrin</i>	<i>sirrin</i>	<i>sirin</i>
'3'	<i>kwán</i>	<i>kwán</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>akwán</i>	<i>akwon</i>
'4'	<i>fóǎú</i>	<i>fóǎú</i>	<i>fudu</i>	<i>kunán</i>	<i>fudu</i>
'5'	<i>vàǎ</i>	<i>vàǎǎ</i>	<i>waddi</i>	<i>kusi</i>	<i>bùǎǎ</i>
'6'	<i>èzdù</i>	<i>zòǎù</i>	<i>shuddu</i>	<i>sudu</i>	<i>sùǎǎ</i>
'7'	<i>gáǎkásà</i>	<i>gáǎkásà</i>	<i>kussi</i>	<i>ustakwa</i>	<i>kwísi</i>
'8'	<i>tíǎǎkǎwà</i>	<i>dáǎǎǎfóǎú</i>	<i>ishtakuwa</i>	<i>akusi</i>	<i>sitokwa</i>
'9'	<i>wúráyà</i>	<i>kúǎǎkúǎǎ</i>	<i>wulaiya</i>	<i>uraya</i>	<i>ureya</i>
'10'	<i>gúmà</i>	<i>gúmà</i>	<i>gomar</i>	<i>guma</i>	<i>guma</i>
'12'	<i>gum áa vèràǎn</i>	<i>gúm áa vèǎǎ</i>	<i>gomar usirrin</i>	<i>gumayu sirrin</i>	?
	<i>sárán</i>	<i>šírín = gúmà</i>			
		<i>áyáǎǎw šírín</i>			
'20'	<i>gumóo sárán</i>	<i>gumú šírín</i>	<i>gomar sirrin</i>	<i>guma sirrin</i>	<i>gumu shrin</i>
'25'	<i>gumóo sárán</i>	<i>gumú šírín</i>	<i>gomar sirrin</i>		?
	<i>áa vèráǎw vǎǎ</i>	<i>áyáǎǎw vǎǎǎ</i>	<i>awu wadi</i>		
'100'	<i>míyà</i>	<i>dáǎǎmák</i>	<i>darran waddi</i>	<i>digau gawa</i>	<i>guman dari</i>
'1000'	<i>débú</i>	<i>dóbú</i>	<i>zimbar an</i>		?
			<i>daiyan</i>		
'many'	<i>gáǎwá</i>	<i>gáǎwá</i>		<i>gawa</i>	?

Appendix II*Nouns, adjectives, verbs*

Nouns & adjectives	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
'arm (cf. hand)'	<i>ámǎn</i> (f)	<i>ámá</i>		<i>dikanin amín</i> (‘all of arm’)
'arrow'	<i>dèǎǎn</i> (f)	<i>dèǎǎ</i>	<i>shabuwal</i>	<i>misuma sumo</i>
'back'	<i>ákón</i> (m)	<i>ákáú</i>		<i>akwán</i>
'bad'	<i>bàǎsó</i>	<i>gáǎǎšhú</i>	<i>kibbusi</i>	<i>?shirin</i>
'bee (cf. honey)'	<i>cǎvúwáǎn</i> (m)	<i>žábùwà</i>	<i>iuwan</i>	<i>akuran</i>
'beer'	<i>kǎmíǎǎlǎn</i> (f)	<i>sǎmá</i>	<i>amshuwan</i> ? (‘water of shuwan’)	
'belly'	<i>kúnáǎn</i> (m)	<i>kúnú</i>		<i>kunan</i>
'big'	<i>máǎrǎm</i>	<i>máǎrǎm</i>	<i>gallam</i>	<i>gari</i>
	<i>gáǎri</i>			
'bird'	<i>díǎǎtón</i> (f)	<i>dúúǎǎ</i>		<i>lutan</i>
'black'	<i>páǎǎkǎ</i>	<i>áyáǎwà</i>	<i>duwa</i>	<i>duwa</i>
'blood'	<i>tǎǎǎmǎn</i> (m)	<i>dǎǎǎm</i>		<i>kugan, kurmun</i>
'body'	<i>ǎǎtkwán</i> (f)	<i>tǎǎkǎ</i>	<i>kwi</i>	
'bow'	<i>ábáǎn</i> (m)	<i>ábák</i>		<i>kunan</i>
'boy'	<i>máǎnyǎmǎn</i> (m)	<i>máǎyǎm</i>	<i>gutkwi</i>	

Nouns & adjectives	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
'breast'	<i>fə̀fón</i> (m)	<i>ányí</i>		<i>kissábanu</i>
'brother'	cf. <i>wùnón</i> 'son'	cf. <i>wùn</i> 'son'	<i>wannin</i>	
'buffalo'	<i>kàdànáan</i> (m)	<i>àdànák</i>		<i>sasshin masabatta</i> (‘cow of bush’)
'bush'	<i>pátān</i> (f)	<i>pátà</i>		<i>batta</i>
'butter'	<i>mə̀lāan</i> (m)	<i>mə̀ràk</i> ‘oil’	<i>ayamshan</i> (‘fat of cow’)	
'camel'	<i>dɪ̀lǝ̀món</i> (m)	<i>dɪ̀lǝ̀gámáú</i>	<i>rakuman</i>	
'cassava'	<i>dáuyán</i> (f)	<i>dáuyā</i>	<i>amuduwan</i>	
'chicken'	<i>káazə̀dákón</i> (f)	<i>gāazá</i>	<i>kazai</i>	<i>kasán</i>
'chief'	<i>ə̀dǝ̀món</i> (m)	<i>də̀ǝ̀m</i>	<i>tigman</i>	<i>gumál</i>
'child'	<i>wə̀nón</i> (m)	<i>wùn</i>		<i>wunu</i>
'children'	<i>ùktɪ̀lén</i> (pl)	<i>kùtɪ̀láí</i>	<i>woshe</i>	<i>shen</i>
'cow'	<i>ə̀ktɪ̀lán</i> (f)	<i>tɪ̀lá</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>shashin</i> ‘cattle’
'crocodile'	<i>ə̀ǝ̀dəmón</i> (m)	<i>kářám</i>		<i>begin kusaunri</i> cf. <i>aurin</i> ‘river’
'day (cf. sun)'	<i>gáfán</i> (f)	<i>áfá</i>	<i>afan</i>	<i>nawhán</i> (cf. Bade <i>náa</i> <i>áfān</i> ‘there is sun’)
'dog'	<i>wúnàajáan</i> (m)	<i>jǎ</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>chayin</i>
'donkey'	<i>kóorón</i> (m)	<i>kwáarǎ</i>	<i>sazakun</i>	
'door'	<i>māgváan</i> (m)	<i>māvgí</i>		<i>makubán</i>
'drum'	<i>gàngán</i> (f)	?		<i>kangan</i>
'dry season'	<i>kázə̀rén</i> (f)	<i>bíigólà</i>	<i>lanni</i> (? < Hausa <i>rani</i>)	
'ear'	<i>gùtáan</i> (m)	<i>àgúđ</i>	<i>gutduwan</i>	<i>guttuwan</i>
'egg'	<i>àgwén</i> (m)	<i>àgwáí</i>	<i>kwaiyin</i>	<i>aban</i>
'elephant'	<i>ngìiwànáan</i> (m)	<i>jàunàk</i>	(<i>giwa</i> < Hausa)	<i>garribatta</i> ‘big one of the bush’
'eye'	<i>dán</i> (f)	<i>dà</i>	<i>taiyi</i>	<i>tan</i>
'farm'	<i>kàamón</i> (m)	<i>kàm</i>	<i>kamin</i>	<i>kamin</i>
'fat (of animal)'	<i>nyàmón</i> (f)	<i>nyámí</i>	<i>ayam</i> (cf. ‘butter’)	<i>yamin</i>
'father'	<i>àfáan</i> (m)	<i>àfók</i>	<i>asiafan</i> (? <i>asi</i> = m. prefix; cf. ‘hus- band, person’)	<i>awhán</i>
'feather'	<i>gáptón</i> (f)	<i>yàđ</i> = ‘hair’		<i>lutan dukwan</i> ‘bird + <i>dukwan</i> ’
'Filani'	<i>póláacínón</i>	<i>fóláatà</i>	<i>filatan</i>	
'finger'	<i>áikwāan</i> (m)	<i>áikwāk</i>		<i>begau</i>
'fingernail'	<i>tɪ̀lǝ̀bàrén</i> (m)	<i>gúrbàk</i>		<i>akuranga</i> ? ‘my <i>akuran</i> ’
'fire'	<i>ákān</i> (f)	<i>ákā</i>	<i>akai</i>	<i>akan</i>
'fish'	<i>və̀nàkón</i> (f)	<i>və̀nàakáú</i>		<i>bunán</i>
'fly'	<i>júwāan</i> (m)	<i>júwāk</i>		<i>juan</i>

Nouns & adjectives	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
'foot = leg'	<i>ə̀zǝ̀rén</i> (m)	<i>zə̀ǝ̀r</i>		<i>guman</i> (cf. ‘thigh’)
'friend'	<i>māngáan</i> (m)	<i>māngá</i>		<i>amangwo</i>
'frog'	<i>ngāacáan</i> (m) ‘toad’			<i>kunu ando</i>
'giraffe'	<i>kóokón</i> (m) ‘frog’	<i>kə̀riinàkáu</i>	<i>buku mai bad'de</i> ? ‘camel of bush’	
	<i>káncə̀rən</i> (m)	<i>mácákùwà</i>	<i>garunan</i>	<i>kun</i>
'goat'	<i>ákūn</i> (f)	<i>áakù</i>	(cf. Bade <i>garwon</i> ‘goats’)	
'god'	<i>káaká</i> (m)	<i>káakáskù</i> (cf. <i>səkù</i> ‘sky’)	<i>kakasko</i>	<i>kakassu</i>
'good'	<i>dāvà</i>	<i>bə̀lān</i>	<i>kadauwan</i>	<i>kadabán</i>
'gourd bottle'	<i>ǝ̀rāwán</i> (f)	<i>ǝ̀rúwà</i>		<i>agrau</i>
'gown'	<i>kwáarǎpcín</i> (m)	<i>zánáí</i>	<i>ama iman</i>	
'grandfather'	<i>kə̀káan</i> (m)	<i>kàkà</i>	<i>mugulanaí</i>	
'grass'	<i>zəmón</i> (m)	<i>àzəm</i>	<i>simun</i>	
'guinea corn'	?	<i>ǝ̀vǎrkà,</i> <i>ǝ̀rǎfkà</i>	<i>furokwi</i>	<i>furkon,</i> <i>kurukwon</i>
'guinea fowl'	<i>sáaványín</i> (f)	<i>záabànú</i>	<i>asabuwín</i>	
'hair'	<i>dàcín</i> (m)	<i>yàđ</i>	<i>yattin</i>	<i>yetsín</i>
'hand'	<i>ámōn</i> (f)	<i>áikwāk</i>	<i>amun</i>	<i>amín</i>
'head'	<i>ádān</i> (f)	<i>ádā</i>		<i>adán</i>
'heart'	<i>kázāan</i> (m)	<i>ǝ̀sǎí</i>		<i>tunukwán</i>
'heavy'	<i>dùksi</i>	<i>dùkǎí</i>		<i>tuxzi</i>
'hill'	<i>ə̀rgwàđón</i> (m)	?		<i>ursin</i> ? = ‘iron’
'hippo'	<i>nsáan</i> (m)	<i>àjǎgúm</i>	(<i>dorina</i> < Hausa)	
'honey'	<i>kúlāan</i> (m)	<i>žábùwà</i>		<i>kuran</i>
'horse'	<i>dùwún</i> (m)	<i>dùukà</i>	<i>duwi</i>	<i>dun</i>
'hot'	<i>zəm</i>	<i>náa ákà</i>	<i>zirkaí</i>	
'husband'	<i>msán</i> (m)	<i>məsək</i>	<i>asigumsin</i> (cf. comment on ‘father’)	
'hut'	<i>káasōn</i> (m)	<i>sósàú</i>		<i>sosun</i>
	Gashua B.: <i>sósàú</i>			
'hyena'	<i>ə̀bdɪ̀lámón</i> (m)	<i>bə̀dɪ̀lámú</i>	<i>fijiman</i>	
'iron'	<i>dùhwíyāan</i> (m)	<i>dúuyāk</i>	<i>fussu</i>	<i>ursin</i> ? = ‘hill’
'Kanuri'	<i>zànon</i> (m)	<i>zan</i>	<i>maznan</i>	
'knee'	<i>ádáak fáan</i> (m)	<i>kùfú</i>		<i>bachinidal</i>
'knife'	<i>wúđōn</i> (f)	<i>áudú</i>		<i>wudin</i>
'leaf'	<i>ámǝ̀ǝ̀dəmáan</i>	<i>áwáí</i>		<i>begundí</i>

Nouns & adjectives	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
'leg'	<i>əzɡərón</i> (m)	<i>zəgór</i>		<i>sigirim</i>
'leopard'	<i>ùuràkón</i> (m)	<i>wùràk</i>	<i>wur'wan</i>	
'lion'	<i>miínán</i> (f)	<i>jágádíáú</i>	<i>bebadan</i> ? 'thing of bush' (cf. Bade <i>bee-</i> 'thing of')	
'maize'	<i>màsármīn</i> (m)	<i>másármī</i>	(<i>masara</i> < Hausa)	<i>tamul</i>
'male'	<i>gəmsən</i> (m)	<i>gəmsək</i>	<i>gumsin</i> 'someone'	<i>gamsin</i>
'mat (H: <i>faijai</i>)	<i>təbān</i> (f)	<i>dəbā</i>		<i>tabán</i>
'meat'	<i>sàasáan</i> (m)	<i>tìwáí</i>		<i>sassan</i>
'milk'	<i>ányáan</i> (m)	<i>ányí</i>	<i>aniyan</i>	
'monkey'	<i>əvjáan</i> (m)	<i>vəjí</i>		<i>ajawán</i>
'moon'	<i>təlāan</i> (m)	<i>təřá</i>	<i>firrin</i>	<i>gumal masak</i> <i>kasko</i> cf. <i>tirai</i> 'star'
'moon, new'		cf. <i>təřá rēu</i> 'new moon has appeared'		<i>diredi</i>
'moon, full'				<i>josin gamgam</i> <i>sanau</i> (cf. Bade) <i>sáná</i> 'tomorrow'
'morning'	<i>pəďə́kú</i>	<i>pəďə́k</i>		<i>min</i>
'mother'	<i>mén</i> (f)	<i>mài</i>		
'mouth'	<i>mnyáan</i> (m)	<i>miyá</i>	<i>miyan</i>	
'name'	<i>mđón</i> (m)	<i>dlùgún</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>asamadin</i>
'neck'	<i>wùráan</i> (m)	<i>wùrá</i>		<i>urán</i>
'night'	<i>əgvíidón</i> (f)	<i>dəvíd</i>	<i>atuwoddo</i>	<i>tubidín</i>
'nose'	<i>ətíkənón</i> (m)	<i>tən</i>	<i>tiran</i>	<i>tinin</i>
'oil'	<i>mə́lāan</i> (m)	<i>mə̀ràk</i>		<i>murin</i>
'old person'	<i>ngàrón</i> (m)	<i>gágàrà</i>	<i>magallin</i>	
'peanut'	<i>jə́dāan</i> (m)	<i>gwáđánū</i>	<i>gedan</i>	<i>n'ganundo</i>
'person'	<i>mđón</i> (m)	<i>nən</i>	<i>mud'ai</i> <i>asim middim</i> (cf. comment on 'father')	<i>mudin</i>
'pot'	<i>gúdkwān</i> (f)	<i>dáawàí</i>	<i>gurukwi</i>	<i>gurkwán</i>
'potash'	<i>mànkón</i> (f)	<i>áráawá</i>	<i>alauwan</i>	
'rain'	cf. <i>ámə́n</i> 'water'		<i>kinnaman</i>	<i>kinaman</i>
'rainy season'	<i>dəmànon</i> (f)	<i>dəmán</i>	<i>dimam</i>	
'red'	<i>bùwá</i>	<i>bàu</i>	<i>goya</i>	<i>kusabura</i> (?cf. 'tall')
'river' cf. 'well'	<i>dùwán</i> (f)	<i>ánkú, wúríyà</i> 'waterway'	<i>awulin</i>	<i>aurin</i>

Nouns & adjectives	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
'road'	<i>əbdámón</i> (m)	<i>dəvú</i>	? <i>fudau</i>	<i>fádamín</i>
'rope'	<i>záyáan</i> (m)	<i>záyí</i>		<i>tigan</i> (cf. 'arrow')
'salt'	<i>déesán</i> (f)	<i>béezà</i>	<i>mandan</i>	<i>kuLán</i> (cf. 'honey')
'sand'	<i>áyísōn</i> (f)	<i>áisǎw</i>	<i>geyadin</i>	
'sheep'	<i>kíyèédón</i> (m) 'earth'	<i>gágáí</i> 'earth'		
'shield'	<i>təmàkún</i> (f)	<i>təmàakú</i>	<i>tumakwi</i>	
'sky'	<i>ngárákún</i> (f)	?	<i>kugai</i>	
'slave'	<i>əskún</i> (f)	<i>dáskú</i>	<i>sukwi</i>	
'sleep'	<i>ùgzə́fón</i> (m)	<i>gúzə́p</i>	<i>kusb'wi</i>	<i>kusábino,</i> <i>kosabanan</i>
'small'	<i>kúzvón</i> (f)			
'smith'	<i>ìiwánón</i> (m)	<i>yùwán</i>	<i>yuwannum</i>	
'smoke'	<i>jápjàpá</i>	<i>gángám</i>	<i>gutkwi</i>	<i>gwatkwan</i>
'snake'	<i>mázzəmáan</i> (m)	<i>māazám</i>		<i>massanin</i>
'spear'	<i>zàkwáan</i> (f)	<i>zàawúk</i>	<i>buskwi</i>	
'star(s)'	<i>kúwáan</i> (m)	<i>mbíikdà</i>	<i>tidewe</i>	<i>tidewe</i>
'stick'	<i>ngàsón</i> (f), <i>rúumón</i> (m)	<i>ngàs</i>	<i>ajan</i>	<i>gwoian</i>
'stone'	<i>cáacáan</i> (m)			
'strong'	<i>sásákōn</i> (f)	<i>gə́zhǎw</i>	<i>tirai</i> (cf. 'moon')	
'sun'	<i>zawān</i> (f)	<i>zawá</i>	<i>giniyan</i>	<i>zawan</i>
'tall'	<i>bənyín</i> (f)	<i>vənyí</i> 'grinding stone'	<i>famai</i>	<i>binín</i>
'thief'	<i>dúunón</i>	<i>áwáyáú</i>	? (cf. 'day')	<i>nawhán</i> (cf. Bade <i>náa</i> <i>áfān</i> 'there is sun')
'thigh'	<i>áfān</i> (f)	<i>áfā</i>		<i>áfān</i> 'there is sun', <i>daredi</i>
'tongue'				
'tooth'	<i>əzvər</i>	<i>gəzbəř</i>		
'town'	<i>məsáakōn</i> (f)	<i>mə́šónú</i>	<i>musanakum</i>	
'tree'	<i>ákárāan</i> (m)	<i>ákéràk</i>	<i>akarran</i>	
'warthog'	<i>gəmáan</i> (m)	<i>gəmà</i>		<i>gunán</i> (cf. 'foot')
'war'	<i>màrnýín</i> (f)	<i>màrnýí</i>		<i>begúm</i>
	<i>nyányín</i> (m)	<i>yáanáu</i>	<i>yannin</i>	<i>yanín</i>
	<i>dáan</i> (f)	<i>dāa</i>	<i>dai</i> 'house' <i>dan</i> 'village'	<i>dan</i> 'house'
	<i>wákān</i> (f)	<i>wákà</i>	<i>timai</i>	<i>tamin</i>
	<i>dəmáan</i> (m) 'wood'	<i>dəm</i> 'wood'		
	<i>miínón</i> (m)	?	<i>massassauwun</i>	
	<i>ziyáan</i> (m)	<i>žà</i>	<i>magirtan</i> (same word given as 'priest')	<i>gwan</i> <i>kisabu batta</i> ' <i>kisabu</i> of bush'

Nouns & adjectives	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
'water'	<i>ámān</i> (m)	<i>ám</i>	<i>amun</i>	<i>amdau</i>
'well' cf. 'river'	<i>sàráan</i> (m)	<i>dúwa</i> cf. 'river'	<i>anyan</i>	
'white'	<i>hèetà</i>	<i>àaràwái</i>	<i>futa</i>	<i>futa</i>
'witch'	<i>mágànán</i> (f)	<i>mágàná</i>	<i>gutiril</i>	
'woman'	<i>gàamán</i> (f)	<i>ámá</i>		<i>gamin</i>
'yesterday'	<i>kádùwáú</i>	<i>gárvàcá</i>		<i>kítsa</i>
Verbs	Western Bade	Ngizim	Teshena I	Teshena II
'break (stick)'	<i>tàatlú</i>	<i>tàtlú</i>		<i>tash-tach-</i>
'buy'	<i>màsú</i>	<i>màsú</i>	<i>amasi</i>	<i>mas-</i>
'cry'	<i>dàanú</i>	<i>dàanú</i>		<i>kaj-</i>
'die'	<i>mtú</i>	<i>mètú</i>		<i>mot-</i>
'drink'	<i>só</i>	<i>sáú</i>		<i>sa-</i>
'eat'	<i>tó</i>	<i>táú</i>	<i>ami</i> (? 'take', cf. Ng. <i>máú</i> 'pick up')	<i>ta-</i>
'give'	<i>bàrú</i>	<i>bàrú</i>		<i>bar-</i>
'hear'	<i>dùkwú</i>	<i>kàmáú</i>		<i>kim-</i>
'know'	<i>àzgó</i>	<i>zàgáú</i>	<i>sunun</i>	
'laugh'	<i>gàamsú</i>	<i>gàmsú</i>		<i>gams-</i>
'love'	<i>ncú</i>	<i>ncí</i>	<i>nuyin</i>	
'make, do'	<i>dlàmú</i>	<i>dlàmú</i>		<i>jam-</i>
'see'	<i>ìikó</i>	<i>ìikáú</i>		<i>k-</i>
'sell'	<i>dàbdú</i>	<i>dàbdú</i>	<i>amaseggi</i>	
'sit'	<i>dlàwú</i>	<i>mbàsú</i>		<i>ja(to)-</i>
'tie'	<i>tàksú</i>	<i>tàkwsú</i>		<i>taxs-</i>
'untie'	<i>àstùkwú</i>	<i>fàtkú</i>		<i>karb-</i>
'weave'	<i>tìlèdú</i>	<i>tàkú, gàunú</i>	<i>ashadin</i>	

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Unter den tschadischen Sprachen Nordnigerias gibt es einige, die u.a. bei GREENBERG (1966) aufgelistet sind und unmittelbar östlich des Hausa gesprochen wurden, heute jedoch ausgestorben sind, ohne — wenn überhaupt — hinreichend dokumentiert worden zu sein. Shira, Teno und Auyo sind drei dieser Sprachen. Der Artikel faßt alles über die Geschichte der Völker, die diese Sprachen gebrauchten, Bekannte zusammen und untersucht sodann die vorhandenen linguistischen Daten, um die Beziehungen dieser Sprachen zu anderen, noch gesprochenen Sprachen herauszuarbeiten. Obwohl der linguistische Befund beweist, daß die drei Sprachen eng mit dem Bade verwandt sind, das östlich des Shira/Teno/Auyo-Gebiets gesprochen wird, zeigen mündliche Überlieferungen und die

Geschichte, daß sie sich in kultureller Hinsicht vom Badevolk unterschieden. Insbesondere ist festzustellen, daß, während bei den Bade Kanuri-Einfluß aus dem Osten überwiegt, im Shira/Teno/Auyo-Gebiet der Kontakt mit Hausa/Fulani aus dem Westen vorherrschte. Für den linguistischen Vergleich dienen einige archivalische Teno-Wortlisten vom verstorbenen John LIVERS als Hauptdokument. Ein Anhang macht diese Daten erstmals öffentlich zugänglich. Der Vergleich der Teshena-Daten mit dem Auyo-Material von MIGEOD (1924) verdeutlicht, daß diese Sprachen sehr eng miteinander verwandt, wenn nicht gar Dialekte waren. (Zum Shira liegen keine Sprachdaten vor.) Besonders deutlich ist die Nähe zum Bade, von dem sie sich aber gleichzeitig klar genug abheben, um als eigenständige Sprachen angesehen werden zu können. Einige im Teno und Bade, nicht aber im entfernter verwandten Ngizim vorkommende Merkmale stellen in manchen Fällen gemeinsames Erbe dar, in anderen Fällen jedoch sind sie auf intensiven sprachlichen Kontakt zwischen Teshena und Bade zurückzuführen.

RÉSUMÉ

Parmi les langues tchadiques du Nigéria septentrional, il y a quelques langues qui se trouvent inscrites dans GREENBERG (1966) et ailleurs qui, auparavant, se parlaient à la frontière orientale du Haoussa mais qui sont disparues presque sans documentation. Le shira, le teshena et le auyo sont trois de ces langues. Cet article, tout d'abord, présente une esquisse de l'histoire connue des peuples parlants ces langues, et puis il examine les données existantes pour établir les liens linguistiques aux langues contemporaines de la région. Bien que les trois langues fussent d'une parentée étroite au bade, qui se parle toujours dans la région à l'est de l'ancienne région shira/teshena/ayuo, la tradition orale aussi bien que l'histoire attestée montrent qu'il y avait une rupture culturelle entre ces peuples et les bades. Notamment, tandis que les influences kanuri à l'est prédominent parmi les bades, ce sont les contacts haoussa/peul de l'ouest qui prédominaient dans la région shira/teshena/ayuo. En tant que documentation linguistique on s'appuie surtout à deux listes de mots des archives Kaduna, dont la disponibilité grâce à John LIVERS. Ces listes se trouvent dans un appendice. Une comparaison des listes teshena avec une liste auyo (MIGEOD 1924) montre une parentée étroite entre ces langues jusqu'au point où l'on pourraient les considérer des dialectes d'une même langue. (Il n'existe pas de données sur le shira.) La parentée entre ces langues et le bade était de même très étroite, mais quand même il paraît que l'on puisse les considérer des langues distinctes. Quelques traits communs entre le teshena et le bade qui sont absents dans le ngizim sont, sans doute, des rétentions historiques, mais il y en a d'autres qui doivent résulter du contacte antérieure intense entre le teshena et le bade.