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## **STUDIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES**

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## FROM THE EDITORS

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## **Does Hausa Really Have Infixation?\***

### **Abstract**

Hausa is often indicated with the three most common types of affix, viz. prefix, infix and suffix. Whereas the availableness of prefixes and suffixes in the language is not in doubt, that of infixes may have resulted from erroneous perspectives. The so-called infixes in Hausa are, in truth, a relay of suffixes that became obscured by phonology or deletion, envisaged parallactically as infixation. In two other instances, infixation either arose as a simple case of unscrupulous use of terminology or was established on a seemingly irrelevant premise, namely the non-occurrence of a tonal phenomenon. Conclusively, the existence of infixation in Hausa is extra-evidential, and therefore questionable.

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\*I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Đalhatu Muhammad, my teacher and agile critic in Zaria, for his thoroughgoing observations. I thank Stephanie Maiwald, my bosom friend, for optimistically and tirelessly procuring hard-to-get linguistic articles for me. To Prof. Herrmann Jungraithmayr, my teacher in Frankfurt, without whose unrelenting encouragement this paper would not have been written, I say, “Nehmen Sie meine Dankbarkeit an”, and having missed the ceremony in Frankfurt, I commit this article to my personal celebration of his 75<sup>th</sup> birthday.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This paper aims at demonstrating that there is no infixation in Hausa by subjecting the so-called instances of infixation to intensive scrutiny and providing alternative explanations that account for the linguistic phenomena mistaken for infixation, to show that Hausa does not contain any such morphology.

Infixation tends to be an elusive and illusive phenomenon in language. Allusions to its peculiarity are found in Mathews (1974: 125), Marantz (1982: 45 fn.) and Newman (1990: 46; 2000: 431), for instance. It is probably this seemingly enigmatic nature of infixation, plus its absence in the best known modern languages of the world, that justifies Sapir's (1970: 72) alluding to it as "a very curious type of affixation" which he describes further as "utterly unknown in English<sup>2</sup>."

For the description of infixation, a good starting point could be Mathews (1974: 126) who provides contrastive insight into the nature of the three most common types of affixation thus "in infixation the internal structure of the operand is [...] broken into, whereas in prefixation and suffixation it is left intact". Sequel to this description, it is now possible to forge ahead and define infixation as a morphological process by which an affix is admitted into a root (Crystal 1987: 243)<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge the contribution of a *SAL* reviewer, a Hausaist of sterling knowledgeability, who, in spite of his/her critical observations, recommended the earlier version of this paper for publication. The reviewer's suggestions, even where disagreeable, were kept in view and have ultimately influenced the decision to split the original paper into the current one, purely on infixation, and a forthcoming one dealing with transfixation. I hope he/she finds the modifications in tandem with his/her perspective.

<sup>2</sup> Crystal (1987: 90) indicates an outlandish instance of infixation in English: 'abso-blooming-lutely', which he says - as is the case with all 'expletive infixation' in English - is only for emphatic purposes.

<sup>3</sup> Some definitions of infixation had to be scouted on the account of either superfluity or vagueness. Crystal (1991: 176) explains infix as "[...] an affix which is added within a root or a *stem*." Trask (1996: 178) refers to it as "[...] an affix which occupies a position in which it interrupts another *morpheme*." Whereas Mathews (1997: 178) defines it as "[an] affix or bound morpheme which is inserted within another *form*", Haspelmath (2002: 19)

## 2. The so-called infixation in Hausa

For the purpose of this paper, the types of infixal cases indicated for Hausa will be divided into two, viz. traditional and other cases of infixation. Traditional infixation will refer to such cases of infixation in Hausa as, from the experience of the current author, have gained general acceptance in publications and other formal and non-formal forums of Hausa grammatical discussion. Such cases are found in, for instance, Abubakar (2000), Wolff (1993), Schuh (1983), and Leben (1976 and 1977), being samples of serious enterprise in Hausa grammar. This category of infixes is comprised of vowels only, which are **-aa-**, **-ee-**, **-oo-**, and **-u-**. Other cases of infixation, on the other hand, will refer to such cases as represent individual positions that have either not attracted much attention or gained general recognition as infixal instances in the Hausa linguistic scholarship. The likes of these cases of infixation are found in Abubakar (2000), Leben (1976 and 1977), Zarruk (1996) and Newman (2000). The relevant infixes are made up of the vowel **-i-**, **-C-** as any operating consonant, and the following combinations of consonants and vowels, **-CV-**, **-CCV-** and **-CVC-**.

### 2.1. Traditional infixation

#### 2.1.1. Inventory of infixes

##### **-aa-** infixation

Instances of **-aa-** infixation are found in Leben (1976: 433; 1977: 92), Schuh (1983: 12), Wolff (1993: 181, 183) and Abubakar (2000: 4), with such cases as *kúrtù* ‘recruit’ > *kúrààtáá*, *kwálbáá* ‘bottle’ > *kwálààbéé*, *bírníí* ‘city’ > *bíràànéé*, *gúrgùù* ‘cripple’ > *gúrààgúú*, *dámóó* ‘monitor lizard’ > *dámààméé*, *káfàà* ‘foot’ > *káfààfúú* and *tsúúwèè* ‘testicle’ > *tsúwààwúú*.

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says it “occurs inside the *base*.” All the highlighted words in these definitions (emphasis current author’s) imply more than the root. For instance, both *morpheme* and *form* may mean either root or affix (which includes infix itself). As no instance of infixation occurring outside the root has ever been discussed and demonstrated so far in language, these otherwise useable definitions had to be considered unsafe.

### -ee- infixation

Cases of -ee- infixation can be found in Abubakar (2000: 4), Wolff (1993: 187ff.) and include *gàrmáá* ‘plough’ > *gàrèèmáníí*, *gárwáá* ‘four-gallon can’ > *gàrèèwáníí* and *sàlkáá* ‘skin bottle’ > *sàlèèkáníí*.

### -oo- infixation

Instances of -oo- infixation are to be seen in Leben (1976: 424) and Wolff (1993: 183) which, among others, are *táágàà* ‘window’ > *táágóógíí*, *bàràà* ‘servant’ > *bàróóríí*, *táásàà* ‘metal basin’ > *táásóóshíí*, *dábbàà* ‘animal’ > *dábbóóbíí* and *?ískàà*<sup>4</sup> ‘spirit’ > *?ískóókíí*.

### -u- infixation

Cases of -u- infixation are found in Leben (1976: 430fn.), among which are *tákòòbíí* ‘sword’ > *tákúbàà*, *gààtáíí* ‘axe’ > *gàátúràà*, and *máágàníí* ‘medicine’ > *máágúnàà*.

The above examples indicate that the most often cited representation of Hausa infixation is found in plural nouns.

## 2.1.2. Newman’s Pluralization Rule

For the purpose of disconfirming traditional infixation in Hausa, Newman (2000) is tentatively sufficient. Newman (2000: 430ff.) has in a more recent and generally accepted (though not incontrovertible) position in Hausa pluralizational studies explained the morphology of the plural forms indicated in 2.1.1 with infixation as arising from suffixation<sup>5</sup>. The hitherto cited plural forms that were traditionally analyzed as containing -aa-, -oo- and -u- infixes are now explained by Newman as being formed of a composition of the base and a V(V)XVV suffix where the underlined portion represents

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<sup>4</sup> The symbol /ʔ/ represents glottal stop. In traditional orthography, it is not marked in word initial position, whereas in the middle of the word the symbol /ʔ/ stands for it.

<sup>5</sup> For an alternative interpretation, see Al-Hassan in “Transfixation in Hausa” (in this issue) where the type of plural forms in question is presented as both non-infixal and non-suffixal but transfixal in nature.

the so-called infixes in the 2.1.1 examples<sup>6</sup>. The **X** occurring between two vowels is always either the last consonant of the base (where the base has three consonants as in gúrgùù ‘cripple’ > gùrààgùú, rí-yìyáá ‘well’ ríyóójíí and gààtáríí ‘axe’ > gáátúràà) or a copy thereof (where the base has two consonants as in dámóó ‘monitor lizard’ dámààméé and táágàà ‘window’ > táágóógítí). Newman’s (2000) suffixal approach coincides with Al-Hassan’s (forthcoming) transfixational approach in that they both indicate the vowels on either side of **X** as co-ordinating elements, thereby excluding any part thereof from the function of infix.

As for the plural forms with the traditionally indicated -ee- infixes such as gàrmáá ‘plough’ > gàrèèmáníí and sàlkáá ‘skin bottle’ > sàlèèkáníí, Newman (2000: 450) opines that they are formed by ‘inserting’ (as opposed to infixing) -ee- after the second consonant of the base followed by the suffixation of -áníí after the third and final consonant. (Base is underlined in the singular while insertion and suffixation are underlined in the plural above.) Al-Hassan (the other paper in this issue) analyzes these forms as a variety of transfixation, as opposed to infixation.

## 2.2. Other cases of infixation

### 2.2.1. Abubakar’s infixation

Abubakar (2000: 4) cites an instance of infixation in Hausa, bááwàà ‘slave-boy’ > báìwáá ‘slave-girl’, which he posits as “the only example [...] in the language [which] indicates transformation from masculine to feminine by infixation of vowel -i-.”

Critically examined, the derivation of báìwaa (HL-H) from bááwàà (H-L) may fail to qualify as a case of infixation but some phonological process which turned out to look like infixation at a glance. To show this will necessitate reviewing the possible history of this word.

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<sup>6</sup> It seems in the course of Hausa studies there was a pluralizational approach based in broken affixation with the insertion of a marked consonant that became redundant because of some inadequacies (see: Leben 1977: 95). Newman’s (2000: 430ff.) approach could be a revision.

The feminine counterpart of *bááwàà* (H-L) was initially derived by adding the feminine suffix *-iyáá* to the root *baaw-* which would render the form as *bááwiyáá* (H-L-H). This form later underwent the deletion of the initial vowel of the suffix and the retention of its tone, which move subsequently forced the vowel of the first syllable to shorten to *baw-* (as Hausa does not allow long vowels in closed syllables) thus giving rise to the form *báwiyáá* (HL-H), still extant in the Sokoto dialect. This form experienced the simplification of the first syllable from *baw-* to *boo-* as is the case with such syllables in Hausa<sup>7</sup>. The *-y-* of *bóòyáá* (HL-H) then became radicalized in some dialects like Kano thus loosing its feminine suffix function and rendering *bóòy-* (HL-) into a renovated root in need of a feminine suffix. This time around *-wáá* became the suffix, giving rise to the form *bóòywáá*. Hausa language with its rule of vowel shortening and lowering in closed syllables would automatically replace the *-oo-* with *-a-* in the first syllable, which would now transform into *bay-*. With the new feminine suffix *-wa* the resultant form would be *báywáá* (HL-H), rendered conventionally as *báìwáá* (HL-H), and therefore making the *-i-* liable to (erroneous) analysis as an infix<sup>8</sup>. Like in the case of *-uu* in *gúraàgúú* (< *gúrùù* ‘cripple’ (section 2.1.2)), the *-waa* of *bááwàà/báìwáá* is not part of the singular form. That it bears resemblance to the one in the singular form is just another disastrous coincidence in the phonology of Hausa.

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<sup>7</sup> Wolff (1993: 181) and Newman (2000: 433) show how *daw-* > *doo-* in *\*dawkii* > *dóókii* with the *daw-* form re-emerging in the plural form *dáwáákíí*.

<sup>8</sup> The exhaustive *SAL* reviewer made the tempting suggestion [communication with David Odden, Editor *SAL*, Aug. 23, 2007] that, “If, for the purpose of exposition, one transcribes the glide part of diphthongs as semivowels, then it is clear that *baywa* is simply *bawya* with metathesis of the *y* and *w*.” Because of its simplicity, this is a very seductive theory which the current author had earlier on considered but discarded because the sequence *-wy-* (unlike *-yw-* in *saywa* ‘root’ > *sawya*) could not be found to be metathesized anywhere in both standard and non-standard Hausa. Caught between simplicity and plausibility, the current author lent more weight to the latter.

### 2.2.2. Zarruk's infixation

Zarruk (1996: 81) presents the following pairs to exemplify infixation in Hausa. The supposed infixes are underlined below:

<i>báárèè</i>	>	<i>bá<u>nt</u>àréé</i>	'to decorticate'
<i>cúúsàà</i>	>	<i>cú<u>nk</u>úsáá</i>	'to stuff'
<i>túúràà</i>	>	<i>tú<u>nz</u>úráá</i>	'to instigate'
<i>múr dāà</i>	>	<i>múr<u>g</u>ù dāá</i>	'to twist'
<i>cáábàà</i>	>	<i>cáá<u>k</u>ù báá</i>	'to make marshy'
<i>lááshéé</i>	>	<i>láá<u>m</u>ùshéé</i>	'to devour (food)'

Explaining these pairs as not exhibiting infixation will involve an over-simplified discussion of a category of Hausa words that can tentatively be referred to as onomatopoeic verbs (henceforth OV<sup>s</sup>; see "Transfixation in Hausa" in this issue). The OV<sup>s</sup> are composed of three parts which in linear order are the prefix, the root and the suffix. The identity index of the prefix is its structure as a characteristically heavy syllable, mainly CVC and seldom CVV, where the last C in the CVC sequence must be an alveolar. The prefixes in the above cases are *cun-*, *tun-*, *ban-*, *laa-* and *caa-*. On the other hand, the identity index of the root is its CVC structure within which must be contained at least one alveolar or velar sound which can be modified through either secondary articulation or (de)voicing, or both. The roots in the above cases are *-kus-*, *-zur-*, *-tar*, *-mus-* and *-kud̥*. The suffix is simply the Hausa verbal grade termination which will henceforth be indicated as V. Note that both the prefixal and root vowels fluctuate with accompanying semantic nuances and phonological implications such as vowel harmony. The onomatopoeia in the verbs is contained in the prefixes (see Jungraithmayr 1970). Most of the linguistic traits discussed above can be identified in the samples of OV<sup>s</sup> below where two examples each of prefix and root will be used to elucidate the argument made here. Fully derived lexical items have H-L-H tone pattern.

### 2.2.2.1. Prefixes

- *tun-*, *tan-* ‘forth’; ‘sideways’, e.g.:

*tunzurV* ‘instigate’ (lit. push sb. forth), *tundukV* ‘uproot’; ‘depose’ *tuntsurV* ‘topple’; ‘fall over’, *tungumV* ‘take up’ (lit. ‘hug forth’), *tunkuyV* ‘butt’; ‘gore’ (lit. ‘knock forth’), *tuntudV* ‘to stumble’ (lit. ‘slip forth’), *tankadV* ‘to propel’; ‘jolt’, *tangadV* ‘to sway’; ‘stagger’, *tangalV* ‘to prop up’ (lit. ‘support forth’), *tanḵwarV* ‘to bend’, *tanḵwasV* ‘to bend’, *\*tanlabV* (> *tallaba*) ‘to carry’; ‘support on the palm’ (lit. ‘prop up’), *\*tanlafV* (> *tallafV*) ‘to support’ (lit. ‘prop up’)

- *laa-* ‘lightly’; ‘superficially’, *loo-* ‘weakly’, e.g.:

*laamusV* ‘to flatten’; ‘smoothen’; ‘clear’, *laafatV* ‘to stroke’, *laakutV* ‘to scrape (with the finger)’, *laakumV* ‘to cut quantity/size’, *laaguda* ‘to soften by handling’, *laaluba* ‘to grope around’, *loogayV* ‘to soften’; ‘become limp (SK)’, *loosarV* ‘to wither’

### 2.2.2.2 Roots

-*kaḵ*-, *kat-*, -*kiḵ*-, -*kit-*, -*kuḵ*-, -*kut-*, -*kwaḵ*-, -*gaḵ*-, -*gat-*, -*giḵ*-, -*git-*, -*gut-*, -*guḵ*-, -*gwaḵ*-, -*gyaḵ* ‘to stir’; ‘move’; ‘shake’, as in:

*bankadV* ‘to knock aside’, *hankadV* ‘to lift up by the edge’, *markadV* ‘to grind’; ‘slew round’, *tankadV* ‘to jolt’, *wankadV* ‘to pour upon’, *zan-/zarkadV* ‘to abuse profusely’ (lit. ‘rattle verbally’), *barkatV* ‘to scatter’ (lit. ‘move indiscriminately’), *dārkātV* ‘achieve’ (i.e. ‘to move impactfully’) *tarkatV* ‘gather’ (lit. ‘move together’), *birkiḵdV* ‘to turn over; roll’, *birkitV* ‘to turn over/round’, *jirkitV* ‘to turn over/round’, *bunkudV* ‘to throw sand or powdery matter’ *tunkudV* ‘to push’, *zaakudV* ‘to mix contents by jolting container’, *zunkudV* ‘hitch sth. up’ *burkutV* ‘to upset’ (lit. ‘move round’), *runkutV* ‘to collapse’, *malkwadV* ‘to dent’, *rangadV* ‘to strike down’ (lit. ‘swing a blow upon sb.’), *\*targaḵdV* (> *tárgáḵḵè* ‘a sprain’) ‘to dislocate’ (lit. ‘dis-



nite'), *taagadV* 'poke a stick into a hole', *balgatV* 'to break off', *firgitV* 'to frighten' (lit. 'rattle sb. psychologically'), *mirgidV* 'to twist' ('out of shape'), *rangwadV* 'to sway'; 'swagger', *murgudV* 'to twist', *bulgutV* 'to gossip' (lit. 'break off a piece of information'), *gyangyadV* 'to nod from sleep' (lit. 'to sway')

**-kus-, -kis-, -kus-, kwas-, -gis-, -gaz-, giz-** 'to force (down)':

*cunkusV* 'to stuff', *cinkisV* 'to stuff', *durkusV* 'kneel/bow down' (lit. 'press down') *murkusV* 'to (fiercely) overcome' (lit. 'roll down'), *lan kwasV* 'to bend', *mal kwasV* 'to bend', *ran kwasV* 'to hit with the knuckles' (lit. 'dent'), *tan kwasV* 'to bend', *dingisV* 'to limp', *bangazV* 'to collide with', *\*rangazV* (> *rángájí* 'swaying') 'to sway' / 'swagger', *taagazV* 'to make effort' (lit. 'stretch' / 'strain' / 'exert oneself'), *ʔaagazaa* 'to assist' (lit. 'to stretch' / 'strain' / 'exert oneself altruistically'), *ʔangazV* (SK) 'to nod from sleepiness' (lit. 'to push'), *wargazV* 'to scatter' (lit. 'force things free') *ʔingizV* 'to push', *maagizV* 'to jolt sb.', *dinguzV* 'to push'.

On closer examination, Zarruk's CCV infixes such as *nta*, *nku*, *nzu* in *bantaree*, *cunkusaa* and *tunzuraa* respectively are made up of the last segment of prefix and the first two segments of root, whereas the CV types like *gu*, *ku* and *mu* in *murgudaa*, *caakudaa* and *laamusee* are comprised of the first two segments of root. The apparent cross-morphemic and root-initial abstractions of Zarruk's CCV and CV forms respectively exclude them from any infixal status – they are no morphological units! Alternatively, it is the longer forms of Zarruk's (1996: 81) pairs that gave rise to the shorter ones via segmental retrenchment, otherwise deletion, and not the other way round through infixation.

### 2.2.3. Leben's infixation

Leben (1976: 433) says about such pairs as *birnii* ('city') > *bi-raane* ('cities') and *kaskoo* ('earthen bowl') > *kasaake* ('earthen bowls') that: "[...]The plurals contain the infix -aa- and the suffix -ee." According to Leben (1976: 433): "Newman's infixation rule places -aa- directly after the second consonant of the root", as a result of which CVCC- roots like *birn-* and *kask-* give rise to plurals of the form CVC-aa-C-ee. The placing of -aa- after the second consonant of a root like *kask* to render it into *kasaak* is what, in Leben's opinion, constitutes "Newman's infixation". Newman's (2000: 430ff.) pluralization rule, as described in 2.1.2. above, makes Leben's "Newman's infixation" doubtable. However Leben (1976: 435) formulates another infixation rule thus:

$$[[XCC]_R-V-V]_{pl} \Rightarrow [[XC]_R-V-C-V]_{pl}$$

1 2 3    4 5                      1 2    4 3 5

which he simplifies in Leben (1977: 92 ; 100) to C-aa-ee > aa-C-ee. In this case, which he styled "preliminary infixation", the aa--ee broken morph is a suffix which, added to a root such as *kask-* to become *kaskaa-ee*, necessitates the placing of the final consonant of the root which is *k* into the gap provided by the aa--ee broken suffix, with *kàsààkéé* as the resultant form. The placing of *k* into the broken suffix is Leben's 'preliminary infixation'.

That Leben must have lost track of his own analysis could be seen in the fact that in Leben (1976: 433) aa--ee is analyzed as a combination of infix and suffix whereas in Leben (1977: 92 ; 95) the form is presented as one discontinuous affix, specifically a suffix. Also describing the underlined *k* in the plural form *kàsààkéé* as part of the root in the so-called Newman's infixation but as infix in the so-called preliminary infixation indicates arbitrariness. Finally, Leben failed to realize that in the fully derived form *kàsààkéé* his Newman's infixation and preliminary infixation sit side by side, rendering the analysis rather doubtful.

Theoretically speaking, the aa and *k* in *kàsààkéé* would still not represent infixation in Hausa, or in language generally, because the two controversial segments are, by both definition and function,

not affixes. In other words, they are not identifiable morphological materials attachable to a morphological base to which they contribute additional meanings. If they are not affixes in the first place, they can then not be infixes at all. Thus *aa* would be better analyzed as the first component of the *aa--ee* affix. As for the radical element *k*, this form of insertion, where an element in the base hops over to settle between elements outside the base, is not covered by any of the Greek terms (viz. prothesis, anaptyxis, excrescence, paragoge) denoting epenthesis.

Leben's major error consists basically in his identification of infix outside the root which introduces a peculiarity into the structure of Hausa since it contradicts both the theory and practice of infixation across languages.

#### 2.2.4. Newman's infixation

Newman (2000: 430) introduces his infixal case thus:

My former view (as reflected in earlier writings) was that such reduplicated plurals as **cikunkunà** 'bellies' and **kwanunnukà** 'pans' should be analyzed in terms of two-syllable reduplication to the right, with dropping of the stem-final vowel, as is normal in Hausa derivation and inflection, i.e., **\*cikun(à)kunà** and **\*kwānuk(ā)nukà** respectively. I am now convinced that infixal -CVC- reduplication in antepenultimate position, i.e. **ci-kun-kunà** is indeed the right analysis, both for plural nouns and for pluractional verbs...

Newman (2000) bases his current position on the following observations: "First, tone in Hausa is very stable and tends to be preserved when vowels are dropped. Thus, a structure of the type **\*cikun(à)kunà** would be expected to surface with a falling tone on

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<sup>9</sup> Schuh (1983: 13) is probably the first person to indicate infixation in such forms with *ta-far-fasa* (< *tafasa*) 'to boil-intensive' and *ma-gan-ganu* (< *\*maganu*) 'talks'/'issues' as examples. However, the fact that he indicates suffixation with the same words (in the same page) thus *tafar-fas-a* and *magan-gan-u* suggests that the analysis was purely for pedagogic purposes and tentative. Note the rhotacism in *tafas-* > *tafar*.

the antepenultimate syllable, i.e. **\*cikûnkunà** which is not what one finds. Second, there are plurals with internal -CVC- reduplication that parallel plurals with vowel insertion. These latter plurals allow one to see clearly that the expansion is in antepenultimate position; compare **kāyàyyakī** (<**\*kāyakī**), pl **kāyā** ‘load’ + **akī**, with **garèmanī** (<**\*garmanī**), pl. of **garmā** ‘large hoe’ + **anī**” (Newman 2000: 430ff.).

The problem with Newman’s explanation is that it is based on a rule that seems not to occur in the morphological environment it is expected. The tone retention rule is a by-product of deletion as pure phonology and not of morphophonology. Thus it applies only to fully-derived forms (i.e. after the morphology is accomplished) and not forms being morphologically processed. For this reason the rule could apply to *rááyì* ‘life’ > *ràì*, *zóóbèè* ‘ring’ > *\*zóóbààbáá* (H-L-H) > *zòbbáá*<sup>10</sup>(HL-H) after the deletion of the underlined vowel as a simple phonological incident. The phenomenon features in nouns like *\*béélà(à)-béélàà* (H-L-H-L) > *bál-béélàà* (HL-H-L) ‘cattle egret’ also as phonology, i.e. deletion and not morphophonology as suggested by Newman (2000: 430). (See *bááwàà* (H-L) ‘slave-boy’ > *báíwáá* (HL-H) ‘slave-girl’ in 2.3.1 above also testifying to this). Yet this rule fails to apply in the morphological transition *rááyì/rááyúkàà* ‘life’/‘lives’ (H-L)/(H-H-L) and *kwáánòò/kwáánúkàà* ‘pan/pans’) which, by Newman’s rule, should have been (H-L/\*HL-H-L). For Newman to expect the tone-retention rule in *cikúnàà* > *cikúnkúnàà* (H-H-L)/(H-H-H-L) and *kwáánúkàà* > *kwáánúnúkàà* (H-H-L)/(H-H-H-L) to evidence tone retention is a gross oversight – which is very much unlike Newman – since the

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<sup>10</sup> Newman (2000: 441) says about this case that, “In an earlier work (Newman 1972b), I suggested that the reduplicated suffix was *\*-āCā*<sup>HLH</sup> with a long penultimate vowel. This has to be wrong. The principle of syllable-weight polarity and the phonetic naturalness of the syncope rule indicate clearly that the historically lost vowel had to have been short.” Contrary to this view, the Hausa words *sàwrii* ‘youths’ and *bàtáwyyèè* ‘a twin’ were derived from *sàmààrii* and *bàtágwááyèè* respectively via the deletion of the underlined long vowels and the occurrence of Klingenberg’s rule on the preceding *m* and *g* respectively (see Schuh 1972: 391; 394).

rule could not occur at the earlier pluralizational stage of *cikii* > *cikkúnàà* (H-L)/(H-H-L) and *kwáánòò* > *kwáánúkàà* (H-L)/(H-H-L) where the morphophonological circumstances are the same as those cited by Newman (2000: 430), i.e. a low-tone syllable following a high-tone syllable loses its vowel during pluralization. Should the rule be working morphophonologically, these plural forms would have been \**cikkúnàà* (HL-H-L) and \**kwáánúkàà* (HL-H-L) respectively. If the tone retention rule does not really exist or exists only as result of a faulty analysis, then it cannot be cited as evidence for the existence -or lack- of any linguistic phenomenon in Hausa.<sup>11</sup>

Newman's second point pertaining to "plurals with internal -CVC- reduplication that parallel plurals with vowel insertion" is also inapplicable. In the first instance, "plurals with internal -CVC-reduplication" (like *kááyàyyákíí* < \**kaa-yak-yak-ii*) are premised only on the basis of Newman's problematic tonal analysis which is simply incorrect. Secondly, even if their existence could be proved, internal -CVC- reduplication can bear resemblance to vowel insertion only perceptually. In truth, the two occur at different linguistic levels, namely morphology and phonology respectively, which makes it unlikely for one to actually evidence the other theoretically. Thus the only way the -ee- insertion in *gárèèmáníí* could "allow one to see clearly that the expansion is in antepenultimate position" in *kááyàyyákíí*, if the distinction between phonology and morphology is blurred. Al-Hassan (1983 and 1998) explains that -CVC- reduplication in Hausa is just a matter of copying the first three or last three segments of the root or of the stem, in the case of double pluralization as in \**kaayak-yak-ii* > *kááyàyyákíí*, and prefixing or suffixing

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<sup>11</sup> Simply put, the problem emanated because Newman (2000: 430) started his analysis at midstream. The morphological chain has three stages, viz: A) *cikii* 'belly' > B) *cikkúnàà* 'belly' plural > C) *cikúnkúnàà* 'belly' hyperplural. Newman opines that a low-tone retention should have occurred, as a rule, in the transition from stage B) to C). But if the rule were to be, a low-tone retention should also occur in the transition from A) to B) because the conditioning is the same. Of course this rule of tone retention would not occur during pluralization because, as is being suggested here, it is simply phonological and not morphophonological.

respectively. Newman's problematic cases of infixation are easily analyzable as products of double suffixation.

### 3.1. Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the *-aa-*, *-ee-* and *-oo-* forms found within certain Hausa plural forms are not infixes, and neither are the *-i-* found in the form *baiwa* 'slave girl', the *-CCV/CV-* segmental sequences in *OV*<sup>s</sup> and the C that intervenes between vocalic elements in pluralization, nor the *-CVC-* sequence that occurs in the middle of the so-called pluractionals and the similarly constructed plurals.

The claim for the existence of infixation in Hausa, which arose from doubtful analyses, has failed to stand scrutiny. Thus under rigorous examination, infixation as a morphological construct is – at least on the basis of the afore-reviewed cases – a linguistic mirage in Hausa.

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## **Language and identity: Hausa language of youth generation in Northern Nigeria<sup>1</sup>**

**Tsakure**

Wannan maƙala ta yi nazari a kan karin harshen matasa a Arewacin Nijeriya tare da bayanin mataƙai da hanyoyin da suke bi wajen kirƙirar sababbin kalmomi. Sa'an nan maƙalar ta nuna yadda hakan ya samar wa da matasan wani rukuni na musamman da ba su damar gudar da ma'amala da harshe ba tare da wani ya gane abin da suke nufi ba sai 'yan wannan rukuni da kuma waƙanda suke ma'amala da su. Haka kuma an kawo misalan yadda matasan suke amfani da kalmomin a cikin jimila.

### **1. Introduction**

The language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable. One of the functions of language is to identify people as representatives of groups, communities and cultures in relation to others. The concept of identity helps to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture (Deng 1995: 1).

As it is commonly recognized, the term identity is mutually constructed and refers to evolving images of self and other (Katzenstein 1996: 59). Therefore, identity is people's concept of who they

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is a developed version of the previous one written in 2009 "Language and identity in Africa: Language use as a manifestation of national, ethnic and social identity in Nigeria" and presented during the seminar on language and identity at the Institute of Applied Linguistics, University of Warsaw, in 2009.

are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others (Hogg and Abrams 1988: 2). It is worth mentioning, that the identity is subject to the individual interpretation, expressing the will to become a member of a group. Herrigel (1993: 371) states: "By social identity, I mean the desire for group distinction, dignity, and place within historically specific discourses (or frames of understanding) about the character, structure, and boundaries of the policy and the economy."

Identity is closely related to language. Language use constructs identity, as everyone uses accent, dialect, and language variation that reveals speaker's membership in a particular speech community, social class, ethnic and national group. As well, such variations are obvious when the grouping is based on gender, age, or expanding the linguistics focus to include jargons, registers and styles, occupation, club or gang membership, political affiliation, religious confession and so on (Edward 2009: 21).

Several researches have been conducted across the world on identification through language in different areas such as information technology (Constable, Simons 2000), speech recognition (Coulthard 1997), text verification (Giguet 1995), similar languages identification (Ljubescic 2007), criminal identification (Singh 2006), and language identification in web (Martins and Silva 2005). The function of language that identifies people as representatives of groups, communities and cultures has been examined in the context of marking the distinction between "Us" and "Others" (Duszak 2002). In African context, the language is often significantly regarded as a marker of national identity (Simpson 2008). The purpose of this paper is to show how identity is manifested in Hausa, the important ethnic language of Northern Nigeria. The study is devoted to the youth generation speech communities.

The question of Hausa social dialects was raised in some earlier works by exploring language and identity across social and occupational groups (Nasir 2008, Fagge 2002 among others) that examined identification with the professional engagement. Fagge (2004) studied language of fifteen occupational/professional groups, whereas Adamu (2004) and Nasir (2008) concentrated on Hausa films lan-

guage/register. Musa (2002) presented instances of “niggers’ language” in Hausa. Most of the previous works focused on the lexicon newly introduced into the language (e.g. Bature 1995). Adamu (2002) in his analysis of neologisms in Hausa through urban space theory distinguishes some Hausa social classes identified in language, such as guys, area boys, *okada* riders, etc. The present attempt aims at investigating a special language code of Hausa that was created by a distinct group identified through the age. This special variety has developed for the purpose of communication in day-to-day activities.

## **2. Hausa as an ethnic and contact language**

Hausa is the name by which the people of the ethnic group call themselves and are understood as such by many other people. Hausa is also the name of the language of the people (Adamu 1974: 1). Hausa is used as language of communication in northern Nigeria and some parts of the southern country; the users either belong to the Hausa ethnic group or use it as a second language. Most of the Fulani people use Hausa as their first language because of the long existing relationship between the two ethnic groups in terms of religion, inter-marriages, and other social activities which lead some of them to lose their first language. A term Hausa-Fulani, which is a newly invented term, has reference to one language community. There are also people who use Hausa as their first language, although they belong to the other ethnic groups. They use their native language as second language because they cannot communicate effectively with it in some areas. In northern Nigeria, the minority languages tend to lose their functional values because of the increasing preference for Hausa, whereas English which is an official medium of communication in the whole country and is increasingly replacing the mother tongues in southern Nigeria (Igboanusi, Peter 2004: 134).

This sociolinguistic situation makes Hausa a language of everyday communication for all domains in northern Nigeria and also a vehicle of some specific domains in the whole country. Some business activities are dominated by the Hausa ethnic group, such as exchange of money, sales of domestic animals, trailers transporta-

tion, sales of second hand cars, etc.

Hausa language is also regarded as language of Muslim community in Nigeria. This identification goes along with some other signs of membership of Hausa community, such as dress.

### **3. The Hausa youth as a social group**

Main purpose of this paper is to investigate specific terms that are used by youth's generation in Kano – and more generally by the youth in the northern Nigeria – in their day-to-day communication. Social identity asserts that group membership creates in-group/self categorization in ways that favor the in-group at the expense of out-group. The examples (minimal groups studied) of Turner (1986) show that the more individuals categorize themselves as group members the more it leads them to display group favoritism. After being categorized as group members, individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positive differentiating their in-group from another group on some self valued dimensions.

The young people generation in northern Nigeria is delimited by the age between 18 and 30 years and also by school level that ranges from secondary to high institutions. They meet regularly within their peer groups at schools, resting spots, and in their rooms. Youths normally spend their time in sport clubs, attending social events, etc. Their main interest is to enjoy their time. The main topics of their daily discussions are mutual relationships, love, spots and films. This is also main area of research conducted in Kano through active participation in discussions and observation.

### **4. Youth generation sub-code in Hausa**

The language of the young people distinguishes from the language of other generations through the series of shared practices common to the members of this society. These are mostly words, but also phrases and other grammatical means used in the communication between young people. This code is distinguished by two kinds of features. Firstly, it is a language that absorbs impact of new technologies and new ideas (generated by politics, films, etc.) that bring about changes of the language at all its levels. It is young people

generation that initiates changes in language and evokes modernization of its vocabulary. Secondly, youth's generation sub-code includes terms that function only within this group. The common practice of the language of young people in Hausa is code switching and the parallel existence of the two systems results in borrowings, coinage and semantic extension.

#### 4.1 Borrowings

The permanent contact of different languages in communication (in the area of interest it is contact between Hausa and English) brings about introducing new words into the language. New vocabularies are generated by the group while discussing political issues, presenting new products or making comments on films. The borrowings come mostly from English, although there are also words borrowed from Arabic and from other Nigerian languages. The reason for the use of these words is the lack of their equivalents in Hausa, when they are easily understood as terms of the sources language. Very often the borrowings become Hausanized and function as new words that are gaining acceptance in wider communication. This is the process reflected in the dictionaries. The noun *fim* < Eng. film (pl. *finafinai*) was introduced into Hausa vocabularies quite recently<sup>2</sup>, similarly *darakta* < Eng. director. There are also many other words that are still in the process of their integration into the Hausa vocabulary. The role of the Hausa film industry in the areas of work and entertainment makes these words often used and therefore they may be qualified as changed to Hausa, for example:

	<b>English</b>	<b>Hausa</b>
1.	artist	atis
2.	action	akshin
3.	cassette	kaset

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<sup>2</sup> *Kamus na harshen Hausa* by Calvin Y. Garba from 1990 does not include such a word into the inventory of items. In *Modern Hausa Dictionary* (Newman, Newman 1977) the word is qualified as an abstract noun 'cinema' without plural form.

4.	DVD	DBD
5.	poster	fasta
6.	role	rol
7.	scene	sin

There are also some words from Arabic introduced to Hausa vocabularies recently. These words are now used very often in daily communication routine, for example:

	<b>Arabic</b>	<b>Hausa</b>	<b>English meaning</b>
1.	ahlul sunnah	'yan'izala	followers of prophet Muhammad teaching
2.	hafs	hafsi	Qur'an recitation style
3.	sayyid	yasayyadi	leader
4.	shi'at	shi'a	Islamic school of thought
5.	sunnih	'yansunni	followers of prophet Muhammad teaching
6.	ustaz	ustazu	learned person in Islam
7.	warsh	worship	Qur'an recitation style

#### 4.2 Newly coined words

Coinage is a process whereby new words are invented. This is a common practice that the younger generation uses some existing words in Hausa or English to merge them with something else to invent a new word. The words presented below are not recorded in the dictionaries. They were coined by youth, and they are used by them in their day-to-day communication. Examples:

<b>Words</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Source</b>
1. ajawo	unwise	
2. bagu	pretending	
3. bati	next to nothing	
4. biris	refuse to attend sb.	
5. bobo	guy who feels big	
6. caburos	drugs addicts	
7. cus	old person	
8. dagu	father	
9. kilin	to became wise	(Eng. clean)
10. shakara	womanish attitude	
11. shanawa	reining	(Eng. shining)

Here are some examples of how these words are used in sentences:

– Musa ya fiya son bati.

(‘Musa likes (to get) things gratis’);

– Bala ajawo ne ba ya son zuwa sinima.

(‘Musa is unwise as he doesn’t want go to cinema’);

– Kai! ’Yan caburos sun yi yawa a gurin nan.

(‘Wow! There are many drug addicts here’);

– Ahmed ya auri cus bai sani ba.

(‘Ahmed marries old lady unknowingly’);

– Ta zo birni ta yi kilin.

(‘She came to the city and became wise’).

### **4.3 The grammatical patterns of newly coined terms**

The new terms are regular grammatical forms of verbs and nouns or they are regular grammatical constructions. The individual words gain new meaning in a context, e.g.:

<b>word</b>	<b>lit. meaning</b>	<b>new meaning</b>	<b>source</b>
1. cika	to complete	(to be) a beautiful girl	English
2. fantamawa	–	enjoying your time	Hausa
3. fasa	to break	to go	Hausa
4. haɗu	to meet	to lack nothing	Hausa
5. jamewa	–	meeting	English (jam)
6. muguwa	wicked (f)	beautiful girl	Hausa
7. shanawa	–	enjoying your time	English (shining)
8. shankwana	to turn one side	to get money	Hausa
9. Zariya	town name	mental	Hausa

Examples in sentences:

– Mati ya sami wata muguwa yau.

(‘Mati picks up a beautiful girl/lady today.’);

– Ina za mu fasa da daddare?

(‘Where are we going tonight?’);

– Inuwa ya shankwana.

(‘Inuwa got money.’).



The new terms are also constructed with reference to regular derivational patterns. Many of them have the form of verbal noun with - *wa* ending, e.g.:

<b>word</b>	<b>lit. mean.</b>	<b>new mean.</b>	<b>source</b>
cinyewa < cinye	eating all	great impress	Hausa
fasowa < faso/fasa	breaking sth.	getting money	Hausa
haɗuwa < haɗu	meeting	becoming	Hausa
		a beautiful girl	

A large amount of new terms has the form of phrases, either nominal or verbal, e.g.:

– Nominal compositions:

<b>word</b>	<b>lit. mean.</b>	<b>new mean.</b>	<b>source</b>
bababar harka	big activity	senior girl	Hausa
ɗan hutu	son of rest	home boy	Hausa
ƙaramin kwaro	small insect	not smart	Hausa
na jaƙi	belonging to donkey	beating	Hausa
renin hankali	not recognizing sb. intentionally	outsmarting	Hausa

– Verbal phrases

<b>word</b>	<b>lit. meaning</b>	<b>new meaning</b>	<b>source</b>
iya taku	knowing how to walk	deception	Hausa

jan-aji	pulling class	attending class	Hausa
kunto kura	to release hyena	to face challenge	Hausa
share shi	sweep him	forget about him	Hausa

Among derivational strategies that are used to create new words there is prefix *ɗan* (lit. 'son of') added to some stems, as well as other kinds of nominal compositions based on genitive construction. Some ideas are expressed in finite verb forms. As for the phrases that are characteristic of the youth language, it is *ki yarda da ni* 'love me' (lit. 'trust me'). The form of the clause has also the phrase *ba ni da kyau* 'I am wicked' (lit. 'I am dangerous').

#### **4.4. Semantic Extensions of Hausa words (phrases)**

Most of the words classified within this category have their stems in the Hausa or English language; they are only extended to suit the group communication. Langacker (1973: 186) explains semantic extension as "a way of obtaining a new term by extending the use of old one". So it is a process of widening the meaning of a word or phrase by expansion of the contexts in which it occurs.

Some areas of communication are extensively enriched with these new terms. The terms can be categorized under sub-categories as follows:

- social status or financial resources
- love and relationship
- film
- social interactions

##### **4.4.1 Social status, financial resources**

The conversations within youths' groups reveal great concern about money, that secure enjoyment of their youth time. As a result of this attitude, they produce some terms concerning getting money

or marking a social status, e.g.:

<b>word</b>	<b>original meaning</b>	<b>meaning for youths</b>
1. aji	classroom	status
2. bacci/barci	sleeping	poor man
3. bayani	information	money
4. gada	bridge	money
5. gani	to see	to give money
6. gurgu	cripple	the one who doesn't have a car
7. karfi	energy	money
8. kari	smell, odor	poor
9. kurma	deaf	someone without mobile phone
10. motsi	movement	money
11. shigo gari	enter town	to get money
12. tsari	plan	money
13. 'ya'yan banki	bank children	money

#### **4.4.2 Love and relationship**

	<b>word</b>	<b>original meaning</b>	<b>meaning for youths</b>
1.	ɗan akuya	he-goat	womanizer
2.	kwaila	girl	immature
3.	mai	oil	girlfriend/lady
4.	namiji	male	courageous
5.	yarinya	girl	girlfriend
6.	yauki	sliminess	womanish attitude

#### **4.4.3 Film terms**

	<b>word</b>	<b>original meaning</b>	<b>meaning for youths</b>
1.	gyaɗa	groundnut	film
2.	dauraya	to clean up	to copy something
3.	jarumi	brave	actor

4.	jaruma	brave	actress
5.	mai sanyina	owner of my cold	my lover
6.	mamulashe	toothless	kiss/hug
7.	mazaje	males	actors
8.	sabon yanka	new-cut	newcomer
9.	tashe	reigning	actor/actress in his/her peak
10.	'yar da ake yayi	a girl loved by all	beautiful lady

#### 4.4.4. Social interactions

	<b>word</b>	<b>original meaning</b>	<b>meaning for youths</b>
1.	baba	father	colleague
2.	ɗan birni	town man	deceiver
3.	ɗan gaye	guy man	fashionable
4.	ɗan Hajiya	Hajiya's son	spoiled child
5.	ɗan hayaniya	noise maker	trouble maker
6.	ɗaga kafa	to rise leg	to stop
7.	ɗan tasha	motor park son	rude
8.	fuska	face	frown
9.	gani-gani	seeing-seeing	looking down at sb.
10.	gyara fakin	to park well	to run
11.	gyara zama	to sit well	to deal with sb.
12.	haka-haka	like this	to deceive
13.	indararo	noise maker	drains
14.	kaya	load	cocaine
15.	kwar	insect	wise
16.	makaho	blind	unwise man
17.	renin hankali	provoke	outsmart
18.	sa kai	to put head	go ahead

19. sa labule	to put curtain	to make secrete
20. share	to sweep	to forget
21. tsami	sourness	unwise
22. tafiya da imani	to go with faith	to be impressed

A number of meaning extensions of the existing Hausa or English words are done through or based on analogy, i.e. they give prominence to one characteristic feature of a given word designate. There are many words whose meanings are extended in the language used by youth social groups through their metaphoric interpretation, while others are metonymically extended, as they describe things indirectly by referring to image that they evoke.

Newly coined words are in fact non Hausa words and they are mostly understood by the members of youth community and other people who try to follow them in the conversation habits.

## 5. Conclusion

The Hausa youths' language is marked by some special terms and phrases created by the manipulation of existing words in the process of communication. The collected data show that this group creates the language to distinguish its members from the other groups of society. Among the techniques there is metaphor commonly used.

The new terms are coined in spoken language of day-to-day communication. Their semantics reveals main topics of the youth conversation. Main areas of communication are social interaction between youth and contacts between boys and girls. These new words become known to other groups of Hausa users through the youth contacts and their day-to-day activities with other groups outside their domain.

The form of interaction and the topics raised in the communication show the ongoing interest of the youth generation in Nigeria towards the Western model of culture. However, the religious terms of Arabic origin are also introduced into the common language, whereas borrowings are commonly understood and subsequently

adapted into the norm of Hausa, the youths' language is a code accepted only within this group.

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## **Transfixation in Hausa: A Hypothetical Analysis**

### **Abstract**

The paper deals with the non-contiguous morphs in Hausa which are regarded as the manifestation of transfixation. Transfixation is an Afroasiatic feature that is apparent in Arabic. In the present publication it is also claimed to be evident in Hausa. The similarities between Arabic and Hausa are obvious in such linguistic phenomena as tri-literacy, the upgrading of aberrant roots and the existence in both languages of what are denominated here reduplicative and non-reduplicative transfixations. Transfixation in Hausa differentiates itself from its Arabic counterpart via vowel retention and external transfixation which makes the transfix liable to analysis as suffix in the manner of Newman (2000). But the chief contradistinguishing feature is the non-contiguity principle which establishes the affix as the critical component in the Hausa broken morphology.

### **1. Introduction**

This paper hints that transfixation is extant in Hausa in a manner reminiscent of what obtains in Semitic. By arranging an encounter between Hausa and Arabic, the paper points out certain parallelisms at the level of broken morphology, a feature the two share with other Afroasiatic languages. However, the crucial prototypical characteristics of the Hausa transfixation are also uncovered. The paper shows that it is the misinterpretation of transfixal constituents as combinations of infixes and suffixes – a discomfiting analysis that has gained currency – that is responsible for the concealment of transfixation in Hausa.

Descriptions of the ‘broken morphology’ of the Semitic languages make two essential characteristics of that morphology worthy of note and mention: firstly, that both the roots and the transfixes (i.e. the kind of affixes peculiar to Semitic) are discontinuous; secondly, that the roots comprise only consonants whereas the transfixes comprise only vowels. Transfixation is therefore the phenomenon whereby discontinuous vocalic affixes and discontinuous consonantal roots interlock in the process of word building, hence the allusion to this method of derivation as either ‘root and pattern’, ‘pattern’, ‘binyan’, ‘broken’ or ‘non-concatenative’ morphology (Trask 1996; Matthews 1997)<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. Discontinuous morphology in Afroasiatic

The central claim of this paper, which is in line with Greenberg’s (1955: 203) conclusion on the segholate plurals of Hebrew and Aramaic and other similar forms in South Semitic and Akkadian, is that Hausa as a Chadic language inherited its broken morphology from Afroasiatic as have the Semitic, Cushitic and Berber languages (see Ratcliffe 1998: 71). But down the path of evolution, Hausa developed innovations which in certain ways contradistinguish its type of transfixation from that of other Afroasiatic languages such as Arabic.

### 2.1. Arabic samples

In Arabic, the root **k-b-r** which connotes ‘size’ / ‘quantity’ can take the following transfixes, for instance: **a...i** (*ka**b**i**r*** ‘great’), **i...a** (*ki**b**a**r*** ‘great-plu.’), **u...aa** (*ku**b**aa**r*** ‘huge’), **u...u** (*ku**b**u**r*** ‘atrocious’), **a...a...a** (*ka**b**a**r**a* ‘to exceed in age’), **a...i...a** (*ka**b**i**r**a* ‘atrocious-plu.’).

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<sup>1</sup> Transfixation is not the only form of broken or discontinuous affixation. Circumfixation, another type, is found in languages like German, Old and Middle English and Malay (Allerton 1979: 220). But whereas in circumfixation the two coordinating parts that constitute the broken morph are placed on either side of the root, with transfixation the affix and the root interlace.

It is claimed that this type of constitutional synergism between essentially consonantal morphs and essentially vocalic morphs, which is a very common occurrence in the Semitic languages and extant in other branches of Afroasiatic (see Ratcliffe 1998, Al-Hassan 1998, Chaker 1983, Prasse 1972, Jungraithmayr 1978a; 1978b; 1965), survives also in Hausa. It is manifested in noun plural forms.

## 2.2. Hausa samples

In the examples below, roots are underlined in the singular, whereas transfixes are written in bold in the plural forms.

- **aa...aa** (L-H)

e.g. zártòò ‘saw’ > zàrààtáá, gárkèè ‘herd’ > gàrààkàá, dáms’èè ‘forearm’ > dámààs’áá

- **aa...ee** (L-H)

e.g. jírǵ’íí ‘boat’ > jírààǵ’ée, ǵ’áúróó (< ǵ’áámróó)<sup>2</sup> ‘bachelor’ > ǵ’ámààréé, ǵicèè<sup>3</sup> (< \*ǵitee) ‘tree’ / ‘wood’ > ǵitààcéé<sup>4</sup>

- **aa...ii** (L-H/H-H)

e.g. sárk’íí ‘emir’ > sàrààk’íí, túnk’íyáá ‘sheep’ (< túmǵ’íyáá)<sup>5</sup> ‘sheep’ > túamáá’íí, sáwrà’íí (< sámǵ’íyíí) > ‘male-youth’ sàmààríí

- **aa...uu** (L-H)

e.g. ǵ’úrǵ’ùù ‘cripple’ > ǵ’úrààǵ’úú, k’úncìì (< \*k’úmtìì) ‘cheek’ > k’úmààtúú, káfàà ‘leg’ > káfààfúú ‘foot’

- **aa...ai** (L-H)

e.g. sárk’íí ‘emir’ > sàrààkái, ǵúnǵ’íí ‘idol’ > ǵùmààkái, ǵàkúyàà (< \*ǵàwk’íyàà)<sup>6</sup> ‘goat’ > ǵàwààkái

<sup>2</sup> Klingenberg’s rule changes syllable-final bilabials and velars to /w/ in Hausa. See Schuh 1972.

<sup>3</sup> ǵ stands for glottal stop in the Hausa and Arabic examples.

<sup>4</sup> A palatalization rule in Hausa renders /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /w/ before /e/, /i/ into /c/, /j/, /š/, /ǵ/, /y/ correspondingly.

<sup>5</sup> The two nasal consonants in Hausa /m/ and /n/ may assimilate either fully or partially to each other and only partially to any following palatal, velar or bilabial consonant.

<sup>6</sup> The form \*ǵàwk’íyàà became ǵàkwíyàà via the metathesis of the underlined root segments. This form is more commonly pronounced ǵàkúyàà in modern Hausa.

**-ai...ai (L-H)**

e.g. *káryáá* ‘lie’ > *káràìrátí*, *wárg<sup>y</sup>íí* (SK) ‘play’ > *wárgàìgái*, *bánzáá* ‘nonentity’ > *bánzáìzáí*

**-oo...ii (H-H)**

e.g. *kárf<sup>f</sup>íí* ‘earthen vat’ > *káróóf<sup>f</sup>íí*<sup>7</sup>, *c’irkàà* (SK) ‘sprouts (of hair)’ > *c’iróók<sup>y</sup>íí*, *zúwciyáá* (< \**zuktiya*) ‘heart’ > *zúk<sup>w</sup>óócíí*

**-u...aa (H-L)**

e.g. *lóókàcíí* (\**lóókàtíí*) ‘time’ > *lóók<sup>w</sup>útàà*, *wádàríí* ‘skein of thread’ > *wádūràà*, *ǵárzik<sup>y</sup>íí* > *ǵárzúkàà* ‘fortune’

### 3.0. Transfixation in Hausa

Archangeli (1988: 175) contains a statement which is as relevant to the Hausa transfixation as it is to that of Semitic: “In Semitic the root template is fixed by the morphology independently of any affixation.” The Hausa transfixation is a similar situation where a discontinuous affix made up of two vocalic constituents (i.e. **aa...ee**) joins a quadri-segmental root made up of three consonants and a vowel in the second slot (i.e. *jirg-*), punctuating it after the third segment and terminating it after the fourth. This generates the plural form *jiraag<sup>y</sup>ee* ‘boat-/ship-, train-, aeroplane-PLURAL’ < *jirg<sup>y</sup>ii* ‘boat-/ship-, train-, aeroplane-MASCULINE’ (see 2.2 above). The entrance of the first constituent of the broken affix, or transfix, in the second vowel slot is predetermined since the first vowel slot is occupied by a tenacious vowel from the singular form *jirg<sup>y</sup>íí* which must now be reckoned with as part of the plural stem *jirg-*. The above description will be considered in this paper as formulaic in Hausa transfixation.

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<sup>7</sup> In the Sokoto dialect the singular form *kárfùí/kárhùí* has the plural form *kárúffàà/káruh<sup>h</sup>àà* whereas in Kano only the plural form *káróófùí* exists without a singular form. *C’irkàà* has a more common pronunciation in *c’ííkàà* which, devoid of the *r* segment, has a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel. The two forms share the same plural form, *c’iróókíí*.

### 3.1. Two-consonant roots

Bi-literal (i.e. two consonant and one vowel) roots are intensively involved in transfixation. Ratcliffe's (1998: 45) observes in respect of the Semitic languages that "bi-consonantal nouns are brought into conformity with a tri-consonantal template in plural formation". This is an impeccable description of what obtains in Hausa. The strategies employed by Hausa to bring these bi-literal roots to tri-literalism for the purpose of transfixation are also the same as are reported for Semitic by Ratcliffe (1998: 72) who explains that singular nouns with one or two consonants consistently expand to three or four consonant form in the plural through copying of a stem consonant(s) or addition of an extra non-stem consonant.

#### 3.1.1. Extension with stem consonant

Hausa shows some affinity with Semitic where upgrading the root is achieved through "left-right spreading or reduplication of the second consonant" of the root (Ratcliffe 1998: 168). This can be seen in the pluralization of the bi-consonantal nouns below. The default consonants are underlined:

*wúrii* 'place' > *wúraàréé*, *kúdíi* 'money' > *kúdaàdēé*, *fárii* 'white' > *fáraàréé*, *káfàà* 'leg' > *káfaàf'úú*, *s'úúwèè* 'testicle' > *s'úwààwúú*, *gábàà* 'joint' > *gáboófií*, *kádàà* 'crocodile' > *kádóódíi*

Newman (1972: 314) reached the same conclusion saying:

[T]he reduplicated C one finds on the surface is not part of the affix but rather must be assigned to the pl-stem. The underlying principle seems to be that all pl-stems participating in the construction of **aa...ee** plurals must have a heavy first syllable. [...] If, however, the first syllable is light, then it must be made heavy – and this is done by doubling the stem final consonant<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Newman (2000: 438) discards this theory, saying, regarding his 1972 position on the **aa...ee** plurals, that, "I now feel compelled to offer a retraction: there is no evidence, synchronic or diachronic, to indicate that this plural formative is anything other than a reduplicative **-aCe** suffix." Thus whereas the current position is that a bi-consonantal noun reduplicates its

### 3.1.2. Extension with Non-stem Consonant

Numerous plural forms in Hausa that are constructed via the transfixation of **aa...ee**, **a...ii** and **u...aa** upgrade by means of such non-stem consonants as /y/, /n/, /w/, and /k/:

- /y/ as default consonant, e.g. *g<sup>w</sup>àníí* ‘expert’ > *g<sup>w</sup>àrààyyéé*, *ḃééráá* ‘rat’ > *ḃéérààyyéé*, *fíllíí* ‘space’, ‘field’ > *fíllààyyéé*, *tóózóó* ‘hump’ > *tóózààyyéé*, *kúúráá* ‘hyena’ > *kúúrààyyéé*

- /n/ as default consonant, e.g. *rààg<sup>w</sup>óó* ‘ram’ > *rág<sup>w</sup>únàà*, *k<sup>y</sup>èèk<sup>y</sup>* ‘bicycle’ > *k<sup>y</sup>éék<sup>w</sup>únàà*, *tíítìí* ‘road’ > *tíitúnàà*, *gòòráá* ‘gourd’ > *góórúnàà*, *hùùláá* ‘cap’ > *húùlúnàà*

- /w/ as default consonant, e.g. *hánnúú* ‘hand’ > *hánnúwàà*, *zá-nèè* ‘wrap-cloth’ > *zánnúwàà*, *kúnnéé* ‘ear’ > *kúnnúwàà*<sup>9</sup>

- /k/ as default consonant, e.g. *g<sup>w</sup>óónáá* ‘farm’ > *g<sup>w</sup>òònàk<sup>y</sup>íí*, *k<sup>w</sup>áánáá* ‘day’ > *k<sup>w</sup>àánàk<sup>y</sup>íí*, *záánáá* ‘grass mat’ > *zàànak<sup>y</sup>íí*, *ráánáá* ‘day’ > *ràànak<sup>w</sup>úú*, *ráámìí* ‘hole’ > *ráámúkàà*, *láiíí* ‘fault’, ‘crime’ > *láiíúkàà*, *sáúíí* ‘sound’ > *sáúúkàà*, *cùùtáá* ‘disease’ > *cúútúkàà*

It is noteworthy that except for a few cases, all the words that upgrade with a non-stem consonant have a heavy first syllable. *Zá-nèè* (‘wrap-cloth’) in 3.1.2.3 has to acquire it in the plural form *zá-nnúwàà*. Explaining the status of these default consonants in Hausa, Wolff (1993: 166) opines:

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last consonant, so that the copy fills in the third slot between the transfixal (vocalic) constituents, Newman (2000) implies that a tri-consonantal noun uses its third consonant to fill in the slot because it lacks a reduplicate. This denial of the obvious is seen in Newman’s analysis of forms like *káróófií* (< *kárfii* ‘earthen vat’) where he explains that, “[...] instead of suffixing -oCi with a copied C, they add o-i with the base final consonant between the two vowels.” At any rate, Newman (2000: 438) who rejects his 1972 analysis on the basis of lack of either diachronic or synchronic evidence, does not himself offer any in support of his new position. Cf. Schuh’s (1989: 173ff.) description of Miya pluralization and Zaborski’s (1976: 5) statement on Somali data.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Zaborski (1976: 5ff.) where *-uwa(a)* as a single morph is indicated as an external plural formative common to Afroasiatic. *-una* which is identified as a suffix in Bilin (Cushitic) and Hausa (Chadic) is said by Zaborski (1976: 5ff.) to be either of unclear status or unknown origin.

*Es handelt sich vermutlich um funktionlos erstarrte "Determinativa" ("Artikel" im Sinne der Theorie von Greenberg 1977). Zwei konsonantische und ein vokalisches (bzw. halbvokalisches) Determinativum lassen sich auf diese Weise identifizieren: \*-k, \*-n, \*-i. Diese Determinativa treten an den singularischen Nominalstamm, bevor der Vokalismus oder das Suffix des einfachen Plurals ergänzt wird [...]*

But Newman (200: 447) thinks that "given the comparative Chadic evidence, [...] the straightforward identification of /n/ and /k/ as plural markers is much more likely". Ratcliffe (1998: 232) reports for Semitic that "In some forms the third consonant which appears in the plural reflects a consonant which was part of the singular historically [...] Often, however, there is no evidence of a historically lost consonant. The word is an original bi-consonantal and the third consonant is simply a default consonant".

Among the default consonants that Ratcliffe (1998: 232) has identified in Semitic are /w/, /y/ and /n/, with /k/, probably a Chadic peculiarity (see Newman 1990), as the only exception.

### **3.2. Four-consonant stems**

Ratcliffe (1998: 27) observes that in rare cases a four-consonant structure "is indirectly imposed on derived words by the prosodic template" in Semitic. While in Semitic this is possible through the addition of two default consonants to a bi-consonantal base, in Hausa this is achieved through either the addition of one consonant to a tri-consonantal base or root doubling. Consider that the words *tárwádǎá* 'Clarias Angularis' or 'common African catfish' > *tàrèèwádǎí* and *kárfásáá* 'Tilapia Nolitica' > *kàrèèfǎšǎí* are quadri-segmental in both their singular and plural forms. The plural forms are derived through the interaction of a tri-elemental transfix **ee...a...ii** with the quinque-segmental roots *tarwǎɗ* and *karfs*- respectively. However, some Hausa roots are upgraded to be able to utilize tri-elemental transfixes like the one above. One way is

through the radicalization of a default consonant and the other is through root doubling.

### 3.2.1. Radicalization of default consonant

Nouns that undergo **ee...a...ii** transfixation with root upgrading include *màlfáá* ‘hat’ (> *màlfúnàà*), *gàrmáá* ‘plough’ (> *gàrmúnàà*), *bàrg<sup>w</sup>óó* ‘blanket’ (> *bàrg<sup>w</sup>únàà*), *fàrkáá* ‘paramour’ (> *fàrk<sup>w</sup>únàà*). The plural forms above end with *-unaa* which is explicable as **u...aa** transfix filled in with a /n/ default consonant. This /n/ – marked /N/ below – becomes radicalized in order to arrive at a four-consonant stem suitable for **ee...a...ii** transfixation in generating the alternative plural forms to those above ending in *-unaa*, such as: (*màlfáá* ‘hat’ >) *màlèèfáNíí*, (*gàrmáá* ‘plough’ >) *gàrèèmáNíí*, (*bàrgóó* ‘blanket’ >) *bàrèègáNíí* and (*fàrkáá* ‘paramour’ >) *fàrèèká-Níí*. Other Hausa plurals like *gàrèèwáNíí* (< ‘gàrwáá’ ‘four-liter can’) *kàrèèmáNíí* (< *kàrmá* ‘infantryman’) and *sàlèèkáNíí* (< *sàlkáá* ‘skin bottle’) that do not normally have the intermediate *-unaa* form are derived by analogy to the **ee...a...ii** radicalized /n/ transfixal plurals. Derivation by analogy is a common practice in Hausa pluralization<sup>10</sup>.

### 3.2.2. Root doubling

Ratcliffe (1998: 170) shows how reduplicated bi-consonantal Proto-Semitic roots such as *\*kabkab* and *\*laylay* provide underlying four-consonant stems with which transfixation occurs normally in Semitic. This can be seen in *\*kabkab* > *kawkab* > *kawaakib* ‘star’ and *\*laylay* > *laylat* > *layaaliy* > ‘night’. (Note what looks like an instance of the Hausa Klingenberg’s rule in Semitic: *\*kabkab* > *kawkab*.)

Hausa transfixation with double roots exhibits a vocalic pattern that correlates with that of *tàrèèwádíí* and *kàrèèfásíí* to be seen in *más’èè-más’íí* < *\*mas’-mas’-* < *más’íí* ‘nook’, *rád’èè-rád’íí* ‘ru-

<sup>10</sup> The /n/ in *fàrèètáníí* (< *fàrtányàà* ‘hoe’) is likely from the *-anyaa* feminine suffix. The root is most likely *fart-* (SK) ‘to scratch’ giving *fàrtányàà* the sense of ‘(ground) scratcher’ with *fàrcèè* ‘fingernail’ as one of its etymons.



mours' < *rádàà* 'whisper', *sáƙ'èè-sáƙ'íí* < \**sak-sak*- > *sássáƙ'èè* 'a chip of bark', *záƙ'èè-záƙ'íí* < \**zag-zag*- > (*bà*)*zázzáƙ'èè* 'Zaria(man)'. Other subclasses of plurals formed along the pattern of tri-elemental transfixes and underlyingly quadri-literal stems are represented by *múƙàà-múƙ'íí* < \**muƙ-muƙ*- > *múmmúƙ'èè* 'jaw', *fíƙààfíƙ'íí* < \**fík-fík* > *fíffík'èè* 'wing', *g<sup>w</sup>ùmààg<sup>w</sup>ùmáí* < \**g<sup>w</sup>um-g<sup>w</sup>um* > *g<sup>w</sup>úng<sup>w</sup>úmèè* 'log', *k<sup>w</sup>úšààk<sup>w</sup>úš'íí* (KN) < *k<sup>w</sup>úrk<sup>w</sup>úšèè* (SK) < \**k<sup>w</sup>uš-k<sup>w</sup>uš* > 'amkylostomiasis' where in each case the third vowel of the plural form is integrated from the singular stem into the transfixal exemplar.

There is an arch-vocalic pattern that cuts across all four-consonant transfixal forms whether of single or double roots provenance: first and third vowels have the same quantity, quality and tone whereas the second and the fourth have the same quantity but different qualities and tones. That this is not an isolated case is demonstrable with the root *brgz* – which interacts with the different vocalic patterns to form quadri-literal plurals as seen in *ǂùrààgùzáí*, *ǂàrààgàzáí*, *ǂàréègájíí*, *ǂ<sup>w</sup>úrààgújíí*, *ǂ<sup>w</sup>úráág<sup>w</sup>úzàà*, *ǂàrààgàzzáí* and *ǂùrààgùzzáí*, all of them having the vocalic pattern **V...VV...V...VV** and an overall **v—v—** (i.e. light-heavy-light-heavy) prosody. These forms either contain a sort of vowel harmony or simply represent the oldest, uncorrupted form of transfixation devoid of a stable root vowel.

#### 4.0. The salient features of Hausa transfixation

Afroasiatic languages share in common the basic technique and several mechanics of transfixation. Ratcliffe (1998: 232) notes:

One of the most striking idiosyncrasies shared by Semitic languages is the tendency to expand two-consonant noun to three-consonant structure in the plural. This is an idiosyncrasy shared also with Berber and numerous Cushitic and Chadic languages.

Like other Afroasiatic languages, down the path of evolution Hausa must have developed some innovations which in some ways

contradistinguish its type of transfixation from that of some of these languages such as Arabic. These supposed developments are considered below.

#### 4.1. Vowel retention

Ideally there should be as many vowel slots as there are consonant slots for the perfect interlocking of vocalic affixes and consonantal roots with transfixation. However, the phonologies of Afroasiatic languages have intervened in various ways, making it possible for Arabic, for instance, to have words containing only one vowel per three consonants, like *kibr* (bigness) and *kubr* (greatness) from the root *k-b-r*. Hausa, on the other hand, has no less, and no more, than two vowels per two or three consonants. This must have arisen from the vowel retention peculiarity of Hausa. In Hausa the root in a transfixal plural always bears an indelible vocalic constituent which acts as the second segment, thus *jīrg-* ‘boat’ > *jīrààg’éeé*, *karf-* ‘metal’ > *kārààfáá*, *burg-* ‘rat’ > *būrààg’éeé*, *dām-* ‘monitor lizard’ > *dámààméeé*, *ṗawk-* ‘goat’ > *ṗáwáák’íí*, *mury-* ‘voice’ > *múryóóyíí*, etc. It is this vocalic retention that has rendered the Hausa transfixation into an incomplete one. This contrasts with Arabic where roots are devoid of vowels as can be seen in *k-t-b-* ‘write’ > *kitaab*, *kutub*; *r-s-l* ‘message’ > *rasuul*, *rusuul*, etc. Thus while Mubi (Central Chadic) has the Arabic type to be seen in such singular-plural dyads as *lèésí* > *làásàs* ‘tongue’ and *gúrlì* > *gòrlàl* > ‘testicle’ (Jungraithmayr 1978a: 123) Bidiya (Alio 1986: 238; Al-Hassan 1998: 95) has both the Arabic (vowel-excluded) types like *ṗiito* > *ṗáati* ‘tree’ / ‘wood’ and the Hausa (vowel-retained) types like *ṗàwk* > *ṗàwàagi* ‘goat’ and *gárd’a* > *gàráad’è* ‘elephant’<sup>11</sup>.

#### 4.2. Transfixal bi-elementalism

Sequel to the phenomenon of vocalic retention, those Hausa transfixes which should originally be tri-elemental lose one vowel

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<sup>11</sup> Mubi (Jungraithmayr and Möhlig 1983: 17) has the phenomenon of vowel-excluded transfixation in the **singular** and **plural** forms. The verb ‘to shake’, for instance, demonstrates this: *lògòy/làgáy*, (infinitive), *lúgúy/légíy* (perfective), *lúgòòy/lígááy*. See Jungraithmayr 1978a.

slot to the root and emerge as bi-elemental transfixes such as **aa...ee** (*bíráànéé* ‘cities’), **aa...uu** (*g<sup>w</sup>úrààg<sup>w</sup>úú* ‘cripples’), **aa...ii** (*sàrààk<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘the royalty’ / ‘nobility’), etc. On the other hand, Arabic has some originally tri-elemental ones such as **a...a...a** (*kaṭaba* ‘he wrote’), **u...i...a** (*kuṭiba* ‘the written’), **aa...a...a** (*kaataba* ‘to correspond’), etc.

### 4.3. Medial-right location

Medial-right location denotes the fact that the Hausa transfixation always assumes within the root, terminating without it, as in *turm-* > *túrààméé* ‘mortars’ *haḱr-* > *háḱ<sup>w</sup>óóríí* ‘teeth’ *tumk-* > *túmáák<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘sheep’, contrasting with Arabic which has cases where the transfix assumes outside the root and terminates within it (Left-medial) as in *rukn* > *ʔarkaʔan* ‘pillar’, *wazn* > *ʔawzaʔan* ‘root’, *liss* > *ʔalsaaʔs* ‘tongue’, *baab* > *ʔabwaab* ‘door’, etc<sup>12</sup>.

### 4.4. Nominal transfixation

Finally, whereas transfixation is almost solely a nominal affair in Hausa, i.e. it does not feature prominently in the verbal morphology, in Arabic it is found among verbs and adjectives.

### 4.5. Tonality

Hausa transfixes have tonal accompaniment which does not feature in their Arabic counterparts because of the absence of tone in Semitic. There are four general tone patterns: L-H for **u...aa**; H-H for **oo...ii**; L-H-H for **ee...a...ii**; L-L-H for **aa...u...ai**; L-H for the rest which the **aa...ii** transfix has along with H-H as in *túmáák<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘sheep’ and *ʔáwáák<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘goats’.

### 4.6. Internal and external transfixation

Considering the above examples, transfixation in Hausa can be categorized into two, viz. external and internal.

<sup>12</sup> Ratcliffe (1998: 85) suggests the occurrence of metathesis in these forms, i.e. *baab* > *\*ḡawaab* > *ʔabwaab*. The glottal stop before initial vowels is a rule in both Semitic and Chadic.

#### 4.6.1. Internal transfixation

Internal transfixation refers to a situation where the transfix assumes within the root, i.e. before the third consonant or its surrogate, sometimes displacing the second vowel in the root:

**- aa...aa:**

*zàrtòò* > *zàrààtáá* ‘saw’, *g<sup>w</sup>úŋkìì* > *g<sup>w</sup>úmààkáá*<sup>13</sup> ‘idol’;

**- aa...ee:**

*k<sup>w</sup>útúríí* > *k<sup>w</sup>útààréé* ‘leper’, *fúskàà* > *fúsààk<sup>v</sup>éé* ‘face’, *wúríí* > *wúrààréé* ‘place’, *g<sup>w</sup>óólóó* > *g<sup>w</sup>óólààyéé/g<sup>w</sup>alààkéé* ‘testis’;

**- aa...ii:**

*sàrk<sup>y</sup>íí* > *sàrààk<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘emir’, *túnk<sup>y</sup>iyáá* > *túmdáak<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘sheep’, *túni* > *tùndàaníí* ‘reminiscence’;

**- aa...uu:**

*k<sup>w</sup>úncìì* > *k<sup>w</sup>úmààtúú* ‘cheek’, *káfàà* > *káfàaf<sup>w</sup>úú* ‘leg’, ‘foot’;

**- aa...ai:**

*sàrk<sup>y</sup>íí* > *sàrààkái* ‘emir’, *gúnk<sup>v</sup>ìì* > *g<sup>w</sup>úmààkái* ‘idols’;

**- ee...uu:**

*màrk<sup>v</sup>éé* > *màrèèk<sup>w</sup>úú* ‘chew-stick tree’;

**- oo...ii:**

*zúúciyáá* < *\*zúktiyaa* > *zúk<sup>w</sup>óócíí* ‘heart’, *kárf<sup>v</sup>ìì* > *károóf<sup>v</sup>íí* ‘earthen vat’, *c<sup>v</sup>írkàà* (SK) > *c<sup>v</sup>íróók<sup>v</sup>íí* ‘sprouts’ (esp. of hair), *g<sup>w</sup>úlàà* > *g<sup>w</sup>úlóólíí* ‘drumstick’;

**- u...aa:**

*ǵàrzìk<sup>y</sup>íí* > *ǵàrzúkàà* ‘fortune’, *wádàríí* > *wádǵúráá* ‘skein of thread’;

**- aa...e...ii:**

*kàrsánáá* ‘heifer’ *kàrèèsáníí*, *kármá* > *kàrèèmáníí* ‘infantryman’, *(Bà)bàrbàrèè* > *Bàrèèbàríí* ‘Kanuriman’;

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<sup>13</sup> David Odden’s position in response to the earlier version of this paper (missive, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2007) that “The idea of a transfix (similar to a circumfix) is unsupported, given the more obvious analysis as infix and suffix” is typical of the misunderstanding that the constituents of a transfix are morphological units in themselves. Odden’s misconception is clearly emphasized by his assertion: “Thus at least three morphemes are involved in forming *gumaakaa*.” *Gúmààkáá* is a combination of the root *gumk-* ‘idol’ and the transfix *-aa...aa (-àà...áá)* ‘PLURAL’. That “at least three morphemes” could be extracted from such a word whose total semantics is ‘idol-PLURAL’ can only arise from a perplexed viewpoint.

- aa...u...ai:

*búrg<sup>w</sup>újèè* > *bùrààg<sup>w</sup>ùzáí* ‘chip of brick’, *k<sup>w</sup>úsk<sup>w</sup>úrèè* > *k<sup>w</sup>ùrààk<sup>w</sup>ùráí* ‘mistake’.

#### 4.6.2. External transfixation

External transfixation differs from the internal in that transfixation occurs after the third consonant of the stem or its surrogate, which incidentally is always outside the root, thus resembling suffixation, technically, e.g.:

- aa...ee:

*búrtúú* ‘ground hornbill’ *búrtààyéé*, *múndúwáá* > *múndààyéé* ‘bracelet’;

- oo...ii:

*fúskàà* > *fúsk<sup>w</sup>óók<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘face’, *sábgàà* > *sábg<sup>w</sup>óóg<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘business’, *múryàà* > *múryóóyíí* ‘voice’, *bíndigàà* > *bíndig<sup>w</sup>óóg<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘gun’ *kámfaníí* > *kámfánóóníí* ‘company’;

- u...aa:

*wàndóó* > *wándúnàà* ‘pair of trousers’, *kàrnái*<sup>14</sup> > *kárnúkàà* ‘dog’.

### 4.7. Reduplicative and non-reduplicative transfixation

Further division into reduplicative and non-reduplicative transfixation can be made with regard to the relationship between the root and the consonant located within the transfix.

#### 4.7.1. Reduplicative transfixation

The reduplicative form of transfixation is referred to as such because of the resemblance of the final consonant of the derived plural with that of the singular through the reduplication of the last radical which serves as the intervention between the two constituents of the transfix. Only two transfixes are involved in this type of trans-

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<sup>14</sup> *Kàrnái* along with *kàrnúú* and *kàrnáú* are the plural forms of *kàréé*. The /n/ is an archaic suffix component which, having become redundant, became part of the root, cf. Wolff (1993: 164f.) and Newman (2000: 459). This means that *kárnúkàà* is a double plural, a common occurrence in Afroasiatic (Zaborski 1976: 3). The /n/ is also analyzable as the third radical re-occurring in the plural form (Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow 1994: 60).

fixation viz. **aa...ee** and **oo...ii** which incidentally are the most productive, e.g.:

**- aa...ee:**

*kúrḑíí* > *kúrḑààḑéé* ‘money’, *káfáá* > *káfààḑéé* ‘in-/outlet hole’; *wúríí* > *wúrààréé* ‘place’;

**- oo...ii:**

*báràà* > *báróóríí* ‘servant’, *búkàà* > *búkk<sup>w</sup>óók<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘thatch-hut’, *múndúwáá* > *múndúwóóyíí* ‘bracelet’.

Note that the plural forms *káfóóf<sup>f</sup>íí* and *káfààḑéé* < *káfáá* ‘in-/outlet’ co-exist both with the same (i.e. internal) manner of transfixation but different transfixes. On the other hand *ríyóójíí* and *ríyíyóóyíí* < *ríyjiyáá* ‘well’, ‘spring’ do use the same transfix but different methods of transfixation (internal and external respectively).

#### 4.7.2. Non-reduplicative transfixation

Non-reduplicative is so called because it allows the involvement of non-radical elements as the intervening segments of the transfixes, namely /y/, /w/, /n/ and /k/, e.g.:

**- aa...ee:**

*búwzúú* < \**bugzuu* > *búwzààyéé* ‘Tuareg’; *g<sup>w</sup>árzóó* > *g<sup>w</sup>árzààyéé* ‘hero’; *ḑáwnáá* < \**ḑaknaa* > *ḑáwnààyéé* ‘buffalo’; *kárg<sup>y</sup>íí* > *kárgààyéé* ‘a loose-living p.’; *ḑáwréé* > *ḑáwrààyéé* ‘door’; *sárgáá* > *sárgààyéé* ‘cesspit’;

**- u...aa:**

*zánèè* > *zánnúwàà* ‘wrap-cloth’, *tùùlúú* > *tíùlúnàà* ‘narrow-mouthed pot’;

**- a...uu/ii:**

*sàuráá* > *sàuràk<sup>w</sup>úú* ‘disused farm’, *g<sup>w</sup>óónáá* > *g<sup>w</sup>òònàk<sup>y</sup>íí* ‘farm’.

Non-reduplicative transfixation is also marked by heavy initial syllables, as may be seen in the cases above. All of the **aa...ee** cases above have counterparts in internal transfixation where the derived forms have light initial syllables: *búgààjéé*, *g<sup>w</sup>árààjéé*, *ḑákàànéé*, *kàrààg<sup>y</sup>éé*, *ḑámààréé* and *sálààg<sup>y</sup>éé* (SK, KT, and DR plural version of *sárgáá*).

## 5.0. Reviewing the Hausa transfixation

In McCarthy's (1979, 1981) auto segmental analysis, Arabic words are comprised of a consonantal tier and a vocalic tier with each discontinuous string representing a single morph where the consonantal tier acts as root while the vocalic tier acts as affix. The Hausa language would have been perfectly liable to this analysis but (see 2.2 above) for the fact that the Hausa broken plural root, unlike its Arabic counterpart, is infested with a tenacious vocalic element from the singular form. The outcome of this development is to see the Hausa consonantal tier as having lost the purity of its consonantal composition and, along with that, its discontinuity. On the other hand, the vocalic tier, which should have been comprised of three elements, has lost its first constituent slot which has become an integral part of the root, while keeping its vocalic purity and discontinuity. Assumably, it is the loss of the first vowel that has facilitated the pushing out (further to the right) of bi-elemental transfixes to give rise to external transfixation. This might otherwise have been cumbersome, imagining that if the three discontinuous vowels were juxtaposed with a discontinuous root, it would take more vowels and consonants to fill up the slots, giving rise to awkwardly long words.

Whereas with transfixation roots of less than three consonants need upgrading through the copying of the last consonant, bi-vocalic roots in singular forms like *gààtárií* > *gáátúràà* ('axe'), on the other hand, undergo downgrading by way of second vowel deletion. These regulatory measures indicate the status of the tri-radical, mono-vocalic root as the standard stem in Hausa broken morphology. Thus like in Semitic, it seems in the Hausa version of root-and-pattern morphology the centrality of the root or, specifically that of its tri-consonantality, is apparent. This theory is a red-herring. It diverts attention from the chief element of Hausa broken morphology where the root, unlike in Semitic, is not the important morphological material, but the affix. The guarantee to broken morphology in Hausa lies with the characteristic discontinuity of the transfix which it can impose on the root.

## 5.1. The non-contiguity principle

Thus the identity of transfixal morphology consists in the discontinuous nature of consonantal roots and vocalic affixes, giving morphology an interlacing or non-linear semblance. This discontinuity or non-contiguity which should be intrinsic to the two interlacing morphological operatives, having been lost with the vowel retention in the root, subsists mainly, sometimes solely, in the affix as an inviolable and indispensable feature of the Hausa broken morphology. It is this significant station acquired by the affix in the Hausa morphology that makes it necessary to recognize what will be referred to here as the non-contiguity principle.

The centrality of the non-contiguity principle is most clearly demonstrable with some quadri-segmental roots after whose third segment the first constituent of the transfix fails to apply thus violating a basic rule in the current and Newman (1972) and Leben (1977) approach. These are such words as *búkkàà* 'thatch-hut' > *búkk<sup>w</sup>óók<sup>y</sup>íí*, *dábbàà* 'animal' > *dább<sup>w</sup>óóbíí*, *dáktàà* 'doctor' > *dáktóócíí*, *dánjàà* 'brake light' > *dánjóójíí*, *húldàà* 'interaction' > *húldóódíí*, *kúbtàà* 'long garment' > *kúbtóócíí*, *ƙ<sup>w</sup>ùmbáà* 'fingernail' > *ƙ<sup>w</sup>ùmbóóbíí*, *múryàà* 'voice' > *múryóóyíí*, *sábgàà* 'event' > *sábg<sup>w</sup>óóg<sup>y</sup>íí*, and *táskàà* 'treasure-trove' > *tásk<sup>w</sup>óók<sup>y</sup>íí*. In all these pairs, the roots are quadri-segmental and tri-consonantal but the transfix does not enter after the third segment, which is the second consonant, to give rise to the expected forms *\*bukookii*, *\*saboogii*, *\*danoojii* etc. Instead, the transfix applies after the fourth segment of the root (which is the third consonant), reduplicating it to serve as the intervening material between the first constituent of the transfix and the second, and thus securing the non-contiguity of transfixal constituents. If, on the other hand, tri-literacy were the actual requirement for transfixal application as it appears to be in Newman (1972) and Leben (1977) and the earlier part of the current paper (3.0), then the reduplications in these cases would not have been necessary since the roots are already tri-consonantal. Also, as can be seen in each case, the root is intact but the affix is kept discontinuous, through an otherwise unnecessary reduplication, just to fulfill the principle of affixal non-contiguity which is the main identity index of transfixa-



tion in Hausa. This phenomenon becomes more evident when the **aa...ee** cases of non-reduplicative transfixation in 4.7.2 are considered along.

Thus the non-contiguity of the affix in Hausa transfixation can be regarded as primary with the loss of that same phenomenon in the root as evidenced by the examples analyzed above where, with pluralization, the root remains compact while affixal discontinuity endures as the hallmark of Hausa broken morphology. This means that the root fluctuates between discontinuity and compactness, all depending on the manner in which the transfix applies to it. Meanwhile the transfix has only one stable characteristic to which the root adjusts – discontinuity/non-contiguity.

A language with a template morphology that focuses on the affix is exotic but not unnatural. Having studied the morphology of the Native American languages, Archangeli (1988: 175) is able to reach the conclusion that “In Yokut the affixation determines the template of the root.” But more important for indicating the primaries of the affix in the broken morphology of Hausa as an Afroasiatic language is Ratcliffe’s (1998: 44) declaration that “As the Arabic relational adjective shows, [...] cases where affixation requires or determines the template shape of the stem are known in Semitic languages.”

## **6. Conclusion**

It has been shown that transfixation exists in Hausa with techniques and mechanics similar to those in Semitic, especially Arabic, and features on both sides that could be traced back to Afroasiatic. The principal separating features of the Arabic and Hausa broken morphologies are the subsistence in Hausa of external transfixation and the signature role of the affix as the identity index of the Hausa broken morphology. Consequently, it can be argued that the structurally disjunctive but functionally unitary affixes, i.e. transfixes and by implication circumfixes too, are not combinations of insertions/prefixes/infixes plus suffixes as linguists perceive them to be (Leben 1976: 433, Allerton 1979: 220, Matthews 1997: 54, Wolff 1993: 186 and Newman 2000: 430) since the co-ordinates in a trans-

fix do not have independent morphological functions – as affixes naturally should – owing to their constitutional synergism. The study also controverts Al-Hassan's (1998: 94) perception of transfixes as "discontinuous suffixes". Transfixes in Hausa behave like suffixes only in their external dimension. Finally the study has provided some comparative Afroasiatic clue suggesting that Newman's (1972) analysis of the Hausa broken plurals – in contrast to his (2000) revisionist position – is the correct one.

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## Schlachtgesang „König Johannes gegen die Ägypter“

### Abstract

Of all the chant lyrics that were collected during the German Aksum-Expedition (1905/06) by Erich Kaschke a.o. and which are held in the Phonogramm-Archiv of the *Ethnologisches Museum* (former *Museum für Völkerkunde*) in Berlin, no more than two have so far been published: an Amharic song of praise for the German Kaiser (Voigt 2004) and a War-Song on Yohannēs IV (Smidt 2007). The last-mentioned text is however in its transcription so idiosyncratic and in its translation so free that a revised edition and a new translation seem necessary.

It becomes apparent that the text is even more strongly influenced by Tigrinya. I have also been able to show that further rhyme structures exist: in the first part there is initially an -s rhyme and then an -a rhyme, and in the second part at first an -i/e rhyme followed by an -ot/ut(t) rhyme.

Von den Gesängen des Phonogramm-Archivs des *Ethnologischen Museums* (früher *Museum für Völkerkunde*) in Berlin, die auf der Deutschen Aksum-Expedition (1905/06) von Erich Kaschke u.a. gesammelt wurden (Ziegler 2005), wurden bislang nur zwei Texte veröffentlicht. Ein amharisches Loblied auf den deutschen Kaiser, auf dessen Beschluß hin die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (1905/06) so schnell realisiert werden konnte, wurde von mir 2004 herausgegeben (*Ġärmän dägga näw*).

Ein anderer interessanter Text ist der Schlachtgesang von *König Johannes gegen die Ägypter*, den W. Smidt (2007) veröffentlicht hat (*War-Song*). Seinen allgemeinen Überlegungen zur historischen

Einordnung und Interpretation dieses Textes ist nichts hinzuzufügen. Es ist hier gute Arbeit geleistet worden, die ich nun durch linguistische Verbesserungen noch aufwerten möchte.

Mein Anliegen in diesem Beitrag ist es, die Umschrift des amharischen Textes, die nur als idiosynkratisch bezeichnet werden kann, zu korrigieren und die Übersetzung zu verbessern. Für die an dem Text Interessierten, die mit der bekannt schwierigen Sprache des Amharischen nicht so vertraut sind, möchte ich eine korrekte Umschrift bieten, die z.B. die konsonantische Längung beachtet (z.B. *ænd-al-əččäwwät* anstelle von *ændälčäwät*), die Formen durch Setzung von Junktoren bei Präfixen und Suffixen am Nomen und Verb transparenter macht (z.B. *b-and* anstelle von *band*), gelegentlich die Grundform eines Verbums angibt und damit zu einem grammatischen Verständnis beiträgt. Wie an der Zeichensetzung der Umschrift und noch stärker an der Übersetzung erkennbar, wird auch versucht, den ganzen Text stärker in Sätze zu gliedern.

Darüberhinaus soll eine neue Übersetzung geboten werden, die den amharischen Stil so weit als möglich nachahmt. Vorliegende Übersetzung (Smidt 2007) steht in vielen Fällen nicht mehr in direkter Beziehung zum amharischen Text, sondern gibt den Sinn ganz frei wieder, wobei diese Wiedergabe in manchen Fällen auch kaum als zielsprachenorientierte Übersetzung gelten kann. Wenn es z.B. heißt „they ate together“ (d.h. ‘sie versöhnten sich’), bleibt die Form *asbällu-tt* unverständlich. Wenn man hingegen den Ausdruck mit „er [Höflichkeitsform] brachte ihn dazu [Kausativstamm], (gemeinsam) zu essen“ (d.h. ‘er versöhnte sich mit ihm’) übersetzt, gibt man dem Leser die Chance, die amharische Form als Kausativform zu verstehen und die Ausdrucksweise des amharischen Textes nachzuvollziehen.

Ein drittes Anliegen ist es, in dem Text unverständlich gebliebene Ausdrücke einer Erklärung zuzuführen. Auch ich habe diesen Text amharischen Muttersprachlern vorgelegt, die mir jedoch bei meinen Fragen nicht weiterhelfen konnten. Was die Strukturierung des Textes mit wechselnden Reimen betrifft, so unterbreite ich eine neue Gliederung nach den Endreimen. Die einzelnen Verse zeigen dabei unterschiedliche Längen, so daß man nicht von einer silbenzählenden Metrik sprechen kann.

Bei der Wiedergabe des Textes in Fidäl habe ich die manchmal nicht deutliche Schreibweise im Sinne der anzusetzenden amharischen Form interpretiert. So wird in dem Text nicht klar genug zwischen anlautendem *ḥ a* und *ḥ ə*, *ḥ sa* und *ḥ sə* sowie *ḥ dä*, *ḥ do* und *ḥ da* unterschieden. Ich habe da jeweils die richtige Form gewählt, bei stärkeren Abweichungen wird die anzusetzende Form mit l. (lege, lies) eingeleitet.

Der Text, in dem Beitrag von W. Smidt als Abbildung beigegeben, ist in 7 + 10 Zeilen angeordnet, mit einer breiten Lücke zwischen den beiden Teilen. Das jeweilige Zeilenende im Originaldokument wird durch | markiert (w.: = wörtlich:).

In der ersten Hälfte des 1. Teils ist, wie schon von W. Smidt bemerkt, ein auslautender -s Reim festzustellen. Die Sätze bzw. Satzteile sind so angeordnet, daß das Wort mit auslautendem -s jeweils am Ende steht. Für die zweite Hälfte des 1. Teils möchte ich keinen -u-Reim, sondern eher einen -a-Reim annehmen, obwohl noch die Partikel -mm bzw. das Hilfsverb *näbbär* nachfolgen.

Für den 2. Teil nehme ich zuerst einen -i/e-Reim an; von daher erklärt sich die tigrinische Form *ṭənbi* anstelle des amharischen *ṭənb/ṭəmb*. Es folgt ein -ot/ut(t)-Reim – mit einer Lücke gegen Ende. Siehe unten den Anhang mit der Reimstrukturierung des ganzen Textes.

## 1. Teil

ኅፀይ:ዮሐንስ: *Ḥaṣäy Yoḥannäs*,

አባቱ:ሚካኤል:እናቱ:ሰላስ:| *abbat-u Mika`el ənnat-u Səllas* |

„Kaiser Johannes, sein Vater (war) Michael, seine Mutter *Səllas*,“

*Ḥaṣäy* ist eine transliterierte Form; nach dem Altäthiopischen wäre *ḥaṣäy* richtig. Die Umschrift nach dem Tigrinischen wäre *ḥaṣäy*, nach der amharischen Aussprache *ḥaṣäy*. Die amharischen Formen sind *ḥaṣe*, *aṣe*, *aṣe* – in der sprachgeschichtlichen Reihenfolge, wie der Titel im amharophonen Gebiet von Norden nach Süden fortschreitend ausgesprochen wird.

በላይ:የተቀባ:በመንፈስ:ቅዱስ:| *bä-lay yä-täqäbba bä-Mänfäs Qəddus*. |

„von oben gesegnet (w.: gesalbt) durch den heiligen Geist.“

ሸግዖ፡ተቆጥቶ፡ሲገሰግስ፡ *Šəggəya, tāqoṭṭato s-igäsəggəs*  
„Der Brave! Indem er erzürnt herbeieilt,”

Die Form *tāqoṭṭato* ist Konverb vom T-Stamm *täq<sup>w</sup>ättä*. Bei *šəggəya* muß keine Fehlschreibung für *šäggəya* (von *šägga*) vorliegen, da *šägge* ‘slim, slender and handsome young man’ im Tigrinischen belegt ist (Kane 2000: 869). Zum *a*-Suffix, hier mit dem Ausrufezeichen wiedergegeben (Leslau 1995: 881f.). Siehe auch den Hinweis auf diese Form in dem Beitrag *Canti popolari amarici* von E. Cerulli bei D. Nosnitsin (2007: 288).

ተቀብሎ፡ሰጠው፡ባመጠው፡| ሪሳስ፡ *täqäbbəlo säṭṭä-w. B-amättä-w | risas*  
(l. *räsas*)

„empfängt er (ihn) und gibt ihm (die richtige Entgegnung). Mit den Waffen (w.: Gewehrkegeln, arab. *raṣāṣ*), die er mitbrachte,”

አሂዶ፡ሰጠው፡ለነፋስ፡አሳስ፡ *ahido säṭṭä-w lä-näfas assas* (l. *assaš* ?).  
„mahlte er ihn (wie Korn) und warf (w.: gab) ihn in den Wind (als) einer, der (alles) auskehrt.”

Ich nehme bei dem fraglichen Wort eine Ableitung von der Wurzel *assäsä* ‘to sweep’, ‘to clean’, ‘to spread over’, ‘to swamp (large number of troops or a flood)’ (Kane 1990: 1167); dasselbe Verb begegnet auch im Tigrinischen: *hassäsä* mit der zusätzlichen Bedeutung ‘to finish off’ (Kane 2000: 203). Am einfachsten ist die Annahme, der Schreiber habe den Palatalisierungstrich über dem *s* vergessen: አሳሽ፡ *assaš*. Zwei Umstände können dies gefördert haben: die fehlende Palatalisierung im Tigrinischen und der *s*-Reimes in diesem Abschnitt.

ወንዱ፡በጥይት፡ሲጨርስ፡ *Wänd-u bä-ṭəyyət s-ičärrə|s*

„Indem der Tapfere (den Feind) mit Gewehrkegeln zerstört (w.: beendet)”

አሎላም፡ከዚያ፡አሸከሩ፡ሲጨርስ፡ *Alola-mm kä-zziya aškär-u s-ičärrəs*



„und während Alula dort (als) sein Diener (den Feind) vernichtet,”

Die Form ሲጫርስ: *s-ičärräs* wurde aus ሲጫረስ: *s-iččärräs* (mit der alternativen Übersetzung ‘während der Diener von Alula dort vernichtet wird’) korrigiert.

– Auf den -s-Reim folgte nun der -a-Reim.

በለው፡ጣለው፡ሲሉ፡| መልአኩ፡ሲመስሉ፡ከዚያም፡ ‘*bäl-äw tal-äw’ s-ilu |*  
*Mäl’ak-u s-imäslu kă-zziya-mm*

„indem sie (die Krieger) ‘Schlag ihn, zerschmettere (w.: wirf) ihn!’  
rufen, wobei ihm der (Erz-)Engel gleicht, und dann”

Man beachte die pluralische Verbalform, weil auf den Erzengel bezüglich; *Mäl’ak* ‘Engel’ wird als Verkürzung von *liqä mäl’ak* (Kane 1990: 155) bzw. *liqä mäla’əkt* (Guidi 1901: 22, so schon im Altäthiopischen) ‘Erzengel’ aufgefaßt.

ስትዋጋ፡ነበር፡ከመተማም፡ስትዋጋ፡ነበር፡ *sə-təwwagga näbbär,*  
*kă-Mätämma-mm sə-təwwagga näbbär.*

„kämpfte der erbärmliche (Feind), und in Mätämma kämpfte er.”

Die Auffassung der fem. Form als Deminutiv und Despikativ, hier mit ‘erbärmlich’ wiedergegeben, dürfte zutreffen.

ከተት፡ሲሉ፡ተበትኖ፡ቀረ፡አፓ፡| *Kətät s-ilu tābättəno qärrä apa* (l. *atta*) |  
„Indem sie (die Krieger) mobilisierten (w.: ‘Mobilisiere!’ sagen),  
wurde er (der Feind) zerstreut, wobei der erbärmliche (Feind) (al-  
les) verlor.”

*Kətät* ist Imperativ m.sg. des Verbuns ከተተ፡ *kättätä*. Bei dem rätselhaften *apa* nehme ich eine Verschreibung für አታ፡ *atta* an, das als Konverb 3.m.sg., durch Assimilation entstanden aus አጥታ፡ *aṭta* (vom doppelt schwachen Verb አጣ፡ *aṭṭa*), aufgefaßt werden kann. Der Unterschied zwischen ታ *ta* und ፓ *pa* besteht nur in dem kleinen senkrechten Strich, der leicht vergessen werden kann.

## 2. Teil

አዋሽ፡ተሻግረው፡ቢሰዶዋቸው፡ቢያስርዋቸው፡| እምቢ፡ *Awaš tāšagrāw b-isäddo-<sup>w</sup>aččāw b-iyasrə-waččāw* | *əmbi*

„Sie überschritten den Awasch(-Fluß) und, indem sie sie weder wegschickten noch gefangennahmen,“

Beide Verbalformen werden von mir anders gelesen und aufgefaßt. Die phonetische Schreibweise *b-isäddo-<sup>w</sup>aččāw* (anstelle von unverständlichem *bisäddä[dä]waččāw*) ist eine Annäherung an sonstiges *b-isäddu-<sup>w</sup>aččāw* bzw. *b-isädd<sup>w</sup>-aččāw*. Bei *b-iyasrə-waččāw*, das rätselhafterweise *biyasānawaččāw* umschrieben wurde, ist es naheliegend, das Verb *assärä* ‘gefangen nehmen’ zugrunde zu legen.

ከዝ፡ወደቁ፡እንደ፡ጥንቢ፡ *kä-zzə* (l. *kä-zzih*) *wäddäqu əndä tənbi*.  
„fielen sie hier wie Kadaver.“

Wegen des -i/e-Reimes wurde nicht die amharische Form *tənb*, *təmb*, sondern die tigrinische Form *tənbi* gewählt, die in dem tigrinischen Kontext als nicht störend empfunden wurde.

ትግሬም፡ተገዛ፡በወሬ፡| ሽዋም፡ተገዛ፡በወሬ፡ *Təgre-mm tāgäzza bā-wäre*, | *Šəwa-mm tāgäzza bā-wäre*,  
„Tigrai wurde unterworfen (allein) durch die Nachricht (von der Stärke Kaiser Johannes’), Schoa wurde unterworfen durch (diese) Nachricht,“

ጎጃም፡ተገዛ፡በወሬ፡ወልቃይት፡| ተገዛ፡በወሬ፡ *Goğğam(-əmm) tāgäzza bā-wäre*, *Wälqayət-əmm* | *tāgäzza bā-wäre*.  
„Godscham wurde (allein) unterworfen durch die Nachricht (von der Stärke Kaiser Johannes), Wälqayit wurde unterworfen durch die Nachricht.“

የቀረ፡የለም፡ያለ፡ሞሐመድ፡አንፈፈ፡| *Yä-qärrä yälläm yalä Moḥammäd Anfäre*. |

„Es blieb keiner übrig (der Widerstand leistete) bis auf Maḥammad Hanfaḍe.“

Vielleicht liegt hier eine Verschreibung für *Māḥammad* vor; denn das *mo*-Zeichen zeigt eine größere Ähnlichkeit mit einem *mā*-Zeichen und nicht mit dem *mo*-Zeichen in dem Wort ዳሞት: *Damot* (s.u.).

– Auf den *-i/e*-Reim folgte der *-ot/ut(t)*-Reim.

በአርባ፡አራት፡ውሃ፡ተሻግረው፡ንጉስ፡ተከለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ *Bä-arba aratt wəha täšagräw nəgus Täklä-Haymano*|*t*

„Zahlreiche (w.: 44) Flüsse (w.: Wasser) überquerte König Täklä-Haymanot und“

Nach I. Guidi: *Supplemento* 1940 ist *arba aratt wəha* „le 44 acque“, „nome di un corso di acqua fra il Šalamt e il Wagarā che si deve traversare molte volte per i giti e rigiri che fa; fig.: viaggio lungo, incomodo“ (Sp. 128). Šälāmti und (teilweise) Wägāra sind tigrinophone Gebiete und gehören zum heutigen Tigrāi. Von daher könnte hier ein weiterer tigrinischer Einfluß vorliegen. Die Zahl 44 steht nämlich im Tigrinischen für eine große Anzahl, vgl. das tigrinische Lesebuch mit dem Titel „44 Geschichten“ von Yəsəhaq Täwäldä-Mādhən. Im christlichen Kontext begegnet die Zahl 40 bei der großen Fastenzeit (tigr. ዓብዪ ዳም፡ *‘abyi šom*), vgl. den Ausdruck ዳም አርብዓ፡ *šomä-‘arbä‘a*, (> ) ዳምርብዓ፡ *šomä-rbä‘a* „Fasten der vierzig (Tage)“, s. Täkkə’ä Täsfay 1999: 983 (s.v. ዳም፡ *šom*).

ተጓተው፡ሄዱ፡ለዳሞት፡ *täg<sup>w</sup> attäw hedu lä-Damot*.

„sich langsam vorwärts bewegend (bzw. in anhaltende Kämpfe verwickelt) zog er nach Damot.“

Bei *täg<sup>w</sup> attäw* handelt es sich nicht um einen Fehler (vgl. *täg<sup>w</sup> ä[ttä?]tāw?*), sondern um ein normales Konverb 3.pl. vom T<sub>3</sub>-Stamm *täg<sup>w</sup> attätä* „sich gegenseitig ziehen, in ein Tauziehen verwickelt sein, sich langsam vorwärts bewegen“ (Kane 1990: 1996).

አባ፡ዳኛው፡ምንሊከ፡ተከተለት፡ *Abba Dañña-w Mənəlik tākättä|lu-tt*.

„Mənəlik (mit dem Pferdenamen) Abba Daññaw folgte ihm (Täklä-Haymanot).“

(Zu dem Pferdenamen s. Maḥtämä-Šəllase Wäldä-Mäsqäl 1968/69, 13).

ባንድ፡ሰደቃ፡ላይ፡አስበሉት፡ *B-and sädäqa lay asbällu-tt*.

„(Aber schließlich, nachdem er sich von Täklä-Haymanot abgewandt hatte) brachte er ihn (Kaiser Johannes) dazu (miteinander versöhnt) von einer (gemeinsamen) Platte zu essen.“

ነጭ፡ከባህር፡ወጥቶ፡| አስገቡት፡ *Näčč kä-bahər wätto | asgäbbäru-tt*.

„Als ein Weißer (der Italiener) vom Meer kam, unterwarf er ihn (machte er ihn tributpflichtig).“

ከትገሬ፡መረብ፡አላጄ፡አስጫኑት፡ *Kä-Təgre Märäb Aläḡe asčanu-tt*.

„Von Tigrai, Märäb (Məllaš) und (፤mba) Aläḡe (= amh. Ambalage < Amba Alage) vertrieb er ihn (w.: veranlaßte ihn, (zum Abmarsch) die Tiere (zu satteln und) zu beladen).“

*Təgre* wird hier, wie auch heute noch im Amharischen, in undifferenzierter Weise für die nördlichen Regionen des Reiches/Landes verwendet. Bei der Form *asčanu* handelt sich um ein As-Kausativ des Verbs *čanä* ‘tragen’.

ወንድየው፡| ጎበዝ፡ፋና፡ሐር፡ሲረዝም፡ጎንደር፡ያሻግራል፡ Wändəyyä-w (l. wändəyye-w) | gobāz fanna (l. fanno) ḥarr s-irəzzəm Gondär yaššaggər-all.

„Wenn der tapfere und kühne Krieger Seide (sein Haar, d.i. seine Macht) ausdehnt, gelangt er bis nach Gondär.“

Das Wort *fanno* kommt auch im Tigrinischen vor. Der Unterschied zwischen dem ና *na*- und ኖ *no*-Zeichen ist minimal.

በጀሐርደ፡ጎረ|ምሳ፡አዝማሪ፡ሲፈከር፡እኔ፡ዝም፡አልሁ፡እንዳልጨወት፡| Bägğä ḥardä (?) gorä|msa azmari s-ifäkkər əne zəmm alhu ənd-al-əččäwwät.|

„Wohlan (nun) heute, während ein junger Sänger Kriegs- und Ruhmeslieder singt, schweige ich, um nicht ins Schwätzen zu kommen.“

*Gorämsa*, *g<sup>w</sup>ärämsa* ‘high-spirited and robust young man’ kommt aus Oromo *goromsa* ‘Färse’. Obwohl im amharischen Wörterbuch verzeichnet (vom Verb *g<sup>w</sup>ärämmäsä* ‘to grow up’, ‘to be a strong young man’, ‘become old enough to marry’, vgl. auch *g<sup>w</sup>älämmäsä* mit ähnlicher Bedeutung), könnte man auf die Idee kommen, auch zur Erklärung des voranstehenden *bägğäḥardä* das Oromo heranzuziehen. Zu amh. *bägğä* ‘wohlan’ ist oromo *baga* ‘gut so!’, ‘wohlan’ (Tilahun Gamta 1989: 54f.) heranzuziehen. Es verbleibt der Ausdruck *ḥardä*, den ich durch Oromo *har’a*, *harra* ‘heute’ erklären möchte. Die dialektale Form *hardha* ist in Ibsaa Guutama (*Qooqaa* 2004) bezeugt.

Zu der historiographischen Literatur, die in dem Artikel angeführt wird, vermag ich nur folgende Ergänzung zu machen. Die wichtige Arbeit von R. Perini (*Di qua dal Marèb*) ist 1997 von V. Roncalli ins Tigrinische übersetzt worden: *Märäb Məllaš (bə-nägğäw-Märäb)*.

W. Smidt weist auf vier offensichtliche Tigrinismen in dem Text hin: die Verwendung von *ḥašäy* anstatt (*h*)*aše* (s.o.), vom *ṭənbi* anstatt *ṭənb* (hier durch den Reim nahegelegt, s.o.), von *Šəwa* anstatt *Šäwa* und von (*Ṭmba*) *Alaḡe* anstatt *Ambalage*. Hinzufügen möchte

ich die Form *šəggəya*, die durch tigrin. *šəgge* erklärt wird, und die Verwendung der Zahl 44 für eine große Anzahl. Mit der Aufdeckung oromonischer Wörter sind nun die drei großen äthiopischen Völker auch sprachlich in dem Text greifbar.

## Anhang

Um die Reimstruktur besser erkennen zu können, sei der gesamte Text wiederholt und die reimenden Auslautsilben unterliniert (| markiert das Zeilenende im Manuskript).

### 1. Teil

#### -s-Reim

*Hašäy Yohannəs,*  
*abbat-u Mika 'el ənnat-u Səlləs |*  
*bä-lay yä-täqäbba bä-Mämfäs Qəddus. |*  
*Šəggəya, täqoṭṭəto s-igäsəggəs*  
*täqäbbəlo säṭṭä-w. B-amäṭṭa-w | risas (l. rəsəs)*  
*ahido säṭṭä-w lä-näfas assəs (l. assas ?).*  
*Wänd-u bä-ṭəyyət s-ičärrə|s*  
*Alola-mm kä-zziya aškär-u s-ičärrəs*

#### -a-Reim

„bäl-äw ṭal-äw“ *s-ilu | Mäl'ak-u s-imäslu kä-zziya-mm*  
*sə-təwwagga näbbär, kä-Mätämma-mm sə-təwwa|gga näbbär.*  
*Kəṭät s-ilu täbättəno qärrä apa (l. attə) |*

### 2. Teil

#### i/e-Reim

*Awaš täšagräw b-isäddo-waččäw b-iyasrə-waččäw | əmbi*

*kä-zza* (l. *kä-zzih*) *wäddäqu ändä tənbi*.  
*Təgre-mm tägäzza bä-wäre*,|  
*Šəwa-mm tägäzza bä-wäre*,  
*Goğğam(-əmm) tägäzza bä-wäre*,  
*Wälqayət-əmm | tägäzza bä-wäre*.  
*Yä-qärrä yälläm yalä Moħammäd Anfäre*.|

-ot/ut(t)-Reim

*Bä-arba aratt wəha täšagrəw nəgus Täklä-Haymano*|*t*  
*täg<sup>w</sup>attəw hedu lä-Damot*.  
*Abba Dañña-w Mənəlik təkättä*|*lu-tt*.  
*B-and sädäqa lay asbällu-tt*.  
*Näčč kä-bahər wätto | asgäbbäru-tt*.  
*Kä-Təgre Märəb Alağə asčanu-tt*.

ohne Reim

*Wändəyyä-w* (l. *wändəyye-w*) | *gobäz fanna* (l. *fanno*) *ħarr s-*  
*irəzzəm Gondär yaššaggər-all*.  
*Bägğä hardä (?) gorä*|*msa azmari s-ifäkkər əne zəmm alhu ənd-al-*  
*əččəwwät*. |

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## **Comments on Christianity, the Church and the State in the Kingdom of Kongo**

### **Resumé**

Le Congo ancien constitue un cas intéressant d'un état africain dont les élites politiques, à l'époque où les Portugais atteignirent la côte congolaise vers la fin du XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle, étaient favorables à la conversion au christianisme. C'est donc un des rares exemples dans l'histoire de l'Afrique précoloniale. Le christianisme devint la religion de la majorité des élites politiques du Congo.

Grâce aux relations avec le continent européen une modernisation de l'appareil étatique congolais fut possible. Le christianisme influença et entraîna également d'importants changements dans le domaine de l'idéologie et de la religion, car il était un des plus importants facteurs renforçant l'esprit d'appartenance des habitants du Congo à leur état. Cet esprit d'appartenance devint en effet, et ceci peu après avoir noué les premières relations, un des éléments de l'idéologie du pouvoir. La destruction des centres de culte provinciaux, soutenue par le clergé, était censée affaiblir les tendances décentralisatrices au sein de l'état. La nouvelle religion, ainsi que toute la structure ecclésiastique l'accompagnant, rendit possible aux détenteurs du pouvoir la mise en place d'une idéologie du pouvoir commune à tout l'état.

Les prêtres jouaient également un rôle important dans la modernisation de l'appareil étatique. Ils dirigeaient des écoles où étaient formés les gens qui allaient exercer différentes fonctions dans l'appareil étatique. De même, grâce à la connaissance de l'écriture par ceux-là, la gestion de l'état devint plus efficace. Cette formation, qui comprenait certains éléments de l'éducation européenne, devint indice de la position politique.

Paradoxalement, le déclin progressif de l'appareil étatique du Congo, qui commença après l'année 1665, n'était pas dû à la pression européenne, comme ce fut le cas dans la plupart des états africains anciens, mais résultait d'un affaiblissement des relations avec l'Europe, ce qui diminuait les possibilités de transformations s'inspirant des expériences européennes, telle le renforcement de l'esprit d'appartenance à la communauté et à l'état.

The Kingdom of Kongo represents an interesting example study of an African state whose political elites openly accepted Christianity as far back as the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, just after the arrival of the Portuguese to the Kongolese coast. This event should be perceived as being one of just a handful of similar situations in pre-colonial Africa. Despite countless tensions or even conflicts which defined the relationship between Portugal and the Kongo, especially after 1575 and the creation of a Portuguese settler colony in Luanda – just across the southern Kongolese border – Christianity became the official religion of the majority of the ruling elites of the Kingdom of Kongo. It should be stressed that back in 1491 the ruler of the region, Nzinga a Nkuwu<sup>1</sup> († 1506), accepted Christianity of his own free will, as did the majority of the political class. At that moment, the Portuguese lacked the necessary military capacity to be able to impose their religion through forceful means. Simultaneously, they did not hold any such intentions. Naturally, occasional conflicts did arise. However, realistically speaking, the military threat posed by the Portuguese was never truly significant. That being said, the concurrent fall of the Kongo state was initiated by the lost battle of Ambuila against the Portuguese in 1665, in which António I (1660-1665) was killed, as well as many members of the ruling class. However, even then the Europeans had no intentions of conquering the country. The gradual decline of the state ensued mostly due to the internal strife. The Kongo, unlike the Angolan territories, was never a target for Portuguese territorial expansion.

As a consequence of adopting Christianity, the Kongo began to come under the influence of European civilization. At that time, the

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<sup>1</sup> Upon his baptism, he claimed the Christian name João paying homage to the ruling king of Portugal at that time.

relationship with Europe was not only limited to religion, but also encompassed cultural, social and economic aspects. It also influenced the charter of the state and of the society. After the acceptance of Christianity, the Kongolese rulers were – at least in theory – treated as sovereigns with a standing equal to that of European monarchs. However, the Portuguese kings considered Kongo as being within their sphere of influence and attempted to limit its contacts with other European countries. The Portuguese monopoly in this regard was only broken for a short period of time during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, the Kongolese royal court managed to gain insight into the complexities of Europe and strived to come into contact with other European states, above all with the Holy See. Future relations with Rome became one of the key methods of legitimizing a monarch's rule. Garcia II even attempted to gain papal approval for transforming Kongo from an elective into a hereditary monarchy<sup>2</sup>. This testifies not only to the significant authority which the Vatican had over local political elites, but also to the ruler's ability to adopt solutions which originated from the Iberian monarchies, and which could have prevented the customary fight for the throne following a ruler's death.

The fact itself that the white man had arrived to their coast came as a shock to the Kongolese. At least initially, they were perceived as strangers from another world, and items in their possession were regarded as possessing supernatural power<sup>3</sup>. Appropriating such artifacts from the Europeans increased the

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<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Francesco da Roma aux cardineaux de la Propagande, São Salvador, Pinda, le 4 juillet 1651, in: L. Jadin, *L'ancien Congo et l'Angola 1639-1655. (D'après les archives romaines, portugaises, néerlandaises et espagnoles)*, Bruxelles-Rome 1975, doc. no. 732, p. 1333-1336 [henceforth ACA]; J. A. Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição histórica dos três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola, Tradução, notas e índices pelo P. Graciano Maria de Leguzzano*, O.M.Cap., Lisboa 1965, V, §13-18, p. 9-12 [henceforth Cavazzi]; A. Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, Oxford 1985, p. 172f., 183.

<sup>3</sup> W.G.L. Randles, *L'ancien royaume du Congo des origines à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1968, p. 31.

prestige not only of the ruler, but also of the members of the elite who entered into contact with the outlanders.

However, the adoption of a new religion did not instantaneously result in the abandonment of traditional beliefs and customs. Henceforth, Kongolese history was often typified by varying degrees of tensions between the monarchs and the clergymen. Nonetheless, none of the rulers ever went as far as to consider an expulsion of the priests. On the contrary, the ruling class assisted them in destroying “false idols” and centers of local cult<sup>4</sup>. However, the rulers’ support was not derived solely from religious reasons. Shortly after first contact had been made with the Portuguese, Christianity itself became an essential part of the ideology of power. The destruction of provincial cult centers was effectively a method of weakening and curbing any decentralizing tendencies. The new religion together with the accompanying church structures gave the ruling class an opportunity to create a common ideology of power which encompassed the whole state.

Adopting the new religion resulted from a desire to acquire the achievements of the European civilization, with which the monarchy intended to strengthen its position. The Portuguese also supplied military assistance to the Kongolese rulers during conflicts with their neighbours, who were generally perceived by them as being pagans. As a result of the use of firearms, João was able to achieve initial success. The presence of white allies wielding unknown weapons within his ranks greatly enhanced his standing as a ruler throughout his own state.

However, enemies of Christianity were to be found even amongst the political elite of the country. The death of João, who *nota bene* apparently had returned to his previous beliefs on his

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<sup>4</sup> W. Bal (ed.), *Description du royaume de Congo et des contrées environantes par Filippo Pigafetta et Duarte Lopez (1591)*, Louvain-Paris 1963 p. 97 ; S. J. Mateus Cardoso, J. Castro Segovia, F. Botinck (eds.), *Etudes d'histoire africaine*, vol. 4: “Histoire du royaume du Congo (c. 1624), traduction annotée du Ms. 8080 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Lisbonne par François Bontinck, c.i.c.m en collaboration avec J. Castro Segovia”, Louvain-Paris 1972, p. 117, 120 [henceforth HRC].

death-bed, instigated an armed conflict between his sons. The battle for the throne was subsequently won by Afonso I (1506-1543), who managed to defeat his brother, an enemy of the new religion. This resounding victory gave rise to one of the most significant sources of legitimization for the rule of Afonso's descendants, who gained hereditary claim to the throne<sup>5</sup>. It was said to have been achieved by the miraculous intervention of Saint Jacob, who helped Afonso defeat his enemies. In reality, this victory was in large part due to the Portuguese support. Nonetheless, this military success became an important element of the dynastic tradition, which directly referred to this miraculous intervention by Saint Jacob and was re-enacted as part of the enthronement ceremony of the Kongolese rulers. Following this victory, a variety of new magical relics were presented to Afonso by the Portuguese king, including a crest commemorating the victory, as well as a banner and a mantle of the Military Order of Christ. They soon became part of the monarch's regalia, alongside the more traditional royal insignia such as a drum, hand pieces, and a figural whistle. In later periods, additional such pieces originating from Europe were added to the set and included: a papal bull received during the reign of Diogo I (1545-1561) and a crown sent by the Pope to Garcia II (1640-1661)<sup>6</sup>. All of these symbols had a discernible impact on shaping collective Kongolese consciousness.

In his work, B. Zientara points out the significance of

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<sup>5</sup> *HRC*, p. 120; Cavazzi, § 77, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> "Deuxième relation. Mort du roi du Congo, Alvaro III et élection de Dom Pedro, duc de Bamba, juin 1622", in: L. Jadin, "Relation sur le Congo et l'Angola tirées des archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1621-1631", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, fasc. XXXIX, 39, 1968, 333-454, here p. 370-388; *HRC*, 89, 121; Giovanni Francesco Romano aux cardineaux de la Propagande, Pinda, le 4 juillet 1651, in: *ACA* doc. no. 732, p. 1333-1336; Giovanni Francesco da Roma aux cardineaux de la Propagande, São Salvador, le 4 décembre 1651, in: *ACA*, doc. no. 762, p. 1374-1377; Antonio da Montepadrone au secrétaire de la Propagande, [après mars 1653], in: *ACA*, doc. no. 797, p. 1456-1465; T. Filesi, I. De Villapadierna, *La "Missio Antiqua" dei cappuccini nel Congo (1645-1835). Studio preliminare e guida delle fonti*, Roma 1978, p. 27; A. Hilton, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

historical tradition and monarchic insignia in the development of a sense of community, which later laid the foundations for the formation of a national consciousness in Medieval Europe. Naturally, we cannot arbitrarily juxtapose processes which had occurred in Europe with those in Africa. Nonetheless in the case of the Kongo certain similarities can be observed. As can be noted, indigenous relics also played an important role within the state. However, with the passage of time the insignia of European origin gained in status and became more influential (at least until the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) in the formation of the collective consciousness of the Kongolese nation<sup>7</sup>.

The adoption of Christianity cannot be solely analyzed in regards to the religious and ideological transformations which formed the nature of the Kongolese state. Christianity not only strengthened the position of the monarch, but also introduced a variety of innovations. Accepting Christianity in the Kongo was justified as necessary in order to create a common ideology for the whole kingdom. This explained the ease with which Kongolese rulers adopted the new faith and then propagated it. The substantial backing they offered clergymen, despite the numerous conflicts they had with them, were concurrent with the simple fact that, due to the increasing influence of priests, the importance of traditional provincial centers of worship – over which the ruler had no dominion – was significantly diminished. Hence, the monarchy was strictly connected with the Church and Christianity, even though the ruler through his actions not only often broke the moral principles of the faith, but also did not accept and understand its religious tenets in their entirety. Accordingly, the majority of the ruling elite both in the capital and in the provincial centers identified themselves as Christians. This mainly had a prestige-based justification. Christianity was naturally associated with Europe and its material culture. Apart from writing, this included attire and other items purchased from the Europeans. European accounts suggest that

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<sup>7</sup> B. Zientara, *Świt narodów europejskich. Powstanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej*, Warszawa 1996, p. 330-332.

wealthy headmen dressed themselves in European clothes, while the common people were donned in traditional outfits. This led to the development of a sense of separateness, based on ties with Europe and Christianity. It also led to shaping a sense of adherence to a common state entity. This concept persevered during the period when the Kongo, as a single state entity, disintegrated and individual headmen *de facto* were not subordinate to the central rule.

Religious associations were created within the Kongo, which were based on European brotherhoods and secular knights' orders. These associations weakened the position of the Kongolese monarchs, while also limiting the power of headmen ruling on behalf of the crown. The establishment of religious brotherhoods, as well as the *Military Order of Christ (Militia Christi)*, did not result only from the power of persuasion held by the priests. This process was conducted in such a way that the institutions were acknowledged by the rulers and part of the political elite as being compliant with indigenous solutions, albeit essentially more powerful in standing. Through these associations, the rulers attempted to bind together the political elites of the country more closely. Membership, especially of the *Military Order of Christ*, potentially gave a sense of community enhanced by its sacral character, thus breaking its vows was supposed to bring misfortune to any person culpable of such a breach. However, even the fact that most of the elite belonged to the *Military Order of Christ* did not save the Kongo from power rivalry and variably successful attempts at overthrowing the rulers in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Despite this, the order was active during the rule of Garcia, who wore a mantle with a cross as a symbol of his allegiance to the order, while supposedly many members of the Kongolese court belonged to the association<sup>8</sup>. However its conception was not however a parallel transfer of Portuguese

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<sup>8</sup> F. Bontinck (ed.), *Breve relation de la fondation de la mission des frères mineurs capucins du séraphique père Saint Francois au royaume de Congo, et des particularités, coutumes et façons de vivre des habitants de ce royaume écrite et dédiée aux éminentissimes seigneurs cardinaux de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagation de la foi par le père Jean-Francois de Rome (1648)*, Louvain-Paris: 1964, p. 104-105, 127.

institutions into an African setting, but more likely it was a European-influenced conversion of associations, which had previously existed in this part of Africa and had played a significant role in local political life.

From the point of view of the rulers the establishment of religious orders gave a unique opportunity to eliminate autonomous *kimpasi* and substitute them with a more centralized organization, over which one could strive to gain control with the help of the sympathetic clergymen. *Kimpasi* associations organized ceremonies in situations which constituted a grave threat to the given community, such as natural disasters or epidemics. The *kimpasi* rituals were performed to guarantee land fertility, but they were also perceived as constituting healing rites. As such, the *kimpasi* associations did not form centralized structures. However, it is surmised that its members had some sense of community<sup>9</sup>. The arrival of Capuchin friars, who introduced pastoral activity within areas outside the capital, gave Garcia an opportunity to restrict the role of *kimpasi* in the provinces and supplant them with brotherhoods led by monks. This was introduced in order to allow the provincial headmen to become independent of local conditionings. Through membership within the religious order they would simultaneously be granted high standing within the local community, since participating in the brotherhood gatherings was conceived as partaking in secret rituals, afforded only to a select few and guaranteeing them the protection of supernatural forces.

Clergymen were not limited purely to pastoral activities. Rulers used them as middlemen for contacts with Europeans and as mediators during any conflicts with headmen. They also functioned as representatives for the rulers during any interaction with Europeans. At times, they were also given the role of royal emissaries who were charged with disciplining provincial chiefs. This suggests the introduction of conscious policies by the rulers aimed at using priests as tools in counteracting decentralizing

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<sup>9</sup> J.K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo. Civil War and Transition 1641-1718*, Madison 1983, p. 61; A. Hilton, *op. cit.*, p. 26-28.



tendencies. This was only feasible if clergymen were perceived as people possessing significant authority, as well as powers deemed to be supernatural<sup>10</sup>.

Missionaries played an extremely important role in regards to the modernization of state machinery. The schools they maintained educated people, who then went on to hold various positions within state institutions. Through their knowledge of writing, state administration became much more efficient. Education, which comprised specific elements of European teaching, soon became a determinant for one's political standing. Most school students originated from the ruling class. Knowledge of writing was perceived not only as an acquired skill, but was also considered as possessing substantial power of a magical nature. For this reason both members of the dynasty as well as of the political elite would endeavour to ensure that their children received schooling. Consequently, Afonso I sent his son Henrique and the children of several dignitaries to Europe to gain a European education. His son was even ordained a bishop in 1518. In 1521, he returned to the Kongo, where soon after he unfortunately died, probably in the year 1526<sup>11</sup>. Despite many attempts by rulers to create an indigenous Church, this never came to pass and subsequently no schools were created in the Kongo aimed at educating local clergymen. As a rule, such schools only functioned for very short periods of time, e. g. the Jesuit College established during the reign of Diogo I<sup>12</sup>. Similarly, Afonso I encouraged Portuguese craftsmen to teach the Kongolese people their skills. Unfortunately, this plan was never brought into effect. His actions attest to the fact that due to his contact with Europe he had attempted to initiate transformations within the state and implement model European solutions, not only in the area of religion and ideology, but also in regards to state organization. Similar undertakings were also

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<sup>10</sup> *Relation de la revolte de Dom Afonso frère du roi du Congo Dom Alvaro III*, Congo, le 24 janvier 1622, in: L. Jadin, *Relation sur le Congo...*, p. 361-370; R. Piętek, *Garcia II-władca Konga a Kościół katolicki*, Warszawa 2009, p. 46-52.

<sup>11</sup> W.G.L. Randles, *op. cit.*, p. 101f., 151.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 105

attempted by the successors of Afonso I, however these only partially brought about the expected results. However, important are the aspirations of Kongolese monarchs to adopt European solutions. It was not until the reign of Garcia II and due to the presence of Capuchin friars that schools were erected in certain provinces, which allowed for the number of catechists to increase. They were acquainted not only with prayers, basic catechist fundamentals, but also possessed the ability to write. It is thanks to these catechists and their descendants that knowledge of writing survived. However, conflicts with Luanda and the future lack of interest from the Portuguese towards the Kongo substantially limited the capability of the state to emulate European norms.

Nonetheless, even in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Kongolese rulers, who retained authentic control only over the capital and its immediate surroundings, attempted to rebuild their position with the help of European specialists and then aspired to educate their subjects based on the European model. In 1803, Garcia V (1802-1830) sent his nephew to Luanda in order to assure him an education there. He also endeavoured to send with him other people to learn various crafts. In response, the governor of Luanda suggested that it would be more beneficial to forward Garcia's V nephew as well as the remaining Kongolese to Lisbon, as Luanda lacked the qualified specialists needed to convey the required knowledge and skills. In 1809, the Kongolese ruler also had his son Pedro sent to Luanda for schooling. The monarch reiterated his request to assign specialists to the Kongo in 1813. That same year, Garcia V's son and nephew were referred to São Salvador, as the Carmelite convent was unable to guarantee them the necessary level of education. Garcia V once again sent his nephew to Luanda in 1818, where he was to finish studies in philosophy and theology. He stayed there until 1824, where he was eventually ordained. Up to 1836 he resided in São Salvador, acting as a chaplain in the cathedral. Afterwards, he set off for Luanda, as he became conflicted with Garcia V's successor, André II (1830-1842). In 1811, several years after the first such attempts by Garcia V, the chief of Bamba also initiated requests to the governor of Luanda to send him missionaries and craftsmen. The craftsmen were to

renovate the local church<sup>13</sup>. Presumably, they were also meant to share their skills with the inhabitants of that province.

Garcia V endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of Afonso I, as he also wanted to have a priest from his own dynasty operating in the Kongo. Nonetheless, Garcia V's situation was immensely more challenging, mainly due to the fact that during his reign there were no clergymen permanently residing in the Kongo, as had been the case during the times of Afonso I. The aspiration of Kongolese rulers to import specialists such as craftsmen or the attempts to help selected Kongolese acquire a trade strongly suggests that the leaders had attempted to adopt European norms. It can be observed as a permanent tendency which was present in the Kingdom of Kongo. Failures in this regard were partially a result of the limited potential of the Portuguese colony in Angola. This caused not only difficulties in educating indigenous craftsmen but also in the use of Portuguese specialists based in Angola, which were also in high demand in the colony itself.

An interesting development was that for many educated Kongolese it became more appealing to find suitable employment within the Portuguese colony than in the Kongo itself. This involved not only church institutions but also colonial administration. Apart from Garcia V's son, who chose a career as a priest in Angola, another example is the son of Henrique II (1842-1857/8), Nicolau, who in 1845 was sent by his father to Portugal to study at the University of Coimbra and upon his return to Africa in 1850 commenced studies in Luanda. Nicolau had initially planned a career within the church structures, but eventually decided to enter employment as part of the local administration. The governor of Luanda was presumably interested in keeping Nicolau within Portuguese territories. This was most likely aimed at guaranteeing a good relation between the governor and the Kongolese ruler. This

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<sup>13</sup> L. Jadin, "Les Missions du Congo à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle", in : *Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos. Actas*, vol. V, part 2, Lisboa 1961, 207-231 here, p. 228-230 ; L. Jadin, "Les survivances chrétiennes au Congo au XIX siècle", *Études d'histoire africaine*, 1970, 1, 137-185, here p. 145-149, 164.

also additionally allowed him to gain one of the trained civil servants, who were low in supply, not to mention that few spoke Portuguese as well as Kikongo he was additionally extremely knowledgeable in the realities of the Kongo. Thus, the son of the Kongolese ruler found employment in the Ambriz outpost<sup>14</sup>. Naturally, this was nothing more than an example of “brain drain” on a very limited scale. The Nicolau casus gives evidence that persons possessing European education sometimes chose the opportunity to further their careers in European administration instead of the power structures of the Kongolese state or even church institutions.

Due to the fact that Nicolau was the ruler’s son, it has often been presumed that he had no chance to assume the throne following his father’s death, as a dead monarch’s crown was succeeded by one of his nephews. In truth, the issue of succession was significantly more complex. In theory, the throne could have been taken over by any of the descendants of Afonso I, both from the male and female lineage. In Kongolese history, there have been cases of a son directly inheriting rule from his father. It can be envisaged that Nicolau’s decision was mostly influenced by the general appeal of work in European administration and not due to the lack of likelihood of succeeding his father on the throne after his death.

According to W.G.L. Randles, writing was deemed as a means of communicating with Europeans, as well as disseminating Christianity. However, it was never meant to enable the implementation of European-style bureaucracy. He substantiated that the ruling class feared the creation of an educated group, which could become a direct threat to their power<sup>15</sup>. However, despite Randles’s stance on the matter, it can be surmised that during the reign of Garcia the ability to read and write was held in high regard and

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<sup>14</sup> L. Jadin, *Les survivance chrétiennes...*, p. 170-174, 179; D. L. Wheeler, “Nineteenth-Cenury African Protest in Angola: Prince Nicolas of Kongo (?1830-1860)”, *African Historical Studies* 1, 2, 1968, 40-59; F. Bontinck, “Notes complement sur dom Nicolau Agua Rosada e Sardonia”, *African Historical Studies* 2, 1, 1969, 101-119; D. L. Wheeler, “Angola Is Whose House?” Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest. 1822 – 1910”, *African Historical Studies* 2, 1, 1969, 1-22.

<sup>15</sup> W.G.L. Randles, *op. cit.*, p. 192f.

attempts were made to implement its use within the state administration. Randles referred to the fact that Garcia II withdrew students from schools once they gained the ability to read and write. This was supposedly brought about by the fear of the formation of an educated elite, which would pose a threat to his position. However, most likely the reason behind such actions was different, as there existed a strong need for people who could read and write within state administration and that is why they were retracted from the Capuchin-led schools immediately after acquiring this ability. This caused dissatisfaction amongst the monks, as the school governed by them in São Salvador was aimed at preparing catechists and candidates for their order, not specialists for state administration. In this case, the interests of the ruler and the monks were contradictory.

In turn, C. M. Santos has proved on the basis of the example of the Ndembu chieftainships, which were located between the Kongo and the Portuguese territories and which during the 17<sup>th</sup> century were a subject of rivalry between Luanda and São Salvador, that writing constituted an important means of communication not only between the chieftains and the governor of Luanda, but also between the Ndembu headmen themselves. Documents became not only a symbol of power, but the fact itself that they became acknowledged for their importance caused the formation of the foundations of a bureaucratic apparatus<sup>16</sup>. In the case of the Kongo, which consisted of a much larger court and whose leaders ruled over vast territories, where clergymen-led schools operated, albeit admittedly inconsistently, and where attempts were made to adopt European norms within the state, the significance of writing as a means for more efficient governance must have been even more appreciated.

Contacts with Europe, especially with Portugal, precipitated the emergence of Portuguese settlements in the Kongo, which in turn

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<sup>16</sup> C. M. Santos, "Escrever o Poder: Os Autos de Vassalagem e a Vulgarização da Escrita entre as Elites Africanas Ndembu", in: B. Heintze, A. von Oppen (eds.), *Angola on the Move. Transport Routes, Communications and History. Angola em Movimento. Vias de Transporte, Comunicação e História*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, 173-181.

resulted in the creation of a mulatto community. As mostly men used to come to Africa, they tended to take indigenous women as their life partners. It is from among these mulattoes that local clergymen were recruited for both the Kongo and Angola. The lifestyle led by mulatto canon priests roused up indignation of clergymen arriving from Europe. Many of them openly held concubines. Due to the fact that the bishops presided in Luanda, the canons had a considerable degree of autonomy. The main problematic issue with mulattoes was that they functioned on the verge of two cultures. In most cases, they deemed themselves to be Portuguese, but on the other hand, due to their mothers' influence they were substantially immersed in the local culture. Especially until 1622, many Portuguese settled in the Bamba province in the Kongo, which bordered with the Portuguese territories to the south, and established their plantations in that area. As a result of this, a new society was beginning arise with a cultural congeniality with the São Salvador canons, knowledgeable in reading and writing, possessing both European and African trading affinities and keeping trade connections with both the African interior and the Portuguese colonies in Africa and in Brazil. This group could have become a factor influencing the formation of a new community possessing both European and African characteristics. Its existence could have instigated the modernization of the economy and social change in the Kongo. Unfortunately, the Portuguese-Kongolese conflict of 1622 caused Kongo to be abandoned by most Portuguese and those among the mulattoes who considered themselves Portuguese<sup>17</sup>. The lack of control over chapter members by the ordinary and limited contact with the outside world in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century caused the canon priests to become further immersed in local society, while their lifestyle as well as their religious behavior began to diverge from the Catholic tenets of faith. Feasibly, this probably allowed them to become more widely accepted by the local communities. On the other hand, however, they ceased to be a factor influencing cultural and social change in the

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<sup>17</sup> L. Jadin, *Relation sur le Congo...*, p. 338-345.

Kongo, especially when during the following century there were practically no deacons permanently residing in the area.

Missionary activity, especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, had an immense effect on the ordinary inhabitants of the Kongo. They were perceived as people endowed with supernatural abilities and in all effect operating on behalf of the monarchy. The clergy's teachings influenced the shaping of a new vision of the world, in which Christian elements coexisted with indigenous ones. Understandably, the clergy were unable to eliminate traditional beliefs and customs. However, certain elements of the priests' teachings became an inherent part of the local culture and in time they contributed to forming a sense of community among the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Kongo. When towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century an armed conflict between rivals for the throne was taking place, many of them opted for the need to reconstitute the old state. During that period, an Antonian movement, consisting of many citizens of the state, was spreading. Its existence can point to the formation of a certain degree of collective consciousness. It is important to note that the movement, albeit focused against both medicine men and European priests, incorporated many elements borrowed from the Capuchin teachings, including the cult of Saint Anthony of Padua. The leader of the movement, Kimpa Vita-Beatriz, believed that she was possessed by Saint Anthony himself. During her teachings she explained that Christ had been born in Bethlehem, which was located in São Salvador. Christ, the Virgin Mary and Saint Francis were supposed to have been black Kongolese. It is poignant to point out that this movement involved a large amount of Kongolese citizens and its substantial aim was to reinstate a strong Kongolese statehood. The movement was eventually suppressed and Kimpa Vita was burned at the stake in 1706 in the presence of the Capuchin monks<sup>18</sup>. The Kongolese ruler of that time, Pedro IV (1703-1718), had

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<sup>18</sup> Bernardo da Gallo, in: L. Jadin, "Le Congo et la secte des Antoniens. Restaurations du Royaume sous Pedro IV et la "Saint Antoine" congolaise (1694-1718)", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, fasc. XXXIII, Bruxelles-Rome 1961, p. 492, 532; W. G. L. Randles, *op.cit.*, p. 157ff.

beforehand come to the conclusion that she posed a significant threat to his position, which, come what may, hinged on Christianity and not on heresy. Nonetheless, the example of the Antonian movement shows the apparent process of the formation of an ethnic consciousness among the Kongolese people, which had an affinity with both the existing state institutions and Christianity, even though essentially it was directed against priests and many pillars of faith, as Kimpa Vita and her followers believed that the clergymen had purposefully distorted the message of the Gospel<sup>19</sup>.

The Kongo remains an interesting case study of an African pre-colonial state, which through contacts with Europe undertook the modernization of state institutions and underwent significant transformations in its ideology and religion under the influence of Christianity. Christianity was only one of the key factors influencing the strengthening of the national affinity of the Kongolese people.

Paradoxically, the future disintegration of state institutions in the Kongo was not influenced by European pressure, as was the case in most pre-colonial African states, but was caused by the diminishing contacts with Europe, which restricted the capacity for further transformation using European solutions, including the continuing formation of a collective consciousness of belonging to the community and the state.

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<sup>19</sup> The Antonian movement and Kimpa Vita were described by J. Thornton in the paper *The Kongolese Saint Anthony. Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Anthonian Movement, 1684-1706*, Cambridge 1998. In Polish literature, this issue was discussed by G. Kaczyński, who pointed out that the leader of the Antonian movement is currently perceived by part of the modern African elite as being a patron of Congolese national identity. Kaczyński G., *Czarny chrystianizm. Ze studiów nad ruchami afrochrześcijańskimi*, Warszawa 1994, p. 104ff.; Kaczyński G., „The Predecessors of Afro-Christianity. (Reading the Chronicles of the Old Congo Kingdom)”, *Hemispheres. Studies on Cultures and Societies* 7, 1992, 25-42.



## Reviews

**Eva Rothmaler (ed.), *Topics in Chadic Linguistics V*, “Chadic Linguistics / Linguistique Tchadique / Tschadistik” 6, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2009, 185 pp.**

The volume is composed of written versions of fifteen papers presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> Biennial International Conference on the Chadic Linguistics, which was held on 30<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup> October, 2007 at the University of Bayreuth, in the famous Gallery of African Arts known as Iwalewa House.

In a short preface, E. Rothmaler informs the reader that the participants of the Conference commemorated by a minute’s silence those distinguished Chadicists who have passed away since the previous conference held in Paris in 2005: Mairo Kidida Awak, Carl Hoffmann, Daniel Barreteau, Stefan Elders and Alan Kaye.

The book opens with an article titled “Derivation of the PAM system in Makary Kotoko” (pp. 9-21) by Sean Allison from the University of Colorado at Boulder. He proposes an analysis of the derivation in the person/aspect/mood paradigms of the Makary language from the Kotoko group of Central Chadic B. The author tries to prove that the PAM paradigms could be obtained through the combination of the underlying aspect/mood markers with the underlying forms of the person markers.

“The Nyam language. First steps toward a grammatical description” (pp. 23-36) by Heike Andreas, Rudolf Leger and Ulrich Zoch from the J.W. Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main may be considered as a preliminary insight into the Nyam language, which is spoken by some 5.000 people: they live on the southern foothills of the Muri Mountains in the Taraba State of Nigeria. The language belongs to the southern Bole-Tangale subgroup of West Chadic. It seems to have been influenced by the Benue-Congo tongues.

In “Loanwords in Hausa” (pp. 37-49) Ari Awagana and Doris Löhr from the University of Leipzig discuss selected results from

the realisation of the International Loanword Typology research project based in Leipzig, especially those referring to Hausa. The paper opens with a short outline of the theoretical framework, which is followed by some details about the historical background and confirmed language contact situations. Further on, there is a presentation of the project results, which takes into account the most important donor languages (Arabic, English, Kanuri, French, Berber, Yoruba, Fulfulde and Songhay) and contains a general examination of the phonological adaptation processes.

G.C. Batic from the University of Naples (L'Orientale) in his contribution titled "Imaginative dimension and experiential constructions in Hausa and Bole" (pp. 51-63) pays attention to the metaphorical and metonymical strategies employed in Hausa and Bole, which encode some basic-level experiences in reference to M. Reh's experimental domains (emotion, cognition, conception, volition, perception and physical traits). His research is limited to the emotional domain, and it points out that body parts renderings are quite productive and preferred strategies, which express anger, happiness, disappointment and sadness.

In "All Chadic Lakes" (pp. 65-74) V. Blažek from the Masaryk University comes to a conclusion that the hydronym 'Chad' has its origin in the Central Chadic group of Kotoko. He provides a reconstruction of some 47 water reservoir terms in the Afroasiatic phylum.

Roger Blench and Anthony Ndamsa from Cambridge and Jos in „An introduction to Kirya-Konzɔl" (pp. 75-85) display some preliminary data on the Central Chadic language, which is spoken by 5.000-8.000 people in 13 settlements north-east of Mubi, close to the Cameroun border in the Adamawa State of Nigeria. The Kirya form part of a larger cultural grouping, commonly known as Fali. After a short presentation of phonology and morphology, the authors are ready to conclude that Kirya-Konzɔl is related to Kamwe [= Higi].

Dymitr Ibriszimow from the University of Bayreuth and Viktor Porkhomovsky & Valery Sheshin from the Russian Academy of Sciences, the authors of "AAKTS database and kinship computer programme for processing Afroasiatic kinship terms and systems"

(pp. 87-93) make the readers acquainted with a special computer programme, which is known as “Afro-Asiatic Kinship Terms and Systems”. The programme presented on the example of Higi Baza is believed to become a new formal basis for the comparative study of the Afroasiatic kinship terms. The authors claim that it can be also successfully applied for the study of other African and non-African languages.

In an article titled “I think what you think” (pp. 96-103) Dymitr Ibriszimow and Balarabe Zulyadaini from the University of Bayreuth present part of the Hausa data, which have been collected under the project “Contrastive Cognitive Semantics”. The data disclose some significant differences in the conceptualisation of semantic categories between the L1 and L2 Hausa speakers. The authors try to find out possible reasons for those differences. They take into account the following notions: CLOTHING (*sitira*), FOOD (*abinci*), FISH (*kifi*) and KOLANUT (*goro*).

The aim of “Hausa language and the perception of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria” (pp. 105-115) by Baba Mai Bello is to disclose how HIV/AIDS pandemic is perceived in Hausa. The article is based on the data obtained by means of a questionnaire, which has been distributed among the Maiduguri and Gombe respondents. It takes into account descriptive appellation of the disease, as well as euphemistic terms and dysphemistic sarcasms. The final paragraph refers to the HIV/AIDS perception as: 1. an accidental misfortune, 2. a retribution for wrongful acts, or 3. indices of death and misfortune.

The essay by Joy Naomi Philip from the University College in London, which is titled “Tone on Lagwan verbs” (pp. 117-128), is concerned with the realisation of tone in Lagwan, a Central Chadic language of the Kotoko group, spoken in northern Cameroun. It focuses on the verbal system, which encompasses two sets of verbs: one with lexical tone, and the other one with the predicable tone.

“Palatalization and labialization in Mawa” (pp. 120-140) by James S. Roberts from the University of Njamena is a progress report, in which the author presents his results in the study of phonology of Mawa, an Eastern Chadic language spoken by some 5.500 people in the Guéra region of the central Chad Republic.

Olga Stolbova from the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow has contributed an article titled "Plurality in Chadic" (pp. 141-149), in which she aims at the retrieving morphological traces of ancient languages in the modern representation of the Chadic family. She takes into consideration noun and verbal plurals in the Kirfi language from the West Chadic branch. In conclusion she emphasises that revealing frozen plural models contributes not only to historical morphology of the Chadic languages but may be also used in lexical comparison within the frames of the Hamito-Semitic phylum.

The only paper in French, "Les marqueurs relatifs dans les langues dites *kotoko*" (pp. 151-159) by Henry Tourneux and Adam Mahamat from CNRS concerns the origin and functioning of the relative markers in some Kotoko languages, which are spoken in Cameroun (Afade, Makari, Goulfey, Logone-Birni, Kousseri, Zina and Mazera).

H. Ekkehard Wolff from the University of Leipzig in "Another look at 'internal *a*' in Chadic", considered as a potential reflex of a common 'pluralizer' for nouns and verbs, which could be inherited from Proto-Afroasiatic, is a complete misnomer. "Nouns and verbs made, and some still make use of two quite distinct morphological processes" (p. 171).

The final paper in this volume, "Between Hausa and Kanuri" (p. 173-185) by Georg Ziegelmeyer from the University of Vienna, is dedicated to the linguistic influence of Hausa and Kanuri on Bade and Ngizim, two closely related languages of the West Chadic subbranch B, spoken in Yobe State. They are located between those of Hausa to the west, and Kanuri to the east. Bade and Ngizim have borrowed from the neighbouring tongues some words, which function as co-ordinators, topic markers, discourse markers, and others.

*Stanisław Piłaszewicz*

**Harry Stroomer, Maarten Kossmann, Dymitr Ibriszimow, Rainer Vossen (eds.), *Études berbères V. Essais sur des variations dialectales et autres articles*, “Berber Studies” 28, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2010, 212 pp.**

Berber linguistics is a relatively recent, but fast growing field, although scholars from outside francophone countries still give little attention to this area of research. The “Berber Studies” series which is irregularly published since 2001 is an excellent confirmation of the emerging body of scholarship that also includes Berber languages’ native speakers. Volume 28 in this series is a result of the 5th “Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie” in Leiden. It contains nine presented papers concentrated mostly on dialectal variants of Berber languages. The study is dealing with the stereotype of Berber languages seen as one Berber language and brings fresh view on Berber linguistics.

The opening paper “La variation morphosyntaxique en amazighe: position et ordre des pronoms clitiques” by Fatima Boukhris shows the variations of the position and the order of clitic pronouns. The author concentrates on the relation of pronoun object clitics to the verb but also to the other morphemes of the verbal phrase. The comparison is made between the three dialects from Morocco: Tachelhite, Tamasighte and Tarifite. The study is divided into three sections. First one deals with the postverbal position of the clitic, second one focuses on the preverbal position and the morphosyntactic behavior, while the third section summarizes the analysis of the author with two main conclusions concerning enclitic and proclitic pronouns. The article provides unexpected results on the variations in syntax of Berber languages that used to be considered as regular and unified.

Noun phrase in Tamazighe: morphologic and syntactic aspects are discussed in the second article written by Malika Chakiri from Sorbonne, Paris. The description of typological features, morphology and syntax of noun phrases is based on her own researches. The study results in confirmation of the existence of dual syntax: free and fixed. The article lacks bibliography.

The following article "Some thoughts on the origins of the Libyco-Berber alphabet" by Robert M. Kerr represents a very valuable discussion on Libyco-Berber script epigraphy. It starts with a short notice of the division of Berber writing systems that is followed by the description of still unsolved problems in the field of Libyco-Berber epigraphy, referring to short texts and texts dated with no certainty. Libyan language is seen as one or many languages and still there is a question of what the ancient authors understood as 'Libyan' language. Kerr is trying to answer whether Libyco-Berber script was an invention or rather borrowing. The article provides us with critical interpretation of ideas on the script's origin shared by different authors from ancient to modern times. He realizes that much attention was paid to the forms of letters. He himself insists on their function and meaning mechanisms of the script. He assumes that Libyco-Berber was an invention in the time of Massinissa reign. The article is provided with a large bibliography.

Maarten Kossman, the co-editor, provides us with a pioneering contribution into the field of berberology with the description of the Berber dialect of Igli in Algeria, South of Oran. The dialect of Igli called Tabeldit, belonging to 'kçour du Sud oranais' group was poorly studied so far, and Kossman based his notes on the fieldwork done by three famous berberologists: André Basset, Edmond Destaing and André Picard in the 30's of the last century. The article is divided into thirteen sections which describe comparatively Tabeldit and other Sud Oranais dialects. Twelve of these sections present a meticulous examination of grammar starting from phonology, pronouns, noun morphology, quantifiers, and followed by verb morphology, verbal complex, prepositions, relative clauses and similar constructions, questions, 'be' constructions and notes on the use of aspect, finally discussing coordination and subordination. The last section contains some texts from Igli and Iche in Morocco collected by Basset.

"La topicalisation en berbère: formes et structures" is the title of next article written by Mena Lafkioui. The author starts with the presentation of the theory of topicalization, which constitutes a striking operation in Berber languages, serving as a tool to attract atten-

tion of the interlocutor to a specific point of discussion. In the further sections, the syntactic marking of topic, repetition of the topic, and the combination of topicalization in the spontaneous oral discussion are being presented. The author uses the tool of intonation diagrams to show melodic curves of topicalized sentences. The intonational dislocation shown in the diagrams is believed to be the most reliable trace of topic in the statement.

Until 2001, when the first study appeared, Tetserret was considered as a variety of Tamacheq. In 2007 Cecile Lux and Gerard Philipson undertook the fieldwork in Niger to collect texts in Tetserret. The article “L’accent en tetserret et en tamacheq: contacts et contrastes” is a result of the fieldwork, that provides new data. It also brings fresh view on this very little studied field in a more general perspective. The article begins with short introduction on accent theory and presentation of accent behavior in Berber languages. Section 2 is dedicated to comparative studies on nominal group accent in Tetserret and Tamacheq, while in section 3 the authors investigate verb group accent in Tamacheq and Tetserret. The conclusion is rather unexpected: it contains the statement that accent in these two languages differs despite close interaction between them and that the accent in Tetserret is of a very important value. The article is provided with large bibliography and useful abbreviation index.

Some forty years after Anna Wierzbicka’s work on Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM, French variant MSN) André Savage uses the tool to analyse the Touareg proverb in order to convince us that understanding and describing proverbs refers to the same semantic units in any language. The article “Un proverbe touareg: plusieurs variants, en seul sens” is the examination of seventeen variants of the same proverb collected during the author’s fieldwork. The variants are organized into three groups giving three scenarios possible. Thus, the data form three key semantic elements leading to the application of MSN allows for giving the explanation of the proverb in French, English and Tamacheq. The article terminates with the table of NSM contexts and large bibliography.

One of the most original pieces in the whole volume is Lameen Souag’s “The Western Berber Stratum in Kwarandzyey

(Tabelbala, Algeria)". This article goes beyond Berber linguistics, as it shows the influence of Western Berber on Songhai language from Tabelbala in Souhwestern Algeria; the language is called by its people Kwarandzyey. After giving brief description of linguistic situation in the oasis and some data on Western Berber, the author examines the Berber-Songhai contact features by checking the phonetic innovations of Western Berber. The method relies on attesting presence or absence of the form in Western Berber and in its different varieties. Historical implications and explanation of the context are given subsequently. Notwithstanding, lack of data makes giving an unambiguous answer to the question of origin through the contact and interaction between these languages impossible. Further investigation would be necessary.

Catherine Taine-Cheikh's essay, "Ordre, injonction, souhait et serment en Zenaga (étude comparative)" closes the volume. The comparative study investigates no-declarative sentences in Zenaga and other Berber languages. It is divided into three sections. The first one is dealing with expressing order and injunction, while presenting its positive and negative explication, as well as defense and prohibitive statements. The second section presents the wish, and the third one – the oath. Sections 1 and 3 contain comparative tables of grammatical exponents in Berber languages, relevant to the category distinguished for each section. This comparative study aims at showing a significant difference between order and injunction in opposition to wish as well as wish that is differentiated by grammatical means with oath.

As a whole, the volume can be considered as a very valuable review of the main domains of Berber linguistics and as a presentation of some pioneer aspects in this field. It can serve as an useful handbook and source material for linguistic research.

*Marta Jackowska*



**Georg Ziegelmeier, Norbert Cyffer (eds.), *Aspects of Co- and Subordination. Case Studies from African, Slavonic, and Turkic Languages*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2010, 289 pp.**

The description of complex sentences in African languages is far from being adequate and this situation is not caused by the lack of data, but rather by the variety of analyses that are hardly compared with each other in terms of linguistic interpretation. The book under review aims at examining the sentences expressing the relation of either co- or subordination and giving them a theoretical perspective. The African languages that are mostly discussed in the volume (Hausa, Lamang, Hdi, Malgwa, Bade, Gurduŋ, Buduma, Kanuri, Kanembu, Songhay, and Chamba-Daka) represent the three language families (Afroasiatic and Nilosaharan, with a single Niger-Congo representative). Different language structures of African languages are presented along with the data of Slavonic and Turkic languages and such a combination makes a background for theoretical interpretations. The book presents contributions of research oriented at examining the linguistic situation in northeastern Nigeria with respect to language contact and change and integrates the research achievements with the results of the workshop on the syntax of co- and subordination.

The initial presentation by Lars Johanson “Three kinds of clause junctors” refers to the classification of devices combining neighbouring predications, that include subjunctors (incorporating devices), conjunctors (coordinative devices) and adjunctors (i.e. adverbial junctors). The classification elaborated initially with the Turkic data is intended to be universal and adaptable to languages of various types, including different African languages. The three groups of clause junctors, however, do not cover all possible devices and do not form theoretical background for discussing many aspects of syntactic co- and subordination, that are characteristic of African languages. The criterion of syntactic integration that determines the classification, brings about new understanding of some traditional terms, therefore adverbial junctors are understood differently from adverbial subordinators discussed later in the volume. No references

to the four traditional syntactic categories of complex clauses, namely coordinate, adverbial, complement, and relative clause are given.

The next article turns to diachronic investigation of co- and subordination. Juliane Besters-Digler in "Co- and subordination expressing causality in Slavonic languages" discusses some typical Indo-European and European features concerning the linguistic means for this kind of structures. Tracing back to the Old Church Slavonic texts, it focuses on reconstruction of the oldest types of co- and subordination. The established models of their development include processes of language contact, grammaticalization and reanalysis. Rich variety of structural markers in the Slavonic languages (not necessarily of their own origin) provides a good material for comparative studies in a wider linguistic perspective.

The contribution of African studies to the recognition of grammatical means for co- and subordination is transparently manifested in the article "Clause linking in some Central-Chadic languages" by H. Ekkehard Wolff. Stress is laid on devices that are marginal or even absent in the inventory of markers in European languages. The data of three related Central Chadic languages, i.e. Lamang, Hdi and Malgwa are to demonstrate variety of linkers (clause-initial and clause-final markers), different verb forms, as well as clause-connecting strategy of juxtaposition. It is also shown that co- and subordination is determined not only by syntactic but also by pragmatic dependency. Language contact and grammaticalization are claimed to be responsible for the development of subordinating devices.

The following articles develop the recognized strategies of coding co- and subordination and throw some more light on their functions in particular languages. Philip J. Jaggard in "Relational DÀ as a preposition, coordinator, and subordinator in Hausa: Polysemy or homophony?" examines a polyfunctional word *da* [dà]. The detailed analysis of structures in which *da* occurs in syntactically different constructions links all functions in one in semantic/cognitive perspective. It is stated that the notion of accompaniment/association/involvement constitutes a base for all structures and the comitative 'with' expressions are their formal prototype.

However, this interpretation leaves apart a significant opposition between the two types of coordinative structures that are differentiated by the use of *da*. Whereas this marker links two units (NP's) within a single clause, it does not link two predications as coordinate units. This aspect is raised in other contributions dealing with Chadic languages (e.g. by Ekkehard Wolff, Doris Löhr, and Andrew Haruna).

The function of *da* is further examined in areal perspective. Petr Zima in "Sprachbund and lingua franca as dynamic features: DA – NDA beyond Hausa" discusses the development of markers DA/NDA in non related languages that are geographically and areally close to each other. It shows that the similarities between Hausa and Songhay in the form and function of the discussed morpheme are the result of contact.

Doris Löhr's article "Coding temporal subordination in Malgwa" deals with both synchronic and diachronic interpretation of strategies connecting two predications. Relying on sentences expressing temporal subordination, a variety of clause-initial and clause final junctors have been discussed. It is shown that a number of the junctors are borrowed. As for juxtaposition that is a device to link two formally unconnected clauses, it is the strategy in which "the order of clauses regularly mirrors the sequence of actions" (p. 102).

The contribution of Georg Ziegelmeyer refers to dialectal variation of Northern Bade termed as Gashua Bade. The article "Retention and innovation: On adverbial subordination in Gashua Bade" presents adverbial clauses i.e. "strategies whereby one clause modifies another similar to the way in which an adverb modifies a proposition" (p. 120). The description focuses on the inventory of explicit junctors and processes that account for their development, namely borrowing and grammaticalization. The most spectacular result is seen in typological classification of junctors, that is based on concepts rendered by adverbial clauses. Including the differentiation of markers in Gashua Bade, the following notions have been distinguished: ANTERIORITY, REASON, REASON and PURPOSE, PREFERENCE, COMPARISON, SIMULTANEITY, TERMINUS

AD QUEM, TERMINUS A QUO/REASON, POSTERIORITY, CONCESSIVES, SUBSTITUTION, MANNER/SIMILARITY, CONDITION. The list of notions and polyfunctional markers provide a source for further studies on the idea of subordination and its marking system.

The significance of contact features is further investigated in Andrew Haruna's paper "Co- and subordination in Gùrdùṅ". It refers to the role of Hausa and its influence on the syntactic structures in other Chadic languages. The author claims that the impact of Hausa on Gùrdùṅ language structures is sociolinguistically motivated and the influences result from the position of Hausa in the area. Andrew Haruna confirms the differences in marking Noun Phrase coordination and Sentence/Clause coordination in Gùrdùṅ. Similarly to Hausa, "sentence conjunction is not expressed by any overt morpheme. They are directly juxtaposed" (p. 149).

Ari Awagana in "Coordination et subordination en buduma" presents the co- and subordinative sentences within the theory of grammatical integration proposed by Payne (1997). The devices that mark the relation are differentiated according to the levels of grammatical integration. Syntactic structures that represent the levels vary from coordination to verb serialization, with different types of subordination in-between. The detailed analysis of conjunctions reveals their grammaticalization path that traces back many conjunctions to genitive and locative constructions.

Norbert Cyffer recognizes the sources of the exponents that express complementation and subordination in postpositions, indefinite pronouns, and adjuncts. The article "GA, RO & CO: Strategies of complementation and subordination in Kanuri" investigates the polyfunctional morphemes and the process of their grammaticalization. In more general perspective, the development of syntactic structures of present Kanuri is explained by areal influences and universal tendencies, rather than its genetic affiliation.

The analysis of earlier stages of the language as documented in texts is demonstrated in Dmitry Bondarev's article "Complex clauses in Old Kanembu/LG". The description is based on written variety of Kanuri/Kanembu used for Qur'anic interpretation by the

Borno scholars in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> cc. The comparison of Old Kanembu constructions with their equivalents in modern Kanuri allows to make inferences on the development of complex clause junctors. It is shown that the two morphosyntactic categories, namely a participial-like verbal form and a postpositional morpheme -n change their polysemic and polyfunctional nature and become more specified grammatical means.

Contact features on the boundaries of language families are discussed by Maarten Kossmann in his article “On relative clauses in Northern Songhay: Tuareg and Songhay components”. The well recognized contact zone is now examined with respect to the complex (relative) clauses. It is shown that relative clauses in Northern Songhay reveal both similarities to Songhay and to Tuareg, but structural details make the language of this area distinct from the two ‘standard’ languages.

The final article of the volume deals with subordination in a peripheral Adamawa language. Raymond Boyd’s article “Subordination from a Chamba-Daka perspective” discusses the function of markers and their ‘co-operation’ with other syntactic means while coding subordination. Stress is laid on topicalizing particle which is transformed from postposition to proposition-initial position to mark subordination. The Chamba-Daka data clearly manifest the feature common to the African languages, namely the non-stable status of the markers of syntactic dependency that are used to “insure logical coherence and implications in discourse rather than purely syntactic organization” (p. 288).

The book *Aspects of co- and subordination* is a significant contribution to the studies on syntax in their documentary and theoretic dimension. With logically constructed sequence of articles, it deals with various aspects of co- and subordination, focusing on tendencies in the development of co- and subordination strategies. As far as the data are concerned, most contributions refer to syntactic devices of connecting clauses in African languages. The two articles dealing with European and Asian languages do not contradict any statement related to African languages. They rather manifest similarities in historical development of co- and subordinative strat-

egies, but the African language data seem to be hardly adaptable to the generalizations made on European languages data. The contributions show that co- and subordination does not constitute a single research topic in African linguistics and the two variants of complex sentences are related not only to syntax but also to pragmatics, and discourse.

*Nina Pawlak*

**Christina Thornell & Karsten Legère (eds.), *North-South Contributions to African Languages*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2011, 203 pp.**

This volume is a fruit of the 2007 Gothenburg Symposium “Nordic Contributions to African Languages”, which was organized to mark the Year of African Languages 2007-2008 that was formally launched by the African Union in June 2007. The Symposium brought together substantial number of linguists from the Nordic countries and Sankt Petersburg, as well as from Cameroon, Namibia, South Africa and Tanzania.

In an introduction (pp. vii-xi) Karsten Legère discloses that the special purpose of the publication was to demonstrate the academic potential and expertise in African linguistics in the Nordic countries and Northwest Russia as well as addressing African language problems in co-operation with the African linguists. The editor states that „[...] the current publication gives an overview of Nordic and African linguistic research as well as commitment to the cause of African languages, e.g. in teaching and empowerment” (p. vii). In further part of his contribution he shortly presents the contents of all the papers published in this volume.

The essential part of the book starts with an article by Beban Sammy Chunbow from the Yaoundé University titled “The African Academy of Languages and the continental language development programme” (pp. 1-13). The author presents an overview of the many-sided approach to the linguistic situation in Africa by the Academy (ACALAN), which is the official organ of the African Union dealing with languages and language policy at the continental level. It was established by AU Heads of States during the Khartoum

summit in January 2006 with its headquarters in Bamako. Nine priority projects of ACALAN are presented (e.g. *Year of African Languages*, *African Linguistic Atlas Project*, *Pan-African Centre for Translation and Interpretation*, *African Languages and Cyberspace Project*, and others). In conclusion Chumbow argues that the promotion of African Languages must be an integral part of the development: “No NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa’s Development) without LAPAD (Language Plan of Action for African Development)”.

In “African language teaching and research with emphasis on Swahili” (pp. 15-25) Assibi A. Amidu (a Ghanaian) deals with the role, importance and content of the African language studies in the Department of Languages and Communication Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NUST) in Trondheim. Before the presentation of the Swahili program the author gives an overview of the research into other African languages (Gur, Kwa, Cushitic, Omotic, Ethio-Semitic, Bantu and Atlantic) and provides the list of the completed master and doctoral theses. When describing the Swahili teaching program he discusses the language courses and the culture, literature and social courses. A separate paragraph is dedicated to the research into Swahili where he lists his own publications, both books and articles.

Dorothee Beermann from NUST in “TypeCraft language annotation in the context of African Linguistics” (pp. 27-35) complains that up to now linguistics is divided into various fields of research with very little knowledge about each other and with little exchange of the research results. This could be overcome by the use of TypeCraft, which “[...] is an interlinearized glosser accessible online and connected to a relational database for the storage and retrieval of linguistically text data” (p. 35). The author introduces, and informs about this linguistic tool for text annotation, which she has created herself.

In an article titled “African languages, educational quality and the issue of parent choice” (pp. 37-49) Carol Benson from the Stockholm University focuses on the medium of instruction issue in school. She demonstrates that in most public schools with the for-

eign language of instruction the teaching results are of rather low standard. Happily, one can observe the growing use of African Languages in the national education programs.

Øyvind Dahl from the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger in his article titled “Linguistic policy challenges in Madagascar” (pp. 51-79) presents a historical overview of the language policy of this country, with particular emphasis laid on Malagasy use in education, which according to the country’s constitution is the only national language. It was suppressed during the colonial rule and French was solely promoted as the language of instruction after independence, until 1972. In 2008 the government implemented a new educational reform, according to which Malagasy became the language of instruction during the first seven years of schooling. The shifting language policies and their consequences are the main subject of the study.

Niklas Edenmyr from the University of Uppsala, Héléne Fatima Idris and Karsten Legère, both from the University of Gothenburg, in “Endangered languages. Examples from Tanzania and Sudan” (pp. 81-94) deal with the moribund African languages in Sudan and Tanzania, which are priority of the international research agenda. It is a report on field work, which was carried out in the two countries. Idris was able to find in Sudan some people still speaking Birgid and recorded some lexical items from this language. In Tanzania, few speakers of the moribund Ngasa were traced in the Kili-manjaro Region.

The process of the alphabet forging for the Nyaneka-Nkumbi group of the Angolan Bantu languages has been described by Rikka Halme from the Universidade Agostinho Neto and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission in her essay: “Creating a common orthography Nyaneka-Nkumbi” (pp. 95-109). It is a common enterprise of speakers, local government, linguists and governmental institutions. Such democratic process is thought to pave the way to an easy acceptance of the official orthography by the population. The paper gives a short overview of the language situation of Angola and is provided with an outline of the phonology of Nyaneka-Nkumbi.



“Some Finnish contributions to African linguistics” (pp. 111-125) are presented by Arvi Hurskainen from the University of Helsinki. The Finnish commitment to African languages goes back to the missionary activities in northern Namibia (Ovamboland), which started in 1869. Finnish missionaries reduced Ndonga and Kwangali to writing, produced dictionaries and teaching materials, and translated biblical texts. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the academic research carried out at the University of Helsinki focused on Swahili, Ha, Kwanyama and Maasai.

Daniel Mkude from the University of Dar es Salaam dedicates his short essay “The impact of Swahili on other languages in Tanzania. An illustration from Luguru” (pp. 127-135) to the structural influence of the largest *lingua franca* of Eastern Africa on Luguru, which is spoken in the Southeastern part of the Morogoro District. The author is himself a prominent Luguru speaker and since 2001 he has been an important partner in the Swedish-Tanzanian project “Languages of Tanzania”. In his contribution he demonstrates how modern Luguru drops grammatical features, especially as spoken by the young generation.

The paper “Subject glossaries for Mbukushu. Development and future prospects” (pp. 137-148) by Robert Munganda from the National Institute for Educational Development in Okahandja deals with the project jointly implemented by the Institute and the University of Gothenburg. The author was Namibian co-ordinator of the terminology development project for the Mbukushu language spoken in Northeastern Namibia. In his contribution he summarizes the way by which the glossary work was carried out and specifies the subjects covered.

Christina Thornell and Carl E. Olivestam from the University of Gothenburg in their article titled “Central African multilingual environment with neuroscience underpinnings” (pp. 149-169) investigate the process of adult learning in a multilingual society in the Central African Republic. Their research had a multidisciplinary perspective and included linguistics, education and neuroscience. It was conducted in Berberati and aimed at recording the linguistic competence of adult learners in the official language of Sango and

French. The authors pointed out that the level of general language competence did not play a significant role for the learning.

A joint Swiss-Russian project dedicated to an integral description of the southern Mande languages is presented by its participant Valentin Vydrine from the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Sankt Petersburg. In his report titled “South Mande lexicology project” (pp. 171-185) he points to the prominent role of the Russian researchers in a Russian-Swiss-Ivorian lexicology project, which covers South Mande group comprizing a dozen of languages spoken in the Ivory Coast. Two dictionaries were published in 2008, and the total number of publications of the team exceeds eighty items: they have been listed in an appendix.

Inequality in children’s educational chances is shown by Åsa Wedin from Högsolan Dalarna and Örebro University in an article titled “Language attitudes and schooled education. The case of Karagwe” (pp. 187-196). The article is based on extensive field work in the Karagwe District of the Northwestern Tanzania. The author depicts the linguistic situation there, and suggests that the policy of “Swahili only” in primary schools favours the small minority of the children living in a context where Swahili is used.

The volume closes with a self-explanatory article by Alexander Zheltov from the Sankt Petersburg University: “African studies in St. Petersburg” (pp. 197-202). He provides a brief outline of the history of African language studies and teaching in Sankt Petersburg, presents the activities of its main institutions and scholars, and lists some recent publications.

*Stanisław Piłaszewicz*



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Number 40 (miscellanea)

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Number 42-44 (miscellanea)