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Henry Tourneux



RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG · KÖLN

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P.O. Box 45 06 43

D - 50881 Cologne

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The Dyarim language of Central Nigeria and its affinities

Roger BLENCH

1. Introduction

East-Central Nigeria is one of the regions where the Chadic languages are at their most diverse and fragmented, yet they remain very poorly known. They are interspersed with East Kainji and Plateau languages and even their correct names and locations are inadequately recorded. The South Bauchi languages constitute a network of some 40 related lects spoken in this part of Nigeria, especially in Plateau and Bauchi States. They form part of West Chadic B, most closely related to Bade and the North Bauchi languages. They are of considerable interest from a linguistic point of view because they retain many features of Chadic that have disappeared in well-known languages like Hausa. They have also interacted intensively with neighbouring non-Chadic languages and have developed many unusual features.

The first wordlists of South Bauchi were collected by Gowers (1907) and the first ethnographic materials are listed in Temple (1922). The first survey with any pretensions to comprehensiveness was Shimizu (1978) which surveyed some 38 lects and collected 100-word wordlists. Shimizu used lexicostatistics to classify them into some order. This classification was taken over in Crozier & Blench (1992) and has not been substantially revised. Even during the 1970s, Shimizu reported some of the South Bauchi languages as disappearing and this process has continued apace. Although there has not been a flood of new work, reports during the last decade make it possible to gauge the fate of some individual languages (*e.g.* Jaggar 1988; Caron 2001, 2002a,b, 2004; Cospér 1999). Cospér (1999) has published a more extensive comparative wordlist of eight South Bauchi languages. However, Caron (2002a) has heavily criticised the accuracy of this work. For general Chadic comparisons, the major source document is Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow (1995).

While surveying the Tunzu language, we were informed about an isolated group of people, locally known as the Kaiwari, living in four settlements near Toro on the western edge of Bauchi State. This paper presents some initial data on their language, Dyarim, apparently previously unknown. A visit was made with John Nengel of the University of Jos in December 2003 to establish the status of Dyarim. The Sarki (Chief) Dauda Aliyu of Fadagoshi kindly assisted us to find other speakers, who included Galadima Abdullahi and Muhamman Gidado. Roger Blench and Barau Kato made a further visit in November 2005 and the materials presented here were collected from a group of villagers¹¹ on that occasion.

2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

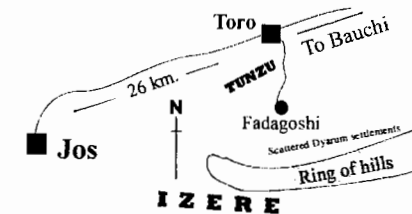
2.1 Nomenclature

Kaiwari seems to be a version of Kaiyorawa, recorded in the ethnographic literature. Temple (1922:171) mentions them as a 'sept of the Hill Jarawa', a phrase repeated in subsequent ethnographic sources (e.g. Gunn 1953:13). In Crozier & Blench (1992: 43), Kaiyorawa is said to be a cover term for the Geji cluster, also in Toro LGA, which consists of Bolu, Geji and Zaranda. However, these are separate peoples, and the Dyarim say that their language is closest to Danshe, which would be logical, as the Danshe are another Chadic group on the edge of Izere territory, not very far away. If so, Dyarim would be an undocumented member of the Zeem cluster, which consists of Zeem, Danshe and Lushi. The main, and indeed only, source on these languages is Shimizu (1978) where the Zeem grouping first appears. Kaiwari is an outsiders' name. Their correct name is Dyarim as in one person *M̄an Dyàrim*, people *M̄ay Dyàrim*, language *Dyàrim T̄á*. The origin of the outsiders' name is unknown.

2.2 Location and settlements

The settlements of the Dyarim are about 6 km. south of Toro town, in Toro LGA, and the map reference of their main settlement, Fadagoshi is N 10° 02', E 9° 04'. Figure 1 shows the approximate location of the Dyarim;

Figure 1. Location of Dyarim



The Dyarim now live isolated from any other Chadic language, between the Izere (Plateau-speaking) and the Tunzu (Eastern Kainji-speaking) peoples. They are subsistence farmers, depending on rainfed cereal production and small ruminants. Culturally, the great majority of Dyarim are Muslims, although there is said to be one clan at the foot of the hills that maintains traditional beliefs. Clearly, this conversion is relatively recent, since all those present could clearly describe the *dodo*, the masquerades associated with traditional religion.

2.3 Language status

Locally, Dyarim is considered to be a language that has 'nearly gone'. Hausaisation is proceeding apace and some households now do not speak the language at all. There are probably 2000 ethnic Dyarim and of those only a limited number (? 100) speak the language well. The chief himself does not have a fluent command of *Dyàrim T̄á* and none of the young people present at the meeting could speak it. Nonetheless, the older informants have remained fluent and perhaps the language is still commonly spoken in isolated hamlets. But there is no doubt that it is very endangered.

3. Phonology

The phonology of Dyarim should be regarded as tentative at this stage.

11. These included: Abdulhamidu Ahmad, Mallam Kiaku Musa, Zubairu Tukur, Baba Ja'o Ibrahim Sule, Abubakar Ciroma, Yahaya Abdulhamid and Lawal Abubakar. All of them were patient through a long elicitation session and I am very grateful to them.

3.1 Vowels

Dyarim (probably) has seven phonemic vowels:

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
<i>Close</i>	i		u
<i>Close-Mid</i>	e	ə	o
<i>Open-Mid</i>	(ɛ)		ɔ
<i>Open</i>		a	

No contrast has been established for [ɛ] and it is recorded phonetically as heard. All the vowels probably exist in long/short forms although no minimal pairs have been established for some.

3.2 Consonants

Dyarim consonants are as follows:

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labiodental</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Postalveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Labio-velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
<i>Plosive</i>	p b			t d			k g		ʔ
<i>Implosive</i>	ɓ			ɗ					
<i>Nasal</i>	m				n		ŋ		
<i>Fricative</i>		f v	ɛ	ʃ ʒ	s z				h
<i>Approximant</i>						y		w	
<i>Trill</i>				r					
<i>Lateral</i>				l					

The dental fricative /ɛ/ is a rare sound, but correspondences with Guus show that it develops from /ts/ in related languages.

3.3 Tones

Dyarim Tə has three tone levels phonetically as well as rising and falling tones.

4. Morphology

4.1 Nouns

Dyarim Tə resembles Guus and the Zeem languages in its pluralisation strategies.

Suffixes

The basic plural suffix is -sə (as in Guus) which appears to take its tone from the stem vowel. It can be realised in a number of ways (Table 1);

Table 1. Dyarim nouns with -s(ə) suffixes

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>arm</i>	taw	tawsə
<i>knee</i>	vɔrɔŋ	vɔrɔŋsə
<i>star(s)</i>	càrà	caras
<i>armpit</i>	dikákkál	dikálsə
<i>nail</i>	bê	bèksə
<i>penis</i>	swàlɔŋ	swàlès
<i>goat</i>	máɗə	má'əs

Unlike 'knee', 'penis' loses the final -ŋ, suggesting that this may originally have been a plural ending. 'Stomach' is interesting because it appears to have a frozen -sə in the singular which is then incorporated into the stem in the plural and a new -N suffix added; 'stomach': kùtsə / kúskən.

-tə

-tə may be an allomorph of sə, but Guus has unproductive -tə suffixes on nouns, so this can be considered a distinct morpheme in Dyarim.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>farm</i>	zùm	zìmtə
<i>name</i>	sòm	sómtə
<i>grave</i>	bìšù	bìšútə

In Guus, -tə is used for deriving abstract nouns (Caron 2001).

-(V)ŋ/n

A final nasal can be added to the stem, and an intervening vowel if the stem ends in -r. What determines the choice of -n or -ŋ is unclear.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>back</i>	karə	kwarəŋ
<i>stream</i>	lārə	lwārən
<i>eye</i>	yir	yírín
<i>stomach</i>	kùtsə	kúskán

-i

Final stem vowels are deleted in the singular, except for -a which is converted to a a+y sequence (apparently common for animals).

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>thief</i>	mòrə	mórí
<i>doctor</i>	zòòm	zoomí
<i>porcupine</i>	gùzùm	gúzúmi
<i>egg</i>	bɔ́tə	bòtí
<i>castrated ruminant</i>	dàlā	dwaláy
<i>dog</i>	kàrà	kwàrày
<i>agama lizard</i>	ndàrà	ndòròy

‘Lizard’ shows apophony of the central vowels and then addition of an -i suffix giving -oy. An exceptional case is; ‘cheek’: ŋgòm / ŋgomo

Labialisation of C₁

Surprising for a Chadic language is an alternation between non-labial and labialised consonants in C₁ position (Table 2):

Table 2. Dyarim nouns with labialised plurals

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>ear</i>	kàm	kwəmsə
<i>head</i>	gáám	gwómsə
<i>back</i>	kàré	kwárən
<i>woman</i>	gədè	gwòdè

Labialisation often seems to entrain a change in the stem-vowel to mid-back, although not always. This is typical of many Plateau languages, though not of Izere or Tunzu, the nearest neighbours of Dyarim today. Berom, for example, typically shows this alternation, although in this case the labialisation is found in the singular (Table 3).

Table 3. Delabialisation of plurals in Berom

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>kunu drink</i>	bwerè	bere
<i>arrow, needle</i>	kwet	kèt
<i>song, hymn</i>	lwele	lele
<i>cheek, side of face</i>	rwánáŋ	ránáŋ
<i>emptiness</i>	swan	sán

As is argued in §6. the functionality of labial prosodies is almost certainly a reflection of a former intense interaction with a Beromic language.

Apophony

Many items show vowel-rounding, usually central to back, but generally in combination with another strategy such as labialisation or suffixing. The only word to show this without further additional changes is ‘witch’: mə̀n / móón. But other examples are:

Table 4. Dyarim nouns with apophony in plurals

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>tail</i>	céérè	còòrən
<i>head</i>	gáám	gwómsə
<i>stone</i>	pəsé	pwòrsəs
<i>woman</i>	gədè	gwòdè
<i>sheep</i>	tàm	tòŋgəs

Alternations with single attestations are ‘female breast’: *pini* / *ně̃ṣó*; ‘farm’: *zìim* / *zìimtè*.

Tone-change

Many Dyarim nouns change tones between singular and plural, but for a small subset this is the only change:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>leg</i>	<i>ṅàsón</i>	<i>ṅàsèn</i>
<i>cow</i>	<i>ṭá</i>	<i>ṭà</i>
<i>patas monkey</i>	<i>bùrì</i>	<i>bùrí</i>
<i>rat (generic)</i>	<i>kùsèn</i>	<i>kùsón</i>

The situation in Dyarim resembles that of Guus, with marginally more pluralisation strategies. There is clear evidence for historical layering, with some affixes becoming fossilised and new affixes added.

4.2 Pronouns

Table 5 shows the Dyarim pronouns so far elicited, although to judge by Guus, the paradigms may be much richer. As with much of Plateau, pronouns have bound TAMs.

Table 5. Dyarim pronouns

	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Present/uncompleted</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Past/completed/aorist</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>ṅàm</i>	<i>ṅkə</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>he/she/it</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>til</i>	<i>ta</i>
<i>we</i>	<i>mày</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mul</i>	<i>mwa</i>
<i>you pl.</i>	<i>kwòy</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>kul</i>	<i>kwa</i>
<i>they</i>	<i>ṣì</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>tul</i>	<i>ta</i>

5. Dyarim wordlist with external cognates

N.B. Verbs were elicited, some cited with a –*tì* suffix, some without. This is generally a marker of verbal nouns in South Bauchi (SB) languages (see Caron 2002b) for Zodi and I have deleted it in the present list. Nouns where no plural is listed were said have no plural.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	COMMENTARY
<i>tree</i>	<i>ṅásò</i>	<i>ṅàsès</i>	<i>cf.</i> Lusa <i>ṅántse</i> but attested across SB
<i>leaf</i>	<i>ḍwàbó</i>	<i>ḍwàbès</i>	absent in SB
<i>root</i>	<i>lúrè</i>	<i>lùrès</i>	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>lurtə</i> attested across SB, also Shall <i>lun</i>
<i>branch</i>	<i>làṅ</i>	<i>làṅsè</i>	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ḥaṅ</i>
<i>bark</i>	<i>wèrfà</i>	—	<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>wuri</i>
<i>thorn</i>	<i>ṅgabə</i>	<i>ṅgàbès</i>	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>jìbgə</i>
<i>grass</i>	<i>yàrè</i>	—	? <i>cf.</i> Gurduṅ <i>yaafu</i> , Shall <i>wur</i>
<i>mushroom</i>	<i>vwi</i>	—	
<i>charcoal</i>	<i>wòpèn</i>	—	<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>wopum</i>
<i>soot</i>	<i>dùngûr</i>	—	
<i>ashes</i>	<i>dìṭá</i>	—	Chari etc. has <i>giṭi</i>
<i>rubbish-heap</i>	<i>rèwùtə̀bàrsə̀</i>	—	
<i>mud</i>	<i>tàbó</i>	—	
<i>clay</i>	<i>gùrè</i>	—	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>gùrgè</i>
<i>dew</i>	<i>ṣìṣìr</i>	—	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ṣìṣìr</i> , Gurduṅ <i>susùr</i> , Shall <i>sisir</i>
<i>stone</i>	<i>pəsá</i>	<i>pwə̀rsəs</i>	<i>cf.</i> Chari <i>pə̀si</i> , but attested across SB
<i>sand</i>	<i>sáwtá</i>	—	not attested otherwise in SB
<i>smoke</i>	<i>yáyí</i>	—	? Lusa <i>yààṅ</i> but probably also Hausa <i>hayaki</i>
<i>fire</i>	<i>wutá</i>	—	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>wutə̀</i> , attested across SB, Hausa <i>wuta</i>
<i>water</i>	<i>zà</i>	—	in this form in Zeem, Dokshi and Zakse clusters
<i>rain</i>	<i>vwàn</i>	—	attested in this form in the Zeem and Zakse clusters
<i>cloud</i>	<i>lyà̀rə̀msə̀</i>	—	pl. of ‘sky’ (q.v.). <i>cf.</i> Dokshi <i>lyar</i> , Boghom <i>lway</i>
<i>rainy season</i>	<i>wààṭə̀n</i>	—	
<i>early rains</i>	<i>lɔ̀rbi</i>	—	
<i>dry season</i>	<i>utín</i>	—	
<i>year</i>	<i>dìnə̀</i>	<i>dínís</i>	
<i>today</i>	<i>áḡòtíini</i>	—	
<i>yesterday</i>	<i>àvòdì</i>	—	
<i>tomorrow</i>	<i>ánjèrí</i>	—	
<i>morning</i>	<i>ánjértí</i>	—	
<i>evening</i>	<i>ásuté</i>	—	
<i>day</i>	<i>bày</i>	—	
<i>night</i>	<i>kávòdì</i>	—	<i>cf.</i> Lusa <i>kavìt</i> , Guus <i>giùù vòòdǎ</i>

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	COMMENTARY		SINGULAR	PLURAL	COMMENTARY
<i>moon/month</i>	libè	libès	<i>cf.</i> Chari <i>lyàbè</i> , Guus <i>lèpm</i>	<i>corpse</i>	vún	vúnsà	<i>cf.</i> Berom <i>vín</i>
<i>sun</i>	pitè	—	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>füt</i> . In Zul, Dokshi and Zakse clusters, but Zeem has innovated	<i>blacksmith</i>	mórgòlǝ	mínkògǝlǝ	
<i>star(s)</i>	càrà	caras	only in the Zakse cluster, <i>e.g.</i> Lusa <i>caàr</i>	<i>slave</i>	rwâm	rwámsè	
<i>wind</i>	yätir	—		<i>masquerade (general)</i>	gámbày		
<i>god</i>	bábán pitè	—	‘father sun’	<i>masquerade (type)</i>	jíji		
<i>sky</i>	ályàrá	—	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>tyààr</i>	<i>horn</i>	ɲàw	ɲáwsè	<i>cf.</i> Boghom <i>ɲaw</i> , Mbaaru <i>ɲàw</i>
<i>world</i>	dinè	—	? < Hausa	<i>tail</i>	céérè	cǝǝrèn	<i>cf.</i> Wangday <i>cər</i> , but attested across SB, usually with initial <i>ky-</i>
<i>ground</i>	ɲási	—	? <i>cf.</i> Chari <i>ɲaʃi</i>	<i>egg</i>	bɔ́tə	bǝ́tɪ	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>mbòt</i> , but attested across SB
<i>large river</i>	lárɓár	—		<i>wing</i>	pàlè	—	
<i>stream</i>	lárè	lwárèn	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>lààr</i>	<i>feather, hair</i>	—	mèʃɪn	<i>cf.</i> Tule <i>mèʃinè</i> , Guus <i>mbəʃyèn</i>
<i>lake, pond</i>	pyáŋ	pyàŋsè		<i>war</i>	ʔàŋə	—	
<i>forest</i>	rwáám	rwáamsè		<i>work</i>	cèn	—	? <i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kinnè</i>
<i>mountain</i>	wúbè	wúbès	not attested in SB	<i>medicine</i>	wóɔn	wǝɔnsè	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>wùŋgə</i>
<i>bush</i>	básá	—		<i>money</i>	wurɓə	—	<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>wurupi</i>
<i>farm</i>	zùm	zìmtè	<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>dun</i>	<i>shadow</i>	ʃiiʃi	—	<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>ʃiʃi</i>
<i>compound</i>	lára	lárásé		<i>head</i>	gáám	gwómsè	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>gaam</i> , attested across SB
<i>granary</i>	foŋ	fòŋsè	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>fuŋ</i>	<i>eye</i>	yir	yírín	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>yir</i> , attested across SB but replaced in the Zeem cluster, which has <i>dwati</i>
<i>road</i>	fídi	fídis	not attested in SB				
<i>person/people</i>	márgù	míndù	people also <i>gyagis</i> . Attested across much of SB, <i>e.g.</i> Wangday <i>mar/min</i>	<i>cheek</i>	ŋgòm	ŋgomo	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>gəŋ</i> , Gurduŋ <i>gunzin</i>
<i>man</i>	màrmaàn	mínmwààn	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>maan</i> , but attested across much of SB, as <i>-m(w)an(i)</i>	<i>forehead</i>	cínà	cínàs	
<i>woman</i>	gədè	gwòdè	<i>cf.</i> Dokshi and Zakse clusters, <i>e.g.</i> Guus <i>gə̀dè</i>	<i>nose</i>	iθèn	iθúnsə	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>yìitsən</i> , Chari <i>yisəŋ</i> , although most of SB retains initial <i>ɲ-</i>
<i>child, male</i>	kònmààn	mwónsəmaàn		<i>ear</i>	kəm	kwəmsè	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kəm</i> , but all across SB languages
<i>child, female</i>	wúngədè	mírgwòdè		<i>mouth</i>	bi	bəŋgən	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>vii</i> , but attested across SB
<i>husband</i>	dyàlárà	kədyàlárà	‘owner of house’	<i>tooth</i>	ʃèn	ʃəngən	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ʃən</i> , attested across SB and widely in Afroasiatic
<i>wife</i>	gə̀tkə̀bèèn	gótkə̀bèèn		<i>tongue</i>	ɲelum	ɲèlúmsè	<i>cf.</i> Boodlə <i>ɲeʔ</i> , but generally across SB with initial <i>ɲ-</i> . No other language has final <i>-um</i>
<i>widow</i>	kufáltùrè	—					attested across SB
<i>father</i>	bäyni	—	<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>ba</i>	<i>neck</i>	yàrə	ywarən	
<i>mother</i>	näyni	—	<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>na</i>	<i>shoulder</i>	dyàmɓè	dyàmɓəs	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>wàmʃə̀</i>
<i>friend</i>	mārkayni	—		<i>armpit</i>	dikáɓkál	dikáɓsə	
<i>guest</i>	sombɔr	sombɔrsè	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>sumber</i>	<i>arm</i>	tàw	táwsè	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>tàw</i> , Zeem and Dokshi clusters
<i>king/chief</i>	làw	bìdèy					
<i>hunter</i>	marpàŋ	mínkùpàŋ		<i>hand</i>	gò`ə táw	gò`ə táwsə	
<i>thief</i>	mòrè	mórí		<i>leg</i>	ɲàsén	ɲàsən	<i>cf.</i> Zakse <i>ɲàsən</i> . Most S. Bauchi languages reduce initial <i>ɲ-</i> to <i>y-</i> .
<i>doctor</i>	zòòm	zoomí		<i>thigh</i>	cín	cínsə	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ciŋ</i>
<i>witch</i>	mə̀ən	móón					

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	COMMENTARY
<i>knee</i>	gòròŋ	góròŋsá	absent in SB. <i>cf.</i> Fyem <i>đurúm</i> pl. <i>arúm</i> , Mabo <i>rurum</i> , Yanjam <i>ruj</i> .
<i>nail</i>	bê	bêksà	<i>cf.</i> Chari <i>buski</i>
<i>breast</i>	nini	ne&ŋsá	attested in Zeem, Dokshi, Zul clusters
<i>stomach</i>	kùtsà	kúskán	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kukus</i>
<i>navel</i>	swámà	swàmès	
<i>back</i>	kàró	kwàrèn	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kààr</i>
<i>buttocks</i>	ƙàw ndálàn		
<i>penis</i>	swálòŋ	swàlès	
<i>vagina</i>	swòy	swòysà	
<i>skin</i>	kòrli		attested across SB, usually as <i>kur</i>
<i>bone</i>	mwaátà	mwaatós	<i>cf.</i> Zakse <i>mwat</i> , not attested in Zeem cluster
<i>blood</i>	cáwàr		
<i>tear</i>	lùŋ		
<i>urine</i>	víhà		
<i>faeces</i>	iši		<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>ji</i>
<i>hair</i>		mèŋin	see ‘feather’
<i>beard</i>	bánzà		<i>cf.</i> Gurduŋ <i>bamsi</i>
<i>liver</i>	ryâ		rare, but attested as ‘heart’ in the Zakse cluster, <i>e.g.</i> Lusa <i>ra</i> , but also Shall <i>ri</i> ‘liver’
<i>heart</i>	káló		as ‘liver’ in Zakse cluster, <i>cf.</i> Guus <i>vùkàl</i>
<i>intestines</i>	wártà	wártès	? Guus <i>wàtká</i>
<i>body</i>	lĩ	liinsà	pl. means ‘people’. <i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ŋii</i>
<i>meat</i>	šàw		<i>cf.</i> Boghom <i>sáw</i> , but generally in Zeem etc. <i>šaw</i> .
<i>animal (bush)</i>	šàw kó básá		‘meat of bush’
<i>cow</i>	ƙá	ƙà	widespread across Afroasiatic
<i>bull</i>	gwòmà ƙá		‘male cow’
<i>goat</i>	máçð	má’ès	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>maadð</i>
<i>castrated ruminant</i>	dàlà	dwalây	
<i>sheep</i>	tàm	tòŋgòs	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>tàm</i> , but widespread across West Africa
<i>ram</i>	gàmà	gwòmway	widespread in West Chadic
<i>dog</i>	kàrà	kwàrày	<i>cf.</i> Zakse <i>kàra</i> , though also in Zeem, Dokshi and elsewhere in Afroasiatic
<i>horse</i>	bùrzà	bùrzàs	
<i>elephant</i>	zùró		

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	COMMENTARY
<i>leopard</i>	kwà	kwáyì	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kwàik</i>
<i>hyena</i>	mùrúú	múrusó	widespread in Niger-Congo languages.
<i>wart-hog</i>	haŋ		
<i>porcupine</i>	gúzùm	gúzúmi	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ngúzùn</i>
<i>baboon</i>	fwám	fwàmsà	? <i>cf.</i> Guus <i>fóyŋ</i>
<i>patas monkey</i>	bùrì	bùrì	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>vùrì</i>
<i>rat</i>	kùsàn	kùsán	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kùsàn</i>
<i>grasscutter</i>	yíðà		<i>Thryonomys swinderianus</i>
<i>hare</i>	zwòm	zǝŋì	<i>cf.</i> Hausa <i>zoomo</i> , but widespread in both Plateau and Chadic; <i>Lepus crawshayi</i>
<i>agama lizard</i>	ndàrà	ndòròy	
<i>monitor lizard</i>	derá		(Hausa <i>damo</i>)
<i>monitor lizard</i>	sàyí		(Hausa <i>guza</i>)
<i>toad</i>	gèt pòndò	gwát pòndònsó	
<i>tortoise</i>	kúkúrbì	kúkúrbis	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kùkùrbi</i>
<i>snake</i>	ŋè hyèrè	sórtà	
<i>crab</i>	gàrè		<i>cf.</i> Shall <i>tagali</i>
<i>fish</i>	—	gwàysá	<i>cf.</i> Zakse cluster, <i>e.g.</i> Zari <i>gwùši</i> , Kal <i>gyaas</i> , but also Shall <i>giši</i>
<i>bird</i>	ryàŋzè	ryàŋzès	<i>cf.</i> Zeem, Zakse clusters <i>yaŋji</i>
<i>chicken</i>	kwarə	kwàràs	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>kwaar</i>
<i>cock</i>	gwàndwò	gwàndwòy	? <i>cf.</i> Guus <i>gùnn</i>
<i>guinea-fowl</i>	lùkùm	lúkumsà	<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ƙəbm</i>
<i>vulture</i>	jigáwàl	jigàwàlsà	
<i>scorpion</i>	yàndər		
<i>mosquito</i>	víndíri		
<i>bee</i>	doom		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>duum</i>
<i>housefly</i>	wórèn	wòrènsà	
<i>termite</i>	dyàzè min		? correct
<i>one</i>	nàm		attested across SB
<i>two</i>	biŋi		only in the Zakshi cluster, <i>e.g.</i> Zakse <i>mbèfi</i>
<i>three</i>	màyí		attested across SB
<i>four</i>	wópsà		attested across SB
<i>five</i>	néntàm		attested across SB
<i>six</i>	timin		< Berom <i>tyimìn</i> . not otherwise attested in SB
<i>seven</i>	támbar		< Berom <i>taamà</i> . not otherwise attested in SB

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	COMMENTARY
<i>eight</i>	wūr		not otherwise attested in SB, but <i>cf.</i> Piti <i>uwur</i> and <i>wur</i> 'ten' in some Plateau languages
<i>nine</i>	tóóǎí		not otherwise attested in SB, but <i>cf.</i> Boze <i>toroy</i> , Buta <i>botori</i>
<i>ten</i>	wóǎdò		not otherwise attested in SB. <i>cf.</i> Iten <i>ndùwùbò</i> . The <i>wǎb-</i> element is widespread in Adamawa languages
<i>eleven</i>	dèlnàm		<i>dèl</i> occurs as a formant in numerals above 'ten' in Guus, thus eleven is <i>kwadèl ná'ay</i> .
<i>twelve</i>	dèl biñi		
<i>twenty</i>	lím biñi		<i>lím</i> is 'six' in Guus and it is likely that the original meaning of this in Dyarim was 'twelve', <i>i.e.</i> 6 x 2. When a base-10 system was superimposed on this, the shift to twenty occurred.
<i>thirty</i>	lím màyí		
<i>hundred</i>	łái		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>labi</i>
<i>beat (drum)</i>	dú		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>dúu</i>
<i>bite</i>	ɲaši		<i>cf.</i> Zakse <i>ɲaš</i> , Gurduɲ <i>gəsi</i> , English "gnash"
<i>blow (flute)</i>	fátà		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>fot</i>
<i>boil</i>	łiktò		
<i>burn (fire burns)</i>	ci		scattered across SB, <i>e.g.</i> Boodlò, Bele <i>ci</i>
<i>buy</i>	ɲis		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>ɲgəs</i>
<i>carve</i>	hòlòk		
<i>come</i>	bità		not otherwise attested in SB, but a common Niger-Congo root
<i>come out</i>	tá dinà		
<i>dance</i>	ɲàpó		
<i>die</i>	məs		attested across SB
<i>dig (earth)</i>	yàw		
<i>divide/share</i>	wòlò		
<i>drink</i>	ła		attested across SB
<i>eat</i>	cí		attested across SB
<i>enter</i>	wáǎǎ		
<i>fly (birds)</i>	tádú pàlò		'flap wing'
<i>fry (in oil)</i>	wòł		
<i>gather/collect</i>	gútsùm		
<i>give</i>	bèr		attested across SB

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	COMMENTARY
<i>give birth</i>	sátà		
<i>grind</i>	ɲèk		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>nəg</i>
<i>hear</i>	wòm		attested across SB, but usually with initial k-. Zakse and Dokshi have reduced to initial w-
<i>jump</i>	díl		
<i>kill</i>	łàw		not otherwise attested in SB
<i>laugh</i>	dyámǎ		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>gyamǎ</i>
<i>mould (pot)</i>	gən		
<i>open</i>	úk		
<i>pierce/stab</i>	tùl		
<i>plait (hair)</i>	tòk		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>tuu</i>
<i>play</i>	lyàw		? <i>cf.</i> Hausa <i>rawa</i>
<i>pound (in mortar)</i>	dāwə		
<i>pour (liquid)</i>	wò		
<i>ride (horse etc.)</i>	twá		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>tu</i>
<i>say/speak</i>	wólí		attested in Zeem and Dokshi clusters, <i>e.g.</i> Guus <i>wul</i> , Zodi <i>wol</i> , Tule <i>wuli</i>
<i>sell</i>	èr		
<i>send</i>	šéɲgəm		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>gəm</i>
<i>shoot</i>	vwǎ		
<i>sleep</i>	dámáǎ		<i>cf.</i> Tule <i>dar mǎǎ</i>
<i>steal</i>	mór		
<i>take</i>	bàk		<i>cf.</i> Guus <i>bağ</i>
<i>throw</i>	gàm		
<i>walk</i>	sátà		not otherwise attested in SB
<i>want/need</i>	lyàm		
<i>work</i>	pít cèn		

6. Correspondences with other South Bauchi languages

The relationship between Dyarim and other South Bauchi (SB) languages is not defined by regular sound-correspondences, probably because originally these languages were in close contact with one another and there was considerable mutual borrowing between already similar languages. However, it is possible to exemplify some sound-shifts that occur several times which may

eventually provide evidence for correspondences when the morpho-phonology of these languages is better worked out.

ʃ/ʒ→l

	<i>Dyarim</i>	<i>Guus</i>
<i>body</i>	lĩ	ʒii
<i>guinea-fowl</i>	lùkùm	ʒǎbm
<i>branch</i>	làŋ	ʒaŋ
<i>sky</i>	ályàrám	ʒyààr
<i>guinea-yam</i>	gúlin	guʒən

ŋ→ɲ

<i>buy</i>	ɲis	<i>cf. Guus ŋgəs</i>
<i>tongue</i>	ɲelum	<i>cf. Boodlā ɲet</i> But generally across SB with initial ŋ-. No other language has final – um.

b→v

	<i>Dyarim</i>	<i>Guus</i>
<i>mouth</i>	bì	vii
<i>patas monkey</i>	bùri	vùri

b→mb

<i>egg</i>	bɔʔə	<i>Guus mbòòʔ</i>
<i>two</i>	bifi	<i>Zakse mbèfi</i>

d→g

An unusual correspondence, but these two examples look regular:

	<i>Dyarim</i>	COMPARISON
<i>ashes</i>	difá	Chari <i>giʔi</i>
<i>laugh</i>	dyámʔə	<i>Guus gyamʔə</i>

7. The classification of Dyarim

7.1. Is Dyarim part of the Zeem cluster?

Dyarim is a South Bauchi language, part of West Chadic. South Bauchi languages in general show a high proportion of common vocabulary, to

judge by the wordlists in Shimizu. However, Dyarim has a considerable number of divergent lexical items whose source is so far unidentified. If lexicostatistics of the type given by Shimizu were used, it would probably form an isolated branch. A comparison with the 100 words of Chaari (*i.e.* Danshe, the language Dyarim people say is closest to their own) shows considerable divergence for many common items. The relatively good documentation for Guus (*i.e.* Sigidi) makes it possible to identify numerous cognates and it is striking that quite a number of these are identical to Guus. Table 6 shows a series of comparisons with South Bauchi which suggest rather strongly that Dyarim is not part of the Zeem cluster but would be better sited within the Zakse/Saya cluster.

There is one lexical item that may support a Chari affiliation: 'nail (finger/toe)': *bè / bèksə* : Chari *buski*, as the Saya cluster has *#mbyak*. However, the root is certainly the same and it is reasonable to accept the Saya classification. The statement by the Dyarim that Danshe is closest to their language probably reflects geographical proximity; they know of the Danshe and are not in contact with other Chadic speakers.

Table 6. Comparisons between Dyarim and other South Bauchi languages

	<i>Dyarim</i>	COMPARISON	COMMENT
<i>bone</i>	mwààtə	Zakse <i>mwat</i>	not attested in Zeem cluster
<i>eye</i>	yir	Guus <i>yir</i>	attested across SB but replaced in the Zeem cluster, which has <i>dwati</i>
<i>night</i>	kávòdĩ	Lusa <i>kavit</i> , Guus <i>gùù vòòdĩ</i>	
<i>star</i>	càrà	Lusa <i>caàr</i>	only in the Zakse cluster
<i>sun</i>	pità	Guus <i>fiit</i>	In Zul, Dokshi and Zakse clusters, but Zeem has innovated
<i>two</i>	bifi	Zakse <i>mbèfi</i>	only in the Zakse cluster.

7.2 The sources of non-Chadic vocabulary

However, the non-Chadic vocabulary in Dyarim remains problematic. I have checked the wordlist against existing materials for Tunzu (Duguza) and Izere without any particular result. It seems that some of the more unusual lexical items have an intriguing source, the Beromic languages. Beromic is usually considered to have three members, Berom itself, Cara and Iten (Ganawuri) all situated to the south and west of Jos and not today in contact with Dyarim. However, the language of the Shall-Zwall, spoken in a small

enclave in Bauchi State appears to also be a member of this group. Shall-Zwall is south of Dass on the road that leads from Kabwir to Bauchi and now entirely encapsulated within Chadic. Our knowledge of Shall-Zwall comes entirely from an orthographic 400-wordlist collected in Ibadan in the 1970s. Nonetheless, it appears that a number of lexical items in Dyarim have their source in Beromic. For example, Table 7 shows words with no evident parallel in South Bauchi that occur in Shall;

Table 7. Shall loanwords in Dyarim

	<i>Dyarim</i>	<i>Shall</i>
<i>bark (of tree)</i>	wàrfâ	wuri
<i>charcoal</i>	wòpàn	wopum
<i>father</i>	bâyni	ba
<i>mother</i>	nâyni	na
<i>money</i>	wurḃó	wurupi
<i>shadow</i>	šiiši	šiši

Connections with Berom proper are fewer, but the higher numerals are quite striking as these do not occur in Shall or South Bauchi (Table 8).

Table 8. Berom loanwords in Dyarim

	<i>Dyarim</i>	<i>Berom</i>
<i>corpse</i>	vún	cf. Berom <i>vín</i>
<i>six</i>	tìmin	< Berom <i>tyimìn</i> . Not otherwise in SB.
<i>seven</i>	támbar	< Berom <i>taamà</i> . Not otherwise in SB.

I have speculated as the source of the numerals 8-10 in the main list, but these connections are far less certain.

The implication of this connection with Beromic is very clear. Shall-Zwall is the last remaining trace of a scatter of Beromic languages that once spread all across the eastern Plateau into the Chadic region south of Bauchi. Dyarim came under the influence of these languages at an unknown period in the past, and this is witnessed by some lexical replacement. The other Beromic languages were then assimilated by the spread of Izere and East Kainji languages.

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