

KORDOFANIAN and NIGER-CONGO: AN EVALUATION OF THE EVIDENCE

DRAFT ONLY

NOT TO BE QUOTED WITHOUT PERMISSION

Roger Blench

Institutional

Research Fellow
Overseas Development Institute
Portland House, Stag Place
London, SW1E 5DP
United Kingdom
Tel +44 (0) 171-393-1613
Fax +44 (0) 171-393-1699
E-mail R.Blench@odi.org.uk
Web Page: <http://www.oneworld.org/odi/rfs/r.blench>

Home/correspondence

CISPAL
8, Guest Road
Cambridge CB1 2AL
United Kingdom
Voice/Answerphone/Fax. 00-44-(0)1223-560687
E-Mail RMB5@CAM.AC.UK

1. Introduction

Since Greenberg (1966), the inclusion of the Kordofanian languages in Niger-Congo has scarcely been questioned. The article on Kordofanian by Schadeberg (1989) in Bendor-Samuel (1989) sets a seal of approval on this assignment. Oddly, however, the case for the inclusion of Kordofanian was seriously weakened by Thilo Schadeberg (1981), author of this same reference article, when he proposed that Kadugli-Krongo [now referred to as Kadu] be excised from Niger-Congo and assigned to Nilo-Saharan, since this left many Greenberg's examples with even less support.

The persuasive morphological feature of Kordofanian that has led to its assignment to Niger-Congo is the alternating CV prefixes so characteristic of Niger-Congo. Greenberg backed this with a series of sound-meaning correspondences. However, once Kadu (which also has functioning CV prefixes) is cut loose then the argument becomes considerably weakened. Either the Kado prefixes (which bear a striking resemblance to Talodi) are borrowings or they are coincidence. Similarly, once the Kadu ('Tumtum') languages are taken out of Greenberg's comparative list then the actual number of convincing cognates is much reduced.

Greenberg proposes some 52 Niger-Kordofanian cognates. Nineteen of these include Kado -and so presumably would be equally good evidence of a Nilo-Saharan affiliation. Many others are certainly cognate with Niger-Congo -but also with Nilo-Saharan. Some, such as 'tortoise' or 'white' and 'and' also surface in Afro-Asiatic and are thus best regarded as 'pan-African'. I have argued that Niger-Congo should be included in Nilo-Saharan to make a macro-phylum with the proposed name 'Niger-Saharan' (Blench 1995, ined.). Whatever the fate of the hypothesis, the comparative series show that Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan share a substantial number of lexical items, thus casting doubt on their value in assigning languages to one phylum or the other. Examples of items that are certainly cognate with Niger-Congo but can no longer be used as evidence for classifying Kordofanian because of external Nilo-Saharan cognates are 'blood', 'to buy', 'mouth', 'shoulder', 'thorn', 'three', 'throat', 'tongue', 'tooth'. Some of Greenberg's resemblances, as Schadeberg notes, are so weak as to be almost unusable. See for example, 'hill', 'to take', 'to think', 'oil', 'spear' etc. Others depend on a single citation, but this is problematic, because of the significant lexical spreading between the branches of Kordofanian (see Schadeberg's example of 'large'). Appendix 1. presents analysis of Greenberg's lexical case.

The sum of these exceptions makes the published case for the inclusion of Kordofanian in Niger-Congo unimpressive. We consider that in view of the importance of Kordofanian in the overall reconstruction of Niger-Congo, a stronger argument should be available. One reason for re-evaluating the Kordofanian hypothesis is the increased availability of data on several languages. The publications of Schadeberg (1981a,1981b and 1995) have made both comparative wordlists and preliminary information on phonology available. More voluminous, but unfortunately unpublished, are the comparative wordlists of Roland Stevenson, covering all four branches of Kordofanian as well as Kadu. A summary listing of the Stevenson mss. is in Blench (1997). A dictionary of Moro (Black & Black, 198x) has been published. Finally, new data on some Kordofanian languages has become available from unpublished studies of SIL, Sudan (for example, xx). Data on Kadu are contained in Reh (198x) and Matsushita (1986, 1988).

2. Is there evidence for the unity of Kordofanian?

2.1 The Kordofanian group

One of intriguing, but unproven assumptions of the literature is that Kordofanian, with or without Kadu actual forms a coherent group. This does not follow from Greenberg's lists which show that there are sets of overlapping isoglosses, including Kadu, rather than a series of distinctive innovations that conjoin all four branches of Kordofanian. Similarly, Schadeberg (1989) simply assumes the unity of the group, although there is some attempt to lay out the prefix system.

2.2 Phonology

Kordofanian languages have very little in the way of distinctive phonology; most of it is shared with neighbouring Nilo-Saharan languages such as Nyimang and Temein.

2.3 Noun-class morphology

The system of paired genders, based on alternating affixes, usually V- or CV-, is one of the most distinctive features of Niger-Congo languages and is held to distinguish it from other African language phyla. Most commonly, these are prefixes, but many Niger-Congo languages have corresponding suffixes and Greenberg (1974) has outlined a route whereby these could recycle and change position. Mande languages have no noun-classes and for groups such as Ijoid they can be deduced from historical reconstruction only. Ironically, Bantu languages, generally considered the 'youngest' branch of Niger-Congo, have conserved a very complete system of prefix-pairings.

The problem of Kadu language class-prefixes

The assignment of Kadu to Nilo-Saharan creates an unusual problem; the interpretation of its class prefixes.

Although Nilo-Saharan languages have highly complex pluralisation strategies, these distinctive class-pairings are generally absent. However, in one group, namely Kadugli-Krongo there is a system of alternating noun-prefixes. Greenberg made a systematic comparison between class-prefixes. A problem is that those in Kadugli-Krongo do not directly correspond to the other Kordofanian groups. However, the correspondences are strongest with the Talodi group, where there is apparent analogues of the following;

b-/y-	b-/y-
t-/n-	t-/n-
s-/any-	j-/ny-
t-/k-	t-/k-

As Schadeberg points out the t/k alternation is familiar from other branches of Nilo-Saharan.

Kadugli is exceptional because of the other systems of pluralisation based on sex. These are described for Krongo in some detail by Reh (1986). However, this is by no means unknown in Niger-Congo cf. Ijoid.

3. The lexical evidence

Williamson (in press) has set out a number of cognate sets for Niger-Congo which includes Kordofanian citations. These include; goat, 'two', 'three', 'four', 'five', 'bee', 'blood', 'breast', 'egg', 'horn', 'leg', 'nose', 'thigh' and 'tooth'. The function of the paper was not to propose these as evidence for Kordofanian membership of Niger-Congo but to illustrate their relevance to a reconstruction with 'longer' proto-forms. Some roots, notably 'two', 'three' and 'tooth' are so widespread in Africa as not to constitute evidence for the present argument (see data tables in Blench 1995). Others are set out below in amended or expanded form.

3.2 New proposed cognate sets

black -tuN

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Katla	Tima	àtún		RCS
Mande		Ngain	tii⁺		HTT
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Kru					
Gur					
Adamawa					
Ubangian	Gbaya	Proto-Gbaya	*tū		Mon
Kwa		Abron	tũndũm	-m = 'inside'	H
Benue-Congo					

Commentary:

References: Westermann (1927:); Mukarovsky (1976:)

blood #ɲima

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation I	Attestation II	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Kajakja	wiyá		RCS
		Lafofa	nyì		RCS
Mande	Katla	Katla	iyáá		RCS
		Orig	ɲóyí		S&E
	Sembla		ɲə ma		K
		Wan	ɲé-mǐ		HTT
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon		Timiniri	ɲi		Ber
		Duleri		geni	Ber
Kru		Kuwaa	ɲimo		M
Gur		Bieri	ɲim		Man
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing		kpaà	Sh
Ubangian	Gbaya	Mbodomo		ngià	Mon
Kwa		Abron	ɲmój àà		
		Eotile		ɲgà	H
Benue-Congo		Nupe		egyà	B
Bantu		PB			Me

Commentary: This root appears to be much more widespread than Westermann envisaged. The Kordofanian forms have undergone initial weakening of the velar. The nasal in Lafofa is likely to be a prefix.

References: Westermann (1927:); Mukarovsky (1976:)

bow #-taN-

Family	Subgroup	Language	Gloss	Comment	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Tegem	thaa		Schadeberg (1981b)
Mande		Boko	sa		Prost (1953)
		Man	sáá		HTT
Unclassified		Pre	ta		Creissels (ms)
Atlantic		Bassari	a-tũmb		Ferry (1991)
		Gola	ta	‘to shoot with bow’	
Dogon		Tɔɔ	tó		Calame-Griaule (1968)
		Donno Sɔ	tò		Kervran (1993)
Kru		Seme	tā		Prost (1964)
Gur		Dagare	tam-o		Manessy (1975)
		Moore	ta-ba		
		Mampruli	toro		Manessy (1975)
		Buli	tɔmɔ		Manessy (1975)
Adamawa	Mumuye	Mumuye	ta		
	Vere-	Momi	taa-u		
	Duru				
Ubangian		Gbaya	kusaa ⁺		Blanchard & Noss (1982)
Kwa					
Benue-Congo	Nupoid	Nupe	tanci		
	Kainji	Piti	o-ta		
Bantoid	Tivoid	Tiv	ta		
Bantu		*PB	*bo-ta		

Commentary: The Ijoid languages show no trace of this root despite a fairly exhaustive survey (Williamson, p.c.). The nasal is reconstructed

References: Westermann (1927:); Mukarovsky (1976:)
to come [arrive, reach] #ndadi

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation I	Attestation II	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Rashad	nda			RCS
	Koalib	Koalib	ila			RCS
	K-T	Tima	diag			RCS
Mande		Bambara	nà			Bai
		Ngain	nu ⁺			HTT
Atlantic		Gola	na			
Ijoid		P-Ijɔ	lá`á			KW
Dogon		Yeni	nu			Ber
Kru		Grebo	dí			M
		Neyo	ŋlɪ ⁺			M
Gur		Lobi	na			
	Senufo	Kuflo	nādi		arrive	M&T
Adamawa		Mbum	zina		come	B
Ubangian		Bare	dī			Mon
	Banda	Mbanza	na			Mon
Kwa	Central-	Nkonya		dù	reach	Hof
	Togo					
		Krobu	dā		arrive	H
Benue-Congo	Cross River	Kana	ina		arrive	I
	Mambila	Warwar	ndál			C

Commentary: Mukarovsky did not include this root, apparently because it has no Bantu cognates.

References: Westermann (1927:260);

to cut -tiN-

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Karondi	ati		RCS
Mande		Mende	téé		I
		Yaure	cē ⁺		HTT
Atlantic		Temne	ʔen		
		Diola	tiŋg		Muk
Ijoid		Kolokuma	séŋí	‘to slice’	KW
Dogon		Duleri	tela		Ber
Kru		Wobe	cē ⁺		Mar
Gur		Degha	téŋó		M&T
Adamawa		Galke	kəŋ		B
Ubangian		Yakoma	dε ⁺		Mon
Kwa		Chumburung	tì ŋ		S
		Abidji	cè		H
Benue-Congo		Nupe	te		B
Bantu		CB	#tín-		G

Commentary: Mukarovsky separates this root into two, #tin- and #ting-, but these are here considered to be the same.

References: Westermann (1927:287); Mukarovsky (1976: 366-367)

dog #gbēlē

Family	Subgroup	Language	Gloss	Comment	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Tegem	be -b u i	pl. erui	Sch2
		Eliri	b w a k	pl. abuk	RCS
Mande		Toura	gb é ġ		
		Susu	b a r e na		
		Mende	n ġ i l a		
		Boko	gb é	/-s	
Atlantic		Serer	u b o z		
		Pepel	ɔ -b o l		
		Manjaku	b u s		Doneux (1975)
		Bijogo	e b o t		
		Nalu	m -b e t		
		Konyagi	w -b é		
Ijoid		Kalabari	o b i r i		Williamson (p.c.)
		Biseni	e b i r i		
Defaka		Defaka	e b e r e		
Dogon		Tintam	ŋ w ε	?C	Bertho (1953)
Kru		Guéré	gb e		
		Seme	b u -o	/-e	
Gur		Moore	b a r a		
		Gurma	b u a	-ga /-mu	
		Dagare	b a r e		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Gloss				Comment	Source
		Hanga	b	a	'	a		Manessy (1975)
	Gurunsi	Chakali	v	a		a		Manessy (1969)
		Delo	b	a				Manessy (1969)
	Senufo	Nyarafolo	p	ú	n			
		Waama	b	ú		u	-ka	
		Bariba	gb	o				
Adamawa		Yungur	b	w		e		
		Mambei	v	w		a		
Ubangian	Sango	Yakoma	m	b	ò			
		Ngbaka		b	ó	n	ñ	
		'Dongo-Ko	6	é	l		à	
		Nzakara		b	a	n	á	
Kwa		Abbey		ɣ	ó			
		Ebrié		gb			à	
	Central Togo	Nyangbo	é-	b	ú			/be-
	Adangme			a	v	u		
	Gen			à	v	ú	n	
Benue-Congo	Edoid	Uhami	à	b	ù		à	
	Nupoid	Gbari	o	m	u			
	Platoid	Yeskwa	e-	b	u			
	Jukunoid	Kpan	i-	b	u			
	Cross River	Efik	e-	b	u		a	
Bantoid	Dakoid			v	o	n	a	
	Mbe	Mbe		b	o			g
Bantu		CB						*-búa (9/10)
		Duala						mbo

Commentary: Both Westermann and Mukarovsky have reconstructed forms with the sequence back + central vowel. Thus Westermann PWS #-búa and Mukarovsky PWN #-bhúa-. Greenberg (1963:16) also draws up a similar set. However, none of these adduce the Mande evidence which suggests that the initial consonant was a labial-velar and the vowels were nasalised, as the Gur forms also suggest.

The Kordofanian citation is intriguing. The Tegem (=Lafofa) word is not the usual Kordofanian lexeme and may simply be a lookalike. See Schadeberg (1981a,b) for common Kordofanian data. Ijoid languages have virtually the same form throughout, suggesting perhaps a widespread loanword.

References: Westermann (1927:); Mukarovsky (1976:)

ear #-nu[ku][lu]

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Proto-Heiban	*-aani		Sch1
		Proto-Talodi	*-eenu		Sch2
		Katla	gunu		RCS
Mande					
Atlantic		Bulom	nu-i		
		Gola	ke-nu		
Ijoid					
Dogon		CD	sugunu		Ber
Kru		Bakwe	ɲákúlú		M
Gur		Lobiri	nũũ		M&T
	Senufo	Nafaara	níígé		M&T
		Bondoukou			
Adamawa					
Kwa		Alladian	núkù		H
Benue-Congo					
	Cross River	Korop	lu-nuɲ		

Commentary: The Kordofanian forms for ‘to hear’ are also clearly related.

References: Westermann (1927:270);

to eat #rig-

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Lafofa	rik		RCS
	Talodi	Masakin	rigo		RCS
		Katla	ólák		
		Tima	áluk		
Mande		Mwi	li		W
		Bozo	dye		W
Atlantic		Temne	di		W
		Diola	riɛ		W
Ijoid					
Dogon		Yeni	dia		Ber
Kru		Grebo	dí		M
		Bete Daloa	lí		M
Gur		Degha	dì		M&T
		Kulango	ɖígé		M&T
Adamawa		Koh	reka		U
Ubangian		Mira	ri		Mon
Kwa		Abure	li		H
Benue-Congo					

Commentary: The Kordofanian citations in Greenberg are much more obviously cognate but regrettably, they do not occur in any recently-collected data.

References: Westermann (1927: 250-251); Mukarovsky (1976:)

egg **gyeli****jire**

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Rashad		yi	RCS
	Koalib	Otoro	g-ei pl. y-ei		RCS
	Koalib	Moro	isi		Black
Mande		Guro		ɲɛ̃rɛ̃⁺	HTT
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Kru		Koyo	g̃ɪye		M
Gur		Mampruli	gyelli		N
Adamawa					
Ubangian	Mba	Mba-ne	zià		
Kwa		Eotile		éɲi	H
Benue-Congo		Akpafu		oyi	W
		Nupe	ezi		Ban
		Ekoi	ezi		
		Bantu	?		

Commentary: Kordofanian languages have various fricatives in the C₁ slot, corresponding very well to the Niger-Congo citations. Williamson (p.c.) notes Ijoid *anga* but suggests that it is probably *not* cognate.

References: Westermann (1927:214); Mukarovsky (1976:)

fat, oil

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Tagoi	ɲɪr	fat	RCS
		Koalib	ɲila	fat	RCS
Mande		Wan	ɲɛ̃ɲ	oil	HTT
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon		Timiniri	nyi	oil	Ber
Kru		Tepo	ɲná	oil	M
Gur		Lobiri	n̄ɪn	fat	M&T
Adamawa		Koh	núm	fat	B
Kwa		Ega	ɲɪ̀	fat	H
		Nzema	ɛ̀lɔ̀m̀	fat	H
		Abidji	míné	oil	H
Benue-Congo		Nupe	èmi	oil	Ban

Commentary: This appears to be a rather strained correspondence, but there is good evidence the ɲ and m *do* correspond between Kordofanian and the rest of Niger-Congo. See Williamson (1989a).

References: Westermann (1927: 257); Mukarovsky (1976:)

fire #tek-

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Comment	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Lafofa	ʦ-éé		RCS
		Talodi	ʦek		RCS
Mande		Wan	té		HTT
		Mwi	te		W
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon			—		
Kru		Aizi	lede		M
		Grebo	to		
Gur	Senufo	Kulango	dəgə		M&T
	Oti-Volta	Bieri	daam		Man
Adamawa		Tuboro	hò'de		B
Kwa		Ebrie	átɛ		H
		Mbatto	óɔe		H
Benue-Congo					

Commentary:

References: Westermann (1927: 283); Mukarovsky (1976:)

to go #ta[ri]

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Tagoi	nde		RCS
	Koalib	Otoro	iɖi		RCS
	Katla	Tima	iɖi		RCS
Mande		Gban	tá		HTT
		Bambara	ta		Bai
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon			—		
Kru			—		
Gur		Delo	ta		W
		Senufo	Kuflo	tāri	
Adamawa	6	Galke	sele		B
Ubangian	Mba	Mba-ne	ɖɔ-		Mon
Kwa		Agni	nāndí		H
		Nzema	tià		H
		Lefana	tro		W
Benue-Congo					
		Bantu	tamba		

Commentary: The Kordofanian citations are certainly cognate with each other and probably with the Mande and other forms.

References: Westermann (1927: 283); Mukarovsky (1976:)

hand #-taN-

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	II	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Acheron	kāṭā			RCS
	Koalib	Moro		ɖaŋ		RCS
Mande		Soninke	sooxi			K
		Wan		ɔ-laŋ		HTT
Atlantic		Temne	kata			W
		Nalu	n-te			W
Ijoid			—			
Dogon						
Kru		Tepo	dabú			M
Gur						
		Tagbana		kadala		M&T
Adamawa						
Ubangian	Sango	Yakoma	ti			Mon
Kwa		Baule	sá			H
			tàkè			H
Benue-Congo						

Commentary: Several scattered forms in Kordofanian languages independently preserve a final velar nasal, hence its reconstruction here. It is interesting to note that -ta has a ka- prefix in Atlantic, e.g. Temne *kata*.

References: Westermann (1927: 282); Mukarovsky (1976:)

‘head’ #tile

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Comment	Source
Kordofanian	Koalib	Koalib	th-i		RCS
	Kolaib	Fungor	t-we		RCS
	Lafofa	Amira	te		RCS
Mande			?		
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon		Yeni	dege		Ber
Kru		Dewoin	dúlú		M
Gur		Dagara	zu pl. zuru		Man
		Lomaka	taka		M&T
Adamawa	6	Koh	túl		B
Ubangian		Kpatiri	dàlè		Mon
Kwa		Agni	tilé		H
Benue-Congo		Nupe	eti		Ban
		Bantu	tu		

Commentary: Evidence for a lateral in C₂ position is quite widespread. The case for a velar in that position (Yeni and Lomaka) appears to be less strong.

References: Westermann (1927: 287); Mukarovsky (1976:)

to know	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ni-, nia- + nasal [nima]	niNi
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tagoi	Orig	-ɲini		S&E
	Koalib	Koalib	iliɲidhi		RCS
Mande		Gola	?		
			nima		W
Atlantic			—		
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Kru		Godie	yì		M
Gur		Degha	j`imná		M&T
		Lobi	ni		W
Adamawa					
Kwa		Eotile	ɲni		H
		Twi	nim-		W
Benue-Congo		Nupe	yěmà	knowledge	Ban

Commentary: The Koalib form may well not be cognate as the liɲ- element appears as a detachable element in some languages of the group.

References: Westermann (1927: 266); Mukarovsky (1976:)

leg, foot #k[p][ar]aga

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Koalib	Koalib	kaga	foot	RCS
	Tegali	Rashad	ekán	foot	RCS
	Katla	Katla	kàṭ pl.a-	foot	RCS
Orig			tègàn		S&E
Mande		Vai	kèŋ	foot	K
		Guro	gãṅě	leg	HTT
Atlantic		Gola	ekpa	leg	W
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Kru			—		
Gur		Lorhon	kparaya	leg	M&T
Adamawa					
Ubangian	Sango	Kpatiri	gala⁺	foot	Mon
	Mba	'Dongo ko	kàngà	foot	Mon
Kwa			?		
Benue-Congo					

Commentary: For PMC, this should certainly be reconstructed with an initial labial-velar as shown in square brackets. However, the absence of /kp/ in the Kordofanian languages cited suggests that initial /k/ must be the quasi-reconstruction.

References: Westermann (1927: 239); Mukarovsky (1976:)

shoulder #-ubo[ro]

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Otoro	g-ə bo		
		Eliri	c-ebi		
Mande					
Atlantic		Balanta	f-boŋ		
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Adamawa					
Kwa		Twi	à-bókpo		
		Abidji	óbórò		H
Benue-Congo		Idoma	àbo		
		Igbo	ùbu	shoulder	W
Bantu					

Commentary: Westermann gives this as ‘upper arm’.

References: Westermann (1927:212); Mukarovsky (1976: 33-34)

arm #bwak-

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Otoro	g-ə bo		
		Eliri	c-ebi		
Mande					
Atlantic					
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Kru		Godie	pàpe		M
		Dagbani	boɣu pl. bayri	upper arm	RMB
Adamawa					
Ubangian	Gbaya	Mbodomo	ḡàkà	arm	Mon
		Twi	à-bókpo		
Benue-Congo					
Bantu					

Commentary: Westermann gives this as ‘upper arm’.

References: Westermann (1927:212); Mukarovsky (1976: 33-34)

to sit, wait, remain **#kale**

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Tegali	ka	remain!	RCS
Mande					
Atlantic		Temne	kar	wait	
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Kru		Bete Daloa	kònu	wait for	M
Gur		Buli	kali	sit down	K
	Senufo	Tagwana	klé	sit down	M&T
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	ga	to wait for	Sh
		Duru	kààle	sit	Bon
Kwa		Gonja	kà		
Benue-Congo		Yoruba	kale	sit down	
Bantu		PB			

References: Westermann (1927:230); Greenberg (1963:156); Mukarovsky (1976:142-3)

4. Conclusion

Appendix 1.

Evaluation of Greenberg's proposed cognate sets

1. All #pet

Greenberg displays a series of forms in Niger-Congo similar to #pet(e). Similar forms are found in various branches of Nilo-Saharan and even in local Arabic which may be responsible for transmitting this across the Sahelian region.

2. And #na

Forms such as na for 'and' are extremely widespread, not only in Africa, but in the world and probably English 'and' is to be included in the global distribution of conjunctions of nasal + central vowel.

3. Antelope #ri/di

Africa has some thirty species of indigenous antelope as well as a highly ramified cattle terminology. It would be problematic not to discern some resemblances between the many thousands of possible lexemes that could be compared.

4. Arm #ɲin

Maybe

5. To be #ro/ri

Maybe

6. To bear child/fruit #ma/mu

Another root found widely across Africa, even in Khoisan and certainly not restricted to Niger-Congo. This probably has a phonaesthetic component like some words for 'mother'.

to bear child, fruit' (G.:153)

7. To beat #bVrV

Maybe

8. To beg ?

Greenberg's comparison here is extremely weak.

10. To bite #lam

This looks like one of the best ones.

(G.:14,154)

11. blood #nyiN " (G.154)

#niN 'arm' (G.153)

#nu 'ear' (G.:155)

#-or- 'belly' (G.:154)

#ri 'to be' (G.:153)

#te- 'to demand' (G.:154 -shaky)

#te 'to cut' (G.:16,155)

Kadu lexical isoglosses with Niger-Congo

Apart from the class-prefixes, Kadu also shares some lexical isoglosses with Niger-Congo, in some cases rather strikingly, in the sense that the common lexemes do not appear to be found in other branches of Kordofanian.

Appendix 3. The Kordofanian languages: listing and classification

Kordofanian falls into four major groups, Katla, Heiban, Talodi-Tegem and Rashad. The following tables show the sub-groups found in Stevenson's notes¹ and the equivalent names published by Schadeberg. The composition of the subgroups is as follows;

	RCS	Schadeberg
Katla	Katla	Kalak
(Katla-Tima in RCS' notes)	Tima	Lomorik

Table A- 1. The Heiban (=Koalib-Moro) languages

	RCS	Schadeberg	RCS	Schadeberg
Heiban	Koalib	Rere	Tira	Tiro
(Koalib-Moro	Heiban	Ebang	Moro	Moro
in RCS' notes)	Shwai	Shirumba	Fungor/Kau/Nyaro	Ko
	Laro	Laru	Werni	Warnang
	Otoro	Utoro	Lukha	Logol

	RCS	Schadeberg
Rashad	Rashad	Gom
(Tegali-Tagoi in RCS' notes)	Tegali	Tegali
	Tumale 2	Umale
	Kajakja	
	Tagoi	Goy
	Turjuk	Orig
	Moreib	
	Tumale 1	

Note: RCS distinguished two forms of Tumale in different groups. He collected Tumale 2 himself. Tumale 1 was extracted from Meinhof/Tuschek.

¹N.B. Sometimes different from his early published work

Table A- 2. The Talodi-Masakin languages

	RCS	Schadeberg	RCS	Schadeberg
Talodi	Talodi	Jomang	Acheron	?
(Talodi-Masakin in RCS' notes)	Eliri	Nding	Tacho	Tocho
	Masakin Tuwal	Dengebu	Torona	?
	El Aheimar	?	Lumun	?
	Daloka	Ngile	Lafofa	Tegem
			Amira	?

References

Schadeberg T.C. (1981) 'The classification of the Kadugli language group' in Schadeberg and Bender (eds) pp. 291-306 in 'Nilo-Saharan' Foris Publications, Holland.

Williamson, K. (1989) 'Niger-Congo Overview' pp. 3-46 in Bendor-Samuel (ed.) 'The Niger-Congo languages' University Press of America, Lanham.

à á â ã è é ê ë ì í ò ó õ ò ó ù ú
m ñ ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã ã