Divergence across Bade Varieties – A Case of Naboopposition?

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Abstract

In a dialect survey of Bade (Chadic), Schuh (1981) lists several morphosyntactic, phonological, and lexical innovations differentiating Bade varieties. While certain innovations may be attributed to the influence of Kanuri, e.g., a sound change $r > \tilde{r}$ in Western Bade, other features are difficult to accommodate in terms of convergence with neighboring languages. Probably the most striking innovation concerns so called nunation in Western Bade, i.e., common nouns in their indefinite citation form take a suffix *-n*, a feature which is not only absent in all other varieties of the Bade-Ngizim group, but also in other non-related languages of the region. Divergence across varieties of the Bade language cannot be sufficiently explained in terms of language-internal processes (e.g., analogy), or contact, or extra-linguistic factors like prestige and attitudes. This paper explores the significance of Larsen's (1917) hardly noticed concept of naboopposition (neighbor-opposition) in filling this gap.

Keywords: Bade; Kanuri; Wider Lake Chad Region hyperdialectalism; neighbor-opposition.

1. Introduction

Bade [bde] belongs to the Bade-Ngizim group of West Chadic B.1 (Afro-Asiatic)[1] and is spoken in Yobe State, northern Nigeria, along the Kəmadugu Yobe "River of Yo", a

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[1] The ISO-code 639-3, the genus and the family of each language mentioned have been retrieved from Glottolog.

major tributary to Lake Chad. The administrative, commercial, and cultural center of Bade speakers is Gashua, which became the headquarters of the Bade Division in 1946. Other languages of the group are Duwai [dbp] spoken in a contiguous region east of Bade, and Ngizim [ngi] which is spoken in an area somewhat separated 80 to 100 kilometers to the south around Potiskum. Extinct members of the Bade-Ngizim group are Auyo, Shira, and Teshena, which were spoken somewhat west of the present-day Bade speaking area (cf. Schuh 2001, Broß 1997) (see Figure 1).
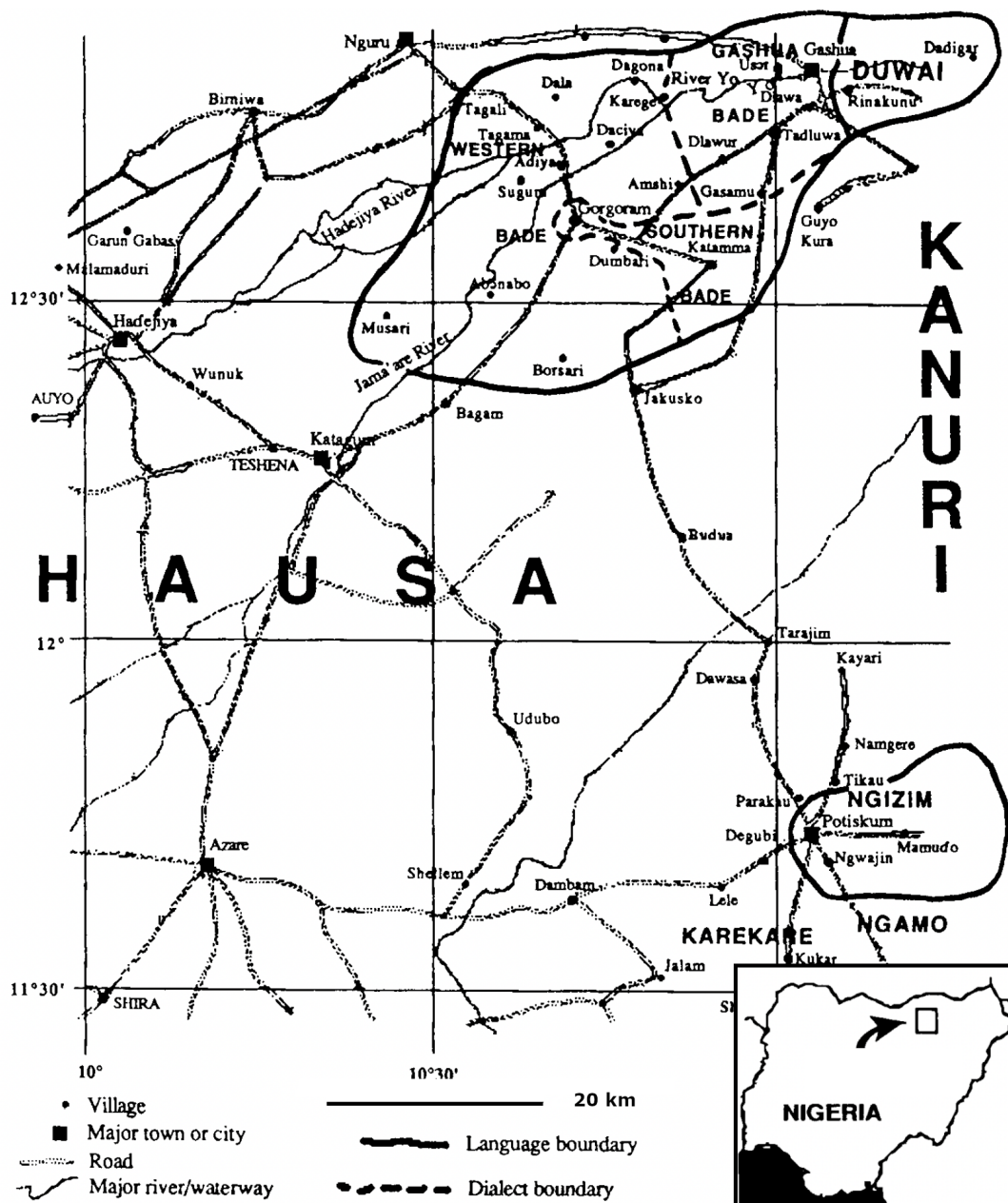

Figure 1: Language map of the Bade and surrounding languages in northeastern Nigeria (based on the map published in Schuh 2001: 389 and used with permission of Rüdiger Köppe Verlag).

While Duwai and Ngizim are dialectally rather homogeneous, Bade is linguistically very diverse to the extent that one could speak of different Bade languages. On the basis of morpho-syntactic, phonological, and lexical innovations, Schuh (1981) subdivided varieties into Western Bade, Southern Bade, and Northern Bade, and he stated (1981: 203) that: "in some respects Bade 'dialects' look at least as distinct from each other as Bade does from Ngizim". Northern Bade includes the demographically large dialect of Gashua, which is the present-day capital of the Bade society and the hometown of the Mai Bade ("King of Bade") and his royal court.

There is hardly any information on Southern Bade, except from what has been written in Schuh's dialect survey (1981), since most publications on Bade deal with the western variety—e.g., Lukas (1968, 1974/75), Wente-Lukas (1967/68), Schuh (1975, 1977, 1981, 2003, 2005), and the dictionary by Dagona (2004). Information on Gashua Bade is provided in a dictionary by Tarbutu (2004), and in several articles by Ziegelmeyer (e.g., 2010, 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2017a, 2018)[2]. The data presented and discussed here come from Schuh (1981, 2003, 2005), Ziegelmeyer (2013, 2014), and the dictionaries by Dagona (2004) and Tarbutu (2004).

According to Schuh (2003: 4): "[a]s with most peoples who have not exercised power and influence beyond their own region, little is known about the early history of the people who speak languages of the Bade-Ngizim group". Bade speakers trace their origin to the town of Badr in present-day Saudi Arabia, from where they were expelled by the Prophet Mohammed because of their denial to accept Islam. However, we assume that speakers of Chadic languages have a long history in the Wider Lake Chad Region, and believe, with the widely accepted scenario (cf. Jaggar 2010), that speakers of Chadic languages began to spread westwards across the Sahara into the Lake Chad basin after proto-Afro-Asiatic split up into subfamilies (probably some six thousand years ago when the Sahara started gradually transforming into an arid desert). According to Jaggar (2010: 47):

> historically Chadic languages were probably spoken from northwest Nigeria to
> their present extent in the Chad Republic, i.e., to the west and south of Lake Chad,
> and over time some were replaced by Hausa in the west, and by Kanembu and
> Chadian Arabic to the east.

"Kanurization" of Bade speakers is corroborated by the fact that one of the present-day Kanuri clans is named "Bedde", or as Migeod (1924: 109) put it:

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

Historical accounts on Bade society, e.g., Campbell-Irons (1914) go back to the mid of the 18th century and mention the Gidgid clan settling in Gidgid, a village south of the present-day Bade speaking area. The Gidgid clan became the ruling clan of the Bade confederation, and according to Schuh (1981: 204), their modern dominance emerged as follows:

> the Bades were continually subject to the predations of the politically and numerically superior Kanuri from Bornu and Hausa from Hadejiya. Finally, in the mid-19th century (my sources conflict as to dates, but it must have been between 1825 and 1840), the powerful and warlike Gidgid chief, Lawan Babuje moved his capital to the site of the town now called 'Gorgoram' on maps.

Gogaram actually means 'without chopping' and is located in an area of dense, uncleared bush. Note that the language of the court of the Mai Bade is called Gogarambu, which is linguistically not Bade, but (Manga) Kanuri (cf. Schuh 2003). Thus, we are confronted with a situation similar to that of England after the Norman invasion, when the court was speaking French, while the masses used English. Today speakers of different Bade varieties use the term "Bade" as a general ethnic designation, regardless of clan, dialect, etc.

As already briefly mentioned above, in terms of language contacts all Bade varieties were under strong influence of Kanuri [knc], a Saharan language (Nilo-Saharan, Western Saharan) spoken mostly in the Borno and Yobe States of Nigeria. Kanuri influence is heavily manifested in the vocabularies of Bade varieties, as well as in several other neighboring languages, mostly of the Chadic branch, but e.g., also in eastern Fulfulde varieties [fub, fuv] (Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic), and Nigerian, or Shuwa Arabic [shu] (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic).

We are able to determine that the period of heaviest borrowing from Kanuri must have been between the 16th and the 18th century—i.e. when the Kanem-Borno Empire exercised its greatest power—because the loanwords in Bade varieties lack several phonological features that emerged in Kanuri in somewhat more recent periods (cf. Schuh 2003). Thanks to an early description of Kanuri by Koelle (1954), we are able to

determine that changes like labial vocalization and velar weakening started to become active not earlier than the beginning of the 19th century. Table 1 shows a few examples of consonant weakening in present-day Kanuri and the respective loanwords in Gashua and Western Bade.

Gloss	Modern Kanuri	Koelle 1854	Gashua Bade	Western Bade
friend	sawà[3]	sōbà	sōbà	sōbān
medicine	kùrwûn	kargùn	kàȓgûn	kàrgùnən
sword	kàshâr	kashầgàr	kàsakàȓ	gasakarən

Table 1: Consonant weakening in Modern Kanuri.

While Schuh (2003) mentions that in the 60ies and early 70ies many Bade speakers (male and female) still had a good command of Kanuri as second language, things have changed dramatically during the past 50 years. Today Hausa [hau] (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, West-Chadic A.1) has become the major lingua franca all over northern Nigeria and, especially in urban centers, it was quickly establishing itself as the first language for many of the inhabitants (cf. Newman 2000).

Bade varieties are part of a broader linguistic contact zone which has been labelled the "Wider Lake Chad Region" by Ziegelmeyer (2014). In general, the Wider Lake Chad Region is characterized by various language contact settings, which lead to lexical borrowing, as well as structural and semantic convergence mediated by bi- or multilingual individuals.

With respect to Bade varieties, as noted above, heavy borrowing of lexical material from Kanuri is attested, e.g., in Schuh (2003). In addition to this, Bade partly also converged towards Kanuri in its morpho-syntactic structures, especially with respect to co- and subordination strategies (see e.g., Ziegelmeyer 2010, 2015b). While Kanuri did not take over many loanwords from its neighbors it, nevertheless, partly converged in its typological structures towards Chadic languages, e.g., loss of ATR vowel harmony,

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[3] Transcription: vowel length is marked with a macron, e.g., **ā**; low tones with grave accent, e.g., **à**; falling tones with circumflex accent, e.g., **â**; high tones remain unmarked, e.g., **a**; **ə** represents a central mid vowel; implosives are represented by hooked letters, e.g., **ɓ**; the voiced lateral fricative [ɮ] by **jl**; the retroflex flap [ɽ] by **r**, and the tapped or trilled [ɾ] by **ȓ**; **c** and **j** are the palato-alveolar affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ], and **sh** represents the postalveolar fricative [ʃ].

development of *exceed comparatives*, pluractionals formed by reduplication, and calquing of semantic concepts of the verbs 'eat' and 'drink' (see e.g., Ziegelmeyer 2017b).

Having outlined Bade varieties and the general contact scenarios of languages in the Wider Lake Chad Region, we will present selected divergent features across languages of the Bade-Ngizim group, especially from Western and Gashua Bade.

2. Divergence in Bade varieties

In this section, we outline selected morpho-syntactic innovations, which separate Western from Gashua Bade. The question which comes up is of course what motivated individual innovations, e.g., can specific innovations be interpreted as convergence towards other languages of the region, especially the languages of wider communication like Hausa, and Kanuri, or alternatively, do we have to look at other motivations to account for them?

2.1. Loss of distinctive "r-sounds"

Like Hausa, Gashua Bade, Southern Bade, Ngizim, and Duwai have two distinct "**r**" sounds, a retroflex flap [ʈ] (represented here as [**r**]) and a tapped or trilled "**r**" (represented here as [r̃]). Tapped or trilled [r̃] is totally absent in Western Bade and Schuh (1981) attributes the loss to contact with Kanuri where an [r̃] sound is also missing. Examples are shown in Table 2.

Gloss	Western Bade	Gashua Bade	Ngizim	Duwai
undo, untangle	pə̀rtu	pə̀r̃tu	pə̀r̃tu	pə̀r̃to
join	rə̀ptu	r̃ə̀ptu		r̃ə̀pto

Table 2: Loss of distinctive "r-sounds" in Western Bade.

2.2. Voiced second person subject pronouns

In languages of the Bade-Ngizim group, second person STAMP morphemes in the singular can be reconstructed with initial **k-** for the completive, subjunctive, and second subjunctive. While Southern Bade, Gashua Bade, and Ngizim still preserve

the unvoiced velar **k-**, Western Bade employs the voiced velar **g-**. Examples are provided in Table 3.

Language	Completive			Subjunctive	2nd Subjunctive
Western Bade	*gə* 2SG.PFV	*ju* go	'you went'	*gà, gā* 2SG.SBJV	*gə̀* 2SG.SBJV2
Southern Bade	*kə* 2SG.PFV	*ju* go	'you went'		
Gashua Bade	*kə* 2SG.PFV	*ju* go	'you went'	*kà, kā* 2SG. SBJV	*kə̀* 2SG.SBJV2
Ngizim	*ka* 2SG.PFV	*ju* go	'you went'	*ka* 2SG. SBJV	*kà* 2SG.SBJV2

Table 3: Voiced and unvoiced second person singular STAMP morphemes.

2.3. Prefix a- on all independent pronouns

In Western Bade a prefix **a-** is used on all independent pronouns, while elsewhere in languages of the Bade-Ngizim group the prefix appears only in third persons. This is shown in Table 4.

	Western Bade	**Gashua Bade**	**Southern Bade**	**Ngizim**
1 SG	ayù	niyù	iyù	iyù
2 SG.M	agì	gì	gì	cì
2 SG.F	agə̀m	gə̀m	gə̀m	kə̀m
3 SG.M	acì	acî	acî	acî
3 SG.F	atù	atû	atû	atû
1 PL.EXCL	ajà	jà	jà	jà
1 PL.INCL	agwà	gwà	gwà	wà
2 PL.	awùn	wùn	wùn	kùn
3 PL.	akcì	aksì	aksì	akshî

Table 4: Independent pronouns in Bade-Ngizim languages.

2.4. Prefix a- in third person direct and indirect object pronouns

An innovation, which has taken place in Gashua Bade, is the use of a prefix **a-** in third person direct and indirect object pronouns. This is probably due to an extension of the independent pronouns, which employ the prefix **a-** in third persons in all dialects.

While with third person direct object pronouns Gashua Bade, as well as Ngizim use the same form as in independent pronouns, in Western Bade "a-less" pronouns are suffixed. Indirect object pronouns in Gashua Bade differ in as far as the prefix **a-** merged with the vowel **-ī-**, i.e., [**ē**] < /**ī** + **a**/. Examples are provided in Table 5.

Language	Direct object pronouns			Indirect object pronouns		
	3 SG.M	3 SG.F	3 PL	3 SG.M	3 SG.F	3 PL
Gashua Bade	aci	atu	aksi	-ē-ci	-ē-tu	-ē-ksi
Western Bade	-ci	-tu	-ksi	-ī-ci	-ī-tu	-ī-ksi
Ngizim	acî	atû	akshî	-ī-cî	-ī-tû	-ī-kshî

Table 5: Prefix a- in third person direct and indirect object pronouns.

2.5. Gender in the second person singular imperative

In contrast to other languages of the Bade-Ngizim group, Western Bade shows a gender distinction in the second person singular imperative. This is remarkable insofar as no apparent source for this change is available. Neither the languages of wider communication (Hausa, Kanuri), nor surrounding varieties of the Bade-Ngizim group exhibit this distinction. Examples are given in Table 6.

Language	2 SG.M	2 SG.F	2 PL	Gloss
Western Bade	*à gàf-ī* IMP-catch-2SG.M	*à gàfə-m* IMP-catch-2SG.F	*à gàfa-wun* IMP-catch-2PL	catch!
Southern Bade	*a-kf-i* IMP-catch-2SG		*à-kf-a* IMP-catch-2PL	go in!
Gashua Bade	*a-jlàɓ-i* IMP-catch-2SG		*a-jlàɓ-a* IMP-catch-2PL	sit down!
Ngizim	*a-tɔ̀f-i* IMP-catch-2SG		*a-tɔ̀f-a* IMP-catch-2PL	enter!

Table 6: Imperatives in languages of the Bade-Ngizim group.

2.6. The subjunctive

In the subjunctive mood, several innovations have taken place in Western Bade. While all other Bade varieties have a (…L)H tone pattern on subjunctive verbs[4], in Western

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[4] Unlike other classes, verbs in Bade do not exhibit lexical tone; instead, tone patterns on verbs are conditioned by tense-aspect-mood categories.

Bade tone of subjunctive verbs is conditioned by the initial consonant, i.e. verbs beginning in a voiced obstruent have a low tone on the first syllable, all other verbs have a high tone. In addition to this, preverbal subject agreement clitics exhibit a polar tone to the first syllable of the verb, except for first-, and second-person plural which always bear low tones. This is exemplified in Table 7.

Language	Verb with voiced obstruent			Verb with voiceless obstruent		
Western Bade	*ga*	*gàfì*	'that you catch'	*gà*	*karmì*	'that you chop'
	2SG.SBJV	catch		2SG.SBJV	catch	
Gashua Bade	*kà*	*gàfi*	'that you catch'	*kà*	*kàrmi*	'that you chop'
	2SG.SBJV	catch		2SG.SBJV	chop	

Table 7: Subjunctive in Western and Gashua Bade.

2.7. Negation of the perfective

Negation of the perfective aspect in Western Bade has become *-m* suffixed to the end of the verb, while elsewhere in languages of the Bade-Ngizim group, negation is expressed by *bai* (or something very similar such as *ɓai, pai, be*). According to Schuh (1981: 214): "this took place through reduction of *bái to a syllabic nasal -ḿ, a pronunciation still obvious in Karage and heard to a lesser extent in some WB villages". In addition to this, negated clauses with a perfective predicate in Western Bade require a special negative perfective verb form rather than the affirmative perfective verb form (see below). Examples are provided in Table 8.

Gloss	Western Bade			Gashua Bade			Ngizim		
I went	*nə*	*ju*		*nən*	*ju*		*nà*	*ju*	
	1SG.PFV	go		1SG.PFV	go		1SG.PFV	go	
I didn't go	*nə*	*jə̀ja-m*		*nən*	*ju*	*bai*	*nà*	*ju*	*bai*
	1SG.PFV	go\NEG-NEG		1SG.PFV	go	NEG	1SG.PFV	go	NEG
I caught (it)	*nə*	*gàfo*		*nən*	*gàfau*		*na*	*gàfau*	
	1SG.PFV	catch		1SG.PFV	catch		1SG.PFV	catch	
I didn't catch (it)	*nə*	*gàfə̀fa-m*		*nən*	*gafa*	*bai*	*na*	*gàfa*	*bai*
	1SG.PFV	catch\NEG-NEG		1SG.PFV	catch	NEG	1SG.PFV	catch	NEG

Table 8: Negation of the perfective in languages of the Bade-Ngizim group.

2.8. Loss of negative perfective verb forms

Languages of the Bade-Ngizim group probably all had a special form of verbs used to express negation of completed actions or events. The verb final vowels **-u** or **-o**, depending on verb class used in the affirmative perfective are replaced by a suffix **-àCa**, where **C** is a copy of the root-final consonant. While Western and Southern Bade still have special negative perfective verb forms, they got completely lost in Gashua Bade, Ngizim, and also in Duwai. This is shown in Table 9.

Language	I went		I didn't go		
Western Bade	*nə*	*ju*	*nə*	*jə̀ja-m*	
	1SG.PFV	go	1SG.PFV	go\NEG-NEG	
Southern Bade	*nə*	*ju*	*nə*	*jə̀ja*	*ɓai*
	1SG.PFV	go	1SG.PFV	go\NEG	NEG
Gashua Bade	*nən*	*ju*	*nən*	*jə̀*	*bai*
	1SG.PFV	go	1SG.PFV	go	NEG
Ngizim	*na*	*ju*	*na*	*ju*	*bai*
	1SG.PFV	go	1SG.PFV	go	NEG
Duwai	*yi*	*jùwo*	*yi*	*jù*	*ɓai*
	1SG.PFV	go	1SG.PFV	go	NEG

Table 9: Loss of negative perfective verb forms.

2.9. Previous reference marker in the imperfective

In all varieties of the Bade-Ngizim group, except for Western Bade, transitive verbs in the imperfective aspect are reconstructed as carrying the previous reference marker (PRM) **-ku* when not followed by a direct object. Thus, a simple imperfective sentence, e.g., 'I will tie' is realized as illustrated in Table 10.

Language	I will tie	
Western Bade	*na*	*taksà*
	1SG.IPFV	tie
Gashua Bade	*nà*	*taksà-w*
	1SG.IPFV	tie-PRM
Southern Bade	*nà*	*taksà-w*
	1SG.IPFV	tie-PRM
Ngizim	*nã̀*	*takwsà-w*
	1SG.IPFV	tie-PRM

Table 10: Previous reference marker in the imperfective.

2.10. Progressive/habitual in Gashua Bade

In Chadic languages the basic function of the imperfective is to express incompleteness and often comprises future, progressive (or durative), and/or habitual notions. Typically, the imperfective employs a verbal noun or a form allied to verbal nouns. In Ngizim the imperfective still expresses future, progressive or habitual events, while in Western Bade the imperfective does not express habitual meaning[5].

In Gashua Bade, however, we can distinguish between imperfective expressing future events, and progressive/habitual conveying ongoing and habitual meanings. The primary mark for imperfective in languages of the Bade-Ngizim group is an auxiliary ā + verbal noun. Historically, the auxiliary **ā** goes back to a preposition 'in, at, on' and still is used as such in the modern languages. In Gashua Bade the primary indicator for the progressive/habitual is a preverbal auxiliary *và/va* which is preceded by an independent pronoun. According to Tarbutu (2004) the auxiliary *và/va = gvà* goes back to the verb *ə̀gvu* 'fall'. Examples are provided in Table 11.

Language	Aspect	Example					
Gashua Bade	future	*Pātəmà*	*ā*	*bə̀nàk*	*àwai*		
		Fatima	3SG.IPFV	cook[VN].of	sauce		
		'Fatima will cook sauce.'					
	progressive/habitual	*ə̀bjləm*	*də*	*kayak*	*aksì*	*và*	*nē*	*balà*
		hyena	and	squirrel	3PL	PROG	go	hunt
		'The hyena and the squirrel used to go for hunting.'					
Western Bade	future	*Sāku*	*ā*	*bə̀nà*	*kə̀m?*		
		Saku	3SG.IPFV	cook	Q		
		'What will Saku cook?'					
	progressive	*Sāku*	*ā*	*bə̀nà*	*kə̀m?*		
		Saku	3SG.IPFV	cook	Q		
		'What is Saku cooking?'					
Ngizim	future	*nā̀*	*wanà*				
		1SG.IPFV	work				
		'I will work.'					
	progressive	*nā̀*	*wanà*				
		1SG.IPFV	work				
		'I am working.'					

Table 11: Progressive/habitual in Gashua Bade.

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[5] Western Bade has a habitual extension taking on this function.

It is likely that the split in Gashua Bade into imperfective and progressive/habitual is conditioned by contact with Hausa, which exhibits future expressing tense (future-time reference) and a range of modal (attitudinal) meanings, as well as imperfective encompassing dimensions of durativity (action-in-progress) and habituality.

2.11. Nunation

Perhaps the most sensational feature separating Western Bade from Gashua Bade is nunation, i.e., common nouns in Western Bade take a suffix **-n** (and a high tone on the syllable containing the **-n**) in citation forms. Wente-Lukas (1967/68), following Johannes Lukas (1968), adopted this term used in traditional Arabic scholarship to refer to final **-n** on Arabic indefinite nouns, i.e., nouns in classical Arabic, which do not take a definite article, are pronounced with a final **-n**. Note, however, that nunation largely disappeared in most modern Arabic dialects. While Lukas (1968) rules out a direct link between nunation in Semitic languages and Bade, he, nevertheless, sees the possibility that nunation is an old and resistant element, which was used for different purposes during various stages of language development.

Nunation finally took over the same functions in two languages far apart from each other in the large territory of the same language phylum. Today nunation in Western Bade is functionally similar to Arabic nunation and probably developed through similar historical processes, though in Bade it is a relatively recent innovation, which affected only Western Bade after its separation from other Bade dialects. Schuh (2005: 590), following his previous works (Schuh 1975, 1977, 1983) states that:

> Nunation arises historically from a demonstrative that has become what Greenberg (1978) called a "Stage II Article", i.e., a determiner that has become a grammaticalized affix on nouns and whose presence or absence is conditioned by the types of grammatical constructions the noun appears in. A cognate of nunation is found in the Gashua Bade masculine distal demonstrative suffix, *-ā̂ni*, e.g., *kwàm* 'bull', *kwàmā̂ni* 'that bull', but in Western Bade, nunation has extended to all nouns, not just masculine.

Thus, Western Bade has developed a Stage II article, which, itself, is now gender neutral. Examples shown in Table 12 are taken from Schuh (2005) and show several Western Bade nouns with nunation and their cognates in Gashua Bade without nunation.

Gender	Western Bade	Gashua Bade	Gloss
masculine: *-ān*	əvjān	əvji	monkey
	kùnān	kùnu	stomach
feminine: *-an*	əktlan	tlà	cow
	dan	dà	eye
masculine: *-ən*	mazàrən	mazàl	castrated goat
	ɗàcən	'yat	hair
feminine: *-ən*	gùmcən	gùmci	chin
	jìjəmən	jəjəm	thorn
masculine: *-en, -on*	ùgzen	ùgzai	pubic hair
	fəfon	fəfau	breast
feminine: *-en, -on*	gùnən	gunai	hip
	àpson	əpsau	*Bauhinia reticulata*
masculine: *-īn*	màpəndīn	màpəndì	young man
feminine: *-īn*	dàbīn	dàbi	hoe

Table 12: Nunation in Western Bade.

Wente-Lukas (1967/68) called nunation *die unbestimmte Form*, i.e., the indefinite form, and according to Schuh (2005) this is a reasonable characterization of the function of nunation. This may be exemplified best by showing the primary environments where nunation is absent. Examples come from Schuh (2005: 591-592).

- Proper names and vocatives
  Gàji (youngest sibling); note, however, that proper names may take nunation in the sense of 'a person called …', e.g., *Gàjān* 'a person named Gaji'.
  Madàwi! 'Oh, shepherd!', cf. *madàwān* 'a shepherd'.

- Nouns with overt determiners
  For instance, *gwàmā-w* 'the ram in question', *gwàmà-mso* 'this ram', *gwàmà-ri* 'his ram', cf. *gwàmān* 'a ram'.

- Repeated mention of a referent in narrative

  In narrative, the first mention of a referent usually has nunation, but subsequent mentions of the same referent cannot have nunation:

  (1) *Làbārən   mi̋na-n   dȅk dəlā-n.   Dəlā   vȁru*
      story-NUN   lion-NUN   and jackal-NUN   jackal go.out
      'Story of a lion and a jackal. The jackal went out …'

- Nouns used adverbially

  E.g., *dȁmànən* 'rainy season', but:

  (2) *dùwau nàhu   ā   dȁman*
      river   fill   in   rainy.season
      'The river fills during the rainy season.'

2.12. Predicative possession with 'have'

Predicative possession, which is expressed by a transitive verb 'have', is rather rare in the languages of the Wider Lake Chad region. With the exception of Gashua Bade and Duwai it is also absent in the languages of the Bade-Ngizim group where predicative possession usually uses a conjunctional strategy, i.e., a subject noun phrase is directly followed by an associative conjunction 'with' ('be with something' = 'have something').

In Gashua Bade such constructions have been replaced by an actual verb *zu* 'have' which, however, is aspectually restricted, occurring only in the completive aspect with this meaning. Duwai also has a true verb *dȁmo* 'have', and it is quite puzzling why these two languages developed in this manner. According to Schuh (1981: 247):

> the 'be with' type of construction to mean 'have' is reconstructable for the Bade/Ngizim/Duwai group and probably for proto-(West-)Chadic. So far I have not uncovered any etymologies for the roots *zu* and *dȁmo* that help in understanding this.

Some examples are shown in Table 13.

Language	Example			Gloss	Strategy
Gashua Bade	*nən*	*zə̀*	*dàbi*	'I have a hoe.'	
	1SG.PFV	have	hoe		have
Duwai	*kì*	*dām*	*tàgwda?*	'Do you have money?'	
	2SG.M.PFV	have	money		
Southern Bade	*aci*	*də̀k*	*dàbi*	'He has a hoe.'	
	3SG.M	with	hoe		conjunctional
Ngizim	*ī*	*nā*	*dùkà*	'I have a horse.'	
	1SG	with	horse		

Table 13: Predicative possession.

3. Discussion

In the preceding section we have illustrated selected features across languages of the Bade-Ngizim group which show divergence between the different varieties, especially between Western and Gashua Bade. For the sake of convenience, I summarize the crosslinguistic distribution of these features in Table 14 below.

Features	Hausa	W. Bade	Gashua Bade	S. Bade	Ngizim	Duwai	Kanuri
Loss of distinctive "r-sounds"	A	B	A	A	A	A	B
Voiced second person subject pronouns		A	B	B	B		
Prefix a- on all independent pronouns		A	B	B	B		
Prefix a- in third person direct and indirect object pronouns		A-A	B-B	A-B			
Gender in the second person singular imperative	B	A	B	B	B		
Subjunctive		A	B	B	B		
Negation of the perfective		A	B	B	B		
Loss of negative perfective verb forms		A	B	A	B	B	
Previous reference marker in the imperfective		A	B	B	B	B	
Progressive/habitual	A	B	A	B	B	B	

Table 14: summary of the crosslinguistic distribution of the features discussed in §2.

The question that comes up now is, what mechanisms and motivations triggered divergence between those varieties? Generally, it is often assumed that convergence of languages or dialects is the basic development in multilingual contact settings, while the opposite process, i.e., divergence, often remains unexplained. For instance, Kaufmann (2010: 481) states that: "divergence [...] in language contact [...] is probably a rare element".

We believe with Braunmüller (2014: 2):

> [...] that multilingual speakers are the ultimate source of all outcomes of contact between languages. Multilingualism, including the cognitive processes of multilingual language processing, are crucial for the types of development that may occur. Nevertheless, Kühl and Braunmüller mention language-internal (i.e., linguistic characteristics), language-external (i.e., contact) and extra-linguistic (i.e., political and economic factors, prestige and attitudes) factors and mechanisms as dimensions that shape the contact setting and thereby set the stage for multilingual speakers' linguistic behaviour.

In the absence of socio-linguistic studies and detailed accounts on Bade history, it is difficult to evaluate extra-linguistic factors. However, we have no hints that political or economic factors, prestige or language attitudes might be responsible for innovating divergent features across Bade varieties.

Language-internal factors may account for some features, e.g., the prefix **a-** in third person direct and indirect object pronouns used in Gashua Bade (see section 2.4) could be seen as an extension of the independent pronouns, which employ the prefix **a-** in third persons in all dialects. Likewise, in Western Bade the prefix **a-** is used in analogy on all independent pronouns, while elsewhere in languages of the Bade-Ngizim group the prefix appears only in third persons (see section 2.3). Nevertheless, while language-internal factors may explain the extension of the prefix **a-**, we still cannot explain why this process was only applied in a single variety, i.e. Western Bade, whereas other varieties remain stable in this respect.

Language-external factors, i.e., contact, may account for some innovations, e.g., the loss of distinct r-sounds in Western Bade has been attributed to contact with Kanuri (see section 2.1). Likewise, the development of a progressive/habitual aspect in Gahsua Bade might be imputed to more recent contact with Hausa, which basically distinguishes between a continuative/progressive and future aspect (see section 2.10). However, again we do not have a sound explanation why the loss of distinct r-sounds

only affected Western Bade, while the development of a progressive/habitual aspect took only place in Gashua Bade. There are no reasons to believe that speakers of the western variety had more contacts with Kanuri speakers than speakers of other Bade varieties, e.g., according to Schuh (2003) the number of Kanuri loanwords in Gashua Bade (8.5%) is even slightly higher than in Western Bade (7.92%). Similarly, there are no reasons to think that speakers of Gashua Bade had, or still have, more contact with Hausa speakers than speakers of the other Bade varieties.

The development of some other divergent features, which have been presented above, could neither be explained with language-internal, language-external, nor extra-linguistic factors. For instance, nunation in Western Bade (see section 2.11) cannot be traced to language-internal analogy nor to contact with other languages of the region. Moreover, marking indefiniteness on nouns is extremely rare in languages of the Wider Lake Chad Region, and certainly does not exist in the former and present languages of wider communication, i.e., Kanuri and Hausa. Arabic as a source for nunation in Western Bade can be ruled out, i.e., there is no indication at all that speakers of Western Bade had, or have, intense contact with speakers of Arabic. Moreover, Islamisation among the Bade is rather a phenomenon of the second half of the twentieth century, i.e., during the times when nunation developed in Western Bade access to Islamic discourse was, if at all, restricted to members of the urban upper class.

Similarly, as far as we know, possessive predication by means of a transitive verb 'have' (see section 2.12) does not exist in any language in the area of investigation. Possessive predication is typically expressed by comitative constructions (i.e. "to be with something"), e.g., in Hausa, or by constructions like "at someone's place there exists something", e.g., in Kanuri.

Thus, we believe that, at the current stage of knowledge, some divergent features across varieties of the Bade language have to be explained through recourse to Larsen's (1917) concept of nabopposition, i.e., neighbor-opposition, or what Trudgill (1983) called *hyperdialectalism*. This is to say that distancing oneself from neighbors should be considered a constant factor in the development of language. The principle behind this concept is according to Braunmüller (2014: 25) that:

> speakers actively enlarge salient differences between local dialects, thereby creating a greater linguistic distance to the varieties spoken by their closest

neighbours. These so-called hyperdialectisms are intended to mark one's own dialect as being unique and different from any other surrounding dialects.

For instance, in order to explain the emergence of nunation in Western Bade, or the use of a transitive verb meaning 'have' in Gashua Bade and Duwai, we are inclined to invoke Larsen's (1917) hypothesis about neighbor-opposition, whereby speakers of a language introduce some features to distinguish their language from surrounding languages. While this is a plausible hypothesis, we nevertheless, do not have strong evidence for it, as there is no data to provide clear answers at present.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion we believe that with respect to varieties of Bade neither language-internal factors, e.g., analogy, nor language-external factors, i.e., contact, nor extra-linguistic factors, e.g., prestige or language attitudes may sufficiently explain the development of divergent features. Instead, neighbor-opposition might be the principle which comes in to fill this gap, and we think that the fact that nearly every Bade village can be assigned different phonological, morpho-syntactic, or lexical idiosyncrasies corroborates this view. While our working hypothesis of neighbor-opposition among Bade varieties seems to be attractive in the first instance, it nevertheless, is negatively defined, i.e., in the absence of other sources we suppose that neighbor-opposition might come in to fill this gap. In order to get a clearer picture much more work on the internal relations within the Bade society would be necessary.

Abbreviations

1 = 1st person
2 = 2nd person
3 = 3rd person
EXCL = exclusive
F = feminine
IMP = imperative
IPFV = imperfective
INCL = inclusive

M = masculine
NEG = negation
NUN = nunation
PFV = perfective
PL = plural
PRM = previous reference marker
Q = question word

SG = singular
STAMP = subject-tense-aspect-mood-polarity
SBJV = subjunctive
SBJV2 = 2nd subjunctive
VN = verbal noun

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