Introduction

- Many Niger-Congo languages are known for their rich and complex **"noun class"** systems (Bantu, Gur, Atlantic, etc.)
- "Adamawa" = Niger-Congo
  - genealogical status still uncertain [Güldemann 2018: 200-213, Kleinewillinghöfer 2020: 220-230]
- Some "Adamawa" groups have typical "noun class" systems.
- **Bua** languages are one such group:
  - Proto-Bua reconstructed with a typical Niger-Congo "noun class" system
  - Present-day Bua languages have mostly lost this system
  - except 1 language (Kulaal)
- Goal of this talk: discuss the history of **"noun classes" in Bua**.

Introduction

"Noun class" and "**gender**"

- <u>Morphosyntax</u>: Agreement patterns triggered by specific nouns
  - ◦ = **"agreement class"** (Güldemann & Fiedler 2019, 2021)
  - ◦ If sg. ≠ pl. → sg/pl pairing defines a **"gender"** (Corbett 1991; Güldemann & Fiedler 2019, 2021)
- <u>Morphophonology</u>: morphological classes of nouns correlating with agreement classes/genders:
  - ◦ = **"nominal form class"** (Güldemann & Fiedler 2019, 2021)
- Traditional label "noun class" conflates this distinction
  - ◦ noun class = agreement class + nominal form class (Güldemann & Fiedler 2019)

Introduction

Swahili example:
m-toto/wa-toto
'child (sg/pl)'

a. ***m**-toto*   ***yu**-le*   ***m**-moja*   ***a**-me-anguka*
   M(W)-child.**1**   **1**-D.DEM   **1**-one   **1**-PERF-fall
   'that one child has fallen'

b. ***wa**-toto*   ***wa**-le*   ***wa**-wili*   ***wa**-me-anguka*
   W(A).2-child   **2**-D.DEM   **2**-two   **2**-PERF-fall
   'those two children have fallen'

	Word form (sg ≠ pl)	Lexeme (both sg & pl)
Syntax	**AGREEMENT CLASS** - Sg: AGR1 = *yu-~m-~a-* - Pl: AGR2 = *wa-~wa-~wa-*	**GENDER** Sg/pl: *yu-~m-~a-/wa-~wa-~wa-*
Morpho-phonology	**NOMINAL FORM CLASS** - Sg: *m-* - Pl: *wa-*	**DERIFLECTION** Sg/pl: *m-/wa-*

Introduction

In this talk:

- Description of "noun classes" of Bua languages
  - Agreement classes / genders
  - Nominal form classes / deriflection
- Sketch of their history from Proto-Bua to present-day languages
- Looking specifically at gender attrition and loss:
  - Maintenance in 1 language (Kulaal)
  - Complete loss in all other languages
  - Interesting intermediate case: Fanya, with optional agreement/gender

Road map

1. Introduction to Bua group

2. Noun form and agreement in Bua languages
   ◦ Kulaal (full system with agreement)
   ◦ Lua (reduced system without agreement)

3. Noun form and agreement in Fanya

4. Noun form classes from Proto-Bua to present-day languages

5. Discussion and conclusion

Introduction: Data

- **Comparative Bua:** collaborative work with Pascal Boyeldieu and Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer (and Raimund Kastenholz until 2019)
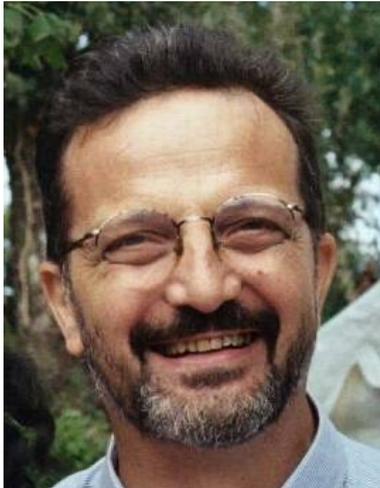

- **Fanya:** personal fieldwork (2014-2023)

1 Bua languages

1. Bua languages
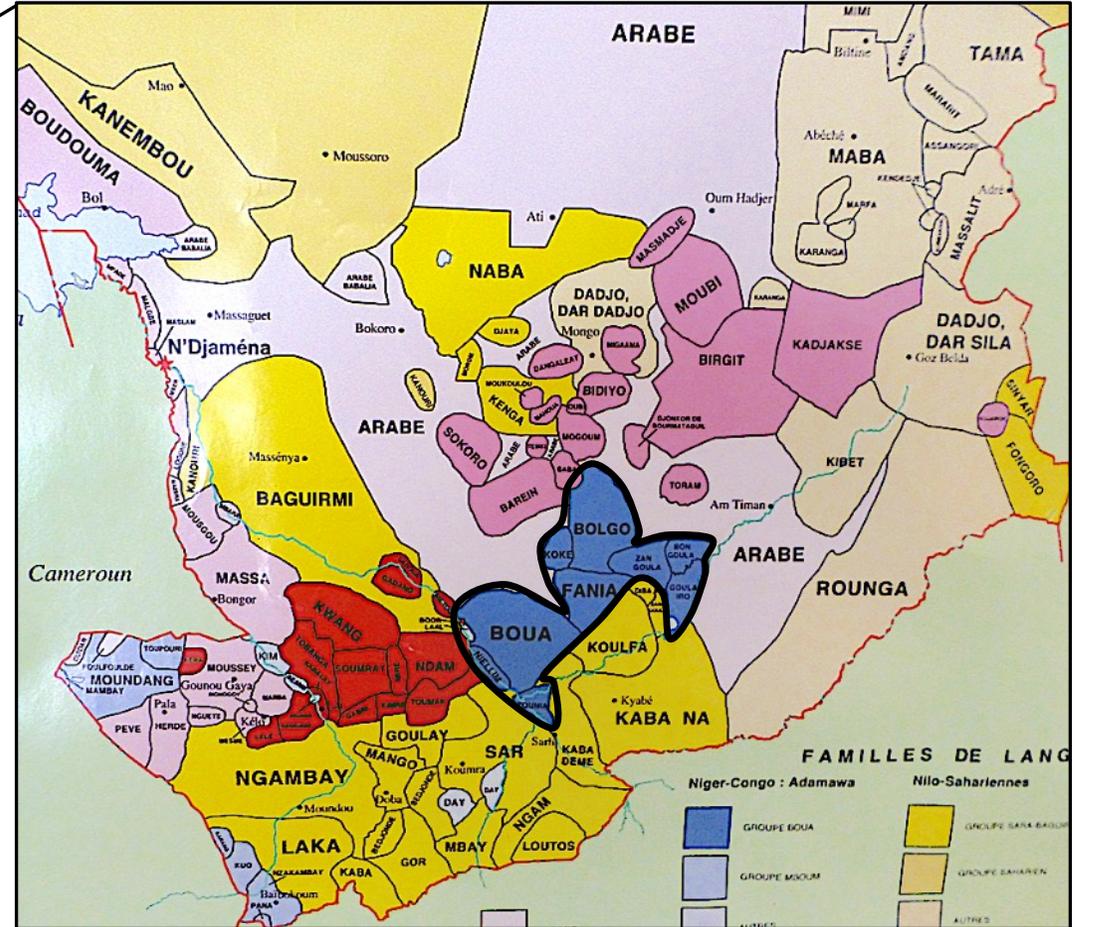
1. Bua languages

- 9 extant languages + three no longer spoken

- Clear genealogical unit

- Clearly Niger-Congo (lexicon, reconstructed noun class system with clear cognates and parallels with Gur)
  - Subsumed under "Adamawa", of unclear classificatory status

- Spoken in South-central Chad (easternmost "Adamawa" group)

- Comparative work underway, with tentative classification and reconstructions (Boyeldieu 1986, Boyeldieu et al 2018, 2020)

1. Bua languages

"Adamawa"
(Güldemann 2018)

■	U16.A Tula-Waja	■	U16.F Mumuyic	■	U16.K *Day*
■	U16.B *Longuda*	■	U16.G Maya	■	U16.L *Baa~Kwa*
■	U16.C Bena-Mboi	■	U16.H Kebi-Benue	■	U16.M *Nyingwom~Kam*
■	U16.D Bikwin-Jen	■	U16.I Kimic	■	U16.N *Fali*
■	U16.E Samba-Duru	■	U16.J Buaic		

CC-BY C.Naumann 2017
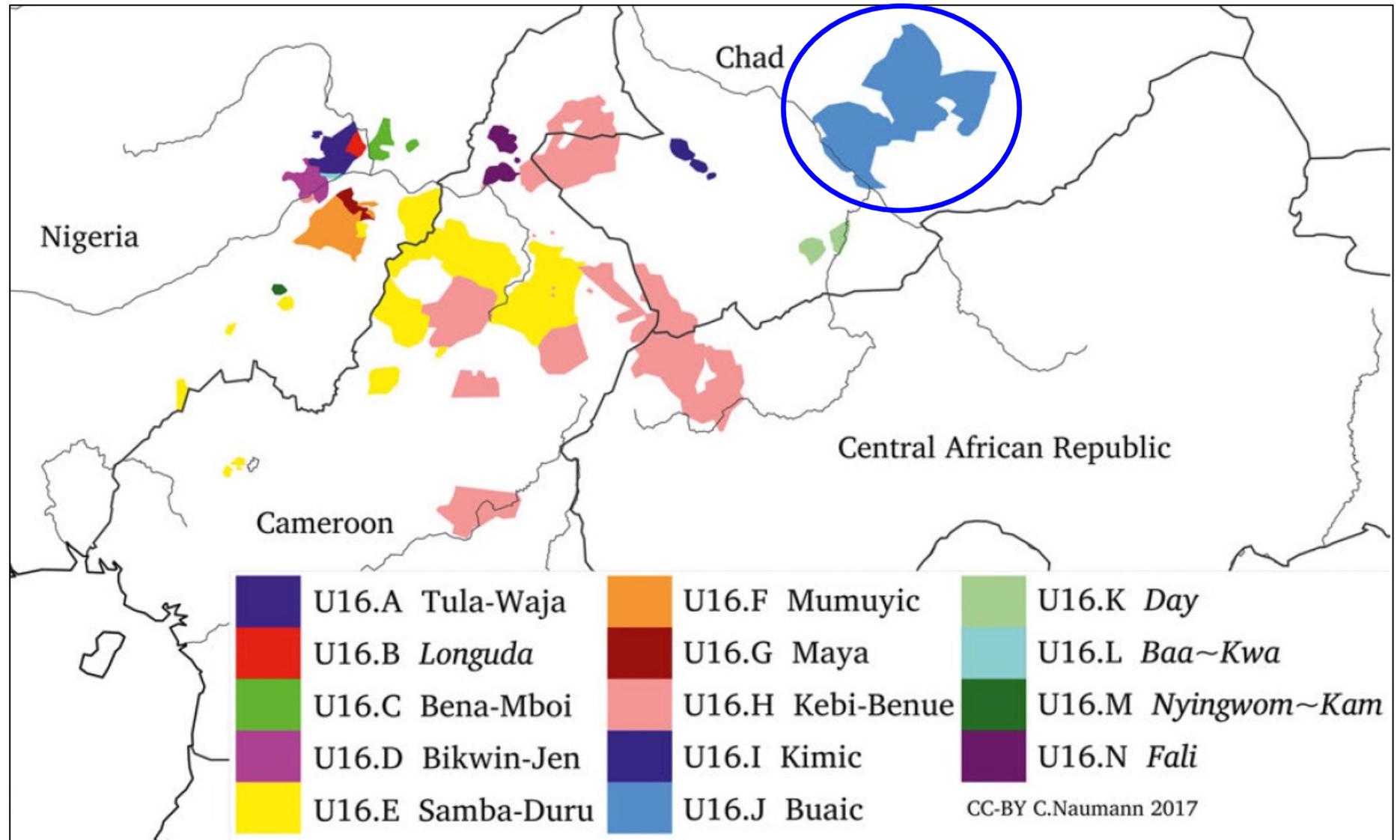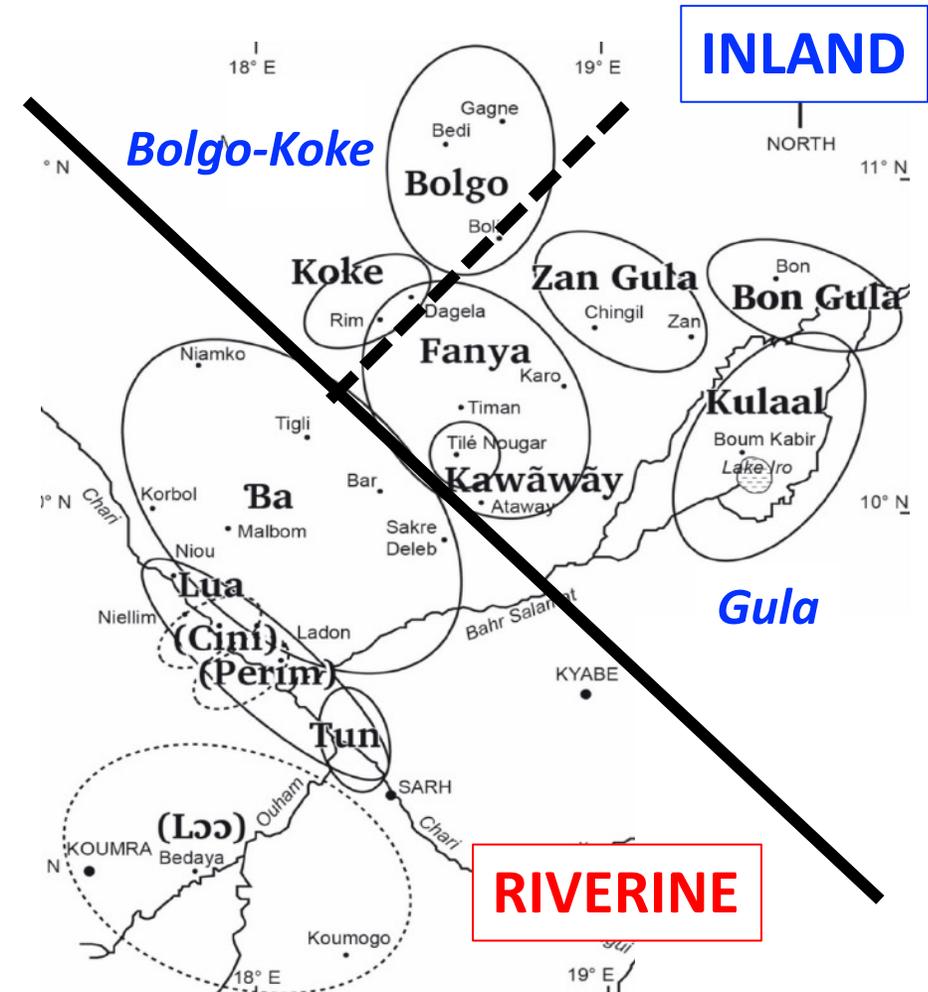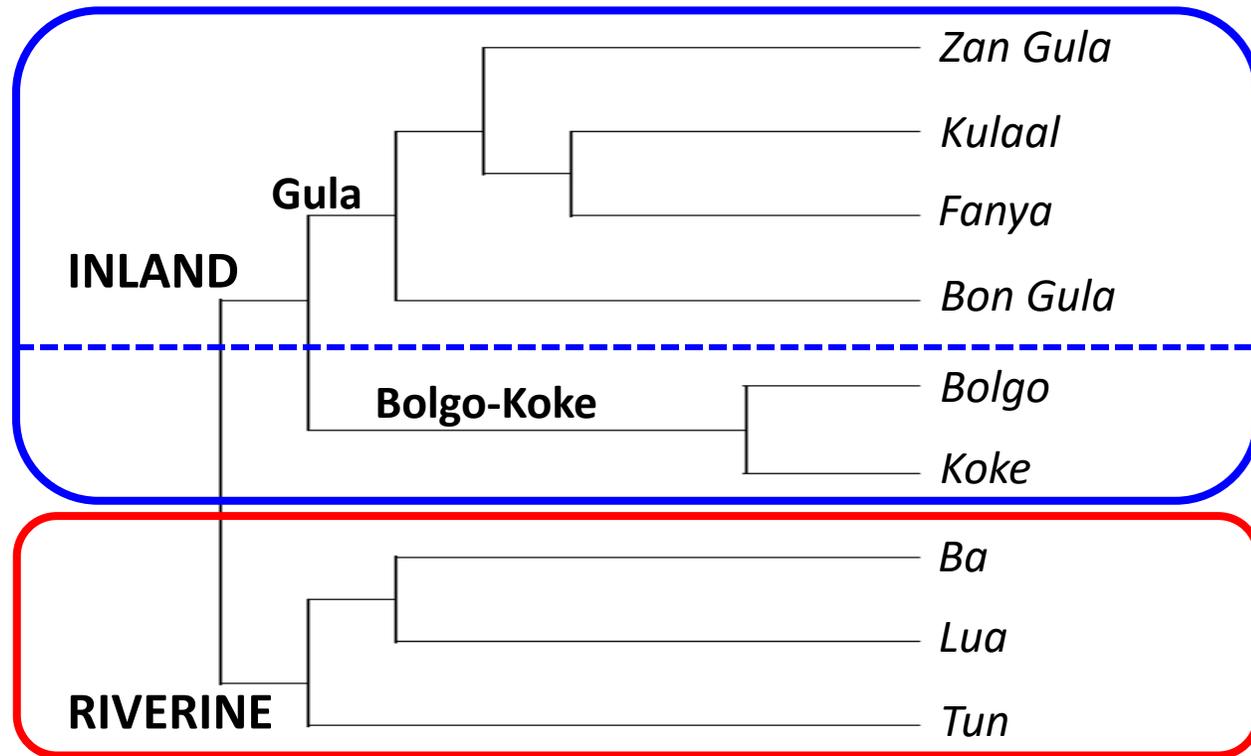
1. Bua languages

Lexicostatistical classification (branch average)

2 Noun classification in Bua languages

2. Noun classification in Bua languages

Noun morphology (Nominal form classes)	Agreement (gender)		
1	yes	**yes**	→ Kulaal
2	yes	**optional**	→ Fanya
3	yes	**no**	→ All other (Koke?)

INLAND

Bolgo-Koke

Gula

RIVERINE

Pairault 1966,1969; Oumar & Weiss 2010; Roberts 2010; Kastenholz 2017; Tikka 2019; Boyeldieu 1985; Palayer ms.; Lionnet Ba fieldnotes
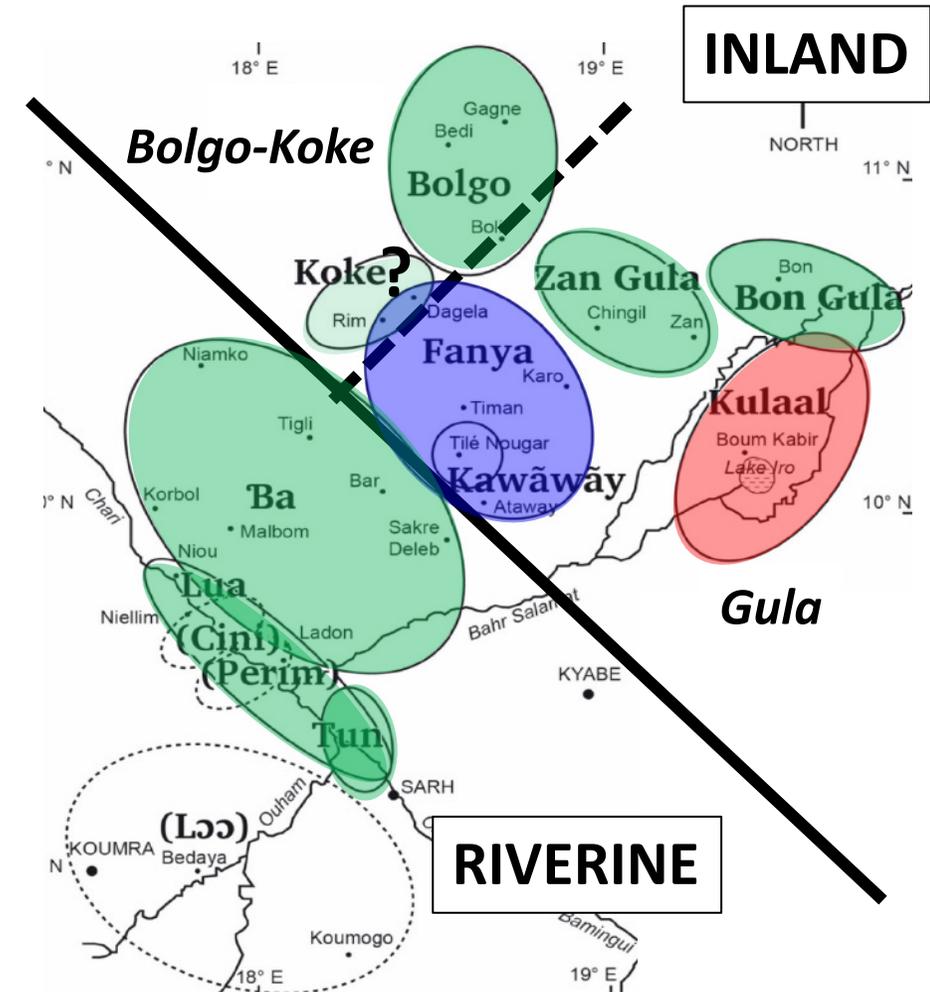
2.1 Noun classes & gender in Kulaal

- Number is marked on nouns, with mostly regular sg/pl pairings:

(1) Suffixes (+ ATR alternation)

kòlà (-kɛ̀)	/pl.	kòlè (-kì)	*'Ficus thonningii'* (tree)
mórù (-kò̀)		mórì (-kì)	*'Clarias sp.'* (fish)
wál (-lɛ̀)		wán (-ṭò̀)	'gourd, flask'
hą́m (-mɛ̀)		hóṭí (-kì)	'beer'

(2) ATR alternation (no suffix)

kʉ̂ʉp (-kɛ̀)	/pl.	kîip (-kì)	'crocodile'
lɔ̀ɔ̀m (-kò̀)		lòòm (-kì)	*'Parkia biglobosa'* (tree)
ŋàñ (-kɛ̀)		ŋòñ (-kì)	'chief, headman'
kʉ́ràà̀m (-kò̀)		kúrèèm (-kì)	'watchtower'

2.1 Noun classes & gender in Kulaal

Nominal form classes:

Fig.1: Regular only (inquorate ignored)

(liquids)
('place', 'thing', 'person'…)
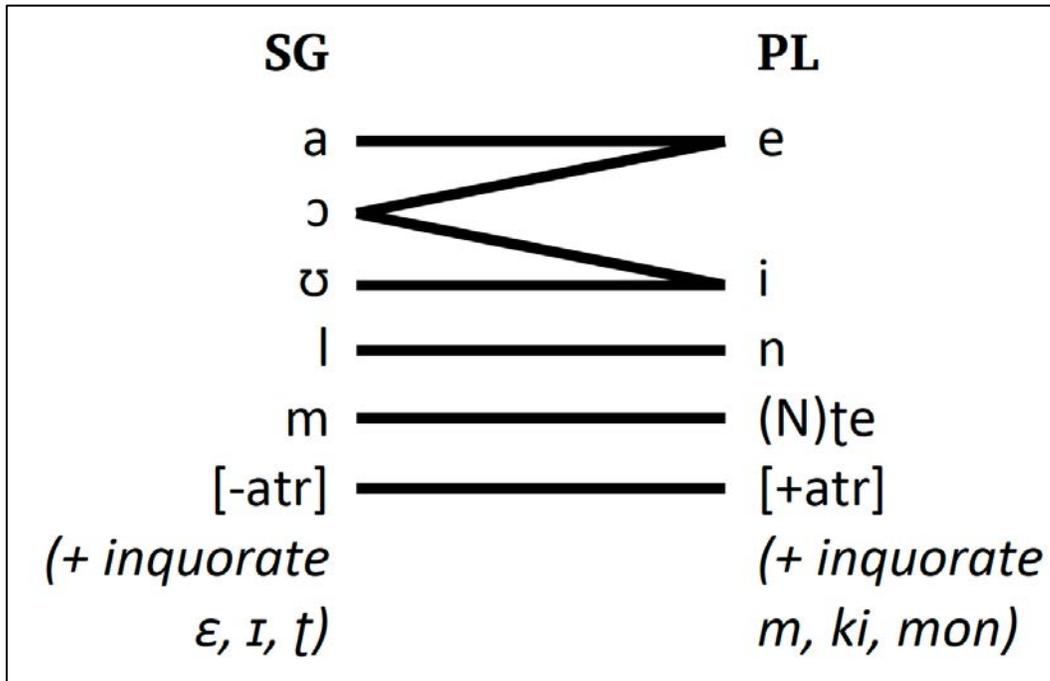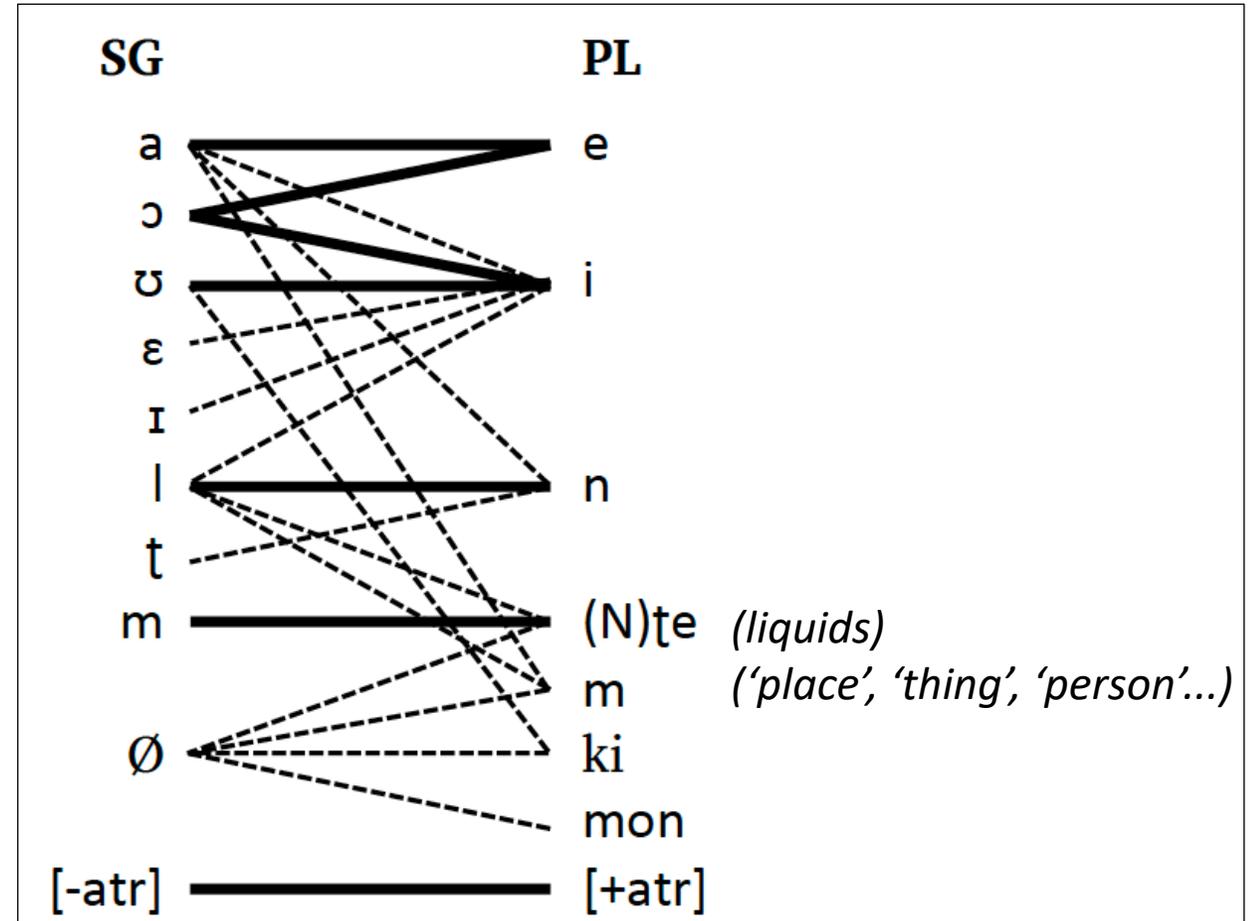
Fig.2: All (including inquorate = dashed lines)

2.1 Noun classes & gender in Kulaal

- Agreement class & gender are revealed by **determiner:**

♦ húl (-**lɛ̀**) /pl. hún (-**ʈʊ̀**) 'head'

(1a)	à-húl	{3s-head}	'his/her head'
(1b)	húl-**lɛ̀**-pɛ̀	{head-DET-3S.CONN}	'his/her head'

♦ ííl (-**ɛ̀**) /pl. íí(n) (-**ʈʊ̀**) 'name'

(2)   à   ííl-**ɛ̀**   àmpúk
        3s   name-DET   Ampuk
        'Its name (is) Ampuk [a type of beer].'   (Pairault 1969: 96-97/7-3-13)

2.1 Noun classes & gender in Kulaal

- Agreement class & gender are revealed by **determiner:**

♦ tòŋ (-**kʊ̀**) /pl. tòŋkì (-**kì**) 'house'

(3a) [...] tòŋ-**kʊ̀**   tá̰mónn-è   țóŋ tuk pʊ́ ònè
            house-DET straw_roll.PL-CONN one only 1PE know
      '[...] the house of straw-rolls (was) the only one we knew.'

                                                        (Pairault 1969: 76/7-1-2)

(3b) [...] pé   mó kó   ìpààl   tàháápà-nnà tòŋ-**kʊ̀**   kèléè-n
            when 2S take young_girl now-?   house-DET wooden_pole.
                                                                  PL-CONN
      '[...] when you marry a girl now, (you build) the house of wooden poles.'

                                                        (Pairault 1969: 76/7-1-4)

2.1 Noun classes & gender in Kulaal

- Determiner used as (or has the same shape as) **anaphoric pronoun:**

♦ lèl (-**lɛ**) /pl. làà(n) (-**ʈʊ̀**) 'sorghum, millet'

(4)   [...] ʊ́   tʊ́ʊ́n-**ʈʊ̀**   tàháápà   ŋà   ŋà   ŋà
       3P pound.PRET[?]-DET   now   so   so   so
       '[...] they now pound it [referring to làà 'sorghum' (formally pl.), mentioned
       earlier].'   (Pairault 1969: 152/10-2-11)

2.1 Noun classes & gender in Kulaal

- Genders (agreement classes represented by determiner)
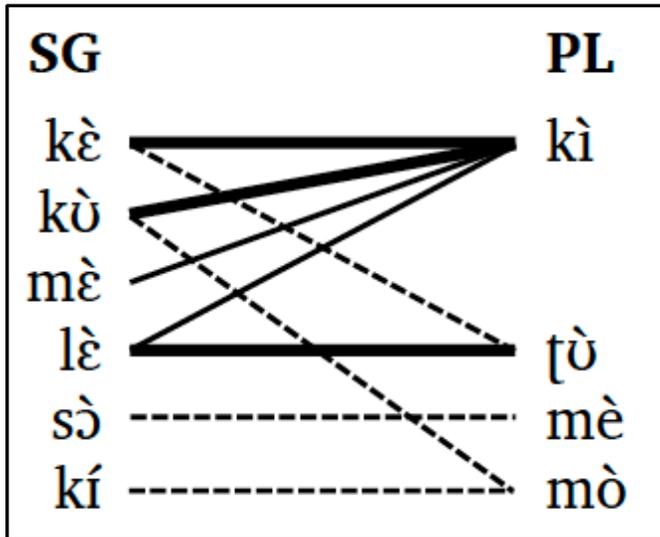
SG	PL
kɛ̀	kì
kʊ̀	
mɛ̀	
lɛ̀	ʈʊ̀
sɔ̀	mè
kí	mò

Major

kɛ̀/kì (240)
kʊ̀/kì (332)

lɛ̀/ʈʊ̀ (144)

Minor

mɛ̀/kì (7)
lɛ̀/kì (9)

Inquorate

kɛ̀/mò (1)
kʊ̀/ʈʊ̀ (4)

sɔ̀/mè (2)
kí/mò (1)

2.1 Noun classes & gender in Kulaal

- Deriflection + genders (including "necessary" inquorate)
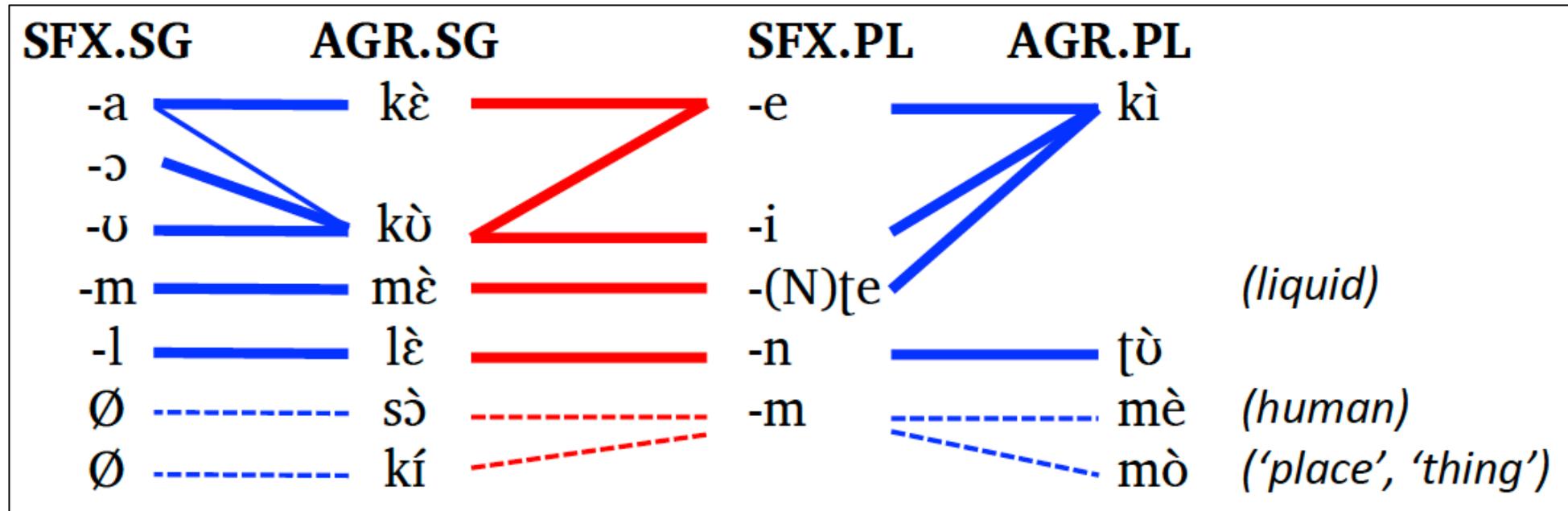
2.2 No agreement/gender in Lua

- No agreement, no "gender" system
  - ◦ (Not a "noun class" language)
- There are number-marking suffixes, with semi-regular singular/plural pairings
  - ◦ = Nominal form classes / deriflection system

2.2 No agreement/gender in Lua

- Lua: sg/pl marking on nouns

(1) **-a/-i**

ʔūm-ā / ʔūm-ī 'thorn'

(2) **Ø/-i** (+height harmony)

ɓwàn / ɓòn-ì   'pimple in nose'

(3) **Ø/-gɨ** (+ height harmony)

bàà / bə̀ə̀-gɨ́   'father'

(4) **-l-/-r-**   (+ -a/-i; Ø/-i; Ø/-gɨ)

sú-l / sú-r-í   'head'

(5) **-l-/-n-**   (+ -a/-i; Ø/-i; Ø/-gɨ)

ɓō-l / ɓō-n-ī   'fish sp.'

(6) **[…V] -n-/[…V̰] -r-**   (+ -a/-i; Ø/-i)

hĭī-n-ā / hḭ̀ḭ̄-r-ī 'red'

2.2 No agreement/gender in Lua

- Lua: sg/pl marking on nouns

SG		PL	
-a		-i	
Ø		-gɨ	
		-ybɨ	*(3 kinship terms)*
		-m	*('child', 'chief', 'thing')*
-l(-)		-r-	
		-n(-)	+ *-a/-i; Ø/-i; Ø/-gɨ*
…V-n-		…V̰-r-	
[+low]		[-low]	
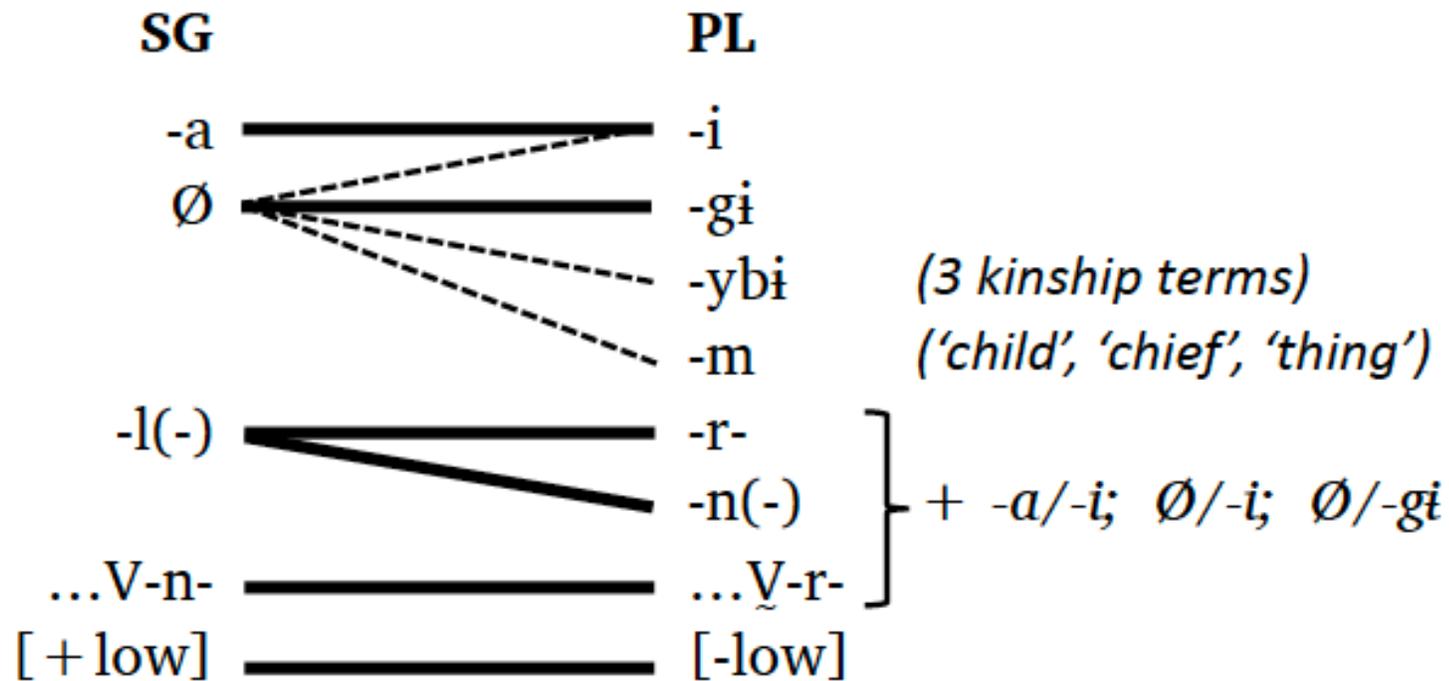
2.2 No agreement/gender in Lua

- Lua: no agreement (only sg/pl agreement)

	Connective	Demonstrative
Singular		**nè ~ nèn**
Plural	**tí**	**tò ~ tòn**

(4)   **wò/bì**   **tí**   **luààr**   'person/people from the village'

      person(s)   CON   village

(5)   **kùn-ngì**   **tí**   **wàr**   'leather shoes'

      shoes   CON   leather

(6)   **wò/tɨ-l-ā**   **nèn**   'this person/tree'

      person/tree/wound   DEM

(7)   **bì/té-r-ī**   **tòn**   'these people/trees'

      people/trees   DEM

2.3 Proto-Bua

Lua sg/pl pairings:
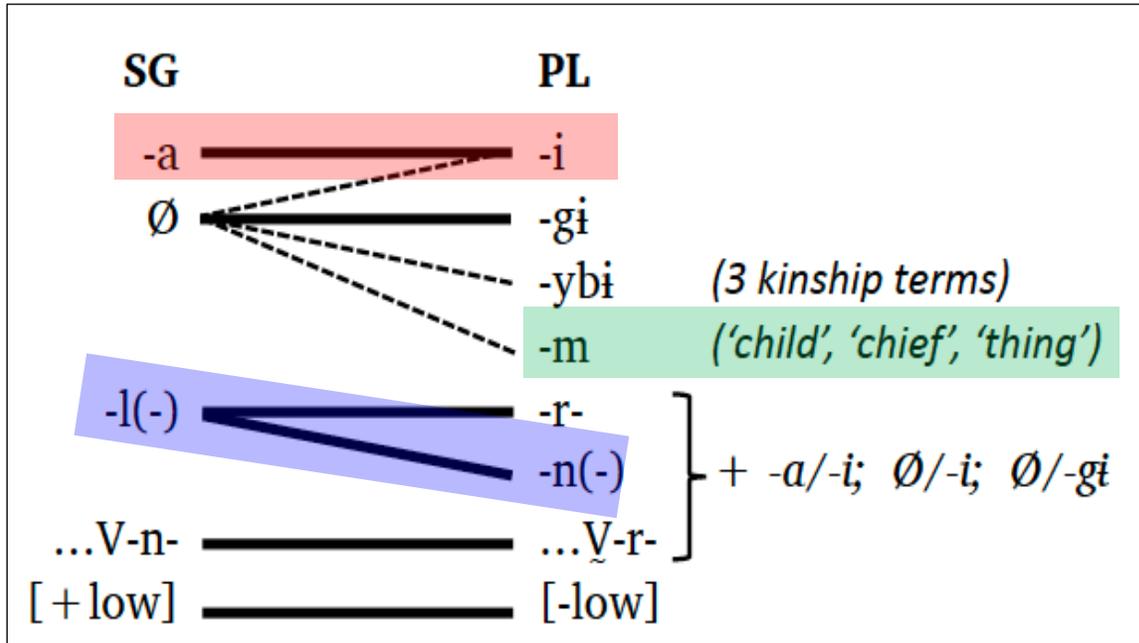
Kulaal nominal form classes:
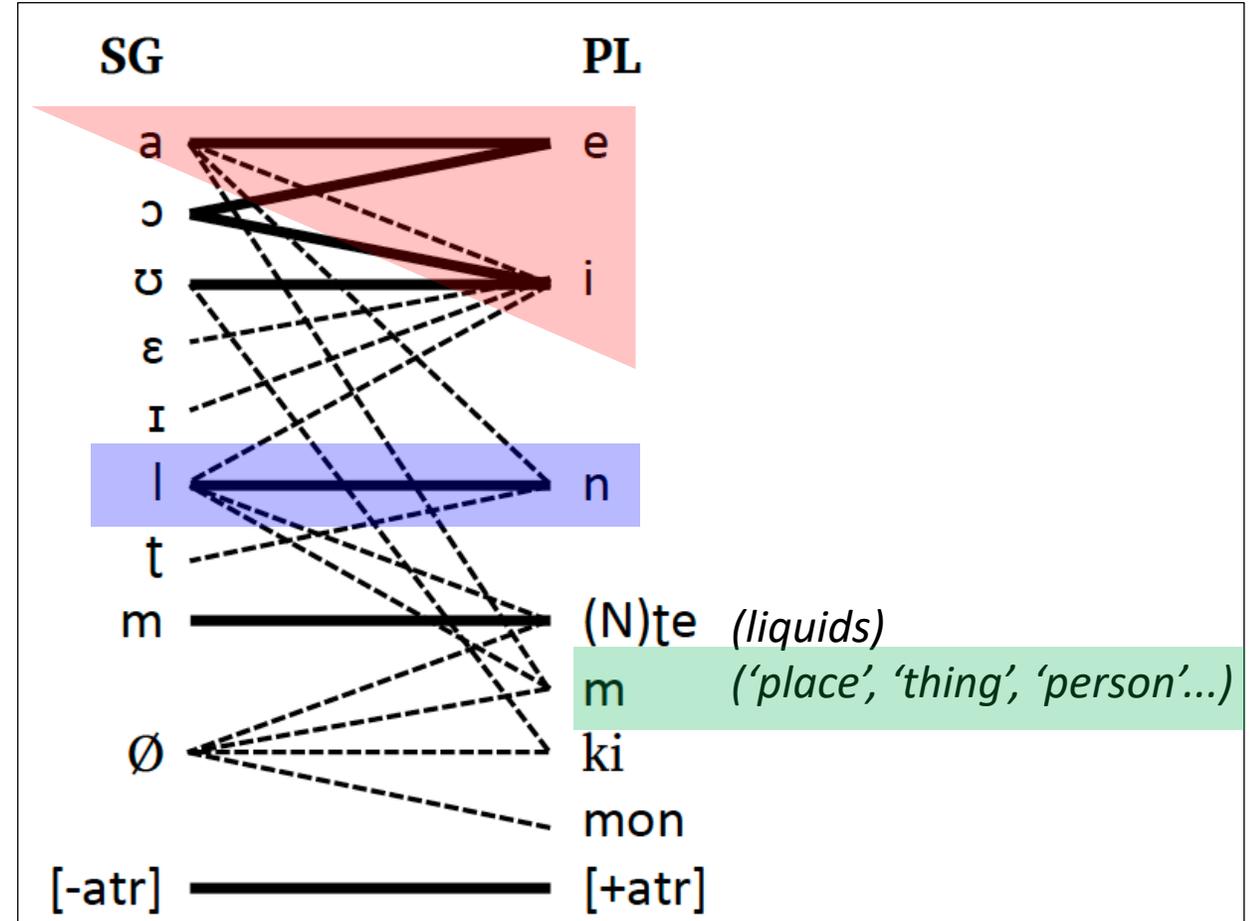
2.3 Proto-Bua

Proto-Bua noun class / gender system (tentative, latest reconstruction)

3. "Noun classes" and gender in Fanya

3.1 Fanya: introduction

- Bua > Inland > **Gula**

- 1,100 speakers (Ethnologue)

- South of Guéra region
  - A dozen villages

- Virtually **undescribed** before 2017

- I conducted **7 months of fieldwork**

- All data are from my fieldwork
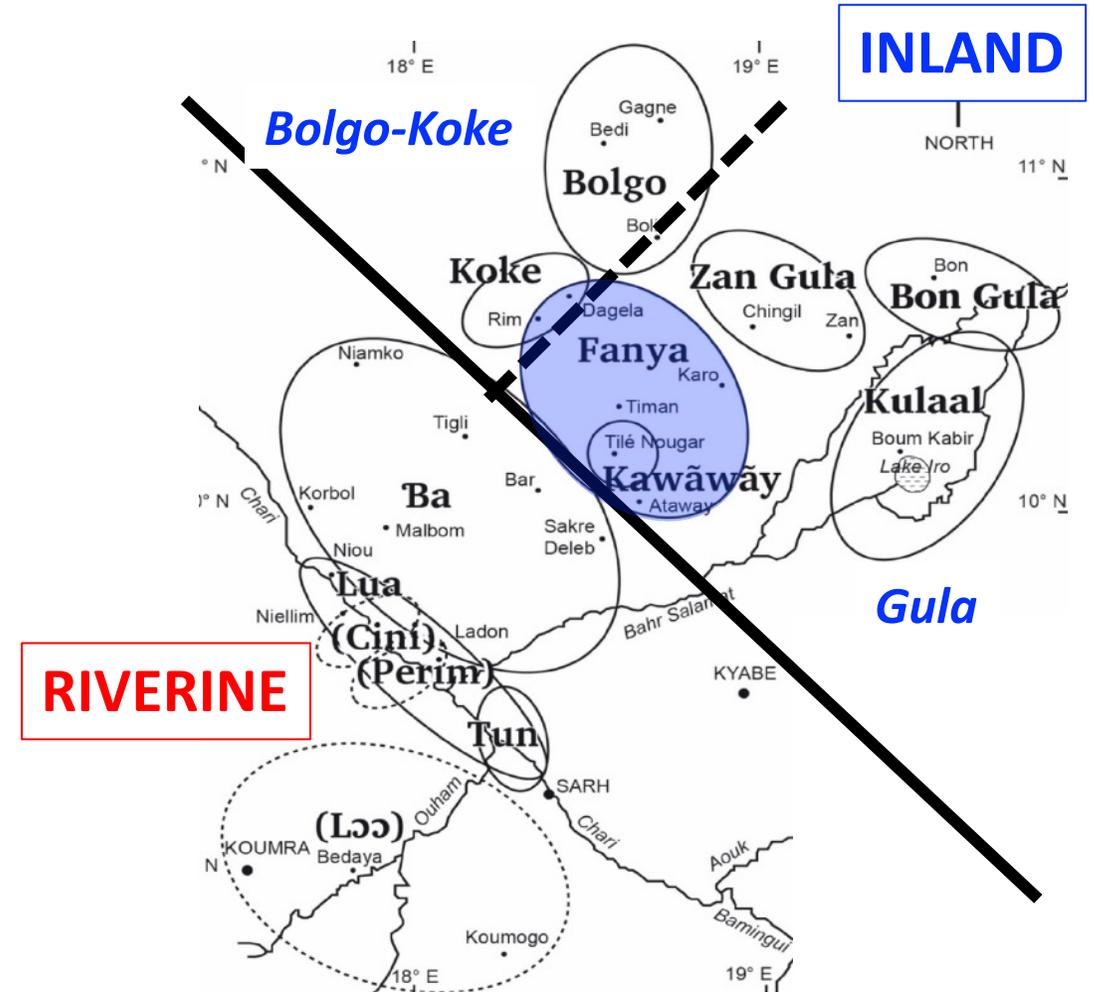
3.1 Fanya: introduction

- Three dialects
  - *kɔ̀ɔ̀kìlɛ̀* = Northern
  - *hwáɲlɛ́* = Eastern
  - *kùláálɛ́* = Central
- My data:
  - Kulaale
    - Elicitation & texts
    - Multiple speakers
  - Hwanyle
    - Elicitation only
    - One speaker
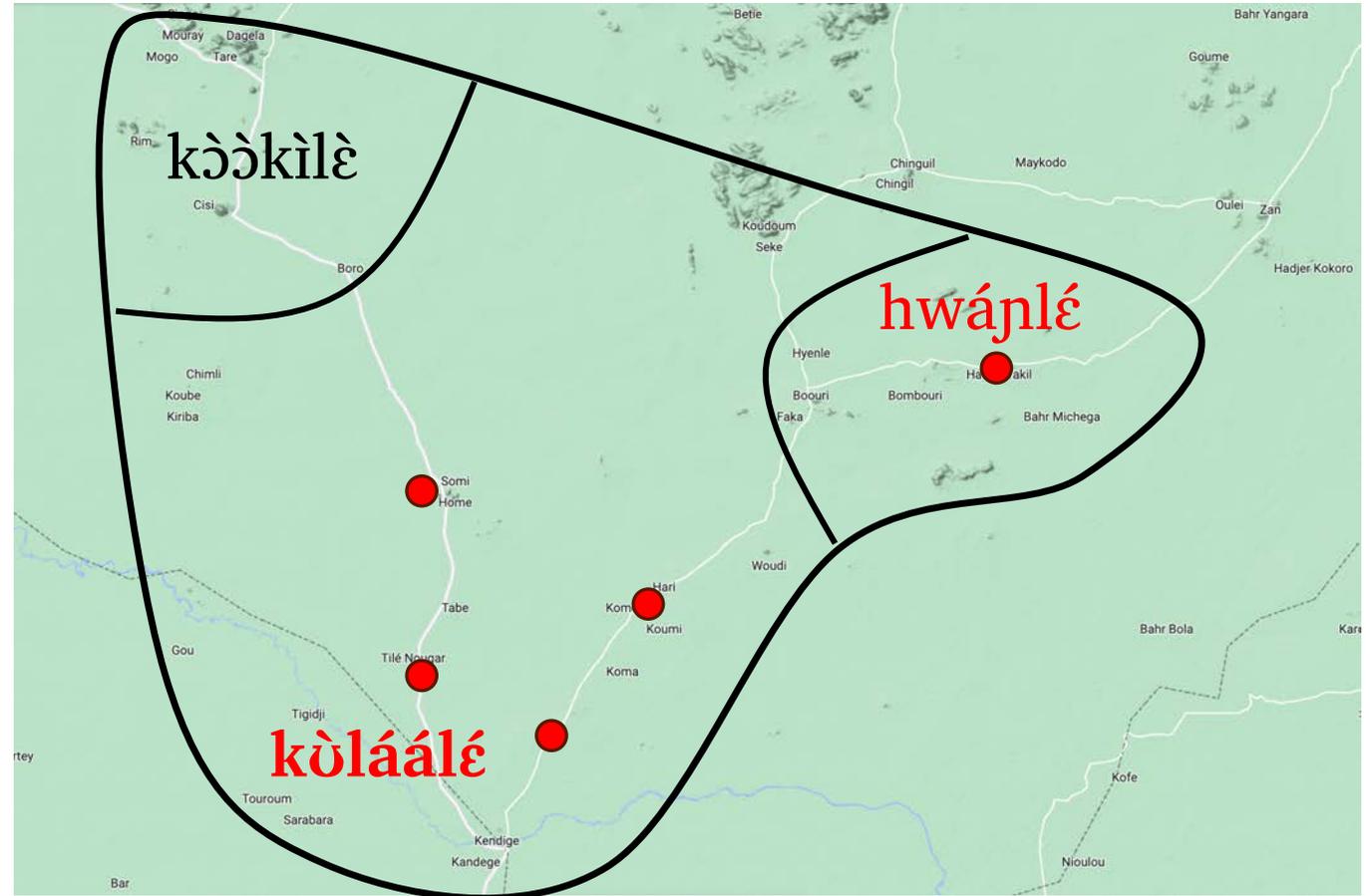
3.1 Fanya: introduction

	Lab	Cor	Pal	Vel	Glot
Voiceless plosive		t		k	
Implosive (~ Voiced)	ɓ	ɗ	ʄ		
Fricative	hw		hy		h
Sonorant	m	n	ɲ		
		ɽ			
		l			
	w		y		

High	+ATR	i	u
	-ATR	ɪ	ʊ
Mid	+ATR	e	o
	-ATR	ɛ	ɔ
Low	-ATR		a

Tonal inventory:
- two tones H vs. L
- stem-level patterns:
  - H, L
  - HL, LH
  - HLH, LHL
  - HLHL, LHLH

3.1 Fanya: introduction

- [+ATR] anywhere in the word triggers [+ATR] harmony

(1) non-[+ATR] verb root /tɪ/ `fall'

IND:	-o
SUBJ:	∅
INF:	-ɔ

/tɪ-o^H/ → tíy-ó

/tɪ-^{H}/ → tí

/tɪ-ɔ^{HL}/ → tíy-ɔ̀

(2) [+ATR] verb root /ni/ `swell'

/ni-o^H/ → níy-ó

/ni-^{H}/ → ní

/ni-ɔ^{HL}/ → níy-ò

3.2 Nominal form classes in Fanya

- Typical Bua noun form classes, very elaborate
- Most Proto-Bua agreement classes are still attested
  - More in Hwanyle than in Kulaale dialect
- But agreement is mostly optional:
  - One singular AGR and one plural AGR have become default
  - Others are only optionally (and rarely) used
- NB: Research on optional agreement in Fanya is still preliminary

3.2 Nominal form classes in Fanya

(1)	**-a/-e**	hyɔ̀ɔ̀b-à/hyɔ̀ɔ̀b-è	'fish'
(2)	**-ɔ/-ɛ**	wɔ̀ɽ-ɔ̀/wɔ̀ɽ-ɛ̀	'skin'
(3)	**-ʊ/-ɪ**	kùr-ʊ́/kùr-í	'pot'
(4)	**-wɛ/-i**	kàndʊ̀-wɛ̀/kònd-ì	'sesame'
(5)	**-lɛ/-ɽʊ**	tɔ́ɔ́-lɛ́/tɔ́ɔ́-ɽʊ́	'groundnut'
(6)	**-llɛ/-ndʊ**	má-llɛ́/má-ndʊ́	'tamarind'
(7)	**-ɗɛ/-ɽʊ**	kúù-**r**è/kúù-ɽù	'skin'
(8)	**-ɗʊ/-nnyi**	kùɽáá-**ɗ**ʊ̀/kùɽé-nnyì	'tree sp.'

Main sg/pl pairings

ɗ → r / V_V

except after ɽ

34

3.2 Nominal form classes in Fanya

Nominal form classes

- Kulaale dialect

- Inquorate suffixes and pairings ignored

SG	PL	
a	-e	
ɔ	-ɛ	
Ø	-(ɪ)-ke	
ʊ	-ɪ	
wɛ		
ɛ	-i	
llɛ	-ndʊ	
lɛ	-ɽʊ	
ɗɛ		
ɗʊ	-nnyi	
Ø	-wɛ	Human ('father', 'child'...)

	Derivational:	
-nʊ		Ethnonyms, 'chief', 'firstborn'
-aa		Agent/patient N (e.g. 'thief')
-wo		Agent/patient N (e.g. 'messenger')
-jɔ		Abstract N, no pl. (e.g. 'deafness')
-je		Abstract N, no pl. (e.g. 'madness')

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Gender is "on its way out", but not totally out yet

- Agreement is optional

- Two of the former agreement classes (1 sg / 1 pl) have become default sg and pl agreement classes

- Other agreement classes have survived and may be used, but never obligatorily

- Except proper names, which in some morphosyntactic contexts require their own agreement class

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Agreement classes in Proto-Bua and Fanya (Hwanyle and Kulaale dialects; illustrated with connective morpheme)

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
*Proto-Bua	Hwanyle	Kulaale	*Proto-Bua	Hwanyle	Kulaale
*kɛ	kɛ́	kɛ́	*ɟi	fí	fí
*kʊ	kʊ́	—	*ɲi	—	—
*lɛ	lɛ́	lɛ́	*ʈʊ	tʊ́	tʊ́
*mɛ	mɛ́	—	*ɓɛ	ɓɛ́	ɓɛ́
*zɔ	fɔ́	fɔ́	? (Kulaal mè)	—	—
? (Kulaal kî)	—	—	? (Kulaal mò)	—	—

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

Agreement targets in Hwanyle:

		CON $_H(L?)$ $_$	COP $_H$	DISTR $_-\underline{\tau\epsilon}^H$	DET/REL ʔàà-$_-^H$	'other' $_-ka^L$
SG	/kʊ/	kʊ́	kʊ́	—	ʔààkʊ́	kʊ̀kà
	/kɛ/	kɛ́	kɛ́	—	ʔààkɛ́	kɛ̀kà
	/lɛ/	lɛ́	lɛ́	—	ʔààlɛ́	lɛ̀kà
	/mɛ/	mɛ́	mɛ́	—	ʔààmɛ́	mɛ̀kà
	/fɔ/	fɔ́	fɔ́	—	ʔààfɔ́	fɔ̀kà
PL	/fi/	fí	fí	fíɾé	ʔààfí	fìkà
	/tʊ/	tʊ́	tʊ́	(*tʊ́ɾɛ́)	ʔààtʊ́	tʊ̀kà
	/ɓɛ/	ɓɛ́	ɓɛ́	ɓɛ́ɾɛ́	ʔààɓɛ́	ɓɛ̀kà

		PROX1 $_-ka^H$	PRES Ń-$_-ka^L$	PROX2 ʔàà-$_-ka^H$	PROX3 ʔàà-$_-nna^{HLH}$	DIST ʔàŃ-$_-^{LH}$
SG	/kʊ/	kʊ́ká	ŋ́kʊ̀kà	ʔààkʊ́ká	ʔààkʊ́ǹná	ʔàŋ́kʊ̆~ʔàŋ́ꜜkʊ́
	/kɛ/	kɛ́ká	ŋ́kɛ̀kà	ʔààkɛ́ká	(*ʔààkɛ́ǹná)	ʔàŋ́kɛ̆~ʔàŋ́ꜜkɛ́
	/lɛ/	lɛ́ká	Ílɛ̀kà	ʔààlɛ́ká	ʔààlɛ́ǹná	ʔàÍlɛ̆~ʔàÍꜜlɛ́
	/mɛ/	mɛ́ká	ḿmɛ̀kà	ʔààmɛ́ká	ʔààmɛ́ǹná	ʔàḿmɛ̆~ʔàḿꜜmɛ́
	/fɔ/	fɔ́ká	ɲ́fɔ̀kà	ʔààfɔ́ká	ʔààfɔ́ǹná	ʔàɲ́fɔ̆~ʔàɲ́ꜜfɔ́
PL	/fi/	fíká	ɲ́fìkà	ʔààfíká	ʔààfíǹná	ʔàɲfĭ~ʔàɲ́ꜜfí
	/tʊ/	tʊ́ká	ńtʊ̀kà	(*ʔààtʊ́ká)	(*ʔààtʊ́ǹná)	ʔàńtʊ̆~ʔàńꜜtʊ́
	/ɓɛ/	ɓɛ́ká	ḿɓɛ̀kà	ʔààɓɛ́ká	ʔààɓɛ́ǹná	ʔàḿɓɛ̆~ʔàḿꜜɓɛ́

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle:
  - Default kʊ (sg) and ƒi (pl) for all nouns
  - Sg. kɛ and pl. tʊ always accepted

(1) ɓʊ́w-ɛ̀   **kʊ́**   ɓɛ̀-lɛ̀
           kɛ́
           *lɛ́
           *mɛ́
           *ƒɔ́
     goat-SG | CON | big-SG
     'a big goat'

(2) ɓúy-ì   **ƒí**   ɓɛ̀-nɖʊ̀
           tʊ́
           *ɓɛ́
     goat-PL | CON | big-PL
     'big goats'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle:
  - nouns in -lɛ, -llɛ, -ɗɛ → AGR lɛ is possible

(1) **ʄàà-lɛ̀** | **kʊ́** | **ɓɛ̀-lɛ̀**
              | **kɛ́** |
              | **lɛ́** |
              | ***mɛ́*** |
              | ***ʄɔ́*** |

fork-SG | CON | big-SG

'a big tree fork'

(2) **ʄàà-ɽʊ̀** | **ʄí** | **ɓɛ̀-ndʊ̀**
              | **tʊ́** |
              | ***ɓɛ́*** |

fork-PL | CON | big-PL

'big tree forks'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle:
  - Liquids in -me: AGR mɛ is possible
  - Also semantic motivation, e.g. ʈììʈɔ̀ in (2):

(1) **hí-mé**

kʊ́
kɛ́
***lɛ́**
mɛ́
***ʄɔ́**

ɛ̀ bʊ́wɛ̀

blood-SG   CON   my goat

'My goat's blood'

(2) **ʈììʈ-ɔ̀**

kʊ́
kɛ́
***lɛ́**
mɛ́
***ʄɔ́**

tàɓɛ̀llɛ̀

oil-SG   CON   shea

'Shea oil'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle:
  - 'person' and proper names: AGR sg ʄɔ and pl. ɓɛ are possible

(1) **ʔìy-ɔ̀ / àtîm**

	kʊ́	**bɛ̀-lɛ̀**
	kɛ́	
	***lɛ́**	
	***mɛ́**	
	ʄɔ́	
person-SG / Atim	CON	big

'a big person'

(2) **ɓìy-è**

	ʄí	**bɛ̀-lɛ̀**
	tʊ́	
	ɓɛ́	
people	CON	big

'big people'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

Agreement targets in Kulaale:

			CON $_{H(L)}$	COP Polar T	DET $-ɲ^{HL}$	PROX $-ɗi^{LH}$	which $-nɪ^{LHL} \sim -y^{LHL}$	DISTR $-ɾɛ^H$	POSS $-aa-PRO^{HLH}$
SG	**kɛ**	*All (except proper N)*	kέ~ kɛ̂	kɛ^P	kɛ̂ɲ	kèrí	kɛ̀έnì ~ kɛ̀ɛ̂y	—	káàyέ
	lɛ	*> Temporal*	lέ ~ lɛ̂ 'when/if'	*	*	lèrí 'now'	lɛ̀έnì ~ lɛ̀ɛ̂y 'when (Q)'	—	*
	ɟɔ	*Proper N (and > FOC)*	ɟɔ́ ~ ɟɔ̂ > FOC	ɟɔ^P	*	*	*	—	*
PL	**tʊ**	*All (default)*	tʊ́ ~ tʊ̂	tʊ^P	tʊ̂ɲ	tùrí	tʊ̀ʊ́nì ~ tʊ̀ʊ̂y	tʊ́ɾέ	táàyέ
	ɟi	*All (marginal)*	ɟí ~ ɟî	ɟi^P	ɟîɲ	ɟìrí	ɟììnì ~ ɟììy	ɟíɾέ	(?)
	ɓɛ	*Human (optional)*	ɓέ ~ ɓɛ̂	ɓɛ^P	ɓɛ̂ɲ	ɓèrí	ɓɛ̀έnì ~ ɓɛ̀ɛ̂y	ɓέɾέ	ɓáàyέ

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle: remnant agreement

(1) **hyáww-ɛ̀ / ɟàà-lɛ̀ / hì-mì / káá̰-ɗʊ̀ / wì-yò**   **kɛ̂ (*ʄɔ̂)** **ŋ́ ʔèlè**

dog   fork   blood   canoe   person   CON   I   see:IND

'The dog/tamarind/blood/person that I saw'

(2) **fáátímè / àtîm**   **kɛ̂ (*ʄɔ̂)** **gìdìwólò**

(name)   (name)   CON   (place)

'It is Fatime / Atim.'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle: remnant agreement

(1) **hyáww-ɛ̀ / ɟàà-lɛ̀ / hì-mì / ká̰á̰-ɗʋ̀ / wì-yò** | **kɛ́**
     | | ***ɟɔ́***
     | | CO
     | | P

     dog   fork   blood   canoe   person

    'It is a dog/tamarind/blood/a person.'

(2) **fáátímè / àtîm** | ***kɛ́***
     | | **ɟɔ́**
     | | COP

    (name)   (name)

    'It is Fatime / Atim.'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle: remnant agreement

(1) **ɦyóww-ì / ɟàà-ɽʊ̀ / kó-ɲɲì** | **ɟî** | **ŋ́** | **ʔèlè**
                                       | **tʊ̂** |
                                       | ***ɓɛ̂** |
     dogs   forks   canoes | CON | I | see:IND

     'The dog/tamarind/blood/person that I saw'

(2) **ɓì-yè   / àtîm rîɓɓɛ̀** | **ɟî** | **gìdìwólò**
                                  | **tʊ̂** |
                                  | **ɓɛ̂** |
     (name)   (name) | CON | (place)

     'It is Fatime / Atim.'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle: remnant agreement

(1) **hyáwwè** / **ʄáálɛ́** / **hìmì** / **wìyò** | **kɛ́** |
     (-ɛ)   (-lɛ)   (-mi)   (-yo) | ***ʄɔ́*** |
     dog   fork   blood   person | COP |

'It is a dog/tamarind/blood/a person.'

(2) **fáátímè** / **àtîm** | ***kɛ́*** |
                            | **ʄɔ́** |
     (name)   (name) | COP |

'It is Fatime / Atim.'

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Hwanyle vs. Kulaale

	Connective	Hwanyle (default = kʊ́/ʃí)	Kulaale (default = kɛ́/tʊ́)
SG	kɛ́	All nouns (rare but attested)	**All nouns = default** (exc. proper n.)
	kʊ́	**All nouns = default** (exc. proper n.)	---
	lɛ́	Mostly with nouns in -*lɛ*	---
	mɛ́	Liquids/masses only	---
	ʃɔ́	'person' & proper names	Proper names
PL	ʃí	**All nouns = default**	All nouns (rare but attested)
	tʊ́	Always possible	**All nouns = default**
	ɓɛ́	Human only	Human only

3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Agreement classes that survive in Hwanyle:
  ◦ Alliterative classes
  ◦ Semantically salient/coherent → human & liquids

	NF		AGR	Hwanyle
SG	-a, -ɔ, -ʊ, -ɛ, -wɛ *(+ all other)*		kɛ́	All nouns (rare but attested)
			kʊ́	**All nouns = default** (exc. proper n.)
	-(l)lɛ, -ɗɛ		lɛ́	Mostly with nouns in *-lɛ*
	-mɛ		mɛ́	Liquids/masses only
	varia, incl. -yɔ		ʄɔ́	'person' & proper names
PL	-i, -ɪ, -e, -ɛ, -nyi -ɽʊ, -ndʊ *(+ all other)*		ʄí	**All nouns = default**
			tʊ́	All nouns (rare but attested)
	varia, incl. -wɛ		ɓɛ́	human plural

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3.3 Gender/agreement in Fanya

- Agreement classes that survive in Kulaale:
  - Human reference = semantically salient

	NF	AGR	Hwanyle
SG	-a, -ɔ, -ʋ, -ɛ, -wɛ -(l)lɛ, -ɗɛ -mɛ *(+ all other)*	kɛ́ ~~(kʊ́)~~ ~~(lé)~~ ~~(mɛ́)~~	**All nouns = default** (exc. proper n.)
	varia, incl. -yɔ	ʄɔ́	'person' & proper names
PL	-i, -ɪ, -e, -ɛ, -nyi -ɽʋ, -ndʋ *(+ all other)*	ʄí	All nouns (rare but attested)
		tʊ́	**All nouns = default**
	varia, incl. -wɛ	ɓɛ́	human plural

4. Noun morphology: from Proto-Bua to modern languages

4. History of Noun form classes

- Proto-Bua (tentative, latest reconstruction)

4. History of Noun form classes

- Proto-Bua (tentative, latest reconstruction)

SINGULAR		
Suffix	*Det.*	
*-A ———————	***kɛ**	
*-U ———————	***kʊ**	
*-l ———————	***lɛ**	
*-m$_1$ ————	***mɛ**	*Masses and liquids*
	?	*(Vestigial) human, kinship terms*
?	***zɔ**	*(Vestigial) kinship, relational terms*
?	(Kul. *kî*)	*(Vestigial) 'thing', 'place'*

4. History of Noun form classes

- Proto-Bua (tentative, latest reconstruction)

SINGULAR		PLURAL		
Suffix	*Det.*	*Suffix*	*Det.*	
*-A	*kɛ	*-i	*ɟi	
*-U	*kʊ		*ɲi	
*-l	*lɛ	*-n	*tʊ	
*-m$_1$	*mɛ	*-(m$_1$)-te		Masses and liquids
		*-b/ɓ/w(V)	*ɓɛ	(Vestigial) human, kinship terms
?	*zɔ	*-m$_2$	(Kul. *me*)	(Vestigial) kinship, relational terms
?	(Kul. *kɨ*)	*-m$_3$	(Kul. *mo*)	(Vestigial) 'thing', 'place'

4. History of Noun form classes

- Proto-Bua (tentative, latest reconstruction)

SINGULAR		PLURAL		
Suffix	*Det.*	*Suffix*	*Det.*	
*-A	*$k\varepsilon$	*-i	*$ɟi$	
*-U	*$k\upsilon$		*$ɲi$	
*-l	*$l\varepsilon$	*-n	*$t\upsilon$	
*-m_1	*$m\varepsilon$	*-(m_1)-te		*Masses and liquids*
		*-b/ɓ/w(V)	*$ɓ\varepsilon$	*(Vestigial) human, kinship terms*
?	*$z\mathbf{ɔ}$	*-m_2	(Kul. *me*)	*(Vestigial) kinship, relational terms*
?	(Kul. *kî*)	*-m_3	(Kul. *mo*)	*(Vestigial) 'thing', 'place'*

4. History of Noun form classes

- Noun class morphology & agreement (agreeing function words):
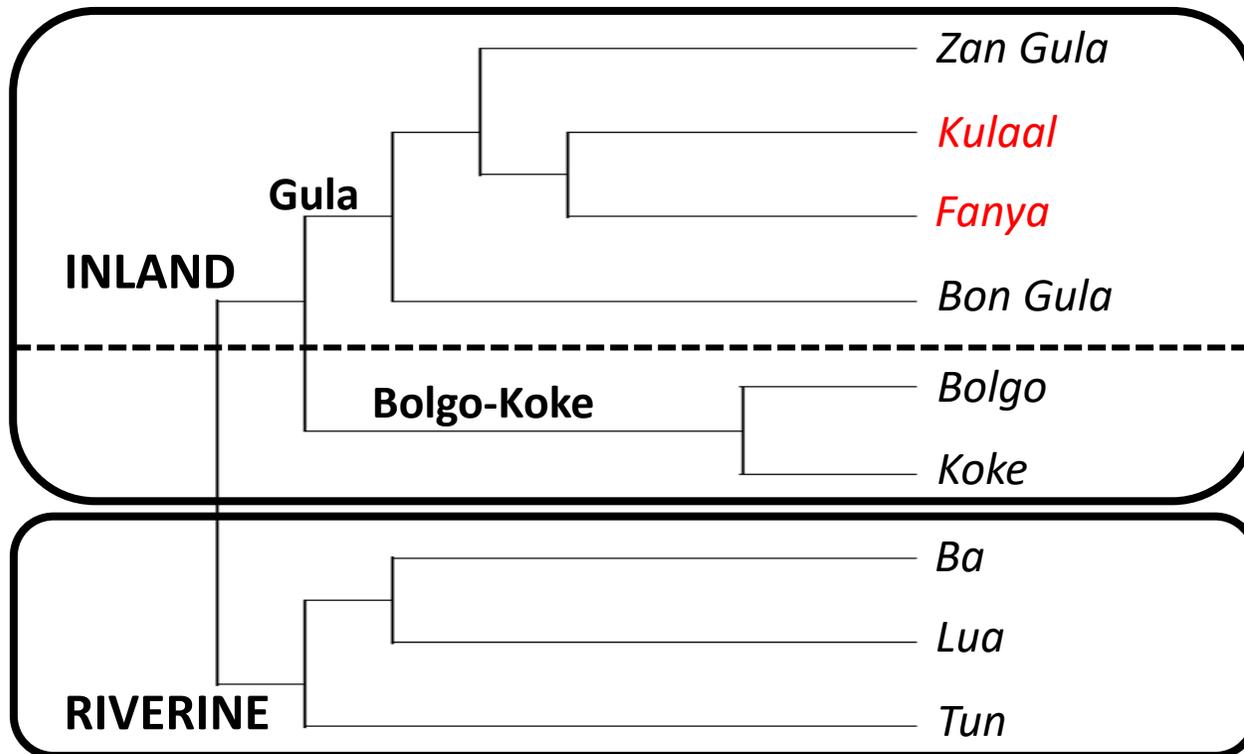
Suffix	Det	Group
Sfx + Det		A
Sfx	Det	
Sfx + Det (Fusion)		
Sfx		
Sfx		
(Sfx ?)		
Sfx		
Sfx		
Sfx		

4. History of Noun form classes

- Three groups:

Proto-Bua		-*Sfx *Det	*cà-ʊ *kɛ̀	'dog'
- Kulaal	conservative	-Sfx Det	sà-ʊ̀ kɛ̀	
- Fanya, Zan Gula	fusion	-SfxDet	hyàww-ɛ̀	(Fanya)
- Riverine, Bolgo, Bon Gula	Det > Ø	-w (> Ø) (+ occasional fusion?)	sà-w	(Lua)

4. History of Noun form classes

- Group A, Class ***-l lɛ**

Proto-Bua		Kulaal	Fanya / Zan Gula	
*V-l lɛ	>	**V-l lɛ**	**V-llɛ**	
*rú-l lɛ		yúl lɛ̀	ɽú-llé / ru-lle	'knee'
*VV-l (l)ɛ	>	**VV-l ɛ̀**	**VV-lɛ**	
*tɔ́ɔ́-l (l)ɛ		tɔ́ɔ́-l ɛ̀	tɔ́ɔ́-lɛ́ / tɔɔ-lɛ	'groundnut'

4. History of Noun form classes

- Group A, Class ***-n ɗʊ** (pl. of ***-l lɛ**)

Proto-Bua		Kulaal	Fanya (& Zan Gula)	
*V-n ʈʊ	>	**V-n ʈʊ**	**V-nɗʊ**	
*rú-n ɗʊ		yú-n ʈʊ̀	ɽú-ndú / ru-ndu	'knees'
*VV-n ʈʊ	>	**VV-n ʈʊ**	**VV-ɽʊ**	
*tɔ́ɔ́-n ɗʊ		tɔ́ɔ́-n ʈʊ̀	tɔ́ɔ́-ɽʊ́ / tɔɔ-rʊ	'groundnuts'

4. History of Noun form classes

- Group B, Class **-l lɛ**

Proto-Bua		Lua	Bon Gula	Bolgo (S)	
-l lɛ	>	**-l**	**-l**	**-l**	
*cú-l lɛ		sú-l	hu-l	sú-l	'head'
-l lɛ	>	**-la**	**-l**	**-l**	
*lí-l lɛ		ndílá	lí-l	lé-l	'tongue'

4. History of Noun form classes

- Group B, Class ***-l lɛ**

Proto-Bua		Lua	Bon Gula	Bolgo (S)	
*-l lɛ	>	**-l**	**-l**	**-l**	
*cú-l lɛ		sú-l	hu-l	sú-l	'head'
*-l lɛ	>	**-la**	**-l**	**-l**	
*lí-l lɛ		ndílá	lí-l	lé-l	'tongue'

Trace of incorporated determiner ***lɛ**?

4. History of Noun form classes

- Group B, Class ***-n ɗʊ** (pl. of ***-l lɛ**)

Proto-Bua		Lua	Ba	Bon Gula	Bolgo (S)	
*-n ɗʊ	**>**	**-n**	**-n**	**-n**	**-ɗɪ**	
*maa-n ʈʊ			míí-n	mú(ː)-n	mɛ̀ɛ̀-dì	'breasts'
*-n ɗʊ	**>**	**-ri**	**-r**		**-ɗɪ**	
*cú-n ʈʊ		sú-rí	sì-ŕ	?	sú-dí	'heads'

4. History of Noun form classes

- Group B, Class ***-n ɗʊ** (pl. of ***-l lɛ**)

Proto-Bua		Lua	Ba	Bon Gula	Bolgo (S)	
*-n ɗʊ	>	**-n**	**-n**	**-n**	**-dɪ**	
*maa-n ʈʊ			míí-n	mú(ː)-n	mὲὲ-dì	'breasts'
*-n ɗʊ	>	**-ri**	**-r**		**-dɪ**	
*cú-n ʈʊ		sú-rí	sì-ŕ	?	sú-dí	'heads'

Trace of incorporated determiner *ʈʊ?

4. History of Noun form classes

Kulaal
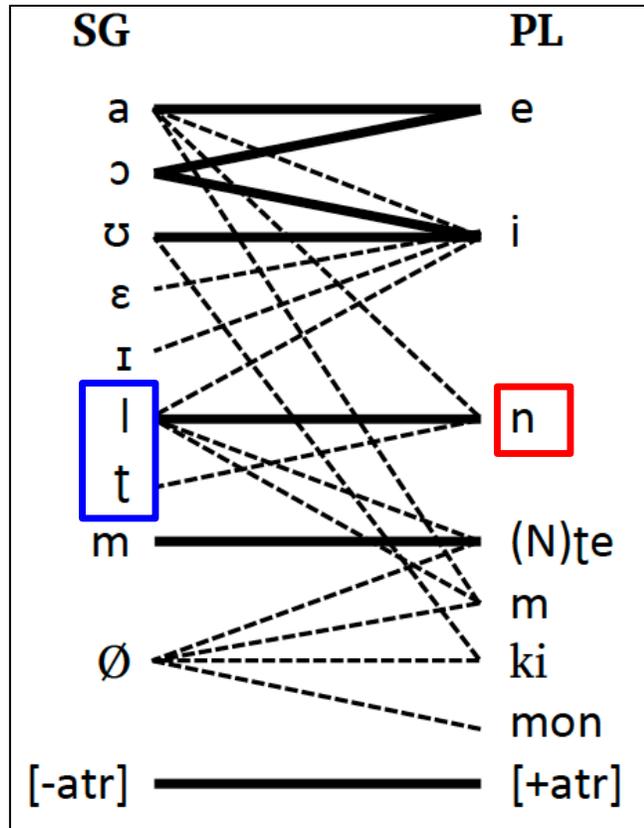
Fanya (Kulaale)

Lua
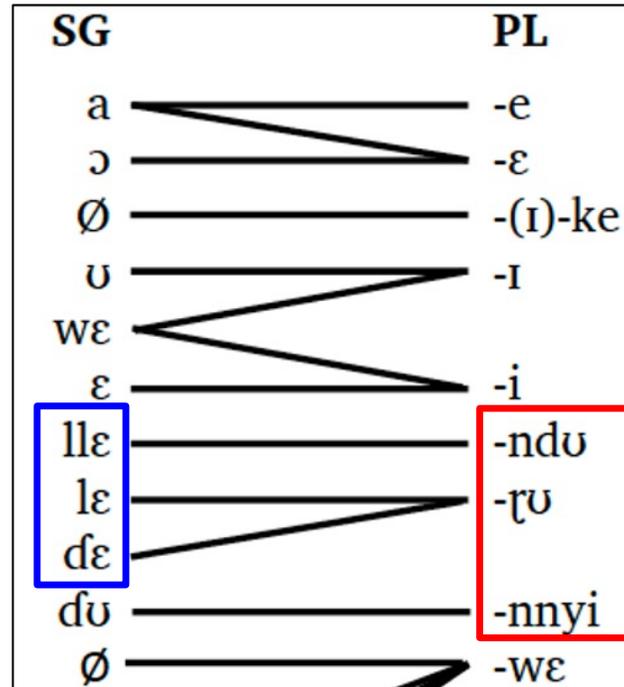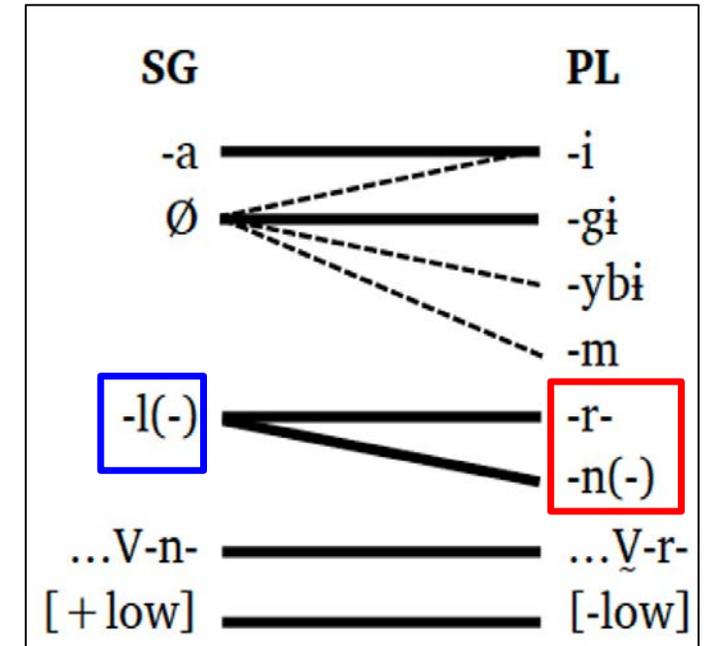
5. Discusion & conclusion

5. Discussion & conclusion

|	Noun form class	DET	AGR/gender
Kulaal	maintained	maintained	maintained
Fanya	maintained+fusion	fused	weakened
Zan Gula	maintained+fusion	fused	lost
Bon Gula	maintained	lost	lost
Riverine & Bolgo	maintained	lost	lost

- Loss of agreement & gender is not caused by loss of nominal morphology (= the possibility to identify a noun's agreement class directly from the noun itself)

5. Discussion & conclusion

- Two paths for gender loss:
    1. RIVERINE: loss of agreeing morphemes + innovation of new sg/pl morphemes
    2. FANYA: Progressive generalization of one set to sg and pl

- (Bolgo, Zan Gula, Bon Gula: unclear for lack of data)

5. Discussion & conclusion

Barayin, Saba (Chadic; m/f)

INLAND

Bolgo-Koke

Gula

Boor (Chadic; m/f)

RIVERINE

Laal (isolate; m/f/n)

Ndam (Chadicl m/f)

Sar, Deme, etc. (SBB; no gender)
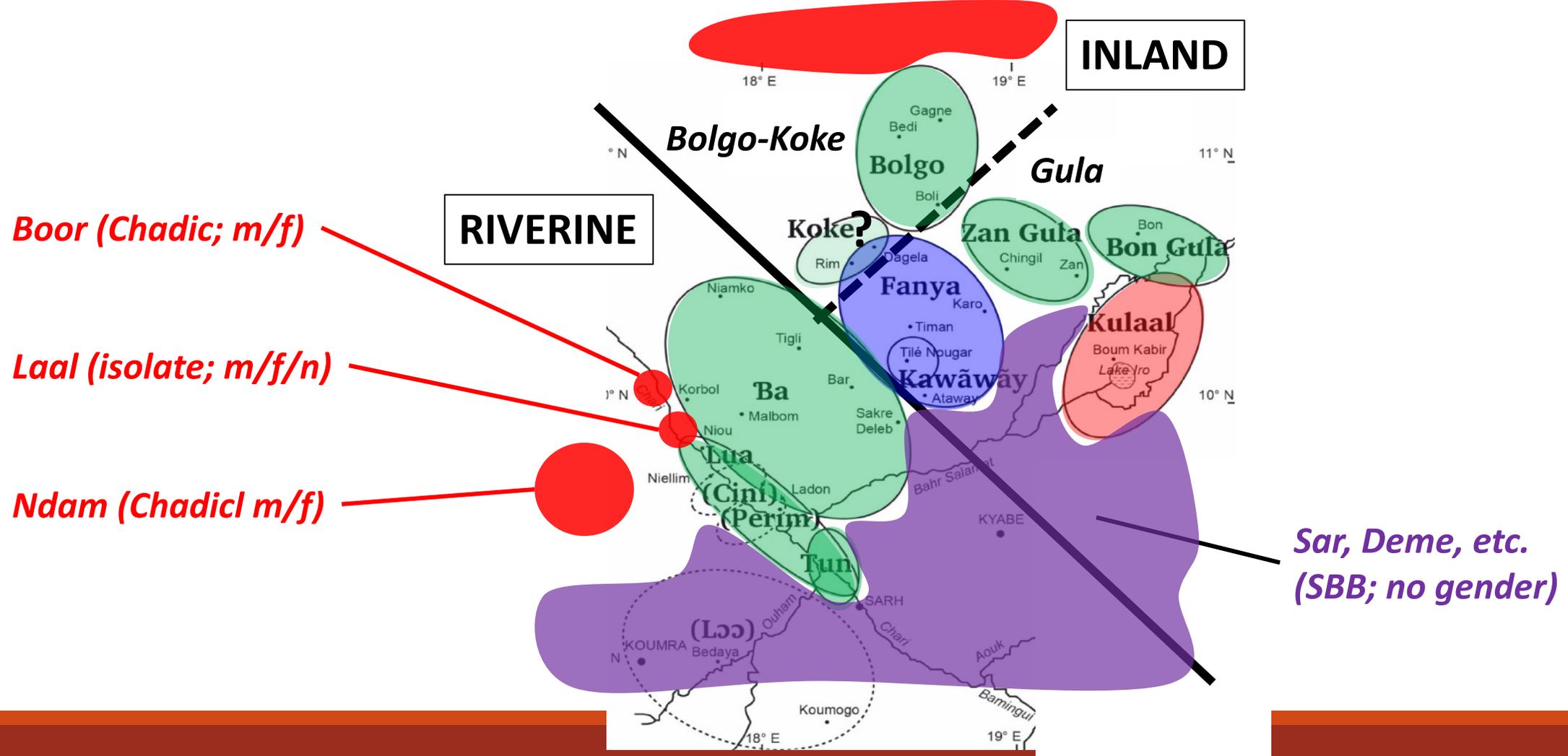
5. Discussion & conclusion

- RIVERINE: possible areal/contact effect at work in Riverine:
  - Neighboring languages = Laal(ic) & Chadic
  - Don't have "noun classes"
  - All have sex-based gender: **masc/fem** (**masc/fem/nt** in Laal)

5. Discussion & conclusion

- Possible precursor of AGR loss: morphophonological discrepancy between NF and AGR classes

  - these AGR classes are the first to lose their coherence in Fanya

- Step-by-step loss in Fanya (and other Inland?)

  - Non-aliterative classes go first

  - Alliterative classes optionally maintained

  - Semantically salient/coherent classes also maintained: liquids & human

Thank you!