

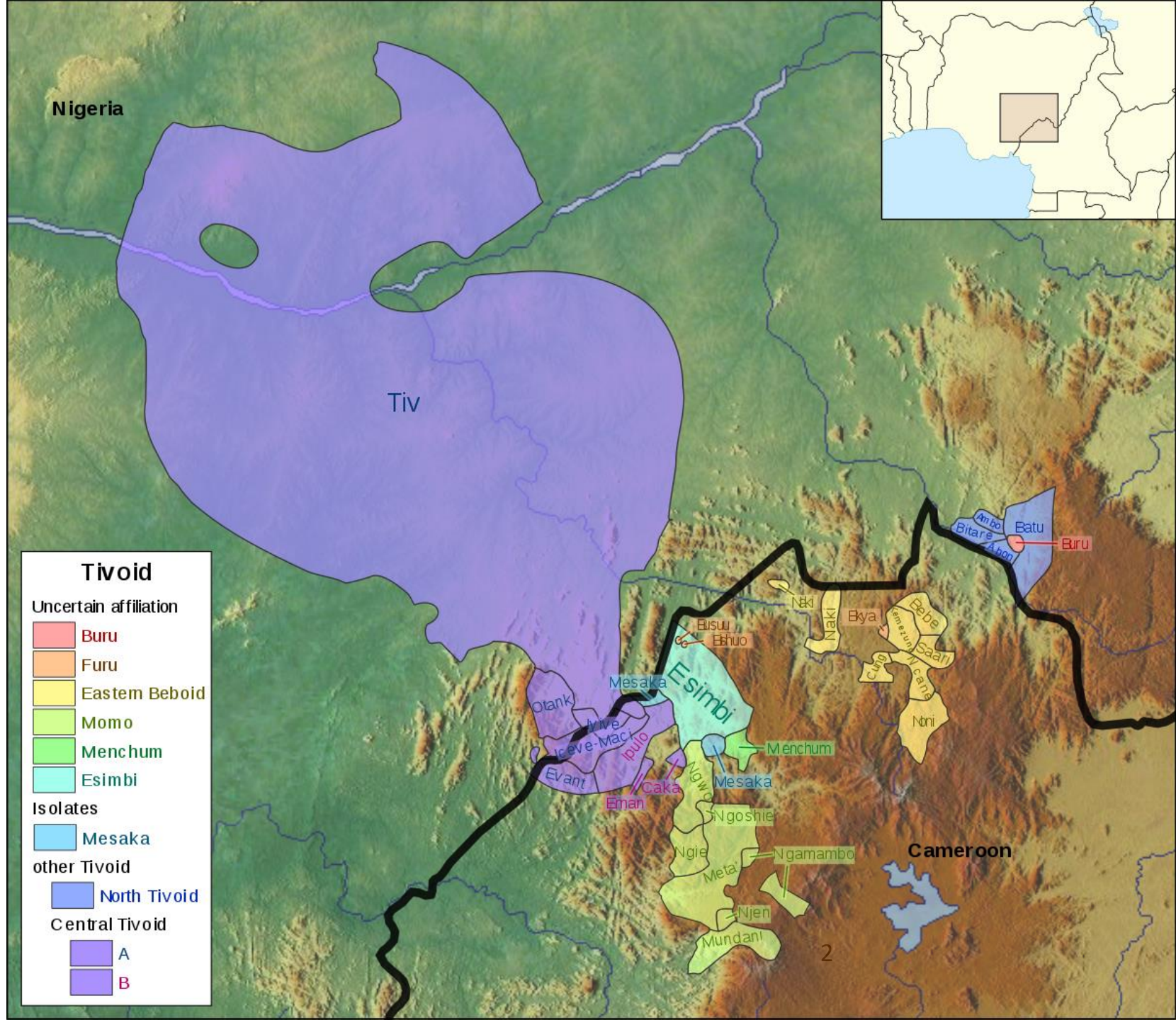
The Tivoid adnominal noun class suffix system

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NuClaBA project (“Numeral classifiers of the Benue-Congo languages of Africa”)

Tivoid languages

- Tiv and various under-described Tivoid languages in Cameroon/Nigeria: Ugare, Evand, Itang, Icheve
- Bantoid noun class system, various Tivoid complexities (e.g. circumfixation of adnominal class markers)
- Concurrent numeral classifier system



Evand gender system: adnominal gender marking by circumfixation

NP_x-Root-NS_x: *kí-tām-ék* *kí-mǎ-k*
 7-fruit-7 7-one-7
 ‘one fruit’

ví-tām-év *ví-àlō-v*
 8-fruit-8 8-two-8
 ‘two fruits’

	NP _x -	-NS _x	example
1	ò- , ò-, ù-, ∅- [...]	(̀)	ò-kàs ‘woman’
2	vá-	-Vv	vá-kás-év ‘women’
3	ú-	-ú	ú-nú-ú ‘mouth’
5	í-	-í	í-kív-í ‘hand’, í-ɕìmbī ‘avocado, pear’
6	á-, é- [...]	-é, -´	á-sāŋgí ‘seeds’
6a	mó-	-m	mó-múl-ùm ‘water’, má-kà-m ‘medicines’
7	kí-, ké-	-V́k	kí-tām-ék ‘fruit’, ké-tō-k ‘head’
8	ví-	-Vv	ví-tām-év ‘fruits’
9	ì-, è- [...]	(̀)	ì-ɲàm ‘animal’, è-sàŋgē ‘seed’
10	í-, é-	-´	í-ɲǎm ‘animals’, é-dzuá ‘penises’
12	ká-	-V́k	ká-áná-k ‘thing’
14	ó-, vú-	-Vv	ó-kà-v ‘medicine’, vú-àngér-év ‘pain’
15	kú-	-V́k	kú-tóng-ók ‘ear’

Ugare gender system: adnominal gender marking by circumfixation

	NP _x -	-NS _x	example
1	à-, ø-, v-, ì-	-`	<i>nèr</i> 'person'
2	(v)à-, (v)é-	-´	<i>é-něr</i> 'people'
3	ú-	-´	<i>ú-kpéndě</i> 'hand'
5	í-	-´	<i>í-yă:n</i> 'leaf'
6	á-	-´	<i>á-yĩ:n</i> 'leaves'
6a	à-, è-	-`	<i>è-tfìn</i> 'blood'
7	-	-	-
8	-	-	-
9	ø-, kù-	-??	<i>ɲàm</i> 'animal'
10	í-	-´	<i>íɲãm</i> 'animals'
12	-	-	-
14	-	-	-
15	-	-	-

Ugare gender system: internal reconstruction of adnominal noun class suffixes

	Surface form (noun class)	Underlying form
1	<i>nèr</i> 'person' (1)	< *`-nèr-`
2	<i>é-ně</i> 'persons' (2)	< *é-nèr-´
3	<i>ù-kpām</i> ,chief' (1)	< *ù-kpám-`
5	<i>á-kpím</i> ,chiefs' (2)	< *á-kpám-´
6	<i>ì-kpà</i> 'bag' (1)	< *ì-kpà-`
6a	<i>á-kpǎ</i> ,bags' (6)	< *á-kpà-´
7	<i>ì-bà</i> 'sack' (1)	< *ì-bà-`
8	<i>á-bǎ</i> ,sacks' (6)	< *á-bà-´
9	<i>ì-kēv</i> 'coconut' (1)	< *ì-kév-`
10	<i>á-kév</i> 'coconuts' (6)	< *á-kév-´
12	<i>ɲàm</i> 'animal' (9)	< *`-ɲàm-`
15	<i>í-ɲǎm</i> 'animals' (10)	< *í-ɲàm-´

Cross-Tivoid adnominal gender suffix comparison and reconstruction

Canonical noun structure: *NP_x-Root-NS_x

	*Proto-Tivoid	Tiv	Itang	Icheve	Evand	Ugare	Iyive	Ipulo
1	*-̀	-ɣ̀	(-̀)	??(-̀)	(-̀)	(-̀)	-̀	-̀
2	*-v	-v̀	-v(´)	-v´	-Vv	(-´)	-v´	-v´
3	*-ú	-´	(-´)	-´	-ú	(-´)	-´	-´
5	*-í	-´	(-´)	-´	-í	(-´)	-´	??
6	*-V́	-´	-á	(-´)	-é, -´	(-´)	-á ~ -é	-´
6a	*-m̂	-m̂	-m̂	-mV̂ ~ -mV́	-m̂	(-̀)	-mV́	(-̀)
7	*-k´	-ɣ´	-ɣ(´)	-ɥ(V´)	-V́k	-	-kV́	-´
8	*-v´	-v´	-v(´)	-v´ ~ -ví	-V́v	-	-(V)v	-v
9	*-̀	-̀	(-̀)	-̀	(-̀)	(-̀)	-̀	??
10	*-´	-´	(-´)	-´ ~ -é ~ -é ~ -í	-´	(-´)	-´	-´
12	*-k´	-	-	-ɥ(é)	-V́k	-	-	-´
14	*-v´	-v´	-v(´)	-v´	-V́v	-	-	-´
15	*-k´	-(V)ɣ´	-(V)ɣ(´)	-ɥé	-V́k	-	-	??

Distribution of gender suffixes

Not all nouns in a given class take gender suffixes

Loanwords integrated by gender prefixes only, commonly no gender suffixes,

But: tonal gender suffixes attested in Tiv

Diagnostic contrast with syntactic contexts that require presence vs. absence of gender suffixes:

Tiv: *ígíā* (5/6) ‘gear’ (< *í-gíà-´*)

(a) *í-gíā* *ngí* *ɲór-ùn* *gá*
5-gear:5 5.AUX enter-PTCP NEG
‘A gear is not engaging.’

(b) *ʃá* *ĩ-gíà*
on 5-gear:∅
‘on a gear’

Reconstructing an eroding adnominal gender suffix system

Degradation of individual gender suffix systems:

- (a) cline of reduction by desegmentalisation**
- (b) loan words commonly integrated by NPx only, no NSx**
- (c) traces of non-cognate fossilized NSx**

How to recognize fossilized NSx in cross-Tivoid comparison:

- (a) different patterns of incongruent circumfixation**
- (b) non-cognate terminal consonants**
- (c) tonal alternations in number paradigm**

Incongruent circumfixation patterns

**í-fòl-í / á-fòl-á* ‘hole’ (5/6)

Evand: (*yé-lì / mó-ĩ-m* (5/6a))

Itang: *í-hér / á-hér*

Icheve: *í-fé^í / á-fé^í*

Iyive: (*í-hán / á-hán*)

Ipulo: (*í-pì / ó-pì*)

Tiv: *í-hyúl^á / á-húl^á* (5/6)

Ugare: (*í-kǎl / á-kì^ĩ* (5/6))

Icheve: generalization of class 5 NSx **-í*

Tiv: generalization of class 6 NSx **-á*

Ugare: reanalysis of NSx *-m* (6a) as root-final consonant

**kí-yóηgú-k* / **ví-yóηgú-v* ~ **m̄-yóηgú-m̄* (7/8~6a) ‘bush rat’

Evand: (*ì-nàm-ì-gyù* / *í-nám-î-gyù* (9/10))

Itang: *í-yóηgú-γ* / *í-yóηgú-v* (7/8)

Icheve: (*ò-fīnā* / *é-fīnā* (1/6))

Tiv: *í-yóηgú-γ* / *m̄-yóηgú-m̄* (7/6a)

Ugare: *í-yóηgúm̄* (5/?)

Ugare: fossilization of class 6a NSx **-m̄*

Ugare: reanalysis of NSx *-m* (6a) as root-final consonant

**kí-kúŋgú-k / m̄-kúŋgú-m̄* (7/6a) ‘pigeon’

Evand: (*í-yé-kúkw-í / mó-kúkû-m* (5/6a))

Itang: *í-kúŋgú-γ / m̄-kúŋgú-m̄* (7/6a)

Icheve: *á-kúŋgúwū / m̄-kúŋgu-m̄* (1/6a)

Tiv: *í-kyūŋgú-γ / m̄-kúŋgú-m̄* (7/6a)

Ugare: *ú-kúŋgúm / í-kúŋgúm* (3/10)

Ugare: fossilization of class 6a NSx **-m̄*

Ugare: reanalysis of NSx *-m* (6a) as root-final consonant

**kú-síl-ík / *m̄-síl-ím* (15/6a) ~ **kí-síl-ík / ví-síl-ív* (7/8) ‘chain’

Evand: ???

Itang: *í-sílí-γ / í-sílí-ν* (7/8)

Icheve: *í-sílí / á-í-sílī* (5/6)

Tiv: *í-síl-íγ / m̄-síl-īm* (7/6a)

Ugare: *ú-sélím / í-sélím* (3/10)

Ugare: fossilization of class 6a NSx **-m̄*

Itang: reanalysis of NSx -ɣ (7) as root-final consonant

***kí-késé-k / *ví-késé-v** ‘black edible caterpillar’

Evand: *ké-késé-k ~ vé-késé-v* (7/8)

Itang: *í-késéɣ / á-késéɣ* (5/6)

Icheve: *ké-késé-k ~ vé-késé-v* (7/8)

Tiv: *(ì-gyò ~ á-gṵ* (9/6))

Ugare: *ú-kéhé ~ í-kéhé* (3/10)

***ì-gbúl-` ~ kí-gbúl-Ṽk / á-gbúl-´** ‘clot in liquid’

Evand: *kí-gbúlú-k ~ á-gbúl* (7/8)

Itang: *ì-gbūrùɣ ~ á-gbúl* (swellings on body) (9/6)

Icheve: *uḡígbémbúuḡi ~ égbem̄bī* (7/6)

Tiv: *ì-gbyūl ~ á-gbúl* (9/6)

Ugare: *ì-gbyūl ~ á-gbúl* (9/6)

Itang: fossilization of class 7 NSx *-k´

Tonal evidence of adnominal NSx

‘animal’ (PB **nàmà*; PBC **ì-nama*/**í-*)

**ì-nàm-`* / *í-nàm-í* (9/10)

Evand: *ì-nàm* / *í-nǎm* (9/10)

Itang: *ì-nàm* / *í-nàm* (9/10)

Icheve: *ì-nàm* / *í-nàm-ē* (9/10)

Iyive: *ì-nâm* / *í-nâm* (9/10)

Ipulo: *è-nàm* / *é-nàm* (9/10)

Tiv: *ì-nàm* / *í-nām* (9/10)

Ugare: *nàm* / *í-nǎm* (9/10)

Icheve: retention of class 10 NSx -é

Evand, Ugare: retention of *H tone reflex of class 10 NSx

Tiv: retention of *H tone reflex of class 10 NSx: *H-L-H > *H-H_L-H > *H-H-[↓]H > H-HM

Itang, Iyive, Ipulo: no NSx traces

Tonal evidence of adnominal NSx

‘fly’ (PB *gì (9/10); PBC *ì-zin/*í-)

*ì-dzìn-` / í-dzìn-í (9/10)

Evand: ì-dzì / í-dzì (9/10)

Itang: ì-dzì / í-dzì (9/10)

Icheve: ì-dzìn / í-dzìn-í (9/10)

Iyive: ?? / í-dzì (??/10)

Ipulo: (í-kûh / ?? (5/??))

Tiv: ì-dzì / í-dzì (9/10)

Ugare: dzìdzìrè / í-dzì (9/10)

Icheve: retention of class 10 NSx -í

Evand, Itang, Ugare: retention of *H tone reflex of class 10 NSx

Tiv: retention of *H tone reflex of class 10 NSx: *H-L-H > *H-H_L-H > *H-H-[↓]H > H-HM

Iyive: inconclusive, Ipulo: non-cognate

Tonal evidence of adnominal NSx

‘navel’ (PB **kóbú* ~ *tòdú* (5/6); PBC **li-kwop*/**a-*)

**ì-tsómb-Ṽ* / *í-tsòmb-Ṽ* ~ *á-tsòmb-Ṽ* (9/10~6)

Evand: *è-tsòmb* / *é-tsōmb* (9/10)

Itang: *ì-tfōmb* / *á-tfómb* (9/6)

Icheve: *è-tsĩmb* / *á-tsímb-ē* (9/6)

Iyive: *ì-tfômb* / ?? (9/??)

Ipulo: (*í-tùṅ-´* / *ví-tùṅ-´* (7/8))

Tiv: *ì-tsōmb-ù* / *á-tsómb-ó* (9/6)

Ugare: *tsèmb-è* / *é-tsímb-í* (9/10)

NSx L tone reflexes (class 9) vs. H tone reflexes (class 10) in all varieties (except Ipulo)

Icheve: class 6 NSx

Tiv, Ugare: different patterns of assimilations of NSx vowels in SG and PL

Conclusion

Gender indexation by circumfixation in noun forms and agreement markers is not restricted to Tiv, but widespread in Tivoid

Adnominal gender suffixes attested in all Tivoid varieties reported so far reconstructable to Proto-Tivoid level

in relation to adnominal prefix indexation, suffix system in various stages of disintegration

Desegmentalisation and reduction to tonal indexes most advanced in Ugare

Importance of tone in morphological analysis: disentangling grammemes from lexical roots, morphophonological tone alternations

Restriction of NSx to subsets of individual genders: underlying principles unclear

Thank you very much for your attention!

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