



SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS
STUDII LIPSIENSIS

“Mehr als eine(r/s)”: Die Kodierung von *Pluralität*, *Inklusivität* und *Kollektivität* im Lamang-Hdi

Prof. (i.R.) Dr. phil. et habil. H. Ekkehard Wolff
Lehrstuhl für Afrikanistik (Sprachen und Literaturen)
Universität Leipzig

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Quellen:

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Wolff, H. E. (Im Druck). *The Lamang Language and Dictionary. Documenting Gwà [W] Làamà [W] - Endangered Chadic Language of Northeastern Nigeria.* 2 Bände. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

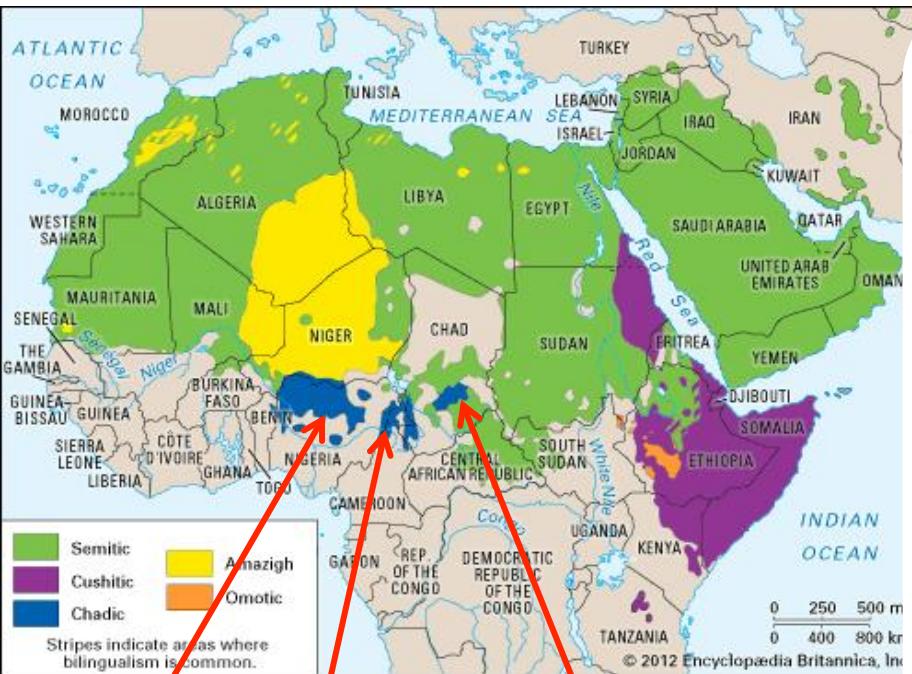
1. Einleitung

Im Fokus:

Unscharfe semantische Domäne “Plural-Inklusiv-Kollektiv” zwischen
Flexion und *Derivation* (fuzzy borders)

1. Morphologische Modifikation (Klitika/Affixe) von Nomina & Verben:
 - **PLURALITÄT-1** (FLEXION: NOMINAL)
 - **PLURALITÄT-2** (DERIVATION: VERBAL; PLURAKTIONALITÄT)
 - **KOLLEKTIVITÄT-1** (DERIVATION: NOMINAL)
2. Systematik der Personalpronomina (Subjekt):
 - **INKLUSIVITÄT** (FLEXION: VERBAL)
3. Semanto-syntaktische Varianz
 - **KOLLEKTIVITÄT-2** (POSSESSIV-SYNTAX)

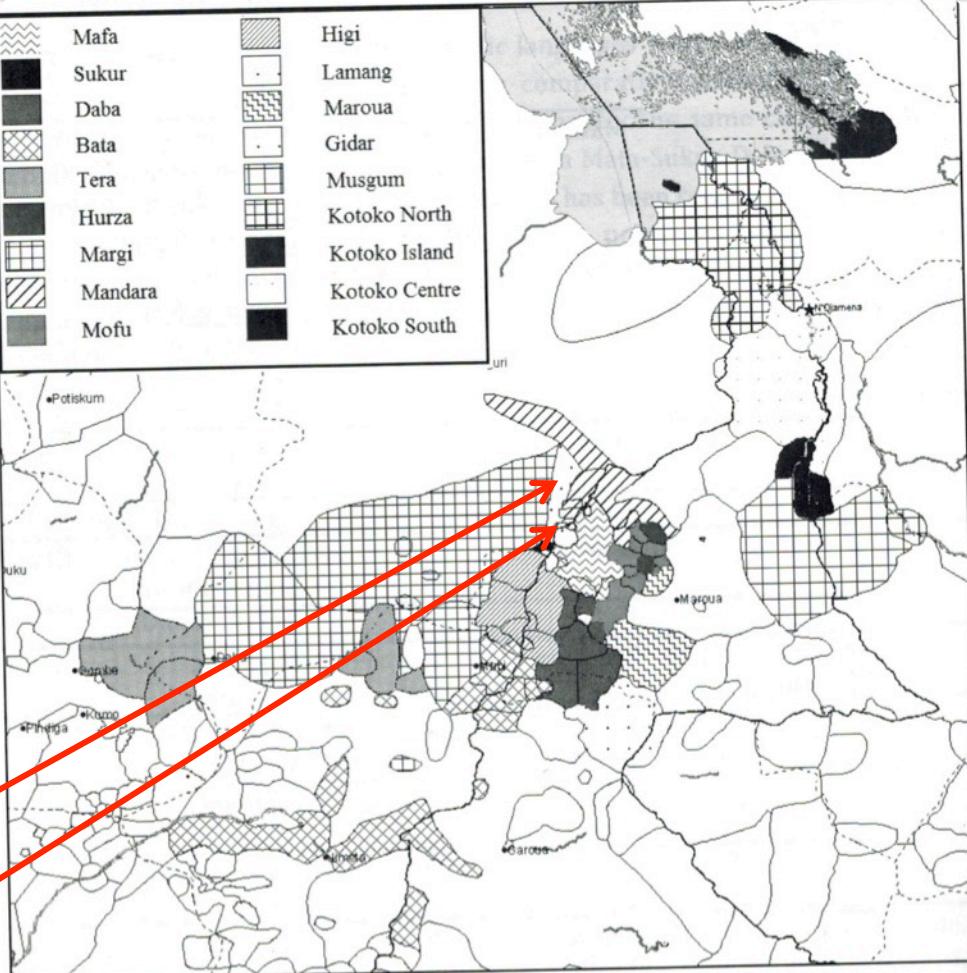
2. Das Lamang-Hdi Sprachkontinuum



West-, Zentral-, & Osttschadisch

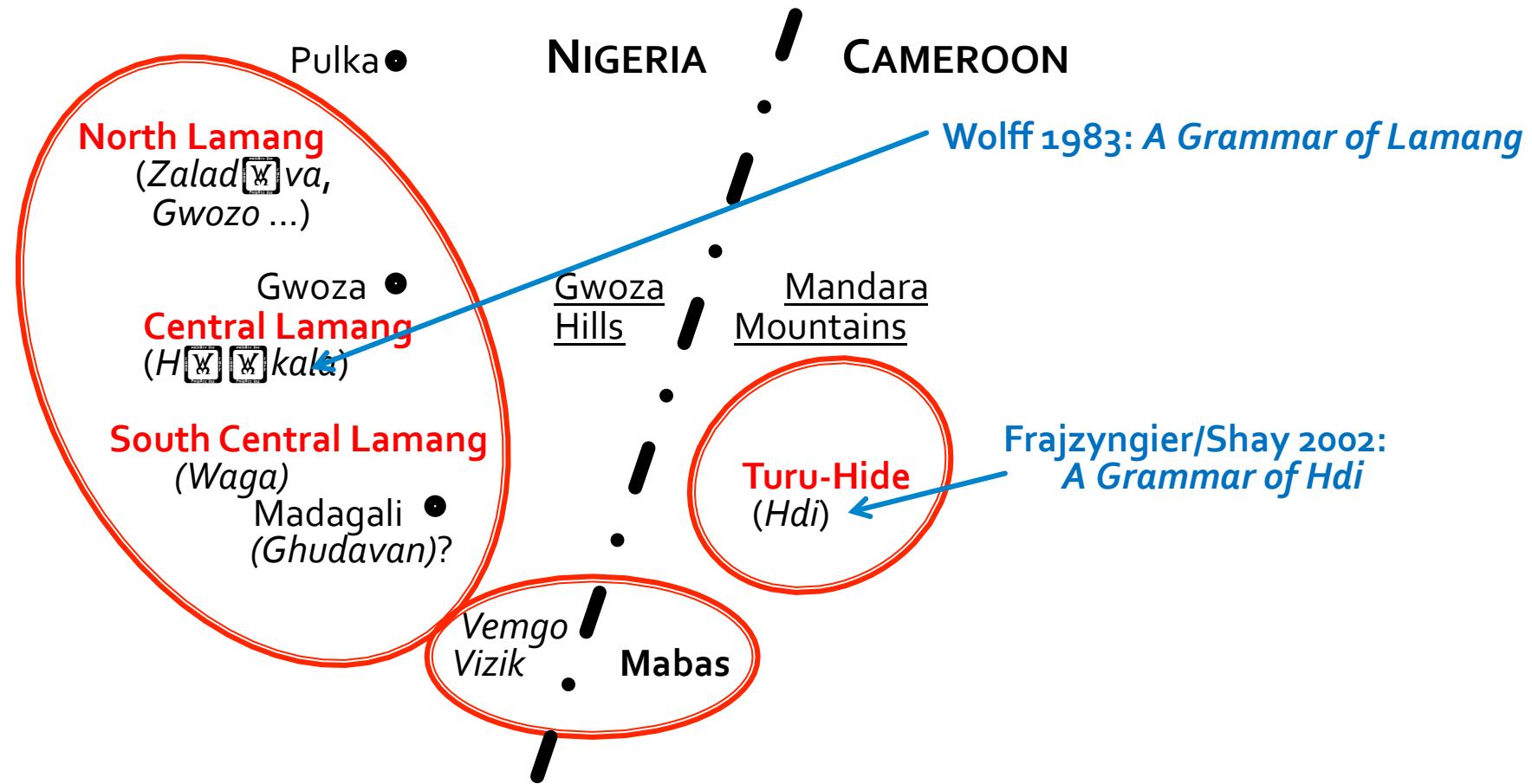
Lamang-Hdi

Mafa	Higi
Sukur	Lamang
Daba	Maroua
Bata	Gidar
Tera	Musgum
Hurza	Kotoko North
Margi	Kotoko Island
Mandara	Kotoko Centre
Mofu	Kotoko South



Map 6 – Gravina (2011) classification

2. Das Lamang-Hdi Sprachkontinuum



2. Das Lamang-Hdi Sprachkontinuum

Lamang-Hdi: lexical similarity (SIL)

Lamang	< >	Vemgo-Mabas	64%
Lamang	< >	Hdi	64%
Vemgo-Mabas	< >	Hdi	78%

Lamang-Hdi: mutual intelligibility (SIL)

	Lamang	Vemgo-Mabas	Hdi
Lamang		37%	31%
Vemgo-Mabas	56%		36%
Hdi	48%	51%	

3. Ausdruck von PLURALITÄT (Nomina)

[Tschadisch: Morphologische Markierung von nominalen Pluralen: generell selten!]

LAMANG

(1) Suffixplurale (-há)

<i>sla</i>	<i>sla-há</i>	cow
<i>vima</i>	<i>vima-há</i>	moustache
<i>mgham</i>	<i>mgham-há</i>	chief
<i>undu</i>	<i>und-há</i>	person, human being

(2) Lexikalisierte Plurale (kinship terms)

<i>zàl</i>	<i>zálá</i>	man, husband
<i>márákwá</i>	<i>mí(-)há</i>	woman, wife
<i>úzà</i>	<i>úzíná</i>	male child, son
<i>mákwa</i>	<i>úzín-kùghì</i>	girl, daughter

(3) Pleonastische Kombination (kinship terms)

<i>zàl</i>	<i>zálá, zál-há</i>	man, husband
<i>márákwá</i>	<i>mí-há, mihá-há</i>	woman, wife
<i>úzà</i>	<i>úzíná, úzín-há, úzíná-há</i>	male child, son

(4) Sonderform (kinship term): Suffixplural mit Singular Form

<i>zàl</i>	<i>zàl-há, zál-há</i>	man, husband
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3. Ausdruck von PLURALITÄT (Nomina)

Hdi

(1) Suffixplurale (-xà)	<i>tìm</i>	<i>tìm-xà</i>	big drum
	<i>sígà</i>	<i>sígà-xà</i>	pot (spec.)
	<i>m̩w̩ndú</i>	<i>m̩w̩ndú-xà</i>	man
(2) Lexikalisierte Plurale (kinship terms)			
	<i>zwán</i>	<i>zwáni</i>	child
	<i>màràkw</i>	<i>mi’í</i>	woman, wives
	<i>zgún</i>	<i>zgwánà</i>	man
(3) Pleonastische Kombination (kinship term)			
	<i>mi’í</i>	<i>myí-xà</i>	wife

4. Ausdruck von PLURALITÄT (Verben)

Lamang PLURACTIONALS

- (1) **a-vocalisation** poly-consonantal “zero/schwa” verbs: /CC(C)a/
hna [h~~ɛ~~na] > *hana* slaughter (many)
swla [sula] > *sawala* walk (here and there)
- (2) **Partial reduplication** poly-consonantal “full vowel” verbs: /CVCa/
mana > *manana* do (several times)
mbitsa > *mbitsatsa* forget (many things)
sula > *sulala* roast (many)
- (3) **Full reduplication** mono-consonantal verbs
ya > *yaya* give birth to (many)
za > *zaza* eat (many)
- (4) **CV left edge reduplication** lexicalised
kwa~~ɛ~~*a* > *kwakwa* ~~ɛ~~*a* perform ritual
- (5) **Suppletive roots** lexicalised
mta die (individual)
rwa die (in great numbers)

4. Ausdruck von PLURALITÄT (Verben)

Hdi PLURACTIONALS

- (1) “infix -a-” (FS) poly-consonantal verbs
- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>xna</i> > <i>xana</i> | slaughter (many) |
| <i>ngla</i> > <i>ngala</i> | mount (many) |
- (2) Root reduplication mono-consonantal verbs
- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ya</i> > <i>yaya</i> | give birth to (many) |
| <i>za</i> > <i>zaza</i> | eat (many) |
- (3) Suppletive roots lexicalised
- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>skwa</i> | sell (one thing) |
| <i>dzawa</i> | sell (many things) |

5. Ausdruck von INKLUSIVITÄT (Pronomina)

[Tschadisch: *Exklusiv*<>*inklusiv* bei 1. pers. pl. weit verbreitet!]

Lamang: Bound subject pronouns

INCLUSIVE	[-inclusive]		[+inclusive]	
NUMBER	[-plural]		[+plural]	
PERSON				
1 ST	/-y(u)/ > [-yo, -i]	-yi		-ma
2 ND	-ka	-k ni ~ -keni	-mwa	
3 RD	Ø; /- i/ > [- e]	-há	/-lu/ > [-lo]	

5. Ausdruck von INKLUSIVITÄT (Pronomina)

Hdi: Subject pronoun clitics (modifizierte Systematik!)

INCLUSIVE	[-inclusive]		[+inclusive]
NUMBER	[-plural]	[+plural]	
PERSON			
1 ST	<i>i, íyù</i>	<i>kúní</i>	<i>úí</i> (<i>FS: "dual"</i>)
2 ND	<i>ká</i>		
3 RD	<i>Ø, a, tsí</i>	<i>x_W _W h</i>	<i>mú</i>

5. Pronomina: Submorphemische Analyse

1. Transparente Grammatikalisierung: „Pronomina“ der 3. Person

	3.sg.	3.pl.	3.inkl.
LAMANG dialektal	$\emptyset; /-\text{[W]}i/ > [-\text{[W]}e]$	-há [W]	/-lu/ > [-lo]
HDI	$\emptyset, a, tsí$	x [W] [W] n	lú
Etymologie:	PC * $\text{[W]}i$ DET	PL *ha+N	COLL *la+{u} (?)

5. Pronomina: Submorphemische Analyse

2. Pronominale Pluralisierung: PC *-N(i) (Lamang-Hdi)

INCLUSIVE		[-inclusive]		[+inclusive]	
NUMBER		[-plural]		[+plural]	
PERSON					
1 ST		*iyu <i>íyù</i>	*yi-[<i>W</i>] *-[<i>W</i>]-ni	*ma-[<i>W</i>] *ú-i	
2 ND	ka	<i>ká</i>	*k[<i>W</i>]-ni	*kú-ní	
3 RD		*há-[<i>W</i>] *x[<i>W</i>][<i>W</i>]-n			

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG: lá- ~ lí- ~ -lo

DERIVATION

(1) Kollektiv

[+hum] lá-

[-hum] lí-

(2) Lokalisierung

lá-[]- ~ lá-g-

(3) Singularisierung

dàdà-; zàl-

(4) Pronominalisierung

*-lu [-lo]

Grammatikalisierungen/Derivationen(?):

lá- (*/la/)

derived nouns with collective reference to humans

lí- (*/li/)

derived nouns with collective reference to non-humans

-lo (*/lu/)

3rd person inclusive pronoun (French *on*, German *man*)

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG: DERIVATION

<i>lá-pslà</i>	blacksmiths	(sg. <i>zàl-pslà</i> ; <i>pslà</i> 'to forge')
<i>lá-ógò</i>	owners of goat(s)	(sg. <i>zàl-ógò</i> ; <i>ogo</i> 'goat')
<i>lá-H[ŋ]dè</i>	people from Dghwe[ŋ]e	(sg. <i>zàl-H[ŋ]dè</i>)
<i>dàdà-tàlà</i>	a certain one (person)	(cf. numeral <i>tala</i> 'one')
<i>lá-hk[ŋ]ná</i> 'three'	certain three (people)	(cf. numeral <i>hk[ŋ]ná</i>
<i>l-á-a'-mà[ŋ]</i> people-MOD-GEN-POSS.1INCL	our (my and your) people (= ethnonym 'Lamang')	
<i>lá-há-ná</i> people-PL-DET	these people here (with DET <i>-ná</i> 'proximity')	
<i>là-ílí</i>	native doctor (cf. <i>ili</i> 'eye')	
<i>lá-Gwòz</i>	a Gwoza individual (from Lukas 1964)	

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG

lá-[]-Wáravè
[] [] Wáravè

lá-g-Wàlì
g(á) Wàlì

lí-Káfála
lí-z[] [] ghò
lí-gìwà []
álí-gh[] [] [] ùm ndà tl[] [] pá [] á, lí-úv[] [] [] i
and axe, sickles

lí-z[] àl ndà márákw(a)
lí-úzínkùghì ndà dxúlhá

the Warabe-people (seen as a social group)
in (a place called) Warabe

the Wala-people (seen as a social group)
in (a place called) Wala

Kafala and similar festivals
ocra and other cooking ingredients
elephants and other big game
farming tools such as hoe

married couple (“the likes of man and wife”)
young folks (“the likes of girls & young men”)

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG

/-mbu/ [-mbo] in kinship terms in-law, affinal relative (vgl. Margi *mbwa* 'house')

dada-mbo

Father-in-law (cf. *dada* 'father, progenitor'); spouse's father, spouse's mother's and father's male sibling (unless spouse's mother's brother), spouse's mother's and father's sister's husband

mama-mbo

Mother-in-law (cf. *mama* 'mother, progenitrix'); spouse's mother, spouse's mother's and father's female sibling

la-mbo

Lit. 'people of kin' (cf. bound nominal *lá-* as discussed above);
(1) group of consanguine relatives of patrilineal descent as a social group which is activated for certain ritual and worship activities that are related to so-called "ancestor-worship";
(2) term of reference used by a married woman (living post-nuptially in her husband's patrilineal descent group) to indicate members of her husband's household

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG

DERIVATIONSMORPHOLOGIE

SYNTAX

SEMANTIK

(1) Kollektiv
[+hum] *lá-*

(2) Lokalisierung
lá-  - ~ *lá-g-*

kollektive
(3) Affinal kinship
**-mbu [-mbo]*

Possessiv-Syntax
N₁-á-a N₂

N₁  *N₂*

N-mb-(-á-a) PRO

individuelle Verfügbarkeit/Besitz

Verfügbarkeit/Besitz

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG: POSSESSIV-SYNTAX

Semantik: Individuelle vs. kollektive Verfügbarkeit/Besitz

úvàhàa Abdùlláhi Abdullahi's [own] farm

úvàh    Abdùlláhi the farm belonging to A. and his people/lineage

úváhìni his [own] farm

úváhámbìnì the farm belonging to him and his people/lineage

Paralle im Hause:

qoona-r Audù Abdu's own farm

goona-r su-Audù the farm of Abdu and his people

Übersetzungproblematik:

06.05.15 Lamang márkwá-*mb-inì* his [coll] wife → Ha. màatá-*r-sù* their wife

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG: POSSESSIV-SYNTAX

(1) „Regular association“

makw-á-a' dada [mákwaː dà:dà] father's daughter
girl-MOD-GEN father

og-á-há-a- 'ghà [ógáhàaghà] your (sg) goats
goat-MOD-PL-GEN-POSS.SG

og-á-há-a- 'ghéni [ógáháaghèni] your (pl) goats
goat-MOD-PL-GEN-POSS.2PL

og-á-há-a-ini [ógáhiini] his/her goats
goat-MOD-PL-GEN-POSS.3SG

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

LAMANG: POSSESSIV-SYNTAX

(2a) „Collective association“: N-  -N type

dl  mà   Kárà
stonewall-

place name on maps: “Limankara” (lit. ‘the

hut for the sacred bull of [coll] *Kara* [and his lineage’])

míhá   ùndà mtátá widows = wives of a deceased person (lit. ‘wives of
[coll] a person [who has] died’)

márákwá t tlálá gùlò   z àlà
kitchen-big

a man’s first wife (lit. ‘wife-on-
of [coll] a husband’)

(2b) „Collective association“: N-*mb*-POSS type

*márkwá-*mb*-á-a-'ghà* [*márkwámbàaghà*] your (sg) wife

*lá-*mb*-á-a-'à*

[*lámbàaà*] my lineage-brothers (cf. regular
association: *làaà* ‘my mates’)

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

HDI:

[±hum] *i-*

i krì ndá pákáw-á ghúví Dog and Hyena
ASSC.PL dog ASSC leopard-GEN feces

i ngax ngax Ngah Ngah and his people

[+hum] *lá-*

lá xùtsà the Hutsa people

Kombination: *i-lá-...*

i lá d[χ]bl[χ]m lá dzátà Diblim people and Dzata
people

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

HDI: POSSESSIV-SYNTAX

mghám-á xdí
chief-GEN Hdi

wì-á tghà [wà tghà]
mouth-GEN expel(?)

chief of Hdi

door (Lamang wáa tghà 'entrance of compound')

vú-á m[~~W~~]ták [vwámták]
fire-GEN bush

bush fire

kri-á-ghá [kràghá]
kó[~~W~~]ù-á-[~~W~~]ní [kó[~~W~~]à[~~W~~]ní]

your (sg) dog

our (1st pl excl) money

6. Ausdruck von KOLLEKTIVITÄT

HDI: Semantische Parallelle: „Kollektiv-Referenz“ bei *honorific possessives* (FS)

Einige *kinship terms* ('mother', 'wife', 'husband') erfordern formal pluralische Possessiv-Referenz selbst bei singularischem Possessor.

3. Person: Referenz: **singular** Referenz: **plural**
 Form plural: **-tàn** Form plural: **-tán**

(1) z [W] [W] [W] 'ál-á-tàn "her husband" (not: **z [W] [W] [W] 'ál-á-ni)

Reference is to a woman who looks for her (own) husband:
'Having entered through the back of the compound, she should find her husband.'

(2) z [W] [W] [W] 'ál-á-tán "their husband"

The woman comes in to look for the husband of other women:
'Having entered through the back of the compound, she₁ should find their₂ husband.'

7. Konfrontative Analyse

Nominale PLURALITÄT

	Lamang	Hdi
External: generalisiert	-há	-xà
Internal: lexikalisierte <i>kinship terms</i>	<i>husband</i> <i>wife</i> <i>child/son</i> (<i>daughter</i>)	<i>husband</i> <i>wife</i> <i>child/son</i> ---
Pleonastische Formen	<i>husband</i> <i>wife</i> <i>child/son</i>	<i>wife</i>

7. Konfrontative Analyse

Verbale PLURALITÄT (*pluractionals*):

- produktiv: phonologisch konditioniert
- lexikalisiert

	Lamang	Hdi
a-Vokalisation/"infix -a-": CC(C)a Verben	+	+
Vollständige Reduplikation: Ca Verben	+	+
Partielle Reduplikation (rechts)	+	-
Partielle Reduplikation (links)	+	-
Suppletive Verben	+	+

7. Konfrontative Analyse

INKLUSIVITÄT: Personalia (Subjektfunktion)

9-Personen-System

Grammatikalisierungen (3. Person)

	Lamang	Hdi
9-Personen-System	+	+
Grammatikalisierung 3. pers.		
➤ 3. pers. sg. < PC *DET	<i>W̥i [-W̥e] tsi [-ce]</i>	<i>tsí</i>
➤ 3. pers. pl. exkl. < PLURAL	<i>-há W̥ < -há</i>	<i>x W̥ W̥ n < - xà</i>
➤ 3. pers. pl. inkl. < KOLLEKTIV	<i>lu [-lo] < lá-</i>	<i>lú < *lá-</i>

7. Konfrontative Analyse

KOLLEKTIVITÄT

Lexikalische Derivation

Syntaktische Spezialisierung

	Lamang	Hdi
[+hum, +coll]: Kollektiva	<i>lá-</i>	<i>lá(-)</i>
[əhum, +coll]: Kollektiva	<i>lí-</i>	<i>i(-)</i>
[+hum,+coll]: <i>kinship terms</i>	<i>-mbo</i>	---
[-coll]	POSSESSION: <i>-á-a</i>	POSSESSION: <i>-á</i>
[+coll]	POSSESSION: _   _ <i>-mb-á-a</i>	HONORIFIC POSSESSIVE: <i>Tonalität</i>

8. Zusammenfassung

LAMANG-HDI „Sprachenkontinuum“

- *Kategoriale Trinität:*
 - PLURALITÄT (nominal; Markierung: *extern*, lexikalisiert: *intern*)
pluractionals (verbal; Markierung : *intern*; Suppletion)
 - INKLUSIVITÄT (Pronominalsystem: 9 Personen)
 - KOLLEKTIVITÄT (nominale Derivation & Possessiv-Syntax)
- Domäne *kinship terms* (Kernfamilie)
 - „Innere“ Plurale
 - pleonastische Pluralmarkierung
- Einsatz von etymologisch/diachron identischen Morphemen:
 - há ~ -xà* Pluralsuffix (nominal)
 - a-, CV*-Reduplikation *pluractionals* (verbal)
 - l-á-* menschliches Kollektiv
 - lí- ~ i-* Kollektiv ([±human], metaphorisches Potenzial)
- Pragmatische Varianz: Possessiv-Syntax
 - *individuelle* <> *kollektive* Verfügbarkeit/Besitz (Lamang)
 - *non-honorific* <> *honorific possessives* (Hdi)

Danke für die Aufmerksamkeit

Boko Haram:
Zeitweilig oder
dauerhaft eroberte
Ortschaften
in *Borno State*

11/2014 – 01/2015

