1. INTRODUCTION

The KADUGLI language group (here spelled with capital letters to distinguish it from the language and the town, and the same convention is applied to the (other) Kordofanian language groups) consists of a number of closely related languages and dialects spoken in the hill villages along the southern edge of the Nuba mountains. Stevenson (1956-57) identifies nine languages (names are villages), and he divided them into three branches:

   Western: 1. Tulishi, Kamdang
            2. Keiga
            3. Kanga

   Central: 4. Miri
            5. Kadugli
            6. Katcha, Tuna
            7. Tumma

   Eastern: 8. Krongo (Tabanya)
            9. Tumtum, Talasa

In this paper, all tone-marked Kordofanian data are taken from my own field notes, and the reconstructions for the various branches of Kordofanian are also mine.

2. RESEARCH HISTORY

In the very first volume of the Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen issued in 1910/11 an article appeared by Brenda Z. Seligman on the languages of Southern Kordofan. It contained some eighty words of Tumtum and is the first publication of data from a KADUGLI language. Soon after, Carl Meinhof published more data collected partly by himself together with August Klingehoven and partly by police inspector Nicholls of El Obeid. The first proper survey was carried out by the missionary couple MacDiarmid; their report as published in Sudan Notes and Records (1931) contained a small portion only of their materials. The latest and most complete coverage is found in Roland C. Stevenson's survey published in
The relative linguistic isolation of KADUGLI was already apparent in Seligman's material, as was remarked upon by Bork (1912/13). Meinhof's classification of the Nuba Mountain languages into prefix languages and Sudanic languages is not very helpful in today's perspective. However, he did point out the lexical resemblances between Tumtum, Miri, Kadugli, Krongo, and Keiga, though he classified Tumtum as a prefix language and the others as Sudanic. The MacDiarmids stressed the internal unity of the group without speculating about external relationships. Stevenson's position is more complex. On the one hand he isolates KADUGLI from the other two sets of languages spoken exclusively in the Nuba mountains which are the "bantoid" class languages (i.e. the HEIBAN, TADOLI, and RASHAD language groups) and the classless languages (i.e. the NYIMANG, TEMEIN, and KATLA language groups). On the other hand, in his chapter on the noun-class system Stevenson equates specific noun classes of HEIBAN, TALODI, and RASHAD with the so-called noun classes of KADUGLI; whereas the equations between HEIBAN, TALODI, and RASHAD are based on sound and meaning resemblances, the KADUGLI comparisons are added on the basis of meaning only. ("Meaning", here, refers to the vague semantic contents of the classes.) Stevenson does not commit himself to any historical interpretation of his comparisons.

The only serious external classification of KADUGLI comes from Joseph H. Greenberg. In 1950, he posited a Kordofanian language family consisting of five coordinate branches:

1. HEIBAN  ("Kawalib")
2. RASHAD  ("Tagels")
3. TALODI
4. KADUGLI  ("Tumtum")
5. KATLA  ("Tagele")

Greenberg states that the genetic relationship between these five language groups has been deduced from "a fair measure of fundamental vocabulary resemblance" as well as from 'considerable resemblance among the groups in personal pronouns and in the paired noun class prefixes" (p. 390). As for KADUGLI, three examples are given for these resemblances:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>noun class</th>
<th>noun class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEIBAN</td>
<td>ṣa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RASHAD</td>
<td>ṣo</td>
<td>f/y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TALODI</td>
<td>ṣo</td>
<td>b/y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In his revised classification of African languages (1963, 1966), Greenberg added considerably more evidence for his Kordofanian language family, but he also concludes that KADUGLI "shows considerable divergence from the remainder" (p. 148). Below I shall examine the validity of his evidence for including KADUGLI in Kordofanian.

3. The Lexical Evidence

This section is a critical evaluation of the place of Kadugli in Greenberg's "Niger-Kordofanian Comparative Word List" (1966:153-160). The aim of this wordlist is two-fold: (1) to prove a genetic relationship between the various branches of Kordofanian, and (2) to prove genetic relation between Kordofanian and Niger-Congo. Before examining specific suggested cognates I would like to comment on a particular misuse of "mass comparison".

It is true (as is stated e.g. in Greenberg 1966:3) that the number of chance resemblances becomes infinitesimal when an increasing number of languages is compared. The formula is: $c^{n-1}$, i.e. the probability of finding sound-meaning chance resemblances between a set of $n$ languages is equal to the chance $c$ for a single language raised to the $(n-1)$th power. What is often forgotten is that this formula applies only when a fixed, predetermined set of languages is used, and when these languages are all genetically equidistant or unrelated. The latter constraint is necessary in order to eliminate the effect of chance resemblances (and borrowings) between proto-languages. The necessity of the former constraint can best be illustrated with an example (item nr. 23 'large' in the above-mentioned list):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Kadugli</th>
<th>Kordofanian</th>
<th>Niger-Congo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tumtum</td>
<td>fifi (plural stem)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kordofanian:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiban:</td>
<td>Heiban</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talodi:</td>
<td>Liri</td>
<td>o:pi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic:</td>
<td>Dyola</td>
<td>faf</td>
<td>Limba boi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mende:</td>
<td>Vai</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>Kpelle bayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur:</td>
<td>Dadoma</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>Senufi pei</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his revised classification of African languages (1963, 1966), Greenberg added considerably more evidence for his Kordofanian language family, but he also concludes that KADUGLI "shows considerable divergence from the remainder" (p. 148). Below I shall examine the validity of his evidence for including KADUGLI in Kordofanian.
The fact that the entries in this list come from carefully selected languages has considerably increased the chance of finding resemblances. For KADUGLI, a choice could be made between eight unrelated roots:

1. Kamdang  -ikki/kadurú  (1, 2)
2. Keiga     ablúpó        (3)
3. Kufa      aabukke/gúgúqé (4, 5)
4. Mirí      adabbó        (6)
5. Kadugli   aadabbó       (6)
6. Tuna      atábbó        (6)
7. Tumma     mábubkwa       (4)
8. Krongo    īği/qgíifi     (7, 8)
9. Talasa    īği/qíifi      (7, 8)

The (other) branches of Kordofanian offer a similar opportunity to choose:

HEIBAN: 7 roots,
RASHAD: 1 root
TALODI: 5 roots
KATLA: 2 roots

Within each branch of Niger-Congo, the choice is probably even wider. Thus, without entering any probability calculations it can safely be assumed that this kind of hunting resemblances has almost no chance of failing. It is therefore no suitable instrument for proving genetic relationship. (In any particular case, however, it is still possible that the uncovered resemblances are due to common origin, and indeed Westermann did reconstruct a Sudanic root *bà 'big' - and also two homophonous roots meaning 'mat' and 'two', two roots *bá meaning 'large lizard' and 'father', and the tonally unmarked roots *ba meaning 'something, someone', 'to be somewhere', 'they', 'barn', and 'salt'.)

Greenberg lists twelve possible cognates between KADUGLI and (the rest of) Kordofanian. Four of these look convincing:

'rope'  *rug     PH  *-ar
         PT  *-aarug
Katlá  g-arág

'tail'  *iiği     PT  *-ígí
Special mention is made by Greenberg (1966:152-3) of the similarity between the words for 'rope' and 'root/vein'. He suggests that the former is derived form the latter by a suffix -k, and he cites some Niger-Congo parallels.

The next four comparisons are less convincing; they depend on high probability similarities or on low probability sound correspondences.

'tooth' *-ini
- PH *-ŋa,q
- PR *-nɪn
- PT *-i-ni

'Vein' Tuleshi b-ar H: Heiban d-iri
- Katcha b-arre R: Tagot ka-ri
- Krongo b-ari

At first sight this looks a good possible cognate, but a correspondence d : r is unlikely between languages having similar consonant systems including dental as well as several alveolar phonemes (cf. r : r in 'rope', 'vein' and d : d in 'tail').

'large' (see above)

'mouth' *niino
- PH *-uupu
- PT *-oq

These items have only a nasal in common.

'white' Krongo ofiro
- PWCH *-biyqo
- R: Gom abóre
- PT *-ibbug

These items have only a labial in common.

The last four items I find rather dubious; there seems to be hardly any resemblance at all.

'mouse' Krongo ni-fa
- T: Líri powi
- Karondi ni-fi Lafofa poi

The initial p in the TALODI languages is a noun class prefix.
'speak' Miri t-oma H: Heiban jağa
Krongo ajama T: Masakin ssmo
The KADUGLI forms are probably derived from *eema.

'steal' Krongo moggi R: Tumale dyi-mroq 'thief'
T: Masakin ca-mali 'thief'

'tortoise' Keiga koq T: Masakin k-ere

Likewise, there seems to be no reason to equate KADUGLI *?o?o 'you (sg.)'
with HEIBAN *qa, RASHAD, TALODI *go, and KATLA/TIMA *qaq.

Greenberg's list contains nineteen comparisons between KADUGLI and Niger-
Congo (including the twelve items above). Of these I shall consider only those
for which it has been assumed independently that they can be traced back to
"Sudanic" (Westermann 1927), "Niger-Congo" (Greenberg 1966:13-24), or "Western
Nigritic" (Mukarovsky 1976-77). Thus, for reasons stated above I shall not con-
sider the suggested etymologies for 'belly', 'mouse', 'rope', 'speak', 'steal',
'tail', 'tortoise', and 'urine'.

'cut' KADUGLI *gég
Kordofanian: -
S *tè (+ Nasal); NC; WN *tin (ten)

'head' KADUGLI *yvú
Kordofanian: -
S *t-ì; WN *-tú

'know' Kadugli (Western K. only): Krongo onì
d Kordofanian: -
S *ni-, nìa- (+ Nasal)

'large' KADUGLI (Western K. only): Tumtum fifì (plural stem)
Kordofanian: H: Heiban ipa; T: Liri o:pi
S *-bà-

'mouth' KADUGLI *niino
Kordofanian: PH *-uunu; PT *-øq;
K: Katla qèeq, Time k-ìpe?
S *-nu, -nua (-ni, -nia); NC; WN *-nìana, -níuna (-nía)

'oil' KADUGLI *ooba
Kordofanian: -
S *-kú, -kü-; WN *-kwúa (-kwút-)
'skin' KADUGLI *qo (Krongo koto 'bark')
Kordofanian:
NC: At: Gola koro; Ma: Mende kolo;
Kw: Idoma okpa; BC: Bute kwa;
AU: Gbenziri koto
'tooth' KADUGLI *ini
Kordofanian: PH *-nāq; PR *-nin; PT *-ini
S *-ni, -nin-; NC; WN *-nin- (-nighin-)
'vein/root' KADUGLI *-arre
Kordofanian: H: Heiban d-iri 'vein';
R: Tagoi ka-ari 'vein'
S *-li-; WN *-līl- (-līul-) 'root'
'white' KADUGLI: Krongo ofiro
Kordofanian: R: Gom abōrī; PT *-ibbug;
K/T: Katla apfōk
S *pu-; NC (some reflexes show r/l as a second consonant)
'wish' KADUGLI: Krongo tuna 'to seek'
Kordofanian:
S *ṭūnā; NC

An inspection of these eleven comparisons leaves us with seven good resemblances, i.e. 'head', 'know', 'mouth', 'oil', 'tooth', 'vein/root', and 'white'. Four of these, i.e. 'mouth', 'tooth', 'vein/root', and 'white' include comparisons with (other) Kordofanian languages.

However, a case of equal strength can be made for the inclusion of KADUGLI within Nilo-Saharan. I shall demonstrate this by comparing KADUGLI items to Greenberg's suggested sets of cognates for Nilo-Saharan (1966:133-148), Chari-Nile (1966:117-127), and Eastern Sudanic (1966:95-108). As for KADUGLI, I shall restrict myself to items that are reconstructable for Proto-Kadugli, but I shall list examples from the real languages which are as similar as possible in shape to the proto-language items.

'ashes' 4 (= Miri, v.s.) fūfo
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Nubian obur(ti)
'day(light)' 5 uuuru
NS/CN/ES 'sun', e.g. Moru ud'u
'drink' 2 we
NS, e.g. Fur aba

'fall' 8 adýogo
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Kunama dunga

'fire' 6 issi
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Meidob ussi

'give' 9 nó
NS, e.g. Didinga nya

'green' 7 agírí
NS, e.g. Zaghawe girri

'left' 9 guúle
NS, e.g. Bagirmi geli

'man' 6 m-iíge
CN/ES, e.g. Berta ide

'moon' 9 tárë
CN/ES, e.g. Kunama tera

'name' 2 èrrë
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Nubian eri

'person' kó
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Kanuri kwa

'two' 3 érá
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Madi eri

'white' 9 affírá
NS/ES, e.g. Runga farr

If we allow for shortening and lengthening many more items may be compared.

'back' 4 dūgaarë
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Luo agur

'blood' 4 ariíqu
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Madi (k)ari

'brother' 5 rë
NS, e.g. Songhai bere
The classification of Kadugli

'fear' 4 ariβá
NS/CN/EG, e.g. Kanuri ri

dance' 3 ɓalá
NS/CN, e.g. Koma ba

'rope' 2 ɗ-árik
NS/CN, e.g. Berta tsera

'tongue' 3 ɗ-ɗo
NS/CN/ES, e.g. Mamvu kedru, Kunama ɗe:la:

'tooth' 1 tiq-ini
ES, e.g. Nubian niɗ

'water' 2 biɗi
CN/ES, e.g. Luo pi

No definite conclusion emerges from an inspection of the lexical evidence, except that KADUGLI is one of those numerous linguistic groupings in the Sahel region that appear to be relatively isolated.

4. The Grammatical Evidence

In this section I shall discuss the question whether the various ways in which number is marked in KADUGLI nouns can be regarded as a reflex of the Niger-Kordofanian noun class system. Greenberg (1966:150) lists the following similarities (his numbers):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KADUGLI</th>
<th>HEIBAN</th>
<th>RASHAD</th>
<th>TALODI</th>
<th>KATLA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. b-/y-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>f-/y-</td>
<td>b-/y-</td>
<td>b-/ɗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. t-/n-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t-/ŋ-</td>
<td>t-/n-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ɗ/ŋi-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>w-/k-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. s-/any-</td>
<td>t-/ny-</td>
<td>c-/ny-</td>
<td>j-/ny-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. t-/k-</td>
<td>ɗ-/g-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t-/k-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the noun class systems found in HEIBAN, RASHAD, and TALODI, they are certainly cognate with each other (and with Niger-Congo). The KATLA system has been reduced to the point where it becomes difficult to use it for the reconstruction of Proto-Kordofanian. However, the similarities as they are listed above - excluding, for the moment, KADUGLI - are only partly cognates, and do not comprise the best established Kordofanian (and Niger-Kordofanian) correspondences.
ad (1):

The TALODI gender *b-/y- is cognate with RASHAD *w-/y- and - at least in the singular - with HEIBAN *gu-/li- (cf. no. 5 in Greenberg's list). This is the "personal" gender but contains some other nouns besides human beings. KATLA b-/g is attested only in Kalak, and only for the items bi/i 'cow' and bwan/wan 'sheep'. These words belong to gender *w-/g- in TALODI (cf. no. 6), and to the "labial" gender in RASHAD, cf. Orig f-arâq/y-arâq 'cow', Goy m-bat/yi-bat 'goat'. It is not clear to me at present what the historical connection between these items (domestic animals) might be.

ad (2):

I am also uncertain about the relationship between the singular classes t- in RASHAQ and t- in TALODI. The plural classes are not cognate; RASHAD *q- corresponds to TALODI *m-.

ad(6):

Three items can be reconstructed for the TALODI gender *w-/g-, i.e. 'cow', 'goat', and 'meat'. The correspondences of this gender in the other branches of Kordofanian are not known.

ad (8):

The RASHAD gender *j-/n- is probably cognate with TALODI *ts-/n- and with the plural of HEIBAN *q-/n-. One language ("Koalib") in the latter group has a gender t-/n- instead. There is some evidence that this gender serves inter alia for deriving diminutives in all three language groups.

ad (13):

I have no evidence of a gender 5-/g- with concord 5-/g- in Tiro or in any other language of the HEIBAN group. As for TALODI, the Tegam ("Lafofa") gender t-/k- (t-/k- ?) appears to be cognate with gender *j-/g-. (Also, the "Masakin" items 'belly', 'eye', 'neck', and 'tooth' that were described by Stevenson (1956-57) as belonging to a gender 5-/k- I have all recorded with the prefixes ts-/k- < *j-/g-.)

As for KADUGLI, there are a number of reasons to doubt whether certain number-distinguishing prefixes are indeed cognate with (Niger-)Kordofanian noun classes.

In the NK system, a noun consists of a stem preceded by a class prefix, and there are a number of prefix pairs (genders) of which one member indicates Singular and the other one Plural, such that number distinctions are signalled by
prefix alternations. In KADUGLI, there are some nouns that conform to this description, but these are only one of three types. The other two types occur basically without any prefix, and either the singular or the plural is derived by the addition of a prefix (examples from Krongo/Tabanya):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULATIVE</th>
<th>INHERENT SINGULAR OR INHERENT PLURAL</th>
<th>PLURITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'stone' m-isi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k-isi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'egg' iquement suli</td>
<td>suli</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'river' -</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>na-re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It might be suggested that all prefix-less forms are really forms with zero prefixes; such things are not uncommon in real noun-class languages. However, such an analysis appears to be strained in the case of KADUGLI, especially since systems as the one sketched above have numerous parallels in Nilo-Saharan, for instance in Nilotic.

In the NK system, there is noun-class agreement; this is absent in KADUGLI. It is true that many NK languages have lost this agreement, or even both agreement and noun class prefixes. But the situation in KADUGLI is not at all similar to those broken-down noun class systems because in KADUGLI there does exist an elaborate but altogether different system of agreement. This system is based on sex/gender and on number and there is no relation with the number-distinguishing prefixes. The data on agreement are scanty, but from present research on Krongo\(^1\) the following picture emerges:

Four forms of concord have to be distinguished: masculine, feminine, neuter, and plural. These labels are justified by the fact that male and female beings demand the masculine and feminine concord, respectively, in the singular, and that all derived plurals demand the plural concord. As for other nouns, derived singulars seem to occur in all non-plural genders, and the undervived forms may belong to any of the four genders. (There are other complications which I shall not discuss here.)

In nouns, the commonest number-indicating affixes are the prefixes \(\mathcal{V}\)- for the singulative and \(\mathcal{V}\)- and \(\mathcal{V}\)- as well as the suffix -ni for the pluritive. This accounts for three of the five genders listed above.

ad (2):

There is no simple alternation \(\mathcal{V}\/-\mathcal{V}\)- (not \(t\/-\mathcal{V}\)), but there are some prefix-less collectives from which both a singulative (prefix \(\mathcal{V}\)-) and a pluritive (prefix \(\mathcal{V}\)-) may be derived, e.g. "Katcha" (from Stevenson 1957:127):
The prefix kv- is used in the Western and Central branches to derive plurals from inherent singulars (example from "Kamdang"):

hiini/ki-hiini 'road'

In the Eastern-branch languages, in such words kv- is either replaced (?) or preceded by nV- (examples from Krongo):

fuuni/naa-fuuni 'road'
tofi/ni-go-dofi 'cock'

Commonly, nouns referring to male persons are marked by the prefixes qa-/ka-. Many of these are agentive nouns derived from verbs. In the singular, corresponding feminines can be derived by pre-prefixing ma- (examples from "Kamdang"):

qa-gusi/ka-gusi '(male) thief'
ma-qa-gusi/ka-gusi '(female) thief'
cf. uusi 'steal!'

I can see no way of linking the KADUGLI prefixes qa-, kv-, and nV- to the Kordofanian noun classes - neither as a system nor in the specific way that has been suggested. On the other hand, these affixes have long been recognized by Greenberg himself as outstanding characteristics of Eastern Sudanic, Chari-Nile, and Nilo-Saharan (1966:113-116, 131-132):

23. Abstract and singular suffix in t.
25. Plurals in k.
27. Plurals in n.

(See also items 32, 33, 35, and 36 in the same list.)

The speciality of KADUGLI lies in the use of these affixes as prefixes rather than as suffixes. Note, however, that Fur has also prefix alternations Singular d-/Plural k-, and KADUGLI also has a plural suffix -ni, e.g. Krongo to/o-ðo-ni 'skin'. And, of course, NC noun class markers too occur both as prefixes and as suffixes.
No Nilo-Saharan parallels are readily available for the KADUGLI prefix alternations b-/Ø (not b-/y-) and s-/any- listed above (nos. 1 and 8). To these we might add a few more, notably m-/k-, b-/k-, and n-/Ø. With one exception, all these prefix alternations can be assumed to be ancient within Kadugi: first, because they occur with basic nouns, and second, because they are often preceded by the more productive prefixes discussed above (examples from "Tumma"):

- b-oqgoro/no-g-oqgoro 'nose'
- m-içi/k-içi ∼ náá-g-içi 'stone'
- n-daárû/táárû 'leaf'
- ṭi-n-liği/lĩği 'horn'

The exception concerns the alternation s-/any-, for which the only examples (see Stevenson 1957:136) are 'broom', 'knife', and various types of pots and baskets. Also, I have no examples of these prefixes preceded by others.

These latter types of prefix alternations are typologically much more similar to the (Niger-)Kordofanian noun classes than the jV-, kV-, and nV- prefixes discussed earlier. However, while the number of lexical cognates that have been established between the various branches of Kordofanian (excl. KADUGLI) is so far admittedly small, there are many striking resemblances in form and meaning of the paired noun classes of these languages. (The meaning of a noun class is defined occasionally as a semantic feature, e.g. [human], [liquid], but more often simply as the set of meanings of some basic nouns frequently occurring in it.) These similarities do not extend to KADUGLI.

The word for 'pig' cited by Greenberg (1966:152) as representing a NK noun class for large animals is no convincing counter-example. It is as far as I can see the only large animal in KADUGLI with b-/k-prefix alternation, and similar words are found in many languages outside NK. Compare the following items (outside the Nuba Mountains, the meaning is always given as 'wild pig' or 'wart-hog'):

- "Kamdang" b-águuru/k-águuru
- Talodi p-ogguru/k-ogguru
- Orig k-adiru/s-adiru
- Sudan-Arabic kadruːk
- "Gule" kuturu
- Mahas Nubian kaderok
- Kreish bodjo
- Ciita gutar
5. Conclusion

An investigation of the more readily available lexical and grammatical evidence has led me to conclude that it is presently not possible to assume a genetic relationship between KADUGLI and (Niger-)Kordofanian. In particular, the noun-class system that has played such a prominent and convincing role in the constitution of the Niger-Kordofanian language family is absent in KADUGLI, and its absence cannot easily be explained as a loss. There are a few superficial similarities with Niger-Kordofanian noun classes, but these do not appear to be traces of it.

In a cursory way, I have followed up the suspicion that KADUGLI might belong to the Afroasiatic language family. Except for item *ṭare 'moon' which seems to be a root widespread in both Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan, this has brought to light no striking lexical similarities. Similarities can be found in the gender system but the differences are much greater. In particular, the AA markers k/t/n for masculine/feminine/plural are totally dissimilar to the markers found in KADUGLI, e.g. Krongo q/m/n/qg for masculine/feminine/neuter/plural, respectively.

On the other hand, the lexical and grammatical similarities linking KADUGLI with Nilo-Saharan are in no way inferior to those that have been adduced for a number of other language groups. It is for these reasons that I recommend that KADUGLI may be included in the search for substantial Nilo-Saharan comparisons.

Note

1. This is carried out by Mechthild Reh, University of Cologne. I have profitably discussed this section with her, and I wish to thank her for her comments. We do not agree on all points of interpretation, and I have to take responsibility for the conclusions as presented here.

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