

DOI: 10.2478/v10122-009-0007-9

## DANGLA-MIGAMA AND AFRO-ASIATIC II: BIDIYA Ć- AND Ž-

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

ABSTRACT. Gábor Takács. *Dangla-Migama and Afro-Asiatic II: Bidiya Ć- and Ž-*. Lingua Posnaniensis, vol. LI/2009. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of the Arts and Sciences. PL ISSN 0079-4740, ISBN 978-83-7654-080-1, pp. 119–124

The paper represents at once a retarded, albeit detailed review article of the 1989 Bidiya vocabulary by Khalil Alio and a contribution to the etymological analysis of the Dangla-Migama language group (spoken in the western part of the Republic of Chad), where also Bidiya belongs, part of the Chadic language family (and, thus, ultimately, of the vast Afro-Asiatic macrofamily).

Gábor Takács, Székesfehérvár 8000, Semmelweis u. 19, Hungary, gabtak@mail.datatrans.hu

### INTRODUCTION

This series is devoted to revealing the Afro-Asiatic heritage in the lexicon of the Dangla-Migama languages, among which we find Bidiya, a language spoken in one of the southern provinces of the Republic of Tchad, at the western chains of the Abu-Telfan. The number of Bidiya people was estimated in 1963 around 12.500. Together with Dangla, Migama, (?) Mokilko<sup>1</sup> (and presumably the closely related Mahwa, Mogum), Bidiya belongs to the so-called Dangla-Migama group<sup>2</sup> of the eastern subbranch of the Chadic languages, which represent the sixth (or, according to others, fifth) branch of the Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) macrofamily (1. Semitic, 2. Egyptian, 3. Berber, 4. Cushitic, 5. Omotic, 6. Chadic).

The present article is at a time in fact a sort of an examination of a recently published dictionary from the standpoint of etymology. This is the first comprehensive lexicon of

<sup>1</sup> The position of Mokilko is debated. In JI 1994 II, XV it is classified within the same group where Dangla and Migama belong. Other works (e.g. Cpr. & Jng. 1973, 40; Brt & Nwm. 1978, 305; Jng. 1981, 411; JS 1981, 16; Stl. 1991, 329; 1996, 8), in turn, *unisono* maintain that Mokilko represents alone a distinct group within East Chadic (this is the recent position of Prof. Jungraihtmayr too, p.c. in 2002). V. BLAŽEK (1994, 93) published his lexicostatistical result on the interrelation of four East Chadic languages (Sokoro, Jegu, Mubi, Mokilko) on the basis of the Swadesh 100 wordlist, according to which Mokilko stands closest to Mubi. But Blažek did not take the lexicon of the Dangla-Migama languages into account, so his proposal has no testimony value in this question. For the time being, my preliminary experience confirms JI 1994 II, XV, i.e. a tight relationship of Mokilko with the Dangla-Migama group (Jegu also) from a lexical standpoint.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brt & Nwm. 1978, 305; JI 1994, II, xv. STRANGELY & JUNGRAITHMAYR (1981, 411) separated Bidiya from Dangla-Migama, and placed it in the Mubi group, which cannot be supported from the standpoint of the lexical evidence.

Bidiya composed by native speaker linguist Khalil Alio (N'Djamena, Republic of Tchad) and Chadistic Herrmann Jungrathmayr (Frankfurt a/M).<sup>3</sup> The new Bidiya lexicon has been reviewed by many authors from different viewpoints.<sup>4</sup> The aim of my paper is to show the multivalence of the Bidiya sibilant affricates and how the lexicon of this so far little-known language contributes to various aspects of Chadic/Afro-Asiatic comparative-historical phonology and lexicon.

The history of Bidiya *č-* is apparently more complex than that of *ǰ-* (< AA \*ǰ-). We wish to use the new Bidiya lexicon for clarifying the Afro-Asiatic correspondences of this problematic affricate (*č-*).

#### Bdy. *č* < AA \**c*

- **Bdy. *čebilo*** (masc.) “rat rouge (à queue touffue)” [AJ 1989, 63] || SCu.: Dahalo *cēβi* [ts-] “shrew (?)” [EEN 1989, 9].

#### Bdy. *č* < AA \**s*

- **Bdy. *čaar*** “1. imaginer, 2. prédire” [AJ 1989, 62] || Eg. sr “vorhersagen, verkünden” (PT, Wb III 189–190) = “1. to foretell (Lit. MK), 2. make known (XVIII.)” (FD 235).

NB: Any connection to Sem.: Ar. *srr* III: *sārra* “to let know secretly”, IV: *ʿasarra* “to keep in secret” [Zbr.] || ES: Geez *sawara* “to keep in secret” [Zbr.] (Sem.: Zbr. 1971, #219)?

- **Bdy. *čaaire*** (m) “sillon” [AJ 1989, 62] || Ar. *sarar-* ~ *sirr-* ~ *sirar-* ~ *sirār-* “ligne, raie sur la paume de la main ou sur le visage, trait” [BK I 1075].

- **Bdy. *čoon*** “regarder en haut” [AJ 1989, 64] || Sem. \**šny* “to be high” [GT]: Ug. *šn-t* “Hoffart” [WUS #2650], Hbr. *šn(h)* “hoch, vornehm sein” [Thomas apud WUS] || Ar. *saniya* “hoch, erhaben sein” [WUS]. Cf. also Ug. *sny* D “erhöhen” [WUS #1926].

#### Bdy. *č* < AA \**č*

- **Bdy. *čaaɸ*** “1. prendre des morceaux de viande dans la marmite pendant la cuisson (comportement répréhensible), 2. pêcher” [AJ 1989, 62] || WCh. \**čap-* “to catch (ЛОВИТЬ)” [Stl.]: Hausa *čáfè* “1. to catch sg. thrown, 2. clutch at sg. moving, 3. (crocodile, dog, etc.) snap at” [Abr. 1962, 130] | PRon \**syap* “to catch” [GT]: Bokkos *syap* “schnappen, packen” [Jng.], Daffo-Butura *syap* “(zufällig, ohne vorhergehende Absicht) fangen, schnappen” [Jng.] (Ron: Jng. 1970, 146) | Tangale *soobɛ* [irreg. -b-?] “to catch sg. flying or thrown”, cf. also *soobe* “to peck, nibble, pick food” [Jng. 1991, 146] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 191) || Sem.: perhaps Hbr. *šʔp qal* “gierig schnappen” [GB 798] = “1. to gasp (for air)”, cf. *šwp qal* “to grip sg. hard” [KB 1375, 1446]. Lit.: OS 1992: 193 (Eg.-WCh.); HSED #473 (Eg.-WCh.-Bdy.).

NB1: There is no convincing common Sem. etymology for the quoted Hbr. roots.

NB2: Any connection to Eg. *sps* ~ *spsp* “jemanden zausen an den Haaren” (BD, Wb IV 107)? Or cf. Eg. *sph* “mit dem Lasso fangen” (PT, Wb IV 105)?

<sup>3</sup> ALIO Kh. & JUNGRAITHMAYR H. 1989. *Lexique Bidiya. Une langue centre-africaine (République du Tchad)*. Berlin: Vittorio Klostermann, 164 p.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the list of the relevant reviews in the Chadic bibliography by P. NEWMAN (1996, 84, #1021).

• **Bdy. čaamiya** “pellicule sur le lait” [AJ 1989, 62] ||| Eg. *smj* “fette Milch, Sahne (die sich bildet, wenn Milch längere Zeit gestanden hat)” (Med., Wb IV 130).

NB1: O. RÖSSLER (1971, 314; 1983, 85) compared Eg. *smj* to Ar. *tumāl-at-* “mousse (d’un liquide), froth (of a liquid) [Blc. 1230] = “Milchschaum” [Rsl.], for which cf. also Ar. *tamala* “to remain in the bottom of a container (silt, etc.), stay in a place”, *tuml-at-* ~ *taml-at-* “deposit, sediment, silt, dregs, remains (of a liquid)” [Blc.]. Eg. *smj* can, in principle, derive from both *\*s-m-y* or *\*s-m-l* (palatalization of AA *\*-l* > Bidiya *-y*?).

NB2: In most of the relevant works, Eg. *smj* is usually explained from a distinct AA root, namely *\*s-m-n* “Fett” [GT], which is much less convincing.

• Bdy. *čooopo* (fem.) “fourreau, gaine” [AJ 1989, 64], Migama *čàapà* “fourreau du cou-teau” [JA 1992, 74] ||| Sem. *\*ʕVtp-at-* “quiver” [GT]: Akk. (from aAK/aB) *išpatu* “Köcher” [AHW 397] || Ug. *útp-t* “Köcher” [WUS #475], Hbr. *ʔašpā* “quiver” [KB 96]. From AA *\*čVp-* “quiver” [GT].

• **Bdy. čebèr** “dénouer, divorcer, délier” [AJ 1989, 63] ||| Common Sem. *\*tbr* “to break”: e.g. Ug. *tbr* “1. brechen, 2. öffnen”, N “schlottern”, hence *tbr* “Öffnung” [WUS #2834].

### Bdy. č < AA \*č

• **Bdy. čaara** (f) “1. racine, 2. veine” [AJ 1989, 62], Migama *čààrú* (m) “1. veine, 2. racine” [JA 1992, 74] || WCh.: NBch. *\*š[a]r-* “root” [GT]: Pa’a *šari*, Siri *šūra*, Jimbin *šera*, Miya *šerwa*, Mburku *šarnani* (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 37) ||| Sem. *\*š, Vr-* “root” [GT] > ES: Geez *šərw* ~ *šur* ~ *šə* “1. sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle, 2. root, basis, origin, stock, tribe” [Lsl. 1987, 535], hence modern ES *\*sə* “root, vein, sinew” [GT]. From the same bicons. root: Sem. *\*šurš-* “root”.

• **Bdy. čaan** “chercher, enquêter”, cf. *čagàn* [epenthetic *\*-ʔ- > -g-ʔ-*] “chercher” [AJ 1989, 62] || WCh.: Diri *šaanu* “to ask” [Skn. 1977, 19] ||| Sem. *\*š, ny-*: e.g. MSA: Jbl. *šini* “2. to choose” [Jns. 1981, 253] ||| Eg. *šnj* “1. amtlich untersuchen, Nachfragen richten an jemanden, 2. fragen, eine Frage stellen” (MK, Wb I 495) = “1. to litigate (OK), 2. question (s’one) (Lit. MK), 3. inquire (into a matter) (XVIII.)” (FD 268).

• **Bdy. čiw** “marécage” [AJ 1989, 64] ||| Eg. *š* [act. *\*šjʔ*] “lake” (OK, Wb IV 397–398) ||| SCu. *\*čaw-* [*\*t-*] “lake” [GT]: Iraqw *čawi*, Alagwa *čawi*, Burunge *čawa* | (?) Dahalo *čáʔa* “lake” [Ehret] = *tl’áʔa* [sic with *-ʔ-*] “lake” [EEN 1989, 18] (SCu.: EHRET 1980, 214; 1974, 73).

### Bdy. ž < AA \*ž

• **Bdy. žàabüyne** (m) “javelle” [AJ 1989, 83] ||| Sem.: presumably Dathina Ar. *dabn-* “espace entre les deux premiers doigts écartés” [Landberg in DRS 327: isolated in Sem.].

• **Bdy. žaal** “avoir honte” [AJ 1989, 83], Migama *žàalò* “avoir honte” [JA 1992, 94] ||| Sem. *\*dll-*: cp. esp. OSA (Sabaic) *h-dll* (caus.) “1. to bring low so., 2. condemn” [SD 39], Maghrebi Ar. *dall* “se décourager, se démoraliser” [DRS] | MSA *\*dll* “to be afraid” [GT]: Hrs. *delil* “coward” [Jns. 1977, 28], Jbl. *dell* “to be afraid” [Jns. 1981, 46], Mhr. *dəl* “to be afraid” [Jns. 1987, 80].

• **Bdy. žaam** “être frappé d’un malheur” [DRS 83] ||| Sem. *\*dmm-*: cp. esp. Ug. *t-dmm*

“se conduire mal” [DRS 335] || MSA \**dmm* “to miscall so., say bad things behind his back” [GT, cf. Jns. 1977–1987].

• **Bdy.** *žěbèy-gi* “hyène rayée” [AJ 1989, 84], Migama *žábíyá* (m) “hyène brune” [JA 1992, 94] || WCh.: Ngizim *žíbdà* “civet cat (Viverra civetta)” [Schuh 1981, 84] || Sem. \**díʔb-* “wolf, jackal” [Djk. 1981, 61] = \**díʔib-* [Dlg. 1986, 82, #31] || Eg. *z3b* [from \**zʔb*] “Schakal” (OK, Wb III 420). Lit.: the Eg.-Sem. comparison is well known. For the AA etymology see Dlg. 1983, 139; OS 1988, 79; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 58; Blz. 1992, 157; OREL 1993, 43; HSED #2660.

• **Bdy.** *žoot* “tirer” [AJ 1989, 85], Migama *žòotò* “retirer, tirer à soi” [JA 1992, 95] || WCh.: Ngamo *nzat* “to pull” [Krf. 1981, #356] || Sem.: perhaps Ar. *daʔata* “étrangler” [DRS 326], orig. \*“(to pull tight (of neck))” (?) [GT] || ECu. \**zit-* “to pull” [Sasse]: LECu.: PSam \**žīd-* “to pull” [GT]: Somali *žīd-* [Ss.], Rendille *žit* “to pull” [HEINE 1976, 219] = *žīta* “to pull, drag” [PG 1999, 166], Boni *žid-* [Ss.] | Konso *tīt-* [*t-* < \**z-*] “to pull” [Ss.] | Dullay \**sīt-* [GT]: Harso *žit* ~ *žič-* “ziehen” [AMS], Dobase *žič-* “ziehen” [AMS], Gawwada *sīt-* “to pull” [Ss.], Gollango *sīt-* “wegnehmen, rauben” [AMS] (Dullay: AMS 1980, 211, 281; ECu.: SASSE 1979, 20) || SCu. \**žut-* [GT]: Ma’a -*žùtà* “to stretch” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 30]. From AA \**ž-t* “to pull” [GT].

• **Bdy.** *žùbaayè* “impôts” [AJ 1989, 85] || WCh.: Tangale *wobi* [*w-* regular < \**z-*/*ž-*] “debts” [Jng. 1991, 162] || perhaps Sem. \**đbh* “to sacrifice”.

• **Bdy.** *žuwàl* “labourer de nouveau, biner” [AJ 1989, 85] || Sem.: Ar. of Dathina *đawlā* “nouvelle pousse, jeune branche” [Landberg in DRS 329].

#### ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

(A<sub>2</sub>): Subahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram., AS: Angas-Sura, Bch.: Bauchi, Bdy.: Bidiya, Bed.: Bedawye, Brb.: Berber, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, Cu.: Cushitic, Dng.: Dangla, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hrs.: Harsusi, Hs.: Hausa, Jbl.: Jibbali, LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Mgm.: Migama, Mhr.: Mehri, Mkl.: Mokilko, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: North(ern), N: New, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical (Hebrew), S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern).

#### ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

Abt.: ABRAHAM, AJ: ALIO & JUNGRAITHMAYR, AMS: AMBORN & MINKER & SASSE, BK: BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKY, Blc.: BLACHÈRE, Blz.: BLAŽEK, Brt.: BARRETEAU, Cpt.: CAPRILE, CR: CONTI ROSSINI, Crl.: CERULLI, Ctn.: CARNOCHAN, Csp.: COSPER, Ctc.: CAŤUCOLI, Dbr.-Mnt. (= DM): DJIBRINE & MONTGOLFIER, Djk.: D’JAKONOV, Dlg.: DOLGOPOL’SKI, EEN: EHRET & ELDERKIN & NURSE, Ehr.: EHRET, GB: GESENIUS & BUHL, GT: TAKÁCS, JA: JUNGRAITHMAYR & ADAMS, JI: JUNGRAITHMAYR & IBRISZIMOW, Jng.: JUNGRAITHMAYR, Jns.: JOHNSTONE, KB: KOEHLER & BAUMGARTNER, Krf.: KRAFT, Lsl.: LESLAU, Mlt.: MILITAREV, Nwm.: NEWMAN, OS: OREL & STOLBOVA, PG: PILLINGER & GALBORAN, Rsl.: RÖSSLER, Skn.: SKINNER, Ss.: SASSE, Stl.: STOLBOVA, Zbr.: ZABORSKI.

## LITERATURE

- ABRAHAM R.C. 1962. *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*.<sup>2</sup> London: University of London Press.
- ALJO Khalil, JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann. 1989. *Lexique bidiya*. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann.
- AMBORN Hermann, MINKER Günter, SASSE Hans-Jürgen. 1980. *Das Dullay. Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*. Berlin: Reimer Verlag.
- BARRETEAU Daniel (ed.). 1978. *Inventaire des études linguistiques sur les pays d'Afrique Noire d'expression française et sur Madagascar*. Paris: Conseil International de la Langue Française.
- BARRETEAU Daniel, NEWMAN Paul. 1978. "Les langues tchadiques." In: BARRETEAU 1978: 291–330.
- BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI A. De. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Co. Editeurs.
- BLACHÈRE Régis, CHOUÉMI Moustafa, DENIZEAU Claude, PELLAT Charles. 1967–1976. *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais (Langue classique et moderne)*. T. I–III. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
- BLAŽEK Václav. 1992. "The New Dravidian-Afroasiatic Parallels. Preliminary Report." In: SHEVOROSHKIN 1992: 150–165.
- BLAŽEK Václav. 1994. "Review of Jungrauthmayr H.: Lexique mokilko." *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 15, 92–94.
- CAPRILE Jean-Pierre, JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann. 1973. "Inventaire provisoire des langues "tchadiques" parlées sur le territoire de la République du Tchad." *Africana Marburgensia* 6(2), 31–48.
- DIAKONOFF Igor' Mihajlovič. 1981. "Earliest Semites in Asia. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry According to Linguistic Data (VIIIth–IVth Millennia B.C.)." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8, 23–74.
- DOLGOPOLSKY Aharon. 1983. "Semitic and East Cushitic. Sound Correspondences and Cognate Sets." In: SEGERT & BODROGLIGETI 1983: 123–142.
- DOLGOPOLSKY Aharon. 1986. "Semitic Nomina Segolata in Ethiopic." In: GOLDENBERG 1986: 71–90.
- DRS = COHEN David. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Fascicules 1–2: Paris–La Haye, 1970–1976, Mouton. Fascicule 3: Leuven, 1993, Peeters. With continuous pagination.
- EHRET Christopher. 1974. *Ethiopians and East Africans. The Problem of Contacts*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- EHRET Christopher. 1980. *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- EHRET Christopher, ELDERKIN E.D., NURSE Derek. 1989. "Dahalo Lexis and Its Sources." *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 18, 5–49.
- FD = FAULKNER Raymond O. 1962. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- GB = GESENIUS Wilhelm (bearbeitet von Buhl, Frants). 1962. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. Unveränderter Neudruck der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage*. Berlin–Göttingen–Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- GOLDENBERG G. (ed.). 1986. *Ethiopian Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel Aviv, April 1980*. Rotterdam–Boston: Balkema.
- HEINE Bernd. 1976. "Notes on the Rendille Language." *Afrika und Übersee* 59, 176–223.
- HSED = OREL Vladimir Ėmmanuilovič, STOLBOVA Ol'ga Valer'evna. 1995. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- JOHNSTONE T.M. 1977. *Ĥarsūsi Lexicon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- JOHNSTONE T.M. 1981. *Jibbāli Lexicon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- JOHNSTONE T.M. 1987. *Mehri Lexicon*. London: University of London.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann. 1970. *Die Ron-Sprachen. Tschadohamitische Studien in Nordnigerien*. Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann, SHIMIZU Kiyoshi. 1981. *Chadic Lexical Roots. Vol. II. Tentative Reconstruction, Grading and Distribution*. Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann. 1981. "Inventaire des langues tchadiques." In: PERROT 1981: 407–413.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann (in collaboration with Njeņo Andirya GALADIMA and Ulrich KLEINWILLINGHÖFER). 1991. *A Dictionary of the Tangale Language (Kaltungo, Northern Nigeria) with a Grammatical Introduction*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann, ADAMS Abakar. 1992. *Lexique migama*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann, IBRISZIMOW Dymitr. 1994a. *Chadic Lexical Roots. Vol. I. Tentative Reconstruction, Grading, Distribution and Comments*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

- JUNGRAITHMAYR Herrmann, IBRISZIMOW Dymitr. 1994b. *Chadic Lexical Roots*. Vol. II. *Documentation*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- KB = KOEHLER Ludwig, BAUMGARTNER Walter. 1994. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. I–V. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- KRAFT Charles H. 1981. *Chadic Wordlists*. I–III. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- LESLAU Wolf. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- MILITAREV Aleksandr Jur'evič, STOLBOVA Ol'ga Valer'evna. 1990. "First Approach to Comparative-Historical Phonology of Afrasian (Consonantism)." In: MUKAROVSKY 1990: 45–72.
- MUKAROVSKY H.G. (ed.). 1990. *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*. Band I. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- NEWMAN Paul. 1996. *Hausa and the Chadic Language Family. A Bibliography* (African Linguistic Bibliographies 6). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- PERROT J. (ed.). 1981. *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- SEGERT S., BODROGLIGETI A.J.E. (eds.). 1983. *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- SHEVOROSHKIN V. (ed.). 1992. *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*. Bochum: Brockmeyer.

*Allatum die 19 mensis Januarii anno 2009*