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On and off the common ground:
Japanese final particles as (un)grounding devices

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The notion of "common ground" (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark 1996) presupposes communication or conversation as "the basic setting for language use" (Clark 1996: 11). The serialisation of Japanese sentence-final particles is highly sensitive to the likelihood of the relevant utterance being part of the common ground. This paper reconsiders the conception of common ground and grounding processes, investigating monologic as well as conversational discourse. A case study of two modernist texts which contain internal monologue (interior monologue) illustrates how three facets of grounding activities (the establishment, confirmation, and cancellation of common ground) are tactfully realised by means of the final-particle marking of a distinction between monologic and conversational discourse. Our analysis reveals that Japanese final particles (specifically, -*ne* and -*na(a)*) play an essential role in encoding the speaker's intention to *ground* or *unground* his/her utterance (i.e., to make the utterance *on* or *off* the common ground).

Keywords: common ground, grounding, final particle, monologue, Japanese

1. Introduction

According to Herbert H. Clark, "[l]anguage use is really a form of *joint action*, which "is carried out by an ensemble of people acting in coordination with each other" like waltzing, paddling a canoe, and playing a piano duet (1996: 3, italics in the original). In other words, using language is the action that requires speakers and addressees to "perform their individual actions in coordination, as ensembles" (Clark 1996: 3).

The interplay of the joint action is most prominent in face-to-face conversation, which Clark (1996) refers to "the basic setting for language use" (1996: 11). However, one might easily think of situations where language use is not restricted to face-to-face

conversation or even joint action (Carston 1999: 167). We can utter words even without anyone to coordinate with. For example, when one finds rotten lemons in the fridge, one may utter "Ew, what the heck!" even without anyone around, or when one tries to lift a large box and realises that it is heavy, one may say aloud "Woo, that's hefty" (Izutsu et al. 2022). An athlete, when alone, might produce self-talk like "you can do it!" or "slow and steady" to enhance his/her sport performance (van Rallte & Vincent 2017).

Such self-talk was initially intended to be directed to no one, but it may happen to be uptaken by another co-present participant. For example, when informed of a loved one's death, which is one of the cases where "public self-talk is […] sanctioned" (Goffman 1978: 795), one may cry out without hesitation like "I can't believe it" or "Oh, no, that's not true." These cries often create a sympathetic atmosphere and make people nearby produce words of consolation. This half-ratified interaction may then become the start of "a conversational encounter‒a ritually ratified state of talk" (Goffman 1978: 798). Also, a conversational interchange can be shifted into "muttering" or mumbling (Goffman 1978: 796). For example, immediately after one has a bitter quarrel with someone, one may produce words of complaint in a voice that is small but audible enough to be heard by the opponent. The speaker can insist that the words are not directed to anyone or the opponent can overtly ignore them. Such self-talk is "located transitionally between a state of talk and mere co-presence" (Goffman 1978: 796). In other words, it is "a form of communication that hardly fits the linguistic model of speaker and addressed recipient" (Goffman 1978: 796).

Clark (1996: 5-9) regards self-talk or monologue as language use in "private settings," which represent one exemplar of "nonbasic settings." They are nonbasic because private settings are "derived from our social way of talking" and are "based on conversational settings" (1996: 11).

However, language use is more dynamic than expected. A sharp distinction between language settings, including the one between basic and nonbasic settings, is hard to maintain in many situations. As mentioned above, one type of language use can be drifted into another, normally without any clear delimitation of language settings. It seems that this may leave speakers at a loss to find a language setting they are currently engaged in, but there are some languages that provide speakers with devices for indicating which language setting is being referred to. Japanese is one such language; it has grammatical means for marking whether an utterance produced belongs to private or conversational settings.

The present study attempts to locate such language use in private settings within the model of grounding. What Clark sees as "a *sine qua non*" (1996: 92) for any kind of joint activity is the notion of "grounding" or "common ground" (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark 1996), as stated in the following:

> *In conversation,* […] the participants try to establish that what has been said has been under-stood. In our terminology, *they try to ground what has been said – that is, make it part of their common ground*.
>
> (Clark & Brennan 1991: 127, our italics)

Common ground is, "in effect, the sum of their mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions" (Clark 1996: 93). According to Clark & Brennan (1991: 127), "[a]ll collective actions are built on common ground and its accumulation"; conversation instantiates such a joint activity and requires the conversation participants "to keep track of their common ground and its moment-by-moment changes" (p. 128). Although a major interest of these scholars may lie in conversational discourse, language in private settings such as talking to oneself or thinking aloud should also be dealt with in terms of the notion of "grounding" or "common ground" because, as Clark (1996: 92) puts it, "[c]ommon ground is important to any account of language use that appeals to 'context'."

Common ground often becomes salient by means of certain linguistic items. For example, modal particles in German and other languages are known as "lexical markers of common grounds" (Fischer 2007; Pittner 2007; see also Zimmermann 2011). It has been pointed out that Japanese final particles have some semantic and functional affinities with German modal particles (Kanda 2002). Given such affinities, the present research will investigate how Japanese final particles contribute to grounding activities through an analysis of literary texts which contain internal monologue. After describing the data used in this study in the next section, section 3 will show that Japanese final particles are sequenced in accordance with a speaker's grounding processes. In section 4, we will present a case study of analysing sentence-ending forms in monologue and conversation in two Japanese novels. It will be demonstrated that monologic and conversational discourse manifests distinctive final-particle markings of three facets of grounding activities (the establishment, confirmation, and cancellation of common ground). Section 5 will illustrate that final particles used for common-ground cancellation are exploited in conversational discourse to indicate a current utterance as not being produced with an explicit communicative intention, i.e., to make his/her utterance *off* the common ground.

2. Data

If Japanese final particles have functions associated with common ground, one may question why such particles are used in monologue, which is seemingly irrelevant to the notion of common ground, and what kinds of functions they perform in our grounding activity. This study compares internal monologue (or interior monologue) and conversation in terms of the use of Japanese final particles. Literary texts rather than spontaneously spoken discourse were used in our analysis, because it is not easy to collect naturally occurring examples of monologic data as they occur unexpectedly in our everyday life like sneezing and yawning. Hasegawa attempts to gather soliloquy data produced by native speakers of Japanese and English, who were asked "to speak aloud his or her thoughts while alone in an isolated room" (2010a: 29).[1] Even in such a highly idealised

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[1] Hasegawa (2005, 2010a, b) employs the term "soliloquy" to refer to speech not directed to a particular addressee and avoids the term "monologue" because the use of the latter term may implicate a speech made

situation, it is almost impossible to exclude the presence of an observer (an analyst or an audio/video-recorder) from a speaker's consciousness (Labov 1972: 209). The observer's presence may evoke the presence of an addressee and thus may likely affect the naturalness of data as genuine non-addressed speech.

The data used for the present analysis were taken from two novels, both of which contain a rich amount of internal monologue: a Japanese edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* ([1922] 1986), translated by Saiichi Maruya et al. (1996), and a Japanese short story *M Hyakkaten* (*A Department Store Called M*), written by Sei Ito ([1931] 1971).[2] They are aligned to the tradition of modernism, both written in the stream of consciousness technique. From *Ulysses*, episode 6 "Hades" was chosen because the episode contains a sufficient amount of both conversational and monologic utterances.

One might argue that internal monologue in literary texts also affects the authenticity of monologue, because inner speech may probably be different from genuine monologue actually uttered. Modernist writers (especially, those writing in English) made considerable efforts to invent literary techniques which they consider best represent such fragmentary and fluid nature of mind. English internal monologue, therefore, contains deviations from natural utterances, which impress the readers as something different from the language they use in conversation. Unless such literary devices are used, "[t]he subjectivity echoing the direct voice […] is diminished" because there is no clear distinction from narrative discourse (Maynard 2022: 194).[3] Interestingly, however, Japanese internal monologue is not markedly characterised by such deviations and is fairly close to monologue in natural discourse (see also Yamaoka 2012: 40-51). For one illustration, compare an English example of internal monologue in (1a), taken from Joyce's *Ulysses* ([1922] 1986), with its Japanese translation in (1b).

(1)   a.   Chilly place this.   (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, l. 604)

b.   *Zuibun*   *hieru-**na**,*   *koko-wa.*
quite   be:cold-FP   here-TOP   (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, l. 712, trans.)

(1a) sounds awkward as an ordinary English sentence because it does not have a tensed verb or an indefinite article and its constituent order is reversed. On the other hand, no such strong awkwardness is felt in (1b); it can still be perceived as part of actual

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by a speaker to an (often large) audience. However, our study keeps the term "monologue" to refer to language produced with no intention to share it with others, since our analysis focuses on internal monologue in literary texts.

[2] *Ulysses* was originally published in 1922, and the translation used in this study (trans. by Maruya et al.) appeared in 1996. *M Hyakkaten* (*A Department Store Called M*) was published in 1931. Sei Ito was engaged in the first Japanese translation of *Ulysses*, which must have had a profound influence on his writing. He employed a lot of experimental techniques in his works. In *M Hyakkaten*, internal monologue is demarcated by square brackets from the parts of narratives. For *Ulysses*, the original English text is referred to for the interpretation of internal monologue.

[3] Maynard (2022: Ch. 10) compares Japanese literary works with their English translations and describes how the translation undermines the direct representation of characters' inner voices.

monologue mainly because of the presence of the final particle *-na*. If a different particle (e.g., *-ne*) is used, the sentence (*Zuibun hieru-**ne**, koko-wa*) can be heard in natural conversation (see our arguments below for the details). It is therefore well justified to consider that internal monologue in Japanese literary texts is close to actual monologue, hence serving as a good starting point for the investigation of monologic speech.

Note that actual monologue is not monolithic; some researchers argue that there are two types of monologue. For example, Hirose (1995) explains:

> […] *one can express one's thoughts without intending to communicate them to others*. For instance, suppose you are alone somewhere, thinking about something. In that case, you are just thinking in language, and you should not be thereby communicating with anyone. This does not of course apply when *you are talking to yourself or someone you have in mind, in which case you are using language for communication*.
>
> (Hirose 1995: 226, our italics)

The former type can be referred to as genuine monologue, and the latter as addressee-directed monologue, which the speaker delivers, even when alone, as if s/he were communicating with someone else (see also Moriyama 1997: 174).[4]

Analogously, internal monologue can be classified into two types: genuine internal monologue, which is not intended for any kind of communication, and addressee-directed internal monologue, which includes an utterance directed to someone the speaker has in mind or to the speaker him/herself and an internal conversation between third parties which the speaker evokes in his/her mind. The addressee-orientation of the latter internal monologue is often indicated with the use of vocatives, second-person pronouns, and addressee-indicating devices such as imperatives, hortatives ('let's'), and addressee-honorifics (see also sections 3 and 4.2). Table 1 represents the number of utterances by mode of speech in *Ulysses* "Hades" and *M Hyakkaten*:[5]

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[4]   Whether or not the production of monologic speech is always conceptualised as communicating with oneself is another issue to be raised in the studies of monologue. This issue is mentioned in our article concerning monologue produced in the context of absolute solitude (Izutsu et al. 2022; see also Hirose 1995: 235-237; Hasegawa 2010a: 182-193).

[5]   It is in fact difficult to make a clear-cut decision whether an utterance should be interpreted as internal monologue or not. As Wales (1992: 78) puts it, "interior monologue is subtly interwoven with narrative and indirect thought […] with subtle shifts often within one and the same sentence," often called "slipping" (Leech & Short 1981: 340; Wales 1992: 86) from one mode to another. In "Hades" too, the narrator's voice is sometimes fused into Bloom's monologue: *Mr Bloom's glance travelled down the edge of the paper, scanning the deaths: Callan, Coleman, Dignam, Fawcett, Lowry, Naumann, Peake, what Peake is that?* (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, ll. 157-159). Interestingly, the Japanese translation of this kind of sentence is often separated into two sentences, as in: *Mr Bloom-no sisen-wa simen-no huti-ni sot-te sagari, sibooran-o hasiriyomisi-ta. Callan, Coleman, Dignam, Fawcett, Lowry, Naumann, Peake, dono Peake-daroo?* (Ep. 6, trans. ll. 187-189). When such explicit separation is not available, we treated this type of sentence as internal monologue.

Table 1. The number of utterances in the two texts

	Ulysses "Hades"	*M Hyakkaten*
Conversation	375	53
Genuine internal monologue	990	307
Addressee-directed internal monologue	64	4
Total	1429	364

Since *M Hyakkaten* is a shorter story, the number of utterances in each mode is smaller than *Ulysses* "Hades." In both texts, however, genuine internal monologue shows the greatest number of utterances among the three modes of speech. Since addressee-directed monologue can be regarded as a kind of "pseudo-conversation" (Hasegawa 2010a: 37) and is excluded from many studies of Japanese monologue (Hirose 1995; Moriyama 1997; Hasegawa 2005, 2010a, 2010b), it falls outside the scope of the present analysis.

3. Sentence-final particles in Japanese

Japanese is a head-final language with the SOV basic constituent order. It is an agglutinative language, in which particles and/or auxiliaries are attached to verbs, adjectives or nouns to form morphologically complex constituents (e.g., a predicate comprised of a main verb and an auxiliary). Sentence-final particles are often added to the end of a redicate (i.e., final position) as shown in (2) and exemplified in (3), where the final particle -*ne* is attached to the end of the verb-auxiliary sequence of the predicate (*kuru-kamosirenai*).

(2)   {initial position}[topic]{internal position}[main V](aux){final position}

                                                           (Izutsu & Izutsu 2013: 226)

(3)   *Demo*   *asita-wa*   *dareka*   *kuru-kamosirenai-ne*.
        but   tomorrow-TOP   someone   come-AUX-FP
        'But tomorrow someone may come, you know.'

As Table 2 shows, there are a wide variety of sentence-final particles in Japanese.[6] Following some previous studies (Saji 1957; Watanabe 1974; Suzuki 1976; Minami 1993), we classified such final particles into three types or layers, and characterised final particles in each layer in terms of the notion of "common ground" (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark 1996).

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[6] This table does not include -*no* in -*no-ka*, because it serves as a nominalizing particle creating a nominal clause, which can be followed by a predicate (e.g., *Kare-ga kita-no-ka wakara-nai*. 'I don't know whether he came or not.' In this respect, the -*no* in -*no-ka* is different from the one used in -*no-sa*, -*no-yo* and -*no-ne*, each of which does not form a nominal clause (e.g., **Kare-ga kita-no-sa/yo/ne wakara-nai*) but represents a combination of two sentence-final particles.

Table 2. Final-particle ordering in Japanese (Izutsu & Izutsu 2017; Izutsu, K. & Izutsu, M.N. 2020: 163)

Layer 1 A speaker's judgment about proposition (*p*)	Layer 2 Establishing *p* as part of knowledge space (common ground)	Layer 3 Confirming/cancelling *p* as part of common ground
-ka/kke (less certain)	*-sa* (weakly involved)	*-na(a)* (cancelling)
-wa/no (certain, mostly by women)		
-zo/ze (certain, mostly by men)	*-yo/i* (strongly involved)	*-ne/na* (confirming)

Most of these final particles can be used alone or sequenced with other final particles. The particles in the same layer cannot form a sequence (e.g., **-ka-wa*, **-wa-zo*, **-ze-no*, **-sa-yo*), but those in different layers can be combined with each other (see also Izutsu & Izutsu 2021 for further explanation about the sequencing of pragmatic particles/ markers).

As represented in Table 2, final particles in each layer serve a distinctive function in presenting the proposition of the preceding clause. The particles in layer 1 express the speaker's judgment about a proposition. The final particle *-ka* indicates the speaker's lack of certainty about the realisation of a proposition. Since the lack of certainty often involves a desire to verify the validity of information, the particle can often be used as a question marker as in (4) below. The particle *-kke* can also signal some degree of uncertainty, especially when the speaker is trying to remember something (e.g., *Sonna koto at-ta-***kke***?* 'Did something like that happen?'). The other particles in layer 1 are used to indicate a relatively higher degree of the speaker's certainty. In affirmative sentences, the particles *-wa* and *-no* are typically used by female speakers as in (5), while *-zo* and *-ze* are mostly used by men as in (6) (Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 152-153). The masculine tone of the latter particles serves to make an utterance sound more assertive or emphatic.[7]

(4)   *Doko-desu-***ka**.
        where-COP.HON-FP
        'Where will it be?'   (*M Hyakkaten* l. 162)

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[7] Most of the Japanese examples cited in the following discussion are taken from the data used in this study: a Japanese translation of *Ulysses* (Episode 6 "Hades") and the original Japanese version of *M Hyakkaten* (see section 2 for further details). The English rendition of each example was taken from the original text of Joyce's *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition* ([1922] 1986) and the English translation of *A Department Store Called M* (*M Hyakkaten*) (2005). Only conversational utterances were presented in order to highlight the interaction of participants, and reporting clauses and other stage directions were omitted unless necessary.

(5) *Zya*   *omatisi-tei-masu-**wa**.*   [said by Kiriko, a female character]
     then   wait-PROG-HON-FP
     'We'll look forward to it (then).'   (*M Hyakkaten* l. 382)

(6) *Aitu-ga*   *harat-ta-n-da-**ze**.*   [said by Martin Cunningham]
     he-NOM   pay-PAST-NMZ-COP-FP
     'O, he did. (He paid a silver florin.)'   (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, l. 349, trans.)

The particles in layer 2 contribute to the explicit indication of the establishment of a proposition (*p*) as part of the knowledge space or common ground presupposed by the speaker (and the addressee). The particle *-sa* signals the speaker's weak involvement in the establishment of *p* as part of the common ground (Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 149-152). It is typically used when the speaker presents a proposition as a matter of course or self-evident information (NINJAL 1951: 53; Matsumura 1969: 673). Hence, the utterance may have an indifferent or apathetic tone and often gives an impression of male speech (NINJAL 1951: 53; Morita 2007: 326). The particle is appropriate in a context where the speaker assumes that the addressee can anticipate or be concerned about a proposition to be presented (Nakano 1995: 1082). The addressee's anticipation of an upcoming proposition allows the speaker to be less strongly committed to grounding this information. On the other hand, the particle *-yo* explicitly indicates the speaker's stronger involvement in updating the common ground. It is generally used when the speaker perceives "a gap" or discrepancy between his/her own and the addressee's belief states (Cheng 1987: 95-97), i.e., when (s/he assumes that) the proposition s/he is presenting is not known or at least anticipated by his/her addressee (Ohso 1986: 93; Masuoka 1991: 96; Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 145). A speaker often employs *-yo* in order to attract the addressee's attention to the information s/he is communicating. Example (7) illustrates such a difference between the two final particles.

(7) [All in a carriage watched awhile through their windows caps and hats lifted by
     passers. Leopold Bloom saw a lithe young man, Stephen (a son of Simon Dedalus),
     clad in mourning, a wide hat.]
     Bloom: *Kimi-no   siriai-to   suretigat-ta-**yo**,   Dedalus.*
                     you-GEN   acquaintance-with   pass-PAST-FP   Dedalus
                     'There's a friend of yours gone by, Dedalus.'
     Simon Dedalus: *Dare-da-i?*
                     who-COP-FP
                     'Who is that?'
     Bloom: *Kimi-no   atotorimusuko-**sa**.*
                     you-GEN   son.and.heir-FP
                     'Your son and heir.'   (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, ll. 49-51, trans.)

Bloom abruptly started to tell Simon Dedalus about his son (Stephen). Until this utterance was produced, Simon had not expected such a topic to be raised. The particle *-yo* is appropriate here, because there is a great discrepancy between the speaker and the addressee in their belief state about Stephen. In contrast, the third utterance (Bloom's second utterance) is a response to Simon's question. Bloom does not have to encode his strong intent to establish this information as part of their common ground, because he knows that Simon is prepared or "holding out his hands" (Nakano 1995: 1082) to obtain the information. Bloom simply hands it out to him in a rather indifferent attitude, which makes the particle *-sa* appropriate in the utterance. Note that *-sa* cannot be used as a topic-initiating utterance like the first utterance in (7): ??*Kimi-no siriai-to sureti-gat-ta-sa*.[8]

The particles in layer 2 are typically used in conversation or dialogue.[9] However, though not frequently, the particle *-yo* can be used in monologue, where the speaker does not intend to establish a proposition as part of the common ground, such as *Mazi-ka-yo* 'Really' or *Mait-ta-yo* 'Gee!/Shucks!' In Table 2, we included the term "knowledge space" along with "common ground" because in such monologic situations it is possible that the use of these particles enables the speaker to establish a proposition in his/her own knowledge space (unshared knowledge) rather than common ground (shared knowledge).

The particles in layer 3 are employed for confirming or cancelling a proposition as part of the common ground. The particle *-na(a)* represents the speaker's spontaneous expression of feeling or his/her sudden realisation of an immediate state of affairs (Miyazaki 2002: 11-12; Morita 2007: 125; Hasegawa 2015: 296), reflecting the speaker's belief that the proposition (*p*) expressed needs not to be part of the common ground.[10] Thus, it often occurs in "monologue" (Washi 1997: 68; Iori et al. 2001: 277), "inner

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[8] The meanings and functions of sentence-final particles discussed in this study are based on their uses in common colloquial Japanese. Interestingly, the particle *-sa* is used quite differently in the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese (Izutsu & Izutsu 2013), where it has a topic-initiating function. In the Hokkaido dialect, *Kimi-no siriai-to suretigat-ta-sa* is perfectly acceptable as the first utterance in (7).

[9] Table 2 includes *-i* in layer 2. It is normally used in a sequence with another particle or a copula (such as *-ka-i* and *-da-i*) as in the second utterance in (7). Since it is probably a phonological variant of *-yo* (Konoshima 1966: 434), we do not give a detailed description here.

[10] Note that *-na(a)* discussed here differs from *-na* used to form affirmative and negative imperatives:

(i)   *Kaeri-na*.

       go.home-FP.IMP

       'Go home.'   (Hasegawa 2015: 298)

(ii)   *Kaeru-na*.

       go.home-FP.PROH

       'Don't go home.'   (Hasegawa 2015: 298)

An affirmative imperative as in (i) is formed with the particle following the adverbial form of a verb (*kaeri-*), and a negative imperative as in (ii) is created with the particle attached to the conclusive form of a verb (*kaeru*). The particle *-na(a)* is also attached to a conclusive form, but it can follow not only verbs but also adjectives, adjectival verbs and other final particles. It also distinguishes itself from dialogic *-na* (a variant of *-ne*), as indicated in n.12 below.

speech" (Cheng 1987: 107) or "utterances not requiring any responses" (Washi 1997: 68). The utterance *Okasii-na(a)* 'Well, that's strange' sounds monologic and can be produced when the speaker is alone.

This kind of utterance can be heard in conversation, but retains a monologic quality, as in the following concocted example:

(8) A: *Okasii-**naa***.
           be.strange-FP
           'Well, (that)'s strange.'

      B: *Nanka   it-ta?*
           something   say-PAST
           'Did (you) say something?'

      A: *Iya,   betuni.*
           no   not.particularly
           'No, nothing.'

As far as conversational participants may hear utterances, they try to incorporate any piece of information as part of their common ground. However, when an utterance is not intended to be communicated to anyone else, the speaker has an option of signalling the cancellation of its incorporation into the common ground. In the first utterance of (8), the speaker indicates that s/he is just thinking aloud, using the monologic particle *-naa*. The use of this particle serves to signal the speaker's belief that the propositional content of the utterance does not have to be part of the mutual belief. We can refer to this use of *-na(a)* in a conversational setting as a kind of "addressee-exclusion device" (Izutsu & Izutsu 2019), which serves as an indicator that the speaker's utterance is not oriented toward the addressee on the speech-act space. Our argument is also supported by a layperson's observation made on a web page (head_jockaa n.d.). The web author explains that *-na(a)* is used when the speaker wants to "turn a conversation **off** and get lost in thought" (our emphasis) and the addition of *-na(a)* "reduces the possibility of getting a reply" because the utterance is likely to be interpreted as monologue.

Interestingly, this addressee-exclusion function of *-na(a)* exempts the speaker from using an addressee honorific even in the presence of a superior (Moriyama 1997: 183-184; Iori et al. 2001: 277). For example, when a teacher is talking in a class, a sentence like (9a) sounds impolite or aggressive if it is said by a student, because the utterance is not expressed in addressee-honorific form. A more appropriate utterance in this situation would be: *Kikoe-**masen*** 'I can't hear you,' where *-masen*, the negative form of *-masu* (an addressee-honorific form), is used. However, (9b) can be felicitous in the same context even without such an honorific form. The particle *-naa* renders the utterance monologic and makes it sound as if it would not be directed to any addressees:

(9) a.   *Kikoe-nai.*

hear-NEG

'(I) can't hear (you).'

b.   *Kikoe-nai-**naa**.*

hear-NEG-FP

'Well, (his/her voice) is not audible.'

The addressee-free sense of *-na(a)* can also be attested from the fact that the particle is incompatible with inherently addressee-oriented sentences such as (10) (Moriyama 1997: 184).

(10) a.   *#Watasi-wa   kaeru-tumori-da-**naa**.*

I-TOP   go.home-intent-COP-FP

'I'm going home, I wonder.'

b.   *#Moosugu   kare-wa   tuku-to   omou-**naa**.*

soon   he-TOP   arrive-COMP   think-FP

'(I) think he will arrive soon, I wonder.'

c.   *#Keeki-wa   motinaosi-ta-to   kangaeru-**naa**.*

economy-TOP   recover-PAST-COMP   think-FP

'(I) think the economy has recovered, I wonder.'

d.   *#Kare-ga   ki-ta-sooda-**naa.***

he-NOM   come-PAST-AUX-FP

'(I) heard he came, I wonder.'   (Moriyama 1997: 184)[11]

The particle *-na(a)* is awkward in (10a), where the overt indication of the speaker's intention by the expression *-tumori-da* 'be going to' makes the sentence as if it were directed to the addressee (Nitta 1991a: 117-119). Likewise, (10b) and (10c) contain the verbs of thinking (*-to*) *omou* and (*-to*) *kangaeru* (both translatable as 'think'), respectively. Such explicit coding of the speaker's thinking behaviour implicates a deliberate demonstration of his/her own thought or belief to the addressee and "presupposes the presence of the addressee" (Ono 2001: 23), hence incongruent with the monologic particle *-na(a)*. Also, the hearsay auxiliary *-sooda* in (10d) is an addressee-oriented expression (Hirose 1995: 227, 2000: 1626), thus disallowing the use of the particle *-na(a)*.

On the other hand, the sentence-final particles *-ne* and *-na* (unlengthened) indicate the speaker's intention to confirm that the proposition is already part of the common ground, typically used when the speaker assumes the proposition of an utterance to be likely accessible to the addressee (Ohso 1986: 92; Masuoka 1991: 96; Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 141-149). The particle *-ne* is common both in male and female speech, while

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[11] The symbol # shows that the utterance is infelicitous when it is produced as genuine monologue.

-*na* is "a masculine variation of -*ne*" (Hasegawa 2015: 296).[12] Cook (1992: 510) illustrates that the direct indexical meaning of -*ne* is to indicate "affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee," from which various pragmatic meanings are evoked according to contexts. The particle -*ne*, she argues, indicates that "the information in question is to be interpreted with sharedness" (Cook 1992: 521).[13] Of the contextually dependent meanings of -*ne/na*, two well-known uses are expressing agreement and seeking confirmation (Ohso 1986: 91), as illustrated in the following dialogue:

(11)   [Attending Paddy Dignam's funeral at Prospect Cemetery]

   Bloom: *Kodomo-wa   nannin?*

   children-TOP   how.many

   'How many children did he leave?'

   Kernan: *Go-nin.   Ned Lambert-ga   onnanoko-no   hitori-o*

   five-person   Ned Lambert-NOM   girl-GEN   one.person-ACC

   Todd-no   mise-ni   sewasi-yoo-to   it-teru.

   Todd-GEN   store-to   recommend-AUX-COMP   say-PROG

   'Five. Ned Lambert says he'll try to get one of the girls into Todd's.'

   Bloom: *Kanasii-koto-da-**ne**.   [said gently]*

   sad-thing-COP-FP

   Tiisana   ko-ga   go-nin-mo   i-te.

   small   child-NOM   five-person-no.less.than   be-CP

   'A sad case. Five young children.'

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[12] The monologic particle -*na(a)* and the dialogic particle -*ne/na* are considered to have the same historical source (Onodera 2004: Ch. 6), but now they are treated as different particles by linguists (Cheng 1987; Washi 1997; Morita 2007) and in dictionaries (*naa* vs. *na* in Shinmura 2008) (see Washi 1997: 67 for the overview of previous studies on -*na* and -*ne*). Although monologic -*na(a)* and dialogic -*na* can have the same phonological or orthographical form (-*na*), they are prosodically distinguished; the cancellation (addressee-free) use of -*na(a)* is generally produced in falling intonation (rising-falling) often with the lengthening of the vowel, while the confirmation (addressee-directed) use is in rising intonation (falling-rising) (Moriyama 1989), often accompanied by stress. The latter prosodic features represent the speaker's intention to draw the addressee's attention. Such a prosodic distinction is not possible in our written data. However, since female speakers employ -*na* only in the cancellation use, we distinguish between these two particles by considering whether a given token of -*na* could be used by female speakers or not. If a token of -*na* would likely be used by female speakers in a given context, it was identified as the cancellation use. If not, we regarded it as a phonological variant of -*ne*.

[13] However, Cook's examples of (-)*ne* not only include sentence-final particles but also interjections used for getting attention and interjectional/interjectory particles indicating boundaries between phrases or clauses: *Ano **ne**, betto, sofaa betto o kaimashita tte* 'Uh, (she says) that (she) bought a bed, a sofa bed' (Cook 1992: 515) (see Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020 for the distinction between final and interjectional/interjectory particles). Also, Cook's notion of "affective common ground" represents shared feelings often discussed in relation to the concept of *omoiyari* 'emphathy' or 'feeling for others,' which she assumes is fundamental to Japanese culture (1992: 519), but we consider that the meanings/functions of Japanese sentence-final particles can be characterised in terms of the more general concept of "common ground."

Kernan:	*Kinodokuni*	*okusan-wa*	*daidageki-da-yo.*
	how.poor	wife-TOP	a.great.blow-COP-FP
	'A great blow to the poor wife.'		
Bloom:	*Mattakuda-**ne**.*		
	indeed-FP		
	'Indeed yes.'		

<div align="right">(*Ulysses* Ep. 6, ll. 633-640, trans.)</div>

The two participants are talking about the family of the deceased. Since a compassion for bereaved children is a natural emotion to be experienced in this kind of conversation, Bloom's second utterance is concluded with the final particle *-ne*, a marker of seeking the confirmation of their shared feeling. Kernan also mentions the bereaved wife's misfortune, which is entirely agreed about by Bloom. The agreement is again indicated by the particle *-ne* in the final utterance.[14]

4. Results

4.1. Sentence-ending forms in internal monologue and conversation

Our analysis reveals how final particles are used to represent conversation and internal monologue in the two literary texts. Figure 1 summarises the use and non-use of final particles in a Japanese translation of *Ulysses* "Hades." A combined form of final particles (e.g., *-ka-na*, *-yo-ne*) was counted as one token. In internal monologue, only 12.4% of the utterances (n = 123) contain final particles, and the others (87.6%, n = 867) do not contain any kinds of final particles. On the other hand, in conversation 44% of the utterances (n = 165) contain at least one final particle.
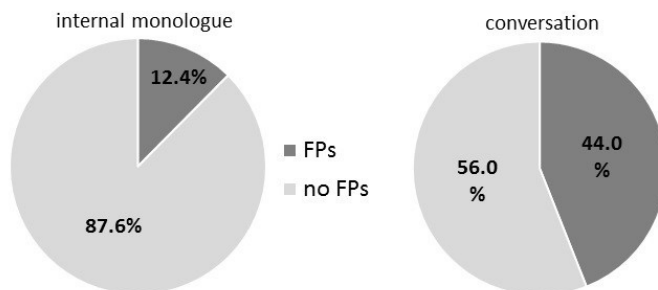

Figure 1. The use and non-use of final particles (Japanese translation of *Ulysses* "Hades")

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[14] Zimmermann (2011: 2016) mentions that "establishing or reconfirming a proposition *p* as part of the Common Ground" is the basic semantic function of the German modal particle *ja*, which also points to similarities of Japanese final particles to German modal particles.

As Figure 2 shows, a similar result obtains in the Japanese novel (*M Hyakkaten*). Only 8.5% of the utterances (n = 26) contain final particles in internal monologue, while 43.4% (n = 23) in conversation. The lower percentages of final particles in the internal monologue of both texts are consistent with Maynard's (1993a: Ch. 5, 1993b: 123-124) observation that "naked abrupt forms," i.e., sentence-ending forms without final particles and other interactional devices, tend not to be addressee-oriented but simply be the direct and immediate representations of the speaker's thoughts and experiences (see also Uehara & Fukushima 2004). According to Maynard (1993a: 178, our italics), "[t]he availability of the naked abrupt style makes it possible for a Japanese speaker to *shun*, if merely for a brief moment, *the awareness of 'thou'*."
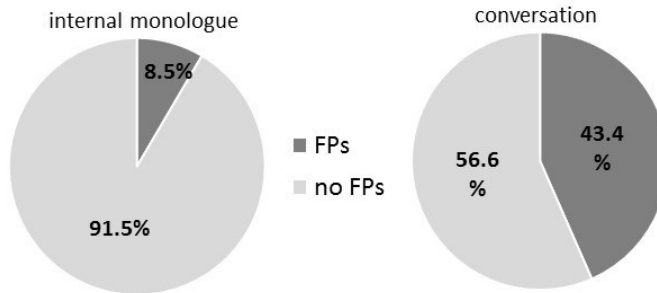
Figure 2. The use and non-use of final particles (*M Hyakkaten*)

4.2. Final particles in internal monologue and conversation

Tables 3 and 4 show the frequency of each final particle in the two modes of speech (internal monologue and conversation) on the basis of the three-layer classification represented in Table 2 above. Any single occurrence of a particle was counted as one token in this tally. For example, a combination of two particles (*-yo-ne*) was counted as two tokens.

Although sentence-ending forms without final particles are preferred in internal monologue, Table 3 below (the result of *Ulysses*) shows that certain final particles were used in significant numbers. The most frequent particle *-na(a)* (n = 55) has the function of addressee-exclusion, and the second most frequent one *-ka* (n = 48) indicates the speaker's lack of certainty or confidence about a proposition. The two particles can be used together to form the combination of *-kana*, which occurred 13 times in the monologue of the "Hades" episode. On the other hand, in conversation the most frequent particle was *-yo* (n = 58), which is typically used for updating the common ground by introducing information which the speaker assumes to be worth communicating. The second common particle was *-ne* (n = 33), which serves to ensure that the information provided constitutes part of the common ground. The two particles can be combined as in *-yone*, although there were no examples of such combinations in the conversation of "Hades."

Table 3. The frequency of each final particle in *Ulysses* "Hades"

		internal monologue	conversation
Layer 1	*-ka*	48	28
	-kke	6	1
	-wa	1	0
	-no	0	4
	-zo	6	1
	-ze	1	11
Layer 2	*-sa*	6	13
	-yo	12	58
	-i	1	18
Layer 3	*-na(a)*	55	5
	-ne	0	33
	-na (a variant of *-ne*)	0	10
	Total	136	182

A similar result is observed in *M Hyakkaten*, as shown in Table 4. The sentences of internal monologue are terminated by *-ka* (n = 23) or *-na(a)* (n = 5). The two particles appeared in combination (*-kana*) twice. In conversation, *-yo* and *-ne* were quite frequent, though they did not appear in combination. The particle *-ka* was also common, but all the tokens occurred after the addressee-honorific forms of predicates (*-desu*/*-masu*), which explicitly mark the utterances as questions directed to the addressee (e.g., *Doko-desu-**ka***. 'Where will it be?').

Table 4. The frequency of each final particle in *M Hyakkaten*

		internal monologue	conversation
Layer 1	*-ka*	23	6
	-kke	0	0
	-wa	0	2
	-no	0	2
	-zo	0	0
	-ze	0	0
Layer 2	*-sa*	0	0
	-yo	0	6
	-i	0	0
Layer 3	*-na(a)*	5	0
	-ne	0	7
	-na (a variant of *-ne*)	0	0
	Total	28	23

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the percentage of final particles in each layer to the total number in each mode of speech. Figure 3 represents the layer-wise proportion of final particles in the "Hades" episode of *Ulysses,* and Figure 4 shows the one in *M Hyakkaten.* For conversation, a comparison of the two figures seems to suggest no consistent tendencies between the two sets of data. On the other hand, the results of internal monologue reveal a striking similarity. Notice that the light grey columns in each figure forms a V-shape, as indicated by a line connecting the columns. In Figure 3 (*Ulysses*), layer 1 indicates the highest proportion of final particles, layer 2 the lowest, and layer 3 the in-between, although the percentage difference between layers 1 and 3 is small. A similar distribution is observed with the light grey columns of Figure 4 (*M Hyakkaten*), where layer 1 shows by far the highest proportion, layer 2 the lowest or no example, and layer 3 the in-between.
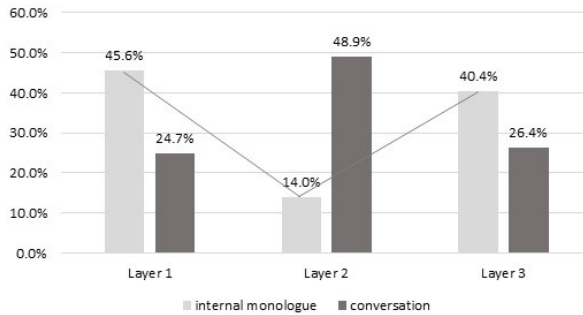
Figure 3. The proportion of final particles by layer (*Ulysses* "Hades")
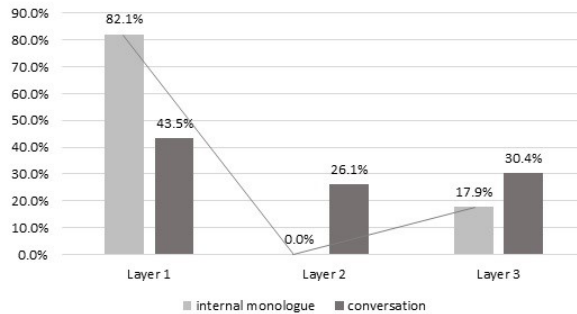
Figure 4. The proportion of final particles by layer (*M Hyakkaten*)

4.2.1. Particles in layer 1

Such V-shape patterns in internal monologue represent the high proportions of the particles of weak certainty and common-ground cancellation (layers 1 and 3, respectively) and the low proportion or absence of those of common-ground establishment (layer 2). As seen in Tables 3 and 4, the highest ratio of layer-1 particles in internal monologue

is mainly due to the high frequency of the particle *-ka*, which can be combined with the layer-3 particle *-na(a)* as in (12).

(12)   *Kiriko-to*   *Kusano-wa*   *moo*   *kaet-ta-ka-na.*
         Kiriko-and   Kusano-TOP   already   leave-PAST-FP-FP

         Aruiwa,   *koko-e*   *agat-te*   *ko-nai-ka.*
         or   this.place-to   climb-CP   come-NEG-FP

         'I wonder whether Kiriko and Kusano have left yet. Or might they come up here?'

                                                                      (*M Hyakkaten* ll. 320-321)

The speaker is not certain about whether Kiriko and Kusano have left or not. This uncertainty is marked by *-ka-na* and *-ka*, each of which follows a clause designating one of the two possibilities. A similar meaning of uncertainty is also coded by *-kke* (Ikeya 2012):

(13)   *Nani-o*   *si-teru*   *onna-da-kke?*
         what-ACC   do-PROG   woman-COP-FP

         'What is this she was?'   (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, l. 294, trans.)

The particle *-kke* often appears in monologue, especially used when the speaker is not certain about whether the designated state of affairs is remembered correctly.

The particle *-zo* also occurs with the same frequency in *Ulysses*, as shown in Table 3. It can express the speaker's awareness or conviction of a new state of affairs, as in (14), and does not always presuppose the presence of the addressee, as is shown by the fact that the particle is incongruent with imperatives, hortatives, and addressee-honorifics (Moriyama 1997: 182; Iori et al. 2001: 277; Ogi 2017: Ch. 7).[15]

(14)   *Mada*   *ai-teru-zo.*
         still   open-PERF-FP

         '(The gate is) still open.'

                                                                      (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, l. 1158, trans.)

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[15] The following sentences are ungrammatical or less felicitous in Japanese. (iii) is not impossible but less common in present-day Japanese (Ogi 2017: 172, n.13):

    (i)   **Mon-o*   *akero-zo.*
            gate-ACC   open.IMP-FP

           'Open the gate.'

    (ii)   *??Mon-o*   *ake-yoo-zo.*
           gate-ACC   open-HORT-FP

           'Let's open the gate.'

    (iii) *? Mon-ga*   *ai-te-masu-zo.*
           gate-NOM   open-CP-COP.HON-FP

           'The gate is open.'

4.2.2. Particles in layer 2

The ratios of layer-2 particles were the smallest in the internal monologue of both texts. *M Myakkaten* found no examples, and *Ulysses* "Hades" only 19 tokens. Even when layer-2 particles were used in the internal monologue of the latter text, they were used for establishing a proposition as part of the speaker's own knowledge space, not common ground, as in (15) and (16).

(15) [Contemplating how badly children with whooping cough suffer]
  Kawaisoona   kodomotati! […]
  poor   children
  'Poor children!'
  *Hidoi-mon-da-**yo**.*
  terrible-thing-COP-FP
  'Shame really.'   (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. ll.145-146)

(16) [Thinking about Martin Cunningham, a friend of Leopold Bloom's]
  Okagede   kare-no   seikatu-wa   zigoku.
  due.to   he-GEN   life-TOP   hell
  *Arezyaa   isi-no   sinzoo-demo   suriheru-**yo**,   mattaku.*
  that.way   stone-GEN   heart-even   be.worn.out-FP   really
  'Leading him the life of the damned. Wear the heart out of a stone, that.'
                                                      (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. ll. 422-423)

Although it has often been pointed out that *-yo* is an addressee-oriented particle (e.g., Ohso 1986; Cheng 1987; Masuoka 1991; Hirose 2000), it is also observed in monologue (Ono & Nakagawa 1997: 49; Hasegawa 2010a: 2.4.2). We consider that the particle in the latter usage is employed for establishing a proposition as part of the speaker's own knowledge space. The proposition is assessed in terms of whether it is consistent with the speaker's existing assumption or contradictory to it, the former having a confirmatory tone (*Yappa muri-ka-yo* 'It's impossible, as expected'), while the latter conveying a sense of surprise or unexpectedness (*Mazi-ka-yo.* 'Really?').

4.2.3. Particles in layer 3

The ratio of final particles in internal monologue increases again in layer 3. In both texts, the particle *-na(a)* alone accounts for this increase: 55 tokens in *Ulysses* and 5 tokens in *M Hyakkaten*. Of these, 13 tokens of *-na(a)* in *Ulysses* and 2 tokens in *M Hyakkaten* were used together with *-ka*. In contrast to the high frequency of the confirming particles *-ne/na* in conversation, those particles were not attested in internal monologue, which points to the irrelevance of addressee-involvement such as expressing agreement or seeking confirmation in monologic speech.

In (17), *-na(a)* indicates the speaker's spontaneous revelation of his conjecture:

(17)   [Watching the priest sprinkling water over Dignam's coffin, Bloom is sarcastically reflecting upon the meaning of the rite being conducted in front of his eyes.]

Seisui-daroo-**na**,   sakki-no-wa.
holy.water-AUX-FP   a.while.ago-NMZ-TOP
'Holy water that was, I expect.'   (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. l.731)[16]

If *-na* were not used here, the utterance could be interpreted as being directed to someone else, for example, as a response to a question raised by that someone else, as in (18):

(18)   A: *Nan-dat-ta?*
             what-COP-PAST
             'What was that?'
         B: *Seisui-daroo,*   *sakki-no-wa.*
             holy.water-AUX   a.while.ago-NMZ-TOP
             'Holy water that was.'

In (17), the addition of *-na(a)* serves to make the utterance directed inward upon the speaker himself, signalling that it is part of Bloom's internal monologue, i.e., off the common ground. The particle is employed to indicate the cancellation of the integration of the information into the common ground so that it will not be shared by those present as conversation participants in the scene.

5. Final particles and common-ground cancellation

What do the V-shapes in the results of internal monologue tell about our understanding of common ground? According to Clark (1996: 92), when we enter a conversation, "we presuppose certain common ground, and with each joint action–each utterance, for example – we try to add to it." However, the results of our analysis reveal that not every utterance, or not every language, is intended to be used for establishing or updating common ground. Even in saying something, we may occasionally want it not shared with the addressee, namely, we may want to indicate that a proposition is off the current common ground. As seen in (8), (9) and (17), the use of *-na(a)* prevents the utterance from being interpreted as directed to the addressee, which is illustrated by the fact that the particle cannot co-occur with addressee-oriented expressions (see (10)). The fact that the particle is quite common in internal monologue is viewed as a natural consequence of its function as a common-ground cancelling marker.

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[16] In (17), *sakki-no-wa* 'the one a while ago (was)' is a post-posed adverbial phrase and the unmarked order would be: *Sakki-no-wa seisui-daroo-**na***, where *-na* is naturally seen as a sentence-final particle.

The common-ground cancelling function is more evident in conversation, the essential purpose of which is to establish and negotiate the common ground. Consider conversation (19), which is taken from another episode of *Ulysses* "Telemachus."

(19)   [Buck Mulligan is talking to Stephen Dedalus on top of an old tower, where they live with an Englishman named Haines.]

Mulligan: [...]   *Oretati*   *atene-ni*   *ika-nakya-na.*

we   Athens-to   go-must-FP

Oba-kara   *20*   *pondo*   *sesime-tara*   *issyoni*   *iku-ka-i?*

aunt-from   20   pound   get-if   together   go-FP-FP

'We must go to Athens. Will you come if I can get the aunt to fork out twenty quid?'

[He laid his shaving brush aside and, laughing with delight, cried.]

→   Mulligan: *Kono*   *otoko-wa*   *kuru-no-**ka-naa**?*

this   man-TOP   come-NMZ-FP-FP

Yaseppoti-no   *iezusukaisi-san-wa-yo!*

a.jejune.person-GEN   Jesuit-Mr.-TOP-IP

'Will he come? The jejune jesuit!'

[Ceasing, Mulligan began to shave with care.]

Dedalus: *Nee,*   *Mulligan.*

hey   Mulligan

'Tell me, Mulligan.'

[Stephen said quietly.]

Mulligan: *Nan-da-ne,*   *booya?*

what-COP-FP   my.boy

'Yes, my love?'

Dedalus: *Haines-wa*   *itu-made*   *kono*   *too-ni*   *iru-tumorina-n-daroo?*

Haines-TOP   when-until   this   tower-in   stay-be.going.to-NMZ-AUX

'How long is Haines going to stay in this tower?'

(*Ulysses* Ep. 1 Telemachus, trans. ll. 42-49)

In the first two utterances, Mulligan is jokingly inviting Dedalus on a trip to Athens, directly asking a question about his intention to come. In the third utterance, however, the question is changed into an expression of doubt about him: *Kono otoko-wa kuru-no-**ka-naa**?* In this context, Dedalus is the only addressee of the utterance, but Mulligan is crying out alone as if it were not directed to him. That is, he is talking off the common ground. Nitta (1991b: 266-267) refers to such usage of ***-kana(a)*** as "a question disguised as a form of doubt." Interestingly, the absence of addressee-orientation is also indicated by the use of the third-person form *kono otoko* 'this man' to refer to Dedalus. If the second person pronoun were used instead (***Omae** kuru-kai?* 'Will you come?'), it would

inevitably invoke the speaker-addressee axis and place the utterance on the common ground. In this excerpt, since Mulligan's utterance is produced as if it were off the common ground, Dedalus does not respond to the utterance and brings a new topic about Haines.

Notice that if *-na(a)* were not used as in (19), the utterance would be simply interpreted as a direct question. Yet it could be taken as a simple question about someone else, not Stephen Dedalus, since the subject is expressed in the third-person form (*kono otoko* 'this man').

(20) *Kono*   *otoko-wa*   *kuru-no-**ka**?*
      this   man-TOP   come-NMZ-FP
      'Is this man coming?'

Although neither observed in the present data nor traditionally included in the list of sentence-final particles, there is another Japanese particle which explicitly indicates the speaker's intention to cancel a proposition off the common ground. The particle *-(t)to* is used as a final particle to make an utterance sound like monologue.[17] Nitta (1991b: 220) dubs *-(t)to* in this usage a particle for "monologisation." Okamoto (1996: 237-239) identifies two monologic uses of this particle: "self-affirmation" as in (21) and "casual declaration" as in (22).

(21) *Are-wa*   *moo*   *yat-ta-**to**.*
      that-TOP   already   do-PAST-FP
      'Let me see, that, I've already finished.'   (Okamoto 1996: 237)

(22) *Moo*   *ne-yoo-**tto**.*
      now   go.to.bed-AUX-FP
      'I'll go to bed now.'   (Okamoto 1996: 238)

(23) a. *Moo*   *neru-**zo-tto**.*
                                      (e.g., http://leinatural.seesaa.net/archives/201009041.html)
      b. **Moo*   *ne-yoo-**tto-ka/zo/sa/yo/ne***, etc.

Notice that *-(t)to* also occupies the rightmost peripheral position of an utterance. Young people's speech today (especially the one found in SNSs) has a usage of the particle following the final-1 particle *-zo* as in (23a). However, the final particle *-(t)to* cannot be followed by any other particles as in (23b), which suggests the use of the last-minute cancellation of what would otherwise be interpreted as being part of the common ground.

[17] The particle *-(t)to* originates from the quotative complementiser *-to* 'that.' One might suggest that it is simply the omission of a verb of saying/thinking, like *Are-wa moo yat-ta-**to** (omou)* '(I think) I've already finished that.' However, since such a sentence is not functionally equivalent to a sentence ending with *-(t)to*, Okamoto (1996: 236-239) argues that *-(t)to* in sentences such as (21)-(23) can be justifiably regarded as a sentence-final particle.

Of course, final particles in layer 3 are not restricted to the cancellation function. The other layer-3 final particles are used to confirm a proposition as part of the common ground (43 tokens in *Ulysses* and 7 tokens in *M Hyakkaten*). In (24), for example, both Bloom and Cunningham are aware of the sudden stop of their carriage, which hence becomes part of their common ground based on their shared physical experience (Clark 1996: 112). With this indication of common ground, the Japanese translation of Cunningham's utterance is ended with the particle *-ne*, which is used for the common-ground confirmation of the event that the participants experienced on their carriage.

(24)   [The carriage halted short.]
          Bloom: *Doo   si-ta-n-daroo*?
                              how   do-PAST-NMZ-AUX
                              'What's wrong?'
          Cunningham: *Tomat-ta-**ne***.
                              stop-PAST-FP
                              'We're stopped, (aren't we?)'
          Bloom: *Doko-da-i,   koko-wa?*
                              where-COP-FP   here-TOP
                              'Where are we?'

                                             (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. ll. 139-141)

The confirmation of common ground is not obligatory or necessary in conversation, because a proposition can be established as part of common ground without such layer-3 particles. As shown in Figure 3 above, layer-2 particles are most frequent in the conversation of *Ulysses*, which suggests that it is sufficient to indicate the common-ground establishment only by means of a layer-2 particle or its combination with a layer-1 particle. Or even without any common-ground markings, once we produce an utterance in conversation, it can be part of the common ground unless "we have been misheard or misunderstood" (Clark & Brennan 1991: 131). This may explain why in *M Hyakkaten* the ratios of layer-2 and layer-3 particles in conversation are lower than that of layer-1 particles as seen in Figure 4. For internal monologue, on the other hand, the ratio of layer-2 particles, which is indicated by the middle, light grey column, is the lowest in both texts. This lowest ratio is explained by the irrelevance of common-ground establishment to internal monologue, and the higher ratio of layer-3 particles is due to the cancelling function of the particle *-na(a)*. Before the layer-3 position appears, an utterance can be interpreted as part of the common ground. In that case, the speaker needs to use the cancelling particle in layer 3 when s/he needs to indicate that the utterance is not intended for communication.

This fact suggests that Japanese has a grammatical position which allows a speaker to indicate his/her intention of whether a proposition should be part of the common ground or not, or to put it differently, whether s/he wants to bring it up in the discourse of communication or keep it to him/herself.

(25)   {initial position}[topic]{internal position}[main V](aux){ f i n a l   p o s i t i o n }

(layer 1)(layer 2)(layer 3)

-ne

-na(a)/-(t)to

As the Japanese final-particle ordering shows, layer-3 particles occupy the rightmost peripheral position of a sentence (or more precisely, the last position of a morphologically complex predicate), as illustrated in (25) above.[18] This rightmost peripheral position provides a final slot available to a speaker for morphologically marking his/her intention to make an utterance *on* or *off* the common ground (to *ground* or *unground* his/her utterance).

6. Conclusion

The present study argues that the notion of common ground is relevant to describing our linguistic activity of monologue as well as dialogue (conversation). The distribution of sentence-final particles in three different layers shows that Japanese has grammatical means for distinguishing among the establishment, confirmation, and cancellation of common ground. A significant number of layer-3 particles in internal monologue reveal that the rightmost peripheral position of a sentence serves as a grammatical slot for encoding the speaker's intention to *ground* or *unground* his/her utterance. Final particles such as *-na(a)* and *-(t)to* are grammatical devices for monologisation, which serve to make an utterance as if it were not directed to a particular addressee.

Any linguistic activity may inevitably entail the establishment or updating of common ground in the presence of others, because any speech sound can be part of conversation if someone produces a verbal reaction to it. However, language is not always intended to be used for communication but sometimes used to cry out or mutter one's own emotion or thought in private. Such "private settings" might be viewed as less basic or more derivative than face-to-face conversation as scenes for language use (Clark 1996: 5-11). However, the fact that Japanese has final particles for monologisation suggests that language use sometimes involves an occasion where a speaker wants to dissociate his/her utterances from a joint activity of communication, i.e., where s/he wants to explicitly indicate his/her intention to speak *off* the common ground.

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[18] (25) focuses on the morphologically integrated part of sentence-final position. Sentence-final particles may be followed by some other morphologically independent words, such as *demo* 'though' in the following example:

(i)   *Tukareru-yo-ne,*   ***demo****.*

be.tiresome-FP-FP   though

'(It)'s tiresome, though.'

Key to abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
AUX	auxiliary verb
COMP	complementiser
COP	copula
CP	connective particle
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IP	interjectional/interjectory particle
NEG	negation
NMZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
PAST	past tense
PERF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibition
TOP	topic marker

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Past habitual actions as relative future?
On an unexpected use of the Konkani future participle and its likely origin

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In this paper we focus on the functions of the future participle in Goan Konkani. In addition to the more-or--less expected functions of a future participle, such as nominal attribution or marking a future or modal predicate in various subordinate and main clauses, the future participle in Konkani can also mark main predicates with a past habitual interpretation in a construction which we refer to as the "*promise*-construction", as it is only found with a small class of main predicates such as *promise*, *intend*, *think*, etc., which take an object complement clause. We argue that the future participle originally denoted an atemporal event and later came to include habitual events with any temporal value (past, present or future), and that this has since grammaticalized with exclusively past habitual temporal reference in this one construction, as this was likely the most common environment in which habitual events of this semantic class of verbs occur.

Keywords: "promise-verbs", past-habitual, future participle, relative future, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

In this paper we discuss the future participle in Standard Goan Konkani, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the state of Goa, located on the central western Indian coast. As is to be expected for a category referred to as a "future participle", verbal predicates marked as future participles can be used as nominal attributes, to negate the future tense in a periphrastic construction, and are also found in different types of subordination involving events with relative-future reference, habitual/atemporal reference, or to express obligation in main clauses.

With a small class of predicates in main clauses, however, the future participle in Konkani expresses past habituality. These predicates denote *promise*, *intend*, *think*, etc.,

and take a complement clause denoting a subsequent event. We refer to these predicates as "*promise*-predicates" and the construction in which the main predicate is marked as a future participle with past habitual reference as the "*promise*-construction", for the sake of brevity.

After providing a brief overview of the first five of the six functions of the future participle in Konkani, which are rather straightforward, we discuss the sixth function in detail, where we find what at first glance appears to be the "wrong" tense marker of the predicate of the main clause. We argue that the future participle originally denoted an atemporal event and later came to include habitual events with any temporal value (past, present or future) and that this has since grammaticalized with exclusively past habitual temporal reference in this one construction, as this was likely the most common environment in which habitual events of this semantic class of verbs occur.

The remainder of this study is structured as follows. In Section 2 we provide a brief overview of Standard Goan Konkani before turning in Section 3 to the first five functions of the future participle in Konkani which are all compatible with a future or habitual/ atemporal interpretation of this form. The past habitual use of the future participle in the *promise*-construction is then presented in Section 4, with the analysis of this construction and how it likely arose discussed in Section 5. Section 6 then summarizes the discussion and mentions a number of open questions.

2. A brief overview of Konkani

This study deals with the status of the future participle in Standard Goan Konkani, referred to in the following simply as "Konkani". The *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2022) lists Goan Konkani as an individual language of the macro-language 'Konkani', spoken along roughly half the Indian west coast by a user population of 3,630,000 in India and 3,707,000 in all countries in 2000.

Konkani is the official language of the state of Goa on the central western coast of India, the only region where it is spoken by a majority of the population. Outside of Goa it is spoken as a minority language throughout a narrow strip of land along the west coast from the state of Maharashtra in the north, through Goa and much of coastal Karnataka to the south. There are also small pockets of Konkani in and near Pune and Mumbai in Maharashtra and Cochin in the southwestern state of Kerala (cf. Almeida 1989: 5-7). Konkani is thus in close contact with the Indo-Aryan language Marathi in Maharashtra, and the Dravidian languages Kannada and Tulu in Karnataka and Malayalam in Kerala.

Despite its status as a scheduled language,[1] comparatively little descriptive work has yet been done on Konkani. One reason is that Konkani is a "macro-language", defined by Eberhard et al. (2022) as "multiple, closely related individual languages that are

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[1] The expression "scheduled languages" refers to the (at present) 22 languages listed in the Eighth Schedule to the Indian Constitution which enjoy a privileged status in education and administration, etc.

deemed in some usage contexts to be a single language."[2] Hence much of the work which has been done on "Konkani" is not on the Standard Goan dialect but either on non-Goan Konkani varieties[3] or on non-standard varieties of Goan Konkani.[4] While many of these varieties do not differ greatly from Standard Goan Konkani, there are nevertheless differences with respect to lexicon and morphosyntax, so that the information they contain is not always applicable to Standard Goan Konkani. Also, the few works which have appeared on Standard Goan Konkani in English and which are widely available are generally either contributions to larger volumes and thus necessarily limited with respect to the amount of detail which they can discuss (e.g. Miranda 2003) or are books for language learners and written in Devanagari, such as Almeida (2004), so that they are not accessible to those who do not read this script. An exception here is Katre (1966), who provides an overview of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Konkani as a macrolanguage (in today's terminology), covering three Hindu and three Christian dialects, including Goan varieties. Unfortunately for our purposes, such an overview is necessarily somewhat superficial with respect to any one particular variety. We hope that the present study will contribute at least somewhat to further documenting the standard dialect of Goa.

Konkani has a split ergative alignment system, with the "transitive subject" (A) appearing in the ergative in the simple past tense and in the perfect, while the "intransitive subject" (S) in these categories appears in the nominative. In all other finite verbal categories such as the present, future, and the past imperfective, S and A both appear in the direct case. The "object" (O) can either appear in the nominative or in the objective case, depending on the animacy and definiteness of O. Thus, Konkani has both differential agent marking (DAM) as well as differential object marking (DOM). S also shows variable marking, as it appears in the ergative with certain nonfinite forms, such as the future participle, and in the nominative elsewhere.

With respect to verb agreement, and simplifying somewhat, the verb agrees in person, number and in some categories in gender with a nominative-case marked S or A, if present, or with the nominative-case marked O in the past, in the present / past perfect or with the future participle. If there is no nominative form with which it can agree, the predicate appears in the 3rd person singular, neuter, the default form.

All nouns in Konkani have two stems in both the singular and the plural, referred to here as the "direct stem" and the "oblique stem". The direct stem is the citation form and also serves as the unmarked nominative case. The oblique stem is the stem to which case markers attach.[5] There are at least 33 different nominal inflectional classes and

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[2] https://www.ethnologue.com/about/problem-language-identification#MacroLgsID [last accessed: 18 March, 2022].

[3] E.g. Almeida (1989) on Christian Karnataka Konkani or the various different forms of Konkani in Ghatage (1963; 1965; 1966; 1968) although some researchers view at least some of these varieties as Marathi dialects.

[4] Such as Almeida (2012), dealing with the Christian Bardeshi dialect of North Goa or Ghatage (1972) and Karapurkar (1968) on the variety spoken by the Gauda tribe.

[5] The difference between postpositions and case markers is that postpositions require the genitive, dative or ablative case whereas case markers always attach directly to the oblique stem of the noun.

subclasses with respect to the direct and oblique stems (cf. Peterson, 2022).[6] (1)-(3) present a few simple examples of these stems. Nouns, adjectives and participles all mark for oblique/direct-stem status.

	Direct stem	Oblique stem	Oblique stem plus case marker
(1)	ʃar 'city'	ʃar-a	ʃar-a=k 'to the city' (=k 'OBJECT marker')
(2)	ghaŋ 'rubbish'	ghaŋ-i	ghaŋ-i=nt 'in the rubbish' (=nt 'INESS')
(3)	ʃaḷa 'school'	ʃaḷe	ʃaḷ-e=k 'to the school'

Simplifying somewhat, Konkani has ten cases, all encoded enclitically.[7] These are given together with their respective markers in Table 1. As noted above, with the exception of the unmarked nominative, all case markers attach to the oblique stem. The various genitive markers given in Table 1 agree with the noun they refer to in terms of gender, number and direct/oblique-stem status.

3. The relative-future and habitual/temporal functions of the future participle in Konkani

The morpheme that derives future participles from verbs in Konkani is homophonous with, and derives from, the enclitic genitive marker =c + number/gender marking. The use of a morpheme homophonous with, and deriving from, the genitive to form participles from verbs is also found in other languages of the region such as neighboring Kannada and many other Dravidian languages, where the marker of the relative participle derives from the homophonous genitive marker.[8] It is thus likely that this form has been "copied" from Kannada into Konkani by bilinguals in long-term, stable bilingualism (cf. e.g. the discussion in Peterson, 2022). This form is referred to by Miranda (2003: 747) as the "simple participle", however as its main function at least in the modern Goan Standard is to denote (relative) future tense (see below), we follow Almeida (1989: 191) and also Katre (1966: 156, §289)[9] in referring to it as the future participle.

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[6] For the sake of intelligibility, these oblique markers will simply be glossed in this study as 'OBL', and gender and number will only be included in the respective gloss where they help clarify the example.

[7] The case system is actually more complex than shown here, but the ten cases given in Table 1 will suffice for our discussion in this study. Also, the number of cases assumed depends on the definition of "case" used in the respective study. This topic will be discussed in more detail in Peterson & Mopkar (forthcoming).

[8] Cf. e.g. Kittel (1903: 119, §185) on Kannada and Caldwell (1856: 414-416) on Dravidian languages in general. There are differences however; the genitive marker in Konkani attaches either directly to the stem or to the stem extended by the semantically empty linker /ũ/, whereas e.g. in Kannada the genitive marker attaches to the stem plus TAM marking. On the influence of Kannada on Konkani, see e.g. Nadkarni (1975); Peterson (2022) and Peterson and Chevallier (2022).

[9] Katre (1966: 156, §289) refers to this form as the "future and obligatory" participle. See Function 5 below in this section.

Table 1: The case system of Konkani (based on Almeida 2004: 48; 65-66; 78)

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative (= direct stem)	–	–
The following enclitic case markers attach to the oblique stem:		
Objective (≈ Accusative / Dative)	=k	=k
Ergative / Instrumental	=n	=ni
Inesseive ('in')	=nt (=n)[10]	=ni
Superessive ('on')	=r / =cer	=r / =cer
Familiessive ('at the home of')	=ger	=ger
Ablative	=san / =sun / =savn =cyan	=san / =sun / =savn =cyan
Genitive (general)[11]	=c-ɔ / =c-i / =c-ɛ̃ =l-ɔ / =l-i / =l-ɛ̃	=c-ɔ / =c-i / =c-ɛ̃ =l-ɔ / =l-i / =l-ɛ̃
"Kinship genitive" ('belonging to the household of')	=gɛl-ɔ / =gel-i / =gɛl-ɛ̃	=gɛl-ɔ / =gel-i / =gɛl-ɛ̃
Vocative	–	=no

The marker of the future participle either directly follows the verb stem, as is shown in the examples in (4), or follows the verb stem marked for the linker with the underlying form /ũ/, as shown in the examples in (5).[12] The presence vs. absence of a linker is to some extent lexically determined, although there is a strong tendency for verb stems ending in a consonant not to take the linker before the marker of the future participle and those ending in a vowel to take it.

(4) Stem   Future participle (neuter, singular)

kɵr[13] 'make; do'   *kɵr=cɛ̃*

vɵc / ve / vɵi 'go'   *vɵi=cɛ̃ / ve=cɛ̃*

vag 'behave'   *vag=cɛ̃*

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[10] While the standard form of the inessive singular is *=nt*, it is often realized as *=n* in colloquial speech, resulting in such speech in the total syncretism of the ergative/instrumental and the inessive cases in both singular and plural.

[11] Almeida (2004: 66) writes that the genitive forms with <c> (realized as /tʃ/ before high front vowels and as /ts/ elsewhere) can be used with all types of nouns, whereas the /l/-forms are only used with nouns denoting personal names of human possessors.

[12] Katre (1966: 156, §289) notes that the genitive marker originally attached to the infinitive form. Note also that one of the infinitives of (Goan) Konkani is /ũ/, which is homophonous with the linker mentioned above in the main text and from which the latter derives.

[13] Verb roots and stems in Konkani can stand alone in various constructions, including but not restricted to the 2nd person, singular, imperative. We therefore write them as free-standing morphemes, not as bound roots.

(5)   *di 'give'*   *dĩv=c̃ɛ̃ (< di-ũ=c̃ɛ̃)*

    ʈhərəy 'decide'   *ʈhərð=c̃ɛ̃ (ʈhərəy-ũ=c̃ɛ̃)*

    ye / yɔ 'come'   *yẽv=c̃ɛ̃ (<ye-ũ=c̃ɛ̃)*

    yevj 'think; come to mind'   *yevj-ũ=c̃ɛ̃*

Like the genitive, the future participle inflects for the number and gender of the noun that it refers to, as well as the direct/oblique status of that noun. There are two numbers in Konkani, singular and plural, and three grammatical genders, masculine, feminine and neuter. The respective forms of the future participle for the direct stem are illustrated in Table 2 for the verb *kər* 'do'. When there is no noun with which the future participle can agree, the participle takes default marking, i.e., the neuter, singular, in *=c-ɛ̃*.

Table 2: The gender/number forms of the future participle in Konkani (only the direct stem is shown here)

Singular			Plural		
M	F	N	M	F	N
kər=c-ɔ	*kər=c-i*	*kər=c-ɛ̃*	*kər=c-ε*	*kər=c-yo*	*kər=c-ĩ*

1. We have to date identified altogether six functions of the future participle in Konkani:

2. The future participle is used attributively to modify nouns.

3. It is used in a periphrastic construction to negate the future tense.

4. It is found in subordination with a small number of postpositions referring to future or habitual/atemporal events.

5. It serves as the predicate in other subordinate constructions with a relative-future or atemporal interpretation.

6. As the predicate of a main clause, it expresses obligation.

7. With a small number of verbs in one construction, the future participle refers exclusively to a past habitual action.

The first five of the above-mentioned functions are discussed individually in the remainder of this section. As the sixth function is quite distinct from the others, it will be discussed separately in Sections 4 and 5.

3.1. The attributive function of the future participle

The future participle can be used attributively to modify a noun, either with a future meaning, as in (6), with a future or habitual/atemporal interpretation as in (7), or only with a habitual/atemporal interpretation, as in (8)-(10).

(6)   a. *yẽv=c-ya*   *vərs-a*   b. *yẽv=c-ya*   *somar-a*

      ye-ũ=c-ya   *ye-ũ=c-ya*

      come-LNK=FUT.PART-OBL   year-OBL.SG   come-LNK=FUT. PART-OBL   Monday-OBL.SG

      'next year (lit.: the coming year)'   'next Monday (lit.: the coming Monday)'

(7) <u>*ʃar-a=k*</u>   <u>*ve=c-ɔ*</u>   <u>*lok*</u>   *sɵgɵl-ɔ*   *ub-ɔ.*
city-OBL=OBJ   go=FUT.PTCP-M.SG   people.M.SG   entire-M.SG   standing-M.SG

'The <u>people who will go / go (regularly) to the city</u> are all standing [there waiting].'

[Almeida 2004: 145]

(8) <u>*tɵʃ-ɛ̃=c*</u>   *nust-ɛ̃*   *vik=c-ɛ̃*   *kamu=y*   *moṭar*   *gaḍ-yã=k*
such-N.SG=FOC   fish-N.SG   sell-FUT.PTCP-N.SG   work.N=ADD   motor   bike-OBL.PL=OBJ

lagun   *cɵḍ*   *sɔ̃p-ɛ̃*   *jal-ã.*
because.of   very   easy-N.SG   become-PERF.N.SG

'<u>Just such work of selling fish</u> has also become very easy because of motor bikes.'

[Almeida 2004: 170]

(9) *mhuŋ*   *hãv*   *pɵylĩ=c*   *reḍiyo*   <u>*rand=c-e*</u>   <u>*kuḍ-i=nt*</u>   *haḍ-un*
therefore   1SG   first=FOC   radio   cook=FUT.PTCP-OBL   room-OBL=INESS   bring-CVB

dɵvɵr-tã̃
place-PRS.1SG

'Therefore I first bring (lit.: having brought, place) the radio in the kitchen
(lit.: <u>cooking room</u>).'

[Almeida 2004: 95]

(10) *nhid=c-i*   *kuḍ*
sleep=FUT.PTCP-FEM   room.F

'bedroom (lit.: sleeping room)'

As this marker derives from the genitive marker, the attributive use of this participle is likely to have been the original function of this morph, most likely with an atemporal meaning which then spread to habitual meaning as well. In time, this habitual/atemporal meaning then came to include relative future time, as examples (6)-(7) above show.

However, at least in Goan Konkani this participle is now only rarely found in attributive function and its use here may even be lexically determined. A few further examples suggested by native speakers in interviews are given in (11)-(13).

(11) <u>*ghɵr*</u>   <u>*ban=c-ɛ̃*</u>   <u>*kam*</u>   *soḍ-un*   *tɔ*   *bhɔ̃v-ta.*
house   build=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   work.N   leave-CVB   3SG.M   walk-PRS.3SG

'Without having done any work on the house (lit.: having left the <u>work of building
(the/a) house</u>) he is out walking.'

(elicited)

(12) *tɛ̃*   <u>*bhitɵr*</u>   <u>*yɛ̃vcɛ̃*</u>   <u>*dar.*</u>
                                        ye-ũ=c-ɛ̃
3SG.N   inside   come-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   door.N

'That is the entrance (lit.: <u>coming-inside door</u>).'

(elicited)

(13) *mhaka*   *kh̃ãvc̃ɛ*   *pan*   *jay.*
                   kha-ũ=c-ɛ̃
      1SG.OBJ   eat-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   betel.leaves.N   be.wanted
      'I want to chew some betel leaves (lit.: <u>eating betel leaves</u> are wanted to me).'

                                                                              (elicited)

Further work on both Goan and non-Goan Konkani is required to determine to what extent this construction is productive both in Goan and non-Goan varieties, as it appears to be considerably more productive farther to the south, in the Konkani dialects of Karnataka, than in Goa itself. By contrast, in future negation the use of the future participle is entirely productive, to which we now turn.

3.2. The future participle in negation

All TAM categories in Konkani are negated periphrastically, generally through the use of the negative copula – *na* in the present tense and *nasl-* in the past tense. Table 3 from Peterson and Chevallier (2022: 39) provides a non-exhaustive overview of this for a number of different TAM categories for the verb *rig* 'enter'. The bold-face print above the respective negative form gives the schematic structure of the relevant periphrastic negative form. All forms are given here in the 1st person, singular; for those categories where gender is also marked the form given is that of the masculine singular.

Table 3: Affirmative and negative strategies in Goan Konkani
(Peterson & Chevallier 2022: 39)

	Affirmative form	**Negative form**
		Simple finite verb plus negative copula
Simple Past	*rig-l-ɔ̃* [enter-PST-1SG.M]	*rig-l-ɔ̃ nã*
		Future participle (=cɔ) plus negative copula
Future	*rig-təl-ɔ̃* [enter-FUT-1SG.M]	*rig=cɔ nã*
		Stem plus negative copula
Present	*rig-tã* [enter-IPFV.1SG]	*rig=nã*
Past imperfective	*rig-ta-l-ɔ̃* [enter-IPFV-PST-1SG.M]	*rig naslɔ̃*
		Infinitive 2 (-ũk) plus negative copula
Present perfect	*rig-lã* [enter-PERF.1SG.M]	*rig-ũk nã*
Past Perfect	*rig-ləl-ɔ̃ / rig-ill-ɔ̃* [enter-PST.PERF-1SG.M]	*rig-ũk naslɔ̃*
		Infinitive 1 (-ũ) plus specialized form of negative copula
Imperative	*rig*	*rig-ũ naka*

As Table 3 shows, the affirmative future tense in Konkani is expressed by the suffix -*tǝl* followed by a marker of person/number/gender (PNG). The full inflection of the (synthetic) affirmative future is given in Table 4.[14]

Table 4: Affirmative future in Konkani (*kǝr* 'do', from Almeida 2004: 77)

	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
1	*kǝr-tǝl-ɔ̃*	*kǝr-tǝl-ĩ*			*kǝr-tǝl-yo*	
2	*kǝr-tǝl-ɔ*	*kǝr-tǝl-i*	*kǝr-tǝl-ɛ̃*	*kǝr-tǝl-ɛ*	/	*kǝr-tǝl-ĩ*
3					*kǝr-tǝl-i*	

(14) provides an example of a sentence with an affirmative future-tense form, *vǝtǝli* 'it (i.e., the rubbish) will go', with the future-tense marker -*tǝl* followed by the feminine singular, which agrees with the subject *ghaŋ* 'rubbish'.

<u>Affirmative future</u>

(14) *sǝgǝḷ-ya=n[t]*[15]   *pǝyl[ĩ]*   *mhǝnje*   *hi*   *sǝgǝḷ-i*   *ghaŋ*   <u>*vǝ-tǝl-i*</u>.

  all-OBL=INESS   first   that.is   this.F.SG   all-F.SG   rubbish.F   go-FUT-F.SG

  'First of all, that is, all of this rubbish <u>will go</u>.'

                                            [Murkuṇḍe 2015: 5]

In contrast, as mentioned above, the future is negated periphrastically through the future participle followed by the present-tense negative copula/auxiliary. Table 5 provides an overview of this auxiliary. The plural form can be realized as either *nant* or *nat*, the latter form being much more common.[16]

Table 5: The present-tense negative auxiliary in Konkani

Person	Singular	Plural
1	*nã*	*na(n)t*
2	*na*	*na(n)t*
3	*na*	*na(n)t*

---

[14] Other allomorphs of the finite future marker /tǝl/ which we will encounter below include -*ṭǝl* and -*ṭhǝl*, where the initial plosive assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding retroflex consonant, as well as with respect to aspiration.

[15] This author generally uses non-standard spelling to portray colloquial pronunciation. For ease of interpretation, we have adapted all colloquial spellings to the standard forms in brackets.

[16] The plural can also be realized colloquially as *na*.

(15)-(16) provide examples of the negative future tense: *vagcĩ nat* '(we) will not behave' in (15) and *ʃəkcɛ nat* 'they will not be able' in (16).

Negative future

(15) dekhun   ami   kaka=k   ləj   ja-ta   əʃ-ɛ̃   kɛnna=c
      therefore 1PL   paternal.uncle=OBJ embarassment become-PRS.3SG such-N.SG   when=FOC

      vag=c-ĩ[17]   nat.
      behave=FUT.PTCP-N.PL   NEG.PRS.COP.PL

      'Therefore <u>we will not behave</u> at any time such that Uncle feels shame (lit.: such [that] shame becomes to Uncle).'

                                                                        [Murkuṇḍe 2015: 8-9]

(16) tumi   haɳa   kheḷ-ũk   lag-l-ya   upərant   lok   haɳa
      2PL   here   play-INF   start-PST-OBL   after   people.M.PL   here

      hɔ   əs-ɔ   kɔyər   uḍo-võk   ʃək=c-ɛ   na[t].
      this.M.SG such-M.SG rubbish.M throw-INF   be.able=FUT.PTCP-M.PL   NEG.COP.PRS

      'After you start to play here, people <u>will not be able</u> to throw such rubbish here.'

                                                                        [Murkuṇḍe 2015: 5]

These forms can be best understood through their literal tranlations, i.e. 'we are not ones who will behave' in (15) and 'they are not ones who will be able' in (16).

3.3. The use of the future participle in subordination with postpositions

The future participle is also found with a few postpostions, such as *pəylĩ* and *adĩ*, both of which mean 'before' ((17)-(18)), or *bədla(k)* 'instead of' in (19). The action denoted by the clause with a future participle as its predicate generally refers to an event which takes place after that of the main clause, as in (17)-(18), but it can also have an atemporal interpretation, as in (19).

(17) cəl.   vot   cəḍ=c-e[18]   pəylĩ   vac-ũ=ya.
      go   sunlight   increases=FUT.PTCP-OBL   before   go-IMP.1PL=HORT

      'Come on (lit.: go). Let's go before it gets hotter (lit.: <u>before</u> the sunlight <u>increases</u>).'

                                                                        [Almeida 2004: 146]

---

[17] The predicate in (15) is marked as neuter as it refers to both males and females.

[18] Participles and nouns often appear with the oblique marker *-e* as the object of a postposition, which is likely a fossilized form of an older category. This "postpositional *-e*" appears to be unrelated to the homophonous feminine oblique marker *-e*.

(18) *kek*   *lɔk-[ã]=k*   <u>*vãʈ=c-e*</u>   <u>*adĩ=c*</u>   *lhan*   *lhan*
      cake   people-OBL.PL=OBJ   distribute=FUT.PTCP-OBL   before=FOC   small   small

      sɔr-ya=c-ɛ   *glas*   *amkã*   *haḍ-un*   *di-l-ɛ.*
      wine-OBL.SG=GEN-M.PL   glass   1PL.OBJ   bring-CVB   V2:BEN-PST-M.PL

      'Before distributing cake to the people, they brought us very small glasses of wine.'

                                                                              [Almeida 2004: 152]

(19) *suʈ-ye=c-ya*   *dis-ã=ni*   *am=c-ya*   *vaŋḍa*   *ispik-ã=ni*
      holidays-OBL=GEN-OBL   day-PL.OBL=INESS   1PL=GEN-OBL   with   playing.card-PL.OBL=INST

      <u>*khɛʃ=c-ya*</u>   *bødla*   *tabulfaʃ-ɛ̃*   *ghe-vn*   *bøs-tat.*
      play=GEN-OBL   instead.of   type.of.game-N.SG   take-SEQ   sit-PRS.PL

      'During holidays, <u>instead of playing</u> cards with us they sit and play *tabulfal* (lit.: In the
      days of holidays, instead of playing cards with us, having taken *tabulfal*, they sit).'

                                                                              [Almeida 2004: 102]

3.4. The future participle as predicate in other subordinate clauses

The future participle is also found in other types of subordinate clauses to express
relative future tense. For example, with *dis* 'seem; be seen', the predicate of the subor-
dinate clause can be a future participle denoting an event which is to take place after the
reference time of the main clause, as in (20)-(21). The participle in (20) has default
marking (neuter, singular) as there is no NP with which it can agree. (20) also shows
that not only transitive but also intransitive subjects of the the event denoted by the
future participle appear in the ergative.

(20) *sureʃ-a=n*   *atã*   <u>*yẽvcɛ̃*</u>   *bør-ɛ̃*   *dis=na.*
                                        ye-ũ=c-ɛ̃
      Suresh-OBL=ERG   now   come-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   good-N.SG   seem=NEG.PRS.COP.3SG

      'It does not look good for Suresh <u>to come</u> now (lit.: Suresh <u>coming</u> now does not look
      good).'

                                                                              [Almeida 2004: 155]

(21) *uma=k*   *apŋɛ̃*   *nac*   <u>*ʃik=c-ɔ*</u>   *øʃ-ɛ̃*   *dis-l-ɛ̃.*
      Uma=OBJ   LOG.ERG   dance(n.)   learn=FUT.PTCP-M.SG   such-N.SG   seem=PST-3SG.N

      'Uma hoped <u>to learn to dance</u> (lit.: She$_{i,*j}$ <u>will learn dance</u>, such seemed to Uma$_i$).'

                                                                              [Almeida 2004: 127]

3.5. Obligation

The future participle is also used to express obligation in main clauses, as (22) shows.
When no auxiliary follows, the interpretation is that of an action which has to be carried

out after the time of reference, generally the speech act, i.e., a future interpretation. The A or S of the clause with an obligation predicate appears in the objective case as a kind of "dative subject".

(22) *amkã̃*   *khõy=cyan*   *paḷovŋk*   *suru*   *kar=c-ɛ̃*   *tɛ̃*
                                           paḷe-ũk

      1PL.OBL   where=ABL   see-INF   beginning   do=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   that.SG.N

      kaḷ=na   *ja-l-ɛ̃*

      be.known=NEG.COP.PRS.3SG   become-PST-3SG.N

      'We did not know which way <u>we should begin to look</u> (lit.: To us, from where is to begin to look, that was not known [to us].'

                                                                              [Almeida 2004: 117]

To express other tense-aspect values, the future participle is used together with the obligation verb *pəḍ*, which marks for the respective tense-aspect categories, as shown in examples (23)-(24). With transitive predicates, the participle agrees with the object (O) (*prekṭis* in (23)). Here the omitted A is the 1st person singular.

(23) *avəy!*   *tã=c-e*   *bər[o]bər?*   *bər-i*   *prekṭis*   *kər=c-i*
      Oh.my!   that.PL.OBL=GEN-OBL   with   good-F.SG   practice.F   do=FUT.PTCP-F.SG

      pəḍ-l-i   *tər.*
      OBLIG-PST-F   then

      'Oh my! With them? Then [I]'ll have to practice a lot (lit.: will have to do a good practice).'

                                                                              [Almeida 2004: 101]

With intransitives, where there is no object, the participle shows default agreement, i.e., neuter, singular, as in (24).

(24) *hɛ̃*   *am=c-ya*   *gãv-a=nt=l-ɛ̃*   *lhan=ʃ-ɛ̃*   *poṣṭ ofis*
      this.N.SG   1PL=GEN-OBL   village-OBL=INESS=GEN-N.SG   small=APPROX-N.SG   post_office

      dekhun   *tar*   *kər=c-i*   *jalyar*[19]   *ʃar-a=k*
      therefore   telegram.F   do=FUT.PTCP-F.SG   if   city-OBL=OBJ

      ve=c-ɛ̃   *pəḍ-ṭa.*
      go=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   OBLIG-PRS.3SG

      'This is the small post office of our village, therefore if [someone] has to send a telegram, [they] <u>regularly</u>] <u>have to go</u> to the city.'

                                                                              [Almeida 2004: 112]

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[19] *jalyar* is derives from the conditional converb of *ja* 'become', i.e., *ja-lyar* [become-COND] 'if it becomes' but is often used as a general conditional subordinator 'if'. Note also that *tar kərci* '[someone] has to send a telegram' is a further example for relative future obligation, here in the protasis of a conditional clause.

Formal identity between a marker of the future and deontic modality is quite common typologically, e.g. English, where *will*, with the original meaning 'want', developed into a marker of the future (among others). In Konkani, the development was clearly in the opposite direction – from (relative) future tense to deontic modality – but still compatible with an interpretation of =*cɛ̃* as a marker of the future participle, since obligation, as the use of =*cɛ̃* without an auxiliary shows, usually refers to an event that takes place after the moment of reference.

In summary, the five uses of this participle dealt with in this section are all compatible with a future and/or habitual/atemporal interpretation:

– attributive use with a future or habitual/atemporal reference time;

– together with a negative copula/auxiliary as a negative future tense;

– to mark the verbal object of a postposition in subordinate clauses with a relative future or atemporal interpretation;

– to mark predicates in other types of subordinate clauses with a relative future interpretation;

– in main clauses to mark obligation, as an event which should take place is typically one which lies in the future.

By contrast, in the last function of the future participle in Konkani of which we are aware, the future participle cannot denote future time but can only have a past habitual interpretation. We deal with this topic in detail in Sections 4 and 5.

4. The future participle as a marker of past habitual events

The last function of the future participle of which we are aware is to mark past habitual actions. (25) provides an example of this from a story in a textbook, where however this use of the future participle is not being discussed.[20] (25) is about a woman who continually vowed not to eat on the fifth day of the month, the *panchami*, (in Konkani: *pənchəm* (direct), *pənchəmi* (oblique), a fast which many Hindu women undertake), but who always eventually gave in to her craving for fish, thereby breaking her fast. The PNG marking of the participle in this construction is always default agreement, i.e., 3rd person singular, neuter, as the "object" is a complement clause.[21]

(25) *ti=ŋɛ̃*   *sədã=c*   *ʈhərõvcɛ̃*   *apuŋ*   *pəncəm*   *dhər-təl-ĩ.*
                                          ʈhərəy-ũ=c-ɛ̃

3SG.F.OBL=ERG   always=FOC   decide-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   LOG   *panchami*   hold-FUT-1SG.F

'She$_i$ always <u>decided</u> that she$_{i,*j}$ would uphold the *panchami* fast. '

[Almeida 2004: 168]

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[20] In fact, this use of the future participle is nowhere discussed in that book.

[21] With verbs of speech and "internal speech" such as *think*, *decide*, etc., involving subject identity in the 3rd person, the subject pronoun of the embedded clause is the logophoric pronoun *apuŋ*, which derives from the homophonous reflexive pronoun, and the predicate of the embedded clause marks for the 1st person.

The future participle in (25) does not mark the relative-future event of the complement clause, as one might expect, but rather the action which precedes this, i.e., the past habitual event of the main clause. The marker of the future participle in (25) thus seems to have "moved" or been "raised" from the subordinate predicate to the main predicate, which now seems to have the "wrong" temporal marking.

As examples such as (7) above show, the habitual interpretation of (25), which holds here even if *sədãc* 'always (foc)' is omitted, is not unique to this construction. However, to our knowledge a past interpretation of the future participle is not found elsewhere in the language.

As we could not locate similar examples in the literature, the second author of this study, a native speaker of Goan Konkani, thought up other examples in which the future participle similarly refers to past habitual time and checked these with other speakers for grammaticality. The results of this short experiment are given in examples (26)-(31).

(26) ti=ŋɛ̃   sədã=c   <u>yevj-ũ=c-ɛ̃</u>   apuŋ   pəncəm   dhər-təl-ĩ.
      3SG.F.OBL=ERG always=FOC think-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG LOG   *panchami*   hold-FUT-1SG.F
      'She_i always <u>thought of</u> upholding (lit.: that she_{i,*j} will uphold) the *panchami* fast.'

(27) hãvɛ̃   sədã=c   <u>saŋ=c-ɛ̃,</u>   tumi   tum=c-ɛ̃   kam
      1SG.ERG   always=FOC   say=FUT.PTCP-3N.SG   2HON   2HON.POSS=GEN-3SG.N   work.N
      veɭ-a=r   kər-at.
      time-OBL=SUPERESS   do-IMP.2HON
      'I always <u>told</u> you to do your work on time (lit.: I always said: "You do your work on time").'

(28) hãvɛ̃   sədã=c   <u>cĩt=c-ɛ̃,</u>   hãv   begin   uʈh-ʈhəl-ɔ̃.
      1SG.ERG   always=FOC think=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   1SG   early   get.up-FUT-1SG.M
      'I always <u>intended</u> to get up early (lit.: I always thought: "I will get up early").'

(29) hãvɛ̃   sədã=c   <u>saŋ=c-ɛ̃,</u>   tum=ka   yes   meɭ-ʈəl-ɛ̃
      1SG.ERG   always=FOC say=FUT.PTCP-3N.SG   2HON=OBJ success.N meet-FUT-3SG.N
      'I always <u>said</u> that you would be successful (lit.: that success will meet you).'

The complement clause denoting the intended action does not have to be explicitly stated in this construction, as example (30) shows.

(30) ta=ŋɛ̃   sədã=c   <u>utər</u>   <u>dĩvcɛ̃,</u>   puŋ   tɔ   təs-ɔ
                                          di-ũ=c-ɛ̃
      3SG.M=ERG   always=FOC word   give-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG but   3SG.M that.way-M.SG
      kər   nasl-ɔ.
      do   NEG.COP.ST=M.SG
      'He always <u>gave [his] word</u> but he never did it (lit.: he did not use to do thus).'

(31) presents another example of this construction, the only one in our data with a so-called "dative subject", where the experiencer appears in the oblique or "dative" case and the subordinate clause is the "subject" of the main predicate.[22]

(31) *tika*   *sədã=c*   *dis=c-ɛ̃*   *apuŋ* *dotor* *jãvcĩ.*
                                                                    ja-ŭ=c-ĩ

      3SG.OBJ always=FOC seem=FUT.PTCP-3SG.N LOG doctor become-LNK=FUT.PTCP-1SG.F

      'She always hoped that she would become a doctor (lit.: it always seemed to her: I will become a doctor).'

This construction is highly restricted: Altogether we have identified six predicates which can appear as a future participle with a past habitual interpretation. These are presented in Table 7, which is probably not exhaustive.

Table 6: Predicates identified to date which can appear as a future participle with past habitual semantics

Predicate	Meaning in English
cĩt	'think; intend'
dis	'appear; seem; hope'
saŋ	'say'
ʈhərəy	'decide'
utər di [word give]	'give one's word; promise'
yevj	'think; come to mind'

The verbs depicted in Table 6 can of course also refer to a single past event, as in the elicited example in (32), where the respective predicate is *utər dillɛ̃* 'promised' (lit. 'had given a promise'). However, this predicate cannot be marked as a future participle in these examples if it does not have both a past **and** a habitual interpretation. Instead, if it has past reference but does not refer to a habitual event it appears either in the simple past tense or in the past perfect, as in (32).[23]

(32) *tɔ*   *am=c-e*   *bərobər* *ye-təl-ɔ*   *mhuŋ* *taŋɛ̃*   *mhaka*   *kal*
      3SG.M 1PL=GEN-OBL with   come-FUT-3SG.M QUOT 3SG.ERG 1SG.OBJ yesterday
      utər   *di-ll-ɛ̃.*
      word.N give-PST.PERF-3SG.N

      'He promised me yesterday that he would (lit.: will) come with us.'

                                                                                    (elicited)

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[22] On the use of the future participle as the predicate in the second clause, see example (20) above.

[23] With past actions, the explicit mention of a past reference time (here: *kal* 'yesterday') generally requires the use of the past perfect and not the simple past tense in Konkani.

An account of this construction must therefore be able to explain both the restricted membership of the predicates which appear in it as well as how the future participle came to be used here to express past habitual actions. These topics are dealt with in Section 5.

5. Analysis: The "*promise*-construction"

Common to all examples (25)-(31) is that the main predicates all take a complement clause which refers to a subsequent event (or at least an intended subsequent event) and denote an internal cognitive process or are a communication predicate. That is, they express the promise, intention, decision or hope (etc.) that the event of the subordinated clause will take place. We therefore refer to these here for the sake of brevity as "*promise*-predicates" and the construction with the past habitual interpretation of a *promise*-predicate marked as a future participle as the "*promise*-construction". This construction is thus confined to a small number of semantically related predicates in main clauses with past habitual reference, which likely accounts for its rarity in the published sources we consulted.

The remainder of this section is divided into two separate sections which approach this construction from two different perspectives. In 5.1 we examine with the help of paraphrases the semantics of this construction more closely. In 5.2 we then suggest an account of the origin and original function of the form which was later to become the future participle and its further development.

5.1. The semantics of the "*promise*-construction"

In order to better understand this construction, the second author of this study paraphrased all of the examples (25)-(31) above and a few others with two independent clauses and checked these with other native speakers of Goan Konkani for acceptability. He then discussed with these speakers the paraphrases which they considered acceptable for those examples where two different paraphrases were accepted, namely one with the *promise*-predicate as a finite verb in the past habitual or past perfect, and one with it as a future participle. In this way we hoped to identify any semantic differences which might exist between the two paraphrases.

In general, speakers saw in paraphrases with finite forms of the *promise*-predicates in the past perfect past events which had since ceased, and in the past habitual a series of events in the past but which may or may not still hold in the present. In contrast, the use of the future participle was interpreted as meaning that the *promise*-event continued into the present. Consider example (33), a paraphrase of example (26). All speakers we questioned accepted both forms of the *promise*-predicate.

(33) *apuŋ*   *pəncəm*   *dhər-təl-ĩ*   *əf-ɛ̃*   *tiŋɛ̃*   *sədã=c*
      LOG   *panchami*   hold-DEF.FUT-1SG.F   thus-N.SG   3SG.ERG   always=FOC

      yevj-ũ=c-ɛ̃   /   *ti*   *sədã=c*   *yevj-tal-ĩ*.
      think-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   3SG.F   always=FOC   think-IPFV.PST-1SG.F

      'I will uphold the *panchami* fast, thus she always <u>thought</u>.'

                                                                                    (elicited)

One speaker said that the past habitual finite form (*yevjtalĩ*) in (33) denotes that this habitual event of thinking "definitely took place in the past" and as such that there was no way of knowing whether the subject still feels that way, whereas the future participle (*yevjũcɛ̃*) expresses a "continuity of action", so that the subject can be assumed to still regularly think of fasting in the present as well. In other words, the past habitual event denoted by the finite past imperfective is seen as a series of real events which took place in the past, whereas the future participle, although also explicitly referring to a past series of events, is seen more as a general state of affairs which held in the past but also still holds at the moment of speaking.

Similarly in (34), the past imperfective places the habitual event firmly in the past, making it unclear if it still holds at the moment of speaking, whereas the use of the future participle for the *promise*-predicate means that the woman referred to at the time of speaking still intends to fast regularly, again despite the explicitly past habitual interpretation.

(34) *apuŋ*   *pəncəm*   *dhər-təl-ĩ*   *əʃ-ɛ̃*   *ti=ŋɛ̃*   *sədã=c*
      LOG   panchami   hold-FUT-1SG.F   this.way-N.SG   3SG.F=ERG   always=FOC

      cĩt=c-ɛ̃.   /   *sədã=c*   *cĩt-tal-i.*
      think=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   always=FOC   think-PST.IPFV-1SG.F

      'I will uphold the *panchami* fast, thus she always <u>thought / intended</u>.'

                                                                                      (elicited)

Another example with the *promise*-predicate *uttər di* 'give one's word' in paraphrases, once as a future participle and once in the past perfect, produced similar results. This is shown in example (35). Here as well, the speaker felt that the use of the future participle implied that the series of *promise*-events was not yet over. In contrast, the use of the past perfect denoted that the habitual events were "totally in the past" and that the promise had now been carried out.

(35) *apuŋ*   *pəncəm*   *dhər-təl-ĩ*   *əʃ-ɛ̃*   *ti=ŋɛ̃*   *sədã=c*
      LOG   panchami   hold-FUT-1SG.F   this.way-N.SG   3SG.F=ERG   always=FOC

      uttər   *dĩvcɛ̃.*   /   *tiŋɛ̃*   *sədã=c*   *utər*   *di-ll-ɛ̃.*
              di-ũv=c-ɛ̃.

      word   give-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG   3SG.F=ERG   always=FOC   word   give-PST.PERF-3SG.N

      'I will uphold the *panchami* fast, thus she always <u>promised</u>.'

                                                                                      (elicited)

In summary, *promise*-predicates in paraphrases of the *promise*-construction with two main clauses can be marked as either a finite verb in the past perfect or past habitual with a past habitual interpretation, or they can be marked as future participles, again with a past habitual interpretation. The difference between them is that the use of the future participle portrays this past habitual event as a non-changing state, thus a past state

continuing into the present. By contrast, the past finite forms are seen as having held in the past, but no longer (past perfect), or having held in the past, but it is not clear if they continue to hold in the present (past habitual).

While neither of the finite verbs in these paraphrases nor the future participles can be considered narrative forms or foregrounded, those forms marked as future participles are "less narrative" and more backgrounded than finite forms. For Fleischmann (1990: 157), a narrative clause is "one that contains a unique event that, according to the narrative norm, is understood to follow the event immediately preceding it and to precede the event immediately following." Clearly, none of these forms (finite or future participle) fits this description, although the finite forms – especially those in the past perfect – come much closer to it, as they explicitly refer to a series of events which have ended, whereas the events denoted by the future participle continue on.

This backgrounding, non-narrative function of the future participle fits in well with the other forms of the future participle discussed in Section 3, none of which can be considered narrative or foregrounding, with the possible exception of the negative future, at least in some cases.[24] But even allowing for some cases in which the future participle can be used in narration, these are clearly marginal cases and do not approach the productive use of the future in other languages in narrative function.[25]

5.2. Suggested development of the "*promise*-construction" with the future participle

What remains to be explained is how predicates marked as what are now future participles came to have past habitual reference in the *promise*-construction. Although the habitual interpretation of the future participle is attested in other functions as well, above all in its attributive function (cf. e.g. examples (7)-(13)), it is only in the *promise*-construction that we find past-tense reference with these forms.

We noted in Section 3 that the attributive function of the morpheme marking the future participle, $=c\tilde{\varepsilon}$, with an atemporal interpretation, was likely its original function since this marker derives from the genitive marker. We can also assume that with the passage of time, this atemporal meaning expanded to include first habituality and later (relative) future time, as examples (6a,b) above show.

We therefore believe that *promise*-verbs marked by the future participle originally referred to any habitual situation, past, present or future. I.e., with *promise*-predicates this marker denoted only habituality and was not restricted temporally, thus including past, present and future reference. While this awaits confirmation through corpora,[26] we also assume for these *promise*-predicates that a habitual interpretation referring to past events is far more common in actual speech than those with non-past reference, and that this led to the future participle in the *promise*-construction becoming restricted entirely to a past habitual interpretation. Thus, statements of the type *I always said that you would*

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[24] Cf. Fleischmann (1990: 159).

[25] Cf. e.g. Nau and Spraunienė's (2021) study of the narrative use of the future tense in three Baltic languages.

[26] We are currently in the process of compiling an annotated corpus of Konkani to test this and other hypotheses.

one day become famous will likely have been considerably more common than statements such as *I always say that you will one day become famous* and more common still than future statements of the type *I will always say that you will one day become famous*. This is not to say that habitual past actions are in general more common than present or future habitual actions. We simply suggest that a past habitual situation was so common with this small group of *promise*-predicates with the (earlier) atemporal morpheme =c$\tilde{\varepsilon}$ that its use grammaticized with this class, and only with this class, to denote past habituality. This would then explain why only these predicates take the future participle with a habitual-past interpretation.

The only non-elicited example we have is thus quite typical of this group of predicates in our opinion: Consider once again example (25), repeated here as (37). This example was embedded in the past context given in (36), which explains why the woman in question repeatedly decided to fast on the *panchami*, as she was a devotee of God, despite her craving for fish. After (37) the text then goes on to relate how she never succeeded in her fast if good fish was available on the day of fasting (text not shown here). In our view, it is the presumed preponderance of such past-tense habitual scenarios with these predicates which become so firmly established with the future participle in the *promise*-construction so that its use is now obligatory.

(36)   *mhəj-i*   *aji*   *ek*   *kaɳi* *saŋ-tal-i:*   *ti=c-ya*
       1SG.POSS-F.SG grandmother one story say-PST.IPFV-F.SG 3SG.F=GEN-OBL

       gãv-a-nt   *ek*   *bayəl*   *as-l-i.*   *tika*   *dev-a=c-i*   *bhakti*
       village-OBL-INESS one woman.F COP-PST-F.SG 3SG.F.OBL god-OBL=GEN-F.SG devotion.F

       as-l-i   *ani*   *nust-ya=c-$\tilde{\varepsilon}$*   *pi∫$\tilde{\varepsilon}$*   *as-ləl-$\tilde{\varepsilon}$.*
       COP-PST-F.SG and fish-OBL=GEN-N.SG obsession.N COP-PST.PERF-3SG.N

       'My grandmother used to tell a story: In her village there was a woman. She was a devotee of God and craved fish (lit.: to her, God's devotion was and fish's obsession had been).'

(37)   *ti=ŋ$\tilde{\varepsilon}$*   *sədã=c*   <u>*ʈhərõvc$\tilde{\varepsilon}$*</u>   *apuɳ* *pəncəm* *dhər-təl-ĩ.*
                              ʈhərəy-ũ=c-$\tilde{\varepsilon}$
       3SG.F.OBL=ERG always=FOC decide-LNK=FUT.PTCP-N.SG LOG *panchami* hold-FUT-1SG.F
       'She$_i$ always <u>decided</u> that she$_{i,*j}$ would uphold the *panchami* fast.'

                                [Almeida 2004: 168 – gloss and translation added]

6. Discussion and outlook

In the present study we show that five of the six functions of the future participle in Standard Goan Konkani which we have been able to identify are all compatible with a future and/or habitual/atemporal interpretation of this form. We note that this participle, whose marker derives from the genitive, was likely first used in nominal attribution with

an atemporal interpretation and later spread first to habituality and then to future reference, with the latter now its primary interpretation.

However, this participle is also found in the modern language in what we refer to here as the *promise*-construction. In this construction, the main predicate is one of a small class of predicates denoting *promise*, *intend*, *think*, etc., which take a complement clause referring to an event which follows that of the main clause temporally. In this construction, the main predicate is marked as a future participle but has a past habitual interpretation. With the help of paraphrases of this construction we show that the future participle portrays the past habitual events of saying, promising, intending, etc., as a non-dif-ferentiated, non-changing state which continues from the past into the present. In contrast finite past-tense forms in these paraphrases express events which are portrayed as purely past tense. The future participle forms thus signal that the clause of which they are the predicate is not narrative and only provides background information for the content of the complement clause.

With respect to its origin, we assume that the *promise*-predicate marked by the future participle originally referred to any habitual situation – past, present or future – and that the past habitual usage was likely the most common environment in which it occurred with these predicates, so that it eventually became restricted to a past interpretation in this construction.

There is still much work which needs to be done on the future participle; the present study is merely a first attempt to capture the basic traits of this construction, its semantics, and what predicates belong to the class of *promise*-predicates, and our list of six such predicates is likely not exhaustive. The future participle is also used in other constructions which require further study. For example, Katre (1966: 156, §289) notes that Konkani-speaking women regularly use this form when speaking with their husbands in the traditional "impersonal manner", where "these future and obligatory participles take the place of the present and future indicative and present imperative." To our knowledge no research has yet been undertaken on this usage, which could also potentially shed more light on the historical development of this form, in addition to its intrinsic value from a sociolinguistic perspective. Finally, the use of the future participle in attributive function, at least for many speakers of Goan Konkani, appears to be quite restricted, suggesting that there are further semantic-pragmatic factors at work which are not yet fully understood.

Thus, as with so much of the grammar of Standard Goan Konkani and other varieties of this macro-language, the future participle requires much further study, ideally based on large, annotated corpora. It is our hope that the present study will at least serve as one further small step in this direction.

Acknowledgement

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	– person
APPROX	– approximative
BEN	– benefactive
COP	– copula
CVB	– (sequential) converb
ERG	– ergative
F	– feminine
FOC	– focus
FUT	– future
GEN	– genitive
HON	– honorific
HORT	– hortative
IMP	– imperative
INESS	– inessive
IPFV	– imperfective
LNK	– linker
LOG	– logophoric (pronoun)
M	– masculine
N	– neuter
NEG	– negative
OBJ	– objective (case)
OBL	– oblique
OBLIG	– obligation
PERF	– perfect
PL	– plural
PNG	– person, number and gender
PRS	– present
PST	– past
PTCP	– participle
QUOT	– quotative
SG	– singular
TAM	– tense, aspect and mood
v2	– "vector" verb, denotes aktionsart.

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Angas-Sura etymologies XII

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For Prof. H. Jungraithmayr[1]
on his 90th anniversary and
For Prof. K.T. Witczak[2]
on the day of my promotion
(both on the 7th of May 2021)

Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Angas-Sura etymologies XII*. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 55-75

The paper as part of a long-running series is devoted to the etymological analysis of a new segment (namely that with initial dental *d-) of the Angas-Sura root stock, a small group of modern languages remotely and ultimately akin to pharaonic Egyptian and the well-known Semitic languages or Twareg in the Sahara etc. Doing so, I wish to continue the noble tradition initiated by J.H. Greenberg (1958), the founding father of modern Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics (along with I.M. Diakonoff), who was the first scholar ever to have established by Neo--Grammarian the methods regular consonantal correspondences between Angas-Sura (AS) and ancient Egyptian in his pioneering (painfully isolated) paper on the ancient trichotomy of the word-initial labials in both branches. Nowadays our chances in following this path are substantially more favourable being equipped with our gigantic comparative root catalogue system of the Egyptian etymologies ever published (ongoing since 1994) and of the Afro-Asiatic parental lexical stock (ongoing since 1999).

[1] I had already detailed a few times elsewhere (e.g., EDE II xi; Takács 2004: xii; EDE III xi-xii etc.) how much he has influenced my research and orientations, thus, among others, also the choice of this Angas-Sura research project in Sept. 1998 when I first started its work by manually copying Foulkes' 1915 Angas lexicon from the stenographic notes (made back in his Muscovite career) of A.B. Dolgopolsky (1930-2012), the greatest genius of comparative Afro-Asiatic of all times, during my research fellowship spent with him at Haifa University.

[2] It was his unselfish efforts that I can thank the survival and continuous stability of my researcher status, esp. on this very day when the University of Lodz has formally elected among its professors me also as an ARR grantee.

Introduction

The languages of the Angas-Sura (AS) group are spoken between the South-Eastern Plateau and the Benue river, Plateau State of Nigeria, by about 200.000 people in the estimation of H. Jungraithmayr (1981: 407). The Angas-Sura language group belongs to the West Chadic subbranch (cf. e.g. Jng. 1981: 407-408; Stolbova 1987: 31; JI 1994 II: viii) of the Chadic branch, which, in turn, represents part of the great Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) language family (or phylum), which is divided into six equipotential cognate branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic.

The best inner classification of the Angas-Sura group was suggested by C. Hoffmann (1971; 1975 MS: 2), who assumed Gerka to have been the first member split off from the group. The remaining group falls into three subgroups: (1) **Northern**: Angas, (2) **North-Eastern**: Sura (Mwaghavul), Mupun, Chakfem-Mushere Chip, Jorto, Kofyar, (3) **Southern**: Kanam (Koenoem), Pyapun(g), Tal, Montol, Goemai (Ankwe). On the basis of my own research on comparative AS phonology, I (Takacs 2004: xxi-xxxix; 2005: 47-52, §IV) stated that the phonological isoglosses confirm the correctness of Hoffmann's inner classification. Henceforth, I use the following (slightly modified) inner grouping: (1) **Gerka**, (2) **Angas**, (3) **Suroid** languages (falling further on in two clusters: 3.1. Sura-Mupun vs. 3.2. Kofyar-Mushere-Chip according to the isoglosses of the complex AS *gʸ-), (4) **Goemaioid** languages (Kanam/Koenoem, Pyapun/Pyapung, Tal, Montol, Goemai). Most recently, on the basis of his own field research on several (hitherto unrecorded) AS languages starting from 2012, R.M. Blench[3] put forward an extended vision of an as full set of daughter languages as possible in a sketchy model, without anyhow demonstrating their peculiarities and the underlying lexicostatistical scores, along the following clusters: **(1)** Yiwom, Goemai, "Talic" (Pyapung, Tal, Koeneem), **(2)** Miship, **(3)** "Pan cluster": Jakato, Jibyal, Nteng, Bwol, Jipal, Kwalla, Doemak, Mernyang, **(4)** Mwaghavul, Mupun, Takas, **(5)** Mushere, Chakfem (?), **(6)** Ngas, Bǝlnǝng. Many of these alleged languages are so far either unrecorded or their sporadic wordlists are insufficient. Since the British field researcher, working mostly with "one-shoot" sessions,[4] has so far failed in elaborating a new comprehensive comparative phonology and lexicon first according to the standards of scholarship and has apparently missed to present the linguistic evidence or even the argumented outlines of his new vision are hidden to us, it is perhaps wiser to stick to the already firmly established frames of the 2004 grouping for the time being.

The phonological and lexical reconstruction of the Angas-Sura group had only been partly elaborated in minor segments[5] before the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura

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[3] Cf. Blench & Bulkaam 2019a: 3, Figure 1; 2019b: 3, Figure 1; 2019c: 3, Figure 1; 2019d: 4, Figure 1: "The Central West Chadic languages".

[4] E.g.., Blench-Bulkaam 2019a: 1: "The wordlist was collected as a 'one-shot' exercise and the transcription must therefore be regarded as preliminary."; Blench-Bulkaam 2019d: 1: "The village of Nteng was visited by the first author and Raymond Dawum on the 9th of December, 2017, and a basic 500 word list was elicited."

[5] Thus, J.H. Greenberg (1958) surveyed the Angas-Sura roots beginning with labials pointing out the original labial triad *b - *p - *f inherited from Afro-Asiatic. O.V. Stolbova devoted two studies to the subject, using basically the Angas (Foulkes 1915, Ormsby 1913-4) and Sura (Jungraithmayr 1963) lexicons for the comparison

group has been completed (Takács 2004)[6]. Now, on the basis of this synthesis (by far not yet complete, of course as most recently further AS languages have emerged from the obscurity of their unrecorded status), it has become fundamentally plausible to systematically deal with the external cognates of the Angas-Sura lexical stock also both inside its gigantic Chadic kindred and in the remote branches of the Afro-Asiatic macrofamily. The series "Angas-Sura Etymologies"[7] is contributing to outlining the so far unknown background of Angas-Sura lexical stock primarily with new lexical parallels. In this issue of my series, the new external correspondences of some of the Angas-Sura (AS) roots with initial *z- are discussed, collected mostly during the most recent of my research on the Afro-Asiatic root stock with initial dentals in my Afro-Asiatic root library (Ederics bay, Lake Balaton).

Some peculiar elements of the Afro-Asiatic background of the Angas-Sura historical consonantism

● A general devoicing of the voiced PAA stops in the Auslaut of the AS stems is a recent development. There are but a handful of records of older final *-b#, *-d#, and hardly any for

*-g# (cf. Takács 2004: xxv-xxvi, xxxi, resp.). Sometimes the devoicing of plosives may be observed even in other positions too under conditions that cannot be precisely known as yet.

● Labials basically reflect the original AA triad of *b, *p, *f as demonstrated by J.H. Greenberg (1958) and manifold corroborated by V.M. Illič-Svityč (1966: 9, 14-15), O.V. Stolbova (e.g., 1996: 15, §I.1.), and G. Takács (2001: 55; 2011: 148-152 etc.).

● AS *-VγV- < either an AA root medial "laryngeal" or a velar or a semi-vowel, i.e., where the -C$_2$- of AA *√C$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ was either *-h/ʔ/ḥ/ʕ- or *-g/k/γ/ḫ- or *-w/y-, but sometimes it is just epenthetic without a consonantal precedent (cf. Dolgopolsky 1982: 32-36).

● Original AA pharyngeals (*ʕ, *ḥ) and laryngeals (*ʔ, *h) were mostly preserved in the Inlaut as AS *-γ- (above). In the Anlaut, normally, AA *ʕ- and *ʔ- > AS zero, while AA *ḥ- and *h- > either AS *h- or zero. In the Auslaut, they mostly disappeared, but sometimes they developed in the contrary way, i.e., AA *ḥ- and *h- may have resulted in AS *-k#.

● Final AS *-ŋ – beside being a natural result of an older nasal (*m, *n) + velar, of course – otherwise usually derives from the contraction of an AA medial nasal (*-m- or *-n-) + lost AA pharyngeal (*ʕ, *ḥ) or laryngeal (*ʔ, *h), cf. already Illič-Svityč 1966: 33, fn. 11.

AS *z- + liquids (continued)

As it has been demonstrated in my earlier works on AS historical phonology,[8] this phoneme in the *Anlaut* regularly corresponds to Eg.-Brb.-Sem. *z- < NAA *ʒ-.

● **401. PAngas *zar** "1. clean, 2. holy, appreciated (person)"[9] [GT]: Angas zar "good, appreciated", gurm-da zar "a good, popular man" [Foulkes 1915: 312] = (Kabwir dialect) zàr "good, appreciated" [Jng. 1962 MS: 45] = [zàř] "clean" [Burquest 1971: 31] = zar "to cleanse", zar "1. clean, 2. holy", go zar "holy person" (cf. go "person") [ALC 1978: 20, 70], presumably also Mushere zárí (sic: -i)[10] "popularity" [Jng. 1999 MS: 20] (AS: Takacs 2004: 423). Origin disputable as at least three diverse alternatives have emerged.

401.1. If an original sense "pure" underlies here, cp. NBrb.: Qabyle i-zrir "être clair, dégagé" [Dallet 1982: 954]. Cf. the probably ultimate PAA source (with a primary sense "bright"?) identical with that of the preceding entry in the preceding issue of this series (Takács 2022: 70, #400). A root variety with an initial PAA *ç- is attested.[11]

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[18] Takács 2001: 78-83; 2011: 154-158.

[19] Since this is here apparently a derived meaning, a comparison with CCh.: Mandara and Mafa-Mada *žirw- "to respect, honour" [GT] < Ch. *zVr- "to respect, honour" [CLD III 144, #557] ||| SBrb.: perhaps Ahaggar tî-hôrar [GT: h < *z possible] "fait d'être très respecté" [Prasse 1969: 68, #390: isolated in Brb., < *√ʔrr] seems to be out of the question. For the same reason may O.V. Stolbova (CLD III 142, #565) also err in deriving the Angas word from her PCh. *zVr- "good, beautiful".

[10] Unexpected open syllable in the Auslaut, which *eo ipso* would suggest a compound.

[11] Cf. NBrb.: Qabyle √zr (secondary ẓ- < *z-?): ẓẓerẓer "être pur, clair, sans nuage (ciel)" [Dallet 1982, 953] ||| HECu.: Burji čir- "to clear a forest, chop, gnaw" and Sidamo čir- "to gnaw, shave" etc. < HECu. *čir- "to gnaw" [Hudson 1989: 41, 71].

401.2. On the other hand, its basic sense "clean" may well be etymologically associated with a primary meaning of clearing a surface from its hairy or sim. covering, cf. PCh. *zVr- "to tear" [CLD] = "to tear out" [GT]:[12] Mofu-Gudur -zə́rt- "casser en tirant (cord, habit), déchirer" [Barreteau] = "to tear, tear by pulling (rope, cloth)" [CLD] ‖ ECh.: Migama zìrpò "arracher une branche (à la main)" [AJ 1989] = "tear off a branch (by hand)" [CLD] (Ch.: CLD III 138, 535.a) ⫴ PBrb. *√h₂zr [Prasse] = *√Ĥ/b̲zr < **√wzr (???) "to flay, pluck" [GT]: EBrb.: Ghadames e-b̲zər [b̲ regular < *w?] "1. être épluché", caus. zə-b̲zər "1 éplucher, écosser, écorcer, 2. plumer un oiseau" [Lanfry 1973: 35, #156] ‖ NBrb.: Iznasen e-z̲z̲ər (secondary z̲z̲ < *zz?) "épiler, arracher (poil, alfa etc.)" [Renisio 1932: 323] | Qabyle e-zzer "3. débarrasser une peau de ses poils, 4. gratter un os" [Dallet 1982: 952] | Tamazight zzer "1. épiler, 2. débarrasser une peau de sa laine, 3. déplumer, 4. brancher, arracher (herbe, cheveux, poils)" [Taïfi 1991: 811] ‖ SBrb.: Ahaggar e-her "2. être dépouillé de ses poils (de ses cheveux, de sa laine, le sujet étant une partie du corps d'une personne ou d'un animal)" [Foucauld 1951-2: 633] = ə-hər [Prasse], Ghat zə-zər (caus.) "plumer" [Nehlil apud Prasse], Wlmd. zə-zər Ayr ə-zər [A. Basset apud Prasse] = EWlmd.-Ayr ə-zər "1. être dépouillé de ses cheveux / poils / sa laine (par maladie / grattage / arrachage), 4. (Ayr) être purifié (grain), débarassé de son son", e-zer, pl. i-zer-ăn "dépilation", EWlmd. te-zer-t "1. dépouillage, arrachage, 2. maladie causant la chute des cheveux / poils (qcq., p.ex., pellicule)" [PAM 2003: 987][13] (Brb.: Prasse 1969: 65, #359) ⫴ Sem.: Arab √zrr I "5. arracher le poil en tirant poil par poil" [BK I 982]. Ar.-Ch.: CLD III 138, 535.a. A PAA root variety with an initial voiceless radical must have existed also, which, besides, seems to suggest an eventual cognacy with the AA root outlined in the next sub-entry (no. 401.3.) below.[14]

401.3. The notion of cleanness may have been associated in PAA with sweeping also, cf. NOm.: Chara zír- "to sweep" [Aklilu in Bender 2003: 336, #95] ⫴ SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-zor "balai" [PAM 2003: 898] < PAA *√ʒr "to sweep" [GT]. A PAA root variety with an initial voiceless radical must have existed also.[15]

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[12] Derived by O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) from her PCh. *zVr- "to stretch, to pull" [CLD III 137, #535].

[13] Most likely, however, is that it is a denominative < *"hair", cf. Takács 2015: 86-88.

[14] Cf. Sem.: Ar. ḥasari I "1. dépouiller d'écorce (une branche d'arbre), 2. mettre à nu qq. membre ou partie du corps, 3. ôter, enlever (le manche de dessus le bras)" which has at the same time the sense of "4. nettoyer, balayer (l'appartement)" also [BK I 425]. This latter one was combined by O.V. Stolbova (CLD III 97, #320.a) with her PCh. *sVr-/*sVw/yVr- "sweep, wipe, rub" [CLD] (see below). Her comment, that the "Arabic *s*- originates from HS lateral fricative" is incomprehensible.

[15] Cf. PCh. *sVr-/*sVw/yVr- "sweep, wipe, rub" [CLD]: WCh.: Hausa šáárà "he swept sg. on to", šàáráá "he swept (place), cleared (a road)", šáárè "he swept" [Abraham 1962, 801-803] | perhaps Goemay sûr [sūr, irreg. < *sar?] "to clean, gather any waste matter" [Sirlinger 1937: 228] | Boghom sáar "to rub" [Cosper 1994: 63], Buli sərəga "to wipe" [Cosper 1999: 149, #846], Dwot (Dott) sar "sweep, wipe" [Caron apud CLD], Guruntum siri "to sweep" [Cosper 1994: 35], Mangas saar "to sweep" vs. šírk "to wipe" [Cosper 1994: 68 and 72, resp.], Zul sari "wipe, rub" [Cosper, 1999: 150, #846] ‖ CCh.: Fali-Kiria sar "clean, wipe" [Blench and Ndamsai quoted in CLD] ‖ ECh.: Kwang-Ngam saare̞, Kwang-Mobu sa:re "essuyer" [Lenssen] | Ndam sura̧ "sweep" [Jng.]. Noun derivative: PCh. *sVr-(K)- "broom" [CLD] > WCh.: Galambu sùrgú [Schuh apud CLD] with -rg- < *-rk- [CLD] | Boghom swáayi "broom" [Cosper], Buli suur [Cosper], Dott sə́saari [Cosper], Geji suuli [Cosper], Tala sur "broom" [Caron], Zul súure "broom" [Cosper], Saya swarəɣá "broom" [Cosper] (SBauchi: Cosper 1999: 31-32, #114) ‖ CCh.: Mbuko sə̀rók̲ [Gravina-Nelezek-Tchalalao 2003 quoted in CLD] | Munjuk (Pouss) suruk (m) "balai"

● **402. PAngas *za₂r** "tree sp." [GT]: Angas zar "name of a large tree" [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zèr (Kabwir dialect) "a large tree" [Jng. 1962 MS: 45] (Takacs 2004: 423: isolated in AS) | Karekare zárìzárì "kind of tree" [Gambo & Karofi 2004 quoted apud CLD] ‖ CCh.: Logone záára "Sykomore" [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1936: 127] ‖ ECh.: Mubi zárrà (m), pl. zírréèt "acacia sp." [Jng. 1990b: 49; 2013: 203] < Ch. *zVr- "big tree" [CLD III 143, #552] = *ʒar- "tree sp." [GT][16] ‖‖ Brb. *a-zar "fig", *ta-zar-t "fig tree" [GT][17] EBrb.: Ghadames ta-zar-t, ta-zar-īn "figue sèche" [Lanfry 1973: 429, #1829] ‖ NBrb.: Tuzin zāra, pl. i-zura "verger et jardin de figuiers" and ta-zā̱-t [eroded *-r-] "figue", Iznasen, Wariaghel, Ait Ammart, Senhazha ta-zär-t "figue" [Renisio 1932: 323] | Qabyle ta-zar-t (coll.) "figues sèches" [Dallet 1982: 954] | Tamazight ta-zar-t (sg. coll.) "1. figues, 2. figuiers" [Taïfi 1991: 842] | Sus, a-zar, ta-zar-t [Prasse] ‖ SBrb. *√h₁zr [Prasse]: Ghat a-zar, pl. a-zar-ən, ta-zar-t, pl. ta-zar-in [Nehlil 1909], Ayr ta-har-t [Nicolas], Taneslemt a-har, ta-har-t [Evangile selon Saint Matthieu apud Prasse], Ahaggar â-hâr, pl. â-hâr-ən "figue", tâ-hâr-t, pl. tâ-hâr-în "figuier" [Foucauld 1951-2 II: 640] (Brb.: Prasse 1969: 64, #354).

● **403. Sura nzàr-gɔŋ** (uncertain compound)[18] "Frosch" [Jng. 1963: 77] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 423) ‖‖ (???) NOm.[19] *zar- "lizard" [Bender 2003: 168 and 213, #82].[20]

● **404. Mupun zàr** "bee-fly" [Frj. 1991: 69] (Takacs 2004: 423: isolated in AS) | Hausa zànzár̞óó [zànzár̞o̞o̞] "mason- or dauber-wasp" [Bargery 1934: 1131] = zànzáróó "dauber-wasp" [Abr. 1962: 968] = zànzáróó [Stolbova: < *zar-zar-] | Ngamo nzàrèi "hornet" [Gashinge, Janga Dole, Goge 2004 apud CLD] (WCh.: CLD III 141-142, #559: isolated in Ch. and AA) ‖ CCh.: Lamang zir ka mək "bee" [Meek 1931 in JI 1994 II: 19] | Mada zúnzùúr "maison-wasp" [CLD: Hausa loan (?), not found in Barreteau & Brunet 2000: 279] < PCh. *zVr- "bee, wasp" [CLD III 143, #552] ‖‖ NBrb.: Tamazight √zrẓ > i-zreẓẓi, pl. i-zerẓẓ-an "1. une guêpe, 2. frelon" [Taïfi 1991: 816].

Further root varieties of the underyling root are attested also:

[Tourneux 1991: 116] (Ch.: CLD III 97, #320.a) ‖‖ Sem.: Ar. ḥasara I "4. nettoyer, balayer (l'appartement)", mi-ḥsar-at- "balai" [BK I 425-426]. Ch.-Ar.: CLD III 97, #320.a.

[16] Probably distinct from CCh.: Lame nʒòr (ndz-) "plante sp. rampante et donnant de petits fruits comestibles" [Sachnine 1982, 439].

[17] K.-G. Prasse (l.c., pace J. Nicolaisen): "Les formes N (Taneslemt), Y (Ayr) doivent être des emprunts à H (Ahaggar). En effet le figuier n'existerait pas dans la zone N et serait de moindre importance dans la zone Y."

[18] For the Suroid component *-goŋ "frog (?)", occuring in various compounds, cf., beside Sura nzàr-gɔŋ "Frosch" [Jng.], also Mushere li-gong "frog", li-gong am "water frog" (am "water") [Diyakal 1997 MS: 149].

[19] Bender's Ta-Ne or Macro-Ometo?-Gimirra-Yemsa.

[20] Attested in EWolayta Cluster + NWOmeto + Chara *zar- "lizard" [Bender 2003: 168, #82] > extended Wolayta Cluster *zar-e "lizard" [Bender 2003: 20, #82] + Basketo zarzará "gecko" [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 59, #82] | Chara zara, zəra "gecko" [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 90, #82] (Macro-Ometo: Bender 2003: 118, #82) | Gimirra-Benesho zarzar [Breeze], She zāyzāy (?) [CR] "lizard" (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 168, #82) | Yemsa zaro "gecko" [Fleming] = zàrò "lizard" [Lamberti] (Yemsa: Bender 2003: 168, #82) | Dizoid *zay-zay "lizard" [Bender 2003: 213, #82]: attested purely by Nayi zāyzāy [CR].

404.1. WCh. *ʒir- [GT] > Hausa z/ʒirnako [z/ʒìrnáákọ̀ọ̀] "a black wasp or hornet, which suspends a white nest from rafters" [Bargery 1934: 1140] = zìrnààkóó (m) "black hornet which builds white hanging nest" [Abr. 1962: 974][21] | PGoemay *ⁿʒir (prefix *n-) "small bee" [GT]:[22] Goamay nʒir "a small non-stinging bee" [Sirlinger 1937: 162] = nʒir "small honeybee" [Hellwig 2000 MS: 25] (AS: Takacs 2004: 439).

404.2. Ethiopian *Wanderwort* *zal [GT] (with an *-l-) attested in NOm.: (?) Dizi zalu [-l- < *-r-?] "wasp (s.v. bee)" [Allan in Bender 2003: 205, #8] ‖‖ Eth.-Sem.: Tigre zəlzale "abeille" [WTS 494 > DRS 735, ZLZL5: isolated in Sem.].

● **405. Mushere nzar** "bird sp. that sucks animal blood (e.g. cow, horse, sheep, and donkey)" [Diyakal 1997 MS: 359] (Takacs 2004: 423: isolated in AS) ‖‖ NOm.: Mocha (borrowed from Amh.) nȁširi(yé) "to bleed" [Leslau 1959: 44] ‖‖ NAgaw: Bilin nas̱ar "aus der Nase bluten", nasar̰ā "Blutung, Blut aus der Nase" [Reinisch 1887: 286], Kemant nas̱ïr "saignement du nez" [CR 1912: 238] ‖‖ Brb. *√nzr "saigner du nez" [NZ]: NBrb.: Shilh wwunzer "saigner du nez" [NZ] | Wariaghel, Iboqqoyen, Ait Ammart, Senhazha funzār, Tuzin kunzā (no -r due to erosion)" [Renisio 1932: 393], Mzab ggunzer "saigner du nez" [Delheure 1984: 61-62], Wargla mmunzər "saigner du nez" [Delheure 1987: 232] | Qabyle funzr ~ wunzr "saigner du nez" [Chaker 1972-3: 87: prefix f-/w-] | Tamazight *√nzr (with diverse C$_1$ root extensions): gunzer, Zayan dialect kunzer, Izdeg munzer "saigner du nez" [Taïfi 1991: 514-515] ‖ SBrb.: Ayr e-nz/ʒər, pl. ə-nz/ʒər-ăn ~ ə-nz/ʒir-ăn "saignement du nez" [PAM 2003: 638, 641] ‖ EBrb.: Ghadames fənzər "saigner du nez" [Lanfry 1973: 90--91, #399] = fenzer [NZ] ‖ WBrb.: Zenaga √nʒr > ũʒər "saigner du nez" [Nicolas 1953: 239] ‖ SBrb.: Ahaggar ă-ňher "sang s'écoulant par les narines dans un saignement de nez", fuňher "avoir la narine coupée (par l'arrachement de l'anneau de nez)" [Foucauld 1951-2: 1355], Tadghaq and Tudalt e-nžăr, pl. e-nžăr-ăn "nosebleed" [Sudlow 2001: 281] ‖‖ SEth.-Sem., e.g., Amh. nässärä(w) "1. to have a nosebleed, 2. form (pools of melted butter on the surface of cooking sauce), 3. (fig.) predominate, preponderate, be more than", näsära "having a nosebleed, bleeding from the nose", cf. nässärä "to sweat, form on the body (perspiration)" [Kane 1990: 1023] and Tigre √nsr "to bleed" [Leslau 1979 III 462] (GT: borrowed from Cu. or vice versa?) < PAA *√nʒr ~ *√ncr[23] "to bleed (nose)" [GT]. Of biconsonantal origin, cf. its simplex reflexes:

405.1. CCh.: Mofu-Gudur náz "sangsue" [Brt. 1988: 201] ‖‖ NBrb.: Izdeg u-nzu (sic: no -r hardly due to erosion???) "avoir une hémorragie nasale" [Mercier 1937: 137] (seems to be different from the reflex of √nzr above) ‖‖ (?) Eg. nz "Blutbad" (XXVI., Wb II 319, 5:

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[21] Affiliated by N. Skinner (1996: 299) with phonologically dubious parallels.

[22] Goemay *nʒir (prefix *n-) "small bee" [GT]: Goemay nʒir "a small non-stinging bee" [Sirlinger 1937: 162] = nʒir "small honeybee" [Hellwig 2000 MS: 25] could hardly be a direct cognate of the Mupun word as they seem to derive from two distinct AS etyma (*zar vs. *ʒir), which can only be altered if one demonstrates that an original *z- could become *ʒ- after a nasal prefix.

[23] Were we not aware of the biliteral simplex root with an originally voiced *ʒ, one would be disposed to assume

"*ob richtig?*")[24] ‖‖ Sem.: Ar. √nzw IV "2. faire saigner, faire perdre beaucoup de sang" [BK II 1243] = I nazā (à l'actif) "perdre son sang jusq'à épuisement" [Fagnan 1923: 171] < PAA *√nʒ "to bleed" [GT].

● **406. PGoemay *(n)zə̄r** (?) [GT]: Goemay ḳâân n'zûr [-zū̄r] "of brown colour" (ḳâân obscure) [Sirlinger 1937: 87] (Takács 2004: 425: isolated in AS) ‖ CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -zawal-́ [l < *r] "tomber (nuit), obscurcir" [Barreteau 1988: 265] ‖‖ Ethio-Sem.: Gurage dialects *√zwr "greyish (cattle), dark-brown" [Leslau] = "brune sombre (bétail)" [DRS] > Ennemor, Endegeny, Gyeto zäwre, Chaha, Ezha zore, Muher zorä (ES: Leslau 1979 III 717; DRS 709: isolated in Sem.) < PAA *√ʒwr "dark brown (?)" [GT].[25] Any connection to Ch. *zVr- "a horse (of specific colour)" [CLD III 143, #549]? As long as the rendering of Goemay ḳâân and the whole compound is not available, naturally, this proposal has to be regarded as tentative.

● **407. Suroid *zor** [GT]: Sura zɔr "Hirseart, am nächsten der *Ačǎ* verwandt" [Jng. 1963: 89] may well have eventually denoted *„seed, grain" and so be akin to Sem. *√zr, the biliteral root simplex regarded the source for "plusieurs racines signifiant 'disperser, éparpiller' contiennent cette séquence consonantique" [DRS 788, -ZR-] > i.a., Eth.-Sem.: Tna. zäräwä "disséminer, répandre, gaspiller" [DRS 793, ZRW3] vs. Sem. *√zrˁ "semer etc." [DRS 793, ZRˁ1] vs. Sem. *√zrḳ "asperger etc." [DRS 802, ZRQ1]. One wonders if NBrb. *√zr: Iznasen, Tuzin, Wariaghel, Iboqqoyen zuzer "vanner, saupoudrer" [Renisio 1932: 322] might also be related.

● **408. Sura zùr**, in: ḍaar zùr "von Aufregung zittern" (cf. ḍaar "zittern") [Jng. 1963: 63, 89] (Takacs 2004: 428: isolated in AS) ‖ ECh.: Mubi ʒàrʒár (ʒèrʒîr, ʒìrʒáàr) "trembler, vibrer" [Jng. 1990 MS: 25] ‖ CCh.: Munjuk-Puss ziriyi (zəriya) "trembler" [Tourneux 1991: 129], cf. also Munjuk-Puss zuwri (zuwra) "osciller" [Tourneux 1991: 129] < Ch. *√ʒ/ʒr "to tremble" [GT] ‖‖ Sem.: PAr. biconsonantal *√zr "to tremble" [GT] > Ar. √zr(z)ˁ: (forme isolée) ʔarzaˁ- "lâche, poltron", Libyan Ar. zarzaˁ "faire peur", t-zarzaˁ "avoir peur, frissonner", cf. also Ar. √zrzr > ta-zarzara "se remuer", zarzār- "esprit vif" [DRS 794] vs. √zrzl: Hispanian dialect zarzāl "tremblement de terre" [DRS 794]. Sura-Ar.: Takács 2001: 82; 2011: 157. Root variety present in:

408.1. Sem. biconsonantal *√zl "to shake" [GT]: Syr. ʔalanzal "être secoué, trembler", zunzālā "tremblement turpitude, honte" | Ar. zaliza "être inquiet, s'agiter continuellement", zalzala "faire trembler, secouer, agiter", zalzāl- "tremblement (des membres)", zalzal-at-

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[24] Affiliated by M. Alliot (RdÉ 10, 1955, 1-4, cf. also WD II 79) with Eg. ns "Verletzung (?)" (Wb II 321, 4) and nsns (knife determinative) "(Verbum: von den Fingern im Vergleich mit einem Opferstier)" (NE, Wb II 335, 1) = "(meaning uncertain) to prance (?) / show off (?) / be swift (?) / cut up (?)" (DLE II 34) = "zerschneiden (?)" (GHWb 432).

[25] This root should be carefully distinguished from the isogloss (?) of Eg. z3.w (unless it is to be read wš3.w) "Finsternis" (BD, Wb III 412, 15; GHWb 654) ‖‖ WCh.: PAngas *ʒĭl "darkness" [GT]: Angas dʒĭl "darkness due to thick growth of trees, bushes, etc." [Foulkes 1915: 169] = ʒiil-kùk (Kabwir dialect) "darkness in dense forest" [Jng. 1962 MS: 46] | Diri ʒíl (dzír) "black" [IL] = ʒíl [Skinner] | Zaar ʒì (dzì) [GT: erosion < *ʒil?] "black" [IL] (WCh.: JI 1994 II: 28).

"tremblement de terre" ‖ MSA: Harsusi zəlzāl "tremblement de terre" ‖ Geez zalala "être secoué, agité", Tigrinya zəla "sauter, bondir", zälzäl bälä "ballotter (chose accrochée)" (Sem.: DRS 735, ZLZ1 and ZLZL1; 738, ZLL1 with numerous semantically unrelated parallels).

● **409. Mushere zereng** (≈ Hausa yanga "1. boastfulness") [Diyakal 1997 MS: 347] (isolated in AS: Takács 2004: 424) ‖‖‖ Sem. *√zrm: Syr. zarmā "qui est à craindre, vénérable" | Ar. ʔizraʔamma "se resserrer, frissonner, être en colère", Palestinian Ar. zərem "s'irriter, prendre parti", Hassaniya zerrem "se gonfler en colère" ‖ MSA: Jibbali zorrum "être sombre, maussade", Soqotri əzrəm "faire frissonner" (Sem.: DRS 798).

● **410. Goemay zal′ [zál]** "to imitate, do" [Sirlinger 1937: 283] (Takacs 2004: 421: isolated in AS) ‖‖‖ (?) Cu.: uncertain reflex[26] ‖‖‖ (?) Eg.: uncertain reflex[27] ‖‖‖ Sem. *√zw/yl [DRS]: Ar. zawl- "forme, figure qu'on voit à distance, qui apparaît et disparaît, personne, individu", zāl-at- "mirage", Palestinian Ar. zōl "chimière, fantôme", tzāwal "avoir des chimières", Sudanese Ar. zāwal "croire avoir vu des objets sans réalité, des fantômes" ‖ ES: Tigre zol "(belle) figure" (Sem.: DRS 703) < PAA *√ʒl "to be similar (?)" [GT].

● **411. AS *zal** "1. ridge (of farm), 2. wave (of water)" [GT]: Angas zal "1. a ridge of a field on which crops are grown, 2. also used of waves" [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zàl (Kabwir dialect) "ridge in the farm", zal (Kabwir dialect) "1. ridge, 2. wave", zàl máar "ridges of farm" (máar "farm"), zàl ʔàm "waves of water" (ʔàm "water") [Jng. 1962 MS: 45] = zal mar "guineacorn hill" (mar "field") [ALC 1978: 70] ‖‖‖ SBrb.: Ayr te-zle, pl. tyə-zla-wen "1. signe (trait vertical) tracé dans le sol pour faire les igăzan (géomancie)" [PAM 2003: 885] < PAA *√ʒl "line (?)" [GT]. Perhaps originally AS **zal signified "straight line (?)" [GT], cf. perhaps Goemay zal` [zàl] "straightness" [Sirlinger 1937: 283],[28]

411.1. Root variety attested in ECh.: Mubi zár (zěr̀, zǐrrà) "tracer une ligne", zír (m) "ligne, trace" [Jng. 1990b: 49], which – similarly to the variety with *r – may well be

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[26] Cf. HECu. *ǯāla "friend" [Hudson 1989: 414]? Semantically, a chain of shifts "a similar one" → "companion" → "friend" should not be excluded, cf. Eg. snsn "sich gesellen zu, sich (etwas) vereinen mit ..." (PT-, Wb IV 172-173), snsn (neben ḥtp) "(Friede und) freundschaftliche Verbindung (zwischen zwei Staaten)" (XIX., Wb IV 174, 1) < sn.wj "1. Zahlwort: zwei, 2. die Zwei, die Beiden im Sinne von: die beiden Streitenden, die beiden Parteien" (PT-, Wb IV 148).

[27] Cf. Eg. zn "herankommen an, nacheifern (r): 1. (MK, XVIII.: den Vorfahren, dem was was ein anderer getan hat) herankommen an, nacheifern, 2. (GR) ähnlich sein, gleichen, ähneln, 3. (XVIII.: den Gesetzen) nachleben" (MK-, Wb III 456-457) > compound prep. m-zn.t-r "in der Art von, nach Art von, wie" (MK-, Wb III 457, 3-6) = znj (IIIae inf.) "gleichen, ähneln, ähnlich sein" (V-VI., ÄWb I 1149) = snj (sic, IIIae inf.) "to be like, resemble (r), copy, imitate (r), conform to (r) laws" > m-zn.t-r "in the likeness of, in accordance with" (EG¹ 1927: §180 > FD 230), which, in the preceding part of this AS series (Takács 2022a: 59, #376), I equated with WCh.: PGoemay zen "to start together, do a thing together, at the same time" [Sirlinger 1937: 284] (Takács 2004: 424: isolated in AS) ‖ CCh.: Munjuk-Pouss ziŋgi (zəŋga) (velar root extension?) "ressembler" [Tourneux 1991: 129] < CAA *√ʒn "to be similar, identical (?)" [GT].

[28] Etymology disputable. Cf. Mupun zát (adv.) "straight" [Frj. 1991: 69]?

affiliated with WCh.: PGoemaoid *ǯar "straight" [GT]:[29] Goemay ǯar "straight, right" [Sirlinger 1937: 82] = ǯar (adv.) "straight, upright" [Hellwig 2000 MS: 14] vs. Tal zar [zɑ́ɾ] (adv.) "straight" [Blench 2019: 173].

● **412. AS *zāl** "sort of traditional belt for men" [GT]: Mupun zāal "burial cloth, sash wrapped around waist or mouth (a woven cloth used to wrap corpses before burial, also used as a belt, when tightly wrapped around the waist, believed to relieve symptoms of hunger)" [Frj. 1991: 69], Mushere zaal "traditional local belt worn by men" [Diyakal 1997 MS: 349], Goemay zaal "a strap of cloth about 5 inches wide (is made by the hill people)" [Sirlinger 1937: 282] = zaal "traditional woven belt", zaal-šim "European type of belt" (šim "skin") [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] < Ch. *zV(wV)l- "belt, rope", *zVl-(m) "kind of cloth" [CLD III 129-130, #473] ‖‖ Eg. z3.w "Art Gewebe oder Kleid" (MK, Wb III 419, 13) ‖‖ Sem. *√zwl "to plait" [GT]: JPAram. zūl "filer", zōlālā "écheveau" | SAr. dialect zūliyya, zōlye "tapis" ‖ Jibbali zolit, Mehri zəwōli, Soqotri zuwāli (pl.) "tapis" ‖ Geez zawala "préparer le fil pour la nevette en l'enroulant sur une bobine, teindre" (Sem.: DRS 702) < PAA *√ȝl "to plait" [GT].

An ancient **NAA root variety *√ȝr** "1. to tie, 2. bind the cloth" [GT] has been retained by a bunch of eventually related roots that may perhaps be grouped as follows:

412.1. NAA *√ȝrȝ [GT] > Sem. *√zrz: Akk. zurz- "sacoche faite de peau de chèvre" ‖ NHbr. zərāz, JPAram. zərāzā "ceinture, courroie" | Maghrebi Ar. zārəz "tresse en poil de chèvre"[30] (Sem.: DRS 793) ‖‖ NBrb.: Tamazight a-zarz "1. tendeur du métier à tisser: cordes attachées aux ensouples et fixées aux clous plantés dans le mur" [Taïfi 1991: 816].

412.2. NAA *√ȝr "piece of cloth" [GT] > Sem. *√ʔzr: Akk. azāru "binden" [WUS contra AHW 92 and CAD 527 where rendered otherwise] ‖ Ug. ʔzr "(in ein Trauerkleid) hüllen", mìzrt "Überwurf" [WUS] = √ʔzr G "to gird, bind (?)", uzr "clothed, enrobed", izr "investiture (?)" [DUL 137], OHbr. ʔāzar "sich umgürten" [WUS] = qal "1. to put on the ʔēzōr, to gird (up one's loins for battle), 3. tie up", nifal "girded", piel "to embrace closely, surround s'one with", hitpael "to gird o'self with the ʔēzōr (cf. ʔēzōr "the under garment which is taken off last, loincloth") [KB] | Syr. mizrānā "Gurte" [WUS] | Ar. ʔizār- "großer Überwurf, Schleier" [WUS] = ʔizār- "1. pièce d'étoffe couvrante de la taille aux genoux (piece of cloth covering the body from the waist to the knees), 2. pagne (loin-cloth), 3. voile (en gén.) (veil in general), 4. manteau d'hiver (winter cloak), 5. drap (de lit), portière, rideau ((bed) sheet, door-curtain, curtain)", miʔzar- "1. manteau (cloak), 2. pièce d'étoffe enveloppant le tourban (piece of material wrapped around the turban)" [DAFA 95] = miʔzar-, ʔiz(ā)r- "veil, loincloth" [KB] (Sem.: WUS 10-11, #130.a; KB 27-28) ‖‖ EBrb.: Ghadames i-zar "grande pièce d'étoffe rectangualire dans laquelle se drapent les femmes (izar n-elfradi "variété de ce manteau qui fait partie de la catégorie des «vêtements blancs» de rigueur aux jours de fêtes), 2. rideau pendant verticalement pour fermer, par devant, l'alcôve nuptiale, *elkubbeṭ*" [Lanfry 1973: 429, #1830].

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[29] PGoemay *ǯar "straight" has been related to Goemay zal` [zàl] "straightness" [Sirlinger 1937: 283] and Mupun zát (adv.) "straight" [Frj. 1991: 69] already by G. Takács (2004: 435), but the phonological correspondenmces are not clear.

[30] The DRS (793-794) assumes that it "pourrait bien être un emprunt au berbère où azārəz semble relever de la racine *RZ : arəz* 'lier, attacher'".

412.3. PAA *√ʒr, NAA *√ʒrr "bound" [GT] > Eg. z3r.w "Fesseln, Bände" (PT, Wb III 422, 4), cf. also z3 "He/ürde (?)" (OK, Wb III 413, 5) = "cattle-hobble" (FD 207), z3, in: nwḥ n z3 (LP, Wb III 413, 4) ‖‖ EBrb.: Ghadames ta-zrira, pl. tə-zrira-w-īn "1. branchette porte-fleurs (du palmier mâle), 2. branchette porte-dattes, 3. collier de perles d'or creuses et de perles de corail" [Lanfry 1973: 432, #1844][31] ‖ NBrb.: Qabyle a-zrar "collier", ta-zrar-t "1. petit collier, 2. bande de tissu qui ferme la baratte", ta-zra "collier ancien garni de clous girofle (appelé ailleurs tazlayt)" [Dallet 1982: 954-955] | Tamazight ta-zra, pl. ti-zer-win "collier", ta-zrur-t, pl. ti-zrur-in "pendantif en perles ou en pièces de monnaie que l'on accroche aux mèches des enfants", a-zrur, pl. i-zrur-n "grappe" [Taïfi 1991: 811-812] ‖ SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ta/ši-zăra, pl. ti-zər-wen "coulisse de taille du pantalon (dans laquelle passe le lacet qui se noue à la taille)", a-zər "1. relever (son pantalon) en tirant intérieurement sous la coulisse de taille, de manière à en faire passer une partie au-dessus du lacet et à la rejeter en dehors, 2. enterrer maladroitement / sommairement / sans soins (cadavre), 2. être relevé (panatalon)" [PAM 2003: 897] ‖‖ Ch. *zVr- "thread", *zVwVr- "rope" [CLD] > WCh. *ʒa[w]ri "верёвка" [Stolbova]: Hausa záárááràà "long rope tied to animals' neck" [Hodge] | Kulere zàr, pl. zaàr "Band, Strick" [Jng. 1970: 356] | Bole-Tangale *zōri "rope" [Schuh 1984: 212] (WCh.: Stolbova 1987: 190). Eg.-Hausa: Hodge 1966: 46. Eg.-Ch.-Hbr.: CLD III 143, #548 pace EDE I 178-179.

412.4. NAA *√ʒr "woven object (mat, fence)" [GT] > NBrb. *√zr: Iznasen, Wariaghel, Tuzin ṯa-zra, pl. ṯi-zer-win "1. corde petite de palmier nain", Senhazha a-mzur, pl. i-mezr-ān "tresse de cheveux", Iznasen i-muzar (pl.) "cheveux en tresse", Wariaghel ṯa-mazur-ṯ "touffe de cheveux sur le haut crâne" (NBrb.: Renisio 1932: 323) ‖‖ Eg. *z3 "der Gegenstand, den das Schriftzeichen darstellt: Art Matte der Hirten (nur als Schriftzeichen belegt)" (Wb III 413, 3) = "herdsman's shelter of papyrus matting" (EG[1] 1927: 508, D17-18) = "Hirtenmatte, zusammengerollt" (Brunner 1961: 68, V17) ‖‖ Sem.: Akk. (lexicographical lists) zirru "reed fence" [CAD z 136, not in AHW] = zirr- "haie de roseaux" [DRS] ‖ Aram. (Yaudi) zrr "clôture (?)" [DRS] | Minean zyr "clôture (?)" [DRS], cf. Sabaic zrr "to border on (être limitrophe de, jouxter)" [SD 171] (Sem.: DRS 804-805).

● **413. PGoemaiod *zʷal** "1. to replace, 2. restore" [GT]: Goemay zwal "to replace" [Sirlinger 1937: 286],[32] Tal zwel [zʷēl] "to fix; to mend; to repair" [Blench 2019: 175] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 428)[33] ‖‖ Eg. *zwn.w (written zn.w), in: *m-zwn.w=f "an Stelle dessen Ersatzes" (early IV., cf. Urk. I 3:4, ÄWb I 1089: hapax). One wonders whether the same ultimate root, denoting basically some kind of compensation, represented by this

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[31] Note that Ghadames i-zar "grande pièce d'étoffe rectangulaire dans laquelle se drapent les femmes" [Lanfry 1973: 429, #1830] is a late loanword borrowed < Ar. ʔizār.

[32] For a different etymology of the Goemay verb see Takács 2001: 83; 2011: 157.

[33] G. Takacs (l.c.) supposed a connection to Angas-Suroid *ž̌ʷal ~ *ǯʷal "to put in, on" [GT]: Angas ʒwal "to plant, put in the ground (of stakes)" [Foulkes 1915: 204] = žwal (Kabwir) "to put into the ground, or into bag" [Jng. 1962 MS: 46] = ẓwal [ž-] (pl.) "to put on" [ALC 1978: 70] = žual "to insert" [Gochal 1994: 73], Sura ʒwal lέε (pl. of lɔp lέε) "sich anziehen" [Jng. 1963: 68, 73], Mupun ǯual "to put on (cloth, shoes, hat), dress" [Frj. 1991: 24], Mushere nʒwal "to transplant corn", nʒuwaal "the act of removing millet or corn from its seedbed and replanting it on ridges of farm (act of transplanting)" [Diyakal 1997 MS: 171, 354] ≈ Hausa dásà "to transplant" [Abr. 1962, 196].

exclusive Chado-Egyptian isogloss, lives forth – on the analogy of some further parallels with the same semantic shift („to replace" > "to pay")[34] – also in the reflexes of a semantically unexpectedly daring, albeit reconstructible, parental root for any trade activity that, in either way, is, in fact, exchanging sg. for sg., viz. PAA *√ʒ(w)l "1. to buy, 2. sell" [GT], attested in two varieties. The older *IIae waw* variant has survived in both geographical extremities of AA, cf. WCh.: Bokkos ʒiwil [GT: ʒi- < *ʒi-?] "handeln, kaufen" [Jng. 1970: 143] ||| Eg. swn (or zwn?) "etwas zum Verkauf bringen" (alt, Wb IV 68, 1) = "to trade" (MK, FD 217) > swn.t "Kaufpreis" (V. 2x, ÄWb I 1089) = s/zwn.t "Handel, Kaufpreis" (MK-, Wb IV 68, 4-13) = "price" (FD 214), znn "kaufen, an sich bringen" (XXII., Wb III 461, 4) ||| Sem.: Hbr.-Aram. *√zwl "to buy, sell" [Rabin 1976: XXI].[35] The biliteral variant, often reduplicated, is solely spread in the Ethiopian area, cf. NOm.: POmeto *zal- "to sell" [GT] > Kullo-Konta zalʔ- "to sell" [Alemayehu] (isolated in NWOmeto: Bender 2003: 320, #79) | SEOmeto *zall- "to sell" [Bender 2003: 109, #79]: Koyra zal-ʔ/ḍ- [Hayward], Ganjule zɛll- [Siebert & Hoeft], Kachama (Haruro) zall- [CR, Siebert & Hoeft] "to sell" (SEOmeto data: Bender 2003: 335, #79: isolated in Om.) ||| HECu. *√zlzl > *zalzal- (with HECu. *z) "to trade" [GT pace Leslau 1980: 121 and 128, fn. 23, cf. Leslau 1986: 378] = *ʒaʒʒal- "to trade, do business", *ʒalʒal-o (*dz-) "trade, business" [Hudson 1989: 408-409] ||| ES (borrowed from HECu.): Gurage dialects: Wolane zəläzälä, Selti ziläzälä "to practice small trade (Leslau), faire du petit commerce (DRS)" [DRS 735: isolated in Sem.]. Sem.-HECu.: Rabin 1976: XXI; Leslau 1979 III 707; DRS 735-736.

● **414. AS *zʷal > *žʷal** "to husk from chaff" [GT]: Mushere nʒwal [reg. < *žʷal] "the white seed of acha after removing the chaff" [Diyakal 1997 MS: 171], Goemay zwal ~ zwaal

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[34] Cf., e.g., Eg. r-ḏ3.wt (regular < *√çl) (prep.) "gemäss, entsprechend" (XVIII., Wb V 520, 3-6) = "in return for, because of" (FD 319) ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar e-ẓel "1. payer (réparer, en payant, le dommage matériel de) (un animal, une chose, volée / perdue / abîmée) (à leur propriétaire) etc. (q.v.)" [Foucauld 1951-2, 1956], EWlmd.--Ayr ə-zəl "1. payer, 2. réparer en payant (le dommage matériel d'un animal, d'une chose volée / abîmée au propriétaire)" [PAM 2003: 215] ||| Sem.: perhaps Ar. √sry I "4. remplacer suffisamment qqn. dans une affaire, c.-à-d., donner en son absence à ses affaires les mêmes soins que la personne elle-même donnerait" [BK II 1336]. Or cf. WCh.: Dera gwure mi "pourqoui?" (cf. mi "what?") [Pilszczikowa 1958: 83] ||| Sem. *√gr "to pay" [WUS 6, #66; Zaborski 1971: #62]. Or cf. Eg. db3 "bezahlen, ersetzen, vergelten" (PT-, Wb V 555-556) = "to repay, replace, restore" (FD 321) > r-db3 (prep.) "1. anstatt einer Sache, 2. an Stelle einer Person, 3. zum Ersatz für, 4. (geben) als Bezahlung für (etwas), 5. (since NE) wegen" (Lit. MK-, Wb V 559-560) = "instead of, in return for" (FD 321) ||| Sem. *√gbr > Ar. ǧabara (kasra-hu) "rétablir une personne dans l'état où elle était auparavant, la dédommager des pertes qu'elle a faites" [Dozy I 170a] = ǧabara ǧabara "to set (a broken bone), restore any one's business" [Ember] = ǧabara "herstellen", ǧabr-īt- "Schadenersatz" [Calice, Vergote] = ǧabara "se ressonder (os), se rétablir, se raffermir, aider" [DRS] || ES *√gbr "to pay" [DRS]: e.g., Tigre gäbbärä "1. réparer, sauver, 2. payer le tribut", gəbr "tribut" [DRS], Harari gēbära "to pay an amount of money or cloth to the bride at the conclusion of the engagement" [Apl.], Amh. and Tna. gäbbärä "to pay tax, tribute" [Apl.] (ES: Apl. 1977: 49/91; Sem.: DRS 97, GBR1 with semantically dubious extra-ES parallels). Eg.-Ar.: Ember 1917: 84, #108 (contra ESS §7.b.3); Yeivin 1933: 108; GÄSW 89, #371; Vergote 1945: 130 and 146, §24.a.15.

[35] Treated in the traditional Semitic lexicography as derivatives of the Semitic root represented by OT Hbr. √zwl "to pour out, lavish (gold out of a purse)" > qal part. *zāl (attested as hapax pl. zālīm in Is. 46:6) > MHbr.--JAram. √zwl "to be worthless, cheap", afel "to sell at a low price" [KB 266-266 pace Torczyner, ZDMG 57, 557] = OHbr. *zāl "gaspiller", Aram. (Targum) zūl "être sans valeur, bon marché", Imperial Aram. √zwl "vendre", Yaʕudi zl-t "bon marché", Eg. Aram. √zwl "acheter" (Sem.: DRS 703).

"to husk grains" [Sirlinger 1937: 286] (AS: Takacs 2004: 428) ∭ Eg. zw3 [regular < *√zwl]
"1. (Bäume) fällen, 2. (Körperteile) abhacken, 3. (Schiffsgerät) zerhacken, 4. auch bildlich
gebraucht" (PT-, Wb III 427, 1-4).

414.1. The intransitive use of the same (?) root can be perhaps reconstructed from SBrb.:
EWlmd. & Ayr ə-zzəl [regular < *ə-zwəl] "être dépassé, démodé, abandonné" [PAM 1998:
372] ∭ Sem.: Ar. √zwl I: zāla "passer, quitter un endroit, s'en aller, se déplacer, disparaître,
quitter" vs. √zyl I: zāla "mettre à part, de côté, éloigner", zayyala "séparer", Hispanian Ar.
zawwal "effacer de son coeur, se déshabituer" [DRS 703] < **NAA *√ʒwl** "to leave, be sepa-
rated from a place" [GT].

● **415. PGoemay *zel** "mouse sp." [GT]: Goemay zel "kind of rat" [Sirlinger 1937: 213]
= zel "mouse" [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 423) ∭ Sem.: Ar. zaylaʕ-
"sorte de mulot" [LA III 38; Qamus 652; not in BK I 1005 and Dozy I 599; DRS 740, zlʕ4:
isolated in Sem.].[36] Cf. perhaps also Eth.-Sem.: Harari zulli "dull of appearence (either be-
cause of being covered with dust or because of insufficient acre)" [Leslau 1963: 165][37] =
"gris, terne" [DRS 738, ZLL6]?

● **416. AS *zele ~ *zere** (compound?) "an object with point, tip, prick" [GT]: Sura nzə́rɛ́
[-ə- < *-e-] "Sporn" [Jng. 1963: 77], Goemay zêlê "the very top of a thing" [Sirlinger 1937:
284] (AS: Takacs 2004: 423) ∭ NOm.: Zayse zālé "tusk" [Ehret][38] ∭ SBrb. *√zlh₁ [Prasse]:
Ahaggar ă-həlu, pl. i-hla "extrémité aplatie et tranchante du javelot" [Prasse], Wlmd.
a-z/ž/šəlu, pl. i-z/ž/šal-a(n) and Ayr a/e-zəlu "extrémité aplatie et tranchante du javelot"
[Prasse] = EWlmd. a-zəlu, Ayr e-zəlu, pl. i-zăla "1. extrémité aplatie et tranchante de l'agdəl
(javelot) (opposée à la pointe; sert à creuser dans le sol), 2. creusoir (instrument avec manche
en bois ou en métal muni d'un fer aplati pour creuser le sol) vs. SBrb. *√zlh₁ [Prasse]: Ahag-
gar tă-hala-t, pl. t-halâ-tîn "dent canine" [Prasse], Wlmd.-Ayr ta-š/zala-t "dent canine"
[Prasse], Ghat ta-zala-t, pl. či-zala-čin "dent canine" [Prasse] (SBrb.: Prasse 1969: 53, #225
and #226, resp.) ∭ Eg. z3.t "ein Meißel" (GHWb 657) and z3r.t "ein Meißel" (GHWb 660).

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[36] Probably to be disconnected from Ar. zalaʕa I "avaler" [Dozy I 599], Oriental dialect zalaʕ "avaler sans
mâcher" and Sudanese Ar. ʔinzalaʕ "avaler avec avidité" [DRS 740, zlʕ5: isolated in Sem.], whose influence on
its C₃, however, cannot be excluded.

[37] Derived by W. Leslau (l.c.) from LECu.: Oromo zulli (no meaning).

[38] Arguing that "tusk is used to pierce", it was affiliated by Ch. Ehret (1995: 150, #196) with Sem. *√zl "to
cut", PCu. *z/dalāʕ- "to gash, notch", WCh.: Ngizim ɗálm- "to pluck peanuts from dry vines" < AA *-zăl- "to cut
(into, off)".

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, formerly: Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), Bln.: Bələnəŋ, BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, CAA: Common AA, Can.: Canaanite, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, DM: Dangla-Migama, E: East, EA: Amarna letters, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, IE: Indo-European, IL: Institute of Linguistics, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibyal, Jkt.: Jakato, JPAram.: Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low(land), LP: Late Period, M: Middle or Medieval, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaic, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram).: Aramaic of Talmud, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemmet, Y: Young(er).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Ctc.: Caïtucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, DM: Drower & Macuch, EEN: Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GAB: Gimba, Ali, Madu Bah, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Nct.: Nachtigal, NM: Newman & Ma, NZ: Naït-Zerrad, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, RB: Rapp & Benzig, TG: Takács, TSL: Tourneux, Seignobos, Lafarge, WP: Weibegué & Palayer.

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Marginal notes on the project for an etymological dictionary of the Mubi-Toram languages

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For Prof. H. Jungraithmayr[1] on his 90th anniversary (7 May 2021)

Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Marginal notes on the project for an etymological dictionary of the Mubi-Toram languages.* The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 77-94

The paper accompanies the second part of a planned longer series "Mubi-Toram lexicon and Afro-Asiatic"[2] as a kind of belated extended introduction surveying some new results in the grouping of these languages as well as into some principles guiding our research designed to step by step reveal the Chadic and wider Afro-Asiatic cognate heritage in the lexical stock of the Mubi-Toram languages which represent the easternmost (26th) and *sprachgeschichtlich* perhaps the most enigmatic group of the vast Chadic (i.e., 6th) branch of the gigantic Afro-Asiatic family.

Keywords: Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) comparative linguistics, Chadic, etymology

[1] Who has influenced my research on these languages over the past two decades or so stronger than anybody else. Thus, among others, along with the pioneering Mubi records ("Wörterverzeichnis Mubi-Deutsch") by J. Lukas (1937: 180-186), his sometime master from Hamburg, it was also H. Jungraithmayr's first Mubi-French dictionary (at that time just a manuscript from 1990, published only in 2013) that had a great impact on my choice to specially examine Mubi from an etymological standpoint at the turn of 1999/2000 in Frankfurt a/M during my Humboldt research fellowship in Chadic linguistics. This initial interest, however, has only turned into a research project in summer 2008 when, having in the meantime finished two parallel projects for a comparative Angas-Sura lexicon (March 2004) and EDE III (autumn 2007), I first started to work on comparing Mubi with the languages thought in the conventional classification of East Chadic by H. Jungraithmayr (e.g., JS 1981 and 1994 etc.) to be its closest kindred, having no idea at all at that time on the brandnew field research results accumulating in the past couple of decades that have only been available online. This is how the first part of my "Mubi-Toram lexicon and Afro-Asiatic" (2009) was conceived.

[2] Elaborating *addenda* to the etymological entries with *b-. A comprehensive preliminary report on the MT project is to follow later after a sufficiently considerable amount of etymological entries will have yielded further lexicostatistical scores for securely settling the position of the enigmatic languages in- or outside MT.

Introduction to Mubi-Toram

Mubi-Toram (MT), as a Chadic language group, is the member of the immense Afro--Asiatic (AA) or Semito-Hamitic (SH) macrofamily comprising six equipotential branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, and Chadic. The classification of the languages supposed to belong to the MT group as well as their position in East Chadic in general, have been intensely researched over the past quarter of a century, whose results have ripened a significantly altered supposed scenario of the state-of-the-art towards the end of the past decade of the 2010s.

At any rate, MT is a group of the ECh. subbranch, that is, the easternmost group of all the Chadic languages in general also,[3] spread mostly in the western and central areas of the

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[3] A comprehensive survey of classification theories about MT has been composed by J. Lovestrand (2012: 5-12, §2.1). The results of J. Lukas, founding father of Chadic comparative linguistics, were summed up in the chapter "The Languages of West Africa" by D. Westermann and M.A. Bryan (1952: 168) in "The Handbook of African Languages" which has identified only one single group, the so-called Jongor (Djongor) "dialect cluster" in the whole Abu Telfan area, where according to G. van Bulck (quoted in Jng. 1961: 95, fn. 1), there are "zwei Hauptdialekte, die sich voneinander beträchtlich unterscheiden sollen: den von Abu Telfan mit 8000-10000 Sprechern und den vom Jebel Geira (Mokolo) mit 6000 Sprechern". The vision of Lukas was summed by J. Lovestrand (2012: 6, §2.1.1, chart 1) as follows: Sokoro-Mubi super-group comprising Jongor (Migama), 'Bidyo (Bidiya, Waana), Dangaleat (Dangla), Mogum-Koffa, Mubi (Mubi, Masmaje, Kajakse, Birgit, Toram), Sokoro (Sokoro, Barain, Saba). The Chadic branch was divided up by J.H. Greenberg (1963: 46) into 9 groups, where the last one corresponds basically to ECh., whose last sub-group consists of Mubi, Karbo (Dangla). That was all, although the scheme by J. Lovestrand (2012: 7, §2.1.2, chart 2) quoting this work added here Jegu (Mogum), Jonkor (Migama), Wadai-Birgid (Birgit), i.e., sort of a further mixture of DM + MT. Following Greenberg, P. Newman and R. Ma (1966: 231, table II) classified Jegu, Mubi, Sokoro, Somrai and Tuburi together (!) in subgroup 9 of Plateau-Sahel. C. Hoffmann (1971) supported the 2 sub-branches model as well as its division by P. Newman and R. Ma (1966), which he only slightly modified, e.g., "Kajakse and Masmaje are considered languages, not dialects of Mubi", and so the last (6th) ECh. super-group comprised Mubi, Kajakse, Masmaje, Barein, Dangla, Karbo, Jegu (Mogum), Jonkor (Migama), Birgit, Bidiya (Lovestrand 2012: 7-8, §2.1.3, chart 3). Finally, H. Jungraithmayr (Caprile & Jng. 1973 and Jng. 1981: 12-16) was the first to split up this super-group in two: DM vs. MT (Birgit, Masmaje, Mogum = Jegu, Mubi, Kajakse, Toram), from where he shifted Bidiya into DM in 1973. P. Newman (1977 and p.c. from 1979 referred to in Bender & Doornbos 1983: 76, §3.5.7) assumed already 4 Ch. sub-branches, one of which is ECh. where he classified already Birgit, Kajakse, Kujarke, Masmaje, Minjile, Mubi, Toram as "members of Mubi, sub-branch EST-A3 of the East Branch (sic) of Chadic". DM and MT were figured as tightly close units. The MT group was numbered by H. Jungraithmayr and K. Shimizu (1981: 16) as the 27th (and last) Chadic group (following Mokilko alone treated there as a distinct group on its own separate from DM) where Jegu, Birgit, Mubi were listed, whereas H. Jungraithmayr and D. Ibriszimow (1994 I: XV) listed Jegu, Birgit, Mubi and Kofa in MT making a group (then no. 26 Mokilko being joined to DM). In the classification, based by R.M. Blench (2006 MS) and the Ethnologue[16] (Lewis 2009) on Newman (1977), within III. ECh. B, 3 units (B1-3) are distinguished: B1 is further divided into DM (Bidiya, Dangla, Jonkor Bourmataguil, Mabire, Migama, Mogum/Jegu) and MT (Birgit, Kajakse, Masmaje, Mubi, Toram, Zirenkel), while B2 = Mokilko and B3 = Sokoro group. M. Marti, C. Mbernodji, K. Wolf (2007: 6) listed 5 languages in the MT group: Birgit, Kajakse, Masmaje (Masmeje), Mubi and Toram. Having moved a number of languages from MT into DM, this model of Ethnologue[16] (Lewis 2009) was otherwise almost the outcome of the research by J. Lovestrand (2012: 21, §3.7, chart 8) classified both DM (Bidiya, Birgit, Dangla, Jonkor Bourmataguil, Mabire, Migama, Mogum/Jegu, Toram) and MT (Kajakse, Masmaje, Mubi, Zirenkel) within a closer unity of three distinct "ECh. B1" groups: DM, MT and Kujarke. Within his "III. ECh. B", P. Newman (2013: 5) distinguishes 4 groups, one of them is B.1 Dangla-Mubi group where he lists 3 units: a. DM (Dangla/Dangaléat, Bidiya, Birgit, Bourmataguil, Migama, Mogum, Toram), b. MT (Mubi, Kajakse, Masmaje, Zirenkel), c. Kujarge. C. Peust (2018) only examined selected ECh. languages to

Republic of Chad. When my first etymological pilot study of the MT lexicon (Takács 2009) was written, I had basically been only working with a handful of languages (usually with but one source for each)[4] being aware of and satisfied with the conventional grouping of the language usually grouped as one in MT (cf., e.g., JS 1981; JI 1994) as the priority then lied for me in how "to integrate this remote lexical stock in its wider Chadic and Afro--Asiatic context" (Takács 2009: 315). More than an entire decade having passed, I am trying now to give below a sketchy up-to-date survey of the problems pertaining to the languages affected in my project.

In the light of the recent field research in the past couple of decades, we may perhaps in the first step restrict the circle to those langauges that are certainly to be considered as members of the MT group. This is consisting at the moment minimally of the following languages (in alphabetic order), some of which have become known only recently: Birgit,[5] Duguri,[6] Jegu,[7] Kaja/ekse,[8] Karakir,[9] Kofa,[10] Kujarke,[11] Masmaje,[12] Mogum,[13] Mubi[14] (spoken by the Monjul, fem. Minjile),[15] Musunye,[16] Toram,[17] Zirenkel.[18]

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elaborate his unrooted tree model, where Mubi and Kajakse considered to be "the first branch-off within this group and therefore have the same stemmatic weight as all the other East Chadic B languages taken together." Within her "III. ECh. B", O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 26) classified 5a DM (East Dangaleat, West Dangaleat, Central Dangaleat, Migama, Bidiya, Mabire) vs. 5b MT (Mubi, Zirenkel, Masmaje, Kajakse, Toram, Birgit, Jegu) tightly close to ane another. classified within her "III. ECh. B".

    [4] Birgit (Jng. 1973 MS and 2004), Jegu (Jng. 1961), Kofa-Mogum (Jng. 1977 MS), Masmaje (Alio 2004), Kajakse (Bender-Doornbos 1983, Alio 2004), Kujarke (Bender-Doornbos 1983), Masmaje (Alio 2004), Mubi (Lukas 1937, Bender-Doornbos 1983 as both Minjile and Mubi; Jng. 1990 MS), Toram (Alio 1988 MS; 2004).

    [5] J. Roberts' (1993: 23, §5) field research stated 4 Birgit dialects: Abgué, Eastern Birgit, Duguri, Agrab where "Status of Duguri is still somewhat uncertain". MMW 2007: 13-14, §5.3.: "La variété 'abgué', parlée à Abgué, Medgir et Arâka ..., diffère dans le vocabulaire et la prononciation de la variété Agrab, selon nos interlocuteurs à Abgué et à Agrab. La variété 'birguit est', parlée à Arbochi, Tiléguey et autres villages dans la Sous--Préfecture de Magrane, est proche de la variété Abgué. Les gens d'Abgué disent que c'est la même chose tandis que les gens de Tiléguey ne savent que parler lentement avec les gens d'Abgué. La variété 'agrab', parlée à Agrab, Al Mindar et Dar-al-Ech ... est la même chose que le 'duguri'. ..." MMW 2007: 16-17, §6.7.2.: "La vitalité du birguit est la plus forte à Abgué, le centre des Birgit. Bien qu'on remarque que l'arabe devienne plus dominant dans la nouvelle génération, les interlocuteurs disent que que le birguit va continuer à être parlé dans l'avenir".

    [6] J. Roberts (1993: 22, §3.13.): "... the Toram at Lui ... recognized that the speech of the Duguri was something like their own. ... It seems that the Duguri are claimed to be a fraction of the Birgit people ... The Birgit at Agrab said they could understand and speak Duguri; intercomprehension is 100%, they claimed. ... At Agrab, the people said the two languages were the same, but simply that certain words were different, Duguri is evidently similar to Toram, as stated by the people at Lui. ... At Abgué, the people can understand Duguri sometimes, but not everything." MMW 2007: 13-14, §5.3.: "La situation de la varété 'duguri', parlée à Dar-Al-Ech (et Al-Mindar?), n'est pas encore clarifiée. Selon les locuteurs dAbgué il y a une (petite) différence avec leur parler. Selon les gens d'Agrab, la variété 'duguri' et 'agrab' sont la même chose." MMW 2007: 16, §5.7.1.: "Si la variété 'duguri' est une varété à part ou identique à la variante 'agrab', cela reste à vérifier. Le pourcentage de la similitude lexicale moyennant 62,3% ou 73,5% ne montre pas encore s'il y a intellégibilité inhérente entre les variétés birguits."

    [7] The informant of J. Lukas in 1933, as we learn from H. Jungraithmayr (1961: 96, §2), considered Jegu as member of the Jonkor cluster. The informant of H. Jungraithmayr (1961: 96-97, §4) placed in 1959 Jegu "südlich von Mongo in der Republik Tschad ... von den folgenden Stämmen bzw. Dialekten oder Sprachen umgeben: im Norden von den Oobe, Tunkul[9]), Mirincol und Zarle, im Osten von den Orme und Mawa, im Südosten von den Gora und Jon, im Südwesten von den Boce und Gomo und im Westen von den Dabra[9]) und Bigir." J. Roberts (1993: 23, §5.) treated "Jegu (Mogum)" (sic) as one, whose "Dialects: JEGU, MOGUM-

-DELE, MOGUM-URMI, (MOGUM-GURUNTIYE?,) KOFA. ...” Throughout his 1993 paper, Roberts was speaking of the “Jegu dialect of Mogum”.

[8] P. Doornbos and M.L. Bender (1983: 59, §3.4.12 pace Le Rouveur 1962: 129-130) offered a brief description of the whereabouts (location, villages, neighbours) and circumstances (number of speakers) of the Kajakse, which was extended with more recent details by MMW (2007: 5, §1.1.2.: population, 8, §1.4.2.: alphabetization, 17-18, §6.1-2.: geographical position, 18, §6.3.: dialects, 19-20, §6.5.: language vitality, 20-21, §6.6.: sociolinguistic attitude). MMW 2007: 21, §6.7.1.: “La langue kadjakse semble assez homogène. Les gens se comprennent même s'il y a quelques différences de vocabulaire et de vitesse de parler entre les différentes régions.”

[9] Karakir (dialects of Dougne, Musunye, Al Faresh, Bilayo), whose name literally mean “cave-dweller”, while others call the language as Jonkor-Bourmataguil which was considered by D. Barreteau & P. Newman (1978) as an alternative name of Mogum-Jegu. But as we learn from J. Lovestrand (2012: 10, fn. 11), “this claim, for which no support is given, undoubtedly arises from the use of the derogatory term “Jonkor” (meaning “heathen”) to refer to several different language groups including Migaama and Mogum (Roberts 1993). James Roberts did field research to confirm that Jungraithmayr was correct in labeling Jonkor Bourmataguil a separate language.” To the best of my knowledge, this people and language have not yet been thoroughly described. Only indirect information is available from the research by J. Roberts (1993: 7, §3.5.1.), who reports of “the Karakir and their language. They themselves called their language [dúɲ], and called their ethnic group by the same name. There is a village by that name about 15 km from Bilayo (which I will henceforth refer to as Dougne), but ... the group was probably much larger in former times ... and Dougne was apparently one of the historic Karakir villages.” Roberts (1993: 8-9, §3.5.2.) “It is not certain that Karakir was a completely homogeneous language, since it was spoken over a relatively wide area. ... Today, the Bilayo people said that the language spoken at Dougne and Al Faresh was the closest to their own speech variety, and that these other two villages spoke ‘almost the same’: Dougne and Al Faresh (and Bilayo) can understand each other, they assured us. I suspect that there is some dialectal variation among these three ...” J. Roberts (1993: 22, §5.) concluded on the “Karakir (Jonkor of Bourmataguil, Dougne) ... Dialects: DOUGNE, MUSUNYE. I tentatively suggest that Karakir be listed separately because it has been traditionally regarded as a distinct group.”

[10] J. Roberts (1993: 23, §5.): Kofa is a dialect of Jegu (Mogum) and “Kofa is a little more distant from the other dialects, but is not clear if it deserves to be listed as a separate language.” The interview made in Mongo with the Kofa by J. Roberts (1993: 14, §3.9.2.) has brought forth the following situation: “The Kofa men identified several neighboring ethnic groups and languages. To the east of Kofa country are the Bidiyo, and also the Karakir (although they said these people are no longer there); to the northwest are the Ubi; to the west the Jegu; to the southwest the Mogum; to the south the Bolgo; and to the southeast, the Musunye.”

[11] P. Doornbos and M.L. Bender (1983: 59-60, §3.4.13) supplied precious data on the Kujarke people. M.L. Bender's (in: Bender & Doornbos 1983: 76, §3.5.7) “quick survey” showed Mubi, Minjile and Kajakse to belong tightly together (their lexicostatistical scores ranging between 74-92%), but they only have about a quarter thereof in common with Kujarke, which led Bender to exclude Kujarke from MT. Two decades later, precious, albeit alarming, insights by P. Doornbos (2015: 94-95) have been published on the howabouts of the Kujarke as an endangered people and language. R.M. Blench (2008 MS: 2): “Recently, an unpublished manuscript containing additional words collected by Doornbos has been circulated, together with some etymological commentary. Nonetheless, the sample material remains small and the transcription and reliability of some forms can be questioned. ... The fate of the Kujarge people, whose homeland is exactly in the centre of recent conflict, is unknown, but prognostications cannot be good.” J. Lovestrand (2012: 19, §3.5): “Though geographically isolated from other Chadic languages, Kujarge has been described as a Chadic language since its earliest documentation (Doornbos and Bender 1983:59, 76). The people are described as “Chadic speakers” who may have very well been taken as slaves from the western boundary of the Daju sultanate, viz., the Guéra region. An unpublished list of two hundred Kujarge words from the field notes of Paul Doornbos has recently been circulated among linguists.” V. Blažek (2015: 88, Appendix 1) devoted one page to “The fate of Kujarke after 1981”, an abhorring chain of ethnic massacres permanently threatening this people.

[12] Brief report on the Masmaje with information on the villages, classification, phonology, morphology and a wordlist in Alio 2004: 277-285, §IV). MMW 2007: 5, §1.1.3.: geo- and demography, 6-7, §1.3. and 8, §1.4.3.: social infrastructure, economy, religion, villages, 22-26, §7: ethnical and sociolinguistical info with the outcome confirming that “La langue masmedje semble homogène. ...”

The considerable progress in the field research on the MT languages has brought forth considerable new results that make me reflect on drawing the following provisoric outlines in their inner grouping:

1. Muboid sub-group. That Mubi-Minjile (treated as two dialects) are tightly close to Kajakse was already clear to M.L. Bender in 1983.[19] The high degree of Mubi-Masmaje[20] and Kajakse-Masmaje[21] relationship was recorded in 2007. Mubi, Kajakse and Masmaje, whose interrelationship was estimated in MMW (2007: 10) on the basis of a lexicostatistical comparison of their wordlists mounting to 227 items, stand especially close to one an-

[13] When D. Barreteau (1978) classified the Chadic languages, he grouped Mogum (including Jegu) with the Dangla-Migama languages, viz. Dangla, Migama, Mawa, Bidiya. The Mogum people at Bodom interviewed by J. Roberts (1993: 10-11, §3.7.) corroborated the closest ties with the Jegu and then the Kofa.

[14] The most comprehensive description of Mubi has been delivered by H. Jungraithmayr (2013), which is at a time the only monographical elaboration of a MT group language at all for the time being. Barreteau (1978) classified Mubi as a subgroup of the Dangla-Migama group. Following his assumption, C. Mbernodji & E. Johnson (2006: 7, §4.1.) compared the lexicons of Mubi and of the Dangla dialects as well as of Zirenkel with a little surprising result: "Selon les Moubi qui ont répondu aux questionnaires individuels, la seule langue avec laquelle le moubi a de ressemblances est le zirenkel ..."

[15] Minjile is treated in Bender & Doornbos 1983, as a distinct idiom beside Mubi. Still, M.L. Bender (in: Bender & Doornbos 1983: 76, §3.5.7) also admitted: "I am assuming Minjile is a dialect of Mubi ...", since his "quick survey shows Mubi and Minjile to be one language (76/82 or 92% in common). Both Mubi and Minjile seem to be dialectically related to Kajakse ... as indicated by Lukas 1937."

[16] To the best of my knowledge, this people and language have not yet been described. Only indirect information is available from the research by J. Roberts (1993: 17-18, §3.11.2.) confirming that Musunye is as close to Toram as Jegu to Mogum. From his couple of informants, J. Roberts (1993: 9-10, §3.6.) shared some scattered and second-hand information on the Musunye language alleged to (have) be(en) spoken in several villages. One of his informants knowing "a lot about the Musunye and their history ... said that it was incomprehensible with Toram and with Dougne (Karakir), although he didn't speak any of the Musunye language himself. It is only the elderly people who still speak the Musunye language, ... the young people have abandoned it altogether."

[17] The disappointingly brief and incomplete interview by J. Roberts (1993: 17-18, §3.11.2.) with the Toram in their home area has brought forth the names of their villages and neighbors that they "named Burgit, Duguri, Musunye, Mogum, and Jegu as neighboring languages that they considered similar.... Of these they said that Mogum and Jegu were the easiest to understand."

[18] Kh. Alio (1998), probably the first linguist to deal with Zirenkel, etymologized this ethnonym from the Dadjo term for "stranger", "qui a fini par désigner une sorte de langue 'mixte', formé par le dadjo, le dangaléat, et le moubi". He assumed the Mubi influence to be due to the fact that the Mubi settled with the Dadjo for having had conflict with them. Such a linguistic interference between Dadjo and Zirenkel and Zirenkel as a *Mischsprache* (???) were, however, not perceived by E. Johnson (2005: 7) "malgré le fait que les villages zirenkel se trouve(nt) dans le canton Dadjo". On the contrary: "le zirenkel nous semble clairement une langue tchadique, la plus rapprochée du mubi." Speaking of "zirenkel, une langue inconnue auparavant aux linguistes au Tchad", C. Mbernodji & E. Johnson (2006: 7, §4.1.) reported that "les Moubi nous ont signalé, que les Zirenkel sont descendants des Moubi qui ont quitté la région de Mangalmé à une époque lointaine pour s'installer au pays Dadjo près de la ville de Mongo." ... Comme beaucoup de Zirenkel nous ont dits (sic) qu'ils comprennent le dangaléat, nous avons également recueilli des listes de mots dans trois dialectes du dangaléat."

[19] M.L. Bender's "quick survey" (in Doornbos-Bender 1983: 76, §3.5.7) showed that "both Mubi and Minjile seem to be dialectally related to Kajakse (64/81 or 79% and 63/85 or 74% respectively) ..." MMW 2007: 10, §4: Mubi vs. Kajakse lexical share rated at 63,4% (+8,2%).

[20] MMW 2007: 10, §4: Mubi vs. Masmaje lexical share rated at 69,2% (+7,9%). MMW 2007: 21, §6.7.1.: "La similitude lexicale est de 60,2-76% avec le masmedje et de 55,2-71,6% avec le moubi."

[21] MMW 2007: 18-19, §6.4.: "Selon les interviews communautaires parmi les Kadjakse il y a une intercompréhension avec le masmedje ... et une ressemblance des mots avec le moubi ..."

other (with lexicostatistical scores of similarity ranging between 63-69%).[22] Their mutual intercomprehension is also by far closer than with any other language in the region.[23] The enigmatic and lesser-studied Zirenkel appears also tightly connected with Mubi[24] whose speakers also admitted their close relationship.[25] This Muboid unity may be opposed against the mutually equally coherent Birgit dialect cluster[26] showing only 34-45% of lexi-

[22] MMW 2007: 10, §4: Masmaje vs. Mubi: 69,2% (+7.9%), Kajakse vs. Mubi: 63,4% (+8.2%), Kajakse vs. Masmaje: 68,1% (+7.9%). MMW 2007: 21, §6.7.1. on the Kajakse: "Il y a une certaine intercompréhension avec le masmedje et le moubi. La similitude lexicale est de 60,2-76% avec le masmedje et de 55,2-71,6% avec le moubi." MMW 2007: 25, §7.7.1. too: "Il y a une certaine intercompréhension avec le kadjakse et le moubi. La similitude lexicale est de 60,2-76% avec le kadjakse et de 61,3-76,9% avec le moubi."

[23] MMW 2007: 21, §6.7.1. on the Kajakse: "Il y a une certaine intercompréhension avec le masmedje et le moubi." Still, their intelligibility is weak according to MMW 2007: 16, §5.7.1.: "En ce qui concerne l'intercompréhension avec ... le masmedje, kadjakse et le mubi, il n'y a pas d'intelligibilité inhérente et la communication se fait en arabe local." MMW 2007: 18-19, §6.4.: "Selon ... les Kadjakse il y a une intercompréhension avec le masmedje ... et une ressemblance des mots avec le moubi ... Pour la communication avec les Masmedje ils semblent préférer quand même l'arabe local. Seuls les hommes d'Alili mentionnent la possibilité que les Kadjakse et les Masmedje puissent parler chacun son patois et ils se comprennent." MMW 2007: 23, §7.4.: "Il semble qu'il y a une intercompréhension entre le masmedje et le kadjakse. Selon les hommes d'Assafik et d'Amléména Hilélé c'est la même langue. Les hommes d'Assafik disent qu'un enfant comprend les Kadjakse, parce que cette langue est comme la langue maternelle de l'enfant. ... Les hommes de tous les deux villages masmedje disent comprendre au moins un peu les Moubi ... il s'agit plutôt d'une compréhension acquise que d'une intelligibilité inhérente."

[24] Although Kh. Alio (1998), probably the first linguist to deal with Zirenkel, was still speculating about "une sorte de langue 'mixte', formé par le dadjo, le dangaléat, et le moubi". But E. Johnson (2005: 7) found Zirenkel as a Chadic language "la plus rapprochée du mubi" among all the Chadic languages, which was evidenced lexicostatistically: the degree of similarity of Zirenkel with the Mubi basic lexicon mounted to 71% (+5.0%), while that with the Dangla dialects merely to the half of this degree: 34% (+6.5%) with EDangla, 36% (+6.6%) with CDangla, and to 35% (+6.6%) with WDangla according to the scores by Johnson (2005: 8), whose interviews conformed that "bien que le moubi soit sans doute la langue la plus rapprochée au zirenkel sur le plan linguistique, ... les Zirenkel ne possèdent pas une compréhension suffisante du Mubi pour pouvoir bénéficier des matériels écrits en mubi." C. Mbernodji & E. Johnson (2006: 7, §4.1.) repeated similar lexicostatistical scores of the lexical similarity of Mubi with Zirenkel: 71% (+5.0%), 32% (+6.4%) with EDangla, 35% (+6.6%) with CDangla, 35% (+6.6%) with WDangla. Lexicostatistical analysis by J. Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2., table 3) resulted in the following percentage of phonologically similar words shared by Zirenkel with: Mubi 66%, Kajakse 53%, Masmaje 51%, Birgit-Abgué 37%, Jegu of Mogum 35%, Toram 31%, EDangla 38%, Tunkul of Bidiya 33%, Migama-Baro 38%, Mabire 27%, Ubi 26% etc.

[25] The Mubi themselves claimed in the questionnaire of C. Mbernodji & E. Johnson (2006: 7, §4.1.) that in comparison with the DM languages, "la seule langue avec laquelle le moubi a de ressemblances est le zirenkel ..." Similarly, C. Mbernodji & E. Johnson (2006: 10, §8.) stated: "Selon les impressions des Moubi interviewés, leur langue n'a pas de ressemblance avec le masmadjé, le kadjaksé ou le dangaléat. Ils reconnaissent seulement un peu de ressemblance avec le zirenkel." They, however, showed a lower degree of intercomprehension. Their test was negative even about the mutual intelligibility of both these closest languages: "les Zirenkel ne possédent pas une compréhension suffisante de moubi quand bien même ces deux langues sont les plus rapprochées l'une de l'autre sur le plan linguistique. Il est clair que le zirenkel est une langue à part entière de moubi et par conséquent ne peut être considéré comme un dialecte de moubi." As a result of their research, O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 26, III. ECh. B, 5b) classified Zirenkel in MT.

[26] MMW 2007: 10, §4: Birgit-Agrab vs. Birgit-Abgué: 73,5% (+7.5%), EBirgit vs. Birgit-Abgué: 62,3% (+7.5%), EBirgit vs. Birgit-Agrab: 62,3% (+7.6%).

costatistical similarity with Muboid according to MMW 2007,[27] whose field research with these peoples has corroborated the same about their intellegibility.[28]

2. Jegoid sub-group. Jegu and Kofa may be varieties of the same language[29] and, along with Mogum, they are all tightly related to Toram,[30] Musunye[31] and so also to its closest neighbouring kindred,[32] the Karakir dialect cluster (of Bilayo, Dougne, Al Faresh,

[27] MMW 2007: 10, §4: Kajakse vs. Birgit-Abgué: 38,5% (±8.3%), Kajakse vs. Birgit-Agrab: 34,5% (±8.1%), Kajakse vs. EBirgit: 34,7% (±6.0%), Masmaje vs. Birgit-Abgué: 38,7% (±8.2%), Masmaje vs. Birgit--Agrab: 36,1% (±8.2%), Masmaje vs. EBirgit: 36,7% (±6.2%), Mubi vs. Birgit-Abgué: 44,9% (±8.4%), Mubi vs. Birgit-Agrab: 38,3% (±8.2%), Mubi vs. EBirgit: 36,7% (±6.2%). MMW 2007: 25, §7.7.1.: "Il n'y a pas d'inter-compréhension avec les variétés birguits, la similitude lexicale est très basse (27,9-46,9%) et la communication se fait probablement en arabe locale."

[28] MMW 2007: 10: "Il n'y a pas d'intelligibilité entre le moubi et les trois variétés birguit, entre le masmedje et les trois variétés birguit et non plus entre le kadjakse et les trois variétés birguit." MMW 2007: 25, §5.7.1.: "En ce qui concerne l'intercompréhension avec les autres variétés du groupe tchadique est B1.2, à savoir le masme-dje, kadjakse et moubi , il n'y a pas d'intelligibilité inhérente et la communication se fait en arabe local." MMW 2007: 21, §6.7.1.: "Il y a une certaine intercompréhension avec le masedje et le moubi. La similitude lexicale est de 60,2-76% avec le masmedje et de 55,2-71,6% avec le moubi. ... Pourtant la communication avec les Masme-dje et les Moubi se fait normalement en arabe local." MMW 2007: 25, §7.7.1.: "Il y a une certaine intercom-préhension avec le kadjakse et le moubi. La similitude lexicale est de 60,2-76% avec le kadjakse et de 61,3--76,9% avec le moubi. ... Pourtant la communication avec les masmedje (sic) et le moubi (sic) se fait normale-ment en arabe local. Il n'y a pas d'intercompréhension avec les variétés birguits, la similitude lexicale est très basse (27,9-46,9%) ..."

[29] The field research at Mongo conducted by J. Roberts (1993: 11, §3.8.2.) with two Jegu persons confirmed that they regard Kofa as "the same language". As for Kofa, "there was a greater difference ... the Kofa person can speak at normal speed and be understood, however. And a Jegu child would have to reach the age of 12 before understanding the Kofa variety." J. Roberts (1993: 23, §5.): "There seems to be a large degree of cohesion between all of the Jegu, Mogum, and Kofa. Indications are positive for translation ..., possibly centered around the Jegu dialect."

[30] The field research conducted by J. Roberts (1993: 11, §3.8.2.) at Mongo with two Jegu persons shows that "The Jegu adults of Boy ... could not understand Saba, Mahwa, or Ubi. ... The Toram ... could speak Mogum, and so they can understand each other." The disappointingly brief and incomplete interview by J. Roberts (1993: 17-18, §3.11.2.) with the Toram in their home area has shown that "they specifically rejected our suggestion of a similarity with Kofa or Mubi." For them, "Mogum and Jegu were the easiest to understand. ... A Toram adult would understand a Mogum or Jegu immediately; each would speak his own language, and the two would un-derstand each other. Musunye seemed to be at about the same level of difference from Toram. One gentleman estimated that a Toram could understand about 50% of Mogum, Jegu, and Musunye." V. Blažek (2011: 42, §3, note to scheme 2) too arrived at the same conclusion: "Toram is closer to Jegu (65.1%) than to Mubi (51.2%). The relatively low figures are caused by very poor Toram lexical data, ca. 40 items from the basic 100-word--list." Surprisingly, J. Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2) supposes that "two languages in the B1 group, Toram and Birgit, might be currently classified in the wrong subgroup", which means put in other words that both should be moved into the DM "sub-group" from the MT one.

[31] As for the Musunye language, another informant of J. Roberts (1993: 9-10, §3.6.) "felt that it was most like the Jegu-Mogum-Kofa complex. The Kofa people interviewed at Mongo said that the Kofa could understand Musunye. ... The Jegu man interviewed at Mongo ... claimed that the Mogum, Jegu, and Musunye shared a common origin, and that the ancestor of the Musunye was simply a Mogum. ... the Jegu children of Boy could understand Musunye from the age of 6-7 years old; their language is very close to Jegu. Finally, the Toram people at Lui said that the Musunye resembled Toram, perhaps 50% comprehesible with it."

[32] J. Roberts (1993: 8-9, §3.5.2.): "After the Karakir varieties, the Bilayo people said that Musunye was the language that was next closest to their own. The Dougne people understand Musunye; there are nuances in certain names for things, but otherwise they are alike, was the comment heard at Bilayo. ... a Musunye and a Dougne ...

Musunye).[33] There is an assumption that the Jegu-Toram-Birgit cluster does not at all belong that tightly together with Muboid cluster, but rather with DM.[34] J. Roberts' 1993 field research has shown Kofa to be the closest to Mabire, then Mogum, then Jegu,[35] and that Mogum is closely related with Kofa.[36] This Jegoid unity (Jegu, Kofa, Mogum, Toram, Karakir, Musunye) appears to be much more distant from Birgit and Duguri.[37]

3. Birgit dialect cluster. The Birgit dialects are themselves pretty diversified,[38] and there is a doubt as to its classification within MT along with Jegu and Toram with which it may be closer to one another attached than to Muboid.[39] V. Blažek (2008: 135) demonstrated lexi-

would understand each other ..." Similarly, J. Roberts (1993: 9-10, §3.6.): "The Karakir people at Bilayo ... identified Musunye as the closest language to Karakir, the two being intercomprehensible."

[33] J. Roberts (1993: 8-9, §3.5.2.): "The language that was next closest to Karakir was identified as Toram. The Bilayo men said they could understand Toram, but admitted ... differences. ... The next closest language identified by the Karakir was Mogum-Jegu-Kofa. They found these three to be all together almost on a par, but when pressed, they said Mogum might be a bit easier to understand than the other two. They said that they could understand some Kofa words, but far from everything. If a Karakir were to meet a Mogum, the two would have to converse in Arabic in order to understand each other. The allowed, however, if the two individuals knew each other, they might each understand the other's speech if they paid very careful attention." Elsewhere, J. Roberts (1993: 9-10, §3.6.) states that "the Karakir people at Bilayo ... identified Musunye as the closest language to Karakir, the two being intercomprehensible."

[34] J. Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2) supposes that "two languages in the B1 group, Toram and Birgit, might be currently classified in the wrong subgroup", which means put in other words that both should be moved into the DM "sub-group" from the MT one. His scheme (ibid., table 3: percentage of phonologically similar words) shows Jegu scores also much closer to the DM core languages than to MT.

[35] The interview with the Kofa men made by J. Roberts (1993: 14, §3.9.2.) in Mongo has revealed that "When asked about neighboring languages, they actually mentioned Mabiré first. Although the Kofa cannot understand the Mabiré language ..., they consider the Mabiré to be Kofa people, and the Mabiré at Katch now speak Kofa, apparently. Linguistically, the Kofa reckoned that Mogum was the closest to their own speech variety (perhaps Mogum-Délé first, then Mogum-Urmi?). Then came Jegu, followed by Musunye ... understood by the Kofa."

[36] The Mogum at Bodom interviewed by J. Roberts (1993: 10-11, §3.7.) "reckoned that the Jegu spoke Mogum 'with a different accent'. Kofa ... was a little further away from their speech variety, having both a different accent and some words different as well. The people at Bodom considered the Mogum to be the same people together with the Jegu and Kofa. However, they said that the Jegu speech variety was closest ('beaucoup rapproché') to their own. ... among the Kofa-Jegu-Mogum group, the overall center would be Jegu. As for the intercomprehension with Kofa, little problems were envisaged. They said a Kofa person could understand and speak with Mogum with no difficulty, each one speaking his own variety of the language. Even a child ... could understand Kofa as soon as he could speak Mogum, and the children would understand each other among themselves. Saba, the neighboring language to the west, is further away linguistically. The people of Bodom rated it more difficult to understand than Kofa ..."

[37] The interview by J. Roberts (1993: 17-18, §3.11.2.) with the Toram in their home area confirmed that "... Birgit is evidently further distant. A Toram can understand only some words of Birgit. ... Duguri must have a similar status to Birgit."

[38] J. Roberts (1993: 20, §3.12.3.): "... the Birgit mean at Abou Deïa mentioned the Birgit of Am Dam sous--préfecture in first place, then Duguri (Dar-el-esh), and thirdly Agrab. No other languages were mentioned as similar. The villagers at Agrab said that they understood a little of Toram, but well less than half, and that they understood no other languages in the area." MMW 2007: 16, §5.7.1.: "Surtout la similitude lexicale entre 'birguit est' et les variétés àbgué' et 'agrab' est assez basse."

[39] Surprisingly, J. Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2) supposes that "two languages in the B1 group, Toram and Birgit, might be currently classified in the wrong subgroup", which means put in other words that both should be

costatistically that Birgit forms a tighter unit with Jegoid as opposed to Muboid and that Jegu-Birgit stands much closer to DM than Muboid,[40] which was neatly reaffirmed by the research by J. Lovestrand (2012).[41] In the view of M.L. Bender (from 1983), Kujarke may perhaps belong also here (as identical???) with Birgit,[42] although the outcome of the lexicostatistical research by both J. Lovestrand (2012)[43] and V. Blazek (2015)[44] suggests that

moved into the DM "sub-group" from the MT one. His scheme (ibid., table 3: percentage of phonologically similar words) shows Jegu scores also much closer to the DM core languages than to MT.

[40] V. Blažek (2008: 135): "Birgit & Toram are closer relatives of Jegu than Mubi. ... Jegu & Birgit are closer relatives of Dangla, Migama, Bidiya than Mubi."

[41] The research by J. Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2, table 3) has resulted in that "the percentage of similar words that Kujarge shares with the B1 group is higher than the percentage shared with other languages in the subbranch. This suggests that Kujarge could be most closely related to the B1 languages." Which means in his terminology that Kujarke should be grouped in the joint DM-MT cluster (= B1). Moreover, Lovestrand (2012: 18, §3.4) thinks that, although "in the early classification by Lukas, Birgit and Toram were considered dialects of Mubi" and "although no longer considered dialects, Birgit and Toram have been associated with Mubi ever since, in spite of the absence of any linguistic evidence to support the claim." Referring back to the results by MMW (2007) on the opposition of Birgit cluster vs. Muboid and to those by V. Blažek (2008: 2011) on the closer standing of Birgit and Mogum/Jegu, J. Lovestrand (2012: 19, §3.4) reaffirmed that "These two previous studies are confirmed in the present study. Birgit has 55 percent lexical similarity with Mogum and 50 percent lexical similarity with Dangla. The figures for the comparison of Birgit and any B1.2 language are not higher than 41 percent."

[42] M.L. Bender (in: Bender & Doornbos 1983: 76, §3.5.7) admitted: "I am assuming ... that Doornbos' Kujarke is Newman's Birgit, 1977:6." His "quick survey" stated how distant Kujarke was from Muboid: "All three (Mubi, Minjile, Kajakse) show only about one quarter in common with Kujarke (24/82 or 29%, 23/88 or 26%, 25/87 or 29% respectively. Thus Kujarke remains an outsider. It may be a Chadic variety heavily influenced by other languages, or a non-Chadic language with influence from Chadic neighbors, or a hybrid. The latter possibility must be taken seriously, since such cases of despised local groups having unclassified languages are common in Northeast Africa ..." Bender & Doornbos (1983: 59-60) are disposed to identify the latter people with the Birgit in the same group: "As Chadic speakers, their name might point to their being Chadian Birgid, because Fur and Daju neighbors of the Sudanese Birgid call them Kajjar, and both Chadian and Sudanese Birgid have the same self-name of Murji."

[43] Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2, table 3) stated even poorer lexicostatistical scores of Kujarke with the ECh. sister languages: with Kajakse 30%, Mubi 28%, Zirenkel 26%, Masmaje 24%, Birgit-Abgué 25%, Jegu-Mogum 26%, Toram 20%, EDangla 27%, Bidiya-Tunkul 23%, Migama-Baro 24%, Mabire 19%, Ubi 16%, Sokoro 14%, Tumak 15%, Saba 12%, Mawa 11%, Barein 20%, Mokilko 9%. Even so, MT seems to be the closest, which made J. Lovestrand (2012: 21, §3.7) classify a close unity of three distinct "ECh. B1" groups: DM, MT and Kujarke. Or as J. Lovestrand (2012: 19, §3.5) argued, "The percentage of similar words between Kujarge and B1 languages averages at about 25 percent. The percentage of similarity with B3 languages averages at about 14 percent. This supports the suspected connection between Kujarge and B1 (Dangla-Mubi group), suggested by Paul Newman (Blažek 2011). Based on this data, it is proposed that a new subgroup be created for Kujarge in the B1 group: B1.3. This subgroup allows the classification to reflect that Kujarge is an East Chadic language most closely associated with the B1 group, but not particularly closely related to either of the B1 subgroups." I.e., neither DM nor MT in his terminology.

[44] V. Blažek (2015: 89) has arrived at a scenario displaying a similarly modest lexical share of Kujarke with ECh.: with Kera 26,4%, Lele 36%, Somray 35,2%, Tumak 30,2%, Sokoro 29,4%, Dangla 42%, Migama 38,5%, Bidiya 37,2%, Mokilko 33,7%, Jegu 44,5%, Mubi 47,2%. But here too, as one can see, MT-Kujarke ties are by far the most outstanding, which made him locate the split-off of PKujarke at the ancestral stage of common DM-MT in the ECh. family tree. Henceforth, Blažek (2015: 76), maintains, even if with right hesitation, that "This result does not confirm the affiliation of Kujarke into the Mubi group, although the easternmost member of the Mubi group, Kajakse, is geographically closest from Kujarke (c. 120 km)." With regard to M.L. Bender's hypothetic scenario (in: Bender & Doornbos 1983: 76, §3.5.7, quoted above) as well as "with respect to a minorite share of Nilo-Saharan parallels in comparison with the dominant share of East Chadic parallels which apparently

Kujarke should be classified outside DM and MT tightly bound to both. Given these controversies, the question of its position must definitely be re-examined.

The deltacistic isophone (demonstrated, e.g., by the "eye" item, cf. fn. 58 below) unite, by the way, Jegoid and Birgit with DM as against the Muboid core. One wonders whether this and other possible peculiarities, along with the manifold affiliation of some Jegoid languages and Birgit with DM, make the question worth being researched whether all these might result in a new grouping in the frames of a mega-DM against the Muboid core, which, besides, displayed the very same peculiarities in this item with the Masa group, whose position has also been disputed.[45]

Beyond this more or less secure inner grouping, there have emerged in the East Chadic and, more specifically, the MT linguistic context some further languages (?) on whose precise classification only speculative impressions have been mentioned in the field research reports but due to the lack of their sufficient lexical-grammatical documentation, their puzzle remains open. Still, following the primary exloratory nature of this series of etymological papers on MT, their lexical items will be used herein with the purpose of facilitating their lexicostatistical callibration by any means.

1. Jelkung: although it was listed by R.M. Blench (2006 MS) in his Mubi group, the research by J. Lovestrand (2012: 12, fn. 15) has corroborated its inclusion better in the Sokoro group as the Jalking dialect of Bara/ein.

2. Mabire[46] has been provisorically classified by J. Roberts (1993: 16) in the DM group in a surprising and by far a premature manner, which was followed by R.M. Blench (2006),

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do not reflect any recent loans," Blažek (l.c.) assumes that "Kujarke probably represents an independent group of East Chadic branch, perhaps with a closer relation, genetic or areal, to the Dangla-Mubi super-group (the same conclusion was formulated by Lovestrand 2012). ... From the neighboring non-Chadic languages the strongest influence may be ascribed to Fur or better to some of its relatives, because the Fur-like words in Kujarke are rather different from their Fur counterparts."

[45] P. Newman (1977) decided to exclude Masa from CCh. as a separate 4th branch of Chadic, which was disproved by H. Tourneux (1990) who supplied further evidence of its conventional classification inside CCh. (JS 1981: 15, #20; JI 1994 II: XV), which was supported by O. Stolbova (CLD VI 24) also.

[46] J. Roberts (1993: 23, §5.): "Mabire. Spoken around Mt. Mabéré in the old villages of Mabire and Am Jamena. All but extinct. Closest linguistic neighbor is probably Migama, although it's not clear that it could be considereda dialect of Migama." Barreteau's (1978) example was followed by Johnson & Hamm (2002 MS: 4): "Therefore, based on Mabire's lexical similarity with these six languages, we suggest that Mabire also be grouped in his Dangla/Migama subgroup ..." The brief interview by J. Roberts (1993: 15, §3.10.1.) with a Mabire man in Mongo resulted in naming 4 villages of the Mabiré "who had a different language of their own that only the Mabiré could speak." The old Mabire man "said they were 'brothers' to the Mabiré ... However, I am not sure there is any special historic link between the two groups ..." The puzzle "What is the Mabiré language?" has been approached by J. Roberts (1993: 16, §3.10.2.) in his field research: "Both the Kofa men and Musa Duwane assured us that Mabiré was not like any other language in the area: it is not like Kofa, Ubi, or Bidiyo. The Kofa cannot understand Mabiré either, which explains why the Mabiré in Katch now speak Kofa. Musa did say that Mabiré might be like something in the area of Abou Telfan ... Everyone assured us that the language is no longer being used ... and it would only be older people who would still know it. ... From comparing the few words recollected of the Mabiré language with the data given for Migama ..., we do find a number of similarities. However, there are a number of differences too. We will tentatively conclude that Mabiré is a Chadic language of the Dangaléat-Migama subgroup, but whether it is a separate language or not must await further evidence. At any rate, the language is nearly extinct." E. Johnson & C. Hamm (2002 MS: 3): "Word list comparison results show a relatively close lexical similarity to the Jegu dialect of Mogum, though not close enough to suspect

the Ethnologue[16] (Lewis 2009), J. Lovestrand (2012: 12, §2.1.6, chart 6)[47] and by O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 26, III. ECh. B, 5a) also. Still, Mabire was found in the research by E. Johnson & C. Hamm (2002 MS: 4) as sharing almost half of its basic lexicon with Jegu, although they too admitted the score of Mabire vs. Migama of DM to show "not a significant difference", albeit their lexical comparison, in turn, confirmed the very poor share of lexicon in Mabire as compared to Bidiya and EDangla of DM to be "equally similar",[48] which is why they have based their fundamental reluctance to group it as yet either in MT or DM upon the other (etymologically unknown) half of the examined Mabire lexicon.[49]

3. Ubi, whose significant distance from Bidiya was recognized already by Kh. Alio in 1983,[50] is an even bigger puzzle as almost half (81 items) of its basic lexicon (227 items) turned out to be without a MT or DM etymology in the comparative wordlist of N. Hutchinson & E. Johnson (2006: 6, §3).[51] Ubi shows there the highest lexical share with Mawa, but even this (only one third) remains far below the level desirable to speak of a close status,[52] let alone for Ubi's very poor common lexicon shared with the other MT and DM languages.[53] The authors perfectly failed to evidence any considerable intercomprehension between Mawa and Ubi both in written and audio-materials. Still, mechanically adhering to the grouping of Mawa and Jegu (Ubi was unconsidered at that time) with Dangla, Migama and Bidiya etc., i.e., within DM, by D. Barreteau (1978), the authors hast-

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intercomprehension." E. Johnson & C. Hamm (2002 MS: 4): Mabire vs. Jegu dialect of Mogum 45% (±7.4%), vs. Baro dialect of Migama 39% (±7.3%), vs. Tunkul dialect of Bidiya 34% (±7.1%), vs. East Dangla 34% (±7.1%), vs. Ubi 26% (±8.2%), Mawa 18% (±5.7%). "From these results, Mabire appears to be the most lexically similar to the Jegu dialect of Mogum, ..."

[47] Lexicostatistical analysis by J. Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2., table 3) resulted in the following percentage of phonologically similar words shared by Mabire with: Mubi 30%, Kajakse 31%, Masmaje 31%, Birgit-Abgué 45%, Jegu of Mogum 48%, Toram 42%, EDangla 41%, Tunkul of Bidiya 42%, Migama-Baro 44%, Zirenkel 27%, Ubi 29%, Sokoro 26%, Tamki 28%, Saba 26%, Mawa 26%, Barein-Jalkiya 28%, Kujarke 19% etc.

[48] Turning away from the lexicostatistical score of Mabire vs. Jegu, E. Johnson & C. Hamm (2002 MS: 3) state: "there is not a significant difference between this figure ... and that of the similarity between Mabire and Migama due to the high margins of error ... Mabire appears to be equally similar to the Tounkoul dialect of Bidio as to the Eastern dialect of Dangaleat, with a lesser similarity to Ubi and Mawa."

[49] E. Johnson & C. Hamm (2002 MS: 3): "As it appears that Mabire shares less than half its vocabulary with any of these other languages, it seems appropriate that Mabire be considered a separate language, rather than a dialect of one of these, a language which in a few years will likely to be extinct."

[50] As rightly stated by Kh. Alio in the Chadic Newsletter (1983), who was probably the first to explore this language, Ubi is rather different from Bidiya: "Les Ubi sont sous l'autorité administrative du Canton Bidiyo, cependant ils parlent une langue assez différente de bidiya. Selon les Ubi, leur langue serait proche du mawa, une autre langue tchadique de la région." He reported also that "nous avions pu également remplir un questionnaire de 400 termes et recueillir quelques informations grammaticales".

[51] The research by N. Hutchinson & E. Johnson (2006: 6, §3) has also only led to a partial result as out of the 227 terms collected in Ubi, only 146 words "were judged to be comparable with the items on previously elicited wordlists in the related Chadic languages of Mawa, Mogum (Jegu dialect), Dangaleat (Eastern dialect), Bidiyo (Tounkoul dialect), Migama (Baro dialect). A wordlist in the dying of Mabire was also elicited from some individuals in Oubi-Oulék and added to the comparison."

[52] This made Hutchinson & Johnson (2006: 7, §3) conclude to that "Mawa is the most closely related dialect to Ubi. However, at thirty-seven percent this is still far below the maximum theshold of seventy percent from which we consider intercomprehension possible."

[53] The percentage of lexical similarity among the selected languages in the wordlist of N. Hutchinson & E. Johnson (2006: 6, §3): Ubi vs. Mawa: 37% (±6.6%), vs. Mabire 26% (±6.5%), vs. Jegu 23% (±5.7%), vs. EDangla 19% (±5.3%), vs. Migama 20% (±5.5%), Bidiya-Tunkul 21% (±5.5%).

ily sided with including Ubi in DM.[54] Thus, their decision must be treated with caution until a more profound analysis becomes available. Having used the lexicostatistic method, V. Blažek (2008: 134-135, tree-diagrams 5-6; 2011: 41-42) excluded both Ubi and Mawa from DM[55] and firmly sided with classifying both in the Sokoro group.[56] The same position was assumed by J. Roberts (2009), O.V. Stolbova (CLD II 17; III 11; VI 26) and J. Lovestrand (2012: 11, §2.1.6),[57] although R.M. Blench (2006 MS) only moved Mawa to Sokoro, not Ubi. The question of Ubi affiliation remains open, it seems. Suffice it to adduce here the cognate set for "eye" warning of the Ubi vs. MT vs. Masa isophones.[58]

[54] Hutchinson & Johnson (2006: 7, §3) guessed that "based on Ubi's lexical similarity with these six other languages, it may be appropriate that Ubi be included in his Dangla/Migama subgroup ..."

[55] V. Blažek (2015: 41): "In the most recent issue of Ethnologue (16th ed., 2009), Ubi is classified as a language closely related to Bidiya, Migama, Dangla, and especially Mawa. The model accepted in Ethnologue represents only a light modification of the model proposed by P. Newman (1977), but without Ubi."

[56] Having almost completely performed "the mutual lexicostatistic comparison of all East Chadic languages", V. Blažek (2011: 53) found "the results are convincing enough to determine the position of Ubi in other way than it was indicated in the last edition of Ethnologue, namely together with Sokoro and other close idioms, Mawa and Barain. One argument is the score 60% of the common basic lexicon for Ubi & Sokoro, 62% for Sokoro & Mawa and even 73% for Ubi & Mawa. ... Summing up, in the genetic classification of the Chadic languages, Sokoro does not represent a group consisting of only one language, but a cluster represented at least by four idioms: Sokoro, Ubi, Mawa, Barain." Using these of his own lexicostatistical results (see also Blažek 2008: 133, table 2 and 135, tree-diagram 6) demonstrating significantly high percentages of common cognates for Ubi vs. Mawa (77,8%) and Ubi vs. Sokoro (60-70%) as opposed to Ubi vs. Dangla (44%), vs. Migama (42%), vs. Jegu (45%), vs. Mubi (36%), vs. Mokilko (33%), Somray (26%), Tumak (33%), Lele (33%), Kera (29%), V. Blažek (2015: 41-42) was convinced that "Contrary to the classification proposed in Ethnologue₁₆, Ubi and Mawa should be classified together with Sokoro and Barain and not together with Bidiya, Dangla, Migama, etc."

[57] Lexicostatistical analysis by J. Lovestrand (2012: 17, §3.2, table 3, also p. 18, §3.3) resulted in the following percentage of phonologically similar words shared by Ubi with: Sokoro 47%, Tamki 45%, Saba 46%, Mawa 46%, Bareyn-Jalkiya 27%, Mubi 27%, Zirenkel 26%, Kajakse 24%, Masmaje 24%, Birgit-Abgué 22%, Jegu of Mogum 26%, Toram 21%, EDangla 27%, Tunkul of Bidiya 26%, Migama-Baro 27%, Mabire 29%, Kujarke 16% etc.

[58] Cf. CCh. (?): PMasa *ʔīr- "1. eye, 2. to see (?)" [GT]: Masa-Bongor í:rā "yeux", ī:rà "visage" [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 25, 69], Masa írą "yeux" [Mouchet] = ìr "1. (tr./intr.) voir, 2. (verbo-nominal) [ĩrà] le fait de voir, la vue, 3. (verbo-nominal) [ĩrà] les yeux, [ĩrtà] l'oeil, 4. (méton.) [ĩrà] le visage" [Caïtucoli 1983: 90], Gizey/Wina ʔàr, Masa ʔìr, Ham ʔìì, Musey ʔìì, Lew ʔìr, Marba ʔìr "oeil" [Ajello et al. 2001: 40], Gizey ʔàr, Wina ʔìr, Masa ʔìr ~ ɗìr (sic), Ham ʔìì, Musey ʔìì, Lew ʔìr, Marba ʔìr "visage" [Ajello et al. 2001: 58], Zime-Dari ir [Strümpell] = ʔī (sic: no -r) "1. oeil, 2. graine" [Cooper 1984: 1], Zime-Batna í(:)r [Jng.] = ír [Sachnine], Lame ʔír "oeil" [Sachnine 1982: 451] ‖ ECh. *ʔiri "eye" [GT] > Kwang-Mobu t-è:ɖi [Jng.], Kera d-ər [Ebert] | Kabalay č-idí [Sachnine] < *t-idi [GT] | Somray d-ùdí [Jng.], Tumak tùúr [Caprile] | Sokoro id- [Nachtigal] = yīdì [Barth in Lukas 1937] = ìrí (fem. pl.) "eyes" [Saxon 1977 MS: 3, #4] | WDangla ódò (ôdò?) "oeil" [Fédry 1971: 41], EDangla ùdā (f), ūdā "1. l'oeil, 2. le tas à vendre" [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 325], Korlongo ūdò "l'oeil" [Dbr.-Mnt.], Bidiya ʔùdíyà (f), pl. ʔùde "oeil" [AJ 1989: 122], Migama ʔídè (f), pl. ʔídì "oeil" [JA 1992: 92], Mawa ììd-íŋ (f) "oeil", írró "mon oeil", ídìm "dein Auge" ("ton oeil") [Jng. 1978 MS: 8] | Muboid *ʔirīny "eye" [GT]: Mubi írín (f), pl. áràn "Auge" [Lukas 1937: 182] = *írín "eye" [Doornbos-Bender] = ʔíríinì (f), pl. ʔàràn "1. oeil, 2. petite rivière" [Jng. 1990 MS: 24], Minjile *irinì "eye" [Doornbos-Bender], Kajakse *áríin "eye" [Doornbos-Bender] = ʔàriinì, pl. ʔàrìn "oeil" [Alio 2004: 239, #31] (Muboid: Doornbos-Bender 1983: 77, #25) vs. Jegoid *ʔude, pl. *ʔodo, var. (?) *ʔuɖe, pl. *ʔoɖo "eye" [GT]: Jegu ʔúdê, pl. ʔódô "Auge" [Jng. 1961: 117], Kofa ʔúɖè (f), pl. ʔódò "eye" [Jng. 1977 MS: 3, #4], Toram ʔùdò (Alio: sg., GT: pl.?) "oeil" [Alio 2004: 263, #444] vs. Birgit ʔúdì (f), pl. ʔódò "oeil" [Jng. 2004: 359] (ECh.: JI 1994 II: 127). The -r- of Ubi ʔìrì (so, without -n) "oeil" [Alio 2004: 271, #144] is revealing just as in Mokilko ʔêr-sa/âr-sa "eye" [Jng. 1990], which tells us that neither can derive from deltacized DM as supposed or favorized.

Introduction to the Mubi-Toram etymological project

Mubi-Toram is the last (namely, the 26th) and so the easternmost group in the Chadic classification proposed by H. Jungraithmayr (JI 1994 II: xv). Some of these languages are scattered pretty close to the border of the Chad Republic with Sudan (whereas others are spread in the middle and the mid-western zones of Chad).[59] For some (scientifically founded?) reason or by tradition, however, the Chadic nomenclature has always been started from the westernmost geographical extremity, although the immigration of ancestral Chadic tribes took place from the East. Already R.M. Blench (2008)[60] and V. Blažek (2015)[61] have noted the particular lexical affinity of Kujarke to Cushito-Omotic. One is thus disposed to side with R.M. Blench (2008)[62] suggesting Kujarke to be regarded as a remnant of the last proto-Chadic invaders from the eastern direction. This hypothesis of the immigration by proto-Chadic pastoralists through the Wadi Howar into Lake Chad zone was most recently also echoed by H. Jungraithmayr (2020).[63] Although until most recently, these assumptions had escaped my attention and I have so far never ventured to publish about these utmost puzzling and exciting moments of the linguo-archaeological reconstruction of

[59] Like, e.g., the Kajakse and Kujark/ge, the easternmost forerunners (?) of the Chadic family examined by P. Doornbos and M.L. Bender (1983: 59-60), who localized Kajakse in "Wadai, between 12 and 13°N and between 20°30' and 21°30'E. ... The Kajakse are concentrated around Jebel Kajekse and five similar hills in the neighborhood". The Kajakse are known to them "also as refugees in the border zone on Sudanese territory." They described the Kujarge as inhabiting "seven villages in Chad near Jebel Mirra (11°45'N – 22°15'E); also scattered among Fur and Sinyar in Sudanese villages along the lower Wadis Salih and Azum." Both authors state that "informants disagree whether their origin lies in Darfur or in their present habitat. The Kujargé are bounded to the west by the Daju-Galfigé; to the north by the Sinyar; to the east and south by the Fur-Dalinga, Fongoro, Formono, and Runga. ... This population may very well have been slaves of the Daju Sultans of Der Sila, removed from the western boundary by force or conquest, to protect or populate the eastern boundary of the sultanate."

[60] The case of rather isolated Kujarke, as we learn from R.M. Blench (2008 MS: 2), "points to its particular lexical links with Cushitic and Chadic. Some of these are quite surprising, and it seems conceivable that Kujarge represents a very conservative language that formed part of a chain of languages linking these two regions of Africa." Referring to the unpublished Kujarke 200 item wordlist by P. Doornbos, J. Lovestrand (2012: 19, §3.5) claimed: "While there are some words on the list that point to links with other Afroasiatic families, Kujarge shares more lexical similarities with East Chadic than any other group (Blench 2008, Blažek 2010). It is suggested that these cross-family similarities may be retention of archaic forms and more evidence of the links between Afroasiatic families."

[61] Having examined "specific isoglosses connecting Kujarke with all East Chadic groups", V. Blažek (2015: 76) has also observed "remarkable, although sporadic, links to Omotic, Cushitic or Berber, confirm an archaic character of the Chadic stratum of the Kujarke lexicon. In regard of the position of the easternmost Chadic language it is not so surprising (cf. Blench 2008)."

[62] In the frames of his daring, albeit tempting, scenario "of a migration of Cushitic speakers westward", that is a "gradual migration of pastoralist peoples ... from the Nile Valley to Lake Chad", associated with "the Leiterband pottery tradition that has been identified in the Eastern Sahara, most specifically in the Wadi Howar, which is a now dry river system that stretches over 1000 km between Eastern Chad and the Nile Valleybed", R.M. Blench (2008 MS: 4) has apparently meant Kujarke to represent one of the linguistic remnants at the easternmost Chadic end of this once "fluent" historical corridor ...

[63] For the hypothesis of a long wandering of Chadic ancestors through the Wadi Howar due to disappearing green Sahara in the Holocene see most recently Jng. 2020, esp. 15-18 and 34-44.

the AA prehistory,[64] I have only slowly come to surmise something about the exclusive isoglosses between Muboid and Omotic on my own since my regular sessions on my AA root catalogue have been renewed in spring 2019.

The fact that this was one of the least studied Chadic groups from the standpoint of both lexicography and comparison, has greatly inspired to start my project for a Mubi-Toram comparative lexicon in summer 2008,[65] whereby the first etymological fruits have been published more than a decade ago in my first paper in this series (Takács 2009). Since then, however, serious new results have become available from the research of the SIL and other linguists on the East Chadic languages to me in my research, which had to be reflected in this 2nd part also, which has resulted in this unusually long extended introduction. For almost each of the MT daughter languages (and also for those some others, at least, only ever supposed to belong to MT), usually we already find just one wordlist, among them perhaps only Mubi is relatively better provided with sources.[66]

This is a substantially new situation of being significantly better, albeit not yet sufficiently, equipped with lexical sources for the language group that belongs to the geographically easternmost periphery of the East Chadic subbranch and this fact represents a potential bridge in the remote "green Saharan" prehistory leading towards the westernmost periphery of the other geographical corpus of the SAA block, i.e., Omotic in Western Ethiopia, which poses an extended bunch of new research tasks of this series of papers[67] as well

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[64] Perhaps except for my discouraged surmise as for the origins of the dendronym of ebony, cf. Takács 2021.

[65] The author expresses his gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn, Germany) for permanently supporting his research in 1999-2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2020 at the Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften of the J.W. Goethe University (Frankfurt a/M), where the materials a.o. for the present paper were mostly collected. My cordial thanks go also to late Prof. Khalil Alio (University of N'Djaména, Chad Republic), may his memory be blessed, for submitting his field research records of the Mubi-Toram languages at my disposal in 2002.

[66] ● **Birgit**: Jng. 1973 MS and 2004; MMW 2007: 43-49, §A.4 (3 dialects: Magrane, Agrab, Abgué-Dabdab); ● **Jegu**: Jng. 1961: 109-123; Hutchinson & Johnson 2006: 22-24, Appenix C (as Jegu dialect of Mogum); ● **Kajakse**: Doornbos's 1979-1981 field research records published in Bender-Doornbos 1983: 76-78, table 7; Alio 2004: 239-248, §3.5.; MMW 2007: 43-49, §A.4 (dialect of Amtalaté); ● **Kofa-Mogum**: Jng. 1977 MS; Roberts 1993: 16 (some words); ● **Kujarke**: Doornbos's 1979-1981 field research records were partly (only 100 items of the basic lexicon) published in Bender-Doornbos 1983: 76-78, table 7, but his unpublished 200 item Kujarke wordlist was partly used by J. Lovestrand (2012: 49-51, Appendix 2: "Possible Kujarge-East Chadic B cognates") and by V. Blažek (2015: 76-83: "A. Core wordlist" with some 98 items published by Doornbos in 1983 well etymologized in Ch. + pp. 84-87: "List B" with hitherto unpublished items collected by Doornbos that Blažek mostly failed to compare within Ch. or even AA); cf. also Blažek 2013 with AA cognates to the 200 item Kujarke wordlist; ● **Mabire**: Roberts 1993: 16 (some words); Johnson & Hamm 2002 MS: 5-9, Appendix A; Hutchinson & Johnson 2006: 19-21, Appenix C; ● **Masmaje**: Alio 2004: 280-285, §5; MMW 2007: 43-49, §A.4 (dialect of Amlaména, Hilélé); ● **Mubi**: Lukas 1937: 180-191; Doornbos's 1979-1981 field research records published in Bender-Doornbos 1983: 76-78, table 7 (as Minjile treated as distinct from Lukas' Mubi); Jng. 1990 MS and 2013; Johnson 2005: 14-18, Annexe B; Mbernodji & Johnson 2006: 23-28, Annexe D; MMW 2007: 43--49, §A.4 (Saraf Abuzbah dialect); ● **Toram**: Alio 1988 MS and 2004: 252-263, §4.; ● **Ubi**: Alio 2004: 267-276, §4; Hutchinson & Johnson 2006: 19-24, Appenix C; ● **Zirenkel**: Johnson 2005: 14-18, Annexe B; Mbernodji & Johnson 2006: 23-28, Annexe D.

[67] Its first part with roots having a *b- in the *Anlaut* was published in *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* 62/3 (2009), 315-336. The third part of this series examining the MT lexical stock with *ḅ- is going to be published in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 65/1-2 (2023).

as of the projected comparative-etymological lexicon of the Mubi-Toram languages in addition to those originally intended in 2008-9:

1. Our task has always been first of all to have a solid proto-lexicon and comparative phonology of the MT and step-by-step of all the other neglected Chadic groups.[68] The success of modern research on Chadic phonological and lexical reconstruction (initiated by V.M. Illič-Svityč and P. Newman in the mid-sixties of the 20th century) fundamentally depends on how the internal (Chadic) reconstruction and external (Afro-Asiatic) comparison of every single individual Chadic language group proceeds at the same time.

2. The present series is to integrate this remote and peripheral lexical stock in its wider Chadic and Afro-Asiatic etymological context. This, as a side-effect, may facilitate a more secure and satisfactory settling of the puzzling isolates or etymologically unexplored Chadian languages ever linked with MT by providing further materials for the lexicostatistical research outlined above. This is why the present work and certainly a few further hopeful sequences of this series should contain for this purpose, even if some linguists may oppose, data from languages whose position is heavily debated in and around MT. Of course, I readily believe lexicostatistical scores, but I prefer to examine much more of further possible phonological and lexical evidence and not to close the debate over Kujarke, Mabire, Ubi etc., which, even if these eventually turn out to lie outside MT, may supply nice asset for this debate. It may well be that with the progress of this project, the Jegoid--Birgit block will definitely end up with DM and detached from Muboid. It was not by chance that, following my own superfacial impressions, I had started back in 2008 working on the comparative lexicons of both MT and DM and combined their etyma in the same entries.

3. Even isolated glosses were treated since, as I have slowly come to understand in the course of my research over the past few years, MT as a peripheral Chadic group displays a unique lexicon with a considerable non-Chadic, albeit AA, traits. The increasing bunch of astonishing exclusive Omo(tic)-Chadic isoglosses renders this series of papers at a time an arena of matches that point far beyond the boundary of Chadic and may ontribute to SAA prehistory, something I had not even been dreaming of when I had begun working on these languages in summer 2008.

*

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cu.: Cushitic, DM: Dangla-Migama, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, MT: Mubi-Toram, N: North(ern), Om.: Omotic, S: South(ern), Sem.: Semitic.

Abbreviations of author names

AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Dbr.: Djibrine, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, Mnt.: Montgolfier, MMW: Marti, Mbernodji, Wolf, NM: Newman & Ma.

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Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VIII: Further addenda to the Omotic roots with *b- + dentals and sibilants (Part 1)[1]

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Dedicated to the memory of
M.L. Bender (1934-2008),[2]
The greatest researcher of Omotic

Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VIII: Further addenda to the Omotic roots with *b- + dentals and sibilants (Part 1).* The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 95-124

The paper constitutes part of a long-range series aiming, step by step, to identify the inherited Afro-Asiatic stock in the etymologically little explored lexicon of the Omotic (West Ethiopia) branch of the Afro-Asiatic family displaying the least of shared traits among the six branches of this macrofamily, which suggests a most ancient Omotic desintegration reaching far back to the age of post-Natufian neolithic.

Keywords: Ethiopian languages, Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic), comparative linguistics, etymology

[2] It was just a quarter of a century ago that our correspondence started in 1996 which had lasted until the last days of his enormously fruitful research and life. I had eagerly awaited to meet him in person a year later at the NACAL in March 1997 in Miami where I had learnt a determined enthusiast of his field. Our permanent correspondence had become especially intense after I had moved to Frankfurt in summer 1999 to begin my Humboldt research, when we had heard of one another almost on a daily basis, which had more or less remained so frequent until his end (thus mounting probably to several hundreds of letters). I am probably one of the few having stimulated his long march towards the completion of his epoch-maker book on Omotic comparative phonology and lexicon, whose free copy no. 1 was sent me on the 15th August 2003 with a dedication "to Gabor – for inspiring me to keep at it. Lionel", which I am so much proud of.

Introduction

Omotic (West Ethiopia) and Chadic (Rep. of Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria), i.e., the 5th and 6th branches,[3] resp., of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) language macrofamily have so far been the least studied ones from the standpoint of their external lexical correspondences compared with the other four branches: Cushitic (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania), Berber (Maghreb),[4] Egyptian and Semitic. In Chadic, at least, we have the unique[5] and lasting achievements accumulated by O.V. Stolbova (Moscow) over the past five decades of her permanent and fruitful research for both its inner reconstruction and its external comparison. This kind of research on the inherited Afro-Asiatic stock of the Omotic root inventory, let alone the elaboration of the underlying historical phonology, has by far been advanced in this branch to the same extent as in Chadic, even though this branch, according to both the isomorphic and provisory glottochronological calculations, appears as the very first unity of the Afro-Asiatic parental community to have branched off (cf. Takács 2015) and so promises to end up as the inventory consisting of the most archaic segments of the Common Afro-Asiatic (CAA) lexicon.

We owe much to H.C. Fleming, M.L. Bender, and M. Lamberti for their pioneering studies on the internal lexical comparison and phonological reconstruction of Omotic. The latter two authors did even manage to produce monographs on the subject,[6] where, however, a systematic phonological-lexical equation with the other branches was not even targeted. The lexical comparisons by M. Lamberti were always, as a rule, restricted to Cushitic and Ethio-Semitic, which is overwhelmingly true about both other authors. Ironically, the very first book by M. L. Bender (1975) contains merely a loosely composed list of supposed parallels to Omotic roots in- and outside Afro-Asiatic, but this attempt, unfortunately, had not even reached the level of J.H. Greenberg's (1955, 1963) 'mass comparison", and is nothing more than a collection of putative guesses on often unconvincing look-alikes.

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[3] The numeration of the branches follows the commonly accepted nomenclature of the Afro-Asiatic classification established by J.H. Greenberg (1955: 51 and fn. 10; 1963: 48-49), who still distinguished five branches: (1) Semitic, (2) Berber, (3) Ancient Egyptian, (4) Cushitic, (5) Chadic, which was due to Omotic languages having been in his day still classified under West Cushitic until the pioneering studies in the 1970s by H.C. Fleming (1969, 1974, 1976a, 1976b) and by M.L. Bender (1975), cf. also Fleming & Bender (1976), who established Omotic as a separate (i.e. 5th) branch of Afro-Asiatic, distinct from Cushitic. The Afro-Asiatic classification has thence become complete and so it is presently valid, which has been recently presented in a practically complete up-to-date list in EDE I: 9-34.

[4] Tamazight being the native designation for 'Berber language' preferred primarly among scholars and the intelligence in general with a Berber (Amazigh) background, we better stick to the traditional term 'Berber' commonly accepted in all international circles of Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics also.

[5] Due homage should be paid, of course, to the merits of P. Newman (1966, 1977) and H. Jungraithmayr (JS 1981: JI 1994) too, but their output is, nevertheless, no match for that of A.B. Dolgopolsky (1930-2012) in this regard, both in terms of quanity or quality, nor to that of O.V. Stolbova, who focused solely on Chadic consonantal-lexical reconstruction with ingenious insights into its AA relations over the half a century of her enormously fruitful research, following in the footsteps and reminiscent of the skills of her sometime Muscovite master, one of the most original experts of AA comparative consonantism ever, may his memory be blessed.

[6] Bender 1975, 1999, 2003 (all these volumes deal with Omotic as a whole), Lamberti 1993 (two volumes at a time, viz. 1993b: Yemsa and 1993a: Shinasha, resp.), Lamberti and Sottile 1997 (Wolayta).

But, whereas that was understandable half of a century before, as the unity and structure of this 5th branch had not even been recognized by that time at all, today, in the era of a more advanced inter-branch comparison as demonstrated in the masterpieces by Ch. Rabin, A.B. Dolgopolsky and his pupil, O.V. Stolbova, this method is no longer tenable. For the case of Omotic, this demand has first been formulated perhaps by Ch. Ehret (1979: 52) in his assessment of M.L. Bender's (1975, chapter 5) Omotic-AA comparative lexicon: "It is indicative of the rapid advances ... in phonological reconstruction within different recognized branches of Afroasiatic that we can already begin to consider refinig Bender's core vocabulary comparisons with a view toward identifying true cognates and lexical isoglosses that define a possible pattern among the six branches, and toward evaluating the conclusions about the Omotic relationship to the rest of Afroasiatic implied by Bender's grammatical isoglosses." However, Ehret (1979: 53-56) only listed just a few sets of isoglosses between Omotic and the diverse branches of Afro-Asiatic. But farther than this he has not reached either except for arriving at some tentative estimation of Omotic's position among the Afro-Asiatic branches.[7] Thereby, Ehret (1979: 61) has concluded to a few historical implications as for the dispersal of the parental PAA community, their spread through North Africa. As for the "Vocabulary and phonological reconstructions", accordingly, Ehret has suggested a valid and truly supportable option for handling Omotic core lexical stock as an especially archaic segment reflecting the most ancient layer of the parental Afro-Asiatic vocabulary void of subsequent areal innovations (that is, like the well-known Twareg-Chadic parallels, not loans, or Berbero-Cushitic isoglosses).[8] One must add here a similar pilot study into the Omotic lexicon by H.-J. Sasse (1981: 147-148), perhaps the most rigorous and convincing *reconstructeur* ever in Afro-Asiatic aside from great Dolgopolsky, for whom the only plausible way of treating cognates was the classical neogrammarian approach.[9] This is how the idea of applying it at last for Omotic also occured to him (1981: 148-149): "Wie man auf diese Weise zu Ergebnissen gelangen kann, soll im

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[7] Ch. Ehret (1979: 6§): "The final cognation percentage range is that between Omotic and all the rest, at a startlingly low average of about 1%. Only among the neighboring ... Omotic and Cushitic languages ..., especially Ometo and Highland East Cushitic, and between Eastern Omotic speeches and Eastern Cushitic (and sometimes between Omotic and Agew) do Omotic scores ... much exceed 0-2%. ... Bender's conclusion that Omotic forms one primary branch of the Afroasiatic family versus ... all the rest ... stands up."

[8] Ehret (1979: 61-62): "a number of intermediate stages will have to be reconstructed also if the truly proto--Afroasiatic remnants are to be effectively distinguished from later but geographically widespread innovations. Semitic will need to be compared first against Berber and Egyptian to see if confirmatory phonological innovations linking the three as against the rest of the family turn up. Similarly there should be shared Cushitic phonological developments attesting that grouping and, at a deeper remove, innovations setting off 'Erythraic' from Omotic. ... The over-weight of knowledge ... on Semitic ... can be felt in the common tendency to treat Semitic as most representative of the original state ... and the others as diverging from the prototype in whatever degree ... From what the vocabulary isoglosses suggest, even the occurence of a feature through all the Afroasiatic divisions except Omotic does not guarantee its proto-Afroasiatic presence. ... Omotic might be more typical of proto-Afroasiatic in many features ..."

[9] Namely, in his words (l.c.): "das Aufzeigen von Zusammenhängen, die nur dann einen Sinn ergeben, wenn man vom Zugrundeliegen eines gemeinsamen Ursystems ausgeht. Solche Zusammenhänge sind ... nicht leicht aufzufinden ...: je breiter gestreut die Gemeinsamkeiten sind, desto unwahrscheinlicher ist, daß sie auf Entlehnung oder Zufall zurückzuführen sind. Wesentlich ist dabei vor allem ... die Unterscheidung von Neuerungen und Archaismen ... – man schämt sich fast, das auszusprechen, so selbstverständlich sollte es sein."

folgenden am Beispiel des Omotischen demonstriert werden" especially because "...
scheint nun seine Afroasizität mehr und mehr in Zweifel gezogen zu werden." Thus, "... es
sei sinnvoll, bei vergleichenden Untersuchungen das Omotische zunächst auszuklammern
...: Berberisch und Semitisch sind ganz offensichtlich miteinander verwandt ... Zieht man
jedoch das Omotische hinzu, so vermindert sich die Anzahl der Isoglossen plötzlich so
stark ..." Nevertheless, Sasse (1981: 149) confessed: "Über die Afroasizität des Omo-
tischen denke ich heute nicht mehr ganz so pessimistisch wie vor acht Jahren, da mir heute
mehr Material zur Verfügung steht, das mein Bild vom Omotischen leicht verschoben
hat."[10] Then Sasse proposed all in all just 4 Omotic vs. Afro-Asiatic matches making this
pioneer study, however, a real pioneering masterpiece (even venturing to establish certain
consonantal correlates), a promising forerunner[11] of the present series "Omotic lexicon in
its Afro-Asiatic setting".

As for the internal consonantal correspondences of the Omotic groups, our vision is still
just forming as no definitive and thoroughly demonstrated *Lautgeschichte* of Omotic has
been achieved as yet in a convincing neo-grammarian manner as it was completed in some
other luckier Afro-Asiatic branches like Semitic (cf. esp. Kogan 2009 and 2011), Berber
(Kossmann 1999) or East Cushitic (Sasse 1979). But the tentative results by M.L. Bender
(1987: 23-28, 31-32; 1988: 122-127, 136-137, 139-144; 2003: 310-313), even if these are
based on an extensive Greenbergian "mass comparison" of the basic vocabulary, are, so to
say, of a precious orientation value for our research, as well as the masterful treatment of
Omotic sibilant correspondences by R. Hayward (1988), whereas the outlines of Omotic
consonantal matches by Ch. Ehret (1995: 9-12) and M. Lamberti & R. Sottile (1997: 253-
-260) are, unfortunately, to be treated with much more caution for a few reasons.[12]

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[10] Detailing the "*Uneinheitlichkeit*" of the Omotic conjugational patterns (suggesting a "*Neuerung*") as well
as its pronominal systems, "bei denen offenbar ältere und jüngere Schichten zu unterscheiden sind", Sasse (1981:
149-150) found personally "noch interessanter ... als die morphologischen Afroasiatismen des Omotischen ...
eine Reihe von Wortschatzgleichungen. Auch im Wortschatz des Omotischen ist bei flüchtiger Betrachtung sehr
wenig Afroasiatisches zu erkennen. Fast alles, was sich beim ersten Durchsehen von Wortlisten enbietet, stellt
sich bald als kuschitisches oder semitisches Lehngut heraus. Sobald man jedoch ein bißchen tiefer eindringt,
findet man plötzlich ein Paar echte 'Leckerbissen', die ... als Entlehnung nicht nur aus prinzipiellen Erwägungen,
sondern einfach mangels einer Quelle ausgeschlossen ist."

[11] Sasse (1981: 152): "Dieser Art Beispiele findet man bei eingeheneder Untersuchung eine ... Reihe. ... es
sei nur angemerkt ..., daß das Omotische einen vielversprechenden Kandidaten für die Mitgliedschaft im afro-
asiatischen Verein abgibt."

[12] Aside from just *ex cathedra* composing the table of "Provisional Omotic Consonant Reconstructions"
stated (op. cit., p. 10) as "differing only slightly from" the outcome of Bender 1988, Ch. Ehret (1995: 10-12), has
failed to present a detailed demonstration for every single rule. One can hardly be satisfied by his vague refer-
ence to his "data" (in general) drawn from Bender 1971 that are "confirmed and expanded upon by other materi-
als" like Mocha (Leslau 1959), Koyra (Hayward 1982), Ometo (Hayward 1987), Yemsa, Bench/Benesho, Ari
(Hayward 1990), from which, Ehret has only quoted some items sporadically scattered throughout his AA com-
parative lexicon (composed along an all too high quantity of methodological blunders, cf. Takács 2018: 237-239,
§I), grasped out of their respective Omotic comparative contexts. On the other hand, M. Lamberti's daring vision
of Cushito-Omotic consonantal shifts (manifesting itself in other works by him also), including his vague hypo-
thesis on original labiovelars, is radically different from that of the more conservative and cautious mainstream-
ers like Bender and Fleming and it is with regret that I must also state how much I had to refrain from using
Lamberti's all too unconvincing Cu.-Om. lexical matches. Besides, some other equally vague hypotheses of the

As for the elaboration of Afro-Asiatic inter-branch comparative phonology, in turn, already Ch. Ehret (1979: 52)[13] has proposed a working hypothesis in general at the same time when, independently and more precisely elaborated, the former Diakonoff team[14] has presented their substantially similar new vision of the Proto-Afro-Asiatic phonological reconstruction (esp. as for the affricates and the postvelars)[15] and some items of the inter--branch correlates which my own research has fundamentally corroborated (cf. esp. Takács 2011a). These are the principles we are following in this investigation also.

To the best of my knowledge, the only special studies devoted to a systematic treatment of Omotic vs. Afro-Asiatic lexical matches are due V. Blažek (then Příbram, now Brno, Masaryk University), who presented comprehensive sets of etymologies for an all-round range of the Omotic anatomical terminology at the 2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Turin, November 1989), which had long remained unpublished until these results were most recently (partly) included in the lengthy paper by V. Blažek (2008) on the sketchy lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic languages comprising 100 items of the basic vocabulary, where, unfortunately, not every single lemma was provided with an Afro-Asiatic cognate.

In my experience, in the light of the above enumerated scarce research record, I venture to claim that perhaps this branch represents the least cultivated field within the whole Afro--Asiatic domain from the viewpoint of a systematic etymological elaboration of its immense inherited lexical treasures. This new series for the 'Omotic lexicon in its Afro--Asiatic setting'[16] started some decade ago precisely for filling as many as possible of the innumerable gaps in the scanty etymological research on Omotic. The etymological entries

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eminent Italian researcher have evoked a series of rather bitter pieces of reciprocal polemy in Omotic studies, cf. Sasse 1990 vs. Lamberti 1992 or Lamberti 1991 and 1993c vs. Fleming 1992 and 1993.

[13] He even specified some of the "the correspondence patterns ... in roots of inter-branch occurence ...: (1) Reconstructible voiced stops in one branch normally correspond" to the same ones "in the others ... (2) Emphatics tend to correspond to emphatics; where an emphatic is validly equivalent to a non-emphatic, the non--emphatic will be in a language which has deleted or greatly reduced or restricted the occurence of emphatics ... (3) Laterals in one branch will correspond usually to laterals in other branches ..."

[14] SISAJa I-III (in Russian from 1981-6), revised English version: HCVA I-V (from 1993-7).

[15] Elaborated pace SIFKJa (albeit not applied for Cushitic as therein) in the reports of the Russian AA dictionary project (cf. D'jakonov-Porhomovskij 1979, Diakonoff 1984, D'jakonov et al. 1987, 1993).

[16] So far the following parts of this series have been published over the past ca. decade: ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting I: Omotic *b- with Dentals, Sibilants, and Velars.= Busetto, Luca (ed., scientific committee: Mauro Tosco, Livia Tonelli, Roberto Sottile): *He bitaney laagaa. Dedicato a / Dedicated to Marcello Lamberti*. Quaderni di Lingua e Storia 3. Milano, 2011., Qu.A.S.A.R. s.r.l. Pp. 57-74. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting II: Omotic *b- with Nasals, *r, *l, and Weak Consonants.= Zuckermann, Gh. (ed.): *Burning Issues in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Cambridge, 2012., Cambridge Scholars Press. Pp. 161-184. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting III: Omotic *p- and *pʰ-.= *Journal of Language Relationship* (Moscow) 8 (2012), 103-116. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting IV: Addenda to Omotic *b-.= *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 75/1 (2022), 123-164. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting V: Addenda to Omotic *ḅ-, *p/f-.= *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 75/4 (2022), 651-708. ● Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VI: Addenda to Omotic roots with *ḅ-, *ṗ-, *p- (or *f-).= *Lingua Posnaniensis* 63/1 (2021), 85-112. ● Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VII: Further addenda to Omotic roots with *b-.= *Lingua Posnaniensis* 64/2 (2022), 145-175.

are arranged according to consonantal roots, i.e. in the order of how the articulation places follow (in the C_1, C_2 etc.) from the labials down to the laryngeals ending in the sonants.

As for the methods in elaborating the cognate sets, I have long been adhering to the methods of AA inter-branch comparison so masterfully practised by A.B. Dolgopol'skij, a genuine mastermind of AA comparative-historical phonology and lexicon, in his brilliant etymological studies from the 1980s,[17] whence I have elaborated the principles of 'bi/tripolar mirror' of comparison (on which cf. esp. Takács 2011a: 19 in general and with further literature) originally for the case of Egypto-Semitic vs. South Cushitic examined by me since 1998,[18] but then extended also for numerous other branches/groups of AA.[19]

In the preceding issues of my series (abbreviated OmAA in these papers), I was publishing those new etymologies of Omotic roots that I had observed during my work (1994-2007) on vols. II-III of my Egyptian etymological dictionary (EDE, with initial labials). Since then, I have managed to turn Bender's (2003) epoch-making Omotic comparative phonology and lexicon (arranged according to groups and English meanings of the basic lexicon) upside down by the work of several years (by spring 2020) and, henceforth, now I possess an as complete as possible Common Omotic comparative wordlist arranged A-Z according to the initial consonants of the Omotic roots, which may accelerate the research for a more secure assessment of the Afro-Asiatic nature of the Omotic lexicon and, potentially, for turning Bender's provisional sets of consonantal correspondences and *ad hoc* lexical reconstructions into definitive ones. This new research of mine, starting in 2020, has brought forth a formerly unseen mass of new isoglosses between Omotic vs. esp. Semitic (Arabic) or Berber or West Chadic (Angas-Sura) which could not have been accomplished without my new Omotic alphabetic wordlist, which may in all likelihood alter our views on the degree of inter-branch relationship and make us better understand the special position of Omotic.

Om. *b- + dentals

247. NOm.: Konta budunu (unless an error for g-?)[20] [GT: -VdV- regular < *-r-] "warthog, pig" [Bender 2003: 26, #143] ‖‖ ECh. *bwarni "rhino" [GT]: Kwang-Ngam bórni (f)

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[17] Cf. A. B. Dolgopol'skij's fundamental studies on the Semitic matches of Angas-Sura *-γ- (1982), initial consonant correlations in Sem.-ECu. (1983), SCu.-Sem. laterals (1987), Sem.-ECu. initial laryngeals (1988), the reconstruction of the AA laterals (1989), Sem. *š vs. Ch. (1990).

[18] Cf. Takács 1999c: 393-426; 2000a: 69-117; 2003: 143-162; 2005a: 65-83; 2005c: 213-225 and 2010: 91-122. For the case of Ma'a sibilants see Takács 2002a: 109-133; 2009b: 125-131: Ma'a ŝ-; 2009c: 135-142.

[19] E.g. I was using the Eg./Sem. mirror for the case of ● NBrb.: Tamazight ḍ- and ẓ- (Takács 2006), EBrb.: Ghadames b̲- + SBrb.: Ahaggar h (Takács 2000d: 333-356; 2004b: 31-65; 2011a: 83-103), ● Agaw/CCu. (Takács 2012: 85-118), ECu. *ā (Takács 2000c: 197-204; 2011a: 110-111), LECu.: Rendille ǯ- (Takács 2001: 265-269; 2011a: 112-114), ● CCh.: Musgu and Masa h- vs. ḥ- (Takács 2013: 153-184), ● ECh.: Mokilko (Takács 2002b: 145-161), ● ECh.: Dangla-Migama (Takács 2009-2010: 133-148: Bidiya b-; Takács 2009a: 119-124: Bidiya č- and ǯ-).

[20] A puzzling form, since one is, of course, disposed to render Konta budunu as an irregular reflex or a mistranscribed form of *gudun-, cf. NOm.: Macro-Ometo / "Ta-Ne" *gud-unt- "warthog, pig" [Bender 2003: 122

"rhinocéros" [Jng. 1973 MS: 12] | Somray bwàrnī (m, f) "rhinocèros" [Jng. 1993 MS: 7] ‖ CCh.: Musgu bíírni "Nashorn" (Roeder) [Lukas 1941: 47] ‖ WCh.: (???) PAngas *vərīlī > *vərlī (assimilated < **bʷarni → **bʷərili?)[21] "1. rhinoceros (older sources), 2. antelope (recent sources)" [GT].[22] The underlying **SAA *burun-/*bʷaran-** "rhinoceros" [GT] may be a extended stem built upon a more ancient biliteral root whose simplex, for the time being, I could only locate in ECh.: Kera bèré "Warzenschwein (phacochère)" [Ebert 1976: 31], which may be eventually akin to the following SAA root family:

247.1. Regarding the typical shift of meaning "wild boar" to "hedgehog" attested in SAA,[23] I would venture to assume that the underlying root may etymologically belong to ECh.: Mubi mbùròoré (f), pl. mbìràr "porc-épic" [Jng. 1990b MS: 6; 2013: 163] ‖ WCh.: PSuroid *-peɣer > *-pəɣər "hedgehog" (either semi-reduplicated or prefixed with *pi-/*pə-) [GT]: Mupun pə̀-péer "hedgehog" [Frajzyngier 1991: 51], Mushere pi-pikir [< *-piɣir or *-pəɣər?] "hedgehog" [Diyakal 1997 MS: 241] vs. PGoemay *boɣor or *ba₃ɣa₃r (used with prefixe *gə-) "hedgehog" [GT]: Goemay ba-bar [semi-reduplication of *bar < *ba₃ɣa₃r] ~ goe-boor "hedgehog" [Sirlinger 1937: 62] = gə-bor "hedgehog" [Hellwig 2000 MS: 11] (AS: Takacs 2004: 18 vs. 285, resp.). From a PCh. *√b(C₂?)r[24] "hedgehog" [GT]?

and 177 and 219, #143] > NWOmeto *gud-unt-/-all- "warthog, pig" [Bender 2003: 63, #143] > extended Wolayta cluster *gud-unt-a "warthog, pig" [Bender 2003: 26, #143], Malo gudáillə "warthog, pig" [Siebert & Caudwell] and Oyda gudāla "bush pig" [Fleming] (Bender 2003: 26, 63) | Chara gútna "warthog, pig" [Aklilu Yilma] = gudına "bush pig" [Fleming] (Bender 2003: 96, #143) | Kafa-Mocha *gudino "warthog" [Bender 2003: 177, #143] | Dizoid *gu/od- "warthog" [Bender 2003: 219, #143]: actually just Dizi gwidk čobi "wild hog, bush pig" [Fleming], Sheko got-ù "warthog" [Aklilu] ‖ SOm./Aroid *gud-im "warthog" [Bender 2003: 219, #143]: Ari gudım/gudmi "wild hog, bush pig" [Grottanelli], Dime gʊdʊm [Siebert] (Macro-Ometo + Kafa-Mocha: Bender 2003: 193, #143).

[21] The puzzling AS form looks at the first glance like either a compound (of, e.g., *vər- + *(ī)lī, both unidentified inAS) or like a loanword (with a strange CVCCV pattern atypical of native AS words).

[22] Cf. Angas vriilii (sic: vrii-) "rhinoceros" [Foulkes 1915, 299] = vὲrlì (Kabwir dialect) "rhinoceros" [Jng. 1962 MS: 42] = vʊrlì [vῦrlì:] "antelope" (sic!) [Burquest 1971: 26, #97, 42] = vərli "type of antelope" (sic) [ALC 1978: 66] (Angas: Takacs 2004a: 390). A syllabic pattern perfectly atypical of the aboriginal (inherited) AS stems that had gone through the regular processes of the pre-AS historical morphonology (cf. Takacs 2004a: xxxix). Which is why here one is *eo ipso* disposed to account for either a compound (of so far unidentified components) or a *Wanderwort*. Henceforth, one is cautious as to V. Blažek's (1994: 201) attractive *ad hoc comparanda* to our AS stem like PECu. *warš- "rhinoceros" [Sasse 1979: 33, 54, 64] = *warčaˤ- [Ehret 1991: 235, #100] = *warš- ~/< *waršaˤ- [GT] or CCh. *wirŝi "bull" based solely upon one single piece of lexical data from the Musgu group, namely Mbara wí(r)ẑĭ (m), wúrẑătáy (f), pl. wúrẑăă ~ wúrẑăăẑá "bovin" [TSL 1986: 281].

[23] Cf., e.g., the similarly exclusive SAA isogloss of ECh. B *ʔa₂mbēn- < *ʔa₂mbayn- "hedgehog" [GT]: Kofa ʔémbèn (m), pl. ʔèmbín "hedgehog (Hausa bušiya)" [Jng. 1977 MS: 12, #294] | Bidiya ʔùmbayna (m), pl. ʔùmbayne "hérisson" [AJ 1989: 122], Migama ʔàmbéená (m) "hérisson" [JA 1992: 65] ‖ CCh.: (???) Zime byam, pl. bibyam [assim. < *byan (?) unless < *bgam] "phacochère, cochon sauvage" [Beavon 1996 MS: 15] ‖‖ SCu.: WRift *baynō (fem. coll. pl.) vs. *bayn-im-o (sgv. masc.) "wild boar, pig" [KM]: Iraqw baynamo, pl. baynu (n), Gorowa baynimó, pl. baynō, Alagwa bīnimō, pl. bīnō, Burunge bīnimo, pl. bīnō (WRift: KM 2004: 72) < SAA *bayn- "wild boar (?)" [GT].

[24] The Angas-Sura data, esp. the decisive evidence of Mushere speak for a medial radical, possibly an weak consonant (whence AS *-ɣ- is regular, cf. Dolgopolsky 1982: 33-34, §B) that remained unreflected in ECh.

Om. *b- + sibilants

248. POm. *baz- "beehive" [GT] > NOm.: Chara bäzá "beehive" [Aklilu in Bender 2003: 331, #7] ‖ SOm.: Dizi baž "beehive" [Allan apud Bender 2003: 346, #7: isolated in Dizoid] ⦀ WCh.: attestation uncertain[25] ⦀ OEg. bz.t "store-room (???)" (Takács 2000a: 73-74, fn. 2) occuring in: wr-bz.t "Titel von Schatzbeamten (CT V 395j)", bz.t "(in einem Dorf-namen, OK)" (Wb I 472, 18-19) = wr-bz.t "Great One of the Container of Adornments" (Silverman, p.c. by D. Meeks). The primary sense in Omotic may have been *"container" as the Egyptian cognate suggests, which is in neat agreement with the pretty normal seman-tic shift of "beehive" < *"granary (of bees)" in Ethiopia.[26] Since Eg. -z- < AA *-ʒ/ǯ- and *-c- both seem possible,[27] one must consider further root varieties also with a voiceless C2:

248.1. PAA *√(ʔ)bc "(to) store (in granary)" [GT]: Sem. *√ʔbs "magazzino, granaio" [Marrassini 1971: 39-40]: Akk. abus(s)u "ein Teil des Hauses: Krippe o.ä." [Holma 1913: 23] = (O/YBab., ass.) abūsu ~ abussu "1. (Magazin)Kammer, 2. Pferdebox, 3. (boxähnli-che) Lockenringel (?)" [AHW 9] = abūsu "1. storehouse, 2. (part of the temple complex in Asssur)" [CAD a 92] ‖ Hbr. ʔēbūs "(am Boden angebrachter) Futtertrog, Krippe", *maʔăbūs, pl. st. cstr. maʔăbusēhā "Scheuer, Speicher" [GB 3, 7, 292] = "feeding trough" [KB 4] ⦀ HECu.: Burji bóč-ē "loft (used for storage)" [Sasse 1982: 37] ‖ SCu.: Iraqw bac-(-ts-) "to lay aside, save for the future" [Ehret 1980a: 133, #I.A.3] = bắc- (-ts-) "to store", bac-a (-ts-) "storing" [Maghway 1989: 111] ⦀ ECh. *√ḅS "granary (?)" [GT: regular < AA *√(ʔ)bc]:[28] Somray ḅisé (so, ḅ-) "grenier", ḅyằsə́ ~ ḅèsé "grenier en torchis" [Jng. 1993 MS: 8-9] = bìsé (sic: b-) "cornbin" [Jng./JI 1994 II 85] | Mokilko ḅòozé "concession, mai-son" [Jng. 1990a: 73]. Cf. EDE II 294-296; Takács 2005b: 208, #298; EAAN I 24-25, #41.

249. NOm.: NWOmeto *bazz- "bush, forest" [GT]: Wolayta bazz- "bush, forest" [Flem-ing apud Bender 2003: 315, #8], Konta (Dawro) bazua "bush, forest" [Allan in Bender 2003: 315, #8] = EWolayta cluster (language unnamed) baz- "bush, forest" [Bender 2003: 325, #9], Basketo bassi-ti "bush, forest" [Azeb Amha in Bender 2003: 325, #9] | Kefoid: uncertain reflex[29] ⦀ HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) baddaʔa [-dd- < HECu. *-ʒʒ/zz-][30] "grass" [Hudson 1989: 72] ⦀ SBrb.: Ahaggar ă-bezbez "1. feuilles tendres de blé (ou d'orge) cou-

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[25] Cf. perhaps WCh.: Ngizim bə̀zàm "type of large granary built of clay" [Schuh 1981: 17], although bə- could be eventually a prefix also, cf. ECh.: WDangla sɔ́ɔ̀mɔ̀ "grenier en palissade de paille" [Fédry 1971: 376]?

[26] Cf., e.g., HECu.: Hadiya seččo < *saʔ-iččo "1. granary, grain store, 2. beehive" (cf. HECu. *saʔ-o "bee-hive"), Kambatta ḳắččo, ḳaččuta < *ḳaf-čuta "1. granary, grain store, 2. beehive" (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 25, 73).

[27] OEg. z appears sometimes as an irregular correspondence of Sem. *s < AA *c (cf. EDE I 311-2).

[28] The glottalization of AA *b- > ECh. *ḅ- might be due to a lost initial *ʔ- (cf. Sem. *√ʔbs).

[29] Regarding its deviant vocalism and C2 sibilant, Bworo bừšà "bush, forest" [SLLE] (isolated in Kefoid: Bender 2003: 338, #9), however similar it looks like in this context, may represent a distinct AA root, cf. also in a separate entry no. 278 below.

[30] H.-J. Sasse (1975, 137) set up ECu. *z resulting in a d reflex in Darasa, Hadiyya, Sidamo etc. W. Leslau (1980: 120, esp. §1.1.) too listed d- reflexes in Burji, Darasa, Hadiyya, Sidamo to ECu. roots with supposed *z-, but he also recorded -ǯ(ǯ)- reflexes in the "d-dialects", e.g., Alaba, Hadiyya, Qabenna, Tembaro, but not one from Darasa (Leslau 1980: 122, §1.4.). G. Hudson (1989: 7, #7) too assumed a HECu. *ʒ (*dz) to yield d in most of the HECu. languages, e.g., Burji, Gedeo, Hadiyya and Sidamo.

pées et séchées / zartes, grünes Weizen- oder Gerstenblatt, 2. dish of tender plants of wheat and barley / Gericht aus den Jungtrieben von Weizen oder Gerste (Notnahrung)" [Foucauld 1951-2: 118; WSKT I 87; DRB 148, BZ6: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem.: Ar. bazza "bourgeonner, boutonner" [Dozy I col. 80b] = "bourgeonner (plante)" [DAFA col. 601a; DRS 54, BZZ4: isolated in Sem.] < **PAA *√bʒ** "1. to sprout, 2. (have) green leaves, foliage (of plants, bush, tree)." [GT]. See also entry no. 278 below.

250. NOm.: Zayse bāz-ō "fronte" [Cerulli 1938 III 201] = **baz-o** "forehead" [Fleming 1969: 25] ||| SCu.: ERift *baʒa- "face, forehead" [Ehret]: Qwadza baʒawa (-dz-) "face" [Ehret 1980 MS: 1], Asa paʒa (-j-) "face, forehead" [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980a: 133, §I.A.4) ||| EBrb.: Audjila a-bžâu, pl. bžâw-en "guancia" [Paradisi 1960: 167], Ghadames ta-baǯǯuḫ-t "partie antérieure de la tête au dessus du front" [Lanfry 1973: 8, #45; DRB 44: isolated in Brb.].

250.1. Whether NBrb. *ta-bbi/uš-t[31] "1. sein, mamelle, 2. pénis, verge, 3. vulve, vagine" [GT pace DRB 8-9, BC2] ||| NAgaw: Qwara (Falashan) baži "poitrine" [Lefèbvre apud Reinisch] = bāč̣ (-tsh) "breast" [Flad apud Reinisch and Appleyard] = bāž̌ (-j) "Brust" [Reinisch] = baž̌ "breast" [Appleyard 1996: 13] represent the very same root from a primary sense *„front part", should be further examined. Both H.C. Fleming and Ch. Ehret (l.c.) identified the Zayse and the East Rift, resp., forms with some of the varieties with a voiceless C_2 listed below:

250.2. SAA *√bc (var. ***√bc̣**?) "front" [GT][32] > ES *√bsw [DRS, GT: < NOm.?]: Tigre bəsot "front" [DRS 72: isolated in Sem.] ||| NAgaw: Bilin besōt "die Stirn" [Reinisch 1904: 55] = bɨsot "forehead" [Apl. 1991 MS: 6] || LECu.: Saho baso (m), pl. basos "forehead (fronte)", baso-dde, baso-lle "before (prima di)" [Vergari 2003: 54], Afar bas-o "forehead (front)" [PH 1985: 69 quoted also by Ehret],[33] Somali-Jäbärti basā́ "Stirn" [Reinisch 1904: 55] || SCu. *bac- [-ts-] "face, forehead" [GT][34]: Ma'a (Mbugu) bāsŏ "Stirn" [Meinhof 1906: 308][35] = vu-basá [Ehret & Fleming] (SCu.: Ehret 1980a: 133, §I.A.4) ||| NOm.: Gimira bās "guancia" [CR 1925: 619] = bas "cheek" [Fleming] (NOm.-Ma'a: Fleming 1969: 25) |||| WCh.: Bokkos b̗os, pl. b̗osas "Stirn" [Jng. 1970: 140] || CCh.: Kotoko (Logone) bùsá "visage" [Bouny & Jouannet 1978: 186], Buduma bahú [h < *s reg.] "1. Stirn, 2. vorwärts", behá "Stirn, Gesicht" [Nachtigal in Lukas 1939: 91]. SCu.-Somali-Bench-Bokkos-Musgu: Takacs 2000: 74, #1.10.

250.3. SAA *√bc "to go in front of" [GT] > LECu.: Saho bas-ō "passato" [Cerulli] = bas-ō "die Vergangenheit" [Reinisch] = bas-o "die Vergangenheit" [Lamberti] = basö "past

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[31] Note that Brb. *-Vš(š)V- vs. *-z- may be allophones.

[32] Any connection to NOm.: Gimira (Benesho) bās "guancia" [CR 1925, 619] = bas "top" [Wedekind 1990: 99]?

[33] Equated by Ch. Ehret (1991: 232) directly with HECu.: Sidamo bašš-o "before, in the past" < ECu. *b/baç- "front". In Ehret 2000 MS: 15, #1091, in turn, the Afar word was set in the context of Sem.: Ar. busūq̇- "to be high, surpass" and NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho bas² "(on) top" < AA *bās- "top".

[34] Derived by Ch. Ehret from a phonologically ill-founded basic form *baṭa- (sic: *-ṭ-) "face, forehead".

[35] Thought to be of extra-AA origin. Combined by C. Meinhof (l.c.) with Duala boso, Swahili uso "Gesicht".

(passato)", basoh "once, already" [Vergari 2003: 54], Afar bos-ō ~ bis-ō "passato", bos-ō-l "anticamente" [Cerulli] = bis-o "Vorderstellung, vorne" [Lamberti] | HECu.: Sidamo baš-ō "prima, anticamente" [Cerulli] = bašš-o "former/past times" [Hudson 1989: 353: isolated in HECu.] = bašš-o "before, in the past" [Ehret 1991: 232][36] = bašš-o "früher, in der Vergangenheit" [Lamberti] || SCu. *bac- (-ts-) "to go first, in front" [GT] = *bāṭ- "to go first, anticipate, forestall" [Ehret]: Alagwa bac- (-ts-) "to start off" | Asa piž-at- "to go first, anticipate, forestall" | Ma'a bosí "beginning" (SCu.: Ehret 1980a: 133, #I.A.3)[37] (ECu.-Om.: Cerulli 1938 II 195 and 1951: 416; Lamberti 1993a: 288) ||| NOm.: Kefoid *beš- "to proceed, precede" [GT]. For this root variety see already OmAA I = Takács 2011: 187, #12.

250.4. PAA *√ps "front part, face" [GT] > EBrb.: Audjila a-fîš, pl. fîš-âw-en "viso" [Paradisi 1960: 177] = a-fîš (-c), pl. fîš-aw-en "visage" [DRB 519, FC7: isolated in Brb.] ||| WCh. *pus-k- (suffix *-k- of anatomical terms)[38] "face" [GT]:[39] Hausa fískà ~ fúskà "face"

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[36] Ehret (1991: 232): ~ HECu.: Sidamo bašš-o "before, in the past" < ECu. *b/ḅac- "front".

[37] Ehret (l.c.): cf. also Iraqw bac- (-ts-) "to lay aside, save for future" [Ehret 1980a: 133] treated here as a distinct root.

[38] Its C$_3$ *-k- originally was not part the root. The traces of a CAA *-k body part suffix are found both in Egyptian and Chadic. Listing examples from Dera and Hausa, P. Newman (1970: 48, fn. 27) has already concluded to identifying in WCh. a *-k "non-productive body part suffix", which – in the light of further exx. from other Chadic branches – certainly derives from PCh. *-k [GT]. Cf., e.g.: ● **1. Eg. snk (< *sl-k)** "Bez. für die Zunge (mit der die göttliche Kuh Hathor das Königskind leckt)" (XVIII. old text, Wb IV: 177, 1) = "Zunge (der göttlichen Kuh Hathor)" (GHWb: 724), cf. Eg. sn.w [< *√sn or *√sl] "Zunge" (GR, Wb IV: 155, 15). The Eg. root is cognate either with Ch. *√sl "tongue" [GT] or Ch. *√sn "tongue" [GT] (Ch. data: JI 1994 II: 328-329). ● **2. Eg. snṯ** [from *sl-k] "Leib, Glieder" (NK, Wb IV: 180, 1), cf. snṯ.jt (coll.) "Leichname (im Jenseits)" (NK, GHWb: 725) ||| Sem. *šily-at- "placenta, uterus" [Fronzaroli 1964: 262-263] ||| HECu.: Burji sæ'lay "belly" [Bender 1971: 245] = sal-áy "belly" [Sasse] | Dullay: Harso sālasíḥ-te [partial reduplication + ext. *ḥ of body parts] "Magen" [AMS 1980: 183] (ECu.: Sasse 1982: 163) ||| NOm.: She šIl & Benesho šIlʸ "belly" [Bender 1971: 260-261, #4]. See Blažek 1989 MS Om.: 8, #15 (She-ECu.-Sem.). ● **3. Hausa bààkíí** "1. mouth, 2. opening, 3. entrance" [Abr. 1962: 62] | Dera bok "mouth" [Newman] < PCh. *b- "mouth" [GT], cf., e.g. WCh.. Karekare bòo "1. Mund, 2. Öffnung, 3. Rand" [Lukas 1966: 199] | Guruntum bʸàu "1. mouth, 2. language" [Jaggar 1989: 186], Ngamo bo "mouth" [Newman 1965: 58] ||| ECh.: Somray bi "bouche" [Jng. 1993 MS: 6] | Migama bíí, pl. bénè "1. bouche, 2. lèvre" [JA 1992: 70] | Birgit bì "bouche" [Jng. 1973a MS], Jegu bèetó "mouth" [Jng. 1961: 110] ||| NBrb.: Mzab baḥa & Wargla beḥḥa [suffix *-ḥ of body parts] "bouche" [DRB I: 42 pace Delheure]. Already H. Jungraithmayr and D. Ibriszimow have rightly stated (1994 I 122) about *-k in this Common Chadic root: "In the light of this HS evidence the assumption of a Chadic -k suffix ('body part' morpheme) in our root A [PCh. *b-k] seems to be justified". ● **4. WCh. *ži-(k)-** [GT]: Hausa žìkíí "body" [Abr. 1962: 427] | Dera yik [y < *s] "body" [Newman 1974], cf. WCh. *Z/Si "body" [GT]: Sura s- [Jng.] | Geruma žíí [Schuh], Kirfi žì [Schuh], Galambu žìi [Alio] | Zaar ži [Shimizu] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu sīī [Jng.] | Somray sí: [Jng.] | WDangla zì [Fédry], Migama zí: [Jng.] | Birgit zì [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 34-35). ● **5. WCh.: Dera kuyuk < *kusu-k** [y < *s] "excrement" [Newman] | Hausa káášíí "excrement" [Abr. 1962: 498] || ECh. *kVsi "faeces" [GT]: Kwang kùsī(ny) [Jng.], Kera kusi [Ebert] | Kabalay kasíⁿ [Caprile], Lele kāsíyā [Gowers] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 128-129). ● **6. WCh.: Dera ləšik** "vomit" [Newman] ||| Eg. 3š [regular < *lš] "(Opfergabe) ausspeien (bildlich vom Nil)" (XX., Wb I: 21, 1) = "*ausspeien" (GHWb: 15) < AA *√lŜ [GT]. ● **7. WCh.: Dera yilik < *sili-k** [y < *s] "tongue" [Newman] || CCh.: Zime-Dari šilli [Strümpell], Zime-Batna síle [Jng.] = sílī [Sachnine] || ECh.: Kera kə-səl [Ebert] | Sokoro sólańd- [Nachtigal] = selindu [AF] = sélèń [Saxon] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 329) | PCh. *√sl "tongue" [GT]. The same suffixation is present in Eg. snk vs. sn.w (see above). ● **8. WCh.: Dera yilek < *sile-k (?)** [y < *s?] "saliva" [Newman] || CCh.: Buduma čilulū [Nachtigal] = čìlúlú "saliva" [Cyffer] ||| Bed. sil "Speichel, Geifer" [Reinisch 1895: 198]. Alternatively, if Dera y- developed unchanged < *y- (equally plausible) in this case (i.e. *yile-k), cp. alternatively WCh.: Bole ʔyúlé [Ibriszimow] || ECh.: Migama ʔóló (pl.) [JA 1992: 113], Bidiya ʔùlā, pl. ʔùlay [AJ 1989: 122] – all "saliva" (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 278-279). ● **9. CCh.: Tera**

[Abraham 1962: 269], Gwandara píska ~ píšíka ~ púska [irregular p-?] "face" [Matsushita 1972: 96] | Warji pusk- "face" [Skinner] | Ngizim fəskâ, pl. fəskakín "face" [BYAG 2004: 33], Bedde (sic) puksan "face" [Skinner] = WBade puksan "forehead" [Dagona 2004: 67], Gashua Bade puksâ "face, forehead" [Tarbutu 2004: 60] (WCh.: Skinner 1996: 71) ‖ CCh.: (?) Buduma pʰahá, pl. pʰehaē [-h- regular < *-s-] "Stirn, Gesicht", phohó "der erste, voran, zuvor" [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1939: 91, 124]. Cf. also CCh.: Musgu galé-ku (deine Wange) pópeŝe "Schläfe" [Lukas 1941: 73]?

Ad OmAA VI 205. NOm. *Paz- "sharp" [GT]: Malé ʔaçɛ-'bazi[40] "sharp" [Siebert in Bender 2003: 329, #80] (isolated[41] in NWOmt.: Bender 2003: 320, #80) | Sezo pazɪ "sharp" [Atieb & Bender apud Bender 2003: 357, #80: isolated in Mao] ‖‖ SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr buz-ət "1. limer, 2. égratigner (peau pour apaiser une démangeaison etc.)" [PAM 2003: 62; DRB 149, BZ(T): isolated in Brb.] ‖‖ Sem.: Ar. bazuʕa "être fin, gracieux, intelligent" [DRS 55: isolated in Sem.].[42] This comparison has already been published (Takács 2021: 94-95, no. 205). Cf. now, in addition, also CCh. *bVz- "to sharpen, rub, polish" [CLD]: Bana mbə̀zə̀ "lisser, aplanir" [Lienhard & Giger apud CLD] | Malgwa bə́za "wischen, verreiben, löschen" [Löhr 2002: 289] | Mbedam (Mbudum) bəz "aiguiser" [Ndokobai 2014 apud CLD][43] | Mbuko bébez "afffiler, aiguiser" [Gravina, Nelezek, Tchalalao 2004 in CLD], Muyang ábə̀z "to sharpen, rub" [Smith 2003 in CLD], Uldeme -bə̄z "aiguiser" [Kin-

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kopa-ḫ [-ḫ < *-k] "wing" [NM 1966: 240; Newman 1977: 34 with a different etymology] ‖ WCh.: (?) Angas-Sura *č⁽ʸ⁾ā₂p [*čʸ- < *k-?] "wing" [GT 2004: 57] ‖‖ NOm.: POmeto *kEp- "wing" [Bender 1988] = *ḳeр̣-e "wing" [Bender 2003: 123, #148] | Mao *ḵwʌр̣- "arm, wing" [GT]: Mao (sic) kɛfɛ "wing" [Fleming], Mao-Bambeshi ḵwāр̣ɛ "wing, upper arm" [Bender] = kwǎр̣ɛ (sic: kw-) "wing" [Wedekind], Mao-Diddesa kap kwīnṭe "feather" [Fleming 1990: 27] (Mao: Bender 2003: 282, #148; NOm.: Bender 1988: 146) ‖ SOm.: Aroid *kǎf- "wing" [Bender 2003: 220, #148]: Ari kefí "feather, wing" [Grottanelli in Bender 2003: 209, #49], Galila kāfi "wing" [Fleming 1976a: 321]. ● **10. ECh.:** Bidiya buski < *bus-k "blood" [AJ 1989: 61] akin to Mokilko pùùzó "blood" [Jng.] ‖ CCh. *√bs "blood" [GT]: Nzangi bisé [Strümpell] = bizɛ [Meek] = bízē̠ [Mouchet] | Hitkala(nci) (Lamang) ùbə̀sì [Lukas], Hitkala (Waga dialect) ubɪs [Meek] | Masa bóswo [Mouchet] = búsú:ná [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 30-31). Outside Chadic, this root seems to survive in the form of PAA *√bs "to bleed by wounding" [GT] > SBrb.: Ahaggar buys "être blessé (avec écoulement de sang)" etc. [Foucauld], Ghat buys "être blessé", a-buys "blessure, lésion", pl. "aie" [Nehlil], EWlmd.-Ayr busu "être blessé", EWlmd. a-bus "blessure, plaie" [PAM 2003: 51] (SBrb.: DRB 129: 146) ‖‖ HECu.: Sidamo bass-a "scar, sore, wound" [Hudson 1989: 353: isolated] ‖‖ WCh.: PDangla *bēs- "to scar" [GT]: WDangla bèèsè "faire une coupure de la peau au couteau" [Fédry 1971: 86], EDangla bésé "1. scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair, 2. saigner, faire une saignée, vacciner (soins médicaux traditionnels ou modernes); 3. faire des cicatrices ornamentales, tatouer, balafrer" [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 43], Korlongo béesé "scarifier" [DM]. Cf. also (as a root variety with lateral C₂) the isogloss of HECu. *bĭšš-a "red, brown" [GT pace Leslau], borrowed by ES: Gurage (Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto) bəša, (Ezha, Muher, Mäsqän, Goggot, Soddo) bəšša, (Endegeny, Selti, Wolane) bušä "red, brown (cattle), *light coloured (man)" [Leslau 1979 III: 161] ‖ SCu.: WRift *buĉi (-tl-) "blood-red" [KM]: Alagwa buĉ (-tl-) Burunge buĉi (-tl-) (WRift: KM 2004: 77) < PCu. *√bĉ "red" [GT].

[39] N. Skinner (1996: 71) envisaged a fossilized compound in this stem: < *pu "mouth" + *k (plus) + *san "nose", i.e., *„mouth plus nose", which he affiliated with a number of phonologically unrelated parallels.

[40] For the second component cf. Ometo *hOčč̣/ṭṭ-o "sharp" [GT].

[41] Cf. (???) Konta potetsa "sharp" [Allan apud Bender].

[42] DRS l.c. refers to Sem./Ar. √bzḫ/ʕ "être abondant", but an etymological link is semantically all too vague.

[43] CLD l.c.: allegedly a derived noun is to e found in CCh.: Mbedam bəzeŋ "claw" [Lamberti 2003 quoted in CLD].

naird and Oumaté 2002 quoted in CLD], Mada ábàz "aiguiser, lisser, polir", hence mè-bèz "pierre à lisser, à polir" [Barreteau and Brunet 2000: 72, 175] (CCh.: CLD VI 73-74, #147).

251. SOm.: Hamer baz- (?), bʌš "river" [Lydall apud Bender 2003: 255, 350, #74: isolated[44] in Aroid] ⫴ Sem.: PArabian *√bŝ- "to flow" [GT] > Maghrebi Ar. bašbaš "suinter (eau)" [DRS 88, bŝbŝ: isolated in Sem.] vs. Ar. bašγ- "pluie fine" [DRS 88, bŝγ: isolated in Sem.][45] ‖ MSA: Soqotri báŝah (sic: -h) "couler" [Leslau 1938: 99; DRS 88, bŝḥ (sic: -ḫ): isolated in Sem.].[46]

252. NOm.: Yemsa béz- (?) (beside k/teǯ) "to kill" [Cerulli in Bender 2003: 167, #75] = (?) **bez-** "to hunt" [Girma in Bender 2003: 341, #47: isolated] ⫴ Ch. *baz- "to kill, to fight" [CLD]: WCh.: Tangale baazẹ (CLD: -ε), pl. basẹ, bapsẹ (CLD: -ε) "to kill and eat small animals (said of a mighty animal like the lion), eat or spoil unripe food" [Jng. 1991: 70] ‖ CCh.: Bura buzuza "fighting spirit" [Blench quoted in CLD] | Higi-Bana mbὲz(ə́) "lutter" [LG 2002 in CLD] | Mada ábàz "abattre, tuer (plusieurs objets)" [Brt.-Brunet 2000: 72] (Ch.: CLD VI 72, #143) ⫴ Sem.: Ar. √bdd I "3. vaincre, avoir le dessus sur qqn.", VIII "2. couper, retrancher", bidīd-at- "1. victoire, 2. part, portion", cf. √bzz (root variety): bazz- "1. armes, 2. victoire, avantage remporté sur son adversaire", bazawān- "attaque, assaut" [BK I 100 and 120, resp.] = ʔibtadda "couper, retrancher" [DRS 46, BDD1: isolated in Sem.]. **252.1.** CCh. *baẑ- (*-ǥ-) "to kill" [CLD VI 80, #179], which O.V. Stolbova referred also to, may be regarded here as a root variation.

253. NOm.: SEOmeto *biz-o "one" [Bender 2003: 92, #98] = *bizz-o "1" [GT]: Haruro (Kachama) bĭzz-o [Cerulli 1936: 631, 642] = biz-ε [Siebert], Zayse bizz-ō [Cerulli 1938 III 201] = bizz-o [Siebert], Zergulla biz-o [Siebert], Koyra (Badditu) bizz-ō [Cerulli 1929: 60] = bīʒ-o [Bender] = bížž-o [Hayward 1982: 215] = bɪʒʒ-ɔ [Siebert], Gidicho bīz-e [Bender] (SEOmeto: Bender 1971: 256-257; Zaborski 1983: 387; Siebert 1994: 18) | Chara biz-ā "9" [Cerulli 1938 III 165] = biž-a ~ biʒ-a "9" [Bender 1974 MS: 19; Fleming 2000 MS: 7] (NOm.: EDE II 518) ⫴ Sem.: Ar. √bzw I: bazā "être égal, pouvoir la même chose qu'un autre", bazw- "équivalent, ce qui est égal à une autre chose", mubz- "2. égal, pareil à un autre" [BK I 123] < PAA *√bʒ "same (?)" [GT]. This overwrites any former hypothesis on the etymology of this isolated SEOmeto root.[47] The Arabic root (equally isolated in Semitic) is know to have further root varieties:

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[44] Although M.L. Bender compared also SOm.: Ari bōda [Bender & Tully], Hamer baiti [Fleming] "river" (SOm.: Bender 2003: 255, 350, #74), I have demonstrated that SOm.: Aroid *√bT "river" [GT] is akin to Chadic and Berber parallels with a dental C_2 (OmAA7 = Takács 2022: 166, #246).

[45] In the DRS (l.c.), just a reference is made to Sem. *√bsbs and *√bŝḥ, cf. Ar.-ES *√bsbs "jaillir, devenir humide" [GT based on DRS 72], dialectal Ar. √bšbš "1. (Maghrebi) suinter (eau), 2. (Oriental) faire pipi" [DRS 88] and Soqotri báŝah (sic: -h) "couler" (DRS: "différenciation par ḥ d'une radicale géminée") [Leslau 1938: 99], which may indeed be ultimately and remotely related (with their ancestral root in PAA).

[46] W. Leslau (l.c.) compared Ar. bassa and tabasbasa (q.v.) also.

[47] Thus, my attempt (EDE II 518) to somehow affiliate this stem with Eg. psḏ "9" (by assuming a plausible derivation < *√pzˤ) appears now also false.

253.1. Sem.: Ar. √bdd: ba<u>dd</u>-, bi<u>dd</u>-, ba<u>dī</u>d- "pareil, semblable", ba<u>dī</u>d-at- "part, portion" [BK I 100] = ba<u>dd</u>- (in: ba<u>dd</u>ᵘⁿ fa<u>dd</u>ᵘⁿ) "1. isolé, seul (isolated, lonely), 2. dattes non-agglutinées, non entassées (non-clustering, unmassed dates)", ba<u>dd</u>-, bi<u>dd</u>-, ba<u>dī</u>d- "1. identique, semblable (identical, similar), 2. (subst.) équivalent", bi<u>dd</u>-(at)- and ba<u>dī</u>d-(at)- "part, portion, lot identique" [DAFA 475 adopted in DRS 46, B<u>DD</u>1: isolated in Sem.].

253.2. Sem.: Ar. √fdd: fa<u>dd</u>a I "1. être tout seul, isolé, séparé des autres", IV "ne mettre bas qu'un seul petit (ne se dit que des femelles qui d'habitude mettent bas plusieurs petits à la fois, comme la brebis, etc.)", V, X "1. être, rester isolé et seul, 2. revendiquer une chose exclusivement pour soi-même", fa<u>dd</u>- "1. seul, isolé, séparé, unique, 2. première flèche dans le jeu de flèches", fu<u>dā</u>dan ~ fu<u>dd</u>ādā ~ fu<u>dā</u>day "séparément, chacun à part, un à un" [BK II 558] ‖‖ (?) PCu. *piz- "limb (of body)" [Ehret 2000 MS: 566, #59].[48]

254. NOm.: Gimirra bāzoṅ (?) "rompere" [CR 1925: 618][49] ‖‖ WCh.: Tangale b<u>i</u>ze̞ (or b<u>i</u>ze) "to crack (house, pot, calabash)" [Jng. 1991: 73], Tangale-Waja bi̞sá "to crack" [Kwh. 1990: 103] ‖ ECh.: Ndam pəʒà [irreg. p-?] "to break (stick)" [Jng. in JI 1994 II 45] ‖‖ NBrb.: Iznasen a-bbaz "être écrasé" [Renisio 1932: 292] = bbaz and e-bbaz [DRB], Rif bbez "1. écraser, 2. presser" [DRB 147: confused with *√rbz] ‖ Shilh bbež and bbe<u>ž</u> "1. écraser, 2. broyer, 3. piler" [DRB 43, B<u>Ž</u>] ‖‖ Sem.: Ar. √bdd VIII: ʔibta<u>dd</u>a "couper, retrancher", bi<u>dd</u>-at- and ba<u>dī</u>d-at- "part, portion, lot identque" [BK I 100; DRS 46] < PAA *√bʒ "to smash" [GT]. Cf. Takács 2000b: 131; EAAN I 26, #53.

255. POm. *baṭ- "beard, chin" [GT]: SEOmeto *bāṭ- "beard, chin" [Bender 2003: 82, #6]:[50] e.g., Koyra (Baditu) bāzā (sic: -z-) [CR] = bac-ā (-ts-) "mento" [Cerulli 1929: 60; 1938 III 164; CR 1937: 642], Kachama (Haruro) bäṣä (-a-) "mento" [CR 1937: 642] = bi̞ṣa [Cecchi], Zayse bāçá (-ts'-) [Ehret]:[51] all these forms are denoting "chin" ‖ SOm. (Aroid): Dime batsi [Siebert] ‖‖ CCh.: Mafa-Mada *haN-bic (*-ts) "beard" [Rossing 1978: 208, #51] ‖ ECh.: Mokilko tò-ḅḅìsó [expected -ḅḅis- < *-bbiṣ/ç- regular] "1. joue, 2. gorgée" [Jng. 1990a: 184][52] ‖‖ SBrb.: Ahaggar bbez "fluxion à la joue" [DRB 154, bḍ3: isolated in Brb.] < S/P^{???}AA *√bç (perhaps *biç-) "1. chin, 2. jaw" [TG]. This root is, even if presumably eventually akin, probably to be distinguished from the Omo-Chadic isogloss (another root variety?) with the same sense but with a non-glottalized C$_2$ affricate:

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[48] Equated by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with MSA: Harsusi fedfĭd "centipede" and some CCh. reflexes of *f/pəḍ- < AA *piz- "limb (of body)".

[49] Affiliated by C. Conti Rossini (l.c.) with Kafa ba<u>d</u> (bä<u>d</u>?), which both phonologically and semantically represents a distinct AA root, cf. OmAA VII, entry no. 230.

[50] Distinguished by M.L. Bender (2003: 113, #6) from Ometo *bučč- "beard" [Bender 2003: 54, #6a].

[51] Equated by Ch. Ehret (1995, 87, #26) with Sem.: Ar. baṭn- "belly" and SCu. *b/p̣ăṭ- "to go first" < AA *-băṭ- "to be/go in front", which represent three distinct AA roots.

[52] Mistakenly (even if with question marks) affiliated in OmAA I 187, #12 with the reflexes of AA *√bs "1. to go in front of, 2. front part, face" [GT].

255.1. SAA *buS-[53] "beard" [GT] > POm. *būč- "beard" [Fleming 1976a: 313] = *buč-
"beard" [Bender 1988: 151; 2003: 247, #6 and 268, #6a] = *buC[C]- "beard" [Blažek] >
Macro-Ometo + PGimirra *buč- "beard" [Bender 2003: 158 and 205, #6a] > Ometo *bučč-
"beard, chin" [Bender 2003: 113, #6][54] > NWOmeto *bučč- "beard" [Bender 2003: 54,
#6a] > extended Wolayta cluster *bučč-a "beard" [Bender 2003: 12, #6]:[55] Wolamo and
Zala buččă "barba" [Cerulli] etc. | Chara bučča "barba" [Cerulli] = būča "chin" [Fleming] =
búča "beard, chin" [Aklilu Yilma] (Chara: Bender 2003: 82, #6) | Gimirra (sic) buč̣ (sic: -č̣)
"baffo, barba" [CR 1925: 618], Benesho buç "full beard" [Breeze] = boutch [Montandon],
She buč̣ (sic: -č̣) "barba" [Cerulli] | Hozo *pŪc- [GT] vs. Sezo *pŪš- [GT] "beard"
(Dizoid: Bender 2003: 82, #6a) ‖ SOm./Aroid *buč- "beard" [Bender 2003: 205, #6; 2003:
247, #6] (Om.: Cerulli 1929: 27; 1938 III 164; Bender 1988: 151) ‖‖ PCh. *√bzm 'beard'
[JS 1981: 35D: attested, i.a., in NBauchi, Bata, Matakam] = *buz- 'beard' (lit. *'hair of
hairy goat')[56] [CLD] = *buS-um (perhaps *-ẑ-???) "beard" [GT]: WCh.: Hausa búzúu-
bùzùu 'very hairy' [Abr. 1962: 128] | Galambu búúsá "beard" [Schuh 1978: 82] | Pa'a bɩ̀n-
za (m), pl. bìnzí "beard" [M. Skinner 1979: 167] = bìnza [CLD] < *bumz- < (via metathe-
sis) **buzum- [GT] | SBauchi *(m)bubuz(uN) (partial reduplication) "beard" [GT]: Dwot
bɩ́mzɨ (sic, resembling NBauchi) and Saya mbübüzǜ(n) "beard" [Kraft], Boghom bwɔ̀psíʔ
[Schuh], Zaar mbɔ̀pzɪŋ [Shimizu] = bubzə̀ŋ [Caron quoted in CLD] ‖ CCh.: (???) Tera
ḅohom (-x-) [-ḫ- < ???][57] "beard (chin only)" [Newman 1964: 38, #57] | PBata *bu[ž]um-

[53] The C₂ sibilant is hard to be determined at the moment. The Omotic cognates suggest AA *č, while the
Chadic ones and the supposed Egyptian match speak for *ʒ.

[54] M.L. Bender (l.c.) assumed HECu.: Burji bočč̣-o "cheek" to be probably unrelated (< HECu. *boḳ-o).

[55] LS 1997: 313: Wolayta būčča < OCu. (= PCu.-Om.) *bukˤ- "head, cheek", which M.L. Bender (2003:
247, #6) received with right doubts (expressed by "??") as problematical.

[56] Treated by O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 74, #148), who ignored both the Omotic and Egyptian cognates for
the root "beard", as a derivative of her PWCh. *bVz- "hairy (goat)" reflected by WCh.: Hausa búzúu-bùzùu
"very hairy", búzúrwáa "long-haired goat or sheep" [Abraham 1962: 128] | Karekare bàzaa "hairy sheep or goat"
[Gambo and Karofi in CLD], Ngamo bàzâ "hairy goat" [NEH in CLD]. Cf. entry no. 105.2 below.

[57] It is very difficult at the moment to assess the *Lautgeschichte* of Tera -VḫV- (-x-) due to the scarcity of its
occurence in etymologically clear cases. ● One of these few cases is Tera ňaḫa "saliva" [Newman 1964: 39,
#108] | Bata nɛ́ẅi "salive / cracher" [Mouchet] = náuyé "saliva" [Pweddon 2000: 59] = nyawye "spittle" [Boyd
2002: 57] | Mandara (Wandala) ṇ̃éḫẹ "salive / cracher" [Mouchet] = nehe [Greenberg], Paduko ərḫạ [Mouchet]
with regular -r- < *-n-| PMasa *nē (or *neʔe?) ~ *nō (hence *lō > *yō???) "saliva" [GT]: Masa-Bongor néné-ná
"salive" [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 73], Masa nēene [nɛ̄ɛ̄nɛ̄nā] "la salive" [Caïtucoli 1983: 119], Gizey nèènèè, Wina
nòònìì, Masa nèènèè ~ nòònòò, (???) Ham lòòlòò, (???) Musey yòyò, Lew and Marba ʔàyó "crachat, salive"
[Ajello et al. 2001: 17], Gizey nèènèè, Wina nòònìì, Masa nèènèè ~ nòònòò, (???) Ham lòòlòò, (???) Musey
yòyò ~ yùyòò, Lew and Marba ʔàyó "salive" [Ajello et al. 2001: 50], Lame nɛ̄ʔɛ̄ "2. salive" [Sachnine 1982:
377], Misme nɛ̄̃ʔɛ̄̃ [Jng. 1973c (?) MS] (CCh.: Mouchet 1950: 37) ‖ WCh.: NBauchi *nək- "saliva" [GT]: Warji
nənɨ́kí-na ~ nə́nàkí, Kariya nə́nəkí, Miya nínəkí, Siri nɪkí, Mburku nànə̀kə etc. (NBauchi: Skinner 1977: 38 and
JI 1994 II 278) | Bubure nènó "mucus" [Haruna 1992 MS: #b013] < PCh. *nEk- "saliva" [GT based on JI 1994
II 278-279] ‖‖ Eg. nḥ "1. Speichel, 2. ausspeien" (PT, Wb II 318, 14-15) = "Geifer" (ÜKAPT VI 143) = "fluid of
body" (FD 139) = "1. venom, 2. to spit out, eject" (AEPT 329, also 129: PT 686b) > nḥ "1. (vb.) to issue, stream
forth, flow out, 2. exudation, fluid" (Med.: pap. E. Smith 2:24, Breasted 1930: 172) = "le liquide entourant
l'encéphale, céphalo-rachidion" (Lefébvre 1952: 13) = "etwas Flüssiges aus dem Schädelinnern, Liquor cerebro-
spinalis" (Grapow 1954: 28), nḥḥ "Speichel" (BD, Wb II 319, 4) ‖‖ Sem. *naḥ- "mucus" [SED I 176, #197] > cf.
esp. Ar. nuḫ(ā)m-at- "ce que l'on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc." [BK apud Mili-
tarev 2005, 107] ‖ MSA: Mehri nəḥyōḳ "phlegm" [Johnstone 1987: 308], Jibbali nḥɔḥ "phlegm" [Johnstone

"beard" [GT]: e.g., Bata (Bachama) mbúzumi [Mouchet] = mbúsum "beard" [Carnochan 1975: 462] = búšìm-tō [Skinner], Bata-Garwa bŭšuumíí and Bata-Demsa buušuumě "Bart" [Strümpell], Gude bušemi "Bart" [Strümpell as quoted in JI] = bužàmɨn "beard" [Kraft] = mbúžèemínə (dialectal variety with mb-) "beard" [Hoskison 1983: 164] (missegmented as *mbúžèe-mínə in CLD), Gudu mɨbĕizɨ́m "beard" [Kraft], Kobochi bušami "Bart" [Strüm-

1981: 199] < PAA *√nḳ with a variant root *√nḫ "saliva" [GT]. The MSA root with a C₂ *-ḫ- and C₃ *-ḳ appears to display a kind of merger of both AA varieties. Ar.-Eg.: Ehret 2000 MS: 516, #3409. For Ch.-Eg. cf. also Greenberg 1963: 61, #61; HSED #1855-6; CLD I 102, #350; Takács 2011b: 192. ● For Tera ḍoḫaŝa (-x-, -ɬ-) "east" [Newman 1964: 46, #423], in turn, I know of no cognates at the moment. ● As for Tera kuraḫì (-x-) "to boil" [Newman 1964: 48, #470], this is perhaps a partially reduplicated C₁C₂C₁ root originally, with a secondary spirantization of the 3rd radical in intervocalic position, cf. LECu. *kar- "to boil, cook" (intr.) [Black 1974: 190]: PSam/Boni *kar- "to cook" (intr.), PBoni *kar-iy vs. PSam *kár-ì (tr.) [Heine 1982: 99-100]. Note that O.V. Stolbova (1987: 222) was erring in deriving from her WCh. *ɋa[w]r- "сжигать", a.o., Karekare kàru "to roast" [Kraft 1981 I 64, #364] = kàarú- "to burn" [Schuh] also, although the latter originated from BT *kAḍu "to burn" [Schuh 1984: 215]. ● This assumption seems to be corroborated by Tera nžoḫi vs. čaki both "to divide" [Newman 1964: 49, #546] also, where the two varieties only differ in the prenasalized (and, henceforth, voiced) initial affricate and the conditionally (?) spirantized C₂. All in all, -VḫV- can be supposed to be of velar origin, perhaps an intervocally spirantized *-k-. ● The case of Tera kútúḫúm (-x-) "shallow, short" [Newman 1964: 38, #364 and #366, resp.] is, in turn, presumably of little evidence value here as it seems to be a compound of two juxtaposed synonymous roots, cf. **(1)** CCh.: Hurzo kútù "little" [Rossing 1978: 284, #431] ‖ WCh.: AS *kat "small" [Takács 2004a: 168] < PCh. *kVt- "small" [CLD IV 51, #110] ‖‖ NOm. *ke/ot- "small" [GT] > Gimirra--Benesho kot "small" [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 174, #120] | Kafa kettō "small" [Cerulli in Bender 2003: 174, #120], Mocha kätt-ó "light", ′kättiy-(yé) "to be light (of weight)" [Leslau 1959: 38] | Sheko kota [Aklilu, Fleming] = kŏ́tà [Bender] "small, little" (NOm.: Bender 2003: 217, #120) ‖‖ EBrb.: Ghadames i-ktu, e-gdu "poco" [Trombetti] ‖ SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr √ktk: kətəḳḳ-ət "(i.a.) être mince, pince (taille d'une guêpe/femme, milieu d'une chose qcq.), 2. avoir la taille mince, pincée (guêpe/femme etc.), 3. avoir le milieu ou une autre partie qui est mince/rétréci(e) (objet)" [PAM 2003: 426] ‖‖ Eg. ktt "klein (sein)" (MK-, Wb V 147) ‖‖ Sem.: Akk. katû "klein, elend sein" [Holma pace Meissner] = "to be small" [Ember] = "schwach sein" [Vergote] ‖ Ar. katt- "lean, meagre (man, woman)" [Ember] = katta "être maigre" [Cohen] (Eg.-Sem.: Holma 1919: 46; ESS #21.a.1, but otherwise in #25.a.9; Vergote 1945: 143, §21.a.7; Cohen 1947: #174; plus EBrb.: Trombetti 1923: 126, #147; plus Mocha: Ehret 2000 MS: 162, #1772; plus AS: HSED #1438) and **(2)** WCh.: Hausa kíímà "1. (adv.) slightly, 2. (f) any medium-sized thing, 3. (pl.) sense: (a) a few, (b) adv.) a few", note that kwííyám "1. (m) smallness" is unrelated < √kwiy- [Abr. 1962: 598] | PAngas *kām "narrow" [Takács 2004a: 164]: Angas (Kabwir dialect) kaam-kaam "narrow" [Jng. 1962 MS: 16] = kàm ~ kam'-kam' "narrow" [ALC 1978: 24] < PCh. *√gm "small" [JS 1981, 239K] ‖‖ Eg.: earliest attested in Dem. ḥm (selten šm) "klein, auch: Kleinigkeit" (DG 359, 360, 508) > Coptic (SLBFO) ϣⲏⲙ, (A) ϩⲏⲙ "klein, gering, wenig" (KHW 313). Otherwise, one is only able to figure out something on the history of Tera ḫ based upon its occurence in different positions, although these cases appear to be multivalent. E.g., in a medial cluster with another consonant, Tera -ḫ- appears not that evident, cf. ● Tera ndaḫra "gall" [Newman 1964: 39, #102] | Daba tírèḥ "bitter" [Lienhard in JI 1994 II 27: ungraded and isolated in Ch.] ‖‖ EBrb.: Ghadames é-dreḥ "être dégoûté" [DRB 386: isolated in Brb.] ‖‖ (???) Eg. dḥr "bitter" (Med., Wb V 482-483) > dḥ3j "bitter" (LP, Wb V 481, 10), although its OEg. root may be different, cf. dḥ°.wt "Bitterkeit (?)" (MK, ÄWb II 2853). Daba-Eg.: OS 1992: 199. Elsewhere, Tera -ḫ- may be epenthetic, cf. ● Tera dàḫbà "mud (wet earth)" vs. dàḇà "mud (for building)" [Newman 1964: 41, #179]. Even more controversial is the history of Tera ḫ- in initial position, cf. ● Tera ḫuḫuyni "brains" [Newman 1964: 37, #50] reflected by its closest cognates in the Tera group as Pidlimdi hwə̀n hwə̀nà, Hwona ḫùḫunàna, Ga'anda ḫwənəttà, Boka ḫùr ında "brains" (CCh./Tera group: Kraft 1981 II 4, 15, 24, 43, #37), which may be perhaps akin to Eg. whnn "der Scheitel des Kopfes" (Med., Wb I 346, 1-2). ● But the clear case of Tera ḫən "nose" [Newman 1964: 37, #53] < PCh. *cin-"nose" [GT based on JI 1994 II 258-259] makes the rule of Tera ḫ- < PCh. *S- also evident, which must have been the case with the "beard" word in medial position. All in all, regarding the radicals of Tera term for "beard", its cognacy with the reflexes of Ch. *buSum- is evident, but there is at the moment only scarce and indirect evidence available for assuming Tera -ḫ- < Ch. sibilant.

pell], Mwulyen m̀búdyìmù "beard" [Kraft], Nzangi buyami (false -y- for -j- = -ž-?) "Bart" [Strümpell] = bužɛ̀mi "beard" [Kraft], Nzangi-Holma bŭšaamɛ̌ "Bart" [Strümpell], Wadi bùsumǒ "Bart" [Strümpell] | PMafa-Mada (PMatakam) *(m)baẑam "(Kinn)bart" [GT]: Gisiga mažamay "(Kinn)bart" [Lukas 1970: 127] = máẑámáy (-dl-) "beard" [Rossing], Matakam (= Mafa) bozongway (segmented in CLD as bozo-ngway) "1. menton, 2. barbe" [Barreteau & Bléis 1990: 93], Mofu (Muffo) bǎsoosóóm "Bart" [Strümpell] = màẑámáy (sic: m-, -dl-) "beard" [Rossing] = baaẑam and bažaẑam (-zl-) "1. joue" [Barreteau 1988: 87] = probably[58] bòzòzòm (sic: -z-) "chin" [Blažek] (MM: Rossing 1978: 208, #51) | Kotoko mbəẓimà (-ẓ-) vs. (Nachtigal's) mbéẓema (-ẓ-) "Backenbart" [Lukas 1936: 108] | Azumaina bizei-nà "goat beard" [Price 1968 quoted in CLD] (CCh.: Strümpell 1922-3: 115; Ch.: Mukarovsky 1987: 125; JI 1994 II 12-13; CLD VI 74, #148.a). As suggested by V. Blažek (1989 MS Om.: 6), who collected a great deal of the Omo-Chadic *comparanda* and even extra-AA parallels from Nilo-Saharan,[59] Eg. ḫbz.wt "Bart" (MK-, Wb III 255, 13) may also be cognate in all likelihood,[60] although its strange initial ḫ- looks like an unidentifiable (additional???) element having no reflex whatsoever at all in Omotic or Chadic, which the tried to cover by an AA etymon *bu[ḫʒ]-, but nothing confirms a C₂ *-ḫ-.

256. NOm.: Koyra baṣ- "to cut" [Azeb Amha in Bender 2003: 85, #33: isolated?] ‖‖ CCh. *biç- [CLD: regular < **biç-][61] "1. to cut in two, 2. tatoo, 3. saw" [CLD]: Malgwa béca (-ts-) "Holz sägen (to saw wood)" [Löhr 2002: 289] | Munjuk-Puss ḅisi (ḅasa) "fendre en deux, couper en deux, déchirer" [Tourneux 1991: 79], Mulwi ḅísí "déchirer, couper en deux" [Tourneux in CLD] | Gizey, Musey, Lew ḅís "inciser, tatouer" [Ajello et al. 2001: 31], Musey ḅissa "marquer" ḅis iira "balafrer" [Shryock, Palomo, Martin in CLD] (CCh.: CLD VI 76-77, #162) ‖‖ HECu. *boč- "carve" [Hudson]: Hadiyya boč- "to split wood", Burji and Gede'o and Sidamo boč- "to carve" (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 140). Further root varieties:

256.1. PAA *√bç̂ [GT] > PCh. *baç̂- (*-ł'-)/*bVHVŝ- (*-ł-) > *ḅaŝ- (*-ł-) "to break, snap" [CLD]: WCh.: Guus ḅaŝə́ (-ł-) "to snap (a thread)" [Caron in CLD] | Paa ḅaṣù (-ł-) "to break, snap" [M. Skinner 1979] | Paduko ḅaŝə (-ł-) "casser" [Jarvis and Lagona 2005 quoted in CLD] | Mina ḅéŝ (-ł-) "to break" [Frajzyngier and Johnston apud CLD] | Mofu-Gudur -ḅáŝ- (-ł-) "percuter, casser (un os, un noyau) en tapant dessus avec une pierre, projeter violemment à terre" [Barreteau 1988: 90], Chuvok méḅèŝèy (-ł-) "briser, casser" [Ndokobai 2002-3 quoted in CLD] (Ch.: CLD VI 79, #172) ‖‖ Sem. *√bdʕ "déchirer, partager" [DRS 77-78] vs. Ar. √bʕḍ "partager, diviser" > baʕḍ- "partie, portion" [BK I 142-143]. Ch.-Ar: CLD VI 79, #172. As noted by O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.), the "common origin with the next root can not be excluded." Indeed, what follows here also, is another root variety:

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[58] Although mislabelled by V. Blažek (l.c.) as Mafa.

[59] Cf. Gumuz bes, Berta bus "beard" etc. (quoted from Greenberg 1963: 118, 134).

[60] Combined by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 163, #1778) with Sem.: Ar. γabab- (partially reduplicated) "dewlap" and NHECu. *gōba "neck" < AA *γob- "area under chin", but his segmentation of Eg. -z- as an alleged nominal suffix (*ts) remains obscure, let alone for the semantical difference.

[61] A shift of emphatization affecting the radicals long well known to be regular in Chadic.

256.2. PAA *bVs "1. knife, 2. to cut, slaughter" [HCVA] = ***√bs** "1. to scar, bleed, tattoo, 2. cut off, slaughter" [GT] > PCh. *bVs/c- "to cut, tatoo" [CLD]: WCh.:[62] Zul bošì (CLD: if not < *boti) "to cut off" [Cosper 1999: 140, №786] ‖ ECh.: PDangla *bēs- "to scar" [GT]: WDangla bèèsè "faire une coupure de la peau au couteau", béésò (m), pl. bèèsà "cicatrice sur le visage" [Fédry 1971: 86], EDangla bésé "1. scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair, 2. saigner, faire une saignée, vacciner (soins médicaux traditionnels ou modernes); 3. faire des cicatrices ornementales, tatouer, balafrer", béésé (m) "la scarification, la balafre, la tatouage" [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 43] = bésé "schröpfen" [Ebobisse 1979, 1987 apud CLD], Korlongo béésé "scarifier", bésé "la scarification" [Dbr.-Mnt.] (Ch.: CLD VI 70, #133) ⦀ NAgaw/CCu.: Hamir bas- "Einschnitte in die Haut machen, um Blut ausfließen zu lassen, zur Ader lassen, tätowieren" [Reinisch 1884: 350] = "to make an incision on a skin, open veins, tattoo" [HCVA] ⦀ NOm.: Kafa bāš "die Gurgel durchschneiden, schlachten" [Reinisch 1888: 274] = Anfillo baš "to slaughter cattle (резать скот)" [Dlg.] = Kafa baš "to slaughter (cattle), cut throat" vs. Anfillo baš "to slaughter (cattle)" [HCVA] (Hamir--Kefoid: Dlg. 1966: 53) ⦀ SBrb. *√bys [GT]: Ghat buys "être blessé", s-buys "blesser (faire une plaie)", Ahaggar buys "être blessé", se-bbuys "blesser (faire une plaie)" (Twareg: DRB 146) ⦀ Sem.: cf. Ar. (Syrian dialect) baššaš "couper menu (viande, etc.)" [DRS 89: isolated in Sem.]. CCu.-Kefoid-SBrb.: HCVA II 7, № 82; HSED №235. AA with further cognates:[63] EDE II 322. Ch.-Agaw-Kefoid-Twareg: CLD VI 70, #133.

257. NOm.: Mao beçe ~ meçe [-ts'-] "four" [Fleming] = **PMao *beç- ~ *meç-** "four" [Bender 2003: 273 and 302, #56] = **Maoid *(m)beṭṣ- "**four" [Blažek] > Hozo-Sezo *bɛç- vs. Mao-Babeshi/Diddesa plus Ganza *mɛç- [GT], Hozo bɛcí (-ts-) "four", Sezo bɛʂɛ́, bèʂɛ́ "four" (Mao data: Siebert-Wedekind 1994: 13; Blažek 2017: 68, #4)[64] ǀ Yemsa (Janjero) hēč-a [GT: h- < *pʰ-???] "quarter (fraction)" [Fleming, not listed in Lamberti 1993b: 350] ǀ Mocha p̱ḛ̃č-o [č possible < *ṭ] "quarter" [Leslau 1959: 44] = βḛ̃č-o "quarter, fourth" [Fleming] (NOm.: Fleming 2000 MS: 6-7) < (?) NOm. *Peč- < **feṭ- (???) "four" [GT] ⦀ PCh. *fʷaṭV [GT] = *fʷadə [Newman] = *(m)-p-ḍ-(w/y) [JS 1981: 113A] (Ch. reflexes: EDE II 599-602) ⦀ Bed. fardik (-rd- for -ḍ-?) [Krockow] = ferdik (-rd- for -ḍ-?) [Lucas] = faḍíg [Reinisch 1894: 10; 1895: 76] = fáḍig [Reinisch 1890: 7; Roper 1928: 179], Beni Amer farig (-r- for -ḍ-?) [Reinisch] (Bed.: Dlg. 1966: 60; Blažek 1993 MS: 6-7, #4.1; 1999a: 32ff.; 1999b: 235ff.) ⦀ Eg. fd "vier (4)" (OK, Wb I 582, 13). The NOm. cognates were first

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[62] O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) compared in WCh. Bole bas- "1. abschiessen, 2. stechen" [Lukas 1971: 133] with a plain b-also, but its clearly different semantics hardly supports this, neither its first nor its second meaning appears related.

[63] A.o., with SBrb.: Ahaggar besei "être échancré (avoir une ou plusieurs échancrures), s'échancrer", ĕ-besei, pl. i-besei-en "échancrure" [Foucauld 1951-2: 105-106].

[64] The extra-Mao cognates of this numeral in NOm. were left unconsidered even in the latest survey on Omotic numerals by V. Blažek (2017: 75, #4.4), whose only etymological remark to his own Maoid *(m)beṭṣ- "4" was just a reference to "Koman (NS): Kwama bé꞉ʂìn "4". The vector of borrowing is not clear." This brief makes it evident that Blažek failed to take into account the wider Omotic context. In the light of the extra-Mao (Yemsa and Mocha) cognates with *pʰ-, it becomes, after all, at once evident that Mao could not have been borrowed from beyond Omotic and that the "vector of borrowing" could have only been from Mao or its ancestor and not *vice versa*.

affiliated with the reflexes of the SAA numeral in Chadic, Cushitic and Egyptian in EDE II 599.[65]

258. NOm.: Mao-Bambeshi bɔçɛmale "narrow" [Atieb & Bender] (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 356, #63) ||| ECh.: Birgit bíḍḍèŋ (m), bíyáḍḍèŋ (f), pl. níyáḍḍèŋ "petit" [Jng. 2004, 351] || CCh.: Lame bíḍém (adj.) "court, ras, rabougris" [Sachnine 1982: 286] ||| NBrb. *√bẓn (?):[66] Mzab a-bǝẓẓan "petit, jeune" [Delheure 1984, 18], Wargla a-bǝẓẓan "petit, jeune, enfant" [Delheure 1987: 40] (NBrb.: DRB 157: isolated in Brb.) < **SAA *√bçN** "small" [GT]. If the Mao word was a compound of two juxtaposed synonyms (sg. like *bɔçɛ-male?), the above outlined triconsonantal etymology might be extended on a biliteral basis onto Sem.: Macro-Canaanite *√bṣr[67] (root ext. *-r?) "to be diminished" [GT] also: NHbr. *bāṣar "être raccourci, diminué", JPAram. and Syr. bᵉṣar, Mandaic bṣar, NSyr. (Aysor) bāṣir "être diminué, petit, peu", (Urmia) baṣūrā "inférieur", Mandaic bᵉāṣīr "peu" (Macro-Can.: DRS 77, bṣr1). This ultimate AA common biliteral root *√bç "small" [GT] may well have further root varieties:

258.1. PAA *√bç "child" [GT] > NBrb. *√bẓ: Wargla ta-bẓa (var. ta-bza), ta-bẓiẓ "marmaille, enfants, jeunesse", bǝẓẓ "les enfants (en général)" [Delheure 1987: 39], Figuig a-bẓiẓ "garçon" [DRB], Snus l-beẓẓ "marmaille", a-bẓeẓ "petit enfant" [DRB] | Tamazight beẓẓ (var. bezz) "enfanter (péj.), être en couches" [Taïfi 1991: 41] (NBrb.: DRB 155, bẓ11: var. to *√bẓ?) ||| LECu.: Saho and Afar báḍ-ā, fem. -ắ "Kind: 1. Sohn, Tochter, Knabe, Mädchen, 2. bei Tieren das Junge" [Reinisch 1886: 829-830; 1890: 83-84][68] = Afar báḍ-ā "figlio", fem. bāḍ-ắ "figlia" [Colizza 1887: 112].

258.2. PAA *√bʒ "child" [GT] > CCh. *bVz- "child, fruit" [CLD]:[69] Moloko babǝza (pl.) "children" [Bow 1997 in CLD], Muyang bǝ̀zà "children" [Smith 2003 quoted in CLD], Mofu ´bǝzey "1. enfant, fils; 2. petit, jeune; 3. graine, noyau", bábǝzá "1. fruit, 2. petit"

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[65] Even in his latest survey on Cushitic numerals, V. Blažek (2018: 49, #4.1) equated the Eg.-Bed. root with his arbitrary Om. *ʔawurd- "4" (whose really attested derivatives, however, only reflect *-d- without a cluster *-rd- and no more, so this stem must belong elsewhere), while he ignored both the Chadic and the Maoid evidence clearly speaking for AA *-ṭ- (and not a cluster like *-rd-).

[66] Treated by J. Delheure (l.c.) as a secondary variation of *mǝẓẓan, whose primary root was, however, *√mẓy/g without a nasal C₃. K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB l.c.) too, with apparent hesitation, referred to both *√bẓ and *√mẓy of fully different root meanings.

[67] Beyond Canaanite, the DRS (l.c.) compared (with a question mark expressing well-founded doubts) also Ar. baṣara "trancher (sabre) (?)". Moreover, all this was treated as a probable root doublet of Sem. *√bṣr "couper", whose Ar. reflex (southern dialect) baḍar "donner peu d'eau" (Sem.: DRS 78) may be perhaps affiliated (via metathesis) also with Ar. baraḍa "1. se trouver ou jaillir de la source en petite quantité (se dit de l'eau), 2. donner fort peu, être très-mesquin dans ce qu'on donne à qqn.", VIII "jaillir en petite quantité (se dit de l'eau)" [BK I 112].

[68] Of course, neither of the comparisons (Somali wil or Macro-Canaanite *√bn, *√br "son") offered by L. Reinisch (1886: 829) is phonologically convincing.

[69] O. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) set up this root for PCh., with a 2nd sense "seed", on the basis of ECh.: Mokilko búzú, pl. bûnzìdí "semence" [Jng. 1990a: 71] < *búzún, pl. *bûznìdí (metathesis???) [GT] with reference to WCh.: Jimbin, Mburku vazar "seed" [Skinner] || CCh.: Margi bzə́r "child" [Hoffmann (?) > CLD], Bura bzə̀r "child" [Blench apud CLD] as loans < Sem.: Ar. bazr- "1. semences, 2. fils" [BK I 121], which derives certainly from an eventually fully distinct PAA root with the basic sense "1. to scatter, 2. sow".

[Barreteau 1988: 86, 80, resp.], Mada mbòózò "jeune enfant (entre trois et huit ans)" [Barreteau and Brunet 2000: 203] | Hdi vəziʔuwa "newborn baby" (cf. uʔa 'breast') [Bramlet 1996 quoted in CLD] (CCh.: CLD VI 74, #150) ‖‖ NBrb.: Wargla ta-bza (coll. fem.) "enfants, jeunesse, marmaille" [Delheure 1987: 39] | Tamazight bezz (var. bezẓ) "enfanter (péj.), être en couches", a-bezza "enfantement", l-beza, pl. le-bzuz "1. (sg.) (petit) enfant, 2. (pl.) marmaille, groupe bruyant d'enfants" [Taïfi 1991: 41] | Shilh bezzi "enfant au berceau, nouveau-né" [Jordan 1934, 58], Sus bezzi "enfant" [Destaing 1938: 108] (NBrb.: DRB 147).

259. SOm.: Dime bəṣil "full" [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 210, #57: isolated in Om.], which may well be a remote (and, for the time being, very rare) SAA root variety of **NAA *√Pĉ̣l** "to grow beyond measure (?)" **[GT]**,[70] must, however, first of all, have its biradical root in what is reconstructed in this paper (entry no. 265.) as **NOm. *bEs- < POm. **bEç̣-** (???) "to complete" [GT] (q.v.).

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Special symbols

P: any labial stop (f, p, b, ṗ), T: unspecified dental stop (t, d, ṭ), S: any voiceless sibilant and/or affricate (s, š, ŝ, c, č, ĉ), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ẓ̌), K: any velar stop (k, g, ḳ), Q: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (q, g̣, q̇, ḫ), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (ʿ, γ, ḥ, h, ʔ). The vertical strokes signify the the degree of closeness of the language groups (e.g. Kotoko | Masa), sub-branches (e.g. North Berber ‖ East Berber), and branches (Semitic ‖‖ Egyptian), from which the individual lexical data are quoted.

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, (A2): Sub-Ahmimic = (L), AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo- -Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, CAA: Common Afro-Asiatic, Ch.: Chadic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, DM: Dangla-Migama, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopic, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Imp.: Imperial (Aram.), JP: Jewish Palestinian (Aramaic), L: Late, L: Low(land), (L): Lycopolitan = (A2), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical

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[70] Attested in Brb. *ta/i-fa/iḍla/i "outgrowth" [GT based on DRB]: cf., i.a., NBrb.: Shilh ta-fulḍi-t, ta-fulliṭ < *ta-fulliḍ-t, ta-fḍiṭṭ < *ta-fḍil-t, ti-fḍiṭṭ < *ti-fḍil-t, ta-fḍiḍi-t, ti-fḍi-tt, ta-fḍi-tt "verrue", ta/i-fḍi-tt, ta-fḍiḍi-t "excroissance, verrue, furoncle", a-fḍiḍ "grosse verrue" ‖ SBrb.: Ahaggar tă-fâḍlé "verrue (petite excroissance de chair)" (Brb.: DRB 534, fḍl1) ‖‖ Sem.: Ar. √fḍl I: faḍala "être superflu, être de trop dans qqch., être au delà de la quantité nécessaire, être de reste, 2. avoir un surcroît, une surabondance de ... (se dit d'une chose)", faḍila "être superflu, de trop etc.", faḍl- "excédent, surcroît, surplus, partie redondante, surabondante, 3. reste, 4. supériorité, mérite, etc.", fāḍil- "1. surabondant, qui est de trop, 2. excellent, supérieur, 3. nombre (en parlant des richesses)", faḍāl-at- "1. le superflu l'excédant, 2. partie abondante, qui est de trop, 3. pléonasme, 4. reste, reliquat, résidu", faḍīl-at- "1. surabondance, excès de, ... comble de ..., 2. mérit transcendant, 3. supériorité" [BK II 606-608].

texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada (Matakam group), MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New/o-, N: North(ern), NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), Wlm(d).: Tawllemmet, Y: Young(er Babylonian).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich (as quoted in Lukas 1937, 1941), AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein & Kazimirski, Brt.: Barreteau, BYAG: Bedu, Yakubu, Adamu, Garba, CR: Conti Rossini, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GAB: Gimba, Ali, Bah, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GD: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, GK: Gambo and Karofi, GT: Takács, Hsk.: Hoskison, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Kwh.: Kleinewillinghöfer, LG: Lienhard & Giger, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Mnt.: Montgolfier, NM: Newman & Ma, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics, SPM: Shryock, Palomo, Martin, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, WP: Weibegué & Palayer.

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Preliminary report on the new comparative-historical phonology and etymological dictionary of Southern Cushitic

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Dedicated to Profs. V. Blažek and K.T. Witczak
gratefully remembering the 19th of June 1992[1]

Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Preliminary report on the new comparative-historical phonology and etymological dictionary of Southern Cushitic*. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 125-129

The paper offers a preliminary report of the current research for a monographic comparative-etymological elaboration of the Southern Cushitic lexical stock with its uniquely archaic consonantism set in its ancient Afro-Asiatic context. The project is based on the author's studies over more than two decades by now.

Keywords: Cushitic languages, Afro-Asiatic, comparative linguistics

Southern Cushitic is part of the Cushitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic macrofamily, whose southernmost extremity is represented by this small sub-branch on the periphery of the Kenyan-Tanzanian border area. Southern Cushitic comprises two groups (West Rift, East Rift) plus two isolated languages (Ma'a and Dahalo), whose classification is disputed. All these languages, doubtlessly related as a distinct unit in my view, were altogether comprehensively compared for the first time in Ch. Ehret's (1980) pioneering, albeit highly

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[1] It is with gratitude that, during writing this report, I remember having learnt precisely 30 years ago about their work in comparative Indo-European and beyond on the 19th of June 1992, an unforgettable day on whose decisive significance for the start of my researches one can read more in Takács (2012, see esp. p. 21). It was then that I first got acquainted with an entirely new world thanks to K.T. Witczak's (1992) attractive paper on the Indo-European word for "leech" and its Nostratic equivalents along with a similarly impressive study on the diffusion of agricultural terms from Mesopotamia jointly by V. Blažek and C. Boisson (1992).

controversial attempt at reconstructing Proto-South-Cushitic, which has long been well known as not being at all void of serious drawbacks and imperfections that were discussed by former reviewers.[2]

In the light of my own researches, I can also confirm that a considerable part of Ehret's (1980) cognate sets and lexical reconstructions is indeed either not convincing or clearly incorrect either for semantic problems or phonological reasons. I have avoided using Ehret's disputable or mistaken proto-forms (unless confronted with more reasonable ones and/or provided with the adequate critical comment). Nevertheless, it has always been inevitable for me that the lexical material is a precious treasure itself, so has to be exploited with the necessary restrictions and changes. Since Ehret's Southern Cushitic proto-forms (instead of the purely attested lexical materials from the daughter languages) were greatly used as basis for his subsequent, equally or even more disputable, reconstructions of Proto-Cushitic (1987) and Proto-Afro-Asiatic (1995), composed along with similarly problematic comparative methods,[3] a new Southern Cushitic synthesis is triply urging.

That the highly precious lexical treasure accumulated by Ehret (1980) has to be almost completely re-arranged and fully re-evaluated in a new etymological dictionary, has always been evident for me, which has permanently stimulated my research on the Southern Cushitic comparative-historical phonology and lexicon (ongoing since 1998). First of all, however, I only tried to better understand those segments of the Southern Cushitic thesaurus that have peculiar bearing on especially labial triad and the system of sibilants, then the back consonants also in the light of a simultaneous work with both the inner and external evidence. Its selected results I have been (since 1999) periodically publishing in diverse studies.[4] Finally, I summed up more than a decade's research over this extremely archaic consonantism in a separate chapter of my first volume on Afro-Asiatic historical phonology.[5] No other (sub)--branch in the entire Afro-Asiatic macrofamily has retained this rich variety and such a full set of sibilant and velar, pharyngeal, laryngeal phonemes in an intact form which we only know from Proto-Semitic.[6]

With a new comparative-historical Southern Cushitic consonantism, multiply refined over the past two decades or so, I have long felt the need of composing a new comparative dictionary of this peculiar root stock with up-to-date Afro-Asiatic etymological entries. For achieving this ultimate goal, a fundamental re-writing of Ehret's (1980) lexical entries is needed in a wholly new structure and arrangement in the first step. This work has been on-going since autumn 2021 and is expected to be soon completed during summer 2022. Then, in the second step, the lexical entries of the internally basically reliable West Rift lexicon by E.D. Elderkin & J.B. Maghway (1992) and by R. Kießling & M. Mous (2004) are to be

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[2] See the masterful assessments by Hetzron, R. & Tálos, E.P. (1982), Voigt, R.M. (1983) and Zaborski, A. (1984).

[3] On these, cf. Takács (2018, esp. pp. 237-239).

[4] Takács 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2009a, 2009, 2010.

[5] See my chapter "Outlines of a South Cushitic historical phonology (consonants)" (Takács 2011a) in Takács (2011b: 115-152).

[6] For the demonstration of this thesis, see, a.o., esp. Takács (2013).

entered with the necessary criticism on their homophonous pseudo-etymologies.[7] This is going to become a solid starting point, which the rest of the South Cushitic data (Qwadza, Asa, Ma'a, Dahalo and the older sources on West Rift) are to be confronted with in the third step for achieving a long desired new reconstruction of the Southern Cushitic lexicon. Its root stock has then, in the fourth step, to be confronted with the Afro-Asiatic cognates from my Egyptian etymological word catalogue (EEWC, ongoing since summer 1994) as well as my Afro-Asiatic root catalogue (AARC, since Dec. 1999), both paper-based and unpublished, in order to establish the Southern Cushitic etymological dictionary, whose significant importance for precisely understanding the Proto-Afro-Asiatic consonantism cannot be overstated.

A new impulse for renewing my old research on the Southern Cushitic lexicon (1998-2011), which had been interrupted but definitely not concluded a decade ago, has now come in spring 2019[8] with returning to my original research strategy[9] of a simultaneous work on both my Afro-Asiatic root catalogue by the extensive revision of former comparative works searching for all plausible solid cognates[10] and an accelerated micro-reconstruction of numerous Southern Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic) groups.[11]

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[7] On this inherited deficiency in their methodology see Takács, G. 2005c, esp. p. 214-217; 2011b:, esp. pp. 140-141; 2010, esp. pp. 136-138.

[8] This timing is due to the happy fact that the obligation of an enormously time-consuming and intellectually destructive commuting to the remote Hungarian capital has ceased in April 2019 and, henceforth, I have been able to exclusively devote myself to a desired full-time research in my private Afro-Asiatic library, established at the turn of 1991/2 in Székesfehérvár and re-built in spring 2015 at Balatonederics.

[9] The idea of accelerating miscro-reconstruction in the lesser-explored Southern Afro-Asiatic groups has arisen in me in the late 1990s, which had resulted in the first period of my Southern Cushitic and Angas-Sura researches (ca. 1998-2011) and in starting my work for the comparative dictionaries of Dangla-Migama and Mubi--Toram in 2008. Ironically, whereas over the past quarter of a century, my original intention of extracting A-Z comparative wordlists of a number of West and Central Chadic groups by turning Kraft 1981 upside-down and by completing it up-to-date with more recent sources has until now had to remain a plan (except for Angas-Sura), my renewed researches starting from spring 2019 on have yielded A-Z comparative wordlists of Southern Cushitic and Omotic along the same pattern by turning the invaluable raw thesaurus of Ehret 1980 and Bender 2003, resp., upside-down, whose evaluation in the light of other sources is ongoing now.

[10] Since spring 2019, I have already accomplished 3 fruitful new seasons scanning through a considerable segment of the literature on Afro-Asiatic lexical comparison remaining unfiled after the first intensive decade (1994-2006) of my research for this catalogue.

[11] Although my research on the lexical reconstruction of some individual Chadic groups dates back to around the turn of the millennium (thus, e.g., Angas-Sura since 1998, Dangla-Migama and Mubi-Toram since 2008), my work in this domain has only become accelereted and extensive since the spring of 2019, when a whole set of further Chadic groups (North Bauchi, Musgu, Masa) as well as Southern Cushitic and Omotic were subject to a comprehensive lexical reconstruction. This research has now been manifested in the new project of micro--reconstructions in the Southern Afro-Asiatic lexical root stock, which has been supported since 2021 by the grant "Advanced Research in Residence" (ARR) of the University of Łódz, which I gratefully acknowledge in this place.

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Semito-Hamitic or Afro-Asiatic consonantism and lexicon: Episodes of a comparative research II: The "old school" of Egypto-Semitic (Part 1: Pre-war phase)[1]

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Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Semito-Hamitic or Afro-Asiatic consonantism and lexicon: Episodes of a comparative research II: The "old school" of Egypto-Semitic (Part 1: Pre-war phase).* The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 131-145

A retrospective account on the past of the comparative research on Semito-Hamitic / Hamito-Semitic (SH / HS, resp.) or Afro-Asiatic (AA) phonology (first of all consonantism, also root structure) and lexicon, segmented into episodes according to diverse (often overlapping in time) trends is now under way and will be presented part by part in a series of papers. Episode II evaluates the so-called "old school", a rather introverted special trend of this domain (arbitrarily focusing on a comparison of just these two branches: Semitic and Egyptian), which split off from mainstream Semito-Hamitic studies at the end of the 19th century, more than a whole century ago. The present paper surveys the pre-war share (encompassing some half of a century), a blooming and most fruitful phase in the history of Egypto-Semitic studies.[2]

Keywords: science history, Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic), Semitic, ancient Egyptian, comparative linguistics

Dedicated to the memory of my teacher,
Prof. V. Wessetzky (1909-1997)[3] and
to my senior colleague, Mr. Péter Gaboda (1963-2023)[4]
on the 30th anniversary of my acquaintance with
the Egypto-Semitic "old school" (5th Nov. 1991)

Introduction

The whole history of Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics, examined in all its aspects, would demand a whole of a heavy monograph. Even merely the (perhaps most neglected and evidently most controversial) segment of comparative consonantism and root etymology, systematically only studied since the late 19th cent., may well result in a thin volume, for which the present author has already released a number of pilot studies.[5]

More than two decades ago (1999), I offered an all too sketchy and all too Egyptian--oriented historical overview of this immense, albeit undeservedly little cultivated, domain

[3] An eminent egyptologist representing *die Wiener Schule* of great W. Czermak, who, by the way, had later become master of Prof. H. Jungraithamyr also (1950-3), head of the African Linguistics Institute (1985-1996) at the Frankfurt J.W. Goethe University and, besides, my mentor in Chadic comparative linguistics from 1999 on. It was Prof. Wessetzky who introduced me to the hieratic script from the fall semester of 1990 and, among some other subjects, into Late Egyptian literature also in the fall semester of 1991. As a sometime visiting researcher of the Viennese *Doppelinstitut* of Egyptology and African studies (established by great Leo Reinisch) from the 1930s (on which cf. Thausing 1989: 48), i.e., from the very beginning of his egyptological career in the Egyptian Dept. of the Museum of Fine Arts in the Hungarian capital, he had been acquainted with the old Egypto-Semitic comparative works by F. von Calice, A. Ember and W. Vycichl, to whose names, having seen my ardent interest in this puzzling field, he was the first to call my attention during his course on Ancient Egyptian library on the 5th Nov. 1991 (as far as I have now been able to search back in my student records).

[4] An excellent expert of the pharaonic museum artefacts and a true philologist not solely as an egyptologist, but also as an intimate knower of the 19th cent. intellectual history, whose unrepeatable thorough deductive method I have always been disposed to compare to the masterful ways of Sherlock Holmes. When I had attended the classical hieratic course of Prof. Wessetzky in the Egyptian Dept. of the Museum of Fine Arts, Péter Gaboda (presumably as the youngest fellow of the dept. at that time) was assigned to meet us at the staff entrance of the museum, where we had had to await him (out of security reasons) and from where he had to show us up to the cabinet of Vilmos Wessetzky every occasion. This is how I first met this reserved hidden treasure of Hungarian egyptology, although on these early occasions throughout that fall semester 1991, having no firm orientation in egyptology and any ideas about his hidden skills in Egyptian *Sprachgeschichte* so obscure to me, I had had no courage to initiate a conversation as yet. It was a whole year later that, upon the instruction of Prof. Wessetzky and my master, Prof. L. Kákosy (1932-2003), I started to visit P. Gaboda specially at the museum at the turn of 1991/2 when I have learnt his MA thesis on a prefix p- in Egyptian (ELTE, 1988) whereby he had studied in the 1980s, as it soon turned out to my true gladness, the old literature of Egypto-Semitic and some basic tools of Semito-Hamitic also like Cohen 1947 and Diakonoff 1965. It was due to him that I was first introduced into this old literature that winter, which has turned out to become an unforgettable start of my research adventures in our fascinating AA domain.

[5] Cf. the volume on the Russian story of comparative AA studies (Takács 1999a), also the studies on the three decades of Muscovite Chadic comparative linguistics (Takács 1999b: 361ff.; 2009: 211ff.) as well as his series of a critical evaluation of the activities and individual output by some of the most fruitful (mostly either Viennese or Muscovite) authors of our field over the past century or so like F. von Calice (Takács 2006b: 139), A. Ember (Takács 2005: 78ff.; 2006c: 145ff.), W. Vycichl (Takács 2002: 19ff.: his bibliography: Takács 2004: ix-xi: his life; Takács 2006d: 154ff.: his research), I.M. Diakonoff (Takács 2003b: v-vii: biography and 2003b: ix-xii: bibliography, resp.), O. Rössler (Takács 2006a: 90ff.; 2007: 5ff.), V.M. Illič-Svityč (Takács 1999: 361ff.), A.B. Dolgopol'skij (Takács 2009: 9-10; 2012: 19ff.).

where I only isolated three trends (cf. EDE I 1-8). Albeit its periodization and segmentation structure elaborated therein[6] can be maintained two decades later also, but an overall survey of the whole AA domain must comprise by far more directions of comparative research phonology and lexicon. The enormous diversity, and a turbulent co-existence of trends and directions of research, and, sometimes, even, so to say, an all too menacing evolution of certain tendencies have altogether given me sufficient reasons for preparing a comprehensive retrospective evaluation thereof in the period of the past almost one and a half century.

This paper too, is purely and only dealing with the history of that segment of research where the root stock and consonantal inventory of the cognate branches have been subject to a comparative analysis. Other segments of comparative grammar are excluded, all the more since the history of the relatively more cohenerent research requires a pretty much different segmentation. Not wishing to reproduce here all those details of my old, primarily Egypto-centric, overview available in EDE I, but keeping the periodization invented by me in 1999, beside surveying purely the underlying taxonomies *ohne Anspruch auf die Vollständigkeit*, I would better like to focus here on certain emphases in the typical tendencies and trends specially and only in the little-frequented domain of comparative AA phonology and lexicon, including AA root structure, without a wish to present and cover here the full spectrum of comparative activities in all kinds of AA grammar by the authors, let alone for the gigantic output by well-known authors like Rössler, Greenberg or Diakonoff. Thus, some outstanding works may well be touched upon briefly and only with reference to comparative consonantism and lexicon, while sometimes perhaps more emphasis is laid upon some lesser-known or out-dated segments of our domain if these have an impact on the evolution of a trend.

What this paper is not at all intended to yield is encyclopaedically presenting the whole inventory of the works ever published in the chosen research field, which should be the objective of a separate volume. Although the entire literature of comparative AA is not in target zone of my paper and will be, as a rule, left unconsidered here, still, certain views pertaining to the reconstruction problems appear within works on theoretical issues, on AA comparative morphology, on the individual AA branches, which will thus be quoted here. Otherwise, these issues are going to be subject to a separate monograph on the history of the whole comparative AA domain. Instead, what I have had in my mind is an as complete as possible presentation of the extreme plurality of approaches and views, however astonishing these may look, especially placed beside each other in one overview where I did my best to reduce my own subjective opinion on the minumum by quoting directly as many as possible of thoughts considered typical or essential for a trend. The only task herein has been to present the trends as full as possible with all their pros and cons, irrespective of and often against the conviction of the present author, trying not to actively take part in these debates in a comprehensive overview like this – in the hope that even if not in every single detail, but at least sometimes, it may be more revealing, rather than "what?", better to see the "how?". All this is done, on the one hand, for shocking, in a way, the remaining and potential authors of our all too divided, atomized, little cultivated orphan domain and, on

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[6] The paper is part of the author's project for a comprehensive *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* of the AA comparative domains.

the other hand, for making the wider scientific audience conscious of how close or distant the state-of-the-art of this comparative linguistic field stands to that of neo-grammarian Indo-European research, say, a century before.

What this study on the history of inter-branch comparison is not going to offer either is, a beyond doubt highly urgent and long desirable retrospective survey of the state-of-the-art in reconstructing the consonantal systems and root stock of the individual AA branches, which should be subject to another extensive follow-up study of mine.

Previous overviews in general

"Eine umfassende Geschichte der Semitohamitistik gibt es bislang nicht, nur kurze Abrisse, die höchstens einige Schlaglichter und einzelne Epochen in der Entwicklung ... werfen" as rightly stated about the state of the affair three decades ago (valid, by the way, until now) by R.M. Voigt (1988: 155), whose general survey, however, also failed to offer a comprehensive survey of all trends and periods by his day. So will it remain with this paper too, which, focuses, as specified above, just on the most neglected and controversial segment of our research domain.

M. Cohen (1947) offered an almost exhaustive annotated bibliography and history of AA researches in general, which F. Hintze (1951) has neatly complemented in his very thorough and sharp-minded review. In the following half of century or so, a number of partial overviews were published, e.g., Hodge 1971, 1976b, Köhler 1975, Burrini 1978-9, Mukarovsky 1981, Petráček 1984 (on the research in the 3rd quarter of the 20th cent., typically comparative phonology hardly any echo among many other theoretical issues).[7] The lengthy chapter "Stav hamitosemitských studii" by K. Petráček (1989: 10ff., §1.0.) contains a number of useful sections.[8] R.M. Voigt (1988: 155-164; 2001: 1318-1323) has offered

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[7] Segmented into chapters like "La parenté des languges chamitoseémitiques" (pp. 426-427), "Les types de comparaison" (pp. 427-428), "La reconstruction interne" (pp. 428-429), "Le système du développement diachronique" (pp. 434-435), "D'autres problèmes du comparativisme" (pp. 438-439).

[8] Like his all too general "survey of results" (Petráček 1989: 10-17, §1.1.: "Hamitosemitská srovnávací jazykověde. Přehled výsledků."), which no more than a discussion of some AA works by C.T. Hodge (pp. 10--11), followed by a short list of the AA conferences and *Festschriften* up to date (pp. 12-14), a very short summary of some studies by W. Vycichl (1978) and H.-J. Sasse (1981) as for "evaluating the perspectives" of comparative AA (p. 14: "Zhodnocení a perspektivy"), an enumeration of studies dealing with the comparative methodology (pp. 14-15), a small list of works on the history of our research – with a few gaps, unfortunately (p. 15), a brief and incomplete section on the very few periodical series of our comparative domain like the Comptes rendus of the GLECS sessions, the AAL issues ed. by R. Hetzron, and the Africana Marburgensia ed. by H. Jungraithmayr (p. 15: "Rozvoj výzkumu"), list of countries where AA studies were pursued (p. 16: "Centra studií"), and an account on the past of AA research in Czechia (pp. 16-17: "Tradice v našich zemích"). Then, Petráček (1989: 18-22, §1.2.) surveyed the history of AA comparative studies since Meinhof 1912 up to his day roughly and very little annotated: "Souborná spracování hamitosemitských jazyků (HS) a rekonstrukce prajazyka (P-HS)". After a list of linguistic maps in the AA domain (Petráček 1989: 23-25, §1.3.: "Mapy hamitosemitských jazyků") and a "Bibliografie hamitosemitské jazykovědy" (op. cit., pp. 26-27, §1.4.), Petráček (1989: 28-44, §1.5.) singled out the overviews of the state-of-the-art of internal comparison in the individual AA branches, like that of Semitic: "Semitská srovnávací jazykověda", which is out of our scope in this paper, except for his section on Egyptian which offers in fact "Egyptština a hamitosemitská srovnávací jazykověda" (Petráček 1989: 45-64, §1.6.) hiding in itself, among others, a noteworthy section on "Egyptština a hamitosemitské jazyky

perhaps the most original and fairly (albeit not in every detail) objective survey of some selected (but not all) older episodes of the comparative SH research (with an original, albeit somewhat different periodization), which is especially useful as for the 19th cent. research and gets all the more unilaterally neglectful as for its progress in the 20th century. Less detailed is "le bilan de la linguistique chamito-sémitique des derniers cinquante ans" since Cohen 1947 by A. Zaborski (1998: 23) presenting rather the tendencies in our research field. In spite of its promising title, the H. Satzinger (1999: 367-374) released a by far incomplete survey of SH/AA comp. phon. lex. research of certain episodes, which is strangely pretty detailed as for what had happened over the first century of comparative SH/AA studies up to M. Cohen's 1947 *magnum opus* (pp. 367-370), but suddenly gets rather taciturn (in less than 17 lines!) as to the details about how "seit Greenbergs grundlegender Arbeit ist die Forschung auf verschiedenen Wegen weitergeschritten" in the comparative-historical study of the AA branches, where Satzinger, having briefly mentioned a few homeland theories, immediately switched to a pure reproduction of the copied-in AA family tree models (pp. 371-372), then again one further entry (p. 373) deals with some *Gemeinplätze* about Chadic and Cushito-Omotic lexical reconstruction. A very brief history of the research was offered by P. Vernus (1999: 169-172, §1-§2) too, focusing on the affiliation of Egyptian retrospectively. Then, in the epochal vol. 20 of the IOS, in his chapter on the "1. History of the discipline" (p. 265), R.M. Voigt (2002) gave us just a very brief survey of the minimal items of what he called comparative "Semitohamitic".

II. "Old School" of Egypto-Semitic comparison

I isolated and labelled this trend already back in 1999 (EDE I 2-4, §II) on the basis of some common features: (1) it was the first period when a whole system of regular consonantal correspondences has been established and used as a *communis opinio* primarily in Egypto-Semitic comparative studies,[9] which (2) were characterized by a open-minded, experimenting attitude, but in the spirit of the strengthening philological methods of Oriental studies at the turn of the 19th/20th century, as well as (3) by a presumably misguided

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...” (op. cit., pp. 49-54, §1.6.2.1.) with precious lightly annotated lists of studies comparing Egyptian with the AA branches, followed by "Egyptština a africké jezyky" (op. cit., pp. 54-55, §1.6.2.2.), "Egyptština a asijské jezyky (nostratické, makroboreální, Nilal, Lislakh, indoevropské)" (op. cit., pp. 55-56, §1.6.2.3.), a very exciting, inspiring section on the impact of AA comparison on the research of Egyptian prehistory ("Srovnávací jazykověda a egyptské dějiny", op. cit., pp. 56-58, §1.6.2.4.). Similarly, the special section within Cushitic is devoted to "Význam kušitské jazykovědy pro srovnávací hamitosemitskou jazykovědu" (op. cit., pp. 66-67, §1.7.2.), whereas, after a very brief Omotic section (op. cit., pp. 72-73, §1.8.) and a poor one on Berbero-AA (op. cit., p. 74, §1.9.1.), the Chadic one (op. cit., pp. 80-88, §1.10.) contains a precious overview of the research on the external ties of Chadic (§1.10.2., pp. 82-83: "Vnější vztahy čadských jazyků").

[9] Rooting in the first comparative Egypto-Semitic grammar by Th. Benfey (1844), which used to be referred to as the starting point of this trend, cf. Bechhaus-Gerst 1998: 111; Voigt 1999: 348, §2 etc. Another thesaurus of *ad hoc* Egypto-Hebrew/Arabic lexical parallels from this early phase, not to be the subject to an analysis here in my paper, is H. Brugsch's (1867-1882) gigantic *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, on the etymologies of which A. Erman's (1892) new system of *Lautgesetze* then was based on.

belief in a very intimate cognacy of both branches[10] or even an identity of Egyptian as a "Semitic language"[11] (a label so typical for this trend). These ideas were commonly followed and shared by many authors in the attempt of exploring regularities from an amalgamate lexical stuff and of avoiding to conclude definitely in absolute terms, which is why perhaps it was all so fruitful in spite of all its shortcomings. As opposed to the *ad hoc* equations of the pioneering research throughout the 19th century, already this new era was yielding basically long-standing results with valid value until now. The elaboration and establishment of the northern core of the Afro-Asiatic *Lautgeschichte* dates back to these decades. It flourished in the period of the first decades of the 20th century (flourishing perhaps from the 1890s until the 1930s).

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[10] As C.T. Hodge (1976a: 6-7, §1.2.5) described: "This similarity struck early workers in the field as being very great", for which he quoted the words by H. Brugsch (1867) himself, the first so productive mastermind of Eg.-Sem. etymology: "Im voraus kann ich es weissagen, dass die Sprachforschung eines Tages erstaunt sein wird über das enge Band der Verwandtschaft, welches die ägyptische Sprache mit ihren semitischen Schwestern zusammenknüpft, und über die mir jetzt schon feststehende Tatsache, dass alle eine gemeinsame Mutter haben".

[11] Cf., e.g., Ember 1912: 86; Albright 1923: 70. Already F. Hommel (1894: 342) was more careful: although, admitting "Dass das Ägyptische ... mehr oder weniger nahe mit den semitischen Sprachen verwandt ist, wird längst nicht mehr bezweifelt" and then having once more abundantly examined a whole series of shared morphological traits of both branches, he (Hommel 1894: 354-355) too concluded thereof to two concurring sceanarios (assuming either a tight Egypto-Semitic unit or that "das Ägyptische ursprünglich lediglich ein Dialekt des nordbabylonischen Semitisch war ..., eine Weiterentwicklung jenes nordbabylonischen Dialekts"), still, in the "*Nachtrag*" of August 1892 to his paper, Hommel (1894: 355-358) was careful enough to extend his comparative morphology onto Berber and Bedawye with the same traits. Reviewing A. Ember's magnum opus (ESS), E. Mahler (1931: 469) made it clear "da ja im vorliegenden Werke nicht bezweckt wird nachzuspüren, wie etwaige hebräische oder sonstige semitische Ausdrücke auf entsprechende ägyptische zurückzuführen sind, sondern die Beziehungen des Aegyptischen zu den Sprachfamilien (*sic*) der Semiten aufzudecken und zu erläutern beabsichtigt." In his report "Ägyptisch-semitische Sprachvergleichung" delivered for the "Sechste Deutsche Orientalistentag" (Vienna, 1930), F. von Calice (1930: 61), as many other authors of this trend sooner or later, formulated his Semito-centric hypothesis: "so kann das Ägyptische unmöglich mit dem 'Hamitischen' zusammen dem 'Semitischen' gegenübergestellt werden; es steht dem Semitischen näher als einem großen Teile der Hamitensprachen. Am ehesten entspräche dem Tatbestande die Annahme, daß in Ägypten ein semitisches Idiom von einer hamitischen oder teilweise hamitischen Urbevölkerung übernommen wurde." In the light of lexical matches between Egyptian and Berber or Beja, Calice's (1931: 28-29) dilemma was whether Egyptian was just a Hamiticized Semitic language: "Hat sich das Ägyptische durch die Ausbreitung eines semitischen Idioms auf eine hamitische oder teilweise hamitische Urbevölkerung gebildet, so ist der Bestand solcher, mit den hamitischen Sprachen verwandter Wörter ohne weiteres erklärlich ... Auch lautlich eine Annahme einer hamitischen Unterschicht im Ägyptischen sehr plausibel; da die hamitischen Sprachen im allgemeinen über die gleichen laryngalen Laute verfügen, wie die Semiten, ist die unveränderte Erhaltung der semitischen Laryngale im Ägyptischen, das sonst eine so starke lautliche Zersetzung aufweist, bei dieser Hypothese ohne weiteres verständlich. Aus anderen, als sprachlichen Erwägungen heraus bin ich geneigt, für die alte Bevölkerung des Niltals eine Mischung auch noch mit anderen als eine Mischung auch noch nicht mit anderen als hemitischen und semitischen Bevölkerungselementen für wahrscheilich zu halten." Even W. Vycichl (1959a: 38) spoke of "Egyptian and the other (*sic!*) Semitic languages" – pretty revealing. But elsewhere, towards the conclusions in the same paper, Vycichl (1959a: 41) hesitated as for "the question whether we are are entitled to call Egyptian a Semitic language or not. Frankly speaking, in spite of all the parallels existing between Egyptian and Semitic, I feel some hesitation in doing so. **This is certainly not becuase of the vocabulary**." But due to fact that Semitic had "rather a certain unity of history, social organization, religious beliefs and civilization that form a well defined group of tribes and peoples **distinct from the Egyptians**." This problem was discusssed by C.T. Hodge (1976a: 7, §1.2.5): "This view is often later abandoned by its proponents (such as Albright), but the fact that it could be seriously entertained is significant."

This era was almost completely presented in the GÄSW 1-10 and was covered perhaps in its fullness by M. Cohen (1947: 28-38, §II.A), while R.M. Voigt (1999: 345-352), briefly, also surveyed the "old school" of Egypto-Semitic comparative linguistics[12] acknowledging some of its virtues. Years later, in turn, in his chapter "4. The phonological system of Semitohamitic", R.M. Voigt (2002: 269), trying to present "The comparison of Semitic with 'Hamitic' languages", he immediately narrowed the target area to its comparison with Egyptian listing just "the most important works".

2.1. The beginning of a new era was hallmarked by the milestone study by **A. Erman** (1892), the first rigorous attempt at arranging and evaluating the *ad hoc* etymologies of the 19th century in a system of regular consonantal matches.[13] In his chapter on the research history of the "(Hamito)semitische Lautgleichungen: Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Einleitung" (full of gaps), W. Schenkel (1990: 41-43, §2.1.3.1) tried to minimize the signification of Erman's paper by pressing on it the label of being merely a superfacial résumé of H. Brugsch's unsystematic mess of Egypto-Semitic etymologies.[14] But this is just what we admire it for, let alone that effort invested in explicitly denying one's efforts can inversely only stress its importance: a second case when Schenkel failed in conceiving the significance of a work on AA comparative lexicon.

2.2. As the most flourishing period of this field ever,[15] it had been, at least for a few decades, attracting the interest of many great orientalists from diverse fields (various branches of Semitic studies, egyptology, berberology), who apparently and sensibly – more than ever – regarded publishing beside their respective main field, uncountable minor

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[12] This part of his paper is divided into §§1-4, in all of which, however, the "old school" is described from the standpoint of the long-debated neurotic points of the Egyptian hieroglyphic transliterational system (declared in the ZDMG of 1892): "1. Geschichte der ägyptosemitischen Sprachvergleichung" (in fact, it is a discussion of how the values of Eg. <t>, <d>, <ṭ>, <ḏ> evolved in what he calls *Transkriptionssystem* during the egyptological research of the 19th cent., pp. 345-348), "2. Etymologien" (in fact, just a very sketchy presentation of the results from this period, just focusing on some etymologies concerning Eg. <ḏ>, <d>, <z>, pp. 348-351), "3. ...?" (missing), "4. Die traditionelle Lehre" (in fact, a very brief discussion of the traditional conception of the Egyptian stops and affricates by J. Vergote 1945 and E. Edel 1955: 351-352).

[13] As recognized already by some others also. E.g., W. Vycichl (1959a: 37): "Apart from the early attempts in the dawn of Egyptology, the first systematic study in this field has been published by A. Erman ... (1892), dealing with both grammar and vocabulary. This latter part contains about 250 etymologies, 50 of which are considered as sure by the author and 75 as probable." W.A. Ward (1985: 231): "The pioneer work in Egypto--Semitic was a study by Erman … in 1892 which began a fruitful four decades or so of scholarly contributions to this field."

[14] Op. cit., p. 42: "Hier bezieht sich ERMAN ausdrücklich als der Haupt-Materialbasis auf HEINRICH BRUGSCHs 'Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch' von 1867-82 ..., macht sich aber nicht die Mühe, über BRUGSCH hinaus die wissenschaftlich Tradition aufzuarbeiten. ... Da aber BRUGSCH – der geniale Schlamper, der er war – keineswegs als zusammenfassender Schlußpunkt der älteren Forschung gelten kann, steht zu vermuten, daß durch ERMANs jugendliche Unbekümmertheit manche Einsicht der älteren Ägyptologie verloren ging. Heute dürften sich nach den seit ERMAN unternommenen Anstrengungen auf diesem Gebiet Recherchen in der älteren ägyptologischen Literatur kaum mehr lohnen ..."

[15] Which W. Vycichl (1959a: 37-38) described a bit less fruitful after Erman 1892: "In the following decades, until 1930, there was a slow but steady progress in this domain. Etymologies were published by K. Sethe, F. Hommel, G. Farina, A.M. Blackman, A. Ember, W.F. Albright and F. Calice."

papers contributing to this peripheral comparative field,[16] primarily Egypto-Semitic, as
attractive, as – so to say – fashionable, as their exciting task: A. Erman, F. Hommel, L. Stern,
W.M. (Max) Müller, F. von Calice, H. Holma, K. Sethe, A. Ember, A.H. Gardiner,
W.F. Albright, F. Behnk, G. Möller, W. Spiegelberg, G. Farina, A. Cuny, C. Brockelmann,
Sh. Yeivin, I. Eitan, F. Lexa, E. Zyhlarz, W. Vycichl, M. Cohen, G. Lefébvre, V. Loret,
P. Lacau, J. Vergote and others. This enthusiastic experimental "hobby", pursued by the
best orientalists of that day, resulted in valuable etymologies. On the (mostly bibliographic)
details of the multitude of almost all these papers see ESS IX-XIV and Cohen 1947: 28-38,
§II.A (therefore all these items will not be reviewed here in detail).

2.3. From this ocean of etymologies, some 4-5 decades after Erman 1892, there emerged
almost half a dozen of outstanding syntheses.[17] Culminating in the 1930/40s, this trend
provided us with three fundamental comparative dictionaries of diverse scope and approach
and two further phonological syntheses within a short period of time:

2.3.1. **A. Ember**,[18] who, in his entire short-cut career (1911-1926), practically only re-
searched and published new Egypto-Semitic etymologies, whence his (1930) *Egypto-
-Semitic Studies* (ESS) is the first monographical elaboration of the comparative conso-
nantism, arranged according to the Eg.-Sem. phonological correspondences, whose basic
points – unlike a multitude of etymologies – mostly stood the test of time.

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[16] At the end of this flourishing era, M. Cohen (1947: 3-42) has composed a very detailed *Aperçu sur la comparaison chamito-sémitique* comprising an almost complete list of comparative the works from this era and the preceding pioneering period of the 19th century in Chapter I (pp. 3-27: "Histoire et bibliographie générale"), followed by a second by a second set of retrospective overview of the enormously abundant outcome of the "old school" in our special field of research examined in this paper plus as for the internal lexical comparison of certain branches (Chapter II: "Bibliographie spéciale pour les comparaisons de vocabulaire et pour la phonétique", divided into the following sections according to the AA branches, namely: "A. – Rapprochements égypto-sémitiques; égyptien" on pp. 28-38, "B. – Comparaisons concernant principalement le berbère" on pp. 38-39, "C. – Comparaisons concernant spécialement le couchitique" on pp. 39-41, "D. – Vocabulaire de la région méditerranée et mots voyageurs" on p. 41, "E. – Études étymologiques du sémitique" on pp. 41-42). This bibliographical treasure of this era was complemented by the *addenda* in the profound review paper by F. Hintze (1951: 66-67).

[17] As formulated by W. Vycichl (1959a: 38): "Then comparative studies come to an apparent standstill and collections of existing equations are published: Ember ... (1930), Calice ... (1934) (*sic*) and J. Vergote ... (1945). M. Cohen's Essai comparatif ... (1947) was severely criticized by F. Hintze (1951)." W. Vycichl (1958: 367) put it a year later so: "Dann ebbt die Welle der Veröffentlichungen ab und es erscheinen die Zusammenfassungen ..." Or by W.A. Ward (1985: 231): "Numerous scholars have made lesser contributions (surveyed by Conti, 1978: 1 ff), but the basic word-lists and the resulting pattern of phonetic correspondences were established by the 1930's."

[18] More on this: Takács 2005: 78ff.; 2006c: 145-187. Taking part at the NACAL 27 (Baltimore, Maryland, USA, 19-21 March 1999), I managed to record the recollections (i.a., about the tragical fire accident of 1926 destroying A. Ember) of his daughter, Ruth Ember (then probably around/over 80) in her luxury doll shop of Ellicot City, many details of which are to be included once a comprehensive monograph will issue from the present sketchy sudy.

2.3.2. W. Czermak's two volumes (1931-4) of a historical phonology of Egyptian, although focusing predominantly on the internal evidence for surveying the processes, is not void of hints on the Semitic *comparanda* containing both cognates and loanwords.

2.3.3. F. von Calice's (1936) monumental *Grundlagen*… (GÄSW),[19] the most complete thesaurus of all kinds of (not just Semitic) etymologies suggested during the decades of "Hamitology" and the "old school" from the known AA branches, exceeds both Ember's and Vergote's lexicons in quantity of Egyptian etymologies (948 including the uncertain cases). Although its gigantic material, arranged in 4 distinct comparative wordlists (ranging and depending on the grade of likelyhood)[20] according to the sequence of the egyptological

[19] Cf. Takács, G.: Seventy years after the first attempt at Egyptian Etymological Dictionary: Evaluation of F. von Calice's 'Grundlagen der ägypto-semitischen Wortvergleichung'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 48 (2006), 139-163.

[20] ● "Liste A" (#1-#111, pp. 23-47) "contient les racines qui paraissent pouvoir être attribuées sûrement au fonds commun chamito-sémitique" (Cohen 1947: 35). Or, as summed up by J. Vergote (1945: 127): "La liste A contient les mots égyptes auxquels correspondent des racines chamitiques aussi bien que les sémitiques; ils semblent appartenir à la souche commune dont seraient nés le sémitique et le chamitque." R.H. Pfeiffer (1948: 186): list of "primitive Hamito-Semitic roots". ● "Liste B" (#112-#390, pp. 48-95) "comprend des mots pour lesquels il semble n'y avoir un rapprochemnet sûr qu'avec le sémitique, et qui sont plus ou moins suspects d'être des emprunts à celui-ci" (Cohen 1947: 35) or as it was meant in the GÄSW 67: "jene ägyptischen Wörter, die ihrer Lautgestalt und Bedeutungsentwicklung nach wohl mit dem Semitischen urverwandt sein **können**, bezüglich deren es jedoch ... zunächst noch zweifelhaft bleiben muss, ob sie tatsächlich jener Schicht zuzuzählen sind oder ob sie zu jenem ältesten Lehngute gehören, dessen Existenz a priori wahrscheinlich ist". GÄSW 93: "Die Grenze zwischen der vorliegenden Liste und der ... Liste A ist natürlich eine fliessende und z.T. willkürliche und einige hier angeführte Wörter hätten vielleicht ebenso gut in jener Platz finden dürfen. Man wird vielleicht bei einigen Wörtern Urverwandtschaft, bei anderen Entlehnung für wahscheinlicher halten, ohne dass es an der Hand der unz zur Verfügung stehenden Daten möglich wäre, eine wirkliche Entscheidung zu treffen." J. Vergote (1945: 127): "Dans la liste B se trouvent les mots égyptes qui semblent être hérités directement du protosémitique; certains d'entre eux preuvent toutefois aussi ête des emprunts très anciens de l'égyptien au sémitique." R.H. Pfeiffer (1948: 186): a list of "possible Semitic loan words is Egyptian (omiting the well--known borrowings in late Egyptian)". ● "Liste C" (#391-#459, pp. 96-108), as described by M. Cohen (1947: 35), "contient les termes pour lesquels l'emprunt de l'égyptien ancien au sémitique est vraisamblable. (Les emprunts assurés ou presque assurés du néo-égyptien ne sont pas insérés.)" GÄSW 107-108: "von diesen Vergleichen lassen sich einzelne gut in den Rahmen der bisher behandelten einfügen; ich habe sie darum dort nicht aufgenommen, wei sie mir aus Gründen der Lautentsprechung oder des Bedeutung nicht sicher genug vorkommen, um als Stütze für irgendwelche Folgerungen zu dienen. Andere sind wesentlich zweifelhafterer Natur bis zu solchen herunter, bei welchen nur mehr von einem Etymologisieren um jeden Preis gesprochen werden kann." J. Vergote (1945: 127): "Les racines égyptiennes de la liste C ont au contraire selon toute vraisemblance été empruntées à une langue sémitique." R.H. Pfeiffer (1948: 186): a list of "probable Semitic loan words is Egyptian (omiting the well-known borrowings in late Egyptian)". ● The "Liste D" (#460-#948, pp. 109-227, NB: Cohen 1947: 35 misquoted the first item of this list as #451!), as conveyed by M. Cohen (1947: 35-36), "est composite: à côté de nombreuses étymologies très douteuses, qui ne sont insérées qu'en vue d'établir un catalogue complet et sont repoussées par un signe (? ou !), de nombreuses autres sont considérées comme valables, après examen, et souvent révision; en effet, dans un certain nombre de cas, F. Calice substitue à un mauvais rapprochement avec le sémitique un rapprochement avec le couchitique qui lui paraît bon ... En outre dans cette liste D, tous les numéros des listes A, B, C sont repris comme références, de sorte que c'est cette liste D qu'il faut consulter pour retrouver, comme dans un index, toutes les racines égyptiennes traitées par l'auteur." Or, to quote GÄSW 108: "Damit das nun folgende Verzeichnis zugleich als Index aller hier behandelten Wörter dienen könne, sind die bereits besprochenen Vokabeln in ihrer alphabetischen Stelle mit einem Hinweis auf ihre Nummer mit eingesetzt." In the estimation of F. von Calice (GÄSW 236) himself, "In den vorbestehenden Listen A bis D sind rund 960 Wortgleichungen besprochen, dazu kommen weitere 200, die ich als vornherein unmöglich, oder als deutliche späte Entlehnungen ... ausgeschieden hatte. Hiervon bleiben die unter A bis C gesammelten

alphabet, is typically Egypto-Semitic (comprising, among others, some 800 Arabic, 570 Canaanite-Aramaic, 250 Akkadaian, and 150 SWSemitic items), whereas, however, all possible etymologies from the African branches are also listed (including 115 Cushitic, 54 Berber, 17 Hausa matches). The views of von Calice (1923-6, 2) on the Eg.-Sem. vs. "Hamitic" dichotomy were rather ambivalent.[21]

The afore-listed three basic tools concluded and summarized all the achievements of a pioneering grand epoch of the "old school", so popular and cultivated among the greatest Orientalists, which certainly definitely ended in 1930s. Though this accumulated great corpus has frequently been re-used in the below-listed subsequent comparative lexicons, these cannot be regarded as an extension of this period for diverse reasons:

2.3.4. J. Vergote's (1945) *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien*, with its solid list of Egypto- -Semitic isoglosses will be discussed in the following sub-episode devoted to a strange re/survival of the all the more ontroverted "old school" as this distinguished specialist of Egypto-Coptic linguistics in fact only started his research with this first magnum opus, which was, however, not followed by its extension either onto other AA branches or to new and original Egypto-Semitic *comparanda*.

2.3.5. M. Cohen's (1947) epochal *Essai comparatif* reproduced, in the Egypto-Semitic domain, the results of the "old school", so its novelty (if at all) lies not here as it yields perhaps something original rather in its pioneering, even if failed attempt at an etymologi-cal synthesis of the "Hamitic" branches, which is why it is discussed in the previous Epi-sode (below).

2.4. The balance of the "old school" is, however, only partly flattering. One can agree in principle, on the one hand, with the objections by W.A. Ward on diverse disturbing phe-nomena in the philologically neglectful methodology of this comparative domain in the first decades of the 20th century[22] As a result, Ward's (1985: 245, §V) words about the

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rund 460 Nummern und von den übrigen vielleicht noch 80-100 Stück als brauchbares Material zurück. Diese halbe Tausend Stämme stellt mit seinen Ableitungen zwar keinen ganz geringen Bruchteil des ägyptischen Wortschatzes dar. ... Die hier untersuchten Wörter bilden aber in der Masse des übrigen Wortschatzes offenbar keinen Fremdkörper." J. Vergote (1945: 127): "Nous négligeons la liste D dans laquelle Calice reproduit les racines égyptiennes qui se retrouvent seulement en chamitique et, à titre documentaire, les nombreueses étymo-logies proposées ... mais considérées ... comme incertaines." R.H. Pfeiffer (1948: 186): a list of "questionable comparisons".

    [21] L.c.: "Ha a «hámi» és «szémi» nyelvről nemzedékek óta kialakúlt fogalmak nem volnának utunkban, egy nyelvkutató sem habozna az egyiptomi nyelvet a szémiekkel együtt ugyanabba a nyelvcsaládba utalni." Trans-lated from Hungarian: "If the conceptions on 'Hamite' and 'Semite' languages were not in our way, no linguist would hesitate to refer the Egyptian language with the Semite (*sic*) ones to the same language family."

    [22] Ward (1985: 231-232): "1. There was too much dependence on dictionary meanings which are often vague or incorrect. Both Egyptian and Semitic words must be examined in actual contexts, a much more exact-ing and time-consuming process, but ... produced far more reliable semantic results. 2. There was little ... atten-tion paid to the history of the words ..." which "In many cases ... shows that seemingly cognate terms have totally different origins in Egyptian and Semitic; it is the original ... meanings which must establish a true Egyp-to-Semitic cognate. 3. The chronology of the usage was ignored. ... words known only in late texts or languages were assumed to have long previous histories in order to support their supposed Egypto-Semitic origin. This

eclectic etymological diversity of the ESS and the GÄSW are painfully true: "It may be an unduly harsh judgement on earlier generations of scholars, but by the time the major collections of supposed Egypto-Semitic cognates were produced in the 1930's and 40's, the result was chaos. …long lists of etymologies …, only a relatively small minority of which can be called genuine." This chaos of far-fetched forc/ged etymologies can be, in my view, first of all, traced back to the mistaken conception of this era, which has been even surviving into the 2nd half of the 20th century (!),[23] namely an ill-founded (or better: unargued *ex cathedra*) dogma of regarding Egyptian simply as "a Semitic language" (!), whereby it was erroneously implied that the root inventories of these two branches should certainly overlap to a much higher degree than they really do and so many homologous but phonologically all too dubious, different roots, *a priori* misbelieved to be cognate, were subject to forc/ged misconceived comparisons via *ad hoc* invented intermediate stages of *Lautübergänge*[24] irrespective of their phonological incompatibility. The papers by W.F. Albright provide typical examples thereof, whose etymologies of this kind penetrated even the ESS (posthumously ed. by him and F. Behnk).[25] This at once becomes clear by comparing the niveau of etymologies in his papers (most notably Albright 1918a-b: 1927) and in those of his master: A. Ember (1911-1926). Secondly, the even worse (if at all) lack of a *lautgeschichtlich* reliable paradigm in the contemporaneous "Hamitology" had certainly seduced certain authors to be led astray in this way. But, luckily, the misleading voluntarism of forging Egypto-Semitic matches by any means and at any scholarly price did not affect a number of authors like von Calice, Ember, Yeivin or Vergote, among whom Vycichl stands unparalleled by his refined and extremely careful research. Such linguists have secured our safe knowledge on the principal outlines of Egyptian historical phonology, on the other hand, even if many etymologies have proven since then to be false. Certainly, for some other

error is seen especially in the comparisons of Old Egyptian and Arabic where there is nothing earlier on the Semitic side."

[23] This line of thoughts was mainatined even by J. Vergote (1965: 105): "Nous croyons pouvoir conclure que l'égyptien est une langue sémitique à part entière. De même que l'inventaire phonétique et le système phonologique des consonnes est sémitique, ainsi que nous l'avons démontré antérieurement, le système des voyelles et la structure des sémantèmes sont sémitiques." Cf. also O. Rössler's ominous study from 1971 (!) entitled "Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache" (sic) on which W.A. Ward (1985: 232) justly concluded that "Rössler believes Egyptian to be a Semitic language which allows him to make some substantial changes in the accepted phonetic pattern of Egyptian. **I do not believe Egyptian is a Semitic language** ..." Considering the morphological features and the lexical stock of both branches, A.H. Gardiner (EG[1] 1927, §3) admitted Egyptian and Semitic to be very similar, but already he has wisely drawn a more cautios and realistic conclusion: "In spite of these resemblances, **Egyptian differs from all Semitic tongues** a good deal more than any one of them differs from any other, and at least until its relationship to the African languages is more closely defined, **Egyptian must certainly be classified as standing outside the Semitic group.**"

[24] As stated by C.T. Hodge (1976a: 7, §1.2.5): "Elaborate rationalizations of differences (as, e.g., in Albright) are to be avoided. This is not to say that etymologies supported by theories of sound change various sorts and degrees of are necessarily wrong. They are only held to be wrong when clearly better etymologies replace them or where they are seen to be based on erroneous views of the phonologies involved." Therefore, in his research, "a strong effort has been made to correspond on clear phonologic grounds."

[25] Cf. F. Von Calice's contemporary words on the ESS: "EMBER's bei seinem Tode noch in Vorbereitung befindliches Werk ... Die posthume Veröffentlichung des halbverbrannten Manuskriptes bearbeitet und ergänzt von Frida BEHNK) zeigt, dass nur die Sammlung des lexikalischen Stoffes, die auch ziemlich viel bis dahin noch nicht Veröffentlichtes umfasst, beim EMBER's Tode fertig verlag."

scholars, it may be hard to realize that pure fact that a considerable share of the Egyptian lexicon **cannot** be understood from Semitic and vice versa. With the enumerated *compendia* of the 1930/40es, the possibilities of an Egypto-Semitic lexical comparison have culminated, attained the maximum of their exploitation, I am afraid, even if not yet exhausted fully, of course.[26] At this point, esp. regarding both the almost fully introverted evolution of egyptological linguistics and the simultaneous rise of the availability of the cognate Berber, Cushitic and Chadic lexicons, one could have believed that a worse sort of monomaniac and all the less productive Egypto-Semitic etymologization – with all due respect to the few exceptions like, e.g., W. Vycichl who really gave further sense for maintaining this bipolar equation in the AA frames – soon better vanishes silently in order to yield to a more balanced and wider range of inter-branch comparison. It happened, however, otherwise with two groups of scholars: some from the post-war phase of this all the more improductive trend (§2.5 below) vs. the Rösslerians (§7, i.e., Episode VII of this series).[27]

<div align="center">*</div>

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, formerly: Semito-Hamitic), Ar.: Arabic, (B) Bohairic, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), Ch.: Chadic, Cu.: Cushitic, Eg.: Egyptian, (F): Fayyumic, IE: Indo-European, L: Late, (L): Lycopolitan (Sub-Akhmimic), LP: Late Period, N: North(ern), OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, P: Proto-, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, SH: Semito-Hamitic, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern).

Abbreviations of author names

BK: Biberstein Kazimirski, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, GT: Takács, IS: Illič-Svityč, KM: Kießling & Mous.

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[26] W. Vycichl (1958: 367) was, of course, right stating about the post-ESS/GÄSW phase of the Eg.-Sem. track: "Es könnte nun scheinen, als sei das Thema erschöpft, und alles Wesentliche zur Sache gesagt. Das ist aber, wie man im folgenden sehen wird, durchaus nicht der Fall. Man weiß nicht einmal, wieviele der 948 Etymologien in CALICEs Grundlagen zu Recht bestehen. ... Diese erschreckend hohe Unsicherheit hat es mit sich gebracht, daß die ägyptisch-semitische Sprachvergleichung von manchen Ägyptologen nicht ganz mit Unrecht mit einer gewissen Skepsis betrachtet wird. Zugegeben sei, daß man auf diesem Gebiet unter besonders schwiereigen Umständen operiert: die vokallose Schreibung, ..., der starke lautliche Zerfall des Ägyptischen, der schon in den ältesten Texten zutage tritt und nicht zuletzt die verschiedenen Methoden der Worterklärung im Semitischen und Ägyptischen stellen Erschwerungen dar ... von denen man in anderen Sprachgebieten nichts zu spüren bekommt."

[27] Although he had never become an adherent of J.H. Greenberg's new AA conception and I.M. D'jakonov's vision of PAA phonology, W. Vycichl, a graduate of the Viennese double institute of Africanistics and Egyptology of Reinisch, a giant comparativist familiar with all the SH/AA branches and so exploiting Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Beja, Somali, Hausa etc. from the very beginning of his extraordinary long research (1933--1999), needed not to shift the right track or course of his researches. Sadly, very few in this trend, and also among his contemporaries in general, followed his example.

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ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden).

REVIEW

Felicity Meakins and Patrick McConvell. 2021. *A grammar of Gurindji as spoken by Violet Wadrill, Ronnie Wavehill, Dandy Danbayarri, Biddy Wavehill, Topsy Dodd Ngarnjal, Long Johnny Kijngayarri, Banjo Ryan, Pincher Nyurrmiari and Blanche Bulngari* (Mouton Grammar Library 91). Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. xxxii + 746

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Let the advanced age allow this reviewer to begin the present text with recollections dating back to the earliest years of what is customarily dubbed "academic career" at the then newly created Adam Mickiewicz University Institute of Linguistics (1973) when he started working as probably (and definitely one of) its youngest staff member(s). His interests focused at that time on the abundance and variety of the world's languages, hence on language classifications, language typologies, and language "universals" on the one hand, and on ethnolinguistic aspects within the framework of "anthropological linguistics" or "linguistic anthropology" (the latter two being names of courses alternately offered for several years to students of ethnology and of linguistics) on the other hand, and one of the intriguing subjects was 'counting systems' across peoples, their cultures and languages. Incidentally, one among the sources used during classes happened to be the translation of St. Luke's Gospel (*Ewangelia* 1925) into Aranda (~Arrernte). The text and the language proved fascinating to the extent that the Aranda New Testament (*Testamenta* 1971) was imported from Australia via Japan to Poland as the only extensive text in the language known at that time to us to exist.

Among the first readings of this writer on Australian languages (including the undated Elkin, Holmer 1963, Cunningham 1969, Dixon 1972) of special interest here is Wurm 1972 because it turned out to be the very first book in his possession firmed by <Mouton> Publishers.

There were also but few such reference books as Meillet & Cohen 1952 with its 20-page (691-710) chapter on "Langues australiennes" by ethnologist Jean Guiart with about 25 glottonyms and quite impressive, for such a short text, linguistic data (seemingly mainly from Aranda and Worora) and a "bibliographie sommaire" (with 10 publications by 7 authors listed) provided, but we still had to wait for Voegelins (1977) or Meiers (1978) not to speak of now obvious and at hand Asher & Moseley's 2007 *Atlas* and numerous "handbooks of [you fill in here whatever you wish]) languages", like e.g. Dixon 1980 or Koch & Nordlinger 2014,[1] and even the Ethnologue was far from what it is now. Thus Wurm 1972 turned out to become for us the first up-to-date source of reliable data on Australian languages and linguistics. Later, this reading list kept steadily expanding to include first Schmidt 1952 and Dixon 1980, recently Koch and Nordlinger 2014 as far as general overviews and syntheses are concerned, but – the most important in this context – works of considerable (at times really impressive) volume devoted to descriptions of individual languages.

To be sure, we had neither intention nor possibilities to conduct research on Australian languages, but finding rich, inspiring material for general, particularly comparative and typological studies so useful to make lecturing in linguistics much more attractive for students, we went on collecting, albeit highly selectively (with no ambition to have "everything" on the shelves), with the time passing acquiring a quite representative row of books like e.g. Capell & Hinch 1970, Evans 1975, Alpher 1991, Merlan 1994, Nekes & Worms & McGregor 2006, Tsunoda 2011, Meakins & Nordlinger 2014, Kapitonov 2021, McGregor 1993, Hosokawa 2003, Ponsonnet 2014,[2] to name only these within eyeshot. What kept our interest in this respect growing was the brutal awareness that the very existence of practically all of the aboriginal Australian languages was seriously endangered and that many of them perished unrecorded and undescribed.

Some three~four decades ago it became clear that most from among the world's languages classified as seriously endangered (approximately half of the total number of languages existing) could not be saved, but, contrary to the past, there were incomparably more means at linguists' disposal (money, voice and video recorders, qualified researchers, computers and specialized computer programs, transport mobility, etc., and, above all,

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[1] From today's perspective one cannot leave unmentioned the 12-volume enterprise *Handbooks of Japanese language and linguistics*, (also from De Gruyter Mouton) or, with this review in mind, the 5-volume *Handbook of Australian languages* [!] (HAL 1979-2000).

[2] Only the last three items from this listings are not <Mouton> publications; the arrangement of the references here is premeditated as this author's side intention has been to emphasize the role publishers with the *Mouton* trademark in its changing name, owners, and <places of publication> play in documenting "small", "neglected", "lesser-used", "endangered" languages and securing their preservation for posterity, starting almost from null. The first, 1924, edition of Meillet & Cohen mentioned above included but a short (a little over one full page of print) note on Australian languages stating that "la linguistique australienne n'est qu'à ses débuts" and "il importe beaucoup de faire sur ces parlers une enquête approfondie avant qu'ils ne disparraisent", and refering to only two sources, both by Schmidt (both 1919). In a very impressively edited Genzor 2015 (over 670 pp.), "Australian languages" cover only nine pages (illustrations take some 27% of that space) and, while quoting high numbers of these languages (200, 230 and 260), the chapter mentions and places on a map but 29 glottonyms (no Gurindji !), as if little had changed since Meillet & Cohen [1]1924. At least 15 books referred to in the present text are <Mouton> products.

institutions and individuals interested) to challenge the situation and implement all possible resources to go to often remote but, at times, also astonishingly close endangered speech communities and record as much as possible of these unique and otherwise unrecoverable assets of mankind's heritage. The rapidly increasing death rate was, and still remains to be, a serious problem. Nevertheless, no effort should be spared to record them for future generations destined to live in the world that will be much less diversified linguistically.

Two ways of saving these irreplaceable assets of mankind civilization seemed prospective: (1) to urgently start recording such ethnolects still remembered and record as much as possible from elderly informants of what they remember from the languages of their youth no longer passed to younger generations (having them recorded we can analyze the data and reconstruct and describe such languages later), and (2) to reconstruct unpublished data recorded when today's moribund or dead languages were still used naturally in all domains of everyday life. A wishful-thinking hope (rather than conviction) was that either of these measures could not prevent language death but both could be extremely instrumental in rescuing the languages in question, even if in some petrified form.

Examples of successful results of the former measure have fortunately been growing in number (and examples of results published and mentioned above are on the reference list but we shall extend the list mentioning the name of Michael Krauss who was the first to successfully alert the world about its linguistic crisis (1992) and who saved to posterity invaluable oral traditions recorded in the Eyak language from "one of the very last of a whole nation, the Eyaks" (1982) and the impressive breakthrough research project labeled Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim (ELPR) initiated and run by Osahito Miyaoka resulting in at least 116 volumes of priceless material published in 1999-2003). Examples or results of the latter measure still seem not too abundant but undertakings like Nekes-Worms-McGregor 2006,[3] CWBP (both from Mouton), Bogoraz 2004,[4] or Ogawa 2003 and 2006, should encourage similar efforts: compiling dictionaries and grammars on the basis of manuscript records of materials (texts, word lists, etc.) from the times when respective languages now extinct, moribund, or acculturated were still used in all aspects of everyday life, is one of the most effective ways of saving languages now extinct, moribund, or acculturated. Library and museum archives all over the world preserve an abundance of such data on paper and phonographic (e.g. wax-cylinder) data carriers (cf. CWBP-3 (2004), 503-517, 575-645, 773-804, 817-820).

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[3] The *opus magnum* of two missionaries – Nekes and Worms – completed in 1945 and, except for a 1953 manuscript microfilm released by Anthropos Institute, never published (considered "unpublished and unpublishable") before McGregor's edition of 2006 (the printed book including Parts 1 – grammatical, and 2 – texts, the accompanying CD-ROM including "unpublishable" dictionary Parts 2-4 (English-Native, Native-English, Comparative Native).

[4] Chukchi texts collected by Vladimir Bogoraz and published in 1900 and 1910-1913, retransliterated into Chukchi contemporary Cyrillic orthography and *sound-recorded* on two accompanying CDs as read by three fluent Chukchi native speakers (famous Chukchi radio journalist late Margarita Ivanovna Belichenko (1945-2021), researcher of Chukchi musical~vocalistic culture Zoya Weinstein [~Vensten Венстен]-Tagrina, and Chukchi poet, novelist and journalist Ivan Vasilyevich Omruvye (1941-2021)).

Although appeals postulating the urgency and priority of intensive recording of endangered and undescribed (or insufficiently described) languages on a global scale kept being reiterated at every conference or seminar touching the subject and we were aware of a growing number of PhD dissertations on such tongues at various universities, the proliferation in two-three recent decades of published grammatical descriptions and dictionaries documenting them is astonishing – and it means that linguistics and linguists stand up to the challenge.

The grammar to be introduced here is a description of the structure and the existential context of the language which its authors decided to call Gurindji, at the same time informing that "it is not in accordance with the practical orthography generally used for the language, including in this grammar, which would spell the name 'Kuurrinyji' [...] probably an ethnonym which derives from [...] Wardaman" (p. 7).[5] The glottonym and the ethnonym are the same. The explanation of the decision is also worth citing: "Because the Gurindji are famous, their name [with this spelling] is found in many books and in the press [...], and in official sources" (*ib.*).[6]

It would be also (cf. footnote 9) interesting to verify the fame of the Gurindji in Europe (especially Central, where this review is being written: learning about the reviewer's intension to write it, so far not a single person seemed to have the slightest idea about identifying either the language or the people) but for insiders, both local as well as those involved in studying Australian (and perhaps Papuan and Austronesian) linguistics, reality~current events, history, and/or politics, it may naturally (and actually should) be so. Here, we shall come back to checking the *-nym* in literature for which professional linguists automatically reach in such cases.

Voegelin & Voegelin (1977: 262) list Gurindji among seven Ngumbin (Southwest Pama-Nyungan~Nyungic, p. 281) languages with indicating its localization (Wave Hill, Northern Territory). In Meier & Meier (1979: 383) it appears under <184.1.1.7.> as "Ngumbin mit Bunara, Djaru, Gurindji, Malngin, Mudbura, Ngariman (also Ariman),

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[5] for <Wardaman> see Merlan 1994.

[6] It is interesting to observe the diachronic dynamics of the list of Australian glottonyms reflecting the history of our knowledge on Australian languages: still in the last two decades of the 19th century glottonyms simply and practically equaled (often English) toponyms – cf. e.g. the poetics of a selection of such cases from one source only: Bourke, Darling River; 50 miles below Bourke; Mouth of De Grey River; Mouth Leichhardt River; West of Leichhardt River; [between the] Leichhardt and Gregory Rivers; Cape River; Between Seymour and Cloncurry Rivers; Upper Cape River; Junction of Darling and Murray Rivers; Lachlan and Murrumbidgee to Darling and Murray Junction; Junction of Murray and Goulburn Rivers; Goulburn River; Hamilton River, near Boulia; Head of Hamilton River; [three different] Cooper Creek; Gunbower Creek; North-West of Lake Eyre; West of Lake Eyre; Eyre's Sand Patch; Strangway Springs; Tower Hill, Mount Black; Mount Hope; Victoria Plains; Port Darwin; Sidney Harbour (Curr 1887, on the source see e.g. Wurm 1972: 13 or Dixon 1980: 13, Koch & Nordlinger, p. 6, check also some titles of the earliest publications like Threlkeld 1834, Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840, and Meyer 1843, *ibid.* pp. 20 and 18, or Kempe 1891 and Enright 1900 in Holmer 1962: 116,; cf. our earlier observation on Meillet & Cohen, fn. 2). Aboriginal glottonyms *en masse* appeared (perhaps first?) in Schmidt (used 1919 edition) but very many such topo-glottonyms still could be found in it. Of interest to Australianists and Papuanists could probably be little known (despite being in part bilingual) Milewski 1948.

Tjiwarliñ (also called Wolmera)"[7] (no other information provided). *Ethnologue* [9]1978, p. 400, provides data on "Gurinji ([alternate] Gurindji)" speakers (250 in 1971, "some are bilingual in English or another aboriginal language"), localization (Victoria River and Wave Hill, Northern Territory), and (the same) classification. *Ethnologue* [16]2009 (p. 585 i 853 map Gurinji (Gurindji, Wurlayi)), the entry is also <Gurinji> with two alternate names Gurindji and Wurlayi and implies the growth of the number of speakers to 540 (1996 census), adding a confusing remark "400 semispeakers" (– plus or included...?); location provided is expanded with <Kalkaringi>, two dialects (Malngin and Wanyjirra ~Wandjirra), Kriol spoken by "all", and a "Gurinji children's language" being a mixture of "Gurinji and Kriol".

In Yartseva (1982: 107-123) there is but an alphabetic list of glottonyms (two columns of dense print) under one caption 'Languages of Australia and Tasmania" with гурйинди and гуриндьи (among "Australian languages", in this order, with the evident violation of the Russian alphabetic order, possibly an insertion in proofs, p. 113), the former probably standing for what is in Voegelin & Voegelin (1977: 242) listed as a dialect of the Murngic Jarnango~Yarnango~Yulngo, cf. also *ib.* 467,[8] and in Wurm (1972: 147) as Guryindi (of course, Gurindji does appear in Wurm among seven languages of the Ngumbin Subgroup, p. 128). Similarly, in Tsunoda (1988: 1027) (right column under 1.31.2, it is listed among (14 languages, 15 glottonyms of) the Ngumbin subgroup, South-Western group, of Pama-Nyungan *gogun* パマ·ニュンガン語群 (reference to Wurm & Hattori (1981) *Language atlas of the Pacific Area*) as <Guurindji>, and indexed in Kamei et al. (1993) in Japanese-character index (和文索引 *wabun sakuin*) as <グーリンジ語> (*gūrinjigo* p. 578 right column) and in Roman-character index (欧文索引 ラテン文字系 *ōbun sakuin raten mojikei*) as <Guurindji> (p. 873 right column)).

In Asher and Moseley's *Atlas*, **Gurindji** is listed (p. 100) among six Ngumpin languages (the other listed tongues being Juwarliny, Walmayarri, Jaru, Mudburra, and Ngaryniman) of the Ngunpin-Yapa subdivision (altogether ten languages) of Pama-Nyungan language family (the four Yapa languages listed are Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Kartangaruru, and Ngarti). Thus, listed in all of the selected renowned reference books, Gurindji can indeed be considered "famous" also among linguists.[9]

Logistically, it is considered convenient to confront just here this classification with the one offered by Meakins & McConvell's *Grammar* as it possibly reflects the most

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[7] Higher levels in their classification (which "hat mehr sprachgeschichtlichen Wert", *ib.*) being <184.1.1. Njunga-(~Süd-West-) Zweig> of <184.1. Pama-Njunga [die "größte Sprachfamilie" among 184.]>, and <184. Australisch-Tasmanische Sprachen>.

[8] In Meier & Meier (1979: 384) Jarnango is listed in the text but cannot be found in the index due to misspelling <jaruange> (475); there are also other cases of the same error in the <Murngi-Gruppe> (384): Djinba in the index is listed as <djiuba> (460), and Wagilag in both the text and the index (538) as <Wagalig~wagalig>, and all this is detected only incidentally after 42 years of relatively frequent checking in the book! (*nempe humanum est errare*).

[9] contrary to e.g. Paluai or Papapana, introduced in the present journal in vols. respectively 62/2 (2020), 121-133, and 63/1 (2021), 119-129, or Xong, the grammar of which was reviewed in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny // Yearbook of Oriental Studies* 75/1, (2022), 168-181. The Gurindji became in fact famous in Australia half a century ago for their successful pioneering involvement in the campaign for indigenous human and territorial minority rights and wage equality (see further in the present text).

recent "state of the art on the matter". A very transparent tree (p. 3) splits <Ngumpin-Yapa> (16 languages) into <Yapa> (two languages only: Warlpiri and Warlmanpa) and <Ngumpin> which in turn bifurcates into <Western> (six languages grouped in the following way: Walmajarri & Juwaliny, Ngardi, Yaru & Nyininy & Kartangarurru) and <Eastern~Victoria River> prolonged to <Far Eastern> (two languages: Karrangpurru and Mudburra); <Victoria River> embraces six languages in two groups: Wanyjirra & **Gurindji** & Malngin, and Bilinarra & Ngarinyman & Wurlayi). Thus, the list of Ngumpin languages expanded and some new glottonyms appeared, among which of particular interest to this reviewer was Bilinarra, a 500-page grammar of which, co-authored by one of the co-authors of the grammar of Gurindji described here, was released in 2014 (Meakins & Nordlinger); one reads in it that it "is very closely related to Gurindji and Ngarinyman. From the perspective of linguists, these three would certainly be considered dialects of a single language. However, they are considered different languages by the respective communities" (*ib.*, p. 7).[10] Using simultaneously the two grammars can be a real pleasure and adventure for linguists to whom this review is addressed.

As early as on p. 3 of the *Grammar* under review here one learns that "Gurindji is the best documented of the Ngumpin languages" but the mentioned Bilinarra seems to be running close behind in this rivalry with its 2014 *Grammar*, both supported by published respective dictionaries[11] and there are grounds to expect further important research results related to Ngumpin (some, as Ennever's Ngardi grammar, already available), a general overview included (Meakins et al. 2023).

Following the front matter (xxxii pp., including, among others a very detailed table of "Contents" (xi-xxi), "List"'s of "figures" (xxiii-iv, 48 fig.) and "tables" (xxv-vi), and "Metadata for recordings" (xxxi-ii)), the introductory chapter entitled "The language and its speakers" expands over (1-)78 pages, providing in the first subchapter (1-4) data on the place of the language described in the genealogical classification of Pama-Nyungan and specifically Ngumpin tongues, areas where it still is and was in use (in this respect, it has been classified as "now a highly endangered language, with few elderly first language speakers and no child language learners" (1)) and how it is used (mainly as "Gurindji Kriol" in turn in use also by the progeny of former speakers of neighboring languages like e.g. Bilinarra), on the language records and corpus (or corpora), with the family tree mentioned and a fairly readable map provided as aids. Next comes the typological profile ("fairly typical Pama-Nyungan", 4-7), followed by a short note on the

[10] No Bilinarra in Asher & Moseley (!), Birinara ~ ビリナラ語 in Tsunoda (1988: 1027r) (Kamei et al. 1993: 711 and 823), Bunara in Voegelins (1977: 262) (here ~ Boonara), Meier & Meier (1979: 383) (cf. above in the text), Yartseva (1982: 109) (Бунара яз.), Nekes & Worms (2006: xx).

[11] *Gurindji to English dictionary, includes grammar, English word finder and information on Gurindji language* (pp. 595) compiled by Felicity Meakins, Patrick McConvell, Erika Charola, Norm McNair, Helen McNair, and Lauren Campbell, with eight (?) names of "Gurindji language custodians" listed on the cover, and *Bilinarra to English dictionary, includes grammar, English word finder and information on Bilinarra language* (p. 264) compiled by Felicity Meakins (with five names of other contributors (Patrick McConvell and Rachel Nordlinger included) and eleven (?) names of "Bilinarra language custodians" (eight of them marked deceased) listed on the cover; both 2013. Batchelor, NT: Batchelor Press. These data have been compiled from various sources as the reviewer has no access to such Australian publications on the other side of the globe.

glottonym (7-8) and a subchapter on the "Gurindji country" (8-15). The caption of the fifth subchapter (15-38) "Previous work, sources and methodology on the Gurindji language" speaks volumes for itself; it starts with recalling "the infamously brutal policeman [...] Constable [...] Willshire" who "did not produce a word list for Gurindji" but "did provide a mixed list containing Bilinarra and Ngaliwurru words [...], and impressively unsuccessful attempt at a description of the [...] «skin names»" (15-16, see further in the text), and goes on with 12 sections each devoted to individual persons taking notes and recording *i. a.* the language (the names: Michael Terry (his 1924 "Cooringi [...] vocabulary is a near perfect match for present-day Gurindji", 18), anthropologist-linguist Gerhard Laves, genealogists William Stanner and Joseph Birdsell, ethnographers Catherine and Ronald Berndt, linguists Ken Hale, Velma Leeding, Patrick McConvell, Helen and Norm McNair, Erika Charola, Felicity Meakins, Lauren Campbell – most of these names from the latter part of this list, including the names of the authors of the *Grammar* appear in varying contexts in the present text). Subchapter <1.6> (39-45) takes the reader back to the signaled before relations between Gurindji and its linguistic neighbors to look at it more profoundly from a slightly different perspective, namely its "relation to other Ngumpin-Yapa languages". Next, the authors propose a little interlude in the purely linguistic narration with an (indispensable, we would say) outlinie of "the socio-political *and linguistic history* of the Gurindji people" (45-66, italics afm.), among others explaining why the people deserve *fame* in Australia but, above all, why "in the last 100 years the Gurindji population has decreased dramatically" and the language has become endangered; the easy but functional historical periodization into "pre-contact linguistic situation", "situation since European invasion", and "life and language today" proves efficient and useful for a better understanding of actually the entire literature on the peoples and languages of Australia. The introductory chapter concludes (66-78) with the explanation of "the Gurindji kinship system" (i.e., by far not only terms, but also other phenomena related like "skin names", kin signs, or speaker-listener-conditioned "specialized speech registers"). Numerous photos, tables, sketches, and maps with detailed explanations accompany the text (the reading is much more pleasant and understandable when one can see the people (including the authors), situations, objects, etc., mentioned or described).[12] For this part of the book the authors and the publisher deserve the highest possible praise: too often this kind of contextual information is insufficient, or drastically absent, in similar works, hence it is so much appreciated here.

The grammatical core of the volume has been organized into nine chapters (2-10, pp. 79-622) followed by lists of 164 "suffixes" (623-624) and 83 "enclitics" (625), nine "Appendices" (627-707) presenting texts analyzed and translated, bibliographical "References" (709-723), "Index of names" (725-732) with example sources identified, and "Index of subjects" (733-746).

The phonological inventory is characterized as "typical Australian [...] containing" five "stops" [...], five "nasals" (both "with five places of articulation"), three "laterals", one (or two?) "tap/trill" (~ flap~vibrant liquid(s?)), three "glides", and three (or six – it seems

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[12] This reviewer once wrote elsewhere that "photos of informants and their habitat definitely help in making the relations between them and users of such a book more intimate and involving".

not clear whether length is or is not phonologically relevant; *irrelevant* in this case are number and frequency of occurrence of minimal pairs) "vowels" (79-80, cf. Meakins & Nordlinger 2014: 43). The chapter "Phonology" (79-127) discusses *i. a.* also such issues of interest as consonant clusters and their simplifications, babytalk, accent (as a rule initial stress, deviations mentioned, 123-124), phonotactics, phonological rules. Some irritating repetitions can be observed (like "no voicing distinction ~ no voiced stops" on pp. *i. a.* 4, 79, 80, 98).

Chapters 3-7 deal with matters usually in grammars labeled "morphology": (**3**) lexical categories ("Parts of speech", 128-152; "nine word classes or parts of speech which can be distinguished using inflectional and distributional criteria"[13]: nominals, bound pronouns, inflecting verbs, coverbs, adverbs, clitics, complementisers, particles, interjections); (**4**) "Nominals", 153-267, "one of the largest word classes [...] not always present in the clause [as] grammatically optional" (153); discussed are "the structure of the nominal word", "NP structure" (no <NP> in the "List of abbreviations" on p. xxvii, but cf. p. 163), "Case morphology" (171-212), "Number" (213-223, "not obligatory", with subsections on "Numerals", "Time spans", "Reduplication" (222-223, cf. also 121-123)), "Kinship morphology" (224-227), "Adnominal case" (228-236), "Derivational morphology" (~ word formation ~ Wortbildung, 236-263), "Clitics" (263-267, "most of the clitics [...] can occur with most parts of speech. Three are specific to nominals, hence [...] described here", 263); (**5**) "Closed class nominals (268-324; "Demonstratives", "Spatial relations" (here "cardinal terms" like 'north, LOC', 'north ALL', 'in the north (long way)', 'far north', 'further along the north', 'from the north', 'originating from a place to the north', etc., etc., "river drainage terms", "verticality terms"), and "Ignoratives" ("interrogatives" and "indefinites")); (**6**) "Pronouns", 325-394, with separate subchapters "Free pronouns" 325-334, and "Bound pronouns" 335-394; (**7**) "Inflecting verbs and coverbs", 395-483, divided into "Inflecting verbs" (396-439) and "Coverbs" (440-481) – "Gurindji [...] augments its small verbal inventory with a range of complex predicates consisting of two elements: one of a limited set of inflecting *verbs* combined with one of an open class of *coverbs*, [...] an areal feature of north Australian languages" (p. 395, italics afm.); a two-page subchapter "Adverbs" ("a difficult part of speech to categorise and difficult to distinguish from coverbs and nominals", 482) ends the "morphology part".

The remaining three chapters (8-10, 484-622) thus naturally constitute a description of the syntactic component of Gurindji in the *Grammar*: (**8**) "Syntax of main clauses" (484-533, with subchapters discussing and exemplifying "Non-configurationality", an important property found in numerous Australian languages, "Verbless clauses" (here section on "Predicative possession"), "Attributive possession", and "Verbal clauses"; (**9**) "Complex sentences" (534-576, subchapters "Conjoined clauses", "Finite subordinate clauses", and "Non-finite or reduced subordinate clauses"), and (**10**) "Unrestricted clitics and particles" (577-622, with "Unrestricted clitics" attachable "to different parts of speech and sometimes to the whole clause", 577, and "Particles", "[ten] uninflected function words,

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[13] The postulate that "each word only belongs to one word class" is correct; preceding it "in most cases" is logically risky: it questions the logical postulate of classification that all items undergoing classification must be taken into account and each single item belongs to one and only one class.

which can occur anywhere in the clause, but attract pronominal clitics when they are found in first position", 605).

With the compilation and publication of the *Grammar* described above, one more endangered~on-the-verge-of-extinction language has been richly and solidly documented and saved for posterity (printed on paper ensuring permanence and durability, in addition FSC-certified). The volume of the book, the richness of the genuine language data provided, and the amount of the work invested by the authors and cooperating informants and consultants are, doubtlessly, all spectacular, impressive and imposing – and this would be optimal to conclude the present review. But the reviewer is *expected* to assume also the role of a nitpicker: to look hard for, and pick, "holes in the whole". *Et voilà*: the book is not a detective novel to be read from desk to desk with no break in reading but a work of reference to be consulted (in this case, probably rarely, unless one intends to become a specialist in, or learn the language), to check or find something of interest – and the book has to be organized in such a way that within no more than 5-10 minutes one finds what is needed or excludes the existence in the book of information searched after. The infrastructure and tools to enable it consist of precisely inter-correlated elements of the "front matter" (especially a "technical introduction/preface" briefly explaining the said "infrastructure", the table of contents, lists of conventions, symbols, abbreviations, tables, figures, illustrations, etc.), references and cross-references in the text, footnotes~endnotes, bibliography, and indices necessarily ending the volume. Here to be praised is in the first place the table of contents, and the lists mentioned in this text (though omissions seem possible), and to be critically evaluated are the indices at the end of the book – they *do not* make the entire work "user-friendly" (probably a merger of the indices "of names"[14] and "of subjects" as well as the lists "of suffixes" and "of enclitics" (these two, of course, with page references obligatorily added)[15] would dramatically increase the so badly needed *friendliness* toward the potential *user* of the *Grammar*.

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[14] Every thing has "a name" and everything can be "a subject". The reviewer was in vain looking for glottonym <Bilinarra> in the "Index of subjects" to find out that it had been packed together with anthroponyms and toponyms (probably as a rule the latter two used to be listed in academic books in separate indices, respectively "of personal" and "of geographical~place" names, all other items were "subjects" (German *Sachregister ~ Sachverzeichnis*)).

[15] These two lists turn out in practice to be completely functionless.

[16] The *Sketch* in the title stands for what is titled "Part I The outlines of the Yir-Yoront language" which, together with following it "Notes" can easily serve as a 123-page grammar of the language.

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[17] This, out of necessity a little clumsy, bibliographical description to some extent reflects the disorderly vicissitudes of the publication of the entire edition and is provided here to instrumentalize and facilitate access to the material for confused non-Australianists. The reality in this case is much more complicated.

[18] The Japanese title provided on the back cover of the book is much simpler: ヨルグ語民族文化語彙集 (*Yorugugo minzoku bunka goishū*).

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[19]   The recentmost at the reviewer's hand preparing the present text.

[20]   Possibly the first global linguistic atlas on such a large scale (Milewski mentions but two predecessors – the set of maps appended to Meillet and Cohen 1924, and Father Schmidt's "Atlas von 14 Karten" appended to his *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* of 1926 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitäts-buchhandlung).

[21]   The "first edition" was in fact a series of articles published in 1912-1918 in *Anthropos* (7 (1912), 230-251, 463-497, 1014-1048; 8 (1913), 526-554; 9 (1914), 980-1018; 12/13 (1917-1918), 437-493, 747-817.

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