## \*'DYI/\*'GYI, \*MA'- AND \*AM IN NON-KHOISAN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

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1. Barth (1866), perceptive as usual, says that Bagirmi "water" man,  $man\bar{e}$ , a-man"... is one of those terms which are common to a considerable number of African languages". A century later VOORHOEVE and DE WOLF (1969) proposed ma as gender marker for the liquids class of Proto Benue-Congo, a single class, having no corresponding plural class. Greenberg and others showed this to be much wider, and it is suggested here that (a)m(a), used as an affix, could, at some earlier stage or stages, either have preceded or followed the root, or both. In fact, for P. "Chadic", NEWMAN has, simply, \*am "water". In many languages there is an additional marker of plurality. Cf.

Gwandara	amiši	"swimming"
P. Berber	*am + <i>an</i>	"water"
Arabic	°am	"swim"
Ethiop. Sem.	hammasa	"swim"
P. Semitic	*tihām+ <i>at</i>	"sea" (Akkadian tāmtu)
Egypt. (BUDGE)	tehem	"water (vb.)"
P. Cush.	*cam +	saliva, mucus, sap, spit (vb.)

- 2. Other "Chadic" reconstructions where the /m/ could be relevant as affix or part of collocation are:
- \*kədəm "crocodile" (\*kər- / \*ada "dog") cf. Kanuri *karam* "crocodile", *kəri* "dog"; Longuda *karim* "crocodile";
- \*kəzəm "thirst" cf. Tuareg egzi "mourir de faim";
- \*ami "honey (bee)" cf. Hausa amūniya "beehive"; Bedauye au "honey", wiu "bee"; Ron-Fyer ham 'āwan "honey"; Ghadames izzi n taməmt "bee" (P. Ber. \*iz(z)i "fly");
- \*d-( )-m (not Newman) "blood" cf. P. Cush. (EHRET) \*di(i)m- / \*du(u)m- "red", (\*ty-g- "blood", P. Sem. \*dam- "blood". Newman prefers \*bar (cf. P. Cush. \*bAl-, Bedauye bə' "bleed", Kanuri bu "blood".)

3. If (a)m(a) was affixal, what was the root for "water"? Suggested reconstructions are:

\*g(h)i(a) "water, blood" P. W.Sudanic/Nigritic P. W. Nigritic \*ni(a)- "rain" (not marked for prefix) \*lingi "water" ? < li + ngi \*mani "dew" ? < m- + ni P. BC \*izi "water" \*za "rain" P. Plateau \*si "water" \*dzum P. Jukun \*ii, \*di-, \*vi "water", \*-ni "rain" Common Bantu \*di + "eve" = "tear" -yi- / -ya- involved in "blood" N. Bauchi \*ts-war- "water, rain" \*madzi "river" < ma + dzi \*dz-w(H)- "rain" P. Cushitic \*z-n-m/b "rain" ? P. Sem. \*da' "rain (vb.)" P. E. Cush. \*tēna "rain" P. Highland E. Cush. P. S. Cush. \*tih- "get wet" P. Sem. \*dic + at "sweat" \*dimic + at "tear" (\*cayn "eye") \*'vimi "water" Bura gp. Mafa-Mada \*yam "water" N.E. Sem. \*vamm "sea" \*v-m-n "right hand, south (see below) ? P. Sem. \*v-m(m)- "water, river" P. Cush. \*'gir- "river, waterhole" Bata gp. \*yiw-, \*'iyw- "water" Mandara gp. P. Koman \*vi'i

4. Mande has gyi/gyu and dyi/dyu apparently interchangeable for "water". DELAFOSSE speaks of (n)ky > gy, also gy > y and dy > y as common synchronic changes. For Kanuri, LUKAS has nji "water", while BARTH and BENTON have nki "water, rain" (cf. Songhai nkirinyi "rain"). Perhaps relevant here is a consonant reconstructed for P. Chadic by Newman, whose reconstructions, I believe, are significant also for languages other than those called "Chadic". He says "This consonant was probably a glottalized palatal stop [...] In present day

Chadic languages this proto-phoneme is variably realized as dy, 'gy, 'g, k', 'w, 'y, ', or zero."

- 5. For this wider survey, we need to allow for the possibility of /// being replaced by /V/ or /N/ as part of the root, regardless of prefixes. So Bulu (Cameroun) mendim < m + ndim; Kissi (S. Leone) mendan < m+ ndan; Ijaw mingi < m + ngi; Cibak minyi "dew"; Tiv mge rem < mger + em, Bura, Ngwaxi manda "lake" etc., etc. Also the possibility of affricate or fricative replacing stop. So, dzi, nzi, ezi etc. etc.
  - 6. In individual languages we have further evidence for a proto-root:

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Sem.	Gurage	diyä "rain" (also "outdoors")
	Harsusi	tewi "water well"
	Shuwa Arabic	'ine "heavy rain"
Cush.	Bedauye	d'i "natural reservoir"
Berb.	Tuareg	izim+ an "eau saumâtre à fleur
		de sol"
	Egypt. (FAULKNER)	š"lake, pool, garden"
		<u>d</u> 3i "ferry across water, water"
	(BUDGE)	sha "lake, pool, cistern, tank"
		tchai "valley, lake (?)"
		tchai "boat, cross river in boat"
Omotic	Benc	so "water"
NS	Songhay	mundey "tear" ? < mu + ndey
		(mo "eye")
		isa "river"
	Kənzi (Nile Nub.)	essi "water"
	Berta	' <u>tēli</u> "ocean, sea"
	Kanuri	nji, nki
		nyamnyami "shower of rain"
	Teda, Daza	yi
	Maban	nji "water"
	Mimi (Bura Mabaŋ)	engi "water"
	Mundu, Banziri	ngu "water"
	Otoro	y + au "water"
	Amira	nyi "water, blood"

Amira and Otoro are Kordofanian, for which STEVENSON (1962) reported some languages as having noun classes, others not. For Otoro,  $\eta$ - marks liquids (a single class), e.g.  $\eta$ +au "water",  $\eta$ +an "milk",  $\eta$ +i1a "oil",  $\eta$ +mad "friendship". Stevenson gives kw(u)-, gw(u)- as the markers for persons (cf. P. Benue Congo \*gu-), and  $\eta$ -, ny- for liquids in four groups.

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NC	Mande, Bambara,	
	Soninke	ji
	Fula	ndiyam (ndi+( )am) "water"
		'dyi'dyam, 'i'am, yi'am "blood"
	Buli (Ghana)	nyiām
	Mano	yi
	Gurma	nyima
	Gbaya	yi
	Twi	nsu
	Igbirra	enyi
BC	Tarok (Yergum)	ndiŋ
	Fyam (Gyem)	njin
Egyptian	(BUDGE)	im, um "sea, river"
		ámen "right side, west"
	(FAULKNER)	ym "sea", imn "west, right"
C. Chad.	Tera (Pidlimdi)	'dyim"water"
		mijima "lake"
	Cibak	miŋyi "dew"
	Higi Ghye	nyeme
	Musgu	jem, yem
	Daba	yim "water"
	Moloko	yam "water, east"
W. Chad.	Geji	ziye
	Seya, Dwot	ža
	Tsagu (NB)	zawe
	Miya (NB)	madzi
	Bole-Tangale	*awci "river"
	Bedde, Ngizim	duwa "lake, well"
	Plateau Chadic	*Tuŋ "lake, river"
	Hausa	tsima, tsōma "soak, dip in water"
		yamma "west" ? < yam + pl.
	(cf. Ngizim	cad "east" ? < the lake)
	` •	•

E.	Chad.	

Kujarke šiya "water" Bidiya zi1ānva "larme" zū1any "larmes" Dangaleat

zumirso "larme" ('ersa "oeil") Mokilko

mizzi "pluies" 'osso "puits" ocu "Fluß"

Sokoro

sula "mer, grande eau Kera

permanente"

(P. W. Nigritic \*-yic- "eye")

Tumak Lame

su "puiser" *iže* "river"

7. Perhaps the affricate was the earlier. However, there are many languages and reconstructions that seem to have the root reduced to /'/, vowel length, or indeed, if ma like am signified "water", may never have had the 'DZI. Here are some:

NS	Tirma	ma
	Me'en	mā
	Daju gp. (Kordof.)	*ma(y)
	Kwegu	mūa
	Zilmamu, Murle	mam
	Temein gp.	m'uŋ
	Bagirmi	man(e)
P. W. Nigritic	-	*-mani "dew"
BC	Longuda	ma + m(a) "water"
P. Sem.	_	*māy
P. Cush.	(EHRET)	*ma', *mi' "be wet"
	(DOLGOPOLSKI)	*m-w(')- "water, be wet"
	Somali	ma'ai, mayai "long lasting rain"
	Irakw	ma'ai "water"
Egyptian	(BUDGE)	<i>mā</i> ( <i>mi</i> , <i>mu</i> ) "water"
	(FAULKNER)	mw "water", mḥi "swim"
W. Chad.	Pə1ci	<i>mā</i> ' "water"
	Tsagu	mo'oyi "dew"
	Angas	mwe "sap", yət mwe "tears"
	Sura	<i>yit mwān</i> "Träne"

mwa nši "honey" (nši "fly") Ankwe C. Chad. Gude ma'in, ma'inə E Chad Tumak mu1ə1 "larme", cf. Bedauve mile, melo "tear", mi "wet", 1i1i "eve" (P. Cush. \*Ci1- "eve") NC omi? < o + miYoruba. Rini ame?a+me Common Bantu \*-mi. \*-me "dew" Fula māyo "river" (māy + o) Dvola mōm

8. "Blood" has hardly been quoted in the data from contemporary languages. However, the suggested reconstruction at para. 2 above has initial /d/ and final /m/. "Rain" is often "water sky" or "sky water", cf. Mande  $san\ dyi$  (? > Hausa sanyi "damp cold"). "Tear" has been shown above often to be "water eye" or "eye water". This supports the hypothesis that, whereas \*bar/ \*bal is the underived etymon for "blood", \*d-( )-m might be a derivation from "body water". Newman reconstructs \*zi + k- "body" and \*zem (? < zi + m) "skin". Other relevant data are:

P. Cush.		*j-q- "body, corpse, meat"
		*ṭy-'-g- "blood"
P. Highland E. Cusl	h.	*ṭēga "blood"
P. Sam.		*dgm "blood"
	Afar	<i>iddime</i> "have blood let"
Plateau Chadic		*T-K-M "blood"
	Longuda	tu + ma "blood"
	Fula	tu'am "blood, bleeding from nose"
	Karekare	dowən "blood"
	Geez	zom "blood, broth"
	Syriac	zām "blood, broth"
	Akkadian	dāmu "blood"
	Ari (Omotic)	zom'i "blood" (zēmi "red")
	, ,	(P. Omotic *zok'- "red")
	Mocha (Omotic)	dēmo "blood"
	Tamazight	azy "skin (vb.)"
	Tuareg	azu "skin",
	-	<i>az(e)ni, ažni, ašni</i> "blood"

Egyptian (BUDGE) tche-, sha "body"
(FAULKNER) d- "body, self"

P. Semitic \*tiqo" body"
Kanuri tiqo" body"
Mande sogo, sugu "chair, viande"

There are also examples of "water body", especially in C.Chadic, e.g.

Bura mamši "blood", mamza "red"
Gudu məmši "blood"
Vame məmže "blood"
Padoko muza "blood"

Talodi gp. (Kordofanian) \*nišuk "blood", \*nir "water"

Am frequently collocates with bi. So:

N. Bauchi \*am + bi "water" (n.b. not "rain")

Ankwe hambeya "lake"

(cf. hangide "water")

Bacama haɓyi "water" Njanye mbi'i "water"

Peve yāmbi "lake", mbi "water"

These come from five different language groups. The possibility of these deriving from "water ground" is supported by:

P. E.Cush \*biy- "earth"
P. Cush. \*bu "ground"
C.Chad., E.Chad. (JUNGRAITHMAYR \*b-y- "fields, farm"

& SHIMIZU 1981)

Somali biyo "water"

P. Sem. \*bu'r "fossa (per attingere

l'acqua")
Tuareg ab1u "petit quantité d'eau"

Fula 'bu1- "well"

Tiv mbor "spring of water"

Egyptian (Budge) bar "well"

Kanuri baram "well", (bɛ1a "country,

bə1ā "hole in the ground")

Berta buli, bulo "river"

- 10. It is even conceivable that the DZI/GYI was itself at a very early stage a modifier to the central idea of "water", but the only possible evidence, other than the apparent priority of "rain" to "water" in the P. W.Nigritic reconstructions. is the interesting gloss for the Gurage diyä "rain, outdoors" which obviously intrigued LESLAU. Gurage, like the Nimbia dialect of Gwandara, Tsagu (N.Bauchi) and, of course, Bedauye for which Margaret SKINNER's unpublished 1976 paper made out an incontrovertible case to be classified as "Chadic" by Newman criteria all seem to be good evidence for archaic survivals.
- 11. I am not sure whether Tiv can be added to this list of good sources for archaisms, but the following list shows that it is a good source of /m/ affixes marking among other things liquidity:

mgerem "water"m1iyam "tear"mdze1am "juice"mnyandem "urine"mdorom "moisture"msorom "beer"mkurem "oil"mningem "latex"

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