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Структура слова в чадских языках

Базовой структурой слова в чадских языках является двусложная (а не биконсонантная).

I. При присоединении аффикса к двусложному имени происходит редукция гласного префикса или корня.

1. *sinV 'нос' > *tVsinV- > Fyer šin , Fali Kiriya šinuʔ Gude sina, Kariya tin, Ngizim tin, Bade, Duw əstan < *stan-, matath. < *t-sin- Gerka yi-ddiŋ , Dangla ettiŋ- Kirfi wù-ttiŋi (regress. assim < *stin-)

1a. Dghwede xtire , Cinene xətra ;

//Cushitic agaw *ʔa-sa/in- 'nose': Xamir esiŋ, Xamta asən, Qemant əssan; Saho, Afar *san- 'nose'.

2. *sVt- 'один': Mafa sʼtə-dʼ, sta-dʼ, Mofu té-dʼ (<*ste-dʼ) 'one'; kotoko *ɣ-sVt- [Tourneaux]: Buduma gètte (< *gòtətáy < *ɣə-sətay), Logone sóyədiya, Kuseri sʼógódíy W 2 Mpn sat 'single standing vertical cult stone';

//Semitic Akkadian ištēn 'one', Ug ʕšt ʕšr(h), Hebrew ʕašəttē, Aram (Eg) ʕštʔ, Sab ʕst 'eleven' [Fron].

3a. *kas- 'bone': Hausa kašii 'bone'; Gerka ɣas (< *a-kas) Mushere ékes , Warji kaasu-nà, Kariya káasù, Musgu két-ke, Munjuk kełke (secondary lateral in CCh influenced by a velar); Kera kəs-kə-n, Kwang kìsi-gi ; Bidiya kasko, pl. kaski, Dangla kaaso 'os';

b. *tał- > ałV > łała, 'bone': Mafa t-ał, Mofu tét-eł, Merey mə-t-ał 'bone', Gisiga ʔat- cł 'Knochen; Ei'; Sakun t-ał, Muyang āłā-t; logone hałe, aałe , Wandala šeeše , Galdav łała, Dghwede łała, etc.

c. *ʔVs(s)- 'bone': Karekare osu , Tangale wos, Boewal ošoki , Ngamo oso, Maka ʔosó-k ; Peve so [Vn], ZB ússo, úsō; Ubi ɛsa, Mawa əš , Migama ʔàssu; Mokilko ʔosse; Mabire aso ; Birgit ʔasó, Jegu ʔaso 'bone'.

// Egyptian ks (Pyr) 'bone' [EG 68], Omotic Nao kus (note Dizi us, uuss), Dime koss, kuus [BndO 207], Cush Geleba kas 'bone, leg', Sem Arab kass- 'os du sternum' [BK 735];

*tVkas- 'bone'

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                  a.   /         \    b., c.
               kVs-            ta-ks-
                            b.          c.
                        /                 \
    tVkšV > tašš̂V > taš̂V        ta-ksV > tassV > ʔassV, ʔasV
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4. *ta-rVzV 'vein': Bolewa tezze, rwze, Kirfi taʒʒi, Galambu tarši, Gera tiizi, Bele tohe, Pero tiʒi //Arabic warīz-at- 'veine qui va de l'estomac au foie' [BK1519]

II. Биконсонантная структура достигается с помощью метатезы C₁C₂NV > C₁NC₂V

lísV-mV 'tongue': Geruma *límši* (metath.), Krkr *lusə́əm*, Bol *lisim* , Ngm *linsa*, Gera *de-limsa*, Hausa *hán͂cíi* (< *hantii* < *ha-tini*); 'nose'

III.   Как часть этой же стратегии можно рассматривать возникновение лабиализованных велярных и эйективных звонких

A. Семитские корни wkC , kwC ~ чад. kʷVC-,   семит. CwḰ, Ckw ~ чад. CVkʷ-

1.Sem Arabic *wgb* 'tomber ride mort, mourir' [BK 1487] ~ Gude *gʷáv* 'falling flat; dying'; Mada *govvó* 'immobile, sans bouger'.

   2. Sem Arabic *gwf*(u) 'transpercer, porter à qqn un coup de lance' [BK 357] ~ Chadic *gʷVp-* 'spear': Ngas *kʷop*, Sura *kɔp*, Mupun *kop*, Goem *kʷap,* Mushere kop , Bana *gʷapa*; 5 Glv gupa 'spear' (gen.) [Rp], 5-5a Guduf, Lamang, Hdi etc. *gupa,* Chinene *gʷopa* 'spear'.

   3. Arabic *ḵwl* 'to speak' [BK836], Hebrew *ḵōl,* Aramaic, Geez *ḵāl* 'voice' [LsG 426] ~ Chadic *ḵʷVl-* 'to talk, speech, shout': Goemai kʷal 'to talk, talking' [Hlw]; Tobanga *kʷál* 'word, languages, tale, talk', Kirfi *kʷalala* 'war shouting', > East Chadic *kol-* 'to call': Dangla *kólé,* Bidiya *kol,* Migama *kóllo;* Jegu kol- .

   4. Arab *wḵs* 'ôter, tirer, enlever (la peau)',   *waḵs-* 'gale (des chameaux), itch of camels ' [BK 1584] ~Chadic *ḵʷas-* 'itch, skin disease': Hausa *ḵaswáa* 'scabies, craw-craw'; Ngas *kʷas* 'itch', Mushere *kʷass* 'raches on buttock', Goemay ḵʷas 'skin disease',   Bade *kasakasa* 'localized itch', əksatuwá 'scabies';   Cuvok *kʷɔsé-kʷɔsé* 'rougeole, measles', Mofu *kwese-kwesé* 'varicelle, smallpox'.

   5. Sem Hebrew *mwḵrt* 'carved object', cf. Sabaic *mwḵrn* 'rock basin, cistern', Arabic *waḵīr-* 'large trench in a rock, containing water' [Bll 146-7], *waḵr-* 'hollow, cavity' [BK 1583] ~ Chadic *ḵʷVr-* (< *ḵVwVr-) 'hollowed stone': Mupun *kʷor* 'stone with concave surface serving as water container for chicken, goats. Such stones are found around every household', Bura *kwara-tu* 'breach'; Malgwa *kára* 'Höhle; cave, cavity in a rock'; Mafa *kulokw* 'creux dans un rocher, a cavity in a rock'.

   6. Sem Sabaic *ngw* 'tell, instruct (oracule)' [Biella 291], Arabic *ngw* III stem 'parler à l'oreile à qqn' [BK 1209] ~ *nVgʷ- > ⁿgw-* 'to say, to answer': Hausa *ngʷaíi* 'reply to a greeting' (considered as a loan from Fulfulde); Dera *ŋgʷa* 'it is said, that', Kupto *ngó* to say, saying'; C 2 Bura *nggʷa* it is said'; Glavda *nggʷ* 'to answer' , Gava *ŋgʷə-gəna* 'to answer' , Sokoro *négi* 'shout'.

   7. Sem Arabic *šwq* 'remplir qqn du desir de qq chose, exciter qqn (l'amour)' [BK] ~ Chadic *ƶVḵʷ-* 'to be eager, to love': Hausa *zaḵu* 'be eager to get smth',   Tangale loko 'love, want', Pero *lalak* 'lust'; Ngizim *ƶakʷai* 'desire for'.

   8. Sem Arabic *wkw* 'serrer, lier, nouer; serrer qqch dans un sac, s'appuyer' [BK 1600] ~ Chad *kʷVʔ/y-* 'to pack': Duwai *kʷiyo* 'package up, be packed with', Bade *kʷiyu* 'hold in, bundle up'; Zime *kuʔu,* Zari *kuʔ* 'emballer, to pack'.

Чад.

B. Семитские корни bHC, dHC ~ чад. ɓVCV, ɗVCV; CHb, CHd ~ чад. CVɓV, CVdV

   1.Sem *bʕr* : Akkadian *baʔaru* 'to catch fish, birds, to hunt', *na-bāru* 'trap, cage', Soqotri *bʕr,* Mhr *biter* (T-stem) 'pêcher'   ~ Chad *ɓVrV:* Kirfi *ɓarey,* Dera *bara,* Geruma *ŋbara* 'to hunt', Karekare *baaraa* 'hunting, festival', Maaka *bará* 'hunt' Duwai *baara* 'hunting'; Bana *bara* 'seek, want, love', Vame *ɓər-* 'chase' ; Musey *ɓeera* 'la chasse, aller faire la chasse' , Kera *ɓeere* 'to hunt';

2.Sem Arabic *bhr* 'fendre , dechirer (se dit de la pratique de fendre l'oreille a une chamelle)'~ Chad **ɓVr- 'to cut, to tattoo'**: Galambu *ɓar-aala* 'cut off', Tangale *beri* 'to cut round, circumcise'; Duwai *ɓər-niyo* 'cut open (fish, fowl)'; Ham, Marba *ɓir*, Musey *ɓii (< *ɓir#)* 'gravir du bois, scarifier', Gizey, Masa *ɓir* 'inciser, tatouer', Gizey, Masa, Ham *ɓir* 'scarifier'; Kera *ɓir-li* 'to tatoo'; Dangla *ɓor* 'tatouer, make tribal marks'.

3. Sem Arabic *dʕs* 'fouler fortement avec les pieds'~ Chadic : Muyang *édíšéy* 'to flatten'; Dangla *dèsiyé* 'frapper, battre'.

4. Sem Arab *gabaʔa* 'to be weak, dull, cowardly' [BK] ~ Chad Podoko *ŋgʷaɓa* 'wear out, weaken'; Lame *gaɓa,* Peve *gaɓ gaɓ* 'weakness'.

5. Sem Arabic *kdh* 'se dechirer la visage avec les ongles' [BK 873] ~ Chadic **kVḍ- (< *kVḍ(V)H-) 'to scratch, to rub; скрести, тереть' >** Bade *kaadu* 'to scratch (an itch)';Sakun *kəḍə-və (< *kVḍ-b-)* 'to rub on body'; Migama *ko-kiḍò* 'gratter a la hache, to scratch with a hoe', Mabire *kuḍu* 'gratter, to scratch'.

Derived noun: Tangale *kwadak* 'fingernail, claw' (> 'scratching');Buduma *kudi, kode* 'fingernail'.

6. Sem Arabic *shb* (a) 'avaler avec rapidité (en buvant ou en mangeant)' , ECush Burji *sub-* 'sip (of hot food and drinks)', Gidole *suuɓɓ-* 'sip'~ Chad **sVɓ-:** Bana *šiɓə, šiśəɓə* 'suck'; Gude *šiɓə* 'suck (candy, food, not to nurse)'; Buwal *śeśép (-p < *b#)*, Daba *scɓ* , Cuvok *mè-śüɓéy*, Mafa *sosuɓ-,* Ouldem *-sóɓày,* Moloko *soɓoy* 'sucer', Zulgo *sasuɓa* 'sucer dans la bouche', Gisiga *so/uɓ,* etc. Zime *sóɓo,* ZD *sóɓ,* Masa, Marba *sop* [Shy], Gizey *sóɓ,* Ham, Lew *sóp (-p# < *-ɓ#)* 'sucer' ; Kera *sóɓe* 'to suck'.

7. Sem Arabic *šbh* 'etendre une peau a l'aide de deux pieux fiches en terre, etendre ses 2 bras, s'allonger; to stretcha piece of skin, stretch arms' [BK 1182], Soq *šbah* 'etendre (des pieds), stretch legs' ~ Chad **ʒVɓ- 'be, become wide':** Bolewa *laɓ-* 'ausbreiten, to weiden' ; Bura *ʒabu* 'wide', Chibak *ʒaɓu,* Ngwahi *ʒaɓu,* Hildi *ʒaɓu,* Kilba *ʒabu,* Margi *ʒaɓo* 'wideness'.

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