

CENTRAL SUDANIC OVERVIEW

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1. Introduction

1.1 Central Sudanic within Nilo-Saharan

The Central Sudanic languages are a large, complex subgroup of Nilo-Saharan stretching between western Chad and Northeast DRC and Uganda, first identified by Joseph Greenberg (1963, 1971). Central Sudanic consists of some 40-50 languages, depending on how Sara and Moru-Madi languages are counted. Since Greenberg, the main authors to work on characterising Central Sudanic are Bender (1992) and Boyeldieu (2000, 2004). Overviews of Nilo-Saharan have generally included Central Sudanic as a unity (e.g. Bender 1997; Ehret 2001). Although the unity of Central Sudanic is usually accepted but the published evidence for this is thin. The researchers who have worked most on these languages, Pascale Boyeldieu & Pierre Nougayrol (2008) leave the question open, pointing out that a lexicostatistical evaluation falls to values as low as 10%, which is only just above chance. Despite these low percentages, there are a significant number of reconstructible roots in Central Sudanic, suggesting its coherence. This paper¹ is intended to support the argument for the unity of Central Sudanic and to provide evidence for a proposed internal classification. The evidence is mainly lexical; grammatical descriptions of Central Sudanic languages are scattered and not every branch is covered by even a sketch, so identifying common grammatical structures at more than a basic level is a task for the future. Central Sudanic phonology is also strikingly varied, especially in the east, with the complex consonants of Lendu and the Mangbetu group posing particular challenges.

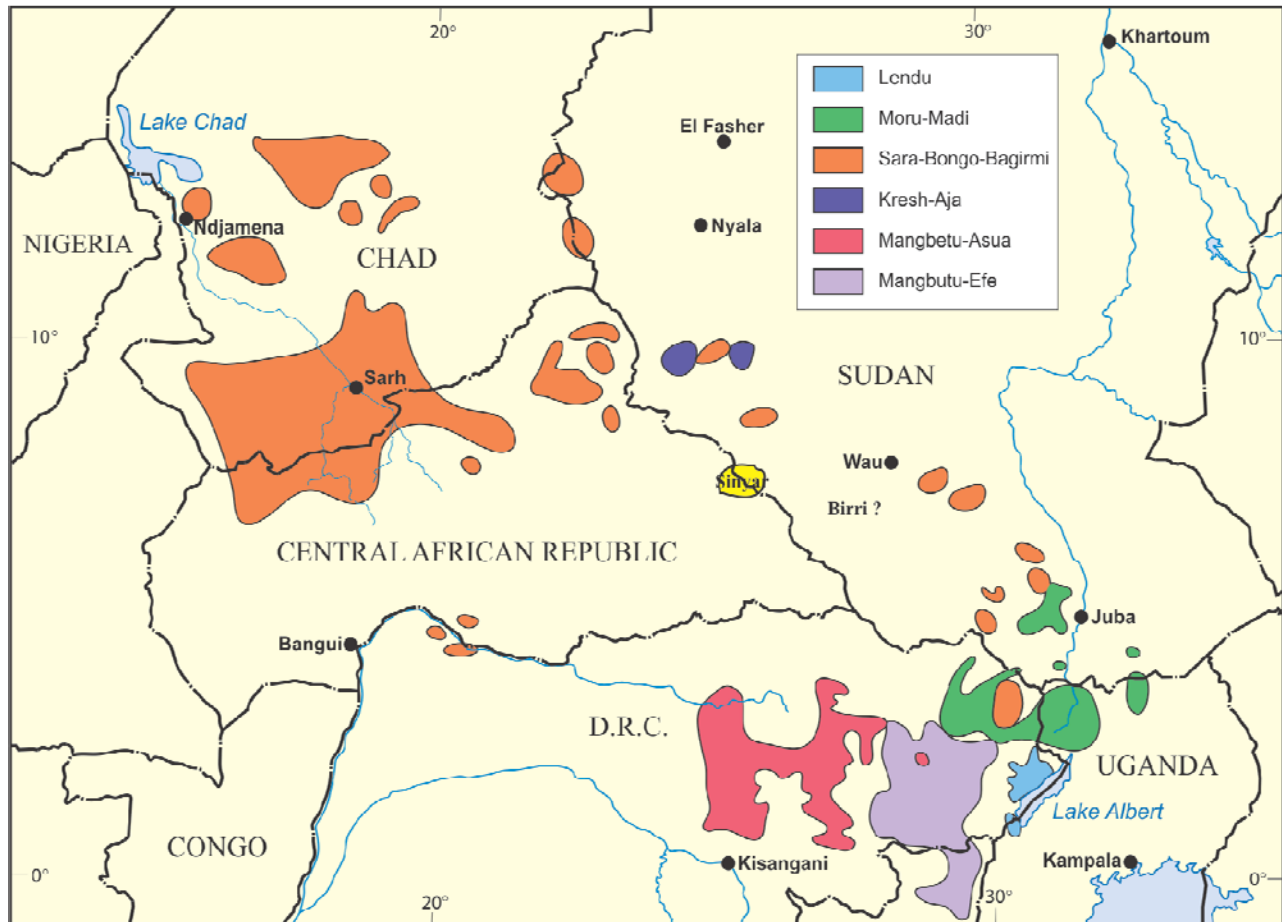
1.2 The history and culture of Central Sudanic languages

Central Sudanic languages are scattered across some of the most inaccessible regions of Central Africa, which in recent times have been further troubled by vicious civil wars. As a result, some of the information about numbers, locations and even the very existence of the smaller languages, may be inaccurate. Ironically, this is not the first episode of major insecurity to rock the region; From the eighteenth century, the slave trade almost certainly had an important role in further dispersing the western branches.

The consequence of this has been fragmentation and dispersal, with Central Sudanic intertwined with regional Arabic, Fur, Ubangian and Eastern Sudanic languages. Map 1 presents a recent synthesis of what is known about the location of the component languages, with the caveat that some may no longer be in the same place as they were in previous eras of relative peace.

¹ Thanks to Don Killian, Pascale Boyeldieu, Harald Hammarstrom, Didier Demolin, Connie Kutsch Lojenga, John Keegan for access to unpublished data.

Map 1. Central Sudanic languages



Source: Updated from Boyeldieu (2004)

It is unclear why the languages should be spread across the map and thus where they originated. Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi (SBB) languages are relatively coherent and the centre of diversity is all in the Southeast. This suggests that Central Sudanic began to diversify in the region north and west of Lake Albert. There is no evidence for the reconstruction of agriculture in Central Sudanic which points to a dispersal of hunters east to west. Central Sudanic speakers encountered speakers of Ubangian languages spreading eastward and there must have been a major interaction between the two at some point, since the Banda languages in particular are shot through with Central Sudanic loans (Cloarec-Heiss 1994).

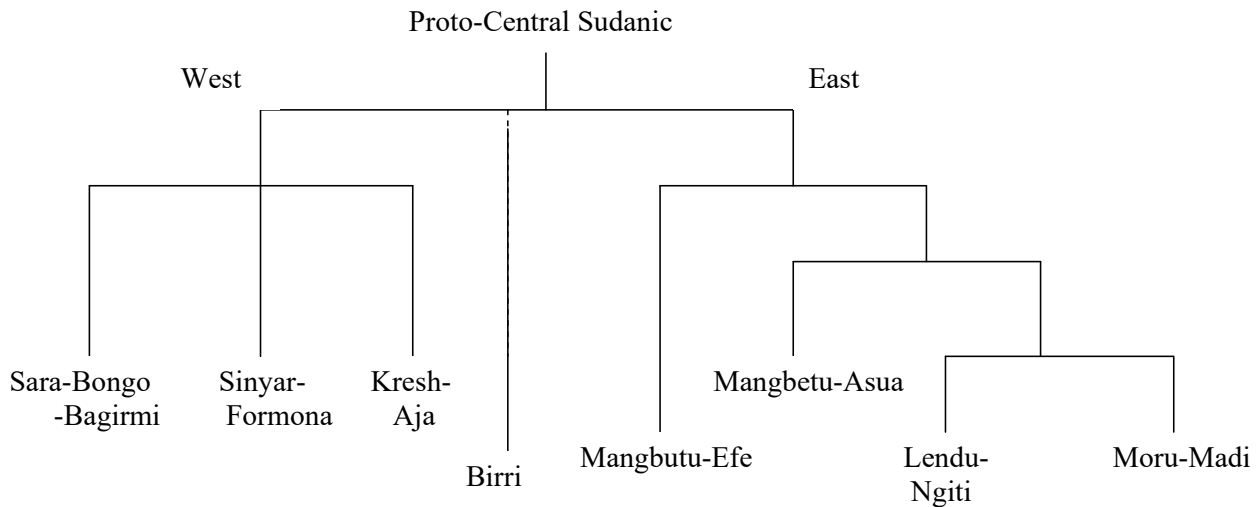
Boyeldieu recalls a science fiction story, published before the First World War, which envisaged Bagirmi, the language of a small state in Central Africa, becoming the *lingua franca* of Africa in the year 9040, when Europe has sunk beneath the waves (Van Gennep 1911). This is still in the future, but it is pleasant to see an African language being given such high status in fiction.

2. Classification

Central Sudanic is a branch of Nilo-Saharan (Greenberg 1963, 1971). It was formerly part of a larger subgroup, ‘Chari-Nile’, but this is no longer considered valid. There have been doubts about its coherence, as a family in the light of low lexicostatistical cognacy percentages between branches (Boyeldieu 2013) but a series of strong lexical isoglosses provides good evidence for its status as a valid family. However, some putative branches are so poorly documented, that any internal classification must remain provisional.

Central Sudanic is usually divided into two major branches, East and West (Figure 1). The documentation of Birri is too weak to be sure of its position and it is provisionally given a branch of its own, pending further research. Formona-Sinyar is also sparsely documented and its position as a part of the Western branch must remain a best guess.

Figure 1. Classification of Central Sudanic languages



Source: Adapted from Boyeldieu (2004)

A series of short forms has been adopted for Central Sudanic branches to make reference to them less unwieldy, and this is shown in Table 1;

Table 1. Acronyms for Central Sudanic branches

Short form	Expansion
SBB	Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi
KA	Kresh-Aja
Birri	
FS	Formona-Sinyar
ME	Mangbutu-Efe
MA	Mangbetu-Asua
LN	Lendu-Ngiti
MM	Moru-Madi

Evidence for both the coherence of Central Sudanic and for the individual branches is given in

3. Subgroups

3.1 Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi

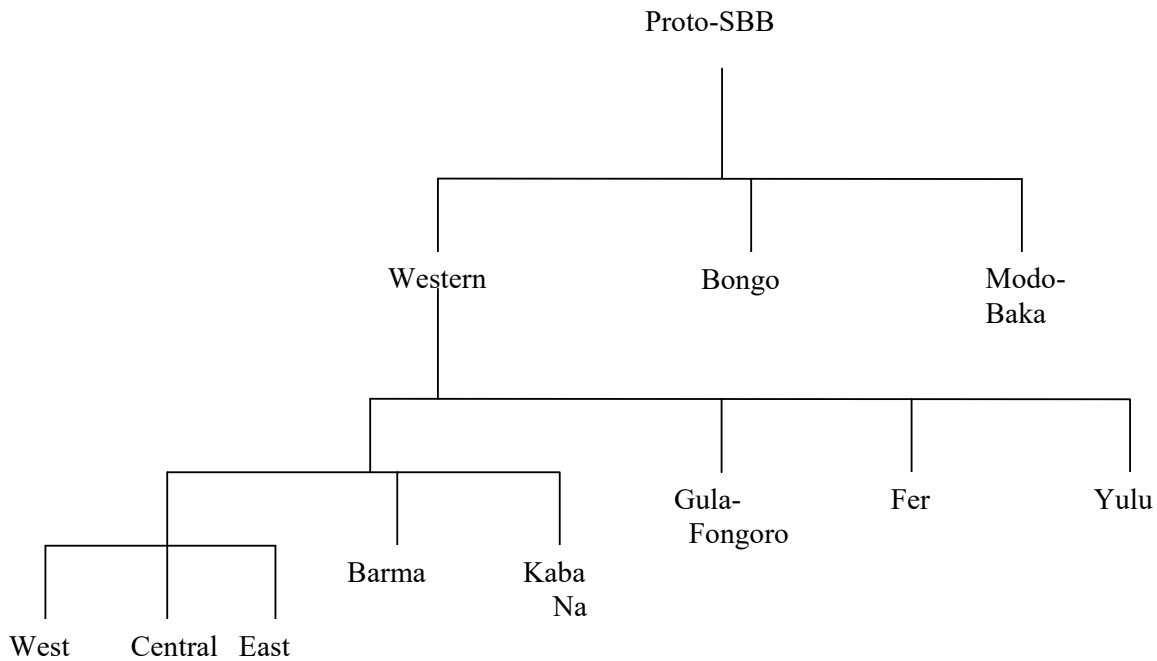
The Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi (SBB) languages constitute the single largest and most coherent subgroup of Central Sudanic. The first outline of the languages in the group appears in Tucker & Bryan (1956:10-19) which lists Kresh together with Yulu as a branch of SBB. Greenberg (1971:) separates out Kresh and lists the groups pretty much as they are still listed today. Boyeldieu (2013) has a detailed discussion of whether FS (or at least Sinyar) might be an SBB outlier but concludes it is still difficult to distinguish

Thayer (1976) is a published version of a thesis, Thayer (1974) which is a historical phonology of the ‘Chari’ languages, SBB under another name. Keegan (1982) provides a strong critique of Thayer, both in terms of the approach to old sources and analytic weaknesses. Caprile (1981) is a compressed overview of SBB languages in which some general phonological features are plotted, largely superseded by Boyeldieu (2000). Saxon (1980: 126) presents a genealogical tree of SBB based on lexicostatistical counts of nine languages. Saxon is the first author to consider the implications of reconstructing economic and cultural items and their possible relevance for prehistory. However, the thesis is marred by many errors in transcription and a lack of archaeological data to anchor his results.

Two theses completed in the 1980s, Huguet (1986) and Djarangar (1989) present revised classifications in their text, as well as new field data. Neither author went on to pursue their work in print and the results have been little cited. Bender (1992) is a quasi-reconstruction of Central Sudanic with a presentation of starred forms. The author himself considered it highly provisional and so it is. Bibliographies occasionally include references to an unpublished manuscript by Christopher Ehret on Central Sudanic from the same period, but I have never seen a copy of this. Following this, SBB languages were the subject of a general monograph and reconstruction (Boyeldieu 2000), including substantial wordlists. Further papers and overviews can be found on Pascale Boyeldieu's website².

The study of the Sara languages themselves has been revolutionised by the publication of material from the surveys of John Keegan³. Apart from lexicons of many individual languages, Keegan has published comparative dictionaries and an overview of the family as a whole (Keegan 2016a,b,c). He presents a rather different view of the division of the Sara languages from Boyeldieu and this view is adopted here as Keegan presents evidence for his categories. Figure 2 shows a composite view of the likely internal structure of SBB, combining the higher-level phylogeny of Boyeldieu with that of Keegan;

Figure 2. Internal structure of SBB languages

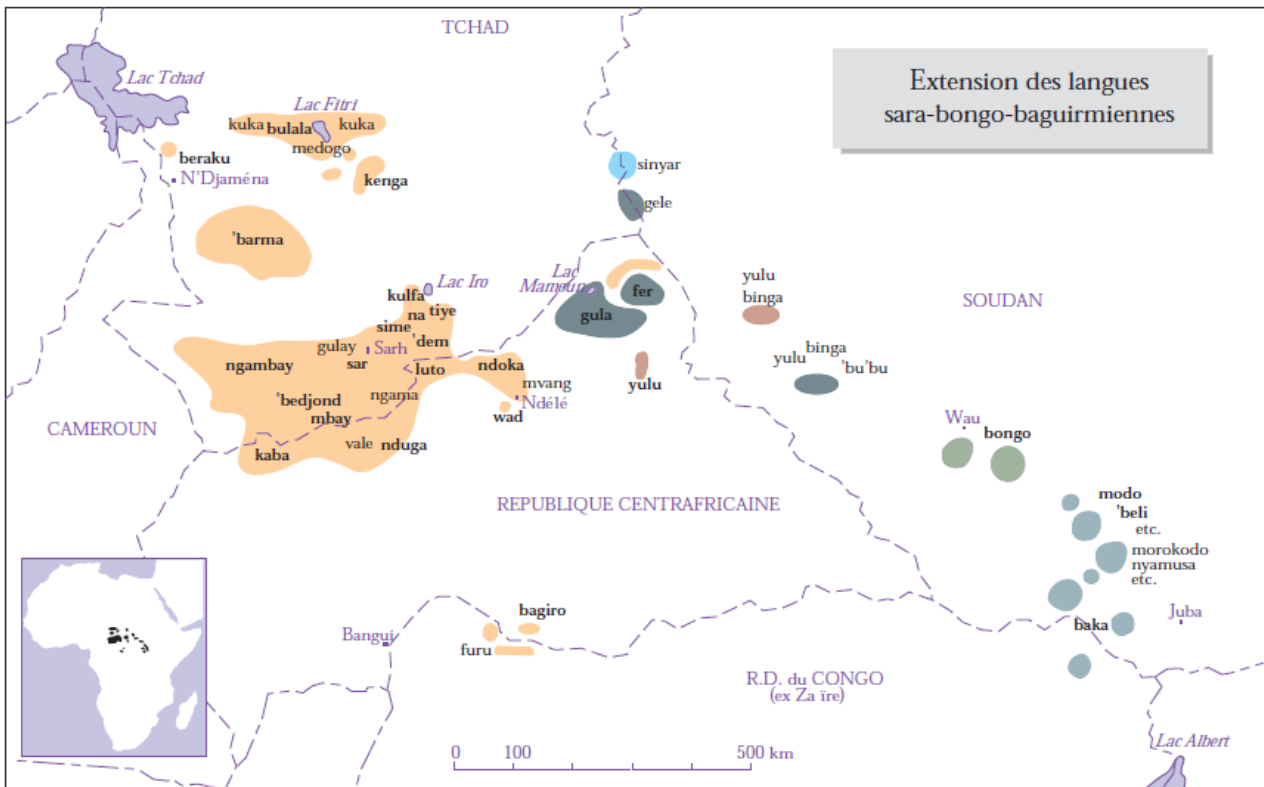


Map 2 shows the location of the SBB languages, at least before the recent civil wars in the region;

² URL:

³ URL: <http://morkegbooks.com/Services/World/Languages/SaraBagirmi/>

Map 2. Location of the SBB languages



Source: courtesy Pascale Boyeldieu

Table 2 shows some examples of lexical items which separate Kaba Na from the remainder of ‘Sara Proper’.

Table 2. Evidence for separation of Kaba Na

Gloss	Kaba Nà	Sara Proper
child	mōnō	ngōn, ngō
crocodile	kíḃalè	mār, mà
song	lā	pā
speech	hàā	tà, nàjī
vomit	túrē	tōm, tōmbō, etc.
wait	ákò	ngóō, ngábī
wash	tóò	tógō, etc.
weep	káy	nō
woman	mándé	dèné, òyá
year	tànáà	ḃāl

Source: Keegan (2016c: 20)

Keegan (2016a,b,c) gives evidence for the division of Sara Proper into three branches.

The position of Bagirmi [=Barma] remains difficult to determine, but Keegan (2016) has now published a dictionary and grammar sketch in modern transcription. The early material of Gaden (1909) and the grammar of Stevenson (1969) has been reprised in different sources. Keegan notes that many of Stevenson’s examples are not confirmed by his informants.

A language for which published data is very limited is Fongoro, a language of hunter-gatherers in Dar Fongoro, straddling the Chad-Sudan border (Doornbos & Bender 1983: 74). The language is that of an outcast group and there were only a few speakers in the 1970s when the sparse data we have was collected.

However, Fongoro turns out to be quite a close relative of the Gula languages described in Nougayrol (1999). Table 3 shows some of the evidence for aligning Fongoro with Gula;

Table 3. The Gula affiliation of Fongoro

Gloss	Fongoro	Gula
ashes	mviti	bítī
big	oro(fe)	ōrō
foot	kunza	kùnzà
hair	mvele	vèlè
kill	tele	tōlē
meat	andi	hàndī

Lutos and Vale are two very little known languages in RCA. They are the subject of so-far unobtainable theses (Moundo 1975 ; Ndoko 1991). Kenneth Olson has put on line a basic wordlist of Lutos⁴ and a phonology based on a conference handout (Olson 2013).

3.2 Kresh-Aja

The Kresh-Aja (KA) languages are one of the smallest and least-known subgroups of Central Sudanic. The main source (and in some cases the only source) for this group is Santandrea (1976). Santandrea gives a grammatical sketch for Kresh, Woro and Aja, as well as a comparative wordlist which also includes Baka, a Ubangian language. Brown (1986) provides a small amount of additional data on Kresh phonology, and Boyeldieu (2000a) had access to a wordlist of J-P. Caprile, which is cited in his appendix on the affiliation of Kresh. It is clear from the data that KA is the nearest relative of SBB, but should not be included within it.

3.3 Biri

The Biri [also Birri] language is only known from publications by Santandrea (1950, 1965-66). According to him, the language is correctly known as Viri. There is another Bviri language, aligned with Sere, with which this Biri has sometimes been confused (e.g. in Ethnologue 2009). The Biri seem to originate in CAR, but in the period of his research some were resident in the Sudan. The report in the Ethnologue cites and assessment of their numbers from 1996, when there were 5000 claiming Biri ethnicity but only 200 speaking the language. However, this may well apply to the Bviri, not the Bir (see above). Santandrea reports Zande as the prestige language for Biri speakers, but it may well be Banda today. Given the chronic insecurity of the region and the declining status of the language during the 1960s, Biri may well be extinct today.

Santandrea reports that the Biri were locally regarded as the ‘oldest’ autochthonous group in the region, whatever that may mean. Although there has been a tendency to class Biri with Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi, but the evidence for this is weak. Biri seems to have cognates across the Central Sudanic languages, and for this region it is provisionally given a subgroup of its own. The table shows it is sometimes aligned with East and sometimes western Central Sudanic.

East		Gloss
Birri	vò	earth
Madi	vò	earth
West		
Birri	árá	dance
Kenga	àalā	<i>danser</i>

⁴ URL: <http://www-01.sil.org/~olsonk/lutos/>

3.4 Formona-Sinyar [FS]

Sinyar [=Shemya] has 5-10,000 speakers and was spoken in Chad and Sudan. According to the Ethnologue (2009) the Sudanese population may well have crossed into Chad. The first source on this language is Grossard (1925) which is a short wordlist written in the French orthographic tradition. Haaland (1978) appends a wordlist collected by Robin Thelwall, which is manifestly the same language. Haaland also includes a comparative wordlist of a language called Formona, spoken by a group which has become culturally Masalit. Formona is apparently related to Sinyar but is significantly different and is thus treated as a separate language. The transcriptions are difficult to use and no information on grammar is available. It has been classified with the SBB languages, but it has a variety of problematic features which suggest it should be given its own subgroup, hence its representation on Map 1.

3.5 Mangbutu-Efe

Mangbutu-Efe (ME) is a group of six languages spoken in northeast DRC and adjacent parts of Uganda. Table 4 shows some basic statistics on the ME languages;

Table 4. Mangbutu-Efe languages

Name	Also	Population	Location and subgroups
Efe		20,000	Orientele Province, Mambasa, Watsa, Irumu, and Djugu territories.
Lese	Lesa, Lesse, Lissi, Walisi, Walese, Balese, Mbuti	50,000	Orientele Province, Watsa, Djugu, Irumu, and Mambasa territories.
Mamvu	Tengo	60,000	Orientele Province, west and southwest of Watsa in Watsa Territory. Possibly some in Uganda.
Mangbutu	Mombuttu, Wambutu, Mangu-Ngutu	15,000	Orientele Province, south of the Kibali River and east of the Moto River in Watsa Territory.
Mvuba	Mbuba, Bambuba, Bamvuba, Mvuba-A, Obiye	5,095	Nord-Kivu Province, Beni Territory, around Oicha. Also spoken in Uganda.
Ndo	Kebu, Oke'bu, Ndu	300,000	Northwestern. Mahigi is the center. Also spoken in Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The first identification of this group appears to be in Van Geluwe (1957). Mamvu-Lese is the main language which has been studied in depth, particularly by Vorbichler (1965, 1971, 1974, 1979). A complete bibliography to 1993 is in Bokula & Irumu (1994). Coens and Goederie (1912) published a short dictionary of Mamvu.

3.6 Mangbetu-Asua

Mangbetu-Asua (MA) consists of a group of four languages spoken in the northeast of the DRC. One of these, Bendi, is erroneously listed as Lendu-Ngiti in the Ethnologue. The MA languages are;

Table 5. Mangbetu-Asua languages

Name	Also	Population	Location and subgroups
Asoa	Asua, Asuati, Asuae, Aka	25,474	Oriente Province, Rungu Territory, Ituri Forest, among Mangbetu groups Maele, Meje, Aberu, and Popoi
Bendi	Mabendi, Mabeni	32,000	Oriente Province, Djugu Territory, midway between Bunia and Djalasiga.
Lombi	Lumbi, Rombi, Rumli, Odyalombito	12,000	Oriente Province, Tshopo District, Bafwasende Territory, Barumi and Bekeni collectivités.
Mangbetu	Nemangbetu, Mangbettu, Mambetto, Amangbetu, Kingbetu	620,000	Oriente Province, Rungu, Niangara, Poko, Watsa, Wamba, and northeast corner of Banalia territories. The Popoi group is in Banalia Territory, and the Aberu group is in Wamba Territory. Subgroups: Meje (Medje), Mangbetu, Makere, Malele, Popoi. The Medje dialect is reported to have the most speakers, and is the most widely understood. Lombi and Asua are related separate languages.

The literature on the group as a whole is very sparse, but Demolin (1992) includes a comparative wordlist of several Mangbetu dialects plus Lombi and Asua, though not Bendi, and also posits reconstructed forms. The group is referred to in reference literature as ‘Moru-Mangbetu’ combining the Moru-Madi languages (e.g. Thomas 1981). Bokula & Irumu (1994) contain a comprehensive bibliography up to 1994. The first sketch of the group is probably in Tucker & Bryan (1958) reprised in Tucker (1966). Almost all the published literature concerns Mangbetu, beginning with Autrique (1912), Vekens (1928), Larochette (1958), Demolin (1992) and Bokula & Irumu (1994).

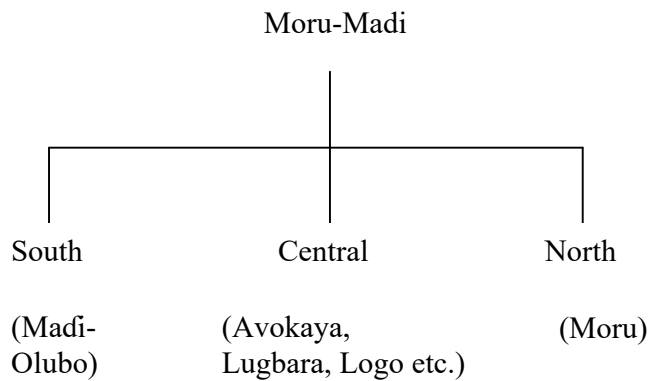
3.7 Lendu-Ngiti

Lendu and Ngiti are two related languages spoken in the Northeast DRC. Ngiti is well known from a comprehensive grammar (Kutsch-Lojenga 1993) and an unpublished dictionary (Kutsch-Lojenga n.d.). Material on Lendu (Bhadha ~ Bálédhá) was first published by Struck (1913) and a first grammar was published by Deleu (1934). The striking phonology of Lendu was first marked in the literature by Hertsens (1940) and then the subject of studies by Dimmendaal (1986) and Kutsch-Lojenga (1989, 1991). Trifkovic (1973) completed a thesis on Lendu grammar which has remained unpublished. Bokula & Irumu (1994) give data on Ndru, a southern Lendu dialect which may be a distinct language. The Ethnologue also lists Bendi as part of this group, but according to Kutsch-Lojenga (p.c.) Bendi is part of Mangutu-Efe.

3.8 Moru-Madi

Moru-Madi consists of very large number of lects spoken between northeast DRC, Uganda and Sudan. There are considered to be ten language clusters, but many of them are subdivided into marked dialects. Figure 3 shows the internal structure of the Moru-Madi group.

Figure 3. Moru-Madi languages



All these languages are lexically very similar. The group was first characterised by Tucker (1966) and later in the 1990s (Boone & Watson 1996) who carried out a major dialect survey, a large-scale comparative wordlist and a comprehensive bibliography. The importance of languages like Madi and Lugbara in missionary education meant that there exists a pedagogic literature for them. For Lugbara, for example, there is Crazzolara (1960). Lugbara is divided into ‘high’ and ‘low’ Lugbara, the second of which, Aringa is quite distinct. Moru has been studied by Andersen (1981, 1986a), Logo (Goyvaerts 1981, 1983, 1986) and Vallaeys (1986, 1988).

4. Linguistic features (preliminary only)

4.1 Phonology

4.1 Vowels

Central Sudanic certainly has ATR vowel harmony, like many other branches of Nilo-Saharan. Many language reported with nine vowels and so probably either nine or ten should be reconstructed. Poor transcription of some branches such as Formona-Sinyar and Kresh-Aja makes this uncertain for their particular subgroup.

Table 6. Central Sudanic vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
	ɪ		ʊ
Mid	e	(ə)	o
	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

It seems there are no underlying nasalised vowels and long vowels only arise from interconsonantal deletion.

4.2 Consonants

Despite some of the highly unusual consonants in some branches, notably the bilabial trills in MA and ME languages, it seems unlikely these are PCS. PCS probably had a quite small underlying inventory;

	Labial	Alveolar	Retro- flex	Pala- tal	Velar	Labio- velar	Glot- tal
Plosive	p b	t d		ɖ	k g	kp gb	
Implosive	ɓ	ɗ					
Fricative		s					
Affricate				tʃ dʒ			
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
Trills		r					
Approximant				y		w	
Laterals		l					

Many languages are transcribed with ‘dr’ and this almost certainly represents the retroflex /dʒ/.

Labialisation and palatalisation are present in some languages, but unlikely to be phonemic, but rather phonetic consequences of back and front vowels.

4.3 Tones

For those which have descriptions, Central Sudanic languages have predominantly three level tones and limited inventories of glide tones. However, four tone heights have been reported for Gula Koto (Boyeldieu & Nougayrol 2004) and two for other languages, so the question is far from certain. Boyeldieu (1989, 1998, 2000b) is a much more detailed discussion of tone for SBB languages.

4.2 Morphology

The striking feature of Central Sudanic morphology is the extreme reduction of roots. Most roots that have been retained appear to be (V)CV, with longer roots developing from affixing and reduplication.

Some verbs have retained their shape across Central Sudanic in a remarkable way. See, for example, ‘dig’, ‘kill I’ and ‘sleep’. The shape is VCV, where V is often a back vowel and usually the same back vowel, indicating copying.

5. The internal classification of Central Sudanic

5.1 Coherence of Central Sudanic as a family

Central Sudanic has the advantage of being highly dispersed geographically, which suggests that if a cognate lexeme occurs at the extreme ends of its range, then this constitutes good evidence for a proto-form, since borrowing is an unlikely explanation.

Table 7 compiles the glosses which provide evidence for the coherence of Central Sudanic as a whole. The glosses refer to the tables of evidence in the Appendix, following the same order. A + means there is positive evidence, a blank indicates either no cognate identified, or else inadequate sources, especially when applied to slightly more obscure lexemes.

Table 7. Evidence for the coherence of CS as a family

Root	Gloss	LN	MM	MA	ME	Birri	KA	FS	SBB
#andɾa	tongue	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
#tari	mouth	+	+	+	+			+	+
#[k]ɔ̄mvɔ̄	nose		+	+			+		+
#kVɲ-	tooth I	+		+				+	+
#use(li)	tooth II		+		+		+	+	+
#mbile	ear	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
#-uɖɾu	head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
#(ɲ)ale	belly, I		+					+	+
#Vɟu	intestines	+	+	+		+	+		+
#kuɖɔ	buttocks	+	+						+
#mbà	breast I	+	+	+			+	+	+
#-ɖu	breast II		+						+
#kunza	leg, foot I			+				+	+
#-goro	throat		+	+			+	+	+
#[k]juru	liver/heart		+	+	+				+
#lugu	brain								
#-kpa	bone	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
#gbara	rib, side		+						+
#kyoɖo	urine	+	+	+			+	+	+
#idza	meat I	+	+				+	+	+
#(k)adʒa	horn	+	+		+		+	+	+
#sila	tail		+					+	+
#kabu	egg		+		+		+		+
#-si	dog	+	+	+				+	+
Root	Gloss	LN	MM	MA	ME	Birri	KA	FS	SBB

5.2 Evidence for an East/West split

5.2.1 Eastern Central Sudanic (ECS)

The membership of Eastern Central Sudanic (ECS) is somewhat less certain, in particular whether Formona-Sinyar and Birri are part of it. Table 8 compiles the evidence for a WCS branch on the same basis as the previous tables.

Table 8. Evidence for the coherence of ECS as a branch

Root	Gloss	LN	MM	MA	ME	Birri	KA	FS
#mwi	eye I		+	+		+	+	
#le-ɲo	eye II	+		+			+	
#[l]aga	leg, foot II	+			+		+	+
#-(k)ari	blood I		+	+				
#ɲuɾa	animal		+		+			

5.2.2 Western Central Sudanic (WCS)

The membership of Western Central Sudanic (WCS) is somewhat less certain, in particular whether Formona-Sinyar and Birri are part of it. Table 9 compiles the evidence for a WCS branch on the same basis as the previous tables.

Table 9. Evidence for the coherence of WCS as a branch

Root	Gloss	Birri	KA	FS	SBB
#koma	eye III			+	+
#bibí	hair		+	+	+
#maŋa	blood II		+	+	+

6. Historical

Historically speaking, the puzzle is to explain how Central Sudanic has become so territorially dispersed. The core of its diversity appears to be west of Lake Victoria on the Uganda-Zaire border, although most languages are far to the northwest, in the Sara area. Fragmented population islands connect them, including some relatives of Sara-Bagirmi now spoken in the extreme southwest of Sudan. Separating them today is the great eastward salient of Ubangian languages which extend from North Cameroun to Southern Sudan. Bouquiaux & Thomas (1980) point out that the Ubangian expansion must have taken place north of the forest prior to the Bantu expansion and they assign it a tentative date of 35-4000 BP. The clearer picture now available of the structure of Central Sudanic shows that in what is now Central African Republic, the Ubangian expansion must have broken up a continuous chain of Central Sudanic languages from NE Zaire to the borders of Cameroun. The Sara languages subsequently underwent a secondary expansion north of Ubangian.

Boyeldieu (2000) uses the rich ethnohistorical data to accompany his linguistic reconstructions of Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi, spoken between Chad, Sudan and Central African Republic. The Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi languages are today remarkably scattered, often spoken in small islands among quite different languages, and they are mostly known for the Sara language complex which extends over much of southern Chad. Boyeldieu (2000: Map V.) is able to show through a detailed reconstruction of the historical phonology of the group that their origin must lie on the border of Sudan, where only remnant languages are now spoken and that the much more extensive populations of Sara speakers in western Chad are secondary expansions. This exciting demonstration contradicts previous models of the Sara expansion, which were probably based more on geographical guesswork than the comparative method.

Etymological dictionary

The function of the Central Sudanic etymological dictionary is to work towards cognate sets for the group as a whole. This has been extracted from my larger Nilo-Saharan etymological dictionary and has not yet been fully edited. I have currently excluded speculative and doubtful sets.

1 Nouns

1.1 The body

1.1.1 Body parts

1.	#andra	tongue			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	lèdra	<i>langue</i>	DD
CS	LN	Ngiti	-dà	<i>langue</i>	CKL
CS	MM	Okollo	áqā	tongue	B&W96
CS	MM	Avokaya	làndā	tongue	B&W96
CS	MA	Mangbetu	náàdrà pl. áádrá	<i>langue</i>	De92
CS	ME	Mamvu	qédrū	<i>langue</i>	DD
CS	KA	Kresh	ndžāndžā	<i>langue</i>	Bo00
CS	FS	Formona	dyalli	tongue	Ha87
CS	SBB	Baka	dèndènè	<i>langue</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Proto-Gula	*ndrē	<i>langue</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Proto-Sara	*ndō	tongue	Ke12

Commentary: The Formona may be a borrowing from Fur which is itself a metathesis. The nasal preserved in Avokaya probably shows up as -r- in Lendu-Ngiti and then as nasal prefixes in SBB.

Refs: Gr. 88, 146, 159; Bender (1992) W. 251; Ar64. 48; C. 316; P. 39;

2.	#tari	mouth			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Ngiti	-liʔò	mouth, muzzle	CKL
CS	MM	Madi	ti	mouth	Bl00
CS	MM	Okollo	tílé	mouth	B&W96
CS	MA	Mangbetu	né.tí.kpò	<i>bouche</i>	De92
CS	ME	Mamvu	ūfī	<i>bouche</i>	DD
CS	ME	Efe	úfí	<i>bouche</i>	DD
CS	FS	Formona	tari	mouth	Ha78
CS	FS	Sinyar	tàar	mouth	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	tàrà	mouth	O113
CS	SBB	Bongo	tàrà	mouth	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	tāà	<i>bouche</i>	
CS	SBB	Baka	tàrà	<i>bouche</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	tàrà	<i>bouche</i>	No99
CS	SBB	proto-Sara	*tà	<i>bouche</i>	Ke12

Commentary: First mentioned by Greenberg and discussed in Fleming (1983a:455). Fleming's discussion seems to conflate three very different forms, split up into three distinct roots here. A proto-Central Sudanic form **tari* would neatly explain the surface forms found across the various branches, but then its cognacy with other Nilo-Saharan is only doubtful.

Refs: Gr. 142; B.; Fleming (1983a:455);

3. #mwi eye I						
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	mī	eye	B100	
CS	MA	Nabulu	némò pl. émó	eye	De92	
CS		Birri	mó	eye	Sa50	
CS	KA	Kresh	mūmū	<i>oeuil</i>	Bo00	

Commentary: Assuming this is really a separate root from the preceding. The vowel shift in Moru-Madi is hard to explain, unless there are two distinct roots.

Refs: Gr. 138;

4. *le-ŋɔ eye II						
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	le-ŋɔ	eye		
CS	LN	Ngiti	-ŋì	face	CKL	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	néhò pl. èhò	eye	De92	
CS	KA	Aja	iji	eye	Sa76	

Commentary:

Refs: B.

5. *koma eye III						
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	FS	Sinyar	kwòm	eye	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kam	eye	O113	
CS	SBB	Modo	kòmò	eye	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	kòmò	eye	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Gula	kàmà	<i>oeil</i>	No99	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	kama	eye	DB83	
CS	SBB	*SBB	*k-m-	<i>oeil</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kàmò	<i>oeil</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs: B.

6. #[k]ɔmvɔ nose						
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Logo	kòmvɔ	nose	B&W96	
CS	MM	Madi	òmvɔ	nose	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	námò pl. á mó	<i>nez</i>	De92	
CS	KA	Kresh	ùŋù	<i>nez</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	àm	<i>nez</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	aam	nose	DB83	
CS	SBB	Baka	sòmò	<i>nez</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Gula	sòm	<i>nez</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Fer	sùm	<i>nez</i>	Bo87	
CS	SBB	Kenga	òòmò	<i>nez</i>	Pa06	

Commentary: The k- prefix in some of Moru-Madî is not attested elsewhere in Nilo-Saharan although is a characteristic affix.

Refs: B.

7.	#kVŋ-	tooth I				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	-kù	tooth	CKL	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nè-kí pl. é.kí	dent	De92	
CS	FS	Formona	kia	tooth	Ha87	
CS	SBB	Bongo	ʃò kò	dent	PN	
CS	SBB	Yulu	káaŋē	dent	Bo00	

Commentary: Probably a nominalisation of ‘to bite’ (129.).

Refs: Bender (1992)

8.	#use(li)	tooth II				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	PMM	*sí	tooth	BW96	
CS	ME	Lese	úsé	dent	DD	
CS	KA	Kresh	sèsè	dent	Bo00	
CS	FS	Sinyar	sɔli	tooth	Ha87	
CS	SBB	Yulu	óosə	dent	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bongo	usu	dent	Bo00	

Commentary: Proto-Central Sudanic should be **u.se.li* with the C₂ from Sinyar confirmed by the external cognate –di in Aiki. Lendu-Ngiti retains what is probably an older root.

Refs: Bender (1992)

9.	#-ŋaŋa-	tooth III				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	SBB	Lutos	ŋaŋga	dent	KO	
CS	SBB	Gula	ŋāŋa	dent	No99	
CS	SBB	Daba	ŋāŋ	dents	Ke12	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ŋāŋ	dent	Ke16	

Commentary: cf. Ed p. 198

Refs:

10.	#mbile	ear				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	bí	<i>oreille</i>	DD	
CS	LN	Ngiti	bì	<i>ear</i>	CKL	
CS	MM	*MM	*bí, *ǵí	<i>ear</i>	B&W96	
CS	MM	Lugbara	bílé	<i>ear</i>	B&W96	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nébi pl. èbì	<i>oreille</i>	De92	
CS	ME	Mamvu	úbí	<i>oreille</i>	DD	
CS	KA	Kresh	mbímí	<i>oreille</i>	Bo00	
CS	FS	Formona	ambɔ	to hear	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Lutos	mvi	<i>ear</i>	KO	
CS	SBB	Modo	mbílí	<i>ear</i>	PP	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	mvi	<i>ear</i>	DB83	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	mbī	<i>oreille</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Proto-Sar	*mbī	<i>oreille</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: The presence of a cognate second syllable in both Lugbara and Modo argue that this must be reconstructed to PCS. The nasal prefix is characteristic of Western Central Sudanic only. In Moru-Madi languages, ‘leaf’ and ‘ear’ are the same word, and indeed the leaf/ear polysemy is quite widespread in Nilo-Saharan (Bender ref; Boyeldieu 2013). The notion is that the leaf is the ‘ear of the tree’. Leaf (51.) has a cognate syllable -bi- with a prefix or compounded noun.

Refs:

11.	#-udru	head				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	-dɔ	head, top	CKL	
CS	LN	Lendu	ɖɔ	<i>tête</i>	DD	
CS	MM	PMM	*ǵì	head	B&W96	
CS	ME	Mangbutu	úǵū	<i>tête</i>	Vi94	
CS	ME	Mamvu	úǵū	<i>tête</i>	DD	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nédru pl. éǵrú	<i>tête</i>	De92	
CS	MA	Asua	lù	<i>tête</i>	DD	
CS		Birri	ǵru	head	Sa50	
CS	KA	Kresh	ǵùǵù	<i>tête</i>	Bo00	
CS	FS	Formona	kudyo	head	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	dálà	<i>tête</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Gula	drò	<i>tête</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	ndru	head	DB83	
CS	SBB	Bongo	dò	<i>tête</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ǵìǵò	<i>tête</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Bedjond	dò	<i>tête</i>	Bo00	

Commentary: Formona may be a borrowing from Masalit.

Refs: G. 155; B. 79; R. 26;

12.	#(ŋ)ale	belly, I				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Okollo	ʔālē	belly	B&W96	
CS	FS	Sinyar	ki.ɲare	belly	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Fer	ŋgāl	<i>ventre</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ngālā	<i>ventre</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: This is similar to the widespread Niger-Congo root *#-la* for ‘intestines’.

Refs: B. 77;

13.	#Vɸu	intestines	navel	belly, II		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	-tsu	intestines	CKL	
CS	MM	Madi	òtō	navel	B100	
CS	MM	Logo	kòtō	navel	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nóótò pl, óótó	<i>nombril</i>	De92	
CS		Birri	tu	belly	Sa50	
CS	KA	Aja	uɸu	belly	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Modo	tòkpè	<i>intestins</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Gulay	tĩ	<i>intestins</i>	Ke12	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	titik	<i>intestins</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: The evidence from Aja and Ngiti suggests we have to supposed there was an affricate in C₁ position. Thus PCS was *ɸfū* or similar.

Refs: Gr. 142; Be05:21;

14.		belly, navel				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	SBB	Mödö	kúmú	<i>nombril</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kumu	navel	KO	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	ɸemi	belly	No99	
CS	SBB	Fer	kūm	<i>nombril</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kūm	<i>nombril</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Sar	kèm	<i>ventre</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Kenga	màakà (↔)	<i>ventre</i>	Bo00	

Commentary: Kenga is assumed to be a metathesis. Fongoro s- may either be a rather unusual sound correspondence or an alternate reduction of the old first syllable attested in Ik. Navel/belly/liver polysemy is also attested in the following gloss.

Refs: Gr. 97, 142; ST1:365

15.	#kuɸɔ	buttocks				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	-sùtù	buttocks	CKL	
CS	MM	Logo Ogambi	kòɸɔ	buttocks	B&W96	
CS	MM	Lugbara	óró	buttocks	B&W96	
CS	SBB	Lutos	nza.kuzi	bottom	KO	
CS	SBB	Gula	kō ē	<i>fesse</i>	No99	
CS	SBB	Bebote	kùtì	<i>fesse</i>	Ke12	

Commentary:

Refs: G. 133;

16.	#mbà	breast I			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	ba	breast	RCS
CS	LN	Ngiti	iba, -bà	breast	CKL
CS	MM	PMM	*bà	breast	B&W96
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nébà pl. ébà	<i>sein</i>	De92
Cs	KA	Kresh	mbāmbā	<i>sein</i>	Bo00
CS	FS	Sinyar	mbàár	breast	Bo13
CS	MM	Mödö	mbà	breast	PP
CS	SBB	Bongo	òmb(ə)	breast	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula	mvà	<i>sein</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	mbà	<i>sein</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	proto-Sara	*mbà	<i>sein</i>	Ke12

Commentary: First discussed in Blench (1995) but later found to have a wider distribution than noted there. The Songhay forms are very similar to Berber and may be old borrowings and thus not evidence for Nilo-Saharan.

Refs: W.207-8; M. 28; Guthrie CS 71; B:254; E. 296

17.	#-ḍu	breast II			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	T	nḍū	breast	B&W96
CS	SBB	Baka	úlù	<i>téter</i>	Bo00

Commentary: Also has some resemblants in Afroasiatic (Fleming 1991).

Refs: B.

18.		breast III			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	FS	Sinyar	kuri	breast	Ha78
CS	KA	Dongo	kute	breast	Sa76

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 135;

19.	#kunza	leg, foot I			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CA	MA	Mangbetu	nε-kónzò /ε-	<i>pieḍ, jambe</i>	DD
CS	FS	Sinyar	kàffà	leg	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	kùnzà	<i>pieḍ</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Ndoka	nzà	<i>pieḍ</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ndʒà	<i>pieḍ, jambe</i>	Ke16

Commentary: The conservation of the basic root shape across Central Sudanic is quite remarkable. In the light of this, it is possible Sinyar is not cognate.

Refs:

20.	#[l]aga	leg, foot II				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	-aga	leg	CKL	
CS	ME	Mamvu	qā́rú	<i>pied</i>	DD	
CS	KA	Kresh	lágá	foot	Sa76	
CS	FS	Sinyar	gwàar	foot	Bo13	

Commentary:

Refs:

21.	#-goro	throat, voice, neck				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Lugbara	ɔ́gɔ́ɔ	neck		
CS	MA	Lombi	nèkóró	<i>cou, gorge</i>	De92	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ne-'kórókpwo /e-	<i>cou, gorge</i>	De92	
CS	KA	Aja	kɔ́rɔ́kɔ	neck	Sa76	
CS	FS	Sinyar	kwàalà	neck	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kpɔ́rɔ́	throat	O113	
CS	SBB	Modo	mùgù	neck	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	gò	<i>nuque, cou</i>	PN	
CS	SBB	Yulu	gɔ́ɔ	neck	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Sar	kóò	<i>cou, gorge</i>	Ke12	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kòrbò	<i>gorge</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Reconstructed by Bender (1992:35) as an isogloss for Central Sudanic, but clearly a very widespread root. Apparently replaced in Mamvu-Efe.

References: W. 245; M.288; G. 1161+1162; Greenberg (1963: 159);

22.	#bibi	hair				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	FS	Sinyar	fí	hair	Bo13	
CS	KA	Kresh	bíbí	hair	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Bongo	bii	hair	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Yulu	íb(ə)	hair	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Sar	bĩĩ	hair	Bo13	

Commentary: The nasalisation in Sar is treated as secondary

References:

1.1.2 Internal organs

23.	#[S]uru	liver/heart				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Lugbara	ʃúlú	heart	B&W96	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	né-sú /é-	<i>coeur</i>	De92	
CS	ME	Mamvu	ʈúlù	<i>coeur</i>	DD	
CS	SBB	Lutos	wuru	liver	KO	
CS	SBB	Bongo	kúlú ⁺	<i>cœur</i>	No99	
CS	SBB	Gulu	sùr̄	<i>foie</i>	No99	
CS	SBB	Fer	sùr̄	<i>foie</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bedjond	ùr	<i>foie</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Gor	ùr	<i>foie</i>	Ke12	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	sàyti	<i>foie</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: The cognacy of the Bagirmi form is unclear.

Refs:

24.	#lugu	brain				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	-lǎ̀lù	brain	CKL	
CS	MM	Madi	lúgé	brain	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ná-mangú /á-	<i>cervelle</i>	?	
CS	SBB	Bulala	togo	brain	St91	

Commentary:

Refs:

25.	#-kpa	bone				
Family	Group	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	kpa	<i>os</i>		
CS	LN	Ngiti	-kpa	bone	CKL	
CS	MM	Madi	kwà	bone	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nékpò pl. ékpó	<i>os</i>	De92	
CS		Birri	kpə	bone	Sa50	
CS	KA	Kresh	kpəkpó	bone	Sa76	
CS	FS	Sinyar	kəkəli	bone	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Sar	kəngā	<i>os</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ʃũŋō	<i>os</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Also in Niger-Congo.

Refs:

26.	#gbara	rib, side				
Family	Group	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	bārā	side	B100	
CS	MM	Keliko	gara			
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	gàlà	<i>côté</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 125, 145;

1.1.3 Body fluids

27.	#-(k)ari	blood I			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	àrí	blood	B100
CS	MM	Logo	kàrí	sang	DD
CS	MA	Mangbetu	álí	sang	De92
CS	MA	Asua	álí	sang	De92

Commentary: see also Ed 186 on ‘red’. Replaced in Mamvu-Efe.

References: Gr. 135; Bender (1992)

28.	#maɲa	blood II			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	KA	Kresh	sérá.mà	sang	Bo00
CS	FS	Sinyar	maɲa	blood	Ha78
CS	SBB	Fer	màǵ	sang	Bo87
CS	SBB	Bagiro	màngá [†]	sang	Bo00
CS	SBB	Kenga	mosò	sang	Pa06
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	mésù	sang	Ke16

Commentary: Reconstructible for PWCS.

References:

29.	#kyoɔo	urine			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Ngiti	odzo	urine	CKL
CS	MM	Logo	kōdǵí	urine	B&W96
CS	MA	Mangbetu	éɖrwé	urine	De92
CS	KA	Kresh	sóɖó	urine	Bo00
CS	FS	Sinyar	wèrdǵí	urine	Bo13
CS	SBB	Modo	yàdí	urine	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	hèdí	urine	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Zura	kédǵ	urine	Bo13
CS	SBB	Sar	yèdē	urine	Bo13
CS	SBB	Ngambay	èdǵ	urine	Ke16c
CS	SBB	Bebote	kédǵ-màñ	urine	Ke16c
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ídǵì	urine	Ke16c

Commentary:

References: Gr. 146;

1.2 Animals and plants

1.2.1 Animal parts

30.	#idʒa	meat I	animal			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	zā	<i>animal</i>	Me	
CS	LN	Ngiti	izā	<i>viande, animal</i>	CKL	
CS	MM	Madi	izá	<i>meat</i>	B100	
CS	KA	Kresh	kàzà	<i>fierce animal</i>	Bo00	
CS	FS	Formona	idya	<i>meat</i>	Ha78	
CS	FS	Sinyar	idʒdʒà	<i>meat</i>	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Lutos	zāã	<i>animal</i>	O113	
CS	SBB	Modo	yidá	<i>meat</i>	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Yulu	èdʒ(ə)	<i>meat</i>	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	drā	<i>chair, viande</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Mbay	dā	<i>viande</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bebote	dā	<i>viande, animal</i>	Ke12c	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	dʒā	<i>viande, animal</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Replaced in MA. The sporadic nasalisation on SBB is hard to interpret.

References:

31.	#nuʒa	animal				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	n-éri	<i>animal</i>	De92	
CS	ME	Efe	úʒá	<i>animal</i>	DD	

Commentary:

References: Gr. 103, 123;

32.	#(k)adʒa	horn				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	ɔtdyɯ	<i>horn</i>	CKL	
CS	MM	Moru	kʷɔyi	<i>horn</i>	B&W96	
CS	ME	Mvuba	hàtsí	<i>corne</i>	DD	
CS	KA	Kresh	àdʒà	<i>corne</i>	Bo00	
CS	FS	Formona	kaddyá	<i>horn</i>	Ha78	
CS	FS	Sinyar	kòdʒdʒù	<i>horn</i>	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Lutos	gaza	<i>horn</i>	O113	
CS	SBB	Modo	kàzò	<i>horn</i>	PP	
CS	SBB	Fer	kiy	<i>corne</i>	Bo87	
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	kwázù	<i>corne</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kàʃà	<i>horn</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Sar	gàdʒè	<i>horn</i>	Bo13	

Commentary:

References: G. 140; B. 79

33.	#sila	tail			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	sà	tail	B100
CS	FS	Formona	alan	tail	Ha87
CS	SBB	Baka	sònò	<i>queue</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Fer	sīlá	<i>queue</i>	Bo87
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	yīlā	horn	Ke16

Commentary:

References:

34.	#kaβu	egg			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Avokaya	βú	egg	B&W96
CS	ME	Lese	íbū	<i>oeuf</i>	DD
CS	KA	Dongo	βoβu	egg	Sa76
CS	SBB	Lutos	kabe	egg	KO
CS	SBB	Fer	káb`	<i>oeuf</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Fongoro	keb	egg	DB83
CS	SBB	Yulu	kééβà	<i>oeuf</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Ngambay	kàβ-	<i>oeuf</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kàβò	<i>oeuf</i>	Ke16

Commentary:

References: Gr. 138;

1.2.2 Domestic animals

35.	#-si	dog		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	kaz̥z̥	RCS
CS	LN	Ngiti	its̥e	CKL
CS	MM	Moru	k ^w ɔ̥ʃe	B&W96
CS	MM	Okollo	òʃe	B&W96
CS	MA	Makere	nési pl. èsí	De92
CS	FS	Sinyar	βisi	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	bisi	KO
CS	SBB	Fer	wīs	Bo87
CS	SBB	Baka	ísi	Bo00
CS	SBB	Ndoka	bísi	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	bísi	Ke16

Commentary: Although originally cited by Greenberg (1963:120), more complete evidence was marshalled by Bender (1981:258) with attestations in Fur, Sudanic, Kordofanian and possibly Ari [Omoti]. Not attested in Khoesan, Mande and most branches of Afro-Asiatic, which have variants of kVr/n-. This root is extremely widespread in Central Africa and yet does not form a convincing pattern. In Central Sudanic, for example, it is attested in almost every language (Bender, 1992:40,48). Bender separates the roots with initial b-, but it is likely that the two forms go together.

Refs: Gr.120; Be05 22; R. 39;

36.		cow			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation		Source
CS	LN	Lendu			RCS
CS	LN	Ngiti			CKL
CS	MM	Moru	*tí	cow	B&W96
CS	MA	Makere			De92
CS	FS	Sinyar	ìŋŋà	cow	Bo13
CS	SBB	Modo	sà	cow	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	càa	cow	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	éŋ(ə)	cow	Bo13
CS	SBB				Ke16

Commentary:

Refs:

1.2.3 Mammals

37.		leopard			
Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
MA	Asua	kàʔùà	<i>léopard</i>	De92	
ME	Mamvu	qāū		DD	
KA	Kresh	kàzàà	<i>léopard</i>	Bo00	
SBB	Modo	kàgbà	<i>léopard</i>	PP	
SBB	Bongo	kògò	<i>léopard</i>		
SBB	Kenga	kàgè	<i>léopard</i>		

Commentary: Replaced in Lendu-Ngiti. Formona-Sinyar no data.

Refs:

38.		hippo			
Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
LN					
MM					
MA					
ME	Efe	afo		DD	
ME	Lese	apfo	<i>Flusspferd</i>	Vo65	
FS					
KA					
SBB	Bongo	hàbà			
SBB	Ndoka	àv		Bo00	

Commentary:

Refs:

39.	#(g)onjoro	elephant, tusk	Attestation			Source	
Family	Subgroup	Language					
CS		Birri	nv	ò	r	ò	Sa50
CS	KA	Kresh	mór	ó	ŋ	ó	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bongo	ndʒ	ó	ŋ	ó	PN
CS	SBB	Fer	ŋ	ò	ý		Bo87
CS	SBB	Yulu	m	ò	ŋ	(ə)	Bo13

Commentary: The original shape of the word must have been something like #*ɲoro* with $r \rightarrow N$ in C_2 position in some languages. The velar nasal in turn became a palatal and the back vowel became fronted under the influence of the palatal. It would have appeared in this form in Proto-Nilo-Saharan. In some Tama languages this root has shifted to ‘giraffe’ (ref?). Eastern Central Sudanic languages have generally innovated, e.g. Moru-Madi **liwá*. Central Sudanic languages such as Mangbetu have forms like *nókó* which may be metatheses of Dinka *àkóón* or similar. In Songhay the name of the elephant has been replaced by periphrastic expressions meaning ‘big foot’. This root is borrowed into a variety of Kordofanian languages, which add noun-class prefixes, for example Kwalib xx. Ik *lojorom-on* is the verb ‘to be big’ which suggests either the verb was formed from ‘elephant’ or else in turn the noun was formed from an original verb ‘to be big’.

Ref: Gr. 138; W. 264; M. 394; G. 1388; E. 556; B05 23;

40.		big cat				Source
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss		Source
CS	MM	Madi		òdó	leopard	B100
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nò-kóndó / ó-		<i>panthère</i>	De92

Commentary:

Ref: Gr. 141;

41.		crocodile				Source
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss		Source
CS	SBB	Modo	tìmarà	crocodile		PP
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	màrà	<i>crocodile</i>		Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	màrà	<i>crocodile</i>		Ke16
CS	SBB	*SBB	*màrà[à]	<i>crocodile</i>		Bo00

Commentary: SBB seems to be a metathesised form of (*k*)*árám*, once the initial k- is lost.

Ref:

42.		snake (generic)				Source
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss		Source
CS	MM	Madi		ìni	snake	B100
CS	MA	Mangbetu	né-tatála /é-	<i>serpent</i>		?
CS	SBB	Gula		ili	<i>serpent</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi		kìlā	<i>serpent</i>	Ke16

Commentary: The resemblance of Madi to Gula points to a distinct Central Sudanic root.

Ref:

43. frog						
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	údrú	frog	B100	
CS	KA	Kresh	tòʔdò	<i>grenouille</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bongo	mbòdò	<i>grenouille</i>	Bo00	

Commentary: May contain an ideophonic element.

Ref:

44. #kuru tortoise, turtle						
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	kú l	ù	<i>tortue</i>	
CS	MM	Madí	ò kù		tortoise	B100
CS	MA	Mangbetu	na kó		<i>tortue</i>	?
CS	MA	Asua	ù ɲú l	ú wè	<i>tortue</i>	De92
CS	KA	Kresh	ò kò		<i>tortue</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Ndoka	yú kò		<i>tortue</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	gō n	ī	<i>tortue</i>	Ke16

Commentary: An early version of this table was presented in Blench (1997) where it was argued that the importance of turtles and tortoises in the gathering phase of human history had made this word particularly salient. The diversity of forms attested may reflect the fact that different species may have compound names (see the Kanuri and Aiki forms). Extra-African cognates have also been recorded.

1.2.4 Fish

45. fish (gen.)						
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Logo	kōsʷá	fish	B&W96	
CS	KA	Kresh	kézé	<i>poisson</i>	Bo00	
CS	FS	Sinyar	kwùndzó	fish	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kanze	fish	KO	
CS	SBB	Modo	kénzé	fish	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	kíndjí	fish	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Baka	kénzé	<i>poisson</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Gula	kānz	<i>poisson</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	kanzi	fish	DB83	
CS	SBB	Ndoka	kānzē	<i>poisson</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kāndzē	<i>poisson</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs:

1.2.5 Insects

46.		bee			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Ngiti	mǒmò	<i>mouche</i>	CKL
CS	MM	Moru	kumu	fly	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	né-kòkómá /é	mosquito	???
CS	KA	Aja	moo kama	bee	Sa76
CS	SBB	Fongoro	kΛη	fly	DB83
CS	SBB	Mango	kém	<i>mouche</i>	Ke12
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kónù	<i>mouche</i>	Ke16

Commentary: cf. Hausa *kuma* ‘fly’. The polysemy of ‘fly’ and ‘bee’ is carried over into Hausa, but is not found in Niger-Congo languages.

Refs: Gr. 134;

47.		#(k)ɔ(ɓ)ηɔ fly n.		Attestation		Gloss	Source
Family	Subgroup	Language					
CS	MM	Madi			ā ɲ ú	fly	B100
CS	MM	Madi			l à ɲ ú	bee	B100
CS	MM	Lugbara			a ɲ u	honey	
CS	MA	Asua	á	η	í ɲ é	<i>abeille</i>	De92
CS	KA	Kresh			ɔ η ɔ	fly	Sa76
CS	SBB	Lutos		k	ó ó tì	bee	O113
CS	SBB	Bongo	η	g	ó	<i>mouche</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Mbay		k	ó	<i>mouche</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 139; 134, 140;

1.2.6 Birds

48.		bird			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu			
CS	MM	*PMM	àrí	bird	BW97
CS	MA	Mangbetu			
CS	ME	Efe	ná-rí /á-	<i>oiseau</i>	?
CS	ME	Mamvu	qèrì	<i>Vogel</i>	Vo71
CS	FS	Sinyar	wèl	bird	Bo13
CS	KA	Aja	wèri	bird	Sa76
CS	SBB	Lutos	ɖʒìlì	bird	O113
CS	SBB	Modo	yàlí	bird	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	hòlí	bird	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	sáal(ə)	bird	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Zura	sēl	bird	Bo13
CS	SBB	Sar	yèl̄	bird	Bo13

Commentary:

Refs: Bo13

1.2.7 Plants

49.	*(k)ɔdɔ	calabash			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	ɔdɔ	gourd	
CS	LN	Ngiti	ʔdɔ	gourd	CK
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nó-ɔdɔ/ɔ-	<i>calebasse</i>	
CS	ME	Mamvu	qólɔ	<i>Kurbis</i>	Vo71
CS	ME	Lese	hólɔ	<i>Kurbis</i>	Vo65
CS	SBB	Bongo	kódɔ ⁺	<i>calebasse</i>	
CS	SBB	Yulu	kɔdɔ	<i>calebasse</i>	
CS	SBB	Na	kārɔ	<i>calebasse</i>	
CS	SBB	Kenga	kāadɔ	<i>calebasse</i>	

Commentary:

Refs:

50.	#-kVnV	firewood	tree		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	káli	<i>bois (mort)</i>	Me
CS	MM	Madi	kwē	tree	B100
CS	MA	Mekere	nè-kírè/ é-	<i>arbre</i>	De92
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ná-ki /á-	<i>arbre</i>	De92
CS	ME	Mamvu	ōqā	tree	DD
CS	ME	Efe	úgbá	tree	DD
CS	FS	Formona	kagga	tree	Ha87
CS	SBB	Lutos	kāgā	tree	O113
CS	SBB	Fongoro	kaga	tree	DB83
CS	SBB	Fer	kāg	<i>arbre, bois</i>	Bo87
CS	SBB	Bagiro	kāgā	<i>arbre, bois</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kākā	<i>arbre, bois</i>	Ke16

Commentary:

Refs:

51.	*Sebi	leaf			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	tsúbí		
CS	MM	Madi	hwēbí		
CS	MM	Logo	kībí		
CS	MA	Mangbetu	sébí		
CS	ME	Mamvu	ūbí		
CS	ME	Lese	ípí		

Commentary: Only reconstructible to PECS. The *-bi* element of the root is cognate with ‘ear’ (10.).

Refs:

52.	#kaN-	thorn, spine			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	òkí	thorn	Bl00
CS	MA	Asua	kòkì	<i>épines</i>	De92
CS	ME	Mamvu	qòkī	<i>épine</i>	DD
CS	SBB	Lutos	kono	thorn	KO
CS	SBB	Bongo	kíjónó ⁺	<i>épine</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Na	kōnō	<i>épine</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kōnō	<i>épine</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Also in Niger-Congo. Greenberg recognised this root as diagnostic for the Sudanic languages but not as widespread in Nilo-Saharan. There are scattered attestations of a nasal consonant in C₂ position in Nilo-Saharan as well as in Central Sudanic.

Refs: Gr. 126, 146, 159; D.:60, M. 171; G. 1997+2021+2044;

53.	#-(k)iri	root			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Okollo	ōlā	root	B&W96
CS	SBB	Lutos	ŋgīrā	root	KO
CS	SBB	Na	àlé	<i>racine</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Kenga	ìiri	<i>racine</i>	Pa04
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	iri	<i>racines</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Sar	ŋgòra	<i>racine</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Refs: St91:364

54.		seed			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ne-kpwókpwó /ε	graine	De92
CS	FS	Sinyar	kùfò	seed	Bo13
CS	SBB	Modo	kúpó	seed	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	kóhó	seed	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	kōof(ə)	seed	Bo13
CS	SBB	Sar	kō	seed	Bo13

Commentary:

Refs: Bo13;

1.3 Natural world

1.3.1 Earth

55.	#bwiro	earth, ground	land			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Moru	vurú	earth		??
CS	MM	Madi	vò	earth		B100
CS		Birri	vò	earth		Sa50
CS	KA	Kresh	bùbù	earth		Sa76
CS	SBB	Mödö	bèrí	down		P&P
CS	SBB	Sara	bòr	mud		Pa92

Commentary:

Ref: Gr. 99; B. xx; E. 55, 197; G. 215

56.		mountain, hill	termite	mound I		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	ítú	small ant-hill		KL
CS	MM	Madi	ótó	ant-hill		B100
CS	ME	Mamvu	ʃùlù	<i>colline</i>		DD
CS	KA	Kresh	ɖʒudʒu	ant-hill		Sa76
			ᵑᵑᵑᵑ			
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	túlō	<i>termitière</i>		Ke16
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	tòtò	<i>montagne</i>		Ke16

Commentary: Also in Niger-Congo and in Hausa *tudu*. The meanings are intertwined, but the example of Bagirmi suggests there are two separate roots here, possibly multiply borrowed.

Refs: W. 291; M. 537; G. 1841; P. 44;

57.		mountain	stone, hill	II		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	ngù			CKL
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nó-ʒòlò/ó-	<i>montagne</i>		De92
CS	FS	Formona	gəl	stone		Ha87
CS	SBB	Jur Beli	ngóló	hill		
CS	SBB	Fer	kòt	<i>pierre, caillou</i>		Bo87

Commentary: Also widely attested in Niger-Congo and used by Gregersen (1972:87) in his argument for a ‘Kongo-Saharan’. Gregersen associates terms for ‘testicle’ with ‘stone’, a comparison also made in colloquial English. The glottal stop in Mangbetu-Asua is assumed to be a lost velar.

cf. Ed p. 173 for more.

Refs: Gr. 87, 145; D. 53,

58.	#kɔŋgo	mountain	stone, hill	III		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation		Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Logo	kòŋgɔ̄		mountain	B&W96
CS	MM	Moru	kuni		stone, mountain	B&W96
CS	MM	Madi	óní		stone	B100
CS	SBB	Lutos	kɔŋgo		hill	KO
CS	SBB	Bagiro	kóŋgɔ̄		<i>colline</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Baka	kúlóngò		<i>colline</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Yulu	káj		stone	

Commentary:

Refs:

59.	#ɲapa	moon				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation		Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Ngiti	àbǐ		moon	CKL
CS	MM	Madi	ɪmbá		moon	B100
CS	ME	Efe	tíbá		<i>lune</i>	DD
CS	KA	Kresh	èpé		<i>étoile</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Modo	ɲépé		moon	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	ɲíhí		moon	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	ɲɛ.ɛpɔ̄		<i>lune</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Baka	éfé		<i>lune</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	nāpō		<i>lune</i>	Ke16

Commentary: The Central Sudanic forms seem particularly similar to common Niger-Congo forms.

Ref: W. 276; M. 428a; Gr:85; P. 41; E. xx

60.		star I				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation		Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	dyodyo		star	RCS
CS	MA	Mangbetu	né-túlú /é-		<i>étoile</i>	De92
CS	FS	Formona	ntudyu		star	Ha87

Commentary:

Ref:

61.		star II				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation		Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Okollo	ḥwīlī		star	B&W96
CS	SBB	Bongo	kír		<i>étoile</i>	PN
CS	SBB	Baka	kélí		<i>étoile</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Ref: Gr. 126;

62.	ka-	sun				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Logo	kitú	sun	B&W96	
CS	MA	Asua	lí.kó	<i>soleil</i>	De92	
CS	KA	Dongo	kulud	sun, day	Sa76	
CS	FS	Formona	kaddyá	sun	Ha08	
CS	SBB	Baka	kádrà	<i>soleil</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Gula Sara	kádrà	<i>soleil</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Fer	kàdɽ	<i>soleil</i>	Bo87	
CS	SBB	Ngambay	kàr	<i>soleil</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kàdʒà	<i>soleil</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref: Be92;

63.		night I				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	kū	<i>nuit</i>	?	
CS	LN	Ngiti	īkū	<i>nuit</i>	CK	
CS	MM	Kaliko	íníkī	night	B&W96	
CS	MA	Asua	kíní	<i>nuit</i>	De92	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	né-kini pl. e-kíní	<i>nuit</i>	De92	
CS	FS	Formona	dikitin	night	Ha78	
CS	FS	Sinyar	dikittì	night	Bo13	

Commentary: Kaliko and other Moru-Madi languages appear to have subjected the root to metathesis, and then lost the final -ki making cognacy difficult to establish.

Ref: Gr. 143;

64.		night II				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	SBB	Lutos	nduri	night	KO	
CS	SBB	Modo	kòródó	night	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	híndó	night	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Sar	ndō	night	Bo13	

Commentary:

Ref:

65.	#-fəfa	sand				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Logo	síjǎ	sand	B&W96	
CS	FS	Formona	nasi	sand	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Baka	sə̀yí	<i>sable</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Kenga	sílá	<i>sable</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	síjǎkà	<i>sable</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: The striking similarity between Logo and Bagirmi is a rich argument for the unity of Central Sudanic. Formona is a metathesis of MM forms.

Ref: Gr. 144; B. 93;

66.	Family	Subgroup	Language	river	Gloss	Source
	CS	FS	Formona	kodya [kodʒa]	water	Ha87
	CS	SBB	*SBB	*k-r-	<i>mare</i>	Bo00
	CS	SBB	Baka	kàrà	<i>mare</i>	Bo00
	CS	SBB	Bagiro	-kàrà	<i>mare</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Refs: B. 79

67.	Family	Subgroup	Language	river	Gloss	Source
	CS	MM	Moru	gòlò	river	B&W96
	CS	MA	Asua	gwò	<i>eau</i>	De92
	CS	SBB	Bongo	ngùlù	<i>eaux profondes</i>	PN

Commentary:

Refs:

68.	Family	Subgroup	Language	pool, water	Gloss	Source
	CS	MM	Madi	ápārā	pool	B100
	CS	KA	Kresh	kàpá	<i>marigot</i>	Bo00
	CS	SBB	Fer	pál	<i>mare</i>	Bo00
	CS	SBB	Bagirmi	bā	<i>fleuve</i>	Ke16

Commentary:

Ref:

69.	Family	Subgroup	Language	water body	Gloss	Source
	CS	MM	Madi	bíri	well	B100
	CS	MM		òù	rain	B&W96
	CS	MM	Madi	á‘bú	river	B100
	CS	ME	Mamvu	tìbō	<i>pluie</i>	DD
	CS	MA	Mangbetu	née-mbia /éé-	<i>mare, flaque</i>	De92

Commentary:

Ref: St91:367

70.	*-da	water body				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	né'da pl. é'dá	<i>rivière, fleuve</i>	De92	
CS	SBB	Lutos	dē	well	O113	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	bîdā	<i>marigot</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref:

71.	#-(b)uru-	cloud I				
Group	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	àp̀b̀ù	cloud	CKL	
CS	MM	Madi	rú'bū	cloud	B100	
CS	MM	Lugbara	fu	cloud		
CS	FS	Sinyar	mborbu	cloud	Ha78	

Commentary: Madi is assumed to be a metathesis.

Refs:

72.		cloud II				
Group	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Avokaya	ndürükú	cloud	B&W96	
CS	KA	Aja	kórókó	cloud	Sa76	

Commentary:

Refs:

73.	#(k)asi	fire I				
Group	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	kazz	fire		
CS	MM	Madi	ãʃĩ	fire	B100	
CS	MM	Miza	a(t)si	fire	Be92	
CS	MA	Asua	àkìd̥z̥è	<i>feu</i>	De92	
CS		Birri	úsi	fire	Sa50	
CS	KA	Kresh	òsò	<i>feu</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagiro	sà	<i>fumée</i>	Bo00	

Commentary: Bender (1992:43) reconstructs Proto-Central Sudanic #*co*, which does not seem to be supported by the data.

Refs: Gr. 139; Be91:5; St91:365;

74. ashes, fire					
Group	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	fóndó	ash	B100
CS	MM	Lugbara	ófórá	ashes	B&W96
CS	ME	Mamvu	tétū	<i>cendres</i>	DD
CS		Birri	kúvùtu	ashes	Sa50
CS	FS	Sinyar	fòdù	fire	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	fudù	fire	KO
CS	SBB	Modo	pàdò	<i>feu</i>	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	fòdù	<i>feu</i>	Bo13
CS	SBB	Fongoro	fɔdu	ashes	DB83
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	pədù	<i>feu</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Bedjond'	pòr	<i>feu</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Proto-SBB	*fòd-	fire	Bo00

Commentary: Polysemy between ‘ashes’ and ‘fire’ in Central Sudanic is highly unusual in Africa as a whole. To judge by their distribution, forms with –r- in C₂ position may have diverged from –d- at an early stage, but the meanings remained intertwined. If the Mamvu-Efe forms are cognate then the first syllable must be lost and the root then reduplicated.

Gula and Fongoro have innovated for ‘ashes’ within Central Sudanic (possibly from the ‘earth’ roots with a bi- element). Thus;

Gula	bítī	No99
Fongoro	mviti	DB83
Lutos	viti	KO

Refs: Gr. 134; B. 78;

75. ashes II					
Group	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ná-pú / á-	<i>cendres</i>	De92
CS	FS	Sinyar	kabör	ashes	Ha78
CS	SBB	Modo	bùrúkù	<i>cendres</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bongo	bùrúkú	<i>cendres</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Yulu	vūk	<i>feu</i>	Bo87
CS	SBB	Fer	úk	<i>cendres</i>	Bo87
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	bürkū	<i>cendres</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Forms such as Bongo were originally a compound, perhaps ‘dust of fire’.

Refs:

76. #-bugulu hole					
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	bú	hole	B100
CS	MA	Lombi	nò.Bù	<i>trou</i>	De92
CS	SBB	Mödöd	'bó ró	hole	PP
CS	SBB	Ngambay	bò lò	<i>eau profonde</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	bù lò	<i>cendres</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Also widespread in Niger-Congo

Refs: W. 213; M. 264; G. 122,140; G. 84, 122, 140;

77.	#-agu	hole II					Attestation	
Family	Subgroup	Language					Gloss	Source
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ne-pó	ng	ó		<i>trou</i>	De92
CS	SBB	Lutos		g	ɔ	tɔ	hole	KO
CS	SBB	Bagirmi		g	ò		<i>trou creusé (oiseau)</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Baka		g	ò		<i>trou</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Kenga		g	ðð		<i>trou</i>	Pa06

Commentary: It is clear that if the lexical sources were more precise about the different types of hole we might well have several widespread reconstructions.

Refs:

78.	#kili	charcoal					Attestation	Gloss	Source
Family	Subgroup	Language							
CS	MA	Mangbetu		nì.kìlì			<i>charbon</i>	De92	
CS	KA	Aja		ngiri			coal	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Lutos		kùlù			charcoal	O113	
CS	SBB	Modo		kòlóló			<i>charbon, braise</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Fer		kùl'			<i>charbon</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bongo		kililí			<i>charbon</i>	PN	
CS	SBB	Bedjond		kúl			<i>charbon, braise</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi		kùlù			<i>charbon</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs: W. 230; M. 255+259a; G. 780; Bo00216;

1.4 Human world

1.4.1 Persons

79.#	brother,	male I					Attestation	Gloss	Source
Family	Subgroup	Language							
CS	LN	Ngiti					adò	<i>frère</i>	CKL
CS	MM	PMM					átá	father	B&w96
CS	MA	Mangbetu					ná-dry pl. á-drú	<i>frère</i>	De92
CS		Birri					ánd(r)ù	elder brother	Sa50
CS	KA	Aja					ada	father	Sa76

Commentary: It seems likely this is the same root that Greenberg lists under 'self'. Generally speaking, the Mangbetu-Asua languages have innovated, but the suppletive plural of Lombi retains what appears to be the more widespread Central Sudanic root.

Ref: Gr. 102, 142, 144; B. 78

80.	#	brother, man, male II			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	ba	man	
CS	LN	Ngiti	àba-lu-tì	paternal uncle	KL
CS	MM	Madi	ḃá	man	B100
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nápá pl. ápá	<i>père</i>	De92
CS	ME	Mamvu	fāfā	<i>père</i>	DD
CS		Birri	ḃu	father	Sa50
CS	FS	Sinyar	ḃandan	father	Ha78
CS	KA	Kresh	belu	man	Sa76
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	vṛā	<i>père</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Mbay	bàrà	father, male	Ke12
CS	SBB	Na	ngà' bà	<i>homme (vir)</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	bèbù	<i>père</i>	Ke16

Commentary:

Ref: Gr. 135, 143; B. 80

81.		male			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	màdī	person	B100
CS	MM	Logo Bari	māđí	person	B&W96
CS	ME	Mvuba	imá	<i>mère</i>	DD
CS		Birri	ama	female (?)	Sa
CS	SBB	Yulu	mèècē	<i>beau-parent</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bongo	máa [†]	<i>enfant; neveu</i>	PN
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	máyànà	<i>frère</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	màlà	<i>soeur du mari</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Assuming it the same and not a homophonous root, #*ma* appears to switch to a female set in eastern Central Sudanic.

Ref: Gr. 102, 140; R. 23;

82.		woman, wife			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	dhi	woman	CK
CS	MM	Madi	ēndrē	mother	B100
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ná-ndrō /á-ndró	<i>femme</i>	?
CS	ME	Lese	dóré	<i>femme</i>	DD
CS	SBB	Lutos	de	person	O113
CS	SBB	Baka	òdō	<i>époux</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bongo	bòdō	<i>époux</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Ref: Gr. 147; R. 32;

1.4.2 Human constructs

83.		oil, fat				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	éé'bo	<i>graisse</i>	?	
CS	FS	Sinyar	ìbì	grease, oil	Bo13	
CS	KA	Kresh	klebe	fat	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kuḅu	fat, oil	KO	
CS	SBB	Modo	ḅú	grease, oil	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	hìḅú	grease, oil	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Gula Zura	kūḅ	grease, oil	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Sar	yibā	grease, oil	Bo13	

Commentary:

Refs: Bo13

84.		#-kuC-	house			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Okollo	àkú	village	B&W96	
CS	ME	Mamvu	uyá	<i>Haus</i>	Vo71	
CS	KA	Kresh	kóyò	<i>maison</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Yulu	gùù	<i>maison</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Ndoka	kúzù	<i>maison</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kúḍz	<i>maison</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Stevenson (1991:365) restricts his series to 'house' but reconstructs #-lá(k).

Refs: Gr. 84, 101, 122, 140;

85.		war				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Moru wadí	komba	war	B&W96	
CS	SBB	Bongo	mòkó (↔)	war	Bo00	

Commentary: Bongo is interpreted as metathesis.

Ref: St91:366

86.		spear				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Logo	dili	spear	B&W96	
CS	MA	Meje	nóró pl. óró	<i>lance</i>	De92	

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 145;

87.		path				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Lugbara	gèrì	path	B&W96	
CS	KA	Kresh	igbòrò	road	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Morokodo	gõri	path		
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	sìngìti	route	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref:

88.		road				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Moru	tavɔ	<i>sentier</i>	BW96	
CS	ME	Lese	ípú	<i>chemin</i>	DD	
CS	SBB	Kaba Na	róbò	<i>chemin</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Kulfa	dóvò	<i>chemin</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref:

1.4.3 Abstracts

89.		-ari name				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	d`	ò	<i>nom</i>	?
CS	MM	Madi	r	ú	name	B100
CS	MA	Mangbetu	é	r u	<i>nom</i>	?
CS	KA	Kresh	d	í r í	<i>nom</i>	Bo00
CS	FS	Sinyar	è	e r è	name	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos		ɿ i	name	O113
CS	SBB	Bongo		r ó	name	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Zura		r ó	name	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bagirmi		r ī	<i>nom</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Baka	ì	r ì	<i>nom</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Ngambay		r ī	<i>nom</i>	Bo00

Commentary: According to Boyeldieu (2000:227) ‘name’ can show polysemy with ‘body’. Replaced in Mamvu-Efe.

Refs: Gr. 124, 142; St91:365

2. Pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives

90.	#ama	I, me				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	mà, má	I, me	B100	
CS	MM	Logo	mā	<i>je, moi</i>	DD	
CS	LN	Lendu	mā	<i>je, moi</i>	DD	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ímá	<i>je, moi</i>	De92	
CS	ME	Lese	ūmū	<i>je, moi</i>	DD	
CS	KA	Aja	[m]ama	I, me	Sa76	
CS	FS	Sinyar	màá	I, me	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Lutos	ma	I	KO	
CS	SBB	Modo	má	I, me	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	má	I, me	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	ma(ki)	I, me	DB83	
CS	SBB	Sar	mā	<i>je, moi</i>	Ke12c	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	mā	<i>moi</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref:

91.		you sg.,	thou			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	nī	<i>tu</i>	De92	
CS	MM	Madi	àṅī	you pl.	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	ímí	<i>tu</i>	DD	
CS	ME	Mamvu	ìní	<i>tu</i>	DD	
CS	KA	Kresh	umu	you sg.	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Lutos	ii	you sg.	O113	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	yi(ki)	you sg.	DB83	
CS	SBB	Sar	ī	<i>tu</i>	Ke12a	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ī	<i>tu</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref:

92.	#ama	we				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	àmā	we	Blx	
CS	MM	Logo	àmā	we		
CS	MA	Mangbetu	àmà	we		
CS	MA	Asua	màmà	we		
CS	ME	Lese	àmū	we		
CS	KA	Aja	màmà	we	Sa76	

Commentary: Evidence for a WCS group, since this is completely replaced in ECS.

Ref:

93.		this				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nèi	<i>ceci</i>	De92	
CS	FS	Formona	ani	this	Ha87	
CS	SBB	Lutos	ānè	this	O113	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	ini	near	DB83	
CS	SBB	Sar	ní	<i>ce</i>	Ke12a	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ènn	<i>ceci</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref:

94.		#adī what~who?				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	àdhi	who?	CKL	
CS	MM	Logo	àdṣ	what?	B&W96	
CS	MM	Madi	àdṣ	what (pron.)	B100	
CS	MM	Madi	àdī	who (pron.)	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	àdī	<i>qui?</i>	De92	
CS	ME	Efe	àdē	<i>qui?</i>	DD	
CS	KA	Kresh	εdε	which?	Sa76	
CS	FS	Sinyar	dē ⁺ e	who	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Lutos	dī	what?	KO	
CS	SBB	Modo	wádī	what?	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	dī	what?	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Yulu	āadē	what?	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Sar	rí	what?	Bo13	
CS	SBB	proto-Sara	dī	who	Ke12c	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	dī	<i>que, quoi</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Ref: Gr. 107, 127, 147;

95.		not				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN					
CS	MM	Madi	kò	<i>ne pas</i>	DD	
CS	MA	Lese	gṣ	<i>ne pas</i>	DD	
CS	ME	Mangbetu	kà	<i>ne pas</i>	DD	
CS	KA					
CS	FS					
CS	SBB	Lutos	go	not	KO	
CS	SBB					

Commentary:

Ref:

3. Numerals

96.	#kVnV	one I				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	àlō	one	Bl00	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	kà̀nà	one	De92	
CS	FS	Formona	kalla	one	Ha78	
CS	FS	Sinyar	kullu	one	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Jur Modo	kòtò	one	PP	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	kà̀lɑ	one	DB83	
CS	SBB	Fer	kà̀l	one	Bo87	
CS	SBB	Kenga	kà̀lɑŋ	<i>un, unique</i>	Pa04	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kédē	<i>un</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Bender (1992) only identifies this in Central Sudanic, but it is clearly much more widespread (and in Niger-Congo as well).

Ref: Ar64. 52; Williamson (1989b:255);

97.	-dok-	ten, one				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Makere	tékèwè	<i>dix</i>	De92	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	dokkeme	ten	St69	
CS	SBB	Gula	daago	<i>dix</i>	No99	
CS	SBB	Fer	dòg	<i>dix</i>	Bo87	
CS	SBB	Sara	kùtè	<i>dix</i>	Pa92	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	dòkkèmè	<i>dix</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: It seems very likely this root arose from a metathesis of ‘one’ (above) but the switch to meaning ‘ten’ is more unusual.

Ref:

98.	#-ari(ma)	two				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	ʔà̀rō	<i>deux</i>	Me	
CS	MM	Madi	è̀rì	two	Bl00	
CS	MM	PMM	*ì̀rì	two	B&W96	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	sóórú	<i>deux</i>	DD	
CS		Birri	úkwà̀rì	two	Sa50	
CS	FS	Formona	rɔ	two	Ha87	
CS	FS	Sinyar	rò̀ò	two	Bo13	
CS	KA	Kresh	ròmɔ	two	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Bongo	ríyó	two	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Gula Zura	ḍó	two	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Sar	ḍḍó̀	two	Bo13	

Commentary: There are two related forms which are equally distributed in Central and Eastern Sudanic, making it likely that the forms with the –ma affix developed in the early period of Central African and developed separately if simultaneously with the original #-ari root.

Ref: Gr. 107, 127, 146; St91:367

99.		three				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Moru	nɔtu	three	B&W96	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	sóta	three	DD	
CS	FS	Sinyar	mùtʃà	three	Bo13	
CS	Kresh	KA	tótó	three	Sa76	
CS	SBB	Lutos	muta	three	KO	
CS	SBB	Modo	mòtá	three	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	mòtá	three	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Yulu	mòotà	three	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Sar	mètá	three	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi				

Commentary:

Refs:

100.		#-so				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	īsū	four	Bl00	
CS	MM	PMM	*īsū	four	B&W96	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	sósua	four	DD	
CS	FS	Sinyar	ussa	four	Ha87	
CS	SBB	Lutos	sɔɔ	four	KO	
CS	SBB	Gula	soo	four		
CS	SBB	Bebote	só	<i>quatre</i>	Ke12c	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	só	<i>quatre</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs:

4. Adjectives and adverbs

101.		#-bo				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	bò	<i>grand</i>		
CS	MM	Madi	ógbóró	big	Bl00	
CS	MM	Lugbara	ambo			
CS	MA	Makere	màbóóó	<i>grand</i>	De92	
CS		Birri	gbɔ	big	Sa50	
CS	FS	Sinyar	ilekubo	big	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Lutos	ɓoli	big	KO	
CS	SBB	Gula	bò	<i>grand</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 141;

102.	#(k)ulu	cold			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Lulubo	īdfūē	cold	B&W96
CS	ME	Mamvu	ètū	<i>froid</i>	DD
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nèétó	<i>froid</i>	?
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kūlū	cold	Ke16
CS	SBB	Ndoka	kūlū	<i>froid</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 136; B.

103.		(be) hot			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Moru	εmε/ame	warm	BW96
CS	ME				
CS	FS	Sinyar	uηηa	hot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	ūmà	be hot	O113
CS	SBB	Modo	óηmá	hot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	òηā	hot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Zura	ām	hot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Sar	tàngā	hot	Bo13

Commentary:

Refs:

104.	#pu	white			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MA	Mangbetu	móúbù	<i>blanc</i>	De92
CS	SBB	Mödö	òpò	white	PP
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ndžàpè	<i>blanc</i>	Ke16

Commentary: This root is widely attested in Niger-Congo and also has similarities to some Afroasiatic forms. Greenberg (1963: 147) believes the roots with initial p ~ b and -t- in C₂ position are distinct, but these are treated as a single root here. Stevenson (1991:364) gives additional forms for Eastern Sudanic. Also used by Schadeberg (1981:297) in his discussion of the classification of the Kadu group.

Refs: Gr. 23, 88, 127, 147, 160; W. 279; M. 423; G. 1472+1473; P. 4;

105.	#(nd)ur-	black			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS		Birri	ndr(i)	black	Sa50
CS	FS	Sinyar	kitti	black	Bo13
CS	SBB	Ngambay	ndùl	<i>noir</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Lutos	kīli	black	O113
CS	SBB	Bongo	òlù	<i>noir</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Modo	òlù	black	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Zura	tāl	black	Bo13
CS	SBB	Sar	ndùl	black	Bo13
CS	SBB	Sar	il	black	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ili	<i>noir</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Sar appears to have two reflexes of what may be ultimately the same root.

Refs: Be05:21

106.	#-ka(s)	red				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	kaka	rouge	De92	
CS	MM	Madi	ĩkā	red	B100	
CS	MM	Logo	kĩkā	red	B&W96	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kakε	red	KO	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	nɔkɔʃi	red	DB83	
CS	SBB	Mongo	kàsì	<i>rouge</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	àʃè	<i>rouge</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: The Western CS languages have added the fricative in C₂ position.

Refs: Gr. 143;

107.	#guru	round,	circle			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	ḡólóló	round	B100	
CS	SBB	Mödö	gúrúgúrú	in a circle	PP	

Commentary: Stevenson (1981:157) first drew attention to the cognates of this form within East Sudanic languages.

Refs: B.

108.	#grV	left (side)				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	gru	left	De92	
CS	SBB	Bongo	gèl	<i>gauche</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Sar	gèl	<i>gauche</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	gèlè	<i>gauche</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs:

109.	*kpo	all				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	kpóò	all	B100	
CS	MA	Makere	kpè	<i>tous, tout</i>	De92	

Commentary:

Refs: Be05:21;

110.		other				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	ákà	other	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nekóné	<i>autre</i>	De92	
CS	SBB	Formona	kwini	other	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kūyú	<i>autre</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs:

111.		rainy season				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Lugbara	ayi			
CS	MM	Madi	kɪ̀nà	year	B100	
CS	ME	Mamvu	aye			

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 147;

112.		tomorrow				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	ò'bó	tomorrow		
CS	MA	Mangbetu	obúro	<i>demain</i>	??	
CS	SBB	Laka	bàrà	<i>demain</i>	Ke nd	

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 148;

5. Verbs

113.		to dance, sing, play		#-bV	#ala		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	II	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Ngiti	ūbhétá		<i>danser</i>	CK	
CS	ME	Mamvu	íbvú		<i>chanter</i>	DD	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nò-6è pl. kò-		dance	De92	
CS		Birri		ára	dance	Sa50	
CS	SBB	Kenga		àalā	<i>danser</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Daba		lā	<i>danser</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi		ḡārā	<i>chanter</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Birri clearly patterns with WCS.

Ref: B. 95;

114.	#keri	to cut I			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Comment	Source
CS	MA	Mangbetu	-gò	<i>couper avec hache</i>	De92
CS	KA	Kresh	àgè	<i>couper</i>	Bo--

Commentary: Greenberg identified this root as ‘to break’ and brings in some related forms with a front vowel. Rilly (2009: 128) suggests this is cognate with Meroitic *ked-* ‘massacre’ and provides a substantial table of Nilo-Saharan ‘cut’ cognates.

Refs: Gr. 135; Be. 268, 344; E. 505, 543, 1078;

115.	#li	to cut	II		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	lī pl. rē	to cut	B100
CS	SBB	Mödö	ilili	cut into strips	PP
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ólò	<i>couper en tranchant</i>	Ke16

Commentary:

References: W. 287; M. 516+517; G. 1703+1709+1711+1740; Williamson (1992:389);

116.	#-ya	drink I			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS		PWCS	*aya	drink	RMB
CS		Birri	áyá	drink	Sa50
CS	FS	Formona	iya	drink	Ha78
CS	FS	Sinyar	iya	drink	Bo13
CS	SBB	Fer	ày	<i>boire</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Yulu	òyē	drink	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	āyō	<i>boire</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Bongo	yé	<i>boire</i>	PN
CS	SBB	Sar	āy	drink	Bo13

Commentary:

Refs:

117.		drink II			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS		PECS	*ombvò	to drink	RMB
CS	LN	Lendu	mbò	<i>boire</i>	Me
CS	MM	Madi	mvū	to drink	B100
CS	MM	Logo Bari	òmbō	to drink	B&W96
CS	ME	Lese	àbvù	to drink	DD
CS	ME	Mamvu	āmvù	to drink	DD
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nómBò	to drink	DD
CS	MA	Asua	ómBò	to drink	DD
CS	KA	Kresh	òmò	<i>boire</i>	Bo00

Commentary: Central Sudanic clearly divides into two subgroups but Kresh is grouped with eastern Central Sudanic.

Refs:

118.		be, exist				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	ā'à	exist	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	a			

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 96;

119.		take away				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	dū	to take	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nò.drwà	<i>prendre</i>	De92	
CS	SBB	Bongo	tògbà	<i>prendre,</i> <i>ramasser</i>	BNP06	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	túnù	<i>prendre (fréq.)</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: The Bagirmi root is *únù* so this may be an accidental resemblance.

Refs: B. 358;

120.		#-ka(r)-	to give			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	kùò	<i>donner</i>	De92	
CS		Birri	akpa	give	Sa50	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kada	give	KO	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	uka	give	DB83	
CS	SBB	Laka	kā̄	<i>donner</i>	Ke nd	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kàdà	<i>donner</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs:

121.		#ka[l]o	to go			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	ū	<i>aller</i>	Me	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nòò pl. kùò	<i>aller</i>	De92	
CS	SBB	Laka	kàw̄	<i>aller</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kábé	<i>aller</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs:

122.	#-ndə	to walk				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	KA	Kresh	àndə	<i>marcher</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Lutos	ndiga	walk	KO	
CS	SBB	Bongo	andé	<i>marcher</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Baka	ndéré	<i>marcher</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Mbay	ndāyā	<i>marcher</i>	Bo00	

Commentary:

Refs:

123.	#-dī	fall I				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madi	dē	to fall	B100	
CS	MM	Lulubo	òdē	to fall	B&W96	
CS	MA	Asua	ódódi	<i>tomber</i>	De92	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	(n)-o'de	<i>tomber</i>	De92	
CS		Birri	èdē	to fall	Sa50	
CS	SBB	Gor	ədì	<i>tomber (pluie)</i>	Ke12b	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kèdē	<i>tomber (pluie)</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: There are two roots for 'fall' and this one appears to mean fall itr. as 'fall like rain'.

Refs: Gr. 138;

124.		fall II				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	-asú	<i>tomber assis</i>	?	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ōfō	<i>tomber</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Nar	òsō	<i>tomber</i>	Ke12a	

Commentary:

Refs:

125.	#-arye	come I				
Family	Group	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Moru	aṛi	come	B&W96	
CS	ME	Lese	èré	<i>venir</i>	DD	
CS	FS	Sinyar	uwe/weeṇ	come	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	ái	come	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Yulu	àayā	<i>venir</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Sar	rèē	come	Bo13	

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 136;

126.	*-ku	come II			
Family	Group	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MA	Mangbetu	kékù	<i>venir</i>	De92
CS		Birri	a(kə)	come	Sa50
CS	FS	Sinyar	aku	come	Ha78
CS	SBB	Modo	ákó	come	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kídè	<i>venir, arriver</i>	Ke16

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 136;

127.	#naNa	eat, bite (v.)			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	ḡā	to eat	Bl00
CS	MM	Logo Bari	òḡā	to eat	B&W96
CS	MA	Makere	ḡòḡò pl. kòḡò	<i>manger</i>	De92
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nè-ḡíḡí /è-	<i>viande</i>	De92
CS	ME	Mamvu	āḡū	<i>manger</i>	DD
CS	ME	Lese	ànù	<i>manger</i>	DD
CS		Birri	aḡa	bite	Sa50
CS	FS	Sinyar	wḡḡ	to eat	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	zòḡo	bite	KO
CS	SBB	Modo	òḡò	to eat	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	ḡù	to eat	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	ḡḡō	<i>manger</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ḡḡòḡò	<i>mordre</i>	Ke16

Commentary: The SBB languages are clearly marked by the shift to a mid-back vowel and a prefixed fricative.

Ref: B05 22; W.253; M. 110; G. 70:696; E. 387, 518;

128.	#-sa	bite hard			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	ḡḡ	to bite	Bl00
CS	MM	Moru	osi	to bite	B&W96
CS	KA	Kresh	òḡḡ	<i>manger</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	ùsà	<i>manger (dur)</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	sàà	<i>manger</i>	Ke16

Commentary: The synchronic distinction between the two roots in Central Sudanic may provide a clue to their differences; one applied to eating soft foods, the other to chewing hard foods. The back vowel prefix in Central Sudanic is probably a verbal prefix which differentiates it from ‘tooth’ (cf. 8.).

Ref: W.253; M. 110; G. 70:696; E. 387, 518;

129.	#-ka	bite				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	kà	<i>mordre</i>	DD	
CS	MM	Madi	gā	to bite	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nòkà	<i>mordre (chien)</i>	De92	
CS	MA	Asua	hókà	<i>mordre</i>	DD	
CS	ME	Mabendi	ókà	<i>mordre</i>	DD	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kàtfà	<i>mordre (serpent)</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Nilo-Saharan has a widespread root, something *#kari*, which generally means ‘bite’, ‘eat hard food’ connected with a root *#ka* for ‘tooth’. The existence of two forms of ‘bite’ in Mangbetu, according to the species of animal doing the biting, may well explain the pairs of roots apparently found across Nilo-Saharan.

Ref: Be0522;

130.	#-go	bite II				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nògò	<i>mordre (serpent)</i>	De92	
CS	ME	Mamvu	ràgó	<i>mordre</i>	DD	

Commentary:

Ref:

131.	#dona	bite III				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	ME	Lese	tàhó	<i>mordre</i>	DD	
CS	FS	Sinyar	junna	to bite	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Sara	dùùn	<i>mordre</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Ngambay	tó	<i>mordre</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Kenga	dòṅṅò	<i>mordre</i>	Bo00	

Commentary:

Ref: E. 387, 518;

132.	#du	to hit, beat				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	dũ	<i>battre, écraser</i>	Me	
CS	MM	Madi	dī	hit	B100	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nòdò pl. kùdò	<i>frapper</i>	De92	
CS	SBB	Lutos	kunda	hit	KO	
CS	SBB	Bongo	dũ	<i>battre (le tambour)</i>	No99	
CS	SBB	Nar	ìndè	<i>battre, frapper</i>	Ke12	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	túkù	<i>battre, taper</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Similar to common NC *#du* ‘to pound’.

Ref: B. 161;

133.		to make pot			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM				
Cs	MA	Lombi	limbè	to make pot	De92
CS	FS	Sinyar	uḅa/umba	to make pot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Modo	óḅá	to make pot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bongo	ḅá	to make pot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	òḅḅ	to make pot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Gula Zura	ḅ	to make pot	Bo13
CS	SBB	Sar	ḅā	to make pot	Bo13

Commentary: Lombi is exceptional in the Mangbetu cluster for retaining this root.

Ref:

134.		#ḅeli to know			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	nì	know, think	Bl00
CS	FS	Sinyar	u(n)gol	know	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	geṽi	know	KO
CS	SBB	Modo	íkàlí	know	Bo13
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ndzélè	<i>savoir, connaitre</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Gula Mere	ḅḅḅ	<i>savoir, connaitre</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Sar	ḅḅ	<i>savoir, connaitre</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Ref:

135.		#-ḅi cook, burn			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Lendu	ri	cook	
CS	MM	Madi	ḅi	cook	Bl00
CS	MA	Mangbetu	(n)o'di	<i>cuire à l'eau</i>	De92
CS		Birri	íḅi	cook	Sa50
CS	KA	Kresh	īḅi	<i>cuire</i>	
CS	SBB	Bongo	ḅi	<i>cuire</i>	Bo08
CS	SBB	Kenga	niidī	<i>cuire</i>	Bo08
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	niḅi	<i>cuire</i>	Ke16

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 136; B. 81

136.		#ḅa spread out to dry, stretch out			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	īḅá	spread out	Bl00
CS	SBB	Mödö	ilèré	to dry	P&P
CS	SBB	Yulu	táa'dzè	<i>étendre</i>	Bo00

Commentary: Also in Niger-Congo.

Ref: W. 284; E. 711

137.	#tV-	to pour				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Madí	sò <i>pl.</i> tū	to pour	Bl00	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	-etú	<i>verser</i>		
CS	SBB	Mödö	òtì	to pour	P&P	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	tīnéè	<i>verser</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs: B. 82

138.		to say				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Logo	tà	say	B&W96	
CS	KA	Kresh	àdè	<i>dire</i>	Bo00	
CS	FS	Formona	adama	say	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	láà	<i>dire</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Strikingly similar to common Niger-Congo #ta ‘tell’. Replaced in Mangbetu-Asua.

Refs: B. 81

139.		to see				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nò.gwò <i>pl.</i> kù.gwó	<i>voir</i>	De92	
CS	KA	Kresh	òkò	<i>voir</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Laka	kò	<i>voir</i>	Ke12c	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ákà	<i>voir</i>	Ke16	

Commentary:

Refs: Gr. 144;

140.		to throw				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	bu			
CS	MM	Madi	vī	throw	Bl00	
CS	MM	Logo Bari	òvò	throw	B&W96	
CS	ME	Mamvu	ebi			
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	rébù	<i>jeter (chose boueuse)</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Not attested in Mangbetu-Asua.

Refs: Gr. 127, 146;

141.	#(k)udi	to dig			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Moru	ū'dī		
CS	ME	Mamvu	ùlī		
CS	MA	Asua	kèdì		? Na
CS	KA	Kresh	īdī		Bo00
CS	SBB	Lutos	k-udī	dig	KO
CS	SBB	Gula Zara	īdī		Bo00
CS	SBB	Sara Na	òrì		Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ūdū	<i>creuser</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Not attested in Lendu-Ngiti.

142.		to kill I			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Ngiti	ōhōtā	<i>tuer</i>	CK
CS	MM	Miza	ufú	kill	B&W96
CS	MA	PMA	*ǝPò	<i>tuer</i>	De92
CS	ME	Mamvu	áfó	<i>tuer</i>	DD
CS	KA	Kresh	ùfù	<i>tuer</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Yulu	ōofə	kill	Bo13
CS	SBB	Baka	ófò	<i>tuer</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Sara Na	òhò	<i>tuer</i>	Bo00

Commentary: This root has retained its shape in a remarkable way across Central Sudanic. The -ta element in Ngiti might be the same as the tV- in the second root for 'kill' (143.).

Ref:

143.	#-tu-	to kill II			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	MM	Madi	dī	<i>kill</i>	B100
CS	KA	Kresh	ili	<i>kill</i>	Sa76
CS	FS	Sinyar	wille	die	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	tala	kill	KO
CS	SBB	Yulu	ùlè	<i>tuer</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bongo	túnú	kill	Bo13
CS	SBB	Fongoro	tele	kill	DB83
CS	SBB	Gula	tōlē	<i>tuer</i>	No99
CS	SBB	Ngambay	tōlō	<i>tuer</i>	Ke12a
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	ūdū	<i>mourir</i>	Ke16
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	tōl	<i>tuer</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Kresh is transcribed differently in the two sources and the two roots appear to fall in different sets. Boyeldieu (2013) puts together part of this set with 'dei', but these are separated out here.

Ref: Gr. 122;

144.	#xwi	to kill III				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	LN	Lendu	xwì	<i>tuer</i>	DD	
CS	FS	Formona	owi	kill	Ha78	
CS	FS	Sinyar	wii	kill	Bo13	

Commentary: Central Sudanic appears to have a remarkable number of roots for ‘to kill’.

Refs: Armstrong (1964:55); B. 156, 162, 185; Gr. 84; M. 325; W. 225

145.		to die				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	KA	Kresh	iyì	<i>mourir</i>	Bo00	
CS	SBB	Sar	òy	die	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bongo	yò	die	Bo13	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	(k)òyò	<i>mourir</i>	Ke16	
CS	SBB	Kulfa	òyò	<i>mourir</i>	Bo00	

Commentary:

Ref:

146.	#(n)dri	to sit				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
Cs	LN	Lendu	dī	<i>s’asseoir</i>	DD	
CS	MM	Madi	rì	sit	B100	
CS	MM	Logo	līrì	sit	DD	
CS	MA	Mangbetu	dri	<i>s’asseoir</i>	De92	
CS	FS	Formona	owirdyi	sit	Ha78	
CS	SBB	Fongoro	ndri	sit	DB83	
CS	SBB	Baka	ndisì	<i>s’asseoir</i>	?	
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	kindjì	<i>s’asseoir</i>	Ke16	

Commentary: Replaced in Mamvu-Efe.

Ref:

147.		to vomit				
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
CS	MM	Logo	‘di	vomit	Bo08	
CS	ME	Mamvu	ālī	vomit	Bo08	
CS	ME	Lese	ʔalí	vomit	Bo08	
CS	SBB	Lutos	tudɛ	vomit	KO	
CS	SBB	Bongo	tídí	vomit	Bo08	
CS	SBB	Yulu	tédǝ	vomit	Bo08	
CS	SBB	Na	túrē	vomit	Bo08	

Commentary:

Ref:

148.		to sleep I			
	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	LN	Ngiti	ɔ̀dò	sleep	CKL
CS	LN	Lendu	ʔdò	<i>dormir</i>	Me
CS	MM	Lugbara	kudũ	sleep	
CS	MM	Moru	udũ	sleep	
CS	MM	Madi	ōdũ	sleep	Bl00
CS	MA	Mangbetu	nédédò pl. kédò	<i>coucher</i>	De92
CS	KA	Dongo	ooɔ	sleep	Sa76
CS	FS	Sinyar	sudò	sleep	Bo13
CS	SBB	Lutos	tòdò	sleep	KO
CS	SBB	Modo	òdò	<i>dormir</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bongo	dò	sleep	Bo13
CS	SBB	Yulu	ndòodã	<i>dormir</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Ndoka	tòdõ	<i>dormir</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Sar	tò	<i>dormir</i>	Bo00
CS	SBB	Bagirmi	tódò	<i>dormir</i>	Ke16

Commentary: Lost in Mangbutu-Efe. Forms with a k- prefix are confined to WCS and those with t- to ECS. Mangbetu probably provides a clue, as the singular/plural alternation indications reduplication in the singular and the genesis of a pre-syllable with a dental, which become t- in ECS.

Ref: Bo08

149.		to sleep II			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
CS	ME	Efe	àbō	<i>dormir</i>	DD
CS	KA	Kresh	bíbí	<i>dormir</i>	Bo00

Commentary:

Ref:

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