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Omoti lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VI: Addenda to Omoti roots with *ḥ-, *ḥ-, *p- (or *f-)^a

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The paper is a new contribution to revealing the Afro-Asiatic heritage in the lexicon of the Omoti languages by means of interbranch comparison using a.o. the ancient Egypto-Semitic evidence.

Key words: Omoti languages, the languages of Ethiopia, Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics, African linguistics, ancient Egyptian, Semitic, historical phonology, etymology.

Introduction

Omoti (Western Ethiopia) and Chadic (Rep. of Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria), i.e., the 5th and 6th, resp., branches of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) language macrofamily have so far been the least studied from the standpoint of their external lexical correspondences in the other four branches: Cushitic (Ethiopian, Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania), Berber (Maghreb), Egyptian and Semitic. In Chadic, at least, we have the gigantic achievements solely by O.V. Stolbova (Moscow) over the past five decades of her fruitful and permanent research for both the inner reconstruction and its external comparison. This kind of research over the inherited Afro-Asiatic stock of the Omoti root inventory, let alone the elaboration of the underlying historical phonology, has by far been advanced in this branch in that measure as in Chadic, which, according to both the isomorphical and provisional glottochronological calculations, appears as the very first unity of the Afro-Asiatic parental community to have branched off (cf. Takács 2015) and so promises to end up as the inventory consisting of the most archaic segments of the

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Common Afro-Asiatic (CAA) lexicon. In other words: all isoglosses (even exclusive ones) that may be established between Omotic vs. core North Afro-Asiatic = Semitic or Berber are indicative of the deepest layers of our common parental lexicon, i.a., may provide precious pieces of linguistic evidence about the parentla culture.

We owe much to H.C. Fleming, M.L. Bender, and M. Lamberti for their pioneering studies in the internal lexical comparison and phonological reconstruction of Omotic. The latter two authors even managed to come up with a few monographs on the subject (Bender 1975, 1999, 2003, Lamberti 1993 twice, Lamberti and Sottile 1997), where, however, a systematic phonological-lexical equation with the other branches was not even targeted. The lexical comparisons by M. Lamberti were always, as a rule, restricted to Cushitic and Ethio-Semitic, which is overwhelmingly true about both other authors. Ironically, merely the very first book by M.L. Bender (1975) contains a loosely composed list of supposed parallels to Omotic roots in- and outside Afro-Asiatic, but this attempt, unfortunately, had not even reached the level of J.H. Greenberg's (1955, 1963) "mass comparison", and is nothing more than a collection of putative guesses on often unconvincing look-alikes. But that was half of a century before understandable as the unity and structure of this 5th branch had not even been recognized by that time at all. To the best of my knowledge, the only special study devoted to a systematic treatment of Omotic/Afro-Asiatic matches is the paper presented by V. Blažek at the 2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Torino, November 1989), which had also long remained unpublished. perhaps this language branch represents the least cultivated field within the immense Afro-Asiatic domain from the viewpoint of a systematic etymological elaboration of the inherited Afro-Asiatic lexical treasures.

This new series for "Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting"² started precisely a decade ago for publishing those new etymologies of Omotic roots that I had observed during my work (1994-2007) on vols. II-III of my Egyptian etymological dictionary (EDE, with initial labials). Since then, I have managed to turn Bender's (2003) epoch-maker Omotic comparative phonology and lexicon (arranged according groups and English meanings of the basic lexicon) upside down by the work of several years (by spring 2020) and, henceforth, now I possess an as complete as possible Common Omotic comparative wordlist arranged A-Z according to initial consonants of the Omotic roots, which may accelerate the research for a more secure estimation of the Afro-Asiatic nature of the Omotic lexicon and, eventually, for turning Bender's provisional sets of consonantal correspondences and ad hoc lexical reconstructions into definitive ones. This new research of mine, starting in 2020, has brought forth a formerly unseen mass of new isoglosses between Omotic vs. esp. Semitic (Arabic) or Berber or West Chadic

² So far three parts of this series have been published a decade ago: ● 2011. Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting I: Omotic *b- with Dentals, Sibilants, and Velars. In Busetto, Luca (ed., scientific committee: Mauro Tosco, Livia Tonelli, Roberto Sottile). *He bitaney laagaa. Dedicato a / Dedicated to Marcello Lamberti*. Quaderni di Lingua e Storia 3. Milano: Qu.A.S.A.R. s.r.l. 57-74. ● 2012. Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting II: Omotic *b- with Nasals, *r, *l, and Weak Consonants. In Zuckermann, Gh. (ed.). *Burning Issues in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press. 161-184. ● 2012. Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting III: Omotic *p- and *p^h-. *Journal of Language Relationship* (Moscow) 8. 103-116. ● Part IV is still unpublished.

(Angas-Sura) which could not yet be cleared without the new Omotic wordlist. The fourth part (simultaneously completed)³ of my series for the “Omoti lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting” thus contains new comparanda with initial *b-, whereas this part five discusses basically additional Omotic roots with *b̥-, *p̥- and the initial voiceless labials.

Om. *b̥-: addenda

187. NOM. *ḅad- or *ḅad- “long, tall” [GT]: Chara ḅāḅā, ḅāḅá [Akl. Yilma] = ḅada [Flm.] “long, tall” (Chara: Bnd. 2003: 90, #83) | Gimirra *ḅad “long” [Bender 2003: 168, #83] | (???) Sezo pētṭi, ḅḅete [Atieb & Bender] = petti [Siebert & Wedekind] “heavy” (isolated in Mao: Bender 2003: 355, #42) ||| CCh.: Mofu bĕḅháy “to widen” [Rsg. 1978: 360, #804] | (?) Pus beḅ (m), baḅay (f), pl. baḅakay⁴ “large” [Tourneux 1991: 76] ||| Sem. *ḅḅḅ “to spread, stretch out” [GT]: Ar. ḅḅḅ V: tabaḅḅaḅa “1. se répandre sur la plaine (se dit des eaux), 2. s’étendre, être vaste”, cf. II “couvrir le sol de petits cailloux, de grès” [BK I 135] | MSA: Soqotri ḅḅḅ “1. s’étendre, 2. se coucher” [Leslau 1938: 85], cf. Jibbali bōḅḅaḅ “to lie down on the belly on the soil” [Johnstone 1981: 30] || ES: Tigre bāt belā ~ bāt bālā “être couché de tout son long” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 59) < AA *ḅḅḅ (ext. *-ḅ?) “to stretch out widely or in length” [GT]. Cf. EDE II 286.

188. Om. *ḅul- “egg” [GT] > (NW)Omt. *ḅuḅul-e “egg” [Bender 2000 MS: 55, #41; 2003: 115, #41, also 2003: 163, #41]: Wolaita ḅuḅul-e, Dache ḅuḅul-e, Dorze ḅuḅul-é, Oyda ḅuḅul-e, Male ḅul-a | SEOmt. *ḅuḅul-e “egg” [Bender 2003: 86, #41]: Kachama ḅuḅul-e, Koyra ḅuḅul-e, Gidicho ḅuḅul-e, Zergula buḅul-e, Zayse buḅul-e (Omt.: Bender 1971: 252-257; Sasse 1982: 43) || SOM.: Hamer bül-a “egg” [Bender 1994: 149] = ḅula “egg” [Flm.] = būla [Lydall] (Hamer: Bender 2003: 209, #41; Omt. + Hamer: Bender 2003: 240, #41) ||| ECu.: Burji bulbul-’ ~ bubul-’ “egg” [Sasse 1982: 43]⁵ | Yaaku bol-bōli?, pl. bolbol “egg” [Heine 1975: 124] ||| WCh.: Ngamo ḅila “egg” [Kraft 1971: 274] || CCh.: perhaps Banana bōlō’á [b- obscure] “Eischale” [Lukas 1937: 135] ||| Sem.: Akk. (bab.) pelū ~ palū “Ei (1. von Vögeln, 2. von Schildkröten usw., 3. von Fischen, 4. von Schlangen, 5. von Ameisen)” [AHW 853] < AA *ḅul (perhaps *ḅ-?)⁶ “egg” [GT]. Cf. EDE II 414.

Om. *p̥-

189. Mao *p̥Vṭ- “thigh” [GT]: Sezo faṭâ, ḅatt(â) [Atieb & Bender], Mao-Bambeshi ḅoṭe [Atieb & Bender], Mao-Diddesa ḅoṭe [Atieb & Bender] = ḅeṭe [Sbr. & Wdk.]

³ Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting IV: Addenda to Omotic *b-, probably forthcoming in *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* 74/4 (2021).

⁴ Apparently there is no trace of *-ḅ here.

⁵ H.-J. Sasse (1982: 43) treated the Burji word as a NOM. loan.

⁶ The data from the Omoto group display *ḅ-, which is difficult to explain from AA *b-.

(isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 358, #100) ||| Ch. *pV̄d- “thigh” [GT] > WCh.: Bole-Tangale *fəndo “thigh” [Schuh]: Bole pündó [Schuh], Dera púdó [Jng.] = pündó [Schuh], Karekare fəntáú [Schuh] = pəntó [Alio], Kirfi fòndó [Schuh], Ngamo hùndò [Schuh], Galambu pəndá [Schuh], Gera findí [Schuh] (BT: Schuh 1984: 213) || CCh.: Tera-Hona fədara [Meek] || ECh.: Mubi-Toram *fV̄d- “thigh” [GT]: Mubi fúúdí (f), pl. fóódàt “Schenkel” [Lukas 1937: 182] = fùúdí (f), pl. fòodàt “cuisse” [Jng. 1990 MS: 15], Birgit fāadì (m), pl. fāadànàn “cuisse” [Jng. 2004: 353], Jegu paado, pl. paade ~ paad “Oberschenkel” [Jng. 1961: 116], Kofa páadè (so, -d-) (f), pl. páat “thigh” [Jng. 1977 MS: 4, #38]. The (secondary, epenthetic?) nasal reminds us of the semantically suspiciously equally close isogloss of SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr tā-fend-it “verge (membre viril), Taneslemt ta-fend-it “gland de la verge” (SBrb.: DRB 579, FND4: isolated) ||| SCu.: Ma’a ki-púnde “penis” [Ehret 1980: 161, #5].

190. NOm. *puç “many” [GT]: Gimirra-Benesho *puç “many, much” [GT after Bender 2003: 169, #86, so also Ehret]⁸ > i.a. Gimirra boç “molto” [Montandon apud CR 1925: 618] | Sheko púçá [Akl.] = puçča “many” [Flm. 1972 MS: 3] (Sheko: Bender 2003: 213, #86; Gimirra-Benesho + Sheko: Bender 2003: 241, #86) | (???) Hozo-Sezo *pōš-E [-š- < *-ç-??] “ten”⁹ [Bender 2003: 280, #133] ||| HECu.: Sidamo baç-a “many, much” [Hudson 1989: 96: isolated in HECu.] ||| NBrb.: Shilh a-fd “grand nombre, multitude de” [Bossoutrot 1900] | Nefusa sen i-fd-an “deux mille” [DRB] || SBrb.: Ahaggar ê-feð “quantité innombrable (nombre qui dépasse tant ce qu’on peut compter)” [Fcd. 1951-2 apud DRB], EWlmd. e/ə-fe/əð “se multiplier”, é-fe/əð “million, nombre immense” [PAM 1998: 59; 2003: 152], Nslm. é-feð, pl. a-fd-än “mille” [DRB] (Brb.: DRB 532, fd2) ||| Sem.: Ar. √fyd I: fāḍa “1. être en grande abondance, déborder et couler à profusion, comme un torrent, 2. dépasser les limites, sortir en dehors”, IV “1. s’inonder de qqch. (p.ex. d’eau, pour faire ses ablutions, 4. s’engager trop loin dans un discours” [BK II 653] < CAA *√Pç “many” [GT]. Root var. with glottalized C₂ to the following entry?

191. NOm. *peç- > *beš- “1. big, 2. many” [GT] > NWomt.: Basketo peç- “big” [Azeb Amha] = bets [Flm.] (NWomt.: Bnd. 2003: 54, #10) | Chara beš(a) “many” [Flm. in Bnd. 2003: 90, #86] | Gimirra-Benesho beš “to be many” 23 [Breeze] (Bender 2003: 192, #86: Benesho loan into Chara) ||| Sem.: Ar. √ftt > ma-fatt-at- “multitude, abondance”, kaṭīru-mafattatin “qui traite largement, qui nourrit plantureusement” [BK II 542] < CAA *√pç “big” [GT]. A root var. with a voiced *Anlaut*, i.e., CAA *√bç “big” [GT], is also attested from Sem.: Ar. baṭr- ~ baṭīr- (root ext. -r) “1. nombreux”, ma-btūr- “riche” [BK I 84] ||| LECu.: Somali bašbaš “abundance, prosperity” [Ehret] ||| WCh.: Mushere *-bas “large (?)” [GT], only attested in: yit-bass (so, -ss) “somebody who has big, wide or large

⁷ Mistakenly equated by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with Dahalo mbéne “vagina” < SCu. *mpinde “vagina”.

⁸ Ch. Ehret (1995: 112, #101) equated, however, his Gimirra-Benesho *puç “many, much” with Ar. bazza “to grow fat”.

⁹ GT: act. *“(large number)” Cf. the etymology of Eg. md “10” < AA *√mg “big” [GT] (for detailed discussion see EDE III 802-806).

face” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 321]. Ar.-Somali: Ehret 2000 MS: 55, #1271¹⁰. Root var. with non-glottalized C₂ to the preceding entry?

192. SOm.: Ari p̄boḳ/kš- “to think” [Bnd. & Tully] (isolated in Aroid apud Bender 2003: 352, #101): caus. *-s-? ||| Bed. fikik “to make up one’s mind (about)” [Roper 1928: 180] ||| SCu.: Iraqw fuqraḡ “intelligence, ability, skill” [Ehret] ||| NBrb.: Shilh fay “fais attention (à)” [DRB 590, fḡ4] ||| PSem. birad. *√pḳ “to be wise, intelligent” [Ehret] > Ar. faqfūq- “1. esprit, intelligence, 2. sagacité, pénétration d’esprit” [BK I 622] = fuqfūq- “intelligent, sagacity” [Ehret] vs. faqaha I “l’emporter sur qqn. par la connaissance du droit divin, de la jurisprudence (musulmane)”, faqiha “1. être savant et versé dans la jurisprudence (musulmane), 2. être doué d’intelligence et comprendre les choses”, faquha “être savant et versé dans la jurisprudence (musulmane) etc.”, fiqh- “1. savoir, 2. en gén.: connaissance du droit divin, de la jurisprudence qui découle du code sacré musulman” [BK I 623] = faqaha “to surpass in knowledge of law or divinity”, fiqh- “1. knowledge, learning, 2. intelligence, understanding” [Ehret] vs. faqim- “intelligent, ingenious” [Ehret] (Ar.: Ehret 1995: 494, App. 1) < AA *√pḳ “to be wise” [GT] = *-fūḳ- “to be wise, intelligent” [Ehret]. PSem.-Iraqw: Ehret 1995: 104, #79.

193. SOm.: Ari p̄oqš- “to want” [Hayward in Bender 2003: 352, #105: isolated in Aroid] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight feqqeš “1. rechercher, 2. fouiller” [DRB 952, √fḡš]. Root variety to a homorganic root with a voiced Anlaut widely attested in NAA¹¹.

194. NOm.: Bworo p̄ēra “to hunt” [Rottland, SLLE in Bender 2003: 341, #47: isolated] ||| SAgaw: Awngi barabar-əḡ “to search” [Hetzron 1969: 96] ||| LECu.: Boni búr-e? “fortjagen” [Heine 1977: 287] ||| PCh. *√br¹² “1. to seek, 2. hunt” [GT] > WCh.¹³:

¹⁰ Equated by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with Sem.: Ar. baṭr- “much” ||| NOm.: Mocha ’bäs- “to exceed” < his AA *-p̄/bâc- “to exceed”.

¹¹ Cf. NWSem. *√bḳt “to seek” [GT]: Ug. √bqt “suchen” [WUS #572], Phoen. √bqš “seek” [Harris 1936: 91], Hbr. √bqš piel “1. suchen, 2. etw. zu erreichen suchen, darnach trachten, 3. verlangen, fordern” [GB 112] || ES: Tigrinya beqq’ese “récolter” [Koldomin apud Brk.]. As noted in numerous works (e.g. GB 112; Albright 1918: 242, #84; Brockemann 1927: 31; DRS 80), this has a root variety (Brockelmann: *Reimwortbildung*) in Sem. *√bhṯ ~ *√bhš, cf.: Syr. √bhš “scharren, wühlen, umrühren, untersuchen” [GB] = “scharren, suchen, untersuchen” [Clc.] = “durchwühlen” [Brk.] = “rechercher, agiter, remuer, attiser” [DRS], Mandaic √bhš “chercher, examiner” [DRS] || Ar. bāḡaṭa “suchen, forschen” [Vycichl] = “to search, investigate” [Albright] = “untersuchen” [Brockelmann] = “gratter la terre, fouiller” [DRS], Omani √bhš “creuser” [DRS], Syrian Ar. baḡaš “fouiller” [DRS] | MSA *√bhṯ “to dig in search” [GT]: Harsusi beḡāt “to make a hole in the ground”, Jibbali baḡāt “1. to dig in sand, look for sg. in soil, 2. put sg. to grow in soil”, bōḡat (hér) “1. to search carefully (for), 2. be easily dug, dug away”, Mehri beḡāt “to make a hole in the ground” (MSA: Johnstone 1977: 16; 1981: 25) || ES: Harari baḡsi āša “to investigate” [Leslau 1963: 40: from Ar.] (Sem.: DRS 57) || Eg. bhš “jagen” (NK, Wb I 469, 13-17, so also in GHwB 258) = “to hunt” (FD 84, DLE I 160).

¹² H. Jungraithmayr and K. Shimizu (1981: 146) proposed three PCh. root varieties: CCh. *√prk, W/ECh. *√pr, Mofu-Kera *√br “to hunt”. In JI 1994: I, 97, in turn, one common root is suggested: PCh. *√pḳr “to hunt”, which was compared (following Dolgopolsky) with Sem. *√pḳr “suchen”.

¹³ R.G. Schuh (l.c.) and D. Ibrizimow & A.M. Gimba (1994: 128) regarded the WCh. parallels as loans from Kanuri bārā “hunt”, which seems improbable in the light of the Chadic parallels. Perhaps Kanuri < Chadic?

Gwnd. b̄ira “2. to look for” [Mts. 1972: 26] | BT *bara “hunting” [GT]: Bole b̄arà “hunting” [Ibr.-Gimba 1994: 128], Kwami b̄arà “Jagd” [Leger 1993: 170], Dera b̄arà “hunting” [Newman 1974: 121] | Ngizim b̄arâ “hunting”, b̄arú “to hunt” [Schuh 1981: 21-22] || CCh.: Chibak b̄arà “1. suchen, 2. jagen, 3. wollen” [Hoffmann 1955: 133] || ECh.: Kera b̄eré [b̄- obscure] “jagen, Jagd” [Ebert 1976: 34] | WDangla b̄ariyè “aller chercher” [Fédry 1971: 80] ||| SBrb. *√^hwr “to follow the trace” [GT: *h- reg. < *b̄-]: Ahaggar hur-et “1. suivre à la trace, 2. p.ext.: voir la trace de, voir, 3. p.ext.: suivre, 4. (fig.) marcher sur les traces de (imiter), 5. (fig.) suivre pied à pied” [Foucauld 1951-2: 638], EWlmd. ḥur-ət and Ayr wiṛ-ət “1. suivre à la trace, 2. imiter (geste, son, personne)” [PAM 1998: 136] (SBrb.: Prasse 1969: 65, #365) ||| Sem.: Ar. barbasa “chercher (to look for sg.)” [BK I 105; Blachère 1967: I 496] ||| Dem. jr brbr “jagen” (DG 119, 3)¹⁴ < AA *√br “1. to look for, 2. follow in search of, hunt” [GT]. The equation of the PCu. and PCh. roots is due to Ch. Ehret (1997 MS: 26, #1121). Cf. EDE II 263-264.

195. Nom.: Kachama p̄ālo “pietra (stone)” [CR 1937: 658 in Bender 2003: 95, #128] ||| WCh.: Hausa f̄al̄al̄i (m) “1. a large, smooth rock or stone of about the same height as the surrounding land”, 2. a cemented slaughter-place” [Bargery 1934: 294b] = “гладкая скала на уровне окружающей почвы” [IS] || CCh.: (???) Mofu-Gudur beeler, beleler [irregular b- < *p-] “dalle, pierre tombal” [Brt. 1988: 83] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight ti-fili-t and i-filil “grosse pierre plate, dalle”, ti-filil-t n u-ferran “pierre plate du four (sur laquelle on cuit la pain)” [Taïfi 1991 apud DRB] | Shawya ti-fil-t, pl. ti-fil-in “pierres qui se débitent en lames et servent de dalles” [DRB] || SBrb.: Hgr. té-fil-t, pl. ti-fil-în “1. pierre plate (de moyenne dimension, ayant au plus un mètre dans sa plus grande dimension), 2. p.ext. plaque de métal” [Fcd. 1951-2: 322], EWlmd.-Ayr te-fel-t “1. pièce de métal, plaque métallique, 2. pièce de monnaie, 3. pierre plate, dalle (p.e.x. pour couvrir un tombeau, 4. EWlmd.: spéc. pièce de fer servant à raccommoquer les calebasses cassées)” [PAM 2003: 158] (Brb.: DRB 561) ||| Sem.: Akk. (m/spB, nA) p̄ī/ū/ēlu “Kalkstein(block)” [AHW 864].

A root variety with *-r- [GT] is more widespread, cf. Common Ch. *√pr (m-, k-, -k) “stone” [JS 1981: 254A] = *p̄uHer- < *puHer- “stone” [Stolbova 1996: 20] ||| Sem.: Ar. fihr- “pierre assez grande pour remplir toute la main et avec laquelle on casse les noix ou on broie les aromates” [BK II 641], cf. WCh.: Suroid *p̄ēr “sort of stone” [GT 2004: 285]: Sura k̄ā-p̄ēr “Stein, Kiesel” [Jng. 1963: 70], Mupun p̄ēr “term for any light colored stone, including mountain quartz” [Frj. 1991: 48], Musher peer (so, -ee-) “white stone”, per (so, -e-) “stone sp. that is used to light fire (locally)” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 251, 255] || CCh.: e.g., Bura-Margi *p̄VlyV “большой белый камень для колдовства” [Panova 1977: 59] > Bura pyela and WMargi paya “stone” [IS] | Higi p̄err̄ā “stone” [IS] ||| NBrb.: Qabyle i-fri, pl. i-fri-an “escarpement, rocer escarpé” [Dallet 1982: 218] || SBrb.: Ahaggar ẽ-feri, pl. i-fer-ân “aiguille rocheuse” [Foucauld 1951-2: 339] ||| (???) Eg. bj.t [possible < *br.t with irregular b- < *p-] “Bez. des Alabasters von Hatnub” (OK, Wb I 433, 11)

¹⁴ Apparently no earlier occurrence. J. Černý (CED 26) and W. Westendorf (KHW 26) treated it as the reflex of NEg. brbr “(pointed) loaf of bread” (CED) = “Spitze” (KHW, cf. Wb I 459, 12) and as the etymon of Cpt.: (B) ВЕРВІР (f) “missile” (CD 42b) = “Wurfspeer” (KHW), which is semantically unacceptable.

= “block (of stone)” (FD 79) = “albâtre” (AL 78.1267) = “Alabaster (Kalzit) aus Hatnub” (GHWb 245) ||| Sem.: Akk. (m/spB) parūtu ~ paruttu “eine Art von Alabaster” [AHW 837]. Some authors (like IS 1966: 25; OS in HSED 251-252, #1123) directly equated the BM root (where -l- is secondary due to a regular shift < *-r-) with those with an original AA *-l-. Thus, Ch. *pVI(V)IV “stone (камень)” [IS] or CCh. *pVIyV “stone (камень)” [Panova-Dlg.-Prh. 1972: 65] are baseless.

196. NOm.: Gofa p̄ol-o (sic: -l-, Bnd.: ?) [Alm.] “light (weight)” (isolated in EWC: Bender 2003: 319, #54): unless this is but a misrecorded reflex of extended Wolayta cluster *p̄oʔ-o “light (weight)” [Bender], cf. AA *√fyl “1. thin, 2. weak” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √fyl I “to be weak and erroneous (one’s judgement or opinion)” [Lane 2474] = “être faible”, cf. fāl-, fayl-, fayyil-, fil- “faible, débile”, fiyāl-at- and fuyūl-at- “faiblesse d’esprit, manque de volonté, d’énergie, de jugement” [BK II 655-656] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *f̄e₂l → *f̄e₂l “1. light (adj.), 2. thin (membrane), 3. quick” [GT]: Angas fil [< *f̄il via *f̄e₂l?] “thin (as a sheet of paper)” [Foulkes 1915: 177] = fil ~ fil-fil (K) “leicht (Gewicht)” [Jng. 1962 MS], Sura fiyēl “dünn (von Papier), leicht” [Jng. 1963: 65], Mupun fiyēl “light in weight” [Frj. 1991: 19], Kofyar fiyēl “1. light of (weight), 2. swift” [Netting 1967: 14], Mushere fiyēl “light” [Diyakal 1997 MS], Goemay fiēl “not heavy, light” [Sirlinger 1937: 50] = fiyēl “to be light, quick” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 10] (AS: Takács 2004: 119). Cf. EDE II 568.

Ad #53.: add NOm.: Mao *√pyw “bad” [GT]: Hozo piyawti [Atieb & Bnd.], Sezo p̄āwāw [Sbr. & Wdk.] (Mao: Bnd. 2003: 353, #5) among the reflexes of AA *√by “bad” [GT] (q.v. in EDE II 3; 2005: 210-212, #301; 2009: 322-323, #21; EAAN I 72, #324).

Om. *p/*f/*p^h:- addenda

Ad #54: SOM.: Hamer (Kara of Fleming) pe “earth” [Fleming, Lydall] = pe “earth, soil, ground” [Bnd. 1994: 148] (Bnd. 2003: 347, #24: isolated in Aroid)¹⁵ ||| WCh.: Sura p̄ε “1. Grund, 2. Ursache” [Jng. 1963: 78] | Pero péepè [redupl.?] “earth” [Frj. 1985: 45] || CCh.: Gude apaa (adv.) “on the ground” [Hoskison 1983: 158] < AA *√p “ground” [GT].

197. NOm.: Male p̄úpi [Azeb Amha] = **fufi** [Lewis apud Flm.] “big” (Bnd. 2003: 54, #10) ||| WCh.: Goemay p̄uoep “to overflow (said of a river only)” [Sirlinger 1937: 186], cf. Goemay p̄ip “1. to fill, 2. surround” [Srl. 1937: 181] || CCh.: Mofu mbáf “full, to fill” [Brt. apud JI 1994: II 157], Gisiga mbáf “full” [Rossing 1978: 258, #298].

198. NOm.: Sheko p̄ādu “hunger” (n.) [Fleming] (isolated in Dizoid apud Bender 2003: 349, #46) ||| Common Brb. *√fd “avoir soif” [GT after Cohen 1947: 170, #376; DRB 524-525] ||| Sem.: cf. Ar. fatfata I “ne boire que fort peu et pas assez pour étanch-

¹⁵ Unless this is somehow an erosion of a SOM. *pEç-, cf. more apud Ari *Peç- “earth” [GT] below.

er le soif” [BK II 535]. Eventually akin to CAA *√ft “1. to desire, 2. demand” [GT] > ES *√ftw > e.g., Geez fat(a)wa “to desire, wish, love, lust for, have a liking for” [Leslau 1987: 171]¹⁶ vs. ES *√ftt: Amh. ʔaftätä “vouloir, plaire” [DRS 30: isolated in Sem.] = fättätä “he wished, liked” [Lamberti]¹⁷ ||| EBrb.: Ghadames a-ftək “1. chercher, 2. demander, 3. quémänder” [Lanfry 1973: 87, #375] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr nə-fəffəd “chercher (un petit objet) parmi d’autres” vs. Ayr i-fətw-an “recherche conjointe” [PAM 1998: 59 and 73, resp.] ||| LECu.: Boni fed- (östlich auch fad-) “wollen” [Sasse 1980: 97] ||| WCh.: Hausa fàatáá “to hope that” [Abr. 1962: 259]. Hausa-Ahaggar: SISAJa I #132. Hausa-ES: HSED 178, #782.

199. NOm. *pVd(Vn)- “mountain” [GT]: Dorze peduntsa (?) “mountain, hill” [Linton et al. in Bender 2003: 20, #90] | Gimirra *pad “mountain” [GT after Bender 2003: 169, #90] ||| WCh.: uncertain Angas-Sura reflex¹⁸ | Bole-Tangale *pand- [GT]: Tangale pandi “1. stone, 2. hill, mountain, 3. rock” [Jng. 1991: 129], Dera pónódó-póní “rocks, boulders” [Newman 1974: 131] || CCh.: (?) Mofu-Gudur pəraḍ [-r- < -n- possible]¹⁹ “rocher plat” [Br. 1988: 219] ||| WBrb.: perhaps Zenaga a-fund “petite dune” [DRB 579: isolated in Brb., not found in TC 2008] ||| Sem.: Ar. find- “a great mountain or a mountain apart from others or a portion of a mountain, head or peak of a mountain” [Lane 2448] = fand- and find- “1. grande montagne, grande hauteur qui s’étend au loin, 2. Find (nom d’une montagne entre la Mecque et Médine”, findīr-(at)- “grand rocher détaché de la masse de la montagne et qui menace de rouler en bas” [BK II 637-638] || MSA *√fdn “stone” [GT]²⁰: Jibbali fdún “pierre” [Lsl.] = fūdún “rock, stone” [Johnstone], Soqotri fidehon ~ fédehon²¹ “montagne” [Leslau] = fódhōn “mountain” [Johnstone] (MSA: Leslau 1938: 333; Johnstone 1981: 51) < AA *√[p]nd ~ *√[p]dn “1. stone, 2. hill” [GT].

200. NOm.: SEOmt. *poḍor-o “lip” [Bnd. 2003: 109, #57]: e.g., Koyra pódḍoro [Hayward] = ḥoddoro [Sbr. & Hoefl], Ganjule poḍoro [Fleming] = (?) kəʔoro (sic: k- and -ṭ) [Siebert & Hoefl], Kachama pəṭgoʾrō [Siebert & Hoefl] “lip” (SEOmt.: Bender 2003: 334, #57) ||| Sem.: Ar. buṣr- “bord, lisière, frange” [DRS 77, bṣr5: isolated in Sem.]. For the semantic shift, cf. Eg. sp.t “1. Lippe, 2. Rand, 3. Ufer” (PT-, Wb IV 399-400).

¹⁶ E. Ullendorff (1956: 192-193, quoted by Leslau 1987: 171) affiliated the Geez root with Ug. √pty “to copulate”, Hbr. pittah “to seduce”, and Ar. √fty “to be youthful” to reconstruct a Common Sem. root with a basic sense “to desire, love”. Semantically vague.

¹⁷ Already M. Lamberti (1988: 26) combined this Amh. root with ES *√ftw and Hbr. √pty “to seduce”.

¹⁸ Perhaps here belongs WCh.: AS *paṅ “stone” [Stl., GT] (AS: Hoffmann 1975 MS: 17, #8; Stolbova 1977: 156, #176), provided AS *-ṅ was a resolution of the cluster *-nd or *-dn, i.e., AS *paṅ < *pand- or *padn-.

¹⁹ Although -r- might be derived from *-n-, its unexpected -ḍ is obscure.

²⁰ Affiliated by W. Leslau (l.c.) with Akk. padānu “chemin” and Hbr. paddān “champs”, which is hard to trace back to one common source. Cf. perhaps also Ar. √fdn II “élever à une certaine hauteur, construire, bâtir (un édifice)” [BK II 557]?

²¹ Extended with a secondary parasitic -h-, not uncommon in Soqotri.

201. NOm.: Mao *√pt̥ “to pour” [GT]: Hozo p̥t̥i, p̥t̥i [Atieb & Bender], Sezo p̥t̥e, p̥t̥e [Atieb & Bender] = p̥t̥e [Sbr. & Wdk.] (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 356, #69) ||| Ch. *√mb̥d̥ “to pour” [JS 1981: 207J] > WCh.: Angas-Sura *v̥wet, var. *f̥wet ~ *f̥wat (ultimately from *v̥wet) → *fut “1. to throw, 2. scatter” [GT 2004: 117, 395]: Sura fw̥t “1. werfen, 2. schlagen” [Jng. 1963: 66], Mupun vw̥t “to throw away” [Frj. 1991: 64], Kofyar f̥ut “a shoot” [Netting 1967: 13], Mushere fwat (so, -a-) “to scatter, disperse” [Diyakal 1997 MS], Goemay f̥ut [f̥ūt] “2. shake off” [Sirlinger 1937: 54] ||| ES: Gurage: Soddo fafat, Amh. f̥af̥ate “waterfall” (ES: Leslau 1979: III 228 with dubious HECu. etymology).

202. Om. *p/p^b/fet- “to jump, fly, flee” [GT] > Haruro pet-āys- “volare” [CR 1937: 657], Ganjule pet “to fly” [CR in Bender 2003: 333, #32] | Dizoid *p^bet- “to run” [GT]: Dizi h̥et- [Fleming], Nayi fet- [Aklilu] “to run” (isolated in Dizoid apud Bender 2003: 350, #77) vs. Nayi petuki “to fly” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 348, #32: isolated] || SOM.: Ari p̥d- “fliegen” [Lamberti] = Ari f̥ēt- “to fly” [Bender 1994: 150] vs. Ari-Galila f̥ēt- “to fly” [Fleming] (isolated in Aroid apud Bender 2003: 348, #32) ||| LECu.: Afar fit̥tik- “to run fast” [PH 1985: ...] | Oromo futtaʔa “1. to spring back, 2. be suddenly released, 3. fly off (under pressure, explosively)” [Gragg 1982: 151], Baiso fid-am- “springen” [Lamberti] || SCu.: (???) Iraqw fit- “to drive, run after” [OS] = fiʔit̥²² “to run to attend after a call for help” [MQK 2002: 34] ||| WCh.: Boghom pit “to jump” [Shimizu in Ji 1994: II, 210] ||| Eg. pd “laufen” (XVIII., Wb I 501, 2; GHWb 273) = “to flee, run” (DLE I 185-186)²³ vs. Eg. ftft “springen, hüpfen” (Med., Wb I 581, 3-6) = “to leap” (XVIII., FD 99) = “springen, hüpfen, sich losreißen, aufspringen (aus Schlaf), hochschnellen (Fisch)” (GHWb 308), from the same root: nftft “Art des Fliehens” (MK, Wb II 263, 4) = “to leap” (FD 132) = “springen, springend fliehen” (GHWb 411) ||| Sem. *√pdd: Syr. √pdd “evanuit, discessit, defecit de siiti” [Ast./Dlg.] | Ar. √fdd “courir (se dit d’un homme)” [Belova] = “1. to tread upon the ground (of camels), 2. run away” [HCVA] vs. √fd̥fd̥ “to run, flee, escape enemy” (Sem.: Dlg. 1967: 306) < AA *√pd ~ *√fd̥ ~ *√ft̥ (all three represented in Eg., elsewhere hard to determine) “1. to run, 2. jump, 3. fly” [GT]. The isogloss of triradical Eg. jfd̥ “davonrennen, durcheilen” (XVIII., Wb I 72, 1-2) = “to flee” (FD 17) ||| Sem.: Ar. ʔafida “se dépêcher, arriver” [Belova] = “eilen” [Vergote] = “to hurry” [Hodge] = “se hâter, venir promptement” [DRS 28], cf. Ar. ʔaft- [-ft- assim. < *-fd̥-ʔ] “rapide (chamelle)” [DRS 30] may ultimately belong here as noted by A. G. Belova (l.c.i.)²⁴. The root has been known outside Omotic in the AA comparative litera-

²² Where the root seems to be merely fiʔ- “sound of fast movement” [MQK l.c.].

²³ For equating Eg. pd with Ar. √fdd see Belova 1991: 88, #1; 1993: 53; HCVA I #4; HSED #2020. L. Homburger (1931: 257), followed by H. Abel (1933-4: 304) and E. Zyhlarz (1934-5: 168, 175) compared Eg. pd with ONubian pad “entlaufen”, Nile Nubian: Kunuzi & Dongola bōd “laufen” [Abel] = bod ~ bot “(ent)laufen, eilen, fliehen” [Rn. 1879: 21].

²⁴ For Eg.-Ar. see Ember 1930: #4.a.15; Vergote 1945: 144, §23.a.1; Hodge 1968: 22; Vycichl 1985: 169-170, #1; Belova 1987: 279; 1991: 88, #1; 1993: 53.

ture²⁵. This is one of the PAA roots whose varieties (below) are often confused in the literature (surveyed in EDE II 594)²⁶:

1. CAA *√bt “to jump” [GT]: Sem.: Akk. (bab., m/nA) nābutu ~ naʾbutu ~ nābudu “fliehen” [AHW 700] ||| SBrb.: Hgr. e-bet “faire sauter (en coupant)” [Fcd. 1951-2: 107] ||| NOm.: Kaffa bit “saltare” [Crl. 1951: 417] = bit “to jump” [Lsl.] = bit- ~ bitit- “sdruciolare” [Cecchi apud Rn. 1888: 276], Mocha bi:tti-yé “to fly” [Lsl. 1959: 23] ||| WCh.: (?) Bole butu “to run” [OS 1990: 83, #27, not found in Lukas 1971].

2. CAA *√bt “to jump” [GT]: ES: Geez baṭaṭa “to jump up, leap up (animal), hop” [Lsl.], Tigre beṭṭ bela “to jump” [Rn.], Amh. baṭṭāṭā, baṭṭ alā “to jump” [Lsl.] = “подскакивать, подпрыгивать при езде на муле, осле” [Gankin apud Dlg.] (ES: Dlg. 1973: 244; Lsl. 1987: 114) ||| NOm.: PKefoid (PGonga) *biṭ- “to jump” [GT]: Shinasha (Bworo) biṭ- “to jump” [Crl.] (NOm.: Dlg. 1973: 244) ||| WCh.: Kupto ḥùtò “fliehen, weglaufen” [Leger 1992: 18] | Guruntum ḥaḍi “to jump” [Casper 1994: 23].

3. CAA *√bd “to jump” [GT]: WBrb.: Zenaga o-bbud “sauter, franchir d’un bord, voler, bondir, trembler” [Ncl. 1953: 176] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr budəd “faire saillie, former une ligne saillante sur le corps (un coup) ou sur une surface qcq. (une écriture en relief)” [PAM 1998: 3; DRB I 18: isolated in Brb.] ||| LECu.: Omo-Tana *bōd- “springen” [Sasse 1981: 156]: Somali bōd “springen, hüpfen” [Rn. 1902: 71], Jabarti bōd-o “Sprung” [Rn. 1904: 52] ||| NOm.: Shinasha-Dangur bōd-a “to fly” [Flm. 1990: 27].

203. NOm.: Chara fitt-a “all” [Akl. Yilma in Bnd. 2003: 82, #1: isolated] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *p^wēt ~ *p^yēt > *pēt “1. all, complete” [GT 2004: 295]: presumably Gerka pat-uk (so, pat-!) “all” (-uk obscure) [Ftp. 1911: 214], Angas peet “all, completely (used often with numerals)” [Foulkes 1915: 263] = pyéet (so, py-!) “alles”, péet ~ pét “1. alle(s), total, komplett, 2. umgekehrt, dafür” [Jng. 1962 MS: 32, 34], Mushere weet ~ uweet (so, w-! false vowel length?) “all”, mun weet ha “are we all?” [Dkl. 1997 MS: 301, 341] = pwèt “fully” [Jng. 1999 MS: 14] (AS: Takács 2004: 295) | Pa’a peit (adv.) “all, completely” [M. Skinner 1979 MS: 200] ||| CCh.: Higi páḍḍé “all” [Mohrlang 1972: 98] | Gulfei badḍ “alle” [Lukas 1937: 149] | Muskum fēt “tout” [Tourneux 1977: 29] ||| ECh.: Somray pwát “tout/s” [Jng. 1978: 206], Tumak péd “tout” [Caprile 1975: 90].

204. NOm.: Sezo ɸitkwà “to wash, bathe” [Sbr. & Wdk. in Bnd. 2003: 281, #144] ||| Sem.: Ar. fadaya I “2. graisser un mets en y jettant de la graisse fondue”, VII “être mou, tendre, ramolli” [BK II 556] < CAA *√Pdy “to dip into liquid” [GT].

205. NOm. *Paz- “sharp” [GT]: (???) Konta potetsa “sharp” [Allan] (isolated in NWomt.: Bender 2003: 320, #80) vs. Malé ʾaçe-ʾbazi²⁷ “sharp” [Siebert in Bender 2003: 329, #80] | Sezo pazâ “sharp” [Atieb & Bender apud Bender 2003: 357, #80: isolated in

²⁵ Cf. HSED #783 (Eg.-Iraqw) and #810 (Eg.-Boghom-Oromo); Ehret 1997 MS: 39, #1174 (Eg.-Afar). Cf. also SISAJa I, 113, #137; HCVA I #54 with further unconvincing parallels.

²⁶ Cf. Dlg. 1973: 244 (Somali-Gonga-ES); Leslau 1987: 114 (ES-Somali); HSED #296 (Kefoid-Boghom); Ehret 1997 MS: 14, #1076 (Boghom-Mocha).

²⁷ For the first component cf. Ometo *hOçç/ṭṭ-o “sharp” [GT].

Mao] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr buz-ət “1. limer, 2. égratigner (peau, pour apaiser une démangeaison, etc.)” [PAM 2003: 62; DRB 149, BZ(T): isolated] ||| Sem.: presumably Ar. bazu^a “être fin, gracieux, intelligent” [DRS 55]²⁸.

206. NOm.: Malé ’pizi “straight” [Siebert in Bnd. 2003: 329, #94] ||| Common Brb. (attested in E/N/WBrb.) *√fs “droit(e)” [GT after DRB 655-656, FS3 and 666, FSY2]. Remotely related root variety to SAA *√Pt (perhaps *Pit?) “straight” [GT]: LECu.: Rendille fita “to be straight (of a person or thing), run straight (of a road etc.)”, fit “1. straightness, 2. (adv.) straight (of direction)” [PG 1999: 115] ||| WCh.: Angas [ví:t] “perfectly straight” [Burquest 1971: 31] (Takács 2004: 391: isolated in AS).

207. NOm.: Yemsa fizō “goat” [Akl. & Sbr., CrI., Flm., Lmb. apud Bnd. 2003: 341, #40] ||| WCh.: Hausa-Zar bòðžóó “stunted goat” [Abr. 1962: 109]. A root variety with a voiceless C₂ sibilant has been retained by the parallels discussed s.v. NOm.: Chara b(u)osā “goat” [CrI.] = bōsa [Flm.] (part IV, #105 in Acta Orientalia Hung. 75/1 (2022), 135).

208. NOm.: Hamer *façC₃- (?) “to spit” [GT] > fātma (v.) “to spit”, fašiwāta (n.) “saliva” [Bnd. 2003: 217, #125] ||| Ch. *√pš- “to spit” [JI 1994: I 156] > i.a., ECh. *√ḥs < **√pç (via usual metathesis of glottalization) “to spit” [GT]: Somray ḥəsə “cracher” [Jng. 1978: 186] | Dangla ḥeese “to spew, spray” [Newman] = WDangla ḥèèsè “cracher de l’eau en fines goutelettes” [Fédry 1971: 106], EDangla ḥéésé (m) “cracher le sésame en pluie pour semer” [DM 1973: 58] ||| Sem.: Jibbali fēšəy “to spit”, fišóy “spittle, saliva” [Johnstone 1981: 64] < CAA *√pç “to spit” [GT], whose root variety with a plain non-glottalized sibilant as C₂ is thoroughly discussed in EDE II 515-516 s.v. Eg. psg “bespeien, ausspeien” (PT, Wb).

209. NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho pas-ap (cf. ≈ inč-ap) “worm” [Breeze apud Bnd. 2003: 345, #110: isolated] ||| Sem.: Ar. fašfas- “1. punaise, 2. certaine plante puante”, fisfis-at- “punaise” [BK II 594] = fašfas- “bug” [OS]²⁹. Remotely related root variety to CAA *√bž “an insect sp.” [GT] discussed s.v. NOm.: Sezo *bizil-E “louse” [GT] (see part IV, #100).

210. NOm.: Gimirra *pāž/ž- “day” [GT]: Benesho pažn [Alm.], She pāžez [CR] (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 339, #19) ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr fāzz-āt “1. éclater, 2. être répandu, 3. (Ayr) se répandre (lumière), 4. (Ayr) jeter de la lumière (sur), éclairer (lampe)” [PAM 1998: 74; 2003: 188; DRB 686: isolated³⁰ in Brb.]. This biradical isogloss (so far exclusively attested from Gimirra-Twareg) may well be akin to the triradicalized one (by

²⁸ For its semantic spectrum, cf., e.g., Eg. spd “spitz (sein)” (PT-, Wb IV 108) > spd “tüchtig, geschickt (wohl übertragener Gebrauch des vorstehenden Wortes)” (PT-, Wb IV 108-109).

²⁹ Equated by V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED 422, #1968) with ECh.: Mokilo pesso and LECu.: Oromo fāča – both “mosquito”.

³⁰ Any connection to NBrb.: Shilh i-fizw ~ i-fizu “1. très forte chaleur, canicule, 2. sécheresse” | Tamazight i-fizu “sécheresse” (NBrb.: DRB 687)? Perhaps the “heat of the sun” is underlying here.

a medial *-w- extension) attested from Eg. wpš (Belova's law: regular < √pwš) "1. umherstreuen, 2. erleuchten" (PT-, Wb I 305, 11-19) > wpš "Licht" (PT-, Wb I 306, 1) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *pūs, var.*p^wūs (or *pūs?) > *p^{1/2}s "1. sun, 2. day" [GT 2004: 293]³¹ = *pūs "day" [Stolbova 1977] = *pAHAs "sun" [Stolbova 1987] = *pəs [Skinner]. The above Gimirra-Twareg match would *prima vista* suggest an AA *√pZ, but with the Egypto-Chadic isogloss, so evidently speaking for an underlying *√pwč according to Belova's Law, we are at once entangled in the delicate debate about the Proto-Chadic word for "sun", whose reflexes³² have until now evoked ambiguous views on its C₂ as the older and commonly accepted view favours a plain dental plosive *t³³ in this Chadic word, which is more recently opposed by the position of Russian scholars³⁴ who reconstructed the PCh. root with a glottalized *-ç- (instead of *-t-). The common Chadic word for "sun" is, to the best of my knowledge, lacking any reliable AA parallel with this basic meaning³⁵, which has made some think of an extra-AA origin³⁶ etymology, but more

³¹ Attested in Gerka bis (so) [act. bəs? irreg. b- < *p-?] "1. sun, 2. day" [Ftp. 1911: 214-5, 218, 220] = bōs (so, b-) [irreg. b- < *p-?] "sun" [IL], Angas pus "1. sun, 2. daylight" [Ormsby 1914: 207-8, 313, 315] = pus ~ puus "1. the sun, 2. the day" [Foulkes 1915: 268] = puus ~ pus "sun" [Jng. 1962 MS: 34] = pūs, pl. pwas "sun" [Jng. 1963: 273] = pus [p^hūs] "day" [Burquest 1971: 49] = puus "sun" [Hoffmann] = pus "sun, day" [ALC 1978, 43, 53] = pus "sun" [Kraft] = pūs "sun" [Gochal 1994: 26, 38], Sura puus "1. Sonne, 2. Tag" [Jng. 1963: 79] = puus "sun" [Hoffmann] = puus "sun" [Kraft], Mupun pūs "1. sun, 2. afternoon, 3. time" [Frj. 1991: 50], Mnt. pəγəs [reg. < *p^wəs] (B) ~ puus (La) "Sonne" [Jng. 1965: 169, 171], Kofyru fuus [fū- < *pu- appears to be reg.] "sun" [Netting 1967: 13] = pfuus (so, pf-) "sun" [Hoffmann], Msr. puus "1. sun, 2. day" [Dkl. 1997 MS: 231, 243] = puus "1. day, 2. sun" [Jng. 1999 MS: 14], Chip pūs "sun" [Kraft], Tal p^hūu:s "sun" [IL], Mnt. pos (so, -o-) "sun" [Ftp. 1911: 214-5, 218, 220], Gmy. pus "sun" [Ftp. 1911: 214, 220] = pūs [pūs < *pōs] "1. sun, 2. time" [Srl. 1937: 187] = p^wəγəs (sic! perhaps recorded for Mnt.?) "Sonne" [Jng. 1962 MS: 5] = pūs (so, p-, -uu- instead of *-o-) "sun" [Hoffmann] = pis [pūs] "sun" [Krf.] = pis [piis < *pōs] "sun, time" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 28] (AS data: Hoffmann 1975: 17, #13; Stolbova 1977: 156, #172; 1987: 145, #10; GT 2004 Lc.).

³² WCh.: Ron *fat "sun" [GT] | Bole-Tangale *pUdV vs. *futi "sun" [GT] > i.a. Kupto fiši "sun" [Jng.-Leger 1993: 166] | Diri fātéc [Skinner] = fātáh [IL] | Sbauchi *piti "sun" [GT] || CCh.: Tera fəḍà [Newman] | Bura-Margi *pəči "sun" [GT] = EMargi group *pəči [Skinner] | PHigi *vəči "sun" [GT] | PBata *fete "sun" [GT] | PMandara *f-c-y- [Skinner] = *f/vačiy "sun" [GT] | Mafa-Mada *afac "sun" [GT] > i.a. Gisiga-Dogba pas [Lukas], Mofu-Gudur pás "1. soleil, 2. jour, 3. lumière" [Br. 1988: 220] (MM: Rossing 1978: 338, #705) | PDaba *pič "sun" [GT] | PMusgu *fa/utiy "sun" [GT] | PMasa *fat "1. sun, 2. dry season" [GT] || ECh.: Dangla-Migama *pāt [GT] | Mubi-Toram *fāt (perhaps < *fāḍ-?) "sun" [GT] (Ch.: IS 1966: 21; NM 1966: 21; Hoffmann 1971: 225; Wolff 1974: 15; Newman 1977: 32; Ibriszimow 1990: 82-84; JI 1994: II 312-313; Stolbova 1996: 18; Skinner 1996: 67).

³³ Cf. PCh. *phVtV [IS] = *F-t- "sun" [NM 1966: 239] = *fati "sun, day" [Newman] = *p-t [JS 1981: 256] = *p-t "sun" [JI 1994: I 161].

³⁴ Panova & Dolgopol'skij & Porhomovskij 1972: 65; SISAJa I, #10; Stolbova 1977: 65; 1987: 65, 145. Whereas O.V. Stolbova (1987: 145, #10) still accepted a common WCh. *paçA[r] "sun" for both reflexes with -t- and a sibilant C₂, a decade later she assumed for Proto-Chadic at the same time (!) both an etymon *pa/u/uçi vs. *fati/a for "sun" > *fawVt-/*fa?at-/*fawat- "sun, God" (Stolbova 1996: 18 and 28, resp.).

³⁵ C.T. Hodge (1968: 27) presumed a biradical Eg. *pt (with -t part of the root) "sky", which he connected to our Chadic root. Rejected in EDE II 378 in the light of a semantically more attractive match for the former.

³⁶ Thus, H.-J. Sasse (1981: 159) compared it to Kuliak: Ik fet "sun" [Sasse] = f^eet^h [Tucker], which, isolated in Kuliak, hardly convince of its having been a source of borrowing for the common Chadic etymon.

likely appears O.V. Stolbova's old idea on an Arabic cognate reflecting *-ç- as C₂³⁷, whose correctness I can now basically confirm by new cognates corroborating a CAA *√pç “(heat) of light” [GT]³⁸. Besides, both O.V. Stolbova (1996: 18) and N. Skinner (1992: 21; 1996: 67) affiliated the Chadic word also with SCu.: PRift *pac- “sky”, which may appear misleading and quickly disprovable in this form. In fact, Ch. Ehret's (1980: 339, #B.1) SCu. *pas- or *pac- can hardly be associated with the notion “sky”³⁹, most of his *comparanda* reflect WRift *pis “to dawn, become day”, whence *pisarú “daylight, dawn” [KM 2004: 225]⁴⁰. All in all, although we are still far from understanding the full history of Chadic “sun”, perhaps we may venture assuming three or even four diverse PAA root varieties, all connected with the sunshine, namely *√pZ ~ *√pwç ~ *√pç ~ *√ps (?).

211. SOm.: Ari *Peç- “earth” [GT] attested from øeča “earth” [Bnd. & Tully] = fěćě “earth” [Hyw.] = (Galila of Fleming) p̄fiča “soil” [Flm.] (Aroid apud Bnd. 2003: 347, #24: isolated) ||| SCu.: Ma'a mpušé (-hl-) “earth” [Ehret]⁴¹ ||| WCh.: Ngizim pácâ “floor or ground of house or compound” [Schuh 1981] || CCh.: Muktele fcú (-ts-) “earth” [Rossing 1978: 242, #224; JI 1994: II 117: isolated] ||| Sem.: (???) Ar. faḏḏ-at- “terrain rocailleux, élevé” [BK II 604]⁴². The SCu.-Ngizim isogloss is due to Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 30, #1156) deriving it from his PAA *pu/aç- “ground”.

212. NOm. *pāš- “to plug into earth (?)” [GT] > Gimirra-Benesho pošt “grave, tomb” [Breeze in Bnd. 2003: 166, #64] | Sezo pāše “to plant” [Atieb & Bnd.] (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 356, #67) ||| WCh.: Pa'a pisù “to bury”, pisau “burial” [M. Skinner

³⁷ O.V. Stolbova (1987: 145, #10; 1996: 18) equated the Chadic etymon with Sem.: Ar. faṣaḥa I “1. apparaître à qqn. dans tout son éclat”, faṣuḥa “être clair, intelligible dans son parler”, IV “3. être (éc)clair(ci), pur, clarifié (se dit des liquides), 4. apparaître, briller (se dit de l'aurore), 5. apparaître, être manifeste, évident”, faṣ(ṭ)ḥ- “1. clair, clarifié, pur (se dit du beurre fondu, etc.), 2. clair, lucide (discours, orateur)” [BK II 599].

³⁸ A root var. with an original lateral affricate C₂ has been retained by Ar. faḏḏa I “apparaître à qqn. et l'envelopper de sa clarté (se dit de l'aurore)”, IV “1. briller, apparaître (se dit de l'aurore)”, VIII “1. apparaître, être mis au grand jour”, faḏḏ-at- “couler entre le gris et le rouge, comme celle d'aurore quand son éclat se répand sur l'horizon”, faḏḏiḥ- “1. qui apparaît, qui brille”, ʔal-faḏḏiḥu “aurore”, ʔafḏḏu “1. rougeâtre” [BK II 605] ||| WCh.: Hausa fācīí (m), fācāá (f), pl. fācāàcēé “light red-skinned person” [Abr. 1962: 261]. On the other hand, the special isogloss of SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr fəzəzzək-ət “être extrêmement chaud (jour, soleil)” [PAM 2003: 189; DRB 691: isolated in Brb.] ||| WCh.: Hausa fācār-fācār (n./adv.) in: ráánáá táá yí fācār-fācār “noonday heat is intense” [Abr. 1962: 261] = “heat of the sun” [Skinner] has preserved the association to “heat of sunlight”.

³⁹ Solely reflected by ERift: Qwadza pas-iko “sky”, for which cf. better the entry for Om. *bVz- “star” [GT] in part IV (#97) of this series (in Acta Orientalia Hung. 75/1 (2022), 131).

⁴⁰ Iraqw pisu “shining” [Ehret], Burunge pisaru “daylight” [Ehret, KM], Alagwa pisarú “daylight, dawn” [KM] = pisema “dawn” [Ehret].

⁴¹ Derived by Ch. Ehret (1980: 145, #19) from his SCu. *puç/ša?- “patch of earth” in comparison with Dahalo pašša'ámo “glade”, which, however, semantically much better fits Ar. faḏḏa?- “2. cour, place entre les édifices ou les tentes, 3. plaine très-vaste, 4. intérieur, tout l'espace compris entre les murailles d'un temple etc.” < √fḏw I: faḏḏ “être large, spacieux (se dit d'un lieu)” [BK II 609].

⁴² Unless this is to be equated with Ar. faḏḏa “casser, rompre, briser, écraser” [BK].

1979: 200] ||| NBrb. *√fs “1. f/bourrer, 2. enfouir, 4. introduire” [GT]⁴³: Shilh a-fs “1. frouer (ajouter en pressant), 2. ajouter, 3. introduire, 4. fouler aux pieds, marcher sur” [DRB] | Tamazight a-fes “1. bourrer, 2. tasser, 3. enfouir, enfoncer, frouer, introduire, faire pénétrer, 4. être enfoui, introduit, pénétrer”, a-fas “action d’enfoncer, d’enfouir, de frouer, introduction, pénétration” [Taïfi 1991: 131b] | Figig a-fes “1. bourrer, 2. enfouir” [DRB], Shawya a-fes “1. (en)tasser, 2. bourrer” [DRB] | Qabyile a-fes “enfoncer”, ttwa-fes “1. être enfoncé, 2. être enfoui, caché” [Dallet 1982: 231] ||| Eg. pjs “(das Korn mit Eseln) einbringen” (MK, Wb I 502, 9) = “to tread in (?) (seed)” (FD 88) = “faire pénétrer les semences” (Berlev 1978: 191, n. 9) = “transporter (du grain) à dos d’âne” (AL 78.1431: cf. already CT III 138b-139a in obscure context) = “eintreten, eintrampeln (Saat in Boden), *einbringen” (GHWb 273) ||| Sem.: Akk. (ass.) pašû “pressen (?) (Dämonen Brustkorb)” [AHW 839] < CAA *√ps “to press into” [GT]. Remote root variety to CAA *√bs “1. to tread in, 2. thresh” [GT]⁴⁴. Hardly related even as root var. AA *√pç “to descend” [GT]⁴⁵ But certainly to be carefully distinguished from NOm. *bōs-a “grave” [GT] (part I of this series, #8.). Cf. also the following entry.

213. NOm. *pāš- “to cover, hide” [GT]: Haruro pāš-āys “coprire” [CR 1937: 657] | Chara pāš “to hide” [CR in Bnd. 2003: 89, #70] ||| HECu.: Burji faš- “to cover (vt.)” [Sasse 1982: 44: isolated in ECU.] ||| Sem.: Ar. faša^{ʿa} I “1. envelopper, envahir, couvrir”, II “être par-dessus au point de couvrir qqch.”, V “4. entrer les maisons et se cacher, 8. être couvert de smilace (se dit d’un arbre)” [BK II 596-597] vs. Ar. fašila V “3. se cacher derrière un rideau, être couvert de son voile étant dans la litière ou mettre sous soi son voile, sa robe, etc., et s’asseoir dessus (se dit d’une femme qui voyage dans une litière à dos de chameau)” [BK II 597].

214. NOm.: Yemsa fašò “clothing” [Lamberti in Bender 2003: 339, #14] ||| WCh.: perhaps⁴⁶ Bade êfç-ân [Kraft] = Gashua-Bade êfçí vs. WBade êfçâ ~ êfçâa-n “mat” [Schuh

⁴³ K. Naït-Zerrad (DRS l.c. pace Dallet 1982 l.c.) equated the NBerber root with Ar. ʿafasa I “piétiner, fouler, terrasser” [DRB] = “1. retenir, 2. ne pas ménager son habit, 3. mener, pousser avec vigueur, 4. terrasser et traîner par terre, 5. donner un coup de pied dans le derrière” [BK II 299].

⁴⁴ Attested in Sem.: Hbr. √bws qal “mit Füßen treten, (die Feinde) zu Boden treten, zerstampfen”, pilel “zertreten (einen Ort), ein Heiligtum entheiligen”, hitpalel “stampeln, zappeln” [GB 89], JAram. √bss and Mandaean bsus and NHbr. √bss qal “fouler aux pieds” [DRS] = MHbr. √bss “to stride, tread” [Zaborski] || Ar. bassa “se disperser, s’égailer” [DRS] = “to crush” [Zaborski] (Sem.: DRS 73; Zaborski 1971: 57, #23) ||| HECu.: Burji būs- “to thresh” [Sasse 1982: 44-45] ||| NOm.: Mocha bučči-yé “to thresh with a thick” [Leslau 1959: 21] ||| CCh.: Mafa mbac- [-ts-] “piétiner” [Barreteau & Bléis 1990: 249]. The AA etymology of Hbr. √bws in HSED #237 is false. O.V. Stolbova (1996: 117) derived Mafa mbac- from her PCh. *baç- “to trample, pus”, where the glottalized affricate was based solely on the semantically vulnerable comparison to ECh.: Bidiya bàḡak “(se) heurter”, bàḡy “boxer” [AJ 1989: 56].

⁴⁵ Cf. Sem.: OSA (Sabaic) fšy “to inter (enterrer)” [SD 47], cf. Ar. √fys > fāša “s’en aller et s’engager dans l’intérieur des terres” [BK II 653] (GT: lit. * “to descend”?) ||| WCh.: Nbauchi *pəç- “to descend, down-load” [GT]: Warji and Kariya pəç- [-ts’-] (Nbauchi: Skinner 1977: 18). Cf. Takács 2011: 26, 179.

⁴⁶ The Bade word strangely is opposing in form to all the rest of the Common Chadic parallels for “mat” uniformly reflecting a stem *buči [GT], just like even its closest relative = Ngizim bùuči [Schuh 1981: 27] = buči [Kraft 1981: #232], for whose sake O.V. Stolbova (1987: 147), mishandling these words as cognates, was compelled to reconstruct a strange WCh. *puči “mat” with a nowhere attested *p-. We may either assume

1975: 114] || EBrb.: Ghadames (a-ḏu n) ti-fes-t “(odeur de) vêtement qui brûle (?)” || NBrb.: Nefusa ti-ffas-t “lin” | Sened ti-fes-t “toile” | Shilh ti-fs-t “chanvre”, Ntifa ti-fes-t “chanvre” | Rif ti-fes-t “lin, filasse” | Qabyle ti-ffes-t “lin” (Brb.: DRB 658, FS11) || Eg. psš.t (hence NK vars. pš.t ~ pš) “Matte” (MK, Wb I 555, 1) = “vielleicht: Flachs” (Erman 1892: 111) = “carpet, matting (of reeds)” (FD 95) = “Matte (*aus psš-Pflanze)” (GHWb 294) || Sem. *pitt- (m) < fossilized fem. stem **pit-t- (???) [GT]: Akk. *piššu ~/< *pištu “Flachs” (meines Wissens nach unbelegt) [AHW 869, otherwise in CAD p] || Ug. ptt (m), pl. ptt-m “flax, linen for making garments” [Gordon 1955: 315, #1606] = “Linnen” [WUS #2296] = “1. linen (for garments), 2. linen fabric (weighed in shekels or measured in rods)” [DUL 688], Hbr. pešet- (st. cstr.), pl. pištūm “Flachs, Lein” [GB 665] = *pēšet- (probably a primary noun), pl. pišt-īm, st. cstr. pištē- “flax, linen (the plural really means ‘stalks of flax’)” vs. pištā, st. cstr. *pešet- “1. flax in the field, 2. wick made from flax” [KB 983a]. The Bade and Ugaritic parallels clearly indicate AA *č (indirectly also Yemsa š instead of *s), which strangely coincides with that of the Common Chadic terms for “mat” reflecting an etymon *buč- [GT] in such a coherent manner (overwhelmingly with b- and -č-) that these are rightly considered as result a recent loanword that has usually⁴⁷ been explained from Kanuri instead of being directly mis-compared as genetic cognates of the Sem.-Eg. match⁴⁸ in an Afro-Asiatic context as the Russian authors maintained⁴⁹. But the Egyptian match, apparently denoting a flax mat, poses the puzzle of where the Kanuri word itself stems from. Perhaps its parental etymon was equally borrowed from some AA reflex of this cultural item? The Macro-Canaanite, Egyptian, and their new Berber parallels evidently indicate a NAA *√pč “1. a plant (flax, linen?) used for plaiting, 2. cloth and mat made thereof” [GT], whose SAA reflexes I have so far managed to locate in Yemsa and (???) Bade.

215. Aroid *pis/š- (?) “to cough” [Bender 2003: 253, #A15] = *pis/š- (no question mark) [Bender 2003: 305, #A15] = *pVš- (no *p- is attested here) [GT]: Ari (Galila of Fleming) pošin- ~ pōšin- “to cough” [Bender & Tully, Fleming], Hamer piskilla “to cough” [Fleming], Dimé fiš-t- “to cough” [Fleming in Bender 1994] = p^hə’bešt^h- [Siebert] = fifiš- [Fleming in Bender 2003] (SOm./Aroid: Bender 1994: 147; 2003: 347, #15) || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur peš peš “vomir abondamment” [Barreteau 1988: 221] | Gude faši ~ fisə “to spray water out from mouth”, cf. vuši “to spit out mouthful of sg.” [Hoskison 1983: 184]. The underlying SAA root can hardly be directly unified with CAA *√bš “1.

the Bade form (1) is merely one of these recent Chadic loans but transforming this *Wanderwort* (direct source: Kanuri?) via assimilation by applying its peculiar syllabic pattern ʔəC₁C₂V onto this item too, or (2) that it stands from the Ngizim parallel so distinct that both are by no means to be traced back to a common WCh. etymon (à là Stolbova), which can in principle signify an inherited nature of the Bade form.

⁴⁷ In Chadic linguistics (cf., e.g., Lukas 1970: 118; Schuh 1981: 27; JS 1981: 176 F; Rossing 1978: 289, #456), derived from Kanuri búži “mat” [Mouchet] = bōži [Schuh 1981: 27].

⁴⁸ The Eg.-Hbr. parallel has long been known, mentioned already by A. Erman (1892: 111) and F. von Calice (1936 = GÄSW #607).

⁴⁹ Cf. SISAJa I, 33-34, #40 (NWSem.-Eg. related to Ch. “mat”); HCVA I #9 (NWSem.-Eg.-Ron-Gisiga); HSED #1975 (Hbr.-Eg.-Ron-Kera).

to spit, 2. vomit” [GT]. Two distinct root vars. in Omotic with voiced/less C_1 -? Cf. also #115 in part IV (in *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 75/1 (2022), 140).

216. NOm.: NWomt. *p^hag- “to pour” [GT]: Gamu págo “to pour” [Hayward], Kullo-Konta hagg- “to pour” [Alemayehu] (isolated in NWomt.: Bender 2003: 320, #69) ||| WCh.: Goemay phuk (so, ph-) “to empty the contents of a vessel into another one with short and sudden movements” [Sirlinger 1937: 178] || CCh.: Hitkala (Hide, Lamang) p̄ya “1. verser, renverser, 2. déshabiller” [Eguchi 1971: 224] ||| EBrb.: Audjila e-ffok, ffok (tr., intr.) “1. versare, 2. colare” [DRB 551, FK pace Paradisi 1960: 177] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-ffug “verser” [TC apud DRB 541, FG16] || SBrb.: Ghat ə-ffək “verser, être versé” [PAM 2003: 156] (Brb.: DRB 551): < AA *√pk (var. *√pQ?) “to pour out” [GT].

Ad 65. NOm.: Mao: Bambeshi øègá ~ ’à fèká “to fall” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1993: 15] ||| PCh. *√pk “to fall” [GT] add also NOm. *pVk- “to fall” [GT]: Malo pokk- [Alemayehu] = pök^h- [Siebert & Caudwell] “to fall” (Bender 2003: 317, #28) | Gimirra-Benesho/-She puk “to fly” [Breeze, CR, Fleming apud Bender 2003: 340, #32] | Mao-Diddesa p̄eki “to fall” [Atieb & Bender] (Mao: Bender 2003: 354, #28) || SOM.: Ari bukâl- “to fall” [Bender & Tully], Hamer ḥaḳ/ḳa “to fall” [Fleming] (SOM.: Bender 2003: 348, #28) ||| WCh.: Kofyar pok “to sink in, be depressed” [Netting 1967: 33].

217. Om./TND A *pug- “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 305, #A8]⁵⁰ > NOm. *fug- “to blow” [GT]: TN *p̄ug- (symb.) “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 197, #8] = TN *pug- (symb.) “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 253, #A8 and 305, #A8] > Pometo *p̄ug/n- “to blow” (symbolic) [Bnd. 2003: 140 and 197, #8]⁵¹ > ext. Wolayta cluster *p̄ug/n- “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 47 and 325, #8]: e.g., Gofa fugg- [Alm.], Malo pugg- [Alm.] = p^hùg- [Siebert & Caudwell] (NWomt. data: Bnd. 2003: 315, #8) | SEOmt. *pug/N- (p. 140: *pug/m-!) “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 109, #8]: Zayse fug- “to blow” [Lamberti], where Koyra pug- [Hayward] and Kachama pum [CR] can hardly belong to (contra Bender) | Chara fùg-na “to blow” [Akl. in Bnd. 2003: 140, #8] (SEOmt.-Chara: Bnd. 2003: 331, #8) | Yemsa (Janjero) *fug- (?) “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 197, #8] > fug- “to blow” [Akl. & Sbr., Lmb. in Bnd. 2003: 338, #8] = fug- “(mit dem Mund) blasen” [Lmb.] = fùg-ā “wind” [Akl.-Sbr. 1993: 19] | Kefoid *fugg- “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 197, #8]: Kafa hug- [h- < *p^h-] “soffiare, immettere aria in ...” [Cerulli 1951: 453-4] = “blasen, Blasinstrumente spielen” [Lmb.], Mocha pùggí-yé “to blow” [Leslau 1959: 44], Shinasha (Bworo) fug- “to blow” [Lamberti/Bender] = fugg- [Lamberti, SLLE] = hu/ùg- [Rottland, SLLE] “to blow” (Kefoid: Bender 2003: 338, #8) | Sezo øògì = øògì “wind” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994: 18] | Sheko fug- “to blow” [Lamberti] (Cu.-NOm.: Lamberti 1993: 341; 1993: 301) || Aroid *p/fug- “to blow” [Bnd. 2003: 253, #A8 and 305, #A8]: Ari fug/k- [Bender & Tully] = pug [Daniel Aber-

⁵⁰ M.L. Bender (2003: 305, #A8) traced back Mao *pūš- “to blow” to his TN(DA) = POm. *pug- (q.v.), which, in turn, he extracted from a primary monoradical Om. *pu/ū-. Both ideas are untebale. In Mao, we have a solid reflex with a velar C_2 (cf. Sezo above), whereas the uncountable AA parallels with this C_2 make it evident the underlying PAA root had the same sequence.

⁵¹ Bender l.c.: “probably symbolic”, although he compared here AA *pəg [HCVA #20], WCh. *pk [JI 1994 I 15], Hadiya fug-, NK *funka, NS *fu [Bender 1996: 264].

ra], Hamer púga [Fleming] “to blow” (isolated in Aroid apud Bnd. 2003: 346, #8; Om.: Bnd. 2003: 253, #A8: symbolic, extra-AA areal parallels) ||| Cu.-Om. (“OCu.”) *fug- “to blow” [Lmb.] > NAgaw: Bilin fig^w “blasen” [Rn.], Hamir fig y ~ fig y “(p)fauchen, blasen” [Rn.], Hamtanga figya “wind” [Apl. 1987: 506], Qwara fəngəya “wind” [Apl.], Falasha fingea “wind” [Apl.] (NAgaw: Apl. 1996: 18) vs. Agaw *fiḥ^w- “to breathe” [Apl.]: Bilin fiḥ^w- ~ fiḥ^w- “blasen, atmen, ausschlaufen nach anstrengender Arbeit, sich ausruhen, sich erholen” [Reinisch 1887: 118] = fiḥ^w- “to breathe” [Apl.], Hamir fāw ~ faū “sich ausruhen, schnaufen” [Reinisch 1884: 358] = faw- ~ fāw- “to breathe” [Apl.], Qwara fiḥū ~ fiū “atmen, blasen, sich ausruhen” [Reinisch 1884: 358], Qemant fiw “respirer” [CR 1912: 193] = fiw- “to breathe” [Apl.] || SAgaw: Awngi fiḥ^w- ~ fiḥ^w- “to breathe” [Apl.] (Agaw: Rn. ll.c.; CR l.c.; Apl. 1984: 39, 54; 1989 MS: 9; 1991: 18; 1991 MS: 3) || LECu.: Saho-Afar fug-ô “Geist, Gott” [Reinisch] | Oromo fug-ā “Blasrohr” [Reinisch] vs. fag-ā “trumpet” [Cerulli] = fāgg-a? [Lamberti], Konso fukk- [k < *g] “to blow” [Lamberti] | Sidamo fug- “soffiare” [Cerulli], Hadiya (Gudella) fug-ākko “to blow” [Lessa], Darasa (Gedeo) fūgg-is- “durch ein Rohr blasen” [Lamberti] | Dobase fug- “blasen (mit dem Mund)” [AMS 1980: 157] (Cu.: Reinisch 1884: 356; 1885: 57) ||| PCh. *√pk “to blow” [JS 1981: 15, 47C] = *fiḥ^w “to blow (wind)” [Stolbova] = *√fk ~ *√pk [GT]: WCh.: Mushere puk “(describing sound of breathing)” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 256] vs. Kofyar fuk “to blow, operate bellows” [Netting 1967: 13] | Sha fūk “fächeln, (Feuer) blasen, anfachen”, Fyer vivik “blasen (Feuer, Instrumente)” (Ron: Jng. 1968: 12, #144; 1970: 90, 284, 391) | Siri fiḥū ~ fiḥū [Skn.], Pa’a faki [M. Skinner 1979: 176] = fāki [IL] “to blow” (Nbauchi: Skinner 1977: 13; WCh.: JI 1994: II, 32) || CCh.: Bura mpika “1. breath, life, 2. to breathe” [BED 1953: 140] | Higi-Nkafa mpikâte “to blow” [Kraft], Higi-Baza pikāndo ~ pikādo “to blow” [Kraft], Higi-Futu phàta “to blow” [Kraft], Fali-Gili phaki “to blow” [Kraft] | Mafa fakw “siffler” [Brt.-Bléis 1990: 136] | Lama fùókú “to blow” [Kraft], Misme fok “to blow” (CCh.: Kraft 1981: #426) || ECh.: Mokilko pùukiyó “1. Atem, 2. Leben” [Lukas 1977: 219, 221] = pùukè “respirer” [Jng. 1990: 164] (Ch.: Stolbova 1996: 129) ||| Sem. birad. *√ph [Djk.] > Akk. (jB) apuhhu “etwa: Seufzen”, (m/jB) puhpuhhû “Kampfschnauben, Streit” [AHW 62, 876, cf. Djk. 1967: 205, fn. 72] || Hbr. √pwh qal “wehen”, hifil “hauchen lassen” [GB 636] || Ar. √fwh I “1. geräuschvoll wehen (vom Winde), 2. Duft verbreiten” [GB] = I “to spread (odour)”, IV “to fart” [Zaborski], Ar. √fhh “schnarchen” [Soden] (Sem.: Zaborski 1971: 79, #170; Soden 1968: 180, 183) < CAA *√pq ~ *√fq ~ *√fh (presumably *√puq/*√fuq/*√fuh) “to blow” [GT]. In the AA comparative literature, the Sem., Cu. and Ch. parallels have already been equated sine Om⁵².

218. NOm.: Gmr.-Bns. pug “sick” [Breeze] (isolated in Gmr.: Bnd. 2003, 343, #85) ||| ECu. *baʔk-/*buʔk- “1. to become ill, 2. illness” [Sasse]: PSam *buk-i “to be sick, sickness” [Heine 1977: 289; 1982: 102 & 127] etc. (ECu.: Black 1974: 210; Sasse 1979: 53; 1982: 42) ||| ECh.: Bidiya bàak, pl. bàkàw “attraper un rhume, avoir de la fièvre”

⁵² See Reinisch 1885: 57; 1887: 118; 1904: 63, adopted in Hohenberger 1958: 444 (Agaw-Sem.); Dolgopolsky 1966: 58-59, #2.1 (Agaw-Sem.); Mukarovsky 1987: 103 (Bilin-Ch.); HCVA I 20, #61 with AA *pag (4), adopted in HSED #814 (Sem.-Bilin-Ch.); Stolbova 1996: 129 (Ch.-Sem.). See also OS 1992: 175.

[AJ 1989: 55] ||| Eg. bt.w “Bez. einer unheilbaren Krankheit” (MK, Wb I 485, 13) = “incurable disease or person” (FD 86) = “unheilbare Krankheit (wobei man den Kranken aufgeben muß, viell. auch ansteckende Krankheit)” (GHwB 266).

219. SOm.: Ari fuga “fox, jackal” [Bender 1994: 150] ||| ECh.: Mubi-Toram *fuka “dog” [GT]: Mubi fúgá (m), pl. fàgè “Hund” [Lukas 1937: 181-182] = *fúgá “dog” [Doornbos-Bender] = fúgá (m), fágé (f), pl. fàgè “chien” [Jng. 1990 MS: 15], Minjile *fugà “dog” [Doornbos-Bender], Kajakse *fùkà “dog” [Doornbos-Bender] = fùkà, pl. fikè “chien” [Alio 2004: 242, #129] (Mubi: Doornbos-Bender 1983: 76, #19) < SAA *√Pg “sort of dog or jackal” [GT].

220. NOm.: Ari figz- “to work” [Grottanelli in Bender 2003: 220, #150] ||| NBrb.: Shilh ffukks “être adroit, habile” | Qabyle s-fukkes (caus.) “1. deviner, 2. percer, 3. rendre compte” (NBrb.: DRB 554, FKS1). For the semantics see the entry for NOm.: Bworo *f/φin- “to work” [GT].

221. NOm.: Sezo *√Pḳ “heavy” [GT] > pēḳ?, pēk- [Atieb & Bender] = -ḳēḳε [Sbr. & Wdk.] (isolated in Mao: Bender 2003: 355, #42) ||| Sem.: PAR. biradical Ar. faḥuma I “1. être gros, corpulent”, II “1. prononcer une lettre avec emphase et pour ainsi dire enfler le mot ou la lettre en les prononçant, 2. honorer, respecter qqn., témoigner à qqn. que l’on en fait grand cas” vs. tafahḥala V “2. avoir une tenue grave, décente et distingué” [BK II 553], variation with -q-: Ar. faqama I “1. être grave, de la plus haute importance (se dit d’une affaire)”, faqima I “4. être repu de mets au point d’avoir une indigestion, 5. (so also V) être grave et important (se dit d’une affaire)”, ʔafqam- “3. difficile (se dit d’une affaire)” [BK II 622]. Cf. a SAA root var. with *-ʔ/ʕ- described sub NOm. *paʔ- “heavy” [GT].

222. Om. *fak- “to split” [GT] > Sheko fākus “to split” [Akl.] (isolated in Dizoid apud Bender 2003: 351, #90) || SOm.: Ari fak- “to hit, beat” [Bender & Tully] (isolated in Aroid apud Bender 2003: 349, #43) vs. Ari-Galila fāk- “to split” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 351, #90: isolated], also Ari päkk- (?) “to cut” [Daniel in Bender 2003: 208, #33] ||| NAgaw: Bilin fakak [Rn. 1887: 119] = “to open, break, separate” [Lamberti]⁵³ ||| WCh.: Goemay piak “dividing”, piak ʔoeng “the fork of a tree” (ʔoeng “tree”) [Sirlinger 1937: 179] ||| Sem.: Syriac pak “zerbrechen” [Müller]. Syr.-Cu. (basic sense “öffnen”) due to W.W. Müller 1975: 69, #78.

223. NOm.: Mao *pēk- “frog” [Bnd. 2003: 305 and 355, #A38]: in fact, merely Sezo pēḳ(1) [Sbr. & Wdk.], Mao-Bambeshi fēḳε [Sbr. & Wdk.] “frog” (isolated in Mao: Bnd. 2003: 355, #38) ||| Eg. pgg.t “ein Tier (dessen ʕmm offizinell verwendet wird)” (Med.,

⁵³ Equated in LS 1997: 450 with Bilin faḳʕ- “to split one’s head, make a wound”, which may represent a remotely related and much more widespread AA root variety, cf. Cohen 1947: #373; Dlg. 1966: 62; 1973: 46; HCVA I #17; HSED #772, #1998.

Wb I 563, 8) = “toad or frog” (FD 96) = “Frosch (ʿmm pgg.t in einem Verband)” (Deines-Grapow 1959: 209) = “Frosch, Kröte” (GHWb 298). Cf. also EDE II 528.

224. NOM. *fik-n “1. belly, 2. heart” [GT] > Gmr.: She pikn “belly” (cf. #69: “heart”) [CR in Bnd. 2003: 159, #9] vs. She fikn “heart” [Flm.] = *fikn [Muldrow] “heart” (Gmr.: Bnd. 2003: 167, #69) | (???) Yemsa fiko “throat”⁵⁴ [Flm. in Bnd. 2003: 170, #93] | Sheko fik-n “heart” [Flm. in Bnd. 2003: 211, #69] (NOM. = She + Sheko: Bnd. 2003, 240, #69) ||| CCh. *√vK “body” [GT]: Matakam vók [Rsg.] | Glavda vəghá [Rapp], Dghwede vğá [Frick] | (?) Lamang ghòvə [metathesis?] “Körper” [Lukas] (CCh.: JI 1994: II, 34-35) ||| NBrb.: Shilh ta-fkka “charogne” [DRB] || SBrb.: Hgr. ta-fekka, pl. ti-fekk-aw-în “corps (partie matérielle d’une personne ou d’un animal vivant ou mort)” [Fcd. 1951-2: 313]⁵⁵, EWlmd. ta-fəkka, pl. ši-fəkk-aw-en, Ayr to-fəkka, pl. to-fəkk-aw-en “corps” [PAM 1998: 60], Ghat ta-fekka “corps” [Nehlil 1909: 145] (Brb.: DRB 550): < CAA *√Pk “body” (*p- or *f-) [GT]. Root var. to CAA *√bg “body” [GT]⁵⁶.

225. NOM. *paʔ- “heavy” [GT] = TN *pa- [Bnd. 2003: 198, #42] = *pa- [Bnd. 2003: 254 and 305, #A42]: PGimirra *p/fa- “heavy” [Bnd. 2003: 198, #42] > Gimirra paʔ- [Bnd.] = faʔ-esku [Flm.], Benesho paʔ [Breeze] = faʔ-esku [Flm.] (Gimirra: Bnd. 2003: 341, #42) | Yemsa (Janjero) fàya [Akl. & Sbr.] = faʔyà [Lmb.] = fa(?)ya [Bnd.] = faʔyà [Lmb.] “heavy” (Yemsa: Bnd. 2003: 341, #42) | Chara bāyá “heavy” [Akl. in Bnd. 2003: 333, #42] (NOM.: Bnd. 2003: 198, 333, 341, #42) ||| WCh.: AS *pʷo ~/> *fʷo “difficulty” [GT 2004: 295]: Angas la-pok (sic: -pok) “difficult” [Ormsby 1914: 208] = gyi-po “to look for trouble” (cf. gyi “to search”), le-po “to be difficult, hard, serious (not of a person)” [Gochal 1994: 120]⁵⁷, Kofyar la-fwó ~ la-fwú “difficult” [Netting 1967: 23] (AS: Takács 2004: 295) ||| NBrb.: perhaps Qabyle u-fay ~ u-ffay “1. être gros, corpulent, 2. être abondant”, oriental Qabyle u-fay “être gros” (NBrb.: DRB 682, FY8): < SAA *√pH “heavy” [GT]. Root var. to that described s.v. NOM.: Sezo *√Pk “heavy” [GT]?

⁵⁴ Phonologically, it is very hard to assume any of its connection with NOM.: Male bašana “neck” [Bnd. 2003: 60, #93: isolated] (see part IV). For the same considerations, its cognacy with the birad. stem of NOM. *fik-n “1. belly, 2. heart” [GT] is so much apparent, although hard to explain semantically.

⁵⁵ M. Cohen (1947: 151, #320), “*en supposant que t fait partie de la racine*”, with right doubts about this “*raprochement douteux*”, affiliated the Ahaggar word with NAgaw: Bilin batka “charogne, cadavre” || LECu.: Somali baḥti “charogne”, which phonologically certainly fails.

⁵⁶ Attested in Sem.: perhaps Ar. buḡr-at- “navel” [Ehret] (albeit it derives from Ar. baḡira “avoir une hernie” as cognate with Akk. bagarr-ān- “hernieux” and Amh. bəḡər “furoncle, bouton”, cf. DRS 43) ||| PCu. *bôg- “belly” [Ehret] ||| CCh.: *√bg “body” vs. W/CCh. *√mbg “belly” [JS 1981], from which Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 4, #1024) se up an AA *bôg- “torso”.

⁵⁷ G. Gochal (l.c.) mistakenly identified Angas -po in both compounds (gyi-po and le-po) with po “mouth”.

*

Special symbols

P: any labial stop (f, p, b, ɸ), T: unspecified dental stop (t, d, ʈ), S: any voiceless sibilant and/or affricate (s, š, ś, c, č, ç, ê), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ʝ), K: any velar stop (k, g, ɠ), Q: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (q, ɢ, ʁ, ʕ), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (ʕ, ʁ, ʕ, h, ʔ). The vertical strokes signify the the degree of closeness of the language groups (e.g. Kotoko | Masa), subbranches (e.g. North Berber || East Berber), and branches (Semitic ||| Egyptian), from which the individual lexical data are quoted.

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BARAM.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, CAA: Common Afro-Asiatic, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi, Jbl.: Jibbali, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, Omt.: Ometo, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm(d): Tawllemet.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Akl.: Aklilu, Alm.: Alemayehu, Apl.: Appleyard, Ast.: Aistleitner, BK: Bieberstein & Kazimirski, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Drn.: Doornbos, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Grt.: Grottanelli, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KM: Kießling & Mous, Lmb.: Lamberti, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Mch.: Mouchet, Mkr.: Mukarovskij, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Mts.: Matsushita, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prd.: Paradisi, Prh.: Porhomovskij, Rn.: Reinisch, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, TC: Taine-Cheikh, Tf.: Taifi, TG: Takács, Trn.: Tourneux, Vrg.: Vergote, Wdk.: Wedekind, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhł.: Zylharz.

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