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Mubi-Toram lexicon and Afro-Asiatic III: Lexemes with initial *b-¹

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The paper is another part of a planned longer series designed to step by step reveal the Chadic and wider Afro-Asiatic cognate heritage in the lexical stock of the Mubi-Toram languages which represent the easternmost (27th) group of the vast (6th) Chadic branch of the gigantic Afro-Asiatic family.

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

Introduction

Mubi-Toram is a group of languages in the Republic of Chad (some of them pretty close to the border with Sudan² suggesting to be regarded as remnants of the last proto-Chadic

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² Like, e.g., the Kajakse and Kujark/ge, the easternmost forerunners (?) of the Chadic family examined by P. Doornbos and M.L. Bender (1983: 59-60), who localized Kajakse in “Wadai, between 12 and 13°N and between 20°30' and 21°30'E. ... The Kajakse are concentrated around Jebel Kajekse and five similar hills in the neighborhood”. The Kajakse are known to them “also as refugees in the border zone on Sudanese territory.” They described the Kujarge as inhabiting “seven villages in Chad near Jebel Mirra (11°45'N – 22°15'E); also scattered among Fur and Sinyar in Sudanese villages along the lower Wadis Salih and Azum.” Both authors are disposed to identify the latter people with the Birgit in the same group: “As Chadic speakers, their name might point to their being Chadian Birgid, because Fur and Daju neighbors of the Sudanese Birgid call them Kajjar, and both Chadian and Sudanese Birgid have the same self-name of Murji. Informants disagree whether their origin lies in Darfur or in their present habitat. The Kujargé are bounded to the west by the Daju-Galfigé; to the north by the Sinyar; to the east and south

invaders from the eastern direction).³ This group belongs to the eastern subbranch of Chadic and thus represents the member of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) macrofamily comprising six equipotential branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, and Chadic. Mubi-Toram is namely the last (26th) Chadic group in the classification proposed by H. Jungrathmayr (JI 1994 II xv). This is one of the least studied Chadic groups from the standpoint of both lexicography and comparison. For each of its daughter languages we usually find just one wordlist, among them only Mubi is relatively better provided with sources.⁴

The success of modern research on Chadic phonological and lexical reconstruction (initiated by V.M. Illič-Svityč and P. Newman in the mid-sixties of the 20th century) fundamentally depends on how the internal (Chadic) reconstruction and external (Afro-Asiatic) comparison of every single individual Chadic language group proceeds at the same time. Unfortunately, out of the 26 Chadic groups, only six (namely, Angas-Sura, Bole-Tangale, North Bauchi, Bura-Margi, Mafa-Mada, Kotoko) have been so far more or less satisfactorily studied from this viewpoint.⁵

The work on the projected comparative lexicon of the Mubi-Toram languages has been begun by the author in summer 2008.⁶ The present series of papers⁷ is to integrate this remote lexical stock in its wider Chadic and Afro-Asiatic context by providing materials for the research outlined above.

by the Fur-Dalinga, Fongoro, Formono, and Runga. ... This population may very well have been slaves of the Daju Sultans of Der Sila, removed from the western boundary by force or conquest, to protect or populate the eastern boundary of the sultanate.”

³ For the hypothesis of a long wandering of Chadic ancestors through the Wadi Howar due to disappearing green Sahara in the Holocene see most recently Jng. 2020, esp. 15-18 and 34-44.

⁴ Birgit: Jng. 1973 MS and 2004; Jegu: Jng. 1961; Kofa-Mogum: Jng. 1977 MS; Masmaje: Alio 2004; Kajakse: Doornbos & Bender 1983, Alio 2004; Kujarke: Doornbos & Bender 1983; Masmaje: Alio 2004; Minjile: Doornbos & Bender 1983; Mubi: Lukas 1937; Jng. 1990 MS, Doornbos & Bender 1983; Toram: Alio 1988 MS and 2004.

⁵ Although my research on the lexical reconstruction of the individual Chadic groups dates back before the turn of the millennium (thus, e.g., Angas-Sura since 1998, Dangla-Migama and Mubi-Toram since 2008), my work in this domain has only become accelerated and more extensive since the spring of 2019, when a whole set of further Chadic groups (North Bauchi, Musgu, Masa) as well as Southern Cushitic and Omotic were subject to a simultaneous comprehensive lexical reconstruction. This research has been manifested since 2021 in the new project of micro-reconstructions in the Southern Afro-Asiatic lexical root stock with the support by the grant “Advanced Research in Residence” (ARR) of the University of Łódź, which I gratefully acknowledge in this place.

⁶ The author expresses his gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn, Germany) for permanently supporting his research in 1999-2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2020 at the Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften of the J.W. Goethe University (Frankfurt a/M), where the materials a.o. for the present paper were mostly collected. My cordial thanks go also to Prof. Khalil Alio (University of N'Djaména, Chad Republic) for submitting his field research records at my disposal in 2002.

⁷ Its first part with roots having a *b- in the *Anlaut* was published in *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 62/3 (2009), 315-336. The second part of this series with addenda to Mubi-Toram *b- is forthcoming in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 63/2 (2021).

Mubi-Toram lexemes with *ḥ - + dentals

151. Mubi ḥúdíḡē (m), pl. ḥóddúk “coquillage” [Jng. 1990 MS: 7] may derive via the metathesis of glottalization from a root like *ḥdḡK (< AA *ḥt/c/č/čK) which appears at the moment to be isolated with this meaning and so, for the time being, one is better disposed to suppose here an innovation, cf. perhaps Sem. *ḥtḡ > MSA: Sqt. ḥdḡ, Mehri ḥadaúq “(se) déchirer” (MSA: DRS 78, ḥdḡ) ||| ES: Amh. ḥattāqā “trancher”, ḥaččāqā “déchirer avec les mains, les dents, etc.” [DRS 60, ḥtḡ1: isolated in Sem.], which represent members of a widespread family of PAA root varieties (dealt with in detail in EDE II 614-616), cf. SAA *ḥptḡ ~ *ḥptḡ “to split open” [GT], PAA *ḥftḡ ~ *ḥfdḡ “to tear apart” [GT], PAA *ḥptḡ ~ *ḥptḡ “to separate, open” [GT].

152. Kajakse ḥitār “varan” [Alio 2004: 240, #55] seems to have been extended by the C₃ root suffix (nominal class marker of certain animals assumed by I.M. Diakonoff) and so it may well belong to a biconsonantal AA root signifying some sort of lizard, cf. SAA *ḥit- “lizard sp. (?)” [GT] > NOm.: Dime ḥetā “lizard” [Fleming in Bender 2003: 213, #82: isolated] ||| HECu.: Burji ḥit-ē (f) “lizard”, cf. also ḥit-ē (m) “lizard” [Sasse 1982: 36, 41, resp.: isolated in ECu.]⁸ = ḥit-ē (f) vs. ḥit-ē (m) “lizard” [Hudson 1989: 93] ||| WCh.: (???) Angas ḥit (so, with -t) [regular metathesis < *ḥit?] “otterähnliches Wassertier, dessen Bisse gefürchtet wird” [Jng. 1962 MS].⁹ See Takacs 2022: 129, #95 (not discussed in EAAN I).

152.1. In, for semantical considerations, it is difficult to be tempted by the homophony of Ch. *ḥit- “worm” [GT] > CCh.: Mada ḥit- “ténia, ver solitaire” [Brt.-Brunet 2000: 67] ||| ECh.: Mokilko ḥit- (f) “Würmer (Eingeweide)” [Lukas 1977: 224].

152.2. This is the case also with Chadic (or PAA???) *ḥit- “1. worm, 2. snake” [GT] > Sem.: (?) Akk. mubattiru (jB) “ein Wurm (?)” [AHW 665]¹⁰ ||| Eg.: uncertain traces of an hypothetical and vague old *ḥit.w [< *ḥit-??] “worm” (GT)¹¹ ||| CCh.: Daba mburutu “ver de Guinée, draconculose” [Mouchet 1966: 137] | Mafa-Mada *ḥitUr- “horned viper (?)” [GT]: Gisiga botoro “Art Brillenschlange” [Lukas 1970: 118], Mofu-Gudur batara ~ botoro “vipère corne” [Brt. 1988: 85] = ḥit- “serpent sp.” [Brt. 1978: 50], Mofu-Mokong ḥit- “serpent sp.” [Brt. 1978: 50] | Zime-Dari ḥit- “serpent sp.” [Cooper 1984: 2], Lama ḥit- “snake

⁸ H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) was disposed to combine these words with the Oromo reflex of LECu. *ḥit- “puff-adder” [Black 1974: 187], although its Burji reflex is ḥit-ē. W. Leslau (1988: 184), in turn, compared the Burji term with HECu.: Sidamo ḥit-ē “kind of small bird”.

⁹ Apparently an isolated record not even found in other Angas lexicons. A misrecorded *Auslaut* of Angas ḥit- “big water animal with short tail (bites severely): otter (?)” [Foulkes 1915] < AS *ḥit “a small mouse-like animal” [GT 2004]?

¹⁰ Explained in the AHW 144 as a derivative of buturu “verstümmeln”.

¹¹ Cf. the snake det. in Eg. ḥit.w (var. of ḥit.w) “Bez einer unheilbaren Krankheit” (Med., Lit. MK, Wb I 485, 13).

sp.” [Sachnine 1982: 288]¹² || ECh.: WDangla bōttòr (m.sg.coll.) “petit ver parasite du mil (sur épis)” [Fédry 1971: 91].

Mubi-Toram lexemes with *ḥ- + sibilants

153. Birgit ḥaaḏí (ḥaaḏá, ḥaaḏò) “foquer” [Jng. 2004: 351] | Bidiya ḥaaḏ (ḥaaḏí, ḥaaḏèḡ), pl. ḥaḏàw (ḥaḏàawí, ḥaḏàawèḡ) “demander en mariage, choisir une épouse” [AJ 1989: 61]: their common *ḥāḏ- may presumably derive from a common ECh. *baḏy- “to make efforts for/in the marriage (?)” [GT] || SBrb.: Ahaggar beḏbeḏ “copulation (entre 2 personnes de sexes différents)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 118; DRB 154, bḏ4: isolated in Brb.].¹³ One is disposed to eventually affiliate hereto further AA roots:

153.1. PAA *ḥbḏ “1. to press (out?), 2. eject fluid (by pressing?)” [GT] > Sem.: Syrian Ar. baḏḏ “1. faire jaillir en pressant, lancer, rendre par jets, 2. procréer des enfants en grand nombre” [DRS], cf. also Classical Ar. baḏḏa (baḏḏa) “faire des efforts, travailler avec zèle et assiduité à qqch.” [BK I 139] (Ar.: DRS 61) vs. Ar. ḥbwḏ I “1. injecter, lancer le sperme dans l’utérus” [BK I 178] = “éjaculer, copuler” [DAFA 917b] = “éjaculer” [DRS 51: isolated in Sem.] || NBrb.: Shilh bizḏi “jaillir” [DRB] (NBrb.: DRB 155, bḏ7: isolated in Brb.?) || CCh. *ḥVc- < **bVḏ- “to press, squeeze” [CLD]:¹⁴ Higi-Bana ḥósá “presser, extraire beaucoup de liquide” [CLD < ?] | Paduko ḥiḏə “serrer” | Lamang ḥica “to press (through sieve)” [Wolff], cf. also Lamang əbica (sic: -b-) “to squeeze” [Hamm], Vemgo ḥicu “to squeeze” [Hamm] (CCh.: CLD VI 75, #153a).

153.2. PAA *ḥbḏ “1. seed, semen (???)” [GT] > presumably Sem. *ḥbyḏ: Ar. bayḏ- “sperme” [DRB 155, byḏ: isolated in Sem.?] ¹⁵ || ECu. *bVd(ah)- (*-ḏ- obscure) “seed” [GT]: Arbore bād-o (f) “seed prepared for sowing” [Hayward 1984: 345] | Gawwada poḏaḥḥo “Saat” [AMS 1980: 264] || NOM.: Zergulla biḏe-tta “seed” [Siebert-Hoefl in Bender 2003: 93, #114a] || (???) SOm. *ḥēt-a “seed” [GT]:¹⁶ Ari ḥēta [Tsuge 1996: 169, #184], Banna ḥeta

¹² Note that N. Skinner (1996: 21) equated Lame budor mistakenly with Sem. *baḏm- (for details see Eg. btn.w above) and LECu. *būt-.

¹³ Affiliated by K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB l.c.) with NBrb.: Mzg. bbeḏ “plonger, immerger, (s’)enfoncer” [Taïfi in DRB] | Mzab ə-bbəḏ “1. tremper, plonger dans un liquide ou ailleurs, 2. coïter” [Delheure 1984: 17], Wargla bbeḏ “tromper, plonger, piquer, enfoncer une pointe, un objet quelconque par un bout dans un liquide” [Delheure in DRB] | Qabyle e-bbeḏ “plonger, enfoncer” [Dallet 1982: 61] (NBrb.: DRB 154-155).

¹⁴ Based by O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 75, #153a) on a semantically unreliable comparison with CCh.: Zulgo (Zelgwa) buḏ “masser, pétrir avec la main” [Haller et al.], Mafa mbác- “piétiner” [Br.], Muyang ámbàc “to crush an object” [Smith]. She even took note of Lamang əbica [Hamm] vs. Lamang ḥica [Wolff] and Zulgo bac, ḥac “tuer; briser, casser”, although she too admitted that a “secondary emphatization (bVc- > ḏVc-) is not regular”, but “in a number of languages two emphatics are not compatible in one word”. Her comparison of all these diverse CCh. parallels with Sem.: Ar. ḥbḏw I “presser (son débiteur en réclamant de lui son dû)”, II “rendre eunuque” [BK I 133] is either semantically or/and phonologically vague.

¹⁵ Of course, the DRS (l.c.) attempts at rendering this isolated form as a variation of Sem. *ḥbyḏ “white”.

¹⁶ Provided it displays the same glottalization metathesis (i.e., *ḥēt-a < **bēt-a < **bēḏ-a-???) that has so far been only known in Chadic. Otherwise, one is disposed to affiliate it with Om. *ḥbd “(to sow) seed” [GT]. Cf. Takacs 2022: 128, #85.

[Masuda apud Tsuge 1996: 186, #184], Hamer beta [Fleming] = beta [Tsuge 1996: 169, #184], Karo p̄eta [Fleming], all reflexes signifying “seed” (Aroid: Bender 1994a: 157; 2003: 216: #114).

153.3. PAA *√bḥ “2. offspring, child” [GT] > NBrb. *√bz: Wargla ta-bza “marmaille, enfants, jeunesse”, Figuig a-bziz “garçon”, Snus l-bezz “marmaille”, a-bzeḥ “petit enfant” | Tamazight bezz (var. de bezz) “enfanter” (NBrb.: DRB 155, bz1: var. to *√bz?) || LECu.: Saho and Afar bād-ā, fem. -ā “Kind: 1. Sohn, Tochter, Knabe, Mädchen, 2. bei Tieren das Junge” [Reinisch 1886: 829-830; 1890: 83-84]¹⁷ = Saho barha “son”, barhā “daughter” [Vergari 2003: 53] = Afar bād-ā “figlio”, fem. bād-ā “figlia” [Colizza 1887: 112] || NOM.: PYemsa *buḍ- (???) [GT] > Yemsa bur(?)ussi (nur als Plural belegt) in: burus-ni kit/yó “Kinder, Buben”, burussí-sà kit/yó “die Kinder, Buben” [Lamberti 1993b: 333: isolated in Om.].

153.4. PAA *√bḥ “genitalia” [GT] > Sem.: NSyr. (?) būḥ [-ṭ- regular < Sem. *-ṭ- < AA *-ḥ-] “pénis” [DRS 51-52: dubious Sem. etymology]¹⁸ || NBrb.: Shilh a-bazza “verge (membre viril)” [DRB 155, bz7: isolated in Brb.?¹⁹ || LECu.: Afar buḍḍ-e (f) “penis” [PH 1985: 139]²⁰ = Saho-Afar buddhe “Penis” [Lamberti: -ddh- < *-ḍ-] | Oromo bitto? “penis” [Lamberti]²¹ > SOromo dialects biṭi “penis” [Stroemer 1987: 274] || NOM.: PYemsa *buḍ- (???) [GT] > Yemsa bur?à [GT: -r? - < *-ḍ- may be regular] “Penis” [Lamberti 1993b: 333: isolated] (Yemsa-LECu.: Lamberti 1993b: 333).²²

153.5. Presumably the same biradical core root survives with a nasal and a C₃ *-r root extension (?) in Sem. *√bṭr [DRS] > *bi(n)ṭur- “clitoris, vagina” [SED]:²³ Akk. (OBab., Standard Bab.) biṣ(ṣū)r-u “weibliche Scham” [Holma] = biṣṣūr-u “female genitals” [CAD b 268] = biṣṣūr-u “weib. Scham, vulva” [AHW 131a] = “vulve” [DRS] || Ar. baḥr- ~ baḥar- ~ bayḥar-

¹⁷ Of course, neither of the comparisons (Somali wil or Macro-Canaanite *√bn, *√br “son”) offered by L. Reinisch (1886: 829) is phonologically convincing.

¹⁸ Cf. Sem. *bawḥ- “bottom” [GT]: Mandaic buṭa “bottom, anus (still used)” [Drower-Macuch 1963: 54] = “anus, derrière” [DRS 51], NSyr. būḥā “croupe” (borrowed < Ar.) [DRS] | Ar. būḥ- “fesses” and bawḥ- “3. chairs grasses et molles de fesses”, cf. √bwḥ II (denom.) “avoir les fesses très-grandes” [BK I 178] = būḥ- and bawḥ- “croupe saillante, callypiegie” [DRS], cf. also Ar. buṭ- (root ext. -ḥ- and -ṭ-?) “2. fondement, derrière avec les parties de la génération” [BK I 140].

¹⁹ Affiliated by K. Nait-Zerrad (DRB l.c.) with a phonologically apparently distinct root, cf. EBrb.: Ghadames ta-baḥṣuṣṣ “queue d’animal (cheval, chacal)” [Lanfry 1973: 7, #43] || SBrb.: Kel Ui ta-basus-t “queue” [DRB] || NBrb.: Shilh a-baṣṣa ~ a-ṣabba “queue (d’animal)” [DRB] | Tamazight a-baṣṣa, pl. i-baṣṣ-iw-n “queue (d’animal)” [Taïfi 1991: 35] = a-bassa ~ a-baṣṣa ~ ta-bzza-t [DRB] (Brb.: DRB 130, 133, 148).

²⁰ Equated by Ch. Ehret (1995: 112, #101) with Ar. bazz- (verbal noun) “to grow fat” and NOM.: Bench(non) pūḥ “many, much” < AA *-pūḥ- “to increase (intr.)”.

²¹ M. Lamberti (l.c.): “Entsonorisierung des Ejektivs” in Oromo.

²² Whence M. Lamberti (l.c.) set up an “altkuschitische” stem *b/muḍ- “penis” which he eventually derived from the homophonous verbal root “sprossen” assuming an interchange of *b- vs. *m-.

²³ The AA etymology of the Semitic stem has been obscure. The authors of the DRS l.c. assumed a trilateral root manifesting itself in baḥr- (baḥr-) which was secondarily enlarged by an infix nasal or -y- extension: “L’ar. connaît d’autres formes à élargissement” in bunzur- (bunḍur-), bayḥar- (bayḍar-). One wonders if and how Ar. biḥrir- (biḍrir-) “(femme) vulgaire, à la langue bien pendue” and ta-baḥrama (ta-baḍrama) “se montrer vulgaire” (Ar.: DRS 61) are also connected to this triradical root. Regarding their reconstruction as “reliable, though attested in Akk. and Ar.”, L. Kogan and A. Militarev (SED l.c.), in turn, were disposed to regard the nasal as part of the original quadrilateral root: in their view, Akk. -ṣṣ- “may point to *-nṣ-”.

~ bunzur- “clitoris” [BK I 139] = baʒr- “clitoris”, cf. baʒr-at- ~ buʒ(ūr)r-at- “1. excroissance (de la lèvre supérieure), 2. (qqf.) touffe de poils (sous l’aisselle, etc.)” [DAFA 695], cf. a root variety in baḍr- “clitoris feminae quae praecidi solet” [Freitag I 128] (Sem.: Holma 1911: 101; DRS 61; SED I 35, #37).

Mubi-Toram lexemes with *ḥ- + velars

154. MT *ḥāk “to fear” [GT]: Mubi ḥáágà, ḥìgáágà “sich fürchten” [Lukas 1937: 180] = ḥàagá (ḥàágà, ḥìgáágà) “craindre” [Jng. 1990 MS: 6], Kajakse ḥàake “peur”, ḥáakì (acc.) “avoir peur”, ḥáakúwò “peureux” [Alio 2004: 240, #52-54], Masmaje ḥàakò “peur” [Alio 2004: 280, #29] | DM *ḥāk- “to fear” [GT]: EDangla ḥàakē “craindre, avoir peur”, ḥàakīrā “peureux, froussard, craintif, trouillard”, ḥākāw (f) “la peur, la crainte, la frousse, l’effroi, la frayeur, l’angoisse, l’affolement, le trac” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 57] = ḥàakē “fürchten, Angst haben” [Ebobisse 1979: 130; 1987: 83], Bidiya ḥàak (ḥàakí, ḥàakēn), pl. ḥàkàw (ḥàkàawí, ḥàkàawēn) “avoir peur”, ḥàakò (f) “peur” [AJ 1989: 61], Migama ḥáyáw (ḥàyé, ḥàyàkká) [-y- < *-k-?] “craindre”, ḥáyàakà (m), ḥáyàaká (f), pl. ḥáyàakée “peureux”, ḥáyàakí (f) “la peur” [JA 1992: 73] || NAgaw: Bilin baḥāy-ā “Schreck, Bestürzung” [Reinisch 1887: 71] || ECu. *baḥ- “to be afraid” [Sasse 1982: 32]: e.g. PNSomali *baḥ- “to be afraid” [Ehret & Nuuh Ali 1984: 228]: Somali báq-a ~ báy-a “Furcht, Schreck” & “sich fürchten” [Reinsich 1902: 79] = báq-ayya “to be(come) afraid” [Abraham 1964: 27] || SCu.: perhaps Ma’a bug-ú [-g- irregular < *-k-] “fear, doubt”, bug-é “coward”, -bugéno “to fear” [Ehret 1980: 138, §I.A.45].²⁴ So far, within the MT group, only the Mubi reflex has been involved in the AA comparison, cf. IS 1966: 28 (Mubi-Bilin-Somali); Dlg. 1966: 50; 1967: 9, #6; 1973: 265 (Bilin-ECu.-Mubi); SISAJa I #81 (Bilin-ECu.-WCh.-Eg.); HCVA II #93 (Cu.-ECh.).

155. Mubi ḥók “1. (tr.) gießen”, 2. (intr.) regnen” [Lukas 1937: 181] = (?) *ḥok “rain” [Doornbos-Bender 1983: 77, #63] | Tumak ḥōg “verser (vider)” [Caprile 1975: 50] | presumably DM *ḥok- “1. to issue, 2. appear” [GT]: WDangla ḥókē “apparaître, surgir” [Fédry 1971: 106], EDangla ḥòkē “apparaître, surgir, jaillir” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 59], Bidiya ḥok (ḥokí, ḥoken), pl. ḥokow (ḥokoowí, ḥokoowēn) “jaillir”, ḥòkòḥòkò (m) “issue de secours dans un terrier de rats” vs. ḥook (ḥookí, ḥookēn), pl. ḥokòw (ḥokòowí, ḥokòowēn) “1. apparaître, 2. pousser” [AJ 1989: 62] < ECh. *√ḥg “to pour” [JS 1981: 206A₂] = *boḥ- > *ḥok- “to flow” [Stolbova 1996: 126] = *ḥok- < **bōḥ- (via metathesis of glottalization) “1. to issue (intr.), 2. pour out” [GT] || PCu.-Om. *bVḥ(k)w- (?) “течь” [Dlg.] = PCu. *boḥ- “to be moist” [Ehret 1987: 16, #12] > NAgaw: Bilin boq-s, buq-s (caus.) “ausgießen, vergießen” [Reinisch 1887: 76], Kemant boḥ-t y (refl. pass.) “se verser, être versé”, boḥ-š y “verser, répandre” [CR 1912: 176], cf. also Bilin bḥu “couler” [Cohen] = bāqū, bawq “gerinnen (Milch)”, boq “Tropfen”, boq y “tröpfeln” [Hintze 1951: 84, #385 pace Reinisch], Kemant baḥ- “to be moist” [Ehret 1987: 16, #12] (NAgaw: Hohenberger 1978: 45 with false AA comparanda) ||

²⁴ Combined in Ehret l.c. with ERift: Qwadza beʔ-et- “to scorn” < SCu. *bō/ik- “to avoid, keep away from, have an aversion to”, which is semantically all too vague.

ECu.: Yaaku -poq- [p- reg. < *b-, also AA *p-?] “to pour in” [Heine 1975: 131] || SCu. *bōk(w)- “showers, mist, drizzle” [Ehret 1980: Qwadza boʔ-uto [-ʔ- regular < *-k-] “dew” | Ma'a i-buk-éta ~ i-buḥ-éta “long rains (March-May)” (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 138, §I.A.44; Cu.: Ehret 1987: 16, #12) || NOM. *buk-/*buḵ- “to rain” [GT]: Ometo *buk- “to rain” [GT]: cf. esp. Kachama bāq, buq [CR] = boḵ- [Blažek], Gamu buḵ- [Blažek], Wolamo buḵ- “pleuvoir” [Cerulli], Haruro boq-āys “piovere” [CR 1937: 641] (NOM.: Bender 1987: 34, #63.b; LS 1997: 316; Blažek p.c.) || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-həḡ “2. recueillir du liquide” [Prasse 1969: 63, #337] || Sem.: PAR. biliteral *√bq = *buq “лить, течь” [Belova 1993: 35, #29] = *√bk “to flow” [Ehret 2000 MS: 7, #1056] > Ar. baqqa “2. verser beaucoup de pluie, de grandes et abondantes pluies (se dit du ciel)” [BK I 148, 143] = baqqa “1. to pour, 2. sprinkle, 3. speak much” [Zaborski 1971: 56, #18 with its biliteral Sem. background] vs. baʿaqa “arroser copieusement (se dit d’un nuage)” [BK I 148, 143] = baʿaqa “arroser le soil” [Cohen] = “verser abondamment” [DRS] vs. bawq- “shower” [Ehret]²⁵ < PAA *√bk vs. *√bk (both varieties are attested) “1. to pour, hence: (to) 2. rain, 3. snow” [GT]. The reflexes of this and some further root varieties below have been time to time connected in the comparative literature:²⁶

155.1. PAA *√bk “1. to pour, hence: (to) 2. rain, 3. snow” [GT] is attested in NBrb.: Shilha a-bukku “neige” [DRB], Shilha of Tafilalt a-bōkko “neige” [Laoust 1920: 189] | Beni Snus t-bika & t-biša [-š- < -k-], Figig t-biša “pluie” [DRS] (NBrb.: DRB 10, 49) || PCu.-Om. *bVkk^w- “дождевая туча (rain cloud)” [Dlg.]: PCu. *b/pok^w- “mist, drizzle” [Ehret 1987: #98]:²⁷ Beja bayúk [-k < both AA *-k and *-k] “Schnee” [Seetzen] || LECu.: Oromo bokk-ā “rain(fall)” [Bitima 2000: 62] (Oromo: Blažek 2010: 38 based upon, i.a., LVC 1992; LECu.: Dlg. 1973: 270) || NOM. *buk “rain” [Bender 1987: 34, #63.b; 1994b: 1157, #63] = *buk-/*buḵ- “to rain” [GT]: cf., e.g., NWometo *buk- “to rain” [Bender 2003: 120, #105b]; Wolayta buk- “to rain” [LS], Malo buk- [Bender], Dawro buk- “to rain” [LS], Dache buk- “to rain” [LS], Oyda buk- “to rain” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 61, #105b] (NWometo: Bender 2003: 22, #105b) | SEOmt. *buk- “to rain” [Bender 2003: 92, #105b]; Koyra buk/tt-[Hayward], Zergulla ḥuka “1. to hit, 2. rain” [Linton] etc. (SEOmeto: Bender 2003: 333, #43) | Gimirra-Benesho (Bench-non) buk 3-4 [Breeze], She buka [Fleming] “to rain” (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 171, #105a) | Kafa-Bosha buči/ye “rain” [Fleming & Lewis in Bender 2003: 171, #105a] | Dizi buk-u (vb.) “to rain” [Toselli in Bender 2003: 215, #105] (NOM.: Bender 1987: 34, #63.b; 1988: 149; 2003: 22, #105b; 2003: 241, #105b; LS 1997: 316; Cu.-NOM.: Dlg. 1973: 270; Bender 1994b: 1157, #63) || WCh.: Hausa bíkò “2. rain which succeeds sowing” [Bargery 1934: 106] = mú sààmí bíkò “3. rain fell after we’d sown our crops” [Abraham

²⁵ Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 4, #1038) as a C₃ *-k “intensive of effect” root extension derivative of AA *√bāw- “to flow” based on Psem. *√bwl “to flow out” (“finitive” extension *I), LECu.: Arbore baww “lake” (sic).

²⁶ ECh.-Ar.: Stolbova 1996: 126; Ar.-Cu.: Cohen 1947: 173, #385; Agaw-Ar.: Dlg. 1966: 50; 1973: 274; DRS 74-75; Sem.-Brb.-Cu.: Diakonoff 1992 MS: 12; Ar.-Mubi-Agaw: HCVA II #96: HSED #199; Koyra-PCu.: Ehret 1995: 83, #12; Cu.-Brb.-Sem.: Ehret 2000 MS: 7, #1056.

²⁷ The Koyra-PCu. isogloss was combined in Ehret 1995: 83, #12 with Sem.: Ar. bakk- (verbal noun) “to vomit” < AA *-bōk^w- “to leak, seep, run out”.

1962: 100] = bìkò (sic) [Stolbova] | AS *p^huk [GT]: Goemay phuk (so, ph-) “to empty the contents of a vessel into another one with short and sudden movements” [Sirlinger 1937: 178].

155.2. PAA *√pk “to pour” [GT] > SBrb.: EWImd. tè-ffīəγ-dū “transvase-le donc” [Nicolas 1957: 574] || ECu.: perhaps Yaaku -poq- [p < both AA *b and *p?] “to pour in” [Heine 1975: 131] || CCh.: Hitkala (Hide, Lamang) p̄ya “1. verser, renverser, 2. déshabiller” [Eguchi 1971: 224]. Cf. also Takacs 2006b: 128 for the supposed Angas reflex.

155.3. SAA *√bg “to pour” [GT] = *-beg- “to spill, pour (intr.)” [Ehret 2000 MS: 4, #1038]²⁸ > ECu. *beh- “to pour, spill (intr.)” [Ehret]²⁹ || WCh. *√bg “to pour” (in NBauchi and Ngizim) [JS 1981: 206A₁].

155.4. PAA *√pk (var. *√pQ?) “to pour out” [GT]: Brb. *√fk “to pour” [GT]³⁰ > EBrb.: Audjila e-ffok, ffok (tr., intr.) “1. versare (verser), 2. colare (couler)” [Paradisi 1960: 177 quoted also in DRB] || WBrb.: perhaps Zenaga e-ffug “verser” [TC 2008 quoted in DRB 541, FG16: isolated] || SBrb.: Ghat ə-ffək (DRB: f pharyngalisé) “verser, être versé” [PAM 2003: 156] (Brb.: DRB 551) || PCh. *√pg “to pour” (in CCh., Kera) [JS 1981: 206A₃] > WCh.: AS *p^huk [GT]: Goemay phuk (so, ph-) “to empty the contents of a vessel into another one with short and sudden movements” [Sirlinger 1937: 178] (Takacs 2004: 291: isolated in AS) || CCh.: Bachama púkó “to pour” [Carnochan 1975: 465] || ECh.: Kera púki “vergießen” [Ebert 1976: 89] | EDangla pàke “gießen” [Ebobisse 1979: 126; 1987: 84]. See also EAAN I 81, #367.

156. MT *bòkl-/*kòbl- “hinder part” [GT]: Kofa bókólà (f), pl. bókál “anus” [Jng. 1977 MS: 4, #34], perhaps Toram kòbele [met. < *bòkl-] “fesses” [Alio 2004: 258, #249] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *bàlak (or *bòlok?) [GT]: Kofyar b̀alòk (so, -a/-o-!) “bottom, anus” [Netting 1967: 2] (Takacs 2004: 26: isolated in AS).³¹ This root with these three radicals disposed to metathetic shifts (including an *-l-) seems at the moment to be only present in Chadic. Still, may one present here a striking set of highly puzzling candidates for being reflex of an almost homophonous triradical PAA root (with an unknown sibilant in the place of *-l-):

156.1. S²AA *√bḳs (denoting some hinder or bottom part of the body) [GT] > Eg. bq̣s.w [irregular -s- < AA *-š- ~ *-l-?]³² “Rückenwirbel, Wirbelsäule(kanal)” (PT, Wb I 480, 8-12;

²⁸ Based by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 4, #1038) on Sem.: Ar. bağs- (verbal noun) “to gush forth”, Eg. bg3.w “ship-wrecked man” < * “drenched person”, LECu.: Afar baggad- “to become wet”, bagg-eḍ-o “diarrhea”, WCh. *√bg “to pour”, most of which are semantically certainly unrelated.

²⁹ Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (1995: 89, #31; 2000 MS: 533, #31) with Sem.: Ar. baḥḥ- “to sprinkle, drizzle”, Eg. (NK) bh “to give birth”, NOm. *buk- “to sow (i.e.: scatter seed)” < AA *-bē/ōḥw- “to spill out in drops, sprinkle”.

³⁰ K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB 541, FG16 and 551, FK8) affiliated these Berber roots with a velar C₂ to his FY3 root.

³¹ G. Takacs (l.c.) was puzzled about the obscure reasons of the vowel disharmony and its etymology merely speculating about an unidentified compound or an unnatural etymon *b̀alwak (*-lw-?). Now, instead of either way, the East Chadic match settles the matter by suggesting an original triradical root.

³² There are at least ca. half a dozen (or maybe even a bit more) of certain cases where the anomalous correspondence Eg. s vs. Sem. *š is attested (see EDE I 199-201). Thus, it cannot be excluded that -s in Eg. bq̣s.w too was sprung from a lateral sibilant. In principle, we may assume an alternation of the AA lateral sibilant with *-l- in this root on the NAA analogy of Ar. malʿ- “troupe, bande, partie” [BK II 1149] ~ Eg. mšʿ “Heer, Truppen” (OK, Wb II 155, 2-19) = “1. Truppe, Heer, 2. Armee, Fußvolk, Infanterie, 3. Arbeitertruppe, Expeditionstruppe” (ÄWb I 570) or Ar. malaʿa “marcher avec rapidité, d’un pas léger et rapide (se dit d’une chamelle)” [BK II 1149] vs. Ar. mašaʿa “3. marcher, doucement” [BK II 1111] ~ Eg. mšʿj “1. marschieren (von den Soldaten), reisen, 2. (sich)

so also Grapow 1954: 57; GHWb 263) = “spine” (FD 85)³³ || NBrb.: just an improbable reflex in Mzg.³⁴ || LECu.: uncertain reflex in Oromo³⁵. If the Chado-Egyptian match proves true (even when/if we rightly refute the unreal phantom traces of an SAA * $\sqrt{b}k\acute{s}$ “back” in Oromo and Tamazight), we might set up an ancestral (Eg.-Ch.) set of common root varieties * $\sqrt{b}k\acute{s}$ ~ * $\sqrt{b}k\acute{l}$ “back” [GT]. Moreover, this supposed latter parental root appears to have a strikingly similar triradical variety in Central Chadic with a variation or shift of *l vs. *r: **156.2. CCh.** * $\sqrt{b}k\acute{r}$ (???)³⁶ > * $\sqrt{b}g\acute{l}$ “back” [GT],³⁷ cf. presumably Tera bigirsa [-rs- < *-ls-?] “back” [Meek apud JI, otherwise in Newman 1964] | Higi-Bana buguló-nga “(mein?)

bewegen (FüÙe, Überschwemmungswasser), 3. Reise, Marsch” (NK, Wb II 156, 4-12; WD III 57) = “1. zu Fuß gehen, 2. (übertragen) wandeln” (Till 1955: 334, §56) = “to march” (FD 119) = “1. to march, journey, travel, depart, 2. journey, march” (DLE I 245), which might be genetically related to if we assume an interchange of the Psemitic laterals (*-l- ~ *-š- > Ar. -l- ~ -š-), cf. Takács (2006a: 113) and EDE III 613-615 and 619-621.

³³ The etymology of this Egyptian anatomical term is even today mysterious, full of stubborn puzzles in spite of numerous alternatives and attempts (critically surveyed in EDE II 331-332): (1) the CCh. root examined above. (2) Sem.: Akk. (SynL) baqašu “etwa: breit”, (jB) baqāšu “etwa: breit sein (i.a. vom Rücken und Stirn)”, (aAK/aB) buqqušum “sehr breit” [AHW 104, 139] = (Standard Bab.) baqāšu “to become enlarged (?), protruding (?)”, cf. buqqušu (adj. describing a characteristic bodily trait, occurs always as a personal name in Oakk., OBab.), cf. buqāšu (subst., meaning unknown, occurs as a personal name in Oakk.) [CAD b 99, 325, 323, resp.]? For the supposed Ugaritic cognate of the Akk. term cf. Watson 1993: 214. (3) In spite of its homophony, the isogloss of SCu.: Qwadza beʔes-iko [-ʔ- regular < -ʔ/ʕ/ħ-] (pl. of belendayo) “shoulders” [Ehret 1980: 142, §I.A.74 with a semantically false derivation] || CCh.: PMandara *bagaža “shoulder” [GT] (Mandara: Wolff 1983: 224), for which cf. perhaps Eg. bgz.w “als Körperteil des Sternbildes ‘Riese’” (NK, Wb I 483, 1) = bgz.t “*Hüfte (Teil des Sternbilds ‘Riese’ in den ramessidischen Sternuhren, zwischen Oberschenkel und Brust)” (GHWb 264)? Act. *bqs.(t/w)? Probably to be distinguished from LEg. bgz “Kehle (?)” (GR, Wb I 483, 2)? Perhaps the SCu.-CCh. root was of biliteral origin, cf. NBrb. * $\sqrt{b}g^y$ (?) [GT]: Tamazight ta-bužžu-t “biceps (muscles)”, a-bužž “(avant-)bras”, perhaps also ta-bža “1. étui à collyre, 2. flüte (en roseau)” [DRB 43, BJ3] || WCh.: Bole-Tangale *baka “shoulder” [Schuh 1984: 212]. As areal parallel cf. PBantu *-bègà “shoulder” [Guthrie 1971: 118]. (4) The equation of Eg. bqs.w with LECu.: Oromo buqus-ē “vagina” [Gragg 1982: 69] = buquš-ē [Hudson 1989: 161] is perhaps plausible. In principle, a semantic development “vagina” < * “bottom” < * “back” should not be ruled out. (5) G. von der Gabelentz (1894: 160-161) affiliated Eg. begsu (sic) with Basque beso “Arm”, EBrb.: Ghadames u-fus, NBrb.: Qabyle a-fus and SBrb.: Twareg a-fūs “Hand” and Twareg te-bbis-t “Handvoll”, which is certainly false. (6) C.T. Hodge (1989: 14; 1990: 653; 1992: 15; 1994: 532) saw in Eg. bqs.w an alleged *b- “place prefix” attached to Eg. qs “bone”. Unconvincing, since no convincing evidence was offered for that kind of b- prefix, let alone that one does not necessarily associate just “back” as the “place of bone”. (6) Ch. Ehret (1997 MS: 8, #1052) compared Eg. bqs.w “spine (?)” to LECu.: Oromo boqq-ō “neck, back of the neck”, derived from AA * $\sqrt{b}ûk$ - “to bend (body)” based on HECu. *bo/ōk- “to bend” [Ehret] || POM. *boḳ- “knee” [Ehret] || WCh.: Ngizim bègbák “side just above hipbone and below ribs” [Schuh 1981: 15].

³⁴ Cf. Mzg. a-baqis “coup donné avec la main ouverte sur le dos de l’autre main” [Taïfi 1991: 24], where, however, the basic sense was connected with hitting and noth the back, since K. Nait-Zerrad (DRB 88) convincingly affiliated it with NBrb.: Qabyle beqqes “giffler, souffleter (coups plus modérés que beqqed)”, i-beqqis “gifle” [Dallet 1982: 35].

³⁵ Cf. Oromo buqus-ē “vagina” [Gragg 1982: 69] = buquš-ē “vagina” [Hudson 1989: 161] = buquš-ā “vagina (usually polite and of female children)” [Bitima 2000: 68]. In principle, a semantic development “vagina” < * “bottom” < * “back” should not be ruled out, but one would, of course, need further (LE)Cu. data for this purpose.

³⁶ H. Jungraithmayr and D. Ibrizimow (l.c.) derived the Tera and Masa parallels from their common Ch. *k-r “back”, which seems to be challenged by phonological difficulties (e.g., Masa -l vs. PCh. *-r, Tera & Masa -g- vs. PCh. *k-), also by the initial b- in CCh. (hardly a prefix), and by the comparison with Eg. bqs.w proposed here.

³⁷ Where the third consonant might be a complement attached to the same biconsonantal PAA root (or its variety) that might be present in the rest of the biconsonantal parallels.

Rücken” [Lukas 1937: 130] | PMusgu *bUgol “back” [GT]: Musgu *bogól, pl. *bogolakái “Buckel”, Lukas: “zu erschließen aus” že-bogól, fem. ebenso oder že-bugulíi “bucklig” (Krause) [Lukas 1941: 48], Mbara bùgól “derrière” [TSL 1986: 255] | PMasa *√bgr ~ *√bkr > *√bgl “back” [GT]: Masa búgól “dos” [Mouchet] = búgól-lá “Rücken” [Jng. 1971-2, so also in JI] = bükol [bùgól]lā “1. le dos, 2. l’arrière (p.ex. de la case), 3. derrière, 4. après, 5. [bùgól]tā ensuite” [Caïtucoli 1983: 51-52], Masa-Bongor búgól-lá “dos” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 71], Gizey/Wina bùgól, Masa bùgól ~ bógól, Ham bógól, Lew bógól, Marba bùgól “derrière” [Ajello et al. 2001: 20], Ham, Lew bógól, Marba bùgól “derrière” [Ajello et al. 2001: 6], Gizey/Wina bùgól, Masa bógól, Ham bógól “dos, derrière” [Ajello et al. 2001: 21], Lame bākír “revers, dos” [Sachnine 1982: 287], perhaps also (via metathesis???) Zime-Dari kà?bèrò? “revers (tissu)” [Cooper 1984: 11] (CCh.: JI 1994 II 7).

The initial *b- in these reflexes apparently testifies to a non-glottal C₂ whose plain voiced/-less velar left the Anlaut also untouched without the obligatory transposition of glottalization. In addition, further biliteral parallels seem to speak for analyzing the third consonant in as a C₃ *-r³⁸ complement whereby the primary PAA root was extended.

156.3. P²/SAA *√bḵ ~ rare variety *√bk “1. thigh, 2. hind parts, 3. tail (?)” [GT]³⁹ > Eg.: dubious, no direct reflex⁴⁰ ||l NBrb.: perhaps Shilh ta-baqqu-t “queue”, a-baqqu “verge”, var. (t)a-bakku-(t) “petite queue d’animal” [DRB 86, BQ9 and 48, BK21, resp.: both isolated in Berber] ||l NOM. *bU/Λḵ- > *bunḵ- (via epenthetic nasal) “1. thigh, 2. buttocks” [GT]: POMeto *bunḵ- “thigh” [GT]: Gamu bunḵ- “buttocks” [Moreno in Bender 2003: 315, #10] | Ganjule ’būga “thigh” [Siebert & Hoefft] and Zayse ’buḵḵa “thigh” [Siebert & Hoefft] = bunḵ- “thigh” [Hayward in Bender 2003: 89, #77], Zergulla būnḵa “upper leg” [Bender 2003: 87, #55b] (isolated in SEOMeto: Bender 2003: 336, #100) | Gimirra *baḵ “buttocks” [GT]: Benesho baḵ [Breeze] = bæq’ [Fleming], She bak [Montandon], all signifying “buttocks” (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 339, #10) | Dizoid *bok/g- (?) “thigh” [Bender 2003: 255, #A100]: in fact, Dizi baḡan [Fleming], Sheko bōka [Aklilu] = boka [Fleming] “thigh” (isolated in Dizoid apud Bender 2003: 352, #100) ||l WCh.: perhaps Pero púká [< *buk- with irregular p- < *b-???) “thigh (animal)” [Frj. 1985: 47].

156.1. PAA *√bg(w) “1. anus, 2. back” [GT] > SBrb.: (?) EWlmd.-Ayr bāḡāw “être injecté par l’anus (liquide servant de clystère)”, te-bāḡāw-t “tube servant à injecter un liquide par l’anus, clysoir” [PAM 1998: 6] ||l LECu.: Baiso baḡa “back” [Fleming 1964: 46] = bæḡet

³⁸ Which is challenged by H. Jungrauthmayr’s (JS 1981: 32A; JI 1994 I 3A) hypothesis on its derivation from the biradical PCh. *-kr “back” by a prefix *b- of unknown signification. Still, much likelier appears the case of C₃ ext. *-r here, this latter here being not uncommon as a fossilized nominal class marker in some other segment of the AA anatomical terminology, cf. Takács 1994; 1995: 101, #2; 1997: 247.

³⁹ One wonders if the same root is retained by NBrb.: Nefusa te-bga “tibia” [DRB 33, BG18] ||l WCh.: (???) Gerka bak “leg”, bok “foot” [Ftp. 1911: 216, 208]. G. Takács (2004: 18) assumed Gerka gbāk (so, gb-) [Jng.] to be a misrecorded form of an irregular reflex of AS *k^wak ~ *ḵ^wak “leg etc.”. Is Gerka b- [Ftp.] < *gb- < *g^w- < *k^w- to be assumed just like in Gerka purrum “blacksmith” [Ftp. 1911: 215] < AS *ḵ^walam ~ *ḵ^wolom “to forge iron”, where the shift of Gerka p- < *k^w- via *kp- (?)?

⁴⁰ It would be tempting, of course, to segment in Eg. bq̄s.w “Rückenwirbel, Wirbelsäule(nkanal)” (PT, Wb I 480, 8-12) = “spine” (FD 85) the PAA root *√bḵ above, but we know of no nominal class marker *-s whatsoever that might be identified with its C₃.

“back” [Siebert 1994: 11] || WCh.: unlikely reflex in Ngizim⁴¹ || ECh.: Modgel bégu-am “mein Arsch” [Lukas 1937: 96] | Mubi bùk (m), pl. bòogàk “1. reins, 2. derrière” [Jng. 1990 MS: 6]. Cf. EDE II 331.

Mubi-Toram lexemes with *ɸ- + sonants

157. Kofa búngúm (m), pl. **búngàm** “baboon” [Jng. 1977 MS: 12, #291] (GT: isolated in MT?) || WCh. *bang(ay)- or *bangʸ- (?) “baboon” [GT]: Ngamo bàngəy “baboon” [Kraft], Kirfi bàngó “baboon” [Schuh 1978: 139], Tangale pà̀ngùm [p- < *b- poss.] “monkey” [Kidda 1985: 210, #317], Pero pyə̀ngàn [p- regular < *b-?] “monkey” [Kraft] | Bade bàngên “baboon” [Kraft] = ɸàngên (sic: ɸ-) [Stolbova], Ngizim bángâi, pl. bángágin “anubis baboon” [Schuh 1981: 21] = bangə̀i “baboon” [Kraft] = bangži “monkey” [Stolbova] (WCh.: Kraft 1981, #163-#164). This Chadic stem seems for me to be isolated in the whole AA family.⁴² One might therefore suppose perhaps a remote loaning from Kanuri bungwoi “black dog-faced baboon” [Schuh] or its ancestral etymon.

158. Masmaje ɸarè “tige d’épis de mil” [Alio 2004: 280, #30] || SCu.: Alagwa bar-is- (caus.) “to grow (of plants)” [Ehret 1980: 320, #1]⁴³ || Eth.-Sem. *ɸbhr: Tna. ɸəhar, bahar

⁴¹ One may be perhaps tempted to compare here Ngizim bə̀gbák “side just above hipbone and below ribs” [Schuh 1981: 15] also, but it seems better related to a distinct root, namely LECu.: Somali bog “flank”, Oromo buke “flank” (LECu.: Zaborski 1975: 327) | HECu.: Burji and Hadiya bakko “beside” (HECu.: Sasse 1982: 38).

⁴² As its third radical *-g can hardly be treated here as a root extension for the time being, it seems to represent a root distinct from PCh. *ɸbn (prob. *bin-) “monkey” [GT]: WCh.: Siri bini [Skinner 1977: 11] || CCh.: Fali beno [Strümpell 1922-3: 133] | Gude mə̀bin [OS], Bachama mə̀bwən [OS] | Banana v̄ina [Kraft], Musey fina [Kraft] (CCh.: Kraft 1981: #163). N. Skinner (1977: 11), O.V. Stolbova (1987: 249), and V.É. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (OS 1992: 183; Orel 1993: 43; HSED #335) equated some of these parallels with Eg. bnw “Pavian” (BD, Wb I 458, 6) = bnw “ein Pavian” (GHWb 253). Whether this Chado-Egyptian isogloss has something to do also with PCh. *bUm- “baboon” [GT] (?) > WCh.: Geruma bomi “baboon” [Gowers apud Schuh 1978: 139] | Nbauchi: Pa’a ɸun “monkey” [Skinner] = ɸun, pl. búnāni “baboon” [M. Skinner 1979: 168], Kariya bum “baboon” (Nbauchi: Skinner 1977: 11) | Sbauchi: Polchi vūum “baboon” [Kraft] || CCh.: Gudu bæ:m “baboon” [Kraft] (W-CCh.: Kraft 1981: #164) || ECh.: (???) Dangla-Migama *ɸambaʔam [GT]: EDangla à̀mbām “chimpanzé” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 12], Bidiya ʔà̀mbàʔà̀m (m) “singe sp.” [AJ 1989: 52], is uncertain. N. Skinner (l.c.) and O.V. Stolbova (l.c.) agree in equating Pa’a ɸun and Kariya bum with Siri bini “monkey” above (served by Stolbova from her Nbauchi *bAni with *-n-), which seem to me to better represent two separate roots. It would be equally difficult to suppose a process *bVrVm > *bVm in these languages. C.T. Hodge (1968: 26) and V. Blažek (1984: 443-444) connected Eg. bnw and PCh. *ɸbn with the reflexes of PCh. *ɸbd “monkey” and PCh. *ɸbr “monkey”, which are unrelated (cf. the entries of Eg. b3bj and bntj in EDE II 70-73 and 235-237, resp.). In Chadic studies too, these apparently distinct roots are usually derived from the very same source, although the phonological anomalies are not (cannot be) explained. In spite of H.G. Mukarovsky (1987: 258), PCh. *ɸbn seems to be unrelated to LECu.: Somali wānn- “Colobus guersa Riipp., eine Affengattung, deren Schwanz als Zierde des Schildes gebraucht wird” [Reinisch 1902: 379] | Oromo wenni (w- rendered as ū-, i.e., ɸ-) “scimmia agilissima che vive sulle cime dei grandi alberi (per terre sembra perdere la sua agilità, la sua pelliccia è bellissima e serve come ornamento agli uomini d’armi)” [da Thiene 1939: 334] = wēnni “monkey (= gureza of Amh.)” [Gragg 1982: 403] = wani ~ weni “Colobus monkey” [Mukarovsky] | HECu.: Burji woyñ-ē “Colobus monkey” [Sasse 1982: 191].

⁴³ Derived by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) from SCu. *ɸad- “much, many” based solely on this single form and its comparison with LECu.: Somali badan, badi- “to be many”.

“grand, fort”, Tigre bāharat “qui poussent, germent” (ES: DRS 49, BHR1 with semantically vague parallels) < PAA * \sqrt{b} (h)r “to grow (primarily of a plant?)” [GT].

159. MT * $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ - “slave” [GT]: Mubi $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ (m), pl. $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}$ “Sklave” [Lukas 1937: 180] = $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ (m), pl. $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ “ésclave” [Jng. 1990 MS: 6], Masmaje $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{ungo}$ “esclave” [Alio 2004: 280, #31], Birgit $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{a}}$ (m), pl. $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{y}$ “esclave” [Jng. 2004: 351], Kofa $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{o}}$ (m), $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}$ (f), pl. $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ “slave” [Jng. 1977 MS: 15, #388] | DM * $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{-}$ “slave” [GT]: W Dangla $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}$ “esclave” [Fédry 1971: 106], E Dangla $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}$ [$\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}$] (m) “l’esclave, l’enfant abandonné que l’on prende en charge” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 58], K orlongo $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}$ “esclave” [Fédry], Bidiya $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{o}}$ (m), $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{a}}$ (f), pl. $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{a}}$ “esclave”, $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{w}$ ($\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{i}}$, $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{ŋ}$), pl. $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{w}$ ($\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{w}\bar{\text{i}}$, $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{ŋ}$) “asservir” [AJ 1989: 62] < ECh. * $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ - “slave” [GT] || WCh.: PGoemay * $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ “to salute with humility” [GT]: Goemay $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ “to show obedience” [Sirlinger 1937: 9] = $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ “to salute, prostrate” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 2] (Takacs 2004: 28: isolated in AS) || Eg. $\text{b}\bar{\text{3}}$ [-3 regular < *-r] “jemanden bedienen” (PT, Wb I 177, 4) || Sem.: Ar. $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ I “1. puiser de l’instruction dans un exemple, dans qqch. qui offre des exemples”, VIII “1. considérer avec attention, observer, 3. regarder qqch. comme un exemple dans lequel on doit puiser un enseignement, s’instruire par des exemples, par ce qui arrive à d’autres, 4. examiner avec attention et calculer, supputer, 5. considérer, respecter qqn., 6. avoir égard à qqch., faire attention”, VIII au passif: “1. être considéré, respecté, 2. être l’objet de l’attention”, X “4. s’instruire par des exemples, par ce qui arrive aux autres” [BK II 152-153] < PAA * $\sqrt{\text{b}}\text{r}$ “1. to obey (an instruction), 2. serve so.” [GT].⁴⁴ There are further parallels with plain b-tempting at the first glance to be conceived as cognate, which may well turn out to be misleading.⁴⁵

160. MT * $\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$ - ~ * $\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$ - “to fly” [GT]: Mubi $\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$ ($\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$, $\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$) “voler (oiseau)” [Jng. 1990 MS: 5], Birgit $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}$ ($\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$, $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{o}}$) “voler” [Jng. 2004: 351], Masmaje $\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$ “concourir” [Alio 2004: 280, #32] | Bidiya $\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}\text{ny}$ “idéo. de tourner dans l’air” [AJ 1989: 62]: < ECh. * $\text{b}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$ - “to fly” [GT] || NSem. * $\sqrt{\text{b}}\text{r}$ “to fly up” [GT]: Akk. abru “Flügel, Flosse” [AHW 7] || Ug. $\sqrt{\text{b}}\text{r}$ “fliegen (?)” [WUS], Hbr. $\sqrt{\text{b}}\text{r}$ hifil “sich emporschwingen (v. Habicht)” [GB] (NSem.: GB 7; DRS 5; WUS #33) < PAA * $\sqrt{\text{b}}\text{r}$ “to fly” [GT]. The initial ECh. * b - issues regularly from the cluster of * b -. This PAA trilateral root was extended by * r - from a biliteral root, which is much more widespread, cp.:

⁴⁴ Perhaps a remote PAA variety (via rhotacism, so widespread in SAA) to the PAA etymon of Sem. * $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}$ - “slave” and * $\sqrt{\text{b}}\text{d}$ “to work” (denom.?) [OS] || CCh.: Hitkala $\text{v}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ “Sklave” [Lukas 1964: 109] etc.? Sem.-CCh.: HSED 232, #1029.

⁴⁵ E.g., it would be difficult to directly identify the above-listed Chadic forms displaying an old * b - with WCh.: Hausa $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ “servant” [Abraham 1962: 77], which N. Skinner (1996: 16) related, along with an evident areal parallel like Mande $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ “work, domestic service”, also to Eg. $\text{b}\bar{\text{3}}\text{k}$ “Diener” (OK, Wb I 429-430). This latter theory is certainly untenable as it offers no explanation for the nature Eg. -k. On the other hand, strikingly similar forms are used in the Ethiopian area like Agaw: Qwara $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ and Hamir $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ “Knecht” [Reinisch 1885: 43] || LECu.: Somali-Jabarti $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ “slave” [Reinisch 1904: 55] || ES: Gurage $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$, Amhara $\text{b}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ “slave” (ES: Appleyard 1977: 53/95; Leslau 1979 III 157). But, as, for instance, W. Leslau (l.c.) and D. Appleyard (l.c.) have shown, the Ethio-Semitic term issues from the name of the ethnic group Barya, a people in NW Ethiopia speaking East Sudanic.

160.1. PAA *√br “to jump, 2. fly, 3. flee” [GT] > ES *√br̄r “to fly” (from Cu.?) [GT]: Geez barra “to fly, run fast” [Leslau], Amh. bǎrrǎrǎ “to fly, run away” [Leslau] (ES-Cu.: Leslau 1987: 107) and ES *√br̄y “to flee” [GT]: Geez baraya “to bolt and flee (mount)” [Leslau], Amh. bǎrǎyyǎ “to flee” [Leslau] = “s’*en*fuir, épouvanté” [DRS 82] (ES: Leslau 1987: 108) vs. MSA *√brw: Jibbali ebré “to jump high and succeed, etc.”, Mehri hǎbrō “i.a. to jump (from x to y)” (MSA: Johnstone 1981: 28; 1987: 54) || Bed. bir ~ bīr “to fly”, ambūr ~ anbūr “wing” [Reinisch 1895: 17, 21, 50] || NAgaw: Khamir bir- “fliegen” [Reinisch 1884: 349] | SAgaw: Awngi berǎru “to fly” [Leslau] = bir- “to fly” [HCVA] = berer-əŋ “to fly” [HSED] || LECu.: Saho -ibrir- “to fly” [Sasse] | Oromo barar- “to fly” [Sasse, Lamberti] | HECu. *barar- “to fly” [Hudson 1989: 406] = *burr-/*birr- [GT] (ECu.: Sasse 1982: 44; Cu.: LS 1997: 253-354) || WCh.: Hausa bírǎrǎi “1. jumping, 2. surging forward to get at sg.”, cf. bǔrbǔrníyǎá “gambolling with joy” [Abraham 1962: 102, 121] || CCh.: Musgu bǎrǎ “(s’*en*)voler” [Mouchet 1950: 30], Vulum birǎ “voler (oiseau)” [Tourneux 1978a: 288; 1978b: 93] | Musgoy mbir “(s’*en*)voler” [Mouchet], Daba mbir “1. voler, 2. s’*en*voler, sauter” [Mouchet 1966: 136] = mbǎr “to jump” [Lienhard-Gieger], Kola ...mbír... “to jump” [Schubert] || ECh.: Mobu bǎré “sauter” & Ngam bré “voler (pour un oiseau)” [Jng. apud Lenssen 1984: 63] | EDangla béré “sauter (en dansant)” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 42] = béré “(beim Tanzen) springen” [Ebobisse 1979: 127; 1987: 94], Bidiya ber “sauter” [AJ 1989: 58] | Mubi bír “voler (oiseau)” [Jng. 1990 MS: 5], Birgit bǎrǎi “voler” [Jng. 1973 MS] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 211). For the AA comparison see also Mukarovsky 1966: 19, #64; 1987: 226; SISAJa I #112; HCVA II #119; HSED #219 & #291; Takács 1999: 44.

160.2. PAA *√br “to jump” [GT]: Sem.: MSA *√brw [Johnstone]: Jibbali ebré “to jump high and succeed, etc.”, Mehri hǎbrō “i.a. to jump (from x to y)” (MSA: Johnstone 1981: 28; 1987: 54) || (?) Eg. b3b3 “Verbum in Wortspiel mit der Körnerfrucht b3b3.t (statt des alten nb3b3)” (NK, Wb I 418, 13) = “to tremble, flutter (younger var. of PT nb3b3)” (Ward 1978: 28) = “sauter, tressauter (autre forme du nb3b3)” (AL 78.1228) = “*zittern, sich hin und her bewegen, aufspringen” (GHWb 240) || WCh.: Hausa bírǎrǎi “1. jumping, 2. surging forward to get at sg.”, cf. bǔrbǔrníyǎá “gambolling with joy” [Abraham 1962: 102, 121] || CCh.: Daba mbir “1. voler, 2. s’*en*voler, sauter” [Mouchet 1966: 136] = mbǎr “to jump” [Lienhard & Giger], Kola ...mbír... “to jump” [Schubert] | Musgu bǎrǎ “to jump” [Mouchet] || ECh.: Mobu bǎré “sauter” [Jng. apud Lenssen 1984: 63] | DM *ber- “to spring” [GT] > EDangla béré “sauter en dansant” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 42] = béré “(beim Tanzen) springen” [Ebobisse 1979: 127; 1987: 94], Bidiya ber (berǎ, berəŋ) “1. apparaître (lune), 2. sauter”, pl. berəw (berəwǎ, berəwəŋ) “sautiller, danser”, berəwò (f) “danse” [AJ 1989: 58] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 211). For these and further varieties with a voiceless Anlaut of this waste root family cf. EDE II 65 and 378-384, resp.

161. Mubi bǎrkǎi (f), pl. bǎrǎayǎk “gazelle cobe defassa (ar. nyalat)” [Jng. 1990 MS: 7] | DM *bǎrg- “antilope” [GT]: Bidiya bǎrgǎ (f) “koudou, antilope rayée (ar. nyalat)” [AJ 1989: 62], Migama bǎrgǎ (m), bǎrgǎ (f), pl. bǎrgée “antilope-cheval (koudou)” [JA 1992: 73]: < ECh.

*ḅVrK- < **bVrḵ- “antelope” [GT] III Sem.: no certain cognates⁴⁶ III NBrb.: only etymologically unrelated look-alikes in Tamazight.⁴⁷

162. PMubi *ḅeriyo “leaf” [GT]: Mubi ḅériyò (m), pl. ḅèrè “Blatt” [Lukas 1937: 180] = *ḅériyò “leaf” [Doornbos & Bender] = ḅériyò (m), pl. ḅèrè “feuille (pl. papier monnaie)” [Jng. 1990 MS: 6], Minjile *berrìo (sic: plain b-) “leaf” [Doornbos & Bender], Kajakse reflex obscure⁴⁸ (Mubi: Doornbos & Bender 1983: 77, #46). Its *ḅ- suggests a lost l/pharyngeal in the ancestral root (either AA *√Hbr or *√brH), whose reflex in some other AA branch has not yet been found though perhaps except for Semitic if we assume here both some metonymy between flora vs. fauna and a metathesis, cf. Sem. *√ʿbr > Ar. √ʿbr: ʿabīr- “2. bien fourni (se dit, par ex., d’une flèche garnie de beaucoup de plumes, ou d’un mouton bien fourni de laine pour n’avoir pas été tondue pendant d’une année)”, mu-ʿbar- “1. bien fourni

⁴⁶ Ar. barāq-, pl. ʔabrāq-, bi/urqān- “1. béliér, 2. agneau” [BK I 114] = “a lamb (syn. of ḥamal-)” [Lane 190c], for which so far at least three different etymologies have been offered, is clearly out of the question in the context of this etymological entry as, in Arabic lexicography, it has been rendered, even ambiguously, either as not a genuine Arabic zoonym or as not a primary noun. Thus, both standard lexicons speak of a Persian loan (BK l.c.; Lane l.c. “a Persian word, arabicized, originally بَرّ”). As Iranist Prof. Kinga Paraskiewicz (Jagellonian University, Cracow) has confirmed for me (in her kind p.c. on the 21st and 22nd Sept. 2022), New Persian باره barra and bara “1. a lamb, 2. the sign Aries; 3. a fawn” [Steingass 1892: 181] = باره باره “1. lamb, ram; 2. (astr.) Aries” [MacKenzie 1971: 87] < Middle Persian warrag (Aramaic ideogram KNNa; Pahlavi script wkł / Manichaean script writing) < Proto-Iranian *varn-aka-, where MPersian warrag became barrag at the beginning of the Classical Modern Persian period (9-11 cent. AD), after the Arabic conquest of Iran. Initial w- > b- was regular. The Arabs did not know the velar g so they pronounced it as uvular q or sometimes alveolar j (ǧ). New Persian final -a/-e stems < *-ag. Henceforth, one might reconstruct the borrowing from the transgression of MPersian warrag > Class. Persian barrag into Ar. barāq. The direction of borrowing, beside the *lautgeschichtliche* arguments above, appears to be secured by the fact that the Arabic word has no cognates among the Semitic zoonyms, so no ancestral etymon can be assumed, whereas the Iranian stem originates from Proto-Indo-European *urh₁en- “ram”, whence also Sanskrit úraṇa-, Central Kurdish بێر berh, Northern Kurdish berh, Zazaki verek, Ancient Greek ἀρήν (arēn) and Old Armenian quṇṇi ḡaṛn derive (IEW I 1170). On the other hand of Arabic lexicography, however, DAFA 562 quotes solely Ar. √brq IV “sacrifier une brebis noire et blanche (to sacrifice a ewe with black and white fleece)” as a denominative root eventually derived from a certain √brq B carrying the “notion de base ’éclat (brilliance), opposition de deux ou plusieurs couleurs”. In addition, the Arabic term was affiliated in HSED 57 with an alleged WCh. *barVḵ- (whose *ḵ is certainly false as nothing reflects it in the one single reflex) > Bole barke “goat” || ECh. *birVḵ- > Bidiya birki “bull” || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-bərkaw “calf” || Guanche a-baraki “cattle” < Brb. *barak- (with an irregular *-k-) < AA *baraḵ- “ram, goat, calf”. But there is hardly any support of *-ḵ in this root, e.g., in East Chadic, we are certainly dealing with plain *b- (and not an implosive *ḅ-) indicating a non-glottalized PAA *-k, cf. DM *bErk- “beef” [GT]: WDangla bèrkì (m) “bovidé mâle, boeuf, taureau” [Fédry 1971: 86], EDangla bèrkì (m), bèrkā (f), pl. bārkāy “1. le boeuf, le taureau, bovidé mâle (castré ou non), 2. la vache, la génisse (qui n’a pas encore porté): bovidé femelle, 3. les boeufs, les bovidés, les bêtes (en général)” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 43], cf. also EDangla bìrkinnè (m) “le fumier, la bouse de vache sèche” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 45], Bidiya bìrkì (m), bìrkā (f), pl. gāmàṅ “1. (m) tuareau, 2. (f) vache, 3. (pl.) troupeau, bétail” [AJ 1989: 58] | Ubi bòrgù “vache” [Alio 2004: 268, #44].

⁴⁷ Tamazight tu-berrey-t, var. tu-berreh-t, pl. tu-berryi “brebis à tête noire” [Taïfi 1991: 29; DRB 116: isolated in Brb.] vs. Tamazight tu-berqiy-t, pl. ti-berqiy-in “brebis à la tête rougeâtre”, in Izayan: “brebis dont les yeux, les oreilles et le museau sont tachetés de noir” [Taïfi 1991: 32; DRB 118: isolated in Brb.] being presumably just secondary zoonyms derived from a root variety akin to the almost homophonous Berber root for “black” (surveyed in EDE II 84-85 and EAAN I 58, #238). Cf. also Ar. √brq IV “sacrifier une brebis noire et blanche (to sacrifice a ewe with black and white fleece)” [DAFA 562].

⁴⁸ Cf. (???) Kajakse *fiyayò “leaf” [Doornbos & Bender], whose cognacy seems at this moment *lautgeschichtlich* dubious.

de laine, de poil (mouton, chameau), spécialement. qui n'a pas été tondu pendant une année (mouton), 2. bien garni de plumes (se dit d'une flèche), 3. qui a presque atteint la puberté et qui n'est pas encore circoncis (jeune homme)", also ʿubr- "qui n'est tondu qu'après d'une année (mouton)" [BK II 154-155] and/or ES *√br̥ > Geez bər̥c "reed (pen), branch of a chandelier, stalk, stem of fruit, stubble" [Leslau] = "calame, roseau à écrire, plume" [DRS], Tigre bər̥c "reed (pen)" [Leslau] = Tigre bər̥c and Tigrinya bər̥ci "calame, roseau à écrire, plume" [DRS], Amharic bər̥ ~ bəʔər "stubble, stalk of wheat, reed pen" [Leslau] = bərr "1. tige, 2. plume à écrire" [DRS] (ES: DRS 85, br̥c3; Leslau 1987: 101-102). But the underlying original biradical root is better known:

162.1. P²/SAA *√br̥ "1. leaves, foliage, 2. (by extension) tree" [GT]: (???) Eg. b3.t (if its -3- < *-r-) ⁴⁹ "1. Busch, Gebüsch, 2. Büschel (d.h. mehrere Zweige oder Halme) verschiedener Pflanzen" (OK, Wb I 416, 5-10) = "1. bush, 2. wisp of corn" (FD 77) → Dem. b "Busch, Büschel" (DG 109) → Coptic (SLBF) βω, (A) βοϣ (f) "Baum" (KHW 20) || (?) NBrb. *√br̥br̥ "to have (or be covered by?) leaves or foliage" [GT] ⁵⁰ > Mzab bbərbər "couvrir entièrement avec une couverture, des feuilles" [Delheure 1984: 10] = bberber [DRB] | Qabyle bberb-er ~ bberber "2. être feuillu, avoir belle végétation", a-berbur "feuillage de courge" [Dallet 1982: 36] || NOM.: (???) Yemsa *bur/d̥-u "bush, forest" [GT]: ⁵¹ Yemsa bur/d̥u [Cerulli] = bur'ù [Lamberti] (Yemsa: Bender 2003: 338, #9) || WCh.: presumably Pero pūrò [p < *b poss.] ⁵² "tree", cf. pūrè "grass for roofing" [Frj. 1985: 48] || CCh.: Fali biri "Baum" [Lukas 1937: 110] | Masa baar "Baumwolle" [Lukas 1937: 98]. Cf. EDE II 17; EAAN I 47-48, #180.

163. MT *ḅale "arrow" [GT]: Kofa ḅalé (f), pl. ḅalàn "arrow" [Jng. 1977 MS: 7, #138], Toram ḅele "flèche" [Alio 2004: 253, #74] | Bidiya ḅállà (f), pl. ḅàlál "flèche", ḅàalò ~ ḅàlò

⁴⁹ Unless it reflects in fact *bl.t, for which cf. EDE II 16.

⁵⁰ It is, however, apparently rendered in Berber lexicography from a basic root sense "to be covered" (cf. DRB 91), whence its relatedness may only be conceived from a basic meaning *"to be covered by foliage".

⁵¹ Its connection to NOM.: Mocha dimbāro "bush, forest" [Leslau] (isolated in Kefoid: Bender 2003: 338, #9) is more than obscure. Alternatively and most likely, NOM.: Yemsa *buḍ-u "bush, forest" [GT], provided its C₂ stemmed from an AA glottal affricate, may be equated with NBrb.: Shilh ta-buḍa "jonc de marais" | Qabyle ta-buḍa "jonc des marais" | Mzg. (Maroc Central) a-buḍa "esp. de roseau avec lequel on fait des cabanes et des treillis" (NBrb.: DRB 29, bḍ15) || Sem. *√bwḡ: esp. Ar. būḡ- (coll.) "roseaux" [DRS] = "tiges sèches du maïs, dont on fait des grillages pour les balcons et les jardins" [BK I 178] = (coll.) "1. roseau(x) (d'Égypte dont on fait des calames, des claies, etc.) / (Egyptian) reeds (gen., from which pens, hurdles etc. are made), 2. inflorescence (d'une plante herbacée?), 3. B: pousse, cœur d'une touffe de sparte / shoot, heart of a tuft of esparto grass, 4. LPM: inflorescence de l'alfa / inflorescence of alfa-grass" [DAFA 916] < PAA *buḡ/ḡ- "reed thicket (?)" [GT].

⁵² For the occasional correspondence of Pero p- < AA *b-, cf. Pero pūrùm "knee" [Frj. 1985: 48] < AA *√br̥ "knee" [GT]. Or cf. Pero pàrà "hunt (n.)" [Frj. 1985: 44] and Tangale para "hunt(ing)" [Jng. 1991: 129] = pàr- "1. to look for, 2. hunt" [Kidida 1985: 218, #75] identical with WCh.: Hausa fàràw-tà "to hunt (an animal)" [Abraham 1962: 253] | Bokkos faar "1. suchen, 2. jagen" [Jng.], Daffo-Butura faar "jagen" [Jng.] (Ron: Jng. 1966: 172; 1970: 141) || ECh.: Mubi fàràngàtè "to hunt" [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 198-199) vs. Dem. jr br̥r "jagen" (DG 119: 3) || SAḡaw: Awngi barabar- "to search" [Hetzron (?) in Ehret 1997 MS: 26, #1121] || LECu.: Boni búr-e? "fort-jagen" [Heine 1977: 287] || WCh.: Gwandara bira "2. to look for" [Matsushita 1972: 26] | Bole bàrà "hunting" [Ibriszimow & Gimba 1994: 128], Kwami bàrà "Jagd" [Leger 1993: 170] | Ngizim bārâ "hunting", bārù "to hunt" [Schuh 1981: 21-22] || CCh.: Chibak bàrà "1. suchen, 2. jagen, 3. wollen" [Hoffmann 1955: 133]. Cf. further EDE II 264.

(m), pl. *ḡalè* ~ *ḡalè* “arc” [AJ 1989: 61] | Sarwa *ḡālāw*, Gadang *ḡālū* “lance (de guerre)” (Somray gr.: JI 1993 MS: 8, #144). The history of ECh. **ḡal-* “1. arrow, 2. lance” [GT] underlying these forms has not yet been comprehensively mapped in all its details: this is what an attempt is made for below. Note that, in principle, Ch. **ḡ* is regular < a combination of **ʕ*/**h*/**ʔ*/**h* + **b* as radicals or, alternatively, may also derive from a prenasalized **mb-*.

163.1. The Chadic word exists with a C₂ **-r* also, which may either be due to a reason lying in the historical phonology (not yet cleared) or cf. CCh.: Munjuk-Puss *ḡre* (m) “pointe de flèche” [Tourneux 1991: 79] | Masa **ḡaraw* ~ **ḡur* “arrow-bow” [GT]: Masa-Bongor *ḡaràw-ná* “arc + carquois + flèche” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 81], Gizey/Wina *ḡù ḡur*, Masa *ḡaràw*, Ham *ḡòròò*, Musey *ḡumbùrà* “arc” [Ajello et al. 2001: 6], cf. Gizey/Wina *zìy ḡur*, Masa *zì ḡaràw*, Ham *zì ḡòròò* “carquois” (lit. “house of arrow”, cf. PMasa **ziy* “house”) [Ajello et al. 2001: 11], Gizey/Wina *ḡur* “flèche” [Ajello et al. 2001: 26].

163.2. A deverbal origin of the above term for “arrow” is possible, cf. WCh.: Hausa *ḡilla* “to throw” [Stolbova 1996: 27] | Ron **ḡol* “schießen” [GT]: Fyer *ḡol*, Bokkos *ḡol*, Daffo-Butura *ḡol* (Ron: Jng. 1968: 12, #143; 1970: 392) || CCh.: Daba *ḡal* “to throw (an arrow)” [Barreteau 1995: 225].

163.3. O. V. Stolbova (1996: 27) preferred equating this Chadic verbal root (presented right above sub #80.2.) with some reflexes of WCh. **ḡ^mbl* “to throw (a weapon like arrow)” [GT], cf. WCh.: Kulere *ḡil* “werfen (Stock usw.), bewerfen” [Jng. 1970: 351] = “to throw” [Newman 1977: 186] | Bole *ḡumḡul* “wegschleudern” [Lukas 1971: 133] || CCh.: Zelgwa *mbál* “to throw an arrow” [Brt. 1995: 202]. V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1990: 80, #51) rightly compared Bole *ḡumḡul* with Ar. *nabala* “jeter, lancer des traits, des dards”, *nabl-at-* “une flèche” [BK II 1187-8].

163.4. Elsewhere, V. Orel & O. Stolbova (HSED #1768) combined Bole *ḡumḡul* less convincingly with Ar. *mi^cbal-at-* and Eg. *m^cb3* (a well-known isogloss, see below)⁵³ < AA **mi^cVbal-* “arrow, spear”, which is untenable in this direct way, since Ch. **mb-* cannot be immediately equated with Eg.-Sem. **ḡ^cb*, cf. Eg. *m^cb3* “Art Speer” (PT, Wb II 47, 1-3, cf. RdE 15, 1963, 60, n. 1) = “harpoon” (FD 105) = “lance, spear, also harpoon” (Caminos 1972: 219, cf. WD I 85) = “Harpune, (Fisch)Speer” (GHWb 327; ÄWb I 516) || CSem.: Ar. *mi^cbal-at-* “a broad and long arrow-head or an iron (iron-head) made broad, an arrow having a broad head” [Lane 1942] = “1. fer de flèche long et large, 2. flèche au fer long et large” [BK II 159] = *mi^cbal-at-* “a kind of arrow” [Ember after Nöldeke 1910: 55] = *mi^cbal-at-* “arrow with a thick head” [Albright 1919: 179, #11] = *mi^cbal-at-* “large arrow point” vs. *mi^cbal-* “cutting tool” [Fronzaroli 1977: 164] = *mi^cbal-at-* “arrow” [Vycichl in DELC 108] = “arrowhead” [Leslau] || ES: Geez *ma^cbal* “sharp instrument, arrow” [Ember] = *ma^bal* ~ *mâ^(c)bal* “instrument, utensil, weapon” [Albright 1919: 179, #11] = *ma^cbal* ~ *ma^bal* “trait, javelot” [Cohen] = *mā^cbal* “telum, jaculum” [Vycichl] = *ma^cbäl* “arrow” [Fronzaroli 1977: 164] = *mā^cəbal* ~ *mā^cəbalt* “1. tool, instrument, fittings, 2. arrow, weapon, spear” [Leslau 1987: 54]. The Egypto-Semitic stem **mV^cbVI-* was apparently a *nomen instrumenti* formation (cf. Grapow 1914: 23), but the basic meaning of the underlying Eg.-Sem. **ḡ^cbl* is obscure in both

⁵³ Literature for this Eg.-Sem. match: Ember 1926: 5, #1; 1930 = ESS, §3.c.3, §5.a.19; Vycichl 1934: 55; 1958: 372; 1983 = DELC, 108; Calice 1936 = GÄSW, #623; Cohen 1947: #57; HSED #1768.

branches (no trace in Egyptian and highly disputed speculative hypotheses in Semitic),⁵⁴ or, at least, such an expectable verbal root does not appear in the logically expectable form, such as a nowhere attested NAA **√^cbl* “to shoot” (or sim.) [GT], which is itself a revealing circumstance suggesting that pre-Eg.-Sem. **mV-^cbVI-* had already been in use as a ready-made (pre-Neolithic, early PAA?) technical term by the time of a secondary Egypto-Semitic cohabitation the Nile valley Neolithic period (5th-4th mill. BC) when the original verbal root in both branches was no longer in use or, at least, was not the most frequented synonymous variety in both branches. Highly suspicious in this context is the trace of a possible PAA **√^cbl*, instead of NAA (where both Semitic and Egyptian belong) in SAA, namely CCh.: Munjuk-Puss *ḫīli* (*ḫəla*) “1. percer, 2. enfoncer (une pointe)” [Tourneux 1991: 79].

163.5. Moreover, the weapon name can be pointed out, again from Chadic, in its simplest biradical root form (i.e., void of either C₁-**^c-* or prenasalization) also, cf. Ch. **√bl* “to throw a weapon” [GT]⁵⁵ Note that these Chadic cognates are to be distinguished from Ch. **ḫal-* “(to shoot an) arrow” [Stolbova] (discussed above), which Stolbova (CLD I 35) erroneously equated with Ar. *nabala*.

164. Mubi ḫèldík (m) “fouet” [Jng. 1990 MS: 6]: puzzling for the time being. At any rate, we may in principle safely reckon with a transposition of glottalization in this case also, i.e.,

⁵⁴ Most suggestive is Ar. *ʿabala* “to cut (off) to extirpate it” or *ʿabula* “to be(come) large, big, bulky, thick” [Lane 1941]. Already Th. Nöldeke (1910: 55) separated Geez *māʿəbal* “arrow” from Geez *mabʿal* “instrument”. Following him, A. Ember (1926: 5, #1) treated Ar. *miʿbal-at-* “a kind of arrow” as a borrowing from Geez *māʿəbal* “arrow”. W. F. Albright (1919: 179, #11), followed later by W. Leslau (1987: 84), combined the Geez and Ar. noun with Akk. (nA, jB) *bēlu* “etwa: Waffe” [AHW 120], which is uncertain. Following Dillmann, Albright derived Ar. *miʿbal-at-* “arrow with a thick head” from *ʿabila* “to be thick”. P. Fronzaroli (1977: 160-4), in turn, saw the source of Geez *māʿəbal* “arrow” and Ar. *miʿbal-* “cutting tool”, *miʿbal-at-* “large arrow point” in Sem. **√^cbl* > Ar. *ʿabala* “to cut”, *ʿablāʿ-* “white rock, narrow strip in the blackness of the earth, the stones of which are white”, *ʿaʿbal-* “white stone or mountain of which the stones are white” [Fronzaroli], Dathina *ʿibāl* (pl.) “heaps of corn” [Fronzaroli] || MSA: Soqotri pl. *ʿəbhaléten* “sharp stones”, cf. *máʿbher* “rock” [Leslau 1938: 293, 296], Mehri *ʿaybəl* [Fronzaroli] = *ʿáybəl* “flint(stone)” [Johnstone 1987: 10] | Geez *ʿubāl* “hill” [Leslau 1987: 54]. Fronzaroli set up two P-Semitic etymons, namely **ʿabl-at-* “a white stone” vs. **ʿibal-* “white stones” (supposed source of the name of Ebla), both carrying the basic meaning “a rock of clear, shining appearance similar to flint but coarse-grained, prob. a variety of granite”. In Fronzaroli’s view, the occasional use of this rock as flintstone explains the Mehri and Soqotri data, while the Ar. reflexes suggest the stone **ʿabl-* was used for making baldes and points. Ar. *ʿabala* I “10. garnir une flèche d’un fer long et large” [BK II 158]. The authors of SISAJa I #96, the Diakonoff team (1981) considered Geez *māʿəbal* to be the metathesis of Geez *mabʿal* (lit. “working tool”) explained from Sem. **√^pʿl* ~ **√^bʿl* “make, do”. W. Leslau (1987: 54, 84) assumed in Geez the following scenarios: (1) Geez *māʿəbal(t)* derives directly from Geez *√^cbl* II *ʿabbala* “to make, do” (which Leslau linked to Sem. **ʿml* “to work”). (2) Geez *māʿəbal(t)* is met. of Geez *mabʿal* ~ *mabʿəl* “iron tool, axe”, cognate with Ug. *√^bʿl* “to make, manufacture, work” [DUL 203] || E/OSA *√^bʿl* “to work, excavate bedrock (travailler, creuser le sousbassement rocheux)” [SD 26].

⁵⁵ The underlying verbal root has become known from Chadic, cf. WCh.: Kupto *bùléléy* “werfen, schleudern” [Leger 1992: 18], Geruma *bèl-áálá* “to throw” [Schuh 1978: 118] || CCh.: Glavda *bal* “to throw, cast” [Rapp & Benzing 1968: 13] | Mada *bál* “to shoot” [Rossing 1978: 324, #635] | Puss *bili* “lancer, jeter (une seule chose)” [Tourneux 1991: 79], perhaps Mbara *vlà* [vl- < *bl-?] “jeter”, *vùl* “lancer, jeter” [TSL 1986: 280]. Accordingly, with no surprise, the nominal derivative is equally only attested in WCh.: Tangale *bal* “spear with a long blade” [Jng. 1991: 70] || CCh.: Masa **bir* </~> **bil* “couteau de jet” [GT]: Masa *bīl* “couteau de jet” [Caitucoli 1983: 38] Masa *bīl* [bīl] “1. le couteau de jet, 2. le courant du fleuve (métaph.)” [Caitucoli 1983: 50], Masa-Bongor *bīl-là* “couteau de jet” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 81], Lame *bàrà* “couteau de jet” [Sachnine 1982: 283], Zime-Dari *pàrà* “couteau de jet” [Cooper 1984: 21].

ḥèldík < Ch./AA *bVlṭ/ç/č/čVK. If it was a coumpound, as it looks like to be, for the first component cf. WCh.: Hausa búúliáàlà “hippo-hide whip” [Abraham 1962: 117] || ECh.: (???) Nancere buul “Besen” [Lukas 1937: 89]? But as for the second one, hard to make even guesses.

165. Jegoid *ḥElkU “crocodile” [GT]: Jegu ḥl̀kò, pl. ḥl̀k “Krokodil”, ḥl̀ké “weibl. Krokodil” [Jng. 1961: 111] = ḥl̀kó [Jng. apud JI 1994 II 95: isolated in Ch.], Kofa ḥélkó (m), pl. ḥélkán “crocodile” [Jng. 1977 MS: 12, #295] || WCh.: Kofyar ḥálák [reg. < *balak] “hunger” [Netting 1967: 2; Takács 2004: 26: isolated in AS] || Sem. *√blḳ “1. to be eager (?), 2. greedily devour (?)” [GT]: perhaps attested from the cognacy of Hbr. √blq qal “verwüsten” [GB 102] = “dévaster, ravager” [DRS 69, BLQ1] = “to lay waste (the land)” [KB 135]⁵⁶ | Syrian b^əlaq “désirer” [DRS 69, BLQ4] and Mandaic baliqa “greedy” < √blq “1. to swallow up, devour, 2. be greedy” [Drower-Macuch 1963: 48, 66] = baliqa “glouton, cupide” [DRS 69, BLQ2: isolated]⁵⁷ | Ar. balaqa I “1. emporter, enlever (les pierres, se dit d’un torrent)” [BK I 163]⁵⁸ (Sem.: DRS) < PAA *√blḳ “1. to be greedy, 2. devour, spoil” [GT].⁵⁹ The semantic connection of “greedy” and “crocodile” is attested in Ancient Egyptian.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Usually kept in Semitic lexicography (GB, DRS, KB) apart from the Mandaic root and better affiliated with the diverse homophonous Arabian roots whose sense are ranging as far as “to open” and “close (doors)”, which is semantically difficult to follow.

⁵⁷ Treated in DM l.c. or DRS l.c. as a modified form of Sem. *√bl^ə > Mandaic √bla “to swallow up, devour”, although the latter root did not result in the sense “greedy”, cf. only Mandaic bla(ia)ia “swallowers, consumers” [Drower-Macuch], but also NSyriac *(m)banqil “avalér, s’enivrer” [DRS 72]. One wonders if the Mandaic-Kofyar parallel with a C₃ = AA *-ḳ is due to pure chance or inheritance.

⁵⁸ It would be perhaps thinkable to affiliate here Ar. balaqa I “5. violer, forcer une fille” [BK I 163] = baliqa and baluqa “2. he devirginated or deflowered a girl” [Lane col. 253a] = balaqa I “violer (une fille)” [DRS 69, BLQ1] also to be explained from *√blḳ “to greedily devour”, but in Arabic lexicography, it has traditionally been rendered from the primary sense of stem I and IV “3. ouvrir brusquement la porte ou l’ouvrir tout entier” [BK I 163] = I “1. he opened a door wholly or vehemently” [Lane col. 253a] = IV “ouvrir/fermer (brusquement une porte)” [DRS 69, BLQ1].

⁵⁹ The third radical of PAA *√blḳ must have been an ancient (PAA) root extension, cf. SAA *√bl “2. greed, avarice” [GT]: LECu.: Somali béll-o “Habgier, Egoismus” [Reinisch 1902: 83] || CCh.: Hitkala(nchi) (Hide) mbulj “avare” [Eguchi 1971: 219]. The same root may have been extended by a C₃ *-m in PAA (???) *√blm “1. to feel lust, 2. be greedy” (?) [GT] > Sem.: Ar. balama “être en chaleur (se dit d’une chamelle)”, balam- “penchant sexuel violent chez une chamelle, et enflément des parties sexuelles” [BK I 164] = balama “être en rut (chamelle) / to be in heat (she-camel)”, balam-(at)- “tumescence vulvaire (de la chamelle, lors du rut)”, mu-blīm- “(chamelle) en rut, non encore saillie / (she-camel) in heat, not yet covered” [DAFA 831] || presumably Eg. bnw.t “von geilen Tieren, die sich vor dem Coitus beriechen” (OK, Wb I 459, 2) = bnw.tj “lubrique” (AL 78.1324) = bnw.t “*Brunft” (GHWb 253), whose root may be conceived as a result of a dissimilation of two incompatible labials (i.e., *√blm > *√blw???) || CCh.: (???) Musgu búlemi (Rohlf’s), búlimi (f), pl. búlamai (Krause) “unverheiratet” [Lukas 1941: 48] || ECh.: Mokilko búlmè “le fait d’être insatiable, avidité” [Jng. 1990: 69]. Note that in DRS 68, BLM1, Ar. ?ablamu “qui a les lèvres enflées”, balam-at- “tumescence vulvaire (de la chamelle en rut)”, whence Ar. balama “être en rut” was apparently treated just as a secondary denominative derivation, was affiliated with unrelated roots stemming from the basic sense “lier”. Ultimately akin to LECu.: Oromo bel-a “1. fame, 2. miseria, scarsità, carestia”, belaũu “1. aver fame, appetito, essere affamato, 2. essere ridotto nella miseria” [da Thiene 1939: 38] = bēl-a “hunger, famine”, bēla^wa “to be/go hungry” [Gragg 1982: 44]: < AA *√bl “3. hunger” [GT] vs. AA *√bl “1. desire, lust” (above)? Does this bunch of roots ultimately derive from N/P??? AA *√bl “1. desire, lust” [GT] forming a widespread AA family? Cf. EAA N I 65-66, #276, #277, #278.

⁶⁰ Cf. LEG. ʕf ~ ʕfʕf “Bez. des Krokodils” (GR, Wb I 182, 13) = ʕfʕ “crocodile (the “greedy one”, perhaps because of its appetite in catching fish or carrion meat)” (PL 152) vs. ʕfj “gierig (?)”, vgl. das ältere 3fʕ (NE, Wb

165.1. Moreover, the pass. sense *‘‘to be spoilt’’ of the same (?) root may have resulted in PAA * $\sqrt{\text{blk}}$ ‘‘3. wrong, 4. worn-out, 5. devastated’’ [GT],⁶¹ which may have once, clearly in PAA, been eventually developed from the preceding root by an extension of the semantical spectrum.

166. Kujarke * $\sqrt{\text{b}^{\text{w}}\text{a}}$ ‘‘dog’’ [Doornbos & Bender 1983: 76, #19] ||l NOm. * $\sqrt{\text{bw}}$ ‘‘wild feline (?)’’ [GT]: NWometo *baw- ‘‘cat’’ [Bender 2003: 76, #12]: i.a. Basketo bawa ‘‘wild cat’’ [Fleming/Cerulli in Bender 2003: 325, #12], Malé ba’wo ‘‘cat’’ [Siebert in Bender 2003: 325, #12] | Janjero (Yemsa) biw-à ‘‘Schakal’’ [Lamberti 1993b: 334] | Sheko boā ‘‘hyena’’ [Fleming] (isolated in Dizoid: Bender 2003: 349, #48) || SOM.: Ari (Galila of Fleming) bawa ‘‘cat’’ [Bender & Tully apud Bender 2003: 347, #12: isolated in Aroid] ||l SCu. * $\sqrt{\text{b}^{\text{w}}\text{ah}}$ - ‘‘hyena or jackal’’ [GT]: WRift *bah-ā, pl. *bah-u ‘‘hyena’’ [KM]:⁶² Iraqw baha, pl. bahu, Alagwa baha, pl. bahu, Burunge baymo [< *bah-im-o], pl. bawu [< *bahu] (WRift: KM 2004: 68) | Asa bō-k (masc. n. suffix -k) ‘‘hyena’’ [Ehret] | Dahalo b̄wéha [b- < SCu. *b-] ‘‘jackal’’ [Maddieson quoted by Blažek]⁶³ (SCu.: Ehret 1980a: 136, §I.A.24) ||l CCh.: Chibak bou?a ~ b̄uhá ‘‘Schakal’’ [Hoffmann 1955: 123] < SAA * $\sqrt{\text{bwh}}$ (stem pattern *bawh-?) ‘‘wild feline (jackal?) sp.’’ [GT].

166.1. Hard to decide⁶⁴ whether this root is ultimately connected to an apparently different, though almost homophonous and synonymous one, present in Ethio-Semitic (borrowed from

I 182, 12) = ʿfʿ ‘‘greedy’’ (NK, PL 152) < 3fʿ ‘‘gierig, gefräßig’’ (Lit. MK, NE, Wb I 9, 17) = ‘‘glutton(y)’’ (Lit. MK, FD 3) vs. ʿf3 ‘‘to devour (?)’’ (CT I 30, FD 42).

⁶¹ Cf. Sem.: Ar. ba/ulūq-at- and ballūq- ‘‘1. désert, plaine vaste et stérile’’ [BK I 163], cf. also Ar. balqaʿa Q.I ‘‘it (a country or region) was or became vacant, void, destitute of herbage or pasturage and of human beings’’, Q.III ʔiblanqaʿa ‘‘it (sorrow, grief or anxiety) became removed or cleared away’’, balqaʿ- ‘‘1. a land that is vacant or void, destitute of herbage or pasturage and of human beings in which is nothing, vacant or void place (of alighting or abiding), 2. a woman devoid of every good quality’’ [Lane col. 253b-c] = balqaʿa I ‘‘être inculte et inhabité (se dit d’un pays)’’, balqaʿ- and balqaʿ-at- ‘‘1. pays aride, désertique, désert vide, 2. (méton.) (femme) dénuée de qualités, (woman) bereft of all good qualities, 3. (adj.) désertique’’, balqaʿa ‘‘être balanqaʿ- ‘‘totalement désert (lieu, piste), utterly deserted (place, track)’’ [DAFA 822b-823a] ||l NBrb.: perhaps Qabyle a-ballaʿ ‘‘1. méchant, 2. tête’’, ta-ballaʿ-t ‘‘mauvaise affaire, difficulté’’ [Dallet 1982: 25; DRB 65, bly/q9-10: isolated in Brb.] ||l CCh.: Munjuk-Puss ʔilki (ʔalka) ‘‘abîmer’’ [Tourneux 1991: 79] | PMasa *ʔalak ‘‘to become worn-out’’ [GT]: Masa b̄ulak ‘‘(tr. ou intr.) 1. user ou 2. s’user’’, [b̄ulakʔà] (composé?) ‘‘le fait d’user ou de s’user’’ [Cañtucoli 1983: 54], Gizey/Wina, Ham, Musey ʔálák, Masa ʔulák, Marba ʔlák ‘‘abîmer’’ [Ajello et al. 2001: 1], Gizey/Wina ʔálák, Masa ʔulák, Ham ʔálák, Musey ʔálák, Lew ʔlák, Marba ʔlák ‘‘détériorer’’ [Ajello et al. 2001: 20].

⁶² Affiliated by R. Kießling and M. Mous (l.c.) with ECU. *bahal- ‘‘wild animal’’ [Sasse] and Tanzanian Bantu of zone G *bau ~ *bagu ‘‘hyena’’ [Bastin] remarking that ‘‘the presence of a velar plosive in abovious cognates of other zones, e.g. *mbagu* ‘big hyena’ in Nyamwezi, seem to run counter against Ehret’s 1974 hypothesis of a straight-forward transfer from a Southern Cushitic source into Bantu.’’

⁶³ This Dahalo reflexes was ignored by Ch. Ehret (1980: 136, §I.A.24) and R. Kießling and M. Mous (l.c.). The equation with Dahalo ʔáhōma ‘‘female hippopotamus’’ derived by Ehret from an alleged SCu. *bah- ‘‘large wild animal’’ in this entry is certainly out of the question, since this word belongs to an entirely different etymon, cf. Sem.: Hbr. b̄ahēmā ‘‘Vieh’’ and Ar. bahīm-at- ‘‘Kleinvieh’’ [GB 86 with a Semitological *Volksetymologie*].

⁶⁴ Some authors combined some of the reflexes of both AA roots, distinguished in this paper, under one common supposed etymon (Bed.-SCu.: Fleming 1969: 28; Bed.-Dasanech-Dahalo-SCu.: Blažek 2003: 241-242). Even today, V. Blažek (p.c., July 2022) views that some of the Chadic *comparanda*, listed in this paper also,

a Cushitic substrate?): Tigre *bäyhot*, pl. *bäyhi* “a species of jackal” [LH 1956: 294] || Bed. *báyho* “Schakal, Fuchs, *Canis vulpes Nilotica*” [Reinisch 1895: 54] || LECu.: Dasenech *bây-c* (m), pl. *bây-à* “jackal” [Tosco 2001: 486] || Eg.: uncertain reflex⁶⁵ || WCh.: Goemay *mbai* [mbai] “domestic cat” [Sirlinger 1937: 136; Takács 2004: 12: isolated in AS] | Tangale *ḥai* “dog” [Kidda 1985: 201, #32] < SAA * $\sqrt{\text{byh}}$ (stem **bayh-*?) “wild feline (jackal?) sp.” [GT].

167. MT * $\sqrt{\text{baw-}}$ “to go” [GT]: Mubi *ḥau* “gehen, laufen” [Lukas 1937: 180] = *ḥów* (*ḥâ*, *nžáà*) “partir, aller, se promener” [Jng. 1990 MS: 7], cf. also Mubi *ḥa* “gehen” [Lukas 1937: 180], Masmaje *ḥo* “aller” [Alio 2004: 280, #34] | WDangla *ḥàwè* “aller (jamais dans le sens de venir /àsè/)” [Fédry 1971: 104], Mawa (close to Dangla) *ḥeṅ* (*ḥê*, *ḥa*) “gehen (aller), weggehen (partir)” [Jng. 1978 MS: 2; 1980 MS: 28] | Sokoro *ḥëy* “to go” [Saxon in JI 1994 II 163] || CCh.: Tera *ḥá* “to come” [Newman 1964: 47] < PCh. * $\sqrt{\text{ḥV}}$ “идти, уходить” [Dlğ.] = * $\sqrt{\text{ḥ}}$ “to go” [NM] = * b_2- “to come, go (out)” [JI 1994 I: 78] || Om. * $\sqrt{\text{bV}}$ “gehen” [Sasse] > COMeto * $\sqrt{\text{b-}}$ and EOMeto **ba(y)* “to go” [Fleming] extended Wolayta cluster * $\sqrt{\text{b-}}$ (mono-consonantal) “to go, walk” [Bender 2003: 17, #59] | SEOMeto **ba* [Bender 2003: 117, #59] > Kachama *bā* “to go, walk” [CR in Bender 2003: 87, #59] || ECu. **baḥ-* “to go out” [Sasse] > LECu. **baḥ-* [Black 1974: 174, 202] (ECu.: Sasse 1982: 30-31; Dlğ. 1973: 318) || SCu.: Ma’a *būhē* “gehen” [Meinhof 1906: 308] = *bu?* ~ *buh* “to go” [Fleming] = *-buhe* ~ *-bu* “to go” [Ehret 1980: 139, #50]. The Mubi root was equated with the Ometo reflex already by M.L. Bender (1975: 165) who was pondering a cognacy with ECu. **baḥ-* “to go out” and/or Sem. * $\sqrt{\text{bw?}}$ “1. to enter, 2. return” [GT] too. See also Greenberg 1955: 56; Fleming 1969: 25; 1974: 89; Dlğ 1973: 318; Sasse 1981: 152, #4; SISAJa I #129; JI 1994 I 38; HSED #157; HCVA II #143; Voigt 1998: 609-610; Bender 2003: 117, #59.

167.1. Is P²AA * $\sqrt{\text{bwḥ}}$ “to appear” [GT] identical with the preceding root? Cf. Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{bwḥ}}$ I: *bāḥa* “1. paraître, apparaître, être mis au grand jour, 2. être en public, 3. communiquer un secret, déclarer qqch. à qqn.” [BK I 176] = “to be revealed, become public” [Leslau] || ES: Geez $\sqrt{\text{bwḥ}}$: *boḥa* “to be seen, revealed, clear” [Leslau] (Sem.: Leslau 1987: 115) || (?) LEg. $\sqrt{\text{bh}}$ [unless * b_3h and if $-\text{h}$ < * $-\text{h}$] “1. aufgehen (von der Sonne), 2. hell glänzen (von der Milch)” (LP, GR, Wb I 423, 1-2) || CCh.: Logone *bo* “hervorschießen, aufwachsen” [Nct. in Lukas 1936: 87]. Cf. EDE II 291; EAAN I 71, #315.

*

can also belong to this unified “jackal’ etymon (irrespective of the medial *-w- vs. *-y- in their roots and the apparently different C₃ laryngeal/pharyngeal, resp.) and not to the NOm. word stem for “cat’.

⁶⁵ As suggested in EDE II 147 (among some other alternatives), Eg. *bjhs* “ein Raubtier (nur als PN)” (NE, GHWb 248, not in Wb I 444 and PN I 93b), whose determinative appears to depict a smaller animal with four feet, longer tail resembling a fox (or sim.), may perhaps be akin to the Bedawye and Tangale terms.

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, ʃ, š, c, č, ĉ), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ʝ), K: any velar stop (k, g, ɣ), 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 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, (A₂) = (L): sub-Ahmimic = Lycopolitan dialect, aA: Old Assyrian (altassy-risch), aAk: Old Akkadian (altakkadisch), AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, b/Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed'awyē (Beja), Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, CAA: Common Afro-Asiatic, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, DM: Dangla-Migama, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, jB: younger Babylonian (jungbabylonisch), L: Late, L: Low(land), (L) = (A₂): Lycopolitan dialect = sub-Ahmimic, lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, N: New, N: North, nA: Neo-Assyrian, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, Nslm.: Taneslemt, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlmd.: Tawlemmet.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein & Kazimirski, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KM: Kießling & Mous, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, LVC: Leus, Van de Loo, Cotter, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, MM: Majzel' and Militarev, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Nct.: Nachtigal apud Lukas, NM: Newman & Ma, OS: Orel and Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prh.: Porhomovskij, RB: Rapp and Benzing, Rn.: Reinisch, Srl.: Sirlinger, TC: Taïne-Cheikh, TG: Takács, TSL: Tourneux, Seignobos, Lafarge.

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