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New lexical materials for the Proto-Afro-Asiatic anatomical and physiological terminology I: Body part names with initial labials: General terms, head and neck¹

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The paper constitutes the first part of a long-range series of studies gradually elaborating the enormous new materials of the anestral anatomical-physiological vocabulary of Proto-Afro-Asiatic, supposed to be the earliest known parental language spoken by the earliest known neolithic community on earth. This series is parallel to the author's ongoing projects for a comprehensive analysis of the diverse segments of the immense new cultural lexicon that has emerged in course of the author's root research over the past some three decades.

Keywords: Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic), Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic, comparative linguistics, etymology, anatomical-physiological vocabulary.

Introduction

Our knowledge is still utterly poor and imperfect about the ancestral lexical stock of the presumably most ancient language family known on earth, called traditionally Semito-Hamitic (SH) and labelled more recently as Afro-Asiatic (AA) after J.H. Greenberg or as

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Afrasian after I.M. Diakonoff. Both were founding fathers of “modern”² AA comparative linguistics starting from the middle of the 20th century.

The various attempts at (re)constructing a common AA lexicon over the past 75 years have hallmarked diverse stages in the evolution of research on AA comparative phonology and root stock that can be roughly summed up as follows:

- **1.** The *Essai comparatif ...* by M. Cohen (1947)³ summed up (even if it left by far not closed) the comparative materials of the so-called “Semitic-Hamitological” era of some one whole century⁴ whose common characteristic trait was first of all an almost “lawless” omnicomparatistic jungle of ad hoc look-alikes and pure guesses at random, so typical of all other similar pioneering phases of comparative linguistic domains. The ever-lasting merit of the French milestone is its attempt to restrict the disturbing mass of diverse guesses to some minimum and into certain frames of 4 AA branches where, however, Chadic (although it had already known by that time as an AA branch thanks to the research by J. Lukas in the 1930s) was dismissed as a whole with the exception of Hausa.
- **2.** The trend of a special Egypto-Semitic comparison, whose most flourishing phase (1892-1936) was greatly overlapping with the long century of the previous trend, has resulted in firm sound laws based on hundreds of isoglosses (best summed up in the GÄSW from 1936) though, but this kind of research, being restricted to two geographically neighbouring branches only (which recently turned out to be classifiable in the same NAA block anyway),⁵ was *eo ipso* doomed to show us little about PAA.
- **3.** The undeservedly little-quoted, albeit epoch-making small paper on the regular correlates of the initial labials of the Angas-Sura group (West Chadic) with ancient Egyptian by J.H. Greenberg (1958), who has established a new classification of the African language families (1955, 1963), is to be regarded with full right as the first successful attempt at identifying genetically shared special phonological traits in both pharaonic Egyptian and a remotely akin modern African group from the SAA block. This study, just some decade after the *Essai comparatif ...*, substantially changed the prospects of an AA phonological comparison after a long century of chaos,⁶ which would be tempting to confuse with the so-called

² Although the schools of both Greenberg and Diakonoff have luckily reckoned with the omnicomparatistic chaos so much characterizing the state-of-the-art in the lexical comparison prior to the 1950s and so their output has certainly deserved to be regarded as a milestone bringing something radically new, still, for both subjective and objective factors, not even they and their pupils could rigorously introduce all the infrastructure of Indo-European Neo-Grammarian comparative-historical methodology into our little-cultivated domain.

³ Assessed most recently on its 75th anniversary in all its aspects by the present author in a special study: “Semitic-Hamitic or Afro-Asiatic consonantism and lexicon: Episodes of a comparative research I (Part 2: Marcel Cohen’s *Essai comparatif*)”, *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 64/2 (in this volume), 177-209.

⁴ Examined most recently in the comprehensive survey by the present author, entitled “Semitic-Hamitic or Afro-Asiatic consonantism and lexicon: Episodes of a comparative research I (Part 1: The long century of Semitic-Hamitology until the middle of the 20th century)”, in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 64/1 (2022), 135-173.

⁵ Cf. the survey by G. Takacs (2015) on the AA isomorphs demonstrating basically two blocks of the macro-family: NAA (Semitic, Egyptian, Berber) vs. SAA (Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic).

⁶ From where, as the only exception, there had merely emerged towards the end of that long century the pioneering special studies by E. Zyhlarz on Egypto-Berber (1932-3: 82-110, §B.I; 1934) and on Egypto-Bedawye (1932-3: 161-181, §B.II) as well as by W. Vycichl (1934) on Egypto-Hausa, which all aimed at drawing regular

“mass comparison” usually labelled on the works by Greenberg, which is only partly true. Still, the Greenbergian impact has resulted since the 196/70s in pioneering enterprises by scholars from the United States to Germany, beside the accelerated basic field research, both for achieving the ancestral phonologies and lexicons of a few (all too few) SAA (sub)-branches (Chadic, Omotic, Cushitic)⁷ as well as in further daring attempts at setting up regular correspondences between the lesser-known SAA branches vs. Egyptian/Semitic.⁸ It was the Greenbergian era that has made research over the *Lautgeschichte* SAA branches yield the first serious results that has facilitated an open-minded new attempt at finding lexical concordances with Semitic (or more rarely Egyptian) by interbranch comparison (cf. Rabin 1983), in fact, à la Greenberg 1958, for sorting out the regular correlates, albeit all this was meant without reconstructions.

● **4.** The Russian school of AA comparative linguistics has clearly made even a whole series of further giant steps towards our ultimate goal since the 1960s in terms of venturing to comprehensively reconstruct the PAA roots for the first time by equally using all the six branches’ lexical stuff. It is to them that we owe thanks, a.o., also for their genuine vision about a whole series of fundamental matters: PAA root structure,⁹ consonantism,¹⁰ glottochronology of the AA dispersal,¹¹ a lexically more or less established proto-culture,¹² Chado-

consonantal and lexical matches. These, however, were not that convincing. In addition, unfortunately, neither of these attempts were continued in those decades by either author.

⁷ Where the exemplary rigorous application of the neo-grammarians methods by H.-J. Sasse (1979) for the ECu. historical phonology has long been by far outstanding, which not all the SAA researchers succeeded to attain. Luckily, the same path was followed by P. Black (1974) in LECu. and by G. Hudson (1989) in HECu., resp., which secures fertile soil for preparing a complete ECu. comparative dictionary.

⁸ In this trend or era, most notable is the reserved and careful attitude of Ch. Rabin in how, as he (Rabin 1982a) formulated himself, “A Semitist looks at Chadic” and other SAA branches for identifying the common roots shared with Old Hebrew and ancient Semitic. His minor papers have brought forth a number of convincing cognates of Semitic roots from Cushitic and Omotic as well as from Chadic (Rabin 1974: 26-27; 1976: 39; 1977; 1982a; 1982b), albeit he refrained from setting up a system of concordances and proto-forms, so, at the first glance, his efforts may seem to adhere to Greenberg’s “mass comparison” method. Still, in a way, he may be regarded as the forerunner of A. Dolgopolsky’s ingenious pilot studies of the Semito-Cushitic consonantal correspondences from the 1980s.

⁹ Cf. Diakonoff 1965: 27-36; 1970; 1988: 42-50, §2.1-§2.7; 1992: 65-97, chapter 4.; D’jakonov-Porhomovskij 1979: 82-83, §B.

¹⁰ Cf. the substantially new principles and vision of the PAA phonological reconstruction especially as for the affricates and the postvelars pace A.B. Dolgopolsky’s 1973 SIFKJa (D’jakonov 1965: 17-27; D’jakonov-Porhomovskij 1979: 79-81, §A; Diakonoff 1984: 4-9; 1988: 34-40, §1; 1992: 5-35, chapter 1.; D’jakonov et al. 1987: 9-28; 1993; Militarev 1983: 99-100; Militarev-Stolbova 1990: 45-72).

¹¹ Following the pioneering lexicostatistical enterprise of Ch. Rabin (1975, applied for Sem.) and M.L. Bender (1971, applied for Om. vs. AA), the first comprehensive glottochronological calibration of PAA has been ventured in a revolutionary paper by I.M. Diakonoff (1975) on the basis of Semito-Cushitic isoglosses and thus he has opened the path for a whole series of studies by A.Ju. Militarev (1983: 104-105, fn. 34; 2000 MS; 2001: 17-18; 2002a: 18-19; 2004; 2005; Militarev-Starostin 1984: 44; Militarev-Šnirel’man 1984: 50 etc.) on a repeatedly refined glottochronological calibration (on whose refined methods cf. the basic study by S.A. Starostin 1989). The Sem. < AA basic vocabulary (100 wordlist) was examined in a series of lexicostatistical-etymological papers by Militarev (2010; 2011; 2012; 2014; 2015).

¹² Starting from the promising model of reconstructing the Semitic ancestral culture from the proto-lexicon (cf., e.g., Fronzaroli 1960, 1964-1971, 1975; Tyloch 1975; Conti 1978), the Russian authors have ventured the

-Egyptian *Sprachbund* attested by a peculiar shared cultural vocabulary,¹³ areal contact ties of (P)AA with other language (familie)s,¹⁴ and two homeland theories,¹⁵ let alone for three radically new comparative AA dictionaries: two unfinished¹⁶ and one by far imperfectly completed.¹⁷ Henceforth, it may safely be stated that the Diakonoff school has brought us much further and closer to PAA than any other trend in the AA domain during the whole 20th century. Along with the Greenbergian trend, it has resulted in fundamental changes of our view in this domain. Still, in their eager efforts to immediately penetrate down until the

same about PAA: Diakonoff 1981: 31-63, §III-§V; 1998: 213-216 (examined from the far-reaching standpoint of the PSEM. agricultural lexicon); Diakonoff & Kogan 2001 (Sem. < AA kinship terms); Militarev 1983: 100-104 (agriculture); 1984a: 14-24; 1984c: 58-60; 1986 (crafts); 1989: 129-131 (agricultural terms); 1990: 74-84; 2001: 15-42; 2002a: 20-54 (PSEM. < AA); 2002b: 135ff.; 2003 MS; 2009: 99-106 (domesticated cattle, pastoralism); 2019; Kogan-Militarev 2005 (Sem. < PAA fauna); Militarev-Nikolaev 2020 (PAA names of the ungulate animals) and 2021 (PAA names of non-ungulates); Militarev-Šnirel'man 1984: 35-49; 1988; Militarev-Orel-Stolbova 1989: 137-158 (PAA terminology of dwelling), and several further papers later on, Orel-Stolbova 1989: 88-89 (Cu.-AA terms of dwelling and clothing); Orel 1993 (a general overview of cultural terminology); 1995 (PAA vs. NCaucasian cultural terminology); Stolbova 1997 (Chadic-AA vocabulary of "water"); 1999: 213-219 (Chadic-AA terminology of "house", "town", "wall"); 2002: 287-292 (Chadic-AA terms of family and social life); 2005: 29-39 (Chadic-AA vocabulary of "fishing" and "hunting"); 2008a MS Moscow (Chado-AA fish and bird names < Nosstratic etymologies); 2008b MS Naples (AA terms for "child"); 2018 (Ch. < AA agricultural terminology); 2020 (Ch. < AA vocabulary of sorcery). The early papers by Militarev from the 1980s on the PAA agricultural terminology greatly affected the daring study on "The diffusion of agricultural terms from Mesopotamia" by V. Blažek and C. Boisson (1992), another milestone in this field which, of course, posed more puzzling questions than it has solved. Cf. also Blažek 2013 (matches of PAA vs. PIE zoonyms).

¹³ Cf. Diakonoff 1988: 23-24; 1996: 293-294 (in general); Orel & Stolbova 1989: 131-136 (§I: society, §II: dwelling, §III: household vessels, §IV: clothing, §V: weapons, §VI: agriculture, §VII: alimentation, §VIII: shipping); Orel & Stolbova 1988 MS and 1992: 167-180 (Cu.-Ch.-Eg. shared lexicon of the I. fauna, II. flora, III. society, IV. anatomy and physiology, V. nature, VI. Time, VII. material and spiritual culture, VIII. etc.); 1992: 181-203 (Chado-Eg. lexicon).

¹⁴ Militarev 1985 MS (AA vs. Sumerian); 1992 MS (Ch. < AA vs. Sumerian); 1995: 117-125 (AA vs. Sumerian); 1996: 17-24 (AA vs. NCaucasian vs. Sumerian); Kovalev-Militarev 1993 and 1994 (AA vs. Sumerian); Militarev-Starostin 1984: 36-39 (AA vs. North Caucasian); Orel 1994: 37-43 (AA vs. NCaucasian).

¹⁵ That is, the old Saharan hypothesis as outlined by I.M. Diakonoff (1981: 63-67, §VI; 1988: 23-25; 1996: 293-294) and the Natufian theory that was originally raised by A.B. Dolgopolskij in the early 1970s (see Diakonoff 1975: 128-130 who also adopted the idea) and developed further by A.Ju. Militarev (1983: 104-106; 1984a: 13-14; 1984c: 58; 1985 MS; 1996: 13-16; 2009: 95; Militarev-Šnirel'man 1984: 35 and 50-51; 1988: 32-38 etc.), which was later again re-adopted by Diakonoff (1995: 40-41; 1998: 216-219).

¹⁶ Both versions composed by the complete Diakonoff team in Russian (SISAJa I-III from 1981-6) and the updated and re-arranged English version (HCVA I-V from 1993-7) comprise a selected PAA root inventory only with initial labials, dentals and sibilants + labials as C₂. These two versions, however, represent the most promising attempts at compiling an AA root dictionary, by far more reliable as any other AA comparative dictionary ever completed in the whole 20th century history of our domain.

¹⁷ The break-up of the Diakonoff team ended up in a temporary separate research (1988-1995) by its ex-member O.V. Stolbova jointly with V.É. Orel (an IE scholar) on a global Chadic comparison with Egyptian and Semitic. This collaboration culminated in their misconceived HSED with a strange methodology (proto-roots, alleged to be 10-12 thousand years old, often based on two modern forms extracted from their contexts, ill-founded proto-vowels, ignorance of the primary root meaning, authentic sources unnoticed, alarming factual errors, unchecked false forms), which rightly provoked a massive and many-sided critique (Diakonoff-Kogan 1996, Weninger 1996, Kogan 2002 in Sem.; Kammerzell 1996 in Eg.; Tourneux 1997 in Ch.; Takács 1997 in Eg./AA; 2018: 239-244 in Eg.). Thus, although the HSED in principle covers all root initials, it stands by far more distant from the optimal.

PAA level, the Russian linguists have almost always only been engaged in acquiring and working with proto-lexicons of an entire branch in the best case,¹⁸ so they massively neglected the more recent diachronic SAA levels in most segments of their comparative lexical contexts (the only exception being the early WCh. works by O.V. Stolbova),¹⁹ whence their asterisked forms have limited value especially if their isolated modern data are basically selected for global AA comparison from those SAA domains where we can only rely upon recent records basically from the 19th-20th centuries and there have hardly been any preparatory historical phonological researches in this direction. Thence, even if the neo-grammarians principles have here been applied more than in any other trend, one has to regard the Russian efforts too, with regrets, as only partly effective and as all too much uncertain due to differing from the urgent particular requirements of our domain.

● **5.** The only reasonable way out for the future to carry on the comparative research on the common AA lexical stock on more solid grounds would be first following the pioneering path of micro-reconstructions best elaborated since the 1970s for ECu. in the Greenbergian era in one-by-one reconstructing the missing (or so far considerably failed, i.e., misreconstructed)²⁰ most and more recent sublevels of the so many individual SAA language groups and only thereafter might one in the second step (and only) venture fulfilling the destiny of the ingenious old Russian vision or working hypothesis of PAA phonology as outlined in the works by A.B. Dolgopolsky, I.M. Diakonoff, A.Ju. Militarev and O.V. Stolbova by re-

¹⁸ Cf. A.B. Dolgopol'skij's (1973) revolutionary first monograph with the global reconstruction of Proto-Cushito-OmotiC (SIFKJa), a rare instance of books in Cyrillic and Russian to be unusually frequently quoted even by the western scholars, in which no attempt is made at gradually setting up first the sublevels like PAgaw, PECu., PSCu., POMeto, PKefoid, PMao, PDizoid, PARoid etc. Only the West Chadic comparative lexicon by O.V. Stolbova (1986; 1987) has been exemplarily founded on the necessary minutious reconstruction of proto-lexicons in all the underlying individual West Chadic groups like Angas-Sura, Ron, Bole-Tangale, N- and SBAuchi, etc.

¹⁹ Her West Chadic comparative consonantism was based on her minutious reconstruction of the individual WCh. groups like Hausa, AS, Ron, BT, NBch., SBch., BN (Stolbova 1986: 82-113 and more extended 1987: 37-143: comparative phonology, 144-240: comprehensive WCh. lexicon). Still, for phonological reasons, not all of her *comparanda* convince us.

²⁰ Such as the all too premature reconstruction of Proto-Cushitic (Dolgopol'skij 1973, Ehret 1987, Bender 2020), Proto-OmotiC (Bender 1987, 1988, 2003), Proto-Chadic (Newman 1966, 1977, JS 1981 and JI 1994 I, Stolbova 1996, 2016, CLD), Proto-West Chadic (Stolbova 1986, 1987), Proto-Central Chadic (Gravina 2014). The common drawback of these pioneering efforts is an all too overwhelming rôle of the *ad hoc* factor due to a number of diverse reasons, first of all the neglection of the smaller units/groups to be reconstructed first (except for Stolbova's WCh. and Gravina's CCh.). Thus, e.g., Dolgopol'skij worked with an amalgamate mass of Cushitic-OmotiC parallels to obtain his proto-forms right in the first step without making any efforts to first set up sublevels like Proto-Agaw, Proto-East Cushitic etc., although he greatly relied upon external cognates from Semitic and Egyptian. Ch. Ehret, on the contrary, although he too rigorously adhered to build up his Proto-Eastern Cushitic phonology, allowed a number of semantically all too vague and unreliable *comparanda*. The main weakness of R. Gravina's entirely introverted system of CCh. proto-forms built upon his detailed systematic group reconstructions is that he fully ignored the factors of external (AA) comparison, which has, unfortunately, resulted in apparently going astray all too often with his PCh. *postulata*. In this respect, it is methodologically by far behind Stolbova 1986/7. But the Muscovite Chadicist has, unfortunately, also followed the easier path of hasty globalistic comparison in the later/more recent decades of her Chadic research when constructing her PCh. without systematically taking care of all the 27 individual groups, without achieving their distinct comparative phonologies and proto-lexicons in the first step.

-verifying it under the new conditions and by setting up a comprehensive new system of the AA consonantal concordances.

Until then, however, that is, until we are really able to progress through the time-consuming 5th path, for which evidently team work would be needed, we had, better to stick to exploiting the common AA root stock from those domains where a *Lautgeschichte* has either already been firmly established (as evidently in the NAA branches²¹ (except for Egyptian),²² Bedawye,²³ Agaw,²⁴ Eastern Cushitic,²⁵ West Rift,²⁶ and at least some of the Omotic²⁷ and

²¹ The case of Egyptian phonological reconstruction is not without uncertainties as we are dealing here with a basically non-diverging continuum over millennia without a comparative basis, cf. Vergote 1973 Ib; Vycichl 1990; Peust 1999; EDE I 49-332 and 394-400.

²² The bases of Semitic comparative-historical phonology has long been elaborated (Brockelmann 1908 = GVGSP I; Moscati et al. 1964 etc.) and now refined, see the most recent overviews (esp. consonants) like Dolgopolsky 1999: 16-38, §5; SED I LXVII-CXXVIII, §2; Kogan 2009: 25-35, §6; 2011: 54-126. The common Semitic lexicon has also been accumulated (DRS, almost half complete) and historically elaborated according to semantical domains (Fronzaroli 1964-1971; Huehnergard 2000; SED I-II; Kogan 2011: 179-249 with a comprehensive historical dictionary covering many semantical domains on pp. 189-242, §2-§9 on the analogy of Fronzaroli 1964-1971; Kogan 2015). For the state-of-the-art in Berber historical phonology one may best consult Kossmann 1999 (but cf. also Militarev 1991c: 183-207, §1), while a comprehensive treasury of its root stock has partly been achieved in DRB (cf. also Militarev 1991d: 250-265 with a basic common Brb. vocabulary of 40 semantic items).

²³ The case of Bedawye (Northern Cushitic) historical phonology (another non-divergent subbranch represented by one single language continuum) is not entirely as desperate as that of Egyptian, given the chances of comparison with the other closely related Cushitic subbranches, see Blažek 2007.

²⁴ Agaw (Central Cushitic) sound laws have been elaborated in the monograph by D. Appleyard (2006: 10-20: phonology, pp. 21-151: comparative lexicon) based on a long research of some three decades (cf. Appleyard 1984; 1991).

²⁵ The outlines of an Eastern Cushitic historical phonology were masterfully demonstrated in the epoch-maker studies by P. Black 1974 (PLowland ECu.) and then by H.-J. Sasse 1979 (PECu.), which are simply and unfortunately unchallenged in our SAA domain in terms of their strict and secure neo-grammarians methodology and highly reliable quality. But the follow-up attempt at PECu. by Ch. Ehret (1991) with a somewhat modified vision has often semantically vague *comparanda*. The work of P. Black (1974) was complemented by G. Hudson's (1989: 7-11) sketchy Highland East Cushitic historical phonology and PHECu. wordlist (Hudson 1989: 404-424) is thus safe, albeit neither of them are exhaustive, and so a major share of the HECu. comparative vocabulary (Hudson 1989: 28-173) and the wordlists of the individual HECu. daughter languages (Hudson 1989: 176-402) were not entirely exploited for a detailed PHECu. root inventory. Still, with these tools and the materials of Dullay (AMS 1980) and Yaaku (Heine 1975), most of the conditions are standing by for a comprehensive reconstruction of a complete Eastern Cushitic historical lexicon, a long awaited *desideratum*.

²⁶ Thanks to the researches by W.H. Whiteley (1958), E.D. Elderkin & J.B. Maghway (1992), R. Kiessling and M. Mous (2004), the reconstruction of the West Rift group of SCu. is safe, which is a firm starting point for a desirable completely revised new Southern Cushitic root dictionary. Such a project, which is executed by using, a.o., also the usable materials of Ch. Ehret's (1980) all too disputable volume, is now ongoing in the frames of the present author's ARR research (supported by the University of Łódź) in the Lexicographical library of Afro-Asiatic root research (LLAARR at Balatonederics). The SCu.-AA consonantal concordances have been explored by A.B. Dolgopol'skij (1987: SCu.-Sem. laterals) and G. Takacs in general (1999c: 393-426; 2000: 69-117), in the field of sibilants (Takacs 2003b: 143-162 and 2005b: 65-83; 2009c: 135-142), the Ma'a sibilants (Takacs 2002a: 109-133; 2009b: 125-131: Ma'a š-), and the West-Rift ph/laryngeals (Takacs 2005c: 213-225; 2010: 91-122).

²⁷ Where the *Lautverschiebungen* have not yet been definitely settled and a common lexical stock not yet fully established in spite of the giant, albeit global Omotic, steps by M.L. Bender (1987, 1988, 1994b, 2003), cf. also the equally global Cushomotic ("Old Cushitic") comparatistic research by M. Lamberti (both 1993 vols., LS 1997)

the 27 Chadic groups²⁸ or where we have at least some analogies for a working hypothesis that could project some light on the historical background of the *comparanda* coming from the *lautgeschichtlich* more obscure groups.

It is with this strategy that the first volume of my EAAN²⁹ project elaborating more than one thousand new AA roots (in addition to the aforementioned existing comparative dictionaries) on the basis of my research starting in the 1990s. This material facilitates extended research on diverse segments of the AA ancestral root stock, both basic and cultural. This present series of papers, with a revised and enriched set of roots, is to shed more light on the anatomical and physiological knowledge of a supposed early neolithic community.

General terms of body

1. PAA *√Pk (presumably *f- better than *p-)³⁰ “1. body, 2. belly” [GT]: PBrb. *ta-fækka “body” [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh ta-fkka “charogne” [DRB] || SBrb.: Ahaggar ta-fekka, pl. ti-fekk-aw-în “corps (partie matérielle d’une personne ou d’un animal vivant ou mort)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 313], EWlmd. ta-fækka, pl. ši-fèkk-aw-en, Ayr to-fækka, pl. to-fèkk-aw-en

with a rather deviant working hypothesis about the “Cu-Om.” *Lautgeschichte* followed passim by the latter (cf. also esp. Lamberti 1988, 1992). The only serious attempt at a comprehensive elaboration of the historical phonologies and lexicons in the individual Omotic groups was the book by M.L. Bender (2003), where the basic and/or extended lexicon of each group was examined separately with the outcome of frequently *ad hoc* ancestral forms, but the detailed evaluation of all these results is still ongoing, so a making well-founded and definite statement on the qualities of this *magnum opus* milestone would still be premature. Some of the Omotic groups had already been individually examined by others with some implications about the historical phonology: Kefoid/Gonga (Fleming 1987, Lamberti 1992), Mao (Fleming 1988a), Aroid (Fleming 1988b, but the wordlist in Bender 1994a also). Finally, so far, some 7 papers on the AA etymology of Omotic roots have appeared (as a sort of a prelude to the fascicles of a planned Omotic etymological dictionary) have been published by G. Takács (part I: 2011b, II: 2012b, III: 2012a, IV: 2022a, V: 2022b, VI: 2021b, VII: 2022e).

²⁸ Like ● Angas-Sura in the light of the inner (Stolbova 1972: consonants; 1977: sketchy list of PAS lexical roots; 1987: 240-244: selected 64 PAS etymological entries; Takács 2004a: historical phonology and a complete comparative lexicon; 2005a: 47-50: historical phonology) vs. external evidence (Takács 1999b: 167-175: AS *č-; 2001: 78-96, §3: AS initial sibilants and “laryngeals”; 2003a: 105-122: AS *g^y-; 2011a: 148-175 etc.), ● Bole-Tangale (Stolbova 1987: 244-248: selected 64 BT proto-roots; Schuh 1984: vowel reconstruction with a large collection of BT etymological entries, both verbs and nouns, a comparative comparative lexicon is now forthc. by M. Liesner), ● Northern Bauchi (Stolbova 1987: 248-261 based on the lexical stock accumulated in Skinner 1977: a considerable comparative wordlist with 185 reconstructed entries; Takács 2001: 97-114, §4: NBch. initial sibilants and “laryngeals”; 2002b; 2007, all three papers yielding segments of a NBch. historical phonology; 2011a: 176-199: comprehensive overview), ● Southern Bauchi (Stolbova 1987: 261-263 based on the lexical stock accumulated in Shimizu 1978: some 47 etymological entries), ● Mafa-Mada (Rossing 1978), ● Musgu and ● Masa groups (Takacs 2013: roots with initial laryngeals and pharyngeals in their AA context, comparative lexicons forthc.), ● Dangla-Migama and ● Mubi-Toram (comparative lexicons forthc. by G. Takacs, who has so far released a number of pilot studies into the AA background of DM and MT roots, cf. Takacs 2009-2010; 2009a; 2021a; 2022c and Takacs 2009e; 2021 forthc.; 2022d, resp.).

²⁹ Etyma Afroasiatica Nova (EAAN). Its first vol. appeared in Berlin, 2016, which is containing either new AA roots or new cognates to known AA roots with initial labials (AA *b-, *p-, *f-, *m-).

³⁰ The Chadic voiced labiodental fricative, which may either be due to a secondary spirantization of a bilabial stop or historically inherited, may in this case suggest an inherited PAA *f-.

“corps” [PAM 1998: 60], Taneslemt (Timbuktu, Mali) ta-fekka, pl. či-fekka-w-én “1. corps (anatomique), 2. tronc” [DRB], Ghat ta-fekka “corps” [Nehilil 1909: 145] (Brb.: DRB 550) || perhaps NOm. *fik-n “1. belly, 2. heart” [GT] > Gimirra: She pikn “belly” [CR in Bender 2003: 159, #9, cf. also #69 s.v. “heart”] vs. She fikn “heart” [Fleming] = ’fikn [Muldrow] “heart” (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 167, #69) | (???) Yemsa fiko “throat”³¹ [Fleming in Bender 2003: 170, #93] | Sheko fik-n “heart” [Fleming in Bender 2003: 211, #69] (NOm. = She + Sheko: Bender 2003: 240, #69) || CCh. *√vK “body” [GT]: Matakam vák [Rossing] | Glavda vəghá [Rapp, so also Wolff], Cena vəghá [Wolff 1974-5: 205], Dghwede vğà [Frick] | (?) Lamang ghèvà [Lukas], met. < *vəghà [GT]? (CCh.: JI 1994 II, 34-35). See EAAN I 112, #539; Takacs 2021b: 103, #224.

2. SAA *√mt “bone” [GT]: Bed. mīta “Knochen” [Reinisch 1895: 175]³² || WCh.: perhaps PAngas *m^wat “trunk, stem (of a tree)”³³ [GT 2004: 259] | Sbauchi *m^wat “bone” [GT]: Zaar mwət [IL apud JI 1994 II 36], Zaar of Gambar Leere mwàt [Shimizu], Zaar of Lusa mwàt [Shimizu], Zakshi mwat [Shimizu] (SBCh.: Shimizu 1978: 21). See EAAN I 128, #626.

3. PAA *√mS “joint of body” [GT]: NBrb.: Zemmur ta-měšaš-t “rotule” [Laoust 1918: 4] || LECu.: Afar mās-ayya (f) “joint of body” [PH 1985: 158]. See EAAN I 146, #714.

4. PAA *√bn “nerve, tendon” [GT]: Sem.: Akk. buānu, st.cstr. buānê “Bänder im Körper, auch die Adern, Nerven, Sehne, Muskel usw.” [Holma 1911: 4] || LECu.: Saho bān-ó, pl. bānūn (f) “Sehne, Nerv” [Reinisch 1890: 84] || CCh.: (?) Kotoko vónġ ġsi [v- not clear] “artère, veine” [Mouchet in Sölken 1967: 264, #329] || Ech.: Migama bīnnyè “tendon” [JA 1992: 70], WDangla bīnyinyò (m), pl. bīnyàny “nerfs du corps, corde avec nerfs” [Fédry 1971: 89]. Cf. EDE II 193; EAAN I 42, #152. Cf. also the next entry, which may be eventually akin to this root.

5. PAA *√bn “1. some string-like (or sim.) part of the body, 2. rope” [GT], cf. Sem.: Akk. (Bab.) abunnatu “1. Nabelschnur, 2. Nabel” [AHW 9] = “cordon ombilical, nombril” [DRS 4]³⁴ || (???) Eg. bn.t “Harfe” (OK, Wb I 457, 5),³⁵ originally a collective fem. *“(strings)” (?) || NBrb.: Mzab t-bani-t “pelote de petite taille composé de duites, fils de trame” [Delheure 1984: 9], Figuig t-buney-t “poignée de laine” [Kossmann] (NBrb.: DRB 80) || LECu.: (???)

³¹ Phonologically, it is very hard to assume any of its connection with NOm.: Male baḳana “neck” [Bender 2003: 60, #93: isolated] (see part IV). For the same considerations, its cognacy with the biradical stem of NOm. *fik-n “1. belly, 2. heart” [GT] is so much apparent, although hard to explain semantically.

³² Cf. also Lamberti 1993a: 352 with a false Cu. etymology.

³³ I.e., metonymy allowing to view the stem of a tree as something similar to bone?

³⁴ D. Cohen (DRS l.c.) combined the Akkadian root with that of Ar. ʔabn-at- “noeud, nodosité dans une tige d’arbre etc.” [BK I 6], which is, however, semantically rather dubious the root meaning of the latter being quite different, cf. Ar. ʔabin- “épais, épaissi (se dit des mets ou des boissons peu liquides)” [BK].

³⁵ For alleged Africal parallels of the Egyptian term “harp” see Cottevieille-Giraudet 1937-1940: 32-33. Its striking similarity to Sem.: Akk. (Oakk., O-Ybab.) tibbittum ~ timbuttu ~ timbūtu ~ tib(b)uttu ~ tib(b)ūtu, jBab. also tambūtu? ~ timbuʔu ~ tibuʔu “1. eine Harfe, 2. eine Grille” [AHW] may be pure chance.

Oromo fāñ-ō [irregular f- < *b-] “Schnur, Strick” [Reinisch 1890: 84] ||l ECh.: Mokilko bōnné (m) “corde” [Jng. 1990: 67]. Cf. EDE II 194; EAAN I 42-42, #153. Cf. the preceding entry.

6. S²AA *√mn[ž] ~ *√mnS < **√mmZ/S (partial redupl.?) “1. blood, 2. red (material)” [GT]: Eg. mnš.t “Mennige, Rötel” (Med., Spiegelberg 1906: 158) = “some sort of clay (in constant connection with ztj ‘yellow ochre’): red ochre (μίλτος)” (Iversen 1955: 19-21, 28-34; WÄDN 246-7; Borghouts 1971: 43-44, n. 21; PL 437; Leitz 1999: 99) = “an ochreous earth used as pigment (but its colour is not definitely identified), probably red” (Harris 1961: 146-7) = “ocre rouge” (Aufrère 1990: 652-3, 659, 742, 765) = “Ocker (viell. roter)” (GHWb 342) ||l HECu. *munz/ž-³⁶ “to bleed” [GT]: Sidamo mund-a “to bleed”, mund-ē “blood” [Gasparini 1983: 241; Cerulli 1938 II 214], Darasa (Gedeo) mund-a? “to bleed”, mund-é “blood” [Hudson] (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 28) ||l WCh.: EHausa mǎnžú “red dye, mostly prepared from the red leaf-sheaths of a variety of millet” [Broß quoted by Ibr.-Gimba 1994: 134] ||l CCh.: Bura-Margi *maṅza (?) “red” [GT]:³⁷ WMargi muṅzà [Kraft], Chibak mægzà [Kraft], Bura mamzà [Kraft] = mamsa [Hoffmann in Reutt & Kogan 1973: 92], Ngwahyi mǎmzà [Kraft] (CCh.: Kraft 1981: #274). Cf. Takács 2009d: 228-229, #430; EDE III 325; EAAN I 168, #828.

7. PAA *√m^o (extended var. *√my^o) “phlegm, slime” [GT]: Sem. *√my^o “to flow (of efflux?)” [GT]: presumably Akk. māʔu [irregular -â- instead of -ê-] (a/jB) “(Galle) erbrechen” [AHW 637] ||l Ar. √my^o I: māʕa “1. couler doucement en se répandant à la surface du sol” [BK II 1172] = “to flow (liquid)” [Leslau] ||l Geez √my^o: meʕa “1. to become water, melt, liquefy, 2. putrefied” [Leslau 1987: 376] ||l presumably Eg. m^o (determinative of bodily efflux) “etwas vor dem man sich hüten soll” (XVIII. Mag., Wb II 46, 12) = “etwas vor dem man sich hüten muß (in Zshg. mit Lippen)” (GHWb 327) ||l SCu.: Maʕa maʕa-tuko [-ʔ- regular < *-ʕ-] “phlegm” [Ehret 1980 MS: 4] ||l Ch. *miH- “phlegm” [GT]: WCh.: Guruntum mǐ “saliva” [Jaggar 1989: 187] ||l CCh.: Zime-Dari mǐē? “salive” [Cooper 1984: 17] ||l ECh.: Jegu mi “Rotz” [Jng. 1961: 115]. Cf. EDE III 171-172; EAAN I 158, #783.

8. SAA *√bn (var. *√bHn)³⁸ “sweat” [GT]: NOm.: Koyra bōin-ε “sweat” [Siebert 1994: 20] ||l WCh.: Chip pe-ḅan [unless < *ḅalḅ] “sweat” [Kraft] | Dwot pup-ḅani “sweat” [Kraft] | Diri

³⁶ HECu. (Sidamo, Darasa) d < ECu. *z [Sasse, Leslau] = *ž (*dz) [Hudson] is possible and regular (cf. Sasse 1976: 130-142, esp. 137; 1979: 19-20, also 56; Leslau 1980: 119ff.; Hudson 1989: 7-8).

³⁷ N. Skinner (1997: 79) affiliated this BM root with the reflexes of CCh. *√mms “blood” [GT], cf. BM *mamši [GT]: Margi ʔmámčǐ (-tsh-) [IL], Gwara mámšǐ [Wolff], Bura mamši [Hoffmann apud RK 1973: 92] = mámčǐ [Wolff], Bura-Pela and Kilba mamši [Meek] = mǎšǐ [Grieve 1976 MS: 2, #15] (BM: Wolff 1974-5: 190, 202) | Fali-Jilbu mamzi “blood” [Kraft 1972 MS] | Gudu mamšǐ [IL] | MM *maNbez [Rossing 1978: 213, #75] | Sukur mumbus [Meek] = múmbùz [IL] (CCh.: Mouchet 1953: 172; JI 1994 II 30-31). The reconstruction of the C₂ nasal (Ch. *-m- or *-n-?) and the C₃ sibilant (perhaps Ch. *-ž- = Eg. -š-?) is uncertain. Partial redupl. of an original *√mS? Cf. CCh.: Bata mis- “to redden” [Pweddton 2000: 56], Bachama miso-miso “red” [Carnochan 1975: 465, #85].

³⁸ The variety with *-H- as C₂ has to be postulated because of the Chadic reflexes with *ḅ- < **bH-.

bəŋgəni “sweat” [Kraft] | Buli bəŋgəni [Kraft] (WCh.: Kraft 1981: #79). See EAAN I 45, #167. Derived from PAA *√bn (var. *√bHn) “warm” [GT]?³⁹ For the semantic connection cf. the analogy of PAA *√df “1. to be warm, 2. sweat” [GT]?⁴⁰

9. AA *√mT (both varieties *√md ~ *√mṭ are attested) “tears” [GT]: EBrb.: Ghadames √mṭ: a-məṭṭa, pl. məṭṭa-w-en “larme” [Lanfry 1973: 220, #1049] || NBrb.: Shilh a-mṭṭa “larme” [Justinard 1914: 121] | Mzg. i-məṭṭi “pleur, larme” [Taïfi 1991: 445],⁴¹ Izdeg i-məṭṭi “larme” [Mercier 1937: 153], Zayan and Sgugu i-mṭi ~ i-məṭṭi “larme” [Loubignac 1924: 568], Ait Ndir a-məṭṭa “tear (n.)” [Penchoen 1973: 107] | Nefusa i-məṭṭ-aun (pl. of a-məṭṭa) “pleurs” [Laoust] etc. | Qabyle i-məṭṭi “larme” [Dallet 1982: 527], Zwawa, Bugi i-məṭṭi, pl. i-məṭṭa-un “larme” [Basset 1890b: 316] (NBrb.: Basset 1890a: 62-63; Biarnay 1917: 90) || WBrb.: Zenaga √ndw: è-ndaw-ən (coll. pl.) “larmes” [Nicolas 1953: 227] || SBrb.: Hgr. ä-miṭ, pl. i-məṭṭ-aw-en “larme” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1163], EWlmd. a-məṭṭ, Ayr ə-məṭṭ “larme” [PAM 1998: 228], Tadghaq and Tudalt a-məṭṭ “tears” [Sudlow 2001: 281] || (?) HECu. *indidd-o “tears of eyes” [Hudson 1989: 149] (???) < *imdidd-o (strange HECu. *-d- contra AA *-ṭ-) [GT] || NOM.: PMAoid *ʔamt- (?) “tears” [GT] > Hozo ámt-i & Sezo hamiç(i) “tear of eye” [Siebert & Wedekind 1994: 17, #25] || WCh.: Pero múḍḍi “tear (lacrima)” [Frj. 1985: 42]. Irregular alternation of -d- ~ -ḍ-. See EAAN I 131, #645.

³⁹ Cf. EBrb.: Siwa ṭa-ben-t “cucina, forno” [Paradisi 1961: 298] || SBrb.: Hgr. é-bîn “1. tout fourneau de pipe, 2. (p.ext.) pipe (tout entière)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 69-70], EWlmd.-Ayr e-ben “1. fourneau de pipe, 2. cigarette” [PAM 2003: 30] || SCu.: Ma’a ki-buné “firebrand” [Ehret 1980a: 140, §I.A.55 with false etymology] || NOM.: SEOmeto *binn-a “warm” [Bender, Fleming] (NOM.: Mukarovsky 1981: 216-217, #57.B) || WCh. *baHan- “hot” [GT]: AS *bāzn “1. (to be) hot, 2. burn” [GT] (AS: Stolbova 1972: 180; 1977: 153, #13; Takács 2004a: 27) | Sbauchi *baʔani → *ḥani “hot” [GT] (Sbauchi: Shimizu 1978: 43, #93) (AA: further details in EDE II 609-610; EAAN I 45, #166). Note that Ch. Ehret (l.c.) misderived the Ma’a cognate from his SCu. *bu- “fire-block”, a ghost-root based on Iraqw buʔi “fire-stick” | Qwadza biʔitiko “fire-block” | Dahalo ḥuw-ēð- “to boil (sg.)”.

⁴⁰ Cf. Sem.: Ar. dafiʔa “to be warm” [Ember] = dafʔ- “Wärme” [Calice] = difʔ- “chaleur, vêtement chaud” [DRS] || NBrb.: Aksimen ddfa “warmth” [OS] || Bed. daf “das Rauchbad nehmen, schwitzen im Rauchbad”, dūf, pl. daf “Schweiß” [Reinisch 1895: 61] = daf “to smoke oneself, take a smoke bath”, dūf “to sweat (intr.)” [Roper 1928: 169], Ammarʔar (ʔö) duf “Schweiß” [Reinisch] = (ʔu) dáfa “очаг с благовоениями, в котором парятся” [Dlg.] || NAḡaw: Bilin dif “Schweiß” [Reinisch] || LECu.: Oromo dafqa “1. Schweiß, 2. sieden, kochen” [Meinhof] = “1. to perspire, 2. perspiration” [Hudson] | HECu.: Darasa daff- “to perspire”, daff-a “perspiration” [Hudson 1989: 112] || WCh.: Hausa dáfá “to cook” [Abraham 1962: 164] | Ngizim dāafáú [irregular d-] “heat (of environment), perspiration” [Schuh 1981: 53] = dāfau “sweat” [Kraft] || CCh.: PMandara *ngu-dufa “sweat” [GT] (Mandara data: Kraft 1981: #79) | Muktele àndif “to sweat”, andif “hot” [Rossing 1978: 273, #376 and 339, #709] | PKotoko *(mV)-dafu “hot” [GT]: cf. esp. Logone mùtfú? ~ métfu ~ mótfū “verschwitzt, warm, Hitze, Schweiß” [Nachtigal in Lukas 1936: 111] (Kotoko: Lukas 1937: 145, 147, 154; Porhomovskij 1972: 41, #21.3) | (?) Musgu dafú [unless < *d-afú] “heiβ” [Barth in Lukas 1941: 43]. For further details of this well-known AA root see EDE II 609-610.

⁴¹ Its derivation from titt “eye” (Taifi l.c.) may be merely a *Volksetymologie*.

Head

10. PAA * $\sqrt{b}k$ “head” [GT]: because of the enormous diversity of the reflexes in the 2nd radical,⁴² three distinct root varieties may be projected already for PAA, viz. (1) * \sqrt{bg} or (2) * \sqrt{bk} or (3) * \sqrt{bk} .⁴³ Cf. also EAAN I 33, #97; Takacs 2022b: 656-657, #119.

10.1. PAA * \sqrt{bg} “head” [GT] is only preserved in its simplex by NOm.: Yemsa (royal language) *beg- “head” [GT] > Yemsa (Janjero) bæg, bæg-besi “testa (linguaggio regale)” [Cerulli 1938 III 70] = beg-à “Kopf (Respektsprache)” [Lamberti 1993b: 330] (Yemsa: Bender 2003: 166, #67). The biconsonantal root was apparently only preserved intact in Omotic, but two further root varieties, extended by different 2nd radicals,⁴⁴ suggest that all these reflexes may be projected for PAA:

10.1.1. PEg. * $\sqrt{bg}3$ (i.e., possibly < AA * $\sqrt{bgr/l}$) > Eg. bd3 [- \underline{d} - reg. < *-g-] (head det.) ‘(Substantiv)⁴⁵’ (PT 2083b hapax, GHWb 267). Skull was conceived as a sort of vessel in the neolithic Nile Valley.⁴⁶ May be thus ultimately related with PAA *bag^w-ar “kind of vessel (from various materials), вид сосуда (из различного материала)” [Militarev 1984a]⁴⁷ = * \sqrt{bgr} (perhaps *bugur) “sort of vessel” [GT]⁴⁸ Cf. EDE II: 366 and EAAN I: 29, #70.

10.1.2. Brb. * \sqrt{bgn} > * \sqrt{bng} “1. crain, 2. head” [GT] > EBrb.: Ghadames ta-beğna, pl. ti-beğn-iw-īn “crâne, boîte crânienne” [Lanfry 1973: 7, #37] || NBrb.: Tuat, Gurara, Tidikelt a-bengu [-ng- via met. < *-gn-] “tête” [DRB 77], Timimun and Gurara ta-megna [m- < *b-]

⁴² The exact C₂ cannot be precisely reconstructed: Qabyle and Kambatta speak for *-k, while Yemsa and the rest of Berber parallels as well as Egyptian suggest *-g, but Dullay *-ḥ can only derive from AA *-k.

⁴³ M. Lamberti (1993a: 330) has already connected the Cushito-Omotic reflexes (Kambatta, Dullay, and Yemsa) of all the three biradical varieties with diverse velar C₂.

⁴⁴ The exact C₂ cannot be precisely reconstructed: Qabyle and Kambatta speak for *-k, while Yemsa and the rest of Berber parallels as well as Egyptian suggest *-g, but Dullay *-ḥ can only derive from AA *-k.

⁴⁵ Occurs solely in PT 2083b: “The King could not chew the monthly ...”. The word was left here by R.O. Faulkner (AEPT 297, Utterance 688, n. 5) untranslated: “the meaning of bd3 with head-determinative remains obscure”.

⁴⁶ For the etymological evidence of the semantical connection of “head” vs. “vessel” in prehistoric Egypt, see Takács 1994a: 1994b, and 1998 (with further references).

⁴⁷ A.Ju. Militarev (in a paper written jointly with V.A. Šnirel'man 1984: 38), in turn, reconstructed his PAA form without, however, providing the underlying data, suggesting that *-r did not belong to the original root.

⁴⁸ Sem.: Akk. (jB) bugarru “ein Gefäß” [AHW 96: “Lehnwort unbekannter Herkunft”] || (?) Eg. bd3 [if from * \sqrt{bgr}] “Topf aus gebranntem Ton” (OK, Wb I 488, 11) = “jar” (MK, FD 86) = “Tiegel, Backform” (NBÄ 789, n. 993) = “a pot” (CED 23) = “ein Tontopf” (Satzinger 1994: 199) = “1. Topf (aus gebranntem Ton), 2. tulpenbechförmiges Model, Brotform” (GHWb 267) || SCu.: (???) Dahalo bağwála [GT: irregular -l- < *-r-] “night-jar” [Ehret 1980: 139, §I.A.47] || CCh.: Logone bugeru “Eßtopf” [Lukas 1937: 148] | Musgu bugur “Kalebasse” [Decorse in Lukas 1941: 48], Pus buguru “bol en bois” [Tourneux 1991: 78] || ECh.: Somray bəğōr “réceptier creux en bois” [Jng. 1993 MS: 4] | Mokilko bōgōrō “réceptier (pour les femmes)” [Jng. 1990a: 66]. Ch. Ehret (l.c.) preferred a different etymology of the Dahalo word comparing ERift: Qwadza bola-tuko ‘barbet sp.’ < SCu. *bogwala- “night-jar (?)” (baseless).

“1. tête, 2. extrémité” [DRB 35], Mzab ta-bəžna, pl. ti-bəžn-iw-in [ž < *g] “tête” [Delheure 1984: 18] || WCh.: what may perhaps appear to be a look-alike⁴⁹ is most probably unrelated.⁵⁰

10.2. PAA *√**bk** “head (originally its crane?)” [GT] > NBrb.: Qabyle a-bbay [γ regular < *k] “1. tête, 2. calotte crânienne” [Dallet 1982: 32] (Dallet: “rare, unique example connu”, treated so also DRB 82: isolated in Brb.) || HECu.: Kambatta boḵu-ta ~ boḵḵ-ākata “head” [Hudson 1989: 77: isolated] = boḵ-o “Kopf” [Lamberti 1993b: 330] || SEOmeto *baḵ- “horn” [GT]⁵¹ (cf. also the special entry for this item below).

10.3. ECU. ***bak-** “head” [GT], attested solely in PDullay *paḵ- [GT]: Harso and Dobase paḵ-té, pl. páḵḵ-e “1. Kopf, 2. Haar (Haupthaar)” [AMS 1980: 179]⁵² < AA *√**bk** “head” (???) [GT]. Cf. PAA *√**bk** “hair” [GT] (discussed in EDE II: 340; EAAN I: 31, #84)?

11. SAA *√**br** “head, top” [GT]: LECu. *bVr- “top of head” [GT]: Somali bār, pl. bārār “Kopfseite eines Gegenstandes, Gipfel, Wipfel” [Reinisch 1902: 85] = bār, pl. bārār “tree-top” [Abraham 1964: 27], Jabarti bār “der oberste Teil eines Gegenstandes”, pl. bārār “Haarhörner, aus Haaren geflochtene Hörner auf beiden Seiten des Frauenkopfes” [Reinisch 1904: 54] | Oromo bor-ó “Kopfseite eines Gegenstandes, Gipfel, Wipfel” [Reinisch l.c.] || SCu.: Ma’a ki-béra “skull”, cf. also (via metonymy?) i-béra “eggshell, nutshell” [Ehret 1980: 137, §I.A.32]⁵³ || CCh.: Kotoko bōró, pl. bōrówé [b- < *Hb-]⁵⁴ “tête” [Bouny 1978: 54] = bōrò “head” [JI 1994 II 183] | perhaps PMafa-Mada *biri- “hat” [Rossing 1978: 268, #352],⁵⁵ e.g. Mafa bəráwaya “chapeau de paille pointu” [Brt. & Bléis 1990: 91]. Cf. EDE II 15; EAAN I 51, #199.

12. S²AA *√**ml** “temple of head” [GT]: Eg. m3^c [reg. < *√**ml**]⁵⁶ “Schläfe” (MK, Wb II 24; Grapow 1954: 29) = “certaine partie du corps humain, semblable des deux côtés, peut-être l’épaule, mais plutôt la joue” (Jéquier 1911: 64-65, §23) = “la tempe” (Lefèbvre 1952: 14, §13; Massart 1959: 233, §28) = temple of head” (FD 102; DCT 156: already in CT VII 184g, IV 58g) = “1. la tempe, 2. les boucles de cheveux de la tempe” (AL 79.1115) = “1. Schläfe (Mensch, Tier, Ort wo der Zopf sitzt), 2. (fig.) Aufmerksamkeit” (GHWb 318) = “side of the head, temple” (Walk-er 1996: 269) = “1. Schläfe (SAK 27, 1999: 74), 2. Zopf (SAK 7, 1979: 58, n. a)” (WD III 49) || SAgaw: (???) Awngi ḡari [ḡ- regular < *m-, but

⁴⁹ Namely Angas băng “a headman, such as of a gang of labourers or a group of boys shepherding, etc.” [Foulkes 1915: 146].

⁵⁰ Cf. WCh.: Angas-Sura *baḡ “1. great, 2. fat, 3. (hence?) chief” (?) [Takács 2004a: 10]: perhaps Gerka bong-nar-ra (so, -o-) [bo- < *b^a-?] “great” (cf. AS *nār ~ *nār “1. top”) [Ftp. 1911: 216], Goemay bang “fatness, fatness”, bang-lang “fat and stout (an insult)” [Sirlinger 1937: 11] || Sem.: Ar. ‘abana I “1. être gros, épais et ferme (se dit du corps, d’un chameau dont les chairs sont compactes et durs)” [BK II: 159].

⁵¹ M. Lamberti (l.c.) erroneously explained this from ECU. *bVḵ^c- “Wange”, certainly a distinct root.

⁵² In principle, Dullay p < *b, and ḡ < *k are regular (Sasse 1979: 56, §5).

⁵³ Combined by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with Dahalo bədo “bare spot of ground” < SCu. *bed³- “bald-spot, bare-spot, any bare hard surface”. Both phonologically and semantically far-fetched.

⁵⁴ Was the stem *bor- originally extended by the prefix *ḡ- of the AA anatomical terms (cf. Takács 1997c)?

⁵⁵ M. Rossing treated the Mafa-Mada word as a loan, but he gave no source of the borrowing.

⁵⁶ Extended with the AA affix *^c ~ *ḡ of body parts?

-r- strange]⁵⁷ “temple of head” [Lamberti] || LECu.: Oromo mall-a “guancia, gota” [da Thiene 1938: 234 quoted apud Lamberti] || NOM.: Kaffa mallall-o/ō “temple, osso temporale” [Cerulli 1951: 471] = “Schläfe(nknochen)” [Lamberti], Shinasha (Bworo) mālal-á “temple of head” [Lamberti], Mocha māll-o “temple of head” [Leslau] | Sheko māll-o “temple of head (Schläfe)” [Lamberti] (NOM.-Cu.: Lamberti 1987: 533, #6.b; 1993a: 353; 1993b: 105) || CCh.: Mada mlom “tempe” [Brt. & Brunet 2000: 185].

12.1. Eventually perhaps akin also to SAA *√**ml**(C₃ = ʕ?) “face” [GT]: NOM.: Kaffa male-to “faccia” [Cecchi apud Reinisch 1888: 318] || CCh.: Glavda úúməla “cheek” [RB 1968: 96] | Hurzo mǔlā “cheeks” [Rossing 1978: 223, #124: isolated in MM] | Lame mbə̀lāŋ [mb- < *m- reg.] “côté, profil” [Sachnine 1982: 314]? Cf. Takács 2004b, 57, #346; EDE III 57-58; EAAN I 194, #939.

13. SAA *√**my** ~ *√**m**? “(top of) head” [GT]: Bed. moi, pl. moia ~ moiya “1. crown of head, 2. top (tree, hill)” [Roper 1928: 213] = moi (m) “top of the head” [Hudson 1996: 89] || LECu.: Afar moyy-a (f), pl. moyyāyi “brain, head, skull” [PH 1985: 170] (Bed.-Afar: Blazek 1994 MS Bed., 28) || SCu.: Ma’ a muá [muha], pl. mia “Kopf” [Meinhof 1906: 314] = muʔa “head” [Ehret 1987: 387: isolated in SCu.] || CCh.: Musgu mō [unless < *mog] “head” [Mouchet in JI 1994 II, 183: isolated in Ch.] || ECh.: perhaps WDangla mǎwó “parure de tête féminine, comme deux ailes de chaque côté de la tête, en doum” [Fédry 1971: 110]. Cf. Takács 2009d: 222, #405; EDE III 144; EAAN I 201, #972.

13.1. Is the reduplication of this root preserved by HECu.: Kambatta mummi “1. head, 2. hair of head (human)” [Hudson l.c.], Qabenna mūmi “head” [Korhonen] = mūmmi “head” [Crass 2001: 49, #107]?

14. NAA *√**bk** “1. lock of hair, 2. net” [GT]: Sem.: (?) Talmudic Aram. baykā (?)⁵⁸ “Netz, Haarschmuck (?)” [Dalman 1922: 53] = “filet, coiffure (?)” [DRS], cf. also MHbr. *būkyā “1. the weaver’s shuttle, 2. the spider” [Jastrow 1950: 145] = “1. navette de tisserand, 2. araignée” [DRS] and JArām. būkyār (formative -r) “the weaver’s clue” [Jastrow] (Sem.: DRS 62) || NEg. bkk (hair det.) “boucles de cheveux” (NK, Andreu & Cauville 1978: 13; AL 78.1379) = (plant determinative) “*Locke, *Haarlocke”, cf. wp.t-j hr bkk “mein Scheitel hat eine *Haarlocke” (GHWb 264) || NBrb.: Mzab t-bušbuš-t [*t-bučbuč-t, č reg. < *k] “pompon, gland, noeud de laine” [Delheure 1984: 14], Wargla ta-bbuš-t [*ta-bbuč-t, č < *k reg.] “touffe, pompon, toupet, houppe de cheveux, flocon de laine, de soie” [Delheure 1987: 34], Shawya beč [č reg. < *k] “poil fin des lièvres, souris, ...” [DRB 14] (NBrb.: DRB 9). Cf. EDE II 340; Takács 2009e, 322, #20; EAAN I 31, #84.

15. AA *√**bkr** ~ *√**bgr** “lock of hair” [GT]: Sem.: presumably JArām. būkyār (formative -r) “the weaver’s clue” [Jastrow 1950: 145] || LEg. bk3 [if < *√bkr] (hair det.) “boucles (de cheveux)” (GR, Edfou IV 64, 12; AL 78.1379) || SBrb.: Hgr. ā-beggār, pl. i-beggār “1. chevelure (d’homme ou de femme) un peu longue et non tressé, 2. toute chevelure actuellement

⁵⁷ But -r- < *-l- would be irreg. Perhaps -r- < *-ll-?

⁵⁸ The reading and meaning of the Talmudic Aram. word are doubtful.

non tressé et longue de plus de 10 cms” [Foucauld 1951-2: 35; DRB 35: isolated] || LECu. *bukur- “lock of hair” [GT]: Afar buḵūr “Haarbüschel auf dem Scheitel” [Reinisch 1886: 828] = bukkūrta “single bunch of hair left on a child’s head when shaven” [PH 1985: 74] | Somali búkur “Haarschopf der Knaben auf dem Scheitel” [Reinisch 1902: 79]. Cf. EDE II 340-341; EAAN I 32, #94. Of biconsonantal origin? Cf. AA *√bk “hair” (supra).

16. PAA *√bn “hair” [GT]: Sem.: presumably Akk. (a/jBab.) abbuttu [provided < *abbuntu?] “eine Haartracht: ein oben zusammengebundener Schopf (?)” [AHW 5] = “1. characteristic hair style for slaves, 2. hair forming the a. lock, 3. part of the head where the a. grows, 4. a metal clasp to hold the a. lock” [CAD a 48] || Nom.: NWometo *binan-a “hair” [Bender] = *biynan- [GT]: Gofa binnân-a “capello, pello” [Moreno 1938: 139], Wolayta binnan-a [Bender], Malo binnann-a [Alemayehu] = binānn-a ~ binān-a [Bender] = binōn-a ~ binnān-a [Fleming] = binānn-a [Siebert, Candwell], Dawro and Gamu binan-a [LS], Haruro (Basketo) binan-a [Bender], Dorze biynén-a [Bender] = biynán-a [Lewis] = Kullo binen-a [Bender] = binan-a [Alemayehu] (NWometo: LS 1997: 321; Bender 1999 MS: 17, #65; 2000 MS: 57, #65) || ECh.: Somray bènáy “poils du pubis” [Jng. 1993 MS: 5] | Mokilko bônè (f) “poil” [Jng. 1990: 67], EDangla bínyó (f) “le poil de la crinière ou de la queue du cheval, le crin” [Dbr. & Mnt. 1973: 45]. Cf. EDE II 193-194; EAAN I 43, #154.

17. PAA *√br “hair (on top of any body part, either of human or animal)” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. burāʔil- “plumes fines formant le collier de certains oiseaux, et qu’ils hérissent à volonté quand ils sont excités” [BK I 117] = burʔul- “plumes fines, érectiles, du cou de certains oiseaux”, barʔala “hérissier les plumes du cou (oiseau)” [DRS 81] || Bed. bār “camel-hair” [Roper 1928: 162]⁵⁹ vs. Bed. beräre “Mähne des Löwen, Pferdes, von Pavian” [Reinisch 1895: 51] = berāri “mane” [Roper 1928: 163] || LECu.: Somali bār “langes nicht geschnittenes Haar, behaarter Gipfel” [Reinisch 1902: 85] = bār “the tuft of hair on camel’s hump” [Abraham 1964: 27] = bār “hairs on the camel’s hump” [Siyad 1984: 290], Jabarti bār “der oberste Teil eines Gegenstandes”, pl. bārar “Haarhörner, aus Haaren geflochtene Hörner auf beiden Seiten des Frauenkopfes” [Reinisch 1904: 54] || SCu.: WRift *bōr-a, pl. *bōráy “goat’s beard” [KM] = “facial hair” [GT]: Irq. bor-i “body hair, facial hair” [Ehret] = bōr-áy (pl. m), sg. bōr-i “beard on the chin” [MQK 2002: 22] = bōr-i “goat’s beard” [KM], Gorowa bōr-a, pl. bōráy “goat’s beard” [KM], Burunge bōr-a “goat’s beard” [Ehret] (WRift: Ehret 1980: 140; Cu.: Blazek 1994 MS Bed., 9; KM 2004: 75) || ECh.: Somray bàrà (f) “tresse de femme, cheveux tressées” [Jng. 1993 MS: 4]. Cf. also Takács 2000: 72, #1.4; EDE II 250; EAAN I 51-52, #200. The underlying AA root might be perhaps identical with that of PAA *√br “head, top” (above).

18. SAA *√bl “mane” [GT]: LECu.: Somali búlbul ~ bábul “Mähne des Löwen, Pferdes, des Pavian” [Reinisch 1902: 82] = búlbúl “1. fleece, 2. huge shock of hair” [Abraham 1964: 35] | HECu.: perhaps Sidamo balāl-a “other hair (of adolescents)” [Hudson 1989: 352] || ECh.: DM *balbal- “crinière de cheval” [GT]: WDangla bōlbāl (pl.), bōlbilo (sg., peu usité) “cri-

⁵⁹ Originally *“(hairy peak of camel’s hump)”?

nière de cheval” [Fédry 1971: 92], Bidiya bàlbàl (m) “crinière” [AJ 1989: 56], Migama bilbillé (m) “crinière” [JA 1992: 70]. Cf. the preceding entry? Cf. EDE II 249; EAAN I 67, #290.

19. PAA *√pš “to comb” [GT]: Sem. *√npš (root ext. prefix *n-)⁶⁰ “1. to comb, 2. handle, arrange body hair” [GT]: Akk. napāšu “(Wolle) auszupfen” [AHW 737] = (OBab., SBab., NAss.) G and D “1. to comb and clean wool, pluck apart”, N “2. to be plucked apart” [CAD n 291] || JPArAm. √nps “to hackle, comb” [Sokoloff 1990: 356], PBHbr. √nps (Aramaism with -s) piel “schlagen (Baumwolle oder Wolle)”, nappāsā’ “Wollschläger” [Dalman 1922: 274] = PBHbr. nāpas piel “(eig.: streuen, insbes.) hecheln, die Wolle ausschütteln, sie vom Staube reinigen” and JArAm. nāpas pael “hecheln, (Wolle u. dgl.) klopfen” [Levy 1924 III 422], JNArAm. √nbš (Arabism with -š?) “to card (wool, cotton)” [Sabar 2002: 229] | Ar. √nfš > I nafaša “séparer la laine, le coton avec les doigts” [BK II 1311] = “to separate (sg. not difficult to separate, such as cotton and wool), pluck asunder, loosen (with one’s fingers so that it became spread, sparse or dispersed), pull wool (until its parts became separated), pluck asunder or loosen, spread or disperse, ruffle (feathers around the neck)” [Lane 2829-2830] = “carder la laine, tiller, détacher l’écorce du chanvre, érailler (des étoffes), se nettoyer la barbe, en ôter la poussière, hérissier, retaper, peigner à rebours les cheveux et les enfler” [Dozy II 702],⁶¹ Dathina √nfš “déliier (les cheveux)” [GD 2807] = unloosen the hair” [Leslau] || ES: Tigre √nfš: nāfša “to card wool, unloosen the hair” [LH 347 apud Leslau 1982: 55: borrowed from Dathina] || Eg. pšj (f) “Substantiv” (NE, Wb I 560, 2) = “peigne” (AL 79.1049 after Zonhoven in JEA 65, 96, n. 65) = “divider, comb” (DLE I 184) = “Kamm (aus Elfenbein)” (GHWb 296) = “Kamm” (Quack 1997: 331 based on Janssen, JEA 50, 1964: 178f.) || NBrb. *√fsw “carder, défaire, étirer, peigner etc. (la laine)” [GT after DRB 656] || WCh.: Hausa fíísíí “dressing woman’s hair” [Abr. 1962: 269] | AS *pās “to comb, card” [GT]: Angas pèes (Kabwir dial.) “rupfen (z.B. die Federn des Huhnes)” [Jng. 1962 MS: 32] = pes “to thin, comb” [ALC 1978: 51], Mupun pāas “to comb hair” [Frj. 1991: 47], Kofyar paas “to comb” [Netting 1967: 31], Goemay paas` [pās] “to clear, make a clearance through”, cf. paas dang goešing “to clear a horse’s tail from entangled dirt by passing the hands through it” [Sirlinger 1937: 171] (AS: Takács 2004a, 282). The Ar.-Mupun comparison was first suggested by O. V. Stolbova (HSED 412, #1918; Stolbova 1996: 121), while the Eg.-AA one by G. Takács (2005d, 209-210, #300; EDE II 520; EAAN I 78, #358).

20. (N²)AA *√fr “hair” [GT]: Sem. *par^c- “capelli fluenti” [Fronzaroli] = *par(a)^c- “hair (on top of the head)” [Belova et al. 1994 MS: #77] = *par^c- “(loose) hair of the head” [SED]:⁶² Akk. pērtu ~ pēretu “Haupthaar” [AHW 856] = pirtu “Haupthaar” [Holma 1911:

⁶⁰ The fact of its being prefixed by *n- has already been admitted by V.E. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (HSED 412, #1918). Perhaps of a reflexive meaning?

⁶¹ Ch. Ehret (1989: 183, #58) derived Ar. √nfš “to pick wool or cotton, pluck” from his alleged biradical Sem. *√np- “to come out”, which hardly agrees with the AA evidence. V.E. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (HSED 412, #1918), in turn, reconstructed a certain PSem. *nVpuš- “to separate wool with fingers, card” solely from the Arabic reflex and assumed an eventual cognacy of their underlying AA *pač- “to card, comb” to their AA *pVč- “to distribute, divide”.

⁶² The inner Sem. etymology (if any) of Sem. *par^c- has been debated. It is also uncertain whether the Sem. etymon is connected to Sem. *√pr^c “to grow” (as maintained in GB 660; Fronzaroli 1964: 268, #2.46; WUS #2277). S. D. Ricks (1982: 298), in turn, associated Hbr. pera^c with OSA: Qatabanian fr^c-m “top, summit of”, Ar.

34] = pirtu “Kopfhaar” [Torczyner 1912: 770]⁶³ || Hbr. *pera*^o “das volle Haupthaar” [GB 660] = “loosely hanging and unplaited hair on the head” [KB 970] | Ar. *far*^o- “das volle Haupthaar” [GB] = “chevelure” [BK II 579] = “космы волос” [SISAJa] (Sem.: Holma 1911: 34; Fronzaroli 1964: 268, #2.46; SISAJa I, #46; Belova 1992: 16; SED I 192, #218) || perhaps LEg. *f*^o(3) ~ *f*^oj [if metathesis < **f*3^o < *√*fr*^o]⁶⁴ (hair det.) “lock of hair” (NE, pap. Turin 1983, vo. I 47-48, Černý 1958: 210, #6 after I. E. S. Edwards) = “cheveux” (AL 77.1544) = “lock of hair” (DLE I 190) = “Haarlocke” (GHWb 305)⁶⁵ > Dem. *f*^o ~ *f*^oj ~ *f*j “Haar” (DG 144:4) → Coptic (OSF) **ϣω**, (S) **βω** ~ **ογω**, (SBL) **ϣωε**, (A) **βωε**, (AL) **ϣοϣε**, (M) **ϣοε**, (BF) **ϣωι**, (F) **βωωι** ~ **ϣωογ** “hair” (CD 623a; CED 265; KHW 345) || NBrb.: Mzab *tu-frə-t*, pl. *tu-fra-t-in* “mèche bouclée de cheveux” [Delheure 1984: 50] || EBrb.: Ghadames *ta-frī-t*, pl. *ta-fra-t-īn* “1. mèche de cheveux qui s’arrondit sur le front, 2. languette de chaussure ou de chaussure qui recouvre le dessus du pied, ornée ou non de broderies de soie” [Lanfry 1973: 94, #140] || LECu.: cf. perhaps Afar *būr*^o-i [irreg. *b*- < AA **f*-] “tight wooly hair (like that of a negro)” [PH 1985: 74] || CCh.: Lame *pēr* “favoris, poils du visage” [Sachnne 1982: 268]. For this AA etymology cf. also EDE II 564-565; Takács 2003c: 191-192, #315; EAAN I 105, #501.

20.1. Any connection to Sem.: Ar. *ʿufr-at*- “2. crinière (du lion), long poil du cou (qui se hérissent chez certains animaux, quand ils sont en colère), 3. plumes du cou du coq (qui se dressent quand il est irrité)”, *ʿifr-āt*- “cheveux du milieu de la tête”, *ʿafr-an* “1. plumes du cou chez le coq (qui se dressent quand et s’ébouriffent quand il est irrité), 2. cheveux du derrière ou du sommet de la tête (chez l’homme), 3. toupet, crins ou poils qui descendent sur le front (chez les bestiaux)” [BK II 297-298] || ECu.: Dullay: Gollango *ufur-kó* “Körperhaar” [AMS 1980: 246] as suggested by A. G. Belova (1992: 16; 1998: 14)?

21. AA *√*my* ~ *√*m*? “hair” [GT]: Eg. *mjw* (or *mj.w*?) “Frisur” (late NK, Wb II 42, 10; GHWb 325) || SCu. **mu*^o- “hair (?)” [GT]: Burunge *mu*^ou “chaff, grain husks” [Ehret] | Ma’a *mamu*^ou “wool, fur” [Ehret 1974 MS: 46] = “plummage, fur” [Ehret 1980] (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 160, #54) || CCh.: perhaps Higi *m*^oa “beard” [Mohrlang 1972: 102] || ECh.: EDangla *màyā* “charganier tressé de façon ordinaire” [Dbr. & Mnt. 1973: 199]. Ultimately connected with SAA *√*my* ~ *√*m*? “(top of) head” [GT] (discussed above in the entry no. 12)? Is the reduplication of this root preserved by HECu.: Kambatta *mummi* “2. hair of head

far^o- “top”, *fara*^oa “to excel”, which is similarly dubious. The Russian linguists (SISAJa I, #46) equated, besides, Sem. **par*^o- with SBrb.: Hgr. *ā-bēggūr* “long disbanded hair”. Rejected by G. Takács (1999a: 20) for phonological reasons (Eg. *f*- ≠ Hgr. *b*-, while the suggested change of Hgr. *-gg-* < **-ww-* is not justified).

⁶³ If Akk. *pirtu* “Kopfhaar” is to be linked to Ar. *farw-at*- “Kopfhaut samt Haaren” (as suggested in Torczyner 1912: 770), it should be excluded from this AA root.

⁶⁴ Can be read either *f*3^o or *f*^o (GW). Cannot be certainly decided whether the final -3 was purely orthographic due to the group-wtg. The suggested Afro-Asiatic etymology of the word indicate that the OEG. root was either **f*3^o < **f*3^o (met.) or **f*^o < **f*3^o (“lost” -3-).

⁶⁵ S. Sauneron (1964: 20) pointed out the word for GR, namely in the Abaton Decree, which prohibited to approach the holy place for *z nb hr f*^o “everyone with hair”. Beside this occurrence, Sauneron (1966: 10) proved the phonetic value *f* of the hair hieroglyph in Esna (GR), supposedly created on the basis of the acrophonic principle from LEg. *f*^o “hair”.

(human)” [Hudson 1989: 75: isolated in HECu.] = mūmmi “hair (of head)” [Wedekind 1990: 673, #35]? Cf. EDE III 144; EAAN I 201, #973 with further discussion.

22. PAA *√PS “front” [GT] stands for a whole root family reconstructible from diverse varieties with changing C1 or C2 (voiceless or voiced, resp.):⁶⁶

22.1. SAA *√bc (var. *√bç?) “front” [GT]⁶⁷ > ES *√bsw [DRS, GT: < NOm. ?]: Tigre bəsot “front” [DRS 72: isolated in Sem.] ||l NAgaw: Bilin besót “die Stirn” [Reinisch 1904: 55] = bisot “forehead” [Apl. 1991b MS: 6] ||l LECu.: Saho baso (m), pl. basos “forehead (fronte)”, baso-dde, baso-lle “before (prima di)” [Vergari 2003: 54], Afar bas-o “forehead (front)” [PH 1985: 69 quoted also by Ehret],⁶⁸ Somali-Jäbärti basá “Stirn” [Reinisch 1904: 55] ||l SCu. *bac- [-ts-] “face, forehead” [GT] = *baṭa- “face, forehead” [Ehret]: Ma’a (Mbugu) bāsō “Stirn” [Meinhof 1906: 308]⁶⁹ = vu-basá [Ehret, Fleming] (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 133, §I.A.4) ||l NOm.: Gimira bās “guancia” [CR 1925: 619] = bas “cheek” [Fleming] (NOm.-Ma’a: Fleming 1969: 25) ||l WCh.: Bokkos ḃos, pl. ḃosas “Stirn” [Jng. 1970: 140] ||l CCh.: Kotoko (Logone) būsá “visage” [Bouny & Jouannet 1978: 186], Buduma bahú [h < *s reg.] “1. Stirn, 2. vorwärts”, behá “Stirn, Gesicht” [Nachtigal in Lukas 1939: 91]. SCu.-Somali-Bench-Bokkos-Musgu: Takacs 2000: 74, #1.10.

22.2. SAA *√bc “to go in front of, before, first” [GT] > LECu.: Saho bas-ō “passato” [Cerulli] = bas-ō “die Vergangenheit” [Reinisch] = bas-o “die Vergangenheit” [Lamberti] = basō “past (passato)”, basoh “once, already” [Vergari 2003: 54], Afar bos-ō ~ bis-ō “passato”, bos-ō-l “anticamente” [Cerulli] = bis-o “Vorderstellung, vorne” [Lamberti] | HECu.: Sidamo baš-ō “prima, anticamente” [Cerulli] = bašš-o “former/past times” [Hudson 1989: 353: isolated in HECu.] = bašš-o “before, in the past” [Ehret 1991: 232]⁷⁰ = bašš-o “früher, in der Vergangenheit” [Lamberti] ||l SCu. *bac- [-ts-] “to go first, in front” [GT] = *bāṭ- “to go first, anticipate, forestall” [Ehret]: Alg. bac- [-ts-] “to start off” | Asa piṣ-at- “to go first, anticipate, forestall” | Ma’a bosí “beginning” (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 133, #I.A.3)⁷¹ ||l NOm.: Kefoid *beš- “to proceed, precede” [GT] (ECu.-Om.: Cerulli 1938 II 195 and 1951 IV, 416; Lamberti 1993a: 288). See also Takacs 2011b: 187, #12 for the roots treated here under the entries no. 21.1 and 21.2.

22.3. PAA *√ps “front part, face” [GT] > EBrb.: Audjila a-fiš, pl. fiš-âw-en “viso” [Paradisi 1960: 177] = a-fiš (-c), pl. fiš-aw-en “visage” [DRB 519, FC7: isolated in Brb.] ||l WCh.

⁶⁶ Which will be comprehensively examined by the present author sub entry no. 247 in his forthc. paper “Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VIII: Further addenda to Omotic roots with *b- + sibilants”.

⁶⁷ Any connection to NOm.: Gimira (Benesho) bās “guancia” [CR 1925: 619] = bas “top” [Wedekind 1990: 99]?

⁶⁸ Equated by Ch. Ehret (1991: 232) directly with HECu.: Sidamo bašš-o “before, in the past” < ECU. *b/ḃac- “front”. In Ehret 2000 MS: 15, #1091, in turn, the Afar word was set in the context of Sem.: Ar. busūq- “to be high, surpass” and NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho bas² “(on) top” < AA *bās- “top”.

⁶⁹ C. Meinhof (l.c.): “vgl. Duala *boso*, Swahili *uso* ‘Gesicht’”.

⁷⁰ Ehret (1991: 232): ~ HECu.: Sidamo bašš-o “before, in the past” < ECU. *b/ḃac- “front”.

⁷¹ Ehret l.c.: cf. also Iraqw bac- [-ts-] “to lay aside, save for future” [Ehret 1980: 133] treated here as a distinct root.

*pus-k- (suffix *-k- of anatomical terms)⁷² “face” [GT]:⁷³ Hausa *fískà ~ fúskà* “face” [Abraham 1962: 269], Gwandara *píska ~ píšika ~ púska* [irreg. p-] “face” [Matsushita 1972:

⁷² Its C₃ *-k- originally was not part the root. The traces of a CAA *-k body part suffix are found both in Egyptian and Chadic. Listing examples from Dera and Hausa, P. Newman (1970: 48, fn. 27) has already concluded to identifying in WCh. a *-k “non-productive body part suffix”, which – in the light of further exx. from other Chadic branches – certainly derives from PCh. *-k [GT]. Cf., e.g.: ● **1. Eg. snk** (< *sl-k) “Bez. für die Zunge (mit der die göttliche Kuh Hathor das Königskind leckt)” (XVIII. old text, Wb IV 177, 1) = “Zunge (der göttlichen Kuh Hathor)” (GHWb 724), cf. Eg. sn.w [< *√sn or *√sl] “Zunge” (GR, Wb IV 155, 15). The Eg. root is cognate either with Ch. *√sl “tongue” [GT] or Ch. *√sn “tongue” [GT] (Ch. data: JI 1994 II 328-329). ● **2. Eg. snt** [from *sl-k] “Leib, Glieder” (NK, Wb IV 180, 1), cf. sntjt (coll.) “Leichname (im Jenseits)” (NK, GHWb 725) || Sem. *šily-at- “placenta, uterus” [Fronzaroli 1964: 262-263] || HECu.: Burji sæʔlay “belly” [Bender 1971: 245] = sal-áy “belly” [Sasse] | Dullay: Harso sālasīh-te [partial reduplication + ext. *h of body parts] “Magen” [AMS 1980: 183] (ECu.: Sasse 1982: 163) || NOM.: She šil & Benesho šilʔ “belly” [Bender 1971: 260-261, #4]. See Blažek 1989 MS Om.: 8, #15 (She-ECu.-Sem.). ● **3. Hausa bààkíf** “1. mouth, 2. opening, 3. entrance” [Abr. 1962: 62] | Dera bok “mouth” [Newman] < PCh. *b- “mouth” [GT], cf., e.g. WCh.. Karekare bòò “1. Mund, 2. Öffnung, 3. Rand” [Lukas 1966: 199] | Guruntum bʔàù “1. mouth, 2. language” [Jaggar 1989: 186], Ngamo bo “mouth” [Newman 1965: 58] || ECh.: Somray bi “bouche” [Jng. 1993 MS: 6] | Migama bíi, pl. bènè “1. bouche, 2. lèvres” [JA 1992: 70] | Birgit bi “bouche” [Jng. 1973 MS], Jegu bèetó “mouth” [Jng. 1961: 110] || NBrb.: Mzab baḥa & Wargla beḥḥa [suffix *-h of body parts] “bouche” [DRB I 42 pace Delheure]. Already H. Jungraithmayr and D. Ibriszimow have rightly stated (1994 I 122) about *-k in this Common Chadic root: “In the light of this HS evidence the assumption of a Chadic -k suffix (‘body part’ morpheme) in our root A [PCh. *b-k] seems to be justified”. ● **4. WCh. *ži-(k)-** [GT]: Hausa žikíf “body” [Abr. 1962: 427] | Dera yik [y < *s] “body” [Newman], cf. WCh. *Z/Si “body” [GT]: Sura s- [Jng.] | Geruma žif [Schuh], Kirfi ži [Schuh], Galambu žii [Alio] | Zaar ži [Shimizu] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu sī [Jng.] | Somray sí: [Jng.] | WDangla zì, Migama zí: [Jng.] | Birgit zì [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 34-35). ● **5. WCh.: Dera kuyuk** < *kusu-k [y < *s] “excrement” [Newman] | Hausa káásíf “excrement” [Abr. 1962: 498], Gwandara kwaši “excrement, faeces” [Matsushita 1972: 73] || ECh. *kVsi “faeces” [GT]: Kwang kūsí(ny) [Jng.], Kera kusi “Kot / fèces, selles” [Ebert 1976: 75] | Kabalay kasí [Caprile], Lele kāsíyā [Gowers] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 128-129) || Sem.: Ar. ġaʕs- “excrement” [Dillmann apud Leslau] || ES: Geez kāʕse “excrement, dung, contents of the stomach”, Tigre kāʕas “broken meat in an animal’s stomach”, Tigre kaʕše, káiʕaše and Tigrinya kaʕsi “animal’s stomach”, Amh. kwəs, kus “excrement (usually of fowl)” (ES/Sem-Cu.: Leslau 1987: 272) || NAgaw (borrowed from ES): Bilin kaʕad, pl. káʕas “contents of the stomach, excrement” [Leslau] || HECu. (borrowed from ES): Burji k(w)ošè “(dry) dung (of cattle)”, kosé “dung (of cattle)” [Hudson 1989: 54: isolated in HECu.]. Hausa/Gwandara-Geez (with a number of false comparanda): Skinner 1992: 348; 1995: 94. Root var. with *k̄- in Sem.: Ar. qašʕ- and qišʕ- “1. ordures de bains que l’on jette dehors”, biradical: qašāš- “ordures ou morceaux ramassés par terre ou dans un fumier”, cf. qašš- “frôlement de la peau” [BK II 742, 740] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr te-yašās-t “engrais, fumier (surtout fumier)” [PAM 2003: 307]. ● **6. WCh.: Dera lašik** “vomit” [Newman] || Eg. 3š [regular < *lš] “(Opfergabe) ausspeien (bildlich vom Nil)” (XX., Wb I 21, 1) = “aus-speien” (GHWb: 15) < AA *√lš [GT]. ● **7. WCh.: Dera yilik** < *sili-k [y < *s] “tongue” [Newman] || CCh.: Zime-Dari šilli [Strümpell], Zime-Batna silé [Jng.] = síli [Sachnine] || ECh.: Kera kə-səl [Ebert] | Sokoro sólañd-[Nachtigal] = selindu [AF] = sélèn [Saxon] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 329) | PCh. *√sl “tongue” [GT]. The same suffixation is present in Eg. snk vs. sn.w (see above). ● **8. WCh.: Dera yilek** < *sile-k (?) [y < *s?] “saliva” [Newman] || CCh.: Buduma čilulú [Nct.] = čilulú “saliva” [Cyffer] || Bed. sil “Speichel, Geifer” [Reinisch 1895: 198]. Alternatively, if Dera y- developed unchanged < *y- (equally plausible) in this case (i.e. *yile-k), cp. alternatively WCh.: Bole ʔyúlé [Ibriszimow] || ECh.: Migama ʔóló (pl.) [JA 1992: 113], Bidiya ʔülā, pl. ʔūlay [AJ 1989: 122] – all “saliva” (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 278-279). ● **9. CCh.: Tera kopa-h** [-h < *k-] “wing” [NM 1966: 240; Newman 1977: 34 with a different etymology] || WCh.: (?) Angas-Sura *č(ʷ)āp [*čʷ- < *k-?] “wing” [GT 2004: 57] || NOM.: POMeto *kEp- “wing” [Bender 1988] = *kəp-e “wing” [Bender 2003: 123, #148] | Mao *kʷaḥp- “arm, wing” [GT]: Mao (sic) kəfə “wing” [Fleming], Mao-Bambeshi kʷāpə “wing, upper arm” [Bender] = kʷāpə (sic: kw-) “wing” [Wedekind], Mao-Didessa kap kwīntə “feather” [Fleming 1990: 27] (Mao: Bender 2003: 282, #148; NOM.: Bender 1988: 146) || SOM.: Aroid *kāf- “wing” [Bender 2003: 220, #148]: Ari kefi “feather, wing” [Grottanelli apud Bender 2003: 209, #49], Galila kāfi “wing” [Fleming 1976: 321]. ● **10. ECh.: Bidiya buski** < *bus-k “blood” [AJ 1989: 61] akin to Mokilko piùzò “blood” [Jng.] || CCh. *√bs “blood” [GT]: Nzangi bisé

96] | Warji pusk- “face” [Skinner] | Ngizim fəskâ, pl. fəskakîn “face” [BYAG 2004: 33], Bedde (sic) puksan “face” [Skinner] = WBade puksan “forehead” [Dagona 2004: 67], Gashua Bade puksâ “face, forehead” [Tarbutu 2004: 60] (WCh.: Skinner 1996: 71) || CCh.: (?) Buduma p^hahá, pl. p^hehaē [-h- regular < *s-, but p^h- < *b- obscure] “Stirn, Gesicht”, p^hohó “der erste, voran, zuvor” [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1939: 91, 124]. Cf. also CCh.: Musgu galé-ku (deine Wange) pópeše “Schläfe” [Lukas 1941: 73]?

22.4. AA *√bž(w) “face” [GT]: EBrb.: Audjila a-bžâu, pl. bžâw-en “guancia” [Paradisi 1960: 167], Ghadames ta-bažžuḥ-t⁷⁴ “partie antérieure de la tête au dessus du front” [Lanfrey 1973: 8, #45; DRB 44: isolated in Brb.] || SCu.: ERift *baža- “face, forehead” [Ehret]: Qwadza bažawa (-dz-) “face” [Ehret 1980 MS: 1], Asa paža (-j-) “face, forehead” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 133, §I.A.4) || NOm.: Zayse bāz-ō “fronte” [Cerulli 1938 III 201] = baz-o “forehead” [Fleming 1969: 25].

22.5. P²AA *√bS “an organ on the front part of the human body” [GT]: NBrb. *ta-bbi/uš-t “1. sein, mamelle, 2. pénis, verge, 3. vulve, vagine” [GT pace DRB 8-9, BC2] || NAgaw: Qwara (Falashan) baži “poitrine” [Lefèbvre apud Reinisch] = bāč (-tsh) “breast” [Flad apud Reinisch and Apl.] = bāž (-j) “Brust” [Reinisch] = baž “breast” [Apl. 1996: 13]. Whether represent the very same root from a primary sense *“front part”, should be further examined. Note that Brb. *-š(š)- vs. *-z- may be allophones. Both H.C. Fleming and Ch. Ehret (l.c.) identified the Zayse and the East Rift, resp., forms with some of the varieties with a voiceless C₂ listed above:

23. S/P²AA *√Pnd “front” [GT]: only (???) reconstructible from NBrb.: Tamazight bnid (prononc. plus fréquente) ~/> (?) mnid “devant, en face (de)” [Taïfi 1991: 21 and 422; DRB 75, BND7: isolated in Brb.] || SCu.: WRift *pānda (f), pl. *pāndadu “face, forehead” [KM]⁷⁵ > Iraqw panda “abnormal backward extension of skull” [Ehret] = pānda (f), pl. pāndu “top

[Strümpell] = bize [Meek] = bízē [Mouchet] | Hitkala(nci) (Lamang) ùbəsì [Lukas], Hitkala (Waga dialect) ubis [Meek] | Masa bóswo [Mouchet] = búsu:ná [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 30-31). Outside Chadic, this root seems to survive in the form of PAA *√bs “to bleed by wounding” [GT] > SBrb.: Ahaggar buys “être blessé (avec écoulement de sang)” etc. [Foucauld], Ghat buys “être blessé”, a-buys “blessure, lésion”, pl. “aie” [Nehliil], EWlmd.-Ayr busu “être blessé”, EWlmd. a-bus “blessure, plaie” [PAM 2003: 51] (SBrb.: DRB 129: 146) || HECu.: Sidamo bass-a “scar, sore, wound” [Hudson 1989: 353: isolated] || WCh.: PDangla *bēs- “to scar” [GT]: WDangla bèsèsè “faire une coupure de la peau au couteau” [Fédry 1971: 86], EDangla bésé “1. scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair, 2. saigner, faire une saignée, vacciner (soins médicaux traditionnels ou modernes); 3. faire des cicatrices ornamentales, tatouer, balafrer” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 43], Korlongo béesé “scarifier” [Dbr.-Mnt.]. Cf. also (as a root variety with lateral C₂) the isogloss of HECu. *bīšš-a “red, brown” [GT pace Leslau], borrowed by ES: Gurage (Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto) bāša, (Ezha, Muher, Māsqañ, Goggot, Soddò) bāšša, (Endegeny, Selti, Wolane) bušā “red, brown (cattle), *light coloured (man)” [Leslau 1979 III 161] || SCu.: WRift *buçi (-tl-) “blood-red” [KM]: Alagwa buç (-tl-) Burunge buçi (-tl-) (WRift: KM 2004: 77) < PCu. *√bê “red” [GT].

⁷³ N. Skinner (1996: 71) envisaged a fossilized compound in this stem: < *pu “mouth” + *k (plus) + *san “nose”, i.e., *mouth plus nose”, which he affiliated with a number of phonologically unrelated parallels.

⁷⁴ Extended by the common AA marker of the nominal class of anatomical terms *-ḥ (cf. Takacs 1997c).

⁷⁵ Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (1980: 339, #I.A.2) with ERift: Asa pande-k “knife” < PRift *pand- “prominence, protuberance, projecting surface or point”. His argument as for the semantics was: “derivation: via an intermediate specification of the root to apply to a particular kind of projection, the blade or point of a weapon.” At any rate, Ehret’s equation with is semantically weak and makes the attestation elsewhere in SCu. more than dubious.

of head, high forehead” [KM], Gorowa pānda (f), pl. pānddu? “high forehead” [KM], Alagwa panda “1. forehead, face, 2. in front” [Ehret] = pānda (f), pl. pāndadu “face, forehead” [KM], Burunge panda “1. forehead, face, 2. in front” [Ehret] = pānda (f), pl. pāndadu “face, forehead” [KM] (WRift: KM 2004: 223) ||l WCh.: Ngizim bāndú “1. to begin, start, 2. be the first one to do, 3. do first” [Schuh 1981: 29].⁷⁶

23.1. It is, of course, quite natural to assume here an C₃ root extension of PAA *√Pn “front” [GT] > Sem. *panw- “faccia” [Frz.] = *pan- “face” [SED] (Sem.: Fronzaroli 1964: 269, #2.48; Leslau 1945: 234; SED I 189-190, #215) ||l SAgaw: Awngi fén “face” [Hetzron 1967: 173] = fení ~ fen “faccia, fronte, aspetto” [CR 1905: 157] = fūni “faccia”, fūnoa “prima” [Waldmeyer apud CR] = feni “Gesicht” [Müller] = fén “face” [Ehret] ||l WCh.: Bokkos fun “anfangen, beginnen” [Jng. 1970: 141] ||l CCh.: Muktele pāṅáw “cheek” [Rossing 1978: 223, #124] ||l ECh.: Kera pónáy “temple (Schläfe)” [Ebert 1976: 88] | Mokilko pòné “1. (adv.) (l’)avant, 2. le/a premie/èr(e)” [Jng. 1990: 163]. See also Dlg. 1973: 45 (Awngi-WRift-Sem.); Müller 1975: 64, #9 (Sem.-Awngi); HSED #1943 (Sem.-Awngi-WRift); Ehret 1997 MS: 35, #1156 (Sem.-Awngi); SED I 189-190, #215 (Sem.-Awngi-WRift-Kera).

24. AA *√mT (vars. *√md ~ *√mt) “part of the face: cheek, temple” [GT]: NBrb.: Mzg. i-mṭṭṭu “tempe” [Taifi 1991: 445]⁷⁷ ||l SBrb.: Hgr. é-meḍ, pl. i-meḍḍ-en “tempe et région zigomatique: tempe et partie de la joue qui est immédiatement audessus de la tempe entre la pommette et l’oreille” [Foucauld 1950-1: 1163], EWlmd. and Ayr a-mḍəḍ, pl. i-māḍḍ-ān “1. tempe, 2. (p. ext.) tempe + partie immédiatement au-dessous de la tempe (jusqu’à la pommette), 3. joue entière (y compris la pommette et la tempe), côté de la tête (ensemble de l’asməṭ et de l’əgiz)” [PAM 1998: 210; 2003: 524] ||l LECu.: Oromo madd-ī “cheek” [Gragg 1982: 273; Hudson 1989: 39], Oromo (Borana, Orma dialects) madd-ī “the cheeks, temples” [Stroemer 1987: 362] ||l CCh.: Muyang a-miḍ “chin” [Rossing 1978: 225, #131] < CCh. *√md “chin” [JS 1981: 70B]. Irregular alternation of -d- ~ -ḍ-. See EAAN I 131, #644.

25. AA *√mK⁷⁸ “part of the face between cheek and jaw” [GT]: NBrb.: Qabyle a-mayeg, pl. i-muyag “un côté du visage, joue et mâchoire” [Dallet 1982: 528] ||l NAgaw: Hamir miḵəḵ “chin” [BSW 1995: 4] ||l HECu.: Kambatta mōki (-ta) “cheek” [Hudson 1989: 333]⁷⁹ ||l WCh.: Hausa mùḵààmùḵí ~ múmmùḵè “lower jaw”, pl. mùḵààmùḵáí “the upper and lower jaws” [Abr. 1962: 682]. See EAAN I 154, #763.

⁷⁶ Equated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 468, #3166) with an alleged PSem. *√bn “to imitate” < AA *-pä/aN- “to be first”.

⁷⁷ The derivation of the Mzg. form from i-meṭṭi “larme” (Taifi l.c.) may be rather merely a *Volksetymologie*.

⁷⁸ The second PAA radical is not yet clear. The data from three various AA branches point to three various PAA phonemes: AA *-g (NBrb.) vs. AA *-k (HECu.) vs. *-ḵ (Hausa).

⁷⁹ Due to phonological reasons, Kambatta mōki cannot be a reflex of HECu. *boḵ-o (Kambatta m- ≠ HECu. *b-, while Kambatta -k- ≠ HECu. *-ḵ-).

Neck

26. AA * $\sqrt{b\dot{k}}$ (perhaps var. * $\sqrt{b\dot{q}}$?) “1. neck, throat, hence: 2. stubborn”⁸⁰ [GT]: Sem.: (?) Ar. $\sqrt{b^{\circ}q}$ I and II “2. égorger (un chameau)”⁸¹ [BK I 143], cf. perhaps also Ar. $b\dot{a}h\dot{a}^{\circ}a$ ⁸² I “1. égorger un mouton de manière que le couteau traverse tout le cou jusqu’à la nuque” [BK I 91] = “trancher la gorge (d’un animal, jusqu’au vesseau dit *biḥâ*)” [DAFA = Blachère 1967 I 412] || Eg. $b\dot{q}b\dot{q}.w$ “recalcitrance” (Lit. MK, FD 85) = “*Aufsässigkeit” (GHwB 262) || LECu.: Oromo $boqq-\bar{u}$ “1. neck, 2. back of neck, 3. stubborn” [Gragg 1982: 59] || WCh.: Hausa $b\dot{a}g\dot{a}$ [irreg. -g- < *-k-?] “2-3. stubborn(ness)” [Abraham 1962: 57] | AS * $\dot{b}ak \sim \dot{b}ok$ “stubborn” [GT]: Angas $b\dot{o}k$ (hill) “repentance” [Foulkes 1915: 150], Goemay $\dot{b}ak-pe$ “to be stubborn (of children)” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 2] (AS: Takács 2004: 24) | Fyer $\dot{b}a\dot{g}y\dot{i}$, pl. $\dot{b}a\dot{g}i\dot{y}\dot{i}$ “neck (Hals, Nacken)” [Jng. 1968: 7, #50; 1970: 84, cf. JI 1994 II, 252]. Cf. EDE II 94; EAAN I 30, #78.

27. AA * $\sqrt{m^{\circ}l} \sim * \sqrt{ml}[\dot{c}]$ “dewlap on neck (?)” [GT]: SBrb.: EWlmd. $t\dot{a}-mala$, pl. $\dot{s}i-mal-iw-en$, Ayr $t\dot{a}-nala$ “appendice charnu mobile (voile du apalis?) qui se trouve dans la bouche du chameau entier et qui se gonfle et sort au moment du rugissement (indice de rut ou colère)” [PAM 2003: 537] || LECu. * $ma^{\circ}al-$ [ext. *- \dot{c} - of anatomical terms?] “dewlap” [GT]:⁸³ Oromo $m\dot{a}la$ “Kropf, dicker Hals usw.” [Reinisch] = $malla$ (sic, -ll-) [Ehret 1974a: 89] = (Borana, Orma, Waata dialects.) $m\dot{a}la$ (f) “dewlap” [Stroomer 1987: 361; 1995: 206], Somali $m\dot{a}^{\circ}al$ [Ibrahim] ~ $m\dot{a}l$ [Reinisch] “1. Wamme, Wampe, Koderlappen unter dem Kinn des Schafes und Rindes, 2. Kropf, dicker Hals und Struma” [Reinisch 1902: 282, 294] = $m\dot{a}^{\circ}al$ “dewlap of sheep” [Abraham 1964: 168], Arbore $me^{\circ}el$ (f) “dewlap” [Hayward 1984: 384] || WCh.: Hausa $m\dot{a}l\dot{o}l\dot{o}$ “1. goitre, wen on throat, 2. fatness on throat of young animals denoting good health, 3. bird’s crop” and even $m\dot{a}l\dot{a}l\dot{a}$ “type of satchel” [Abraham 1962: 649, 652] = $m\dot{a}l\dot{o}l\dot{o}$ “Geschwulst” (sic) [Drexel 1925: 14] || CCh.: (???) Uldeme $m\dot{o}m\dot{e}l\dot{o}$ [unless -l- < *-r-] “gorge” [Mouchet 1953: 168] = $m\dot{e}m\dot{e}l\dot{o}$ “gorge” [Colombel 1997: 199]. Cf. EDE III 401-402; EAAN I 160-161, #792.

28. AA * \sqrt{mr} “neck, throat” [GT]: Sem.:⁸⁴ Ar. $\dot{m}ar\dot{i}^{\circ}-at-$ “oesophage” < $mara^{\circ}a$ I “2. manger qqch.” [BK II 1086] and Ar. $mari^{\circ}-$ “oesophage, conduit alimentaire” [Dozy II 577], Yemeni Ar. $mar\dot{i}n$ “gullet”, cf. \sqrt{mr}° II “to whet an appetite” [Pianta 1990: 463] || Eg.

⁸⁰ This second sense can be reconstructed for the PAA level from the Egyptian, Oromo, and Hausa reflexes. For the semantic shift (attested with both senses in Oromo), cf. also, e.g., Hungarian $nyakas$ “stubborn”, an adjective < $nyak$ “neck”.

⁸¹ Denominative verb? Infix *- \dot{c} - of anatomical terms?

⁸² It may only be related provided its alleged connection with (as denominative verb from) Ar. $biḥ\dot{a}^{\circ}$ “veine qui traverse le long du dos et vas jusqu’aux os de la nuque” [BK I 91, so also DRS 58: isolated in Sem.] = “veine jugulaire postérieure (?)” [DAFA = Blachère 1967 I 411] suggested in the Arabic lexicons is merely due to a secondary popular etymological contamination.

⁸³ Note that and PMasai *- $m\dot{a}l-$ “cow’s dewlap” [Ehret] was borrowed from Ecu. (Ehret 1974a: 89). This is whence one may derive Ongota (sometimes classified within Omotic) $ma^{\circ}alte$ “dewlap” [Fleming 1992/3: 192] too.

⁸⁴ Cf. also AA * \sqrt{mr} “to eat” (discussed by Takács 2008: 313 under #579 and EAAN I 172, #843).

mr.t “Kehle o.ä. eines Gottes” (GR, Wb II 107, 7) = “gorge, gosier” (Lefèbvre 1952: 22; Berlandini, LÄ IV 85; AL II 167, #1786; Blackman, JEA 22, 1936: 105; Fairman, ZÄS 91, 1964: 8, vii) = “throat, voicebox, larynx” (Walker 1996: 269) = “throat, gullet” (PL 445) III WBrb.: (?) Zenaga a-marṭi “nuque” [Basset 1909: 242, not in TC 2008] III ECu. *marmar-“neck” [Sasse]:⁸⁵ Oromo mórm-ā “Hals” [Reinisch] = morm-a “neck” [Gragg 1982: 291] = (Borana, Orma, Waata dialects) morm-a “neck, throat” [Stroomer 1987: 370], Somali mármar “der lange Hals und Nacken des Kamels” [Reinisch 1902: 302] = mármar “nape of the neck” [Abraham 1964: 175] = marmar “neck of the camel” [Leslau] | Burji marṣmari “(whole) neck” [Fleming] = marmár-i “neck, nape of neck” [Sasse] (ECu.: Sasse 1979: 24; 1982: 141) III ECh.: Sokoro mórol-dym “dein Schlund” [Lukas 1937: 36]. For this Eg.-AA etymology see Takács 1996: 136, #30; 1997b, 226, #3; 2004b, 61-62, #353; EDE III 400-401; EAAN I 172-173, #844. There are a number of African areal parallels.⁸⁶ Ultimately from AA *√mr “to eat” [GT]?⁸⁷

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Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, (A₂): Sub-Ahmimic = (L), AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), aB(ab.): Old Babylonian, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, 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, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, IE: Indo-European, JAram.: Jewish Aramaic, jB(ab.): Younger Babylonian, JPArAm.: Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, JNAram.: Jewish Neo-Aramaic, L: Late, L: Low(land), (L): Lycopolitan Coptic = (A₂), lit.: literature or literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, (M): Mesokemic or Middle Egyptian Coptic, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada, MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New, N: North, NAA: AA: Northern Afro-Asiatic (Semitic, Egyptian, Berber), NAss.: Neo-Assyrian, NBch.: Northern Bauchi, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, (O): Old Coptic, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, P: Proto-

⁸⁵ ECu. *marmar- was borrowed into Eth.-Sem.: Harari märmär “shoulder”, Gurage *märmär [Leslau]: Chaha & Ennemor & Gyeto mämär etc. “nape of neck”, Zway marmara “hump of the neck” (ES: Leslau 1963: 111; 1979 III: 406; 1988: 195). H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) derived ECu. *marmar- “neck” from ECu. *mar- “round, to roll up” via the mediator meaning *√to turn around”. Cf. PIE *k^wol-so- “Hals” > Latin collum “Hals, Bergjoch”, German Hals < PIE *k^wel- “drehen” [IEW 639-640].

⁸⁶ Compared by G. Takács (1996: 136, #30), cf. NS *mor- (??) “neck” [Bender 1994b: 1161, #56] > PKuliak *morok “throat” [Ehret 1981: 92; Fleming 1983: 470], cf. Nyangi mōrōk “throat” vs. murut “neck, nape, back of neck” [Fleming] ~ ESudanic *mur(u)t “neck” [GT]: Nile Nubian gu-mur, Shilluk muto, Nandi ki-mut, Bari murut, Masai en-murtu (ESudanic: Fleming l.c.) ~ ENilotic *-murut- “neck” [Vossen 1982: 455; cf. also Heine & Vossen 1976: 99; Greenberg 1963: 103]. Cf. also Bender 1975: 177, #56.12 (Oromo-Masai); Fleming 1983: 456 (NS-SOm.). Cf. also SOM.: Galila murut “neck” [Fleming 1983: 456: prob. < Nilotic]. H. Fleming (1964: 53; 1983: 470) compared also LECu.: Baiso margi “(whole) neck” and NOm.: Dorze morg-e | Maji mork-n' || Som.: Dime mork-u “throat”, which may have been borrowed from some NS source.

⁸⁷ Discussed in Takács 2008: 313, #579 and EAAN I 172, #843. A further possible Egyptian cognate is treated otherwise in EDE III 395.

PAS: Proto-Angas-Sura, PB: Post-Biblical, PIE: Proto-Indo-European, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, SAA: Southern AA: Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic), SBab.: Standard Babylonian, SBch.: Southern Bauchi, Sem.: Semitic, SH: Semito-Hamitic, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm(d): Tawllemmet.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Akl.: Aklilu, ALC: Angas Language Committee (see bibliography), Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein & Kazimirski, Brt.: Barre-teau, BSW: Berhanu, Sisay, Wedekind, BYAG: Bedu, Yakubu, Adamu, Garba, CR: Conti Rossini, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, Ibr.: Ibrizimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, LH: Littmann & Höfner, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Mnt.: Montgolfier, MQK: Mous, Qorro, Kießling, Nct.: Nachtigal, NM: Newman & Ma, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, RB: Rapp & Benzing, TC: Taïne-Cheikh, TG: Takács.

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