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Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VIII: Further addenda to the Omotic roots with *b- + dentals and sibilants (Part 1)¹

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Dedicated to the memory of
M.L. Bender (1934-2008),²
The greatest researcher of Omotic

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The paper constitutes part of a long-range series aiming, step by step, to identify the inherited Afro-Asiatic stock in the etymologically little explored lexicon of the Omotic (West Ethiopia) branch of the Afro-Asiatic family displaying the least of shared traits among the six branches of this macrofamily, which suggests a most ancient Omotic desintegration reaching far back to the age of post-Natufian neolithic.

Keywords: Ethiopian languages, Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic), comparative linguistics, etymology

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² It was just a quarter of a century ago that our correspondence started in 1996 which had lasted until the last days of his enormously fruitful research and life. I had eagerly awaited to meet him in person a year later at the NACAL in March 1997 in Miami where I had learnt a determined enthusiast of his field. Our permanent correspondence had become especially intense after I had moved to Frankfurt in summer 1999 to begin my Humboldt research, when we had heard of one another almost on a daily basis, which had more or less remained so frequent until his end (thus mounting probably to several hundreds of letters). I am probably one of the few having stimulated his long march towards the completion of his epoch-maker book on Omotic comparative phonology and lexicon, whose free copy no. 1 was sent me on the 15th August 2003 with a dedication “to Gabor – for inspiring me to keep at it. Lionel”, which I am so much proud of.

Introduction

Omotic (West Ethiopia) and Chadic (Rep. of Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria), i.e., the 5th and 6th branches,³ resp., of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) language macrofamily have so far been the least studied ones from the standpoint of their external lexical correspondences compared with the other four branches: Cushitic (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania), Berber (Maghreb),⁴ Egyptian and Semitic. In Chadic, at least, we have the unique⁵ and lasting achievements accumulated by O.V. Stolbova (Moscow) over the past five decades of her permanent and fruitful research for both its inner reconstruction and its external comparison. This kind of research on the inherited Afro-Asiatic stock of the Omotic root inventory, let alone the elaboration of the underlying historical phonology, has by far been advanced in this branch to the same extent as in Chadic, even though this branch, according to both the isomorphic and provisory glottochronological calculations, appears as the very first unity of the Afro-Asiatic parental community to have branched off (cf. Takács 2015) and so promises to end up as the inventory consisting of the most archaic segments of the Common Afro-Asiatic (CAA) lexicon.

We owe much to H.C. Fleming, M.L. Bender, and M. Lamberti for their pioneering studies on the internal lexical comparison and phonological reconstruction of Omotic. The latter two authors did even manage to produce monographs on the subject,⁶ where, however, a systematic phonological-lexical equation with the other branches was not even targeted. The lexical comparisons by M. Lamberti were always, as a rule, restricted to Cushitic and Ethio-Semitic, which is overwhelmingly true about both other authors. Ironically, the very first book by M. L. Bender (1975) contains merely a loosely composed list of supposed parallels to Omotic roots in- and outside Afro-Asiatic, but this attempt, unfortunately, had not even reached the level of J.H. Greenberg's (1955, 1963) 'mass comparison', and is nothing more than a collection of putative guesses on often unconvincing look-alikes.

³ The numeration of the branches follows the commonly accepted nomenclature of the Afro-Asiatic classification established by J.H. Greenberg (1955: 51 and fn. 10; 1963: 48-49), who still distinguished five branches: (1) Semitic, (2) Berber, (3) Ancient Egyptian, (4) Cushitic, (5) Chadic, which was due to Omotic languages having been in his day still classified under West Cushitic until the pioneering studies in the 1970s by H.C. Fleming (1969, 1974, 1976a, 1976b) and by M.L. Bender (1975), cf. also Fleming & Bender (1976), who established Omotic as a separate (i.e. 5th) branch of Afro-Asiatic, distinct from Cushitic. The Afro-Asiatic classification has thence become complete and so it is presently valid, which has been recently presented in a practically complete up-to-date list in EDE I: 9-34.

⁴ Tamazight being the native designation for 'Berber language' preferred primarily among scholars and the intelligence in general with a Berber (Amazigh) background, we better stick to the traditional term 'Berber' commonly accepted in all international circles of Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics also.

⁵ Due homage should be paid, of course, to the merits of P. Newman (1966, 1977) and H. Jungraithmayr (JS 1981: JI 1994) too, but their output is, nevertheless, no match for that of A.B. Dolgopolsky (1930-2012) in this regard, both in terms of quantity or quality, nor to that of O.V. Stolbova, who focused solely on Chadic consonantal-lexical reconstruction with ingenious insights into its AA relations over the half a century of her enormously fruitful research, following in the footsteps and reminiscent of the skills of her sometime Muscovite master, one of the most original experts of AA comparative consonantism ever, may his memory be blessed.

⁶ Bender 1975, 1999, 2003 (all these volumes deal with Omotic as a whole), Lamberti 1993 (two volumes at a time, viz. 1993b: Yemsa and 1993a: Shinasha, resp.), Lamberti and Sottile 1997 (Wolayta).

But, whereas that was understandable half of a century before, as the unity and structure of this 5th branch had not even been recognized by that time at all, today, in the era of a more advanced inter-branch comparison as demonstrated in the masterpieces by Ch. Rabin, A.B. Dolgopolsky and his pupil, O.V. Stolbova, this method is no longer tenable. For the case of Omotic, this demand has first been formulated perhaps by Ch. Ehret (1979: 52) in his assessment of M.L. Bender's (1975, chapter 5) Omotic-AA comparative lexicon: "It is indicative of the rapid advances ... in phonological reconstruction within different recognized branches of Afroasiatic that we can already begin to consider refining Bender's core vocabulary comparisons with a view toward identifying true cognates and lexical isoglosses that define a possible pattern among the six branches, and toward evaluating the conclusions about the Omotic relationship to the rest of Afroasiatic implied by Bender's grammatical isoglosses." However, Ehret (1979: 53-56) only listed just a few sets of isoglosses between Omotic and the diverse branches of Afro-Asiatic. But farther than this he has not reached either except for arriving at some tentative estimation of Omotic's position among the Afro-Asiatic branches.⁷ Thereby, Ehret (1979: 61) has concluded to a few historical implications as for the dispersal of the parental PAA community, their spread through North Africa. As for the "Vocabulary and phonological reconstructions", accordingly, Ehret has suggested a valid and truly supportable option for handling Omotic core lexical stock as an especially archaic segment reflecting the most ancient layer of the parental Afro-Asiatic vocabulary void of subsequent areal innovations (that is, like the well-known Twareg-Chadic parallels, not loans, or Berbero-Cushitic isoglosses).⁸ One must add here a similar pilot study into the Omotic lexicon by H.-J. Sasse (1981: 147-148), perhaps the most rigorous and convincing *reconstructeur* ever in Afro-Asiatic aside from great Dolgopolsky, for whom the only plausible way of treating cognates was the classical neogrammarian approach.⁹ This is how the idea of applying it at last for Omotic also occurred to him (1981: 148-149): "Wie man auf diese Weise zu Ergebnissen gelangen kann, soll im

⁷ Ch. Ehret (1979: 6§): "The final cognation percentage range is that between Omotic and all the rest, at a startlingly low average of about 1%. Only among the neighboring ... Omotic and Cushitic languages ..., especially Omoto and Highland East Cushitic, and between Eastern Omotic speeches and Eastern Cushitic (and sometimes between Omotic and Agew) do Omotic scores ... much exceed 0-2%. ... Bender's conclusion that Omotic forms one primary branch of the Afroasiatic family versus ... all the rest ... stands up."

⁸ Ehret (1979: 61-62): "a number of intermediate stages will have to be reconstructed also if the truly proto-Afroasiatic remnants are to be effectively distinguished from later but geographically widespread innovations. Semitic will need to be compared first against Berber and Egyptian to see if confirmatory phonological innovations linking the three as against the rest of the family turn up. Similarly there should be shared Cushitic phonological developments attesting that grouping and, at a deeper remove, innovations setting off 'Erythraic' from Omotic. ... The over-weight of knowledge ... on Semitic ... can be felt in the common tendency to treat Semitic as most representative of the original state ... and the others as diverging from the prototype in whatever degree ... From what the vocabulary isoglosses suggest, even the occurrence of a feature through all the Afroasiatic divisions except Omotic does not guarantee its proto-Afroasiatic presence. ... Omotic might be more typical of proto-Afroasiatic in many features ..."

⁹ Namely, in his words (l.c.): "das Aufzeigen von Zusammenhängen, die nur dann einen Sinn ergeben, wenn man vom Zugrundeliegen eines gemeinsamen Ursystems ausgeht. Solche Zusammenhänge sind ... nicht leicht aufzufinden ...: je breiter gestreut die Gemeinsamkeiten sind, desto unwahrscheinlicher ist, daß sie auf Entlehnung oder Zufall zurückzuführen sind. Wesentlich ist dabei vor allem ... die Unterscheidung von Neuerungen und Archaismen ... – man schämt sich fast, das auszusprechen, so selbstverständlich sollte es sein."

folgenden am Beispiel des Omotischen demonstriert werden” especially because “... scheint nun seine Afroasizität mehr und mehr in Zweifel gezogen zu werden.” Thus, “... es sei sinnvoll, bei vergleichenden Untersuchungen das Omotische zunächst auszuklammern ...: Berberisch und Semitisch sind ganz offensichtlich miteinander verwandt ... Zieht man jedoch das Omotische hinzu, so vermindert sich die Anzahl der Isoglossen plötzlich so stark ...” Nevertheless, Sasse (1981: 149) confessed: “Über die Afroasizität des Omotischen denke ich heute nicht mehr ganz so pessimistisch wie vor acht Jahren, da mir heute mehr Material zur Verfügung steht, das mein Bild vom Omotischen leicht verschoben hat.”¹⁰ Then Sasse proposed all in all just 4 Omotic vs. Afro-Asiatic matches making this pioneer study, however, a real pioneering masterpiece (even venturing to establish certain consonantal correlates), a promising forerunner¹¹ of the present series “Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting”.

As for the internal consonantal correspondences of the Omotic groups, our vision is still just forming as no definitive and thoroughly demonstrated *Lautgeschichte* of Omotic has been achieved as yet in a convincing neo-grammarians manner as it was completed in some other luckier Afro-Asiatic branches like Semitic (cf. esp. Kogan 2009 and 2011), Berber (Kossmann 1999) or East Cushitic (Sasse 1979). But the tentative results by M.L. Bender (1987: 23-28, 31-32; 1988: 122-127, 136-137, 139-144; 2003: 310-313), even if these are based on an extensive Greenbergian “mass comparison” of the basic vocabulary, are, so to say, of a precious orientation value for our research, as well as the masterful treatment of Omotic sibilant correspondences by R. Hayward (1988), whereas the outlines of Omotic consonantal matches by Ch. Ehret (1995: 9-12) and M. Lamberti & R. Sottile (1997: 253-260) are, unfortunately, to be treated with much more caution for a few reasons.¹²

¹⁰ Detailing the “*Uneinheitlichkeit*” of the Omotic conjugational patterns (suggesting a “*Neuerung*”) as well as its pronominal systems, “bei denen offenbar ältere und jüngere Schichten zu unterscheiden sind”, Sasse (1981: 149-150) found personally “noch interessanter ... als die morphologischen Afroasiatismen des Omotischen ... eine Reihe von Wortschatzgleichungen. Auch im Wortschatz des Omotischen ist bei flüchtiger Betrachtung sehr wenig Afroasiatisches zu erkennen. Fast alles, was sich beim ersten Durchsehen von Wortlisten anbietet, stellt sich bald als kuschitisches oder semitisches Lehnwort heraus. Sobald man jedoch ein bißchen tiefer eindringt, findet man plötzlich ein Paar echte ‘Leckerbissen’, die ... als Entlehnung nicht nur aus prinzipiellen Erwägungen, sondern einfach mangels einer Quelle ausgeschlossen ist.”

¹¹ Sasse (1981: 152): “Dieser Art Beispiele findet man bei eingehender Untersuchung eine ... Reihe. ... es sei nur angemerkt ..., daß das Omotische einen vielversprechenden Kandidaten für die Mitgliedschaft im afroasiatischen Verein abgibt.”

¹² Aside from just *ex cathedra* composing the table of “Provisional Omotic Consonant Reconstructions” stated (op. cit., p. 10) as “differing only slightly from” the outcome of Bender 1988, Ch. Ehret (1995: 10-12), has failed to present a detailed demonstration for every single rule. One can hardly be satisfied by his vague reference to his “data” (in general) drawn from Bender 1971 that are “confirmed and expanded upon by other materials” like Mocha (Leslau 1959), Koyra (Hayward 1982), Omoto (Hayward 1987), Yemsa, Bench/Benesho, Ari (Hayward 1990), from which, Ehret has only quoted some items sporadically scattered throughout his AA comparative lexicon (composed along an all too high quantity of methodological blunders, cf. Takács 2018: 237-239, §I), grasped out of their respective Omotic comparative contexts. On the other hand, M. Lamberti’s daring vision of Cushito-Omotiic consonantal shifts (manifesting itself in other works by him also), including his vague hypothesis on original labiovelars, is radically different from that of the more conservative and cautious mainstreamers like Bender and Fleming and it is with regret that I must also state how much I had to refrain from using Lamberti’s all too unconvincing Cu.-Om. lexical matches. Besides, some other equally vague hypotheses of the

As for the elaboration of Afro-Asiatic inter-branch comparative phonology, in turn, already Ch. Ehret (1979: 52)¹³ has proposed a working hypothesis in general at the same time when, independently and more precisely elaborated, the former Diakonoff team¹⁴ has presented their substantially similar new vision of the Proto-Afro-Asiatic phonological reconstruction (esp. as for the affricates and the postvelars)¹⁵ and some items of the inter-branch correlates which my own research has fundamentally corroborated (cf. esp. Takács 2011a). These are the principles we are following in this investigation also.

To the best of my knowledge, the only special studies devoted to a systematic treatment of Omotic vs. Afro-Asiatic lexical matches are due V. Blažek (then Příbram, now Brno, Masaryk University), who presented comprehensive sets of etymologies for an all-round range of the Omotic anatomical terminology at the 2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Turin, November 1989), which had long remained unpublished until these results were most recently (partly) included in the lengthy paper by V. Blažek (2008) on the sketchy lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic languages comprising 100 items of the basic vocabulary, where, unfortunately, not every single lemma was provided with an Afro-Asiatic cognate.

In my experience, in the light of the above enumerated scarce research record, I venture to claim that perhaps this branch represents the least cultivated field within the whole Afro-Asiatic domain from the viewpoint of a systematic etymological elaboration of its immense inherited lexical treasures. This new series for the ‘Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting’¹⁶ started some decade ago precisely for filling as many as possible of the innumerable gaps in the scanty etymological research on Omotic. The etymological entries

eminent Italian researcher have evoked a series of rather bitter pieces of reciprocal polemy in Omotic studies, cf. Sasse 1990 vs. Lamberti 1992 or Lamberti 1991 and 1993c vs. Fleming 1992 and 1993.

¹³ He even specified some of the “the correspondence patterns ... in roots of inter-branch occurrence ...: (1) Reconstructible voiced stops in one branch normally correspond” to the same ones “in the others ... (2) Emphatics tend to correspond to emphatics; where an emphatic is validly equivalent to a non-emphatic, the non-emphatic will be in a language which has deleted or greatly reduced or restricted the occurrence of emphatics ... (3) Laterals in one branch will correspond usually to laterals in other branches ...”

¹⁴ SISAJa I-III (in Russian from 1981-6), revised English version: HCVA I-V (from 1993-7).

¹⁵ Elaborated pace SIFKJa (albeit not applied for Cushitic as therein) in the reports of the Russian AA dictionary project (cf. D’jakonov-Porhomovskij 1979, Diakonoff 1984, D’jakonov et al. 1987, 1993).

¹⁶ So far the following parts of this series have been published over the past ca. decade: ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting I: Omotic *b- with Dentals, Sibilants, and Velars.= Busetto, Luca (ed., scientific committee: Mauro Tosco, Livia Tonelli, Roberto Sottile): *He bitaney laagaa. Dedicato a / Dedicated to Marcello Lamberti*. Quaderni di Lingua e Storia 3. Milano, 2011., Qu.A.S.A.R. s.r.l. Pp. 57-74. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting II: Omotic *b- with Nasals, *r, *l, and Weak Consonants.= Zuckermann, Gh. (ed.): *Burning Issues in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Cambridge, 2012., Cambridge Scholars Press. Pp. 161-184. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting III: Omotic *p- and *p^h-.= *Journal of Language Relationship* (Moscow) 8 (2012), 103-116. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting IV: Addenda to Omotic *b-.= *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 75/1 (2022), 123-164. ● Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting V: Addenda to Omotic *b-, *p/f-.= *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 75/4 (2022), 651-708. ● Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VI: Addenda to Omotic roots with *b-, *p̣-, *p- (or *f-).= *Lingua Posnaniensis* 63/1 (2021), 85-112. ● Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting VII: Further addenda to Omotic roots with *b-.= *Lingua Posnaniensis* 64/2 (2022), 145-175.

are arranged according to consonantal roots, i.e. in the order of how the articulation places follow (in the C₁, C₂ etc.) from the labials down to the laryngeals ending in the sonants.

As for the methods in elaborating the cognate sets, I have long been adhering to the methods of AA inter-branch comparison so masterfully practised by A.B. Dolgopol'skij, a genuine mastermind of AA comparative-historical phonology and lexicon, in his brilliant etymological studies from the 1980s,¹⁷ whence I have elaborated the principles of 'bi/tripolar mirror' of comparison (on which cf. esp. Takács 2011a: 19 in general and with further literature) originally for the case of Egypto-Semitic vs. South Cushitic examined by me since 1998,¹⁸ but then extended also for numerous other branches/groups of AA.¹⁹

In the preceding issues of my series (abbreviated OmAA in these papers), I was publishing those new etymologies of Omotic roots that I had observed during my work (1994-2007) on vols. II-III of my Egyptian etymological dictionary (EDE, with initial labials). Since then, I have managed to turn Bender's (2003) epoch-making Omotic comparative phonology and lexicon (arranged according to groups and English meanings of the basic lexicon) upside down by the work of several years (by spring 2020) and, henceforth, now I possess an as complete as possible Common Omotic comparative wordlist arranged A-Z according to the initial consonants of the Omotic roots, which may accelerate the research for a more secure assessment of the Afro-Asiatic nature of the Omotic lexicon and, potentially, for turning Bender's provisional sets of consonantal correspondences and *ad hoc* lexical reconstructions into definitive ones. This new research of mine, starting in 2020, has brought forth a formerly unseen mass of new isoglosses between Omotic vs. esp. Semitic (Arabic) or Berber or West Chadic (Angas-Sura) which could not have been accomplished without my new Omotic alphabetic wordlist, which may in all likelihood alter our views on the degree of inter-branch relationship and make us better understand the special position of Omotic.

Om. *b- + dentals

247. NOm.: Konta budunu (unless an error for g-?)²⁰ [GT: -VdV- regular < *-r-] "warthog, pig" [Bender 2003: 26, #143] ||| ECh. *bwarni "rhino" [GT]: Kwang-Ngam bórní (f)

¹⁷ Cf. A. B. Dolgopol'skij's fundamental studies on the Semitic matches of Angas-Sura *-ɣ- (1982), initial consonant correlations in Sem.-ECu. (1983), SCu.-Sem. laterals (1987), Sem.-ECu. initial laryngeals (1988), the reconstruction of the AA laterals (1989), Sem. *š vs. Ch. (1990).

¹⁸ Cf. Takács 1999c: 393-426; 2000a: 69-117; 2003: 143-162; 2005a: 65-83; 2005c: 213-225 and 2010: 91-122. For the case of Ma'a sibilants see Takács 2002a: 109-133; 2009b: 125-131; Ma'a š-; 2009c: 135-142.

¹⁹ E.g. I was using the Eg./Sem. mirror for the case of ● NBrb.: Tamazight ɟ- and z- (Takács 2006), EBrb.: Ghadames ɓ- + SBrb.: Ahaggar h (Takács 2000d: 333-356; 2004b: 31-65; 2011a: 83-103), ● Agaw/CCu. (Takács 2012: 85-118), ECu. *ā (Takács 2000c: 197-204; 2011a: 110-111), LECu.: Rendille ž- (Takács 2001: 265-269; 2011a: 112-114), ● CCh.: Musgu and Masa h- vs. ɸ- (Takács 2013: 153-184), ● ECh.: Mokilko (Takács 2002b: 145-161), ● ECh.: Dangla-Mígama (Takács 2009-2010: 133-148; Bidiya b-; Takács 2009a: 119-124; Bidiya č- and ž-).

²⁰ A puzzling form, since one is, of course, disposed to render Konta budunu as an irregular reflex or a mis-transcribed form of *gudun-, cf. NOm.: Macro-Ometo / "Ta-Ne" *gud-unt- "warthog, pig" [Bender 2003: 122

“rhinocéros” [Jng. 1973 MS: 12] | Somray bwλrnī (m, f) “rhinocéros” [Jng. 1993 MS: 7] || CCh.: Musgu bírni “Nashorn” (Roeder) [Lukas 1941: 47] || WCh.: (???) PAngas *vərīli > *vərli (assimilated < **b^warni → **b^wərili?)²¹ “1. rhinoceros (older sources), 2. antelope (recent sources)” [GT].²² The underlying SAA *burun-/*b^waran- “rhinoceros” [GT] may be an extended stem built upon a more ancient biliteral root whose simplex, for the time being, I could only locate in ECh.: Kera bèrè “Warzenschwein (phacochère)” [Ebert 1976: 31], which may be eventually akin to the following SAA root family:

247.1. Regarding the typical shift of meaning “wild boar” to “hedghog” attested in SAA,²³ I would venture to assume that the underlying root may etymologically belong to ECh.: Mubi mbùròoré (f), pl. mbiràr “porc-épic” [Jng. 1990b MS: 6; 2013: 163] || WCh.: PSuroid *-pəyer > *-pəyər “hedghog” (either semi-reduplicated or prefixed with *pi-/*pə-) [GT]: Mupun pə-péer “hedghog” [Frajzyngier 1991: 51], Mushere pi-pikir [< *piyir or *-pəyər?] “hedghog” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 241] vs. PGoemay *boyor or *ba₃ya₃r (used with prefixe *gə-) “hedghog” [GT]: Goemay ba-bar [semi-reduplication of *bar < *ba₃ya₃r] ~ goe-boor “hedghog” [Sirlinger 1937: 62] = gə-bor “hedghog” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 11] (AS: Takacs 2004: 18 vs. 285, resp.). From a PCh. *√b(C₂)r²⁴ “hedghog” [GT]?

and 177 and 219, #143] > NWometo *gud-unt-/all- “warthog, pig” [Bender 2003: 63, #143] > extended Wolayta cluster *gud-unt-a “warthog, pig” [Bender 2003: 26, #143], Malo gudáillo “warthog, pig” [Siebert & Caudwell] and Oyda gudála “bush pig” [Fleming] (Bender 2003: 26, 63) | Chara gútna “warthog, pig” [Aklilu Yilma] = gudina “bush pig” [Fleming] (Bender 2003: 96, #143) | Kafa-Mocha *gudino “warthog” [Bender 2003: 177, #143] | Dizoid *gu/od- “warthog” [Bender 2003: 219, #143]: actually just Dizi gwídk čobi “wild hog, bush pig” [Fleming], Sheko got-ù “warthog” [Aklilu] || SOm./Aroid *gud-im “warthog” [Bender 2003: 219, #143]: Ari gudim/gudmi “wild hog, bush pig” [Grottanelli], Dime gudòm [Siebert] (Macro-Ometo + Kafa-Mocha: Bender 2003: 193, #143).

²¹ The puzzling AS form looks at the first glance like either a compound (of, e.g., *vər- + *(ī)li, both unidentified in AS) or like a loanword (with a strange CVCCV pattern atypical of native AS words).

²² Cf. Angas vriilii (sic: vrii-) “rhinoceros” [Foulkes 1915, 299] = vòrli (Kabwir dialect) “rhinoceros” [Jng. 1962 MS: 42] = vurli [vūfli:] “antelope” (sic!) [Burquest 1971: 26, #97, 42] = varli “type of antelope” (sic) [ALC 1978: 66] (Angas: Takacs 2004a: 390). A syllabic pattern perfectly atypical of the aboriginal (inherited) AS stems that had gone through the regular processes of the pre-AS historical morphonology (cf. Takacs 2004a: xxxix). Which is why here one is *eo ipso* disposed to account for either a compound (of so far unidentified components) or a *Wandervort*. Henceforth, one is cautious as to V. Blažek’s (1994: 201) attractive *ad hoc comparanda* to our AS stem like PECu. *warš- “rhinoceros” [Sasse 1979: 33, 54, 64] = *warča^c [Ehret 1991: 235, #100] = *warš- ~/< *warša^c- [GT] or CCh. *wiršī “bull” based solely upon one single piece of lexical data from the Musgu group, namely Mbara wí(r)žī (m), wúrzāy ~ wúrzátáy (f), pl. wúrzāā ~ wúrzāāžā “bovin” [TSL 1986: 281].

²³ Cf., e.g., the similarly exclusive SAA isogloss of ECh. B *ʔa₂mbēn- < *ʔa₂mbayn- “hedghog” [GT]: Kofa ʔémbèn (m), pl. ʔémbín “hedghog (Hausa bušiya)” [Jng. 1977 MS: 12, #294] | Bidiya ʔùmbayna (m), pl. ʔùmbayne “hérissou” [AJ 1989: 122], Migama ʔàmbééná (m) “hérissou” [JA 1992: 65] || CCh.: (???) Zime byam, pl. bibyam [assim. < *byan (?) unless < *bgam] “phacochère, cochon sauvage” [Beavon 1996 MS: 15] || SCu.: WRift *baynō (fem. coll. pl.) vs. *bayn-im-o (sgv. masc.) “wild boar, pig” [KM]: Iraqw baynamo, pl. baynu (n), Gorowa baynimó, pl. baynō, Alagwa bīnimō, pl. bīnō, Burunge bīnimo, pl. bīnō (WRift: KM 2004: 72) < SAA *bayn- “wild boar (?)” [GT].

²⁴ The Angas-Sura data, esp. the decisive evidence of Mushere speak for a medial radical, possibly an weak consonant (whence AS *-y- is regular, cf. Dolgopolsky 1982: 33-34, §B) that remained unreflected in ECh.

Om. *b- + sibilants

248. POm. *baz- “beehive” [GT] > NOm.: Chara bázá “beehive” [Aklilu in Bender 2003: 331, #7] || SOM.: Dizi baž “beehive” [Allan apud Bender 2003: 346, #7: isolated in Dizoid] || WCh.: attestation uncertain²⁵ || OEg. bz.t “store-room (???)” (Takács 2000a: 73-74, fn. 2) occurring in: wr-bz.t “Titel von Schatzbeamten (CT V 395j)”, bz.t “(in einem Dorfnamen, OK)” (Wb I 472, 18-19) = wr-bz.t “Great One of the Container of Adornments” (Silverman, p.c. by D. Meeks). The primary sense in Omotic may have been *‘‘container’’ as the Egyptian cognate suggests, which is in neat agreement with the pretty normal semantic shift of “beehive” < *‘‘granary (of bees)’’ in Ethiopia.²⁶ Since Eg. -z- < AA *-/ʒ/ and *-c- both seem possible,²⁷ one must consider further root varieties also with a voiceless C₂: **248.1. PAA *√(?)bc** “(to) store (in granary)” [GT]: Sem. *√⁹bs “magazzino, granaio” [Marrassini 1971: 39-40]: Akk. abus(s)u “ein Teil des Hauses: Krippe o.ä.” [Holma 1913: 23] = (O/YBab., ass.) abūsu ~ abussu “1. (Magazin)Kammer, 2. Pferdebox, 3. (boxähnliche) Lockenringel (?)” [AHW 9] = abūsu “1. storehouse, 2. (part of the temple complex in Assur)” [CAD a 92] || Hbr. ʔēbūs “(am Boden angebrachter) Futtertrog, Krippe”, *maʔābūs, pl. st. cstr. maʔābusēhā “Scheuer, Speicher” [GB 3, 7, 292] = “feeding trough” [KB 4] || HECu.: Burji bóč-ē “loft (used for storage)” [Sasse 1982: 37] || SCu.: Iraqw bac(-ts-) “to lay aside, save for the future” [Ehret 1980a: 133, #I.A.3] = bāc- (-ts-) “to store”, bac-a (-ts-) “storing” [Maghway 1989: 111] || ECh. *√⁹ḅS “granary (?)” [GT: regular < AA *√(?)bc]:²⁸ Somray ḅisé (so, ḅ-) “grenier”, ḅyḷsá ~ ḅèsé “grenier en torchis” [Jng. 1993 MS: 8-9] = bisé (sic: b-) “cornbin” [Jng./JI 1994 II 85] | Mokilko ḅòozé “concession, maison” [Jng. 1990a: 73]. Cf. EDE II 294-296; Takács 2005b: 208, #298; EAAN I 24-25, #41.

249. NOm.: NWometo *bazz- “bush, forest” [GT]: Wolayta bazz- “bush, forest” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 315, #8], Konta (Dawro) bazua “bush, forest” [Allan in Bender 2003: 315, #8] = EWolayta cluster (language unnamed) baz- “bush, forest” [Bender 2003: 325, #9], Basketo bassi-ti “bush, forest” [Azeb Amha in Bender 2003: 325, #9] | Kefoid: uncertain reflex²⁹ || HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) baddaʔa [-dd- < HECu. *-/ʒ/zz-]³⁰ “grass” [Hudson 1989: 72] || SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-bezbez “1. feuilles tendres de blé (ou d’orge) cou-

²⁵ Cf. perhaps WCh.: Ngizim bəzəm “type of large granary built of clay” [Schuh 1981: 17], although bə- could be eventually a prefix also, cf. ECh.: WDangla sómō “grenier en palissade de paille” [Fédry 1971: 376]?

²⁶ Cf., e.g., HECu.: Hadiya seččo < *saʔ-iččo “1. granary, grain store, 2. beehive” (cf. HECu. *saʔ-o “beehive”), Kambatta kãččo, kaččuta < *kaf-čuta “1. granary, grain store, 2. beehive” (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 25, 73).

²⁷ OEg. z appears sometimes as an irregular correspondence of Sem. *s < AA *c (cf. EDE I 311-2).

²⁸ The glottalization of AA *b- > ECh. *ḅ- might be due to a lost initial *ʔ- (cf. Sem. *√⁹bs).

²⁹ Regarding its deviant vocalism and C₂ sibilant, Bworo bũšà “bush, forest” [SLE] (isolated in Kefoid: Bender 2003: 338, #9), however similar it looks like in this context, may represent a distinct AA root, cf. also in a separate entry no. 278 below.

³⁰ H.-J. Sasse (1975, 137) set up ECu. *z resulting in a d reflex in Darasa, Hadiyya, Sidamo etc. W. Leslau (1980: 120, esp. §1.1.) too listed d- reflexes in Burji, Darasa, Hadiyya, Sidamo to ECu. roots with supposed *z-, but he also recorded -ʒ(ʒ)- reflexes in the “d-dialects”, e.g., Alaba, Hadiyya, Qabenna, Tembaro, but not one from Darasa (Leslau 1980: 122, §1.4.). G. Hudson (1989: 7, #7) too assumed a HECu. *ʒ (*dz) to yield d in most of the HECu. languages, e.g., Burji, Gedeo, Hadiyya and Sidamo.

pées et séchées / zartes, grünes Weizen- oder Gerstenblatt, 2. dish of tender plants of wheat and barley / Gericht aus den Jungtrieben von Weizen oder Gerste (Notnahrung) [Foucauld 1951-2: 118; WSKT I 87; DRB 148, BZ6: isolated in Brb.] || Sem.: Ar. bazza “bourgeonner, boutonner” [Dozy I col. 80b] = “bourgeonner (plante)” [DAFA col. 601a; DRS 54, BZZ4: isolated in Sem.] < PAA * $\sqrt{b\dot{z}}$ “1. to sprout, 2. (have) green leaves, foliage (of plants, bush, tree).” [GT]. See also entry no. 278 below.

250. NOM.: Zayse $\text{b}\ddot{a}\text{z}-\ddot{o}$ “fronte” [Cerulli 1938 III 201] = **baz-o** “forehead” [Fleming 1969: 25] || SCu.: ERift *baža- “face, forehead” [Ehret]: Qwadza baḏawa (-dz-) “face” [Ehret 1980 MS: 1], Asa paža (-j) “face, forehead” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980a: 133, §I.A.4) || EBrb.: Audjila a-bžâu, pl. bžâu-en “guancia” [Paradisi 1960: 167], Ghadames ta-bažžuḥ-t “partie antérieure de la tête au dessus du front” [Lanfry 1973: 8, #45; DRB 44: isolated in Brb.].

250.1. Whether NBrb. *ta-bbi/uš-t³¹ “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 Appleyard] = bāž (-j) “Brust” [Reinisch] = baž “breast” [Appleyard 1996: 13] represent the very same root from a primary sense *, „front part”, should be further examined. 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 below:

250.2. SAA * \sqrt{bc} (var. * $\sqrt{b\dot{c}ʔ}$) “front” [GT]³² > ES * \sqrt{bsw} [DRS, GT: < NOM.?): Tigre bəṣot “front” [DRS 72: isolated in Sem.] || NAgaw: Bilin besôt “die Stirn” [Reinisch 1904: 55] = bisot “forehead” [Apl. 1991 MS: 6] || 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],³³ Somali-Jäbärti basá “Stirn” [Reinisch 1904: 55] || SCu. *bac- [-ts-] “face, forehead” [GT]³⁴: Ma’a (Mbugu) bāsō “Stirn” [Meinhof 1906: 308]³⁵ = vu-basá [Ehret & Fleming] (SCu.: Ehret 1980a: 133, §I.A.4) || NOM.: Gimira bās “guancia” [CR 1925: 619] = bas “cheek” [Fleming] (NOM.-Ma’a: Fleming 1969: 25) || WCh.: Bokkos ḃos, pl. ḃosas “Stirn” [Jng. 1970: 140] || 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.

250.3. SAA * \sqrt{bc} “to go in front of” [GT] > LECu.: Saho bas-ō “passato” [Cerulli] = bas-ō “die Vergangenheit” [Reinisch] = bas-o “die Vergangenheit” [Lamberti] = basö “past

³¹ Note that Brb. *-Vš(š)V- vs. *-z- may be allophones.

³² Any connection to NOM.: Gimira (Benesho) bās “guancia” [CR 1925, 619] = bas “top” [Wedekind 1990: 99]?

³³ 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.: Gimira-Benesho bas² “(on) top” < AA *bās- “top”.

³⁴ Derived by Ch. Ehret from a phonologically ill-founded basic form *baṭa- (sic: *ṭ-) “face, forehead”.

³⁵ Thought to be of extra-AA origin. Combined by C. Meinhof (l.c.) with Duala boso, Swahili uso “Gesicht”.

(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]³⁶ = bašš-o “früher, in der Vergangenheit” [Lamberti] || SCu. *bac- (-ts-) “to go first, in front” [GT] = *bāṭ- “to go first, anticipate, forestall” [Ehret]: Alagwa bac- (-ts-) “to start off” | Asa piž-at- “to go first, anticipate, forestall” | Ma’a bosí “beginning” (SCu.: Ehret 1980a: 133, #I.A.3)³⁷ (ECu.-Om.: Cerulli 1938 II 195 and 1951: 416; Lamberti 1993a: 288) || NOM.: Kefoid *beš- “to proceed, precede” [GT]. For this root variety see already OmAA I = Takács 2011: 187, #12.

250.4. 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.] || WCh. *pus-k- (suffix *-k- of anatomical terms)³⁸ “face” [GT]:³⁹ Hausa fískà ~ fúskà “face”

³⁶ Ehret (1991: 232): ~ HECu.: Sidamo bašš-o “before, in the past” < ECu. *b/ḥac- “front”.

³⁷ Ehret (l.c.): cf. also Iraqw bac- (-ts-) “to lay aside, save for future” [Ehret 1980a: 133] treated here as a distinct root.

³⁸ 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. snṭ** [from *sl-k] “Leib, Glieder” (NK, Wb IV: 180, 1), cf. snṭ-jt (coll.) “Leichname (im Jenseits)” (NK, GHWb: 725) || Sem. *šily-at- “placenta, uterus” [Fronzaroli 1964: 262-263] || HECu.: Burji sæ’lay “belly” [Bender 1971: 245] = sal-áy “belly” [Sasse] | Dullay: Harso sālasīḥ-te [partial reduplication + ext. *ḥ of body parts] “Magen” [AMS 1980: 183] (ECu.: Sasse 1982: 163) || NOM.: She šII & Benesho šII’ “belly” [Bender 1971: 260-261, #4]. See Blažek 1989 MS Om.: 8, #15 (She-ECu.-Sem.). ● **3. Hausa bààkíí** “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 b’âu “1. mouth, 2. language” [Jaggar 1989: 186], Ngamo bo “mouth” [Newman 1965: 58] || ECh.: Somray bi “bouche” [Jng. 1993 MS: 6] | Migama bíí, pl. bènè “1. bouche, 2. lèvres” [JA 1992: 70] | Birgit bì “bouche” [Jng. 1973a MS], Jegu bèetó “mouth” [Jng. 1961: 110] || NBrb.: Mzab baḥa & Wargla beḥḥa [suffix *-ḥ of body parts] “bouche” [DRB I: 42 pace Delheure]. Already H. Jungrathmayr and D. Ibrizimow 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 žikíí “body” [Abr. 1962: 427] | Dera yik [y < *s] “body” [Newman 1974], cf. WCh. *Z/Si “body” [GT]: Sura s- [Jng.] | Geruma žíf [Schuh], Kirfi ži [Schuh], Galambu ži [Alio] | Zaar ži [Shimizu] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu sīr [Jng.] | Somray sí: [Jng.] | WDangla zì [Fédry], Migama zí: [Jng.] | Birgit zì [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 34-35). ● **5. WCh.: Dera kuyuk** < *kusu-k [y < *s] “excrement” [Newman] | Hausa káášíí “excrement” [Abr. 1962: 498] || ECh. *kVsi “faeces” [GT]: Kwang kùsī(ny) [Jng.], Kera kusi [Ebert] | Kabalay kasíí [Caprile], Lele kāsīyā [Gowers] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 128-129). ● **6. WCh.: Dera lašik** “vomit” [Newman] || Eg. 3š [regular < *lš] “(Opfergabe) ausspeien (bildlich vom Nil)” (XX., Wb I: 21, 1) = “*ausspeien” (GHWb: 15) < AA *√lš [GT]. ● **7. WCh.: Dera yilik** < *sili-k [y < *s] “tongue” [Newman] || CCh.: Zime-Dari šilli [Strümpell], Zime-Batna sílé [Jng.] = sílí [Sachnine] || ECh.: Kera kə-səl [Ebert] | Sokoro sólańd- [Nachtigal] = selindu [AF] = sélén [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 čfulū [Nachtigal] = člílú “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 [Ibrizimow] || ECh.: Migama ʔóló (pl.) [JA 1992: 113], Bidiya ʔülā, pl. ʔülay [AJ 1989: 122] – all “saliva” (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 278-279). ● **9. CCh.: Tera**

[Abraham 1962: 269], Gwandara píska ~ píska ~ púska [irregular p-?] “face” [Matsushita 1972: 96] | Warji pusk- “face” [Skinner] | Ngizim fəskâ, pl. fəskakín “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-] “Stirn, Gesicht”, phohó “der erste, voran, zuvor” [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1939: 91, 124]. Cf. also CCh.: Musgu galé-ku (deine Wangen) pópeše “Schläfe” [Lukas 1941: 73]?

Ad OmAA VI 205. NOm. *Paz- “sharp” [GT]: Malé ʔaçe-’bazi⁴⁰ “sharp” [Siebert in Bender 2003: 329, #80] (isolated⁴¹ in NWomt.: Bender 2003: 320, #80) | Sezo pazi “sharp” [Atieb & Bender apud Bender 2003: 357, #80: isolated in Mao] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr buz-ət “1. limer, 2. égratigner (peau pour apaiser une démangeaison etc.)” [PAM 2003: 62; DRB 149, BZ(T): isolated in Brb.] || Sem.: Ar. bazuʿa “être fin, gracieux, intelligent” [DRS 55: isolated in Sem.].⁴² This comparison has already been published (Takács 2021: 94-95, no. 205). Cf. now, in addition, also CCh. *bVz- “to sharpen, rub, polish” [CLD]: Bana mbèzè “lisser, aplanir” [Lienhard & Giger apud CLD] | Malgwa béza “wischen, verreiben, löschen” [Löhr 2002: 289] | Mbedam (Mbudum) bəz “aiguiser” [Ndokobai 2014 apud CLD]⁴³ | Mbuko bébez “affiler, aiguiser” [Gravina, Nelezek, Tchalalao 2004 in CLD], Muayang ábèz “to sharpen, rub” [Smith 2003 in CLD], Uldeme -bəz “aiguiser” [Kin-

kopa-ḥ [-ḥ < *k] “wing” [NM 1966: 240; Newman 1977: 34 with a different etymology] || WCh.: (?) Angas-Sura *č^(ʷ)ā₂p [*č^v- < *k-?] “wing” [GT 2004: 57] || NOm.: POMeto *kEp- “wing” [Bender 1988] = *kəp-e “wing” [Bender 2003: 123, #148] | Mao *kwaḥ- “arm, wing” [GT]: Mao (sic) kefe “wing” [Fleming], Mao-Bambeshi kwāḥe “wing, upper arm” [Bender] = kwāḥe (sic: kw-) “wing” [Wedekind], Mao-Diddesa kap kwīṅte “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 in Bender 2003: 209, #49], Galila kāfi “wing” [Fleming 1976a: 321]. • **10. ECh.: Bidiya buski** < *bus-k “blood” [AJ 1989: 61] akin to Mokilko pùzò “blood” [Jng.] || CCh. *√bs “blood” [GT]: Nzangi bisé [Strümpell] = bizè [Meek] = bizē [Mouchet] | Hitkala(nci) (Lamang) ùbəsì [Lukas], Hitkala (Waga dialect) ubis [Meek] | Masa bōswō [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 bèèšè “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 ornementales, tatouer, balafrer” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 43], Korlongo béésé “scarifier” [DM]. 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) baša, (Ezha, Muher, Mäsqān, Goggot, Soddo) bəšša, (Endegeny, Selti, Wolane) buša “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. *√bē “red” [GT].

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ For the second component cf. Ometo *hOçç/ʈt-o “sharp” [GT].

⁴¹ Cf. (???) Konta potetsa “sharp” [Allan apud Bender].

⁴² DRS l.c. refers to Sem./Ar. √bzḥ/ʿ “être abondant”, but an etymological link is semantically all too vague.

⁴³ CLD l.c.: allegedly a derived noun is to e found in CCh.: Mbedam bæneḥ “claw” [Lamberti 2003 quoted in CLD].

naird and Oumaté 2002 quoted in CLD], Mada ábàz “aiguiser, lisser, polir”, hence mè-bèz “pierre à lisser, à polir” [Barreteau and Brunet 2000: 72, 175] (CCh.: CLD VI 73-74, #147).

251. SOM.: Hamer baz- (?), баš “river” [Lydall apud Bender 2003: 255, 350, #74: isolated⁴⁴ in Aroid] || Sem.: PARabian *√bš- “to flow” [GT] > Maghrebi Ar. bašbaš “suinter (eau)” [DRS 88, bšbš: isolated in Sem.] vs. Ar. bašy- “pluie fine” [DRS 88, bšy: isolated in Sem.]⁴⁵ || MSA: Soqotri bášah (sic: -h) “couler” [Leslau 1938: 99; DRS 88, bšh (sic: -h): isolated in Sem.]⁴⁶

252. NOm.: Yemsa béz- (?) (beside k/tež) “to kill” [Cerulli in Bender 2003: 167, #75] = (?) **bez-** “to hunt” [Girma in Bender 2003: 341, #47: isolated] || Ch. *baz- “to kill, to fight” [CLD]: WCh.: Tangale baazę (CLD: -ε), pl. baseę, bapsę (CLD: -ε) “to kill and eat small animals (said of a mighty animal like the lion), eat or spoil unripe food” [Jng. 1991: 70] || CCh.: Bura buzuzá “fighting spirit” [Blench quoted in CLD] | Higi-Bana mbèz(á) “lutter” [LG 2002 in CLD] | Mada ábàz “abattre, tuer (plusieurs objets)” [Brt.-Brunet 2000: 72] (Ch.: CLD VI 72, #143) || Sem.: Ar. √bđd I “3. vaincre, avoir le dessus sur qqn.”, VIII “2. couper, retrancher”, bidīd-at- “1. victoire, 2. part, portion”, cf. √bzz (root variety): bazz- “1. armes, 2. victoire, avantage remporté sur son adversaire”, bazawān- “attaque, assaut” [BK I 100 and 120, resp.] = ʔibtadda “couper, retrancher” [DRS 46, BDD1: isolated in Sem.]. **252.1.** CCh. *baž- (*-ǰ-) “to kill” [CLD VI 80, #179], which O.V. Stolbova referred also to, may be regarded here as a root variation.

253. NOm.: SEOmeto *biz-o “one” [Bender 2003: 92, #98] = *bizz-o “1” [GT]: Haruro (Kachama) bizz-o [Cerulli 1936: 631, 642] = biz-ε [Siebert], Zayse bizz-ō [Cerulli 1938 III 201] = bizz-o [Siebert], Zergulla biz-o [Siebert], Koyra (Badditu) bizz-ō [Cerulli 1929: 60] = bīz-o [Bender] = bížž-o [Hayward 1982: 215] = bīzž-o [Siebert], Gidicho bīz-e [Bender] (SEOmeto: Bender 1971: 256-257; Zaborski 1983: 387; Siebert 1994: 18) | Chara biz-ā “9” [Cerulli 1938 III 165] = biž-a ~ bižž-a “9” [Bender 1974 MS: 19; Fleming 2000 MS: 7] (NOm.: EDE II 518) || Sem.: Ar. √bzw I: bazā “être égal, pouvoir la même chose qu’un autre”, bazw- “équivalent, ce qui est égal à une autre chose”, mubz- “2. égal, pareil à un autre” [BK I 123] < PAA *√bz “same (?)” [GT]. This overwrites any former hypothesis on the etymology of this isolated SEOmeto root.⁴⁷ The Arabic root (equally isolated in Semitic) is known to have further root varieties:

⁴⁴ Although M.L. Bender compared also SOM.: Ari bōda [Bender & Tully], Hamer baiti [Fleming] “river” (SOM.: Bender 2003: 255, 350, #74), I have demonstrated that SOM.: Aroid *√bT “river” [GT] is akin to Chadice and Berber parallels with a dental C₂ (OmAA7 = Takács 2022: 166, #246).

⁴⁵ In the DRS (l.c.), just a reference is made to Sem. *√bsbs and *√bšh, cf. Ar.-ES *√bsbs “jaillir, devenir humide” [GT based on DRS 72], dialectal Ar. √bšbš “1. (Maghrebi) suinter (eau), 2. (Oriental) faire pipi” [DRS 88] and Soqotri bášah (sic: -h) “couler” (DRS: “différenciation par h d’une radicale géminée”) [Leslau 1938: 99], which may indeed be ultimately and remotely related (with their ancestral root in PAA).

⁴⁶ W. Leslau (l.c.) compared Ar. bassa and tabasbasa (q.v.) also.

⁴⁷ Thus, my attempt (EDE II 518) to somehow affiliate this stem with Eg. psd “9” (by assuming a plausible derivation < *√pzʕ) appears now also false.

253.1. Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{bdd}}$: *badd-*, *bidd-*, *baḏīd-* “pareil, semblable”, *baḏīd-at-* “part, portion” [BK I 100] = *badd-* (in: *badd^{un} fadd^{un}*) “1. isolé, seul (isolated, lonely), 2. dattes non-agglutinées, non entassées (non-clustering, unmassed dates)”, *badd-*, *bidd-*, *baḏīd-* “1. identique, semblable (identical, similar), 2. (subst.) équivalent”, *bidd-(at)-* and *baḏīd-(at)-* “part, portion, lot identique” [DAFA 475 adopted in DRS 46, *BDD1*: isolated in Sem.].

253.2. Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{fdd}}$: *fadda* I “1. être tout seul, isolé, séparé des autres”, IV “ne mettre bas qu’un seul petit (ne se dit que des femelles qui d’habitude mettent bas plusieurs petits à la fois, comme la brebis, etc.)”, V, X “1. être, rester isolé et seul, 2. revendiquer une chose exclusivement pour soi-même”, *fadd-* “1. seul, isolé, séparé, unique, 2. première flèche dans le jeu de flèches”, *fudādan* ~ *fuddādā* ~ *fudāday* “séparément, chacun à part, un à un” [BK II 558] III (?) PCu. **piz-* “limb (of body)” [Ehret 2000 MS: 566, #59].⁴⁸

254. NOm.: Gimirra bāzoñ (?) “rompere” [CR 1925: 618]⁴⁹ III WCh.: Tangale *bīzē* (or *bīzē*) “to crack (house, pot, calabash)” [Jng. 1991: 73], Tangale-Waja *bīśá* “to crack” [Kwh. 1990: 103] II ECh.: Ndam *pəžà* [irreg. p-?] “to break (stick)” [Jng. in JI 1994 II 45] III NBrb.: Iznasen *a-bbaz* “être écrasé” [Renisio 1932: 292] = *bbaz* and *e-bbaz* [DRB], Rif *bbez* “1. écraser, 2. presser” [DRB 147: confused with * $\sqrt{\text{rbz}}$] | Shilh *bbež* and *bbež* “1. écraser, 2. broyer, 3. piler” [DRB 43, BŽ] III Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{bdd}}$ VIII: *ʔibtadda* “couper, retrancher”, *bidd-at-* and *baḏīd-at-* “part, portion, lot identique” [BK I 100; DRS 46] < PAA * $\sqrt{\text{bž}}$ “to smash” [GT]. Cf. Takács 2000b: 131; EAAN I 26, #53.

255. POm. *baç- “beard, chin” [GT]: SEOmeto **bāt-* “beard, chin” [Bender 2003: 82, #6]:⁵⁰ e.g., Koyra (Baditu) *bāzā* (sic: -z-) [CR] = *bac-ā* (-ts-) “mento” [Cerulli 1929: 60; 1938 III 164; CR 1937: 642], Kachama (Haruro) *bāšā* (-a-) “mento” [CR 1937: 642] = *biša* [Cecchi], Zayse *bāčá* (-ts’-) [Ehret]:⁵¹ all these forms are denoting “chin” II SOm. (Aroid): Dime *batsi* [Siebert] III CCh.: Mafa-Mada **haN-bic* (*-ts) “beard” [Rossing 1978: 208, #51] II ECh.: Mokilko *tò-ḃḃisó* [expected -ḃḃis- < *-*bbiṣ/ç-* regular] “1. joue, 2. gorgée” [Jng. 1990a: 184]⁵² III SBrb.: Ahaggar *bbez* “fluxion à la joue” [DRB 154, *bḏ3*: isolated in Brb.] < S/P^{???}AA * $\sqrt{\text{bç}}$ (perhaps **biç-*) “1. chin, 2. jaw” [TG]. This root is, even if presumably eventually akin, probably to be distinguished from the Omo-Chadic isogloss (another root variety?) with the same sense but with a non-glottalized C₂ affricate:

⁴⁸ Equated by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with MSA: Harsusi *fedfid* “centipede” and some CCh. reflexes of **f/pəḏ-* < AA **piz-* “limb (of body)”.

⁴⁹ Affiliated by C. Conti Rossini (l.c.) with Kafa *baḏ* (*bād?*), which both phonologically and semantically represents a distinct AA root, cf. OmAA VII, entry no. 230.

⁵⁰ Distinguished by M.L. Bender (2003: 113, #6) from Ometo **bučč-* “beard” [Bender 2003: 54, #6a]

⁵¹ Equated by Ch. Ehret (1995, 87, #26) with Sem.: Ar. *baṭn-* “belly” and SCu. **b/pāat-* “to go first” < AA **bāat-* “to be/go in front”, which represent three distinct AA roots.

⁵² Mistakenly (even if with question marks) affiliated in OmAA I 187, #12 with the reflexes of AA * $\sqrt{\text{bs}}$ “1. to go in front of, 2. front part, face” [GT].

255.1. SAA *buS⁵³ “beard” [GT] > POm. *būč- “beard” [Fleming 1976a: 313] = *buč- “beard” [Bender 1988: 151; 2003: 247, #6 and 268, #6a] = *buC[Č]- “beard” [Blažek] > Macro-Ometo + PGimirra *buč- “beard” [Bender 2003: 158 and 205, #6a] > Ometo *bučč- “beard, chin” [Bender 2003: 113, #6]⁵⁴ > NWometo *bučč- “beard” [Bender 2003: 54, #6a] > extended Wolayta cluster *bučč-a “beard” [Bender 2003: 12, #6]⁵⁵ Wolamo and Zala buččā “barba” [Cerulli] etc. | Chara bučča “barba” [Cerulli] = būča “chin” [Fleming] = búča “beard, chin” [Aklilu Yilma] (Chara: Bender 2003: 82, #6) | Gimirra (sic) buč (sic: -č) “baffo, barba” [CR 1925: 618], Benesho buč “full beard” [Breeze] = boutch [Montandon], She buč (sic: -č) “barba” [Cerulli] | Hozo *pŪc- [GT] vs. Sezo *pŪš- [GT] “beard” (Dizoid: Bender 2003: 82, #6a) || SOM./Aroid *buč- “beard” [Bender 2003: 205, #6; 2003: 247, #6] (Om.: Cerulli 1929: 27; 1938 III 164; Bender 1988: 151) || PCh. *√bzm ‘beard’ [JS 1981: 35D: attested, i.a., in Nbauchi, Bata, Matakam] = *buz- ‘beard’ (lit. *‘hair of hairy goat’)⁵⁶ [CLD] = *buS-um (perhaps *-ž-???) “beard” [GT]: WCh.: Hausa búzúu-bùzúu ‘very hairy’ [Abr. 1962: 128] | Galambu búúsá “beard” [Schuh 1978: 82] | Pa’a bìnza (m), pl. bìnzí “beard” [M. Skinner 1979: 167] = bìnza [CLD] < *bumz- < (via metathesis) *buzum- [GT] | Sbauchi *(m)bubuz(uN) (partial reduplication) “beard” [GT]: Dwot bámz̄ (sic, resembling Nbauchi) and Saya mbübüz̄(n) “beard” [Kraft], Boghom bwòpsi’ [Schuh], Zaar mbòpziŋ [Shimizu] = bubzəŋ [Caron quoted in CLD] || CCh.: (???) Tera ɓoɓom (-x-) [-ɓ- < ???]⁵⁷ “beard (chin only)” [Newman 1964: 38, #57] | PBata *bu[ž]um-

⁵³ The C₂ sibilant is hard to be determined at the moment. The Omotic cognates suggest AA *č, while the Chadic ones and the supposed Egyptian match speak for *ʒ.

⁵⁴ M.L. Bender (l.c.) assumed HECu.: Burji bočč-o “cheek” to be probably unrelated (< HECu. *boč-o).

⁵⁵ LS 1997: 313: Wolayta būčča < OCu. (= PCu.-Om.) *bukʰ- “head, cheek”, which M.L. Bender (2003: 247, #6) received with right doubts (expressed by “???”) as problematical.

⁵⁶ Treated by O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 74, #148), who ignored both the Omotic and Egyptian cognates for the root “beard”, as a derivative of her PWCh. *bVz- “hairy (goat)” reflected by WCh.: Hausa búzúu-bùzúu “very hairy”, búzúrúwáa “long-haired goat or sheep” [Abraham 1962: 128] | Karekare bàzaa “hairy sheep or goat” [Gambo and Karofi in CLD], Ngamo bàzâ “hairy goat” [NEH in CLD]. Cf. entry no. 105.2 below.

⁵⁷ It is very difficult at the moment to assess the *Lautgeschichte* of Tera -VɥV- (-x-) due to the scarcity of its occurrence in etymologically clear cases. • One of these few cases is Tera ñàḡa “saliva” [Newman 1964: 39, #108] | Bata nēwī “salive / cracher” [Mouchet] = náuyé “saliva” [Pweddton 2000: 59] = nyawye “spittle” [Boyd 2002: 57] | Mandara (Wandala) ñḡḡ “salive / cracher” [Mouchet] = nehe [Greenberg], Paduko ərhā [Mouchet] with regular -r- < *-n-l PMasa *nē (or *neʔeʔ) ~ *nō (hence *lō > *yō???) “saliva” [GT]: Masa-Bongor néné-ná “salive” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 73], Masa nēene [nēēnēnā] “la salive” [Caitucoli 1983: 119], Gizey nēnēnē, Wina nòdnì, Masa nēnēnē ~ nòdnò, (???) Ham lòdlòd, (???) Musey yòyò, Lew and Marba ʔáyó “crachat, salive” [Ajello et al. 2001: 17], Gizey nēnēnē, Wina nòdnì, Masa nēnēnē ~ nòdnò, (???) Ham lòdlòd, (???) Musey yòyò ~ yùyòd, Lew and Marba ʔáyó “salive” [Ajello et al. 2001: 50], Lame nēʔē “2. salive” [Sachnine 1982: 377], Misme nēʔē [Jng. 1973c (?) MS] (CCh.: Mouchet 1950: 37) || WCh.: Nbauchi *nəḡ- “saliva” [GT]: Warji nənīki-na ~ nənāki, Kariya nənəkí, Miya nínəkí, Siri nīkí, Mburku nənəkə etc. (Nbauchi: Skinner 1977: 38 and JI 1994 II 278) | Bubure nənó “mucus” [Haruna 1992 MS: #b013] < PCh. *nEk- “saliva” [GT based on JI 1994 II 278-279] || Eg. nḥ “1. Speichel, 2. ausspeien” (PT, Wb II 318, 14-15) = “Geifer” (ÜKAPT VI 143) = “fluid of body” (FD 139) = “1. venom, 2. to spit out, eject” (AEPT 329, also 129: PT 686b) > nḥ “1. (vb.) to issue, stream forth, flow out, 2. exudation, fluid” (Med.: pap. E. Smith 2:24, Breasted 1930: 172) = “le liquide entourant l’encéphale, céphalo-rachidion” (Lefébvre 1952: 13) = “etwas Flüssiges aus dem Schädelinnern, Liquor cerebrospinalis” (Grapow 1954: 28), nḥh “Speichel” (BD, Wb II 319, 4) || Sem. *naḡ- “mucus” [SED I 176, #197] > cf. esp. Ar. nuḡ(ā)m-at- “ce que l’on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.” [BK apud Militarev 2005, 107] || MSA: Mehri nəhyōḡ “phlegm” [Johnstone 1987: 308], Jibbali ḡoḡ “phlegm” [Johnstone

“beard” [GT]: e.g., Bata (Bachama) mbúzumi [Mouchet] = mbúsum “beard” [Carnochan 1975: 462] = búšim-tō [Skinner], Bata-Garwa búšuumí and Bata-Demsa buušuumé “Bart” [Strümpell], Gude bušemi “Bart” [Strümpell as quoted in JI] = bužàmin “beard” [Kraft] = mbúžèemínə (dialectal variety with mb-) “beard” [Hoskison 1983: 164] (missegmented as *mbúžèe-mínə in CLD), Gudu mǎbēizím “beard” [Kraft], Kobocho bušami “Bart” [Strüm-

1981: 199] < PAA *√nḵ with a variant root *√nh “saliva” [GT]. The MSA root with a C₂ *-h- and C₃ *-k appears to display a kind of merger of both AA varieties. Ar.-Eg.: Ehret 2000 MS: 516, #3409. For Ch.-Eg. cf. also Greenberg 1963: 61, #61; HSED #1855-6; CLD I 102, #350; Takács 2011b: 192. ● For Tera ɖoḡaša (-x-, -ɬ-) “east” [Newman 1964: 46, #423], in turn, I know of no cognates at the moment. ● As for Tera kurahì (-x-) “to boil” [Newman 1964: 48, #470], this is perhaps a partially reduplicated C₁C₂C₁ root originally, with a secondary spirantization of the 3rd radical in intervocalic position, cf. LECu. *kar- “to boil, cook” (intr.) [Black 1974: 190]: PSam/Boni *kar- “to cook” (intr.), PBoni *kar-iy vs. PSam *kár-ì (tr.) [Heine 1982: 99-100]. Note that O.V. Stolbova (1987: 222) was erring in deriving from her WCh. *qa[w]r- “сжигать”, a.o., Karekare kàru “to roast” [Kraft 1981 I 64, #364] = kàarú- “to burn” [Schuh] also, although the latter originated from BT *kaɖu “to burn” [Schuh 1984: 215]. ● This assumption seems to be corroborated by Tera nžohi vs. čakì both “to divide” [Newman 1964: 49, #546] also, where the two varieties only differ in the prenasalized (and, henceforth, voiced) initial affricate and the conditionally (?) spirantized C₂. All in all, -VhV- can be supposed to be of velar origin, perhaps an intervocally spirantized *-k-. ● The case of Tera kútúhúm (-x-) “shallow, short” [Newman 1964: 38, #364 and #366, resp.] is, in turn, presumably of little evidence value here as it seems to be a compound of two juxtaposed synonymous roots, cf. (1) CCh.: Hurzo kútú “little” [Rossing 1978: 284, #431] || WCh.: AS *kat “small” [Takács 2004a: 168] < PCh. *kVt- “small” [CLD IV 51, #110] || NOM. *ke/ot- “small” [GT] > Gimirra-Benesho kot “small” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 174, #120] | Kafa kettó “small” [Cerulli in Bender 2003: 126, #120], Mocha kätt-ó “light”, ‘kättiy-(yé) “to be light (of weight)” [Leslau 1959: 38] | Sheko kota [Aklilu, Fleming] = kótà [Bender] “small, little” (NOM.: Bender 2003: 217, #120) || EBrb.: Ghadames i-ktu, e-gdu “poco” [Trombetti] || SBrb.: EWLmd.-Ayr √ktk: kətaḳḳ-ət “(i.a.) être mince, pince (taille d’une guêpe/femme, milieu d’une chose qqç.), 2. avoir la taille mince, pincée (guêpe/femme etc.), 3. avoir le milieu ou une autre partie qui est mince/rétréci(e) (objet)” [PAM 2003: 426] || Eg. ktt “klein (sein)” (MK-, Wb V 147) || Sem.: Akk. katú “klein, elend sein” [Holma pace Meissner] = “to be small” [Ember] = “schwach sein” [Vergote] || Ar. katt- “lean, meagre (man, woman)” [Ember] = katta “être maigre” [Cohen] (Eg.-Sem.: Holma 1919: 46; ESS #21.a.1, but otherwise in #25.a.9; Vergote 1945: 143, §21.a.7; Cohen 1947: #174; plus EBrb.: Trombetti 1923: 126, #147; plus Mocha: Ehret 2000 MS: 162, #1772; plus AS: HSED #1438) and (2) WCh.: Hausa kíimà “1. (adv.) slightly, 2. (f) any medium-sized thing, 3. (pl.) sense: (a) a few, (b) (adv.) a few”, note that kwíyám “1. (m) smallness” is unrelated < √kwiy- [Abr. 1962: 598] | PAngas *kām “narrow” [Takács 2004a: 164]; Angas (Kabwir dialect) kaam-kaam “narrow” [Jng. 1962 MS: 16] = kām ~ kam’-kam “narrow” [ALC 1978: 24] < PCh. *√gm “small” [JS 1981, 239K] || Eg.: earliest attested in Dem. ḥm (selden šm) “klein, auch: Kleinigkeit” (DG 359, 360, 508) > Coptic (SLBFO) ϣHM, (A) ϣHM “klein, gering, wenig” (KHW 313). Otherwise, one is only able to figure out something on the history of Tera ḥ based upon its occurrence in different positions, although these cases appear to be multivalent. E.g., in a medial cluster with another consonant, Tera -ḥ- appears not that evident, cf. ● Tera ndaḡra “gall” [Newman 1964: 39, #102] | Daba tírèh “bitter” [Lienhard in JI 1994 II 27: ungraded and isolated in Ch.] || EBrb.: Ghadames é-dreḡ “être dégoûté” [DRB 386: isolated in Brb.] || (???) Eg. dḡr “bitter” (Med., Wb V 482-483) > dḡ3j “bitter” (LP, Wb V 481, 10), although its OEG. root may be different, cf. dḡc.wt “Bitterkeit (?)” (MK, ÄWb II 2853). Daba-Eg.: OS 1992: 199. Elsewhere, Tera -ḥ- may be epenthetic, cf. ● Tera dàḡḡà “mud (wet earth)” vs. dàḡà “mud (for building)” [Newman 1964: 41, #179]. Even more controversial is the history of Tera ḥ- in initial position, cf. ● Tera ḥuḡuyini “brains” [Newman 1964: 37, #50] reflected by its closest cognates in the Tera group as Pidlimdi ḥwə̀n ḥwə̀nà, Hwona ḥùḥunàna, Ga’anda ḥwə̀nə̀tə̀, Boka ḥùr inḍa “brains” (CCh./Tera group: Kraft 1981 II 4, 15, 24, 43, #37), which may be perhaps akin to Eg. whnn “der Scheitel des Kopfes” (Med., Wb I 346, 1-2). ● But the clear case of Tera ḥən “nose” [Newman 1964: 37, #53] < PCh. *cin- “nose” [GT based on JI 1994 II 258-259] makes the rule of Tera ḥ- < PCh. *S- also evident, which must have been the case with the “beard” word in medial position. All in all, regarding the radicals of Tera term for “beard”, its cognacy with the reflexes of Ch. *buSum- is evident, but there is at the moment only scarce and indirect evidence available for assuming Tera -ḥ- < Ch. sibilant.

pell], Mwulyen mbúdyimù “beard” [Kraft], Nzangi buyami (false -y- for -j- = -ǰ-?) “Bart” [Strümpell] = bužěmi “beard” [Kraft], Nzangi-Holma bűšaamě “Bart” [Strümpell], Wadi bűsumó “Bart” [Strümpell] | PMafa-Mada (PMatakam) ^{*(m)}bažam “(Kinn)bart” [GT]: Gisiga mažamay “(Kinn)bart” [Lukas 1970: 127] = mážámáy (-dl-) “beard” [Rossing], Matakam (= Mafa) bozongway (segmented in CLD as bozo-ngway) “1. menton, 2. barbe” [Barreteau & Bléis 1990: 93], Mofu (Muffo) bűsoosóm “Bart” [Strümpell] = màžámáy (sic: m-, -dl-) “beard” [Rossing] = baažam and bažažam (-zl-) “1. joue” [Barreteau 1988: 87] = probably⁵⁸ bűzòzòm (sic: -z-) “chin” [Blažek] (MM: Rossing 1978: 208, #51) | Kotoko mbə̀zimà (-z-) vs. (Nachtigal’s) mbéžema (-z-) “Backenbart” [Lukas 1936: 108] | Azumaina bizei-nà “goat beard” [Price 1968 quoted in CLD] (CCh.: Strümpell 1922-3: 115; Ch.: Mukarovsky 1987: 125; JI 1994 II 12-13; CLD VI 74, #148.a). As suggested by V. Blažek (1989 MS Om.: 6), who collected a great deal of the Omo-Chadic *comparanda* and even extra-AA parallels from Nilo-Saharan,⁵⁹ Eg. ḥbz.wt “Bart” (MK-, Wb III 255, 13) may also be cognate in all likelihood,⁶⁰ although its strange initial ḥ- looks like an unidentifiable (additional???) element having no reflex whatsoever at all in Omotic or Chadic, which the tried to cover by an AA etymon *bu[ḥ3]-, but nothing confirms a C₂ *-ḥ-.

256. NOm.: Koyra baš- “to cut” [Azeb Amha in Bender 2003: 85, #33: isolated?] ||| CCh. *biç- [CLD: regular < **biç-]⁶¹ “1. to cut in two, 2. tatoo, 3. saw” [CLD]: Malgwa báca (-ts-) “Holz sägen (to saw wood)” [Löhr 2002: 289] | Munjuk-Puss ḥisi (ḥasa) “fendre en deux, couper en deux, déchirer” [Tourneux 1991: 79], Mulwi ḥísi “déchirer, couper en deux” [Tourneux in CLD] | Gizey, Musey, Lew ḥís “inciser, tatouer” [Ajello et al. 2001: 31], Musey ḥissa “marquer” ḥis iira “balafre” [Shryock, Palomo, Martin in CLD] (CCh.: CLD VI 76-77, #162) ||| HECu. *boç- “carve” [Hudson]: Hadiyya boç- “to split wood”, Burji and Gede’o and Sidamo boç- “to carve” (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 140). Further root varieties:

256.1. PAA *√bê [GT] > PCh. *baç- (*-l’-)/*bVHVš- (*-l-) > *baš- (*-l-) “to break, snap” [CLD]: WCh.: Guus ḥašə́ (-l-) “to snap (a thread)” [Caron in CLD] | Paa ḥašù (-l-) “to break, snap” [M. Skinner 1979] | Paduko ḥašə́ (-l-) “casser” [Jarvis and Lagona 2005 quoted in CLD] | Mina ḥə́š (-l-) “to break” [Frajzyngier and Johnston apud CLD] | Mofu-Gudur -ḥáš- (-l-) “percuter, casser (un os, un noyau) en tapant dessus avec une pierre, projeter violemment à terre” [Barreteau 1988: 90], Chuvok méḥə́šə́y (-l-) “briser, casser” [Ndokobai 2002-3 quoted in CLD] (Ch.: CLD VI 79, #172) ||| Sem. *√bd^c “déchirer, partager” [DRS 77-78] vs. Ar. √b^cd “partager, diviser” > ba^cd- “partie, portion” [BK I 142-143]. Ch.-Ar: CLD VI 79, #172. As noted by O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.), the “common origin with the next root can not be excluded.” Indeed, what follows here also, is another root variety:

⁵⁸ Although mislabelled by V. Blažek (l.c.) as Mafa.

⁵⁹ Cf. Gumuz bes, Berta bus “beard” etc. (quoted from Greenberg 1963: 118, 134).

⁶⁰ Combined by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 163, #1778) with Sem.: Ar. ḡabab- (partially reduplicated) “dewlap” and NHECu. *gōba “neck” < AA *ḡōb- “area under chin”, but his segmentation of Eg. -z- as an alleged nominal suffix (*ts) remains obscure, let alone for the semantical difference.

⁶¹ A shift of emphatization affecting the radicals long well known to be regular in Chadic.

256.2. PAA *bVs “1. knife, 2. to cut, slaughter” [HCVA] = * \sqrt{b} s “1. to scar, bleed, tattoo, 2. cut off, slaughter” [GT] > PCh. *bVs/c- “to cut, tattoo” [CLD]: WCh.:⁶² Zul bošī (CLD: if not < *boti) “to cut off” [Cospser 1999: 140, №786] || ECh.: PDangla *bēs- “to scar” [GT]: WDangla bèèsè “faire une coupure de la peau au couteau”, béésò (m), pl. béèsà “cicatrice sur le visage” [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 ornementales, tatouer, balafre”, béésé (m) “la scarification, la balafre, la tatouage” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 43] = bésé “schröpfen” [Ebobbisse 1979, 1987 apud CLD], Korlongo béésé “scarifier”, bésé “la scarification” [Dbr.-Mnt.] (Ch.: CLD VI 70, #133) || NAgaw/CCu.: Hamir bas- “Einschnitte in die Haut machen, um Blut ausfließen zu lassen, zur Ader lassen, tätowieren” [Reinisch 1884: 350] = “to make an incision on a skin, open veins, tattoo” [HCVA] || NOm.: Kafa bās “die Gurgel durchschneiden, schlachten” [Reinisch 1888: 274] = Anfillo baš “to slaughter cattle (резать скот)” [Dlg.] = Kafa baš “to slaughter (cattle), cut throat” vs. Anfillo baš “to slaughter (cattle)” [HCVA] (Hamir-Kefoid: Dlg. 1966: 53) || SBrb. * \sqrt{b} ys [GT]: Ghat buys “être blessé”, s-buys “blesser (faire une plaie)”, Ahaggar buys “être blessé”, se-bbuys “blesser (faire une plaie)” (Twareg: DRB 146) || Sem.: cf. Ar. (Syrian dialect) baššaš “couper menu (viande, etc.)” [DRS 89: isolated in Sem.]. CCu.-Kefoid-SBrb.: HCVA II 7, № 82; HSED №235. AA with further cognates:⁶³ EDE II 322. Ch.-Agaw-Kefoid-Twareg: CLD VI 70, #133.

257. NOm.: Mao beçe ~ meçe [-ts’-] “four” [Fleming] = **PMao *beç-** ~ ***meç-** “four” [Bender 2003: 273 and 302, #56] = **Maoid *(m)beṭṣ-** “four” [Blažek] > Hozo-Sezo *beç- vs. Mao-Babeshi/Didessa plus Ganza *meç- [GT], Hozo bečī (-ts-) “four”, Sezo bešé, bèšé “four” (Mao data: Siebert-Wedekind 1994: 13; Blažek 2017: 68, #4)⁶⁴ | Yemsa (Janjero) hēç-a [GT: h- < *p^h-???) “quarter (fraction)” [Fleming, not listed in Lamberti 1993b: 350] | Mocha pēç-o [ç possible < *t] “quarter” [Leslau 1959: 44] = βēç-o “quarter, fourth” [Fleming] (NOm.: Fleming 2000 MS: 6-7) < (?) NOm. *Peç- < **feṭ- (???) “four” [GT] || PCh. *f^waṭV [GT] = *f^waḍ [Newman] = *(m)-p-ḍ-(w/y) [JS 1981: 113A] (Ch. reflexes: EDE II 599-602) || Bed. fardik (-rd- for -ḍ-?) [Krockow] = ferdik (-rd- for -ḍ-?) [Lucas] = faḍig [Reinisch 1894: 10; 1895: 76] = fáḍig [Reinisch 1890: 7; Roper 1928: 179], Beni Amer farig (-r- for -ḍ-?) [Reinisch] (Bed.: Dlg. 1966: 60; Blažek 1993 MS: 6-7, #4.1; 1999a: 32ff.; 1999b: 235ff.) || Eg. fd “vier (4)” (OK, Wb I 582, 13). The NOm. cognates were first

⁶² O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) compared in WCh. Bole bas- “1. abschiessen, 2. stechen” [Lukas 1971: 133] with a plain b-also, but its clearly different semantics hardly supports this, neither its first nor its second meaning appears related.

⁶³ A.o., with SBrb.: Ahaggar besei “être échancre (avoir une ou plusieurs échancreures), s’échancre”, ě-besei, pl. i-besei-en “échancreure” [Foucauld 1951-2: 105-106].

⁶⁴ The extra-Mao cognates of this numeral in NOm. were left unconsidered even in the latest survey on Omotic numerals by V. Blažek (2017: 75, #4.4), whose only etymological remark to his own Maoid *(m)beṭṣ- “4” was just a reference to “Koman (NS): Kwama *bé:šin* “4”. The vector of borrowing is not clear.” This brief makes it evident that Blažek failed to take into account the wider Omotic context. In the light of the extra-Mao (Yemsa and Mocha) cognates with *p^h-, it becomes, after all, at once evident that Mao could not have been borrowed from beyond Omotic and that the “vector of borrowing” could have only been from Mao or its ancestor and not *vice versa*.

affiliated with the reflexes of the SAA numeral in Chadic, Cushitic and Egyptian in EDE II 599.⁶⁵

258. NOm.: Mao-Bambeshi bōçəmale “narrow” [Atieb & Bender] (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 356, #63) || ECh.: Birgit bíḏḏēḡ (m), bíyáḏḏēḡ (f), pl. níyáḏḏēḡ “petit” [Jng. 2004, 351] || CCh.: Lame bíḏém (adj.) “court, ras, rabougris” [Sachnine 1982: 286] || NBrb. *√bzn (?).⁶⁶ Mzab a-bəzzan “petit, jeune” [Delheure 1984, 18], Wargla a-bəzzan “petit, jeune, enfant” [Delheure 1987: 40] (NBrb.: DRB 157: isolated in Brb.) < SAA *√bçN “small” [GT]. If the Mao word was a compound of two juxtaposed synonyms (sg. like *bōçə-male?), the above outlined triconsonantal etymology might be extended on a biliteral basis onto Sem.: Macro-Canaanite *√bšr⁶⁷ (root ext. *-r?) “to be diminished” [GT] also: NHbr. *bāšar “être raccourci, diminué”, JPAr. and Syr. bəšar, Mandaic bšar, NSyr. (Aysor) bāšir “être diminué, petit, peu”, (Urmia) bašūrā “inférieur”, Mandaic bəšīr “peu” (Macro-Can.: DRS 77, bšr1). This ultimate AA common biliteral root *√bç “small” [GT] may well have further root varieties:

258.1. PAA *√bč “child” [GT] > NBrb. *√bz: Wargla ta-bza (var. ta-bza), ta-bziz “marmaille, enfants, jeunesse”, bəzz “les enfants (en général)” [Delheure 1987: 39], Figuig a-bziz “garçon” [DRB], Snus l-bezz “marmaille”, a-bzēz “petit enfant” [DRB] | Tamazight bezz (var. bezz) “enfanter (péj.), être en couches” [Taïfi 1991: 41] (NBrb.: DRB 155, bz11: var. to *√bz?) || LECu.: Saho and Afar bāḏ-ā, fem. -ā “Kind: 1. Sohn, Tochter, Knabe, Mädchen, 2. bei Tieren das Junge” [Reinisch 1886: 829-830; 1890: 83-84]⁶⁸ = Afar bāḏ-ā “figlio”, fem. bāḏ-ā “figlia” [Colizza 1887: 112].

258.2. PAA *√b3 “child” [GT] > CCh. *bVz- “child, fruit” [CLD]:⁶⁹ Moloko babəza (pl.) “children” [Bow 1997 in CLD], Muyang bəzà “children” [Smith 2003 quoted in CLD], Mofu bəzey “1. enfant, fils; 2. petit, jeune; 3. graine, noyau”, bábəzá “1. fruit, 2. petit”

⁶⁵ Even in his latest survey on Cushitic numerals, V. Blažek (2018: 49, #4.1) equated the Eg.-Bed. root with his arbitrary Om. *ʔawurd- “4” (whose really attested derivatives, however, only reflect *-d- without a cluster *-rd- and no more, so this stem must belong elsewhere), while he ignored both the Chadic and the Maoid evidence clearly speaking for AA *-t- (and not a cluster like *-rd-).

⁶⁶ Treated by J. Delheure (l.c.) as a secondary variation of *məzzan, whose primary root was, however *√mzy/g without a nasal C₃. K. Nāit-Zerrad (DRB l.c.) too, with apparent hesitation, referred to both *√bz and *√mzy of fully different root meanings.

⁶⁷ Beyond Canaanite, the DRS (l.c.) compared (with a question mark expressing well-founded doubts) also Ar. bašara “trancher (sabre) (?)”. Moreover, all this was treated as a probable root doublet of Sem. *√bšr “couper”, whose Ar. reflex (southern dialect) bašar “donner peu d’eau” (Sem.: DRS 78) may be perhaps affiliated (via metathesis) also with Ar. baraḏa “1. se trouver ou jaillir de la source en petite quantité (se dit de l’eau), 2. donner fort peu, être très-mesquin dans ce qu’on donne à qqn.”, VIII “jaillir en petite quantité (se dit de l’eau)” [BK I 112].

⁶⁸ Of course, neither of the comparisons (Somali wil or Macro-Canaanite *√bn, *√br “son”) offered by L. Reinisch (1886: 829) is phonologically convincing.

⁶⁹ O. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) set up this root for PCh., with a 2nd sense “seed”, on the basis of ECh.: Mokilko búzú, pl. búznidí “semence” [Jng. 1990a: 71] < *búzún, pl. *búznidí (metathesis???) [GT] with reference to WCh.: Jimbin, Mburku vazar “seed” [Skinner] || CCh.: Margi bzár “child” [Hoffmann (?) > CLD], Bura bzàr “child” [Blench apud CLD] as loans < Sem.: Ar. bazr- “1. semences, 2. fils” [BK I 121], which derives certainly from an eventually fully distinct PAA root with the basic sense “1. to scatter, 2. sow”.

[Barreteau 1988: 86, 80, resp.], Mada mbòòzò “jeune enfant (entre trois et huit ans)” [Barreteau and Brunet 2000: 203] | Hdi vəziʔuwa “newborn baby” (cf. uʔa ‘breast’) [Bramlet 1996 quoted in CLD] (CCh.: CLD VI 74, #150) || NBrb.: Wargla ta-bza (coll. fem.) “enfants, jeunesse, marmaille” [Delheure 1987: 39] | Tamazight bezz (var. bezz) “enfanter (péj.), être en couches”, a-bezza “enfantement”, l-beza, pl. le-bzuz “1. (sg.) (petit) enfant, 2. (pl.) marmaille, groupe bruyant d’enfants” [Taïfi 1991: 41] | Shilh bezzi “enfant au berceau, nouveau-né” [Jordan 1934, 58], Sus bezzi “enfant” [Destaing 1938: 108] (NBrb.: DRB 147).

259. SOM.: Dime bəşil “full” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 210, #57: isolated in Om.], which may well be a remote (and, for the time being, very rare) SAA root variety of NAA *√PĈl “to grow beyond measure (?)” [GT],⁷⁰ must, however, first of all, have its biradical root in what is reconstructed in this paper (entry no. 265.) as **NOM. *bEs- < POM. **bEç-(???)** “to complete” [GT] (q.v.).

*

Special symbols

P: any labial stop (f, p, b, ɸ), T: unspecified dental stop (t, d, ʈ), S: any voiceless sibilant and/or affricate (s, š, ś, c, č, ç), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ʝ), K: any velar stop (k, g, ʁ), Q: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (q, ɢ, ʁ, ʕ), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (ʕ, ɣ, ʕ, h, ʔ). The vertical strokes signify the the degree of closeness of the language groups (e.g. Kotoko | Masa), sub-branches (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): Sub-Ahmimic = (L), AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), 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, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, DM: Dangla-Migama, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopic, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F) Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Imp.: Imperial (Aram.), JP: Jewish Palestinian (Aramaic), L: Late, L: Low(land), (L): Lycopolitan = (A2), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical

⁷⁰ Attested in Brb. *ta/i-fa/ɣla/i “outgrowth” [GT based on DRB]: cf., i.a., NBrb.: Shilh ta-fulḍi-t, ta-fulliḥ < *ta-fulliḍ-t, ta-fḍiḥ < *ta-fḍil-t, ti-fḍiḥ < *ti-fḍil-t, ta-fḍiḍi-t, ti-fḍi-tt, ta-fḍi-tt “verruie”, ta/i-fḍi-tt, ta-fḍiḍi-t “excroissance, verrue, furoncle”, a-fḍiḍ “grosse verrue” || SBrb.: Ahaggar tā-fāḍlé “verruie (petite excroissance de chair)” (Brb.: DRB 534, fḍl1) || Sem.: Ar. √fḍl I: faḍala “être superflu, être de trop dans qqch., être au delà de la quantité nécessaire, être de reste, 2. avoir un surcroît, une surabondance de ... (se dit d’une chose)”, faḍila “être superflu, de trop etc.”, faḍl- “excédent, surcroît, surplus, partie redondante, surabondante, 3. reste, 4. supériorité, mérite, etc.”, fāḍil- “1. surabondant, qui est de trop, 2. excellent, supérieur, 3. nombre (en parlant des richesses)”, faḍāl-at- “1. le superflu l’excédant, 2. partie abondante, qui est de trop, 3. pléonasme, 4. reste, reliquat, résidu”, faḍīl-at- “1. surabondance, excès de, ... comble de ..., 2. mérit transcendant, 3. supériorité” [BK II 606-608].

texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada (Matakam group), MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New/o-, N: North(ern), NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), Wlm(d.): Tawllemmet, Y: Young(er) Babylonian).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich (as quoted in Lukas 1937, 1941), AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein & Kazimírski, Brt.: Barreteau, BYAG: Bedu, Yakubu, Adamu, Garba, CR: Conti Rossini, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GAB: Gimba, Ali, Bah, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GD: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, GK: Gambo and Karofi, GT: Takács, Hsk.: Hoskison, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Kwh.: Kleinewillinghöfer, LG: Lienhard & Giger, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Mnt.: Montgolfier, NM: Newman & Ma, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics, SPM: Shryock, Palomo, Martin, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, WP: Weibegué & Palayer.

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