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## Mubi-Toram lexicon and Afro-Asiatic II: Addenda with \*b-

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In memoriam Prof. Khalil Alio,<sup>1</sup>  
master of East Chadic

**Abstract:** Gábor Takács, *Mubi-Toram lexicon and Afro-Asiatic II: Addenda with \*b-*. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 71-84

The paper is part of a planned longer series designed to step by step reveal the Chadic and wider Afro-Asiatic heritage in the lexical stock of the Mubi-Toram languages which represent the easternmost (26th or 27th)<sup>2</sup> group of the vast Chadic (i.e., 6th) branch of the gigantic Afro-Asiatic family.

**Key words:** Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) comparative linguistics, Chadic, etymology

### Introduction

Mubi-Toram (MT), as a Chadic language group, is the member of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) macrofamily comprising six equipotential branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, and Chadic. The classification of the languages supposed to belong to the MT group as well as their position in East Chadic in general, have been

<sup>1</sup> It was during the work on the final draft of this paper that I have learnt about the tragical fact of his passing away in October 2022. He was a native Bidiya speaker and among the local scholars, he has become an outstanding figure of the linguistic research over the Dangla-Migama and Mubi-Toram group languages. As a professor of linguistics, the sometime deputy vice-chancellor (1996-7) and vice-chancellor (1997-9) of the University of N'Djaména as well as holder of numerous other public positions, he distinguished himself in the Chadian publicity also. He had been tightly associated with the Chadic linguistic researches of Prof. Jungrauthmayr at the Frankfurt a/M J.W. Goethe University where I had the privilege to collaborate with him, a.o., on the lexical parallels between Bidiya and Egyptian (2002), which greatly inspired my series devoted to the inherited lexical treasure in "Dangla-Migama and Afro-Asiatic".

<sup>2</sup> Depending on the disputed classification of Mokilko (Mokulu) as either part of the Dangla-Migama group or a separate group itself.

intensely researched over the past quarter of a century, whose results and the state-of-the-art were surveyed by the present author recently in a separate paper.<sup>3</sup> Elaborating the cognate sets of the Mubi-Toram group we hope to gain a more solid vision on their historical phonology than our current working hypothesis, sufficient to another special study. Finally, it is here that I must thankfully acknowledge the expertise of several AA colleagues yielded for my work on some puzzling glosses that at times proved very difficult to etymologically identify.<sup>4</sup>

### Mubi-Toram \*b- + Ø

**73. Ubi bò** “personne” [Alio 2004: 268, #33] | DM: Mawa bo “homme, être humain” [CLD < ?], cf. perhaps Mawa bwánà (pl. with suffix \*-na?) “Leute” [Jng. 1978 MS: 2] | Sokoro boo ‘Mensch, jemand’ [Lukas] | Lele bā “homme, mâle” [WP 1982: 3] = bā, pl. ba-ngnwe ‘homme’ [CLD < WP?], Kabalay bā “man” [Caprile] = Kabalay and Nancere ba “homme” [Hamm 2002 MS: 23, #28], Lele bāy-ndí “man” [Garrigues] = bāi gō bā “man (opp. wo-man)”, bā “man (mâle)” [Simons 1981 MS: 23] | Somray ʔàbé “man” [Jng.] = ʔàbé (sic) “man” [CLD < JI] | Kera àbày “jeune homme” [CLD < ?] (ECh.: JI 1994 II 231) || CCh.: Buduma bi “männlich” [Lukas 1939: 92] || WCh. \*biy- ‘people’ [CLD]: Ngamo biyà (pl. of ngò) “people” [NEH], Bole biya “people, people of...” [GAB], Kupto búu (m/f) “Mensch, Person, Mann” [Leger 1992: 18] < PCh. \*baw/y- ‘man’ [CLD] (Ch.: CLD VI 36, #17)<sup>5</sup> || LECu.: NSomali bah “1. those born from the same mother; tribe, clan (because in some Somali genealogies people born from the same father may have different mothers if this father had several wives, e.g., bah Faadumo ‘people of the lineage that descends from Faadumo); 2. people of noble or higher origin (as in the alliterating binomial pair bah iyo beel ‘the noble ones and those of lower origins’)” [Yaasiin 1976: 136 translated by G. Banti, p.c., 3 Feb. 2023] = bah (f) “figli della stessa madre, 2 insieme di una madre e dei suoi figli” [DSI 1985: 38]<sup>6</sup> = bah<sup>3</sup> (-da) “people that joined together for a special interest or purpose” [QAS 2013: 112, translated into English by G. Banti,

<sup>3</sup> Marginal notes on the project for an etymological dictionary of the Mubi-Toram languages. = *Lingua Posnaniensis* 63/2 (2021), 77-94. This paper was primarily supposed to accompany the second part (comprising all the addenda with \*b-) of this series “Mubi-Toram lexicon and Afro-Asiatic” which ended up in an all too gigantic length for an article, and so we decided with editors of *Lingua Posnaniensis* to publish that mega-intro with my survey on the MT classification separately from the etymological entries that had also to suffer being divided into several parts, but all this has been agreed on only after the publication of the third part this series in which, following the numeration of entries of the original mega-part II (running from #73 to #150), the numbering of entries begins with #151. This is why the distinguished readership should not be embarrassed about that this part II ends with #77 and part IV (continued from part II) will have to start with #78, while part VII is supposed to close the abundant addenda with \*b- at #150.

<sup>4</sup> At this point, I specially express my cordial thanks for a few linguists specialized on some AA branch for their friendly favour of consulting on a number of puzzling details: Prof. J. Lentin (Paris, GLECS, on Arabic), Prof. M. Kossmann (Leiden, on Berber), Prof. G. Banti (Naples, on Cushitic) and Dr. M. Vergari (Castelnuovo, Saho). Naturally, any error or shortcoming in this paper is solely my responsibility.

<sup>5</sup> O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.), not going into details on the AA background of the Chadic root (satisfied with a pure reference to EAAN I №143 and №383), combined the above-quoted Chadic cognates also with CCh.: Dari báy “ami” [CLD], Masa ba “frère” [Mouchet], which may represent different Chadic roots.

<sup>6</sup> This piece of information is due to the kind p.c. by G. Banti (Naples) on the 3 Feb. 2023.

p.c. on 3 Feb. 2023; cf. also QAS 2012: 75; QDAS 2022: 51], Rendille ba (coll. fem.) “Leute, Volk” [Schlee 1978: 110, #56] = bá ~ báʔh, pl. baʔhó “people, community” [PG 1999: 71].

**73.1.** An ancient SAA root variety with a voiceless *Anlaut* seems to be present in WCh.: Kwami péé ~ féé [f-/p- < \*b-?] “person” [Leger 1992: 25; 1993: 173] || LECu.: Somali fa<sup>c</sup> “generation (Generation, Menschenalter)”, fa<sup>c</sup>ayga “people like me, the likes of me”, fa<sup>c</sup>ina “people of your kind”<sup>7</sup> [FH 1993: 208], NSomali fa<sup>c</sup> (m) 1. age (of a person), 2. generation, all the people born in the same period, 3. origin, genealogy” [Yaasiin 1976: 136 translated by G. Banti] = fa<sup>c</sup> (m) “generazione”, (f) “coetaneo” [DSI 1985: 212]<sup>8</sup> = fa<sup>c</sup> “1. age; 2. generation, age-group” [Zorc-Osman 1993: 130] || Eg. p<sup>c</sup>.t “die Menschen” (OK, Wb I 503) = “patricians, mankind (the autochthonous inhabitants of Egypt from the earliest times)” (AEO I 98\*, 110\*; FD 88) = “mankind, men, people, citizens, human beings, patricians” (DLE I 171).

**73.2.** For the AA comparison of both varieties cf. also EDE II 422; EAAN I 79, 383. The PAA origin of this SAA pair of root varieties is still to be cleared. On the analogy of the well-known history of PIE \*ǵen-,<sup>9</sup> I suspect that pair of S<sup>??</sup>AA \*√p<sup>c</sup> vs. \*√bh “man, people” [GT] might be traced back to a similar pair of remotely related PAA verbal roots denoting “begetting” that can only be conceived as root varieties with homorganic (but not the same) radicals as the inherited dichotomy of ECh.: Somray ɸwā / ɸū “1. couver (des oeufs), incuber” [Jng. 1993 MS] vs. Somray pwā “1. pondre (oeufs)” [Jng. 1993 MS].

**73.2.1.** W-ECh. \*√ɸ<sup>w/y</sup>C<sub>3</sub> (where \*ɸ- < \*b- + \*-h-) “to give birth” [GT]<sup>10</sup> || CCh. \*mbuH “to give birth” [GT]<sup>11</sup> || Sem.: PArabic \*√bwh “to copulate” [GT]<sup>12</sup> < PAA \*√bwh (?) “to give birth” [GT] vs.

<sup>7</sup> As confirmed by G. Banti (kind p.c. on 3 Feb. 2023), the meanings “like, the likes of, of somebody’s kind” are extensions of the meaning “generation”.

<sup>8</sup> The author gratefully acknowledges the kind p.c. by G. Banti (Naples) on 3 Feb. 2023 about this DSI gloss.

<sup>9</sup> Cf., e.g., OIndic jānas- (n) “Geschlecht”, OGreek γένος “Geschlecht”, Latin genus, gen. gener-is “1. Geschlecht, Abstammung, Gesamtheit der Nachkommen eines Urvaters, 2. Art und Weise, Gattung, Rasse” < PIE \*ǵen-os, Avestan zana- “Volk, Menschenrasse” < PIE \*ǵon-os, Latin gēns “Geschlechtsverband, Sippe (urspr. sakrale, dann soziale und politische Einheit; später im engeren Sinn der Hausgemeinschaft verdrängt durch *familia*)” < \*ǵñ-ti-, Latin nātīō (< old \*ǵnātīō) “1. Geburt(sgöttin personifiziert), 2. Erzeugung, Schlag, Rasse von Tieren, 3. Volksstamm, Menschenschlag” etc., all deriving from PIE \*ǵen- “erzeugen” (IEW 373-375; LEW I 592, 598).

<sup>10</sup> Attested by Angas-Sura \*ɸē “to give birth to (pl.), hatch” [Dlg.] = \*ɸē₂: “1. to beget, 2. bear a child, 3. hatch” [GT]: Angas ·bi (so, ·b-) (≈ Hausa fafe) “to burst from ripeness (as a calabash or a hatched out egg)”, cf. ki-bi “to hatch (out)” [Foulkes 1915: 149, 216] = [bí:] “to hatch” [Burquest 1971: 30] = ɸii “to give birth to, hatch” [Hoffmann] = ɸi “to make, hatch” [ALC 1978: 6] = ɸi “to hatch” [Gochal 1994: 74], Mupun bée “to beget, give birth” [Frj. 1991: 6], Kofyar ɸé “to bear (children), procreate” [Netting 1967: 3] = ɸee “to give birth to, hatch” [Hoffmann], Mushere ɸeh “to hatch” [Diyakal 1997 MS], Goemay (Dorok & Kwo dialects) ɸē [ɸē] (pl. of lala) “to bring forth” [Sirlinger 1937: 12] = ɸee “to give birth to, hatch” [Hoffmann] = ɸe (pl.) “to give birth” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 3] (AS: Hoffmann 1975: 18, #23; Takács 2004a: 30) | (???) Tangale-Waja bí- (sic: plain b-) “to bear, give birth” [Kleinewillinghöfer 1990: 237] | Saya ɸwāā “to give birth to” [Kraft] = ɸwaa [Cosper 1994: 51] || CCh.: Zime byeé (sic: plain b-, NB: this source recorded no ɸ-) “période de l’allaitement, accouchement” [Beavon 1996 MS: 15] || ECh.: Somray ɸwā / ɸū “1. couver (des oeufs), incuber” [Jng. 1993 MS: 9].

<sup>11</sup> Attested by Fali-Jilbu mbū “to give birth” [Kraft] | PBata \*mbuh “to give birth” [GT]: Nzangi bō “enfantier” [Mouchet 1950: 48] = mbūho “to give birth” [Kraft] | Daba mbu “1. enfantier (femelle), véler, 2. produire (arbre)” [Mouchet 1966: 137] = ti mbū “to give birth” [Kraft] = mbū [Lienhardt].

<sup>12</sup> Attested by OSA bh? “aller vers une femme” [DRS], Ar. bāha-(hā) “he lay with (her)”, bāh- “coitus and marriage or a share of coitus, also venereal passion” [Lane 278b] = bāh- “coit”, bāha “copuler” [DRS; DAFA 928] (Sem.: DRS 51, BWH3: isolated in Sem.?)

**73.2.1.** CCh.  $*\sqrt{p}^wC_3$  “to give birth” [GT]<sup>13</sup> || Eg.  $p^c p^c$  “gebären, geboren werden (auch bildlich vom Acker der Korn hervorbringt)” (GR, Wb I 504, 3-5) = “to deliver (baby), drop (a calf)” (NE, DLE I 171) = “gebären (Kind), werfen (Kalb)” (GHWb 274).<sup>14</sup> Cf. SCu.: WRift  $*bo^c$ -is (caus.) “to do, make, prepare” [KM 2004: 75]<sup>15</sup> also, perhaps with a deviant  $*b$ - instead of an expected  $*p$ -,<sup>16</sup> as well as PCh.  $*p$ - “to make, do” [Br.-Jng. 1990: 157] =  $*\sqrt{p}^?$  “to make” [GT].<sup>17</sup> Ultimately < S<sup>?</sup>AA  $*\sqrt{p}^c$  “1. to make, 2. to give birth” [GT]?

**74. MT  $*(m)bo$**  “yesterday” [GT]: Mubi mbòò ~ mbòò “gestern” [Lukas 1937: 184, not listed in Jng. 2013: 162-163] = Mubi bo “hier” [Johnson 2005 MS: 18, #218; Mbernodji & Johnson 2006 MS: 27, #218], Mubi (Saraf Abuzbah) bo “hier” [MMW 2007 MS: 49, #221], Zirenkel ɓo-te bo “hier” [Johnson 2005 MS: 18, #218; Mbernodji & Johnson 2006 MS: 27, #218], Kajakse (Amtalaté) k<sup>h</sup>ém:bò, Masmaje (Amlaména Hilélé) kòmbò “hier” [MMW 2007 MS: 49, #221]. The Chadic and AA background is uncertain.

**74.1.** Although I do not know of an erosive shift of Ch.  $*d/*r > MT *Ø$  at this moment, I find the word for “yesterday” of interest in several Chadic groups like WCh.: PБаuchi  $*vwuri$

<sup>13</sup> Attested in Fali-Muchella ɓoyi “to give birth” [Kraft], Fali-Bwagira pwe “to give birth” [Kraft] | Gude pàwá “birth”, poo “to give birth to” [Hoskison 1983: 258-259] = pwèyiky(à) [Kraft] || ECh.: Somray pwà (pwàā, pwà) “pondre (oeufs)” [Jng. 1993 MS: 52] (CCh.: Kraft 1981: #408; JI 1994 II 161). My earlier (EDE II 426) assumption, that CCh.: Masa vuɔ “to give birth” [Mouchet] = ví<sup>?</sup>-nā [Jng.] might also belong here, is probably false, cf. Masa  $*vuɔ$  “to give birth” [GT] reconstructed recently in the frames of my ongoing research for a comparative lexicon of the Masa group.

<sup>14</sup> The Eg.-CCh. comparison is due to V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1992: 195 & HSED #1993). Earlier (EDE II 426), I was disposed to suppose that the PAA etymon of Eg.  $p^c p^c$  and its Chadic parallels might be related to PAA  $*\sqrt{py}$  “child” [GT] reconstructed from Sem.: Ug.  $pyy$  “lad” [Gordon after Virolleaud] = “boy” [Segert],  $pyt$  “junges Mädchen” [WUS #2246] = “girl” [Gordon 1955: 313, #1566] | Ar. fayā- [<  $*fayay$ -] “das Junge eines Tieres” [WUS] || WCh.: Ron  $*fUy$ , pl.  $*fye$  ~  $*fye$  “child” [GT]; Fyer fyè (pl.), Daffo-Butura fyè (pl.), Bokkos fú, Sha foy, Kulere fo (sg.), fwè (pl.) (Ron: Jng. 1970: 388) | Dirí ávíyà “child” [IL] || CCh.: PMasa  $*vay$  “child” [GT]; Lame vāi “enfant” [Sachnine 1982: 300], Zime-Dari vāy “enfant” [Cooper 1984: 29], Zime-Batna vāy “child” [Sachnine] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 74-75). The Ug.-Ron comparison is due to V. Blazek (1994 MS Elam, 7, #27; 1999: 61, #27). W.F. Albright (1954: 229, fn. 50) combined Ug.  $py$ -t “girl” (explained from an original sense “marriageable girls, virgins”) with Ar. fāyiy-at- “fragrant blossoms(s) (of certain trees)” < fyw ~ fwy “to diffuse fragrance” (semantically false). A.B. Dolgopolskij (p.c., September 1998), in turn, considered Ug. -t in the fem. form  $pyt$  “girl” as part of the root. The reduplication of Eg.  $p^c p^c$ , finally, surprisingly coincides with PБantu  $*-pàp-$  “to bear (child)” [Guthrie 1971: 135, #1449]. Purely accidental similarity?

<sup>15</sup> Already G. Takács (1999a: 53) supposed an etymological connection of Eg.  $p^c p^c$  to PCh.  $*p$ - “to make, do” [Br.-Jng.], which is semantically plausible, cf. Sem.  $*\sqrt{kny}$  “to create” [WUS #2426] || Eg. qn “fertigt machen” (MK, Wb V 49) || SBrb.: EWLmd. ā-γnu, Ayr ə-γnu “1. être commencé, 2. créé” [PAM 1998: 117] || NОm.: Janjero (Yemsa) qōn “1. generare, 2. (pass.) nascere” [Cerulli 1938 III 82] || CCh.: Tera (dialectal) kwəna “to beget” [Stolbova < ?]. For this AA root see Militarev 1982: 383; 1986: 70-71; Diakonoff et al. 1986 MS: 46; OS 1990: 16, #15.

<sup>16</sup> Fort the regular correspondence of Eg.  $p$ - and SCu.  $*p$ -, see Takács 1999b: 395, 412; 2000a: 71, 74-76, §2; 2011: 115-117.

<sup>17</sup> Present in WCh.: Dirí yà pì “to do” [Kraft] = pī [Br.-Jng.] | SБаuchi  $*pi$  “to make, do” [Shimizu]: Boghom piye [Cosper], Burma pe [Shimizu], Barang pi [Shimizu], Guruntum pi<sup>?</sup> [Shimizu] = fi [Jaggar 1989: 184] = pi [Shimizu], Jimi pi [Shimizu] = fii [Cosper], Zaar-Kal fi [Shimizu], Zungur pyu [Cosper], Mangas pì [Cosper], Kir pe [Cosper], Saya fi [Cosper] (SБаuchi: Shimizu 1978: 18; Cosper 1994: 25, 47, 57) || CCh.: NMargi pa “bâtir” [Br.-Jng.] | Mbara fú “to make (faire)” [TSL 1986: 261, 289] | Zime-Dari pù “celui qui fait, l’agent” [Cooper 1984: 21] (Ch.: Mukarovsky 1987: 249; Br.-Jng. 1990: 157; JI 1994 II 228-229).

[GT]<sup>18</sup> || CCh.: P<sup>Tera</sup> \*b̥ira < \*biḏa [GT]<sup>19</sup> | PHigi \*mbura vs. \*mbuḏa [GT]<sup>20</sup> | PBata \*(m)būḏ- [GT],<sup>21</sup> whence one cannot as yet safely state whether Ch. \*√<sup>m</sup>br or \*√<sup>m</sup>bḏ underlies. The former scenario seems to be supported by HECu. \*bere “yesterday” [Hudson],<sup>22</sup> Further possible cognates appear in the reflexes of PAA \*√br “old, former, past long ago” [Takacs 2004b: 56, no. 219].<sup>23</sup> It would be tempting, thus, to reconstruct a SAA \*√br “yesterday” [GT], but that would not explain the shifts of the C<sub>2</sub> in Chadic. The question must remain unsolved for the time being.

**74.2.** Alternatively and less likely, one might consider WCh.: Angas-Sura \*b̥ā > \*b̥ə- “?” [GT] > Kofyar ɓoe-šé “before” [Netting 1967: 3] (cf. AS \*še “to begin”?), Mushere ɓaa “to say earlier or previously” [Diyakal 1997 MS] (AS: Takacs 2004a: 33), which may eventually be akin to P<sup>2</sup>AA \*√bʔ “to finish” [GT].<sup>24</sup>

### Mubi-Toram \*b- + labials

**75. Mubi bàbé (bǎp, bǔbáap)** “1. incuber, 2. couvrir (des oeufs)” [Jng. 1990 MS: 4; Jng. 2013: 160] || LECu. \*buP- “egg” [GT]: Saho bub (f), sgv. bǔb-ett-a “shell(s) (conchiglia)” [Vergari 2003: 57] (not found in Afar), Oromo buppa “1. uovo di gallina, 2. frittata” [da Thiene 1939: 51] = (Shoa or Tulama) buḏ-a “egg” [Fleming] = (Wellega, in Shewa) buḏp-ā “egg” [Gragg 1982: 69; Hudson 1989: 56] = (Maccha) bupha, (Borana) bupa “egg” [LVC

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Dira/i v̥w̥uri, (?) Buli h̥ur < (?) \*b̥ur, Dvot v̥ur, (?) Geji ah̥uli < (?) \*ab̥uri, Polchi nvur (CCh.: Kraft 1981: no. 312).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Boka ɓiraʔa, Gaʔanda and Gabin ɓira, Hwona ɓurara, Pidlimdi biḏa (CCh.: Kraft 1981: no. 312).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Higi-Baza mb̥ura, Higi-Futu mb̥uru, (?) Higi-Ghye ɓ̥ɛzi < \*(m)beḏ- < \*\*mbeḏ- (?), Higi-Kamale mb̥uḏa, Higi-Nkafa mb̥ura (CCh.: Kraft 1981: no. 312).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Gude mb̥uḏ, Gudu biḏé, Nzangi (Njanye) ɓ̥iḏé, Fali-Bwagira mb̥uḏt, Fali-Gili mb̥uḏa, Fali-Jilbu mb̥uḏf, Fali-Kiria mb̥uḏā, Fali-Mucella mb̥ut (CCh.: Kraft 1981: no. 312).

<sup>22</sup> Attested by Burji baray [Sasse] = barē [Hudson], Gedeo (Darasa) bere-ke [Hudson], Hadiyya bē-balla (cf. om-balla “2 days ago”) [Hudson], Kambatta bere [Hudson], Sidamo bero [Gasparini] (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 171 who referred to HECu. \*barra “day”).

<sup>23</sup> Which I (EDE II 385) have affiliated with the AA reflexes of Eg. p3 “etw. getan haben” (OK, Wb I 494-495) = p3w (IIIae inf.?) “aux. verb with past meaning” (FD 87) = “etwas getan haben (in Vergangenheit), schon getan haben” (GHWb 270), p3 “Urzustand” (PT, Wb I 495, 11) = p3 ~ p3w “Urzustand, Gestalt” (GHWb 270), p3.t ~ p3w.t “Urzeit” (MK, Wb I 496, 1-9; GHWb 270) = “primaevael time” (FD 87), p3.w “uranfängliche Gestalt” (NK, Wb I 495, 12).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. SBrb.: Ahaggar héi [h regular < PBrb. \*b] “c’est fini (c’est fait)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 544] || Bed. bəʔ(a) ~ bʔ(a) “to finish, end” [Roper 1928: 158] = beʔa “getan haben” [Vycichl] || ECu.: Yaaku -peʔs- (tr.), -peʔa- (intr.) “to finish” [Heine 1975: 125] || NOM.: Badditu ba-is (caus.) “finire” [Cerulli 1929: 60] || SOM.: Galila beʔ- “to finish” [Fleming], Hamer peʔ “to finish” [Fleming] (SOM.: Bender 1994: 150) || Ch. \*mb “to finish” [Br.-Jng.]: WCh.: Miya mbà “finir” [Skinner] || CCh.: Bachama mb̥ò “finir” [Skinner] | Mada -bà “achèvement, totalité de l’action” [Br.-Brunet 2000: 65] (Ch.: Br.-Jng. 1990: 158). Interestingly, W. Vycichl (1960b: 263; 1960a: 175, #5) equated the Beja reflex with Eg. p3 (cf. the preceding footnote above) and Sem.: Ar. √fhw “vergessen, übersehen”. False. The Bed.-Eg. parallel is dubious due to the irregular Bed. b- vs. Eg. p-, while Ar. √fhw is clearly unacceptable both phonologically (Ar. -h- vs. Eg. -ʃ-) and semantically. By the way, E. Zylinder (1932-3: 167), in turn, combined Eg. p3 Bed. fāys “beendigen, schließen” [Almkvist apud Reinisch 1895: 85] = fā-is (caus.) “beendigen” [Zylinder] = fay-is ~ fai-s (caus.) “to finish, complete, do”, cf. fay-am (refl.) “to be done, completed” [Roper 1928: 182], which may be an ancient root variety with a voiceless *Anlaut* to Bed. √bʔ (above in this footnote).

1992],<sup>25</sup> Baiso and Gidole bub-a “egg” [Fleming] (LECu.: Fleming 1964: 48; Blažek 2010: 33, #24.b). A strange isogloss with no match elsewhere in the whole macrofamily<sup>26</sup> to the best of my knowledge. Its background in the AA root stock is equally puzzling, cf. either (1) SBrb.: Ghat a-beffa “chaux” [DRB 31, BF1: isolated in Brb.] or (2) CCh.: Masa \*buf ~/< \*bunuf<sup>27</sup> “yellow” [GT]<sup>28</sup> or (3) Bed. bif “to break (tr.) esp. a hollow thing, e.g. bottle, head” [Roper 1928: 160]. Otherwise it remains equally puzzling how the Mubi-LECu. isogloss, issuing perhaps from a reduplication (?), relates to apparently plausible rhyme-word or simplex terms for “egg” like the below-listed ones:

**75.1. PAA** \*√**ħb** “egg” [GT] > Sem.: MSA \*√**ħbw**: Jibbali ħēt “testicule” [DRS] ||| LECu.: Somali ħáb “contents of eggshell”, cf. (1) bédka ħábkīsa ʿád “the white of the egg”, (2) bédka ħábkīsa ʿás “the yolk of the egg” [Abraham 1964: 113] = ħab (xab) (m) “1. mucus, 2. liquido amniotico, 3. albume, albumina. 4. (-bab) (m) otre per l’acqua” [DSI 1985: 619] = ħab “amniotic fluid, Fruchtwasser” [FH 1993: 131] = ħab “1. mucus, 2. amniotic fluid, 3. white of egg” [Ehret]<sup>29</sup> = ħab-(ka), pl. ħabab-(ka) (xab) (m) “1. albumen, white of egg, 2. amniotic fluid, 3. white of egg” [Zorc & Osman 1993: 419, quoted also apud CLD] ||| WCh.: PRon \*hUḅ “egg” [GT]:<sup>30</sup> Daffo hó? [Jng.], Bokkos ho? [Jng.], Kulere a-hub-áw [Jng.] = əhə̀bau

<sup>25</sup> The glottal labial C<sub>2</sub> reminds us in the comparative wordlist by G. Hudson (1989: 56) of his HECu. \*kūpp-e “egg”, which must certainly represent a distinct AA etymon, cf. Sem.: Ar. √qwb > qāb-at- “1. œuf”, qāb- “espace compris entre le but de l’arc et l’endroit où on le tient avec la main quand on tire de l’arc”, qawab- (pl.) “coques d’œufs cassés”, cf. mutaqaawwab- “1. écorché, dépouillé de sa peau, de son écorce, 2. qui a ôté sa dépouille (serpent)”, √qbb > qubb-at- “1. cupole, voûte”, √qbb > qabqāb- “coquillage marin employé pour lisser les étoffes, etc.” [BK II 657, 664, 830]. For a different etymology of Ar. qūb- “coquille d’œuf” see Cohen 1947: 125, #230, on the one hand. For the time being, I know of no convincing evidence for a shift like Oromo bu- < ECU. \*ku- whatsoever, on the other hand. This HECu.-Ar. isogloss, if really exists, must be some way etymologically related to that of a *Wanderwort* attested by Sem.: Tigre gube, Tigrinya gobaye “tortue” (ES: DRS 105, GWB3 among the reflexes of Ar. ġawb- “bouclier”) ||| SCU. \*ko/ube+ “tortoise” [Ehret]: WRift \*qubé “tortoise” [KM 2004: 235 comparing Swahili kobe “tortoise”]: Alagwa qube [Ehret] | Asa ʔumbet [Ehret: ʔ- regular < \*k-] | Ma’a kóbe [Ehret] | Dahalo kóbe ~ kúbi [Ehret] (SCU.: Ehret 1980: 253, #VII.C.31) ||| PCh. \*√g<sup>mb</sup>-k vs. \*√gr<sup>mb</sup> “tortoise” [JS 1981: 274].

<sup>26</sup> It would be all too far-fetched to affiliate it with AS \*bʷap ~ \*bʷāp > \*vʷap “pumpkin, papaw” [GT]: Kofyar vīyap “hanging holder for calabash” (any connection to vīyap ~ Bong dialect là vīyap [< \*bʷap] “pawpaw” ~ Hausa gwándà “pawpaw” [Abraham 1962: 351]?) [Netting 1967: 41], Goemay biaap (so, plain b-) “a gourd, pumpkin” [Sirlinger 1937: 14] = biyàap (so, plain b-) “Süßkartoffel” [Jng. 1962b MS: 1] = biyàp (so, b-) “melon” [Kraft] = byap “pumpkin, melon”, byap teŋ “pawpaw” (lit. “pumpkin-tree”, teŋ “tree”) [Hellwig 2000 MS: 4] (AS: Takács 2004a: 44).

<sup>27</sup> The full-form variety? Astonishing is its coincidence with Eg. bnf “Körperteil des Rindes und des 3bd.w-Fisches, officinell verwendet” (Med., Wb I 460, 1-2) = “Galle” (Deines-Grapow 1959: 171) = “gall” (FD 82) = “Galle (Rind, 3bd.w-Fisch, Schildkröte)” (GHWb 253). But EDE II 223 offered an alternative equation with WCh.: AS \*bǎ̀n “1. gall, 2. spleen” [GT]: Angas bēn (so, short -ē-) “the gall of the stomach” [Foulkes 1915: 149] = bēn “Gallenblase”, ʔəm bēn “1. Galle, 2. Gallenflüßigkeit” (ʔəm “water”) [Jng. 1962a MS] = bēn “gall-bladder” [ALC 1978: 6] = bēn “bile, gall-bladder” [Gochal 1994: 41], Goemay mḅaan (so, -aa-) “spleen” [Sirlinger 1937: 136] (AS: Takács 2004a: 27).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Masa-Bongor būfū “jaune” (p. 32), būfū “bleu” (p. 35), būfū “bleu et jaune (Djita)” vs. “jaune” (Golo) [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 32, 111], Gizey/Wina bùf, Masa bùf, Musey búnúf “jaune” [Ajello et al. 2001: 32].

<sup>29</sup> Combined by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 309, #2453) with Ar. ħafl- “to rain violently” and NOM.: Zayse hepp-et- “to sieve” < AA \*-ħep- “to drip”.

<sup>30</sup> Its striking resemblance to HECu. \*kūpp-e “egg” [Hudson 1989: 56] cannot be left unconsidered. The shift of Ron \*h- < AA \*k appears plausible (parallel to Ron \*k- < AA \*k-, cf. Stolbova 1987: 54, table 1.5; Takács

[IL] || CCh.: Kilba híbí “egg” [Kraft 1981 II 94, #205]. The Somali-Ron isogloss was first compared by O.V. Stolbova (CLD V 132, #182).<sup>31</sup>

**75.2. PCh.** \* $\sqrt{mb}$ by “egg” [GT] > WCh.: Dera bíyà “egg” [Jng.] = ðiya [Kraft 1981 I 133, #205] || CCh.: Buduma (Yedina) ámbai [Lukas] = ámbói [Cyffer] “egg” (Ch.: JI 1994 II 122-123). May be related to WCh.: AS \* $\beta\bar{e}_2$  “1. to beget, 2. bear a child, 3. hatch” [GT] = \* $\beta\bar{e}$  “to give birth to (pl.), hatch” [Dlğ.]?<sup>32</sup>

**76. Mubi bòbú** (m) “Sohn” [Lukas 1937: 180; not listed in Jng. 2013: 162] || WCh.: Kirfi (pl.) bòfóyò “son” [Schuh], which may represent a reduplication (< \*bawbaw-?) of a SAA root whose NAA trace may have perhaps been retained (in Arabic) also:

**76.1. S/P???AA \*haw-** (?), “child” [GT] > PCh. \*bway > \*vway (???) “child” [GT]:<sup>33</sup> WCh.: (?) PRon \*fway [\*f<sup>w</sup>- regular < \*b<sup>w</sup>-/\*bU-?]: Bokkos fú “Kind” [Jng. 1970: 141], Daffo-Butura fyè (pl.) “Knaben, Jungen” [Jng. 1970: 218], Sha foy “Knabe, Kind”, foy ?a-món “mein Sohn” [Jng. 1970: 284], Kulere fo “männl. (?) Kind”, fwè “Junge, Kind”, fwèy (Richa dialect) vs. fwî (Ambul dialect) má mor “Mädchen, Tochter” [Jng. 1970: 352] | Galambu bwe: “child” [Schuh] | Diri áviyà “child” [IL] || CCh.: Zime bwá “enfants, petits”, bwân

2000b: 96-97; 2022b: 122-123, §7.2, also fn. 34), so a chain of shifts like Ron \*hU $\beta$  < \*kU $\beta$  < (via metathesis of glottalization typical in Chadic) AA \* $\kappa\bar{u}b$  is conceivable, which agrees well with Ar. qūb- and HECu. \* $\kappa\bar{u}pp$ -e.

<sup>31</sup> Stolbova (l.c.), who explained all this from her PCh. \*[h]ab- “white” [CLD], ignored the fact that the underlying PAA etymon of this root for “white, light” must have contained an \* $\zeta$ - (not \*h-), cf. Takács 2010: 143; 2011: 142. There are other plausible approaches to the primary meaning of PAA \* $\sqrt{hb}$  “egg”, cf. either of the following scenarios: (1) if “egg” was named as the “grain” of an animal, it may be akin to Sem. \* $\sqrt{hab}$ - “grain” [CLD] yielding, a.o., MSA: Jibbali hēt “testicule”,  $\sqrt{hab}$  “pubis” [DRS], Mehri hābbēt “1. grain, 2. clitoris” [DRS] || LECu.: Somali (borrowed from Ar.) hābbi “Kern, granum” [Reinisch 1902: 214] (that was compared by L. Reinisch to Bed. hābba and Ar. hVbb-) || ECu.: Dullay: Dobase hayyāp-e (f) “Getreide” [AMS 1980: 163] or (2) if “egg” was regarded as containing the core essence of a living being, cf. ES: Harari ḥabu, Gurage ambwā “mœlle” [DRS 814, ḥbw: isolated in Sem.] or (3) due to its shape, it might just as well be affiliated with Sem.: Ar. ḥabḥab- “pastèque (Hedjaz)” [DRS 815, ḥbḥb4] > LECu.: Somali hābḥab “melone” [Abraham 1964: 114] = ḥabḥab (f) “water-melone, Wassermelone” [FH 1993: 131] on the analogy of WCh.: AS \* $\beta^yap$  ~ \* $\beta^yāp$  > \* $\beta^yap$  “pumpkin, papaw” [GT] vs. LECu. \*buP- “egg” [GT]. The interrelationship of “grain”, “egg”, “testicule”, “melone” is further corroborated by the remark in the DRS (l.c.): “Un rapport avec *ḥabb*- ‘grains’ peut être envisagé ... En Égypte, *ḥabḥab* ‘chétif, malingre’ s’applique à *baṭṭīḥ* ‘pastèque’ et *baṭṭīḥ ḥabḥab* désigne une petite pastèque: la valeur 4. pourrait dériver de 2.”, i.e. ḥabḥab- “chétif (jeune animal), rapide (chamelle), écoulement tranquille de l’eau”.

<sup>32</sup> Reflected by Angas ·bi (so, ·b-) (≈ Hausa fafe) “to burst from ripeness (as a calabash or a hatched out egg)”, cf. ki-bi “to hatch (out)” [Foulkes 1915: 149, 216] = [b̄i: “to hatch” [Burquest 1971: 30] = ḥii “1. to give birth to, 2. hatch” [Hoffmann] = ḥi “1. to make, 2. hatch” [ALC 1978: 6] = ḥi “to hatch” [Gochal 1994: 74], Mupun bēe “to beget, give birth” [Frj. 1991: 6], Kofyar bē “to bear (children), procreate” [Netting 1967: 3] = bēe “1. to give birth to, 2. hatch” [Hoffmann], Mushere bēh “to hatch” [Diyakal 1997 MS], Goemay (Dorok and Kwo dialects) bē [b̄ē] (pl. of lala) “to bring forth” [Sirlinger 1937: 12] = bēe “1. to give birth to, 2. hatch” [Hoffmann] = bē (pl.) “to give birth” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 3] (AS: Hoffmann 1975: 18, #23; Takács 2004a: 30). Related to AS \* $\beta\bar{e}_2$  “to break, split” (q.v.)?

<sup>33</sup> The Ron Chadic parallels, given the *lautgeschichtliche* uncertainty of their labial radical, was alternatively affiliated by V. Blazek (1994 MS Elam, 7, #27; 1999: 61, #27) with Sem.: Ug. pyy “lad” [Gordon after Virolleaud] = pyy “boy” [Segert apud Blazek], fem. py-t “girl” [Gordon 1955: 313, #1566] = py-t “junges Mädchen” [WUS #2246] | Ar. fayā- [< \*fayay-] “das Junge eines Tieres” [WUS]. Still, one would in Chadic expect more than a zero reflex to Sem. \* $\gamma$  (voiced velar fricative). Even if the precise reflex in Ron has not yet been demonstrated, some orientation has been provided by G. Takács (2013).

“enfants” [Beavon 1996 MS: 15], Zime-Batna (Lame) vài, pl. ʔúdò (dér. vòvài) “enfant” [Sachnine 1982: 300], Zime-Dari vāy, pl. tàw “enfant” [Cooper 1984: 29] (Ch.: also JI 1994 II 74-75) ||l NOm.: Kullo bā “boy, child, son” [Alemayehu Abebe in Bender 2003: 13, #17] ||l Sem.: Ar. baww- “1. petit de chameau, 2. sot, stupide, 3. peau de petit de chameau empaillée avec l’herbe tumām- qu’on amène à une chamelle pour lui faire croire que c’est son petit, ce qui fait qu’elle donne du lait ou en allaite un autre” [BK I 174-175] = “a skin of a young unweaned camel stuffed with straw or with tumām- (i.e. panic grass) or with dry herbage to which a she-camel is made to incline when her young one has died : it is brought near to the mother of the young camel (that has died) in order that she may incline to it and yield her milk over it, 2. also: a she-camel’s young one, 3. stupid, foolish, having little sense or intellect” [Lane 270b] = “chamelon nouveau-né” [DRS 51, BWW/Y1: isolated in Sem.]. Cf. also Takacs 2022d (OmAA VII), 151, #227.

**77. Birgit bòobà (m), pl. bóobì** “aveugle” [Jng. 2004: 351] | DM \*bŪb- “blind” [GT]: WDangla búúbù “aveugle” [Fédry 1971: 97], Mawa bòobo “blind (aveugle)” [Jng. 1978 MS: 2] | Somray bwə / bŭ (bwΛ / bōō, bwΛ / bō) “devenir aveugle” [Jng. 1993 MS: 7] | Kera bəw-bəwì “blind (aveugle)” [Ebert 1976: 32] < ECh. \*bŪb- < \*\*bawbaw- “blind” [GT] || CCh.: Gudu ʔə́əp “blind” [Kraft 1981 III 79, #309]. This Chadic root appears to be related to a few further, more widely attested, AA roots signifying some bodily defect or deficiency, which occur both in simplex and reduplicated forms:

**77.1. PAA \*√bw ~ \*√by** “deaf-mute” [GT]: WCh.: Hausa béébéé (m), béébìyáá (f), pl. béébààyèé “deaf mute” [Abraham 1962: 95] | Pero ʔwaʔwò “deaf” [Kraft 1981 I 112, #310] || CCh.: Fali-Kiria búbùnù “deaf” [Kraft 1981 apud Mukarovsky 1987: 267] ||l SCu.: Dahalo ʔuʔwi, pl. ʔuʔwima “dumb” (considered as borrowed from Swahili bubu) [Tosco 1991: 130] ||l SBrb.: Ahaggar ě-bei, pl. i-bei-en “(homme) muet” [Foucauld 1951-2: 41], Ghat i-bi, pl. i-bi-en “muet” [Nehilil 1909: 180] (SBrb.: DRB 142).

**77.2. PAA \*√nb?** (root extension \*n-?) “unable to perceive” [GT]: CCh.: Afade mbî [mbi:] “Tauber” [Sölken 1967: 303, #509] ||l (?) Bed. nuwéw [w regular < \*b] “taub” [Almkvist 1885: 52] = nuwúw ~ nuwéw “taub”, nuwēw “taub sein” [Reinisch 1895: 187, not found in Roper 1928] ||l Eg. j.ʔnb3 (prothetic j- + \*√nb3?)<sup>34</sup> “stumm sein” (Med., Wb I 96, 2) > Coptic (S) (ϵ)ΜΠΟ, (B) εΒΟ “muet (dumb person)” (CED 87; DELC 118) ||l Sem.: Ar. nabaʔa I “7. ne pas entendre ou ne pas voir, être sourd ou aveugle à qqch., p.ex., à un bruit, à une nouvelle (se dit des oreilles ou des yeux quand il est question de choses désagréables à voir ou à entendre” [BK II 1178].

**77.3.** One wonders if S<sup>2</sup>AA \*√bb “to vanish, be lost” [GT], along with the CAA negative morph \*√b [GT] (cf. EDE II 176-179), may eventually (in the remote PAA phase) be related.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> This root, if it derives < \*√nbr, might alternatively be equated with LECu.: Saho baran “stumpf sein” [Reinisch 1890: 88: no cognates listed] = baran (radice non usata) > ubrone “to be blunt, be not sharp (of things)”, abran (verbal noun) “bluntness” [Vergari, kind p.c. on 9 Feb. 2023].

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Eg. bbw “in der Formel: bbw m bb-f oder bbw m bbw mit Bezug auf die als Feind des Re getötete Schildkröte” (NK, Wb I 455, 12) = bbw “\*ersticken”, cf. ʔnh rʔ mt štw bbw m bb-f “es lebt Re und stirbt die Schildkröte ... (?)” (GHWb 252) ||l LECu.: Rendille a-bāba “ich gehe verloren, verirre mich” [Schlee 1978: 110,

\*

## Special symbols

P: any labial stop (f, p, b, ð), T: unspecified dental stop (t, d, ð), S: any voiceless sibilant and/or affricate (s, š, ṣ̌, c, č, č̣), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ʒ̣), K: any velar stop (k, g, ƙ), Q: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (q, ǧ, ǧ̣, ħ), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (ʕ, ʁ, ħ, h, ʔ). The vertical strokes signify 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, 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, 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, Hung.: Hungarian, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, 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, WIm(d): Tawllemmet, Y: Young(er) Babylonian).

## Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich (as quoted in Lukas 1937, 1941), AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Ast.: Aistleitner, BK: Biberstein & Kazimirski, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, DMT: Dakouli, Maaß, Toomey, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GAB: Gimba, Ali, Bah, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GDB: Gravina, Dumok, Boydell, Grt.: Grottanelli, GT: Takács, HLDPBMA: Haller, Lawarum, Douatai, Pourtshom, Baitoua, Magdeme, Amadou, Hsk.: Hoskison, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, LVC: Leus, Van de Loo, Cotter, KM: Kießling & Mous, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, MMW: Marti, Mbernodji, Wolf, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Nct.: Nachtigal, NM: Newman & Ma, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, PW: Plazikowsky & Wagner, RL: Roth-Laly, SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics, SPM: Shryock, Palomo, Martin, Srl.: Sirlinger, TC: Taïne-Cheikh, TC: Taïne-Cheikh, TG: Takács, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, WP: Weibegué & Palayer.

#58 | Arbore bābiʔ- “to get lost, disappear, be destroyed” [Hayward 1984: 345] ||| WCh.: AS \*pāp, pl. \*pap (or with \*p<sup>h</sup>-?) “1. to loose, 2. hide” [GT]: Goemay paap ~ haap (sic, h-) [h- < \*p<sup>h</sup>-?] “to loose” [Ftp. 1911: 218] = paap, pl. pap “to loose, be lost, hide” [Sirlinger 1937: 170] = phaap (sg.), phap (pl.) “to be lost, hide” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 29] (AS: Takács 2004a: 281) vs. Gerka pu-puup (partial redupl.) “to destroy” (lit. “to get sg. lost”?) [Ftp. 1911: 215] vs. Goemay ɓap “to finish, complete, destroy” [Sirlinger 1937: 11] (AS: Takács 2004a: 292) | Tangale buube ~ buubre “to push down sg. arranged, cause to collapse, throw over (Hausa ruše)” [Jng. 1991: 74].

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