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Mubi-Toram lexicon and Afro-Asiatic IV: Addenda with *b- (Part 2)

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In memoriam Prof. Khalil Alio,¹ master of East Chadic B

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

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

Introduction

Mubi-Toram (MT), as a Chadic language group, is the member of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semito-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

¹ 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 forming the majority of East Chadic B. As 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. H. Jungraithmayr 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".

been intensely researched over the past quarter of a century by both field-researchers and comparatist V. Blažek, whose results and the state-of-the-art were surveyed by the present author recently in a separate paper.²

By elaborating the cognate sets of the Mubi-Toram group in this series of papers, we hope to gain, on the one hand, a more solid vision on their historical phonology, sufficient to make out another special study, than our current working hypothesis. On the other hand, this series embodies, in fact, the author's ongoing project for an etymological dictionary of the Mubi-Toram languages.³ 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.⁴

Mubi-Toram *b- + dentals

78. Jegu bide “Festanz für den Himmelsgott (mit großer Trommel)” [Jng. 1961: 110] || Sem.: Ug. bd “chanter (?) , jouer de la musique (?)” [DRS] = “song” [DUL 214], Hbr. *baddīm “notes (?)” [DRS], occurring in: baddē-šōpār “at the call of the trumpet” [Pope apud DRS] (isolated in NWSem., cf. DRS 44: BDD4) < PAA *√bd “to play music” [GT]. Further root varieties:

78.1. SAA *√bɜ “to play music” [GT] > CCu./NAgaw: (???) Kemant and Qwara baz- “to sing” [Apl. 2006: 124: isolated in Cu.] || WCh.: Hausa bóózà “drumming and playing before chief on Friday night” [Abraham 1962: 111].

78.1. SAA *√br (via rhotacism) “to sing and dance” [GT] > SCu.: WRift: Praqw *bara^ɕ “to sing and dance” [DRS]: Iraqw barā^ɕ “to sing while marching or working”, Gorowa barā^ɕ “to sing and dance” (WRift: KM 2004: 70-71) || Kafa *barbir- (?) [TG] > Kaffa babbir- “dance” (n.) [Cerulli (?) in Bender 2003: 339, #18] || PCh.⁵ *b̥rg “to dance” [JS 1981: 83J]

² 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 part II ends with #77 and this part IV (continued from part II) starts with #78, while part VII is supposed to close the abundant addenda with *b- at #150.

³ At this point, I specially express my cordial thanks to Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz Witzczak (Department of Classical Philology, University of Łódź) for encouraging and supporting me to successfully apply for the ARR grant of his home university, in the frames of which this old project of mine (since 2008) is recently being carried out.

⁴ I am greatly indebted to 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.

⁵ Based on Sura (?), Gisiga (?), Mofu, Mokilko (?) parallels. Reference is made to CCh.: PMandara *√bl “to sing” [JS 1981 229G].

= *√br “to dance” [GT] > WCh.: (???) Zaar bwa [Shimizu] || CCh.: Gisiga-Dogba ɓurak [Lukas], Mofu (Mok.) -hārg- [Brt.] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu bār kán kárów [Jng.] | Mokilko béré (n.) [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 100-101).

79. MT *bēdew (?) “to be bad” [GT] > Mubi bèedéw (biidīw, biidèèw) “être mauvais” [Jng. 1990 MS: 4; Jng. 2013: 161], Ubi beere [-r- < *-d-?] “mauvais” [Alio 2004: 268, #27] || NBrb. *√bdw “to be fool” [GT]:⁶ Nefusa beddu “être fou”, beddiw “fou”, Mzab biddu “perdre la raison, être/devenir fou”, ta-biddwa “folie, aliénation mentale”, a-beddiw “1. fou, aliéné mentale, 2. bête”, Wargla a-beddiw “faible d’esprit, idiot, niais, et aussi fou, mais non furieux” (NBrb.: DRB 24) || Sem. *√ʔbd “to wilden (animal), be furious” [GT]:⁷ Ar. ʔabada “s’enfuir (animal), devenir sauvage (bétail)”, ʔabida “s’irriter contre qqn.”, ʔabid-at- “malheur, chose extraordinaire, étrange” [DRS] = ʔabada “to become wild (cattle), shy away” [Leslau] || ES: Geez ʔabda “to be insane, become enraged, rage, be mad, be out of one’s mind, become a fool, be foolish”, ʔabādi “ignorant, stupid, mad”, ʔabud “foolish, stupid, mad, insane, enraged, furious”, ʔabad “folly, foolishness, madness, insanity senselessness, being out of one’s senses” [Leslau] = ʔabda “1. fuir,⁸ errer, 2. agir sottement, être fou” [DRS/B], Tigre ʔabbädä “tromper”, ʔabad “fou” [DRS], Tna. ʔabud “fou” [DRS], Amharic abbädä “être fou, furieux”, əbd “fou” [DRS/B] (Sem.: DRS 2, ʔbd/t1 with some semantically far-fetched parallels; Leslau 1987: 2-3) < PAA *√bd “1. bad, 2. fool” [GT].

80. Mubi bàḍāŋ (bèḍīŋ, biḍāāŋ) “chuchoter” [Jng. 1990b MS: 4; 2013: 161] || LECu.: Afar baḍāḍa⁹-ite “to chatter (bavarder)” [PH 1985: 65] || SBrb.: Ahaggar biḥ “bruit produit par un vent sortant du fondement” [DRB 27, bḍ6: isolated]⁹ || Sem.: Ug. *bḥ(w) “jaser, bavarder (?)”¹⁰ [DRS], Hebrew *bāḥa “bavarder, parler inconsiderément” [DRS] | Ar. (Syrian dialect) baḥbaḥ “lâcher des vents (à la selle)” [DRS] || ES: Amharic tāmbočəbočə “faire le bruit

⁶ In the view of K. Nāit-Zerrad (DRB 25), this root and Twareg: Ahaggar ā-biddaw “singe” “sont probablement liés” to the ES parallels.

⁷ The DRS 2 filed this root among the NSemitic reflexes of a homophonous root denoting “être perdu, périr” remarking that: “Les sens concordent largement, mais posent quelques problèmes: l’ak. donne à la forme simple une valeur tr., tandis que tous le sém. occ. lui donne une valeur intr. interne. À l’intérieur même du sém. occ., il y a des divergences: h(ébreu). et aram. ont pour sens principal «se perdre, périr», tandis que le v(erbe). ar(abe). signifie principalement «s’enfuir, devenir sauvage» et qu’en éth. le sens prédominant à côté de «errer», rare en g(uèze)., est «être fou». La valeur centrale semble bien être «transgression des limites (du groupe, du monde familial, de soi-même)»: «s’enfuir, errer à l’aventure seul, être égaré, perdu, hors de soi», etc. Dans ce cas *BD* pourrait être une forme à élargissement initial de *BD* qui connaît par ailleurs un élargissement par *-W-* médial en syr. avec *bād* «périr», et serait à rapprocher de *BD/W*. Faut-il comparer éth. amh. *abādāt* «qui marche très lentement (homme ou bête)»? W. Leslau (1987: 2-3) too treated this Semitic root as one with Sem. *√ʔbd “to perish” from a common basic meaning “1. to be lost, go astray (either by not finding the way or in one’s mind, i.e., become mad, wild), 2. disappear, perish, be destroyed”.

⁸ As W. Leslau (1987: 2) notes, this meaning is irrelevant: “Dillmann 760 also translates ʔabda ‘run away’ on the basis of 1 Kings 25:10, but the Asmara Bible edition has *taḥaʔa*”.

⁹ K. Nāit-Zerrad (DRB 27) referred to *√brd “avoir la diarrhée”.

¹⁰ According to the commentary of DRS 1c.: “... d’ap(rès). une interprétation (douteuse) de WUS 47; une autre hypothèse *tbḥ* = h(ébreu). *tubḥaḥ* «elle est vue» (*NBT*) est aussi peu sûre selon UT 371 (n° 456); mais TO traduit *bh btt tbḥ*, *wbh tdmmt amht* par «ne voit-on pas ici la honte et l’inconduite des servantes ...».”

de l'eau agitée dans un récipient" [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 59) < SAA * \sqrt{bt} "to emit some sound" [GT].

81. Birgit bíddèŋ (m), bíyáddèŋ (f), pl. níyáddèŋ "petit" [Jng. 2004: 351] || CCh.: Lame bídém (adj.) "court, ras, rabougris" [Sachnine 1982: 286] || NOm.: (???)¹¹ Mao-Bambeshi bōçmale "narrow" [Atieb & Bender] (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 356, #63) || NBrb. * \sqrt{bzn} (regular < AA * $\sqrt{bçn}$ "small" [GT]: Mzab a-bezzan "petit, jeune", Wargla a-bezzan "jeune, petit, enfant" (NBrb.: DRB 157: isolated in Brb.) < SAA * $\sqrt{bçN}$ "small" [GT].

82. MT *baḍy- "...-in-law" [GT]: Toram baḍye "belle fille", baḍyeet "belle soeur", baḍyiti "beau frère" [Alio 2004: 252-3, #35-37], Birgit bàʔžiitù "mon beau-père" [Jng. 2004: 351] | WDangla bàḍyà (f) "mariage, ou plus exactement phase décisive du mariage", baḍyé "passer une phase décisive du processus de mariage, se marier" [Fédry 1971: 76-77], Bidiya bàaḍyò (m) "demande en mariage" [AJ 1989: 55] < ECh. *baḍy- "to be related by marriage" [GT] || LECu.: Afar bàḍuw (m) "young unmarried girls (jeunes filles non mariées)", baḍuwwīnu (m) "being of marriageable age (of girl), nubility (fait d'être en âge nubile)", baḍuww-use "preparing a girl for marriage (préparer une fille au mariage)" [PH 1985: 66], cf. perhaps also Afar buḍa "1. family, 2. home, occupied house, household" [PH 1985: 74] < SAA * $\sqrt{bç}$ "to marry" [GT].¹² Part of a widespread PAA root family¹³ that may be distributed in the following "sister roots":

82.1. PAA * $\sqrt{bç}$ "1. to press into (out?), penetrate, 2. copulate"¹⁴ [GT] > Sem.: cf. perhaps Classical Ar. *bazza* (*baḍḍa*) "faire des efforts, travailler avec zèle et assiduité à qqch." [BK I 139; DRS 61, *bṭṭ*1: isolated in Sem.] || NBrb. * \sqrt{bz} "1. enfoncer, 2. plonger, tremper" [GT]: i.a., Qabyle e-bbez "plonger, enfoncer", bbezbez "être mouillé, trempé (vêtement, sol ...)" [Dallet 1982: 61] | Mzab ə-bbəz "1. piquer d'une pointe quelconque, 2. tremper, plonger dans un liquide ou ailleurs, 3. *coïter*" [Delheure 1984: 17] = bbez [DRB], Wargla bbez "tromper, plonger, piquer, enfoncer une pointe, un objet quelconque par un bout dans un liquide" [Delheure in DRB] | Tamazight bbez "1. plonger, immerger (dans un liquide), 2. (s')enfoncer (dans un liquide)" [Taifi 1991: 43] (NBrb.: DRB 154-155, *bz*5) || SBrb.: Ahaggar biliteral * \sqrt{bz} "to press" [GT] > a-gbez "1. presser dans la main en la refermant (les doigts et en serrant entre eux), 2. (p.ext.) masser (une partie du corps qq. assez étroite pour être à demi enfermée dans la main) en la serrant dans la main à demi fermée" and e-rbez "1. presser en tous sens avec la main ouverte (ou demi-ouverte), 2. (p.ext.) masser (une partie du corps qq.) avec la main ouverte (ou demi-ouverte)" vs. bezbez "copulation (entre 2 personnes de

¹¹ GT: unless it is to be segmented as a compound like **bōçε*-male.

¹² One is tempted to seek here an (alternative?) etymological connection to SBrb.: Ahaggar a-bez "1. saisir à main fermée, 2. prendre par bouchées, 3. prendre par poignées", *ti-bbiz-t* "poignée, bouchée", Niger a-bez "prendre, saisir" (SBrb.: DRB 154, *bz*2) in the light of banal analogies. Cf., e.g., Akk. *aḥāzu* "1. nehmen, 2. heiraten, 3. lernen" [AHW 18b] < Sem. * $\sqrt{ḥd}$ "prendre, saisir" [DRS 15, *ḥd*1] or Hung. *el-vesz* "takes away" > "gets married".

¹³ On which cf. also Takács 2022a (MTAA III), 80-82, no. 153 in its full details.

¹⁴ This semantical shift is paralleled, e.g., by Hungarian *basz-* "to copulate" borrowed < OTurkic *bas-* "to press" whence the same secondary sense has also evolved in a Tartarian folk song and Karachay too (MNYTESZ I col. 256b).

sexes différents)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 114, 116, and 118, resp.; DRB 154, bz4: isolated in Brb.]¹⁵ || CCh. *ḃVc- < **bVç- “to press, squeeze” [CLD]:¹⁶ Higi-Bana ḃásá “presser, extraire beaucoup de liquide” [CLD < Giger & Lienhard?] | Paduko ḃičə “serrer” [CLD < Jarvis & Laguna?] | Lamang ḃica “to press (through sieve)” [Wolff], cf. also Lamang əbica (sic: -b-) “to squeeze” [Hamm], Vemgo ḃicu “to squeeze” [Hamm] (CCh.: CLD VI 75, #153a) || ECh.: Birgit ḃàažǐ (ḃàažá, ḃàažò)¹⁷ “foquer” [Jng. 2004: 351].

82.2. PAA *ḃč “(male) genitalia: penis” [GT] > Sem.: NSyriac (?) būṯā [-t- regular < Sem. *-t- < AA *-č-] “pénis” [DRS 51-52: dubious Sem. etymology]¹⁸ || NBrb.: Shilh a-bazza “verge (membre viril)” [DRB 155, bz7: isolated in Brb.?¹⁹ || LECu.: Afar buḏḏé (-ḏḏ-) (f) “das männliche Glied” [Reinisch 1890: 825] = buḏḏe (f) “penis” [PH 1985: 139]²⁰ = Saho-Afar buḏḏe (-ddh-) “Penis” [Lamberti: -ddh- < *-ḏ-], Saho buḏḏe (-dhdh-) “penis (pene)” [Vergari 2003: 57] (not found in Reinisch 1890) | Oromo biṯṯo? “penis” [Lamberti]²¹ > SOromo dialects biṯi “penis” [Stroomer 1987: 274] || NOm.: PYemsa *buḏ- (???) [GT] > Yemsa bur?à [GT: -r?- < *-ḏ- may be regular] “Penis” [Lamberti 1993b, 333: isolated in Om.] (Yemsa-LECu.: Lamberti 1993b, 333).²²

82.3. NAA *ḃč “1. to eject fluid (by pressing?), 2. ejaculate (semen)” [GT] > Sem.: Syrian Ar. baẓẓ “1. faire jaillir en pressant, lancer, rendre par jets, 2. procréer des enfants en grand nombre” [DRS 61, bṯṯ1: isolated in Sem.] vs. Ar. ḃwz I “1. injecter, lancer le sperme dans l’utérus” [BK I 178] = “éjaculer, copuler” [DAFA 917b] = “éjaculer” [DRS 51: isolated in

¹⁵ Affiliated by K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB l.c.) himself with NBrb.: Mzab ə-bbəz “1. tremper, plonger dans un liquide ou ailleurs, 2. coïter” [Delheure 1984: 17] etc. (above).

¹⁶ Based by O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 75, #153a) on a semantically unreliable comparison with CCh.: Zulgo (Zelgwa) buç “masser, pétrir avec la main” [CLD < HLDPBMA], Mafa mbác- “piétiner” [Barreteau], Muyang əmbàc “to crush an object” [CLD < Smith]. She even took note of Lamang əbica [Hamm] vs. Lamang ḃica [Wolff] and Zulgo bac, ḃac “1. briser, casser; 2. tuer” [CLD < HLDPBMA], although she too admitted that a “secondary emphatization (ḃVc- > ḃVc-) is not regular”, but “in a number of languages two emphatics are not compatible in one word”. Her comparison of all these diverse CCh. parallels with Sem.: Ar. ḃsw I “presser (son débiteur en réclamant de lui son dû)”, II “rendre eunuque” [BK I 133] is either semantically or phonologically vague (or both).

¹⁷ Regular < *bāč- via metathesis of the glottalization. Note that its coincidence with ECh.: Kabalay and Nancere baẓaẓ “engendrer” [Hamm 2002 MS: 26, #154] may, however, prove to be illusory as these may represent a distinct root to which their typical verbal prefix ba- was added, while the root itself contains just a plain fricative ž (j), not the affricate ž (dj).

¹⁸ Cf. Sem. *bawš/t- “bottom” [GT]: Mandaic buṯa “bottom, anus (still used)” [Drower-Macuch 1963: 54] = “anus, derrière” [DRS 51], NSyriac būšā “croupe” (borrowed < Ar.) [DRS] | Ar. būš- “fesses” and bawš- “3. chairs grasses et molles de fesses”, cf. ḃwš II (denom.) “avoir les fesses très-grandes” [BK I 178] = būš- and bawš- “croupe saillante, callypigie” [DRS], cf. also Ar. buṯuṯ- (root ext. -ʿ- and -t-?) “2. fondement, derrière avec les parties de la génération” [BK I 140].

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

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

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

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

Sem.] || NBrb.: Qabyle bbizezz “1. couler à petit jet, 2. couler goutte à goutte”, a-bizzez “petit filet d’eau” [DRB] | Shilh bizzī “jaillir” [DRB]²³ (NBrb.: DRB 155, bz7: isolated in Brb.?).

82.4. PAA *√bĉ, var. *√bĉ “1. seed, 2. semen (???)” [GT] > Sem. *√byṭ: Ar. bayṭ- “1. aqua spermatica seu semen genitale admissarii, vel viri, vel mulieris, 2 item: uterus mulieris” [Freitag 1837: 51] = “1. liqueur nécessaire à la génération, 2. sperme” [BK I 185] = “sperme” [DRB 155, byṭ: isolated in Sem.?] ²⁴ || ECU. *bVd(ah)- (*-d- obscure) “seed” [GT]: Arbore bād-o (f) “seed prepared for sowing” [Hayward 1984: 345] | Gawwada poḍaḥḥo “Saat” [AMS 1980: 264] || NOM.: Zergulla biĉε-tta “seed” [Siebert-Hoeft in Bender 2003: 93, #114a] || (???) SOM. *ḥēt-a “seed” [GT]:²⁵ Ari ḥēta [Tsuge], Banna ḥeta [Masuda apud Tsuge], Hamer beta [Fleming] = ḥeta [Tsuge], Karo ḥeta [Fleming] (all Aroid reflexes signifying “seed”, quoted from: Bender 1994: 157; 2003: 216: #114; Tsuge 1996: 169, #184).

82.5. A further, remotely related, root variety might be **PAA** *√bĉ “(to hatch an?) egg” [GT] (with deviant lateral affricates in the C₂) > Sem. *bayḍ/ĉ-at- “egg” [Dlg., SED]:²⁶ cf. esp. Ar. bayḍatu ’l-ġanīni “ovule, [goutte de] sperme (?) / [drop of] sperm (?)”, bā’iḍ- (adj.) “pondeuse, couveuse (poule, etc.) / laying, brooding (hen etc.)”, bāḍa I “pondre (oiseau etc.)” [DAFA 948a-949a] || EBrb.: (?) Siwa ta-beṭao-t “egg” [Paradisi 1961: 299] || WCh.: Ngizim ḥāḥšū “to hatch out of egg” [Schuh 1981: 29] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu bēḍī “to hatch out (eggs) / incubator, couvrir (les œufs)” [Jng. 1973a MS: 32, #775], Kwang-Ngam bēḍī “incubator, couvrir (des œufs)” [Jng. 1973a MS: 9]. In the light of the Ngizim reflex, Kwang can hardly be just an Arabic loan. The variety *√bĉ with the non-glottalized lateral C₂ may be reflected in WCh.: Sbauchi *mbūšī “egg” [Shimizu]²⁷ || CCh.: Mbara mbòs “yolk, jaune d’oeuf” [TSL 1986: 291]. The Sem.-Sbauchi match is due to the Muscovite AA team of I.M. D’jakonov.²⁸

²³ O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 76, #160) combined NBrb.: Shilh bizzī “jaillir” [DRB 155] with CCh.: PMafa-Mada *ḥaĉ- < PCh. *ḥaĉ- “to pour, sprinkle out” [CLD]: Muyaḡ áḥác “to sprinkle water out of bowl using hand” [Smith], Mafa ḥaĉ- (+ ’water) “verser de l’eau pour arroser” [Barreteau] || Sem.: Akk. bašāšu (lexicographical lists) “to trickle” [CAD b 134] || Ar. √bšš, √bšĉ “couler, suinter” [BK I 131f].

²⁴ Of course, the DRS (l.c.) attempts at rendering this isolated form as a variation of Sem. *√byš “white”. L. Kogan and A. Militarev (SED I 41, #43), in turn, were perhaps the first to reckon with this conventional Semitological etymology being better disposed to assume in this term for “sperm” a trace of a PSEM variety *bayṭ- “egg” that would be reflected, in their view, in MSA also: Harsusi bēḍeh “egg” [Johnstone 1977: 21], EJibbali bēḍ “egg” [Johnstone 1981: 60], Mehri biḍayt “egg” [Johnstone 1987: 60]. Alternatively, the authors of SED regarded the MSA forms (displaying not the expected sibilant C₃ reflex) as Arabisms. Nevertheless, it seems wiser to treat Ar. bayṭ- rather as a root variety to √bwz.

²⁵ Provided it displays the same glottalization metathesis (i.e., *ḥēt-a < **bēṭ-a < **bēĉ-a???) that has so far been only known in Chadic. Otherwise, one is disposed to affiliate it with Om. *√bd “(to sow) seed” [GT]. Cf. Takács 2022: 128, #85.

²⁶ Sem. data: DRS 63; Dlg. 1986: 80-81, #24; Militarev-Kogan 2000 MS: 47-48, #43; SED I 41, #43.

²⁷ Cf. Zaar-Kal & Lusa bùùš, Polchi mbwòš, Saya mbuš, Geji mbuuši, Zem mbòòše ~ mbùš ~ mbòš, Barawa mbuš ~ mboš, Buli mbiš (Sbauchi: Shimizu 1978: 23 & 18).

²⁸ See SISAJa I 35, #43 (Sem.-Ometo-Bauchi-CCh.); Diakonoff et al. 1986: 22; Diakonoff 1992: 11-12 (Sem.-Nbauchi-Siwa-Ometo); OS 1988: 76, #37 (Sem.-Nbauchi); Militarev-Stolbova 1990: 50 (Sem.-WCh.); Stolbova 1991 MS: 8; 1995: 62 (Sbauchi-Ar.); HSED #354 (Sem.-Sbauchi adopted also in the SED I l.c. supra). See also EDE II 363-364.

82.6. The same biradical core root survives presumably in Sem. * $\sqrt{b\dot{t}r}$ [DRS] > ***bi(n)tur-** “clitoris, vagina” [SED]²⁹ (with a nasal and a C₃ *-r root extension?): Akk. (OAb., Standard Bab.) *biṣ(ṣū)r-u* “weibliche Scham” [Holma] = *biṣṣūr-u* “female genitals” [CAD b 268] = *biṣṣūr-u* “weib. Scham, vulva” [AHW 131a] = “vulve” [DRS] || Ar. *baẓr-* ~ *baẓar-* ~ *baẓar-* ~ *bunẓur-* “clitoris” [BK I 139] = *baẓr-* “clitoris”, cf. *baẓr-at-* ~ *buz(ūr)r-at-* “1. excoissance (de la lèvre supérieure), 2. (qqf.) touffe de poils (sous l’aisselle, etc.)” [DAFA 695], cf. a root variety in *baḍr-* “clitoris feminae quae praecidi solet” [Freytag I 128] (Sem.: Holma 1911: 101; DRS 61; SED I 35, #37).

82.7. PAA * $\sqrt{b\dot{c}}$ “offspring, child” [GT] > NBrb. * \sqrt{bz} : Wargla *ta-bza* “marmaille, enfants, jeunesse”, Figuig *a-bziẓ* “garçon”, Snus *l-bezz* “marmaille”, *a-bzeẓ* “petit enfant” | Tamazight *bezz* (var. de *bezz*) “enfanter” (NBrb.: DRB 155, *bz11*: var. to * \sqrt{bz} ?) || LECu.: Saho and Afar *bāḍ-ā*, fem. -*ā* “Kind: 1. Sohn, Tochter, Knabe, Mädchen, 2. bei Tieren das Junge” [Reinisch 1886: 829-830; 1890: 83-84],³⁰ Saho *barha* (-rh- standing for -ḍ-) “son”, *barhā* “daughter” [Vergari 2003: 53], Afar *bāḍ-ā* “figlio”, fem. *bāḍ-ā* “figlia” [Colizza 1887: 112] = *baḍa* “daughter” vs. *bāḍa* “son” [PH 1985: 65] || NOm.: PYemsa **buḍ-* (???) [GT] > Yemsa *bur(?)ussi* (nur als Plural belegt) in: *burus-ni kit/yó* “Kinder, Buben”, *burussí-sà kit/yó* “die Kinder, Buben” [Lamberti 1993b: 333: isolated in Om.] || WCh.: Hausa *báḍḍò* “girl born after several males” [Abraham 1962: 56].

83. Birgit (Magrane) bat^ha “rivière” [MMW 2007 MS: 44, #67] || SOm. * \sqrt{bt} “river” [GT]: Ari *bōda* [Bender & Tully], Hamer *baiti* [Fleming]³¹ (isolated in Aroid apud Bender 2003: 255 and 350, #74) < SAA * \sqrt{bt} “river” [GT]. Cf. also Sem. **batt-* “measure for liquids” [GT]: Hbr. *bat*, pl. *battīm* “ein Maß für flüssige Dinge (an Inhalt gleich d. Epha)” [GB 122]³² || ES: Geez *bet* ~ *bāt* “measure of fluid” [Leslau], Tigre *bat* “mesure pour les liquides” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 90; Leslau 1987: 112) || PCh. * \sqrt{bt} [GT]: i.a. CCh. **bVt-* “to pour” [CLD]: Higi-Futu *biṭiyi* “to pour” [Kraft] | Zelgwa (Zulgo) *bābūt* “déborder en bouillant” [HLDPBMA] | Mbedam (Mbudum) *bāt* “verser” [Ndokobai]. For this Sem.-Ch. comparison cf. CLD VI 50, #60, where the Chadic parallels were explained by O.V. Stolbova from her pre-PCh. **bVt-* > PCh. **bVt-* “to flow, pour”.

²⁹ The AA etymology of the Semitic stem has been obscure. The authors of the DRS l.c. assumed a trilateral root manifesting itself in *baẓr-* (*baḍr-*) which was secondarily enlarged by an infix nasal or -y- extension: “L’ar connaît d’autres formes à élargissement” in *bunẓur-* (*bunḍur-*), *baẓar-* (*bayḍar-*). One wonders if and how Ar. *biẓrir-* (*biḍrīr-*) “(femme) vulgaire, à la langue bien pendue” and *ta-baẓrama* (*ta-baḍrama*) “se montrer vulgaire” (Ar.: DRS 61) are also connected to this triradical root. Regarding their reconstruction as “reliable, though attested in Akk. and Ar.”, L. Kogan and A. Militarev (SED l.c.), in turn, were disposed to regard the nasal as part of the original quadrilateral root: in their view, Akk. -*ṣṣ-* “may point to **nṣ-*”.

³⁰ Of course, neither of the comparisons (Somali *wil* or Macro-Canaanite * \sqrt{bn} , * \sqrt{br} “son”) offered by L. Reinisch (1886: 829) is phonologically convincing.

³¹ To be distinguished from Hamer *baš*, *baz-* (?) [Lydall]?

³² GB l.c.: Hbr. *bat* < **bad-t* = BAram. *bad* “Kelter”. Leslau l.c.: ES < Hbr.

84. Kujarke būtà “louse” [Bender & Doornbos 1983: 77, #49] ||l NAgaw *bət- “louse” [Apl. 1984] = *bətt-³³ “louse” [Apl. 2006]: Bilin bəta, Hamtanga bətta, Hamta bīt, Kemant bəta, Qwara bəta, Kailiña biṭa (NAgaw: Apl. 1984: 41; 1996: 16; 2006: 95) < SAA *√bt “louse” [GT].³⁴ The Kujarke-PAgaw comparison was first suggested in an unpublished work by P. Whitehouse (from 2005)³⁵ on African isolates (which “points to its particular lexical links with Cushitic and Chadic”) as we learn from R.M. Blench (2008a-b MS: 2). Then, V. Blažek (2015: 80, #49) recorded the same match (extended to an uncertain Beja parallel)³⁶ on his own also, independently, just as I have done also now by my research for the MT comparative lexicon where I have accumulated the authentic sources in the first place. Further PAA root varieties:

84.1. PAA *√bt “sort of small parasite insect: flea (?)” [GT]: WCh.: Bole b̀̀d̀̀t̀̀i “mosquito” [Kraft in JI] = b̀̀d̀̀d̀̀t̀̀i “mosquito” [GAB] < *b/puḍ- [GT] | Ngizim b̀̀b̀̀t̀̀, pl. b̀̀b̀̀t̀̀t̀̀t̀̀m, var. b̀̀b̀̀t̀̀t̀̀uḥ́m “flea” [Schuh 1981: 28]³⁷ ||l NOm.: Zaysse bāḥḥ “bedbug (vermin)” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 82, #7] ||l NBrb.: Shawya a-b̀̀d̀̀iḍ “pou du chien” [DRB 30: isolated in Brb.].³⁸

84.2. PAA *√Pt (*p-/*f-) “some small insect” [GT]: ECh.: WDangla páḍà “small mosquito” [Fédry in JI] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 242-243) ||l NBrb.: Iznasen, Senhazha, Rif a-f̀̀d̀̀iḍ “tique (acarien femelle gros et gris)” [Renisio 1932: 297] = a-f̀̀d̀̀iḍ [DRB], Figuig a-f̀̀d̀̀iḍ “parasite des chameaux” [DRB], Beni Snus a-f̀̀d̀̀iḍ “pou des chiens” [DRB] | Shilh a-f̀̀d̀̀uḍ “tique des moutons, des chameaux, des bovins” [DRB] ||l SBrb.: Ahaggar i-f̀̀f̀̀d̀̀iḍ, pl. i-f̀̀f̀̀d̀̀iḍ-en “petit pou gris de chameau” [Foucauld 1951-2: 305] (Brb.: DRB 532, f̀̀d̀̀4).

85. Mubi b̀̀t̀̀uṭuṭú (coll.) “brouillard” [Jng. 1990b MS: 6; 2013: 163] | DM *b̀̀t̀̀- “smoke” [GT]: WDangla b̀̀d̀̀t̀̀è “faire suffoquer, empester l’air” [Fédry 1971: 93], Migama b̀̀t̀̀t̀̀oṭṭó³⁹ “enfumer” [JA 1992: 71], Bidiya b̀̀t̀̀ “enfumer trou pour déloger un gibier (écureuil)” [AJ 1989: 60] ||l SBrb.: EWlmd. a-ḥotta, pl. i-ḥotta-n [ḥ ~ h reg. < *ḥ] “vapeur (chaude)” [PAM 1998: 138] ||l LEg. bhd⁴⁰ “1. Duft einatmen, Wohlgeruch riechen, 2. atmen, 3. (ein Gebäude, mit einem Duft) durchräuchern, jem. beräuchern (mit Wohlriechendem)” (XXII. and GR, Wb I 467, 12-14 and 468, 1-4) = “1. to inhale, sniff, smell, 2. fumigate” (Ptolemaic, PL 323) and bhd (but written bht) “Wohlgeruch, Duft, 2. duftender Stoff (mit dem das Auge voll

³³ In the view of D. Appleyard (2006: 95), “The geminate -tt- is required not only to explain the same in Xam(tamnga), but also to account for the absence of the change *t* > *y* in Kem(ant).”

³⁴ To be distinguished from NOm.: Sezo *bizil-E “louse” [GT after Bender 2003: 276, #84] ||l Sem.: Ar. baddala “mépriser, dédaigner” ||l MSA: Soqotri bédel “être sale”, bédol “salir” (Sem.: DRS 47, BDL1 among false comparanda) < PAA *√bʒl “to despiseful (?)” [GT].

³⁵ Which I could not check when writing this paper, this manuscript being unavailable to me at the moment.

³⁶ He compared Beja b’ūt “wood-boring beetle” [Roper 1928] also, although it remains semantically rather vague.

³⁷ Equated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 458, #3167) with Eg. pj “flea” < AA *pay- “flea”.

³⁸ Reference is made to NBrb.: Shawya i-ẁ̀t̀̀eḍ “lente” | Qabyle i-ẁ̀t̀̀eḍ ||l SBrb.: Ahaggar ä-woḍ.

³⁹ The geminated *-tt- might be perhaps due to an assimilation from *-ht-? In this case we may assume either an irregular correspondence of Eg. -d < AA *-t or LEg. bhd < OEg. *bht.

⁴⁰ In principle, it may well be actually a late writing of *bht also.

gemacht wird)” (Ptolemaic, Wb I 467, 15-16) < PAA *√bht “smoke, steam, vapour” [GT]. Cf. EDE II 279-280; EAAN I 39, #131.

85.bis. Toram biitim (sic: -ii-) “grand tambour” [Alio 2004: 253, #55] | Lele b̄ir̄im “medium drum (placed on the ground)” [Simons 1981 MS: 11, #140b] = b̄ir̄im “tambour sp.” [WP 1982: 10] < ECh. **biṭ/ṭim (?) → *biṭim “kind of drum” [GT]. Etymology ambiguous:

85.bis.1. Perhaps akin to Chado-Sudanese Ar. bātin “1. very large bowl of metal, 2. bath” (Lethem) [RL 1969-1972: 42: no Ar. etymon; DRS 90: not even listed among the Sem. roots], albeit its origin is obscure for me, via a semantic shift “bowl, kettle” → “drum”?

85.bis.2. Or might ECh. **biṭ/ṭim derive via metathesis < **ṭ/ṭimb-? Perhaps cf. HECu. *dimb-e “small drum” [Hudson 1989: 53] < *dibb- [Leslau 1988: 186-187]⁴¹ || Sem.: Ar. dabdāb- “tambour” || MSA: Soqotri deba/obeh “tambour” || ES: Geez dabb(a) ḥanbasā and Amharic dabb ambässa “ṭimbale, grand tambour”, Tigre and Tigrinya däbay “grand tambour”, Gurage dābbi, dibbe “sorte de tambour” (Sem.: DRS 205, DBB2 and 207, DBDB2)⁴² with metathesis?

85.bis.3. Or akin to Eg. tbn “Handpauke, Trommel” (GR, Wb V 262, 5) = “die runde Rahmentrommel (wird bei ihrem frühen Auftauchen mit tbn bezeichnet)” (E. Hickmann, LÄ VI 769)⁴³ via metathesis?

⁴¹ A.B. Dolgopoli’skij (1966: 75, #5.33) compared mostly ECU. -bb- reflexes except for Burji dimba (without reconstructing any ancestral form), which suggests he may have meant it to be just an areal *Wanderwort*. The HECu. reflexes were compared by H.-J. Sasse (1982: 56) with LECu.: Konso timp-a [Sasse] and Dullay: Harso and Gawwada simp-o (ignoring Gollango timpo) “Trommel” [AMS 1980: 275] < a common ECU. *zimb- noting “similar forms in” LECu.: Rendille žibanžib and even Somali durb-ān (without any attempt to explain the rather strange phonetic shifts it would presuppose), a comparison that is very hard to follow. At any rate, Oromo and the HECu. languages reflect *dibb-. No surprise that W. Leslau (1988: 186-187) has, in turn, listed further HECu. comparanda corroborating an etymon *dibb-a, which he affiliated with the Semitic root above.

⁴² In both cases, the DRS (II.c.) lists the terms for “drum” among the reflexes of an onomatopoeic root signifying, a.o., “to hit”, cf. esp. Sem *√dbdb > Ar. dabdab-at- “bruit produit par les sabots des chevaux”, Geez dabdaba “frapper, écraser”, Tigre dābdāb belā “piétiner”, Amharic dābādābā and Gurage dābādābā “battre, frapper” (Sem.: DRS 207) || Eg. dbdb “klopfen (vom Herzen)” (Med., Wb V 442, 5) || NBrb.: Qabyle ss-debdeb “cogner, frapper” | Shawya debdeb “1. sonner le creux, 2. résonner (tambour ...), donner des coups de poing dans le dos” || SBrb.: Ahaggar deb (mot sans signification figurant le son d’une tape, onomatopéie), EWlmd.-Ayr dābdāb “taper sur pour lisser (corde, etc.), être lissé pour tapage” (Brb.: DRB 283, DB3) < NAA *√dbdb “to beat” [GT] || ECU. *dub- “to beat” [Ehret] || WCh.: PGoemay *dap “to strike with hand” [GT]; Goemay dap “to strike with the flat hand” [Sirlinger 1937: 28] = dap “to slap” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 4] (AS: Takács 2004: 65). Eg.-Sem.: Vycichl 1958: 382; 1985: 171, §10; Eg.-Sem.-Brb.: HCVA IV 9-10, #252; Eg.-Sem.-ECU.: Ehret 2000 MS: 58, #1283.

⁴³ Usually combined with Sem. *ṭabl- “drum” [OS]: Akk. ṭabālu (wohl Fehler) ṭabal- [AHW 1376] = ṭabal-, var. tab/pal- “drum, tambourine” [HCVA] || Syr. ṭabl-ā “cymbal, tambourine” [HCVA] | Ar. ṭabl- “1. tambour, 2. timbale” [BK II 57] = “Pauke” [AHW 1376] = ṭabl-at- “тимпан, тамбурин, бубен” [OS] = “(kettle) drum” [HCVA] || MSA: Harsusi ṭabl, Jibbali ṭē/āl, Mehri ṭābel “drum” (MSA: Johnstone 1977: 128) || Brb. *ṭVbVI- “drum” [OS]: NBrb.: Qabyle ə-ṭṭbal || SBrb.: Ahaggar and Wlmd. e-ṭṭebel (Brb.: HCVA, not in DRB 445). The Semitic, Egyptian and Berber root was equated by the Russian authors (OS 1988: 75; HCVA III 30, #222; HSED #2450) also with WCh. *tambal- “барабан” [OS]: Hausa tāmbarí “1. hemispherical drum” [Abr. 1962: 847 adopted in HCVA] = “полусферический барабан” [OS] | Ngizim tām̀̀bāl “large type of drum” [Schuh 1981: 156: < Kanuri tām̀̀bāl < Ar.] = “барабан” [OS] = “drum” [HCVA] || ECh. *tambal- “барабан” [OS]: Kera dām̀̀māl “Trommel(art) / tambour sp.” [Ebert 1976: 40] | Tumaq tām̀̀māl [HCVA: < *ṭVmbVI < *ṭabl] “tambour (tenu sous le bras, employée seulement les jours de fête, en l’honneur d’un chef)” [Caprile 1975: 95] | Sokoro tām̀̀bal

86. Masmaje ʔàmbìtùnyùny “oiseau sp.” [Alio 2004: 280, #7] | Somray bádányā (compound?)⁴⁴ (m) “oiseau sp., rapace” [Jng. 1993 MS: 3] || WCh.: perhaps Hausa bììčilmíí vs. (Sokoto dialect) bìitilmíí (regular palatalization of shift čì < (*)tì) “black ostrich” [Abraham 1962: 98 and 106, resp.]?

MT *b- + sibilants

Ad MTAA I 326-327, #37: in the light of MT *bis- “mosquito” [GT] | DM *bis- “mosquito” [GT] | Mokilko péssò [Jng.] | Kabalay tèsə̀bə̀ [Caprile] < *tə̀bə̀sə̀ (via metathesis) < **ta-bis- [GT], Lele tèmésé [Gowers] < *te-bse [GT] | PKera-Kwang *tōsi < **ta-bsi [GT based on JI], a common ECh. *bis- “mosquito” [GT] was suggested in 2009 precisely as done by O.V. Stolbova a decade later in 2019 (CLD VI 72, #141) who equally focused purely on the ECh. reflexes with *-s without a mention of the wider Chadic context. Still, further Chadic data suggest a puzzling C₂ other than *-s, cf. ECh.: PSomray *bēd- “mosquito” [GT]: Somray bédē “2. moustique” [Jng. 1993 MS: 4], Sarwa hētè “mosquito / moustique” [Jng. 1973b MS: 13, #312], Tumak beta “mosquito” [Jng. in JI] = bēéd “moustique” [Caprile 1975: 48], Ndam bídé “mosquito” [Jng.] || CCh.: Bata awide [Mouchet] < *-vid- (?) [GT] || WCh.: AS *mfu₂t (with nasal prefix) [GT: AS *fu^w- regular < Ch. *b^w-] “mosquito” [Takács 2004: 113] | Tsagu véésən “mosquito” [Skinner], Pa’a vitùwí “mosquito” [M. Skinner] | BN *-vədùwà “mosquito” [GT]: Ngizim vədàdùwà [Schuh], Duwai ə̀vədùwà [Schuh], WBade ə̀vədàdùwan [Dagona] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 242-243). On the basis of the BT-BN-Somray parallels, O.V. Stolbova (CLD VI 46, #46) isolated PCh. *bVd- without mentioning anything beyond in all other Chadic branches. The ultimate etymon PCh. *-bd(s), assumed in JS 1981: 184A along with the sub-varieties like A₁ ECh. *b-s and A₂ ECh. *tbs and A₃ W/CCh. *-bd (Ron-Tera?), does not satisfy us either as the groups of *-ds, apparently visioned as the source of the altering C₂ in the reflexes, does not occur at a time in any of the parallels known from the available sources. In my view, the enigma may only be resolved by assuming a PAA sibilant affricate like *ʒ or *č (well-known to yield both plosive and fricative reflexes in NAA)⁴⁵ in the C₂, whose regular reflexes have not yet been sufficiently studied, I am afraid. Remotely related may be the following root varieties (equally with an affricate C₂):

37.1. PAA *√bʒ “a parasite insect sp.” [GT] > NOM.: Sezo *bizil-E “louse” [GT after Bender 2003: 276, #84] > Sezo I bizíle vs. II bizíli “louse” [Siebert-Wedekind 1994: 14, #136] || EBrb.: Ghadames bizbiz “punaise” [Motylinski 1904: 151] = bezbiz “punaise”, bezbez “être infesté de punaises” [DRB: 147-148, BZ24]. Cf. also Takács 2022b: 137, #100 discussed s.v. NOM.: Sezo *bizil-E “louse” [GT].

“Trommel” [AF quoted in Lukas 1937: 39] < PAA *tə̀b [GT] “drum” [HCVA] = *tə̀bVI- “drum” [OS], derived by them eventually from their PAA *tə̀b III [HCVA] = *tə̀b- “container” [OS]. See also Wb l.c.; Orel 1994 MS: 4.

⁴⁴ The element bádə̀-, however, occurs in a number of Somray (compound?) zoonyms, cf. bádə̀čùd̀l̀ng̀l̀ (f) “moule sp.”, bádə̀k̀l̀ (f) “mante religieuse”, bádə̀kẁl̀b̀l̀ (m) “margouillat”, bádə̀ŋ̀ā̀d̀i (f) “sauterelle sp., comestible”, bádə̀p̀p̀à̀ (m) “oiseau sp., tacheté (oiseau porte-malheur)” (all exx. *ibidem*).

⁴⁵ Cf. PAA *ʒ > e.g., Aram. d, Eg. both z and d, Brb. both *z and *d or PAA *č > e.g., Aram. t, Eg. both s and t, Brb. both *s and *t.

37.2. PAA *√pc “an insect sp.” [GT] > NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho pas-ap (cf. ≈ inč-ap) “worm” [Breeze apud Bender 2003: 345, #110: isolated] ||| LECu.: Oromo fāčā “1. biting, flying insect” [Gragg 1982: 137] = “mosquito” [Hudson 1989: 102] ||| Sem.: Ar. fašfas- “1. punaise, 2. certaine plante puante”, fisfis-at- “punaise” [BK II 594] = fašfas- “bug” (sic) [OS]. ECh.: Mokilo pesso was first equated with Arabic and LECu.: Oromo fāča by V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED 422, #1968). For this match cf. also OmoAA VI = Takács 2021a: 95, #209.

87. Ubi bōžirā “aveugle” [Alio 2004: 268, #37] must have ultimately stemmed as a loan from some local Arabic dialect, cf. modern Ar. bašīr which has come to signify dialectally “blind” also by an alleged euphemism.⁴⁶ This term is used and widely spread over immense territories in the western hemisphere of northern Africa as indicated in the WAD I 195-196:⁴⁷ namely, around Tripoli,⁴⁸ Tunisia,⁴⁹ Northern Algeria,⁵⁰ Morocco,⁵¹ and Mauritania,⁵² whereas in the eastern one, it allegedly occurs only in Yemen and, henceforth (although this is not indicated in the map of the WAD I 194), it may have passed into Eritrea also as indirectly evidenced by Tigre⁵³ and Saho.⁵⁴ Anywhere else in the Arabic dialects of North Africa, as we learn, at least, from the WAD I 196, only the etymologically original sense of Class. Ar. bašīr- is attested: “qui voit bien, qui a une bonne vue” [TC] = “sehend, klar sehend” [WAD],⁵⁵ which cannot be entirely true. Although, as indicated in the WAD, the lexicons of Chadian Arabic indeed ignore the sense “blind”⁵⁶ and only list the signification of Class. Ar. bašīr-⁵⁷ our Ubi word convinces us otherwise. It could, having no convincing Chadic

⁴⁶ V. Loubignac (1952): “on préfère l’euphémisme *bšyr*”. WAD I 196: “Speziell im Maghreb genanntes *bšīr*, *bšēr* ... ein Euphemismus”.

⁴⁷ My thanks go to M. Vergari (kind p.c., 25 Jan. 2023) for making this part of the WAD accessible to me.

⁴⁸ Cf. Libyan Ar. (Tripoli) bašīr beside aʿma [FB = “Fragebogen”, i.e., questionnaires quoted apud WAD I 196].

⁴⁹ Tunisian (Sous) bšīr beside aʿma [Talmoudi 1980: 40, 114 quoted after WAD I 196].

⁵⁰ Cf. Algerian Ar. bšyr (WAD: unvokalisiert) “aveugle, borgne, qui ne voit pas clair” [Beaussier apud WAD I 196].

⁵¹ Cf. Moroccan Ar. (Zaër) bšyr [Loubignac 1952 apud WAD I 196] and (Casablanca) bšīr [FB = “Fragebogen”, i.e., questionnaires quoted apud WAD I 196].

⁵² Cf. Hassaniyya (Ar. dialect of Mauritania) bašīr “aveugle, qui ne voit pas clair” [TC 1988: 102].

⁵³ Here, cf. ES: Tigre bašīr (sic: plain -s-) “blind” (attested in the zone of Nakfa, Eritrea) [Idris 2005: 247]. I must gratefully acknowledge the information on the Tigre word provided by M. Vergari (kind p.c., 25 Jan. 2023) who confirmed that “Saleh la trascrive senza enfatica: basir (quindi immagino in fidel ባሲር)”.

⁵⁴ LECu.: Saho bašīr (m), pl. bašīrīn “blind man (cieco)”, bašīra (f) “blind woman (cieca)”, imbissire “1. to be blind” [Vergari 2003: 54, 100, not listed in Reinisch 1890] not found in Afar (either in Reinisch 1886 or PH 1985). Neither M. Vergari (kind p.c., 25 Jan. 2023) could locate it in Afar.

⁵⁵ WAD l.c.: “In anderen Quellen wird bašīr nur als ‘voyant, clairvoyant’ angegeben”.

⁵⁶ This is now confirmed by Prof. J. Lentin (Paris, GLECS, kind p.c. on 12 Feb. 2023) also, who, as a specialist of Arabic dialectology, admits: “I don’t know if this meaning is attested in Tchadian Arabic, but it should be, as in many dialects. It is attested in Sudanese Arabic (‘Awn al-Šarīf Qāsim p. 98 ...)”.

⁵⁷ Cf. Ar. (Sudan and Chad) bašīr “1. overseer in water – wheel, 2. native healer, 3. farrier” (Hillelson) vs. bašīr “1. careful, 2. wise, 3. discreet” (Lethem) [RL 1969-1972: 52] and Chadian Ar. bašīr “voyant(e), rebouteux (-euse), inventeur (-trice), créateur (-trice)” [Pommerol 1999: 255].

cognates,⁵⁸ hardly issue from the heritage of a common Chadic stock. On the other hand, since its -ǰ- does not directly reflect the medial -š-, we are warned to search for a local mediation or other circumstance that may have resulted in voicing its C₂. The research for a *bašīr “blind” in the Chadian Arabic dialect thus must remain open.

88. Kajakse ʔambažala “faucille” [Alio 2004: 239, #22] must be a loanword somehow deriving eventually from Class. Ar. maṅgal- “faucille de moissonneur” [BK II 1208], whence we have dialectal Ar. (Sudan and Chad) muṅgal- “scythe, sickle, reaping-hook (sed for cutting grass)” (Hillelson) vs. muṅgele “scythe”, muṅgeile “sickle” (Lethem) [RL 1969-1972: 481], which, however, do not explain the special form of the Kajakse term and thus could not have served as its direct source of borrowing. The puzzle is comparable to the enigmatic *Lautgeschichte* of Ubi bōžīrā “aveugle” [Alio] (discussed in the preceding entry above).

89. Masmaje beeče “tubercule sp.” [Alio 2004: 280, #25] may etymologically be related to CCh.: Balda mbèč [irreg. mb- < *p-] “enfler” [Tourneux 1987: 55] III Sem.: Ar. bṭw > baṭāʔ- “sol tendre et uni” [BK I 85] = baṭāʔ- “1. grasse (bête) / fat (animal), 2. molle, grasse (terre) / soft, heavy (soil)” [DAFA 376] = biṭāʔ- “(bête, terre) grasse” [DRS 91, BTW1: isolated in Sem.] < PAA *√bč “to swell” [GT], which is also known from a few root varieties with diverse C₃ root extensions in Arabic as well as with different C₁ and C₂ in Arabic:

89.1. Ar. baṭīṭa “être enflée (lèvre) (?)” [BK I 84; DAFA 373; DRS 91, bṭṭ: isolated in Sem.].

89.2. Ar. baṭīʔa “être gonflé, se gonfler de sang au point d’être près de crever (se dit des lèvres)”, ʔabṭaʔu “qui a les lèvres gonflées de sang et rouges”, baṭay- “incarnat des lèvres ou de toute autre partie du corps gonflée de sang (cp. baṭīʔa, qui ne se dit que des lèvres)” [BK I 84-85] = baṭīʔa “être congestionné, enflammée (lèvre, gencive, partie du corps)” vs. baṭay- “congestion, tuméfaction (du corps) / swelling (of the body)”, baṭaʔ- and baṭay- “congestion, tuméfaction” [DAFA 373-374; DRS 91, bṭʔ/γ: isolated in Sem.] (DRS 91, bṭʔ/γ: isolated in Sem., reference to √bṭṭ).

89.3. Ar. baṭara “être couvert de pustules, de boutons”, V “se couvrir, être couvert de pustules”, baṭr-, pl. buṭūr-, nom d’unité: baṭr-at- “pustule, bouton” [BK I 84] = baṭr- “aphte, pustule, bouton” > denom. baṭura and baṭira I “se couvrir de pustules, de boutons (corps, etc.)” [DAFA 374] = baṭr- “pustule” [DRS 91, BTW1: isolated in Sem.].

89.4. PAA *√pS (*√pŜ or *√pč)⁵⁹ “to swell” [GT].⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Thus, in the light of the dialectal Arabic evidence, one can hardly conceive it as comparable, e.g., with WCh.: Hausa bižīrā and būžīrā “became out of control”, bižīréé “refused to follow one’s orders” [Abraham 1962: 99 and 116] in spite of the perfect phonological match and the tempting semantics.

⁵⁹ Ar. and Eg. -š- speaks for an AA lateral *Ŝ, but the WCh. reflexes support AA *č, whose regular match in Ar. would be -ṭ = Eg. -s. It would be difficult to explain the Ar. and Eg. cognates from AA *√pč “to swell” [GT].

⁶⁰ Attested in Sem.: Ar. √nfš [root ext. n-] > muntafiš- & mutanaffiš- “gonflé et mou à l’intérieur” [BK II 1312] = “anything swollen or humid and loose or flaccid or soft within” [Lane 2830] III NEg. pšj “a disease: pustule, swelling (?)” (NE, Edwards 1963: 11, fn. 30, not in Wb) = “pustule (?)” (AL 77.1503) = “*Eiterbläschen” (GHWb 296) → Coptic (S) παλωε, παωε, πεωε, πωε, (S^A) πιζε, (B) φαιωι, (O) *παειωε (f/m) “a disease producing pustules, swelling” (CD 278b) = “eine Hautkrankheit: Pustel, Blase” (KHW 145) = “ampoules, pustules” (DELIC 159) III LECu.: Oromo fuš-ā “boil at the joint of two parts of the body”, borrowed into ES:

Mubi-Toram *b- + velars

90. Ubi biigi “viande”, big-boori [-g- < *-kʔ?] “animal sauvage” [Alio 2004: 268, #29] | Ma(h)wa biik “Fleisch” [Jng. 1978 MS: 2] | Saba biki “animal” [DMT 1996 MS: 30, #64] = biki “animal” [CLD], Sokoro biiki “Fleisch” [Barth] = ri bigi “Fleisch” [Adolf Friedrich] = biki “Fleisch”, cf. biika maṅgadii “wilde Tiere” [Lukas 1937: 31] = bikò, pl. bikèŋ (-e- middle tone) “meat / viande” [Saxon 1977 MS: 4 and 17] = bikò “meat” [Saxon apud JI] (Sokoro: JI 1994 II 233)⁶¹ | Kera bèké “1. Vieh (bétail), 2. Reichtum (richesse)” [Ebert 1976: 31] < ECh. *bik- “1. wild animal, 2. meat (of a wild animal)” [CLD VI 63, #108.a] = *bik- or *bīk- “flesh” [GT] || CCh.: Mada bòkw “gros morceau de viande” [Barreteau apud CLD] | Masa *bege “1. cattle, 2. pecunia” [GT]: Marba bègè “1. animal domestique” [Ajello et al. 2001: 3], hence, in a secondary sense (as in Latin *pecunia*), also Masa, Musey, Lew, Marba bègè “2. richesse, biens” [Ajello et al. 2001: 49] vs. ECh.: Sokoro (Bedanga) buuko “ox” [Benton 1912 quoted in CLD] = búgoo (Lukas), buuko (Barth), búko (Adolf Friedrich) “Kuh, Rind, Ochse” vs. bóógoo “Haustiere” (Lukas) [Lukas 1937: 31] = bŭgō, pl. bŭgìyí “ox / boeuf” [Saxon 1977 MS: 17] || CCh.: Gamergu (Malgwa) buk-sánugaa “cow” [Benton 1912 quoted in CLD] (Ch.: CLD VI 63, #108) < PCh. *buk- “1. cow, ox; 2. cattle” [CLD VI 63, #108]⁶² = *√bk “1. cattle, 2. flesh, meat” [GT]. For its wider AA background see Takács 2022d (OmAA V), 678-679, #126.2. This item may indeed be a neat indication of both Ubi and Mawa belonging to the Sokoro group.

91. Ubi bōg-in “1. dire, parler, 2. langue” [Alio 2004: 268, #34] = **bogie** “dire” [Hutchinson & Johnson 2006 MS: 21, #154] | WDangla bóógé “chanter (pour un coq)” [Fédry 1971: 94], EDangla bōkē “1. chanter (pour le coq)” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 48] < ECh. *bōg- “1. to sing, 2. speak” || CCh.: Musey bak “parler”, [bak-(ŋa)] “conversation” [Platiel 1968: 8, 50, 64, 80, 82, 85, 86] || Sem.: Ar. baʔaǵa I and II “crier (se dit de l'homme)” [BK I 78; DRS 40: isolated in Sem.] vs. Ar. bāǵ-at- “cris, tumulte” [DRS 59, BWG3].

92. Kajakse booge “rhinocéros” [Alio 2004: 240, #43] | perhaps WDangla bákà (m) “Oryctérope *Afer* (quand on a tué un oryctérope en brousse, tout le village doit ‘rester à cause du sang’), tête et queue” [Fédry 1971: 78] = Karbo (Dangla) baká “ant-eater” [el Minai n.d. MS: 14] || HECu. *bōkeʔe “(wild) pig” [Hudson 1989: 406]. Astonishing match with Kajakse in spite of the enormous geographical and genealogical distance.

92.1. An extension of the same root is presumably⁶³ represented by **CCh.: Masa *bagum** “pig” [GT]: Masa bākum [bāgŭm-nā] (m) “le cochon”, fem. [bāgŭm-tā] “la truie” [Caitucoli

Gurage-Ennemor fušä “boil at the joint of two parts of the body” [Leslau 1979 III 247] || WCh. *pačw- “to swell” [Stolbova]: Daffo-Butura fos “geschwollen sein” [Jng. 1970: 214] | NBauchi *√pč [GT]: Warji pč- “to swell” [Skinner], Pa’a pčèù “to swell, puff up (as stomach after eating too many beans)” [M. Skinner 1979: 200] = pčū [Skinner], Diri fəčū “to swell” [Skinner] (NBauchi: Skinner 1977: 43; WCh.: Stolbova 1987: 145, #9; 1996: 116) || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -pəč- “germer, pousser” [Br. 1988: 216]. Cf. EDE II 521; EAAN I 79, #359.

⁶¹ Where JI are pretending as if this root were isolated in ECh.

⁶² Equated by O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) with NBrb.: Nefusa byu “veau (calf)” [DRB 83].

⁶³ Unless it is somehow related to PAA *√bKm “belly” [GT] (about which see entry #100 below).

1983: 48], Masa-Bongor bà:gúm-ná (m) “cochon” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 155], (???) Zime byam, pl. bibyam [< *bɣam?] “phacochère, cochon sauvage” [Beavon 1996 MS: 15].⁶⁴

93. Kofa bògrá (f), pl. **bógràn** “quiver” [Jng. 1977b MS: 7, #137] || WCh.: PBauchi *bang^war “quiver” [GT]: cf., e.g., NBauchi *baŋgw-r- “quiver” [Skinner]: Miya, Mburku, Kariya baŋgwar [Skinner] = Miya boŋgwər “quiver” [Kraft 1981 I 147, #236] = baŋgwar, pl. baŋgwaráràw “quiver” [Schuh 2002 MS: 7], Pa’a baŋgwara [M.G. Skinner 1979], Jimbin baŋgura [Skinner], Tsagu bogare [Skinner] (NBauchi: Skinner 1977: 35). Puzzled about the origins of this Bauchi term, both N. Skinner (l.c.)⁶⁵ and H. Jungraithmayr (JS l.c.)⁶⁶ failed to recognize the ECh. match, which makes the secondary (epenthetic) nature of the nasal C₃ as well as a primarily trilateral PCh. root like *√bgr clear. Whether this term is etymologically identical with the container name like ECh.: Tumak bōgrā (m) “sac” [Caprile 1975: 50] is ambiguous,⁶⁷ but upon the analogy of WCh.: AS *ba₂ŋ “calabash” > *ba₂ŋ-ɓaw “quiver”, lit. “calabash of arrows” [Takács 2004: 10], its etymological connection with PAA *√bgr (perhaps *bugur)⁶⁸ “sort of vessel” [GT]⁶⁹ is conceivable.

Ad MTAA I #55: Birgit b̀̀g̀̀r̀̀ (m), pl. **b̀̀g̀̀r̀̀** (f), pl. **b̀̀g̀̀r̀̀** “varan” [Jng. 2004: 351] has already been equated in my first MT paper 12 years ago with NBrb.: Shilh a-byur “variété

⁶⁴ Unless its -y- was originally a glide also and thus it has in fact nothing to do with Masa *bagum “pig” [GT]. Cf. entry no. 105 (in part V of this MTAA series, forthc.) for Kofa ʔémbèn (m), pl. ʔèmbín “hedghog” [Jng. 1977b MS: 12, #294].

⁶⁵ N. Skinner (l.c.) only could quote but the NBauchi parallels with this quadrilateral root, which he segmented ambiguously. In the very entry, he quotes an etymon implying by the hyphen as if we had to do here with a stem *baŋgw- extended for some (unexplained) reason with an extension *-r- (of unknown function). At the same time, in his footnote 174 on the same page, Skinner was undisturbed to voice *expressis verbis* an entirely different (albeit equally dubious) derivation: “? *ba/o-* and old prefix or separate morpheme.” That was all. We did not learn anything on his theory other than but quoting Hausa kwari among the extra-NBauchi *comparanda*.

⁶⁶ Not all of the languages listed in JS 1981: 209C have in fact this word: Goemay, N-SBauchi. Certainly, Goemay pang-bo (so, p-) “quiver” [Ftp. 1911: 219] = bang-ɓau “same shaped calabash used as quiver” [Sirlinger 1937: 11] = ban-ɓau [resolved < *baŋ-ɓaw?] “quiver” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 1, 3] and Montol bang “quiver” [Ftp. 1911: 219] represent common AS *ba₂ŋ “calabash”, hence *ba₂ŋ-ɓaw “quiver” (cf. *ɓaw “arrow”) as demonstrated by G. Takács (2004: 10). Instead of setting up a WCh. etymon, however, JS l.c. only quoted a Bauchi form without an asterisk, which reveals to what degree this term had remained an enigma to the authors.

⁶⁷ Alternatively, it might be affiliated with the etymon of ECh.: Jegoid *bök “bag” [GT] (cf. entry no. 94 below). But since this is a borrowed cultural term, it is little likely that it was provided with a root extension -ra in Tumak.

⁶⁸ A.Ju. Militarev (in Militarev & Šnirel’man 1984: 38) reconstructed a certain PAA *bag^w-ar “kind of vessel (from various materials), вид сосуда (из различного материала)” (for which, however, he has given no data) suggesting that *-r did not belong to the original root.

⁶⁹ Cf. Sem.: Akk. (jBab.) bugurru “ein Gefäß” [AHW 96: “Lehnwort unbekannter Herkunft”] || Eg. bḏ3 [if from *bgr] “Topf aus gebranntem Ton” (OK, Wb I 488, 11) = “jar” (MK, FD 86) = “Tiegel, Backform” (NBÄ 789, n. 993) = “a pot” (CED 23) = “ein Tontopf” (Satzinger 1994: 199) = “1. Topf (aus gebranntem Ton), 2. tulpenbechförmiges Model, Brotform” (GHWb 267) || CCh.: Logone bugeru “EBtopf” [Lukas 1937: 148] | Musgu bugur “Kalebasse” (Décorse) [Lukas 1941: 48], Munjuk-Puss (Musgu) buguru (m) “bol en bois” [Tourneux 1991: 78] || ECh.: Somray b̀̀g̀̀r̀̀ “réceptient creux en bois” [Jng. 1993 MS: 4], Sarwa b̀̀k̀̀r̀̀ “calabash” [Jng. 1973b MS: 7, #124c] | WDangla b̀̀g̀̀r̀̀ (m) “gourde en doum des arabes” [Fédry 1971: 100], Mokilko b̀̀g̀̀r̀̀ “réceptient (pour les femmes)” [Jng. 1990a: 66]. Cf. EDE II 366; EAAN I 29, #70.

de lézard” [DRB 84: isolated in Brb.] and WCh.: Angas-Sura (Goemay) *boɣor/*ba₃ɣa₃r ~ (Suroid var.) *-peyer “hedghog” [Takács 2004: 18] with some hesitation (Birgit-AS-Shilh: Takács 2009: 333, #55), where now I would only leave the Shilh parallel as valid (either as cognate or areal *Wanderwort*). The Birgit-Shilh match may now be affiliated with ECh.: Kwang-Mobu ka-baɣár (m), pl. kō-bōgōrō “varan (plus petit que kīsītē)” [Jng. 1973a MS: 12a, #301b] || CCh.: PMasa *bu(hu)ru ~ *bu(gu)ru ~ *buru(gu) “varanus lizard sp.” [GT]: Masa-Bongor búhú:rá (-fj-) “lézard (*Psylodactyle*)” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 97], Gizey/Wina bùrú, Masa bùhùr ~ bùhùrù, Ham bùrù, Musey bùrù ~ bùrùgù zùr, Lew bùgùrù mógòrò, Marba mógòrò “varan terrestre”, Musey bùrùgù zín and Lew bùgùrù zízí “varan aquatique” [Ajello et al. 2001: 57], Musey [buuru-na] “le varan” [Platiel 1968: 26], Mesme bùgùrù (jamais en variation avec *bùkùrù) “varan” [Kieschke 1990: 66], Lame bùkùrù “‘margouillat’ sp. comestible” [Sachnne 1982: 290]. We cannot know as yet whether the underlying (Berbero-???)Chadic *vbKr “varanus sp.” [GT] represents in fact any CAA/PAA etymon.

55.1. Noteworthy, a root variety like *√bKl(K)l denoting some creeping (lizard-like?) creature has also emerged in our researches, cf. NBrb.: Beni Menacer buylal, pl. i-buylal-en “escargot” [Basset 1885: 163] = (Algérie Centrale) buylal “escargot” [DRB] | Tamazight (“Maroc Central”) a-buylal, pl. i-buylal-n “1. escargot, 2. limaçon” [Taïfi 1991: 12] (NBrb.: DRB 83, byl3) || WCh.: Geji ßuɣállil “chameleon” [Kraft 1981 I 185, #179] || ECh.: Kwang bàgólólô (m) “margouillat” [Jng. 1973a MS: 4] | Sarwa ßókólòm “tortoise / tortue” [Jng. 1973b MS: 12, #296].

55.2. Further root varieties with nasal C₃ are discussed s.v. Toram bookok “margouillat à tête rouge” [Alio] (cf. entry no. 98 below). In case all these variant roots are etymologically related, we could indeed assume a common biradical PAA etymon.

94. Jegoid *bōk “bag” (borrowed) [GT]: Jegu bōok, pl. bōoke “Korb, Tasche (für die Jagd)” [Jng. 1961: 111], Kofa bōk (m), pl. bōkàn “bag (sac)” [Jng. 1977b MS: 7a, #149] | Lele bùú [GT: < *buhu < **bugu?] “sac en toile” [WP 1982: 33] = bugu [CLD] | Kera bùgú (m) “Sack (sac)” (*Lehnwort*) [Ebert 1976: 33] || CCh.: Mada buho, Muyang boho, Hurzo buhwa (MM: Skinner l.c. infra) | Masa *bugu ~/> *buhu “sack” [GT]: Gizey/Wina bùgú “sac en jute” [Ajello et al.], Masa bù “sac en jute” [Ajello et al.] = bugu- [Skinner], Marba bùgù “sac en jute” [Ajello et al.], Lame bùhū “sac (mil arachide), (désigne) les sacs d’importation en toile de jute, de coton ou en fibre synthétique” [Sachnne 1982: 284] (Masa group: Ajello et al. 2001: 50)⁷⁰ || WCh.: Hausa bùhúú “1. sack, 2. any native cloth” vs. (>/<?) bùfúú “sack” [Abraham 1962: 114, 116] = buhu “bag, burlap sack” [Skinner] | Ngizim bùùfú, pl. bùùfàfín (borrowed from Hausa bùhúú) “large bag” [Schuh 1981: 27] = buuhu (sic: -h-) [Skinner]. Most of the Chadic parallels (sine Jegoid) were already combined by N. Skinner (1996: 25) (without clarifying the underlying ultimate source, however). The well-known Hausa shift of fu > hu would imply that all Chadic parallels are loans from this ultimate source as, e.g., Ngizim surely does, which, however contradicts to the plosive C₂ of some reflexes (Masa *-g-, MT *-k).

⁷⁰ It remains somewhat puzzling whether Musey mbùmbù, Lew bùmùbù “sac en jute” [Ajello et al. 2001: 50] can also belong here and what kind of historical phonological processes may underlie. Still, one is disposed to group this form better with ECh.: Kofa bùhùm (m), pl. bùhùmè “coffre à avoine (paille)” [Jng.].

95. Mubi bük (m), **pl. bòogàk** “1. reins, 2. derrière, 3. tronc” [Jng. 1990b MS: 6; 2013: 163] | Sarwa bükòy “anus” [Jng. 1973b MS: 4, #34] | Modgel bégu-am ‘mein Arsch’ [Lukas 1937: 96] || LECu.: Baiso bāga “back” [Fleming 1964: 46] = bēget “back” [Siebert 1994: 11] || SBrb.: (?) EWlmd.-Ayr bāgāw “être injecté par l’anus (liquide servant de clystère)”, te-bāgāw-t “tube servant à injecter un liquide par l’anus, clysoir” [PAM 1998: 6] < **PAA** *√**bg(w)** “1. back, 2. anus” [GT]. Part of a larger family of root varieties (cf. also Takács 2022d (OmAA V), 679-680, #127.):

95.1. PAA *√**bḳ** “1. thigh, 2. hind parts, 3. tail (?)” [GT].⁷¹ Eg.: reflex dubious⁷² || NBrb.: perhaps Shilh ta-baqqu-t ‘queue’, a-baqqu ‘verge’, var. (t)a-bakku-(t) “petite queue d’animal” [DRB 86, BQ9 and 48, BK21, resp.: both isolated in Berber] || NOM. *bU/Λḳ- > *bunḳ- (via epenthetic nasal) “1. thigh, 2. buttocks” [GT] > Pometo *bunḳ- “thigh” [GT]: Gamu bunḳ- “buttocks” [Moreno in Bender 2003: 315, #10] | Ganjule ’būga “thigh” [Siebert & Hoefl] and Zayse ’buḅka “thigh” [Siebert & Hoefl] = bunḳ- “thigh” [Hayward in Bender 2003: 89, #77], Zergulla būḅka “upper leg” [Bender 2003: 87, #55b] (isolated in SEometo: Bender 2003: 336, #100) | Gimirra *baḅ “buttocks” [GT]: Benesho baḅ [Breeze] = baḅ’ [Fleming], She bak [Montandon] “buttocks” (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 339, #10) | Dizoid *bok/g- (?) “thigh” [Bender 2003: 255, #A100]: in fact, Dizi baḅaḅ [Fleming], Sheko bōka [Aklilu] = boka [Fleming] “thigh” (isolated in Dizoid apud Bender 2003: 352, #100) Further varieties of this PAA root:

95.2. CCh. *√**bKr** (?) > *√**bgl** “back” [GT],⁷³ provided it was extended by a C₃ *-r,⁷⁴ cf. Tera bīrīsa ‘back’ [Meek apud JI, otherwise in Newman 1964] | Higi-Bana buguló-nga ‘(mein?) Rücken’ [Lukas 1937: 130] | PMusgu *bUgol “back” [GT]: Musgu *bogól, pl. *bogólakái “Buckel”, Lukas: “zu erschließen aus” žē-bogól, fem. ebenso oder žē-bugulíí “bucklig” (Krause) [Lukas 1941: 48], Mbara bḅgól “derrière” [TSL 1986: 255] | PMasa *√**bgr** ~ *√**bkr** > *√**bgl** “back” [GT]⁷⁵ (CCh.: JI 1994 II: 7).

⁷¹ One wonders if the same root is retained by NBrb.: Nefusa te-bga “tibia” [DRB 33, BG18] | cf. also Tamazight ta-bužžu-t “biceps (muscles)”, a-bužž “(avant-)bras”, cf. ta-bža “1. étui à collyre, 2. flûte (en roseau)” [DRB 43, BJ3] || WCh.: (???) Gerka bak “leg”, bok “foot” [Ftp. 1911: 216, 208]. G. Takács (2004: 18) assumed Gerka gbàk (so, gb-) [Jng.] to be a misrecorded form of an irregular reflex of AS *k^wak ~ *k^wak “leg etc.” Is Gerka b- [Ftp.] < *gb- < *g^w- < *k^w- to be assumed just like in Gerka purrum “blacksmith” [Ftp. 1911: 215] < AS *k^walam ~ *k^wolom “to forge iron”, where the shift of Gerka p- < *k^w- via *kp- (?)?

⁷² The even today mysterious etymology of Eg. bqs.w “Rückenwirbel, Wirbelsäule(nkanal)” (PT, Wb I: 480, 8-12) = “spine” (FD 85) is, in spite of numerous attempts (critically surveyed in EDE II: 331-332), full of stubborn puzzles, cf. also bgz.w “als Körperteil des Sternbildes ‘Riese’” (NK, Wb I: 483, 1) = bgz.t “*Hüfte (Teil des Sternbildes ‘Riese’ in den ramessidischen Sternuhren, zwischen Oberschenkel und Brust)” (GHWb 264). It would be tempting, of course, to segment in it the PAA root *√**bḳ** above, but we know of no nominal class marker *-s whatsoever that might be identified with its C₃.

⁷³ Where the third consonant might be a complement attached to the same biconsonantal PAA root (or its variety) that might be present in the rest of the biconsonantal parallels.

⁷⁴ Which is challenged by H. Jungraitmayr’s (JS 1981: 32A; JS 1994 I: 3A) hypothesis on its derivation from the biradical PCh. *-kr “back” by a prefix *b- of unknown signification. Still, much likelier appears the case of C₃ ext. *-r here, this latter here being not uncommon as a fossilized nominal class marker in some other segment of the AA anatomical terminology, cf. Takács 1995: 101, #2; 1997: 247.

⁷⁵ Hence: Masa būkol [bḅgól] “1. le dos, 2. l’arrière (p.ex. de la case), 3. derrière, 4. après, 5. [bḅgól] suite” [Caïtucoli 1983: 51-52] = būgol “dos” [Mouchet] = būgól-lá “Rücken” [Jng./JI], Masa-Bongor būgól-lá “dos” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 71], Gizey/Wina bḅgól, Masa bḅgól ~ bōgól, Ham bōgól, Lew bōgól, Marba bḅgól

96. Muboid *buk- “2.⁷⁶ root” [GT]: Mubi búk (m), pl. bògàg “Wurzel” [Lukas 1937: 181; not listed with this sense in Jng, 2013: 163] = *búk “root” [Bender & Doornbos], Minjile *búk (?) “root” [Bender & Doornbos] (Muboid: Bender & Doornbos 1983: 77, #66, apparently isolated in Ch., cf. JI 1994 II: 276-277)⁷⁷ || NOM.: Sheko bōka “root” (Bender: “inside”?) [Bender 2003: 216, #109: isolated] || ECh.: Mubi búk (m), pl. bògàg “Wurzel” [Lukas 1937: 181] = *búk “root” [Bender & Doornbos 1983: 77, #66], Minjile *búk (?) “root” [Bender & Doornbos] < exclusive (?) SAA/Om.-ECh. isogloss *√b[k] “root” [GT]. See also Takács 2022d (OmAA V): 683, no. 134. This (“)root(”) is otherwise so far unattested in the whole AA family and no certain NAA reflex is known.⁷⁸

97. Muboid *būk “cor” [GT]: Kajakse bûg “cor” [Alio 2004: 240, #46], Masmaje buuk “cor” [Alio 2004: 280, #28] | Bidiya búkúnaanà (m) “cor” [AJ 1989: 60] < ECh. *buk- “cor” [GT]: borrowed from Chadian Ar. bûg (modern literary Ar. √bwq) “trompette, clairon, trompe de chasse” [Pommerol 1999: 281] = Chadian-Sudanese Ar. bōg, pl. abwāg “trumpet” (Hillelson), būq “trompette” (Carbou) “1. wood trumpet, 2. horn for blowing, out of gourd or wood” (Lethem) [RL 1969-1972: 64] < modern literary Ar. bawq- and būq- “cor, clairon, trompette” [BK I 179, so also DRS] || ES: Geez buq “trompette” [DRS] = buq, bawq “trumpet”, hence denom.: boqa “to blow the trumpet” [Leslau], (???) Harari būq “1. thin kind of bamboo, bride’s quarters (it consists of bamboo canes between the bride’s and the bridegroom’s section of the house), 2. butchery (probably because the shop was made of bamboo)” [Leslau 1963: 43] = būq “sorte de bambou fin” [DRS]⁷⁹ (Sem.: DRS 53, BWQ3; Leslau 1987: 115). The etymology of the Semitic root itself is disputable as the suggested borrowing from Latin is vague for formal considerations.⁸⁰ I would not exclude a cognacy

“derrière” [Ajello et al. 2001: 20], Ham, Lew bōgól, Marba bûgól “derrière” [Ajello et al. 2001: 6], Gizey/Wina bûgól, Masa bōgól, Ham bōgól “dos, derrière” [Ajello et al. 2001: 21], Lamae bākír “revers, dos” [Sachnine 1982: 287], perhaps also (via metathesis???) Zime-Dari kà’bòrò? “revers (tissu)” [Cooper 1984: 11].

⁷⁶ This meaning and, henceforth, this entire Muboid-Sheko isogloss may represent a secondary semantic evolution from the basic sense “bottom” of the AA root discussed in the preceding entry (no. 95).

⁷⁷ No trace outside Muboid unless one considers WCh.: Boghom bày [GT: so far *-k > -y unknown here] “root” [Shimizu in JI 1994 II 276], whose historical phonology is, however, uncertain.

⁷⁸ It is a matter of a highly uncertain speculation if either Ar. biḥā^c- “veine qui traverse le long du dos et va jusqu’aux os de la nuque” [BK I: 91, so also DRS 58: isolated in Sem.] = “veine jugulaire postérieure (?)” [DAFA = Blachère 1967 I: 411] or NBrb.: Shilh (t)a-bakku-(t) “petite queue d’animal” [DRB 48, BK21: isolated in Brb.] can have anything to do with our root. Curiously, both of these vague NAA *comparanda* lead us to an association with the bottom, hind parts.

⁷⁹ Its comparison with Ar. būq- and Geez buq “trumpet” (originally suggested by E. Cerulli) was regarded by W. Leslau (1963: 43) as “doubtful”; instead, he referred to Amharic and Sidamo māqa.

⁸⁰ S. Fraenkel (1886: 284) was probably the first to assume here an Aramaic loan of an ultimate Latin etymology: “[ar.] būq ist entlehnt aus [aram.] būqīnā (*bucina*)”. W. Leslau (1987, l.c.) too considered the Arabic term to be of Latin origin referring to *būcina*, also late Greek *būkinon* (sic). E. Boisacq (1916: 137) derived Latin *būcina* “cor à bouquin” along with *bucca* “joue enflée”, OGreek βυκάνη (f) “cor à bouquin” and OI bukkāra- (m) “le rugissement du lion” etc. from PIE *būq- “1. souffler, et (par là:) 2. produire un son sourd” (onomatopée). A. Walde and J.B. Hofmann (1938 = LEW I 121), in turn, explained Latin *būcina* “Wald-, Jagd-, Hirten-, Signalhorn” (whence OGreek βυκάνη “Trompette” also stemmed from) “nach dem Muster von *māchina* > *μηχάνη* umgesetzt” (pace Kretschmer, KZ 31, 452) as a probable result of *bou-canā < bōs and canō, i.e., as a compound etymologically denoting “das aus einem Rinderhorn gefertigte Blasinstrument”, but “kaum als” *bū-canā “bzw.”

with CCh. *mbik^w-im / *mbuk-um (???)⁸¹ “horn” [Gravina 2014: 377-378] (if such an etymon existed at all)⁸² ||l NOm.: SEOmeto *baḳ- “horn” [GT]: Koyra ussūme baka [Brenzinger], Kachama (Haruro) bokkā [CR] = baḳḳe [Siebert-Hoeft], Ganjule baḳe [Brenzinger] = ʾbakε [Siebert-Hoeft] (Ometo: Bender 2003: 89, #72) ||l HECu.: probably Kambatta boḳu-ta ~ bokḳ-ākata “head” [Hudson 1989: 77: isolated] = boḳ-o “Kopf” [Lamberti 1993b: 330]⁸³ ||l NBrb.: Qabyle a-bbay [γ < *ḳ] “1. tête, 2. calotte crânienne” [Dallet 1982: 32: “rare, unique example connu”; DRB 82: isolated in Brb.] < PAA *√bḳ “cranium” [GT]. Further varieties of this PAA root with diverse C₂ were examined by G. Takács (2022: 672-673, #119 and 677, #124).

98. Toram bookok “margouillat à tête rouge” [Alio 2004: 253, #60] may be perhaps better a cognate to Hassaniyya (Ar. dialect of Mauritania) √bkw > bekku, occurring in: ʿarrem bekku “lézard à la partie postérieure plus large que l’antérieure” [TC 1988: 130: isolated]⁸⁴ than a loan from its merely supposable counterpart in the local (Chadian) Arabic dialect (if any, since no such form was located in Pommerol 1999). The existence of an underlying biradical AA root seems to be corroborated by varieties with C₃ nasal extensions:

98.1. ECh. *bUKUm- “sort of frog” [GT] > Kwang bakkəmǵaálè (m) “caméléon” [Jng. 1973a MS: 4] | Tumak ḃōḃm [GT: < *boHom < **bokom?] (m) “batracien sp.” [Caprile 1975: 4] | DM *bōkum- “frog” [GT]: Karbo (Dangla) fōkamo “frog” [el Minai n.d. MS: 13], Bidiya bōokuma (f), pl. bōokumi “crapaud” [AJ 1989: 59], Migama bōokùmú (m), bōokùmá (f), pl. bōokōmmì “crapaud” [JA 1992: 71].

98.2. NAA *√bgn “frog, lizard” [GT] > Eg. ʿbḥn > ʿbnḥ (root ext. *-ʿ) “Frosch” (Med., Wb I 178, 16) = ʿbḥn “frog” (FD 41) ||l SBrb.: EWlmd. a-bəgəngən, pl. i-bəgəngən-ən, var.

*būc-canā “die bū-Macherin urverw. mit gr. βύκτης usw.” D. Cohen (DRS l.c.), in turn, did not propose any comment on this matter pretending as if Ar. būq- were a native Semitic root. Prof. J. Lentin (Paris, Marseilles), specialist of Arabic dialectology (kind p.c. on 12 Feb. 2023) is also displeased with “the admitted etymology” (i.e. the one so persistent since S. Fraenkel 1886): “I am only half-convinced (why should such a big part of the word disappear?) but I can’t see any better proposition”, so he too supposes it is “most probably a *Fremdwort*.”

⁸¹ The final *-um may be identical with the root extension occurring in anatomical terms (cf. Takács 1997: 261, #7.4.2.).

⁸² Which Gravina (l.c.) reconstructed on the basis of the Tera, Mafa-Mada, Musgu groups. The author thanks for V. Blažek’s (p.c., July 2022) kind remark about the addition of the Chadic root. Still, the real data do not really support such a proto-root which was, by the way, envisaged in JS 1981: 142A as a cluster of root varieties (with no definite ultimate etymon) like PCh. *√mk (Ngizim, Gude, Musgu, Masa, Kwang) > A₁ WCh. *mb^w (N-SBauchi) vs. A₂ *√km (Kotoko), which are, however, all too diverse to be traced back to one common parental root. Undisturbed by this fact, JI 1994 I 94A attempts at setting up a PCh. super-root *√myk “horn” as “a well documented gloss”.

⁸³ M. Lamberti (l.c.) erroneously explained this from ECU. *bVḳ^ʿ- “Wange”, certainly a distinct root.

⁸⁴ E.g., not even a Classical Ar. etymon is known, not listed in DRS 64 etc. Even Catherine Taine-Cheikh, the worldwide number one expert on Zenaga today (kind p.c. on 17 and 20 Feb. 2023), can only guess on its origin in a funny manner as a result of a discussion with her husband (Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh): “Il n’a pas d’idée autre que: ‘faites pleurer’ (impératif pluriel du verbe *bākkā* ‘faire pleurer’. Ce qui n’a pas beaucoup de sens. ... C’est vrai, ce n’est pas une piste bien convaincante. ... quand même que, m’interrogeant sur le prénom Sektou (*səktu*) ..., mon mari m’avait dit ‘je ne vois que <taisez-vous!>’ et j’ai appris, de la bouche de la petite-fille de Sektou (chantée par un poète) que c’était effectivement <taisez-vous!>, ce que le père avait dit en apprenant qu’une fille lui était née: «ne dites rien! ne critiquez pas la naissance d’une fille!». N’est-ce pas une jolie histoire?”

bəgəngəni, pl. bəgəngəni-t-ān “1. esp. de lézard gris, margouillat (esp. de lézard gros), 2. lézard qqç.” [PAM 1998: 6 citing the 2nd sense only; 2003: 14] = a-begengen [DRB 35, BG/ĠN1: isolated in Berber].⁸⁵ Cf. also Tadghaq ā-bagən “varan”, EWImd. ā-bagən, EWImd.-Ayr var. ə-bagən, pl. i-bagən-ān (m) “esp. de petit crocodile vivant dans les mares” [PAM 2003: 14].

98.3. SAA *√PnK “frog, lizard” [GT] > NOm.: Male faŋko “frog” [Siebert 1994-5: 8] || SOm. *fanḳ-a “frog, toad” [GT based on Bender 1994: 150] || WCh.: Miya əbāngu “lizard” [Kraft] | Burma bəngàlà (root ext. -l-) “lizard” [Kraft] || CCh.: Ngwahyi bənzà [-ḫ- < *-g-?] “frog” [Kraft]. A typical Omo-Chadic isogloss. Areal parallel: PKoman *ḅanḳo “frog” [Bender 1983: 281].

99. Toram bəkon “pièce, chambre” [Alio 2004: 253, #58]: a lexeme of controversial etymological background where three entirely different scenarios are offered:

99.1. On the one hand, it might be conceived as a semantically somehow somewhat transformed loan from the dialectal Ar. (Sudan and Chad) bakān “1. endroit, place (Trenqa, Hillelson), 2. place, position, situation (Lethem)” [Roth-Laly 1969-1972: 57] = Chadian Ar. bakān “lieu, endroit, place” [Pommerol 1999: 235], a derivative of the well-known Class. Ar. makān- < √kwn, although one is disturbed by the vocalic difference and the limitation of the semantics to “apartment”.⁸⁶

99.2. On the other hand, it might be a metathesis of an etymon attested, e.g., by NBrb.: Tamazight ta-bniq-t “1. cellule de prison, cellule de fou, guérite, 2. pièce, chambre étroite, 3. petite pièce pour grains et huiles” [DRB 79, BNQ2: isolated].⁸⁷

99.3. Thirdly, and semantically less likely, it could perhaps be affiliated with NBrb.: Shenwa ha-byun-tt “trou pour le foyer” [DRB 84, byn2: isolated in Brb.] || LECu.: Afar buk-n-e “burial, covering, submersion” [PH 1985: 74]. As the analogy for the semantical shifts, cf. Sem.: OSA (Madhabi) nfq “sarcophage”⁸⁸ [Arbach 1993: 75] || NBrb.: Qabyle a-fniq, pl. i-fniq-en “1. coffre, 2. coffert” [Dallet 1982: 210] < SAA *√fnḳ “hole” [GT].⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Combined by K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB l.c.) with EBrb.: Ghadames ɣ-bəgḡān, pl. bəgḡān-en “1. rat, 2. (et aussi) souris (?)” [Lanfry 1973: 7, #0036] = a-begḡān (sic) [DRB] in spite of the semantical difference.

⁸⁶ Corroborated by Prof. J. Lentin (kind p.c. on 12 Feb. 2023) also: “As far as I know, makān for room/chambre/Zimmer is attested only in Yemen ... But one has to remember that ‘room/chambre/Zimmer’ is not really a realis in many Arab countries, where one has to speak of unspecialised spaces, halls etc. used for various activities during the day and/or the night.”, see WAD II 66 (map 199) and 67-69 (commentary), i.a., WAD II 68: “Typisch für den Jemen ist *makān*, das teils dreiradikalig geworden ist ..., teils mit Sonderbedeutung ‘Zimmer in den unteren Stockwerken’ oder nur als ‘Zimmer’, für Hadramaut ... ‘pièce, chambre, en général’.”

⁸⁷ Cf. the entry #107 for Kofa bīḡ (m), pl. béēḡè “house (hut)” [Jng. 1977b MS: 8, #162] in part V of this series (forthc.) for further cognates.

⁸⁸ Affiliated by M. Arbach (l.c.) with Sabaic nfq “exiger qqch. de qqn.”, nfq “obligation”, Qatabani nfwq “obligation”.

⁸⁹ Cf. Sem.: ES (borrowed from Cu.): Amh. fʷanq ~ fənaqʷa “hole” || HECu.: Kambatta and Hadiyya fonq-a “hollow of tree” (ES-HECu.: Leslau 1979 III: 235) || NOm. *pEng-(iy)- “opening, door” [GT] || WCh.: perhaps AS *fuḡ “hole” [GT] (for details see Takács 2004: 111). It is not yet clear whether AS *fuḡ “hole” can be related, cf. alternatively LECu.: PSam *faḡn- ~ *fanḡ- “gap in upper tooth ridge” [Heine 1978: 58/80]. Cf. also AA *√bnk (var. *√bng?) “hole” [GT]. See HSED #803; EDE II 439-440; Takács 2009: 329, NB to #43; EAAN I 103, 488. The PCh. root for “mouth” is surely not related.

100. MT *bokoN “belly” [GT]: Toram bookont “ventre” [Alio 2004: 253, #61], Birgit (Agrab dialect) bək^hóŋ “ventre” [MMW 2007 MS: 43, #13] || WCh.: Warji (Sirzakwai) būgóiná “belly” [Skinner in JI 1994 II 20] = bugina (m), pl. “1. stomach, belly, 2. pregnancy” [Blench MS n.d., 14] || NBrb.: Shilh a-bekniḍ “ventre proéminent, gros ventre” [DRB 51: isolated in Brb.]⁹⁰ || ES: perhaps Tigre bəgganät “vulve” [DRS 43, B/PGN5: isolated in Sem.] < PAA *√bKn(T) “belly” [GT], which seems to have an (inherited?) connotation of a female (preg-nant) belly. Of an ultimate biconsonantal origin⁹¹ just as its root variety with a different nasal C₃ in:

100.1. PAA *√bKm “belly” [GT], cf. SBrb.: eventually Ahaggar bukem “1. être en chaleur (femelle de quadrupède carnivore), 2. être insatiable de plaisirs amoureux”, EWlmd.-Ayr bukem “être en chaleur (femelle de quadrupède carnivore)” (SBrb.: DRB 50, BKM: isolated in Brb.) || SCu.: Dahalo ḥágama “belly” [Ehret 1980: 142, §I.A.74, also 387, Table 4: isolated]⁹² = ḥágama “belly”, ḥágama kantid- “to make pregnant”, ḥágamām-ittse “pregnant” [Tosco 1991: 129] || WCh.: PGoemay *bəŋ or *ḥəŋ (q.v.) “stomach” [GT]: Goemay boeng (mistaken *b-?) [bəŋ] “stomach” [Sirlinger 1937: 18] = ḥəŋ (so, ḥ- & -e-) “stomach” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 3] (Goemay: Takács 2004: 15: isolated in AS). One wonders if CCh.: PMasa *bagum “pig” [GT]⁹³ had derived from the same PAA root.

101. MT *bakal “to eat (hard food?)” > Mubi bəgál (bègîl, biḡáàl) “manger sans sauce (p.ex. du pain)” [Jng. 1990b MS: 4; 2013: 163], Masmaje bákkaàl “manger des aliments” [Alio 2004: 280, #22] | EDangla bàkìlē “manger qqch. en poudre ou en grains fins (ce qui donne du travail aux dents), mastiquer, mâcher” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 33], Bidiya bákàl (bákìlí, bákìleŋ), pl. bákàl (bákàalí, bákàaleŋ) “avalier des aliments tendres ou sans sauce” [AJ 1989: 56] < ECh. *bak(V)- “to eat” [GT]. May be explained two alternative (?) ways (that may well eventually turn out to be ultimately interrelated):

101.1. Either it is to be regarded as a C₃ root extension derivative of the AA root attested by SBrb.: Ahaggar e-bek “se mettre / recevoir dans la bouche (une substance en poudre)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 45], EWlmd.-Ayr ə-bək “se mettre dans la bouche (une substance en poudre ou en grains)”, te-bek “bouchée (petite quantité en poudre qu’on peut mettre dans la bouche)” [PAM 2003: 17] (SBrb.: DRB 46-47, DRB 56-57, BK4: isolated in Brb.).

101.2. Or it could originate in the basic sense “to fill up” of P^{???}/SAA *√bkl [GT], cf. Eg. bk3 [< *bkl?]⁹⁴ “1. schwanger werden/sein (mit dem Samen, mit dem Kinde), 2. (übertragen):

⁹⁰ Regarded by K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB l.c.) as a “formation expressive à préfixe b sur” the simplex root present in NBrb.: Rif a-gniḍ, Snus a-yniḍ, Tamazight i-gneḍ “cœur, moëll de palmier nain”, Shilh a-ḥniḍ “ventre (péj.)” and Central Algerian i-neḍ “datte”.

⁹¹ Cf. the NBauchi parallels (in: JI 1994 II: 20) and the well-known match in LECu. *bUg- “belly” [GT] (reflexes in Dlg. 1973: 270 s.v. *bAk(k)- “живот” with false Oromo and Omotic *comparanda*).

⁹² Ehret 1980: 142, §I.A.74: ~ Qwadza belendayo, pl. be[?]esiko “shoulder” < SCu. *baḥ^w-/*boḥ^w-/*beḥ^w-/*bag-/*beg-/*bog- “chest”. Untenable.

⁹³ Attested by Masa bākum [bāgūm-nā] “le cochon”, [bāgūm-tā] “la truie” [Caitucoli 1983: 48], Masa-Bongor bā:gūm-nā “cochon” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 155]. Alternatively, cf. the entry (no. 92) for Kajakse booge “rhinocéros” [Alio] above.

⁹⁴ The old comparison of Eg. bk3 with Sem. *√bkr “to be first-born” (e.g. Albright 1927: 205; Cohen 1947: 173, #388; Hodge 1976: 11, 16; 1981: 406) is semantically less convincing. This etymology has been rightly abandoned already in HCVA II #89.

a) vom Felde, das schwanger ist (mit Pflanzen) (NK, GR), b) von übervollen (Scheunen) (XIX.), c) vom Himmel, der voll der Güte des Königs ist (XIX.)” (OK-, Wb I 481, 1-9) = “to be(come) pregnant” (FD 85)⁹⁵ || SBrb.: plausible nominal derivative from the primary sense **“to draw water”*⁹⁶ || SCu. *bukul- “to fill up” [Ehret]: perhaps Ma'a -búku [regular loss of *-l] “to draw water” [Ehret]⁹⁷ | Dahalo ɓukul- “to fill in hole” [Ehret & EEN 1989: 34] = ɓükul- “to fill a hole” [Tosco 1991: 130] (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 141, §I.A.64).

*

Special symbols

P: any labial stop (f, p, b, ɸ), T: unspecified dental stop (t, d, ɖ), S: any voiceless sibilant and/or affricate (s, š, ś, c, č, č̣), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ʑ), K: any velar stop (k, g, ɠ), Q: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (q, ɢ, ǀ, ǁ), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (ʕ, ʁ, ʕ, h, ʔ). The vertical strokes signify the degree of closeness of the language groups (e.g. Kotoko | Masa), 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, Wlm(d): Tawlemmet, Y: Young(er) Babylonian).

⁹⁵ The semantic shift “full” → “pregnant” is evident, cf. Eg. dnj “nachfüllen (mit Wasser zum Verdünnen des Bieres)” (Math., Wb V 464, 3; GHWb 981), cf. jdn “erfüllen, ausfüllen” (CT, AWb II 456c; GHWb 118) || WCh.: Sura dūn “voll, nicht hohl (?)”, cf. dūn kə wur “jungfräuliche Brust, die noch nicht gesaugt worden ist” [Jng. 1963: 63] || Sem.: Soqotri dīnih “to be pregnant” [Leslau], Mehri dny “to conceive”, dānyēt “pregnant” [Johnstone], Jibbali (Shahri) dīnī “to be pregnant” [Leslau] || ES: cf. Gurage-Gyeto and -Ennemor dānʔa “to be covered (cattle), be coupled, conceive (cattle)” (MSA: Leslau 1938: 130-131; Johnstone 1987: 72). Sura-Sem.: Müller 1975: 68, #63.

⁹⁶ Cf. EWlmd. ǎ/ə-bokal “louche en métal ou en bois” [PAM 2003: 20] = e-bokal [DRB 59, BKL 2: isolated].

⁹⁷ Ehret l.c.: “i.e., ‘to fill waterpot’”.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich (as quoted in Lukas 1937, 1941), AJ: Alio & Jungrauthmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein & Kazimirski, Brt.: Barreateau, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, DM: Drower & Macuch, DMT: Dakouli, Maaß, Toomey, EEN: Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, HLDPBMA: Haller, Lawarum, Douatai, Pourtshom, Baitoua, Magdeme, Amadou, Ibr.: Ibrizimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungrauthmayr & Adams, JI: Jungrauthmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungrauthmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrauthmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, MMW: Marti, Mbernodji, Wolf, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Nct.: Nachtigal, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, RL: Roth-Laly, SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics, SPM: Shryock, Palomo, Martin, Srl.: Sirlinger, TC: Taïne-Cheikh, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, WP: Weibegué & Palayer.

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