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LEXICA AFROASIATICA VI

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

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Comparative-historical Afro-Asiatic linguistics has undergone a significant development over the past half century, since the appearance *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* (1947) by Marcel Cohen. This revolutionary and fundamental synthesis concluded the second great period of the comparative research on Afro-Asiatic lexicon (the so-called “old school”, cf. EDE I 2–4). During the third period (second half of the 20th century), whose beginning was hallmarked by the names of J.H. Greenberg and I.M. Diakonoff, an enormous quantity of new lexical material (both descriptive and comparative) has been published, including a few most recent attempts (either unfinished or rather problematic) at compiling an Afro-Asiatic comparative dictionary (SISAJa I–III, HCVA I–V, HSED, EHRET 1995).

During my current work on the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (Leiden, since 1999-, E.J. Brill), I have collected a great number of new AA parallels, which – to the best of my knowledge – have not yet been proposed in the literature (I did my best to note it wherever I noticed an overlapping with the existing Afro-Asiatic dictionaries). Along the EDE project (and the underlying “Egyptian etymological word catalogue”), I have started collecting AA roots (not attested in Egyptian) for a separate Afro-Asiatic root catalogue in late 1999.¹

The series *Lexica Afroasiatica* started in 2002² in order to contribute to the existing and published materials of comparative Afro-Asiatic lexicon with new lexical correspondences observed recently during my work, which may later serve as basis of a new synthesis of the Afro-Asiatic comparative lexicon. The present part of this series is a collection of new Afro-Asiatic etymologies with the Proto-Afro-Asiatic initial bilabial nasal (*m-), which results directly from my research at Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften of Frankfurt a/M (in 1999–2000 and 2002) guided by Prof. H. Jungraithmayr.³

¹ The lexical comparisons presented in this paper issue from a long-range project of an Afro-Asiatic comparative dictionary, and, henceforth, represent the copyright of the author.

² The first part of this series (lexical parallels with with PAA *b-) has appeared in *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (Köln) 67 (2002), 103–151. The second part (additional lexical roots with AA *b-) was published Kogan L. (ed.): *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute, Issue III: Studia Semitica* (Moscow 2003, Russian State University for the Humanities, pp. 331–348). My paper *Lexica Afroasiatica III* (new AA roots with *p-) appeared in Takács G.: *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl* (Leiden 2003, E.J. Brill, pp. 510–550), while *Lexica Afroasiatica IV* (with new etymologies with AA *f-) was published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* (Budapest) 57(4) (2004), 457–473. The following part, *Lexica Afroasiatica V* (new AA roots with *ǰ-, *P-) appeared in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 9 (2004), 159–178.

³ The author expresses his deep gratitude to Prof. Herrmann Jungraithmayr and the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn) for the support of his research at the Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften (Frankfurt a/M, Germany) in 1999–2000, 2002, when materials for the present article have been gathered. Thanks are due also to the OTKA (Hungarian National Scientific Research Fund) for supporting my work on the 3rd volume of EDE since 2003.

The numeration of the etymological entries is continuous beginning from the first part of the series *Lexica Afroasiatica*.

Each entry is headed by the proposed PAA root (as tentatively reconstructed by myself). Author names are placed after the quoted linguistic forms in square brackets [] mostly in an abbreviated form (a key can be found at the end of the paper). The lexical data in the individual lexicon entries have been arranged in the order of the current classification of the Afro-Asiatic daughter languages (originating from J.H. GREENBERG 1955, 1963 and I.M. DIAKONOFF 1965) in 5 (or 6) equivalent branches: (1) Semitic, (2) Egyptian, (3) Berber, (4) Cushitic, (5) Omotic (sometimes conceived as West Cushitic), (6) Chadic. For a detailed list of all daughter languages cf. EDE I 9–34. The number of vertical strokes indicate the closeness of the language units from which data are quoted: ||| separate branches (the 6 largest units within the family), || groups (such as East vs. South Cushitic or West vs. East Chadic), while | divides data from diverse sub-groups (e.g., Angas-Sura vs. North Bauchi within West Chadic).

Since we know little about the Proto-Afro-Asiatic vowel system, the proposed list of the reconstructed Proto-Afro-Asiatic forms is arranged according to consonantal roots (even the nominal roots). Sometimes, nevertheless, it was possible to establish the root vowel, which is given in the paper additionally in brackets. The lexical parallels suggested herein, are based on the preliminary results in reconstructing the consonant correspondences achieved by the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff (available in a number of publications⁴) as well as on my own observations refining the Russian results (most importantly TAKÁCS 2001). The most important results can be summarized as follows. The labial triad **b – *p – *f* remained unchanged in Egyptian, South Cushitic, and Chadic, while the dental series **d – *t – *ʈ* was kept as such by Semitic and South Cushitic (AA **ʈ* continued as **d* in Berber, Cushitic and Chadic, and it was merged into *t* vs. *d* in Egyptian). The fine distinction of the diverse sibilant affricates and spirants (AA **c, *ʒ, *ç, *s, *ʕ, *ʃ, *ç, *š, *c, *ç, *s̄*) was best preserved in Semitic, South Cushitic and West Chadic (while some of these phonemes suffered a merger in other branches and groups). The Russian scholars assumed a triad of postvelar (uvular) stops with a voiceless spirant counterpart: **g, *q, *q̣*, and **h*, the distinction of which was retained in Cushitic and Chadic, but was merged into **h* in Semitic and Egyptian. In a number of cases, however, it is still difficult to exactly reconstruct the root consonants on the basis of the available cognates (esp. when these are from the modern branches, e.g., Berber, Cushitic-Omotic, or Chadic). In such cases, the corresponding capitals are used (denoting only the place of articulation).⁵

Gábor Takács, Institute of Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Dept. of Egyptology, ELTE, Székesfehérvár, Hungary

**m-*

475. AA **m* “in, from” > Eg. *m* “1. in, 3. from, out of” (OK, Wb II 1–2; FD 99; EG 1927, §162) → adv. *jm* “da, dort, dorthin” (OK, Wb I 72) = “there(in), therewith, therefrom” (FD 17) ||| Sem.: perhaps Geez *ʔam* “from, out of (place) etc.” [Lsl. 1987, 22] and Gafat *ammā* ~ *mā* “à, dans (lieu, temps), de” [Lsl. 1956, 176] ||| Agaw: Kemant *-ɲā* [reg. < **mā*] (postp.) “dans” [CR 1912, 239] ||| NOm.: Benesho *-m ~ -n* “on, at, in” [Wdk. 1990, 115] ||| WCh.: Fyer *ʔm ~ m* “nach, zu, an, in” [Jng. 1970, 87] | Kupto *-m/-m* “in”, cf. *mā* “von” [LEGER 1992, 20, 27] || CCh.: Glavda *mā ~ má* “in, from, within, out of” [RB 1968, 61], Mnd. *ám* (preverb) “hinein, herein” [WOLFF 1974, 19], Dghwede *me* “in, into, apart” [FRICK 1976, 8] || Ech.: Mubi *má* “1. her von, 2. beim Komparativ, 3. Und” [Lks. 1937, 184]. Here might

The first draft of the present paper was prepared in 2003. A thorough updating and some additions have been made in autumn 2006.

⁴ Cf. DIAKONOFF 1984, 1988: 34–41, 1992, DIAKONOFF et al. 1987, 1993, SISAJa I–III; HCVA I–V.

⁵ E.g., the symbol (**P-*) signifies any unknown initial labial, just as, e.g., **T* stands for any unknown dental stop (**d, *t* or **ʈ*) or **K* for any unknown velar stop (**g, *k* or **ḳ*) or **Q* for any unknown postvelar/uvular (**g, *q* or **q̣*), while **H* for any laryngeal or pharyngeal (**ʔ, *h, *ʕ, *h, also *ɣ*).

belong the Akk. adv. case ending *-um* (Djk.: *-m* here was not the mimation) which I.M. DIKONOFF (1988, 61) took from AA **-Vm* “locatativus-adverbialis”.

476. AA *m “with → by means of” > Eg. *m* “2. mit” (OK, Wb II 1–2) = “2. with, by means of, together with” (FD 99; EG 1927, §162) ||| Om.: cf. perhaps Ongota (if it belongs with Om.) *-mi* ~ *-me* “by (means of), with (noun suffix, agentive or instrumental)” [Flm. 1992, 212] ||| WCh.: Sura *móɔ* (prep.) “and, with” [Jng. 1963, 75], isolated in AS (GT 2004, 250) | Kupto *má* “zusammen, mit” [LEGER 1992, 20] || CCh.: Hide (Htk.) *má* “de, à partir de, dans, à” [EGUCHI 1971, 216] | Mbara *máy* “with” [TSL 1986, 271, 284] || ECh.: Mgm. *má* “avec” [JA 1992, 105].

477. AA *m (prep.) “as, like” > Eg. *m* (*der Identität*) “als” (OK, Wb II 1–2) = “4. as, namely (m of predication)” (FD 99; EG 1927, #162) is cognate with NBrb.: Ikhebdenen & Iqrayen & Temsaman & Uriaghel *am* “comme, ceque” [BIARNAY 1917, 83], Sgrs. *am* “comme” [PELLAT 1955, 103], Izn. & Bqy. & Amr. *am* “comme” [Rns. 1932, 382] = *am* “comme, environ” [ABÈS 1916, 110], Bettiwa *am* “comme” [Brn. 1911, 183], Mzg. *am(m)* “(indique la comparaison, la manière) comme, tel (que), à l’instar de, 2. aussi bien que, aussi ... que” [TAIFI 1991, 398], Ait Said *m* “quand, comme” [ALLATI 1986, 10], Mzab *am* ~ *an* (prép.) “comme” [Dlh. 1984, 113], Wrg. *am* “comme” [Dlh. 1987, 181], Zayan & Sgugu *am* “comme” [Lbg. 1924, 563], Nfs. *am* “come (comparativo di uguaglianza)” [Bgn. 1931, 259] | Qbl. *am* (prep.) “comme” [Dlt. 1982, 478] || EBrb.: Siwa & Sokna *am* “comme” [Lst. 1931, 217], Audjila *am* “come (avverbio di maniera)” [Prd. 1960, 163] || SBrb.: Hgr. *am* “as, like” [PRASSE 1972, 230] ||| WCh.: Krkr. *mú* “Partikel am Ende des Temporalsatzes: als” [Lks. 1966, 230] || CCh.: Mbara *mày* “comme, aussi” [TSL 1986, 271] || ECh.: Mubi *má* “beim Komparativ” [Lks. 1937, 184]. Cf. also LECu.: Som. *may* “Gleichnis” [Rn. 1902, 306].

478. AA *m “when, while” [GT] > Eg. *m* “5. (before suff. conj.) when, as, though etc.” (FD 99; EG 1927, #162) ||| NBrb.: Warsenis & Tarudant *ma* “lorsque” & Shawya *ma* “si” [Bst. 1890, 310], Bettiwa *mi* “lorsque” [Brn. 1911, 183], Mzab *mmi* “quand, lorsque” [Dlh. 1984, 114], Wrg. *mmi* “quand, lorsque” [Dlh. 1987, 182] | Qbl. *mi* “lorsque, quand” [Dlt. 1982, 477], Zwawa *ma* “si” [Bst. l.c.] etc. || SBrb.: Hgr. *emmi* [Fcd. 1951–2] ||| CCh.: Bura *ma* “if, when” [BED 1953, 126], Margi *mà* “1. if, when, 2. Before” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 123] | Malgwa *má* “wenn, falls” [LÖHR 2002, 212], Glavda *ma* “if” [RB 1968, 61] || ECh.: Mgm. *máa* “lorsque, quand” [JA 1992, 105].

479. AA *m (act. **ma*?) (particle of emphasis) > Sem. **-ma* (emphatic part.) [GT]: Akk. *-ma* “hervorhebende Partikel und Konjunktion: 1. zur meist identifizierenden Heraushebung einzelner Wörter”, cf. *-mi* ~ *-me* (all) “wird in zitierter direkten Rede an betonte Wörter angehängt” [AHW 560, 650] || Ar. *mā* “Partikel zum Nachdruck”, e.g. *yā ‘ayni fā-bkī mā banī asadī* “O mein Auge beweine die Bani Asadī” [Nöldeke apud Ember] || ES: Geez *-mma* “particle of emphasis: precisely, quite, then” [Lsl. 1987, 323], Har. *-ma* “as to, indeed” [Lsl. 1963, 102] ||| Eg. *m* (encl. part.) “doch: 1. nach einem Imperativ (z.B. sage doch, komme doch!), 2. jw *m* (MK) als Satzanfang in Briefen” (OK, Wb II 36, 6–7) = “(nach Imperativ, selten davor) bitte, dich!” (GHWb 323) = “please, pray” (DLE I 210) ||| WCh.: Goemai *ma* “indeed” [Srl. 1937, 132] | cf. perhaps Dera *ammá* “but” [Nwm. 1974, 121] || CCh.: Gisiga *ma* “verstärkerndes ma: doch, auch” [Lks. 1970, 127] || ECh.: Mokilko *mê, mē* “Verstärkungspartikel” [Lks. 1975, 224].

Lit.: The Eg.-Sem. comparison was first proposed by A. EMBER (1914, 303–304, #2).

480. AA *m or ***m-y** “person”: Brb. **i-m-an* “soul(s)” (pl. affixes **i-...-an* attached to the orig. root **m*) [GT]: NBrb.: Mzab *iman* “âme, esprit, soi” [Dlh. 1984, 114], Wargla *iman* “âme, personne” [Dlh. 1987, 182], Izn. *imân* “âme, vie, personne” [Rns. 1932, 390], Qbl. *iman* [Dlt. 1982, 503] || EBrb.: Siwa & Gdm. & Nfs. *iman* “âme” [Lst. 1931, 194] || SBrb.: Hgr. *iman* [Fcd. 1951–2, 1138], EWlm. & Ayr *iman* “1. âme(s), 2. principe de vie, 3. personne” [PAM 1998, 207; 2003, 517] (Brb.: NZ 1998, 140–1, §128) || ECu.: Dasenech (Galab) *mú* “homo”, *má* “vir” [SASSE 1974, 422] = *má* “person, man”, *mi* ~ *mú* “man, person” [TOSCO 2001, 516] || SCu. **mi* “people” [Ehret] = **mV*, orig. perhaps **mu* [GT]: WRift: Irq. & Grw. *mu* (pl.) “people (persons)” [Wtl. 1958, 24], Qwd. *me?-iko* “people” [Ehr. 1980 MS, 4] | Ma’a *m-mú* “person”, *va-mú* “people” [TB 1974, 193; Ehr. 1974 MS, 46; Mous 1996, 207: < Irq.] (SCu.: EHRET 1980, 160, #55) || NOM.: Wolayta *moy-tilliya* & Gamu & Zayse *moy-tille* “ghost” [Lmb.] | Yemsa (Janjero) *mé* “vielleicht Menschen, Frauen” [Lmb. 1993, 362] | Shinasha *mēyá* “Geist” [Lmb.] | Sezo *may* “man (vir)” [Bnd.] = *mə*: “man” [Sbr.-Wdk.], Hozo *mōó* “uomo” [Grt. 1940, 356] = *mo* “man (vir)” [Bnd. 1990] = “person” [Bnd. 1994, 1159, #62] = *mə*: “man” [Sbr.-Wdk.] (Mao: Bnd. 1990, 610, #148; Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 14; NOM.: Lmb. 1993, 364) || WCh. **m[a]y-* “person” [GT]: PGmy. **may* (with prefix **kə-* sg. vs. **mə-* pl.) “man” [GT 2004, 243–4]: Gmy. *goe-mai* “an inhabitant of the Ankwe land” [Srl. 1937, 64] = *mó-mai* (pl.) “Mann, Mensch” [Jng. 1962 MS, 2] = *gə-mai* “Goemai”, *mə-mai* (pl.) “people” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 11, 22] | BT **mu/*mi*, pl. **miya* “person” [Schuh] = **m-m* “man (vir), male, person” [JS 1981, 174: A₃/2] = **mUy-* ~ **miy-* (sg.) “person” & **mī-mi* ~ **miya* (pl.) “people” [GT]: Bole *méémù* (sg.), *míʔyá* (pl.) [Schuh] = *me:mu* “vir, person” [IL] = *memu* “person” [Meek], Tangale *miye* (pl.) “Menschen” [Jng. 1957, 149] = *muu* ~ *mu* “Mann, Person” [Jng. 1991, 122], Bele *móyyò* (sg.), *mùimò* (pl.) [Schuh], Maha *mòò* “people” [ALIO 1988 MS], Kirfi *múimí* (sg.), *mùini* (pl.) “person” [Schuh], Galambu *mù* (sg.) [Schuh] = *mí* “person(al spirit)” [ALIO 1988 MS], Geruma *múimi* (sg.), *mùnú* (pl.) “person” [Schuh], Dera *mu* “home” [Pls. 1958, 78] = *mú*, pl. *míyá* [Schuh] = *mami* “Mann”, *múu* “Mann, Mensch, Person”, *miya* “Leute, Volk” [Jng. 1966 MS, 10–11] = *máami* “husband, male” [Nwm. 1974, 129] = *múú* “person (homo), man” [KIDDA 1991 MS, 1], Kwami *múu*, pl. *míyá* “Mensch, Person” [LEGER 1992, 28; 1993, 172] = “human being, person” [Jng.-Leger], Krkr. *mán* (pl.) [Schuh], Kupto *múu*, pl. *míyá* “Mensch, Person” [LEGER 1992, 21], Kushi *mémé* (pl.) “human being, person” [Jng.-Leger], Piya *míyá* (sg.) “person” [Jng.-Leger] (BT: SCHUH 1978, 150; 1984, 211; Jng.-Leger 1993, 167) | Guruntum *mu* “man, person” [Jgr. 1989, 186–7], Jimi *ma* “Mann” [Gowers], Bubure *múmó* “person (homo)”, *mìmmìjé* “people” [HARUNA 1992 MS, #a001–2], Dokshi *mii* “person” [Smz. 1978, 29, #39] (WCh.: JI 1994 II, 230) || CCh.: Bata *meyé* “personne” [Mch.] = *m(y)á* “person, s’one” [PWEDDON 2000, 52] = *ma* “(male) person” [BOYD 2002, 56] | Logone *mee* ~ *meea* (in gen. cstr.: *mi* ~ *mii* ~ *miia* ~ *miie*) “Leute” [Nct. apud Lks. 1936, 108–9], Buduma *mwey* “home” [GAUDICHE 1938, 20], Gulfeí *mējwe* (pl.) “Männer” [Lks. 1937, 150], Ngala *moi* “people” [Mgd. 1922, 236] (W-CCh.: JI 1994 II, 266–7) || ECh.: Gabri *kà-mā* “personne” [Cpr. 1972 MS]. For the AA etymology see also Mkr. 1981, 210, #38.A (SCu.-Mao); 1987, 253 (BT-Mao); OREL 1995, 108, #119 (PWCh.-POm.-PRift).

NB1: A.B. DOLGOPOLSKY (2005, 26) reconstructs PBrb. **-mān* “soul, person” ~ Eg. *mn* “a such-and-such” < Nst. **mefy/nū* “o’self, one’s own, body”. Improbable.

NB2: JI (1994 I, 115) explained the Ch. forms from PCh. **m-t-m*, while R.M. VOIGT (1998, 612) erroneously assumed a derivation of the them either (!) from PCh. **m-t* or **m-n* “Mann”.

481. AA *m-d “to press”: SBrb.: Hgr. *e-mdi* “enfoncer sous terre près de la surface du sol” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1160] ||| LECu. **m-d* “to (op)press” [GT]: Oromo *mudda* “to press, tighten, torment” [GRAGG 1982, 292], Oromo-Borana *mudda* ~ *mudd-ita* “to press, tighten, frighten, scare, disturb” [Strm. 1995, 211] | Rendille *a-mīda* “ich belästige, bedränge, dominiere mit Gewalt” [SCHLEE 1978, 140, #773] | HECu.: Sidamo *mudda* “to hasten, hurry (tr.), press” [Gsp. 1983, 239]. A var. root to AA **m-t* “to press” (below).

482. AA *m-d “to work, serve”: LECu.: Som. *midīdīn* “servant, assistant” [Abr. 1964, 179] ||| NOM.: Omt. *mad-* “lavorare, servire, ministrare, aintare” [Mrn. 1938, 143] ||| Ch. **m-d* “slave” [JS 1981, 236: B4] > CCh.: Gisiga *modro* “Diener” [Lks. 1970, 130], Balda(mu) *māddai* “Sklave” [Str. 1922–23, 119; not recorded by Trn. 1987, 54] ||| ECh.: Tumak *māād* “esclave” [Cpr. 1975, 81].

NB: Not clear if NEg. *m3dj.w* (provided it was a group-writing for **mdj.w*) (pl.) “Diener, die Speisen zutragen” (XIX., Wb II 35, 5) = “waiters, servers (of food)” (DLE I 209) = “Diener, Aufwärter” (GHWb 322) also belongs here.

483. AA *m-d “to help, protect” > Ar. *madda* I “10. prêter assistance à qqn., l’aider avec qqch.”, IV “2. aider, assister qqn., lui donner des secours (en troupes, en vivres, etc.); envoyer des troupes auxiliaires à qqn.”, X “1. demander des secours, de l’assistance chez qqn. contre qqn.” [BK II 1075–6] ||| LECu.: Somali *mād* “protection”, *mād-iy-* “to protect, safeguard” [LS] ||| NOM. **mād-* “to help” [LS 1997, 456] ||| WCh.: perhaps Tangale *madj* “to protect, help, save” [Jng. 1991, 118].

NB: O.V. STOLBOVA (1996, 113) equated Tng. *madj* (semantically unconvincingly) with CCh.: Mafa *meč-* “donner tout ce que est dû à qqn.”.

484. AA *m-d “to reap” > SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr *a-məd* “1. cueillir (produits végétaux comestibles etc.), 2. ramasser (bois de chauffage; produit sauvage qqch.), 3. arracher, lever (racines, arachides, pommes de terre etc., à la moisson)” [PAM 2003, 520] ||| HECu.: Kmb. & Sid. *mid-* “to cut crops, reap” [Hds. 1989, 46].

485. AA *m-d “(to accumulate in) mass of water” > Ar. *mdd* I “8. être en crue (se dit des eaux d’un fleuve), monter (de la mer, de la marée)”, IV “être plein de sève, être juteux (se dit des plantes)”, *madd-* “2. crue des eaux, 3. marée montante, flux de la mer” [BK II 1076–77] ||| NBrb.: Shilh *ta-mda* “lac, étang, mare” [Lst. 1942, 59, §148] | Mzg. *mdu* “1. stagner, croupir (eau), 2. être rempli d’eau (cuve, cuvette, puits, fossé etc.), *a-mda* ~ *a-nda* “étang, lac, mare”, *ta-mda* ~ *ta-nda* ~ *ta-nda* “mare, flaque” [TAIFI 1991, 402–3], Izdeg *a-mda* “étang”, *ta-mda* “marais, mare” [Mrc. 1937, 107, 161–2] | Iznasen & Senhazha *ta-mda* “flaque d’eau, trou profond dans un cours d’eau” [Rns. 1932, 385], Menaser *ta-mḍa* “(désigne) les mares d’eau restant dans le lit des fleuves quand ceux-ci sont desséchés” [Bst.] | Qbl. *ta-mda* ~ *ti-medwa* “mare, réservoir, bassin” [Dlt. 1982, 486], Bugi *ta-mda* “étang” [Bst.] ||| EBrb.: Gdm. *te-mda* “potager” [Bst.] = *ta-māda*, pl. *t-mədw-an* “jardin de palmerie, irrigable” [LANFRY 1973, 197, #968] (Brb.: Bst. 1885, 166) ||| Bed. *mādq* “deep water, sea” [Hds. 1996, 89] ||| LECu.: Orm. *madd-ā* “(last drop of) water”, *madd-isa* “to drink up” [GRAGG 1982, 273] | HECu.: Burji *madd-ō* “spring”, *madd-* “to spring (flow from spring)” [Sasse] = *madd-ó* “spring of water” [Hds. 1989, 141].

NB: E. Laoust (l.c.) derived the Brb. word (with prefix *m-*) from \sqrt{d} , cf. Hgr. *ē-du* “mouiller, imprégner d’un liquide et être imbibé” [Lst.].

486. AA *m-d (perhaps **mud-/m^wad-*?) “groin” > ES (borrowed < Oromo): Wolane *mu-damudo* “groin” [Lsl.] ||| LECu.: Oromo *mudāmuddī* “groin” [GRAGG 1982, 292] | HECu.: Hadiya *muday-iččo* “groin” [Lsl.], Qabenna *možožži-ta* “groin” [Lsl.] (ECu.: Lsl. 1986, 378) ||| WCh.: AS **m^wat* [-t < *d# reg.] (prefixed by **po-*) “groin” [GT 2004, 259]: Angas *po-mwat* “groin” [GOCHAL 1994, app.], Mpn. *mwát* “private parts (male or female, not an obscene word)” [Frj. 1991, 39], Msr. *po-mwat* “cervix”, *sorop ku po-mwat* “women have cervix” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 250]. Eventually related to AA **m-t* “waist” (below)?

487. AA *m-t “to press” > Ar. *matta* V: *tamattā* “s’ appuyer fortement sur un bout de la corde, voulant la casser” [BK II 1055] ||| LECu.: Orm.-Borana *mit-ō* “force, oppression”, *mit-is/fa* “to compel, force, press” [Strm. 1995, 210]. A var. root to AA **m-d* “to press” (above).

488. AA *m-t (var. **m-t?*) “waist, hip” > Sem. **matn-* [ext. **-n-*?] “hip and small of the back” [SED I 173–4, #192] ||| LECu.: Oromo *mudd-ī* [-d- reg. < **-t-*] “waist” [GRAGG 1982, 293; Hds. 1989, 163] ||| WCh.: perhaps SBch. **m^ws-* “hip, waist” [GT]: Guruntum *muusi* [-s- < **-t-* reg.] “hip” [JAGGAR 1989, 185], Guus & Sigidi *miis* [-s < **-t* reg.] “waist” [CARON 2001, 29]. Eventually related to AA **m-d* “groin” (above)?

NB: Cf. perhaps also WCh.: PAngas **m^wat* “trunk, stem (of a tree)” [GT 2004, 259]

489. AA *m-t “bone” > Bed. *mita* “Knochen” [Lmb. 1993, 352 with a false Cu. etymology] ||| WCh.: SBch. **m^wat* “bone” [GT]: Zaar *mwæt* [IL apud JI 1994 II 36], Zaar of Gambar Leere *mwàt* [Smz.], Zaar of Lusa *mwát* [Smz.], Zakshi *mwat* [Smz.] (SBch.: Smz. 1978, 21).

490. AA *m-t “to eat” > NOM.: NWOmt. **mitt-* “to swallow” [GT]: Wolayta & Dawro & Dache *mitt-* “to swallow” [LS 1997, 472], Gamu *mitt-* “to swallow” [SOTTILE 1999, 439] ||| CCh.: Fali *mitá* “to swallow” [ENNULAT 1976 MS, 2, #40] | (?) Gisiga *módi* [-d- < **-t-*?] “to ruminate” [Rsg. 1978, 318, #600] | Masa *mūt-nā* “manger (en méchant)” [Ctc. 1978, 73] = “manger (grains)” [Jng. 1973 MS] = *mūt-nā* “to eat (soft things)” [Jng. in JI 1994 II, 121], Ham & Musey & Lew & Marba *mūt* “mâcher, manger graines crues” [AJELLO 2001, 34–35]. An old var. root is attested in AA **m-t* (below).

491. AA *m-t ~ *m-d “to hit” > ES: Amh. *mätta* “to hit” [Hds. 1989, 80], cf. perhaps also Geez *madada* “1. to hit, 2. execute, 3. Spread” [Lsl. 1987, 329 with a diff. Sem. etymology] ||| NOM.: Nayi *mútn-* “to beat” [Bnd. 1996 MS, 3, #43] ||| WCh.: PAngas **m^wat* > **ma₃t* (?) “to beat” [GT 2004, 259]: Angas *muat* “to beat, strike” [ORMSBY 1914, 208, 315] = *mwat* ~ *mwot* ~ *mat* “to beat, strike” [Flk. 1915, 250–251] = *mwàt* ~ *mwòt* (K) “schlagen, hauen, to beat” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] = *mot* (sg.) “to hit” [ALC 1978, 39] = *mwàt* “to hit” [Krf.] = *mwàt* “to hit” [Gcl. 1994, 69, 120].

NB: P. NEWMAN (1970, 42) equated Angas *mwat* with Hausa *maar-* [-r- < **-d-*] “to beat, slap”.

492. AA *m-t “to wish”: SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr *məḍəmmud-ət* “désirer ardemment”, *e-māḍəmmād* “désir” [PAM 1998, 210; 2003, 525] ||| HECu. **miṭ-* “to wish (for)” [Hds. 1989, 169] || SCu. **miṭ-* (?) [GT] > Irq. *mits-īm* “to long for” [MQK 2002, 74] ||| ECh.: Kwang *mèḍi* “demander (qqch. à qqn.)” [Jng. 1973, 47], Kwang-Mobu *mè:ḍi* “to request (demander)” [Jng. 1972 MS, 22, #586] = *móḍé* “demander” [LENSSEN; Brt.-Jng. 1990, 148: < **m-d*], Ngam *mèḍi* “demander (qqch. à qqn.)” [LENSSEN 1984, 69] | Birgit *màaḍi* “demander” [Jng. 1973 MS; 2004, 356].

NB: Perhaps remotely related to a better known (already published) AA root, namely AA **m-[h]-d* “to ask, beg”

[GT]: Brb. **m-[h]-d* “to beg” [GT]: EBrb.: Audjila *mūd* “pregare” [Prd. 1960, 172], Gdm. *mūd* “prier” [LANFRY 1973, 193–4, #965] → *a-mudu* “prière” [Lst. 1931, 284] || SBrb. **muhed* [Ksm.]: Hgr. *muḥad* “prier, réciter” [Prs.], EWlm. *mud* “prier” [PAM 1998, 208], Ghat *muhed* “réciter en priant” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1156–7] = *muḥad* “prier” [Prs.] (SBrb.: Prs. 1969, 79, #516; Ksm. 1999, 74) || ECh.: Jegu *maad-* [-ā- < **-ah-*] “fragen” [Jng. 1961, 114]. Cf. also Ch. **ʔVnd-* “to ask” [GT]: WCh.: Bole *ʔund-* “(an)rufen” [Lks. 1971, 133] || ECh.: WDng. *indē* “demander (?)” [FÉDRY; Brt.-Jng. 1990, 148: < **m-d*], EDng. *indē* “fragen” [Ebs. 1987, 82], Bdy. *ʔindē* “demander” [Fédry] (DM: FÉDRY 1977, 107) < **H-m-d* [GT]? For the Brb.-Jegu comparison see HSED #1788. Needless to say that this AA root has nothing to do with Eg. *mdw* “sprechen, reden” (OK, Wb II 179) as suggested in IS 1976, #311 & HSED.

493. AA **m-t* (var. **m-tʔ*) “1. to be hidden, 2. disappear”: HECu. **māt-* “to hide (tr.)” → **māt-am-* “to hide (intr.)” [Hds. 1989, 79] > i.a. Sidamo *maṭ* “nascondere” [Crl. 1938 II, 215] = *māta* (sic, -*t-*) “to conceal, hide” [Gsp. 1983, 227] || SCu.: Ma’a *-matu* “to hide” [EHRET 1974 MS, 44; 1980, 156, #29] ||| WCh.: Hausa *máḍè* “to be extinguished” [Abr. 1962, 630] || CCh.: Margi *máḍ* (adv.) “hiding in the ground (?)” [Hfm. apud RK 1973, 125] | Uldeme *-mámàḍ-* “1. disparaître, périr, 2. se cacher” [Clm. 1997, 199] || ECh.: Kera *mété* “sich verstecken” [EBERT 1976, 80].

NB1: Ch. EHRET (1980 l.c.) combined the Ma’a verb with Rift **mah/h-* “shadow” < SCu. **mah*, which is a false etymology.

NB2: JI 1990 MS, 2, §33 explained ECh.: Sarwa *mōsā* & Gadang *mós* “cacher” from Ch. **m-t*.

494. AA **m-t* “to eat” > NBrb.: Mzg. *mḍey* “goûter (la nourriture)” [TAIFI 1991, 406], Izdeg *mḍi* “goûter” [Mrc. 1937, 130] | Mzab *ṣ-mḍi* “1. goûter, 2. se rendre compte en goûtant” [Dlh. 1984, 116], Iznasen *tu-mḍiḥ-t* “action de faire goûter qqch. à qqn.” [Rns. 1932, 385] ||| HECu.: Sidamo *mummūṭa* “to chew, keep sg. sweet in one’s mouth”, *muṭa* ~ *mummuṭa* “to suck (child)”, *muṭṭi muṭṭi assa* “to suck a liquid” [Gsp. 1983, 241, 243] ||| WCh.: Hausa *móóḍè* “1. to gulp down all of liquid, 2. suck in (lips)” [Abr. 1962, 677]. A var. root is present in AA **m-t* “to eat” (above).

495. AA **m-t* “1. sweet, 2. good” > Om. **mAt* “good” [Bnd. 1994, 1156, #34] > i.a. Hozo *maṭṭi* [Bnd.] ||| WCh. **m-d-* “sweetness” [HARUNA 1993, 78, #44]: presumably Hausa *máḍi* “a sweet drink made from juice of sugar-cane and various trees” [Abr. 1962, 630] | Grnt. *m^aaḍami* “sweet” [Jgr. 1989, 188] || CCh.: Hurzo *màḍáy* [Rsg. 1978, 339, #712] || ECh.: Birgit *màaʔžèṅ* [-ʔž- < **-d-* < **-t-* reg.] “bon” [Jng. 2004, 356].

496. AA **m-t* (perhaps **mut*, var. **m-t*) “to change”: NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu *muṭṭi* “1. changer, 2. être versatile (individu), 3. se déplacer, décamper” [Lbg. 1924, 568] || WBrb.: Zenaga *√m-t-k* > *a-mtettek* “changement” [Bst. 1909, 241] || SBrb.: Hgr. *mutti* “1. être changé, 2. changer” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1259], EWlm. & Ayr *māṭṭāy* “être change” [PAM 2003, 567] ||| LECu.: Oromo *mūṭa* “1. to change (intr.), 2. shed skin (snake)” [GRAGG 1982, 296] = *mūṭā* “to change (intr.)” [Hds. 1989, 38] ||| CCh.: PMasa **muḍ* > **mbud* “to change” [GT]: Gizey/Wina *mùḍ*, Masa *mùʔ*[-ʔ < **-dʔ*], Ham & Musey & Lew & Marba *mbùt* [-t < **-dʔ*] “échanger, transformer” (Masa gr.: AJELLO 2001, 21, 56).

497. AA **m-t* “to become vigorous” > Ar. *maṭā* “1. recueillir ses forces pour marcher rapidement” [BK II 1124] ||| SCu. **maṭ*^(v)- [Ehr.]: Ma’a *-maʔai* “to take up work with renewed vigor” | Dhl. *maṭ-* “to wake up” (SCu.: EHRET 1980, 153, #4).

498. AA **m-t* “to see” > Ar. *mṭw* I “7. ouvrir les yeux” [BK II 1124] ||| WCh.: Kupto *mèḍ-* “to see” [LEGER in JI 1994 I 145].

499. AA *m-T (perhaps **m-t*) “to pinch”: LECu.: Saho & Afar & Somali *mūd-* | Oromo *múta* “stechen” (LECu.: Rn. 1886, 879) || SCu. **mut-* “long narrow point” [EHRET 1980, 158] || CCh.: Masa *mètá* “to pinch” [Br. 1995, 223].

500. AA *m-T (vars. **m-d* ~ **m-t*) “part of the face: cheek, temple” > NBrb.: Mzg. *i-mt̥t̥tu* “tempe” [TAIFI 1991, 445] || SBrb.: Hgr. *é-med̥*, pl. *i-med̥d-en* “tempe et région zigmatique: tempe et partie de la joue qui est immédiatement audessus de la tempe entre la pommette et l’oreille” [Fcd. 1950–1, 1163], EWlm. & Ayr *a-m̥d̥d̥*, pl. *i-m̥d̥d̥-ān* “tempe” [PAM 1998, 210] || LECu.: Oromo *madd-ī* “cheek” [GRAGG 1982, 273; Hds. 1989, 39], Oromo (Borana, Orma dials.) *madd-ī* “the cheeks, temples” [Strm. 1987, 362] || CCh.: Muyang *a-miḍ* “chin” [Rsg. 1978, 225, #131] < CCh. **m-d* “chin” [JS 1981, 70B]. Irreg. alternation of *-d-* ~ *-ḍ-*.

NB: The derivation of the Mzg. form < *i-met̥ti* “larme” (Taifi l.c.) may be rather merely a *Volksetymologie*.

501. AA *m-T (vars. **m-d* ~ **m-t*) “tears” > NBrb.: Shilh *a-mt̥ta* “larme” [Jst. 1914, 121] | Mzg. *i-met̥ti* “pleur, larme” [TAIFI 1991, 445], Izdeg *i-met̥ti* “larme” [Mrc. 1937, 153], Zayan & Sgugu *i-m̥ti* ~ *i-met̥ti* “larme” [Lbg. 1924, 568], Ait Ndir *a-m̥tta* “tear (n.)” [Pnc. 1973, 107] | Nfs. *i-m̥tt̥-aun* (pl. of *a-m̥tta*) “pleurs” [Lst.] etc. | Qbl. *i-met̥ti* “larme” [Dlt. 1982, 527], Zwawa & Bugi *i-met̥ti*, pl. *i-m̥tta-un* “larme” [Bst. 1890, 316] (NBrb.: Bst. 1890, 62–63; BIARNAY 1917, 90) || EBrb.: Gdm. $\sqrt{m-t}$: *a-m̥tta*, pl. *m̥tta-w-en* “larme” [Lnf. 1973, 220, #1049] || WBrb.: Zenaga $\sqrt{n-d-w}$: *é-n̥daw-ən* (coll. pl.) “larmes” [Ncl. 1953, 227] || SBrb.: Hgr. *ā-miṭ*, pl. *i-m̥tt̥-aw-en* “larme” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1163], EWlm. *a-m̥tt̥* & Ayr *a-m̥tt̥* “larme” [PAM 1998, 228], Tadghaq & Tudalt *a-m̥tt̥* “tears” [SUDLOW 2001, 281] || HECu. **ind̥dd-o* “tears of eyes” [Hds. 1989, 149] < **imd̥dd-o* [GT] || NOm.: PMAoid **am̥t̥-* (?) “tears” [GT] > Hozo *ám̥-t-i* & Sezo *hamiḥ(i)* “tear of eye” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 17, #25] || WCh.: Pero *m̥d̥d̥i* “tear (lacrima)” [Frj. 1985, 42]. Irreg. alternation of *-d-* ~ *-ḍ-*.

NB: The derivation < *t̥iṭ* “eye” (Taifi l.c.) may be merely a *Volksetymologie*.

502. AA *m-T (perhaps **mut-*?) “sprout” > NBrb.: Shilh *a-mud* “semence” [Jst. 1914, 121] | Izdeg *a-mud*, pl. *i-madd-en* “(graine de) semence” [Mrc. 1937, 130, 233] || HECu. **mutt-iʔr-* “to sprout” [Hds. 1989, 141] vs. Sid. *mud-ē* “sprout” [Hds.] | Orm. *mut-a* “sprout, blade (crop)” [GRAGG 1982, 295] = *mutt-ē* “sprout” [Hds.].

NB: Cf. also SLECu. **miḍ-* [Black]: Orm. *miḍ-āni* “grain” [Black] = *miḍ-ān* “grain (growing, harvested, or food)” [GRAGG 1982, 285], Konso *miḍ-ā* & Gdl. *miḥ-ā* “edible leaves” [Black], Som. *miḍó* “fruit” [Abr. 1964, 179] (LECu.: BLACK 1974, 218) | HECu.: Gedeo (Drs.) *miḍ-a* ~ *miʔr-a* “grain, cereal, crop” [Hds. 1989, 72]. Irreg. alternation *-d-* ~ *-ḍ-*. From AA **m-d* ~ **m-t*?

503. AA *m-t-ḥ “to separate” > Ar. *mataša* “séparer et disperser qqch. en passant ses doigts dans qqch.” [BK II 1056] || CCh.: Mafa *mutuḥ-* (*-sl-*) “arracher (qqch. qui est retenu par un fil)”, *mutuḥ-* “(dé)couper, arracher” [Br. -Bléis 1990, 234].

504. AA *m-t-k → assim. **m-t-k̥* “to be sweet, sticky (of ripe figs)”: Sem. **mtq* “to be sweet”: Akk. *matāqu* “süß sein, werden” [AHW 632] || Hbr. *mtq qal* “2. süß sein”, *mātōq* “süß” [GB], Aram. *mtq* “(mit Wohlgefallen) saugen” [GB] || Ar. *mtq* [-t- < **-t-* before -q-] V “mit Wohlgefallen schnalzen, schmatzen”, *matq-at-* “Süßes, Honig” [GB] (Sem.: GB 475) || EBrb. **-mVtk* “fig” [GT]: Nefusa *m̥t̥ši* [*ši* < **ki*] “figue fraîche” & *moṭk*, pl. *i-moṭk-ən* “figue” [Lst.] = *motk*, pl. *i-mōtk-ān* [irreg. -k-] “fico fresco” [Bgn. 1942, 305], Siwa *i-m̥t̥š-an* (pl.) “figues” [Lst.], Sokna *a-m̥āčč* “figue” [Lst.], Sened *a-m̥t̥ši* “figue” [Lst.] (EBrb.: Lst. 1931, 238) || LECu.: presumably Oromo *muḍuqa* “overripe, soft”, *muḍuq žeda* “to be

very rotten (e.g. banana) [GRAGG 1982, 293] ||| CCh.: Glavda *mtaka* “sweet” [RB 1968, 66] || ECh.: Mokilko *māḍiḍāk* ~ *māḍḍāk* “sucré”, *māḍiḍiká* “sucrerie, saveur” [Jng. 1990, 136], WDng. *mùḍùk mùḍùk* ~ *mimùḍùk* “collant” [FÉDRY 1971, 138].

NB: The Sem. root has been often used in Nst. (IE-AA) comparisons, but its Berber and Chadic cognates have been – to the best of my knowledge – up to now neglected. Only the HSED #1818 has mentioned a comparison between Sem **mtq* and a certain Matakam *mtake* “sweet”, which is however not found in Rsg. 1978, #211–212!

505. AA *m-t-ḡ “to eat” > Ar. *maṭaḥa* “1. lécher (le miel, etc.), 2. manger beaucoup” [BK II 1121] ||| SBrb.: Ayr *mətəḡ* (interj.) “son de mastication silencieuse” [PAM 2003, 564] ||| CCh.: Bachama *mìḍùkə* [met. < **m-t-k̄*] “schlucken” [Skn.].

506. AA *m-t-ḥ “to pour out, emit fluid” > Ar. *mataḥa* “1. tirer de l’eau (d’un puits), 2. rendre les excréments, 3. peter, lâcher un pet” [BK II 1056] ||| SCu. **mataḥ-* [Ehr.] > DhI. *mantah-* “to vomit”, *mantah-aḍḗḍ-* “to purge” [EHRET 1980, 323, #30 with a false Som. etymology].

507. AA *m-t-ʕ “to enjoy” > Ar. *mataʕa* “10. jouir de qqch.”, V “1. jouir, faire usage, trouver du plaisir”, *mitʕ-at-* “3. plaisir, jouissance” [BK II 1057], *Sʕaʕdah* (Yemen) *mitʕah* “Genuß, Vergnügen” [BEHNSTEDT 1987, 301] ||| SCu.: DhI *mutuʕ-uḍ-* “to masturbate” [EEN 1989, 38; EHRET 1980, 159, #52 with a false SCu. etymology].

508. AA *m-T-r “shoulderblade (?)”: Eg. *mjd3* [< **mydr* or **myṭr*] “ein essbarer Körperteil des Rindes (vom Bein?)” (PT, Wb II 45, 7) = “upper foreleg, lower foreleg” (AEPT ad PT 1546) = “ein Körperteil vom Rind (als Speise)” (GHWb 326) ||| ES: Geez *maṭarā* ~ *maṭārā* “shoulder(blade)”, cf. Tigre *maṭerär* “spine” (ES: Lsl. 1987, 373; cf. Rn. 1887, 278).

NB: EBrb.: Gdm. *u-madir*, pl. *midar* “1. omoplate, 2. houe large à manche court qui forme avec le plan de l’outil un angle très fermé” [LANFRY 1973, 206, #978] is certainly out of question, since it is cognate with NBrb.: Shilh *a-madir* “Jäthacke” [Stumme] = “1. Haue, Hacke, 2. Stangengebiss des Pferdes” [Vcl.], Wargla *a-mdir*, pl. *i-midar* “1. sorte de houe, de sape, 2. par ext. omoplate” [Dlh. 1987, 185], Qbl. *a-mder*, pl. *i-medr-an* “1. rebord d’une porte (seuil), d’une fenêtre, d’un bassin, 2. bois de charpentier, poutre” [Dlt. 1982, 487] || EBrb.: Gdm. *u-madir*, pl. *midar* “1. omoplate, 2. houe large à manche court qui forme avec le plan de l’outil un angle très fermé” [LANFRY 1973, 206, #978] = *o-madir*, pl. *midar* “1. breite Hacke mit kurzem Stiel, 2. Schulterblatt (wegen der Hakenform)” [Vcl.] || WBrb.: Zng. *a-mdər* ~ *e-mdər*, pl. *ə-mdurün* “vers, du côté de...” [Ncl. 1953, 207], which are explained by STUMME (1912; cf. also ZA 27, 125) and VYICHL (2005, 4) from an unattested Phn. **mʕdr* “Haue, Hacke” via Punic, cf. also Hbr. *maʕdər* “plough” [KB 609] = “1. (Jät)Hacke, 2. Pflugschar” [Vcl.].

509. AA *m-t-r “to cut, split” > SBrb.: EWlm. *a-mḍur* & Ayr *a-nḍu/ər* “déchirure, fente, fêlure” [PAM 2003, 525] ||| HECu. **maṭar-* “to cut branches, prune” [GT after Hds. 1989, 46].

510. AA *m-t-r “to fill up” > Ar. *maṭara* I “2. combler qqn. de biens, 3. remplir (une outre)” [BK II 1122] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. *a-meṭṭar* “tas, amas, monceau” [TAIFI 1991, 445].

511. AA *m-ʒ (perhaps **miʒ-*?) “right (hand)” > ECu. **mizg-* (root ext. **-g?*) “right side” [SASSE 1979, 25, 57–58] ||| NOm.: Male *mizaki* “right (side)” [Sbr. 1994–5, 10] || SOm.: Ari *mizi* “right (hand)” [Bnd. & Tully], Galila *mīzi* [Flm. apud Bnd. 1994, 157] (SOM.: Bnd. 2003, 350, #72) ||| ECh. **m-d* [**-d* < AA **-ʒ?*] “right” [GT]: Barein *medu* “rechts” [Lks. 1937, 51] | WDng. (Karbo) *mēēḍén* “rechts” [Lks. 1937, 17] = *mēēḍēp* [Gouffé] = *mēēḍà* “(à) droite” [FÉDRY 1971, 127], EDng. *mēēḍā* “à droite” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 200] | Mokilko

ʔammádè “la droite”, mádiká “le côté droit, la droite” [Jng. 1990, 58, 136] | Toram mǐde “droite” [ALIO 2004, 260, #317].

NB: C. GOUFFÉ (1971–2, 113, §7) equated the Dangla root (via met.) with Hausa *daama* “droite” < *√*m-d* ~ *√*d-m*.

512. AA **m-s* “to wipe, rub” > Sem.: JNAram. *mšy* “to wipe, clean” [SABAR 2002, 226] || Mhr. *môsī* “reiben” [Müller, not in Jns. 1987] || ES **mss* “to rub” [GT] vs. Grg. *m^vašā* “to rub” [Lsl. 1979 III, 432–3] (ES: Lsl. 1982, 54; Sem.: MÜLLER 1981, 401) || NBrb.: Mzg. *a-mes* “1. enduire, 2. oindre, 3. frotter une chose contre une autre” [TAIFI 1991, 435], Izdeg *a-ms* “enduire” [Mrc. 1937, 34], Zayan & Sgugu *a-mes* “frotter une chose contre une autre” [Lbg. 1924, 567] | Mzab *a-məs* “masser, essuyer fortement, frotter” [Dlh. 1984, 122], Wargla *a-məs* “frotter, essuyer fort, masser” [Dlh. 1987, 197] || SBrb.: Ghat *a-mes* “effacer, ôter l’empreinte” [Nhl. 1909, 154], EWlm. *é-mmas* “effacer, gratter, décolorer” [Ncl. 1957, 571] = EWlm. & Ayr *ə-məs* “essuyer, effacer” [PAM 2003, 555] || LECu.: Afar *musu^ʿe* [ext. -ʿ] “to be peeled, scraped sore” [PH 1985, 172] | HECu.: Sid. *miššiga* [ext. -g] “to rub with the hands” [Gsp. 1983, 234] || CCh.: Lamang *mas-a* [mósó] “einreiben” [WOLFF 1972, 198] | Glavda *mas* “to anoint” [RB 1968, 63]. Cf. also Sem. **mḥš* [ext. *-*h*] “to rub” [GT] > Ar. *maḥasa* “frotter avec force” [BK II 1066] || Tigre *māḥasa* “to wipe” [LH].

NB: C. BROCKELMANN (1932, 811) affiliated Brb. **a-mes* “frotter” [Bst.] with Ar. *massa* “toucher” [BK II 1101] = “berühren” [Brk.], which is semantically dubious.

513. AA **m-s* “fire” > Ar. *māmūs-* “feu” [BK II 1154] || Brb. **ti-mVsi* “fire” [Mlt.] = **ti-msi* [GT]: e.g. NBrb.: Mzab *ti-msi* “feu” [Dlh. 1984, 123] | Qbl. *ti-mess* ~ *ti-mes* ~ *ti-messi* ~ *ti-msi* “feu, l’enfer” [Dlt. 1982, 520] || EBrb.: Siwa *tə-msi* & Sokna *ti-msi* “feu” [Lst. 1931, 237] || WBrb.: Zenaga *tī-mšī* “feu” [Ncl. 1953, 218] || SBrb.: Hgr. *te-mse*, pl. *ti-mes* “feu” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1247], EWlm. & Ayr *te-mse* “1. feu, 2. Lumière” [PAM 1998, 223] || CCh.: Daba *msa* “to roast, grill” [Pascal] = *misā* [LIENHARD in JI 1994 II 275] = *māsā* “to roast” [Brt. 1995, 226] || ECh.: perhaps Kera *ká-msī* “ashes and water” [PEARCE 1998–99, 67].

NB1: Cf. perhaps also NOm. **mič-* (< **mičʔ-*) [GT]: Wolayta *mičč-* “to taste hot” [Hyw.], Zayse *mičč-* “to roast” [Hyw.], Koyra *mičč-e* “heiß” [Lmb.], Baditu *mičč-ē* “caldo” [Crl. 1929, 62], Haruro *meč-āys* “scaldare, bruciare”, *mičč-ē* “caldo” [CR 1937, 653] | Gimirra-Benesho *mič-* “to roast” [Hyw.] | Chara *miča* “to burn” [Bnd. 1974, 29] | Kaffa *mīž-* “heiß sein, brennen”, *mīž-ō* “Hitze” [Rn. 1888, 316] = *mič* “1. accendersi, 2. Arrostitirsi” [Crl. 1951, 468] = *mičč-* “Feuer fangen, gebraten werden, verbrennen (intr.)” [Lmb.], Mocha *mičči(yé)* “to burn (intr.)”, *mičči(yé)* “to burn, fry, kindle” [Lsl. 1959, 39–40] = *mičč-* “to roast” [Hyw.], Sns.-Bworo *micc-* (-*ts-*) “1. (an) brennen (tr.), 2. verbrennen (tr.), 3. Frittieren” [Lmb. 1993, 361] | Sheko *mičč-* “1. anzünden, 2. verbrennen (tr.), 3. Frittieren”, *mičč-o* “heiß” [Lmb.] (NOm.: Hyw. 1988, 283) || CCh.: Glavda *mč-* “verbrennen” [Rapp in JI 1994 II 55], although the sibilant correspondence is not clear.

NB2: A. Ju. MILITAREV (1991, 259, #28.1) prefers comparing the common Brb. root “fire” i.a. with Sem. Ar. *mays-ān-*, pl. *mayāšīnu* “étoile qui brille d’un vif éclat” [BK II 1173], Sem. **ʔamš-* “yesternight” [GT] and even Eg.-Sem. **m-s* “night” [GT]. Semantically unconvincing.

514. AA **m-s* “back, haunch” (perhaps **mas-ʔ*): NBrb.: Qbl. *a-mmas* “les hanches et le bas du dos” [Dlt. 1982, 481] || Ch. **m-s* “back” [JS 1981, 32]: WCh.: Fyer & Tambas & Bokkos *más* “Rücken” [Jng. 1970, 88, 144] || CCh.: Hina *mesé* “Gesäß” [Str. 1922–23, 116] || ECh.: EDng. *máasá* “rein, région médiane du dos” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 197], WDng. *mààsò* “région médiane du dos” [FÉDRY 1971, 123], Bdy. *maasi* “hanche, bassin” [AJ 1989, 96]. Cf. AA **m-s-k* “back” (below).

515. AA **m-s* “middle” > presumably Ar. *masʔ-* “milieu de la route” [BK II 1102] || Common Brb. **a-mmas* “middle” [GT]: e.g. NBrb.: Qbl. *i-mass-en* (pl. only) “1. l’intérieur du

pain, de la galette, mie de pain” [Dlt. 1982, 520] || EBrb.: Gdm. *a-mmas* “milieu, centre” [LANFRY 1973, 218, #1032], Siwa *a-mmās* “centre, milieu” [Lst. 1931, 209, 260] || WBrb.: Zenaga *a^o-mməš* ~ *a^u-mməž* ~ *a^u-mmaš* “milieu”, *o-mməš* “milieu, fond, dessus” [Ncl. 1953, 217] || SBrb.: Hgr. *â-mmas* “intérieur, la partie intérieure” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1246], EWlm. & Ayr *a-mmas* “milieu, centre, intérieur” [PAM 1998, 224] (Brb.: Bst. 1890, 68, 315; 1909, 245) || WCh.: AS **mēs* “inner part of plants” [GT 2004, 247]: Angas *mees* “pith (of guinea corn stalks, grass, etc.)” [Flk. 1915, 244], Gmy. *mēs* [-ε-] “the hard inner part of a tree, the heart of a tree” [Srl. 1937, 138].

516. AA *m-s “to kiss”: MSA **msy*: Hrs. *amēs* “to kiss the nose, greet” [Jns.], Mhr. *amōsi* [Jns.] = *mōsī* [Jahn] “to kiss (tr.)” (MSA: Jns. 1987, 272) || NBrb.: (?) Iznasen *a-mehḥaš* [infix *-h-?*] “baiser voluptueux” [Rns. 1932, 389: not Arabism] || SCu.: Irq. *maʔās* “to kiss” [Mgw. 1989, 115].

NB: Perhaps just an areal parallel (for the problem of MSA-Cu. contacts see BELOVA 1988 & 1996)?

517. AA *m-s ~ ***m-s-Q** (perhaps AA root extension **-q̄* “to smile”: HECu. **mušik̄ y-* “to smile” [Hds.] = **mišik̄-* & **mušš-* (two contaminated HECu. roots?) [GT]: Gedeo *mūš hiyy-*, Hadiyya *mišik̄ y-*, Kambata *mušuk̄ y-* [*< *mišik̄-?*], Sidamo *mušš y-*, *muši y-* (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 137) || SCu.: Irq. *misq-is-* [Ehret] = *misq-īs-* “to smile” [Mgw. 1989, 115] || WCh.: Hausa *mürmūšit̄i* [JI 1994 I, 108: *< *mus-mus-*, GT: semi-redupl. with the typical inetymological *-r-*] “smiling, a smile” [Abr. 1962, 686] || CCh. **m-s* “to laugh” [GT]: Bura *muša* ~ *mīša* “to smile, begin to laugh” | Bata & Nzangi *mos, mōs* “rire” | Daba *mbis* [*mb-* *< *m-*] “rire”, Musgoy *mbis* “rire” | Gidar *mas, mās* “rire” | Mboku *mbas*, Hurzo *muš*, Uldeme (Uzlam) *mas* (CCh.: BED 1953, 145; Mch. 1950, 37; 1953, 172; 1966, 136).

NB1: I cannot accept the SCu. etymology (**māk-* “to be happy”) offered for Irq. *misq-* by Ch. EHRET (1980, 155, #21).

NB2: This AA root has perhaps Sem. reflexes too: cf. Geez *mazha* ~ *mazha* [irreg. *-z-*] “to laugh (at), jeer at, dally (with women), be pampered”, cf. also Ar. *mazaḥa* “to joke, jest” (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 378).

NB3: Perhaps LEg. *msh* ~ *msh3* ~ *msh* ~ *msg* (often [*mis?*] read as *msh3*) “1. intr. sich freuen (über etwas), 2 tr. (das Herz) erfreuen” (GR, Wb II 147) also belongs to AA **m-s-q̄*, but its etymology is still debatable: (1) Acc. to A.G. BELOVA (1987, 277), it is an *m-* prefix reflex of Ar. *saḥira* “(ver)spotten, sich lustig machen, verhöhnen, verlachen” ~ *mashara* “lächerlich machen, verspotten, verlachen” [WEHR 1952, 365 & 809]. (2) If the reading of the orig. root as *msh3* is correct, cp. SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr *māzḡāl* “être joli” [PAM 1998, 232]. (3) If *msh* was the root, cf. Akk. (jB) *mašāhu* “etwa: aufleuchten (Stern, Meteor)” with the semantic shift “to shine” → “be happy”, quite frequent in Sem.

NB4: I am not perfectly convinced whether PCh. **g-m-s2* “to laugh” [JI] would be the same root as AA **m-s-[q̄]* and the CCh. **m-s* would belong directly to it (as suggested in JI 1994 I, 108).

518. AA *m-s “(to) rain” > MSA: Jbl. *musáʔ*, Sq̄t. *mássa* “rain” (MSA: NAKANO 1986, 104, #729) || HECu.: Burji *mīs-i (m)* “heavy rain, cloud-burst” [SASSE 1982, 145: isolated in HECu.] || NOM.: Anfillo *amicc-o (-tts-)* “rain” [Bnd.] | Hozo *imsi* “rain” [Bnd. 1994, 1159, #63] = Hozo & Sezo *imsi* “rain” [Bnd. 1990, 609, #63] = Sezo *ʔíns(?)i* ~ *ʔinsì* “rain” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 15, #223] || CCh.: cf. Bata *myèsó* “to splash, sprinkle (esp. water), dowse” [PWEDDON 2000, 58–59] | Makeri & Gulfei *ameṣə* “pluie” [Lbf. 1942, 169] || ECh.: Mokilko *mizzi* [irreg. *-zz-*] (pl.) “Regen” [Lks. 1977, 222].

Lit.: the Burji-NOM.-Kotoko-Mokilko parallel was first observed by H.G. MUKAROVSKY (1987, 178, 290–291; 1989 MS, 23, #51).

519. AA *m-s “to fade” > Ar. *msy*: *masā* I “3. amaigrir, exténuer etc. (se dit de la chaleur qui fait maigrir les bestiaux)” [BK II 1108] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. *msus* “être fade, insipide” [TAÏFI 1991, 435].

520. AA *m-s-k “to get accustomed (?)” > SBrb.: *Ayr ə-msək* “être habitué à qqch. de bon” [PAM 2003, 558] ||| ECh.: Bdy. *musàk* “s’habituer, s’accoutumer” [AJ 1989, 101].

521. AA *m-s-k “back of the body” > ES: Harari *miskāt* “buttocks, anus” [Lsl. 1963, 112], Gurage: Selti & Wolane & Zway *məskāt* “back of body, clitoris, female genital organs, *buttocks, anus” [Lsl. 1979 III 428] = Wolane *məskāt* & Zway *məskit* “back of body” vs. Selti *məskāt* “female genital organ” [Lsl. 1963] ||| LECu.: Somali *misikti* “hip” [Lsl.] ||| CCh.: Kotoko *muskù* “anus” [BOUNY 1975, 4, #34]. Cf. AA *m-s “back” (above)?

522. AA *m-s-w (?) “mass of water” (?) > SBrb. * $\sqrt{m-s-w}$: *Ayr a-māso* ~ *e-māši* & EWlm. *e-māšwi* “puits, point d’eau” [PAM 1998, 557] ||| CCh.: Gsg. *mesaiúú*, Balda *māsaua*, Holma *mačoá* “Bach, Fluß” (CCh.: Str. 1922–23, 126).

523. AA *m-č-(ʳ) “to delay” > Ar. *mazaʿa* V “3. traîner en longueur et rester longtemps à faire qqch.” [BK II 1125] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. $\sqrt{m-z}$: *mmuz* “être tardif (culture, fruit, labour), être dernier-né, naître tardivement” [TAÏFI 1991, 450].

524. AA *m-č (or *m-š) “to be quick”: SCu.: Irq. *muč-ít* [-tʰ-] “quickly” [Wtl. 1953] = *muš-it* [-hl-] “quick(ly), fast” [Ehret] = *múč-* [-tʰ-] “to hasten”, *múč-ít-* “to hasten” [Mgw. 1989, 115] | Qwd. *mišamiša* [-hl-] “fast” [corrected from Kohl-Larsen *mizamiša* by EHRET 1980 MS, 4] (Rift: EHRET 1980, 160, #56) ||| WCh.: Hausa *mázá* “quickly” [Abr. 1962, 671], Gwandara *maža* ~ *mažamaža* “quickness” [Mts. 1972, 77] ||| CCh.: Bura *mazamaza* “quickly” [BED 1953, 131] | Hide *msìmsì* “vite!” [EGUCHI 1971, 220].

NB: The distinction between SCu. *š- and *č- was preserved in Qwadza in initial position (Qwd. š- and č-, resp.), although I have no data proving the same in medial position (TAKÁCS 1999, 411). Therefore the -š- of Qwadza *mišamiša* is not an absolute proof and support for the SCu. *š- and Ehret’s Irq. -hl- = -š- in this root (contra the -č- = -tʰ- & -tʰ- of Whiteley & Maghway, resp.).

525. AA *m-č “fat” > LECu.: Afar *màs-u* “fat” [Hyw. 1997, 110] | HECu.: Kambatta *mešēla* “fat (n.)”, *mešēl-* “to be fat (of animal)”, Sidamo *mis-* “to be fat (of human)” (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 61–62) ||| WCh.: Warji *màčiyà-nà* (-tʰ-) “oil” [IL in JI 1994 II 260] ||| CCh.: Daba *msáá* “Fett” [Str. 1910, 461].

526. AA *m-č “to hurt, vex” (or sim.) > Ar. *maḍḍa* “1. faire souffrir qqn., 2. affecter qqn., lui causer de la peine, 3. faire du mal, piquer, picoter” [BK II 1118] ||| SBrb.: *Ayr a-məḍ* “nourrir de la rancune contre, être fâché contre”, caus. *šuməḍ* “vexer, fâcher, agacer, irriter” [PAM 2003, 524] ||| NOM.: Yemsa *meʔ-* [-ʔ- < *č- reg.] “beleidigen” [Lmb. 1993, 362].

527. AA *m-č “to take, pick up” > Ar. *mḍy*: *maḍā* “2. emmener, emporter” [BK II 1120] ||| Cu.-Om. **maḍ-* “to pick up” [Lmb.] = **ma[č]*- [GT] > HECu. **maṭ-* “to pick up” [GT] ||| NOM.: Gamu *maç-* (-tsʰ-) “sammeln, ernten, aufheben”, Dache & Zayse *maç-* (-tsʰ-) “aufheben” | Kafa *mač-* “versammeln”, Shinasha *mèčč-* “1. aufheben, sammeln” | Sheko *mač-* “sammeln, aufheben” (NOM.: Lmb. 1993, 106; 1993, 349; LS 1997, 475).

NB: Cf. also Ar. *mašaha* “7. ôter, enlever, emporter qqch.” [BK II 1115] < var. AA *m-č? Whether Brb. *m-z (or *m-zʰ) “prendre” [GT] also belongs here is obscure (cf. alternatively AA *m-).

528. AA *m-ĉ (var. *m-ĉ) “to wash” > Sem. **mšmš* ~ **mšmš*: Ar. *maḍmaḍa* “rincer la bouche ou rincer un vase avec beaucoup d’eau en l’agitant dedans” ~ *mašmaša* “1. rincer légèrement (une vase), 2. se rincer (la bouche)” [BK II 1120, 1148], Dathina *maḍmaḍ* “to rinse” [Lsl.] || Tigre *māšmāša* “to rinse” [LH] || PCu.-Om. **mAyAĉ(ĉ)*- “to wash” [Dlg.]: ECu. **mayç*- “to wash” [Dlg. 1983, 140]: LECu.: Somali-Isaq *máyḍ-ayya* “to wash” [Abr. 1964, 176], Oromo *mičč*- [Thiene, Bell] = *mīč*- “to wash clothes” [SASSE 1979, 26] = *mīčč-a* “to wash (clothes, objects)” [GRAGG 1982, 285], Oromo-Borana *mīč*- [Andrzejewski], Konso *mič*- [Lmb.] | HECu.: Sidamo *mačo* = *mēčč*- [Lmb.], Qabenna & Alaba *mečči*- [Lsl.], Kambatta *mečče* [Lsl.] = *mečč*- “to wash” [Hds.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 164) || NOM. **mayḍy*- “to wash” [Lmb.]: Wolayta & Dache & Gamu *mēčč*-, Gofa *meč*- | Yemsa (Janjero) *meʔ*- [-ʔ- < **-d-*] | Kafa *māčč*-, Shinasha *maš*- | Sheko *mass*- (NOM.: Lmb. 1993, 93; 1993, 358, 362; LS 1997, 454; Cu.-Om.: Dlg. 1973, 308, cf. also CrI. 1951, 467; Lsl. 1959, 42), cf. Ongota *mučmuč-ada* “swished water around in mouth, rinsed mouth out” [Flm. 1992, 193, 212].

NB1: The Cu.-Om. root has been usually (Rn. 1902, 307; Chn. 1947, #487; IS 1976, 71, #304; Dlg. 1970, 620, #9; 1983, 140; 1992 MS, 83, #178; OREL 1995, 108, #113; HSED #1748) compared with Ar. *mwy* I “1. froter qqch. avec la main pour nettoyer, 2. Laver” [BK II 1168] (whose basic *mng*. may be different, cf. Lsl. 1987, 375) as well as Eg. *nd* “to grind” (which is both semantically and phonologically false).

NB2: This root should be distinguished from AA **m-w-š* “to wash” (below).

529. AA *m-ĉ-(γ) “to chew” > MSA: Jbl. *mzy*: *mīžay* “to chew” [Jns. 1981, 178], Mhr. from Qishn [*amūšay*] “I chew” [SS 1997, 386] || HECu. **inč*- [< **imĉ*-ʔ] “to chew” [Hds. 1989, 39].

530. AA *m-š “1. to decay (naturally), 2. corpse” > Sem.: presumably Samar. Aram. *msy* [-s- < **-š*- reg.] *qal* “to decay” [TAL 2000, 479] || Bed. *mi/esis* “to die a natural death (animal), become carrion”, *mesūs-ánai* “carrion” [Rpr. 1928, 218] = *mesūsanaí* “carcase” [Hds. 1996, 96] || LECu.: Afar *maʔasi* [affix -ʔ-] “carrion, carcase” [PH 1985, 158] || SCu.: Dhl. *miš-o* (-ʔ-) “body of living person (as opposed to corpse)” [EHRET 1980, 160] = *miš-o* (-hl-) “living body” [EEN 1989, 38] || NOM.: Mocha *me-š-o* “carrion” [Lsl. 1959, 42 with an unconvincing ES etymology] || WCh.: Hausa *múúšè* [hardl < **mūte*] “corpse” [Abr. 1962, 688] | Boghom *masáw* “corpse” [Smz. 1975, 28; JI 1994 II 86] || CCh.: BM **m(ə)ši* “corpse” [GT]: Bura *mši*, Margi *māšiʔi*, Chibak *sai* [< **msai*] (BM: Hfm. 1987, 473, #39).

531. AA *m-Z “to press”: Sem.: Akk. *mzʔ* or *mzy*: (a/mA, jB) *mazāʔu* → *mazú* “auspres-sen”, *mazú* [< **mazy-u*], var. aA *mazium* “ausgepreßt” [AHW 637–638] || EBrb.: Gdm. *miməz* “être pincé, serré, 2. par ext. être dans la gêne” [LANFRY 1973, 222, #1055].

NB1: In principle, LECu. **m-d* “to (op)press” (etymologized above from AA **m-d*) could reflect ECu. **mV[z]*- (no inner ECu. proof for **z*), since AA **ʒ*/**ž* = ECu. **z*, which regularly becomes **d* in LECu. Cf. LECu. **m-d* “to (op)press” [GT]: Oromo *mudda* “to press, tighten, torment” [GRAGG 1982, 292] | Rendille *a-mída* “ich belästige, bedränge, dominiere mit Gewalt” [SCHLEE 1978, 140, #773].

NB2: The traditional Sem. etymology of the Akk. root is not impossible, cf. Ar. *mzz* “saugen”, Mhr. *muzz* “to suck” (Ar.-Akk. suggested e.g. by VON SODEN & LESLAU 1987, 371). In this case, the primary sense might have been * “to press with mouth”. For further eventual Sem. and AA parallels of Akk. *mzy* see Djk. 1981, 43, fn. 52.

532. AA *m-Z “to wound” > presumably LEg. **mz* (?), written *m3z* “verwunden, schlachten” (GR, Wb II 32, 1) → OCpt. **MC-** “verwunden” (KHW 520) || HECu. **maz*- “to wound” [Lsl.] = **madz*- [Hds.] & HECu. **maz-a* “wound” [Lsl.] = **madz-a* [Hds.] (HECu.: Lsl. 1980, 125; Ss. 1982, 138; Hds. 1989, 170, 417) | LECu.: Boni *mád-aʔ* [-d- reg. < **-z-*] “Wunde” [HEINE 1977, 294] || NOM. **mAZ*- [GT]: Kaffa *may-o* [-y- reg. < **-Z-*] “wound”

| Dizi: Sheko *māy-o* [-y- < *-Z-?] “wound” (NOM.-HECu.: Lmb. 1993, 100) || SOM.: Ari *mād-a* [-d- < *-z-?] “scar” [Bnd. 1994, 157].

NB: The reading (*m3z, m3s, mz, ms*) and the etymology of LEg. *m(3)z* is disputable due to the late attestation, but this is probably not a late denom. of OEg. *m3z* “knife”.

533. AA *m-Z (act. *miZ-) “sort of cattle”: Eg. *mjz.t* “animaux à cornes (?)” (CT I 289c, AL 78.1667) = “*Horntiere” (GHWb 326) ||| NOM. *miz- “bue, vacca” [Crl.] (NOM.: Rn. 1888, 318; Crl. 1938 III, 80, 115, 173, 206; 1951, 471–3; Lmb. 1993, 100).

534. AA *m-Z “to take” > Eg. *mz* “herbeibringen” (OK, Wb II 135, 7) ||| perhaps Common Brb. *m-z (or *m-z?) “prendre” [GT] ||| ECh.: Kwang-Mobu *maže* “empoigner” [LENSEN 1982, 19], Ngam *mači* “poignarder” [LENSEN 1984, 9] | Tumak *mùži* “voleur” [Cpr. 1975, 84] (ECh.: Stl. 1996, 82 with a different AA etymology).

535. AA *m-S “joint of body” > NBrb.: Zemmur *ta-měšaš-t* “rotule” [Lst. 1918, 4], cf. also Qbl. *a-měšaš* “fesse” [Dlt. 1982, 520] ||| LECu.: Afar *māsayya* (f) “joint of body” [PH 1985, 158].

536. AA *m-S “seed” > SOM.: Ari *māša*, Hamer *maš-*, Dime *miššit* “ssed” (SOM.: Bnd. 1994, 157) ||| WCh.: Daffo & Bokkos *masút* “seed” [Jng. in JI 1994 II 286].

537. AA *m-g “dark” > SBrb.: Ayr *măg-ăt* ~ *măgăy* “avoir les lèvres noires, être noir (bouche d’animal)” [PAM 2003, 526, 528] ||| LECu.: PSam *múgdì [root ext. *-d-?] “darkness” [HEINE 1978, 69/91] = Omo-Tana *mugd- “Dunkelheit” [SASSE 1981, 155] ||| ECh.: Kwang *màgùwà* (f) “soir” [Jng. 1973, 44] | EDng. *màakò* & WDng. *màkò* (f) “le soir, crepuscule” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 192]. The ECu. root was affiliated by H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) with Kuliak: *Ik moku* “Nacht”.

538. AA *m-g “to pour” > Ar. *mğğ* “jeter dehors, hors de la bouche (p.ex. salive ou un peu de vin qu’on avait pris dans la bouche)”, IV “3. être en sève (se dit des arbres)”, VII “couler tomber de la plume (sit dit d’une goutte d’encre qui s’échappe de la plume)”, *mugğ-* “goutte (p.ex. de miel qui tombe par terre)”, *mugğāğ-* “1. salive, bave qui coule sur les coins de la bouche, 2. Miel” [BK II 1062–3] ||| ECh. *ma/ug’- “to flow out” [Ehr.]: Somali *magay-* “hole in ground where water stagnates” [Ehr.] | Dullay: Harso & Dobase *mag-* “ausgießen” [AMS 1980, 174], Tsamay *mēç* “to pour” [SAVÀ 2005 MS, 262] | Yaaku *-mug-ur-* “to leak” [Heine] (ECu.: EHRET 1991, 244, #143).

539. AA *m-[g] “man” > ECu.: Yaaku *məgwi* ~ *məqwi* “man (male)” [HEINE 1975, 129] = “Mann” [Lmb. 1993, 368 with false Cu. etymology] ||| WCh.: Mbaaru *məgə-* & Grnt. *məgi-* “person” [Smz. 1978, 29, #39] ||| CCh.: Buduma *migó* “people” [BARTH 1851, 214] = *migo* “home” [GAUDICHE 1938, 20] = *mígôu* ~ *mīgo(ē)* “Menschen, Männer” [Nct. apud Lks. 1939], Afade *mégu* “Menschen” [Stz.], Ngala *māgo* “people” [Barth/Benton], Klesem *mago* “people” [Barth] (Ktk.: Slk. 1967, 231–2, §223).

540. AA *m-g-h “to do good” > SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr *măgg-ăt* “faire du bien à, bienfait, bonne nouvelle, grâce, volonté de faire des bienfaits” [PAM 2003, 526] ||| SCu. *magah- “to treat well, behave properly toward” [Ehr.]: Irq. *magah-* “to take care of” | Qwd. *magah-am-* “to be good” (SCu.: EHRET 1980, 342, #7).

541. AA *m-g-d/ṭ-(hʕ?) “Mörser”: NEg. *mddh.t* [< **mgdh-t*] “mortar” (NE, DLE I 260; cf. Wb II 193, 2) = *mddh.t* “Mörser” (GHwB 383) → Cpt.: (SB) $\overline{m}\overline{x}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\alpha}\overline{2}\overline{T}$ ~ $\overline{m}\overline{x}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\alpha}\overline{T}\overline{2}$ “Mörser” (KHW 114; CED 101) || NBrb.: Shilh *a-maday* [met.?] “meule” [Jst. 1914, 121] || NAgaw: Bilin *məgdəʕ* “mortar” [Lmb.] || LECu.: Saho *mōgōd*, pl. *māwāged* “Mörser” [Rn. 1885, 96; 1890, 260] = Saho & Afar *mōgād* “mortier” [CR] = Afar *madagg-e* [met. < **magadd-* or sim.] “mortar” [Lmb.] (ECu.-Agaw: Lmb. 1993, 354; 1993, 364–365).

NB: Orig. an ancient PAA **ma-* prefix *nomen instrumenti* formation of a root **g-t* or **g-t-hʕ*? Cf. CCh.: Mandara *əgdza dzra* “pilon” | Musgu *gəda* “piler” (CCh.: Mch. 1950, 44).

542. AA *m-k (var. **m-gʔ*) “1. to be(come), appear, 2. (tr.) make” > EBrb.: Audjila *e-mmóg* [-g < **-kʔ*] “divenire, essere, trasformarsi” [Prd. 1960, 165] || SBrb.: EWlm. *ə-mmək* & Ayr *ə-mṃək* “manière d’être etc.” [PAM 2003, 533] || NOm.: Omt. (sic) *mak-* “preparare, apprestare”, *mok-* “levarsi (sole)” [Mrn. 1938, 151] = Wolayta & Gamu & Dache *mokk-* “to emerge”, Kachama *mokk-* “to go in front of s’one” (Omt.: LS 1997, 458) | Magi *mamk* “preparare” [TOSELLI 1939, 38] || CCh.: Mandara *mag-a* “1. sich ereignen, 2. machen, tun” [MIRT 1970–71, 67], Malgwa *mága* “1. machen, tun, 2. sich ereignen” [LÖHR 2002, 301].

543. AA *m-k “owl sp. (?)” > NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu *muka* “chouette” [Lbg. 1924, 569] || ECh.: Lele *mígi* “un oiseau: rapace nocturne” [WP 1982, 62]. Accidental similarity?

544. AA *m-k (?) “bull” > SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr *ā-maḳa* “grand taureau castré” [PAM 2003, 534] || SOm.: Ari *mēk-* & *mayk^h* “buffalo” [Bnd. 1994, 146], Dime *meké* [Sbr.] = *méke* [Flm.] “bull” [Bnd. 1996 MS, 1, #22].

545. AA *m-k “to be(come) low” > Sem.: Ug. *mkk* G “to fall, flag”, *mk* “depressed and disgusting place” [DUL 542], Hbr. *mkk qal* “to lower, sink”, *nifal* “to come low”, *hofal* “to be(come) immersed” [KB 580] = “zusammensinken” [WUS #1561], Aram. *mkk* “niedrig warden” [WUS] || LECu.: Oromo (Orma, Wolane) *mekō* “iron standard supporting cooking pots on the fire” [Strm. 1987, 366; 2001, 55].

546. AA *m-k “to pound (in mortar)” > Sem. **mʕk* (root ext. -ʕ-) “to squash” [GT]: Hbr. *mʕk qal* “1. to squeeze (breast), 2. squash (testicles), 3. thrust into (a spear into the ground)” [KB 612], MHbr. & JArAm. *mʕk* “to crush” [KB], PBHbr. *mʕk* “(z)erdrücken” [DALMAN 1922, 245] = “zerdrücken, zerquetschen” [LEVY 1924 III 190] | presumably Ar. *maʕaka* “auf dem Boden reiben oder drücken” [GB 445] = “to rub on the ground, struggle” [KB] || LECu.: Afar *mokko-ta* (f) “mortar”, *maku-tta* “pestle” [PH 1985, 162, 170] || NOm.: Yemsa *muko* “to thresh” [Wdk. 1990, 131] = *mùk-* “to thresh” [Ehret] || WCh.: Bole *múkkó* “wiederkauen” [Lks. 1971, 137], Pero *múgù* “to chew” [Frj. 1985, 42] || CCh.: Sao *moki* (*měki*) “Mehl” [DUISBURG 1914, 41] || ECh.: WDng. *màkè* “topound (in mortar)” [FÉDRY in JI 1994 II 269], EDng. *máké* “piler au mortier” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 192] = “stampfen” [Ebs. 1979, 128; 1987, 94]. Cf. also NOm.: Yemsa *moḳoy-* “mahlen (durch Stampfen)”, *moḳoyò* “Mörser” [Lmb.]?

NB: Eventually might be related to WCh.: PAngas **muk* “to squeeze, throttle” [GT 2004, 254]: Angas *muk* “to press, squeeze” [Flk. 1915, 247] = *mùk* “würgen” (≈ Hs. *šaḳəwa*, so! cf. Hs. *šááḳè* “1. to strangle, 2. fill chock-full, be brimful”, Abr. 1962, 643, 799), *mùk ḡwàṅ-ḡwàṅ* “to throttle” (*ḡwàṅ-ḡwàṅ* “Adam’s apple”) [Jng. 1962 MS, 26], which V.É. Orel (HSED 387, #1789) falsely equated with Hbr. *mkk qal* “to lower, sink” [KB] (for its genuine AA etymology cf. above).

547. AA **m-k-r* ~ **m-k-l* “red”: Sem. **mkr*: Akk. (aA, jB) *makrû* “rot” [AHW 590] || Syr. *mkr* “schwarz sein” [Brk. apud Clc.] || Ar. *makira* “être rouge”, *makr-*, pl. *makūr-* “terre rouge avec laquelle on marque en rouge”, *mumtakir-* “marqué de terre rouge” [BK II 1138] = *makira* “to be red”, IX “to be red”, *makr-* “red (noun), red chalk” [Ember] || SBrb.: perhaps EWlm. & Ayr *ta-mṛək* ~ *ta-mərək* “1. marque de propriété faite au fer rouge, 2. fer à marquer, fer rouge” [PAM 1998, 222] || CCh.: PMusgu **m-k-l* “red” [GT]: Musgu *mékēlē* (m), *makalai* (f) “rot, braun” [KRAUSE apud MÜLLER 1886, 400 & Lks. 1941] = *mekelé* “rot” [Lks. 1937, 142] = *mekele* “weiß” [DECORSE apud Lks. 1941, 67] = *mēkēlē* “rouge” [Mch. 1950, 37], Kaykay *mékélé* “rot” [Sgn.-Trn. 1984, 26], Puss *mekele* (m), *makalay* (f), pl. *makalakay* “rouge” [Trn. 1991, 104] | (?) Masa *bakāl* [irreg. *b-* < **m-*?] “rot” [Lks. 1937, 99].

NB1: V.É. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (HSED #1717) combined Sem. **mkr* with LEg. *mkr* “zwischen schwarz und weiß als Farbenbezeichnung einer Holzart genannt” (GR, Wb II 163, 5), which, however, is not confirmed in PL. NB2: As confirmed to me by K.-G. Prasse (p.c., 6 August 2006), the Tuareg form is not a French loan (not indicated as such in PAM l.c. either) but rather “it should be a genuine Tuareg word, although it seems to be an isolated word with no other words akin to it of the same root”.

548. AA **m-k* (vars. **ʕ-m-k* ~ **m-kʔ*) “to beg”: Sem.: Akk. (aAK, bab.) *emēqu* [**ʕmq* with prefixal **ʕ-*?] “inbrünstig flehen” [AHW 214] || NOM.: Kafa *mok* [irreg. *-k-* < **-k-*] “pregare, supplicare”, *mokk-ō* “preghiera” [Crl. 1951, 471] || SOM.: Ari *mīks-* (caus. *-s-*?) “to ask, beg” [Bnd. 1994, 144] || WCh.: Bade *maak-* “suchen” [Lks. 1974–75, 103].

NB1: Since the first syllable of Akk. is not reflected at all in Cu.-Om., I assume that Sem. **ʕ-/ʕh-* was prefix, just like in the preceding AA root (AA **m-h* “power”).

NB2: E. Cerulli (l.c.) compared Kaffa *mok* to HECu.: Hadiyya *moq-ō*, which, however, belongs to a distinct AA root, cf. AA **m-K* “to hide” [GT] (below).

549. AA **m-k* “little” > NBrb.: Mzg. *i-miq* “peu, un peu (indique surtout la quantité)” [TAIFI 1991, 425] || NOM.: Shinasha of Dangur *muḵ-a* “small” [Flm. 1990, 28] = *muḵḵ-á* “klein”, *muḵḵ-à* “wenige”, *mùḵ-iš-* (caus.) “vermindern, verkleinern” [Lmb. 1993, 351–2].

550. AA **m-k* (var. **ʕ-m-k* with prefix **ʕ-*) “2. ability, power”: Sem. **ʕmq* [GT]: Akk. *emūqu*, nA also *amūqu* [**ʕmqʔ*] “Armkraft, Macht, Gewalt” [AHW 216] || HECu. **maḵ-* “power, strength” [GT]: Sidamo *maq-é* “1. forza, 2. autorità, 3. podestà” [Mrn. 1940, 229] = *maḵaé* “strength, power” [Hds.] = *maqàè* “strength, energy, physical condition, features” [Gsp. 1983, 224], Kmb. *maḵ-o* “strength, power” [Hds.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 144–5, 384) | Dullay: Tsamay *muḵ-* “to strengthen” [Hyw. 1989, 29] = *mūḵ-um* “to be powerful” [SAVÀ 2005 MS, 247] || WCh.: AS **mak* (var. **mukʔ*) “1. to suffice, be (much) enough, 2. able” [GT 2004, 239–240]: Sura *mak* “können, vermögen, erreichen, genügen” [Jng. 1963, 73], Mpn. *māk* “to suffice, satisfy” [Frj. 1991, 35], Kfy. *mak* “enough”, (*se*) *mak an* “enough for me” [Ntg. 1967, 26], Msr. *mak* ~ *muk* (so, *-u-*) ~ *mok* (so, *-o-*) “1. sufficient, 2. plenty, much”, *mak-čiin* “sufficiently, plenty, useful” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 179, 181, 387] = *mak* “able” [Jng. 1999 MS, 11] || CCh.: Tera *màya* “to know (savoir)” [Nwm. 1964, 48, #493] || ECh.: Tumak *māg* “1. être capable, 2. pouvoir, 3. (être) beaucoup” [Cpr. 1975, 81].

NB1: The first radical of the Sem. root must have been a prefix, as not even the syllable trace of it was preserved in all the other AA reflexes.

NB2: Somali-Jiddo *meyg* & Rendille *mīg* “Kraft, Macht” do not belong here, deriving ultimately from ECU. **mizg-* “right (hand)” [SASSE 1979, 25] (cf. Lmb. 1986, 261).

551. AA *m-k “to break” > Ar. *maqqa* “fendre la spathe du palmier femelle pour y introduire la fleur du palmier male” [BK II 1134] ||| NOm. *mek- “to break (intr.)” [Lmb.]: Wolayta *meʔʔ-* [-ʔʔ- < *-k-k-], Gamu & Dache *mek-k-*, Zayse & Koyra *meʔ-* etc. (NOm.: LS 1997, 449).

552. AA *m-k (var. *^ʕ-m-k with prefix *^ʕ-) “long” > Ar. ^ʕ*amiqa* “être long, se prolonger, s’étendre loin, être profond”, occurs also without ^ʕ-, cf. *maqqaq-* “longueur du corps (d’un cheval)” [BK II 369, 1134] ||| WCh.: Hausa *múúkèéékè* “long and thick”, *múúkà* “1. to stretch out, 2. (intr.) extend, spread (news), continue one’s way, set out”, *mùkà(á)* “to become protracted, be stretching os.”, *múúkì* “weaver’s stretching thread in loom for weaving” [Abr. 1962, 682, 673].

NB: This isogloss may preserve the traces of an AA *(^ʕ)-m-k “1. magnitude, reaching far (or sim.), which was perhaps the carrier of the primary sense of the underlying root.”

553. AA *m-k “egg” > HECu.: perhaps Sidamo *muk-* “to hatch” [Hds. 1989, 77: isolated in HECu.] ||| SOm. **muk-* “egg” [GT]: Ari & Galila & Hamer & Karo *muk-* “egg” [Bnd. 1994, 149, #24] ||| WCh.: Tangale *amak* “egg (rare)” [Jng. 1991, 66; JI 1994 II 122: isolated in Ch.].

554. AA *m-K “part of the face between cheek and jaw”: NBrb.: Qbl. *a-mayeg*, pl. *i-muyag* “un côté du visage, joue et mâchoire” [Dlt. 1982, 528] ||| NAgaw: Xamir *mikəḳ* “chin” [BSW 1995, 4] || HECu.: Kmb. *mōki (-ta)* “cheek” [Hds. 1989, 333] ||| WCh.: Hausa *mùkààmùkúú* ~ *múmmúkè* “lower jaw”, pl. *mùkààmùkàí* “the upper and lower jaws” [Abr. 1962, 682].

NB1: Due to phonological reasons, Kmb. *mōki* cannot be a reflex of HECu. **boḳ-o* (Kmb. *m-* ≠ HECu. **b-* & Kmb. *-k-* ≠ HECu. **-k-*).

NB2: The second PAA radical is not yet fully clear. The three various branches point to three various PAA phonemes: AA **-g* (NBrb.) vs. AA **-k* (HECu.) vs. **-k* (Hausa).

555. AA *m-K “to hide” > HECu.: Sidamo *moga* “to ambush, be on the look-out, 2. take undue advantage, avail o’self (as a servant who works for sometime to find the occasion to steal)” [Gsp. 1983, 236], cf. Hadiyya *moq-ō* (translated by Crl.’s informant by Amh. *qoytā* “colloquio segreto”) [Crl. 1951, 471] ||| WCh.: Hausa *máḳè* “to hide oneself” [Abr. 1962, 645], Gwandara *mékye* “to hide (intr.)”, *mákye* “to stick (tr.)” [Mts. 1972, 78, 80; Skn. 1977, 26].

556. AA *m-[g] “to calm” > Sem. **mwh*: Ug. *mḥ* “beruhigt, betrost” [WUS #1543] = “to prosper” [GORDON 1955, 287, #1085] | Ar. *māḥa* “se calmer (se dit de la colère)” [BK II 1166] = “sich beruhigen” [WUS] ||| NOm.: Haruro *māgg-āys* “essere content” [CR 1937, 653].

557. AA *m-[g] “elder relative”: Sem. **mḥ*?_x: Akk. (OAss.) *maḥāʔum* “uncle (?)” [AHW 582] = *maḥāʔum* or *maḥḥāʔum* “mng. uncert., seems to indicate a relationship (possibly elder brother or sister) in a family or in a commercial partnership” [CAD m 85] ||| CCh.: Higi-Kamale *muḥa* “old men” [Mkr. 1987, 253] || ECh. **m-K* “grandparent” [GT]: Mokilko *mògá* “grand-mère” & *mùgìyè* “grand-père” [Jng. 1990, 140], WDng. *mìgò* (*mìgòʔ*) “parent par alliance: beau-père, gendre (terme réciproque)” [FÉDRY 1971, 131], EDng. *mìgò* “beau-père, gendre” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 204] | Birgit *mòkòò-tù* “mon grand-père” [Jng. 1973 MS], Toram *mogot* “grandfather” [AJ 1988 MS, 20].

NB: O.V. STOLBOVA (1994 MS, 1; HSED #1801) connected the Akk. term to WCh.: Jimbin *mugaʔa* “chief” || CCh.: Higi dial. *məḡə* “chief” | Lgn. *mḡai* “chief”. Perhaps possible. There can be no connection to Eg. *mḥ.wt* “relatives etc.” (*contra* HSED #1801), since Eg. *h* ≠ AA **Q*.

558. AA **m-Q* (perhaps **m-ǵ*?) “1. sweet, 2. good”: Sem.: perhaps Ar. *mḡmḡ* I “être doux” [BK II 1136] ||| NBrb.: Mzab *a-məč* [č reg. < Brb. **k*] “bien, bon, mieux (un degré, non une qualité)” [Dlh. 1984, 115] ||| LECu.: Elmolo *mak-a* “sweet” [Lmb.] = *máko?* “süß” vs. *māk* “Honig” [HEINE 1973, 280] = *m’áka* “sweet” [HEINE 1980, 207], Arbore *mákk* “sweet thing”, *makká* “sweet”, *makk-ow-* “to taste good” [Hyw. 1984, 383], cf. Somali-Jabarti *múki* (f), *múky-o* “Feige” [Rn. 1904, 78] ||| WCh.: Angas *myék myák* (frequently *myák myák*) “tasty, sweet, well flavoured” [Flk. 1915, 251] = *myék* [sic with -*k*] (Ks) “tasty” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] || CCh.: Bura *mimehyu* [-*h-* reg. < AA **-Q-*] “sweet and delicious” [BED 1953, 138] | Lamang *mək* “honey” [Mch. in JI 1994 II 191].

NB: M. LAMBERTI (1993, 362–363; cf. also LS 1997, 450–451) derived the Elmolo cognate mistakenly from OCu. **me*^o- “to be tasty” [Lmb.], which represents a distinct root.

559. AA **m-Q* (vars. **m-ǵ* ~ **m-g*?) “to carry” > NAgaw **məq^w-/*mäq^w-t-* “to carry on the back” [Apl. 1989 & 2005] = **mVǵ^w-T-* “to carry (on the shoulders)” [Apl. 1991] = NAgaw **maú* (sic) [Conti Rossini]: Bln. *muǵ-r* ~ *muǵ^w-r* “tragen” [Rn.] = *məq^w-r-* = *mix^w-r-* [Apl. 1991], Qwara *mô-t* ~ *meû-t* ~ *maû-t* (refl.) “tragen eine Last” [Rn. 1885, 96], Xamir *miû-t* ~ *mû-t* “tragen, sich aufladen” [Rn. 1884, 390], Xamtanga *măw-t/r-* [Apl. 1989] = *məw-r-* “to carry” [Apl. 1991], Qemant *mo-t* “porter, lever” [CR 1912, 234] = *məǵ^w-t-* ~ *măǵ^w-t-* [Apl. 1989] = *mǵ^w-t-* “to carry” [Apl. 1991] (Agaw: Apl. 1989 MS, 16; 1991 MS, 3; 2005 MS, 21) || LECu.: perhaps Rnd. *meh*, pl. *meháh* [irreg. -*h*] “load” [HEINE 1976, 218] | Dullay: Tsamay *mēg’-* “to fetch water” & Dobase *maq’g’-* “to ladle up water” [Hyw. 1989, 6, 23] ||| WCh.: Ngamo *mòkk-tí* “to bring” [ALIO 1988 MS] = *mok-* “to carry, take” [Ibr. 2003 MS, 7] || CCh.: Mulwi *√m^w-g:* *múgí* “enlever (une femme), saisir à bras-le-corps” [Trn. 1978, 304] || ECh.: Kera *móké* “etwas Schweres hochheben” [EBERT 1976, 82] | Bidiya *mòg* “aider qn. à porter un lourd fardeau” [AJ 1989, 99].

560. AA **m-Q* (?) ~ var. **m-h* “happy” > Ar. *mḡmḡ* [irreg. -*h-*] “être gai, joyeux, content” [BK II 1070] ||| HECu.: Burji *magg-* “to be happy, hope (intr.)”, *magg-a* “happiness” [Hds. 1989, 76] | Dullay: Gollango *mokkok-* “lächeln” [AMS 1980, 213] || SCu. **măk-* “to be happy” [Ehr.]: Alg. *maq-* “to be cheerful” | Ma’a -*máka* “to wonder, be astonished” (SCu.: EHRET 1980, 155, #21). Cf. also Ongota *muḡi* ~ *muhi* “to laugh” [Flm. 1992, 212].

561. AA **m-Q-r* ~ **m-r-Q* “old” (?) > Brb. **m-ǵ-r* “être grand, vieux, notable” [Dlg.], for which cf., e.g., NBrb.: Wargla *a-myar* “ancien, vieux, notable du clan, de tribu, anciens chefs” [Dlh. 1987, 193], Qbl. *u-* ~ *i-myur* “1. être grand, grandir, 2. être considérable en proportion ou valeur”, *a-myar* “1. homme âgé, 2. vieillard, 3. beau-parents, (pl.) les anciens, témoins de la tradition” [Dlt. 1982, 508], Irzhen *a-myar* “vieillard, notable” [Picard], Ait Mgild *a-myar* “old person, leader of performers, head of tribe” [HARRIES 1974, 224] || EBrb.: Gdm. *ə-mqūr* “1. être âgé, ancien, 2. être notable” [LANFRY 1973, 214, #1019] || SBrb.: Hgr. *a-myar* “homme grand (d’âge, de situation dans sa famille ou dans la société)”, *i-myar* “être grand (de dimensions, d’âge, de position sociale)” [Fed. 1951–2, 235, 237] (Brb.: Bst. 1890, 316; Dlg. 1967, 7, #3) ||| Ch. **m-r-Q* “old” [GT]: CCh.: PLamang **m-l-h* [-*l-* < **-r-* poss.] “old” [GT, cf. BÜCHNER 1964, 41–42; WOLFF 1971, 65, 69, 71; Mkr. 1987, 279] || ECh.: Bidiya *murák* “1. vieillir, 2. s’user”, *múrkò* “vieux, ancien, âgé” [AJ 1989, 101].

NB1: Root ext. **-r*? Any connection with AA **m-[g]* “elder relative” (above)?

NB2: Alternatively (provided its primary sense was not “old” but “great”), the Brb. root could be connected with

Ar. *maḥara* I “5. élargir qqch. à force de se mouvoir dans l’intérieur”, *ya-mḥūr- ~ yu-mḥūr-* “long, allongé, trop long” [BK II 1072].

562. AA *m-γ “to eat” > Ar. *maymaya* “1. entamer un morceau de viande, y mordre, mais ne pas l’avaler entièrement, 3. boire de l’eau avec la langue (se dit des chiens qui boivent ainsi), en fourrant la tête dans un vase” [BK II 1133] || NAgaw: Xamir *mī* “bread” [Lmb.] (orig. * “food”) || LECu.: Saho *maw ~ māw* “das Mittagmahl, Mahlzeit” [Rn. 1890, 277] = *maw ~ mowo* “lunch” [VERGARI 2003, 134], Afar *mā^ow-ō* (f) “das Mittagessen, die Hauptmalzeit des Tages” [Rn. 1886, 878] = *mayo* “dinner, lunch, midday meal, having drunk milk or water, being satisfied with m. or w.” [PH 1985, 166] = *mā^o-o* “food” (sic) [Lmb.] || NOm. **mā* “manger” [Crl.] = **m-* “to eat” [Bnd.; Flm. 1983, 453–4] = **ma^o-* “to eat” [LS] = **mV-* [GT] (NOm.: Crl. 1937–40, 34; 1938 III, 79, 205; 1951, 466–467; Mkr. 1981, 217–218, #59.a; Bnd. 1988, 145; LS 1997, 449) || Ch. **m-(y)* “to eat” [GT]: WCh.: Waja *mīj-* “to swallow” [Kwh. 1990, 239] || CCh.: Bata *mwà* “to eat together”, *mwà-tō* “eating together, sharing cooked food” [PWEDDON 2000, 58] | Glavda *miya* “(a kind of) food” [RB 1968, 66] | Lamang *may-a* “weiden, füttern” [WOLFF 1972, 198] || ECh.: Kwang *mé* “manger (viande)” [Jng. in Brt.-Jng. 1990, 113], Kwang-Mobu *mé* “manger (viande)” [Jng. in LENSSEN 1982, 109; 1984, 69]. From AA **may^o-* “to eat” [Mlt. 2005, 360, #23] = **m-y* (?) [GT]. Areal parallel: NS **mày* or **māy* “to chew up” [EHRET 2001, 280, #110].

563. AA *m-^o “phlegm, slime”: Sem. **my^o* “to flow (of efflux?)”: Akk. *mā^ou* [irreg. **-a-*] (a/jB) “(Galle) erbrechen” [AHW 637] || Ar. *my^o*: *mā^oa* “1. couler doucement en se répandant à la surface du sol” [BK II 1172] = “to flow (liquid)” [Lsl.] || Geez *my^o*: *me^oa* “1. to become water, melt, liquefy, 2. putrefied” [Lsl. 1987, 376] || presumably Eg. *m^o* (det. of bodily efflux) “etwas vor dem man sich hüten soll” (XVIII. Mag., Wb II 46, 12) = “etwas vor dem man sich hüten muß (in Zshg. mit Lippen)” (GHwB 327) || SCu.: Ma’*a ma^oa-tuko* [-^o- reg. < **-^o-*] “phlegm” [EHRET 1980 MS, 4] || Ch. **miH-* “phlegm” [GT]: WCh.: Guruntum *mi* “saliva” [Jgr. 1989, 187] || CCh.: Zime-Dari *mīē^o* “salive” [COOPER 1984, 17] || ECh.: Jegu *mi* “Rotz” [Jng. 1961, 115].

564. AA *m-^o “side” > Sem.: Sqt. *my^o*: *mī^oeh* “côté” [SSL 1991, 1466, cf. Lsl. 1938, 248 with an improbable Sqt. & Sem. etymology] || NBrb.: Senhazha *ta-ma*, pl. *ta-mi-win* “pan d’un vêtement” [Rns. 1932, 384], Temsaman & Iboqqoyen *tī-mū-an* “board” [Brn. 1917, 93], Mzab *t-ma*, pl. *ti-mi-wa* “côté, direction” [Dlh. 1984, 114], Bugi *ta-ma* & Tarudant *tsa-ma* “côté” [Bst. 1890, 312], Qbl. *ta-ma*, pl. *ta-mi-win* “1. côté, face, 2. lisière” [Dlt. 1982, 479] || SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr *tā-ṃa*, pl. *tā-ṃa-wen ~ tā-ṃa-ten* “1. bout, extrémité, 2. limite, périphérie, bord(ure), 3. frontière” [PAM 1998, 207; 2003, 518] || LECu.: perhaps Oromo *mo^o-ō* “hip” [GRAGG 1982, 289] || CCh.: Gude *má* “2. edge, rim (from 1. mouth)” [Hsk. 1983, 232].

NB: These forms might well be derived from the root **m* “mouth” (as suggested by K.-G. Prasse in PAM l.c.).

565. AA *m-^o “1. sweet → 2. good” > Ar. *m^oy*: *mā^oin* “doux, mou, tender”, cf. *ma^ow-* “dates” [BK II 1131] || ES: Grg. (< ECu.): End. *mu^o*, Enm. *mo^o*, Msq. *m^oam^oä* “good, well” (Grg.: Lsl. 1979, 386) || LECu. **ma₁^o-* [Black] “1. good, 2. sweet” [GT]: Saho *ma^o-* “3. gutes erweisen, edel, gut sein”, *ma^o-ē* “Güte, Edelsinn” [Rn. 1890, 254], Assaorta *ma^o* “esser buono, prosperare” [CR 1913, 69], Afar *ma^o-* “well, content”, *ma^o-o* “good” [Black] = *em^oe* “to become good”, *me^oe* “to be good, right”, *me^oeh* “all right, OK” [PH 1985, 96,

167] | Som. *ma^o-i* “Klarheit, Deutlichkeit, Annemlichkeit, Güte, Süßigkeit” [Rn. 1902, 281] = *ma^o* “esser buono, prosperare” [CR 1913, 69], PBonⁱ **mā^oāā* “sweet” [HEINE 1982, 131]: Boni *ma^oā^o* “sweet” [Heine] = *ma^oā^o* [TOSCO 1996, 43] | “Macro-Orm.” **me^o-* [Black]: Orm. *mi^o-a-* “to taste good” [Black] = *mi^oā^oa* “to be expensive, sweet, flavoured” [GRAGG 1982, 284] = *miā* (m) “sweet, tasty, nice” [Strm. 1987, 366], Konso & Gidole *me^o-āw-* “to taste good” [Black] = Konso *me^o-awa* “sweet” [Lmb.] | Dasenech (Galab) *me^o* “sweet” [Black] | HECu.: Sidamo *māy(y)e* (part.) “alright” [Gsp. 1983, 227] = *maw-ō* [**ma^oō*] “good” (ECu.: Rn. 1886, 878; 1902, 281; Crl. 1938 II, 45; Chn. 1947, #81; Dlg. 1973, 179; SASSE 1973, 268, #3; BLACK 1974, 136; Hhn. 1975, 88; HEINE 1977, 293; 1978, 69; Blz. 1991, 49) || SCu.: Alg. *ma^o-at- ~ ma^o-as-* [irreg. < **ma^o-?*] “to be savoury” [EHRET 1980, 323] || NOM.: Janjero (Yamma) *ma^oā ~ ma^oō* “buono” [Crl. 1938 III, 79] = *ma^oá* “1. nett, 2. Gut” [Lmb. 1993, 362–3] || WCh.: Fyer *mó* “Süße” [Jng. 1970, 88], Bokkos *mimya* “sweet” [MAGWA etc. 1985, 10] | Kir *mwā-* “good” [Smz. 1978, 42, #91] || CCh.: Muskuum *míyáwá* “bon, beau” [Trn. 1977, 18] || ECh.: Tobanga *mōwā^o* “duceur sucrée” [Cpr. 1978, 146] | Sokoro *maia* “schön, gut” [Lks. 1937, 35].

566. AA **m-h ~ *m-ḥ* “to hit” > Ar. *mhw: mahā* “porter à qqn. un coup violent” [BK II 1164] || SCu. **ma-h* “to hit” [Ehr.]: Brg. *maḥ-as-* “to beat (person)” | Ma’a *-ma* “to hit” (SCu.: EHRET 1980, 156, #28). Irreg. Ar. *-h-* vs. SCu. **-ḥ-*.

567. AA **m-h* “bright” > Ar. *mahah- ~ mahāh-* “éclat, beauté, fraîcheur” [BK II 1159] || Bed. *mah ~ meh* “morgen werden, tagen, anbrechen der Tag”, *mah ~ máha* “der Morgen, Sonnenaufgang” [Rn. 1895, 164] || LECu.: Saho & Afar *māh* “licht werden, Morgen werden, tagen”, *māh ~ máhā* (m) “Morgen” [Rn. 1886, 880].

ABBREVIATION OF LANGUAGE NAMES AND RELATED TERMS

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), aAk: Old Akkadian, aAss.: Old Assyrian, aB: Old Babylonian, Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amhara, -ic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BA(ram.): Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, DhI.: Dahalo, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gdm.: Ghadames, Gmy.: Goemay, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), IE: Indo-European, Irq.: Iraqw, irreg.: irregular, Izn.: Iznasen, JA(ram.): Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, jB: jungbabylonisch, Jbl.: Jibbali, Kfy.: Kofyar, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, Lit.: literary texts, LL: lexical lists, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, mA: Middle Assyrian, mB: Middle Babylonian, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, Mnt.: Montol, Mpn.: Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Musheru, Mzg.: Tamazight (Berber), N: New, N: North, nA: New Assyrian, nB: New Babylonian, NC: Niger-Congo, NE(g.): New Egyptian, Nil.: Nilotic, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, Nslm.: Taneslem, O: Old, OInd.: Old Indic (Sanskrit), OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qwd.: Qwadza, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaean, Sem.: Semitic, spB: Late Babylonian, Sqt.: Sqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram.): Aramaic of Talmud, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawllemed.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

Abt.: ABRAHAM, Af: AdOLF FRIEDRICH, Aj: ALIO & JUNGRAITHMAYR, Ajl.: AJELLO, ALC: Angas Language Committee, Alm.: ALEMA-YEHU, AMS: AMBORN & MINKER & SASSE, Apl.: APPELYARD, Aplg.: APPELGATE, Ast.: AISTLEITNER, Bgn.: BEGUINOT, BK: BIEBERSTEIN & KAZIMIRSKI, Blv.: BELOVA, Blz.: BLAŽEK, Bnd.: BENDER, Brk.: BROCKELMANN, Brn.: BRUNET, Brt.: BARRETEAU, Bst.: BASSET, BSW: BERHANU & SISAY & WEDEKIND, Chn.: COHEN, Clm.: COLOMBEL, Cpt.: CAPRILE, CR: CONTI ROSSINI, CrL.: CERULLI, Ctn.: CARNOCHAN, Csp.: COSPER, Ctc.: CAITUCOLI, Dbr.: DJIBRINE, Dkl.: DIYAKAL, Dlg.: DOLGOPOLSKY, Dlh.: DELHEURE, Dlt.: DALLET, Ebs.: EBOBISSE, EEN: EHRET & ELDERKIN & NURSE, Egc.: EGUCHI, Ehr.: EHRET, Fcd.: FOUCAULD, Flk.: FOULKES, Flm.: FLEMING, FMlr.: F. MÜLLER, Frj.: FRAJZYNGIER, Frz.: FRONZAROLI, GB: GESENIUS & BUHL, Gcl.: GOCHAL, Grb.: GREENBERG, Grt.: GROTANELLI, Gsp.: GASPARINI, GT: TAKÁCS, Hds.: HUDSON, Hfm.: HOFFMANN, Hlw.: HELLWIG, Hnrg.: HUEHNERGARD, Hsk.: HOSKISON, Hyw.: HAYWARD, Ibr.: IBRISZIMOW, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: ILLIČ-SVITYČ, JA: JUNGRAITHMAYR & ADAMS, Jgr.: JAGGAR, JI: JUNGRAITHMAYR & IBRISZIMOW, Jng.: JUNGRAITHMAYR, Jns.: JOHNSTONE, JS: JUNGRAITHMAYR & SHIMIZU, Jst.: JUSTINARD, KB: KOEHLER & BAUMGARTNER, Krf.: KRAFT, Ksm.: KOSSMANN, Kwh.: KLEINWILLINGHÖFER, Lbf.: LEBEUF, Lbg.: LOUBIGNAC, LH: LITTMANN & HÖFNER, Lks.: LUKAS, Lmb.: LAMBERTI, Lnf.: LANFRY, Lns.: LENSSEN, LS: LAMBERTI & SOTTILE, Lsl.: LESLAU, Lst.: LAOUST, Mch.: MOUCHET, Mgw.: MAGHWAY, Mkr.: MUKAROVSKY, Mnh.: MEINHOF, Mlt.: MILITAREV, Mnt.: MONTGOLFIER, MQK: MOUS & QORRO & KIESSLING, Mrc.: MERCIER, Mrn.: MORENO, MSkn.: M. SKINNER, Mts.: MATSUSHITA, Ncl.: NICOLAS, Nct.: NACHTIGAL, Nhl.: NEHLIL, Ntg.: NETTING, Nwm.: NEWMAN, NZ: NAÏT-ZERRAD, OS: OREL & STOLBOVA, PAM: PRASSE & ALOJALY & MOHAMED, PH: PARKER & HAYWARD, Pls.: PILSZCZIKOWA, Pnc.: PENCHOEN, Prd.: PARADISI, Pts.: PRASSE, Pwd.: PWEDDTON, RB: RAPP & BENZIG, RK: REUTT & KOGAN, Rn.: REINISCH, Rns.: RENISIO, Rpr.: ROPER, Rsg.: ROSSING, Sbr.: SIEBERT, Scn.: SACHNINE, Slk.: SÖLKEN, Skn.: N. SKINNER, Smz.: SHIMIZU, Srl.: SURLINGER, Ss.: SASSE, SS: SIMEONE-SENELLE, SS: SIMEONE-SENELLE & LONNET, Stl.: STOLBOVA, Str.: STRÜMPELL, Strm.: STROOMER, Sts.: STAROSTIN, TB: TUCKER & BRYAN, Tf.: TAÏFI, Tm.: TOURNEUX, TSL: TOURNEUX & SEIGNOBOS & LAFARGE, Vcl.: VYCIHL, Vrg.: VERGOTE, Wdk.: WEDEKIND, WP: WEIBEGUÉ & PALAYER, Wtl.: WHITELEY, Zbr.: ZABORSKI, ZhL.: ZYHLARZ.

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