

Omotic Lexicon in Its Afro-Asiatic Setting IV: Addenda to Omotic *b-

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ABSTRACT

The paper constitutes part of a long-range series aiming, step by step, to identify the Afro-Asiatic heritage in the etymologically little explored lexicon of Omotic (West Ethiopia), a branch displaying the least of Afro-Asiatic traits among the six branches of this ancient macrofamily.

KEYWORDS

Ethiopian languages, Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic), African linguistics, etymology

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INTRODUCTION¹

Omotic (West Ethiopia) and Chadic (Rep. of Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria), i.e., the 5th and 6th branches,² resp., of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) language macrofamily have so far been the least studied from the standpoint of their external lexical correspondences in the other four branches: Cushitic (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania), Berber (Maghreb),³ Egyptian and Semitic. In Chadic, at least, we have the gigantic achievements accumulated solely⁴ by O.V. Stolbova (Moscow) over the past five decades of her fruitful and permanent research for both its inner reconstruction and its external comparison. This kind of research on the inherited Afro-Asiatic stock of the Omotic root inventory, let alone the elaboration of the underlying historical phonology, has by far been advanced in this branch to the same extent as in Chadic, which, according to both the isomorphic and provisory glottochronological calculations, appears as the very first unity of the Afro-Asiatic parental community to have branched off (cf. Takács 2015) and so promises to end up as the inventory consisting of the most archaic segments of the Common Afro-Asiatic (CAA) lexicon.

We owe much to H.C. Fleming, M.L. Bender, and M. Lamberti for their pioneering studies on the internal lexical comparison and phonological reconstruction of Omotic. The latter two authors even managed to come up with a few monographs on the subject,⁵ where, however, a systematic phonological-lexical equation with the other branches was not even targeted. The lexical comparisons by M. Lamberti were always, as a rule, restricted to Cushitic and Ethio-Semitic, which is overwhelmingly true about both other authors. Ironically, merely the very first book by M. L. Bender (1975) contains a loosely composed list of supposed parallels to Omotic roots in- and outside Afro-Asiatic, but this attempt, unfortunately, had not even reached the level of J.H. Greenberg's (1955, 1963) 'mass comparison', and is nothing more than a collection of putative guesses on often unconvincing look-alikes. But that was understandable half of a century before as the unity and structure of this 5th branch had not even been recognized by that time at all. To the best of my knowledge, the only special studies devoted to a systematic treatment of

¹ I am grateful to Prof. W.G.E. Watson (Morpeth, UK) for checking the English of the manuscript. Due to the great number of special characters, this paper, exceptionally, does not follow the general practice of AOH to italicize foreign words.

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

³ Tamazight being the native designation for 'Berber language' preferred primarily among scholars and the intelligence in general with a Berber (Amazigh) background, we better stick to the traditional term 'Berber', also commonly accepted in all international circles of Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics.

⁴ Paying due homage, of course, to the merits of P. Newman (1966, 1977) and H. Jungraithmayr (JS 1981, JI 1994) too, whose output is, nevertheless, by far no match either in terms of quantity or quality to that by O.V. Stolbova, who focused solely on Chadic consonantal-lexical reconstruction with ingenious insights into its AA relations over the half a century of her enormously fruitful research reminiscent of the skills of her sometime Muscovite master, A.B. Dolgopolsky (1930–2012), the greatest expert of AA comparative consonantism ever, may his memory be blessed.

⁵ Bender 1975, 1999, 2003 (all these volumes deal with Omotic as a whole), Lamberti 1993a, 1993b (two volumes at a time: Yemsa and Shinasha, resp.), Lamberti and Sottile 1997 (Wolayta).



Omotic vs. Afro-Asiatic lexical matches are due to V. Blažek, who presented at the 2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Torino, November 1989) the etymologies of the Omotic anatomical terminology, which had long remained unpublished until these results were most recently partly included in the lengthy paper by V. Blažek (2008) on the sketchy lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic languages comprising 100 items of the basic vocabulary, where, unfortunately, not every single lemma was provided with an Afro-Asiatic cognate. In my experience, perhaps this branch represents the least cultivated field within the whole immense Afro-Asiatic domain from the viewpoint of a systematic etymological elaboration of its inherited lexical treasures.

This new series for the ‘Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting’⁶ started some decades ago precisely for filling as many as possible of the innumerable gaps in the scanty etymological research on Omotic. The etymological entries are arranged according to consonantal roots, i.e. in the order of how the articulation places follow (in the C₁, C₂ etc.) from the labials down to the laryngeals ending in the sonants.

As for the internal consonantal correspondences of the Omotic groups, our vision is still just forming as no definitive and thoroughly demonstrated *Lautgeschichte* of Omotic has been achieved as yet in a convincing Neo-Grammarian manner, as it was completed in some other luckier AA branches like Semitic (cf. esp. Kogan 2009 and 2011), Berber (Kossmann 1999) or East Cushitic (Sasse 1979). But the tentative results by M.L. Bender (1987: 23–28, 31–32; 1988: 122–127, 136–137, 139–144; 2003: 310–313), even if these are based on an extensive Greenbergian ‘mass comparison’ of the basic vocabulary, are, so to say, of a precious orientation value for our research, let alone the masterful treatment of Omotic sibilant correspondences by R. Hayward (1988), whereas the outlines of Omotic consonantal matches by Ch. Ehret (1995: 9–12) and M. Lamberti & R. Sottile (1997: 253–260) are, unfortunately, to be treated with much more caution for a few reasons.⁷ As for Afro-Asiatic comparative phonology, we are following the principles of the former Diakonoff team⁸ and their substantially new vision of the PAA phonological reconstruction (esp. as for the affricates and the postvelars)⁹ which my own research has fundamentally corroborated (cf. Takács 2011a).

⁶ So far three parts of this series have been published ca. a decade ago: Takács 2011b, 2012b, 2012c.

⁷ Aside from just *ex cathedra* composing the table of ‘Provisional Omotic Consonant Reconstructions’ stated (op. cit.: 10) as ‘differing only slightly from’ the outcome of Bender 1988, Ch. Ehret (1995: 10–12), has failed to present a detailed demonstration for every single rule. One can hardly be satisfied by his vague reference to his ‘data’ (in general) drawn from Bender 1971 that are ‘confirmed and expanded upon by other materials’ like Mocha (Leslau 1959), Koyra (Hayward 1982), Ometo (Hayward 1987), Yemsa, Bench/Benesho, Ari (Hayward 1990), from which, Ehret has only quoted some items sporadically scattered throughout his AA comparative lexicon (composed along an all too high quantity of methodological blunders, cf. Takács 2018: 237–239, §I), grasped out of their respective Omotic comparative contexts. On the other hand, M. Lamberti’s daring vision of Cushito-Omotic consonantal shifts (manifesting itself in other works by him also), including his vague hypothesis on original labiovelars, is radically different from that of the more conservative and cautious mainstreamers like Bender and Fleming and it is with regret that I must also state how much I had to refrain from using Lamberti’s all too unconvincing Cu.-Om. lexical matches. Besides, some other equally vague hypotheses of the eminent Italian researcher have evoked a series of rather bitter pieces of reciprocal polemy in Omotic studies, cf. Sasse 1990 vs. Lamberti 1992 or Lamberti 1991 and 1993d vs. Fleming 1992 and 1993.

⁸ SISAJa I-III (in Russian from 1981-6), revised English version: HCVA I-V (from 1993-7).

⁹ Elaborated pace SIFKJa (albeit not applied for Cushitic as therein) in the reports of the Russian AA dictionary project (cf. D’jakonov-Porhomovskij 1979, Diakonoff 1984, D’jakonov *et al.* 1987, 1993).



As for the methods in elaborating the cognate sets, I have long been adhering to the ways of AA inter-branch comparison so masterfully practised by A.B. Dolgopolskij, the greatest master-mind of AA comparative-historical phonology and lexicon of all times, in his brilliant etymological studies from the 1980s,¹⁰ whence I have elaborated the principles of ‘bi/tripolar mirror’ of comparison (on which cf. Takács 2011a: 19 in general) originally for the case of Egypto-Semitic vs. South Cushitic examined by me since 1998,¹¹ but then extended also for numerous other branches/groups of AA.¹²

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

This fourth and the following fifth¹³ parts of my series for the ‘Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting’ thus contain new comparanda with initial *b-, whereas the sixth part (completed simultaneously)¹⁴ discusses basically additional Omotic roots with *ḃ-, *ḗ- and the initial voiceless labials.

OM. *B- + ZERO

82. Dizoid *bU ‘belly’ [GT] = *bō ~ *bū ‘heart’ and *bo ~ *bu ‘liver’ [Bender 2003: 211, #69 and 213, #81]: cf. Nayi 1x bufu ‘liver’ [Muldrow] vs. Sheko bo ‘belly’ [Bender] = bō, bou ‘belly’ [Fleming] (Dizoid: Bender 2003: 205, #9) || WCh.: Tangale-Waja púy-i ‘belly’ [Jng. 1968-9: 183] || CCh.: Tera mbu ‘belly’ [Newman] | Buduma fu ‘belly’ [Lukas] = pū, pū [Cyffer] (Ch.: JI 1994

¹⁰ Cf. A. B. Dolgopolskij’s fundamental studies on the Semitic matches of Angas-Sura *-γ- (1982), initial consonant correlations in Sem.-ECu. (1983), SCu.-Sem. laterals (1987), Sem.-ECu. initial laryngeals (1988), the reconstruction of the AA laterals (1989), Sem. *š vs. Ch. (1990).

¹¹ Cf. Takács 1999; 2000a; 2003; 2005a; 2005b and 2010: 91–122. For the case of Ma’a sibilants see Takács 2002a; 2009b; Ma’a š-; 2009c.

¹² E.g. I was using the Eg./Sem. mirror for the case of • NBrb.: Tamazight ḏ- and z- (Takács 2006), EBrb.: Ghadames ḏ- + SBrb.: Ahaggar h (Takács 2000c: 333–356; 2004b: 31–65; 2011a: 83–103), • Agaw/CCu. (Takács 2012a), ECu. *ā (Takács 2000b; 2011: 110–111), LECu.: Rendille ž- (Takács 2001a; 2011: 112–114), • CCh.: Musgu and Masa h- vs. ḥ- (Takács 2013: 153–184), • ECh.: Mokilko (Takács 2002b), • ECh.: Dangla-Migama (Takács 2009-2010: Bidiya b-; Takács 2009a: Bidiya č- and ž-).

¹³ Forthcoming in *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 75/4 (2022).

¹⁴ ‘Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting VI: Addenda to Omotic *ḃ-, *ḗ-, *p/f-’ *Lingua Posnaniensis* 63/1 (2021). Forthcoming.



II: 20–21). Areal parallels in Africa: Jukunoid *fV ‘belly’ [GT after Shimizu 1971: 390] vs. Tarok fú Bauch’ [Sibomana 1981: 264] vs. PBantu *-pu ‘stomach’ [Creider 1975: 134]. The v- in some further Chadic comparanda points to an original internal/-vocalic position of the same *b- (e.g., as *mbu-/*ʔubu-), cf. WCh.: Tsagu ʔóóve [Skinner], Miya vù [Skinner], both: ‘belly’ || CCh.: Tera va ‘body’ [Newman] | Mandara vwa ‘body’ [Mouchet] | Matakam và [Schubert], Mofu vòw [Barreteau], Gisiga-Dogba vo [Lukas] ‘body’ (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 20–21 and 34–35, resp.). The Tangale-Buduma parallel suggests a variety with initial *p-. This voiceless initial is corroborated by the special isogloss of Bed. fiʔ ~ fiʔʼ ‘1. Inneres, Mitte, 2. Magen, Bauch’ [Reinisch 1895: 75] = fʔi ~ fiʔi ‘stomach, interior’ [Roper 1928: 177] = fʔi ‘1. stomach (of slaughtered animal), estomac (d’un animal égorgé); 2. inside, intérieur’ [Vanhove 2019] || LECu.: Somali fiʔ ~ fiʔʼ ‘1. Bauch, Herz, 2. metaph.: Klugheit, Verstand, 3. Beherztheit, Mut’ [Reinisch 1902: 144] (Cu.: Dolgopolskij 1966: 59, #2.6.; 1973: 317).

83. NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho (Bench-non) bē ‘stick’ (n.) [CR apud Bender 2003: 344, #92] ||| Bed. biye (m) ‘Seite, Seitenknochen, Rippe’ [Reinisch 1895: 54] = beyi ~ bāyi (m) ‘rib’ [Roper 1928: 166] = baʼi (m, f), pl. bē ‘1. ribs, hindi bē ‘2. leaves of tree, o rbaʼi baʼi ‘side of mountain’ [Hudson 1996 MS: #17.31–21] = bayi (m) ‘rib (côte), small branch (petite branche), small leaf (petite feuille)’ [Vanhove 2019] ||| EBrb.: (???) Ghadames bubu ‘bâton’ (enf.)¹⁵ [DRB: 8, B25: isolated] ||| Eg. bʕj ‘die Rippe des Palmblattes’ (NE, Wb I: 446, 9–10) = ‘nervure de feuille de palmier’ (AL: 77.1222, 78.1295) = ‘rod of palm’ (DLE I: 152) = ‘tige de la branche du palmier’ rejecting the rendering ‘Rippe des Palmblattes’ (DELC: 24) = ‘Palmenrippe, Rippe des Palmblattes (als Stock, auch der Nubier)’ (GHWb: 248), fem. counterpart.: bʕj.t (in group-writing) ‘palm branches, palm switches’ (DLE I: 145) = ‘tige de la branche du palmier’ (DELC: 24), reflected later as Amarna Akk. bi-ʔa-ja ‘palm branch’ (Albright 1946: 24), Dem. bʕj ‘Palmenzweig, Palme, Palmstab’ (DG: 113:5) = ‘rib of palm leaf’ (CED: 20) → Coptic (S) **BA**, **BOI**, (SAL/A₂) **BAE**, (SF) **BAEI**, (B) **BAI**, (F) **BE(Ε)I** (m) ‘branch of date palm’ (CD: 27b) = ‘Palmenzweig’ (KHW: 19) = ‘branche du palmier (dépourvue de ses feuilles)’ (DELC: 24).

84. NOm.: Gimirra bob ‘precipizio’ [Montandon apud CR 1925: 618] ||| LECu.: PBoni *bòób (f) ‘hole’ [Heine 1982: 112]: Boni bób ‘Höhle, bób ‘Loch’ [Heine 1977: 288–289] ||| Eg. bb.t ‘Art Nische in der Wand (?)’ (NK, Wb I: 455, 10) = ‘hole, cavity’ (FD: 82) = ‘niche (pratiquée dans une paroi)’ (AL: 78.1317, cf. Ward 1978: 50–51) = ‘Nische’ (GHWb: 251) ||| Sem. *bawb- ‘porte’ [DRS] = *bāb- ‘door, gate’ [Dʼjakonov & Militarev]¹⁶ > esp. Syriac bbʔ ‘Höhle’ [Vergote] etc. (Sem.: DRS: 50) < AA *√bb or *√bw/yb ‘1. cavity, 2. hole’ [GT].

The same AA root may be present also in the anatomical Ethiopic term for ‘armpit’, which may have gained its meaning from the hollow shape denoted by its ultimate etymon, cf. NOm.: Mocha bəbbiho ‘armpit’ [Leslau 1959: 21]¹⁷ || SOm.: Hamar (late loan < Amh.) bābât- ‘armpit’ [Fleming in Bender 2003: 205, #2] = babāti ‘armpit’ [Petrollino 2016: 298] (Cu.-Mocha: Dlg. 1966: 54) ||| PCu.

¹⁵ Unless this is indeed just a *Kinderwort*, of no use in the search for cognates.

¹⁶ I. M. Dʼjakonov (1970: 463; SISAJa I: 108–109, #129) saw in it a reduplication of Sem. *√bwʔ ‘to enter’, while A. Ju. Militarev, V. É. Orel, and O. V. Stolbova (1989: 139), in turn, equated it with WCh.: Polchi bibi ‘doorway’ [Kraft 1981: #151] and assumed this isogloss to have been doubled from their postulated AA *baʔi/u- ‘place’.

¹⁷ The fact that the Hamar word is presumed to be a late Amharic loan (whereas its ES source was itself also borrowed, e.g. from LECu.: Oromo?), does not alter in any way about the cognate status of Mocha bəbbiho (hardly a



*bob- ‘armpit’ [Ehret] = *bab- [GT]:¹⁸ Bed. bába (f) ‘Achselhöhle, Armhöhle’ [Reinisch 1895: 40] = babʔā (f) ‘armpit’ [Roper 1928: 159] = bāba (sg./pl.) ‘armpit’ [Hudson 1996 MS: #17.31–21] || ECu. *babʔ- ‘Achselhöhle’ [Sasse 1981: 156] = *baḥb-¹⁹ > (?) *babb- ‘armpit’ [GT]: LECu.: Oromo bobb-ā ‘armpit’ [Gragg 1982: 428] = bób-a [Reinisch] = bób-ā [Sasse] = bob-a [Leslau] = bōb-a [Ehret] = bob-aʔ [Lamberti] | Arbore bēb-eʔ ‘armpit’ [Lamberti] | Rendille baḥáb ‘armpit’ [Heine 1976: 212] = baháb, pl. babhó [PG 1999: 73] | HECu. *bob- ‘armpit’ [GT]:²⁰ Burji bob-ā [Sasse] = bob-a [Lamberti, Sasse/Hudson], Gedeo (Darasa) bob-a [Dlg., Hudson] = bob-à ~ bop-à [Leslau] (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 21; ECu.: Sasse 1982: 37; Leslau 1988: 182; Bed.-Oromo: Ehret 1980: 140; 1987: #10) ||| ES (borrowed from LECu.): Amh. bəbbət ‘armpit’ [DRS 42]. Cf. EDE II: 186–188; EAAN I: 18, #1.

OM. *B- + DENTALS

85. Om. *√bd ‘(to sow) seed’ [GT]: Ometo *bud- ‘to sow seed’ [GT]: Oyda budits [Bender] = budits [Fleming] ‘seed’ (NWomt.: Bender 2003: 61, #114) | Zayse búdí ‘to sow’ [Hayward in Bender 2003: 61, #114b] || SOm. *bēt-a ‘seed’ [GT]: Ari bēta [Tsuge 1996: 169, #184], Banna bēta [Masuda apud Tsuge 1996: 186, #184], Hamer beta [Fleming] = bēta [Tsuge 1996: 169, #184], Karo pēta [Fleming], all reflexes signifying ‘seed’ (Aroid: Bender 1994: 157; 2003, 216: #114) ||| (???) ECu. *bVd(ah)- (*-d- obscure) ‘seed’ [GT]: Arbore bād-o (f) ‘seed prepared for sowing’ [Hayward 1984: 345] | Gawwada poḍaḥḥo ‘Saat’ [AMS 1980: 264] ||| WCh. *√bdr ‘seed’ [JS 1981: 221A]: attested solely in Tangale pódí ‘1. seed, 2. offspring (of man, animal), descendant, 3. stock’ [Jng. 1991: 132] | Sbauchi *√bTr ‘seed’ [GT] (WCh.: JI 1994 II: 286) ||| (???)²¹ Eg. bd.t ‘Art Weizen: Emmer, Spelt’ (PT, Wb I: 486–487) = ‘emmer’ (FD: 86) = ‘1. Emmer(weizen) (Triticum dicocum), 2. Emmermehl, Brei’ (GHWb: 266) ||| Sem. *√bdd > Akk. buddudu ‘dissiper, gaspiller’ || NHbr. √bdd qal ‘disperser, être seul’, Imperial Aram. √bdd (?) ‘disperser, anéantir’ | Ar. baddada ‘répandre, disperser’, tabaddada ‘gaspiller sa santé, dépérir’ etc. (Sem.: DRS 44: BDD1). Om.-ECu.-?Eg.: Blažek 2008: 126, #74.2.

loanword in this case), which appears to be better explained as a cognate (apparently isolated in Omotic) carrying in its C₃ the trace of *h (fossilized CAA nominal class marker of body parts terminology, cf. Takács 1997), only attested in LECu. *baḥb- (but as infixed C₂).

¹⁸ Identified by M. Lamberti (1988: 26) with Ar. bāʕ- ‘cubit’, Geez bāʕ ‘palm of hand, cubit’. Semantically unacceptable. N. Skinner (1992: 346), in turn, connected it to Sem.: Ar. ʔibt- and Harsusi ebāt ‘armpit’. Phonologically false. The Russian team (HSED: #167; HCVA II: #138 as a reduplication of AA *√by ‘back’), followed by Ch. Ehret (1995: #3; 1997 MS: 494, #3) and G. Takács (1996a: 46, #9; 1996b: 136, #30; 1997: 254–255, #5.4), equated PCu. *bab- with Eg. bb.wj (dual) ‘die Schlüsselbeine (claviculae)’ (Med., Wb I: 455, 3) = ‘collar-bones’ (FD: 82). Unconvincing.

¹⁹ Rendille baab (and also Arbore bēb-eʔ?) points to LECu. *bab- extended by the fossilized AA nominal class marker of anatomical terms (Leslau 1962; Blažek 1989: 213; Dlg. 1994: 14, #18; Takács 1997). Oromo bobb-ā may be due either to an assimilation of *boḥb- or to the preservation the Cushitic stem without the infixal *-h-.

²⁰ Both H.-J. Sasse (1982: 37) and W. Leslau (1988: 182) supposed the HECu. forms to have been borrowed from Oromo.

²¹ The etymology of the Pharaonic term is highly disputed. Its cognacy with the Omotic and East Cushitic term was first suggested by V. Blažek (2008: 126, #74.2). For a thorough survey of the various suggestions made until 2000, cf. EDE II 356–357.



86. SEOmt. *bad-e ‘mouth’ [Bender 2003: 91, #91].²² e.g., Ganjule ba’re, Kachama (Gats’ama, Haruro) ba’de, Zayse ba’tē ‘mouth’ [Siebert 1994: 17, #036] ||| ECh. *√bt ‘mouth’ [JS 1981: 187, A₅]: Sokoro bót- [Nachtigal *apud* Lukas] = bútu [Adolf Friedrich] = buta [Saxon], all: ‘mouth’ | Dang-la-Migama *bVt- ‘1. mouth, 2. extremity’ [GT]: WDangla bíttà, pl. bíttà ‘extrémité, bord’ [Fédry 1971: 88], EDangla bítti (m), pl. bíttinà ‘place, lieu entre les concessions où les voisins se reposent et prennent leurs repas’ [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 46], Mawa bú (m) ‘1. Mund, 2. Rand’ [Jng. 1978 MS: 2] | Jegu bèetó ‘mouth’ [Jng. 1961: 110] (ECh.: JI 1994 II: 245) < SAA *√bd ‘mouth’ [GT].

86.1. The SAA isogloss (if carrying the basic sense ‘hole’) may potentially be akin to Bed. bado (m) ‘crack in the ground as in cotton soil; bado (f) ‘small crack’, cf. (denominative?) bida’i ‘to yawn’ [Hudson 1996 MS: #17.31–22] and perhaps (assuming a root extension ʰ- in C₁- ???) Eg. (OK) *hb[d] (???) (unattested)²³ > (MK) hbd ‘vom öffnen des Mundes’ (CT, BD, Wb III: 67) > (NK) hpd ‘öffnen (nur vom Mund gebraucht)’ (BD, Wb III: 72, 12) = ‘aufsperrn, öffnen (Mund)’ (GHWb: 524).²⁴

86.2. A remotely related (PAA) root variety of a similar deverbal history and with a voiced sibilant C₂ has also emerged in our research, namely: C^{???}/SAA *biz ‘1. opening, 2. mouth (attested in both NAA = NBrb. and SAA = NAgaw-Ch.)’ [GT]: NBrb.: perhaps Iznasen bezza ‘bouche (sens trivial)’ [Renisio 1932: 292; DRB: 148] = bazza [SISAJa I: #67] (unless a *Kinderwort* as suggested by K. Naït-Zerrad in his DRB: l.c.) ||| NAgaw: Khamta biz-ā ‘porta’ [CR 1905: 209], Khamtanga bíz-a ‘door’ [Apl. 1987: 500] = biz-a ‘door’ [Apl. 1991 MS: 4] = báz-a ‘mouth’ [Leyew 1994: 4] = biz-ā ‘door’ [Apl. 1996: 14] ||| PCh. *biz- ‘opening’ [GT]: WCh.: Guruntum biiza, Tala pisaa ‘door, gate’ (Sbauchi: Cosper 1994: 19) || ECh.: Mokilko bízé ‘1. Öffnung, 2. Mund, 3. Rand’ [Lukas 1975: 224; 1977: 222, 224] = bízé ‘bouche, bec, lèvres’ [Jng. 1990: 66].

86.3. Similarly to the case of SAA *√bd ‘mouth’ [GT] ~/< CAA *√bd ‘1. to open, 2. begin’ [HCVA] (above), the same (i.e. homophonous) verbal root is preserved here too, namely CAA *√bz ‘to open’ [GT]: ES: Tigre √bzz: ‘abzäzä ‘ouvrir grand les yeux’ [DRS: 54] ||| NBrb.: (???) Qabyle bze [unless -ž- < *-g-] ‘être ouvert à tout vents, ni abrité, ni caché’ [DRB: 44] ||| Agaw *báz- ‘to open, undo’ [Apl. 1989 MS: 8] = *biz- ‘to open’ [Apl. 1991b MS: 9; 1991a:20.] ||| WCh.: Hausa báza ‘to spread out to dry, spread (rumors, etc.)’ [Abr. 1962: 94] | Jimbin mbuz-, Siri buzu ‘to untie’ (NBauchi: Skinner 1977: 47). Cf. EDE II: 297.

87. NOm.: Kachama (Gats’ama, Haruro) ‘bade ‘to whistle’ [Siebert 1994: 22, #008, quoted as Siebert & Wedekind *apud* Bender] (isolated in SEOmt.: Bender 2003: 337, #109) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *pīt ~ *pīp (var. of *fit ~ *fīp, q.v.) ‘to whistle’ [GT].²⁵ Angas fiip ‘whistle’, tee fiip

²² It is noteworthy that this item was omitted by V. Blažek (2008: 117–118, #56) when discussing the AA etymology of the Omotic lexemes for ‘mouth’.

²³ Whether the Egyptian parallel can belong here solely depends on finding (if at all) its OK attestation (so far unknown), which can immediately decide the question, namely: (1) should its C₃ turn out to be an OK -d (prior to Dyn. V–VI when the fronting = dentalization of older Eg. -t and -d into -t and -d, resp., had already started in certain, esp. and most preferably in medial and final positions, cf. AĀG: 49–50, §0112–113; Peust 1999: 123f.), our MK word cannot be related, but (2) if the word could be traced back to an early OK (Dyn. III–IV) record with final -d, then we will definitely have found a cognate.

²⁴ This latter parallel, if its cognacy turns out to be corroborated by finding an early OK record (prior to Dyn. V–VI) with an original dental plosive (-d), may lead us to an underlying verbal root, namely CAA *bVd (attested in Sem., Brb., Bed., Ch.) ‘1. to open, 2. begin’ [HCVA II: 6, #77] = *bada? ‘to begin’ [HSED: 43–44, #172].

²⁵ The Angas-Sura root (where *p- < either AA *b- or *p-) might alternatively be affiliated (if at all) with like LECu.: Arbore ‘fiču, Tsamay ‘fidisi and Ongota fidi’sa ‘to whistle’ [Kusia & Siebert 1994: 12, #008]. These *onomatopoea* can have hardly anything to do with the Omotic root (with different root initial and vowel) discussed above.



‘to whistle’ [Foulkes 1915: 177] = fip (Kabwir dialect) ‘whistling’ [Jng. 1962 MS], Mupun piip ~ piit (so, -t) ‘to whistle’ [Frj. 1991: 49], Kofyar pip ‘to whistle’ [Netting 1967: 32], Goemay toe-fiit ‘whistling through the lips’ [Sirlinger 1937: 249] (AS: Takács 2004a: 109, 289) ||| Sem.: Ug. bd ‘chanter (?)’, jouer de la musique (?)’ [DRS] = ‘song’ [DUL 214], Hbr. *baddim ‘notes (?)’ [DRS], occurring in: baddē-šōpār ‘at the call of the trumpet’ [Pope apud DRS] (isolated in NWSem., cf. DRS 44: BDD4).

88. NOm.: Sheko badú ‘brother’ [Aklilu Yilma in Bender 2003: 207, #21: isolated in Om.] ||| WCh.: Boghom pambēt ‘brother’ [Gowers] = pānpāt [Shimizu] (JI 1994 II: 48: isolated in Ch.) ||| NBrb.: Mzab and Wargla betti ‘tante paternelle, soeur du père’ | Nefusa batti ‘tante paternelle’ (NBrb.: DRB: 135, BT11: isolated in Brb.).

89. NOm. *bed- ‘1. to reach, 2. arrive, 3. suffice’ [GT]: Gimirra *byedi ‘to arrive’ [GT]: Gimirra-Benesho biedi ‘arriver’ [Montandon in CR 1925: 618] = both Benesho and She biēdi ‘to arrive’ [Bender pace Montandon > CR] (Bender 2003: 161, #27: isolated in NOm.!) | Shinasha (Janjero) bod- (imper. stem: bōr-) ‘1. genug sein, 2. ausreichen’ kept distinct from bód- (imper. stem: bór-) ‘1. ankommen, 2. erreichen’ [Lamberti 1993a: 281] | Kafa bed ‘1. giungere, 2. potere, 3. essere per ..., stare per ... (ausiliario per la coniugazione perifrastica), 4. esser conveniente, convenire, 5. bastare, esser sufficiente, 6. essere a punto per ...’ [Cerulli 1951: 410–411],²⁶ Mocha ‘bāddi(yé) ‘1. to arrive, 2. join, touch, 3. be enough’ [Leslau 1959: 21] | Sheko bed(d-) ‘1. genug sein, 2. ausreichen’ [Lamberti 1993a: 281] ||| WCh.: perhaps Bole-Tangale *√pt [irregular *p- < *b-] ‘to reach’ [GT]: Tangale pete [p- < *b- poss.] ‘1. to reach, 2. overtake’ [Jng. 1991: 130], Kupto fōotù [f- < *b- possible] ‘ankommen’ [Leger 1992: 19], Pero pórò [p- < *b/p/f-, while -r- is regular < *-t-] ‘to reach’ [Frj. 1985: 47] | Ngizim bàtáu ‘1. to reach, attain, 2. be equal to, 3. suffice, be enough for’ [Schuh 1981: 23] ||| Sem. *√bdh > Ar. √bdh I: badiha ‘arriver à l’improviste, survenir inopinément, avoir lieu d’une manière inattendue; surprendre qqn.’ [BK: I 98] || ES: Tigre (tə)-bāddāhā ‘recevoir un cadeau inopinément’ [DRS: 45] < SAA *√bTh, var. *√bTw (?) ‘to reach’ [GT]. A remotely related AA root variety with a sibilant C₂ is also known. Cf. CAA *√bç(h) ‘1. to reach, obtain, 2. be able’ [GT].²⁷

²⁶ Rendered significantly otherwise still apud L. Reinisch (1888: 270), namely: Kafa bad ‘genügend, reichlich vorhanden sein’, bādi-te (refl.) ‘reichlich werden, sich vermehren’, which, pretending as if the primary sense were ‘to abound’ (so also M. Lamberti 1993a: 281), would mislead us to an entirely different AA root, cf., e.g. SOM. *bEd- ‘many’ [GT]: Bako bedi-mi, Ubamer & Galila bedi ‘viele’ (SOM.: Mukarovsky 1981: 200, #10) ||| HECu.: Sidamo bat-a ‘Reichtum, Überfluß’ [Lamberti l.c. supra] etc., whose AA background was discussed in part I of this series (entry #1). Reinisch’s Tigre parallel (signifying ‘abundavit’) is also quite suggestive, although the older records cited in his own entry are clearly indicative of the true basic sense: Kafa bēdde ‘it is enough’, bedāche ‘it is not enough’ [Beke] = bēdihē ‘bastante, suffisiente’ [Cecchi], which can only corroborate the careful interpretation with the manifold semantical shifts offered by E. Cerulli (l.c. supra) and our comparison with the Chadic cognates carrying the same shift from ‘to reach’ to ‘to suffice’.

²⁷ Attested in Sem. *√bš [DRS]: Geez baša, Tigre bāšā, Tigrinya bāše ‘to reach, arrive’ (ES: Leslau 1987: 111; DRS: 77) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight baḍ ‘pouvoir, avoir la possibilité de, être capable de’ [Taïfi 1991: 10; DRB: 29] | Qabyle e-mbaḍ ‘procurer’ [Dallet 1982: 12] ||| Bed. beḍah ‘ankommen, ans Ziel gelangen’ [Reinisch 1895: 43] ||| WCh.: Angas-sura *bōt ~ *ḥāš, (?) [met. < *baš-] ‘to know, be able’ [GT]: Kofyar ḥoot ‘to know’ [Netting 1967: 3], Montol bood (so, old -d) ‘to be able’ [Ftp. 1911: 214], Goemay bood [old *-d?] ‘to be able’ [Ftp. 1911: 214] = ḥoot ‘to be able, can’ [Sirlinger 1937: 18] = ḥoot ‘können, vermögen’ [Jng. 1962 MS: 7] = ḥoot (sg.), ḥat (pl.) ‘to be able’ [Hellwig 2000 MS: 3–4] (AS: Takács 2004: 34).



90. Om. *būd- ‘back’ [GT]: (?) Kachama (Gats’ama, Haruro) ba’tē ‘back’ [Siebert 1994: 11, #032] | Dizi bōd [Bender] = bod [Fleming] ‘back’ (isolated in Dizoid apud Bender 2003: 346, #4) || SOm. *būd- ‘back’ [GT]: Ari būd ‘back’ [Bender & Tully] = bud ‘1. back’ (also: ‘2. heart’, a distinct stem) [Daniel Aberra] = (?) būri ‘back’ [Hayward] = būdi ‘back (of body)’ [Tsuge 1996: 165, #7], Ari-Jinka bud ‘upper back, back of thorax’ [Bender apud Blazek],²⁸ Hamer budi ‘back’ (also: ‘heart’) [Fleming] (Aroid apud Bender 2003: 346, #4) ||| CCh.: Zelgwa bād ‘en bas’ [Mouchet 1953: 191] ||| Sem. *√b^od²⁹ > Ug. b^od ‘nach, hinter, wegen’ [WUS: 54, #542] = ‘behind, to, for’ [DUL: 204-5; KB; Gordon 1965: 374, #490] = ‘derrière’ [DRS] | Hbr. ba^oad ‘1. behind’³⁰ [KB: 141] = be^oad (sic) ‘hinter, für’ [WUS] | OSA b^od(n) ‘after (après)’ [SD: 25, also Leslau] = ba^odu ‘after, behind’ [KB], Ar. ba^odu ~ ba^odan ‘après’ [BK I: 141] || MSA: Soqotri min-ba^od ‘après’ [Leslau 1938: 90] = ba^oad ‘after’ [Leslau 1987], Harsusi bād ~ ba^od ‘after’ [Johnstone 1977: 14] (Sem.: DRS: 73–74; Leslau 1987: 83) ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-bāda, pl. i-bād-ān ‘pied des pentes (d’un relief de terrain)’ [Foucauld 1951-2: 19], EWlmd. & Ayr ā-bada ‘pied d’une pente’ [PAM 2003: 5] < AA *√bd ‘1. back, 2. bottom, lower part’ [GT]. Related (as a remote PAA root variety) to AA *√bt ‘1. back, 2. bottom’ [GT] (q.v. infra). Cf. EDE II: 592.

91. NOm.: Yemsa bidirū ‘boat’ [Lamberti 1993b: 330; Bender 2003: 159, #15: isolated in Om.]³¹ ||| LECu.: Somali beden ‘Boat’ [Lamberti l.c., not found in Reinisch 1902, Abr. 1964, FH 1993] ||| E-NBrb. *√b/bdr signifying ‘a hollow flat facility, sg. like a flat pan (?)’ [GT] > EBrb.: Ghadames ta-ne-bder-t ‘bassin autour du pied du palmier pour son irrigation’ [DRB: 22, BDR4] || NBrb.: Tamazight i-budar (pl.) ‘plats en terre qui, renversé l’un sur l’autre, forment un four où l’on cuit le pain’, ta-badr-t ‘pain cuit entre deux plats en terre renversés l’un sur l’autre et entourés de braises’, cf. also i-s-bdr ~ a-s-bdr ‘civière (pour transporter le mort)’ [DRB: 23, BDR13–14, resp.: both listed as separate isolated items] ||| Sem.: Akk. (OBab.) buddur- ~ buttur- ~ buṭṭur- ~ bundur- ‘(a reed object)’ [CAD b: 303] = (jB) ‘etwa: Rohrschößling(e)’ [AHW: 135] = ‘objet en de roseau: panier (?)’ [DRS: 46, BDR2: isolated] < CAA *√bdr ‘(a hollow flat object, either plaited from reed or carved out from wood)’ [GT]. The Yemsa-Somali match is due to M. Lamberti (1993b: 330) who assumed an interchange (*Wechsel*) of r/n.

92. NOm.: Kafa bōṭṭā ‘weak’ [Lamberti apud Bender 2003: 344, #106: isolated] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames baz ‘être épuisé (de faim, de soif)’ [DRB: 154, bz1: isolated].

²⁸ V. Blažek (1989 MS Om.: 6) affiliated the Ari term with the Semitic, Cushitic, and Chadic reflexes of AA *√bd ‘arm’ [GT], whose ultimate sense he rendered as *bud- ‘shoulder’. Strangely, L. Kogan and A. Militarev (SED I: 31, #32) traced back Akk. būdu ‘shoulder, region between the shoulders including the neck’ [CAD b: 303] to Sem. *ba/ uday- ‘back of thorax including shoulders and arms’, although – to my mind – nothing supports the sense ‘back’.
²⁹ Its C₂ = *^o- cannot be reconstructed for the underlying Proto-Afro-Asiatic root as it is not reflected in Chadic (e.g. by the metathesis of the glottalization as *√bd or *√bq and the compensatory lengthening of the stem vowel). It is, henceforth, to be regarded as a secondary root extension.

³⁰ This sense has been traditionally (GB: 105; KB: 141; Leslau 1987: 83) explained from a different basic sense (Leslau: < * ‘from out of the distance of’, KB: < * ‘at a distance from’), cf. Ar. ba^ouda ‘entfernt sein’ [GB].

³¹ Recorded otherwise in other sources, though: namely as Yemsa bidiru¹¹² ‘bridge’ [Wedekind 1990: 119] = bidirū ‘bridge’ [Yilma n.d.: #230; Yilma & Siebert & Siebert 1993: 19, #230; Yilma, Siebert & Siebert 2002: 19, #230].



93. Om. *bat- (?) ‘1. skin, 2. bark’ [GT]:³² Nom.: Gimirra *bet ‘skin’ [GT after Bender 2003: 173, #118] > Benesho bêt ‘skin (of man)’ [Bender] = bet [Bender-Fleming 1976: 49] | Bworo -bata ‘bark’ [Reinisch] (Bender 2003: 82, #5) || SOM.: Dime badi ‘inner bark’ [Fleming in Bender 2003: 205, #5] ||| WCh.: Zaranda bāti ‘skin’ [Shimizu 1978: 31, #44], cf. also WCh. and CCh.: Matakam *√d^mb (via metathesis) ‘bark (écorce)’ [JS 1981: 33G] ||| (?) SBrb.: Ahaggar a-bet (coll. sg. sans pl.) ‘1. bale (enveloppe du grain dans l’épi), 2. syn. de tāseyla’ [Foucauld 1951-2: 108] and EWlmd. a-bət, pl. i-bətt-ān ‘son de céréale (quantité de son d’un seul grain), cf. təlumt ‘son, tayəlt ‘bale’ [PAM 2003: 54] (SBrb.: DRB: 134, BT6: isolated in Brb.).

More widespread and better studied³³ is a root var. with a voiceless labial C₁: Om. *pāt- ‘skin’ [Blažek] = labelled Ta/Ne + DizAroid (TNDA) *fAt- ‘skin’ [Bender 2003: 304, #118] = Om. *p/fā₂t- ‘skin’ [GT] > Nom.: Chara fāt-a (sic: f-) ‘skin’ [Fleming apud Mkr.] = pāt-a ‘skin’ [Bender 1974 MS: 11] = pāta ‘skin, hide’ [Cerulli + Fleming apud Bender 2003: 94, #118] | Nayi fatu ‘skin (of man)’ [Muldrow in Bender 2003: 217 and 304, #118] (Nom.: Bender 1971: #72; 1988, 149) || SOM./Aroid *fōt-i ‘skin of snake’ [Bender 2003: 217 and 304, #118]: only attested by Ari fōti [Grt.], Hamer fōti [Fleming], Galila fōti ‘skin of snake’ [Fleming] (Om.: also Bender 2003: 241, #118: Chara + Nayi + Aroid) ||| ECu.: Dullay *fēt- ‘bark’ [irregular *-t-]:³⁴ Harso & Dobase fēt-e ‘Rinde’ [AMS 1980: 264] ||| PCh. *√pt ‘skin’ [GT]: WCh.: Hausa fāātā, pl. fāātúú ‘skin, leather’ [Abr. 1962: 259], Gwandara pāta ‘1. skin, 2. leather, hide, fur’ [Matsushita 1972: 94] | Warji p^hātē gāndāⁱ ‘skin’ [IL], (?) Diri apúú (-tš-) [-č- < *-t-?] ‘skin’ [IL] (NBauchi: JI 1994 II: 296) || CCh.: PHigi *pta ‘skin’ [GT]: Higi-Baza pta [Kraft], Higi-Futu pta [Kraft], Higi-Ghye w(p)ta ~ pta [Kraft], Higi-Nkafa pta [Kraft] (Higi: Kraft 1981: #59) | Sukur fōt ‘to skin’ [CWC] = fōt [Blažek] | Daba fāt ~ fāt ‘to skin’ [CWC], Musgoy pəd ‘to skin’ [CWC] (CCh.: CWC quoted by Mkr.) || ECh.: Kera pété ‘entfiedern, Rinde entfernen’ [Ebert 1976: 87] ||| NBrb.: (???) Mzab ta-fətfat ~ ta-fədfad-t ‘1. bourre de palmier, 2. plaque de cette bourre’ [Delheure 1984: 55–56; DRB: 667, FT3: isolated in Brb.] ||| (???) Eg. ptj (group-writing, with skin determinative): occurs in dh̄r ptj³⁵ ‘Gegenstand aus Leder’ (NE, Wb I: 566, 7) = ‘portion, a piece of leather of some standard size (?)’

³² Strangely, this item was overlooked by V. Blažek (2008: 126–127, #76) in his etymological discussion of the Omotic lexemes for ‘skin’.

³³ The SAA reflexes had already been compared. See Skinner 1983: 86–87 (Hausa-Higi-NBrb.); Mukarovsky 1987: 329–330 (Om.-Ch.-Dullay) > Blažek 1989 MS Om.: 26, #90 assuming an AA *p^hawat/s- (?) ; HSED: 421, #1964: AA *pat- ‘skin’ (Ch.-Om. *f- reflexes) vs. p. 426, #1990: AA *pis- ‘bark’ (Ch.*p- reflexes + Harso).

³⁴ A variety with an emphatic *t as C₂ seems to emerge here. Following the proposal by N. Skinner (1983: l.c.), one is tempted by attributing here the attractive comparanda from EBrb.: Ghadames ta-bəttan-t ‘peau de mouton avec sa laine’ [Lanfry 1973: 33, #144] || NBrb.: Tamazight a-beṭtan ‘1. peau (humaine et animale), 2. enveloppe extérieure d’une chose, 3. vêtement, habit, 4. (Izdeg) outre en peau de chèvre’ [Taifi 1991: 38] | Wargla ta-bəttan-t ‘peau de bête avec ou sans les poils ou la laine’ [Delheure 1987: 36] | Qabyle a-beṭtan ‘1. peau d’animale (mouton, chèvre), ta-beṭtan-t ‘pile de laine cardée (environ une dizaine de rectangles détachés des cardes et appelés tišebb^a-aḍin n taḍut ou tineššabīn)’ [Dallet 1982: 56–57] (Brb.: DRB: 138). But in Berber lexicography (l.c. supra), their recently borrowed status seems to be maintained, although the suggested Arabic etymon does not convince us fully, cf. Ar. biṭān-at- ‘doublure (d’un vêtement)’ < √bṭn II ‘2. sangler (une bête de somme, une monture), 3. doubler (un vêtement), 4. laisser pousser, ne pas couper la barbe sous le menton, pour ainsi dire, le doubler’, IV ‘2. sangler ..., 3. doubler ...’, baṭṭaniyy-at- ‘couverture doublée’ [BK I: 137–138]. With hesitation, D. Cohen (DRS: 60) compared also Soqotri bitan ‘laine’ [Leslau 1938: 100: isolated]. Moreover, the Arabic term has been borrowed (with the article al-) in a substantially different form into NBrb.: Qabyle lebḍan ‘doublure’ [Dallet l.c.].

³⁵ It looks like a compound where the sort of leather (d-r) is specified by ptj. Obscure word. No reliable etymology suggested so far. In this case, NEg. ptj would be supposed to stand for an older *ptj.



(Kitchen) = ‘ein Tier’ (GHWb: 299) = ‘ne désigne sans doute pas un animal mais une variété de cuir ou un objet (le sens est incertain)’ (Meeks, p.c. on 14 March 2001) < C^{??}/SAA *√pt (presumably *pat-) ‘skin’ [GT].

94. NOm.: Kaffa *bāt-ō ‘leg’ [GT], recorded as bāt-ō ‘Schenkel, Bein, Fuß’ [Reinisch 1888: 276] = bāt-ō ‘gamba, arto inferiore’ [Cerulli 1951: 417] = ‘bāto ‘foot, leg’ [Bender] (Kafa: Bender 2003: 165, #55: isolated)³⁶ | Mao *pVt- (???) ‘thigh’ [GT]: Sezo faṭi, ɸatt(i) [Atieb & Bender], Mao-Bambeshi ɸoṭe [Atieb & Bender] = ɸoṭe [Siebert & Wedekind 1993: 21, #038], Mao-Diddesa ɸoṭe [Atieb & Bender] = ɸeṭe [Siebert & Wedekind] ‘thigh’ (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 358, #100) ||| LECu.: Somali bōwd-o [ECu. *d regular < Cu. *t] ‘thigh’ [Reinisch] || SCU.: Dahalo ɸōti [b- < SCU. *b-], pl. ɸōtime ‘thigh’ [Tosco 1991: 130, but not found in EEN 1989]³⁷ ||| CCh.: Masa bāt ‘jambe, patte’ [Caïtucoli 1983: 37], Masa-Bongor bāt-nā ‘la cuisse’ [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 71] ||| Sem.: ES: Geez *ba^cāt³⁸ ‘calf of leg’, *ba^cātāwī ‘big-calved’, Amh. bat ‘calf of leg’, Gafat bat ‘calf of leg’ (ES: Leslau: 1945a 149; 1987: 85) < AA *√bt (prob. *bat) ‘1. (calf of) leg, 2. thigh’ [GT]. Kafa-Somali: Reinisch (l.c.).

A potentially related root variety is represented by WCh.: Bole-Tangele *fāndo (epenthetic -n-) ‘thigh’ [Schuh 1984: 213] || ECh.: Mubi-Toram *fVd- ‘thigh’ [GT]: Mubi fūúdi (f), pl. fōódāt ‘Schenkel’ [Lukas 1937: 182] = fūúdi (f), pl. fōódāt ‘cuisse’ [Jng. 1990 MS: 15], Birgit fáadi (m), pl. fáadànàn ‘cuisse’ [Jng. 2004: 353], Jegu paado, pl. paade ~ paad ‘Oberschenkel’ [Jng. 1961: 116], Kofa páadè (so, -d-) (f), pl. páat ‘thigh’ [Jng. 1977 MS, 4: #38]. Cf. also EDE II 2 and Takács 2009d: 321, #17 with further discussion of possible parallels.

95. NOm.: Dime betá ‘lizard’ [Fleming in Bender 2003: 213, #82: isolated] ||| HECu.: Burji biṭṭ-ē (f) ‘lizard’, cf. also búč-i (m) ‘lizard’ [Sasse 1982: 36, 41, resp.: isolated]³⁹ ||| WCh.: (???) Angas ɓit (so, with -t) [regular metathesis < *biṭ?] ‘otterähnliches Wassertier, dessen Bisse gefürchtet wird’ [Jng. 1962 MS].⁴⁰

96. Om. *bot- ‘1. gourd, 2. calabash’ [GT] > NOm. *bot- ‘1. gourd, 2. calabash’ [Bender 2003: 166 and 211, #62]: POMETO *bot-a ‘gourd’ [Bender]: Kullo batta ‘gourd, calabash’ [Leslau], Basketo bote, botó ‘gourd’ [Fleming] = ‘calabash’ [Fleming in Bender 2003: 18, #62], Male botó ‘pumpkin’

³⁶ M.L. Bender (l.c.), followed by V. Blažek (2008: 107, #31.9), considered the Kafa word as Amharism. They both, for some reason, have overlooked the Mao evidence. But the very same way, the uncertain Semitic background of Amh. bat ‘calf of leg’ and its Ethio-Semitic kindred may just as well raise the question of a reverse way of borrowing. Let alone that the Somali and Dahalo cognates can hardly be so easily treated as ES loans. Finally, one would require some special reasons for loaning the anatomical terminology.

³⁷ Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 17, #1024) assumed a connection of the Dahalo term to Ar. batil-at- ‘fleshy limb, buttock’ [Ehret] = ‘membre ou partie d’un membre du corps avec sa chair; une telle partie prise à part’ [BK], which may better be deverbally rendered as a derivative of Ar. batala I ‘1. couper, retrancher, 2. séparer une partie de son tout’ [BK I: 83].

³⁸ Since no trace of the -^c- is reflected in the rest of its cognates, it may be rendered as a secondary Semitic innovation, namely the infix -^c- of body parts.

³⁹ H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) was disposed to combine these words with the Oromo reflex of LECu. *būt- ‘puff-adder’ [Black 1974: 187], although its Burji reflex is büt-ē. W. Leslau (1988: 184), in turn, compared the Burji term with HECu.: Sidamo biṭṭ-e ‘kind of small bird’.

⁴⁰ Apparently an isolated record not even found in other Angas lexicons. A misrecorded *Auslaut* of Angas biip ‘big water animal with short tail (bites severely): otter (?)’ [Foulkes 1915: 150] < AS *ɸip ‘a small mouse-like animal’ [Takács 2004a: 34] ?



[Amha 2001: 48] | Chara bota (beside boṭo) ‘calabash’ [Aklilu Yilma in Bender 2003: 88, #62] | Gimirra bot ‘zucca’ [CR 1925: 619] = (Gimirra-She) bot ‘gourd’ [Bender pace CR] = bat [Leslau], Gimirra-Beneshe bot ‘flask’ [Breeze] = Beneshe bot ‘gourd’ [Hayward 1990: 99] (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 166, #62) | Yemsa (Janjero) boč-čā < *bot-čā ‘gourd’ [Bender] = bočā¹² [Wedekind 1990: 119] = bōtʃā [Yilma, Siebert & Siebert 1993: 21, #085; Yilma n.d. MS: 2, #085] = botʃā [Yilma, Siebert, Siebert 2002: 21, #085] | Kafa bot-ō ‘recipiente per acqua, fatto con una zucca disseccata’ [Cerulli 1951: 417] = bāt-o ~ bot-ō ‘gourd’ [Bender] = bot-ō ‘gourd, calabash’ [Leslau], Mocha bōt-o ‘gourd calabash’ [Leslau], Shinasha bat-o ‘gourd, calabash’ [Leslau] | Dizoid *buda ‘gourd, calabash’ [Bender 2003: 211, #62]: only attested by Sheko bud-a ‘pumpkin’ [Aklilu Yilma] (NOM.: Leslau 1959: 23: < Oromo; Bender 1988: 150, #130; 2003: 240, #62) || SOM./Aroid *bot- ‘gourd, calabash’ [Bender 2003: 211, #62]: only attested by Ari bot-á [Grt.] and Hamer bōt-i [Fleming] = bōte ‘pumpkin’ [Petrillino 2016: 300] (not listed in Bender 1994) || NAGaw: Hamta bōd ‘specie di zucca immangiabile, la amam dei Tigrini’ [CR 1905: 208] || LECu.: Oromo bot-a ‘pumpkin’ [Sasse, not found so in Gragg 1982], Baiso bāt-a ‘calabash (large type for milk)’ [Hayward 1979: 121] | HECu.: Burji bod-ō ‘pumpkin’ [Sasse] = bod-ō ‘pumpkin’ [Wedekind 1976-9: 172] | Dullay *bōt-e [GT: *t < *d possible]: Gollango pōt-e ‘Kürbis’ [AMS 1980: 217], Tsamay bōt-e ‘pumpkin’ [Sasse] (ECu.: Sasse 1982: 37) || WCh.: Hausa búútà ‘1. gourd-bottle, 2. bottle of clay/metal’ [Abr. 1962: 126], Gwandara bātu ‘large calabash bowl’ [Matsushita 1972: 23] | Tangale bâte ‘gourd’ [Jng. 1991: 71] | Gera mbōotà ‘gourd-bottle’ [Schuh 1978: 118] || CCh.: Pidlimdi bidi ‘melon’ [Kraft] | Masa buda & Banana pudà ‘melon’ [Kraft] (CCh.: Kraft 1981: #227) || ECh.: Bidiya bóodà, pl. bōdōd ‘gourde à huile, à trois renflement’ [AJ 1989: 59], Mokilko bóodè ‘Flaschenkürbis’ [Lukas 1975: 224; 1977: 220] = bóodè, pl. bōddāni ‘gourde, cf. búdidè ‘calebasse ovale’ [Jng. 1990: 67–68] || Eg. bdd.w-k3 ‘eine offizinell verwendete Pflanze oder Frucht’ (Med., Wb I 488, 7) = ‘eine noch nicht bestimmte Pflanze: eine Wassermelone (*Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad.) (?)’ (Deines & Grapow 1959: 189–190 after Ebbell & Lefebvre) = ‘water-melon’ (FD: 86) = ‘eine Pflanze: *Wassermelone (*Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad.)’ (GHWb: 267)⁴¹ < S’AA *√bd ~ *√bt ‘1. gourd, 2. melon’ [GT]. Some of the ECu./NOM. forms might be loans from Oromo as suggested by H.-J. Sasse (1982: 37) and W. Leslau (1959: 23). Extra AA areal parallel from Africa: PBenue-Congo *-bete ‘pumpkin’ [Blench 1998 MS: 11, #30]. Eg.-Hausa: MM 1983: 252; WCh.-NOM.: HSED: #349; Ch.-NOM.-ECu.: Skinner 1996: 27; Eg.-AA: EDE II: 362–363; Cu.-Om.: Bender 2020: 41–42, #53.6.

An old(er), i.e. CAA(?) root variety with a *t as C₂ is sporadically also attested, cf. NOM.: esp. Omt. *bač- < **bač- [GT] > extended Wolayta cluster *bač- ‘1. gourd, 2. calabash’ [Bender 2003: 18, #62] | SEOmt.: Zayse baččó ‘gourd’ [Hayward in Bender 2003: 88, #62] | Chara boṭo (beside bota) ‘calabash’ [Aklilu Yilma in Bender 2003: 88, #62] || Ch. *√bt < (via glottal metathesis usual in Ch. roots) **√bt ‘melon’ [GT] > WCh.: Boghom (Burma) ḥat ‘melon’ [Kraft] || CCh.: Mwulyen ḥo:ti ‘melon’ [Kraft] || Sem. (*Wanderwort*, with a C₃ extension *-ḥ?)⁴² Hbr. ?abaṭṭihim (pl.)

⁴¹ V. Loret (cf. Deines & Grapow 1959: 190) and A. Ju. Militarev (in Majzel’ 1983: 252) equated Eg. bdd.w-k3 directly with the reflexes of Sem. *√btḥ (above). It might be conceivable only as a late borrowing from an (unattested) contracted LEg. *bdkk (or sim.). Elsewhere, the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff (SISAJa I: #57), in turn, derived Ar. biṭṭih- from their AA *baṭ ‘1. gourd, 2. vessel, 3. womb, belly, navel’ (sic), but the third *-ḥ was not explained. The Chadic parallels have been often mistakenly identified with Eg. b3d.t ‘dipper’ (above) and its presumed AA cognates (SISAJa I: #57; Majzel’ & Militarev 1983: 252; HCVA II: #74; HSED: #299, #349; Skinner 1996: 27).

⁴² One wonders if the trace of the surmised biradical simplex of Semitic root has anything in common with Ar. bass-at- ‘bouteille en cuir’ [BK I 135] = ‘cruchon, jarre’ [Blachère *et al.* 1967-1976: 677 > DRS: 60, BSS6: isolated in Sem.], which D. Cohen (DRS: I.c.) supposed to come from Latin buta.



‘Melonen (bes. Wassermelonen)’ [GB 3], Talmudi and Samaritan Aram. bṯh ‘melon’ [GB] || Ar. baṯṯih- (coll.) ‘1. courge (en général), 2. melon’ [BK I: 135] = (from Canaanite?) baṯṯih- ~ biṯṯih- ~ barṯih- ‘melons’ [Leslau] || ES: Geez bāṭiq ‘cucumber’ [Leslau 1987: 114] (Sem.: DRS: 59).

OM. *B- + SIBILANTS

97. Om. *bVz- ‘1. sky, 2. star’ [GT]⁴³ > NOm.: Zayse baz-ō ‘1. Dio-Cielo (divinità pagana dei Cusciti), 2. cielo’ [Cerulli 1938 III: 201]⁴⁴ = báz-o ‘god’ [Hayward], Zayse and Zergulla ‘bazo ‘God’ [Siebert & Hoeft 1994: 15, #127] (SEOmeto: Bender 2003: 87, #60) | Dizoid *biz ‘star’ [Bender 2003: 217, #127] = in fact just PDizi *bīz- [GT]: Dizi biz ‘star’ [Bender 1974 MS: 6] = bīzi ‘star’ [Bender 1975] = bīz ‘star’ [Bender 1988], Jeba buzí ‘star’ [Fleming 1990: 29], Maji biz ‘star’ [Allan 1974 MS: 7] || SOM./Aroid *bez ‘star’ [Bender 2003: 217, #127] = *bēz [GT]: Ari bēz ~ bez ‘star’ [Bender], (?) Banna ez (sic) ‘star’ [Masuda apud Tsuge 1996: 186, #200], Dime bez ‘star’ [Bender 1971: 263] = bez & bēz [Bender 1994] = bēz [Tsuge 1996: 169, #200] (SOM.: Bender 1994: 159; Om.: Bender 1988: 150) || Ongota ‘būsa [būsa] ‘star’ [Kusia & Siebert 1994: 10, #239] ||| NAgaw: Qemant bīz ‘faire clair’, bīz-oy ‘fit clair’ [CR 1912: 182] = bez ‘to make clear’ [Leslau], cf. Bilin bid-ā [-d- < *-z-?] ‘morning star’ [Leslau] || HECu. *bēz(V)- ‘star’ [Sasse] = *be33ē-kko ‘star’ [Hudson 1989: 406]⁴⁵ Sidamo beda-he [Sasse] = bēdā-ha [Leslau], Alaba bēza-ta [Sasse] = bizi-k [Moreno apud Sasse and Leslau] = beze-čču ‘morning star’ [Leslau], Kambatta bēzē-ta [Leslau], Qabenna bēzzē-ta [Leslau], Tembaro bezze [Leslau] (HECu.: Sasse 1976: 132, 137; Leslau 1980: 121, 128, fn. 21; Hudson 1989: 142) || SCu.: (?) Qwadza bes-iko [-s- < *-z-?] ‘sunlight’ [Ehret 1980: 137; 1980 MS: 1]⁴⁶ ||| CCh.: dubious cognates⁴⁷ ||| Eg.: reflex uncertain⁴⁸ ||| SWSem. *bayz- ‘light, shining object’ [Dlg.]:⁴⁹ MSA: Mehri bēzen ‘Licht, lumière’ [Krapf apud Leslau and Dlg.,

⁴³ M.L. Bender (2003: 241, #127) combined Dizaroid *√bz with Sheko √brn and Basketo √brs, which is out of the question on phonological grounds. Similarly unconvincing is how N. Kruglyj-Enke (2000: 123, #3.30) set up a SOM. *berz- (sic) ‘star’.

⁴⁴ For a different NOm./AA etymology of the Zayse word see EDE II: 293–294.

⁴⁵ N. Kruglyj-Enke’s (2000: 123, #3.30) HECu. *baraž- ‘star’ is baseless.

⁴⁶ Ch. Ehret (1980: 137) erroneously compared Qwadza bes-iko with Maa bizāri ‘yellow’ < SCu. *bēc- ‘sunlight’.

⁴⁷ V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED: #268) equated the Qwadza parallel with Musgu *bizā ‘year’ [GT], which was extended by N. Kruglyj-Enke (2000: 117, #1.49) and EDE II: 293–294 to SWSem., HECu., Agaw also. But as pointed out by H. Tourneux (1997: 65), who refuted this comparison, the correct meaning of the Musgu stem is ‘year’, not ‘day’. Cf. Musgu bezaa ‘Tag’ (Barth), vgl. girfedi [Lukas 1941: 47] vs. Musgu pisá, pl. pasakái (Krause), abzaggetái (wohl *apisa^c ketai ‘ein Jahr’) (Rohlf) ‘Jahr’ [Lukas 1941: 72], Mbara bizàa (m) ‘année’ [TSL 1986: 255], Munjuk-Puss bəzaa (m) ‘année’, bizi (bəza) ‘passer l’année’ [Tourneux 1991: 77] discussed in entry #109 below.

⁴⁸ • Eg. bzj ‘Name des Sonnengottes’ (NK, Wb I: 475, 2) can hardly be related to the above listed reflexes of AA *√bz as proposed by A.B. Dolgopolsky (1982: 34), followed by V.É. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (1992: 189; HSED: #268) and N. Kruglyj-Enke (2000: 117, #1.49), since this epithet may derive either deverbally from Eg. bsj ‘1. hervorquellen (Wasser), 2. heraustreten, hervorkommen, 3. sich ereignen, geschehen (von Abstrakten)’ (MK, Wb I: 474, 5–13) or a nisbe from bz ‘Geheimnis: geheime Dinge am Hof (XVIII.), in der Religion (MK)’ (Wb I: 473, 19–20).

• Eg. bz (sunlight determinative) in: bz-j3h.w ‘?’ (PT, Wb I: 472, 17)?

⁴⁹ A.B. Dolgopolsky (1982: 34) equated his SWSem. *bayz- ‘light, shining object’ with Eg. bzj ‘Name des Sonnengottes’ (NK, Wb I.c.) and WCh.: Angas-Sura *puyus [Dlg.: epenthetic *-y-] ‘1. sun, 2. day’ [GT]: Angas pus ~ puus [Foulkes], Sura puus [Jng.], Mupun pūus [Frajzyngier], Montol puus & pəyəs [Jng.]. But this WCh. stem better reflects Eg. wpš [Belova’s law: < *√pwš] ‘erleuchten’ (PT, Wb I: 305, 11–19) and wpš ‘Licht’ (PT, Wb I: 306, 1).



not found in Johnstone 1987]⁵⁰ | ES (borrowed < Om.?):⁵¹ Geez bez ‘leuchtender Stern, Abendstern, Venus’ [Müller] = bēz ‘stella lucida’ [Dlg.] = bez ~ biz ~ bezā ‘shining star, morning star’, hence beza ‘to shine’ (denom.) [Leslau] (Sem.: Dlg. 1982: 34) < AA *bay3- ‘sun, day, star’ [Kruglyj-Enke] = *be3- ‘sun, day’ [OS] = *√b3 ‘(light of) star’ [GT].⁵²

Puzzling if this AA root finds its remote variety in the isogloss of SCu. *pas/c- (?) ‘sky’ [Ehret] based solely on ERift: Qwadza pas-iko ‘sky’ [Ehret 1980 MS: 2; 1980: 339]⁵³ ||| WCh. *√Ps ‘sky’ [JS 1981: 234, B₂]:⁵⁴ Gwandara biši [-ši < *-si] ‘1. sky, 2. ceiling, 3. up’ [Matsushita 1972: 27] | Ron: Daffo-Butura fāsà [GT: f- reg. < *b-] ‘1. Himmel, 2. Oben, 3. auf-’ [Jng. 1970: 214] < SAA *√PS (perhaps *b-?) ‘sky’ [GT].

98. Omt. *bōz- ‘fool’ [GT]: Malo pōzo ‘fool(ish)’ [Allan] = bōozo [Siebert & Caudwell], cf. perhaps Dawro/Kullo moza ‘fool’ [Alemayehu 1993: 5, #95] (isolated in NWomt.: Bender 2003: 317, #33) | Ganjule bōz ‘fool(ish)’ and Kachama (Gats’ame, Haruro) ‘bōza ‘fool’ [Siebert & Hoeft 1994, 14 and 15, resp., #005] (isolated in SEomt.: Bender 2003: 333, #33) ||| ES (borrowed < Om.?): Amh. boz ‘niais’ [DRS: 51, BWZ3: isolated], cf. also Tigre bozā ‘ensorceler’, bozza ‘magie’ (ES: DRS: 50, BWD2).⁵⁵ The underlying AA root was extended to triradical, so it may be found in extra-Omotc cognates also, cf. Sem.: presumably⁵⁶ Ar. bazaġa ‘1. se vanter, 2. exciter, irriter qqn. contre qqn.’ [BK I: 120; DRS: 54, BZG4: isolated] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-bzəg ‘1. être fou, s’affoler, 2. être imbécile’, a-nā-bzog ‘fou’, zə-bzəg (caus.) ‘rendre fou, affoler’, EWlmd. ta-bəzzek ‘folie’ [PAM 2003: 62; DRB: 151: isolated in Berber].

99. NOm.: Dizi √bz/s ‘to want’, attested as bas/z- [Allan] = baz(-) [Bender, Fleming, Keefer] = bas-k [Toselli] (isolated in Dizoid apud Bender 2003: 352, #105) ||| CCh.: Lamang mpósá ‘desire’ [Lovins 1971: 269]. Seems to be an isolated parallel.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ The MSA-ES equation is due to A. Dolgopolsky (l.c.). W. Leslau (1938: 93) and D. Cohen (DRS: 77), in turn, connected Mehri bēzen to Sem. *√bšš (phonologically unacceptable).

⁵¹ W. Leslau (l.c.), followed by N. Kruglyj-Enke 2000: 123, #3.25) saw in the Ethio-Semitic term an ancient loan from Cu./Om., whereas A. B. Dolgopolsky (l.c.) has meant these to be cognate. W.W. Müller (1961: 202, #7), in turn, derived Geez bez from *√bd, which he compared with Eg. bd ‘leuchten, erleuchten’ (GR, Wb I: 487, 9–11). W. Leslau (1979 III: 169; 1986: 380) assumed the Zayse word to have passed into ES: Gurage: Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto b*āzā etc. ‘deity, lightning’.

⁵² For the Dizi-Hamer-Sidamo match see Bender 1975: 188; Rift-Musgu-SWSem.-HECu.-Agaw: Kruglyj-Enke 2000: 117, #1.49; Om.-HECu.-Agaw-ES: Blažek 2008: 129, #81.4.

⁵³ Unless to be segmented as *pa-siko regarding Ch. Ehret’s (l.c.) dubious SCu. etymology, cf. Burunge pisaru ‘daylight’, Alagwa pisema ‘dawn’, which, however, may better derive, in fact, from WRift *pis ‘to dawn, become day’ [KM 2004: 225].

⁵⁴ This reconstruction was based solely on Daffo and Pa’a as a root var. to PCh. *√pt ‘sky’. The alleged Pa’a reflex is, however, is not to be found either in N. Skinner’s (1977: 40) Nbauchi comparative wordlist or M. Skinner’s (1979 MS: 200–201) Pa’a lexicon.

⁵⁵ D. Cohen (DRS l.c.) was disposed to link both Amh. boz (listed under √bwz) and Tigre bozā (listed under √bwd) to Hbr. *bāz ‘mépriser’ and even Ar. bāda ‘être méchant’. Semantically vague.

⁵⁶ Unless related as a root variety to Ar. baḏāġa ‘1. être grand etc., 2. être fier etc.’ [BK I: 100].

⁵⁷ Any connection to Sem.: Ar. bazbaza ‘1. tourmenter qqn., 2. forcer, contraindre’ [BK I: 120] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight (< Ar.) bzzez ‘1. obliger, 2. contraindre, 3. forcer’, a-bezzuz ‘contrainte, force, coercion’ [Taïfi 1991: 41; DRB: 148, BZ18: isolated]?



100. NOm.: Sezo *bizil-E ‘louse’ [GT after Bender 2003: 276, #84] > Sezo I bizile vs. II bizili ‘louse’ [Siebert & Wedekind 1994: 14, #136] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames bezbiz ‘punaise’, bezbez ‘être infesté de punaises’ [DRB: 147–148, BZ24] || NBrb.: Snus a-bziz and Tamazight a-bezziz ‘cigale’ [DRB: 148, BZ9], Central Algerian Berber a-bziz ‘sauterelle’ [DRB: 148, BZ10] ||| Sem.: Maghrebi Ar. (borrowed < NBrb.) baziz ‘criquet, cigale’ [DRS: 54, BZZ7] < CAA *√b₃ ‘an insect sp.’ [GT]. Remotely related root variety to that discussed s.v. NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho pas-ap ‘worm’ [Breeze] (see part VI, #209).

101. NOm.: Dizi *bútsn ‘sand’ [Muldrow in Bender 2003: 216, #110] ||| WCh.: Bole bosun- ‘säen (in Erdloch)’ [Lukas 1971: 133] || ECh. *busuN- ‘seed’ [GT] > WDangla busumo, pl. búšàm (plus usité) ‘1. grain, 2. (pl.) semences’ [Fédry 1971: 103], EDangla búšàm (coll., singulier rare: búšùmō) ‘les semences (le sperme)’ [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 56], Bidiya búšàanà (f), pl. búšan ‘grain, semences’ [AJ 1989: 61], Migama búsinú (m), pl. búsinì ‘grain de semence’ [JA 1992: 72] | Mubi-Toram *busun/aw- (ending of pl. tante: *-aw ~ *-un?) ‘seed’ [GT]: Kajakse búšùn ‘semences’ [Alio 2004: 240, #50], Minjile *busün ‘seed’ [Bender & Doornbos 1983: 77, #70] ||| Sem.: perhaps Amh. bazzānā (irregular -zz-) ‘s’égailer (troupeau), se disperser, essaimer’ [DRS: 55, bzn1].

The underlying ultimately biradical CAA root (with diverse C₂ sibilant variations) signified ‘dispersion or scattering of small particles’, cf. Sem. *√btt ‘disperser, disséminer’ (in Ug.-Ar.) [DRS: 91] vs. Ar. biṭ^{an} ‘1. cendre, 2. poussière fine’ [DRS: 91, btw2: isolated] vs. Ar. bassa ‘se disperser, s’égailer’ [DRS: 73] etc.

102. NOm. *bVs/š- ‘belly’ [GT]: Zayse biš-a ‘uterus’ [Hayward 1988: 285] | Dizaroid *bŪs ‘belly’ [GT] > Dizoid: Sheko bos ‘belly’ [Fleming in Bender 2003: 205, #9] || Aroid: Hamer búš ‘lower belly’ [Bender 2003: 205, #9] || Ongota *būsa ‘1. belly, 2. liver’ [Kusia & Siebert 1994: 4, #029 and 8, #047, resp.] ||| (?) Bed. buʔusi [-ʔ- < *-ʕ-]⁵⁸ (m) ‘intestines whipped with chopped meat and roasted on a charcoal fire’ [Hudson 1996 MS: #17.41–28] ||| PCh. *buS- ‘belly’ [GT] > WCh.: (???) PAngas *bušan⁵⁹ ‘intestines’ [GT 2004a: 21] | (?) Ngizim bàāži ‘belly (external area of body as opposed to the internal organ)’ [Schuh 1981: 24–25] = bàži ‘belly’ [IL] || CCh. *bus- ‘belly’ [GT]: Bura busu ‘the stomach proper’ [BED 1953: 29], Bura-Pela busu ‘belly’ [Meek] | Bata-Garwa bubscihé [-sts-] ‘belly’ [Strümpell], Gude búšá ‘unidentified internal organ next to intestines’ [Hoskison 1983: 163] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 20–21) ||| Eg. bsk⁶⁰ ‘1. allgemein: Eingeweide (oft neben

⁵⁸ In principle, this might be identical to the nominal class marker observed in East Cushitic anatomical terms, cf. Takács 1997: 260, #7.1.

⁵⁹ Unless it is better to be segmented as a compound of a prefix *bu- + *ban.

⁶⁰ The AA parallels suggest a biconsonantal origin (*√bs), where -k originally was not part the root. The traces of a CAA *-k body part suffix are found both in Egyptian and Chadic. Listing examples from Dera and Hausa, P. Newman (1970: 48, fn. 27) has already concluded to identifying in WCh. a *-k ‘non-productive body part suffix’, which – in the light of further exx. from other Chadic branches – certainly derives from PCh. *-k [GT]. Cf., e.g.: • **1. Eg. snk** (< *sl-k) ‘Bez. für die Zunge (mit der die göttliche Kuh Hathor das Königskind leckt)’ (XVIII. old text, Wb IV: 177, 1) = ‘Zunge (der göttlichen Kuh Hathor)’ (GHWb: 724), cf. Eg. sn.w [< *√sn or *√sl] ‘Zunge’ (GR, Wb IV: 155, 15). The Eg. root is cognate either with Ch. *√sl ‘tongue’ [GT] or Ch. *√sn ‘tongue’ [GT] (Ch. data: JI 1994 II: 328–329). • **2. Eg. snt** [from *sl-k] ‘Leib, Glieder’ (NK, Wb IV: 180, 1), cf. snt.jt (coll.) ‘Leichname (im Jenseits)’ (NK, GHWb: 725) ||| Sem. *šily-at- ‘placenta, uterus’ [Fronzaroli 1964: 262–263] ||| HECu.: Burji sæʔlay ‘belly’ [Bender 1971: 245] = sal-áy ‘belly’ [Sasse] | Dullay: Harso sālāsīh-te [partial reduplication + ext. *h of body parts] ‘Magen’ [AMS 1980: 183] (ECu.: Sasse 1982: 163) ||| NOm.: She šil & Benesho šilʔ ‘belly’ [Bender 1971: 260–261, #4]. See Blažek 1989 MS Om.: 8, #15 (She-ECu.-Sem.). • **3. Hausa bàākíí** ‘1. mouth, 2. opening, 3. entrance’ [Abr. 1962: 62] | Dera bok ‘mouth’ [Newman] < PCh. *b- ‘mouth’ [GT], cf., e.g. WCh.. Karekare bòò ‘1. Mund, 2.



Herz), 2. auch für das Herz selbst' (MK, Wb I: 477, 10–11) = bsk.w (pl.) 'entrails' (PT 292, FD: 85) = '1. viscères, 2. aussi: cervelle (?)' (CT V 180g, AL: 78.1370) = 'Eingewide, dual. Eingeweide, Innereien' (GHWb: 262).

103. NOm.: Sezo bise, bisse 'to burn' [Atieb & Bender] = **bissé** 'it burns' [Siebert & Wedekind 1994: 11] (Sezo: Bender 2003: 270, #23: isolated in Mao) ||| (?) HECu. *buss- (?)⁶¹ 'to burn' [GT]: Sidamo bušš- 'to burn (tr.)' [Hudson] = bušš- 'anzünden, das Feuer beleben' [Lamberti], Kambatta buss-, bussakḱ- 'to burn (tr.)' [Hudson] = buss- 'an-, verbrennen' [Lamberti], Alaba buss- 'anzünden, verbrennen' [Lamberti], Darasa (Gedeo) buss- 'das Feuer beleben' [Lamberti] (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 34; Lamberti 1993a: 361) ||| WCh.: Fyer fwaš [GT: fw- < *b^w- reg.] 'ver-

Öffnung, 3. Rand' [Lukas 1966: 199] | Guruntum b'au '1. mouth, 2. language' [Jaggar 1989: 186], Ngamo bo 'mouth' [Newman 1965: 58] ||| ECh.: Somray bi 'bouche' [Jng. 1993 MS: 6] | Migama bii, pl. bënë '1. bouche, 2. lèvres' [JA 1992: 70] | Birgit bi 'bouche' [Jng. 1973 MS] ||| NBrb.: Mzab baa & Wargla beḥha [suffix *-h of body parts] 'bouche' [DRB I: 42 pace Delheure]. Already H. Jungraithmayr and D. Ibriszimow have rightly stated (1994 I: 122) about *-k in this Common Chadic root: *'In the light of this HS evidence the assumption of a Chadic -k suffix ('body part' morpheme) in our root A [PCh. *b-k] seems to be justified.'* • **4. WCh. *ṣi-(k)-** [GT]: Hausa ṣikí 'body' [Abr. 1962: 427] | Dera yik [y < *s] 'body' [Newman], cf. WCh. *Z/Si 'body' [GT]: Sura s- [Jng.] | Geruma ṣii [Schuh], Kirfi ṣi [Schuh], Galambu ṣii [Alio] | Zaa ṣi [Shimizu] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu sii [Jng.] | Somray si: [Jng.] | WDangla zi, Mgm. zí: [Jng.] | Birgit zì [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 34–35). • **5. WCh.: Dera kuyuk** < *kusu-k [y < *s] 'excrement' [Newman] | Hausa kááṣii 'excrement' [Abr. 1962: 498] || ECh. *kVsi 'faeces' [GT]: Kwang kùsi(ny) [Jng.], Kera kusi [Ebert] | Kabalay kasiⁿ [Caprile], Lele kásiyā [Gowers] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 128–129). • **6. WCh.: Dera ləšik** 'vomit' [Newman] ||| Eg. 3š [regular < *lš] 'Opfergabe ausspeien (bildlich vom Nil)' (XX., Wb I: 21, 1) = 'ausspeien' (GHWb: 15) < AA *√lš [GT]. • **7. WCh.: Dera yilik** < *sili-k [y < *s] 'tongue' [Newman] || CCh.: Zime-Dari šilli [Strümpell], Zime-Batna silé [Jng.] = sili [Sachnine] || ECh.: Kera kə-səl [Ebert] | Sokoro sólānd- [Nachtigal apud Lukas] = selindu [AF] = sélēñ [Saxon] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 329) | PCh. *√sl 'tongue' [GT]. The same suffixation is present in Eg. snk vs. sn.w (see above). • **8. WCh.: Dera yilek** < *sile-k (?) [y < *s?] 'saliva' [Newman] || CCh.: Buduma člulū [Nct.] = čilulū 'saliva' [Cyffer] ||| Bed. sil 'Speichel, Geifer' [Reinisch 1895: 198]. Alternatively, if Dera y- developed unchanged < *y- (equally plausible) in this case (i.e. *yile-k), cp. alternatively WCh.: Bole 'yulé [Ibriszimow apud JI 1994 I.c.] || ECh.: Migama 'óló (pl.) [JA 1992: 113], Bidiya 'ulā, pl. 'ulay [AJ 1989: 122] – all 'saliva' (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 278–279). • **9. CCh.: Tera kopa-h** [-h < *-k] 'wing' [NM 1966: 240; Newman 1977: 34 with a different etymology] || WCh.: (?) Angas-Sura *č(y)āp [*č^y- < *k-?] 'wing' [GT 2004a: 57] ||| NOm.: Pometo *kEp- 'wing' [Bender 1988] = *kep-e 'wing' [Bender 2003: 123, #148] | Mao *kwāp- 'arm, wing' [GT]: Mao (sic) kēf- 'wing' [Fleming], Mao-Bambeshi kwāpe 'wing, upper arm' [Bender] = kwāpe (sic: kw-) 'wing' [Wedekind], Mao-Diddesa kap kwine 'feather' [Fleming 1990: 27] (Mao: Bender 2003: 282, #148; NOm.: Bender 1988: 146) || SOM.: Aroid *kāf- 'wing' [Bender 2003: 220, #148]: Ari kefi 'feather, wing' [Grt. in Bender 2003: 209, #49], Galila kāfi 'wing' [Fleming 1976: 321]. • **10. ECh.: Bidiya buski** < *bus-k 'blood' [AJ 1989: 61] akin to Mokilko pùùzò 'blood' [Jng.] || CCh. *√bs 'blood' [GT]: Nzangi bisé [Strümpell] = bize [Meek] = bízē [Mouchet] | Hitkala(nci) (Lamang) ubòsi [Lukas], Hitkala (Waga dialect) ubis [Meek] | Masa bóswo [Mouchet] = búú:ná [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 30–31). Outside Chadic, this root seems to survive in the form of PAA *√bs 'to bleed by wounding' [GT] > SBrb.: Ahaggar buys 'être blessé (avec écoulement de sang)' etc. [Foucauld], Ghat buys 'être blessé, a-buys 'blessure, lésion', pl. 'aie' [Nehlil], EWlmd.-Ayr busu 'être blessé, EWlmd. a-bus 'blessure, plaie' [PAM 2003: 51] (SBrb.: DRB 129: 146) ||| HECu.: Sidamo bass-a 'scar, sore, wound' [Hudson 1989: 353: isolated] ||| WCh.: PDangla *bēs- 'to scar' [GT]: WDangla bèèsē 'faire une coupure de la peau au couteau' [Fédry 1971: 86], EDangla bésé '1. scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair, 2. saigner, faire une saignée, vacciner (soins médicaux traditionnels ou modernes); 3. faire des cicatrices ornamentales, tatouer, balafrer' [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 43], Korlongo béésé 'scarifier' [DM]. Cf. also (as a root variety with lateral C₂) the isogloss of HECu. *bišš-a 'red, brown' [GT pace Leslau], borrowed by ES: Gurage (Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto) baša, (Ezha, Muher, Mäsqān, Goggot, Soddo) bəšša, (Endegeny, Selti, Wolane) buša 'red, brown (cattle), light coloured (man)' [Leslau 1979 III: 161] || SCu.: WRift *buči (-tl-) 'blood-red' [KM]: Alagwa buč (-tl-) Burunge buči (-tl-) (WRift: KM 2004: 77) < PCu. *√bč 'red' [GT].

⁶¹ The etymology of the HECu. root is dubious and disputed among the Cushitists. G. Hudson (l.c.) explained these forms from *bub-s- (caus.), cf. HECu. *bub- 'to burn'. M. Lamberti (l.c.), in turn, treated it as a caus. (orig. *bud-s- < *bud-iš-) from OCu. *bud- 'fire'.



brennen' [Jng. 1970: 85; JI 1994 II: 54] || CCh.: Gude mbəsə 'to cook meat or fish (without water)' [Hoskison 1983: 240] | Daba mbus 'griller' [Mouchet 1966: 137] || ECh.: cf. Barein búúso 'warm' [Lukas 1937: 51] || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-hes, pl. i-hess-en [h- < *b-?] 'grand feu' [Foucauld 1951-2: 676] = a-həs, pl. i-həss-ən [Prasse 1969: 69, #407: no Brb. etymology] || Eg. bs 'Flamme, Brand' (NK, Wb I: 476, 1) = bs ~ bsw 'flame', bsw n sḏ.t 'firebrand (?)' (FD: 84) = bsw 'Feuer, Flamme, Brand, *Glut, Fackel' (GHWb: 261)⁶².

104. NOm.: Gimirra bos 'cadere' [CR 1925: 619] || WCh.: Warji bádzo 'to fall' [IL] || CCh.: Mandara bẓ-a (-dl-) 'to fall' [Mirt] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 130–131) || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr bāzbāz '1. tomber (fruits / grains / sable etc.)', cf. also a root variety triradicalized by a C₃ velar root extension: Ayr ə-bzəg '2. se détacher soudainement et tomber (partie d'un ensemble)' [PAM 2003: 62].

105. NOm.: Chara buosā ~ bōsā 'capra' [Cerulli 1938 III: 165] = **bōsā** 'goat' [Fleming] | (?) Kachama (Gats'ama, Haruro) bēši 'goat' [Siebert 1994: 15, #146] (isolated in SEOMeto: Bender 2003: 333, #40) || LECu.: Oromo bušā'ē 'goat (esp. Shewa)' [Gragg 1982: 71] || WCh. *bus-(uru) 'he-goat' [GT]: Hausa bunsúruú (epenthetic -n-), Gwandara bušuru 'he-goat' [Matsushita] | Gerka búus 'Ziegenbock' [Jng. 1965: 174; Takács 2004a: 21: isolated in Angas-Sura] | Boghom bu:s 'he-goat' [Shimizu] | Ngizim gábüzürú (prefix ga-) 'he-goat' [Schuh] (WCh.: JI 1994 II: 168) < SAA *bus- 'goat' [GT].

A root variety with a voiced sibilant and obscure *Anlaut* has been retained by NOm.: Yemsa fizō 'goat' [Aklilu & Siebert, Cerulli, Fleming, Lamberti apud Bender 2003: 341, #40] || WCh.: Hausa-Zar bòòžóó 'stunted goat' [Abr. 1962: 109].

106. NOm.: Kafa bēbéž- (?) 'rotten' [Reinisch in Bender 2003: 343, #76: isolated] || Sem.: Ar. √bḏr V '1. être gâté et jaunâtre (se dit de l'eau)' [BK I: 101] < CAA *√bḏ(r) [GT]. The same triradicalized root is represented in a voiceless C₂ variation by the isogloss of CCh.: Bura bušira [r regular < *n] '1. to decay, 2. become useless' [BED 1953: 29] || ES: Harari bōsāra 'to rot, spoil (fruit), decay' [Leslau 1963: 47].

Much more widespread is the biradical root variety (without C₃ *-r) with a voiceless C₂ sibilant, cf. CAA *√bs '1. wet, 2. rotten' [GT] > ES *√bsbs '1. wet, 2. rotten' [GT]: Geez basbasa 'to be wet, drenched, decay' [Leslau], Tigre bāsbāsā 'devenir humide, moisir' [DRS], Tigrinya besbese 'guastarsi, corrompersi (carne)', ?abesbese 'imputridire, besbās 'fetente' [Coulbeaux & Bassano apud Wajnberg 1935: 69–70] = besbese 'se gâter, se corrompre' [DRS] = bāsbāsā 'to be rotten' [Leslau], Amh. bāsābbāsā 'se gâter à l'humidité' [DRS] = '1. to be wet, 2. rotten, 3. old' [Leslau 1979] = '1. to decay, 2. be wet' [Leslau 1987], Common Gurage √bsbs '1. to be rotten, putrid, 2. *be drenched through by the rain, soaked' [Leslau] (ES: DRS: 72; Leslau 1979 III: 158; 1987: 109) || Eg. bs.w (bodily efflux determinative) 'putréfaction (?)' (CT IV 344a, AL: 78.1365) = '*aufbrechende Verwesung' (GHWb: 261) || Bed. bus (m) 'stalk or stem decayed inside' [Hudson 1996 MS: #17.31–27]⁶³ || NAgaw (loan from ES): Hamir bīsbisəw 'rotten' [BSW 1995: 6], Qemant bāsābās 'pourrir' [CR 1912: 181] || LECu.: Oromo boss-ō 'rotten (of wood) from being wet' [Ehret

⁶² J. Osing (NBÄ: 889, fn. 978) derived NK bs from the OK (VI.) *hapax* bjz (fire det.). Cf. also Kēmi 15, 1959, pl. IV & Brunner 1964: 105, fn. 2. Highly dubious (OEg. bjz is not listed in AL 1977-1979 and GHWb).

⁶³ But cf. also Bed. büt (m) 'decayed stalk or stem' [Hudson 1996 MS: #17.41–28], whose C₂ variation remains at this moment an open question.



2000 MS: 19, #1109]⁶⁴ = būššo ‘to be mouldy’ [Leslau] | HECu.: Qabenna būššo? ‘to be mouldy’ [Leslau] (ECu.: Leslau 1979 III: 160) borrowed from Cu. > ES: Gurage Muher, Mäsqän, Goggot b^wäš *balä, Ennemor, Endegeny, Gyeto b^wäšä *balä, Chaha b^wäše barä, Ezha b^wäšš männä, Soddo, Wolane boš *balä, Selti boše bälä ‘to be mouldy’, hence adj. Chaha b^wäšänä, Ezha b^wäšännä ‘mouldy, musty, one who does not do things well’ (Gurage: Leslau 1979 III: 160) ||| ECh.: WDangla bóóśō (f) ‘rouille’ [Fédry 1971: 93], cf. Dangla-Migama *bōs- and Mubi-Toram *bā₂s- ‘to moisten’ [GT]. For this CAA root see Takács 2009d: 321, #16.

A further root variety with a voiceless *Anlaut* and with diverse C₃ extensions is represented by Sem.: Ar. fasada I ‘1. être gâté, corrompu, atteint par la corruption, II ‘1. gâter, corrompre’, fasaqa II ‘corrompre, gâter’ [BK II: 593–594] || MSA *fsd ‘to spoil’ [Ehret] < pre-Ar. birad. *√fs, which may well be late innovation as I have so far failed to locate any trace of this voiceless (AA *p-/√f-) C₁- variety (so far scanned, e.g., in Egyptian, Berber, Omotic, Central Chadic).

107. NOm.: Kefoid *biž- ‘sick’ [GT] > Kafa biž- ~ biy-, inf. biž-e ‘krank sein’ [Reinisch 1888: 271] = biğ, i.e. biž ‘1. dolore, esser dolente, 2. ammalarsi, essere ammalato’, biy-ō ‘malattia’ [Cerulli 1951: 412, 418] = bižž- ‘to hurt, get sick’ [Lamberti], Mocha biğgi(yé) ‘to (be) pain(ful)’ [Leslau 1959: 22] | Sheko bižž- ‘to get hurt, fall ill’, biy-o ‘sickness’ [Lamberti] (isolated in Kefoid: Bender 2003: 343, #85) ||| WCh.: NBauchi *vuž- ‘sickness’ [GT]: Miya vuži, Jimbin vuza, Siri vāži (NBauchi: Skinner 1977: 39) ||| Sem.: presumably Ar. baḍida I ‘1. être en mauvais état, usé, sale, 2. être difforme, 3. être vieux, usé et sale’ > baḍd- ‘2. mauvais’, baḍād- ‘1. mauvais état d’une chose, 2. difformité, 3. saleté (d’un objet vieux, usé)’, baḍid-at- ‘3. misère, abandon complet dans la manière de vivre et de se vêtir’ [BK I: 100; DRS: 47, BDD3: isolated in Sem.] = √bḍd (notion de base: état / situation misérable) > baḍida I ‘être en mauvais état, usé, sale (vêtement, etc.)’, 2. se trouver dans un état misérable (homme)’ > baḍd- ‘1. malpropre, souillé d’excréments (lieu), 2. sale, loqueteux, misérable (homme)’, baḍād-at- ‘1. apparence négligée, malpropreté, 2. fig.: négligence, désordre, dérèglement’, baḍid-at ‘misère, dénuement, fait de vivre dans la malpropreté’ [Blachère et al. 1967–1976: 475–476] = baḍd- ‘wornout, dirty, old’ [Ehret]⁶⁵ || MSA: Jibbali √bḍl (C₃ ext.) > i.a., bōtḍol ‘to deteriorate in habits, manners, health’ [Jns. 1981: 23] < CAA *√bž ‘1. to be in deteriorated condition, 2. be sick’ [GT]. The Kefoid-NBauchi isogloss, first observed and published here by me, hopefully puts an end to the speculative view, so widespread earlier among Cushiticians in the literature on this Omotic root,⁶⁶ that the Kefoid word has somehow to do with the ECU. stem for ‘sick’ (with a velar C_{2/3})⁶⁷ of an entirely different kindred.⁶⁸ Already back in 2001,

⁶⁴ Derived by Ch. Ehret (l.c. supra) directly from his AA *-bawš/s- ‘to spill’.

⁶⁵ Equated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 3, #1035) with semantically vague parallels like HECu.: Sidamo buš- ‘to be (come) bad’, WCh.: Ngizim bōžək ‘rubbish heap’.

⁶⁶ See Reinisch 1888: 276; 1902: 78 (Kafa-ECu.); Cerulli 1951: 412 (Kafa-Somali); Dolgopolskij 1966: 56, #1.61 (ECu.-Kafa); Lamberti 1993c: 99 (ECu.-NOm.). Note that H.G. Mukarovskij (1987: 325) derived Somali buši ‘Krankheit’ < *biž- (!)comparing it with the NBauchi-Gurage parallel with an original sibilant C₂ (above).

⁶⁷ Cf. ECU. *baʔk-/√buʔk- ‘1. to become ill, 2. illness’ [Sasse]: cf., i.a., PSam *buk-i ‘to be sick, sickness’ [Heine 1977: 289; 1982: 102, 127] etc. (ECu.: Black 1974: 210; Sasse 1979: 53; 1982: 42).

⁶⁸ Cf. ECh.: perhaps Bidiya bàak, pl. bàkàw ‘attraper un rhume, avoir de la fièvre’ [AJ 1989: 55] ||| Eg. bt.w ‘Bez. einer unheilbaren Krankheit’ (MK, Wb I: 485, 13) = ‘incurable disease or person’ (FD: 86) = ‘unheilbare Krankheit (wobei man den Kranken aufgeben muß, viell. auch ansteckende Krankheit)’ (GHWb: 266). The ultimate root meaning of the ECh.-ECu.-Eg. match has presumably been retained in ES: Geez bakka ‘to vanish, fade away, disappear, become void, futile’, cf. bakaya ‘to vanish’, Tigrinya bàkki ‘just so, useless’, Amh. bàkkākā ‘to be destroyed, ruined, useless’, bàkk ‘useless, valueless, vain’, Gurage bokāk bälä ‘to exhaust os., become tired because of making an effort’ (ES: Leslau 1987: 94) ||| Eg. bt ‘1. jemanden verlassen, im Stich lassen, 2. (einmal) (einen Kranken) auf-



in my EDE II: 353, I carefully kept the Kefoid forms apart from the ECu. stem as I had seen no evidence of a correspondence between Kefoid *ž vs. ECu./AA *k, whereas all the more is available for Kefoid *ž < AA *ž,⁶⁹ although at that time, some two decades ago, I was not yet aware of the true cognates of the Kefoid root. To this root family may belong:

107.1. Root variety with a voiceless sibilant C₂: CAA *√bs ‘to be unwell’ [GT] > LECu.: Somali bās ‘Unheil, Verderben’ [Reinisch 1902: 92]⁷⁰ = bōs ‘ruined thing, enervated person’ [Ehret] ||| NBrb.: Mzab bbešbeš ‘avoir les yeux fatigués’ [DRB: 9, BC4] ||| ES: Gurage: Chaha, Ezha, Muher, Māsqañ, Goggot bašā ‘sickness, disease’, Goggot bašāññā (adj. suffix -āññā) ‘sick, ill’ (Gurage: Leslau 1979 III: 160–161). NBAuchi-Gurage: Mukarovsky 1987: 325.

107.2. Root variety with a voiceless Anlaut: CAA *√ps ‘to be worn-out’ [GT] > WCh.: Ngizim pəsū ‘to be worn out (machine, animal)’, e.g., aawayuu pəsə-ngara ‘it’s strength is gone’ [Schuh 1981: 131] ||| Sem.: Ar. fasis- ‘faible, débile (d’esprit ou de corps)’ [BK II: 591], triradicalized by diverse C₃ root extensions as: Ar. fasaḥa I ‘être faible, débile’ (to be distinguished from fasiḥa I ‘être gâté’, cf. above) [BK II: 592–593] = ‘to grow disabled, worn’ [Ehret]. Ngizim-Somali-Sem.: Ehret 1997 MS: 97, #54.

108. Om.: Dizaroid *√bč ‘skin’ [GT] > Dizoid: Sheko bači ‘skin’ [Fleming 1972 MS: 3 > Bender 2003: 217, #118] || Aroid *bič- ‘skin’ [Bender 2003: 217 and 304, #118]: Banna biši ‘body’ [Masuda apud Tsuge 1996: 184, #20], Hamer baš-, bič- [Lydall] = biši ‘body, skin’ [Petrullino 2016: 299], Dime bičč-o [Bender] = beč-e, bič-u [Fleming] ‘skin’ (Aroid: Bender 1994: 158; 2003: 217, #118) ||| ECu. *biš- ‘body’ [Ehret 1995: < **‘skin’] || SCu. *bū/īša ‘skin, hide or rash’ [Ehret 1980] = *būša ‘skin, hide’ [Ehret 1995] > Iraqw buša’i ‘rash’ | Ma’a bušé ‘cow hide’ (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 140) ||| WCh.: Diri ápučú (-tsh-) ‘skin (of man)’ [IL in JI 1994 II: 296: isolated] < SAA *√bč ‘skin’ [GT] = *būš- [Ehret]. Dime-Cu.: Ehret 1995: 84, #17 and 87, #25.⁷¹

geben’ (Med., Wb I: 485, 10) = ‘to abandon, forsake’ (FD: 86) = ‘1. verlassen, im Stich lassen, 2. meiden, aufgeben (Kranken)’ (GHWb: 265) ||| LECu.: Saho-Irob baké ‘aufhören’ [PW 1953: 387] | Dullay: Harso and Dobase pakk- [p < b] ‘aufhören’ [AMS 1980: 178] ||| WCh.: Ngizim būukú ‘1. to lack, be without, 2. fail to find, 3. fail to (do sg.)’ [Schuh 1981: 27] < CAA *√bk ‘1. (intr.) to fail, vanish, 2. (tr.) let down, let vanish’ [GT].

⁶⁹ Cf., e.g. NOM. *bažž- ‘to refuse, hinder’ [GT]: presumably Janjero (Yemsa) bey- [provided its y < *ž] ‘to refuse, reject (отказаться)’ [Cerulli apud Dlg.] = bey- ‘2. ablehnen’ [Lamberti] | PGonga *baž- ‘to prevent’ [Ehret 1997 MS: 51, #1215]: Kafa bāže ‘nicht lassen, nicht gestatten, verbieten’ [Reinisch 1888: 271] = baž- ‘1. rifiutare, dir di no, 2. impedire’ [Cerulli 1951: 412] = baž-i ‘to stop, cause to stop’ [Fleming] = baž(ž)- ‘ablehnen, verhindern’ [Lamberti], Mocha bāžži-yé ‘to hinder, prevent, defend’ [Leslau 1959: 21], Shinasha-Bworo bez- ‘rifiutare’ [Cerulli l.c.] = bāz- ‘not to let, keep back (nicht geben, verweigern, vorenthalten)’, caus. bāz-íy- ‘1. (ver)hindern, 2. verbieten, 3. (sich) verteidigen’ baziye-ká ‘Verbot’ [Lamberti] = baz- ~ bay- ‘to forbid’ [Fleming], Wombera baz-ia ‘to change away, avoid, protect by charm’ [Fleming] (Kefoid/Gonga: Fleming 1987: 145, #5) | Sheko bažž- ‘verbieten’, bažžiya-to ‘Verbot’ [Lamberti] (NOM.: Dlg. 1966: 58, #1.78; 1973: 302; Lamberti 1993c: 99; 1993a: 289–290; 1993b: 334–335) ||| Eg. bz.w ‘allgemeine Bez. für etwas das man nicht sagen darf’ (XVIII., Wb I: 475, 4) = bz.w ‘Geheimnisse (was man nicht ausplaudern darf)’ (GHWb: 260) etc. ||| Sem.: perhaps (unless the basic sense was Ar. baḍā’a I ‘1. détester, abhorrer, ne pouvoir pas souffrir, sentir qqn., regarder avec horreur et répugnance’ > baḍiyy- ‘1. détesté, abhorré, 2. dévergondé, impudique’ [BK I: 100] = baḍā’a I i.a. ‘blâmer en qqn. (un défaut, une attitude, etc.), + ‘alayhi ‘insulter, injurier, outrager qqn., baḍā’yahu ‘ayni ‘mes yeux le voient avec dégoût, d’un mauvais oeil (my eyes see him with disgust, disapprovingly), baḍā’- ‘3. mépris, dédain, dégoût (scorn, contempt, disgust)’ [Blachère et al. 1967–1976: 471–472] < CAA *√bž ‘to refuse, forbid’ [GT]. Sem.-Eg.-NOM.: SISAJa I: #70; Belova 1989: 13.

⁷⁰ Explained by L. Reinisch (l.c.) as a loan (?) from Ar. bi’š- ‘1. peine, châtement, 2. malheurs, calamités’ [BK I: 79], which seems doubtful because of the stem vowel.

⁷¹ Ch. Ehret (l.c.) reconstructed two distinct PAA roots for ‘skin’ here, namely *būš- (SCu., whence he derived, a.o., Sem. *bašar- ‘flesh’ also, cf. below) vs. *biš- (ECu., Dime), resp.



109. NOM.: Dimé bač ‘year’ [Fleming] (isolated in Aroid apud both Bender 1994: 162; 2003: 352, #112 and Tsuge 1996: 170, #239) ||| CCh.: Common Masa *bus/za ‘year’, *bus/zaya ‘old’ [GT]: Masa-Bongor búsá-ná ‘an’, búsàya ‘vieux’, sàñ búsóy-nā ‘vieillard’, càd búsóy-dā ‘vieille femme’, búšáyā (sic: -š-) ‘vieillir’ [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 89, 103, 113, 149], Masa busá [búsánā] ‘l’année, la saison’, [búséyā] (adj.) ‘vieux (litt.: qui a un grand nombre d’années)’ [Caïtucoli 1983: 52], Gizey/Wina būs, Masa bűzà, Ham bèzè, Musey, Lew bàzà, Marba bízà ‘an, année’ [Ajello *et al.* 2001: 2].

110. NOM.: Ganjule bič ‘to urinate’ [Fleming in Bender 2003: 96, #140: isolated] ||| CCh.: Mada bižkùnè and Hurzo mbíškà ‘to urinate’ [Rossing 1978: 353, #774] vs. W-ECh. *√b(y)s ‘urine’ [GT] (attested in WCh.: Sbauchi and ECh.: Lay, Ch. data: JI 1994 II: 34–335) ||| NBrb. *√bs ~ *√bš ‘uriner’ [GT after DRB: 129: BS2 and 8-9: BC2, resp.]⁷² < CAA *√bs ‘to urinate’ [GT]. Further ancient (PAA) root varieties:

110.1. Eventually, this root may be remotely akin to a homorganic one for ‘faeces’.⁷³

110.2. CAA (sg. like) *√w[ʒ] (?)⁷⁴ ‘urine’ [GT] represented by later Eg. (NK) wšš < older Eg. (OK) wšš ‘harnen’ (OK-, Wb I: 357, 16–20)⁷⁵ ||| SBrb. *√ws (explainable, of course, also as cognate to NBrb. *√bs with an irregular labial lenition) ‘urine’ [GT]: Tamasheq ā-was ‘urine’ [Nicolas 1957: 574], i.e. Ahaggar a-was, pl. i-wass-en ‘urine’ [Foucauld 1951–2], Wlmd. á-uass ‘Urin’ [Barth

⁷² Following the way of thought expressed by F. Hintze (1951: 84) and A.B. Dolgopolskij (1966: 54), K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB: 8–9, BC2) affiliated this NBerber root with the homophonous reflexes of two further, surely distinct, roots for ‘vagin’ and ‘pis, sein’, resp., as *Kinderwörter*. This false conception is reflected also by M. Cohen’s (1947: #410) and A. Faber’s (1984: 209, #48) equation of Sem. *√bt ‘sexular organ, shame’, Brb. bəšš (sic) ‘vagina’, and Sidamo bōs-a ‘vulva’ with Eg. b/wsš.t (sic) ‘urine’.

⁷³ That may be perhaps seen in MSA: Mehri √bt (root ext. -r?) > həbtōr ‘to have faeces that burn and cause pimples on the anus’ [Jns. 1987: 58] || ES: Geez √bhws (root ext. -h- of body parts, cf. Takács 1997?) > bəhəwwəs ‘excrement of chicken’ [Leslau 1987: 93: isolated], cf. perhaps also Gurage: Chaha bəša, Ennemor, Gyeto bəša, Muher bəšša ‘liquid excrement produced by the taking of anthelmintic’ (Gurage: Leslau 1979 III: 161 with a different etymology) ||| Eg. bss ‘(neben Kot erwähnt)’ (BD, Wb I: 477, 8, not in FD, GHWb) = ‘(traduction hypothétique:) être couvert d’excréments ou celui qui est couvert d’excréments’ (p.c. by D. Meeks on 29 March 2000) ||| Bed. bus (m) ‘Schmutz, Kot’ [Almkvist apud Reinisch 1895: 52] || WCh.: PAngas *pus ‘to have diarrhoea’ [Takács 2004a: 293]: Angas pus ‘diarrhoea’ [Foulkes 1915: 268] = pūs ‘to have diarrhoea’ [Jng. 1962 MS: 34]. An potentially related root variety is represented by CCh. *b[o]č- ‘excrement’ [Stolbova 1996: 24] based solely upon Mafa bāc-bācca’a (-c- = -ts-) ‘odeur d’excrément, nauséabond’ [Brt. & Bléis 1990: 98] | Mwulyen h̥wōžī ‘excrement’ [Kraft (?) > Stolbova: *-Vč- > -ž-] || ECh.: Lele b̥isè ‘diarrhée’, b̥isī ‘1. avoir la diarrhée, 2. uriner’ [Weibugué & Palayer 1982: 10]. The C/ECh. data suggest a root variety with an originally glottalized sibilant. Noteworthy is also the parallelism of at least two further isoglosses for ‘fart’ (confused by M. Cohen 1947: #374 as rightly pointed out by Cantineau 1948, 179), cf. (1) Sem.: Ar.-ES *√fsw ‘to fart’ [GT]: e.g. Geez fāsāw [Leslau] (ES: Leslau 1979 III: 246) ||| NAgaw: Bilin fas- [irregular f-] ‘fleißiger Kot bei Diarrhoe’ [Reinisch 1887: 127] ||| LECu.: Saho-Afar basas ‘péter’ (quoted after Cohen l.c.) vs. (2) the var. with glottal C₂ in Sem.: Ar. baššāš- ‘péteur, péteurs’ [Dozy I: 91] ||| SBrb. *fəzz (?) ‘pet’ [Cohen]. Here too, in each case, we have to account for a root variety with an originally glottalized sibilant.

⁷⁴ The reconstruction of a voiced lateral affricate, although the symmetry of system would demand to presume its existence, has always been a matter of puzzles ever since A.B. Dolgopolskij (1972) put forward its idea in a more ‘global’ context going far beyond the frontiers of AA, whose ideas have been carried further by his equally ingenious pupil, O.V. Stolbova (cf. esp. 1991 MS; 1994b MS; 1995; 2003). Especially noteworthy is her study (Stolbova 1994a) on the Chadic reflexes of the Egyptian double sibilants (like, e.g. zš). To my mind, this root for ‘urine’ appears at this moment to be the only strong candidate for its case.

⁷⁵ Already G. Möller (1924: 42) equated his Brb. (sic) bešš (sic) ‘harnen’ directly with the Egyptian root, which, albeit it can by no means be correct in the frames of the very same AA root as he had meant to be, ultimately may indeed turn out to be true in the frames of assuming two remotely related (loosely homorganic) ancient CAA root varieties, viz. *√bs ‘to urinate’ vs. *√w[ʒ] (?) [GT].



apud Blazek], EWlmd.-Ayr ā-waṣ, pl. i-wāṣṣ-ān ‘urine’ [PAM 2003: 834], Ghat i-muš-an (prefix m-) ‘urine’ [Nehlil 1909] | Bed. ṣša ~ ūša(y) (f) ‘Harn, Urin’ [Reinisch] = iša (f. pl.) ‘urine’, éd-iša ‘faecal matter’, hádal-iša ‘urine’ < oš ‘1. to urinate, 2. defecate’ [Roper 1928: 156] = ūša, Hadendo-wa dialect iša ‘Harn’ [Zyhlarz] ||| CCh.: Tera wužingín ‘urine’ [Newman] || ECh. *√wǝ ‘urine’ [GT] = *√wǝ [JS 1981: 279A₂] = *wuč- (sic) [OS]: Kwang wičē ‘to urinate’ [Jng.] | Somray ʔúžə ‘to urinate’ [Jng.], Ndam wūžô ‘urine’ [Jng.], Tumak wūž ‘to urinate’ [Caprile] (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 334–335). Eg.-Bed.: Zyhlarz 1932-3: 166. Eg.-SBrb.-Bed.: Cohen 1947: 197, #504. ECh.-Eg.: Stolbova 1991 MS: 9 and HSED: #2543; Bed.-SBrb.-?Eg.-Tera: Blažek 1994 MS Bed.: 7. Areal parallel beyond AA: PWKuliak *wac ‘urine’ [Ehret 1981: 92].

111. Om. *√b[č](diverse C₂) ‘animal’ [GT] > NOm.: Zayse busúʔá [-s- < -č-?] ‘animal’ [Hayward] (isolated in SEOmt.: Bender 2003: 331, #1) || Som.: Ari (Galila) bačire ‘animal’ [Fleming] (isolated in Aroid apud Bender 2003: 346, #1) ||| Sem. *bašar- ‘1. flesh, 2. (human) body’ [SED I: 38–39, #41] > cf. esp. (via metonymy) i.a. Akk. bišru ‘small child’ [CAD b: 270] || Punic bšr ‘enfant, descendant’ [DNWSI: 24] | Ar. bašar- ‘1. peau extérieure (chez l’homme), 2. homme, genre humain’ [BK I: 129], ESA: Minaic (or Madhabi) bšr ‘1. toute chaire, 2. les hommes’ [Arbach 1993: 24]. For the semantic shift in Omotic, cf. also Bed. ša(?) ‘Fleisch’ vs. šaʔ ‘Kuh’ [Reinisch 1895] || ECu. *soʔ- ‘meat’ [Sasse 1979: 50, 52]. The Semitic root (Sem. *bašar-, ‘flesh’) was derived already by Ch. Ehret (1995: 84, #17) from AA *būš-, on which see the entry for Dizaroid *√bč ‘skin’ [GT] above.

112. NOm.: Sheko bǎžá ‘to work’ [Aklilu Yilma in Bender 2003: 220, #150]⁷⁶ ||| Eg. pzz or pss (group-writing) ‘1. arbeiten, 2. Arbeitsleistung’ (NE, Wb I: 550, 20–21) = ‘results of labour’ (FD: 94) = ‘1. to exert oneself, strive, 2. undertaking’ (DLE I: 182) = ‘1. sich (be) mühen, sich einsetzen, 2. Unternehmung, -en’ (GHWb: 294) ||| Sem.: Ar. bassa I ‘4. travailler, s’occuper à qqch.’, bašis-at- ‘intrigues, manoeuvres’ [DRS 73, BSS3]. Puzzling match, hard to interpret either as cognates (phonologically all too anomalous) or as borrowing (would be anachronism). A common AA etymon is phonologically hard to establish as the data at hand do not allow to precisely calibrate either of the radicals for the time being. For further possible cognates, cf. EDE II: 509–510.

113. NOm.: Ari (Galila) bažda ‘back, behind’ [Fleming] (isolated in Aroid apud Bender 1994: 144 and 2003: 346, #4) ||| ES (borrowed < Om.?): Amh. bǎžād ‘bas-ventre’, bǎžd ‘bas-ventre, pubis’ [DRS: 54, BZD2] ||| NBrb.: Sus a-bēždīd, pl. i-bēždāḏ ‘verge (membre viril)’ [Destaing 1938: 291] = bəzdi ‘verge’ [Cohen]⁷⁷ = Shilh a-bždīd ~ a-beždīd ~ a-beždid ~ ta-bždid ‘penis’ [DRB]. Areal word? One cannot resist the temptation of drawing the attention in this context to the parallelism of Eg. pzdd ‘Bez. der Hoden des Seth’ (GR *hapax*, Wb I: 551, 4) = ‘testicles’ (PL = Wilson 1997: 374) also.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Related to NOm.: Yemsa boza22 ‘slave’ [Wedekind 1990: 119]?

⁷⁷ Listed by M. Cohen (1947: 175, #410) among numerous omniconparatistic *comparanda*, whose problems are discussed in this paper s.v. NOm.: Ganjule bič ‘to urinate’ [Fleming] (above).

⁷⁸ The existence of this late gloss is highly dubious. D. Meeks (1999: 580) assumed it to be a weakly carved example, an unusual ‘graphie’ of LEg. gs.tj ‘Bez. für die Hoden des Seth (des Nilpferdes)’ (GR, Wb V: 208, 1).



114. Om. *baš- ‘to fear’ [GT]: Omoto baš- ‘temere’ [Moreno 1938: 138] || Aroid *baš- ‘to fear’ [Bender 2003: 209 and 302, #48] > Ari ɓaš- and Dime baš- ‘to fear’ [Bender 1994: 149] = Ari Baš (i.e. b/ɓaš) and Dime baš ‘to fear’ [Tsuge 1996: 166, #79] ||| LECu.: PSomali *^cabsu ‘Angst’ [Lamberti 1986: 224, 438] ||| Sem. *^vbš^c > cf. esp., i.a., Maghrebi Ar. baš^ca ‘chose horrible, affreuse’ [DRS: 88] < C²AA *^vbš^c ~ *^vc²bš^c ‘fear’ [GT].

115. Om. *biš- ~ *piš- ‘1. to cough, 2. sneeze’ [GT] > NOm.: Kachama biš- ‘to sneeze’ [Siebert & Hoefft in Bender 2003: 62, #123] || Aroid *pis/š- ‘to cough’ [Bender 2003: 253, #A15] = *pis/š- (no question mark) ‘to cough’ [Bender 2003: 305, #A15] = *pVš- (no *p- attested) [GT]: Ari pošin- ~ pōšin- ‘to cough’ [Bender & Fleming apud Bender 1994], Ari (Galila of Fleming) pō/ošin- [Bender & Tully, Fleming apud Bender 2003], Hamer piskilla ‘to cough’ [Fleming], Dime fiš-t- ‘to cough’ [Fleming apud Bender 1994] = fifiš- [Fleming apud Bender 2003] = p^hə^hbešth- [Siebert] (Aroid: Bender 1994: 147; 2003: 347, #15) ||| HECu.: Sidamo buš- ‘tossire’ [Moreno 1940: 209] = būs- ‘to cough (intr.)’, būs-a & būs-ano ‘cough’ [Hudson 1989: 356: isolated in HECu.] ||| CCh.: Bura buča [-thl-] ‘(to) cough (v./n.)’ [BED 1953: 29] | Mafa-Mada *buč [-tl] ‘(to) cough’ [Rossing]: Muyang bæč- (v.), bæčáh (n.) [Rossing], Muktele bəžúh (v.), mábùžúhwáy (n.) [Rossing], Moloko bæčáy ‘to sneeze’ [Rossing] (MM: Rossing 1978: 229–230, #155–156 & 330, #663). From SAA *^vbš (perhaps *buč-) ‘1. to cough, 2. sneeze’ [GT], an onomatopoeic root, just like the eventually related CAA *^vbš ‘1. to spit, 2. vomit’ [GT].⁷⁹ Two distinct root vars. in Omotic with voiced/less C₁-? Cf. also #215 in part V.

116. NOm.: Kafa búš-ō, pl. būšiš-ō (m), búš-ē, pl. būšiš-ē (f) ‘klein’ [Reinisch 1888: 275, not in Cerulli 1951 and Leslau 1959] = búš-ō ‘small’ [Bender 2003: 174, #120: isolated in Om.] ||| Ch. *^vbs ‘small’ (attested in Gerka, Ron, Gidar?) [JS 1981: 238B] > ECh.: e.g., Bidiya bëes (bèesi, beesèn), pl. bèsèw (bèsèewí, bèsèewen) ‘diminuer’ [AJ 1989: 57] ||| NBrb.: Mzab bëssi ‘petite quantité, peu’, bëssək ‘un peu’ [Delheure 1984: 14; DRB: 130: isolated in Brb.] | (root var. with voiced C₂ and dental C₃ ext.?) Qabyle bbeztett ‘être petit’, a-beztu ‘petit’ [DRB: 153]. L. Reinisch (l.c. supra) glossed the Kafa adjectival form s.v. Kafa búš-ō etc. ‘Kind usw.’ pretending that the adj. represents a secondary use of the noun by far not so widely attested, cf. NOm. *buš- ‘child’ [GT] with (overwhelmingly reflexes solely in Kefoid and Mao),⁸⁰ albeit sporadically reflected outside

⁷⁹ Attested in Eg. bšj ‘1. speien, 2. ausspeien, ausbrechen’ (PT, Wb I: 477, 14–17) = ‘to spit, spit out’ (FD: 85) = ‘1. ausspeien, ausbrechen, 2. erbrechen, speien, sich übergeben, 3. (fig.) verraten (Herz seine Gedanken)’ (GHWb: 262) ||| SBrb.: Ayr ^vbs: ə-ḥsu ~ ə-ḥsu ‘vomir’ [PAM 1998: 18], EWlmd. i-bsu ‘il a vomí, ā-bši, pl. ē-bs-an ‘vomissements, vomissements’ [Nicolas 1957: 576] ||| LECu.: Gidole amḥúšš ‘saliva’ [Black 1974: 50] ||| SCu.: Ma’a-búsu ‘1. to spit, 2. curse’ [Ehret 1980: 137] ||| WCh. *^vb[c] ‘to spit’ [GT] = *[HA]bVc- [Stolbova]: PAngas *bes (or *bʷs?), pl. *bʷas ‘to spit’ [Takács TG: 2004a: 13]: Angas bēs ~ bīs ‘to spit’ [Foulkes 1915: 149–150] = bəs ‘spucken’ [Jng. 1962 MS] = bəs nli, pl. byas nli ‘to spit on (sg.)’ [ALC 1978: 5] | Miya bæca- [-ts-], Mburku vuc [-ts] ‘to spit’ (Nbauchi: Skinner 1977: 41) | Ngizim bāžlyú ‘to spray water from mouth (e.g. to moisten palm leaves for weaving, etc.)’ [Schuh 1981: 25] (WCh.: Stolbova 1987: 150) ||| CCh.: Mofu mbəčēčēčēm ‘to spit’ [Rossing 1978: 333] ||| ECh. *^vbs ‘to spit’ [GT]: Somray ḥósə ‘cracher’ [Jng. 1993 MS: 8] | WDangla ḥèsè ‘cracher de l’eau en fines gouttelettes’ [Fédry 1971: 106], EDangla ḥésé ‘cracher le sésame en pluie pour semer’ [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 58]. Ch.-Eg.: OS 1992: 198; HSED: #280; Ehret 1997 MS: 10, #1058. The sibilant correspondences are irregular (Eg. š ≠ Ch. *c ≠ SBrb. *s), which is to be explained by the onom. nature of this AA root.

⁸⁰ Cf. NWomt.: Dorze puša ‘boy, child, son’ [Linton *et al.* in Bender 2003: 13, #17], Gofa búš-o (m) ‘son’, búš-a (f) ‘daughter’ [Reinisch] | SEomt.: Haruro buš-o ‘figlia’ [CR 1937: 642] = ‘son’ [Leslau], Badditu (Koyra) buš-ē ‘ragazza’ [Cerulli 1929: 60] = ‘son’ [Leslau] | Yemsa buʷsa (pl. of nā) ‘children’ [Wedekind in Bender 2003: 159, #17] | Kefoid/Gonga: Kafa búš-ō, pl. būšiš-ō (m), bš-ē, pl. būšiš-ē (f) ‘Kind, Sohn/Tochter, Knabe/Mädchen’ [Reinisch



Omotic too,⁸¹ which appears to be sprung from a supposed, albeit rather vague PAA deverbal source.⁸² This entry, in turn, raises the dilemma and doubt whether the Kafa noun was first and the adj. has no AA background on its own.

117. NOm.: Kafa bišiš II ‘plündern, rauben’, cf. *nō qētō bōneši bišišē ne* ‘sie haben unser Haus ausgeplündert’ [Reinisch 1888: 275] = **bišiš** (?) ‘to steal’ [Reinisch apud Bender 2003: 344, #91: isolated] ||| Sem.: Ar. (southern dialect) *√bwš* > *bāš* ‘piller, enlever à la razzia’ [DRS: 53, BWS1],⁸³ cf. perhaps classical Ar. *√bwš* > *I bāša* ‘1. porter (la main) / to lay (hands) on, 2. pointer (une arme) sur qqn. / to point (a weapon) at so.’ [Blachère *et al.* 1967–1976: 914].⁸⁴ Root var. with a dental sibilant: CSem. **√bzz* ‘piller’ [GT after DRS: 54, BZZ1] vs. PSem. **√bzbz* ‘piller’ [GT after DRS: 53, BZBZ1]. This latter Kafa–Sem. match, where the C₂ correspondence is by far not regular and thus can only be conceived as two remote root varieties, was noted already by L. Reinisch (l.c.), who, however, glossed (at the same time!) the Kafa verb s.v. *Kafa beš ~ biš* ‘öffnen, aufdecken’ attributing to this all too suggestively an unattested and far-fetched mediatory sense *‘aufreissen alle Verschlüsse’, whereby (in his view, apparently) *bišiš II* ‘to rob’ may have evolved. Hardly so. Further AA cognates convince us about the distinct status of the latter gloss. A whole set of potentially related root varieties (perhaps *Reimwortbildungen* à la C. Brockelmann) is represented by the following isoglosses:

(1) **SAA** **√fs* ‘to steal, rob’ [GT]: NAgaw: Hamir (Hamtanga) *fīsu* ‘to take away’ [Apl. 1987: 505] = *fissu* ‘to take’ [BSW 1995: 7] || SCu.: PRift **fis-* ‘to steal’ [Ehret] > WRift **fis* ‘to steal’ [KM 2004: 107]: Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *fis-* [Ehret] = (also Gorowa) *fis* [KM] | Asa *fis-* [Ehret] (Rift: Ehret 1980: 341, #1) ||| WCh.: Hausa *fāšī* [-šī < *-si] ‘highway robbery’ [Abr. 1962: 258], Gwandara *pēši* ‘highway robbery’, *í pēši* ‘to rob wayfarer’ [Matsushita 1972: 96] || CCh.: Gude

1888: 275] = *būšō* ‘small boy’ [Reinisch apud Bender!] = *buš-ō* (m) ‘figlio, ragazzo’, *buš-ē* ‘figlia, ragazza’ [Cerulli 1951: 416], Mocha *buš-o* ‘child, son’ [Leslau], Shinasha (Bworo) *buš-ō* ‘son’ [Leslau] (Kefoid: Bender 2003: 159, #17) | Mao **piše* ‘child’ [GT]: Mao-Bambeshi *piš-ē* ‘child’ [Siebert & Wedekind 1993: 14] = *piše* [Wedekind quoted by Bender], Mao-Diddesa *piše* ‘boy, child, son’ [Bender] (Mao: Bender 2003: 269, #17) (NOm.: Leslau 1959: 23; Yemsa-Kefoid: Bender 2003: 192, #17).

⁸¹ Cf. ES (borrowed from NOm.): Gafat *bušā* ‘enfant’ [Leslau 1956: 191] ||| Eg. *bs* ‘Bes’ (end of NK, Wb I: 476, 8), whose puzzling primary sense appears in the PT ‘foundling (Findling)’ (AEPT = Faulkner 1969: 190) = ‘un enfant en bas âge (par référence au jeune Horus ou au soleil naissant), dont la gestation n’est pas achevée, un avorton, un prématuré’ (Meeks 1992: 423–424, 426), and in a late period ritual *bs* is paralleled by *šrj* ‘lad’, *hwʿ* (< *hʿ3*) ‘child’, *nm* ‘orphan’ (J.-C. Goyon, BIFAO 75, 1975: 424; Meeks 1992: 424) ||| WCh.: Siri *beši* (-š-) ‘son, boy’ [Skinner 1977: 41] || CCh.: Tera *bəsoŋka* ‘boys’ [Skinner]. These isolated parallels evoke considerable doubts about deducing to an AA **√bs* ‘child’ [GT]. For a further discussion on the etymology of Eg. *bs*, cf. EDE II: 303–304 and Takács 2001b.

⁸² Does the NOm. word **buš-o* ‘son’ [GT] have anything to do with PCu. **√bs* ‘1. to make (?), 2. beget’ [GT] > NAgaw: Qemant *bās* ‘engendrer, devenir père’ [CR 1912: 181] ||| LECu.: cf. Saho-Afar *bus* ‘matrice’ [Cerulli] ||| HECu.: Sidamo *bis-* (?) ‘to prepare’ [Hudson 1989: 354] | Dullay: Harso *pās-* [p < *b] ‘tun’ [AMS 1980, 178]? Already E. Cerulli (l.c. supra) assumed that in Kafa, *la voce deriva dalla* *√bas* ‘generare’ che è del Cusctico comune’, for which he adduced, beside the Qemant and Saho-Afar cognates, also ECu. parallels with a primary (?) **w-* like LECu.: Somali was ‘coire’ | HECu.: Hadiya *wās-ō*, Kambatta *wās-ō* ~ *os-ō*, Sidamo *os-ō* ‘figlio, ragazzo’. But it still remains for further research on ECu. historical phonology to determine the nature of the shift of *w-* ~ /> /< *b-*.

⁸³ Its Ar./Sem. background is unclear. In any case, D. Cohen’s (DRS: l.c.) effort to affiliate it with Ar. *bāša* ‘se mêler, se presser (foule)’ > /< *bawš-* ‘cohue, foule’ and Tigre *bošt* ‘armée, troupe principale’ has been disproved already in the lexicon by R. Blachère *et al.* (1967–1976: 913–914), where Ar. *√bwš* A (‘notion de base: cohue / crowd, mob > se mêler, se presser’) is carefully distinguished from Ar. *√bwš* B, whence the meaning ‘porter (la main) sur’ is derived.

⁸⁴ Its origin is equally obscure. R. Blachère *et al.* (1967–1976: 913–914) surmised Ar. *√bwš* B to be merely due to a miswritten form of Ar. *√nwš* (!) ‘through a diacritic error’.



fwásà ‘highway robbery, mugging’ [Hoskison 1983: 186]. The Hausa-Gude equation is due to N. Skinner (1996: 66).⁸⁵

(2) CAA * \sqrt{ms} ‘to take by force, rob’ [GT]: Sem.: Akk. *mašāʾu* ‘gewaltsam wegnehmen, rauben’ [AHW: 624] ||| NOm.: Yemsa *mīisa* ‘to steal’ [Aklilu & Siebert apud Bender 2003: 344, #91] and Yemsa *wī/is* ‘steal’ (n.) [Fisseha, Lamberti apud Bender 2003: 344, #91] ||| ECh.: Migama *māasò* ‘voler, dérober’ [JA 1992: 105] = ‘to steal’ [Jng.], Bidiya *miis* ‘voler, dérober’ [AJ 1989: 99] etc. (Ch.: JI 1994 II: 309). Akk.-Ch.: HSED: 378–379, #1745; Stolbova 1996: 82.

118. NOm.: Malé bašk- (in: *bašʾkeni* ‘he runs’) [Siebert 1994-5: 10, #122] = **bašk-** [Donham] = **bašk-** [Amha 2001: 100] ‘to run’ (Male: Bender 2003: 329, #77: isolated in Om.) ||| Bed. *baski* ‘fast’ [Hudson 1996 MS: #17.41–28] ||| Sem.: Ar. *bašaka* I ‘3. marcher vite, VIII ‘2. marcher avec rapidité, bašk- ‘1. ouvrage mal, fait à la hâte (se dit d’abord de la manière de filer), 7. vitesse, vélocité’ [BK I: 130] = ‘marcher à longues foulées, rapidement’ [DRS: 88].

Of biradical origin (with the variation of the sibilant C_2) as already mentioned in the DRS (l.c.), cf. Sem. * $\sqrt{b(?)}$ s ‘to be quick’ (?) [GT]: Akk. (nA) *bāsi* ‘bald nach, alsbald’ [AHW: 110] || Ar. \sqrt{bss} IV ‘2. courir très-vite, \sqrt{bsbs} I ‘1. se hâter, se dépêcher, 3. persévérer dans qqch.’ [BK I: 123–124], cf. also Ar. *bast-* ‘genre de marche accéléré à pas larges et qui est presque la course’ [BK I: 124] = ‘marche au pas accéléré’ [DRS: 73] and Ar. *baššaṭa* ‘se hâter’ [BK I: 88] || (?) Geez *bəʾsa* ‘i.a.: 3. to be swift’ [Leslau 1987: 83]⁸⁶ ||| NEg. *bš* (group-writing) ‘rapid (of water)’ (NE, DLE I: 147) = ‘Stromschnellen’ (GHWb: 262) ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *ə-həz* [h < * \sqrt{b}] ‘se hâter, se presser, se dépêcher, caus. *zə-həz* ‘hâter, presser, activer’ [PAM 1998: 140] ||| WCh.: Goemay *bes* [be- < **beʔ*-?] ‘1. quickness, 2. (adv.) quickly’ [Sirlinger 1937: 13] = *bes* ‘to be easy, quick, inexpensive’ [Hellwig 2000 MS: 1] < CAA * $\sqrt{b(?)}$ c ~ * $\sqrt{bč}$ ⁸⁷ ‘(to be) quick’ [GT]. Cf. EDE II: 319.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

Such a modest contribution elaborating a small segment of the vast Omotic root stock is not supposed to substantially change the present state-of-the-art on the classification of Omotic as a whole. Something can be learned, however, from the lexicostatistical scores of the inter-branch distribution deduced from the above isoglosses. Omotic shares inclusively the following total numbers of cognates with Semitic: 14, only Ethio-Semitic: 3, Egyptian: 9, Berber: 10, Bedawye: 3, East Cushitic: 10, South Cushitic: 3, Common Chadic: 5, West Chadic: 15, Central Chadic: 9, East Chadic: 1. On the other hand, the results of isoglosses shared by Omotic exclusively with some other branches/groups are as follows: with Semitic, we have 2 items, Berber: 2, Common Cushitic: 1, East Cushitic: 1, West Chadic: 1, Central Chadic: 2, East Chadic: 1. Unlike V. Blažek’s (2008, 139) outcome (uneven proportions of Omotic lexical ties with the rest of Afro-Asiatic, namely,

⁸⁵ He suggested, however, also a number of semantically and phonologically untenable parallels all derived by him from PCh. **fašə* ‘to break’ [Newman] and AA **pac-* ‘to break, destroy’ [OS], e.g. Hausa *fasa*, *faše* ‘to break in pieces, disperse’ etc.

⁸⁶ Explained by W. Leslau (l.c.) as denominative, derived along with its other meanings (‘1. to grow mature, 2. be strong’) from Geez *bəʾʾəsi* ‘man, male, husband, person, so’.

⁸⁷ The phonological correspondences of the C_2 are ambivalent. On the one hand, Sem. **s* is a regular reflex of PAA **c*, except for Egyptian, where one would expect **bs* and the -*b* can only be regular if we assume AA * $\sqrt{bč}$. Brb. **z* can derive from both AA **z* and **č*.



Common Cushitic: 155, Chadic: 113, Semitic: 71, Egyptian: 59, Berber: 47 certain cognates), this small study has ended up with a relatively balanced distribution of cognates (around a dozen each) shared by Omotic with the other branches, which suggests a more or less equal distance of Omotic from all the rest of Afro-Asiatic, i.e. the special status of Omotic as presumably the first branch to split off the parental (PAA) core is corroborated here also. The only surprise is, on the one hand, that we hardly found any Omotic vs. Common Cushitic matches (1 excl.), whereas East Cushitic is overrepresented (10 incl., 1 excl.) as if it were equipotential to a whole branch, which corroborates the dating of North/South Omotic disintegration around 5000 BC and that of East Cushitic even earlier (mid-6th mill. BCE) according to the most recent glottochronological calculations (Blažek 2008: 138). On the other hand, similar is the case with Common Chadic (only 5 incl.), where cognates to Omotic roots from both West Chadic (15 excl., 1 excl.) and Central Chadic (9 incl., 2 excl.) are by far better attested, which agrees well with V. Blažek's (2008: 139) result on the relatively second highest number of Chadic cognates to Omotic roots.

*

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, ʃ, c, č, ɟ), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ʤ), K: any velar stop (k, g, ɣ), Q: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (q, ɢ, ʁ, ʕ), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (ʕ, ʁ, ʕ, h, ʔ). The vertical strokes signify the the degree of closeness of the language groups (e.g. Kotoko | Masa), sub-branches (e.g. North Berber || East Berber), and branches (Semitic ||| Egyptian), from which the individual lexical data are quoted.

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES AND OTHER TERMS

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, CAA: Common Afro-Asiatic, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopic, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gnj.: Ganjule, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi, Jbl.: Jibbali, 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, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, Omt.: Ometo, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm(d): Tawllemmet, Wlt.: Wolaytta.



ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich (as quoted in Lukas 1937, 1941), AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirski, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Grt.: Grottanelli, GT: Takács, IL: Institute of Linguistics, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Ins.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KM: Kießling & Mous, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Nct.: Nachtigal, NM: Newman & Ma, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, PW: Plazikowsky & Wagner, Rn.: Reinisch, Rsl.: Rössler, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge.

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