

Omotic Lexicon in Its Afro-Asiatic Setting IX: Further Addenda to the Omotic Roots with *b- + Sibilants (Part 2)

Gábor TAKÁCS*

Department of Classical Philology, University of Łódź (UL), Łódź, Poland

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ABSTRACT

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

KEYWORDS

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

* Corresponding author. E-mail: gabtak@datatrans.hu

In the blessed memory of Prof. M.L. Bender (1934–2008),
the pioneer of Omotic descriptive and comparative studies¹

INTRODUCTION

Omotic (West Ethiopia) and Chadic (Rep. of Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria), i.e., the 5th and 6th branches,² respectively, of the immense Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) language macrofamily have so far been the least studied ones from the standpoint of their external lexical correspondences compared with the other four branches: Cushitic (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania), Berber (Maghreb),³ Egyptian and Semitic. In Chadic, at least, we have the unique⁴ and lasting achievements accumulated by O.V. Stolbova (Moscow) over the past five decades of her permanent and fruitful research for both its inner reconstruction and its external comparison. This kind of research on the inherited Afro-Asiatic stock of the Omotic root inventory, let alone the elaboration of the underlying historical phonology, has by far been advanced in this branch to the same extent as in Chadic, even though this branch, according to both the isomorphic and provisory glottochronological calculations, appears as the very first unity of the Afro-Asiatic

¹ It was just a quarter of a century ago that our correspondence started in 1996 which had lasted until the last days of his enormously fruitful research and life. I had eagerly awaited meeting him in person a year later at the NACAL in March 1997 in Miami where I got to know a determined enthusiast of his field. It is (ar)o(u)n(d) the 15th anniversary of his passing away (Jan. 2008) that this part of the series ‘Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting’ was written with vivid recollections on Lionel Bender’s unforgettable figure: a modest and solid scholar with an ability to permanently produce an enormous quantity of output, doomed in his last two decades as a retired professor of a provincial university to an intellectual solitude in his Carbondale hermitage, where he had been so keen on continuing until the very end our long, almost daily, rather corpulent correspondence (1996–2007), from where I had the privilege of sharing precious insights in our researches and lives. Our permanent correspondence had become especially intense after I had moved to Frankfurt in summer 1999 to begin my Humboldt research, when we had heard from one another almost on a daily basis, which had more or less remained so frequent until his end (thus mounting probably to several hundreds of letters). I am probably one of the few having stimulated his long march towards the completion of his epoch-maker book on Omotic comparative phonology and lexicon, whose free copy no. 1 was sent me on the 15th August 2003 with a dedication ‘to Gabor – for inspiring me to keep at it. Lionel’, which I am so much proud of.

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, 1976a, 1976b) and by M.L. Bender (1975), cf. also Fleming & Bender (1976), who established Omotic as a separate (i.e. 5th) branch of Afro-Asiatic, distinct from Cushitic. The Afro-Asiatic classification has thence become complete and so it is presently valid, which has been recently presented in a practically complete up-to-date list in EDE I: 9–34.

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’ commonly accepted in all international circles of Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics also.

⁴ Due homage should be paid, of course, to the merits of P. Newman (1966, 1977) and H. Jungraithmayr (JS 1981, JI 1994) too, but their output is, nevertheless, no match for that of A.B. Dolgopolsky (1930–2012) in this regard, both in terms of quantity or quality, nor to that of his apprentice, O.V. Stolbova, who focused solely on Chadic consonantal-lexical reconstruction with ingenious insights into its AA relations over the half a century of her enormously fruitful research, following in the footsteps and reminiscent of the skills of her sometime Muscovite master, one of the most original experts of AA comparative consonantism ever, may his memory be blessed.



parental community to have branched off (cf. Takács 2015) and so promises to end up as the inventory consisting of the most archaic segments of the Common Afro-Asiatic (CAA) lexicon.

We owe much to H.C. Fleming, M.L. Bender, and M. Lamberti for their pioneering studies on the internal lexical comparison and phonological reconstruction of Omotic. The latter two authors did even manage to produce monographs on the subject,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, the very first book by M. L. Bender (1975) contains merely a loosely composed list of supposed parallels to Omotic roots in- and outside Afro-Asiatic, but this attempt, unfortunately, had not even reached the level of J.H. Greenberg's (1955, 1963) 'mass comparison', and is nothing more than a collection of putative guesses on often unconvincing look-alikes.

But, whereas that was understandable half of a century before, as the unity and structure of this 5th branch had not even been recognized by that time at all, today, in the era of a more advanced inter-branch comparison as demonstrated in the masterpieces by Ch. Rabin, A.B. Dolgopolsky and his pupil, O.V. Stolbova, this method is no longer tenable. For the case of Omotic, this demand has first been formulated perhaps by Ch. Ehret (1979: 52) in his assessment of M.L. Bender's (1975: chapter 5) Omotic-AA comparative lexicon: *'It is indicative of the rapid advances ... in phonological reconstruction within different recognized branches of Afroasiatic that we can already begin to consider refining Bender's core vocabulary comparisons with a view toward identifying true cognates and lexical isoglosses that define a possible pattern among the six branches, and toward evaluating the conclusions about the Omotic relationship to the rest of Afroasiatic implied by Bender's grammatical isoglosses.'* However, Ehret (1979: 53–56) only listed just a few sets of isoglosses between Omotic and the diverse branches of Afro-Asiatic. But farther than this he has not reached either except for arriving at some tentative estimation of Omotic's position among the Afro-Asiatic branches.⁶ Thereby, Ehret (1979: 61) has concluded to a few historical implications as for the dispersal of the parental PAA community, their spread through North Africa. As for the *'Vocabulary and phonological reconstructions'*, accordingly, Ehret has suggested a valid and truly supportable option for handling Omotic core lexical stock as an especially archaic segment reflecting the most ancient layer of the parental Afro-Asiatic vocabulary void of subsequent areal innovations (that is, like the well-known Twareg-Chadic parallels, not loans, or Berbero-Cushitic isoglosses).⁷ One must add here a similar pilot study into the Omotic lexicon by H.-J. Sasse (1981: 147–148), perhaps the most rigorous and convincing *reconstructeur* ever in Afro-Asiatic aside

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

⁶ Ch. Ehret (1979: 68): *'The final cognation percentage range is that between Omotic and all the rest, at a startlingly low average of about 1%. Only among the neighboring ... Omotic and Cushitic languages ..., especially Omoto and Highland East Cushitic, and between Eastern Omotic speeches and Eastern Cushitic (and sometimes between Omotic and Agew) do Omotic scores ... much exceed 0–2%. ... Bender's conclusion that Omotic forms one primary branch of the Afroasiatic family versus ... all the rest ... stands up.'*

⁷ Ehret (1979: 61–62): *'a number of intermediate stages will have to be reconstructed also if the truly proto-Afroasiatic remnants are to be effectively distinguished from later but geographically widespread innovations. Semitic will need to be compared first against Berber and Egyptian to see if confirmatory phonological innovations linking the three as against the rest of the family turn up. Similarly there should be shared Cushitic phonological developments attesting that grouping and, at a deeper remove, innovations setting off 'Erythraic' from Omotic. ... The over-weight of knowledge ... on Semitic ... can be felt in the common tendency to treat Semitic as most representative of the original state ...'*



from great Dolgopolsky, for whom the only plausible way of treating cognates was the classical neo-grammarian approach.⁸ This is how the idea of applying it at last for Omotic also occurred to him (1981: 148–149): ‘*Wie man auf diese Weise zu Ergebnissen gelangen kann, soll im folgenden am Beispiel des Omotischen demonstriert werden*’ especially because ‘*... scheint nun seine Afroasizität mehr und mehr in Zweifel gezogen zu werden.*’ Thus, ‘*... es sei sinnvoll, bei vergleichenden Untersuchungen das Omotische zunächst auszuklammern ...: Berberisch und Semitisch sind ganz offensichtlich miteinander verwandt ... Zieht man jedoch das Omotische hinzu, so vermindert sich die Anzahl der Isoglossen plötzlich so stark ...*’ Nevertheless, Sasse (1981: 149) confessed: ‘*Über die Afroasizität des Omotischen denke ich heute nicht mehr ganz so pessimistisch wie vor acht Jahren, da mir heute mehr Material zur Verfügung steht, das mein Bild vom Omotischen leicht verschoben hat.*’⁹ Then Sasse proposed all in all just 4 Omotic vs. Afro-Asiatic matches making this pioneer study, however, a real pioneering masterpiece (even venturing to establish certain consonantal correlates), a promising forerunner¹⁰ of the present series ‘Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting’.

As for the internal consonantal correspondences of the Omotic groups, our vision is still just forming as no definitive and thoroughly demonstrated *Lautgeschichte* of Omotic has been achieved as yet in a convincing neo-grammarian manner as it was completed in some other luckier Afro-Asiatic branches like Semitic (cf. esp. Kogan 2009 and 2011), Berber (Kossmann 1999) or East Cushitic (Sasse 1979). But the tentative results by M.L. Bender (1987: 23–28, 31–32; 1988: 122–127, 136–137, 139–144; 2003: 310–313), even if these are based on an extensive Greenbergian ‘mass comparison’ of the basic vocabulary, are, so to say, of a precious orientation value for our research, as well as the masterful treatment of Omotic sibilant correspondences by R. Hayward (1988), whereas the outlines of Omotic consonantal matches by Ch. Ehret (1995: 9–12) and M. Lamberti & R. Sottile (1997: 253–260) are, unfortunately, to be treated with much more caution for a few reasons.¹¹

and the others as diverging from the prototype in whatever degree ... From what the vocabulary isoglosses suggest, even the occurrence of a feature through all the Afroasiatic divisions except Omotic does not guarantee its proto-Afroasiatic presence. ... Omotic might be more typical of proto-Afroasiatic in many features ...

⁸ Namely, in his words (l.c.): ‘*das Aufzeigen von Zusammenhängen, die nur dann einen Sinn ergeben, wenn man vom Zugrundeliegen eines gemeinsamen Ursystems ausgeht. Solche Zusammenhänge sind ... nicht leicht aufzufinden ...: je breiter gestreut die Gemeinsamkeiten sind, desto unwahrscheinlicher ist, daß sie auf Entlehnung oder Zufall zurückzuführen sind. Wesentlich ist dabei vor allem ... die Unterscheidung von Neuerungen und Archaismen ... – man schämt sich fast, das auszusprechen, so selbstverständlich sollte es sein.*’

⁹ Detailing the ‘*Uneinheitlichkeit*’ of the Omotic conjugational patterns (suggesting a ‘*Neuerung*’) as well as its pronominal systems, ‘*bei denen offenbar ältere und jüngere Schichten zu unterscheiden sind*’, Sasse (1981: 149–150) found personally ‘*noch interessanter ... als die morphologischen Afroasiatismen des Omotischen ... eine Reihe von Wortschatzgleichungen. Auch im Wortschatz des Omotischen ist bei flüchtiger Betrachtung sehr wenig Afroasiatisches zu erkennen. Fast alles, was sich beim ersten Durchsehen von Wortlisten anbietet, stellt sich bald als kuschitisches oder semitisches Lehnwort heraus. Sobald man jedoch ein bißchen tiefer eindringt, findet man plötzlich ein Paar echte ‘Leckerbissen’, die ... als Entlehnung nicht nur aus prinzipiellen Erwägungen, sondern einfach mangels einer Quelle ausgeschlossen ist.*’

¹⁰ Sasse (1981: 152): ‘*Dieser Art Beispiele findet man bei eingehender Untersuchung eine ... Reihe. ... es sei nur angemerkt ..., daß das Omotische einen vielversprechenden Kandidaten für die Mitgliedschaft im afroasiatischen Verein abgibt.*’

¹¹ Aside from just *ex cathedra* composing the table of ‘*Provisional Omotic Consonant Reconstructions*’ stated (op. cit., p. 10) as ‘*differing only slightly from*’ the outcome of Bender 1988, Ch. Ehret (1995: 10–12), has failed to present a detailed demonstration for every single rule. One can hardly be satisfied by his vague reference to his



As for the elaboration of Afro-Asiatic inter-branch comparative phonology, in turn, already Ch. Ehret (1979: 52)¹² has proposed a working hypothesis in general at the same time when, independently and more precisely elaborated, the former Diakonoff team¹³ has presented their substantially similar new vision of the Proto-Afro-Asiatic phonological reconstruction (esp. as for the affricates and the postvelars)¹⁴ and some items of the inter-branch correlates which my own research has fundamentally corroborated (cf. esp. Takács 2011a). These are the principles we are following in this investigation also.

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

In my experience, in the light of the above enumerated scarce research record, I venture to claim that perhaps this branch represents the least-cultivated field within the whole Afro-Asiatic domain from the viewpoint of a systematic etymological elaboration of its immense inherited lexical treasures. This new series for the ‘Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting’¹⁵ started some decade ago precisely for filling as many as possible of the innumerable gaps in the scanty etymological research on Omotic. The etymological entries 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 principles of elaborating the cognate sets, I have long been adhering to the methods of AA inter-branch comparison so masterfully practised by A.B. Dolgopolskij, a genuine mastermind of AA comparative-historical phonology and lexicon, in a whole series of his brilliant

‘data’ (in general) drawn from Bender 1971 that are ‘confirmed and expanded upon by other materials’ like Mocha (Leslau 1959), Koyra (Hayward 1982), Omoto (Hayward 1987), Yemsa, Bench/Benesho, Ari (Hayward 1990), from which, Ehret has only quoted some items sporadically scattered throughout his AA comparative lexicon (composed along an all too high quantity of methodological blunders, cf. Takács 2018: 237–239, §I), grasped out of their respective Omotic comparative contexts. On the other hand, M. Lamberti’s daring vision of Cushito-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 1993c vs. Fleming 1992 and 1993.

¹² He even specified some of the ‘the correspondence patterns ... in roots of inter-branch occurrence ...: (1) Reconstructible voiced stops in one branch normally correspond’ to the same ones ‘in the others ... (2) Emphatics tend to correspond to emphatics; where an emphatic is validly equivalent to a non-emphatic, the non-emphatic will be in a language which has deleted or greatly reduced or restricted the occurrence of emphatics ... (3) Laterals in one branch will correspond usually to laterals in other branches ...’

¹³ SISAJa I-III (in Russian from 1981–6), revised English version: HCVA I–V (from 1993–7).

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ So far the following parts of this series have been published over the past ca. decade: Takács 2011b, Takács 2021a, 2021b, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c.



etymological studies from the 1980s.¹⁶ This is primarily whence I have also elaborated for my AA research the principles of ‘bi/tripolar mirror’ of comparison (on which cf. especially Takács 2011a: 19 in general and with further literature) originally for the case of Egypto-Semitic vs. South Cushitic examined by me since 1998,¹⁷ but then extended also for numerous other branches/groups of AA.¹⁸

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

OM. *B- + SIBILANTS (PART 2)¹⁹

260. NOm.: Gamu bättse ‘pot’ [Hayward apud Bender 2003: 320, #68: isolated in NWOmoto] ||| ECh. *ḃVsa, regular < *ḃ/ʔs [GT]: Gabri basa ‘Eṣtopf’ [Lukas], Kabalay besaa ‘Eṣtopf’ [Lukas], Lele ḃàsa ‘poterie’ [WP 1982: 9] | Somray bisa [AF] = busa [GD] = búsa ‘Kochtopf’ [Lukas] = ḃəsà ‘marmite’ [Jng. 1978: 181],²⁰ Ndam ḃəs ‘pot’ [OS < ?] (ECh.: Lukas 1937: 77, 87, 92) ||| HECu.: (?) Burji béys-à ‘clay pen’ [Straube 1955 apud Sasse 1982: 35: isolated in Cu.] = bayš (m), beyš-à (f) ‘griddle, clay pen’ [Hudson 1989: 73, 180: isolated in HECu.] ||| Eg. b3s²¹ ‘Art Salbgefäß’ (CT,

¹⁶ Cf. the fundamental studies by A.B. Dolgopolsky 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).

¹⁷ Cf. Takács 1999b: 393–426; 2000a: 69–117; 2003: 143–162; 2005a: 65–83; 2005b: 213–225 and 2010: 91–122. For the case of Ma’a sibilants see Takács 2002a: 109–133; 2009b: 125–131: Ma’a š-; 2009c: 135–142.

¹⁸ E.g. I was using the Eg./Sem. mirror for the following cases: NBrb.: Tamazight ḏ- and ḑ- (Takács 2006), EBrb.: Ghadames ḏ- + SBrb.: Ahaggar h (Takács 2000d: 333–356; 2004b: 31–65; 2011a: 83–103); Agaw/CCu. (Takács 2012a: 85–118), ECu. *ā (Takács 2000a: 197–204; 2011a: 110–111), LECu.: Rendille ž- (Takács 2001a: 265–269; 2011a: 112–114); WCh.: Bole-Tangale (Takács 1999a: 2000b: 127–143); CCh.: Musgu and Masa h- vs. ḥ- (Takács 2013: 153–184); ECh.: Mokilko (Takács 2002b: 145–161); ECh.: Dangla-Migama (Takács 2009–2010: 133–148: Bidiya b-; Takács 2009a: 119–124: Bidiya č- and ž-).

¹⁹ Continued from part VIII of my series, see Takács 2021b.

²⁰ V. Orel & O. Stolbova (l.c.) quoted Somray busa separately from Sibine ḃəsa, although Sibine is identical with Somray, and the two forms in question are two different records (by J. Lukas vs. H. Jungraithmayr, respectively) of the same word.

²¹ An old word. The hieroglyph for b3s depicts a ‘sealed oil jar’ (EG¹ 1927: 527, W2).



Wb I: 423, 4–5) = ‘jar’ (FD 78) = ‘kind of vase, Art Vase’ (NBÄ = Osing 1976: 228–229)²² = ‘pot à onguent, balsamaire’ (V., AL 77.1181) = ‘unguent’ (NE 1x, DLE I: 146) = ‘1. Salbgefäß (in Form der Hieroglyphe), 2. Salbe’ (GHWb 242) → Dem. bs ‘wohl ein Gefäß aus Metall’ (DG 122:5) = ‘an object of metal, probably a vase’ (CED) → Coptic (S) **ΒΑC** ‘a utensil of bronze’ (CED 27) = ‘ein Gefäß’ (NBÄ) = ‘ein Gefäß aus Metall’ (KHW 27) ||| Sem.: (???)²³ Akk. *bi’ištū²⁴ [GT] → (j/spBab.) bi’iltu → biltu ‘ein Gefäß für Öl und Butter’ [AHW 125] = bi’iltu ‘(an alabastron, e.g., with fine oil)’ [CAD b: col. 223b] || Imperial Aram. bys’ ‘pétrin (?)’ [DRS 62: *bys] < PAA (?) *ba’uc- (?)²⁵ ‘vessel’ [OS]. The Eg.-ECh. equation is due to V.É. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (HSED: #162).

261. NOm.: Basketo bēts ‘ax’ [Bender 2003: 325, #3]: unlike NOm.: Wolayta fäsiya^a ‘axe’ and some similar further terms in Cushitic,²⁶ this can hardly be regarded as a loan from any of the reflexes of PSem. (?) *pa’s- ‘axe’ [Skinner].²⁷ The direct source of Basketo ‘ax’ must lie elsewhere.

262. NOm.: Konta botsa ‘fat, grease’ [Bender 2003: 16, #46: isolated]²⁸ ||| CCh.: Paduko mza [< *mbza?] ‘graisse’ [Mouchet] | Matakam bussā ‘Fett’ [Strümpell] = mbúza ‘graisse’ [Mouchet] | Daba (Musgoy) bēsā ‘Fett’ [Strümpell] = mbza ‘graisse’ [Mouchet 1966: 137] = mbizā ‘graisse’ [LG 1975: 99], Hina mbəsa ‘graisse’ [Mouchet], Gawar msa [GT: < *mbsa] ‘Fett’ [Strümpell] | Mak-eri bisō ~ bisē ‘huile’ [Lebeuf], Afade mḃisu ‘huile’ [Lebeuf] (Kotoko: Lebeuf 1942: 167; CCh.: Strümpell 1922–3, 127; Mouchet 1950: 42) ||| SAgaw: Awngi buzz-it- ‘to be fat’ [Hetron apud Bender 1973 MS: 4, #26] = bəzzi ‘fat’ [Leyew 1994: 6] ||| Sem.: Amh. abbäsā ‘grease, oil’ [Leslau] = ‘oindre de beurre’ [DRS], cf. Geez √ʔbs II: ʔabbasa ‘to feed, fatten, satiate’ [Leslau] (ES: DRS 4: isolated in Sem.; Leslau 1987: 6) < PAA *√b[c/3] ‘fat’ [GT]. Cf. EDE II: 321–322; EAAN I: 25, #44.

262.1. NAA *√bšr ‘some oil, fat’ [GT] > ES: Gafat buššəra ‘graisse’ [Leslau 1956: 191: isolated in ES] ||| Eg. *bš3.t, occurs in: bš3 šmʕj.t ‘une huile’ (MK, AL 77.1321) = ‘(obs.) ein Öl’ (GHWb 262).

262.2. NAA *√bč ‘to grow fat’ [GT] > Sem.: Ar. √bzz IV ‘engraisser, devenir gras, bazz- and bazzīz- ‘gras, bazzāz-at- ‘homme bizarre, original’ [BK I: 139; DRS 61, btt2: isolated in Sem.] =

²² J. Osing (1976: 228–229) derived Eg. b3s ‘Art Vase’ from b3s ‘ausschneiden’ (Osing) = ‘to devour’ (CT, FD 78). Semantically unconvincing.

²³ The Sem. comparanda being dubious, the PAA age of the word is also doubtful.

²⁴ Its Sem. etymology is problematic. W. von Soden (AHW l.c.) treated the Akk. word as a fem. of bi’išu ‘schlecht’. The CAD (l.c.) too, referred to a derivation from ba’āšu A ‘1. to smell bad, be of a bad quality, etc.’ [CAD b: 4].

²⁵ Phonologically problematic. Apparently, the match of ECh. *b- and Eg. -3- supports assuming an underlying *√bʔs.

²⁶ E.g., NAgaw: Bilin fas ‘axe’, LECu.: Oromo fāsi ‘big axe’, Konso fāsē-ta ‘axe’, HECu.: Hadiya fāsa ‘axe’ etc., which, surprisingly, were derived by M. Lamberti and R. Sottile (1997: 356) from Old Sem. *√pšh ‘to break with an object’ via ES *√pšh ‘to reduce to pieces’. The Semitic term was borrowed into Cushitic and Chadic also (cf. HSED: #1915) and even Bantu *-pāčā ‘axe’ [Guthrie 1971: 135].

²⁷ Cf. Akk. pāštu (m) > pāltu, also pāšu (m) ‘Beil, Axt’ [AHW 846] || Ug. pš₂ ‘Axt (als Symbol des Blitzstrahls)’ [WUS #2288] | Ar. faʔs- ‘hache’ [BK II 529] || MSA: Jibbali fōs ‘axe’ [Johnstone 1981: 51], Mehri fōs, fəwāst ‘axe, matchet’ [Johnstone 1987: 86], Soqotri faʔs ‘hache’ [Leslau 1938: 333] || ES: Amh. fas ‘axe’ [Lamberti]. Combined by N. Skinner (1996: 66) with the reflexes of (W)Ch. *fas- ‘arrow’ [Schuh 1982: 17] = *pasA ‘срѣна’ [Stolbova 1986: 82] and even Eg. pzḥ ‘to sting, bite’, which is all too vague. But S. Fraenkel (1886: 12), quoted by W. Leslau (l.c.) also, suggests a chain of borrowing in Semitic (instead of a genetic heritage from a common parental noun): Arabic < Aramaic < Akkadian.

²⁸ Its derivation from the homophonous root for ‘white’ disagrees with its connection with the cognates for ‘fat’ listed here.



bazz- (masdar, verbal noun) ‘to grow fat’ [Ehret],²⁹ cf. also Ar. $\sqrt{bzy}$ I: baziya and bazā ‘être charnu, épais’ [DRS 61, bty: isolated in Sem.] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar bezuži ‘être gonflé (ventre), avoir le ventre gonflé (personne, animal) pour une cause qq. (grossesse, maladie, avoir trop mangé ou bu)’ [DRB 157: isolated in Brb.].

262.3. Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{b\dot{d}m}$ I: baḍama ‘commencer à grandir, à prendre de la grosseur (se dit des céréales)’ [BK I: 134] = baḍama ‘commencer à grossir (céréales)’ [DRS 77: isolated in Sem.]³⁰ = baḍm- (masdar, verbal noun) ‘to grow thick in grain, swell by degrees’ [Ehret]³¹ < AA $\sqrt{b\dot{c}}$ [GT].

263. NOM.: Anfillo butts- ‘to hit’ [Moges & Teshome apud Bender 2003: 341, #43: isolated] ||| PCh. $\sqrt{bV[c]}$ ³² ‘2. to strike’ [CLD]: WCh.: Sura (Mwaghavul) bʼayās ‘to destroy, flatten’ (CLD: internal *-k- pl.) [Blench 2009b apud CLD] | Bole bēēši ‘beating (drum)’ [GAB 2004 quoted in CLD] || ECh.: EDangla bàasē ‘gifler’ [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973 quoted in CLD] (Ch.: CLD VI: 74, #151)³³ ||| ECu.: cf. Burji būs- ‘to thresh’ [Sasse] ||| Sem. biliteral $\sqrt{bbs}$ ‘to tread’ [GT]: Hbr. $\sqrt{bws}$ ‘tread down’ [KB 114] vs. Aram bʼsas, Mandaic bsus, NHbr. bāsas ‘fouler aux pieds’ [DRS 73] < AA $\sqrt{bcc}$ [CLD]. Ch.-Burji-Sem. (*sine* NOM.): CLD VI: 74, #151.

264. NOM.: Gimirra-Benesho (Bench-non) basʼ ‘(on) top (of)’ [Wedekind 1990: 99 apud Ehret and Skinner]³⁴ ||| WCh.: Hausa bisà ‘1. (prep.) on (to), 2. (adv.) up above, 3. (Sokoto dialect) (m) the top, bisàn (prep.) ‘above, bisàá ‘2. height, bisà-bisà (adj.) ‘superficial’ [Abr. 1962: 105] = bisà ‘above, up, sky, top’ (sic) [Skinner], Gwandara biši [-ši < *-si] ‘1. sky, 2. ceiling, 3. up’ [Matsushita 1972: 27] ||| Sem.: perhaps Ar. basaqa ‘être grand, altier’ [DRS 73: isolated in Sem.] = busūq- ‘to be high, surpass’ [Ehret] < PAA $\sqrt{bās}$ ‘top’ [Ehret]. Bench-WCh.: Skinner 1996: 22–23. The Arabo-Bench match is due to Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 15, #1091). This AA root finds further root varieties:

264.1. SAA $\sqrt{pS}$ (*b-?) ‘sky’ [GT] > WCh. $\sqrt{Ps}$ ‘sky’ [JS 1981: 234, B₂]³⁵ | Ron: Daffo-Butura fāsà [GT: f- reg. < *b-] ‘1. Himmel, 2. Oben, 3. auf-’ [Jng. 1970: 214] ||| SCu. $\sqrt{pas/c}$ (?) ‘sky’ [Ehret] based solely on ERift: Qwadza pas-iko ‘sky’ [Ehret 1980b MS: 2; 1980a: 339].³⁶ The Bench-

²⁹ Equated by Ch. Ehret (1995: 112, #101) with LECu.: Afar buḍḍ-e (f) ‘penis’ [PH 1985: 139] and NOM.: Bench(non) pūč (pre-Bench $\sqrt{pūč}$ -) ‘many, much’ < AA $\sqrt{pūč}$ - ‘to increase (intr.)’. For Ar. bazz- ‘to grow fat’, he assumed an innovation < *‘to increase’.

³⁰ In the DRS l.c., only a reference is made to its root variety in Ar. buḍm- ‘corpulence’, ʾa-bḍam-at ‘avoir les parties génitales gonflées (chamelle en chaleur)’ [DRS 47, BDM1: equally isolated in Sem.].

³¹ Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with ECu.: Gollango paḍ-aww- ‘to add to’ < AA $\sqrt{baḷ}$ - (*-dl-) ‘to increase’.

³² O. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) remark to this reconstruction was a reference back to her entry: ‘See footnote 29 (№133)’, where she was equally puzzled about the precise nature of the C₂ sibilant: ‘In all the languages supporting this entry reflexes of AA *s & *c have fallen together as s’ (CLD VI 70, fn. 29).

³³ O. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) compared also CCh.: Munjuk bizi ‘presser’, Mulwi bizi ‘appuyer, masser’ (CLD: regular voicing), Mbara bās ‘appuyer’ explained from a PCh. Meaning ‘1. to press’, but these seem semantically to represent a distinct root.

³⁴ Equated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 15, #1091) with LECu.: Afar bas-o ‘forehead’.

³⁵ This reconstruction was based solely on Daffo and Pa’a as a root var. to PCh. $\sqrt{pt}$ ‘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.

³⁶ Unless to be segmented as $\sqrt{pa}$ -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 $\sqrt{pis}$ ‘to dawn, become day’ [KM 2004: 225].



WCh. isogloss was directly equated by N. Skinner (1996: 22–23) with PRift *pac- (*-ts-) ‘sky’ and a number of phonologically untenable parallels.³⁷

264.2. Om. *bVz- ‘1. sky, 2. star’ [GT]³⁸ > NOm.: Zayse baz-ō ‘1. Dio-Cielo (divinità pagana dei Cusciti), 2. cielo’ [Cerulli 1938 III: 201]³⁹ = báz-o ‘god’ [Hayward], Zayse and Zergulla ‘bazo ‘God’ [Siebert & Hoefl 1994: 15, #127] (SEOmeto: Bender 2003: 87, #60) < (???) AA *bayz- ‘sun, day, star’ [Kruglyj-Enke] = *bež- ‘sun, day’ [OS] = *√b₃ ‘(light of) star’ [GT].⁴⁰ Discussed in detail in EDE II 293–294; Blažek 2008: 129, §81.4; OmAA IV = Takács 2022: 135–136, #97.

265. NOm. *bEs- ‘to complete’ [GT]: Gimirra-Benesho (Benchnon) bes ‘to fill up (of udder)’ [Wedekind 1990: 99] | Mao-Sezo bæssia ‘all’ [Atieb & Bender in Bender 2003: 268, #1: isolated], perhaps < POm. **bEc- (???), cf. SOM.: Dime bašıl ‘full’ [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 210, #57: isolated in Om.???]⁴¹ ||| Ch. **bVc- > *√bVc- (CLD: shift of emphasis) ‘to gather, fill’ [CLD]: WCh.: Hausa báácè (Abr.: -ts-, CLD: -ts’-) ‘to fill to the brim, be full to the brim’, bácia-bácia ‘abundantly’ [Abr. 1962: 89] | Guus mbaacá ‘to gather, collect’ [Caron quoted in CLD] || CCh.: Bana bàsè ‘se réunir, rassembler’, hence bàsəvā ‘collection, réunion’ [LG 2002 in CLD] | Paduko mbēcāca ‘chose nombreuse’ [Jarvis and Lagona 2005 quoted in CLD] | Mafa biç- ‘rassembler’ [Br.-Bléis 1990: 95] || ECh.: Lele bàsi ‘entasser’, bàsè ‘entassement’ [WP 1982: 9] (Ch.: CLD VI: 75–76, #156) ||| Sem.: Ar. √bš ‘réunir, ramasser’ [BK I: 132; DRS 77: isolated in Sem.]. The Ar.-Ch. match (along with some uncertain parallels)⁴² is due to CLD VI: 75–76, #156.

266. NOm.: Chara bos ‘piangere (to cry, weep)’ [Cerulli 1938 III: 165 quoted also in Bender 2003: 85, #32] ||| NBrb.: Wargla bbesbes ‘chuchoter, parler à voix basse’, Figuig besbes ‘piauler (oiseau)’, (?) Shawya bisbis ‘grillon’ (onomatopée?) (NBrb.: DRB 130, BS11).

267. NOm.: Yemsa bos ‘to drink’ (royal) [Bender in Bender 2003: 162, #37]: unless this is merely a strengthened (?) form of POM. *i/uš- ‘to drink’ [Bender 2003: 302, #37], and provided a separate etymon with *b- really existed in Omotic, cf. Eg. bsb ‘(subst. de sens inconnu)’ (CT hapax, AL II: 129, #1366), which, written with a determinative denoting an activity with/in the mouth in a difficult context,⁴³ might represent a possible candidate for being cognate.

³⁷ Such as WCh.: Gwandara pitaši, NCu.: Bed. bire ‘sky’, LECu.: Oromo fiṭē ‘top’, HECu.: Sidamo birṭe ‘top’ and even Eg. bj3 (transliterated therein as bāa à la Budge) and p.t ‘sky’.

³⁸ 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’.

³⁹ For a different NOm./AA etymology of the Zayse word see EDE II: 293–294.

⁴⁰ 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.

⁴¹ Unless this is to be segmented as *bəs-il- with an obscure suffix (discussed further above under entry no. 259).

⁴² E.g., WCh.: Guus mbāčī ‘heap’ [Caron] vs. SCu.: Iraqw bac (-ts) ‘to store’ [KM 2004] which are not even mutually related and belong elsewhere, cf. S’AA *√bs (act. *bus) ‘to heap up’ [GT] (discussed in EAAN I: 26, #48) vs. PAA *√bc ‘to store’ [GT] (discussed in EAAN I: 24–25, #41).

⁴³ CT V 43c-e: (c) sd=k m k3 (n) n^c.w (d) p_h=k m bsb (e) m wnm ‘Your tail is the bull n^cw-snake, your hinder parts are ...’ as rendered by R.O. Faulkner (AECT II: 13, Spell 379, fn. 4), who remained reserved as to this puzzling passage: ‘I can make nothing of bsb m wnm’. He has similarly fully misunderstood the following passage (labelled simply as ‘obscure’) mj n=j tr ḥr.w n b3ḥ=k jw.t=f rf jm=j as ‘Come to me, o Horus, for your phallus. May he come’ (where he ignored both the enclitic particle *tr* expressing surprise, indignation and *jw.t=f* as a typical subjunctive form of *jw* ‘to come/go’ as well as *jm=j* ‘from me’ in the end), although the sense is pretty clear here at the end of



Ad OmAA IV 139, #105. NOm.: Chara buosā ~ bōsā ‘capra’ [Cerulli 1938 III: 165] = **bōsa** ‘goat’ [Fleming] | Kachama (Gats’ama, Haruro) bēši ‘goat’ [Siebert 1994: 15, #146] (isolated in SEOmto: Bender 2003: 333, #40) | Shinasha bušāyá ‘Kleinvieh’ [Lamberti 1993a: 287] ||| LECu.: Oromo bušāʔē ‘goat (esp. Shewa)’ [Gragg 1982: 71] = bushāʔeʔ [Lamberti] ||| WCh. *bus-(uru) ‘he-goat’ [GT] from which I (Takács 2022: 139, #105) have already set up **SAA *bus-** ‘goat’ [GT], which has been enriched now in the CLD VI: 71, #135 by some further Chadic cognates from CCh.: Bana bās(ə) ‘bouc’ [LG 2002 quoted in CLD] | Paduko bišera ‘grand bouc’ [Jarvis and Lagona quoted in CLD] < Ch. *bus- ‘he-goat’ > *bus-Vr- ‘big he-goat’ [CLD], that was my proposal also in OmAA IV: l.c. (our ideas having emerged almost simultaneously and certainly independently). Some further cognates:

105.2. Our root finds, in addition to WCh.: Hausa bòòžóó ‘stunted goat’ [Abr. 1962: 109] (suggested in OmAA IV: #105.1.), a further root variety with a voiced C_2 in what O. Stolbova reconstructs as **Ch. *bVz-** ‘hairy (goat)’ [CLD]: WCh.: Hausa búzúrúwá ‘long-haired goat or sheep’ [Abr. 1962: 128] | Karekare bàzāa ‘hairy sheep or goat’ [Gambo and Karofi in CLD], Ngamo bàzā ‘hairy goat’ [NEH apud CLD] (Ch.: CLD VI: 74, #148).⁴⁴

268. NOm.: Hozo bāstì ‘to wash, bathe’ [Siebert & Wedekind apud Bender 2003: 281, #144] ||| Ch. *√mbs ‘to wash (body?)’ [JS 1981: 282C]⁴⁵ = *√b₂s ‘to wash (body, things) / se laver, faire la lessive’ [JI 1994a: 174E]⁴⁶ > WCh.: Bole fuuṣ- [fu- < *b^w-?] ‘to wash (thing)’ [Lukas 1971: 135] |

Spell 379 invented to ward off the *rrk* snakes: ‘Come to me, forsooth/pray, Horus, because of your phallus so that he (i.e., the snake), in turn (rf) goes away from me.’ P. Barguet (1986, 326), in turn, regarded the *m* of *bsb* as the so-called *m der Identität* concluding one sentence, whereas the *m* of *wnm* as the vetitive, which would be a result in asymmetrical construction, rather strange for such Egyptian texts: ‘Ta queue est celle d’un serpent nâou mâle, ton arrière est ... Ne mange pas!’ If, however, one is to follow Barguet’s attractive solution, one would be disposed to consider both *m bsb* and *m wnm* as parallel vetitives: ‘Don’t drink (???) and don’t eat!’, but then nothing would remain to follow *sd=k* ‘your tail’ to form a complete clause making no sense, which can hardly be the case here. D. Meeks (p.c., 29 March 2000) too, knew of this ‘*seul exemple connu*’ where all translations are without an answer. M. Sokolova (Mainz), an eminent expert on the CT, in turn, assumes this hapax form to be a derivative of Eg. *nsb*, i.e., ‘swallowing flame’ (kind p.c. in Oct. 2022). As for my own standpoint, in turn, I find it difficult not to recognize the parallelism of *bsb* ‘drinking (???)’ and *wnm* ‘eating’, both introduced by the same preposition of *m der Identität* in an adverbial ‘A m B’ construction, which would imply translating this passage literally as ‘your hinder parts are drinking (???) and eating’, however strange it sounds at the moment. It is noteworthy that the version B1C has a book-roll determinative after both *bsb* and *wnm* suggesting that both verbal roots were conceived here as abstract *infinitiva* which result grammatically perfectly in what one would expect in such an ‘A m B’ construction where both A and B should be nominal form. That the versions B1L and B3L have in the writing of *bsb* the determinative of a ‘man with hand to mouth’ (A2) indicates that this hapax, used in a parallelism with *wnm* ‘eating’, may have been a rare old word for (some way of) ‘drinking’ (as thought to be performed by snakes). As a result, the point of the whole protective passage is clear: in its first half the features of the dreaded snake are described respectfully where its tail is compared with a male (*k3*, lit. ‘bull’) *n^cw* ‘Art Schlange als göttliches Wesen (auch als Bild der Langlebigkeit)’ (PT-, Wb II: 207) = ‘Riesenschlange’ (ÜKAPT VI 138), while its *ph.wj* can hardly refer here to its ‘hinder parts’ beside its tail but better the ‘(other) end’ (FD 92), i.e., the end where the snake consumes.

⁴⁴ Affiliated by O. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) with the reflexes of her PCh. *buz- ‘beard’ (= ‘hair of hairy goat’). See discussion in entry no. 255.1. above.

⁴⁵ Reconstructed on the basis of (?) Bole, NBauchi (except Diri), Musgu and Masa groups.

⁴⁶ One must oppose a direct equation of Ch. *√bs with PCu.-Om. *mAyAĈ(ĉ)- ‘to wash’ [Dlg.] and Ar. √mwṣ as suggested in JI 1994a: 175: ‘If these Semitic and Cushitic reflexes are indeed cognate with the Chadic root, we might ultimately have to propose, on a pre-Chadic level, *m(-)ṣ, the *b₂ = *mb being a Chadic innovative development.’ Here, one may certainly object that the concordance of plain PCh. *s- with the glottal sibilant was not demonstrated, let



NBauchi *(m)bi/us- > *(m)bəs- ‘to wash’ [GT]⁴⁷ || CCh.: Musgu reflex dubious⁴⁸ | PMasa *mbis ~ *mbus ‘to wash’ [GT]⁴⁹ (Ch.: JI 1994b: 338–339). Part of a large family of root varieties:

268.1. PAA *măc- (*-ts-) ‘to wash’ [Ehret] = *√mc ‘to wash’ [GT]: CCh.: Musgu mása ‘waschen’ [Müller 1886: 400; Roeder and Krause apud Lukas 1937: 142; 1941: 66] = mas ‘to wash’ [Mouchet 1950: 34; JI 1994b: 339] ||| NOm. (Bender: ‘Ta-Ne’) *mas- ‘to wash’ [Bender 2003: 219, #144] = NOm. *mac- (*-ts-) ‘to wash’ [Ehret]⁵⁰ (analyzed ambiguously in Omotic etymological studies)⁵¹ ||| Sem.: Akk. mesû ‘waschen, reinigen’ [AHW 647]. The Musgu-Akk. match was first identified by O. Rössler (1964: 208). Cu.-Om.-Musgu: IS 1965: 349 and 1976: 71, #304; Masa-NOm.: Ehret 2000 MS: 244, #2148 (correcting Ehret 1995: #569).

268.2. Sem. *√mwš:⁵² S’a^odah √mwš: itmāwaš ‘sich waschen’, tmāwaš ‘sich den Mund ausspülen (nach dem Gät-Kauen)’ [Behnstedt 1987: 305], Dathina √mws: mawwas ‘rincer (la bouche, la vaisselle, etc.)’ [GD 2725].

268.3. PAA *√mĉ (var. *√mċ) ‘to wash’ [GT]:⁵³ PCu.-Om. *mAyAĉ(ĉ)- ‘to wash’ [Dlg.]:⁵⁴ NOm. *maydy- ‘to wash’ [Lamberti] = *mayĉ- ‘to wash’ [Ehret]: Wolayta, Dache, Gamu mēĉĉ-, Gofa meĉ- | Yemsa (Janjero) meʔ- [-ʔ- < *-d-] (NOm.: Lamberti 1993a: 358, 362; 1993b: 93; LS 1997: 454) ||| ECu. *mayĉ- ‘to wash’ [Dlg. 1983: 140] = *meyĉ- ‘to wash’ [Ehret]: LECu.: Soma-li-Isaq máyd-ayya ‘to wash’ [Abr. 1964: 176], Oromo miĉĉ- [Thiene, Bell] = miĉ- ‘to wash clothes’

alone for the speculation on a reverse development of Ch. *mb-, the etymological material on which which, after the early and poorly evidenced pilot studies by J.H. Greenberg (1965) and V.M. Illič-Svityč (1966), should be first thoroughly documented before drawing any hasty conclusions.

⁴⁷ Warji bās- (body) [Skinner], Tsagu bus (body) [Skinner], Kariya bāsə (body) [Skinner], Miya bās- (body) [Skinner], Pa’a ndər mbiši (body), mbusu (thing) [M. Skinner], Siri bās- (body) [Skinner], Mburku bus (body) [Skinner], Jimbin mbās- (body) [Skinner].

⁴⁸ In spite of JS 1981: 282C and JI 1994a: 174E, I am disposed now to separate CCh.: Musgu mása ‘waschen’ (Krause, Roeder) [Lukas 1941: 66], with regard to its *-a- stem vowel and pure m- (not mb-), from Ch. *√bs reconstructible from the NBauchi-Masa root above with *mb- and *-i/u- stem vowel.

⁴⁹ Attested by Masa mūs ‘laver’ [Cañtucoli 1983: 119], Masa-Bongor mūs-nà ‘laver’, mūs tú:-ná ‘se laver’ [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 143], Gizey/Wina mūs, Masa mūs, Ham mbūs, Lew mbūs, Marba mbūs ‘baigner, laver, laver un vêtement’ [Ajello *et al.* 2001: 7, 33], Gizey/Wina mūs tūw, Masa mūs tūw, Ham mbūs tòò, Musey mbūs tà, Lew mbūs, Marba mbūs ‘(se) laver’ [Ajello *et al.* 2001: 33], Lame mbis ‘laver (corps)’, mbis mbi ‘(eau)’ ‘se laver, se baigner’, mbis tú ‘(corps)’ ‘(se) laver avec un remède, (se) purifier’ [Sachnine 1982: 308].

⁵⁰ Attested by Male *mas- ‘to wash, bathe’ [GT] > mask- [Donham] = mašt- [Siebert] | Chara más [Aklilu Yilma] = mäst- [Fleming] ‘to wash, bathe’ (Chara: Bender 2003: 96, #144) | Gimirra²-Yemsa-Kefoid *mas- ‘to wash’ [Bender 2003: 177, #144] > Gimirra-Benesho *mas-(k)- ‘to wash’ [GT after Bender 2003: 177, #144] = mas(k)³ [Hayward apud Ehret] | Yemsa *mas- ‘to wash’ [GT after Bender 2003: 177, #144] = mäs- [Ehret] | Kefoid *maĉ- ‘to wash’ [Bender 2003: 177, #144] = *maš/s- [GT]: Kafa mächĉ-, Mocha mäs-, Shinasha maš- Shinasha maš- ‘waschen’ (Kefoid: Lamberti 1993a: 362).

⁵¹ The Male word was glossed in Bender 2003: 63, #144 distinctly from NWometo *mEĉ- ‘to wash, bathe’. Bender 2003: 177, #144, in turn: Macro-Ometo borrowed < LECu.: Oromo miĉĉa. The Chara word was combined in Bender 2003: 122, #144 with *√mĉ, for which he referred to AA *√mws (Cohen 1947: #487), but stating here too that the probable source of the Ometo is in Oromo miĉĉa. Elsewhere, M.L. Bender (2003: 193, #144) assumed Ta-Ne *mas- to have been loaned into Chara mas(t)-. Strangely, the Kefoid word was at the same time affiliated by M. Lamberti (l.c.) also with NOm.: Shinasha möccà (-tts-) ‘naß’, Gamu moĉe and Zayse mözeşş ‘kal’, Bed. müʔ ‘Nässe’, HECu.: Kambatta and Alaba muṭa ‘naß’ as reflexes of his OCu. = PCu.-Om. *maydy- ‘waschen’.

⁵² Combined in EAAN I: 200, #955 with CCh.: PMasa *mbis ~ *mbus ‘to wash’ [GT] < PAA *√mwš ‘to wash’ [GT]. Still, I am at the moment reluctant to maintain the Masa C₂ as a reflex of AA *š, since Masa has a lateral series also.

⁵³ May be the variety of AA *√mc vs. *√mwš ‘to wash’ [GT], resp., (above) with glottalized sibilants in the C₂.

⁵⁴ The Cu.-Om. root has been usually (Reinisch 1902: 307; Cohen 1947: #487; IS 1976: 71, #304; Dlg. 1970: 620, #9; 1983: 140; 1992 MS: 83, #178; Orel 1995: 108, #113; HSED #1748) equated with Ar. √mwš I ‘1. froter qqch. avec la main pour nettoyer, 2. laver’ [BK II: 1168] (whose basic meaning may be different, cf. Leslau 1987: 375) as well as with Eg. ṇḏ ‘to grind’ (which is both semantically and phonologically false).



[Sasse 1979: 26] = mičč-a ‘to wash (clothes, objects)’ [Gragg 1982: 285], Oromo-Borana mič- [Andrzejewski], Konso mič- [Lamberti] | HECu. *mečč- ‘to wash’ [GT]: Sidamo mačo = mēčč- [Lamberti], Qabenna & Alaba mečči- [Leslau], Kambatta mečče? [Leslau] = mečč- [Hudson] (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 164; Cu.-Om.: Dlg. 1973: 308, Ehret 2000 MS: 245, #2155;⁵⁵ cf. also Cerulli 1951: 467; Leslau 1959: 42) ||| Sem.: Ar. √mwš I: māša ‘1. frotter qqch. avec la main pour nettoyer, 2. laver’, II ‘laver, nettoyer (le linge, les habits)’, mawš-at- ‘un lavage, une eau’ [BK II: 1168] vs. Sem. *√mšmš ~ *√mšmš ‘to rinse’ [GT]: Ar. maḍmaḍa I ‘rincer la bouche ou rincer un vase avec beaucoup d’eau en l’agitant dedans’, mašmaša ‘1. rincer légèrement (une vase), 2. se rincer (la bouche)’ [BK II: 1120, 1148], Dathina maḍmaḍ ‘to rinse’ [Leslau] || Tigre māšmāša ‘to rinse’ [LH], cf. Ongota (borrowed < ES?) mučmuč-ada ‘swished water around in mouth, rinsed mouth out’ [Fleming *et al.* 1992–3: 193, 212]. Cu.-Om.-Ar.: Dlg. 1973: 308. See also EAAN I: 144, #700.

269. NOm.: Shinasha (Bworo) basseseyá ‘Ameise’ [Lamberti 1993a: 287 > Bender 2003: 338, #2: isolated]⁵⁶ ||| WCh.: AS *mbūs (from *buɣus?) vs. *mbwas⁵⁷ > *mbəs (with prothetic *m-) ‘ant sp.’ [GT]: Gerka ya-bus ‘ant’ [Ftp. 1911: 214], Sura nfwāš ‘weiße Ameisenart’ [Jng. 1963: 74] = nfwāš ‘termite’ [Kraft] (Suroid: Takacs 2004a: 115) with a regular shift of *b^w- > f^w- [GT], Mupun nlū-ḅwās [ḅw- < *(m)bw-] ‘termite (edible)’ [Frj. 1991: 44], Goemay mbruus (sic, -r-, misprint for mburus?) [*ḅuɣus?] ‘ant’ [Ftp. 1911: 214] = mbūs [ḅūs] ‘a small sized white ant’ [Sirlinger 1937: 137] (AS: Takacs 2004a: 21).

Ad OmAA IV 143, #111. NOm.: Zayse busúʼá ‘animal’ [Hayward apud Bender 2003: 331, #1: isolated in SEOmeto) ||| WCh.: Hausa bisáá, pl. bisààšéé = bisààšái ‘1.a: domestic quadruped’ [Abr. 1962: 105] = bisa ‘animal (domestic)’ [Skinner] ||| HECu.: Sidamo busāwa (m), pl. busabba ‘any animal whose meat can be eaten (the word designates a herd of wild animals, opposite of moiččo)’ [Gasparini 1983: 50] = busāwa ‘wild animal’ [Skinner], cf. also Alaba busāwa and Qabenna busāwú-ta ‘kind of antelope’ [Leslau] || SCu.: Iraqw busi ‘cow obtained in Mbugwe’ [Ehret 1980a: 142, §I.A.69]⁵⁸ ||| Eth.-Sem.: Gurage (borrowed from Cu.): Endegeny busawā, Gogot busəwa, Mäsqān bəsawa, Selti bisāwā, Soddo busawa ‘wild animal, beast, *leopard, tiger’ (Gurage-HECu.: Leslau 1979 III: 160) < **SA** *√bs ‘animal’ [GT]. Note that the Hausa-Sidamo match is due to N. Skinner (1996: 23).⁵⁹ In spite of my alternative suggestion in the fourth part of this series (Takács 2022: 143, #111), this root is to be separated⁶⁰ from SOm.: Ari (Galila) bačīre ‘animal’ [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 346, #1: isolated in Aroid] ||| Sem. *bašar- ‘1. flesh, 2. (human) body’ [SED I: 38–39, #41], which may suggest **PA** *√bčr ‘flesh’ [GT].

⁵⁵ The ECU.-NOm. root (where he assumed a borrowing from Omotic into Eastern Cushitic), along with a few other unlikely parallels (better related to Eg. mw ‘water’) was derived by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) from his AA *-may- ‘to wet’.

⁵⁶ In spite of M. Lamberti’s (l.c.) semantically doubtful *comparanda* like NOm.: Yemsa (Janjero) biša ‘Käfer’ and HECu.: Burji bizize ‘grüner Käfer’, which, however, were not adopted by M.L. Bender (l.c.).

⁵⁷ This apophonic variety (detected by now solely in Mupun) must have existed regarding Sura *f^wāš apparently displaying an attested shift of *b^w- > f^w-.

⁵⁸ Ch. Ehret (l.c.): ~ Dahalo ḅuw-at- ‘to descend (of sun in afternoon)’ < SCu. *buw- ‘to go down’ [Ehret]. Ehret: ‘Stem plus locative, “place gone down to”: Mbugwe lies immediately below the escarpment of the neighboring Iraqw highlands.’

⁵⁹ N. Skinner (1996: 23) affiliated the Hausa-Sidamo match, along with Songhay baši ‘viande’, LECu.: Oromo binēnsa ‘wild animal’, also with Sem. *bašar- ‘carne’ [Fronzaroli].

⁶⁰ So, detaching the Zayse vs. Ar. terms from one another, there remains no basis for Om. *√b[č] (diverse C₃) ‘animal’ [GT].



270. NOm.: *Zayse bāḫ-ō* ‘bedbug (vermin)’ [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 82, #7] ||| WCh.: Bole būdōti ‘mosquito’ [Kraft in JI] = bōdōti ‘mosquito’ [GAB in CLD] < *b/puḏ- [GT] | Ngizim bābāt, pl. bābātātīn and bābātāučīn ‘flea’ [Schuh 1981: 28]⁶¹ ||| NBrb.: Shawya a-bḏiḏ ‘pou du chien’ [DRB 30: isolated in Brb.]⁶² < PAA *√bṭ ‘sort of small parasite insect: flea (?)’ [GT]. Further PAA root varieties:

270.1. PAA *√pṭ (*p-/f-) ‘some small insect’ [GT]: ECh.: WDangla páḏā ‘small mosquito’ [Fédry in JI] (Ch.: JI 1994b: 242–243) ||| NBrb.: Iznasen, Senhazha, Rif a-fḏiḏ ‘tique (acarien femelle gros et gris)’ [Renisio 1932: 297] = a-fḏiḏ [DRB], Figuig a-fḏiḏ ‘parasite des chameaux’ [DRB], Beni Snus a-fḏiḏ ‘pou des chiens’ [DRB] | Shilh a-fḏuḏ ‘tique des moutons, des chameaux, des bovins’ [DRB] || SBrb.: Ahaggar i-fḏiḏ, pl. i-fḏiḏ-en ‘petit pou gris de chameau’ [Foucauld 1951–2: 305] (Brb.: DRB 532, fḏ4) ||| Sem.: dubious.⁶³ See also MTAA II: 84.2.

270.2. SAA *√bṭ ‘louse’ [GT]⁶⁴ > ECh.: Kujarke bīitā ‘louse’ [Bender-Doornbos 1983: 77, #49] ||| NAgaw *bət- < **bət- (???) ‘louse’ [GT]: Bilin bəta, Hamir and Hamtanga bətta, Hamta bīt, Kemant and Qwara bəta, Kāilinya biṭa (so: -ṭ-), Falasha betā (NAgaw: Apl. 1984: 41; 1996: 16). The Kujarke-Pagaw comparison was first suggested in an unpublished work by P. Whitehouse (from 2005)⁶⁵ on African isolates (which ‘points to its particular lexical links with Cushitic and Chadic’) as we learn from R.M. Blench (2008 MS: 2). Then, V. Blažek (2015: 80, #49) recorded the same match (extended to an uncertain Beja parallel)⁶⁶ on his own also, independently, just as I have done also now by my research for the MT comparative lexicon where I have accumulated the authentic sources in the first place. See also MTAA II: 84.

271. NOm.: *Zergulla biḫ-tta* ‘seed’ [Siebert-Hoeft in Bender 2003: 93, #114a] || (???) SOm. *ḫēt-a ‘seed’ [GT].⁶⁷ Ari ḫēta [Tsuge 1996: 169, #184], Banna ḫeta [Masuda apud Tsuge 1996: 186, #184], Hamer beta [Fleming] = ḫeta [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 bāḏ-o (f) ‘seed prepared for sowing’ [Hayward 1984: 345] | Gawwada poḏahho ‘Saat’ [AMS 1980: 264] ||| Sem. *√byṭ: Ar. bayz- ‘1. aqua spermatica seu semen genitale admisarii, vel viri, vel mulieris, 2. item: uterus mulieris’ [Freytag 1837: 51] = ‘1. liqueur nécessaire à la génération, 2. Sperme’ [BK I 185] = ‘sperme’ [DRB 155, byṭ: isolated in Sem.]⁶⁸ < PAA *√bḫ, var. *√bḫ ‘1. seed, semen (???)’ [GT]. See MTAA II: #153.2.

⁶¹ Compared by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 468, #3167) with Eg. pj ‘flea’ < AA *ḫay- ‘flea’, which is phonologically excluded.

⁶² Affiliated by K. Nait-Zerrad (DRB 30) with NBrb.: Shawya i-wṭeḏ and Qabyle i-wetṭ, SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-wōḏ ‘lente’, which is phonologically risky.

⁶³ Any connection to MSA: Mehri fəṭṭāt and Ejjibbali fəṭṭēt ‘pimple, itchy spot’ [Johnstone 1987: 108]?

⁶⁴ To be distinguished from NOm.: Sezo *bizil-E ‘louse’ [GT after Bender 2003: 276, #84] ||| Sem.: Ar. baddala ‘mépriser, dédaigner’ || MSA: Soqotri bēdol ‘être salé’, bēdol ‘salir’ (Sem.: DRS 47, BDL1 among false comparanda) < PAA *√bṣl ‘to despiseful (?)’ [GT].

⁶⁵ Which I could not check when writing this paper, this manuscript being unavailable to me at the moment.

⁶⁶ He compared Beja b’ūt ‘wood-boring beetle’ [Roper 1928] also, although it remains semantically rather vague.

⁶⁷ Provided it displays the same glottalization metathesis (i.e., *ḫēt-a < **bēt-a < **bēḫ-a???) that has so far been only known in Chadic. Otherwise, one is disposed to affiliate it with Om. *√bd ‘(to sow) seed’ [GT]. Cf. Takacs 2022: 128, #85.

⁶⁸ Of course, the DRS (l.c.) attempts at rendering this isolated form as a variation of Sem. *√byṣ ‘white’. L. Kogan and A. Militarev (SED I: 41, #43), in turn, were perhaps the first to reckon with this conventional Semitological etymology being better disposed to assume in this term for ‘sperm’ a trace of a Psem. variety *bayṭ- ‘egg’ that would be reflected, in their view, in MSA also: Harsusi bēḏeh ‘egg’ [Johnstone 1977: 21], Ejjibbali bēḏ ‘egg’ [Johnstone



272. SEOmeto *boč- ‘mountain, hill’ [GT]: Kachama, Haruro, Ganjule bočɛ [Brenzinger], Kachama boče [Siebert-Hoeft], Ganjule bučə [Siebert-Hoeft], Zayse boče [Bender] = bočé [Hayward, Linton *et al.*] (SEOmeto: Bender 2003: 91, #90) ||| ECu.: (???) Gollango paɗ-aww- [p- regular < *b-] ‘hinzufügen’ [AMS 1980: 216] = ‘to add to’ [Ehret]⁶⁹ ||| NBrb.: Qabyle i-bibiɗ ‘1. grosseur, 2. enflure, 3. bosse, 4. bouton non ouvert’ [DRB 1980: 29, bɗ12: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem.: Ar. buḏābiɗ- ‘fort, robuste’ [BK I: 133; DRS 77, bɗbɗ: isolated in Sem.] < PAA *vb̥ɕ [GT]. Further parts of this root family are discussed under entry #262 above.

Ad OmAA IV 142, #109. SOm.: Dimé bač ‘year’ [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 352, #112: isolated in Aroid] ||| CCh.: Musgu *bizā ‘year’ [GT]: Musgu bezaa ‘Tag’ (Barth), vgl. girfedi [Lukas 1941: 47] vs. Musgu pisáɕ, pl. pasakái (Krause), abzaggetái (wohl *apisaɕ ketai ‘ein Jahr’) (Rohlf’s) ‘Jahr’ [Lukas 1941: 72] = Munjuk-Puss bəzaa (m) ‘année’, bizi (bəza) ‘passer l’année’ [Tourneux 1991: 77], Mulwi (Vulum) bizà: ‘année’, bizi ‘passer l’année’ [Tourneux 1978: 288], Mbara bizàà (m) ‘année’ [TSL 1986: 255] | Masa *bus/za ‘year’, *bus/zaya ‘old’ [GT]⁷⁰ (Ch.: CLD VI: 67, #125) have already been compared in part IV. Now, may we add PCh. *bus- (hence *buz- via regressive voicing) ‘1. to spend (day, year); 2. period of time (day, year)’ [CLD] based also on WCh.: Bole bũši ‘daytime period, spending the day’ [GAB in CLD], Kirfi búsá (v.n.) ‘to spend the day’ [Schuh] ||| (???) Bed. bišʔ(a) ‘to cross, pass over, through, stride over’ [Roper 1928: 165] < SAA *vb̥sɕ ‘to spend time’ [GT]. Apparently no NAA attestation.

Ad OmAA I 187, #10, where merely **NOm.: Ganjule bič** ‘buttocks’ [Siebert 1994: 12] was equated with Berber and Chadic cognates < PAA *vb̥s (perhaps *bas- ~ *bis-) ‘1. back, 2. tail’ [GT] (cf. Takács 2011: 187, #10). In the light of my conception outlined in EDE II: 519, may this entry be complemented now as follows. M.L. Bender (2003: 331, #10) listed Ganjule bič (sic: -i-) ‘buttock(s)’ [Siebert & Hoeft] that may be compared with Basketo beš ‘thigh’ [Cerulli and Fleming apud Bender 2003: 330, #100], whence one might assume a **NOm.: Ometo *bEč-** ‘thigh’ [GT], but one is at the moment disposed to distinguish a set of ultimately related cognates in:

10.1. NOm.: Kachama (Haruro) pes-o ~ pis-o ‘deretano’ [CR 1937: 657] = pis-o ‘buttock(s)’ [CR as quoted by Bender] ||| PCh. *pas- ‘back’ [GT]: WCh.: Hausa fáásà ‘to postpone (beginning sg.), be postponed indefinitely’ [Abr. 1962: 257] || CCh.: Logone pásee ‘Gesäß, Hinterer’ [Lukas

1981: 60], Mehri biḏayt ‘egg’ [Johnstone 1987: 60]. Alternatively, the authors of SED regarded the MSA forms (displaying not the expected sibilant C₃ reflex) as Arabisms. Nevertheless, it seems wiser to treat Ar. bayz- rather as a root variety to vbwz.

⁶⁹ Combined by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with Sem.: Ar. vb̥dm I: baɗama ‘commencer à grandir, à prendre de la grosseur (se dit des céréales)’ [BK I: 134] = baɗama ‘commencer à grossir (céréales)’ [DRS 77: isolated in Sem.] = baɗm- (masdar, verbal noun) ‘to grow thick in grain, swell by degrees’ [Ehret], a likely C₃ root extension of the same Semitic biliteral root, from his AA *-baɓ- (*-dl-) ‘to increase’ [Ehret].

⁷⁰ Attested in Masa-Bongor búsá-ná ‘an’, búsàya ‘vieux’, sàñ búsóy-nā ‘vieillard’, čàd búsóy-dā ‘vieille femme’, búsáyà (sic: -š-) ‘vieillir’ [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 89, 103, 113, 149], Masa busá [búsáná] ‘l’année, la saison’, [búséyá] (adj.) ‘vieux (litt.: qui a un grand nombre d’années)’ [Cañtucoli 1983: 52], Gizey/Wina bús, Masa bűzà, Ham bèzè, Musey bázà, Lew bázà, Marba bizà ‘âge’ [Ajello *et al.* 2001: 1], Gizey/Wina bús, Masa bűzà, Ham bèzè, Musey, Lew bázà, Marba bizà ‘an, année’ [Ajello *et al.* 2001: 2], Gizey/Wina bűzà, Masa bűzà, Ham bèzà, Musey bázà, Lew bázà (‘la’) vs. bizà (‘la j.’), Marba bizà ‘passer l’année, la journée’ [Ajello *et al.* 2001: 42], Gizey/Wina bűzèy, Masa bűzèy, Ham bizèy, Musey bází ‘vieillesse (vieux, âgé)’ [Ajello *et al.* 2001: 58], Musey basara ‘1. an, année; 2. passer la journée, année’ [Shryock, Palomo, Martin apud CLD], Azumeina ba/iza-ɗa ‘1. year; 2. living space’ [Price apud CLD], cf. perhaps also Zime-Dari gǝzàʔ (sic: g-) ‘adulte, vieux’ [Cooper 1984: 8].



1936: 115] = mpáse ‘cul’ [Mouchet] = pásée ‘podex’ [IS] ||| Eg. psd [reg. < *√psg]⁷¹ ‘Rücken, Rückgrat’ (OK, Wb I: 556, 1–9) = ‘back, spine’ (FD 95) ||| Sem.: traces of a biliteral *√fs ‘back’ (???) [GT] in Ar. √fs’ > I: fasa’a and V ‘3. donner à qq. des coups de bâton sur le dos, ’afsa’u ‘qui a le dos rentré et la poitrine saillante’, cf. (???) √fsw > mafsā- ‘cul, derrière’,⁷² also √fsl I: faskala ‘1. rester en arrière, derrière tous les autres ou venir le dernier, 2. retarder qq. et être cause qu’il reste derrière les autres’ [BK II: 591, 595] = √fs’ > I: fasa’a-hu ‘he struck or beat him or his back with the staff or stick’, VI: tafāsa’a⁷³ ‘he protruded his posteriors or his back or both’, fasa’- ‘hollowness or incurvity of the spine’ [Lane 2394c] < PAA *√ps (perhaps *pas ~ *pis) ‘back’ [GT]. For this AA root see EAAN I: 78, #352.

10.2. The comparative data above make us regard **NOM.: Ometo *bEč-** ‘thigh’ [GT] at this moment as distinct from **PCh. *bus-** ‘lower leg’ [GT], cf. WCh.: Boghom buski: ‘leg’ [Shimizu in JI 1994b: 220]⁷⁴ || Ech.: MT *būsaw- ‘lower leg’ [GT]: Jegu busawo, pl. busawe ‘Wade’ [Jng. 1961: 111], Kofa búusó (m), pl. búusaw ‘Unterschenkel’ [Jng. 1977 MS: 4]. Let alone for the special case of Bed. bus (m) ‘Schmutz, Kot’ [Almkvist] = būs (m), pl. būs-a ‘Hinterbacken, podex’ [Reinisch] whose historical semantics and etymological status is debatable (cf. Blažek 2020: 40).

273. NOM.: Kullo bočč- ‘to ask’ [Alemayehu Abebe apud Bender 2003: 12, #4] ||| WCh.: Karekare báábásá ‘jäger’ [Lukas 1966: 199] ||| Sem. biliteral *√bt ‘to seek, search’ [GT]: Ar. √bwṭ I: bāṭa ‘2. rechercher, examiner, soumettre à l’examen’, IV ‘2. rechercher, examiner’ [BK I: 176, otherwise in DAFA 904,⁷⁵ not listed in Lane and Dozy] || Eth.-Sem.: Geez basasa and Amh. bāsasā ‘1. to spy, investigate, 2. hunt’ [Leslau 1987: 110].⁷⁶ The Kullo-Arabic match is remarkable esp. for preserving the trace of the original PAA *-u- root vowel and of the C₂ *č. There is abundant indirect evidence (below) for that the underlying biradical root, even if has been retained so scarcely in its simplex form, must have had a voiceless palatal affricate C₂: perhaps sg. like **PAA *√bč** ‘to seek’ [GT] that has been multiplied in the NAA triconsonantization by adding diverse back consonants as C₂ root extensions. As a result, a.o., the following root varieties are to be considered:

⁷¹ Extended by *-g > -d occurring in a number of Eg. anatomical terms, e.g. fnd ‘nose’, mnd.t ‘cheek’, nhḏ.t ‘tooth’, hnd ‘lower part, calf of leg’ (FD). For the problem in detail cf. EDE II: 577.

⁷² As suggested by E. W. Lane (p. 2399c), Ar. mafsā- ‘anus’ may, however, originally signify ‘the place of emission of a noiseless wind from the anus’ originating as a *nomen loci* from √fsw I ‘to emit a noiseless wind’.

⁷³ Interestingly, E. W. Lane (p. 2399b) listed Ar. tafāsa ‘he protruded his posteriors, its podex for the purpose of emitting a noiseless wind’ separately under stem VI of Ar. √fsw I ‘to emit a noiseless wind’.

⁷⁴ Attached by H. Jungraithmayr and D. Ibrizimow (l.c.) to Ch. *√sk, but the function of the supposed prefix *b- was not demonstrated.

⁷⁵ Where stem I means ‘1. remuer, creuser (la terre), fouir, etc.’, IV, VIII, X ‘curer (une fosse, etc.), etc.’, which suggest that the most ancient sense ‘searching’ may have evolved from may have been ‘gratter la terre pour y chercher qqch.’ as in the case of Ar. √bhṭ [BK], but this may be the result of a contamination of two distinct roots.

⁷⁶ One can hardly side with W. Leslau’s (l.c.) highly doubtful etymology as he took Geez as a loan (!) from Eg. (!) Ar. bašša (!), since it means, in fact, ‘1. ouvrir les yeux, regarder, 2. briller, luire’ [DRS 77], from which, in his view, ‘the meaning “hunt” would come from the meaning “look here and there”’. All this, however, breaks down for all too numerous problems at a time: (1) Geez from Egyptian dialectal Arabic (2) with -šš- plus (3) a fully different root semantics for (4) borrowing. I am afraid, W. Leslau erred with such a far-fetched scenario. Neither Ar. bassa I ‘1. faire marcher doucement, ou exciter, ou calmer une chamelle en répétant les mots bas bas, 3. expédier, faire des envois de marchandises dans différents endroits, ou envoyer des argents, 4. travailler, s’occuper de qqch.’ [BK I: 123] would be a fitting cognate.



273.1. NAA * $\sqrt{b}h\check{c}$ ‘to seek, search’ [GT]: Eg. $b\check{h}s$ ‘jagen’ (NK, Wb I: 469, 13–17; GHWb 258) = ‘to hunt’ (FD 84; DLE I: 160) ||| Sem.: Aram. * $\sqrt{b}h\check{s}$ (strange * $\check{s}$)⁷⁷ [GT]: Syr. $b\check{h}\check{s}$ ‘scharren, wühlen, umrühren, untersuchen’ [GB] = ‘durchwühlen’ [Brockelmann] = ‘rechercher, agiter, remuer, attiser’ [DRS], Mandaic $b\check{h}\check{s}$ ‘chercher, examiner’ [DRS] | Ar. $b\check{a}h\check{a}t\check{a}$ I ‘1. gratter la terre pour y chercher qqch., comme fait la poule, 2. chercher, fouiller, chercher à découvrir qqch., examiner, faire des investigations, 3. interroger qqn., le soumettre à une enquête, 4. disputer’, III ‘1. rechercher la vérité en discutant, discuter’, V, VII, VIII ‘examiner qqch., faire une enquête sur qqch.’ [BK I: 88] = ‘suchen, forschen’ [Vycichl] = ‘to search, investigate’ [Albright] = ‘untersuchen’ [Brockelmann], Omani Ar. $b\check{h}\check{s}$ ‘creuser’ [DRS], Syrian Ar. $b\check{a}h\check{a}\check{s}$ ‘fouiller’ [DRS] || MSA * $\sqrt{b}h\check{t}$ ‘to dig in search’ [GT]: Harsusi $b\check{e}h\check{a}t$ ‘to make a hole in the ground’, Jibbali $b\check{a}h\check{a}t$ ‘1. to dig in sand, look for sg. in soil, 2. put sg. to grow in soil’, $b\check{o}t\check{h}\check{a}t$ (hér) ‘1. to search carefully (for), 2. be easily dug, dug away’, Mehri $b\check{e}h\check{a}t$ ‘to make a hole in the ground’ (MSA: Johnstone 1977: 16; 1981: 25) || ES: Harari $b\check{a}h\check{s}i\ \check{a}\check{s}a$ ‘to investigate’ [Leslau 1963: 40; borrowed from Ar.] (Sem.: DRS 57). The Egypto-Semitic match is well-known.⁷⁸

273.2. Sem.: Ar. $f\check{a}h\check{a}t\check{a}$ ‘suchen’, as a var. to $b\check{a}h\check{a}t\check{a}$, was regarded by W. Vycichl (1960: 173, #1) as a match of an OEg. * $p\check{h}s$ (imagined as a var. to $b\check{h}s$), presumed to have existed on the basis of a vague evidence from Coptic: (S) $\pi\check{a}2\check{C}$, (B) $\pi\check{a}b\check{e}c$ ‘Jagdbeute, Wild, Kadaver’. Doubtful.⁷⁹

273.3. (NW) Sem. * $\sqrt{b}b\check{k}t$ (well-known as a root variant to * $\sqrt{b}b\check{h}t$)⁸⁰ ‘to seek, search’ [GT]: Ug. $\sqrt{b}q\check{t}$ ‘suchen’ [WUS #572] = D ‘to search for, look for, investigate, find out’ [DUL 234], Phn. $\sqrt{b}q\check{s}$ ‘to seek’ [Harris 1936: 91] = piel (?) ‘to seek, look for, search’ [DNWSI 188], Hbr. $\sqrt{b}q\check{s}$ piel ‘1. suchen, 2. etwas zu erreichen suchen, darnach trachten, 3. verlangen, fordern’ [GB 112] = $\sqrt{b}q\check{s}$ piel ‘1. to discover, find, search for, seek (so’s life), 2. attempt to do sg., 3. try to possess, demand, require, request, endeavour, strive for, 4. search for, call on, consult with, ask somebody’s advice concerning a matter’, $b\check{a}q\check{q}\check{a}\check{s}\check{a}$ ‘wish, request’ [KB 152–153] || ES: perhaps Tna. $b\check{e}q\check{q}^w\check{e}se$ ‘récolter’ [Koldomin apud Brockelmann].

273.4. Sem.: Ar. $b\check{a}h\check{a}\check{s}\check{a}$ (ʿan) ‘scruter, (re)chercher, fureter’ [BK I: 172; DRS 49: isolated in Sem.].

273.5. PAA * $\sqrt{p}k\check{c}$ [GT] > SOm.: Ari $\check{p}oq\check{s}$ ‘to want’ [Hayward in Bender 2003, 352, #105: isolated in Aroid] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight $f\check{e}q\check{q}\check{s}$ ‘1. rechercher, 2. fouiller’ [DRB 952, $\sqrt{f}y\check{s}$].

274. NOm.: PChara * $b\check{o}c\check{-}$ ‘to dance, sing’ [GT]: Chara $b\check{o}c\check{-}i$ ‘to dance’ [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 332, #18] vs. $b\check{o}c\check{-}a$ [Fleming] = $b\check{o}c\check{-}s$ [Siebert & Hoeft] ‘to sing’ (Chara: Bender 2003: 336, #86: isolated in Om.) ||| Sem.: Ar. ‘ $\check{a}b\check{a}t\check{a}$ (root ext. $\check{c}\check{-}$?) ‘jouer, baguenauder, s’amuser (avec qqch.)’, ‘ $\check{a}b\check{a}t\check{-}$ ‘2. jeu, badinage, occupation frivole, sans but et sans utilité pour celui qui s’y livre, 3. chose inutile, que l’on ferait en pure perte’ [BK II: 149].

⁷⁷ The correspondence of Syr. $\check{s}$ vs. Ar. $\check{t}$ is unexpected. Normally, Ar. $\check{t}$ = Syr. $\check{t}$.

⁷⁸ GB 112; Albright 1918: 242, #84; 1927: 219; ESS = Ember 1930: #7.a.24, #14.a.4; GÄSW = Calice 1936: #184; Vycichl 1960: 173, #1; Ehret 1997 MS: 5, #1042; EDE II: 284. Any other etymology of Eg. $b\check{h}s$ is mistaken. C. T. Hodge (1971: 42) segmented in Eg. $b\check{h}s$ a suffix $\check{s}$ (caus.?) attached to the alleged root * $\sqrt{b}h$, whence he derived Eg. $b\check{h}n$ ‘to drive off’ and $b\check{h}.w$ ‘forced labor’ too. Impossible. Ch. Ehret (1997 MS: 5, #1042) equated Eg. $b\check{h}s$ and Sem. * $\sqrt{b}h\check{t}$ ‘to search’ with LECu.: Somali $b\check{h}\check{-}i$ (caus.) ‘to make appear’ < AA * $\check{b}\check{h}\check{-}$ ‘to appear, become visible’.

⁷⁹ Mistaken, since W. Westendorf (KHW 157) rendered the Coptic word ‘Stück, Beute, Kadaver’ derived from (SL/ $\check{A}_2$ F) $\pi\check{w}2$, (A) $\pi\check{w}2$ ‘brechen, spalten, teilen, zerreißen’ with the well-known deverbal noun suffix $\check{s}$ (attested from LEg., cf. NBÄ 330–332, §5).

⁸⁰ That Sem. * $\sqrt{b}b\check{h}t/\check{s}$ vs. * $\sqrt{b}b\check{k}t$ are interrelated (in the terminology of C. Brockelmann, as *Reimwörter*), has been noted in numerous works (e.g. GB 112; Albright 1918: 242, #84; Brockelmann 1927: 31; DRS 80).



275. NOm.: Zergulla buč ‘to split’ [Linton et al. in Bender 2003: 336, #90: isolated in SEOmeto] may root in the primary sense of desintegration into small particles implied in PAA $\sqrt{bč}$ ‘1. to scatter (e.g. seed), 2. sow’ [GT].⁸¹

276. NOm.: Kullo biša ‘brother’ [Alemayehu Abebe in Bender 2003: 14, #21] ||| SCu. $\sqrt{bos/šo}$ ‘friend of same age, coeval’ [Ehret]: Qwadza bo’osiko ‘friend’ | Dahalo ḥosó’o ‘friend of same age, coeval’ (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 138, §I.A.40) ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. ä-bobaz and EWlmd.-Ayr ə-bobaz ‘1. cousin croisé (fils de tante paternelle ou d’oncle maternel), 2. p.ext.: cousin en gén., EWlmd.-Ayr (b)obaz ‘1. (terme d’adresse familial), 2. mon cher cousin’ [PAM 2003: 4, 62], Ahaggar bubeh ‘être cousin germain (avec qqn.)’, ä-bābah ‘cousin(e) germain (e), fils, 2. fille d’un oncle maternel ou de tante paternelle’, Ghat a-babah ‘cousin (autre que germain)’ (SBrb.: DRB 148: BZ13).

277. NOm.: SEOmeto $\sqrt{bš}$ ‘(young) female (?)’ [GT]: Zayse-Zergulla $\sqrt{bš}$ ‘woman, female’ [GT]: Zergulla and Zayse biyšo [Linton et al.], Zayse $\sqrt{bišo}$ [Bender] = bišš-o [Hayward], Zergulla bišu [Siebert-Hoeft] (SEOmeto: Bender 2003: 97, #149) vs. Koyra $\sqrt{indV-buš}$ ‘sister’ [GT]: Koyra ində-buš (cf. buš ‘girl’) [Cumbers] = $\sqrt{indo-buš}$ [Hayward] = indəbuš [Siebert-Hoeft] (Koyra: Bender 2003: 93, #116a) ||| HECu.: Kambatta bažām-ita ‘girl’, baž-āmīta, pl. bāž-āmmata ‘young woman’, Hadiyya bāž-āmo ‘young woman’ (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 70, 173, resp.: author’s segmentation has been left here unchanged).

278. NOm.: Bworo būšā ‘bush, forest’ [SLE] (isolated in Kefoid: Bender 2003: 338, #9) ||| HECu.: Burji bašā, bašā (f) ‘grass’ [Sasse], cf. perhaps also Gedeo (Darasa) badda’ā [-dd- < $\sqrt{bš}$ /?] ‘grass’ [Hudson] (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 72) ||| Sem.: Akk. (NBab.) biššu ‘(a garden plant)’ [CAD b 210] = bi/ušš- ‘rue (plante)’ [DRS] || JPAm. bēšāš ‘rue (plante)’ [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 89: bšš3).⁸² See also entry no. 249 above.

279. NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho (Bench-non) baštn ‘to fight’ [Breeze in Bender 2003: 340, #30: isolated] ||| Sem. $\sqrt{bs/št}$ [DRS]: Amh. tābāsačā ‘s’emporter, s’impatianter’ [DRS 72: bs/št2: isolated in Sem.]. Striking is the coincidence with Eg. bšt ‘aufrührisch, aufständisch sein, sich empören’ (OK, Wb I: 479; ÄWb I: 425b) = ‘to rebel against (ḥr)’ (VI.: Urk. I: 104:7, FD 85), where, if the authenticity of the final radical should be taken seriously, we c/should only assume an original $\sqrt{b}$ -k as -t vs. -t were distinguished in the Old Kingdom, and so the Egyptian root remains irrelevant

⁸¹ Based on Sem.: Ar. batta ‘disperser, faire voler de tous côtés (la poussière, etc.), 2. disséminer, éparpiller (p.ex., les animaux sur la terre), 3. divulguer (un secret), répandre (une nouvelle)’ etc. [BK I: 84; DRS 91] = ‘zerstreuen’ [WUS #609] ||| NBrb.: Ntifa s-bessus ‘répandre, asperger’ [DRB 130] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-bbās ‘1. asperger, 2. semer à la volée, 3. ensementer la pâte fraîche avec un reste de pâte déjà fermentée’ [Lanfray 1973: 32, #138; DRB 131: isolated] ||| WCh.: Bole bosun- ‘säen (in Erdloch)’ [Lukas 1971: 133] || ECh. $\sqrt{busuN}$ ‘seed’ [GT] > WDangla busumo, pl. būsām (plus usité) ‘1. grain, 2. (pl.) semences’ [Fédry 1971: 103], EDangla būsām (coll., singulier rare: būsūmō) ‘les semences (le sperme)’ [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 56], Bidiya būsānā (f), pl. būsāṇ ‘grain, semences’ [AJ 1989: 61], Migama būsīnū (m), pl. būsīni ‘grain de semence’ [JA 1992: 72], Mokilko būsū (m) ‘seed (semence)’ [Jng. 1990: 71] | MT $\sqrt{bus}$ - (pl. tante: $\sqrt{aw} \sim \sqrt{un}$) ‘seed’ [GT]: Mubi/Minjile $\sqrt{busūn}$ ‘seed’ [Bender-Doornbos 1983: 77, #70], Kajakse būsūn ‘semences’ [Alio 2004: 240, #50], Toram bühaw ‘graine de céréale’ [Alio 2004: 253, #66] where -h- is regular < $\sqrt{s}$ - [GT]. Cf. EDE II: 421; Takács 2009d: 335–336, #67; EAAN I: 26–27, #55.

⁸² Less likely, cf. Akk. (lex.) bišbišu ‘soft matter inside the fresh reed’ [CAD b: 209] = ‘roseau (?)’ [DRS 89, bšš: isolated in Sem.].



for the above described Ethiopian root. Still, since the process of the depalatalization of $\underset{~}{t} > t$ was ongoing already in the late OK (AÄG 49, §112), we may in principle not exclude an orthographic interchange of $-\underset{~}{t}$ vs. $-t$.

*

SPECIAL SYMBOLS

P: any labial stop (f, p, b, þ), T: unspecified dental stop (t, d, ð), S: any voiceless sibilant and/or affricate (s, š, ś, c, č, č̣), Z: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (z, ʒ, ʒ̣), K: any velar stop (k, g, ɡ̣), Q: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (q, ɢ, ɢ̣, ʁ), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (ʕ, ɣ, ɦ, 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 AUTHOR NAMES

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

ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS

AÄG = Edel 1955; AECT = Faulkner 1973–8; AEPT = Faulkner 1969, AHW = von Soden 1965–1981; AL I–III = Meeks 1998; ALC 1978 = Angas Language Committee 1978; ÄWb I = Hannig 2003; ÄWb II = Hannig 2006; CD = Crum 1939; CED = Černý 1976; CLD I = Stolbova 2005; CLD IV = Stolbova 2011; CLD VI = Stolbova 2020; CT = de Buck 1935–1961; DAFA = Blachère, Chouémi, Denizeau & Pellat 1967–1976; DCT = van der Molen 2000; DELC = Vycichl 1983; DG = Erichsen 1954; DLE = Lesko, Leonard H. 1982, 1984, 1987, 1989; DLU I = Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 1996; DLU II = Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 2000; DNWSI = Hoftijzer & Jongeling 1995; DRB = Näit-Zerrad 1998–; DRS = Cohen 1970–; DUL = Olmo Lete del & Sanmartín 2003; EAAN I = Takács 2016; EDE I = Takács 1999c; EDE II = Takács 2001b; EDE III = Takács 2008; EG¹ 1927 = Gardiner 1927; ESS = Ember 1930; FD = Faulkner 1962; GÄSW = von Calice 1936; GB = Gesenius 1962; GD = Landberg 1920, 1923, 1942; GHWb = Hannig 1995; HCVA I–V = Di-



akonoff *et al.*; HSED = Orel & Stolbova 1995; KB = Koehler & Baumgartner 1994–2000; KHW = Westendorf 1977; MTAA II = Takács 2023; NBĀ = Osing 1976; NEH = GASHINGE, JANGA DOLE & GÖGE 2004; OmAA IV = Takács 2022a; OmAA V = Takács 2022c; OmAA VI = Takács 2021a; OmAA VII = Takács 2022b; PT = Sethe 1908–1910; SED I = Kogan & Militarev 2000; SIFKJa = Dolgopolskij 1973; SISAJa I–III = D’jakonov *et al.* 1981–6; Urk. I = Sethe 1932–3; ÜKAPT I–VI = Sethe 1935–1962; Wb = Erman & Grapow 1957–1971; WD = Lapp & Lüscher 2002–2003; WSKT I–II = Ritter 2009; WUS = Aistleitner 1963.

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES AND OTHER TERMS

(A): Ahmimic, (A₂): Sub-Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, CAA: Common Afro-Asiatic, Ch.: Chadic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, DM: Dangla-Migama, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopic, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Imp.: Imperial (Aram.), JP: Jewish Palestinian (Aramaic), L: Late, L: Low(land), (L): Lycopolitan, lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada (Matakam group), MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New/o-, N: North(ern), NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), Wlm(d): Tawlemmet, Y: Young(er Babylonian).

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