

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

Angas-Sura Etymologies II<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The languages of the Angas-Sura (AS) group are spoken between the South-Eastern Plateau and the Benue river, Plateau State of Nigeria. The number of speakers of this group mounts to about 200.000 people in the estimation of H. J u n g r a i t h m a y r (1981, 407).

The Angas-Sura languages represent the second group of the West Chadic subbranch (cf. e.g. Jng. 1981, 407-8; Stl. 1987, 31; JI 1994 II, viii). The Chadic branch, in turn, – as we know since the fundamental studies by J. L u k a s and J.H. G r e e n b e r g – is part of the great Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) language family.

The most detailed inner classification of the Angas-Sura languages has been put forward by C. H o f f m a n n (1971; 1975 MS, 2), who also provided so far the only annotated retrospective survey of the literature on the subject (pp. 3–9). H o f f m a n n assumed Gerka to have been the first member split off from the group. What remained is called by H o f f m a n n as Proto-Angas-Goemai, which falls into three subgroups: (1) **Northern:** Angas, (2) **North-Eastern:** Sura, Mupun, Chakfem-Mushere Chip, Jorto, Kofyar, (3) **Southern:** Kanam (Koenoen), Pyapun(g), Tal, Montol, Goemai. On the basis of my own research on comparative AS phonology, I can state that the phonological isoglosses confirm the correctness of Hoffmann's inner classification. Henceforth, I use the following (slightly modified) inner grouping: (1) **Gerka**, (2) **Angas**, (3) **Suroid** languages (falling further on in two clusters: 3.1. Sura-Mupun vs. 3.2. Kofyar-Mushere-Chip according to the isoglosses of the complex AS \*gy-), (4) **Goemaoid** languages (Kanam/Koenoen, Pyapun/Pyapung, Tal, Montol, Goemai).

The inner comparison of the Angas-Sura daughter languages has been hitherto elaborated only in its minor segments. G. Greenberg (1958) presented an excellent comparative survey on some of the roots beginning with labials in the Angas-Sura group.

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<sup>1</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the support yielded by the OTKA (National Scientific Research Fund, Budapest, project no. D 45976).



He was the first scholar to point out the original labial triad \*b – \*p – \*f of the Angas group inherited from Afro-Asiatic. O.V. Stolbova, the well-known Chadicist of Moscow, devoted two studies specially to the subject, which was apparently her primary interest at the beginning of her research career. She used basically the Angas (Foulkes 1915, Ormsby 1913–4) and Sura (Jungraithmayr 1963) lexicons for the comparison adducing some additional data from Chip, Montol, Gerka (collected and published by Jungraithmayr 1965). In 1972, she proposed a historical-comparative survey of the Proto-Angas-Sura consonant system in the light of some illustrative lexical material (2-3 exx. for each correspondence). In her 1977 paper, Stolbova presented 256 lexical roots and Proto-Angas-Sura reconstructions accompanied by a brief sketch of vowel correspondences. The West Chadic historical phonology by Stolbova (1987, 240–244) also contains separately a modest list of some 64 Proto-Angas roots. C. Hoffmann (1975 MS) offered a phonological (both consonantal and vowel) reconstruction of the Proto-Angas-Goemai level (on the basis of Goemai, Mernyang, Sura, and Angas) through 248 lexical roots. In 2003, after some five years of research, the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura group has been completed by myself on the basis of all available sources<sup>2</sup>.

Now is the time to systematically deal with the external cognates of the reconstructed Angas-Sura roots. This new series has been started with the purpose to contribute to the Afro-Asiatic background of Angas-Sura lexical stock primarily with new lexical parallels.

### AS \*b-

• **AS \*bāk** ‘to cut, separate’: Angas bāk (sic) ‘to cut with a knife, make a slit, draw a line’ [Flk. 1915, 145] = bāk (or bak, bák?) ‘schneiden, ritzen (Inzision)’ [Jng. 1962 MS] = bāk-yīt ‘tribal markings’ [Brq. 1971, 24, #38] = bak ‘to cut’ [ALC 1978, 5] = bāk ‘to cut or lacerate (with knife)’ vs. bāk (sg.), bāk (pl.) ‘to split, hatch, lacerate, pierce, slice’ [Gcl. 1994, 38, 48, 74-75], Sura bāk ‘teilen, trennen’ [Jng. 1963, 59] = bāk ‘to divide’ [Krf.], Mpn. bāk ‘to separate, divide, share, crack, cut into pieces, chop, split’, cf. bák (sic) ‘slice’ [Frj. 1991, 6], Msr. bak ‘to divide, separate, share’, bak dyen dyen ‘to break (e.g. log of firewood) into pieces’ [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. bak ‘to make one side of a furrow, loot, i.e. to finish a furrow by making up the other side’ [Srl. 1937, 9] (AS: Stl. 1987, 157, #115) | WCh.: Ron \*bak ‘to split’ [GT]: Fyer bāk ‘spalten, hacken (Holz usw.)’, Bokkos bāk ‘spalten, brechen, schneiden’, Sha bāk (sic b-) 1. ‘(zer)brechen (Töpfe usw.)’, 2. schlachten’

<sup>2</sup> Forthcoming in Berlin with the Dietrich Reimer Verlag. The manuscript encompasses around 480 pages. I gladly acknowledge and thank for the constant and many-sided unselfish support yielded by Prof. Herrmann Jungraithmayr (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften, J.W.Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a/M) for my work. I am greatly indebted also to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn) for facilitating my research stay at Frankfurt a/M (1999–2000, 2002) as well as for funding the publication of the Angas-Sura comparative lexicon.



Daffo-Butura *ḥāk* ‘1. brechen (Topf usw.), 2. schneiden (Holz usw.)’ (Ron.: Jng. 1970, 84, 212, 283, 391, 393) | Karekare *ḥakat* ‘öffnen’ [Lks. 1966, 199] | Zaar *ḥikti* ‘to open’ [Smz.] (WCh.: Stl. 1986, 83; 1987, 157) || CCh.: Tera *ḥyaḥi* ‘to tear’ [Nwm. 1964, 48, #482] = ‘to rip open’ [Nwm. 1970, 42] | Mofu-Gudur -*ḥəgw-* ‘partager, diviser, couper en deux qqch. mou’ [Br. 1988, 81] | Lame *ḥúk* ‘1. ouvrir, 2. écorcer avec les mains, 3. prendre, en le cassant, un morceau d’un bloc dur’ [Scn. 1982, 262, cf. 1978, 201], Zime-Batna *ḥúk* ‘to open’ [Scn.] || ECh.: Bidiya *ḥok* ‘jaillir’, cf. *ḥòkòḥòkò* ‘issue de secours dans un terrier de rats’ [AJ 1989, 62], WDangla *ḥòkè* ‘s’ouvrir, se fendre (pour une couture, un tissu)’ [Fédry 1971, 107] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 264-265) ||| Eg. *bqj* (GW) ‘ouvrir’ (XIX. *hapax*, Clère 1968, 141) = ‘to open’ (DLE I 164) = ‘to open (?), stay (?)’ (Hoch 1994, 111, #139) = ‘öffnen’ (GHWb 263) ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar *huqq-ət* [if *h-* < \**ḥ-*] ‘frapper de la pointe (d’un objet)’ [Prs. 1969, 63, #341: no Brb. etymology] ||| ECu. \**ḥāk-* ‘to split (intr.)’ [GT]: LECu. \**ḥaq-* [Black]: Arbore *buk-is-* [-*u-* not clear] ‘to open in order to have access to the interior (e.g. a box, bag)’ [Hyw. 1984, 349], Dasenech (Galab) *ḥākḥ-* ‘to crack’ [Black] | Oromo *ḥaqaq-* ‘to split’ [Sasse] = *ḥaqāqā* ‘to tear (intr.), be torn’ [Gragg 1982, 36] = ‘to crack in the ground’ [Lsl.] = *ḥaqaq-* ‘to break, smash (intr.)’ [Lmb.], Konso *ḥaq-* ‘to break, smash’ [Lmb.], *ḥaq-š-* (caus.) ‘to chop’ [Black], Gidole *ḥāk-ḥ-iyy-* (singulative caus.) ‘to chop’ [Black] | Burji *ḥāk-* ‘to split (intr.)’, *ḥabāk-* ‘to tear’ [Sasse], Darasa (Gedeo) *ḥākḥ-* ‘to split (intr.)’ [Lmb.], Sidamo *bieq* ‘dividere’ [Crl. 1938 II, 195] = *boq-* ‘dividere’ [Mrn. 1940, 209] = *boq-* ‘to demolish, destroy’ [Hds. 1989, 354] | Dullay \**ḥaq-* [\**p* < \**b*] ‘to split’ [GT]: Dobase *ḥaq-* ‘spalten, zersplittern (intr.)’ [AMS], Gollango *ḥaq-* ‘zerbrechen, zersplittern’ [AMS], Gawada *ḥaq-q-as-* ‘to chop’ [Black] (Dullay: AMS 1980, 179, 216) | Yaaku -*bək-ε’s-* (tr.) ‘to break (by throwing stones, etc.)’ [Heine 1975, 121] = -*pāq-* ‘to break (tr.)’ [Lmb.] (ECu.: Black 1974, 197; Sasse 1979, 48-49; Lmb. 1988, 31, #33; LS 1997, 449-450) ||| Sem. \**bqq*: Hbr. *bqq* ‘1. spalten, 2. ausbreiten’ [GB] = ‘piller, dévaster’ [DRS] || Ar. *ḥaqqa* ‘fendre, disperser, piller, vider’ [DRS] = ‘to split’ [Lsl.] || ES: Geez *ḥaqqa* ‘to split, break up (clods of earth)’, cf. *ḥaqāwa* ‘to separate, split, open, break, cut, be wide open’ [Lsl.], Amh. *bäqqäqä* ‘to gape, be opened’, *bäqäbbäqä* ‘to break the soil’ [Lsl.] (Sem.: DRS 79; Lsl. 1987, 100-101).

• AS \**ḥāk* ~ \**ḥok* ‘stubborn’: Angas *bök* (hill) ‘repentance’ [Flk. 1915, 150], Gmy. *ḥak-pe* ‘to be stubborn (of children)’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 2] | Hausa *bágé* ‘2-3. stubborn(ness)’ [Abr. 1962, 57] ||| Eg. *bq* ‘widerspenstig gegen’ (XVIII., Wb I 479, 11) = ‘to be hostile to (?)’ (FD 85) = ‘to be rebellious, bq-jb: be resentful’ (DLE I 164) = ‘widerspenstig, rebellisch sein gegen (r)’ (GHWb 262-3), also *bqbq.w* ‘eine Charaktereigenschaft des Herzens’ (Lit. MK, Wb I 479, 12) = ‘recalcitrance’ (FD 85) = ‘\*Aufsässigkeit’ (GHWb 262).

• AS \**ḥāk* ~ \**ḥak* (var.?) > \**ḥək* ‘flat and thin’: Angas *ḥāk*, *ḥāk-ḥāk* ‘dünn’ [Jng. 1962 MS] = *ḥāk-ḥāk* ‘humble’ [Brq. 1971, 24, #29] = *ḥāk* ‘small’ vs. *ḥāk* ‘to be insufficient’, cf. *ḥāk-ḥāk* ‘humble’, *ḥāk ke* ‘to humble oneself’ [ALC 1978, 5-6] = *ḥāk*, pl. *ḥāk* ‘to be(come) small’ [Gcl. 1994, 48, 74], Mpn. *bák* (so, b-) ‘to flatten’ [Frj. 1991, 5], Msr. *ḥāk-yil* ‘lowland’, *ka sak maar ḥakyil* ‘you farm at the lowland’, cf. perhaps *yit-bak-šar* ‘large face or wide face (an abuse)’ [Dkl. 1997 MS, 309], Gmy. *ḥoer-ḥoek* ‘round and flat like a disk’ [Srl. 1937, 18] | Tangale *būk* ~ *būkbūk* ‘mild, gentle, soft, tender (cloth)’ [Jng. 1991, 73], Dera



búbúk 'softness' [Nwm. 1974, 122] ||| LECu.: Oromo bāq-ē 'thin (one-ply) garment, usually of linen' [Gragg 1982, 27].

NB: Represents a var. root to Sem.: Akk. pyq: (aA) piāqum ~ (a/jB) pāqu 'eng sein', (m/jB) pīqu ~ (nA) pāqu 'eng' [AHW 861, 865] ||| Eg. \*p3q (attested as pq) 'fein, dünn' (NK, Wb I 499, 6-7) = 'fein, dünn' (GHWb 272) ||| WCh.: Hausa fákáá-fàkàà 'broad and thin', (Zaria) fáké-fáké 'thin and flimsy' [Abr. 1962, 246] || CCh.: Musgu fvkí ~ žę-fvkí ~ žu-hukí ~ žu-hogv 'mager' [Krs. in Lks. 1941, 55].

• AS \*bā<sub>2</sub>n '1. (to be) hot, 2. burn' [GT] = \*ba<sub>1</sub>[m] [Stl.]: Angas beem (so, with -m) 'to scorch (but only in parts)', cf. wus beem ka beem beem 'fire has scorched it here and there' [Flk. 1915, 149], Sura ɓaan 'verbrennen, versengen' [Jng. 1963, 59], Kfy. ɓàn 'hot' [Ntg. 1967, 3], perhaps Msr. ɓan 'painful', ɓan vum lah 'pains of a wound' (i.e., when the wound is 'burning?') [Dkl. 1997 MS], Chip ɓàn 'hotness', perhaps also pe-ɓan [unless < \*ɓalɲ] 'sweat' [Krf.], Gmy. ban 'hot' [Ftp. 1911, 217] = ɓaan' [ɓǎn] 'heat, warmth', ɓaan' 'to make hot, heat, warm', cf. mɓaan wus 'brightness seen in the sky at night when a bush fire is on' [Srl. 1937, 8, 136] = ɓàn 'hotness' [Krf.] = ɓaan 'to be warm, hot' [Hlw. 2000 MS, 2] (AS: Stl. 1972, 180; 1977, 153, #13) < WCh. \*baHan- 'hot' [GT], cf. also SBch. \*baʔani → \*ɓani 'hot' [GT]: Guruntum bàʔanì, Langas & Lundur binyēni, Dikshi ɓan, Bandas ɓàni, Boodli ɓani, Wangday ɓàni, Dwot ɓani (SBch.: Smz. 1978, 43, #93) ||| EBrb.: Siwa ɓa-ben-t 'cucina, forno' [Prd. 1961, 298] ||| NOm.: SEOmeto \*binn-a 'warm' [Bnd.-Flm.]: Kachama (Haruro) binn-a 'warm' [Sbr.] = benn-ā 'raggio di sole', boniy-ā 'stagione asciutta' [CR 1925, 619], Koyra bīn-a [Mkr.] = binn-a 'warm' [Sbr.], Zayse binn-a 'warm' [Sbr.] = Zayse & Zergula bin-a [Mkr.] (SEOmeto: Sbr. 1994, 22) | Gimira bint 'caldo' [Montandon in CR 1925, 619] = bin 'warm' [Bnd.-Flm. 1976, 50] = She bin-s [Bnd./Mkr.] = bin [Flm./Mkr.] (NOm.: Mkr. 1981, 216-7, #57.B). From AA \*b-n (or \*b-H-n?) 'warm' [GT].

• AS \*ɓaw '1. arrow, 2. bow': Kfy. ɓáu 'bow' [Ntg. 1967, 3], Mnt. bo 'arrow', kam-bo 'bow' [Ftp. 1911, 214-5], Gmy. bo 'arrow', hence pang-bo (so, p-) 'quiver' [Ftp. 1911, 214, 219] = bo 'arrow' [Gowers in JI] = ɓau 'an arrow', cf. bang-ɓau 'same shaped calabash used as quiver' [Srl. 1937, 11-12] = ɓow 'Pfeil' [Jng. 1962 MS, 1] = ɓèw 'arrow', ɓən-ɓèw 'quiver' [Krf.] = ɓów 'arrow' [Smz./JI] = ɓau 'arrow', ɓan-ɓau 'quiver' [Hlw. 2000 MS, 3]: cognate with WCh.: Ron \*nvyah 'arrow' [GT]: Daffo-Butura nvyàh [Jng.], Bokkos nvyà [Jng.] || CCh.: Sukur va 'arrow' [Meek] (Ch.: JI 1994, 2-3).

• AS \*ɓel 'to pierce, bore a hole': Angas bēl 'to bore, pierce' [Flk. 1915, 148] = ɓel 'aushöhlen, Loch bohren' [Jng. 1962 MS] = ɓel 'aushöhlen, Loch bohren' [Jng. 1962 MS] = ɓèl 'to make an opening' [ALC 1978, 6] = ɓel 'to pierce' vs. ɓel 'hole' [Krf.] = ɓèl 'to make a hole through' [Gcl. 1994, 48], Sura ɓél 'einen Hirsehalm aushöhlen' [Jng. 1963, 60], Mpn. ɓèl-lók [irreg. b-] 'hole' [Frj. 1991, 6] (AS: Stl. 1987, 158, #119). From AA \*b-h-l '(to make a) hole' [GT] (perhaps extended by \*-h-?), cf. SBrb.: EWlm. ɛ-bawēl 'ébauche de puits, creux d'implantation du puits neuf' [Ncl. 1957, 53] = EWlm. e-bāwel, pl. i-bul-an & Ayr e-bāwel, pl. i-bəwl-an '3. petit endroit creux dans le sol/terrain' [PAM 20] ||| ECu. \*bohl- 'hole in the ground' [Sasse 1979, 41; 1982, 39] ||| Ch. \*ɓ-l '(to make a) hole' [GT] = \*ɓ-l 'to dig' [JS 1981, 85C]: WCh. \*ɓAl- 'протыкать (to pierce)' [Stl.]: Hausa ɓúúlà ~ ɓúllà ~ ɓúllè 'to stave (bever) hole in sg.' [Abr. 1962, 117-118] | Galambu



ḡál ‘протыкать (to pierce)’ [Stl.], Kirfi ḡòḡólú [-ḡ- < \*-h-] ‘протыкать (to pierce)’ [Stl.] | NBCh. \*ḡul- ‘to pierce’ [Skn.]: Jimbin ḡul ‘to pierce’, Diri ḡū ‘to pierce’ (NBCh.: Skn. 1977, 34; WCh.: Stl. 1987, 158) || CCh.: Vulum ḡìlì ‘percer, creuser (puits)’ [Trn. 1978, 288] || ECh.: Tumak ḡèl ‘creuser’ [Cpr. 1975, 50].

• AS \*ḡel ‘many’ vs. \*ḡul ‘1. much, 2. more’: Angas bull (so, double -ll) ‘much’, cf. rot-e bull ‘to prefer’ (act. ‘to like very much’) [Ormsby 1914, 313-314] = ḡul ‘a particle, also used in a comparative or superlative sense’ [Flk. 1915, 151] = ḡúl (ḡokɔ) ‘überaus, sehr (zum Ausdruck des Komparativs und Superlativs verwendet)’ [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḡul ‘more’ [ALC 1978, 7] = ḡul (particle of comparative and superlative), e.g. wok-wok ḡul ‘bigger’, wok-wok ḡul khi-ḡut ‘biggest’, son-son ḡul ‘taller’, son-son ḡul khi-ḡut ‘tallest’, rit-rit ḡul ‘better’, rit-rit ḡul khi ḡut ‘best’ [Gcl. 1994, 63], perhaps Sura ḡèl ší dée ‘umso mehr’ (ší ‘with, by, through’, dée ‘?’) [Jng. 1963, 60], also Sura ḡúl ‘vermehrten’ [Jng. 1963, 60], Mnt. bul-bul ‘many’ [Ftp. 1911, 218], Gmy. mḡel ~ ḡel ‘many, in great number’ [Srl. 1937, 137] = mḡel (so, -b-) (adv.) ‘many’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 22] = mḡel ~ ḡel ‘many, in great number’ [Srl. 1937, 137]: from Ch. \*ḡ-l < \*b-ʔ-l ‘big’ [GT] = \*ḡ-l [JS 1981, 40A<sub>2</sub>]: WCh.: Bokkos ḡâl ‘1. viel werden, 2. groß werden’ [Jng. 1970, 140], Daffo-Butura ḡâl ‘1. im Überfluß vorhanden sein, 2. zu viel sein’ [Jng. 1970, 212] | Diri ḡula ‘long, tall, big’ [Skn. 1977, 30], Kirfi ḡúllí ‘many, much’ [Schuh 1978, 53], Kwami ḡéllí ‘Menge, viel, die meisten’ [Leger 1992, 24] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -ḡaḡel- ‘grossir, engraisser’ [Brt. 1988, 88], Mada ḡòḡòl-ḡòl, óḡòḡòl-ḡoloá ‘beaucoup, nombreux (fruits)’, ḡòlòl ~ óḡòloloá ‘gros, épai (corde, boyau)’ [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 73] || ECh.: Somray ḡèl ‘1. être large (un trou p.ex.), 2. toucher grand, large’ [Jng. 1993 MS, 8], Ndam-Dik ḡəəl ‘big’ [Mkr.], Tumak ḡèl ‘1. agrandir un trou, élargir, évaser (tr.), 2. être large (intr.)’ [Cpr. 1975, 50] ||| Sem.: Akk. (bab., nA) baʔālu → bâlu G ‘abnormal groß, lichtstark sein’, D ‘sehr gewichtig machen’, baʔlu (jB) ‘abnormal groß’ [AHW 93, 100; DRS 40: isolated] ||| SCu.: Qwadza biʔila ‘thousand’ [Ehret 1980 MS, 1; 1980, 137].

• AS \*ḡel ‘dance’: Angas ḡit-ḡél ‘anklet for dance’ (cf. AS \*ḡit ‘bracelet’, q.v.) [Brq. 1971, 23], Sura ḡél ‘Tanz’ [Jng. 1963, 60] || CCh.: Vulum ḡulí ‘to dance’ [Brt. 1995, 215] | Masa ḡòl ‘to dance’ [Brt. 1995, 219] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu ḡér kén kérów ‘tanzen’ [Jng.] | Mokilko béré ‘Tanz’ [Jng.] (ECh.: JI 1994 II, 100) ||| Eg. jḡ3 [-3 < \*-l] ‘tanzen’ (OK, Wb I 62, 8) ||| HECu.: Burji belél-a ‘Tanz’ [Sasse 1982, 35].

NB: The ḡ- in Sura and other Chadic data may perhaps be due to a lost first syllable (\*ʔV-bVl = Eg. jḡ3?).

• AS \*ḡel ‘clear (of weather)’: Angas ḡél ~ bāl ‘clear, daylight’ [Flk. 1915, 148] = ḡél ‘1. to (be) clear (of weather)’, ḡèl ‘condition of being (of weather) clear’ [Gcl. 1994, 48]: cognate to CCh.: Bura mbila, Heba mbělá, Margi mbəl ‘to shine’ (BM: SISAJa) ||| HECu.: Hadiya bill- ‘to clear up (of sky)’, bálla ‘day’ [Dlg. 1973, 204-205] || SCu.: Iraqw bal ‘day, period of time’ [Ehret] = bālā ‘day (24 hours)’ [Mgw. 1989, 111], Burunge balu ‘day’ [Ehret], Alagwa balalu ‘days’ [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 134).

Lit.: IS 1966, 19 (Angas-Margi); Dlg. 1966, 51; 1973, 254 (Angas-Margi); SISAJa I, #118 (Cu.-Angas-BM); HCVA 2, #133 (HECu.-Angas-Sem.).

• AS \*ḡēr ‘to attack, fight’: Sura ḡəer ‘angreifen’ [Jng. 1963, 60], Msr. ḡeer ‘war’, cf. ḡeer ret na mu ‘war is not good to see’ [Dkl. 1997 MS]: from WCh. \*ḡ-r < \*mb-r (?) [GT]:



PRon \*ḡūr ‘war’ [GT]: Daffo ḡúúr ‘Krieg, Kampf’ [Jng.] = ḡúúr ‘1. bataille, 2. tribunal’ [Jng. 1981, 430], Butura ḡuray ‘Krieg, Kampf’ [Jng.], Sha bur ‘Krieg, Streit’ [Jng.], Kulere ḡūr ‘Krieg’ [Jng.] (Ron: Jng. 1970, 213, 283, 351) | Pero ḡurè ‘fighting, strife’ [Frj. 1985, 23] || ECh.: Mokilko ḡòbbirá ‘2. combattre (pendant une guerre)’ [Jng. 1990, 151] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-bubbār ‘lutte (entre 2 adversaires, sans armes, corps à corps, en se frappant ou non, par querelle ou par jeu)’ [Fcd. 1951-2, 85], EWlm. ā-bobbar ‘1. discussion chaude et menaçante entre deux groupes de pers., 2. manifestation de violence’ [PAM 3] ||| SCu.: Dahalo mbóri ‘war’ [EEN 1989, 45]. From AA \*b-r (or \*mb-r) ‘to fight’ [GT].

• AS \*ḡes ‘(to be) quick’: Gmy. ḡes ‘1. quickness, 2. (adv.) quickly’ [Srl. 1937, 13] = bes ‘to be easy, quick, inexpensive’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 1] ||| SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr ə-həz [h < \*ḡ] ‘se hâter, se presser, se dépêcher’, caus. zə-həz ‘hâter, presser, activer’ [PAM 140] ||| Eg. ḡš (GW) ‘rapid (of water)’ (NE, DLE I 147) = ‘Stromschnellen’ (GHWb 262) ||| Sem. \*bʔs ‘to be quick’ (?) [GT]: Akk. (nA) bāsi ‘bald nach, alsbald’ [AHW 110] || Geez bəʔsa ‘i.a.: 3. to be swift’ [Lsl. 1987]. The second sibilant of the PAA root cannot be precisely reconstructed (because of the irregular NEg. -š).

• AS \*ḡil ~ \*ḡul (?) > \*ḡəl ‘horn’: Gerka ḡil [act. \*ḡəl?] ‘horn’ [Ftp. 1911, 217] = ḡəl ‘horn’ [IL] = ḡəl (error for \*ḡəl?) ‘horn’ [Smz.] = ḡəl [Stl. <?], Mnt. bulu (sic, with -u#!) ‘horn’ [Ftp. 1911, 217] (AS: Stl. 1987, 158, #121) | Bole-Tangale \*ḡal(əm) [Schuh 1984, 210] < WCh. \*b-H-l ‘horn’ [GT] = \*mba-Hili-um (sic) [Stl.] || (?) CCh.: BM \*təm-bəl- (?) [compound?] ‘horn’ [GT]: Bura timḡil [Krf.], Cbk. təmbələ [IL] = timbulə [Krf.], WMargi timḡil ~ tumḡil [Krf.], Ngwahyi timḡil [Krf.] (Ch.: Kraft 1981, #206; JI 1994 II, 192) ||| SOm.: Galila bāl-i, Dime bal-tu ‘horn’ (SOm.: Bnd. 1994, 152) ||| Eg. \*bj3 or \*bj [< \*bl?] ‘tusk, tooth of animal (or sim.)’: depicted by the hrgl. with the phonetic value bj or bj3 (MK and thereafter, cf. Wb I 436-442; Grd. 1927, 454: F18). From AA \*b-ʔ-l ‘horn’ [GT].

Lit.: Mkr. 1987, 213-214 (WCh.-SOm.); 1989 MS, 4 (NOm.-SOm.-WCh.); Blz. 1989 MS Om., 20, #67; 1994, 197 (WCh.-SOm.); HSED #192 (WCh.-SOm.).

• AS \*ḡirin → \*ḡərən ‘to roll’: Angas ḡərən ‘to make a paste’ [ALC 1978, 7], Sura ḡərən ‘im Sande, Staube wälzen (von einem Pferd)’ [Jng. 1963, 60], Kfy. ḡírín ‘to roll around, roll over (as a man or stone)’ [Ntg. 1967, 3], Msr. ḡirin ‘to roll’, ka ḡiring ik ‘you roll stone’ [Dkl. 1997 MS] = birin [irreg. b-] ‘rolling’ [Jng. 1999 MS, 1], Gmy. ḡiring ‘to roll’, var. (?) ḡiling [irreg. -l- < \*-r-] ‘to form balls’ [Srl. 1937, 14-16] = ḡirin ‘(verb, refers to rolling of an object or person around the whole axis)’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 2-3] || CCh.: Lame ḡùḡúrúm ‘rond, ovoïde’ [Scn. 1982, 266] ||| Sem.: Ar. barama I ‘1. tordre, tresser (une corde) en tordant les fils, 2. pirouetter’, II ‘tourner, faire aller le fuseau en filant’ [BK I 117-118, cf. DRS 85].

• AS \*-ḡo (?): Angas kó-ḡò (prefix ko-?) (K) ‘Penis’ [Jng. 1962 MS, 19] ||| Sem.: Ar. būḡ- ‘penis, pudenda’ (used in the expression ‘son of būḡika’, i.e. ‘thy own son’), cf. bwḡ IV: ʔabāḡa ‘violenter une femme’ [DRS], OSA: Qatabani ḡ-t ‘phallic symbol of fertility and procreation of pasture, offered for the rain god: votive phallus (?)’ [Ghul] = ‘votive object’ [Ricks 1982, 34], Sabaic \*bwḡ: ḡ-t ‘votive phallus (?)’ [SD 33] = ‘votive object (specifically on inscriptional plaque)’ [Ricks l.c.] (Sem.: Ghul 1959, 18).



• **AS \*boyon** → (?) **\*bweyen** ‘to look for’: Mpn. bōŋ [via \*boyn?] ‘to look for, check, examine’ [Frj. 1991, 7], Msr. bokon ‘to discover’, cf. ka bokon ane ‘where have you discovered it?’ [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. bueŋ’ [\*bueŋ] ‘to look at’ [Srl. 1937, 19] = bəyən [reg. < \*bueŋ] ‘suchen’ [Jng. 1962 MS, 7] = bien [bueŋ < \*bueŋ] ‘to look at, watch’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 4]. Perhaps from AA \*b-[g]-n ‘to watch attentively’ [GT], cf. Sem. \*bħn (?) → NWSem. \*bħn ‘to examine’ [GT]: Hbr. bħn qal ‘prüfen (bes. Metalle durch Schmelzen)’ [GB 91], cf. Syr. bħn pael ‘to examine, test’, buħānā ‘testing’ [Lambdin] ||| Eg. bħn ‘wachsam sein, wachen, spähen’ (NK, LP, GR, Osing 1976, 258, 833) ||| CCh.: Buduma bagén ‘warten’ [Nct. in Lks. 1939, 91].

• **AS \*bōt** < **\*bōd** (pl. **\*bat**?) ‘to know, be able’: Kfy. bōot ‘to know’ [Ntg. 1967, 3], Mnt. bood (so, old -d) ‘to be able’ [Ftp. 1911, 214], Gmy. bood [old \*-d?] ‘to be able’ [Ftp. 1911, 214] = bōot ‘to be able, can’ [Srl. 1937, 18] = bōot ‘können, vermögen’ [Jng. 1962 MS, 7] = bōot (sg.), bat (pl.) ‘to be able’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 3-4] ||| Sem. \*bšh [DRS]: Geez bašha, Tigre bāšhā, Tigrinya bāšhe ‘to reach, arrive’ (ES: Lsl. 1987, 111; DRS 77) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight baḍ ‘pouvoir, avoir la possibilité de, être capable de’ [Taifi 1991, 10; DRB 1, 29] | Qabyle e-mbaḍ ‘procurer’ [Dlt. 1982, 12] ||| Bed. beḍah ‘ankommen, ans Ziel gelangen’ [Rn. 1895, 43] < AA \*b-[ḥ]-H ‘1. to reach, obtain, 2. be able’ [GT].

• **AS \*buyut** → **\*bəyət** ‘to form a round object’: Angas buut ~ buut-buut ‘1. any small round article, like a marble or ball, 2. also the big roundish stones used in making walls, etc., 3. a round lump of earth, etc.’ [Flk. 1915, 153] = buut ‘1. eine Kugel formen; 2. rund’ [Jng. 1962 MS] = [bút] ‘to knead’ [Brq. 1971, 35] = büt ‘to knead’ [ALC 1978, 7], Sura bəgət ‘einen Klumpen oder Ball formen oder bilden’, bəgət ‘ein Klumpen, Ball’ [Jng. 1963, 60-61], Msr. bikit ‘to make food into a patty loaf or ball (like clay, mud, food or to make block)’, bikit ngwom ‘to make into a patty loaf or ball (food, clay, mud), make block’ [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. biat [irreg. short -a-, pl. stem?] ‘to make some thing up into cakes or balls’ [Srl. 1937, 14] ||| LECu.: Oromo buṭṭi, hence Harari biṭṭi ‘small and circular thing, small earring, small basket, small loaf of bread’ [Lsl. 1963, 48] ||| NOm.: Chara boṭ-o ‘round, spherical (rotondo), squash’ [Bnd. 1974 MS, 22] ||| perhaps Eg. bt (ball det.) [unless < \*bd] ‘ob der sogenannte Salbkegel (?)’ (LP, Wb I 483, 7).

• **AS \*buk** < **\*buk** (?) ‘hot ashes in fireplace’: Mpn. bük ‘hot ashes (one use is to cook local olives)’ [Frj. 1991, 7], Msr. mbuk (so, plain -b-) ‘soil where fire is set’ [Dkl. 1997 MS, 179]: from AA \*b-ḳ (or \*b-k) ‘to burn’ [GT]: Brb. \*b-γ ‘to burn’ [GT]: NBrb.: Qabyle a-γ [\*-wγ < \*-bγ] ‘être allumé’ [DRB 1, 81-82] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames ā-bəy ‘être allumé (feu)’, s-ī-bəy (caus.) ‘allumer’ [Lanfry 1973, 23, #85] ||| HECu.: Burji buḳḳ- ‘to burn, lighten (intr.)’ [Sasse 1982, 42] = buḳ-ís-i ‘to burn’ [Wdk. 1976-79, 175] = buḳḳ- ‘to burn’ [Hds. 1989, 182] = buḳḳ- ‘to burn, scorch (intr.)’ [Lmb.] ||| NOm.: (?) Janjero (Yemsa) boʔ-à [-ʔ- < \*-ḳ-ʔ] ‘Kohl’ [Lmb. 1993, 329] ||| Eg. bħḥ ‘glühen, brennen’ (NK, Wb I 472, 1) = ‘consumer’ (already CT IV 65j, AL 78.1354) = ‘glühen, brennen’ (GHWb 259).

• **AS \*buk**: Gmy. buk ‘1. to rise, 2. raise, lift’ [Srl. 1937, 20] ||| NOm.: Koyra bâḳ-a ‘mountain’ [Flm. 1990, 28].

• **AS \*bum** > **\*bəm** ‘hill’: Angas bum ‘hill without stones’ [ALC 1978, 7] = büm ‘hill, mountain’ [Gcl. 1994, 61-62], Kfy. büm ~ bōém [bəm] (Mernyang) ‘mountain’ [Ntg. 1967,



3]: from AA \*b-h-m ~ \*b-h-n (prob. \*buhm-/\*buhn-) 'hill' [GT], cf. Sem.: Ar. buhm-at-  
'rocher' [BK I 173] = 'Fels' [GB] = 'bloc de pierre' [DRS 48] ||| WCh.: NBch. \*ḅun >  
\*ḅin 'anthill' [Skn.]: Warji ḅun-na, Pa'a ḅin, Diri aḅun (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 11).

• AS \*ḅum > \*ḅəm '1. dumb, 2. fool (?)': Angas ḅum 'a fool, an idiot, imbecile, etc.'  
[Gcl. 1994, 61-62], Kfy. fu-boem (so, plain b-!) [fu < \*pu, irreg. b- < \*ḅ-] 'dumb' [Ntg.  
1967, 13], perhaps Msr. ḅum ~ ḅuum 'it is a belief that some children have open head  
(that they do go and collect something [?] from the River Ghost in a stream)' (so!) [Dkl.  
1997 MS]: from AA \*b-h-m ~ \*b-(h)-n 'deaf, dumb' [GT]: Sem. \*bhm: Ar. ʔabham- 'qui  
ne sait ou ne peut pas parler' [BK I 174] = 'stumm' [GB] = 'bereft of articulate speech'  
[Lsl.] || ES: Geez bəhma 'to be mute, dumb, speak with difficulty' [Lsl.], Tigre bəhama  
& Tna. bəhamä 'to be dumb' [Lsl.] (Sem.: GB 86; Lsl. 1987, 89-90) ||| CCh. \*ḅEm-  
[< \*bEhm-] 'deaf' [GT]: Tera ḅəḅəm 'deaf mute' [Nwm. 1964, 46, #390], Hwona tē-ḅəḅ  
'deaf' [Krf.], Ga'anda ḅema 'deaf' [Krf.], Gabin ḅeme 'deaf' [Krf.], Boka ḅoma 'deaf'  
[Krf.] | Nzangi gbəg-gbəme 'deaf' [Krf.], Mwulyen byĩntĩḅò 'deaf' [Krf.], Bachama gbĩyḅey  
'deaf' [Krf.] (CCh.: Krf. 1981, #310).

• AS \*ḅwak 'to pus (of wound)': Sura ḅwak 'eitem (von Hautausschlag und Ekzemen  
gesagt)' [Jng. 1963, 60], Msr. ḅwak '1. to swell up (body), 2. rashes on the body', ḅuwak  
'the rashes swell up' (so) [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. ḅuak 'a blister' [Srl. 1937, 19] | WCh.:  
Jum ḅuuk 'to rot' [Csp. 1994, 63] ||| HECu.: Hadiya buḅ- 'to rot', Burji būḅ- 'to go  
mouldy' (HECu.: Sasse 1982, 42, 44) ||| Sem. \*bqq 'pourrir' [DRS 79, cf. Zbr. 1971, #19;  
Lsl. 1987, 101].

• AS \*ḅwer ~/> \*bwer 'to be too many': Sura bwer (so, plain bw-!) 'voll, überfließend',  
hence laar bwér 'zwölf (alte Form)' (cf. Suroid \*lār '10', q.v.), laar bwér bàa míndòḅ 'dreizehn  
(alte Form)' (bàa 'und', míndòḅ 'eins', cf. laar vul '20', laar kún '30' etc.) [Jng. 1963, 59],  
Kfy. ḅwér 'many, plenty of (people behind)' [Ntg. 1967, 4], Chip ḅwer 'many' [Krf.], Msr.  
ḅwer 'to be full to brim, fill to the brim', cf. am ni kap ḅwer 'the water is full to the brim'  
[Dkl. 1997 MS]: might be related to AA \*b-h-r [GT], cp. ES \*bhr: Tigrinya bəhar ~  
bahar 'grand, fort', Tigre bəhar-at 'qui poussent, germent' (ES: DRS 49) ||| Ch. \*ḅ-r <  
\*b-h-r [GT]: WCh.: Dera ḅàaré 'to grow up', cf. ḅámberàm 'largeness, importance' [Nwm.  
1974, 122] || CCh.: Gisiga ḅiber 'dick' [Lks. 1970, 119], Mada ḅàràr ~ ḅèrèr 'nombreux,  
innombrables (fruits tombés), à ras-bord, plein (liquide)', ḅḅòr ~ óḅḅòroá 'gros (bâton)',  
cf. ḅár ḅár 'solide (bâton, corde), solidement serré', ḅér ḅér '(tenir) solidement, en serrant'  
[Br̄t.-Brunet 2000, 74-75].

• AS \*ḅwoyon →/~ \*ḅwōn ~ \*ḅwiyin (or \*ḅwe₂ye₂n?) '1. hips, waist, 2. buttocks' [GT] =  
\*ḅw₁ō₁n 'back, thighs' [Stl. 1977] = \*ḅwīn 'back (спина)' [Stl. 1987] (common AS root  
attested almost in all known daughter languages) | Bade maa-bən 'Gesäß' [Lks. 1974-5,  
103], Ngizim àbin vīkšī 'buttocks' [Krf. 1981, #61] = bəm-bəkšī 'buttocks', cf. vəkšī 'anus,  
buttocks' [Schuh 1981, 16] ||| NBr̄b.: Shilh a-banna 'queue toffue du renard' | Tamazight  
a-banna 'gros derrière' (NBr̄b.: DRB 1, 73) ||| NOm.: Kaffa binn-ō 'ano' [Crl. 1951, 413]  
||| OEg. bnw 'ein Körperteil' (PT, Wb I 459, 1) = 'waist or buttocks' (Faulkner 1969,  
226, fn. 17: PT 1464b), cf. also wbn.w 'Bez. eines Körperteils des Stiers, ob: Schwanzende  
(?)' (PT, Wb I 294, 14) = 'root of tail' (PT 547b, Faulkner op.cit., p. 108, fn. 3) =



\*Schwanzende (des Stiers), \*Afterloch, \*Steiß' (GHWb 188) unless it derives from wbn 'to rise' (as suggested by Faulkner l.c.).

• AS \*b̥ī (?) > Angas \*g̥<sub>3</sub>ī or \*g̥<sub>1</sub>ī (?) 'to seek': Angas gee 'to seek' [Ormsby 1914, 314] = gii ~ gyii 'to seek, look for' [Flk. 1915, 187] = 'gii (VN 'gii) 'suchen' [Jng. 1962 MS] = ɖyi 'to seek', cf. ɖyi ši 'to investigate' [ALC 1978, 15] = gyi 'to search for', cf. gyi-po 'to look for trouble' (cf. AS \*p<sup>w</sup>o 'difficulty') [Gcl. 1994, 35, 120], presumably Msr. bii [act. b̥yi < \*g̥<sub>3</sub>ī?] 'to follow' [Dkl. 1997 MS]. The labial element is secondary here, deriving from the combination of AS \*g̥ and \*y, cf. Eg. ḥḥj [\*ḥḥj] 'suchen' (PT, Wb III 151-152) ||| Sem.: MSA: Jibbali ḥyw: ḥē 'to search, look for' [Jns. 1981, 121]. From AA \*ḥ-y 'to seek' [GT].

### Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, CCh.: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gmy.: Goemay, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, Kfy.: Kofyar, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MG: Mofu-Gudur, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, Mnt.: Montol, Mpn.: Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Mushere, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OInd.: Old Indic = Sanskrit, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaean, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawllemed, Y: Young(er).

### Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, ABst.: A. Basset, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Bgn.: Beguinot, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Ctc.: Cañtucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, Dlt.: Dallet, Ebs.: Ebobisse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, Jgr.: Jaggar, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Mrn.: Moreno, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, Old.: Ol'derogge, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Prd.: Paradisi, Prh.: Porhomovskij, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzig, Rn.: Reinisch, Rsg.: Rossing,



Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Tm.: Tourneux, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, Vcl.: Vycichl, Wdk.: Wedekind, Wlf.: Wölfel, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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