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*Этимологический словарь
чадских языков*

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**Chadic Etymological
Dictionary**

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- AAS - *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl*, G. Takacs ed., Brill, Leiden, 2004.
- AKM - *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.
- AM - *Africana Marburgensia*.
- AuU- *Afrika und Uebersee*.
- JLR - *Journal of Language Relationship*. MSA - *Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde. Serie A*. Berlin, Reimer.
- SCH - *Selected Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistic Studies* Im memory of Igor. M. Diakonoff. M.L.Bender, G.Takacs, D.Appleyard eds., München, Lioncom Europa, 2003.
- SELAF - *Societe d'Études Linguistiques et Anhtropologiques de France*.
- SIL - *Summer Institute of Linguistics*
- SOA - *Sprache und Oralität in Afrika*.
- TCL - *Topics in Chadic Linguistics*.

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Azum ī PAZ	Dzəpaw - Sa	Makari - AIM	Muyang- SmM
Bade - Tarb	EDangla - Ebb	Mlg - Lr	Ngz - SchN
Baka - BAS	Fyer - JgR	Masmaje - Alio	Ouldem -KOU
Bana - GlBn	Gisiga - LkG	Mawa - RoM	Pero - FrP
Bidiya - JgB	Glavda - Rp	Mbara TrMba	Podoko - JL
Birgit - JgBr	Gude - Hs	Mbuko GvNT	Saba - DMT
Bokkos - JgR	Hausa- Bargery	Merey - GvMr	Sakun - DS
Bud - LkBd	Kajakse - Alio	Migama - JgM	Sha - JgR
Bure - BtB	Kera - Eb	Mobu - Lns	Tangale -JgT
Buwal - VBw	Kulere - JgR	Mofu - BaMof	Toram - Alio
Chuvok - NdC	Lele - WP	Mokilko JgMk	Tumak - CpT
D-B - JgR	Mada - BaMd	Moloko - Bow	WDangla - Fd
Dari - Cpr	Mafa - BaMaf	Mulwi- TrMlw	Zulgo - ZIL
Duwai - SchD		Munjuk-TrMnj	

Введение

Чадские языки, наряду с семитскими, египетским, кушитскими, омотскими и берберскими образуют афразийскую (семито-хамитскую) макро-семью. Согласно классификации Пола Ньюмана [NmC], к чадской семье принадлежит около 170 языков, на которых говорят в Нигерии, Камеруне, Чаде и Нигере.

Этимологический словарь включает 930 прачадских корней, к каждому из которых удалось обнаружить параллели хотя бы в одной из ветвей афразийской семьи. Исключение сделано для чадско-берберских изоглосс, которые, ввиду многочисленных заимствований между языками этих семей и из арабского языка, не могут претендовать на статус афразийских корней, и потому в словарь не включены. На чадский материал также накладываются ограничения - корпус содержит корни, рефлексы которых сохранились во всех трех (западная, центральная, восточная) или в любых двух ветвях семьи. Немногочисленные исключения из этого правила (чадская реконструкция на уровне одной семьи с надежной внешней параллелью) объясняются уникальной семантикой или необычной структурой AA корня. Можно надеяться, что появление нового материала позволит уменьшить количество исключений.

Внешние параллели в большинстве случаев представлены семитскими этимологиями [Coh, Fron, DRS, LesG, SED] или лексикой отдельных языков. Ключевая роль семитских языков в любых сравнительно-исторических исследованиях на материале афразийской семьи совершенно очевидна. Существенно также, что уже разработана система регулярных фонетических соответствий между прасемитским и прачадским [ДьякА, HSED XVIII-XX, St]. В отсутствии такой системы соответствий между чадскими, кушитскими и омотскими языками при поиске когнатов наиболее существенными были не отдельные словари, а уже существующие реконструкции на уровне отдельных групп или ветвей [Долг, Ss, Hds, ApAg, Eh, Kies, VndO, BlžO]. Однако внешняя параллель к чадскому корню может быть представлена и лексикой одного-двух кушитских языков. Такие "потенциальные" этимологии существенны для установления системы фонетических соответствий. Кроме того, велика вероятность, что они могут быть дополнены специалистами в области сравнительного исследования кушитских и омотских языков. При поиске Египетских когнатов автор руководствовался соответствиями, установленными Г. Такачем в EDE I, гл. 4: "The Old Egyptian Consonant System and Afro-Asiatic". Ссылки на уже существующие афразийские/семито-хамитские этимологии [Coh, AA, HSED, EDE, TPh, etc.] даются в конце соответствующего раздела.

Наша задача - создать корпус потенциально афразийских корней, который усилиями компаративистов, работающих в этой области,

можно превратить в полноценный этимологический словарь всей макро-семьи. Кроме того, корпус этимологий может стимулировать новую попытку реконструировать прачадскую вокалическую систему. Предварительным этапом было исследование исторической фонетики и морфологии чадских языков, а также создание лексической базы данных, т.е., полного корпуса чадских корней. Часть этой базы данных уже опубликована ([CLD I-IV]), оставшиеся выпуски готовятся к публикации. Внешние параллели устанавливались на всех этапах исследования. В работе учитывались результаты исследования по исторической фонетике и лексике чадских языков [GrL, Gr, Gv, Hff, JgIb, Nm, Mo, SchV, Shy, SkNB, SkH, Sol, TAS, Tr], особенно - так называемые "sound laws", установленные в [Nm 13-19]. Отличительной особенностью "Словаря" является то, что в процессе работы был охвачен весь лексический материал по чадским языкам, доступный в настоящее время, включая полевые записи разных авторов. Именно по этой причине, предлагаемые чадские реконструкции могут существенно отличаться от предложенных ранее (поскольку объем материала за последние годы значительно вырос) или от тех, в которых чадский материал использован фрагментарно, без внутренней реконструкции.

Цель создания словаря - продемонстрировать результаты сравнительно-исторического исследования лексики чадских языков за последние двадцать лет и стимулировать аналогичную работу на материале всей афразийской макросемьи.

Моя искренняя благодарность коллегам, которые предоставили в мое распоряжение неопубликованные материалы по чадским языкам - Р. Гравина, Р. Легеру, Д. Лор, А. Турно и Б. Хельвиг, а также многочисленным исследователям, размещающим свои материалы в интернете. Пользуюсь возможностью поблагодарить Анну Григорьевну Белову за постоянные консультации по арабскому материалу и Тамару Григорьевну Погибенко за помощь в переводе предисловия на английский язык.

Список сокращений

АА - афразийский, Аккад - Аккадский, Араб - Арабский, берб. - берберский, вост. - восточный, гр. - группа, др.-евр. - Древне-Еврейский, Егип - Египетский, зап. - западный, куш. - кушитский, омот. - омотский, прачад. - прачадский, сем. - семитский, центр. - центральный, чад. - чадский, ю. - южный.

Introduction

Chadic branch of the Afrasian/Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) phylum "is a family of approximately 170 languages spoken in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger" [Nm 2]. The present issue includes 930 Proto-Chadic verbal and noun roots which have external parallels at least in one more branch of Afrasian. The only exception is fragmentary attested Chadic-Berber isoglosses. Because of the numerous borrowing between the languages of these families as well as from Arabic, such isoglosses are not included in the issue. Certain restrictions were applied to Chadic data: the present issue embraces the roots attested in all of the three branches (West, Central, East) or in any two of them. The few exceptions to this rule - the reconstructed root is attested in one branch of the family - are due to rare semantics or root-structure. For the same reason a number of Chadic roots attested in a few languages only (but with a reliable external parallel) are also included. New material could support etymologies of "questionable validity" and thus, make them valid.

External parallels are mostly represented by Semitic cognates, including Proto-Semitic roots as attested in [Coh, Fron, DRS, SED, MAg]. The core position of Semitic branch within the Afrasian macro-family seems indisputable and generally accepted. In addition, reliable phonetic correspondences are long before established between Proto-Semitic and Proto-Chadic [ДьякА, HSED XVIII-XX, St]. Of special interest were also Cushitic and Omotic data, in the first place - reconstructions on branch- and group-levels [Долг, ApAg, BndO, BlžO, Eh, Hds, Kies, Ss, SsB]. For further progress in Afrasian comparative studies a detailed system of correspondences between these three branches is needed. Given, that Chadic languages are free from Cushitic/Omotic loans and *vice versa*, a few Chadic roots with fragmentary Cushitic or Omotic cognates can be found in the text. Regular reflexes of AA phonemes in Egyptian established in [EDE I] served as guidelines in search of Egyptian cognates to Chadic roots. References to Afro-Asiatic etymologies earlier suggested by other authors or in co-authorship [Coh, AA, Долг, HSED, EDE, TPh, etc.] are given at the end of corresponding entries.

Our aim was to compile a body of Chadic roots with reliable Afrasian parallels, which could serve as a constituent part of a new Afrasian etymological dictionary. In the meantime, the bulk of etymologies could stimulate a new attempt of reconstructing Proto-Chadic vocalic system.

The preliminary stage of our work was a study of Chadic historical phonology and morphology as well as creating a lexical database (a full body of Chadic roots). Part of this database has already been published [CLD I-IV], the rest of it is to be published soon. External parallels were established at every stage of our research. The results acquired in historical research of Chadic phonology and lexicon [GrL, Gr, Gv, Hff, Jglb, Nm, Mo, SchV, Shy, SkNB, SkH, Sol, TAS, Tr] were taken into account, especially -

"sound laws", described in [Nm 13-19]. A distinctive feature of the "Dictionary" is that almost all Chadic lexical data available up to the present were embraced, including unpublished field data of different authors. That is the reason why the reconstructions included in this issue may differ significantly from those offered previously (since lately the bulk of the material has considerably enlarged), and also from those where only random fragments picked out of Chadic material were used without internal reconstruction.

Abbreviations

adj. - adjective, adv. - adverb, assim. - assimilation, Caus. - Causative, coll. - collective noun, denom. denominative, deriv. - derivative, dial. - dialect, dissim.- dissimilation, esp. - especially, gen.- general, gr. - group, idf. - ideofon, intr. - intransitive, irreg. - irregular, metath. - metathesis, obj. - object, pl. - plural, plurac. - pluractional, poss. - possessive, pr. - pronoun, pref. - prefix, redupl. - reduplication, regress. - regressive, sg. - singular, sbj. - subject, suff. - suffix, tr. - transitive.

Classification of Afrasian Languages

Chadic Languages

Joseph Greenberg [Gr] both proved the existence of the Chadic family and demonstrated its affiliation with the Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian) phylum. Actually, it was him who coined the term "Afro-Asiatic" bearing reference to the area where these languages are spoken. As to the membership and a more detailed classification see [Nm, NmC, BIC, BaJg, JgIb]. In the latter two Chadic languages were classified into three major branches: West, Central and East. However, according to P. Newman, the masa group (an integral part of the Central branch in the previous variant) should be classified as one of four branches of the family¹ (in addition to the above mentioned three).

The body of Chadic roots so far collected shows close affinity of masa data to that of other CCh languages (including some masa~musgu isoglosses). On the other hand, roots attested in West or/and East branches and in masa (and lacking more CCh data) are few. Note also that reflexes of PCh *s² (> Biu-Mandara *ɬ, but masa *s) cannot be taken as a classifying argument. Examples and arguments given in [StLat] introduce PCh *s not as a PCh

¹ "I have decided not to include the Masa group in any of the three major branches but rather to consider it as a separate, independent category" [Nm 8].

² "in addition to *s, one had to reconstruct another sibilant for PC, for which I have adopted the symbol ζ " [Nm 10].

phoneme, but as a positional variant of Ch *s, observed not only in CCh Biu-Mandara, but in WCh 5 as well (for a different solution see [Shy 41]³). Thus, in the present volume masa is classified as a group within the Central branch (for similar opinion and more supporting evidence see [TrM]). In listing groups of languages within the branches we mostly follow the classification and group-supporting numbering suggested in [Jglb]. However, reflexes of CCh matakam languages (CCh 7) are arranged in accordance with [NmC]. The same is true for CCh 5 mandara group (a single unit in [Jglb], but divided into two subgroups in [Nm] and [NmC]). Lastly, ECh 5 dangla and ECh 7 mubi groups (in [Jglb]) form a single unit in [NmC]. This innovation, supported by phonological and lexical data, was also accepted in the present volume (as compared to my previous publications, E 5 is referred to as E 5a, E 7 - as E 5b).

The classification given below embraces all Chadic languages whose lexemes are included in the text of the present issue. The names of the groups are written with a small letter, the names of the languages - with a capital one.

I. West Chadic

WCh-A

1. Hausa, Gwandara
2. sura-angas: Ngas (Angas), Miship (Chip), Kofyar, Mwaghavul (Sura), Mupun (note⁷ Sura/Mupun in [NmC]), Mushere, Goemay (Ankwe), Montol, Gerka (Yiwom)
3. bole: Bolewa, Bele, Galambu, Gera, Geruma, Karekare, Maka, Kirfi (Giwo), Ngamo, (Bure?), Tangale, Dera (Kanakuru), Kupto, Pero

WCh-B

4. warji (North Bauchi): Warji, Diri, Jimbin, Kariya, Mburku, Miya, Siri, Tsagu; Pa'a
5. South Bauchi: Dott, Wangdai, Geji, Polchi, Buli, Zul, Sayanchi, Guus, Zaar, Guruntum, Tala, Jimi, Boghom, Kir, Mangas
6. bade gr.: Bade, Ngizim, Duwai
7. ron: Bokkos, Daffo-Butura, Sha, Mundat, Kulere (Richa in [RC]), Fyer; {also: Mongar, Monguna, Karfa in [RC]}

II. Central Chadic

Gongola-Higi

1. tera gr.: Tera, (Pidlimdi (dial. of Tera in [Kr]), Hwona (=Hona), Jara, Ga'anda, Gabin, Boka
2. bura: Bura, Chibak, Ngwahyi, Kilba, Margi, WMargi, Wamdiu, Hildi
3. higi : Higi Nkafa, Higi Baza, Fali Kiriya, Bana (presumably =Fali Gili [Kr]), (Higi) Hya, Kapsiki (=Higi Kamale){also Higi Futu in [Kr]}.

³ "As P. Newman first noted, the merger of PC *s with PCh *s provides strong evidence against classification of the masa group as a subgroup of Biu-Mandara".

4. bata : Bachama, Bata, Gude, Fali of Muchella, Fali of Jilbu, Gudu, Jimjimən, Njanyi (=Nzangi), Tsuvan, Sharwa, Fali of Jilbu { also Fali of Bwagira in [Kr] }

Hill

5. wandala: Wandala (Mandara), Malgwa, Glavda, Ngweshe, Podoko, Dghweḍe, Guduf, Gava, Chikide (dial. of Guduf), Gvoko
- 5a. Chineni, Lamang, Hitkalanchi, Hide, Vemgo
6. daba: Daba, Musgoy (Mazagway), Buwal, Mbədam (referred to as Mbedam), Gavar
7. mafa: Mafa, Chuvok, Dugwor, Ouldem, Muyang, Mada, Moloko, Zulgo, Mercy, Gisiga, Mofu, Mefeḗ, Balda, Mbuko, Vame {also Baka [BIB]}
- 7a. (?) Sakun [Sukur]

Riverain

8. kotoko: Ngala, Makari, Affade, Gulfey Kusseri, Logone (Lagwan, Kotoko), Mazera, Zina {also Maltam [Tr], Buduma
9. musgu: Musgum [LkM], Munjuk, Mulwi, Mbara [Tr]
- 9a. (?) Gidar (Kada)
10. masa: North: Masa, Gizey (considered a dialect of Masa in [BIC]), Musey, Marba, Lew⁴, Ham ("la lingue parlata nel villaggio di Ham, I cui 2000 abitanti" [LexC])

South: Mesme⁵, Peve, Dari⁶, Dzepaw⁷, Ngidē⁸, Hedē⁹. It is clear that referring any language to as "Zime" provokes misunderstanding (see Notes 5-7). Thus, in the present publication, contrary to [CLD], Zime Daria will be referred to as Dari, Zime Batna - as Dzəpaw.

III. East Chadic.

ECh-A

1. kera: Kera, Kwang, dial. Mobu, Ngam [Lns]
2. lele: Lele, Kabalai, Nanchere, Gabri, Dormo (dial of Gabri), Tobanga (Gabri Nord)
3. somray: Somray (Sibine), Tumak, Ndam
4. sokoro: Sokoro, Saba, Ubi, Mawa
- 4a. Barcin (dial. Komiya, Giliya, Jalkiya, Janking)

ECh-B

- 5a. dangla: East Dangalcat, West Dangalcat, Central Dangalcat, Migama,

⁴ According to [PAz II], Marba, Lew and Kulong form an Azumenia dialect cluster.

⁵ This name is used in [JgZ], [NmC] and [Kr], but the same language is referred to as: Zime (Mesme) in [Shy 32-33], as Zime in [BIC].

⁶ in [NmC, JgZ], but referred to as: Tari in [BIC], Zime in [Shy 48-58], ZimD in [JgIb], Zime Dari in [CLD].

⁷ in [NmC, BIC], but referred to as: Batna in [JgZ], Lamé in [Sa], ZimB in [JgIb], Zime Batna in [CLD]; according to [Shy 33], "Lame or Dzəpaw in the southernmost dialect of Hedē".

⁸ in [Shy], - Ngete (Sorga) in [NmC, BIC, JgZ].

⁹ in [Shy, BIC] - Herde in [JgZ, NmC].

- Bidiya, Mabire
 5b. mubi: Mubi, Zirenkel, Masmaje, Kajakse, Toram, Birgit, Jegu
 (according to [NmC], the last two should be classified within 5a)
 6. mokilko: Mokilko.

Judging by lexical and phonological data, the first division of the Chadic family looked like as follows: Chadic

/ \
 West, Central East

Semitic languages (apud Kor 20-25)

1. East Semitic - Akkadian
2. West Semiti
 - 2.1 Central Semitic
 - 2.1.1 North-West Semitic
 - a.Canaanite - Phoenician, Punique, Hebrew;
 - b.Ugaritic
 - c.Aramaic (Judaic, Syriac, Mandaic dialects)
 - 2.1.2 Arabic
 - 2.1 3 South Arabian Epigraphic - Sabaic, Minean, Katabanian
 - 2.2 Ethiosemitic - Geez, Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Argoba, Gafat, Harari, Gurage (group of dialects)
 - 2.3.Modern South Arabian - Mehri, Harsusi, Jibbali, Soqotri

Berber languages (apud AA I, EDE I)

1. Old Libyan)
2. West - Zenaga
3. North - Shilh, Semlal, Ntifa, Izdeg, Izayan, Seghrushen, Figig, Rif, Senhazha, Iznasen, Snus, Tidikelt, Tuat, Shenwa, Mzab, Wargla, Shawya, Sened, Jerba (Djerba), Nefusa, Qabyle
4. East - Ghadames, Sokna, Awjila, Siwa
5. South - East Tawlemmet, Ayr, Ahaggar, Ghat, Taneslemt
6. Guanche)

According to [BlžB] and [BlžT], Ghadames (together with Nefusa and Sened) form a sub-group within the Northern branch of the Berber family

Cushitic languages

- 1.Beja (Bedauye)
- 2.Agaw - Bilin, Hamir, Hamta(nga), Qemant, Qwara, Aungi [ApAg 3].
- 3.East Cushitic ([Ss 3, 4])
 - 3.1. Saho, Afar (3.1- 3 = Lowland East Cushitic)
 - 3.2. Omo-Tana
 - a. Western - Dasenech, Arbore, Elmolo

- b. Eastern - Somali, Rendile, Boni,
- c. Northern - Baiso
- 3.3. Macro-Oromo - Oromo, Konso, Gidole
- 3.4. Sidamo gr. (Highland East Cushitic) -- Sidamo, Darasa, Kambatta, Alaba, Hadiya
- 3.5. Burji "formely classifies with the Sidamo group" [Ss 3]
- 3.6. dullay - Gawwada, Gollango, Dobase, Harso, Tsammako
- 3.7. Yaaku (Mogogodo)
- 4. South Cushitic
 - West rift - Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge
 - East rift - Asa, Qwadza
 - Dahalo (?)

For a "Tree diagram" of ECush languages see [BlžZ]. In the latter Baiso is considered a member of the Somaloid group, Burji - of HECushitic gr. The present classification can be found already in [Долл 5-10].

Omotic languages (apud [BndO 1]).

- 1. Mao (08) - Hozo, Sezo, MaoB (of Bambeshi), MaoD (of Diddesa), Ganza
- 2. TNDA
 - 2.1 TN
 - 2.1.1 Macro-Ometo (MO)
 - 2.1.1.1. Northwest Ometo (O1) - Wolaitta, Dorze, Dache, Gofa, Gamo, Dawro, Zala, Malo, Basketo
 - 2.1.1.2 Southeast Ometo (02) - Kore, Zayse, Harro, Gatsame, Ganjule, Gidicho, Kachama
 - 2.1.1.3 C'ara (03) - C'ara (Cara)
 - 2.1.2 Gimira (04) - Gimira, Bench, She (dial. of Gimira)
 - 2.1.3 Yem-Kefoid
 - 2.1.3.1 Yem (05) - Yemsa
 - 2.1.3.2 Kefoid (06) - Kaffa, Mocha, Anfillo, Shinasha (Bworo)
- 2.2 Dizoid-Aroid (DA)
 - 2.2.1 Dizoid (07) - Dizi, Sheko, Nao
 - 2.1.2 Aroid (09) - Ari, Hamer, Banna, Dime, Galila

Unclassified language - Ongota.

Abbreviations

Chadic languages: Afd - Afade, Azum - Azumeina, Bch - Bacama, Bgh - Boghom, Bnn - Banana, Bid - Bidiya, Bud - Buduma, C - Central, Ch - Chadic, Chb - Chibak, Chk - Chikide, Chn - Chinene, Chv - Chuvok, DB - Daffo-Butura, Dng - Dangla, Dghw - Dghwede, Duw - Duwai, Dzp - Dzəpaw, E - East, FB - Fali Bwagira, FJ - Fali Jilbu, FK - Fali Kiriya, FM - Fali Muchella, Glm - Galambu, Goem - Goemay, Gr - Gerka, Grnt - Gurun-tum, HB - Higi Baza, HN - Higi Nkafa, Hs - Hausa, Hitk - Hitkalanchi, Jmb - Jimbin, Kaba - Kabalai, Kap - Kapsiki, Krkr - Karekare,

Kus - Kusseri, Kwn- Kwang, Lmn - Lamang, Log - Logone, Mghv - Mwachga-vul, Mak - Makari, Mig - Migama, Mlg - Malgwa, MM - Masmaje, Mnj - Munjuk, Mnt - Montol, Mok- Mokiiko, Mrg - Margi, Muy - Muyang, Mwl - Mwulyen, Nch - Nanchere, Ngm - Ngamo, Ngz - Ngizim, Ould - Ouldem, Pol - Polchi, S - South, Saya - Sayanchi, Skn - Sakun, Sok - Sokoro, Smr - Somray, Tng - Tangale, Tob - Tobanga, Tor - Toram, Tum - Tumak, W - West, Wrj - Warji, Wnd - Wandala, Zir - Zirenkel.

Other Afrasian languages: AA - Afro-Asiatic, Afd - Afade, Ahg - Ahaggar, Akk - Akkadian, Alg - Alagwa, Amh - Amharic, Arab - Arabic, Arb - Arbore, Aram - Aramaic (dial. Bib - Biblical, Jud - Judaic, Mand-Mandaic, Syr - Syriac), Bed - Bedauye, Berb - Berber, Bur - Burunge, Cush - Cushitic, Dah - Dahalo, Dob - Dobase, Eg - Egyptian, Gaf - Gafat, Ghdm - Ghadames, Gor - Gorowa, Gur - Gurage, Hars - Harsusi, Hbr - Hebrew, Irq - Iraqw, Izn - Iznasen, Jib - Jibbali, Jud - Judaic Aramaib, Kamb - Kambatta, Mhr - Mehri, MSA - Modern South Arabian, Om - Omotic, Phn - Phoenician, Qab - Qabyle, Rend - Rendile, Sab - Sabaic, Sem - Semitic, Shin - Shinasha, Sghr - Seghrushen, Sid - Sidamo, Som - Somali, Soq - Soqoro, Tgr - Tigre, Tna - Tigrinya, Tnsl - Taneslemt, Tsam - Tsamai (Tsamako), Ug - Ugaritic, Wlm - Tawllemet, Wolt- Wolaitta (Welaitta, Ometo), Zng - Zenaga

Linguistic periods: Bab - Babylonian, Gr - Egyptian texts of Greco-Roman period, MA - Middle Assyrian, Med - Egyptian medical papyri, MK - Egyptian texts of the Middle Kingdom, NB - Neo-Babylonian, OA - Old Assyrian, OAKk - Old Akkadian, OK - Egyptian texts of the Old Kingdom, pB - post-Biblical, Pyr - Egyptian texts of the pyramids, Sarg - Egyptian texts inscribed on sarcophagi, SB - Standart Babylonian.

Conventional signs

Glottalization is rendered with a dot under the letter: *ṭ, c̣, ċ, ṣ, ḳ*. The only exclusion (due to technical problems) is made for the emphatic lateral written as *ḷ'*. Chadic voiced implosive phonemes are noted as *ɓ, ḍ, ḍy* (in previous publications - *b, d, dy*).

Palatalization is noted with a haeck - *š, č, ċ, ž*.

Lateral fricatives are noted as *ɬ* (voiceless), *ɮ* (voiced), the way it is done in the majority of publications on Chadic languages, *ɬ'* (emphatic).

Voiceless velar fricative is noted as *x*, its voiced counterpart - as *ɣ*, voiceless laryngeal - as *h*, its voiced counterpart as *ɦ*, glottal stop - as *ʔ*, Pharyngeals are noted as *ħ* (voiceless), *ʕ* (voiced), uvulars - as *ħ* (voiceless), *ǰ* (voiced).

The following notation of tones is generally accepted for Chadic languages: *a* -high, *a* - low, middle tone is either marked as *ā* or left unmarked (for example, in Hausa). In [Kr], R.Shuh and some other dictionaries only one of the two tones is marked (*a*), but low tone is left unmarked (*a*). In the present text we follow the notation of the sources (without any decoding).

Chadic phonological reconstruction

Consonants

Due to some specific features of the Chadic family, that is a great number of languages and shortage of lexical material, the "step-by-step" method of reconstruction (from sub-groups to groups and branches) cannot be applied to them in full. This sort of reconstruction was accomplished for the West branch, the most significant being the reconstruction of WCh 4 group ([SkNB, Cr]) since warji languages have the most elaborate phonetic system¹⁰. A "step-by-step" reconstruction of Central and Eastern branches of Chadic languages was partly impossible because of the lack of material within individual groups. On the other hand, reflexes within most groups are almost identical; in such cases a group-level reconstruction is redundant. That is the reason why the reconstructions on the level of individual Chadic subgroups were carried out within the framework of the Chadic phonological reconstruction [St 1996], including all lexical material available at that time. During the last years amendments and additions to the Proto-Chadic phonological reconstruction have been made on the basis of a considerably greater amount of material¹¹ (StSib, StR, StLat, StP I-II, phonetics parts in CLD I-IV, etc.). The study of Chadic historical morphology (LgSt, StPl, etc.) made it possible to explain away some of irregular correspondences between Chadic languages and to offer new variants of reconstruction, even so for some concepts from the 100-word Swadesh list ('water', 'bone', 'nose', 'one', 'moon').

In meantime, comparative vocabularies and reconstructions of several Chadic groups have been compiled: TAS, RGr, Shy, LexC, RC. They all are referred to in the text. To top it all, a third-attempt reconstruction of consonants in the kotoko gr. (C 8) has been accomplished by H. Tourneaux, who collected kotoko field material for many years [TrC].

It is clear, that a short or not quite reliable word-list is not enough to establish the full set of regular correspondences. This is the case of Central Chadic languages 1-4, because most of them are documented by Ch. Kraft only [Kr 24]. That is why reflexes of Chadic phonemes may be specified: CCh 4 (Gude), or CCh 2 (Bura), etc.

¹⁰ However, reliability of the material used to carry out the reconstruction ([SkNB]) gives rise to certain doubt. Thus, according to H. Jungraithmayr an emphatic sibilant (s) and an emphatic affricate (ts' = ɕ) never co-occur in one and the same language. The data collected and published by other scholars, which have appeared recently (dictionaries of Warji [BIS] and Miya [SchM]) also suggest a less complicated system of affricates than the one posed in [SkNB].

¹¹ The most significant alterations have been introduced into the sub-system of the post-velar phonemes, see below.

The reconstructed proto-Chadic phonological system is the following

1. Labials: **p*, **f*, **b*¹².

The Afroasiatic binary (**p*, **f*) system of voiceless labial consonants was reconstructed by G. Greenberg on the basis of one-to-one correspondence established between Egyptian and West Chadic Ngas, Mwaghawul languages [GrL]¹³. This hypothesis was proved by the lexical data that appeared years after this article had been written.

1a. Initial position

The binary system (**p* and **f*) preserves in most of Central Chadic languages, also in WCh 2, 4; in ECh 1, 2 (in CCh 1 Tera **fw*-> *v*-). This system is not wholly reliable starting with Karekare, Ngamo¹⁴ (WCh 3), WCh 5, 7 and Sokoro (Ch **p*- quite often > *f*-). In the rest Chadic languages these phonemes do not contrast: Ch **p*- and **f*- > Hausa *f*, but *hu*-; in Kirfi, Kwami (WCh 3) and ECh 5b- *f*-. Reflexes of Ch **p*- and **f*- have fallen together as *p*- in the rest of bolewa (WCh 3) languages, in ECh 3, 4, 5a, 6. A voiced stop as C₂ provokes regressive voicing of initial *p*- in WCh 6, ECh 3. Irregular reflex (*f* instead of *p*-) may be due to regressive assimilation with a sibilant as C₂. The majority of irregular (at the first sight) reflexes of Ch **p*- (> *f*, *w*, *v*, *b*) are actually reflexes of an intervocalic **-p-*.

Chadic **b*- devoices in WCh 2 and WCh 3 Tangale¹⁵, the initial *b*- in these languages preserves with few exceptions in case of a voiced consonant as C₂ or in contact with a prefix.

Initial *b*- appears in roots with a laryngeal (**b(V)H*- > *β*). Secondary *β* resulting from a shift of emphatization (eg., **bVḳV* > *βVḳV*) is observed in languages which have no corresponding emphatic consonants. However, Ch **bVḳV* preserves as such in Hausa, warji and kotoko languages (in all of them Ch **ḳ* > *k*).

1b. Intervocalic position¹⁶

¹² In the present issue a special attention will be paid to demonstrating a secondary nature of Chadic voiced implosives (*β* and *d*) - due to phonetic and morphological reasons.

¹³ AA **p* and **f* > Proto-Semitic **p*.

¹⁴ It is likely that labials tend to distribute according to position: *f*-, but *-p*-, *-p#*. Note also Kupto *f*-, but *-pp*-.

¹⁵ Sporadically in B Pero and Kupto. According to [Nm 16], in Hona, Gaanda, Gabin (CCh 1) all obstruents have devoiced.

Ch ***-f** > -v- in WCh 4, 7, CCh 2, 3, 4, 7, 10 (more regular in roots with an initial spirant). Ch ***-f** > -w- in WCh 3 Bolewa, Kirfi, Gera, Dera (for the latter see [Nm 15]). By assimilation ***-kf** > -kp-.

The change ***-p** > -v- is observed in WCh 7 and CCh 7, more often - in CVpVC- structures. Ch ***-p** > -b- in Tangale, Gera, WCh 6 and ECh 2, 3. Further lenition: Ch ***CVpVC** > CVbVC-> CVwVC is observed in ECh 1-4. In ngas-sura languages polysyllabic words can only end in a consonant. Obstruents and spirants become voiced in intervocalic position (C₁VC₂VC₃), but voiceless at the very end. Ch ***-p-, *-f-, *-b-** > W 2 ***-p#**.

In intervocalic position ***-b-** quite often > -v- in WCh 4, 6, 7; and in CCh. Initial v- indicates an originally intervocalic position (e.g., *vun-* < ***ʔabun-**). In CVbVC roots ***-b-** > -w- in WCh 3 and in ECh 1. CVbV > CVwV in W 3 Kirfi. Ch ***-b#** > -p in C 10 Ham, Masa, Musey, Marba, Lew.

2. Dentals. The system consists of three elements: ***t, *t̥, *d** (< AA ***t, *t̥, *d**, correspondently).

2a. Initial position.

Ch ***t-** > t- almost in all languages. Exceptions: ***t-** > d- in ECh 3 Ndam, Somrai, Tumak. A specific reflex occurs in Gerka (WCh 2), i.e. s-. In position before -i/-e-, especially, when C₂ is a fricative, Ch ***t-** rather often undergoes palatalization (***tif-** > čšif-). A quite unexpected reflex of dentals is found in the languages WCh 5 before -u- or -w- (*cup, cwap, ɟup*). Obviously, it also reflects a stage of palatalization, that is: **twap* > čwap > cwap, *dwup* > > žup > ɟup. A voiced stop as C₂ provokes regressive voicing of initial t- in WCh 6.

The emphatic dental ***t̥-** is practically totally lost in Chadic languages, it is only preserved in a small number of roots in WCh 4¹⁷. Nonetheless, we can sometimes reconstruct it at the PCh level due to a specific reflex (t-) in languages ECh 3, while Ch ***t-** > ECh 3 ***d-**. Strange as it is, the reconstruction of a PCh emphatic consonant is based on the material of languages which have no voiceless emphatic phonemes.

¹⁶ The general changes affecting medial consonants in Hausa are as follows: "In syllable final position velar obstruents weakened to u, alveolars to r̃, and bilabials to u. The palatalization of alveolars before front vowels, t/d/s/z → č/ž/s̃/ž̃, still operates as an active synchronic rule." [Nm 14].

¹⁷ In roots with a voiced medial consonant WCh 4 ***t̥-** > d- in Jimbin.

Ch ***d-** is preserved in overwhelming majority of Chadic languages. The voiceless reflex is rather regularly observed in WCh 3 Tangale. Devoicing is also characteristic for the languages WCh 2.

Palatalization (*d- > ǰ- > ʒ-*) occurs in the same positions which have been specified for ***t-** (before a front vowel, sporadically - before *-w-*).

26. Intervocalic position.

In the weak intervocalic position Ch ***t-** cannot be reconstructed. It is possible to consider that the reflex *-t-* in WCh 3 Tangale is an indirect indication of Ch ***-t-** (or *-tt-*). Note, that Ch ***-t-** > Tangale *-d-*. In medial position Ch ***-t-** and ***-d-** > *-r-* in WCh 2. The same reflex is observed in WCh 3, 5, in CCh (esp., in gr. 2, 5, 10), ECh 1, 2, 3. The original consonant manifests itself at the stage of gemination (see WCh 3 Kirfi *?ere*, pl. *?eddi-ni* 'dog'). Lenition of *-t-* to *-y-*, and even to \emptyset is observed in WCh 4, 7, ECh 1.. Voicing of ***-t-** (more often in case of a voiced initial consonant), most regularly can be registered in WCh 3 Tangale, WCh 6, CCh 9, ECh 2, 3, and 5b Mubi. Palatalization of dentals before a front vowel or in contact with *-w-* is observed all over Chadic family. A specific reflex is found in Gerka (WCh 2), namely *-s#*, *-z-* and in Galambu (WCh 3), that is *-z-*. According to [Nm 16], Tera (CCh 1) "has undergone a fairly systematic change of intervocalic ***-t-** to *-d'*".

3. Sibilants and sibilant affricates

Chadic system (***s**, ***c**, ***ç**, ***z**, ***č**, **č**, **ǰ**) with one exception is similar to the Afroasiatic one: ***s**, ***c**, ***ç**, ***z**, ***č**, ***č**, **č**, **ǰ** (see [ДьякА 12, HSED XIX]). The general tendency for loss of sibilant affricates ended in the ***z** > ***z-** change as early as the Proto-Chadic level, while *z* in the languages of the Central branch is an allophone of ***ǰ-** before *-a-*, *-ə-*, *-u-*.

3a. Initial position.

Ch ***s-** > *s-*, but *š-* before *-i-*, *-e-*, *-w-* in great many of the languages, with the exception of E 5, 6 (these languages make use of a single sibilant - *s*). The emergence of *š* in other positions suggests a gradual ousting of *s-* out of the system. Kirfi and Pero (WCh 3) show a single reflex for all Ch sibilants and affricates, *š-* and *č-*, correspondently. A specific reflex (***s-** > *h-*) is

registered in WCh 3 Bele, CCh 8 Buduma¹⁸, ECh 3 Tumak, Ndam, 5b Toram. In Tangale and Dera (WCh 3) **su-* > *wu-*, **si-* > *yi-* (see [Nm 15]). With a voiced stop in the C₂ position **s-* > *z-* in WCh 6. Voicing of Ch **s-* in Tera is regular.

In contact with a velar or a laryngeal Ch **s-* > *t-* in WCh 5 and in CCh languages, with the exception of the masa gr. (see [StL]). Note that in [NmL] irregular *t-* in CCh was considered a reflex of Chadic sibilant **š*.

Ch **s* regularly reflects AA **s* and corresponds to Sem **s* (= **š*)¹⁹.

Reflexes of **z-* are less regular, i. e. **z-* > *z-* and it undergoes palatalization in the same environments and in the same languages as Ch **s-*, however, the stage of palatalization in several languages (e.g., WCh 1Hausa) is not *ž-*, but *š-*. In WCh 3 Bolewa *z-* and *š-* are free variants before *-o-*. Ch 5 **z-* > *š-* before *-o-* in ECh 5 (it is the only example of an environment motivated reflex of a consonant in this group). Ch **z-* > *s-* in W 3 Tangale, CCh 4 Bachama, ECh 2, 4. Devoicing of Ch **z-* in WCh 2 is less regular, on the other side, the voiced reflex is preserved mainly in contact with a prefix. In Bele, Buduma, Tumak, Ndam **z-* > *h-*.

Chadic **z* regularly reflects AA **ž* and corresponds to Sem **ž* (= **z*).

**c-* is difficult to reconstruct on Chadic material, because in the majority of languages reflexes of **s-* and **c-* have fallen together as *s-*. A specific reflex of **c-* is preserved in the following languages: a. WCh 1 Hausa *ç-*; b. WCh 4 **c-* (mainly, in all languages the same reflex is preserved, but in some cases a sibilant also occurs; palatalization before *-i-* is possible); c. CCh 7 Mafa *c-*; d. CCh 8 Affade *c-*, Maltam, Zina *č-* (in other kotoko languages **c-* > *s-*).

Ch **c* regularly reflects AA **c* and corresponds to Sem **c* (= **s*).

In CCh 6 (daba), 7 (matakam) languages, in Hdi (probably, in the whole CCh 5 group) and in CCh 3 Bana (according to [Hof]) reflexes of Chadic emphatic sibilant affricates (**č-*, **č̣-*, **č̣̣-*) depend on the vowel. They are realized as *c-* before *-a-*, *-u-*, *-ə-* (rendered by a digraph [ts] in papers on Chadic phonology), but as *č-* (rendered by [c] or [tʃ]) before *-i-*, *-e-*. The

¹⁸ The exception is roots with C₂ = *-h-*, in such structures Ch **s-* > Buduma *s-*.

¹⁹ The so called "affricate theory" (see [Kor 27]) interprets Proto-Semitic dental and interdental sibilants (**s*, **z*, **š*, *š*, *ṣ̌*, *ṣ̣̌*) as affricates (**s*, **ž*, **č*, **č̣*, **ṣ̌*, **ṣ̣̌*), Semitic **ṣ̣̌* as **s*, lateral *s* - as **č̣̣*, emphatic **ṣ̣̌* - as **č̣̣̣*. The latter notation is used in the present text. Note that the "affricate theory" makes a room in the system of laterals for a "newly proposed" lateral fricative (see [MK I]). The proto-Semitic system looks like as follows: **ṣ̣̣̌*, **č̣̣̣*, **č̣̣̣̣* (note **ṣ̣̣̣̌*, **ṣ̣̣̣̌*, **ṣ̣̣̣̌* in [MK]).

following violations of this rule is mentioned in corresponding publications (some more can be found in the dictionaries):

Hdi: *bač* 'a little', *takwača* 'star' [Lgm 25];

Ouldem: *yačka* 'éternouiller', *ačuhwi* 'porc épic', *ačuwir* 'corde d'un instrument', *bərečo* 'deux' [KPr 27];

Mbedam (free variants): *ca* ~ *čá* 'vagin', *cəkəb* ~ *čəkəb* 'mâcher', *cək* ~ *čək* 'deshabiller', *ncúk* ~ *ńčúk* 'nez' [NDP 6];

Bana: *čafà* 'filth', *čafə* 'cement', *gəzi* 'warn' [Hof 39, 66, 69], note also "the set of 21 words in which [ə] follows a palatalized consonant" [Hof 71].

In Cuvok only *č* is observed in contact position, in Daba, Mofu and Mada *č* is the only sibilant affricate. Vame data (CCh 7) is of special interest, cf. the following examples: *mbatsa* 'pourtant', *həmbats* 'cheveux', *čaha* 'racler', *kačakača* 'pagne' [Kin 5]; *tsawa* 'regarder' > *tsaká* 'il voyait', *čáká* 'il regard', *tsíká* 'il a vu' [KinV 12]. The Table of consonants [ibid 8] includes *c* [ts] and *č* [c].

The situation in the masa group is similar: in Dari and Dzepav the reflex depends on the vowel (*c*- ~ *č*-), in Peve "*c* [ts] occurs preceding the vowel phoneme /a/, *č* [tš] occurs preceding all other vowel phonemes" [Vn 31]. The set of voiceless affricates in other masa languages, according to [Dom 2] and [ShyC 5] includes a single phoneme, namely, *č* [tʃ].

The present state of affairs results, in our opinion, from the following chain of transformations: Ch **c*- > *č*- before front vowels; Ch **č*- > *c*- before non front vowels (the surface realization of an affricate becomes determined by the following vowel); gradual ousting of Ch **c*- (Peve and Cuvok); complete loss of Ch **c*- (Daba, Mofu, Mada, masa languages)²⁰. The abovementioned languages (with the exception of CCh 3 Bana) mostly reflect Ch **c*- **č*-, **č*- depending on the vowel: *c*- or *č*-. In case a language makes use of a single affricate (*č*-), it is the only possible reflex of the whole set of PCh voiceless sibilant affricates.

Reflexes in other Chadic languages are as follows:

Ch **c*- > W 1 Hausa *ç*-, WCh 4 **c*-. In WCh 3 Tangale, Dera and in ECh 3

²⁰ This explanation contradicts to the generally accepted theory of "palatalizing prosody" saying, that "neither the vowel contrast nor the consonant contrast is considered phonemic at a segmental level. Rather, a 'prosody' of palatalization is in effect at a syllable level, and each syllable is thus marked for ±PAL. Palatalization on a syllable level would palatalize any consonant from a palatalizable series, and would also palatalize the high vowel" [Hof 67].

Tumak, Ndam *s*-. In the rest WCh, ECh and in CCh 9 the reflex is the same that for **s*-. Ch **ɕ*- > CCh 8 **ʒ*- (> Logone, Makari, Maltam, Zina, Kuseri *ʒ*-, Afade *ɕ*-, Buduma *h*-/*nʒ*-, cf. [TrC: 127]). Ch Ch **ɕ*- > *c*- in CCh 2 (Bura, Margi), 3 (Bana, FK), 4 (Gude).

Ch **ɕ̣*- > *č*- in WCh 1 (Hausa), 4, 5 (Zaar, Guus); 6; CCh 1 (Tera), 2 (Bura, Margi, Kilba), 3 (Bana, FK), 4 (Gude); ECh 1, 2, 3 (Somrai, Ndam), 4, 5.

Ch **ɕ̣*- > *č*- in Ngas, Mwaghavul, Mupun, *š*- in Goemay, *ṣ̌*-, *s*- in Gerka (WCh 2), Ch **ɕ̣*- > *s*- in ECh Tumak, 6 Mokilko. Ch **ɕ̣*- > *č*- in Karekare, Pero (WCh 3). In other languages of this group Ch **ɕ̣*- more often yields *ṣ̌*-, but the *s*-reflex is also attested. Ch **ɕ̣*- > kotoko (Ch 8) **ɕ̣*- > Afade *c*-, Zina, Mazera, Buduma *č*-, in other languages - *s*- [TrC 126].

Ch **ɕ̣*- > CCh 9 Mbara *č*-, but *s*- in other languages of the group.

Ch **ɕ̣̣*- > W 1 Hs *ɕ*-, reflexes of both palatal affricates (**ɕ̣* and **ɕ̣̣*) have fallen together as *č*- in WCh 2, 3, 5, 6, CCh 9, ECh 1-4. CCh **ɕ̣̣*- > *ɕ̣̣*- in ECh 5 (= ʒ̣ in [JgJ]). Reflexes of Ch **ɕ̣̣*- in the Central branch are as follows: 2 Bura *č*-, *ci*-; 3 **c*-; 4 Gude *č*-/*cə*; 5 *č*-/*c*- (*č*- is gradually ousting *c*-); 7 (Vame *c*- [ts], cf. №122); 7a Sakun *č*-. Kotoko languages show the following reflexes: Logone, Makari, Maltam, Zina, Kuseri *ʒ*-, Afade *ɕ*-, Buduma *č*-/*c*-. Of special interest are reflexes in WCh 4: Ch **ɕ̣̣*- > Warji, Siri, Mburku, Miya *č*-, Paa, Cagu *ɕ*- [SkNB], Miya *č*- [Sch].

It is evident that the system of affricates in individual languages is in a state of reducing. The lack of emphatic affricates and short dictionaries create the problem in identification of the initial PCh consonant in poorly attested roots.

To solve this problem it is reasonable to define a minimum set of reflexes that allows for an unambiguous reconstruction of each affricate, see the table.

PChadic	* <i>c</i> -	* <i>ɕ</i> -	* <i>ɕ̣</i> -	* <i>ɕ̣̣</i> -
Hausa	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>ɕ̣̣</i>
Mwaghavul, Ngas, Karekare, Ngizim	<i>s, š</i>	<i>s, š</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>
Warji gr.	* <i>c</i>	* <i>ɕ</i>	* <i>ɕ̣</i>	* <i>ɕ̣̣</i>
Bura	<i>s h</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i> -, but <i>ci</i> -
Buduma	<i>h</i>	<i>h/nʒ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č, c</i>
Afade	<i>s</i>	<i>ɕ</i>		<i>ɕ̣̣</i>
Zina	<i>s</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>ʒ</i>
E 5	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	* <i>ɕ̣</i>	<i>ɕ̣̣</i>

***ʒ-** > ʒ- in the West and East branches, z- in ECh 6 Mokilko. Ch ***ʒ-** > CCh 9 Mbara ʒ-, Mulwi, Munjuk z-; Ch ***ʒ-** > CCh 8 Logone z-, Zina, Makari, Buduma ʒ-. In the rest CCh languages reflexes of Ch ***ʒ-** (ʒ- ~ ʒ-) are mainly distributed depending on the next vowel.

36. Intervocalic position

In WCh 2 after the drop of a final vowel all the phonemes of this series are reflected as -s#, a similar process is also observed in CCh 10. In ECh 3 Tumak all sibilants and affricates > -ʒ-; in the languages of this group reduction of the consonant in auslaut can also be observed.

Proto-Ch ***-s-** in a weak position can become voiced by assimilation with a consonant in position C₁ (most regular in the languages WCh 6) or in contact with -n-. Regular voicing is observed in Tangale and WCh 2. Palatalization before front vowels is far from being regular.

There are just a few roots with PCh ***-c-** in this dictionary. Nonetheless Chadic material clearly shows the traces of the main opposition: WCh 1 Hs -ç-, W Ch 4 ***-c-** (> -c-, -čǐ-, -s-) on the one hand, but ECh -s-, CCh -s-, on the other. Regular reflexes in Mafa and Affade, which are important for the reconstruction of initial Ch ***-c-**, could not be established due to the lack of lexical material.

In intervocalic position a gradual weakening of the alveolar ("hissing") affricate can be observed: ***-ç-** sometimes > -c-, -s- in WCh 4; in contact position and at the very end a sibilant reflex is observed in CCh languages. Apparently, -s- gradually ousters a more archaic reflex. With these exceptions, reflexes of medial ***-ç-** are similar of the initial one.

Ch ***-č-** > -s- in W Ch 1 Hausa, -s# in WCh 2, -s- / -č- in CCh 4, 5 and ECh 4. However, Ch ***-č-** can be still unambiguously identified by the reflex -č- in WCh 4, 6, CCh 2, 3, ECh 5. Other Central Chadic languages reflect Ch ***-č-** as -c-/-č-, depending on the vowel.

The palatal emphatic affricate ***-č-** also allows for a reliable reconstruction in intervocalic position, and is reconstructed by the combination of reflexes: Hausa -ç- ~ CCh 8 Logone, Makari -ṣ- ~ ECh 5 -dý-. An additional support of this reconstruction comes from occurrences of -č- in WCh 4 languages (a handful of words only). The reflex -č- occurs in WCh 6, 7, ECh 4; -c-/-č- (depending on the vowel) in the Central branch.

The voiced sibilant **-*z-** is preserved as such in intervocalic position with rare exceptions. Devoicing is observed in ECh 2, 4 and CCh 4, it should be noted that reflex **-s#** is typical of languages where the final vowel has been lost. Ch ***-z-** > **-ž-** before a front vowel.

Finally, Proto-Ch ***-ʒ-** is extremely rare in medial position, reflexes are similar to the ones in initial position.

4. Lateral fricatives

Chadic languages possess a maximum full system of lateral fricatives, i.e. ***ɬ**, ***ɬ'**, ***ɮ**. A binary system (***tl**, ***sl**) is preserved in South-Cushitic languages. In addition to ***ĉ**, ***ĉ'**, Semitic languages show traces of one more lateral phoneme, i.e., ***š** (or ***š_x**, see [MK I XCVIII]), for which the one-to-one correspondence with Ch ***ɮ** has been established (see examples in the text). With a few exception, reflexes of laterals do not depend on the environment and are almost uniform inside the groups.

4a. Initial position

Reflexes of Ch ***ɬ-** and ***s-** have merged in WCh 3, 7 and in ECh 1, 2, 3, 6. Ch ***ɬ-** more often yields **š-** (than **s-**) in Hausa. Ch ***ɬ-** > **l-** in WCh 2. Ch ***ɬ-** > **ɫ-** in WCh 4, 5, 6 and in CCh (the loss of lateral articulation is registered in CCh 8 - Logone, Afade, Maltam **ɫ-**, Makari **š-**, Gulfey **č-**, Kuseri, Mazera, Zina **s-** [Tr 123]). Ch ***ɬ-** > **č-** in ECh 5. Ch ***ɬ-** > **č-** Ubi and Mawa, but **s-**, **š-** in Sokoro (ECh 4). In contact with **n-** voicing of ***ɬ-** is observed in WCh 4, 5, CCh 4, 6, 7a. CCh Ch ***ɬy-** > **hy-** in CCh 2, **xy-** in CCh 5 Glavda. Ch ***ɬ'** > WCh 1 Hausa **ç-**, WCh 2 **s-**, **š-**, W 4 **ɫ'**, ECh 3 **s-** (Somrai, Ndam), ECh 5 **dy-**, CCh 8 ***ɬ'** (> Logone, Afade, Maltam **ɫ'**, Makari, Gulfey **č'**, Kuseri **š-** [Tr 123]). In the rest of the kotoko languages reflexes of Ch ***ɬ'** and ***ɬ-** have fallen together.

Ch ***ɮ-** > Hausa **z-**, WCh 2, 3, 7 **l-**, ECh **l-**. The same reflex (**l-**) is observed in the majority of the kotoko languages CCh 8 (**ɮ-** has preserved in a number of words in Logone). Ch ***ɮ-** > **l-** in Gude and Jimjimən, but, according to [Kr], preserves as such in Fali of Jilbu, Fali of Mucella, Fali of Bwagira (CCh 4). Ch ***ɮ-** > **ɮ-** in WCh 4, 5, 6 and in CCh (however there are instances of the reflex **l-**). Devoicing of **ɮ-** (by assim. with an unvoiced medial consonant) is observed in Dari and Dzepaw (CCh 10).

46. Reflexes of Ch ***ɬ-** and ***ɬ'** in intervocalic position are practically the

same as those in anlaut²¹, with the exception of voicing of ***-ɓ-** by assimilation with an initial obstruent. Intervocalic ***-ɓ-** is registered only in a few roots with a voiced initial. Reflexes are practically the same, as in the initial position: Ch ***-ɓ-> -l-** in WCh 2, 3, 7 in ECh and in Gude, Nzangi (CCh 4). Ch ***-ɓ-> -ɓ-** in WCh 4, 5, in CCh 2, 3, 5-7, 9. However, several cases of variation of reflexes are registered: **-l/-ɓ- < *-ɓ-**, they suggest the beginning of ousting ***-ɓ-** out of the system (it is likely, that Ch ***-ɓ-> -l-** in CCh 8, 10

5. Velars stops. At the proto-Chadic level a series of three phonemes is reconstructed ***k-, *ḳ-, *g-** (< AA ***k-, *ḳ-, *g-**).

5a. Initial position. ***k- > k-** in all the languages with the exception of ECh 3 (Tumak, Ndam, Somrai), where the regular reflex is *g-*. It should be noted that for the languages of this group voicing of ***t- > d-** is also characteristic. Palatalization before *-i-* is most frequent in WCh 2, 3, CCh 4, 10. In CCh 3 a non-contact assimilation of the velar takes place when the second consonant is the sibilant (***kVs- > čVs-/šVs-**). Spirantization of an initial velar is mainly explained by assimilation with a prefix (***h-kVC- > ḥkVC- > ʏVC-**). In case the second consonant is voiced, ***k- > g-** in the languages WCh 6. Sporadic spirantization: ***Ki/u- > hi/hu-** in C10 has no explanation so far. ***ḳ- > ḳ-** in WCh 1 Hausa, WCh 4²², CCh 8 ***k-** (> Logone, Makari, Maltam, Afade, Gulfey, Kuseri *k-*, Mazera *k-*, see [Tr 129]), CCh 3 Fali Kiriya *ḳ* (in [BlNd]). In the rest of the languages reflexes of Ch ***k-** and ***ḳ-** have fallen together as *k-*. An emphatic velar is registered in some sources on the Goemay language (WCh 2). However, according to prof. C.Hoffman²³ (who has collected and processed a huge bulk of lexical material of WCh2), these languages have undergone the following consonant shift: voiced initials (*b, d, g, z*) have become voiceless and voiceless initials (*k and s*) have become emphatic. Besides, rather often Goemay *ḳ* corresponds to *k* in W 1 Hausa and in the languages WCh 4, CCh 8 (in all of them PCh ***ḳ-** regularly > *ḳ-*). This correlation also indicates a secondary nature of *ḳ* in Goemai. Note also AA ***sVm-** ‘name’ > Ch ***sVm-** ‘name’ > WCh 2 Goem *sem*.

²¹ However, the frequency of occurrence of these phonemes (especially, of ***t'**) in intervocalic position is very low.

²² In Jimbin a voiced reflex is also observed.

²³ Personal communication in 1993, for similar opinion see [Nm 15].

Ch ***g-** > *g-* in the overwhelming majority of languages. A rather regular devoicing occurs in WCh 2, in Tangale and CCh 1 (Hwona, Gaʔanda, Gabin), but not in Tera.

On secondary origin of labialized velars in Chadic languages see [StS]. Numerous Semitic parallels (cited in the text) support the hypothesis of a secondary character of labialized phonemes. Semitic *wKC* and *KwC*-roots regularly correspond to Ch *K^w-C-*. Semitic *CwK* and *CKW*-roots correspond to Ch *CVK^w-*.

56. In intervocalic position reflexes of velars differ insignificantly. For them, as for all the stops, intervocalic position is a weak one. It manifests itself in the development *-ku-/-kw-* > *-w-* (which is particularly typical for WCh 3), in palatalization before *-i-*, and voicing of the voiceless consonant (especially so in case of a voiced stop in the C₁ position). In languages WCh 2, in WCh 3 Kirfi and in WCh 5 (Dwot, Boghom) any velar in intervocalic position yields voiced fricative *-ɣ²⁴*, sporadically, in case of a fricative in C₁ position, the same effect is observed in other languages as well. It is likely that intervocalic ***-k-** > WCh 3 Tng *-k-*, while ***-k-** > *-g-*.

6. Velar and postvelar fricatives

This fragment of the system is particularly complicated both, in respect of reconstruction and identification of of the PCh phonemes.

For the AA system of fricatives, based on the P-Semitic one, see the table..

	Uvular (velar?)	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Voiced	ḡ (Arab ġ)	ʕ	
Voiceless	ħ	ħ	H

The reconstructed Chadic system includes a voiced velar/uvular (*ɣ*), a voiceless velar/pharyngeal (*x/ħ*), voiced (*ḡ*) and voiceless (*h*) laryngeals. On the basis of a specific line of correspondences (established in a few cases only) and reliable cognates in Eg and Sem languages, a reflex of AA ***ʕ** in PCh can be traced.

The PCh system of spirants reduced in all Chadic languages, namely: W 1 Hausa *h²⁵*, (note that initial *h-* before *-u-* may go back to Ch ***f-** as well);

²⁴ The original velar in Kirfi appears in pl. forms (in nouns and verbs): *bāyā́lcy* ‘to break’ ~ *baggīley* ‘to break in pieces’.

²⁵ According to P. Newman [NmH], *h* is not etymological and originates from Ø. Note, however, that Hausa *h-* regularly reflects Ch ***h-**.

WCh 6, ECh 5a, 6 groups - no velar spirants at all;

WCh 2: *y, h* (Mghv, Ngas, Gerka), *h*- in Mupun, Goemay [HIG 18]).

Note also, that "Yiwom (Gerka) has a voiced **uvular plosive**, /G/, which is probably not contrastive with the velar fricative /y/" [BIY 2].

WCh 3: *h* in a few words (including *h*- < **f*- in Ngamo, Karekare);

WCh 4: Paa - *fi*, *h* [MS 22: "voiced/voiceless glottalized", SkNB], Warji - *y, x, h* [BIS], in the rest of the languages *y, h* [SkNB];

WCh 7: *h* [JgR]; note a few words with initial *ʃ* / *h* in Sha ([JgR 286]). According to H.Jungraithmayr, *ʃ* / *h* reflects Ch **r*.

CCh 1: Tera *y, x* [NmT];

CCh 2: Bura *y, x, h* [BIP ii]²⁶, but *y, h* in [BIB], Margi *y* ("Frikative stimmhaft Velare"), *h* [HfM 35], but Margi *y, (fi), x* [Kr], Kilba *h, gh*, (voiced **laryngeal** fricative) [MuK 34], Cibak *y, x, h* in the table of consonants [HfC 120], but cf. *hla* 'Stier' [ibid. 123], *h̄h̄i* 'Ei' [ibid. 122] ~ Chibak *xixi* 'egg' [Kr v. 24: 64], Chibak *x, y*, Hildi *x* [Kr]. Note that Ch **f**y*- > *tya* > *h/xya* in CCh 2.

CCh 3: Bana *y, x* [GIBn], Fali Kiriya *y, h* [BINd] (*y x* - in [Kr]);

CCh 4: Gude *y* (in a few words, mainly, before -*ə*-), *h* [Hs], but *x* [Kr]; FJ, FM, FBw - *y, x* [Kr], Bata, Bch *h* [Sk]; Gudu, Nzangi *h, (x)* "*h* and *x* are not frequent, but contrast with each other" [Kr 25 : 44, 74],

CCh 5, 5a: *h* in Malgwa [LrM], Podoko [JL]; *y, x, h*²⁷ in Glavda [Rp], in the rest of the languages - *y, x* [Jglb, HmG, LkH].

With one exception, *y* is defined as a "velar spirant". In the phonological system of Hdi language, however, the both phonemes (*y, x*) are defined as uvulars: "The fricatives have voiceless and voiced counterparts as labiodental (*f, v*), alveolar (*s, z*) and **uvular** (*x, y*) consonants" [Lgm 18];

CCh 6: Daba *h*, Buwal *y, x-h* (free variants, according to [VBw 5]). Cf., however, *ibid.*, pp. 104-105 (Word List) for contradicting evidence - *x* and *h* cannot be considered free variants in Buwal; CCh 7: Ouldem, Vame *y, h* [KOU, KinV], Mafa *h*, (*y* in a few words) [BaMa], Muyang *x, h* (both > *x*- before -*a*-) [SmM], in the rest of the languages - only *h*;

CCh 8: Logone *y, x, h* [AIL, LkL], Buduma *h* [LkB], in the rest of the languages *y, x* [Tr].

²⁶ But "Voiceless velar fricative *x* usually appears as an "*h*" [BIB vii].

²⁷ However, *h*- is the reflex of a lateral spirant before -*i*- or -*y*-.

CCh 9: Musgu *h*, *ħ* (in our notation - *ħ*). Presumably, *ħ* was a voiceless pharyngeal, cf.: "*ħ* soll etwas weniger scharf als das arabische *ح* gesprochen werden" [LkM 20]. In Mulwi, Mbara, Munjuk - *h* [Tr];

CCh 10: *ħ* (voiced laryngeal) and *h* [Dom, ShyC 5]; a gradual ousting of the voiced counterpart is registered in Dari, Ham;

ECh 1, 2, 3 Somrai²⁸, 4, 5b: *h* (in a few words). Two verbs with *ɣ*- can be found in E 2 Tobanga [CTC].

It is evident that the PCh system is reduced due to merging of reflexes of voiceless (more often *h*-preserves) and voiced phonemes (with *ɣ*- being a priority). A system with two voiceless spirants is represented in W 4 Warji, C 6 Buwal (a number of free variants, e.g. [xā̃] ~ [hā̃] can be found in the word-list), 7 Muyang (but both > *x*- before *-a*-), in C 9 Musgu and probably - in Gudu and Nzangi (C 4). In Gudu and Nzangi *x* is the weak element of the system (only 3-4 entries in the word-list of 434). The situation in Chibak - in the lack of a dictionary - is vague. Further reduction of all types of subsystems leaves a single phoneme - a voiceless laryngeal *h*.

The reconstruction proper. 6a. Initial position.

The reflex of Proto-Ch ***ɣ**- in W and ECh languages depends on C₂. With a voiced, liquid or weak consonant in the C₂-position PCh ***ɣ**-regularly yields *g*- in WCh (but WCh 4) and in ECh. Reflexes in WCh 4: Paa *ħ*, but *ɣ* in other languages. With a voiceless consonant in the C₂-position Ch ***ɣ**- yields W and ECh **k*-²⁹.

Proto-Ch ***ɣ**- > *ɣ*- in Tera (C 1), Margi, Bura, Kilba, Chibak (C 2), Bana, FK (C 3), Gude (C 4). For reflexes in other CChadic languages see the table. Ch ***ɣ**- regularly corresponds to Sem **ħ* , Eg *ħ*, SCush **x*. C. Langermann's data on CCh 5 Hide (she defines *ɣ* as an "uvular fricative")

Ch	C 5, 5a	C 6	C 7, 7a	C 8	C 9	C10
*ɣ-	Mlg, Pod, Wnd h-, the rest ɣ-	Daba h-, Buwal ɣ-	Ould, Vame ɣ, Muy x-, the rest h- but *nɣ-> ng-> g; Sakun ɣ-	Log, Kus, Mazera ɣ, Bud, Glf h	Musgu ħ-, Mlw, Mnj, Mbara h-	*ħ-

²⁸ *h*- in Tumak and Ndam reflects Ch **s*-, **c*-, **z*-, **t*-

²⁹ With conditional motivated reflexes there is no need to reconstruct an uvular plosive (**q*) for Proto-Chadic. This was the case in [St 70-72]: Ch **ɣ*-> W, ECh **g*-, but **Ch* **q*-> W, CCh *k*-.

requires verification. Meanwhile, one cannot rule out that early Proto-Chadic ***ɣ** was an uvular spirant.

Proto-Ch ***fi-** > *g-* in the West branch (but warji and ron groups) and in all ECh languages. Reflexes in WCh 4: Paa *fi/g*, but *y/g* in other languages. A couple of examples show the following shift: Ch ***fi-** > ron **h-*.

Proto-Ch ***fi-** > *ɣ-* in Tera (C 1), Margi, Bura, Kilba, Chibak (C 2), Bana, FK (C 3), For reflexes in other CCh languages see the table.

Ch	C 4	C 5, 5a	C 6	C 7 - 7a	C 8	C 9	C 10
*fi	Gude, Bch g- FBw, FJ ɣ-	Mlg, Pod, Wandala, g- the rest ɣ-, but *ɣVI- > gVI-	Daba g- Buwal ɣ-	Ould,Vame ɣ- the rest g- Sakun ɣ-	Log, Mazera, Kus ɣ- Bud, Gif h- Makari g-	Msg ħ-, the rest h-	*fi-

Internal Ch data allows to reconstruct a short list of roots with Ch ***fi-**, in all the cases Semitic parallels show **ġ-* (a voiced uvular spirant).

For reflexes of Ch voiceless pharyngeal (or velar) spirant (***ħ** or ***x**) in W and CCh languages see the tables. ECh languages reflect Ch ***ħ** as *h-* or *ʔ-*.

Ch	W1 Hs	W 2	W 3,5,7	W 4	W6
*ħ-	g-	*ɣ-	*h-> ʔ/w/y	Wrij x- , the rest ɣ-	*ʔ

Ch	C 2	C 1, 3-5 ,10	C 6	C 9	C 7	C 8
*ħ-	h ~ ɣ	h- or x-	Daba h, Buwal x, h	Msg ħ-, the rest h	Muy x- the rest h-	Log x- , the rest h-

Reflex in Musgu (ħ) and external parallels (Semitic and Egyptian **ħ*) rather point to proto-Chadic ***ħ-**, not to ***x-**. Note also ħ (instead of x) in [HfC] - *ħla* 'Stier', *ħīħī* 'Ei'.

Note that x- in W 4 Warji, C 8 Logone and C 6 Buwal reflects Ch ***ħ-** only.

Lack of uniformity in phonetic descriptions (even - of one and the same language) by different authors is the main source of irregularities of reflexes (now *h-*, now *x-*)³⁰. What is more, the phonetic description does not always conform to the dictionary. That is the reason why in every instance in the text it will be underlined which specific reflexes in particular serve as the

³⁰ The voiceless spirant in Fali Kiriya is rendered by *h* in [BINd], but by *x* - in [Kr], the same is true for Chibak: *h* in [HfC, KuM], but *x* in [Kr], etc.

basis for the reconstruction. Due to the small number of roots with the PCh **h-* it is difficult to define the reason of the reflex variation in West and East branches: *h-* ~ *ʔ-*. In conclusion, the sporadic reflex in CCh 2 (namely, *ɣ-*) is to be noted. It is likely that the random nature of this irregular reflex can be accounted for by the expansion of *ɣ-* at the synchronic level in the buramargi group.

The reflex of the AA voiced pharyngeal phoneme **ɣ* (> Sem, Eg, Cush *ʕ-*) is reconstructed on the Chadic material with great difficulty, it is not done by specific (one-to-one) reflexes, but by a combination of reflexes in a number of languages³¹. One can tentatively assume that at the Proto-Chadic level it was just **ɣ* and since there is no other satisfactory symbol, this phoneme is marked as [**ɣ*] in the text. In the overwhelming majority of Chadic languages reflex of Ch [**ɣ*] (< AA **ʕ-*) have merged with that of Ch **h-* (see the table). However, there are three differences: 1. By metathesis Ch [**ɣ*] > WCh 2 **-ɣ-*; 2. Ch [**ɣ*] > WCh 4 Paa *h-* (while Ch **h* > *h*); 3. Ch [**ɣ*] > CCh 7 Muyang *x-*. In case the internal data is not enough for specifying the PCh phoneme, for example, both [**ɣ-*], and **h-* are possible, the crucial evidence is provided by the external parallel.

For reflexes of Ch [**ɣ*] see the table.

Ch	Hs	W 2	W 3,5,7	W 4	W 6	C 1-6, 8-10	C 7
[<i>*ɣ</i>]	h	<i>*h-</i> , <i>*ɣ</i>	<i>*h-</i> > <i>ʔ/w/y</i>	Paa <i>h</i> , the rest <i>ɣ-</i> , <i>ɣ^w/ɣ^y-</i> > <i>w/y</i>	<i>*ɣ</i>	<i>*h</i>	Muy <i>x-</i> , the rest <i>h-</i>

For reflexes of PCh **h-* (voiceless laryngeal spirant) see the table.

Ch	W 1	W 3, 5	W 2, 4, 7	W 5	CCh	ECh
<i>*h</i>	h	<i>*h</i> > <i>ʔ/w/y</i>	H	Ø	<i>*h</i>	<i>*h-</i> > <i>ʔ/w/y</i>

66. Intervocalic position

Chadic **-ɣ-* > WCh 4 *-ɣ-* > (with further weakening to *-w/-y-*); CCh 5 *-ɣ-*, CCh 7 *-h-*; CCh 8 Logone, Kuseri *-ɣ-*, Afade, Buduma, Maltam *-h-*. Note a voiceless reflex in CCh 8 in contact position: Logone *sx-*, Makari *skɛ*. Ch

³¹ A few words with initial *ʕ/h* can be found in Sha (WCh ron gr.), see [JgR 286]. However, according to the author, *ʕ/h* reflects Ch **ɣ*. The only contradicting case is as follows: Sha *hag*, *ʕag* 'hinausklettern, -steigen', Kulere *ɾegy* 'aufstehen' ~ E 2 Tobanga *hoge* 'soulever'; 3 Somrai *haga* 'gravir' [JgSib], Tumak *ag* 'climb'.

***-ɣ-** > -g- in West (with the exception of the gr. 4) and East Ch languages. Chadic ***-fi-** > WCh, ECh -g-, CCh 3, 5 -ɣ-, C Ch 6 Buwal -ɣ-, CCh 7 -h-, but Ouldem -ɣ-.

The small number of AA cognates with uvular consonants in C₂, as well as the fact that they are environment dependent does not permit to determine reflexes in all groups. The material available shows that reflexes of Ch ***-ɣ-** & ***-fi-** have fallen together as -g- in almost all the languages.

Ch ***-h-** > WCh 4 ***-ɣ-**, WCh -h-, Ø; CCh -h-; ECh Ø.

Ch ***-h-** > WCh -h-, Ø; CCh -h-; ECh Ø.

7. Glottal stop

According to P. Newman "PCh did NOT have glottal stop as a phoneme, either internally or at the beginning of words"³² For arguments and a discussion, see [NmH 90-93]. Consider, however, that "According to the rules common to Semito-Hamitic, not excepting the Tchad languages, no syllable can begin with a vowel" [Дьяк 25]. Thus, at least the early PCh did have a glottal stop. The present day situation - a lot of Chadic languages have vowel-initial words - cannot be automatically projected as far as Proto-Chadic. Analysis of the internal Chadic data is not enough to solve the problem of Ch ***ʔ**.

7a. Initial position

The following cases support a contradicting hypothesis - "PCh ***ʔ** existed":

1. ECh EDng *yòsē* (< Ch ***ʔns**) 'être écouter, être fatigué' ~ Sem ***ʔnš**: Akk *enēšu, anāšu* 'être faible', Hbr *ʔānūš* 'incurable' [DRS 26]. Note that initial *ɲ-* definitely points to initial Ch ***ʔ**, with Ch ***VnVs-** one would expect Dangla (*V*)*nVsV*.

2. Ch ***ʔVrVʔ'** 'earth': W 4 Paa *riʔ'a*, Mburku *riʔ'u*, Siri *rəʔ'u* Tsagu *hiit'c* (<***ʔirVʔ'c**) 'earth'; E 5a Bidiya *ʔirādya* 'valley' ~ Sem ***ʔard-**, *ʔird-* 'earth' [Fron 3.01, DRS 33]. Note irregular reflex of *ʔ-* in Tsagu, due to incompatibility of two glottalized consonants (*ʔ* and *ʔ'*).

3. Ch ***ʔVd-f** 'chief, man': W Karekare *ʔidə-fu* 'Häuptling'; C Musgu *dif*, pl. *dai* 'Mensch, Mann', Munjuk *dif*, pl. *day* 'homme', Mbara *dīyà* ~ Sem ***ʔd** 'father, lord' [DK]. Note CCh ***d-** < ***ʔd-**.

PCh glottal stop yields *ʔ-* or *Ø-* in Chadic languages. Ch ***ʔ-** corresponds to Sem ***ʔ-**. Note that *ʔ-*, *Ø-* in a lot of Ch languages reflect Ch ***h-** and ***h-**

³² See [Nm 10].

(see above).

7b. Intervoclic position

AA roots $C_1C_2\text{?}$ > Ch C_1C_2 , however "alef" can be traced by velarization of $-n-$: $CVn\text{?} > CV\eta$. With the exception of masa languages, Ch $*\text{?}$ practically has not preserved. AA medial $*\text{?}$ can be traced in Ch languages by secondary emphatization of voiced plosives or by a long vowel: $C_1V\text{?}VC_2 > C_1VVC_2$.

8. Sonorant consonants

8a. Initial position

Proto-Ch $*m-$, with one exception, is preserved in Chadic languages. Ch $*m- > w-$ in CCh 5 languages ([Nm 17]). More regularly this reflex occurs before $-u-$ or in case of $C_2 = w$.

Proto-Ch $*n-$ is stable enough in Chadic languages. However, in roots with a labial as C_2 the $*n- > l-$ change is observed. In contact position with a velar spirant $*n- > l-$ (WCh 5, CCh 1) or $r-$ (CCh 5).

Proto-Ch $*l-$ is not stable in roots with a fricative consonant in the C_2 position. This position provokes the $*l- > n-$ change (in WCh 5, CCh 3, 4, 8-10). The change: $*-ls- > -rs-$ happens in Hausa, CCh 9a Gidar, ECh 1 Kera.

Proto-Ch $*r-$ is poorly preserved in CCh languages. It is easier to list the environment conditions in which the initial $*r-$ is normally preserved. They are roots with emphatic or velar fricative consonant in C_2 position. Ch $*r-$ is also rather stable in roots $*rVm-/*rVn-$ and in a contact position. In other environments $*r- > l-$ in the majority of CCh languages as well as in WCh 5 and ECh 2. In all other languages Ch $*r- > r-$.

8b. Intervocalic position

Ch $*-m- > -w-$ in CCh 5. At the very end the change $*-m\# > -n\#$ is observed. With these exceptions, $*-m- > -m-$ in Chadic languages.

In intervocalic position $*-n- > -r-$ in the languages CCh 2, 3, 5, 7 and in a part of the languages CCh 8 (Afade, Gulfey, Maltam, Kuseri, see [Tr 123, Nm 17-18]). The change mostly happens in roots with an initial spirant. More often $-r- > -l-$ in $CVrVC-$ structures.

Ch $*-l-$ is mostly preserved as such in Ch languages in $CVIV-$ roots. In roots $CVIVC-$ and $CVCVI-$ weakening of the Proto-Ch $*-l-$ to $-y-$ and to \emptyset is observed (in WCh 1 Hausa, CCh 8 and some other languages).

The **-r- > -y-* change in W 1 Hausa mostly happens in roots with a laryngeal, Ch $C_1 VrVC_2$ -> Hausa $C_1 VC_2$. At the very end of a root Ch **-r#* > \emptyset in some of the masa languages (CCh 10) and in ECh 3. Instability of reflexes of intervocalic **-r-* (*-r-/-l-*) are more characteristic of CCh languages (CCh 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10) also in CCh 4 Bch, less regular the shift happens in CCh 3, see [Nm 16]. We failed to determine the exact reason of irregular reflexes. However, new Sem parallels to Ch roots have suggested the direction of the search. It seems reasonable to find out if a correlation between simple/geminated consonant as C_2 in Semitic languages and the reflex of C_2 in Chadic languages exists. It is not only important for liquids but for stops as well. Presumably, the opposition: simple /geminated consonant accounts for "weak"/"strong" reflex of C_2 (for example, *-l-* vers. *-r-*, *-w-* vers. *-b-*, etc.).

Vowels

Reconstruction of proto-Chadic vowels is considered as the most difficult or even an unsolvable task; nonetheless, several attempts have been made to solve it. In [NmCh] the author proceeded from the system [a, ə, u] for the vowel of the first syllable. In [StCh] a system consisting of five vowels was reconstructed [a, i, e, o, u], effects of regressive assimilation being taken into account. In this system reflexes of V_1 , could vary according to the group of the languages and the structure of the root ($CV_1CV_2 \sim CV_1CV_2C-$). This rather complicated system allowed for reconstructing V_1 for a certain portion of roots. It also turned out that there are examples of roots with stable vowels *a, i, u* in position V_1 .

A different point of view can be found in [Wlf]. Namely, he claims that it is impossible to reconstruct the system of PCh vowels. To support this point the author cites examples of genetically related lexical reflexes in Chadic languages, which clearly show an absolute discord in vowels. It is one of his examples ('nose'), that clearly points to one more factor that hampers reconstructing the system of vowels, and this factor is morphology. When a prefix (or prefixes) is added to the root, the root vowel may be reduced (e.g. **kas-* > *tVkas-* > *taks-* 'bone'). Thus, it is reasonable to start the reconstruction of vowel system anew on the bases of nouns, which show no traces of affixation. The vowel assimilation should be also taken into consideration. It is worth mentioning, that such procedure is only possible when a large quantity of reconstructed nominal roots is available. In the present text PCh vowels are mostly rendered by V. In some cases, however a short vowel (*-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-*) of the first syllable can be reconstructed.

The structure of an etymological entry

An etymological entry is organized along the following lines: first an asterisked Proto-Chadic reconstruction, then its suggested meaning (translated also into Russian). The lexical items are arranged according to the branches, within the branches - according to the groups. Names of individual languages are written with capital initials, names of the groups - with small ones. The abbreviations of language names see on pp. 7-8. References to sources are in square brackets following the meaning of a corresponding lexeme. For the languages, whose lexis is always (or mostly) taken from one and the same source this sort of reference is omitted. The list of those languages (and the source respective to each of them 'by default') see on p. 16. Within etymologies references to comparative studies are given ([SchV], [Tr], etc.). The data of the ngas-sura languages (WCh 2) from the comparative dictionary by G. Takacz are also included. However, since the framework of the present project does not include reconstructions at the group level, as well as reconstructions of vowel systems, the data base was only enlarged by lexical material of Musher, Kofyar, Goemay from [TAS] (with page indication), but the reconstructins of this author are not entered.

The whole commentary, pertaining to a particular reconstruction, is either contained within the entry (if it concerns a group of languages), or is appended to it (if it is of a general character). For general commentary in Russian see pp. 389-415. Comment is given on the regularity of reflexes. Semantic shifts, which are not quite standard, will be also commented. Root structure in Semitic and Chadic languages is compared, it is done with the aim to reveal 'complements' or 'extensions' in preposition, that is phonemes which are regularly used within the three-consonant pattern in Semitic languages (on the root-structure in Semitic see [БелК]). Cognates in Afroasiatic languages are given after the symbol //, with a reference to the source of reconstruction (if there is any) or to an individual gloss. The etymologies end with references to the preceding variants of reconstruction on Chadic and Afroasiatic material.

The etymologies are arranged in the alphabetic order: ʔ, b, c, ɕ, ɕ̣, d, f, g, ɣ, ħ, h, ħ, [ʕ], ʒ, k, ḳ, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, ʈ, w, y, z, ʈ, ʈ', ʂ.

*ʔ

1. *ʔabVn-/*ku-ʔabVn- '(grinding) stone; камень, жернов': W 2 Mpn *fin* 'lower grindstone', Kofyar, Mushere *fin* 'grinding stone', Goem *fin* 'grinding stone (fixed in the soil)' [TAS 108]; 3 Kkr *bəni*, Bol *buni*, Glm *biin*, Krf, Gera *biní*, Dera *buni* [SchV], Geruma *biggi tí éśé* 'grinding quern' (*éśé* 'to grind') [SchB], Maka *buni* 'grinding quern' [SvM], Ngm (Y) *biní*, (G) *buni* 'grinding quern' [NEH], Tng *piní*, Pero *puni*, Kupto *finí* 'grinding stone' [LgK]; 4 Wrj *vənáy*, Jmb *ávəná* [SkNB], Paa *ván-ka* [MS], Miya *vən* [SchM] 'grindstone'; 5 Duw *vəanyi*, Bade *vənyi*; C 1 Tera *vəna*; 3 Bana *vəna* 'table meulière', FK *vəna* [BINd]; 5 Mlg *úgvəra* 'unterer Mahlstein'; Dghw *vra*, Wnd *uvra* 'grinding stone' [Jglb] (for *-r-* < **-n-* in C 3, 5, 7 see [Nm]); 5a Hdi *buna* 'la meule' [BrH]; 7 Mofu *lá-var*; Ould *ávár* 'pierre pour écraser le mil', Muy *ávàr* 'lower grinding stone', *ávər-ḥāy* 'grind into large lumps', Mbuko *vān* 'pierre sur laquelle on écraser'; 7a Skn *ban* 'grinding table'; 8 Log *vin* '(upper) grinding stone' [AIL]; 9a Gidar *buna* [Jglb], *búuna na ara* (*ara* 'to grind') [Mo] 'grinding stone'; 9 Mnj *fəḡ zi siri way* 'meule dormant' (*siri* 'grind'), Msg *fūni* 'grinding stone' [Mo], *fūni*, *funni*, *fukni* 'Berg' [LkM], Mbara *fūnày* 'meule', Msg *fukni*, *funni*, *fuuni* (< **k-fūni*) 'Berg, Stein' [LkM]; 10 Dari *fəná* 'meule dormante; la pierre est encastree dans un montage fait à la hateur de l'homme; attenante et en contre-bas, une deuxième construction: "fīlá fəná", dans lequel s'écoule la farine', Dzpw *vəná* 'meule'; E 1 Kera *kuuni* < *ku-wun-* < **ku-bVn-*.

Spirantization of **b-* in W and CCh languages is regularly observed in medial position (**-b-* > *-v-*, cf. C 7 Muy *ávàr*). Thus, we may postulate PCh *ʔabVn-.

The following reflexes point to a velar pref.: E 1 Kera (*kuuni* < *ku-wun-* < **ku-bVn-*), C 5 Mlg (*úgvəra* < **ukvəra* < **kvəra-* < **ku-ʔabVn-*) and C 9 Msg *funni* (assim.) < *fukni* (metath.) < **k(V)funi* < **k(V)vuni* < **ku-ʔabVn-*). The prefix explains irregular *f-* in W 2, C 8, C 9 (**k-bVn-* > *k^obVn-* > *kfVn-* > *fVn-*). For a similar chain of developments see №25 **kV-bur-m-* 'knee': W 2 Bol *burùm*, Ngm *bùurù*, 4 Paa *burmi*, but W 2 Mghv (*kə*)-*fūrùm*, Goem *fərəm*, Mpn *fūrùm*, Ngas *ferem*, Grk *fūrùm*. // Sem *ʔabn- 'stone': Akk *abn-*, Ug *ʔabn*, Hbr *ʔcben*, Aram (Emp) *ʔbn*,

(Syr) *ʔabnā*, Sab *ʔbn*, Soq *ʔoben*, Jib *ḥōbin*, Mhr *ḥubīn*, Geez *ʔəbn*, Tgr *ʔəbn*, Tna *ʔəmmi* [Fron 5.05, DRS 1:4], Eg *bnw.t* (MK) ‘Art harter Stein (als Baumaterial); der Mühlstein’ [EG I I58], Berb Ghdm *ubent* ‘boulet de pierre à piler noyaux’, Qab *tawent* ‘grosse pierre enclume’, Ahg, Air, Wlm *tchunt* ‘grosse pierre’ [NZ 74].

[Nm **bəna*, Jglb *bn*, Cr №781, IC 1.11 (Wnd, Gdr, Msg), HSED №9; for references see EDE I 105].

2. ***(ʔV)cVf-** ‘harvest time, to harvest; время сбора урожая, собирать урожай’: C 7 Chv *má-sfà* ‘période d’abondance, prémices’, Mada *soffó* ‘abondant, accessible à tous (récolte)’, Gis *šife* ‘Reifzeit’, *sifi* (Mj) ‘Erntezeit, harvest time’; E 3 Tum *sub* (*b* < **P*) ‘cueillir’. Initial *s-* in Tumak regularly reflects Ch **ç-* (but not **c-*). In the present case: **ʔVcVp-* > *ʔsVp-* > *sub*.

//Sem **ʔcp* ‘to harvest, to gather’: Akk *esēpu*, Hbr *ʔsp* ‘gather, harvest, Ug *ʔsp* ‘sammeln, wegraffen’ [Ais 30], Aram (Palest) *ʔasap* ‘harvest’ (v.) [KB 71, DRS 27]. Cush Som *šaf* ‘to reap, harvest’ [LIS].

[HSED №146 Sem-Tumak].

3. ***ʔVd-** > ***da** ‘father, chief; отец, вождь’ > ***n-dV** ‘person, человек’ (note *n-* as a marker of sing.): W 2 Ngas *dee* [FI] ‘chief, superior’, *nda* ‘master!’ (vocative), Mpn *dāa* ‘father, term of respect’, Mghv *dāa* ‘Herr’, *daa* ‘mein Vater’ [JgS] (note *d-* < **ʔVd-*, initial Ch **d-* more often yields ngas *t-*), Miship, Goem *nda* ‘father’ [Fp], Goem *ndá* ‘father, uncle (i.e., parent’s male siblings and cousins)’ [Hlw], Mnt *ndaa* ‘Vater, Herr’ [JgC]; 5 Saya *dā* [Cs] ‘father’; 6 Bade *ndi* ‘person, human being’, *nda* (*-a-* pl.) ‘people’; 7 Fyer *dóo*, DB *ʔadá, dá, Sha ʔadá* ‘Vater’; C 2 Bura *mdó* ‘man, person, human being’ [BIB], Mrg *ada, dó* ‘father’, Klb *ndu* ‘person’ [HfM 67], Chb *nda* ‘Mensch’ [HfC 124]; 3 Bana *ndʔʔə* ‘homme, personne’, FK *ndə* ‘person, human being’ [BINd]; 5 Mlg *ada* ‘father’; 5a Hdi *da* ‘father’, 7 Mafa *ndó* ‘homme’, *ndiy* ‘les gens’, Mofu *ndaw* ‘homme, être humain, gens’, Merey *ndo* ‘homme, être humain’, Dugwor *ndaw* ‘être humain/human being’; 7a Skn *da* ‘father’, *nda, ndu* ‘person’, *ndahay* (note pl. in *-h-* and internal *-a-*) ‘people’, *nda mucun* ‘corpse’ (‘man + death’).

Note reflexes of the same Chadic root with a sg. m. suffix *-f-*:

a. ***ʔVd-f-** > **dif-** *dif-* sg., **dVy** pl. ‘chief, man; вождь, мужчина’: W 3 Krkr *ʔidə-fu* ‘Häuptling, chef’ [LKr]; C 9a Gidar *dəf*, pl. *di* [Mo]; 9 Msg

dif, pl. *dai* 'Mensch, Mann' [LkM], Mnj *dif* 'homme, humain', pl. *dáy* 'gens', Mbara *díyà* (*d-* < *?d-*) 'personne (unc)'.
For possible cognates to W - CCh 'man, person' in the E branch consider

1 sg. subj. pronoun: Mubi *nde*, Zir *nde-te*.

//Sem Akk *adû* (NA, NB pl.t.) 'majesty (?), power (?)' [CAD a 134], Ug *?ad-* 'father' [Ais 6], Phn *?d* 'lord', Amh *ad* 'lord' [DK], Omot Ari (?)*ced*, Hamer *e(e)di* 'person' [BndA 156].

4. ***?afVt-** 'flour; мука': W 1 (redupl.) Hs *fàtecfátee* 'mushy food made with flour'; 3 Ngm (G) *àpti*, (Y) *hàpti*; 4 Wrj *fīy-ai*, Paa *fīya*, Siri, Mburku *fīyi*, Diri *afəta*, Miya, Kariya *fii*, Tsagu *fīye* (note *-y-* < **-t-*, but *-t-* < **-t-*) 'flour' [SkNB]; 5 Zaar *yàpti*, Geji *apti* 'flour' [JgIb]; 6 Bade *aptâ*, Ngz *áptâ* '(fine-ground) flour' (*-pt-* < **-ft-*, assim.); 7 Bok *?afût* [JgR], Monguna *wot* (< **afot*), Mundat *àwut* [RC]; C 'flour': 9 Msg *afúii* [LkM]; 10 Musey *fud-ta* [ShyM], *fût-ta*, Marba *affiut-ta*, Hedé *fut*, Peve *fur*, *fût* [Shy], Gizey, Ham, Musey *fút*, Masa *fútúw*, *fút*, Lew, Marba *?áfút* [LexC], Mesme *fut* [Kr], Dzpw *fút*, Dari *fût*; E 5a WDng *puttiyà* 'farine de mil rouge hâtif'. Presumably, a derived noun in *?a-* from [**fVt-*] 'to grind' (note that the verb itself has not been identified in Chadic languages so far). [JgIb **pt-*].

Derived verb: W 5 Zaar *fut*, *fufút* 'sprinkle powdery substance' [CrZ]; C 7 Mofu *-fáfət-* 'saupoudrer, verser une petite quantité (de farine pour voir si l'eau est assez chaud)'; 10 Dzpw *fât*; E 5 WDng *peṭpidé* 'saupoudrer'.

//Cf. Sem Arab *fīt* 'écraser, broyer, casser', *fāīt-* 'bróyé, écrasé, pilé' [BK II 531], Omot Shin *fúút-* 'mahlen', Shekko *futt-* id. [LmS].

5. ***?am-** '(young) woman; (молодая) женщина': W 3 Krkr *aamà* 'best friend of a bride' [GK]; 4 Wrj *amai*, Diri, Kar *am*, Tsagu *omey*, Jmb *ama* 'woman' [SkNb]; 6 Ngz *ama*; 7 Sha *?amuy* 'woman'; C 10 Dzpw *t-ámā* (with a fem. pref.) 'terme d'address entre les femmes qui ont dansé "fūr"', cf. *?ám* 'to marry'; E **ta-?am-*: 2 Lele *taamá*, pl. *kam-dá* [Cope], Kaba, Nch *tamə* 'femme', Kaba *tam-dəŋ* 'soeur' [HmK], Gbr *tama*, Dormo *táma* 'Frau' [Luk]; 3 Tum, Smr *dəme* (< **t-?VmV-*, regular voicing), cf. Ndam *žám* (likely, < *žeme* < **deme*) 'woman' [JgIb].

//Sem **?am-at-* 'slavegirl': Akk *amtu*, Hbr *?āmā*, Arab *?amat*, etc. [DK 3.1], Ug *?mt* 'Magd' [Ais 24], Geez *?amat* 'maid', Phn *?mt*, Aram *?amtā*, Tgr *?amāt*, Amh *amāt* 'handmaid, slavegirl' [LsG 26, MtS №3.1]; HECush **?am-* 'mother, wife, woman' [Ss], Cf. Ongota *ayma* 'woman, wife' [FIO].

Chadic ***ʔam-** cannot be cognate with Eg *hm.t* 'wife, woman' (as suggested in [EDE I 123]). Note that AA **h-* > Ch **h-* > WCh 4 Wrj *x-*, Diri, Kar, Tsagu *ɣ-*, Paa *f-*. For reflexes of AA **h-* in Chadic languages see "Introduction" and roots with initial Ch **h-* in the present text. [HSED №34].

6. ***(ʔa)pVI-** 'to pay; платить': W 3 Pero *pílu* 'buy'; C 2 Bura *pili* 'to ransom' [BIB]; 5 Pod *pəla* 'pay back'; 5a Hdi *pəlay* 'to pay', (compounds) *pəla-səku* 'sacrifice to ancestors to remove the evil in the village', *pəla-ɣəɣ* 'sacrifice to God' [BrH]; 7 Mafa *pəl-, píl-* 'payer', Mofu *-pəl-* 'rembourser (une dette)', Mada *ápal* 'payer, régler (affaire)', Zlg *pəl* 'rembourser', Ould *-pāl* 'indemniser, compensater', Muy *ápəl* 'pay'; 9 Mbara *púl* 'pay'; E 5a WDng *ápilè* 'rembourser (une dette)'.

//Sem Akk *apālu* 'to satisfy a demand; to answer', *apiltu* (MB) 'full payment' [CAD a 155, 169], *napālu* (OA, OB) 'to make a supplementary payment, to compensate' [CAD n 275], Arab *nfl* 'donner qqch à qqn' [BK II 1316].

The following WCh root is worth mentioning: **pun-/*pul-** (< **pln* ?) 'to give, pay; давать, платить': 2 Ngas *pun*, Kofyar *pən* 'give' [TAS 287]; 4 Paa *pun* 'pay', *pən* 'ransom, free' [MS], Miya *pəna* 'pay, ransom' [SchM], Siri *punu*, Wrj *pəl-*, Mburku, Kariya *pul-* 'ransom' [SkNB].

Violation *-n- ~ -l-* in warji languages (WCh 4) cannot be explained away as a specific reflex of a single PCh phoneme (be it **-l-* or **-n-*). Simplification of a cluster seems more likely: **pVln-* (metath. < **npl*) > *pVI-* / *pVnn-* > *pVn-*. Alternatively, reflexes in WCh 4 may go back to two different roots: Ch ***(ʔa)pVI-** (see above) and WCh **pVn-* (W 2, 4).

7. **ʔVr-** > ***rVʔ-, *rVʔ-rVʔ-** 'to make fire, burn, warm; разжигать огонь, жечь': W 1 (redupl.) Hs *rúurá* 'to blow up a fire'; C 6 Daba *rī* 'brûler, briller' [Lnhr]; C 8 (redupl.) Bud *róro* 'to warm'; 10 Masa *raia-mo* 'to fry' [Kr]; E 5a Bid *ʔcer* 'brûler'.

Derived noun: W 3 Krf *riʔi* 'fireplace' [Stl]. Judging by Semitic cognates, ECh Bidiya shows the original root-structure.

//Sem Arab *ʔrr* (u), *ʔry* II stem 'allumer le feu' [BK I 23, 27], *ʔrr-at-* 'feu', Soq *ʔerir* 'allumer' [LsS 35], cf. Eg *rwy* (N) 'Flamme' [EG II 408]. [CLD I №624].

8. ***tV-ʔVr-** 'moon; луна': W 2 Grk *taar*, Ngas, Kofyar *tar*, Mghv *tár*, Mpn *tār*, Goem *taar* [TAS 380]; 3 Krkr *tàrai*, Ngm (G) *tèrè*, (Y) *tèrè* 'moon', Bol

tère, Tng *terē*, Pero *térè*, Bele *tíré*, Krf *tàré*, Gera *tàrá* [JgIb, SchB]; 4 Wtj, Paa *čira*, Kariya, Mburku, Miya *tir*, Siri *təri*, Jmb *tira* [SkNB]; W 5 Zul *kyààrè*, Buli *kyar*, Dott *čaar* ‘moon’ (<*k-t-Vr-, cf. E 1) [Cs]; 6 Ngz *tərá*, Bade *təra* ‘moon’; 7 Bok *túré*, Karfa *toor* [RC]; C 1 Tera *tera* [NmT], Gaʔanda *n-dira*, Hona *n-düre*, Boka *n-diràʔa* [Kr], Gabin, Jara *n-dirra* [Meek] (*nd*-<*nt-, note *n*- as a suff. of singularity); 2 Bura *tere*, Mrg *téřé* [HfM]; 3 Bana *tír*, FK *tóri* [BINd]; Hya *təra*, HN *tire*, Kap *turé*, (HF *turo*) [Kr]; 4 Beh *terē* [Sk]; 5 Mlg *təré*, Pod *tərá* ‘moon, mond’, *tər-žakwa* ‘star’ [Mo], Gvoko *ʔle*, Dghw *tili*, Gdf *tila* [HmG], Wnd *tirre* [Meek], *tre* [Mo], Gdf *talla* [JgIb] ‘moon’, Ngweshe *tʰólé* ‘full moon’ [JgIb], Cin, Glv *kʷlā* ‘moon’ [Kim] (<*k-t-Vl-, cf. E 1, 2); 5a Lmn *tirre* [JgIb], Hitk *trí* [LkH], Hdi *tili*, ‘moon’ [BrH]; 6 Daba *trā*, Buwal *jtərā*, Mbedam *ntəra*, *antəraʔ*; 8 Makari *tedí*, Afd *tédi* [Sol], Log *tedí* (<*t-ʔVr-d-) ‘moon’ [ALL]; 9a Gidar *təla* [JgIb]; 9 Msg *tiléce* [LkM], tle [Mo]; 10 **tir* ‘moon’: Masa *tīl-tā*, Musey *tīlā*, Marba *tila*, Peve *čēr*, Hede *tér*, Zime (Mesme) *ter* [Shy], Mesme (Zime) *ter* [Kr], Gizey, Masa, Musey, Ham, Lew, Marba *tīl* ‘lune, mois lunaire’ [LexC], Dzpw *tēr*, Dari *čer*; E 1 Kera *kí-tír*, Kwang *kì-dír* [JgIb]; 2 Gbr *kí-dere* ‘Mond’ [Luk], Kaba *kə-dərə* [JgIb] (voicing in medial position); 3 Tum *dər*, Smr *dúru*, Ndam *dər* (*d*- <*t- is regular) ‘lune’ [JgIb]; 4 Bardin dial. *túru*, *túuru* [LvB]; 6 Mok *téřé* ‘moon, month’; 5a Mabire *terē* [JH], 5b Jegu *terē*, Brg *těřé* [JgIb], Mubi *tiri* [CJ], Kaj *tiiri* [Alio]. Long vowels in W and E branches can be accounted for a contraction: **tVʔVr-* > **tVVr-*. A front vowel may also result from a contraction: **tVʔVr-* > *tVyVr-* > *te/ir-*. Given, that names of luminaries often show a *t*- prefix in Chadic languages (cf. Hausa *tāa-čúuniyaa*, *tā-mraarō* ‘star’) and in the view of cognates in MSA, a new Chadic reconstruction (**tV-ʔVr-*) seems quite reliable. Note that in ECh 1, 2 groups a velar prefix was attached to forms with lexicalized *t*-: ECh Kera *ki-tir*, etc. Most probably, an additional prefix accounts for initial *kʷ*- in WCh 5 and CCh 5 as well: **kV-tVr-* > *kVyVr-* > *kʷVl/r-*.

//Sem MSA **ʔary-* ‘moon’: Mhr *hārīt*, Jib *ʔerət*, Hars *hārēt*, Soq *ʔere* [MSem №54], note Geez *ʔerāʕ* ‘the name of the moon’ [LSG 36].

[Cf. AA №189: Ch **tVr-* ‘moon’ with a different set of cognates: Cush Beja *terik* ‘moon’, Berber ‘star’: Nefusa, Ghat *i-tri*, Ahg *a-tri*, EWlm *tā-tri-t* Tnsl *a-tar*, Zng *ə-dəri*, Semlal *i-tri*, Sghr *i-tri*, Rif, Qabyle *i-tri*. [Mo TL, Nm **təra*, JgIb **t-r*].

9. ***ʔuram-** ‘dwelling place; поселение’: W 1 Hausa *ráamí* ‘town, city’; 7 Sha *ram* ‘Dorf, Stadt, village, town’, DB *ram* ‘Land, Ort, Berg, land, place, mountain’, Kulere *ram* ‘Siedlung, Ort, (dwelling) place’, [JgR]; C 4 Gude *uurámáyá* ‘area before the door of the compound’; 5a Hdi *rama-k* ‘premier endroit après la porte de la concession, entrance hut’ [Egg].

//Sem Hbr *ʔarm-ōn-* ‘Wohnturm (befestigtes Haus), dwelling-tower (fortified building of small square base)’ [KB 88]. Note Akk *arammu* (from OB on) ‘wharf, embarkment; ramp, causeway’ [CAD a 227]. [HSED №53].

10. ***ʔVrVr-/*rVʔVr-** ‘sun, day, dry season; солнце, сухой сезон’: W 1 Hs *ráanáa* ‘sun, day, hot season’; 3 Krf *rani* ‘dry season’ [Stl]; 5 cf. W Pol *ǰáani* (assim.), Geji *Iwaani* ‘heat’ [Cs №379]; 7 DB *reén* ‘Tag, Mittagzeit’; C 4 Gude *rónə*, FM *rúǰú*, Nzn *riní* ‘dry season’ [Kr]; E 5a Bid *ʔeréna* ‘journee’.

a. E 5a ***ʔVrVr-** ‘to shine (sun); сиять (о солнце)’: Bid *ʔerény* ‘luire, brillier (soleil)’, EDng *erinyē* ‘blitzen, to shine’ [Ebb].

//Cf. Sem Geez *ʔirna* ‘sun’ [LsG 38, without Semitic parallels]. [CLD I №941].

11. ***ʔarnVb- (> nVbVr- > nbVr- > bVr-)** ‘hare; заяц’: W 1 Hs *ánákóo* (< **ʔarnau-k-* < **ʔarnab-k-*, assim.) ‘a variety of small hare’; 2 Grk *tu-bbar* < **tu-nbar-*, metath., assim.) [Fp], *ti-baar* [JgIb]; 3 Dera *búr-kí* [JgIb]; C 3 Bana *v(ə)lé* ‘lapin’, Kap *vira* ‘rabbit’ [Kr]; 5 Mlg *navire*, Wnd *návire* [Kr] (metath.), Pod *vira* ‘lapin’, 7a Skn *vəl(i)ya* ‘hare’; 5a Lmn *vila-kwà* (< **nVvir-*, -v- < **-b-* is regular) ‘hare’ [JgIb]; E 1 Mobu *tí-ber* ‘rabbit’ [JgIb]. Secondary *t-* prefix in W 2 Grk and in E 1 Mobu.

//Sem **ʔarnab-*: Akk *arnabu*, *annabu* (OAkk), Hbr *ʔarnäbät*, Aram (Mand) *arnab*, Arab *ʔarnab-*, Jib *ʔerni*, Mhr *hārnēb* [Fron 5.64, SED II № 14], according to [LsG 38], Geez *ʔarnab-* and Eth forms may be Arabisms.

The original root-structure (*ʔ-r-n-(b)*) preserves as such in Hausa, other Chadic languages show a metathesis. Note assimilation in Hausa and in Akkadian: *-rn-* > *-nn-*.

12. ***ʔirVʔ-** ‘earth; земля’: W 4 Paa *riʔ’á* ‘earth, ground, country’, Mburku *riʔ’i*, Siri *rəʔ’u* ‘earth’, Tsagu *hiit’c* (< **ʔiit’-* < *ʔirVʔ-*, irregular reflex of *ʔ-* cf. [NmH 88]: "Since [ʔ] counts as a glottalized consonant it follows that

words of the shape words of the shape ?VC_[+gl]V do not occur")³³ [SkNB]; C 5a Hdi *rʃa* (< **rta*, voicing in position) 'terrain, champ terrasse(s)' [Egg]; 8 Log *reʃi* 'slime (organic)' [AIL]; E 5a Bid *ʃiradya* (*dy* < Ch **ʃ*, **ç*) 'valley'.

//Sem Akk *irʃctu*, Ug *ʃrʃ* 'Erde, Land', Phn *ʃrʃ*, Hbr *ʃeres*, Aram (Bibl) *ʃaraʃ*, (Syr) *ʃarʃā*, (Emp) *ʃrq* 'Erde' [Ais 37], Arab *ʃard-* 'terre, sol, terrain' [BK I 25], Sab *ʃard-*, Jib *ʃerd* 'earth' [Fron 3.01, DRS 33].

Chadic **ʃ* regularly corresponds to Semitic **ç*.

[Jglb *ḵ*ḵd. For Sem+WCh 4 see SkNB and HSED №54].

13. *ʃVtV(tV)- 'louse, flea; вошь, блоха': W 7 Monguna *tʃ*? 'louse' [RC]; C 4 Bata *tétiye* 'pou' [Mo], Gude *uta* 'parasite of the goats'; 7 Ould *àtāt* 'pou, parasite des poules', Mada *étet* 'pou', cf. Muy *étiit* 'tick sp.' E 5a Mig *ʃitaata*, EDng *ittā* 'le pou, la vermin, la tique' [Dj], WDng *éttā*; Mabire *intat* 'head louse' [JH], 5b Brg *ʃitaati*, Jegu *ʃintaatō* 'pou', Mubi *idécdí*, pl. *écdét* 'pou' (regular devoicing of a medial consonant) [JgL].

Cf. C 10 Peve *tandi* (possibly, < *ta-n-ti* < *n-tati*) 'louse' [Vn].

//Cush Bed *taat*, pl. *tat* 'Laus' [RBd], agaw Aungi *inti*, *antii* 'louse', SCush Rift **ʃitaa* (n. col. f.) 'lice', *ʃitinoo* (n. sing. m.) 'louse' [Kies], Dah *ʃittoni*, *ita* 'louse' [Eh]. Note Omot Yemsa *tuʔa* 'louse' (but cf. Gamu, Dace, Zayse *c'uc-ce*, Shin *ts'uts'e*, etc. 'louse') [LmS 328].

[Cf. HSED №111].

14. *ʃV(wV)ʃ- 'to cough, cough; кашлять, капель': W 4 Wrij *it-ai*, Diri, Jmb *ita*, Mburki *iti*, Kariya *atə*, Siri *ati*, Jmb *it* 'cough' [SkNB], Paa *áto* [MS] 'cough', Tsagu *ʃaat-en* 'cough' [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *aaʃá* 'cough' (voicing in medial position); C 2 Mrg *ʃwuʃa* [Jglb] 'to cough', *wuʃa*, Klb *ʃuʃá*, Chb *ʃəʃá* 'cough' [Kr]; 3 Bana *ʃyitá* 'cough', HN *g'yæta*; 5 Wnd *wta* 'to cough' [Mirt], Dghw, Gava *wuʃa-xa* (pl. in *-xa*) 'cough' [Kr]; 7 Mafa *wuʃa* 'toux'; 9 Msg *haʃa* 'to cough' [LkM]; 10 Mesme (Zime) *ot* 'cough' [Kr], Musey *ota* 'tousser', *ot-na* 'la toux' [ShyM], Masa, Peve, *ʃot*, Marba *hoʃ*, Hede *utoʔ*, Zime (Mesme) *ot* 'to cough' [Shy]; Gizey *hoʃ*, Masa, Ham, Lew, Marba *ʃot* 'tousser' [LexC]; E 1 Kwang *osē* '(to) cough' [Jglb]; 2 Lele *osi* 'tousser', Kaba *-ussse*, Nch *-ʔwasə* [HmK]; 3 Smr *ʃasə*, Ndam

³³ Cf. [TKA 186]: "Tsagu *h-* < **r-* via **yitʔ*" (i.e., **rii tʔ* > *yitʔ* > *hiiʔ*). Such an explanation cannot be accepted, since the **r-* > *y-* shift was not traced in W Ch 4. See [CLD I №№618-949].

ʔə̀sà [JgIb], Tum ááǰ (-ǰ# reflects all sibilants); 5a Mig ʔéččò, Bid ʔeč, EDng éčē [VM]; 5b Zir -aci [CJ], Mubi áččá [JgIb], Brg ʔéččí 'to cough'. Derived noun in -n-: E 3 Ndam ásan 'toux' [Brs].

Note secondary *h-* in CCh languages (e.g., Marba ʔót ~ hot').

//Cush Bed šíʔiš 'to cough' [RBd], Omot Kore ʔoč-unt-, Zayse ʔošít-, Cara oč- 'cough'; Yemsa ʔooč 'to cough' [BndO 332, 339], Eg íšš 'aushusten, ausspülen, to spit out' [EG I 135].

Note Omotic -č- < AA *-č- (> Sem *š, Eg š, Ch *ʃ).

[Nm *ʔahla, JgIb *w-ʃ, St 81 Ch+EG, EDE I 83].

*b³⁴

15. ***bV** 'river, riverine water; река, речная вода': C 2 Bura *bu* 'water of the main stream' [BIB]; 9 Msg (Girvidik) *ba* 'Fluss' [apud EDE II 161]; E 3 Tum *bā* 'rivière' (if not < *bar#).

Derived noun: W1 Hs *baí* 'watering of horses'.

//Cf. Sem Akk *bā* 'water' syn list, foreign word [CAD b 1], Cush Bed *ába* 'river' [RBd], cf. ECush Rend *béy* 'river (permanent or perennial)' [PG], Berb Tuat, Tidikelt *bbu* 'eau' (langage enfantin) [NZ 8], Sghr *bbubbu* 'water' (apud AA 2 №106).

a. ***bVy/w-** 'to flow, to pour (water), течь, лить (воду)': W 3 Bol *baayu* 'sprinkle (water with mouth, hand)' [GAB]; C 2 Bura *biuu* (idf.) 'sound of water as poured on ground' [Ann]; 7 Mafa *buw-* 'verser (liquide)'; E 1 Kwang *bayī* [Jg]; 2 Kaba *bəyi* [HmK], Lele *bəy* 'verser, couler'; 3 cf. Smr *bwa* [JgSb] 'verser'.

Redupl.: C 7 Muy *ábábā* 'pour water out'; E 5a EDng *boóbé* 'umgiessen' [Ebb], Mig *boóbo* 'vider l'eau d'une grand jarre où d'une bouteille'.

//SCush Dah, Alg *buʔ* 'to pour' [Eh].

b. The following isogloss may be of common origin:

W 4 Siri *biyi*, Kariya *bij* 'to weep' [SkNB] ~ ECush Oromo *boo-*, Arbore *booy-* 'to weep' [Hay].

Ch ***bVy/w-** 'to flow, to pour' hardly cognate with Arab *bʔʔ*, Eg *bʔʔ*, etc., 'to flow out' (see AA 2 №106 *bʔʔ). One would expect AA *bʔʔ > Ch *bV.

³⁴ Numerous AA etymologies in *b- initial can be found in: AA-2, HSED №№154-369, EDE II pp.1-372, G. Takács 'Lexica Afroasiatica' I, II. The present volume includes new etymologies and those, sufficiently modified.

16. ***bVI-** 'field': C 3 FK *bábal* 'field' [BINd]; E 4 Mawa *bəla* 'champ'.

Derived verb: W 3 Ngm (G) *baalá*, (Y) *baalo* 'clear bush for a farm' [NEH], Bol *bolá* 'clearing areas for a farm' [GAB]. Cf. C 5 Mlg *bala* 'Gemeinschaftsarbeit auf dem Feld'. Note the following correlation: initial *b-* in nouns ~ initial *b-* in derived verbs.

//PECush **bal-* 'field, plain' [SsB 32], Sem Arab *baʕl-at-* 'champ' [BK I 144], Yem dial. *baʕl-* 'land sown in winter', Sab *bʕl* 'rain-irrigated land' [SD 26]. Root extension (ʕ as C₂) in Semitic.

17. ***baHar-** (> ***bVVR-/*bVR-**) 'to hunt, hunting; охотиться' (also 'to fish, ловить рыбу'): W 2 Grk *bar* 'to hunt' [BIY]; 3 Krf *bar-*, Dera *bará*, Geruma *ɣbara* 'to hunt' [SchV], Krkr *baaraa* 'hunting, festival' [GK], Bol *bará* 'hunting, fishing' [GAB], Maka *baara* 'hunt' n. [SvM]; 6 Ngz *barú* 'hunt' (accord. to R.Shuh, < Kanuri *bara*), Duw *baara* 'hunting'; C 1 Tera (dial.) *bəɾə* 'hunting' [Kr]; 2 cf. Bura *bara* 'seek, want, love' [BIB], *bara* 'suchen, jagen, wollen' [Ann], cf. (compound) Chb *bara-ntakú* 'hunting' [Kr]; 7 Vame *bər-* 'chase' [KinV]; 10 Musey *bəcera* 'la chasse, aller faire la chasse' [ShyM]; E 1 Kera *bécéré* 'to hunt'; 5 WDng *bariyc* 'aller chercher'; 6 cf. Mok *bəcéré* 'enquête, surveillance (en cachette)'. Semantic shift: 'to hunt' > 'to seek' > 'to want' seems tenable.

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 3 Ngm (G) *bar-ta*, (Y) *bar-tô* 'look for, seek' [NEH]; C 2 Bura *bara-ta* 'suchen' [HfB 295].

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *búcérecé* 'bird snare'; C 5 Pod *bəra* 'filet de pêche'; cf. 6 Gavar *ma-bar* 'filet' [VGv 2]; E 5a WDng *baárné* 'grand filet'.

Derived noun: C 8 Bud *barā-ma* 'Jäger, hunter' [LkBd].

Emphatization of *b-* (observed in some of Ch languages) and a long root vowel point to a "weak" laryngeal (? or ʕ) as C₂ on the PCh level. Nilo-Saharan Kanuri *bara* 'to hunt', lacking an etymology, is rather a Ch loan.

//Sem Akk *baʕāru* 'to catch fish, birds, to hunt', *na-bāru*, *na-bār-tu* 'trap, cage' [CAD b 21], Soq *bʕr*, Mhr *biter* (T-stem) 'pêcher' [LsS 92], Amh *abarrära* 'chase' [Hds]; ECush Som *buri* 'to chase (away)' [LIS].

[AA 2 №105 **bVhr* 'to catch, seize' (includes Akk, MSA *bʕr*), StH VII.2].

18. ***bVHVr-** > ***bVR-** 'to cut, to tattoo; резать, делать ритуальные насечки': W 3 Glm *bar-aaalá* 'cut off' [SchB], Tng *berí* 'to cut round, circumcise'; 5 Duw *bər-niyo* 'cut open (fish, fowl)'; C 10 Ham, Marba *bir*,

Musey *bíí* (< **bir*#) 'gravir du bois, scarifier', Gizey, Masa *bír* 'inciser, tatouer', Gizey, Masa, Ham *bír*, Musey *bíí* 'scarifier' [LexC]; E 1 Kera *bír-lí* 'to tattoo'; 5 WDng *bor* 'tatouer, make tribal marks'.

//Sem Arab *bḥr* 'fendre, déchirer (se dit de la pratique de fendre l'oreille à une chamelle)' [BK I 88].

Note *b-* < **bVH-* in Chadic languages influenced by a pharyngeal.

[AA 2 №120 **bVr* 'to cut, to sharpen, to pierce' (Ch + Sem **br*?/w/y)].

19. **bVr-* 'bad spirit; злой дух': W 3 Tng *bura* 'name of bad spirit'; E 6 Mok *bírre* 'se promener (pour les mauvais esprits) la nuit pour manger les âmes des gens'.

Deriv. in *m-*: **m-bur-* 'sorcerer, medicine man': W 7 Sha, Bok *^mburú*, DB *^mburú* 'Medizinmann' [JgR]; C 9 Mbara *^mbré* 'sorcerer'.

//Sem Akk *bārūtu* (from OB on) 'act of divination', *bārū* (from OB on) 'a diviner', *barīrtu* (MB, SB) (a female demon) [CAD b 111, 121, 131].

20. *(*m*)-*bVr-* 'oil, butter; жидкое масло': W 7 Bok, DB *mbaar* 'oil', coll.; C 7 Mafa *mbár* 'huile'; 8 Log *bráaree* 'frische Butter' [LkL]; 10 Dzpw *mbūr* 'graisse, huile', Dari *mbur* 'oil, fat', Marba *mbula*, Peve, Ngide *mbúr*, Hede, Zime (Mesme) *mbur* 'oil, grease, fat' [Shy], Musey *mbul-na* 'huile, graisse' [ShyM]. Presumably, *m-* marks collective nouns. [Jglb *mbur*].

//PHECush **buuro* 'butter': Had, Gedeo *buuro*, Kamb *buuru*, Sid *buuró* [Hds], (dullay) Gollango *piir-* 'buttern' [AMS] (devoicing of plosives is regular in dullay, see [SsB 4.4.]).

21. **bV*(?/wV)*r-* > **bVVr-*/**bVr-* 'fighting, rebellion; неповиновение, драка': W 1 Hs *bóoree* 'perversity, disobedience, rebelling against authority'; 2 Mushere *béer* 'war, fight' [JgO]; 3 Pero *búre* 'fighting'; 6 Bade *bóorai* 'rebellion' (< Hs); 7 Sha *bur*, Richa *búr* 'Krieg', DB *búur* 'Krieg, Kampf'; C 7 Muy *abra* 'armed robbery', cf. Ould *abəra* 'bandit' [KPr 17]; 10 Peve *bar* 'rebel' [Vn].

Derived verb: C 5 Pod *mbóra* 'overwhelm'; cf. 10 Dzpw *mbírí* 'violent'.

//Sem Akk *bāru* (from OB on) 'stir up a revolt' [CAD b 30]; Cush Dah *^mbóori* 'fight, war' [TD].

22. **bir-* (< **biHr-*) 'herd (n.); стадо': W 3 Krkr *biri* 'a herd, flock' [GK]; 6 Ngz *bərí* 'herd of animals'; C 2 Bura *bri* 'herd of cattle' [BIB]; 3 FK *bərrí* 'herd of cows' [BInD]; 6 Buwal *bré* 'herd'; 7a Skn *biri* 'herd of

domestic animals’.

//Sem Sab *bʕr* n.s.& coll. ‘cattle, head of cattle’ [SD 26], Hbr *bəʕīr* ‘cattle, livestock’, Aram (Jud) *bəʕīr(ā)* ‘grazing animal, cattle’, Geez *bəʕər* ‘ox, bull, horned cattle’, Tgr, Tna *bəʕray* ‘ox, bull’. Apud [SED №53] **bVʕVr-* ‘household animal, beast of burden’ (including Arabic *baʕīr-* ‘camel’). For Cush (agaw) **bir-a* ‘ox, bull’ as a possible Ethiosemitic loan see [ApAg 109]. Note the primary semantics ‘cattle, herd’ in ancient Semitic languages and in Chadic. Presumably, the PCh root was of the **biHr-* structure (similar to that in Tgr, Tna), that is why the initial labial was not influenced by a laryngeal (**biHr-* > **bir(r)-*

23. **m-/ʔa-bVr-* ‘sting (of insect), arrow; жало, стрела’: W 5 Guus *mbara* ‘arrow, sting, quill of insect’ [CrG]; C 9 Msg *barau* ‘Pfeil, arrow’ [LkM], Mnj *baraw* ‘arrow’; 10 Musey *mburura* ‘arrow’, Gizzey *būr* ‘arrow’ [LexC]; E 1 Kera *abooro* ‘arrow’.

//Sem Arab *ʔbr* ‘piquer (scorpion)’, *ʔibr-at-* ‘aiguille’ [BK I 3].

Chadic *ʔ*- < **ʔ(V)b-*. Note a semantic shift: ‘to sting/sting’ > ‘sharp point’ in Arabic and in Chadic languages.

24. **burgVč-* ‘louse; вошь’: C 5 Pod *birəgəšəwe* ‘pou de chien’; 6 Daba *mburgūč* ‘le pou’ [Lnhr]; E 5a Bid *bugulčū-mò* (metath., *-lč-* < **-rč-*) ‘larve’. Ch languages show the regular reflex of Ch **b-* < AA **b-*.

//Sem Arab *burgūt-* ‘puce, flea’ [BK I 113], Akk *peršaʔu* (Oakk on) ‘Floh’ [AHw 855], Hbr *parʕōš* ‘flea’ [KB 971]. Cf. Sem **pVrgVt-* [SED II №185], **pargūt-* [Fron 5.88]. Berb Shilh *aburegs* ‘sauterelle’ [NZ 107], Rif *buryes*, Izn *burehs* ‘grillon’, Snus *aburyes* ‘insect’, Sghr *burhs* ‘small grasshopper’ (apud [SED]). On Semitic **p* see [SED I 246].

Note a possible ‘root variant’ with a lateral fricative: Central Ch 7 Ould *té-m̄bèrəkctēw* ‘criquet migrateur’ ~ Semitic Arabic *barǧaš-(at)-* ‘moucheron’ (BK I 113). Both < AA **bVrgVč-*.

[HSED №3454 Arab + Daba].

25. **bVr-m-* > *H-/k-bVr-m-* ‘knee’: W ‘knee’: 2 Mpn *fūrūm* [Fr], Mghv *kə-fūrūm*, *fūrūm* [JgS], Ngas *fərem* [Hff], Mnt *fīm*, *pə-fīm*, Grk *fūrūm* [JgC]; 3 Gera *burmi*, Glm *bū-būr*, Geruma *burmuŋ* [SchB], Bol *burūm* [Jglb], *bo-burum* [Meek], Krkr *bēcra-sū* [Jglb], *bēcra-sim* (‘knee+leg’) [Meek], Ngm *būuru*, Dera *bərəm* [SchV], *bó-bərəm* [Jglb], Tng *purum*, Pero *purum*, Maka *burum* [NmM], Bure *bórumò* ‘knee, elbow’; 4 **y-*

burum:- Warji *ywurmú-ná*, Kariya (*y*)*wurum*, Miya *wúrum*, Pa'a *búrmí*, Tsagu *bóm-bárən* (-*n#* < **m#*), Siri *yərma*, Mburku *wīrin*, Jmb *vurmu*, Paa *burmi* [SKNB]; 5 Tala *kaa fūrūj*, Geji *gā hulan*, Kir *kaa fūrum* [Smz], Grnt *vāran*, Jimi *hurum*, Tala *kaa-furin*, Bgh *fiim*, Mangas *kam-hurum*, Saya *gag-varən* [Cs]; C 4 Gude *búurá* 'elbow'; 5 Pod *bər-na* 'knee' [Mo]; 6 Buwal *bərā* 'hip'.

Modification of the initial consonant due to a pref. of body-parts (**y*- in W 4, **k*- in W 2, 5). For a similar reflex of Ch **b*- (**k*-*bVC*- > *k*-*fVC*- > *fVC*-) see №1 **?abVn*-/**ku-?abVn*- 'grinding quern'. For *-m*- as a possessive suff. in Ch languages see [Luk], the same suff. is observed in №568 **IVs-m*-.

Derived verb in **?V*:- C 10 Dzpw *búru*, Dari *būru* (< *?Vburu*) 'marcher sur les genoux'; E 6 Mok *?obbirā* 's'agenouiller au bord d'un ruisseau pour boire'. For a similar correlation: initial *b*- (noun) ~ initial *b*- (derived verb) see №16.

//Cf. Sem **bi/ark*- 'knee': Akk *birku*, *burku*, Ug *brk*, Hbr *bārāk*, Aram (Jud) *birkā*, Arab *bārik-at*-, Geez *bərək*, etc. [Fron **birk*- 2.92, SED I №39].

It cannot be excluded, that C₃ (taken for an affix) was replaced on the PCh level by the possessive marker: AA **bVr-k*- > Ch **bVr-m*-.

26. **bVs*- 'flower; цвeтoк': W 5 Dott *busul-ti* 'flower' [Cr], Jimi *buusáa* [Cs]; E 4 Saba *bisi*, Mawa *bisu*, Barein (dial.) *běssó*, *běsó* 'flower'.

Derived verb: W 3 Bol *běeši* 'colouring the teeth with tobacco-flower'.

//PECush **bis*- 'colour, flower': Afar *bias*, Burji *biša* 'colour', Konso *pisa*, dulla Harso, Dob *pisakko*, Goll *piso*, Gad *pisko* 'flower' [SsB, AMS].

27. **but*- 'soil, mud; почва, глина': W 3 Tng *budε-kε* (-*d*- < **-t*- is regular) 'mud', Dera *but* 'filth'; E 7 Kaj *buutu* 'sol'.

Derived verb: C 2 Bura *buta* 'to fill in dirt for a floor or for grinding a road'.

//Cush agaw **bət-a* 'soil': Bilin *bəta* 'soil, sand, tilth', Xamir *bət'a* 'soil', Aungi *bəti* 'earth' [ApAg]. A poorly attested Ch - Cush (agaw) isogloss.

*c

28. **cV(y)*- < **cV(H)*- 'to give; давать': W 4 Wrj *čá-* (< **cya*), Kariya *číy-*, Miya *ca-*, Mburku *ci-*, *cey-*, Jmb *ší-*, *šá-* 'give' [Jglb, SkNB]; C 9 Mnj *si* 'donner', Msg *sa(a)*, *za* [LkM], Mulwi *si* 'donner'.

Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *šii* 'wages, hire' [Fl]; 7 Richa *siyáw* 'Lohn, salary' (< **s*/**c*/**ç*).

//Sem *wɛʔ: Sab *ws₃ʔ* 'to decree, ordain//to grant, give', cf. Arab *wsʔ* 'permettre qqch à qqn, allow smth to smb', Yem dial. 'allow' [Ox 404], ECush PSam **sii* 'to give' [HnS]. Cf. Arab *wss* 'payer qqn' [BK II 1532]. [CLD III №652].

29. *cVwʔ- (< *cVwVʔ-) 'to weep, to cry; плакать, кричать': C 2 Bura *swa* 'to yell' [BIB]; 8 Maltam *səwáy*, Afd *cəwáy*, Makari, Glf *səwáy*, Kus, Log *səwáy*, Mazera, Zina *čəwáy* 'pleurer; cry, weep' [TrC], Afd *utsue*, Sao *sue* [Sol №661], Bud *čoy* (*č-* < *sw-) 'weinen, heulen'; 10 Dzpw *síʔí* 'se lamenter, pleurer, sanglotter, to complain, to weep'; E 3 Smr *sōʔə*, Tum *həw* [JgIb] 'to weep'; 5a WDng *sə̀yε* 'se mettre à pleurer ou crier, to burst out crying, weeping'.

//SCush rift Irq, Gor, Alg *tsecʔ*, Burunge *čec* 'to shout, cry' [Kies].

Reflexes in C 8 point to Ch *c-, Cush rift *ts-* follows AA *c- and *ç-. [HSED №392; CLD III №564].

30. *[c]jif- 'to drip, to drizzle; капать, брызгать': W 3 Tng *sipe* 'to urinate'; C 6 Daba *sif* 'degoutter, trickle, drip'; 7 Muy *sifā* idf. 'flowing (down)', *sufā* 'flowing continually' mod., Mofu -*sə-sf-*, -*sá-səf-* 'bruiner, tomber en fines gouttelettes, to drizzle'.

Derive noun: W 3 Tng *sip-zip* 'light rain'; C 2 Bura *šipa-šipa* idf. 'describes a light sprinkling of rain' (irreg. -*p-*); 4 Gude *šáfəšáfá* adj. n. 'drizzle', *má-šášáfá* 'light rain, drizzle'; 7 Mbuko *səfsəf* 'peu de pluie'.

//Sem Hbr *sāpīḥ* (< Sem **cph*) 'outpouring' [KB 664].

In all Chadic languages reflexes of Ch *s- and *c- have fallen together as s- However, Hebrew *s-* points to Sem *c- (< AA *c-) in anlaut. In this and similar cases the initial Proto-Chadi radical will be rendered by *[c]. Note that AA laryngeals as C₃ (but after *b, d*) usually leave no trace in Chadic languages.

[CLD II №560].

31. *cVf- 'to wipe, to sweep, to brush off; мести, вытирать': W 4 Siri *cəfú*, Diri *səfá*, Kariya *čəfə* 'sweep' [SkNB]; 6 Bade *əsfú* 'sweep, rake (farm), *səsfú* 'to wipe (dust off a thing)'; C 6 Buwal *sāfāy* 'crase'; E Mok *sippe* 'essuyer, balayer, to wipe, to sweep'.

Derived noun 'broom, scraper': W 3 Bol *šasšapi* (< *šap-šapi*) 'head of sorghum without grain, used as a scraper for washing pots' [GAB], Tng *sasap* 'broom, brush', Kupto *šásáp* 'broom' [LgK].

Deriv. in *-t-* : W 1 Hs *çāfā-čce* (< *çāfa-tee*) 'take off the top layers of washed corn'.

Deriv. in *-d-* (usually marks an object); E 5a Mig *sap̄idò* 'nettoyer (une surface dure)'.

//Sem Hbr *spy* 'wegnehmen; sweep away' [KB 664], note Arab *sff* 'raser la terre, voler tout près de la terre (se dit d'un oiseau)' [BK I 1096].

[CT №337, CLD III №573].

32. *cVf- 'many, to be full'; много, быть полным': W 1 Hs *çaf* 'in full'; 5 Pod *safə* idf. 'nombreux (êtres vivants)'; 7 Mafa *čéf-* (< **cef-*) 'plein de (pour des objets comptables), be full of (countable objects)', Muy *šefīr-šefīr* mod. 'many, much'.

//Sem **wcp* : Sab *ws₃f* 'increase, enlarge, add members', Qatabanian *ws₃f* 'increase, enlarge' [Ox 421], Hbr *yāsap* 'to add, continue to do', Aram *ysp*, Phn *ysp* 'to add', Hbr *mi-spār* 'number' [KB 418, 543].

No trace of *prime waw* in Chadic languages.

[CLD III №577].

33. *[c]af- 'wind; ветер': C 3 FK *safə* 'wind, air' [BlNd], Hya *səvi*, Kap *səfi* [BIH] 'wind', Bana *saf(ə)* 'wind', HN *səfi* 'wind' [Kr]; 5 Gvoko *safa* 'wind', 5a Lmn *səfā-ka safā-k* 'wind' [HmG], *safā-kā* 'cold (wind)' [Luk-Jglb]. Deriv.: C 8 Log *sfa-ki* [AlL], Kus *səvā-kə* [Tr] 'a fan'.

Derived verb: W 6 Bade *səf-tu* 'blow with mouth, blow by wind'.

//Sem Hbr *sō'ūpā* 'storm-wind' [KB 652], Arab *sfiw* 'enlever, emporter et disperser de tout côtés (se dit de vent qui disperse la poussière), to rise dust (of wind)', *sāfiyā?* 'wind with dust' [BK I 1104], Berb Air, EWlm *ta-zāfā* 'tornado au cours d'un pluie' [Alj 210].

Initial consonants in Hbr and in Berber languages point to AA **c-*. In Ch languages reflexes of PCh **s-* and **c-* have fallen together as **s-*. Note that medial *-f-* in Ch languages goes back to **-f-* < AA **-f-*, while reflexes of AA **p* and **f* have fallen together as **p* in P-Semitic and as **f* in P-Berber. [AA V №351 Sem+Berb only; CLD III №576].

34. *cV[fi] > cVg- 'to pull; тянуть': W 1 Hs *çigaa* 'pluck, pull out or off'; 5 Tala *suugi* 'pull' [Cs]; E 2 Tob *sōge* 'tirer'; 4 Ubi *osge* 'tirer' [HJ]. C₂ in Ch languages goes back to Ch **-g-*, **-fi-*, **-y-*

//Sem Hbr *nsʕ* 'pull out' [KB 620], Jib *nsǵ* 'pull out (hair)' [JnJ], ECush Som *soog* 'to stretch [LIS]. Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Semitic languages.

35. *cVg- ‘peg, sharp point; острый предмет’: W 1 Hs *čúgá* ‘peg or nail’; C 7 Mafa *čága* ‘petite fourche utilisée pour manier des épines, a small fork used to take out thorns’; 8 Makari *sagi* ‘arrowhead used to puncture abscesses’ [AIM], Log *saági* ‘Messer’ [LkL]; E 2 Lele *súgí* ‘morceau de bois pointu, a sharp piece of wood’; 5 WDng *sígó* ‘poinçon, aiguille pour défaire les nattes, des cheveux, graver calébasses, awl, needle’, EDng *sīgò* ‘aiguille emmanchée’.

//Sem Geez *sag^wa* ‘perforate, pierce through’, Tna *säg^we* ‘cut off, pierce’ [LsG 490].

[CLD III №591].

36. C *cVy- ‘field, land; поле’: 1 Hona *čǎx^wē-rā* (-ra < -ta), Gaa *ččkwí-ta*, Boka *xǎn-soxi-tǎ* ‘ground’ [Kr]; 8 Log *sxe* ‘a farm, fields’ [LkL], *sxee* [AIL], *sǎe* [Mo] (note *sx-* < *sy/h-, but Ch *sk- > Log *sk-*), Makari *ske* ‘fields’ [AIM], Bud *čúi* (< *c^wVH-) [JgIb], Afd *cǎwó* ‘field’ [Tr], *tsyúwo* ‘Garten, garden’, *tsúwo*, Ngala *šugu* ‘field’ [Sol №114].

//Eg *šy.t* (Pyr) ‘field’ [EG IV 235], Akk *šahhu* (M/j Bab) ‘(water) meadow’ [CAD s 312], Arab *šh-* ‘piocher, creuser le sol’, *šahāh-* ‘bon terre’ [BK I 1064], Cush agaw Kemant *sēhā* ‘prairie’ [ApAg].

[MSt №16, HSED № 385, CLD II №588].

37. *[c]Vk- ‘to scrape, to brush’: C 4 Gude *saku* ‘scrape calabash with side of finger when eating’; 7 Muy (derived noun) *ǎkǎ-t* ‘brushing’; E 5a Mig *sǎakò* ‘racler, scrape’, WDng *súk* idf. de *korge* ‘racler’.

Deriv. in -t-: C 6 Daba *sǎk^wat* ‘essuyer’ [Lnh]; 7 Mbuko *sakat* ‘nettoyer le table après le repas’.

Reflexes of Ch *s- and *c- have fallen together as *s-* in all the languages.

//Sem Arab *swk* ‘frotter, currer (dents); rub, clean (teeth)’ [BK I 1168],

Hbr *swk* ‘grease o.s. with oil, anoint o.s.’ [KB 651].

38. *cVk- ‘to divide, to share; разделять, делиться’: C 7 Mafa *čák-* ‘partager, prendre ou donner une partie’, Muy *čččk* ‘divide, share out’. Cf. 8 Makari *saka* ‘unit of measure’ [AIM].

Derived verb: W 1 Hs *čáakarāa* ‘take and give person a small portion; contribution’.

//Sem Sab *ns;k* ‘food rations//expenditure’ [SD 99, Ox 357], SCush Irg *tsakaw* ‘scoop, take a handful of food’ (‘come and share our meal’) [MKQ].

Cf. Berb Ayr, EWIm *ǎzzāka* 'unité de mesure de capacité' [Alj].

39. **cVwVk/*cVkVw-* > *cVk^w-* 'to descend, to kneel; становиться на колени, опускаться': W 4 Wrj *ca^wat* 'kneel, squat' [SkNB]; 3 Tng *sakε* 'descend, go down'; 5 Dott *šwak* 'to kneel down, squat' [CrD], Guus *suž* (assim.) 'get, kneel down' [CrG]; C 7 Mafa *cuk^w-* (+ *gčd* 'head') 'descendre'.

//Sem Arab *sksk* II stem 's'abaissier, to sink, go down' [BK I 1114].

Chadic *-k^w-* goes back to a consonant cluster *k+w* // *w+k*.

[CLD III №598].

40. **[c]Vk-/*[c]VwVk-* 'to wash' (tr., intr.); *мыть(ся)*': W 2 Goem *suk* [Hlw], Ngas *sook* 'wash o.-s.' [Or]; 3 Tng *suke* 'wash clothes'; E 5a Dng *sòokiyē* 'einen Behälter im Wasser spülen, to rinse a vessel' [Ebb].

In all the languages reflexes of Ch **s-* and **c-* have fallen together as *s-*.

//Sem Arab *nsk* 'laver' [BK I 1251], Hbr, Ug *nsk* 'pour out' [KB 620].

Different extensions of an AA biradical: *n-* in Semitic, but *-w-* in Chadic .

[CLD II №597].

41. **cVm-* 'to swear; клясться': 4 Wtj, Kariya *cəm-*, Miya *cum-*, Jmb *šəm-* [SkNB], Tsagu *čaan* (*-n#* < *-m#*) 'swear' [SchM], Miya *cəma*, Paa *čuma* 'swear' [MS]; E 4 Sok *sāmesāme* 'swear' [Luk].

Derived noun: 3 Krkr *čəm-tu* 'oath, swearing' [LkK]. Note unexpected *č-* in Paa, Cagu and Karekare.

//Sem Akk *samnu* (SB) 'oath' [CAD s120]. Note Akk *s-* < Sem and AA **c-* [StS 294, CLD III №616].

42. **[c]Vm(m)-* 'to coat with mud, to wipe; мазать, вытирать': W 3 Ngm (G) *samā* 'wipe (off)' [NEH], Bol *sāmaa* 'coat with cement, mud, coax' [GAB]; 6 Duw *səmāwo* 'wipe'; E 3 Tum *háam* 'caresser'; 5a Mig *simmō* 'essuyer'.

Cf. E 2 Lele *sām sām* 'doucement, sans se presser'.

In all the languages reflexes of Ch **s-* and **c-* have fallen together as *s-*.

//Sem Hbr *smm* (hif) 'cover with paste, perfume, paint one's face, colour', *sam* 'Paste, Parfume' [KB 660].

Note Hebrew *s-* < Sem and AA **c-*.

[CLD II №615].

43. **cVm-* 'to take, to snatch; брать, хватать': W 1 Hs *čaamaa* 'take, pick

out'; 4 Wrj *cəm-*, Kariya *cəm*, Diri *suma* 'to snatch' [SkNB]; 7 Richa *sùm* 'fangen, halten; to catch', Sha *šum* 'fangen', *šumáy* 'halten, to hold', Richa *sùm*, Mandat *čúmáy* 'to hold smth.' [RC]; C 2 cf. Bura *si-zima* (partial redupl., voicing in medial position) 'to catch a person by a trick'; C 8 Log *sim-ti-wun* 'palper, tâter', *simun alc* 'touch' [ALL].

Derived noun: W 1Hs *čumúnyá* 'trap (for buffalo), snare for guinea-fowls'.

Redupl. ***cVm-(cVm)** 'to grope': W 6 Duw *sám-čúwo* 'touch with the palms of the hands', *sám-sám-čúwo* 'grobe', Bade *sám-sám-tu* 'to grope around with hands (in fish-trap)'.

//ECush Oromo *saama* 'take by force' [Grg], Arb *saam-* 'to loot' [Hay]. [CLD III №611].

44. *cV(HV)m- 'arrow, needle, sharp point; острiе': W 1 Hs *çema, çáima* (< *cVyVm- < *cVHVm-?) 'small long-pointed arrow'; 3 (deriv.) Bol *šomšom* 'pointed' [GAB]; C 7 Ould *səmāj* 'poinçon, trocart, awl', Muy *səməj* 'needle', Mada *smaj* 'poinçon (pour vannerie), alêne; needle for basket-plaiting'.

//Sem Arab *sahm-* 'flèche (de roseau garni de plumes et de fer)' [BK I 1158] > Geez *səhm* 'arrow' [LsG 492]. Note Arab (Yem dial.), š-Stem *shm* 'ein Losziehen'; *sahm* (n.) 'Pfeil, Anteil; Glück', (Maroc dial.) *sahm(a)* 'part, lot, action (financière)', (Eg dial.) *sahm* 'arrow' [Бел 2 : 76].

[CLD III 618].

45. *(ʔa)cVm- 'leg; нога': W 4 Miya *cəmáy* 'foot' [SchM] (cf. *cunai* [SkNB]), Paa *čimùn* 'foot, leg' [MS], Siri *cuma*, Diri *ašəma*, Kariya *cumakə*, Mburku *cəma* 'leg' [SkNB]; 5 Jimi *ásəm*, Zul *asme* 'footprint, track' [Cs №282], Jimi *asəm* 'foot' [Cs]; C 10 Dzpw *səm* 'pied', Dari *šəm*, Masa *səm* [CC], Mesme (Zime) *sem*, Bnn *siyəma* [Kr], Peve *šəm*, Heđe *sam*, Zime (Mesme) *sem*, Ngide *sám* 'foot, leg' [Shy], Musey *səm*, Lew, Marba *ʔasəm* 'jambe' [LexC].

//Eg *smʔ* (Pyr) 'leg (of falcon)' [EG IV 130].

[Jglb -*sm*, CLD III №617].

46. *c(VH)Vn- 'to send, посылать': W 4 Paa *čina* 'send' [MS], Wrj *čən-*, Mburku *čin-*, Tsagu *čin-*, Jmb *šən-*, Siri *cənu* (palatalization of *c- before -i-) [SkNB]; 5 Dott *šin* 'send' [CrD], Geji *šin-ti* [Cs №819]; C 2 Bura *tan-ta* (preferably *hyenta*) 'to send, to cause to go' [Ann]; 6 Daba *hən* [Lnhf]; 7

Mbuko *tan*, Ould *-tār*, Muy *átār*, Mada *átal*, Zlg *tār*, Merey *tér*, Gis *tan* 'send a person', Mofu *tār-* 'envoyer qqn, charger d'une comission, send, rendre service', Chv *mé-ḡərəy* 'envoyer', 8 Log *tón* 'senden, to send' [LkL], Kus *sən* 'envoyer (qqn)' [Tr]; 9 Mulwi *tíní*, Mnj *tini* 'envoyer'; 10 Peve *sin* [Sn], Dzpw *sin* 'drive away', Dari *šin* 'envoyer', Masa *sún* 'envoyer un message' [CC], Musey, Lew, Marba *sún* 'envoyer' (sg.) [LexC]. Derived noun: C 7 Merey *ma-təṅ* 'messenger'.

//Eg *shnw* (Sp) 'to drive away (enemies)' [EG IV 219].

Note CCh *tVn-* < **HVN-* < Ch **VHVn-*.

47. **[c]Vn-* 'to forbid, to deny; запрещать': W 2 Goem *s^hón* 'be prohibited or forbidden to smb (because it is taboo or holy)' [Hlw]; 3 Tng *siine* 'to deny, to dispute'; C 6 Daba *sèn* 'pas avoir, manquer' [Lnh].

Derived noun 'taboo': C 10 Dzpw *sāṅ* 'tabou', Dari *sāṅ* 'avoir ses règles'.

In all Chadic languages reflexes of Ch **s-* and **c-* have fallen together as *s-*.

//Sem Hbr *sənī* 'refuse', Sab *s₃nn* 'be not permitted, be illegal' (with neg.) [Ox 389].

[CLD III №621].

48. **[c]VnVh-* 'to scratch; скрести': C 7 Mada *ásnáh* 'gratter, ronger, peler, to scratch, to peel'; 5 EDng *sə̀nyē* 'ritzen, scratch, notch' [Ebb], Bid *sóosòn* 'démanger; to itch' (< *sVhVn-*).

//Sem Hbr *snh* (nif) 'be scraped away', (pi.) 'to scrape clean' [KB 654].

Mada *h* is the regular reflex of Ch and AA *ḥ*. In this case: Ch **[c]VnVh-* > Mada *snah* > *asnah*.

Note Hebrew *s-* < Sem **c-*. In all Chadic languages attested above, reflexes of Ch **s-* and **c-* have fallen together as *s-*.

[CLD III №622].

49. **[c]Vp-* 'to blow (away), to winnow; дуть, веять': C 1 Gaʔanda *šip-ənci*, Gabin *šip-ənci*, Boka *šip-ada* [Kr] 'to blow'; 5 Mlg *sápa* 'worfeln, to winnow'.

Deriv.: W 6 Duw *sə̀fto* (< **sVpt-*) 'to sift using a sifter or a faifai', cf. C 9 Mbara *šipār* 'blow (with belows)'.

//Sem Arab *sfsf* 'tamiser, passer par le tamis (la farine, etc.), to sift, pass through a sieve (flour.)', *nsf* 'nettoyer, vanner le grain' [BK I 1099, II 1250], Soq *nésof*, Mhr *nesíf* 'vanner' [LsS 269], Jib *saʔáf* 'to winnow'; ECush Som *safsaf* 'sieve, motion used in winnowing' [LIS] (< Arab?).

Root extensions (*n-* as C₁ or *ʕ* as C₂) in Semitic languages. MSA *s-* < Sem **c-*. In Chadic languages reflexes of **s-* and **c-* have fallen together as *s-*. Note №681 **sVʕ-* ‘to breathe’.

50. **cVr-* ‘to tie; привязывать’: C 7 Mafa *cacar-* ‘lier des pailles avec une corde, to tie straw with a cord (in plaiting basket, sekko)’, Mofu *sār sār* ‘tied tightly’; E 2 Kaba, Nch *-sar* ‘lier, attacher’ [HmK], Lele *sār* ‘to tie’; 3 Tum *hír* ‘nouer, tie together’.

Deriv. in *-d-* (pointing to an object): W 6 Duw *sār-ǰùwo* (VN *sardà* < **sar-dā*) ‘attach a loop or noose’.

Derived noun: W 2 Mush *saar* ‘bundle (of millet)’ [TAS 319].

Derived noun: W 4 Siri *ciira* ‘rope’ [SkNB]; E 3 Smr *sire* ‘Baumwolle’ [Luk], *šire* ‘thread’; 5b Kaj *sàarò* ‘corde’, Mubi *seeri* [CJ], *seerii* ‘Strick’ [Luk].

Derived noun in *-k-*: W Bol *asir-ka* ‘rope through the nose of a cow’ [GAB]; 4 Mburku *cara-ku* ‘rope’ [SkNB]; 5 Mangas *siri-giy* ‘rope’ (*-g-* < **k-*) [Cs №694]; C 6 Mbedam *sere-k*, Buwal *šéře-k* ‘string’.

//Sem **?cr* ‘to bind, make prisoner’: Akk *esēru* ‘shut in, enclose’, Sab *?s₃r* ‘take captive, be bound by obligation//bind, take prisoner’, Hbr *?sr* ‘to bind’, Aram (Bibl) *?āsūr* ‘Fessel, Gefängnis’, Arab *?sr* ‘lier’, Geez *?asara* ‘tie, faire qqn prisonner’ [KB 73, Ox 327], Ug *?sr* ‘binden, gefangen nehmen’ [Ays 30], Mhr *?sr* ‘to hobble an animal’, C Jib *?ésór* [JnM], [Coh №29, DRS 28], OArām *?sr* ‘to imprison, restrain’, Syr *?sar*, Phn *?sr* ‘to bind’ [Zm 72-3]; PHECush **usur-* ‘to tie’: Gedco, Kamb, Sid *usur-* [Hds].

Note that reduplication of the first syllable in Ch now and then correlates with a laryngeal as C₁ in Sem.

[HSED №12; CLD III №629].

51. **cVr-* ‘to strip (bark, skin), to undress; снимать кору, одежду’: C 4 Bana *s(ə)rə* ‘deshabiller, to undress’; 6 Daba *sār* ‘take off clothes’, (derived verb) *sərəb* ‘se dépouiller, to skin’ [Lnh]; E 5a Mig *sòorò* ‘deshabiller’, *sòr-nyò* ‘s’écorcher, to bark’, Bid *soor* ‘deshabiller, écorcher, se faner, to undress, to peel’ (possibly, < **cV(ʕV)r-*), WDng *sorè* ‘dévêtir, take off clothes’, EDng *sorè* ‘enlever un habit, peler, dévêtir, deshabiller’ [Dj].

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 1 Hs *çirai-taa* ‘to strip, to bare’, cf. *çiraara* ‘naked’.

//Sem Arab *sr?* ‘oter, jeter (ses habits par terre en se deshabillant)’ [BK I 1085], *nsr* ‘ôter, écorcher; déchirer et ouvrir’ [BK II 1248], Sab *ms₃r* ‘to remove (inscription, monument)//removal’ [Ox 354].

Different extensions in Semitic languages point to a biradical on the proto-level.

[CLD III №627].

52. *cVr- 'to know, to see; знать, видеть': 5 cf. Glv *sər* 'to see' (also 'to know', cf. №704 *sV(w/y)Vn- 'to know'); 7 Mada *ásal* (< *asar*) 'know smbd/smith', 10 cf. Mesme (Zime) *sar* [Kr] 'remember', Masa *sar* [CC] 'regarder, chercher'; E 5b Jegu *ser-* 'sehen'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *ǰír-faa* 'plan, method, any means to getting a living'.

//Eg *s:ʔ* (Pyr) 'weise sein, verstehen' [EG IV 16], Sem Hbr *ysr*, Ug *wsr* 'teach, instruct' [KB 387].

For a semantic shift: 'to know' > 'to see' cf. Sem **ʔmr* > Akk *ʔmr* 'sehen', Tgr *ʔámāra* 'know' [LSG 25], note also: "'see' and 'know' do constitute a single semantic range across many Cushitic languages" [ApAg 90].

[HSED №387, CLD III №625].

53. *[c]VwVr- 'to dance; танцевать': W 3 Gera *swarri* 'to dance' [Gow], Pero *čor* 'dance' [FrP]; 4 Jmb *sar* 'dance' n. [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *sūwāarī* 'dancing' [SchN].

Note deriv. in internal -k- pl.: *sV~~k~~Vr- 'to dance': E 2 Kaba, Nch -*sakra* [HmK].

In all Chadic languages reflexes of *s- and *c- have fallen together as s-.

//Sem Akk *sāru* (O/j Bab) 'to whirl, circle, dance' [CAD s 190], Hbr *swr* 'to turn aside, from' [KB 652].

[HSED №391].

54. *car- 'chief; вождь': W 1 Hs *čaaraa* 'chief'; 4 Wj *caara* 'king, chief, ruler' [SkNB, BIS]; C 4 cf. Gude *ənšāra* 'chief's son'.

Deriv. in m-: C 4 Gude *mā-sāra* 'old man'; 6 Daba *mù-sūr* 'old' [Lnh], Buwal *msarā* 'old person'.

a. *cīr- 'adult': W 3 Bol *siiri* 'important, adult' [GAB]; E 3 Tum *sārī* 'adulte' (irregular reflex of Ch *c-).

//Eg *sr* (Pyr) 'Vornehmer, Fürst' [EG IV 188], Sem cf. Akk *sīru* (NA) '(an official)' [CAD s 320], Arab *sarw-* 'chef, prince' [BK I 1085] (possibly, a Persian loan). Note Akk s- < Sem *c-.

[MSt №15, HSED №386 Eg+Wj, Tum, CLD III №633].

55. *car- > *cVcVr- '(to) fence; ограда, ставить ограду': W 1 Hs *čarī* 'any walled/fenced place'; 7 Sha *saar, sar* 'to fence, einzäunen'; C 7 Mafa *ca-*

car- 'to fence with thorns'.

//Sem Hbr *sahar* 'round enclosure' [KB 650].

[CLD III №635].

56. E 5 *siir- (< Ch **ciir-*) 'roasting spit; вертел': Bid *siiri* 'roasting spit', Mig *ʔisírá* 'brochette, small roasting spit', WDng *siirò* 'broche'.

Derived verb: **ciir-* 'to spit meat on skewers; pierce; протыкать': W 1 Hs *ciire* 'spit meat on skewers, pierce' (> *ciiree* 'skewered meat'); E 5a WDng *siire* 'enfiler à la broche, to spit, skewer'.

//Eg *sr.t* (BD) 'Dorn, Stachel, thorn' [EG IV 190], Sem Hbr *sīr*, pl. *sīrīm* 'Dornen, vom lebendigen und trocknen Strauche; Hacken; thorn, hook' [KB 656]. For a semantic link: 'thorn' and 'spear, roasting spit' cf. Arab *škk* (u) 'pierce (with a spear)', *šawk-* 'épine, pointe'.

[HSED №400-1, CLD III №626].

57. *[c]VrVp- 'side, rib (of an animal); бок, ребро (животного)': C 3 FK *tərpə* [BINd], FG (Bana) *it tūrpwu* (bone-rib; secondary lateral by assim.), Kap *turupwe* [Kr]; 5 Wnd *turpe* [Kr], Pod *tərpə* 'côtes de vache', Mlg *tərpe* 'Rippen, ribs'; 9 Mbara *sirap*; E 1 Kwang *sirapu* [Jg], Kera *sərbə* (voicing in contact); 4 Sok *serfi-d-um* '(your) ribs' [Luk]; 5a WDng *serpe* 'côté', EDng *sērpé* 'le côté, la côte' [Dj]; 5b Jegu *širafə* 'Brustseite (?) eines männlichen Tieren, rib (?) of a male animal', Brg *sirafī* 'côte', Kaj *sārī*; 6 Mok *sirpá* 'rib'. In all Chadic languages reflexes of *s- and *c- have fallen together as s-.

//Sem Mhr *sarf*, E,C Jib *serf*, Hars *serəf* 'side' < Sem **cɪp* [JM 352], Eg *spr* (Pyr) 'rib' (met.) [EG IV 101].

[CLD III №344].

*C

58. *cawʔ- < **cawVʔ-* 'to chop (into pieces), to cut; разрубить, резать': W 2 Mghv *saa* 'ab-, be-, schneiden, fällen, cut (off), fall (trees)' (pl.) [JgS], Mpn *sāa* 'chop'; 4 Tsagu *cii* 'to cut, split' [SKNB]; C 3 FK *cəcəw* (redupl.) 'to trim' [BINd]; 4 Gude *cwāʔ* idf. 'chopping', Jimj *cá-bí* 'split (wood)' [BryJ]; 6 Daba *čāw* 'couper' [Lnhf]; 7 Chv *má-cāy* 'couper'; 8 Makari *ša he* 'cut', *ša ho* 'cut open', *n-ša* 'chop into pieces, fendre' (plur. in n-) [AIM], Log *ša-wun* 'chop into pieces, fendre, couper en morceaux' [AIL], Kus *səyá* 'fendre', Afd *ča* 'fendre' [Tr]; 10 Gizey *čóʔ*, Masa, Ham, Musey

čáw ‘couper, fendre’ [LexC čáw].

Derived noun: C 3 *čVʔ/y- ‘axe’: Bana cə̀ʔi ‘hache’, FK cay ‘axe’ [BlNd], Kap ceyε, ciye ‘hache’.

a. C *čVh- ‘to chop, to cut in pieces’: 3 Bana cə́xə́ ‘se fendre, split open’; 4 Gude cahu ‘fashion from wood by carving or chopping’. Cf. 7 Mafa cuwah- ‘dépecer, mettre en pièces (de la viande)’ (< Arab ?).

//Sem Arab šwh ‘couper, fendre’ [BK I 1383].

[CLD III №639].

59. *čVʔ(wy)- ‘be sharp (of weapon); быть острым’: W 2 Mghv se ‘scharf (Messer), sharp (knife)’ [JgS]; C 7 Muy cúcu ‘sharpening iron, file’; 8 Makari šiw ‘(be) sharp’ [AIM]; E 5a WDng saaya ‘special kind of spear; 6 Mok saaye ‘pointed spear’.

//SCush rift *cahiya ‘point, edge’: Alg cahi ‘barb, point’, Bur cahiya ‘arrow-head’ [Eh, Kies].

[CLD III №639].

60. *čVʔVwy- ‘to weave, to plait; ткать, плести’: W 2 Ngas šwee ‘weave’ [Fl]; 3 Bol saʔʔ- ‘weave’ [LkB], Ngm saʔ- [SchV]; C 2 Bura ca ‘weave’ [BlB], Klb ca ‘to weave’ [MuK], Chb ca-ti, Mrg ca [ts] ‘weave’ [Kr]; 3 Bana cá ‘tisser, tresser’, HB, HN cá [ts] ‘weaving’, HN ca-še ‘to weave’ [Kr]; 5 Glv c (redupl. ca-cə) ‘to plait, to measure’, Gava cú-gana ‘weave’ [Kr]; 7 Chv má-cay ‘coudre un panier; tisser’, Mofu -č- ‘to plait (mat), to weave’; 8 Log [AIL] ši-wun he ‘twist, tordre’, Makari šwa go ‘twist, tordre’ [AIM]; 10 Gizey, Masa cí ‘tresser (natte)’ [LexC cí]; E 5a Bid saayaw ‘tresser, façonner une corde’.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs čáawóo ‘a three-ply rope’; C 3 Bana cá ‘cloture’; 10 Dzpw čēō [tseo] < tseʔo ‘tressage’.

Derived noun in *n-/m-*: 4 Gude mə-cəʔwá ‘woven strainer (only for beer)’.

Cf. W 2 Ngas šwa ‘cotton’ [Fl], Mghv šuu ‘cotton’ [JgS], Mpn siwu [šú] ‘cotton, thread’.

//Sem Tgr sawša (šwšy) ‘twist’, Geez šəwəšəw ‘crooked, bent, twisted’.
"The root is perhaps šəwšəw (reduplicated šəw from šwy) with inserted *n*" [LsG 567]).

Note C 10 Peve sa ‘to spin’ [Vn] and ECush Som say ‘to spin’ [LIS] < AA *sV/*cV.

[CLD III №638].

61. ***çVb-** ‘to split (wood); **разрубать, колоть дрова**’: W 5 Jimi *súbeç* ‘split, divide’ [Cs].

Deriv.: C 2 Bura *cabila* ‘cut up, butcher an animal’ [BIB].

W ***[ç]Vb-** ‘axe, hatchet, adze’: 2 Ngas *sa/ep* ‘axe (head)’ [FI], *sap* ‘adze’ [JgA], *səp* ‘axe’ [Hff], Mnt *sēp* ‘axe, hatchet’, Mush *sep* ‘axe’ [JgO], Goem *sāp* ‘hatchet’, *ʔs/hāp* [Fp], *sʰap* ‘axe’ [Hlw] (-p# < *-P#); 3 Kupto *šcēbi* (***çVb-> sVb-**) ‘axe’ [LgK], Tng *saba-k* ‘axe’; 5 Guus *šab-də* ‘adze’ [CrG]. //SCush rift **tsabaʔoo* ‘axe’: Irq *tsawoo*, pl. *tsabu* ‘axe’, Gor *tsoʔoo*, pl. *tsabuʔ* [Kies].

Shift of emphatization in Chadic languages (***çVb-** > **sVb-**).

[CLD III №654].

62. ***çV(wV)d-** > ***ç/sVd-** ‘to hunt’: C 4 Gude *cəðə* ‘to lie in wait for pray, wait in hiding’; E 3 Smr *čwáda* (*č^w-* < **č^w-*) ‘poursuivre’ (hardly an Arabic loan, because the latter has only a *šyd* variant) [JgSb].

a. ***çVd-** ‘to catch’: E 6 Mok *šcédá* ‘saisir, tenir, épouser’; C 7 Zlg *cədə-k* [tsəðak] ‘catch (by hand)’.

//Sem **çwd* /**çyd-* ‘hunt (v.), take, catch’: Hbr *šūd*, Ug *šd* ‘jāgen’ [Ays], Arab *šyd* ‘chaser (une bête fauve), pêcher’ [BK 1389], Syr *šād*, Aram *šūd*, *šīd* [Zm 261], Jib *šod*, Hars *šayd*, Soq *šode*, Mhr *šyd* ‘to fish’ [JM, LsS], Cf. HECush Burji *saad* ‘to hunt’ (can not be a loan from Arabic via Ethiostmitic, as postulated in [SsB 16], because the root is not attested in Ethiosemitic languages).

Note that semantics ‘to hunt, to fish’ and ‘to catch, to take’ is observed in Semitic and Chadic languages. Secondary emphatization of medial *-d-* in Chadic languages due to initial *ç-*. [StH VIII.1].

63. ***çVf-** ‘to pierce, to deflorate; **протыкать**’: W 3 cf. Krkr *sāmpu* ‘stab, pierce, lance (boil, etc.)’ [GK]; 5 Mangas *sap* ‘stab, pierce’ [Cs]; C 2 Mrg *cāvū* ‘to pierce, to inject’ [HfM 141]; 6 Buwal *čəv* [tʃɛv] ‘pierce (lightly)’; 7 Muy *cāf* idf. ‘piercing’, Ould *čēf* [tsef] ‘déflorer une fille; percer rapidement une boîte’ idf.

Deriv. in *n-*: C 2 Bura *n-civi* ‘to bore, pierce, insert, inject’ [BIB].

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *čīifā* ‘a finely pointed pen’.

//Sem Arab *šff* ‘mettre a la broche les morceaux de viande pour les rôtir’ [BK II 1343].

[CLD III №666].

64. **çV[ɸ]*- 'to bathe, to wash, to be pure; мыться, быть чистым': W 2 Mghv *suyp* 'sich waschen' [JgS], Ngas *suup* 'to wash (of the body), to wash' [FI], Mpn *sūp, súwup* [Fr], Mushere *šukup* [JgO], Goem *sup*, pl. *swap* [Hlw] 'to bathe' (all < **sukup*, internal *-k-* pl. < **sup*)³⁵; 3 Ngm *sap* 'to wash (parts of the body)' [VbN], (G) *šap-ko* 'wash lower legs, forearms, face' [NEH]; 5 Guus *cap* 'cleanness' [CrG], Zaar *cop* 'wash o.s.' [CrZ] (note **f#* > *-p#*); 7 DB *sapa* 'heilig sein, holy; rein sein'; C 5 Glv *cuf-* 'to wash, to bathe, to baptize', *cúufə-g(á)* 'bath, the washing, baptism', Pod *cəfəkə* [tsəfəkə] idf. 'emporté par l'eau, carried away by water'.

//Sem Akk *šapū* (OB) describes the quality of the body 'smooth, white' [CAD § 98], *šupū* (MB) 'soaked (material)', Arab *šfw* 'être pur, clair, limpide (se dit de l'eau, des boissons), être claire (se dit d'un ciel sans nuages); be clean (water), clear (sky)' [BK I 1350], Mhr *šfy* 'be clear' [JnM], Hars *šāfi*, Jib *šefi* [JnJ], Eg *df* (NK) 'reinen, abwaschen' [EG V 571]³⁶. ECush Som *safee* 'to clean' [LIS], Oromo *čuuṗ'a* 'baptize' [Grg], Berb **c-f*: Shilh *cef* 'se baigner', Qabyle *ceef* 'ruisseler, suinter', *ucuf* 'être baigné, se baigner', Shawya *cucef* 'baigner', EWlm, Ayr *eccef* 'nager, se baigner' [NZ 188].

Cf. [AA 5 №359, MSt №19, HSED №423]. In all the publications a lot of Ch forms with medial *-b-* are included into the etymology. This contradicts to regular sound correspondences established between Ch languages.

65. **çV(wV)ɸ* 'to take care, to be loyal; охранять, быть преданным, лояльным': C 5 Mlg *cúufa* 'hüten, bewachen; to guard'; Glv *cuf-* 'to follow (laws), to keep (laws)', Pod *cufá* [tsufa] 'pay homage to; respecter, garder avec soi'; 7a Skn *cuf* 'take care of'; 9 cf. Mnj *sifi* 'courtiser (une fille)', Mulwi *sifi* 'aller courtiser (une fille)'; E 6 Mok *sóopè* 'sympathiser, avoir pitié de qqn'.

Deriv.: C 7 Ould *čiwfeŋ* [tsiwfen] 'protéger, exécuter les rites, respecter'.

//Sem Mhr *nšf* 'to have justice, to be fair' [JnM].

Root extension (*n-* as *C₁*) in Mehri. Semantic shift seems tenable.

66. **çVwɸ*/**çVgw* > **çVg^(w)*- 'to take, to carry; брать, нести': W 3 Krkr

³⁵ For internal *-k-* pl. in Ch verbs see [LgSt]. In [St 41] internal *-y-* in WCh 2 was considered "epenthetic".

³⁶ Ch parallels to Eg *df*, in [EDE I 257] are numerous, but mostly wrong. For example, C 4 Fali Jilbu *čuyabu*, Fali Bwagira *čugabi* [Kr] are citation forms in *-b-*, CCh 8 Logone *tabə* shows irregular reflexes of both phonemes, etc.

na segou 'I take' [KI], Tng *suuge* 'take some (groundnuts, etc)'; C 5 Glv *cug^w*- 'to take, to carry'; E 3 Smr *ságó* 'carry (on shoul- der)' [Jglb]; 5b Mubi *sag* 'to bring' [Luk]. [CLD №710].

//ECush dullay Harso, Dob, Gidole *šceg-*, Gad *d'oog-* 'tragen' [AMS].

67. **çVg-* 'hair (in the horse tail); волосы, хвост': W 1 Hs *çágíyáa* 'hair (in the horse tail)'; 4 Tsagu *gəšiya* (metath.) 'hair' [SkNb]; C 3 Bana *šigè* 'queue' (irreg. reflex); 8 Glf *m-sige, msege* [Luk], Makari *mšugurio* 'lock of hair' [AIM], Bud *nšigè* 'Haar, Feder', Log *?əmsəgə* (*-ms-<-mš-*) 'hair'.

//SCush Irq *çaga* 'hair' [MKQ].

The following Ethiosemitic and Cushitic data is worth mentioning: Geez *šag^{wr}* 'hair, fur, feathers', Tny *šäg^{wri}*, Tgr *çəgär*, Amh *çəgär, šägur*, Gafat *šəgärä*, etc., Cush. Bilin *šagar*, Qwara *šagur*, Som *dogor, dəgur* 'hair' [LSG 550]. According to Leslau, "it is possible that the Semitic-Ethiopic root is taken from Cushitic". Cf. [RB 318].

[HSED №415 Hausa, Tsagu + SCush Irq; CLD III №711].

68. **çVgw-* (< **çVhw-*) > *çVg^w*- 'to descend, sit down; опускаться, садиться': W 4 Wrj *caga* [BIS], Miya, Mburku *çəgə*, Wrj *cəgə*, Tsagu *čəgu* 'sit down' [SkNB], Miya *cəga* 'sit down', *čig* 'sit' ["a palatalized version?" SchM]; C 5 Glv *cug^w* 'go down, descend'.

Derived verb in *-n-*: **çVgVh-* 'to squat, to descend': W 1 Hs *çúgúnaa* 'to squat' 3 Tng *sugne* 'to squat' (< Hs?); 5 Buli *sagən* 'place, put on, lay down' [Cs №804]; E 4 Ubi *šigin* 'descendre'.

//cf. Sem Arab *šwǧ* 'aller au fond (se dit de l'eau ou d'un assaisonnement qui forme un sédiment au fond du vase)' [BK I 1385]. As compared to Chadic, the Arabic form shows very narrow semantics.

Note Chadic *g^w*- < *g+w* (< AA **w+ǧ*).

[CLD III №707].

69. **çV[h]-* 'to learn; учить(ся)': W 2 Goem *fe* 'learn smth from smb' [Hlw], Kofyar *še* 'teach, learn' [TAS 351]; 3 Tng *sowe* 'to initiate, copy, learn'; C 1 Tera *çoga* [NmT], Gaʔanda *čəʔi*, Gabin *ičəʔi*, Boka *šəki*, Hona *cəha* 'learn' [Kr]; 5a Hitk *caɣ-* 'lehren, to teach' [LkH]; 7 Muy *áčāxāy* 'to learn', Mada *áčāčāh* [acacah, partial redupl.] 'apprendre, étudier', Zlg *cah* [tsah] 'être sage, attentif', (derived noun) *mč-čəčé* [metsehe] 'intelligence'; 8 Zina *səhā* 'know' [Tr]] (irregular reflex - *s* instead of *c* - due to uncompetibility of the root consonants).

//SCush rift **tsaah-* 'recognize, understand': Irq, Gor, Alg *tsaah*, Bur *čaah* [Kies], Sab *nšh* 'good advice, counsel' [BlI 311], *nšht* 'friendship' [SD 100]), Arab *nšh* 'donner à qqn des advis, conseiller qqn' [BlI 311, BK II 1270]. Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Semitic. [CLD III №696].

70. *çVK^w- 'to gather, to collect (tax); to harvest; собирать (ся)': W 3 Kupto *ščekéy* 'to harvest; to chop (plants, crops only); to put a load on top of the other'; C 4 Gude *cəkə* 'gather together, collect (tax)'; 7 Mafa *co-cuk^w-* 'garder, conservier, mettre de côté'; 9 Mnj *suki* (se) regrouper', Mulwi *suki* 'faire un tas'; 10 Dzpw *cókó* [tsoko] 'rassembler, mettre de côté, manger ensemble'; E 5a Bid *sok* 'ramasser', WDng *súkè* 'to gather', EDng *óske* 'aufstappeln, to pile' [Ebb, Dj]; E 6 Mok *siki* 'ramasser'. Deriv. in *-t-*: C 2 Chb *cák-ti* 'vermehren, to multiply' [HfC 135].

//Omot Wolt *c'aakk-* 'to harvest' [LmW 330].
[CLD III №560].

71. *çVL- 'to pour, to drip; лить, капать': W 1 Hs *čálaalaa* 'to pour out a large quantity of fluid'; C 4 Gude *cəláʔ* 'dripping' v. idf. ; 8 Log *šili-wun* 'to drip' [AIL].

Derived adj.: ***çVVL-** 'to be liquid (sauce)': W 3 Tng *salala* 'watery'; C 7 Ould *calacalam* [tsalatsalam] 'mal liée (sauce), trop liquide'.

a. ***çVL-** 'to rinse, to soak': C 7 Mafa *cawal-* 'rincer (recipient)' (secondary *-w-*), Ould *-cālāy* [tsalay] 'rincer'; 10 Dari *cəl* 'trempier le bout de qqch dans un liquide'.

//Sem Arab *mšl* 'être trempé d'eau au point de dégoutter', *mačāl-at-* 'humidité qui sort à la surface d'un vase en terre poreuse' [BK II 1117].
Root extension (*m-* as C₁) in Arabic.

72. *çVm- 'sour, sour; горький, кислый': W 1 Hs *čāamii* 'sourness, acidity'; 4 Paa *čimúmu, comúmu* 'sourness' [MS], Paa *čəmumu, Diri šan-šam, Kariya šam-šam-na, Siri čaawaani, Mbrku čaamin, Tsagu čoomama, Wřj čančan, Diri šanšan, Miya šunšuni (-n# < *m#)* 'sour' [SkNB], Miya *cəncəm* [SchM]; C 8 Log *šemšem* 'sour' [AIL], Makari *šem šem* 'acid taste' [AIM], Afd *čém-čém* 'acide' [Tr]; 10 Dzpw *cumók* [tsumok], Dari *cəmök* 'acide'. Note W 2 Ngas *k^wasam* (if < **k^wa-sam*) 'sour milk' [TAS] and W 4 Jegu *kyamkyama* (if < **k-çVm-*) 'sour' [SkNB].

//ECush Oromo *čamii* 'flavour' [Grg].

A weak external parallel. Note a "root variant" in Chadic, lacking cognates:

a. ***čVm-** ‘acid, sour; горький, кислый’: W 1 Hs *čamáí* ‘emphasizes acidity’, *čáamaa* ‘water in which sorrel or hemp has been cooked’, Gwandara *čami*; 3 Kupto *šòmšòm* ‘sour, bitter’ [LgK], Ngm *šòmšòm* (G) ‘sour’ [NEH], Bol *šòmšòm* ‘sour, fermented (porridge, beer)’ [GAB]; 6 Duw *čôm* ‘bitter’, *čomčom* idf. ‘indicates sourness’; C 1 Tera *čomčom* ‘sour’ [NmT]; 8 Zina *čám-čamá* ‘acid’ [Tr]; 10 Dzpw *čičem* [tsitsem] ‘aigre’. Both roots are attested in W 1 Hausa and in C 10 Dzəpaw. [CLD III №755, 898].

73. ***čVm-** ‘to be silent; молчать’: 1 Hs *čumu* ‘be silent because of fear, be afraid’; 2 Mpn *šim* ‘silent’ [FrM]; 6 Bade *sāmmá* ‘quiet, silent’, Duw *sam* idf. indicates silence, quiet; E 5a WDng *šime* ‘rester immobile et silencieux; to stay in place and be silent’.

//Sem Arab *šwm* ‘se taire, s’abstenir de parler’ [BK I 1187].

No trace of *medial waw* in Chadic.

[CLD III №752].

74. ***čim-** ‘sharp point; острие’: W 1 Hs *čiinii* ‘sharp point’; 4 Siri *činná* [SkNb] ‘tooth’; C 8 (redupl., modified vocalism) ‘fin’: Log *šanšan* ‘fin; nageoire’, Makari *šar šar* ‘fin, nageoire’ (regular *-n- > -r-, cf. [Tr]) [AIM].

//Sem Hbr *šēn* ‘thorn’, *šəninīm* ‘Stachel, prick’ [KB 808], SCush Irq *cini* ‘point, peak, edge’ [MKQ], Berb EWlm, Ayr *éccén* ‘dent inclave; dent de peigne, scie, etc.’ [NZ 225].

The following verbs are worth mentioning: Ch C 3 Bana *čəḡwə* ‘semer, picorer, to sow, to prick’; ECush Oromo *činiina* ‘to bite’ [Grg].

[HSED №440 Hbr+WCh, CLD III 766].

75. ***čVp-** ‘to pile, собирать, складывать в кучу’: C 2 Bura *čip-čipu* ‘piled in good order’ [Ann]; 3 FK *čəpə* describes putting different objects in one place [BINd]; 7 Mafa *cor-copora’a* ‘posé au sommet’, Mofu *čəp-* ‘entasser, empiler, bourrer’, *čəpa* ‘tout’, *-čá-čəp-* ‘empiler, mettre les uns sur les autres’; 10 Dzpw *cāp* [tsap] ‘beaucoup, many’. Cf. C 3 Bana *čəpə* ‘se réunir, to gather (intr.)’.

Deriv. in *-t-*: C 2 Bura *cap-ta* ‘gather together inanimate things’ [BIB].

Derived noun in *-t-*: ‘a pile’: W 5 Dott *sup-ti* ‘rubbish heap’ [CrD]; 7 Ngz *sāp-tó* ‘pile of grass, cornstalks, etc.’, Bade *əsp-ət* ‘pile of millet-heads ready for threshing’.

a. ***čVp-** ‘to join, to attach; присоединять(ся)’: C 7 Muy *ácəpāy* ‘join,

gather to join', Mbuko *cə-cop* [cəcop] 's'attacher, to attach', Ould *cəp-cəp* [tsəptsəp] idf. 'double'

//Sem Mhr *šff* 'to align; to stich roughly', Jib *šeff* [JnM].

[CLD III №675].

76. *ǰVp- 'to touch, to slap; трогать, похлопывать': W 3 Ngm *sap-* 'touch' [Ibr], Ngm (G) *sap-ko* 'touch' [NEH]; C 7 Ould *capāpā* [tsapapa] idf. 'toucher, to touch'; E 5a EDng *séépe* 'ein Kind schlagen' [Ebb].

Deriv.: C 5 Pod *capāra* [tsapara] 'to slap; gifler'.

//Sem Arab *šfʿ* 'taper légèrement, to slap' [BK I 1347], Geez *šafʿa*, Tgr *šäfʿa*, Tna *šäfʿe* 'to slap' > Cush Saho *safūʿ* 'to slap' [LsG 548]. No trace of *ʿ* as C₃ in Chadic languages.

[CLD II №677].

77. *ǰVpV(p)- 'to cover (oneself); заворачивать(ся), укрывать(ся)': W Mpn *sūp*, pl. *šwāp* 'to cover oneself' [FrM], Mushere *šup* 'act of covering o.s.'s body with blanket, wrapper' [TAS 324]; C 2 Bura (redupl.) *cip-cipu* 'well covered' [BIB]; 4 Gude *cəp* 'closed, covered completely' idf.; 6 Daba *čūp* 'couvrir un panier avec un autre pour porter' [Lnhf]; 7 Muy *cap-capāp* mod. 'covered', Moloko *capay* 'to drape'; E 5a WDng *soōpē* (< *sVwVp-/ *sVpVp-) 'couvrir, entourer'.

//Sem Akk *šuppu* 'über-, abdecken; to wrap', Ug *špy* 'überziehen' [AHw 1112], Geez *nsf* 'spread, lay out, cover with carpet', Arab *naššafa* 'cover a young girl with a veil' [LsG 404]. Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Semitic.

[CLD II №676].

78. *ǰVr- 'to squeeze (with hands, feet), crash; раздавливать': W 2 Goem *ser* 'to crash with hands or feet and kill' [TAS 327]; 4 Miya *cəryə* 'to step on' [SchM]; 10 Dzpw *car* [tsar] 'écraser qqn'; E 2 Kaba *-sər*, Nch *-sir* 'presser' [HmK]; 5 Bid *surray* 'emballer; pack'.

Deriv in *n-* (plurac.): C 2 Bura *n-cara/i* 'squeeze, press', cf. FK.

Deriv. in *-k-* 'to pound and shell': C 3 FK *n-cərkú* 'pound, unshelling' [BINd]; 4 Gude *cərəku* 'pound in mortar; remove husk from grain'; E 5a Bid *sirač* 'écraser' (-č# < *-k#).

Derived noun: C 2 Bura *n-cor* 'tweezers' [Ann].

//Sem Arab *šrr* 'serrer et nouer, serrer la pis' [BK I 1325], Arab *ʿšr* (i) 'presser avec les doigts, fouler avec les pieds un fruit pour en exprimer le suc' [BK II 270], Geez *ʿašara* 'press (out), squeeze, wring out', Mhr *ʿšr* 'to

press, squeeze, twist, wring out', C Jib *ʕṣṣōr*, Hars *ʔaṣōr* [JnJ]. According to Leslau, of the same origin are: Sab *t-ʕsr* 'struggle with one another' [SD 21, LsG 75], Syr *ʕṣar* 'to press out', Aram *ʕṣar* 'to press, squeeze' [Zm 289]. Root extension (ʕ- as C₁) in Semitic.

Note ECh 5a Mig *ʔasārro* 'presser'. Likely, an Arabic loan.

[HSED №455 Arab+Bidiya, CLD III №771].

79. *ṣVrVr- 'to pour out; выливать': C 7 Zlg *carǝrra* [tsarǝrra] 'sortir impétueusement, jaillir'

W *ṣVwVr- 'rain, tears; дождь, слезы': Wrj *ṣuwaru*, Diri *ṣuwara* 'rain' [SkNB], Wrj *ṣuwara* 'water, rain'[BIS]; 5Duw *sūrāyi*, Bade *sūwālai* 'tears'.

//Sem Akk *ṣarāru* 'to flow, to drip' [CAD § 105], Berb (Morocco dial.) *cercer* 'tomber en cascade, couler abondamment', Rif *carcar* 'couler; jaillir', Qab *cercer* 'tomber en cascade' [NZ 238] (cf. №125 *ṣVr-).

a. *ṣVr- 'to spit; плевать': W 4 Wrj *ṣār-* [SkNB] 'spit', Mburku *gú-ṣēr* 'cough' (n.) [Jglb].

Deriv. in *-t-*: W1 Hs *ṣār-taa* 'spit out'; C 9 Msg *sér-te técnck* 'to spit spittle', *sār-da, sér-te* 'to spit' [LkM].

//Omot Mao **ts'ur-* 'spit, saliva': Hazo *ts'uli* (v.), Sezo *sule, ts'ule*, MaoB *ts'uri* (v.), *ts'uré* (n.), MaoD *ts'ur* [BndO 280].

The following isogloss follows AA *ṣr(r):

c. *(n)ṣVr-³⁷ 'dew; poca': W 2 *sVHVr- < *sVkVr (pl. in *-k-*)³⁸: W 2 Ngas *sūūr* [FI], Mghv *sógór* [JgS], Mpn *sōar* [FrM], Mushere *šikir* [JgO], Kofyar *səḡər*, Goem *sūr, šūūr* [TAS 336]; 3 Krf *šiširi* (partial redupl.) [Stl], Ngm (G) *šišir*, (Y) *šišir* [NEH], Krkr *sənsór* [LkK], *sencer, zenzer* [KI], Bele *sinsori*, Gera *sinsiri* [SchV *sənsər*] (partial redupl. and metath.: **ncir- > nci-cir > cin-cir- > sinsir-*); 5 (partial redupl.) Dott *səsər*, Guus *šišir* [CrD, CrG], Buli *šišir*, Geji *səsəl* [Cs №367]; E 1 Kera *kə-sər-dídí* (*k-* is a suff. of coll. nouns); 2 Kaba *sú:rrú* [Jg], *-surə*, Nch *-sərə* [HmK], Lele *kə-sūwāró*; 3 Tum *ṣōor*; E 4 Mawa *tí-jír* < **tí-sir*, Ubi *tí-siró* [Alio], Saba *sinter* (metath. < **tí-n-sir*); 5 Mig *sí-síro*, Bid *si-sro*; EDng *sinsiro*, CDng *simsiro* (partial redupl. and metath.), WDng *sirsiro* [CJ]; 7 Mogum (Jegu) *sər-sər*

³⁷ Chadic languages reflect Ch *s-, *c-, *ṣ- as *s-*, the only exception is E 3 Tum *ṣōor* (< *-swVr* < *ṣVwVr), while Ch *s-, *c- > TumaK *h-*. It is likely, that Karekare forms, as attested in [Kölle] (*sencer, zenzer*) also point to Ch *ṣ-.

³⁸ For Chadic internal plural in *-k-* see [LgSt].

(redupl.).

//Sem Arab *nṣr* (u) 'arroser', *ḥṣr* (i) au passif 'être arrosé par la pluie, recevoir la pluie sur ses champs' [BK II 1271, 270]. Note root extension (*n*-as C₁) in Ch and in Arab and promotion of *n*- from C₁ to C₂ in Ch. [CLD III №773].

80. *ḥVr- 'to help, to take care; помогать, заботиться': W 3 Pero *ḥwriyō* 'to help'; 5 Guus *care* 'protect' [CrG]; 10 Dzpw *car* [tsar] 'aider'; E 5a Mig *siraw* 'take care (native doctor)'.
//Sem Akk *naṣāru* 'guard, protect, take care' [CAD n 244], Arab *nṣr* (u) 'aider, assister', *ṣry* 'sauver, délivrer qqn' [BK II 1271, 1336], Sab *nṣr* 'help, protect', *ṣry* 'protect' [Bll 312, 429, SD 145].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Semitic.
[CLD II №778].

81. *ḥVr- 'to make clean (to wash, to sweep); делать чистым': W 2 Ngas *sār* 'to wash' [TAS 316]; 3 Tng *saare* 'to rinse, clean (pot, mortar)', Bol *siir-* 'waschen' [LkB]; 4 Miya *cər* 'rake, sweep' [SchM]; C 2 Bura *car(a)* 'sweep; clean off farm rubbish', (derived verb) *cara-mta* 'to sweep out' [Ann]; C 3 FK *car* 'clear, purify, concentrate' [BINd]; E 3 Ndam *surl* 'sweep' [Brs].

//Sem Geez *ṣarya* 'be purified, be refined, be cleansed, be filtered', Tna *ṣārāyā*, Tgr *ṣāra* (*ṣry*) 'be pure, be clear'. According to [LSG 564], this root passed into Cush: Som *ṣuru* 'pure'.

82. *ḥVr- 'to cut; пезать': W 1 Hs *čārā* 'lance, cut'; C 7 Mbuko *cār* [car] 'cut (corn)'; 10 Gizey *čér* 'couper, fendre' [LezC *čér*]; E 2 Lele *sīr* [JgIb] 'cut, chop'; 5 WDng *sère*, Mig *sérró* 'cut in strips', EDng *səriyē* 'découper la viande fraîche en bandelettes pour la faire sécher', (derived n.) *sérinē* 'la lanière' [Dj].

Deriv. in *-d-* (indicates an object): C 7 Mafa *cər-d-* 'split (with hoe, scie)'.
Derived adj. ***ḥVr-P-** 'sharp; острый': W 5 Tala *sirbi-ši* (voicing in contact) 'sharp' [Cs]; C 8 Log *ṣirpu* 'sharp' [ALL]; E 5a Bid *sarpóok* 'âcre, sharp', *sarapà* 'âcreté'.

//Sem Arab *ṣry* 'couper, retrancher en coupant' [BK I 1336], Aram (Syr) *ṣarā* (*ṣry*) 'rend asunder' [LSG 564], Akk *ṣurru* (NB) adj. 'split (of palm spathes (?))' (possibly to be connected with Aram) [CAD ṣ 260], ECush Oromo *čira* 'cut' [Grg]; Omot Aroid *c'ar-*, Dizoid *c'ars* 'sharp' [BndO 255].

Note Omot Wolt *c'iiir-* 'to carve'. According to [LmW 332], Wolt *c'iiir-* is cognate with Cush Burji *kor-*, Gawwada *koor-*, Konso *qor* 'carve'.
[HSED №444 Sem+Oromo; CLD III №770].

83. *čVr- 'be in good health, prosper; быть здоровым, процветать': W 1 Hs *čiiira* 'become well off'; C 5 Pod *cará* [tsara] 'be good, kind'; 7 Ould *-car* [tsar] 'être bon (chose qui fait plaisir)'; 8 Log *šir* 'good health' [ALL]; 10 Dzpw *car* [tsar] 's'enrichir, prosperer, réussir, bien produire, donner ne' (contamination with *čVr- 'to germinate', cf.); E 1 Kera *šééré* 'gesund werden, recover'.

//Sem Akk *širu* (from OB on) 'first-rank (in importance, quality), august, excellent (used only as a poetic term)' [CAD § 210].

[CLD №775].

84. *čVr- > **m-čVr-* 'strap, bow-string; тетива, жила': W 2 Ngas *li-sāar* '(a bit of) horse bridle' [Fl] (*li* 'small'); 7 Bok *sir* 'tendon, sinew'; C 7 Chv *mə-cāar* 'cord d'arc, bow-string'; 8 Makari *m-šuru* 'lash, strap' [AlM]; 9 Mnj *sər-day* 'tendon'.

Deriv. in *-k-*: **čVr-k-* 'bow-string': 1 Hs *čir-kíyáa*, *čár-kíyáa* 'bow-string'; 2 Mghv *sar-ka* 'tendon' [Kl].

Derived verb: C 2 Mrg *n-cəri* 'tighten (bow-string, skin of drum)' [HfM 155].

//Sem Akk (OA) *šerretu* 'nose-rope, lead-rope (to direct an animal or a prisoner), halter' [CAD § 134].

[CLD III №783].

85. *čit- 'kind of (thatching) grass; трава (для крыши)': W 2 Ngas *šit* 'forest; grass' [Or]; *šit* 'grass for thatching' [Hff], Mghv *šit* 'gras' [JgS], Mpn *šit* 'grass' [FrM], Kofyar *šit* 'roofing grass, thatching grass', Goem *sət* 'generic term for bush or grass' [Hlw], *šet* 'grass for thatching' [Hff], set 'grass' [Jg]; Mushere *šit* 'bush, grass' [JgO]; C 10 Dzpw *čít* [tsit] 'kind of grass'. Palatalization before *-i-*.

//ECush Oromo *čitaa* 'thatching' [Grg]. A weak external parallel.

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86. *čVʔh- 'to speak; говорить': W 1 Hs *čce* 'say, tell'; C 1 Gaa *ičúhai*, Gbn *čəhi*, Boka *saha-dā* 'to ask' [Kr]; 2 Mrg *čú* 'to speak' [HfM 118]; 7

Moloko *cahay* 'ask' [BoP 15]; 8 Bud *ča* 'sagen, say', Zina *čuwya* 'to cry' [ZK]; 10 Dari *čī?* 'resonner', E 5a WDng *čaačē* 'repeter; redire'.

Derived noun: W 3 Krkr *čaačaa* 'Rede; speech' [LkK], *čaačaa* 'news, word, speech' [GK]; E 2 Lele *čuučuu* 'cri sp.'.

//Sem Sab *thw* 'speaker, one who speaks' [BlI 540], Cush (agaw) **či/aw-* 'to ask for, beg, pray' [ApAg].

[CLD III №786].

87. *čVw/y- 'to fish, fishing; ловить рыбу': W 4 Paa *čuču*, Kariya *čiwu* 'fishing', Diri *aču* (derived noun in *a-*) 'fisherman' [SkNB], Wrij *čuu-na* 'catching fish with a net' [BIS]; C 8 Bud *či* [VM] 'pêcher, saisir' (contam. with (if not the same as) *ci*, *či/e* 'ergreifen, fassen' [LkB]), 10 Dzpw *cu* [tsu] 'to fish with a basket', Masa *čiw* 'pêcher' [CC], Gizey, Masa, Marba, Lew, Ham, Musey *čiw* 'pêcher' [LexC *čiw*], cf. Azum *čiu-na* VN 'fishing (by net)' [PAZ]; E 1 Kera *čē askā* 'to fish with a fishing-basket' (*aska* 'fish'); 6 Mok *sáwwe* 'pêcher au filet'. Cf. 7 Mafa *č-* 'prendre (un seul obj.)'; E 5 WDng *īcē* 'prendre un seul obj isolé' [VM]; 5b Mubi *čuwa* 'nehmen' [Luk]. //Sem Akk *ašāšu* 'to catch (in a net)', *šēšu* (SB) 'a net' [CAD š1 422, 338], Omot Yemsa *essh-* 'to fish' [LmY]. Cf. SCush Dah *taʔ-aad* 'to trap' [EEN]. [HSED №463 Dahalo, Kariya, Ngizim; StH II.1; CLD III №788].

88. *č(V)wVʔ- 'to pierce; протыкать': C 9 Mbara *čoó* 'pierce'; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba *čo* 'percer' [LexC *čo*]; E 1 Kera *čoʔé*, *čéʔé* 'durchbohren, to pierce'.

Deriv.: C 1 *čVhʔ-: Gaa *čuhə-nči*, Gbn *čixʷə-nči*, Boka *čuxʷa-dā* 'pierce' [Kr].

//Sem Arab *ʔy* 'être percé de traits, être blessé; être tué', IV stem 'percer le cuir' [BK I 215].

It is possible, that Chadic roots 'to pierce' and 'to cut' (see below) are related to each other:

a. *čV(w)- 'to cut; резать': C 5 Wnd *ča* 'cut' [Mo], Mlg *čá* 'schneiden, schlachten', *čáča* 'cut in pieces'; 5a Hitk *c-* 'cut' [LkH]; 7 Mofu *č-* 'couper, prendre un morceau (de boule de mil)'; E 1 Kera *čē* 'to shave'; 2 Lele *čāw* 'cut (hair)'.
Derived noun in *ʔ-*: C 10 'knife': Dzpw *ʔičiu* [ʔitsiu].

Deriv.: C *čVh- 'to chop': 4 Gude *čiihə* 'chop off (branches), chop in two'; 6 Daba *čāh* 'fendre' [Lnhr].

[HSED № 478 Mofu, Arab; CLD III 791].

89. *čVw/y/- 'to pour (in, out, down); лить, выливать': W 5 Zaar čyũ 'splash' [CrZ]; C 2 Bura číwa 'to pour in'; 7 Muy čī: 'flowing' mod.; 5 Pod číwa [ciwa] 'égoutter, écouler, to flow down'; E 4 Mawa čēŋ 'pour in/out, verser (pour remplir/vider), renverser (de l'eau)'.

//Sem Arab ṭwʕ 'couler (eau)' [BK I 242], Cf. Ongota čaʕawa 'water, river', čaʕaw 'to drink' [ST].

AA *ʕ as C₃ after a semi-vowel leaves no trace in Chadic languages. [CLD III №793].

90. *čVb- 'to wash (tr., intr.); мыть(ся)' > čVb- 'to put into water, to soak; мочить': C 7 Mafa cəb- 'plonger, sauter a l'eau, to plunge into water', Ould cāb [tsaβ] idf. 'action de toucher, tremper dans l'eau', Mada cōb- [coβ] 'plonger dans qqch, to plunge', óčbo 'trier (mil, haricot) dans l'eau, to sort out grain in water'; 8 Afd usib(b)e 'Ich wasche', Glf uthábe 'to wash' [Sol №679], Kus sabbə 'laver qqch' [Tr]; E 5a Zir čoba, Mubi čubi 'wash (smth)' [CJ], Kaj čooba, čúubi, Mm čup-ka (devoicing in contact) 'laver'. Deriv.: 'to soak; мочить': W 3 Ngm (G) šob-kô, (Y) šob-kò, VN šoba 'moisten' [NEH], Kkrk čaaba-tu 'soak, moisten' [GK]; C 7 Chv mē-čḅ- ḥẉy 'tremper, to moisten'.

Derived adj. *(čV)-čVb- 'be watery, wet; быть мокрым': W1 Hs čaabē 'to be in moist, unpleasant condition'; 3 Ngm šob-no (Y) 'wet' [NEH]; C 2 Bura čī-čabu 'watery; water-logged (of food)' [BIB]; 7 Mada ččēčb-ččb [ceceβ-ceβ] 'completely (mouillé, trempé), completely (soaked, wet)'.

//Sem Arab ṭwb 'se remplir d'eau, être rempli' [BK I 240]. Geez sbb 'be diffused, be spilled, be poured, pour' (intr.) [LsG 483], ECush Som šubay 'pour, water (livestock)' [LIS]. Derived stem ('to make wet') is marked by emphatization of a voiced labial.

b. *čVb- (< *čVbVH-/ *čVHVb-) 'to sprinkle; брызгать': W 6 Ngz ži-čbũ (dissim.) 'to sprinkle'; C 7 Chv mē-čḅey 'cracher'.

//Sem Arab ṭfb (a) 'faire couler, verser (des larmes, le sang)' [BK I 224].

Regular emphatization of -b- in Chadic, influenced by a laryngeal.

[CLD III №799].

91. *čVb- 'to kill; war; убивать; война': C 5 Wnd čoba, čib-a 'kill (many)' [Mirt], Mlg čóba 'viele (Menschen) töten, to kill a lot of people', Glv čib- 'kill', Pod číbe [ciβe] 'tuer; kill' pl.; E 5b Mubi čóḅbũ 'guerre, war' [JgL] (cf. čóḅbĩ 'lance (de guerre)', if not the same as čóbũ 'Lanze,

spear' [Luk], see below), Zir *žabu-ki* (regress. assim.) 'guerre' [CJ]. Emphatic *-b-* correlates with pluractional semantics in C 5.

//Sem Arab *wṭb*, II stem 'assaillir qqn', *wṭb-at-* 'aggression, attaque' [BK II 1482-3].

[CLD III №800].

92. *čVb- 'pierce (lightly); протыкать': C 6 Buwal *čēv* [tʃɛv] 'pierce (lightly)'; E 2 Lele *čīb* 'percer'. Cf. 2 Bura *čābar* (idf.) 'accurately hit (of arrow)'.
a. *čVb- 'to pierce (through); to stick inside; проткнуть, воткнуть': W 3 Pero *čēbō* 'to plant (yams)'; C 5 Pod *čībe* [ciβe] 'plant, set upright'; 6 Daba *čəb* 'embrocher, accrocher' [Lnh]; 7 Chv *mə-čbēy* 'enfoncez', Zlg *cəb* (*adəm*) [tsəb] 'enfoncez, faire entrer dedans'.

Derived adj. C 7 Chv *čēb-čēb* 'sharp'; 8 Kus *čəbō-k* 'sharp' [Tr]. Medial *-b-* correlate with more intensive semantics.

Derived noun: *čVb/b- 'kind of piercing implement; острый (инструмент)': C 7 Moloko *cabai* 'skewer'; E 2 Lele *čūbādi* (< *čuba-ti) 'poinçon, awl'; 5b Kaj *čaabú-k* 'lance', Mubi *čōbū* 'Lanze, spear' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *nṭb* 'ficher, plonger, faire rester qqn dans qq chose', *tyb* II stem 'cohabiter (se dit des époux)', VII stem 'être fiché, planté' [BK I 243, II 1256]. Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD III №806].

93. *čVf- 'to fry, to make fire; разжигать огонь, жарить': W 4 Diri *čəfā* 'fry' [SkNB]; C 6 Daba *čəf* 'make a fire' [Lnh]; 10 Masa *čūf-nā* 'roast' [Jglb], [*čūf*] 'faire griller, griller' [CC], Gizey, Ham, Masa, Musey, Lew, Marba *čūf* 'griller' [LexC *čūf*].

//Eg *sfsf, s-sf* (Gr) 'verbrennen, to burn' [EG IV 117, 276].

[CLD III №813].

94. *čak- 'to drizzle; брызгать, орошать': W 6 Ngz *čə-čkú* 'filter, strain'; 7 Bok *či-čək* 'sieben (Biere), Wasser sprengen'; C 7 Ould *-cāk* [tsak] 'asperger, éparpiller, to drizzle'; E 2 Tob *čə-žəgē* 'arroser, irrigate'.

Derived noun: W 3 Bol *ta-šək* idf. 'sound of splashing' [GAB].

//Sem Arab *ḥaṭk-at-* 'pluie abondante' [BK I 433].

A weak external parallel. Note the following correlation: *ḥ* as C₁ in Arabic ~ reduplication of the first syllable in Chadic.

[CLD III №850].

95. *čV~~k~~- 'to pound, to crush; **толочы, раздавливать**': W 2 Ngas čūik 'beat, pound, thrash with a stick' [FI], Goem šiak 'to beat, crush to make soft' [TAS 46]; C 10 Musey čak (Imperfect) 'to pound' [ShyC 10], Dzpw cōk 'pound' [JgZ 25]; E 1 Kera čēké 'ein zweites Mal die Hirse stampfen, to pound for the second time', čóké 'herunterdrücken, press down'.

Deriv. in -d: W 6 Bade ǝčku-dū 'thresh grain from chaff in mortar'.

//Eg sk (Med) 'mahlen, to pound', sky 'Mehl, flour' [EG IV 314].

[CLD III №854].

96. *čV~~k~~- 'to throw (a spear); to stab with a spear; **бросать (копье)**': W 1 Hs čākaa, čāka 'stab (with spear, spurs)'; 2 Ngas čak 'to shoot' [FI], Grk suk-ne 'throw' [Fp]; C 7 Mofu -čǝk- 'shoot (animal, person, with a spear), kill with a spear, throw a spear'; 10 Masa čúk 'jeter, lancer, semer' [CC], Gizey, Lew, Marba, Masa, Musey čúk pl. 'jeter' [LexC cúk]; E 1 Kera čók aska 'to fish with a harpoon' (aska 'fish').

Derived noun: C 2 Bura čaki 'a needle of the witch doctor, a poisoned needle (used to slay an enemy, an evil spirit)' [Ann]; 5 Glv má-čāga (-g- < *-k-) 'arrow', ma-čāka, Cin mā-čāka [Kr].

Deriv. in. -t- : C 2 Bura nčok-ta 'to place a piece of smth (as meat) on a stick' [Ann, BIB]; E 2 Lele čǝg-dé (voicing in medial position) 'piquer, percer'.

//Note Sem Ug ntk 'Geschoss ???' [Ais 217]. Root extension (n- as C₁) in Ugaritic. An isolated Semitic cognate fits perfectly to Chadic root.

97. *ča[~~k~~]- 'to weave; **ткать**': W 3 Krkr čāakú [SchV], GK], Kupto šakkéy 'to weave cloth' [LgK]; 6 Bade čāakau 'weave cloth', Duw čāakaāčūwo; C 1 Tera čaka 'to weave' [NmT]; C 5 Mlg cáka ([ts] < [č] before -a-) 'weben, weave'; 7 Gis caka 'Weberei', ?i ži caka 'ich webe; I weave', Mofu čaka 'tissage, weaving'; 10 Musey čukka 'tresser' [ShyM].

a. *čV[~~k~~]- 'loom, part of a loom; **ткацкий станок**': C 7 Muy cāka 'loom', Mofu čaka 'métier à tisser, loom'; E 3 Tum sāgá 'navette pour filer, spinning shuttle'; 5a WDng čāaka 'peigne du métier à tisser, a comb', EDng čāakā 'métier à tisser' [Dj]; 4 Mawa čaka 'métier à tisser'.

Derived noun in n-: C 1 Tera nǝ-čāka 'weaver' [NmT]. Note C 5 Glv čāak^w 'weaver-bird'.

Ch *k and *k̄ have fallen together as k in all the languages.

//Sem Geez ŷasaqa, ŷaśaqa 'weave, embroider, roll up, twist', ŷasq 'thread,

woven garment', Aram (Mand) *ʕsq* 'band, snare' (other Semitic parallels given in [LsG 73] are dubious). Root extension (ʕ as C₁) in Semitic. [CLD III №849].

98. *čVI- 'to pour (from one vessel to another); (пере)ливать': C 4 Gude *čalə* 'splash (liquid)'; E 5 WDng *čólē* 'transvaser d'un récipient dans un autre', EDng *čólē* 'pour (from one vessel to another)' [Ebb].

Deriv. C 7 *čVIVw- 'liquid > be watery': Zlg *číléwíwē* [tsilewiwe] 'rendre liquide', Mafa *čílúwúreʔe* 'trop dilué, trop liquide (bouillie), fluide'.

//Sem Arab *talīl-* 'bruit que fait l'eau quand elle coule ou quand elle est versée' [BK I 232], Sab *tyl* 'flood' [BII 543], 'lava-flow' [SD 152].

[CLD III №873].

99. *čVI- 'to stand (up), to rise; вставать, подниматься': C 7 Ould *cəl* [KPr 28 tsōl], Mada *áčala* 'monter'; 8 Bud *čalay* 'aufheben'; 10 Musey, Lew, Marba *čol* 'se lever' [LexC col], Musey *čolla* 'se lever' [ShyM]; E 5b Brg *čaalí* 'stand up'.

Deriv. in ʔV- 'to raise (bulls); поднимать (быков)': E 5a EDng *ʔičilē* 'heben, to raise' [Ebb], WDng *ičilē* 'soulever les boeufs (i.e. les charger)'.

Cf. C 2 Bura *čul-bəla* 'to climb out onto the top of a tree or mountain, to straighten out' [BIB]. A derived verb, for the same suff. see, eg., *čafi* 'to cut' ~ *čafi-bila* 'to cut a very poor crop of corn' [Ann].

//Sem Arab *mīl* 'se placer et se tenir debout; être supérieur, excellent' [BK II 1060]. [CLD III №870].

100. E 5 *ʔačil- 'gепard, serval; гепард': EDng *áčiló* 'le guépard' (in other Dangla dialects: 'le renard', 'le serval') [Dj], Bid *ʔačilo* 'serval'.

//Sem *ʔVʕ(V)I- 'fox; лиса': Hbr *šūʕāl* 'fox, jackal' [KB 1445], Ancient Aram *šʕl*, (Jyd) *taʕal*, *təʕlʕā* 'fox, jackal', (Mnd) *tala*, Arab *tuʕāl-* 'renard' [BK I 224], Jib *iʕʕél*, Mhr *yeʕayl* [JnM].

Note metath. of a laryngeal in ECh: C₁-H-C₃ > H-C₂-C₃.

a. *čVIVb- 'wolf, jackal; волк, шакал': C 9 Msg *čičélebe* 'jackal' [LkM]; E 6 Mok *sullíbe* 'loup, wolf'.

//Sem *taʕlab- 'fox, jackal': Akk *šēlebu* (OA) 'fox' [CAD š 268], Ug *tʕlb*, Arab *talʕab-at-* 'fox' [BK I 224].

On Semitic *-b-* as a suffix of harmful animals see [SED II №237].

[St 46; HSED №№464, 490; Fron 5.56, DlgE №25, SED II № 237].

101. *čam- 'to harvest; собирать урожай': W 3 Kkrk *čamu* 'pick beans'

[GK]; 5 Guus *čam* 'harvest (i.e. beans)' [CrG]; E 1 Kera *čémé* 'ernten (Hirse), harvest millet' [only in 'Deutsch-Kera Wörterbuch', Eb].

//Sem Arab *tmm* 'ramasser, porter sur un seul point des herbes, du foin' [BK I 234].

In the view of a possible semantic shift: 'to harvest' > 'to harvest (cereals)' > 'to harvest with a sickle', the following Chadic root may be cognate:

a. *čVm- 'to cut grass, corn; косить, жать': W 3 Kupto *šceméy* 'to cut grass (from top)' [LgK].

Derived noun: C 2 Bura *čam* 'row of cut corn in the farm' [BIB].

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *čimaa* 'an instrument for cutting off the heads of cut corn'; 2 Mghv *čom* 'a grass-cutter' [BIM].

[MAg, CLD III №887-8].

102. *čVm- 'to join, to gather (people); собираться': W 1 Hs *čammé* 'link up, join'; 3 Krkr *čaamu* 'versammeln; to gather' [Lk, GK], Kupto *šimméy* 'to meet' [LgK]; 5 Zaar *čim* 'with' [CrZ]; 6 Ngz *čám* 'all'; C 7 Mofu *-čəm-* 'rassembler, mettre en commun', Mafa *čime-čime'e* 'côte à côte (sur un chemin)'.

Derived noun in *-n-*: C 5 Mlg *cam-nó* 'Versammlung, meeting'.

//Sem Arab *wtm* 'ramasser, réunir, amasser' [BK II 1486], Sab *?tm* 'make an agreement > assemble' [BlI 30]. [CLD II №886].

103. *čVm- 'to rot, to smell bad; гнить, вонять': W 4 Wrj *čamə-*, Mburku *čam-* 'to stink, smell bad' (cf. Miya *tema*, Kariya *təm* - a root variant?) 'smell bad, stink' [SkNB]; C 2 Bura *čim* 'area around a sore, covered with pus, blood, etc.' [BIB]; 4 Gude *čiməñə* (pl.?) 'serous fluid extruded from a corpse'; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *čim* 'pourrir' [LexC *čim*], Dari *čim*, Dzpw *čim* [tsim] 'pourrir', Mesme *čim* [JgZ]; E 1 Kera *čimí* 'pourrir, verderben'.

Derived verb in *-t-*: W 3 Krkr *čam-tu* 'soil o.s., beshit o.s.' [GK].

//Sem Arab *ntm* 'être gâté et commencer à sentir mauvais' [BK II 1265].

Root extrntion (*n-* as C₁) in Arabic. [CLD III №890].

104. *čVm- 'to eat; есть': W 7 Fyer *čami* 'schmecken, berühren, to taste'; C 3 Bana *čamə* 'mettre dans la bouche'; E 5b Mubi *čam* 'to eat' [Luk], *čám* 'eat hard food' [Jglb]. For W 1 Hs *čimaa* 'food' see **tV* 'to eat' > Hs *čii*.

The following forms presumably follow Ch ***čVm-**: W 6 Bade *čùm-čùm-tu* 'suck' and C 3 FK *čwám-čwám* 'tasteless' [BINd].

//Sem Ug *ʔtm* 'Bissen, bites' [Ais15], Arab *ʔm?* 'donner à manger des mets gras', *ʔmm* 'avalér', *wʔm* > *maʔim-at-* 'meule, nourriture' [BK I 234, II 1485]. [HSED №472, CLD III №891].

105. *čVp- 'to plaster, to smear; **смазывать**': W 1 Hs *čáfè* 'to ornament exterior of a house by throwing small stones or gravel against the plaster before it has hardened, sweep a millstone after grinding (to delete the upper layer)', *čáfée* 'ornamenting house, any plastering of exterior of a wall'; C 3 Bana *čápə̀* 'crépir'; 6 Buwal *cāp* [tsap] 'smear', Daba *čīp* 'coller de l'argent sur le front de la fille qu'on aimerait marier' [Lnhř]; 7 Mbuko *cāpāy* [capay] 'crépir', Ould *cāp* [tsap] 'coller', Mafa *cap-* 'crépir, jointoyer avec de l'argile'.

//Sem Akk *šīpu* (jBab) (a yellow paste) [CAD š 394].

106. *čVp- 'to follow, to trace; **следовать за**': W 3 Pero *čepo* 'to trace'; C 7 Chv *mε-čpεy* 'accompagner, suivre', Muy *čif* 'near', Mbuko *cəpč* [cəpe] 'surveiller, to watch, to spy'.

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 7 Mofu *-čpad-* 'marcher sur la pointe des pieds, sans faire de bruit'.

Derived noun: C 9 Mbara *čəpə̀* 'le derrière; "posterior"'.

//Sem Arab *ʔtf* (u) 'suivre qqn, poursuivre, donner la chasse à qqn; chercher' [BK I 11]. Root extension ("alef" as C₁) in Arabic. [CLD III №953].

107. *čVr- 'to stand up, to lift, **вставать, поднимать**': W 1 Hs *číra* 'lift right up'; 3 Kupto *šerow* 'to stand' [LgK]; 4 cf. derived noun: Wřj *čičira* 'swimming (as when holding smth in the air to stop it getting wet)' [BIS]; 5 Grnt *sčeri* 'stand up' [Smz], Guus *číir* 'above', *číir* 'sky' [Cr]; C 7 Moloko *car* 'climb'; 8 Bud *čar* 'aufgehen (Sonne), hinausgehen, aufsprössen (Kraut), to go up, to sprout, to rise (sun)'; 10 Peve *car* [Vn] 'stand up', Dari *cār*, Dzpw *cār* [tsar] 'se lever, ressusciter, se tenir sur' (*c-* < *č- before *-a-*), Mesme *čár* [car] 'rises' [JgZ].

Derived noun in *-m-*: E 5a Míg *čúr-mó* 'cime, sommet'.

//Sem Arab *ʔwr* 'être soulevé et se répandre dans (poussière, sauterelles)', *ʔawr-* 'mousse, verdure qui naît à la surface de l'eau stagnant' [BK I 241], Sab *ʔwr* 'curds' (?) [BlI 543].

[Jglb *šr-, CLD III №917].

108. *čVr- 'to swell (of breast); **big breast**': W 1 Hs *číiri* 'a large udder'; C

8 Zina *čār* 'gonfler (qqch)' [Tr]; E 5a Bid *čērčēr* 'fleurir, poindre (sein)'.
//Sem Arab *trr* 'avoir et donner beaucoup de lait (se dit des femelles), to have plenty of milk' [BK I 20].
[CLD III №922].

109. *čīr- 'to gossip; сплетничать': W 4 Wrj *čīrei* 'gossiping' [BIS]; C 7 Muy *čīčīre-fā* 'unable to keep a secret' (i.e., 'talkative', derived adj. in *-f*).
//Sem Akk *šāru* (mng. uncert.) EA, WSem word 'to accuse' [CAD š₂ 140], *šāru* (Am) 'to slander' [CDA 362], Arab *trtr* 'bavarder' [BK I 221].

The following Chadic root may be cognate:

a. ***čVr-** 'to cry; кричать': W 1 Hs *ččeraa* (possibly, < *čV?Vr-) 'cry out'; C 5 Pod *čirewə* [čirewə] idf. 'crier', 9 Mbara *čiri* 'to schriek', Mulwi *siriyi* 'pousser des cris aigus'; E5a EDng *čorlē* (dissim.?) 'schreien; to cry' [Ebb], Bid *čēčēr* 'crier, criailler (pintade)'.

//Sem Arab *?tr* (i, u) 'rappeler, faire mention, citer une parole' [BK I 10], Eg *šsr* (MK) 'aussprechen, verkündigen; to speak out', *šsr* (MK) 'Ausspruch, Gedanke (Gedanke, Plan, die im Herzen sind, die man ausdenkt)' [EG IV 548]. Cf. the next entry. Note that AA *č is rendered by šs (not by s) in Egyptian. On "double sibilants" in Egyptian see [CTEg]. [HSED 483].

110. *čVr- 'to be clever; surpasser; (по)умнеть': W 1 Hs *čārē* 'become wise'; C 4 Gude *čičirə* 'become more clever (of children developing)'; cf. 7 Ould *-cālāy* [tsalay] 'surpasser'; 9 Mba *čila* 'to surpass'.

//Sem Arab *?tr* (a) 'surpasser qqn en qqch', *?atar-at-* 'préférence' [BK I 10].

a. ***čV(w/?V)r-** '(to) plan, predict': W 2 Ngas *čir* 'explain' [F1]; 7 Fyer *čoor* 'Absicht, Plan'; E 5a Bid *čaar* 'imagine, predict' (note W 3 Pero *čirim* 'picture, image'); 5b Mubi *ččeri* 'plan commun' [JgL].

//Sem Arab *?tr* (a) 'se proposer qqch, projeter' [BK I 10], cf. Akk *šūru* (SB) 'to teach, instruct' [CAD š 370]. Note Eg *šsr* (MK) 'Ausspruch, Gedanke (Gedanke, Plan, die im Herzen sind, die man ausdenkt)' [EG IV 548]. It may well be that two AA roots (see the previous entry) became confused in Arabic. On the other hand, a semantic development: 'be clever(er)' > 'to generate ideas' > 'to explain, to instruct' seems tenable'. [CLD III № 924].

111. *čVr- 'to shoot an arrow, arrow; стрелять из лука, стрела': W 1 Hs *čāra* 'throw a spear, shoot an arrow', *čāraa* 'fire at, hit (with spear, arrow)',

čáara 'fire ar, hit (with spear, arrow, etc.)'; 2 Ngas *čar* 'to shoot at' [Fp], *čír* 'mimic warfare (when all the motions of fighting, avoiding and warding off arrows are done through); sort of dance; mimic motions of shooting a lion' [Fp], Goem *šiar* (pl. of *tat*) 'to shoot' [TAS 59]; C 2 Bura *čera* 'reed-like grass from which arrow shaft is secured; arrow shaft' [Ann].

//Eg *šsr* 'Pfeil (als Jagdwaffe and, zumeis, als Kriegswaffe), arrow' (Pyr) [EG IV 546], SCush Dah *taaro* 'spear' [EEN]. Cf. Sem Aram *trr* 'to throw', Soq *trr* 'jeter' [LS].

Note a "double sibilant" in Egyptian. Cushitic Dahalo *t* < AA *č happens rather regular.

[HSED №474, CLD III №921].

112. *čV(ʔV)r- (> *čVrr-) 'to scratch; скрести': W 2 Goem *fóor* (< *čVʔVr-, Ch *č- regularly > Goem š-) 'clean a vessel with a finger' [Hlw]; E 5 Mig *čorro* 'égratigner, to scratch'.

Deriv. in -h-: C 7 Mada *áčrahā* 'racler (un bois), se racler (la gorge)'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *číraa* 'excoriation of inside of thighs of stout person due to over walking'; 2 Bura *čer(a)* 'scratching of birds'.

Derived noun in -n-: *čVr-n- 'claw, nail': W 7 Bok *čarān*, DB *čirij* 'nail' [JgR] 'claw', Mangar *čiraŋ* 'claw' [RC]; E 4 Barein (dial.) *sáriyaŋ*, *sárnán* 'nail' [LvB].

//Sem Arab *ʔtr* 'racler l'interieur du sabot d'un chameu', *ʔatr-* 'cicatrice, marque' [BK I 11]. [CLD III №915].

113. *čV(ʔV)r- 'furrow; борозда': W 1 Hs *čéeri* 'an indentation or shallow hole in the ground'; E 5a Bid *čaare* 'furrow'. Long vowel in Chadic languages points to a laryngeal in medial position.

//Sem Akk *šerʔu* (*širʔu*, *še/irḫu*) (OA) 'furrow; cultivated field; linear measure' [CAD š2 327; AHw 1219], Qurʔanic Arabic *ʔtāra* 'to plough, excite, rise', Syr *ʔatīr* (*ʔaffel*) 'to plough', Aram *tawwārā* 'plougher with oxen' [Zm 114], Arab *twr* IV st 'remuer la terre, labourer' [BK I 241]. [HSED 484 Akk+E 5 Bid; CLD III №914].

The following Ch root may be related:

E 5 *čVʔwVr-/ *ʔVčVr- 'to dig': 5a WDng *éčirē*, Bid *čoor*, Mig *čaarō*; 5b Kaj *čárú* [Alio].

Derived noun in *k-*: W 2 Mghv *kə-čir* [JgS], Goem *gc-širr* [Fp], Mpn *kə-čír* [FrM] 'tomb'.

//Cf. Sem Arab *tarāʔ-* (*trw*) 'tombeau, tomb' [BK I 222].

114. *čVt- 'to shoot; стрелять': W 3 Bol (plurac.) *šottu, sottu* 'shoot an arrow' [GAB]; C 1 Gaʔanda *čiti-ʔənʒi*, Gabin *čitəʔ-ənči*, Boka *šett-indi* [Kr] 'to shoot'.

//Eg *sty* (OK) 'schieszen (Zumeist mit Pfeil und Bogen, auch mit Speer, Harpun), to shoot', cf. *sty* (Pyr) 'werfen, legen' > 'ctw unwilling zu Boden werfen' (Pyr) [EG IV 326-8].

[CLD III №836].

115. *čVw/yVt- 'to press, to squeeze; давить, жать': W 3 Krf *šcet-* 'to squeeze' [Stl], Pero *čotto* 'squeeze out, milk', Glm *čūuz-áala* (-z- < *-t- is regular) 'squeeze' [SchB]; C E 1 Kera *čécté* 'festhalten, drücken'.

//Sem Arab *mṯt* 'presser qqch contre la terre avec la main', *nṯt* 'serrer contre le sol pour apaiser, pour faire taire qqn' [BK II 1060, 1196].

Root extensions (*m-* and *n-* as C₁) in Arabic. Note AA *-t- > Chadic -t-. [HSED №838, CLD III №838].

Consider the following isogloss (a "root variant"?): W ***[č]V(wV)t-** 'to squeeze, press; давить, жать': W 5 Grnt *šwaatii* (*šw-* < **sw-*), Jimi *šči* [Cs], Zaar *cat* 'squeeze, wring out' [CrZ].

Derived noun: C 6 Buwal *ṃcát* [ṃtsat] 'tweezers'.

//Sem Arab *mṯt* 'squeeze out pus' [BK II 1114]. Root extension (*m-* as C₁).

*č

116. *čVw- (possibly < ***čVwʔ-**) 'to catch, to pick; хватать, ловить': W 3 Krkr *čaw* 'ergreifen, fangen' [LkK], *čáwaa* 'hold, seize, catch' [GK]; 5 Zaar *čaa* 'pick (cotton, groundnuts)' [CrZ]; 7 Mangar *čiw* 'to steal' [RC]; C 3 HN *ciji* 'hold', *cu-šē* 'seize' [Kr]; 5 Pod *cawa* [tsawa] 'attraper, atteindre'; 7 Muy *cāw* idf. 'taking up smth in quantity without choosing', *ácáy* 'take up in order to possess (smth in the bush)', Ould *cāw* [tsaw] idf. 'rapidement pour attraper'; 7a Skn *čə* 'pick' [DS]; 8 Bud *ci* [tsi] 'ergreifen', *či* [ci] 'ergreifen, halten, fassen, to seize' [LkBud] (cf. *čo* 'attraper' [VM]); 9a Gidar *čə* 'catch'; E 3 Smr *čə* 'cuillir, to pluck' [JgSb].
Derived noun: W 6 Ngz *čāáčáawa* 'twigs for fire'.

Derived noun: C 7 Ould *cáyaj* [tsayaŋ] 'brigand, voleur, robber, thief'. Cf. W 7 Sha *ʔáčáh* 'thief' (note *ʔa-* as a prefix of derived nouns). According to [JgR], *h* and *ʕ* in Sha reflect PCh **r*. However, contradicting evidence (Sha

ʃ, ɥ <Ch *H) exists. Unfortunately only a few words with ɥ and ʃ can be found in [JgR], so the origin of ɥ and ʃ in Sha is still under discussion.

//Cf. Eg *dʃ* (MK) 'ergreifen, fangen, nehmen, seize' [EG V 199]. Note that Eg *d* renders AA affricates *ɕ, *ɕʃ, *ʃʃ and AA *g- before *-i-*. [HSED 496, CLD III 937].

117. *ɕVw- 'to come, to arrive; **приходить**': W 4 Paa *čuwí*, *ču* 'coming' (suppl. VN of *dava* 'come') [MS]; C 3 FK *cú* 'walk, to go' [BIND]; 5 Pod *cawa* [tsawa] 'reach, arrive at'; 7 Gis *c*, *če* 'eintreten, hineintun'.

//Sem Sab *mzʔ* 'go, proceed, march' [SD 89], Sab *mzʔ* 'reach, arrive, come to', Geez *maṣʔa* 'to come' [BlI 273]. Root extension (*m-* as C₁).

118. *ɕVʃw-/ *Hɕ- 'tail; **хвост**': W 1 Hs *wúçíyaa*; 4 Diri *čuwaa* [SkNB]; C 10 Masa *čáw* [CC], Dari *čēw* 'tail', Dzpw *ččó* [tseo] (< *čeʔo) 'tail, crin, horse hair' [Sa], *čyáw* 'tail' [Jglb], Gizey *čáw*, Ham, Musey *nǰáw*, Lew, Marba *ʔanǰáw* (voicing in contact with *n-*).

In the lack of "true cognates" the root may be considered a derived noun, cf. Sem Arab *ʃzʃz* 'vibrer; remuer la queue en marchant (se dit d'une bête de somme)' [BK II 292] and E 3 Smr *čwá* 'remuer', *čáwá* 'balancer (pilon)' [JgSb]. Arabic cognate explains initial *w-* in W 1 Hausa as a reflex of AA *ʃ-: *ʃuɕ-> ʔuɕ-> wuɕ-.

119. *ɕVwɣ- 'a bee, a fly; honey; **пчела, муха**': W 4 Wrj *čiwí-na* 'fly' [SkNB]; C 8 Afd *čəwí* 'mouche, a fly' [Tr]; E 4 Mawa *sway* 'miel', *soyi* 'abeile, miel'; 5a Bid *ɖyaa-ɖyá* 'abeille, miel de montagne' [JgB].

//Sem Arab *zayy-* 'miel' [BK II 147].

120. *ɕVI- 'shade, smoke; **тень, дым**': W 2 Ngas *džil* (irreg. reflex of an affricate, probably due to a pref.: *nčVI-> nǰVI > džil) 'shade under trees' [Fl]; 7 Sha *čalá* 'shadow' [JgR], DB *čileʔ* 'shade, shadow', Monguna *čile* 'shade' [RC]; C 7 Gis *nǰala* (< *ncala) 'west'; 8 Aff *čəlí*, Maltam *səðəy* 'smoke' [Tr].

//Sem *čill- (*till-) 'shadow' > Akk *šillu* (Oakk on) 'shadow, shade of tree, shaded place; awning, covering; 'shadow' of smoke' [CAD § 189], Arab *zull-* 'ombre' [BK II 136], Ug *ʒl* 'Schatten', *mǰll* 'Bedachung, Haus' [Ais 271], Hbr *šel* 'shade' [KB], Syr *ʔallel* 'to cover, overshadow, shade', Aram (BA) *ʔelal* 'to have shade' [Zm, 276], Geez *ʃll* 'to shade', Sab *ʒll* 'kind of covering structure', etc., also passed to Cush, cf. Saho *šalal*, Bilin

čalāla 'shade', etc. [LsG 55, SD 172]; HECush Sid *čaale* 'shade'; SCush Dah *tilaali* 'shadow' [TD].

Note: 'shadow' > 'smoke' in C languages ~ 'shadow of smoke' in Akk.

[Fron 3.11, ДОНГ 113, HSED №503, CLD II №974].

Deriv. in *-m-*: *čVIVm- 'shade, black': W 2 Goem *sh'ilim* idf. 'very black' [Hlw]; 3 Krkr *čalum* 'shade, shadow' [GK]; C 2 Bura *cilim* (*ci* < *či-/či-, Chadic *či- > Bura *či-*) 'black soil used as a dye-stuff' [BIB]; 8 Bud *čilim* 'schwarz, dunkel', *či/ulum* 'schwarz', Afd *cólóm* [Tr], Glf *selem* 'black' [Luk]; 5 EDng *dy'ilimí* 'noir, sombre' [Dj].

Note that Nilo-Saharan Kanuri *selem* 'black' is an AA loan. On the other hand, CCh 8 Makari *silim*, Glf *selem* look like Kanuri loans, otherwise one would expect initial *š-* in Makari.

//Sem *čVIVm- (*fVIVm-) 'be dark, be black': Akk *šalāmu* (OA, OB) 'to become black, dark' [CAD § 70], Geez *šal(a)ma* 'grow dark, be black', Sab *žlm* 'black', Tgr *šalma*, Tna *šällämä* 'be dark', Amh, Gurage *čällämä*, Argobba *čelāma*, Cush agaw Bilin *čalama* < Sem [LsG 556], Arab *zalmāf-* 'sombre, obscure' [BK II 139], Soq *tlm* 'be dark' [LsS], Mhr *zalem* 'darkness' [JnM]; Omot *čalVm- 'black' < Amh *čällämä*; SCush Qwadza *tsalam-* 'green' [Eh 354].

[Cr №455; HSED №511 Sem+CC; MSem №8, CLD III №974].

121. *č/*čVIm- 'to love, to want; любить, хотеть': W 3 Krkr *čamō* '(be)loved' [GK]; 4 *ča(w)m-: Miya *čam* 'like, love, want' [SchM], Kariya *čam*, Mburku *čamw-*, Tsagu *čoom* 'to like, desire, love' [SkNb]; C 1 Tera *čimi* 'wish, want' [SkNB]; E 5b Mubi *ʔč̣em* [*dyem*] (*dy* < Ch *č) 'wollen, to want' [Luk].

Derived noun: E 2 Kaba *čəm-kamə* (*kam* 'water'), Nch *čəm-ka* 'thirst' [HmK], W 4 Miya *čamakə* 'love'.

//Sem Akk *šamû* (OB) 'to be thirsty, cause the thirst for smth' [CAD 95], Ug *žm?* [Ays], Geez *šam?*, Sab *žm?*, Mehry *žayme*, Hbr *šāme?* 'be thirsty' [LsG 557], Arab *žmy* 'avoir soif, avoir soif de qqch, désirer' [BK II 142], [CLD III №980].

122. C *čVIm- 'to gather (articles), to collect (taxes); собирать': 2 Bura *cima* 'taxes', *cima* 'gather taxes; gather articles from each person' [Ann]; 3 FK *cóm* 'gather, collect' [BINd]; 4 Gude *cəəmə* 'gather many things in one place'; 6 Daba *čām* 'ramasser, prendre l'un après l'autre' [Lnhf]; 7

Mafa *cám-* 'entasser', Vame *cəma* 'collect' [KinV].

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): C 2 Bura *cim-ta* 'to gather up articles' [BIB]. Note Bura *ci-* < Ch **čǐ-*.

//Sem Arab *nzm* 'unir, joindre une chose à un autre' [BK II 1290]. Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Arabic. Cf. №102 **čVm-* 'to join, to gather people'.

123. **čVm-* 'to be privileged': W 4 Wrj *čimai* 'privilege' [BIS]; 3 Krkr *čiiṁa* 'one who receives guest in a court' [GK]; C 3 FK *cəmə* 'first born child' [BINd]; 7a Skn *čaama* 'emissary (of chief)'; E 3 Tum *sam* 'richesse'.

//Sem Arab *ʕzm* II stem 'honorer qqn, regarder comme grand, respecter', *ʕazam-at-* 'grandeur (de Dieu)' [BK II 293], Ug *ʕzm* 'gross, viel' [Ais 240]. Root extension (*ʕ* as C₁) in Semitic.

124. **čVn-* 'to understand, to explain, to hear; понимать, знать, слышать': W 2 Ngas *čan* 'to interpret, to remind' [Fl]; C 5-5a Pod *cəna* [tsəna] 'to hear, understand, obey; sentir', Mlg *čina* 'hear, hören, fühlen', Glv *čing* 'to hear, to listen, to obey, to feel', Wnd *čən-a*, Gdf *čina-čina*, Dghw *čine*, *činiṁi*, Ngweshe *čene* 'hear' [Jglb], Gvoko *čine*, Gdf *cna*, Gava, Cnn *cəna* 'hear, listen' [HmG]; 6 Buwal *cacun* [tsatsun] 'notice'; 7 Chv *mě-čněy* 'entendre', Mafa *cən-* 'listen, understand', Ould *činėṁ* [tsineṁ] 'comprendre, entendre', Dugwor *měčinėy* 'to hear', Moloko *cenay* [tsenay] (note *ts-* before *-e-*) 'understand', Mada *čceṁ* [eceṁ] 'entendre, comprendre, to hear, to understand', Gis *can*, *čin* 'to hear', Mofu *-čən-* (often used a Caus. *čənd*) 'entendre, comprendre, écouter; obeir', Balda *čin* 'hear' [TrBl].

Derived noun: W 2 Mushere *čiin* 'discussion, plan' [JgO].

//Sem Arab *znn* 'croire, juger, penser, supposer' [BK II 142], Hars *zen* 'to think', Mhr *znn* 'to imagine', *zán*, Jib *zan* 'thought' [JnM]; Omot Wolt *c'inc'* - (partial redupl.) 'to be clever' [LmW 332].

[CLD III №986].

125. **čVr-* 'to pour into; наливать, вливать': W 3 Kupto *čaaréy* 'to filter, to strain' [LgK]; C 2 Bura *čurr* 'sound of water pouring into a vessel' idf. [BIB]; 4 Gude *čirə* 'pour into (vessel, hole)'; 5 Pod *čira* [cira] 'jaillir'; 6 (partial redupl.), Buwal *čěčēr* [tʃ] 'pour a little'; 7 (partial redupl.) Chv *mě-čěčěreṁy* 'gicler', Mofu *-čăčăr-* 'deborder, couler, verser, remplir a ras bord, Mefele (dial.) *-čire*, *-acəriya* 'to pour', cf. Muy *čürür* 'flowing' idf.; E 1 Kera *čééré* '(Trankopfer) vergiessen'; 3 Lele *čār* 'transvaser'.

Deriv. in *-č-*: W 3 Krkr *čir-du* 'spit in a stream' [GK].

Deriv. in *-g-*: E 5a Bid *dʸirāg* 'distiller, filtrer', EDng *dʸirgċ* 'giessen langsam, verser doucement (de l'eau sur les mains)' [Ebb].

//Sem Arab *zry* 'couler (eau)' [BK II 133]. Note Omot Bench *c'ar* [čar] 'waterfall' (hardly cognate with Omot Wolt *c'ariya*, Gamu, Dac'e *c'are* 'swamp', as suggested in [LmW 332-3]).

*d

126. ***dV(w)- > *dV(w)-dV(w)- 'small hut, enclosure; небольшая постройка'**: W 3 Krkr *dūwoo* 'an enclosure made of stalks at a doorway'; C 4 Gude *dōwā* 'husband's hut in compound'; 6 Gavar *dəw* 'case d'entrée' [VGv 9]; 7 Gis *dawdawa, dedewe* 'Rinderhüter', E 4 Sok *dēdi* 'Schattenhalle' [Luk].

//Sem Geez *dede* 'door, courtyard, vestibule' [LsG123].

a. ***da(w)h- 'house, compound, village'**: W 6 Ngz *dāa* 'town'; C 7 Mbuko *dōh* 'maison', Vame *adaw* 'case' [Kin], Baka *n-da* 'house' [YB]; E 4 Mawa *da* 'maison, concession', Sok *daa* 'Haus', Saba *da* 'village', Ubi *da* 'maison'.

The word for 'compound' looks like a frozen pl. of 'hut'. For a similar model (internal *-a-* + suff. *-h-*) see, for example: C 7a Skn *ndu* 'person' > *ndahay* 'people'.

127. ***dVHVw- > dVw- 'to put/sit down; опустить(ся)'**: W 2 Goem *dūu* 'put down, place' (hardly relates to WCh 2 'pour out' as suggested in TAS 93), pl. *dəyē* (< *dVk-, with internal *-k-* pl.) 'setzen, stellen, legen'; 3 Bol *dōwu* 'sit down, dwell, sit' [GAB], Ngm (G) *dēi-kō*, (Y) *dēi-kō* 'sit (down), stay, dwell' [NEH]; 5 Grnt *daa* 'sit down' [Jag]; 6 Ngz *dāawú* 'to put, place', Duw *dā* 'down, on the ground'; C 2 cf. Chb *dii* 'fallen' [HfM 133]; 4 Gude *dəhə* 'carefully set down (container)'.

//Sem Arab *wdʕ* 'put down' [BK II 1509]. For semantics 'to stay, dwell, live' in WCh 3, 5 see also: Omot (Extended) Wolt, North West Omoto **deʔ-* 'live, dwell' [BndO 143].

Consider a possible "root variant":

a. ***dVw- 'to put; класть'**: W 4 Miya *daw* (*doo*) 'get down descend, fall (rain)', *day* 'to place' [SchM]; E 4 Saba *dəwe* 'lie down', Mawa *duug* 'poser, mettre', E 5a Mig *dūwāw* 'déposer', Bid *dūu* 'poser, mettre',

EDng *dúuwē* 'poser, mettre' [Dj], WDng *díyè* 'mettre, poser, une seule chose'; 5b Brg *dúwí* 'mettre' [JgB].

//Eg *wdy* (OK) 'put, place, lay, throw' [EG I 384], Geez *wadaya* 'to put (in, on, under), add, place, throw', Hbr *ydy* (qal) 'shoot arrows', (piel) 'to throw', Tgr *wáda* 'put, make' [LsG 605].

Note promotion of *w* from C₁ to C₂ in Chadic languages.

[AA 4 №310 Sem+Eg; EDE I 241].

128. *dVH- > *dV- 'to call, to cry; звать, кричать': C 5 Mlg *dá* 'nennen, rufen', Glv *da* 'call, cry aloud'; 7 Zlg *dé* 'résonner'; 8 Makari *dí* 'to greet'; 10 Dari *dīē* (< *diHe) 'appeler, inviter'; E 4 Mawa *dīij* 'parler, dire'.

Derived noun ***d[aj]w/y-** 'voice, shout': W 2 Mghv *dóó* 'Stimme' [JgS], Ngas *doo* 'noise, shouting sound' [Fl]; 7 Fyer *dóó* 'Stimme' (an isolated gloss within the ron gr., likely, a loan fom W 2); C 7 Muy *dwi* 'crying'. Cf. C 7 Chv *madáy* 'parole'.

//Sem Arab *dʕw* 'crier, appeler qqn' [BK I 704], Hbr *dāʕā* 'to ask, desire' [Zm 175], Sab *dʕt* 'call, proclamation' [Bl], according to [SD 35], *dʕt* 'announcement, proclamation' follows Sem **ydʕ* 'to know'; Cush Saho *deeʕe* 'call' [Vr], Afar *daʕ* '(an)rufen, bitten, beten' [RA].

Note a possible "root variant" with a weak external parallel:

a. *day- 'to speak': W 3 Dera *dái* 'to greet (in the morning)'; 4 (derivative in *n*- pl.) Mburku *nd-*, Diri *nda*, Miya *and-* 'say, speak, tell'; C 7 Ould *ndawa-* 'ask' [KTr 20]; 10 Gizey, Masa, Mus *dí*, Ham, Lew, Marba *dè* 'dire, parler' [LexC]; 6 Mok *dè* 'dire'.

//Cush Bed *dí* 'sagen, nennen' (defect.v.) [RBd].

[AA №313, HSED №696].

129. *dVHw/y- (metath. < *wVHD-) 'one, thing; один, вещь': W Hs *dáyaa*, Gwandara *da* [Jglb] 'one'; 2 Ngas *da-ni* 'one' [Fl]; 7 Fyer *dáa* 'Sache'; 3 cf. Krkr *wadí* 'one' (probably, a loan from Nigerian Arabic); C 1 Tera *dá* 'one' [NmT]; 7 Muy *dáy* 'first'; 9 Msg *dai* 'eins, ein' [LkM]; 7a Skn *da, dey* 'thing'; 8 Afd *dí* 'Sache', Bud *dí, dii* 'Ding, Sache [Sol №77]; 9 Mbara *dów* 'one', Mnj *day* 'un (en comptant), in counting'; 10 Dari *dāw* [Jglb], Dzpw *dáó* 'une, unique', Ham, Musey *dew* 'one' [LexC]; E 1 Kera *day* 'une fois'. Cf. W 3 Tng *do-k*, 7 Bok *ʔánde-k* 'one'. [Jglb dk].

CCCh 4 Nzn *hido*, Bata *hido*, *yido*, Bch *hidó* 'one' are Arabic loans.

Note that ***dVw/y-** (reduced to *-d-*) appears as a suf. of numerals (***kVn-d-**

'three', *fVd-d- 'four', Mafa *sta-d-*, Mofu *tċ-d-* 'one') and as a sing. marker (Mafa *pċrā-d-* 'flat stone', pl. *mpār-pār*). For more examples see [St 137].

//Sem *wĥd 'single, the only one': Arab *wĥd* 'être seul, unique', *wāĥid-* 'one' [BK II 1497], Akk *wĕdu* 'only, alone, single', Geez *wĥd* 'make one' [LsG 609, MSem №63].

130. *dVb(Vʔ)- 'to pour; лить': W 2 Goem *dap* 'to pour' [TAS 65]; C 5 Pod *daba* 'mouiller, saturer'; 7 Muy *éndĕbĕy* 'to fall in drops'; 10 Dzpw *dĕbāʔ* 'gicler', Dari *dĕba* 'jaillir avec force; E 1 Mobu *ádĕbé* 'cracher' [Lns]; 4 Mawa *dibij* 'verser (pour remplir ou pour vider); se noyer'.

Cf. C 6 Daba *dĕba-viya* 'rainy season' [Lnhf].

Deriv. *(n)-dVb- 'to moisten, to water animals, to drink; мочить, поить, пить': W 6 Duw *dĕbūwo*, Bade *dĕbu*, Ngz *dĕbū* 'to water animals, irrigate garden'; C 3 Bana *ndĭbĕ* 'to moisten by rain' [BINd]; 4 Gude *ndĕbĕ* 'drink in one draft or long swallow'; 5 Pod *ndaba* 'mouiller'; 9 Mulwi *dĭibi* 'mouiller', Mnj *diybi* (< *diHbi) 'mouiller'.

//Eg *n-db* 'to drink, dby-t 'Getränk' [EG II 435], cf. Sem Arab *ndb* 'pleurer un mort' [BK II 1224], Omot Ari *doob-*, Hamer *dub-* 'rain', Hamer *dob-*, Dime *decb-* 'to rain' [BndA 156], ECush Burji *dib-* 'pour out' [SsB], Rend *dibha* 'to drip' [PG].

Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Arabic, Egyptian and Chadic languages.

Note W 3 Ngm (G) *dūbā*, (Y) *dūba* (< *dHb) 'filter, pour water off' ~ Sem Arab *dʕb* 'couler (se dit des liquids)' [BK I 698].

[AA 4 №255].

131. *dab- 'shelter > granary; навес, амбар': W 1 Hs *dābi* 'a thatched roof resting on poles; a hunter's covered platform'; 3 Dera *dābā/dāwā*, pl. *dābīn* 'granary'; C 4 Gude *dĕbwā* 'granary'; 6 Daba *dĕbīn* 'le grenier' [Lnhf]; 5 Pod *dāba* 'plafond du grenier'; 8 Makari *daba* 'shelter'; E 2 Lele *dābadābā* 'hangar, abri'; 6 Mok *dāabē* 'hangar, abri'.

Deried verb (with a causative suff.?): W 6 Ngz *dĕbsú* 'to hide', Bade *dĕpsu* 'to hide'.

//Sem Geez *dabāb* 'large umbrella, small roof', *tadbād* 'umbrella, roof, covered pavilion', Tgr,Tna, Amh *dĕbab* 'umbrella', Gurage (Zway) *dĕʔbab* 'give shade', Cush Bilin *dābbā* 'roof' [LsG 119]. ECush Oromo *dibaabce* 'umbrella' [Grg] (a loan from Ethiosemitic).

132. ***dVb/ḡ-** '(building) clay; (строительная) глина: W 3 Bure *dubbīyē*; Krf *dobbu* 'clay', *kotin dobbu* (*koti* 'pot') 'pottery' [Stl; C 1 Tera *dābā*, pl. *dābtə* 'mud (for building)' [NmT]; 6 Mbedam *dəbe* 'argile de poterie' [NdM]; 7a Skn *dəb* 'black riverain clay'; 8 Makari *dabi* mud'; E 3 Ndam *dabʒa* 'boue' [Brs]; 5a Mig *dīiba* 'argile'.

Deriv.: W 2 Goem *məddəp* 'large water pot' [Kr]; 3 Bol *dobbo* 'small pot'; C 7a Skn *dəba* 't of pot'; 7 Chv *gān-dāb* 'bol en argile'.

Deriv.: C ***dVb/ḡ-r-** 'clay bed': 6 Buwal *dəbēbēr* 'clay bed'; 7 Mada *dābā* 'banquet, lit (en argile)', 7a Skn *dabara* 'bench, raised, of mud', *dābar* 'bench, daub'. Note variants with *ḡ* and *b* in C 7 Sakun.

Cf. W 1 Hs *kāa-dābā* 'place where pottery is fired' (Locative).

Derived verb (marked by emphatization of medial *-b-*): W 3 Dera *dūbī* 'to mix into paste'; C 5 Pod *ndūbāba* idf. 'continuer à construire pendant que l'argile déjà mise est encore molle'; 7 Muy *āndub* 'make sticky' > *āndūb* 'sticky'.

//Sem Geez *madaba* 'build a wall of stones or bricks', Tgr,Tny *mādāb* 'raised part of the floor for sitting, sleeping', Gur *mādāb*, Argoba *nādāb* 'sleeping place made of masonry', Harari *nādāba* 'raised seat', Amh *mādāb* 'stall for merchandise, bench of stones and mud built against the inside wall of the house' > Cush Kamb, Alaba, Had *mādāba* 'Schlafstätte aus getrocknetem Schlamm', Oromo *madabī* [LsG 329]. Omotic Yemsa *madabiya* 'Schlafstätte, Cush Saho *madab* 'Schlafstätte aus Erde', etc. [LmS] are also loans. Root extension (*m-* as C₁) in Ethiosemitic.

133. ***d[u]b-** '(lower) back; спина': W 2 Mghy *tup* (< **dub#*) 'tail' [JGS]; 3 Krkr *dībi* 'lower back' [GK]; C 3 Bana *dabādəvə* 'dos de la main' (*dəvə* 'main'); 6 Gavar *dəba* 'dos' [VGV 2]; 7 Chv *dəbā* 'derrière', *dəbā tā wudēž* 'bark of a tree', Mafa *dəba* 'dos, derrière', *dəb-waf* 'bark (of a tree)' (*waf* 'tree'), Gis *duba*, *dəba* 'Rücken' *dəbaŋ* 'hinten', Ould *dəbā*, Mofu *dəbā*, *dəbā* 'dos, derrière', Mefele **dəba* (cf. dial. *dəba-tada*, *dəb-waf* 'bark'), Zlg *dəba*, Merey *dəbā*, Mbuko *dəbā*; 9 Mnj *dibe* 'dos', *dəba* 'derrière' (prép.), 9a Gidar *dūbo* 'back' [Mo]; 10 Dari *dūb* 'dos', Dzpw *dūbū* 'dos'. Unexplainable *-ḡ-* in CCh. One wonders whether *-ḡ-* could go back to Ch **-bb-*. [JgIb dḡ].

//PECush **dab-/dib-/dub-* 'tail, back, behind': Som *dabo* 'tail, buttocks, behind', Burji *dubba-kka* 'younger brother' = 'he who is behind', Rend *dub*,

Boni *tib*, Bayso *deb-c*, Elmolo *dup ~ tup* 'tail', Oromo *dub-a, duub-a* 'back, behind', Konso *tup-a* 'behind', *tupp-aa* 'upper back', Dullay *tup* [SsB 57]. Cf. also Darasa *duba* 'tail of a sheep'.

Note that common origin of Ch-Cush **dVb-* and Sem **dbr* 'follow; back' (as postulated in Gr 52, Coh №154, ИС 1.36, АА №251) needs a proof.

Derived verb (marked by emphatization of voiced plosive): ***dVb- 'to follow; следовать за'**: C 5 Pod *dabá* 'follow, accompany', Glv *dab* 'follow'; 7 Baka *mádəbələy* 'suivre' [BAS], Muy *ádəbay* 'follow'.

//Omot Kaffa *dab(b)* 'to follow'. [HSED № 731].

134. *dVb- (> dəv-/ziv-) 'hand': C 2 Mrg *mā-ndabá* 'palm; slap with the palm' [HfM 48]; 3 Bana *dəvə* 'main', *divdiv(ə)* 'mains', Kap *zivə* [Kr], *zivə* [BH], Higi Wula *daba* 'hand' [Meek]; 4 Holma (bata gr.) *dabadaban*, Jimj (=Jimi, Zumo) *dabadaba* 'palm' [Meek]; 5-5a Glv *dəva* 'hand, arm, branch', Mlg *ərva* 'hand', Chn, Chk *dva* [Kim], Dghw *dəvə*, Gdf *dəva*, Wand *darva, úrva, ərva* (<*da-dva < *t-dba) [Jglb], *érva* 'Hand' [Luk 119], Dghw, Gdf, Gava, Cin *dəva* 'arm' [HmG], Hdi *zəvu* [BrH], Hitk *zəva* [Luk], Lmn *zəva, papa xa zəvu* (< *zəva* < *dəva*) [Jglb] 'hand'; 6 Mikiri *daba-ži-láy* (*lay* 'arm') 'hand'. Cf. W 5 Dyarim *dwabó* 'leaf' [BID]. For a possible cognate cf. also E 5b Mubi *dubá* 'louche (en calebasse)' [JgL]. Deriv.: W 1 Hs *dábó* 'conjuring, sleight of hand' (> Krkr *dabó*).

Derived verb: ***dVb/*dVb-/*dVbb- 'to take by hand, to hand; взять'**: W 1 Hs *díba* 'take out several things or portion from bulk (incl. water); pluck, gather'; 2 Ngas *dáp* 'to hold' [Kr]; 3 Krkr *díbu* 'hand over, extend' [GK]; 5 Geji *dobi* 'seize'; C 7 Ould *-ndáb-* 'attraper'; 7a Skn *dədava* 'remove, take out'; E 5a EDng *dubbiyē* 'attraper fortement qqn (avec la main)' [Dj]. In this and similar cases a derived verb is marked by emphatization of initial voiced plosive, or by reduplication.

//ECush Rend *diiba* 'hand over' [PG], Som *daab(-ka)* 'handle, daab 'make a handle, put a handle on [LIS], Bed *dábi* 'handle' [RBd], SCush Dah *dába* 'hand, paw', *daba pañ* 'clap hands' [TD], rift **daba* 'hand, arm': Irq *dawa* 'arm', *dabee* pl., Gor *dawa*, Bur, Alg *daba* 'hand, arm' [Eh 162, Kies], Omot **dVb-*: Kaffa *dibbo* 'hand', Ari *dib-*, Dime *dib-* 'steal' [BndA 261, 351], [Долл 227 **[d]Vb[?]*- 'hand', Jglb *dbr*].

135. *dib/b- 'termite, ant-hill; термит(ник)': W 4 Siri *dəbə-təmi*, Mburku *dibu*, Jmb *duba* 'termite' [SKNB]; C 6 Buwal *dibe* 'termite hill', 7 Mada

dba 'k of termite (big)', Merey *dəmbè* 'fourmilière', Mbuko *dəmbó* (note old internal pl. in *-N-*, for similar cases see [StP]) 'termite, termitière'; E 5a Mig *díiba* 'termitière'; 6 Mok *díbé* 'termite, termitière'.

Cf. also forms with irregular medial labials *-p/-f-*: W 4 Miya, Kaiya *dupu* 'termite' [SkNB]; C 4 Gude *dadafa* 'type of termite (white)'.

//Sem Arab *duʿbūb-* (coll.), *duʿāba-at-* 'fourmis noires' [BK I 699]. Note the following correlation: Sem **CVHb-* ~ Ch **CV6-*.

136. *dac-/*ndVc- 'to plug (a hole); затыкать': W 6 Duw *dāaso*, Bade, Ngz *dāasú* 'stop up, plug'; 7 DB *ⁿdus* 'schliessen (Loch)' [JgR]; C 7 Mafa *ndac-* 'coincer (dans une ouverture)', Mbuko *ndasay* 'boucher un trou, couvrir'.

Cf. W 1 Hs *dācaa* 'block a road; hold up a flow of water', (derived noun) *dāciyāa* 'k of fish-dam; any cutting of flow of water'.

//Sem Arab *dsʿ* 'fermer, boucher le trou de la tanière d'un bête' [BK I 696].

137. *dVg- 'to beat, pound, kill; бить, толочь, убивать': W 6 Ngz *da-dgú* 'beat, thrash, castrate animal by pounding cords of testicles'; C 2 Klb *dəgá* 'beat' [MuK 49]; 4 Gude *dəgə* 'hit, strike'; 5a Hdi *dəgay* 'beat, thrash' [Egg]; 9 Mulwi *dídigi* 'damer'; E 1 Kera *dəgé* 'stampfen, pound'; E 4 Saba *dege* 'kill', Ubi *dage* 'tuer'.

Derived noun: W 4 Wrj *daži-na* (< **dagi-na*) 'mortar' [BIW].

a. Deriv. in *-r-*: W 6 Ngz *dəgagəru* 'pound (dirt floor) to harden', Bade *dəgá-gəru* 'press down, compress', derived noun: Duw *dəgaagəru* 'pounded floor';

b. Deriv. (marked by gemination) ***dVgg-** 'to smith; ковать': W 3 Krf *doggéy* 'to smith' [Stl]; E5b Mubi *dóggà* 'schmieden', *mí-dígò*, (derived noun in *m-*) 'Schmied' [LkM].

c. Deriv. (marked by emphatization of the root-initial³⁹, alternatively, < **dHg*): ***dag-** 'to thrash, strike repeatedly; молотить, колотить': C 5a Hdi *dəgay* 'to repeatedly thrash grain' [BrH]; 5 Pod *dəgá* 'battere, taper'; 8 Makari *dagi* 'thresh'; E 5a Bid *dúug* 'moudre pour la seconde fois la farine de mil'.

//Sem Arab (Dat) *dagg* 'grind to a powder', Tgr *dəgdəga* 'crush under foot', Tna *dəgdəgá* 'trample', Gur *dəgədəgá* 'squeeze' [LsG 125], Berb Maroco dial. *degdeg* 'broyer, écraser, concaser, briser', Qab *ddegdeg* 'se casser en

³⁹ Note CCh 5a Hdi *dəgay* 'to beat, to thrash', but *dəgay* 'to repeatedly thrash grain'.

petits moceaux', Ahg *degdeg* 'casser, briser', Wlm, Ayr *dagdag*, Ghat *degdeg* 'écraser' [NZ 301-2], Eg *dgdg* (20) 'zertreten (Feinde)' [EG V 501]. [Jglb **dg*, AA №277 Ch Ngizim, Kera, Mubi].

138. **dVgVn-* > **dVgg*, metath. 'bow; лук': W 3 Pero *dūngā* 'bow', Dera *dūngó* 'boomerang', Bol *dūngu* 'corner' [GAB]; C 8 Log *dàngò* 'bow' [Jglb]; 10 Masa *dīndīna* [Mo], Dzpw *dógrōŋ* [Jglb], Banana Muscy *dəŋ-ɔŋa* [Kr] 'bow'; E 5b Mubi *dīngá* 'Bogen' [Luk].

a. **dVgg* < **dVgVn-*, metath. 'to bend; сгибаться': W 3 Bol *dōngīnu* 'bend over with buttocks in the air' [GAB], Pero *dūngò* 'to stoop'; C 2 Bura *denga* 'to bend or make curved', *deng-denga* 'bent, curved', *ma-danggo* 'bow-legged' [Ann]; 7 Mada *ádngā-d* 'être penché, incliné'; 10 Muscy *deŋga* 'appuyer contre' [ShyM].

//Sem Geez *dagān*, *dogān*, *digān* 'curved, bent, turned the wrong way; a bow', Ethioseme.: Amh, Gurage (Masqan, Gogot, Soddo, Zwai) *dāgan* 'cardung bow', Harari *dāgān* 'carding bow', (tā)doogāna 'be bent', Cush: Som *degan*, Aungi *dagān*, Sid, Darassa *digāna* 'carding bow' [LsG 126, LGur 202], Sid *dugunūn-* 'bend over', *doga* 'bow' [Hds].

[StH №V.1].

139. **dVg-(r)*- 'catfish, *Clarias lazera*' (i.e., 'big fish'); (большая) рыба': W 3 Bol *dobān-dogu* 'catfish' [GAB]; C 8 Makari *duguru* 'fish sp.'; 10 Dari *dūgūwā* 'fish *Clarias lazera*'; E 1 Kera *dōgróy* 'k of fish'; 3 Tum *dōō* < **dogo* 'fish' (gen.n.).

//Sem Ug *dg* 'Fische' (Koll.), *dgy* 'Fischer', Hbr *dāg* МНб 'large fish' [Ais 75]. Note narrow semantics 'big fish' in Chadic and Semitic.

140. **d[a]k-* 'to thrash, pound, press; молотить, толочь, давить': W 1 Hs *dākā* 'pound in mortar'; 3 Bol *daku* 'pound in mortar' [GAB], Kupto *dākéy* 'to pound' [LgK], Krf *dākéy* 'pound, stamp' [Stl]; 4 Wrj *dakama* 'pound it' [BIS]; C 2 Bura *dōkà* 'to beat', *dika*, *diga* 'to pound with a club, esp. to thresh guinea corn' [BIB]; 6 Buwal *dāk* 'trample', Daba *dak* '(com)presser' [Lnhf], Mbedam *dak* 'pietiner', *má-dāk* 'bien damé' [NdP]; 7 Mada *ddak* (< **ɔaddak*) 'bien tassé'; 10 Giz *dək*, Masa *dāk* 'damer', Gizey *dək* 'aplanir (égaliser)' [LexC].

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 3 Ngm (Y) *dākà-tô* 'pound in mortar' [NEH].

Deriv. in *n-* (indicates plurac.): C 6 Daba *n-dək* 'presser' [Lnhf].

a. **dukʷ-* (< **dwk-*): 'to strike, thresh, pound; бить, толочь': W 1 Hs

dookaa 'strike person, animal or thing'; 3 Dera *dušc̣* 'to pound' (< **duke*), Tng *tuge* (*t-* < **d-* and *-g-* < **-k-* are regular) 'to pound, to thrash, to thresh'; 7 Monguna *dúk* 'pound, thresh', Karfa *dúk* 'thresh' [RC]; C 7 Ould *-dúk^w* 'frapper'. Cf. C 5 Pod *dəkə* idf. 'se taper la nuque'.

Deriv. in *n-* (plurac.): C 3 Bana *n-dək^wə* 'piler'.

Derived noun: W 7 Ngz *dúuku* 'drummer'.

Derived noun in *?a-*: C 7 Muy *ádúk^w* 'wooden hammer, club'.

//Sem Akk *dakāku* 'to crush' (jB), *madāku* 'a mortar' [CAD 45], Arab *dkk* 'concasser, piler, broyeur, batre', *dwk* 'broyer' [BK I 718, 750], Ug *dk* 'zermalmen', Aram *dkk* [Ais 77], Hbr *dwk, dkk, dk?* 'zerschagen, zermalmen, crush, smash, stamp' [KB 209, 497], Aram (Jud) *dwk* 'to pound', (Syr) *dkk, dwk* 'to press, to squeeze' [apud AA, IV, №271], Syr *m^c-daktā* 'mortar', Aram *dakkēk* 'to crush' [Zm 176], Soq *ʔédēk* 'battre' [LsS 53], ECush Oromo *daaka* 'grind', *daakuu* 'flour' [Grg].

Semitic and Chadic languages show reflexes of AA **dkk* and **dwk* (the latter > Ch **dV^wk-*).

[Jglb **dwk* 'beat', AA №271 Sem + Ch Hs, Bol, Tng; HSED №633].

141. W **dV^wVk-* > **duk^w*- 'to kill, to beat; убивать, бить': 2 Grk *tok* 'to kill' [Fp]; 3 Tng *tuge* (*t-* < **d-* and *-g-* < **-k-* are regular) 'to kill (many)', Ngm *dukô* (G), *dukkô* (Y) [NEH], Krf *duy^w*- (regular reflex of **-k^w-*) [St], Dera *dúwi* (< *duhi* < **duki*) 'to kill', Gera *duu* [SchB], Bol *duw-* [LkB], Krkr *dúk^wu* 'beat, kill' [GK], Maka *dúkaáyò* 'kill' [SvM]; 7 Richa *duk* 'schlagen', Sha *duk* 'schlagen, töten' [JgR], Sha *dukáy háyí*, Mundat *dúkay háyí* (= 'strike head') 'kill', Monguna *dúk* 'beat' (gen.) [RC].

//Sem Akk *dāku, duāku* (from OA, OB on) 'to kill (a person or an animal), to murder' [CAD d 35].

Regular correlation: *medial waw* in Semitic ~ labialized velar in Chadic. Note that WCh 3 **dV^wk-* can not be cognate with Sem **dqq* and Eg **dḳ.w* (as proposed in [EDE I 245]). Voiceless emphatic consonants provoke secondary emphatization of voiced plosives in Chadic languages (see №142).

[AA IV №272].

142. **dV^wk-* (> *dV^wk-*) 'to pound; толочь': W 1 cf. Hs *dán-daḳaa* 'pound thing on log, stone'; 5 Pol *dók* 'pound' [Cs]; 6 Ngz *dəku* 'thresh chaff from grain by pounding in mortar or on ground'; 7 Mangar *dúk* 'pound, stamp,

beat' (gen.) [RC]; C 10 Dari *dúk* 'to pound' (cf. *dāk-təm* 'flour, powder'); E 4 Mawa *dúkuy* 'frapper (une personne), battre (mil)' > *dukuy* 'aire de battage', Ubi *dòkin* 'frapper'; 5a Bid *dòok* 'battre, frapper' [JgB], *dòka* [HJ]. Deriv. in *-t-*: W 5 Dott *dúk-ti*, Geji *čok-ti* 'thresh' [Cs].

Derived noun in *m-*: C 10 Gisey, Masa, Ham *mú-dák*, Mus *mú-dák* Marba *ʔambi-dák*, Lew *ʔambi-dák* 'aire de battage' [LexC].

Note that Ch ***dVḲ-** keeps as such in Hausa. In all other Ch languages reflexes of **k* and **k* have fallen together as *k*, after that *dVḲ-* > *dVḱ-*.

//Sem Arab *dqq* 'être fin, pile, broyé fin; (con)casser, batter, frapper', II 'broyer [BK I 715], Akk, Hbr, Aram *dqq* 'klopfen' [Ais 81], Mhr *dqq* 'pound', ECush Arb *dekkat* 'grindstone' [Hay], Som *alidaqiiq* 'powder, flour, *duqec* 'to pound' [LIS], Berb Qab *duqq-* 'strike, pound'; SCush Dah *d'uk'* 'to be broken' [TD], Eg *dk.w* (Med) 'Pulver, Mehl' [EG V 494]. Cf. [Coh №326; HSED №635 Ch Hausa, Ngizim].

143. *dVI- 'to love, need; любить, желать': W 3 Krkr *ndàló-*, Bol *ndólú-* (deriv. in *n-*), Krf *dálú-* 'to want, love, like' [SchV], Maka *déli* 'to love', *délaayo* 'to desire' [SvM], Bure *dal-* 'want, need, love'; C 8 Makari *dal* 'need (for food)'.

Derived adj.: E 4 Mawa *dalul* 'sage, bon(gentil)'; 6 Mok *dálul* 'gentillesse, douceur'.

Derived noun W 2 Goem *dwalam* 'covetousness' (hardly < **dwām* 'desire', as suggested in [EDE I 79]). Cf. also W 1 Hs *dóole* 'necessarily'.

//Sem Geez *dalaya* 'wish, want', Tna *däläyä* 'wish, desire', Tgr *däla* 'care about' [LsG 132].

144. *dVwVI- 'young (boy, girl), small; девочка, мальчик; маленький, молодой': W 3 Bol *dóle* 'small' [Bn], Dera *dwal* 'small' [Nm], Krkr *dolle* 'small' (irregular reflex of Ch **d-*) [GB], Tng *dele* 'small, a younger brother, sister'; C 2 Bura *duwal* 'servant' [BlB]; 5 Wnd *dəwale* 'new' [Kr], Chn *dála-na* [Kim], Mlg *dāwale* 'young', Glv *dā(a)lá* 'new, young'; 6 Buwal *dālāy* 'maiden'; E 3 Ndam *daal* 'garçon, fils' [Brs]; 4 Mawa *dwal* 'jeune fille', Ubi *doolé* 'jeune femme'; 5b Jegu *daale*, pl. *muubán* 'Mädchen'.

//Sem **wld* 'to give birth' > 'boy, child', Akk *walād*, Hbr *yld*, Aram *yld*, Arab, Sab *wld*, Geez *walada* 'give birth', Arab *walad-*, Geez *wald* 'boy, child', etc. > Cush agaw Qwara *wälād* 'bear' [Fron 2.05 **-wld* 'partorire',

**wald-* ‘progenie’, LsG 613], PHECush **wadela*: Had *warad-iččo* ‘young man’, Sid *wedel-icco* ‘young (of animals), *wedella* ‘young man, woman’, Kamb *wadal-iccu* ‘young man’ [Hds], LECush Baiso *wɔdala* ‘young man’ [Долг 188], SCush Dah *déčela* ‘girl’ [TD].

Metathesis: *l-d > d-l* in Chadic is motivated by the law of “rising sonority” (note the same metathesis in ECushitic). Promotion of *w* from C_1 to C_2 in Chadic languages is regular. [HSED №2520 Sem+Cush].

145. **dVI-* ‘dam, wall, fence; дамба, ограда’: W 2 Ngas *dul* ‘a goat pen or sheep fold’ [FI]; C 2 Bura *dila* ‘a dam; to dam a stream’ [BIB]; 5 Pod *dálaha* ‘barrage contre l’eau qui coule dans les champs’; 7 Mada *dála* ‘fence’, Mbuko *dála-m* ‘mur’; 10 Musey *dala-na* ‘l’entrave, barrier’; E 3 Tum *dəlǝǝw* ‘clôture (en paille)’.

Derived verb (marked by empfatization of *d*): C 9 Mnj *dili* ‘barrer’.

//Eg *dny* (Lit MR) ‘abdammen (gegen das Wasser)’, *dny.t* ‘Damm’ [EG V 464-5], Akk *daltu* (OA, OB) ‘door’; *edēlu* ‘lock (door and gate)’ (OB), *edlu* ‘closure’ [CAD d 52], Ug *dl-t*, Phn *dlt*, Aram *dal-t-*, Hbr *dalt-* ‘door’ [AA №306]. Note ECush Burji *dall-a* ‘partition of the left wall of the house used for the preparation of beer’, Oromo *dall-ay-a*, Konso *tall-ay-a* ‘fence, partition’ [SsB 52].

[AA №306 Sem+Eg+ECh Tumak].

146. **dVI-* ‘(leather) loin-cloth; (кожаная) набедренная повязка’: W 1 Hs *dīlē* ‘tanned leather apron’; C 2 Bura *dili* ‘leather loin-cloth for rainy season’ [BIB]; 10 Dzpw *dul* ‘cache-sex’.

//Sem Geez *?adl* ‘garment, vestment (seems to be of leather)’, Akk *adīlu* ‘a garment for festivities’ [LsG 7].

147. **dVm-* ‘to sit, to live, to last; сидеть, жить, длиться’: W 5 Geji *dəm-ti*, Zul *dimi* ‘sit, live’ [Cs №№667, 679], Bogh *tam*, Grnt *dām* ‘sit’ [Smz], Zul *dəmi* ‘to sit’ [BIZ], Guus *dim* ‘remain’ [CrG]; 6 Duw *dāamo* ‘exist; have’; C 2 Bura *dam* ‘permanently or at least semi-permanently located’; 3 FK *dām-bākə* (compound) ‘sitting room’ [BINd]; 10 Masa *dām* ‘assis’ [CC]; E 2 Tob *žome* (*ž-* < **d^v-*) ‘habiter’; 3 Sib *dām* ‘habiter’ [JgSb], *dāma* ‘sitzen’ [Luk]; 5a Mig *dūmmò* ‘durer, passer beaucoup de temps’.

Derived noun: W 2 Goem *taam* ‘chair’ [Hlw].

Derived adv.: C 3 Bana *ndim-ndim* ‘souvent, toujours’.

//Sem Sab *dwm* 'lasting, permanent' [Bll 81], Arab *dwm* 'durer, continuer d'exister' [BK I 752], Akk *dadmū* (OB) 'the inhabited world' [CAD 18], Ug *dm* 'verbleiben', Hbr *dmm*, *dmy* 'to rest' [Ais 78], Mhr *dwm* 'to stay in one place' [JnM], cf. SCush rift Irq, Gor *daam* 'wait, expect' [Kies]: . [Jglb *dmn*, Jglb *dmn*, MC №336; AA №281 Sem+Berb; HSED №643].

148. *dVm- > t-dVm- > H/t-dVm- 'blood; кровь': W 'blood': 2 **toyom* (< **tokom*, internal -k⁴⁰ pl. < **tVm*, regular devoicing < **dVm-*), Grk *šyēm*, Mnt *šiyim* (< **tiyim* < **tVHVm*) [JgC], Kofyar *taḡam*, Tal *khyiēm* (< **kh-* < **tk-*, metath.) [TAS 368], Mghv *tṷōm* [JgS], Mushere *tekēm* [JgO], Ngas *toom*, Mpn *tōom*, Goem *tiem* [Fp]; 3 Krkr *dōonū*, Bol, Ngm *dōm*, Bele *dōm*, Tng *tom*, Krf *ndaamē*, Gera *ndōomā* [SchB], Maka *dōm* [SvM]; 4 cf. **tVm-* (possibly, < **x-dVm-*): Wrj *tən-na*, Paa *atən*, Kariya *tum*, Tsagu *tiiman* [SkNB]; 5 Duw *də-dōm*, Bade *tə-dōm*, Ngizim *dōdōm* (< **t-d-m*, *assim.*), C 1 Tera *tōm* (< **t-dVm-*) [NmT] 'blood'; 6 Daba *dām* 'la sang d'un mort' [Lnh], cf. E 5a EDng *dēemē* 'le sel rouge des arabes' [Dj].

Note also: C 7 Mbuko *dédédém* 'vert foncé'.

Derived verb (note empfatization of the root-initial): C 7 Mada *ádām* 'faire couler (une liquide, du sang)'.

//Sem **dam-*, **?a-dam-* 'blood': Akk *damu* (OA) 'blood', *adamatu*, *adanatu* (SB) 'black blood', Ug *dm*, Pun *dume*, Hbr *dām*, Aram Off *dm*, Sab *dm*, Arab *dam-*, Geez *dam*, Tgr, Tna, Amh *dām* 'blood' [SED I №47], Berb -*damm* 'blood' (pl. tantum) [NZ 338], Omot Kafa *dam-ō*, Moca *dammo* 'blood' [BlžO №9.4.]. Note Sem MSA Mhr *dōm*, Jib *dihm*, Soq *dīm* 'pus', according to [SED] "is not unquestionably related".

[Gr, Calice, Coh №335; AA №280; HSED №639, Jglb **dm*].

149. *dVm- *dHm- (> *dVm-) 'be dark, night; быть темным, ночь': W 3 Pero *dúmdúm* idf. 'complete darkness'; 6 Ngz *dámáa-kənəm* 'darkness of night or from storm clouds'; C 7 Muy *dədēmā* 'dark'; E 2 Kaba *dāmā* 'night' [Jglb]; 5b Mubi *dédém* [Luk], Kaj *ndon* (-n# < *-m#) 'night'.

//Sem Akk *duʔummu* (SB) 'dark' [CAD d203], ECushAfar *du'maa* 'Schatten, Finsterniss', Afar, Saho *dum* 'finster, dunkel werden' [RA], Oromo *dimim-misa* 'twilight' [Grg], cf. also Sid *dimma* 'darkness', Som *dum*-become night' in [ApAg 52]. Note: Chadic *d-* ~ Akkadian *d-ʔ*.

⁴⁰ For the same infix in W 2 nouns see №79c 'dew' and №576 'oil'. For internal -k- plural see [LgSt].

150. ***dVn-** 'strong, strength; **сильный, сила**': W 1 Hs *dándán* idf. 'firmness, solidity; 6 Duw *duuno* 'strength', Bade *dúunau* 'strong'; C 2 Bura *duna* 'strength, power' [BIB], Klb *dənamá* 'strong' [Hff] (also: Chb, Ngwahi *dina*, WMrg *duna* 'strength' [Kr]); 4 Gude *ndándaj* 'well, healthy'; 8 Kuseri *dunu*, Log *dónoo* 'strength' [LkL]; 9 Mbara *dóno* 'strength', Msg *ge-daj, ke-daj* 'strong' [LkM]; 10 Masa *dónó*, Ham *dónò*, Musey *?əj*, (< *?edəj*), Lew, Marba *?ádəj* 'force' [LexC]; E 3 Smr *dono* 'stark' [Luk]; 4 Barein (dial.) *dóonagu* 'strong' [LvB], Sok *dono* 'kräftig' [Luk].

//Sem Akk *danānu* (Bogh) 'strength, might, superiority; force, violence', v. 'to become strong', II stem (with reduplicated final radical) 'to become of even thickness', *dannu* 'solid, strong, hard, heavy, thick, massive' [CAD d 81 - 99], Ug *dn* 'mächtig' [Ais 80]. Note Eg *wdn* (Pyr) 'als König einsetzen' [EG V 389].

Contrary to [LsG 136] and [AA №300] we distinguish the present etymology from AA ***dVn-** 'heaviness, carry a load; press'.

Nilo-Saharan Kanuri *dúno, dəna* 'strength' is rather a Chadic loan.

[CT 137; HSED №729].

150a. ***dVn-** ***dVj-** (< ***dVn?**-) 'to bend; **гнуть(ся)**': W Mghv *dan* 'to bend, stoop' [BIM]; 3 Tng *duje* 'bend, kneel', Dera *dəji* 'to lean (one's body)'; 4 Paa *dā(n), dānúi, dāno* 'bend (bow)'; 5 (partial redupl.) Zaar *dan-dá* 'overturn' [Cr]; 6 Bade *dənu* 'stoop, bend down', Duw *dənan-ko* 'bend down'; C 4 Gude *ndənwu* 'lean smth against smth, lay head on smth', *ndijə* 'lean against smth'; E 3 Ndam *dujaa* 'courber, incliner' [Brs].

//Sem Geez *danana* 'stoop down, bow down', Eth *dnn* 'to incline, bend', Aram *dənā* 'be low, prostrate o.s.', Ug *dn-t* 'baseness', Te *dānna* 'incline, stoop, Tna *dānādā*, Amh *dānnānā* 'bend (over)' [LsG 138], Arab *dn?* 'avoir le dos voûté, être bossu' [BK I 737].

151. ***dVr-** 'to sing, dance: **петь, танцевать**': W 7 DB *dor*, Bok *ador* 'dance, song' (gen.), *mador* 'musician, singer'; C 6 Daba *dārā* 'danser, la danse' [Lnhf]; 10 Hede *nduru* 'to dance' [Shy]; E 3 Ndam *dar* 'chancon' [Brs], Tum *dər* 'chancon, chant', Smr *derii* 'Gesang' [Luk]. [Jglb **d-r* 'dance'].

Note C 6 Buwal *draf* 'song', Daba *dīrfī* 'le chant' [Lnhf].

//Sem Mhr *adōri* (*drw*) '(man) to dance (rather slowly)' [JnM]; ECush sam

**dûr* ‘play, sing’: Rend *dur*, Boni *tûr* [HnS], LEC Arboro *dur* ‘dance’, Elmolo *dur-* ‘sing’, Afar *adar-* ‘make a certain kind of dance’, Saho *adaar-* ‘make a certain kind of dance, sing a certain kind of song’ [LmW], Arboro *?ai-dure* ‘sing’ [SIL], Omot Wolt cluster **dur* ‘to dance’ [BndO 316]. According to [LmW 346], Wolt *dur-* ‘to dance’ is a loan < LECush **dVr-*

152. **n-dVr-* ‘to work, to build, to plait; работать, строить, плести’: W 4 Paa *ndər* ‘do, make’ [MS]; C 4 Gude *ndaarə* ‘do smō else’s job’; 5 Mlg *ndəra* ‘flechten’, Pod *ndara* ‘build, make’ Glv *ndar* ‘to make, build’, *ndər* ‘to build, to dig’, Gdf *à ndar-gà* ‘I built’ [KimG]; 7 Mofu *-ndər-* ‘tresser (natte)’, Gis *ndir* ‘bauen’, *ndar* ‘formen (Töpfen)’, Mbuko *ndar* ‘fabriquer avec la paille, Moloko, Baka *ndar* ‘tresser’ [BAS].

//Cush Bed *de?ir* ‘bauen, errichten ein Haus’ [RBd 56],], ECush Som *daar* ‘building house (of masonry as opposed to wattle or mats)’ [LIS], Eg *dry* (N) ‘Ausdruck beim Bauen, mit Bezug auf den Erdboden, Mauern und Säulen’ [EG V 475], Berb Izn, Ntifa *der* ‘tresser une cord’, Figig *der* ‘tricoter; tresser’, Siwa *der adri* ‘tresse de palmier’ [NZ 375].

Chadic languages show an extension in *n-* (presumably, a plurac. prefix). Semantic link between ‘to build’ and ‘to plait’ is typical of Ch languages.

153. **dVr-* ‘to dry up, dry; сушить, сухой’: W 3 Krkr *dīraa* ‘for water in a well to dry up’; C 6 Buwal *dār-ḥām* ‘desert’ (dry earth); 7 Muy *dūr-ḥūm* ‘hard earth’.

Deriv. in *n-*: W 3 Krf *ndéréy* ‘to dry up in the sun’ [Stl], cf. E 5 Bidiya *nderi-kwa* ‘viande séchée’ idf.

Deriv. in *-n-* ‘to stretch for drying’: E 5a WDng *dərnyè* ‘étendre au soleil (pour faire sécher)’, Mig *dīmyò* ‘sécher, étendre au soleil’.

Derived noun ****n-dVr-* ‘thirst; жажда’:** C 3 Bana *ndír*; 5 Pod *dəra* ‘soif’, Mlg *ndəra* ‘Durst, Ramaddan’; 5a Hdi *ndə?lə* (*-l-* < **-r-*) ‘thirst’, *ndala* ‘to be thirsty’ [Egg].

//ECush Som *dwr* ‘be dry, empty’ [LIS], Sem Geez *dār* ‘dry season’ [LsG 140].

154. **dVr-* ‘to sweep, to smear; сметать, смазывать’: W 3 Krkr *dāraa* ‘sweep’ [GK], Bol *dāraa* ‘hollow, scrape out’ [GAB]; C 2 Bura *diri* ‘to clean out with fingers food from gourd’ [Ann]; 10 Musey *duura* ‘plâtrer, crépir’ [ShyM]; E 5a EDng *dardirē* ‘s’oindre les cheveux avec de l’huile’ [Dj].

Derived noun in *-t*: C 7 Ould *dár-tu* 'lime'.

Deriv. ***dVr-ġ** - 'to rub (o.s.); тереть, растирать (тело)': C 7 Muy *ádortāy* 'rub the body', Mada *ádrat* 'frotter (pour laver)', Ould *-dərət* 'frotter'.

//Sem Arab *dry* 'gratter' [BK I 694], cf. Eg *dhr* (Med) 'als Erkrankung: Krätze (itch)' [EG V 482].

The following isogloss may be considered an extension of AA **dr*:

CCh 4 Gude *durəsə* 'scratch, scrape off (with hand)' ~ Sem Arab *drs* (u) 'effacer, faire disparaître les traces, les marques' [BK I 688].

155. *dVr- 'road; дорога': W 2 Grk *der* (< **ndVr*) 'road' [Fp]; 3 Kkrk *ndaru*, Maka *dóore* [SvmM] 'road', Tng *der* 'straight'; 4 Kariya *derahi*, Miya *darhi*, Mburku *deeri*, Jmb *daaru* 'road' [SkNB], Siri *dara* 'border'; Miya *dārthə* 'road, way' [SchM] (*-h-* may go back to an old pl. marker); C 4 cf. Gude *ndórá* 'river bank'; 7 Mafa *dará* 'bord de rivière (asséché); 10 Musey *darra* 'la ligne' [ShyM]; E 5b Mm *dar* 'porte, route'.

Derived verb: C 7 Zlg *ndər* 'aligner, ranger en ligne', (derived adj.) Mbuko *ndərəh* 'droit, direct'; E 5a WDng *dér-dē*, *dér-dyé* 'trasser une ligne', EDng *dər-dē* 'trasser un trait' [Dj].

//Sem Arab *darar-* 'trace, ligne d'une route, surtout droite' [BK I 682], ECush Oromo *daarii* 'boundary' [Grg], Omot Shin *daara* 'Grenze', Wolt *der-sa* 'Grenzezaun', Cush Sid *dare*, Oromo *daari*, Saho, Afar *dara-t* 'Grenze(zaun); boundary, border' [LmS, Vr], Berb Qab *dru* 'aligner, arranger, mettre en rang', Ntifa *adur*. Cf. [AA №303 and HSED №657].

156. *dVr- 'back, buttocks; спина, кора': C 3 Bana *dər-sə* 'bas au dos'; 7 Chv *dər* 'fesse', *dər-ŋ--gàlà* 'nuque' = 'back-head', Mefe (dial.) *dar*, *dərə* 'buttocks'; E 6 Mok *dár* 'dos; pellicule, écorce'; 7 Zir *dor-do* 'fesse' [CJ].

Deriv.: C 7 Mbuko *dədār* man. 'à reculon, backward'.

Deriv. in *-m* 'bark; кора': W 2 Ngas *darm* [F1], *ⁿdaram* [JgA], *ndarm* [Kr] 'bark', Mghv *dəram* 'dicke Baumrinder' [JgS], Mpn *drem təŋ* 'tree bark', Mushere *ndaram yokom* 'shell of a tree' [TAS 66].

Derived verbs: Ea 5 Mig *dárdiro* 'reculer, step back', EDng *dərkiyē* 'se cacher derrière' [Dj].

//E Cush Afar *dárrí* 'Rückseite, Rücken' [RA]. Note contamination of semantics 'back' and 'bark' (= 'back of a tree') in Mokilko.

157. *dVr- 'race, clan; племя': W 3 Kupto *durú* 'kin, brotherhood;

relative(s); related' [LgK]; C 2 Bura *dur* 'tribe, clan' [BIB]; 7 Mada *draw* 'sorte, espèce'; 10 Musey *deera* 'la tribu, le clan' [ShyM]; E 1 Kera *gī-dīirə* (< **kV-dīir-*, *k-* is a suff. of coll. nouns) 'Rasse, race'.

Derived noun (note *n-* as suff. of sing.): *(*n*)*dVr-* 'friend; друг': W 3 Gera *dōorá* 'friend' [ShB]; C 9 Msg *darái* 'bridegroom' [LkM]; 10 Lew *ndèrā*, Marba *ndrā* Musey, Ham *ndāa* (< **n-dra*) 'camarade' [LexC], Musey *ndara-na* 'le voisin, copain' [ShyM]; E 1 Kera *daarə* 'friend'.

Note E 5a WDng *dīirə* 'être voisin', EDng *dīrē* 'être voisin, voisiner' [Dj].

//Sem Ug *dr* 'generation', Phn *dr* 'perpetuity', Hbr *dōr* 'cycle, lifetime; descent, generation'; pB. *dōr* 'generation', Aram (Syr) *dār-* 'hominum genus, generatio' [Brock 147, Fronz], Geez *dār* id. (a Syriac loan), but Geez *dor* 'age, generation', according to W. Leslau, "comes close to Hbr *dōr* 'generation'" (i.e., it is not a loan) [LsG 141], Akk *dāru* 'generation' WSem LW [CAD d 115], E Cush Som *dīr* 'aspect, race' [LIS].

158. **dVr-*(*dVr-*) 'fenced enclosure, settlement; огороженное поселение':

W 6 Ngz *dārdār* 'fenced enclosure made of thorny branches, sticks'; C 8 Makari *dor* 'camp'; E 4 Mawa *dar*, Ubi *dere* 'village' [HJ]; 5b EDng *dərə* 'village' [CJ]; 5 Bid *dorre* 'cour endépendante sur laquelle donnet deux ou trois concessions', Mig *darrá* 'étable, enclos (à vaches)'. Cf. E 4 Mawa *durdur* 'mur d'enclos', Saba *durdur* 'wall' (both considered loans <Arabic dialect of Chad Republic, cf. also Mubi *dúrdur* 'mur de pierre' [JgL]).

Derived verb. : W 6 Duw *dəriičüwo* (< *dVr-t-*, complete action) 'surround, encircle'.

Deriv. in *-n-*: W 1 Hs *dārnij* 'a fence of corn-stalks' (> 5 Mng *derini*, Saya *dārné*); E 5a Mig *dōorāné* 'cour de la concession', WDng *daārné* 'village'.

Deriv. in *-m-* 'a hut; хижина': W 7 Sha ⁿ*durúm* 'hut'; C 9 Msg *dalam* 'Haus', Mnj *dalam* 'concession', *dələmiy* 'maison' (CVrVC- > CVIVC-); E 6 Mok *dārmā* 'case au mur en terre cuite en toit de paille'.

//Sem Akk *dūru* (OAkk) 'city wall, fortification wall, fortress, enclosure of a house' [CAD d 192] (cf. *dāru* 'settlement (of shepherds or nomads)' lex ibid 115), Arab *dār-* 'dwelling-place, habitation' [BK I 748], Ug *dr* 'Haus, Dynastie' (contam. with **dVr-* 'race, clan'), Aram *deyār* 'Wohnung', Hbr *dōr* 'dwelling-place' [Ais 81-2], Hars *dēra* 'granary'. Cf. Arab *dwr* 'to go round', Syr *dayar* (pa.) 'to go about, to dwell', Aram, Hbr *dūr* 'to dwell' [Zm 179]; E Cush Burji *duur-a* 'stone-wall, terrace' [SsB]. According to

[NZ 368-9], Berb **ta-ddar-t* 'maison, habitation' is derived from **dr* 'vivre'.

[HSED 658 Sem+Berb].

159. *dur- 'fight, war; драка, война': W 2 Ngas *tuur* (regular reflex of **d-*) 'fight' [FI]; C 9 Mbara *dūr* 'war'; E 1 Kera *dūurí* 'war'. Cf. E 5b Mubi *ndār* 'battre' [JgO].

//Sem Akk *dirdirru* [syn. list] 'battle' [CAD d 159].

160. *dVr- 'hunt; охота': C 7 Mofu *má-dála* 'chasse collective'; 10 Gizey, Masa *dar* 'chasse collective', Gizey *gi dar* 'chasser' [LexC]; E 5a Bid *daari* 'chasse à courre (regroupant plusieurs villages)'. Cf. C 1 Ga?anda *tire-tā*, Boka *tire-tə*, Hona *tiri-rā* 'huntung' [Kr] (regular devoicing).

//Sem Arab *dr?* (a) 'éloigner, chasser, drive away, make go' [BK I 683], Soq *?edre* 'chasser' [LsS 135], Ug *dry* 'auf Wild lauern, jagen' [Ais 82], Arab *dry* 'se cacher, se mettre en embuscade derrière qqch pour attaquer sa proie' [BK I 694].

[StH №VIII.4].

161. *dVs- 'to beat; бить' > 'to forge; ковать': W 5 Dott *das* 'thresh (guinea-corn)' [Cr], Zul *desi* 'forge' [Cs №790], Zul *desí* 'to pound', *desì* *gǎlá* 'blacksmithing' [BlZ]; 7 DB *dāš* 'schlagen'; C 4 Gude *dusə* 'beat ground to loosen soil (harvesting groundnuts)'; E 1 Kwang *dasī* 'to forge', *ba dāsī* 'blacksmith' [IL]; 2 Lele *dēsì*, Kaba *də̀sə̀* 'to forge' [IL]

Deriv. in *n-*: W 7 DB *ⁿdāš* 'to thresh' [RC], Bok *ⁿdāš* 'peitschen' [JgR].

Derived noun: C 3 Bana *n-dāš-kə̀* 'mortier d'argile cuir pour taper l'argile dans la moule en faisant la poterie'.

//ECush Som *diis* 'push down, compress, squash' [LIS], Sem Geez *dasaya* 'step on, trample on, crush underfoot', Hbr, Aram (Syr) *dāš* (*dwš*) 'trample, thrash', Hbr *dyš*, Akk *dāšu* [LsG 145], Hbr *dayiš* 'Dreschzeit' [KB 209], Arab *dws* 'fouler le sol avec les pieds' [BK I 750], Mhr *dws* 'trample on' [JnM]. [AA №262 WCh 7-Sem].

Note an AA root-variant ***dʃc** 'to beat, to pound':

a. Ch **dVHV[c]* > **dV[c]-* 'to beat, to flatten': C 7 Muy *édīšēy* 'to flatten'; E 5a WDng *dōɔse* 'frapper' [CJ], EDng *dēsīyē* 'frapper, battre' [DJ]. Reflexes of Ch **c-* and **s-* have fallen together as *s-*.

//Sem Arab *dʃs* 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' [BK I 700], Berb Ahg *əddəh*, Wlm, Sghr, Qab *əddəz*, Zng *əddəž* 'to pound', etc. [NZ 427].

Secondary emphasisation of voiced dental in Chadic languages under the influence of medial -ʃ-. Note, that AA *c > Arabic s, Berber z.

162. *dVɓ- 'to crush, to press; раздавливать': C 7 Chv *médədə̀ḡey* 'damer', Mafa (*de*)*díḡ*- 'damer (le sol d'une maison)', Mbuko *n-daḡ* 'taper (sur un enfant), tuer (oiseaux)'; 9 Mnj *diyḡa* 'piétiner', Mulwi *diiḡi* 'écraser, piétiner (éléphant)'; E 2 Lele (deriv. in n-) *n-dāléc* 'damer'.
//SCush Irq *daslo* 'crushed malt' [Eh], *daasl* 'grind into coarse particles', Gor *daasl* id. [Kies]. Ch *ḡ regularly corresponds to SCush Rift *sl.

*f

163. *fV(y/w)- 'to roast (on fire); жарить': W 3 Tng *pipe* 'to roast', Bol *pəcyu* 'roast directly on fire' [GAB]; 7 Richa *fyef* 'rösten' (reduplication is typical of roots with one 'strong' consonant); C 9 Mbara *fə:* 'to grill'; E 2 Kaba *puwə* 'to roast' [JgIb].

//Sem Geez *?afaya* 'to bake', Sab *?fy* 'baked' ('sort of foodstuff' in [SD 3]), Hbr *?āpā* (*?py*) 'bake', Aram Syr *?epā*, Mand *apa*, Ug *?p(y)* 'backen', Akk *epû* 'bake' [LsG 10, B1 25, Ais 32, CDA 247, DRS 28].

164. *fVHVw- (> *fVy/w-) 'to start fire; зажигать': W 6 Duw *fiyo* 'start fire'; C 3 Bana *pχə* 'allumer' (< *fχə, dissim., cf. Bana *pχál* 'old', *pχə* 'attacher', *pχə* 'vanner', *pχi* 'accompagner'). On the other hand, words with the fχ-cluster are missing in the dictionary); 8 Log *fiyü* 'verbrennen' [LkL], Bud *feù* 'verbrennen' [LukB], Makari *fiw* '(be) smoked', *fiw si* 'burn'.

Note W 3 Bol *pau* idf. 'hotness' [GAB]; 5a Hdi *f^way* 'to heat, boil' [BrH].

Derived noun in *ʔa-: CCh *ʔafVw 'fire; огонь': 8 Ngala, Mak, Shoe *fū*, Afd *hu*, Glf *hu*, *u*, Klesem, Kus *ahu* [Sol], Makari *fū*, Log *fū* [AIL]; 9 Msg *afuu* [LkM], Mnj *afū*; 9a Gidar *afá* [JgIb].

//Eg *wfḥ* (l) 'verbrennen' [EG I 306].

Viewing irregular correspondence of labials, CCh *ʔafū 'fire' (a derived noun) cannot be of common origin with Eg *p^fw* (pl.) 'Feuer, Glut', as suggested in [TAS II 424].

165. *fV(y)-/*HVf- (< *fVH-) 'to go up, rise; подниматься': W 7 Sha *wáfáy*, Karfa *haf* (metath.) 'to mount' [RC]; C 9 Mulwi *fi* 'emporter dans les airs (oiseau de proie)'; E 1 Kera *fé* 'sich erheben, se lever'.

Derived noun: C 5 Mlg *fáya* 'Himmel, sky'.

//Sem Arab *yfʿ* ‘to mount’ [BK II 1631], Sab *yfʿ* ‘go up, rise’ [SD 168, Bll 233], SOmot Dime *fuh-* ‘to climb’ [BnAr]. Initial AA *y-* in *yC₁C₂* roots leaves no trace in Chadic languages.

166. *fVč- ‘to blow; дуть’: W 4 Diri *fəčú*, Tsagu *fées-* ‘to blow’; C 7 Chv *mévéčéy* ‘enfumer’ (note *-v-* < **-f-*), Mofu *ḥəč-* ‘enfumer, activer (le feu)’, Mada *ávàčà* ‘souffler’; 8 Makari *fási* ‘work the bellows, fan, air, breath’, Log *fífəssə* ‘to blow’ [JgIb].

Derived noun C 6 Daba *vīč* (< **ʔa-fīč-*, initial *v-* points to a pref.) ‘soufflets de la forge qui servent pour active le feu’ [Lnhf].

//Sem Akk *napāšu* ‘blasen, (auf)atmen, relax’ [AHW 736, CDA 288], Arab *nft* (i,u) ‘souffler sur qqch’ [BK II 1304], Cf. Ongota *fusaa* ‘to blow’ [FIO].

Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Semitic.

[HSED №789 Sem+WCh].

167. *fVd-d/*fwVd-d- ‘four; четыре’: W 1 Hs *fúdu*, *húdu*; 2 Mpn *fèer* (< **fVdVC-*, note that Ch **CVd/t-* > W 2 *CVt#*), Mghv *fèer*, Ngas *fiiir*, Miship *fèer*, Mnt *fèi*, Goem *fʔeer* [TAS 105], Mushere *fèer* [JgO], Grk *puró* (irreg. reflex of **f*) [JgC]; 3 Bol *pʔor-do* [KI], *pòddo* (assim. < **fVdd-*) [GAB], Krkr *fèedu*, Dera *párau*, Tng *padau* [JgIb], Maka *páddú* [SvM], Ngm (Y) *hòdò*, (G) *hòdò* [NEH], Gera *fúdu*, Glm *páryá*, Geruma *fúdu* [SchB], Bure *pódo*; 4 Wri *fədí*, Kar *fudū*, Diri *fídíi*, Miya *fudū*, Pa’a *fādū*, Tsagu *fəðə*, Siri *bī-fədí*, *bi-fid-di* [**f-d-* SkNB], Paa *fāadu* [MS], Miya *fəðə* [SchM]; 6 Ngz *fúdu*, Duw *fədu*, Bade *fədu*; 7 Fyer *piit*, Sha *fud*, Richa *fúud*, DB *púʔ*; C 1 Tera *vət* [NmT], Gabin *fwəda*, Boka *fwəda*, Hona *fada* [Kr]; 2 Bura *fwar*, Chb *fədu*, Klb *fədu* [Kr], Mrg *fədu* [HfM]; 3 Bana *fəðə*, FK *fwəðə* [BlNd], Kap *fwəðə*, HN *fware* [Kr], Hya *fwudí* [BlH]; 4 Gude *nfáda*, Gudu *fwad*, Nzn *fwat*, FM *fwat* [Kr], Bch *fwat*, Bata *fwot* [Sk], Jimj, Sharwa *fʷat*, Cuvan *afʷat* [BryJ]; 5-5a Mlg *ufadə*, Dghw *fidə*; Gdf *ufadə*, Gava *ufad*, Chn, Glv *ufada*, Gvoko *ofado* [HmG]; Dghw *fídí*, Wnd *ufadə* [JgIb], 5a Lmn *ufádó* [JgIb], Hdi *fwad*, Vemgo *ufʷad* [HmG]; 6 Daba *fōd* [Lnhf], Buwal *ɲfat*, Mbedam *ɔnfad*; 7 Mafa *fād*, Ould *məfād*, Chv *fad*, Merey *fad*, Muy *fād*, Mbuko *fəðə*, Moloko *məfād*, Baka *wúfad* [BAS], Mofu *məfād*, Gis *mufad*, Dugwor *mʔad*; 7a Skn *fwad*, *fwat*; 8 Log *gádé*, Kus *kádé*, Afd, Maltam, Makari *gádé*, Mazera *fùdé*, Zina *fóodí* [Sol 166, TrN with discussion]; 9 Mnj *puđu*, Mbara *púđu*; 9a Gidar *podo* [JgIb]; 10 Musey *fídí*, Peve *fədíʔ*, Hede *fídíʔ*, Ngide *fədí*, Zime(Mesme) *fídí* [Shy];

Gizey, Masa, Ham *fídí*, Marba *fídí* [LexC], Dari *fódí?*; E 2 Kaba *pəri*, Lele *pōriŋ* [JgIb], Nch *pəri*, Gbr *porin* [Luk]; 3 Smr *wódii* [Luk]; 4 Saba *paʔa*, Ubi *pōra*, Mawa *par* [HJ]; 5 Mig *poodí*, Bid *paadān*, WDng *poot/d*, Mabirepot [HJ]; MM *faat* [Alio], Jegu *food*, Brg *fóodí*, Mubi *fáda* [JgIb].

//Eg (OK) *fdw* ‘four’ [EG I 582]. A well-known Chadic - Egyptian isogloss. For references see [EDE II 599], for Chadic data - [Nm **fʷadə*, JgIb **-pd*, SchV, SchB, SkH].

In all the above mentioned publications Ch **fVd-* has been reconstructed, without any comment on irregular correspondence: Ch **-d-* ~ Eg *-d-*. In [EDE II 603-604] irregular reflexes were simply omitted. Meanwhile, a PCh root with a *-d-* suffix, namely, **fVd-d-*, perfectly accounts for all the forms (for the same suff. see: Ch **kVn-d-* ‘three’, **cir-d-* ‘two’, CCh Mafa *sta-d-*, Mofu *té-d* ‘one’). Ch **fVd-d-* > **fVr-d-* > **fVr* in W 2, E 2-4; Ch **fVd-d-* > **fVdd-* > **fVd-* > *fVt#* in W and C branches (cf. W 3 Bol *poddō*, Maka *paddu*). Numerous reflexes with initial *fʷ-* (also E 3 Smr *wofii*) most probably point to initial (or medial) waw. Similar labialization is typical of Chadic velars (*w-k* and *k-w* > *kʷ*, see below). Reflexes in North kotoko gr. (C 8) require additional comment. According to H. Tourniaux [TrN], a velar prefix (*ga-/ka-*) should be reconstructed for North kotoko numerals, cf. Kuseri *kádé* ‘four’ ~ *ká-kər-* ‘three’ (< Ch **kVn-*). Given that prefixes quite often change (or absorb) root-initials, the present case should be analyzed as: **ka-fVd-* > *kfad-* > *khad-* > *kad-*.

168. **fVk-* ‘to rub, to grease; тереть, смазывать’: W 2 Goem *fók* ‘to rub, move along with pressure of friction’ [TAS 391], Ngas *vók* ‘to rub (a medicine) into the body, to polish’ [JgA], *vʷvk* ‘to wipe’ [Brq] (irreg. reflex of **f-*); 3 Tng *pági* ‘rub on; to grease’; 4 Miya *fakə* ‘rub, wipe on’ [SchM]; C 10 Dari *fók* ‘frotter’.

Deriv. in *-r-*: C 4 Gude *fyakərə* ‘kindle fire by spinning stick against piece of wood’.

//Sem Soq *fek(k)* ‘frotter, enduire’, Aram (Syr) *pkk* ‘briser, d’ou ‘briser entre les doigts, frotter’ [LsS 336], Omot Shin *fokk-* ‘sweep’ [BndO 344].

169. **fVI-* ‘to skin’: W 2 Ngas *fil* ‘to skin’ [FI], *fwal-p* (pl.) ‘to strip, peel’ [FI], Mghv *fēl* ‘häuten’ [JgS], Mushere *fēl* ‘to peel cocoyam with hand’ [TAS 105]; 5 Zaar *fəl* ‘slough off its skin (snake)’, *fōli* ‘slough of lizard, snake’, *fwaali* ‘sloughed-of skin; bran’ [CrZ]; E 5a Bid *pil* ‘écorcher un

animal, dépouiller', EDng *pīlé* 'dépecer, dépouiller, enlever la peau d'un animal' [Dj].

Deriv. in *-k-*: C 7 Ould *-fə̀lāk* 'décortiquer'; 9 Mnj *fulki* 'égrainer à la main, décortiquer (arachides), éplucher à la main', Mulwi *fūlkí* 'éplucher, décortiquer'.

Deriv. in *-t-*: C 10 Ham *félét*, cf. Gizey *léfét* (metath.) [LexC].

Derived noun in *-p-* pl.: W 2 Mpn *fə̀líp* 'husk, shell', Goem *tə-falap* 'bark of a tree' [Hlw], *ma-fəlp* 'fish scale' [TAS 104].

//Sem Arab *wfl* 'peler quelque chose, en en ôtant l'écorce' [BK II 1578], SCush Irw, Gor *fala* 'hide, prepared skin', Alg, Bur *fala* 'skin' [Kies], also Asa *fulo* 'hide' [Eh 150], cf. Berb **fl* 'tanner' [NZ 561]. Root extension (*w-* as *C₁*) in Semitic. Cf. №613 **pVI(VH)- 'to cork, to bark'*.

[AA 1 №68 WCh 2+SCush].

170. **fVI-* 'to cut (off head); отрезать': W 1 Hs *fállè* 'behead a criminal'; C 7 Muy *éfil* 'cut round smth'; 10 Mesme *fəl* 'cut' [Kr], *fəl* 'cuts' [JgZ], Dzpw *fəl* 'cut in pieces, couper en morceaux, égorger', Peve *fol* 'to butcher' [Vn]; E 2 Lele *pəl* 'tailler légèrement'; 3 Tum *pāl* 'tailler, sculpter'; 5 cf. EDng *pīlé* 'dépecer, dépouiller, enlever la peau d'un animal' (contam. with Ch **fVI-* 'to skin') [Dj].

//Sem Arab *fly/w* 'frapper avec un sabre', *flʕ* 'fendre, couper' [BK II 635, 631], Malt dial. *fellel* 'to slice, to cut into slices' [Бел 2: 275], Aram *pə̀lā* (*ply*) 'split, cut open' [LsG 161], Berb Shilh *flu* 'équarrir, fendre', Siwa *fli* 'fendre' [NZ 562].

[AA 1 №38, HSED №1938 **fVI-/pVI-*, cf. **pVI-* 'to separate'].

171. **fVI-* 'to boil; кипеть': W 2 Goem *fyal* intr. 'boil or sparkle' [Hlw]; 3 Krkr *filu* 'to boil' [GK], Kupto *fulo* 'to expand, to bloat, to reach a boiling point' [LgK]; 5 Grnt *fūlwi* 'boil' [Jag]; E 4 Mawa *pə-pələ-ŋ* 'bouillir, cuire'.

//Sem Geez *fālha* 'bubble out, boil' > 'get angry', Eth Tgr *fālha*, Amh *fälla*, Arg *fällaha*, Harari *fālaḥa*, Gur *fāla* 'boil' [LsG 159], ECush dullay Gad *fool-* 'Wasser kochen', *foolis-* (trans.) 'kochen' [AMS], Cf. Ongota *foolisa* 'boiled' (< dullay?) [FIO], Berb Shilh *fluflu* 'bouillir', Maroco dial. *flulel* 'bouillonner', Wlm, Ayr *fāfāl* 'bouillir, bouillonner (liquide)' [NZ 560].

172. **fVI-* 'to mount, to jump; подниматься, прыгать': W 4 cf. Tsagu *fəl* 'copulate', Paa *fə̀r-ta* (dissim. < **fVI-ta*) 'copulate-her' [MS]; 2 Bura *fil* 'to

ride, to mount', *fila* 'to jump, fly' [BIB], Klb *fə́lá* 'to jump', Həba *fə́la*, Chb *fə́lá* 'fliegen'⁴¹, *fə́l-tə́* 'besteigen' [HfC 133]; 10 Musey *fulla* 'monter, embarquer'= 'descendre', Gizey *fíl* 'monter à cheval', Gizey, Masa, Ham *fíl*, Musey, Marba *fúl* 'monter à velo' [LexC], Azum *fula* (M,H) 'to mount (an animal)' [PAz].

//ECush Som *fū́l* 'be-, hinaufsteigen', Sid, Dar, Kamb *fū́l-* 'to climb, go up' [Hds], Berb *fí(l)* 'haut, dessus, sur' [NZ 557].
[HSED 829 CCh 2 +ECush].

173. *fVr- 'top, to rise; вершина, подниматься': W 3 Kkrk *fíiri* 'peak, top', Dera *póro* 'up, upwards'; C 5 cf. Mlg *fáre* 'erhöhen'; 7 Ould *fə́r* idf. 'sauter'; 10 Peve *fray* 'sky' [Vn], Dari *fə́rə* 'ciel, haut', *Yifəre* 'Dieu', cf. Mesme *afí?* (< **afí#*) 'sky'[Kr]; E 1 Mobu *pare* 'monter à cheval' [Lns]; 2 Lele *pīrīw* 'en haut'.

//Sem Arab *fr̥* (a) 'monter sur une hauteur, descendre d'une hauteur, gravir une montagne', *farāriʕ-* 'sommets d'une montagne', *fāriʕ-* 'haut, élevé; vil, bas' [BK II 578, 580], Sab *fr̥* 'upper part, summit, superstructure of a building' [SD 46, Bll 411], Eg *f̥y* (OK) 'raise high' [EG I 572], Cush Saho *fooro* 'rise, upwards slope' [Vr], Afar *fār* 'hinaufsteigen, ein Reittier besteigen' [RA]; Berb Ahg *e-fəri* 'pointed peak of a rock', Qab (dial.) *i-frii-* 'to be elevated, to float on the surface' [MSt №9], cf. also 'creme (de lait)': Rift *tafrirt*, etc. [NZ 600]. Root extension (*ʕ* as C₃) in Semitic.

[Gr, AA 1 №66 **fVr* 'go up' and (without Chadic forms), HSED №781, EDE II 555 only EChadic].

174. *fVr- 'descend, fall; спускаться, падать': W 4 Siri *furu*, Tsagu *fur* 'descend, unload' [SkNB]; 7 Bok, DB, Richa *fur* 'fallen'; C 7 Mofu *fə́r-* 'lâcher involontairement, laisser tomber'.

//Sem Arab *fr̥* (a) 'monter sur une hauteur, gravir une montagne; descendre d'une hauteur' [BK II 578]. Cf. the previous root.

175. *fVr- 'to scrape, scratch; скрести, царапать': W 2 Ngas *fíir* 'scrape (calabash of porridge, with the fingers)' [FI]; C 6 Mbesam *fə́fər* 'gratter' [NDP]; 7 Baka *fār* 'frotter', Chv *méféfərẹy* 'se gratter', Mafa (*fā*)*fər-* 'se

⁴¹ Note that CCh 2 Həba *fə́la*, Chb *fə́lá*, Bura *fíl* can not follow Ch **pVr-* 'to jump, to fly', as proposed in [TAS I 383]. Ch **p-* keeps as such in CCh 2 (see №№611, 612, 627, 629, 630, 636).

gratter, to itch', Muy *âfâr* 'to scratch, cause to itch', Mada *ôffôr* 'démanger, to itch', *froh froh* 'se gratter', Moloko *far* 'itch, scratch' [BoP 14], Mofu *-fafôr-* 'se gratter, froter', Baka *fâr* 'gratter' [YB], Mery *fôfâr* 'gratter'; E 5a Mig *porrò* 'griffer'.

Note E 4 Sok *fírîg-fírîg* 'schreiben' [Luk].

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 1 Hs *fârtâ, fârcê* 'scrape up soil', *fârcî* 'scraping the ground (eg. animal before defecating)'.

Deriv. in *-g/-k-*: E 1 Kera *fêr-gé* 'jucken, démanger'.

Derived nouns: W 1 Hs *fêríyaa* (East Hs) 'scraping (esp. the surface of the ground)'; E 5a Mig *pùrrù-n* 'ongle, griffe'.

//Sem Amh *farä* 'scratch, carve (wood)' (also 'to husk, to shell'), Berb Semlal *ta-fuuri* 'herpes', Ntifa *ta-fura* 'eczema', Ahg *ta-fuure*, Zng *ta-ffrâh* 'herpes, scabies', etc. [NZ 600].

The following Ch root looks like an extension in *medial waw*:

a. ***fVwVr-** 'to smear, смазывать': W 2 Goem *f^waar* 'smear, annoint' [TAS 115]; C 10 Musey *fuura* 'oindre d'huile' [ShyM]; E 5a Mig *póoró* 'enduire, oindre'. Derived noun: C 8 Makari *mfraçî* 'coating, enduit'.

[AA 1 №65 Sem+Berb+Hs-Ngas].

176. ***fVr-** 'cork; копа': W 3 Tng *paara* 'skin of the locust-bean pod'; 4 Diri *fú-fur* 'bark' [SkNB]; E 1 Kera *ké-fré* coll. 'Eierschale, egg-shell', cf. *fekre* 'harte Schale (bei Nüssen), coquille' (metath. < *kə-fré* or < **fVr-k-*, see below); 5 (deriv.) WDng *par-dé*, EDng *par-dā* [Dj], Bid *pàráa-dā* 'écorce'.

//ECush Som *fur* 'cork' [LIS]; Berb Sened *ti-fré*, Ghdm *ti-fra* 'écorce' [NZ 607].

a. ***fVr-k-** 'bark': C 7 Mnj *fotorok* (metath. < **t-forok*) 'écorce'; 4 Sok *furkía* 'Rinde, bark' [Luk], Mawa *purka* 'bark' [RoM], Ubi *pirika*, Mawa *purka* 'bark' [HJ].

//Berb Maroco dial. *afrekki*, Zng *taferki*, Shilh, Ntifa *tiferkit*, Shawya *tafercit*, Ahg *taferkit* 'bark' [NZ 626]. Note derivatives in *-k-* in Chadic and in Berber languages.

[AA 1 №65 Berb+ Diri, Kera, Sokoro].

177. ***(fV)fVs-** 'to scrape; скрести': W 2 Ngas *fîis* 'to scrape off hair for tanning, be bald' [Fp]; C 5 Pod *vusa* 'erase, cross out; essuyer, effacer'; 7 Mofu *-vávəs-* 'effacer, faire disparaître des traces', Mbuko *vəvas* 'effacer' (< **fVvVs* < **fVfVs*, voicing in medial position and regressive assimila-

tion); 9 Mulwi *fíísí*, Mnj *fíísí* 'effacer'.

//ECush dullay Dob *fas-* 'kratzen' [AMS], Omot Wolt *foossh-* 'kratzen' [LmW 356], Arab *ʿfs* (i) 'frotter (une peau pour la préparer)' [BK II 299].

Initial pharyngeal in Semitic correlates with reduplication of the 1-st syllable in Chadic.

178. *fVt- 'to sweep, smear; сметать, вытирать': W 2 Mpn *fét*, *fə́fét* (pl.), Mghv *fét* 'sweep' [JgS], Ngas *fet* 'wipe off, clean by sweeping' [Fl], Mushere *fét* 'to sweep' [JgO]; 5 Jimi *fotee* 'sweep' [Cs]; E 4 Mawa *piitij* 'essuyer'. Cf. W 2 Mushere *fin-fét* 'broom' [JgO].

//Sem Jib *fett* 'wipe oneself with small stones after excreting' [JnJ], Mhr *futt* 'einreiben'; Eg *ftt* (Amarna) 'vom auslöschen einer Inschrift; to erase inscriptions' [EG I 580], Omot Yemsa *fút-* 'sweep' [LmY], NWOmoto Wolt *fitt-*, Gofa *pitta*, Malo *fit-*; Gimira *pitt-* 'sweep' [BndO 323], Kafa *futo* 'oinment'.

[AA 1 №58, MSt №8 (Eg+WCh 2+Jib), HSED №822, EDE II 595-6]. The latter considers WCh 2 Goem *pat* 'to rub, clean' cognate with Eg *ftt*, in spite of irregular correspondence of labials. A "true cognate" of Goem is CCh 7 Baka *patáy* 'balayer' [BAS], both < Ch **pVt-* < AA **pVt/*.

179. *fVt- 'to scratch (ground > face); царапать, скрести': W 2 Ngas *fwat* 'scratch ground (as fowls)' [Fl]; C 5 Pod *fəta* 'raser, shave'; 6 Buwal *fāt* 'shave'; (cf.) 10 Dzpw *fāt* 'ronger'.

Derived noun: W 3 Bol *puutaata* 'game involving scraping out holes in sand' [GAB].

//Sem Gur (Chaha, Endegen) *fwäfwätä* 'to make a hole by scratching, scratch the ground', etc. [LsG 228], Cush Afar *fitfit-e* 'scratch the ground (chicken)' [RA], Omot Yemsa *fiit-* 'sich rasieren' [LmY]. [TAS 595].

*g

180. *gVw/y- 'to speak; говорить': W 1 Hs *gáya* 'tell'; C 1 Tera (dial.) *ga* 'appeler' [VM]; 3 HN *gü-te*, HB *gü-do* 'to speak' [Kr]; 7 Zlg *g^wa* 'dire, penser'; 8 Makari *gi* 'say, answer', *gwa* 'a cry', *ga* 'tell, speak'; E (redupl.) 1 Mobu *gágé* 'discuter' [Lns]; 3 Ndam *gógá* 'discuter' [Brs]. Cf. C 4 Bch *gə́ó* 'chanter' [VM].

//Sem Ug *g* ‘Stimme’ [Ais 63], Omot Dime *gee-mu*, Ari *gai-*, Hamer *gia* ‘say’ [BndA 157], TN *gV-*: Dizoid **gee-*, Aroid **gee-* ‘say, speak’ [BndO 216], Omot Wolt *g-* ‘say’, Cush Kamb *ga(?)*-, Alaba *ga??-* ‘to call’ [LmW 359], cf. Eg *ḏwy* (Pyr) ‘rufen; call, say’ (if [gwy]) [EG V 550].

Note Hbr, Ug *gʿy* ‘brüllen; bellow (cattle)’ [KB 190] (root extension in medial *ʿ*).

[HSED №911, CLD IV № 414].

181. *gVw/y- ‘to enter, to come; **входить, приходить**’: W 3 Dera *gà* ‘enter’; C 2 Klb *gʷà*, Mrg *gʷa* ‘go in’ [Kr]; 5a Gdf *gʷiyà* ‘to come back’ [KimG]; 9 Mulwi *gi* ‘arrive’, Msg *ga* ‘gehen (kommen?), go (come?)’ [LkM]; 10 Peve *géwa* ‘to return’ [Vn].

Deriv. in *n-*: C 7 Mbuko *nga* ‘venir’.

//Sem Arab *gy?* ‘come’ [BK I 360], Cush Afar *gay-* ‘kommen’ [RA], HECush **gay-* ‘arrive’ [Ss 45].

a. *gVw/?- ‘to run, to gallop; **бегать**’: W 3 Bol *gaya* ‘galopping’ [GAB], Krkr *guyaa* ‘run’ [GK]; 6 Duw *gʷáwo* ‘run’; E 4 Saba *gə?*, Ubi *gega* ‘run’ [HJ].

//SCush Irq *gow-* ‘run away’ [MKQ], Sem Geez *gʷyy* ‘run away’, Soq *ge* ‘flee, hurry’, Tna *gʷäyâyä* ‘flee, run away’ [LsG 209], Cf. Ongota *gey* ‘(to) gallop’ [FIO].

b. *gVwVy- ‘to turn (of, around), go around; **поворачивать, ходить вокруг**’: W 1 Hs *géwayaa* ‘go around’, *géwayèc* ‘to surround a place’; 5 Zaar *gyaa* ‘branch off, swerve aside’ [CrZ]; C 5 Glv *gʷaya* ‘turn round’; E 5a (redupl.) EDng *gágē* ‘umkehren’ [Ebb], ‘revenir sus pas, retourner’ [Dj].

Deriv. in *n-*: C 7 Ould *ggi* ‘retourner’; C 10 Gisey, Masa *gyu*, Lew, Marba, Musey, Ham *gyu* ‘tourner’ [LexC].

[HSED №910, CLD IV №397].

182. *gVʷ/w- ‘to put; **положить**’: W 3 Krf *gòʷéy* ‘to put’ [Stl]; 5 Guus *gaa* ‘put’ [CrG]; C 6 Daba *gaa* ‘put many (wood into the fire)’ [Lnh]; E 3 Tum *gā* ‘put’; 5 (redupl.) Bid *gag* ‘mettre, garder, déposer par terre’, Mig *gágáw* ‘poser’.

Derived adv.: C 7 Ould *gʷà* ‘en bas, down’; 10 Masa *gaa* ‘la bas’. Cf. W 2 Mush *nguk* ‘bottom’ [TAS 31]. a. Deriv. in *n-*: ***n-gVwVy-** ‘to fall’: W 2

Ngas *guu* (< **n-guu*, one would expect Ch **g-* > Ngas *k-*) ‘to fall (from no visible cause)’ [Fl]; 4 Diri *ngya* ‘to fall’ [SkNB]; 7 Fyer *ngu* ‘to fall (things), set (sun)’.

b. ***gVH-** ‘to throw; бросать’: C 10 Masa *gi* ‘lancer, to throw’ [CC], Dzpw *gē* ‘lancer’, Dari *gīē* (< **giHe*) ‘lancer, semer à la volée’; E 1 Kera *gē* ‘throw’ (contamin. with E ***gVy-** ‘to send’).

Deriv. in *n-* (pl.): C 7 Zlg *ɲg^wiɲ* ‘throw several obj. on the ground’.

//Sem Arab *gʕʕ* ‘renverser, jeter à terre’, *gʕgʕ* ‘jeter; s’agenouiller’ [BK I 298]. [CLD IV №398].

182a. *gVwVy/?- ‘to stay, to last; оставаться на месте, длиться’: W 4 Miya *g^wa* ‘spend a long time, last’, *gay* ‘wait for’ [SchM]; 5 Dott *gaa* ‘to last’ [Cr]; C 7 Ould *-gaway* ‘tarder en route, to delay’; 10 Dzpw *gaaʔa* ‘rester, to remain, to stay’, Dari *gīē* ‘coucher, sleep’; E 2 Lele *gi*, *gēē* ‘rester’; 5 Bid *goy* ‘rester, s’asseoir’. WDng *gōyē* ‘to sit down’, EDng *gōyē* ‘être là, assis, vivant, présent’ [Dj]. Cf. C 5a Lmn *ɲga* ‘arrêter’ [VM].

//Sem Arab *ħgw* ‘s’arrêter dans un lieu’ [BK I 386], SCush Dah *g^waħ-* ‘to stay, to live’/‘sit down, stay’ [TD//EEN]. Ch and Cush Dahalo forms may result from a metath.: **ħgw* > *gwh* > Ch *gwʔ/y*, note CCh *-ʔ* as a reflex of *-ħ* in roots with *medial waw/yod*. Labialized velar in Ch and Dahalo corresponds to *g^w* in Arabic.

[CLD IV №423].

183. *gVy- ‘to send; посылать’: C 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham *gi* ‘envoyer, send’ (sg.) [LexC]; E 1 Kera *gē* ‘send’, Ngam *gɲy* ‘envoyer qqn’ [Lns]; 2 Lele *guɲ* ‘envoyer, confier une commission’, Kaba, Nch *-g^wi* [HmK], Tob *giyē* ‘envoyer’. Note C 8 Bud *giyá* ‘conduire’ [Awg].

a. Deriv. in *n-*: W ***n-gVh/w-** ‘to drive away; выгонять’: W 6 Richa *ⁿg^wē*, Bok *ⁿga*, DB *ⁿgah* ‘drive, push away’.

//Sem Arab *ngh* ‘chasser qqn en l’accablant d’injures’ [BK II 1209], Cush Bed *guʔ* ‘stossen’ [RBd]. Note E Cush dullay Goll *g^weeʕ-* ‘nachforschen’ (for Gollango *g^w* < dullay **g-* see the next root) [AMS].

Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Chadic and in Arabic.

[CLD IV №422].

184. *gVw/y- > n-gVw/y- (with a pl. pref.) ‘to want, to love; любить, хотеть’: W 3 Glm *ɲguu-* ‘want’ [SchB]; 6 Duw *ənggyuwo*, *əngáwo* ‘want, like’; C 3 FK *ngi* ‘love, like, agree’ [BIND]; 5 Pod *ɲg^wa* ‘want, like, love’; E 2 Kaba, Nch *-gəy* ‘vouloir, want’ [HmK], Tob *güye* ‘vouloir’; 3 Tum *gē* ‘want, desire’, Ndam *giyá* ‘aimer’ [Brs].

//ECush dullay Harso, Dob *g^weeʕ-*, Goll *g^weeʕ-*, ‘wollen’ Gawwada, Gad

qceʃ- ‘wollen, wünschen’ [AMS], Omot Shin *gèy*- ‘wollen, wünschen’ [LmS]. Cf. Sem Hbr, Arab, Mhr *gwʃ* ‘be hungry’ [KB 175, JM 126], Sab *gwʃ* ‘hunger, hungry’ [SD 51], *gwʃ* ‘be hungry’ [BlI 68], SCush Dah *gwiʔi* ‘thirst’ [EDE].

Semantic shift: ‘to be hungry’ ↔ ‘to want’ seems tenable. Labialized velar in CCh 5 Pod correlates with *medial waw* in Sem. A less reliable cognate to Chadic and Cushitic is Arabic *gwy* ‘éprouver une violente affection de l’âme, une passion, *soit* d’amour, *soit* de tristesse’ [BK I 360]. [CLD IV №426].

185. *gVʔ/w- ‘to work, to build, to mould: работать, строить’: C 5 Pod *ga* ‘do, happen’, Mlg *ga* ‘bearbeiten, behandeln, ausüben, to work up, treat, process, fulfil’; 7 Ould *-gíyá* ‘faire, produire, devenir’, Moloko *ge* ‘make, do’, Zlg *gé* ‘faire, produire’, Merey *ge*, Gis *ge* ‘make, do’, Baka *gi* ‘faire’ [BAS], Mbuko *gā* ‘faire’, Vame *gə*- ‘do’ [KinV]; 8 Log *gáʔè* ‘build’ [Jglb]; 10 Dari *gī* ‘faire’; E 3 Tum *gāw* ‘modeler, pétrir’; 5a Mig *gèwə* ‘modeler, construire, bâtir’, cf. WDng *gāyè* ‘être sur la point de, going to do smth’.

Deriv. in *n*:- C 4 Gude *ngáh* ‘doing smth with difficulty’; 7 Moloko *ngay* ‘to work with wood or grasses to make smth’, Mbuko *nga* ‘faire (piège, feu)’, Cuv *méngəy* ‘faire’.

Derived nouns: W 1 cf. Hausa *gāyūaa* ‘cooperative work; collecting together of a number of people to assist another in some piece of work; a number of people so collected’; E 2 Lele *gōyé* ‘slave’, *gūyé* ‘slaves, work’.

//Omot Hezo *giwa* ‘work’ [BndO 282], Sem Aram *gw* ‘esclave féminine’ [HoJ 48]. [CLD IV №421].

186. *gVwʔ- ‘spirit, ghost; дух, привидение’: 2 Ngas *kʷii* ‘spirit’ [Brq]; 3 Kupto *goigoi* ‘spirit(s) sp. (living in caves, not always harmful to people)’ [LgK], Krkr *gʷaigʷai* ‘spirit, demon’ [GgK], Bol *goigoi* ‘spirit which looks like a small child’ [GAB]. Cf. C 4 Gude *guʔwá* ‘sickness brought by the ghost of s.o. you have wronged’.

//SCush rift **gaʔi* ‘ancestral spirit(s)’: Irq, Bur *giʔi*, Gor *gaʔi* [Kies]. Note Sem Arab *gaww-at-* ‘air, atmosphere’ [BK I 347].

[CLD IV №429].

187. *gVy/w- ‘people; люди’: C 4 Gude *giwá* ‘neighbourhood, ward’; E 5a WDng *gèé* ‘les gens; on’, Mig *gāyūée* pl. ‘parents’; 5b Jegu *gé* ‘person’

pl. [Jglb], Tor *gē* 'gens'. Cf. C 8 Bud *mí-gó* 'Leute'.

//Sem Akk (Māri) *gāpu* 'group, gang (of workmen)', WSem lw. [CAD g 58, AHW 284], Punique, Phn *gw* 'communité, ensemble du peuple', Hbr *gōy* 'people', *gēw* 'community' [KB 173], Sab *gwy* 'community bound together on a religious basis, association of tribes' [SD 51, DRS 107], SCush Irq *gaʔa* 'people gathered for war, hunt or honey collection' [MKQ].

Note that Kirfi-speaking people (WCh 3) call themselves "*giwo*".

a. ***n-gV(w)- 'man, person'** (deriv. in *n*-sing.)⁴²: W 2 Ngas *go-* 'man' [FI], *ngo*, *go* 'person' [Brq], Mghv *ngó* 'Mensch, Person, Mann' [JgS], Mpn *ng^wé*, *ng^wó* 'man', *ngú* 'person', [FrM], Mushere *ngú* 'person' [JgO]; 3 Krkr *ngaa* 'person', pl. min [GK], Ngm *ngò* (G,Y) 'person' [NEH]; E 5b Brg *ga maati* 'cadavre, corpse (man + death)'. Note a deriv. in *m-* (pl.): W 3 Maka *mā-ngay* 'family' [SvM].

[DK №4.4, HSED №906, CLD IV №430].

188. *gVb/b- 'to bend; сгибать(ся)': W C 5 Pod *gúba* 'to bend'; 7 Moloko (deriv.) *gəbokoy* 'bend over', Gis *gob* 'sich bücken, to bend down', Mofu *-gəb-* 'se plier, to bend (intr.), se fouler, to dislocate'; 9 Mulwi *gubí* 's'agenouiller, se pencher, to kneel, to bend down'; E 1 Kera *gobé* 'sich beugen, to bend o.s.'.

Derived nouns: W 1 Hs *gába* 'a joint, limb'; 5 Zaar *ngúp* 'bow' (*-p#* < **-b#*) [CrZ].

Derived adj. C 7 Mafa *gébéle?e* 'flexible'.

//Eg *wdb* (Pyr) 'sich umwenden; etw. hinwenden nach', *gb* (gr) 'sich niegen, sich verbeugen; to stoop, to bend' (intr.) [EG I 408, V 162], Sem Hbr *gbb* 'bosse, dos; être courbé' [Coh №202], Amh *g^wābbābā*, Tny *g^wābg^wābā* 'be bent', Syraic *gcbībā* 'hunchbacked' [LsG 281], ECush Oromo *goob-a* 'bow', *goob-a* 'arch, camel's hump' [SsB 83], Som *goobab* 'circle' [LIS], cf. Ongota *g'obbe* 'iron ring for finger' ["A voiced glottalic ingressive [g'] is sometimes misheard as [g]" FIO 221].

Note the following correlation: medial *-b-* in Chadic ~ *-bb-* in Semitic.

[HSED № 938, CLD IV №431].

189. *gVb(V?) > gVb- 'to be immovable, weak, dead; быть слабым, немощным, мертвым': C 5 Pod *ng^waba* 'wear out, weaken'; C 10 Dzpw *gāba* 'maladie', Mesme *gab*, Peve *gab* 'sickness' [Kr]; E 6 Mok *goobc*

⁴² for the same prefix see Ch **n-IV* 'a head of cattle'.

'mort, cadavre'.

Derived verb in *-t-*: W 1 Hs *gabaata* 'die (only of persons)'.

Note W 3 Krkr *gabaṭa* 'sacrifice on the death of an old person' [GK].

//Sem Arab *gabaʿa* 'to be weak, dull, cowardly' [BK I 246], Eg *gby* (n) 'be weak' [EG V 161], Cush Bil *gabab* 'être, devenir misérable'; LECush Oromo *gaggaba* 'be exhausted' [Grg], Arb *gaggab-* 'become exhausted (physically)' [Hay], Som *gaggab* 'shock, faint' [LIS].

[Coh №203: Arab, Eg, Bed; EDE I 222: Eg, Arab, CCh 10, Oromo].

The following isogloss is worth mentioning:

a. C **g^wab-* > *g^wav-* 'to be immovable, dying; быть при смерти': 4 Gude *g^wáv* 'falling flat; dying'; 7 Mada *g^wovvo* 'immobile, sans bouger'.

//Sem Arab *wgb* 'tomber ride mort, mourir' [BK II 1487]. Note the following correlation: Arabic: *w-g* ~ Chadic *g^w*.

[HSED № 861, CLD IV №433].

190. **gV(HV)b-* > *gVb-* 'to cooperate, to join, to copulate; (при)соединяться': W 3 Dera *g^wáabc* 'collect together (fire); copulate with'; 4 Paa *gubcèi* 'to join' [MS]; C 5 Pod *gába* 'associate with', Mlg *gyáve* 'lieben; kooperieren, to love, to cooperate'; 7 cf. Ould *gaba-ḷay* 'se rencontrer'; E 5a Mig *gábbó* 'rallier, to consolidate, gather.'

Deriv. in *n-*: C 7 Mofu *-ḡḡóḡ-* 's'entraider (dans un travail), help each other (while working)'.

Derived noun: E 2 Lele *gūbá* 'adultère'.

a. **gVb-* 'friend;': W 2 Mpn *kyáp* 'siblings; close friends' [FrM]; 5 Grt *g^wabi* 'friend' [Jag]; E 4 Gude *gúvá* 'friend'; 7 Mada *gabbá* (exclam.) 'camarade, copain'.

//Sem Arab *g^ʿb* 'ramasser, amasser, réunir' [BK I 298]. Note the following correlation: Ch *-b-* ~ media lʿ in Arab.

[CLD IV №434].

191. **gVb-* 'hut; хижина': W 3 Bol *gabi*, Krf *gaafi* (irreg. labial), Glm *gaabu*, Gera *gawa*, Dera *gaabi*, *gaawi* 'hut' [SchV], Dera *gaabi* 'room' [NmK]; C 7 Mofu *gəvay* 'quartier, village', Mada *agaba* 'intérieur de la case'; E 3 Tum *gāb* 'argile, mur en boue, clay (wall)', Ndam *gaba* 'wall' [Brs].

//Sem Geez *gabgab* 'entrance, vestibule', Gur *gəbba* 'enclosure' [LsG 177], Eg *gb.w* (NK) 'Art Gebäude, kind of building' [EG V 163].

[HSED № 845, CLD IV №439].

192. ***gVb-** 'farm; земельный надел': W 3 Gera *gàb-sàwá* 'farm' [SchB]; C 5a Hdi *gava-k* 'garden' [BrH]; 6 Daba *ə̀gvi* 'open area outside the compound' [LnhR]; 7 Gis *gə̀va* 'farm', Zlg (noun pl. in *-h*?) *gùväh* 'champ cultivé, cultivated field'.

a. C ***gVb-** (derived verb, marked by emphatization of *-b-*) 'to weed, to cultivate (for the second time); обрабатывать поле второй раз': 3 Bana *gwáb(ə)* 'sarcler pour la deuxième fois'; 7 Mbuko *gūgūōb* 'cultivate for the second time',

//Eg *gbb* (Pyr) 'earth, Earth-god' [EG V 164], Akk (NB) *gabību* 'land suitable for pasture' (probably WSem loan) [CAD g 6], Arab *gabāb-at* 'plaine, champ' [BK II 246].

[Coh №204: Arab, Eg; HSED № 857; CLD IV №458].

193. ***gVbVr-** 'man; человек': W 1 Hs *g^wauróo g^wabróo* 'a man who no longer has a wife'; 3 Kupto *góbbrò, góorò* 'widower' < Hs [LgK]; C 4 Bch *gboara* 'man (person)' [Meck]; C 7 Ould *gubār* 'homme, mari'; 10 ***gVrVb-** 'brother (born by another wife of the father)' (metath.): Gizzey *gòrbù*, Marba *garbù, gòrbù*, Ham *gòrògbù* (< **gorob-n*), Lew, Marba *gòràbù* [LexC].

//Sem Hbr *gäbär* 'young, , strong man', Aram *gabra*, Phn *gbr* 'man' [KB 168] (< Sem **gbr* 'strong, powerful' [Zm 116]), Amh *gäbäre*, Tgr *gäbray* 'farmer' > HECush Burji, Kamb *gabare* 'farmer', agaw Bilin *gäbäre*, Kemant *gäbäre* 'farmer' [Hds, ApAg], HECush Burji *gaburi* 'slave, Gedeo *garba* 'servnt, slave' [Hds], Oromo *garbā* 'servant' [Grg].

[HSED № 860, CLD IV №464].

194. ***gV(w)č-** 'stone; камень': W 2 Mghv *gayas* < **ga-gas-* (partial redupl.) 'pile of stones' [BIM]; 3 Bol *guušo* [GAB] 'stone', Ngm (G) *gòošò*, (Y) *gòošò* 'stone, mountain' [NEH], Glm *ngúsi* 'mountain' [SchB], Krkr *gòčo* 'mountain, rock' [GK]; E 4 Mawa *gaas* 'caillou'.

Derived verb: C 7 Mada *eggčč* (vowel assim.) 'faire une fondation, un sol en pierres'.

//Sem Arab *guṭw-at* 'tas de pierres' [BK I 253], ECush Burji *goč-en* 'a sharp-edged stone used as a blade of hide-scraper' [SsB].

[CLD IV №548].

195. ***gVd-** 'hole; дыра': W 3 Ngm *gòdò* (G) 'hole', *godo hersi* 'anus', *ngaudò* (Y) 'armpit' [NEH]; C 7 Mada *gòdòkw* 'creux, creusé'; E 2 Lele

gòdò 'creux, hollow'.

//ECush **god-* 'hole in the ground, cave' [Ss 16], Som *god* 'burrow, hole in the ground' [LIS], Berb Wlm *tegedda* 'cuvette naturelle dans le rocher, source d'eau salée provenant d'une cuvette naturelle souterraine', Zng *igī ?di* 'puits', Ahg *taggidda* 'petit creux naturel dans le rocher, en forme de bassin, où l'eau de pluie s'amasse et se conserve', Shilh *agddu* 'creux, cavité' [NZ 722, 724].

196. **gVHVd-* (> **gHVD-*) 'dog; собака': W 1 Hs *góóžec* (< **gVHVd-*) 'dog'; 6 Ngz *gádá-múzái* 'hyena'; C 5 Dghw *gdè, yədi* [JgIb], Gdf *yədá* [JgIb]; 7 Mofu *gədcý*; E 3 Ndam *gály* (< **gVyD-*) [JgIb], Smr *dò-gódl*, pl. *gəradē* [JgIb], Tum *gá* (< **gad#*), pl. *garak*; 6 Mok *gədc* 'dog'.

a. **g(V)HVd-* 'to bite; кусаться': C 5a Lmn *xəd-*; 5a Gdf *xəv gana* (< **gHVD-*) [JgIb]; E 3 Tum *gəd*, Ndam *gədl* [JgIb].

//Sem Arab *gaʕd-at-* 'wolf' [BK I 299], Berb Qab *agdi* 'dog' [NZ 725]. Note Cush Som *godgoddo* 'type of shark' [LIS].

Note irregular fricative *x-* in CCh, influenced by *-ʕ-*: **gVHVd-* > *gHVD-* > *xVD-*. A long vowel in Hausa also points to a laryngeal in the middle. [HSED №856, CLD IV №498].

197. **gVf-* 'to strike; ударить': W 3 Bol *goppu* 'strike with a whip' [GAB]; 5 Zaar *guf* idf. 'hitting with a thud' [CrZ]; E 4 Sok *gifce* 'mit dem Schwert schlagen, to strike with a sword'.

a. Deriv. in *n-*: C 7 Mofu *ḡguf-* '(se) briser (poterie), se casser facilement, to break (clay vessels)', Muy *ḡgāf* idf. 'butting (with horns)'; 10 Gizey, Masa *ḡaf*, Ham *ḡaf* 'lutter, to struggle' [LexC].

//Sem Hbr *ngp*, Geez *ngf* 'strike, push, shake' [KB 594, Arab *gyf* 5. 'frapper' [BK I 362]. Extended forms in Sem and Ch languages. [HSED №921, CLD IV №450].

198. **gVy/wVf-* 'to bend, to turn body; гнутья': W 4 Wtj *gyafi* 'to bend' [BIS]; W 6 Ngz *g^wáfu* 'dodge; swerve turn off to the side'; E 1 Kera *guf-tí* 'beim Tanzen lebhaftes Bewegungen machen, to make buoyant movements while dancing'.

Deriv. in *n-* pl. ('to turn body again and again') > 'to reel, to stagger': C 7 Mofu *ḡ^wáfa-k^w* 'léger, marcher d'un pas non-assuré', Mbuko *ngəf-ngéf* 'manner de marcher d'un maladié'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *g^wáfaa* 'forked stick; C 3 FK *g^wáfa* 'forked branch

used for construction' (< Hs?) [BINd]; C 10 Azum *gafa* 'forked post' [PAz].
 //Sem Arab *gf?* 'pencher (un pot)', *ghf* 'se pencher vers qqn, vers qqch' [BK I 256, 303], Mhr *gfy* 'to turn over' [JM 116].
 Derived noun ***gVf-gVf- >gVgVf-/gVff-** 'knee; колено': C 10 Musey *giffā*, Marba *gigifā*, Hede *čin gif*, Zime (Mesme) *vun gif* [Shy], Dari *giffi* [Jglb], Dzpw *cīn-zif* (< **cin-gif*) 'knee' (*cin* 'leg'); cf. Masa *gof lōy* (compound) 'elbow', Gizey *yam gif*, Musey *ngívín*, *vòk gif*, Lew *gìgíf*, Marba *gìgíf* 'knee', Marba *yam gúguf* 'rotule' [LexC], Azum *gugufa* [PAz]; E 2 Lele *guba*, *gūwā*, Kaba *gubay*, Nch *guba* [HmK]; 3 Tum *gun gubò* (*gun* 'person'), Smr *gubé*, Ndam *gūb* [Jglb] (all < **gup-* < **guf-*); 5a Mig *gíppí*, Dng *gípi* 'knee', Bid *gepe* 'knee'; 5b Zir *gibi*, Mubi *gip* [CJ], Jegu *gifo*, Kaj *gif*, Tor *gifi-tu*, Brg *gífi*, Mubi *gip*, pl. *gaabap* [JgL] 'knee'.

199. *gVh- > n-gVh- 'to cut; резать': W 3 Ngm *gaʔa* (Y) 'slaughter' [NEH], Krkr *gaa* 'slaughter, cut' [GK], Bol *gaa* 'cut grass with sickle' [GAB]; C 6 Daba *ngā* 'cut-in-two'; 7 Ould *ngʷih* idf. 'action de couper en plusieurs morceaux', *-gāha-ŋ* 'aiguiser, tailler', Mada *ángaw* 'cut, trancher (hair, gras)', (derived noun) *ngaw* 'part'.
 //ECush Rend *gōy*, Som *goy*, Baiso *kōy* 'cut' [HnS], Som *go?* 'cut, cut in two' [LIS], dullay Harso, Dob *gaḥ-*, Gollango *g'oḥ-* 'schneiden' [AMS].
 CCch *-h-* may reflect AA **-ḥ-*.
 [CLD IV №576].

200. *gVI- 'to follow, to go; идти (за)': W 1 Hs *gūlc* 'arrive at a place, reach destination'; 7 Sha *gulay* 'follow' [JgR], Monguna *gūla a wí*, Karfa *gūl wí*, Richa *gul twi* 'follow', Tambas *gal* 'go to' [RC]; C 8 **gal-* 'follow' (see below); E 1 Mobu *gale* 'sortir' [Lns]; 2 Tob *gəle* 'conduire, follow'.
 Deriv. ***gVI-m-/*n-gVIV- 'to cross; пересека́ть'** (metath?): W 1 Hs *gílmā* 'cross over a road or in front of a person; lie across road (tree); pass by; cross over'; C 5 Pod *ngála* 'cross, climb'; 7 Mada *nglaw* 'en travers, en zigzagant, across'.

//Sem Arab *gwl* 'aller, courir; tourner, voltiger en cercle' [BK II 358];
 ECush **gal-* 'enter, go home': Som, Arb *gal-*, Oromo *gala*, Bambala *gal-* [Ss 17], Arbore *gal-* 'enter house' [Hay], SCush Dah *gaaliy* 'go home' [EEN], Omot (kefoïd) Anfilla *gal-* 'enter', Berb Qab *glu* 'aller', Ahg *egel* 'partir', Wlm *aglu*, Ayr *eglu* 'partir, passer', Ghat *tageli* 'départ', Shilh *gli* 'conduire, pousser devant soi' [NZ 765, 767-8].

The following Ch root (without "true cognates" outside the family), may be related. Semantic shift ('to follow' > 'to persue' > 'to hunt') seems tenable.

a. *gVI- 'to persue, to hunt; преследовать, охотиться': C 7 Baka *gálay* 'chaser, éloigner, repousser' [BAS]; 8 Log *gaála, gala* '(ver)folgen, zurückantreiben, jagen, angreifen, to follow, hunt, catch' [LkL], *gala-wun* 'chasser' [AIL], Bud *gaála* 'verfolgen, persue, follow'.

Deriv. in *n-*: C 7 Mbuko *ngalay* '(une meute de chiens) chasser, to drive (gang of dogs)'

Derived noun: ***gVI- 'hunt; охота':** C 8 Log *gala* 'hunt' (n.) [AIL]; E 2 Lele *gòlè* 'collective hunt'.

[Долг **gAl(l)-* 'enter', HSED №879; CLD IV №582].

201. *gVI- 'to grow; big; расти, быть большим': C 5 Pod *gòla* 'to grow'; 5a Hitk *gùlù* 'big' [LkH]; 6 Buwal *gal* 'grow up'; 7 Gis *gal* 'become big, grow', Chv *mèglèy* 'grandir (enfant)'

Deriv.: C 7 Ould *mā-gūlīyó* 'gros, gras' (contam. with ***gVI- 'to become fat'**); 9 Mbara *ngal-bay* 'big, tall'.

a. *gVI- 'be strong; strength; быть сильным, сила': W 7 DB *goló* 'Lebenskraft, vitality power'; C 2 Bura *galau* 'strong, healthy' [BIB]; 3 Bana *gúl-gúl* 'fort, strong' (contamination with ***gVI- 'to become fat'**).

Deriv. in *m-*: C 7 Mbuko *mə-galà* 'force', Zlg *mà-galà* 'violence, force, cruelty, strength'.

Note W 1 Hs *gállabaa* 'force person to do smth'.

//Sem Arab *gll* 'être grand, imposant, gros, illustre', *glw* 'être grand haut' [BK II 307], Berb Ayr *aglu* 'surpasser' [NZ 770].

b. The following "extended" forms are cognate: Sem Arab *glw* 'être grand haut' [BK II 319], ECh 6 Mok *gòolé* (< **gwI*) 'grand' masc., (Derived noun) *goolikó* 'taille, grandeur (home)'.

One more CCh root may be related (note link of 'big' and 'fat' in C 3 Bana and 7 Ouldem): **c. *gVI- 'to become, to be fat; стать жирным':** C 7 Ould *-gūl-* 'grassir'. Cf. Mafa *gúlfaʔa* 'gras, fat' (adj.).

Derived noun in *m-/n-*: CCh 3 Bana *gúlgúl* 'gras, fat'; 5-5a Dghw, Gdf, Gava *ngəla*, Chn *ɲəla*, Glv *giləga* 'fat' [HmG]], Mlg *gəla* 'fat, butter'; 7 Ould *mā-gūlīyó* 'gras, gros', Gis *mu-ngul* 'fat' [JgIb].

[CLD IV № 588].

202. *gV(wV)l- 'to look (after), to watch; следить за кем-л., наблюдать':

C 10 Dzpw *gól* 'surveiller, guetter, épier, espionner, superwise, look after, watch, spy', **gol* 'to watch': Masa, Marba *gol*, Heđe *gól* [Shy], Gizey, Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba *gól* 'regarder, to look, to watch' [LexC]; E 1 Kera *gòle* 'gucken, look'; 2 Kaba, Nch -*g^wal* 'voir, see' [HmK], Lele *gólé* 'vision, vue'.

Deriv. in *n-*: *(*n*-)*gVI-* 'to look, to glare at; смотреть, глазеть': W 3 Bol *ngulaa* 'glare at' [GAB]; 4 Miya *ngul* 'to peek' [SchM], Siri *ngulu*, Jmb *gul* 'to see' [SkNB]; 5 Guus *ngal* 'see, look', *ngaal* 'examine' [CrG], Zaar *gali* 'see' [JgIb].

//Sem Arab *ngl* (i) 'faire voir, mettre en évidence' [BK I 1207], SCush Qwadza *gal-* 'to see' (hardly relates to Irq *giris-* 'to select', as in [Eh 235]), Berb Awjila *agel* 'voir', Shilh *smagel* 'surveiller' [NZ 769].

Note extended roots in Arabic and in Chadic.

[CLD IV №593].

203. **gVm-* 'to meet, to join, to gather; встречать, присоединять(ся)': W 1 Hs *gámá* 'join, put together', *gamu* 'be, become joined; meet', *gamoo* 'a meeting'; 2 Grk *k^wam* 'to join' [Fp], Ngas *g^wom* 'to meet' [Fl]; 3 Krkr *gáamu* 'meet' [GK], *gam* 'treffen, zusammentreffen mit', *gaam* 'zusammenkommen, zich treffen' [LkK], Bol *gom-* [SchV], Maka *gomaayo* [SvM], Dera *gómí* 'meet' (pl. Subj) [NmK]; 4 Miya *gəm* 'join, meet' [SchM], **gAm-* 'to meet' [SkNB]; 5 Jimi *gəmi* 'meet' [Cs]; 6 Bade *gámau*; C 5 Pod *gama* 'meet, surround'; 7 Ould -*gáma-yar* (compound) 'se ressembler'; 7a Skn *gam* 'to copulate'; E 3 Som *gám-dē* 'together' [Luk].

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): W 3 Krkr *gáamatu* 'join, bring together, combine' [NEH], Kupto *gontéy* 'to join' [LgK], Krf *gont-* 'to gather' (intr.) [St] (both < *gom-t*).

//Sem Arab *gm^ɣ* (a) 'rassembler, réunir; cohabiter avec une femme' [BK I 327], Sab *gm^ɣ* 'assemble, bring together' [SD 49, Bll 72], Mhr *gm^ɣ* 'gather' [JnM 120].

[HSED № 952, CLD IV 613].

204. **gVm-* 'to pile; складывать в кучу', **n-gVm-* 'pile; куча': 1 Hs *g^wáama* 'put one thing upon another', *g^wámmaa* 'a small bundle of corn', C 6 Buwal *g^wóm* 'heap up'; E 3 Tum *ngóm* 'conserver'.

Derived noun 'a pile': W 1 Hs *gumi* 'a pile of corn at the head of a millstone'; 3 Bol *ngúmos/ší* 'piles of stalks, grass piled and burned'

[GAB], Ngm (G) *ngùma* 'piles of stalks for burning' [NEH]; 5 Guus *gaam* 'bundle (corn, wood)' [CrG].

Derived noun: C 4 Gude *gə̀gə́má* 'shelf on wall, storage rafter'.

//Sem Arab *gmm* (u) 'être abondant', *gamm-* 'abundant; en foule, en grand nombre' [BK I 322], Hbr *gmm*, Ug *gm* 'partical of associating' [KB 186], Berb Qab *egmem* 'amasser, accumuler' [NZ 799].

Deriv. in *n-*: WCh ***n-gVm-** 'to fill, to be full': W 2 Ngas *gam* 'to fill' [Fl], Mghv *gam* 'to fill' [JgS], Mpn *gām* [FrM], Mnt *gum*, Goem *gam* 'to fill' [Fp], *ngam* 'many, full' [Hlw], Mushere *ngam* 'to fill' [JgO]; 3 Gera *ngumti-mí* 'fill, be full'; Krkr *nžamú*, Bol *ngómú*, Glm *ngan-t-*, Gera *ngum-t-*, Ngm *ngam-*, Dera *gómi* 'to be full, to fill' [SchV], Bol *ngómani* 'full', *ngomu* 'be full' [GAB], Maka *ngémi* 'full' [SvM]. Cf. W 3 Krkr *gām* 'many, much' [GK].

//Sem Arab *gmm* (u) 'remplir', II stem 'remplir, combler la mesure' [BK I 321-1], Hbr *gmm* 'to be full' [Zm 127], Berb Qab *ggcmgem* 'être plein à ras bord' [NZ 799].

[HSED № 888, CLD IV №614].

205. *gV(wV)m- 'to strike; ударять': W 1 Hs *gumii* 'a blow in the abdomen'; 2 Ngas *gam* (< **-gVm*, initial **g-* usually yields *k-*) 'to kick' [Fl]; 3 Krkr *gama-k* 'action of striking with force' [GK], Kupto *gaméy* 'to hit, beat, punch, flog' [LgK]; C Mofu *-gum-* 'déformer, (se) ratatiner, enfoncer en tapant', Mada *óggom* 'marteler (pour aiguiser une meule), to hammer', *ógg'óm* 'frapper en martelant avec une pierre, un marteau, to strike with a hammer, stone'; 8 Makari *gim* 'to bump, heurter, cogner'; E 5a WDng *gâm* idf. 'évoque un coup du corne'

//Sem Arab *wgm* 'frapper qqn d'un coup de poing' [BK II 1493], cf. Eg *wgm* (AR) '(Korn) mahlen' [EG I 377]. Note promotion of *w* from *C*₁ to *C*₂ in Chadic languages.

[CLD IV №616].

206. *gVm- '(to put) down; положить, (в)низ': W 3 Dera *gáma* 'base, bottom', Maka *gáma* 'bottom, fond' [SvP]; 5 Zaar *gəm* 'put; release, throw away; sow' [CrZ]; C 7 Ould *ngim* idf. 'poser qqch', Muy *ngum* idf. 'on the ground'; E 6 Mok *gúmmeý* 'la-bas (visible)'.

//Cush agaw gr. **gām* 'go down, descend' [ApAg], Saho *game* 'descend, slope down' [Vr], SCush Irq *gamu* 'corner, edge, lower side near base, below' [MKQ], Bur *gama* 'lower part of tree trunk', Alg *gama* 'lower trunk'

[Eh 234], rift **gama/u* 'root; bottom': Irq *gamu*, Gor *gamuungw* 'bottom', Bur *gamu* 'root, Alg *gamaa* 'trunk of tree' [Kies].

207. *gVn- 'to thresh, to grind; **молотить, толочь**': W 1 Hs cf. *gānžāraa* 'grind corn coarsely when intending to grind finely', *gānžārece* 'coarsely ground flour'; C 7 Mbuko *gān* 'eccraser (le mil)'

Derived noun: ***gVn-** 'mortar; **ступа**': W 5 Saya *kun* (< **k-gun*) [Cs]; E 3 Tum *gən*, Smr *giné* [JgIb], Ndam *gəná* [Brs]; 4 Barein dial *gónó*, *gono*, *gónó* [LvB]; 5a WDng *ít-gìná* [JgIb].

//Sem cf. Geez *g^wanʔa* 'thresh' {"seems to be the wrong interpretation of the sentence in 2 Esdras" [LsG 196]} PHECush **gan-am-* 'hit' [Hds], Arab *wgn* 'battre avec un battoir, avec un battant' [BK II 1494], cf. Eg (Med) *dn* 'to grind' [EG V 575].

[HSED №927 Eg+ECh; CLD IV №644].

208. *gVn- 'to make, build; **делать, строить**': W 4 Mburku *gən-* 'make, do' [SkNB]; 5 Guus *ggin* 'weave, build' [CrG]; C 8 Bud *gun* 'bauen, flechten' [Luk], *gun* 'construire' [Awg], Zina *gana* 'build' [ZK]; E 4 Sok *gíne(u)* 'tun, machen', Barein (dial.) *ga(a)nó* 'make' [LvB]; 5a Bid *gín* 'faire, traîner, se comporter, traiter, supposer', EDng *gínē* 'sein, tun, to be, make, do' [Ebb], WDng *gínē* 'faire, croire', 5b Tor *gín* 'faire, construire', *gína* 'métier, travail'. Cf. W 5 Dyarim *gən* 'mould pot' [BID].

//Cush Saho *gine* 'build, make, produce' [Vr], Berb Ghdm *e-gnu* 'aménager (un jardin, une maison), préparer' [NZ 821]. Note a semantic shift: 'to do, to make' > 'to build' in Chadic. Cf. also №271 ***yVn-**, ***yVwVn-** 'to mould pottery, to build'. [JgIb *g-n*, CLD IV №648].

209. *gVwVn- '(to plait) a mat, to spin; **плести (циновку), прясть**': W 6 Ngz *gaunú* (v.n. *gawán*) 'plait a zana-mat', Duw *guuno* 'weave zana mat', Bade *goonu* 'weave zana mat'; C 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Lew, Musey, Marba *gun* 'tordre, to spin, twist' [LexC], Mesme *gun* 'twists' [JgZ].

Derived noun: W 2 Mpn *ngāj* 'mat used for drying food'; 3 Ngm *gān-da* (Y) 'palm leaf mat' [NEH]; 6 Duw *gun* 'zana mat'; C 9 Msg *ganai* 'mat' [LkM], Mnj *gəna* 'natte'.

//ECush Burji *gin-* 'to plait', Saho, Afar *gin-* 'twist a rope' [SsB], Som *gunno*, *gunud* 'a knot', *gunud* 'tie a knot' [LIS].

The following Chadic root, lacking "true cognates" may be related:

a. *gVn-> *ngVn- 'to tie; **привязывать**': W 3 Gera *ngān-mí* 'to tie' [SchB];

C 1 Tera *gəni* 'to tie' [NmT]; 4 Gude *nginə* 'tie grass in small bunches for roofing'; 10 Dzpw *gan* 'to tie with a cord'.
[CLD IV №641].

210. *gVn- '(to go) down; опускаться, ложиться': W 2 Mghv, Mpn *gan* 'sich niederlegen, to lie down' [JgS, FrM], Ngas *ngin* 'below, down' [TAS 139]; 3 Bol *ganaa* 'cave in, sink, go down', *gəncə poti* 'sunset' (*poti* 'sun') [GAB], Ngm *ganā* (G,Y) 'fall into, onto' [NEH]; 6 Ngz *gīina* 'lying on the back'; C 1 Tera *gan ya* 'lie down' [NmT]; 10 Dzpw *gəná* 'la-bas'; E 5a Bid *gaany* 'se deposer au fond', Mig *góné* 'la bas'.

a. Deriv. ***gVnd-** (< ***gVn-t-** ?) 'to put down; положить': W 3 Dera *gándé* 'put, lay down' [NmK], Ngm (G) *gándá*, (Y) *gándó* 'lie down; settle out (sediment from liquid)' [NEH].

Derived noun: ***gVn-** 'buttocks; ягодицы': W 1 Hs *ginda* 'buttocks'; E 3 Smr *gen-úm* 'dein Arsch, your buttocks' [Luk], *gəníny* 'fesses' [JgS].

b. ***gV(yV)n-** 'to throw (down); уронить, бросить': W 2 Goem *gaan* 'throw about, shoot down' [Hlw]; 5 Zaar *gyoy* 'throw stone, stick at' [CrZ]; E 5a Zir *-gina* 'lancer, to throw' [CJ].

//Berb Izn, Rif *jcn* 's'accroupir, s'agenouiller (an)', Ahg *egen* 'être accroupi; tomber (vent)', Wlm, Ayr *egen* 's'accroupir, s'agenouiller', Ghat *agen* 's'agenouiller (an)' [NZ 816-8].

[CLD IV №640].

211. *n-gVn-/ *gVwVn- 'to bend, to be curved; гнуться': W 2 Kofyar *goon* 'curved, bent', Goem *goon* 'to bend' (*g-* < *ng-*) [TAS 128]; 3 Ngm *ngunā* (G) 'bend down, stoop', cf. *gungu* (G,Y) 'hump on the back' [NEH], Bol *ngunu* 'duck, bend down' [GAB], Krkr *ngunaa* 'bend down, stoop' [GK], Tng *kəne*, *kunʒe* 'to bend smth'; 5 Zaar *gan* 'to lean' [CrZ]; 7 Bok *gan* 'gegen etw lehnen, lean', Sha *magan* 'biegen, beugen, bend'; C 3 FK *g^wagunā* 'cripple' [BINd]; 4 Gude *g^waŋə* 'bend over'; 9 Mnj (derived noun) *goŋ* 'arcade sourcilière'.

Cf. C 9 Msg *góno-góne* 'elbow' [LkM], 3 FK *ngin* 'bow' [Meek].

//Sem Arab *hgn* 'recourber en crochet', *gnh* 'se pencher, se incliner' [BK I 385, 337], Syr *g^ehan* 'to bend or bow, incline', Aram *g^ehan*, Hbr *gāhan* 'to bend' [Zm 127], Cush Bilin *gan* 'gebeugt sein' [RB].

Note different extensions in Chadic and in Semitic.

[HSED №994 Arab+WCh 'to bend'].

a. W ***gVy/n-** 'side; сторона': 2 Ngas *k^waŋ* 'side, direction' [JgA], Mpn

k^waj ‘side’ [FrM]; 3 Dera *gōŋgò* ‘side’ [NmK]; 5 Dott *gyaj* ‘side’ [CrD], 6 Ngz *gúnai* ‘haunch, side of thigh below hip joint’, Cf. W 2 Mushere *gan ku di-soh* ‘right side’, *gan gu di-luk* ‘left side’ (*di-soh* ‘right’, *di-kul* ‘left’) [TAS 122].

//Sem Arab *gi/unḥ-at-* ‘côté, place à côté’ (derived noun from *gnḥ* ‘se pencher, se incliner’) [BK I 337], Amh *gon* ‘side’, *gunč* ‘cheek’ [Hds], Omot Shin *gano* ‘Seite’ [LmS]. Berb Ahg *agenena* ‘bord’, Wlm, Ayr *aganna* ‘côté, partie (d’une chose)’ [NZ 822].

Note **-nH# > -ŋ#* in Chadic languages.

212. **(k-)gVn-* ‘cheek(s); щѐка, щѐки’: W 2 Ngas *gün* ‘the inside of the cheek’ [Fl], Mghv *gən* ‘cheek’ [JgS], Mpn *gən* ‘cheeks’ [FrM], Mnt *gun* ‘cheek’ [Fp], Miship *gin* ‘cheeks’ [Kr], Kofyar *gən*, Goem *gen* ‘chin’ [TAS 133], Goem *gen* ‘inner part of chin’ [Hlw]; 3 Dera *gōŋgá* ‘cheeks’ [NmK]; 5 Paa *gàn-čəka* ‘cheek’ [MS]; 5 Saya *guyñ* (< **g-gVn-* < **k-gVn*), Buli *guñi* ‘cheek’ [Kr], Guus *gəŋ* ‘cheek’ [CrG]; C 4 Gude *ko-xōaná* (< **ko-g^wana*) ‘cheek’ [JgIb] (note *k-* as a body-part pref. in Chadic, the pref. explains initial *g-* (not *k-*) in the ngas gr.); 5a Lmn *la-gən* ‘cheek’ [JgIb]; 10 Dzpw *gin* ‘joue, cheek’, Dari *gīn* ‘joue’, *ngičn* ‘joue’ [Cpr], Peve *ngyen* [Kr]; E 2 Lele *gánǰí* ‘joue’.

//Cush Bed *genuun* ‘Kiefer, Kinnbacken’ [RBd], Som *goon* ‘cheekbone’ [LIS], Berb Wlm *aganan* ‘os maxillaire; mâchoire’ [NZ 823]. Any relation to ‘side’? Cf. Sem Amh *gon* ‘side’, *gunč* ‘cheek’.

[JgIb **gn* ‘cheek’; EDE 156, 254 **gnḥ* ‘wing’; CLD IV №652].

213. **gVn(?)*, pl. *gVwVn-* ‘farm; поле’: W 1 Hs *gōonáa* ‘a farm’ (in Zaria and Benue districts the word is often pronounced *g^wana*), cf. Gwandara (Nim) *g^wana* ‘farm’ [Mts №191]; 3 Tng *kaŋ*; 7 Fyer *haⁿgón* ‘field’, DB *goŋ* ‘field, farm’, Sha *goŋ* ‘farm, field’, Monguna, Mundat *gōŋ* id. [RC]; E 5a Bid *gaŋ*, pl. *gawaŋ* ‘champ’, Mig *gáan*, pl. *ganna* ‘champ’. [JgIb **gwn* ‘fields (farm)’].

Cf. W 2 Mpn *gōoŋ* ‘land, land left for the forest to grow on’ [FrM], Kofyar *goon* ‘bush, unihabited land’ [TAS 129]; 3 Maka *ŋgwána* ‘soil (uncultivated land)’ [SvP].

//Sem Akk *ganú* (MB) ‘field’ (according to [CAD g 42], a Sumerian loan), Sab *gnt* ‘garden, orchard’ [SD 50], Ug *gn*, Hbr *gan*, Aram (Syr) *gannōt-*, (Jud) *gīnnōt-* ‘garden’ [LsG 196, MAg №18].

Semantic shift: 'garden' < 'vegetable garden' > 'field' seems quite tenable. Note one more Sumerian loan in Akk with a reliable parallel in Ch.

a. Derived verb: ***gVwVn-** 'to cultivate, to weed; обрабатывать землю': W 7 Fyrc *gon* 'Boden bearbeiten, till'; E 4 Sok *gauen-gauen* 'jäten, to weed' [Luk], Saba *gawna* 'cultivate', Mawa *gəwənəŋ* 'cultiver, sarcler pour la première fois, weed for the first time'; 5a Bid *gawan* 'cultiver, labourer', Mig *gawnō* 'cultiver', *gāwānā* 'cultivateur', WDng *gawnē* 'travailler la terre avec un instrument', *gāwnā* 'sarclage', Mabire *guanu* 'cultivate' [JH]; 5b Brg *gawnī* 'cultiver', 5b Mubi *gāwān* 'cultiver, travailler la terre, sarcler' [JgL].

Note: W 2 Ngas *g^won* 'the stage of farming (dried leaves are removed)' [Fl]; E 5a Bid *gongog* coll. 'billon, furrow'.

Derived noun in *m-*: E 5b Tor *mā-gayno* 'cultivateur'.

[HSED №890; CLD IV №648]. Cf. [MAg №18-19], some of the data included seems irrelevant.

One more Chadic root is worth mentioning, though it may be of different origin:

a. ***gVnVy/w-** 'to work together (in the field); работать вместе (напр., в поле)': W 3 Bol *gənya* 'doing smth in a group' [GAB]; E 5a EDng *gūné* 'aider (pour travailler)' [Dj], Mig *gūnāw* 'cultiver ensemble'; 5b Mubi *gonō* 'culture collective' [JgL]. Cf. 5 WDng *gūnē* 'rivaliser d'ardeur au travail'.

Derived noun: W 3 4 Miya *gānya* 'communal labour' [SchM]; 5 Bgh *gāan* 'work' n. [Cs]; 6 Duw *gaagənā* 'communal labor'; C 7 Mbuko *məgana* 'travail du groupe'; E 5a EDng *gūnāw* 'travail en commun dans les champs' [Dj], WDng *gūnāw* 'séance de culture collective'.

Derived noun: W 3 ***n-gVn-f-** 'hard work; тяжелая работа': Bol *nginpu* 'hard labour', Krkr *nginifū* 'hard work, diligence'.

214. ***gVn-/*guy#** 'chief, old, honoured person; вождь': W 1 Ngas *kun* 'old' [JgA], Mpn *ngunān* 'old person', *kūn* 'old' [FrM]; 5 Mangas *guy*, Buli, Geji *guy*, Pol *goy*, Zul *gunye* 'king' [Cs], Zaar *guy* 'chief' [CrZ]; C 10 Dzp *gay* 'notable, honoured'. Note C 10 Masa, Lew, Marba *gun* 'jurer, to judge' [LexC].

//ECush agaw **gān-* 'grow old' [ApAg], Burji *gaan-* '(be)come big', *gānn-i* 'traditional high priest-cum-king' [SsB], Omot Kaffa *gēn-* 'to become old', Mocha *gēno* 'old man' [BndO 342], Eg *gn* (Pyr) 'angesehen sein, mächtig sein' [EG V 173]. [Долг 211; EDE I Eg-Cush-Om-WCh 5].

The following Chadic roots are worth mentioning: a. ***gVn-** 'person, man':

W 3 cf. Pero *génno* ‘relative of father or mother’; 5 Bgh *gécn* ‘guest’ [Cs]; 7 Bok *guj* ‘relative’ [RC]; C 8 Log *ŋg^wen* ‘person’ [AIL], *ŋg^wen, ngen* ‘Leute, people’ [LkL]; E 3 Smr *gun* ‘Mensch’ [Luk], *gūn* ‘person’ [JgIb], Tum *gūn* ‘être humain’, *gūn* ‘person’, *goon* ‘man’, Ndam *gon* ‘man’ [JgIb].
a. *gV(HV)n- ‘slave’: W 5 Jimi *gən-to*, Tala *ka-goonu* ‘slave’ [Cs]; C 8 Bud *ngaanu* ‘male slave’.
 [CLD IV №650].

215. *H-/k-gVn- ‘upper arm; рука выше локтя’ (with a body-part pref.): W 1 Hs *hanuu* (< **ha-nnu* < **ha-gnu*, cf. *haršc*, *halšc* < **ha-lis-* ‘tongue’) ‘hand, trunk of elephant, sleeve’, cf. *hauni*, *hagun* ‘left hand’; 2 Ngas *g^wong* ‘upper arm including shoulder’ [Fl], Mghv *kə-gəŋ* ‘shoulder’ [JgS], Mpn *gəŋ*, *kə-gon* ‘shoulder’ [FrM]; 5 Grnt *gu-gwaŋ* ‘shoulder’ [Jag], Dwtot *kə-yəŋ* (< **k-gVn*) ‘wing’, *kə-yən-pət* ‘branch’ [CrD]; 7 Sha *ⁿgaan* ‘arm’, Fyer, Bok *kòn*, Mundat, Karfa *həŋ-gan*, Mangar *kôn*, Tambas *gū-gəŋ* ‘shoulder’ [RC]; C 7 Gis *haŋ* ‘ganzer Arm, Hand’, Balda *hāŋ* ‘bras’ (< **ha-gaŋ*) [Bry]; 9 Mbara *gaŋlāŋ* ‘wing’; 10 ‘wing’: Ham *gaŋ*, Lew *gigíŋ*, Marba *hīhīŋ* (< *gi-hīŋ*, spirantization of medial *-g-* and regressive assimilation) [LexC], Dzpw *kāŋ* (< *k-gVŋ*). Note Gizey *garaŋát*, Masa *gīlāŋ*, Musey *garaŋ* ‘wing’ [LexC]. Unexplainable *-r-* (an infix or dissimilation of **gVnVŋ*?). Note Chadic *-ŋ#* < *-nH#*.

//Sem Arab *ganāh-* ‘bras, aile’ [BK I 338], Eg *dnh* (Pyr) ‘wing’, *gnh* (Gr) id. [EG V 577, 176], Cush Kamb *gonna-ta* ‘wing’.

The following (rather weak) isogloss for ‘hand’ differs from the present root only in C₃ (*h* vers. *ʃ*):

a. Ch E 3 Tum *gēny* ‘hand’, cf. 5a Bid *gon* ‘prendre’ (semantic shift: ‘hand’ > ‘to hand, to take’).

//Cush Bed *ganaʔa* ‘hand’, Saho *ginaʃ*, Afar *genaaʃ* ‘hand, palm’ Som *gaʃan*, Oromo *gana*, Boni *kaʃan* ‘hand, arm’ [Долл 316; Ss 17, 36, 54]. Cf. Ongota *ganʔa* ‘hand’ [FIO].

[Coh №215; HSED № 916, 954, CLD IV №567].

216. *gVn- ‘cock, poule; петух, курица’: W 2 Yiwom (Grk) *kəŋ* ‘chicken’ [JgIb]; 5 Guus *guun* ‘cock’ [CrG]; 7 Tambas *g^wcne*, Monguna *kurúŋ-gəŋ*, Karfa *gəŋguroŋ* ‘cock’ [RC], Fyer *g^wənc* ‘Hahn’ [JgR]; C 4 Gude *gəŋəwá* ‘k of bird (poule de rochers)’; 7 Mbuko *gūŋg^wáʃ* ‘le coq’; 10 Dzpw *gúgəŋ* ‘k of bird’.

//Eg *dndn* 'poultry' (MR), *gn.w* (AR) 'ein Vogel' [EG V 174, 580].
[HSED № 953 Eg+WCh 7 Fyer; CLD IV №658].

217. *gVn(Vʔ)- 'wall, fence; стена, ограда': W 1Hs *gáanúwáa* 'town wall'; 3 Bol *gaawuna* 'city wall' [GAB]; E 1 Kera *gòŋ* 'wall'; 3 Smr *gùŋ* 'wall' [IL]. Note Ech *-ŋ#* < **-nʔ-*. Cf. C 10 Azum *gina* 'a grass-shelter' [PAz]. Cf. W 1 Hs *gandoo* 'a mound round a farm, fish-dam'.

//Sem Sab *gnʔ* 'wall of town, fortress or temple; surround with a wall// wall, enclose with a siege wall' [SD 50, Bll 73], cf. Akk *ganūnu* 'storage room or building' [CAD g 42].
[CLD IV №638].

218. *gVn- 'female; женщина': W 3 **guny-*, pl. *gumy-* (possibly, < **gunm-*) 'young girl; девушка': Dera *gunyo*, pl. *gumyən* 'young lady, young, verginal' [NmK], Bol *gunyo*, pl. *gumaaya* 'girl; pretty' [GAB], cf. Ngm *gumyo* (Y,G), pl. *gumaaya* 'girl, young woman' [NEH]; C 8 Log *gin wiye* 'fellow wife', *ginim* 'female, woman' [AIL], *gənm* (Genitiveform *gən*) 'woman, wife' [LkL], Makari *gim* 'wife, female, woman' (*r* < **n* is regular, see); 7a Skn *gan* 'affine, female'.

a. W 3 Kupto *ngén-dén* 'vagina' [LgK]; 5 Zaar *gòŋ* 'vagina' [CrZ].

//Cush agaw gr. **gān-a* 'mother' [ApAg], SCush Dah *gaana* 'woman' [EEN], Omot Kafa *gennce* 'queen, lady', Mocha *gänne* 'woman', Shin *goona*, Kafa *goone* 'Sklavin' [BIO].
[CLD IV №649].

219. *gVn- 'fire; to make fire'; (разводить) огонь': C 4 Gude *gúnə* 'fire, heat', *uuší-gínə* 'firewood' (*uuší* thing'), Jimj *guun* 'fire' [BryJ]; 8 Mak (derived noun) *ganun* 'mobile metal fireplace'.

Cf. W 1 Hs *gàngá-gàngaa* (adv.) 'emphasizes fire burning up strongly'.

a. ****gVwVn- 'to cook; готовить еду':** C 3 FK *g^wándə* 'stew with many ingredients (beans, ground-nuts)' [BINd]; E 4Sok *gaan* 'kochen, cook' [Luk].
Derived noun: E 3 Ndam *gə-gən* 'bouillie' [Brs].

Cf. *gVn- 'smoke; дым': W 5 Grnt *gyuni* 'smoke' [Jag]; C 1 Tera *gən* 'smoke' [NmT]; 9 Msg *agíŋ* 'smoke' [LkM], Mbara *gəŋ* 'smoke'.

//Eg *dndn.t* (Sarc) 'fire' [EG V 580].
[CLD IV №657].

220. *gVn- 'small; маленький': W3 Kupto *gána* 'little, small' [LgK]; 6 Bade *gána* 'small'; 7 Ould *gunch* 'peu, petit'; 8 Bud *gánaa* (accord to

Lukas, a loan from Kanuri *gana*); 9 Mbara *ngàwnáy* 'small'.

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 1 Hs *gún-čè* (< **gun-t-*) 'lessen, cut short', *gún-túu* 'short'.

a. **gVwVn-* 'be tired, ill': W 5 Zaar *gon* 'be ill' [CrZ]; C 3 Bana *gunáy* 'lassitude, fatigue' [BINd]; E 3 Smr *gwayni* 'tiredness' [JgSb].

//ECush Som *guun* 'dwarf, midget' [LIS], Bilin *genaáy* 'Kleinheit' [RBdl], Eg *gnn* (AR) 'schwach, weich sein' [EG 174]. Semantic shift: 'small' > 'weak' seems tenable. [CLD IV №662].

221. **gVwVp-/g^wVp-* 'spear; копье': W 2 Ngas *k^wop* [Fl], Mghv *kɔp* [JgS], Mpn *kop* [FrM], Goem *k^wap* [Hlw], Kofyar *kop*, Mushere *kop* 'spear' [TAS 189]; C 3 Bana *g^wápá*; 5 Glv *gúpa* 'spear' (gen.) [Rp], 5 Gava, Gdf *gupa*, Gvoko, Dghv *gupa*, Chn *g^wopa*; 5a Hdi *gupa*, Lmn, Vemgo *gupa* 'spear' [HmG].

//Sem Arab *gwf* (u) 'transpercér, porter à qqn un coup de lance' [BK I 357]. Note the following correlation: *medial waw* in Arabic ~ *g^w* in Chadic languages. [CLD IV 460].

222. **gVr-* 'to flame; пылать': W 1 Hs *gúura* 'cause fire to blaze up'; C 4 Gude *gəɾə-k* 'bursting into flame'; C 5 cf. Mlg *gərfé* 'warm o.s. near fire'. Cf. 4 Gude *gúra* 'hearth for warming room'.

//Sem Akk *gíru, gírru* (OB) 'fire, deity of fire' [CAD g 93], Arab *gāyir-* 'feu, grand chaleur dans le corps' [BK I 361], Eg *dr* 'fire' [EG V 595], HECush **giira* 'fire': Sid, Dar, Had, Kamb *giira* 'fire', Sid, Had *giir-* 'to burn' [Hds 64], Saho *gira* [Vr], Afar *gíirā* 'Feuer' [RA], Bed *gur* 'kochen, braten, rösten' [RBd].

Derived adj. **gVr-* 'hot; горячий': W 3 Dera *górgət* [NmK], Maka *girgir* [NmM], Kupto *girgir* [LgK]; C 1 Tera *gərgər* [NmT]; 2 Bura *girgir* [BlB]; E 4 Ubi *igro*, Mawa *žor* (ž- < g^w-) [HJ].

//Cf. Sem Arab *ngr* 'être très chaud, brûlant de chaleur (se dit d'un jour d'été)', *nāgir-* 'chaude, brûlant, d'été' [BK II 1202-3].

[Долл 60 Cush+EG+Akk; HSED № 931]

a. **gVr-m/n-* 'charcoal; уголь': W 3 Tng *kuro*, Glm *ngúrná* [Jglb]; 5 Grnt *g^wáran*, Jimi *nguran* 'charcoal' [Cs]; C cf. 10 Dzpw *ʔú-ɲor-sú* 'charbon'; E 2 Lele *gurmá* 'mud, coal'; 3 Ndam *gūrē* [Jglb]; 4 Bairen *garui* 'Feuerholz, charcoal' [Luk]. Cf. W 3 Bure *gíre* 'ashes'.

//Sem Akk *gurāru* 'hot ash, embers' [CAD 137], SCush Bur, Alg *gi?iru* 'embers' [Eh 238], but cf. rift **gi?ilu* 'ember': Irw, Gor *gil?i*, Bur *gi?iriya*

'ember', Alg *giʔiriya* 'spark' [Kies].
[Ст 67, HSED №№930, 986, №664].

223. *gVr- 'to pull, to drag; тянуть, тащить': W 3 Bol *gaaru* 'pull out, extract, strip off' [GAB]; C 4 Gude *gwar* 'idf. 'dragging smth on the ground'; 7 Mafa *gur-* 'pull (animal by rope)', Mofu *-gur-* 'pull (rope)'.
Deriv.: W 1 Hs *gir-daa* 'uproot and remove, snap off tree, post, corn stalk and remove', *gir-baa* 'reap (applied to ripping any thick-stulked cereal) completely'.

a. *gVwVr- 'to strip off leaves; обдирать листья': W 3 Bol *gooru* 'wrest away, snatch, strip off leaves'; C 7 Moloko *goroy* 'strip leaves from stalk', Mofu *-g^war-* 'effeuiller (mil), strip leaves from stalk'.

Cf. C 7 ***gV-gVr-** 'to lose leaves': Mbuko *gogār* 'lose leaves, feathers', Zlg *gagər* 's'effeuiller'.

b. *gVr- 'to weed for the first time; полоть': C 7 Chv *mogroʒeyu* 'sarcler (première fois)'; 9 Mnj *guri* 'sarcler, to weed'; E 1 Mobu *gagare* 'sarcler' [Lns]; 2 Tob *güre* 'sarcler'; E 5a (cf.) WDng *gəngirəm* 'première herbe sarclée'.

Deriv in. *n-* 'to tear (in pieces); рвать на куски': Mbuko *ngərāw* 'déchirer', Mofu *-ngər-* 'tear (cloth)', Moloko *ngaray* 'tear', *ngərway* 'break, tear away', Cuv *məngəgəy* 'déchirer'; 9 Mulwi *ngirwi* 'tear in pieces (déchirer, couper)'; 10 Dzpw *ngar* 'déchirer', Dari *ng^war* 'déchirer'.

//Sem Hbr *gārar* 'to drag (away)', Syr *gar* 'to drag', Aram *g^rar* 'to drag, pull, push' [Zm 121], Arab *grr* 'tírer, traîner' [BK II 271], Jib *gerr*, Hss *ger* 'pull', Mhr *gr* 'drag' [JnM].

[HSED №985, CLD IV №669].

224. *gVr- 'to hunt, to drive away; охотиться, гнать': W 5 Maŋgas *gare* 'drive away' [Cs]; C 5 Pođ *gərəva* 'chase, chasser'; 7 Muy *agaray* 'drive out, chase away', Mada *agara* 'chasser, renvoyer, aboyer, to hunt, to send', Mofu *-gur-* 'entraîner; deloger (gibięr), to ferret'; 10 Musey *gaara* 'poursuivre' [ShyM]; E 5a WDng *gar-giʒe* (rare) 'aller à la chasse, to go hunting'.

Derived noun: C 1 Tera *nə-gəri* 'hunter' [NmT]. Cf. C 9 Mnj *gara* 'tuer à la chasse'.

a. *gVr- '(hunting) dog; (охотничья) собака': W 7 Bok *kyara* (irregular reflex, influenced by Hausa *karce* 'dog'), Richa *gyara* 'dog' [JgR], Mundat *gəra*, Karfa *gira*, Richa [=Kul] *gyara* [RC]; C 5a cf. Hdi *gərhaŋ* 'jackal'

[BrH]; E 2 Lele *gìrà*, pl. *gàrè*, Kaba *gára*, Nch *gra* 'chien' [HmK], Gbr *gia*, Nch *gerá* 'Hund' [Luk].

//Cf. Sem Arab *gāriḥ-at-* 'bête ou oiseau de chasse (chien, guépard, faucon)' [BK I 275], cf. Ongota *gure* 'hunting dog' [FIO].

Cf. an alternative (and a less reliable) parallel: Sem Arab *garw-*, *girw-*, *gurw-* 'petit de chien, de lion ou de toute autre bête carnassière', Hbr *gūr* 'cub (lion, jackal)', *gōr* (pl. only) 'lion's cub', etc. [SED II №82].

[HSED №918, CLD IV №673].

225. *gVr- 'to exceed, dominate, be important; превосходить, доминировать': W 3 Kkrk *ga'iraa* 'exceed, surpass' [GK]; 7 Ould *-gōrā* 'dominer'; 9 Mulwi *gūr-zī* 'dominer, to dominate'.

Derived adj. 'important, strong, best; главный, сильный, лучший': W 4 Miya *gara* 'important one' [SchM]; 6 (derived noun) Bade *gār-zīima* 'wealthy person'; C 7 Ould *gūrgūr* 'fort, bien'; E 6 Mok *gécéré* 'au premier plan, en première position'. Note 5 WDng *garāḥ-kaw* 'excellence, valeur'.

a. C ***gVr-** 'power; власть': W 6 Duw *gōrvā* 'chieftainship', Ngz *garvā* 'reign, duties of a king' 4 Guḍe *ngēcērənə* 'power, strength'; 7 Muy *gruf* idf. 'with force', Mbuko *gōrək* 'fortement'; 7a Skn *ngər* 'power', *ngərəd* 'energy'.

Derived verb: W 6 Ngz *gār-vaatu* 'to rule, lead'.

//Cush agaw **gār-* 'to be strong, numerous' [ApAg]; Berb Shilh *ag^wr*, Izn, Rif *ajer* 'être supérieur à, surpasser', Qab (dial.) *ag^war* 'surpasser, dépasser', *ajer*, *ujer* 'être plus âgé, fort, grand (que); dépasser', Mzab *ajer* 'surpasser, dépasser (en âge)', Ahg, Wlm, Ayr *ager* 'être plus grand que', Ghat *uger* 'surpasser, être supérieur à' [NZ 848].

[CLD IV №667].

226. *gVr- 'to grow': C 4 Gude *gərə* 'grow, mature'; 7 Baka *gar* 'croître' [BAS], Moloko *gar* 'grow up'.

a. ***gVr-m/n-** 'big, large': W 1 Hs *gírmaa* 'bigness'; 3 Bol *gāraḥ*, pl. *garré* 'tall, long, deep, far' [GAB]; 4 Jmb *gara*, Miya *gyarni*, Mburku *garin*, Kar *gar-na* 'big' [SkNB, NM **g-r*]; 5 Buli *gúre* 'big, large' [Cs]; C 3 Bana *gūrā* 'plus, mieux, meilleur, plus beau', FK *garārā* 'describes smth. tall' [BINd]; 4 Gude *ng^waar* 'very big (animate)'; 7 Ould *ngərōmā* 'gros, costaud, fort', Mofu *gər-hehem-hem* 'big'; 9 Mbara *gūrzam* 'large, big'; 10 Dzpw *gər* 'gros'.

//Sem Arab *ʕgr* (a) 'être gros, corpulent et ventru; engraisser et devenir

robuste (cheval)' [BK II 175].

Arabic verb can hardly be an immediate reflex of ***gVr-** 'to exceed, dominate', see above. Chadic 'to grow' and 'to exceed, dominate' not necessarily follow one and the same AA root. That is why we prefer to keep the two items apart.

[CLD IV №675].

227. *gVr- 'to wait, to stay; ждать, оставаться на месте': W 3 Bol *nguru* 'stay behind, be left behind, remain' 4 Wɾj *gər-* 'wait, spend time' [BIS]; 5 Grnt *g^wari* 'wait for' [Jag]; C 3 Bana *gārè* '(s) arreter, se tenir debout, to stop, to stay', *gārògārò* 'mettre qqch debout, dresser'; 6 Daba *gār* 'se tenir debout, s'arreter' [Lnhf], Buwal *gār* 'to stand'; 9 Mnj *giriyi* 'être longtemps debout, to stand for a long time'.

//PHECush **egar-* 'wait': Had, Kamb *egar-*, Sid *agar-* [Hds].

[CLD IV №668].

228. *gVr- 'to hoe up, to cultivate, to dig; мотыжить, обрабатывать землю, копать': W 3 Bol *gūraa*, *wūura* 'dig by scooping up earth, dig away, hoe up, harvest by digging up, clean up a well' [GAB], Krkr *gūr-zu* 'dig out of the ground, hoe up'; C 8 Log *gura-wun* 'cultiver' [ALL]; E 1 Kera *gerè* '(um)pflanzen, to (trans)plant', Mobu *gare* 'transplanter', Ngam *gār* 'planter (des raciness tubereuses, du mil)' [Lns]. Note C 8 Makari *gere* pl. 'agriculture', Log *gura* 'agriculture' [AIL].

a. Derived noun in *-n/-m-*: W 1 Krf *gama* 'plough' [Stl]; C 2 Bura *nggaran* 'a hoe' [BIB]; 3 FK *gārmà* 'a large hoe' [BINd]. Cf. W 1 Hs *gāra* 'the curved bar which joins the tops of the upright bars of a large hoe', (Kats) 'the whole hoe'

b. ***gVr-** 'field; поле': W 1 Hausa *gārgārii* 'red clayey soil used for farming', *gārji* 'piece of land that has been manured by a herd of oxen'; C4 Gude *gōrā* 'field of...', *gwarīnə* 'mound of earth with seeds planted in it'; 7 Mafa *gārāy* 'butte de terre où l'on sème des arachides quand le mil est déjà haut'; E 5a WDng *gerò* 'terre à sel, grise'.

//Sem Geez *grh* 'to plough', *garāht*, *garh* 'field, arable land, farm, estate', Tgr *gārhat* 'field', Tna *gərat*; also in Cushitic: Beja *garha* [LsG 202].

[CLD IV №683, StH №4].

229. *gV(rV)r- 'to cut (throat); разрезать, перерезать горло': W 1 Hs *gyāara* 'cut the throat of an animal in slaughtering'; E 4 Mawa *garaj*

‘opérer, ouvrir le poisson’.

Deriv.: ‘to cut into small pieces’: W 6 Duw *gàr-to*, Bade *gàr-tu* ‘cut into small pieces’.

Derived noun ***gVr-** ‘knife; нож’: W 1 Hs *gáaríyò* ‘double-bladed Baribari throwing weapon’; C 8 Glf *gee-ger* ‘Schwert, sword’ [Luk].

//Sem Arab *grr* ‘fendre la langue à un petit chameau (pour l’empêcher de têter sa mère)’ [BK I 271], ECush **gArAʕ-* ‘cut (off)’: Saho, Afar *garaʕ-*, Som *gur-*, Oromo *garaʕ-*, Sem **grʕ*: Hbr, Aram (Syr) *grʕ* ‘to cut (beard, hair)’ [Долл 316]; ECush **gauraʕ* ‘cut throat’ [Ss 45]. Note narrow semantics ‘to cut throat’ in Chadic and Cushitic.

[HSED №900; CLD IV №677].

230. *(HV)gVr- ‘to close, to cover; закрывать, покрывать’: W 2 Ngas *gir* ‘close up’ (rather < **Hgr*, initial **g-* more often yields *k-* in W 2); E 2 Lele *gir* ‘couvrir, to cover’.

Deriv. in *-k-*: W 1 Hs *gárkè* ‘close tightly’; C 7 Mofu *-gòrč-* ‘close (door, mouth)’, Gis *grac* ‘close’.

Derived noun: C 3 FK *guraʕá* ‘piece of wood used to close the door’ [BIN].

Deriv in *n-*: ***n-gVr-** ‘to block (a road), to plug; преграждать, затыкать’: W 7 Bok *ⁿgaray* ‘verstossen, to plug’; C 5 Pod *ngíre* ‘to block’; 7 Mofu *-ngar-* ‘défendre, empêcher de passer, barrer la route, to block the road’, (deriv.) *-ngərʕ-* ‘bloquer, coincer, to block, to plug’.

Derived noun: E 6 Mok *gaáré* ‘impénétrable (endroit)’, *guúrú* ‘cache où les souris ont leurs souricraux’.

//Sem Arab *ʕgr* (i) ‘boucher, fermer (l’orifice, etc.)’, (a) V stem ‘se couvrir, s’envelopper de qqch’ [BK II 175].

[CLD IV №671].

231. W 5 *gVr- ‘(to give) birth; родить’: Grnt *gər-wi* [Jag], Dott *gər* [CrD], Buli *gəru*, Pol *gərən* [Kr], Buli *gerə*, Pos *gər*, Zul *gəri* ‘birth’, Mangas *kər* (*k-* < **g*) ‘give birth’ [Cs], Zaar *guur* ‘produce seeds, yield well’ [CrZ].

a.*gVr- ‘child; ребенок’: W 3 Krkr *gooro* ‘only child of a woman’ [GK]; 5 Grnt *gəru* ‘son, boy, child’ [Jag], Jimi *gurʔiná* ‘sister’, *gur-naánu* ‘baby’, *goro* ‘son’, Zul *gəri-kini* ‘fruit’ [Cs], Zaar *guur* ‘fruit’ [CrZ], Tala *kuru* ‘child’, Mangas *pə-kir* ‘son’, *na-kir* ‘daughter’ [Cs]; C 10 Masa *gōr* ‘small, child, daughter’ [CC], Gizey, Lew, Marba *gər*, Ham, Musey *gōo* (long vowel compensates the loss of *-r-*) ‘child, boy, small’ [LexC]; E 2 Kaba *gírírá* ‘Sohn’ [Luk]; 5 Bid *gar-kò* ‘gacçon, boy’.

//Sem Arab *gry* 8. 'avoir des petits, ou commencer à produire des petits fruits', *gār*- (< *gry*) 'fille, servante', *gary*- 'jeunesse' [BK I 285].
[CLD IV №689].

232. **(n-)gVr-* 'plait (fence, tent); плести (ограду, циновку)': C 7 Mbuko *ngaray* 'build (tent, shed, fence)'; E 2 Lele *gār* 'tresser, modeler, construire', Kaba, Nch *-gar* 'tresser' [HmK].

Derived noun: ****gVr-* '(thorn) fence, enclosure; (колючая) ограда'**: W 3 Bol *gargar* 'thorn fence' [GAB], Ngm *gārgar* (G) 'thorn fence' [NEH]; 5 Grnt, Jimi *gārnī* 'fence' [Cs]; 6 Duw, Bade *gārgāri* 'thorn fence'; C 2 Bura *gar* 'to enclose' [BIB]; 5 Wnd *gārgare*, Pod *gārgərə* 'fence' [Mo]; 7 Muy *gārgārá* 'enclosure'; Mbara *gūru* 'enclosure', Mnj *gūru* 'corral'; E 6 Mok *gaāra* 'pricky fence'.

//ECush dullay Gollango *gāro* 'Vichkraal' [AMS].

[CLD IV №686].

233. **gVr-*/gVyVr-* 'hut, village; дом, деревня'**: W 1 Hs *gārii* 'town'; 2 Mpn *geri* 'village, town' (< Hs?); 3 Krf *giri* 'town' [Stl], Bol *gōru* 'town', *nguro* 'quarter of a town' [GAB], Ngm (G) *gārgu*, (Y) *gārgu* 'village, town' [NEH], Bure *gāro* 'town'; 6 Duw *gər* 'village'; C 4 Gude *ngūurā* 'large sity'; 9 Mbara *giriimi* 'hut'; E 5a Mig *gér* 'maison, concession', Bid *gēcra* 'maison, habitation', WDng *gər* 'enclos familial', EDng *ger* 'house' [CJ], *gēcègèr* 'la ville', *gēcèr* 'concession' [Dj]; 5b Jegu *gēcèr* 'Haus, Dorf, house, village', Mubi *gir* 'house' [Luk], 'maison, concession' [JgL], Zir *giri* 'house' [CJ], Tor *geegar* 'ville'.

Cf. ****gVr-* 'granary; амбар'**: W 3 Bol *gaāre* 'granary' [GAB], *gārc* [Bn]; C 3 Bana *gārka* 'hangar enclôture pour l'ombre'; 7 Ould *gèrgèr* 'hangar'.

//ECush Burji *gēcèr-e* 'village, quarter' [SsB], Som *guri*, *guuri* 'house' [LIS].
[HSED № 984, SkH 78]. Note Kanuri *nguro* 'quarter of a town, forsaken village'.

233a. **gVr-* 'wall; стена': W 1 Hs *gāruu* 'wall', (redupl.) *gārgārii* 'low wall or mount': 3 Bol *gāru* 'wall around compound' [GAB], Dera *gāru* [NmK], Tng *kar*, *gar* 'town wall', Kupto *gāru-k* 'wall (of a house), fence sp. (made of mud or cement)' [LgK]; 4 Paa *gāru* 'stone wall' [MS]; 6 Bade *gāru* 'wall', Ngz *gāru* (according to R.Schuh, < Kanuri *garu* 'wall') 'any mud wall, esp. wall around a town'; C 1 Tera *gāru-k* 'wall (around the town)' [NmT]; C 5 Mlg *garú* 'wall'.

//Sem Akk *ʔigāru* (from OA on) ‘wall (of a building), enclosure wall’ [CAD i 34], Aram (Eg dial) *ʔgr* ‘wall’, Cush Bed *garʔa* ‘Hof, Umzäunung’ [RBd], ECush Oromo *gooroo* ‘wall’ [Grg], Eg *dr.w* (MK) ‘part of the house’ [EG V 601], Berb Ahg *a-gror* ‘enclose en pierres servant a mettre les chevreaux’, Ayr *egrur* ‘petit enclose d’épineux’, Nefusa *ayrur* ‘haie sèche’ [NZ 849].

[HSED №№956, 852; SkH 69, CLD IV №685].

234. *gar-/gawar- ‘kind of antelope; вид антилопы’: W 4 Tsagu *gaare*, Mburku *gaari* ‘oryx’ [SkNB], C 8 Log *gária* ‘Kuhantilope, Antilope bubalis’ [LkL], Makari *graya* ‘k of antelope’; E 1 Kwang *gówór-tō* ‘antelope’ [Jg]; 3 Tum *gāru* ‘antelope’, Ndam *pa-gər* ‘duiker’, *gərü* ‘ourebi’ [Brs]; 5a WDng *bó-gór* ‘biche-cochon’; 5b Brg *bo-goro* ‘duiker’. For the *b*-pref. in ECh see CLD IV №526.

//Cush Bed *gáruwa* ‘male antelope’ [RBd], Sid *gurumʔččo* ‘gazelle’, *garrančo* ‘agazen antelope’, SCush rift **gearcʔay* ‘gazelle(s) (sp.)’: Irq *gwarʔaai* ‘big antelope’// ‘Grant’s gazelle’ [MKQ, Kies], Alg *gwercʔay* ‘gazelles’, Bur *gereʔay* ‘Puku antelopes’ [Kies, Eh 237], Omot Wolt *gaaraa* ‘dekula antelope’, Dawro *gaaraa* ‘agazen antelope’.

[Долл 72 : CCh 8 + Cush-Omot; HSED №898, CLD IV №688].

Cf. SED II №85: **gVrr/w(-at)-* ‘small hooped animal’: Akk (*a*)*gurratu*, (MA) ‘ewe’ [AHw 299], Tigre *gärwa* ‘kudu antelope’ (unless < Cush Bed, see above). According to SED, Akk ‘ewe’ is a cognate of Ch-Cush-Omot ‘antelope’. For a more adequate Ch parallel to Akk see the next entry.

235. *gur- > g^wVr- ‘ram, sheep; баран, овца’: C 7 Ould *g^wara* ‘bélier, ram’, (redupl.) Mbuko *g^warg^wára*, Mercy *g^warag^wara* ‘bélier’, Muy *g^worog^wora* ‘ram’, Mada *gurg^wara* ‘bélier’; E 4 (partial redupl.) Sok *gaágero* ‘Schaf’, Mawa *gagar* ‘mouton’, Mubi *wegri* ‘chèvre’.

//Sem Akk *gurratu, agurratu* (MA) ‘ewe’ [AHw 299].

236. *gVr- ‘lower leg; нога ниже колена’: W 4 Wrj *gərdái*, Tsagu *gərde*, Miya *angar* ‘foot, leg’ [SkNB], Miya *gərdaku* ‘lower leg of cow’ [SchM]; C 7 cf. Zlg *gər-kəlá* ‘mолlet, Wade’; 10 Dzpw *gurei* ‘patte’, Dari *gore* ‘leg’ [Jglb]; E 2 Nch *g^warə* ‘leg, jambe’ [HmK], Lele *garma* ‘leg’ [Jglb]; 3 Ndam *gar* ‘pied’ [Brs].

Cf. W 3 Bol *gurs/ši* ‘hip’ [GAB]; C 10 Dari *gūrāy* ‘cuisse’.

//Cush Saho *geera* ‘hip’ [Vr], Sem Geez *ʔəgr* ‘foot, measure’, Tgr *ʔəgər*,

Tna ʔəgər, Amh əgər, Gaf əg^wrā, Gur ägər [LsG 13].

a. *gVr- 'knee; колено': W 4 Diri gur-t'a [SkNB]; 5 Duw əngurəm-gurəm; C 4 Nzn ma-gir-še 'knee' [Mcek]; 8 Bud nɔɔŋ-guròm [Jglb]; 9 Mbara mūgūri 'knee', Mnj gurni-gurniy 'rotule, knee-cape'; 10 Lame čim-gíri (čim 'leg') [Kr]; E 1 Kera gəgər coll. 'knee'. Note C 7 Mofu gəra 'maladie articulaire'.

Cf. compounds in C 7: Mbuko gər-méč [c], Chv ɲg^wur-méč, Zlg g^wir-mic [ts], Mafa gūr-mbéž 'knee'.

Derived verb: C 2 Bura gərəʔu 'to kneel' [BIB]; 7 Gis gərde 'to kneel'. [CLD IV №690].

237. *gVr- 'war, to fight; война, воевать': W 4 Paa gwūr-sáa 'wrestling' [MS]; 6 Bade goorai 'rebellion', Duw gər-búwo 'go into a fight'; C 2 Bura nggara 'to lead a person into rebellion' [BIB]; 10 Dzpw gir 'se bagarrer, struggle'; E 5a EDng gār-tā 'la guerre' [Dj].

Cf. W 1 Hs gaagara 'become unruly, out of hand'; 3 Krkr gāgaru 'resist, defy, be impossible' [GK], Bol gaagiru 'behave rebelliously' [GAB] (a Hs loan?).

Cf. *gVr-t- 'to overthrow (in a struggle)': W 4 Paa gurdu 'overthrow, wrestle' [MS]; C 7 Mofu gərt- 'renverser, faire tomber, lutter'.

//Sem Akk geru (OB on) 'to be hostile, to quarrel' [CAD g 61], Arab gr? 'être courageux, hardi', II stem 'donner du courage pour ou contre qqch; enhardir; to venture, to dare' [BK I 273].

[CLD IV №698].

238. *gVr- 'herd; стадо' W 1 Hs gárke 'a herd, flock'; 3 Tng kaarwa 'cattle'; C 3 Bana garəwā 'troupeau de boeufs'; 4 Gude gəránə 'herd of cattle'; 9 Msg gari, gari 'Stier, Laststier, bull'; E 5a Bid gaaruwo 'animal', Mig gaaraw 'bête, bétail'.

Deriv. in m-: C 4 Gude mā-gərá 'shepherd, wachtsman'.

//Cf. Sem Sab grh 'domesticated animals' [Bll 76], Geez garha 'tame, break a horse, mule' [LsG 202].

[CLD IV №687].

239. *gVw/yVr- 'throat, neck; шея, горло': W 1 Hs maḳóo-g^wároo trachea, throat'; 4 Miya ng^wára-kə 'trachea' [SchM]; 5 Mangas ɲgír-si 'neck' [Cs]; C 5a Lmn ɲguwara, 5 Dghw gurara 'throat' [HmG]; 9 Mnj gur-dok 'gorge', Mbara gūr-dòy 'throat'; E 3 Tum gēer 'neck'; 4 Sok gērere-m

‘(dein) Kehlkopf’ [Luk], *gèrè* ‘neck’ [JgIb], Saba *ger* ‘neck (back and front)’, Ubi *do-gora* ‘gorge’ [HJ]; 5a Mabire *žerca* ‘throat’ [JH]; 5b Brg *góoró*, Mubi *góoró* [JgL] ‘gorge’.

a. *gVr-g^wVr-/*g^wVr-ʒa (compound) ‘throat; горло’: W 3 Kkrk *gur-g^waʒo* [GK]; 4 Paa *gur-g^waʒá* [MS]; 6 Ngz *ngúr-ʒaʒíyá* ‘throat’; C 3 FK *ngrá-ʒá* ‘throat’ [BIN]; 5aHdi *ɲur-ʒun* ‘neck’, Vemgo *ngur-ʒun* ‘throat’ [HmG]. //Sem Hbr *gārōn*, Aram (Syr) *gaggartā* (< **gar-gartā*) ‘throat’, Geez *g^wərʕe*, *gurʕe* ‘throat, neck’, Tny *g^wārāra*, Tgr *gəɾəʔ*, Amh, Argoba *g^wərorro* ‘throat’, etc., Arab *grʕ* ‘to swallow, to gulp’ [LsG 200], Cush Oromo *gooraw* ‘gorge’ [Coh №206]. [HSED №960; CLD IV №703].

240. *gVwVr-/*g^wVr- ‘round; круглый’: W 2 Ngas *g^waar* ‘round’ [FI]; 5 Grnt *ɲgóori* ‘round’ [Smz], Grnt *g^woori*, Jimi *gir-gaa* ‘circle’ [Smz], Guus *ɲgər-* ‘round’ (in compounds) [CrG]; C 7 Mada *ɲg^wārār* ‘round’.

a. *gVr-/*g^wVr- ‘kind of round object; круглый предмет’: W 3 Kkrk *g^wār-bó* ‘type of ring (kings, priests)’ [GK]; 5 Bgh *gangara*, Jimi, Pol *garəgaré* ‘wheel’ [Cs]; C 3 Bana *g^wər-k^wə* ‘coussinet de portage, headring’; 7 Mafa *gura* ‘bracelet’, Mofu *gere-géré* ‘bracelet tressé avec de l’herbe’, *g^wara* ‘plaited bracelet for women/girls’; E 5b Mubi *ngərma* ‘bracelet’ [JgL].

b. Derived verb: *gVr- ‘to roll (a round object); катить (круглый предмет’: W 1 Hs *gára* ‘roll any circular object, slim along’; 6 Duw *gərdaadəno*, *gərdəno* ‘roll along’.

c. *(n-)gVr-/*gVr-gVr- ‘to go round, to turn’: W 5 Grnt *ngoori* ‘go round’ [Jag]; 7 Bok *ᵑgaraʔ* ‘ctw um-, herumgehen, to go around smth.’; C 7 Ould *-ɲgara* ‘revenir, retourner, come back, turn round’; 10 Dzpw *gərà* ‘tourner (la tête)’; E 4 Sok *gúger-gúger* ‘umherdrehen, turn around’ [Luk]; 7 Brg *gər-gəri* ‘se retourner’; 5 EDng *gər-girē* ‘raser le tour de la tête des enfants, faire un feu en rond (en brousse)’ [Dj]. Cf. E 2 Lele *gərsi* ‘entourer, to round’. //Sem Akk *garru* (OB) ‘round’ [CAD g 51], Arab *grg* ‘tourner en cercle (p.ex., un bague trop grand pour le doigt)’ [BK I 274], Geez *grgr* ‘roll (oneself), spin, drive round’, also Cush Saho *gur* ‘roll’, Som *girangir* ‘wheel’ [LsG 202], ECush Oromo *gora* ‘turn off (towards)’ [Grg], Omot Shin *guurá* ‘rund’, *guùr* ‘herumwirbeln’ [LmS]. [CLD IV №710].

241. *gVHVr- (metath. < *H-gVr-) ‘belt; пояс’: W 1 Hs *gúurúu* ‘large

cylindrical belt worn round the waist (with charms); trap for birds, animals, lying curled up'; 2 Mghv *g^wohar* 'strap, belt' [Mth]; C 2 Bura *gur* 'belt, girdle (of leather)' [BIB]; 4 Gude *gyára* 'spec. belt, cloth around the stomach to show that one is mourning'; E 5a WDng *gariya* 'bandes de couleurs alternées, somber et claire'.

//Sem Ug *hgr*, Hbr *hāgar* 'gürten', Aram *hgr* 'hemmen' [Ais 99], ECush Oromo *gurda* 'belt' [Grg].

[CLD IV №710d].

242. *gVr-/*g^war- 'man, person; человек, мужчина': W 2 Mghv *g^war* 'Mann, Mensch' [JgS], Mpn *g^war* 'person' C 4 Gude *n-gúra* 'man, husband'; E 5b Mubi *gúró-k* 'male' [JgL].

//Cush (agaw) **gərwa* 'man, male' [ApAg], cf. Sem **gawir-/*gār-* 'guest, person, living under protection of a family': Hbr *gēr* 'client', Ug *gr* 'guest', Arab *gār-* 'neighbour, client, friend', Geez *gor* 'neighbour', Sab *gwr* 'lord, master, business partner', Mhr *gawir* 'étranger' [SD 51, DRS 199, DK 3.3]. Note the following correlation: *medial waw* in Semitic languages ~ labialized velar in Chadic.

a. W *g^wVr-zo 'strong man; сильный мужчина': 1 Hs *g^wárzoo* 'an energetic worker, man of about 40 years'; 3 Krkr *g^warzo* 'hero, strong man' [GK], Ngm (G) *gorzò*, (Y) *gorzo* 'man, male' [NEH], Bol *gorzo*, pl. *goraaži* 'man, male, husband', *gurzam* 'huge person' [GAB].

b. *n-gVr-f 'stranger, guest, slave, чужой, гость, раб': W 3 Ngm (G) *ngərĥò*, (Y) *ngarĥò* 'guest', cf. (Y) *ngarfà-te* 'being a guest', [NEH], Bol *ngorofí*, pl. *ngorua* 'stranger' [Bn], Krkr *nžarafu* [KI] 'friend'; 6 Ngz *má-gəraf* 'guest, stranger', Bade *ma-gəlaf* 'visitor, guest, stranger'; C 10 Masa, Ham *gorvo* 'slave' [LexC].

c. *n-gVrV-m- '(young) man, slave': W cf. 2 *(n-)gVrVm- 'man, person': Grk *kurrum* 'man' [Fp], Ngas *gurm* 'man' [FI], Mghv *gūrùm* 'person' [BIM], Mpn *gūrùm*, Goem *gūrùm* 'person, people', Mushere *ngurum* 'person' [TAS 134]; 3 Bol *ngarum* 'male slave' (pl. *jebba*) [GAB], Ngm (Y) *ngaru* 'slave, servant', *ngarà-te* 'slavery' [NEH], Krkr *nčaram* 'slave' [LkK]; 5 Jimi *gurmaa* 'man, male' [Cs №1]; C 8 Makari *ng^war* 'woman slave', *ng^waru* 'slave'; E 5a Bid *?agármò* 'beau-frère'.

Note the following forms as possible Arabic loans: C 5a Hdi *gəra* 'male friend' [BrH]; 6 Daba *galá* 'friend'; 9 Msg *ngclama* 'friend' [LkM]; E 4 Sok *gceru* 'Nachbar, neighbour' [Luk].

//SCush rift Irq, Gor *garma* 'boy, son' [Kies] (analyzed as: Rift **gadima* 'boy, sun', sg. vers. **gadungw* pl. 'old people'), LEC Som *gorom-saa* 'young man' [LIS].

[HSED №№ 961, 959; CLD IV №700].

243. *gVs- 'to receive, to seize, to catch; получить, схватить': W 4 Wṛj, Kar, Siri, Miya, Mburku *gəš-*, Jmb *ḡgəš-* 'accept, receive' [SkNB], Miya *gəṣə* 'accept, take away from; answer' [SchM]; C 7 Baka *gās* 'saisir, tenir' [BAS], Zlg *gəs* 'saisir, attraper, accepter', Mada *agās* 'attraper, saisir, catch, seize', Mafa *gəs-* 'saisir, attraper', Moloko *gas* 'take hold of, catch, accept', Ould *gəs* 'catch' [KTo 9]; E 5a WDng *gāsē* 'obtenir, obtain', EDng *gāsē* 'trouver, mettre la main sur' [Dj], Mig *gässō* 'trouver, to find', Bid *gas* 'trouver, recevoir, découvrir'.

//Sem Arab *ʕgs* 'saisir qqch avec la main' [BK II 179], ECush Sid *gosh-* 'uproot' [Hd], Had *gos-* 'pick', dullaY Harso *gaas-* 'fangen (Tiere auch Fiesche)', *gaase* 'Tierfalle' [AMS].

Root extension (ʕ as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD IV №516].

244. *gVs- 'spear; копье': W 2 Ngas *gašii* (judging by long *-ii*, may be a loan, note typical root-structure CVC in WCh 2) [Fl]; 3 Krkr *agači* (irreg. reflex of a sibilant), Grm *gasa*, Dera *gai* [SchV], Gera *gossa*, Glm *gass* [SchB]; 5 Pol, Buli *gəs*, Geji *gəsi*, Dwot *gas* [Kr], Grnt *gosso* [Jag], Zul *gčšē* [BIZ]; 6 Ngz *ngās*, Bade *ngās* 'spear', Duw *əngās* 'spear with flat blade'; 7 Bok *agas* [RC]; C 1 Tera (dial) *gəs* 'spear' [Kr]; 3 FK *ng^wassa* [Meek]; E 4 Sok *gās-in* [Luk], Ubi *gesa* [Alio] 'spear'.

//ECush **gaas-* 'horn' [Ss 33, 34], Afar *gāysā* 'horn' [RA]; Cf. [LsG 209] "Amh *gayso* 'k of spear' from Cush: Sid, Qem, Quara *gāšā*, Som *gōšan*".

Note a similar semantic shift: W 1 Hs *kahoo* (< *kafoo*) 'horn'; 3 Pero *kpaḳā* 'horn' ~ W 2 **k^wap* 'spear'; C 4 Bch *kuḑe* 'spear'.

[HSED № 864, CLD IV №549].

245. *gVz- 'to be unfriendly; быть враждебным': C 5 Pod *gəza* 'curse'; 9 Mulwi *giziwi* 'agacer, déranger, annoy'. Cf. W 6 Ngz *gəzi* 'anger'. Deriv. in *n-*: C 6 Daba *ngəz* 'interdire, menacer' [Lnhf]; 7 Ould *ḡgiz ḡgiz* 'hargneux, quarrelsome'.

//Sem Geez *gəʔza* 'loath, revile, blame, reproach; be irritated', *gāʔz* 'quarrel, reviling', Amh *gaz* 'dispute', Tna (*tä*)*gaʔazä* 'quarrel' [LsG 174].

[CLD IV №529].

246. *gVz- 'hair (on the head); волосы (на голове)': W 1 Hs *g'izoo* (no pl.) 'long matted hair on a man's head', cf. *g'izaa-kaa* 'any hairy caterpillar'; C 4 Miya *áǵóǵi/ǵ* 'hair' [SchM], Paa *ngézá* 'hair' [MS], Wrij *gǵǵai* [BIS], Siri *gǵǵi*, Jmb *gǵǵa*, Miya *agǵǵu*, Mburku *ngǵǵi*, Kar *gǵǵi* [**ngǵǵ-* in SkNB]; C 7 Balda *ngǵǵo?* 'hair on the head' [Bry], Zulgo *ngǵǵ* 'poil'.

Derived adj. in *-r-* pl.: E 5a EDng *guzǵǵū* 'poilu' [Dj].

a. W 6 ***gVz- 'pubic hair'**: Duw *guzai*, Ngz *guzái*.

//Cush Sid *gaaze* 'long hair' [SkH 80], dullai Tsamai *gáazo*, Gawwada *gees-o*, Goll *kás-o* 'hair' [AMS], cf. Ongota *gazo* 'hair' [FIO] (< dullay).

In the view of two forms in W 1 Hausa (*g'izoo* 'hair on a man's head' ~ *gceza* 'mane') it seems reasonable to distinguish between 'hair' (see above) and 'mane, tail' (see below).

b. ***g(V)yVz- 'mane, tail; грива, хвост'**: W 1 Hausa *geeza* 'mane; any sort of fringe'; 3 Bol *gceza* 'mane' (< Hs); C 4 Gudu *niézu*, Gude *gǵǵá* [Hs], FB *gyéǵǵn*, FM *gyéza* [Kr] 'tail'; 6 Buwal *gǵz-gǵz* 'mane'.

[CLD IV №536].

247. *gVǵ- 'claw; коготь': C 3 FK *ngitǵn* 'nail' [BINd]; 4 Gude *gítá* 'fingernail', Jimj *gítǵn*, Cuvan *gítǵ*, Sharwa *gǵǵé* 'nail' [BryJ]; 10 Dzpw *ngitǵ* 'griff, ongle'; E 2 Kaba *gusmay*, Nch *gusma* 'ongle' (< **gVǵ-um*, *-um* is a body-part possess. suff.) [HmK].

Derived verb: W 7 Sha *ᵑgos* 'kratzen' [JgR], DB *yaᵑ-gos*, Monguna *ku-ᵑós* (< *ku-ᵑgos*) 'scrape, scratch' [RC].

//Omot Ari *gušaa*, *guša*, Hamer *guš-u/o*, Dime *gušš* 'claw, nail' [BndO 147, 207]. [HSED № 972, CLD IV №560].

248. *gVǵ- 'chest; грудная клетка': W 5 Bgh *gyaas*, Geji *gyéti* 'chest', Zul *ngéte* 'chest' [Cs], Geji *isu-ngési* 'rib' = 'bone-chest' [Kr]; 6 Duw *ǵǵǵa* 'chest, cough'; C 7 Zlg *gǵǵǵǵ* 'poitrine, heart' (regress. voicing).

//Sem Arab *gawš-* 'breast-bone, chest' [BK I 256], ECush Sid *gagasó* 'chest' [Hds].

[CLD IV №561].

249. *gVǵ- 'cheek; щека': W 4 Jmb *gút'a* [SkNb]; 7 DB *gát-ám* [JgR]; C 10 Mesme *ngufo*, Bnn *ngǵǵo-no* 'cheek' [Kr], Gizey *galéy*, Masa *galíy*, *gǵǵíy*, Ham *galí* (*-l-* < **-t-*), Musey *ngǵǵ*, Lew, Marba *ǵǵngǵǵ* 'joues, cheeks' pl. [LexC].

//Omot Yemsa *gača* [c] ‘Wange’ [LmY].

a. ***g^wV~~z~~** (possibly, < ***gV~~z~~**) ‘lower jaw; нижняя челюсть’: W 2 Goem *der-goss* ‘(lower) jaw’ [Fp]; C 7 Mofu *g^wat* ‘maxillaire inférieur, lower jaw’.

//ECush Burji *gacc’o* ‘lower jaw, molar’, cf. Cush **gač[č]*- ‘chin’: Xamir *gas*, Som *gađ*, Sid *gacc’o* [Hds], Kabenna *gcc’a* [Долг 302].

[CLD IV 562].

250. ***gV~~z~~**/***gV^zV~~z~~**- ‘to belch; рыгать’: W 6 Duway *gaažo*, Bade *gaažu* ‘to belch’; C 7 Ould *-gəḥāy* ‘éructer, roter’, Mada *əngḥə* ‘roter’ (deriv. in *n*-), Mafa *guḥa* ‘faire un rôt, éructer’; 10 Azum *giḥa* ‘to burp’ [PAz]. Cf. E 5a Mig *gəl-čò*, WDng *gəl-čē*, EDng *gəl-čē* ‘vomir’ [Dj].

//Sem Arab *gš?* ‘roter’ [BK 295].

251. ***gV~~z~~**- ‘to pound, to break; толочь, бить, ломать’: W 7 DB *gol* ‘break in pieces’, Kul=Richa *gyol* ‘break (stick), Sha *gol*, Mundat *gyolay* ‘smash [RC]; C 7 Chv *məgəḥəy* ‘piler’, Zlg *gəḥ* ‘battre, piler, beat, pound’; 6 Buwal *gaḥ* ‘beat’; 9 Msg *geḥa* ‘stampfen, schlagen, pound, strike’, Mnj *giḥi* ‘battre (des céréales), battage, to thresh’ (contamination with ‘to smith’).

Deriv. in *n*- ‘to strike’: W 3 Bol *ngòolu* ‘strike with a thrown object’ [GB]; C 7 Ould *-ngəḥāy* ‘cogner, strike, to hammer’.

Cf. C 9 Mulwi *gùḥubí* ‘pétrir avec les pieds’.

a. C ***gV~~z~~**- ‘to smith; ковать’: 3 Bana *gḥa* ‘forge’ n., pl. *gəḥaxi*; 9 Mulwi *giḥi* ‘forger, marteler, Mbara *giḥ* ‘forge, blacksmith’, Mnj *giḥi* ‘forger, to smith’.

Derived noun: C 7 Mafa *ng^waḥa* ‘forgeron’; 9 Msg *dif ži-gəḥi wai* ‘Getreiderstampfer, a person pounding corn’, *dai zə-gaḥkai* ‘smith’ [LkM].

Contamination of semantics ‘to pound’ and ‘to smith’ in C 9 Musgu.

//Sem Arab *gšš* ‘casser, broyer’ [BK I 296]. Note that reflexes of AA **š* (> Ch *ḥ*) and **č* (> Ch **ʔ*) have fallen together as *š* in Arabic.

[CLD IV №568].

252. ***gVy/wV~~z~~**- ‘to bend; сгибать(ся)’: W 2 Goem *gel* ‘to bend, a bend’ [TAS 125], Mghv *gool* ‘to be bend, to be crooked’ [BIM]; 3 Pero *gėlò* ‘incline head sidewise’; 4 Paa *guḥu* ‘to bend (bow)’ [MS], Wṛj *gyaḥai* ‘to bow leg’ [BIS]; 6 Bade *əgḥu* ‘bend down, stoop’; C cf. 10 (derived noun) Dzpww *guloḥ* ‘pilure (genou), a bend (of the leg)’; E 2 Lele *gáli* ‘bancal, bow-legged’.

a. Deriv. in *-d-*: W 3 **n-g^wV-* - (< **n-g^wV₅-* -) 'to bend smth; гнуть': Bol *ngol-du* 'bend smth' [GAB], *ngol-danni* 'crooked' [Bn], Ngm (G) *ngol-dâ*, (Y) *ngodô* 'bend (wire, etc.)' [NEH].
 //Sem Mhr *gws* 'to turn' [JnM 128], Eg *gws*(N) 'krumm sein' [EG V 160]. [CLD IV №566].

*y

253. **yVy/w?*- 'to give birth; родить': W 5 Bgh *kay* < **gay* 'give birth' [Smz]; C Pod *ha* 'produire der fruits; naître, accoucher'; 7 Cuv *méheye* 'accoucher'; 8 Log *ywé* 'give birth' [LkL], Bud *wa*, *wuy*; E 4 Mawa *gəw* 'to be born (first son)'.

Deived noun: **(?V)yVy/w* 'son, child; сын, ребенок': W 1 cf. Dott *geey* 'young female' [Cr]; C 3 Bana *yexyi* 'son'; 9 Msg *ahii* [LkM] 'son'; E 4 Ubi *g^wago* 'child' [HJ].

//Eg *hyy* (Totb), later *h* 'Kind, child' [EG III 217].

Viewing a semantic link: 'to give birth' ~ 'to create', it is worth mentioning the following CCh root:

a. **yV-* 'to create, to begin; создавать, начинать': C 3 FK *ya* 'to create, start, initiate' [BINd], Bana *ya* 'commencer', Kap *ya-te*, HN *ha-te* 'begin' [Kr]; 7 Gis *haya* 'at first'; 9 Mnj *haw* 'd'abord, at first'.

254. **yVw-* 'to go, to wade; идти (вброд), ': W 4 Paa *h^wiyé* 'to cross'; C 2 Mrg *ya* 'to reach, to pass' [HfM 122]; C 9 Mnj *hiwi* 'marcher dans l'eau', Mulwi *hiwi* 'franchir un cours d'eau à pied', (derived noun) Mbara *hawa* 'guéable, fordable'; 10 Masa *haw* 'marcher dans l'eau, patauger' [CC]; E 2 Tob *ye* 'marcher, partir' (one of two words with initial *y-* in ECh 2, cf. also Tob *ye* 'prendre').

//SCush Irq *xaw* 'come, go on a visit' [MKQ], rift **xaw* 'come': Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *xaw* [Kies], ECush Som *xaawi* 'to walk' [LIS].

Note secondary *h^w-* < **y-w* in Paa. For an "extended" Arabic verb *nhh* 'marcher d'un pas rigoureux; faire marcher vite' [BK II 1219] see ECh 3 Tumak *nâg* 'se dépêcher'.

255. **yVy-* 'to burn; fry; жечь': W 3 Krkr *gayu* 'burn' [GK]; E 5b Mubi *gòwwu* [JgL], Tor *gooyu* 'friré'.

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 3 Krkr *gai-tu* 'burn' [GK].

a. C 3 ***γVw** ‘fire’: Bana $\gamma^w\grave{a}$, FK $\gamma\grave{u}$ [BINd], HF $\gamma^w\grave{z}$, FK $\grave{u}\hat{\gamma}\hat{u}$, Kap $\gamma^w\grave{i}$ [Kr].

//Eg *h.t* (Pyr) ‘Feuer u. ä’ (insbesondere: ‘Feuer anzünden, Feuer löschen’); ‘fire’ (esp. ‘make, put out (fire)’) [EG III 217], Berb Air, Wlm *a-γu* ‘to inflame, burn’ [Alj], SCush Qwadza *xaʔo* ‘fire’ [Eh].

[HSED №1310 CCh+SCush; EDE I 159 Eg+Berb+ SCush].

a. Ch ***γ^wVVn-** ‘(burning) coal; (горящий) уголь’ (compound: < ***γ^wVV-ʔVVn-**): C 5 Glv $\gamma\grave{u}vra$ ‘charcoal’, Dghw $g^wv\acute{r}\acute{e}$ [JgIb], Chn $o\gamma^w\acute{e}ra$ (< $\gamma-w-r$ < $\gamma-f-r$), Gava $\gamma\grave{u}v\acute{u}r\acute{a}$ [JgIb] ($-r$ < $*-n-$ is regular, see [Nm]); 5a Lmn $\grave{u}\grave{y}\acute{o}v\acute{i}i\acute{n}\acute{i}$ [JgIb]; 6 Daba $ng\acute{o}v\acute{a}n$ ‘charcoal’ [Lnh]; E 2 Lele $g\acute{b}a\acute{a}l\acute{a}$ ‘charcoal’ ($-l$ < $*-n-$ after a labial, cf. Ch $*zbn$ > ECh $*zbl$ ‘guinea fowl’). For the second component see: ***ʔVVVn-** (> (a)**vVn-**) ‘charcoal’: W 4 Paa $av\grave{u}g$ [MS]; C 2 Bura *vina*, Klb $v\acute{u}n\acute{i}$, Mrg, Hld *vwunyi* [Kr]; 4 Nzn $\acute{a}v\acute{e}ni$, Gude $\acute{r}iv\acute{i}nyin$ [Kr]; 7 Mafa $v\acute{a}g$; 8 Log $f\acute{a}g\acute{f}a\acute{g}$ [JgIb]; 9 Mnj *evcg*; 10 Dzpw $\acute{r}uf\acute{a}g$.

256. ***γay/w** ‘opening; рот, дверь’: W 4 Paa $f\acute{w}a$ ‘doorway’ [MS]; 7 Sha *gu-k* ‘Tür, door’; C 3 FK $\gamma\acute{a}w$ ‘hole’ [BINd]; 4 Bata, Bch $g^w\acute{c}$ ‘hole’ [JgIb]; 5 Chik, Cin, Glv $\gamma\acute{a}y\acute{a}$ [Kim], Gava $\gamma\acute{a}y\acute{a}$, Gvoko $\gamma\acute{a}y-w\acute{e}$ (< * $\gamma\acute{a}y-me$) ‘mouth’ [HmG], Glv $\gamma\acute{a}y\acute{a}-g\acute{u}d\acute{a}$ ‘door’ (*guda* ‘house’), Gdf $\gamma\acute{a}y\acute{a}$ ‘mouth’ [KimG]; 7a Skn $n-g^wu$ (< $*n-\gamma wu$) ‘mouth’, ng^wu *ir* ‘door’; 8 Mak *ga* pl. ‘mouth’. Cf. W 3 Bure $g\acute{o}\acute{r}\acute{o}$ ‘armpit’.

//Sem⁴³ Arab *hawh-at-* ‘lucarne dans un mur, petite fenêtre, ouverture pratiquée dans la porte; anus’ [BK 644], Sab *hḥ-nhn* ? ‘passageway, corridor’ [SD 64], Geez *hoḥot* ‘door(way), gate’, Mhr *hō* ‘mouth, opening’ [LsG 260], cf. SCush rift Alg *xoxoo* ‘hollow form’, Alg, Bur *xoxceri* (pl. suff. *-ceri*), Irw *xoxʔi* ‘hollow forms’ [Kies].

257. ***γVγʔ-** ‘compound, house; дом’: C 3 Kap $\gamma\acute{e}$, FK $\gamma\acute{o}\acute{y}$ ‘compound’ [Kr], Bana $\gamma\acute{y}\acute{i}$ ‘house’, FK $\gamma\acute{a}\acute{y}$ ‘house’ [BINd], Hya $\gamma\acute{a}$ [BIH]; 5 Gvoko, Dghw $\gamma\acute{a}y\acute{a}$ ‘house’ [HmG]; 7 Ould $\gamma\acute{a}y$ ‘house’, $\gamma\acute{i}w\acute{a}y$ ‘new construction’, cf. *mama-γay* ‘door’ (‘mouth+house’) [КТр 7]; 8 Log $\gamma\acute{a}a$ ‘house, compound’ [ALL], $\gamma\acute{a}$, $\gamma\acute{a}'a$, $\gamma\acute{a}'\acute{a}$ ‘house’ [LkL].

⁴³ Note that Semitic ‘passage, opening’ cannot be of common origin with WCh 2 **ku/ok* ‘(i.a.) be empty’, esp. Ngas *kok*, Montol *ku* ‘empty’, as suggested in [TRift 15]. Consider the semantic gap between Semitic ‘passage, opening’ and the real semantics of WCh 2, as given in [TAS 207] - **ku/ok* ‘to go waste; be empty; vain’.

Deriv. in *n*:- C 7 (*g*- < **ng*- < **ny*-): Mada *ɣga* ‘case, maison’, Mafa *ng^wáy* ‘maison, chez soi’, *gáɣ* ‘maison (individuelle), champ, famille’, Merey *gay*, *gə*, Zlg *gá*, Dugwor *gáy*, Balda *gai* ‘house’[Bry]. Note C 6 Mbedam *geʔ* id.

a. *ɣVwVɣ- village’: W 4 Wrj *ɣ^wiyai* ‘town’ [BIW], *ɣ^wiy-ai*, Miya, Kar *g^wahi* (dissim. < **ɣ^wahi*, cf. Eg), Jmb *yuwa* ‘town’ [SkNB]; C 1 Tera *ɣáy* ‘town’ [NmT]; 8 Log *yu* ‘village’ [AIL], *yo*, *ɣ’o*, *ɣ’u* ‘Welt; Stadt, world, town’ [LkL].

//Eg *hw.t* (MR) ‘der Palast des Königs’ [EG III 247], note also Eg *hɣy.t* (gr) ‘Haus, Wohnung’ [EG III 242]; SCush rift Irq *xoowi* ‘compound’ [MKQ], Cush Bed *gaw* ‘Gehöft, Haus, Familie’ [RBD]. [HSED №1326 Eg+CCh].

258. *ɣVw(Vɣʔ) > ɣ^way ‘neck, throat; шея, горло’: W 5 Bgh *g^way* ‘throat’ [Jglb]; C 8 Log *ɣ^wac* ‘neck’ [AIL], *ɣ^waye*, *ɣ’áyee* ‘Hals’ [LkL], Bud *wui*, Glf *uē*, Kus *uā* ‘throat’ [Sol]; E 5 Bid *geʔ* ‘cou’.

Note C 10 Musey *hukpa* (if < *huhpa* < *hu-hV-ɣ*, redupl.) ‘le goitre; le pélican’ [ShyM].

//Eg *hh* (Pyr) ‘der Hals des Menschen’ [EG III 391]; ECush Som *xaw* ‘throat’ [LIS], agaw Kemant *xäya*, Qwara *a xeɣa* ‘throat’ [ApAg].

259. *ɣVb- ‘to cultivate; обрабатывать землю’: C 5a Lmn *ɣuva*, Hdi *ɣvai*, Vemgo *ɣəva* ‘cultivate’ [HmG].

a. *ɣ/gVb- ‘hoe; мотыга’: W 3 Maka *gáaba* ‘hoe’ (gen.) [SV]; E 5b Tor *gub* ‘petite hoe’.

//Sem Akk *habūtu*, *hapūtu* (Oakk) ‘a light hoe’ [CAD h 22, 86].

Note a possible root-extension: AA **h-b* > **hb-r*, namely: Sem Arab *hbr* III stem ‘cultiver une terre’ [BK I 531], Eg *hb*: (BD) ‘den Erdboden aufhacken’ [EG III 253], W 3 Pero *gbúgrò* (< **g-b-r* < Ch **ɣ-b-r*)⁴⁴ ‘till the soil’.

260. *ɣVb(?) > *ɣVb- ‘to guard, to enclose; охранять’: C 7 Merey *həbe* ‘garder’; 8 Mazera *ɣábo* ‘garder’ [Tr]; E 1 Kera *gubí* ‘enfermer (dans un cage)’.

//Sem Arab *hbʔ* ‘cacher’, II stem ‘cacher, réceler; garder en secret’ [BK I

⁴⁴ For a similar transformation of a 3-radical (C₁C₂C₃ > C₁C₂C₁C₃) see: Ch E 5a Bid *korkidò* ‘chest’ ~ Berb Ayr *tí-yərd-en* ‘partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates’ (< **kərd-*) [Alj 71]. Likely, the transformation is aimed at deleting a 3-radical (and making two biradicals instead).

530], Sab *ḥbʔ* ‘to hide, conceal’ [SD 158], Akk *ḥabū* ‘verbergen’, Aram *ḥābā* (etpa.) ‘to hide o.s.’ [Zm 156], Akk *ḥabu* (NA) ‘to give refuge’, only in G&D stems [CDA 100, not in CAD].

Note secondary *-b-* in Chadic ~ *b+ʔ* in Arabic. Consider the present etymology as a "root variant" of AA **ḡbʔ*, see №287.

261. *ḡVb- > ḡVb- ‘hole; дыра’: C 1 Tera *yubu* ‘vagina’ [NmT]; 5a Lmn *oyubu* ‘hole’⁴⁵ [JgIb]; 7 Muy *xəbə-ŋ* ‘hollow; bed’; E 3 Smr *gubu* ‘Loch, Grube’ [Luk].

Deived noun in *m-*: C 7 Mafa *mó-g^wab* ‘nid de souris’.

Derived noun: W 2 **h-/n-ɣap* ‘armpit’: Mushere *akap*, Goem *hoop* [TAS **ha₃ɣa₃p*], Mghv *na-ɣap* [BIM].

Derived adj. E 6 Mok *gó-gúbé* ‘empty’.

Note the following correlation: CCh *-b-* ~ Semitic *-b(V)b-*, cf. №263.

//Sem Sab *ḥbb* ‘niche of burial chamber’ [SD 58, BII 58] Arab *ḥabīb-* ‘crevasse, fente (dans la terre)’ [BK II 530], Akk *ḥabbu* ‘pit’ [CAD ḥ 14], Berb Ayr EWlm *aḡābob*, pl. *iḡābab* ‘trou dans un arbre’, *aḡbab*, [Alj], Izn *aḡβu* ‘hole’, SCush Dah *ḥabe* ‘armpit’ [TD *ḥābc*].

[HSED №1363 Akk+Berb +CCh Lmn].

262. *ḡVdVH- > *ḡVd- ‘to close, cover, bury; закрывать, покрывать, хоронить’: W 2 Miship *ʔoyót* (< *?V-gVd#*) ‘close’ [JgC]; C 2 Mrg *yaḏu* ‘close, cover, shut’, *yaḏ-na* ‘bury’ [HfM 126], Wmd *hādīyā* ‘close’, Klb *ahādīyā* ‘close, bury’ [Kr]; 5 Pod *həḏā* ‘to bury’, Mlg *hōḏā* ‘bedecken, schliessen, to cover, close’, Glv *xəḏ* ‘shut, cover, bury’, *xəḏəga* ‘the burying’ [Rp]; Gdf, Dghw, Gava, Chn *χəḏā*, Chk *χəḏāχəḏā*, Glv *yəḏ-* ‘bury’ [HmG]. Deriv. in *n-*: C 4 **n-gVd-* (< **n-ḡVd-*) ‘bury’: C 4 Gude *ngəḏə*, Gudu *gudāan*, FBw *ḡgudu-bi* [Kr].

//Sem Arab *ḥdʕ* ‘cacher, couvrir, to hide, to cover’ [BK I 546].

Note the following correlation: Chadic *-d-* ~ Semiic *d+ʕ*.

263. *ḡVd- > ḡVd- ‘chin, jaw; подбородок, челюсть’: C 8 Log *yaḏa-ga* ‘chin’ [AIL]; E 1 Kera *gòḏoŋ-gòḏoŋ-gəḏə* ‘Kinn, chin’; 2 Sok *gée-ged-um* ‘dein Unterkiefer, (your) lower jaw’ [Luk]; 5a WDng *gādū-mo*, Bid *gəḏé-ma* ‘joue’; 5b Jegu *gəḏé* ‘Wange, cheek’, Brg *gādāyo* ‘joue’.

⁴⁵ Note that CCh 5a Lmn *oyubu* cannot follow AA **ḡVb-* ‘hole’, as suggested in [EDE I 222]. For Ch **-g-* > CCh 5 *-g-* see №№66, 137, 803, 805, 842, 914.

Unexpected *-d-* in ECh 5, 7 (possibly, a specific reflex of AA *-dd-*). For *-m-* possessive see №568 **lis-um-* 'tongue', №25 **bur-m-* 'knee', etc.

//Sem Arab *ḥudd-at-* 'joue' [BK I 543], NArab *xadd-* 'cheek' [Kaye 85].

264. C **γVf-* 'very ill, weak; тяжелобольной, слабый': 2 Bura *γavi* [hhavi] 'very ill person' [Ann]; 5 Gdf *xafā* (regressive devoicing of the initial consonant) [KimG]; 7 Mofu *havakw havakw* 'maladif, unhealthy'; 6 Buwal *γ^wof* 'murder sickness'; 8 Mazera *γufó* 'éteindre, extinguish'.

//Sem Arab *ḥff* 'être saisi de vertige, de tournoiement de tête et tomber par terre, être brûlé, consumé par la faim' [BK I 603].

265. **γVI-* 'to give; давать': C 5 Glv *γólá* '(small) sacrifice'; 10 Gizey, Ham, Musey *fiál* 'donner' [LexC], Musey *fialla* 'donner' [ShM]; E 1 Mobu *gəl-de* 'rendre, give back' [Lns].

//[Sem Arab *nḥl* 'donner à qq en peu de...', *nahl-* 'don, present, donation' [BK II 1216] > №351], cf. Eg *ḥn.t* (MR) 'Extrageschenk, Sondergabe; special present' [EG III 389].

Root extension (C₁ = *n*) in Arabic. Egyptian parallel is valid in case *n* follows AA **l* (not *n*).

266. **γVI-* 'trou, cave, hole': W 2 Mghv*gulu-k* 'hole'; 3 Bure *gálúwó* 'cave'; C 8 Log *yule-gaa* 'door' [AIL], *γ'ülle-m*, pl. *γ'állee* 'Loch, Grube' [LkL]; 10 Dzpw *fiól* 'petit trou fait par les enfants pour attraper des termites comestibles', Musey *fiolod-ta* 'la brèche dans une clôture' [ShM]; E 5a Dng *gále-gula* (redupl.) 'opening, a cave', E 4 Saba *gə̀lə^mbəti* 'door = hole-house'.

Derived verbs: C 10 Masa, Lew *fiulùt*, Ham, Marba *fiòlòm* 'agrandir un trou' [LexC].

//Sem Arab *ḥall-at-* 'trou, fente' [BK I 608], ECush Som *xolxol* 'hollow, gap', *xawaal* 'grave, tomb' [LIS].

In [TMM 163] an isolated Chadic form (C 10 Dzpw *fiól* 'petit trou fait par les enfants pour attraper des termites') considered cognate with Arab *ḥūl* 'parois intérieures d'un puits' (< Sem and AA **ḥ(w)l*). Semantically dubious. Note also, that, according to internal Ch reconstruction, Ch **γ-* > CCh 10 *fi-*, while AA **ḥ-* > Ch **ḥ-* > C 10 *h-*.

267. CCh **γVIVm-* 'boat; лодка': 9 Msg *ḥolúm* 'Kahn, Boot, Schiff, boat, ship', *dai-zú-ḥolómái* 'Schiffer, ship-man' [LkM], Mnj *hulum*, Mbara *hu-*

lum ‘canoe’; 8 Mazera $\gamma^w\acute{o}l\acute{a}m\grave{a}$ ‘pirogue’ [Tr], Zina $\gamma\acute{u}lma$ ‘canoe’ [ZK], cf. Log $\gamma^o\acute{o}am$ (< $*\gamma^wVlam$) ‘Boot, boat’ [LkL], but $\gamma we a am$ (?) ‘canoe’, γwe ‘thing’ [ALL].

//Sem Akk *hallimu* ‘raft’ [CAD h 45], cf. Eg *hmn.ty* (AR, MR) ‘Art Schiff, ship’ [EG III 283].

According to H. Tourniaux (personal communication), C 8 Log $\gamma^o\acute{o}am$ is a compound (γ^o ‘thing’ + *am* ‘water’). However, reflexes in other kotoko languages rather support our interpretation (Log $\gamma^o\acute{o}am$ < $*\gamma olam$). Note that Eg form (with a metath.) is valid if *n* follows AA $*l$.

[HSED №2057: Akk-Eg-Musgu-Log].

268. $*\gamma Vm$ ‘to stink; bad smell; вонять, вонь’: W 1 Hs $g\acute{u}maa$ ‘become impregnated with good or bad odour’, $g\acute{u}m$ idf. ‘strong odour’, $g\acute{u}mus$ (adj.) ‘emphasizing strong (usually bad) smell’; 5 (deriv. in *n*-) Zaar *ngum* ‘leave to ferment’, $ng\acute{u}m$ idf. ‘bad smell’ [CrZ]; C 2 Bura $\gamma am-\gamma am$ ‘stinking, ill smelling’ (cf. Bura *hima* ‘slightly odorous (good/bad)’) [Ann].

//Sem Arab *hmm* ‘sentir mauvais’ [BK I 628], Akk *hamīmu* (NA) ‘an aromatic ingredient’, Aram $h^{\partial}m\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ [CAD h 66].

269. $*\gamma Vm$ ‘war, fight; война, драка’: W 1 Hs $g\acute{u}m-t\acute{u}u$ ‘k of fight’; C 6 Buwal γam ‘war’; E 5b Zir *-gumana* ‘lutter’ [CJ].

Derived noun: C 8 Mak *ngama* ‘war axe’.

//Sem Akk *hammā?u* (OB) ‘rebellion’ [CAD h 68].

a.CCh $*\gamma Vm$ ‘enemy; враг’: 5a Hdi γuma ‘enemy’ [BrH; 7 Vame $a\gamma^wam$ ‘enemy’ [Kinn].

//Eg *iḥm* (18) ‘Feinde: Bezeichnung d. Feinde’ [EG I 50].

Semantic shift: ‘war’ > ‘enemy’ is not evident, thus the two Ch roots may be of different origin.

[HSED №1331 Akk-Eg].

270. $*\gamma Vm$ ‘beard; борода’: W 1 Hs $g\acute{e}emu$ ‘a beard’; C 3 FK 5a $\gamma\acute{u}m\acute{i}$ [BlNd]; 5a Hdi $\gamma umay$ ‘chin, beard’ [BrH], Lmn $\acute{u}\gamma\acute{u}m\acute{u}$ ‘beard’ [JgIb]; 7 Zlg $g\acute{u}m\acute{o}t$ ‘barbe’ (irreg. reflex of Ch $*\gamma$ -), Mbuko $h\acute{o}m\acute{a}\acute{y}$ ‘beard’; 7a Skn $\gamma\acute{o}may$ ‘beard’; 9a Gidar $engem\acute{e}$ ‘beard’ [JgIb].

//Cush agaw Xamta $x\acute{a}m$ ‘beard’ [ApAg].

271. $*\gamma Vm$, $*\gamma VwVm$ ‘to mould, to build; строить, лепить (из глины)’: W 1 Hausa $g\acute{i}n\grave{a}$ ‘build with clay, bricks; make pottery’; 5 Guus $\eta-g\acute{i}in$ ‘weave, build’, Bgh *kaan* (*k*-< $*g$ - < Ch $*\gamma$ -), Zaar *n-gcen* ‘build’ [JgIb], Dyarim

gən 'mould pot' [BID]; 4 Paa *h^wan*, *h^wani* 'build, mould (eg. a pot)', Siri *wunu*, Jimbin *wan* (< **y^wan*), Miya *yan*, Kar *wan* 'build, mould, weave, plait'⁴⁶ [SkNB]; 3 FK *yənə* 'build' [BINd]; C 4 Gude *yənə* 'build of mud or clay', FM *yunyi* 'build' [Kr], Jimj *hənc* 'bâtir' [Mo]; 8 Log *yən* 'tun, machen, arbeiten' [LkL]; 10 Mesme *hín* 'build' [JgZ]; E 5a Mig *gón-ginyò* 'fabriquer, faire une case, build a hut'.

Cf. C **yVn-* 'potery; вид глиняной посуды': C 3 Bana *yəni* 'boule de banco, poterie'; 7a Skn *yənc* 'pot before frying'.

//Eg *hnm* (19) 'bilden, schaffen, build, create', also: 'auf der Töpferscheibe' bilden (vom Sonnengott); also: 'to build on a potter's wheel (God of the Sun)' [EG III 382].

It is likely, that the need to avoid a tri-syllabic root (C-n-m) would motivate the loss of a vowel and assimilation: *CVnVm->CVnm->CVnn->CVn-*

272. **yVn-* '(to) empty; пустой, быть пустым': C 7 Ould *y^wəgwa* 'creux, empty' adj.; E 2 Nch *gəna* 'vide, empty' [HKb]; 4 Mawa *ginyij* 'vider'.

//Sem Arab *hnn* 'vider (p. ex., un panier)' [BK I 635].

273. **yVn-* (> *N/w-yVn-*, *yVn-k-*) 'medicine; лекарство': W 1 Hs *máa-ganií* 'remedy, magic, medicine; spell'; 3 Grk *gən* 'medicine' (generic) [G - "voiced uvular plosive" BLY 2]; 4 Paa *hāna-kí* 'medicine' [MS], Siri *yəŋ-ki*, Jmb *yun-hu*, Miya *ani-hə*, Mburku *yən-hə*, Tsagu *yənən*, Kar *yinə-hən*, Wṛj *nhina* (*nh-* < **ny-*) [SkNB], Wṛj *yṛi yinna* 'medicine' [BIW]; 5 Grnt *wuunu* (<*wu-gun*) [Jag], Geji *ikin*, Dott?won, Pol *wo-yun*, Sayawu-*gn* [Kr], Jimi *ágən* 'medicine' [Cs]; C 8 Log *tu-yun* 'medicine' [AIL].

//SCush Irq *xa?ano* 'tree, herbal medicine' [MKQ], ECush Som *xanuun* 'disease, illness, ailment', *xanuun* 'be in pain, hurt' [LIS]. Note also Sem Sab *hny* 'cause (pestilence) many deaths among people//destroy (of a disease); be severe' [SD 61, BII 207].

Cf. C 8 Mazera *yəró* 'guerir' [Tr].

274. **yan-* 'war, to struggle; война': W 7 Bok *gán* 'struggle, wrestle' [JgR]; C 8 Log *yina* 'war' [AIL], *yana*, *y'ana* 'Krieg', *yəna* 'Kampf' [LkL], Bud *haané* 'Streich; Schlag' (Mak *hara* 'war' < Arab); Kus *yara* 'guerre' [Tr]. Cf. C 10 Dzpw *fiòn* 'défendre; interdire'.

⁴⁶ Interpretation of WCh 4 **y^wan-* as "dissimilation from pre-Ch **h^wam-*" [TPH 195] seems erroneous in the view of numerous Ch cognates with medial *-n-*.

//Eg *hn* (MR) 'Rebell' [EG III 288].

275. **γVn-* 'evil(ness); злоба; БЫТЬ ЗЛЫМ': W 3 Dera *gəngəŋ* 'evil person' [NmK]; C 4 Gude *yan-ʒa* 'evil ghost'; 7 Mbuko *hūwan* 'mechanceté'; E 6 Mok *gōnno* 'rancune, evilness'.

//ECush Som *xun* 'bad, evil, worthless' adj., *xun* (-KA/-TA) n. 'evil, bad person or thing' [LIS]. Note also Cush Saho *xanc* 'revenge, vengeance' [Vr].

276. **γVwVr-* 'to dry; сохнуть': C 1 Tera *γ^wari* 'to dry' [NmT], Hona *x^war*, Gaʔanda *h^woiri*, Gabin *x^wər-*, Boka *x^weri* 'dry up' [Kr]; 3 FK *wule*, Kap *γ^wule*, HB *γ^wulə*, (HF *gəxəle*) 'dry up' [Kr], Bana *γ^wəli* 'sécher, tarir'; 5 Glv *γul* 'to wither, dry up' [Rp], Gava *γulalə*, Wnd *wulə-*, Chn *γ^wol-* 'dry up' [Kr], Mlg *wula* (< **γ^wula*) 'dry', Gdf *γulə* 'to dry' [KimG], Chn *γulə*, Chk *γulə* 'dry' (adj.) [Kim]; 7 Mafa *g^wár* 'dry up'; 9 Msg *fiuléŋ* 'to dry' [LkM], Mnj *huwli* 'be dry'. Reflexes in CCh 1, 7 and in ECh point to Ch medial *-r-.

Derived noun: 'dry season': C 3 FK *γuligu*, HF *xu-γulo?*, Hya *gə-hələ* [Kr], Bana *xə-γəli*; 5a Hdi *yalam* [BrH]; 7a Skn *γəran*; E (redupl.) 5a Bid *gorgòr*, Mig *gòrgòr*, 5b Kaj *gòrgùro* [Alio], Zir *gorogori*, Mubi *gorogoro* [CJ].

Deriv. in *n-*: C 7 Muy *ngēlēf-ngēlēf* (note *-f-* as a suff. of adj.) 'quite dry'; Mada (*ara*) *ngálal* 'dry season', Mafa *ng^wár* 'dry season' (*ng-* < Ch **nγ-*, *CVrVC* > *CVVC* is regular).

//Sem Akk *naḥru* (OB) 'dry' [CAD n 141], cf. Aram (Syr) *ḥar* 'be dry' [LsG 243], Berb Ayr, EWlm *iḡar* 'être sec, dur, se sécher', *ḡarat* 'autumn' [Aj].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Akkadian. According to Leslau, Aram (Syr) *ḥar* 'be dry' follows Sem **ḥrr* 'to burn, be hot'.

[HSED №1356 Akk + several CCh forms].

277. **γVr-* 'to dig, to bury; копать, хоронить': W 1 Hs *gúure* 'hollow out (e.g. the bottom of a well; hole which has but a small opening)'; 3 Bol *gur* 'to dig'; C 7a Skn *γrə* 'to bury'.

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 2 Mrg *γər-dù* 'to hoe for the first time' [HfM 24].

Derived noun: **γVr-* 'hole, tomb; дыра, яма, могила': W 2 Mushere *guru-k* 'hole' (note *-k* as a noun marker, attested all over Chadic, see the next entry. Cf. a strange commentary in [TAS 134]: "epenth. *-r-* or prefix *gu-*"); 3 Tng *kuru-k* 'tomb'; 4 *(*n*)*γVr-*: Wrj *gir-na*, Kar *gir* (< *ngir* < **nγir*),

Tsagu *gøren*, Paa *ɲgir*, Siri *ɣəri*, Jmb *ɣira*, *ɣiira*, Miya *agir*, Mburku *səyar* ‘hole’, *yar* ‘grave’, Siri *ɣir-təni* ‘nostril’ (hole-nose) [SkNB], Paa *ɲgir* ‘hole, rectum’ [MS]; 5 Saya (Zar) *gir-ža* ‘water hole’ (hole-water) [Cs №175], Buli *ɣir*, Saya *gir*, Pol *giro* ‘hole’ [Smz], Zaar *giir* ‘hole, tomb’ [CrZ]; 6 Ngz *gər-id* ‘pit, cave’; C 5a Hdi *yuru-m* ‘hole’ [BrH]; 7 Mbuko *huro-m* ‘trou dans un rocher’.

//Sem Akk *ħarāru* (OB) ‘dig with a hoe’, *ħerū* (Oakk) ‘dig out’, *ħurru* ‘hole’ [CAD *ħ* 91, 175], Ug *ħr* ‘dig’, *ħrt* ‘grave’, Hbr *ħōr* ‘hole, cave’, Aram (Syr) *ħūrū* (< Akk), Arab *ħurr-* ‘fente, trou de meulle dans lequel on jette la grain’ [BK I 551], Geez *ħarawa* ‘make a hole, dig (out)’ [LSG 265], Eg *ħr(n)* ‘tomb’ [EG III 323]; SCush Irq *x^waar* ‘dig up using claws’ [MKQ], cf. ECush dullay Harso *xaar-xo*, Dob *xoxro* ‘hole’ [AMS].

[Cr №736 Sem+WCh, MSt №40 (only WCh), HSED №1375, №1376 Sem+Eg+WCh].

278. *ɣV(ɣV)r- ‘to steal, to rob; красть, грабить’: W 7 Mundat *gəur* ‘steal’ [RC]; C 3 HN *ɣulī-šē*, HB *ɣulī*, Kap *ɣurī-xwi*, Hya *xūr-de* ‘to steal’ [Kr], FK *ɣəḷə* ‘steal’ [BINd], Bana *ɣ(ə)lī* ‘voler, piler’; E 1 cf. Ngam *goore* ‘empoigner qqch’ [Lns]; 6 Mok *?oogirā* ‘voler, dérober’. Note CCh -/ - < *-r- in CCh 3.

Deriv. in n-: W 7 Karfa *ɲgir*, Monguna *nǰir* ‘to steal’ [RC].

//Sem Akk *ħaru* (OB) ‘pick up and take as a mate’ (“... or the maid of the wind-demon will pick him”; “you (the demons) are constantly picking (victims)”); ‘lay hands on’ [CAD *ħ* 119, 118], *ħarū* ‘ergreifen’ [AHw 329].

One of root variants for the concept ‘to steal’. Cf. №293 **ħi* VI-, №445 **k* Vr-, №358 **ħ* Vr-.

279. *(n)ɣVr- ‘to snore; храпеть’: W 4 Siri, Jmb *ɲg^war-ti*, Mburku *ɲgur-tə*, Kar *ngərən*, Tsagu *ng^war* ‘to snore’ [SkNB]; 7 DB *ha-ⁿgar*, Bok *ha-ⁿgor* Sha *?ahagar*, DB *hagar* ‘to snore’ [JgR]; C 7a Skn *ɣər* ‘snore’; 10 Musey *ħoorā* ‘gonfler, grogner’, Ham, Lew, Musey, Marba *ħior* ‘ronfler’ [LexC], Azum *horā* [PAz]; E 1 Mobu *ongore*, Ngam *oŋgoré* ‘to snore’ [Lns]; 3 Smr *ɲ^wərə* [JgSb]; 5a Mubi *ɲororogé* ‘ronfler’ [JgL].

Derived noun: ‘**snoring; храп**’: W 2 Mghv *ɲgərɔ-k* ‘snoring’ [JgS], Ngas *ga-ngor* ‘snore’ (n.) [Fl]; 3 Krkr *ngorum* ‘snoring’ [GK], Bol *ngoorum* ‘snoring’ [GAB], Ngm (G) *ngorūm*, (Y) *ngor-ti* ‘snoring’ [NEH]; 7 Fyer *gōⁿgor* ‘snoring’; C 7 Mafa *ghūr-ghūr* ‘bruit de ronflement’.

//Sem Akk *naḥāru*, Arab *ḥrr*, *nḥr*, Geez *nəḥra*, Jib *naḥár*, Hars *enḥerōr* ‘to snore’, **naḥir-* ‘nostril’ [SED I №198], SCush Irq *xorootl* ‘to snore’ [MKQ], agaw Kemant *xārt-* ‘snore’ [ApAg].

Root extension (*n* as *C*₁) in Semitic and in Chadic. A descriptive root. [CT №737, HSED №1357 Sem-Chad].

280. **γVwVr-* > **γ^wVr-* ‘throat; voice; горло, голос’: W 3 Krf *wo-γoro* ‘trahea’ [Stl]; 7 DB *wōroḡ*, Bok *worōḡ*, Monguna *angorot*, Karfa *ma-gōrōḡ* ‘throat’ [RC]; C 1 Tera *γu-γ^war* ‘throat’ [NmT]; 3 Kap *γə-γəri* ‘throat’ [Kr]; 10 Masa *fiō-nā*, Marba *hor-na*, Peve *hor*, Hedē *hor* ‘larynx, voice’ [Shy], Musey *fiōfiō* ‘trachée’, Ham *hōo*, Lew *fiōfiōr* ‘gorge’ [LexC], Dari *hōr*⁴⁷ ‘voix, gorge’, Dzpw *fiōr* ‘trachée, artère, larynx; voice’. Loss of *-r#* in CCh 10 is regular. In [TMM 166] Musey *fiōfiōo* ‘trachée’ and Ham *hōo* ‘gorge’ (both < C 10 **fiVr*) mistakenly considered cognate with Eg *ḥḥ*, Kafa *ḵōḵō*, Hausa *maḵoḵo*, etc., all < AA **qVqV* ‘throat’ [GT].

//Eg *ḥrw* (Pyr) ‘Stimme, Gerauch’ [EG III 324], Sem Akk *ḥarur-tu* (NA) ‘throat’ [CAD ḥ 121].

a. W 2 **γ^wVr-* ‘to shout; кричать’: Ngas *g^wecr* [Fl], Goem *g^war* ‘to groan’ [Fp], Mpn *g^waar* ‘to growl’.

//Sem Arab *ḥr?* ‘crier’, *ḥwr* ‘mugir (bovine)’ [BK I 552, 644], Eg *ḥr* ‘sagter’ [EG III 317], SCush Rift **xuuru?* ‘to roar, blow, rumble’ [Kies], Irq *xuray* ‘rumble, roar’ [Eh 370], Berb Ayr, EWlm *ayru* ‘appeler, nommer’ [AMS]. Cf. [MSt №42] **q^wVr-* ‘to produce a noise, to call’.

281. **γVs-* ‘heat, sweat; жар(a), пот’: C 10 Dzpw *fiās* ‘chaleur’, Dari *fiās* ‘chaleur ; boutons qui apparaissent sur la peau à la saison chaude’; Mesme *has* ‘sweat’ [Kr]; E 4 Ubi *kosi-dò* ‘chaleur’ [Alio]; 5b Brg *kossò* pl. ‘sweat’.

Derived verb: E 5a WDng *kossè* ‘réchauffer’. Note regular *k-* < **γ-* in ECh by assimilation with a voiceless consonant as *C*₂.

//Sem Akk *ḥaḥḥašu* (OB, SB) (describes a high temperature of water or of the human body) [CAD ḥ 28].

Note alternative cognates of CCh 10 *fiās* ‘chaleur, sueur’ (as proposed in [TMM 160]): Hausa *hása* ‘to light fire’, Arabic *ḥss* ‘brûler (se dit du froid qui brûle les plantes); mettre sur la braise (la viande)’. Consider a semantic

⁴⁷ CCh **fi* and **h* are gradually falling together as *h* in Dari.

gap. Note also that initial consonants in Hausa, CCh 10 and Arabic follow three different AA spirants (**h*, **ḥ* and **ħ*, correspondently).

282. *ɣVsVm- 'hunger; голод': W 1 Hs *kísa* (old Kats), *kíší-rwáa* 'thirst' ('hunger' + 'water'), *kííši* 'jealousy'; 3 Pero *kóžam*, Maka *kúzum* 'hunger' [NmM], Tng *kúm* 'hunger', Krkr, Bol *kúzum*, Ngm *kizí*, Krf *kušújú*, Glm *gúši*, Gera *kúzumí*, Dera *kíyím* [SchV], Bele *guhi* (< **guzi*), Gerum *kužú*, Krf *kušújú* 'hunger', *kušúm àmmá* 'thirst'; 5 Geji *kúzəŋ/m* [Cs], Jimi *kuum*, Pol *gúsum*, Zul *guzúmi* (regressive voicing), Saya (Zaar) *kusəŋ* [Cs №434]; C 1 Tera *xužum* 'thirst' [NmT]; 8 Mak *skim* (metath.) 'hunger', Log *yüzum* [AIL], *yožəm*. *ɣ'ozem* 'Hunger' [LkL]. Cf. [JgIb *ksm*]. //Sem Arab *ḥms* 'être vide (se dit du ventre)', *ḥams-at-* 'faim, un accès de faim' [BK I 633].

Note a metath. in Chadic *ḥms* > *ysm-* (in accordance with the law of "rising sonority"). For similar regressive devoicing of **ɣ-* in W and EChadic languages see the previous entry. This etymology requires additional comment: 1. two emphatics are not compatible in W 1 Hausa. 2. for the loss of *-m/-n-* as *C₃* in Hausa see: Ch **zbn* 'guinea fowl' > Hs *zàaboo*, Ch **ksm* 'rat' > Hs *kúusu*, etc. 3. Voicing of a medial consonant in tri-radicals is typical of Chadic languages. 4. C 8 Mak *skim* is a metath. < *ksim* < **ɣsim*, for a similar case cf. Arab *ḥsʔ* 'éloigner, chasser' ~ Mak *sku* 'chasser' (< **ksu* < **ɣsu*).

***fi**

283. *fi Vy- 'to be meaningless, empty; idiot; быть бессмысленным, пустым, быть идиотом': W 3 Tng *gaayi*, *kaayi* 'empty(ness), nothing, naked(ness), vain, useless', Kupto *gaaga* 'useless(ness), meaningless(ness)' [LgK]; C 7 Mofu *gaya* 'idiot'; 8 Log *yúi* 'verloren gehen' [Luk], *ywi ya* 'be lost' [AIL] (possibly, an Arabic loan); 10 Masa *fiy* 'être fou' [CC], *fiay* 'hesiter, être embarrassé', cf. C 3 Bana *yyi*, 10 Ham *hoý* 'ivre' [LexC], 5a Hdi *yuya-ku* 'drunk' [BrH] (for the same affix see Hdi *ɣulpa-ku* 'blind').

//Sem Arab *ḡwy* 's'égarer, perdre la route; être au désespoir; rester sans ressources; induire en erreur' [BK II 519], Aram *ʕawāyā* 'iniquity', Hbr *ʕāwōn* 'iniquity; guilt, punishment' [Zm 312], Mhr *ḡwy* 'to be wrong, left behind, be lost' [JnM 146], Hars *ḡewō* 'to be mistake, go astray' [JnH 48], Jib *ḡē* 'to be wrong; forget, loose, leave' [JJ 91], Sab *ḡwy* 'greivous

trouble' [SD 54, Bll 392], Geez *ḥayaya* 'to err, deviate, stray; be ignorant, not understand, mistaken', *ḥayyuy* 'insane, senseless; stupid, delirious' [LSG 80]. Cf. also [KgE №25]. Reflexes of Ch ***ḥ-** (W 3 **g-* ~ CCh Mafa *g-* ~ CCh 8 *γ-* ~ CCh 10 *fi-*) are regular. Note a similar semantic shift: 'useless, mistaken' > 'stupid, idiot' in Chadic and Geez.

284. **[ḥ^w]a/[ḥ]Vʔ-* 'locust; **саранча**': W 2 Ngas *g^wok* (< *g^wVg#* < *g^wVgV*) [Fl], Goem *n-gok* [Fp] 'locust', Mpn *n-gok paal* 'k of grasshopper', Mushere *ngok* 'grasshopper' [TAS 140]; C 2 Mrg *ayāʔi*, Klb *haʔi* 'locust' [HfM 50]; 3 HN, Kap *xəgi*, HB *xəgi*, HF *xəgi* 'locust' (dissim.) [Kr]; 8 Mak *gayo* 'grasshopper, cricket' (cf. *hayo* id. < Ch **hVy/ʔ-*).

//Sem Arab *gawǧaʔ-* 'locust (beginning to fly)' [BK II 519].

Note a correlation: W 2 **g^w-* ~ Arabic *ǧ+w*. Internal Chadic data allows to reconstruct initial **γ-* as well.

[HSED №1100 Arab+Ngas-Goem].

285. **ḥ^(w)ub-* (< ****ḥVbVb-***) 'to rot; **гниль**': C 3 Bana *γ^wabə* 'pourrir'; 5 Pod *guba* 'rot'; 6 Buwal *γov* 'half rot'; 7 Moloko *gəvoy* 'to rot meat or skin to flavor food'.

Deriv. in *n-*: C 6 Daba *ngav* 'gâter, abime; spoil, destroy' [Lnhf].

Note C 6 Duw *əgvə-dyūwo* 'rot, spoil, be fermented'.

Derived noun ****ḥVb-*** 'carrion; **падаль**': W 1 Hs *guba* 'poison, carrion'; 3 Krkr *gubu* [GK], Bol *guu* (< **guwu* < **gubu*) 'corpse' [GAB]; 6 Ngz *guvu*, Bade *əvvi*, *gəvvi*, Duw *əgvu* 'corpse'. Possibly, a Hausa loan.

Derived verb: W 6 Bade *əgva-dū* 'smell putrid (carrion)' > *ga-gva-dāk* 'putrid'.

Note a correlation: Podoko *g-* ~ Bana, Buwal *γ-*, pointing to initial Ch ***ḥ-**.

//Sem Arab *ǧbb* 'finir; sentir mauvais, être gâté (viande)' [BK II 428].

286. **[ḥ]Vb-* > ***gVb-*** 'to drink; **пить**': W 1 Hausa *gūggūbaa* (< **gub-guba*, full redupl., regressive assim.) 'drink up sediment or remnants of sloppy food'; Cf. C 5 Gdf, Gava *xəba*, Chn *xaba*, Glv *xəb-* [HmG], Gdf *x(ə)buwā* [Jglb], Glv *xəb* [Rp] 'to drink'.

Initial Chadic **γ-* (< AA **ḥ-*) is also possible.

//Sem Arab *nǧb* 'avalér, prendre une gorgée, boire un coup de' [BK II 1300], Berb EWlm *ǧabb-āt* (nv. *ayəbbi*) 'mettre dans sa bouche une gorgée de (liquid, fumée)' [Alj].

Common origin of EWlm and Arabic *ġbb* II 'saisir par la gorge (se dit d'un loup qui enlève une brebis)' (as postulated in [TGh 146]) seems less reliable. Root extension (*n* as *C*₁) in Arabic. Note *-b-* in Chadic (likely, secondary emphatization of voiced plosives in roots with initial AA **ǧ-*).

287. **[h]Vb?* > **[h]Vb-* 'to hide, to lie in ambush': C 3 Bana *γubə* 'hide o.s. (to catch smth)'; E 5a Mig *gōobō* 's'embusquer, guetter; to lie in ambush, trace', Bid *guub* 'guetter, tendre un piège, une embuscade', EDng *gōbē* 'se cacher derrière', *gōobō* 'en cachette, à la dérobée, "en douce"' [Dj]. Derived noun: E 5a WDng *gúba* 'guet (pour se battre avec un ennemi ou surprendre un voleur)'. Chadic **γ-* (<AA **h-*) is also possible.

//Sem Arab *ġby*, *ġb?* 'ne rien comprendre; être caché pour qqn', *ġyb* 'être caché, invisible, mystérieux' [BK II 520].

288. **[h]ab-* 'sheer bank, border': W 1 Hs *gáaba* 'the bank of a river or stream, provided it is sheer and does not slope down gradually to the water edge'; C 10 Ham *fiébe* 'frontière, limite' [LexC]. Cf. E 3 Ndam *gaba* 'mur (de maison)' [Brs]. Chadic **γ-* (<AA **h-*) is also possible.

//Sem Sab *ġbb* 'curtain wall; rampart, dyke' [SD 53, Bll 391], ECush Som *xceb* 'shore, beach, cost' [LIS].

289. **fiVb-* > *γ/gV* - 'fat; жир(ный)': W 1 Hs *g^wáábii* 'thickness, solidity (of thing); sturdiness, thicksetness (person)', *g^wágg^waabaa* (< **g^wab-g^waabaa*) 'solid, thickset'; C 4 Gude *gyabə-gyab* (*gy-* < **γy-*) 'big, fat, thick' (alternatively, may originate from Ch **gVb/b-* 'big' [CLD IV №466]); 5 Pod *gəbə gəba* 'épais, solide', Gvoko *ɣavɛ-d* 'fat' [HmG]; 5a Hdi *ɣ^wavi-d* 'grease' [BrH], Vemgo *ɣəvɛ-d* 'fat' [HmG]; 7 Muy *gōbūrā* (pl. in *-r-*) 'fat'. Deriv. in *n-*: C 7 Baka *ngbe-ngbe* 'grosneur' [YB].

//Sem Arab *ʔagbā* 'épais, touffu', *ġabiyy-* 'épais', *ġabāʔ-* 'épaisseur' [BK II 435]. Cf. also Ug *ġb-n* 'well-being, opulence' [KgE №16].

Note [TMM 156].

290. **fiu[b]-* 'faeces': W 5 Zul *ɣop* (*-p#* < **-b#*) 'manure' [BIZ]; C 1 Gaʔanda *xupá-tə*, Gabin *xəpə-tə*, Boka *xəpə-dá* 'faeces' (devoicing of medial consonant) [Kr]; 5a Hdi *ɣuvi* 'faeces' [BrH]; 5 Dghw *gve*, Wnd *úgve* (dissim. < **γv-* < **γVv-* < Ch **fiVb-*) [Mo], Mlg *úgve* 'Exkrementé'.

//Sem Geez *ʔəbā* 'dung', Tna *ʔiba* 'fresh cow dung' Amh *əbāt* 'dung', Mhr *ġəb*, Jib *ġebb*, Harsusi *ġeb* 'to excrete, defecate' [KgE №1, LsG 54], SCush

Irw *xawa* (< **xaba*) 'fresh cow dung' [Eh 356].

Note a false etymology in [TGH 143]: Sem **ǧib(b)*- 'dung, faeces' ~ WCh Bade *âbu*, CCh Mrg *ubi*, Wamdiu *ʔubi*, Hildi *ʔubī*, Klb *íbī*, Ngwahi *k-îvi*, Chb *k-ivî*, Bura *k-ivî*, HB *íbî*, Kap *uvye* 'faeces'. Chadic forms go back to Ch **ʔVb-*, initial *k-* is a pref. of collective nouns.

291. **fi Vd-* 'fat; жир': W 3 Bol *geddo* 'fat' (adj.) [Bn]; C 1 Tera *ǧədyir* 'fat' (likely, lexicalized pl. in *-r-); 5 Pod *gəðərəra* idf. 'épais'; 7 Moloko (derived verb) *gəðəgalay* 'get fat'.

//Sem Ug *ǧdd* 'to swell' [Ais 246], Arab *maǧd-* 'gras, plein de séve' [BK II 1132].

292. **[fi]ud-* 'fatigue; be tired; усталость, устать': W 3 Krf *gòdò* 'tiredness' [Stl]; C 2 Mrg *ǧədá* 'get tired' [HfM 24], *ǧudá* 'fatigue' [Kr], Chb *ǧóni* 'become tired' [HfC 134], *ǧuri* 'fatigue, be tired', (derived verb) *ǧur-ba* 'to rest' [Kr], Bura *ǧur*, Mrg *ǧuda*, WMrg *xudə*, Chb *ǧuri*, Klb *ahudá* 'fatigue' [Kr], Bura *ǧura* 'to tire; to rest' [BIB] (-r- < *-d-); 8 Mazera *ǧuǰə* (< **ǧude*, palatalization) 'fatiguer' [Tr].

Chadic **ɣ-* (< AA **h-*) is also possible.

//Sem Arab *wǧd* 'être faible, d'un constitution faible; être idiot' [BK II 1571]. Semantic shift seems tenable.

293. C **fi VI-* 'to steal; красть': C 5 Chn *a xaylowa* [Kr], Glv *ǧəl(a)* 'the stealing' [Rp], Glv *ǧəlga* 'steal', Gvoko *ǧəlo*, Dghw *ǧələ*, Gdf *ǧlee*, Gava *ǧlaa*, Chn *ǧla* 'steal' [HmG], Mlg *ǧəla*, Wnd *yəl* [Mo], Gdf *ǧələ* 'to steal' [KimG]; 5a Lmn *ǧila*, Hdi *ǧalay* 'to steal', *ǧali* 'thief' [BrH]; 6 Mbedam *fiǧéw* 'steal'; 10 Musey *fiulla* 'voler; le vol' [ShyM] (cf. *hul* id. [LxcC]). Violation (*g-* ~ *ɣ-*) in CCh 5 and the *g*-reflex in a cluster point to Ch **fi-*.

//Sem Arab *ǧwl* 'emporter, enlever, ravir' [BK II 518], Sab *ǧll* (v.) 's'approprier, retenir frauduleusement q-ch' [SD 53]. Note Eg *ʔwʔy* (AR) 'rauben' [EG I 171]. Comparison will be correct, if Eg *ʔ* follows AA **ǧ*, and Eg *ʔ* follows AA **l*.

Though attested in CCh only, the present root is of special value - in the view of numerous "root variants" for the concept 'to steal, to rob' in Chadic and AA (see №445 **kVr-*, №358 **hVr-*, №278 **yVr-*).

294. **fi VI-(N)-* 'slave; раб': W 4 Paa *fi^walín-čiki* [MS], Wrj *ǧaluu-zəhəna*, Diri *ǧaalu*, Miya, Kar *ǧaluu-zəhə*, Tsagu *ǧaalun* 'slave' [SkNB], Miya

gáluw zəhə ‘he-slave’ [SchM]; C 4 FJ *mu-gula* ‘slave’ [Kr].

//Sem **yalm-* [= **galm-*] ‘young man, adolescent’ [DK № 15]: Arab *gūlām-* ‘jeune homme adulte, garçon; jeune esclave’ [BK II 496], Hbr, Aram (Syr) *ʕalyam*, Hbr *ʕelem* ‘young man, slave’, Sab *glm* ‘child, boy, youth’ [Sd 53, Bll 395], Ug *glm* ‘Männlicher Spross, Jüngling, Diener’ [Ais 248].

Chadic and Semitic reflexes show *m* ~ *n* as C₃. In both cases one may consider *-m/-n-* suffixed morphemes.

295. **[h]Vm(V)ɕ-* ‘to laugh, to mock at; смеяться, насмехаться’: W 1 (derivd noun) Hs *gámçii, gánçii, gáuçii* ‘disrespectful speech’; 4 Wrj *yənc-*, Jmb *wumaš-*, Miya *amaš-*, Mburku *yəŋša*, Kar *yəməcə*, Dirí *mees* [SkNB], Paa *fiansaá* ‘to laugh’ [MS], Wrj *yənc-* ‘to laugh’ [BIW], Miya *yamacə* ‘laughter’, *yəncə* ‘laugh’ [SchM]; 5 Bgh *kamas*, Buli *gał*, Dott *gyamti-tti*, Geji *git-ti*, Jimi *gumso*, Grnt *guŋsi*, Tala *kaasam, kaasaj* [Cs] (secondary lateral), Zaar *gyomtə* ‘to laugh’, Guus *gimaat* ‘laugh [CrZ, CrG]; 6 Duw *əgmiš, əŋmiš, gəmiš* ‘laughter’, Bade *gaməs* ‘laughter, *gamsu* ‘laugh at, laughing, cheerful disposition’, Ngz *gamsú* ‘laugh’; E 5b Jegu *gims* ‘lachen’, Brg *gəmsí* ‘rire’, Mubi *gamasə* [JGO] ‘laugh’, Zir *-gamisa* [CJ]. Chadic **ɣ-* (< AA **h-*) is also possible.

//Sem Arab *gmš* ‘mépriser, dédaigner, calomnier, diffamer’ [BK II 505], cf. Omot Gimira *gēc*, Kafa-Mocha *mic(c)*, Shin *mi(i)(t)s*, Ari, Dime *yinc* ‘to laugh’ [BndO 341, 349].

Semantic shift: ‘to laugh’ > ‘laugh at, mock’ > ‘to neglect, despise’ seems tenable. An alternative etymology of Ch [****h]Vm(V)ɕ-* ‘to laugh’, namely, Cush **m-s-k* ‘to smile’, suggested in [TPh 197], seems erroneous. Note irregular phonetic correspondences, metathesis and a semantic gap. [Nm **gamsə*, Jglb **gms*₂].**

296. **[h]Vr-* ‘to jump, to fly; прыгать, летать’: W 2 Ngas *gər gər* ‘jumping movement’ [JgA]; 5 Zaar *garap garap* idf. ‘jumping’ [CrZ]; C 7 Ould *-yūr* ‘sauter debout, jump, -y^war (note internal *-a-* pl.) ‘bondir, voler, hop, fly’, (deriv. in *n-*) Mada *angrá* ‘sauter, s’envoler, voler; jump’; C 10 cf. Gizey, Masa, Ham *hāl* ‘bondir, sauter’ [LexC]. Chadic **ɣ-* (< AA **h-*) is also possible.

//Sem Arab *grr* (i) II stem ‘se disposer à voler, ouvrir les ailes’ [BK II 445].

297. **[h]Vr-* ‘to shine; сиять’: C 4 (redupl.) Gude *garəyarəno* ‘shine

brightly enough to hurt eyes'; 7 Ould *yūrīyo* 'jour'. Cf. C 3 Bana *yūr* pl. 'ficelle'. Chadic **y-* (< AA **h-*) in anlaut is also possible.

Compound: **[h]Vr-z-* 'scorching heat of the sun; палящий жар солнца': W 1 Hs *gār-žii* 'scorching heat of the sun'; C 7 Mafa *ngur-zaʔa* 'brûlant, accablant (pour le soleil)'. For the second part of the compound see CLD III № **zVw/y-* 'hot, burn'.

//Sem Arab *wġr* 'être brûlant (l'heure du midi)', II stem 'chauffer', *ġwr* (u, a) 'brûler, être brûlant (se dit d'une jour de chaleur excessive)' [BK II 1571, 515].

Root extension in Arab (*w* as C₁, C₂).

298. **[h]u/r-* 'lake, channel; озеро': W 3 Krf *gūrūyo*, Gera *gūr-kū* 'lake' [SchV]; C 4 FBw *yarān*, Bch *gūrēy* 'lake' [Kr], cf. FM *guru* 'river' [Kr]; 5a Lmn *y^worāvā* (< *yurava*) 'lake' [Luk]; 10 Marba *fiōr* 'marigot long', Masa, Gizey *fiōr* 'canal profond' [LxcC], Azum *hora* 'a narrow water channel' [PAz]. Note C 7 Ould *yōri* idf. 'full of water'. Chadic **y-* (< AA **h-*) is also possible. Cf. [BlzL].

//Sem Ug *gyr* 'Grundwasser' [Ais 247].

In [TMM 161] Masa, Gizey *fiōr* 'canal profond' considered cognate to: Sem Geez *harhar* 'swampy' and Eg *h:y* (NE) 'der Schlamm (in dem das Schiff steckenbleibt; bewässerte Stelle)'. Semantically dubious, esp., in the view of Marba *fiōr* 'marigot long' (in the same group).

299. **fi Vr-* 'blind(ness); слепота': W 1 Hs *gārāa-gāraa* 'partial blindness or dimness of sight though eyes look normal', *gāaraa* 'a person who has gone quite or nearly blind, but whose eyes appear normal; any blindness in which the eyes appear to be normal'; C 8 Mazera *y^wirā* 'aveugle' [Tr].

Deriv. adj. in *-f*: **(m)-h VrVf-* '(be) blind; быть слепым': W 1 Hs *mā-kaafōo* (loss of medial *-r-* contributed to regressive assim. of the initial consonant, for similar lenition see Ch **k VrVf-* 'fish' > W 1 Hs *kifī*); C 2 Mrg *lifū*, Klb *wūlfū* [Kr], HB *ūyulū*, Kap *y^wuli*, FK *mu-yuripū* [Kr]; Bana *y^wələf*; 4 FM *mō-rūfun*, FJ *mō-gorupu*, Gudu *mu-rūfā* [Kr]; 5 Wnd *ḡwulfē*, Gava *ng^wulfa*, Dghw *ng^wulfē* [Kr], Glv *gulfa* 'blind person' [Rp]; 5a Hdi *yulpa-ku* 'blind' [BrH]; 6 Daba *wələf* 'I'veugle; aveugler' [Lnhf], Gavar *wələf* 'aveugle' [VGv 9]; 7 Zlg *gūluf* (*ḡā*), Mofu *-hulf-* '(be) blind', Gis *hulof*, Mbuko *hūrōf* 'blind'; 8 Log *xfi* (<**xVlf-* < **xVrf-*) 'be, become blind', *nxufi* 'blind person' [LkL]; 9 Mulwi *ngilvi* 'become blind'.

Note irregular reflex (*h-* instead of *g-*) in a number of matakam languages (CCh 7). A very tentative explanation could be as follows: *huruf* < **mV-huruf* < **m-fi VrVp-* (lenition of Ch **fi* in medial position),

Note ECh 5a Mig *kóorìwò* 'become blind', *kóor* 'blind', Bid *kóora* 'borgne, one-eyed'. Most probably, a loan from a local dialect of Arabic.

//Sem Arab *ǧrr*(i) 'être aveugle' [BK II 445].

300. *fi Vr- '(pied) crow; ворона, сорока': W 2 Mghv *ǧǧǧǧ* 'Krähe' [JgS], Mpn *ngéré* 'pied crow', Mushere *ngorò* 'crow' [JgO]; 5 Zul *ǧará-tí* 'crow' [BLZ]; C 5 Glv *ǧáǧá-xǧra* 'crow'; 7a Skn *ǧra-ma-k* 'pied crow'; 7 Muy *ǧǧará-má* 'pied crow', Gis *ǧǧǧr-kakak* 'crow'; E 3Ndam *ǧagra* 'crow' //SCush Irq *xwaaǧari*, Gor *xooǧari*, Bur *xwanxwaraariya*, Alg *xoxoraaǧi* 'crow' [Kies 326, Eh 270], Cush agaw Kemant *xorai* 'crow', Berb Ayr, EWlm *a-ǧrut* 'corbeau' [Alj].

A descriptive root. Note Sem **ǧarī-b-*, **ǧura-b-* 'crow, raven' [SED II №130], ECush Burji *gurruba*, etc., and ECh 5b Jegu *gurba-ak* (all with a *-b-* suffix of harmful animals). In [SED] the form in ECh Jegu is considered an arabism. Note, however, that in Arabic dialects of Africa ǧ (< Sem **ǧ*) is rendered by *q* (cf. *qarāb* 'crow' [Kaye] in the Nigerian dialect). [HSED №1015].

301. W 4 *[fi]ar(w)- 'cow': 4 Jmb (*ǧ*)*ǧǧǧǧ*, Miya *ǧuru*, Mburku *ǧǧǧǧ*, Kar *wuru*, Tsagu *ǧǧǧǧ* 'cow' [SkNB], Paa *fiar-čǧká*, pl. *fiarwí* 'cow (zebu)' [MS], Wtj *ǧǧǧǧ* 'cow', *ǧhirwin-na* 'cattle in general', *ǧhir-rakai* 'pursuing the herds' [BLW]; Miya *ǧǧǧǧ* 'cow', *ǧǧǧ-wan* 'aardvark' SchM].

//Sem Arab *ǧarāǧ-* (*ǧrw*) 'veau, tout nouveau né' [BK II 462].

W Chadic **[fi]ar-* 'cow' can not be cognate with SCush rift **ǧar-* 'wife' (as suggested in [TPH 195]). Firstly, on semantic reason. Secondly, in the view of the real Cushitic data and reconstruction, namely: rift **hadce* 'woman, wife': Irq, Gor, Alg *harec*, Bur *hadce* [Kies].

302. *[fi]arǧ Vr- 'wrist, to be curved': W 1 Hs *ǧǧǧǧ* (metath.) 'to become curved, concave; bend back in dancing'; C 8 Log *ǧǧǧǧ* 'Handgelenk, wrist' [LkL].

//Sem Mhr *ǧǧǧǧ* 'wrist, ankle, ankle-joint' [JM].

Chadic **ǧ-* (< AA **ǧ-*) in anlaut is also possible. One of the two 4-radicals in the text (see also №24 **bVrgVč-*).

303. **[h]VwVt-* (> *gVwVt-*) ‘**dig; копать**’: W 6 Ngz *gùutu* ‘scrape an impression in the ground’, *gàtór* ‘impression in ground; place (of settling)’; E 5b Brg *gàttí* ‘becher; dig out’, Jegu *gaut* ‘begraben, to bury’, Tor *gootin* ‘creuser’.

Derived noun: W 2 **g^wVHVt-* (redupl. < **g^wVg^wVt* < Ch **hVwVt-*) ‘**cave, hollow; пещера**’: Ngas *g^woot* ‘cave’ [Fl], Mpn (*n*)*g^wót* ‘cave’ [FrM], Mghv *gòyòt* ‘Grube, Höhle’ [JgS], Goem *goot* ‘hollow’ [Hlw], Mushere *ngokot* (< **ngogot*) ‘cave’ [JgO].

//Sem Arab *gwt* ‘creuser un trou’, *ġāyīt-*, pl. *ġūt* ‘endroit où l’on peut se cacher’ [BK II 517].

Note the following correlation: labialized velar in Ch ~ *medial waw* in Arab. Chadic ‘cave’ can not be cognate with Eg *hty* ‘einritzen, einschneiden (Inscripten, Bilden)’ (as suggested in [EDE I 168]). The semantic gap in-between is difficult to overcome.

*h

304. **hVwVy-* ‘**to love, to want, to be eager; любить, хотеть**’: W 1 Hs *hai*, *hai hai* ‘eagerness’; 4 Paa *h^wo* ‘like, love’ [MS] (cf. Miya *hiya* ‘dislike’ [SchM]); 7 DB *h^way* ‘begierig sein auf; be avid of, be eager’ (cf. Karfa *úh^wí wéten* ‘desire’ [RC]); C 2 Margi *yə* (< **hyV*) ‘love, like’ [HfM]; 4 Jimj *úwí* ‘to want’ [BrJ]; 5 Malgwa *haya* ‘to love’, Pod *haya* ‘aimer, préferer; remercier’; 7 Mofu *-hahiy-* ‘désirer, aimer’, Zlg *háwá (ḡa)* ‘désir’ m., Ould *-haye-ḡ* ‘aimer, apprécier’, Muy *áwayāy* (< **h^wayay*) ‘love, want, need’, Vame *hiya* ‘like’ [KinV]; 8 Mazera *hé* ‘aimer, vouloir, accepter’ [Tr], Zina *hiyà* ‘to like, love’ [ZK]; E 5a Bid *ʔaway* ‘le fait d’aimer la viande (if not < *ʔawyo* ‘animal sauvage)’; 6 Mok *wéʔé* ‘chercher, vouloir, désirer’.

//Sem Arab *hwy* (a) ‘aimer qqn’, *hawiy-* ‘passion, désir, amour’, *hawiyy-at-* ‘désir’, Hbr *hawwā* ‘désirer’, Ug *hwy* ‘begehren’, *hwt* ‘wish’ [BK II 1462-3, KB 228, Ais 86], Cush Burji *hayy-* ‘love, like, agree’, Had *haʔiyy-* ‘love’ (used only in neg. form) [SsB], Oromo *haw-* ‘to want’, *hawwa* ‘wish for’ [Hds], Ongota *hee-* ‘to like, love’ [ST]. Cf. SEOmeto *c(h)a(t)* ‘love, like’: Kore *ca*, Gatame *ēh*, Zayse *cha-t*, *ʔceh-* [BnO 90].

Note the following correlation: *medial waw* in Sem ~ labialized laryngeal in Ch. [Долг 220: Oromo, Kore, Sem, HSED №1162 Arab, Ug+ Cush Or].

305. *hVw/y/?- ‘to pour (liquid), to flow, to rain; лить, течь, идти (о дожде)’: W 3 Kupto *wuu* ‘run, flow, flee’; 6 Duwai *uuuwo, uuuo* ‘filter, strain’, Ngz *yau* ‘to leak, drip’; C 3 Bana *x^wə* ‘couler, fuir’; 4 FM *xuy* ‘pour’ [Kr], Gude *h^wii* ‘flow (river), run’ (note contamination with **hwy* ‘to run’ in W and CCh); 5 Glv *hyi* ‘to come, to fall (rain)’; 6 Daba *haa* ‘verser un liquide ou grains dans qqch’ [Lnh]; 8 Bud *ha, he* ‘sich ergiessen (Regen)’ [LkBd], Log *hə* ‘cingiessen’ [LkL]; 10 Dari *hu?* ‘verser (liquide)’, Mesme *ho* [Ksh]; E 3 Smr *?wa* ‘pleuvoir, to rain’ [JgSb].

Derived nouns: a. ***hV(wV)y- ‘river; река’:** W 3 Maka *au* [SchM]; C 2 Bura *hyia-ha* [Ann]; 5 Wnd *haye*, Pod *haya* [Mo]; E 6 Mok *?ooye* ‘fleuve, course d’eau’.

b. ***h^wV ‘rain’ (n.):** W 4 Siri *h^wi* [Sk].

//Sem Arab *hy?* ‘couler et se répandre (liquide); avoir soif et désirer de l’eau’, Sab *hy?* ‘flow, run (water); cause to flow’ [BK II 1467, SD 57, Bl 109]; SCush Asa *ho?* ‘pour’ [Eh].

306. *hVwVy- ‘to run; бежать’: W 3 Kupto *wuu* ‘run, flow (contamination with the previous root), flee’ [LK], Tng *wec* ‘to flee, to run away, to escape’; 5 Bogh *yuwey* ‘to run’; C 2 Chb *huy*, Klb, SMrg *h^wi*, Margi *wi* [HfM], Bura *huh^wi*; 3 FK *h^wyi* [BINd] ‘to run’, Bana *x^wə* ‘couler, fuir’; 4 Gudu *h^wiy*, FJ *x^wi*, FM, FB *x^wi* ‘to run’ [Kr], Gude *h^wii* ‘flow (river), run’, Bata *x^wi* ‘courir’ [VM]; 5a Hdi *h^wayay* [BrH], 5 Gdf *x^waya* [KimG]; 6 Buwal *xey* ‘to run’, Mbedam *hi* [NdM]; 7 Mafa *ha* ‘courir, fuir’, Muy *h^wa* [huwa] ‘run, chase’, Mofu *-h^w(a)*, Mada *ah^wa* ‘vite; course’, Merey *h^way*, Mbuko *hāw*; 7a Skn *huwi*; E 3 Smr *wa* ‘to run’.

//Eg *hwhw* (MR) ‘davonlaufen (von der Füßen)’ [EG II 485], Omot Mao **hoy-* ‘go, walk’: MaoB, MaoD *hoya* ‘go, walk’, Ganza *haw-, hay-* ‘go see’ [BndO 273].

Note the following correlation: *waw* in Egyptian ~ labialized laryngeal in Chadic. Lexical reflexes of two different AA roots (‘to flow’ and ‘to run’) confused in Ch Kupto, Bana, Gude.

307. *hV?y/w- ‘to rise, high; подниматься, верх’: W 1 Hs *hau* ‘mount, climb’, *hawaa* ‘firmanent, high up in the air (accord. to Bargery, both < Arab)’; 3 Tng *ayi* ‘to rise’; 7 Bok *ha?* ‘aufheben, to rise’, DB *hay* ‘auf; up’; 2 Chb *xe-ti* ‘stand up’, Margi *xu*, Hildi *xu-ri* ‘to lift’, Kilba *hú* [Kr]⁴⁸; 9

⁴⁸ According to [Kr], *x-* is the only voiceless spirant in Chibak, Margi, Hildi.

Mnj *hi* ‘grimper à un arbre’; E 5a Mig *ʔúwwá*, Bid *ʔúwá* ‘en haut, dessus; above’; 6 Mok *ʔáwwá* ‘haut’.

//Sem Arab *hwy* (i) ‘se lever, paraître’, *hawiy-* ‘action de montée, apparition d’une étoile’ [BK II1462], Eg *hꜣy* (Pyr) ‘herabsteigen’, Coptic *hc, hei* [EG II 472]. Egyptian parallel is relevant if ʔ < AA *ʔ.

Strangely enough, in [TMM 174] C 9 Mnj *hi* ‘grimper à un arbre’ was considered an integral part of Chad-Cush **kVʔ-* ‘to rise’ < AA **qʔ* [GT].

308. **haw/y-* ‘to descend, to fall; опускаться’: W 3 Bol *yáwwu* ‘get down, descend’ [GAB]; 4 Miya *wiya* ‘jump down’ [SchM]; C 3 HN *xúyε* ‘put down’ [Kr]; 8 Bud *hai* (*wuháy*), *hey* ‘absteigen (vom Pferd)’, dismount’ [Lk Bd] (note that Buduma *h-* may also follow Ch **s-*); 9 Mnj *ha* ‘descendre’ [Mo]; 9a Skn *ha* ‘below, down’; E 1 Kera *áwε* ‘to fall’; 5a WDng *áyε* ‘se baisser, s’incliner’ [VM], EDng *áyε* ‘descendre (en glissant), descendre dans un quartier plus bas’ [Dj]. Cf. C 3 FK *həwhəw* ‘sloping’.

//Sem Arab *hwy* (i) ‘tomber de haut en bas, se coucher (étoiles)’, IV ‘tomber de haut en bas; jeter, lancer’, Hbr *hwh* ‘to fall’ [BK II 1461-2, KB 227, DRS 385], Jib *hē*, Hars *hewō* ‘to fall’ [JnM 162]; SCush Rift **hūʔ* ‘to fall’: Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *hūʔ* [Kies], Irq *hūʔ* ‘drop, fall, tumble’ [MKQ], ECush Som *haay-*, Saho-Afar *hay-* ‘put’ [SsB 39].

[MSt №58, HSED №1163].

In the view of a tenable semantic shift: ‘to descend’ > ‘to throw’ > ‘to throw spear, arrow’ > ‘to shoot’ (cf. Arabic), the following Ch root is worth mentioning (consider, however, that forms in C 3 HN and in C 9 Mnj show different vowels):

a. **hi/aw/y-* ‘to throw (stone, spear) > to shoot; бросать, стрелять’: W 3 Ngm (G, Y) *wii* idf. (indicates shooting or throwing); 7 DB *h^{wi}i* ‘werfen, bewerfen’ [JgR], ‘throw (gen); throw stone, spear’ [RC]; C 3 Bana *xə* ‘viser, tirer sur (gibier)’, FK *há* ‘shoot, sting’ [BInD], Kap *xə-ke*, FG *xu-ti*, *xa-mti*, HN *xa-sē* ‘to shoot’ (cf. ‘put down’) [Kr], Hya *xa-nde* ‘throw’ [Kr]; 4 Bch *hóó* ‘tirer (une flèche)’ [VM], Gude *əhə* ‘tirer (une flèche ou un coup de fusil)’ [VM]; 5a. Hdi *haay* ‘to shoot’ [BrH]; 8 Log *hí*, *hó* ‘werfen (Lanze)’ [LukL], *hi-wun* ‘throw’ [ALL], Mak *hc he* ‘drop, spread out’; Mazera *hó* ‘lancer’, Kus *hí.ó* ‘jeter’ [Tr]; 9 Mulwi, Mnj *hi*, Mbara *hii* ‘lancer (la sagaie)’⁴⁹; E 5a Mig *ʔúwwó* ‘jeter, lancer (une fois)’.

⁴⁹ Note that Eg *hwꜣ* ‘werfen’ is not cognate with Ch Logone *hi-wun* ‘throw’ and

309. *hVwVy- ‘destroy, break, tear (in pieces); разрушить, разбить, разорвать (на куски)’: W 1 Hs *háawá* ‘breaking the shaft of an axe by letting it, instead of the axe-head, come into contact with the wood being chopped’; 3 Ngm (G) *hói-kó*, (Y) *hói-kó* (v.n. *hóya*) ‘break (shatter)’ [NEH]; 5 Zaar *wúu* ‘destroy, ruin’ [CrZ]; 7 Fyer *hoyo* ‘zerbrechen, break in pieces’; C 5 Pod *h^wiyá* ‘to damage (by water)’; 9 Mnj *hō* ‘s’écrouler, ruin’; 10 Masa *háw* ‘casser, s’écrouler (arbre)’ [CC], Masa, Giz, Ham *háw* ‘déchirer’ [LexC]; E 1 Kera *hi* ‘break in pieces’; 5a Mig *yeyyo* ‘break (a vessel)’
 //Sem Arab *why* ‘être crevé, déchiré (se dit d’une outre, d’un sac, de la peau); être délabré et menacer ruine (un mur)’, IV stem ‘casser’ [BK II 1618].
 Note promotion of *waw* from C₁ to C₂ in Ch and CCh 5 Pod *h^w* < *h+w*.

310. *h/?uhVy- ‘kind of corn (guinea corn); copro’: W 2 Ngas *he* ‘corn’ [Fl], *ʔé*, *ʔʔé* ‘Korn, Samenkorn, Getreidekorn’ [JgA], Goem *h^wə* ‘seed or grain’ [Hlw]; 3 Tng *ai* ‘millet’, Ngm (G, Y) *hái* ‘guinea corn, grain’ (general name for millet and sorghum) [NEH]; 5 Duw *áawu* ‘millet’; 7 Fyer, Bok *hay* ‘Guineakorn’ [JgR], Fyer *hay* ‘guinea corn, millet’, Bok *hay* ‘late millet (gen.), early millet, bulrush-millet’ [RC]; C 2 Mrg *uhyi* ‘guinea corn’ [HfM 20], Bura *huyhi* ‘variety of g.c.’ [BIB], *m-hi* ‘Korn’, *uhi*, Chb *wuhi*, Klb *uhi* ‘Hirse’ [KGr 53]; C 3 HN, Hya, HB *xá* ‘guinea corn’ [Kr], FK *há* ‘guinea corn, sorghum’ [BINd], Bana *xá* ‘mil’ (gen.); 5 Mlg *híye* ‘corn, sorgho’, Dghw *xíya* Chn *xaya*, Wnd *xíya* ‘guinea corn’ [Kr], Glv *xíya* ‘guinea corn, millet’; 5a Hdi *hiya* ‘sorgho, le mil’ [BrH]; 7 Ould *hāy* ‘mil’, Muy *xāy* ‘millet’⁵⁰, Mada *aha* ‘mil, sorgho’ (gen.), Moloko *hay* ‘millet’, Vame *ahay* ‘mil’ [Kinn]; 7a Skn *hux^wi* ‘k of sorghum (erect, loose headed, for beer)’; 8 Glf *wayc* (< **hwayc*) ‘Korn’ [Luk]; 9a Gidar *háya* ‘mil’ [Mo].

Cf. C ***hVy/?-** ‘(individual) seed’: C 4 Gude *híʔwá* ‘individual seed’, Gudu *xəí* ‘seed’ [Kr]; 7a Skn *hya* ‘seed of fruit’; 8 Mak *he* ‘small wild grains’.

//Eg *ihy* (OK) ‘Art Getreide, kind of corn’ [EG I 118]. [HSED №1167].

Note "root variants" in Chadic: a. ***ʔawV** ‘guinea corn’: W1 Hs *wáayo* (metath.) ‘a variety of guinea corn’; 5 Zaar *wá:* ‘cereal, guinea-corn gen.’ [Cr], Grnt *ao*, Bogh *au*, Jimi *woo*, Pol *uu*, Zul *oo* ‘guinea corn’ [Cs]; 6

Mnj, Mbara *híi* ‘lancer la sagaie’, as suggested in [TMM 164]). AA **h* > Chadic **h-* > Logone *x* (see Introduction and examples in the text). On the other hand, Eg *hw*; may go back to AA **hwʔ*, **hwr*, **hwl*.

⁵⁰ Ch **h-* and **x-* > Muyang *x-* before *-a-*.

Duwai *àawu* 'millet', Ngz *âw* 'general term for millet'; C 10 Gizey *wú*, Masa, Ham, Musey *wá*, Lew, Marba *?áwú* 'mil - sorgho' [LezC].

b. ***h^wVy-** / ***hV^wVy-** 'kind of corn (millet); **npoco**': W 3 Krkr *g^wayi* 'grain from which the bran has not been removed' [GK], Bol *gòwwo* 'k of sorghum' [GAB]; 5 Grnt *gúu* [Jag], Dott *gyoo* 'seed' [CrD], Mngs *g^wce* 'grain', *guwo* 'guinea corn' [Cs]; 7 DB *ⁿgáy* coll. 'Hirse, millet' [JgR], Mangar *ngay* 'guinea corn DB *ngáy*, Monguna, Mundat, Karfa *angáy* 'millet, late millet' (gen.) [RC]; C 7a Skn *yəy* 'sorghum (general name for sorghum and guinea corn)'; 9 cf. Msg *ágoi* 'Kormmass, corn measure' [LkM].
//Cf. Eg *ʕnh.t* (MR) 'Getreide, Gerste?; corn, barley?' [EG I 205].

311. ***hV(w)** 'yard, place; **двор, место**': C 1 Tera (dial.) *he* 'town, place' [Kr]; 4 Gudu, Bch *ha* 'town, place' [Kr]; 5 Wnd *haa* 'enclos familial' [Mo], Pod *háwə hawa* 'cour devant la maison'; 7 Ould *háwá* 'cour', Gis *hay* 'compound', Vame *hu* 'village'; 8 Mak *ho* 'house'; 9 Mnj *ha* 'enclos familial' [Mo]; E 5a WDng *wéyé* 'emplacement héréditaire, d'habitation familiale'. Deriv. in *n-* (sing.): C 5 Mlg *ḡá* (< *nha*) 'Haus'.

//Eg *h* (Pyr) 'Hof, yard' [EG II 470].

Note a monosyllabic root in Eg and in some Chadic languages. Consider the next Chadic-Egyptian isogloss as an extension in *-y-*:

CCh 7 Baka *aháy* 'house', Muy *axáy* 'house'.

Compound: C 7 Baka *maháy* 'door' [BAS], Muy *mähāy* 'doorway' (*aháy* 'house', *ma* 'mouth').

//Eg *ihy* (Sait) 'building' [EG I 118], ECush Som *hooy* 'home, shelter', *hoyi* 'accommodate, take home' [Lls]. [HSED № 1166].

312. E ***wVy-** < ***hVwVy-** 'to blow': 3 Tum *ye* 'souffler (pour la vent)'; 5b Mubi *wáy* 's'éventer' [JgL].

Derived noun: ***hVwVy-** 'wind, **ветер**': W 7 Fyer *hyáw* 'Wolke, cloud'; C 4 Bch *hawey* 'wind, storm' [Kr], Bata *hoowe* 'wind' [Mo]; 8 Bud *háj* 'Wind', Glf *hī* 'Wind'. A descriptive root.

//Sem Arab *hwy* 'souffler (se dit du vent)', *hāwiy-at-* 'air, atmosphère' [BK II1461-2], Nigerian Arab *hawā* 'atmosphère', Cush Saho *hawaa* 'atmosphère, air' [Vr], Somali *hawo* 'air, weather' [Lls] (< Arab?). Note Songai (Zarma) *haw* 'air, wind, scent', North Songai *hiyew* 'wind' as AA loans. [HSED №1165 Arab+CCh Bata, Bch].

313. *hVy/w- ‘locust, grasshopper; саранча, кузнечик’: C 2 Chb *hawa*, Ngwahi *həwā* [Kr], Bura *hawa* ‘kind of locust’, *hauwa* ‘locusts’ [BIB]; 3 Bana *xay* ‘sauterelle’, FK *hayí* ‘grasshopper’, [higi gr. *xayí Kr]; 4 Gude *ayíwá* ‘grasshopper’; P Pod *íiyawa* [Mo], 5a Hdi *hi?i* ‘grasshopper’ [BrH]; 7 Zlg *hayaw* ‘sauterelle’, Moloko *heyew* ‘cricket’, Muy *éyew* (< **heyew*) ‘grasshopper’; 8 Makari *hayo* ‘grasshopper, cricket’; 9a Gidar *hey-déy* ‘cricket’; E 4 Mawa *uwi* ‘locust’; 5b Mubi *wawó* ‘sauterelle, cricket’ [JgL]. //Sem Arab *hāw-* ‘sauterelles’ [BK II 1462].

314. *hVy/w- ‘hole; дыра’: W 3 Bol *uyo* ‘hole’ [GAB], Ngm (G) *wuyó* [NEH], Kupto *wúyó* ‘hole, burrow, cavity; ditch, pit’ [LgK], Mka *?oyó-k* ‘hole’ [SvM]; 7 Kul *haw* ‘Achselhohle, armpit’ [JgR], Fyer *haw* ‘armpit’ [RC]; C 2 Margi *hú* ‘grave’ [HfM 20].

//Sem Arab *haww-* ‘fenetre’, *hawwiy-at-* ‘puits ou fossé très profond’ [BK II 1462], Aram (Syr) *hawtā* ‘fosse’ [Coh 385], Tgr *hahy-* ‘ouverture, trou’ [DRS 382].

315. *hVb- ‘to crush (under feet); to grind; растоптать, молоть’: W 3 Tng *abi* ‘to grind (corn)’; 2 Bura *hyebi* ‘crush smth under foot’ [BIB]; 5 Pod *huvá* ‘to crush into powder’; 10 Musey *hub-pa* ‘écraser’ [ShyM], Dari *hāb* ‘piétiner, briser’ (contam. with **hVb-* ‘to break’).

Noun deriv. in *-t-*: W 2 Mpn *ébc-t* ‘small grindstone, *kəbət* (< *k-Vbε-t*) ‘grindstone (upper)’, Goem *hoot* (< **hVwVt* < **hVb-t*) ‘big grinding stone’ [Hlw]. According to [TAS 157], all the forms go back to W 2 **hig^v3et*, however, according to [TMM 169], Goemay *hoot* relates to CCh masa **huTu* ‘to grind’ and Arabic *htw* ‘briser, écraser avec les pieds’.

//Eg *hby* (MR) ‘treten (vom dreschenden Esel)’ [EG II 486], ECush Somali *habbi* ‘press down’, *hab-so* ‘to collapse’ [Lls].

Semantic shift: ‘to crush under feet’ > ‘to crush grain’ > ‘to grind’ seems tenable. Note narrow semantics ‘to crush under feet’ in Ch and in Eg.

a. C *hab- ‘to break, destroy; сломать, разрушить’: 6 Buwal *h^wop-cá* ‘broken in pieces’ (regressive devoicing); 7 Ould *-hab* ‘se casser, casser’, Muy *chéb* ‘break’ (tr.), Zlg *həb* ‘se casser en deux’, Merey *həbe* ‘casser’, Mada *áhab* ‘se, être cassé, estropié’, Mofu *-həb-* ‘briser, détruire, casser’, Moloko *hab*, Baka *hab* ‘casser’ [BAS]; 10 Mesme *hab*, Peve *hab* ‘break in pieces’ [Kr], Dzpw *háb*, Dari *hāb* ‘piétiner, briser’ (contam. with **hVb-* ‘to crush (under feet)’). Emphatization of *-b-* correlates with more expres-

sive semantics of the verb .

//Eg *hbw* (Pyr) 'Zerstörung, destruction' [EG II 486].

316. C *hVb- 'to cultivate; обрабатывать землю': 5a Hdi *həvay* 'to cultivate' [BrH]; 6 Daba *huv* 'tracer des silons'; 7 Mofu *-həv-*, Chv *méhəvəy* 'cultiver, houer'.

Cf. C 4 Gude *hwābā* 'second cultivating after planting'.

a. *hVb- 'a hoe; мотыга': W 1 cf. Hs *háuyáa* 'a small hoe' (possibly, < *habya*); 7 Bok *hubəɟ*, pl. *hubyaɟ* 'hoe'; C 2 Bura *hibu* 'worn hoe'.

//Eg *hb* (AR) 'Pflug, plough' [EG II 485], Sem Aram (Syr) *hiba*, Arab (Dat) *hīb*, *hībah* 'hache' [DRS 399].

317. *hVw/PVd- 'to lead (vehicle, boat); вести (лодку)': W 2 Goem *heet* (< **hV?Vd-*) 'to set smth in motion (water, vehicle)' [Hlw], *het* 'push, paddle, conduct', *het ham* 'to swim' (= 'to paddle water') [TAS 156], *heet* 'to swim' [Jg apud TAS]; C 9 Mulwi *hiwdí*, Mnj *hiwdi* 'pagayer'; E 1 Kera *hodé* 'paddeln', 2 cf. Gabri *hāde* 'to swim' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *hdy* 'guider, être bon guide' [BK II 1404], Sab *hdy* 'lead, guide', *hdy-(m)* n. 'chef de caravan, guide' [Bl 105, SD 55]; Aram (Mand) *hda* 'conduire, diriger' [DRS 373].

Semantic shift seems tenable. Chadic languages show more concrete semantics, as compared to Semitic. Note violation: *-w/-ʔ-* in Chadic vers. *y* as *C₃* in Semitic.

318. *hVd > hVd- 'become fat, thick; стать толстым, жирным': W 1 Hs *háde* 'become fat'/'become corpulent' (Accord. to P. Newman [NmH], < *ádé*, secondary *h-* appears in roots with an emphatic consonant in medial position. Note, however, that Hausa *h-* regularly reflects Ch **h-*); C 8 Mazera *hídó* 'grossir' [Tr], cf. 7 Mafa *húdó-bés-* 'grossir (bébé)' (compound).

Noun deriv. in *-r-* pl. ***hVdVr-** 'fat; жир' (n.): W 4 Warji *haʔara*, Paa *hidur*, Siri *haadəri*, Miya, Kariya *haʔar*, Mburku *xəðər* 'fat'⁵¹ [SkNB]; E 6 Mok *ʔáddyir-sà*, pl. *ʔáddyiri* 'graisse'.

//Sem Arab *nahd-* 'gras, corpulent' [BK II 1353].

⁵¹ An alternative etymology of WCh 4 **hVdVr-* 'fat', namely, Semitic Tigrinya *haʔara* 'gras' (as suggested in [TkA 198]), seems less reliable. Firstly, Ch **ʔ* does not correspond to Sem **f* (see numerous examples in the present volume). Secondly, one cannot take an isolated Tigrinya form as a reliable and sufficient external parallel. Note also that Ch ***hVdVr-** 'fat' is linked to Ch ***hVd-** 'to become fat'.

Root extension (*n*- as C₁) in Arabic. Secondary emphatization in Chadic, presumably under the influence of a laryngeal as C₁.

319. *hVd- > hVd- 'to cut, to scrape; резать, скрести': W 5 Zul *hut* (-# < *D#) 'scrape' [Cs №876]; C 4 (deriv.) Gude *hudə-kə* 'cut hole in smth'; C 7 Mada *čhdē* 'racler, gratter (avec un instrument tranchant)'; 8 Makari *hadf* 'scrape'; E 1 Kera *hēdē* 'cut with a sickle'; 3 Smr *ʔaʒē* (< *hade) 'cut'.

Noun deriv. in *ʔV- : C 7 *ʔVhVd- 'nail, claw; ноготь, коготь': Mada *ōhód* 'ongle, griffe', Ould *ahūd* 'griffe, ongle', Muy *čh^wíd* 'nail, claw, hoof', Baka *čh^wedí* 'fingernail, claw' [BAS], Moloko *čh^wíd* 'claw'.

//HECush Oromo *haada* 'cut, shave', Burji *haad-*, Gedeo *haad-* 'shave', Burji *haado* 'razor' [Ss 87, Hds].

Secondary emphatization of a voiced plosive in Chadic (see the previous entry).

[HSED №1155 ECh Kera + Cush].

320. *hV(wV)l- 'to talk; разговаривать': W 5 Zaar *wul* 'tell' [CrZ], Jimi *h^wálii*, Dott *wol* 'say, tell', Polchi *woli*, Zul *wule* 'say' [Cs 703,707]; C 7 Mada *áhalá* 'dire'; E 5a Bid *ʔulay* 'parler avec vehemence'.

//ECush Burji *hool-i* 'breath, voice' [SsB].

a. *hVwVl- 'to cry; кричать': 1 Hs *hoolóo* 'loud talking'; C 5 Wnd *hawl-a*, Dgxw *xwla*, Glv *xul* 'cry, shout, to roar', Pod *hula* 'cry, scream', Mlg *huúla* 'schreien, weinen, rufen'; 8 Makari *h^wah^wále* 'crier'; E 2 Nch *hulelele* 'schreien, to cry' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *hll* 'crier de joie', IV stem 'se mettre à crier en pleurants (enfant)', V stem 'verser des larmes (se dit des yeux)', Akk *alālu* (OB) 'to shout' [BK II 1434, CAD a 33], Ug *hll* 'shouting'; Cush dullay Harso, Dobaso *halil-* 'schreien' [AMS]. A descriptive root.

Cf. Niger-Congo Fulfulde *haala* 'word, speech; message, talk'.

321. *hVwVl-/*hVIVl- 'hole, cave; дыра, пещера': W 2 Goem *hɔ:l* 'opening that is formed by one thing joining another (e.g., a hollow under a bed, the open space between legs, arms or branches)' [Hlw]; 4 Siri *h^wuli* 'doorway' [SkNB]; C 7 Ould *hūlū-m* 'cavity in a tree'; E 4 Mawa *ula* 'hole'; 6 Mok *ʔollé* 'trou (terre), creux'.

Derived verb in -k-: *hVIV-k- 'dig with hands, make a hole; копать руками, делать дыру': W 2 Goem *hɔlok* 'be hollow, make a hole in' [Srl

apud TAS 157]; C 10 Dzpw *hulók* 'creuser avec les mains', Dari *hulók* 'creuser entre les mains, arracher des mains de qqn.'

//ECush Burji *hool-oo* 'dich', Oromo *hol-a* 'hole in the ground, ditch' [Ss 100]; Ongotta *hawle* 'grave, tomb' [FIO].

The following isogloss is worth mentioning (though its common origin with 'hole, cave' is not evident): W 2 Goem *həl* 'break through smth (e.g., a hole in a wall)' [Hlw] ~ ECush Som *hul* 'a cleft, chink, crack' [Lls].

322. *hVm- 'to repeat, return, do again; повторять, возвращаться': W 7 Bok *hum* 'wiederholen, repeat'; C 10 Zime (Mesme), Hečē *hom* 'return' [Shy], Dzpw *hóm* 'retourner; revenir', Mesme (Zime) *hóm* 'return' [Kr], *hom* id. [Ksh]; E 1 Kera *homé* 'to repeat'. Cf. C 10 Musey *hogga* (< *hom-ga*) 'revenir, retourner' [ShyM].

//Eg *whm* (MK) 'wiederholen' [EG I 340].

Note that Eg *prime waw* correlates with a rounded vowel in Ch languages.

323. *hV(wV)n- 'lie down, spend the night; лежать, проводить ночь': W 6 Bade *ununu*, Duwai *ununo* 'spend the night'; C 1 Boka *xunexi* 'lie down', Hona *xuná*, Gaʔanda *hʷoniha*, Gabin *xunixa* 'lie down' [Kr]; 3 HB *xinuvé* 'lie down' [Kr], FK *haanó* 'lie down' [BINd]; 5 Pod *həna* 'lie down, spend the night/time', Glv *xən* 'to calm'; 5a Hdi *hanay* 'to spend the night', *hana-data* 'lie down to sleep' [Egg]; 7 Zlg *hóná* 'se coucher; passer la nuit', Gis *han* 'lie down, spend the night', Vame *hən-* 'sleep' [KinV]; E 4 Mawa *én-aj* 'passer la nuit'; 6 Mok *ʔéénó* 'down'; 5b Jegu *ʔun* 'sit down', Ubi *ʔunin* 's'asseoir'.

//Sem Arab *hwn* (u) 'se reposer, calmer, endormir' [BK II 1460].

324. *hVr- 'to grind (roughly); молоть (грубо)': W 3 Goem *haar* 'gnaw at or eat hard food (e.g., meat, nuts, beans, maize); to grind with the teeth' [Hlw]; 4 Miya *həra* 'grind with water' [SchM]; C 7 Ould *-hʷōró* 'écraser'; 9 Mnj *hiri* 'moudre gros, grind roughly', Mbara *har* 'écraser, moudre gros'; E 2 Lele *hīr* 'écraser (farine)', *hīrē* 'grinding'.

Deriv. in *-d*: C 7 Mada *áhra-d* 'écraser'.

//ECush Oromo *hur-* 'become fine, poudery' [SS 102], ECush Burji *hur-* 'to pound' [SS 102].

325. *hVr- 'to paddle, грести, весло': C 9 Mnj *aharay* 'pagaie'; E 2 Lele *haar* 'pagayer, ramer'.

//Sem Akk *aru* (from Oakk) ‘to lead, guide, steer (a boat)’ [CAD a 313].
Akk *a-* < Sem **ʔa-*, **ha-*, Chadic reflexes point to Ch **h-* < AA **h-*.

326. *hur- ‘to dig (in search of water); копать (в поисках воды)’: W 3 Bol *wura* (secondary *wu-* < **ʔu-* < **hu-*) ‘dig by scooping up earth, dig away’ [GAB]; 5 Pod *huhura* ‘to enlarge a hole’; 7 Mofu *-hur-* ‘to dig (to find water)’; E 1 Ngam *wure* ‘houer, travailler la terre avec une houe’.

Deriv. in *-d-* (pointing to an object): C 7 Mafa *hər-d-* ‘creuser un trou d’eau (à la main, avec une calebasse)’.

Noun deriv. in *-n/-m-*: W ***har-n-** ‘pit; яма’: W 6 Ngz *arân* ‘dye-pit’; C 7 Ould *h^warāḡo* ‘fosse de drainage’, *huru-huruḡ* ‘fosses nasales’; E ***ʔuVr-m-** ‘hole, cleft’: 4 Sokoro *urum* ‘hole’; 5a cf. Bid *ʔurma*, pl. *ʔuraj* ‘grotte’.

//Cush Saho *horora* ‘den, burrow’; ECush Elmolo *her-r-*, Konso *har-* ‘scoop soil from hole’ [SS 92], Oromo *huraa* ‘hole’ [Grg]; cf. Sem Arab *nhr* ‘creuser (le sol) jusqu’à ce que l’on arrive à l’eau’, (*nahar*) 1. ‘faire couler (l’eau au une rivière)’, 2. ‘couler abondamment comme une fleuve’; 3. ‘creuser (le sol) jusqu’à ce que l’on arrive à l’eau’ [BK II 1354]. According to A. Belova (personal communication), Arabic verb is considered a denominative < *nahar-* ‘river’.

327. *hVr- ‘to tear (in pieces), to pluck; рвать (на куски), срывать’: C 7 Zlg *hər* ‘dépouiller’; 10 Lew, Marba *hār*, Musey *hāa* ‘déchirer; to tear’ [LexC], Musey *hāa*, *haara* ‘déchirer’ [ShM]; E 2 Tob *ārū* ‘arracher; cueillir’; 5a EDng *čērē* ‘to tear in pieces’ [Ebb], Bid *ʔeer* ‘déchirer’, WDng *ērē* ‘tear in many pieces’, Mig *ʔērō* ‘déchirer’.

Deriv. in *-d-* (pointing to an object): ***hVr-d-**: W 3 Kupto *ʔar-d-ey* ‘to pluck (leaves only)’ [LgK]. Cf. C 5a Mlg *hər-da* ‘pflanzen, erstes Jäten; to pluck, first weeding’.

//Sem Arab *nahr-at-* ‘action d’arracher, de ravir, d’enlever par force’ [BK II 1354]. Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Arabic.

328. *hV(w/yV)r- ‘to dry (up); сохнуть, сушить’: W 3 Tng *aare* ‘to dry smth’; C 2 C 2 Bura *h^wuli-va* (< **hwuli-fa*, note *-f-* as a suff. of adj.) ‘withered (leaves in the sun)’ [BIB], Mrg *wul*, Wamdiu *ʔwuləw*, Hildi *ʔulaw*, Klb *áʔul* ‘to dry up’ [Kr]; 4 FM *xuri*, Gude *xuri-*, Mwl *uōri*, Nzangi *horē* ‘dry up’ [Kr]; Gude *huurə* ‘dry (up)’, *h^warəh^warə* ‘dry; barren (woman)’; E 3 Tum *yō:r* (< var. **hyr*) ‘faire sécher, sécher; to make dry’; 6

Mok ʔòoré 'exposer au soleil pour faire sécher; étaler'.

Deriv. in -k- : C 6 Buwal *h^wɔrō-k^w* 'evaporate' (= 'to make dry').

//Sem Arab *hrr* (u) 'se dessécher (épinés)' [BK II 408].

Consider a possible 'root variant':

a. ***hVwVl-** 'to dry up, to wither; сохнуть, вянуть' 6 Mbedam *h^wal* 'to dry'; E 7 Tor ʔòle 'sec, dry'.

Deriv. in n- : C 6 Buwal *ɔ-x^wōl* 'to dry out, wither'. Buwal x- < Ch ***h-**.
//Sem Arab *mhl* 'stérile (année); frappé de sécheresse (sol)', *maḥūl* 'sterile par suite de la sécheresse (sol)' [BK 1069].

The next forms may follow any of the two roots: C 7 Ould *huléhulēr* 'quite dry'; 9 Mlw *huulí*, Mnj *huwli* '(to) dry'.

329. *hVr- 'to rise, to jump; подниматься, прыгать': W 1 Hs *hār* 'the simultaneous rising up a flock of birds'; 2 Mrg *hārī* 'to lift up' [HfM], CMrg *xūrī* 'to lift up'; 4 Gude *hōrōc* idf. 'jumping when startled'; 7 Muy *áhər* 'to jump, fly'.

//ECush dullay Dob *heer-* 'to jump' [AMS].

330. *hVr- 'to call, cry; звать, кричать': W C 3 Bana *xār* 'appeler' [BINd]; E 2 Kaba *aare*, Gbr *heráye* 'schreien, to cry' [Luk]; 5a WDng *òriyè* 'to utter a cry'.

Deriv. in -w- (internal pl.?): C 7 Chv *-háwár-* 'parler sans écouter'; E 5b Mubi *hawwār* 'bellen' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *hrr* 'gémir', *hrr-* 'a cry (to call camels)' [BK II 1408].

Note a kind of a 'root variant':

a. ***ʔVrVz/y-** 'cry(ing); крик': W 1 Hs *àrereya* 'loud laughter, ecstatic cries'; 3 Kupto *yíriri* 'yelling' [LgK]; E 5a Bid *ʔerey* 'pousser un cri de joie', Mig *éreyyo* 'pousser un cri de joie; chanter (par ex. un coq)'.

//Sem Arab *ʔrr* 'crier avec insolence et effronterie; crier' [BK I 22].

331. *hVw/yVr- 'to burn; жечь': W 1 Hs *húurè* 'burn completely'; 2 Kupto *wùrrey* 'to fry/roast (with fat or oil)' [LgK], Maka *árwè* 'to blaze' [SvM]; W 7 Karfa *hō:ry* 'burn' [RC]; C 7 Mbuko *hawar* 'brûler qqn', Muy *áhər* 'burn' (intr.); 10 Mesme *hār* 'to grill' [Ksh], Musey *hawra* 'rôtir' [ShyM]; E 5a EDng *éré* 'burn' [Ebb], WDng *erè*, Bid *ʔeer* 'brûler',
Noun deriv. in -p- pl.: W 2 Mpn *ərep wūs* (*wūs* 'fire') 'embers'; 3 Pero *yèrèp* 'red glowing wood before it becomes charcoal', Bol *ʔyerwe* (<ʔyerpe)

'embers' [GAB], Kupto *yārfè* 'ember, charcoal (burning)' [LgK].

//ECush Som *huri* 'kindle (fire), burn' [Lls], Burji *hur-i* 'kindle fire', Sid *hur-* [SsB 102], Saho *harur* 'heat, hotness; thirsty' [Vr], agaw Bilin *harar* 'burn' [RnBl] (if not < Ethiosemitic **hrr* 'to burn' [LsG 243]). Cf. Eg *h'* (if = [hr]) 'rösten' [EG II 475].

332. *hVrVm- 'crocodile, water monster; крокодил': W 4 Diri *hurin* (-n# < *-m#) 'crocodile' [SkNB]; 7 Sha *haram* 'water monster (crocodile, hippo)' ["*dem Informanten nicht genau bekannt, nannte er es 'water monster (perhaps, hippo)*", JgR 285], Bok *harām*, DB *harām*, Kul *hárāj* 'crocodile' [JgR], Tambas *wərəm* 'crocodile' [RC]; C 'crocodile': C 2 cf. Mrg *həm* [HfM]; 3 FK *həlómó* [BN]; 7 Gis *hurom*; 9 Mbara *hūrūm*; 10 Masa *hūrūm-nā*, Musey *hūrūm-mā*, Marba *huruma*, Peve, Ngide *hūrūm*, Hede, Zime (Mesme) *hurum* [Shy], Azum *huruma* [PAZ], Dzpw *hūrūm*, Dari *hūrūm*; E 2 Lele *ūrmō*, Kaba *ərrmó*.

//ECush dullay Goll *háaro* 'crocodile' [AMS], cf. Ongota *xaaro* id. [SIL].

According to my understanding, this Ch root cannot be considered an integral part of Ch **kVdVm-* 'crocodile'. Lenition of two consonants of one and the the same root is doubtful. Of special value are reflexes in E 2: **k-* as a root-initial cannot yield zero in Lele and Kaba (Ch **kVdVm-* > Lele *urmo* is hardly possible). In the view of Gollango *háaro*, further search of cognates to Ch **hVrVm-* (probably, **hVr-m-*) seems reasonable.

333. *hVr- 'new, mild; новый, мягкий': C 7 Ould *hurú-hurús* 'fragile, mou'; 9 Msg *harnái* 'weich' [LkM]; 10 Dzpw *hur hur* 'mou'; E 2 Lele *hírwa* 'new', Kaba *hurrúwá* [JgIb]; 4 Mawa *əru* 'new', Saba *ʔərwa* 'little', *ʔərə-m* 'new'.

//PECush **haar-* 'new': Burji *hārayā*, Sid *haaro*, Hadiya *harē-čó*, Kamb *haar-oha*, Darasa *haar-oke*, Oromo *haaraá*, Konso *hāraya*, Arbore *hāraaya* 'new' [Ss 87]. Semantic shift 'new' > 'mild' seems tenable.

334. *hVr- '(be) evil; быть гадким': W 6 Ngz *árú* 'malicious conduct'; C 9 Mnj *híhir* 'repugnant, disgusting'; E 5a Bid *ʔéer* 'faire mal'.

//Sem Arab *hrr* 'être méchant', *hrhr* 'être injuste et trahir qqn avec dureté, tyranniser, tourmenter qqn' [BK II 1416].

335. *hV(wV)s- 'to crush, to grind; раздавливать, молоть': W 1 cf. Hs *waásá* 'roughen a millstone, sharpen a knife', *duučan waási* 'grinding stone'

(*dúuɕè* 'stone, rock'); 3 Bol *òssu* 'grind' [GAB]; C 7 Mofu *-hus-* 'écraser entre les deux mains', Mada *óhhos* 'émietter une chose sèche en froissant, en frottant'; 9 Mulwi *húsí* 'réduire en poudre'; 10 Dzpw *hós* 'émietter, to crumble', Musey *hossa* 'égrener par main' [ShM], Azum *hosa* 'to rub (in one's hand)' [PAz].

Noun deriv.: C 7 Mada *ahas* 'ocre, poudre rouge végétale', cf. also *áhósóh* 'paille émietée pour mêler à l'argile, crumpled hay'.

//Sem Arab *hss* (u) 'casser, briser en petits morceaux', *whs* 'fouler, briser, casser' [BK II 1422, 1615].

Note a variant with a different semivowel as C₂ in WCh:

a.W ***[h]VyVs-** 'to grind': 2 Mghv *díyees* '(Korn) mahlen' [JgS], Mpn *díés* [FrM], Miship *?ées* [JgC], Mnt *ees* [Fp] 'to grind', Goem *ées* [Hlw] 'to grind smth that is dry, to grind on a grinding stone'; 3 Krkr *'yàsu* 'to grind' [GK], Glm *yàsə-mí*, Grm *es-* [SchB], Maka *?esò* 'to grind' [SvM];

Derived noun: W 2 ***hVyVs** 'pestle': Mghv *díyès* [JgS], Mpn *dýes* [FrM], Goem *hées* [Hlw].

[St 80, HSED №1186].

336. *hVy/wVs- 'coarse sand; крупный песок': W 1 Hausa *yaashii* 'coarse sand'; 2 Ngas *gyiis* [Fl], Mghv *díyees* [JgS], Mpn *díees* [FrM], Miship *es* [Kr], Goem *hées* [Hlw] *n.* 'coarse sand'; 3 Krkr *àisi* [GK], Krf *wòšó*, Glm *wúšá* [SchB], Tng *wúya-ka*, Pero *wúččí*, *wíččí*, Bure *oosó*, Maka *?éččí* [SvM]; 5 Grnt *wašá* [Jag]; 6 Ngz *áisáw*, Bade *ayeesá*, *aayasa*, Duwai *àisúwo*; 7 Fyer *hós*; C 2 Ngwahi *hašú* [Kr]; 7 Mafa *hešékéd* (*heš-keđ*, compound) 'desert, terres incultes, brousse', Mada *híyyàs híyyàs* 'granuleux, avec sable, poussière'. Note a specific reflex of a palatalized laryngeal in WCh 2: **hy-* > *díy-*.

//Sem Amh *aššáwa*, Argobba *hašawa* 'sand', Cush Bed *hāš* 'sand, dust' [RnB].

337. *hVt- to beat, crush': W 2 Goem *het* 'to beat, strike' [Fp], *hət* 'hit (smth against smth, at smth)' [Hlw]; C 7 Muy *éhú* 'beat'; 8 Log *hiti-wun* 'cast-rate'; 10 Dzpw *hútu* 'écraser', Dari *hūtu* 'moudre', Peve *hutu* 'grind' [Vn].

//Sem Arab *htt* 'briser, broyer', *htw* 'briser, écraser' [BK II 1385 -8].

338. *hV(wV)t- 'to fall, to throw; падать': W 2 Goem *het* 'throw' [Fp]; C 7

Mada *áhtá* ‘fall (several obj., pers.)’; E 5b Tor *hootu* ‘descendre’.

//Sem Arab *htt* (u) ‘tomber (se dit du feuillage)’ [BK II 1385].

339. *hut/t- ‘to hoe, to dig; **мотыжить, копать**’: W 3 Kupto *wútéy* ‘to farm; cultivate, hoe, till soil, weed’ [LgK]; C 4 Gude *hwátə-hwátá* ‘hoeing’; 7 Mofu *-hwáhut-* ‘dig’; C 9 Mnj *hudi* ‘creuser’ (-*d* < **-t*- is regular).

//Eg *htht* (BD) ‘einen Brunnen ausgraben’ [EG II 503], ECush dullay Dob *haṭ-* ‘hacken’ [AMS].

For Eg *t* < AA **t* see [EDE I]. Ch and Eg forms may go back to AA ***hVt/t-**, while Dobase *haṭ-* points to AA **-t-*. [HSED №1201 Eg+Mofu].

340. *h^wat- ‘fire; **огонь**’: W 1 Hs *wútaa*; 3 Dera *wátí* [NmK]; 5 Bogh *wur*, Jimi *wuto* [Cs], Kir *wut*, Tala *wudi* [JgIb], Buli *úut*, Geji *wútu*, Dott *wúutuu* [Cs 374], Zaar *wút*, Guus *wutə* [CrZ,G], Dyarim *wutə* [BID]; C 1 Tera (dial.) *wəti*, Gabin *wəte*, Gaanda *wəta*, Hona *warā*, Boka *x^wətə* [Kr] (less probably < **hVw-t*).

//Eg *hwt* (Sarc) ‘fire’ [EG II 485]. Medial *waw* in Eg correlates with a labialized laryngeal in Chadic.

[HSED №1187].

*h

341. *hVw/y- ‘to burn, to roast, fry; **жарить, жечь**’: W Kupto *wáawéy* ‘to roast (without fat or oil), burn, bake’ [LgK]; 4 Wrj *xa* (*kha*) ‘to burn’ [BIS]; 5 Tala *húu* ‘roast’; C 4 Bch *úwə* ‘roast’ [Sk]; 10 Mesme *hawu* (*háou*) ‘fry’ [Kr], Masa *haw* ‘fire’ [CC], Dzpw *háó* ‘griller dams un récipient’, Dari *hāw* ‘griller’, **haw* ‘fry’: Masa, Musey, Marba, Peve, Heḫe *haw*, Zime (Mesme) *hau* [Shy]; E 6 Mok *ʔóyyə* ‘allumer, mettre le feu à qqch’. Initial *x-* in W 4 Wrj only < Ch **h-*.

a. *[h]Vw- ‘fire’: C 3 Hya *hwi* [BHya]; E 1- 3 **t-?uw-*: 1 Kwang *towā*, Kera *čówá*; 2 Kaba, Lele *túwá*; 3 Smr *dūwā*, Ndam *dow*, Tun *dəw* (regular voicing of **-t*-) [JgIb]; 6 Mok *ʔuwwo* ‘fire’. Reflexes of Ch ***h** and ***h** have fallen together in all the languages

//Sem Geez *haw* (*haw*), Tgr *hawwi* ‘fire’ [LsG 248], Arab *waḥay-* ‘feu’ [BK II 1502], Cush agaw Bilin *hawi* ‘to scorch, burn’ [RB]. Note Sem MSA Mhr *hə-nḥū*, Jib *e-nḥé*, Soq *ʔé-nḥe* ‘to burn’ [JnM 291].

342. *hVɣ/?- ‘to grind; **молоть**’: W 3 Kupto *yey* ‘grinding’ [LgK]; C 2 Bana

xó 'écramer (mil)'; 5 Wnd *h-a haya* 'grind' [JgIb], *hahəya* 'grind millet' [Hirt], Mlg *ha* 'mahlen, to grind'; 5a Hdi *huʔay* 'to crush' [BrH]; 7 Muy *čí* 'crush, grind', Mada *čhye* 'écramer, moudre'; Moloko *haya* 'grind' [BoM 15], Chv *méhéyey* 'écramer', Baka *háya* 'écramer' [BAS], Gis *heʔe* 'mahlen'; 8 Log *xa-wun* 'crush, grind, écramer, mordre' [AIL], *xa* 'mahlen' [LkL], cf. *haw* 'meule à broyer' [Mo]; 10 Dari *hūwāy* 'émietter, faire des boulettes, scramble'; E 2 Tob *yo* 'piler'; 4 Mawa *aya-ŋ* 'écramer le mil; moudre'. Initial *x-* in C 8 Log < Ch **h-*.

The only possible parallel (though not quite reliable, in the view of a semantic shift) is: Eg *hwy* (Pyr) 'schlagen' [EG III 46], also CCh 8 Bud *há* 'taper' [Awg]; 10 Dzpw *hoʔ* 'frapper à la tête'.

343. *hVyVw- 'to be glad, good; БЫТЬ ДОВОЛЬНЫМ, ХОРОШИМ': W 3 Krkr *yáwo, yáwo* 'good, nice, well' [GK]; 7 DB *hyaw* 'gut, schön sein, be good, beautiful', *hyaw-an* 'beauty'; C 2 Bura *hhihhia* (*yʔa-yʔa*) 'friendly, sociable' [Ann]; E 2 Lele *ēywa* 'plaisant, agréable', Tob *wāy* '(être) généreux, riche'; 5a WDng *ōyāw* 'la bonté, la gratuité', *ōyā* [Dj], EDng *áayé* 'bien, beau'.

//SCush Irq *hoʔo* 'good (morally), beautiful' [Wh], rift **hooʔ* [*hhooʔ*] 'good, nice': Irw, Gor, Alh *hooʔ*, Bur *hoʔ* [Kies], Maa *-ha* 'good' [Eh], Eg *hʔy* (Pyr) 'jubeln, sich freuen, be glad', *hʔʔw.t* 'Freude, joy' [EG III 40].

344. *hV(HV)y- 'maiden; девушка, молодая женщина': W 4 Mburku, Jmb *yaya*, Tsagu *hayi* (< **yahay*?) 'maiden' [SkNB]; C 8 Log *x-tú* 'girl', *x-tú-maatən bān* 'father's sister' [LkL]. Cf. C 10 Peve *way* (< **h/hway*) 'maiden' [Vn]. Note C 8 Log *x-* only < Ch **h-*.

//Eg *ʔhʔ* (MR) 'Art Diener im Haus', *ʔhʔy.t* (MK) 'Art Dienerin im Haus; maid' [EG I 222]. [HSED №1131].

345. *hVwvy- 'stomach, belly; желудок, живот': W 2 Grk *ya-k* 'belly' [JgC], Ngas *ca-k* 'the womb', *le ca-k* 'to become pregnant' [Fl], cf. Mghv *aa-k* [BIM], Goem *haya-k* [Hlw], Mushere *a-k* [JgO], Mpn *aa-k* (*-k* is a suff ob body-parts); 3 Bol *awo*, Dera *awó*, Krf *awo*, Glm *awó* 'stomach, belly' [SchV], *hawo/o* 'belly, stomach; pregnancy' [NEH], Gera *hawí* [ShB] 'belly', Krkr *a-ko* 'stomach, belly, pregnancy; inside' [GK], Tng *a-go* 'stomach, belly'; 7 Fyer *hyè* coll. (< **hVy-*), pl. *híhyé* 'Bauch', Bok *híhye*

‘Eingeweide, intestines’; C 2 WMrg *xay*, Chb *yay* ‘intestines’ [Kr]; 3 HN, Hya *xwi*, Kap *xwu* (< **xVwVy*) ‘stomach’ [Kr]; 4 Bata *hai-ta* ‘Bauch’ [Luk]; 10 Masa *haya* ‘belly’ [Mo], Masa *hay* ‘le ventre’ [CC], Musey *hāy-rā*, Marba *hay-da* ‘stomach’ [Shy], Gizey *hay*, Lew, Marba *hey* ‘ventre’ [LexC]. Violation of reflexes (*x- ~ y-*) in CCh 2 points to **h-*.

//Sem Arab *hāwiy-at-* ‘entrails, intestines’ [BK I 522].

[St 75, HSED №1251].

346. **[h]Vw-* (*h-, h-* or *ʕ*) ‘throat; горло’: W 2 Grk *gō* ‘neck’ [“voiced uvular plosive”, BLY 2], *γγα* [JgC], *arreu* [**ayyeu*, Fp] ‘neck’; 6 Ngz *haʔa* ‘hard palate, roof of mouth’; C 9 Mada *ha* ‘gorge’ (employé uniquement en composée) ‘throat’, *hóhó* ‘trachée, bronches, adam’a apple’; 7 Ould *hʷay* ‘cou’, Chv *ɔway*; E 3 Tum *aaw* ‘goitre’.

Cush Irq *hcha* [hhehha] ‘throat, wind-pipe; gluttony’ [MQK].

347. **[h]Vb-* (*h-, h-* or *ʕ*) ‘to search, to find; искать, находить’: W 7 Richa *hab*⁵³ ‘suchen, search’ [JgR, RC]; C 7 Mada *ahba* ‘chercher, to look for, to search’; E 2 Kaba, Nch *-hap* (*-p# < -*b#*) ‘trouver, to find’ [HmK], Lele *hāb* ‘trouver’.

//Eg *hb* (Pyr) ‘der Fang von Fischen und Vögeln, fishing, hunting’ [EG III 62]

348. **[h]Vb-* (*h-, h-* or *ʕ*) ‘water; to pour water’: C 4 Bch *habe* ‘water’ [Meek]; C 9 Mnj *hubi* ‘renverser (un liquide)’; E 2 Lele *hib* ‘to pour liquid from one vessel to another’, *hub* ‘transvaser’.

//Eg *hbb.t* (Med) als frisches Flüsswasser, (NK) als bezeichnung der Urwassers [EG III 63], Arab *hbb* V stem ‘s’abreuver’ [BK I 363].

[Coh 252 (Eg+Arab)].

Note that C 9 Mnj *hubi* is not cognate with Berber **kbb* and ECh **kub-* ‘to pour out’, < of AA **qb* ‘to pour out’ (as suggested in [TMM 174]).

349. C **hVf-* ‘arrow; стрела’: 1 Tera (irregular reflex) *yafa* [JgIb]; Hona *hafu-ra*, Gaʔanda *həf-ta*, Gabin *xaf-ta*, Boka *xaf-tə* [Kr], 2 Mrg *yafu* [HfM 24], Bura *afə* ‘arrow(head)’ [BIB], CMrg *yafó*, Chb *xafə*, Klb *hafa*; 3 HN *xavə*, FK *xavu* [Kr], FK *havə* [BINd], Kap, Hya *xavə* [Kr], Bana *xavə*

⁵³ Note Monguna *haʔ* ‘to seek’ [RC]. Possibly, < **hab*. Alternatively, *haʔ* < **haʔ*, for a possible cognate cf. Eg *hhy* ‘suchen’ [EG III 151].

'arrow'; 4 Gude *ʔáva*, FJ *xavi*, Gudu *áavu* [Kr]; 5 Dghw, Gava *xava* [Kr]; 5a Hdi *hava*, Lmn *xava* [Jglb]; 7 Chv *háv* 'arrow'.

Violation of reflexes (*y*- ~ *h*-) in CCh 2 points to Ch **h*-.

//Sem Geez *hyp*, *hyp* 'strike, shoot with an arrow, hit with a bow and arrow' [Lsg 221].

350. *hVk- 'stone; камень': W 2 Grk *yək* [JgC], *əGək* ["voiced uvular plosive", BIY 2], Ngas *yək*, *n-yək* [JgA], Ngas *nḥək* [TAS 150], Mghv *yək* [JgS], Mpn *n-hək*, Mushere *ik* [JgO]; 3 Kupto *ʔókkò* 'stone, rock; hill' [LgK]; C 3 Bana *xak^wu* 'stone', *xak^wə-y^wə* 'flint' [BINd].

The following correspondence: *y*- in W 2 ~ *x*- in C 3 Bana points to Ch **h*- //Cf. Sem Arab *hakak*- 'pierre blanche semblant au marbre' [BK I 469-70]; cf. Eg *ht* (n) 'Art Stein', *ht.t* (MR) 'Steinbruch' "Ob ungewöhnliche (ältere?) Schreibung für *h.t.t*?" [EG III 203-4].

[HSED №1220].

351. *hVI- 'to give, to pay; давать, платить': W 1 Hs *galla* 'any kind of tax'; C 7 Mada *áhala* 'prendre, donner (plusieurs choses)'; 9 Mbara *hal* 'to give'; E 6 Mok (*t)éclé* (Inaccompli *ʔéliyó*, Accompli *ʔéle*) 'donner, offrir'.

The correspondence: W 1 Hausa *g*- ~ CCh *h*- ~ ECh *ʔ*- points to Ch **h*-.

//Sem Arab *hlw* 'donner qqch à qqn l'en gratifier' [BK I 483], Sabaic *hl?* 'pay a sin-offering; pay a reparation' [SD 67, Bil 175], Sab, Arab *nhl* 'give' [Bil 200, BK II 1216], Geez *hly* 'give a bribe', Arab *hl?* 'give money to' [Lsg 231]. Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Semitic.

352. W 7 *[h]Vm- (*h*-, *h*- or *ʔ*-) 'to harvest; собирать урожай': Richa *hom* 'ernten, to harvest' [JgR], Karfa *hôm*, Monguna *hôm* 'to harvest' [RC], Bocos *hom* 'cut with a sickle, harvest (acca etc.)'.

Dderived noun in *-n*: DB *h^wamán* 'Ernte', Sha *homán* 'Erntezeit für Acha-Hirse', Karfa *hôm* 'harvest', Bok *homan* 'harvesting' [RC].

//ECush **haam-* 'harvest': Oromo *haam-*, Gollango *haam-* [Ss 91], dullay Gollango *haam-* 'ernten' [AMS], cf. SCush Iraqw *haam-haam* 'very much' [MMQ], Sem Akk *hamāmu* (OB) 'to pluck, to gather', *hāmimu* (OB) 'harvester' [CAD h 58, 66]. Note that Akk *h* reflects Semitic **h* and **h*.

353. *hVm- 'salt; соль': W 7 Fyer *ʔamá* 'salt'; C 9 Msg *hɔm* 'salt' [LkM h], Mnj *hum*, Mbara *hùmúngís* 'vegetable salt'. Note also C 7 Muyang *xām-xām* 'slightly acid (taste)'.

//Eg *ḥmʔ.t* (Med) 'salt' [EG III 93].

It is generally accepted that Eg is cognate with Sem **ma/ilḥ-* 'salt' (Arabic *milḥ-* 'sel', Geez *malḥ, məlḥ, məlḥā* 'salt, taste' [LGz 343]). In other words, Eg *ḥmʔ.t* [ḥml.t] is a metath. of AA **ma/ilḥ-*. On the other hand, one would expect the following reduction of Ch **ḥVm VI-*: *ḥVml-* > *ḥVmy-* > *ḥVm-*. Thus, we may take Ch **ḥVm-* as a reflex of AA **ḥml-*. [HSED №1231, EDE I 65 with all the refernces].

354. **[ḥ]Vn-* (*ḥ-*, *h-* or *ʔ-*) 'to allow, to be capable; позволять, быть возможным': C 9 Mulwi *ḥiní* 'permettre, laisser, to allow', Mnj *hini* 'autoriser, allow'; E 6 Mok *ʔaʔnē* 'can, be capable'.

//Sem Geez *ḥnn, taḥanana* 'be able' [LsG 237].

355. **ḥVn-* 'to sleep; спать': C 2 Mrg *ányí* 'to sleep' [HfM 34], *ʔányi* [Kr], Klb *hányí*, Chb *xanui*, Bura *xuēni* 'to sleep' [Kr]; 3 FK *hanə* 'to sleep' [BlNn]; Bana *xəní* 'se coucher', Hya *xan-ze* 'to sleep' [Kr]; 5 Glv *xan* 'to lie (down), sleep' (but *xar* 'the sleep'), Dghw *xāra*, Gdf *xān-* 'to sleep' [Jglb]; 7 Muy *xun-dum* 'overnight' (compound), Zlg *həná* 'se coucher; passer la nuit', Gis *han* 'lie down, spend the night', Merey *həna* 'coucher'.

Derived noun: ****ḥVn-* 'sleep, dream; сон':** C 5 Mlg *háre* 'Schlaf'; 7 Mbuko *ahan* 'sommeil'; E 1 cf. Kera *k-in* (coll.) 'Schlaf, sleep' (with a suff. of collective nouns).

Violation of reflexes in CCh 2: *ʔ- ~ h-* points to Ch **ḥ-*. Note C 7 Muyang *x- < *ḥ-, *ʔ-*.

//Sem Geez *ḥawana|u* 'take a rest' [LsG 249].

Cf. №786 ****y/HVwan-* 'to sleep'** // Eg *ʔwn* (19) 'schlafen' [EG I 173]. A root variant?

356. **ḥVw/yVn-* 'to fill; наполнять': W 4 Paa *ḥyaḡ-gù* [MS] Wj *yan-*, Mburku, Miya, Jmb *wan* [SkNB]; 5 Saya *yúḡ* [Cs], C 10 Mesme *hen* [JgZ], Mesme *hen*, Lame *yēn-* 'to fill' [Kr]; E 2 Lele *wéén* [Jglb], Kaba *wónə* [Jglb] 'full'; 3 Smr *ʔwan*, Ndam *ʔəná* 'fill' [Jglb], Tum *ān* 'be swollen, be full'; 4 Sok *wəná* 'full' [Luk]; 5a Mig *ʔúnáw* 'fill', *ʔunintá* 'full', Bid *wéen* 'to fill'; 5b Mubi *wəni*, Brg *ʔuní* 'full', *ʔunan-tá* 'to fill' [Jglb]; 6 Mok *ʔóonē* 'to fill, be full (with food)'

//Eg *ḥnʔ* 'Gefässe anfüllen; to fill a vessel' (Gr) [EG III 112].

[Jglb *wn*, St 75, HSED №1263].

a. ***[h]kə** < ***[h]VnH-** ‘many; много’: C 1 Tera *xəj* ‘many’, *xəj-bá* ‘few’; 2 Bura *haj*, Chb *xaj*, WMrg *həj/xəj*, Ngwahi *həj* ‘many’ [Kr]; E 5a EDng *ānāw* ‘une grande quantité’ [Dj].

//Eg *hnʔ* (Pyr) ‘zusammen, together’ [EG III 110], Cush Som *hanun* ‘very, much, many’ [LIS].

357. *hVp(Vp)- ‘sharp, prickly obj.; острый предмет’: W 1 Hs *gáafaa* ‘a wooden stick put into animal’s mouth to prevent from suckling or eating corn’; 6 cf. Bade *aparīwa*, Duw *aapīwa*, Ngz *ápīwa* ‘(prickly) burr grass’; C 2 Bura *hiff* (regressive assim. of -p#) Descri. a sharp obj. piercing the skin (as a needle or thorn) [Ann]; 7 Mbuko *hēpēpē* ‘sharp’. Cf. **C *hVf-** ‘arrow; стрела’.

The following reflexes: W 1 Hs *g-* ~ CCh *h-* point to Ch **h-*.

//Sem Arab *hayf-* ‘crête, tranchant d’une pierre’ [BK I 527]

358. *hVr- ‘to steal, stealing; красть’: W 2 Ngas *yər* ‘pillage, loot (in war)’ (contam. with ‘to pick, to collect’) [F1]; 4 Wrij *xirai* ‘stealing’ [BIS]; C 1 Boka *xer-kadā* ‘to steal’, Boka *xarā* ‘stealing’ (cf. Hona *ɣara-ɣ* ‘to steal’ < **n-Hara*) [Kr]; 2 Chb *hálá* ‘Stehlen’ [HCh 135], Bura *hila* ‘steal’ [BIB], *xula*, Ngwahi *xilá*, Chb *xula* ‘stealing’ [Kr], Klb *hələ* ‘steal’ [MuK 21]; 4 Bch *hurə*, Bata *hur*, Nzangi *hóre* ‘steal’ [JgIb], FJ *xəǝ-ku*, FM *xuru*, Bch *húto* (< **hur-to*), Gudu *hür-cú* ‘stealing’, Nzangi *xírè*, Gude *xur-n* [Kr]; 6 Daba *həl* ‘voler’ [Lnh], Buwal *ɣxəl* ‘thief; steal’, Musgoy *həl* [Mo]; 7 Gis *hol* ‘to steal’, 9 Msg *hálá* ‘to steal’ (K) [LkM *h*], Mulwi *híl* ‘voler, dérober’, Mnj *hili* ‘voler, dérober’; 9a Gidar *hal* [Mo] ‘voler’; 10 Peve *hora* ‘stealing’ [Kr], Dari *hurá* ‘vol, voleur’, Dzpw *hūró* ‘vol’, *ké hūró* ‘voler’ (for C 10 **kul-* id. see Ch **kVr-* ‘to steal’). Note W 4 Warji, C 6 Buwal *x-* only < Ch *h-*.

Derived noun in *m-* ‘thief’: C 5 Gis *mu-hul*, 9 Msg *mí-hil* [LkM *h*], Mulwi *mí-híl*; 9a Gdr *mu-hala* [Mo].

//E Cush Som *horror* ‘to rob’ [LIS], Eg *hwrʔ* (N) ‘rauben’ [EG III 56].

359. *[h]VwVr- ‘to boil, to make warm; варить, греть’: W 7 Bok *hor* v. ‘be hot’ [RC]; C 9 Mulwi *híwri*, Mnj *hurwi* ‘bouillir’; 10 cf. Musey *holla* ‘chauffer’ [ShyM]; E 5a WDng *óóré* ‘to warm o.s.’ [Dj], EDng *óoré* ‘se réchauffer’ [VM], Bid *ʔoor* ‘warm o.s.’.

Derived noun: W 7 DB *má horán*, Monguna *má hour*, Karfá *mó horí* ‘hot’,

Bok *mahor* 'heat' [RC].

Derived adj. in *-f* : C ***hVrV-f** 'warm, hot; **теплый, горячий**': 5 Glv *xurfā-ka* 'the warming'; 7 Muy *xūrūfā* 'warm', Ouldem *hūruffā* 'chaud, tiède', (derived verb) *-hūrĕĵ* 'faire chauffer'.

//Sem Arab *ħrr* (a,i,o) 'être chaud (jour)', preparer une bouillie', *ħarr* 'chaleur', *ħurūr*- 'feu' [BK I 460], Geez *ħrr* 'burn (intr.); be hot, be dried up', Hbr *ħaħar*, Aram (Mand) *ħrr*, Tgr *ħarra* 'be hot' [LSG 243], Syr *ħar*, Aram *ħ^arār* 'to burn', Hbr *ħārar* 'to be hot, scorched, burn', Ug *ħrr* 'to scorch; roast' [ZM 137], Cush Saho *ħarare* 'to burn, to scorch' [Vr *xarare*]. Initial *x*- in C 7 Muy points to Ch ***h** (< AA ***h**-). Thus, C 9 Mulwu *ħiwri*, Mnj *hurwi* 'bouillir' (as an integral part of Ch ***hVwVr**-) can not be cognate with SCush Rift **ħurim*- 'to cook' and Sem Tigre *hawāra* 'mûr (fruit)' (as proposed in [TMM 171]). Note also a semantic gap between 'bouillir' and 'mûr (fruit)'.

360. *[ħ]ar**-(**ħ**- or **ɣ**-) 'termites; термиты'**: W 1 Hs *gāraa* f. coll. 'termites'; C 9 Msg *ma-ħarai* 'red ant' [LkM ħ].

//SCush Irq *ħarħār-mo* 'a termite' [Wh], *ħarħār* 'termites', Alg *ħaraħara* 'termite', Rift **ħaraħarā* (n. coll. m.): Irq *ħarħār*, Gor *ħaraħarā* 'white ants sp.', Alg *ħaraħara* 'termites sp.' [MKQ, Eh, Kies].

361. *ħar(V)w**- 'bull, buffalo; бык, буйвол'**: W 7 Sha *ʔarwa* 'ox'; C 2 Chb *ħla* 'Stier' [HfC 123], Klb *hā-hāl-di* 'bull' [Kr]; 9 Msg *ħaluu*, *hollu* [LkM ħ], Mbara *hulūu* 'buffalo'; E 3 cf. Smr *hāra* 'elephant' [Jg].

//Sem Arab *ħawar*- 'taureau' [BK I 510], HECush Burji *ħūr-i* 'buffalo' [Ss 102]. For a possible Semitic parallel see: Sab *ħwry*, Hadramaut *ħwrrw* "in a list of wild animals killed by hunters" [SED II №106].

362. *ħar**-(**ħ**-, **h**- or **ʕ**-) 'arm, hand; рука'**: W 3 Kupto *ʔar* 'hand, forearm; charm' [LgK]; C 1 Tera *xar* 'hand' [NmT], Gaʔanda *ħcra*, Hona *ħara*, Boka *ħarə* [Kr] 'arm'; 5 Gvoko *ħara* 'arm' [HmG], Pod *ħarā* 'hand, arm', Ngweshe *xarā* 'hand' [JgIb]; 7 Mada *ahāl*, Mofu *ħar*, *ħaħar* 'bras, main', Merey *həlay* 'main', Zlg *ahər* 'main', Baka *áhar* [BAS], Muy *áxar* 'main, bras', Moloko *ahar* 'hand' [BoP 18].

Derived verb: C 3 Bana *xrə* 'tourner, brasser avec la main', 7 Mafa *hərá-ḃ-* 'prendre dans les bras, à deux mains (enfant, boule)'; E 6 Mok *ʔcərə* 'chasser (mouches, moustiques) avec la main ou avec un objet'.

Note DB, Bok, Monguna *hárá*, Richa, Mundat *háará*, Sha *háa* 'five' [RC].
 //Cush Bed *harka* 'arm', Saho *haraa* 'arm', Oromo *harkka*, Konso *harka*
 'arm, hand, Gawwada *harkó*, Tsam *harko* 'hand' [Ss 92].
 Cf. Cush **xArk-* 'hand' < AA **hVrk-* [Долг 158-159].
 [HSED №1242 Cush +CCh 1+ Gisiga].

363. *hVr- 'clear, white; белый, чистый': W 1 Hs *garái* 'emph. clearness of sight, water, mirror, etc.'; 6 Ngz *arawai* 'white (incl. - due to dryness or dust)'; C 5 Glv *xarnaxa* 'clean, clear', Pod *harəra* idf. 'blanc, white'; 7 Mada *her her* 'clair, pur'; E 2 Lele *hir* 'clarte, proprete'; 4 Sok *uro* 'white' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *hur-* 'libre, pur, bon' [BK I 400].

Correlation: W 1 Hs *g-* ~ CCh *h-* ~ ECh *h-/ʔ-* points to Ch **h-*. In the view of a tenable semantic shift: 'clear' > 'white' > 'shining', the following Ch root seems to be common:

a. *hVr- 'shining; сияющий': W 2 Ngas *yar-yar* 'sound of shining' [Brq], *melp har-har* 'to shine' [TAS 149]; 7 Mbuko *herre* 'brilliant', Mofu *həray* *həray* 'brilliant'; 10 Masa *haraj* 'la lumière, light' [CC], Gizey, Masa *haraj*, Ham *hargéy* 'lumière, light' [LexC]. Reflexes in WCh 2 Ngas point to Ch **h-*.

Cf. compound: C 4 FM *xurə-tiya* 'star' (=shining star), FJ *xura-humuku* [Kr]. But a loan, a few more nouns are worth mentioning (semantic shift: 'shining' > 'metal'): C 7 Dugwor *harà* 'fer' [BryD], Moloko *hara* 'metal'; E 5b Tor *har-dò* 'fer', Jegu *ʔaró* 'iron', also W 3 Bol *ʔarau* 'heavy metal bracelets' [GAB].

364. *hVr- 'sky, top; небо, верх': W Hs *garii* 'sky'; 7 Sha *ʔarə* 'sky, cloud'; C 5 Pod *harə* 'au dessus de, above'; 7 Gis *həraj* 'Dach'; C 10 Marba *hur duguú*, Musey *huu-lo*, Lew *hurəlo* 'ciel' [LexC].

//Eg *hr.t* 'Himmel, sky' (Pyr), 'Dach des Tempels, roof of a church' (1), *hry.w* (Pyr) 'die Wesen am Himmel, bes. die Sterne' [EG III 144, 142].

Correlation: W 1 Hs *g-* ~ CCh *h-* points to Ch **h-*. Note a semantic shift 'sky' > 'roof' in Eg and Chadic.

365. *hVs- 'to accuse, insult; оскорблять': W 2 **(ʔa)-yVs*: Goem *ros-ni* [yos-ni, Fp], *hoos* 'to insult' [Hlw], Kofyar *agas* 'abuse' [TAS 152]; C 7 Mada *chsej* 'faire mal, abîmer, se gêner'; 10 Dzpw *has* 'to accuse, calomnier, menteur, faire un barrage'; E 5a WDng *ääsiyè* 'accuser'.

Reflexes in WCh 2 point to Ch **h-*.

//Sem Gees *hys, hēsa* ‘blame, rebuke, scold, insult’ [LSG 251].

366. *[h]Vs- (h-, h- or ʕ-) ‘cold(ness); холод’: C 1 Gaʔanda *həhəs*, Gabin *xəsxəs* ‘coldness’ [Kr]; E 4 Sok *os* ‘wind, cold’, *óssó* ‘Kälte’ [Luk], Saba *ʔosso* ‘cold, wind’; 6 Mok (*t*)*ássé* ‘(se) refroidir’; 5a EDng *úsú* ‘wind, frost’ [Dj], Mig *ʔússú* ‘(cold) wind’; 5b Jegu *ʔós* ‘Kälte’, *ʔós-dá* ‘kalt’ [Luk], cf. Jegu *os*, Ubi *aso*, EDng *uusú* ‘vent’ [CJ].

//Eg *hs* ‘frieren’, *hsy* (NK) ‘Frost, die Kälte, coldness’ [EG III 166], cf. Sem Arab *hss* ‘brûler (froid des plantes)’ [BK I 422].

[HSED №1281].

***ʕ⁵⁴**

367. *[ʕ]Vw- (ʕ- or h-) ‘to (un)wind; сворачивать, разворачивать’: C 4 Gude *hə* ‘wind cotton around stick before making a rope’; 5 Pod *ha* ‘ourler’; 7 Mofu *-h^w(á)* ‘unroll a mat’; 8 Kus *hó* ‘redresser (qqch de tordu ou penché), to unwind (smth. twisted or curved)’ [Tr]; E 1 Mobu *awiye* ‘enveloppeur’.

//Sem Arab *ʕwy* ‘plier, tordre’ [BK II 415].

The following Ch root may be of the same origin:

a. *[ʕ]Vw/y- (ʕ- or h-) ‘to weave, to sew; шить, плести’: W 1 Hs *háya* ‘thatch a roof’, *háyi* ‘thatching, sewing’; C 5 Glv *xó* ‘weave’; 8 Bud *hi* ‘flechten, to plait’ [LkBd], Mazera *h^wahó* ‘tisser, piquer’ (pluract.) [Tr], Log *hi-wun* ‘weave, tisser’[ALL], *hí* ‘fügen, flechten’ [LkL]; 9 Mnj *hi* ‘tisser (cotton, filet)’, Mulwi *hí* ‘tisser’ (note that forms in CCh as an integral part of Ch **[ʕ]Vw/y* cannot be cognate with Eg *h* ‘hank of flax-fiber twisted together’, as suggested in [TMM 164]); E 1 Kera *óoyé* (< **h^woy-*) ‘to sew’.

⁵⁴ A highly tentative reconstruction of initial Ch **ʕ* however, accounts for a specific correspondence, established between Chadic languages (see Introduction). A weak point of the reconstruction is a small amount of examples. Unfortunately, almost all Chadic languages show a single reflex of **ʕ* and **h*. Though few, all Ch roots with supposed initial **ʕ* have reliable cognates in Semitic and/or Egyptian with initial *ʕ*. This paragraph includes also a lot of Chadic roots with an unspecified initial consonant (**ʕ-* or **h-*). However, reliable external parallels show *ʕ* in anlaut. In such cases the first radical in Ch reconstruction will be rendered by [**ʕ-*].

368. *{ʕ}V (ʕ- or h-) ‘(to) hand’: C 2 Bura *ha* ‘to extend, to give, to proffer’ [BIB]; 7 Chv *hā* ‘main’, *hā tā zam* ‘main droite’.

Derived verb: ***{ʕ}Vʕ- ‘to take, glean; брать, подбирать’:** W 3 Bol ‘*yuwu* ‘hold, catch, seize’ [GAB]; 7 Bok *haʔ* ‘ergreifen, to seize’; C 2 Klb *hā* ‘take’ [MuK 97], Mrg *hū* ‘to take a wife; to take (one)’ [HfM 115, 118]; 5a Hdi *haʔw* ‘take the last little bit of the mash’ [BrH]; 7 Mada *hohó* (VN) ‘glanage des petits épis de mil laissés à la moisson, gleaning’; 10 cf. Lew, Marba *hé* ‘emprunter’ [LexC]; E 1 Kera *hc* ‘take’; 2 Kaba, Nch *-ʔəy* ‘prendre’ [HmK].

//Eg ʕ (Pyr) ‘Arm, Hand’ [EG I 156]. A monoradical in Egyptian and in Chadic. Note the following correlation: **ha* ‘hand’ > **haʔ-* ‘to take (by hand)’. For a similar model see: *CVb-* (noun) > *CVb-* (derived verb). It is likely, that W 3 Bolewa ‘y- reflects Ch *ʕ-.

369. *{ʕ}Vb- (ʕ- or h-) ‘to swell, to increase in volume; распухать’: W 1 Hs *hābī* (< **abi* < **aHbi*) ‘the increase in size of udder - (just before giving birth), of fruit’, (derived verb) *hābakā* ‘expand, swell’; 3 Kkr *ābābī* ‘swelling due to an injury’, *ābū* ‘be full after eating’ [GK], Bol *ubbu* ‘swell (of the entire body)’ [GAB], Tng *obi* ‘to swell’; C 4 Gude *ābawāʔā* ‘mature but not ripe’; 7 Mafa *hab-* ‘faire grandir (plaie)’, Ould-*hūbō* ‘gonfler, enfler’; 8 Bud *aabī* ‘fett’ [LkBd]; 10 Musey *hob-pa* ‘enfler, remplir, rassasier’ [ShyM],

Marba *hóp* ‘augmenter, gonfler, enfler’, Lew *hóp* ‘enfler’, Gizey *hóp* ‘gonfler’ (-p# < *-b#) [LexC].

//Sem Geez *ʕabya* ‘be big, large, increase, become fat, swell’, Tgr *ʕaba*, Tna *ʕabäyā* ‘be big’ > Cush agaw Bilin *ʕabay* ‘become big’ [LsG 55].

Note secondary emphatization of -b- in Chadic languages, provoked by the initial consonant.

[HSED №1025 Sem + HECush Kambatta *abba* ‘big’].

370. *{ʕ}Vč- (ʕ-, h- or h-) ‘to bite, to gnaw; кусать, грызть’: C 3 Bana *x(ə)čī* [c] ‘mordre, piquer, to bite’; 7 Chv *mehéčey* ‘mordre’; 9 Mulwi *hīisí* ‘grignoter, to gnaw’,

Deriv. in *n-*: E 5a Bid *ḡčḡč* (< **n-ʔčč-* < Ch **n-ʕVč-*) ‘ronger; manger un épi de mil’.

//Sem Arab *ʕt* ‘ronger, manger (se dit des teignes qui détruisent la laine, les cuirs, qui s’y mettent); piquer (serpent), to eat away (herpes), to bite (snake)’

[BK II 169].

371. *[\ʕ]Vd- (ʕ-, h- or h-) 'to pass by, to approach; проходить, приближаться': C 7 Ould *-had* 's'approcher', Maḍa *ahad* 's'approcher'; E 5a Bid *?ad* 'passer, aller, repartir venir', WDnd *aadē* 'suivre', EDng *aadē* 'suivre qqn, passer par' [Dj], Mig *?ād-* 'aller' (Imperatif).

//Sem Arab *ʕdw* 'passer à côté de qqch, dépasser', III 'se poursuivre l'un l'autre' [BK II194], Geez *ʕadawa* 'cross', Sab *ʕdw* 'move, march', Aram (Mand) *ada*, *ʕda* 'pass by', Ug *ʕdy*, Soq *ʕdy*, Tgr *ʕdy* 'to cross', Gafat *adda*, Har *ada* > Cush Som *aad-*, Saho *adaw* 'to go' [LsG 57], Sab *ʕdw*, *ʕdy* 'move, go, reach ; enter' [SD 12, Bll 352], ECush Sid *haadi* 'to go', Omot Wolt *yedd-*, Malo *?yed-* 'go away' [BndO 17].

Secondary emphatization of *-d-* in Chadic languages.

[HSED №1042].

372. *[\ʕ]Vʕ- (ʕ- or h-) 'foam; пена': C 4 Gude *h^wafə* 'bubble, foam'; 6 Buwal *h^wūbóf* 'foam'; E 5a Bid *?ūpūpuḡ* 'mousse', Mig *hūpūpūy* (secondary *h-*) 'écume, mousse'.

//Sem Arab *ʕafāw-at-* 'écume de la marmite au feu' [BK II 304].

Note promotion of *-w-* in Ch (from C₃ to C₂) and secondary labialization of *h-*.

373. *[\ʕ]VwVg- (ʕ-, h- or h-) '(to make) fire; (разжигать) огонь; to roast; жарить': C 8 Bud *hāge* 'anzünden (Feuer)' [LkBd]; 1 Kera *hōgé* 'to roast' Kwan (Mobu) *wāgé* [JgIb], Ngam *wake* 'griller (direct sur la feu)' [Lns]; 3 Tum *wāāg* 'roast'; 4 Mawa *əəg-əḡ*, Ubi *oge* 'brûller' [CJ]; 5a EDng *ògiyē* 'griller, rôtir' [Dj].

Derived nouns: E 5b Tor *hogu-nā* 'âtre, foyer, cuisine, hearth', Kaj *?āga* 'fire' [Alio].

//Eg *ʕwg* (BD) 'rösten, dörren; to roast' [EG I 223], cf. Sem Geez *ʕwg* 'to bake', *taʕawga* 'be baked', *ʕugāt* 'cake' with the following commentary: "The verb is reconstructed from the noun *ʕugāt* which is undoubtedly a transcription of the Hbr *ʕugāt* a construct state of *ʕūgā* 'cake'" [LsG 78].

Note *medial waw* in Chadic and Egyptian.

[HSED № 1078 Eg-ECh].

374. *[\ʕ]Vg- (ʕ-, h- or h-) 'to call, cry; звать, кричать': C 5a Lmn *xag-* 'call' [Luk], E 1 Mobu *ogé* 'to call' [Lns]; 3 Smr *?wāgə* [JgSb], *wóogo* (< *wHg) [Luk], Tum *wəg* 'appeler'.

Cf. C 5a Hdi *həgu* ‘name’ [BrH] (a derived noun?).

//Sem Arab *ʕgg* (i, u), *ʕgʕg* ‘crier, pousser un cri’ [BK II 173, 180], Geez *ʕwg* ‘to deride, mock, jeer’ [LsG 78], Cush Saho *ʕaage* ‘to beg’ [Vr].

Root extension (*w* as C₂) in Gees and ECh.

[HSED №1107 Arab+ECh].

375. *ʕVyVI-/*yVʕVI- > *ʕVI(I)- ‘to rise, to jump; подниматься, прыгать’: W 2 (metath.) Mghv *yayal* [JgS], Ngas *yaal* [Fl], Mnt *yal*, Goem *yɔl* ‘rise, fly off or start (from somewhere)’ [Hlw], Mpn *yol* [FrM] ‘to rise, to stand up’, Mushere *yakal* (< **yayal*) ‘to rise, stand up, wake up’ [JgO]; 3 Tng *ile*, Kupto *ʔilla* [LgK] ‘stand up, rise, fly’, Pero *ʔillo* ‘stand up, get up’, Dera *yili* ‘to rise, to raise’ [NmK]; 5 Geji *hilya* ‘stand up’ [Smz], Saya *yāl* ‘appear (moon)’ [Cs №762]; C 8 Bud *hal-go* ‘aufsteigen’ [LkBd]; 10 Masa *halla* ‘jump’ [JgIb]; E 1 Kera *li* ‘monter’, Mobu *alc*, Ngam *alc* ‘climb’ [Lns]; 3 Smr *ʔayl-* ‘rise’ [JgSb]; 5a WDng *aale* ‘franchir, jump over, enjamber’, EDng *aale* ‘sauter, franchir au sautant’ [Dj].

//Sem **ʕly/w* ‘to rise, be elevated’: Akk *elû* (*alû*) (OB) [CAD e 114], Hbr *ʔālā(h)* [KB 705], Ug *ʕly* ‘hinauf- steigen’ [Ais 230], Arab *ʕly* (a) ‘être haut, élevé’ [BK II 352], Sab *ʕlw/y* ‘go up to a place’, *ʕly* ‘high(land)’, *ʕlw* ‘height’ [SD 15], *ʕly* ‘be high’ [Bl 365], etc., cf. EG *ʕr, iʕr* (late) ‘aufsteigen’ [iʕl ?] [EG I 41].

Note metath. in Eg and in WCh 2. The archaic reflex of AA **ʕ* preserves in medial position.

Derived noun: C ***ʕVyVI- ‘sky, God; небо, Бог’:** C1 Gaʔanda, Gabin *hula-furta* ‘sky’, *fər-ta* ‘God, sun’ [Kr]; C 2 Klb, SMrg *hyal* ‘God’ [HfM 7], Chb *ata xyel* ‘sky’, *xyel*, Bura *xyel* ‘God’ [Kr], *hyel* ‘God, sky’ [BIB]; 3 HF *xyel-*, Hya *xyel-* [Kr], Bana *xyala* ‘God’; 9 Msg *halé* ‘world, sky’, Mnj *halay n’amay* ‘sky’.

//Sem Arab *ʕall-* ‘le haut, le dessus, top, upper part’ [BK II 353], Hbr *ʕāl-* ‘height, heaven’ [KB 703], Cush Afar *alee* ‘mountain’ [RA], Somali *ʕal* ‘rocky mountain, stone, rock’ [LIS], Saho *ʕal* ‘top of the mountain’, Sid *illaala* ‘mountain’ (apud [Долг]).

[Chn №58; Долг 140 (Sem, Eg, Cush); Дьяк 45; JgIb; HSED №1102].

376. *ʕVI-, ʕVwVI- ‘to weep; tears; плакать, слезы’: E 2 Kaba *-ʔalə*, Nch *-ʔəḷə* ‘pleurer’ [HmK], Lele *ilē*; 4 Mawa *əḷə-ŋ* ‘pleurer’; 5a WDng *ālē* ‘émettre un son, d’où pleurer’, EDng *ālē* ‘émettre un son, pleurer’

(humains), chanter (oiseaux)' [Dj], EDng *alē* 'pleurer' [VM]; 6 Mok *ʔoolé*; 5b Mubi *allāw* 'pleurer' [JgL].

Derived noun: 1 Hs *hawāyee* 'tears' (< **ha-VwVI-*, for secondary *h-* in Hausa nouns denoting body-parts see [NmH])]; 3 Bol *ʔyēelum* 'tears' [GAB]; C 7 (noun deriv. in *ʔa-*) Ould *ahulo* 'larme d'yeux châssieux'; E 5b Mubi *ilēcliny* (coll.) 'larme' [JgL]. Note W 3 Bol *ʔy* < Ch [**ʔ-*].

//Sem Arab *ʔwl* 9. 'crier, élever un cri, p.ex., pour pleurer la perte de qqn', *ʔawl-* 'cri, lamentation, gémissement' [BK II 411-412].

Note Eg *ʔwn* (20) 'jännern, klagen' [EG I 172]. The comparison is valid if Eg *n* follows AA **l*.

377. **[ʔ]al-* (*ʔ-* or *h-*) 'worn out, old; изношенный, старый': W 2 Goem *hal* 'lose normal texture, disintegrate' [Hlw]; C 2 Bura *hala* 'to wear out, become old or worn', *hal-hala* 'aged, old' [BIB]; 3 Bana *xalí* 'old, used', FK (derived noun) *ʔ-xal* 'old man, woman' [Kr]; 5 Pod *halá* 'to grow old'; 5a Hdi *halay* 'grow old', *halaku* 'old age, old man' [BrH]; 7 Mafa *hal-* 'vieillir, user'; E 5a cf. EDng *ēcliyē* 'souffrir, être dans un état misérable' [Dj].

//Sem Arab *ʔll* (i) 'être malade'; *fig.* 'avoir quelque défaut' [BK II 334], Sab *ʔll* 'maladie affecting the feet' [SD 15], *ʔll* 'disease' [Bll 368].

378. **[ʔ]Vm-* (*ʔ-* or *h-*) '(to) pile, gather; собирать (в кучу)': W 1 Hs *hamāma* 'in abundance, in large numbers, large size'; C 5 Pod *hama* 'pile up, group'; E Lele *hím* 'gather several things' (cf. 7 Tor *hoom* 'ramasser, collecter', rather < **swm*).

Deriv.: C 7 Mafa *hum-d-* 'reunir, mettre ensemble' ("Caus from an unknown verb" [BaMaf]).

//Sem Arab *ʔmam-* 'foule immense, multitude' [BK II 358], Geez *ʔamama* 'be numerous, abundant' > Amh *ammāmā* id. [LsG 63], Sab *ʔm* 'in association with' [Sd 16, Bll 370].

379. **ʔVm-* 'to eat (soft food); есть (мягкую пищу)': W 2 Goem *ham* 'suck, chew, put into mouth' [Hlw]; 4 Paa *híma* 'eat (grain)' (vers. *rum* 'eat meat') [MS]; 2 Bura *hamya* 'put into mouth' [Ann]; 8 Mazera *hómó*, Bud *ham* 'manger' [Tr], Mak *huma huma* 'sound of an animal eating quickly'; E 3 Smr *ʔəm* 'eat soft food' [Jglb]. Cf. E 6 Mok *ʔóómí* (< var. **ʔVwVm-*) 'manger la boule'.

//Eg *ʕm* (OK) 'swallow, verschlucken' [EG I 183].

Combination of reflexes: Paa *fi* ~ Mazera *h* points to Ch *ʕ.

380. *ʕiyan-/ʕinn- 'to see; видеть': W 3 Bol *ʕinn-* 'sehen, meinen' [LKB]; 4 Paa *fián, fiání* 'to see' [MS]; 7 Richa *ʕiyan* (=ʕiyan), DB *ycn* 'see'; 5 Geji *yeni*, Pol *yeni* 'to see' [Smz]; E 5a EDng *aaniyē* 'regarder dans les yeux' [Dj], 'fixieren' [Ebb]; 5b Jegu *ʕinn-* 'know'.

a. C 1 *H^wVn- (< *[ʕ]-w-n) 'eye': Gaʔanda *wēni-ta*, Gabin *wēni-te*, Boka *x^wəni-ta* [Kr].

//Sem *ʕayn- 'eye': Akk *īnu*, Ug *ʕn*, Aram (Syr) *ʕynō*, Hbr *ʕayin*, Geez, Arab *ʕayn-* [Fron 2.55, SED I №28], Eg *ʕn, ʕyn* (alt) 'eye' ["nur im Schriftzeichen erhalten", (a loan?) EG I 189], Cush *ʕIn-tV* 'eyes': Saho *ʕintiit*, Afar *intit* 'eyes', Gidole *iinda*, Arb *iynda* 'eye' [Долг 149].

The reflex in WCh 4 Paa points to Ch *ʕ. Semantic shift: 'to see' > 'to know' is tenable.

[Chn № 63, HSED №1084: Sem, Eg, Omot, for more references see SED I №28].

381. *ʕjVn- (*ʕ-* or *h-*) 'to scratch; скрестн': W 7 Bok *hoj* 'scratch, cut grass' [JgR], *hoj* 'scrape, scratch' [RC]; C 7 Mada *áhná* 'make a mark (wound, signature), smear'; E 2 Lele *hany* 'scratch, rub'.

//E Cush Som *ʕunʕun-* 'itch, to itch' [LIS].

Derived noun (with an affix of sing.): *ʕjVn-d- / *d-ʕjVn- 'nail, claw; ноготь, коготь': 5 Gvoko *ʕire* 'claw', Dghw *ʕər-dike* 'claw (of a bird)', Gdf *ʕaxidē*, Gava *ʕaxidá* (-d- < -rd- < -nd-), Cin, Glv *ʕar-dá* [HmG] 'claw', Glv *xár-dá* 'finger nail' [Rp] (all < *xin-d-); 5a Lmn *də-ʕun*, Vemgo, Hdi *dá-ʕən* 'claw' [HmG]. For Ch *-n- > -r- in CCh 5 (but not in CCh 5a) see [Nm].

//Eg *ʕn.t* 'Nagel, Krallen' [EG I 188].

For a similar semantic development ('to scratch' > 'nail, claw') see №№112, 319, 422, for 'nail, claw' > 'to scratch' see №№247, 513.

382. *ʕjVwVr- (*ʕ-* or *h-*) 'be ashamed, shame; стыдиться' (a loan?): W 1 Hs *hurwaa* 'putting earth on the head or throwing over shoulder as sigh of regret (because of the fault)'; C 7 Mafa *h^waray* 'honte confusion', Zlg *hawrwá* 'honte', Mofu *h^wáray* 'honte, déshonneur'.

//Sem Sab *ʕyr* 'disgrace, shame; to bring disgrace upon', Arab *ʕār-* (*ʕyr*)

'honte, sentiment de honte' [SD 24; Bll 363, LsG 80, BK II 419].

Note medial *-y-* in Semitic, but medial *-w-* in Chadic languages.

383. *ʕar-/ʕVwVr- 'to scratch, scrape out; **выскребать**': W 1 Hs *húurē* (< *ʕVwVr-) 'scrape or pare the inside of a calabash or wooden vessel to remove pulp, hollow out'; 2 Ngas *eer* 'to scratch' [Fp], Mghv *aar* 'scratch, scrape' [BIM], Goem *haar* 'to hollow out' [Hlw]; E 4 cf. Mawa *ər-əy* 'raser'.

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 5 Pod *hərədá* 'to scrape'; 7 Muy *áxərdāy* 'scrape, remove'. Note *-d-* as a "directional" extension in [KimG]. The following correlation: C 7 Muy *x-* ~ WCh 2 *h-/θ* points to Ch *ʕ-.

Derived noun *m-*: C 7a Skn *mə-hərrə* 'knife for calabashes'; 5 Pod *ma-hərə-dá* 'instrument for scraping inside of a calabash'; 5a Hdi *ma-hər-du* 'la gratteuse; grater' (n.) [BrH].

//Cf. Sem Arab *ʕwr* 'faire qqn borgne; effacer; enlever' [BK II 403].

Alternatively, E and CCh forms may go back to Ch **hVr-* 'to scrape' > 'to shave'. For a cognate see ECush Hadiya *haar-* 'scratch', Gidole *haar-awwa-* 'razor, blade for shaving' [SsB 92].

384. *[ʕ]VrVrVr- (ʕ- or h-) 'to rub, to scratch; **тереть, скрести**': C 10 Dzpw *húrókó* 'se gratter, to scratch o.s., to itch', Dari *húrok* 'gratter; prendre le reste de qqch de pâteux; to scratch', Masa *húrok* '(se) gratter' [CC], **hurok* 'scratch': Musey *horok* 'to plow, farm', Hede, Peve *hurok* 'to scratch' [Shy]; E 1 Kera *horké* 'reiben, frotter, to rub'.

//Sem Arab *ʕrk* 'frotter, gratter, racler, to scratch, to rub' [BK II 233].

Note that most of triradicals in Chadic languages have similar structure - with a liquid as C₂. Cf., for example: E Ch 1 Kera *horbéc* 'vermischen, to mix' ~ Sem Hbr, Aram *ʕrb* 'to mix' [KB II 732].

385. *[ʕ]ar- (ʕ- or h-) 'back; **спина**': W 4 **k-Har-*: Tsagu *aari*, Wj *kyáára*, Kar *kyar*, Miya *akyar*, Paa *kar*, Mburku *kyar-hu*, Jmb *kyar* 'back' (**kVHar-* > *kyar-*) [SkNB]; C 7 Mbuko *huhurep* 'dos d'un boeuf'; E 1 Kera *k-er-kə*; 3 **t-Har-* > **tar*: Som *táriný*, Tum *tár*, Ndam *tér* [Jglb]; 5a Mig *táar-* 'dos', *tár-tu* 'mon dos', EDng *āara* 'le dos' [Dj], *ara* 'dos, back' [CJ], WDng *áarò* 'dos', (derived verb) *arè* 'rester en arrière'; 5b Zir *hari*, Mubi *har* [CJ], Kaj *ʔáara* 'dos, back' [Alio], Brg *har* 'Hinterseite' [JgB]. Note a specific reflex in ECh 3: **t-HVr-* > *tʔar-* > *tar* (Ch **t-* > ECh 3 *d-*).

//Eg *ʕr.t* (Pyr) ‘der Hintere, der After’ [EG I 209], Sem Akk (OB, SB) *erûtu* (*arûtu*) ‘back’ [CAD e 327], Berb Ahg *a-rûri*, pl. *i-rûriaw-ən*, EWLm *əruru* ‘dos’ [Alj 163].

386. *ʕVr- ‘seed, offspring; семя’: W 1 Hs *iri* ‘seed; seedlings; offspring (people or animal); kind, sort’; 3 Bol *arè* (internal *-a-* pl.) ‘seed, kind, race’ [GAB], Pero *arè* ‘seed’; C 7 Mada *ire* ‘semence, descendance’; 10 Musey *ira* ‘seed’ [SkH].

//Cush Saho *ʕare* ‘clan, family’, *ʕale* ‘kind, race’ [Vr], cf. Omot Kaffa, Mocha *yāro* ‘seed’ [SkH 290].

a. *ʕVr-f- (note *-f-* as a sg. masc. marker) ‘seed, family; семя’: W 7 DB *harfi?*, Monguna *hārifi?* ‘sesame (plant grown for its seeds)’ [RC]; C 1 Tera (dial.) *hurva* ‘seed’ [Kr]; 2 Bura *hulfu* ‘seed for planting’ [BIB], Chb *x^wulfā*, Mrg *wulfu* ‘seed’ [Kr]; 3 Bana *x^wölfō* ‘semence’ (no pl.), Kap *fuluxwe* (metath.), HF *xul(u)fu* ‘seed’ [Kr]; 5 Glv *xulōfā* ‘family, seed, generation, descendants, children’, Mlg *hulfe* ‘Saat, Samen’; Wnd *wulfā*, Gava *x^wölfā*, Dghw *xulfū-de* ‘seed’ [Kr]; 5a Hdi *hulfā* ‘seed’ [BrH]; 7 Chv *h^wulēfey* ‘semence’, Ould *hēlēfē* ‘graine, semence; famille’, Muy *xīlfī*, Zlg *h^wilfē*, Mofu *hulfā-d* ‘semence’, Mada *hōlfē* ‘semence; animal pour la reproduction’, Merey *hulfe* ‘semence’.

Combination of reflexes (*θ* in WCh 1, 3 ~ *x-* in CCh 7 Muyang) points to initial Ch *ʕ-. Note Niger-Congo Yoruba *iru* ‘seed, sort, kind’, Nupe *yiri* ‘sort, kind’ [apud SkH 117].

387. *[ʕ]aʔ- (*ʕ-*, *h-* or *h-*) ‘to catch by hand; схватить рукой’: W 3 Kkr *asu* ‘pick, take’; C 4 Gude *hyaʔ* ‘catching with hand and holding’; E 5a WDng *éédyé* ‘pincer, prendre une poignée, take a handful’, EDng *çedyē* ‘prendre à la main, prendre une poignée’ [DJ].

Deriv. in *n-*: E 5a Bid *needy* (< **n-ʔVʔ-*) ‘pincer avec les ongles’.

//Cf. Sem Arab *nʕd* ‘recevoir qqch de qqn’ [BK II 1295].

Correlation: C 4 Gude *ʔ* ~ E 5a *dy* points to Ch **-ʔ-*. The latter regularly corresponds to Sem **ç̂* (both go back to AA **ç̂*).

388. *[ʕ]aʕ- (*ʕ-*, *h-* or *h-*) ‘to call, to speak loudly; звать, громко говорить’: W 7 Sha *hal* ‘to call’, Richa *hal* ‘to ask’ [JgR], Monguna, Mangar *hâl*, Karfa *yaʔ*, Fyer *yal* ‘to call’ [RC]; C 7 Mafa *haʕaw-* ‘parler fort’, Mada *ohʕō* ‘parler bruyamment, vite et fort’; E 4 Barein dial. *çllo*, *wēllo* ‘to call’ [LvB].

//Eg ʔš (MR) 'rufen' [EG I 227].

*ž

389. *žVʔ/w- 'to beat (and to break; бить (и сломать)': C 1 Tera ža 'break stick' [NmT]; 3 Bana žaʔwə 'strike with a stone to break smth'; 4 Gude ža 'pound, clap'; 5 Wnd ža 'beat', Mlg ža 'to beat, to kill'; 6 Buwal žā [dz] 'hit, strike', Mbedam ža ~ ža [NdP 6] 'kill'; 7 Muy éži 'break', cf. Ould žā [dza] idf. 'coup de hache'; 7a Skn žəžá 'strike'; E 1 Kera žé 'break pot' [JgIb].

a. ***(n)žVʔw-** 'to ruin; разрушить': C 7 Mofu -n-žiy- [njiy] 'détruire, démolir, jeter en éparpillant, destroy'; E 3 Smr žwə 'écrouler; ruin' [JgSb].

//Sem Arab *dhy* 'battre (la laine) avec une battant' [BK I 765-6].

b. ***žVh(Vh)-/žVhw-** 'to pound (in mortar), to press, толочь, давить': W 7 DB žah 'stampfen (in Mörser); stossen; pound (in mortar), push', 4 Paa žūwaa 'pound in mortar' [MS], C 4 Gude žaaʔú 'grinding fast' idf.; 6 Buwal žōx^w 'pound', žahw 'piler' [Vor 9]; 7 Mafa žih- 'tasser (dans un sac)', Ould -žuh^w [dzuhw] 'peler pour enlever l'écorce'; E 4 Mawa ažiya-ŋ 'damer'; 5a Bid žew 'pétrir une poterie, to puddle clay'.

Deriv. in *n-*: W 7 Bok nžu 'stampfen (in Mörser); stossen'.

Derived noun: W 4 Diri žuwa 'mortar' [SkNB].

//Sem Arab *dhh* 'donner une tape à qqn, broyer' [BK7 I 65]. Note Eg žh (OK) über Stampfenden, vgl. žhm 'zerstampfen' [EG IV 464-5]. It is evident that geminated AA -*hh*- has a stable reflex in Chadic languages.

[CLD III №1000]. Chadic cognates of Eg žh (as given in [EDE I 84]) follow two different Ch roots: ***žVh-** and №807 ***zVhw-** 'to pound'.

390. *žVʔ- 'to take care, to guard; заботиться, охранять': W 4 Paa ža 'take care of (child or sick person)' [MS]; C 5 Mlg ža 'beschützen, take care'; 10 Dari ži, Dzpww ži [dzi] 'garder un troupeau, to guard cattle'.

Derived nouns: W 1 Hs žiya 'being a patient; nursing'; 3 Dera žiwa 'a herd' [NmK].

//(SCush ?) cf. Maa zéʔu 'to herd', *mzéme* 'herdsman' [Eh 190], Cush Saho zuwe 'to herd', *zuweena* 'shepherd' [Vr]. Note Sem Arab *mdy* (i) 'lâcher (une cheval) au paturage' [BK II 1082].

Root extension (*m* as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD III №1001].

391. ***ǂVwʔ-** '(to) hunt; охота, охотиться': W 4 (noun deriv.) Jmb *ǂuu* 'hunt' (n.) [SkNB]; E 3 Tum *ǂō* 'chasser (éloigner)'; 4 (noun deriv.) Mawa *ǂəy* 'chasse'.

a. ***n-ǂVwʔ-** 'to have sexual relations': W 5 Guus *nǂwaa* [CrG] 'copulate'; C 7 Ould -*nzy* (< **nǂ-/*nǂ-*) 'have sexual relations, sleep'.

//Sem Arab *dʔy* 'pousser vigoureusement et faire marcher devant soi (chameux); cohabiter avec une femme' [BK I 762]. Note contamination of semantics 'to hunt' and 'to have sexual relations' in Chadic and in Arabic.

[CLD III №1003].

392. ***ǂVyʔ-** 'to stay in place, to last, to sit; оставаться на месте, сидеть, длиться': W 1 Hs *ǂaaya* 'prolong'; C 5 Glv *ǂ-* 'to sit', Pod *ǂawə* [dzavə] 'arrêter, tenir debout; stop, stay'; 8 Bud *ǂei* 'bleiben, sitzen, ruhig sein, to stay, to sit', *ǂai* 'sich setzen, to sit down' [LkBd], Log *zu* 'sit', *zú wəton* 'niedersetzen, to sink, put down' (*wəton* 'Boden') [LkL], Mak *ǂi* 'stay; rester' [AlM]; E 1 Kera *ǂc* 'Tag verbringen, spend the day', *ǂcʔi* 'sitzend', *ís ǂcʔi* 'to sit'.

Deriv. in *n-*: C ***n-ǂV** > **nǂV** 'to last, live, to be, to sit; длиться, проживать': 2 WMrg *nǂc* 'to sit' [Kr]; 3 FK *nǂa* 'stay; living', *nǂo-nǂo* 'to sit' [BInD], Bana *nǂa* 'durer; être, to last, to be', *nǂi* 's'asseoir, rester, demeurer, to sit, stay, dwell', HB *nǂi-* 'to sit' [Kr]; 5 Gude *nǂaa* 'sit, dwell, live'; 5 Glv *nǂ* 'to be, stay, prove; live, dwell', Mlg *nǂa* 'to sit', Pod *nǂa* [ndza] 'to sit, stay, live', Mnd *nǂa* 's'asseoir, s'installer, vivre' [VM]; 6 Buwal *nǂā* 'to sit, stay', Daba *nǂā* 'être, rester, s'asseoir, to be, sit down', *nǂha* [Lnhr] 'to sit', Gavar *nǂa* [ndza] 'rester' [VGv 2]; 7 Mafa *nǂa* 'to stay, dwell, sit down' Zlg *nǂa* [ndza] 'rester, demeurer, durer, s'installer', Mofu *nǂ-* [nj-] 's'asseoir, habiter', Mada *ánǂa* 'être'.

//Cf. Sem Sab (auxiliary) *wǂʔ*, *wzʔ* 'again, furthermore; continue to do' [SD 167; Bll 123].

393. *(**n**)**ǂ-** 'person, husband; человек, муж' (a suppletive sing. of **gVy-* 'people'?): W 1 cf. Hs *ǂaaǂi* (no pl.) 'caravan leader'; 4 Paa *nǂu* [MS] 'man, husband', C 10 Dzpw *nǂi* [ndzi] 'mâle, mari', *nǂci* 'oncle maternel', Dari *nǂi* 'mari; mâle'; E 5b Brg *ǂa*, pl. *ǂáy* 'person, man', Jegu *ǂá*, pl. *ǂé* [Jglb], Kaj *nǂo* 'person', Mubi *nǂō-gorōk* 'Mann', *nǂóo* 'Mensch' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *dū-* 'maître, possesseur', NAg [BK I 786], Hbr *ze*, (rarely)

zū, Aram *d*, *dī*, *zī*, Ug *d*, Sab *d*, Mhr *ḏc*, *dc*, Soq *di*, Geez *za* 'who, that, which' used with a qualified noun [LsG 629, with all the references].

[CLD III №1015].

a. ****(n)ḏVf-*** < ****ḏV-f*** 'man, husband; человек, муж' (for *-f* as a masc. sg. marker see: C 5 Glv *də-f*, pl. *di* 'person' [Mo]); W 4 Wtj *ḏə-f^wa-na* [JgIb], *ḏi-fa-na* [SkNB], Jmb *ḏu-hu*, Mburku *ḏi-fu*, Diri na *nḏə-vu* [SkNB], Kar *ḏi-fa-na*, Miya *ḏi-fa-na* [Sk-JgIb], *ḏu-fu* 'man' [SkNB]; C 10 Masa *ḏu-f* 'man' [Mo], *ḏu-f* 'le mâle, le mari' [CC], Gizey *ḏu-f*, Ham, Musey *nḏu-f*, Lew, Marba *ma-n-ḏu-f* 'mâle, masculin' [LxC].

For a possible cognate of Chadic *-f* cf. Eg *f* "Suffix der dritten Person mask. sing." [EG I 572]. An alternative etymology of Eg *f*, namely, < **-s^w*, seems rather fantastic. On "(irregular?) change of OEG *-f* < PEG **s^w*" see [EDE II 550].

394. **ḏVb-* 'to pour, flow; лить, течь': W 3 Bol *ḏubbu* (pl.) 'pour' [GAB], *ḏubb-* 'cin-, ausgießen, wegwerfen, lecken' [IbB]; 6 Duw *əḏbūwo* 'to spill, pour out'; C 4 Jimj *dḏəbī* [= *ḏəbī?*] 'pour' [BryJ]; 6 Daba *ḏəv* (*-v#* < **-b#*) 'refroidir un liquide en le versant d'un récipient à l'autre' [Lnh].

a. ****ḏVH(V)b*** > ****ḏVb-*** 'to spit, to sprinkle; плевать, брызгать': 5 Pod *ḏāba* [dz] 'sprinkle; asperger, arroser'; 7 Ould *-ḏəb* [dzaβ] 'cracher, to spit', *ḏəb-ḏəb* [dzeβ dzeβ] idf. 'asperger, drizzle'

//Sem Hbr *zwb*, Aram (Jud, Syr, Mand) *dwb* 'to flow' [KB 252], Arab *dwb* 'fondre, se changer en liquide', *dawb-* 'coulant, liquide' [BK I 787]. Mhr *ḏeyōb*, Jib *dēb*, Hrs *ḏeyōb* 'to melt' [JnM].

[AA №382 **ḏVb* Sem+ WCh 3, HSED №2669, CLD III №1020].

Note the following Ch forms as extensions in a medial laryngeal:

b. ****ḏVH(V)b*** > ****ḏVb-*** 'to moisten, to wash': W 3 Dera *ḏəb-* 'wash things' [JgIb], *ḏəbē* [NmK]; C 6 Daba *ḏəb* (< **ḏəb*) 'to wet' [Mo]; 7 Mbuko *ḏəḏəb* [jəjəb] 'trempier', Mofu *-ḏəb-* [jəb] 'trempier, boire en peu', deriv. *nḏəbak* *nḏəbak* 'humide'.

c. ****ḏVb-*** 'wet place, swamp': W 2 Ngas *ḏəap*, *ḏəap* 'swamp, marsh' [Fl], *ḏəap* [JgA], Mushere *ḏəp* 'a permanent moist area' [TAS 434]; C 6 Daba *n-ḏəb n-ḏəb* 'a wet place' [Lnh], Buwal *ḏəḏəp* 'marsh' (*-p#* < **-b-*); 7 Mafa *ḏəbā* 'marecage, swamp'.

Semitic parallels are semantically problematic: Sab *dhb* 'alluvial valley; irrigated land in a wadi bed; cultivated land' [SD 38; Bll 93], Mehri *dhb* 'to flood' [JnM 79].

395. *ǰab- 'to assemble; собираться': C 6 Buwal ǰav 'assemble'; E 3 Tum ǰaab 'ranger, rassembler, arranger', Ngam ǰabey 'rassembler' (intr.) [Brs].
Derived noun in *-k-*: C 7 Mbuko nǰob-ok [nǰobok] 'group'.

Derived noun 'a pile': C 10 Dzpw ǰuǰup (-p# < *-b#) 'en tas'; E 4 Mawa ǰibi 'tas de rônier lié ensemble en rond'.

//Sem Arab *dʿb* (a) 'réunir, rassembler' [BK I 760].

Cf.CCh ***ǰVb/b- 'to sew':** 5 Glv ǰəb-, Wand ǰəbə [Mirt]; 7 Mofu -nǰəb- 'réunir, coller, coudre' (contamination with ***ǰab- 'to assemble'**), Ould ǰābāy 'coudre ci et là'.

[CLD III № 1018a].

396. *ǰah- 'back, buttocks; спина, зад': W 7 Bok ǰaha 'Gesäss, buttocks'; C 7a Skn ǰah 'back'; 7 Mada ǰah-ǰah [jah-jah] 'haut de dos, upper part of the back'.

//Omot Ometo *zahi* 'back', Koyra *zahi*, Haruro *zaha* 'back' [Долг 99], SOM Kore (Koyra) *zaha*, Harro *zāhē* [BndO 331]; ECush Arb *zeh* 'наре' [Hay].
[CLD III №1064].

397. *ǰVǰV 'to divide; делить', *ǰV 'share, portion; часть, порция': C 5 Pod ǰa [dza] 'portion, part'; 7 Ould ǰaya 'la part', Muy ǰa n. 'share'; E 3 Tum ǰəǰ 'partager, to divide'.

//Sem Akk *zāzu* 'divide, teilen, verteilen' [AHw 1517], *zittu* f., pl. *zizātu* 'share' [CDA 449].

[HSED №2671 Akk+Tumak; CLD III № 999].

398. *ǰVkw(V)w- > *ǰVkw- 'to pierce, to stuck; про-, воткнуть': W 3 Dera *yike* (< **ǰike*) 'to stub'; C 4 Gude ǰiku 'poke, poke eye', ǰəku idf. adj. 'stuck in an opening'; 7 Mafa *zukw-* 'enfoncer, piquer dans', Ould -ǰukw [dzukw] 'piquer'; 10 Masa ǰik 'percer, piquer' [CC]; E 5a WDng ǰak-ǰike 'picorer, piquer par petits coups avec une pointe', EDng ǰik-ǰikē 'mit dem Schnabel hacken, to peck with the beak' [Ebb].

//Sem Arab *dkw* 'paraître, percer, pousser (se dit d'une dent)' [BK I 778].

Note the following correlation: *w* as C₃ in Arab ~ labialized velar in Ch.

399. *ǰVm- 'to gather' (intr.), to collect from people; собирать(ся): W 3 Krkr ǰam 'sich versammeln, to gather' intr. [LkK]; 4 Wtj ǰom 'to gather' [BIW]; 5 Zaar ǰom 'gather' [CrZ]; C 6 Buwal ǰām 'call a meeting', ǰāmā 'accumulate'; 7 Muy *ǰām* 'to collect shares of smth from people', Mofu

-*zəm-* [jəm] (Mok.), -*čəm-* (Gud.) ‘rassembler, réunir’, Mada *ázámá* [ajama] ‘rassembler’, Ould -*zam* ‘choisir’.

Derived noun/adj.: **žVm-* ‘many, a pile; много, куча’: W 1 Hs *žim-la-žim-la* ‘in portions, heaps’; C 10 Dzpww *zum-gul* [dzum] ‘big pile’, *žəm-gəl* ‘small pile’; E 5a Mig *žimme* ‘tas de branches’, WDng *žumé* ‘tas de branches, à brûler’; 5b Zir *žoma* ‘beaucoup, many’ [CJ].

//Cf. Eg *zm*’ (Pyr) ‘vereinigen, sich vereinigen mit’ A. Dinge vereinigen; B. Sich vereinigen mit [EG I 446]. Presumably, Eg ’ follows AA ?. Note, however, Sem Arab *gmʿ* [žamʿa-] ‘réunir, rassembler’ [BK I 326] as a possible origin of Ch **žVm-*. [CLD III №1118].

400. **žVn-* ‘to help; помогать’: W 2 cf. Goem *žin* ‘to consent’ [Fp]; 5 Gis *žine, zən* ‘help’; 7 Chv *mé-nžneý* ‘aider’, Moloko *zənay* ‘to help’, Mofu -*zən-* [jən] ‘to help’; 9 Mnj *zini* ‘encourager’; 10 Musey, Lew, Marba *nžun* [LexC], Dzpww *žin* [dzin], Dari *žin*, Peve *žin* [džin] ‘to help’ [Vn].

a. **žV-žVn-* (partial reduplication) ‘take care; заботиться’: W 3 Bol *žaažinu* ‘to groom (a horse)’ [GAB]; C 7 Mofu *žážən-* ‘soigner qqn; care for’, Mafa *žcžin-* ‘bring up animal for reproduction, cultivate for seeds’.

//Sem Sab *ʔdn* ‘dismiss, allow; let go, discharge’ [SD 2; Bll 5]. [CLD III №1133].

401. **žVp-* ‘small portion, small amount of; небольшое количество’: W 1 Hs *žeefee* ‘small portion of raw cotton; small quantity of fresh butter added to food’; 6 Bade *žā(p)pa* ‘small’; C 7 Mada *zop* [jop] ‘une pincée’; E 4 Mawa *žwap* ‘un peu, peu’; 5a WDng *žəp* ‘un peu, a little’.

//Sem Arab *difāf-*, *dařāf-* ‘un peu, qqch’ [BK I 774]. [CLD III №1047].

402. **ž[ī]r-* ‘slit, cut in stripes; делать продольные разрезы’: W 3 Krkr *žiraa* ‘split, slit’ [GK]; C 10 Masa *žer* ‘couper en lanières’ [CC], Musey *žara* ‘couper’, *žira* ‘cicatricer’ [ShyM], Masa, Marba, Ham *žir* ‘inciser, tatouer’ [LexC], (deriv. in *n-*) Dzpww *n-žer* [ndzer] ‘couper en lamelles’.

//Sem Arab *wdr* ‘faire à qqn une incision; couper, hacher’, cf. *ʔdr* (i) ‘circoncire (une garçon)’ [BK II 1514, 199].

[CLD III №1141].

403. **žVr-* ‘to trade; торговать’: W 1 Hs *žāari* ‘knowledge of professions to earn money’; 3 Bol *žāari* ‘carrying goods about for sale’ [GAB], *žāari* ‘Handel’ [LkB], Pero *žāari* ‘trade’; 7 C Ould -*žara* [-dzara] ‘vendre’; E 2

Tum *ǰū* (< *ǰur) ‘acheter’, *ǰūūr* ‘être acheté’.

//Sem Arab *ǰrʕ* III stem ‘vendre à l’aune, à la brassée, être en commerce, avoir des affaires avec qqn’ [BK I 769] (but cf. Arab *ǰirāʕ* ‘bras’). Note PHECush **dzal*- ‘trade, business’: Oromo *daldala*, Burji *daldal*, Had *daddaro*, Kamb *zazzalu-ta*, Sid *daddalo* [SsB 157]. [CLD III №1143].

404. *ǰVr(Vy)- ‘locust; саранча’: W cf. 3 Dera *nǰúról* (dissim. < *ǰ-r-r) ‘large criquet’ [NmK]; C 3 Bana *ǰír* ‘criquet migrateur’; 6 Buwal *ǰĕré* ‘locust’; 7 Chv *ǰaráy* ‘criquet pelerin’, Mafa *ǰaray* ‘criquet’, Mbuko *ǰaráy* [jaray], Ould *ǰaráy* [dzaray], Muy *ǰaráy* ‘locust’, Mada *ǰara* [jara] ‘criquet migrateur’, Gis *ǰaray* ‘Wanderheuschrecke, locust’, Mofu *ǰaráy* [jaray] ‘criquet sp.’, Vame *ǰuráy* ‘cricket sp.’ [BIV]; 10 Mesme *djer* ‘locust’ [Kr], Dzpw *nǰer* [ndzer] ‘sauterelle’, Dari *ǰēr* ‘sauterelle sp.’, Masa *ǰere* ‘sauterelle sp.’ [CC]; E 5a Bid *ǰaariyó* ‘criquet sp.’, WDng *ǰǝrǝmǝ* ‘sauterelle comestible’.

//PHECush **zVr*- ‘locust’: Burji *daráyš-i*, Kamb *zcer-a* [SsB 54], Arb *zargat* id. [Hay 438]. In [SED II №74] the present Chadic root considered cognate to Sem **ǰVr(r)*- ‘kind of worm, insect’. Viewing narrow semantics in Semitic languages (‘a parasite worm in the bowels’, ‘très petites fourmis’) the comparison is hardly valid.

[StA 48, CLD III №1156].

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405. *kVʔ- ‘to burn’: W 3 Krf *kaʔʔ-* ‘to burn’ [Stl]; C cf. 8 Bud *kùwé* ‘griller’ [Awg] 10 Dzpw *kú* ‘flamber, crépiter, to flame, to blaze, to crackle on fire’; E 1 Kera *kí* ‘(ver)brennen’.

Derived nouns: a. **ǰV(k)Vw-* > **ku(w)-*, **kʷVkw-* ‘fire’: W 4 Wrj *kǝw-ai*, Siri *kuwi*, Diri *akuwa*, Jmb *akʷa*, Miya *aku*, Mburku *kuwa*, Kar *aku*, Tsagu *aakwe* [SkNB], Miya *ákúw* [SchM]; 6 Ngz *ákâ*, Bade *akâ*; C 6 Kola *kuhú* [Jglb], Daba *kuhū* [Lnh], *kʷuh* [Jglb], Buwal *kʷohʷó*, Mbedam *kaháw*; 7 Ould *akú*, Muy *akʷu*, Baka *akú*, Moloko *akʷó* [BAS], Mada *okkʷo*, Zlg, Mery *akwá*, Mefele (dial.) *ko/ukwʰ*, Dugwor *akʷó*, Chv *kʷókʷów*; 7a Skn *ku*; 10 Dzpw *kú*, Masa, Dari *kū* ‘fire’, **ku* ‘fire’: Marba *akku-da*, Hede *ku*, Masa *kū-nā*, Musey *kū-ra* [Shy *ku:]; Gizey, Ham, Masa, Musey *kú*, Lew, Marba *ʔakú* ‘fire; hot’ [LexC], Peve *ku* [Vn]; E ‘fire’: 4 Sok *óko*, *òkó* [Jglb], Ubi, Mabire *ako*, Mawa *ak* [HJ], Saba *ʔokó*; 5a W, EDng *ako* [CJ],

Bid *ʔako*, Mabire *oko*; 5b Jegu *ʔɔ́k*, Brg *ʔàkò* [JgIb], Kaj *kàwi*, Mubi *kèwii* 'fire' (> *kèewii* 'make fire') [Luk], *kèwwi* 'fire' [JgL], Mubi *kewi*, Zir *kawi* [CJ]. Cf. E5 Mig *ʔókkò* 'activer le feu'. Note **ʔV(k)Vw-* > **ku(w)-* in W 4, C 10, E 5b.

Note E 1 Kera *kə-kəw* ('place-fire') 'fireplace built out of 3 pieces of coal'; 2 Kbl *kuyə* 'stove' [Cp].

//Sem Hbr *kwy* 'burn, scorch', Aram (Yud, Syr) *kwʔ* [KB 425], Arab *kwy* 'cautériser à qqn sur la peau en y appliquant un fer incandescent' [BK II 946], Omot Hamer *kuuʔa* [BdA], *kāʔ-*, Banna *kōka* 'burn' [BlŽO].

[Nm **ak^wa*, JgIb **-kw* 'fire', SkH 141, HSED №1441; CLD IV 176].

406. **k^wV-/*k^wVk-* '(to make) hot, warm; быть горячим, греть': C 6 Daba *k^wāy* 'to warm, heat (liquid)', Buwal *k^wak* 'be hot'; 8 Log *kku* 'be hot' [LkL]; E 6 Mok *kóóké* 'to warm o.s.'.

//Sem Arab *ʔkk* 'être d'une chaleur accablant (se dit d'un jour d'été sans le moindre vent)', *ʔakk-at-* 'chaleur étouffante' [BK I 42], cf. Arab *ʔkk* (i, u) 'être très chaud', *ʔakk-at-* 'chaleur brûlante d'été' [BK II 324], Cush Bilin *kaú* 'warm sein' [RB].

Note also: W Ch 7 Richa *kuk* 'to cook' (if not a loan); C 3 FK *kyā* 'cook' [apud Sk]; 9a Gidar *-kk-* 'cook'.

//Omot Mao Hoza *kwe(-ti)*, Sezo *kwe-* 'to cook' [BndO 270]. Semantic shift: 'to warm' > 'to warm food' > 'to cook' seems tenable.

407. **kVʔ-* 'to shout, to cry; кричать, шуметь': W 4 Wtj *kaw-* 'to shout' [BIW]; C 10 Dzpw *káʔá* 'crier fort, cry loudly', Dari *kāʔ* 'to shout, to cry'; E 5a (redupl.) EDng *kukkikē* 'crier fort (à la chasse)' [DJ].

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *kúuwà* 'shout' (n.); 2 Mushere *kwaá* 'shouting' [JgO]; 3 Dera *kúuwú* 'shouting' (< Hs?) [NmK]; 8 Log *kwaā-kwii* 'a cry' [LkL]. Cf. Kanuri *kowo* 'voice, sound'.

b. **kV(?)Vw-* 'to lament, to sob, to weep; стенать, плакать': W 1 Hs (redupl.) *kóoká* 'lament for, bewail, mourn', *kúukáa* 'lamentation, crying'; 7 Bok *kawa* 'weinen, klagen; Mundat *úkuk*, Karfa *kwák*, Sha *kúk* (redupl.), 'to weep (cry)' [RC]; C 5 Mlg *kyúwa* 'weinen, to weep'; E 6 Mok *kúwwé* 'pleurer bruyamment; interpellé'; 5b Brg *kaawí* 'pleurer, to weep'. Semantic shift 'to cry' > 'to lament, to weep' seems tenable.

//SCush Dah *kaaʔ-* 'to shout' [Eh], agaw Kemant *káw y-*, Xamta *qayy-* 'shout, cry out' [ApAg 122], cf. SCush rift Bur *kaw* 'tell' [Eh].

[cf. HSED №1400 for fragments of Ch **kVʔ-* ‘to shout’ and **kVh-* ‘to speak’, CLD IV № 174].

408. *kaʔ/w- ‘to rise, to mount; вставать, влезать’: W 2 Ngas *kei* ‘climb’, Mghv *kaa* ‘rise’, Mpn *ka* ‘mount, climb up’, Mushere *kaa* ‘to climb, rise, ascend’ [JgO], Kfy *kaa* ‘go up’ [TAS 160]; C 4 Gudu *kwó* ‘raise, lift’ [Kr]; C 7 Ould *kāw* ‘prendre en soulevant pour mettre sur l’épaule’; E 5a WDng *kūwà* ‘en haut, high’, Bid *kaaw* ‘monter, to mount’, Mig *kaáwó* ‘sauter par dessus qqch.’; 6 Mok *ʔékki* ‘sur, au dessus’.

//Omot Wolt *kiy-* ‘climb, go upstairs’, NECush **kaʔ-* > Kamb, Alaba, Gedeʔo *keʔ-* ‘get up, stand up’, Sid, Burji *kaʔ-* ‘stand up’, LECush Oromo *kaʔ-*, Dasenech, Arb *keʔ-*, Baiso *kee-* ‘stand up’, Afar *-uk-kaʔ-* ‘raise up’ Saho *uy-kuʔ-* [LmW 423], Som *kaʔ-* ‘get up, stand up’ [LIS].

Note a root variant with *k-* initial:

W 1 Hs *ʔóókúwáa* ‘top (of the roof)’; 3 Maka *kóoko* ‘sky, above, high’ [SvM] ~ ECush Burji *ʔayy-éé* ‘highland’ [SsB]. Cf. Eg *k:y* (Pyr) ‘hoch sein’ [EG V 1], *k:y,t* (Pyr) ‘hochlegendes Land’. According to [EDE I 212], *k:y* = [kly].

409. *kV(HV)y- ‘to throw (down), to put; бросать (вниз), класть’: W 1 Hs *kaáyé* ‘knocking down’; 3 Dera *kúuyé* ‘throw down a person’, (redupl.) Bol *kekku* ‘dump or throw away smth which is firm or sticky’ [GAB]; C 4 Gude *ka* ‘put, throw’; 7 Mafa *küy-* ‘jeter par terre’, Gis *ke* ‘(hin)stellen, hinsetzen’; C 8 Mak *kí* ‘throw’; E 1 Mobu *ké* (pl.) ‘mettre, put’. Cf. C 5 Pod *ka* ‘to lower’.

//Cush Dah *kaay-* ‘to put, to set, to lay’ [Eh 243]. Cf. Sem Arab *wkʔ* ‘tomber, se jeter par terre par suite des grandes douleurs (se dit d’un chameau)’ [BK II 1597].

A long vowel in WCh languages may reflect AA *ʔ*. Consider, however, narrow and specific semantics of Arabic verb.

[CLD IV №1].

410. *kVʔVw/y- ‘to finish; to die; закончить, умереть’: W 1 cf. Hs *kawa* ‘to remove, withdraw; die’; 3 Krf *koʔʔ-* ‘to finish’ [Stl] (for *-ko* as the Perfect marker in WCh 3 see [SchB]); 4 Jmb *kyuwa-* ‘to finish, end’ [SkNB]; E 2 Lele *kayē* ‘parte, fin’, *kāy* ‘to end, finish’, Tob *kā:* ‘finish, achever’; 5a Bid *koy* ‘to finish, to end’, WDng *kaáwiyé* ‘cesser, stop, cease’; 5b Tor *koy* ‘fin, bout, finir, end, to finish’, Brg *koyí* ‘finir’ [JgB].

//Sem Arab *ʕky* (u) ‘mourir, to die’ [BK II 334], cf. ECuh Som *kaw* ‘death; breakage; distruction’ [LIS].

Root extension (ʕ as C₁) in Arabic. [CLD IV №7].

411. *kVwV(H)- ‘to blow (wind); дуть (о ветре)’: W 3 Tng *kiu* ‘blowing (wind)’; 4 Miya *kay* ‘to fan’ [SchM]; C 7 cf. Chv *mékʷuyey* ‘vanner, to winnow’; 7a Skn *khú-máčá* ‘to blow’ [Jglb]; 9 Mulwi, Mnj *ki* ‘souffler (vent); to blow (wind)’; E 1 Mobu *kəwe* ‘souffler (vent)’ [Lns]; 3 Ndam *ʔúgá*, Smr *kū* (< *kH-, Ch *k-> Smr *g-*) ‘to blow’ [Jglb].

//Cf. Sem Arab *kwh* II stem ‘souffler pour allumer (le feu)’, *khkh* ‘souffler dans ses doigts (pour s’échauffer les mains froides)’ [BK II 946, 939]. [CLD IV №8].

412. W *kVy/w- ‘darkness; темнота’: 2 Mghv *kō* ‘darkness’, *kukwi* ‘new moon’ [Mt]; Mpn *kūo*, Miship *pè-kòwo*, Goem *kʷo* ‘darkness’, Kofyar *kʷò* ‘dark’, Ngas *kʷii* ‘absolutely dark’ [TAS 192], Mushere *kwoo* ‘darkness’ [JgO]; 7 Bok *kikyaw* ‘become black’.

//Eg *kk* (Pyr) ‘finster sein’ I. ‘von der Unterwelt’, *kkw* (Pyr) ‘darkness’ [EG V 144], Akk *kukku* ‘darkness (as a name for the nether world)’. "Sum loan. Probably from Sum *ku₁₀ku₁₀* ‘darkness’" [CAD k 498], Omot Wolt *kuwa* ‘shadow’, Gamu, Dace *kuwa* id. [LmW 422].

In the view of quite reliable cognates in three branches of AA, Akkadian *kukku* is hardly a Sumerian loan. Note, however, how A.Militarev comments this etymology: "This is a most entangled case. There is an obvious cultural influence reflected in a specific meaning related to the netherworld. One wonders whether it can be an inherited Egyptian term (cognate to Chadic) borrowed into Akkadian (whence into Sumerian)?" [MAk 160]. WCh 2 *kʷō ‘darkness’ cannot be cognate with SCush rift **hʷayaʔi* ‘evening’ (as suggested by G.Takáč). On the one hand, Akk, Eg and Omot parallels are more adequate semantically. On the other, AA **hV* > Ch **yV* > WCh 2 **gV* (but not **kV*). For a possible Chadic parallel to rift **hʷayaʔi* ‘evening’ see CCh 5a Hdi *hayu* (metath.) ‘evening’ [BrH]. [HSED №1509 Eg+WCh 2; CLD IV №29].

413. *kVHVb-> kVVb-/kVb- ‘to cut; резать’: W 4 Wrj *kuḅ* ‘sound of cutting’ [BIW]; 3 Tng *kaabe* ‘to carve’, *kabi* ‘to cut once (meat, rope), slaughter’ (pl. *kape* ‘cut into pieces’); E 5a EDng *kaàbē* ‘cut grass’ [Dj].

a. **kVb-* ‘knife, нож’: W 2 Mghv *kəp* ‘big knife’ [JgS], Ngas *küp* ‘long

knife' [F]; C 7a Skn *kəb* [DSk], *kəp* [Meek] 'knife'.

//Sem Arab *kbʕ* 'couper en deux, pourfendre' [BK 855], Cush agaw **kab-* 'cut' [ApAg]. [CLD IV №35].

414. *kab/ḅ- 'to mix, mould (clay); смешивать, месить (глину)': W 1 Hs *k^waabā* (< **kabab-*) 'mix up (into a putty-like consistency)', *k^waabi* 'mix (clay.)'; C 2 Bura *kaba* 'to form into balls as mud' [Ann]; 4 Gude *kaḅə* 'mould into round balls (building mud)'; 6f. Buwal *kāp* 'mix (solids)' (-p# < *-P#).

Derived noun: W 4 Miya *kīḅi* 'clay bowl' [SchM].

//Sem Arab *kubāb-* 'terre (surtout) humide, boue, qui s'attache aux pieds' [BK II 851]. An isolated Arabic parallel was suggested by A. Belova.

Note the following correlation: Chadic **-ḅ-* ~ Semitic *-bb-*.

[CLD IV №36].

415. *kubb-/kubh- > *ku* - 'to cover, close; заворачивать, закрывать': W 3 Kupto *kubbēy* 'close, shut' [LgK]; 6 Bade *kūbu* 'to close'; C 2 Bura *kubaha* 'fold over once' [BIB]; 7 Mofu *kuḅ-* 'fermer, couvrir, close, cover', (deriv.) *-kuḅč-* (< **kub-k-*) 'fermer, enfermer, couvrir'; C 10 Gizey *kūḅ-*, cf. Masa *kóʔ* 'couvrir avec couvercle' [LexC]; E 1 Kera *kūbí* 'bedecken'.

a. Deriv. in *-m-* (probably, metath. < **n-kVb-*): ***kVmb-** 'to embrace; обнимать': W 3 Dera *k^wambəré* 'to embrace' [NmK], Krf *kumb-* 'clench one's fist' [Stl]; 4 Wrij, Diri *kamb-* 'embrace' [SkNb]; C 7 Moloko *kəmbəhoj* 'to wrap'.

Derived noun: ***kVHVb-** 'a cover, a lock; (по)крышка': W 1 Hs *kúubā* (< **kVHVb-*) 'door-lock'; 3 Kupto *kubā* 'kind of cover' [LgK]; C 10 Dzpw *kūḅ* 'couvercle, fermeture, a cover, a lock'.

//Cush Oromo *kab-* 'cover a house with a roof' [Grg]. Cf. Bed *gubi-* 'cover', according to [LmW 413], **k-* > *g-*. [CLD IV №37].

416. *kVc- 'to break; (с)ломать': W 1 cf. Hs *kāáçā* 'snap (thread, rope)', *káč* idf. 'it completely snapped, broke loose'; C 8 Log *kasáwwə* 'break stick' [JgIb]; 10 Dzpw *kas* 'démolir, fracture, destroy, break' [Sa], *kas* 'break stick' [JgIb], Masa *kus* 'casser, briser' [CC], **k-s* 'break': Masa, Musey, Marba *kus*, Hedé, Zime (Mesme) *kas* [Shy], Musey, Masa, Marḅa, Gizey, Ham, Lew *kús* 'casser un bâton' [LexC]; E 5a (redupl.) Mig *kokkiso* 'piler, to pound'.

//Sem Arab *kss* 'casser, broyer, piler en petits morceaux' [BK II 894]. The

following isogloss looks like a root extension (*r* as C₃): E 2 Lele *kāsīrē* 'emitter, to crumble' ~ Arab *ksr* II stem 'briser, casser en petits morceaux' [BK II 897].
[CLD IV №138].

417. *ka[c]/Vʔ- 'to cut, to chop; резать, рубить': W 2 Mushere *kos* (pl.) 'to cut, fell trees' [JgO]; 3 Tng *kaaze*, pl. *kase*, VN *kasi* 'to fell, to cut'; 4 Paa *kəkəsa* (partial redupl.) 'chop into small pieces', *kəsaa* 'cut wood' [MS]; C 4 Gude *kās* idf. 'chopping'; 9 Log *kāsīʔe* 'cut, chop' [Jglb].

Derived noun: W 5 Pol *kaas* 'adze' [Cs №103].

//Sem Hbr *ksh* 'to cut off, abschneiden' [KB 447].

Note Hebrew *s-* < AA **-c-*. Reflexes of AA **-s-* and **-c-* have fallen together as *-s-* in Chadic languages.

418. *kV(HV)c- 'be evil, aggressive; быть злым, агрессивным': W 1 Hs *kūuɕaa* 'reproach angrily'; C 2 Bura *kis* 'arrogantly' [BIB]; E 4 Sok *kəsíkəsi* 'böse sein, erzürnt, be evil' [Luk]. A long vowel in Hausa points to a laryngeal as C₂.

//Sem Hbr *kʔs* 'unzufrieden sein, be vexed, make discontent, be ill-tempered, offend' (< AA **kʔc*), Aram (Judaic) *kʔs* 'unzufrieden, erzürnt sein' [KB 449].

Alternatively, Chadic root may be cognate with Eg *khs.w*, pl. (18) 'Böswilligkeiten (gegen Niederstehende)', *khs* (Med) 'hochfarend, Rauch o/ä Bes. Vom Mächtigen gegenüber dem Geringeren' [EG 137-8].

[HSED №1442; CLD IV №139].

419. *kVdVH- > *kad-* 'to beat, to kill; бить, убивать': C 4 Gude *kadə* 'to strike hard blow'; 5 Gvoko, Dghw *kəda* 'kill' [HmG], Pod *kəda* 'kill'; 7 Ould *-kad*, Baka *kad* [BAS], Muy *ákád* 'kill' (sing. obj.), Mada *ákád* 'battere, abbatte, tuer, sacrifier', Moloko *kad* 'kill, beat', Zlg *kəd*, Merey *kəd* 'strike, kill', Dugwor *məkídéy* 'strike, kill', Gis *kad* 'strike, kill', *kad-vū* 'fight', Mofu *-kəd-* 'strike, beat, kill', Chv *mékdey* 'frapper, abbatte, assomer', Mafa *kəd-*, Balda *kídíʔ* [Bry] 'tuer', Mbuko *kād* 'casser, pousser, break, push', Zlg *kádá* 'se casser, se briser', *kəd* 'to kill', Vame *kada* 'casser' [Kinn]; E 1 Mobu *kúde* (pl.) 'taper; casser'; 5a Mig *kadaǎc* idf. 'fouetter, to whip', EDng *kò-kidē* 'hämmern, to hammer' [Ebb].

Derived noun in *-m-*: W 3 Tng *kʷadám* 'a whip'.

//Sem Arab *kdh* 'casser, fracasser; contusionner' [BK II 876], Cush Bed *kadaʷ* 'to strike' [RBd].

Note the following correlation: Chadic *-d-* ~ Arabic *d+h*.

[JgIb **kd*, SkH 130; CLD IV №68].

420. **kVdV?* > *kVd-* 'to die; умереть': W 3 Dera *kudé* 'to die' [NmK]; C 5 Mlg *káda* 'verlohren gehen, lose way; die; sterben'.

a. C **kVd-* 'to finish; заканчивать': 5a Hitk *kəd-* 'zu Ende gehen' [LkH], Hdi *kəday* 'to finish' [BrH]; 6 Buwal *kəḏāḡ* 'to finish'; 7a Skn *kəḏ* 'to finish'; 9 Mulwiw *kídí* 'to finish, terminer'.

//Sem Arab *kd?* 'péririr par le froid et tomber par la terre (palmier)' [BK II 873]. Note the following correlation: *d+?* in Arabic ~ *d* in Chadic languages. [CLD IV №72].

421. **kVd(V)H-* > *kVd-* 'to dry, (to become) hard; высохнуть, стать твердым': W 3 Krf *kadān* 'hard' [StI]; 5 Bade *kəḏāwu* 'dry up; coagulate', Duw *kāadō* 'dry up'; C 1 Tera *kwa-kəḏak* 'hard'; E 6 Mok *kəḏḏé* 'to dry, become dry'.

a. **kVd(V)H-* > *ki-* 'earth; земля': W 4 Diri *kyadā* 'earth' [SkNB]; C 1 Tera *kíd* 'earth' [SkNB]; E 5a Mig, Dng *kídā* 'terre, sol', Bid *kídā* 'terre', Mabire *kit* 'terre' [JH]; 5b Tor *kidā* 'sol, earth', Mm *kídí*, Brg *kídó* 'terre', Mubi *kídí* 'earth'. Cf. Jegu *kito* id. [JgIb].

//Sem Arab *kd?* 'être dur (se dit du sol)' > *kudy-at-* 'sol dur, terre dure', *kādiy-at-* 'sol dur' [BK II 876-7].

Note the following correlation: Chadic *-d-* ~ Arabic *d+?*.

422. **kVd(V)H-* > *kVd-* 'to scratch, to rub; скрести, тереть' > W 6 Bade *kaadu* 'to scratch (an itch)'; C 7a Skn *kəḏə-və* (< **kVd-b-*) 'to rub on body'; E 4 Mabire *kudu*, cf. Ubi *k^wəd-ga* 'gratter, to rub' [JH]; 5a Mig *kə-kídó* 'gratter à la hache, to scratch with a hoe', Mabire *kudu* 'gratter, to scratch' [JH]. Cf. **kVɬ-* id., both roots are attested in Tangale and in Bade.

Derived noun: **kVd-* 'коготь, claw': W 3 Tng *kwadək* 'fingernail, claw' (> 'scratching'); C 8 Bud *kudi*, *kode* 'fingernail'.

//Sem Arab *kdḥ* 'se déchirer le visage avec les ongles' [BK II 873].

Note the following correlation: Chadic *-d-* ~ Arabic *d+h*. [CLD IV №83].

423. **kuf-* 'river, lake; река, озеро': W 1 cf. Hs *kūfaa-dā* 'valley, depression' 2 Goem *kup* 'lake' [Hlw], *kup* 'deep water hole' [TAS 183]; C 1 Ga?anda *kufā*, Hwona *kufā-raa* 'river', Gabin *kufā* 'lake' [Kr]; 2 Bura *kufā* 'pond, swamp, mud hole' [BIB], Chb *kufā* 'lake' [Kr].

//Sem Akk *kuppu* (from SB) 'catchwater or pond constructed at a spring' [CAD k 550].

[HSED №1491; CLD IV №46, BlžL 19].

424. *kVh- 'to speak; говорить': C 3 FK *kā* 'call' [BINd]; 5a Lmn *kə* 'say' [HmG]; 7 Mada *ákaha* 'disputer'; 8 Log *ka-wun* 'to say, speech' [AIL], Mak *ke* 'ask', cf. *koko* 'voice', Bud *kā*, pl. *kagá* 'parler' [Awg]; E 5a EDng *kaawē* 'sprechen, to speak' [Ebb], WDng *kaawē* 'parler, to speak'; 5b Mubi *kāa* 'sagen, say' [Luk], *kāw* 'parler, dire' [JgL].

Derived noun: E 5b Kaj *kaawi* 'language'.

//SCush rift **kaah* 'to speak': Irq, Gor *kaah* [Kies].

[CLD IV № 174].

425. *kVI- 'to assemble, to unite; собирать(ся), объединяться': W 3 Tng *kali* 'to gather, to assemble (people, things), to join to do smth together', *kalwa* 'to store', Pero *kalú* 'to gather'; 7 Fyer *kul* 'to keep together'; C 8 Log (Kotoko) *kal* 'se rassembler' [Mo]; 9a Gdr *kal* 'se rassembler' [Mo]; E 4 Mawa *kəðəŋ* 'to gather' (tr., intr), Ubi *keclin* 'réunir' [Alio].

Derived noun in *-t-*: W 3 Tng *kala-tau* 'assembly'.

//Sem Arab *ʕkl* 'ramasser, rassembler, réunir un seul point ce qui était dispersé (p. ex., ses bestiaux)'. Cf. also Arab *klʕ* V stem 'se réunir, se rassembler', *kwl* V stem 's'attrouper et se réunir contre qqn' [BK I 331, II 924, 945]. Root extension (*ʕ* as C₁) in Arabic.

a. C *kVI- 'many; много': 3 Kap *k^wulu-k^wùlu*, HB *ku-k^wùlo*, HN *k^(w)u-kùle* 'many' [Kr]; 7 Mofu *kaláh* 'many, very'.

Note C 4 Gude *kalá* 'every'; 7 Ould *kəlá* 'chaque', Muy *kəlá* 'every, all', Mada *kəllá* 'chaque'; 8 Zina *kál* 'all, completely' [ZK]. According to [BaMd 146], a Mande loan. But cf. Semitic **k^wall-* 'all, whole; every; все, весь, каждый'⁵⁵: Arab *kull*, Akk *kalú*, Hbr *kōl*, Geez *k^wəllu* 'all, evry, each; whole' [LsG 281]. [CLD IV №184].

426. *kVI- 'to take care, to nurse; заботиться, нянчить': W 1 Hs *kulá* 'care, mind, pay attention, look after', cf. *kaliihù* (< **kalii-fu* ?) 'any child, animal put into a person's charge (to be cared for)'; 7 Fyer *kul* 'für eine Frau sorgen, take care of a woman'; C 3 FK *kəl* 'to nurse, to grow' [BINd]; Bana *k(ə)li* 'élever les animaux, to bring up animals' (contamination with C

⁵⁵ Semitic parallel was suggested by A. Militarev.

***kVI-** ‘to grow; big’).

//Sem Arab *kIʔ* (a) ‘diriger ses regards sur une chose à plusieurs reprises et ne pas la perdre de vue, to keep an eye on a thing’, *kilaʔ-at-* ‘garde, sauvegard’ [BK II 919-20].

[CLD IV №187].

427. *kV(yV)I- (< ***kVHVI-**) ‘(to) balance; качаться, балансировать’: W 1 Hs *kécli* ‘a small spring balance’; C 3 Bana *kilū* ‘balance’ n.; 7 Mofu *kéle kéle* ‘shaking (tooth)’; 9 Mnj *kile, kulo* ‘basculer; to swing, to balance’.

//Cf. Sem Arab *mu-kaʕʕil-* (*kʕl*) ‘qui secoue les fesses en marchant’ [BK II 908-9].

Note the following correlation: a long vowel in Hausa ~ medial ʕ in Arabic. [CLD IV №189].

428. *kVI- ‘spirit, shade; дух, тень’: W 6 Bade *kuliiram* ‘spirit, ghost’; C 7 Mofu *kuley* ‘esprit des ancêtres, sacrifice aux ancêtres, poterie sacrificielle’; E 2 Lele *kīlā* ‘spirit’. Cf. C 6 Gavar *ɣkuli* ‘idol’ [VGv 8].

//Sem Akk *ekēlu* (OB) ‘to be dark’ [CAD e 64].

Deriv. in *-m-*: ***kVI-m-** ‘shade, soul; тень, душа’: Maka *kyéłóm* ‘soul, shadow’ [SvM]; E 5a Mig *kéłestò* ‘ombre, âme, shade, soul’, EDng *kéłmó* ‘l’ombre, l’âme’ [Dj]; 5b Tor *kilma* ‘ombre’.

a. E *kVI-m- ‘dark, black; темный, черный’: 3 Tum *dì-glòm* (< **t-kIVm-*, regular voicing) ‘darkness’; 4 Sok *kílmio* ‘dunkel, schwarz, dark, black’ [Luk], Bairein (dial.) *kòlmó, kòlmáw* [LvB], Ubi *kilimin*, Mabire *čilim* ‘black’ [HJ], Saba *kilmijr* ‘black’, Mawa *čilim* ‘noir’ [JH]; 5a Mig *kíllim* ‘saison sans lune’.

[CLD IV №197].

429. *kVI- ‘fence; ограда’: W 1 Hs *kílláa* ‘a fence, partition, cotton, cassava farm (because it is fenced around)’; C 8 Log *ku-kula* ‘fish dam’ [AIL]; E 5a EDng *kēlēl* ‘la haie, fence’ [Dj], Bid *kàlál* ‘pricky fence’.

//LECush Oromo *kellaa* ‘fence’ [Grg]. Note E 4 in ***kVI-m-** ‘stone wall’.

a. C *kVI- ‘edge, border; граница’: 2 Bura *kla, kəlá* ‘boundary, edge’ [BIB]; 8 Mak *kala-bi* ‘border’ (if not an Arabic loan).

//Sem Arab *kallaʔ-* ‘rivage; shore’, *mukallaʔ-* ‘bord, rivage’ [BK II 920].

430. *kaI- ‘field; поле’: W 1 Hs *káli* ‘a fenced cassava farm’; 3 Pero *kála* ‘place for growing plants’, Tng *kálaw* ‘earth, soil, ground’; C 2 Bura *kəla* ‘earth mounded for planting’ [BIB].

Derived verb: ***kVI-** ‘to clear bush/land for planting; расчищать землю под посев’: W 2 Mushere *kyal* ‘clearing of untilled land in preparation for farming’ [JgO]; 4 Miya *kula* ‘clear bush’ [SchM]; 4 Bura *ku-kula* ‘clear land for next year planting’ [BIB].

Derived noun in *?a-*: W 4 Miya *ákuł* ‘clearing bush’ [SchM].

Cf. E 5b EDng *kècliyē* ‘faire le 2^{ème} sarclage’ [Dj].

//Sem Sab *kl?* ‘pastureland, open country; terraced fields’ [SD 77; Bll 246], Berb **a-kal* ‘earth’: Shilh *a-kāl*, Ntifa *a-kal*, Nefusa *a-kal* ‘terre, sol’, Qab *a-kal* ‘terrain cultivable’ [MAG]. Cf. Ong *kawla/kaula* ‘field’ [FIO].

Cf. MAG №23 **k^(w) ala?/w-* ‘forage, fodder; pasture; mowing, cutting grass’. This etymology includes W 3 Pero, Tng forms, but, strangely enough, is lacking Sab *kl?*. New data allows to distinguish between ‘field’ and ‘pasture’ (for the latter see: Arab *kali?*- ‘qui abonde en fourrage, en pâturages (terre, pays)’ [BK II 920], HECush **kalo* ‘pasture’ [Hds], etc. in [MAG]). Presumably, AA **kl* ‘earth’ splitted into ‘field’ and ‘pasture’. Less probably, two AA roots (‘earth, field’ and ‘pasture’) linked in Sabaic.

431. *kV(V)I- ‘charcoal; уголь’: C 5 (compound) Mlg *kuł-kwašc* ‘charcoal’; E 1 Kera *kil*; 2 Kaba *kułó* ‘coal’ [Cp]; 5 Bid *kuulà* ‘grass ash’; 6 Mok *kuule* ‘coal’.

Deriv. in *-m*: ***kVIVm-/*kVmVI-** (metath.) ‘charcoal, уголь’: W 5 Dott *kéclóm* [CrD]; C cf. 4 Bch *kalajé* [Sk]; 10 Gizey, Ham *kimil*, Musey, Lew, Marba *kiwil* (*-w- < *-m-*) ‘charbon’ [LexC]; E ‘charcoal’: 3 Tum *gūlóm* (*g- < *k-* is regular); 5b Mig *kòlmo*, Bid *kilmo*, EDng *kilmò* [Dj]; 5bBrg *kilmó*, Mubi *kílim* [Luk], Tor *kilaama*.

// Cf. SCush Qwadza *kalem-uko* ‘charcoal’ [Eh]. A weak external parallel.

Note that Kanuri *kólími* ‘charcoal’, lacking a Saharan etymology, is rather a Chadic loan.

[Jglb **klm*, HSED №1421, CLD IV №205].

432. *kVm- ‘to catch, to pick; поймать, схватить’: W 1 Hs *kaamà* ‘catch, seize’; 2 Ngas *kaam* ‘to seize, to catch’ [Fl], Mghv *kayam* (*< kakam*, internal *-k-* plur.) ‘festhalten, festlegen’ [JgS], ‘to grip’ [BIM]; 3 Dera *kámé* ‘pick (beans) one by one’ [NmK]; C 8 Mak *n-kam* (note pl. in *n-*) ‘choose several’; E 5a WDng *ókumè* ‘rattrapper qqch qui tombe de haut’.

Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *k^wam* ‘robber, thief’ [Fl].

//SCush Dah *kam-* ‘hold’, Qwadza *komos-* ‘to grip’ [Eh 241], (agaw) Aungi

kim- ‘rob, plunder’ [ApAg], cf. Sem Akk *ekēmu* ‘take smth away from, deprive’, *ckkēmu* (OBab) ‘robber’ [CAD c 68].

Note an AA root **q-H-m* ‘to seize, grasp’ in [TGh 142], including: Hausa-Ngas-Mghv from the present ethymology + CCh 9a Gidar *gəma* ‘to take’ + Eg *hmʔ* ‘to seize, grasp’. Our variant, based on the internal Chadic reconstruction, seems more adequate. For a cognate of Gidar *gəma* ‘to take’ see W 4 Tsagu *gəm-* ‘to get’ [SkNB], both < Ch and AA **gVm-*.

The following isogloss may be cognate with ‘to catch’:

a. *kVm- ‘to receive, to get; получить’: W 5 Buli *kámə*, Geji *kaámí*, *kan-ti* ‘receive’ [Cs №811]; C 3 FK *kumʔ-anu* ‘obtain’ [Kr], FK *kum* ‘find’ [BlNd].

//SCush Irq, Bur *kom-*, Alg *kam-* ‘have’ [Eh 241], rift **koom-* ‘have’: Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *koom* [Kies]⁵⁶.

[HSED №1497; SkH 134; CLD IV №212].

433. *kVm- ‘to gather, to collect’ (tr.); собирать’: W 3 Krkr *kumu* ‘gather up a group of things’ [GK], Krf *nkum-* ‘gather’ [Stl]; 4 Wrj *kumi* ‘to collect’ [BIW]; E 6 Mok (*t)okímè* ‘pile, gather in one place (earth, grains)’; 5a cf. Bid *ʔokom* ‘garder un aliments dans la bouche’.

Deriv. W 5 Dott *kum* ‘all’ [CrD].

//Omot Gimira, She *ketem* ‘many’, Yemsa *akama* ‘many’ [LmS].

a. W 2 *kVm- ‘to crowd, to gather; собираться’ (intr.): W 2 Grk *k^wam* ‘to join’ [Fp], Ngas *kam* ‘to crowd’, *kàam* ‘crowd’ [TAS 163].

//Sem Arab *kmm* ‘s’attrouper, s’assembler, venir en foule, to crowd’ [BK II 926].

In the view of a possible semantic link of ‘gather’ and ‘fill’, the following isogloss is worth mentioning:

b. *kVm- ‘to fill; наполнять’: W 3 Pero *kémo* ‘to fill’; 5 Plc *kəmi* ‘to fill’ [Cs №789].

//Omot Wolt *kum-* ‘to be full’, Gamu , Dac’e, Zayse *kum-* ‘be full’ [LmW 412].

[CLD IV №210].

434. *kVm- ‘cheek, beard, chin; щека, борода, челюсть’: W 1 Hs *kúnčii* (< **kum-tii*), pl. *kumáatúu* ‘side of the face, cheek’; C 2 Bura *kumí* ‘chin, beard’ [BIB]; 4 Bch *ngbe-kum-to*, Bata *bo-kum-šć* ‘chin’ [Sk]; 5 Mlg

⁵⁶ Note a comment: "the verb may turn out to be a lexicalized durative stem **kawim* of **kaw* ‘to go’ [Kies 179].

kúuma 'beard, chin', Wnd *kuma* 'beard' [Mo]; 7 Muy *bus-k^wum* 'chin', Baka *kiméč*, Moloko *kiméč* 'beard' [BAS]; 8 Mak *kum-du* 'beard, chin', Log *nkumi-tí* 'beard' [AIL], *ḡkúmō-tō* 'chin' [Luk], Bud *kōmā-dō*, *ḡgumē* 'chin' [JgIb]; E 1 Kwang *kamā-č* 'jaw' [JgIb], Kera *kum-čúki* 'beard'; 3 Ndam *dá-gōm* (< **ta-kVm-*), Tum *tō-mg-* (metath. < **t-gVm-* < **t-kVm-*, *g*-< **k-* is regular) 'cheek' [JgIb]; 5a cf. WDng *sō-kum-nā* (pl.) 'animal jaw'.

//Cf. Sem Arab *ḥakam-at-* 'menton (*chez le moutons*)', derived verb: *ḥkm* 8. 'museler un cheval et lui mettre sous le menton la martingale *ḥakam-at-*' [BK I 471].

Note narrow semantics 'jaw of an animal' in ECh Dangla and in Arabic. On Semitic *ḥ* as a body-parts marker see [LsPr].

[JgIb *kmt*, CLD IV №219, SkH 152].

435. *kVm-* / **k^wVm-* 'cow; bull; коро́ва, бы́к': W 3 Bol *kòm* 'cow', *koom* 'buffalo' [GAB], Krkr *k^wám*, pl. *k^wamai* 'cow' [GK], Ngm (G, Y) *kòm* [NEH], Maka *kòm* 'cow' [SchM]; 5 Plc *kóom*, Zul *kume* 'bushcow' [Cs]; 6 Ngz, Bade *k^wám* 'bull', Duw *kòm* 'bull'; C 8 cf. Bud *kúmō* 'Kalb, calf' [LkBd]; E 4 Sok *kām* 'Büffel, buffalo' [Luk]. Note C 5 Glv *kāwā* 'bull' (< **kawma*, for the **m* > *w* shift in C 5 see [Nm]).

a. **kVm-* 'meat; мя́со': C 2 Bura *kum* 'meat, muscle, animal' [BIB], Mrg *kum*, Klb *kum* 'meat' [JgIb], Chb, Wmd, Ngw *kum* [Kr]; E 5a WDng *kúma* 'meat'; 5b Kaj *kumaayo*, Mubi *kómé* [JgL], EDng *kuma*, Zir *kume* 'meat' [CJ].

Derived verb ****kV(wVm)-* 'to eat meat; есть мя́со':** C 10 **kam* 'eat meat': Musey *kom*, Peve, Hede *kam* [Shy], Dzpw *kām* 'eat meat', Ham, Lew, Masa Gizey, Musey, Marba *kóm* 'eat meat (without liquide)' [LexC], Mesme *kām* 'eats (meat)' [JgZ]; E 6 Mok *kóome* 'manger la viande avec la boule'. Note W 1 Hs *kamas* 'the sound of crunching in the mouth'.

//Cush (agaw gr.) **kəm-/*kām-* 'possessions, cattle' > Bilin, Xamir, Qwara *kim*, Kemant *kemaa*, Aungi *kemii* 'cow', Bilin, Xamir *kim* 'cattle, possessions', Kemant *kemaa* 'possessions, herd' [ApAg, Доур 217].

For contamination of semantics: 'possessions' and 'cattle' in Ch see CLD II №556 **ḡVng-(r)-* 'cattle, possessions'.

[JgIb *kum*, HSED №1479; CLD IV №230].

436. **kVn-* 'to know; знать': W 3 Krf *kinn-* 'to know' [Stl]; E 6 Mok

kónya 'knowledge'. Cf. W 2 Goem *ḱecen* 'indeed' [Hlw]; 3 Maaka *kóno* 'it is known' [SvP].

Cf. C 1 Tera *kə̀nə* 'to cure', *nə̀-kə̀ní* 'doctor' [NmT].

//Cush Bed *kān-* 'kennen, wissen, know' [RBD], (agaw) **kin-t-/*kan-t-* 'know' [ApAg], ECush Had *ken-* 'know' [Долг 63]; cf. Sem Geez *kin* 'art, craft, handicraft, work of art, skill, device, plan, trick, fashion', *kenāwi* 'skillfull, accomplished in art' [LsG 286].

Semantic shift: 'to know' > 'skill, plan, skillfull' seems tenable.

437. *kVwVn- 'to pass the night, to sleep, a sleeper; ночевать, спать, сон':

W 1 Hs *k^waanaa* 'to pass the night'; 7 DB *kon* 'to sleep', Fyer *kon* 'to pass the night'; E 2 Lele *kūná* 'sommeil', Gbr *kun* [SkH], *kung* [Luk] 'to sleep'.

Derived noun: E 2 Lele *kūná* 'sommeil'.

a. ***kVn-m/H- 'night; ночь':** C 8 Bud *kenútm* [LkBd] 'night'; E 2 Nch *kenā*, Dormo *kung* 'night' [Luk].

b. **W 3 *kVn- 'dark, black; темный, черный':** Tng *kanc* 'overshadow, cover, obscure', Gera *ma-kana* 'black' [SchB].

//Eg *knm.t* (BD) 'darkness', *knḥ* 'darkness' [EG V 132], Cush (agaw) **k^wən-* 'to become evening' [ApAg].

[HSED №№ 1445, 1446; CLD IV №237].

438. *kVn- 'kind of magic; evil spirit; вид магии, злой дух': W 2 Mnt *kung* 'evil spirit' [Fp]; 3 Kupto *kōnom* 'spirits', *kōnnom* 'object of religious worshipping; ritual' [LgK]; C 4 Gude *kikīinə* 'type of evil spirit'; 7a Skn *kyikun* 'divination'; 8 Mak *kunus* 'magic, God, fetish'.

a. ***kun- 'sorcerer; колдун':** W 7 6 Bok *kunā* 'sorcerer'.

b. Derived verb: W 2 Goem *ḱen* 'to make fetish on man/boy' [TAS 204]; C 9 Mnj *kiniwi* 'empoisonner par magic, to poison with the help of magic'. Note secondary *ḱ-* in W 2 Goemai.

//Cf. Sem Hbr, Ug *khn* 'be a priest', Arab *khn* 'être devin, prêtre; predire l'avenir à qqn', *kāhin-* 'fortune-teller, priest' [BK 940].

439. *kVn- 'maternal uncle; дядя по материнской линии': W 2 Ngas, Mghv *kən* [JgA,S], Mpn *kən* 'male relative of mother', Kofyar *kən*, Mushere *kən*, Goem *ḱen* 'mother's brother' [TAS 208], Goem *ken* id. [Hlw]; 3 Dera *kən-ək* 'uncle' [NmK], Ngm *ken* (G,Y) [NEH], Tng *kenuk* 'maternal uncle', Kupto *kenij* 'uncle (mother's brother)' [LgK]; 5 Grnt

kyan 'uncle', *k^wanau* 'in-law' [Jag], Zaar *kān* 'maternal uncle, nephew' [CrZ]; C 2 Bura *k^wa-kuna* 'elders of the village'; 6 Buwal *k^wuzo-k^wənā* 'uncle'; 8 Log *kinc* 'uncle maternal' [AIL]; 9 Mnj *kəniy*, Msg *kená* 'maternal uncle' [Luk]; 7a Skn *kəni* 'mother's brother, sister's son'; 10 Gizey *kunū*, Masa *kunō*, Ham *kōnō*, Musey *kunū*, Lew *?akunū*, Marba *?akunō* 'beau-père, belle-mère, father-in-law, mother-in-law' [LexC]; E 2 Lele *kōnē*, Kaba, Nch *kuna* [HmK] 'mother's brother'. Note E 5a EDng *kaakīnā* coll. 'les vieux, les ancêtres, les pères'.

//Cf. Sem Arab *mkn* 'avoir de l'influence, du pouvoir, être homme considérable, jouir d'autorité' [BK II 1139]. Root extension (*m-* as C₁) in Arabic. [Nm **kən-* 'uncle, nephew'; CLD IV №239].

440. *kin-/*kun- 'co-wife, young girl; вторая жена, девушка': W 3 Pero *kūnyō* 'girl, co-wife', Kupto *kunyō* 'girl, maid, virgin' [LgK]; 4 Wrj *kin-ai*, Kar, Miya *kin*, Tsagu *kiinc*, Mburku *kina*, Jmb *kina* 'co-wife' [SkNB], Miya *kīn* 'co-wife' [SchM]; 7 Richa *kin-*, Sha *čīn* 'sister'; C 6 Daba *k^wunu* [Mo] 'co-wife'; 10 Dzpw *hīn* 'co-wife', Heḏe *hīn*, Musey *hēnē-ra* id. [Shy] (an unexplainable *h-* < Ch **k-*, for similar reflex cf. also Ch **kīn-d-* 'three' and №449 **kVw/yVr-* 'to peel').

//Sem Akk *kinītu* 'eine Nebenfrau?' (concubine) SB [AHw 480], Berb Izayan *iken*, Snus, Qab *ta-kna* 'co-wife'. Note narrow nominal semantics in Akkadian, Chadic and Berber (if not a Chadic loan).

a. The following isogloss may relate (but note, however, different vocalic patterns):

E Ch 6 Mok *kōn-só* (-so is a suff. of sing.) 'fille' ~ Arab *kann-at-* 'belle-fille, femme du fils; belle-sœur, femme du frère' [BK II 932].

Worth mentioning is:

b. Ch W **kVn-* 'to marry; жениться': 5 Zaar *kəən* 'marry brother's, relative's widow' [CrZ]; 4 Miya *kəna* 'marry' [SchM].

//Cf. Cush (agaw) **kəxan-* 'marriage' [ApAg].

[HSED № 1513, CLD IV 242].

441. *kVy/wVn- > *kVny- 'dog; собака': W 7 cf. Fyer *kwečj* [JgR], *kwečj* (m.), *kumuū* (f.) [RC]; E 5a WDng *kānyā*, E Dng *kānyā* [Dj], Mig *kānyā* m., Mabire *kany*; 5b Jegu *kány*, Brg *káyaŋ*. Note C 10 Azum *ngūna* (if < **n-kuna*) 'wolf, wild African dog (not domestic)' [PAZ].

Cf. E **kVwVy-* (probably, < **kVwny-*) 'dog': 1 Kera *kóoya*; 4 Ubi *kuyu*,

Mawa *kuyi* [HJ], Sok *kuyo*, *kuwii* [Jglb].

//Omot Wotl *kana*, Dawro, Zala, Malo, Gamu, Dache, Kore, Zayse, Yemsa, Shin *kana*, Kafa *kunaano*, (pl.), Dizi *kyano*, Bench, Sheko *kyan* 'dog', [BlžO 18.1; LsW].

[Jglb *kdn* > *kany*; HSED №№1425, 1511; CLD IV №245].

442. *kVp- 'to close, cover; **закрывать, заворачивать**': W 2 Ngas *kup* 'shut up, close tight (fist)' [FI], *kup* 'close, thatch' [JgA], Mpn *kūp* 'close, wrap with a piece of cloth, paper' [FrM], Mghv *kup* 'close' [Mt]; 3 Tng *kip* idf. 'close tightly', Kupto *kíp* idf. Describes, how something is properly closed [LgK]; C 2 Bura *kup* 'tightly (closed)' [BIB]; C 7 Mafa *kap-* 'to wrap in a cloth', cf. Muy *kōp* idf. 'closing'; 8 Mak *kip* 'sound of smth closing'; 10 Azum *kapa* 'cover (scattered seeds with earth)' [PAz].

Note W 2 Ngas *koop* 'to cover' [Or], *kuup* 'to thatch' [FI] (likely, a plurac. in medial *-k-* (*kup* > *kukup* > *kuHup* > *kuup*)).

//Sem Arab *kff* 's'entortiller les pieds, etc., avec un chiffon', *makfūf* 'fermé, bouche; closed, plugged' [BK II 909, 910]; SCush Dahalo *kupid-* 'to cover' [TD], Omot Kafa *kapp-* 'cover a corpse with the funeral sheet', Sheko *kaapp-* 'gird' [LmW 413], cf. ECush dullay Gawwada *kup* 'close' [AMS].

Note a possible root extension:

E 2 Lele *kpur* 'recouvrir les graines semées' ~ Arab *kfr* 'couvrir, recouvrir qqch' [BK 913].

[HSED №1402; CLD IV №53].

443. *kVp(p)- 'to dig, to bury; **копать, хоронить**': W 2 Goem *kap* 'to cultivate marshy land, muddy or tough ground, any soil that has to be dug well' [Hlw], *kap* 'dig out', *kʷop* 'to burrow, sink' [TAS] (note that *k* in Goemai contradicts to *k-* in Hausa and in Arabic); 3 Krf *kapp-* 'bury' [Stl], Dera *kəpə* 'to burry' [Kr], Maka *kappú* 'dig' [SvP]; 5 Zaar *kəp* 'dig a hole, plant' (contamination with ***kVp-** 'to sow, plant'), C 10 Dzpw *kap* 'semer en creusant' (contamination with ***kap-** 'to sow, plant')

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 1 Hs *káf-tá* 'dig ground deeply with big hoe (to plant cassava, etc.)'; 3 Bol *kap-tu* 'to plow soil to loosen it for planting' [GB]; 5 Guus *kap-tá* 'dig, farm (rice)' [Cr].

Derived noun: W ***kVp-** 'ditch, hole; канава, дыра': 1 Hs *káfáa* 'hole'; 3 Pero *kóp-bi* 'hole, ditch'.

//Sem Arab *khf* 'creuser des grottes, des cavernes', *kahf* 'grotte, caverne' [BK II 939]; ECush dullaḡ Gawwada *kap-kó*, Gollango *kap-te* 'irrigation ditch' [AMS].

[HSED №1414 'hole'; CLD IV №55].

444. *kVwVp-/*kVpp- 'to break, to strike, to beat; разбить, ударить, бить: W 1 Hs *kaf* emph. 'a blow, stroke'; 2 Goem *kh^wap* 'to knock', pl. *khwarap* [Hlw]; 7 Mofu *ʾkup-* 'asséner une gifle, slap in the face, (s') aplatir, to make flat'; 8 Makari *kap* idf. 'knock!'; 10 Dzpw *ka/ep* 'battre, beat'; E 2 Nch *-kəp* 'lutter' [HmK]; 6 Mok *kóppé* 'battre, frapper à coups de bâton, hit, strike with a stick'.

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 1 Hs *k^waafáçce* 'knock thing out of person's hand'.

Derived noun: C 7 Mada *kúpe* 'fouet, whip'.

//Sem Arab *kfh* 'frapper qqn d'un bâton' [BK II 912].

[CLD IV №60].

445. *kVr- 'to steal; thief; красть, вор: W 4 Paa *kəra* 'to steal' [MS]; Miya *kəra* 'steal' [SchM], Wrj *kir-ai*, Kar *kir*, Tsagu *kərey*, Siri *kəri*, Mburku *akir*, Jmb *kəra* 'steal' [SkNb]; 6 Ngz *kəru*, Duw *kəro*, Bade *kəlu* 'steal' [Kr]; C 7 Moloko *karay* 'to steal, thief', Merey *kəla* 'voler'; 7a Skn *kər* 'to steal'; 9 Mulwi *kiri* 'dépouiller un voyageur solitaire, to plunder'; 10 Mesme *kir* 'steal(ing)' [Kr], Masa *kul* 'voler, dérober, to rob' [CC], Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba *kúl*, Musey *kúl* 'voler, dérober, steal, plunder' [LexC], *kulna* 'voler' [ShyM], **kur* [Shy] 'to steal': Masa, Marba *kul*, Hedé, Zime *kir*.

Deriv. in *-t-*: C 2 Bura *kar-ta* 'to snatch and run with it'.

Derived noun: ***ʔa-/ma-kVr-** 'thief, theft': W 1 Hs *kaaruwa* 'thief'; 4 Miya *akir* 'theft' [SchM]; 6 Duw *kərau*, Bade *akalák* 'thief'; C 7 Muy *akāl* 'theft, secretly', Mada *akkal* 'vol, en cachette, à la dérobée', *zal akkal* 'a robber', Chv *makar* 'voleur, thief'.

//Sem Akk *karriru*, a word for thief (Syn. list) [CAD k 221], cf. Geez *k^wərk^wər* 'pillage' [LsG 292], Berb **a-ker* 'stehlen' [Rsl 130].

[Jglb *kr*, CLD IV №252].

446. *kVr- 'load, carry a load; (нести) груз': W 3 Bol, Krkr *karai* 'load' [GAB, GK]; 6 Ngz *kakəra* 'load', *kakəru* 'carry a load', Bade *karay* 'goods', Duw *kərkəra* 'load carried on the head', *kərkəro* 'carry, take up', *karé* 'tools, implements, goods'; C 2 Bura *kari* 'goods, possessions' [BIB];

3 FK *k^war* ‘to unload’ [BINd]; 4 Gude *kəɾə* ‘carry away’; E 3 Tum *gə̀r* ‘porter, carry; fardeau, a load’ (*g-* < **k-* is regular).

//Sem Arab *kwr* ‘porter qqch sur son dos’ [BK II 942].

Note Nilo-Saharan Kanuri *kare* ‘belongings, load’ (lacking an etymology).

[Nm **kəɾə* Ngz, Tum; CLD IV №255].

447. **kVr-* ‘to refuse; отказываться’: W 2 Mghv *k^war* ‘to hate, refuse’ [JgS] (contam. with **k^wVr* ‘to hate’ [CLD IV №268, HSED №1482]); 3 Dera *kuṛi* ‘refuse’, deriv. *kiṛ-ké* ‘contradict, deny’; 5 Ngz *kuṛə* [Nm], Duw *kuṛo* ‘to refuse’; C 1 Gaʔanda *kar* ‘refuse’ [Nm]; 4 Jimj *kere* ‘refuser’ [Mo]; 7a Skn *kar* ‘refuse’; E 5a WDng *kuṛriyè* ‘se retiree, manquer de faire qqch, refuse to do smth.’.

//Sem Arab *krh* (*karuh-*) ‘être désagréable et inspirer de la répugnance à qqn’, *karāh-at-* ‘aversion’, *mkr* ‘ignorer, ne pas connaître une chose; méconnaître qqn, to renounce’, *nakar-at-* ‘refus’ [BK II 891, 1339-40].

Root extension (*m-* as C₁) in Arabic.

[Nm **kuṛə*; CLD IV №260].

448. **kVwVr-* ‘to gather, to glean; собирать, подбирать’: W 3 Pero *káwrə* ‘glean’; C 6 Daba *kakar* ‘ramasser (de l’herbe)’ [Lnhf]; E 6 Mok *kô-ké* ‘gather a big quantity’.

a. Deriv. in *-s-*: C 7 Muy *ákuṛàsāy* ‘gather, pick up’, Zlg *kuṛəs* ‘ramasser, entasser, gather, pile’.

b. Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): W 7 Bok *karat* ‘ernten, to harvest’, DB *karat* ‘ernten (langhalmiges Getreide)’.

c. Deriv. in *-d-* (marks an object): C 7 Muy *ákuṛ-dāy* ‘gather (maize)’.

Note W 6 Duw *kə̀ri-kə̀ri* ‘a container in which wild grain is collected by beating’ and SCush rift **kuuruu* ‘container for honey’: Alg *kuuruu*, Bur *kuuruu* [Kies].

//Sem Arab *kwr* II stem ‘mettre ensemble, en tas’ [BK II 942], cf. SCush rift **kurunkur* ‘gather, collect’: Irq *kurunkuur*, Alg *kurunkur* [Kies].

[CLD IV №252].

449. **kVw/yVr-* ‘to peel, снимать кожуру’: W 1 Hs *k^waaraa* ‘strip outer cover from thing’; C 10 Azum *kara* ‘to squeeze (food out of its skin, by drawing it between the teeth, as of a banana)’ [PAZ]; E 2 Lele *kòyri* ‘to peel grain by rotating between palms’; 5a Mig *kirro* ‘éplucher les cannes de

mil', Bid *kiraawa* 'épluchure de tige de mil'.

Deriv. in *-k-* (or partial redupl.): C 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham *kirik*, Musey *hirik* (dissim.?) 'écorcher, égratigner, to peel, to scratch' [LexC].

Deriv. in *-d-* (marks an object): E 5a Bid *kara-d* 'éplucher un épi de mil avec un couteau'.

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action) : C 7 Moloko *kər-toy* 'undress, peel'.

//Cf. Sem Akk *karu* (jB) 'to rub (part of body), rub on' [CAD k 150].

450. *kVr-/*kVHVr- 'to drive, to hunt; гнать, охотиться': W 1 Hs *kóora* 'drive animals in front of oneself', *kora* 'drive away'; 5 Zul *kari* [BIZ], Buli *karu* 'drive away' [Cs]; C 4 Gude *kərəkərá* idf. 'driving animals away'; 9a Gidar *-kər-k-* 'to hunt' [FrG 41].

Deriv. in *-d-*: ***kVr-d-** 'to surround during the hunt; загонять животное на охоте': C 4 Gude *kərəʔu* (if *-ʔ-* < *-d-*) 'surround in order to catch'; E 5a Bid *kercd* 'to surround (an animal) during the hunt'.

Deriv. in *-t-* 'to drive away': W 3 Krf *kər-tey* [Stl]; 5 Tala *kar-di* (*-rd-* < **-rt-*) [Cs].

a. *kVr- 'a hunt; охота': C 3 FK *karuwa* 'hunting' [Kr]; E 5a (redupl.) Bid *kūr-kurre* 'collective hunt', cf. WDng *kaarúur* 'to be the first to find an animal in a trou (hunt)'.

//Sem Arab *kʕr* (a) 'to drive, to push', *ʕkr* 'repousser, éloigner' [BK II 326], Sab *krw* 'ritual hunt' or 'feast' [Bll 252], cf. *krw-m* 'fosse pour capturer du gibier' [SD 79].

A long vowel in W 1 Hausa may reflect *medial waw* or a laryngeal as C₂. [HSED №1470, CLD IV №265].

451. *kVr- 'to go around, to surround, to roll; идти вокруг, окружать, катить': W 1 Hs *kúrii* 'completely surrounding anything'; 3 Ngm (Y) *kor-kó*, v.n. *koro* 'go around', (G) *kor-kó* 'surround, go around' [NEH], Bol *kuraa* 'surround, encircle, come back around' [GAB], Dera *kaare* 'to encircle' [NmK], Krf *k^war-* 'go around' [Stl], Maka *kər-kór-nó* 'round' [SvM]; 5 Zaar *kurúj* 'roll on the ground', *karyát* (< *karkat*) 'fold up, roll up (mat)' [CrZ]; E 2 Lele *kīrkīr* idf. 'entourer, to encircle'; 5a WDng *kaare* 'faire la tour', Bid *kurway* 'contourner' (cf. Arab *krw*).

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 6 Bade *k^wark^war-tu* 'roll over and over, turn around, around', Ngz *k^wark^war-tú* 'turn around and around'; C 2 Bura *kuk^war-ta* 'go around and around'.

//Sem Arab *krr* 'revenir de ses pas, revenir à la charge en se retournant', *krkr* 'se rouler' [BK II 879, 888], *krw* 'give spherical form to smth.', *kwr* 'rouler en spirale' [BK II 892, 942], Hbr PBibl *kirker* 'go around', Aram (Syr) *kərak* 'go around, encircle', Geez *k^wrk^wr* 'roll (tr., intr.); roll around', Arab (Syr. dial.) *karr-* 'roll up', etc. [LsG 292].

[HSED №14816 Arab+Maka; CLD IV №290].

Note *medial waw* in Arabic, but labialized velar in Geez and in Chadic languages.

a. *k/k^wVr- 'round; круглый': W 3 Krkr *k^warak^waro* 'circular' [GK], Tng *kəɾɔl* 'exactly round', Maaka *korkor* 'round' [NmM]; C 1 Tera *sə-kukú*; 5 Mlg *kórkóre*, Chn *kurá-nà-kurà*, Glv *xə́tá-krà-k* [Kim].

//Sem Arab *kur-at-* 'globe, boule, ball' [BK 879], Akk *kakkaru*, Hbr *kirkār* 'round disk', Aram *kakkəā* 'ball' [LsG 292]. Cf. Kanuri *korkór* 'circle'. For East Cush **ki/o/ur-* 'circular formation' [Ss 5, 9] see CCh 9a Gdr *kúkuro* 'mur d'enclos' [Mo].

b. *kVr- 'ring, bracelet; кольцо, браслет': W 6 Duw *koó-kur* 'ring'; C 8 Log *kri* 'bracelet' [ALL]; 9 Msg *karwā* 'Armring' [LkM]; E 'bracelet': 1 Kera *kaa-kəray* (coll.); 5a EDng *kiri* 'bacelet du piognet' [Dj]; 5b Tor *kiiri*. [HSED 1481].

452. *kV(wV)r- 'to dry; сушить': C 7a Skn *k^war* 'to dry'; E 5a Bid *karay* 'sécher les cultures, tarir'.

Derived noun: ***kVwVr-** 'dry season; сухой сезон': C 6 Mbedam *kuru-m* [NdM], 9 Mbara *kiwiri* 'dry season'; 10 Musey *ker-na* 'la sécheresse' [ShyM]; E 4 Sok *kiúuri* 'dry season' [Luk].

Derived noun: ***kVr-** 'thirst; жажда': W 4 **kVr-d-* 'thirst': Wɾj *kəɾ-d-ai*, Paa, Jmb *kəɾ-dá*, Siri, Kar *kəɾ-dí*, Tsagu *kəɾ-də-zaawe* (*zaawe* 'water'), Miya *kəɾ-də* [SkNB]; E 5a Bid *karay* 'thirst'.

//Sem Geez *krr* 'be dry, dry up (spring)', *karar* 'dry land', Tna *kārārā* 'be hard, be dry', Amh *kārārā* 'become hard, dry out' [LsG 293-4]. Cf. SCush rift **karaḥ* 'be dry and hard': Alg, Bur *karah* [Kies].

The following CCh - Omotic isogloss is rather a "root variant", but not an immediate part of AA **krr/kwr*. Note that both roots are attested in CCh 9 Mbara.

a.C *k^wVl- 'to dry; dry; сушить, сохнуть': C 6 Daba *k^wāl* 'to dry' [Lnh]; 7 Chv *mék^wuléy* 'to dry', Muy *ékúlí* 'to dry' intr., Mada *ók^wle* 'to make, become dry, be dry', Moloko *koloy* 'to dry', Zlg *kulá* 'sécher', Merey *kula*

'sécher', Mofu $-(k^w\acute{a})k^w\acute{a}l-$ 'to dry, sécher', Ould $m\grave{a}-k\grave{u}l\grave{e}-d$ 'sec, refroidit, dry, cooled'; 9 Mbara $k\acute{e}l$ 'to dry'. Derived noun: C 7 Chv $m\acute{a}-k^w\grave{o}l$ 'foin, dry grass'.

Derived noun: C ***kVI-** 'dry season; сухой сезон': 6 Daba $k\acute{u}l\acute{u}m$ 'dry season' [Lnhr]; 7 Chv $k^w\grave{o}l\acute{a}y$ 'sécheresse', Merey $k\acute{u}l\acute{a}y$ 'sécheresse', Mofu $kala\eta$ 'dry season'; 8 Log $k\acute{u}l\acute{e}si$ 'dry season'.

In roots with Ch $*-r-$ violation of reflexes ($-l- \sim -r-$) is usually observed in CCh 7, while Chadic $*-l-$, (like in this very case), shows stable $-l-$ in all the languages.

//NOM $*kol-$ 'dry': Chara $k\acute{o}ola$, Bench, She kol , Dizi kal , Nayi kol [BndO 208].

453. *kV(wV)r- 'to cultivate; обрабатывать землю': W 3 Krkr $k^w\acute{a}r\grave{a}-kuu$ 'farming' [GK]; 5 Zul $k\acute{o}r\acute{i}$ 'to hoe' [BIZ]; C 4 Gude $kar\theta$ 'clear field before planting'; 5 Pod $kaw\acute{a}ra$ 'do second cultivation' 7 Mofu $-k\acute{e}r\omega$ 'débroussailler pour préparer un nouveau champ', Moloko $k\acute{e}r\omega y$ 'cultivate 2nd time'; 10 Dari $k\acute{u}r\acute{a}$ 'cultiver, labourer', Dzpw $k\acute{u}r\acute{a}$ 'cultiver', Mesme $k\acute{r}\acute{o}$ 'weeds' [JgZ]; E 5a (redupl.) EDng $k\acute{o}r\acute{k}ir\acute{e}$ 'to plow' [Ebb], $k\acute{o}r\acute{k}ir\acute{e}$ 'creuser une rigole, un silon' [Dj].

Deriv. in $-t$ 'to cultivate': W 1 Hs $k\acute{a}r-t\grave{a}$, $k\acute{a}r\acute{c}\acute{e}$ 'scrape hard (ground to remove weeds)'; 3 Tng $k\acute{o}r\acute{o}-te$ 'to clear fields', Krf $\eta i kor-to$ 'to cultivate' [Stl]; C 4 Gude $k\acute{u}r\acute{e}y\acute{a}k\acute{u}r\acute{e}y\acute{a}t$ idf. 'hocing up completely'; E 5a cf. EDng $k\acute{o}r-t\acute{e}$ 'umschaufeln, to shovel' [Ebb], 'pelleter, faire sortir la terre d'une trou' [Dj].

Derived noun: W 1 Hs $k^w\acute{a}r\acute{i}$ 'furrow'.

//Cf. Sem Arab krw 'creuser un canal, recreuser un canal' [BK II 892], (SCush ?) Maa $-k\acute{u}r\acute{u}$ 'to cultivate' [Eh 247].

a. *k^wVr-m-/*kVwVr- 'a hoe': W Hs $k\acute{o}oram\acute{e}c$ 'long-handled hoe'; 6 Ngz $k\acute{u}r\acute{a}m$ 'short-handled hoe (used to prepare farm for planting, weeding, harvesting peanuts, etc.)'; C 10 Dzpw $k\acute{e}r\acute{v}\acute{a}$ 'houe', Mesme kra [Kr], Musey $kawira$ [Kr, ShyM], cf. Banana $k\acute{a}wir\acute{a}$ [Kr].

Derived verbs: W 6 Bade $k\acute{e}r-d\acute{u}$ 'hoe up', Ngz $k^w\acute{a}r-\acute{b}\acute{u}$ 'dig up, hoe up'; C 7 cf. Mafa $kuruhw$ idf. 'donner un coup de houe'.

//SCush rift $*kurumoo$ 'hoe': Irq $kurmoo$, Alg $kurumoo$, Gor $kurm\acute{o}$ [Kies]. [MAG №25; SkH 148, HSED №26, CLD IV №269].

454. *kV(wV)r- 'farm; земельный надел': W 1 Hs $k\acute{a}r-k\acute{a}a$ 'kind of soil',

kàr-karaa ‘land, near a city which is covered with farms’; 3 Ngm *kòrì*, Pero *korey* ‘farm’ [SchV], Bol *kòorì*, pl. *koore* ‘farm’ [GAB], Tng *kər-k* ‘grass; farm’, Krf *kuru* ‘field’ [Stl], Kupto *kúurí* ‘farm(land), field’ [LgK], Pero *kurám* ‘field, open space’, Maaka *kur* ‘farm’ [SvM]; E 5a cf. EDng *kára* ‘terrain nu, terrain où il ne pousse que de l’herbe sauvage: pâturage’ [Dj].

//Sem Akk *kirû* (*kiriú*) (OAKk) ‘garden, orchard, palm grove’ [CAD k 411, AHw 485 < Sum], Omot Dache *kare* ‘open field’ [LmW 416]. Common origin with the previous etymology can not be excluded.

[HSED № 1483 Eg+WCh].

455. *kVr- ‘dog; собака’: W 1 Hs *kàréé*, pl. *kàrnúkaa*; 5 Guus *kàrág* [Cr]; 7 Bok *kyàra*; C 2 Bura *kəla* [BIB]; 3 FK *kórí* [BINn], HK *kure*, HN, HB *kire* [Kr], Bana *k(ə)ri*; 5 Wnd *kəre* [Meek], Mlg *əkəre*, Gvoko *kəle* [HmG], 5a Lmn *kre*, Hdi, Vemgo *kri* [HmG], Hitk *kri* [LkH]; 7 Dugwor *kirá* [BryD], Baka *kəra* [BAS], Ould *kərà*, Muy *kərà* ‘dog’, Mada *kra*, Zlg *kəra*, Merey *kərà*, Gis *kəre*, Balda *kré?* [Bry], Mbuko *kəla*; 7a Skn *kra* [JgIb]; 8 Mak *kilew*, Log *kle* [AIL], Log *kəlay*, Kus *kəlay* [Tr]; 9a Gidar *kra* [JgIb].

//Cush Saho *kare* [Vr], LECush Tsamay *karitu* [SIL], Rend *kar*, Geleba *kerr*, Arb *ker* ‘dog’ [Hay], Elmolo *ker*, Baiso *ker(o)*, Sem Tgr *kur-kur* ‘dog’ [LmW 413] (considered cognate to Omot *kVr- id.). Note SCush rift **takwer-imo* (sg. m.), **takweru* (col. m.) ‘wild dog’ [Kies].

[Nm **kər-*; JgIb *kdr*; Долг 206 (Cush+CCh 8); HSED №1434, CLD IV №271].

456. *kVr- ‘cornstalk (fence)’: W 1 Hs *káráa* ‘corn-stalk’, *kárawa* ‘fence of corn-stalks, of stakes’, *káragà* ‘bed, couch of corn-stalks’; 3 Bol, Krkr *kaari* ‘corn) stalks’, Bol *kakkara* (< **kar-kara*) ‘guinea corn stalks used as a fodder for cows; flute made of stalk’ [GAB], Ngm (G) *kári*, (Y) *kaaari* ‘stalks’, *korò* (Y) ‘cornstalk fence’ [NEH], Kupto *kaari-k* ‘cornstalk, cane’ [LgK]; Maaka *kaara* ‘fence (around farm)’ [SvM]; 7 Bok *korog* ‘Halm, stalk’; E 5a Mig *kòrlú* ‘tige de mil sèche, dried corn stalk’.

a. *kVr- ‘mat; циновка’: W 1 3 Bol *kaara* ‘grass mat used as a screen’ [GAB], Tng *kaara* ‘gras sp; long mat made from it; any long fencing-mat’, Glm *kaara* ‘mat’ [SchB], Kupto *kaara-k* ‘mat, fence’ [LgK]; C 7a Skn *kəri* ‘sleeping mat’; E 6 Mok *ká-kar* ‘plaited bed’.

Derived verb: C 7 Mofu *-kər-č-* ‘make a hut of mats’.

//Cf. Sem Arab *karr-* ‘corde, tressée de feuilles ou de fibres de palmier’ [BK II 879].

[CLD IV №272].

457. *kVr- ‘heat of the sun; солнечная жара’: W 3 Bele *kaara* ‘sun’ [SchB], Ngm (G) *kuraaru* ‘sweat, hot weather’, *kurū* (Y) ‘heat’ (G), *kūr-nā* ‘dry season’ (= ‘heat’) [NEH]; 5 Grnt *kari* [Jag] ‘sun’; E 5b Kaj *kari* ‘chaleur, chaud’, Mubi *keṛī* ‘to become hot’, *keṛī-t* ‘hot’ [Luk], Zir *kari* ‘chaud’ [CJ].

//Sem Akk *kararū* (SB) ‘brilliance of the sun at midday’ [CAD 207], Cush (agaw) **kʷara* ‘the sun’ [Долг 77, ApAg], Omot Mao **kar-* ‘warm, hot’: Sezo *kali*, *kəlli*, Mao (B) *aaw-karre*, *kar(ε)-*, Ganza *karä-karä*, Mao (D) *karə/a* [BndO 281]. Note Arab *kh* ‘être intense (se dit de la chaleur du jour)’ [BK II 939].

[HSED №1434 Akk + WCh 3 Bele].

458. *kVyVr- ‘rain; дождь’ (< **kVHVr-*): W 1 Hs *kiriiri* ‘the very first rain of the season’; C 9 Mnj *kiya* ‘averse, heavy shower, juillet, july’; cf. E 2 Lele *kūr-binya* ‘rainy season’ (‘rain-sky’?).

a. **kVr-* ‘hail, dew; роса, град’: C 8 Mak *n-kur* ‘hail’; E 4 Mawa *kər* ‘hail’; E 5b Kaj *kiriiri* ‘dew, hail’.

//Sem Arab *krʕ-* ‘humer, boire en hument; faire tomber de l’eau (se dit du ciel, des nuages)’, *karʕ-* ‘eau de pluie ramassée dans une citerne’ [BK II 887]. [CLD IV №280].

459. *kVwVr-/*kurVy- ‘river; река’: W 1 Hs *kuwāara*, *kʷāra* ‘the river Niger’; E 2 Kaba *kurāyə*, Nch *kurīyə* [HmK], Lele *kurye*, *kuyre* ‘river’; 5b Jegu *kuraaye* ‘sea’. Cf. E 5a Bid *kūr-bul* ‘abrevoire naturel sur la montagne; source, watering place in the mountains, spring of water’.

Cf. C 7 Mafa *kureʔe* ‘abondant (liquid)’.

//Cush (agaw) **kʷər-* ‘river, stream’ [ApAg], LECush Oromo *kurce* ‘rivulet’ [Grg].

[Долг 198, SkH 174, BlžL №22].

a. **kʷVr-* ‘to pour; лить’: W 1 Hs *kʷāraaraa* ‘pour out large quantity of fluid’, (deriv.) *kʷāra-nyā* ‘to flow’; 2 Mushere *kor* ‘pour’ [JgO]; C 6 Daba *kʷār* ‘couler, emporter par l’eau’ [Lnhr].

Deriv.: W 4 Tsagu *kur-ḍ-* ‘pour away’ [SkNB]; E 5b Tor *kir-t* ‘to pour water’.

Cf. WCh 1 Hs *ḵooramà* 'a big stream flowing through a fertile plain'; E 3 Smr *króoi* 'river' [Luk], both < Ch **ḵVr-*).

[HSED №1502; CLD IV №285].

The following isogloss is worth mentioning:

b. **ḵVr(Vw/y)-* 'lake, pond; озеро, пруд': W 2 Ngas *kur* 'pond' [Fp], Mghv *kur* 'lake' [Kr]; C 8 Log *kula* [AIL], Bud *kulu* 'lake' [LkB; E 4 Mawa *kor* 'mare, puddle', Sok *kóroo* 'pond' [Luk]; 5a WDng *koríyó* 'marigot, étang, pond', Bid *korya* 'eau stagnante, marigot'.

//Omot Wolt *kuriya* 'lake' [BlŽL 22].

460. **ḵV(wV)r-* 'stone, mountain; камень, камень, гора: W 2 Ngas *kur-či* 'rocky area' [Brq]; C 1 Tera *k'ár-čáx* 'hill' [NmT]; 5 Dghw *k'wíre*, Gava *kura* 'stone' [Kr], Cnn *kúra*, Glv *akúra*, Gdf *kúurè* 'stone' [Kim]; 7 Ould *má-k'w'ár* 'colline' (cf. *akwar* 'pierre' [KPr 8]), Muy *akúr* 'stone', Mada *okk'w'ár* 'stone, rock', Baka *ák'w'ar*, Moloko *ák'w'ar* [BAS], Zlg *kur* 'stone'; 8 Log *kurr*, Kuseri *kur* 'mountain' [Luk], Mak *kur* 'round rock'; 9 Msg *kiríi*, *kiríi-d* 'stone' [LkM]; E 3 Smr *kúrá* 'stone' [Jglb] (irreg. reflex, Ch **k->* Smr *g-*); Cf. 7a Skn *kərba* 'large slab of stones'.

a. **ḵ^wVr-* 'small stones; мелкие камешки': W 2 Ngas *k'w'ar* 'gravel, very small stones' [Fl], Goem *k'woor* 'pebble, gravel' [Hlw]; C 7 Merey *k'w'ar* 'caillou'; 10 Dzpw *kū-kōr* 'gravier'.

//Sem Arab (Yemen dial.) *kūr-* 'mountain', *ku?ēra* 'hill' (the cognate was suggested by A. Belova), LECush Som *kur* 'mountain, Beja *kaar* 'pic, hill' (according to RBd < Arab *qār-at-* 'pierre noire').

[HSED №1594; CLD IV №287].

461. **ḵVr-* 'hole (in the ground); дыра, яма': W 1 Hs *k'w'ar-gaa* 'hole in a rock, or one hollowed out in the bank of a pond for catching fish'; 3 Tng *kur-go* 'den, hole, cave'; E 5b Mm *kiiri* 'terrier, burrow, hole'.

a. **ḵV(wV)r-* 'valley; долина': W 1 Hs *k'w'ari* 'valley, depression'; C 8 Mak *kir ke* 'valley'.

//Sem Arab *karr-*, *kurr-* 'puits' [BK II 879], passed to: C 10 Gizey, Masa *kar*, Ham *kaa* 'puits' [LexC].

462. **ḵV(wV)s-* 'to roll, to turn; катить, поворачивать': W 1 Hs *kása* 'turn off road' (note contamination with **ḵV-* 'to bend'); C 7 Muy *ák'w'asāy* 'fold back, roll up'; E 5a Mig *kóosó* 'virer, to turn'.

Derived noun: 10 Dzpw *kōs*, *kúsor* 'toupie, a top'.

//Sem Arab *kws* 'être renversé la tête en bas et les pied s'en haut' [BK II 943].

Note the following correlation: *medial waw* in Arabic ~ labialized velar in CChadic ~ long rounded vowel in ECh.

[CLD IV 119].

463. *kVwVs- > *k^was- 'to hoe, to dig up; **МОТЫЖИТЬ, КОПАТЬ**': 2 Ngas *k^wos* 'first weeding and clearing the farm after planting' [F1], *tar k^wòs* 'the time of hoeing' (*tar* 'moon') [Brq]; C 6 Daba *kús* 'debrousser' [Lnhr]; 7 Muy *ák^wás* 'dig up, harvest (food plants)', Ould *k^wás* 'déterrer, chercher, fouiller, dig up, out, search', Mada *ók^was* 'fouiller, déterrer en fouillant, to burrow'. Note E 1 Kwang *kōsī* 'to bury' [IL]

a. *k^was-/kas- 'hoe; **МОТЫГА**': W 1 Hs *k^waasáa* 'small hoe for women', *k^waasce* 'a reaping, harvesting implement', *k^wášan* 'small triangular hoe'; 3 Tng *k^was* 'hoe'; 4 Wrj *kas-ai*, Tsagu *kaase* 'hoe' [SkNB], Wrj *kasai* 'large hoe' [B1W].

//HECush **kaas-*: Sid, Kamb, Had, Gedeo *kaas-* 'to plant' [Hds], SCush rift Alg *kaas-* 'to cultivate'.

[CLD IV №123].

464. *kVs- 'to dance; **ТАНЦЕВАТЬ**': C 7 Mofu *-kōsw-* 'danser pour découvrir un sorcier, to dance to reveal a sorcerer'; 10 Dzpw *kás* 'danser'; E 2 Lele *kasa* 'danse' (gen.); 5a Bid *kōsó-k* 'kind of dance'.

//Omot Wolt *kaassa* 'dance', Gamo *kaas-si*, Yemsa *kasso* 'dance' [LmW 417, with the following comment: "noun derived by means of the suffix *-sa* from the verb *ka?*- 'play'".

[CLD IV №115].

465. *kVt- 'to walk, to go away/back; **(при-/у-)ХОДИТЬ**': W 2 Ngas *kat* 'wander about' [Fp, JgA]; 5 Dott *kút* 'go round' [CrD]; 6 Ngz *katáu* 'return, go back; turn into', Bade *katáu* 'return'; C 5 Mlg *katáya* 'ziellos umherstreifen, to wander about'; E 1 Mobu *kode*, Ngam *koté* 'suivre, follow' [Lns]; 5a Bid *kaat* 'partir, aller, convenir', Mig *kaátó* 'partir', EDng *katé* 'partir, aller' [Dj], Mabire *katka* 'to walk' [JH]; 5b Tor *kaat* 'partir, émigrer', MM *kaatu*, Brg *kaatí* 'sortir', Jegu *kaat* 'herausgehen', Mubi *kaat* 'hinausgehen' [Luk], *kaadé* 'go out' (regular voicing in medial position) [JgIb].

//Sem Arab *ktw* 'marcher d'un pas menu et serré' [BK II 864], Eg *ktkt*

(Amar) Verbum den Bewegung, 'sich bewegen, to move' (intr.) [EG V 146]. [HSED №1439 Eg+ECh+ Omot 'to run, hurry'; CID IV №90].

466. *kV(wV)t- 'to end, to finish; заканчивать(ся)': W 2 Ngas *po-koot* 'the end', *ko-koot dum* 'to end' [Or], *kəət* '(be)enden, fertig werden; to finish' [JgA], Kofyar *kəgət* (rather < **kə-kət*, partial redupl. or plurac. in -k-) 'to finish a task' [TAS 171 **kəyət*]; 3 Krkr *kutu* 'to finish' [GK], Tng *k^wade*, *k^wεede* 'to finish, to end' (regular voicing); 4 Siri *k^wataa*, cf. Diri *kudu* 'finish' [SkNB]; 7 Fyer *kit* 'to finish'; C 9 Msg *kata* 'enden' [LkM]. //Cush (agaw) **kət-* 'to die' [ApAg], Omot Yemsa *kit-ù*, *Kaffa kit*, Bworo *k'iri* (Cerulli *kitoo*) [BnO 162].

Semantic shift: 'to end' > 'to die' seems tenable. For Cush-Omot **kA[HA]t-* 'to die' see [Долг 245].

467. *kVt- 'wind, harmattan; ветер' > 'cold wind/weather': 2 Gerka *kut* 'wind', *kudu-yong*, Mnt *kut-zum* 'cold' [Fp], Ngas *kut* 'cold' [Fl], *kut* 'wind', Mghv *kut* 'air, wind' [JgS], Mpn *kut* 'wind, cold, storm', Miship *kut* 'harmattan, coldness' [Kr], Mushere *kút* 'wind' [JgO], Goem *kut* 'coldness' [Hlw], *kut* 'cold' [TAS 210]; 3 Geruma *kítú*, Glm *çizí* 'cold weather' [SchB], Krf *kiití* 'cold weather' [Stl], Tng *kodom* 'winter'; 7 Richa *kuč*, *k^wič* (< **kuti*) 'wind'; 6 Ngz *k^wák^wt-àk* '(cold) wind'; C 10 Peve *k^wut* 'harmattan' [Kr], **kut* 'harmattan': Masa *kūt-nā*, Marba *akkukut-na*, Peve *kūt*, Hedē *kut* [Shy], Azum *kukut-na* [PAz]. Note also Dari *kūt*, Dzpw *kút* 'brouillard, fog', Gizey, Masa, Musey *kút*, Ham *ngút*, Lew, Marba *ʔakukút* 'brouillard sec' [LexC].

Derived verb: ***kV-kVt-** 'to cool off; охлаждать': 3 Krkr *kàakatu* 'cool off' [GK]; 6 Ngz *kàktú* 'to cool off'.

//Sem Arab *kth* 'arracher à qqn ses habits en soufflant avec violence (se dit du vent)' [BK II 860].

468. *kVt- 'old, weak, poor; старый, бедный, слабый': W 1 Ngas *ká-kut* 'helpless; old' [Fl], *kat* 'to lack'; C 2 Bura *kita* 'to be insufficient' [BIB]; 4 Gude *kutə* 'fade; fall out (hair), become unfertile, become poor'; E 6 Mok *kótibíle* (compound?) 'weak, maladroite, vaurien'.

//Sem Akk (SB) *katú* 'poor, destitute' [CAD k 308].

[HSED №1438 includes fragments of this and the next root; CLD IV №109].

469. ***kat-** 'small; маленький': W 2 Mghv *kat* [JgS], Mpn *kát* [FrM] 'small', Kofyar *kat* 'small, little' [TAS 168]. Cf. W 2 Gerka *ke-kat* 'son' [Fp] and C 5 Mlg *k^wáta* 'daughter'.

Derived verb: ***kVt-** 'to decrease; уменьшать(ся)': W 2 Goem *kát* 'decrease something, make something small; decrease, become small (in size or amount)' [Hlw]; 3 Tng *kate* (irreg. reflex, probably, < **kVtt-*) 'to diminish, decrease, reduce, abate'; C 1 Tera *kata* 'decrease' [NmT].

//Eg *kt, ktt* (MK) 'small' [EG V 147], Akk *katú* (SB) 'poor, destitute' [CAD k 308], *katú* (o/jB) 'weak, needy' [CDA 153], Arab *katt-* 'maigre' [BK II 858].

[Coh №174: Eg, Sem; CLD IV №110].

470. ***kV[t]-** 'to deceive; a lie; лгать, ложь': C 1 Tera *k^wata^a-ma* 'a lie'; 10 Gizey, Masa *két*, Musey *gét* 'tromper' [LexC], Dzpw *kat* 'tricher'; E 6 Mok *kétté* 'to tell lies'.

Cf. W 1 Hs *kata-kata* 'a form of cheating'.

//Cf. Sem Arab *qtw* 'tromper qqn' [BK II 775].

Incompatibility of two emphatics could provoke the **kVt-* > **kVt̥-* shift in Proto-Chadic (cf. Hausa *k-*). The next step was deglottalization of the dental on group-/branch-levels: **kVt̥-* > *kVt-*.

[CLD IV 89].

471. ***kV[z]-** 'to sow; сеять': W 3 Tng *kes* (-s# < *-S#) 'to sow'; E 2 Lele *kísi* (-s- < *-z-/*-s-) 'to sow'.

a. Deriv. in *t-*: W 4 ***t-kVz-** 'to sow'; сеять: W1j *təyɔzə*, Kar *təze*, Miya *tawazə*, Siri *tu-kusu* [SkNB]. Note a very rare case of a prefixed verb in Chadic languages.

//Sem Arab *wkz* 'planter, fisher' (p. ex. la lance dans le sol) [BK II 1596].

Root extension (*w-* as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD IV №131].

472. ***kVz-** 'slave; раб': W 5 Bade *kúz-vu* (*vu-* < *-f-, suff. m. sing.), Duw *gúzə-f* (regressive voicing of *k-*) 'slave'; C 4 Bch *kasa* 'slave' [Meek], Mwl *kuzá*, Bch *kusa*, Gudu *kuza* [Kr] 'slave', cf. *kəzə-ka* 'orphan' [Hds]; 9 Mbara *gizà* (regressive voicing < **kVz-*) 'slave'.

//Sem Akk *kizú* (OB) 'groom, personal attendant' [CAD k 427].

[HSED №1515; CLD IV №132].

473. ***kVz̥-** 'to wash, to rinse; мыть, полоскать': W 1 cf. Hs *kás* emph.

whiteness or good washing of white material'; C 5 Pod *kuḥá* (irreg. voicing) 'to rinse (the mouth)'; 7 Mofu *k^wá-k^wát-* 'se rincer (la bouche)'; 10 Masa *kéṭ* 'rincer' [CC], Dzpw *koṭ* 'laver, nettoyer, recurer, to wash, to clean', Musey *kota* 'rincer' [ShyM]; cf. E 6 Mok *kássilè* 'laver, to wash'.

//Sem Arab *kšh* 'balayer, nettoyer (une maison, etc.)' [BK II 901], Omot Mao **kuš-* 'to wash, bathe': Hozo *kuši*, Sezo *kuše*, Mao B *kúša* 'bathe', Ganza *kušu-* [BndO 281].

Root extension (*h* as C₃) in Arabic. Note, however, that AA pharyngeals as C₃ quite often leave no trace in Chadic languages.

[CLD IV №156].

474. *kVʔ- 'to cut, to fell (trees); резать, рубить (деревья)': W 3 Dera *kaśé* 'to cut (fish)' [NmK]; C 3 Baṅa *kṭi* 'abatre (un arbre)'; 5 Dghw *ktu-naya* 'to cut' [Kr]; E 5a EDng *kačē* 'to cut through; durchschneiden' [Ebb], WDng *kačē* 'fendre (le bois), to chop wood', Bid *kečkéč* 'tailler un arbre, cut a tree'.

Note W 4 Jmb *kəṭʔ-, kəkəṭʔ-* 'to cut, chop' [Jglb] (< var. ***kVʔ-**)

//Sem Arab *kšʔ-* 'balafrer, couper' [BK II 900].

[CLD IV №160].

475. *kVʔ- 'to peel, to pluck; очищать (кожуру, перья)': W 5 Zul *koṭí* 'to pluck' [BIZ].

Deriv. in *-d-* 'to peel, to pluck leaves; очищать от кожуры, листьев': Mui *éktí-d* 'to peel', Mada *ók^wṭe-d* 'effeuiller (le mil)'.

Derived noun: W 5 Zul *k^wáte* 'shell' [BIZ].

Derived noun in *-p-* pl.: ***k^wVʔp-** 'shell; кожура': W 1 Hs *k^wásfaa*, *k^wáfsaa* 'any sort of shell or outer covering'; C 4 FM *k^watipu* 'bark' [Kr], Gude *k^wátipí-nə* 'shell, pod'.

//Sem Arab *kšʔ-* 'écorcher, dépouiller d'écorce ou de la peau supérieure, de coque' [BK II 900].

a. C 7 Zlg *kuṭah* 'effeuiller' ~ Arab *kšh* II stem 'peler, ôter l'écorce' [BK 901].

b. C 7a Skn *kuṭaf* 'to shed snakeskin' ~ Arab *kšf* 'mettre à nu, découvrir (en ôtant de couvercle)' [BK II 902].

[CLD IV №161].

476. *kVʔ/č- 'to peel, to scrape off'; снимать кожуру, скоблить: W 1 Hs *kaáça* 'scrape off or out', *kaáçaa* 'scrape, plane off surface of wood'; E 5a Mig *keḍyáw* 'décoller', Bid *keḍy* 'écorcher, to bark'.

//Sem Akk *kāšu* (SB, NA, NB) 'to skin, flay, strip off' [CAD k 270].

In Chadic languages and in Akkadian reflexes of AA *č̣ and *ĉ̣ have fallen together.

*ḳ

477. *ḳVwVy- 'no; to refuse; отказываться': W 1 Hs *ḳii* 'to dislike, hate, reject, refuse', (derived noun) *ḳiyaya* 'hatred'; 3 Goem *ka* [Hlw], Ngas *ka* 'not', Goem *ḳ^wai* 'no' [Fp]; 7 Richa *kyo* 'nicht geben wollen, verweigern, refuse to give, decline'; E 5 EDng *ḳawiyē* 'misstrauen, not to trust' [Ebb], *ḳaawī* 'absent, manquant; non !' (negation vigoureuse) [Dj].

//Sem Arab *qwh* IV stem 'refuser de donner quoi que on soit à celui qui demande' [BK II 831].

Note that AA pharyngeals as C₃ after a weak consonant leave no trace in Chadic languages. [CLD IV №294].

478. *ḳ^wVy- 'to fall; падать': W 3 Tng *ḳ^waa* idf. 'dropping'; C 7 Mofu - *ḳ^wiy-* 'fall (fruit)'; 8 Mak, Afd *ḳ^wa*, Maltam *ḳ^wa*, Kus *ḳa-* 'tomber' [Tr]; 10 Mesme *kaʔa* 'to fall' [Kr]; E 3 Smr *ḳ^wa* (*ḳ* < *ḳ-) 'la bas' [JgSb].

//Sem Arab *wqʕ* 'tomber qq part, tomber à un endroit; se coucher par terre' [BK II 1587].

Note the following correlation: *prime waw* in Arabic ~ labialized velar in Chadic languages. Cf. №409 *kV(HV)y- 'to throw (down), to put'.

479. C *ḳ^wV/*ḳVy- '(to) dry; сохнуть, быть сухим': C 3 FK *kyu* 'to wither, dry up' [BINd]; 5 Mlg *kaya* 'dry season'; 8 Mak *ḳ^we* 'dry', Log *ḳ^wa* 'dry' adj., *kua-wun* 'to dry up' [ALL].

//Sem Geez *q^waaqq^wəʕaa* 'be hard, be dry', also 'dry out' [LsG 438], Amh *qaqqa* 'dry out (throat from lack of water)' [LsG 438]; Geez *qawəʕ* 'harvest season', Tna *qäwʕi*, Gafat *qawä* 'dry season', Cush Sid, Kamb *qawo* 'dry season', Som *qaawʕi* 'time of harvest' [LsG 455]. [CLD IV №296].

480. *ḳVy/w- 'thorn; sharp point; колочка, острие': W 1 Hs *ḳaya* 'thorn, fishbone'; 4 **aba-ḳVya* 'thorn': Wrj *və-ḳəyai*, Siri *və-kiyi*, Miya *ave-ḳi*, Mburku *vya-ki*, Kar *va-ki*, Paa *va-gwe*, Jmb *ava-giya*, Diri *avi-kiya*, Tsagu *baa-giye* (*aba-* is a noun pref.) [SkNB]; C 3 FK *kyikyī* 'thorn' [BINd]; 8 Mak *ḳweḳwe* 'thorn', *n-ḳey* 'fishing line, hook'; E 6 Mok *kookē* 'ongle, claw'. Cf. C 4 Gude *kaaya* 'acacia tree'.

//ECush Burji *kúww-a* ‘thorn’ [SsB].

a. ***kVwVh-** ‘to scratch; скрести’: W 3 Dera *kúyé* ‘scrape, pick (teeth)’ [NmK], C 7 (redupl.) Muy *k^wah-k^wah* ‘gratter la terre’; 10 Dari *kúwá?* ‘(se) gratter, to scratch’.

Redupl.: ***k^wVk-** ‘to scratch; скрести’: W 3 Tng *k^wage, k^wake* (partial redupl.) ‘to scratch’; E 4 Saba *koke*, Barein (dial.) *kóokó* ‘scratch’ [LvB]. Cf. E 6 Mok *kóoke* ‘raser, to shave’.

Derived noun: ***kVy-kVy/w-** ‘itch; чесотка’: W 1 Hs *kai-kayii* ‘itching of skin’; E 4 Sok *káko* ‘Räude (Pferd, Kamel), itch (of a horse, camel)’.

[CLD IV №302].

481. ***k^wVy-/kVwVy-** ‘boundary, edge; граница, край’: W 1 Hs *káuye* ‘edge of anything (stream, market, cloth)’; 6 Bade *ak^waya* ‘boundary’, Duw *k^wiyá* ‘boundary, border’; C 7 Muy *ék^wí* ‘boundary’, Mada *ók^we* ‘limite, borne, frontière, séparation’, Zlg *k^wíye* f. ‘frontière, boundary’. Cf. E 1 Kera *kəkəy* ‘road’.

//Sem Hbr *qāw-* ‘Schnur, line (for stretching, measuring)’ [KB 830], cf. modern Hebrew: קו המשווה קו ‘equator’ (*kaw a mashwe*), קו (qaw) ‘линия, полоса, маршрут автобуса; line, stripe, bus-line’ [Под].

[CLD IV №305].

482. ***[k]Vw/y-** ‘moon; луна’: W 6 Duw *kiya*; C 7 Mafa *kiya*, Dugwor *kiya*, Mikiri *kiya* [BryD], Ould *k^wiyó*, Muy *kiyé* ‘moon, month’, Baka *kiyi*, Moloko *kiya* [BAS], Zlg *kiye*, Gis *kiya*, Merey *kiye*, Mofu *kiya* ‘lune, mois, saison’, Mada *kyá*, Balda *kiyáh*, Mbuko *kīyā* ‘lune’, Mefele (dial.) *kiya*; 8 Bud *kyá* [Jglb]; E 5 Bid *koya*, WDng *kóye*, EDng *kòye* [Dj], Mig *kóoyó*. Reflexes of Ch **k* and **k* has fallen together as *k* in all the languages.

//Eg *khy* ‘moon’ (BD) [EG V 67].

[HSED №1571; CLD IV №181].

483. ***kVwVb- > k^kVb-** ‘to bend; гнуться’: W 1 cf. Hs *k^wámbaraá, kóobárcé* ‘be, become bent’, *kóobóobóo* ‘stoop, roundshoulderness’; 3 Bol *kubbu* ‘to stoop, bend down, crouch, squat’ [GAB], Ngm *kubaa* (G) ‘to bend over’ [NEH], Dera *kúubé* ‘to squat on heels’ [NmK]; C 10 Dari *kób* ‘s’accroupir, se courbé, to squat, to crook, to bend’. Secondary emphatization of a voiced labial is typical of roots with empathic initials.

//Sem Arab *qbw* ‘bend, fold’ [BK II 670]. Arabic parallel was suggested by

A.Belova.

The following local isogloss is worth mentioning (as a possible "root variant"):

a. ***kVp#**: W 3 Dera *kúp*, pl. *kúkúp* 'squatting' [NmK], Ngm (G) *kòpkò*, (Y) *kopkò* 'squat' [NEH]; C 10 Dzpw *káp* 's'agenouiller, to kneel'.

//E Cush Burji *kup-aḏ-* 'squat' [SsB]. [CLD IV №307].

484. *kVč-/*čVč- 'to dig; копать': W 3 Krkr *čak-* 'dig' [LkK], *čakaa* 'dig (up)' [GK]; 4 Diri *čəka*, Tsagu *čək-* 'dig' [SkNB]; C 6 Daba *k^wáč* 'sillonner sans enterrer les mauvaises herbes'; 7 Mofu *-koč-* 'déterrер, creuser, gratter (la terre)'.

//Sem Arabic *nqt* (< AA **nqč*) 'déterrер' [BK II 1320], Omot Yemsa *kač-* 'dig' [LmY].

Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Arabic.

485. *kVč- ~ *kVč- < *kVč- 'to drizzle, sprinkle; брызгать': C ***KVčč-** > 4 Gude *kučí kučí* 'to drizzle'; 6 Buwal *k^wéč* 'to sprinkle', Daba *kačāw* 'asperger pour arroser, boire (avec la main)'; 7 Mada *koč koč* 'in drops, en crachin fin et durable (pluie)', Mofu *-k^wák^wáč-* 'répandre, disperser, dépenser, inutilement, gaspiller'; E 5 ***kVč-**: Mig *kók-kidyó* 'asperger en versant l'eau dans la main', EDng *koč-kidyē* 'benetzen, to moisten' [Ebb] (*dy* in dangla and mubi gr. regularly reflects Ch **č* and **t*).

Derived noun, partial redupl.: W 1 Hs *kaásàšii* (< **kač-* < **kVč-*, note that two emphatics are not competible in Hausa) 'wet autumn mist'.

Initial *k-* in Hausa points to Ch **k-*, reflexes in ECh - to medial **-č-*. Proto-Chadic ***kVč-** accounts for all the forms. Less probably, Ch data originate from three semantically identical roots: ***kVč-** (Hausa), ***KVč-** (CCh), ***KVč-** (ECh). External parallels point to a single AA root: Sem Arab *nqz* V stem 'sortir, sourdre goutte à goutte (se dit du sang)' [BK II 1327], ECush Burji *kooč-ee* 'moist, wet' [SsB]. [CLD IV №334].

486. *kVč-/*kVč < *kVč- 'to dry up; высыхать': W 1 Hs *kèekasa* (< **kVč-* < **kVč-*, two emphatics are not competible Hausa) 'to become dry, dry up (soil, clothes), dryness'; 7 Fyer *kušij* 'trocken, to dry'; C 7 Muy *küč* [kwYtj] 'drying out' idf.; E5b ***kVč-**: Kaj *kaadyidyi* 'to dry', *kaadyi* 'sec, vide, dry, empty', Mubi *kaadyé* 'se dessécher' [JgL].

Derived noun: ***kVS-** 'dry season': 5 Tala *ba-kiyas*, Mngs *ne-kesi* [Cs],

Buli *kís* [Kr], Zul *giisi* [Cs №370].

//Sem Geez *naqša* 'dry up, be parched, become dry, hard, be exhausted', Tna *nāqāsā* 'dry up', Tgr *nāqša* 'become weak' [LSG 400].

487. **kVd*- (> **kVd*-) 'to cut (wood); резать (по дереву)': W 1 Hs (deriv.) *kúdubee* 'to cut, snap off at a vital spot'; 6 Duw *kaado* 'to carve wood'; C 5 Pod *k^widē* 'to carve'; 7 Muy *ékid* 'to trim branches from'; E 6 Mok (deriv.) *kédí-sé* 'to cut a piece of tuwo, branch'.

//Sem Arab *qdd* 'couper ou déchirer en lanières (peau)' [BK II 682], ECush Burji *kod-o* 'woodworker' [SsB].

Note E 6 Mok *dékké* 'to cut' (matath.?) For an alternative etymology see Sem Arab *dhq* 'couper en morceaux' [BK I 742].

[CLD IV №314].

488. **[k]Vd*- > **kVd*- (cf. Arabic) 'to hate, to refuse, to despise': W 3 Tng *kudē* 'to refuse, disobey, reject, repel, hate', Krkr *kudu* 'refuse, dislike' [GK], Bol *kudāadi* 'enmity, hatred' [GAB], Krkr *kud*, Pero *kudu*, Glm *kur*-, Gera *kūd-mí* 'refuse' [SchV], Ngm *kudā* (G) 'dislike' [NEH], Pero *kodāani* 'refusing', Krf *kudēy* 'hatred' [Stl]; C 7 Mbuko *kōdāy* 'condamner, blâmer qqn, mépriser, to blame, despise'; 10 Dzpw *kat* (-t# < *t#, *-d#) 'mépriser, despise'. In all the languages reflexes of Ch **k* and **k* have fallen together as *k*-. PCh **k*- can be traced by secondary emphatization of medial voiced plosive.

//Cf. Sem Arab *qdy* III stem 's'opposer à qqn, le contredire ou contrecarrer, résister à qqn, to oppose, contradict, resist' [BK II 693].

489. **[k]Vd*- > **kVd*- (cf. an Arabic parallel) 'to burn; жечь': W 3 Gera *kíd-mí* 'burn' [SchB]; 5 Zaar *kuduk kudúk* idf. 'burnt' [CrZ]; C 6 Daba *kōdā* 'brûler' [Lnh], Buwal *ḡ-kōdāw* (deriv. in *n*-) 'to burn'.

Derived adj.: C 2 Klb *k^wak^wadu* 'hot(ness)' [Kr]; E 2 Nch *kodúže* (< **kudude*) 'heiss sein, be hot' [Luk].

In all the languages reflexes of Ch **k* and **k* have fallen together as *k*-.

//Sem Arab *wqd* 'brûler (se dit de feu); burn', *waqd-at*- 'chaleur' [BK II 1581], Akk *qādu* (m/jB), Arab *wqd*, Hbr, Aram *yqd* 'anzünden' [AHw 892], *qādu* (MB) 'to ignite (fire, torch), set fire to' [CDA 282].

[HSED №1572].

The following Chadic root (lacking any parallels) may be cognate. Semantic shift ('to burn' > 'to boil') seems more or less tenable (some similar cases

can be found in the text):

a. ***[k]Vd- > *kVd-** ‘to boil; кипеть’: C 2 Bura *kudu* ‘to boil’ [BIB]; 4 (deriv.) Gude *kudə-pə* ‘come to a boil (water)’; 5 Mlg *k^wadā* ‘sieden, boil’ (intr.); 6 Daba *kudāy* ‘bouillir un liquide’ [Lnh]; 7 Mafa *kudəm-* ‘cuire lentement, boil on a small fire’. Cf. Kanuri *kudu* ‘boil’. In the view of numerous derivatives (see below) Kanuri is rather a Chadic loan.

Deriv. in *-s-* (causative) ‘make boil, make warm; варить, греть’: C 4 Gude *kədasə* ‘to cook liquid’; 7 Mafa *kudəs-* ‘porter à ébullition (liquide)’; E 5 Mig *kudísó* ‘chauffer, réchauffer; to warm’, EDng *kódsé* ‘sich wärmen, warm o.s.’ [Ebb].

Deriv. in *-h-*: C ***k^wkVdVh-** ‘to boil, to cook; варить’: 5 Pod *k^wadāha* ‘to boil, cook’; 5a Hdi *kədahay* ‘to boil’ [BrH]; 7 Chv *mék^wodēhēy* ‘bouillir’, Ould *k^wadēhe-ŋ* ‘cuire longtemps’, Muy *akodahā* ‘to boil’, Zlg *k^wadāh* ‘bouillir’, Mofu *-kudh-* ‘faire bouillir (de l’eau)’, Mbuko *k^wadāh* ‘bouillir, diluer’.

490. ***[k]ud- > kud-** (cf. ECush Burji) ‘behind; buttocks; зад, сзади’: C 9 Msg *gud* (< **kud*, regressive voicing) ‘back side’ [LkM]; 10 Gizey *kudú* ‘derriere, behind’ [LexC]; E 1 Kera *gud* (regr. voicing) ‘Fesses, buttocks’. 6 Mok *kudūi-só* ‘buttocks’; (cf. C 2 WMargi *kudə*, Ngw *kudari* [Kr]; Chb *k^wudəe* [JgIb] ‘tail’).

In all the languages reflexes of Ch **k* and **k̄* have fallen together as *k-*.

//ECush Burji *kud-ee* ‘behind’ [SsB].

Cf. C 6 Daba *kād* ‘(be) down’ [Lnh] and E 5b Kaj *kād* ‘bas’. Likely, loans from Arabic *qāʿid-at-* ‘base, foundation’ < *qʿd* ‘être assis’ [BK 778]. [CLD IV №81].

491. ***kVf-** ‘to dry up; высыхать’: W 1 Hs *kafe* ‘to dry up (river, pond)’; 2 Ngas *k^wop* ‘anything dried or become hard’ [Fl], Goem *kōp* ‘to dry food in the sun in order to preserve it’ [TAS 214]; C 7 Mafa *kaf-* ‘se dessécher, to dry up’, Mofu *-kəf-* ‘soigner une plaie en la faisant sécher, to cure an ulcer by drying’.

***kV[f]-** ‘dry’ (adj.): W 6 Zaar *kwayap kwayap* (< **kwakaf*) idf. ‘dry (leaves)’ [CrZ]; C 6 Daba *kpat* ‘aride, dry’ (**kf-* > *kp-* by assim.) [Lnh].

//Sem Arab *qff* ‘sécher, se dessécher et devenir aride (se dit d’une plante sécher (ligne); to dry up, become dry)’ [BK II 786].

[SkH 163; CLD IV №309].

492. *kVI- ‘to hit, to break; ударять, ломать’: W 1 Hs *kále* ‘hit with a stick and knock down’; 2 Goem *kul* ‘hit on top, strike on’ [TAS 207]; 3 Ngm *kalá* (G) ‘to kick’ [NEH]; C 5 Pod *kəla* ‘destroy (in battle)’, *kəlá* ‘break smth hard and long’, Glv *kal* ‘to beat, to break’, cf. Mlg *kəla* ‘Ruine’, Gdf *kəla* ‘break’ [KGd]; E 4 Sok *kala-kali* ‘schlagen, to strike’ [Luk], Saba *kəlge* ‘to strike’.

//Sem Arab *qly* ‘frapper qqn á la tête, to hit one’s head’ [BK II 808], Geez *qalʿa* ‘hit a ball with a stick’ [LsG 426].

[CLD IV №345].

493. *kVI- ‘to look (for), to watch; искать, наблюдать’: W 3 Ngm (G) *kaalá*, (Y) *kaalo* ‘look for, seek’ [NEH], Maaka *kali* ‘to see’ [SvM], Kupto *kaaléy* ‘to check, to choose, to select; to look at, to watch, to observe; to examine’ [LgK], Maka *kaalí* ‘to see’ [SvM]; 5 Zar *kúl* ‘watch out!’ [Cr]; C 7 Mofu *kelewé kelewé* ‘regarder’ (idf.); E 1 Mobu *kaale*, pl. *kal-de*, Ngam *kal-dé* ‘chercher, to search’ [Lns]; 3 Ndam *kəla* ‘to see’ (initial *k-* points to Ch *k-) [Jglb], cf. Tum *kəl* (*k-* < *k-) ‘enseigner, montrer, to teach, to show’; 5b Jegu *?akal* ‘betrachten, anschauen, (an)sehen’.

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): W 1 Hs *kaaláilá-čce* (*-čce* < *-tee-*) ‘investigate thoroughly, scrutinize’.

//Sem Arab *mql* ‘regarder, fixer qqn des yeux, voir apercevoir qqch’ [BK II 1136], Geez *qalaya* ‘be deep; search thoroughly, scrutinize, understand, reveal’, *qilly* ‘investigate, scrutinize’ [LsG 431, 428], Cush (agaw gr.) Bilin, Xamir *kwal*, Xamta *kaal-* ‘look, see’ [ApAg].

Root extension (*m-* as C₁) in Arabic.

[HSED №1581 ECh Ndam, Jegu; CLD IV №347].

494. *kVI(h)-/*kVwVI- ‘(to) bark; to peel; снимать кору, кожуру’: W 3 Tng *kaale* ‘to peel’, Kupto *k^walléy* ‘to remove (esp. bark of a tree)’ [LgK], Kirfi *k^wall-* ‘to skin, to bark’ [Stl], cf. Maka *kullaáyó* ‘to scrape’ [SvM]; C 8 Mak *kal* ‘to shell groundnuts’, Log *kilhi-wun* ‘to peel’ [AIL]; E 5 EDng (deriv.) *kil-nyē* ‘abrinden, to bark’ [Ebb].

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): C 7 Mofu *-kul-t-* ‘to peel, bark, shell’; 10 Dzpw *kul-út* ‘se déshabiller, enlever’.

Deriv. in *-d-* (marks an obj.): C 7 Mulwi *kil-dí* ‘écorcher avec une herminette, to bark with an adze’; E 2 Kera *kól-dé* ‘to peel (mais...)’.

Derived noun: ***(k-)kVI-** ‘shell’: W 3 Krf *koʿol-úm* [Stl], Pero *kó-koló*

'shell'; E 6 Mok *kíllíwē* 'cane corc'.

//Sem Arab *qlʕ* 'arracher, ôter qqch de sa place' [BK II 802], Geez *qalʕa* 'to bare, open, strip' [BK II 805, LsG 426].

[HSED №1585, CLD IV №349].

495. **k̥*-VI- 'to trade; торговать': C 7 Ould *-kūl* 'emprunter, prêter, to borrow, lend', Muy *ákə́lāy* 'to borrow', Mada *ókʷlo* 'prêter, to borrow', Zlg *kal* (*dər*) 'vendre, to sell'; C 1 Kwang *kəlē* 'to buy'; 2 Kaba, Nch *-kəl* 'buy' [HmK], Lele *kīl* 'to buy, sell'; 3 Smr *kəl* 'to buy' [IL], *kílli* (*k-* < **k̥-*, *g-* < **k̥-*, **g-*) 'Handel, trading' [Luk], cf. Tum *kə́lāj* (*k-* < **k̥-*) 'échanger'.

//Sem Arab *ʕql* 'immobiliser une propriété; payer le prix du sang', V stem 'être à payer (tribut)' [BK 319]. Root extension (*ʕ* as C₁) in Arabic.

496. **[k̥]*-VI- 'to fall; падать': C 5 Glv *kəl* 'bend, fall, drop down'; 7 Mafa *kal-* 'to fall'; E 5 'to make an object fall down': WDng *kəkīlè* 'gauler, faire tomber (les fruits d'un arbre avec une perche), knock down (fruit)', Bid *?akal* 'faire tomber un fruit avec une perche, make fruit fall down using a stick'. In all the languages Ch **k̥* and **k* > *k*.

//Sem Akk *qīālu*, *qālu* (OA) 'fallen' [AHw 918], 'to fall' [CDA 288], Ug *kl* 'to fall' [Ais 285], ECush Burji *koliy-* 'fall' [SsB].

[HSED №1540; CLD IV №353].

497. **k̥aw*-VI->*k̥ʷal-* 'to throw (with force); бросать': 1 Hs *k̥ʷaalá* 'throw to the ground, strike (on the head)'; 3 Tng *kʷalɛ* 'to kill, to throw (with intention to kill)'; C 7 Merey *kal* 'jeter, throw', Mofu *-kəl-* 'jeter pour se débarrasser, rejeter', Chv *məkəkélɛy* 'jeter les pierres, throw stones'.

//Sem Geez *qalʕa* 'throw from a sling, hit a ball' [LsG 426].

498. **[k̥]*-VwVI- > **[k̥ʷ]*-JaI- 'to talk, speech': W 2 Goem *kʷal* 'to talk, talking' [HIw]; E 2 Tob *kʷál* 'word, languages, tale, talk'.

b. **kʷ*-VI-/*k*-VI- 'to shout; shouting; to call': W 3 Krf *kʷalala* 'war shouting' [Stl], Bol *kələ* 'greeting' [GAB]; 5 Bade *kəluwá* 'shouting'; C 3 FK *kəlwa* 'to shout, scream' [BlNd]; 7 Mada *kullár* 'grand cri' (pl.?). E 'to call': 5a EDng *kolé* [Dj], Bid *kol*, WDng *kolé* 'appeler', Mig *kolló*; 5b Brg *kolí*, Jegu *kol-* 'nennen, rufen'.

In all Chadic languages reflexes of Ch and AA **k* and **k̥* have fallen together as *k*.

//Sem Arab *qwl* ‘to speak’ [BK II 836], Hbr *qōl*, Aram (Syr) *qālā* ‘voice’, Sab *qwl* ‘speaker’, Geez *qāl* ‘voice, word, saying, speech, sound’, Te, Tna, Amh *qal* ‘word’ [LsG 426], Mehri *qawl* ‘speech’ [JM 246].

Note the following correlation: *medial waw* in Semitic ~ labialized velar in Chadic languages. [HSED № 1541, CLD IV №192].

499. *ḳVI- ‘to get angry, to be in rage; быть в гневе, ярости’: W 1 Hs *ḳulc̣* ‘to fly into a rage’, (deriv.) *ḳullata* ‘to hate person secretly’; 3 Ngm (G) *ḳilkilla* ‘threat, warning’ [NEH]; C 8 Mak *ḳulo* ‘get angry and leave home’; E 6 Mok *ḳulkiwe* ‘to be angry’

//Sem Arab *qly* ‘hair, detester qqn, to hate smb.’ [BK II 808] (Arabic parallel was suggested by A.Belova), Geez *qalaya* ‘offend, convict, condemn, reprove, insult, make critical remarks, be distrustful’ [LsG 431], Syr *q̣lā* (pa.) ‘to quarrel’, Phn *qlh* ‘curse’? [Zm 344]. [CLD IV №350].

500. *[ḳ]Vw/yVI- ‘to hear; слышать’: W 2 Grk *kəl* [BIY], Grk *kal-mok*, Mnt *kiel* ‘hear’ [Fp], Mushere *kyel* ‘to hear, feel, smell’ [JgO], Tala *kʷəl* [TAS 205]; 3 Krkr *kalaa* ‘hear, smell, feel’ [GK], Krf, Glm *kʷal-*, Gera *kulaa* ‘hear’, Gera *kʷal-* ‘hear, feel’ [SchB], Ngm *kolko/kolko* ‘hear’, VN *kolya, kola* [NEH], *kolari* [SchV]; 7 Fyer *hʷalí*, DB *halay*, Bok *halí* ‘to hear’ (irregular reflex of the velar); C 4 Bch *kuḷo*, Bata *klo* ‘to hear’ [JgIb]. In the present case the reconstruction of Ch *ḳ- is based on *ki-* in W 2 Montol (Ch **ki-* > Montol *ši-*).

// Cush **m-ḳʷAl-* ‘ear, to hear’ : Beja *?angwil, ?anḳwil*, ‘ear’, Som *maqal-* ‘to hear’ [Долг 183].

501. *ḳV(HV)I- ‘to collect, to harvest; собирать (урожай)’ : W 2 Goem *ḳəl* ‘to collect, treasure up’ [TAS 200]; 3 Kupto *kalléy* ‘to gather (esp. crops in heaps)’ [LgK]; C 8 Mak *ḳal* ‘harvest mais’.

//Sem Hbr *qhl* ‘to gather’ [KB 829].

Note the following correlation: a long vowel in W 2 Goemay ~ medial *-h-* in Hebrew.

502. *ḳVI- ‘(newborn) child, animal; (новорожденный) ребенок, детеныш’: W 1 cf. Hs *ḳalaa* ‘the very young of any fish’; 2 Mnt *kiel-tum* ‘lamb’ (*tum* ‘sheep’); 3 Krkr *kulaa-bi*, pl. *kulaa-baibai* ‘human baby, baby chick’, *kul-bé* ‘foetus, prematurely born animal’ (note *-b-* as a suff. denoting a human being) [GK], Ngm (G) *kol-gu*, (Y) *kol-gu* ‘newborn

baby' [NEH]; 6 cf. Bade *kəlá* 'new'; 7 DB *kalí-žyú* 'Kleinkind(er), small children'; C 10 cf. Dzpw *kulút* 'accoucher, to bear child' (a derived verb?) // Sem Arab *qully-* 'petite fille, la petite, small daughter' < *qll* 'être en petite quantité'; II stem 'diminuer' [BK II 794]; SCush Irq *kooloo* 'little children', *laḳwaal* 'get a child, give birth', *laḳwloo* 'children (boys & girls of the age of 5-6 years)' [MQK], Alg *laḳwal* 'give birth', Bur, Alg *laḳwal-* 'to bear young' [Eh 204], Rift **laqwal* 'give birth, deliver' (Alg, Bur only about animals) [Kies], HECush **kaal-* 'give birth (of animals)': Burji *kaal-*, Had *kaar-* 'give birth', Sid, Kamb *kaal* 'give birth (of animals)', Burji *kaala* m. 'child', f. 'young of animal' [Hds], **kaVI-* id. [SsB 123], Bilin *qualʔa* (Tgr, Tny id., Xamir *quallā*) 'kleines Kind' [RB 238], According to [ApAg 44], Ethiose. Tigrinya *q'älʔa* 'child' is a Cush loan. Eg *kly* (22) 'Kind auf den Schenkeln seiner Mutter, child on mother's laps' [EG 51].

It is likely, that ECushitic languages preserve the original AA semantics: 'to give birth (of animals)'.

[Долг 200; StCh 9; CLD IV №359].

503. *kaVI- 'top, summit; верх': W 1 Hs *kaolii* 'top, summit'; C 6 Buwal *kael-kael* 'summit'; 10 Musey *kooló* 'en haut, vers le haut' [ShyM].

a. ***kaVI-** 'to lift, to climb; поднимать(ся)': C 2 Bura *ka(a)* 'lift up, carry' [BIB]; 3 Hnk *kulu*, Kap *kael-te*, HF *kaeli-*, FK *kael-tu* 'lift' [Kr]; E 2 Lele *kaal* 'monter'; 6 Mok *kili* 'to rise, climb'.

b. ***kaVI-** 'up, high; наверху': C 10 Gizey, Masa *kuló*, Ham, Musey, Lew *kóló*, Marba *ʔakuló* 'en haut, up, above' [LexC]; E 5 Bid *kaalal* 'to be very high in the sky' (cf. ECh **kaal-* 'star').

//Sem Arab *qull-at-* 'top; hill'⁵⁷ [BK II 798], *ʔal* 'monter bien haut sur la montagne, to climb high in the mountains' [BK II 320]. Note Eg *ka:y* (Pyr) 'hoch sein' [EG V 1], *ka:y.t* (Pyr) 'hochlegendes Land' = [kly], cf. [EDE I 212].

Root extension (ʔ as C₁) in Arabic. [HSED №1694, CLD IV №364].

504. *kaVI- 'stingy; вонючий': W 1 Hs *kilii* 'a very stingy person'; 4 Wj *ka'alai* 'stinginess' [BIW]; C 8 Log *nkaul-wun* 'to break wind'; E 2 (derived noun) Lele *kul-nyō*, (metath.) *kūnyō* 'saleté, crasse, dirt, untidiness'.

//Sem Arab *kaal* 'être sale, malpropre (se dit d'un homme), to be dirty' [BK

⁵⁷ The cognate was suggested by A. Belova.

II 828].

Root extension (*h* as C₂) in Arabic. [CLD IV №372].

505. *ḳVm(H)- ‘to beat, to press; бить, давить’: W 1 Hs *ḳumà* ‘hit hard’; 3 Ngm (G) *kāmʔya* [NEH] ‘squeeze’, Bol *kāmʔyu* ‘press out liquid, squeeze, extracting of oil by pressing’ [GAB]; 6 Ngz *kōmū* ‘beat, strike; castrate by pounding’; C 9 Mbara *kūm* ‘strike, hit’; E 6 Mok *kōy-kūmō* ‘écraser en poudre’.

Derived noun: W 5 Zaar *kūm-či* (< **kum-ti*) [CrZ] ‘boxing’.

//Sem Arab *qmʔ* ‘frapper, cogner qqn à la tête’ [BK II 814].

[CLD IV №373].

506. *ḳVm- ‘to eat soft food, to swallow; есть мягкую пищу, глотать’: C 10 Dari *kām* ‘manger du mou, cat (soft things)’; E 3 Smr *kwām* (note *k*- < Ch **ḳ*-) ‘eat soft food’ [Jglb]; 5a WDng *kōōmē* ‘manger tout à la fois’, EDng *ōkūmē* ‘mettre à sa bouche, engouler, engouffrer, engloutir’ [Ebb].

Derived noun: E 3 Tum *kaām* (< **ḳVm*) ‘mush’.

//Sem Arab *nqm* ‘manger vite et avaler avec rapidité un morceau’, *qmm* ‘manger qqch’ [BK II 1334, 808], E Cush **ḳomm-* ‘chew, bite, eat’ [Ss 25], Omot Wolt *k’uma* ‘food’, Dawro *k’uma* ‘food’, Gofa *k’uma* ‘bread’ [LmW 432, with Cushitic parallels].

Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Arabic. [Jglb **kmd*; CLD IV №375].

507. *ḳVm- (< *ḳVml- ?) ‘louse; вошь’: W 1 Hs *ḳumaa* ‘fowl-lice, flea (on rats, dogs)’; 4 Wrj *ḳumai* ‘bed bugs’ [BIW]; 5 Tala *kumaa* ‘flea’ < Hs [Cs]; E 5 Mig *kakkūmá* (< **kam-kuma* /**kal-kuma*) ‘pou’; 6 Mok *kímāalá* ‘chenille sp., caterpillar’ (cf. 5b Tor *kíllú* ‘chenille’).

//Sem **qumāl-/*q^(w)aml-* ‘louse’: Ancient Aramaic *qml* ‘louse’, Arab *qaml-* ‘pou’, *qummal-* ‘petites fourmis, petites sauterelles’, Sab *qmlt* ‘insect pests, locusts’, Geez *q^wəmāl, qəmāl* ‘louse’ [SD 105, SED II №130a].

[CLD IV №377].

508. *ḳV(wV)m- ‘hut; хижина’: W 2 Ngas *k^wom* ‘porch in which the king sits’ [FI], Mushere *kom* ‘compound’ [JgO]; 4 Wrj *kan-na* (< **ḳam-na*) ‘home, house’, Kar, Miya *kam*, Mburku *ḳam*, Tsagu *ḳan*, Tsagu *ḳami*, Jmb *gan* [SkNB], Miya *ákám* ‘(at) home’, *kām* ‘compound’ [SchM]; C 3 Bana *kām-ti* ‘boutique’.

//SCush Bur *q^wama*, Qwadza *k^wʔama* ‘cattle enclosure’ [Eh], Gor *q^waama* ‘natural cattle enclosure formed by trees’ [Kies]. Cf. Sab *qwm* (pl.) ‘locality/endroit < *qwm* (*hqmw*) ‘erect, establish’ < Sem **qwm* [SD 111]. Note *medial waw* in Sabaic, but labialized velar in Chadic and Cushitic languages. [HSED №1586; CLD IV №379].

509. **ḳVn-* ‘to count; считать’: W 2 Grk *k^wəní* ‘count’ [BIY], Grk *kung*, Mnt *kuun* ‘count’ [Fp], Kofyar *kún*, Goem *kun* ‘count’ [TAS 182]; 4 Wrj, Miya, Mburku *ḳə̀n-*, Paa *k^wan*, Tsagu *ḳa(a)n*, Kar *kə̀n*, Jmb *gə̀n* ‘count’ [SkNB], Miya *kə̀na* [SchM] ‘buy, count’; 5 Saya *k^wan* ‘count, read’ [Cs]; C 3 (deriv.) FK *kún-tó* ‘to pay’ [BINd].

//Eg *tnw* ‘count’ (Pyr) [EG V 376]. [HSED №1459; CLD IV №382].

510. **ḳVn-* ‘to bend; to curve; гнуть’: W 2 Goem *kan* ‘bend’ [Hlw], Mghv *kan* ‘smth. bent, crooked’ [BIM]; C 8 Log *kun* ‘to coil’ (irregular reflex of Ch **ḳ-*) [AIL]; 9 Mnj *kona* ‘virage’; 10 Dari *kan* ‘courber en arc de cercle, tordre, virer’; E 3 Tum *koḵ* (*k-* < **ḳ-*) ‘courber, to bend’; 5a Bid *kaakany* ‘écarter les jambes, to cross legs’, WDng *kòḵḵe* ‘être incurvé, curved’.

Derived nouns: W 2 Goem *nk^won-šic* ‘ankle’ (*šic* ‘leg’) [Fp]; C 7 Mafa *k^wana* ‘demi-tour’.

//Cf. Sem Arab *qināʕ-* ‘round disk, tray made of branches’ [BK II 823]. [CLD IV №383].

511. **ḳVn-* ‘to plait; плести’: C 10 Dzpw *kán* ‘tresser (cheveux), plait (hair)’, Lame *kə̀nwa*, Mesme *kan* ‘plait’ [Kr]; E 6 Mok *kini* ‘plait (mat, hair)’.

Deriv. in *-t-*: E 1 Kera *kún-tí* ‘tordre’.

Derived noun: C 5 Mlg *k^wána* ‘Fischnetz’; E 3 Tum *kə̀ḵkə̀ḵ* ‘spider’ (*k-* < Ch **ḳ-*).

//Eg *kn* (gr) ‘to weave’, *ḳny* (MK) ‘weaver’ [EG V 50]; Sem Arab *ḳinn-at-* ‘tortis, tresse dont se compose une corde de fibres de palmier’ [BK II 817].

The following Chadic root may be cognate:

a. **ḳVn-* ‘to tie; привязывать’: W 2 Grk *kyáḵ* ‘tie’ [BIY]; 4 Tsagu *ḳun-* ‘tie’ [SkNB]; 5 Bgh *kan-óḵ*, Buli *kə̀n-ə̀n*, Tala *kánu* ‘tie’; C 1 Gbn, Gaa *kínə̀-nčí*, Hona *kínə̀-ḵ*, Boka *kínə̀-dá* ‘to tie’ [Kr]; 6 (deriv. in *n-*) Buwal *ḵkan* ‘attacher’ [VOR 5], Musgoy *kə̀n* ‘attacher’ [Mo].

Derived noun: W 5 Tala *kə̀n-dí* ‘hobble’ [Cs]; C 8 Log *nḵune* ‘umbical cord’ [AIL]; 10 Dzpw *kaḵ* ‘corde d’arc’.

//Berb Qab *əkkən* 'to tie'.

[HSED №1546; CLD IV №384].

512. *kVwVn-/*kVnn- 'to burn; жечь': W 1 Hs *ḳóonà* 'burn', *ḳúunà* 'burning heat'; 4 Miya *kunna* 'light a fire' [SchM]; 5 Tala *konigi* 'burn' [Cs], Jimi *kaanəm*, Tala *kuuni*, Saya *koon* 'burn' < Hs [Cs], Kir *kwaṅa* [Smz] 'burn', Jimi *kən-gə* 'set a big fire to' [Cs №769]; E 2 Lele *kuny* 'rôtir, cuire sans eau' [SKHs 174], 'to roast'.

a. W *kVyVn- 'smoke; дым': W 4 Wtj *kyan*, Kar *kyanu*, Tsagu *ḳenu* Mburku *kanu* 'smoke' [SkNB], Miya *kyanuw* 'smoke' [SchM]; 5 Mangas *kən* 'smoke' [Cs], Zul *kunu* 'smoke' [BlZ].

//Om Mao **k'i/en-* 'burn': Sezo *k'in k'inà*, Mao D *k'yeni* [BndO 270]. [CLD IV №385].

513. *kVn- 'claw, nail; ноготь, коготь': W 1 Gwandara *ákuna* 'nail' [Jglb]; 2 Mnt *kan-sái* 'fingernail' ('fingernail-hand'), Goem *moc-kan-sa* 'loose chips of skin around the finger nails', *nḳen*, *nkéen* 'thorn' [TAS 206]; W 3 Bol *kon-koni* 'handnail, cuticle' [GAB], Krkr *k^wan-čá*, *kəčá* [Jglb] 'nail'; 5 Jimi *kin* 'nail' [Cs]; C 7 Balda cf. *li-kij* 'claw', Mbuko *g^wig^wen* (< *k^wi-g^wen* < **k^wi-k^wen*) 'nail, claw'; 8 Mak *nḳan* 'fingernail', Log *ʔəṅḳəṅ* 'nail' [Jglb], *nḳini* 'claw' [AIL]; E 4 Sok *koyŋ* 'nail' [Jglb], Barcin (dial) *kōkkiny* 'nail' [LvB]; 5a Mabire *go-koni* '(finger) nail' [JH].

a. *kVn-h- 'finger; палец': 2 Ngas *kong-sar* [Or], Mghv *nə kəṅ* (-ṅ# < -nH#) *sar* [JgS], Mpn *kōṅ sár* 'finger (of hand)'; C 8 Log *nḳina* [AIL], *nḳónha* [LkL], Maltam *nḳəṅ*, Afd *nḳan* 'finger' [Tr]; E 4 Sok *kónu* [Luk]; Ubi *kónyà* 'orteil, toe'.

Derived verbs: W 3 Krkr *kun-čü* 'scratch with nails' [GK]; E 5 Mig *kōkinyo* 'scratch (with teeth, nails)'; 6 Mok *ʔákkínè* 'scratch (tr.), to itch'.

//Sem Geez *qnw* 'transfix with nails, fasten with nails, nail, pierce with a spear, drive a stake into the ground', *qannot* 'nail, mark of nails' [LSG 436]. Note Ongota *kinə* 'claw' (if not a loan < E Cush Tsamai *kunuf* 'claw' [SIL]). [CLD IV №386].

514. *kVr- 'to cut; резать': W 1 Hs *ḳírá* 'cut off'; 3 Bol *káará*, Ngm *kara*, Pero *kara-* 'cut' [SchV], Ngm (G) *kára* 'slaughter' [NEH], Maka *káaróo* 'to cut marks' [SvM]; 10 Dzpw *kóra-k* 'élaguer, enlever épinés, brindilles, cut branches', Dari *kóra-k* 'élaguer les petites branches d'un arbre, enlever les épinés', Musey *kara* 'cut' [ShyM].

//Sem Arab *qʕr* ‘couper (les jarrets à une bête), abbatre, cut (trees)’ [BK II 314], *ʕqr* ‘couper les jarrets à une bête, abbatre, couper (un arbre)’ [BK II 610], ECush **kcr-/*kuur-* ‘cut’ [Ss 5], cf. Som, Oromo, Arb *kor-* ‘cut, carve’ [Hay], Bilin *karaaʕy-* ‘cut’ [RB], SCush Dah *kʕer-* ‘chop’ [EEN], ECush Oromo *kʕara*, Had *kʕara*, Gideʕo *kʕara-*, Sid *kʕara(mo)* ‘sharp, pointed’ [LmW 435], Omot Wolt *kʕer-* ‘to split’, Gamo, Dache *kʕara* ‘sharp, pointed’.

Root extension (*ʕ* as C₁ or C₂) in Arabic.

The following Chadic root (lacking an etymology) is worth mentioning:

a. ***kVr-** ‘to cut grass (with a sickle); косить траву’: W 1 Hs *kùrkurà* ‘cut short grass’; 4 Tng *kùraa* ‘cut grass with a sickle’; C 2 Bura *mə-kər* ‘cutting grass’ [BIB]; 7 Mofu *-kərw-* ‘to cut bush, grass (with sickle) to preepare a new farm’.

b. Cf. W ***[k]Vr-** ‘sickle; серп’: 3 Kupto *kùrì* [LgK]; 4 Mburku *kor* [SkNB]; 5 Mangas *kor*, Grnt *kəl* [Cs], Geji *kwil-tin* [Kr] (*-l- < *-r-*). [HSED №1556; CLD IV №387, SkH 171].

515. *kVVVr- ‘to bend, to be curved; a bend; гнуть, быть согнутым’: W 2 Goem *kur* ‘to bend’ [TAS 209]; 3 Ngm *kòkooṛò* (G) ‘bending down with buttocks in the air’ [NEH]; 4 cf. Wrij *kyar-ḡabe* ‘bow leg’ [BIW]; C 7 Muy *ékìr-dèhēy* ‘to crawl on knees’, Moloko *kərkay* ‘kneel’, Mada *ókʷrokʷá* ‘to incline, bend (working in the field)’; 8 Mak *ḡura ho* ‘twist, curve, bend’.

Deriv.: C 9 Mulwi *kúrmí* ‘être voué, be bent’; E 5 EDng *kóṛḡé* ‘beugen, to bend’ [Ebb].

//Sem Arab *ḡwr* ‘se tordre et former des replis avec son corps (serpent), to coil (snake)’ [BK II 833].

[CLD IV №389].

516. *kVr- ‘to burn; fire; жечь, огонь’: W 2 Goem *kuur* ‘to burn’ [TAS 209]; 3 Kkrk *kaarú-* [SchV], Kkrk *kaaru* ‘roast, burn’, (derived noun) *kaarau* ‘roasted meat’ [GK], Kupto *kurú* ‘to get burnt when cooking’ [LgK]; 4 Tsagu *ḡər-* ‘burn’ [SkNB]; 5 Zul *kéeri* ‘burn (of fire)’ [Cs №763]; 7 Mofu *-kákər-* ‘to burn’.

Deriv. in- *-n-*: C 4 Gude *kúṛə-ná?* ‘burning up completely’.

Derived noun: ‘fire’: 5-5a Gava *kara* [Kr], Wnd *kára*, Dghw *karà*, Gdf *kháṛá* [Jglb], Glv *kaara*, Mlg *kára*, Chn *kára* [Kim].

Derived noun: E 2 Lele *kurc* 'foyer, hearth'.

//Eg (Pyr) *kir* 'to fire, glaze pots' [EG V 61].

Note also the following local isogloss:

W 2 Mghv *kuur* 'ash' [JgS]; E 1 Kera *koráy* m. 'ash' ~ SCush Irq *qoro?* 'black earth mixed with soot hanging from above the fireplace' [MKQ].

[HSED №1533; CLD IV 390].

517. *kVr- 'to struggle; **драгаться**': W 3 Tng *karu* 'challenge, pick a fight'.

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): E 5 EDng *korčē* (< **kor-te*) 'einen Streit beenden, to finish a struggle' [Ebb].

Derived noun in *-m-*: ***kVr-m/w-** 'struggle, war': W 1 Hs *káaróo* (< **kVrVm/w-*) 'a physical struggle'; 3 Tng *kurma* 'struggle, effort'; E 3 Tum *kəraw* 'war' (*k*-< Ch **k-*).

Note W 5 Duw *kurul* 'expert, famous (in wrestling)'.

//Cf. Sem Geez *qaraya* 'hit, strike', *qarfa* 'hit on the head with a stick' [LsG 445, 439].

518. *kVr- 'to hollow; **выдалбливать**': W 5 Guus *kər* 'hollow out' [CrG].

Deriv. in *-f-*: C 8 Mak *krof* 'be hollow'.

a. ***k^wVr-** (< ***k^wVwVr-**) 'hollowed stone; cleft': W 2 Mpn *k^wor* 'stone with concave surface serving as water container for chicken, goats. Such stones are found around every household' [FrM30]; C cf. 2 Bura *k^wara-tu* 'breach'; 7 Mafa *kulok^w* (< *kVr-k^w*) 'creux dans un rocher, a cavity in a rock'.

//Sem Sab *mwkm* 'rock basin, cistern', Hebrew *mwqt* 'carved object' [Bll 146-7], Sab *wqr* 'stone, inscribed stone', *mwqt* 'rock-boring, forage dans le rock' [SD 161], Arab *waqīr-* 'grand creux dans un rocher où l' eau s'amasse et demeure stagnant', *waqr-at-* 'crevasse dans un rocher' (BK II 1583-4)

Note 'root variants' in Arabic (suggested by A.Belova): *wkr/mkr/nkr* 'to hollow (stone, wood)', *naqr-* 'hollow, cavity' [BK II 1323, 1583]. Cf. Eg *kr.t* (MK) 'Höhle, Loch, hole' [EG 58].

Note the following correlation: *prime waw* in Semitic ~ labialized velar in Chadic. [CLD IV №394].

519. *kV(y/wV)r- 'to abuse, to wrangle; evil': W 1 Hs *kčerau-kčerau* 'wrangling (esp. - adult with child)'; 3 Dera *kéráwò* 'malicious injury' [NmK], Krf *kóoru* 'to abuse' [Stl]; C 2 Bura *kera* 'to scorn, speak evil of' [BIB]; 3 Bana *kyárə* 'evil'; 9 Mnj *kiri* 'abuser'; 10 Azum *kraka* 'to insult' [PAz], Dari *kurúp* idf. 'maudire qqn., to curse'.

//Cf. Sem Arab *khr* ‘forcer, contraîndre, to force’, III stem ‘traïter qqn avec dureté’ [BK II 827].

520. *k(V)wVr- > *k^wVr- ‘to be angry’: W 4 Siri *a^kur*, Jmb *k^war*, Paa *k^war* ‘be angry’ [SkNB]; E 3 Tum *kòráw* ‘anger’ (Tum *k*- < Ch **k*-); 5 (deriv.) EDng *kínnyé* ‘se fâcher, to be angry’ [Dj].

//Geez *q^wrq^wr* ‘grieve, be uncomfortable, be angry, be in an uproar’, *q^werq^wer* ‘sorrow, anger, vexation’, Tna *q^wärq^wärä* ‘be sad’, Tgr *qärqärä* ‘be grieved, be angry’ [LsG 443]. Consider Cushitic - Omotic forms with a different velar as C₁: Cush Saho *kura* ‘rage, fit of anger’ [Vr], (agaw) **kar-* / **k^war-* ‘be angry’: Bilin *k’ahar-*, Xamta *k’ary-*, Chamir *kuar-*, *kar-* ‘be angry’, Omotic Moca *kaaro* ‘anger’, Kafa *kaar-* ‘get angry’ [ApAg].

521. *kVr- ‘a cry, noise’: W 1 Hs *káaráa* ‘exclaiming, crying out, a noise, sound’; 3 Krkr *kaarúwaa* ‘cries of praise, ritual speech’ [GK]; 10 Dari *kárará* ‘bruit, cri, noise’; E 5 WDng *kòriyá* ‘cri percent’.

//Sem Akk *qerú* ‘call, shout’, *qarú* ‘rufen’, Ug *qr?* ‘Ruf, Schrei’, Hbr, Aram *qr?* ‘rufen’ [Ais 281], Arab *qr?* ‘to read’ [BK II 701]. [HSED №1555, CLD IV №400].

522. *kVr- ‘top, height’: W 3 Kupto *karú* ‘high, tall’ [LgK]; 4 Miya *kyára-ti* ‘height’ [SchM]; C 3 FK *kya-kýra* ‘peak, zenith, top’ [BN]; E 2 Gbr *tā kūrī* ‘Sonnenuntergang, sunrising’ (*tā* ‘sun’) [Luk]; 5 Bid *káraw* idf. évoquant le fait de monter; 5b Kaj *kôh* ‘haut, high’, Mubi *kôh* ‘oben’ [Luk]. Cf. C 6 Mbedam *má-kár* ‘qui est élevé’ [NdP].

//Sem Arab *qarw-at-* ‘le haut de la tête, top of the head’ [BK II 730]. [CLD IV №401].

The following AA root may be cognate:

a. WCh **[k]Vr-* ‘hill’: 2 Grk *kir* ‘hill’ [Fp]; 5 Bade *kərii* ‘hill’, Duw *kəri* ‘hill, rise in the ground’.

//Sem Arab *qār-at-* ‘colline isolée’ < *qwr* [BK II 833], ECush Oromo *qara*, Som *qar* ‘mountain peak, cliff’ [LIS], Berb Shilh *iyar* ‘hill’. Note also Eg *k̄ȳ* (Pyr) ‘Hügel, hill’ [EG V 5] (if not of common origin with Eg *k̄ȳ* (Pyr) [kly] ‘hoch sein’, cf. **kVwVl-* ‘top, summit’).

[HSED №1552].

523. *kVr- ‘town, place’: W 3 Tng *kóro* ‘abode, world, life’; 5 Tala *kaaru* ‘town’ [Cs]; 6 Bade *kaár* ‘ward of town, quarter’; C 7 Mafa *k^wók^wár* ‘pays, région’; E 2 Lele *kōr*, Kaba *kōr* ‘place’ [HKb].

a. ***kVr-** 'hut': W 3 Krkr *k^waro* 'hut'; E 3 Smr *kirii* (*k-* < **k-*) 'house' [Luk]; 7 MM *kiri* 'house'.

Derived verb: ***kVr-** 'to live, to last': W 1 Hs *ḵárkóo*, (Go) *alko* 'durability, lasting a long time'; 3 Tng *kóri* 'to stay, live, dwell'; E 1 Mobu *kare*, Ngam *kár* 'attendre, wait' [Lns].

//Sem Ug *qr-t*, Hbr *qiryā*, Aram (Syr) *qerī-t*, Arab *qary-at*, Sab *qr* 'town, village' [Ais 283, SD 107, BK II 731], Omot Ometo *ḵera* 'house, dwelling', SCush Irq *ḵoori* 'brick house' [MMQ].

[HSED №№1568, 1589; CLD IV №404].

524. ***kVr-** 'white, clear': W 1 Hs *ḵárárii* 'clearness of water'; 3 Tng *karr* idf. 'clear'; 5 Grnt *karajj* 'clear, pure' [Jag]; C 2 Bura *karara* 'clear, light' [Ann]; 4 Gude *koo-kura* 'white metal'; 6 Buwal *kəróo kəróo* '(be) all white'; 7 Mofu *kár kár* 'very white, clear'; 9 Msg *kurii* 'rein, clean' [LkM]; E 3 Tum *kəṛə* (*k-* < **k-*) 'éclairer'; 5 WDng *kar* 'très blanc', *karajj* 'éclairci, net'; 6 Mok *kəṛeny* 'clair, clear'.

Derived verb. in *-t*: E 5 'to clean (=to make clear)': WDng *kôṛ-čč* 'nettoyer le fond d'une grand jarre, to clean the bottom of a jug', Bid *kerè-č* 'écoper un canari, nettoyer le fond d'un canari'.

//Sem Arab *qarāḥ-* 'propre, net; eau pure et limpide' [BK II 708].

[CLD IV № 409].

525. ***/k/Vs-** 'harmattan, dust': W 5 Bgh *dúj-kús*, Buli *kus-kgó*, Geji *kúš-ka* 'dust' [Cs], Tala *kiisi* 'ash' [Jglb]; C 5 Glv *ak^wšə-k^wša* 'fog of harmattan', Mlg *kúšc* 'Staubwolke, dust cloud'; 5a Hdi *kusay* 'harmattan' [BrH]; 7 Mafa *kusa* 'harmattan', Ould *kusi* 'brume sèche', Muy *kusi* 'dry dust, fog', Baka *kasay* [BAS] Mada *ók^wse* 'brume sèche, fog', *k^wsa-tát* 'couleur cendre, poussière, ash-coloured, dust', Moloko *kusay* 'brouillard, fog', Zlg *k^wise* 'brouillard, harmattan', Mofu *kusay* 'brume sèche, harmattan'; 7a. Skn *kusə* 'harmattan'.

In all Chadic languages reflexes of **k* and **k* have fallen together as *k*.

//Cf. Sem Arab *qsw* 'être sec et durci', *qsh* III stem 'sécher, dessécher' [BK II 735, 740]. [CLD IV №322].

526. ***kV(wV)s-** > *k^was-*/**kas-* 'itch, skin disease': W 1 Hs *ḵáswaa* (old Katsina), *ḵázwaa* 'scabies, crawl-crawl'; 2 Ngas *k^was* 'itch' [Fl], Mushere *k^wass* 'raches on buttock', Goem *k^was* 'skin disease' [TAS 215]; 6 Ngz *kəšà-tuwa*, Bade *əksa-tuwa* 'scabies', *kas-kasa* 'localized itch'; C 7 Chv

k^wɔ̃ʃɛ-k^wɔ̃ʃɛ ‘rougeole, measles’.

//Sem Arab *wqs* ‘ôter, tirer, enlever (la peau)’, *waks-* ‘gale (des chameaux), itch of camels’ [BK II 1584].

Note the following correlation: prime waw in Arabic ~ labialized velar in Chadic languages. [SkH 170, CLD IV №326].

527. *kVs- ‘fight, war’: W 2 Goem *kes* [Hlw] ‘wrestling’ [Fp]; 3 Bol *kòsin* [GAB], *kozi, kosin* [Bn], Tng *kci*, Pero *kéc*, Maaka *késən* ‘war’ [SvP]; 4 Diri *akizəla*, Tsagu *ḳəzan* (voicing in medial position), Mburku *ḳəsə*, Siri *ḳasa-ki*, Jmb *akəsu* [SkNB], Paa *ḳiši* ‘war’ [MS]; C 5 Glv *kušay* ‘to fight’. Cf. W 2 Goem *kas* ‘enemy’ [TAS 167].

//Cf. Sem Arab *ḳʿš* ‘tuer qqn d’un seul coup’ [BK II 782]. Note that two emphatics are not compatible in Chadic. [CLD IV № 327].

528. *kVs- ‘earth, sand’: W 1 Hs *ḳásáa* ‘earth, soil, country, land, district’ (note *ḳásáa* ‘any snake’); 5 Bohg *káas* ‘earth’ [Cs]; C 5 Mlg *késa* ‘sand’; 7 Chv *kós-kò* ‘sable aggloméré asses dur’, Muy *kós-kosā* ‘quartz’; E Lele *kūsō-* ‘field’, (Lele *kūsinyō* ‘terre, earth’, rather < *ku-sinyo* < Ch **sVn-*, cf. [CLD III № 298a]), Nch *kəsə* ‘terre’ [HmK]; 5 WDng *kòs-kò* ‘sable assez dur, se casse en pierre friable, hard sand’.

Deriv. W1 Hs *ḳásáḳásá* ‘of the colour of earth’; C 7 Ould *kùsà-tatà* id.

Derived adj. in *t-*: C 9 Mbara *túkùs* (if < *tu-kus*) ‘sandy’.

Note C 5 Pod *kasa* ‘to sift (sand)’.

//Cush Bilin *ḳuša* ‘sand’, Omot Mao *k’ets* ‘earth’: Hozo *k’etsi*, *k’es’i*, *k’ets’i*, Mao B *k’ets’e*, Mao D *k’etse* [BndO 355]. Two emphatics are not compatible in Chadic languages.

[Jglb *ḳtɔ*, SkH 168; CLD IV №328].

Consider: C 5 Glv *ks(a)* ‘village, country’; 7 Muy *kəsà* ‘village, country’, Baka *kəsà* ‘village’ [BAS] and Hausa *ḳásáa* ‘earth, soil, country, land, district’. Confusion of two roots//semantic shift//loan.

529. *kas- ‘bone’: W 1 Hs *ḳášii* ‘bone’; 2 Grk *yas* (< **a-kas*, cf. Musheré) [JgC], Musheré *ékés* [JgO] ‘bone’, Mnt *kəs* ‘Oberschenkel, upper leg’ [JgC]; 3 Grm *ókasi* [Jglb] ‘bone’; 4 Miya *kusiy* ‘bone’ [SchM], Wj *ḳaasū-nā*, Kar *ḳaasu*, Tsagu *ḳéḳəsən*, Mburku *ḳakəsə*, Jmb *ḳəkasi* [SkNB **kVs-* ‘bone’], Paa *ndi-ḳəsa* ‘thigh’ [MS]; 7 DB *kyás* ‘bone’, Bok *kyàs*, Sha, Richa *gyiš-áw* [JgR]; C 7 Baka *kla-kať* [BAS]; 6 Buwal *kəro-ḡgəť*

(secondary lateral, possibly < **kVs-k*, cf. C 9, E 5); 9 Msg *kéṭ-ké*, Mnj *ketke* (secondary lateral in CCh influenced by a velar); E 1 Kera *kəs-kən* (coll.), Kwang *kīsí-gi* [JgIb]; 5 Bid *kásko*, pl. *káski*, WDng *kaàsò* 'os'.

In another group of Chadic languages no trace of the initial velar can be found, namely:

a.W 3 Krkr *osu* [GK], Tng *wos*, Bol *ošoki* [GAB], Ngm *oso*, Krf *wóseni* [JgIb], Maka *ʔosó-k* [SvM]; C 1 Tera *g'et* [NmT]; 5 Wnd *šééše* [Mo], Glv *táta*, Dghw *táta*, Gdf *tátl* [JgIb], Cin, Chk *táta* [Kim], 7 Mafa *t-át*, Mofu *téí-éí*, Merey *mə-t-át*, Ould *átat* [KPr 28] 'bone', Gis *ʔat-éí* 'Knochen; Ei'; 10 Mesme (Zime) *aswou* [Kr]; 7a Skn *t-át*, 7 Muy *ātā-t*; 8 Log *háte*, *aate* [JgIb]; 10 Peve *so* [Vn], Dzpw *ússó*, *úsō*; E 4 Ubi *ʔèsá*, Mawa *əč* [HJ]; 5 Mabire *aso* [HJ], Mig *ʔassu*; 6 Mok *ʔossé*; 5a Mabire *aso*; 5b Brg *ʔásó*, Jegu *ʔaso* 'bone' [JgIb].

In addition to the loss of initial *k-*, at least two more problems exist:

a. secondary lateral in CCh and b. geminated sibilant in C 10, E 5, 6. Postulating a **t-* prefix⁵⁸ on the proto-level we can solve them all. Languages of the first group deleted the prefix, and it can be traced only by voicing/velarization of C₁: **t-ḵVs-* > *t-g/γVs-* > *g/γVs-*. In the second group, on the contrary, the root vowel was deleted: **ta-ḵVs-* > *ta-ḵs-*. Contact position provoked lateralization of a sibilant in CCh languages: *ta-ks-* > *ta-kt-*. Next steps are as follows: *ta-kt-* > *ta-ḥ-* (assimilation) and *ta-ḥ-* > *taḥ-* (geminated laterals are not allowed in most of Chadic languages). In W, E Ch and in masa languages **ta-ks-* > *ta-ss-* > *ass-/as-*.

Thus, Chadic **ta-ḵas-* 'bone' accounts for all the forms in Chadic languages. // Eg *ḵs* (Pyr) 'bone' [EG V 68], Omot Nao *ḵus* (note Dizi *us*, *uuss*), Dime *ḵoss*, *ḵuus* [BndO 207], LECush Geleba *ḵas* 'bone, leg', Sem Arab *ḵass-* 'os du sternum' [BK II 735]; Berb Shilh *iys*, Snus *i-yes*, Qab *i-yes*, Ghdm *i-yes*, Siwa *iyes* 'bone', Ahg *eyses*, Ayr-EWlm *e-yas* [apud TAS I 214]. Cf. Cush-Omot **m-ḵAç[ç]*- (> Sid *mīḵiččō*; Shin *mēḵiça*, etc.) in [Долг 266].

[Chn №225 (Arab, Eg, Hs); Gr №11, JgIb **ḵs₃*, MSt №60, HSED №1557; CLD IV №329, BlžO №10, EDE I 214-5 with all the references⁵⁹, St 65,

⁵⁸ Cf. also **t-sin-* 'nose', on Chadic dental prefix cf. [StD].

⁵⁹ Note that WCh 2 **fyis-* 'bone' (> Ngas *yis* 'bone, fish bone, fibres of trees', Mpn *fyés*, Mghv *áiyés* 'bone', etc.) and ECh 2 Lele *is* 'fibre, fish bone' go back to Ch

530. *kVs- 'arrow': C 9 Mbara *kése* 'fèche, shaft'; 10 Masa *kīse* 'arrow' [CC], *kizè* [LexC]; E 'arrow': 1 Kwang *késè* [Jglb]; 3 Ndam *kēsé* (*k-* < *k-, but *g-* < *k-); 4 Ubi *keese* [Alio], Sok *kése* [Jglb], Barein (dial.) *kescé, kese, kēsé* [LvB].

a. ***kVs- 'bow':** C 9 Msg *kise* [LkM]; E 3 Tum *kēsé*, Ndam *ʔadū-kēsé* (*k-* < *k-); 4 Sok *sáwīj kēsé* [Jglb]; 5 Mig *késcé*, Bid *keese*.

//Sem Geez *kast*, Arab *kaws-*, Hbr *kāsāt*, Akk *kaštu* 'bow' [LsG], Cushitic Bilin *kis-t* seems to be a Semitic loan. According to [Jglb I 18]: "*kese*, etc., 'bow', which exists in some South-Eastern languages, is a Bagirmi loan in Chadic (cf. also *kese*, etc., 'arrow')".

The correlation between 'bow' and 'arrow' in Chadic languages is not clear. In Ndam and Sokoro 'bow' is derived from 'arrow' and, thus, can hardly be a loan from Bagirmi 'bow'. (Note that Bagirmi *kese* 'bow' is a Sem loan). It is possible to postulate the following semantic shift in Chadic: 'bow' > ['bow and arrow'] > 'arrow'. The intermedial stage preserves in the musgu group: Musgu *kise* 'Bogen' [LkM], Mbara *kése* 'fèche, shaft' [TMba].

Thus, Ch ***kVs- 'bow, arrow'** seems to be cognate with Semitic 'bow', while E 5 *keese* 'bow' may be a Bagirmi loan.

[Con 128, HSED №1560, Jglb *kese*, CLD IV №330].

531. *kVwVt- 'to eat (soft food), food; есть (мягкую пищу); еда': W 1 Hs *kútaa* 'take and taste a very small quantity of fura'; 3 Bol *kautaa* 'to feed' [GAB], Tng *kute* 'to prepare soup (made of leaves)', *k^wete* 'k of food (of pumpkin, groundnut)', Krkr *kútaa* 'warmed up tuwo' [GK]; E 10 Dzpw *k^wati* 'food' [Kr].

//Sem Arab *qwt* 'nourrir qqn', *kūt-at-* 'nourriture, food' [BK II 830], Mhr *qawt*, Jib *kit* 'food' [JnM 247].

[HSED №1561, CLD IV №317].

532. *[k]VwVt- > k^wVt- 'to hunt, to trace; hunt; охотиться, следить; охота': W 2 Ngas *k^wat* 'hunting' [FI], Mghv, Mpn *k^wat* 'hunt' n., Mpn *k^wat* 'to hunt', Mush, Goem *k^wat* 'to hunt' [TAS 190]; 3 Glm *k^wàz-aala* 'to hunt' (-z-< -t is regular); C 7 Mafa *k^wét-* 'guetter, épier, surprendre', Zlg

*H(V)vis- 'fish bone, fibre' (but not to Ch **kVs-* 'bone', as in [EDE I 214]).

k^wat ‘guetter, épier, to trace, to spy’. Cf. CCh 5 Mlg *kāta* ‘suchen, wollen, wünschen’. Reflexes of Ch **k-* and **ḳ-* have fallen together as *k-*.

Derived noun in *m-*: C 7 Ould *mā-k^wādā* (voicing in medial position) ‘type de chasse qui s’effectue en groupe d’hommes pendant le mois de mai, kind of group-hunting’, Mada *mō-k^wcté* ‘hunter’, *mé-g^wite*, *mō-k^wcté* ‘a hunt’.

//Cf. Sem Arab *qtw* V stem ‘attraper, tromper qnn’ [BK II 775].

Note the following correlation: *w* as C₃ in Arabic ~ labialized velar in Chadic.

[CLD IV 102].

533. **[ḳ]VwVt- > ḳ^wat-* ‘to coil, to envelop’: 2 Ngas *k^wat* ‘the hemming’ [FI], Goem *k^wat* ‘to coil (rope, snake)’ [TAS 215]; E 5 EDng *kóóté* ‘be-, zudecken, cover’ [Ebb].

//Sem Arab *ʔkt* ‘entourer, envelopper’ [BK II 318]. Root extensions (*ʔ* as C₁) in Arab, but (*w* as C₂) in Ch.

534. **ḳV(wV)t- > ḳ^wVt-* ‘louse’: W 1 Hs *k^wark^wata*, *k^warkata* (< **k^waṭk^waṭ-*) ‘louse’ (note numerous Hausa loans in WCh languages, e.g. Krf *k^wark^wato*, etc.); 3 Krkr *kuṭ-kušum*, *kuš-kutum* ‘fowl lice’ [GK]; C 7 Chv *māk^wotē-k^wotē* ‘insect à tête pointu, insect with a pointed head’.

Cf. also: ****ḳ^wVt-* ‘kind of insect’:** W 2 Ngas *k^wat* ‘cattle tick’ [FI]; 3 Krkr *k^wata-far* ‘cockroach’ [GK]; C 2 Bura *k^wat-ka* ‘doodle bug’.

//Sem Geez *q^wətni* ‘louse’ [LsG 454]. Note that *-n-* is “widely attested as a suffixed element in animal names” [MR 85], for supporting evidence see [ibid. 101-105].

PCh **-t-* reflects AA **-t-* and *-*t-*.

[Cf. SED №№ 140-1, CLD IV №319].

535. **ḳVt-* ‘huge’: W 1 Hs *kaato* ‘huge’, *kataaro* ‘strong man’; 4 Paa *kuṭu-kuṭu* ‘greatly’ [MS]; C 7 Mafa *k^wata-kewataʔa* ‘gros’.

//Sem Geez *k^watata* ‘be fat’ [LsG 455]. [CLD IV №320].

536. **[ḳ]VwVt- > *ḳ^w]it-* ‘small, narrow; маленький, узкий’: W 2 Ngas *k^wiit* ‘small, narrow’ [FI], Mship *kət* ‘thin’ [Kr]; C 5a Hdi *k^witik^w* ‘small’ [BrH]; 7 Mafa *k^witeʔe* ‘small’, *kété* ‘un peu’; 10 Dzpw *k^wétété* ‘étroit’.

In all the languages Ch **k-* and **ḳ-* > *k-*.

//Cush agaw **əq^wt-* ‘be small, few’ Bilin *ʔək^wt-əw*, Xamta *wit-u/wit-ək^ww*, also Aungi *qutt-* ‘be thin’ “i.e., < **q^wət-* with ref.-pas. verbal extension” [ApAg 66], cf. also [Долг 83].

In the view of *q in agaw, this isogloss cannot be cognate with Ch-Eg *kat- 'small; маленький' (№471).

537. *[k]Vɪ-/*[k]VwVɪ- 'to beat, to thresh': 6 Bade kətu 'thresh in mortar'; E 5 Mig koččo 'battre', WDng kəččə 'frapper avec un instrument sans relâche', EDng koččə 'battre, frapper fort, battre le mil' [Dj].

Deriv.: C 7 Zlg k^witc 'frapper'. In all Ch languages *k- > k-.

//Sem Arab kšš 'broyer, écraser en frottant dans la main' [BK II741].

Viewing a tenable semantic shift: 'to beat, to pound' > 'to smith', the following isogloss is worth mentioning:

a. *kVwVɪ- 'to forge, to thresh': W 4 Siri k^wata, Diri k^watu 'forge' [SkNB]; C 2 Bura kita 'blacksmith forge; a smelter'.

//Sem Arab nqš 'battre monnaie, frapper (des pièces de monnaie)' [BK 1325]. Root extension (n as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD IV №338]

538. *kVwVɪ- 'to be ripe, sated': W 1 Hs kóosa 'ripen, become full-grown, of full strength; be well-fed, be well off'; C 8 Mak k^wasi '(be) sated, full' [AIM], k^wasi 'être plein' [Tr].

//Cf. Sem Arab kšš (u) 'se trouver de nouveau en bon état, après avoir été maigre' [BK II 740], Cush Oromo kassoo 'ripe' [SkH 174].

[CLD IV №339].

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539. *IV 'to take, брать': W 2 Ngas la 'take, accept' [FI], lá 'nehmen, empfangen, heiraten' [JgA], Mushere loo 'keep, hold' [JgO] (contamination with *hV 'to get, to receive'); 7 Mofu -l- 'prendre (chose, femme), transporter'; E 6 Mok lí?è (if not < *lidè) 'piquer qqn avec les ongles; prendre une bouchée de boule'.

a. *IVw- 'to seize, get by force; схватить, взять силой': W 3 Pero lawwò 'seize, get by force', Kupto lawéy 'to seize, to grab, to confiscate, to deprive' [LgK]; 4 cf. Miya law 'pick (fruit)' [SchM]; C 1 Tera lawà [NmT] 'to seize'; 7 Mofu -luw- 'prendre, suspendre, accrocher, mettre à l'épaule'.

Redupl. C 7 Mofu -lal- 'voler, dérober', cf. Balda ?alái? 'voler, dérober' [Bry].

//Sem Soq le- 'to seize' [LsS], SCush Dah law- 'to pick, pluck' [EEN], cf. also Eg iw? (MK) 'fortnehmen, take away' [EG I 49]. One of numerous

proto-forms of Eg *l̥w* is [l̥w?], see [EDE I 86].

[CLD I №4].

540. **lay/w-* ‘to bend; гнутья’: W 1 Hs *lau* ‘bending oneself backwards’, *lauya* ‘bend pliable thing round and come back’; 3 Dera *lai* ‘to turn aside’ [NmK], Pero *lawu* ‘bend’, Bol *lawaa* ‘cause to swerve or sway back and forth’ [GAB]; C 10 Dari *ley* ‘(s’)ecarter’, Dzpw *lai* ‘courber, s’incliner’; E 5a EDng *layē* ‘sich beugen’ [Ebb].

Derived noun: W 2 Mghv *lílyú* ‘Regenbogen’ [JgS]

//Sem Mhr, Hars *lewō-* ‘bend’, Tgr *lawya* ‘crooked’ [LsG 322], Arab *Iwy* ‘tordre (corde), courber, plier; tourner qqch à droite ou à gauche’ (contamination of semantics with the next root) [BK II 1045],

[HSED №1658 Sem+Hs, ZB (=Dzpw); CLD I №19].

541. **IVwVy -* ‘to surround; wrap; окружать, заворачивать’: W 4 (redupl.) Paa *laliya* ‘to surround’ [MS]; C 7 Zlg *le(-r)* ‘entourer’ [VM]; E 5a WDng *leyē* ‘encercler, enfermer’, *law* idf. l’idee de détour’, (redupl.) EDng *law-luwē* ‘enrouler tout autour’ [Dj]; 6 Mok *lewíyē* ‘entourer’, *lawwē* ‘faire la tour’; 5b Mubi *lawlawé* ‘envelopper’ [JgL].

Deriv. in *-d-* (marks an object): C 7 Mbuko *luwa-d* ‘mettre un turban sur la tête’.

//Sem Geez *lawaya* ‘twist, wind, wrap around’, Akk *lawû* ‘wrap up’, Tna *lawäyá* ‘to twist’, Tgr *lawla* ‘wind around’ (from *lwlw*) [LsG 322], Arab *Iwy* ‘tordre (corde), courber, plier; tourner qq chose à droite ou à gauche’ [BK II 1045], Jib *Iwy* ‘to turn’ [JnJ].

a. **IVʔ/w-* ‘to plait; плести’: E 1 Kwang *le* ‘tresser’ [VM]; 3 Tum *ēl* ‘tresser (une natte, en paille)’.

Derived noun: C 10 Dari *lāʔ*, Dzpw *lāʔā* ‘mat’.

//Cush Bed *luwi* ‘twist together, plait’ [RBd].

One cannot exclude common origin with the previous root (note confusion of semantics in Arabic *Iwy*).

[CLD I №№20, 10].

542. **[a]ʔ/w-* (probably, < **laʔVw-*) ‘to give birth; родить’: W 2 Mghv *laa* [JgS], Goem *laa* [Hff], Ngas *le* [Kr], Grk *ləʔ* ‘give birth’ [BIY], Mpn *la*, Mushere *laa* [JgO] ‘give birth, beget’; 3 Dera *loi* ‘give birth to’ [NmK], Bol *lew-* ‘gebären’ [LkB], Krkr *law-* [LkK], Glm *ly-aala*, Gera *loo-mí* [SchB], Krf *leʔey* ‘bear a child’ [Stl], Maka *lowó* [SchM], Pero *la* ‘give birth’, Tng

layi 'bear a child, produce, beget', Kupto *layéy* 'to give birth, to deliver; to beget; to appear (of a fruit)' [LgK]; 7 DB *lu?* 'give birth' [JgR], Karfa *loul* 'give birth (child)' [RC]; E 5a Bid *laa* 'pondre, donner les fruits'. Cf. W 3 Krkr *laawaa* 'birth, fruit' [GK].

Derived noun: ***IVV, *IVw/?- 'child, boy, son; ребенок, мальчик, сын'**: W 2 Ngas *le* [Fl], Mghv *laa*, pl. *žep* [JgS], Goem *la* 'child (usually a male child); any offspring, including fruits' [Hlw], pl. *jya?ap* [Jglb], Mpn *laa* 'child', Mushere *laa* 'child, son' [JgO]; 3 Krkr *leewi*, pl. *leewai* 'boy, child' [GK], Bol *laawo*, pl. *daandé* 'boy, son, child' [GAB], Dera *lowo* 'child, son, daughter', pl. *ámbo* [NmK], Krf *laawo* 'child', *laa-ti leši* 'suckling' f. [Stl], Pero *laaw* 'son', Ngm (G) *laa*, (Y) *la* 'son, child, small' [NEH], Glm *laa*, pl. *bwéc* 'boy, son', Gera *laawi* 'boy, son', Geruma *lawo* 'boy' [SchB], Kupto *laa* 'child; young; little, small' [LgK], Tng *lawo* 'child', Bure *laawo* 'child, boy, son', Maka *laa* 'child' [SvP]; 4 Mburku *lii* 'son, boy' [SkNB], Miya *lay* 'boy, son' [SchM]; C 6 Buwal *ma-lay* 'only child'; 8 Mak *lo* 'son, daughter, child'.

Derived adj. ***IV(V)/*IVw- 'small, young, new; маленький, новый'**: W 2 Mpn *lee* 'short, little', Mghv *lee* 'jung' [JgS], Mushere *lee* 'smallness' [JgO]; 3 Tng *la* 'small', Pero *law* 'young', *lawlíw* 'small'; C 5 Gdf *ulíwa* 'new' [Kim]; 12 Dzpw *lá* 'nouvelle'. Note a diminutive marker: W 2 Mpn *la-*; 3 Pero *la-*.

//Sem Akk *la?ú* (Oakk) 'small child' [CAD I 114]. Cf. probably Arab *la?-āt-* 'chienne' [BK II 1004].

[Jglb I 35, CLD I №15].

543. *IVw- 'a lie; to lie; ложь, лгать': W 3 Dera *líwó* 'a lie, a falsehood' [NmK]; C 8 Bud *loo* 'a lie' [LkBd]; E 5a EDng *lawlúwē* 'lügen' [Ebb].

//Sem Arab *wl?* 'mentir' [BK II 1604]. Note promotion of *prime waw* from C₁ to C₂ in Chadic languages. [CLD I №44].

544. *IV?w- 'to speak; говорить': W 2 Mpn *lé* 'to talk', Ngas *li* 'speak' (alternatively both forms may go back to Ch **ti*); 3 Glm *lúw-áala* 'to say' [SchB], Krf *lo?ey* 'to say' [Stl]; C 5 Dghw *la?i* 'speak'; 6 Daba *ləwá* 'parler' [LnhR]; 9 Mulwi *lúwí* 'speak'; 10 Dari *lā?* 'dire', Dzpw *lá?á* 'dire au revoir, résonner', Masa *law* 'parler' [CC], *law* 'dire, parler' [LexC]. Cf. C 5 Hdi *lawi* 'voice' [BrH].

a. ***IVl- 'to cry, a cry, to call; звать, кричать; крик'**: W 3 Bol *luul-* 'to cry'

7 DB *laal* ‘cry’ (n.), Richa *loyó*, Bok *lay* ‘rufen, to call’ [JgR]; C 7 Mafa *láláw* ‘cri de peur’; 10 Bud *luúlu* ‘Trauergesang, -geschrei, mourning song, -cry’ [LkBd]; E 4 Sok *lolólle* ‘Geschrei’ [Luk]; E 5a Bid *lool* ‘pleurer, crier’, *loola* ‘cri d’alarme’.

//Sem Geez *lahawa* ‘to mourn, weep’ [LsG 312], Hbr *ʔlh* (qal) ‘to wail’, Aram *elāʔ* [KB 49].

[CLD I №16].

545. *IVw- ‘to burn; жечь’: W 3 Pero *laaló* ‘burn’; C 10 Dzpw *laó*, Dari *lāw* ‘griller à la flamme’; E 2 Tob *ʔlwā* ‘être chaud’. Cf. C 7 Mada *álwá* ‘fondre’

//Sem Geez *lolawa* ‘inflammé, kindle, scorch’ [LsG 314], Cush Bed *luw* ‘brennen, verbrennen, anzünden’ [RBd], cf. SCush Irq *lay-* ‘to brand cow’ [Eh 203]. [CLD I №22].

546. *IVʔ- ‘to make, to do; делать’: W 2 Ngas *le* ‘to force, complete’ [Fl], Mghv *le* ‘machen, veranlassen’ [JgS]; 3 Tng *láli* ‘do, act (secretely)’; 4 Diri *lu* ‘make, do’ [SkNb]; C 6 Buwal *lá* ‘act, do’; 10 Dzpw *lá* ‘affaire, parole’, Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *lí*, Lew, Marba *lé* ‘faire’ [LexC]; E 2 Kaba *lə* [JgIb], Tob *le* ‘faire’; 4 Sok *l-* ‘faire’ [VM]; 5a Mig *líyáw* ‘do’; 5b Brg *lí* (*la, lo*) ‘faire’, Mubi *laa, líyá* ‘make’ [JgIb].

//Sem Akk *leʔú(m)* ‘ermächtigen (Götter)’ [AHw 1571], *leʔú* (OAkk on) ‘to be able (to do smth.), to master’ [CAD I 152].

[JgIb I 113a, CLD I №3].

547. *IVʔ/wy- ‘to stand up, rise (sun); подниматься, всходить’: W 2 Mnt *lā* ‘aufgehen (Sonne), aufstehen’ [JgC]; 3 Krf *layéy* ‘stand up; rise (sun)’ [Stl], Geruma *lé-*, Gera *lí-mí* ‘stand up’ [SchB]; 7 DB *leʔ* ‘anbrechen (Tag)’, *lá* ‘auf’; C 5a Hitk *luwá* ‘oben’ [LkH]; 7 Zlg *lāw* idf. ‘placing smth up high’; 8 Log *lá* ‘aufheben, in die Höhe gehen’ [LkL]; E 1 Kera *luu* ‘monter’ [VM], *lí* ‘hinaufs teigen, (be)steigen’ [Eb].

Derived nouns: W 3 Krf *lii-ni* ‘daybreak’ [Stl]; C 8 Mak *lawo* ‘top’.

//Sem Arab *lyh* ‘être haut, élevé’ [BK II 1051]. [CLD I №14].

548. *lu(u) ‘hut, place, town; хижина, город, место’: W 2 Ngas *lu* [Fl], Mnt, Mghv *lú* [JgIb], Goem *luu* [Hff], Miship *lə* [JgC] ‘hut’, Goem *lú* ‘any kind of settlement’ [Hlw], Mushere *lú* ‘house’ [JgO]; 5 Geji *luu* ‘place’ [Cs №420], Bgh *luway yip* ‘boat’ (=‘house water’) [Cs]; E **ku-ku* ‘hut’: 1 Kwang (Mobu) *kú-lú*, Kera *ku-li*; 3 Smr *kū-lū*; 2 Lele *ku-l* [JgIb].

Note E 1 Kera *aluwa* 'drinnen (in der Hütte); inside (the hut)'.

//Eg *iwj.t* (OK) 'house', (MK) 'quarter of town' [EG I 49] (Egyptian parallel is relevant if *i* follows AA **l*), Berb Ghdm *ta-li, ta-līw-in* 'room'.

a.C **luw-* 'village; деревня' (old pl. in *-w-?*): 5 Dghw *luwa* 'town' [Kr]; 5a Hdi *luwa* 'village' [BrH].

//SCush Dah *lawā* 'village' [EEN], Qwadza *lawāʔa* 'local community' [Eh].

Note Eg *nw* (Пур) 'Dorf, village' (if = [lw]) [EG III 210].

[HSED №1695; EDE I 132 Eg *nw*+SCush; CLD I №29].

549. **lVw(h)-* 'wild animal(s), meat; дикое животное, мясо': W 2 Mnt *luwaa* 'Tier, Fleisch' [JgC], Mpn *lūa* 'flesh (animal or human, may include bones); meat, animal', Goem *Iwa* 'animal' [Hff], *Iwa* 'any type of animal, (excepting *sh'arap* 'fish' and *yar* 'bird'), meat (of animals, fish, birds), flesh (of humans) [Hlw], Mghv *luwaa*, Tal *lwah* (pl.), Grk *lia*, Goem *lowa* 'meat' [Jglb], Mnt, Goem *lua*, Grk *lia* 'meat, flesh' [Fp], Mushere *luwaa* 'meat, (bush) animal' [JgO]; 3 Dera *lūu* 'wild animal, meat' [NmK]; Bol *lu* [GAB], Pero *ló*, Tng *lo* 'meat, animal', Krkr *ló* [Jglb], Ngm (G) *lu*, (Y) *lu* 'meat, flesh' [NEH], Maka *loo* 'meat' [SvM], Bol *lo* 'meat, animal' [GAB], Gera *lāwí*, Bele *lóʔo* 'meat' [SchB], Krf *ʔallo* 'meat' (pl.) [Stl], Kupto *loo* 'meat, flesh' [LgK], Bure *lóʔo* 'meat'; 7 Bok *ló*, Sha *lu/ow* 'Fleisch', DB *ló(h)* 'Fleisch', Fyer *lóʔ* coll. 'Tier, Fleisch' [JgR], Monguna *líw*, Karfa *líw*, Fyer *lo* 'meat, animal' [RC], DB *lo ti ya*, Tambas *liw hu* 'wild animal' [RC]; C 1 Tera, Jara *lu* [Meek], Gaʔanda *liwa* [Kr] 'meat'; 10 Masa *lúway* 'troupeau, le betail' [CC]. Cf. W 7 Bok *ló* 'body' [JgR].

//Sem Arab *lāʔa-* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', *lāʔ-at-* 'vache sauvage' [BK 954], Akk *littu*, Hbr *leʔā* 'cow' [KB 468], Jib *leʔ* 'wild bull', Soq *ʔalha* 'cow' [LsS]; ECush **loʔ-* 'cows' (coll.): Saho *laa*, Afar *lāa* 'catle, cows', Som *loʔ*, Rend *l'óíyo*, Boni *l'óíʔ* 'cattle', dullay **loʔ* 'cow' [Ss, AMS, HnS], agaw **lōw* 'cow' [ApAg]; Eg *iwʔ* (AR) 'Ox, Rind' [EG I 49] (considered [**lwʔ*] in [EDE I 86]).

Judging by semantics, ECush **lVwʔ-* is a suppletive pl. ('cattle, cows') of AA **lVw-* 'cow', see №831.

[Coh №432: Sem, Cush; Fron 6.60 **layʔ-* 'toro', *layʔ-at-* 'vacca', Доиг 169; SED II №142, HSED №1682; EDE I 86 (with all the references); Jglb I 116, CLD I №30]. For Ch, SCush, ECush **loʔ-* 'cattle', Sem **sáy/*sVʔ-* 'sheep or goat' see [Dlg №49].

550. *IVb(VH) -> IVb/b- 'to mix (clay); смешивать глину': W 4 Paa *libá* 'to mix (clay)' [MS], Miya *labə* 'mix mud' [SchM]; C 5 Pod *labá* 'to mix'; 5a Hdi *labay* 'to mix' [BrH]; 7 Mbuko *lāb* 'to mix'; E 2 Lele *lobò* 'melanger avec de l'eau'.

Deriv.: C 4 Gude *kə-ləbə* 'stir sauce when cooking' (for the same pref. see, eg., *kə-rəp* 'eating up completely').

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *laabúu* 'rolls of moist clay ready for use in building a corn bin'; C 10 Azum *lubuna* 'lumps of dirt, clay', *labu ma b'lorina* 'potter's clay' [PAZ]. Alternatively may be cognate with (or borrowed from) Sem Arab *labin-* 'brick cuite a soleil' [BK II 962], Hbr *ləben*, Ug *lbut* id. [KB 472].

//Sem Geez *labha* 'make earthenware', Amh *lābəh* 'clay brick' [LsG 305].

Secondary emphatization of *-b-* correlates with *h* as C₃ in Geez.

[CLD I №76, Белова 82-84].

551. *IVb- 'to moisten, wash; стирать, окунать в воду': C 2 Bura *liba* 'to dampen, moist' [Ann]; 6 Daba *lāv*: 'tremper dans l'eau' [Lnh]; 8 Log *lebuu* 'waschen' [LkL], *libi-wun* 'to wash (utensils)' [AIL]; E 1 Kera *libi* 'eintauchen'.

Deriv.: *IVb- 'to soak; мочить': C 2 Chb *lup-ti*, Klb *aliüb-tü*, Bura *libə*, West Mrg *ləb-di* [Kr]; 3 Kap *libi-ke*, HF *ləbə-si* [Kr], FK *yəlb-tu?* 'moisten' [Kr], Bana *ləbə* 'tremper'; C 5 Pod *ləba* 'to soak', Gava *lūbū-gana* 'moisten' [Kr]; 7 Mofu *-lā-ləb-* 'amollir en faisant tremper', Mada *óibo* 'mouiller, humidifier', 6 Daba *lūb* 'tremper pour faire mou' [Lnh]; 10 Dari *lāb*, Dzpw *lāb* 'moisten', Musey, Lew, Marba *lap* (<*lap#) 'mouiller' [LexC].

Derived noun/adj.: W 1 Hs *lábélábé* 'soggy (soil)', *lūbū-lūbuu* 'sogginess'.

Note: C 6 Daba *lāv* 'tremper dans l'eau' ~ C 6 Daba *lūb* 'tremper pour faire mou'. Consider Ch *IVb- as an intensive form of *IVb-, marked by emphatization of a labial.

//Sem Arab *hīb* 'tremper, mouiller de rosée ou d'une pluie', *?ahlab-* 'pluvieux (jour, année)' [BK II 1436]. Root extension (*h-* as C₁) in Arabic. Cf. *ibḥw* (MR) 'Wasser sprengen', *ibḥ* (Med) 'feucht sein (von etw.)' [EG I 64]. According to [EDE I 78-91], Eg *i* may go back to AA *y, *w, *?, *r *l. The last variant: Eg *ibḥ* = [lḥ] allows to link Eg and Ch *IVb-.

Viewing a tenable semantic shift: 'mouiller d'une pluie' > 'pluie', the following isogloss is worth mentioning:

a. **IVb-* ‘rain; дождь’ > **luban* (pl. in *-n-*) ‘rainy season’: W 4 Tsagu *lūban* ‘rainy season’ [SkNb]; C 4 Gude *ləbá-tá* ‘light rain’.
[HSED №1196; CLD I №65].

552. **IVb-* ‘to fold; сворачивать’: W 3 Tng *laabe* ‘to fold’; E 5a WDng *lūbiyè* ‘mettre un vêtement en double’.

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): W 6 Ngz *lūbū-tú* ‘entwine, wind around and around’; C 10 Dzpw *lūbu-t* ‘couvrir de qqch’.

a.W **IVb(ḡ)-* ‘to cover (completely); укрыть (полностью)’: W 1 Hs *lūllūbaa* (< **lūb-lūbaa*) ‘completely cover the body with clothes’; 3 Bol *liḡḡ* ‘bedecken’ [LukB], 3 Kupto *lūḡḡéy* ‘to cover with cloth’ [LgK].

Note that more intensive semantics correlates with *-ḡ-* as C₂.

Cf. C 5 Mlg *na-lébu*; 10 Bud *ka-lābi* ‘Turban’ [LkBd]. Possibly, an Arabic loan.

//Sem Arab *labīb-at-* ‘sorte de vêtement’ [BK II 955].

[CLD I №64].

553. **IVHVb-/*IVbVH-* > *IVḡ-* ‘to smear; смазывать’: W 1 Hs *lāllabā* (< **lāḡ-lāḡā*) ‘smear thick substance on any part of body; spread clay on beams’; 2 Ngas *lap* ‘polish, smooth, smear’ [Fl]; C 4 Gude *ləḡə* ‘dip out thick substance’.

Deriv. in *-d-* (introducing an obj.): W 3 Tng *laba-da* ‘to coat with mud’.

Derived adj. ‘sticky’: W 3 Krf *lebu lebu* ‘sticky’ [Stl]; C 2 Bura *li-libu* ‘slick, smooth, slimy’ [Ann]; 7 Mofu *-ləḡ-* ‘render gluant (sausage), glisser entre les doigts’, *laba laba* ‘gluant liquid’; E 2 Lele *librè* ‘gluant; sticky’.
Cf. C 8 Mak *labi go* ‘glue, collar’.

//Sem Arab *lwb* II stem ‘enduire d’onguent’ [BK II 1036], ECush Burji *rab-*, Had *lab-* ‘anoint, smear’ [Hds]. Root extension (*w* as C₂) in Arabic.

In the view of a tenable semantic shift: ‘fat, grease’ > ‘to smear (with grease)’ > ‘sticky’, the following local isogloss is worth mentioning: W Ch 4 Diri *lābā* ‘fat, grease’ [SkNb]; 5 Pod *ləḡa* ‘to become fat gradually’ ~ Sem Aram Jud *lubh* ‘fat, butter’ [Sok 281]. Note the following correlation: *-ḡ-* in Chadic ~ *b+h* in Semitic.

[CLD I №69].

554. **lib-* ‘heart; сердце’: C 2 Bura *libu* ‘small weed with heart’ shaped leaf [Ann], Klb *libibi*, Hld *mi-lpuba* ‘heart’ [Kr]; 5 Chn *ərví-dā* [Kim], Mlg *ərva-*, Dghw *arve*, Wnd *ʔurvə-* [Kr], Glv *ərvída* ‘heart’ (for Ch **IVb-*

> ?V**l**b- >?V**r**b- in CCh see also ***IVb-(r)- ‘lion’**); E 6 Mok *ʔulbé* ‘heart’. Cf. CCh 6 Musgoy *lib* ‘belly’ [JgIb], Daba *libe* ‘stomach’ (for similar confusion of semantics see Cush Bed).

//Sem ***libb-** ‘heart’ [SED №174], Cush Bed *leb-* ‘stomach, heart’ [RBd], agaw **lɔbɔ-k-/*laba-k-* [ApAg], ECush ***lubb-** ‘heart’ [Ss], Eg *ib* (OK) ‘heart’ [EG I 59].

[Coh №433; ДОНГ 163; HSED №1668, EDE I 87-8 (with all the references); CLD I №74].

555. *IVb-(r)- ‘lion; лев’: W 3 Tng *laba-ta* ‘lion’ (act. ‘lioness’); C ***(HV)IVb-r-**: 1 Hwn *lɪfari* (regressive devoicing under the influence of *l-*); 2 Mrg *fi-a-livari*⁶⁰, Chb *ʔalvari*, Klb *lɛvari* [Kr]; 3 HF *livəri*, Kap *nivəri*, HB *livəru*, HN *livəri* ‘lion’ [Kr]; 4 Gude *livyará* [Hs], FM *livəri*, Gude *livára* ‘lion’ [Kr]; 5 Mlg *ɔrvare*, Glv *ʔarəvara*, Wnd *ɔrvare*, *ʔuruvwəri*, Gava *ʔurwvara* [Kr], Dghw *rvirc* [JgIb]; 5a Lmn *ɔrvare* [Luk], Hdi *rəveri* [BrH] ‘lion’ (for *-rv-* < *-lv-* < ***IVb-** see ***lib-** ‘heart’).

//Sem ***labiʔ-** ‘lion’: Akk *labʔu* ‘lion’, Ug *Ibu* ‘lion’, Hbr *lābiʔ* ‘lioness’, *ʔbi* ‘lion’, Arab *labuʔ-at-* ‘lioness’ [Fron 5.52, SED II №122]. Cush PSam ***libā-h-** ‘lion’ [Heine], Saho-Afar *lubā-k* ‘lion’ [Vr].

Note Chadic *-r-* as a marker of a harmful animals.

Contrary to [EDE I] we do not consider Eg *ʔby* ‘panther’ cognate with AA ‘lion’. An alternative parallel to Eg ‘panther’ could be W 1 Hs *rābbii*, *rwābbii* (no pl.) ‘the hunting leopard’.

[HSED №1636, for references see EDE I 61].

556. *IVHvd->lad- ‘to beat, stamp; бить, толочь’): W 3 Tng *ladɛ* ‘beat’ (gen.), Kupto *ladɛɛy* ‘to grind (esp. groundnuts)’ [LgK]; C 2 Chb *lda* ‘to forge’ [HfC 133]; 4 Gude *lɔdā* ‘kick, stamp’; E 2 Lele *lādi* ‘toucher’.

Cf. W 7 Sha *linday* (possibly, metath. < ***n-IVd-**, plurac. verb?) ‘schlagen, ohrpfeigen’.

//Sem Arab *lhd* ‘repousser en lui portant un coup sous les mamelles; bousculer; toucher’ [BK II 1031].

Note the following correlation: *-d-* in Chadic languages ~ *h+d* in Arabic. [CLD №125].

⁶⁰ "it is doubtful that *fi* (voiced laryngeal spirant) is phonemic" [Kr 120], for the same pref. in Margi see (*fi*)*agəm* ‘ram’ and (*fi*)*ambifa* ‘dove’ [Kr].

557. *IV[?]/wVd- '(good) soil; хорошая земля, почва': W 3 Bol *líidó* 'vertisol, black cotton soil' [IbB], Kupto *líidó* 'clayish soil, laterit' [LgK], Tng *líido* 'black soil (farming)' (all < *IV[?]Vd-); E 2 Lele *lūdū* 'terre fine'; 5b Jegu *lóod* 'fields (farm)'.

//Sem Akk *Iudû* (OBab) 'eine Art Saatfeld' [AHw 561]. Cf. Arab *ladīd-at-* 'jardin couvert de verdure et de fleurs' [BK II 982].

It cannot be excluded, that forms in WCh 3 are not of PCh origin, but loans. Nevertheless, an Akkadian ~ ECh parallel is of special interest, because in this case Akkadian gloss is not labelled as a Sumerian loan.

[CLD №132].

558. *IVk- to stay in a place, rest, spend some time; оставаться на месте, отдыхать': C 7 Mafa *lek-* 'passer la journée'; 9 Mbara *lak* 'rester, stay'; E 6 Mok *lékke* 'vivre, rester; passer beaucoup de temps'; Cf. E 5a Dng *álgé* 'das Jahr oder Regenzeit verbringen' [Ebb] (irreg. voicing of a velar).

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *lóokò* 'temporary halting place for carriers, short rest in the middle of the work'.

//Sem Arab *Ik?* 's'arrêter et séjourner dans un lieu' [BK II 1020].

[CLD I №182].

559. *IVk^(w)- '(to be, become) weak; быть, стать слабым': W 1 Hs *lákólákó* 'loose on its sockets, unsteady on its base'; 4 Jmb *lak^wa*, Tsagu *lokón* (adj.) 'to loosen' [SkNB]; C 2 Mrg *lákú* 'weak' [HfM 68], Bura *lukuluku* 'smth long, not strong and in a disorderly arrangement' [Ann]; 5 Pod *laka* 'lâche'.

//Sem Akk *lakû* (OA) 'to be, become weak, be weak (of person, foundation)' [CDA 176].

Note the following correlation: *lakû* (< *Ikw) in Akkadian ~ IVk^w- in Chadic. [CLD I №192].

560. *IV[k̄]- 'to taste; пробовать': W 7 Sha *líikay* 'to taste', DB *lok* 'lick, taste' (contam. with the next root) [RC]; C 7 Mafa *lékwé* 'a small amount of beer given to taste', Mada *lékwa* 'a small amount (of beer, meat) given to taste before buying'; 10 Dari *lōkō* 'un peu pour goûter'; E 5a Mig *léllikò* (< *Iek-liko) 'goûter du bout de langue' [JgM]. In all the languages reflexes of Ch *k and *k̄ have fallen together as k.

//Sem Arab *lqq*, Hbr *lqq* 'to lick, lap' [KB 486]. [CLD I 191].

a. ***IVk-** 'to lick, to eject saliva; лизать': W 5 Bgh *na-lak* 'to lick', *layat* (<

**laka-t*, compl. action) ‘to lick up’ [JgIb]; 7 DB *loḵ*, Bok *lok* ‘lick’ [JgR]; E 5a Bid *lòkok*, Mig *lòkòkko* ‘baver; eject saliva’.

Derived noun: W 3 Dera *yí-lèk*; 5 Bgh *ka-lak* ‘saliva’ [JgIb].

//Sem Arab *lʕq* ‘lecher’ (a) [BK II 1002]. LECush Darasa *loḵ* ‘to lick’, Bed *lik-* ‘sip, lick’ [LmW 443].

Root extension (ʕ as C₂) in Arabic. [CLD I №220].

561. *IV[*k*ʔ^w]- ‘to gather; собирать(ся)’ 5 Pod *lòk^wá* ‘ramasser (tout)’; 10 Musey *lakka* ‘se rassembler’ [ShyM].

a. *IV[*k*ʔ^w]- ‘numerous, all; быть многочисленным; все’: C 7 Mafa *lúk^wá* ‘crowd’; 8 Afd *lake*: ‘alles’ [Sol №648]; E 5a WDng *lòk lòk* ‘nombreux’; 6 Mok *luulika* ‘communauté d’enfants’. Note C 7 Muy *alga* ‘crowd’ (a loan?). In all the languages reflexes of Ch **k* and **k* have fallen together as *k*. Note Ch *IVk^w* - < **Iwk*/**Ikw*.

//Sem Arab *ʕalaq-* ‘grand nombre, foule’ [BK II 345].

Note the following correlation: root extension in Arabic (ʕ as C₁) ~ reduplication of the 1st syllable in Mokilko. [CLD I №207].

562. *lum- ‘chew; eat hard food; bite; есть твердую пищу, кусать’: W 1 Hs *laa-luma* ‘chewing by a toothless mouth’; C 2 Cf. Bura *lima lima* ‘slowly and carefully (of eating)’ [Ann]; 9 Msg *láma, lúma, léma* ‘eat hard food’ [LkM], Mnj *lími* ‘manger (qqch de croquant), mordre, piquer (insecte)’, Mbara *lum*, Mulwi *lími* ‘mordre’.

Deriv.: C 8 Log *ka-lám* [JgIb] ‘to bite’.

//Sem Akk *lamāmu* ‘chew’ [CAD I 59], Arab *lhm* ‘avalér’, *lmw* ‘manger entièrement’ [BK II 1034, 1029].

[HSED №1687 Akk+Mbara, Musgu; CLD I №254].

563. *IVm- ‘to tell a lie’ > ‘to flatter; врать, льстить’: W 1 Hs *lállama* (< **lam-lama*) ‘flatter, cajole’; C 7 Mada *alma* ‘attirer par ruse, par tromperie, tromper’; E 3 Tum *la:m*, Smr *lámá* [JgSb] ‘tromper’.

Derived noun: W 3 Tng *me-lém* ‘a lie’.

// SCush rift **lama* ‘a lie, falsehood’: Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *lama* [Kies], Sem Arab *lmʕ* ‘mentir’ [BK II 1027].

Root extension (ʕ as C₃) in Arabic. [CLD I №260].

564. *lam- ‘to touch; трогать, касаться’: W 3 Tng *lomi* ‘to reach so as to be able to touch with the hand’; 5 Geji *lèmi* ‘touch’ [Kr]; C 7 Mafa *lám*,

Merey *lamay* 'toucher'; 10 Dzpw *lám* 'tâter, tâtonner', Dari *lam* 'tâter', Musey, Lew, Marba *lám* 'toucher' [LexC], Mesme *lám* 'toucher' [JgZ]; E 1 Kera *laámé* '(be)tasten, tâter'; 2 Lele *lām* 'toucher, tâtonner'; 3 Smr *laame* 'schmecken, kosten' [Luk]. Cf. C 7 Mbuko *lāman* (possibly, < *lamam*#) 'toucher'.

//Sem Arab *lmm* 'atteindre, toucher qqun (avec la paume)' [BK II 1022]. [CLD I №256].

565. *IVm- 'flexible, soft (skin); БЫТЬ МЯГКИМ, ГИБКИМ': W 1 Hs *laamammá* 'an operation in the preparation of leather, to make it soft', *laamammee* 'to soften leather'; 2 Mpn *loom* 'flexible, soft, weak, shrunken', Ngas *loom* 'soft, pliable (leather, cloth)' [F1]; C 10 Dzpw *lulúm* 'mou, tendre', Dari *lulúm* 'mou, tendre, doux (au toucher)', Azum *lam, lum* 'softly' [PAZ]; E 5a cf. EDng *lamo* 'latex du ficus' [Ebb].

Deriv.: C 9 Mulwi *lím-kí* 'assouplir' (make flexible, elastic). Cf. C 7 Muy *áloím* 'make, using a plastic or pliable material'.

//Sem Geez *lamlam* 'be verdant, become soft, smooth, mild, become tender, be flexible, fresh', *lamlum* 'soft, tender, mild, smooth, flexible, delicate, fresh, verdant', Tgr *lämläma* 'become green, sprout', Tna *lämlāmā*, Amh *lämallämä* 'become verdant, send pot shoots', Gafat *lämlām^{wā}* 'tender' [LsG 315].

[CLD I №266].

566. *IVp- 'to cover, to fold; УКРЫВАТЬ': W 3 Kupto *lappéy* 'to hem, to enclose; to fold' [LgK], Dera *liipé* 'to cover oneself up (with cloth)' [NmK]; C 7 Mafa *lep* 'poser des tiges ou des branches sur un abri (verandah, cour intérieure)', Merey *lap* 'emballer, enrouler', Muy *élepéy* 'to fold smth that is flat', Mofu *-ləp-* 'plier, retrousser'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *laafi* 'a hem'; C 2 Bura *lup-tu* 'upper garment slipped on over the head' [Ann]; E 5a EDng *lapāaye* 'le grand voile des femmes'

//Sem Arab *lff* 'plier, rouler, envelopper' [BK II 1007], Akk *lapāpu* (Bab) 'to wrap around' [CDA 177], Geez *lff* 'roll around, cover', PbHbr *lāpap* 'wrap', Aram *ləpap*, Syr *lap*, Mnd *lup* 'wrap, join', Tgr *läffāfa*, Tna *läfāfā*, Amh *läffāfā* 'roll up, decree' [LsG 306-307; Zm 370, 523], cf. Arab *lhf* 'envelopper qq'un d'un drap, d'une couverture', *lhf* 'envahir et couvrir entièrement la tête' [BK II 972, 1011], and Eg (MK) *h:p* (if [*hlp*.] metath.) 'bedecken' [EG III 30-1]. For reflexes in Arab dialects see [Бел 3: 117].

Reflexes in WCh 3 Kupto (*lappéy* 'to hem, to enclose; to fold' ~ *luḅḅéy* 'to

cover with') make it possible to arrange Chadic data in two different roots (*IVp- and *IVb-, see above). Thus, there is no need to reconstruct Ch *IVp̄- (as in [HSED №1671]). [CLD I №109].

567. *IVs- (rather, < *IVz-) 'to be moist, to ooze; сочиться, смачивать': W 3 Tng *lese* 'to sip (a wound), ooze' [JgT]; C 2 Bura *lisu* 'moisture, dampfness' [Ann]; E 5a EDng *laasē* 'to make a little wet' [Ebb]. Derived noun in -n-: W 5a WDng *lūsīnē* 'atmosphère humide'. //Sem Geez *lzz* 'to be moist' [LsG 322].

There are only a few words of the shape *l-z* in Chadic languages, all lacking external parallels. One may think of regressive assimilation of C₂ (influenced by initial *l-*) in the present and similar cases. For *IVb- > IVf̄ in Chadic languages see [CLD I]. [CLD I №27].

568. *lis-um- 'tongue; язык': W 1 Hs *há-ršēc*, *há-lšēc*; 2 Mghv, Mnt, Goem *líis* [Hlw], Ngas *leus* (< **lems*, metath.), Mushere *líis* [JgO]; 3 Geruma *límsi* (metath.), Krkr *lúsəəm*, Bol *lisim* [JgIb], Ngm *linsa*, Gera *delimsa*, Maka *dí-lis* [NmM], Bure *ílmīšē* (metath.); 5 Bgh *ni-lis*, Kir *nyat*, Grnt *lašī* [JgIb], Zaar *riisəj* [CrZ], Pol *nyat* (secondary lateral) [Cs], Guus *nəsón* (assim.) [CrG]; 7 Fyer *lés*, Bok *ʔalis*, DB *lís*, Richa *ʔalús*; C 1 Hona *šēnc-wúra*, Gaa *wənsən-otto*, Gbn *sən-utte*, Boka *xansun-da* (all < *xVnsVn-* < **xV-lsVn-*) [Kr]; 8 Log *ʔēⁿtə*, *nti*, *nxi* (< *-nt- < *-ls-) [JgIb], Bud *telam* (< **te-IVsVm*) [LkBd], Afd *inti*, Kus, Glf *nxi*, *nti* [Mo], Mak *enši*; 9 Mnj *alés*; 9a Gidar *əɾʒum* (< *əlʒum* < **lsum*) [Mo, JgIb]; 10 Masa *sinná* (< **sil-m-*, metath. < **lis-m-*), Dzpw *silé*, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba *sín*, Gizey *síncl* (metath. < **IVsVm#*) [LexC], Peve *šele* [Kr]; E 1 Kwang *kí-lisi*, *kə-rsi* [JgIb], *ke-ls-úm* '(my) tongue' [Luk], Kera *kə-səl* (metath.); 2 Gbr *ke-len-d-in*, Kaba *k-lan-di* '(my) tongue' [Luk], Lele *kīlā-* [JgIb]; 3 Smr *dí-lésē* (< **t-IVs-*, *d-* < Ch **t-* is regular), Ndam *dās* (contraction < *d-IVs* < **t-IVs*), Tum *dūʒ* (< **dus* < **t-IVs*) [JgIb]; 4 Sok *solán-um* (metath.) [Luk]; 5a EDng *lēesē* [Dj], WDng *lēesē*, Mig *líi-t* (< **lis-t-*), 5b Jegu *lēesó*, Brg *líisi*, Mubi *lēesi* [JgIb], Tor *liho* (*h* < **s* is regular); 6 Mok *ʔilzé*. Cf. C 5 Wnd *nara*, *ara*; 7 Mafa *léʔén*, *néʔén*⁶¹, Mofu *ʔərné*, Gis *ʔirne* (< **ln-* < **Isn*), Dugwor *hi-rne-k*. For a possible cognate see Cush **ʔAnrAb-* 'tongue' [Долг 226].

⁶¹ Cf. [JgIb II 169]: "medial -s- has left a trace as ʔ".

Derived verb: ***IVs-** 'to lick': W1 Hs *laasaa* 'lick'. Derived noun: W 3 Krf *laa-ti lešo* 'suckling' (child+lick) [Stl].

Note a metath.: **IVs-(m)* > *sVI-(m)*, provoked by the law of "rising sonority". Regressive assimilation in contact position: *-lm-* > *-nm-* > *-n-*, regressive assimilation of a sibilant: **IVs-m-* > *IVʔ-m-* and dissimilation in contact position: *-lt-* > *-nt-* > *-rt-* account for numerous and diverse phonetic changes in Chadic languages. Note lenition of a sibilant in CCh Mafa *léʔén* and its complete loss in ECh (Gbr *ke-len-d-in*, Kaba *k-lan-di*).

//Sem **lis-ān-* 'tongue' [Fron 2.58, SED №464], Eg *ns* (OK) 'tongue' [EG 8], Berb **lcs-* 'tongue' [apud EDE I 132], Arab *lss* 'lecher' [BK 989].

[Nm **ahləsi*, JgIb **ls₃*; Coh №436; Дьяк, SED №464, HSED №1666, EDE I 132 with all the references].

569. *IVt- 'to grind; **молоть**': W 7 Richa *lot* 'stampfen'; C 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Masa, Musey, Lew, Marba *lút* 'moudre' [LexC], Masa *lut* 'moudre, broyer à l'aide d'une meule' [CC].

Derived noun: W 5 Geji *luusi* (< **luuti*) 'pestle' [Cs №159].

//Sem Arab *ltt* 'broyer, écraser en petits morceaux en frottant' [BK II 963].

570. *IVwVt- 'to mix; **смешивать**': W 7 DB *lawat* 'drehen, umdrehen, umrühren', Bok *lawat* 'umrühren, mix'; E 5a Bid *líwat* 'entremêler, tourner'; E 6 Mok *loôte* 'mélanger, pétrir'.

//Sem Arab *ltt* (u) 'meler, mélanger, brouiller une chose avec une autre en les agitant' [BK II 963].

A rare case of root extension in Chadic (as compared to Arabic).

***m**⁶²

571. *maa/*maʔ- 'water; **вода**': W 3 Grnt *māa* [Jag], Pol *māa* [Smz]; C 4 Gude *māʔinə*, FM *māʔi*, (Fali Bwagira *maʔyin*) [Kr] (both pl.). Note C 7 Muy *zala-kà mayo* (water-course), see №810 ***zal-** 'to pour'.

Note: C 3 FK *məwa* 'river' [Kr] and C 8 Log *mu* 'dew' [AIL].

a. *hamma pl. 'water; **вода**': W 2 Mnt *ham*, Grk *ɣam* [JgC], Ngas, Mghv *ʔam* [JgS], Mushere *am* [JgO], Goem *haam* [Hlw]; 3 Ngm (G) *ham*, (Y) *ham* 'water', Bol *ʔamma*, Glm *amá*, Gera *hama*, Pero *am* [SchV], Krf,

⁶² For more AA etymologies with *m-* initial see [EDE III].

Bure *amma* 'water', Maka *ʔamma* 'water, rain' [SvM]; 7 Fyer, Bok, Sha *ham*, Richa *ʔaam* [JgR], Mundat, Karfa *ham*, Mangar *ham* [RC]; 6 Ngz *am* [SchN], Bade *am-un* [JgIb]; C 7 Vame *ah^wam* [Kin]; E 2 Lele *k-āmā*, Kaba *ka-amə*, Kwang *ka-ām*, *kā-am* [JgIb]; 5a Mig *ʔammī* pl. 'water', Bid *ʔamay* pl. 'water, rain', EDng *āmāy* coll. 'water, rain' [Dj]; 5b Mubi *āamé /āam* coll. 'eau, pluie' [JgL]; 4 Ubi *āyò* 'water, rain', Mawa *ami* 'water'. Adj. in *-t-*: E 5a Mig *ʔam-ta* 'aqueux (liquid)'.

//Sem Akk *mū*, Ug *my*, Geez *māy*, Hbr *mayim* (attested in plural only), Aram (Syr) *mayyō*, Arab *māʔ-*, pl. *miyāh-*, *ʔamwāh-* etc. [Fron **māy-* 3.21], Eg *mw* (OK) 'water' [EG II 50], Cush Bed *mu* 'Feuchtigkeit, Nasse' [RBd], SCush rift **maʔay-* (pl. t.) 'water': Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *maʔay* [Kies], cf. also Berb Qab, Izayan *aman* pl. 'water'.

Consider: WCh 3 **IVw/ʔV* 'meat' ~ Kirfi *ʔalló* pl. 'meat', one the one hand, and Ch **maʔ-* 'water' ~ mubi, bolewa, dangla **ʔamma* 'water' (pl.), on the other. Note a similar pl. model in Arabic: *māʔ-*, pl. *ʔamwā(h)-*.

A well-known AA etymology [Fron, Дьяк, Долг 183; EDE III 195-7 with all the references]. In all the above-mentioned publications only Ch **maa* was under consideration. For Ch data see [Nm **am*, JgIb **ymn*].

572. **mič-* 'child, son; ребенок, сын': E 5a WDng *mīčò* 'small boy', Mig *mīčá* 'son', *mīčā* 'child', Bid *mīčo* (m.), *mīča* (f.), *mīče* (pl.) 'child', EDng *mīčò* m. 'l'enfant', *mīčāw* f. 'l'enfance, la jeunesse'.

a. cf. CCh 4 **mwās-* (possibly, < **mwāč*) 'give birth; родить': C 4 Bata *mwāza* 'give birth' [JgIb], Bch *mwásá* [Sk], (Mwulyen *kú-mwásá* [Kr]).

//Eg *ms* (Pyr) 'child', *msy* (pyr) 'give birth' [EG II 13708], Ug *mṯ* 'son', *mṯt* 'daughter' (cf. Sumerian *mes*) [Ais 199].

[HSED №1769, StCh № 2; EDE III 552-5].

W. Leslau's hypothesis on Semitic *h-* as a prefix of body-parts [LsPr] allows us to consider the following root a derivative < **mič-* 'child': Sem **ḥamt-*/**ḥumt-* '(lower) belly, uterus, womb': Akk *emšu*, *enšu*, *imšu* 'hypogastric region', (OB, SB) 'Unterleib, Mutterleib', Ug *ḥmṯ* 'ventre', Hbr *ḥomäš* 'belly', Aram (Syr) *ḥumšā* 'abdomen, omassum', Geez *ḥoms*, *ḥəms* 'uterus, womb', Mhr, Hars, Jib *ḥamṯ* 'lower belly', etc. [Fron 2.70, SED I №122]. For a similar case see №666 **rVm-* 'child' > **rihm-* 'womb'.

573. **mVn-* 'to know; знать': W 2 Mpn *mān*, Mghv *man* [JgS], Mnt *man*, Goem *man* [Fp], Mushere *man* [JgO]; 3 Bol *mon-* [LkB]; 5 Buli *man* [Cs

№743], Kir *mam*, Tala *mam* ‘know’ [Jglb], assim.; C 2 Bura *mana* ‘surely’ [Ann]; 10 Dzpw *mún* ‘comprendre, understand’; E 5a Bidiya *min* ‘to warn’. Cf. W 5 Dyarim *məən* ‘witch’ [BID].

//LEC Somali *maan* ‘sense, mind’ (n). [LIS].

574. *mVr- > *mVkVr- (pl.) ‘to tie, to twist (a rope); плести (веревку); привязывать’: W 2 Mpn *myōr*, Mghv *muyər* [Kr], Mushere *meker* ‘to twist’ [JgO] (< **muker*, internal -k- pl., cf. [LgSt]), Ngas *myār* [FI] ‘twist a strand of strings (esp., of the strip of skin to be made into a bowstring)’, Goem *myóor* ‘twist, wring or squeeze out smth’ [Hlw]; 3 Tng *mari* ‘twist, screw’; 5 Zaar *mer* ‘twist by rubbing between palm of hands, e.g. to make a rope’ [CrZ]; C 10 Azum *muru-ta* ‘to strangle (with the hands)’ [PAz]; E 3 Smr *mā* ‘nouer. to tie’ (< **mar#*) [JgSb].

Note W 1 Hs *mār-wā* ‘serious tangling of two or more well-ropes let down simultaneously’.

Derived noun: ***mVr- ‘rope, tendon; веревка, жила’:** W 1 Hs *mari* ‘fetter’; C 7 Mafa *mār* ‘nerf, tendon’; E 5a WDng *mēr-nə*, Bid *mar-no* ‘cord’.

//Sem Arab *mrr* ‘serrer et attacher avec une corde un chameau’, *mrr* II stem ‘tordre fortement une corde’ [BK II 1083], Yem dial. *marīr* ‘Seil’, Maroc *mār* ‘cordes fixées aux cornes des boeufs de labour et servant de guides’ [Бел 3 №322], cf. Tgr *mawāra* ‘tie together’ (considered cognate with Geez *marawa* ‘place crosspieces in building a house wall’ in [LsG361]); Eg *mr* (Med) ‘zusammenbinden, fesseln, tie, bind’ [EG II 105]; LEC Somali *mar-* ‘zubinden’, *mar* ‘Bindung’ [LIS], SCush rift Irq *marra* ‘to twist’ [MQK].

Common origin of Eg *mr* ‘zusammenbinden, fesseln’ and PCush **mar* ‘to be round, turn, twirl’, Sem **mwr* ‘to encircle’ (as postulated in [EDE III 382-8]) seems less reliable.

[HSED №1784; EDE III 428-35].

575. *mar- ‘to hoe; hoe; мотыжить, мотыга’: W Ngas *maar* ‘Feld bestellen’ [JgA], Goem *maar* ‘cultivate on soft soil’ [Hlw], Kofyar *maar* ‘to cultivate’ [TAS 242], Mushere *maar* ‘to cultivate, farm’ [JgO]; 3 Ngm (G) *māra* ‘farming, cultivating’ [NEH], Bol *mar-* ‘to plough’ [LkB], *māra* ‘farming’, *maru* ‘to hoe, to weed’ [GAB], Dera *na mira* ‘I am hoeing’ [KI], Maka *māra* ‘to hoe, till soil’ [SvM]; C 6 Buwal *māra* ‘creusé’ [NdP 12]. Note C 7 Mbuko *mēr* ‘travaille’.

a. *mVr- ‘a hoe; мотыга’: C 2 Bura *mura* ‘native hoe’ [BIB]; 10 Azum

memera 'a small plough-like hoe', *memerâ* 'a large plough-like hoe' [PAZ]; E 3 Smr *mirí* 'hoe' [JgSb].

Derived noun: W 2 ***mar-** 'field, cultivated land; обработанная земля, поле': W 2 Ngas, Mghv *máar* [JgA, JgS], Gerka *ma* [Fp], *máʔ* [BIY], Mpn *máar* 'farm, field', Miship *már*, Mnt *mái* 'Feld' [JgC], Goem *maár* 'cultivated land, field' [Hlw], Kofyar *mar* [TAS 242], Mushere *máar* 'farm' [JgO]; E 4 Sok *maaro* 'feuchte Erde' [Luk]. As an alternative cognate of ECH 4 Sokoro *maaro* 'feuchte Erde', see Eg *mar* (OK) 'pasture'. //Eg *mr* (alt) 'als Schriftzeichen: die hölzerne Hacke, wooden hoe' [EG II 98], Akk *marru* (from OB on) 'spade, shovel' [CAD m 287, AHw 612], according to both sources, Akk is a loan from Sum MAR, Akk *marāru* (O/j Bab) 'to break a field for cultivation/to break up a field by digging' [CAD m 268], Aram (Syr) *marr-*, *maʔr-* 'hoe, spade', Amharic *mārāmmārā* 'dig', Gurage **mirāmārā* 'to plough a field for the third time' [LsGur 422]. [St №233: Ch+Eg; HSED №1738-9, EDE II 375, MAg (in the view of internal and external (Egyptian and Chadic) parallels, A. Militarev postulated "Afrasian origin of the Akkadian *marru*", *ibid.* 147)].

576. *mVr- 'oil; масло': W 1 Hausa *mái*; 2 Mpn *m̀m̀oor*, Mghv *mwòor* [JgS], Mnt *məyi* (< **məyir* < **mVkr*, pl. in *-k-*, for similar cases see №79 ***dVm-** 'blood' and №148 ***çVr-** 'dew') [JgC], Goem *məʔyer* 'oil' [Hlw], Ngas *mwiir* 'oil, grease' [F1]; 3 Bol *mòr*, Krkr *marù*, Ngm *mòr* [SchV], Dera *mot* (< **mor#*) [NmK], Bele *mùrù*, Kirfi *mùrú*, Gera *mòori*, Glm *mər*, Geruma *mòori* 'oil' [SchB], Kupto *mór* 'oil, fat, cream, fuel' [LgK], Maka *mòr* [SvM], Bure *móore*; 5 Pol *m̄iri*, Geji *mili* [Smz], Zaar *miir* [JgIb], Buli *mír*, Kir *màar*, Tala *miir* [JgIb], Zul *miiri* [Cs №201], Guus *miir* [CrG]; 7 Sha *maḥ*, Richa *máar*; 6 Ngz *mə̀rà-k* 'oil'; C 1 Tera *mar* [NmT]; 2 Bura *mal* 'oil' [Ann], Klb *mal* 'oil, fat' [JgIb]; 4 Gude *mara*, Nzn *mare* 'oil' [Meek], Bch *mare* 'oil, fat' [Meek], *maare* 'oil' [Sk], Bata *maare*, Jimj *mare nākwa* 'beurre' [Mo], Gudu *mar* 'oil' [JgIb]; 5 Cin *wula* [Kr], Glv *wála*, Gdf *wálá*, Dghw *wilé* (all < **mwVI-*, for Ch **m* > C 5 *w* see [Nm]) 'oil' [JgIb]; 6 Buwal *mél*, Mbedam *mél* [NdM] 'oil'; 7 Mofu *mal*, Merey *mal* 'oil'; 7a Skn *miir* 'oil'; 9 Msg *amél* 'liquid butter' [LkM]; 9a Gdr *mēlē* 'beurre' [Mo]; 10 Masa *mùl* 'oil' [JgIb].

//Eg *mrḥ* (OK) 1. 'some kind of vegetable oil in general, a particular kind of oil for anointing', 2. 'fat from birds in particular' [EG II 111] (according to

[EDE III 428], the verb *mrḥ* (late) ‘salben’ is derived from *wrḥ* id.). Sem Hbr *mrḥ* hapah (qal) ‘to spread (an ointment)’ [KB 634], Arab *mrḥ* II stem ‘oindre, frotter d’huile (le corps, sa peau)’, *mrʿ* ‘oindre abondamment d’huile (la tête, les cheveux)’ [BK II 1087, 1093].

577. *mVr- ‘children; twins; дети, близнецы’: W 4 Wj *ḡaa*, pl. *məru* ‘child’ [BIS]; 5 Dott *wun*, pl. *mecr* ‘girl, child’ [CrD], Zar *ḡa*, pl. *məəri* ‘child’, *ḡa*, pl. *məṛə* ‘small, young’ [CrZ], Dyarim *wún-gəḏə* ‘female child’, pl. *mír-gwodə* (*gedc* ‘woman’) [BID], Guus (Sigidi) *mir*, Tule *mur*, Wangdai *mar* ‘child’ [JgIb]; C 7 Muy *māra* ‘twin’; 7a Skn *mara* ‘twin’; E 1 Kera *kə-már* ‘Kinder’, coll.; 7 Kaj *maare* ‘fille’, *mâr* ‘enfant, garçon’, *mâr ki raamar* ‘bébé’, Tor *mar-dyo* ‘garçon’ [Alio].

//Semitic Akk *māru* (Oakk) ‘son, descendsnt, offspring’ [CAD m 308], Mehri *ḥə-mrō* ‘children’ [JnM], Omot Mao **me/al-* ‘boy, child’: Hozo *mer*, *meceri*, *mera*, *meri*; Sezo *ma(a)li*, *mālī*, *mērī* [BndO]. HECush Sid *mure* ‘infant (under 6 months)’ [Hds], Ongota *maara* ‘boy, child (male)’ [SvT].

It seems evident, that the original semantics in Proto-Chadic was not ‘child’, but either ‘children’ or ‘twins’. Semantic shifts: ‘twins’ > ‘children’, on the one hand and ‘twin (child)’ > ‘child’, on the other, seem quite possible. Note that a singular form of the shape *m-r* cannot be found in Sem Mehri and in ECh 1 Kera.

According to [Blž], Ongota *maara* ‘boy, child (male)’ is cognate with Nilo-Sharan: Songai: Gao *maria* ‘child, boy’, Berti *mer(r)* id., Maban: Mimi *maar*, pl. *maruu* ‘boy’. Consider, however, an alternative etymology for Ongota. [StCh №1].

578. *mVs- ‘to steal, to rob; воровать’: W1 Hs *ámse* ‘seize a thing forcibly from a person’; E 1 Mobu *maže* ‘empoigner; to seize and grip’ [Lns]; 3 Tum *muží* ‘a thief’, Smr *mui* ‘Dieb, thief’ [Luk] (reg. reflexes of Ch **-s-*); 5a Mig *maaso*, Bid *miis* ‘voler, dérober; to rob’, Mabire *masa* ‘steal’ [JH]. Cf. W 6 Duw *maaso* ‘to buy’; C 1 Tera *masa* [Nm]; 2 Bura *masa* ‘kaufen’ [BGr 296].

//Sem Akk *mašāʾu* (from OAk, OB on) ‘to rob, to take away by force, to rob a person, to plunder, to despoil (cities, houses)’ [CAD m 360].

The following isogloss may be of the same origin:

WCh 7 Sha, Richa *mus* ‘to take’ [RC] ~ HECush Sid, Had *mass-* ‘to take’. [HSED №1745].

579. ***mV(wV)t- 'to die'**: W 1 Hausa *mútu* ; 2 Mpn *mùut*, Mghw *mùut*, Ngas *mùut* [JgS, JgA], Miship *mùut* [JgC], Mnt *mùut*, Goem, Gerka *mūd* [Fp], Goem *muut* [Hlw], Mushere *mùut* [JgO]; 3 Bol *mot-*, Krkr *mèctú-Dera múrì* , Krf *mut-*, Tng *mude* [JgIb], Pero *mur-*, Ngamo *mat-* [SchV], Maka *muto* [NmM], Bele *mótú-*, Krf *múk-kò* (< **mut-ko*), Gera *múdu-* , Glm *máz-*, Geruma *mút-* [SchB], Bure *mut-*; 4 Wrj *miy-* , Kar *miya*, Diri *matu*, Miya *miy-*, Pa'a *miy-* [SkNb]; 5 **mVši* (< **mVti*): Bgh *mas*, Kir *muse*, Jimi *mačc*, Grnt *mis*, Geji *miš*, Buli *massi* , Tule *məši* [JgIb], Zar *məs* [CrZ], Dott *mus* [CrD], Pol *misì* [Kr], Zul *məši* [BlZ] (all < **mVti*); 6 Ngz *mətu* Bade *mùtù* [JgIb], Duw *əmtə* ; 7 Fyer *mot*, Bok *mot*, Sha *mót*, *mot* DB *mot* [JgR]; C Tera *məta* [NmT], Hona *mür*, Gaʔanda *iməri*, Gabin *miri*, Boka *məri* [Kr]; 2 Bura *má* , Chb *nti* Mrg *mtú*, Klb *átū* (< *mtu*) [Kr], etc.; 3 Bana *m(ə)ti*, Kap, HN, Hya *mte* [Kr] 'to die', FK *ntó* 'death', pl. *mətó* [BINd]; 4 Nzn *mute* [JgIb], Jimj *mítə*, Sharwa *mətó* [BrJ]; 5 Cin, Chk *mca* [Kim], Pod *mičc*, Dghw *mcəya*, Wnd *mca*, Ngweshe *caʔawə* (< **mc-* < **mt-*) [JgIb], Mlg *mca* , Gdf *mcʔ(ə)-gana* [JgIb]; 5a Lmn *mt-* [Luk], Hdi *mətay* [BrH], Hitk *mt-* [LkH]; 6 Daba *məč* [Lnh], Mbədam *ka-məč* [tʃ], Buwal *məc*, Gavar *mča* [VGv 14 mca]; 7 Chv *mamcay* 'mort', Mafa *məca* [JgIb], Baka *mat* [BAS], Mada *amat*, Moloko *mat*, Mərey *mət*, Dugwor *məmtay*, Ould *mət*, Muy *ámət*, Mofu *-măč-*, Gis *moc* , Zlg **mət*, Vame *məc* [KiV]; 8 Zina *mara* [ZK], Log *mti* [LkL], Bud *matte* [LkBd], Mak *madí*, Afd *amadéh* 'ich sterbe' [Sol 159]; 9 Msg *mara* [LkM], Mnj *miri*, Mbara *midij*; 10 Peve, Hedé *mat* [Shy], Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew *mit*, Marba *mát* [LexC], Dari *māt*, Dzpww *mát* ; E 1 Kera *mé*, Mobu *maye*, Ngam *mayé* [Lns]; 2 Lele *mā*, Kab *muwə* [JgIb], Tob *mare* ; 3 Smr *mār* [JgIb], Tum *ma* 'die' (< *mar#* < **mad-* < **mat-*, cf. *mā:de* 'death'), Ndam *miyá* (-t- > -d- > -y-) 'die', *māat* 'mort, cadavre' [Brs]; 4 Sok *mítə* [JgIb], Saba *mite*, Mawa *midij* ; 5a WDng *matə*, EDng *maté* [Dj], Mig *maató*; 5b Jegu, Mubi *maat* [JgIb], *māadé* (regular voicing in medial position) [JgL], Zir *-mata* [CJ], Brg *maati*, Tor *mút*, Kaj *maata* . Cf. [Nm, JgIb **mwt*, St 106]. A long vowel in W and ECh languages points to a weak consonant (likely, *w*) as C₂, cf. *-uu-* in WCh 2.

//Sem **mwt* 'to die', **mawt-* 'death' [Fron 2.09], Eg *mt* (OK) 'to die' [EG II 165], Berb **m-w-t* 'to die' [apud EDE III], Cush Rendille *a-mut* (imperat.), Som *mood-(ki)*, *mot(-ki)* 'death' in [Долг 246].

[Chn, HSED №1751, EDE III 684-91, with the full list of references].

*n

580. *nV(V)- 'to say, to speak; говорить': W 2 Mghv *n nċe* 'sagen' [JgS]; 3 Bol *ni na* 'I say' [Bn 23], Tng *nċe* 'dire' [VM], Dera *nai* 'to call' [NmK]; 7 DB *nii*, Fyer *nc*, Bok *ni* 'sagen', Monguna *nc* 'say' [RC]; C 2 Mrg *nċ* 'to say' [HfM 24], Klb *ána*, WMrg *nũwċ*; 3 FK *nu-tũ?* 'speak' [Kr]; 4 FM *nyu* 'to speak' [Kr]; E 5a EDng *anc* 'dire' [Dj].

a. ***nVHVw->nw-ġw-** (< ***nHw**) **'to cry, answer; кричать, отвечать':** W 2 Goem *nwó* (var. *nuwo*) 'proclaim or publish something (via town-cry, in print, via radio etc.)' [Hlw]; 4 Gude *ġwu* 'answer, respond; sound of horn'; 5 Mlg *ġwe* 'to answer'; 6 Mok *ġċċ* 'cri d'alarm'.

//Sem Akk *naʔu* (OB) 'shout (with joy or pain)' [CAD n II 134]; Arab *nwh* 'pleurer, pousser des cris' [BK II 1363].

[CLD I №336].

581. *nVV 'to see; видеть': W 2 Mghv *nāa*, Tal *nā*, Kof *naa* [JgIb], Goem *naa* [Hff], Miship *nāa* 'sehen' [JgC], Mpn *nāa*, Ngas *nċe* 'see, understand' [Fl], Mushere *nāa* 'to see' [JgO], Grk *nā* [BIY]; 3 Krf *nċe-* [Stl]; Krkr *nāa*, Glm *ny-*, Gera *nċċ-* 'see' [SchV], Bure *nċċy-*; C 1 Tera *na* [NmT], Hona *nā-dċn*, Gaʔanda *anni*, Gabin *ni*, Boka *nċ-dī* 'to see' [Kr]; 3 FK *nānu*, HN *nā-ta*, HF *nċ-gi* [Kr] 'to see'; 4 Gude *nċċ* 'see', Bch *nā* [Sk], (redupl.) Bata *nan* [JgIb]; 5 Pod *nċġā* 'to see', Wnd *na* [VM]; 10 Banana *na-* 'voir' [VM]; E 4 Mawa *nċyay* 'voir, regarder'. Cf. W 5 Grnt *nyi* 'to show' [Jag]; E 2 Tob *nô* 'montrer' [VM].

Note that WCh 4 and CCh 5 ***nVy-** 'to see' cannot be an immediate reflex of the present root.

//Eg (18) *nw* 'to see, to look' [EG II 218], NBerb Izdeg *i-nny*, Semlal, Izayan *a-nny* 'to see' (apud EDE I 126).

[Nm 31; St 83, HSED №1820, EDE I, CLD I №337].

582. *naw/y- 'to fall, put down; падать, класть': W 5 Plc *nāa*, Zul *nċċ* 'place, put on, lay down' [Cs №804]; Grnt *nyii* 'put down' [Cs]; 7 Richa *nyâ* 'to lie down' [JgR], Mumdat *nyân*, Karfa *nyay* 'lie down' [RC]; C 5 Glv *n* 'put'; 7 Mofu *-n-* 'se coucher'; 8 Glf *nawāi* 'fallen' [Luk 147]; 9 Mnj *nuwi* '(se) coucher (pour le soleil)'; 10 Masa *niina* 'fall down' [JgIb].

Note W 5 Dwot *nax* 'put down' [Kr]; C 6 Buwal *nāx* 'to throw, drop'.

// Cush Bed *nu?* 'nieder lassen' [RBd], Eg *nyu* (Pyr) 'niederwerfen' [EG II 201], cf. Sem Arab *nw?* 'tomber, succomber sous le poids de la charge'

[BK II 1361]. [CLD I №328].

583. *niy/H- ‘to copulate; to become pregnant (of animals)’: W 1 Hs *núuni* ‘covering a mare’ (redupl.); C 9 Mnj *niyi* ‘faire l’amour’, Mulwi *niyi* ‘entrer, faire l’amour’; E 5a Bid *niyàw* ‘engrosser, enfanter’, *niyàw* ‘pregnancy’, EDng *neĵ* ‘be/become pregnant’ [Ebb].

//SCush rift Alg *niʕ-* ‘to copulate with’ [Eh], Eg *nʕw* (N) ‘durhdringen, sich paaren’ [EDE I 97].

[CLD I №338].

584. *(ʔa)nVwy- ‘breast, udder; грудь, вымя; milk; молоко’: W 1 Hs *noóno* ‘breast, udder, sour milk’ (redupl.); 5 Tala *nyii*, Geji *nii*, Buli *nyên*, Wangd *nyin*, Tule *nyini* ‘breast’ [JgIb], Guus *noonó* (< Hs) ‘milk’ [CrG]; 6 Ngz *ányi* ‘milk, breast, teat (of an animal)’; C 4 Gude *ʔwánə* ‘breast, milk’; 7 Vame *enyē* ‘lait, sein’ [Kinn]; 8 Ngala *e-ni go-gi* ‘milk, sour’, *e-ni, yeni*, Log *eni*, Afd *crih* (-r- < *n- is regular, cf. [TrC]), Kus *ini* ‘milk’ [Mo]; E 3 Smr *nae, nī* ‘Milch’, *nāē* ‘Euter’ [Luk].

//Sem *nVʕay-at- ‘breast of an animal’ [SED I №193].

Note narrow semantics ‘breast of an animal’ in Chadic and Semitic.

[CLD I №365].

585. *nay- ‘(raw) meat; (сырое) мясо’: W 2 Mpn *nān* ‘flesh’; 3 Glm *nyāa* ‘meat’ [SchB]; C 9 Msg *neĵ, nē, neheĵ* ‘meat’, pl. *neĵái, neĵakai* (meat+cow) [LkM], Mnj *neĵ* ‘viande’.

a. ***naw-** ‘cow, bull; бык, корова’: W 5 Bgh *naa*, Tala *naa* Jimi *naa* ‘cow’ [Cs]; C 12 Peve *nao* [Vn], Mesme (Zime) *nau* ‘cow’ [Kr], Lame *nā* ‘ox’, *ino* ‘cow’ [Luk], Dzpw *naó* ‘boeuf’, Dari *nāw* ‘bovin’, *ba nāw* ‘boeuf’, *yā nāw* ‘vache’.

//Sem Hbr *nāʔ* ‘raw (flesh)’ [KB 384], Arab *nyʔ* ‘etre cru, n’etre pas cuit (viande)’ [BK II 1375].

[CLD I №364]

586. *nVy/w- ‘water, river; вода, река’: W 2 Goem *nú* ‘sea, any large-sized river (e.g., the Benue, the Niger etc.)’ [Hlw]; C 4 Gudu *nyoe/a* [JgIb] ‘water’; 9 (redupl.) Mnj *enini* ‘dew’, Mbara *nini-d* ‘dew’; 10 Masa *nī, niina* [Mo] ‘water’, Gizey, Masa *niy* [LexC].

Note W 3 Dera *nai* ‘to drink’ [VM].

//Eg *nnw* ‘water’ (Pyr), *n.t, nwy.t* (MK) ‘water’ [EG II 274, 198, 221], cf. Sem Sab *nwy* ‘watering place, channel’ [BlI 297], ‘ditch’ [SD 101].

a. ***nVy/w-** ‘to flow (water); течь (о воде)’: W 5 Bgh *nyayai* ‘to flow’ [Cs]; 7 Mofu *-nuw-* ‘puiser le partie supérieure et claire d’un liquide’; 10 Dari *nē* ‘suinter’ [VM].

[CLD I №367].

587. *nVd- > *nd- ‘speak, ask; говорить, спрашивать’: W 4 Diri *nda*, Miya *and-*, Mburku *nd-* [SkNb]; C 5 Dghw *ndiyʔa*, Wnd *ndə-nda* ‘say’ [Kr]; E 5a Bid *ʔindù*, *ʔinad* ‘demander, interroger, demand, ask’, EDng *indē* ‘fragen, ask’ [Ebb].

//Sem Arab *ndw* ‘appeler qqn, lui crier de venir’ [BK II 1229].

Note a prothetic vowel in ECh (it serves to avoid a cluster in anlaut).

[CLD I №401].

588. *nVd- > *nd- ‘to go, go away; идти, уходить’: W 2 Mpn *daá*, Ngas *da* [Fp] ‘go’ (note W 2 **d-* < **nd-*, initial **d-* usually > *t-*), 3 Krkr *nd-* [LkK] ‘go away’; 5 Pol *ndu* ‘go’ [Cs №661]; C 6 Buwal *nda* ‘walk’, Mbedam *nda* ‘aller, marcher’ [NdM], Gavar *nda* ‘aller’ [VGv 3]; 10 Musey *nda* ‘aller’ [VM]; E 1 Modgel (Kwang) *ndē* ‘gehen’ [Luk].

a. ***ndV(w)-** ‘to come: приходиться’: W 3 Krkr *ndu-*, Bol *ndii-*, Ngm *ndu-* [SchV], Bele *ndu*, Krf *ndo-*, Gera *nduu-*, Glm *ndw-* ‘come’ [SchB]; 5 Saya *nda*, Grnt *ndaá* ‘enter’ [Cs №826].

//Sem Arab *ndd* ‘s’enfuir’ [BK II 1224], Ug *ndd* ‘go fast’, Hbr, Aram (Bibl) *ndd* ‘run away’, *ʔnd* ‘turn aside, go away’ [KB 596, 718].

[HSED №1826; CLD I №402].

589. *nVdVw/H-> *ndVw/H- ‘to fall, to throw, to sit down; падать, бросать, садиться’: W 4 Jmb *nda-* [SkNB], Paa *nda* ‘fall’ [MS] (cf. W 4 **da(d)-* id. [Jglb]); 5 Zul *nda* [BIZ], Geji *nda* ‘fall’ [Jglb], Grnt *daa*, Tala *ndawo* ‘fall’ [Cs]; C 7 Zlg *nda* ‘disseminer, jeter’, Mbuko *ndóh* ‘tomber à terre’, Moloko *nde* ‘lie down’ [BoP 28]; 6 Daba *nda* ‘throw’ [Lnhr]; 9 Mbara *nda* ‘sit down’; 10 Musey *ndi* ‘fall’ [Kr], Masa *ndie* [CC], Dzpww *ndē* ‘tomber’, Peve *nde*, Mesme *ndē* ‘fall’ [Kr], Ham, Musey *ndi*, Marba *ndē* ‘tomber’ [LexC].

//Sem Akk *nadū* ‘to cast down, drop, lie’ [CAD n 69], Arab *ndʔ* ‘jeter par terre’ [BK II 1224], Eg *ndy* ‘niederwerfen’ [EG II 367], Berb Ahg *e-ndu* ‘to throw, cast’ [NZ].

Strangely enough, in [EDE I 128] Eg *ndy* ‘niederwerfen’ is considered

cognate not only with Hbr, Ug, Sab *ndy* 'drive away', but also with Arab *nadān-* [**naday-un-*] 'Gift, Gabe'. The latter is a derived noun (cf. Sem. **ndn* 'to give').

[Djak 1967 (Sem-Eg), CLD I №403].

590. *nVf- 'to follow; to search; следовать за, искать': W 1 Hs *nūfaa* 'go in the direction of'; 3 Kupto *nafō* 'to go/head towards a direction' [LgK], Krf *nafi* 'follow' [Stl], Bure *naF*; C 7 Muktele *nfā* 'follow' [JgIb].

//Sem Arab *nfw/y* 'chasser' [BK II 1317].

[CLD I №389].

591. *nVf- 'heart, soul, life; сердце, душа, жизнь': C 1 Tera *nifi* 'life' [SkH 210]; C 3 FK *nəffə* 'heart' [Meek], Bana *nəf(ə)* 'heart'; 6 Mbedam *nəf* 'heart'; 8 Log *nəfu* 'Herz, Seele' [LkL], Aff, Glf (*ə*)*rfu*, Ngala *inwū*, Kus (*ə*)*rrvi* 'heart' [Sol №330].

Derived verb. W 3 Kupto *nəcfə* 'to live, breathe; spend long time' [LgK].

//Eg *nf.t* (AR) 'Wedel, Fächer', *nf* (N) 'breath, wind', *nfy* (N) 'ausatmen' [EG II 250]; Berb Ahg *a-nəfə* 'breath', *ta-nəfu-t* 'breath, soul', Ayr, EWlm *a-nafo* 'fresh wind' [Alj 141], Cush Bed *nifi* 'souffler, vent' [RBd]; Som *naf* 'life, soul, self', *nef* 'breath, air' [Lls], Saho *naf* 'breath, soul, self' [Vr], Afar *nawaa* 'breath, life' [RnA].

[Gr; Coh №457; EDE I 126 (with references); HSED №1828; CLD I №74].

592. *nVg(V)w- > *nVg^w- 'to say, to answer; говорить, отвечать': W 1 Hs *ng^wai* 'reply to a greeting' (according to [Brg], a loan from Fulfulde); 3 Dera *ng^wa* 'it is said, that' [NmK], Kupto *ngō* 'to say, saying' [LgK]; 5 Grnt *ngi* 'say' [Jag]; 6 Duw *əngā* 'speak'; C 2 Bura *ngg^wa* 'it is said' [Ann], Hildi *ngā* 'to call' [Kr]; 5 Glv *ngg^w* 'to answer', Gava *ng^wə-gəna* 'to answer' [Kr], Wnd *ngwe* 'répondre' [VM]; 7 7 Ould *-nggay* 'dire; penser'; E 4 Sok *négi* 'shout' [Luk].

//Sem Sab *ngw* 'announce to; tell, instruct (oracule)' [SD 93; BlI 291], Arab *ngw* III stem 'parler à l'oreille à qqn' [BK II 1209].

Note Ch *g^w*, corresponding to *g+w* in Sem languages.

[CLD I №442].

593. *n(V)yVh-/*nVh- 'to sleep; спать': W 7 DB *nyáh*, Sha *nyā* 'schlafen', Richa *nyā* '(sich) legen, schlafen' [JgR], Karfa *nyāu*, Mangar *nyā* 'sleep'

(n.) [RC]; C 4 Gude *nwu-nyínə* 'sleep' (n.); 7 Chv *mā-nàhà* 'couché', Mbuko *nahay* 'coucher'; E 3 (loss of the laryngeal and redupl.) Ndam *ʔə́ǰá nūn* 'sleep' [JgIb], *nun* [BN], Smr *nūnī* 'a sleep' [JgIb], *nūunī* 'Schlaf' [Luk]. //Sem Geez *nəhya* 'reposer, recover, quiet', Tna *nāhayä/wä* 'feel relieved, relaxed', Gur *nəyä* 'lie down to sleep', Har *neʔa*, Amh *annä* 'put to sleep'. "The root seems to be common with Cush Bed *nay* 'schlafen, ruhen' [RBd]" [LsG 394].
[CLD I №424].

594. *nVh- 'to ripen; созреть': W 1 Hs *nūuna, naana, niina* 'be ripe, ripen, be cooked'; 2 Mghv *nūn* [JgS], Ngas *ning* [Fl] 'ripe', Kofyar *nūj* [JgIb] 'ripen'; 3 Tng *niy*, Ngm *nu*, Bele, Krf *nū-*, Glm *ny-*, Gera, Geruma *nce* [SchV]; Pero *nii* 'to ripe'; 4 Wrj, Miya, Kar *na-*, Paa *na*, Siri *na-*, Diri *həna* (metath.?), Tsagu *nēhē-*, Jmb *nah-* [SkNb]; 6 Ngz *nawāu* 'get ripe, mature'; 7 Bok *nuy*, DB *nun, nuh*, Sha *nī* [JgR]; C 4 Gude *na*, Jimj *nna-n* 'mûrir', Bch *ná* 'be ripe' [VM]; 6 Buwal na [3]; 7 Mbuko *náh*, Mofu *-nəh-*, Mada *ánah*, Ould *-nūhw* 'mûrir', Gis *nah* 'be ripe' [JgIb]; 6 Daba *ná* 'be ripe' [VM]; 8 Afd, Mak, Glf *ná*, Kus *nāw*, Zina *wənhə* 'mûrir' [TrC]; 10 Masa *nía* (adj.) [JgIb], Dzpw *ne*, Dari *nīē* 'mûrir, mûr'; E 1 Kera *né* 'reifen', Mobu *naye*, Ndam *naayé* [Lns]; 2 Lele *ne* 'be ripe' [VM]; 3 Smr *nāā* 'mûrir' [JgSb], Ndam *nāa* (adj.) [Brs], Tum *nī* 'mûr'; 4 Barein **nī* [LvB]; E 5a Mig *níyāw* 'ripen', Bid *naa* 'mûrir', EDng *nēj* 'reif sein' [Ebb], WDng *nēē* 'porter du fruit en train de mûrir, être enceinte', *nēē* 'être a point' (mil dur); 5b MM *nūwāawī*, Brg *nāyā* 'mûrir' [JgB], Tor *na*, Mubi *nāw* 'ripen' [JgIb]. //Sem Arab *ynʕ* 'être déjà mûr' [BK II 64, 1636]. Root extension (y- as C₁) in Arabic.
[JgIb *nwk, CLD I №425].

595. *nVk- 'to pay, count; платить, считать': W 3 Dera *ayge* (-ygc- < *-nk-) 'to pay' [NmK]; C 2 Mrg *ɟkyə* 'to pay' [HfM 30], Bura *nyika* 'divorce price' [Ann]; E 1 Kera *ánke* 'count'. //Sem Geez *nakaya* 'pay (back)', Arab *nkʔ* 'to pay someone his due' [LsG 398]. Cf. E 5 EDng *nyáaké* (-k- < Ch *-k-/*-k-) 'belohnen, to reward' [Ebb] and Akk *niqu* 'offering' [CAD n 252].
[CLD I №457].

596. *nik- 'to lick, saliva; лизать, слюна': W 4 Wrj *nəḳə*, Kar *nəḳə* 'to

lick'; C 7 Mafa *naka-d*, Mada *énnek* 'lécher'; 8 Daba *naka-t* 'lécher' [Lnhf]; 9 Mbara *ník* 'lick'.

Derived noun: W 4 Wri *nə-niki-na*, Siri *niḱi*, Miya *ni-nəki*, Mburku *na-nəḱə*, Kar *nə-nəki* 'saliva' [SkNB], cf. Jmb *vi-nakil*, Tsagu *mī-ḱən* (metath.) 'saliva'; 5 Pol *nāyā-n* (< **nak-n*) 'saliva' [Cs]; 9 Mbara *tí-nèk*, Msg *té-é-nék* [LkM] 'saliva', Mnj *te-neck* 'salive' [Mo].

//Sem Akk *enēqu*, Hbr *ynq* 'suck'. Root extension (*y-* as *C*₁). Cf. Arab *nqf* 'amasser une certain quantité de salive dans sa bouche' [BK II 1329], Eg *s-nḱ* (Pyr) 'to suck' (Kaus ?) [EG IV 174].

[CLD I №482].

597. *ny/wVI- (< ***nVy/wVI-** 'to flow, to ooze; течь'): C 3 (derived noun) HB *nyila* 'dew' [Kr]; E 3 Smr *nwəlō* 'pleurer' [JgSb], Ndam *nulā* 'pleurer' [Brs]; 5a Bid *nyaal* 'saigner, couler', *lélény* 'dégouliner, tomber goutte à goutte' (met.) [JB], WDng *nyāalē* 'couler', EDng *nyāalē* 'fliessen' [Ebb], Mig *nyāalō* 'couler (pluie)'.

// Sem Akk *nīlu* 'watering, flooding' [CAD n 234].

Note Ch *-y-*, corresponding to Akkadian *-ī-*.

[CLD I №520].

598. *nVm- (or ***nyVm-**) 'to weave, plait; ткать, плести': W 3 Kkrk *ləmusū* 'plait', Pero *lemuyō* 'weave', Krf *ʔi lama* 'make a rope', *lama* 'woven (cloth)' [Stl]; 6 Ngz *nəḡmú*, *ləḡmú* 'weave net; mould pottery, construct using mud'; C 2 Mrg *ilim*, WMrg *nima-di* 'plait' [Kr]; 3 Bana *lōm* 'to spin'; 7 Mada *ólmo* 'filer (fil, ficelle)'; 8 Afd, Maltam, Mak *nōm*, Kus *rōm* 'filer (du cotton)' [TrC], E 3 Tum *lōm* 'torsader, plait (hair, rope)', Ndam *lōmā* 'spin' [Brs]; 2 Lele *līm-dí* 'rouler sur la cuisse'; 5b Brg *nyāami* 'tresser (cheveux)'.

Derived noun: W 3 Dera *lem* 'fish net' [NmK]; C 8 Log *naame* 'Strick' [LkL], Makari *name* 'rope'.

//Sem Geez *ʔanama*, Tna *ʔanämä* 'weave' [LsG 30]. Cf. Akk *nimatu* (*nilutu*) a garment [CAD n2 234].

In roots of the shape *n-m*, *n-P* a sporadical *n-* > *l-* shift is observed in Chadic languages.

[CLD I №№534, 609].

599. *nVm- (> **IVm-**) 'termite; термит': C 2 Bura *lima* 'general name for termite' [Ann], WMrg *lima*, Bura *lumā*, Chb *lima*; 3 Kap *lumā* 'termite'

[Kr], Bana *lǝmá* 'esp de termite'; 4 Gude *málǝmǝ* 'k. of insect (size of louse, lives in sand, stings)'; 7 Mofu *lǝmɛ-d* (-*d* is a suff. of sing.) 'grosse termite ailée'; 8 Daba *nimī* 'termite qui voler' [Lnhr], Mbedam *limi-d* 'fourmi' [NDP]; E 4 Sok *num-da* 'termite' [Luk]; 5b Jegu *lolmo*.

//Sem Akk *namlu* (OB) [CAD n1 208], Arab *nimm-at-* 'ant, louse', *naml-* 'fourmi' [BK II 1349], Hbr *nəməlā* 'ant' [KB 618], Syr *nəməlā*, Mehri *nōmīl* [JnM]. Note also Akk *lamattu* 'ant' [CAD I 67] and Eblait *la-ma-núm* [apud SED]. According to [SED 215], Arabic *nimm-at-* "is to be analyzed as going back to **niml-at* through assimilation". This explanation is valid for Chadic also (note numerous similar cases in the present text). For the **nVm-* > *IVm-* shift see the previous root. The original triradical structure can be seen in Jegu *lolmo* (< *nVIm-*, metath. < **nVmVI-*). As for Akk *lamattu* (*lamantu*), it may result from a metath. (**nml* > *lmn*), or go back to AA **IVm(lum)-*. The first variant seems more adequate to the data, because AA **IVm-* hardly exists.

[SED II №163, CLD I №547].

600. W 2 **naan* 'God; Бор': 2 Mghv *naan* [JgS], Ngas *nen* 'God' [Fl], Mpn *nāan* 'sky, God', Mnt *nāan* 'Gott' [JgC], Goem, Mnt, Grk *naan* 'God, big' [Fp], Mushere *naan* [JgO], Goem *naan* [Hlw], Grk *naán* [BIY] 'God'.

//Eg *nn* (Gr) '(vereinzelt) als Urgott' [EG II 274].

[HSED №1842; CLD I №362]

601. **nVr-* 'to hunt, search; охотиться, искать': W 5 Saya (Zaar) *naar* 'a hunt' [Cs]; C 8 Bud *nera* 'suchen; search' [LkBd]; 10 Masa *nār* 'conduire (le troupeau)' [CC]. Cf. W 2 Grk *πῖρῶ* 'to send' [BIY].

//Sem Arab *nhr* 'éloigner, chasser, repousser a force de cri' [BK II 1354]. Note also Eg *nry* (AR0 'hüten, bewachen' [EG II 278] and Berb Tuar *ənhər*, Qab *nəhər* 'conduire' in [Coh №461]. Root extension (*h* as C₂) in Arabic.

[CLD I №557].

602. **nVHVr-* 'to surround; окружать': W 2 Mghv *nēer* 'umgeben, surround' [JgS], Mpn *nēer* 'surround, gang up at s.o.'; E 5a WDng *nyārnyārō* 'en doum entourant la chignon (pour le soutenir)'. A long vowel in WCh 2 points to contraction: **nVHVr-* > *nVyVr-* > *nVVr-*.

//Sem Akk *nēru* 'a type of border line' [CAD n2 178]. Cf. Eg *inh* 'to surround, enclose' [EG I 99]. In [EDE I 91] Eg *inh* is analyzed as [rnh], methat. < **nh̄r*.

[CLD I №562].

603. *nV(ʔV)s- ‘to breathe (heavily); (тяжело) дышать’: W 1 Hs *níisí* ‘groaning, grunting’; 3 Bol *mi neśu* ‘I breathe’ [Kl]; 7 Kul, Sha *nos* ‘atmen, to breathe’ (note Sha *mu-nos* ‘Wind lassen’) [JgR]; C 10 Dari *nyís* ‘esptit, âme, souffle vital’; E 5a Bid *nees*, Mig *naásò* ‘respirer’.

//Sem Akk *naʔāšu* (M/jB) ‘to have difficulty breathing, wheeze?’ [CAD n 1 227].

[CLD I № 492].

604. *nVs- ‘to rest; отдыхать’: W 3 Bol *noss-* ‘ruhen’ [LkB], Pero *neččò* ‘to rest’; C 7 Mada *énzè* (< **cnse*) ‘rester, durer’; E 5a EDng *neśē* ‘abends aufbleiben’ [Ebb], Mig *naśaw* ‘se reposer, rest’; 5b Brg *neśí* ‘se reposer’.

Derived noun: W 3 Gera *nó-nčá* ‘life’ [SchB].

//Sem Akk *nešu* ‘live, alive, recover’ [CAD n 2 197], cf. Arab *nws* II ‘s’arreter, to stop in a place’ [BK II 1366].

[CLD I № 491].

*p

605. *pVy/H- ‘to dig, bury, plant; копать, хоронить, сажать’: W 3 Tng *ope* ‘to dig’, Kupto *ʔoppéy* (plurac.) ‘to dig, to drill; to excavate’ [LgK]; W 4 Wrj *pya-*, Siri *pyaa*, Kar *peya*, Paa *pi* ‘transplant’ [SkNB], C 8 Zina *payá* ‘bury’ [ZK], cf. Log *fá-* [AIL], Bud *fá* ‘bury’ (< **paH-*) [LkBd]; 9 Mulwi *pi*, Mnj *pi* ‘enterrer, planter’, Mbara *paa* ‘bury, enterrer, planter’; 10 Masa *pi* ‘planter, enterrer, repiquer’ [CC], Dzpw *pe* ‘planter’, Dari *pāy* ‘déterrer’, *pīē* ‘planter’; Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *pí*, Lew, Marba *pe* ‘planter’ [LexC]; E 2 Lele *pē* ‘creuser, déterrer’; 4 Sok *ápé* ‘dig’ [JgIb].

//SCush Qwadza *poʔotis-* ‘to dig (hole)’, Alg *poʔo* ‘hole in the ground’, *poʔis-* ‘to bore hole’ [Eh 148], Dah *pʔuʔ-* ‘to prick’, *pʔuʔud-* ‘to pierce’ [TD].

[JgIb **-p*, HSED №1910 SCush +CCh].

606. *pVw/y(VH)- ‘white; белый’: W 2 Grk *pyaʔ* [JgC], Ngas *pyec*, Mghv *pyaa*, Mpn *pyá*, Kofyar *piyá*, Mushere *pya*, Mnt, Goem *pia* ‘white’ [TAS 296]; W 3 Tng *peē* ‘blank(ness), white(ness)’, Gera *fēewa* [SchB], Krf *fēewa* ‘white’, *fēewu tar* ‘moon-white’ [Stl], Pero *pe* ‘white, light’, Bol *pee* ‘white’, *pee-tire* ‘moonlight’ [Bn], Maka *peē* ‘white’ [SvM], Bure *peewa*

[BTB]; 4 Wrj, Kar *pyau-naa* [SkNB], Miya *pyòoya* f., *pyòona* m. 'white' [SchM]; C 3 Bana *pay* 'blanc'; 4 FJ *pwa-yin* 'white' [Kr], Gude *pwáh* 'very white'; 8 Log *paw* 'be white', Kus *pau* 'white' [Luk].

Cf. C 2 Bura *pwa* 'to light' [BIB].

//ECush dullay Harso, Dob *piʕa*, Gollango *piʕa* 'weiss' [AMS].

According to [EDE II 427], Ch - Cush 'white' and Eg *pʕpʕ* 'leuchten, to shine' are cognate with Sem **wpʕ* 'to appear, be, become visible'. Consider, however, a semantic gap between 'white' and 'to appear'.

607. *pVč- 'white; белый': W 1 Hs *fáčii* 'a lightish-skinned coloured person'; E 5a WDng *pàs-pàs* 'entièrement blanc, couvert de terre', EDng *púsísáy* 'gris' [Dj].

//Sem Akk *pešû* I 'weiss, hell(grau) (Wolle, Stoffen, Tieren, Fellen, Menschen (Haut oder Haar?), anbaufähigen Feldes'; II 'weiss, hell(grau) sein, werden; Garten anbaufähig machen'; *pūšu* (Bab) 'das Weisse, weisse Fleck', *pusû* (OA, OB) 'Weisses' [AHw 857, 883], *pešû* (Oakk on) 'white, pale, bleached', *pešû* 'to become white; to pale' [CAD p 328-334], note Sab *fšy* (if it really means 'white') and discussion in [Bll 407].

608. *pVč- 'to spit; плевать': W 3 Krf *fiš-*, Glm *pəs-aála*, Gera *fiišii-mí* [SchB], Bure *pis-*, Pero *púužò* 'to spit'; 4 Paa *pusu*, Diri *pəža*, Kar *pəcə*, Tsagu *pəč-*, Miya *bəcə* (< **bəčə*, irreg. labial), Mburku *vuc-*, Jmb *fəš-* (regress. assim. with the medial sibilant) [SkNB], Paa *pisuu* [MS] 'to spit'; 5 Grnt *pasi* [Cs], Bgh *peesáj*, Buli *pisən*, Dott *pes*, *pyas* [Cs №751], Zaar *pyaacə* (< **pyaacə*) [CrZ] 'to spit'; E 4 Mawa *pičij*, Saba *pišc*; 5a WDng *pičc*, EDng *pičc* [Dj], Bid *pič*, Mabire *pačawa* [JH] 'to spit'.

//Sem Arab *nft* 'vomir, cracher' [BK II 13004], Ug *wpt* 'bespücker' [Ais 96], Berb Ntifa *s-ufš*, Izayan *siuffes*, Snus *s-ufəs*, Wargla *sufes*, Shilh *ssufš*, Ghdm *sufes* 'to spit' [NZ 659].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Arabic, (*w* as C₁) in Ugaritic.

[Jglb **pš*; AA 1 №10 Sem, WCh, Berb; HSED №1976. In both cases Ch ***pVč-** 'to spit' includes also CCh Tera *pəšə*, Bch *fiiš* 'to spew, to spray'. However, both go back to №627 ***pVs-** 'to drizzle', see below].

609. *pič-, pl. ***pVčVr-** 'urine; моча': W 1 Hs *fíčáarii*; 4 (metath.) Wrj *cəpr-ái*, Kar *cípír*, Diri *əcəbəla*, Miya *cəpúr*, Siri *čipəri* [SkNB], Pa'a *cipurá* [MS]; 5 **bVsVr-* < **pVčVr-* (shift of an emphatic component):

Bgh *bés*, Buli *bas*, Dott *busaari*, Geji *bási*, Guus *bíḡá*, Zaar *bes* 'urine' [Cs №96]; C 10 Dari *zəbūr*, Dzpw *zubūr* [Sa], *čubūr* [Jglb] 'urine' (< *čVpVr, voicing of -p-, metath. < *pVčVr-); E 1 Kwang *kó-čor* (< *k-čwr < *k-čpVr, k- is a pref. of coll. nouns) [Jglb]; 2 Kaba *čəbəra*, Lele *čóòró* (< *čVpVr-, metath. < *pVčVr-) [Jglb]; 3 Tum *bəḡər*, Ndam *būḡ* (< *PVCVr-, regular voicing of initial *p- and of a medial affricate) [Jglb]; 4 Mawa *swari*, Ubi *čario* (< *čVwVr < *čVpar); 5a Mabire *čora* [HJ] (< *čpar-, metath. and lenition of medial -p-) 'urine', *pidy- (< Ch *pVč-): EDng *pídyé* 'uriner', *pídyí* coll. 'urine, sperme' [Dj], Mig *pídyí*, Bid *píʔi* coll.; 5b Brg *fídyí*, Mubi *fàràdyé* (metath.) 'urine' [Jglb].

//Sem Arab *fazz-* 'horse urine or water from the stomach of a ruminant' [BK II 613].

Note a metath.: *p-č* > *č-p* in Chadic languages (in accordance with the law of "rising sonority").

[Jglb *ps, AA1 №11 Arab, some W and ECh forms; HSED №2003, St 116].

610. *pV[k]- 'to peel, strip off; счищать': W 2 Goem *pək* 'rub something (e.g., oil on body, feet on ground)' [Hlw], Ngas *pok* 'to peel, skin' [Fl]; 3 Bol *poku* 'peel, strip off' [GAB]; C 6 Daba *pe-pək* 'enlever la peau d'arachide' [Lnh]; 7 Mofu *-pək^w* 'décherber à la houe'; 9 Mulwi *píki*, Mnj *piki* 'pincer'; 10 Dzpw *pók* 'couper feuilles, pincer', Dari *pōk* 'pincer, couper qqch de mou', *pōk-só* ('pincer dirt') 'charognard', Musey *pekka* 'pincer; ôter, élever; couper en petit morceau' [ShyM], Peve *pok* 'to pinch off' [Vn]; E 1 Kera *póke* 'éplucher'.

Derived noun: C 7 Mofu *to-pok^w* 'glume de mil'. In all Chadic languages reflexes of Ch *k and *k̄ have fallen together as k.

//Sem Aram (Syr) *pqʔ* 'to peel, shell, hull', Arab *fqʔ* II stem 'crever, s'ouvrir (se dit de la capsule, de l'enveloppe du fruit dans certaines plantes)', *faqʔ-* 'membrane qui enveloppe la tête du foetus' [BK II 617]; SCush Qwadza *paʔuko*, Dah *páko* 'bark' [Eh 143], Omot Wolt *fookk-*, Gamo *pokk-* 'schälen' [LmS], Wolt *fokuw*, Dache *fok'o*, Gamu *poko* 'bark' [LmW 351], EWometo, C'ara *p'ok'o* 'bark' [BndO 54].

[AA 1 №16 Sem+Ngas, Kera; HSED №1935 'bark, skin'].

611. *pVI- 'to separate; to untie; развязывать, отделять': W1 Hs (deriv.) *fálan* 'separately'; 6 Bade (redupl) *pəlpəlu* 'untangle'; C 2 (plurac. in m-) Klb *m-pəliya* 'untie' [MuK 29], Bura *m-pili* 'loosen, untie' [Ann], Mrg

pil-na 'untie' [Kr]; 5 Mlg *póla* '(sich) lockern, aufknoten; to loosen, untie', Pod *pəla* 'détacher, relâcher, untie, release', Dghw *pul-naya* 'untie' [Kr]; 5a Hdi *pəlay* 'to untie' 6 Daba *pəlá* 'protéger, séparer', *pàlá* 'la partie', *pəl* 'détacher, déplier' [Lnhf], Mbedam *pəl* 'détacher' [NdP 13]; 7 Chv *mépələy* 'défaire' un toit en paille, délier, étendre', Ould *-pālāy* 'se détacher', (deriv.) *pēlēy* 'détacher, dénouer', Zlg *pəl* 'se détacher' ; 9 Mnj *pili* 'déliér, détacher'; E 2 Lele *pólú* 'séparation, frontière'; 5a Mig *páaló* 's'écarter', (deriv.) Bid *palà-k* 'bifurquer'.

Deriv. in *-t* (complete action): W 6 Bade *paal-tu* 'divide, distribute'; C 3 FK *p(ə)lácə* (< **pVlač-* < **pVla-t*) 'to untie'.

//Sem Geez *falaya* 'separate, divide, distinguish', Arab *flw* 'to wean', Aram (Mand) *pla*, Jud *ply* 'be sepatared, distinguished', Hbr *ply* (D-stem) 'toseparate, distinguish', Tna *fäläyā* 'separate', Cush Bilin, Qwara *fāl*, Saho *fil* 'to comb' ("that is, 'separate the hair'") [LsG 161], Bilin *falye* 'separate' [RB], ECush **fil-* 'to comb' [Ss], Oromo *fila* 'comb' [Grg], dullaay Harso, Dob *fill-*, Gollango *fillad* 'kämmen' [AMS], agaw **fal-/fāl-* 'to comb' [ApAg].

[AA 1 №38 **pl* 'to cut, to separate', HSED № 1938 **pal-* 'cut, divide' (both etymologies include some forms with initial *f-*, going back to Ch **fVI-* 'to cut (off)', see №170].

612. **pVI-* 'kind of stone, камень': W 5 Zaar *pá:l* 'k of flat stone (used to make the blade of farming instruments)' [CrZ]; C 2 Həba *pelia* 'white stone used for magic purposes', Bura *pəla* 'stone'; 5a Hdi *pala* [BrH], Lmn *pala-k*, Hitk *pá-lá-ká* 'stone' [LkH]; 6 Daba *pəpəláh* 'rocher' [Lnhf]; 7 Mofu *pəlay* 'pierre creuse utilisée comme cuvette'; E 4 Mawa *pəl* 'rocher plat'.

//Sem Akk *pīlu, pūlu* (MB, NA) 'Kalkstein (block)' [AHw 864], ECush dullaay Dob *pala-cakkó*, Goll *pal-takkó* 'Schabstein der Lederhandwerker (bevorzug Obsidian)' [AMS], Ometo Gaṭame *pālō* 'stone' [BndO 95], Berb Maorco dial. *tifilit, ifilu* 'grosse pierre plat, dalle', Shilh *tifilt* 'pierres qui se débitent en lames et servant de dalles', Ahg *téfilt* 'pierre plate' [NZ 561]. [AA 1 №51 **pl* 'stone'].

613. **pVI(VH)-/pVII-* 'to cork, to bark; снимать кору, кожуру': W 3 Tng *palle* 'to peel bark (for medecine)', *pulle* 'to peel (gr. nuts); to be hatched', Kupto *fulléy* 'to peel' [LgK]; 5 Zaar *pul* 'remove the bark of trees, hemp to make ropes' [CrZ]; C 5 Pod *pəláha* 'clean beans; enlever les

cailloux et la saleté (parmi les grains)'; 9 cf. Log *plapla* 'bald' [LkL]; 10 Dzpw *pílé?*, Dari *pələ?* 'décortiquer', Peve *plé* 'to peel off bark' [Vn]; E 3 Tum *pāl* 'éplucher', *pùləl* 'coquille'; 4 Mawa *peiyag* 'dépouiller'.

Deriv. in *-k-*: W 3 Bol *pólku* 'peel off, strip'; C 10 Masa *púlók*, *púlót*, Ham *pólók* 'décortiquer, écosser', Musey *pólók*, Lew, Marba *plók* 'décortiquer, écosser, éplucher', Gizey *pólók* 'éplucher', Musey *polokka* 'écosser, muer' [LexC].

Deriv. in *-d-* (marks an object): E 6 Mok *píl-dá* 'décortiquer arachides'.

Compound: C 7 Dugwor *pələ-ngwád* 'bark (of tree)', Mbuko *pələ-ngwád* 'écorce'.

//Sem Amh *fäläffälä* 'shell (peas, beans)', Har *filäfäla*, Gur *fäläfäfa* 'shell, hatch out, make a hole by scratching', Geez *fäfäla* (K*) 'to shell, pierce' [LsG 158]; ECush Oromo *fäfäla* 'husk'; Berb Shilh *flulu* 'éclore (fleur)', Ntifa *filu* [NZ 559]

614. *pVr- 'to peel; снимать кору, кожуру': W 1 Hs *féerä* 'pare off outer surface of rind'; C 6 Daba *pār* 'enlever en arrachant' [Lnhr]; 9 Mnj *piri* 'éplucher', Mulwi *pírí* 'écorcher à la hache'; E 4 Mawa *pərəŋ* 'arracher, déchamber', *puruŋ* 'to peel, bark'; 5a Mig *píráw* 'enlever la coquille, le peau', *pārāw* (vocalisation of a stative verb) 'devenir chauve, épiler, devenir lisse', WDng *pécere* 'décortiquer', EDng *péré* 'décortiquer, écorcher, enlever la peau' [Dj], Bid *pir* 'décortiquer l'arachide'.

//Sem Geez *fir*, *farra* (*yəfirer*) 'to shell, husk' [LsG], Amh *farä* 'to husk, to shell', Aram (Syr) *par-t-* 'husk, seed-shell'; SCush Rift Irq *purʕuus* [MKQ], Alg *puruʕ-* 'to strip off' [Eh 145].

Alternatively, SCush may relate to:

a. *pVr- 'to tear, pluck; рвать': CCh 6 Daba *pūr* 'déchirer' [Lnhr]; 10 Peve *par* 'to pluck' [Vn]; E 2 Lele *por* 'cucillir, déchirer'.

//Sem Arab *ffir* 'déchirer (une outre, etc.)' [BK II 582], Berb Qab *firi* 'to tear'.

[HSED №2011]

615. *pVr- 'to rub in hands; тереть (между ладонями)': W 2 Goem *púúr* [pʰuːr] 'to rub or twist smth with hands or feet' [Hlw]; 3 Tng *purɛ* 'rub smth in hands'; 6 Ngz *pərpəru*, *fərfəru* 'roll back and forth between hands, e.g. cornstalk to start fire'; E 1 Kera *pápéré* 'reiben, zerknittern; frotter, froisser'. Derived noun: C 8 Afd *phro* 'Handmühle' [Sol].

//Berb Wlm, Ayr *fārfār* 'se froter le mains, froter le cou', Ahg *fuffēr-et* 'froter' [NZ 609], ECush Had *fūr-š-* (caus.) 'to rub off' [Hds]. Note №175 **fVr-* 'to scrape'.

616. *pVr- 'to hunt, to search; охотиться, преследовать': W 1 Hs *fāafāra* 'persue, chase'; 3 Tng *paṛi* 'look for, search', 7 Bok *faar* 'suchen, jagen', DB *faar* 'to hunt' [JgR]; C 7 Mofu *-pāpār-* 'poursuivre qqn en le disputant', (deriv.) *-pərh-* 'chasser, renvoyer, répudier', Mbuko *pəra* 'suivre'; 10 Musey *pōra* 'chasser' [ShyM]; E 5 WDng *pārmè* (originally, a derived noun in -m-) 'chasser de façon non organisée, de nuit ou de jour; petite chasse'.
Derived noun: 'hunt(ing)': W 1 Hs *fārau-tāa* 'hunting of a number of people'; 3 Pero *pāra* 'hunt' n., Tng *para* 'hunting', Kupto *fāra* 'hunting (with spear)', cf. *?āfūrāk* 'hawk sp., (hunts esp. lizards)' [LgK]; C 3 Kap *puri* 'hunting' [Kr].

Derived noun in *m-*: C 7 Mafa *mċ-pċr* 'chasse aux oiseaux'.

//Sem Akk *pāru* (Oakk) 'suchen; to seek, to look for' [AHw 836], Omot Shin *p'c(e)ra* 'to hunt' [BndO 341]; Berb Shilh *furu* 'espionner, guetter' [NZ 603].

[StH VIII.5]

617. *pīr- 'to fly, летать', pl. ***par-** to jump; прыгать': W Hs *fīra* 'to soar into the air'; 2 Ngas *pyaar* 'to lip, jump; aufspringen' [Fl, JgA], Mpn *pāar* 'to jump', Goem *paar* 'jump or bounce' [Hlw]; 3 Kupto *fīro* 'to fly', *fīrfīr* idf. describing the noise when birds are flying [LgK]; 5 Bgh *pīiru* 'jump' [Cs]; C 1 Hona *pəra* 'to leap, fly' [Nm]; 4 Gude *pər* idf. 'flying away', Cuvan *pəṛən* 'to fly' [BryJ]; 5 Pod *perċe-ke* 'to jump, bound'; 8 Bud *fēr* 'springen, tanzen, fliegen, jump, danse, fly' [LkBd], 9 Mulwi *pīri*, Mnj *pīri* 'sauter'; 10 Lew, Marba *pīr*, Musey *pīi* 'sauter, bondir, voler' [LexC], Masa *pīr* 's'ċlever dessus de sol, bondir, sauter' [CC]; E 1 Mobu *pəre* pl. 'sauter'; 3 Smr *pār* 'jump' [JgIb].

Derived noun: C 7 Mofu *pār, pċr* 'envol d'oiseaux'.

//Sem **pr* 'fuggire, come in volo' [Fron 5.66]: Ug *pr* (*pr*), Aram *pr* 'fliehen', Arab *farra* 'fliehen' [Ais 259], Hars, Soq *fēr* 'voler, courir', Jib *fēr* 'voler, sauter' [LsS 342], Mhr *fīr* 'jump, fly up' [JM 96], Eg *p'* (OK) 'auf-, fortfliegen', *prpr* 'umherspringen' [EG I 494, 532], Cush Bed *fī(i)r* 'fliegen', *fār* 'springen, hüpfen; jump' [RBd], agaw **fēr-* 'to fly' [ApAg], Saho *fīre* 'to fly' [Vr], Omot NWometo Gamo *fīr*, Basketo *fər*, Dorze

pīrap; SEOm Zayse *paraḡḡ, fār-*, Yemsa *fūl*, Aroid *fār* ‘to fly’ [BndO 142, 198, 305, 326]; Berb **f-r(r)*: Wargla *u-fār*, Izdeg, Sghr *a-fru*, Shilh *firri, farri* ‘voler’, etc. [NZ 587-8].

[Nm **pərəθ* ‘fly, jump’, Jglb *p-r*; Coh №366; Долг 46, AA 1 №33 **pVr* ‘to fly’, №46 **pVr* ‘jump’, for all the relevant references see TAS II 383].

618. *pVr- ‘to spit, to pour; плевать, лить’: W 2 Ngas *por* ‘spit (out)’ [FI]; 3 Kkrk *fūuru* ‘to spray’ [GK], Bol *pūuru* ‘to spray; to revile’ [GAB]; C 6 Buwal *pēr* ‘sprinkle water’, Mbədam *pərcəw* ‘spit (saliva)’; 7 Ould *-pəro* ‘verser’, Mofu *-pá-pər-* ‘projeter de l’eau avec la bouche, vaporiser de l’eau (sur une natte)’, Mbuko *péré* ‘asperger avec la bouche’.

a. *pV(wV)r- ‘rain; дождь’: C 10 Dari *pūwōr* ‘pluie’; E 2 Kera *pəəru* ‘rainy season’; 4 Sok *pīr-dii* ‘Regenzeit’ [Luk], Barein dial. *pīr, pīir* ‘rainy season’ [LvB], Mawa *pur-gun* ‘rainy season’.

//Sem Arab *ʔfr* ‘arroser les céréales pour la première fois’ [BK II 296].

Note the following correlation: initial *ʔ* in Arabic ~ reduplication of the first syllable in C 7 Mofu.

619. *pVr- ‘to cut; резать’: W 3 Tng *purē* ‘prepare the field by cutting down trees’; 4 Miya *pər* ‘cut, slaughter’ [SchM]; C 3 Bana *prāʔwó* ‘se casser en deux’; Mnj *piri* ‘couper à ras de sol’; E 2 Lele *por* ‘couper, moissonner’.

Derived noun: ***pVr-** ‘kind of razor; резак’: C 2 Bura *per-ku* ‘razor blade’ [BlB]; 3 FK *pīru-kú* ‘razor’ [BlNd], Bana *pīrə* ‘rasoir, lame’; 10 Dari *pərà* ‘couteau de jet’; E 5a Mig *péerú* ‘couteau’.

//Sem Akk *parāʔu* (a/jB) ‘durch-, abschneiden’ [AHw 832], (OB) ‘to cut off, slice through’ [CDA 266], Arab *fry* ‘tailler, couper’, *ffr* ‘couper, briser’ [BK II 588, 582], Berb Ahg *əfr-ən* ‘to shave, cut hair’, Maroco dial. *tafrut, tafra* ‘couteau à manche de bois’, Wlm *tafrut* ‘petit couteau’, Jerba *tafrut* ‘couteau’ [NZ 606].

[AA 1 №28 (ECh only); HSED №2009 Sem+W3 Tng+Berb].

620. *pVr- ‘to make ridges, holes for planting; делать борозды для посадки’: W 1 Hs *fāraa-fāraa* ‘making ridges at the end of rainy season for spring sowing; arid soil’; 6 Ngz *pāarú* ‘make holes with planting hoe to drop seeds in’; C 10 Musey *pīra* ‘enterrer, planter’ [ShyM].

Derived noun: E 5a WDng *pər-dā* ‘tranchée circulaire autour d’un arbre

pour l'arrosage', cf. EDng *par-dā* 'le trou (pour attirer les oiseaux), le nid pour les poules' [Dj].

//Sem **hpr* 'to dig': Arab, Sab *hfr* 'creuser (la terre)' [BK II 457, BI 182], Hbr, Aram *hpr*, Akk *hapāru* [KB 322], Geez *fahara* 'dig, bury' [LsG 57], Amh *fār* 'furrow'; Berb Sened, Shilh *afcr* 'creuser' [NZ 607], Berb **-fr* 'trou, grotte, caverne' [NZ 601]; Cush Bed *fērik-* 'graben einen Brunnen; ein Grab' [RnB], Saho *fāraaʿe* 'to dig, to hoe' [Vr], SCush rift Irq *mapri* 'ditch, irrigation canal, ditch or hole for pole in building house' (if not a loan) [MKQ]. Root extension (*h* as C₁/C₂) in Semitic languages.

Cf. **pAr-* 'to dig' (Cush +Kaffa *hirro* 'pit') in [Долг 45].

621. *pVr- 'to cultivate; обрабатывать землю': C 7 Balda *apūr-s* 'cultivate' [Bry]; 10 Musey *pora* 'nettoyer le champs avant de le semer' [ShyM]. Deriv. in *-d-*: W 1 Hs *fārdāa* 'to hoe groundnuts', 6 Bade *pərdū* 'to hoe up', cf. Ngz *pūudū* (< **puddū* < **pur-dū*) 'to bank up, hoe up or plow up to make hills'.

//Sem Geez *wafāra* 'go to a field', *wafī-* 'field, farm', *mofār* 'beam of a plough', *mufār* 'farmland, pasture, village', Tna *wāfārā* 'go to a field', *tāwāffārā* 'to plough, to cultivate', Cush Saho *ifār* 'go to a field' (< Sem) [LsG 606], Sab *wfr* (tfry) 'cultivate, be cultivated' [SD 158].

622. *pVr- (possibly, **?VpVr-*) 'to untie, to open; развязывать, открывать': C 1 Tera *pəri* 'untie' [NmT]; 4 Gude *pəθə* 'untie, unfold', Bch *para* 'to untie' [Sk]; 5 Mlg *pāra-ke* 'breit, weit, open'; 7 Mafa *pər* 'délier'; E 1 Kera *féré* (irreg. reflex of a labial) 'losmachen', Kwang *apre* 'untie'; 2 Lele *pōr* 'détacher', Nch *pure* 'untie' [Nm]; 4 Mawa *čparaŋ* 'délier, détacher, démolir (une maison)'; 5a WDng *ipirè* 'dénouer, détacher', EDng *ipiré* 'détacher' [Dj], Mig *ʔipiró* 'dénouer, détacher', *piráw* 'séparer (des bagarreurs)'; 6 Mok *pécère* 'se séparer, divorcer', *ʔəppiré* 'détacher, liberer, délier'.

Deriv. in *-t-*: 6 Ngz *pər-tú* 'undo, take apart'.

//ECush **fūr-* 'open, free, untie': Som *fūr* 'open, divorce, set free, untie', Oromo *fura* 'to release (from fetters)', etc. [Ss 19], Berb Qab *ə-fru* 'untie', Maroco dial. *fērreʕ* 'complètement ouvert' [NZ 651].

[Nm **pəθə* 'to untie', AA 1 №36, HSED №2013].

623. C *par- '(to) sacrifice, to pay; приносить жертву, платить': 7 Muy

pəra [prà] ‘sacrifice, God, spirit’, *pápərá* ‘a sacrifice’, Ould *-pār* ‘donner (pl. choses)’, Baka *par* ‘payer’ [BAS]; 7a Skn *pər* ‘to pay’; 10 Gizey Ham, Lew, Marba *pòr*, Masa *pòr*, *pùrò*, Musey *pòò* ‘sacrifice de purification’ [LexC], Musey *puura* ‘donner un cadeau à qqn qui part pour un voyage’ [ShyM].

//Sem Sab *fīf* ‘pay/render tribute of first-fruits’ [SD 45; Bll 410], Berb Shilh *fīu* ‘payer (l’impôt, dettes)’, Maroco dial. *fīu* ‘payer ses dettes, rembourser’ [NZ 602].

624. *pVr- ‘kind of flat stone, rock; плоский камень’: W 2 Mghv *kə-pér* ‘Stein, Kiesel’ [TAS 285]; Goem *pyər* ‘stone for scrubbing the heels’ [Hlw]; C 3 HN *pure*, HB *pirē* [Kr], FK *perí* ‘stone’ [BINd]; 7 Chv *pəra* ‘pierre plat’, Mafa *má-pār* ‘pierres plates; flat stones’, *pərá-d* ‘rocher plat’, Meray *pəla-d* ‘rocher, pierre plat’, Mada *pla-d*, Muy *plá-d* ‘flat rock’, Ould *pəlá-d* ‘grand rocher plat’ (note *-d* as a suff. of sing; *-l* < **r-* in a *CVrVC*-structure is regular); E 1 Kera *pər-kí* ‘stone, mountain, hill’; 5a Bid *peera* ‘rocher lisse, terrasse’.

//Sem Arab *fīhr-* ‘pierre assez grande pour remplir tout la main et avec laquelle on casse les noix’ [BK II 641].

625. *(HV)pVr- ‘red; красный’: W 3 Tng *pərl* idf. ‘redness’; 5 Buli *mə-pirij* ‘red’ [Kr]; 6 Daba *pirən* ‘rouge, rougir’ [Lnh], Buwal *vəɾə* (< **HpVr-*) ‘be red’, Musgoy *pəreŋ* [Mo]; 9a Gdr *pepreŋe* [Mo]; E 3 Ndam *pəré* ‘rouge’ [Brs], Tum *pārī* ‘rouge’, *pà* (< **Hpar#*) ‘être rouge’ (note that initial Ch **p-* more often yields Tumak, Ndam *b-*, while *p-* point to a cluster **Hp-/*pH-*); 5a WDng *pərony* ‘rougeâtre’.

Deriv. ‘blood; кровь’: W 4 **pəram* (< **HpVr-m-*, note *-m-* as a possessive suff.): Siri *pəramí*, Mburku *pəraŋ*, Miya *pəram*, Jmb *bəramá* [SkNB], Miya *pəram* [SchM]; 5 Kir *pirəŋ*, Tala *pəra* [Smz], Grnt *bəran*, Jimi *biram* (*b-* < **p-*) [Jglb], Mangas *puruŋ* [Cs], Pol *buran*, Zul *bəraani* [Cs №45], Dott *bəraan* [CrD], Zaar *vəraŋ* [CrZ]; C 1 **fVr-* < **HpVr-* ‘blood’: Tera (dial.) *vəɾ*, Gaʔanda *fəra*, Gabin *fəre*, Hona *fərá*, Boka *fəwəra* [Kr]; 9 Mnj *fəl*, Mbara *fəl*; E **k-pVr-* > *k-bVr-* (note *k-* as a suff. of collective nouns in Kera): 1 Kera *kor*, Kwang *kú-waar* [Jglb]; 2 Kaba *ka-brə*, Nch *ku-bra* [HmK]; 3 Smr *barē*, Ndam *bā:r* [Jglb], 4 Barcin **baar-* [LvB]; 5a Mig *baara* ‘blood’, pl.; EDng *baari* ‘blood’, pl. [Dj], WDng *bàar* ‘blood’, pl. coll.; 5b Kaj *ʔabar*, Jegu *bar*, Mabire *bar* [HJ], Brg *barà*, Mubi *òbòr* [Jglb].

//Sem MSA *ʕpr ‘red’: Soq *áfer*, Mhr *ôfer*, Jib *ʕôfer* ‘red’, Arab *ʕafira* ‘avoir le pelage rougeâtre’ [LS] (cf. Geez *ferä* ‘pestilence, plague (T: blood)’ [LSG 165]), Cush agaw **bər-* ‘blood’ [ApAg]; E dulla Goll, *Dob poore* ‘rotbraune Farbe’ [AMS], cf. Konso, Gidole *poor-* ‘black’ [SsB]; Dasenech *bur*, Elmolo *purra*, Arb *burri* ‘red’, Omot Shin *birá* ‘rot’ [LmS], with a few WCh 5 parallels.

One more MSA ~ Chadic lexical parallel. Note that the original semantics in Chadic was ‘red’, while ‘blood’ is a derived noun. Initial laryngeal can be traced in W 4 by secondary emphatization of **p-*: **Hp-* > *p̣-*. Initial prefix provoked voicing of medial *-p-* in ECh ‘blood’: **k-HpVr-* > *k-pVr-* > *k-bVr-* > *bVr-*. Compare: E 3 Ndam *pəré* ‘rouge’, Tum *pārī* ‘rouge’ (< **Hpar#*); 5a WDng *poròny* ‘rougeâtre’, on the one hand and Tum *bà* Ndam *bā:r*, WDng *bàar* ‘blood’, on the other. Initial *b-* in Cushitic languages has no explanation so far.

[Ch Jglb **br* II 14 ‘blood’, Note that Ch ‘blood’ can not be a loan from Niger Kongo (Dyola *fur*, Mende *puru*, etc.) as suggested in *ibid.*, p. 178].

626. *par- ‘granary, part of the granary; амбар, дом, часть дома’: W 2 Goem *paar* ‘barn, platform raised on sticks’ [Hlw]; C 2 Chb *fər* (irregular reflex of the labial) ‘Hütte, Haus’ [HfC]; 4 Gude *piirá* ‘wall inside granary’; 7a Skn *ma-param* ‘gateway, house of stone’; 10 Dzpw *bébé par* ‘porte’ = ‘hole of the house’; E 2 Lele *pāré* ‘k of cage’; 5a Mig *pará* ‘hangar’.

//Er *pr* (Pyr) ‘Haus, Laube aus Rohr, Palast des Königs’ [EG I 511], Ber Ahg EWlm, Ayr *afarra* ‘clôture (haie, mur)’, Snus *əfri* ‘to fence’ [NZ 608]. Note Akk *nupāru* (OB) ‘workhouse’ [CAD n 341].

[Cl, AA 1 №30: Eg+Berb, HSED №1949].

627. *pVs- ‘to drizzle, sprinkle; брызгать’: W 1 Hs *fécsá* ‘spurt out water’; 3 Pero *paažó* ‘sprinkle’; 4 Wrj *pusi* ‘spit something out, spew something out of your mouth’ [BIS]; 5 Zaar *paas* ‘to spill’ [CrZ]; C 1 Tera *pəšə* ‘spew, sprinkle’ [Nm], Ga’anda *pišə* [SkNB 41]; 2 Bura *pši* ‘to sprinkle’ [Ann]; 3 FK *píši* ‘to squirt, spray’ [BlNd]; 4 Bch *fiišə* (< **pis-*, regressive assim.) ‘spew, sprinkle’ [Nm]; 5 Mlg *pəšá* ‘Wasser sprengeln; melken’, Pod *piše* ‘drizzle, sprinkle’; 6 Buwal *pīšēk* ‘spit out’; 7 Mafa *piš-* ‘cracher de l’eau, bruiner’, Mada *əpsc* ‘asperger, cracher’, Mofu *-pəš-* ‘cracher dans une calabasse pour la bénir’, Zlg *píśé* ‘asperger’, Balda *píśét* ‘spit

(salive)' [Bry]; 10 Dzpw *pís* 'asperger'; E 4 Mawa *pəso* 'mouillé, humide', Sok *pəso, pézo* 'wet' [Luk]; 5a Mig *písáw* 'cracher'.
[Nm **pəsə* 'spew, spray'].

//Sem Sab *nfs* 'cause water to spread out', Arab Dat *nfs* 'spread out, flow out' [Bll 309], Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Semitic.

Note a possible "root variant":

a. CCh **pVʔ-* 'to drizzle, spray; брызгать, лить': 6 Buwal *pāt* 'to pour libation'; 7 Zlg *paʔ* 'asperger', Muy *paʔa* idf. 'splashing', Mofu *-paʔ-* 'verser à terre (liquide en libation), asperger', Mbuko *pāʔay* 'asperger avec une calbasse'.

//Sem Arab *ħfš* 'verser, donner (de l'eau)' [BK II 458]. Root extension (*ħ-* as C₁) in Arabic. Cf. Om Ari *pʔis/š-* 'cough' [BndO 260]. Semantic shift: 'to drizzle' > 'to cough' seems possible.

628. **pVs-* 'to dig; копать': W 4 Paa *pʔsu* 'bury' [MS], Miya *pəsə* 'bury' [SchM]; C 7 Zlg *pásá* 'déterrer en grattant', Mofu *-pəš-* 'enterrer, boucher un trou'; 8 Mak *fasi ho* 'déterrer' (regressive assim. of initial *p-*).

Deriv. in *-k-*: W 1 Hs *fás-ka* 'dig (ground)'.

//Sem Geez *fhs* III 'to dig, examine, scrutinize carefully, question repeatedly', "related to Arab *fhs* 'chercher, rechercher, scruter ou s'enquérir de qqch', III stem 'examiner'" [LsG 157].

Common origin of forms in Geez and Arabic (in the view of different sibilants) is not that evident. Consider also, that the primary semantics in Geez is 'to dig'.

629. **pVs-* 'to spread, to stretch; растягивать': W 1 Hs *fásà* 'disperse a gathering'; 6 Duw *paaso*, Bade *paasu* 'drag on ground'; C 6 Buwal *pāpās* 'spread out bits of'.

Deriv.: C 2 Bura *pša-ri* 'to spread on the ground'; E 2 Lele *pási-ní* 'dispenser'.

//Sem Geez *fhs* II 'spread out, stretch out' [LsG 157], SCush rift Alg *pas-it-* 'to scatter' [Eh].

Note a possible "root variant":

****pVz-* 'to spread'**: C 3 FK *pəzə* 'to spread'; E 5a WDng *pazziyə* 'se reprendre, s'éparpiller (chèvres...)'.

//Cush agaw **fāz-* 'to sow' [ApAg], Berb EWlm *fəziwək* 'se disperser en désordre', Mzab *fezzce* 'éparpiller, disperser' [NZ 688].

630. *pVs- ‘to break, to crumble; ломать, крошить’: W 1 Hs *fásà* ‘break irregularly’; 3 Tng *pas* idf. describing sound of smth breaking’; 6 Ngz *pə-psu* ‘render into small pieces or powder’; C 2 Bura *pwasi* ‘divide smth hard’; 7 Mofu *-pá-pəs-* ‘émietter, distribuer en petites bouchées, diviser la boule en petits morceaux’; E 1 Tum *páǝ* ‘casser’ (-ǝ# < Ch *S#); 5a WDng *pəssə* ‘casser avec la main (noix, morceau de sucre)’.

Derived noun. ***pVs-** ‘flour’: W 1 Hs *fási* ‘the first rough grinding of corn’.

Redupl. ‘crumbs’: C 5 Glv *pás-pása* ‘crumbs, broken pieces’; 7 Muy *pīš-pīš* ‘crumbs’.

//Sem Arab *fhs* ‘broyer, frotter dans la main’ [BK II 547].

Root extension (*h* as C₂) in Arabic.

631. *pVs- ‘to comb hair; расчесывать волосы’: W 1 Hausa *fííšii* ‘putting tidy or tittivating woman’s hair’; 2 Ngas *pes* ‘to thin, comb’, Mpn *pāas*, Kofyar *paas* ‘to comb hair’, Goem *paas* ‘to clear (a horse’s tail from dirt)’ [TAS 282]; C 7 Muy *ápāsāy* ‘to comb’.

//Berb Shilh *fsu* ‘carder (avec de petites cardes)’, Maroco dial. *fsu* ‘défaire, étirer, nettoyer (la laine)’, Rif *fsu* ‘peigner la laine’, Qab *fsu* ‘défaire, étirer (la laine)’ [NZ 656].

Note that the newly found form in C 7 Muyang points to Chadic medial *-s- (Ch *-t- > Muyang -t-). Thus, Ch root is not cognate with Eg *pšy* and Sem **npĉ* (**nps*) ‘to separate’ < AA **npĉ*, as postulated in [HSED №1918] and [TAS II 520]. On the other hand, Ch **pVs-* has a "true cognate" in Berber **fsu* (note Berb **-s-* < AA **-s-*, but Berb *-z-* < AA **-c-* and **-ĉ-*).

[HSED №1918 Sem+Berb Qab+ WCh Mupun; EDE II 520 Sem+Eg *pšy* +WCh **pVs-*].

632. *pVt- ‘to go out; выходить’: W 1 Hs *fíta* ‘go out’; 2 Mpn *pūt*, Mghv *put*, Ngas *put*, Miship *put* ‘go out’ [TAS], Goem *pət* ‘exit, go out, appear’ [Hlw], Mushere *pút*, *pwat* (pl.) ‘go out’ [JgO]; 3 Bol *pátaa-*, Glm *páz-*, Krkr *fátaa-*, [ShV] (*-z-* < **-t-* is regular), Ngm (Y) *fáta*, (G) *hatá* [NEH] (irregular labial in Ngm and Krkr):Tng *pəđj*, Pero *pəto*, Bele *fáti-kò*, Gera *fíđ-mí* ‘go out’, Bure *pat-*, Kupto *fékta* (plurac. verb in internal *-k-*) ‘to go out, to come out, to appear’ [LgK]; C 4 Gude *pitə* ‘go, pass by’, Gudu *pít* ‘go’ [JgIb], 6 Daba *pət* ‘sortir de la maison’ [Lnhr]; 7 Mofu *pát*, *pət* ‘sortir brusquement’; E 3 Tum *pəd* ‘passer’.

//Cush (agaw) **fāt-* ‘to go’ [ApAg], Berb Shilh *ftu* ‘partir, marcher, aller’,

Maroco dial. *ftu* 'partir, s'en aller' [NZ 667].
[Nm **pəta*, JgIb **pt*; Calice, AA 1 №43 **pət*].

633. **pit*/pat*- 'to peel, strip, pluck; снимать кожуру, срывать':** W 2 Hs *fatta* 'tear, rip'; 4 Paa *pitaa* 'pluck' [MS]; 6 Duw *paatiyo* 'strip palm leaves for weaving'; C 7 Mafa *pit*- 'décortiquer', Mofu *-papət-* 'to bark, peel', Baka *mí-pete* 'éplucher' [BAS], Muy *épetéy* 'to peel'; 10 Masa *pát* 'enlever, arracher, récolter; castrer' [CC], Musey, Peve, Hede *pat* 'extract' [Shy], Lew, Marba *pát* 'extraire', Gizey, Ham, Musey *pát* 'extraire, arracher' [LexC], Dzpw *pát* 'piler, enlever; ôter', Dari *pāt* 'enlever, ôter'; E 1 Kera *pécé* 'pluck feathers, bark'; 4 Barein dial. *pootó*, *pooto*, *pōotó* 'to shell (peanuts)' (internal -w- pl.?) [LvB]; 5a WDng *pitinye* 'décortiquer, défaire'.

//Sem Soq *fʔʔ* 'mettre à nu, dépouiller', Mhr *fataʔ*, *fataʔ*, Jib *fʔaʔ* 'nu' [LsS 335], Omot Shin *fēct-* 'schählen' [LmS], Ongota *futti* 'pluck out, pull out' [FIO].

Derived noun: ECh 4 Barein dial. *pítí*, *pítá* 'bark'[LvB] ~ ECush dullay Harso, Dob *fēcte* 'bark' [AMS].

Note Ch *-t- as the regular reflex of AA *-t-.

[HSED №1990 Mofu, Mafa, Kera+ECush].

634. **pVt*- 'to cut, split; резать, раскалывать': W 2 Mghv *pet* 'aufschneiden' [JgS]; 3 Pero *pétto* 'cut into pieces, cf. Tng *pete* 'cut corn, harvest'; 4 Paa *pata* 'split' [MS]; 6 Bade *piitu* 'cut, slit'; C 4 Gude *pwatə* 'cut animals into pieces' (plurac. in -w-); 5 Pod *pətə* idf. 'couper'; 7 Mafa *pat-* 'tailler, rendre pointu', Mada *papat* '(couper) d'un coup', Mbuko *pəpēt* 'cut small pieces', (deriv.) *pəték* idf. 'small portions'; E 5a Mig *pētto* 'fendre, tatouer', Bid *pect* 'fendre un bois, bifurquer, cicutriser'.

Deriv. in -k-: W 6 Bade *əpčəku* (< *-pt-k) 'cut piece off'.

//Cf. Sem Arab *ftt* 'fendre (pierres), casser, broyer' [BK II 531]. It is likely, that reflexes of two AA roots (**pVt*- 'to split' and **fVt*- 'to break (off)') have confused in Arabic, cf.

a.Ch **fVt*- 'to break (off)': W 6 Bade *fəftu* 'break off'; C 7 Ould *-fətaʔ* 'taper, frapper'.

//Sem Geez *ftt* 'break off a piece', Sab, Hbr, Aram *ftt* 'to crumble' [LsG 171], Mhr *ftt*, Jib *fet* 'crumble' [JnJ].

A "root variant" of Ch **pVt*- 'to cut' is worth mentioning:

b. ***fVt-** (< AA ***fVt**) 'to slaughter; (за)резать': W 2 Mghv *fēt* 'schlachten', Kofyar *fēt* 'to cut' [TAS 106]; C 6 Buwal *fāt* 'slaughter', Mbedam *fāt* [NDP 8], Gavar *fāt* [VGv 4], Musgoy *fāt* [Mo] 'égorger'

c.C ***fVt-** 'to cut (corn)': 10 Azum *fēta* 'to harvest (grain)' (cutting off the ears one by one of the high grains, using a knife) [PAZ].

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 7 Mofu *-fētá-d* 'tailler en pointe, couper (les épis de mil)', Mada *éfte-d* 'couper les épis (sans laisser de tige)'.

For a possible cognate see Sem Arab *ftr* 'fendre, couper un deux' [BK II 610].

635. ***pVz-** 'to spray, sprinkle; брызгать': W 6 Bade *pāzūwu* 'spray'; C 7 Muy *épižēy* 'sprinkle with the mouth'; E 6 Mok *pāzáá* '(re)cracher, asperger le corps d'un nouveau-né'.

a.W ***puz-** 'rain, rainy season; дождливый сезон': W 2 Ngas, Mnt *pas*, Mghv *paas*, Kofyar, Miship *pas*, Goem *pas*, *pās* 'rainy season' (pl. with internal *-a-*) [TAS 299], Mpn *tū-pūš* 'tiny rain, heavy mist', Mushere *pās* 'rainy season' [JgO]; 3 Bol *puzo* [GAB], Ngm (G) *huzó*, (Y) *huzó* (< **fuzo*, *f-* < **p-* by assim. with medial sibilant) 'rainy season' [NEH]. Note E 1 Kera *písír* 'beginning of the rainy-season'.

//Cf.Sem Arab *fzz* (i) 'saigner ou suppurer (se dit d'une plaie)' [BK II 589].

636. ***p(VH)Vt-** 'to break, smash; ломать, раздавливать': W 4 Paa *pīta*, Siri *pōtu*, Diri *fōtu* (regressive assim. of *p-*) 'break' [SkNB], Paa *pītaa* 'break, smash' [MS]; C 2 Mrg *pītu* 'break in pieces' [Kr]; 3 Bana *pī* 'casser, forger', HN *pīe* 'break in pieces' [Kr]; 4 Gude (deriv.) *pōta-b* 'squashed, smashed flat'; 5 Glv *pīt* 'to crush, to press, to touch'; 5a Hdi *pōtay* 'to break' [BrH]; 7 Mofu *-pat-* 'détruire, décimer, casser branches', Ould *-paṭay* 'se casser, s'éclater', Vame *pōt-* 'break' [KinV].

Deriv. in *-k-*: C 7 Mofu *-pōtk^w-* '(se) casser (bois, outil), casser une partie de qqch'.

Ch **t* and **tʰ* preserve as such in WCh 4 but have fallen together as *t* in CCh languages. It is likely, that WCh 4 *pVt-* follows Ch **pHVt-* < AA **pHĉĉ*

//Sem Geez *faṣṣa* 'cut,- break with a hammer, split with a wedge, hew out' [LsG 169], Arab *fḥd* 'casser (humide)' [BK II 548].

637. ***pVt-** 'to peel; снимать кожуру': W 2 Ngas *pees* 'rupfen (z.B. die Federn des Huhnes), to pluck feathers' [JgA]; C 5 Pod *pata* 'peel off, crack off, décortiquer, arracher'; 6 Buwal *pā-pāt* 'shell peanuts'; 7 Mada *ápāt*

'décortiquer, écosser, écorcher, Muy *ápatāy* 'to shell (peanuts); 10 Dzpw *pút* 'écorcher un arbre coupé'; E 1 Kera *pese* 'hatch' [Nm]; 5a WDng *pěččě* 'décapsuler, enlever le grain de mil de sa capsule', EDng *pěččě* 'égrener dans la main un épis de mil' [Dj].

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 6 Daba *pə́tā-d* 'éplucher avec les ongles, enlever la peau'; 7 Mofu *-páťá-d-* 'écorcher, fendre dans le sens de la longueur (tige)', Zlg *pə́ťá-d* 'décortiquer'.

Deriv. in *-t-*: C 6 Buwal *pə́ťē-t* (complete action) 'peel off layers'.

Derived noun: ***pVř-** 'bark, bran; кора, шелуха': W 2 Goem *pis* 'bran'; C 6 Daba *pā-pát* 'l'écorce'; 7 Mada *pata-f* 'coque, écorce', Zulgo *pata-aggwad* 'écorce (d'arbre)'.

//Sem Arab *hfš* 'péler, ôter l'écorce' [BK I 458]

Root extension (*h* as C₁) in Arab. Consider, on the other hand, reduplication of the first syllable and initial *?a-* in CCh as "traces" of initial AA *h*.

*r

638. *rV 'to go, to enter; идти, входит': W 1 (redupl.) Hs *reera* 'go away'; 2 Gerka, Goem *ru* 'enter' [Fp]; Goem *ru* 'enter' [Hlw], Ngas *ruu* 'reach, arrive' [Fl]; 3 Pero *ru*, pl. *riiyó* 'enter' [Fr], Bol *rii-*, Krkr *raa-*, Krf *rii-*, Ngm *ru-*, Gera *rii-*, Glm *ry*, Pero *ri-* [SchV], Bele *rii-* [SchB] 'enter', Kupto *rayó* 'to go back' [LgK], Bure *ri?*- 'go in, enter'; 4 Paa *ri* (irreg. verb) '(loosely) proceed to' [MS]; 5 Buli *rə*, Jimi *ree*, Zul *ri* 'to go' [Cs №661], Tala *ri* 'come' [JgIb]; 7 Richa *ro* 'enter'; C 2 Bura, Chb *ru-*, WM *lu* 'enter' [VM]; 7 Muy *ru* 'to go', *ará* 'come'; E 5b (redupl.) Jegu *rer* 'to run', Mubi *ráw* 'arriver' [JgL].

a. ***rVw-** 'to walk around; ходить вокруг': W 3 Bol *ruww-* 'umhergehen' *ruwe* 'Spaziergang' [LkB]; 7 DB *rway* 'bewegen' [JgR]; C 7 Gis *ro*, 'weggehen, hingehen', Mada *arawa* 'marcher, circuler'.

b. ***rVw/y-** 'to run; бежать': W 4 Dirí *riya*, Tsagu *rey* 'run' [Sk]; 6 Ngz *rawau* 'run' [SchN]; C 9 cf. Mbara *lay* 'to run'; E 5b (redupl. < *rVy-) Tor *reer* 'courir'.

//Sem Arab *ryh* (i) 'aller cà et là, aller et venir' [BK I 965]. Cf. Ongota *roo-* 'to go [SvT].

Receded by a semivowel, AA laryngeals as C₃ usually leave no trace in Chadic.

[JgIB I 78; CLD I №619].

639. *ra 'to weave; ткать': W 2 Goem *ra* 'tisser' [VM], *ra* 'weave smth strong (e.g., grass)' [Hlw], Mghw *raa* 'flechten (Matte), weben, spinnen' (also 'binden', see below) [JgS], *raa* 'to weave or knit (grass, mat, sweater)' [BIM], Mpn *ra* 'weave (mat)', Ngas *re* 'to weave cornstalk' [ACL]; 3 Bol *rawu* 'braid by twisting (thread, rope), plait hair' [GAB]; C 1 Tera (dial.) *ra* 'weave' [Kr]; E 5a (derived noun) Bid *riiri* 'natte soyeuse'.

a. ***rVʔ/w-** 'to plait hair; заплетать волосы': W (redupl.) 1 Hs *roóriyáa* 'putting tidy, tittivating of woman's hair; sewing over the edge of an embroidery pattern'; 3 Krf *reʔéy* 'plait hair' [SchB], Bol *rawu* hairdo, plaiting the hair' [GAB], Kupto *rawey* 'to weave, plait (hair)' [LgK].

//Sem Arab *rwy* 'attacher (p. ex., homme sur sa monture), de peur qu'il n'en tombe en dormant; tordre, tresser' (une corde)' [BK I 957].

[CLD I №№630, 632].

640. *rV(ʔ)- 'to tie together, to sew; связывать, шить': W 2 Ngas *ree* 'tie grass together in flat long strips for thatching, making fences' [FI], Mghv *raa* 'binden' (also 'weben', see above) [JgS], Kofyar *raa* 'to tie grass for thatching' [apud TAS 304]; 10 Dzpw *re* 'coudre' (faire, fabriquer); 4 Sok *reiréi* 'nähen' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *?ry* 'être attaché avec d'autres bêtes; attacher' [BK I 27], Hbr *?rr* 'to bind' [KB 89].

[CLD I №623].

641. *rV 'to speak; говорить' > *ʔVʔVʔ/*ruru 'to speak loudly, cry; кричать': W 1 Hs *ruura* 'utter a cry'; 2 Ngas *ruru* 'shouting in the bush' [FI], Mpn *ru, ruru* 'loud sound'; 3 Krkr *ruuru* 'Geschrei' [LkK]; 6 Ngz *rauru* 'to call (by name)', cf. also *ruuruwa* 'gambling, mumbling', *ruuruu* 'garrulousness'; C 10 Dzpw *re* 'parler, divaguer'; E 5a Mig *?reéyó* 'pousser un cri de joie; chanter (coq)'.

//Sem Arab *?rr* (u) 'crier' [BK I 23], Ongota *riir-* 'to shout', ECush dullay Tsam *riir* id. [SvT].

Initial AA **ʔ* preserves in ECh Mokilko.

Note: CCh 9 **rVy-* 'to laugh': Msg *riá* (< *riʔa*) [LkM], Mulwi *riyi* ~ Sem Hbr *reʔa* 'shout' [KB 897].

[CLD №625].

642. *rVw-/*rVy/w- 'to sing; **петь**': W 1 (redupl.) Hs *raira*, *récra*; 6 Ngz *rúwáu* 'sing', *rúwá* 'singing, song', Duw *raawo* 'sing'; C 7 Mbuko *āra* 'song'; E 5a Bid *raa*, pl. *reyew*, Mig *riyáw* 'chanter', WDng *riyē* 'chanter, chant'; EDng *rē* 'chanter', *riyē* 'song' [Dj]; 5b Tor *rie* 'sing', *riye* 'song', Brg *raaya*, Kaj *riwi* 'chant', *raaw* 'chanter', Mubi *rāwá* 'chanter', *riwí* 'chanson' [JgL], Zir *-rawa* 'chanter' [CJ].

//SCush **ra?* 'to sing' [Eh 220], rift **raa?* 'sing': Irq, Gor *daa?*, Bur, Alg *raa?* [Kies].

Cognate with the present root, see:

a. *rVw- 'to dance; **танцевать**': W 1 Hs *rāwáa* 'a dance', *rāyá* 'to dance'; C 10 Dari *rīw* 's'amuser, danser', Giz, Ham *líw*, Marba *lu* 'danser' [LexC].

//Eg *rw.t* 'Tanz o. ä', *rwy.t* 'Name eines Spieles oder Tanzen' [EG II 407]. [HSED №2075; EDE I 1137; CLD I №626,643].

643. *rVy- 'to work; work; **работать, работа**': W 5 Grnt *rau* 'work' [Jag]; 7 Bok *ro* 'Arbeit' [JgR]; C 10 Dzpww *ré* 'faire, forger, construire', **ri* 'to do': Masa, Mus *li*, Marba *le*, Peve *ri*, Hečé *re* [Shy]; E 1 Kera *rāawé* 'fortfahren (etw zu tun), go on doing smth'; 4 Ubi *riyo* 'work' (n.); 5a Bid *rii*, *riy* 'travailler', *riyo*, EDng *riyo* 'le travail' [Dj], WDng *riyo* 'travail, affaire'; 6 Mok *riyye* 'aider qqn à cultiver son champ, faire intensesment'.

//Cf. Eg *iry* (OK) 'machen, tun, to make, to do' [EG I 108].

Differently see in [HSED №2077]; [CLD I №628].

644. *rVʔ/w- 'to chase, to herd; **гнать, пасты**': W 3 Ngm *ro* 'chasser' [VM]; 4 Diri *rawaa(n)*, Tsagu *raaʔa* 'to herd, graze' [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *rau* 'to chase off birds from crops' [Sch]; C 5a Hdi *raya* 'hunt', *rayay* 'chasser' [BrH]; E 5a Bid *ʔaraw* 'chaser, renvoyer'.

Derived noun: C 7 Muy *wārāy* 'hunt' n.

//Sem Akk *reʔū*, Ug *rʔy* 'to herd', Hbr, Sab *rʔy* 'graze', Geez *rʔy*, Hars, Mhri *rō*, Soq *reʔe* 'to herd, pasture' [LsG 459], Syr, Aram *rʔā* 'to feed, graze', Phn *rʔ* 'shepherd' [Zm 195], Arab *rʔy* (a) 'pâître, aller pâître' [BK I 885]; ECush Oromo *ariʔa* 'to chase' [Grg].

[HSED №2115 Sem+Oromo; CLD I №636].

645. *rVy/w- 'to increase, to grow; **расти, увеличиваться**': W 3 Tng *riye* 'to increase'; 6 Ngz *rāwáu* 'grow up'; C 9 Mulwi *riyí* 'augmenter'.

a. *rVʔ- 'gather > many; **собирать > много**': C10 Dzpww *rāʔá* 'mettre en tas, ramasser', *rāō* 'foule', Dari *raʔ* 'ramasser', *rāw* 'nombreux, trop

beacoup’.

//Sem Arab *ryʃ* ‘grandir, prospérer; se rassembler’, *rīʃ-at-* ‘foule’ [BK I 962-3], *rʃrʃ* II stem ‘grandir; branler’ [BK I 881].

[HSED №2126 Arab+WCh 3 Tng; CLD I №№640,641].

646. **raa* (< **raH-*) ‘God; Бор’: W 1 Gwandara (Nim) *rara* ‘God’ [Ms №405]; C 8 Glf *ma-loa* [Luk 147] ‘God’; E 6 Mok *raa* ‘ciel, dieu’; 5 Bid *raaya* ‘God (used in funeral songs)’.

//Eg *rʃ* (Pyr) ‘die Sonne als Gestirn und als Gottheit, als Sonnengot Re; sun, sun-god’ [EG II 401].

Note Eg *rʃ* [lʃ] ‘die Sonne’ as a cognate of Sem *ʔʔʔ* ‘to shine’, etc. in [EDE I 141].

In the view of semantics ‘Sonnengot Re’ in [EG] our interpretation of Eg seems more adequate.

[HSED №2088; CLD I №654].

647. **rVw-* ‘sky; небо’: W 3 Krkr *rəwi* ‘sky’ [Kr]; 7 Fyer *rurūwé* ‘sky’ [JgR], Bok *riʔ* [RC]; C 5a Hdi *lwa* (< *rwa*) ‘ciel’ [Egg].

//SCush Bur *raw* ‘sky’, Bur, Alg *rawa* ‘above’ [Eh 219], rift **rawa* ‘sky’ (with a suff. *-ari*): Irw *doori*, Bur *rawa*, Gor, Alg *dawri* [Kies], Eg *ry.t* (Gr) ‘der Himmel’ [EG II 400], *rw* (Pyr) als vierfachen Teil des Himmels? [EG II 403].

[HSED №2101; CLD I №658].

648. **rVw-* ‘water; to wet; вода, мочить’: W 1 Hs *rúwaa* ‘water, rain’; C 4 Gude *rəwa* ‘become wet, soaked’; 10 Dzpw *raó* ‘hydropisie’. Cf. C 5 Pod *rewə rewə* idf. ‘larmoieiment’.

Cf. E 5a Mig *ʔaaró* ‘to drink’ (possibly, deriv. in **ʔa-* < **rVw* ‘water’)

//Sem Arab *rwy* (i) ‘abreuver qqn’, (a) ‘avoir été arrosé’, II stem ‘tremper’, *riway-* ‘abundant water’ [BK I 957] Sab *rwy* ‘provide irrigation’ [Sd 119; Bll 482], Sem **rwy* ‘drink’ [LsG 478].

[HSED №2140; CLD I №659].

649. **rVw/ya* ‘wood; лес’: W 3 Krkr *riya* ‘Busch, Wald’ [LkK], Krkr *riya*, Ngm *royi*, Krf, Bele *ru*, Grk *ry*, Glm *rwa* ‘wood’ [SchB]; C 3 HK *rəw-fwε* (*fwε* ‘tree’) ‘forest’; 5b Tor *riya* ‘foret’.

//Eg *wry.t* (18) ‘die Bäume, trees’ [EG I 332].

a. ***ʔVrVw/y-** ‘tree; **дерево**’: W 3 (redupl.) Krkr *rɛrɛ* ‘tree’ [Meek], *rèrè* ‘Holz’ [LkK], Bol *rèwe* ‘tree’ [GAB]; C 7 Mafa *rúwá* k. of tree (Mimosaceae); 9 Mnj *ʔlwa* ‘bois’ [Mo]; E 4 Ubi *rèyò, rɛyò* ‘bâton, bois’; 5a WDng *ʔaar* ‘arbre sp’ [Fd], Bid *ʔaraw* ‘arbre sp’.

//Eg *ʔrw* (Med) ‘Art Baum, k. of tree’ [EG I 210].

[HSED №2136; CLD I №662].

650. *rVw/y- ‘man, friend; человек, друг’: W 7 Bok *re* pl. *ʔarya* ‘Mann, mannlich’, Fyer *ra*, pl. *ʔntare* ‘man’, DB *rè*, (pl.) *ʔarya*, DB *rè* (pl.) ‘man’ [JgIb], Fyer *ra* ‘husband’ [JgR]; C 10 Dzpw *ray* ‘friend’, cf. Peve *re kwoy* ‘guest [Kr]; E 5a WDng *royà* ‘friend’; 5b Mubi *ró* ‘husband’ [JgM].

//Sem Akk *râʔu* ‘Genossen werden’ [AHw 964], Hbr *rēaʕ* ‘friend’ [BK 897]. Note that Sem ‘friend’ is considered a derived noun (cf. Sem **rʕy* ‘to herd, pasture’).

[MSt №3.6, HSED №2116 Sem+ECh; CLD I №663]

651. *(ʔa)rVy- ‘lower arm, hand; нижняя часть руки’: W Kupto *ʔar* ‘hand, forearm’ [LgK]; 7 DB *ra*, Bok *râ* ‘Unterarm’, Richa *riyáw* ‘Arm, Hand’; C 6 Buwal *râ* ‘arm, hand’, Gavar *ra* ‘bras’ [VGv 4]; 7 Mafa *rây* ‘hand’ [JgIb]; 5a Skn *rî* ‘arm’ [JgIb]. Note C 7 Mbuko *râ* ‘prendre (plusieurs choses)’.

//Sem Geez *ʔəràh-* ‘palm of the hand’ [LsG 38]. [CLD I №676].

652. *rVw/?- ‘evil, злой, аморальный’: W 1 Hs *rarii* ‘person careless of habits, of moral, etc.’; 2 Goem *râ* ‘be disgusting or horrible’ [Hlw]; C 10 Dzpw *raó* (< *raʔo*) ‘être bête, énerve, vilain’; cf. E 5b Mubi *rèwwá* ‘devenir/être opinâtre, récalcitrant, be stubborn, obstinate’ [JgL].

//Sem Hbr *rʕʕ* ‘to be evil’, *rāʕ-* ‘of bad quality, evil’ [KB 896].

[CLD I №634].

653. *rVb- ‘be, become rot; гнить, быть гнилым’: C 5 Pod *rəva* ‘to rot’; 7 Mada *órbó* ‘pouirir, se gater (herbes, plantes)’,

Deriv.: ***rVb-** ‘to make rot; гноить’: W 1 Hs *rúba* ‘cause to ferment (locust-bean seeds, clay)’, *rúbaa* ‘become fermente, begin to decay’; 3 Krf *rubbaɓe* ‘rotten’ [Stl]; C 7 Zlg *rúba* ‘corrompre, séduire avec de l’argent’ (i.e., ‘to be, become spoilt’).

Derived noun: C 7 Chv *le’léb* (assim. < **relɓ*, *-l-* < *-r-* in a weak position) ‘pus’.

//Sem Sab *wrb*, n. *mrɓ* ‘decay’ [SD 161], Arab *rwb* ‘se cailler (lait); se

figer' [BK I 945], *rɪb* (i) 'être purulent (clou, plaie)' [BK II 206]. Note different root-extensions in Semitic languages. [CLD I №690].

654. *rVb- '(dripping) rain; дождь': W 3 cf. Tng *rip-ríp* 'dripping (rain)'; E 2 Gbr *ti-rbei* 'rain' [Luk], Lele *kú-rbíya* 'rain'; 5a Mig *ribíbí* 'end of the rainy season', WDng *ribbí* 'periode qui suit les quatre mois de saison pluvieuse'.

//Sem Hbr *rəbībīm* 'dew as heavy as rain' [KB 870], Cush Saho *rob*, Afar *roob* 'rain', etc. cf. PEC **roob* 'rain' [Kies 242].

655. *rVbH- > rVb- 'to moisten; to become wet; wet; мочить, мокрый': W 1 Hs *rubau* 'ruining of crops by too much rain'; 3 Krkr *rubii* 'wet, cold' [KI]; 4 Miya *rəb-* 'wet', cf. Wrj *rabibiya* 'cold' [SkNB]; C 4 Gude *rəbə* 'become wet; dissolve, melt', FM *rubu-ft*, Nzn *mə-rəb-n*, Mwl *urúbí*, Gude *rubə-*, Bch *rubè* 'to moisten' [Kr]; 7 Mafa *rub-* 'mettre à tremper (mil, peau)', Muy *arubāy* 'make wet'. Note W 2 Ngas *rip*, *rəp* 'marsh, swamp' [Fl, JgA].

Derived noun ***rVb-** 'dew': W 1 Hs *rábáa*; C 5 Chn *ti-rba* [Kr].

//Sem Arab *rbʕ* (pass) 'être arrosé d'une pluie de printemps', *rabīʕ-* 'pluie printanière' [BK I 808, 810].

Note the following correlation: Ch *b* ~ Араб *b+ʕ*.

[HSED № 2079 Hbr, Cush, Hausa; CLD I №702].

656. *rVb/b- 'mud, clay (for pots); глина': W 3 Tng *ribó* 'mud', Dera *lobó-k* 'mud' [NmK] (irregular reflex of Chadic **r-*), Kupto *riibó* 'mud, clay' [LgK]; 4 Paa *rib-un* 'clay for pots' [MS], Wrj *rəbə-nā*, Kar *rubu*, Jmb *aribu*, Diri *aləbən* 'clay' [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *rəbā* 'pottery clay'; C 5 Wnd *tu-rbā*, Gava *tu-rbā* [Kr], Glv *tə-rəbā*; 6 Daba *tī-rāb* 'mud' [Kr]; 10 Peve *rəbā*, Hefè *rubu*, Zime (Mesme) *lubu*, Musey *lūbū-nā*, Marba *lubu-na* 'mud, clay' [Shy], Dzpw *rūbū* 'clay', Musey *lūbūmī*, Lew *lubú*, Marba *lubú má drɛɲ* [LexC]; E 1 Kwang *kí-rpe*, Mobu *kí-rbe* 'clay'; 3 Smr *gí-rfɛ* (< **ki-rbe*) '(Ton)erde' [Luk] 4 Sok *rafā* (irregular devoicing) 'Ton(erde)' [Luk]; 5a Mig *rabáawá* 'latérite rouge'; 5b Mubi *raabó* 'clay' [Luk], Brg *raabó* 'argile', Kaj *raafi*, Tor *raabo* 'argile'.

Derived verb: E 5a EDng *orbē* 's'embourber, s'enfoncer dans la boue' [Dj].

Cf. E 2 Tob *tērbɛ* (if < *tē-rbe*) 'pétrir'.

//Sem Geez *rawaba* 'to paster, become muddy' [LsG 476].

A long vowel in ECh and medial *-b-* in W and CCh languages point to a medial laryngeal: **rV?Vb-> rVVb-*, *rV?b > rVb-*.

In the view of a possible semantic shift: 'clay' > 'pottery clay' > 'clay pot', the following Ch noun looks like a derivative:

a. *rVb- 'kind of pot; вид горшка': W 3 Bol *rēbēn* 'type of pot used as a stove brazier' [IbB]; C 5 Mlg *ərba* 'pot, vessel', Wnd *rrba* 'small pot' [Kr].
Derived verb: E 5a Mig *rubbo* 'griller les poterie, burn pots'.

//Cf. Sem Akk *rību* 'vessel' [AHw 981].

[CLD I №720].

657. *rVHVd- 'to grind corn; молоть зерно': W 1 Hs *rēcdaa* 'grind to flour', Gwn **rd* 'grind' [Ms №627]; E 1 Kwang *ērdē* 'grind' [Jglb]. Note W 4 Wrj, Kar, Mburku *dər-*, Cagu *dar*, Jmb *dira* 'to grind' [SkNB], metath. < **rVd-* (according to the law of rising sonority).

Deriv. in *t-*: W 4 Paa *tə-rdā* 'grind' [MS].

Derived noun: C 7 Muy *mā-rd-uk^w* 'flour from groundnuts'.

//Sem Hbr *rd* 'stampfen' [KB 874], Arab *rhd* 'frotter, fractionner' [BK I 936].

Note the following correlation: a long vowel in Hausa ~ medial *-d-* in other Ch languages ~ medial laryngeal in Arabic.

[CLD I №748].

658. *rVd(V)H->rVd- 'to press with hand; давить (ладонью)': C 7 Mafa *rid-* 'tasser de la farine avec la main', Mofu *-rəḏ-* 'tasser avec la main'; 10 Dzpw *rēḏ* 'appuyer', Dari *rēḏ* 'tasser, appuyer sur', cf. Dzpw *rūd* 'fouler, se froisser un muscle'.

Deriv. in *t-*: W 6 Ngz *tə-rdū* 'squeeze out (pus from boil, etc.)'.

//Sem Hbr *rdh* '(die Kelter) treten, to press (Wein)' [KB 875].

Note the following correlation: *-d-* in Chadic ~ *d+h* in Hebrew.

[CLD I №752].

659. *radV?->rad- 'decay, rot; гнить': W 4 Wrj *radā*, Kar, Mburku *rad-*, Siri *radā* [SkNB]; C 6 Buwal *rādā* 'rot'; E 4 Ubi *roodīye* 'pourri', Mawa *rəədəŋ* 'pourrir'.

//Sem Arab *rd?* 'to be bad, ugly', IV stem 'gâter, corrompre' [BK I 844], *rdy* II stem 'mauvais, corrompu' [BK I 849, 851]. Eg *ʾd* 'to decay,

verwesen' may be cognate if Eg 3 follows AA r.

Secondary *-d* < *d+?* in Chadic. Note that Chadic root can not follow AA **rʔ* (as proposed in [EDE I 245]). Numerous Semitic - Chadic parallels show the regular correspondence: Semitic **-ʔ* ~ Chadic **-t*.

[HSED №2085; CLD I №757].

660. *ru(dd)- > rVd- 'dirt; грязь': C 3 Kap *rrdā*, HK *rrdā*, HF *?urdā*, HN *lūda* [Kr]; 4 Gudu *riḏeē* 'dirtiness' [Kr]; 5 Dghw *ludē* 'dirtiness' [Kr]; 5a Hdī *rəḏā-k* 'filth, dirtiness' [BrH]; 7 Mada *árdā* 'crasse, saleté, odeur d'une personne', Ould *ardō* 'saleté'; E 5a EDng *rōḏā* 'déchets de la bière de mil rouge' [Dj]; 6 Mok *ruudō* 'pimenté, salé'.

Geminated *rr-* in CCh 3 points to a nasal pref. in CCh: **n-rVd-* > C 3 *nrVd-* > *rrVd-/IVd-*; **n-rVd-* > C 7 *nVrd-* > *ard-*.

//Sem Arab *radd-at-* 'saleté, ordure' [BK I 843].

Note the following correlation: geminated voiced plosive in Arabic ~ emphatic voiced plosive in Chadic.

[CLD I №769].

661. *rVh^w- 'to harvest, to weed; собирать урожай, полоть': W 1 (redupl.) Hs *rōraa* 'gather in harvest of beans, ground nuts', *rōroo* 'gleaning any farm'; C 7 Mafa *rūh^w-* 'cueillir (des fruits)'; 9 Mnj *ruwi* 'cueillir (fleurs, fruits)'; 10 Dzpw *rē* 'récolter (arachides)'; E 1 Kera *ərwī* 'jäten, to weed'; 5a (redupl.) WDng *rōrē* 'faire le dernier sarclage'.

//Sem Hbr *?rh* 'ernten, einsammeln' [KB 84], Geez *?arara* 'reap, harvest', Amh *arārā* 'reap, mow' [LSG 39]. Root extension (? as C₁) in Semitic languages. [CLD I №792].

662. *rVk- 'be, become thin, weak; быть, стать тонким, слабым': W 1 Hs *raakē* 'be thin, emaciated'; 3 Bol *ruk-* 'mager werden' [LkB]; 6 Bade *rək^wāyu* 'become thin'; E 5a EDng *rakīyē* 'nicht mehr aufstehen können' [Ebb], WDng *rakīyē* 'devenir maigre'; E 6 Mok *?ērke* 'maigrir'.

Deirv. in *-t* (complete action): E 5a Bid *rōkō-t* 'devenir maigre'.

//Sem Arab *rk* 'être très mince, faible, chetif' [BK I 911], Hbr *rk* 'weakness, tenderness' [KB:840].

Note a fragmentary isogloss with an emphatic velar:

W 1 Hs *rečkēe-rečkēe* 'very slender' ~ Sem Arab *rqq* 'thin' [BK I 902].

[HSED 2094; CLD I 827].

663. ***rVk-** ‘to build; строить’: C 9a Gidar *rka* [Mo]; 9 Mnj *rka* [Mo] ‘batir (une case)’, *rigi* ‘construire’ (regular voicing in medial position) [TrMnj].

Derived noun: ***rVk-** ‘house; дом’: W 1 Hs *ròkaa* (old Kats) ‘a dwelling house’, Gwandara (dial.) *raki*, *rai* ‘room’ [Mts №178]; 5 Zaar *tá-rya* < *ta-rka* ‘stone wall of compound’ [CrZ].

//Sem Arab *rkh* ‘construire (- maison en pierres)’ [BK I 915].

[CLD I №842].

664. ***rVm-** ‘together, to gather; собираться, вместе’ > ‘many, много’: W 1 Hs *ruuruúmaa* ‘crowding of people, talking simultaneously’; 3 Tng *ɾɔm* ‘to meet unexpectedly’; 5 Bgh *rimú* ‘gather, assemble’ [Cs №659]; C 7 Mada *irəm* (< *rVrem*) ‘(tomber, s’abatre) en bloc, comme une masse, tout ensemble’, Ould *rīm* ‘many’; E 5a EDng *rimí-č* ‘nombreux ensemble, en foule’ [Dj], WDnd *ram* idf. ‘totalité’.

//Sem Hbr *ʕrm* ‘heap up, gather’ [KB 737].

Note the following correlation: initial *ʕ* in Hebrew ~ reduplication of the first syllable in Chadic languages.

[CLD I №897].

665. ***rVm-** ‘become weak, worn out; стать старым, изношенным’: C 2 Mrg *rem* ‘to be worn, frayed’ [HfM]; E 5a EDng *ármé* ‘manquer de, être insuffisant, être moindre’ [Dj], WDng *ɾómé* ‘dépérir (animal), se détériorer (objet, aussi personnes); become weak, decay, spoil’ (contam. with **rVm-* ‘to rot’) [Fd], Bid *reem* ‘s’user, se déchirer (habits)’; E 6 Mok *ʔormé* ‘(se) fatiguer’.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *ráuníi* (< **ram-ni*) ‘weakness’; E 5a EDng *ármíyá* ‘la famine, la disette, le manque’ [Dj]; 6 Mok *ormé* ‘soif’.

//Sem Hbr *rmu* ‘slackness’ [KB 894]. Note Arab *rm* ‘être pourri, pourrir’, IV stem ‘être vieux et usé’ [BK I 919].

The next isogloss may be of the same origin (note contamination of semantics ‘to become weak/old, rot, spoil’ in Arab and in ECH 5a Dangla):

a. ***rVm-** ‘to rot; гнить’: C 7 Mada *órmó* ‘pourrir, se gâter’, Ould *rəmāy* ‘pourrir’, *rəmē-ɣ* ‘faire pourrir’; E 6 Mok *ruùmé* ‘pourrir’.

//Sem Arab *rm* (i) ‘être pourri, pourrir’ [BK I 919], Hbr *rm* ‘grow rotten’ [KB 894].

Viewing a tenable semantic shift: ‘old, worn out’ > ‘bad’, one more isogloss is worth being mentioned:

b. W 3 Bol *romó* 'bad' [Bn 23] ~ Sem Hbr *ʕrm* 'ill natured' [KB737].
[CLD I №№905, 906].

666. *rVm- 'child > son, daughter; ребенок': C 4 Gude *rəmḗ-nə* 'female adolescent, pretty girl'; 8 Bud *dige-rām*, pl. *ige-rām* 'young girl' [LkBd]; 7 Mada *ram* 'fille', *rəmmá* 'frère ou soeur'; E *rum- 'child' > *tV-rum- 'daughter', *k-rum- 'son': 1 Kera *tə-rmə* (-*rm*- < **rm*-) 'daughter', *ko-rmə* 'son', 2 Kbl *tə-rəmḗ*, Lele *te-ren-di*, Gbr *t-rmu tama*, Nch *te-rmu taama* 'daughter' [Luk], Lele *to-rmo* (f.), *ko-rmo* (m.) 'child', *ko-ron-di* 'son'; 3 Tum *dumu* (< **drumu* < **t-rumu*) 'daughter', Smr *gò-rən-* (*go-* < **ko-*) 'son' [Jglb]; 4 Sok *rum*, *ròmó* 'child' [Jglb], *róma* 'son', *róme éske* 'child' [Luk], Mawa *rəm-na* 'neveu'; 5a Bid *ruma* 'young girl', *rom-* 'son', *rum-* 'daughter'; EDng *rōmá* 'la fille', *rōj* (< **rom-n*) 'le fils, le fruit' [Dj], Mig *rūn-ti* 'child', *rómámá-tá* f. 'petite'; 5b Tor *run* 'enfant', Kaj *ruumi* 'jeune femme', Brg *rúmayé* 'jeune', *ruj-tu* 'ma fille' [JgB], Mubi *rəm-béi* (cf. **bVH-* 'give birth') 'daughter', *rám* 'klein'⁶⁴ [Luk], *ram-* 'fils', *rúm-* 'fille' [JgL], Jegu *rón* 'son' [JgJ], 6 Mok *más kô-rmḗ* 'child'.

Note *t-* in preposition (E 1-3) and in postposition (E 5).

Cf. W 1 Hausa *ramçoo* 'small lads'.

//Semitic **rah(i)m-/riḥm-* 'womb': Akk *rēmu*, *rēmu* 'Mutterleib', Hbr *rāḥām*, *raḥam* 'womb', Arab *raḥim-*, *riḥm-* 'uterus', etc. [SED I № 231], PECush **rim-* 'uterus': Som *rim-ay* 'uterus', *rim-an* 'pregnant (of animal)', Rend, Oromo *rim-* 'be pregnant', Burji *riim-a* 'intestines' [SsB], Oromo *rim-* 'be pregnant (of animal)' [Hds]. Common origin of PEC and Semitic (but medial *-ḥ-*) roots is quite evident. Metathesis of a body-parts marker (**ḥ-rVm-* > **rḥm*) accounts, in our opinion, for medial *-ḥ-* in Proto-Semitic (**rḥm* < *ḥ-rm* < AA **rVm*). For common origin of 'child' and 'womb' see AA **mVč-* 'child' ~ Sem **ḥamṭ-/ḥumṭ-* '(lower) belly, uterus, womb' in №572.

[Jglb **mr*/**rm*, StCh №2].

667. *rV(ʔV)n- 'sun, day, hot season; солнце, день, сухой сезон': W 1 Hs *raánaá* 'sun, day, hot season'; 7 DB *reén* 'Tag, Mittagzeit' [JgR]; 3 Krf *rani* 'dry season' [Stl]; C 4 Gude *rənə* [Hs], Nzn *riṅ-čī*, FM *ruju* [Kr] 'dry season'.

⁶⁴ Note Mubi *garam* m., *durúm* f. 'petit' [JgL 173]. Likely, both < **k-/t-rVm*.

a. ECh 5a ***ʔVʔV-** 'to shine (sun); сиять (солнце)': Bid ʔerēny 'luire, brillier (soleil)', ʔerēna 'journée', EDng cīnyē 'blitzen' [Ebb].
//Sem Geez ʔīna 'sun' [LsG 38].

668. *rVp- 'to cover, close, покрывать, закрывать': W 1 1 Hs rūfaa 'to wrap garment round shoulders'; 3 Kupto rippēy 'to embrace' [LgK]; 6 Ngz rəpū 'close, cover', rəp-tū 'open'; C 4 Gude rūp 'covered (of water container only)'.

Derived noun in *m-*: W 1 Hs mu-rīf 'a cover, lid, stopper'.

a. ***rVp-** 'to close, to plug': W 1 Hs rīf, rūf 'tightly closed' E 1 Kera rēpē 'zustopfen, to plug'.

//Cush Bed refif- 'einwickeln' [RnB], Sem Arab rafraf- 'couverture, tapis' [BK I 895].

[CLD I №738].

669. *rVp/f- 'to sew; шить': W 2 Kofyar rap [Jglb]; 5 Saya (Zaar) rīp [Cs], Guus rip [CrG], Pol rap [Cs №821], Dott rīp [Kr]; E 5a EDng ǝrpe [Ebb]; 5b Brg ʔōrbī, Tor ʔurb (voicing of *-p-* in contact position).

Note W1 Hs lallaf-taa (possibly, <*laf-lafaa, assim.<*rarrafaa<*raf-rafaa) 'to sew with running stich'.

//Sem Geez rafʔa 'to sew' [LsG 463], Arab rʔʔ 'réparer un habit' [BK I 893].

[CLD I №740].

670. *rVt- 'to tear off; отрывать': W 3 Krf rēitēy 'tear off' [Stl], Bure rut- 'uproot'; C 5a Hdi rətay 'to uproot, to weed' [BrH]; 10 Dari rut 'arracher en grand nombre', Dzpw rūt 'arracher'; E 5a EDng rōtē 'eine Pflanze mit den Wurzeln herausziehen' [Ebb].

//Sem Arab mrʔ (u) 'arracher le poil' [BK II 1092]. Root extension (*m* as *C*₁) in Arabic. Note Ch **-t-* corresponding to Sem **-f-*.

For a cognate to Arab hrt 'déchirer son vêtement' [BK II 1410] see CCh 2 Bura rot 'describes a hole which appears unexpectedly in a newish garment' [Ann].

[CLD I №774].

671. *rVwV[ʔ?]- 'to break (in pieces); ломать (на куски)': W 1 Hs rōōca 'break up (egg, gourd); injure persons head by hitting with a blunt object (stone, stick)'; E 5a EDng rōdy-rīdyē 'zerbrechen' [Ebb]

//Sem Arab *rdh* 'casser petits objets durs avec une pierre' [BK I 872].

The following Chadic root may be of the same origin:

a. *ʔVrVʔ- 'to crush (corn); to press; раздавливать (зерно), давить': C 7 Mofu *-rəʔ-* 'serrer, appuyer sur qqn, tasser avec la main en appuyant'; E 5a Bid *ʔorody* 'écraser légèrement le mil; broyer le mil', *ʔoroodyo* 'mil légèrement écrasé', WDng *ɔrdyɛ* 'écraser à motié', *ɔrdya* 'flour', EDng *ɔrdyɛ* 'halb zerquetschen, half crushed' [Ebb].

Cf. C 8 Mak *wəɾɕi* 'foot-print' (*ɕ* is the regular reflex of Ch *ʔ', cf. [TrC]) [MSt №68, CLD I №893].

*s

672. *sVw/y- 'to come, to enter; приходиться, входить': W 3 Tng *siye* 'return'; 5 Dott *šee* 'enter' [CrD]; C 2 Bura *si* 'to come' [Ann], Chb *si* 'kommen' [HfC 133]; 3 Kap *se*, Hya *su-gəy* 'come' [Kr]; 4 Jimj *še*, Chuvan *šin*, Sharva *ši* 'come' [BryJ], Bch *ši*, Nzan, Gude *ši*, Bata *si*, *sa* 'come' [Jglb], Gudu *si* [VM]; 5-5a Glv *s-* 'to go (out), to come (out, up), to enter, to leave', Pod *sa* 'come', Mlg *sa*, *sáwa* 'come, bring' ('come with'); Vemgo *šewi*, Lmn *šewe*, Gvoko, Dghw, Gava, Chn *sawa*, Gdf *sawe* 'come' [HmG], Wnd *se* 'venir' [VM], Hdi *sawi* 'come' [BrH], Hitk *s-* 'to come', *sáwi!* 'come!' [LkH]; 7 Mofu *-s(awa)* 'venir, revenir'; 8 Bud *hu* 'kommen' [Lk Bd], Log *sá-* 'enter' [LkL], Kus *sy* 'sortir, entrer' [Tr]; 9 Mulwi *sú* (*sʷ*) 'come'.

//Cush Saho *saye* [Vr], Afar *sau* [RA] 'enter', LECush Arb *seʔ-ad-* 'to go' [Hay].

a. *sVw- 'to run; бежать': W 2 Mpn *su* 'run, escape' [FrM], Ngas *su* [Fl], Mnt, Goem *su*, Gerka *tu* (Ch **s-* regularly > Gerka *t-*, see [St 92]), 'run' [Fp], Grk *tuʔ* [BIY], Mghv *su*, pl. *swa* 'laufen, fliehen, to run' [JgS], Kofyar *sú* [TAS 333], Mushere *šú* (< *sw-*) [JgO], Goem *suu* [Hff], *sʰú* [Hlw] 'to run'; 3 Tng *wu* (**su* > *wu*) 'running', Dera *šwɛ* (< **swe*) 'move suddenly, run away quickly' [NmK]; C 6 Daba *si* 'run' [Lnhr].

//Sem Arab *sʔw* (u) 'courir' [BK I 1037].

b. *sVsV/*sVw- 'to hurry; торопиться': W 2 Mpn *sə-su* 'in a hurry' [FrM]; 4 Paa *saasaa*, *šaašaa* 'haste' [MS]; C 9 Mnj *siwí* 'dépasser'.

//Eg *sysy* (Sarc) 'eilen (von den Füßen, to hurry)' [EG IV 40].

[cp. HSED № 2207, №2225].

674. *sVy- 'to dig out; копать': W 2 Goem *s^há* 'to dig smth wide (e.g., a trench)' [Hlw]; E 6 Mok *síyè* 'creuser (un puits), to dig out (a well)'.

Derived noun: a. *sVw(VH)- 'hole': W 3 Dera *wúyò* (*su- > wu- is regular) 'hole' [NmK]; 5 Dott *šuu* (*šuu* < *swu) 'hole, cave, tomb, valley' [CrD], Guus *šuu* 'hole' [CrG], Geji *šúu gulki* 'well' [Cs №176]; 7 DB *swéy* 'hole, well' [JgR], Bok *suyay* 'hole' [RC].

b. *sVw- 'water-hole, well; колодец' ('big hole'): W Dott *šúuša* (redupl.) 'well' [Cs №176]; C 5 Pod *səwá* 'puits; well', Mlg *súwa* 'Wadi, Brunnen, Wasserloch, vadi, well, water-hole'; 7 Muy *súwa* 'well, water-hole', Gis *suwa*, Baka *suwah* (pl.) [BAS] 'well', Vame *suwa* 'well' [Kin].

c. *PUs- (frozen pl. < *sVw-) 'big hole; большая яма': C 10 Musey *ussa* 'la tombe' [ShyM]; E 6 Mok *ʔossó* pl. *ʔoɓzayí* 'puits, well'.

//Sem Hbr *šūhā* 'pit' [KB 955], Arab *šhw* 'enlever, ôter (la boue, les cendres, avec une pelle)' [BK I 1063-4].

[HSED №2272 Sem+WCh 7, CLD III №13].

675. *sVw/?- 'to blow (up fire), to breathe, to vinnow; дуть, дышать, везть': W 5 Zaar *šaa* (< *swa) 'blow up fire, blow (nose)', səə 'to breathe' [CrZ], Saya (Zaar) *sə*, Buli *səə* 'to breathe' [Cs №728]; C 8 Mak *swe* 'blow (of wind)', 10 Dzpw *sáʔá* 'vanner, souffler, to vinnow, to blow', Dari *sāʔ* 'souffler (vent), vanner' (also 'enfler, gonfler').

a. *sV(?)y- 'wind; ветер': W 7 Bok *sé* 'wind'; C 8 Bud *hay* 'Wind' [LkBd], Kus *ši* 'wind' [Tr], Afd *sii*, Ngala *šiyi*, Glf *hī* 'Luft und Wind' [Sol №26]; E 3 cf. Tum *hīyāw* 'sifflement; whistle'.

//Sem Akk *šēhu* (MBab) 'wind, breath' [CAD š2 365], Arab *saḥāḥ* 'air' [BK I 1057], Eg *swḥ* (XXII) 'Wind, Luft' [EG IV 72].

Violation w/? in Chadic languages may point to a triradical *s-w-H (cf. Egyptian). Note that AA *shḥ would rather yield Ch *sVh-.

[HSED №2169 Sem+Eg, CLD III №7].

In the view of a tenable (esp., in African languages) semantic shift: 'to blow (hot) wind' > 'to dry (in the wind)', the following Chadic root (lacking cognates) is worth mentioning:

*[s]Vw/y/?- 'to dry up; высыхать': W 2 Ngas *šwe* (*šw-* < *sw-) 'to wither' [TAS 327]; 3 Krkr, Bol *sāa-*, Ngm *sa-*, Krf *syéc-*, Glm *sy-*, Gera *séc-* 'to dry' [SchV]; C 2 Bura *šuwí* 'dry up' [BIB]; 3 FK *šyú* 'to dry up (river, well)' [BINd]; 5a Hdi *suʔay* 'to dry up' [BrH]; 7 Mafa *š-* (< *sw-) 'tarir, to

dry up', Zlg *sé* 'se tarir, être à sec', *síwé* 'se dessécher', Ould *-sūwāy* 'tarir, sécher, to dry', 8 Mak *si* 'dry up, evaporate'; 10 Masa *sò* 'sécher' [CC], Gizey, Ham, Musey *sòy*, Lew, Marba *sò* 'sec', **sò* 'sécher' [LexC].

676. *s/cVw/- 'hut, village; дом, деревня': W 6 (redupl.) Ngz *səsəu* 'hut, room', Bade *səsəu* 'hut'; 7 Bok *māšwā* (if < **ma-swa*) 'town'; DB *swéy* 'Speicher, granary'; C 4 Gude *sīwā* 'compound where people are in mourning', *əsi* 'at home'; 8 Mak *sawc* 'village wall', *sio* 'shelter'; 10 Dari *só* 'village'.

//Eg *s.t* (Pyr) 'Sitz, Wohnsitz (Palast des Königs, Haushalt)' [EG IV 1], Omot Wolt *soo* 'house, home' Dache *so* 'house', cf. [LmW 488, 491]. [HSED 2146 Eg+Ngz, CLD III 23]

677. *sVw/y/?- 'meat; мясо': W . Dyarim *šaw* 'meat' [BID]; 6 Bade *sàasi* 'meat'; C 7 Moloko *šeše*, Baka *səsí* 'meat' [BAS]; 9 Msg *soo* 'Fleisch'; E 1 Kera *kú-sú-kí* (coll.), Modgel (Kwang) *ke-zoo* [Luk]; 4 Bairen *sū* [Luk]; 5a Bid *suu-dò* [Jglb], Mig *sūu-dú*, Mabire *su-t* (< *su-d#*) [JH] 'meat'; 5b Jegu *sūu-t* 'Fleisch, meat', Brg *sú-dú* [Jglb]; 6 Mok *séy* 'animal, meat'.

//Eg *sw.t* (Pyr) 'ein Körperteil des Rindes (vom Bein?) als Speise' [EG IV 60], PECush **so?* 'meat': Som, Arb *so?*, Bayso, Elmolo *soo*, Dasenech *su*, Oromo *foo-ni*, Konso *sowa*, Gid *saha* [Ss 50, 52].

a. ***ʔiss-** (frozen plural) 'meat; мясо': C 7 Gis *ʔiše* 'Fleisch'; 10 Musey *issa* 'viande' [ShyM].

//Cush agaw Aungi *əšši* 'meat' [ApAg], Berb **isa-n* (pl.) '(cooked) meat': Ghdm *isa-n*, Nefusa *isa-n* 'cooked meat', Ghat *isa-n*, EWlm, Ayr *isa-n*, Ahg *isā-n* 'meat' [apud ADB].

[HSED №13 CCh Gis+Aungi+Omot, CLD III №21].

678. *sV[bb]- > sVb/- 'to pierce a hole, to insert; про-, воткнуть': W 3 Bol [GAB] *sobu* 'drill, pierce hole', Kupto *šibbcy* 'to pierce, poke, inject' [LgK], cf. Tng *yebi* (< **sebi*) 'put smth pointed into the ground, infix'; C 5 Pod *šibe* 'put in smth. pointed'.

Deriv. in **-k-**: W 3 Ngm (G) *sāb-kô* (VN *sābā*) 'poke with smth sharp' [NEH]; C 7 Ould *-səbā-kā* 'enfiler, to thread a needle'. Cf. W 1 Hs *sóoka* (possibly < **sVbka*) 'to plunge weapon into'.

Derived noun: ***(ʔa)sVb/- 'spear; копье':** C 10 Gizey *sāb*, Lew, Marba *ʔasap* [-p# < **-b-*] 'lance' [LexC], Dari *sāb* 'sagai, lance', Dzpw *sābā*

'sagaie', Hefcē *sābā*, Musey *sāp-pā*, Zime *asaḅa* 'spear'; E 2 Lele *suwo*, *subō* 'lance', Gbr *sōo* (< **sVb*-) 'spear' [Luk]; 5a Bid *sūbā* 'petite lance'.

//Sem Arab *sbb* 'couper; percer, transpercer' [BK I 1038], Cush Agaw **sāb*- 'stab, pierce': Bilin *sab*, Hamir *sib*, etc. [ApAg].

Note Chadic *-b-* ~ Arabic *-bb-*.

[AA №338 **sVb*- 'cut, pierce', HSED №2230 Sem+Eg+Agaw, CLD III №42].

679. **sVH(V)b*- > *sub-* (cf. Arab) 'сосать, to suck': C 3 Bana *šībā*, *šīšəbā* 'suck'; 4 Gude *šībə* 'suck (candy, food, not to nurse)'; 6 Buwal *šēšəp* (*-p* < **b*#), Mbedam *səscəb* [NdM], Daba *səb* [Lnh]; 7 Dugwor *mé-šcəbéy*, Chv *mé-ššəbéy*, Mafa *sosub-*, Ould *-səbāy*, Moloko *soboy* 'sucer', Zlg *sāsūbā* 'sucer dans la bouche', Gis *so/ub*, Mofu *-sāsəb-*, Balda *sūsūbī* [TrB], Mbuko *sūsəb*; 9 Mulwi *šīsībī*, Mnj *šīsībī* 'sucer'; 10 Dzpw *sōbō*, Dari *sōb*, Masa, Marba *sop* [Shy], Gizey *sōb*, Ham, Musey, Marba, Lew *sop* (*-p* < **b*#) 'sucer' [LexC]; E 1 Kera *sōbē* 'saugen, to suck'.

Deriv. in *n-*: W 3 Tng *symbē* 'to suck' (metath. < **n-sub*-, assim. of *-n-*, note **su-* > *wu* in Tangale).

//Sem Arab *shb* (a) 'avalier avec rapidité (en buvant ou en mangeant)' [BK I 1057], ECush Burji *sub-* 'sip (of hot food and drinks)', Gidole *suub6-* 'sip' [SsB 170].

Initial *s-* in C 7 Mafa points to Ch **s-*, thus this Chadic root cannot be cognate with Sem **cb*? 'to drink' (Hbr, Aram *sb?* id., etc.), as suggested in [AA 5 №354].

[CLD III №46].

680. **sVb*- 'to go (out), follow; идти': W 4 Diri *səbū-* 'go' [JgIb], *səbu* 'go out' [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *zàabú*, Bade *sàavú* (< **sabu*, regressive voicing in Ngz) 'wade through heavy grass (not water)'; C 2 Bura *šiva* 'come to the compound' [Ann]; 5a Hdi *sabi* 'to exit' [BrH]; 6 Daba *səbā* '(pour)suivre' [Lnh]; E 3 Smr *saba* 'promenade' [JgSb].

Note C 4 Gude *səba* 'drive away' (i.e., 'make go').

//Sem Arab *sbsb* II stem 'marcher doucement' [BK I 1043], Tgr *šbb* 'to visit, to enter', Mhr *satbu* (T-stem of *sby*) 'to move a little and then rest (of a desert traveler)' [JnM].

Note AA №328 **si/ap-* 'to walk, to travel', including Akkadian and Aramaic forms with medial *-p-*. For the latter see №711 **sVp-* 'to search, to hunt'.

Thus, there is no need to reconstruct an AA root with **p̣*. [HSED №2153].

681. *sVf- ‘дышать, to breathe’: C 2 Bura *šifšiffa* ‘just a little’ idf. (nearly dead, barely breathing); 5 Pod *šefé* ‘to breathe’; 7 Mafa *saf-* ‘respirer, souffler’, Ould *-saf* ‘respirer; gonfler’, Muy *ásūf*, Mada *ássafa*, Zlg *šifé* ‘respirer’, Gis *suf* ‘Luftbad nehmen; air-bath’, Baka *sə-safáy* ‘respirer’ [BAS]; 9 Mnj *sifí* ‘(se) reposer à l’ombre, passer du temp’; E 5b cf. Mubi *sofara* (pl. in *-r-* ?) ‘siffler’ [CJ].

Derived noun: ***(mV)-sVf- ‘breath, life, spirit ; дыхание, душа, дух’:** C 5 Mlg *šifa* ‘Leben, Atem; life, breath’, Glv *šifə-g(a)* ‘life’, Pod *šifá* ‘life’, *ko šifá* ‘life’, Dghw *safá*, Gava *səfə* ‘life’ [Kr]; 7 Ould *šifá* ‘la vie, principe de vie, santé, point vital’, *mə-sáfīyo* ‘esprit’, Muy *mə-sūf* ‘breath’, *šifa* ‘life’, Mada *má-ssafá* ‘souffle’, Zlg, Gis *siifa*, Baka *sifa* ‘life’ [BAS]; 7a Skn *saf* ‘life, breath of life’.

Cf. W 1 Hs *sofofofuwaa* ‘anything puffed out’.

//Sem Hbr pB. *šwp* ‘to blow, to emit poisonous breath; to poison’, Aram (Jud) *šup* ‘to blow’ [SED I №319].

a.Deriv. in *n-*: ***sVfVn- ‘to breath; дышать’:** C 6 Buwal *səfan* ‘breath, breathe’, Gavar *sfən* ‘respirer’ [VGV 11]; 7 Chv *mé-šfē-nēy* ‘respirer’, Mofu *-səf-n-* ‘to breathe’; 9 (metath.) Msg *súmfa* ‘atmen, to breathe’ [LkM], Mnj *sigfi* ‘to breathe’, *səyfa* ‘breath’.

//Sem **nsp* ‘to blow’: Akk *našāpu* (OB) ‘to blow (s.th.) away’, (NA) G-stem ‘winnow’, (OB) D-stem ‘winnow’ [CAD n 56, CDA 245], Hbr *nšp* ‘to blow’, Aram (Jud) *nšp* ‘to blow, breeze’ [KB 640].

Root extensions: *n* as C₃ in Chadic, but *n* as C₁ in Semitic languages. Contrary to [SED I №311] we consider Arab *nsf* ‘nettoyer, vanner le grain’ an integrall part of Semitic and AA **ncf* (note that Arabic *s* goes back to Semitic **s* and **c*). For a Chadic cognate of Sem **ncf* see №49 **[c]Vp-* ‘to blow (away), to winnow’.

682. *sVf- ‘seed shell, chaff; шелуха’: W 1 Hs *šécfé* ‘rice (having much husk), husk of rice’; 6 Bade *safat* ‘pieces of millet chaff between the teeth’; C 3 Bana *šfə* ‘déchets de la préparation du vin, dregs’; 4 Gude *šášáfī-nə* (pl.?) ‘guinea-corn (seed consists of mere shell with nothing inside)’; 5 Pod *safá* ‘balle, cosse, chaff’; 7 Ould *sif* ‘résidu de la bière’, *sāsāf* ‘résidus végétaux, menue paille’, Muy *čšif* ‘remains’, Mada *escef* ‘résidu de la bière de mil’, Mofu *(a)scf* ‘tourteau de mil (après préparation de bière)’.

//Sem Arab *sfsf* 'tamiser (la farine)' [BK I 1099], (dial.) *sff* (u) 'casser, nettoyer le blé', Yem dial. *sāf-* 'Spelze, chaff' [Бел 2 №157]. Cf. ECush Som *safsaf* 'sieve, motion used in winnowing' [LIS] (< Arab?).

683. *sVf- 'straw, sun-shade, fence (made from straw); навес, ограда (сделанные из соломы)': W 1 Hs *šib-čì* (< *šib-ti*), pl. *šifittaa*, *šiffattaa* 'any thatching gras'; C 2 Bura *siva* 'corn-stalk sun-shade' [Ann]; 3 cf. Bana *səfə* 'herbes seches, jaune' n.f., no pl.; 5 Glv *səfa* 'mat, roof-mat', Gis *sivij* 'Strohmatte als Gehöftzaun, hay-mat used as a fence'.

//Sem Arab *sff* (u) 'to plait mat, plait/build of palm leaves', *saffif-* 'tissue de feuilles de palm', *saff-at-* 'panier fait de feuilles de palmier' [BK I 396], Geez *sfy* 'sew', Amh, Arg *sāffa* 'sew' [LsG 490], Ethioseem Tna *sāfi* 'wicker basket, sieve plait of palm-wattle', Tgr *sāfə?*, Amh, Arg *səfet*, Gur *saf* 'wicker basket' [LsG]. According to W. Leslau, Om Kaffa *šipp* 'to sew, to plait a mat' and Moca *šippi* 'to sew, to plait' are Amharic loans. [AA №348 **samf/ff* 'basket'].

684. *sVhVw/y- (< AA **hVsVw/y-*) 'пить, to drink': W 1 Hs *šaa*; 2 Ngas *šwee* [Fl, JgA], Mghv *šwaa* [JgS], Mpn *šwa*, Gerka *ta*, Miship *šuu* [JgC], Mushere *šwaa* (**sw-* > *šw-*) [JgO], Tal *sūwa* [JgIb], Kofyar *suwaa*, Goem *suwaa*, *šwa*, *swa* [TAS 339], Grk *tā^k* (*t-* < Ch **s-* is regular) [BIY]; 3 Bol *s(a)* [LkB], Krkr *s-* [LkK]; Ngm *sā-*, Bele *hēc-*, Krf *šēc-*, Glm *š-*, Gera *sēc-*, Geruma *šēc-* [SchB], Bure *see*; 4 Paa *sa* [MS], Wrj, Siri, Kar *sa*, Miya *sa-*, Mburku *sí*, *sāa*, Jmb *si*, *sa*, Tsagu *šaa*, Diri *čaa* [SkNB]; 5 Bgh *šaa*, Mangas *siye*, *šec*, Saya (Zaar) *tya*, Grnt *sai*, Jimi *hc*, Tala *hyau*, *hyaa* (< *tyaa* < *shya*) [Cs], Geji *ta*, Tule *te*, Wangd *te*, Zaar *teya*, Tala *hya*, Jimi *hiye* (*t-* < **sh-*) [JgIb]; 6 Ngz *sáu*, Duw *sawo*, Bade *sau*; 7 Fyer *šo*, DB *šoh* [JgR], *šo* [RC]; C 1 Tera *za* (regular voicing) [NmT], Hona *sa*, Gbn *sí*, Boka *ša-dá* [Kr]; 2 Bura *sa*, MrgC *sa*, Mrg *sah*, Chb *sa* [JgIb]; 3 Bana *sá*, FK *sá* [BlNd], Hya *sa* [BlH], HN *sexwí* [Kr]; 4 Bata *sa* [Mo], Jimj *sí*, Chuvon *sá?*, Sharwa *sá* [BryJ], Gudu *sāa* [VM], Gude *sa*; 5 Wnd *šc* [VM], Mlg *ša*, Pod *sa*; 5a Lmn, Hdi, Vemgo *sa* [HmG], Hdi *say* [BrH], Hitk *s(u)* [LkH]; 6 Buwal *sá*, Daba *sá* [Lnhr], Mbədam *so*, Dugwor *-sáy*, Gavar *sa* [VGv 4]; 7 Chv *masáy*, Mafa *sa*, Ould *-sí*, Muy *čsí*, Mada *čsc*, Zlg *sa*, Mercey *sa*, Gis *šc*, *si*, Mofu *-s-*, Mbuko *sā*, Mefele (dial.) *-saya*, *saw*, *səw*, Moloko *šē* [BoP 38], 7a Skn *sə*; 8 Mak *se*; Log *sa-* [LkL], Bud *hi*, Zina *səy*, Kus *šc*,

Afd *sé* [TrC]; 9 Mnj *si* (*sa*), Mulwi *si*, Msg *sa* [LkM]; 9a Gdr *sa* [Mo]; 10 Dzpw *se* [Sa]; E 1 Mobu *se*, Ngam *se*: [Lns]; 2 Nch, Kaba *-sə* 'drink' [HmK], Lele *si* 'boire, fumer', *sa* 'boire'; 3 Smr *ša* [JgSb], *syá* [VM], Tum *he*; 4 Sok *sa* [Luk], Mawa *sé-ŋ*, Saba *seye*, Barein *síi* (dial.) [LvB]; 5a EDng *se*, CWDng *se* [CJ], WDng *séé*; 5b Brg *sáya*, Jegu *s-*, Zir *-si*, Mubi *si* [CJ], *siyá* 'boire, fumer' [JgL], Mm *siyyá*, Tor *he*.

Derived noun: ***swV 'water, вода'**: W 5 Dott *ša* [CrD]; C 3 Fali *só* [Luk].

Note W 3 Bol *sa(a)* 'drink' ~ *sáʔʔaa* 'drink repeatedly'. Thus, Bol *sa(a)* can be analyzed as a form with a "hidden alef".

//Sem Arab *hsw*, *hsy* 'to drink in gulps' [BK I 429], Berb Ghdm *esw*, Ghat, Ahg *əsw*, Nefusa, Siwa, Semlal, Ntifa, Izdeg, Izayan, Mzab, Wargla *su*, Qab *əsew* etc., [BlzB]; NOmot **ʔus(s)-* 'drink': Zayse, Gidicho, Kore *úšš-*, She, Bworo *uš*, Shin *ušš* [BlžO].

In the view of initial *h* in Arabic, irregular *t* in WCh 5 can be explained away as "secondary" lateral: **hsVy-/*shVy-* > *tVy-*.

On this Ch root (without external parallels) see: [Gr 55, Sol №701, Nm **sa*, JgIb **s₂w*, with the following commentry: "It is highly probable, that we are dealing here with lexicalized ancient aspect vowels, i.e. a low (long) vowel for an original imperfective stem, a high (short) vowel for an original perfective stem; cf. e.g. W 4 Mburku and Jmb were both vocalizations are given, though without any indication of the difference between them".

[St 58, HSED №1300 Arab+Ch, CLD III №130].

685. *sV(wV)k- 'spear, to throw a spear; копье, бросать копье': W 1 Hs *súuka* (if not < **sVbka*) 'piercing with an arrow, spear'; C 1 Gaʔanda *šuk-ta*, Gabin *suk-te* 'spear' [Kr]; 6 Daba *sku* 'lancer' [Mo]; 8 'throwing knife': Mak *sk^wá* (< **swk*), Afd *sk-pá* [Tr].

//Eg *sk* (MK) 'spear' [EG IV 315].

[HSED № 2286 Eg+ CCh 1].

686. *sVk- 'to sit, to live, to dwell, to last; сидеть, жить': W 1 Hs *sáka* 'place, put; arrange, fix up'; 4 Paa *šiki* 'sit, dwell, live' (more often used than *siki*) [MS]; 5 Dott *suk* 'sit, dwell', *súkəð* 'rest', *súk-dər* (Caus.) 'sit down' [CrD], *suy* 'live' [Cs №667], Bgh *soyaŋ*, Mangas dial. *sək* 'to rest' [Cs], Geji *súuki*, *súuk-ti*, Zul *šúku* 'to rest' [Cs №673], Pol *šik* 'live, sit' [Cs №№667, 679]; 6 Ngz *səkoókuyú* 'pass time, spend a long time, chat, pass the time of day'; C 2 Mrg *skú* 'wait for' [HfM 118], Klb *səka* 'to

wait' [MuK 24]; 5 Mlg *šək^wa* 'ausruhen, to calm down'; 7 Mafa *sák* 'durer', *sak va* (*va* 'body') 'rest', Mofu *-sək^w-* 'wait'; 10 Dari *sūk* 'rester, s'asseoir', Masa *súk* 'to sit down, to rest' [CC], Dzpw *súk* 's'asseoir, rester', Mesme (Zime) *suk* 'to sit' [Kr].

Deriv. in *m-*: C 7 Mofu *-mə-sk-* 'se reposer'; E 5a Bid *mu-sák* 's'habituer, to accustom'.

Deriv. in *-n-*: W 5 Pol *sóyən* 'rest, be patient' [Cs №№673, 723], Mangas (dial.) *sigine* 'to rest' [Cs], 4 Jmb *šij̄kə* (metath.) 'to sit' [SkNB].

Derived noun: W 5 Guus *súkòò-žì* 'life' [CrG].

//Cush agaw **sək-/*səx-* 'stay, wait' [ApAg 157], Sem Akk *šakānu* 'to place smth for a particular purpose, to set out, arrange' [CAD š1 116], Arab *skn* 'be quiet, rest'⁶⁵ [BK I 1115], Hbr *škn* 'stay, dwell'.

Root extention (*n* as C₃) in Chadic and Semitic languages.

[Cr №295; HSED №2240 **s-k-n*, CLD III №169].

687. W *sak- 'to hoe; мотыжить': W 2 Ngas *sak* 'to hoe' [JgA], Mpn *sāk* 'plow, till, form, dig', Mghv *sak*, pl. *səlak* [JgS] 'hacken (mit grosser Hacke); to hoe (with a big hoe)', Mushere *sak* 'to cultivate, till' [JgO]; 3 Tng *suke* 'to till hard ground'.

Derived noun **'hoe; мотыга'**: W 1 Hs *sāk^wa-mii* 'a long-handled hoe used at sowing time' (with a suff. of *instrumens*), 3 Ngm *sakátoono* (Y) 'hoe (for harvesting)' [NEH]. A compound.

//Sem Akk *šakāku* (from OA, OB on) 'to harrow', *šikkatu* (OB) 'harrowed land' [CAD š1 113, š2 433], Berb Mzab *sska* 'to plough, till'. Cf. Eg *sk* (Pyr) 'pflügen (mit dem Pflug, mit der Hacke), to plough' [EG IV 315].

[Cr 1987 №194, HSED № 2177].

688. *sVɿ- 'to cut (trees, branches), to carpenter; рубить, плотничать': W 1 Hs *sāssaḳaa* (< **saḳ-saḳa*) 'carpenter'; 2 Ngas *sak* 'cut down (trees to clear land for a farm)' [Fl], Goem *sāk* 'cut, split lengthwise' [Hlw], Mushere *sak* 'to cut' [JgO]; 5 Guus *sassaká* 'carve wood' (< Hs) [CrG]; 6 Ngz *sā-skú* 'scrape or cut off in small pieces, e.g. skin of mango; carve wood in this way to make a hoe handle'; C 7 Ould *-sāká* 'tailler'; E 5a WDng *sikè* 'terrasser,

⁶⁵According to A. Belova (personal communication) Arabic *skn* is derived < *kwn* 'to be, to exist'.

abattre (arbre), to cut down a tree'. Cf. W 3 Bure *sek-* 'to slaughter'.

Deriv. in *-t-*: W 6 Bade *saak-saak-tu* 'cut off branches'.

//SCush Iraqw *siiq* 'cut in one movement, in one direction' [MKQ] (note rift **sik-* 'cut off, slice': Irq, Gor *siik-*, Alg, Bur *sik-* [Kies]), LEC Harso, Dob, Gawaada *sak'*, Yaaku *-sak'* 'slaughter' [LmW 505], Eg *ḥsk* (Pyr) 'abschneiden, abhauen (Arme, Beine, Kopf)' [EG III 168].

Note the following correlation: root extension (*h* as C₁) in Egyptian ~ reduplication of the first syllable in Chadic languages.

Derived noun: W **sV[k-]* 'chisel, knife': W 2 Mnt *šik* [Fp, Jg] 'knife, dagger', Ngas *šik* 'knife' [Fp]; 3 Tng *tj-zuk* (regular voicing in medial position) 'chizel'.

//Eg *ḥsk* (BS) 'Messer' [EG III 169].

[HSED 2180 Eg+WCh].

689. **sV[k-]* 'to weave; ткаць': W 1 Hs *sáaká* 'weave'; 2 Ngas *sak* [FI], *sak* [JgA], Kofyar *sák* [TAS 315]; 3 Kupto *šakkéy* 'to weave cloth' [LgK], Maka *sáakáayò* 'spin' [SvM]; 5 Buli *sag-ən* 'weaving' [Cs №174], Mangas *sake* [Cs] 'weaving'; C 6 Daba *səka* 'commencer à tresser' [Lnhf]; 10 Dzpw *sák* 'commencer à tresser (natte)'.

a. (derived noun?) C 7 Ould *asak^w* 'thread' [KTp 15]//ECush dullay Gawwada *saaqe* 'Baumwolle' [AMS].

//Cush Agaw **sVq/y-* 'to plait, sew [ApAg], PECush **suk'k-* 'spin (cotton)': Sid, Kamb *sukḳ-*, Gedeo, Darasa *suk-* 'to spin (cotton)' [Hds], dullay Harso, Dob *saakuy-* 'spinnen'; SCush Dah *sook'* 'twist' [EEN], Omot Kachama *sukk'* 'spin' [LmW 491]. Cf. Eg *sk.t* (OK) 'Fischreuse, fishing basket' [EG IV 302].

[Coh № 283, Долг 73, Ст №298, HSED №2178, CLD III №212, EDE I 212].

690. **sV[k-]* 'leg, bone; нога, коць': W 2 Mushere *síkí* 'foot, leg' [JgO]; 3 Ngm *šéke* 'foot, leg' [NEH], *šéke* 'leg' [Meek], Bol *šéke* [GAB]; 5 Bgh *bu-skii* [Smz]; C 4 Gude *síkə sida* 'foot' [Meek]; 6 Dugwor *syék*; 7 Chv *šək* 'pied', Mafa *sák* 'leg, foot', Ould *sək* 'foot, leg', Muy *asák* 'leg, foot', Mada *sek* 'jambe, pied, patte', Zlg *sík* 'jambe, pied', Moloko *sik*, Mefe (dial.) *sak, tek*; 8 Log *mə-skə* [Mo] 'leg', Mak *sku* 'hip; waist', Kus *m-sáke* [Luk]; 10 Masa *sok* [Mo], Musey *sok*, Lew, Marba *ʔásók* [LexC] 'bone'; E 4 Sok *saka-d-um* 'dein Schienbein' [Luk].

Derived verb: E 5a WDng *sáakè* 'donner un coup de pied'. Cf. EDng

síksíké ‘damer la terre, tasser, fouler, piétiner’ [Dj]. Note C 8 Log, Mak -*k-* (instead of expected *-k-*). Loss of emphatization in a cluster (*-sk-* > *-sk-*).

In all other Ch languages reflexed of **k* and **k̄* have fallen together as *k*.

//Sem Akk *sīqu* ‘lap, thigh’, *sāqu* (MA) ‘Oberschenkel’, Ug *šq* ‘thigh’, Aram (Jud) *šāqā* ‘joint, leg’, (Mand) *šāqa* ‘limb, leg, shin’, Arab *sāq-* ‘jambe, tibia’ [SED I №212, note discussion on irregular reflex of Sem **s-* in Akkadian; Fron 2.89 **šāq-*].

[HSED 2179, CLD III №190].

691. *sVI- ‘to cut (in pieces), to carve; резать (на куски), плотничать’: W 3 Gera *šallə-mí* ‘cut (slit)’ [SchB], Bol *sal-* ‘strike with a sword’ [LkB]; *sallu* ‘hack (off), slash (with sword, machete, etc.), cut off, pare; dodge, get out of the way’ [GAB]; C 8 Mak *sal he* ‘carve; tailler’; E 4 Mawa *sélaŋ* ‘tailler avec un couteau; éplucher’; 5a EDng *saalē* ‘casser le bois pour faire les fagots’ [Dj]; 6 Mok *selele* ‘dépecer (animal), hacher, cut in pieces’.

Deived noun: W 4 Paa *sila* ‘axe’ [MS]; 6 Duw *salaliya* ‘blade of any tool (without a handle)’; E 4 Sok *sálu* ‘Dolch, big knife’ [Luk], Barein *saālu* ‘knife’ [Luk], (dial.) *saalú* [LvB]. Cf. C 7 Baka *sešelé* [YB] ‘tranchant’.

//Sem Arab *sif* ‘fendre’ [BK I 1124].

[HSED № 2181 Arab+Gera, CLD III №219].

692. *sVI- ‘to burn, to fry; жечь, жарить’: C 2 Bura *sula*; Mrg *səl* ‘fry’ [HfM], Klb *aseł-tü* ‘to fry’ [Kr]; 3 Bana *s(ə)lí* ‘fire (dans un recipient avec ou sans un peu d’huile)’, FK *səl* ‘fry’ [BINd], HN *sile* ‘fry’ [Kr]; 5 Dghw *sulá* [JgIb], Mlg *sóla* ‘braten, fry’, Pod *sula* ‘grill, roast fry’; 5a Hdi *sulay* ‘fry, roast’ [BrH]; 6 Kola *sál* ‘fry’ [JgIb], Daba *sāl* ‘griller’ [Lnhf]; 7 Chv *me-šileý* ‘fire, griller’, Mafa *sul-* ‘griller (dans un recipient)’, Muy *ásawālay* ‘fry’, Mada *óso* ‘faire, fire, rôtir, roast’, Moloko *səloy* ‘cook on fire’, Zlg *sawla* ‘griller’, Gis *sol* ‘roast’, Mofu *-səl-* ‘(faire) griller dans un recipient; fondre (le fer)’; 8 Zina *səwl* ‘to fry’ [Tr], Mak *silya ho* ‘fry’; 9 Mulwi *sísilí* ‘roast, fry’, Mba *sisal* ‘fire’, Mnj *sisili* ‘fire (de la viande)’.

Derived nouns: C 8 Mak *m-sali* ‘mobile fireplace’; 10 Dzpw *síle* ‘flamme’; E 2 Kaba *ku-žələ* (< **ku-sələ*), Nch *ku-sələgə* ‘braise’ (pl. in *-r*) [HmK].

//ECush Som *sol* ‘to grill, to roast’ [SsB 163].

The following isogloss seems to be cognate:

a. ***sVI- ‘to boil, to cook; варить, готовить пищу’:** W 1 Hs *sílaalec* ‘cook

food by steaming', *sūlaalaa* 'warm up, heat up'; C 7 Ould *sēlāy* 'cuire'; 8 Mak *s^wal* 'boil (food)'.

//HECush **sal-* 'to cook': Burji *sal-* 'cook by boiling', Hadiya *sar* 'cook, bake' (cf. *sa'l-* 'bake' a mid. form), Kamb *šol-* 'cook' [Hds 68, Ss 163]. [CLD III №231].

693. **s/cVI-* 'kind of hawk, kite; вид хищной птицы (ястреб, сокол)': W 3 Tng *sele* 'hawk, black kite', Ngm *šuułi* 'black kite' (G) [NEH], Kupto *šellē* 'hawk sp., falcon sp.; kite sp' [LgK], Bure *šilúwé* 'kite'; C 4 Gude *šálawa* 'type of bird, bigger than vulture'; 6 Daba *sála-k* 'kind of hawk; big bird in general' [Lnh]; 8 Mak *selo* 'bird', cf. Log *ma-silankai* 'eagle' [AIL]; E 5a Bid *séleclu(wa)* 'small white hawk', Mig *sélecluwa* 'hawk'; 5b Tor *hilaalē* 'aigle, faucon' (*h-* < **s/*c-* is regular).

Note W Ch 2 **sVI-k-* 'kind of bird': Ngas *sulk* 'black bird' [Brq], Goem *s^walak* 'bird (black)' [TAS 323].

//Sem Geez *sol, salā* 'kind of bird of prey', Tna *sila, sila, šila* 'kind of very rapacious sparrow hawk, kite', Amh *sila* 'falcon, hawk' [LsG 498, MK II №201], SCush Dah *cílalla* 'hawk' [MT], cf. rift Irq *cilili* 'cry of a hawk' [Eh 193].

[CLD III №239].

694. **sVm-* 'to buy, buy, exchange; покупать; обменивать': W 3 Krkr *šimu* 'pay back, take revenge' [GK]; W 5 Zaar *šim* 'exchange' [CrZ]; C 7 Mafa *šum-*, Vame *səm-* [KinV] 'buy'; 9 Mnj *simi* 'coûter; to cost'; 10 Dzpw *sám* 'échanger', Dari *sām* 'change, exchange'. According to J.Fedry, ECh 5a WDng *sūumíyē* 'vendre' is an Arabic loan.

Deriv. in *-k-*: C 7 Mofu *-səm-k-* 'to buy'.

Derived noun: W 7 Bok *šum* 'Lohn, debt'.

//Sem Arab *swm* 'offrir à qqn tel ou tel prix d'une chose, donner une chose à tel prix' [BK I 1169-1170], *sawm-* 'prix (d'une marchandise)' [BK 1169], Cush Burji *šom-* 'to pay', according to [SsB 173], a loan from Omotoc, cf. Omot: Kore, Zayse *šam-* 'to buy'; Omot Ometo **šam-*: Wolt cluster *šamm-*, Southeast Ometo *šam-*, Northwest Ometo *šaN-* [BndO 140].

See №919 Ch **šVm-* 'to count, to buy' and Semitic cognates with *š-* initial (Geez, Sab, MSA). [CLD III №254].

695. **sVVM-* (< **sVHVm-*) 'to faint, to be, to become weak, weak; быть,

становиться слабым': W 1 Hs *súumaá* 'faint, wither (crops)'; 2 Ngas *šāam* 'die out (fire)' [Fl]; C 7 Mbuko *seməme* 'épuisé, exhausted'; E 2 Kaba *sema* 'weak; schwach' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *saʔam*- 'mort' [BK I 1037], cf. *shm* 'être maigre, pâle' [BK I 1158].

Note the following correlation: a long vowel in Chadic ~ medial laryngeal in Arabic.

[CLD III № 257].

696. *s/cVm- 'to help, to protect; помогать, защищать': W 5 Guus *som* 'help' [CrG], Pol *səm-tire* 'help' [Cs № 898], Zaar *som* 'help smb. with a work' [CrZ]; C 7 Mada *ássamá* 'protéger, garder (action propre à Dieu)'.
Deriv. in *-t-*: W 5 Dott *sam-ti* 'to offer' [Cs №703].

//Eg *sm* (Pyr) 'jem. achten, respektieren', *sm.t* (Pyr) 'Achtung, Respekt vor', (parallel: *Licbe*), *sm* (MR) 'für jem. sorgen, jem. Gütes tun' [EG IV 120].

697. *sVm- 'to scratch (body), to rub; скрести, чесаться': W 3 Bol *sam-* 'einreiben; rub' [LkB], Bele *sum-* 'rub'; E 2 Lele *səm* 'démanger, gratter, scrape'; 4 Sok *sósumsósum* 'scratch' [Luk]; 5a EDng *súsúme* 'jucken' [Ebb], WDng *sòsimè*, Mig *súsúmo* 'demanger; to itch'.

a. ***sVm-** 'to sweep, brush': W 4 Miya *samay* 'trash, sweeping' [SchM]; 5 Bgh *swam* 'sweep' [Cs]; 6 Duw *sam-čúwo* 'brush slightly, touch with palms'.

Derived noun: ***sVm-(t/d)-** 'broom; метла': W 6 Duw *səm-tòk*; C 2 Bura *šim-tu* 'broom grass; broom'; 3 FK *šimə* [BlNd], Bana *šəm*; 5 Pod *sama-ta*; 4 Gude *šin-ta* 'broom' (*-nt-* < **-mt-*); 10 Dari *sām-dā*; E 5a Mig *saame* 'balai'.

//Cush Afar *simmiy-*, *sammiy-* 'skim off, scrape off (e.g., top of milk)' [SsB 166].

698. C 8 *sVm- 'to hear; слышать': C 1 Boka *šimi* [Kr]; 8 Bud *hamay* 'vernehmen, hören, to hear' [LkBd], Zina *səməy* 'to hear' [Tr].

a. ***k-sVm-** 'ear; ухо': C 1 Tera *šim* [NmT], Hona *hima-ra* Gaa *hima-tā*, Gbn, Boka *hima-ta* [Kr]; 2 Bura *tim*, Mrg *timi*, Klb *ximi* [Kr]; 3 HN *time* [Kr], Bana *təmə*; 4 Gude *lēmi-na*, Gudu *tim* [Jglb], cf. Bata *gu-lma* (< **K-tVm-*) [Mo], Jimj *limón*, Chuvan *šimé?*, Sharwa *šimé* [BryJ]; 5 Pod *sama*, *tama* [Mo], *təma*, Dghw *time*, Chn *tim(i)ya* [HmG], Wnd *hima*, *xima*, Glv *hyímiá* [Jglb], Gvoko *tuó* (< **tumo*), Gdf *time* [HmG]; 5a Lmn *timuy*, Hdi *təməy* [HmG], Hitk *səməy* [lkH]; 6 Daba *šimī* [Lnhf], Mbədam *šəm*,

Buwal *ḥām*, Gavar *ḥəm* [VGv 3]; 7 Dugwor *ḥām*, Chv *ḥəməy*, Muy *timi*, Ould, Mofu *tumay*, Gis *tim-əd*, Mada *tme*, Balda *tīmē* ‘ear’, *smāilār* ‘feuille’ [Bry], Merey *ḥəm* ‘ear’, Zlg *ḥəm* ‘ear’ (cf. *tām-bah* ‘feuille’), Muktele *tum* [JgIb], Mbuko *təmay*, Baka *tīmáy*, Moloko *təmay* [BAS]; 7a Skn *təmə* [JgIb]; 9a Gidar *tum* [JgIb]; 8 Bud *húmō*, Zina, Kus *səm*, Mak *šəmū* [TrC]; 9 Msg *ḫiméc* [LkM], Mbara *túmó*; E 1 Kera *kó-sój* (irregular reflex of *-m#*), Mobu *səm-dī* [JgIb]; 3 Tum *hīm*, Ndam *hām*, Smr *súmí* [JgIb]; 2 Nch *sem-áng* [Luk], Lele *sumā* [JgIb], Gbr *suma-in* [Luk], Kaba *sāmí* [JgIb], Dormo *suma-nu* [Luk]; 5b Mubi *sumāámó* [JgIb]. Note secondary lateral in CCh influenced by a velar prefix: **k-sVm-* > *ksVm-* > *tVm-* (cf. [StLat]).

//Sem **sVmaʕ-* ‘hear’: Akk *šmū*, Ug *šmʕ*, Hbr *šmʕ*, Syr Aram *šmʕ*, Mand *šma*, Arab *smʕ*, Sab *smʕ*, Geez *smʕ*, Tgr *šāmʕa*, Tna *šāmʕe*, Amh *sämma*, Arg *sämma*, Gaf *sämmä*, Har *sämaʔa*, Gur *säma*, Mhr *hēma*, Soq *hyemaʕ* [Fronz, SED I], cf. Eg *smt* (belegt seit Pyr, selten) ‘Verb des Hörens’, *sm.t* ‘ears’ (NE) [EG IV 144].

[Nm **šəmi*, JgIb **km/*tm*, Gv **tVm*, St 56, HSED 2245, CLD III №266].

699. **(k-)sVm-* ‘name; имя’: W 1 Hs *súnaá* (*sum-na*), pl. *súnaayce*; 2 Gerka *attum* (*t* < **s-* is regular) [Fp], Ngas *səm* [JgA], Mghv, Mnt *súm* [JgC, JgS], Mpn *səm*, Kofyar *sum*, Goem *səm*, *šem*⁶⁶ [TAS 338], *səm* [Hlw], Mushere *šúm* [JgO]; 3 Krkr *səm* [LkK], Tng *súmɔ*, Ngm *sun*, Bol *sún* (< **sum#*) [SchV], Pero *čóm-bò* (note *-b-* as a possible marker of living beings), Dera *yím* [NmK], Maka *sum* [NmM], Geruma *šímí*, Bele *hín-ti*, Krf *šímí*, Gera *səmə*, Glm *ším* [SchB], Bure *símé*; 4 Paa *sim*, pl. *šinaani* (also *sun*, pl. *sunaani* < Hs) [MS], Diri, Mburku *šin*, Jmb *suu*, Tsagu *sim-an* [SkNB]; 5 Zaar *səm*, pl. *səm-dó* [CrZ], Tala *səm*, Buli *sim* [JgIb], Jimi *sim* [Cs], Geji *šin* [JgIb], Mangas *wusim*, Bgh *yisim*, Grnt *sin* [Cs], Kir *wusum* [JgIb]; 7 Fyer *ku-súm*, DB *súm*, Kul *ʔasim* [JgR], Monguna *súm*, Mundat *ašum*, Karfa *šúm*, Mangar *súma-jiwá* (‘name+person’) [RC]; C 1 Tera *ḥəm* [NmT], Hona *tímə*, Gabin *tíma*, etc. [Kr]; 2 Bura *tím* [Ann], Mrg *təm*, Klb *tím* [JgIb], Chb *tíma*, etc. [Kr]; 3 Bana *tən* (*-n#* < *-m-*), FK *tím*, HN, Kap *tí* (< **si-m*) [Kr]; 4 FM *ḥímu*, Gudu

⁶⁶ In the view of initial *s-/š-* in Chadic and Semitic languages, WCh 2 Goem *š-* is hundred percent secondary.

ḥim [Kr], Bata *lima* [Meek], Gude *ḥimí-nə* [Hs], *limā*, Jimj *ḥimə́n*, Chuvan *ḥiméʔ*, Sharwa *ḥimé* [BryJ]; 6 Daba *ḥimi* [Lnhf]; 7 Gis *tim-ed*, Muy *timi*, Mofu *tamay*, Ould, Moloko *təmay*, Mada *tme*, Zlg *ḥəm*, Balda *səmaí* [Bry], Baka *timéy* [BAS], Mbuko *təmay*; 9a Gidar *tum* [JgIb]; 8 Bud *həmu*, *hómū*, Log *təmi* [JgIb], Zina, Kus *səm*, Mak *šəmu* [TrC]; 9 Mba *ḥim*; 10 Mesme *sem* [Kr], Peve *šem de* [Kr], Dzpww *śém*, *sám*, Dari *šēm*, Masa *sem* [CC], Giz, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew *səm*, Marba *simi* [LexC]; E 1 Kera *sám*, Kwang *ká-səm* [JgIb]; 2 Lele *kōndí* (< **ko-sm-di*), Kaba *ko-si* (< **ko-sim*) [JgIb]; 3 Tum *him*, Smr *súmi* [JgIb], Ndam *hām* [Brs]; 4 Sok *sin-ta* (< **sim-ta*) [Luk], Saba *sin-dir* [DMT]; 5a WDng *sij* (-*ɣ*# < **m*-), ECWDng *sij* [CJ], Mig *śémé* (pl.); 5b Zir *samə*, Mubi *sami* [CJ], Mubi *sámé* [JgL], Brg *ʔosəm* (< **ko-som*); 6 Mok *súma*. Secondary lateral in CCh languages due to a velar prefix (for the latter see ECh 1, 2), cf. **k-sVm*- ‘car’. [Nm **s₂m*, JgIb **s₃m*].

//Sem *(*ʔi*-)*sim*- ‘name’: Akk *šum-*, Ug *šm*, Phoen *šm*, Hbr *šēm*, Aram (Bibl) *šum*, (Syr) *šəm*, (Mand) *šum-*, Arab *ʔism-*, Sab *s₁m*; Geez *səm*, Tgr *səm*, Tna *səm*, Amh *səm*, Arg *səm*, Gaf *səm^{wä}*, Har *sum*, Mehri *ham*, Jib *šum*, Hrs *hem*, Soq *šem* [Fron 4.16, SED I]; Berb *(*H*)*isVm*- ‘name’: Ghdm *ism*, Ghat *isəm*, Ayr *ism*, Ahg *isəm*, Zenaga *ešəm*, Izdeg *ism*, Izayan *isəm*, Izn *ism*, Snus *ism*, Qab *isəm* [BlžB]. [Chn, Дьяк, St 55, HSED №2304].

700. **s/cVm*- ‘stone; камень’: W 5 Dott *śəm* ‘stone’ [CrD], (comp.) *səəm-foon* ‘grinding stone’ [Cs №147], Jimi *səmən* ‘stone’ [Cs №404]; C 3 Bana *šəmaḡ* ‘brique’; 5 Pod *šimá* ‘stone wall around the house’.

//Cush Bed *sām* ‘Mauer, Wand’ [RBd], Sem Arab *sahm-* ‘grosse pierre qu’on place à l’entrée d’une hutte dressée pour prendre un lion qui, en déplaçant la pierre, trouve la sortie obstruée quand il veut sortir’ [BK I 1158, Бел 2 №164r]. [CLD III Ch+Arab].

701. **sV(ʔV)m*- ‘hair (on head); волосы (на голове)’: W 1 Hs *suumaa* ‘the growth of hair on the head from its first appearance after the head has been shaved until it is long and termed *gizo*’; 3 Ngm (G, Y) *səm* ‘hair, feathers’ [NEH]; C 3 (HB=Bana) *sim-thifi* (*thifi*) ‘hair’ [Luk] ‘hair (on head)’, FK *šin-čī* [BINd], Kap, HN *šin-ti* (< **sim-ti*) ‘hair’ [Kr]; 4 Jimj *šim-kín*, Gude *šin-kínə* ‘hair (on head)’ [BryJ], FM *šim-ki* ‘hair’ [Kr]; 7a Skn *šum-but*

[DS], *šim-but* [Meek] 'hair of the head'. Note *higi-bata* forms (C 3, 4) with a poss. pronoun *-ti/-ki*.

//Eg *sm'* (Pyr) 'hair', Copt **smaw* 'temple' [EG IV 122], Omot Yemsa *soma'* '(Körper)Haar' [LmY].

[HSED №2280, CLD III №272, EDE I 192].

702. *sVn-/*sVw/yVn- 'to dream, to sleep; спать, видеть сны' v., n.: W 3 Bol *sun-* 'spend the night' [LkB]; Pero *čon* 'sleep', Tng *wune* 'to spend the night', Ngm *sun-*, Krf *šan-kò*, Glm *sán-*, Gera *sín* [SchV], Dera *aní* 'to lie down' [NmK]; 4 Wtj, Mbu *sən-*, Kar *sónásán*, Paa *assinnu*, Siri *sunni*, *swəni*, *súnsuní* 'to sleep' [SkNB], Miya *səna* 'spend the night, sleep' [SchM]; 6 Ngz *saunú* 'to dream'; 7 Bok *sunat* 'to dream', DB *sunan* 'träumen, to dream'; C 1 Tera *či zine* 'to dream'; 2 Chb *səni* 'träumen' [HfC 133]; 4 Gude *səni* 'to dream'; 6 Daba *sini* 'rêver, rêve' [Lnh]; 8 Mak *n-san* 'sleep', Zina *sən* 'se coucher, dormir' [Tr]; 9 Mbraa *saj* 'to dream'; 10 Masa *sən* [CC], Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew *bür sən* 'dormir' [LexC]; E 1 Mobu *so:n-de*, Ngam *so:n-dé* 'rêver' [Lns], Kera *sóóné* 'to dream'; 2 Lele *sən*, Kaba *suwən* [Jglb] 'to dream'; 3 Smr *sən* 'to dream' [Jglb], 5a EDng *səñē* 'träumen, to dream' [Ebb]; 5b Brg *sóóni* 'to sleep'; Mubi *súnó* 'to dream' [Luk], Jegu *suun-* 'träumen', Tor *hoon* 'rêver'.

Derived noun: ***sV(wV)n- 'a dream; сон':** W 3 'dream': Bol *súnna* [LkB], Pero *čúna*, Ngm *suná* (G), *sun-dá* (Y) [NEH], Dera *žúwan* 'dream', Krf *súnna* [SchV], Bure *súun-ijé*, Maka *súnna* [SvM]; 5 Grnt, Tala *suuni* [Cs] 'dream'; 6 Duw, Bade *súwan* 'dream'; 7 Kul *ʔaswan* 'dream' VN; C 2 Bura *suni* 'dream' [Ann]; 3 FK *šin* 'dream, vision' [BINd]; 5 Mlg *šinc* 'Traum, dream'; 5a Hdi *suni* 'dream' [BrH]; 6 Gavar *šijšij* 'rêve' [VGv 4]; 7 Chv *mé-šh'wəney* 'rêve', Zlg *súná* 'songe, rêve', Gis *musan* 'Traum, träumen'; 9 Mbara *saj* 'sommeil'; 10 Dari *sən* 'sommeil'; E 3 Tum *hānóm* 'rêve, a dream'; 4 Sok *sónisoni* 'Traum, dream' [Luk]; 6 Mok *suniyé* 'rêve'. [Nm **s-n*, Jglb **swn*].

//Sem **wVsVn-* 'to sleep', **si/un(-at)-* 'sleep, dream': Akk *šittu* (< **šintu*) 'sleep (n.)' (OB, SB) [CAD š3 140, AHw 1252]; Ug *yšn* 'schlafen', *šnt* 'Schlaf' [Ais137-8]; Hbr *yšn* (qal) [KB 447], Aram (Bib, Jud, Syr) **š-n-t-* 'Schlaf', Arab *wsn* 'être endormi d'un profond sommeil', *wasan-* 'sommeil profond' [BK II 1538-9], Sab *sint* 'sleep' [SD 163]; Mhr *šəñēt* [JnM], Jib

šónút ' [JnJ], Harari *šenēt* 'sleep' (n.) [JnH], Soq *šínoh* 'heure de la nuit' [LsS], [Fronz 38, Brock 789]; Cush Saho, Afar *sonoo* 'dream' n. [Vr, RA]. Note *prime waw* in Semitic, but *medial waw* in Chadic languages. [MSt №64, HSED №2226, EDE I 359].

703. *sVn- 'to lie down, to sit, to dwell; down; ложиться, садиться': W 3 Krf *šen-* 'lay down' [Stl], Glm *sán-aalá* 'lie down, spend the night' [SchB], Gera *sín-mí* 'lie down' [SchB], Tng *šijine* 'to rest'; 5 Bogh *soonoy, soon* 'lie down' [Cs], Guus *sən* 'sit down, dwell' [CrG]; 6 Ngz *sənú* 'lay (down flat), spread out', Bade *sənu* 'lay down, out, spread out'; C 7 Mafa *sən va* 'se reposer'; 10 Dari *sunya?* 'bas'.

//ECush dullay Dob *šenn-* 'liegen лежать', Gawwada *šann-* id. [AMS].

704. *sV(w/y)Vn- 'to know, be clever; знать, быть умным': W 1 Hs *sáni* (without obj.) 'to know'; 2 Mushere *šwan* 'to think' [JgO]; 3 Dera *šen-* 'to know' [JgIb]; 4 Wrj, Kar, Jmb, Miya, Tsagu *sən*, Mburku *sin*, Siri *səniwi* [SkNB], Paa *sincē* 'know' [MS]; 5 Buli *šināw* [Smz] 'to see'; 7 Bok *šājí* 'wissen, erkennen', DB *šigat* 'clever', *sun* 'know', Sha, Kul *syen* 'know'; C 1 Tera *zəni* 'know' [NmT], Hona *šin*, Gaa *sini*, Gbn *šini*, Boka *šini* [Kr]; 2 Bura *sin-da* 'know' [Ann, Kr], Mrg *sini*, Klb *zín*, Chb *zuni* [Kr]; 3 Bana *səná* 'savoir, connaître', HN *šina-ta* [Kr]; 4 Gude *sənavá* 'be familier, accustomed, used to', Tsuvan *súnánən*, Sharwa *súnán* 'know' [BryJ]; 5 Glv *sər* (-r <*-n-) 'to know, to see'; 5a Lmn *sina*; 6 Daba *sən* 'know' [Lnh], Gavar *sən* [VGv 7]; 7 Chv *mé-šney* 'know', Mafa *sən-* 'reconnaitre, découvrir', *sən da* 'teach', Mofu *-sər-* 'savoir, connaître, reconnaitre', Ould *-sər* 'know', Muy *ásər* 'got to know', Gis *san* 'wissen, kennen, versuchen', Moloko *sar* [BoP 15], Baka *sár* [BAS], Mbuko *sāy*, Vame *sən-* [KiV], Dugwor *məsárahay*, Mefele *suna, səna*, Vame *sən-* [KinV] 'to know' (note **-n- > -r-* in C 7 and in C 5 Glv); 8 Log *sən* [LkL], Bud *hin*, Mak, Kus, Afd *sən*, Maltam *sən* 'know' [TrC]; 9a Gidar *sən* 'know' [JgIb]; E 2 Nch *-sən* [HmK], Lele *sən* 'know (s.o.)' [JgIb]; 3 Tum *han*, Ndam *həná* 'know' [JgIb], 5a Bid *ʔisən* 'know'; 6 Mok *suunc* 'know, understand'; 5b Kaj *sún* 'penser'.

Deriv. E **ʔVsVn-* 'teach, learn': 1 Mobu *ásəné*, Ngam *àsine* 'connaître, apprendre' [Lns], 3 Smr *ósen* 'learn' [Luk]; 5 Bid *ʔósən* 'teach'; 5b Jegu *ʔusun* 'learn'.

Derived noun: W 2 Mghv *sēen* 'wisdom' [JgS], Mpn *sēcn* 'clever', Kofyar

soon 'clever', Mushere *soon* 'cleverness, wisdom' [JgO]; 3 Dera *šén* 'sense' [NmK], Tng *sen* 'wisdom, sense, clever', Kupto *šəj* 'craft; cleverness, cunning; idea, plan, scheme' [LgK]; 6 cf. Ngz *saanu* 'mention'; E 5a EDng *sīnninē* 'le sens, la destination' [DJ].

//Eg *swn* (1) 'vom etw. wissen' [EG IV 69], Berb Siwa, Ghat, Ayr *əssən*, Ghdm *essən* 'know', ECush Oromo *seena* 'memory' [Grg], cf. Sem Arab *ʔasana* 'comprendre' [DRS 27].

[Nm, JgIb *s-n, HSED №2198, 2294, CLD III №290].

705. *t-sVn- 'nose; нос: W 1 Hs *hānc̣ii* (< *a-ntii* < *a-ntsi* < *a-t-sin-*); 2 *p-gV-zin- (< *p-k-sin⁶⁷, double voicing in medial position): Mpn *pə-zən* [FrM], Mghv *pəgə-zij* [JgS], Ngas *gi-zij* [Fl], Miship *gəj* [JgC] (< *gV-(z)Vn#), Mnt *kə-zəj* [JgC], Gerka *yi-ddij* [JgIb] (*T* < **S* is regular), Mnt *kəzəj* [JgC], *kussung* (< **ku-t-sung*) [Fp], Mushere *gizing* [JgO], Goem *gong* [Meek]; 3 Bol *wunti* [Meek], Krkr *ʔwan-tin* [JgIb], Dera *wá-riŋ* [NmK], Tng *wi-sin*, Geruma *ʔum-sí*, Gera *wun-číní*, Bele *untí*, Glm *wizí*, Kirfi *wu-ttiji* [SchB] (< *wV-stini* < **t-sini*), Bure *uúsíné*, Kupto *wúšín* [LgK]; 4 *tin- (< *stin- < *t-sin-): Wřj *čín-ná*, Diri *á-tín*, Miya *á-tín*, Pa'a *á-tín*, Kar *tín*, Siri *yir-tóní* (*yir* 'hole') [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *tən*, Bade, Duw *əstan* (metath. < **t-sVn*); 7 Fyer *šin*, Bokos *ʔa-tin*, Kul *tanáw*, *ʔa-tənán* (< **stVn-* < **t-sVn-*) [JgR]; C *xV-t-sVn- nose: 1 Tera *xən* [NmT]. (dial.) *h-dan-di* (< **h-stan-di* < *t-sVn-*) [Kr]; 2 Chb *kwu-cir*, Mrg *mčir*, Heba *mčir* (< **k/m-čir* < **k-tsir-*) [Kr]; 3 Hya, Kap *nči* [BIH], HN *nči* [JgIb], FK *šinu?* [Kr], Bana *k-šən*, Kap *nčín* [Meek]; 4 Nzn *čine*, FM *šinu* [Kr], Gude *šína* Gudu *čin*, Bch *šine*, Bata *činne* [JgIb]; 5-5a *x-tVn/r- (< *x-stVn- < *t-sVn-): 5 Wnd *əktare* [Meek], Glv *x-təra*, Gdf *xá-təra*, Ngweshe *xú^hur*, Dghw *xtiré* [JgIb], Chn *xətra* [Kim]; 5a Lmn *x-cin* [JgIb], Hdí *həciŋ* [BrH]; 6 Daba *mí-čin* [Lnhř], Buwal *mčār*; Mbedam *ncur*, *nčur* [NdP 6], Gavar *mčər* [VGv 11 mtsər]; 7 Mafa *hə-cán* (< **tsan-* < **t-sVn-*), Cuv *hə-taŋ*, Dugwor *mítər*, Zlg *hitír*, Mofu *hetər*, Gis *hətaŋ*, *hutuy*, (< **h-stVn-* < **t-sVn-*), Mbuko *čəen*; 9 Musgu *ənciŋ* (< **Ha-n-tin*); 8 Lgn *x-səni* [LkL], Bud *činái* [LkBd], Glf *skén* [Luk] (< **k-sen*), Kus *hā-sen* [Luk], Afd *cən*, Maltam *sən* sg., Afd *cáré*, Maltam *sərə* 'nose' (pl.) [Tr, -r-

⁶⁷ for the same prefixes of body-parts see, for example: Goem *pe-zung*, Mnt *po-sum* 'heart', Ngas *ka-zum* 'back', Mghv *kə-pak* 'temple'.

< *-n- is regular]; 10 Dari *čīn*, Dzɔw *cin*, Masa *čin* [JgIb], Gizey, Musey *čin*, Ham *nžin*, Lew, Marba *ʔačin* [LexC], Mesme *čin*, Peve *čin* [Kr]; E 2 Nch *žin-um* [Luk], Lele *hinda* (< **hsin-da*); 3 Smr *šen-dé*, Tumak *hun*, Ndam *tān* [JgIb]; 5a WDng *éttig-ij* (assimilation < **stin-* < **t-sin-*) [JgIb], Mig *ʔitin*, Bid *ʔécéna*; 5b Brg *ʔécɛɲ*, Jegu *ʔécɛn-tó* [JgIb], Mubi *ʔidaano*, pl. *átan* (note regular devoicing of medial *-t-) [JgL].

This is a most complicated ("entangled") case. The chain of developments looks like as follows: 1. **sin-* > **t-sin-*. A few languages deleted the prefix, and thus, they show the original initial (cf. E 3 Smr *šen-dé*, etc.). 2. After the loss of V₁, **t-sVn-* > *tsVn-* > *stVn-* (according to the law of rising sonority, cf. W 6 Bade, Duw *əstan*). 3. The next step was regressive assimilation (cf. W 3 Krf *wù-ttigi*, E 5a Dng *éttig-ij*), followed by simplification of the cluster: *-tt-* > *-t-*. Thus, in a good many languages the initial consonant was ousted by the prefix. In CCh languages (2-4, 6, 7, 10) **tV-sVn-* > **tsVn-* > *cVn-* or *čin-* (depending on the vowel). Note also secondary prefixes in different groups of languages (W 3 Krkr *ʔwan-tin*, C 5a Lamang *x-cin*, 8 Logone *x-səni*, Hausa *há-nčí*). Note *s*-initial in the verb 'to smell' (see below).

//Cush agaw **ʔa-sa/in-* 'nose': Xamir *esij*, Xamta *asən*, Qemant *əssan* [ApAg]; SA **san-* 'nose': Saho *san*, Afar (Danakil) *san*; PECush **san-/sin-/son-/sun-* 'nose' [SsB 169], LEC **sa/in-* 'nose': Som *san*, Boni *saga*, Rend *sän*, Arb *soonó*, Konso *soona*, Bussa *sino*, Gidole *sina* [Ss]; HEC **san-* 'nose': Sid *sano*, Darasa (Gedeo) *sano*, Hadiya *sane*, Alaba *sano*, Burji *sanna*, Kamb *sane*, Tambaro *sana*; SCush Dah *sina* [TD]; Omot **sint-* 'nose': Chara *sint'u*, *sinsa*, *sina* [BndO 91], Gimira *sint'*, Anfila *shiinto*, Shin *shint'a*, Mocha *shit'o*, Yemsa *siya* [BndO 171], Dizi (Maji) *sinu*, Nao *sin*, Sheko *sint'* [BndO 215, BlžO №61.1], Ongota *siina* [FIO]. [Nm **atən*, JgIb **ntn*, HSED №2194].

a. *sVn- 'to smell, smell; нюхать, запах': W 1 Hs *sánsánaa* 'to smell'; 3 Bol *sún-kunu* 'smell, sniff' (? < Hs) [GAB], Kupto *ʔusunéy* [LgK]; 4 Paa *sasun* 'to smell' [MS], Miya *šəšən* 'to smell, sniff' [SchM]; 5 Jimi *isənkəi*, Pol *đú-sugi*, Dott *isin*, Geji *wuusənti*, Buli *đu-sənən* 'bad smell, stench' [Cs №473], Buli *du-sənən*, Geji *wusəni* 'to smell' [Cs №749]; C 4 Gude *šinə* 'blow nose'; E 3 Tum *hūnən* 'sentir'; 5 cf. 5a EDng *suuniyē* 'küssen, to kiss' [Ebb].

//Eg *sn* (Pyr) 'smell', *snsn* (MK) 'breathe, smell' [EG IV 153], Cush Saho

sin- 'to smell' [Vr].

[HSED № 2199, 2251].

706. *k-sVn- 'tooth; зyб': W 5 Jimi *sən*, Pol *šin* [Cs], Geji *šij*, Grnt, Tala *šin*, Tule *šina* [Jglb]; C 2 Mrg *hyir*, Klb *hyir* (*hy-* < **ty-*) [Jglb]; 3 HN *ține*, Kap *təne* [Kr], Bana *tini*; 4 Gudu *tin* [Jglb], Jimi *línən*, Chuvan *ținé* [BryJ]; 5 Glv *tərda*, Pod *tira*, Glv, Chn *trda* (<*tVn-da*, with a suff. of singularity), Gdf *tide* (< **tVn-dē*), Gava *tiya*, Gvoko *tir*, Dghw *tire* (*-r* < **n-*) [HmG], 5a Hdi *tiʔij* [BrH], Lmn *tídij* (metath.) [HmG]; 7 Dugwor *žér*, Balda *tina*, Chv *žej*, Mbuko *tan*, Mada *atar*, Baka *atar* [BAS]; 8 Log *hini* [AIL], Bud *henai* [Lk Bd], Zina *səyən*, Kus *sər* [Tr], Mak *šan*; 9 Mbara *šij*, Mnj *sisiyen*, Msg *šəšiej* pl. *šəšəjaad* [LkM]; 10 Azum *sina* [PAZ]; E 1 Kera *kə-səy* (coll.); 3 Smr *sán-dē*, Tum *hiin*, Ndam *hán* [Jglb]; 2 Lele *kā-sīngá* [Jglb], *kān-* (< **ksan-*) [WP], Gbr *k-song* [Luk], Kaba *ká-sən-da* [Jglb], Dormo *gá-sene* [Luk]; 4 Mawa *sin*, Sok *sən*, *son-d-* [Jglb], Saba *sene*, Ubi *šina* [Alio], Baren (dial.) *sēni*, *sēni*, *sənya/səlīj* (dissim.), [LvB]; 5a WDng *saajo*, EDng *səcjò* [Dj], Mig *sá:nú*, Bid *səcjò*, Mabire *sin* [JH]; 6 Mok *sinta*, pl. *šina* 5b Mubi *siɣaju* [Jglb], Zir *sijo* [CJ], Jegu *sajó* [JH]. Cf. [Nm, Jglb *s₃n I 170].

Note a secondary lateral in CCh, influenced by the prefix (**k-sVn-* > *ksVn-* <*tVn-* > *tVn-*), for more examples see [StLat].

//Sem **šinn-* 'tooth': Akk *šinnu*, Arab *sinn*, etc. [Fron 2.59, SED № 249], Berb **sīn-* 'tooth': Nefusa *sīn*, Ghdm *a-sīn*, Siwa *a-sayn*, Ghat *i-sin*, Ayr, Wlm *e-šēn*, Ahgg *esin*, Tnsl *e-sen*, Sened *i-šin* [apud SED].

[Coh №266, Gr №73, Dolg 91, HSED №2250, CLD III №296, EDE I 359].

707. *sVn- 'brother; бpар': W 3 cf. Bol *sun-sinā* 'child of a slave' [GAB]; 4 Tsagu *šən* 'elder brother' [SkNB]; 5 Bgh *šinaɣ*, Grnt *yaa-šin* 'brother' [Cs]; E 1 Kera *scenə* 'brother', Kwang *seni*, Mobu *seni* [Jglb]; 3 Smr *šan* 'my brother' [Jglb], *syān* 'my brother' [JgSb], *sen-du* 'brother' [Luk]; 4 Sok *šin-tu* 'elder brother' [Luk], Ubi *sinə* 'brother'; 5a WDng *siɣə* 'frère', EDng *siɣ* [Dj], Bid *sin-te* 'brother', pl. *səney* 'brother, sister', Mabire *sin* 'brother' [JH]; 5b Brg *šin-ti* 'my brother', Mubi *šin* [Jglb], Jegu *šin* 'my brother', Zir *sini*, Mubi *siɣ* [CJ], cf. Mubi *šin* [Luk] 'uncle', *šin* 'brother' [JgL], Tor *hin-t*.

Deiv. in *-t-* fem.: **sVn-t-* > *sVtt-* > *sVt-* 'sister': E 5 Mig *sút-* 'sister', pl. *səncətá*, *sút-tu* 'my sister', pl. *səncətaw*; 5b Brg *sotu* 'ma soeur', Mabire

suti 'sister' [JH]. Cf., however, №721. **sVt-* 'sister'.

//Eg *sn* (Pyr) 'brother' [EG IV 150], Cush Bed *saan* [RBd], agaw **šan-* 'brothers' [ApAg], dullay Gawwada *ašin-ko* 'nephew' [AMS].

The following Ch root may relate:

a. **sVn-* 'clan': W 2 Mpn *son* 'relatives, clan' [FrM]; C 6 Daba *śésín* 'race, la genre; seed'); cf.10 Dzpw *súnō* (pl. of *súrŵā*) 'person' [JgIb].

708. **sVn-/*sVwVn-* 'oil; масло': W 1 cf. Hs *śánáná* adv. 'emph. large quantity of butter in tuwo, fat on meat'; 4 Diri *sinama*, Jmb *sin* 'oil' [SkNb]; E **sVwVn-*: 1 Kera *son* 'oil, fat', Kwang *súwānc* 'oil' [JgIb]; 2 Lele *son-gò* 'oil', Kaba *sùwə̀n-gə̀* 'oil, fat' [JgIb]; 3 Smr *sooane* 'liquid butter' [Luk], Ndam *swān* 'oil' [JgIb], Tum *hōōn* 'graisse, huile' 4 Saba *sun* 'oil, fat' [DMT], Sok *sunc* 'fett', *sunnē* 'liquid butter' [Luk], Ubi *suunē* 'huile, Barein (dial.) *sunc*, *súuní* 'oil' [LvB]; 5a Mig *śewən*, Bid *sewəj* 'oil', WDng *śewin-dá* 'gras, graisseux' [Fd], EDng *seweny* 'huile' {CJ}, Mabire *sewəj* 'oil' [JH]; 5b Brg *śewən* pl. 'huile', Zir *siwini* 'huile' [CJ], Mubi *śíwín* 'fat' [Luk], (coll.) 'huile, beurre' [JgI]. Cf. ECh 5b Tor *huun* 'grossir'. Note that ECh medial *waw* may, presumably, go back to a pl. marker, but hardly originates from medial *-m-*⁶⁸. Thus, the present Ch root is not common with Sem **smn-/*sm-n-* 'oil, fat' (as in [HSED 2247]).

// Sem Arab *sfn* > 'graisse' [BK I 1094]. Kush Agaw **sən-a* 'butter' [ApAg], dullay Goll *šinanko*, pl. *šinam-iane* 'Fett' [AMS]. Root extension (ʕ as C₂) in Arabic.

[JgIb **swn*, CLD III №297].

709. **sVyVn-* 'sand, earth; песок, земля': C 8 Log *śeen* [LkL] 'sand', Kus *śen*, Maltam, Adf *śen*, Mak *śeró* (-*r-* < **-n-*) 'sand, dust' [TrC], Mak *sero* 'terre', *sero kiasa* 'sand' [AlM]; E 1 Kwang *gí-sínyi* 'sand' [JgIb]; 2 Lele *kū-sínyō* 'terre'; 3 Smr *śínyà* 'earth', *gə̀w-sīnī* 'sand' [JgIb], Tum, Ndam *hə̀n* 'earth' [Brs]; 4 Sok *śinē* [Luk], Saba *śinye* [DMT], Mawa *sinža* 'sand'; 5a Mabire *sin* [JH]; 5b Brg *sányō*, Kaj *sunnyo* 'sable', Jegu *śény*, Zir *śiji* 'earth' [CJ], Mubi *śínyyō* 'sand' [JgL], Tor *hinyo* 'sable fin'.
Derived verb: W 3 Bol *sanaanu* 'cover with earth, clay'.

⁶⁸ Note ECh: Mig *gom-gomne* 'shore', Bid *gamaŋ* 'herd' pl., Lele *gomnye* 'big', Dng *kumna*, Mig *kuma* 'rat', etc.

//SCush Rift Bur, Alg *schinay* 'sand' (n. coll.) [Kies, Eh 350]. Cf. Eg *syn* 'der Ton (als Stoff), clay' [EG IV 37].

Consider the following root as a possible derivative in *?a-*:

a. *?Vsin- 'field; поле': W 2 Mghv *sən* 'Hirsefeld' [JgS]; 4 Wrij *usina*, *sənāna* [Sk, JgIb], Tsagu *šinan*, Kar *sən*, *sín*, Siri *šínawí*, Mburku *šína*, Diri *səna* [SkNB], Paa *šina* 'farm' [MS]; C 8 cf. Mak *sara* 'a farm' (-r- may follow Chadic **-n-*); 10 Masa *sine* [Mo], *šínəna* [JgIb], Dzpww *sīnc* 'champ', Giz *síní*, Ham, Musey *sénc*, Lew *?ásénc*, Marba *?ásíné* 'champ' [LexC], Mesme *sine*, Peve *šine* 'farm' [Kr], cf. Banana Musey *ásíné-ná* 'farm' [Luk].

[JgIb *sn*, HSED №2249].

710. *sVp- 'remove foam; снимать пену': W 6 Ngz *səpú* 'remove scum, foam from a liquid', (derived verb) *sə-spú* 'brush off (dusty table, dirt on clothes)'; E 5a Bid *sep* 'remove foam', *sepo* 'foam'.

a. *sVp- 'foam; пена': C 2 Bura *sampur* 'foam on whirling water'; E 5a WDng *səppiyá* 'foam'. Presumably, pl. < **sVp-*.

//Sem Geez *safaf* 'scum, froth', "The verb *safafa* having the meaning 'take off the scum, clear the scum > purify'" [LsG 487], Tny, Amh *sff* 'to float', *sāfāf* 'scum, froth'. Note also Hbr *šəfōt* (*šfy*) 'curds' [KB 1002].

Differently see in [AA № 350] and [HSED №398]. In both publications a single etymology includes fragments of two AA roots (the present one and №31 **cVf-* 'to wipe, to sweep, to brush off', cf.).

711. C *sVp- 'to search, to hunt; следовать за, охотиться': 7 Gis *spe*, *sup* 'folgen, suchen, search', Mofu *-səp-* 'chercher', Mbuko *səpe* 'suivre pour la chasse'; 8 Zina *səpə* 'chasser', *səpa* 'chasse' [Tr].

//Sem Arab *swf* 'chasser, faire la chasse' [BK I 1166], cf. Aram (Syr) *špp* 'to crawl, to walk slowly', Irq *saap* 'move on, move close, approach' [MKQ], SCush rift **saap* 'approach, come near': Irq, Gor, Alg *saap* [Kies], SEOmeto *sof-a* 'to hunt' [BndO 109].

712. *sVr-/*sVw/yVr- 'to wipe, rub; вытирать, тереть': W 2 Mghv *šwəər* 'scrape out of a vessel, reiben, Brei aus Gefass kratzen' [JgS], Mushere *šyor*, *šyoor* 'lick out the dish' [TAS 328]; 5 Zul *sari* 'wipe, rub' [Cs №846], Dott *sar* 'sweep, wipe' [CrD]; C 3 FK *sar* 'clean, wipe' [BINd]; E 1 Ngam *saaré*, Mobu *saare* 'essuyer' [Lns].

Deriv. in *-b-*: C 7 Mafa *sur-b-* ‘passer la main sur, frotter, smear by hand, rub’.

Derived noun. ***sVr-(k)- ‘broom; метла’**: W 3 Glm *sùrgú* (*-rg-* < **-rk-*) [SchB]; 5 Dott *sə-saari* [CrD], Tala *sur* [Cr]; Buli *suur*, Geji *suuli*, Zul *súure*, Saya (Zaar) *swarəyá* [Cs №114]; C 7 Mbuko *sərók*, Moloko *šilčekw* [BoP 19]; 9 Mnj *suruk*.

//Sem Arab *ħsr* ‘ôter, enlever; balayer’ [BK I 425].

Root extension (*ħ* as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD III №320].

713. *sVH/wVr-/*surr- ‘to roast, to fry; жарить’: W 1 Hs *sóoyaa* (*-Hur-* > *-wy-*) ‘roast, fry’; 2 Mghv *suḡur* (< **suKur*, pl. in *-k-*, cf. №64) ‘to fry food’ [BIM], Ngas *suur* ‘to fry’ [Fl], Mpn *sūr* [FrM], Grk *tur* ‘fry (in oil)’ [BIG]; 3 Krkr *sùrú-*, Ngm *sur-*, Krf *šurú-wò*, Glm *sər-*, Gera *sūr-*, Dera *wurí* [SchV]; Bol *surr-* ‘roast’ [LkB], Pero *čúuro* ‘fry’, Bele *huru-* [SchB], Maka *suraayo* ‘fry (with fat or oil)’ [SvM]; 5 Mangas *sure*, Jimi *usar-ke* ‘fry’ [Cs], Grnt *wasari* ‘fry’ [Jag]; 7 Kul *suwər* ‘burn’ [Jglb], Mundat *sór*, Karfa *sò:r* ‘to fry’ [RC]; C1 Tera *zurə* (regular voicing) ‘roast’ [Nm], Boka *sura-dá*, Gbn *sùre-nči*, Gaa *sura-nži*, Hona *sira-ŋ* ‘to fry’ [Kr]; 3 Kap *sur-ke* [Kr] ‘roast’; 4 Gude *səɾə* ‘roast over open fire; fry’; 7 Mafa *sawar-* ‘griller’; 7a Skn *sura* ‘to fry’; 10 cf. Azum *sora* ‘to dry (mea) with fire’ [PAz]; E 6 Mok *soríyè* ‘griller’.

//Sem Arab *sfr* ‘allumer et attiser le feu’ [BK I 1091], Eg *wsr* (19) ‘als Bezeichnung das Feuer’ [EG I 363].

[Jglb **sry/*swr*, HSED № 2270, CLD III №135].

714. *sVr- ‘to sing; петь’: W 3 Bol *suurí* ‘singing for alms’ [GAB], Gera *sórí* ‘song’ [SchB]; 5 Dott *sər*, Guuṣ *sər* ‘dance, song’ [CrG, CrD], Pol *sər* ‘song’ [Cs №457]; E 1 Ngam *siré* ‘chanter’ [Lns].

//Sem Ug, Hbr, Aram *šyr* ‘to sing’, Omot Yemsa *suru* ‘Lied’ [LmY], *sur(u)* ‘to sing’ [BdO 341].

[HSED 2258 Sem+Kwang].

715. *sur- ‘to play, to enjoy o-s.; играть, веселиться’: W 3 Galambu *súr* Glm *sóri*, ‘playing’ [SchB]; C 10 Dari *sūr* ‘jouer’; E 2 Kaba, Nch *-suur* ‘jouer’ [HmK], Lele *sùrà* ‘s’amuser’.

//Sem Arab *srr* (u) ‘réjouir, rendre gai’ [BK I 1074].

Common origin with the previous root is possible.

[CLD III 322].

716. *sV(wV)r- 'to cut, to chop': W 1 Hs *sáara* 'fall (tree), chop (wood), slash, hack (p. or thing)', *sáaraa* 'a blow with a sword, axe, chopping wood, bones'; 4 Tsagu *sáasar-*, *sáaru* 'cut' [SkNB], C 4 Bch *šowóro* 'cut, chop' [Sk]; 9 cf. Msg *sáraʔ n ar-ku* 'Tätowierung, Einschnitt eines Gesichts, face tatoo' [LkM].

Derived noun: ***sVwVr-** 'knife': W 3 Dera *wáarí* 'knife'; 5 Grnt *suuri* 'knife' [Cs]; E 5a Mig *sáwrè* 'throwing knife'.

Derived noun in *-n/-m-*: W 4 ***sVrVN-** 'knife': Wtj *sirn-ai*, Siri *sərni*, Jmb *sərna*, Kar *sirən*, Mburku *sərəŋ*, Miya *sərəm* 'knife'.

//ECush Som *sar* 'slit, lance' [LIS]. See Ch №865 ***Vr-** 'to cut, to carve'.

717. *sVr- 'to pour; лить': W 3 Dera *širi* 'to spew (liquid)' [NmK]; 4 Miya *sar* 'pour into' [SchM]; 5 Dott *šwar* 'drip, leak' [CrD]; C 2 Bura *širi* 'pour out liquid on a flat surface so that it runs' [BIB]; 7 Mafa *so-sur-* 'vider (liquid, recipient), Mofu *-sá-sər-* '(faire) couler de façon continue'; 10 Dari *šēr* 'to pour liquid in a small vessel, Musey *sira* 'pleuvoir' [ShyM], Azum *sira* 'to pour from one vessel to another' [PAZ].

Deriv. W 5a WDng *sér-dyé* 'puiser en petite quantité'.

a. W 4 ***sVr-** 'river; река': Siri *šəŋgi* 'stream', Jmb *siryá* 'river' [SkNB], cf. Miya *sər-təhə* 'lake' [SchM].

Derived verb: E 5a Mig *sər-tò* 'couler (rivière)'.

//Om Koyra *šire* 'river' [BndO 335], Sem Sab *m-sr-t* 'watercourse, canal' [Bll 333; SD 130].

718. *sVr- 'dirt, excrements; грязь, экскременты': C 8 Mak *sero* 'dirt' [AIM]; E 5a Bid *sir* 'souiller (crasse), to stain (dirt)'; 6 Mok *širi* 'excrements'.

Deriv.: ***sVr-k-** 'black': C 7 Mofu *sérék sérék*, *sérák w sérák w*, Zlg *širikw širikw*; E 1 Kera *ki-sír-kí* 'black'

//Eg *sr* (gr) 'Schmutz' [EG IV 191], Cush Burji *ser-a*, *sarr-a* 'excrements of horned cattle' [SsB].

[CLD №333].

719. *sVt(t) 'to cut off, to slaughter; отрезать, зарезать': W 1 Hs *šittaa*

‘cut’; 3 Krf *šeti* ‘cut off, slaughter by cutting throat’ [Stl]; 4 Miya *sar* ‘circumcise’ [SchM]; 6 cf. Bade *siidu* (voicing in medial position) ‘slaughter by cutting throat’; C 5 Pod *sətakə* ‘insert deeply’ idf.; 7 Mafa *šet-* ‘cut branches (with knife, sickle), raboter, tailler’; E 5a Bid *seet* ‘tailler, to cut (off)’; 6 Mok *sittē* ‘déchirer, fendre, tear off, split’
 //Sem Arab *šht* ‘égorger, tuer d’une seul coup, to slaughter’ [BK I 1059],
 Hbr *šht* ‘slaughter animals’, Geez *saḥaṭa* ‘to wound, to injure’, Aram Syr *šahḥet* ‘wound’ [LsG 494], Soq *šḥat* ‘battre, tuer’ [LsS].
 [HSED 2237 Sem+ Mafa, Bid].

720. *sV(w/yV)t- ‘to miss (in shooting), make a mistake, промахнуться’:
 W 3 Bol *sott-* ‘verfehlen(beim Schuss), to miss (in shooting)’ [LkB]; C 5
 Pod *sutə* idf. ‘rater, to misfire’; E 1 Kera *sīiti* ‘irreführen, to mislead’.
 //Sem Akk *šētu* (SB) ‘to miss (a target)’ [CAD š2 343].
 Note: Semitic *-t- ~ Chadic *-t-.
 [CLD III 107].

721. *sVt- ‘woman, sister; женщина, сестра’: W 2 *sVrVp < *sVt-p
 ‘women, Frauen’ (lexicalized pl. in -p)⁶⁹: Mghv *širōp*, Gerka *təṛəp* (t- < *s-
 is regular), Goem *šarap*, Mpn *surep* [TAS 326], Mushere *sorop* (pl.) [JgO]; 3
 Tng *sut* ‘sister’; 5 Buli *isda* ‘sister’ [Cs №14]; E 3 Smr *sīdə-n* (voicing in
 medial position) ‘ma soeur’ [JgSb].
 //Sem Ug *št*, Arab *sitt-* ‘lady’ [Ais 319], Berb **sit-* ‘daughters’: Siwa *t-ist-*
əma ‘sisters’ (‘daughters of mother’), Ahg *šet* ‘daughters (of)’, Mzab *isət-*
ma ‘sisters’ (‘daughters of mother’), Qab *sut* ‘daughters’ [apud ADB].
 [Fronz, HSED №2306 Sem+ WCh Tng, Buli].

722. *sVt- ‘one; один’: W 2 Mpn *sāt* ‘single standing vertical cult stone’
 [FrM]; C 7 Mafa *səta-d*, *sta-d* ‘one’; C 8 *s’-t-y < *y-sVt- [TrN]: Afd,
 Maltam, Makari, Glf *ntē*, Mazera *ncīyan*, Ngodeni, Mo’ *ns’a*⁷⁰, Bud *gēttē*
 (< *gətətay < *yə-sətay), Log *səyədiya*, Kus *s’əgədiy* (*y-sVt- >
 s/s’əyədiya) [TrN]; E 5b cf. Mubi *istālā* ‘six’ [Luk].

⁶⁹ For plural forms in -p and the *-t- > -r- change in WCh 2 see: Mpn *muut*, pl. *murep* (< *mutep) ‘to die’, *pet* ‘call’, pl. *prep* (< *petep). For lexicalized plural in -p see: Ngas *fāl-p*, *fwal-p* ‘horse fly’, etc. [FrMp 56, StP 6f].

⁷⁰ "Dans les parles Ngo et Mo, le digraphe [s'] représente une suite consonantique [s +'] et non est éjective" [ibid 3].

Ch **tV* (< **st*⁷¹) > *tV-n/k/d*, *m/n/k-tV* ‘one; один’⁷²: W Ngm *tòno* (G) ‘first’ [NEH]; 7 Ngz *ták* idf. ‘(one) only’; C 3 FK *táné* ‘one (counting)’ [BLND]; 4 Gude *tenə*, *tyanə*, *toonə* ‘one (in counting)’, Gude, Jimj *tēn* ‘one’ [BryJ]; 5 Pod *taja* ‘one’, 5 Gdf *tek^we*, Gava *ček^w*, Chn *tika* [HmD]; 5a Hdi *tek^w*, Gvoko *teko* ‘one’ [HmG], 6 Buwal *té-^gwùlɛŋ*, Daba *tàkan* ‘un’ [Lnhf], Mbədam *ntad* [NdM], *mətád*; 7 Chv *ám-tá* ‘scul, un, Dugwor *ntéy*, Mikiri *ntay* [BrD], Mofu *té-d* (< **ste-d*) ‘un (en comptant)’; Mada *f-tek* ‘un’, Mefele **mə-ta* [CrM]; 7a Skn *toy* ‘one’; 9 Mnj *kə-tay*, Msg *kə-tay* [Mo]; 9a Gidar *táka* [Mo *KT/TK], 10 Masa *tu* [Mo], Gizey *tum*, Masa, Marba *tú?*, Musey, Lew *tú* ‘one’ [LexC]; E 6 Mok *tāŋ* ‘fois’.

//Sem Akk *ištēn* ‘one’, Ug *ʔšt ʔšr(h)*, Hebrew *ʔašəttē*, Aram (Eg) *ʔšt?*, Sab *ʔst* ‘eleven’ [Fron, MSem №63], NOm **ʔis-* ‘one’ > Ometo (attributive) **issi(-na)*, (singulative) **ʔis-ta*; Yemsa *isa*, Nayi *isn*, Mao *iškē* [BlžO №63]. [MSt №53 Sem+CCh Mafa].

*t

723. **tVʔ/w-* ‘to say, to call, to cry; говорить, звать, кричать’: W 2 Mushere *tí* ‘to say, to tell’ [JgO]; 3 Tng *tayi* ‘to greet, to salute’; 7 Kul *to* ‘rufen’, Bok *toʔ* ‘grüssen’; C 2 Mrg *tí* ‘to cry, moan’ [Hff 25], Bura *tua*, *twa* ‘to cry (in general); (funeral) crying, moan, weep’ [BIB], Klb *tíwí* ‘to cry’ [MuK]; 5 Glv *ta* ‘to say, speak, talk’; 7 Mofu *-tuw(a)* ‘pleurer, crier; chanter (oiseau); résonner’, Moloko *təwe* ‘cry’; 8 Kus *to* ‘rufen; to call’ [Luk]; 9 Mnj *tuwi* ‘crier (animal)’; 10 Dari *tó* ‘crier ensemble’; E 2 Tob *té* ‘appeler’.

//Cush Bed *tiw* ‘schreihen, brüllen’ [RBd], Omot Kafa *taw-*, Shin *tau* (Imp) ‘tell, speak’ [BndO].

[HSED №2382 Omot+Chad].

724. **tVʔ/w-* ‘to drip; капать’: W 2 Ngas *taa* ‘to ooze out drop by drop; a drop’ [Fl], Mushere *ta*, *tah* ‘to drip’ [TAS 354]; 3 Tng *tí* ‘to rain’; C 4 Gude

⁷¹ cf. C 7 Mafa *sta-d*, but Mofu *té-d*; for the same effect see Ch **t-sin-* > *stVn-* > *tin-* ‘nose’).

⁷² Chadic monosyllabic verbs and nouns need an additional syllable. That is why they regularly attach prefixes or suffixes.

tuu 'to drip, cry, weep'; 5a Lmn *ta* 'puiser, arrosier' [VM]; 7 Mofu *-tuw(a)* 'couler (sève), suinter', 8 Mak *te he* 'to filter'; E 6 Mok *tót* 'goutte à goutte'.

//Sem Arab *tyʕ* (i) 'être liquide et couler' [BK I 213], Tgr *?ä-twa* 'pour (of rain)'.

Note a kind of 'root variant': Sem Arabic *twʕ* (u) 'tremper' [BK 212] ~ WCh 4 Paa *taa* 'soak' [MS]

[AA 3 №205, HSED №2354 in both cases only WCh Ngas, Tangale].

Semantic shift 'to pour, to drip' > 'to weep' seems quite tenable (see C 4 Gude). Nevertheless, the following CCh root may be a loan from an unknown source, but not a reflex of AA 'to drip'.

C *tVw/y- 'to weep, (funeral) crying; плакать': 4 Bata *tuwu*, Jimj *tu* 'pleurer' [Mo]; 5 Pod *tawa* 'pleurer' (cf. *yútawa* 'larme' [Mo]), Glv *tu* 'weep, cry aloud'; 5a Hdi *taw* 'to cry; funeral wake' [BrH]; 7 Mafa *čew*, Mofu *-tuw(a)* 'pleurer, crier', Mada *étwe*, Baka *čew*, Muy *étúíwí*, Mefele *čččew* [CrM], Zlg *tuw* 'pleurer' [Mo *TUW], Mery *taw*, *tuw* 'pleurer', Zlg *túwá* 'larme, pleur', Gis *tuway* 'weinen', Muy *étúíwí* 'weep, cry', *tuway* 'weeping, cry', Ould *-tūwō* 'pleurer', Moloko *təwe* 'cry' Mbuko *čew*; 9 Mbara *túwá*, Mulwi *túwí* 'pleurer, crier (pour les animaux)', Mnj *tuwiy* 'pleurs', *tuwi* 'pleurer', Msg *túua*; 10 Masa, Ham *tíy*, Musey *tíi*, Lew *čí*, Marba *číy* 'pleurer' [LexC].

725. *tVʔ/w- 'to build; строить': W 7 Bok, DB *taʔ*, Sha *táʔ* 'bauen'; 5 Zul *túʔé* [BIZ], *tuʔ* 'build' [Cs №779];

Derived noun: C 7 Mada *ettéw* 'travail', Muy *túwí* [tYwi] 'work' n.

Deriv. in m-: W 7 DB *ma-táʔ* 'Bauhandwerker'.

//Ongota *taw-* 'to build' [SvT].

726. *ti/aw/ʔ- 'to eat (soft food); есть (мягкую пищу)': W 1 Hs *čí* (< *ti); 3 Krkr *tú* 'eat', Ngm *tu-*, Bol *tii* 'eat', Bol, Krf *tii-*, Glm *č-*, Grm *tii-*, Dera *túi* [SchV], Bele *tíi-kò*, Gera *tíi-mí* [SchB]; 4 Wtj *ta*, *tau*, Diri *ču*, Jmb, Mburku *tii*, *taa*, Siri *tuu*, Tsagu *ču* [SkNB]; Miya *ta* 'eat' [SchM]; 5 *či < *ti 'eat' [Smz]; 6 Ngz *tau* 'eat', Bade *tau* 'eat', Duw *tuwo* 'eat tuwo'; C 10 Peve, Mesme *tí* [Kr], Masa *tí*, Dari *tī* 'manger', (redupl.) *tāy-tà*, Dzpw *tí* 'manger', *tótá* 'manger la boule de mil sans sauce', Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *tí*, Lew, Marba *té* 'manger (boule avec sauce)' [LexC], *ti 'eat' [Shy]; E 4 Sok *t-é* [VM], Ubi *to* [HJ], Mawa *té-ŋ*, Barcin (dial.) *tíí*, *tíi*; 5a

Bid *taa*, WDng *tēe*; 5b Zir *-ti*, Mubi *ti?* 'to eat' [CJ], *tūwā*, Jegu *t-* 'essen' [Luk], Tor *ta*, Mm *tīyā*.

Derived noun ***tVy/?- 'food еда'**: W 2 Hs *čī-maa*; 3 Maaka *tái* [SvM]; 6 Bade *tə?yi* 'food'; C 7 Mbuko *tīyē* 'nourriture sans sauce'; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *tī*, Lew, Marba *tē* 'nourriture' [LexC], Mesme *tu koti* 'food' [Kr]; E 4 Mawa *teep* 'nourriture'; 5b Jegu *tēe* 'Essen' [Luk], Tor *tewe* 'nourriture'.

//Sem ***tV?-/ *tVw-** 'eat': Akk *ta?u* (OBab) 'to eat, graze' [AHw 402], Mhr, Hars *tewō*, Jib *te*, Soq *te?* (Imp.); Berb ***tVtt** 'eat': Ghdm, Ahg, Tnsl, Rif, Mzab, Wargla, Izn, Snus *tətt* (Hab) [apud AA №208], Cush Bed *tīyu* 'Kost, Narung' [RnBd], cf. Omot TN ***t(y)?a-** [BndO 209] 'to eat'.

[Дьяк 43, Долг 53, JgIb **twy*, AA 3 №208, HSED №2343 Sem+Ch].

727. *tV?- 'to pound (grain); толочь (зерно)': W 2 Mghv *tū* 'stampfen (Gras, Hirse)' [JgS], Goem *tū* 'pound grains' [Hlw], Mushere *tū*, (pl.) *twā* 'pound' [JgO]; C 7a Skn *ta* 'to grind'; 8 Bud *tte* (*wutté*) 'dreschen' [LkBd]; E 1 Kera *té?é* 'battre fort, battre le mil'. Cf. C 10 Musey *to(?o)* 'marteler' [VM].

Derived noun: C 8 Log *tai* 'pestle' [AIL].

//Eg *ty* 'zerstampfen, niedertreten' [EG V 237]; SCush ***tu?-** 'to pound grain': Irq *tu?ut* 'pound (grain), Asa *tu?-* 'to smash' [Eh 172], Irq *tuu?* 'to pound' [MKQ], Gor *tuu?* 'to pound, smash' [Kies].

Contrary to [EDE I 229] we do not consider W 2 ***taa** 'to beat drum' (Mghv *tāa*, Ngas *tec*, etc.) an integral part of the present root.

728. *tVy/w- 'to come, to return; приходиться': W 2 Ngas *tee* 'enter' [FI], Mushere *tāa* 'come' [JgO]; 4 Paa *tā* 'go' [MS], Mburku *ta*, Siri *tuwa* [SkNB]; 5 Geji, Zul *tē* 'enter' [Cs №651]; C 8 Bud *tēa* 'follow' [LkBd], Mak *to* 'return home'; 10 Musey *tēw* 'arriver', cf. Gizey, Masa *čó* (< ***tw-**) [LexC].

//Sem ***?ty/w** 'come, return': Ug *?tw*, Hbr *?ty*, Aram (Syr) *?ty*, Atab *?ty*, Sab *?tw/y* 'come', Geez *?atawa*, Tny *?atawa*, Tgr *?ata* 'come back' [LsG 46, DRS 36], Aram *?tā* Phoen *?t?* [Zm 68].

[Ст №213].

729. *tVb(VH)- 'follow; следовать за': W 2 Mghv *tāp* 'follow' [JgIb], Goem *foep* 'come next, after' (*-p#* < ***-P#**) [TAS 379]; 4 Siri *taba* 'come'

[SkNB]; C 9 Mulwi *tábáy* 'le fait de suivre'; 10 Gizey *táp kúd*, Masa *táp kú?*, Marba *táp* (-p# < *-b#) 'suivre' [LxC]; E 2 Lele *tāb* 'suivre' [JgIb]; 5a Mig *tēbbò* 'guetter, marcher silencieusement', Bid *tībaw* 'guetter', E Dng *tābē* 'guetter, surveiller, espionner' [Dj], WDng *tābē* 'guetter, rôder'. //Sem Arab *tbʕ* 'suivre qqn, marcher derrière lui' [BK I 190], Jib *teʕ*, Hars, Mhr *tōba* 'follow' [JnM]. According to [Zm 106], Syr *tʕbaʕ* 'to seek, demand', Aram *tʕbaʕ* 'to ask, inquire, search', Hbr (NH) *tābaʕ* 'to search, ask' follow the same Sem root.

Root extension (*ʕ* as C₃) in Arabic. Note Ch -*b*- < AA **b*+*H*- [HSED №2348 Sem+ ECh 2 Lele.]

730. *tVHVb > tV6-/taab- 'to be ill, to suffer; быть больным, страдать': W 1 Hs *tabu* 'be ill'; C 7 Mafa *tāv-* 'affaiblir (pour la maladie)', Mada *átataba* 'se fatiguer, s'user'; 8 Mak *taabu* 'suffering'; E cf. 5a EDng *taabiyē* 'souffrir, pâtir, endurer' [Dj]; 5b Mubi *taʔaba* 'müde, tired' [Luk] (rather < Arab).

Derived noun: W 2 Mghv *tiip* 'Ohnmacht' [JgS].

//Sem Arab *tʕb* (a) 'être las, fatigué' [BK I 199].

Medial -*b*- and a long vowel in Ch languages points to a laryngeal as C₂. [HSED №2355 Hs, Mubi, Arab].

731. *tič- 'to strike, to grind; бить, молоть': W 1 Hs *tísa* 'grind on millstone'; 3 Pero *túččo* 'pound', Kupto *tíččey* 'to kick, to bump', *túččey* 'to kick' [LgK]; 7 Bok *tis* 'pressen, quetschen'; E 5a EDng *tíččē* 'hämmern' [Ebb], 'marteler pour casser une amande' [Dj], WDng *tíččē* 'frapper à coups répétés avec un pierre', EDng *tíččē* 'marteler' [VM]; 5b Mubi *tuúží* (*toč, túčča*) 'batter; pl. 'forger' (voicing of a medial consonant, modified vocalic pattern in pl.) [JgL], Zir *-tača* 'frapper' [CJ].

//Eg *tyšš* 'mahlen' [AR] (fruit on a grinding quern) [EG 243].

Note that AA **č* is rendered by *šš* (not by *s*) in Egyptian. For similar cases see №№111-113.

[HSED №2934 Eg+Hausa, Bokkos].

732. *tVf(f)- 'to spit; плевать': W 1 Hs *tóofà* (< **tVwVf*- < **tVfVf*-, cf. E 5b Mubi); 3 Krkr *tífu* [GK], Bol *tupu* [GAB], *tufú-*, Kupto *tuféy* [LgK], Ngm (G) *túp-kó* [NEH]; 6 Duw *təp* 'spittle, spit', *təp-ko*, Bade *təpaatu*, Ngz *təp-ku*, *təp-kú* 'to spit'; 7 Fyer *tùf*, DB *túf*, Sha *tuf*, Mangar *tuf lay*

'spit' [RC]; C 2 Klb *tɛfà/u* 'to spit' [MuK], Mrg *ntəfù* [HfM 30], Bura *tifu*, *tifa* [BIB]; 3 Hya *thivi*, Kap *ntifi* [BIH], Bana *tɔ́*; 4 Bch *tufə* [Sk], Gude *tifi* 'to spit', Jimi, Cuwan *tíf*, Sharva *tíf* [BryJ]; 5 Mlg *čǎfa*, Chn, Gvoko, Dghw *tfa* [HmG], Pod *təfa*, Glv *taf*, *təf*; 5a Lmn *untfa*, Hdi *tfi* [HmG]; 6 Daba *tif* [Lnhr]; 7 Mofu *-təf-* 'to spit', *-tətəf-* 'bruiner', Baka *tɛfɛy* [BAS], Muy *ɛtífɛy*, Moloko *taf* 'to spit', Ould *təfa* idf. 'bruit de cracher', Dugwor *mə-tífɛy*, Mikiri *mé-tífé* [BrD]; 8 Mak *tafi se* 'spit repeatedly', Log *tífɛl nahe* 'to spit (saliva)' [ALL], *tufu* 'ausspucken' [LkL]; 9 Mbara *túf*; 10 Musey *tov-od-ta* [ShyM], Masa *túf* [CC], Dzpw *tūp (mɛʔ)*, Gizey, Masa, Ham *túf*, Musey *tófò-t*, Lew *tóvó*, Marba *túvó* [LexC]; E 1 Kera *tufí*, Kwang *ətəpɛ* [JgIb]; 2 Kaba *-təp-kəɓ* [HmK]; 5a WDng *tupá*, EDng *tupā* [Dj] 'bruit du crachat de salive' (idf.); 5b Brg *čífí*, Mubi *tuffa* [Luk].
 Deriv. in n-: C 6 Buwal *nɛf* [VBw 10], Gavar *ɣuf* [VGv 2].

//Sem **tVpVp-* 'spit', **tup(p)-* 'spittle' [SED 39], Berb **wVtif-* 'spit', Eg *tf* (Pyr) 'spit out' [EG V 297], Cush Bed *tuuf*, *tuff* 'spit' [RBd], agaw **tif-* 'spit', **tífif-* 'saliva' [ApAg], ECush **tuf-* 'to spit' [Ss, Hds], Ongota *tufa* [FIO].

[Gr, Coh №319, ИСВ 22, JgIb *tp*, RnB, AA 3 №152, HSED №2413].

733. *tVf- 'to go, follow; идти, следовать за': W Hs *tafi* 'go, travel'; 3 Krkr *taf-* 'go out' [LkK], Dera *tái* (< *tafi*) [SchV]; 4 Paa, Siri *taf-*, Wrij *tav-*, Tsagu *čoo* (< **two* < **tf-*) 'follow' [SkNB], Paa *təfú* 'follow' [MS], Miya *təva* 'to walk, travel' [SchM]; 6 Ngz *təfú* 'enter', Bade *ətfu*, Duw *ətəwə* 'enter, go in'; C 7 Muy *tɛf* 'following'; E 5a Mig *tappo* 'traverser (rivière, fleuve)'.

Note C 6 Mbedam *ka-taf* 'road' [NDP].

//Eg *tfy* (N) 'verbum der Bewegung: etw/jm gewaltsam entfernen; motion verb' [EG V 297]. [AA 3 №149; HSED №2351].

734. *tVh- 'to mark, make a (straight) line': W 6 cf. Bade *təyi* 'wound caused by cutting'; C 2 Bura *n-tiha* 'to mark, line up' [BIB]; 4 Gude *taahə* 'cut in straight line'; 7 Mofu *-təh^w-* 'tracer, encercler (pour construire une case)'; 7a Skn *tatata* 'medicinal incisions, fine line'.

Cf. E **tVw(Vy)-* 'straight; прямо': 5a Mig *tíyaawa*; 5b Brg *tòotó*, Kaj *tùwàyye* 'droit'.

//Sem Hbr *tʔh* 'Linie ziehen; mark out' [KB 2016].

735. *tVĶ- ‘to take; брать’: W 2 Ngas *tak* ‘nehmen’ [JgA]; 3 Ngm (G) *takô*, (Y) *takkô* ‘scoop smth from a pot’ [NEH]; 6 Bade *taaku* ‘hold’; 7 DB *têk*, Monguna *tek*, Sha *tək* ‘take’ [RC], DB *tyêk* ‘nehmen, aufheben’, Sha *tək* ‘nehmen, aufheben’ [JgR]; C 9 Msg *taka*, *tega* ‘nehmen’ [LkM], Mnj *tiki* ‘prendre (une seule chose), mettre’, Mulwi *tiki* ‘prendre’.

//Eg *tkk* (MK) ‘grasp, seize’, *tktk* (19) ‘angreifen’ [EG V 336].

[AA 3 №158 Eg+WCh7 DB, Sha; HSED №2388].

736. *tVĶ^(w)- ‘to drip; капать’: W 2 Mghv *tak* ‘to pour out water from a jar’ [BlM], Goem *tak* ‘droplets’ [Hlw]; C 3 Bana *têk^w-têkú* ‘goutter, to drip’, *têk^wú* ‘goutte’; 5 Pod *teku* idf. ‘dégoutter’; 6 Daba *têk^w* ‘goutter, pleuvoir très peu’; 7 Zlg *tik^w* ‘filtrer, passer un liquid par le filter; goutter’.

//Sem Akk *tīku*, *tikku* (Bab) ‘(Regen)tropfeln, -guss’ [AHw 1357].

737. *tVĶ- ‘to finish; закончить’: W 3 Pero *tákko* ‘to finish’, Ngm (Y, G) *taká* ‘finish’ [NEH], Bol *takaa* ‘accomplish, finish’ [GAB], Tng *teg-de* ‘complete, fulfill, finish’; C 7 Gis *tike* ‘zu Ende sein’; E 5a EDng *tíké* ‘laisser; cesser, finir, terminer’ [Dj].

Derived noun: W 3 Ngm *têk-têke* ‘end’ [NEH].

//Cush Bed *tukuk* ‘fertig machen, vollbringen, vollenden’ [RBd], cf. Omot Shin *takk-* ‘Feuer löschen’, Kafa, Sheko *takk-* ‘Feuer ausmachen’ [LmS].

738. *tul- ‘to pierce, to make a hole; проткнуть, продырявить’: W Hs *tílla* ‘pierce a hole’; 3 Pero *tuló* ‘pierce’; 5 Zul *tulí* ‘to pierce’ [BIZ]; 7 Monguna *tûl*, Mundat, Karfa *čûl* ‘prick, stab’ [RC]; 5 Dyarim *tul* ‘pierce, stab’ [BID], Mangas, Saya *tul*, Tala *tului* ‘pierce’ [Cs], Zaar *tul* ‘pierce’ [CrZ], Zul *tuli* ‘bore hole’ [Cs №773], Jimi *tétəli* ‘stab’ [Cs №830]; C 8 Bud *tel* ‘stecken’ [LkBd]; 10 Dari *tùlù-k* ‘transpercer, percer, passer à travers’.

Deriv. in *n-* (plurac.): C 2 Bura *n-tul* ‘bore holes’ [Ann], Chb *ntəli* ‘pierce’ [Kr].

Derived noun: W 3 Tng *tuli* ‘vagina’.

//Cush Bed *tela* ‘durchbohren, stechen, löchern’ [RnB], cf. Eg *wtn* (N) ‘durchbohren’ [EG I 380]. Egyptian *n* may follow AA *I.

[HSED №2419 Eg+CCh 2,4].

739. *tVl- ‘to wrap, to tie; завернуть, привязать’: W 1 Hs *taálaaláa* ‘tethering an animal by means of a long rope’; 3 Tng *təlle* ‘knot, join rope’; C 5 Pod *tulə* idf. ‘bander, envelopper’; 6 Buwal *tūwāl* ‘wrap around’; 7

Ould *təwəl* 'tourner autour du cou pour faire un sacrifice', Mada *tələlə* '(tourner) en rond'.

//Berb Ahg *təəl* 'to envelop, bandage', *təltəl* 'to envelop several rounds', Qab *ccəl* (< **-ttəl*) 'to wrap, swaddle, *ta-ccal-t*, pl. *tu-tli-n* 'swaddle, band' [apud AA 3 №195].

a. **tVl-* 'to sew': W 7 Karfa *tól* 'sew' [RC]; C 4 Nzn *təle*, Bata *télo* 'coudre' [Mo].

//Cush agaw **taltal-* 'sew' [ApAg], LEC dullyay Harso *tecl-*, Gad *tel-* 'nähen' [AMS], Som *tol* 'sew, bind together' [LIS].

[Долл 53 Cush **tAl(l)-*, AA 3 №195 **tl* 'to palit, to sew, to envelop' (without Chadic reflexes)].

740. **tul-* 'heap; swelling; куча, вздутие, опухоль': W 1 Hs *túlí* 'in heaps, a large quantity', *túllúwaa* 'summit, hill-top'; 2 Ngas *tuul* 'swelling' [Fl]; 3 Kupto *tíli-ŋ* (vowel assim.) 'ant hill' [LgK]; 7 DB *túla* 'river bank' [RC]; C 7 Muy *túláy* 'termite castle'; E 5a EDng *tüllē* 'la hauteur d'un homme debout (et les bras levés)' [Dj], 5b Tor *tulo* 'abcès'.

a. W 1 Hs *tíla*, *túla* 'to heap up, pile up'.

//Sem **till-* 'elevation, altura': Akk *tīlu*, Ug *tl*, Hbr *tēl*, Aram (Syr) *tellō*, Arab *tall-* [Fron 287], Eg *tw'* [**twl*] 'to raise, hold up', *tw'* (Med) 'Erhebung (als Krankheitserscheinung); swelling' [EG V 248, 251], Berb Ahg *təwəl-təwəl* 'to swell up, inflate' [apud AA № 28], ECush Som *tuul* 'to pile up', *tuul-o* 'hump' [LIS], HEC **tuul-* 'to pile up, stack': Oromo *tuula*, Burji, Gedeo, Sid *tuul-* [Hds], Oromo *tulu*, *tullu* 'heap, mountain, hump' [Grg], Omot Mocha *tull-oo* 'heap, pile'.

Semantic shift: 'to pile' > 'swelling' seems tenable (see [EDE I 229]). Egyptian *tw'* [**twl* in EDE I 229] correlates with Chadic forms in long -u- (W 2 Ngas *tuul* 'swelling').

[ДоллЯ 79, AA 3 №196, 201, HSED №2429 Sem, Cush, Hausa, EDE I 229 Eg, Cush, WCh].

741. **t[i]mm-* 'to pile up, harvest; собирать (в кучу, урожай)': W 1 Hs *tímaa* 'pile up, heap up'; 3 Pero *témmo* 'clean, collect rubbish', Bol *toom* (< **twm* < **tmm*) 'racontrer, rassembler, entasser'; 4 Paa *təma* 'harvest, esp., cut guinea corn' [MS]; C 7 Mafa *téma?a* 'grand tas'; 6 Daba *tém* 'tout' [Lnh]; E 3 Tum *doom* 'récolte' (< *dmm* < **tmm*); 5 Mig *timmō* 'rassembler, entasser'.

//ECush Som *tuum* 'to pile up, accumulate' [Vr].

Note Eg-Sem **tmm* 'to complete, to finish' as a cognate of Ch 'to pile, to collect' in [EDE I 230]. Semantically somehow dubious.

742. *tVm- 'to beat, to grind; бить, молотъ': W 1 Hs *túímaa* 'to beat', *túmaa* 'a thrashing'; C; 10 Mesme *tum* 'hit' [Kr]; E 2 Lele *tōm* 'frapper, défricher'; 5a Mig *támmó* 'beat' gen. Cf. C 6 Buwal *tām-tōk^w* 'club'.

Derived noun: W 6 Ngz *tómá*, Bade *təmə* 'mortar' (hardly < Hs *turma*); C 4 Bch *tum-t* 'grinding stone' [Sk]; 6 Buwal *tátám* 'mortar'.

//Eg *tmtm* 'to crush to powder' [EG V 309]; E Cush Rend *túm* 'to pound, *tum* 'castrate by crushing' [PG], Som *tum-* 'to hammer, to forge', Rend *tum-aal* 'blacksmith', Oromo *tum* 'to beat, pound, forge', Oromo, Sid *tum-tu* 'smith', Had *tontom-* 'to strike with a fist' [AA №180], Arb *tum-* 'beat, pound', PECush **tum-* 'thresh, hit' [SsB 179].

Consider the following isogloss as a possible root-extension in *-s-*:

WCh 1 Hs *támsá* 'pound corn with the addition of water' ~ Ethiosemitic Tgr *támsä* 'to press, squeeze, hammer'.

[AA 3 №180; HSED №2421, in both cases only WCh **tVm-* 'to break' is included].

743. C *tVm- 'to fish, fish; ловить рыбу': 2 Mrg *təm* 'to fish' [HfM 25], Klb *tímí* 'fishing' [MuK 25], Bura *tamwa* 'group-fishing' [Ann]; 3 FK *tóm* 'fishing' [BINn]; 4 Gude *təmə* 'to fish'; 9 Mbara *túm* 'to fish, fishing', Mulwi *túmí* 'pêcher', Mnj *tum* 'pêche', *tumi* 'pêcher', *dif di tum* 'pêcheur' ('person' + 'fish'), Msg *tum* 'Fisch' [LkM].

//Eg *tm.t* (Med) 'Art Fish (ofizinell verwendet; als Nahrungsmittel); kind of fish' [EG 306].

[StH №II.2; HSED №2430 Eg+Musgu].

744. *tVn- 'to rain; to drip; моросить, капать': W 2 Goem *táan* 'to fall (of rain)' [Hlw]; E 2 Lele *tínyā* 'gaspiler'; 1 Kera *téjé* 'to make wet'; 5a Bid *ʔetény* 'puiser de l'eau avec un récipient dans un puits', EDng *étínyé* 'puiser (l'eau)' [Dj]. Note that reflexes in E 5 may be considered derivatives in *ʔV-* with causative semantics: 'to flow' > 'to make flow'.

//Sem Geez *tawan* 'season of the small rains', Tna *tāwān* 'the small rains', Ug *tan-t* 'rain', Cush Bilin *tunaan* [LsG 582], Sab *wtn* 'perpetually flowing water' [Bil 153].

Root extensions (*w* as C_2 or C_1 in Semitic).

745. *tVn(Vʔ)- ‘to settle, put, sit; поселиться, сесть, положить’: W 2 Grk *túj* ‘sit down’ [BIY]; 3 Tng *tēne* ‘put, place down, settle’; 5 Jimi *tə-tən* ‘sit’ [Cs], Tala (z) *tənu* ‘live’ [Cs]; C 6 Buwal *taj* ‘to place feet’; 10 Gizey *tún*, Masa, Musey *tún*, Ham, Lew, Marba *tín* ‘mettre, poser’ [LexC], Peve *čín*, Hečé *tij*, Zime (Mesme) *tij* ‘put’ [Shy], Masa *tùn* ‘poser, déposer’ [CC], Musey *tín-da* ‘mettre, poser, conduire’ [ShyM], Dzpw *tún* ‘poser, mettre’; E 5a EDng *təniyē* ‘passer la saison sèche’ [Dj]. Note *-j#* < **n(V)?*. Note a possible noun deriv. (semantic shift: ‘to sit’ > ‘to live’ is typical of Chadic languages): W 3 Dera *túnyá* ‘breath, life’.

//Sem Arab *tnʔ* ‘s’arreter et séjourner dans un endroit’ [BK I 208].

746. *tVn- ‘to press, to squash; (раз)давить’: W 2 Mghv *tēn* ‘zertreten’ [JgS], Mpn *tén* ‘to step on’, Goem *tán* ‘press on smth’ [Hlw], Ngas *ten* ‘press down, knock down’ [F1], Mushere *ten* ‘to press’ [JgO], Grk *tən* ‘smash, break’ [BIY]; 3 Tng *təni* ‘to forge’, cf. *tan-dam* ‘pestle’ (*dam* ‘stick’).

Deriv.: W 3 Gera *tan-d* ‘step on’ [SchB].

Derived noun: W 6 Ngz *tənyí* ‘impression (in ground)’; C 10 Dari *tán* ‘trace, empreinte’.

//Sem Arab *mtn* ‘frapper avec force; châtrer (un bélier) pour extraction des testicules’ [BK II 1058]. Root extension (*m* as C_1) in Arabic.

747. *tīn- ‘earth, dust’: C 1 Hona *tīnī-rā*, Gaa *tina-tta*, Boka *tina-tə*, Gbn *tīna-tta* ‘dust’ [Kr]; 8 Log *tən* ‘Boden’ [LkL], Mak *tín* ‘dirt, soil, ground, land’.

Verbal deriv.: E 5a Mig *tínáw* ‘enterrer’, EDng *tíné* ‘enterrer, mettre en terre’ [Dj].

//Eg *itn*, *iwtn* (18) ‘Erdboden, Bodencarth, Schmutz, Staub’ [EG I 58].

On semantic reason we prefer to keep this root apart from AA **tyn* ‘clay’ (see below). Contrary see in [HSED № 2472].

748. *tVn(Vn)- ‘type of ant; вид муравья’: C 4 Gude *tónóná* ‘type of ant’; E 3 Tum *dóón* (*d-* < **t-* is regular) ‘insecte’ gen.; 5a Bid *tón-tira* ‘fourmi sp.’, EDng *tón-tílo* ‘la petite foutmi noir’ [Dj]; 5b Brg *tón-toró* ‘fourmi’ (likely, dissim. < **tVn-tVn-*).

//Sem Gees *tənənəyā* ‘gnat, mosquito, small insect’, Tna *tənəniyo*, Amh

tənənn ‘mosquito’, Cush agaw Xamir *tinne*, Qemant *tenen* [LsG 577].

749. *tV(yV)n- ‘mahogany; красное дерево’: W 2 Ngas *tan*, *ten* [Fl], Mghv *tén* [JgS], Mpn *tén* ‘mahogany’, (cf. Goem *tini* ‘palm’ [Hlw]); 3 Bol *tani*, Ngm *tani*, Glm *tan*, Gera *čani* [SchV], Kupto *tenni-s* ‘mahogany’ [LgK]; C 1 Hona *tinə*, Gaʿanda *tin-da*, Gabin *tiyin-da* ‘mahogany’ [Kr]; 6 Daba *wətəy* [Lnh], Buwal *wāntā* (metath.) ‘mahogany’.

//Sem Akk *tittu*, pl. *tīn-ātu*, Hbr *təʔēn-ā*, Aram (Jud) *tēnət*, (Mnd) *tina* ‘fig-tree’, Arab *tīn* (coll.) ‘fig-tree, sycamore’; Berb Ahg *təyne*, Ayr *tayni*, *tini*, Tnsl *tehəyne*, Wlm *təncy*, Sml *tiyni*, Zng *təynih*, Izdeg *tiyn-t* ‘date’ [Fron 6.14 *tiʔn-at- ‘fico’, MAg №14].

[AA 3 №176 Sem+Berb; MSt №72, HSED№ 2392 Sem+CCh 1].

750. *tVr- ‘to turn (around); поворачиваться’: W 3 Krf *tiiṛey* ‘to go around’; C 7 Mofu *-tatar-* ‘être entraîné dans une descente, (faire) rouler, tourner’, Ould (deriv.) *tatar* ‘tour, heure que l’on compte; 10 Dzpw *tiriú*, Dari *təriw* ‘tourner’; E 6 Mok *taariiri* ‘fait de tourner sur sois-même; verige, pivot’; 5a (deriv.) EDng *tər-bē* ‘contourner, faire la tour, tourner’ [Dj].

Note C 6 Mbedam *təṛə-d* ‘tordre’ [NDP].

//Sem Akk *tāru* (OA) ‘sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren’ [AHW 1332], Arab *twr* ‘faire le tour, circuler’ [BK I 210], Tgr *trr* ‘to rotate’, Sab *trʔ* ‘turn aside(?)’ [Bl 537].

Root extension (*medial waw*) in Semitic. Cf. [Coh №323].

751. *taar-/*tarar- ‘to pour, to flow; лить(ся), течь’: W 1 Hs *taraara* ‘to drip, pour out, ooze’, (deriv.) *tar-fā* ‘pour out a small quantity (drop by drop); 3 Ngm (Y) *taarō* ‘pour, spill’; 5 Jimi *taari* ‘to flow’ [Cs].

Derived noun: E 5b Mubi *tarāw* ‘inondation’ [JgL].

a. *tVr- ‘river’: W 3 Pero *turè* ‘river’, Bure *tooró* ‘river’, *bù-tooró* ‘river-bank’ (‘mouth+river’) [BtB]; E 5a Mig *tarró* ‘courant d’eau’, EDng *tarāw-nē* ‘la rigole, le ruisseau, le cours secondaire, le débordement du cours d’eau principal’ [Dj].

//Eg *itrw* ‘der Fluss, d.h. der Nil’ [EG I 146].

[AA 3 №185; StW №3.7].

752. *tVr- ‘to run; бежать’: W 2 Goem *tūr* ‘rush, hurry, go quickly’ [apud TAS 363]; 5 Jimi *tarii*, Saya *tir* ‘run’ [Cs №677]; C 7 Muy *truj* ‘running’; E

1 Kera *tərá* 'Lauf', Kwang *tara* 'run'.

//Sem Arab *tarr-* 'qui va d'un trot rapide (cheval, etc.)' [BK I 194], ECush Tsam *tiiri* 'run' [SIL], cf. Eg *nt:* (Pyr) 'laufen' (o.ä.) [EG II 351], relevant if \int follows AA **-r-*.

Note also some more Chadic verbs of 'going':

a. W 1 Hs *táara*, *táryaa* 'go out to meet'; 5 Bgh *túr* 'go out' [Cs №662]; C 2 Mrg *tərà* 'to go away' [HfMr], Bura *təra* 'to depart' [BIB].

b. W 4 Paa *təro* 'journey' [MS]; C 2 Bura *tara* 'to wander' [BIB]; 3 Bana *túurə*, *təwrə* 'se promener'.

//Sem Arab *trr* 's'éloigner, partir d'un endroit' [BK I 194].

753. *tVr- '(cultivated) earth; (обработанная) земля': W 3 Kkr *taràa*, Dera *tóro* 'farm' [SchV]; 7 Monguna *tuur* 'cultivated ground' [RC]; E 2 Gbr *terā* 'Erde, Land' [Luk].

Derived verb: W 7 DB *tor* 'cultivate, till' [RC].

a. ***tV(ʔV)r-** 'hoe; мотыга': W 3 Kupto *teerə* 'hoe sp. (small for digging ground nuts)' [LgK]; 4 Siri *taʔari* 'hoe' [SkNB], Paa *taari* 'hoe' [MS].

//Omot Shin *tara* 'bebautes Feld' [LmS], Nao *туру* 'ground', Sheko *tuuru* 'earth, soil' [BndO 347], Hamer *tore* 'country' [Bnd], Eg *t:* (OK) 'earth, ground, land' [EG 212] (relevant if \int follows AA **-r-*).

Contrary to [Долг 57] and [EDE I 28] we do not consider Omot 'field, ground' cognate with Cush ***tir-/*ter-** 'dust'. There exists a reliable Chadic cognate to Cush 'dust', namely:

ECh ***tirw-** 'dust; пыль': 1 Kera *tərwá* f.; 2 Lele *tīrwé*.

//Cush agaw Aungi *tə-tri*; ECush Yaaku *tírí* [Heine], SCus Irq *teri*, Maa *iteri* [Eh] 'dust'.

Note different vocalic patterns of the two roots.

754. *tVʔ- 'cold; холодный': W 3 Kupto *taasa* 'coldness, frost' [LgK]; C 3 Bana *táti* 'froid (temps)'; 2 Cbh *ntata* [JI], Mrg *ntašū* 'get cold' [HfM 30], Bura *mtati* 'to cool, become cool' [Ann]; 5a Hitk *máaʔa* 'Kälte' [LkH], Lmn *mtaata* [Jglb]; 7 Mafa *táʔ-* 'refroidir (en changeant de récipient)', Mercy *mə-taʔ* 'froid'; 8 Log *taʔ* '(be) cold (objects)' [ALL], Bud *tolái* 'cold' n. [JI]; E 3 Smr *tísa* 'Kalt' [Luk], Smr *dōsā*, Ndam *dwas* [Brs] 'cold' (regular *d-* < **t-*).

//Omot Mao ***ta(t)s-** 'cold': Hozo *tatsi*, *titesti*, Sezo *taasi*, *tassi*, *tás(s)í*, Ganza *tas-tas* [BndO 270].

***t**

755. *tVwVʔ- 'to go, to walk; идти, ходить': W 3 Dera *t-* 'go' [Jglb]; 4 Wrij *tau* 'to go' [BIS], Miya, Mburku *tu* 'enter', Siri *ta*, Tsagu *too*, Miya, Mbu *tu-* 'come, enter' [SkNB]; 5 Grnt *tai*, Jimi *te* 'go out' [Cs]; C 5 Mlg *tátáya* 'umherwandern, spazieren'; 10 Dari *tà*, Dzpw *tá* 'aller, marcher', Gizey *tú-d*, Masa *tú?*, Ham, Lew, Marba *tít*, Musey *tút* 'aller, marcher' [LexC], **t-* 'to go' [Shy]; E 3 Tum *tíw* (*t-* < **t-*) 'se promener'; 4 Sok *téui* 'to go' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *tʷ?* (u) 'aller et venir' [BK II 116], Hars *tewō* 'come', Mhr *təwū* 'to come, visit at night' [JnM 413], Cush agaw **taw-* 'enter' Aungi *tuu*, Bilin *tuw*, Xmt *taw*, Qwara *tuw* [ApAg].

Note Ch **t-* > WCh 4 *t-*, ECh 3 **t-*. Ch **t-* > *d-* in ECh 3, see above.

Cf. №728 ***tVy/w-** 'to come, to return; приходиться', note that both are attested in WCh 4.

756. *[t]V(w)Vy- 'to spin, to turn round; прясть': W 2 Ngas *tat* 'to spin' [Fl], Mghv *tat šuu* 'Baumwolle spinnen' [JgS], Goem *tat* [Hlw]; 5 Zaar *tuu* 'weave; braid (ropes)' [CrZ], Guus *tuu* 'weave, plait hair' [CrG]; E 5a WDng *tóyè* 'être tordu'; 6 Mok *tóoyè* 'tourner, rincer'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hausa *táitái* 'small circular mat, k of rope'. Reflexes of Ch **t* and **t* have fallen together as *t* in all the languages. In this and similar cases C₁ in Chadic reconstruction is rendered by [t].

//Sem Geez *tawaya* 'be crooked, winding > fold, wring', Tna *tāwāyā* 'twist', Akk *tawū* 'spin', Arab *tʷy* 'fold', Hbr *tāwā*, Aram *tʷy* 'to spin' [LsG 600], cf. Cush Bed *daʔ-* 'flechten die Haare, plait, hair' [RnB], LEC Oromo *daw-* 'spin' [Grg], both < Cush **tA[ʔ]Aw-*, see [Долл 58].

[Долл 58, AA 3 №243 WCh 1, 2; HSED №2439].

In the view of a tenable semantic shift: 'to spin' > 'spider', the following isogloss is worth mentioning:

a. *taw-taw 'spider; паук': W 3 Maka *tautáu* [SvM]; 6 Bade *tautau* 'k of spider'; C 2 Mrg (Plain) *tautau* 'spider'.

//Sem Akk *tūʔa*, *tuyū* (jBab) 'spider' [CDA 408]. Note, however, that Akkadian *t-* points to Sem **t-*.

757. *tVb- > **tVb-** 'to pour; лить': W 3 Pero *túbbō* 'pour away', (noun deriv.) Bol *tubo* 'nosebleed' [GAB], (deriv.) Ngm *taḅ-kô* (G) 'pour, dump'

[NEH]. Secondary emphatization of a labial points to PChadic ***ɬ**.

//Sem Geez *ṭṭb* 'drip, fall in drops', Tgr *ṭab bāla*, Gur *ṭab balā* 'to drip' [LsG 587], Geez *nṭb* 'drop, trickle' [LsG 408], Berb Ghdm *teṭṭibt* 'goutte liquide', Ahg, Wlm, Ayr *eṭṭeb* 'tomber goutte à goutte' [NZ 444].

a. ***ɬVb-** 'to be wet; быть мокрым': E 2 Kaba *tubu*, Nch *tíbe* 'nass' [Luk]; 3 Smr *tuba* 'nass' (*t* < ***ɬ**, Chadic ***t**- > E 3 *d*-) [Luk].

//ECush Oromo *ḍuuba* 'to soak'.

[AA №221 ***ṭb** 'to drip', HSED №2476].

758. *ɬVb- > tVb- 'to gather; all; собирать': W 1 Hs *táabi* 'gathering, collecting'; 3 Bol *tubai* idf. 'pile, bundle' [GAB], Tng *túub* 'grouping, offspring', Ngm (G, Y) *tub-ko* 'put together, tie together' [NEH]; C 5 Pod *təbəcə* idf. 'ramasser'; 7 Ould *té-téḅā* 'plein', Gis *tubi* 'ganz, alle'; 10 Musey *tab-pa* 'joindre, cottiser, réunir' [ShyM].

//Sem Geez *?aṭaba* 'to gather, collect' [LsG 47], ECush Som *ḍab-* 'to copulate'; Berb Ahg *ṭub-ət*, Air, EWlm *a-ṭṭabu* 'to be assembled', Ahg *eṭṭabu* 'crowd, meeting' [apud AA №213].

The following root may be related (note contamination of semantics in W 3 Ngm):

a. ***ɬVb- > tVb-** 'to tie (together); связывать': W 3 Kupto *túḅḅéy* 'to knot, to fasten' [LgK], 3 Bol *túḅḅu* 'join ends of two things', *túḅāabi* 'joint (of a body)' [GAB], Tng *tub* 'to tie'; C 9 Mulwi *tíbi* 'attacher'. Cf. W 3 Ngm (G, Y) *tub-ko* 'put together, tie together' [NEH].

//Sem Arab *ṭbb* II stem 'increr, coudre une pièce d'étoffe pour élargir un vêtement' [BK II 51].

Note secondary emphatization of *-b-* in both cases (***ɬVb-** > *tVb-*).

759. *ɬVb- > tVb- 'to make flat; делать плоским': W 1 Hs *tāabii* 'clapping hands'; 2 Goem *típ* 'press smth down (soil so that it becomes hard)' [Hlw]; 3 Kupto *tēḅéy* 'to make a floor, to level a place' [LgK]; C 4 Gude *təbaʔa* 'press flat hand against smth'; 8 cf. Lgw *taba-ta he* 'be flat'.

Derived noun: W 2 Goem *ṭup* 'trace, mark, print, foot print'; 3 Tng *tiab* 'footprint'.

//Sem Arab *ṭbʕ* 'faire une empreinte sur qch, marquer (l'argent), imprimer (un livre)' [BK II 53].

760. *ɬVb- > tVb- 'to cover; покрывать': W 3 Dera *tiiḅé* 'to cover, turn face

down', Kup'to *tìbbéy* 'to close, to shut, to cover, to lock' [LgK], Tng *tēbe* 'to put on leaves (to cover pudenda)'; 4 Kar *təbə*, Jmb *duba* 'cover' [SkNB]; C 5 Pod *təbəcə* idf. 'couvrir qqch avec un couvercle'.

Derived noun: W 4 **tub-* 'roof': W'j *tuwai* [BIS], Kar *tubahə*, Jmb *dubaa* [SkNB].

//Berb Ayr, Wlm *ə-dəb* 'fermer, être fermé', Awjila *aṭab* 'fermer les yeux' [NZ 444].

[HSED №2477].

761. **[t]Vf* > **tVf* '(lower) arm; нижняя часть руки' > 'hand, leaf, ладонь, лист': W 1 Hs *taafii* 'palm of the hand; clapping of hands'; 3 Bol *tāari* 'palm of hand', *tāfi-sara* 'spoon' [Bn], Ngm (Y) *taafik sàra* 'palm of hand' [NEH]; 6 Bok *tāf* 'Holzlöffel', DB *tāf* 'palm of the hand' [JgR], Tambas *tafa cda taš* 'hand' [RC]; E 4 Sok *tafa* 'hand' (only in: *onoḡ bún tafa fida* 'wir geben die Hand') [Luk 44]; 5a Mig *tāppu* 'leaf', Bid *tāpa* 'feuille, billet de banque', Mabire *tapi?* 'leaf' [JH]. cf. EDng *toopòr* pl. 'les feuilles' (note *-r-* as a plural marker) [Dj]; 5b Jegu *tapo*, pl. *tap* 'leaf', Brg *táfo* 'leaf'.

a. C 4 **tVf* (< **tVf*) '(lower) arm; нижняя часть руки': 4 Gude *čiin* 'hand, arm' [Bry], *čivun* (< **tif-un*) 'hand, arm' [Meek], *má-tóv-wá* 'fist', Bata *tev* 'bras' [Mo] Bch *tufa, təfə* 'arm', *wura təfə* 'hand' (*wura* 'neck') [Meek], *təféy* 'hand' [Sk], Nzn, *tivi* 'arm', *wura tivi, sikke tivi* 'hand' [Meek], Chuvan *čivé*, Sharwa *čivé* 'hand, arm', *sika a čivin* 'hand' [Meek] (cf. Kumbi (dial of Gudu) *ma-tifə* 'finger nail', Holma *tivin* 'arm' (cf. *dabadaban* 'hand') [Meek]); C 7 Mada *ctfě-t* 'cheville, poignet' (*-t* goes back to Ch body-parts marker **-t-*).

b. C **n/x-tVf* < **[t]Vf* 'five; пять': 1 Hona *tuf(ù)*; 2 Mrg *ntifu*, Klb *tufù*, Chb *tufù* [Kr], Bura *ntufu* [Ann, BIB]; 3 HB *mčifě*, HN *nčifě* [Kr]; 4 Gude *tuf*, Chuvan *ántaf*, Sharwa *téf* 'five' [BryJ], Gude *tufə* 'five', Nzn, Bch *tuf* 'five', Gudu *dəl tuf* 'five fingers' [Meek]; 5 Pod *ntōfo* 'five' [Meek], Lmn *χu-tafa*, 5a Hdi *χu-taf*, Vemgo *χ-taf* 'five' [HmG].

Reflexes of AA **t-* and **t-* have fallen together as *t-* in all Ch languages.

//Cush agaw **taf* 'hand' [ApAg], Sem **tap(a)h-* 'span, palm of hand' [SED №279]: Hbr *ṭāpah* (also *ṭōpah, ṭaphā*) 'hand-breadth, span' [KB 378], Jud (Aram) *ṭaph* 'hand-breadth', Amh *ṭəffi* 'palm of the hand' [K 2192], cf. also a derived verb Geez *ṭafha*, etc. 'clap the hands' [LSG 588, SED №281]. According to W.Leslau, we can take Semitic *-h-* for a body-parts suffix.

Worth mentioning are more Semitic reflexes of the *tp(p)*, *tpy*-shape: Sab *ṭff* ‘plaque, votive tablet’ (cf. *dfw* id.) [Bll 221], Akk *t/tuppu(m)* (sum LW) ‘(Ton)Tafel, Urkunde, Brief’ [AHw 1394], *tuppu*, *duppu* ‘(clay) tablet, document’ [CDA 220]; Arab *ṭufy-un-* ‘feuille de palmier nain’ [BK II 91]. Note a similar semantic shift: ‘hand’ > ‘leaf’ in Chadic and in Arabic. On the other hand, a semantic shift: ‘(flat) hand’ > ‘be flat’ > ‘a tablet’ is also possible.

[AA 3 №223; HSED №2349].

762. **[t]Vf* > **tVf* ‘to take (by hand), to catch; взять, схватить’: W 1 Hs *táafa* ‘strike hands of each other by two people, hand thing to person; take out’; 3 Krf *twa-*, VN *tofá* ‘catch’, Gera *táw-mí* (< **taf*), Glm *tab-* ‘hold, catch’ [ShV], Krkr *tafu* ‘receive, accept, suit, fit’ [GK], Bure *tof-* ‘catch’; C 4 Bch *taf* ‘accept’ [Sk]; 5a Hdi *təfay* ‘to take sorghum paste out of the pan’ [BrH]; 7 Vame *təv-* ‘take’ [KinV]; 9a Gdr *taf* ‘accepter’.

//Sem Mehri *?ṭf* ‘to seize’ [JnM], Arab *ṭff* ‘soulever qqch avec le pied ou avec la main’ [BK 87], Berb: Shilh *ṭṭaf* ‘tenir, saisir’, Izn, Zenaga, Sened, Rif, Qab, Snus, Mzab, Siwa *ṭṭef* ‘prendre, tenir, saisir’, Figig *ṭṭef* ‘saisir’, Wlm, Ayr, Ahg *ṭṭef* ‘tenir’, etc. [NZ 447-9].

Presumably, derived from AA **tVf*- ‘hand’ (see above).

763. **[t]VI*/ʔV[t]VI* ‘to flow, to drip; течь, капать’:** W 7 Fyer *tala*, Bok *tál* ‘fliessen, laufen’, *ti-tál* ‘laufen’; C 7 Mafa *tel* ‘tomber (pluie)’, Mofu *ṭél* *ṭél* ‘couler en gouttellets’; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Lew, Musey, Marba *tól* ‘couler (goutte à goutte)’ [LexC], Musey *tolla* ‘écouler goutte à goutte’ [ShyM]; E 5a Bid *ʔéṭel* ‘tomber goutte à goutte’, EDng *ṭilē* ‘s’égoutter, tomber goutte à goutte’ [Dj], WDng *ṭilē* ‘laisser couler’.

Derived noun: C 8 Bud *tólo* ‘Tropfen’ [LkBd]; cf. E 4 Mawa *tuul* ‘rivière, marigot’.

Reflexes of AA **t-* and **t-* have fallen together as *t-* in all Ch languages.

//Sem Hbr *ṭlʔ* ‘to sprinkle’, Arab *ṭll* ‘to moisten (with dew, rain)’ [BK II 91], Geez *ṭll* ‘be moist, wet, covered with dew’, Tgr *tälla* ‘be wet’ [LsG 591], noun deriv. **ṭall-* ‘dew, drizzle’: Hbr *ṭal*, Arab *ṭall-*, Geez *ṭal*, Hars, Jib, Mhr *ṭel* [LsG 591], accord. to W.Leslau, Cush Saho *ṭalal* ‘be humid, wet’ < Ethiosemitic.

[AA 3 №240 Sem+WCh 7 Bok; HSED №№2459, 2460 Sem+Bok, Bud].

764. *tV(VH)VL- ‘heart, liver; сердце, печень’: W 3 Bol *t̃ilo* ‘heart’, Ngm *t̃ilí* (G, Y) ‘heart’ [NEH]; 4 Tsagu *táhaí* (< **tahal* ?) ‘liver’ [IL]; C 9 Mlg *etteltel* ‘Leber’ [LkM]; 10 Dzpw *tēlé* ‘region lombaire, bas de reins’; E 3 Tum *tèlú*, Ndam *tā:lū* ‘liver’ (note *t*- < **t*-, *d*- < **t*-) [Brs].

A long vowel in E 3 Ndam points to a laryngeal as C₂.

//Sem **tihāl*- ‘spleen’: Hbr *ṯhōl*, Arab *tihāl*-, Mhr *ṯelḥaym*, etc. [SED I №288].

[St 35, HSED №2387 Sem+ECh].

765. *[t]Vm- > *tVm- ‘to think; думать’: W 3 Bol *tamā* ‘thinking; believing’, cf. Pero *tummò* ‘to learn’; C 5a Mlg *tóma* ‘denken, hoffen, erwarten’, Pod *tamaha* ‘to think’, 7 Muy *átamahāy* ‘take over, think, believe’, Mada *áttama* ‘penser que, estimer que’.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *tammaa-ní* ‘thought, expectation’.

Reflexes of AA **t*- and **t*- have fallen together as *t*- in all Ch languages.

//Sem Akk *ṯēmu* (MB) ‘Planungsfähigkeit; Verstand, Abweisung, Besheid’ (sem. *ṯm* ‘Geschmack’; Hbr, Aram auch ‘Verstand, Meinung’) [AHw 1385], *ṯēmu* ‘(fore)thought, plan(ing), understanding, instruction’, *tāmu* (jB) ‘clever’ (< *ṯēmu* ?), *ṯēmu* (Oakk) ‘to look after, take care of’ (< *ṯēmu*, denom.?) [CDA 414, 412].

766. *[t]Vn(V?) > *tVn(V?)- ‘to tie, to braid; привязывать’: W 3 (deriv.) Dera *tān-dé* ‘to twine rope, to braid hair’, Ngm *tān-kā* (G), *tān-kô* (Y) [NEH], Bol *tān-ku* ‘tie tightly’; C 4 Gude *t̃iṅót̃iṅ* ‘tied well’; 7 Muy *tāṅtāṅ* ‘well tied’.

Derived noun. **[t]Vn-* (< **[t]Vn?*) ‘rope, tendon; веревка, жила’: W 2 Ngas *teṅ* ‘rope’ [JgA], Mghv *teṅ* ‘Band, Strick’ [JgS], Mpn *teṅ*, Miship *teṅ* [Kr]; C 4 Gude *tōṅá* ‘bow string’; 10 Gizey, Masa *t̃iṅt̃iṅ* ‘tendon d’Achile’ [LexC].

//Sem Hbr *ṯn?* ‘to bind, to braid’, Akk *ṯenu* ‘to weave’ [apud AA 3 №231].

Note the following correlation: *n+?* in Semitic ~ *-ṅ#* in Chadic languages.

767. *tVw/yVn- (< **tVHVn-*) ‘mortar, grinding stone; ступа, жернов’ (derived noun.): W 3 Tng *teena* ‘mortar’; C 4 Gude *tōnwa* ‘grinding stone’; 8 Mak *tauna* ‘mill, moulin’; 10 Dari *tāwúnā* ‘moulin’.

a. W 4 **tVṽVn-* ‘tooth; зуб’ (derived noun): Wṛj *ṯəṽn-ai*, Paa *ndini*, Siri *cinna*, Jmb *diina*, Miya *tiyim*, Mburku *ṯiino*, Kar *tin*, Tsagu *diine* [SKNB],

Wrj *təyən-ai* [BIS] ‘tooth’.

//Sem Akk *tēnu* (from OA on) ‘gemahlen’ [AHW 1387], Hbr *ṭhn*, Jib, Soq *ṭaḥan*, Hss, Mhr *ṭeḥān* ‘grind corn, pound’ [LsG], Arab *ṭhn* ‘moudre (se dit de la meule qui broie)’, *ṭāḥin-at-* ‘dent molaire’, *ṭāḥūn-* ‘meule, moulin’ [BK II 61-2].

Note similar derivatives in Chadic and Arabic. However, the verb ‘to grind’ is lacking in Ch languages.

[CT №209; HSED №2455-6].

768. *[t]Vn- > *tin- ‘clay; глина’: W 3 Bol *tīina* ‘sticky mud’ [GAB].

Derivatives: W 2 Goem *taan* ‘be sticky’ [Hlw]; E 2 Lele *tínyá* VN ‘coller’.

a. ***[t]Vn- > *tVn-** ‘clay pot, ball of clay; горшок, ком глины’: W 1 Hs *tántaanii* ‘a ball of prepared clay and chaff for making into a pot’; C 10 Dari *təṇāi* ‘jarre, marmite à terre’; E 5a EDng *tīine* ‘le pot, la boule pétrie pour construire’ [Dj], Mabire *tun* ‘marmite’ [JH].

Reflexes of AA **t-* and **t-* have fallen together as *t-* in all Ch languages.

//Sem Aram (Syr) *tīnō*, Arab *tīin-* ‘boue, argile’, Jib *tūn*, Hars, Mhr *ṭayn* ‘clay, earth, dirt’, Arab *ṭyn* ‘enduire de boue, boucher avec de la boue’ [BK II 130], [Fron 5.04 **tīn-(at)-* ‘agrilla’], Cush Bed *tīin*, *tīin* ‘Thon, Lehm, Schlammerde’ [RBd].

Cf. Ch **ṭyn* ‘earth, soil’.

769. *[t]ap(p)- > *tap(p)- ‘to gather (intr.); to add; собираться, добавлять’:

W 3 Pero *tappó* ‘gather (for hunting)’, Tng *tapε* ‘to add’; C 1 Tera (dial.) *təpəha* ‘gather’ [Kr]; 10 Gizey, Masa, Marba, Lew, Ham, Musey *táp* ‘(se) rassembler’ [LexC]; E 1 Kera *tepe* ‘versammeln’; 5a Mig *tappo*, *čepo* ‘réunir, rassembler, joindre’, EDng *táp-ké* ‘rassembler, se réunir’ [Dj], WDng *tə-tpe* ‘rassembler avec difficultés, en tâtonnant’.

Derived noun: C 7 Mada *tapa* ‘groupe’, Zlg *tapa* ‘assemblage des choses de même nature liées ensemble’;

Derived adj.: 9 Mnj *típi* ‘groupement’; E 1 Kera *tápí* ‘zusammen’.

Note W 6 Ngz *tápái* ‘fornication’, *tápíyú*, *táfíyú* ‘fornicate with’.

//Sem Akk *ṭepú* (Oakk) ‘hinzufügen, addieren’, *ṭīpu* ‘Belag, Aufgabe, Addition’ [AHW 1388, 1392], Aram (Syr) *ṭpy* ‘to join, to assemble, to heap, to pile up’.

[AA 3 №213 **tVp* > Sem **tVp*, Berb **tVb*, Ch **tVb*].

770. **[t̪]Vp-* > **tVp-* ‘to cover, to hide; укрывать, прятать’: 4 Paa *tipa*, Siri *tapa* ‘to hide’ [SkNB], Paa *tīpāā* ‘to hide’ [MS].

Derived nou: W 3 Tng *tīpo* ‘shelter’.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *tufā* ‘put an article around, to cover’, *tufāaniiyaa* ‘a mat to cover doorway’; C 7 Muy *tūp-tūp* ‘covering’.

//Sem Geez *ʔtf* ‘fold, wrap, plait’, Jib *ʔotaf* ‘fold’, Hbr *ʔātap* ‘envelop oneself’, Aram (Syr) *ʔətap* ‘clothe oneself’, (Mand) *atp*, Amh *attāfā* ‘fold’ [LsG 76], Mhr *ʔtf* ‘to fold’ [JnM], Arab *ʔtf* II stem ‘plier, ployer, enveloper qqn dans son manteaux, (s’)enveloppeur’ [BK II 286], ECush Burji *ʔaf-* ‘to hide’ [SsB].

Root extention (*ʔ* as C₁) in Semitic languages.

771. **[t̪]Vp-* > **tVp-* ‘to stain, smear; смазывать’: W 6 Duw *ātapāy* ‘daub (mud) on a vertical surface’; C 7 Gis *tap* ‘kleben’, Mofu *-ta-tāp-* ‘mettre beaucoup d’argile, mal construire (un mur)’; 10 Dzpw *tap tap* idf., Dari *tā-tāp* ‘collant’.

//Sem Hbr *ntp* (-stem) ‘to soil, to stain, to smear’, Amh *ʔāfāʔtāfā* ‘to cover with ointment, grease, to puddle clay’ [AA 214], Berb Qab *ədfi* ‘appliquer de la bouse de vache, salir, déshonorer; to cover with cowdung, to abuse’ [NZ 456]

Cf. [AA 3 №214 **tVp̄*].

772. **[t̪]V(wV)r-* > **tV(wV)r-* ‘to drive (animals); гнать (животных)’: W 3 Tng *tire* ‘move, shift’; C 2 Bura *tir* ‘dahintreiben’ [HfB 281]; E 5a EDng *tōorē* ‘conduire un troupeau’, pousser devant soi animaux, chasser des mouches’ [Dj], WDng *tōōrē* ‘chasser (pl. mouches, poules), Mig *tārāw* ‘défendre; chasser en effrayant’; 5b Tor *teer* ‘chasser’.

Derived noun in *m-*: E 5b Tor *mā-tēerā* ‘chasseur’.

//Sem Arab *ttr* ‘pousser vigoureusement devant soi’ [BK II 64].

[cf. AA 3 №237].

773. **[t̪]Vr-* ‘to twist, spin; плести, прясть’: C 6 Daba *tār* ‘tordre, tresser, filer’; 7a Skn *tārara* ‘twist’; E 5a Bid (noun deriv.) *turuuray* ‘variété de tressage de secco’.

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 7 Mofu *tār-d-* ‘tresser (cheveux, natte), étrangler (une poule)’.

//Sem Arab *ʔtr* ‘courber, plier, cambrer’ [BK II 38], Mhr *ʔtr* ‘to twist’ [JnM],

Cush Bed *terir* 'drehen, wickeln, spinnen' [RBd].

774. *[t]awar- > *tVwVr- : 'enclosure; ограда': C 5 Pod *tawāra* 'esp. de l'enclos'.

Deriv. *tV(wV)r- 'round; круглый': W 3 Kupto *tiri* [LgK]; C 2 Bura *tawarwar*; 6 Daba *tír tír* [Lnh].

a. *tar- 'to coil, encircle; окружать': W 3 Bol *taru* 'to coil (rope)'; C 4 Gude *taara* 'encircle smth, make, draw circle'; 7 Muy *tír* 'coiled'.

//Sem Sab *ṭwr* 'enclosure for livestock', Aram (Syr) Syr *ṭiyārā* 'sheepfold' [Bll 217], Omot Kafa *úṭerō* 'cattle enclosure' [apud AA №232], cf. Arab *ṭwr* (u) 'approcher, arriver plus près de...', *ṭawr-* 'tourner autour de', *ṭār-un-* 'disque rond, cercle' [BKII118]. Note *medial waw* in Sem and Ch languages.

775. *tas- 'to pound, break; бить, толочь': W 1 Hs *tátās* 'the sound of repeated slapping'; C 2 Bura *tasa* 'pound corn to break outer shell' [BIB], Ngwahi *tasə* 'to hit' [Kr]; 4 Gude *tás* idf. 'hitting lightly'; 5 Pod *tasá* 'pound to take off outer shell'; 7 Mada *áttas* 'marteler, aiguiser en martelant', Ould *-tās* 'marteler, aiguiser', Muy *átūsāy* 'to break', *átāsāy* 'hit with a tool'; 10 Dzpw *tás* 'bousculer'; E 2 Lele *tēsí* 'casser', Kaba *təsə* [Cr]; 3 Tumak *tāž* 'briser, casser', Ndam *təsá* 'break' (*t* < *t-) [Brs]. //Sem Geez *ṭasaya* 'crush to powder, destroy', Hbr PostB *ṭešteš* 'erase' [LsG 598], Arab *wṭs* 'frapper avec force le sol avec le pied ou avec autre chose, briser, casser, écraser' [BK II 1562], Cush (agaw) Xamir *ta(y)s*, Xamta *ṭaz-* 'to strike', Aungi *tás-* 'to hit' [Долг 289 *ṭayas-]

*w

776. *way- 'burn, set fire to; жечь': W 3 Kupto *wáyéy* 'to set fire' [LgK]; 4 Mburku *waa-* 'burn' [Sk NB]; 5 Grnt *wai* 'fry' [VM]; 6 Duwai *wáuyo* 'burn, burn up'; C 4 Mwl *ú-wa-nò* 'fry' [Kr]; 5 Wnd *wa-* 'brûler' [VM]; E 3 Smr *wá* 'rôtir, griller' [JgSib].

Deriv.: W 3 Kupto *wúy* 'fire; hell' [LgK], C 7 Mofu *áwaw* 'feu, chaleur'; E 3 Tum *wáy* 'chaud'.

//Sem Geez *wəʕya* 'burn (intr.), burn up, be on fire, blaze', *wəʕuy* 'hot, burning', Tna *wáʕayá* 'be hot', Harari *wəy* 'hot' > Cush Qwara *wā* 'burn, be hot', Oromo *oʔʔā* 'hot' [LsG 603].

777. ***wan-** ‘to open: открывать’: W 2 Mupun *wōŋ, wāj* ‘to open, widen’ [FrM], Mghv *waj* [JgS]; 7 Fyer *wàŋ* (< Mwaghavul?); C 4 Bch *wúnǎ* [Jglb], Gude *wunə, uunə* ‘open’, Gudu *wún-dà*, FJ *wuna-bi*, FM *wun(u)-bi* [Kr]; 5 Wnd *wra* [Mirt], Mlg *wúra*, Pod *wurá* (-r- < *-n-) ‘open’; 7 Gisiga *won*, Mafa *wún-*, Mofu *-wur-* ‘ouvrir’; E 4 Mawa *wanyaj* ‘open’; 5a Mubi *wen* [Luk], *win* [Jglb]; 6 cf. Mokilko *?i?ina*.

//Eg *wn* (Pyr) ‘open’ [EG I 311].

[Jglb *w-n; HSED №2524, EDE I 100].

778. ***wV(?V)r-** ‘to burn, жечь’: W 2 Mpn *wōor* ‘heat olives, cook eggs with oil’, Mushere *wakar phat* (plurac. in -k-) ‘to warm raw ripe olive’ (*phat* ‘olive’) [TAS 397]; C 7 Mofu *-ur-* (< wV?ur) ‘burn’ [Jglb], Gis *wur* ‘verbrennen’; 10 Peve *wor*, Hedc, Masa *war* ‘to grill’ [Shy], Dzpw *wór* ‘griller dans la cendre’, Dari *wōr* ‘griller (dans la flame)’, Gizey, Masa, Lew, Marba *wár*, Ham, Musey *wáa* ‘brûler, griller’ (note *-r# > 0) [LexC], Musey *waara* ‘griller’ [ShyM].

Deriv.: C 7 Muy *wārwār* ‘being very hot’, Mafa *wár-wárra?a* ‘chaud’.

//Sem Arab *?wr* II stem ‘enflammer’, *?awār-* ‘ardeur du feu, flame, fumée’ [BK I 68], *wry* ‘être allumé (se dit du feu)’ [BK II 1526], Eg *w:w?* (18) ‘Feuer, Glut’ [EG 250] (Egyptian form is cognate if ‘ follows AA *r).

[HSED №2528].

779. ***wVr-** ‘to exceed, be large: превосходить, быть большим’: W 3 Kirfi *wor-* ‘to exceed (in strength, size, etc.); Gera *wūr-* ‘to surpass’ [SchB], Kkrk *wāraa* ‘exceed, surpass’ [GK]; C 2 Bura *wála* ‘large, great’ [BIB]; 4 Gudu *?urá* ‘increase’.

Deriv. in -n/-ŋ: W 2 Ngas *warn* ‘big, large’ [Fl], *wuring* ‘large’ [Or], Mpn *wūrāŋ* ‘to grow’, Mghv *wúráŋ* ‘gross, hoch’ [JgS].

//Eg *wr* (OK) ‘to be big, great’ [EG I 326], SCush rift **?ur* ‘big’: Iqw, Gor *?uraw*, **?uraaraw* ‘to grow up’: Gor, Irq, Bur *?uraaraw* [Wtl, Ksl].

[HSED №2529].

780. ***wa(HV)r-** ‘to go, to come; идти’: W 3 Tng *warc*, *wa-* ‘to go’; 5 Grnt *warre*, *wári*, Zem *wári* ‘to come’ [Smz]; C 5 Pod *wura* ‘return’; 7 Mada *ówro* ‘aller, partir’, Ould *-wāra* ‘return’; E 2 Gbr *oore* (< **?Vwar-*), Nch *are*, Kaba *arc*, Dormo *erauá* ‘to go’ [Luk]; 3 Ndam *wurá* ‘se promener’ [BrN].

//Sem Akk (*w*)*āru*, *wʔr* (from OAkk on) ‘gehen’ [AHw 1471].

[CTA №43].

781. **wur-* ‘to dig; копать’: W 3 Tng *wure* ‘dig a hole in the ground’, Bol *wūrā* ‘dig by scooping up earth, dig away, hoe up, clean out a well’ [GAB]; C 5 Wnd *wura-ntu-wra* ‘dig’ [Kr], E 2 Lele *wer* ‘to enlarge (a hole)’.

a. **wur-* ‘pit; яма’: W 3 Dera *wūrā* ‘hole dug to collect water’ [NmK], 6 Ngizim *wūrīyā* ‘borrow pit’; C 3 HNK *wure* ‘hole’ [Kr]; 6 Daba *wulī* ‘hole’ [JgIb]; 7 Mafa *wūrāy* ‘fosse’.

//Sem Arab *wʔr* ‘creuser, arranger un foyer pour le feu’, *warr-at-* ‘fosse, fosse creusée en terre’ [BK II 1472, 1516].

[HSED №2548].

782. W **w/ʔusi* ‘fire; огонь’: 2 Mupun *wūs* [FrM], Mghw *wus* [JgS], Ngas *wus* [Fl], Montol *ʔús* [JgC], Goem *wuss* [Fp], Gerka *wūs* [JgC]; 3 Bolewa *osí*, Karekare *yāsí*, Ngamo *yāsí*, Pero *wúʒí*, Krf *wúší*, Gera *wúsí*, Galambu *wúší* [SchV], Tangale *wii*, Maha *woší* [NmM], Bele *ihí*, Geruma *uší* [SchB], Bure *úse*; 5 Grnt *iší* [JgIb]; 7 Mundat *wúš*, Karfa *woš* [RC], Kulere *wáše* [JgR]. Cf. W Krf *wúšá* ‘to burn’ [Stl], Bure *us-* ‘grill, roast’.

Derived verb in *ʔV*: E 5 **ʔVwVs*-> *ʔoos-* ‘to make fire, burn’: E 5a WDng *ʔóse*, EDng *óose* [Dj] ‘make fire’, Mig *ʔóosó* ‘mettre la feu à qqch’, Bid *ʔoos*; 5b Brg *ʔissí* ‘burn’. Cf. E 2 Dormo *isi* ‘heiss’ [Luk].

Note a strange distribution of this root: a noun in the West branch, a derived verb in the East, without a single reflex in Central Chadic. Initial *w-* in Chadic has no explanation so far.

//Sem **ʔiš-at-* ‘fire’: Akk *ʔišatu*, Ug *ʔišt*, *ʔs*, Hbr *ʔeš*, Aram (Emp) *ʔsh*, (Bibl) *ʔešš-*, (Palest) *ʔišsat-*, Geez *ʔəsat*, Tgr *ʔəsat*, Amh *əsat* [Fron 3.10], cf. Berb Ahg *a-həs* ‘big fire’.

783. *(*wV*)*sVm-* > **kV-wVsVm-* ‘rat, mouse; крыса’: W 1 Hs *kúusuu* (< **kV-usum-*); 2 Mghv *k^wu-zum*, (< **kwVsVm-* < **k-w(V)sVm*), Miship *ká-zim* [Kr], Kofyar *kə-zúm* (note regular voicing in inlaut), Goem *ke-sem*, *ge-sem* [Hlw] ‘rat’; 3 Krkr *čá-səm* (assim. < **kVsVm*), Bol *kò-súm*, Dera *kom*, Gera *ká-səmi* ‘rat’ [SchV], Krf *súma-senti* ‘musk shrew’ (*sen-* ‘to smell’) [SchB]; Bure *kú-súmó* ‘mouse’; 4 Kar *kú-sám*, Mburku *kú-šón* [SkNB] ‘rat’, Paa *ku-san-čiki* [MS], Miya *kú-sam* ‘mouse’ [SchM]; 7 Bok *kú-šim*, DB *kú-súm* ‘rat’; 5 Bogh *ku-sam* [Smz]; C 2 cf. Bura *izum* (voicing in

medial position) ‘Buschratte’ [HfB 47]; 8 Log *úḡsemī* (< *uksemi* < *ku-semi*, regress. assim. of the prefix), pl. *usemiēn* ‘rat’ (note that the velar prefix is attested in sing., but not in plural) [LkL], Afd [*mu-sum*] ‘Maus’ [Sol №255]; 9 Msg *ku-sum* [Mo]; 10 Mesme *ku-som*, Peve *ku-som kwid* ‘rat’ [Kr]; E 3 Tum *soóm* (*s-* < **sw-*, but *h-* < **s-*) ‘rat’ [JgIb].

Note the following traces of PChadic *prime waw*: 1. Long *-uu-* in Hausa; 2. labialized prefix in W 2 Mghv; 2. initial *u-* in C 8 Logone pl. form, 4. labialized sibilant in E 3 Tum.

//Sem **wVsum-*: Akk *ušummu* ‘Gartenschläfer, cane rat’ OB, later *šummu* [AHw1443], Eblaite *ù-šu-mu-um* (in a list of animals identified with Akk). For Semitic data, reconstruction, references and discussion see [SED II №214]. See also [JgIb **ksm*].

*y

784. *yVw ‘to call, to say; звать, сказать’: W 3 Pero *yó* ‘call’; C 2 Bura *yúwá* ‘to ask’ [BIB], WMrg *yuway*, Chb *yuwə*, Klb *áyú*, Hld *yuwā* ‘ask’ [Kr]; 3 FK *yáwá* ‘answer to greetings, *yíw* ‘to ask, request’ [BINd], HN *yuwe* ‘ask’ [Kr]; 4 Gudu *ḡyá* ‘call’ [Kr]; 5a Hdi *yawi* ‘chatter’ (n) [BrH]; 6 Gavar *ya* ‘appeler’ [VGv 5]; 9a Gdr *í-y-á / wyá* ‘appeler’ [VM]; 10 Gizey, Lew, Marba, Masa, Musey, Ham *yí* ‘appeler’ [LexC], Masa *yi/yiʔe* ‘appeler’ [VM]; E 2 Lele *yaá* ‘dire’, Tob *yé* ‘dire’, Kaba, Nch *-yə* ‘dire’ [HmK]; 3 Smr *yé* ‘say’ [JgSib]; 4 Sok *yé* [VM], Mawa *ycaj*, ‘appeler’

// Cush (agaw) **y[ə]-* ‘to say’: Bilin, Xamir, Kemant *y-*; saho-afar: Saho *iy-*, Afar *-iy(y)-* ‘to say’; PEC **-iy(y)-* ‘to say’: Sidamo *i-*, *y-*, Dar, Kamb, Alaba, Hadiya *i-* [ApAg 118, SsB 108, Hds 128]; SEomot and C’ara *yi-/hii* ‘to say’ [BdO 93, BlžO]. The origin of *h-* (Gidicho, Kachama *hii-*) needs an explanation. For a possible cognate see also Eg *iy* (BD) ‘Spruch’? [EG I 36].

Note ECh 5a Mig *ḡóyyó* ‘answer’ ~ SCush rift **ʔooʔ-* ‘say, speak’ [Kies] (presumably, < AA **ʔw/y*).

[Долг 184; HSED №2564]. For Eg - Cush see [EDE I 79] with more references.

785. *yVw ‘to go, come; идти, приходиться’: W 1 Hausa *yáawá* ‘wander through’, *yaáwə* ‘to walk’; 2 Gerka *ya* ‘to go’ [Fp], Mnt (redupl.) *yayee*

'follow' [Fp]; 3 Dera *yai* 'come' [NmK], Kirfi *yew/?-* 'to go' [Stl], Bure *yo?-* 'go, leave'; 5 Bgh *yu* 'return' [Cs], Grnt *yu-wi* 'suivre' [VM]; 6 Ngz *yá* (Imprf.) 'aller, venir' [VM]; 7 DB *yû* 'to go' [JgR]; C 7a Skn *ya-* 'come'; 6 Daba *yā* 'venir' [Lnhf]; 10 Dzpw *?yá* 'partir'; E 2 Lele è, Tob *yə* 'to go'; //Eg *iy* (OK) unregelmässiges Verbum 'kommen, to come' [EG I 37]; Berb Izayan *iya*, Qab *əyya* 'come'; Cush Bed *yi?-, ?i-* 'come' [RnB]; agaw Xamir *y-* 'to go'; Omot omoto **y-* 'come', Dizoid **y-* 'come', etc. [BndO 115, 161, 301].

[Nm **ya*, Долг 184; HSED №2566, EDE I 79].

786. *y/HVwan- 'to sleep; спать': W 3 Kupto *wúnán* 'sleep, spend the night' [LgK]; 6 Ngz *yúwán* 'sleeping', Bade *íwán* 'to sleep' [Jglb]; C 1 Gabin *'yenc*, Gaa *iyena* [Kr]; 6 FM *wanyi*, FJ *wunyi* 'sleep' [Kr]; 6 Daba *wān* 'dormir, sommeil', Buwal *wān* 'sleep', Mbedam *waj* [NdP], Gavar *wan* [VGv 5]; E 4 Barcin (dial.) *wàaní*, *wáaanó* 'to sleep'; 5a Mig *wáani* 'sleep' n., *wáano* 'rever'.

//Cf. Eg *?wn* (19) 'schlafen' [EG I 173].

*z

787. *zV?- 'to exist, to last; быть, длиться': W 3 Krkr *zú(u)* 'sich befinden, sein' [LkK], Ngm (G) *záu*, (Y) *zôu* 'life' [NEH], Bol *zôu* 'life, soul' [GAB], Maka *zowí* [SvP], Kupto *zòwí* 'life' [LgK]; 6 Bade *azu existential* 'there is (s.o.), exists'; C 7 Mafa *zá, žc* 'exister', Vame *za-* 'to stay' [KinV]; 9a Gdr *zíwí* 's'arrêter' [Mo]; 10 Dzpw *zá?á* 'rester (longtemps), durer, to last long'; E 5a WDng *zoozé* 'to sleep'.

a. Deriv. in n-: *nzV?/y- 'to sit, live; сидеть, жить': W 7 Richa *nza* 'sit (down)'; C 2 Bura *nzi* 'sit, remain', Chb *nzey* 'sit' [Kr], 3 FK *nzo-nzù?* 'sit' [Kr], 4 Gudu *nzáa-n*, FJ *nzá-xa*, FB *nzuyi* 'sit' [Kr], Bch *nza* 'sit' [Jglb] (cf. *nza* 's'asseoir, habiter' [VM]), Jimj *nzaa* 'habiter' [VM]; 7 Mada *énzc* 'rester, durer; laisser', Moloko *nže* [nʒe /C_y] 'sit, stay, live'; 7a Skn *nza* 'to sit' [Mo].

Deriv.: C 5a Hdi *nza-ku* 'to be seated' [Br H] (cf. *yuya-ku* 'drunk').

//Cush Bed *sā?* (s-regularly reflects AA *z-) 'sich setzen, sitzen, bleiben'

[RBd], Sem Geez *zəya* 'here, on the spot, to this place', Gur *ziya* 'here' [LsG 646], cf. Arab *?zy* 'être réuni ou ajouté à un autre et compris en un

seul', *ʔizʔa-* 'subsistence, moyens de vivre; position (d'un endroit, d'une localité)' [BK I 30].
[CLD III №359].

788. *zVw- 'to come, walk; (при)ходить': W 1 Hs *zoo* 'come' (VN *zuwa*); 3 Bol *zawwa* 'passing each other in opposite directions' [GAB]; 4 Wrj, Kar *zau*, Paa, Siri *za*, Jmb, Miya *za-*, Mburku *zaa-* 'enter' [SkNB], Wrj *za* 'to go before' [BIW]; 7 Mundat *zo* 'go out' [RC]; C 4 Gude *zaawa* 'go around smth'; 5 Pod *že* 'to move'; 8 Log *zuwa* 'spazieren, umhergehen, to walk' [LkL]; 9a Gidar *za* 'come' [FrG 472]; 10 Dzpw *zē* 'entrer', Dari *žē* 'entrer, pénétrer'.

Derived noun in *ʔa-*: W 4 Diri *ažawa* 'journey' [SkNB].

//ECush Tsam *zey-* 'go' [HayTs], Eg *izy* (OK) 'go!' [EG I 126] (if [yzy]), NBerb Tuat *c-zzu* 'to march', Mzab, Wargla *zwa* 'to go' [apud EDE I 176].

a. Note a possible extension of the present root:

E Ch 5 ***ʔVzV(w)-** (< *HVzV(w)-): Mig *ʔizaw* 'to accompany', EDng *ézcé* 'partir' [Dj] (if not < Arab *hzw* 'partir, s'éloigner, s'en aller' [BK II 1422]).
[CLD III №357, EDE I 176 Eg + Berb + Ch *žVw- 'to go'].

789. *zVw/ʔ- 'to call, to cry, to weep; звать, кричать, плакать': W 3 Gera *zawa*, Glm *zawa* 'call, summons' [SchB], Krkr *zawa* 'Schreien, Weinen, a cry' [LkK], *zawaa* 'to cry, weep' [GK]; C 3 Hya *zu-de* 'speak' [Kr]; E 4 Barein *za* 'call, rufen' [Luk].

a. ***zV(y)-** 'tell (news, fortune); рассказывать': W3 Bol *zowu* 'message' [GAB]; 5 Grnt *zei* 'tell fortune' [Cs]; E 6 Mok *zozcé* pl. 'conter, raconter, tell news'.

//Sem Arab *ʔzw* 'rapporter, attribuer qqch à qqn comme à son auteur; jmd. um Hilfe bitten', *ʔazwa* 'Kriegsruf', *ʔzw* VIII Stem, 'dire son nom et son origine', *ʔazwa*, *ʔizwa* n. 'l'action de faire cela; cri de ralliement, parole de la tribu' [Бел 2 192-3; BK II 248]. Root extension (*ʔ* as C₁) in Arabic.
[CLD №354].

790. *zVw- '(pouring) water, rain; вода, дождь': W 4 Tsagu *zawe* 'water, rain' [SkNB]; 5 Geji *zē* [Smz] 'water', Zaar *žā* [CrZ], Guus *žā* (< *zwa) 'water' [CrG], Dyarim *ža* [BID]; C 2 Bura *žoža* idf. 'water came running out' [BIB]; 10 Dari *žē* [žē] 'cours d'eau', Dzpw *zē* 'affluent, rivière'.

Derived noun: C 7 Zlg *māa-zaw* 'inondation, fleuve rapide', cf. Ould *n-zuʷ* idf. 'un liquide qui coule sans arrêt'. Cf. E 5a (redupl.) Mig *ziiziyo* 'trempe de vent précédent de pluie'.

//Cush agaw Bilin *zuwaa*, *suwa* Xamir *zoowa*, Xamta *suwa*, Qwara, Kemant *suwaa* 'rain'. Cf. Bilin, Xamta, Kemant *səwa* id. [Долг *зAw[H], ApAg *səw-a]. Note Eg *zwzw* (Pyr) 'Gewässer' [EG III 429].

a. *zV 'to rain; ишти (о дожде)': C 6 Daba *za* 'to rain' [Lnh]; E (redupl.) 6 Mok *zozze* 'tomber goutte à goutte, to drop'. Cf. Tum *həw* 'pleurer' (*h-* < Ch *z- is regular).

//Sem Hebrew *nāzā* (*nzy*) 'to sprinkle' [LsG 411, KB 604], Akk *nezū* (*jB*) 'to void (uirine, excrements)' [CAD n 200], PHECush **dzadz-* 'to spill, flow': Kamb *zaaz-* Sid, Had *daad-* [Hds], agaw Bilin *zuwaa*, *zowaa* 'to rain' [RB]. Root extension (*n-* as C₁) in Semitic languages.

[Cr 1987 №415 Ch+Cush, HSED №2614, CLD III №273].

791. *zV-k-/-t- '(your) body; тело': : 1 Hs *ži-kii* (*ži-* < *zi-); 2 Ngas *še-uk* [Fl], Mghv *ši-k* [Jglb], Mpn *ši-k*, Miship *ši-k* [Kr], Mnt *n-ši-t* [JgC], Goem *sə-k* [Hlw], Grk *tə-k* 'your body' [JgC]; 3 Bol *žiwo*, Krkr *zu(u)*, Dera *yi-k* [SchV], Tng *i-k*, Pero *či-g*, Bele *hi-kə*, Krf, Glm *ži*, Gera *zuwi* [SchB], Ngm *zugo roi* (Y) 'trunk of tree, log' (ro 'tree') [NEH], Maka *zə-kə* 'body' [SvM], Bure *žiye*; 5 Grnt *zu* [Jag]; 4 cf. Siri *zəri* 'body' [SkNB]; 7 Mundat *žiki* (< Hs), Mangar *žik* [RC], Richa *zi-gy*, Sha *zə-k* [JgR]; C 4 Bch *su-to* [Sk], Nzn *sə-či* [Mo] (*s-* < *z- is regular); 7 Mbuko *ze-k*; 8 Log *ze-zi* [Mo], Mak *si*; 9 Msg *su* [Mo]; 9a Gidar *zu* [Mo], *zə* [FrG 475]; E 1 Kwang *si* [Jglb]; 2 Kaba *ko-sə* [Jglb]; 3 Smr *si*, Ndam *hə-g* [Jglb], Tum *hi-g*; 4 Mawa *si-t*; 5a EDng *zi* 'le corps, la personne' [Dj], WDng *zi* 'body, person', Mig *zi*, Bid *zii-te*; 5b Kaj *si-k*, Brg *zi*, Mubi *ži-t* [JgL].

Note C 2 Mrg *uzu* [SkNB], Kilba, Chb *ža* [Kr], Bura *ža* 'body' [Ann]. Possibly, **wu-zV* > **wzV* > *wža* (palatalization in contact with *w*). The last step: **wža/u* > (*u*)*ža/u* (loss of palatalization before *-a/-u*).

//Cush agaw Xamir *ziyaa*, Hamta *siya*, Qemant *siyaa* 'meat', Qwara, Dembea *zeyaa* 'meat, body'; Bilin *zegaa*, *səxa* 'meat' [ApAg]. According to W. Leslau, Bilin *zegaa* is a loan from Ethisemitic (cf. Geez *səga* 'meat').

In the view of semantics 'body, person' in Ech 5, consider Eg *z* (OK) 'Mann, männliche Person', *z.t* (Pyr) 'Frau, weibliche Person' [EG III 404].

Strangely enough, in [TAS I 177] Eg *z* is analyzed as a word with a "hidden alef": "z, probably, < z' [*zl]".

[HSED №2597 Ch+Agaw + Eg *d.t* 'body'. For a more reliable etymology of Eg *d.t* [*g^w.t] see [TAS I 251].

[Nm *zi, Jglb *zk, St 43-4].

792. *zi/*zVw/y- 'a fly, bee; муха, пчела': W1 Hs *ma-zai* (noun coll.) 'k. of stingless bee'; 2 Ngas *ši* 'a fly, a bee', Mghv, Mpn *n-sii* 'bee' [JgS, FrM], Mushere *šiši* [JgO], Kofyar *šiši* 'fly', Goem *nši* 'fly, bee, honey' [TAS 345]; 3 Kupto *zuuzu* 'wasp sp' [LgK]; 5 Dott *zii* 'a fly' [CrD], Bgh *saay* 'fly' [Jglb]; C 3 FK *žew* house-fly' [BINd], HN *žuwi*, Kap *žu* 'fly' [Meek]; 5 Pod *žcwe* 'chasse-mouche', Dghw *nzúwè* 'fly'; 7 Baka *zúway* [BAS], Ould *zúway* 'a fly', Muy *čžwi* 'a fly', Mada *zwe* 'mouche (nom. gén.)'; 8 Log *zuu*, pl. *zúwèn*, *zaawe* 'Fliege' [LkL], Bud *aiyu*, *haiyu* [Jglb]; E 2 Tob *say*; 4 Mawa *soyi* 'abeille, miel'; 5b Mubi *azizúwá* 'guêpe maçonnerie' [JgL]. Regular devoicing in W 2, E 4.

//Berb *w/yVzzi: Nefusa *uzu*, Siwa *izi*, Ghdm *izzi*, Ghat *iz(z)i*, Ahg *chi*, Air *izi*, Qab, Semlal, Izayan *izzi* 'fly' [apud SED II №255], ECush *ziža 'bee': Kamb *ziissu* < *ziiz-ču* sg., Sid *diissu* sg., *diida* pl., Had *diissu* < *diid-ča* (-č- < *-t-) [Hds], Omot Ganjule *ziiz(o)*, Shin *zaa-nza* 'fly', Kore *zizō*, Gatsame *zizo* *diissu* < *diid-ča* (-č- < *-t-) [Hds], Omot Ganjule *ziiz(o)*, Shin *zaa-nza* 'fly', Kore *zizō*, Gatsame *zizo* 'bee' [BndO 82, 87].

793. *zVw/y- 'locust; саранча': W 5 Zul *zasi* (dissim.) 'locust' [BlZ], Zaar *zay* 'locust', Guus *zun* (< zVw-n) 'sauterelle' [CrZ, CrG]; C 7 Zlg *zawa*, Mofu *n-žayaw* (*nž-* < *nz-) 'sauterelle sp.'. Note Vame *nzinzay* 'criquet' [BIV 1].

a. *zV(zVw)- '(winged) termite; (крылатый) термит': W 3 Bol *zuuzuu* 'winged termites' [GAB]; C 7 Mafa *žocžc* 'termit sp', Mery *ma-zazay* 'fourmi', (derived noun) Mada *čzew* 'termitière'; 10 Dzpw *zúwà*, Dari *zúwà*, Masa *zùs*, *sùs* 'termite ailée, comestible'.

b. *zVzV 'worm, caterpillar; червь, гусеница': C 7 Mada *ma-zaza* 'ver de terre'; E 5a WDng *zézewa* 'chenille sp., kind of caterpillar'.

//Sem *ziz- 'kind of insect (locust, bug)': Akk *zizānu* (SB) 'Grille', Arab *zīz* 'cigale', Hbr *ziz* 'small creatures that ruin the fields', Aram (Jud) *zizā* 'Wurm' [SED II 255], cf. Cush Saho *ziiza* '(dung) beetle, coleoptera' [Vr]. Insect names in Chadic languages hardly reflect a single root. It seems

reasonable to keep apart 'locust' and 'worm', while '(winged) termite' can be attached to any of them. Note 'cigale' vers. 'worm' in Semitic. Alternatively, Chadic 'locust' (= 'a jumping insect') could be a derived noun, cf. WCh 3 Ngm *ziwâ* 'jump, leap up'; 7 Karfa *nzyo* 'jump' [RC] ~ Sem Arab *nzw* 'sauter, faire un saut' [BK II 1244]. Cf. [SED II №255, CLD III №364].

794. *zV?Vw- 'fibre, (leather) rope; нить, (кожаная) веревка': W 2 Goem *zaw* 'string (made of leather)' [Hlw]; 3 Ngm (G) *zâawâ*, (Y) *zâawá* [NEH]; 4 Wrij *žau-na*, Kar *žau*, Miya *žyau* [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *zawa* [SkNB], Duw *ziyi* 'rope'; C 1 Tera *zo* [NmT]; 3 Bana *zəʔwə*, FK *zəw* [BINd], HN *zùwə*, Kap *zùwə* [Kr], Hya *zuʔə* [BIH]; 4 Bata *zəwə* 'cord' [Mo], Gude *zəʔwá*, Jimj *zùʔun*, Gude *zúʔá*, Tsuvan *ʔazəʔwə*, Sharva *ziʔyč* [BryJ]; 5a Lmn *zuwii* [HmG], Hdi *zuʔi* [BrH], 5 Gvoko *za-dá*, Dghw *zaʔa*, Gdf *zawe*, Gava, Chn *zawa* 'rope' [HmG], Wnd *zawá* [Luk], Mlg *zawa* 'Seil, cable, rope', Glv *zawá* 'thong, strap, bond, rope (worn round the head)'; 7 Chv *žewey* 'fibre (d'écorce)', Mafa *zayá* fibre, *žew-éd* 'fibre en écorce', Muy *ěžew-éd*, Baka *čžew-éd* 'rope' (< *zew-, with a -d- suff. of sing.) [BAS], Mada *azawá* 'ligament, cordon, corde', Gis *žew-éd* 'Bindfaden, Strick', Mofu *zew-éd* 'corde en fibre végétale mâchée, ficelle'; 10 Masa *zəw* [CC], Musey *zew-na* 'la corde' [ShyM], Dzpw *zəw* 'corde (ombilical), artère, veine', Lew *zəw* Marba *ziyó* 'corde' [LexC], Musey *zew-na* 'la corde', Hedé *zəu*, Peve *šəw* 'rope' [Shy *zew]; 5a EDng *zəcyá* 'fronde' [Dj]. Note that E 3 Tum, Ndam *ha* 'rope' rather go back to E 3 *zar# < Ch *zVr- 'rope', see below. One would expect Ch *zV?Vw- > Tum, Ndam *hVw/y*.

Derived verb: W 3 Bol *nzaa* 'tie together' [GAB]; C 7 Chv *mé-žewey* 'attacher'.

a. ***zV(yV)w-** 'plaited object (net, roof); плетенка': W 6 Duw *ziyi* 'grass mat used as a screen'; C 7 Zlg *zəzaw* 'filet de chasse', Mada *zəwé* 'collet, collar; noeud coulant'; 10 Dari *žiw* 'filet (pêche), fishing net', Dzpw *ziú* 'toile d'araignée', *zà* 'toit tresse, plaited roof'.

//Eg *izw* (NR) 'Schnur? Streifen aus Leder?' [EG I 129], Berb Ahg *ta-haw-t*, Wlm *ta-šaw-t*, *ta-zaw-t* 'collier (d'animal)', Ayr *ta-zaw-t* 'corde' [Prs №423].

[HSED №2612, CLD III №374].

795. *zVy/?- ‘war; война’: W 5 Grnt žú [Jag], žco (< žc?o) [Cs]; 6 Ngz žá ‘war, waging war’, Bade zīyá ‘war, any game where competition is involved’, zīyu ‘make war’, Duw žīyá ‘war’, žīyo ‘make war’; C 10 Dzp w zī, Dari žī ‘guerre’; E 3 Ndam hay (h- < *z-) ‘guerre’ [Brs].

//Sem Sab nzʃ ‘come to grips with enemy’, nzʃ n. ‘disputation, quarrel’ [SD 101-102], nzʃ ‘fight for booty; injury caused by an enemy’ [BlI 299], note ECush Tsam zīy-a ‘warrior’ [HTs 48].

Root extension (n as C₁) in Sabaic.

[CLD III №365].

796. *zVy- ‘excrement; diarrhoea; экскременты, диарея’: W 1 Hs záawò ‘diarrhea’; 3 Ngm (Y) n-zé ‘excrement’ [NEH]; 6 cf. Bade zuu-čí (< *zuu-tí) ‘excrement from diarrhoea’; C 7 Mafa zay ‘excrement, crotte; déchet, résidu’, Chv, Ould záy, Muy azáy, Zlg za, Gis zay ‘excrement’, Mada za ‘excrement, crotte, selles; déchet’, Mofu záy ‘excrement, selles, crotte, bouse’, Baka azúy ‘merde’ [BAS].

Derived verb: W 1 Hs záawáyec ‘defile with excrement’; 6 Ngz záu-tú ‘to have diarrhoea’.

//Sem Akk zū (pl. tantum), zuʔu ‘excrement, faeces, dung’ [CAD z 150, 169], ECush Sid dēʔo ‘human excrement’, dēʔa, Kamb zeʔesu ‘defecate’ [Hds 48].

[SkH 298: Ch-ECush].

In the view of a possible semantic shift: ‘excrement’ ↔ ‘stinking, to stink’, the following isogloss is worth mentioning:

a. CCh *zVʔ- ‘to stink; вонять’: 5a Hdi zīʔay ‘to smell’ [BrH]; 7 Ould -zī ‘sentir, odeur, pourrir’, Muy ézī ‘to rot, to stink’ (Caus žīʔ ‘cause to rot’), žīžū ‘to smell’, Moloko ze ‘smell, stink’, Zlg žé ‘sentir’, Mada éže, Mofu -z- ‘sentir, pourrir’; 10 Dari žī ‘sentir, odeur’.

//Omoti Yemsa zeya ‘Gestank’ [LmY], Ongota ziiʔ- ‘to fart’ [SavT].

[Jglb I 61 CCh *zay ‘to smell’, CLD III №370].

797. *zVw/y- ‘guinea corn; просо’: W 4 Wj zuu-na, Miya, Kar zu, Mburku žuu, Tsagu zu-n ‘guinea corn, sorghum’ [SkNB]; C 7 cf. Ould zázay ‘grains flowing from a torn sack’

//Eg zw.t (Pyr) ‘wheat’ [EG III 426].

a. W 3 *zVw/y- ‘kind of grain food; вид зерновой пищи’: Bol záyya ‘coarse tuwo’ [GAB], Ngm (G) zúwé ‘gruel’ [NEH].

In [EDE I 181] some Chadic forms with initial *d-* (C 7 Matakam, Gisiga *daw* ‘grain’, E 3 Tumak *day*) are mistakenly taken as cognates of WCh 4 *zVw/y- and Eg *zw.t.*

[CLD III №367].

798. *zVb-/*zVHVb-/*zVbb- ‘to follow; следовать за’: W 4 Diri *zíbú* ‘to follow’ [SkNB], 3 Bol *zòwwu, žòwwu* (< *zob-) ‘look for, search’ [GAB]; C 2 Mrg *zəbù* ‘to follow’ [HfM 118]; 7 Mofu *-zəb’* ‘search, follow; chercher; suivre (les conseils de qqn), se suivre à la queue-leu-leu’; 8 Log *zbi* ‘follow’ [LkL]; 9 Mnj *zibi* ‘suivre à la queue leu-leu’; 9a Gidar *-zb-* ‘follow’ [FrG 477]; E 5a Mig *žóbbó* (*žo-* < *zo-) ‘suivre’, Bid *žob* ‘suivre’, pl. ‘poursuivre’.

Deriv. in *-t-*: C 2 Bura *zuba-ta* ‘to send’ [BlB, HfC 134], 8 Zina *zəb-tya* ‘follow’ [ZK]. Note C 2 Chb *zəbà-ćíní* ‘senden’ [HfC 134].

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *zəbarii* ‘seeking, looking for a person or thing’.

//Eg *zby* (Pyr) ‘gehen, vergehen, ausgehen; to walk, to pass’ [EG III 429], ‘send, conduct’ [EDE I 182], Sem Arab *z?b* ‘faire marcher devant soi (des chameaux, etc.)’, *zyb* ‘pousser qqn et le faire marcher devant soi’ [BK I 965, 973].

Forms in West and East Ch languages go back to *zVb(b)-, those in CCh - to *zHb, both root-variants - *zyb* and *z?b* - are observed in Arabic.

[AA 366 Diri, Margi, Logone, Eg + Arab *hzb* ‘to rush, to walk fast’, *wzb* ‘to run’; HSED №2616 Eg +Diri, Margi, Logone; CLD III №377].

799. *zVb- ‘to pour; лить’: W 1 Hs *zúba* ‘pour in or out’; 6 Ngz *zəbàbiyú* ‘wash cleaned millet before pounding’; E 5a WDng *zó-zbé* ‘to pour’.

Note C 7 Chv *zàzàv* ‘bave, spittle’, Mafa *zozo6-* ‘bave’.

//Sem Arab *zwb* ‘couler (se dit de’eau)’, *?zb* (i), *wzb* ‘flow’ [BK I 1024, 1527], Akk *zābu* (OB) ‘to dissolve, to ooze’ [CAD z 9], *Zābu* ‘the river Zab’, Geez *?azaba* ‘spurt out, squirt’ [LsG 62].

[AA №369 Arab, Geez+Hs; HSED №2631 Sem+Hs, CLD III №379].

800. *zib- ‘make a sacrifice; приносить жертву’: C 5 cf. Pod *gičika žibc* ‘hut for sacrificies’, *gičika* ‘hut’; 7 Muy *éžibi* ‘give dowry for a woman, give by stages’; 7a Skn *zəv* (< *zVb-) ‘sacrifice, make offering to’; E 5a Bid *ziib* ‘make a sacrifice before eating the new corn’.

//Sem Akk (from OB on) *zību* ‘Opfer’ [AHw 1525], ‘food-offering’ [CAD z 105]. Akkadian *zību* ‘food-offering’ as a reflex of Sem **ḏbh* ‘to slaughter, make a bloody sacrifice’ is generally accepted, but problematic, esp., in the view of the verb *zcbū* (NB) ‘to slaughter, sacrifice’ [CAD z 84]. Given that Akkadian *z-* may follow Sem **z-* as well, the present etymology of Akkadian *zību* ‘food-offering’ seems more attractive.

For Sem **ḏbh* see [Fron 4.23].

[CTA №44, CLD III №390].

801. *zVbV-(r)⁷³ - ‘worm(s); червяк(и)’: W 3 Krkr *nzəvəri*, Glm *ḡuur* (< **zVr-* < **zVbVr-*), Geruma *zəwri* ‘worm’ [SchV], Bol *nzaawar*, *nḡaawar* (< *nzabar*) ‘earthworm’, Pero *ḡibōri* ‘earthworm’; 5 Zaar *ḡibər* ‘generic name for maggots, worms, caterpillars’ [CrZ], Guus *ḡibər* (irreg. *ḡ-*, possibly, < **nz-*) ‘worm’ [CrG], Dott *šabər* ‘worm’ [CrD], Saya (Zaar) *ḡibər* [Cs], Mangas *šəmbir*, *šəmbir*, Grnt *ḡauri* (< *zwari* < *zbari*) ‘worm’ [Jag], Tala *šimbər* [Cs]; C 3 Bana *ḡəmbre-də* ‘ver de terre’ (note *-d-* as a suff. of singularity added to lexicalized plural; 7 Mada *zvər* ‘chenille de mil’; E 2 Lele *subō* (*s-* < **z-* is regular) ‘larve, ver, worm’.

Note an irregular reflex of Ch **-b-*: W 3 Ngm (G, Y) *nziḡir* ‘earthworm’ [NEH].

//Sem Arab *zibb-at-* ‘espèce de ver’ [BK I 968], Ongota *zabor-qo* ‘inch worm’ [FIO].

Eg *z*, [zr] ‘maggot’ can not be cognate with WCh Krkr *nzəvəri*, Glm *ḡuur*, Grm *zəwri* (< Ch **zbr*) ‘worm’, as suggested in [EDE I 178].

[CLD II №394].

802. *zV[f]- ‘to soak, to dip; мочить, окуна́ть’: W 2 Ngas *ḡop* ‘to soak’ [TAS 429], Goem *zwəp* ‘to dip smth into water’ [Hlw], Mpn *ḡop* ‘to dip’ (all < **zVf-*); 3 Ngm *zop-* ‘to dip’ [VbN]; C 5 Pod *zufā* ‘drown’.

//Sem Geez *zafzafā* ‘cause to ferment, immerse in water’, Tgr *zāfzāfā* id., Tna *zāfzāfā* ‘soften by soaking’, Amh *zāfāzzāfā* ‘cause to ferment, steep in water’ [LsG 632].

[CLD III №400].

803. *zV(wV)g- ‘to go, follow; идти, следовать’: W 5 Geji *zigga* [JgIB]

⁷³ For *-r-* as a marker of pl. in AA languages see [MR].

'go'; 6 Bade *zaagu* 'go around'; C 8 Log *zøge* 'follow' [LkL]; E 5a EDng *žogē* (< *zoge < *zwg) 'folgen, follow' [Ebb], 'rattraper qqn sur le chemin, courir après; suivre' [Dj].

//Sem Arab *zgw* 'pousser, faire aller' [BK I 976].

Note a poorly attested triradical of similar semantics: **a.[*zVgVr-] 'to follow, to hunt; следовать за, охотиться'**: C 7 Mada *ázgal* 'suivre'; E 2 Lele *sēgré* (s- < *z- is regular) 'chasse individuelle' ~ Sem Arab *zgr* 'faire marcher, faire avancer en poussant par derrière; éloigner, chasser, p.ex., un chien; faire partir' [BK 974].

b. The following isogloss is worth mentioning:

W 1 Hs *zágii* 'a runner in front of a horseman'; C cf. 5 Mlg *žága-de* 'laufen, rennen; to run'; 10 Bana *zagzag* 'schnell' [Luk] ~ Sem Arab *zgg* 'courir (se dit particulièrement de l'autruche mâle)' [BK I 973], Soq *zcg*, Jibb (dial.) *zég* 'run' [JnM 464].
[CLD III №427].

804. *zVg- 'to blow up fire; to flame; раздувать огонь': W 1 Hs *zúgá* 'blow up fire', (noun deriv.) *zúgaa-zugii* 'a pair of bellows' (> 3 Bol *zūgá*, *zugá* [GAB], Kupto *zuga* [LgK] 'bellows'); 5 Dott *zuga* 'blow the bellows of the smithery' < Hausa); C 10 Musey *zak-ka* (< *zaK-ka) 'brûler' [ShyM]; E 3 Ndam *yuga* (< *zuga) 'brûler' [BrNd]; 5a Bid *zeeg* 'to shine, to flame; flamber', (noun deriv.) *zēgēwa* 'flame', Mig *zēgo* 'allumer, make fire'.
Derived noun: W 2 ***zuk** (< *(?V)zVg-) '**hearth; печь**': W 2 Mghv *zuk* 'fireplace (for elders)' [BIM], Mpn *zuk* 'open hearth where men only are allowed to sit', (< *?VzVg-, initial *z- more often yields W 2 *s-).

//ECush dullay Tsam *žúže* 'hearth', Gollango *oske* 'Feuerstelle' [HayTs].

[CLD III №428].

805. *zVg- 'to tie, to sew; спивать, привязывать': W 1 Hs *zága* 'attach a noose to', but cf. also *zārgá* id., (derived noun) *zága* 'a string secured across the parchment of a drum'; C 9 Mulwi *ziigi* 'coudre, sew', Mnj *ziygi* 'coudre, remailler (un filet)', Msg *zīga* 'sew' [Mo].

Deriv. in *n-*: C 5 Mlg *n-zug^{wa}* 'anbinden, to tie'.

Derived noun in *-m-*: C **zVgVm-* 'kind of band for a horse': 5 Pod *zag^{wa}ama* 'muselière de cheval, horse-muzzle'; 7 Mada *zógomá* 'bricole du cheval, breasband', 9 Mnj *azogom* 'corde, courroie, belt'.

Note E 5a EDng *zógó* 'le petit panier tressé' [Dj].

//ECush Arb *zaag-* 'to sew' [Hay], SOMot Ari *zax-*, *žāag/k-*, *zaag*, Hamer *gooza* (metath.?) 'to sew' [BndO 216].
[CLD III №433].

806. W *zVg- 'to rub, scath: **тереть, скрести**': 3 Krkr *zāga* 'rub (wood)' [GK]; 6 Ngz *zā-zgú* 'rub to relieve an itch', Duw *zāzgo* 'rub, scratch (animal)'.
Derived noun in *-n-*: 3 Bol *zogina*, *žogina* [GAB], Ngm (G) *n-žoknô* 'cat's whiskers used as a potherb' [NEH].

//PHECush **zuug-* 'scrape': Oromo *duug-* 'clean by scraping', *duguuga*, Burji *duug-*, Gedeo, Had, Sid *duug-*, Kamb *zuug* [Hds].
[CLD III №432].

807. *zVh- 'to pound (in a mortar), to thresh; mortar; **толочь, молотить, ступа**': W 4 Wrij *zawai* 'threshing of grain' [BIW]; C 4 Bch *súwô* 'pound in a mortar' (*s-* < **z-* is regular) [Sk]; 5 Pod *zaha* 'to grind well'; 9 Mulwi *zúwí* 'repiler (le mil), to pound (grain)'; 10 Dzpw *zú'u* 'piler, to pound', Mesme *zú'ú* 'pounds' [JgZ].

Derived noun: C ***zu?- 'a mortar, ступа**': C 4 Bch *súwè* [Sk]; 10 Masa *zu, su* [Mo], *zúu* [Cpr], Dzpw *zú'u*, Musey *zú'ú-nā*, Marba *zuzo-da*, Peve *zu?*, Hedè *zu'u* [Shy **zu?-/zuzu*], Giz *zúw*, Ham *zúu*, Lew *zú'ú* [LexC].
//Sem Arab *zhw* (u) 'frapper, battre (d'un bâton)' [BK I 1023], Ongota *zaha* 'to grind' [FIO, SavT].
[CLD III №423].

808. *zVk- 'to thresh, pound; **молотить, толочь**': W 4 Miya *zəḵə* 'thresh (on ground or in mortar)' [SchM]; C 8 Zina *zákə* 'frapper, tuer' (plurac. verb) [Tr]; 10 Dzpw *zókò* (*zo-* < **zo-*) [dzoko] 'piler a petits coups, pound'.

Derived noun.: W 2 Ngas *ga-zak* 'roughly ground flour' [Fl].
//Sem Arab *zhk* 'broyer entre deux pierres, crash between two stones' [BK I 1022].
[CLD III №442].

809. *zVk- 'to smell, stink; **пахнуть, вонять**': C 7 Mafa *žik-* 'to have strong smell', Chv *mé-žékèy* 'sentir (odeur)'; E 5a WDng idf. *zik zik* 'sentir mauvais', (deriv.) *zèki-dè* 'être dégouté, be disgusting'.
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *zúkuuluu* 'a stingy person'.

//Omot Gamo *zeeḱḱ-*, Zayse *zeeḱ-* 'stinken', Dache *zeeḱo* 'Gestank', Yemsa *zey-* 'stinken' [LmY].
[CLD III №449].

810. *zal- 'to pour (away); **выливать**': W 3 Krkr *zal-* 'pour away' [LkK]; 4 Wj *zal-* 'pour' [BIW]. Cf. C 10 Musey *zāl* (Imperf.) 'to wash grain' [ShyM].

Deriv. in *n-*: 'to pour in (accurately)': W 3 Ngm *n-zal-* 'pour in' [VbN], cf. Ngm (G) *n-zal-kô* 'pour through narrow opening' [NEH], Krkr *n-zalu* 'pour in thin stream, through narrow opening' [GK], Bol *n-zol-* 'eingiessen, pour in' [LkB].

Derived noun: C 5a Hdi *zala* 'stream' [BrH], note: 7 Muy *zala-kà mayo* (water-course).

Derived noun in *-m/-n-*: ***zVI-m/n** 'tears; слезы': W 5 Zaar *žcləm* [CrZ]; E 5a Bid *ziłanya*.

//Sem Geez *zalala* 'wring a wet garment, strain a liquid', Tna, Amh *zällälä* 'add water to beer', Geez *zalḥa* 'drain out, empty all the liquid from a vessel', Aram (Syr) *zəlah* 'pour out' [LsG 637]. Note Sem **nzl* 'to pour out//to go down' Akk *nazālu* 'to pour out, to drain' [CAD n1 134], Hbr *nzl* 'fliessen' [KB 605], Aram *nəzal* 'running waters, rivers', (Syr) *nazel* (pa.) 'to lead down, make go down' [Zm 398-9], Arab *nzl* 'descender d'un endroit plus élevé sur un autre plus bas' [BK II 1239], Geez *nazala* 'go down; flow, spill over' [LsG 411]. For a discussion on the semantic shift and the primary semantics of Semitic **nzl* see [Бел 3 №356]. Cf. also CCh 7 Chv *zala* 'bas'; ECh 5a Bid *ziil* 'descendre'.
[HSED №1909 (Hbr+WCh); CLD II №456].

811. *zVm- 'to rob, to cheat a person **красть, обманывать**': W 1 Hs *zaamaa* 'defraud person of his proper share'; C 4 Gude *zəmə* 'cheat, neglect to pay debts'; 8 Log *zum* 'to rob' [LkL], Bud *ham* 'to rob' [LkBd]. Note W 5 Zul *zami* 'to find, get, obtain' [BIZ].

Verbal deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): W 6 Duw *zəm-to* 'snatch, wrest away', Ngz *zaam-tu* 'jerk out, snatch up (as a hawk catching a chicken)', Bade *zəm-tu* 'swoop down, snatch up'.

//Sem Akk *zummú* (from OB on) 'lack, miss, be deprived of' [CAD z 156]
//'beraubt sein, berauben' [AHw 1536].

In [MSem 15] Chadic root is considered cognate with Sem **wzm* ‘to give, lend, pay’. The comparison seems unreliable in the view of a semantic gap (‘to rob’ ~ ‘to give’).

[HSED №2632 Akk+Log, CLD III №476].

812. *zVm- ‘to ask; спрашивать’: W 4 (deriv.) Wrj *za-zumakai* ‘to beg’; C 1 Tera (dial.) *zəmi* [Kr] ‘ask’; 8 Log *záamā* ‘fragen, to ask’ [LkL]. Note C 7 Ould *zəmma* idf. ‘low voice’.

Root extensions (? and ʕ as C₃) in Semitic languages.

//Sem Arab *zʔm* ‘crier’, *zʕm* ‘parler’ [BK I 992], Sab *zʕm* ‘declaration’ [SD 170].

813. *zVm- ‘to eat; есть’: W 4 Wrj *žimw-* ‘eat (hard th.)’ [JgIb]; C 1 Tera *zəmi*, VN *zəm-nda* [NmT], Gbn *simi*, Boka *ášimi* [Kr]; 3 FK *zəm* ‘feed’ [BINd], HN *zime* [Meek], *zume* [Kr], Bana *zəmə* ‘manger’, 4 Bch *zúmo* [Sk], Gude *zəmə* ‘eat’, Bata *zəmo* [Mo], *sum*, Gudu *zúm* ‘eat soft things’ [JgIb]; 5 Gdf *zuwā* [FrG], Dghw *wazuwə*, 5a Cin *azuwa* ‘to eat’ [Kr] (all < **zuma*, for Ch **m* > *w* in CCh 5-5a see [Nm]); 6 Daba *zəm* [JgIb] ‘eat soft things’, Mbedam *zəmáw*, Buwal *zam*, Gavar *zəm* [VGv 5]; 7 Mafa *zám-* ‘spit out; chew, Mada *ázam*, Moloko *zóm*, Zlg *zóm*, Gis *zom*, *zum*, *zm*, Mofu *-zəm-* ‘eat’, Baka *zom* ‘eat’ [BAS]; 8 Log *zem*, *zóm* ‘essen’ [LkL], *zimi* [Mo], *səm* [JgIb] ‘eat soft food’, Bud *ham* [LkBd]; 9a Gidar *zəm* [Mo] ‘eat’. Note irregular *s-* in CCh 2: Bura *sim* ‘eat’, *susima* ‘food’ [BIB], Chb *dzu gu suma*, Mrg *á sim* ‘eat’ [Kr].

Derived noun: ***zVm-** ‘food; еда’: C 4 Gude *zəmə*; 8 Log *zəmi* [LkL].

Deriv. in *-t-*: C 3 Bana *zəmənci* (< **zama-n-ti*) ‘alimenter, to feed’. //Sem Arab *ʔzm* ‘mordre de toute la bouche, de toutes les dents’ [BK I 30], *zʔm* ‘avalier avec avidité, to swallow greedily’ [BK I 967]. Root extensions (? as C₂ and C₁) in Arabic.

[Nm **zəmə*, JgIb I 56 **zm*, CLD III №473].

814. *zVm- ‘branch, rod; ветка’: W 2 Goem *zam* (< **nzam*) ‘a rod, a slender stick’ [Hlw]; C 5 Pod *zəma* ‘tiges pour couvrir le toit, branches for thatching’; 7 Mada *nzama* ‘arbuste qui sert pour la vannerie; bush used for plaiting baskets’; E 5a EDng *zūm-nē* (lexicalized pl. in *-n-*) ‘la forêt, les tailles, les bois’. Cf. W 2 Grk *zám* ‘forest’ [BIY].

//ECush Tsam *zaamm-e* ‘branch’ [HayTs], Burji *dám-ee* ‘branch’, Oromo

saam-cc ‘long branch with smaller branches on it’ (note PECush **daʔm-* in [SsB]), Eg *zm̥.w* pl. (MK) ‘branches of a tree’ [EG III 452]. For an interpretation of Eg *zm̥.w* as [**zm̥ʔ*] see [EDE I 182]⁷⁴. [Долл140 Eg+Cush, CLD III №493].

815. *zVm- ‘darkness, shadow, cloud; темнота, тень, облако’: W 2 Mpn *zám* idf. ‘black jet’ [FrM]; C 2 Bura *žim* ‘darkness, gloom’, *žimbaru* (pl.) ‘black storm clouds’; 7 Mada *zm̥-k zm̥-k* ‘sombre, dark’; 9 Msg *zemaí* ‘Osten, east’ [LkM]; 10 Masa *zim* ‘l’obscurité, l’ombre, darkness, shade’ [CC]; E 5a Bid *zim-zimo* ‘ombre causée de nuages, obscurité’, Mig *ziimó* ‘ombre, shade’.

Derivatives: E 5a Bid *zem-zəm* ‘faire de l’ombre’, EDng *zūm-zum-zum* ‘couvert, nuageux’ [Dj] (note E 5b Mubi *zòmò-dé* ‘(se) couvrir (avec une couverture)’ [JgL]).

In the view of incompatibility of *-m-* and *-l-* in a cluster, one cannot exclude that Ch **zVm-* goes back to **zVml-*, see the following isogloss:

E 6 Mok *zímoló* ‘sombre, obscure, dark’ // Eg *zm̥.w* [zml.w] (XVIII) ‘darkness’ [EG III 452]. Alternatively, Eg *zm̥.w* may follow AA **zm̥ʔ*.

Note that E 5 WDng *zìim* ‘black’, Mig *zìimó* ‘became dark, gloomy’, Bid *zàlám* ‘couleur tirant sur le brun, colour close to brown’ rather Arabic loans, cf. Arab *zālim-* ‘sombre, obscure’ [BK II 141].

[HSED 2624 Eg+ECh5 Migama, CLD III №475].

816. *zVm- ‘blood; vein; кровь, вена’: W 2 cf. Mghv *zem* ‘oil from a plant’ (=‘blood of a plant?’) [BIM]; 7 ‘blood’ (coll.): Sha *zòm*, Richa *zòm*, Monguna *inzom*, Mundat *anzòm*, Karfa *izyim*, Mangar *nzòm* ‘blood’ [RC]; C 6 Daba *zəmī* ‘vein’, *zəmī pāy* ‘root’ [Lnh]; E 4 Saba *sam* (regular devoicing) ‘blood’.

a. *zVm- ‘red; красный’: W 4 Paa *ziimáa* ‘red earth (rubbed on body)’ [MS].

//Sem Geez *zam* ‘blood’, Aram Mand *zma*, Syr *zūm* [LGz 638], Omot

⁷⁴ An AA etymology of G. Takasz includes only two Chadic forms, namely; W 3 Pero *žim* ‘tree stub’ (semantically dubious) and (strangely enough) W 2 Mupun *ndám* ‘light branch of tree’. Note that Mupun *d-* reflects Ch **d-* only, never **z-*. See numerous examples in the present text.

Dime *z/zumu* 'blood taken from an ox', Hamer, Ari *zumʔi* 'blood' [BndO 236].

It is highly probable, that Omotic languages preserve the original semantics 'blood of an animal'.

[BlžO, SED I 296; EDE I 183, CLD III №485].

817. *zVn- 'to sit, stay (for some time); сидеть, оставаться на месте': W 7 Karfa *zanáy* 'dwell, live, sit down' [RC]; C 8 Log *zen* 'sitzen, bleiben' [LkL]; E 6 Mok *ʔózzínè* 'passer, rester une année, quelque part'.

Derived noun : W 7 Mangar *mu-nzan* 'life' [RC].

//Sem Arab *znʔ* 'rester à une endroit' [BK I 1015].

[CLD III №508].

818. *zV(wV)n- 'to pour; лить': W 2 Goem *žuan* (*ž-* < *zw-*) 'pour' [Fp]; 4 Diri *zan-* 'pour away' [SkNB]; E 5a (redupl.) Bid *zenyzény* 'ruisseler, sinter, to ooze'.

Deriv. in *n-*: W 3 Bol *n-zúnaa* 'be wet', *n-zonu* 'dive, submerge', *n-zaanu* 'dump a liquid, pour down', (noun deriv.) *n-zúna* 'dampness of wall' [GB], *n-zónó* 'untertauschen, im Wasser versinken, to soak' [LkB].

//Sem Akk *zanānu* (from OB on) 'to rain; to pour out, to drip' [CAD z 41],

Arab (Dat) *muzn-* 'pluie torrentielle' > Gees *zanma* 'rain' [LsG 641].

[HSED №2609 Akk + Diri, Bidiya; CLD III №512].

819. *zVn- 'skin, to skin; кожа, снимать кожу': 1 Hs *zaanaa* 'sloughing of a snake; the sloughed skin of a snake' (but cf. *záana* 'to draw, stretch'); 2 Bol *ziino* 'skin' [Koelle]; 4 Siri *zinu* 'to skin' [SkNB]; C 6 Buwal *zazān* 'type of bark'.

Derived verb in *ʔV-*: E 2 Lele *ōsīnī* 'éplucher' (Chadic **z-* > *s-* in Lele).

//Omot Galila *zeena* 'hide', Ari *zəna* 'skin' [BndO 116], Cush Som *saan* 'animal skin or hide' [LIS]. [HSED №2625 Galila+W 3 Bol, CLD III №515].

a. *za(a)m- 'skin; кожа': C 1 Tera *kə-zəm* (note *k-* as pref. of body-parts) 'skin' [NmT]; 2 Bura *zam-zamía* 'leather water bag'; E 4 Karbo (Barcin) *záama* 'Fell', *záamin* 'Haut' [Luk]; 5a WDng *zāama*; 7 Brg *zāamà* [JgBr] 'skin', Mabire *zam* [JH] 'skin'.

Chadic **z-m* ~ **z-n* synonyms are suspicious. In the view of external parallels, Ch **zVn-* should be considered the 'basic' structure. Correspondingly, Ch **za(a)m-* rather results from assimilation: **zVn-m-* >

*zamm- > zaam-. For -m- as a possessive suffix see №568 *IVs-m- 'tongue', №25 *bVr-m- 'knee'.

[Nm *zəm, Jglb I 182 *zm 'skin, body', CLD III №484].

820. *zVn- 'adultery': W 1 Hs *zinaáčé-zinaáčéc* (< *zinaa-te) 'repeated acts of adultery'; C 2 Bura *zani* 'a prostitute'; 3 cf. (compound) FK *žyan-kálá* 'venereal disease' [BINd]; 8 Mak *n-zino* 'adultery' [AIM].

//Sem *zny 'to fornicate, commit adultery' Hbr *zānā*, Aram (Syr) *zənā*, (Mand) *zna*, Geez *zanaya*, Tgr, Amh *zānna* > Cush Afar *sannaw*, Saho *zanaw* [LsG 642], Syr *z'nā* 'to commit whoredom', Aram *z'nā* 'to be unchaste' [Zm 210], Arab *zny* 'commetre l'adulte' [BK I 1018].

[CLD III №518].

821. *zVr- 'to stretch, to pull; to tear; тянуть, рвать': W 1 Hs *zāraa* 'draw out, pull'; 3 Pero *žāarō* 'tear (calabash, cloth)'; 6 Ngz *zārū* 'pull'; C 6 Daba *zār* 'pull up, stretch' [Lnhf]; 7 Mofu *-zāzar-* '(s')allonger, (s')étirer, to stretch (o.s.)'; E 5a EDng *zōorē* 'décrocher, tirer de haut en bas' [Dj].

Deriv. in -d-: C 7 Mofu *-zār-d-* 's'étirer, s'allonger'; E 5b Mubi *zārā-dē* 'arracher les feuilles d'une branche' [JgL].

Deriv. in *n-* (usually indicates plurac.): W 3 Krkr *n-zāru* 'drag, pull with a rope (e.g., a goat)' [GK]; C 10 Dzpw *n-žor* (*nz- > nž-) 'déchirer, to tear in pieces'.

Deriv. in -t- (complete action): C 7 Mofu *-zār-t-* 'casser en tirant (une cord, un habit), déchirer, to tear, tear by pulling (rope, cloth)'.

//Sem Hbr *mzr* 'ausdehnen, to extend', (qal) 'spread (net)' [KB 510], Arab *zrr* 'arracher le poil en tirant poil par poil' [BK I 982], Geez *nzr* 'tear to pieces' [LsG 411], PHECush *dzar- 'to tear': Burji *dar-*, Gedeo *dar-* Had *dircer-*, Kamb *zar-* 'tear, Sid *dar-* 'hatch' [Hds].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Semitic and Chadic languages.

[CLD III №535].

822. *zVr- 'to drip; капать': W 3 Ngm (G) *zārā* 'leak' [NEH], 5 Zaar *zor* 'drain off by filtering through a basket' [CrZ]; 6 Bade *zārzara* idf. 'in trickles'.

Deriv. in *n-*: W 3 Krkr *n-zāraa* 'drip, leak out (air, water)' [GK], Bol *nzolu* 'to pour in narrow stream' [GAB].

Deriv. in -t-: W 3 Krkr *n-zārā-tu* 'pour in drops' [GK]; 6 Bade *zārzar-tu*

'leak, drizzle out'; C 7 Mafa *zər-t-* 'lasser couler la sauce en filet'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *má-zúráarii* 'natural channel'; 3 Glm *zár-kú* [SchB] 'watercourse', Maka *zír-kí* 'river' [SvM]; E 5a Bid *zuro* 'courant'; 4 Ubi *zurre* 'courant d'eau, current; fluent; stream'; 5b Mubi *zòoró* 'fleuve tributaire' [JgL].

//Cush Saho *zare* 'to flow', *zarä* 'flowing, small stream, rivulet, trickle' [Vr], Omot Wolt *zaar-ett-* 'to pour from one container to another' [LmW].

823. *zVr- 'thread; нить', ***zVwVr-** 'rope веревка': W 1 Hs *zàrce* 'thread', *zaariyaa* 'a trouser-string'; 3 Geruma *žúurá* (< *zwVr-) [SchB], Krkr *zoori*, Ngm *zoori*, Gera *zúra*, Dera *woori* [SchV], Bol *zoori* 'rope' [IbB]; Ngm (Y) *zare* 'thread', (deriv.) (G) *zaarara* 'teathering an animal with a long rope to allow it to graze' [NEH], Maka *zoori* 'rope' (gen.) [SvM]; 5 Guus *zare* 'a thread' (< Hausa) [CrG]; 7 Richa *zar* 'rope' [RC], Richa *zár* 'rope, string'; C 7 Mafa *zár-zarraʔa* 'like a thread, filiform'; E 3 Tum, Ndam *ha* [Brs] 'rope' (< *zar#, *h-* < *s-, *z- is regular). Note E 5b Mubi *zúr* 'descendre par une corde' [JgL].

Derived verb in -*d-*: E 5a WDng *zər-dé* 'attacher fortement, ligoter, to tie tightly'.

Deriv.: ***(n)zVr-** 'a net, fish trap; сеть, верша': W 6 Bade *zìrya* 'large fish trap consisting of a net'; C 5 Mada *n-zàràwà* 'filet à grandes mailles', Zlg *nžaràwà* (*nžV-* < *nzV-) 'filet; sac'; 8 Mak *zari* 'a net' [AIM]; 10 Dzpw *zərà* 'piège trappe'.

//Sem Arab *zwr*, *zhr* 'attacher une bête avec la corde, to tie an animal with a rope', *ziyr-* 'filet' [BK I 1025, 1032], Eg *z'* (if = [*zr]) 'cattle-hobble', *z'ir.w* 'Feseln, Bande' (Pyr) [EG 422], SBerb pl. **i-zwV(r)wr-ən* 'corde de derrière de selle': Ahg pl. *i-hwewər-ən*, Wlm *i-šwərwər*, pl. *i-šəwīwər-ən*, Ayr pl. *i-ž(w)iwər-ən* [Prs №438].

The following isogloss seems to be of common origin with 'to tie':

ECh 1 Kera *zòoré*, Kwang *seeré* (vowel assim.) [JgIb] 'to sew' ~ Omot Yemsa *zoor-* 'to sew' [LmY].

Note various root extensions in Sem, Eg, Ch and Berb languages.

[Hodge Hs+Eg; EDE I 178 WCh +Eg+Berb+Hbr; CLD III №546].

824. W *zVwVr- 'hut; хижина': 3 Bol *zuurá* 'living quarters within a compound (for son, brother)' [GK]; 5 Guus *záwre* 'entrance hut' [CrG].

a. C ***zVr-** 'roof': 3 FK *zār* 'make a thatch roof' [BINd]; 4 Gude *zə̀rə̀zə̀rə̀* 'mat awning or shed'.

//Sem Akk *zaratu* (MA, MB) 'tent, canopy, cabin of a boat' [CAD z 66].

[CLD III №558].

825. *n-zV(HV)r- 'star; звезда': W 2 Grk *dar-kir* (*d-* < **z-* < **nz-* is regular) [Fp], Mpn *zār*, Mghv *zār* [JgS], Ngas *zaar* [Or], Miship *zər* [Kr], Mnt *zai* (*-r -> -y-* is regular, *z-* < **nz-*) [Fp], Goem *sum-šar* [Fp] *sem-shaar* [Hlw] (*sem* 'sky'); 7 DB *n-žórc-t* (*nzo-* > *nžo-*) 'star'; C 2 Bura *zarzar* (*z-* < **nz-*) 'the morning star'; E5a EDng *zāara* 'l'étoile du berger' (planète) [Dj].

//Sem Arab *zhr* 'briller, être brillant (se dit de lumière et de tout ce qui a de l'éclat, du teint, etc.)', *zahar-at-* 'Venus', *ʔazhar-* 'lune' [BK I 1020], Hbr, Aram *zhr* 'to shine' [KB 352], Syr *zahrā* 'brightness', Aram *zīl^arā* 'moon, moon-light' [Zm 210], Berb **ziri* 'moon' Ghdm *ta-zīri*, Nefusa *zīri*, Siwa, Mzab *ta-ziri*, Qab *ti-ziri* (apud [MSem №92]).

Long *-aa-* in W and EChadic languages points to a laryngeal in medial position (*C₁VHVC₂* > *C₁VVC₂*).

[CLD III 556].

826. *zV(ʔV)t- 'to add, to make complete; добавлять, наполнять': W 2 Mushere *zut* 'plenty, sufficient' [TAS 428]; 3 Bol *zootu, žootu* (*žo-* < **zo-*) 'add to a container and fill completely' [GAB]; 4 Paa *zuutu* 'completely' [MS]; C 7 Muy *zāt* 'full'; E 4 Mawa *zidiḡ* 'ajouter, to add'.

//Sem Arab *zʔt* 'remplir' [BK II 966].

Note a long vowel in WCh languages, pointing to a laryngeal as C₂.

[CLD III №413].

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827. *ʔV 'to cut (off, through), to slaughter; разрезать, отрезать, зарезать': W 1 Hs *šaa* 'circumcise'; 5 Zul *ʔoyí* 'to cut' [BIZ]; 6 Duw *ʔo* 'cut off (with a knife)'; 7 Sha *šoš* 'slaughter; shlachten' (redupl.) [JgR], C 1 Hon, Gbn *ʔe-* 'cut' [Kr]; 2 Bura *ʔa* 'cut up, into pieces' [Ann], *ʔla* [ʔa] 'cut' [HfB 286].

⁷⁵ In Chadic tradition the sign *ʔ* is used to render a voiceless lateral fricative, regularly corresponding to Sem **ĉ* (= **š*) > Hebrew *š*, "sin", Sabaic *s₂*, MSA *s*, etc. Chadic **ʔ* and Semitic **ĉ* reflect AA **ĉ*.

Mrg *tə* 'cut (with knife)' [HfM 127], Klb *h̄ia* 'to cut open' [MuK 26], Chb *t̄ay* 'cut' [Kr]; 3 Bana *t̄a* 'couper, tailler, trancher; cut (off, through)', *t̄at̄a* 'découper, dépecer', FK *t̄a* 'cut, trim' [BlNd], HF *ta-*, Hya *ta-ve* 'cut' [Kr]; 5 Podoko *ta:* 'cut'; 7 Mbuko *t̄a* 'cut', Ould *-t̄* 'couper'; Gisi *t-* 'schneiden, schlachten; cut, slaughter', Mofu *-t̄* 'couper, circoncire; to circumcise, to cut', Mada *áta* 'égorger les poulets pour la divination', Vame *t̄a-* 'cut' [KinV]; 9 Mulwi *h̄i* 'trancher, couper; cut (off, through)', Mbara *h̄i* 'cut'.
 Deriv.: C 7 Ould *-t̄a-r* 'couper pour qqn'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *šaa* 'circumcision; cutting out a garment'; 7 DB *ma-ša*, Mangar *mu-ša* 'circumcision' [RC].

a. **ṽV(H)*- 'knife'; нож': C 1 Gabin, Gaʔanda *t̄u-ta*, Hwo *t̄awu-ra*, Boka *təx-tə* 'knife', *təx-tə* 'sword' [Kr]; 7 Balda *t̄uw*, Gis *t̄uw-ed*, Mofu *t̄uw-ed* 'knife' (note *-d* as a suff. of sing.); 9a Gdr *t̄ooḥoo* [Mo]; E 6 Mok *s̄uwwó* 'knife'. It seems that 'knife' and 'sword' in Boka are of the same origin (differently see in CLD II №157a).

//Eg *šʕ* (Pyr) 'schneiden', I. 'to cut off a body-part of a person/animal, to mow down (plants, corn); to fell trees'; II. 'to cut in pieces', *šʕ.t* (Pyr) 'knife' [EG IV 415, 417], SCush Qwadza *hleʔo* 'knife' [Eh 211 №28 **t̄eç-* or **t̄eʕ-*]. Note SCush Rift **slaʕaniya* 'scar': Alg *slaʕani* 'wound, scar', Bur *slaʕaniya* 'scar', with the following comment in [Kies 254]: "Probably derived from a lost simplex **slaʕ* by the nominalizing suffix **-ani* plus singulative **-iya*".

Note that reflex of AA **-ʕ-* has preserved in C 1 Boka in contact position (*təx-tə* 'knife').

The following Chadic root, lacking external parallels, seems to be a derivative in *-y/-w-*. Note, on the other hand, more restricted and specialized meaning.

b. **ṽVy/w-* 'to harvest corn (with a sickle); жать зерновые культуры': W 2 Mpn *l̄eç* 'to cut (by taking of slices); to harvest', Mushere *l̄eç* 'to cut, harvest (by knife)' [JgO]; 5 Zaar *t̄aa* 'cut, harvest with sickle' [CrZ], Guus *t̄aw* 'cut, slaughter, harvest (rice, wheat)' [CrG], Dott *t̄oo* 'cut; harvest rice' [CrD], Pol *t̄oo*, Zul *t̄oyí*, Buli *t̄oo-dən*, Dott *t̄uu*, Jimi *t̄ewii* 'cut' [Cs №787]; C 7 Muy *átáy* 'cut with a sickle'; 8 Afd, Maltam *t̄ay*, Log *t̄áy* 'couper (céréales), to cut cereals' [TrC], Mak *še* 'cut the ears of corn'; 9 Mnj *h̄i* (*t̄a*) 'faucher (a la faucille); cut with a sickle', *h̄i* wile (wile 'cou') 'égorger; slaughter'.

828. **Vy/w/?-* 'to stand up, to rise; вставать, подниматься': W 4 Warji *táu*, Kar, Miya, Mburku, Jmb, Diri *ta-*, Siri *tu* 'to stand up, to rise' [**ta(u)* SkNB], Miya *ta* 'stand up, wake up' (contam. with the next root) [SchM], Paa *tuu* 'to rise, fly' [MS]; 5 tala cluster **ita*; Geji *ti*, Pol *ti*, Buli *ita*, Zeem *táa*, Dass cluster *te/u*, Zakse (Saya cluster) *te*, Dott *te*, Zaar of Kali *ti* 'stand up' [Smz]; 2 Mnt *laa* 'aufstehen, aufgehen, to stand up, to rise' [JgS]⁷⁶; 6 Ngz *táu* 'stand up', *tátáu* 'lift, raise', Bade *táw* 'stand up' [Kr], Duw *tóto* 'rise, get up'; C 1 Boka *ḥcʔi* (irreg. reflex), Gaʔanda *teʔe*, Gabin *taʔi*, Hona *ti* 'stand up' [Kr]; 2 Bura *ta-ta* 'to arise, to stand up' [Ann], Klb *hya* 'to rise' [MuK 99], Ngwahi *gá-xiyé-ta*, Hildi *xyaʔ-ádi*, Chb *xa-ti*, Klb *ahya-ʔatú* 'stand up' [Kr] (all < *hya* < **tya*); 3 FK *tó* 'wake, stand, rise' [BlNd], *ta-túʔ*, HN *ta-gwá* 'stand up' [Kr]; 5a Lmn *t-* [Luk], Hdi *tya* 'se lever; to rise, to go up' [Egg], Hitk *t-* 'aufstehen' [LkH]; 7 Mada *cʔya* 'se lever, poindre (jour); to rise, to begin (day)'; 8 Log *tá* 'sich erheben, aufstehen; to rise, go up' [LkL]; 10 Masa *tá* 'soulever, to lift (a little)' [CC], Dari *ḥē* 'prendre qqch par terre; se lever (lune), to raise smth. from the earth; to rise (moon)', **ti* 'to lift': Masa, Musey *ti*, Marba *te*, Peve *tie* [Shy]; E 2 Lele *sē* 'se lever, enfler, voler (oiseaux)', Tob *sáy* 'se lever, voler, enfler'; 3 Smr *só* 'se lever' [JgIb]. Note W 3 Tng *sas* 'high, visible'.

//Eg *šwy* (Pyr) 'sich erheben, to rise' [EG IV 431], (SCush ?) Maa *sle* 'rise (sun)' [Eh 211], Sem Soq *ʕs(s)*, *ʕsy*, Mhr *ass*, Jib *ʕass* 'se lever' [LsS 331], Omot Dizi *aašo*, *aazh-*, Nao *ašš-e*, Sheko *aas-e*, *aš* 'stand (up)' [BndO 217].

Chadic&Egyptian reflexes go back to AA **čw/y/?*, while MSA&Omotic - to AA **čc/y*. The latter has a variant with a metathesis, namely: AA **wčʕ* > Sem Arab *wšʕ* 'gravir un montagne, monter sur' [BK 1542] ~ Ech **wV[ʔ]-* 'to stand up': 1 Kwang *āse* [JgIb]; 4 Sok *wāse* [JgIb] 'stand up', Mawa *wisij* 'se lever, se réveiller, s'envoler, voler'; 5a EDng *účé* 'se lever, se mettre debout, se mettre sur ses pieds d'envoler, grandir' [Dj], Mig *wáčáw*, Bid *ʔuč* 'se lever'.

⁷⁶ Common origin of Mnt *laa* 'to stand up, to rise' and Kofyar *raa* 'to swell of belly' (as suggested in [TAS 217]) needs a proof. The data up to now collected, including that in [TAS], show the regular correspondence: Kofyar *t* ~ Montol *L*.

The following Semitic root may be considered an extension: AA **cw*/ʔ > Sem **ns*? : Akk *našû* (Oakk) 'to lift' (also: 'to be tense or swollen(?)') [CAD n 80], Ug *nšʔ* 'heben, erheben' [Ais 214], Hbr *śəʔat* : *nšʔ* 'Erhebung; erhabene Stelle; swollen spot, swelling' [KB 913], Arab *nšʔ* 'grandir (enfant); être haut, très élevé (se dit d'un uage)' [BK II 1255]; Geez *násʔa* 'take; take up, lift', *?ansəʔa* 'take up, raise up, wake up', Gurage *nässä* 'raise, lift' (accord. to [LSG 404], the root passed into Cush, see Bed *ncsāʔ* 'lift, rise').

In the view of a tenable semantic shift: 'to rise' > 'to swell', observed in Semitic and ECh, the following Chadic isogloss relates to the same AA root-nest:

a. **Vʔ*/y-/Vʔ*** 'to swell; **распухать**' > 'to become fat; **становиться жирным**': W 5 Guus *hi* 'swell' [CrG], Zaar *təθ* 'to swell' [CrZ] (cf. Saya *tú-s* 'to swell' [Cs]); C 3 FK *té* 'to swell(as on the body)' [BINd]; 4 Gude *atə* v.i. 'swell, puff up, bloat', Sharva *?at*, Jimj *?itə* 'swell' [BryJ]; 7 Dugwor *maʔay* 'to swell', Zulgo *tətət* 's'enfler; to swell (out), to belly out' (reduplication); E 1 Kera *sé* 'anschwellen, vermehren; to swell, to augment'; 2 Lele *sē* 'se lever, *enfler*, voler (oiseau)', Tob *sáy* 'se lever, enfler, voler'; 4 Mawa *sooyoy* 'gonfler; grossir; to swell, to fatten'; 5a Bid *čuuʔay* 'avoir un gros ventre; to have a big stomach'. Note W 1 Hs *saayii* 'excessive fatness'.

b. For semantics 'to fly (of birds)' in ECh 2 Lele and Tobanga see Sem Akk *šaʔu* (OB) 'fly about (birds)' [CAD š2 243]. The following Egyptian parallel is also worth mentioning: Eg *zšy* (Pyr) *neben* 'emporfiegen (Vogel); to fly up (bird)' [EG III 483]. For a "double sibilant" *zš* rendering AA **c* see №859. For Eg *sš* rendering AA **s* see №918, for Eg *šš* rendering AA **č* see №№110-112, 732. On "double sibilants" in Eg see [CrEr]. [HSED № 516, CLD II №20].

829. **ta(y)* 'to perform, to make; **делать**': W 5 Ngas *le* 'to force, compel, cause to do' [Fl], Mghv *lè* 'machen' [JgS]; 5 Dott *taa* 'execute' [CrD]; 7 DB *sáy* 'tun, to do' [JgR]; C 2 Bura *ta* 'to perform' [Ann]; 6 Buwal *ta* 'prepare'; 9 Msg *ča* [ta] 'machen, tun; make, do' [LkM]. Cf. C 7 Zlg *te* 'pouvoir'.

//Sem Sab *s₂wʔ* 'service, perform' [SD 136], Eg *š* 'Arbeit, work' (OK) [EG IV 399].

[CLD II №15].

830. *V7/y/w- ‘to assist, to help; помогать’: W 2 Ngas *la-h* ‘to help’ [Or], *laa-laa* ‘to relieve (a friend carrying a load)’ [FI], Mushere *loo* ‘to take care of’ [JgO]; 3 Pero *čawu* ‘assist’; Bol *saww-* ‘add, help’ [LkB]; C 5 Mlg *tíya* ‘Hebamme; midwife’.

//Sem Arab *šyʕ* ‘aider, assister’ [BK I 1298], Soq *śéʕe* ‘se soucier, to take care’ [LsS 423].

[CLD II №16].

831. *n-IV ‘a head of cattle; голова крупного рогатого скота’ > ***ta** ‘cow, bull; корова, бык’: W 1 Hs *śá-nú, śá-náyee* (pl.) ‘ox’ (singular nouns: *sáaniyaa* ‘cow’, *sá* [san] ‘ox’, are likely erived from pl.); 4 Siri *ḥāa-ti* ‘cow’ [Jglb]; 5 Dott *ḥāá* ‘cow, bull, ox’, *ḥāá ləp* ‘buffalo’ [CrD], Buli, Dott *ḥaa* ‘cow’ [Cs №223], Jimi, Geji, Buli Zul *ta* ‘cow’ [Jglb], Zul *ta* [BlZ], Dyarim *ḥá* (sg. and pl.) ‘cow’, *gwəmə ḥá* ‘male cow’ [BID] (all < *nḥa < *nta); 6 Ngz *ta* ‘cow’; C 1 Tera *ḥa* ‘cow’ [NmT], Hona *ta-ra*, Gabin *tá-ta*, Gaa *nu-ta-ta* ‘cow’, *hi-ta-ta* ‘bull’ Kr; 2 Klb *ta* ‘cow’ [Meek]; Bura *ta* ‘a cow’ [Ann], Chb *tá*, Mrg *tá* [Kr]; 3 FK *tá* [BInd], HN *ta* [Kr]; 4 Gude *la* ‘cow’, FM *ḥá* ‘cow’ [Kr]; 5 Glv *tá*, Dghw *t-tá*, Ngweshe *tə* [Jglb]; Wnd *čhá* [Luk] ‘cow’, Mlg *əta* ‘Rind(er), Vich, head of cattle, cattle’, (*mukə*) *əta* ‘cow’, Pod *ta* ‘vache, boeuf’; 5a Hdi *ta* ‘la vache varieté zebu’ [BrH], Hitk *tá* ‘cow’ [LkH]; 6 Buwal *ḥá* (< *nta < *nta) ‘ox’; 7 Mafa *tə* ‘boeuf’, Gisiga *ta* ‘Rind, Kuh’, Mada *atá* ‘vache, boeuf’, Mofu *tá* ‘bovin, vache’, Mery *ta*, Ould *tá* ‘boeuf’, Muy *tá*, Zlg, Baka *ta* ‘vache’ [BAS], Vame *ata* ‘boeuf’ [Kin]; 7a Skn *ḥə* ‘cow; general term for cattle’; 8 Log *ntaa, ntaa* pl. *ntawcə* ‘Rind’, *ntaa genəm* ‘Kuh’ (*gənəm* ‘Frau, Weib’), *yəle ntaa* ‘Kalb’ (*yəle* ‘child’) [LkL], Gulfei *ḥai*, pl. *ḥawé* ‘Rind; cattle’ [Luk 150], Mak *ša* m. ‘herd of cows’, f. ‘cow’ [AIM], Bud *haa* ‘(Milch)-Kuh, Rind’ [LkBd]; 9 Msg *ḥai*, pl. *ḥaakai* ‘Rind’, *ḥai na muni* ‘Kuh’ pl. *ḥaakai na falakai* [LkM], Mnj *tay* ‘vache’, pl. *taakay*; E 1 Kera *si* ‘cow’; 2 Nch *sī* ‘vache, boeuf, viande’, Kaba *sī* ‘vache, boeuf’ [HmK], Gbr *sin* ‘cow’ [Luk], Dormo, Nch, Kaba *sī* ‘ox’; Dormo, Nch *sīdi tama*, Kaba *sī tāma* ‘cow’ [Luk], *si-tə ta.má* ‘cow’ [Jglb]; 3 Ndam *swi* ‘zebu cow’ [Brs], Tum *huy* ‘vache’ [Jglb].

The word for ‘cow’ shows irregular voiced reflex (*ḥ*) in a number of Ch Biu-Mandara languages. Most probably, *ḥ*- originates from *nḥ* < PCh

**nt-* (note *n-* as a pref. of sing.). For original semantics and structure see: C 8 Log *n̄taa, n̄taa*, pl. *n̄tawéé* ‘Rind, a head of cattle’, *n̄taa* geném ‘Kuh’ (*gənəm* ‘Frau, Weib’), *ȳole n̄taa* ‘Kalb’ (*ȳole* ‘child’)[Luk150]). The *n-* prefix can be traced also in CCh 5 Wnd (*čt̄t̄a* ‘cow’) and 7 Mada (*at̄t̄a* ‘vache, boeuf’). The geminated consonant results from regressive assimilation: **nta* > *t̄t̄a* > *Vt̄t̄a*.

Note sg. ~ pl. opposition in kotoko gr.: **nta* ‘a head of cattle’ (Logone *n̄taa*) ~ **t̄a* ‘cattle’ (Makari *ša* ‘herd of cows’), cf. also Hs *šá-nú, šá-náyéé* (pl.) ‘ox’.

Of special interest is vocalism in ECh 1-3 groups (*si, swi*), as compared to *t̄a* in W and CCh. One could think of ‘frozen’ pl.: Ch **t̄a* > ECh 1-3 **sa* > **sa-wi* (> **swi* > *sii*) ‘(zebu) cows’. Note *-we* as a pl. marker in Lele: *gira*, pl. *gar-we* ‘dog’, *mayo*, pl. *may-we* ‘small’, etc., [Cope 74-75]. Less probably, ECh forms are of different origin.

//Cush Bed *ša?* ‘cow’ [RBd], HEC **sa?a* ‘cow’ [Hds], ECush **ša?* ‘cow’: Burji *saa*, Saho *saʔ-a*, Som *saʔ*, Rend *sah*, Boni *saʔ*, Bayso *se*, Dasenech *seʔ*, Oromo *saʔ-a*, Konso *sa-a*, Sid *sa(?)a*, Dar, Kamb, Had *sa-ya* [Ss 36], Saho, Afar *saʔa* ‘herd(s), flock(s), cattle’ [Vr], SCush **slee* ‘cow’ > Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *slee* [Eh, Kies]; Cush **šVʔ* ‘cow’ [Долг 115].

Deriv.: ***(y)Vw-** ‘meat; мясо’: W 4 Wṛj *tū-na*, Paa *tuwi*, Siri *tuyi*, Miya *tiwiya*, Kar *tiwi*, Tsagu *tu-n* ‘meat, animal’ [SkNB]; 5 Guus *tūu* ‘flesh, meat’, *tūu kə ləpə* ‘wild animal’ [CrG], Bgh *sau, lau*, Mangas *tu, t̄o*, Geji *tūu*, Buli, Saja (Zaar) *tūu*, Pol, Dott *t̄oo* ‘meat’ [Cs №196], Zul *t̄u* [BIZ], Dyarim *šaw* ‘meat’, *t̄aw ndal̄ən* ‘buttocks’ [BID]; 6 Ngz *tūwái*, pl. *tūwawin* ‘meat; animal (generally wild)’, Duw *tūwi* ‘meat, animal, esp. wild animal’; C1 Tera *ḡu* ‘meat’ [NmT], Gaʔanda *tiwa*, Gabin *tiwe* ‘flesh’, *tuwe* ‘meat’, Boka *tuwā* ‘flesh’, *tūwə* ‘meat’; Hona *tuwa* ‘meat, flesh’ [Kr]; 3 HN, Kap *t̄ti* ‘flesh; meat’, HB, (HF) *t̄ti* ‘flesh’, *t̄ti* ‘meat’ [Kr], Kap *t̄ti ya kwam̄te*, (HF *t̄te kwam̄tu*) ‘wild animal’ [Kr]; FK *t̄e* ‘meat’ [BIND], cf. FK *t̄ii* ‘meat (animal)’ [Meek]; Kap *t̄ii*, HN *ti* ‘meat’ (all < **t̄ti* < **t̄V-ti*) [Meek-Jglb]; 4 FJ *ḡuwe*, FM *ḡiwu* ‘meat’, FJ *ḡuwa*, FM *ḡiyu bilu* ‘wild animal’ [Kr], Gude *l̄owá* ‘meat, wild animal’, Bata *lio* ‘meat’ [Meek], Nzn *liwe* ‘flesh’, *liwoweyēci* ‘wild animal’, *liwo* ‘meat’ [Kr]; 5 Glv *tūwā* ‘(animal) meat, flesh’, Wnd *hyuwa* ‘meat (animal)’ [Meek], Wnd *ḡūwā* ‘Fleisch’ [Luk], Dghw *tūwā* ‘meat’ [Jglb], Chk *tūwē* ‘flesh’ Chn, Glw *t̄wā* ‘flesh’ [Kim]; 5a Hitk *tūwī* ‘Fleish’ [LKH], Lmn *tui* ‘meat’ [Meek],

Hdi *tuʔi* 'meat', *tuʔi vəya* 'fleisch, la chair' [BrH]; 6 Buwal *ḥéy*, Mbødam *ḥi* 'meat', Gavar *ḥi* [VGv 14]; 7 Chv *taw*, Mafa *ḥúwé-d* 'meat', Mada *atto* 'viande, chair, gibier'; Mofu (*a*)*taw* 'viande, chaire animal (*viande ou poisson*)', *ataw gga léy* 'viande de brousse, wild animal', Merey, Mefe *taw* 'meat', Zlg *tú* 'meat'; *tuwiy* [ḥ^wi] [DS], *Iwi* [Meck7a Skn *tuwiy* [ḥ^wi] [DS], *Iwi* [Meck]; 9a Gidar *twa* [Mo] 'meat'; 8 Afd *szu* 'Fleisch', Sao *šu*, Glf *ḥu*, *sū*, *thūū*, Kus *su*, *suu*, Shoe *su*, Log *tu* 'Fleisch', Bud *hu* 'Fleisch, Leib' [Sol №268], Log *tu* 'Fleisch' [LkL], Kus *súʔu* [Tr]; 9 Mbraa *tú-k* 'viande'; 10 Mesme *teu* [Kr], **tiw* 'meat, flesh' [Shy], Giz, Ham, Lew, Marba *ḥiw* 'viande, chair [LexC], Masa *ḥiw* 'la chair; la viande'[CC], Musey *tiw* 'viande, chair, corps, personne' [ShyM, Kr], Dari *ḥéw* 'viande, animal comestible', Dzp *w tēō* 'viande, chair, animal (sauvage)', Peve *teo* 'meat', Mesme *tew* [tleou] [Kr]; E 2 Lele *sii* 'viande'.

Given that Chadic 'meat' is an evident derivative, it cannot be cognate with Sem **caw-* (= **saw-*) 'sheep', as suggested in [SED II 217].

[Nm **hla* 'cow', **hləw* 'meat'; Jglb **t* 'cow', GrC **ta* 'vache, boeuf', CLD II №27; MSt №34, HSED №517 **cāʔ-* 'meat', №2323 **sāʔ-* 'cow, bull'].

832. *Vw- 'guinea corn; cereals; процо; зерновые': W 2 Ngas *šwec* (< **swV* < Ch **Vw-*, note that Ch **t* > WCh 2 **t-*) 'guinea corn', [Fl], Mghv *šwaa* 'Mais, Guineakorn' [JgS], Mnt, Grk, Goem *sua* [Fp], Goem *swa* [Hlw] 'guinea corn', Mushere *šwaa* 'guinea corn' [JgO]; 3 Krkr *sawá* 'Getreide, cereals' [LkK], Tng *sau* 'guinea corn', Gera *sawá* 'sorghum' [SchB], Kupto *šaw* 'corn, grain, cereals' gen. n. [LgK]; 4 Siri *tawi* 'guinea-corn' [SkNB]; 5 Zul *ota* 'wild guinea corn' [BIZ]; C 2 Bura *m-ti* 'guinea corn' [Kr]; 6 Wnd *éiʔa*, *eia/ea*, Pod *éiʔa/ea* 'mil' [Mo], 10 cf. Masa *eay togwoda* 'mais' [Mo]; E 1 Kera *kaa-saw* col. 'Hirse, mil' gen., *sō* 'Zubereitete Hirse, Nahrung'; 5a Mig *čiwwa* 'gros mil (sorgho) sp.'. Cf. C 7 Mafa *mə-taʔa* 'gout de mil tendre'.

//Sem **sVʔVʔ-* 'barley, ear of corn, kind of beans' [MAG №5]: Akk *šeʔu* 'barley, grain; pine nut' (according to [CAD š 345], a loan from Sumerian), Arab *šʔʔ* IV 'se remplir de grains (se dit des épis, des céréales)' [BK I 1234], Tgr *sāʔaʔ* 'oats', Tna *saʔaʔ* 'avena, sorta di biada', Eg *šʔ.t.t* (Med) 'kind of bread', *šʔ.t* 'teil den Gerste o.a.' [EG 421, 20], HECush **soʔa* (type of) barley': Gedeco, Kamb, Burji *soʔa*, Had *so'o* 'barley', Sid *šoʔec*

šo?ee 'ear of corn' [Hds].

[Ст №521; HSED №599 Eg+WCh; CLD II №35 Sem+Ch, MAg №5].

833. W *FVwɣ- 'tribal marks; ритуальные насечки': 4 Miya *atau*, Mburku *tawə* 'tattoo', Jmb *taa* 'shave' (n.), Paa *tawa* 'scarifications' [MS], Miya *étyuw* 'tribal markings, etching, tracing' [SchM]; 5 Zaar *taayôn vi* (from *taa-kôn vi*) 'tribal marks on cheek fanning from the corner of mouth' [CrZ], Pol *tóo-tə*, Saya *taa-koggáa* 'tribal marks' [Cs №95].

Derived verb: W 4 **taw* 'to scratch': Warji *taw* 'to scratch' [SkNB], Paa *təo* 'scratch, tattoo, write' [MS], Miya *tyaw* 'to etch, trace' [SchM].

//SCush rift Irq *slooi* 'tattoo' [MKQ], rift Irq *sloo?i*, Alg *slo?i*, Bur *sloo?ariya* 'brand', *sloo?* 'to brand' [Kies].

[CLD II №30].

834. *FVɣ- 'sorcery, sorcerer; колдовство, колдун': W 2 Ngas *laauu* 'a charm' [F1], *lau* 'Zaubermitel' [JgA]; C 5 (deriv. in -ŋ) Pod *taya-ŋa* 'sorcier; sorcerer; wizard'; 5a Hdi *taya-ŋ* 'clairvoyant' [BrH]; 7 Mafa *taya* 'devin, clairvoyant, prophet'; E 1 Kera *ké-sáy* coll. 'magisches Holz (bâton) am Eingang der Konzession unfgepflanzt; magic pole placed at the entrance of a compound'.

//SCush rift Irq *miislaay* 'magic power' [MQK], rift **miinsláy* 'witchcraft, sorcery, magic': Irq, Alg *mislay*, Gor *miinsláy*, Bur *miinslay* [Kies].

Presumably, **miin-slay* is a compound, for the first part see, for eg., Rift **miin-gwarec?u* 'sorghum' (AA **gVr-*), **miin-tsaratu* 'fresh milk' [Kies].

[CLD II №32].

835. *FV(?) 'excrement; экскременты; to defecate; испражняться': W 7 Bok *ši?* 'Notdurf verrichten; defecate', *šiši* coll. 'excrement', DB *šāš* 'excrement, Kot', *šāš* 'defecate' [JgR]; C 1 Hona *té* 'faeces' [Kr]; 5a Hdi *tuwi* 'excrements dans les intestines' [Egg]; 10 Dari *hi* 'salir'; E 5b Mubi *čáy* 'déféquer, chier' [JgL].

Note W 6 Ngz *šáu* 'excrement (animal or human), shit' as an Arabic loan (Ch **t* yields Ngz *t*).

//Sem Arab *šā?w-* [BK I 1180] 'dung of a camel', cf. Eg *š: w* (med) 'Kot des Menschen; faeces' [EG IV 402].

[HSED №546, CLD №29].

836. *FVb- 'to stand up; вставать': W Pol *təp*, Zaar of Lusa (Sigidi cluster)

təp [Smz] (-p# < *-b#) 'stand up'; C 5 Wnd *təbbə* [Mirt]; 7 Mada *ataába* 'se lever', Mbuko *tába-k* 'se lever'.

//Sem Arab *šbw* 'être haut, élevé, grand', *šaab-un* 'mousse d'eau; foam' [BK I 1188], Mhr *šbb* 'to climb (fire, grow up)' [JnM].

In the view of a tenable semantic shift: 'to rise' > 'foam' (cf. Arabic) the following isogloss may be considered a derivative:

a. ***IVb-** 'foam; пена': W 2 Goem *loor* (if < **IwVr* < **tWVr* < **bVr*, pl. in -r-) 'scum' [TAS] (for Ch **-b-* > W 2 -w- see [St 102]); C 5 Pod *ḥóba* 'foam' (voicing due to regressive assim.); 7 Skn *mə-təbəc* 'scum (forms when boiling mahogany oil)'; E 1 Kera *siibó* 'Shaum, Ferment; foam'.

// SCush rift Irq *slooroo* 'foam, froth' [MQK], Alg *slubari* 'froth', Bur *slubariya* [EH 213], rift **slup-ari* ~ **slub-ari* (neutral suffix -ari): Irq *slooroo*, Gor *slupoo*, Alg *slubari*, Bur *slubariya* [Kies].

Note an "external parallel", given in [Kies]: Sandawe *slúbàrà*, *sluúba* 'foam'. In the view of Chadic cognate, Sandawe is rather a Cushitic loan in Sandawa.

[CLD II №40, 51].

837. *IVb- 'fence (made of hay, mats); ограда': C 9 Mnj *eab* [təb] 'mur d'enclos' [Mo], Musgu *təb* 'Zaun um das Haus oder Mattenwand des Hauses; fence around the house or mat-wall of the house' [LkM]; 10 Giz *təb* 'clôture' [LexC]; E 2 Lele *sābā* 'clôture de paille tressée, fence of plaited hay', Kaba *sba* 'fence'.

//Sem Geez *sābsāba* 'interwine, be fenced in, encircled by leaves', *sābsāb* 'basket made of intertwined rush, granary made of leaves or rush, small room near the main house where the newly-married stay', Tna *sābsab* 'small structure near the parents' house where the newly married stay', Tgr *sābsab* 'roofed anteroom' [LsG 526], cf. (derived verb?) Mhr *šbk* 'to link, to make a fence' [JnM 371].

[CLD II №56b].

838. *IVbVII > IVb- 'meat; мясо': W 1 Hs *šāabi* 'meat from shoulder of ox'; 4 Diri *təbu* '(be) fat' [SkNB]; C 5 Ngweshe *təbó* 'meat' [Jglb], Pod *təba* 'viande'; 7 Muktele *təb* 'meat' [Jglb]; E 2 Lele *kū-sūbā* 'wild animal' (note *k-* as a pref. of collective nouns in ECh languages).

//Eg *šb* (18) 'Fleischstück (als Opfergabe), piece of meat (as an offering)'

[EG IV 437]. Note Sem Geez *śabha* 'be, grow fat' [LsG 525], Jib *śabh* 'fat meat, corpulence'.

Semtic parallel (note *h* as C₃) could explain emphatic *-ḥ* in Chadic languages: **tVḥ-* < **tVbh-*.

[EDE I 206 Eg+CCh; CLD II №63].

839. W **tVḥ-* 'to cultivate, to hoe; МОТЬЖИТЬ': 3 cf. Krkr *śaudu* 'to plow, bank up' [GK], Tng *wude* 'to hoe, farm'; 4 Paa *śadu* 'cultivate, farm, hoe' (v.), *śada* 'farming' [MS], Wrj, Miya *śad-*, Siri *śada*, Kar *śeya-śēdō* 'to hoe, to cultivate' [SkNB], Miya *śyadō* 'to hoe, to cultivate' [SchM]; 6 cf. Bade *śōdū* (< **śōdu*, regressive assim.) 'to dig'.

//Sem Hbr *sdd* (pi.) 'draw bordering furrows; harrow' [KB 915].

Note the following correlation: *geminated -d-* in Semiti ~ implosive (*d'*) in Chadic.

The following Chadic - Egyptian isogloss is worth mentioning:

a. E 3 Tum *hūd* (< **sud-* < **tud*) 'dig out, déterrer; récolter (en déterrant)' ~ Eg *śdy* (AR) 'graben; dig' [EG IV 563].

Derived noun: W 1 Hausa *śāddā* 'pit' ~ Eg *śd.t* (AE) 'Wasserloch, Brunnen; well (n.)' [EG IV 567].

According to [EDE I 208], Eg *śdy* (*ś* follows AA lateral fricative) is cognate with W Ch 6 Ngizim *zōdū* 'dig' (note the following commentary: "Ngizim *z-* < **ś* is regular"). To evaluate this statement one should keep in mind that according to R.Schuh [SchN] there are two lateral fricatives in Ngizim, voiceless and voiced. Numerous examples of the "true" reflexes of Ch laterals in Ngizim can be found in the present text (Ch **t* > Ngizim *ṭ*, Ch **ḥ* (< AA **ś*) > Ngizim *ḥ*, never *z*).

[HSED №№521, 556; CLD II №101].

840. **tVf-* 'thin; тонкий': W 2 Goem *lyaap* 'to be not thick', *liaap* 'thin and flat' [Hlw]; 3 Tng *saabe* 'become thin'; C 2 (deriv.) Bura *tifi-rwa* 'thin, slender, undernourished' [Ann]; 4 Gude *tyáfō-tyáf* 'thin'; 7 Muy *teptep* (*-p#* < **-f#*) 'not particularly thick'.

//Sem Arab *šff* (u) 'amaigrir, rendre maigre; become slender' [BK I 1246].

a. ****tVVF-* 'thin (cloth, skin, paper); тонкая (ткань, кожа):** W 1 Hs *śāafi* 'slight dressing, one surface of a leaf of a book', cf. [SKH 241]; C 2 Bura *tīfafu* 'epithelium' [Ann]; E 5a WDng *čēēp čēēp* 'fin (feuille de papier); thin (a piece of paper)'.

//Sem Arab *šff* (i) 'être transparent' [BK I 1246].

[CLD II №73].

841. *FVg- 'to bar, to close; закрывать, запирать': W 1 Hs *sāgi* 'temporary fence to close the road'; C 7 Ould *təgāy* 'attacher, fermer (une porte); to tie, to close the door'.

Deriv.: E 5a Mig *ččegirò* 'barrer; to enclose, to bar'.

//Sem Geez *našaga* 'to bolt the door, close the door with bars, lock' [LSG 404]. Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Geez.

[CLD IIN№147].

842. *FVg- 'to fight (and kill); a fight; драться (и убить)': W 3 Tng *saage* 'to fight'; C 2 Tera *taɣa* (-ɣ- < *-g-, regressive assim. with a spirant) 'kill' [NmT]; 5a Lmn *tigo* 'kill' [HmG]; C 7 Muy *čʒigi* (regressive voicing) 'kill'.

//Sem Arab *šgg* 'blesser, casser, briser (tête, crâne)' [BK I 1191].

Consider the following local isogloss as an extension in *-r-*:

a. *FVgVr- '(to provoke) a battle': C 5 Pod *təgəla* (regressive assim. of *-r-*) 'lutte; wrestling'; E 5a WDng *čogirè* 'provoquer une bataille; to provoke, to incite a battle'.

Note C 10 Musey *taɣara* 'la ceinture de cuir tissé portée dans une bataille' [ShyM].

//Sem Arab *šgr* 3. VI stem 'se disputer, lutter' [BK I 1192].

[CLD №149].

843. *FVgVr- 'palm; вид пальмы': W 5 Dott *takar* 'deleb palm' [CrD] (irregular *-k-*); E 'palm': 5a (methat.) Bidiya *čargo*, 'rônier WDng *čargó* 'palmier-doum', EDng *čargo* 'les feuillee de palmier dum; le palmier doum' [Dj]; 4 Sok *soger* 'palm tree' [Luk].

//Sem Arab *šagar-at-* 'tronc, arbre, palmier' [BK I 1193], cf. Mhr *səgēr* 'plants and trees' [JnM 374].

[HSED №; 569 Arab + Sokoro, CLD II №154].

844. *FVh- 'to scratch, to rub, to wipe; скрести, тереть, вытирать': W 1 (redupl.) Hs *súusa* 'scratching (e.g. the body etc., on account of irritation), preening (bird)' (< *sVw-s-) [cf. SkH 235]; 3 Tng *suyc* (*s-* < *sH-* or *sw-*) 'scrape out contents of a vessel'; 5 Saya (Zaar) *twa* 'wipe, rub' [Cs №846]; C 5a Hdi *təhay* 'to rub' [BrH].

Derived noun: 'a scraper': C 4 Gude *taata* 'pricky fuzz (on certain plants)'.

//Sem Geez *səfaʕa* 'peel off, scrape, clean (a surface)' [LSG 524].

845. *Vh- 'to bathe, to wash; мыть(ся)' (tr.): W 5 Tala *tau* 'wash' [Cs], Saya (Zaar) *ta* 'to swim' [Cs]; 7 Fyer *so*, Bok *sa* 'wash things'; C 7 Mafa *tah-* 'laver (calebasse) avec un mélange d'eau et de sable'; 9a Gdr *tay* 'se laver, to bathe' [Mo]; E 4 Sok *sóʕé* 'wash things' [Jglb], Saba *soʕe* 'wash' (tr.); 5 (pl.) Mig *ʔáččò* 'se laver; wash' intr., EDng *áčē* 'laver, se laver, nettoyer' [Dj], WDng *čē, áčēʔ* 'laver'; 5b Brg *ʔáci* 'laver (chose et corps), wash' (tr., intr.); 6 Mok *súuyè* 'se laver, baigner; to bathe, to wash oneself'. Deriv. in *n-* (marks plurac.): C 8 Log *nti-wun* 'swim' [AIL].

Derived adj. ***VyVh-** 'wet; мокрый': W 7 Fyer *se* 'nass; wet'; C 8 Afd *hióh* 'feucht; wet' [Sol 345], E 1 Kera *sáayé* 'feucht, wet'.

//SCush Irq *slaw(a)ʕaas* 'to rinse, to clean' [MQK], Qwadza *hla* < **ta* 'to purify' [Eh 210].

846. *Vh- 'to mix; смешивать': W 3 Tng *swaaze* 'mix uncooked flour with water' (reduplication < **swaase* < **twVt-*); C 7 Mofu *-əh-* 'mélanger deux choses defferentes; to mix two different things', Mafa *təh-* 'mettre à conserver (mélanger avec un produit de conservation); to mix with a special ingredient in order to conserve'; 10 Masa *tew* 'emmêler; to (en)tangle, to mix' [CC].

//Sem Arab *šʕšʕ* 'mêler, mélanger; to mix' [BK I 1239].

[CLD II №. 134].

847. *Vt(k)- 'to cut with a knife, to make incisions; резать ножом, делать насечки': W 7 Karfa *šəik*, Monguna *šík* 'cut (with a knife)', *šík aléʔ* 'cut marks', Mangar, Richa *šíky* 'cut' [RC]; C 6 Daba *téč* (< **tek-*) 'couper avec les ongles, cut with nails' [Lnh]; E 5a Bidiya *čúkkay* 'tattoo lips'.

Deriv. in *-t-* (complete action): W 4 Wrij, Jmb, Mburku, Kar *təkət-* 'to cut, to slaughter' [SkNB].

//Omot Gamo, Dace, Kaffa *šukk-*, Zala, Gofa, Yemsa, Bench, Shin *šuk-* 'to slaughter'; Cush agaw Bilin *suk-* 'to sacrifice' [Долг 115, LmW 505].

Derived noun: ***tuk-** '(big) knife, sword; (большой) нож': W 3 Ngm *sòkì* (pl. *sòkàkà*) 'knife' [NEH]; 7 Richa *súk*, Sha *šúk* 'knife' [JgR], Monguna *yíšúk*, Mundat, Karfa *ašúk* 'knife' [RC]; C 1 Tera *tugù* (regular voicing in

medial position) 'knife' [NmT], Hona *təkwuràrà* 'sword' [Kr]; C 7 Mbuko *tə̀kà* 'knife'.

Noun deriv. in *-m-* (suff. of instruments): W 3 Tng *sakám* 'large knife, dagger, sword' [JgT], Kupto *šákkam* 'knife' [LgK]; E 5a WDng *čə̀kəm* 'petit fer de houe pour couper les plantes et de racines dures'.

//HECush Bambala *šuko, šuuko* 'big knife', Omot Anfilla, Kaffa, Sheko *šikko*, Shin *šikká* 'knife' [LmS].

[CT №498, 500; HSED № 570 W, CCh+HECush, CLD II №157].

848. *FVK- **to pierce, to stab; протыкать**: W 1 Hs *sáka* 'pierce (to release pus)', *sákíyà* 'puncturing to let out pus (usually done with a white-hot arrow-head)'; 5 Guus *tyak* 'stab, prick' [CrG]; C 7 Mofu *-tək-* 'piquer, percer; tuer à coup de couteau; semer avec un bâton à fouir; to stab, to pierce, to strike with a knife and kill, to sow with a digging stick'.

a. Derived noun: ***FVKVw-** **'sharp point; острие'**: W 3 Ngm (G) *sakà* 'large needle used to undo plaited hair or bore holes in a calabash to sew it' [NEH]; C 7 Mafa *təkaw* 'fer de fleche crochu, à un seul croc; crocked iron-head of an arrow'.

b. Derived noun in *-m-* (suff. of instruments): W 1 Hs *sak^wamii* 'a wooden-headed arrow'; 4 Miya *atak^wam* 'spear' [SkNB].

//Sem Hbr *škk* 'be pointed', *šákkā* 'harpoon' [KB 921-2], Mhr *škk* 'to fish, to skewer meat', Jib *šekk* 'skewer' [JnM 377], Arab *škk* [-u-] 'pierce (with a spear)', *šawk-* 'épine, pointe' [BK I 1256, 1290], SCush Dah *takane* 'sharp' [TD].

[HSED №569 Sem+W Hs+Om 'slaughter'; CLD II №158].

849. *FVK- **'to shove in; всовывать'**: W 3 Bolewa *šə̀eku* 'to shove in, to put in, to stuff in' [GAB]; C 9 Mulwi *tíkí* 'fourrer dans une fente; to shove into a cleft'; 10 Dari *tūku* 'enfoncez qqch avec force dans un trou, to stick smh into a hole'.

Deriv. in *-ɸ-*: W 1 Hs *saakaadāa* 'push thing through or into a small opening'.

//SCush Irq *slukaa?* 'to fill up an empty space, put in' [MKQ].

850. *FVK- **'to pull (out, down, up); тянуть'**: W 2 Kofyar *luk* 'pull out' [TAS 233]; 5 Geji *tə̀ki* 'pull' [Kr], Geji *tiki*, Buli *tigən* 'pull' [Cs №806]; C 4 Gude *tə̀ku* 'pull down (branch, corn-head); pull up (by the roots)'.

//Sem Soq *sákk* 'tirer à travers qqch' [LsS 429].

[CLD II №159].

851. *V(1)- 'to husk, to peel; husk; снимать шелуху': W 1 Hs *saalè*, (Kats.) *swale* 'desquamate, peel off (of skin as result of burn, scald, etc.), abrade'; 3 Kupto *šálley* 'to pare, peel (only fruits)' [LgK], Kirfi *šólley* 'to skin' [StI]; 6 Bade (partial redupl.) *ta-təlu* 'remove bark from wood, peel off'; C 5a (derived noun) Hdi *ti-tila* 'millet husk' [BrH]; E 4 Mawa *scəlaŋ* 'éplucher; to husk'; 5a EDng *čolìyē* 'décoller, dépecer, enlever la peau' [Dj]; 5b Mm *čelli* 'éplucher'.

Deriv. in -b-: W 1 Hs *saalubee* 'peel off (skin after a burn or scald)'.

//Sem Arab *šif* 'dépouiller, ôter les habits; to skin, to bark' [BK I 1263].

[CLD II №201].

852. *V(1) ~ *ʔV(1)- 'to burn; жечь': C 2 Bura *tila* 'burn (clay) pots' [Ann]; E 5a EDng *očilē* 'brennen; to burn' [Ebb].

Derived noun: *ʔV(1)- 'flame; пламя': W 3 Tng *salá-ki* 'flame'; E 2 Kaba *ku-žəɔ* (note *ku-* as a prefix of collective nouns), Nch *ku-səɔɔə* 'braise' n. [HmK]. Ch **s-* and **ʔ-* have fallen together as *s-* in W 3 and E 2.

//Sem Arab *šif* 'allumer (feu)' [BK I 1240].

One wonders, if initial *ʔ-* in ECh 5a reflects AA middle *ʔ* (by a metathesis).

[CLD II №205].

853. *V(1)- 'to build; строить': W 3 Bol *sol-* 'build' [LkB], Ngm *sal-* [IbN]; E 5b Brg *čilí* 'construire, build' [JgIb].

//Sem Arab *šil* (u) 'bâtir, faufileur, coudre, build, sew' [BK I 1262].

For Arabic 'to sew' cf. W 7 Fyer *sool* 'to sew' [JgR].

[CLD II №204].

854. *V(1)(V)m- 'to be silent, quiet, to rest; быть тихим, молчаливым, отдыхать': W 1 Hs *súmúmu* 'in silence, quietly', *šimii*, *sùmii* 'being silent through fear, not knowing what to say', *šaamoomoo* 'being quiet, pensive, whether because of loss, vexation, being unwell'; C 5 Pod *taməta* 'rester silencieux (pour réfléchir), be silent (so as to rest)'; 8 Glf *šama šama* 'leise; quietly' [Luk 147].

//Sem Arab *šim* 'réconcilier, mettre la paix entre les gens; calm down, make

peace between people' [BK I 1241]. Root extension (ʃ as C₂) in Arabic. [CLD II №218].

855. *ʃVɪɪ- 'dried leaves, grass; сухая трава, листья': W 1 Hs *sámò* 'dried leaves'; 6 Ngz *táfamaawa* 'dried leaves of guinea corn'; C 7 Muy *ma-tām* 'secco straw'; E 6 Mok *secmí*, pl. *sembámí* 'foin, hay'.

a. *ʃVɪɪ- 'to become dry; высохнуть': W 6 Bade *tāmu* 'become white and dry', *tātāmu* 'for harvest season to arrive'. Note E 2 Lele *sómró* 'saison sèche'.

//Sem Arab *ʃšm* 'devenir sec, desséché', *ʃašūm* 'plante sèche, aride' [BK II 263]. Root extension (ʃ as C₁) in Arabic. [CLD II №221].

856. *ʃVɪɪ- 'to tie, to string; привязывать, веревка': W 1 Hs *sánáná* 'tying the upper lip of a horse (e.g. when about to give medicine)'; 4 Paa *tín* 'to tie' [MS]; C 8 Log *tina-wun* 'to string, to thread (beads)' [AIL].

//Cf. Eg *šnw* (MR) 'Strick, string' [EG IV 509]. Note that Eg *n* goes back to AA **n* and **l*.

[CLD II №22].

857. *ʃVɪɪ- 'hair; волосы': W 5 Geji cluster *ma-ḡaj*, *mə-taj*, *mɛ-taj*, Tule *mɛ-ḡinə*, (Zem cluster) Chari *mɛ-tɪ*, Dokshi *ye-tɪ*, (Dass cluster) Bandas *gɛ-ḡin* 'hair' (voicing in medial position) [Smz]; 7 Monguna *šan* 'body hair' [RC]; E 5a Bidiya *čoonon-ke* (coll.) 'sourcils, brows'. Note *k*-coll. in suffixed position, as compared to *k*-pref. in ECh 1 Kera and E 2 Lele.

//Eg *šny* (Pyr) 'das Haar; hair' [EG IV 499].

858. *ʃVɪɪ- 'magic; колдовство': C 8 Log *tána* 'Fetisch' [LkL]; E 1 Kwang *sóné* 'fetish' [Lns]; 4 Sok *súne* 'magic, medicine' [Luk]; E 5a cf. Bid *čonḡa* (possibly, < **čonna*) 'sorcier thaumaturge; sorcerer'. Note W 3 Bol *šin-kau* 'spirit' [GAB].

//Eg *šn.w* (NE) 'der Zauber, sorcerer' [EG IV 496], Sem Mhr *šny* 'to see, to consider' > 'to show, to be a medicine-man' [JnM 381], cf. Sab *s₂n* 'enemy, ill-wisher' [SD 133].

[HSED №571; CLD II №236].

859. *ʃap- 'to smear, to wipe; смазывать, вытирать': W 1 Hs *šáfa* 'smear, anoint', *šáfaa* 'to stroke down, pass hand over, coax, persuade';

2 Ngas *lap* 'polish, smooth, smear' [FI] (alternatively, may originate from Ch *IVb- 'to smear', see CLD I № 69); 3 Krf *šaaŋ* 'wipe' [Stl], Tng *wupe* (*wu-* < *su-* is regular) 'to rub oil on, into skin'; C 7 Mofu *-təp-* 'caresser; to caress' (partial redupl.).

Cf. W 3 Krkr *šāfānu* (plurac. verb) 'touch, rub against' [GK].

Deriv. in *-t*: C 7 Mbuko *tapač* (< **tap-t*, complete action) 'prendre l'écume d'une liquid; take scum off the liquid'.

Derived noun: W 1 Hs *mā-šāfi* 'a duster'.

//Eg *zšp* 'Möbel glatten, polieren; to polish furniture; (Brot) glatt streichen' (AR) [EG III 485], Sem Arab *šwf* 'polir, fourbir, enduire de goudron (un chameau galeux); polish, smear a camel with tar' [BK I 1288]. Note a "double sibilant" in Egyptian: AA **š* is rendered by *zš* (not by the regular *š*). For a similar case see №826.

[AA №403 WCh+Sem; SkH 240-1, CLD №№80, 81].

Consider the following local isogloss:

a. C **IVp-* 'to glue; липнуть': C 5 Pod *təpə* idf. 'coller au mur; to glue to the wall' [JL]; 7 Mofu *-təp-* 'coller, appliquer' ~ Sem Arab *šff* (i) 'être collant, coller sur la corpse' [BK I 1246].

[CLD II №85].

860. **IVp-* 'hair, tail; волосы, хвост': W 3 Bol *šəwə* [LkB], Maka *šofi* [NmM] 'hair'; C 8 Log *təpəfə* [Jglb] 'tail'; E 3 Ndam *sap* 'tail' [Jglb].

Note a compound: C 7 Mbuko *təpə-tətə* 'crête du coq; crest (of a cock)'.

//Sem Arab *šafaf-at-* 'mèche de cheveux, toupet, cheveux' [BK I 1240], Jib *šof* 'hair' [JnJ], Berb Izn *azaf* 'hair'.

861. **IVr-* 'to tear to pieces; рвать на куски': W 3 Krkr *hīraa* 'tear' [GK], Tng *šijre* 'rend, rip, tear (cloth)'; C 4 FJ *hir* 'tear' [Kr], 5 Glv *hil* (*-l* < **-r#*) 'tear, make burst'; 6 Daba *tər* 'déchirer' [Lnhr]; E 3 Tum *hērə* 'déchirer'; 4 Mawa *serəŋ* 'déchirer'; 5a EDng *čirē* 'zerreißen; tear in pieces' [Ebb].

Deriv. in *-d* (marks an object): E 5a WDng *čér-dé* 'déchirer un tissu'.

Deriv. in *-t* (complete action): C 6 Daba *təra-t* 'déchirer' [Lnhr].

a. **IVr-* 'to peel (bark, husks); to strip off leaves; снимать шелуху, листья': W 4 (noun deriv.) Wrj *hir-ki* 'stripping leaf of the spine' [BIW]; 6Ngz *tə-təru* 'peel away, strip away a flat thing from surface'; C 2 Bura *tara/i* 'strip off leaves' [Ann].

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 5 Pod *tərə-dá* ‘take off leaves’; 10 cf. Dzpw *tíré-d* ‘éplucher avec un instrument, peler, tailler’ (contam. with ‘to cut’).

//Sem Mhr *sry* ‘to skin a cow, camel’, JibC *seré* [JnM 386].

[CLD II №221].

862. *Vr- ‘to cut (off); отрезать’: W 5 Zul *tari* ‘to carve’ [BIZ]; 6 Ngz *tətorú* ‘cut a piece off or cut into pieces’; C 7 cf. Ould *-tar* ‘couper pour qqn’ (according to [KOU], is a derivative from *-ti* ‘to cut’, cf.); E 2 Lele *sir* ‘couper, abattre; cut’; 5a EDng *čirē* ‘fendre (à la main ou avec un couteau)’ [Dj].

//Sem Arab *šrh* ‘couper, fendre’ > ‘couper un cadavre’ [BK I 1212].

a. *Vr- ‘to whittle, to carve; работать по дереву’: C 7 Gis *tar* ‘hobeln, whittle’.

Deriv. in *-d-* (marks an object): C 10 Dari *tərə-d* ‘tailler, éplucher avec un instrument, peler’ (contam. with ‘to cut’).

//Sem Arab *w/yšr* ‘to saw’, *nšr* ‘scier, couper avec une scie (le bois, etc.)’, *ʔšr* ‘scier, couper avec la scie’ [BK II 638, 1259, 35], Akk *šaššaru* ‘a saw’ (< *šar-šaru*) [CAD š2 164], Geez *wasara* ‘saw, cut with a saw, split with a saw’, Hbr PBibl *nāšar* ‘saw’, Tgr *šārāra*, Tna *šāršārā* ‘saw’ [LSG 621].

Root extensions in anlaut (C₁ = *w/y, ʔ, n*) in Semitic languages.

[CLD II №252].

863. *Vr- ‘to blow nose; сморкаться’: C 7 Mofu *-tər-* ‘se moucher, to blow nose’, Mafa *tər-madama* (‘morve’ ‘se moucher’, Muy *čēl* ‘blow the nose’, Ould *-təl* ‘se moucher’, Mada *atal amad* ‘se moucher’; E 2 Lele *sir* ‘se moucher’.

//Eg *šr.t* ‘nose’ [EG IV 523].

a. *Vr- ‘to snore; храпеть’: W 5 Zaar *ḥər-ndə* ‘snore’ [CrZ], Guus *ḥər-geet* ‘to snore’ [CrG]; 4 Wrj *tər-mə*, Diri *tər-ma* ‘to snore’, Paa *ḥur-guna* [NmNB]; C 4 Gude *lərəhə* (< **ḥVrVh-*) ‘snore, purr’; 7 Muy *áḥərwāy* ‘snore’ (irregular voicing); 10 Dzpw *tír* ‘ronfler’.

Noun deriv.: W Hs *mín-šārii* ‘snoring’, also *nín-sarii*, *hán-sarii*; C 3 Bana *ḥərx(ə)* ‘ronflement’ (irregular reflex of Ch **ḥ* may be accounted for descriptive semantics).

[CLD II №257].

864. *Vr- ‘(to grow) tall, high (of a tree); расти’: W 3 Bol *siru* ‘grow up, become mature, become tall or big’ [GAB], Tng *soori* ‘height, depth,

length, high, tall (tree)'; 5 Grnt *səri* 'high, tall' [Smz]; C 4 Gude *təra* 'grow tall and straight (of trees only)'.
a. ****(y/w)Vr-*** 'long; длинный': W 3 Maka *soro* 'long' [NmM]; 5 Zul *ta`ali*,
Pol cluster *tari, taari, tar, taarəp* [Smz]; Buli *taari*, Geji *taali* 'long' [Cs
№508]; C 4 Gude *tyar* 'long and thin (such as a rope)'; 5a Hdi *nda tra*
'long', *tra-ku* 'longueur' [Egg]; E 3 Smr *sērē* 'long' [Jg], *syar* [JgSib],
Ndam *swar* 'long' (note *s-* as a reflex of **tʷ-*, while **t- > h-*) [Brs]; 6 Mok
soʔuru 'long'.

//Sem Gees *sarara* 'high, tall' [LsG 534].

[HSED №555 (includes Arabic *šrh* 'to grow'), CLD II №286].

865. **Vr-* 'to go down quickly, to fall; опускаться': W 1 cf. Hs *sur*
emphasizes rapid vertical descent, e.g. down a wall without the aid of a
ladder'; 3 Bolewa *soor-* '(nieder)fallen, hineinfallen; untergehen (Sonne);
go down (sun), fall down' [LkB], Krkr *suuraa* 'herabstürzen (Vogel); go
down quickly (bird) (possibly, a Hausa loan) [LkK]; C 2 Bura *taru* idf.
describes a sound of an object striking into leaves [Ann]; 7 Muy *tur*
'putting', *təət* idf. 'putting down'.

Note W 1 Hs *suuraa* 'to swoop down on and take; the swoop of a hawk',
suurē 'swoop down on and seize; snatch up and steal'. (If not < **sVCr-*).

//Cf. Sem Akk *šrū* (MB, SB) 'to lie flat (?)' [CAD š2 330].

866. **VrV[ʃ]-* 'to sip, to sob; прилебывать': W 1 Hs *šarbaa* 'take into
the mouth with a loud suckling noise *tuwo* which has on it a large amount of
miya or *miya* alone', *surbaa* 'to sip, a sip', cf. [SkH 238]; C 5 Pod *təəba*
təəba 'sobbing' idf. [JL]; C 9 Mulwi *tirbi* 'avalier de travers'; E 5a
Bidiya *čirab* 'avalier de travers'; 6 Mok *šerbičē* 'siroter; drink in little
gulps'.

//Sem Arab *šrb* 'boire, avoir soif' [BK I 1209], Gees *šarabā* 'drink,
absorb, sip', Tgr *sārba* 'suck up', Tn *s/šarabā*, Amh *sārräbä* 'to drink' (from
Gees) [LsG 533].

Note a rare case of a triradical in Chadic with a reliable Semitic parallel. In
the view of regular reflexes (*t-* in CCh, *č-* in ECh), the common origin of
Chadic and Semitic roots (but not a loan) is evident. Irregular *-b-* in Chadic
correlates with plurac. semantics.

[CLD II №263].

867. ***Vr-** 'rope; веревка': W 5 Pol *tér* 'rope' [Cs №162], Buli *tir* [Kr] 'rope', Dott *tər* [CrD]; Zaar *təɾəŋ* 'rope' [CrZ]; C 7 Chv *má-tár* 'fronde'; E 6 Mok *sér* 'ceinture'; 5a WDng *čéɾé* 'band, rang, fil, lanière'.

Deriv. in *-p-* pl. ***VrVp-** 'girdle, strap; ремень': W 3 Bol *šoroopá, suroopá* 'cinch strap of a saddle' [GAB]; C 7 Mada *táɾpá* 'ceinture de cuir, courroie; leather belt', Mbuko *ma-təɾapa* 'corde pour le carquois'.

//Sem Arab *šrʕ* 'to untie a rope', *širāʕ-un-* 'corde de l'arc' [BK I 1217], Soq *śor* 'fil', *śir* 'attacher' [LsS 435], Hbr *śe/əroḵ-* 'sandal thong' [KB 930].

Note that up to now the verb 'to tie' has not be registered in Chadic languages. [CLD II №272].

868. ***Vrɔw > VrVr-** 'medicine (charm); лекарство': W 3 Krkr *sóorù-m* [LkK], Dera *wórí-n* 'medicine, poison' [NmK], Krf *šara-dí* 'medicine' [Stl]; 7 DB *šír* 'medicine', *ser* 'poison' [RC]; C 6 Kola *ma-ḥry* 'medicine' (voicing in a cluster) [Jglb]; 7 Gis *tala-k* 'medicine' [Jglb], Mofu *tala-k* 'médicament' (*CVrVC-* > *CVIVC* is regular); 10 Mesme *tər* 'medicine' [Kr]; Dzpw *tór*, Dari *tōr* 'venin, poison'; E 2 Lele *kā-sīrē* (note *k-* as a pref. of collect. nouns) 'medicine' [Jglb]; 3 Smr *šarwā* [Jglb], Tum *hōrāw* 'medicine'; 5a Mig *čá:ru* 'medicine' [Jglb].

//Sem Geez *šaraya, šarraya* 'bewitch, cast spells, poison, to cure, give medicine', Tgr *sara* 'cure', *səray* 'remedy, poison', Amh *səray* 'poison' (from Geez), cf. Arab *šry* 'proteger', Sab *s2ry* 'save, protect' [LsG 536, Oh 305, SD 135]. Semantic shift in Semitic ('to cure' > 'to protect') seems tenable.

[Jglb **t2r-* 'medicine (charm)' I 117A, CLD II №280].

869. ***Vr-** 'straw; солома': C 3 Bana *h̄rə̀* 'kind of straw for mats'; 7 Mafa *tərac* (< *tara-t*) 'chaume; a single straw; partie de tige de mil qui reste sur pied après moisson; part of a mil-stalk left after harvesting'; E 5 EDng *čóró* 'la paille utilisée pour la confection des palisades' [Dj].

//Sem Mhr *sēr* 'straw' [JnM], Jib *śáʕər* 'dry grass, straw' [JnJ 244].

[CLD II №274].

870. ***VwɔyVr-** 'loin-cloth; набедренная повязка': W 5 Mangas *toora* 'loin-cloth' [Cs], 7 DB *ma-šír* 'weiches Schamtuch der Frauen (aus Fieber); fine women loin-cloth' [JgR]; E 1 Kera *ke-scər-déŋ* (compound) 'Ledern-

schurz für Frauen, loin cloth for women'; 3 Ndam *hAR* (< *sVr) 'drap tissu, pagne' [Brs].

Derived verb: ***Vr-h/t- 'to wind around (cloth)'**: C 2 Bura *tur-ha* 'to tie a thing by wrapping around many times', *tur-ta* 'to wind around' [Ann].

//Sem Geez *śirāy* 'fine linen, silk, costly garment'. According to [LsG 536], a loan from Aram-Syr *śirā*, *śirāyā* 'silken attire'.

[CLD II №282].

871. *VrVw ~ *VwVr- 'root, корень': W 1 Hs *sāywaā* cf. [SkH 225]; 2 Grk *h^huar* [JgIb], Mushere *seer* [JgO]; 3 Ngm *čoori*, Krf *sóoriyó*, Glm *suryā*, Gera *sūurəná* [SchV], Geruma *sūra* [SchB], Bol *sori-n*, Kkrk *śirin* [JgIb], Tng *yaara*, Maka *sorom* [NmM], Pero *čorin*; 4 Paa *tari* [MS], Miya *terwa*, Siri *tūra*, Mburku *tar-nani*, Jmb *tera* [SkNB]; 5 Guus *tur-tə* [CrG]; Dott *tər-kəŋ* 'root' [CrD] (cf. 'rope'), Tala *tiri*, Jimi *sir-ko*, Mangas *təri* [Cs], Zaar *tətər*, var. *tərti* (< *Vr-t) 'root' [CrZ], Geji *təl-ki*, Buli *tir*, Kir *təri* [JgIb], Grnt *so:ri* [Jag]; 7 DB *sūrē* [JgR], Bok *sisyar*, Monguna *šer*, Mundat *azər* [RC]; C 3 FK *tir-nga* [BlNd]; 4 Gude *tərə-ginə* 'root(s)', Jimj *tər-gin*, Tsuvan *téré*, Sharwa *tərəge* [BryJ]; 5 Mlg *tatawe*, Glv *tali*, Dghw *tələ*, Guduf *tīla* [JgIb], 5a Hdi *təŋ* [Egg], *təŋ* [BrH]; 6 Buwal *tatalay*; 7 Chv *tatalay*, Mafa "h^oh^or" [JgIb], Mbuko *tələy*, Muiy *tiri*, Mada *tē*, Gis *tatalak*, Mofu *tatalay*, Baka, Moloko *tələy* [BAS], Dugwor *həhələy*, 7a Skn *tii*; 10 Dzpw *tər* 'root'; E 1 Kera *kə-sar* 'root, vein', Kwang *-sar* 'root' [JgIb]; 2 Kaba *hara saar* [Cp], *sari*, Nch *da-sari* 'root' [HmK], Lele *sārā* 'root, vein'; 3 Smr *sār-bə* 'root' [JgIb], Tum *hərāw* 'root, vein', Ndam *sirwē* 'root' [Brs] 4 Ubi *čeru* [HJ], Saba *sərəu*, Barein *saari*, *saari* [LvB]; 5a Bid *čāara* 'root, vein', WDng *čāarō*, EDng *čāarō* 'la racine, la veine, le nerf, la race' [Dj]; 5b Brg *čāarō*, Mubi *čāarō* 'root' [JgIb], Jegu *čiare* [HJ], Tor *šaari* 'root, vein' (contam. with 'vein', see below), Zir *čara* [CJ].

Note that Ch **t* > *l*- in WCh 2, but Ch **Vr-* > *sVr-* (due to uncompetibility of two liquids in one root).

//Sem **sVrVs-* > Akk *šuršu*, Hbr *šōrāš*, Ug *šrš*, Arab *širs-* 'root', Geez *šərəw* 'sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle, origin, root', Tgr, Amh, Gaf, Harari, Gur *sər* 'root, vein, sinew' [LsG 535], Soq *šeraḥ* (pl.) 'racine', *šerḥ* 'déraciner' [LsS 433], Cush Agaw **sər* 'root' [ApAg], Berb Qab *azar* 'root'. [Gr 61; Fronz; St 53; HSED №551; CLD II №287].

Chadic: [Nm **sar* 'root', Iglb *t₂rw* 'root, vein'; GCl **təxəray* 'root'].

872. ***[ʃ]Vr-** ‘vein; вена’: W 7 Bok *sisyār* ‘root, vein, sinew’ [RC]; DB *sîrây* ‘root, vein’ [RC] (actually ‘vein’, cf. DB *sûrê* ‘root’ [JgR]); E 1 Kwang *kā-sār* ‘vein’ [JgIb]; 2 Kaba *saarā* ‘vein’ [Cp], Lele *sārā* ‘root, vein’; 3 Smr *šawré* ‘vein’ [JgIb], Tum *hōrāw* ‘root, vein’; 5a EDng *čaarō* ‘la racine, la veine, le nerf, la race’ [Dj]; 5b Tor *šaari* ‘root, vein’.

Note also some more related forms in East Chadic languages: Kaba *harā saar*, Nch *da-sari* ‘root’, Smr *sar-bō* ‘root’. They all look like derivatives from Ch ***[ʃ]Vr-** ‘vein’. Consider that semantic shift ‘vein, sinew’ > ‘root’ is similar to: ‘hand’ > ‘leaf’, ‘arm’ > ‘branch’, etc.

//Sem Akk *šerʔānu* (*širʔānu*) ‘sinew, tendon, muscle’ OA, OB on [CAD š2 308], [AHw 1216], Arab *širāʕ-un-* ‘corde de l’arc’ [BK I 1217] (note the following comment: “a clear meaning shift from ‘tendon’” [SED I №268 *sʕVrw/y/ʕ- ‘tendon, sinew’⁷⁷]. For Ethiosemitic ‘root, vein’ see №871 ***VrVw-** ‘root’.

[CLD II №287].

873. ***VrVr-** ‘(cold) wind; (холодный) ветер’: W 1 Hs *sāraarā* ‘cold wind of the harmattan season’; C 7 Mafa *taatar-* ‘faire larmoyer (vent); to cause tears (wind)’.

W ***Vr-** ‘cold, to make cold; холодный’ v., adj.: W 1 Hs *sūrē* ‘to cool down’, 3 Tng *yuryur* ‘bitterly cold’; 4 Siri *taatar-ní* ‘cold’ [Sk-JgIb]; 5 Dott *taar* ‘to shiver’ [CrD]; 7 Sha *šyah* ‘Hagel’ (if < **syar-*).

Deriv. W 1 Hs *suraāčce* (< ***Vr-t-**) ‘to cool down’, *sūr-kā* ‘add cold water to hot’.

//Sem Hbr *šʕr* ‘aufwirbeln, whirl away’, *šəʕārā* ‘storm, wind’ [KB 927].

Root extension (ʕ as C₂) in Hebrew.

[CLD II №278].

874. ***VHVr-** ‘friend; друг’: W 2 Mghv *šaar*, Ngas *šeer*, Mpn *siaar* [šaar], Mnt *čai-na* (< **čar-na*) [Fp], Goem *šar* [Hlw], Kofyar *šaar*, [TAS 343] ‘friend’, Mushere *šyaar* ‘friend’, *šyaar* ‘to befriend with’ [JgO]; 3 Dera *šeerō*, pl. *šeerīyāg* ‘friend’ [NmK], Tng *seero* ‘friend, companion’, Krf *šoro* [Stl], Glm *čor-* [SchB]; C 5 Mlg *tārīya* ‘Nachbar, Nachbarn’; cf. Pod *me-tira/ə* ‘cousine ou tante maternelle’, Glv *təyarā* ‘friend, neighbour’.

⁷⁷ Note, however, Arabic *šrʕ* ‘to untie a rope’ [BK I 1216].

Note that Ch **t-* yields WCh 2 *l-*, but Ch **tVr-* > *sVr-* (due to incompatibility of two liquids in one root). On the other hand, Ch **tVHVr-* > WCh 2 **tHVr-* > **tyar* > *š(y)ar*.

//Sem Arab *ʔašīr-*, *šaʔīr-* ‘friend’ [BK II 261], Mhr *ʔāsəṛ*, JibC *éṣəṛ*, Hars *ʔāsəṛ* ‘friend’ [JnM], Sab *ʔs₂rt* ‘nomad group’, *mʔs₂rt* ‘?tribal assembly’ [SD 21].

[Cr №525; MSt №54, HSED №1038 Sem+WCh; CLD II №288 Arab+Ch].

875. **tVHVr-* > *tHVrV-* ‘star; звезда: W 2 Goem *s’əm-šaar* ‘star’ (the first component seems to be a loan from Arabic *samaʔ-* ‘sky’; for similar reflex of Ch **t-* see the previous entry); 5 (Zeem cluster) Tule *taatūr*, (Saya cluster) Zakse *čaaṭur*, Guus *tyaār* [CrG], (Geji cluster) Buu *tyaater* [Smz] (< **ta-H-tVr-*, for the *ta-*pref. in names of luminaries see Hausa *taa-čúuniyaa*, *tā-mraarō* ‘star’), C **h^wurt-* (met. < **tVHVr-*): 4 FJ *xurātu-mùk*, FM *xuratiya* [Kr]; 7 Mofu *wurḡa*, Gis *wurḡa* [Luk], Moloko, Baka *wurḡa* [BAS]; 9 Mbará *mī-ḡēr* (voicing in contact with *-r-* and in medial position); E 3 Tum *hēru*.

//Sem Arab *šahr-* ‘new moon’ [BK I 1281], Sab *s₂hr* ‘beginning of a month’ DS 132], Hbr *šaharōn* ‘moon’, Akk *šartu* ‘light of new moon’ [Zm 245], Aram *sahārā*, Mand *sira* ‘moon’, Geez *šāhr* ‘moon, first day of the month’, Soq *šéher* ‘moon’ [LsG 528], Jib *šéhər* ‘moon’ [JnJ]. Note Cush Oromo *hurḡi*, Darasa *urḡe* ‘star’.

[Cr №519 Arab+WCh, HSED №531 Sem+WCh, CLD II №289], MSem 54: Sem+WCh].

876. **tVr-k/t-* ‘green; зеленый’: W 1 Hs *šār* ‘emphasizes greenness’, cf. [SkH 241]; 3 Krkr *tirit* ‘green’ idf. (< Ngizim) [GK]; 6 Ngz *tórót* idf. ‘green in colour; not ripe, not fully cooked’, Bade *tarta* ‘green’ [Kr]; C 5 Mlg *tórake* ‘green’; 8 Glf *thrgé* ‘green’ [Luk], Mak *širgi* ‘be green’ [AIM].

//Sem Geez *səʔra* ‘grow green, become green’, *səʔur* ‘grassy, green’, Tgr *saʔarsaʔaro* ‘green’ [LsG 525].

Root extension (ʔ as C₂) in Geez.

a. ****t(y)Vr-*** ‘(green) leaf; (зеленый) лист’: W 3 Krkr *taram* ‘leaves of guinea corn (fresh/dry)’ (pl. in *-m*) [GK]; 4 Diri *atirka* ‘leaf, leaf of cornplant’ [SkNB]; C 2 Klb *hyéli*, Mrg *itali* (**ty-* > *xy-*), Chb *tali*, WMrg *tali*, *tari*, Ngwahi *tara* ‘leaf’ [Kr], Bura *tali* ‘a leaf’ [Ann].

[CLD II №№270, 285].

877. *Vt- ~ *VVt- 'to strip (bark, feathers); счищать (кожу, перья)': 3 Bol *šattu* 'pluck feathers; do first weeding of the farm' [GAB], 'mit dem Wurzel ausreissen, to uproot' [LkB]; 6 Ngz *taatu* 'separate one long thing from another; strip bark' [SchN]; C 6 Buwal *tē-tēt* 'to remove skins'. Cf. W 5 Zul *tatí* 'to tear' [BlZ].

//Sem Arab *šty* II stem 'ôter la peau d'un chameau égorgé' [BK I 1232]. [CLD II №120].

878. *V(?)Vt- 'adultery': W 2 Ngas *ta-liit* 'adultery' [FI], Mpn *tā-lect* 'adultery'; 6 Ngz *tātu* 'satisfy a need, a desire'; E cf. 6 Mok *sēcdú* 'marriage', *sēcdá* 'saisir, tenir, emprisonner, attraper; épouser; catch, take, marry'.

//Sem Geez *saṭaya* 'love one another, fit together' [LsG 538], Arab *št?* 'cohabiter' [BK I 1229].

Irregular reflex in E 6 Mokilko (-*d* instead of -*t*). Note semantic shift: 'to catch' > 'to catch (a woman)' > 'to marry'.

[CLD II №127].

*t'

879. *t'V 'to push, to be crowded; толкать(ся)': W 5 Zul *tāʔí* 'congested, crowded' [BlZ]; C 5 Glv *t-* 'to throng (about), 'to push, press, row'; 5a Lmn *tu* 'push' [HmG].

Derived noun in *t-*: W 1 Hs *tāa-ṣuuṣuu* 'the crowding together and pushing of a number of people'.

Derived adj.: C 8 Mak *čewčew* (< *t'ewt'ew) 'limited in space'.

//SCush Irq *tlaah* 'get crowded' [MQK].

[CLD II №301].

880. *t'Vy/w- 'to wring, to squeeze out; выжимать, -давливать': W 4 Paa *t'ei* 'wring' [MS], Siri *t'eya*, Miya *t'iy-* [SkNB], Wrij *tēy-* 'to wring out' [BlS]; E 1 Ngam *sow* 'squeeze out pus' [Lns]; 5a Bid *dyaaw*, Mig *dyúwaw* 'to milk', EDng *dyúwé* 'traire (un animal)' [Dj]. Note E 5b Mubi *dyáw* 'sucer' [JgL].

Deriv. W 1 Hs *tāa-ṣaa* 'to milk', *tāa-ṣà* 'to squeeze thing into another thing'.

//ECush Burji *d'uud-* 'to squeeze' [SsB 66 "onomatopoetic"].

[CLD II №297].

881. ***ʕVʕ/w-** 'to offend, to slander; оскорблять': W 1 7 Bok *seʔ* 'abuse' [RC]; C 6 Daba *ʔaʔaw* (partial redupl.) 'imiter, calomnier; caluminate, slander' [Lnhr]; E 5 cf. Bid *dʔaa* 'to hate'.

Derived noun, full redupl.: W 1 Hs *ʕawaʕawaa* 'a serious offence', *ʕiyaʕiya* 'mutual recrimination'.

//SCush Dah *ʔaʕ:-* 'slander' [EE], Omot Wolt *cʔay-* 'to curse; to insult', Gofa, Gamo, Dache *cʔay-* 'insult', Shin *cʔaʕ-* 'curse, insult' [LmW 334]. [CLD II №299].

882. ***ʕʕVʕʕ-** 'to wake up; просыпаться': W 4 Wrj *ʔa* 'to wake up' [BIS] (presumably, < ***ʕVʕʕ-** < ***ʕʕVʕʕ-**, note that [BIS] includes only one word with *ʔ*-initial); C 5a Hdi *hiʔay* 'get up' [BrH]; 9 Mulwi *hiyi* 's'èveiller, ressusciter', Mnj *hiyi* 'éveiller, se'; 10 Masa *hi* '(se) réveiller, ressusciter', Giz, Masa, Ham *hiy*, Musey, Lew, Marba *hi-t* 'réveiller, éveiller' [LexC], cf. Dzpw *ʕaʔa* '(se) réveiller, wake up'. In CCh languages reflexes of Ch ***ʕ** and ***ʕʕ** have fallen together as *ʔ*.

//SCush rift **ʔlaw* 'get up, rise, fly': Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *ʔlaw* [Kies]. SCush **ʔl-* regularly reflects AA **ʕʕ-*.

883. ***ʕV(ʕV)** 'caterpillar, worm; гусеница, червь': W 1 Hs *ʕaaʕo* 'earwig'; 2 Mghv *ndu-suu* 'Raupe, caterpillar' [JgS], Mpn *ndə-sū* 'caterpillar' (for *ndu* as a pl. marker see [StPl]); 4 Mburku *ʔʕ* 'worm', Miya *atʔi-pepir*, Kar *ʔi-firfira* (worm+fly) 'butterfly' [SkNB]; E 5a cf. EDng *dʔyodyo* 'la cigale' [Dj], WDng *dʔyedyo* id.

//Sem Geez *ʕaʕe* 'moth, worm', Tgr *ʕaʕe* 'a sort of ant', Tna *ʕaʕā*, Amh *ʕəʕat* 'swarm of ants', *ʕəʕan* 'k. of a small ant' [LsG 148]. Consider, however an alternative etymology for Ethiosemitic:

W Ch ***ʕuw-ʕu/a** 'ant': 1 Hs *ʕuʕa* 'any maggot, grub, etc.', 4 Tsagu *cuucu*, Diri *acuwaawa* 'ant' [SkNB].

//ECush Burji *cʔuccʕe* 'small ant' ("a widespread word with undeterminable origin" [SsB 49]), HECush **ʕuʕa* 'little ant'. [SkH 276, CLD II №305].

884. ***ʕVb > ʕVb-** 'to glue, to attach; прилипать, -соединять': C 4 Gude *ʔab* 'being close against smth larger (lizard on the wall)'; 8 Log *ʔba* 'collar, to stick, to glue' [index: 242]; 10 Dzpw *ʔba*, Dari *ʔba* 'collar; E6 Mok *sibe* (*ʔibe*) 'se collar, attacher très fort'.

//Sem Arab *ḍbb* (i) 'être attaché, collé'; (a) 'être rempli de lézard', IV stem 'être nombreux, en grand nombre; be numerous', *ḍbbʔ* 's'attacher, se coller' [BK II 2-4]. Cf. Sem **ṣabb-/*ḥabb-* 'lizard' [SED 2, №221] and C 4 Gude: *ṭab* 'being close against smth larger (lizard on the wall)'.

Secondary emphatization of medial *-b-* in Chadic languages, typical of roots with initial emphatics.

Viewing 'être nombreux, en grand nombre' (IV stem) in Arabic, the following Ch root is worth mentioning:

a. ***ʕVb-** 'to pile; abundance': W 1 Hs *ḥabábaa* emph. 'abundance, expensiveness'; 3 Tng *saab-ruk* 'abundance of things' idf.; E 1 Kera *səbaʔi* 'ganz; the whole of'; 5a EDng *dyúúbé* 'anhäufen, to accumulate, pile up' [Ebb]. [CLD II №306].

885. *ʕVʕ > *ʕVʕV- (pl.) 'dung, dirt; навоз, грязь': W 3 Tng *supo* 'dung' (*su-* < **ʕu-*, but **tu-* > *wu-*); C 8 Afd, Maltam *ʔəfáray*, Kus *nšaváray*, Mak, Glf *ḥáfáray* 'ordures, ordure' (note *-r-* pl.) [TrC].

//Sem Geez *ḍəʔʔ* 'filth, excrement', Mhr *dāfāʔ* 'cow dung', Hbr *šāpī* 'dung' [LsG 148], Arab *ḍafāʔa* 'defecate' [BK II 32], SCush Alg *tlufa* 'mud' [Eh 328] For Sem - SCush see [DlG № 87].

[CLD II №314].

886. *ʕVḥ- 'to laugh, смеяться': W 4 Siri *yaʔí* 'laugh' n. (metath.) [Sk]; C 8 Afd *ʔá*, Maltam *ʔáha*, Log *ʔáhó*, Kus *šaw*, Mak, Glf *ḥá* 'rire; to laugh' [TrC], Mak *ḥa* 'to laugh', *ḥey* 'laughter', Log *ʔíhi* [AIL], cf. Log *ḥáhə* 'to laugh' [LkL]; E 2 Lele *āswí* 'rire'.

//Sem Akk *šāḥu, ṣāḥu* (OB on) 'to laugh' [CAD § 64, AHw 1096].

Reflexes in Chadic languages point to Ch **-ḥ-* < AA **-ḥ-*. It seems generally accepted that Akk *šāḥu, ṣāḥu* follows Sem **ḍḥq* 'to laugh' ("loss of **-k* due to incompatibility of two "emphatics"). However, our interpretation seems more adequate to the data.

[CLD II №323].

887. *ʕ(w)VʕY- '(be) full; быть полным': W 1 Hs *ḥwáage* 'to be full', *ḥáçage* 'fill oneself to repletion'; 3 Tng *seεge* 'to fill a container'; C 7 Ould *-tege* 'se remplir, to fill', intr.

//Sem Arab *wḍḥ* 'remplir (un seau) presque à moitié' [BK II 1554].

Note the following correlation: Arabic *wḍḥ* ~ W 1 Hs *ḥwáage* (regular pro-

motion of *prime waw* in Chadic).

[CLD II №326].

888. ***fVVK-/*fVwVK < *fVHV[k]-** (note that two emphatics are not compatible in one root in Chadic languages) ‘to mock, to laugh at, to make fun of smb.; смеяться, насмеяться’: W 3 Goem *swak* (< *fVVK) ‘excite, irritate, entice’ [Srl apud TAS 325]; 4 Tsagu *kaat’a-n* ‘laugh’ n., (metath., long vowel points to contraction after loss of a laryngeal: *kaat’* - < *f’aak- < *f’aHa[k]-); C 6 Daba *tək tək* ‘taquiner; to tease at’ [Lnh] (< Ch *f’VK- or *fVK). Note C 7 Ould *-ɣuk^w* (voicing of *f-) ‘taquiner, to tease at’.

//Sem *dḥq and *šḥq ‘rire’: Hbr *ṣḥq* and *šḥq*, Aram *šḥq* ‘to laugh, smile kindly on s.o.’, Ug *ṣḥq*, Arab *dḥq* (-a-), Geez *saḥaqa, səḥqa*, Tna *sāḥaqä*, Amh *saqä*, Gaf *ṣaqä* [LsG 528], Syr *gḥak*, Aram *dḥk, ṣḥaq* [Zm 262], MSA *zḥk* ‘to laugh’ [JnJ, JnM, LsS 361]. Numerous and diverse phonetic changes in Semitic due to various degree of incompatibility in individual languages of the given trio of radicals.

[CLD II №334].

889. ***fVI- ‘to run, to be quick; бежать, быстро’**: W 1 Hs *čalaalaa* ‘run away’; E 5a Mig *dyiilo* ‘depasser; outrun, pass ahead’; 6 Mok *dyelów* ‘promptement, rapidement, quickly’.

//Sem Mhr *zll* ‘to disappear, go away’ [JnM 476].

890. ***fVmm- ~ *fVmb- ‘to sew; шить’**: W 4 Paa *f’imbaa* [MS], Siri *f’imu*, Jmb *tim-* [SkNB]; 5 Zul *ḥimi, ḥim-ká* [Cs №820], Geji *timvi*, Buli *timu* [Kr]; E 6 Mig *dyimmó*; 5b Kaj *dyam-ku*, Mubi *dyeme-ge* [Jglb].

Noun deriv.: C 8 Glf *máa-ḥ’embá* ‘Spinne; spider’ [Luk 150].

//Sem Geez *damama* ‘bind, tie around, patch up’, Amh *čämäččämä* ‘bind’ [LsG 150].

891. ***fVVm- ~ *fVmVm- ‘bitter; горький’**: W 4 Paa *f’amumáa* ‘bitter’ [MS], Paa *f’amma*, Siri *f’amāmi*, Tsagu *f’ēmama* ‘bitter’ [SkNB]; E 5b Brg *dyēemá* ‘amer’.

Note W 2 Mghv *nžāam* [JgS], Ngas *žam* [FI] ‘gall (of the intestines)’. Likely, a specific reflex of an emphatic affricate in contact with *n-*: -z- instead of -s-. For similar reflex see №120 *čVI- ‘shadow, dark’.

//Omot Wolt *c’ammiya-ga* ‘bitter’, Gamo, Dache, Zayse *c’amo*, Shin *ts’ama*, Kafa, Sheko *c’aammo* ‘bitter’; WCush (= Omot) **dya(a)m*: Omoto

čaam-, Kafa čaamm-, Moca čammo [LmW 392].

[HSED №580, CLD II №340].

892. *ʃVp- 'all, completely; to gather; полностью, собирать': W 1 Hs čaf 'in full'; 2 Goem šip 'entirely' [TAS 348]; C 1 Boka tuf (-f < -p- by assim. with a spirant) 'all' [Kr]; 7 Mofu -təp- 'rassembler, se mettre avec qqn'; 10 Dzpw ħip 'complètement; in full', Dari ħip 'complètement, plein'. Cf. E 6 Mok dyoppót adj. 'au complet, intact; completely'.

//Sem Arab dff 'rassembler', dafdaf- 'foule', dyf 'joindre, ajouter', dfw 'être en abondance' [BK II 27, 31, 32], SCush Irq tlaf 'to abound' [MQK]. [CLD II №316].

893. *ʃVVp- 'to be silent, quiet, to lurk; быть тихим, молчаливым': W 2 Mushere sip-sip 'motionless, quietly' [TAS 321]; 4 Paa t'aapaà 'to hide, lurk' [MS]; E 5a Bid dyaap, Mig dyaapó 'se taire, être tranquille; be silent', dyaapĉn-tà 'calme'.

//Sem Soq ʃədaf 'se reposer, calmer' [LsS 322].

[CLD II №319].

894. *ʃVp- 'stranger, guest, bridegroom; чужой, гость': W 2 Grk me-dap (-d- < -z- < *-s is regular), Mnt me-zep [Fp], Ngas mu-sap 'stranger' [Or], maan-zap 'bride' [Fl], Mghv mi-zep 'stranger, guest' [JgS], Mpn mə-zep 'visitor, guest, stranger', Mushere mi-zep 'stranger, guest' [JgO] (The first component originates from WCh 2 *mVs 'male, husband' // *man 'woman'. Medial -ss- > -s- > -z-: Ngas mus-sap > musap 'stranger', maan-zap 'bride', Mghv mis-sVp > misVp > mizep 'stranger'. Thus, it is possible to reconstruct W 2 *-sVp 'guest, stranger'. Note s- < t', but l- < *t- in WCh 2. In [TAS 250] this root was attested as "an obscure compound"); 3 Krkr tapa 'friend' [KI], Pero mi-ħiva 'guest' [Kr]; C 2 Mrg mə-təpí 'guest, foreigner' [HfM 58], Chb mi-ħibi, Mrg mi-ħipi, Klb mi-ħibi 'guest' [Kr], 5 Pod təvā 'fiance(e)'; 7 Ould atəvā 'ami', Mada ħba (voicing in contact) 'camarade, copain (de même âge)'.

//Sem Arab dyf 'be a guest', dayf 'guest' [BK II 48], Soq def 'recevoir qqn comme hôte', Jib def, dayef, Mehri dayif [LsS 361], Hars dayf 'guest', Mehri zayf 'guest, wedding guest' [JnM 479].

[Ct №529; St 121; HSED №584, CLD II №321].

895. *ʔar- 'to tear away; to split: оторвать, расколоть': W 3 Krkr *t̄aru* 'wrest away' [GK]; 4 Siri *f'ara*, Tsagu *f'aar* 'rip, tear' [SkNB], Paa *f'ar* 'rip up; split (wood)' [MS]; 5 Dott *tar* 'split, chop (wood into pieces)' [CrD]; E 5b Kaj *d̄yarwi* 'déchiré; be torn', Mubi *d̄yèrèw* 'déchirer' [JgL].
//Sem Geez *naḏara* 'rip up, tear off, separate, split' [LsG 387], cf. Omot Wolt *c'iiir-* 'to carve' [LmW].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Geez.

Consider the following isogloss as a "root extension in *g*":

W 1 Hs *čargè* 'to slit' ~ Sem Arab *ḏrg* 'fendre; lancer' [BK 19].

896. *ʔVr- 'to coat, to paint; смазывать': W 2 Mpn *s̄ar* 'to paint', Goem *ser* 'adhere, stick, fasten (paper against wall with glue), apply oil' [TAS 318]; C 6 Buwal *t̄ar* 'smear'; 7 Mbuko *t̄ur̄ay* 'crépir (faire le crépissage), to plaster, to coat'; 10 Dzpw *t̄or* 'crépir'.

Deriv. in *-ḡ/-p-*: *ʔVr- - 'to glue, to be sticky': C 6 Daba *t̄ar̄ap* 'coller, crépir; to glue, to coat, to plaster' [Lnh]; 7 Gis *t̄ar̄b*, *t̄ar̄b* 'zu-, fest-kleben, to glue'. In CCh languages *ʔ and *t̄ have fallen together as *t̄*.

//Cf. Sem Arab *wḏr* 'se salir, être sali de graisse, etc.', *waḏar-* 'saletés de graisse, de boue, d'une teinture qui s'efface, p.ex. henna dont on s'était teint le corps' [BK II 1554].

Root extension (*w* as C₁) in Arabic. Note that Ch *ʔ > W 2 *t̄-, however, Ch *ʔVr- > WCh 2 *sVr* due to incompatibility of liquids. [CLD II №359].

897. *ʔVVr-/ʔVwVr- 'to love; lover': W 1 Hs *čaaraa* 'a paramour', (noun deriv.) *čaara-n-čè* 'fondling between boys and girls'; E5a Bid *d̄yoor* 'aimer'.

//Sem Arab *ḏrw*, II stem 'exciter dans qqn un désir ardent', *ḏrw* 'aimer qqch' [BK II 25].

[CLD II №355].

898. *ʔVr- 'liquid; to pour; лить, жидкость': W 1 Hs *čararóo* 'any liquid that has been over diluted', *čaarii* 'water in which bruised corn has been washed'; C 8 Log *f'arʔ'ar* 'thick (liquid)' [AIL]; E 5a WDng *d̄yar* idf. de *d̄yirgè* 'verser (sur la mains, sur une passoire)'; 6 Mok *d̄yèrrè* 'verser doucement'. Cf. C 7 Mefele (dial.) *t̄otor*, *t̄otar* 'stream'.

//Sem Arab *ḏrw* 'saigner (plaie), couler; to bleed (wound), to pour, flow' [BK II 25], Soq, Jib *čéyer* 'verser' [LsS 363].

[CLD II №№361].

*ɓ

899. *ɓV 'to cut (grass with a sickle); косить траву': W 2 Ngas *li* 'cut (grass with a sickle)'; 3 Kupto *lɛyɛy* 'to cut grass (for animals or thatching a roof)' [LgK], Pero *la* 'cut grass'; C 7 Mafa *ɓa* 'couper (les herbes, de la paille); to cut (grass, hay)'. Cf. №827a *IVɔ/w- 'to harvest corn (with a sickle)'.

Derived noun: C 1 Tera *ɓaw* 'sickle' [NmT].

a. *ɓV 'to cut (with a knife), to tattoo; резать (ножом), делать насечки': W 5 Zaar *ɓa* 'cut, chop' [JgIb]; 7 DB *le* 'cut marks'; Tambas *la* 'cut with a knife' [RC]; C 1 Tera *ɓa* 'cut (with a knife)' [NmT]; 2 Klb *āɓá-ndī*, West Mrg *nɓɛ* 'cut', Chb *ɓi-nta* 'chop' [Kr]; 4 Gude *la* 'cut', FM *ɓa-bi* 'cut', FJ *ɓa-bi* 'cut, chop' (cf. Fali Bwagira *ɓɛ-ɓɛ-gur* 'chop') [Kr], all < *ɓa-; 5a Lmn *ɓ-* 'cut, chop' [JgIb]; 6 Buwal *ɓa* 'to saw, cut', Daba *ɓa* 'couper, circoncire' [VM]; 7 Muy *ɓɛy* idf. 'cutting', Zlg *ɓɛ* 'couper, faire une incision; cut, tatoo'; 7a. Skn *ɓə* 'cut'.

Derived noun: W *IVyV (< *ɓVyV) 'tribal marks': 2 Ngas *lii-n-gwa* 'eight strokes on cheeks' [Fl], Mghv *tu lee* 'tattoo woman's breast' [JgS]; 3 Ngm (Y) *lei* 'tribal marks' [NEH], Dera *lala-lala* 'scratches' [NmK]; 7 Monguna *ɓík alé?* 'cut marks' (*ɓík* 'to cut') [RC].

Derived noun: W 3 Krkr *lɛcli* 'razor' [GK] and C 4 Gudu *luta* (if < *lu-ta) 'knife' [Meek].

//ECush Bur *hlaʔaniya* 'scar', (?) Maa *-hlahaʔé* 'to scarify, to tattoo' [Eh 211].

Consider the following local isogloss as an extension in *-h-*:

C 7 *ɓah- 'to cut (throat)': C 7 Mafa *ɓáh-* 'égorger; to cut throat', Mada *áɓaha* 'égorger, operer, saigner, dépecer, dépouiller', Merey *ɓay* 'égorger, to slaughter'.

For Mada 'dépouiller' cf. SCush Dah *hlwaaʔ-* 'to peel' [Eh 211].

[Nm *hla (Pero, Zaar, Tera, Gude); CLD II №368].

900. *ɓV 'go (away)' > *ɓVɓV 'to run; бежать': W 4 Paa *ɓaɓu* [MS], Kar *ɓiɓi* 'run' [SkNB]; C 3 FK *nɓu-tu*, HF *ɓi-ntu* 'go out' [Kr]; 5 Wnd *ɓu* 'aller, partir' [Mo]; 7 Mbuko *ɓā* 'aller, marcher'.

//Sem Soq *séʔe* 'courir; run' [LsS 431], cf. Sab *ms₂w/y* 'go away' [SD 87].

Note the regular correspondence: Ch *ɓ ~ Sem MSA *ṣ* (< Sem *ṣ,

rendered by \acute{s}_x in [SED]⁷⁷). However, according to [SED I], Sem $*\acute{s}_x$ > MSA š.
[CLD II №369].

901. *ḫV(w/y)- ‘to help, to save; помогать, спасать’: W 2 Ngas *lah* ‘help’ [Or], *la ke ni* ‘help him’ [Or]; C 2 Hildi *ḫuwa-na* ‘to help’ [Kr]; 4 FJ *nḫuwa-tu* ‘help’ [Kr]; 5 Pod *ḫá* ‘help, defend’, 5a cf. Hdi *ḫaay* ‘to release’ [BrH]; 7 Muy *eḫi* ‘save’.

Note W 1 Hs *zayayee* ‘an alien’ (derived noun?) and W 6 Ngz *ḫaḫiyú* ‘beseech, seek blessing’.

//Sem Sab *h-ws₂f* ‘grant favour to s-o’ > ‘seek favour from’, ‘favour//strength’; Qat *ws₂f-n* ‘help, favour’, [Ox 323]; Hbr *yšf* (hip) ‘help, save’, Akk *usātu, ušatu* ‘Hilfe, help’ [AHw 1222].

Ch $*ḫ$ - regularly corresponds to Sem $*\acute{s}$ (= $*\acute{s}_x$ in SED) > Hebrew š, Sab *s₂*, Akk, Arab š, Geez *s*.

[CLD №373].

902. *ḫV ‘to take’ > *ḫVʔ/y/w- ‘to take (away) by force; схватить, отобрать’: W 2 Musheré *loo* ‘take and carry’ [JgO]; 2 Klb *ḫuya* ‘to seize’ [MuK 19]; 3 FK *ḫyi* ‘rescue, take by force’ [BINd]; 5 Mlg *ḫiya* ‘wegnehmen, ergreifen, take away, seize’; 5a Hdi *ḫuʔay* ‘take away by force’ [BrH]; 7 Zlg *ḫá* ‘prendre, saisir, tenir’, Mery *ḫa* ‘prendre’.

//Geez *nasʔa (yənsāʔ)* ‘take, receive, capture, accept, grasp, seize, pick up, take as wife’ [LsG 404]. In the view of diverse semantics in Geez the following Chadic - SCushitic isogloss is worth mentioning:

a. *ḫV(w)- ‘to receive, to get’: W 2 Ngas *la* ‘to receive’, *lah* ‘to accept’ [Or], *lá* ‘receive’ [Brq] Mpn *lá* ‘obtain, receive; marry’; C 2 Bura *ḫu* ‘to receive at the hand of another’ [Ann]; 3 FK *ḫu* ‘receive’ [BINd]; C 4 Gude *luu* ‘receive, get, obtain’, Jimj *lwe* ‘accepter’ [Mo].

//SCush $*slaw$ - ‘to get’: Irq, Bur *slaw*-, Alg *sloom*- ‘to get’, (?) Maa *-slawé* ‘accept, receive’ [Eh 211 №23], Maa *-sliʔu* ‘to borrow’ [Eh 211], Rift $*slaw$ ‘find, get’: Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *slaw* [Kies], Irq *slaw*- ‘obtain, find, discover’ [MKQ]. Rift $*sl$ regularly corresponds to Ch $*ḫ$.

⁷⁷ For reflexes of Proto-Semitic lateral $*\acute{s}_x$ see [SED I].

[CLD II №380].

903. *ɣV ‘to speak, to sing; говорить, петь’: C 7a Skn *ɣa* ‘speak, tell to’; 7 Gis *ɣe* ‘sing’.

Derived noun, redupl.: W 1 Hs *zúizà* (*zúuzà*) ‘hum or buzz of voices’; 7 Zlg *ɣaaɣa* ‘cri’, Mbuko *ɣiyɣoy* ‘cri (des femmes); cry (of women)’, cf. 4 Gude *laala* ‘k of children’s singing game’.

//Sem Geez *sāsəʔa* ‘to speak well, speak clearly, answer’, *wsʔ* ‘answer, respond in chant, speak’, Amh (*a*)*wässa* ‘to talk about smth’ [LsG 524, 620].

a. C 7 *ɣVɣɥ- ‘to cry; кричать’: Ould *ɣāhāy* ‘crier, annoncer’, Muy *áɣax* ‘shout, cry out’.

//Sem Hbr *šwʔ* (pi) ‘um Hilfe rufen; cry for help’ [KB 956].

It is not clear if forms in Hebrew and Geez may be taken for different extensions (in ʔ ~ ʔ) of one and the same Sem root. In any case, both have reliable Chadic parallels.

904. *ɣV(w)- ‘to burn; жечь’: W 3 note Pero *laalò* ‘burn’ (if not < Ch **IV(w)-* cf. [CLD I №22]); C 5 Dghw *ɣuwaya* ‘burn’ [Kr]; 6 Daba *ɣaw* ‘brûler’ [Lnhr]; 9a Gdr *ə-ɣ-a* ‘brûler (les broussailles, les herbes)’ [VM].

Derived noun: C 7a Skn *ɣya* ‘furnace, forge fire-box’, cf. *ɣya dāy* ‘forge’.

//Sem Arab *šyʔ* II stem ‘brûler, entamer qqch par le feu’ [BK I 1298], Geez *śwʔ* ‘sacrifice, bring a whole-burnt offering’, Tna *soʔe* ‘offer sacrifices’, Tgr *sāwa* ‘burn, heat’ [LsG 538].

905. *ɣV(ɣV) ‘oil, fat; масло, жир’: W 4 Paa *ɣíɣu* ‘king oil, butter’ [MS]; C 7 Mada *eɣe* ‘gras, huileux, taché de gras; fat, oily’.

//SCush Qwadza *aslito* [Eh 285], Dah *ʔasli* ‘oil’ [EEN 20]; Sem Mhr *śśy* > *səsyēt* ‘fat around the kidneys’, Hars *śisēt*, *śəsēt* [JnM 386].

Ch **ɣ-* regularly correspond to MSA *ś* (< Sem **ś*).

[CLD №376].

906. *ɣVbVH- > *ɣVb-* ‘be, become wide; широкий’: W 3 Bol *lab-* ‘ausbreiten, to weiden’ [LkB]; C 2 Bura *ɣabu* ‘wide’ [Ann], Chb *ɣabu*, Ngwahi *ɣabū*, Hildi *ɣabū*, Klb *ɣabū*, Mrg *ɣabo* ‘wideness’ [Kr].

//Sem Arab *šbh* ‘étendre une peau à l’aide de deux pieux fichés en terre, étendre ses 2 bras, s’allonger; to stretcha piece of skin, stretch arms’ [BK I

1182], Soq *šbaḥ* ‘étendre (des pieds), stretch legs’ [LSs] (possibly, an Arabic loan).

Note the following correlation: secondary emphatization of *-b-* in Chadic ~ *ḥ* as C₃ in Semitic.

907. *ḥVb/b- ‘to cling to make close to; присоединить, приблизить’: W 4 Paa *ḥibíya* ‘next to’ [MS]; C 2 Bura *ḥiba* ‘to fasten; to affix’, *ḥib-za* ‘to fasten smth to an object’ [Ann]; 4 Gude *labə, ləbə* ‘join together’; 5 Pod *ḥaba* ‘to interlock (with each other)’; 7 Chv *mé-ḥəbɛy* ‘drink together from one calabash’, Mafa *-ḥəb-* ‘boire ensemble a la même calabasse; se coller joue contre joue, cling cheek to cheek’; 10 Musey *ḥab-pa* ‘joinder, unir; l’union’ [ShyM].

//Sem Arab *nšb* ‘s’attacher, se coller, s’accrocher à qqch et y rester’ [BK II 125].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Arabic. Unexpected *-b-* in Chadic languages.

908. *ḥVHVb- ~ *ḥVmb- ‘to mix, to knead; месить, смешивать’: W 4 Paa *ḥaabāā* ‘knead’ [MS], Wrij, Kar *lab-* (loss of lateral articulation), Siri *ḥaba* ‘mix, knead’ [SkNB]; 3 Bol *lomb-* ‘vermischen, to mix’ [LkB], Ngm (G) *lāmā*, (Y) *lcmbo* ‘grind a wet mixture, blend, mix’ [NEH]; C 10 Dzp *ḥap* (*-p < *-b#* is regular) ‘mélanger de façon homogène’. Note C 7 Mbuko *ḥāb* ‘piler (sur un rocher)’.

//Sem Arab *šʔb* ‘mêler, mélanger’ [BK 1284], Sab *s₂wb-n* ‘mixed (of) various kind’ [BlI 512], Eg *šbb* (AR) ‘zusammen mischen (bei der Brauerei und bei Bereitung eines Heilmittels), mix’ [EG IV 439].

Note the following correlation: *-b-* in Chadic ~ medial *ʔ* in Arabic. Ch W 3 *IVmb-* may reflex **IVwb- < *ḥVwb-* (cf. Sabaic).

[AA №393; HSED №2315; EDE II 206 with all the references].

909. *ḥVb- ‘kind of flying insect; вид крылатого насекомого’: W 4 Wrij *ḥəb-ai* ‘butterfly’ [SkNB]; C 4 Gude *alābā* ‘kind of fly’; 7 Mafa *ḥəba* ‘insecte volant sp., kind of flying insect’ [BaMf]; 10 cf. Musey *ḥib-ma* ‘la mouche tsetse’ [MM].

//SCush Bur *slubi* ‘dragon fly’ [Eh].

[CLD IIN#416].

910. *ḥVbVr- ‘kind of corn (millet); вид зерна, просо’: W 1 Hausa *zābrāá*

'millet'; C 5 Wnd *ḥéberè* 'ocra' [Luk 122], Mlg *ḥábəre* 'ocra'; 7 Chv (metath.) *ḥərev* 'mil sauvage'; 7a Skn *tyabər* 'maize' [DS], *xlabir* [Meek]. //Sem Hbr *šeber* 'corn, grain to be sold' [KB 946].

Hebrew 'corn' is usually considered a derived noun (cf. Sem **čbr* (**tbr*) 'to pound'), however the corresponding verb is not attested in Hebrew. Given that Hebrew *š* may reflect Sem **ŝ* (= **ŝ_x* in [SED I]), Chadic cognates seem quite reliable.

[St 51; CLD II №421].

911. **ḥV[d]*- 'to pull (out), to stretch; тянуть, растягивать, вытаскивать': W 1 Hs *zazzadōo* (< *zad-zad-*) 'pull, draw out'; C 9 Mulwi *ḥidí* 'tiram d'un coup sec', Mbara *ḥát* (-**t#* < -**d#*) 'tiram d'un coup sec; pull by a start'; E 5a EDng *laadé* 'decrêper, étirer les cheveux' [Dj].

Cf. metath.: W 7 Bok *dul* 'draw, pull out', Bok, Tambas *dul* 'pull' (< *lud* < **ḥud*). For a similar metath. see Sem **wld* 'to give birth, child' ~ Chad **dVwVl-* 'child, small' (№144).

//Sem Akk *šadādu* (from Oakk on) 'to pull, stretch, to draw a curtain, to pull or tear off' [CAD š1 344], Eg *šdy* (Pyr) 'aufziehen' [EG IV 564], Note the following correlation: -*d-* in Chadic languages ~ -*dd-* in Semitic. [HSED №2322 Eg-Hs; CLD II №446].

912. **ḥVg-* 'to stir, to mix; перемешивать': W 3 Kupto *ložžéy* (< **loggey*) 'to mix, to blend' [LgK]; C 9 Mulwi *ḥuḥugi* 'preparer (sauce, bouillie ou breuvage épais); prepare sauce'.

Derived noun in -*m-*: W 1 Hs *zagámaa* 'stirring (dye pit)'.

Note W 2 Ngas *wu-luk*, *wu-lk* (-*k#* < **-g#*) 'stir smth out of a hole with a stick' [TAS 407].

//Sem Arab *šgg* 'mêler', *mšg* 'mêler, mélanger' [BK I 1191, II 1109].

Root extension (*m* as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD II №482].

913. **ḥVg-* (< * *Vfi-*) 'to pierce; протыкать': C 7 Gis *ḥəge* 'stechen, stossen' [LkG], 'pierce' [SkNB];

a. **ḥVg-n/m-* '**harpoon, horn; гарпун, рог**': W 1 Hs *zagóo* (< **zagVN-*) 'harpoon (for crocodiles)'; C 8 Mak *laga-n* (< **ḥaga-n*) 'horn' [AIM].

b. **ḥVg-* '**sharp tooth; острый зуб**': W 1 Hs *zaga* 'canine tooth', 2 Mushere *da-ka-lak* 'molar' [TAS163]; C 7 Mafa *ḥagaw* 'croc d'animal'.

//Sem Arab *nšġ* ‘pierce with a spear’ [BK II 1263].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Arabic. Semitic **ġ* corresponds to Ch **fi*, in medial position **-fi-* yielded *-g-* in almost all Ch languages.

[CLD II №491].

914. C **ḥVg-* ‘idiot; идиот’: 5 Glv *ḥāaga* ‘foolishness’ [Rp], 7 Mafa *əgəlōmaʔa*, *ḥəgəlōm-lōmmaʔa* ‘brachycephale, aplati, plat (crâne)’.

Cf. C 5 Ould *ḥāgu-zār* ‘démarche du fou’ (compound).

//Sem Hbr *šgʕ* (pu., hitp.) ‘to behave like a madman’, Judaic *šgʕ* (pa.) ‘to become insane’, Akk *šegū* ‘to rage, to be rabid’, Arab *šagʕ-at-* ‘faible d’esprit’, *mašgaʕ-* ‘tout a fou, achevé’ [SED I №67], Hbr *məšuggāʕ* ‘mad’ [Barth 45].

915. **ḥVwV[k-]* > **ḥVkʷ-* ‘to build, to work’: W 3 Pero *ḥigu*, *ḥiko* (< **ḥikʷ-*) ‘build’ [Kr]; E 2 Kaba *ba-ləgʷiyə*, Nch *ba-lugʷiyə* ‘travailler’ [HmK]; 6 Mok *lookè* (< **lwk* < **ḥVwVk*) ‘aller cultiver chez un paysan riche’. Ch **k* and **k̄* have fallen together as *k* in all the languages.

//SCush Iqw *slaqʷe* ‘ordering for common work’, *slaqʷas* ‘make smth communal’ [MQK]. Cf. Sem Sab *ʕs₂q* ‘dig well, cut road’ [SD 21].

916. **ḥVkʷ-* < **ḥVkw-/*ḥVwk-* ‘to be eager, to love; хотеть, любить’: W 1 Hs *zakū* ‘be eager to get smth’, 2 Goem *ka-lak* ‘eagerness, to be eager’ [TAS 163]; 3 Tng *loko* ‘love, want’, Pero *lalāk* ‘lust’; 6 Ngz *ḥakʷái* ‘desire for’.

//Sem Arab *šwq* ‘remplir qqn du désir de qq chose, exciter qqn (l’amour)’ [BK I 1288], Hbr *təšōqat* ‘to wish, to demand’ [KB1043], *tašūqā* ‘Begierde, Sehnen’ [Barth 46], Arab *ʕšq* ‘être/devenir amoureux’ [BK II 263], Mehri *ʕāsōq* ‘to like so., smth’ [JhM 32].

917. **ḥ(y)Vm-* ‘to shut, to plug; закрыть, заткнуть’: W 2 Grk *lum* ‘shut’ [Fp], cf. Mushere *ndu-lum* ‘roof of a round house or hut built with mud and clay’ [TAS 77]; 3 Bol *lumū* ‘plug hole’ [GAB], Kupto *luméy* ‘to stick, to push into the ground; to block; to cover (esp. a hole)’ [LgK]; 5 Saya (Zaar) *ḥóm* ‘close’ [Cs]; C 7 Mada *áḥḥam* ‘couvrir (une surface); cover (a surface)’; 7a Skn *ḥyama* ‘close!’.

//Sem Arab *šym* ‘cacher, enfoncer, ficher, to hide, to stick into’ [BK I 1300].

918. **ḥVm-* ‘to be able, to have power; мочь, иметь власть’: W 1 Hs *záame* ‘rein in a horse’; 3 Bol *lom-* ‘erreichen (Stelle); to reach a position’ [LkB]; 6 Ngz *ḥamú* ‘make, do; be possible’; C 7 Muy *áḥam* ‘have results for’; 8 Log *ḥom, ḥim* ‘können, genügen; can’ [LkL].

//Eg *sšm* (Pyr) (Kaus?) ‘führen, leiten; to lead, to manage’, *sšm.w* (Pyr) ‘Führer, Leiter; chief’, *sšm* (MR) ‘Weisung; instructions, order’ [EG IV 283, 288, 290], SCush Asa *slam* ‘allow’ [Eh 208], ECush Burji *šuum-* ‘appoint’ (accord. to [SsB 175], a LW < Amh *šomä* ‘appoint to an office’, *šum* ‘chief, official’); cf. Sem Sab *s₂ym* ‘set up, perform ceremony, appoint s.o. in charge of’ [SD 136].

In the lack of the "basic" verb (*tm*) Eg *sšm* can be hardly considered a Causative (i.e., *s-šm*). Rather, *sš* should be taken for a "double sibilant" (cf. №828b).

919. **ḥVm-* ‘to count; to buy; считать’: 1 Hs *záame* ‘deduct the sum a person owes from a payment one is making to him’; 5 Zul *ḥimi* ‘counting’ [BlZ], Pol *ḥim*, Zul *ḥimi*, Geji *ḥemi*, Buli *ḥimən* ‘count’ [Cs №696]; C 7a Skn *ḥom, ḥomara* ‘to buy’.

//Sem Geez *šemata, šaymata* ‘deal in grain’, Akk *šāmu* ‘buy’ [LsG 531], Sab *s₂?m* ‘buy purchase’ [Ox 263, SD 130], Mhr *šōm (š?m)*, Jibbali *šem*, Soq *šiom* ‘sell’ [JnM 369, LsS 429], cf. [Ox 312]. In all Semitic languages reflexes of Semitic **ĉ* (**ś*) and **š* (**š_x*) have fallen together.

920. **ḥVm-* ‘enclosure, hut (for cattle); ограда, хижина’: W 1 Hs *zúuma* ‘a very large booth or shelter made of mats’; 4 Siri *dhlimmi* ‘hut’ [Jglb]; C 2 Mrg *ḥōmā* ‘hut for goats, sheep, stable’ [HfM 23], Bura *ḥima* ‘a fold for sheep, goats’ [Ann]; 3 FK *ḥōmā* ‘hut made for livestock’ [BlNd]; 5 Pod *ḥōma* ‘enclos pour les bêtes, enclosure for animals’; 7 cf. Moloko *ḥam* ‘place’; 7a Skn *ḥōma ḥo* ‘bull’s stall’.

//Eg *šm* (Gr) ‘Mauer, wall’ [EG IV 467]. SCush Irq *sluma*, pl. *slumoo* ‘hedge around the house, cycle of houses’ [MQK], Rift **sluma* ‘temporary cattle fold’: Irq *sluma* ‘kraal, cattle fold’, Gor *sluma* ‘temporary cattle enclosure of thorny branches’, Alg *sluma* ‘cattle fild’, Bur *sluma* ‘desertes homestead’ [Kies].

Ch **ḥ* regularly corresponds to SCush rift **sl*, both < AA **š*.
[CLD II № 532].

921. *ʕVn- ‘to (sur)round (with a fence)’: W 2 Goem (derived noun) *lyen* [lʷən] ‘mat used as a fence around the compound, woven with grass’ [Hlw]; C 7 Ould *-ʕaḡaḡ* ‘faire la tour’; E 3 Tum *luḡ* ‘cloturer; to fence’.
//Eg *ʕn* (MR) ‘der Ring’ > ‘Umgebung, surroundings’ [EG IV 488].
[CLD II № 554].

922. *ʕVp- ‘to desire, to love; хотеть, любить’: W 2 Goem *k^{wa}-lap* (< **kwa-ʕap*, compound) ‘a man or woman indulging in lewdness’ [TAS 212]; C 7 Mofu *-ʕḡəv-* ‘chasser l’adultère’; 10 Dzpw *ʕap* ‘désirer’; E 5a Bidiya *lap* ‘avoir des relations sexuelles’
Cf. C 6 Buwal *ʕāp* ‘to help each other’.

//Sem Arab *ʕif* ‘occupy completely (love)’ [BK I 1240], Mhr *ʕff* ‘to like s.o., smth.’ [JnM]. Root extension (ʕ as C₂) in Arabic.

923. *ʕ(y)VP- ‘to search; искать’: W 2 Ngas *lap* ‘to look for, investigate, search’ [FI], *lap* ‘suchen’ [JgA], Mghv *lyap* ‘be-, aufsichtigen’ [JgS], Kofyar *lyap* ‘to look for’; C 10 Dzpw *ʕap* ‘rechercher; to search, to investigate’.
//Sem Mhr *ʕaf* / *əʕfūtən* ‘trace, track(s)’, Jib *ʕef* / *əʕfəf* [JnM 373: ‘then they found and followed his tracks’ (*bə-ʕafəh*)].
[CLD II №439].

924. *ʕVp- ‘to pierce; проткнуть’: W 2 Ngas *lap*, *lep* ‘to insert’, *lab* as ‘pierce’ [FI]; 5 Saya *ʕop* ‘stab, pierce’ [Cs №830]; Zaar *ʕop* ‘prick’ [CrZ], Dott *ʕp* (Ch **t* and **ʕ* > Dott *t*) ‘prick, pierce, stab’ [CrD]; 6 Ngz *ʕapu* ‘pierce, stab’.

Derived noun: W 3 Pero *lépə* ‘spear with a wide blade’, Kupto *lèfè* ‘spear’, gen.n. [LgK].

Derived noun: C 7 Mada *óʕḡəv* (if -v# < *-p#) ‘hole made by an insect, caterpillar’.

//Sem Mehri *ʕfw* ‘sew leather with an awl’, JibEC *ʕfə* [JnM 373], cf. (SCush ?) Dah *dlapanað* ‘to prick, to stab’ [EEN].

Note a voiced lateral fricative (*dl*) in Dahalo.
[CLD №443].

925. *ʕVr- ‘to pour water; лить воду’: W 1 Hs *zúraaraa* ‘pour water’, 4 Paa *ʕər* ‘pour in, draw water’ [MS], *ʕur* ‘pour’ [SkNB]; C 2 Bura *ʕir* ‘to strain (through a cloth)’ [Ann]; 7 Mofu *-ʕər-* ‘transvaser, vider (d’un

récipient), prendre de l'eau dans la bouche, decant, pour from a vessel', Zlg *ḫálá* (note *-l- <*-r-*) 'couler, to flow', Muy *ḫir* 'a lot (of fluids)'.

//Sem Akk *našāru* 'pour out' [CAD n 64].

Root extension (*n* as C₂) in Akkadian.

Derived noun: C ***(ḫV)ḫVr-** 'a stream, a (small) river; ручей': C 3 cf. Higi Moda *ḫirre*, Higi Humsi *ḫirre*= *ḫirre* 'river' [Meek]; 5 Glv *ḫara* 'river' [Kr]; 5 Lmn *ḫirwi* 'stream' [HmG], 5a Hitk *ḫórwí* 'river' [LkH] (cf. Hdi *ḫaḫra* 'hippo' = *ḫa-ḫra* 'animal-river' [Egg]); 6 Buwal *ḫaḫar* 'river'; 7 Chv *ḫaḫar tá yam* 'course d'eau' (*yam* 'water'), Mafa *ḫoḫór* 'ruisseau, petite rivière; stream', Mofu *ḫaḫar* 'ruisseau', Gis *ḫaḫar* 'Bauch, See, small river, sea'. Cf. C 5 Mlg *ḫór-ve* 'jahreszeitlich bedingt fliessender Fluss, seasonal river'.

//Cf. Sem Sab *s₂rg-hwm* 'watercourse' [Ox 297], Geez *sárg* 'canal, stream' [LsG 553].

926. *ḫVr- 'to open; открыть': W 4 Tsagu *ḫáar-*, Mburku *ḫir* 'open, untie' [SkNB]; C 6 Musgoy *ḫir-* [Mo], Kola *ḫír* [Jglb], Daba *ḫór* [Lnh], Buwal *ḫar* 'open'. Note C 7 Mada *ḫrá-tát* 'tout ouvert, étiré, déployé, opened completely'.

Deriv. in *-d-*: C 7 Mofu *-ḫaḫór-d-* 'élargir (un sac, la bouche); ouvrir'.

//Sem Arab *šhr(a)* 'be open, open (mouth)' [BK I 197].

Root extension (*ḫ* as C₂) in Arabic.

[Jglb *ḫr* I 132D; HSED №2334 Arab+WCh; CLD II №567].

927. *ḫVr- 'to sow > disperse, to scatter; сеять > рассыпать': W 4 Tsagu *ḫir* 'sow' [SkNB]; 7 Muy *ḫələk ḫələk* 'scattered on the ground'; 9 Mnj *ḫiri* 'dispercer, se dispercer', Mulwi *ḫírí* 's'éparpiller, to scatter' intr.

//Sem Arab *nšr* 'dispercer, dissémener' [BK II 1258].

Root extension (*n* as C₁) in Arabic.

[CLD II №591].

928. *ḫVr- 'sprout; росток': C 7 Mada *áḫḫar* 'pousse (de plante); vitalité, fécondité (force magique); sprout, fertility'; E 2 Lele *larə* 'pousse, sprout', *lar* 'pousser (veget.)'.

Deriv.: W 1 Hs *zar-baa* 'a sprig of dates' and W 3 Krkr *maa-ḫaaraa* 'newly sprouted baobab leaves (for sauce)' [GK].

Cf. W 3 Tng *laara* 'new'.

//Sem Arab *mašr-at-* (*mšr*) 'rameau tendre et vert' [BK II 1109]. Root extension (*m* as C₁) in Arabic.
[CLD II №600].

929. **ḥVt-* 'to tear (off); оторвать': W 5 Zaar *ḥaatō* 'tear, be torn' [CrZ], Buli *ḥaadən* (*t* < **ḥ-* is regular) 'tear' (tr.) [Cs №838]; C 3 FK *ḥt-kəvu* (regressive devoicing in contact: **ḥt-* > *t-*) 'tear' [Kr]; 10 Dzpw *ḥat* 'arracher; tear off', Dari *ḥat* (< **ḥat*, regressive assim.) 'tirer avec force, arracher', Masa, Musey *ḥat* 'tirer' [LexC].

//Sem Geez *ṣatata* 'tear apart, split, rend', Tgr *sättä* 'tear', Cush Bed *šetit* 'tear off' [LsG 538], Geez *masāta* 'tear to pieces, tear away' [LsG 369], Arab *ṣšt* 'tirer avec force pour arracher' [BK II 263].

Note Ch **-t-* as the regular reflex of AA **-t-* (> Sem **-t-*).
[CLD №371].

930. **ḥVVt-* (< **ḥVHVt-*) 'to stretch; растягивать': W 2 Ngas *lweēt* 'stretching capacity of rubber' [Fl], note Mghv *muut léēt* 'ohnmächtig werden' = 'to stretch dead', *muut* 'to die' [JgS]; C 7 Mada *áḥḥat* 'étirer'; E 5a Bidiya *liit* 'étirer, tendre; stretch'; 6 Mok *liite*, *léctè* 's'étirer, tendre la corde d'un arc; stretch a bow-string'.

Deriv. adj.: **ḥVt-* 'long; длинный': W 1 Hs *zécécé* 'being long and pointed'; C 2 Bura *ḥitu* 'long' [Ann].

//Sem Sab *m-s₂wḥt-t* 'linear measurement=5 cubits//span (or larger)' [SD 132, Ox 281], Hbr Pb *šḥt* 'to draw, stretch' [KB 1353].

Комментарий к "Этимологическому словарю".

1. Спирантизация *-b-* в некоторых зап. и центр. чад. языках, как правило, происходит в интервокальной позиции, поэтому в данном случае мы можем реконструировать начальный "алеф" на пращад. уровне.

Рефлексы в Е 1 Kera (*kuunu* < *ku-wun-* < **ku-bVn-*), С 5 Mlg (*úgvəra* < **ukvəra* < *kvəra-* < **ku-(ʔa)bəna*) и в С 9 Msg (*fukni*, метат. < *kfuni* < *kvuni* < **ku-ʔabVn-*) указывают на префикс. Нерегулярный рефлекс губного (*f-* вместо *b-*) возник по регрессивной ассимиляции или в контактной позиции с префиксом.

Приведем аналогичный пример: Ch **bur-um-/ *kV-bur-um-* 'knee': W 2 Vol *burum*, Ngm *buuru* 'кnee', Paa *burmi* 'knee' (префикс не оставил следа), но W 2 Mghv *kəfurum*, *furum*, GoeM *fəram*, Murun *furum*, Ngas *fərem*, Grk *furum* (см. ниже).

Отм

етим также, что этот хорошо представленный в зап.- и центр.-чадских языках корень с надежной этимологией почти не оставил следа в восточной ветви. Этот и многочисленные аналогичные примеры, а также и противоположные - рефлексы некоторых АА корней сохранились только в восточной ветви - свидетельствуют о том, что восточные языки первыми отделились от семьи, после чего западная и центральная ветви еще в течение какого-то времени составляли единое целое.

2. Начальный сибиллянт в Е 3 Tumak - это рефлекс чад. **ç-* (а не **c-*). Нерегулярный рефлекс можно объяснить влиянием начального алефа (**ʔVcub* > *ʔcVb* > *çVb-* > *sub*).

3. Отметим отсутствие рефлексов чад. корня **n-dV* 'person, человек' в восточной ветви, при том, что его следы все-таки сохранились в виде субъектного местоимения 1л. ед.ч. (Е 5b Mubi *nde*, Zirinkel *nde-te*) и объектного (Е 5 EDng *du*). Это безусловно, инновация, поскольку в этих же и близкородственных языках сохраняется рефлекс общечадского субъектного местоимения 1 л. ед. ч. **nV* (Е 5b Jegu *nô*, 5a Bidiya *no*, EDng *nô*, и т.д.).

5. Развитие семантики: '(молодая) женщина' > 'служанка, рабыня' аналогичен неоднократно отмеченному в тексте семантическому сдвигу: 'мальчик, юноша' > 'раб'. Поэтому сопоставление с семит. представляется допустимым.

Отметим, что чадский корень не может быть когнатом Eg *hm.t* 'wife, woman' (как предложено в [EDE I 123]). См. рефлексы АА **h-* (> Ch **h-*) в центр.-чад. языках и в WCh 4 (Warji *x-*, Diri, Kariya, Tsagu *y-*, Paa *h-*) во Введении и в тексте.

6. Отметим совпадение семантики в Аккадском и чадских языках, а также и одинаковую структуру корня (**ʔpl*). В таком случае семит.

**npI* можно рассматривать как расширение двухсложной ячейки.

Синонимы *p-I* и *p-n* в W 4 нельзя объяснить на уровне фонетических соответствий. Скорее чтобы соединить чадские корни, можно постулировать метатезу в WCh: AA **n-p-I* > Ch **pVIn-* > *pVI-* ~ *pnn* > *pn*.

8. Рефлексы пращадского корня со значением 'луна' сохранились во всех чадских языках, но, в отличие от остальных общещадских корней, чад. **tVr-* 'moon' не имеет внешних параллелей с тем же значением. Берберское **tary* 'star' скорее можно рассматривать чадское заимствование. На необходимость реконструкции префикса *t-* указывает долгий гласный (разного тембра), возникший после утраты слабого ларингала (**tV?Vr-* > *tVVr-*). Как и в других случаях (см. **tV-sin-* 'nose') наблюдаем рефлексы с "двойным" префиксом (ECh Kera *ki-tir*, etc.) и **kV-tVr-* > *kVyVr-* > *kyVr-* > W 5 Zul *kyaare*, Barang *čaari*, Buli *kyar*, Dott *čaar* [Cs]; C Cin, Glv, *kyla* 'moon', Cp, аналогичный пример: Ch **kVtVr-* 'tail' > CCh 5 Chn *xo-k^lla*, Glv *xu-k^lla*).

Существует еще несколько очень важных изоглосс (в том числе, из 100-словного списка), между южноаравийскими и чадскими корнями, например: **tV* 'есть (мягкую пищу)', **(HV)pVr-* 'красный, кровь', **sVrVp-* 'ребро'.

16. Поскольку ни чадские, ни кушитские языки не сохраняют след "айна", последний можно расценивать как расширитель двухсложной ячейки в Арабском языке. Отметим производный глагол в чадских языках, маркированный эмфатизацией губного в позиции C₁.

17. Вторичная эмфатизация губного в позиции C₁, а также долгий гласный указывают на "слабый" ларингал (? или ʕ) в позиции C₂ на пращад. уровне. Отметим, что основной семантикой в семитских языках является 'to fish', в чадских она почти во всех языках вытеснена, но (как и 'ловля птиц') сохранилась в производных именах. Совмещение семантики 'охотиться' ~ 'искать' ~ 'хотеть' типично для чадских языков (далее в тексте это будет отмечаться). Виду надежной этимологии чадского корня и отсутствии таковой у Нило-Сахарского языка Канури (*bara* 'охотиться'), следует постулировать заимствование из чадских языков в Канури, а не наоборот.

23. Отметим, что для семитских языков с древней письменностью очевидна исходная семантика 'скот', а не 'бык', тем более, не 'верблюд'. То же значение (именно - 'скот') реконструируется и на пращадском уровне. Предположительно, на пращадском уровне корень имел структуру **biHr-*, поэтому не наблюдается вторичная эмфатизация согласного в позиции C₁.

24. Об истории реконструкции сем. **p* см. [SED I 246]. Отметим, что, при всем обилии семитского материала, этот один из немногих примеров оппозиции: *b* vers. *p* в семитских языках. Чадские и

берберские⁷⁸ когнаты этого корня показывают *b-*. Это, на наш взгляд, указывает на фонетические варианты в семитских языках, а не на рефлексы особой семитской (и афразийской) фонемы.

30. Семитская параллель указывает на сем. **c-* < АА **c-*, что не противоречит чадским данным (во всех языках⁷⁹ совпали рефлексы **s* & **c*). В подобных случаях, мы реконструируем прачад. */*c*].

32. Начальный *w/u* никак не отразился в чадских рефлексах этого АА корня, хотя мы неоднократно отмечали случаи "продвижения" *waw* в позицию *C*₂. Поэтому, можно предположить, что на АА уровне исходной была структура. **c-f-*, с дальнейшей триконсонантзацией в семитских языках.

33. В АА корне **c-f* 'wind' согласный в позиции *C*₁ (именно, **c-*) реконструируется по рефлексу в Др.-евр.⁸⁰ и берб. языках (берб. *z-* это рефлекс аффрикаты, но не сибиллянта). Во всех чадских языках **c-* и **s-* отражаются как *s-*. Согласный в позиции *C*₂ (именно, **-f-*), напротив, реконструируется по рефлексам в чад. языках, поскольку и в семит., и в берб. языках совпали рефлексы АА **p* и **f*.

34. Распирение двухсогласной ячейки в сем. языках за счет начального *l-*. Слабо документированный чадский корень заслуживает внимания с фонетической точки зрения. В чадских языках интервокальный *-g-* может быть рефлексом чад. **-g-*, **-f-*, **-y-*. Ввиду надежной семитской этимологии фонема в позиции *C*₂ (в прачад. корне) обозначается как [*f*].

35. Ча́дско-эфиосемитская параллель. "Айн" в позиции *C*₃ не сохраняется в чадских языках, поэтому в данном случае он может быть, как первичным, так и "расширителем" двухсогласной ячейки в семитских языках.

36. Еще один пример архаичности лексики языков котоко (CCh 8). В нарушение правила эта этимология включена в Словарь, поскольку концепт 'поле, обработанная земля' является основным в блоке сельскохозяйственной лексики.

44. Концепт "стрела" в семитских языках (и в частности - в арабской диалектной лексике) связан с понятиями "доля" и "бросать жребий", см. лексику, собранную в [Бел 2, 76]. Еще один пример - Арабский *ħazz-* 'part, portion, lot' ~ *ħazzw-at-* 'petite fleche' [BK 453-4].

46. Внешняя параллель объясняет возникновение вторичного латерального в чадских языках: CCh **cVHVn-* > *cHVn-* > *ʔVn-* (о вторичных латеральных см. [StLat]). Специфический рефлекс сибиллянта в чадских языках, в свою очередь, позволяет просцировать

⁷⁸ Если берберский корень не заимствован из семитских языков.

⁷⁹ Здесь и далее "во всех (чадских) языках" означает: "во всех чадских языках, рефлексы которых включены в данную этимологию".

⁸⁰ См. таблицу соответствий в [SED I], стр. LXVIII-LXIX.

трехсогласный корень на АА уровень.

48. Чад. **c*- условно реконструируется на основе семитской параллели (во всех чадских языках Ch **s*- и **c*- отражаются как *s*-).

Отметим редкий случай сохранения рефлекса АА фарингального **h*- в языке Mada. Очевидно, что это произошло благодаря падению первого гласного (-*h*- оказался в позиции C₂). Долгий гласный в Е 5 может указывать на метатезу: **c-n-h* > *s-H-n*- > *sVVn*. Таким образом, все рефлексы указывают на АА трехсогласный корень.

49. Расширение двухсогласной ячейки в сем. языках с помощью начального *n*- (который отсутствует в Арабском редуцированном корне). Вероятно, к этому же АА корню восходит Sem Jibbali *saʕaf* 'веять' (с расширением за счет "айна" в позиции C₂). Рефлексы фонемы в позиции C₁ в языках MSA (именно, - *s*) указывают на сем. **c*-. С другой стороны, рефлексы в ц.-чад. языках указывают на чад. и АА **p*-, поэтому мы можем отделить настоящий корень от чад. **sVʔ*- 'дышать', см. №681. Отметим, что рефлексы обоих корней сохранились в языке CCh 5 Malgwa).

51. Любопытно чередование начального сонорного в семитских языках, при полном отсутствии его следов в чадских языках. Очевидно, это указывает на исходно двухсогласную основу. Развитие семантики: от 'сдирать (кору)' к 'снимать одежду' (в чадских языках) представляется допустимым.

57. По таблице регулярных фонетических соответствий [Ког 29], *s*- в южноаравийских языках восходит только к сем. **c*-, но не к **s*- (в традиционной записи, используемой Л. Коганом, это, соответственно, сем. **s*- и **š*-). Поскольку в нашем случае ц.-чад. языки и Египетский не различают рефлексы АА **c*- и **s*-, реконструкция АА **cVrVp*- приемлива, с учетом метатезы в Египетском. Развитие семантики 'бок' > 'ребро' достаточно тривиально.

Отметим редкий случай реконструкции именного трехсогласного корня на материале трех семей. Кроме того, это еще один пример АА корня, рефлексы которого сохранились в современных южноаравийских (MSA) языках и в чадских.

60. Долгий гласный в WCh 1 Nausa и W Ch 2 Ngas указывает на алеф в позиции C₂. Совмещение в одном корне долгого гласного и *w* позволяет реконструировать прачад. трехсогласный корень с двумя слабыми согласными.

62. Слабо документированный, но важный с семантической точки зрения корень. Отметим, что и в семитских, и в чадских языках совмещена семантика 'охотиться' и 'ловить, хватать'. Вторичный импозитивный согласный регулярно появляется в чадских языках при глухом эмфатическом согласном в корне.

64. Отметим, что исходной семантикой этого корня можно считать 'мыться, становиться чистым (о теле)'. Из всех семитских языков она сохранилась только в Аккадском. Египетская параллель подтверждает

правильность реконструкции *-f* на пращадском уровне.

Иначе см. в [AA N №359] и [HSED №423], именно: **çVp-* 'to be clean'. Большая часть приведенного в обеих публикациях чадского материала имеет, как выяснилось, иное происхождение, а именно: 1. W 1 Hs *çab, çaf* 'spotless', *çabta, çafta* 'cleanness' < **çab-* (для чадских языков характерно оглушение звонких в конечной позиции, а не озвончение глухих). Параллелью к Hs *çab* является C 4 Vch *subwa* [SkNB] 'to wash'; 2. Чадские рефлекссы с начальным *ç-* имеют иную этимологию (см. №90 **çVb-* 'to wash').

67. Заслуживает внимания эфиосемитская параллель: Geez *şag^{Wr}* 'волосы, шерсть, перья', Tny *şäg^{Wri}*, Tgr *çögär*, Amh *çögär, şägur, Gafat şögärä*, etc. 'волосы' [LsG 550]. Нельзя исключить возникновение вторичного *-r* по аналогии с сем. **sʕr* 'волосы'. Предположение В. Лесли о возможном заимствовании эфиосемитского корня из кушитских языков (Bilin *şagar*, Qwara *şagur*, Som *dogor, dägur*) лишено оснований по фонетическим причинам (на нерегулярность фонетических соответствий указывает и сам автор).

68. Изолированная Арабская параллель, уязвимая с семантической точки зрения. Тем не менее, этимология заслуживает внимания. Во первых, отметим регулярное продвижение *waw* в позицию C₃ в чадских языках и вторичный лабиализованный веларный. Кроме того, эта этимология позволяет уточнить позиционно обусловленный рефлекс AA "гайна" в чадских языках. AA **-ğ-* > Ch **-h-* > CCh 5 -*y-*. Однако при втором или третьем *-w-* обнаруживается иной рефлекс, а именно, *-g^{w-}*.

69. В отсутствии слабых согласных в позициях C₂ или C₃ афризийские ларингалы сохраняются в ц.-чад. языках. Однако при этом происходит деглоттализация эмфатических согласных в позиции C₁ из-за несовместимости эмфатического согласного и ларингала в одном корне (см. нерегулярный рефлекс в CCh 8 Zina). Отметим расширение двухсогласной ячейки в семит. языках за счет начального *n-*.

74. Изолированные формы в трех ветвях AA семьи. Консонантные соответствия регулярны, можно предположить, что во всех языках сохранилась исходная огласовка корня.

77. В данном случае очевидно, что консонантная структура AA корня *-*ç-p-(p)* - сохранилась в Аккадском и некоторых чадских языках. В семитских корень "расширен" за счет начального *n* или *u* в позиции C₃.

79с. Рефлекс в ECh 4 Saba *sinter*, в контексте рефлексов в той же группе - Ubi *ti-siro*, Mawa *ti-jir* -следует рассматривать как метатезу из **ti-n-sVr-*. Форма без префикса (*nsir*) коррелирует с Арабским глаголом *nsr* 'aroser' и позволяет объяснить W 3 **cincir* не как диссимиляцию из **circir* (что не очень убедительно), а как частичную редупликацию и метатезу (*n-cVr-> n-cVcVr-> cVncVr-*).

85. Слабая внешняя параллель недостаточна для надежной AA

реконструкции. Корень представляет интерес с точки зрения фонетики (из-за низкой сочетаемости сибилянтов и дентальных) и уникальной семантики.

87. Внешние параллели указывают на начальный *ʔ или *ʕ на AA уровне. Обе эти фонемы сохраняются в чадских языках почти исключительно в корнях вида *HC₂(C₂) или *HC₂w/y. В данном случае нет оснований реконструировать начальный ларингал на прачадском уровне (в *ači* 'рыбак' начальный *a*- это префикс производного имени). Заслуживает внимания SCush Dahalo *taʕ-aad* 'to trap' [EEN], как метатеза < AA *ʕač-. Тот же рефлекс AA *č̣ в Dahalo наблюдается в №111.

93. Несмотря на слабую внешнюю параллель (поздний период в Египетском; *s*- может восходить к AA *s, *c, *ç, *č̣), корень представляет интерес с фонетической точки зрения, поскольку палатальные аффрикаты плохо совмещаются с фрикативными согласными.

94. Изолированный именной корень в Арабском. Как уже отмечалось, начальный ларингал в корнях HC₂C₃ плохо сохраняется в чадских языках. Однако есть примеры, когда утрата AA начального ларингала компенсируется редупликацией первого слога в чадских языках.

96. Изолированная форма в Угаритском, без семитской этимологии. Фонетические соответствия регулярны, как и расширение двухсложной ячейки в семит. языках за счет начального *l*-. Отметим, что семантика 'метательный снаряд' как нельзя лучше соответствует концептам 'бросать' и 'стрелять'.

100. Не вызывает сомнений, что корень *č̣VIVb- образован от *č̣Vʕ(V)l- с помощью суффикса вредных животных, причем еще на AA уровне. Заслуживает внимания частичная редупликация в CCh 10 Musgu и геминация в ECh 6 Mokilko, что коррелирует с фарингальным в семитских языках.

Этот корень является еще одним подтверждением того, что восточная ветвь первой отделилась от чадской семьи. Именно поэтому, у западной и центральной ветвей большое число общих изоглосс, а у восточной больше изолированных изоглосс с семитскими языками.

111. Слабо документированный, но очень важный корень, относящийся к терминам 'охоты' и 'рыболовства'. Семантика 'стрела' и 'копье' совмещена в языке Хауса (WCh 1). Отметим регулярное отражение AA *č̣- в SCush Dahalo как *č̣*, и еще один случай использования "двойного" сибилянта (*šš*) в Египетском.

119. Семантический сдвиг: 'пчела' > 'муха' (в чад. языках) и 'пчела' > 'пчела, мед' (в вост.-чад.). Этимология заслуживает внимания из-за низкой частотности начальной фонемы в чадских и семитских языках. Кроме того, этот редкий случай, когда *č̣ надежно идентифицируется на чадском материале - по сочетанию рефлексов в WCh 4 Warji & ECh

5a Bidiya.

120. Уникальный случай реконструкции двухсогласного и "расширенного" (за счет $C_3=m$) корней на AA уровне. За пределами чадской и семитской ветвей заслуживает внимания лишь SCush Qwadza *tsalam-* 'green'. Отметим, что один из двух лексических рефлексов корня * ξVVm в зап.-чад. языках является идеофоном. Это еще одно подтверждение важности этого фрагмента лексики для сравнительных исследований.

128. Как уже неоднократно отмечалось, корни с начальным *w*-подвержены метатезе в чадских языках. Поэтому сохранение исходной формы в одном языке группы WCh 3 (Karekare *wadí* < **w-H-d*) кажется подозрительным. Нельзя исключить заимствования из нигерийского диалекта Арабского языка. Явными заимствованиями следует признать числительное 'один' в группе бата (CCh 4): Nzangi *hido*, Bata *hido*, yido, Bachama *hidò* (< Arab *wāhid-*). Рефлексом AA корня **wHd* в чадских языках является суффикс *-d-*, который реконструируется в некоторых числительных (**kVn-d-* 'три', **fVd-d-* 'четыре'), а также маркирует ед. число *y* имен. См., например: CCh 7 Mafa *pəra-d* 'плоская скала', но *mpar-par* 'плоские камни'. Подробнее см. в [St 137].

136. Отметим расширение двухсогласного корня за счет *n-* в позиции C_1 в части чадских языков и за счет "айна" в позиции C_3 - в Арабском. Чадский **-c-* < AA **-c-* реконструируется по сочетанию рефлексов: Nausa *-c-*, Mafa *-c-* < AA **-c-*, **-ç-* ~ WCh 6, CCh 7 Mbuko *-s-* < AA **-s-* и **-c-*. Арабская параллель не противоречит такой реконструкции (сибилянт *s* восходит к AA **s* и **c*).

142. Корень хорошо засвидетельствован в AA языках. Отметим регулярную вторичную эмфатизацию звонкого смычного в чадских языках при эмфатическом согласном (*k, t, ç*) в корне: *dVk-* < **dVḵ-*. Этот процесс наблюдается только в тех языках, где глухие эмфатические не сохранились. Поэтому в Хауса и языках группы котоко (CCh 8) *dVḵ-* и подобные структуры остаются неизменными. Очевидно, что в чадских языках два эмфатических согласных в одном корне очень плохо сочетаются, а в Хауса это просто запрещено. Напротив, в кушитских языках Арборе и Дахало наблюдается вторичная эмфатизация звонкого дентального при сохранении глухого эмфатического согласного: **d-k* > *ḍ-k*.

144. Метатеза *w-l-d* > *w-d-l* в чадских языках произошла в соответствии с законом "повышающейся sonority" ("rising sonority"). Та же метатеза (*w-l-d* > *w-d-l*) произошла и в трех группах кушитской ветви. Продвижение начального *w-* в позицию C_2 в чадских языках можно считать регулярным (см. [StS]). С другой стороны, можно предположить, что исходная структура сохранилась именно в кушитских языках, а семитский корень является результатом метатезы (*wld* > *wld*).

167. Во всех вышеуказанных работах дается чадская реконструкция **fVd'*, а нерегулярное соответствие между дентальными в Египт и прачад. никак не комментируется. Кроме того, никак не объясняется геминированный согласный в W 3 и нерегулярный рефлекс Ch **-d'* в W 2 (в результате падения конечного гласного все дентальные в позиции C₂ отражаются как *-#*). В [EDE II 603-4] нерегулярные формы просто не рассматриваются. Однако все отклонения от регулярной рефлексии хорошо объясняются, если принять чадскую реконструкцию с суффиксом *-d'* а именно, **fVd-d'*. В языках W 2 и E 2-4 **fVd-d'* > **fVr-d'*, после утраты суффикса > **fVr*. В зап. и цент. чад. языках произошла регрессивная ассимиляция (форма с геминированным согласным сохранилась в W 3), затем *-d'd'* > *-d'*. Заслуживают внимания и формы: *(w)ufVd'* ~ *f^wVd'* в центр. ветви и *wodii* (< **fwVd-*) в E 3 Somrai. Такая корреляция указывает на начальный *w-*, который имеет тенденцию к продвижению с позиции C₁ (см. №144 и корни с начальным велярным). О суфф. *-d'* в чад. языках см. [St 29]. Необходимо также остановиться на рефлексах в части языков котоко (C 8) с начальным велярным. Как отметил А. Турно в этих языках *k-/g-* восходит к преф., который хорошо виден у числительного три (ср. Kuseri *ka-kər-* 'три' ~ *kadē* 'четыре'). Учитывая, что велярный префикс модифицирует или разрушает начальный согласный, мы можем предположить такой же процесс и в данном случае: **ka-fVd'* > *kfad'* > *khad'* > *kad'*.

172. Совершенно очевидно, что этот корень не связан этимологически с №617 **pīr-* 'летать, прыгать' (они оба представлены во всех языках группы CCh 10). Наиболее вероятно, что исходным значением было 'влезать, подниматься' (с дальнейшим развитием значения > '(под)прыгнуть'), совпадение семантики с **pīr-* вторично. Разумеется, чад. **fVl-* 'взбираться, прыгать' не может иметь никакого отношения и к Eg *p'yu* 'begatten, bespringen (vom Stier, vom Göttern)', как предлагается в [TAS II 388]. Взаимно-однозначное соответствие между глухими губными в Египетском и прачад. было установлено еще Дж. Гринбергом [GrL].

173. Любопытно совмещение антонимов в Арабском корне. Можно было бы предположить, что это совмещение является следствием совпадения рефлексов AA **p* и **f* в Араб языке, однако внешние параллели противоречат такой гипотезе (см. ниже корень **fVr-* 'опускаться, падать').

177. Несмотря на фрагментарную внешнюю параллель, корень заслуживает внимания ввиду редкой сочетаемости двух фрикативных в чадских языках. Отметим еще один случай корреляции: сем. корень с начальным фарингальным ~ редупликация первого слога в чадских языках.

179. Сем. и куш. рефлексы указывают на AA **-t-*. Ввиду характерной семантики ('скрести землю'), не следует объединять данный корень с

*fVt- 'to sweep'. Отметим также разные рефлексy в WCh Ngas и Omot Yemsa (ср.). Возможно, эти два корня уже на АА уровне различались вокализмом.

181. Развитие семантики: 'приходить' > 'возвращаться, поворачивать' > 'идти вокруг'. Никаких параллелей для 'go around' (указывающих на иное происхождение) пока не обнаружено.

183. Семантика 'посылать' ~ 'гнать' может быть интерпретирована как нейтральная ~ интенсивная (что маркируется в чадских языках шпоральным префиксом n-).

184. Семантическое развитие 'любить' < 'хотеть' > 'хотеть есть/пить' довольно тривиально. Отметим варианты с алефом в Сабейском и Дахало. Как уже неоднократно отмечалось, "алеф" и "айн" в позиции С₃ после полугласного чаще всего не оставляют следов в чадских языках.

Есть еще одна параллель для чадского (но не для кушитского) корня, а именно: Sem Arab *gwy* 'eprouver une violente affection de l'âme, une passion, soit d'amour, soit de tristesse' [ВК I 360]. Однако размытая и не свойственная чадским языкам семантика, а также изолированный характер глоссы делают ее менее привлекательной.

188. Непонятна причина возникновения эйективного *b* в чадских языках и в языке Онгота. Возможно, корень был представлен двумя вариантами: с начальным w- (что хорошо коррелирует с эфиосем. *g^w-*) и со средним алефом. С другой стороны, нельзя исключить корреляцию: геминированный звонкий смычный в семитских языках ~ импловзивный в чадских. Также можно предположить, что *g'* в языке Онгота является аллофоном *g-* при эмфатическом согласном в корне.

207. С помощью знака d в Егип языке может обозначаться рефлекс АА палатального **g-*.

Если лексема в Геесе не "неправильная интерпретация", то перед нами пример вторичного огубленного велярного в эфиосемитских языках (ср. Geez *g^wan?a* 'thresh', но Arab *wgn* 'batter avec un battoir, avec un battant').

220. Сам факт внешней схожести рефлексов в чадских языках и в Канури (*gana* 'small') ничего не говорит о направлении заимствования. Заметим, что, в отличие от Канури, для чадского корня можно представить внешние параллели, а также производные слова. Кроме того, при огромном количестве слов с семантикой 'большой' и 'маленький' в чадских языках, нет необходимости заимствовать еще одно из Канури.

224. Внешние параллели укрепляют связь между двумя чадскими корнями. Альтернативная и, на наш взгляд, менее удачная этимология для чадской 'собаки' (а именно, семит. **gūr-*, **gury/w-* 'whelp, cub'), напротив, эту связь разрывает. Семитский материал (Arab *garw-*, *gīrw-*, *gurw-* 'petit de chien, de lion ou de toute autre bête carnassière', Hbr *gūr*

'cub (lion, jackal)', *gōr* (pl. only) 'lion's cub', etc.) и дискуссию см. в [SED II №82].

226. Семантическое различие между этим и предыдущим корнем ('обладать властью, быть сильным' ~ 'быть, стать большим, жирным') не кажется весьма существенным. Однако отметим, что ни в Арабском глаголе, ни в его производных не отмечена семантика, связанная с концептами 'превосходство' или 'власть'. Учитывая многозначность Арабских глаголов, а также отсутствие иных семитских параллелей, можно полагать, что корни с семантикой 'обладать властью' и 'быть, стать большим, жирным' не были связаны этимологически. Отметим, что в нескольких чадских языках есть рефлексy обоих корней.

233а. Широкое распространение корня в чадской семье, многочисленные производные и абсолютно надежные внешние параллели не позволяют считать W 1 Hausa *gaaruu* 'стена' заимствованием из Канури. Эта идея основана на ретрофлексном *-r-* в хауса (что характерно для заимствований). Однако, это только акустический эффект, и он не может быть единственным и решающим аргументом. Кроме того, следует отметить, что *garu* 'стена' в Канури и Теда не имеет Нило-Сахарской этимологии. Наконец, большинство имен на *-u* в языке Канури являются заимствованиями.

235. Чадская параллель к Аккадской 'овце' кажется более адекватной, чем семитская - Tigre *gārwa* 'kudu antelope'. См. сем. корень **gVrr/w-(at)-* 'small hooped animal' < AA **g^war-*, **garw-* 'kind of ungulate' в [MK №85] и комментарий: "Sparsely attested and not fully reliable". По мнению авторов, AA корень образуют: семитский **gVrr/w-(at)-*, куш. **gVr-* 'kind of antelope' и чад. **gVr-* 'kind of antelope; ram'. Значительное увеличение релевантного материала по чадским языкам позволяет реконструировать два AA корня с конкретной семантикой ('баран, овца' и 'антилопа', см. №234).

253. Совмещение семантики 'создавать, начинать' и 'родить' представляется допустимым (это типично, например, для семитских языков). Заметим, однако, что внешняя параллель обнаружена только к производному имени в чадских языках.

255а. В [HSED №1311] на материале языков CCh 5-5а была предложена реконструкция **γVb-n-* 'charcoal'. Этот корень сопоставлялся с SCush Irg *xaawi* 'coal, charcoal (burnt, not burning)' [MKQ], Alg *yabi*, Bur *yabo* 'charcoal' [Eh]. Дополнительный лексический материал показал, что прежняя реконструкция была неверной.

258. Отметим совмещение семантики: 'дыра, проход' и 'рот' в чадских и в семитских языках. Очевидно, что в чад. языках (здесь и в аналогичных случаях) 'дверь' не является производным от глагола 'закрывать', а связана с концептом 'дыра'.

259. Имплозивный *-b-* в чадских языках объясняется соседством ларингала. Таким образом, можно предположить, что на AA уровне

корень был трехгласным, с третьим "алефом". Фрагментарная изоглосса заслуживает внимания как корневой вариант к АА **gbʔ* > чад. **fiVb*- 'to hide o.s. (and lie in wait)', см №287.

260. При этимологическом "алефе" Ег *hbʔ* можно сопоставлять с Ch и Акк. Если же ʔ восходит к АА. **r*, то можно говорить о расширении двухгласной ячейки за счет $C_3=r$ в трех ветвях АА семьи.

267. Центр.-чад. - Аккадская параллель представляет большой интерес ввиду конкретной именной семантики и консонантной структуры ($C_1-C_2-C_3$). При наличии рефлексов в CCh 8 Mazera и Zina можно не рассматривать Логоне *y'oam* как словосложение (*y'o* 'вещь' + *am* 'вода' > 'лодка'). Скорее следует предположить леницию *-l-* в интервокальной позиции. Египетская параллель не вполне надежна, так как предполагает выполнения двух условий: а) в корне произошла метатеза; б) *-n-* восходит к АА **-l-*.

271. В чадских языках почти не представлены глагольные основы со структурой *C-n-m*, *C-m-n*. Поэтому можно предположить, что последовательность из двух сонорных упрощалась, при этом сохранялся первый ее элемент. Та же картина наблюдается и в данном случае: *CVnVm-* > *CVnm-* > *CVnn-* > *CVn-*. Как показал Г. Такач [EDE П], Ег *h* может восходить к АА **h*.

282. Метатеза в чадских языках: **ym[c]* > *y[c]m*. Регрессивное оглушение фрикативного регулярно наблюдается в западно- и восточночадских языках (см. предыдущую этимологию). В языке Хауса *k-ç-m* > *k-s-m* (ввиду несочетаемости двух эмфатических согласных в одном корне). Утрата сонорного в позиции C_3 наблюдается в Хауса достаточно часто (см., например, Ch **zbn* 'guinea fowl' > Hs *zaabo*, и т.п.). Озвончение сибилантов и сибилантных африкат в позиции C_2 в трехгласном корне также довольно регулярно. Далее в некоторых языках происходит регрессивное озвончение согласного в позиции C_1 . В CCh 8 Makari после падения гласного первого слога и диссимиляции двух фрикативных (**y-[ç]-m-* > *ysVm-* > *ksVm-*) произошла метатеза (*ksVm-* > *skVm-*). См. аналогичное развитие: Arab *hsʔ* 'eloigner, chasser' [BK 551] ~ Makari *sku* 'chasser' (< **ksu* < **ysu*). Метатеза в кластере: C_1C_2 (где C_1 - смычный, а C_2 - фрикативный) происходит по закону "повышающейся сонорности". См., например, Ch **t-sin-* 'tooth' > W 5 Bade *əstən*.

283. Чад. **fi-* реконструируется по сочетанию рефлексов: CCh Mafa *g-* ~ CCh 8 *y-* ~ CCh 10 *fi-*. Довольно сложный случай с семантической точки зрения (ввиду разнообразной и абстрактной семантики в обеих ветвях и совмещения нескольких значений в семитских языках). Переход значения от: 'быть неправым, ошибаться, потерять дорогу' к 'быть бессмысленным, быть в замешательстве' кажется допустимым. Арабскому 'остаться без средств' можно сопоставить 'пустота, ничего' в Тангале. Наконец, для 'быть невежественным, безумным; глухой' в

Геезе см. 'идиот' в цент.-чад. языках. В тексте работы отмечены многочисленные чадско-Геезские когнаты. Этот случай особенно интересен. В работе Л.Когана "y in Ethiopian", доказывающей, что Арабскому *ġ* в начальной позиции регулярно соответствует *ʕ* в Геезе, эта изоглосса отнесена к "less reliable examples". Очевидно, что это сделано как раз из-за семантической составляющей 'be ignorant, stupid' в Геезе (при отсутствии такой семантики в других семитских языках). Однако наличие чадских когнатов (со значением 'идиот') делает внутрисемитское сопоставление более надежным.

284. Чадские рефлексy допускают реконструкцию прачад. **f-* и **y-*. Исходная структура, очевидно, сохранилась в Арабском языке, но трансформировалась по-разному в отдельных группах чадской семьи. В W Ch 2 многосложные слова имеют вид (CV)CVC#, в конечной позиции возможен только глухой согласный, а **y* и **fi* отражаются как *g-*. Учитывая вполне регулярную корреляцию: велярный/поствелярный+w (в семитских) ~ огубленный велярный (в чадских языках), мы получаем *g^wok* < **gwak#* < **yawy-*. Рефлексы в CCh 3 можно рассматривать, как результат диссимиляции (поскольку эта лексика приводится по [Kr], нельзя быть уверенным в точности записи).

285. Часть зап.-чад. рефлексов - это хаусанские заимствования (с изменением семантика: 'падаль, carrion' > 'труп, corpse'). Отметим также корреляцию: геминированный губной в Арабском ~ *y^w* в ц.-чад. языках (возможно, **yVbVb-* > *ybVb-* > *y^wVb-*).

286. Для прачадского в начальной позиции возможно реконструировать **y* (< AA **h*) и **fi* (< AA **ġ*), второй вариант согласуется с Арабским *ġ* в позиции C₂ (двухсогласная ячейка расширена в Араб за счет *n-* в позиции C₁). Отметим фонетические варианты *y-/x-* (Guduf, Glavda), что может указывать на постепенное устранение звонкого фрикативного из системы.

287. Начальный согласный на чадском материале нельзя реконструировать точно, допустимы **y-* и **f-*. Распределение чадского материала между этим корнем и AA *hb?* 'to hide' (см. выше) основано на семантическом критерии.

290. Отметим, что колебания рефлекса в CCh 5 (*g-* ~ *y-*) указывают на прачад. **f-*. В [TGh 143] с сем. корнем **ġib(b)-* 'dung, faeces', сопоставляется: W 6 Bade *ābu* 'excrement'; C 2 Mrg *ubi*, Wamdiu *ʔubī*, Hildi *ʔubī*, Klb *ibī*, Ngwahi *k-ivi*, Chb *k-ivi*, Bura *k-ivi* [Kr]; 3 HB *ibi*, Kap *uvuʔ* 'faeces' [Kr]; 5 Pod *uva* [Mo].

Очевидно, что это чад. корень **ʔVb-* а велярный в двух языках CCh 2 - это префикс (т.е., сопоставление с семитским некорректно). К чад. **ʔVb-* восходят также: WCh Kirfi *m-bu* 'excrement', CCh Daba *bəbāh* (pl. in *-h*) 'les excréments, la bouse (vache), le crottin (cheval)'.
293. Чадские и Сабейских рефлексy указывают на вторичный *waw* в Арабском. Колебания *g-/y-* в языках CCh 5 (и рефлекс *g-* в контакте с

-/-) указывают на **ḥ*-. Выделение локальной чад. изоглоссы важно для этимологизации многочисленных "корневых вариантов" с семантикой 'красть, грабить', а именно, **yVr-* 'to steal, to plunder', **ḥVr-*, **kVr-* id.

294. Начальный согласный для прачад определяется рефлексами (*ḥ*- ~ *g*-) в гр. варджи (W 4). Отметим рефлекс *g*- при C₂=*l* (на этот раз - в WCh 4, ср. предыдущий корень). Сопоставление с семитским допустимо, поскольку *n*- и *-m*- можно рассматривать как именные суффиксы при исходной двусогласной основе. Совмещение семантики 'мальчик' и 'раб' типично для чадских языков.

295. Семантический сдвиг в пределах нормы: 'смеяться' > 'смеяться над кем-л., насмеяться' > 'не уважать, презирать'. Редкий случай, когда можно реконструировать трехсогласный корень на AA уровне, отметим также, что для прачад реконструируется эмфатическая аффриката (*ç*) в позиции C₃. Рефлексы в Омотских языках (с утратой или редукцией C₁ или утратой C₂ в контактной позиции) вероятно, указывают на праомот. **gmc*'.

297. Для прачадского в начальной позиции возможно реконструировать **y* и **ḥ*. С семантической точки зрения, **[ḥ]Vr-z*- (словосложение) логичнее связывать с 'сиять, день', чем с 'жечь, огонь'. Поэтому этот фрагмент перемещен из корня **gVr-* 'to flame, to burn', ср. [CLD IV №664].

298. Сомнительным кажется родство C 10 Masa, Giz *ḥor* 'canal profond' с Sem Geez *harhar* 'swampy' и Eg *ḥ:y* (NE) 'der Schlamm (in dem das Schiff steckenbleibt; bewässerte Stelle)' (так в [TMM 161]). Отметим также, что в [BlžL 13] в чад. корень **gura(w)* 'pond, river' не включены когнаты из ц.-чад. языков с начальным *y*- < Ch **y*-/**ḥ*- (именно: FBw, Marba, Masa, Gizey, Ouldem). С их учетом невозможно реконструировать чад. **g*-, а только спирант. К сожалению, нельзя полагаться на точность семантики в [Kr] (в данном случае подозрительны фонетически тождественные слова с разным значением в языках одной группы: Vch *gurey* 'lake', FM *guru* 'river'). Возможно, в последнем случае произошло вытеснение исходной семантики под влиянием чад. **gar-* 'river. (см. [CLD IV]).

299. Непроизводный корень сохранился только в Хауса (W 1) и Мазера (C 8). Производное 'слепой' образовано с помощью чад. суфф. прилагательных *-f*-. Переход **-r*- > *-l*- вызван соседством с ларингалом и *-f*-. При C₂=*l* начальный **ḥ*- > *g*- в CCh 5. Нерегулярные рефлексы в CCh 7 (*ḥ*- вместо *g*-) пока не удастся объяснить. Возможно, это результат лениции в интервокальной позиции: *hurof* < *m-huorf* < **m-ḥVrVf*-.

300. Очевидная семитская параллель - это **garīb-*, **gurab-* 'crow, raven' [SED II №130], с семит. суфф. вредных животных (*-b*-) см. [Djakonoff 1991]. Рефлексы с C₃=*b* обнаруживаются в кушитских языках [Burji *gurruba*, etc., cf. SED №130] и в одном чадском (ECh 5b Jegu *gurba-ak*).

Последнее расценивается в [SED №№130,131] как арабизм. При этом не учитывается, что в местных арабских диалектах ξ передается через q (см., например, нигерийский диал. *qarāb* 'ворон(а)' [Каусе]). Кроме того, в вост.-чадских языках есть следы аффикса $-b-$, восходящего к имени существительному $*ba$ 'животное'.

302. Для прачадского в начальной позиции возможно реконструировать $*y$ и $*fi$.

Абсолютно уникальная этимология, один из двух реконструированных четырехслого корневых. Отметим, что в CCh 8 Logone начальный y не совмещается с эмфатической аффрикатой в позициях C_2, C_3 . В WCh 1 Nausa, напротив, сохраняется аффриката, поскольку Ch $*fi > g-$.

303. Для прачадского в начальной позиции возможно реконструировать $*g-$, $*y-$ или $*fi-$.

Отметим корреляцию между *waw* в Арабском и огубленным веллярным в WCh 2. Родство W Ch 2 'cave' с Eg *hty* 'einritzen, einschneiden (Inscripten, Bilden)' (как предлагается в [EDE I 168]) сомнительно с семантической точки зрения.

304. Согласно исследованию П. Ньюмена, $h-$ в языке Хауса не этимологический [см. NmH]. Однако в тексте можно найти примеры регулярного отражения чад. $*h-$ как $h-$ в Хауса. Отметим корреляцию: *waw* в семитских языках \sim лабиализованный ларингал в западночадских.

308. Вполне вероятно, что на AA уровне значения 'опускаться' и 'бросать, класть' были совмещены. Иначе нужно реконструировать $*hwu$ 'to descend' и $*hw?$ 'to put, to throw', т.е. реально - один и тот же корень (как показал И.М. Дьяконов, слабые согласные ($w, y, ?$) можно считать аллофонами). Однако нельзя исключить, что исследование AA вокализма поможет разделить рефлексы (см. наметившуюся корреляцию: $-a \sim$ 'to descend, to put', но $-i$ ($> -u$ под влиянием w) \sim 'to fall').

312. Слабо документированный чадский корень, тем не менее, не является Арабским заимствованием, ввиду разной семантики.

315. Семантика 'топтать ногами' и 'разбивать, ломать' совмещена в C 10 Dari. Неясно, можно ли считать Егип имя *hbw* производным от засвидетельствованного гораздо позднее глагола *hby* или они не связаны этимологически (в последнем случае Ch $*hVb-$ 'to crush (under feet)' и CCh $*hab-$ 'to break, destroy' также не являются когнатами). Вторичная эмфатизация звонких смычных в позиции C_2 ($-b- > -b-, -d- > -d-$) обычно происходит в корнях с ларингалом в позиции C_1 . В данном случае пра-центральночад. $*-b-$ может быть мотивирован экспрессивной семантикой корня.

317. В отличие от семитских, чадские языки показывают слабый согласный в позиции C_2 . Имплотивный $-d-$ в E 1 Kera и долгий гласный в W 2 Goma могут быть рефлексом "алефа" в позиции C_2 ($*hV?d- >$

hVd- / **hV?Vd->hVVd# > hVVt#*). Но нельзя исключить и вторичную эмфатизацию в Кера под влиянием начального ларингала. Слабо документированный корень с редкой семантикой.

332. Еще в [St 1996] говорилось о том, что приведенные выше формы не следует возводить к чад. **kVdVm-* 'crocodile' ввиду нерегулярного рефлекса сразу двух фонем. Отметим, что в двух группах (WCh 7 и CCh 10) это происходит во всех языках без исключения, хотя нерегулярные рефлексы не затрагивают обычно все языки в пределах группы. Кроме того, чад. **k-* всегда сохраняется в ECh 2 (в этом случае наблюдаем полную редукцию). Подтверждением того, что нужно искать иную этимологию, для чад. **hVrVm-* служит кушитский когнат: ECush dullay Gollango *haaro* 'crocodile' [AMS].

341. Начальный согласный для прачадского однозначно реконструируется на основании рефлекса в языке WCh 4 Warji (х-только < Ch **h-* < AA **h-*), рефлексы в остальных языках не противоречат такой реконструкции.

344. Начальный *h-* реконструируется на основе рефлекса в Логоне (-*t*-, как и в Егип. является маркером имен ж. р. и восходит к прачад. личному местоим Зл. ед.ч.). Нерегулярный рефлекс в Цагу может указывать на более сложную исходную структуру: **hVHVy*, с дальнейшей утратой одного из слогов. Даже и в таком случае один из "айнов" в Егип нужно рассматривать как вторичный.

347. На чадском материале невозможно однозначно реконструировать начальный согласный. Внешняя параллель указывает на AA и прачад. **h-*. Совмещение значений 'искать' и 'находить' представляется допустимым.

349. Начальный **h-* в чад реконструируется по колебанию рефлексов (*y-* ~ *h-*) в группе бура-марги (CCh 2). За одним исключением рефлексы представлены только в гр. 1-5 центр. ветви чадской семьи. Такая локализация кажется странной для потенциально прачадского корня. Форма в Геесе также изолированная. Корень заслуживает внимания ввиду редкой семантики и возможного заимствования (как внутреннего, так и из неустановленного пока внешнего источника).

352. Хотя корень засвидетельствован только в одной группе чадских языков, уникальность семантики и внешние параллели делают его чрезвычайно важным. Сравнение с Акк правомерно, поскольку *h* может отражать сем. **h* и **h*. AA фонема в позиции C₁ реконструируется по рефлексам в вост.-кушитских языках.

358. Начальный прачад. **h-* однозначно реконструируется по рефлексу в WCh 4 Warji.

В [TGh 143] лексика чадских языков W 2 сопоставляется с Eg {w;yu} [Takacz: act. **wry*] 'rauben'. Однако, как предписывает методика компаративистики, внутренняя реконструкция предшествует внешней, соответственно, и внутренние связи устанавливаются в первую

очередь. В данном случае на чадском материале в позиции С₁ однозначно реконструируется *h-, восходящий к АА *h-. Поэтому когнатом чад. *hVr- 'to steal' (составной частью которого является Ngas yər 'pillage, loot (in war)') следует признать Егип. ḥwrʕ (N) 'rauben'. Кроме того, для Ег. ʕwʕy есть альтернативная параллель - Arab ǧwl 'emporter, enlever, ravir' [BK 518] (см. № 293). Напомним, что Ег. ʕ может восходить к АА *l, а Ег. ʕ- к АА *ǧ.

361. Чадский *h- реконструируется по рефлексам в яз. Чибак и Музгу, переход *r > l (особенно - в контактной позиции) в этих группах регулярен. Ввиду очевидных чадско-кушитских параллелей, вызывает сомнение родство Арабского ḥawar- 'taureau' с Сем. *hVwār- 'young camel' (как допускается в [SED II №106]).

372. Слабо документированный корень с редкой именной семантикой. Чадский материал не позволяет идентифицировать ларингал в начальной позиции. Арабский когнат показывает ʕ, что не противоречит рефлексам в чадских языках. Отметим продвижение -w- из позиции С₃ (см. Арабский) в позицию С₂ в чадских языках.

385. Чадский материал не позволяет идентифицировать фонему в начальной позиции (*h-/*ʕ-), тем более, что она редуцировалась из-за префикса, но допускает реконструкцию *ʕ. В разных группах чадских языков использованы дентальный или веларный префиксы, а в языке Кера сохранилась "рамочная" конструкция (Преф-имя-Преф), характерная для берберских языков. При начальном ларингале в гр. Е 3 отмечен нерегулярный рефлекс дентального префикса: t- (вместо ожидаемого d-). Следует предположить вторичную эмфатизацию дентального в контакте с ларингалом (*tVHVC- > tHVC- > tVC), в результате чего мы и наблюдаем рефлекс пращад. *t-, а не *t-.

410. Совмещение семантики 'to finish, to end' и 'to die' (= 'to end the life') не должно вызывать возражений. Отметим, что фарингальный в позиции С₁ не оставил следа, хотя в позиции С₃ стоит слабый согласный. Поэтому "айн" можно считать расширителем двухсложной ячейки в Арабском языке. Альтернативное решение - чадский корень можно рассматривать как метатезу к Арабскому ʕku.

413. Концепты 'резать' и 'нож (резак)' регулярно демонстрируют этимологическую связь на чадском материале. Ввиду долгого гласного, следует предполагать метатезу "айна" в позицию С₂ и вторичную эмфатизацию звонкого губного согласного в чадских языках.

417. В чадском корне можно реконструировать *-s- и *-c-. Рефлексы АА *s и *c различаются только в W 4 Раа в позиции С₁, в позиции С₂ рефлексы АА *-c- нерегулярны (-c-/-s-). Отметим, что в ССh 8 Logone сохраняется след фарингального в позиции С₃.

421. Очевидно, что постулируя родство чадского глагола *kVd- 'to dry, to become hard' и Арабского kdʕ 'être dur (se dit du sol)', следует предполагать, что чад. 'earth' является производным именем (так же, как и в Арабском). Отметим корреляцию: чад. d~ сем. d+ʔ.

448. Непроизводный глагол в чадских языках сохраняет *waw*. В данном случае в виде исключения приводятся чадские производные глаголы, поскольку частично можно объяснить семантику суффикса. Заметим, что преобладание глаголов с лексикализованными суффиксами характерно для очень архаичной лексики.

503. Отметим расширение биконсонантной ячейки в Арабском глаголе за счет "айна" в позиции C_1 . Особую (и практически неразрешимую) проблему представляют потенциальные когнаты в Египетском языке, а именно: Eg *kʷu* (Pyr) 'hoch sein' [EG 1], *kʷyt* (Pyr) 'hochlegendes Land', *kʷʷ* (Pyr) 'Hügel, hill' [EG 6, 5]. Г. Такач [EDE I 212] реконструирует Египетский глагол как [kly], что позволяет включить его в настоящую этимологию (но не сопоставлять с Arab qll, как предложено в указ. соч.). Ср. Arab *qll* 'être en petite quantité', etc., IV a. 'être place haut, être grand, illustre' [BK 794]. С другой стороны, Егип *kʷʷ* (Pyr) 'Hügel, hill' семантически ближе к **kʷt*- 'hill', см. ниже. Наилучшим решением с точки зрения не египтолога было бы трактовать Eg *kʷʷ* как [*kr] и не связывать с *kʷu*.

507. Этимология чрезвычайно важна для понимания того, как отражаются в чадских языках АА сонорные и плавные, во 2-3 позициях в одном и том же корне. В данном случае, форма в Мокилко не похожа на Арабское заимствование, ввиду различия семантики. Поэтому мы можем полагать, что корни вида *C-m-l* могли сохранять свою структуру, чаще - в восточночадских языках. Однако в западной ветви наблюдается лениция C_3 до -y- (Wajji) или его полная редукция (Hausa).

529. Кроме необъяснимого на первый взгляд исчезновения согласного в позиции C_1 , отметим следующие особенности: 1. префикс *t-*; 2. Вторичный латеральный во всех ССч языках, кроме гр. 10 (первичный Ch **t* > ECh 5 *č*); 3. геминация сибиланта в гр. С 10, Е 5, 6. Наша задача, показать, как можно решить все три проблемы одновременно и доказать единство двух корней. Все эти проблемы снимаются, если мы постулируем дентальный префикс на прачад. уровне: **ta-kVs-*. Этот префикс объясняет нерегулярный согласный в позиции C_1 в первой этимологии (**t-kVs-* > *t-kVs-* > *t-gVs-/t-γVs-* > *-γVs-*). Однако, во всех языках первой группы префикс был утрачен, его "следом" является также редупликация первого слога в WCh 4. Во второй группе форм произошла редукция второго гласного: **ta-kVs-* > *ta-ks-*. В цент.-чадских языках контактная позиция спровоцировала латерализацию сибиланта: *ta-ks-* > *ta-kt-* > *ta-ʃ-* > *taʃ-* (геминация латеральных не характерна для чадских языков). В гр. маса (ССч 10) и в восточных языках **ta-ks-* > *ta-ss-* > *ass-/as-*. Именно благодаря ассимиляции первого согласного корня (*k-*) мы наблюдаем геминированный сибилант в некоторых формах. Таким образом, все чадские рефлексывыводятся из прачад. **t-kas-*. В предыдущих публикациях все чадские формы

объединялись без указаний на нерегулярные рефлексы в доброй половине языков.

575. Одна из важнейших этимологий на материале сельскохозяйственной лексики, доказывающая, кроме всего прочего, исконный характер Аккадского рефлекса. Совершенно непонятно, какие могли быть аргументы, чтобы, при наличии глагола в самом Аккадском и в Эфиосемитских языках можно было говорить о заимствовании из Шумерского. Отметим, что рефлексы с семантикой 'поле' отмечены только в гр. W Ch 2 и представляет собой производное имя. Это хорошо видно по рефлексам в Goemay: 'to cultivate' > 'cultivated land'. Поэтому, WCh 2 *maar* 'field' не может быть непосредственно связано этимологически с Егип *mar* (OK) 'pasture', как это постулируется в [HSED №1735].

576. Колебание фарингальных: Егип *ḥ* ~ Араб *ḥ* могут указывать на расширение двухогласной ячейки в позиции C₃. Отметим, что в предыдущих вариантах реконструкции этого чадского корня рефлексы WCh 2 Mnt *məyi* (< **məyir*), Goem *məʔyer* рассматривались как метатеза < **mrH*. Однако новые сведения о внутренней флексии позволяют предполагать, что -y- это рефлекс чадского инфикс мн.ч. *-k-. См. тот же инфикс в следующих случаях: чад. **dam*- 'blood' > WCh 2 **toyom* и Ch **ṣVr*- 'dew' > WCh 2 **suur*.

608. Отметим переход -ṣə- > -cə- в некоторых зап.-чад. языках. О регулярном распределении аффрикат в зависимости от следующего гласного, которое трактуется в литературе по центр.-чадским языкам как "палатализирующая просодия", см. [CLD III, 25].

609. Изолированная арабская параллель к чадскому корню. Соответствие: чад. **ṣ* ~ Араб *z* является регулярным, прачад. аффриката реконструируется однозначно. В чадских языках представлена лексикализованная форма мн.ч. на -r-. Метатеза (**pVṣVr*- > *ṣVpVr*-) наблюдается во всех трех ветвях. Продвижение сибиланта в начальную позицию позволяет соблюдать правило "повышающейся сонорности", актуальное для чадских языков.

611. В HSED № 1938 **pal*- 'cut, divide' был объединен куш.-сем. материал из настоящей этимологии с чад.-сем. лексикой с семантикой 'to cut (off)'. Большое количество нового материала по чадским языкам (особенно - из центральной ветви), в которых различаются рефлексы AA **f* и **p*, диктует необходимость реконструировать два AA корня: **pVI*- 'to separate; to untie' и **fVI*- 'to cut (off)' (см. №170).

612. Реконструкция наталкивается на очевидные трудности: 1. фрагментарные рефлексы в четырех ветвях (что объясняется существованием на AA уровне нескольких корней для концепта 'камень', с узким значением каждый: 'камешек', 'большой камень', 'скала', 'плоский камень', 'острый камень'); 2. "корневой вариант", см. ниже №624 **pVr*-. Тем не менее, Аккадская параллель позволяет

реконструировать самостоятельный корень.

614. См. "корневой вариант" к данной этимологии, а именно: №169 **fVI-* 'to skin'. Отметим, что оба корня отражены в W 5 Zaag (*fol* ~ *pul*). Подчеркнем, что в этом и мн. др. случаях только рефлекс в чадских языках позволяют разделить AA "корневые варианты" на фонетическом уровне.

617. Исходным значением логично считать то, что представлено в наиболее древних памятниках, т.е. - 'летать'. Именно это значение засвидетельствовано в Угаритском, Арамейском и Египетском. Отметим также, что семантика 'прыгать' коррелирует с огласовкой *-a-* в WCh 2 и в Cush Beja, т.е., может рассматриваться как плюральная форма с инфиксом *-a-*. Иной способ маркирования многократного или интенсивного действия - с помощью геминации C₂ и редупликации - представлен в кушитских языках Saho-Afar и в Eg. Т.е., можно предположить следующее развитие семантики: 'летать' > 'взлетать' > 'взлетать несколько раз' = 'прыгать'.

623. Корень, засвидетельствованный только в центр. ветви чадской семьи, тем не менее представляет большой интерес с точки зрения исходной семантики и ее развития ('приносить жертву' > 'давать' > 'платить'). Кроме того, это параллель к изолированной глоссе в Сабейском языке.

625. Судя по рефлексам в вост. ветви, исходной семантикой на пращад. уровне следует признать 'красный', а 'кровь' - производным, образованным с помощью преф. частей тела *k-* или possessивного суфф. *-m-*. Наличие преф. объясняет озвончение и леницию начального *p-* (**k-pVr-* > *k-bVr-* > *kVwVr-/bVr-*, ср. E 3 Ndam *pàrè* 'rouge', Tum *pàrī* 'rouge', *pà* (< **Hpar#*) 'être rouge'; 5a WDng *porony* 'rougeatre' ~ Tum *bà*, Ndam *bāār*, WDng *bàār* pl. coll. 'blood' (< **-par*). Параллель в южноаравийских языках подтверждает первичность семантики 'красный' и позволяет предположить, что колебания рефлекса губного в зап. и центр. ветвях (*p* ~ *p* ~ *f*) произошли из-за начального фарингального (**HVpVr-* > *HpVr-* > *pVr-/fVr*). Начальный звонкий в W 5 (*b-*, *v-*) также указывает на префикс (**HVpVr-* > *HVb/vVr-* > *b/vVr-*). В кушитских языках наблюдается аналогичное распределение: ECush **pVr-* 'красный' ~ agaw **bVr-* 'кровь'. Общее происхождение для 'красный, коричневый' и 'черный' в вост.-куш. предложено в [SsB 39]. Поскольку семитская параллель однозначно указывает на глухой губной, звонкий в агавских языках (**bVr-*) требует комментария. Афразийские параллели противоречат гипотезе о заимствовании чадского **pVr-* 'red, blood' из Нигеро-Конголезских языков (Duola *fur*, Mende *puru*), как предполагается в [JgIb I 178]). Авторы сделали ошибочный вывод, основываясь только на синхронном фонетическом сходстве, без учета афразийского материала, с одной стороны и в отсутствии Нигеро-Конголезской этимологии, с

другой.

627. В некоторых чадских языках наблюдается расширение семантики (возможно, под влиянием **pVč-* 'to spit'): 'брызгать' > 'плевать'. Отметим, что рефлексы C₂ в центр.-чад. языках и в E 5a Mig (š, s) указывают на прачад. **-s-* (и не могут восходить к **-č-*). Кроме того, оба корня (**pVč-* 'to spit' и **pVs-* 'to drizzle, sprinkle, spit') имеют разные рефлексы в W 5 Zaag и E 4 Mawa. Семитские когнаты также не могут восходить к одному и тому же AA корню. Долгий гласный в некоторых чадских языках может указывать на стяжение, т.е., на вариант корня со слабым ларингалом или w/y в позиции C₂.

628. Отметим, что, во-первых, сибиллянты в Геэзе и Арабском не могут быть рефлексом одной и той же прасемитской фонемы. Во-вторых, исходная семантика 'копать' отмечена в чадских языках и в Геэзе но не в Арабском. Рефлексы в чадских языках указывают на чад. и AA сибиллянт (*-*s-*). Таким образом, когнатом чадского корня может быть только Геэз, но не Арабский. Можно предположить расширение двухсогласной ячейки в Геэзе за счет фарингального в позиции C₂.

631. Западно-чадский глагол обычно сопоставляется с Eg *pšy* и сем. **nps* < AA **npč* (Sem Akk *napāšu* (OB) (OB) 'to comb and clean wool; to pluck apart' [CDA 291], Arab *nfš* (u) 'separer la laine, le cotton avec les doigts' [BK 1311]). Так в [HSED №1918, TAS II 520]. Сопоставление было корректно для зап.-чадских языков, поскольку AA **s* и **č* отражаются в Хауса и WCh 2 как *s-*. Рефлекс в центр.-чад. языке (C 7 Muu *ápāsāy*) заставляет изменить чад. реконструкцию на **pVs-* и не позволяет принять семит. когнат с латеральной фонемой (AA **č* > Muuang *ʃ*). С другой стороны, при новой реконструкции, чад. можно сопоставить с берб. корнем **fVs-*. Напомним, что AA **č* > berb **z* (например: AA **čVt-* 'root' > Qabyle *azar*, etc.), т.е., берберский также не может быть когнатом Eg *pšy* и сем. **nps*.

645. Семантика 'расти, увеличиваться' и 'собирать(ся)' совмещена в Арабском. Отметим, что "айн" в позиции C₃ оставил след в CCh 10. Это позволяет предположить расширение двухсогласной ячейки в Арабском за счет *-y-* в позиции C₂.

646. В [EDE I 141] для Егип дается только значение 'солнце'. Соответственно, большинство приведенных автором когнатов связано с концептом 'сиять, сверкать' (например, Араб *lʕlʕ*), а для Егип предлагается чтение [lʕ]. Чадская параллель, которая кажется убедительнее с семантической точки зрения, предполагает чтение *rʕ* как [rʕ] (ср. 'Sonnengot Re' in [EG]). Долгий гласный в чадских языках указывает на утраченный ларингал.

656. Долгий гласный в ECh 5b указывает на стяжение после утраты ларингала (**raHab-* > *raab-*). Напротив, в зап. и центр. ветви можно предположить падение второго гласного и вторичную эмфатизацию губного согласного (**rVHVb-* > *rVHb-* > *rVb-*). Таким образом, мы предполагаем расширение биконсонантного корня за счет *waw* в Геэзе

и за счет ларингала ("алефа") в чадских языках.

659. Странным образом, в [EDE I 245], чадско-арабская параллель оценивается как "semantically somewhat dubious". Заметим, что переход от 'плохой' к 'гнилой' достаточно тривиален (см. IV породу в арабском). На наш взгляд, большие сомнения вызывает предложенная автором АА реконструкция: W 4 *rVdV ~ Eg 'd 'to decay, verwesen' < АА *rʔ. Многочисленные чадско- семитские параллели, напротив, указывают, что семитскому ʔ в чадских языках соответствует только t (а не dʔ).

679. Начальный сибилант в языке Мафа указывает на чад. *s- (Ch *c- > Mofu c-). А значит, данный корень не родственен семитскому *cbʔ 'to drink' (Hbr, Agam sbʔ id., etc.), как предложено в АА 5 №354. Отметим, что авторы располагали только материалами языков Гисига, Даба, Зиме и Кера, в которых рефлексы *s и *c не различаются. Звонкий импלוзивный в чадских языках указывает на ларингал в позиции C₂ или C₃, что соответствует семитским данным. Колебания вокализма объясняются наличием основ с частичной редупликацией.

681. В [SED, стр. 311] семит. корень *nsf 'to blow' включает еще и арабский глагол nsf 'nettoyer, vanner le grain'. Напомним однако, что в Арабском языке совпали следующие рефлексы: сем. и афраз. *s и *c > s, а афраз. *p и *f > f. Поэтому Арабскую форму можно рассматривать как часть семит. корня *cff, *ncf 'vanner' (Arab nsf 'nettoyer, vanner le grain', Soq nesof, Mhr ncsif 'vanner'). Когнатом семит. является чад. *[c]Vp- 'to blow (away), to winnow', см. №49 и [CLD III №65].

694. Омонимичные семитские формы с начальным ṣ (Geez, Sab, MSA), который является рефлексом двух прасемит. латеральных: *ṣ [= *ṣ] и *ṣ- [= *ṣx в SED], рассматриваются нами как когнаты Ch *ʕVm-, см ниже №919. О реконструкции латеральных фрикативных на прапад. уровне и соответствиях в семит. языках см. [CLD II].

699. Одна из давно и хорошо известных АА этимологий. Благодаря новой чадской реконструкции устанавливается регулярное соответствие между АА и прапад. сибилантами в позиции C₁. Из прапад. системы устраняется сибилант (обозначается как ʂ в реконструкциях П. Ньюмана, как s₃ - у Г. Юнграйтмайра), не имеющий соответствий на АА уровне. О вторичных латеральных в чад. языках см. [StL].

705. Одна из самых сложных реконструкций на чадском материале по морфологическим причинам - наслонения рефлексов нескольких префиксов, из которых самым архаичным был *t⁸¹. Можно выделить три модели образования форм в чадских языках: 1. Суффикс *t- был вытеснен другим или просто отпал. В таких случаях мы имеем формы

⁸¹ Примеры использования этого префикса в названиях частей тела см. в [StD].

типа E 3 Smr *šēn-de*; 2. В результате падения гласного после суффикса в анлауте образовалась аффриката, **t-sVn- > tsin > cVn-*, см. Dzrw *cin*, Masa *čín* (< **cin*); 3. В результате метатезы (**t-sVn- > stVn-*) в анлауте образовалось неприемлимое стечение фонем *st-* (Bade, Duw *əštān*). Далее произошла регрессивная ассимиляция (W 3 Krf *wu-tiŋi*, E 5a Dng *ettig-ig*) и упрощение геминаты (E 3 Ndam *tan*). Наконец, отдельные группы чадских языков показывают вторичные префиксы (W 1 Hs *ha-nčii*; 3 Krkr *?wan-tin*, C 5a Lamang *x-cin*, 8 Logone *x-səni*). Отметим также, что в глаголе **sVn-* 'to smell' начальный сибиллянт сохранился во всех языках.

761. Очевидно, что исходным значением для CCh 4 следует считать 'arm', см. оппозицию 'arm' ~ 'hand' в Holma и семантический сдвиг от 'arm' к 'hand' в Vch. Также очевидно, что в гр. бата представлены, тем не менее, рефлексы общечадского корня. Следовательно, на пращадском (а возможно - и на более глубоком) уровне существовала иная оппозиция, чем 'arm' ~ 'hand', а именно: 'upper arm' ~ 'lower arm'. Заметим, что именно в рамках этой оппозиции представлен материал чадских и других африканских языков в "Polyglotta Africana", 1854. Можно предположить, что в большинстве языков произошло ужение семантики: 'lower arm (including hand)' > 'hand', а в гр. бата (при наложении европейской "семантической решетки") концепт 'lower arm (including hand)' заменился на концепт 'arm'.

787. Очень важный с семантической точки зрения корень с типичным для чадских языков развитием значения: 'жить' > 'сидеть'. Кушитская параллель слабая, но не вызывает возражений с семантической точки зрения. Семитские когнаты, с одной стороны, указывают на исходную семантику 'место', с другой - (см. 'средства к существованию, способ жизни' в Араб) - могут быть связаны с концептом 'жить, существовать'.

800. Общепризнанная этимология для аккадской глоссы - рефлекс общесемитского корня **dbḥ* 'to slaughter, sacrifice, приносить кровавую жертву' [Fron 4.23]. Кроме разной семантики, обращает на себя внимание и иная фонетика - слабый в позиции C₂ в Аккадском ~ *ḥ* в позиции C₃ в **dbḥ*. Кроме того, в Аккадском есть и прямой рефлекс этого корня: Акк *zebû* (NB) 'to slaughter, sacrifice'.

Поскольку начальный согласный в Аккадском может восходить не только к сем. **d*, но и к **z*, в данном случае кажется уместным предложить более адекватную - чадскую - параллель для изолированной Аккадской лексемы.

801. Ввиду отсутствия *-r-* в E 2 Lele, его можно рассматривать как суффикс (напр., мн.ч. или вредных животных/насекомых). Предположение о родстве Арабского *zibb-at-* 'espece de ver' с эфио-сем. **zVn/mb-* 'fly' (Geez *zənb-*, etc., см. [MSem 50]), вряд ли возможно по семантической причине. В [TAS I 178] W Krkr *nzəvəri*, Glm *žuur*, Geruma *zewri* 'worm' сопоставляется с Eg *z'* [**zr*] 'maggot', при этом

игнорируется губной согласный в позиции C₂ в чадских языках. Между тем, для большинства языков этой группы (WCh 3) характерна лениция губных (до v/w) именно в середине трехконсонантной основы. Исходный согласный сохранился в языке Перо (этой же группы), а также в других чадских языках (см. выше). Таким образом, эта этимология Г. Такача, основанная на фрагментарном чадском материале, не может быть принята.

802. Чадско - эфиосемитская изоглосса. Противоречивые рефлексы губного в W 3 Ngm (-p-) и C 5 Pod (-f-). Поскольку словарь языка Podoko не содержит ни одного корня вида z-p, а в словаре Ngamo нет ни одного корня вида z-f, точная реконструкция пока невозможна. Однако более регулярными являются рефлексы в C 5 Pod (что и определило выбор -f- в реконструкции). При сибиллянте в начальной позиции следует ожидать ассимиляции губного (*zVp- > zVf-). Рефлексы в W 2 непоказательны, поскольку слово там имеет вид (CV)CVC#, и в абсолютном конце слова все губные (b, p, f) отражаются как -p. В результате просмотра всех словарей и списков слов обнаружен один противоречащий пример: Mghv *tuwaf* 'to gather'. Разумеется, этого недостаточно для реконструкции конечного *-f на уровне подгруппы. Отметим в этой связи ошибочное утверждение "the correspondence Ngas -p# ~ Eg -f would be irregular" в [EDE I 118, 163].

807. Отметим еще раз, что при полугласном (w, y) в корне ларингалы плохо сохраняются в чадских языках. Очевидно, *CHw > *C-H^w > C-w. В этом случае можно предполагать рефлекс геминированного ларингала в 5 Pod *zaha* 'to grind well', что соответствует интенсивной семантике. В Арабском языке представлено более общее значение, но достаточно близкое к тому, что засвидетельствовано в остальных языках: 'ударять (палкой)' > 'толочь (в ступе)'.

816. Поскольку на AA уровне реконструируется несколько корней для концепта 'кровь', логично предположить, что различие было семантическим. В данном случае можно предполагать, что исходное значение - 'кровь животного' - сохранилось в Омотских языках.

819. Нерегулярное соответствие сонорных (-n- ~ -m-) не находит объяснения с фонетической точки зрения. Поскольку Ch *zVn- имеет параллели в других ветвях AA семьи, можно высказать предположение о присоединении к основе *zVn- суффикса -m- (как в *IVs-m- 'язык' или *bur-m- 'колено') и ассимиляции или редукции -n- в позиции C₂. Альтернативная этимология: *zVm- 'skin' < *zV 'body'+suff. -m- кажется менее вероятной, поскольку присоединение суффикса -m- никогда не сопровождается изменением семантики.

821. В данном случае можно предположить, что варианты: *zrr* ~ *nrr* существовали уже на AA уровне, т.к. они оба есть и в семитских, и в чадских языках. Семантика 'pull' и 'tear; arracher' совмещена в арабском, 'pull' и 'stretch' - в C 6 Daba. Поэтому можно не разделять

гlossы на два фонетически идентичных корня ('тянуть' и 'рвать').

825. Суффикс *л-* (маркирующий единичный объект) объясняет рефлексы в позиции C_1 во всех чадских языках. Долгий гласный можно рассматривать как "след" ларингала ($C_1 VHVC_2 > C_1 VVC_2$). Т.е., мы можем реконструировать трехгласный корень на AA уровне.

826. Слабо документированный чадский корень представляет интерес с фонетической точки зрения. Последовательность *z-t* практически не встречается в лексике чадских языков. Заимствование из арабского языка кажется маловероятным, поскольку нет семантического тождества.

884. Отметим (компенсаторную) эмфатизацию губного смычного, которая сопровождается утратой эмфатической артикуляции прачадским *t'*- и не происходит при ее сохранении. Ввиду следующего замечания: "В арабском корнеслове с именной основой *dabb-* 'ящерица' связана глагольная основа *ḍbb (i) 's'attacher au sol; être colle a qqch.*" [Бел 2 139], заслуживает особого внимания рефлекс в С 4 Gude (в котором удивительным образом объединены именное и глагольное значение семитского когната): *ṭab 'being close against smth larger (lizard on the wall)'*.

886. Отметим еще раз, что фарингальные согласные лучше сохраняются в зап.- и центр.-чад. языках при метатезе. Чадские рефлексы указывают на прачад. **-ḥ-* < AA **-ḥ-* в позиции C_2 (что согласуется с рефлексом в Аккадском языке). В семитологии Аккадская глосса трактуется как нерегулярный рефлекс общесемитского корня **ḍḥq* 'смеяться' ("loss of **-k* due to incompatibility of two "emphatics"). Однако чадская параллель, безупречная с фонетической точки зрения ставит под сомнение эту версию. См. [ТГС], где устанавливаются регулярные рефлексы прачад. **t'* в группе котоко (ССч 8).

894. В этом случае центр.-чад. языки не различают рефлексы Ch **t'* и *t'*, но на эмфатический согласный в позиции C_1 указывает рефлекс в W 2 (*s-* < **t'*, **l-* < **t'*). Отметим также очень редкий случай сохранения латеральной артикуляции в W 3 Kkrk, Prgo. Семитская параллель представляется абсолютно надежной, как и чадская реконструкция, а также и структура лексического рефлекса в гр. WCh 2.

895. В языках Геез и Паа совмещены значения 'разрывать, отрывать' и 'раскалывать'. Такое совмещение семантики характерно для семитских глаголов (в большей степени, чем для чадских). Можно предположить, что в данном случае мы имеем дело с одним корнем с исходным значением 'разделять целое на части с усилием'.

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