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Lexica Afroasiatica VIII

Abstract

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

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

The series *Lexica Afroasiatica* has started in 2002¹ for communicating new Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences observed recently during my work, which may later serve

¹ The first part of this series (lexical parallels with with PAA *b-) appeared in *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (Köln) 67 (2002), 103-151. The second part (additional lexical roots with AA *b-) was published L. K o g a n (ed.), *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute, Issue III: Studia Semitica* (Moscow, 2003, Russian State University for the Humanities, pp. 331-348). My paper “Lexica Afroasiatica III” (new AA roots with *p-) appeared in G. T a k á c s, *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl* (Leiden, 2003., E.J. Brill, pp. 510-550), while “Lexica Afroasiatica IV” (with new etymologies with AA *f-) was published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* (Budapest) 57/4 (2004), 457-473. “Lexica Afroasiatica V” (new AA roots with *ḫ-, *P-) appeared in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 9 (2004), 159-178. The sixth issue (roots with *m- followed

as basis of a new synthesis of the Afro-Asiatic comparative lexicon. The present part of this series is a collection of additional new Afro-Asiatic etymologies with the Proto-Afro-Asiatic initial bilabial nasal (*m-) observed after my research periods at Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften of Frankfurt a/M (in 1999-2000 and 2002) guided by Prof. H. Jungrai th m a y r. The numeration of the etymological entries is continuous beginning from the first part of the series *Lexica Afroasiatica*.

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

Since we know little about the Proto-Afro-Asiatic vowel system, the proposed list of the reconstructed Proto-Afro-Asiatic forms is arranged according to consonantal roots (even the nominal roots). Sometimes, nevertheless, it was possible to establish the root vowel, which is given in the paper additionally in brackets. The lexical parallels suggested herein, are based on the preliminary results in reconstructing the consonant correspondences achieved by the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff (available in a number of publications²) as well as on my own observations refining the Russian results (most importantly Takács 2001). The most important results can be summarized as follows. The labial triad *b – *p – *f remained unchanged in Egyptian, South Cushitic, and Chadic, while the dental series *d – *t – *ʈ was kept as such by Semitic and South Cushitic (AA *ʈ continued as *d in Berber, Cushitic and Chadic, and it was merged into t vs. d in Egyptian). The fine distinction of the diverse sibilant affricates and spirants (AA *c, *ʒ, *ç, *s, *č, *ʒ̣, *ç̣, *š, *ĉ, *ĉ̣, *ŝ) was best preserved in Semitic, South Cushitic and West Chadic (while some of these phonemes suffered a merger in other branches and groups). The Russian scholars assumed a triad of postvelar (uvular) stops with a voiceless spirant counterpart: *g, *q̣, *q, and *ħ, the distinction of which was retained in Cushitic and Chadic, but was merged into *ħ in Semitic and Egyptian. In a number of cases, however, it is still difficult to exactly reconstruct the root consonants on the basis of the available cognates (esp. when these are from the modern branches, e.g.,

by dentals, palatals, laterals, velars, pharyngeals, and laryngeals) is forthcoming in GLECS (Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques). The seventh part (roots with *m- followed by sonorants) was published in G. Takács (ed.), *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungrai th m a y r*, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 2008, Pp. 310-336.

² Cf. Diakonoff 1984; 1988, 34-41; 1992; Diakonoff et al. 1987; 1993; SISAJa I-III; HCVA I-V.

Berber, Cushitic-Omoti, or Chadic). In such cases, the corresponding capitals are used (denoting only the place of articulation)³.

Additional Afro-Asiatic roots with *m-

• **635. AA *m-d** “many” > Sem. *maʔd- “many” [Djk.]: OAkk. maʔādum “to be plentiful” [Gelb 1973, 100] > Akk. maʔādu ~ miādu ~ mādu “viel, zahlreich werden/sein”, maʔdu, later mādu ~ mandu ~ maddu “viel, zahlreich” [AHW 573, 650], Emar ma-ʔ-du “nombreux”, ma-ʔa-du ~ [m]a-a-du₄ /mādu/ “much” [Sjöberg 1998, 259, #275 & 274, #651] || Ug. mād D “vervielfältigen”, mād “bedeutend an Zahl”, mīd “1. viel, 2. sehr” [WUS #276] = mīd /maʔd-/ “1. (adj.) plenty (?), 2. (adv.) much”, mād /maʔād-/ “plenty” [Segert 1984, 191] | OSA (Madhabi) mʔd “ajouter” [Arbach 1993, 67], Ar. maʔada “commencer à être en sève et grandir (plantes)” [BK II 1052] = “anfangen zu wachsen” [WUS] || NBrb.: Tamazight √m-d: mimud “1. être plein de ..., grouiller, pululler, 2. être en grand nombre, en grande quantité” [Tf. 1991, 402] || NOM.: Dizi mad “very” [Toselli apud Bnd. 1996 MS, 2, #292] || NOM.: Haruro mīd-āys “essere di più, sovrabbondare”, modʔido “grosso” [Crl. 1937, 653] || Ch. *m-d-(m) “big, many, long, high” [JS 1981, 40A₄] > WCh.: Goemay muoet [mʷāt] (adv.) “very, much” [Srl. 1937, 148] || CCh.: Mafa-Mada *mad- (?) “big” [GT]: Moloko mādīgá “big” [Rsg.], Gisiga mādīdā “big” [Rsg.] = madaḍan “groß” [Lks. 1970, 127] (Mafa-Mada: Rsg. 1978, 211) | Daba mādà “big, tall, large, great (grand)” [LG 1974, 17, #435; 1975, 99] || ECh.: Kera mēdī ~ mīti (m), mūtu ~ mtu (f), pl. kō-mt-īn “grand, large” [Jng. 1973, 47, 52] = mótò (f), pl. ká-mt-ān “groß (big)” [Ebert 1974, 18; 1976, 33; 1978, 43, §24], Fianga modo “groß” [Lks. 1937, 102] | Mokilko mēdā (f) “groß (Frau)” [Lks. 1977, 220] | Kajakse emadi “many” [Doornbos 1981 MS, #50], (?) Birgit mōdī [unless -d- < *-d-] “croître” [Jng. 2004, 357]. Cf. also AA *m-t > NOM.: Kafa méto “cumulo, mucchio”, mēto “abbondanza” [Cecchi/Rn.] = mētō “Menge, Fülle” [Rn. 1888, 321] = mētō “folla, grande numero” [Crl. 1951, 475] = mētō “abundance” [Lsl.], Mocha mētti(yé) “to be numerous, abundant”, mētto “abundant, much” [Lsl. 1959, 42] = mētto “many” [Bnd. 1971, 260, #50] = mēto “viel” [Mkr.] || SOm.: Ari (Bako) maʔat “many, much” [Bnd., Mkr.], Galila māt [Flm.] (Aroid: Bnd. 1994, 154; Om.: Mkr. 1981, 200).

• **636. AA *m-d** “to collect in group” > LECu.: Afar madode “to be collected together in the afternoon for driving home (cattle)”, modod-ise (caus.) “to collect ...”, modod (m) “collecting together in the afternoon ...” [PH 1985, 169] || ECh.: Somray māžō [-ž- reg. < *-d-] “grouper, réunir, rassembler” [Jng. 1993 MS, 43] | EDangla àmdiyē “se grouper, se réunir nombreux” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 12] = “eine Gruppe bilden” [Ebs. 1987, 78].⁴

³ E.g., the symbol (*P-) signifies any unknown initial labial, just as, e.g., *T stands for any unknown dental stop (*d, *t or *ʔ) or *K for any unknown velar stop (*g, *k or *q) or *Q for any unknown postvelar/uvular (*g, *q or *q̄), while *H for any laryngeal or pharyngeal (*ʔ, *h, *ʕ, *ħ, also *ʕ).

⁴ In principle, SBrb.: Ahaggar a-med “1. cueillir, détacher avec la main de la tige, 2. fig. recueillir (des nouvelles)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1153], EWLmd. & Ayr a-məd “cueillir (produits végétaux comestibles, sel), ramasser (bois

• **637. AA *m-d-(C₃) ~ *(C₁)-m-d** (var. ***m-d-h** in Brb. and CCh.?) “complete” > Sem. *ʔmd “to finish” [GT]: Ug. ʔamd D “vernichten” [WUS #276] | Ar. ʔamada “être terminé, fini” [BK I 53] = “être achevé” [DRS] || MSA: Sqt. ʔmd “remplir” [Lsl.] || Tigre ʔamdā “parfaire, révéler” [DRS] (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 63; DRS 22) || PBrb. *ya-mduh (impf.), *yu-mdah (pf.) “to complete” [Prasse 1975, 227]⁵: e.g. NBrb.: Shilh a-se-mdi “parfait, accompli” [Bst. 1909, 242] | Mzab ə-mda “être complet, compléter” [Dlh. 1984, 115], Wargla ə-mda “être complet, entier, accompli, fini, parfait, en toute sa forme, accomplir, parfaire, finir” [Dlh. 1987, 184] | Qabyle med^e “1. parvenir à un certain développement, 2. grandir, grossir, 3. être suffisant (quantité), suffire, être capable de” [Dlt. 1982, 484] || EBrb.: Ghadames ə-mdu “achever, compléter” [Lanfry 1973, 197, #966] = i-mdu [Prs.] || WBrb.: Zenaga √m-d “être fini, finir” > iumdān “vielli”, iumdah “expérimenté (se dit d’un homme)” [Ncl. 1953, 206] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-mdu “finir (achever)” [Fed. 1951-2, 1154] = i-mdu [Prs.], Ayr ă-mdu ~ ə-mdu “1. être complet, entier, 2. être fini, achevé, 3. être parfait, 4. devenir adulte, majeur, atteindre l’âge de la majorité, 5. être ample (vêtement)” [PAM 1998, 208; 2003, 520], Tudalt (Udalan) ă-mdu “être complet” [Prs. & Dicko 2002, 29] || LECu.: Afar mīde “to be full” [PH 1985, 168] | HECu.: Darasa mud- “to be finished, be accomplished” [Hds. 1989, 18, 64] || CCh.: Mafa ndəh- “remplir”, cf. nd- “boucher” [Bléis 1987, 111] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu ándé “être plein, remplir” [Lns. 1982 MS, 102].

• **638. AA *m-d** “all” > HECu.: Darasa (Gedeo) madadi-nke “all” [Hds. 1989, 19] || SOM.: Ari mūd- “all” [Bnd. 1971, 263, #1] = mudda ~ mūda [Bnd. 1994, 144] = mūda “all” [Bnd. 1994, 1158, #1]. Related to the previous AA roots?

• **639. AA *m-d** “penis” > Bed. mid “männliches Glied” [Almkvist 1885, 48] = oʔmid [Munzinger] = mīd (m) “das männliche Schamglied” [Rn. 1895, 162] = mīd “penis” [Rpr. 1928, 213] = mīd (-ḍ-!) [Dlg. 1972, 229] = mid “penis” [Hds. 1996, 89] || LECu.: Oromo mund-ō [< *mudd-?] “penis (relatively polite term)” [Gragg 1982, 295] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu tà-dá (f), pl. kà-dá (?) [< *ta-mda] “penis” [Jng. 1973 MS]. It is a var. root to AA *m-t “penis”, whose reflexes in Eg. and HECu. have already been compared.⁶

de chauffage)” [PAM 2003, 520], Tudalt (Udalan) & Tadghaq a-mad “to gather (in the bush)” [Sudlow 2001, 144] might be also related if the primary sense of the Brb. root was “to collect”. In my previous communication („Lexica Afroasiatica VI”, forthcoming in *Comptes-Rendus du GLECS*, #484), however, I suggest that this root is related rather to HECu.: Kambatta & Sidamo mid- “to cut crops, reap” [Hds. 1989, 46] < AA *m-d “to reap”. Cf. perhaps also HECu. *mid- “to uproot” [GT]: Burji mid- “to uproot” [Ss. 1982, 144], Qabenna mižž-oʔ “to pluck out” [Lsl.], Tembaro mižž-e “to reap” [Lsl.], although this root is reflected by Kambatta možž-o “to pull” [Lsl.] (HECu.: Lsl. 1988, 195). Any connection to AA *m-d “to stretch” [GT]?

⁵ S. Chaker (1973-79, 300, §15) connected the Brb. root with NBrb.: Qabyle ta-mdi-t “le soir”, which is unconvincing, the m- of the latter not being part of the root (p.c. by K.-G. Prasse, 12 April 2007). M. Cohen (1947, 180, #423) erroneously combined the Ahaggar root with Sem. *rbb and Eg. nb (!) supposing “un passage de nb à md”. K.-G. Prasse (PAM 2003 l.c.), in turn, affiliated Brb. *ă-mduh (via met.) with Ar. tmm and Eg. tmm “être complet”, which is equally unlikely.

⁶ Eg. (s)mt: an old word which may be reconstructed from the phon. value of the hrgl. depicting a “phallus” (EG 1927, 448, D52) = “le phallus ou le mâle” (Lacau 1912, 72, §6) = “pénis (un mot, qui a très vraisemblablement existé, mais il a disparu)” (Lacau 1952, 9, §7 & fn. 3) = “Hieroglyphenbild des erigierten Phallus” (Grapow 1954, 21) = “eine alte, wohl etikettierende Bezeichnung des Phallus (nur als Phonogramm belegt)” (Behrens, LÄ

- **640. AA *m-d** “to stretch (originally a cord?)” > Ar. madmad- “corde”, mdy: madā I “étendre en long”, mdd I “1. allonger en tirant, tirer pour allonger, 2. étendre comme un tapis, 3. prolonger etc.”, mudd-at- “1. longueur, étendue, 2. espace (i.a., espace de temps)” [BK II 1075-76, 1078-79] || MSA *mdd “to stretch” [GT]: Hrs. med “to stretch out, aim (gun)” [Jns.], CJbl. midd “to stretch (out), push forward, give, extend, point a gun” [Jns.] = mīʾd “to stretch” [Nkn.], Mhr. mudd “1. ausstrecken, 2. abgeben, übergeben, bezahlen” [Jahn] = mād “to stretch (out)” [Jns.] = mīd(d) “to stretch” [Nkn.], Sqt. med “étendre”, médde “espace de temps” [Lsl.] = med ~ mid [Jns.] = mād “to stretch” [Nkn.] (MSA: Jns. 1977, 87; 1981, 168; 1987, 260-1; Nakano 1986, 83, #611) || Geez madada “to execute, spread, level” [Lsl.], Tigre mdd “to stretch” [LH 141a] (ES: Lsl. 1987, 329; Hbr.-Amh.: Lsl. 1968, 358, #1427; 1969, 52; Sem.: GB 398; Lsl. 1938, 238; Gordon 1955, 286, #1067; Aro 1964, 169; Lsl. 1969, 19; Zbr. 1971, #138) || NBrb.: Mzab √m-d-y: ə-mdi “tendre (un piège)” [Dlh. 1984, 116] || Bed. midi “to stretch out”, med-im “to stretch (tr.)” [Hds. 1996, 89-90] || HECu.: Hadiya midid- “to stretch (body)” [Hds. 1989, 145] || ECu.: Tsamay midd-akko (m) “rope” [Savà 2005 MS, 263].
- **641. AA *m-d** “to reach”: NBrb.: Shilh mdi “to reach, catch” [Aplg. 1958, 61] || LECu.: Saho māde “to reach, arrive at destination” [Vergari 2003, 127], Afar mād “hin-, ankommen, anlangen, das Ziel erreichen” [Rn. 1886, 879] = māde “to reach, arrive at destination” [PH 1985, 157] || WCh.: Fyer moot [-t obscure] “to arrive, reach” [Blench 2000 MS, 4, #f221-2].
- **642. AA *m-d-s ~ *m-s-d** “1. sharp, 2. agile” > Eg. mds (knife det.) “scharf” (PT 402a-b ÜKAPT VI 136) = “schneidig” (PT, AÄG 189, §428.dd) = “1. (PT 962) sharp (of knife), (BD) acute (of vision), (MK) forceful (of character), (XVIII.) firm-planted (of foot)” (FD 123) = “1. scharf (Messer), 2. energisch, schneidig, 3. gewalttätig” (PT, 1st IMP, CT, ÄWb I 578; ÄWb II 1168) || Brb. *m-s-d “to be sharp” [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh msad “être aiguisé” [Jst. 1914, 144; Jordan 1934, 93] = msad “to be very sharp” [Aplg. 1958, 61], Tazerwalt msäd “sehr scharf sein” (wohl eine Habitativform) [Stumme 1899, 209], Sus msad “être aiguisé” [Lst. 1921, 295] | Tamazight msed “être aiguisé, affilé” [Tf. 1991, 437], Ait Mgild msid “to be(come) sharp” [Harries 1974, 240], Zayan & Sgugu si-mseḍ “aiguiser” [Lbg. 1924, 568] | Mzab ie-mseḍ “1. pointu, 2. rusé” [Msq. 1879, 524, 528] = ə-mseḍ “être affilé, tranchant, aigu”, a-mseḍ “pierre plate et polie finement sur laquelle on repasse le fil d’une lame ou sur laquelle on polit un objet” [Dlh. 1984, 123], Wargla ə-mseḍ “être affilé, aiguisé” [Dlh. 1987, 197] | Qabyle e-mseḍ (var. e-mṣeḍ)

IV 1019, n. 5) > Dem. mt “phallus” (DG 184) || Cu.-Om. *mut- “penis” [GT]: HECu.: Hadiyya muta “penis” [Lmb.], Sidamo mutā “membro virile” [Crl. 1938 II, 215] = mutá “membro virile” [Mrn. 1940, 231] = mutá [Hintze] = muta “penis (unpolite word)” [Gsp. 1983, 243; Hds. 1989, 387] = mut-ā “male genitalia” [Lsl.] || NOm.: Zala & Dache mut-e “1. penis, 2. (hence) vagina” [Lmb. 1988, 69, §179; HL 1988, 129], Zayse mut-e “ano” [Crl. 1938 III, 206]. For this AA etymology see Lsl. 1949, 315, #476 (Sem.-Eg.-Sidamo); Hintze 1951, 86 (Akk.-Eg.-Sidamo); Rabin 1982, 11 & fn. 4 (PCh.-Sem.-ECu.-Eg.); Blz. 1990, 265 (Sem.-Eg.-?PBrb.-PCh.-Sidamo); Bmh. 1990, 401 (Sem.-Eg.-Sidamo-Ch.); Lmb. 1993, 105 (HECu.-NOm.); Skn. 1996, 206 (WCh.-CCh.-ECh.-Sem.-Eg.); Takács 1997, 235, #26.2; 2005, 52, #4.22 (Eg.-Sem.-ECu.-PCh.-PBrb.); Blz. 2002, 130-1, #24.1 (HECu.-NOm.-Eg.).

“aiguiser, affiler”, a-msed, pl. i-mesd-en “pierre à aiguiser (grosse pierre calcaire ou grès fin, de rivière), 2. pierre lourde, 3. pierre à polir l’enduit d’un mur intérieur, ou de sol de la maison”, a-msad, pl. i-msad-en “pierre à aiguiser (une faux, une faucille)” [Dlt. 1982, 521, 524] || EBrb.: Ghadames se-msed “aiguiser” [Mtl. 1904, 99] = sə-msəd “aiguiser (une lance, une lame)” [Lanfry 1973, 218, #1036] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-msed “être affilé, être tranchant, être aigu, 2. s’affiler, 3. (fig.) être bien affilé (langue, des paroles), 4. (fig.) être acéré, mordant (langue), 5. être leste, prompt et agile dans ses mouvements, 6. (la vue, les yeux, les regards) être perçant (voir les objets très petits ou très éloignés)”, caus. se-msed “aiguiser” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1247], Ghat se-msed (caus.) “aiguiser” [Nhl. 1909, 125], Tadghaq & Tudalt ə-msəd “to be sharp” [Sudlow 2001, 133].

• **643. AA *m-d-r** “(to build with) mud” > Sem. *midr- “terriccio” [Frz. 1969] = “loam” [Frz. 1975, 48]: i.a. (as denom. verb) Ar. madara “enduire de boue, d’argile (le sol, l’abreuvoir)” [BK] || MSA: Mehri mdêr “Lehmziegel” [Jahn 1902, 210a quoted in KHW, not in Jns. 1987] = medêr “sun-dried brick” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Frz. 1969, 308, #6.05; Lsl. 1969, 20; 1987, 330; Bnd. 1970, 34; Apl. 1977, 37/79) || LECu.: Baiso madâr- “to build” [HL 1988, 126] = “bauen” [Lmb.] || NOm.: Shinasha māddirà “1. Wand, 2. Hausmauer” [Lmb.] (Cu.-Om.: Lmb. 1993, 350).⁷

• **644. AA *m-d-l** “to attach rope” > Eg. md3 “lacings (?), leather lacing (?) for the hull, gunwale lashings (?)” (CT, AECT II 22, 24, spell 396, n. 20 & II 37, spell 398, n. 18 & II 124, spell 479, n. 18 and 24 & III 203 index, adopted in Jones 1988, 169, §78; DCT 190) = “(prob.) une partie du bordage: deux pièces de bois recourbées qui ont la forme d’accoudoirs de fauteuils, sortes de bras qui servent de support aux bancs de rameurs et de barrière pour empêcher le bétail de tomber à l’eau (cette partie de la barque solaire était l’armature de grandes tentures retombantes)” (Jéquier 1911, 52, §8 & fn. 4) = “lanière (?)” (AL 78.1924) = “(wohl) die lederne Einfassung der Bordkanten (wie sie in vielen Bildbelegen zu erkennen ist)” (Düring 1995, 77 & fn. 192) = “*schmaler Riemen (*lederne Einfassung der Bordkante)” (GHWb 377; ÄWb II 1159c) || Sem.: Ug. mdl I “to saddle, prepare a mount for a rider” [Gordon 1955, 286, #1068] = “Gespann (yoke, harness)”, denom. mdl “anschrren, satteln” [WUS #744a] = mdl “to tie, attach (?)” [Greenfield 1964, 527f.] = mdl “to attach a guide rope”, mdl “a guide rope (a rope to guide the ridden animals)” [Good, UF 16, 1984, 77-81] = mdl “strap, halter, a strip of tanned leather”, denom. mdl “to strap (or the like), put on or attach a halter (to an ass), tie a lead-rope to a donkey” [Watson 1986, 73-74; 1996, 76, §6; cf. also 1986, 18] = mdl G/D “to bridle”, mdl “part of the harness (?)” [DUL 527: etymology uncertain].

• **645. AA *m-d-l** “to cover” > Sem.: Ar. mdl V: tamaddala “to enwrap” [Al-Yasin] = “to wrap” [Gordon] (not so in BK II 1078: “s’essuyer avec une serviette”) || Brb.

⁷ For the semantic dispersion cf., e.g., Av. pairi-daēzayeiti “mauert ringsum”, Gk. τεῖχος “Mauer, Wand”, Lat. fingo “1. kneten, eine Masse gestalten, bilden, formen (besonders weiche Massen wie Ton, Wachs usw.), 2. erdichten, 3. streichen etwas über hin, streichelnd betasten”, Norwegian diga “dicke, weiche Masse” < IE *d^hegh^h. “Lehm kneten und damit mauern oder (Mauer, Wall, Töpferei) bestreichen” (IEW 244-5) = “schmieren, kneten, streichen (Lehm und damit mauern, auch von der Töpfer- und Teigmasse)” (LEW 501-2). Or cf. the history of Germanic *mak-ō- “machen” < IE *mak- “kneten, (Hauswände) mit Lehm verschmieren” (IEW 696-7; Kluge 1999, 530).

*m-d-l “to cover, close” [GT]: NBrb.: Qabyle e-mdel “fermer (sans verrou)” [Dlt. 1982, 486] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-mdəl “fermer (les yeux), être fermé (yeux), être caché par les nuages (soleil)” [Lanfry 1973, 205, #975].

• **646. AA *m-t** “to pull, stretch” > Sem. *mt- “to stretch” [GT] || CCh.: Mafa-Mada *mVt- > Mafa mit “to pull” [Schubert 1971-72 MS, 10] = mit- “tirer (une corde, un animal)” [Br.-Bléis 1990, 233], Uldeme √-mVt- > -mātāḡ- (ending -Vḡ) “éteindre” [Clm. 1997, 193]. The biconsonantal Sem. root has been preserved in a great number of diverse extended roots: (1) Ar. mtt I “1. étendre qqch. en long (p.ex. une corde)”, matāt- “lien par lequel on tient à la famille de qqn.”, mātāt- “lieu d’alliance ou de parenté” [BK II 1055] = mtt I “1. to extend, stretch out (a rope etc.), 2. draw (water), draw up (a bucket) without a pulley”, mātāt- “bond, tie” [Lane 2687-8] = mtt I “ausbreiten, ausdehnen” [Shatnawi]. (2) OSA (Thamudi) mty PN “ausgedehnt” [Shatnawi 2002, 738], Ar. mtw: I matā “étendre en long (une corde, etc.)”, V “s’étendre, s’allonger, se pencher en avant, de manière à allonger la croupe en tirant de l’arc”, VIII “tirer de l’arc en tendant le corps en avant” [BK II 1059] = mty: matā “ausbreiten, ausdehnen” [Shatnawi]. (3) Ar. mtʔ I “(é)tendre en long (une corde)” [BK II 1056] = “to extend, stretch out (a rope)” (dial. form of mtw) [Lane 2688]. (4) Ar. mataha I “tirer, retirer la seau à l’aide d’une corde”, VI “être à une grande distance l’un de l’autre” [BK II 1059]. (5) Sem. *mth “to pull, stretch” [GT]⁸.

• **647. AA *m-t** “to sprout” > NBrb.: Wargla √m-t-y: t-muti-t, pl. ti-mutiy-in “rejeton d’arbre, surtout de palmier-dattier” [Dlh. 1987, 201] || ECu. *mut- “to sprout” [GT] > LECu.: Oromo mutaya “germination”, mutū “to germinate, sprout” [Btm. 2000, 204] | HECu. *mut(t)-iʔr- “to sprout” [Hds.]: Hadiya mut- “to sprout” [Hds.], Kambatta mut-á “shoot of tree”, múččo “to germinate” [Lsl. 1956, 987] = mut- “to sprout”, muta “sprout” [Hds.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 141) || WCh.: (?) Suroid *mat “3. to grow” [GT]: Mushere mat “to grow” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 179, 181, 385, 390] = mát “to grow” [Jng. 1999 MS, 11].

• **648. AA *m-t-w/y** “light rain” [GT] > Bed. mit^wai (m), pl. mitwei “light spring rains” [Rpr. 1928, 219] || ECh.: WDangla máàtyé (f) “longue pluie ininterrompue et fine, en août” [Fédry 1971, 113].

• **649. AA *m-t** “to tell, speak” > Eg. mtmt “1. hin- und herreden, 2. (Plan) erörten, diskutieren” (XVIII., Wb II 170, 8-9; GHWb 374) = “to discuss” (FD 121) > mtmt “Klatsch” (late NK, Wb II 170, 10) = “discussion” (FD 121) = “Diskussion” (GHWb 374) || HECu.: Sidamo mātto (f) “(hi)story”, mātto māt-is- “to tell a story” [Gsp. apud

⁸ Attested in Ug. mth “a stretch, distance” [Gordon] = “ein Längenmaß” [WUS #1707] = “a measure of length (?)” [DUL 599], Hbr. mth qal “ausdehnen” [GB] = “to spread, stretch out” [KB], PBHbr. & JArām. mth “ausdehnen” [GB] = “ausspennen” [AHW], Syr. mōtah “spennen” [WUS], Samar. Arām. mth “spreading out, movement” [Tal 2000, 492] | Ar. mth I “4. ôter, écarter”, VIII “ôter, tirer, arracher”, mātāḡ- “long et flexible (bâton, morceau de bois)” [BK] = mth “1. to draw up water by means of the pulley and its appertenances, draw out the bucket, pull the rope of the bucket, 2. become prolonged, be (pro)long(ed)” [Lane 2688] = mth “hoch-, fortziehen” [AHW] (Sem.: GB 474; Gordon 1955, 293, #1179; KB 654). W. von Soden (AHW, adopted in KB l.c.) compared WSem. *mth with Akk. (M/NAss.) matāḡu [irreg. -ḡ- < *-ḡ-?] “aufheben” [AHW 632a] = “1. to carry, 2. pick up, lift, put on (garment), stand high (in stative, said of the moon), 3. remove” [CAD m1, 403] (provided < *-to pull up”).

Hds. 1989, 144, 384] || SCu.: Qwadza mīt- “to speak” [Ehret 1980 MS, 4] || WCh.: Bole-Tangale *māt- [GT] > Karekare màatú “to speak” [Schuh], Kupto màatí (f) “Rede, Erzählung” [Leger 1992, 21] || ECh.: Mokilko ʔùnté [prefixed ʔV-, -nt- reg. < *-mt-] “dire, déclarer, (se) prononcer”, hence ʔùntú (m) “chose, truc” [Jng. 1990, 190-1].

• **650. AA *m-t** “to dispute, quarrel (?)” > NOm.: Zala mut-et “discutere una lite” [Crl. 1929, 44] | Kafa mič, mičihe [-č- < *-t-?] “chiacchierire”, mičè metaho “piacevolezza, buffoneria” [Cecchi apud Rn. 1888, 316: isolated in NOm.] vs. moččeččō (adj.) “litigioso, puntiglioso” [Crl. 1951, 468] || WCh.: Hausa mífà “1. constantly raking up a thing, unwilling to let it alone, 2. making a fuss about trifles, 3. muttering, when reprimanded” [Brg. 1934, 794] = “grousing, grumbling” [Abr. 1962, 676].

• **651. AA *m-t** “to soak” > Ar. mataka V “humer” [BK II 1058] (root ext. -k?) || ECh.: Kwang (Gaya) ìnte, (Alowa) yìnte, (Mindera) ʔimte “sucer” (Kwang: Coates 1991 MS, 3).

• **652. AA *m-t** “arrow” > SCu.: Asa mat “arrow, bow” [Maguire] = mat ~ mad ~ mara [Flm. 1969, 13]⁹ || WCh.: Gwandara màtá? “arrow(head)” [Mts. 1972, 79] || CCh.: Bura mīmetu “sharp-pointed” [BED 1953, 138] | (???) Fali metu “Messer” [Str. 1910, 465] || ECh.: Bidiya mēta, pl. mētét “javelot, hampe de lance” [AJ 1989, 98]. There are a number of further AA lexical parallels that may be ultimately related:

(1) NBrb.: Mzab ta-mədda, pl. ti-məddi-win “gros crochet (de fer) en forme d’hameçon de boucher” [Dlh. 1984, 115] || WBrb.: Zenaga ta-mmūd, pl. t-māmid “age de la charrue, flèche d’attelage” [Ncl. 1953, 207].

(2) HECu.: Sidamo amatt-ō “lancia” [Crl. 1938 II, 189] || NOm.: Chara meyt-ā “lancia” [Crl. 1938 III, 173] = mēt-a “spear” [Bnd. 1974 MS, 17], Gimirra (She) māyṭ “lancia” [CR 1925, 622; Crl.].

(3) AA *m-t-ʕ “needle” [GT] (discussed below). For the semantic dispersion cp. e.g. WCh.: Kirfī fūšī “arrow” vs. Gera fūšá “knife” (BT: Schuh 1978, 54, 115) || CCh.: Hitkala (Hide) pusā “aiguille, clou, poignard” [Egc. 1971, 224].

(4) Deverbal origin? Cf. AA *m-T (perhaps *mut-) “to pinch” [GT]¹⁰.

• **653. AA *m-t-ʕ** “needle” > ECu. *mu/itʕ- “needle” [Blz. 1994 MS Elam, 10, #49] > i.a. HECu. *muta “awl for basketwork” [Hds. 1989, 418], cf. Sidamo mâte “needle for sewing” [Gsp. 1983, 227] | Gollango mutúʕ-ō, Dobase mutʕ-ō “Dorn, Nadel” [AMS 1980, 176, 213] || ECh.: Bidiya màdī “aiguille avec laquelle les femmes se tressent les cheveux” [AJ 1989, 96], Mokilko mòdđó “alène (en fer), poinçon” [Jng. 1990, 140].

⁹ Derived by Ehret (1980, 342, #8) from SCu. *mah- “arrow” (in comparison with Iraqw maha? “arrow”).

¹⁰ Attested in LECu. *mūt- “to pierce” [GT] = *mudʕ- (so, *-dʕ- due to contamination?) “to stab” [Sasse 1979, 37, 63]: Saho & Afar mūd- “stechen” [Rn. 1886] = mūt- [Rn. 1902], Assaorta mud “colpire, ferire, pungere” [CR 1913, 70], Somali mūd- “stechen” [Rn. 1902, 285] = mūd-ayya “to prick (with a pin, e.g.), gore (of a bull), poke (with a stick)” [Abr. 1964, 182] | Oromo mūta “stechen” [Rn. 1886] = mut [Rn. 1902] (LECu.: Rn. 1886, 879) || SCu.: WRift *mut- “to pierce” [Ehret 1980, 158, #43] > Iraqw -mūt- “to pierce” [Wtl. 1953] = mūt [Mgw. 1989, 115] || CCh.: Masa mētá “to pinch” [Brt. 1995, 223]. This root has been examined in my paper “Lexica Afroasiatica VII” (G. Takács (ed.), *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungrathmayr*, Berlin 2008, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 310-336).

- **654. AA *m-t-^o** “to pull, draw (up, away)” > Sem.: Ug. mt^o “forttragen” [WUS #1714] = “to remove, shed (said of clothing?)” [DUL 599] | Ar. mata^oa “9. allonger, étendre en long, 10. jouir de qqch., tirer parti, utilité de ...”, matu^oa “1. être long” [BK II 1057] || SCu.: Dahalo mut^ou^o-ud- “to pull down the foreskin” [Tosco 1991, 143] = mu^otu^o-u^od- “to masturbate” [Ehret¹¹].
- **655. AA *m-t-r** “1. to stretch (a cord, tendon), 2. pull (In gen.)” > Sem.: JAram. mtr “aufspannen (das Lager), daher: lagern, wohnen” [Levy 1924 III 303] | Ar. matara I “2. tendre et étendre en long (une corde)”, VI “2. tirer chacun de son côté, tirailler” [BK II 1056] || NBrb.: Tamazight nter [nt- < *mt-?] “2. tirer (pour arracher), arracher, extirper” [Tf. 1991, 505] || ECh.: Bidiya madira (f), pl. madiri “tendon” [AJ 1989, 96].
- **656. AA *m-t-l** “to cast” > NBrb.: Iznasen $\sqrt{m-t-l}$: mettel “jeter un sort” [Rns.], Uriaghel a-mettel “jettature” [Rns. 1932, 384] || (?) SAgaw: “Awiya” metālī & “Damot” meṭāl “fionda” [CR 1905, 169] || CCh.: (?) Mada mātālā “throwing knife” [Rsg. 1978, 278] = máatla (-tl- not for -š-l) “genre de couteau de jet (à deux courbes)” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 194] (or nomen instr.?) || ECh.: (???) Mokilko ʔôndilā [-nd- < *mt-?] “1. placer, mettre dans, 2. pondre, 3. laisser tomber, 4. jeter” [Jng. 1990, 154].
- **657. AA *m-t** “scanty, bad” > Sem.: Akk. maṭû “gering werden/sein”, miṭē/ītu “Minderung” [AHW 636] = maṭû (maṭiu) “bad in quality, low in status, humble” [CAD m1, 428-9] || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr mātṭāy “2. être annulé, 3. changer en mal, empirer, s’aggraver, prendre une mauvaise tournure, 4. (EWlm.) être comme métamorphosé, être monstrueux” [PAM 1998, 228; 2003, 567] || ECh.: Migama miḍḍā “laid, mauvais, mal” [JA 1992, 106]. Cf. perhaps also ECh.: Mokilko mādā “être de courte taille et très âgé”, mādā (m), mādā (f) “nain” [Jng. 1990, 135].
- **658. AA *m-t** “to be unjust” > Ar. myt: māṭa “1. être injuste, tyran, opprimer, 2. être rebelle, récalcitrant”, miyāt- “1. tiraillements, hostilité réciproque des gens” [BK II 1173] || LECu.: Arbore miḍ- “to abuse physically or verbally” [Hyw. 1984, 385].
- **659. AA *m-t** “1. to think, 2. say, speak” > LECu.: Oromo muṭē (adj.) “talkative (esp. of child)” [Gragg 1982, 296] | HECu.: Sidamo muṭṭi muṭṭi yā “to be talkative” [Gsp. 1983, 243] || NOm.: SEOmto *moḍ- “to think” [Bnd. 2003, 110 & 146, §101] > Zergulla moḍi “to think” [Sbr. 1994, 21], Koyra mac- ~ mas- [Flm.] = mas- [Crl.], Zayse moḍuc- (-ts-) “to think” [Bnd.] (SEOmt.: Bnd. 2003, 336, §101) || CCh.: Gude mæəḍə (iter.) “to say or tell much” [Hsk. 1983, 228], Gudu mawūḍu: “to speak” [Krf.] | Musgu-Pus miḍi “parler, dire” [Trn. 1991, 106], Musgu-Girvidik muḍ- ~ mæḍ- “sagen” [MB 1972-73, 70], Vulum (Mulwi) miḍi “dire, parler” [Trn. 1978, 304], Mulwi (Vulum) m`ḍ “parler” [Trn. 1978, 92], Mogrum miḍi “parler” [Trn. 1977, 26].

¹¹ The rendering of the Dahalo verb by Ch. Ehret (1980, 159, #52) is incorrect (kind p.c. by M. Tosco in 1996), and the same pertains to his suggestion to derive it (with met.) from SCu. *mu^o(ut)- “to handle lightly (esp. in a sexual sense)” based on Burunge mu^o-ud- “to pommel” and Ma’a -mu’i “to copulate”. The Dahalo term for “to masturbate” is, besides, in fact žagg^w-iḍ- [Ehret 1980, 223; EEN 1989, 30]. Therefore, the sexual connotation in both Dahalo and Ar. mut^o-at- “enjoyment”, matā^o- “a woman’s pudendum, the penis” [Lane 3017] = mut^o-at- “jouissance, l’action de jouir d’une femme, commerce charnel”, matā^o- “membre viril” < mata^oa V “jouir (d’une femme), cohabiter avec une femme” [Dozy II 567] may be purely accidental.

- **660. AA *m-ṭ** “to stretch out, draw, lengthen” > Sem.: Maʿlula mṭmṭ (pf. maṭmaṭaṭ) “sich ausstrecken” [Brgstr. 1921, 60] | Ar. mṭṭ I “tendre, et allonger une chose en tirant avec force, allonger, étendre la main comme l’on fait en voulant parler à parler à qqn.” [BK II 1121] = “to draw, pull, strain, extend by drawing or pulling, stretch, extend, lengthen” [Lane 2721] vs. Ar. mṭw I “3. tirer, traîner, 4. allonger le chemin à qqn., 11. étendre les bras en baïllant” [BK II 1124] = mṭy I “to draw, pull (a thing, for instance, a well-rope)”, V “to stretch (in a neuter sense)” [Lane 3021] vs. Ar. mʿṭ I “1. étendre, allonger, 3. tirer la sabre du fourreau” [BK II 1128], Yemeni Ar. mṭṭ: VIII ʿamtatt “to grow (hair), rise (dough)” (intr.) [Pia menta 1990, 468] || MSA *mṭṭ: Hrs. meṭ “to stretch (tr.)” [Jns. 1977, 91], Jbl. miṭṭ “to stretch (like elastic)” (tr.) [Jns. 1981, 176], Mhr. mət “to stretch (like elastic)” (intr.) [Jns. 1987, 273] || ES: Tna. mātātā “to lengthen, stretch” [Lsl. 1982, 54], Tigre mātṭa “to drag the ear of a refractory animal”, redupl. mātṃmāta “to draw, span” [Lsl. pace LH 143-4] || LECu.: Oromo (Waata) mīṭa ~ mīṭ-ita “to draw a bow” [Strm. 1987, 367] | HECu.: Burji maṭeṭ-ad- ~ miṭeṭ-ad- (med.) “to stretch o’self” [Sasse 1982, 142; Hds. 1989, 145] || WCh.: Geruma médé “long” [Schuh 1978, 137, 148], Bubure méddè “long (of stick), high” [Haruna 1992 MS, #c013, #c016] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -mámád- “1. allonger (le cou), 2. amincir une pâte en la faisant tourner sur la cuisse avec la main” [Brt. 1988, 175] | Vulum mídí “s’étirer, redresser qqch. qui est tordu” [Trn. 1978, 304] | PMasa *mEd- “allonger, étendre” [GT]: Gizey míd, Masa mé? [-ʔ < *-d], Ham mét, Musey & Lew & Marba mát (Masa gr.: Ajl. 2001, 2) || ECh.: (?) Mokilko ʾónḏè [-nd- < *-md-ʔ] “(s’)allonger (sur un lit), 2. dresser, 3. (s’)étirer” [Jng. 1990, 154]. For Ch.-Sem. see Takács 2002, 155.
- **661. AA *m-ṭ** “1. cord made of plant fibers, 2. (hence denom.?) to tie” > Eg. mtj (rope det.) “Strick” (“old word”, Wb II 169, 13; Hornung 1980, 249-250, n. 17: Pfortenbuch, scene 69) = “Schutzknoten” (PT 666b, ÜKAPT VI 135) = “mtj-cord” (AEPT 125) = “corde” (AL 78.1907) = “*Band” (GHWb 374; ÄWb I 574; ÄWb II 1157: also CT VII 43d & 45b) || LECu.: Oromo-Borana muḏī “strong rope” [Strm. 1987, 370] = muḏḏī [Strm. 1995, 211] | HECu.: Sidamo miṭe (f) “belt, girdle, esp. used by children” [Gsp. 1983, 235] || SCU.: Dahalo mēṭe “palm-fiber cord” [Ehret 1987, 143] = mēṭe, pl. mēṭīma “date palm fiber” [EEN 1989, 37] = “wild date palm fibers used in weaving mats” [Ehret 1997, 214, #1833] || Ch. *m-d “to tie (rope)” [JS 1981, 269D₁] > WCh.: Hausa mēèḏíí (m) “fibre from root of dum, locust-bean used for mending broken calabashes and for making the fish-net ášùùtáá” [Abr. 1962, 672] | Ngizim mēḏú “to tie in a bundle, tie up load” [Schuh 1981, 105] || CCh.: Bata muḏe “rope plant” [Boyd 2002, 56] || ECh.: (?) Sarwa maʿyâ [reg. < *m-dʷ] “attacher” [JI 1993 MS, 1] | Bidiya múḏe, pl. muḏàḏ “bande de cotonnade” [AJ 1989, 100]. The Eg.-Dahalo etymology was first suggested by G. Takács (1996, 137, #33; 1997, 98, #39).
- **662. AA *m-ṭ** “to swear” > Ar. mṭw: maṭā “10. prêter le serment tout haut, en prononcer la formule à haute voix” [BK II 1124] || CCh.: (?) Mada-Mafa *(N)b(V)d- “to swear” [Rsg. 1978, 339, #708].
- **663. AA *m-[ṭ]** (or *-ḥʔ) “to be(come) much, great” > NBrb.: Wargla meḏmeḏ “être nombreux (gens, foule, animaux)” [Brn. 1908, 342] || EBrb.: presumably Ghadames

miməð “fourmiller (de monde, de parasites)” [Lanfray 1973, 206, #979] || LECu.: Afar mùdḍ-i ~ -o “greater, more”, muḍḍ-uta “to abound, be too much”, muḍḍ-use “to increase” [PH 1985, 171], Oromo (Borana, Orma, Waata) miṭē ~/> mičē “plenty, abundant” [Strm. 1987, 366; 1995, 209-210] || CCh.: Lame mbùḍ “grandir, être grand” [Scn. 1982, 310], Zime-Dari mbùḍ [mb- < *m- reg.] “grandir, être grand” [Cooper 1984, 18] || ECh.: Dangla-Migama *m[ā]ḍ- “to grow” [GT] > WDangla máádé “grandir” [Fédry 1971, 111], EDangla mààdē “grandir, croître, pousser, s’élever” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 191] = “wachsen” [Ebs. 1979, 131], Migama mààḍò “grandir, croître, pousser” [JA 1992, 105], (?) Birgit mòdó [irreg. -d- < *-ḍ-?] “croître” [Jng. 2004, 357] | Kajakse màḍi ~ mēēḍi “beaucoup” [Alio 2004, 245, #236].

• **664. AA *m-[t]** “1. genitalia, 2. child” > LECu.: Afar muḍi, pl. muḍ “testicle” [Dlg. 1972, 229; PH 1985, 171], Oromo muč-ā “child” [Gragg apud Hds. 1989, 40] = muč-a [-č- < *-ṭ-?] “1. (Waata) vagina, 2. (Borana) boy, child”, muṭ-ē “vagina” [Strm. 1987, 370-1] = muč-a? “Säugling” [Lmb.] || NOM.: (?) Zayse & Dache mute [provided -t- < *-ḍ-] “vagina” [Lmb.] | Yemsa (Janjero) muč-á “männlicher Säugling”, muč-à “weiblicher Säugling” [Lmb. 1993, 363] || ECh.: EDangla mỳḍí (coll.) “les enfants, les petits, les grosses, les marmots, les mioches, les bambins, les bébés, les marmailles” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 203].

• **665. AA *m-ṭ-r/l** “tendon, rope” > Ar. √mtl > mamṭul- “corde” [Dozy II 601] || LECu. *√m-ṭ-r > Orm.-Borana māčēr-a [-č- reg. < *-ṭ-] “1. tendon, ligament, 2. meat that is difficult to chew, 3. (verb) to be tough (meat, tendon, wood)” [Strm. 1995, 205].

• **666. AA *m-T** (vars. *m-d ~ *m-ṭ ~ *m-t?) “navel-string” may be eventually also related to the preceding root, cf. Brb. **tV-mid-t (?) > *tV-miḍ-t “nombril” [GT] > i.a. NBrb.: Izdeg ti-miṭ-ṭ [assim. < *-ḍ-t?] “cordon ombilical” [Mrc. 1937, 63] | Wargla t-miḍ-t “nombril et cordon ombilical” [Dlh. 1987, 185] (Brb.: Lst. 1931, 267; Lanfray 1973, 204, #970a; Taifi 1991, 405) || HECu. *mud(ug)- “navel” [GT]: Sidamo mudukkō “ombelico” [Crl. 1938 II, 213] = mudukko (m) “navel” [Gsp. 1983, 239], Kambatta mudug-ičču “navel” [Hds. 1989, 104] || SCU.: WRift **mudungu > *murungu [-r- < *-ḍ-reg. in WRift] “navel” [GT after Wtl. 1958, 24, #75] || NOM.: Mocha māčo “Nabel” [Rn. 1888, 316] || WCh.: Ron *mut- “navel” [GT]: Daffo matô(h), Bokkos muto, Sha & Kulere mučuk [via *mutuk] “Nabel” (Ron: Jng. 1970, 387; JI 1994 II, 250) || CCh.: Hina memát “Nabelschnur” [Str. 1922-23, 119].

• **667. AA *m-T** (vars. *m-t ~ *m-d?) “to be near” > LECu.: Oromo maddī “2. near, beside, close” [Btm. 2000, 185] = (Borana, Orma, Waata) maddī (var. baddī) “beside, near” [Strm. 1987, 362] | LECu.: Sidamo meddi yâ “to get near to, be halfway (along a road, doing sg.)” [Gsp. 1983, 228] || NOM.: Ometo (sic) mata “vicino (adj., adv.)”, mata-n “presso, vicino”, mata-t- (pass.-refl. suffix -t-) “avvicinarsi, accostarsi” [Mrn. 1938, 151], Wolayta matâ “vicino (adj.)” [Crl. 1929, 33] = matâ “come near!”, máta “near”, mátaa “nearness (specific)” [Adams quoted in Bnd. 1999, 12, #8] = mata “1. (adj.) near, 2. (postp.) near” [Lmb.], Gofa & Gamu & Dache mata “near (adj.)” [Lmb.] (Gamu: Lmb. 1985 MS, 22, #692; Sottile 1999, 431), Dawro mata “near (postp.)” [Lmb.] | Kachama (Haruro) mata “presso” [CR 1937, 655] = “near (postp.)” [Lmb.]

(NOM.: Lmb. in LS 1997, 471) || CCh.: Mada métya “voisin” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 195], cf. Mafa mäd- “approcher” [Bléi s 1987, 106 with a false Mafa etym.] | Logone mádee “gegenwärtig, augenblicklich” [Lks. 1936, 106] || ECh.: WDangla móòtà “proche, près” [Fédry 1971, 135], EDangla máaty “tout près”, cf. móoḏá “près, tout près, proche” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 199, 207], Bidiya mòot ~ mòoti (adv.) “tout près, presque” [AJ 1989, 100] | Birgit mòotá “près, proche” [Jng. 1973 MS; Jng. 2004, 357], Mubi múdí “être près, proche” [Jng. 1973 MS], Kajakse mútà “near” [Drnb. 1981 MS, 3, #150] = moota “près” [Alio 2004, 246, #247], Kofa móòt “near” [Jng. 1977, 18, #458].

• **668. AA *m-3** “to twist around” > Sem.: Dathina mzz “spremere” [Rossi] = “to squeeze, wring (the clothes)” [Stace] = “(res)serrer, tendre” [GD 2691], Yemeni Ar. mzz I “to wring (clothes), VIII “to recoil, contract (fingers)” [P i a m e n t a 1990, 464] || Eg. mzmz “sich umgürten” (PT hapax, ÜKAPT VI 133) = “to gird” (AEPT 180) = “gegürtet sein” (ÄWb I 564) || NBrb.: Qabyle m-z-y: e-mzi “être rond” [Dlt. 1982, 531].

• **669. AA *m-[c]**¹² “to fear” > Sem.: Akk. mēsu II (pl.tantum) “Kulte” [AHW 647: u.H.] = mēsū ~ māsū “cultic rites, rituals” [CAD m2, 35]¹³ || Hbr. msy hifil “in große Furcht setzen” [GB 439]¹⁴ || (?) Eg. ms “Ehrfurcht bezeugen vor (n) ...”, also: ms t3 n (XXII., Wb II 142, 7-8)¹⁵ || LECu.: Saho-Afar *mays- “to fear” [GT]: LECu.: Saho mayšī ~ mayžī ~ māšī ~ mēšī ~ māžī “Furcht” [Rn. 1890, 276] = mašši (f) “fear, fright, scare”, mašš-īše “to frighten, scare”, mašš-īte “to fear, be afraid” [Vergari 2003, 134], Saho-Assaorta maši “paura, pauroso” [CR 1913, 72], Afar maysī, pl. māysis (f) “Furcht” [Rn. 1886, 885] = mays/z-it- [C o l i z z a] = meys-it- “to fear”, meysi [meyst ~ meyšī] “fear” [Hyw. 1974, 390, 394] = meysi (f) “fear, cowardliness, uncertainty”, meys-ite “to fear, be afraid, be uncertain” [PH 1985, 168] | HECu.: Sidamo mas- “meravigliarsi”, mass-ir- (refl.) “lodare, ringraziare” [Crl. 1938 II, 215] = masa “to fear, be afraid, scared”, mas-isa “to frighten, terrify” [Gsp. 1983, 225] = mas- “to be afraid, surprised”, mas-īs- “to surprise, startle”, mas-is- “to frighten” [Hds. 1989, 146, 385].

• **670. AA *m-c** “duty (?)” > Sem.: Hbr. mas “Frondienst” [GB 439], Official Aram. ms “forced labour, corvée”, mss “to pay tax (?)” [D u p o n t - S o m m e r, DNWSI 662-3, 665] = ms “tax (?)” [S e g a l] || LECu.: Pboni *mās (f) “debt” [H e i n e 1982, 101] > Boni mās (f) “Schuld” [H e i n e 1977, 292] || NOM.: Kaffa meš-ō “debito” [Crl. 1951, 476].

• **671. AA *m-[c]** “to move, tremble” > Eg. mss “schlottern (vor Angst)” (XVIII.: Urk. IV 614:3, Wb II 149, 6) = “to totter” (FD 118) = “*taumeln, schwanken” (GHWb 364) || NBrb.: Shilh mussu “bouger, remuer” [Jst. 1914, 144] vs. musā “to move, tremble”

¹² The reconstruction of *- [c] depends on whether the Sem. parallels are indeed cognate (Sem. *s < AA *c).

¹³ Its Sem. etymology is obscure. In principle, the semantic shift “to fear” > “to respect” is plausible.

¹⁴ Its origin is equally uncertain. Perhaps just a figurative sense of Hbr. msy hifil “1. to cause to melt, 2. cause to disappear (heart, loveliness), 3. flood (with tears)” [KB 604].

¹⁵ Its meaning and the underlying root are uncertain. D. M e e k s (kind p.c., 13 April 2000) views that “*il n’est pas sûr que ‘to be afraid’ soit sémantiquement satisfaisant*” and surmises rather a connection to 3ms-jb (var. jms-jb, also ms-jb) “Verbum, von der Freude der Kuh am saugenden Kälbchen” (MK, Wb I 11, 7) = “se réjouir, montrer l’intérêt pour” (AL 77.0054). But its supposed very late occurrence (ms n hrj=f (?) [“seinem (?) Vorgesetzten Ehrfurcht bezeugen”) in the Tebtunis onomasticon (2nd cent. AD, O s i n g 1998, 213, 214, n. af & fn. 1042 with further evidence) speaks for a separate gloss ms as in Wb.

[Aplg. 1958, 61] vs. s-muss(u) (caus.) “agiter, secourir” [Gouffé] || SBrb.: Tuareg: Ahaggar mussu “1. être remué, (se) remuer, 2. p.ext. être agité, s’agiter” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1243] || WCh.: Hausa móócà (-ts-) “1. to move, 2. set out on journey” [Abr. 1962, 678] = móócàà “remuer (tr./intr.)” [Gouffé]. The Hausa-Brb. etymology has already been known thanks to Gouffé 1974, 368.

• **672. AA *m-[c]** “goose” > Eg. msj.t “Art Wasservögel” (MK, Wb II 143, 3; cf. also MWNR 505, 1199) = “eine Sorte eßbaren Geflügels, wohl irgendeine Gänseart” (Erman 1896, 53) = “an edible bird, presumably aquatic” (Caminos 1954, 348) = “waterfowl” (FD 117) = “Wasservogel” (Barta 1969, 16, 139) = “gibier de l’eau” (AL 78.1848) = “marsh bird, breeding fowl: geese (?)” (DLE I 241) = “Geflügel (coll.), *Hühner” (GHWb 362) = “type of waterbird, an edible waterfowl” (PL 461) < (?) mz.t [z < *c possible] “Art Gans” (OK, Wb II 136, 4) = “eine Gans” (GHWb 362)¹⁶ || CCh.: PKotoko *mā[c]V “goose” [GT]: Logone mmáásə [Lks.] ~ máási [Nct.] “größere Art von Wasserente, Gans” [Lks. 1936, 110] = mmásə [Prh.] = (?) maši “oie de Gambie: Plectropterus gambensis” [Lbf. 1976, 24, #2], Affade mátsi “a fowl” [Barth] = mâtzi [ma:tsi/māci] “Gans” [Seetzen], Ngala māsē “a fowl” [Barth], Makari maasa “a fowl” [Barth], cf. Mara mà:sə “canard de la brousse” [Bouny 1977, 72] (Kotoko: Slk. 1967, 226, §188; Prh. 1972, 11, #1.4; 65, #40.1). For Eg.-Kotoko see also Takács (1996, 45, #6).

• **673. AA *m-ç** “to trade” > ECu.: Yaaku -māṭa- “to buy”, -māt- “to sell” [Heine 1975, 122, 133] || Ch. *m-s- “to buy” [NM] = *masə [Nwm.] = *m-ṣ ~ var. *m-s “to sell” [JS 1981, 222D] = *mVç- “to trade” [Stl. 1996, 113] > WCh.: Bole masə “to buy” [Nwm.] | PNBauchi *mu/əç- (*-’ts-) “to sell” [Skn.]: Siri mæçu, Miya & Mburku muṣ-, Warji mæç-, Jimbin mæky-, (?) Tsagu mā (NBauchi: Skn. 1977, 39) | Bade māsə-n “buying” [Schuh 1975, 108], WBade (Gashua) māsú [Schuh], Ngizim mas- [NM] = masə [Nwm.] = māsú [Schuh, Frj.], Duwai māsó “to buy” [Schuh, Frj.], Teshena I amasi & Teshena II mas- “to buy” [Schuh] (Bade-Ngizim: Frj. 1982, 32; Schuh 1977, 151; 2001, 434) || CCh.: Tera masa [Nwm. 1964, 49, #510] | Bura masa “to buy” [Nwm.; Hfm. in RK 1973, 92] (Ch.: NM 1966, 233, #13; Nwm. 1977, 23; Schuh 1982, 17). Note that Ar. mwṣ II “2. vendre de la paille, être marchand de paille” is a denom. of mawṣ- “paille” [BK II 1168]. Areal parallels: IE *miz-dho “Lohn, Sold” [IEW 745] ~ NCauc. *mašwV “price” & “to pay” [NCED 796-797]. IE-NCauc.: Nikolaev-Starostin 1984, 32; Starostin 1988, 132, #5.6; Bomhard 1994, 5.

• **674. AA *m-ç** “to suck” > Sem. *-mṣuṣ- “succhiare” [Frz.] = *mṣṣ “to suck” [GT]: Ug. mṣṣ “saugen” [WUS] = mṣṣ G part. “one who sucks, is suckled” [DUL 589], Hbr. mṣṣ qal “saugen, schlürfen” [GB 454], MHbr. mṣṣ “1. aus-, 2. einsaugen” & JAram. məṣaṣ “1. saugen, 2. ausdrücken” [Dalman 1922, 249] = “1. (aus)saugen, 2. (von leblosen Wesen) einziehen” [Levy 1924 III, 213] = “1. to press, suck, 2. drain” [Jastrow 1950, 827], Samar. Aram. mṣṣ “sucking” [Tal 2000, 483] | Ar. mṣṣ “1. humer, boire petit à petit en humant, 2. sucer” [BK II 1114] || MSA *mṣṣ “to suck” [GT after Lsl.] || Geez maṣṣa “to suck(le)” [Lsl.] (Sem.: WUS #1643; Frz. 1971, 630, #7.14.b; Lsl. 1987,

¹⁶ D. Meeks (AL l.c.) found it “difficult to distinguish” MK-NK msj.t from OK mz.t.

370-1) ||| HECu.: Hadiya muṭ- “to suck” [Hds. 1989, 146: isolated in HECu.] ||| ECh.: Sarwa mōḏā “sucer” [JI 1990 MS, 13, #248]. Has the Hadiya-Sarwa isogloss preserved the original AA biconsonantal root? It is to be remarked here that ES: Tigre a-mätätä “to squeeze a milk or honey skin” [LH 144 apud Lsl.], Amh. mättätä “succhiare” [Frz.] (in spite of Frz. 1971, 630, #7.14 and Lsl. 1982, 54 who derive the ES forms from Sem. *mšš) may represent rather a distinct AA var. root, namely *m-ṭ “to suck” [GT] (variation of AA *-ç ~ *-ṭ?). Note that Sem. *š yields Tigre š ~ č (while Tigre ṭ < Sem. *ṭ), cf. SED I lxix.

• **675. AA *m-ç** “to rub” > Ar. mwṣ: māṣa “1. frotter qqch. avec la main pour nettoyer, 2. laver” [BK II 1168] = “die Zähne reinigen” [Wajnberg] || ES (Wajnberg: prob. borrowed from Ar.): Geez mwṣ: moṣa “to scrub, pick (the teeth), polish by rubbing, wash” [Lsl. 1987, 375], Tna. mewweṣe “forbire, pulire i denti” [Bassano] = meyyeṣe ~ meweṣe [Coulbeaux], Tigre mâyeṣe “puli i denti” [Missione Catolica apud Wajnberg] = mâṣ “gratte-dents” [Abbadie apud Dillmann], Amh. mwaččä “to pick or brush the teeth” [Lsl.] = mwâčce [Baeteman, Guidi], cf. also Amh. mučča “glue” [Gragg] (ES: Wajnberg 1937, 36) ||| LECu.: Oromo mūčāw “to be rubbed” [Gragg 1982, 296] ||| NOm.: Badditu maḏ “ungere” [Crl. 1929, 62] ||| ECh.: EDangla ámdyé “frotter pour rendre lisse, tanner” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 12].

• **676. AA *m-ç** “breast” > Sem.: Ar. muṣāy-at- “gésier” [BK II 1118] ||| WCh.: Nbauchi *m-ṣ/ç “chest” [Skn. 1977, 15] = *m[u]çV [GT]: Siri maṣi & Jimbin muçu & Mburku muuṣu [Skn.], Pa’a mütṣi (m) “chest” [MSkn. 1979, 194] | Sbauchi: Guruntum mãasi “1. chest, 2. heart” [Jgr. 1989, 183]. Is an AA var. root *m-s present in Akk. (YBab.) muššu “weibliche Brust” [Holma 1911, 47; 1913, 16; OLZ 1910, 491; AHW 685]?

• **677. AA *m-ç** “to hit” (or sim.) > SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr məmməz-ət “écraser” [PAM 1998, 218] (for Brb. *z < AA *ç cf. Takács 2006, 61-62) ||| NAḡaw: Bilin maç y “1. (zer)hauen, schlagen, 2. antreiben das Vieh” [Rn.] || HECu.: (?) Sidamo maṭ- [unless < *maṭar-] “to cut branches, prune” [Gsp. apud Hds. 1989, 46] ||| NOm.: Kaffa māç- [-ç- < *-ç-?] “hauen, schlagen mit laufem Geklatsch, zerhauen Stein, Holz, auch das Vieh treiben oder schlagen” [Rn. 1888, 315] = mačč- “tagliare, incidere” [Crl. 1951, 468], Mocha mačči(yé) “to cut, reap” [Lsl. 1959, 39] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *mʷat > *maṣt (?) [-t# reg. < pre-PAS **-d# < AA *-ç] “to beat” [GT 2004, 259]: Angas muat “to beat, strike” [Ormsby 1914, 208, 315] = mwat ~ mwot ~ mat “to beat, strike” [Flk. 1915, 250-251] = mwàt ~ mwòt (K) “schlagen, hauen, to beat” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] = mot (sg.) “to hit” [ALC 1978, 39] = mwàt “to hit” [Krf.] = mwàt “to hit” [Gel. 1994, 69, 120] (AS: GT 2004, 259) || CCh.: Gude mʷacə (-ts-) [-c- seems reg. < *-ç-] “to trim, cut off, slice off (hair, grass, strands of fiber)” [Hsk. 1983, 246].

• **678. AA *m-ç-r** “to press” > Sem.: Ar. maṣara “auspressen” [Nöldeke, ZA 21, 381] = maṣara “traire une femelle avec le bout des doigts, 2. tirer tout ce qu’il avait de lait dans les pis”, pass. maṣira “être lancé pour courir de toutes ses forces (se dit du cheval dont on veut tirer tous les efforts)” [BK II 1115] ||| Eg. mḏr [reg. < *mḏr] “pressen, drücken” (PT 1022d hapax, Erman 1892, 112; Sethe 1892, 54; ÄWb I 580) = “to press” (Müller 1909, 190, fn. 1, cf. also Alb. 1918, 225, #29) = “niederdrücken, tief machen” (ÜKAPT

VI 136) = “to press down (the earth under feet)” (AEPT 171) III (?) ECh.: WDangla mòḍirè “constiper (ventre)” [Fédry 1971, 136].

• **679. AA *m-[-ç]-r** “1. to turn, 2. twist” > Sem. *mšr “1. to turn around, 2. twist” [GT] > Akk. (OB) mašāru G & D “to move in a circle, proceed in a circle (?)”, make a detour through, linger”, N “form a circle” [CAD m1, 329-330] = G “(etwa) umschreiten (?)” [AHW 619] II PBHbr. & JAram. mšr (qal/peal) “to twist, make a rope” [Jastrow 1950, 827], JAram. mšr “to twist, spin” [Sokoloff 1990, 326], Mandaean mšr “to stretch, twist rope” [Drower-Macuch 1963, 277] III (???) Eg. mḍr [reg. < *mḍr] “sich wenden zu” (PT-CT, Wb II 189, 8; GHWb 382; ÄWb I 580; ÄWb II 1172) = “sich jemandem zuwenden” (ÜKAPT VI 136) = “to turn to, turn about” (AEPT 95, 97, 283, 329, and esp. 184, utt. 508, n. 4; AEPT I 37, spell 44, n. 13; DCT 195; Allen 1984, 582) = “(se) tourner” (AL 78.1947; Jacq 1986, 31) III LECu.: Oromo mičiru “1. (ri)torcere, attorcigliare, avvitare, incurvare, far girare su di un perno, 2. premere, pressare” [da Thiene 1939, 243] = mičira “to twist” [Gragg 1982, 285], Oromo (Borana, Orma, Waata) mičira “to wring (cloths), twist” [Strm. 1987, 366; 2001, 55], (Borana of Isiolo) mačarsa “to squeeze out (fruit)” [Strm. 1987, 362], Arbore miččir- “to wring, twist (tr.)” [Hyw. 1984, 385] I HECu.: Burji (Lsl.: < Oromo) mičir- “to wring out, squeeze” [Ss., Hds.], Sidamo miččira “to twist, wring (wet clothes)”, muččūra “to wring, squeeze, crush” [Gsp. 1983, 230] = miččir-a “to twist, wring (wet clothes)” [Lsl.] = muččūr- “to wring, squeeze” [Hds.], Darasa (Gedeo) miččir- “to twist” [Hds.] (HECu.: Ss. 1982, 144; Hds. 1989, 142, 159; Lsl. 1988, 195) III Ch. *m-r[-ç] (via met.) [GT] > WCh.: Hausa mūrḍa “1. to twist, 2. wring out, 3. twist out of shape, 4. sprain a limb” [Abr. 1962, 685] II CCh.: Mafa mārḍ- “1. tordre le cou, 2. tendre les cordes d’une harpe” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 230]. Cf. also Oromo (Orma, Borana) mičirā “bracelets for men (made of intertwined strips of copper and brass)” [Strm. 1987, 366; 2001, 55]. M. Lambert (1992, 75) erroneously derived Oromo miččir- from a biconsonantal Cu.-Om. *biḍy- “to squeeze”.

• **680. AA *m-[-y]** “to squeeze” > Sem. *mšiy- “succhiare” [Frz.] = *mšw/y “to press out” [GT]: Akk. mašû “to suck, press out” [Zbr.] II Hbr. mšw qal “1. aussaugen, ausleeren, 2. die Nāße ausdrücken”, nifal “1. ausgeleert, 2. ausgepreßt werden” [GB 452] = qal “1. to wring out (wet fleece), 2. slurp (from a cup)”, nifal “to be press out” [KB 621], MHbr. mšw “auspressen” [Dalman 1922, 248], JAram. mṣāʾ “1. auspressen, 2. saugen” [Dalman 1922, 248] = “Flüßigkeit ausdrücken, auspressen” [Dalman 1922, 209], JAram. mšy “to wring out” [Sokoloff 1990, 325], Syr. mṣā “to press out, suck out” [Zbr.] = “to suck, draw out” [Lsl.], Mnd. mṣa II “to press, suck out, suckle” [DM] I Ar. mšw II “bis auf den letzten Tropfen leeren” [GB] II Tigre māšyā “succhiare” [Frz.] = mašaya “to suck, nurse” [Lsl. apud KB] (Sem.: Frz. 1971, 630, #7.14.a) III WCh.: Hausa mǎcǎa [-c- < *-ç-] “to squeeze” [JI] I Kir masiye “to squeeze” [Csp. 1994, 67] II ECh.: PDangla-Migama *miḍyV “1. to squeeze out, 2. to milk” [GT] > Bidiya miḍy “essorer, presser” [AJ 1989, 99], WDangla miḍyé “presser pour faire sortir liquide d’un filtre, d’une époude humide, traire” [Fédry 1971, 131], EDangla miḍyé “extraire (en pressant), presser, traire” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 203] = “melken” [Ebs. 1979, 128; 1987, 88], Migama miḍdyó “presser, essorer (par ex. linge, sésames pour en faire sortir l’huile)” [JA

1992, 106], Birgit mètèʔʒí [GT: -ʔʒ- reg. < *-d-] “essorer” [Jng. 1973 MS], (?) Mokilko ʔòndá [JI: < *mòdá? GT: < *ʔòmđá?] “sucer, lécher” [Jng. 1990, 154] (for this Mokilko pattern cf. Takács 2002, 145f.) | Toram meḍye (f) “filter (for beer)” [AJ 1988, 25] (Hausa-Mokilko: JI 1994 I, 160).

• **681. AA *m-s** “to hate, oppose” > Sem. *mʔš “to refuse” [GT]: Akk. mēšu “mißachten” [AHW 649] = “nicht achten (spez. von Sünden)” [GB 408]¹⁷ = “to despise, spurn” [KB] || Hbr. mʔs [Kogan: irreg. -s] qal “Widerwillen gegen etwas haben, davon nichts wissen wollen, verachten, verwerfen” [GB 393-4] = “to refuse, reject” [KB 540] = “to reject, despise” [Guillaume] ¹⁸ = “to reject” [Zbr.] | Ar. mʔs I “2. semer des inimitiés, de la zizanie entre les gens” [BK II 1053] = “to discard sg., reject advice” [KB] > maʔs- “one who rejects advice” [Guillaume 1965 IV 8] (Akk.-Hbr.: Zbr. 1991, 1682; Kogan 1995, 158) ||l HECu.: Sidamo-Kambatta miš- “odiare, disprezzare” [Mrn. 1940, 230], Sidamo miš- “to despise, scorn, disdain” [Gsp. 1983, 234; Ehret 1991, 253] = “to despise” [Hds. 1989, 386] ||l SOM.: Galila māš- “to forbid” [Flm. apud Bnd. 1994, 150] ||l WCh.: Hausa mūsà “to contradict”, mūsù “contradicting person, disputing, denying the facts to be as stated by another” [Abr. 1962, 687-9] || CCh.: Mulwi √m-y-s: mí:sí “critiquer” [Trn. 1978, 304].

Cf. also ES: Gurage (Lsl.: borrowed from ECu.) Gurage dialects. mäsö, mäsöwä, mäsäwä “adversary, hostile, enemy (in war)” [Lsl. 1979 III, 426] ||l LECu.: Oromo mäs-ō “enemy” [Lsl.] | HECu.: Hadiyya masokk-iččo, pl. masoʔ-o “enemy” [Hds.], Kambatta mas-ečču ~ mas-ičču “enemy” [Hds.], Qabenna mass-ičču “enemy” [Crass 2001, 47, #66], Tembaro mäs-ičča “enemy” [Hds. 1989, 57]. The Sem. etymology of Akk. (YBab.) āmišu “Feind (o.ä.)” [AHW 43] = “ennemi” [DRS 24: isolated in Sem.] is obscure for me.

• **682. AA *m-s** “to envy” > NBrb.: Qabyle √m-š-l: mmušel “avoir envie (d’un désir passager, subit, irraisonné)” [Dlt. 1982, 483] ||l WCh.: Tangale miṣi “jealousy” [Jng. 1991, 121], Pero múči “envy” (noun) [Frj. 1985, 42].

• **683. AA *m-s** (var. *m-c?) “sort of stick” > Eg. mz.t [irreg. < *m-c] “Art Stab des Osiris” (NK, BD, Wb II 136, 2; GHWb 360) = “a staff” (FD 116) = “Stab, ein Krummstab” (Hornung 1963 II, 27-28, §81 & 87, §305) = “eine Bez. des Krummstabes” (Kaplony, LÄ VI 1386, n. 71: already CT V 90f) ||l EBrb.: Siwa ta-məš-t “battoir: une pièce de bois dont on se sert pour bourrer la pâte d’olive dans les scroutins et qu’on place sur la pile des scroutins au moment de la presse” [Lst. 1931, 201] ||l NAgaw: Bilin mássā, pl. másses “Holz der Lanze, Schaft” [Rn. 1887, 275] || SCu.: WRift *mays- “pestle” [Ehret]: Iraqw mūsa, Gorowa mūsu, Alagwa & Burunge maysu (WRift: Wtl. 1958, 25, §81) ||l NOM.: Kachama (Gatsama) mīci [-ts-] “stick” [Sbr. 1994, 20].

• **684. AA *m-s** “to mix” > Sem.: Ar. msms “être embrouillé et en confusion (se dit d’une affaire)” [BK II 1107] ||l EBrb.: Ghadames e-mšək “mélanger (surtout des choses mouillées qui, une fois mêlées, ne se séparent plus)” [Lnf. 1973, 218, #1037] = ā-mšək

¹⁷ The Akk. root was equated in GB 408 with either Hbr. mw/yš qal “1. weichen (von Personen), 2. den Hals aus etwas ziehen” or Hbr. mšy qal “herausziehen”.

¹⁸ Guillaume (1965 I, 11) combined Hbr. mʔs with Ar. maʿasa “to think little of” because of a “frequent interchange of ʔ ~ ʿ”.

“mélanger” [Ksm.] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-msi “mélanger (du lait frais etc.)”, cf. û-msei “lait frais mélangé de lait aigre (ou de lait caillé, lait dont on a extrait le beurre)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1249-1250], EWlmd. & Ayr ə-msəy “mélanger, être mélangé” [PAM 1998, 225; 2003, 560] = ë-msëy [Ksm.], Tudalt & Tadghaq ə-msəy “to mix” [S u d l o w 2001, 133] (Brb.: Ksm. 1999, 188, §539) || WCh.: Angas mwés “to mix (esp. with water, to make fura)” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] || CCh.: Bura msitsa “to mix a little mud for building” [BED 1953, 142] || ECh.: Migama ʔàmsò “mélanger” [JA 1992, 65], WDangla âmsè “touiller quelque chose de liquide, bière de mil, pour bien mélanger les ingrédients” [F é d r y 1971, 4], EDangla âmsē “mélanger, mettre en désordre, brasser, préparer, touiller” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 14] = “mischen” [Ebs. 1979, 135; 1987, 88].

• **685. AA *m-s** “sort of cereal” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. √mys: meysāni “burr-sort”, maysāni “eine Weizenart” [B e h n s t e d t 1983, 200] || ECh.: Lele mîsé “early millet, bulrush-millet” [S i m o n s 1981 MS, 6, #77] = “sorgho (gén.)” [WP 1982, 63] | Sarwa māsā “millet” [Jng. 1977 MS, 5, #76] = “petit mil” [Jng. 1990 MS, 9, #163].

• **686. AA *m-[s]** “to be confused” > Sem.: Ar. masmasa “être embrouillé et en confusion (se dit d’une affaire, des affaires)” [BK II 1107] || SBrb.: Ahaggar √m-s-m-s: hemesmes “être surrexcité, être excité au delà des limites ordinaires et au point que cela paraît au dehors” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1244], EWlmd.-Ayr məšuməš “être embarrassé, indécis” [PAM 2003, 562].

• **687. AA *m-[s]** “chief” > SBrb. (Tuareg): *m-s “Herr, Fürst” [Hölscher] = *mæss “lord” [Mlt.]¹⁹: Ghat mas [Bst.] = mess “maître” [Nhl. 1909, 175], Ahaggar mess, pl. messaw “maître, propriétaire” [Bst.; Fcd. 1951-2, 1245] = mæss [Mlt.], Ayr məšš [Mlt.], EWlmd. & Ayr məšš “maître, seigneur, propriétaire” [PAM 1998, 224; 2003, 557], Niger Tuareg messi “Herr, Gott” [Bhr.] (Brb.: Bst. 1883, 325, 335; Mlt. 1988, 202, fn. 23 etc.) || NOm.: Chara mēsā (subst.) “grande” [Crl. 1938 III, 172] || Ch. *m-[s] “chief” [GT]: WCh.: Hausa mààsúú (pl. of màì) “(s)he who owns, chief” [Abr. 1962, 637] = “maître de, propriétaire de” [G o u f f é 1974, 369]²⁰ || CCh.: Bura-Margi *m-š [secondary *š < *s] “master” [Hfm. 1987, 459] > Margi mša ~ mše “chief, king” [Mkr.], Margi-Putai mša ~ mša “chief” [Hfm. 1987, 471, §21] | PHigi *maz- “chief, king” [GT]: Fali-Gili maz, Kapsiki maze, Higi-Bana maz-ca (Higi gr.: Mkr. after Krf.) | Mboku masay “Oberhaupt” [Lks.], Mofu masay “Oberhaupt” [Lks.] = māsay “chef de famille” [Mch. 1953, 178] (CCh.: Lks. 1973, table between pp. 248-9).

¹⁹ The Brb. word was borrowed into Eg. as ms “Fürst der Libyer” (XXII., Wb II 142, 9) = “Libyan prince” (AEO I 120*) = “titre de chef” (Yoyotte) = “chef libyen” (AL 77.1866) = “Titel ‘libyscher’ Fürsten” (Behrens). M. K o s s m a n n (1999, 17) views that LEg. ms “n’est pas non plus preuve de l’appartenance à la branche berbère: des termes comme ‘roi’ ou ‘chef’ sont facilement empruntés”. For see Eg.-Brb.: Bates 1914, 83; Zhl. 1931-32, 10; 1932-33, 26, 29 (fn. 2), 85; Grd. 1933, 23 (after Erman); Hölscher, ÄF 4, 1937, 67, fn. 1; Blackman 1941, 87; Hölscher 1955, 67 & fn. 1; Yoyotte, GLECS 8, 1957-60, 23; BIFAO 58, 1958, 86-87; Vcl. 1966, 272; Junge, LÄ II 326; Behrens 1981, 36; 1984-85, 160, §2.2; Mlt. 1989, 249; 1991, 151.

²⁰ With regard to its pl. mààsúú, C. G o u f f é (1974, 369) declined (“semble devoir être écarté”) the traditional derivation of Hausa màì (sg.) from Kanuri máy “king” (Pls. 1958, 79, fn. 17).

- **688. AA *m-s-ṭ**²¹ “thigh” > Eg. msd.t “Körperteil des Menschen und der Säugetiere vielleicht am Hinterschenkel” (BD, Wb II 153, 2-3; Wč II 67 with lit.) = “thigh, haunch” (Blackman, JEA 29, 1943, 15; AEO II 242-3*; FD 118; Mathieu 1996, 66, n. 155; Walker 1996, 270) = “1. la cuisse, 2. p.ext. la jambe” (Lefébvre 1952, 55, §62) = “Keule” (Helck MWNr 842) = “part of of an animal or the human body (found also in lists of meat): haunch (rather than thigh)” (Janssen 1961, 20) = “cuisse, cuissot” (AL 78.1870, 79.1366) = “part of the body of man and mammal, haunches” (Brovarski 1987, 49) = “*Schenkel, Keule (des Rindes)” (GHWb 366) = “hind-quarters, haunches (of human or animal, as cuts of meat in lists), leg” (PL 468-9) = “Lende, Hüfte” (Osing 1998, 245, n. k) ||l Brb. *√m-s-ḍ (> *√m-s-ḍ with glottal assim.) “thigh, haunch” [GT] > NBrb.: Demnat i-mešdh-an (pl.) “cuisse, jambe” [Biarnay], Tamazight √m-s-ḍ: ta-msaṭṭ ~ ta-messaṭṭ, pl. ti-msaḍ “cuisse, fesse” [Taifi 1991, 437] | Rif ta-mešṣaṭ “cuisse” [Tlm. 1998, 54], Iznasen & Uriaghel & Tuzin a-mešṣaḍ ~ ta-mešṣaṭṭ, pl. ti-mešṣaḍ-in “cuisse” [Rns. 1932, 386], Tamsaman & Iboqqoyen a-m’ššād, pl. i-m’ššād-an “cuisse”, dimin. ta-mšṣaṭ, pl. ti-m’ššad-in (sic, -d-, misprint for -ḍ-?) “cuisse d’enfant” [Biarnay 1917, 89], Tuat & Gurara ta-messaṭ and Harawa ta-messe/at (sic, -t) “cuisse” [Bst. 1887, 408; 1895, 84], (?) Mzab ti-mša n i-dar-en “mollet” [Bst.], Shawya a-msaṭ “cuisse”, messaṭ “hanche” [Msq.], Uled Sellem ti-meššaš-eṭ (sic, -š-) “fesse” [Joly 1912, 81], Sened a-msaṭ (sic, -t) “cuisse”, ti-mest-in (sic, -t-) “fesses” [Prv. 1911, 108, 115] | Qabyle √m-s-ḍ: a-mešṣaḍ, pl. i-mešṣaḍ-en “cuisse”, ta-mešṣaṭ, pl. ti-mešṣaḍ-in “1. cuisse d’enfant, 2. cuisse de poulet, de lapin” [Dlt. 1982, 524], Zwawa ta-meššaš-eṭ (sic, -š-) “fesse” [Joly 1912, 81], Bugi a-messaṭ (sic, -t), dimin. ta-messaṭ-et “cuisse” [Prv. 1911, 108] || EBrb.: Ghadames √m-s-ḍ: ta-messaṭ “hanche” [Mtl. 1904, 125] = ta-mšəṭ, pl. tə-mšəṭ/ḍ “3. devant du pied (pied sans talon)” [Lnf. 1973, 193, #962] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-mochth “hanche” [Msq.] (Brb.: Msq. 1879, 503, 515). The Brb. term passed into Maghrebi Ar. messāta “os coxal, hanche” [Dlt.].
- **689. AA *m-s-k** “to be bad” > Akk. msk/mšk “schlecht sein/werden” [AHW 618] ||l CCh.: Logone msakwa “zornig sein” [Lks. 1936, 111].
- **690. AA *m-s-k ~ *m-s-ḵ** “part of leg (?)” > WBrb.: Zenaga a-mašk “haut de la cuisse, aussi cul” [Ncl. 1953, 219] ||l LECu.: Somali *misk- > mísig, pl. mísko “Hüften, Lenden” [Rn. 1902, 304] = mísig, pl. mískó “hip, head of femur” [Abr. 1964, 181] = misig “meat of the hip” [Ehret] || SCu.: (???) PRift *muš/čok(w)- “bicep, large limb muscle” [Ehret]: Burunge mičoko “calf of leg” | (?) Qwadza muža²-ikuto [-²- possible < *-ḵ-] “arm” (Rift: Ehret 1980, 324, #41 & 343, #15) ||l CCh.: Logone máskə “jambe”, mskə “pied” [Mch. 1950, 34, 36] = “leg” [JI 1994 II 221], Kuseri msáke “Bein”, mšeke “Fuß” [Lks. 1937, 145]. Perhaps ultimately related to AA *m-s-k “back of the body” (#521 in my “Lexica Afroasiatica VI”, forthcoming), cf. ES (from NOm. or *vice versa*?): Harari miskät “buttocks” [Lsl.], Gurage Selti & Wolane & Zway məskät “1. back of body, 2. clitoris,

²¹ Since Brb. *ḍ- can derive from both AA *-ṭ- and AA *-ḥ- and the OK etymon of NK msd.t is unattested, both OEg. *msd.t and *msḍ.t can be projected, to which, ironically, in either case Brb. *m-s-ḍ could be the regular correspondence.

female genital organs” [Lsl.] (ES: Lsl. 1963, 112; 1979 III, 428) || NOm. (from ES or *vice versa*?): Gamu & Dorze miskata “buttocks” [Alm. 1993, 4, #33] || CCh.: Kotoko mùskù “anus” [Bouny 1975, 4, #34].

• **691. AA *m-s-n** “axe” > HECu. *mēsāna “axe” [Hds.]: Sidamo mēṣane, pl. mēsanna [Hds.], Qabenna misanit “axe” [Korhonen] = misānita [Crass], Alaba misānita [Korhonen], Gedeo mēsano [Hds.], Hadiya mēsāna hēda “hatchet” [Hds.], Kmb. misāni-ta [Hds.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 23, 385; Crass 2001, 45, §9) || CCh.: PKotoko *mṣVn₁(V) “Axt” [Prh.]: Kotoko mēṣār, pl. mēṣārē “axe (hâche)” [Bouny 1975, 10, §131; 1978, 60], Logone mṣānni ~ mūṣenii, pl. mṣāṣan “Axt” [Nct. apud Lks. 1936, 111] = mṭēnni “hache” [Mch. 1950, 54], Buduma han ~ hōn [h- < *s- reg.] “Beil” [Nct. apud Lks. 1939], Ngala mošene “Axt” [Duisburg], Sao (Sso) mošene “Axt” [Duisburg 1914, 43], Afade mszirr [msir(r)] “Beil” [Stz.] etc. (Kotoko: Slk. 1967, 325, §609; Prh. 1972, 11, #1.5, 57, #31.10). The connection with Sem.: S’aḏah (Yemen) √msr: missārin “Beil” [Behnstedt 1987, 302] || LECu.: Boni misirān “Axt” [Heine 1977, 285] is obscure.

• **692. AA *m-ž** “sort of cereal” > NOm.: Chara mey-ā [from *meyz-] “farina di ensete” [Crl.] | Yemsa (Janjero) mež-ò “1. hirseähnliches Getreide, 2. Amaranthus Caudatus” [Lmb. 1993, 364] | Shinasha maž-o “cereal” [Crl.] = “grain” [Lsl.], Mocha mā’wo “cereals” [Lsl. 1959, 43] (NOm.: Crl. 1938 III, 173; 1951, 470) || WCh.: Bade fem. mùuž-ín “Guineakorn” [Lks. 1968, 222] || ECh.: Somray máža “Negerhirse” [Lks. 1937, 80] | (?) Mokilko múdú [-d- < *-Z-?] “Hirse” [Lks. 1977, 221] = múdú (coll.) “mil (nom générique), céréale” [Jng. 1990, 142].

• **693. AA *m-š** (perhaps *m-ž?) or *m-z (sine Eg.) “river” > (?) Eg. mš (GW) “the place where the newly caught fishes were cleaned, dressed, and cured, commonly done ashore” (late NK, Caminos 1956, 18-19 ad pl. 6, l. 10) = “pond” (DLE I 244 after Lichtheim, AEL II 193) = “bassin” (Mathieu 1996, 106, n. 352) || NBrb.: Tamazight a-mzaz “partie la plus profonde d’un fleuve”, ta-mzaz-t “tourbillon de l’eau” [Tf. 1991, 447], Zayan a-mzaz “flot” [Lst. 1918, 8] || WBrb.: Zenaga mozz-an (pl.) “puits, canaux d’irrigation”, a-muž [-ž < AA *š-] “canal d’irrigation”, a-muš “puits, courant d’eau”, o-meš “rivière” [Bst. 1909, 242-3] = mozz-ān (pl.) “Kanäle”, a-mūž “Bewässerungskanal” [Zhl. 1942-43, 88-89] || Ch. *maži “river, water” [Stl.] > WCh.: NBAuchi *m-z/ž “river, watering place” [Skn. 1977, 37] = *mazi “water(ing place)” [Stl.] = *maži (*-dz-) “river” [Skn. 1997, 74]: Warji mazə-na, Kry. mazə, Pa’a & Siri məži, Miya māzə-n (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 37, quoted by Stl. l.c. with some misprints) || CCh.: Tera-Pidlimdi mīžima “lake” [Krf.] | Gisiga muzaw “Fluß, (Sturz)bach” [Lks. 1970, 132] = mōzáw “river” [Rsg. 1978, 315, #586], NGisiga muzaw “fleuve” [Sgn.-Trn. 1984, 25], Balda mašawa (-sl-) “fleuve” [Sgn.-Trn.], Muturwa msau “Bach, Fluss” [Str.] | Daba (Musgoy) māmāsā “Bach, Fluss” [Str.], Musgoy máza-maza “river” [Krf.] | Peve mázá “river” [Schubert 1978 MS, 6, #111] || ECh.: Mokilko mīzzi “1. pluie, 2. tonnerre” [Jng. 1990, 140] (Ch.: Stl. 1996, 114-5; CCh.: Str. 1910, 461).

• **694. AA *m-[č]** “to split, tear apart” > Sem.: (?) Akk. mišu “(a cut of meat?)” [CAD m2, 130] || (?) Ar. mhš [root ext. -h-?]: mahaša “2. déchirer avec les ongles” [BK II 1161] || SBrb.: Ghat √m-z [z reg. < AA *č] > či-maza-t, pl. či-maza-in [či- reg. < *ti-]

“échancrure” [Nhl. 1909, 153] ||l Bed. mešaʔ “zerreißen, spalten, teilen, zersägen”, méšʔa (f) “Spalt, Riß” [Rn. 1895, 175] = mišʔ(a) “to split (tr.)”, mišʔe (f) “split, crack, groove, space between two parallel object” [Rpr. 1928, 219] ||l NOm.: Kaffa *mišo: misciè-gogo-scièttié [miše-gogo-šettie] “scorticare”, mescè-goro [meše-] “corteccia” [C e c c h i apud Rn. 1888, 320] ||l CCh.: (?) Mafa mušuc- (musluts-) (root ext. -cʔ) “arracher, (dé)couper (une corde)” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 233].

• **695. AA *m-ĉ** “(to become) complete, finish(ed)” > Ar. mdy: maḏā I & IV “mener qqch. à bonne fin, exécuter, accomplir”, māḏin < *māḏiʔ-un “mort, trépassé”, mamḏuww- “affaire menée à bonne fin” [BK II 1120-1] ||l NBrb.: Iznasen e-mḏa [or -ḏ- < *-ḏ-ʔ] “être passé, terminé” [Rns. 1932, 385] | Qabyle s-mḏy “arriver à maturité” [C h a k e r 1973-79, 300, §15] ||l WBrb.: Zenaga √m-d (sic): i-š-medh (3rd p.sg.m., caus.) “accomplir” [Bst.] = i-š-medh (3rd p.sg.m.aor.) “accomplir” [Bst. 1909, 241] = √m-ḏ “finir, terminer”: i-maḏ “c’est (il est) fini” [Ncl. 1953, 206] ||l SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-məḏ “être complet, en entier (tous/t)” (to be distinguished from ə-məḏ “être épais, gras”?) [PAM 1998, 210; 2003, 523-4] ||l CCh.: Mafa (Matakam) méḏ “fin, mort, dernière heure” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 222], Mofu-Gudur -māḏ- “terminer, finir” [Brt. 1978, 139]. S. C h a k e r (1973-79, 300, §15) derived Brb. *m-ḏ- from a basic meaning expressing “l’idée de terme, accomplissement”.

• **696. AA *m-ĉ** “to penetrate, sink in (?)” > OSA: Sab. mdy-t-m “deep, penetrating wound” [SD 84] = mdy “to penetrate” [B i e l l a 1984, 282], Ar. mdy: maḏā I “3. passer ou pénétrer plus loin, 4. pénétrer dans le corps (se dit de toute arme ou instrument piquant ou tranchant)” [BK II 1120] = “to penetrate, go deeper” [Biella] ||l WCh.: Hausa móóḏè “to sink in (cheeks)” [Abr. 1962, 677]?

• **697. AA *m-ĉ** “fat” > (?) Sem. *mwḏ: Akk. māšu (*mwḏʔ) “buttern” [AHW 621] = “to churn” [CAD m1, 350] ||l Yemeni Ar. mwḏ: I māḏ “to milk, make thick milk, churn butter” [P i a m e n t a 1990, 474] ||l Eg. mḏ.t (var. ḏ.t) “Salbe (zumeist allgemein, aber auch als bestimmte Salbe neben anderen Salbmitteln, besonders im Kultus verwendet, auch beim Balsamieren)” (PT, Wb II 185, 11-19; K o u r a 1999, 125-7; ÄWb I 579c; II 1170b) = “une catégorie d’onguents ... employé pour l’Ouverture de la bouche (c’était un mélange de graisse de boeuf fondue et d’aromates; il ne s’agit pas d’une huile)” (C h a s s i n a t 1930, 118-9) = “ein gut duftendes Mittel, das gr. Stakte entspricht (≈ stj-ḥb)” (B a l c z 1934, 77, fn. 2) = “Stakte (στακτή): ein tropfbar flüßiges Verarbeitungsprodukt des Myrrhenharzes usw.” (Steuer, cf. Meyerhof, OLZ 4, 1935, 214) = “ointment, oil” (FD 123; DLE I 258; DCT 193) = “oil, unguent (animal fat mixed with vegetable matter, one of the unguents used in the Opening of the Mouth, it is made fragrant and has as its base possibly cow grease, a manufactured rather than naturally occurring substance)” (PL 484 pace Charpentier 1981, 368-9, #584) ||l SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-məḏ “1. être épais (cuir, etc.), 2. être compact, solide, 3. être gras etc.”, EWlmd. te-meṭ, pl. EWlmd.-Ayr ši-/ti-meḏ-en “1. (sg.) gras foetal (qui recouvre le corps du nouveau-né au moment que sa mère le met au monde)” [PAM 2003, 523-4] ||l Bed. môḏ “to put scent or fat on the hair” [Hds. 1996, 89] ||l HECu.: Sidamo moṭ- “esser grasso, spesso” [Mrn. 1940, 231] ||l NOm. *moḏ-o “Fett, Öl” [Ehret]: NWOmeto *moḏ- “fat, grease” [Bnd.] >

macro-Ometo *moḍ- [Bnd.]: Wolayta cluster *moḍ-o “fat, grease” [Bnd. 2003, 16, §46] > Wolayta (Wolamo) moḍa “Fett” [Bnd., Mkr.] = moḍuwa [Alm.] = moḍḍuwa “fat (noun)” [LS], Gofa moddō (sic, -dd-) “grasso” [CR 1927, 249] = moḍḍo [Alm.], Dawro (Kullo) mo:ḍwa “Fett” [Bnd., Mkr.] = moḍḍ-uwa [Alm.] = modwa (sic, -d-) “fat (n.)” [Lmb.] = moḍua [Bnd.], Konta modwΛ [Alm.], Gamu moḍḍo [Alm., Lmb.] = moḍo [Bnd.], Dache moḍo “Fett” [Bnd., Mkr.] = moḍe “fat (n.)” [Lmb.], Dorze (Gerese) moḍo [Bnd.] = moḍo [Mkr.] = moḍḍo [Alm.] = moḍe [LS/Bnd.], Oyda moḍo [Flm., Mkr.] = mo:ḍo [Bnd.], Malo moḍe “Fett” [Flm., Mkr.] = moté ~ moḍe (sic, -t/-d-) [Sbr.-Candwell] = mo:ḍo “fat, grease” [Bnd.], Doko modḍu (moddhu) “grasso” [CR 1927, 249], Basketo moḍa [Bnd.-Flm.] (NWomt.: Bnd. 1999 MS, 16, §46; 2000 MS, 55, §46) | SEOmeto *moḍ- “fat (n.)” [Bnd.]: Zayse & Zergulla moḍo [Bnd., Mkr.] | Shinasha moḍḍo “fat (n.)” [Alm.] (NOM.: Bnd. 1971, 252, 254, 257; Mkr. 1981, 208, #30; Alm. 1993, 5, LS 1997, 457; Bnd. 2003, 116, §46). The Eg.-NOM. etymology was observed independently by Ch. Ehret (1997 MS, 195, #1768) and myself (before having had access to the latter work). Since AA *ç/*ċ/*ċ had merged in Eg., Bed. and NOM., these parallels cannot decide the exact nature of C₂. The Brb. data, in turn, exclude the reconstruction of AA *-ç and *-ċ, since these are reflected by a common Brb. *-z (Takács 2006, 48ff.). A remotely related var. root is also attested, cf. AA *m-ċ “fat” (discussed in my paper *Lexica Afroasiatica VI*, forthcoming in *Comptes-Rendus du GLECS*, #525).

• **698. AA *m-š-š** “skin disease” > Sem. *mšš: Akk. muššu (≈ liptu) “ein (ansteckender) Aussatz” [Holma 1911, 47; 1913, 11, 16]²² || Ar. mašaš- “1. excroissance qui se forme chez une bête de somme à la partie du pied appelé wazīf-, 2. tache blanche qui se forme sur l’oeil d’un chameau”, mašiša “avoir l’excroissance, le durillon appelé mašaš- (se dit d’une bête de somme)” [BK II 1108] || Eg. mšš.wt “pelade, alopecie, teigne” (Med., Bardinet 1988, 23) = “eine Hautkrankheit (*am Kopf)” (GHWb 369) = “Krankheit (untern Haar- und Hautkrankheiten genannt): als Erkrankung der Kopfhare zu vermuten” (HAM 143)²³ || NBrb.: Sus ti-məss-it, pl. ti-məssa “abcès” [Lst.] | Tamazight ta-messi “1. éruption de la peau, 2. anthrax, 3. petits boutons qui couvrent le corps d’un enfant” [Tf. 1991, 436] | Beni Mtir ti-məssi “éruption de petits boutons” [Lst.] | Zwawa ti-mis-t, pl. ti-smās “furuncle” [Lst.] (NBrb.: Lst. 1931, 189) || EBrb.: Audjila te-mās-ūt, pl. te-mās-ūt-în “foruncolo” [Prd.], Ghadames ta-miss-it, pl. ti-mess-at-in “abcès” [Mtl. 1904, 97; Prd.] (EBrb.: Prd. 1960, 166)²⁴. In theory, Brb. *-s- ~ Sem. *-š- < AA *-š- is plausible.

• **699. AA *m-š-t** “a skin disease” > Akk. (a/jB) maštu “eine juckende Hautkrankheit” [AHW 630] = “bump, welt” [CAD m1, 394] = “irgendwelche Mißbildung des Körpers, eine Krankheitserscheinung der Haut” [Holma 1913, 24-25, 101] || Eg. mšt (GW)

²² H. Holma (1913, 11) explained the Akk. term from Akk. mašašu “berühren”.

²³ Th. Bardinet (l.c.) and R. Hannig (GHWb) identified it with LEg. mšt (GW) “*Krätze, *Haarausfall” (GHWb, below), which seems rather unlikely as correctly remarked already by W. Westendorf (HAM 143, fn. 78: “... wohl kaum mit dem maskulinen mšt ... vergleichbar”). In the case of fem. mšš.wt, the root must have been *mšš or *mšj, while the same can hardly be true of the masc. LEg. term (√mšt or √mšd?).

²⁴ E. Laoust (l.c.) assumed an etymological connection of this Brb. term to the common Brb. word for “fire” referring to Tuareg (sic) té-msé, pl. ti-məs “1. feu, 2. abcès” [Lst.].

“une maladie: gale, pelade (?)” (late NK 2x, AL 77.1896) = “(malady)” (DLE I 247) = “nom d’une maladie” (AC 1977, 9) = “eine Krankheit: *Krätze, *Haarausfall” (GHWb 369). Late borrowing from Akk.?

• **700. AA *m-Ŝ-ʿ** “to march” > Sem.: Ar. mašaʿa “3. marcher doucement” [BK II 1111] III Eg. mšʿj “1. marschieren (von den Soldaten), reisen, 2. (sich) bewegen (Füße, Überschwemmungswasser), 3. Reise, Marsch” (NK, Wb II 156, 4-12). We may assume here an interchange of the P^{Sem.} laterals (*-l- ~ *-š- > Ar. -l- ~ -š-), cf. Ar. malaʿa “marcher avec rapidité, d’un pas léger et rapide (se dit d’une chamelle)” [BK II 1149]. From this standpoint, even more interesting is the possible cognacy of Sem.: Ar. malʿ- “troupe, bande, partie” [BK II 1149] III Eg. mšʿ “Heer, Truppen” (OK, Wb II 155, 2-19), which, besides, might be genetically related to AA *m-Ŝ-ʿ “to march”.

• **701. AA *m-S** “to mash (by squeezing?)” > Sem.: MHbr. mss II pilpel “1. to press, squeeze, 2. press, urge”, pass. part. məmūsmūs “mashed, shapeless” [Jastrow 1950, 808] III EBrb.: Ghadames e-mšəš “être contusionné, meurtri” [Lnf. 1973, 192, #960] III ECh.: Mokilko mássí “mondre, écraser, broyer” [Jng. 1990, 138].

• **702. AA *m-S** “certainly (?)” > Eg. ms “enklitische Konjunktion: doch o.ä.” (MK Lit., Wb II 142, 4; GHWb 359) = “surely, indeed” (EG 1957, §251; FD 117), var. mjs in CT III 232b (M.C. 105) and VI 240r (T1Ca) “surely” (DCT 161) III CCh.: Hide (Hitkala, Lamang) mača [č- < *-s/š-?] “certain, sûr” [Egc. 1971, 216] I (?) Musgu massi “aufrichtig” [Rohlf s apud Lks. 1941, 66]. It would be tempting to compare also Akk. (YBab.) amašša “sicherlich” [AHW 42: “Ableitung unklar”, cf. GAG §113.c & §121.d], but the rdg. of this particle has been corrected in CAD for abarša “truly, surely (?)”.

• **703. AA *m-S-S** “a piece of clothing” > Sem.: Akk. (OBab.) massum (or -šš-/-zz-?) “ein Gewand” [AHW 621] = “a garment” [CAD m1, 344] III Eg. mss ~ mss.t “ein Kleidungsstück: Hemd” (NK, Wb II 149, 7-8) = “perhaps the normal apron of the Eg. man” (Janssen 1961, 74, 92f.) = “bag-tunic” (Hall 1981, 29) = “apron, kilt, tunic” (LRL 1967, 73-74; DLE I 242) = “Hemd, Tunika (in der Regel sackförmig zugeschnitten und sehr weit)” (Fischer-Elfert 1986, 213 with lit.) = “tunique, aussi chemise, peut-être de lin fin (un nom de vêtement qu’on porte quotidiennement où fait partie du matériel funéraire)” (Ryhiner 1995, 72, n. 68; Mathieu 1996, 39-40, n. 63 with lit. & 104, §340) = “tunic worn by both sexes (could be made of cloth, metal or leather), may be the ancient Eg. galabiyeh” (PL 466) = “garment, a simple, loose, bay shaped garment” (Johnstone 2002, 595)²⁵ III SBrb. *√m-s-s [GT] > Ayr tā-mšāš, pl. ta-mšāš-en “1. sorte de voile pour femme, mante (noir, enveloppe le corps entier), 2. voile de tête” [PAM 2003, 562].

• **704. AA *m-S-r ~ *m-r-S** (its sibilant cannot be exactly defined) “black” [GT] > NAgaw *ḡəčir- [*ḡ reg. < *m] “black” [Apl.] > Bilin nəširaḥ^w [Apl.], Hamir ḡəčər [Apl.], Hamta nəčir [CR], Kailinya nəčər [Apl.], Qwara nišər “Dunkelheit” [Rn.] III CCh.: Mafa-Mada

²⁵ The Eg. term has usually been affiliated with a few Near Eastern *Wanderwörter* (in Ug., Hbr., and Hittite), whose relationship is also doubtful (the problem is most recently discussed in detail in EDE III 579-580).

*m-r-S “black” [GT] > Muktele màršígà, Hurzo mèržén, Vame m̀ržé “black” (Mafa-Mada: Rsg. 1978, 212, #71).

• **705. AA *m-S(?)** “male person (vir)” > Sem.: ES: Argobba miche “mari” [Seetzen] = mis “husband” [Lsl., Apl.], Harari miš “mâle” [Lsl. 1949] = “fellow” [Lsl. 1963; 1979; Apl. 1977], Gurage dials.: Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto, Muher mäs, Ezha, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo mäss, Endegeny mus, Wolane mäs ~ miš, Selti mäs ~ miš, Zway mīši “husband, male” [Lsl.] (ES: Lsl. 1949, 50; 1963, 114; 1979 III, 426)²⁶ ||l WBrb.: Zenaga √m-s: o-massən, pl. o-massən-ən “mâle (animal, plante)” [Ncl. 1953, 218] ||l NOm.: Sezo maž “man” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 14] ||l Ch. *m-z “man (vir), male, husband, person (homo)” [JS 1981, 147A₁, 202A₄] = *m-z (JI: perhaps < orig. *m-y-z) “man (vir), husband, person” [JI 1994 I 114, 135] = *mi/azī, pl. *maž- “husband, man” [Stl. 1996, 114; 2003, 300].

• **706. AA *m-g** “to dig, bury” > Eth.-Sem. (borrowed from Cu.): Gurage dials. m^wäggä ~ m^wäkä ~ mekkä “to bury” [Lsl. 1979 III, 395] ||l LECu. *môg- “to bury” [GT]: Konso mōk- [-k- reg. < *-g-] “to bury”, mōk-a “grave” [Lmb.], Dirayta-Mossiya mōk- “to bury” [Lmb.] | HECu. *mōg- “to bury”, *mōg-o ~ *mōgg-a “grave” [Hds. 1989, 418] (HECu.: Mrn. 1937, 238; Hds. 1989, 34, 73) ||l NOm.: Wolamo mog ~ muog “seppellire”, muogā “tomba” [Crl.] = mōg- “to bury” [Lmb.], Zala mōg “seppellire, tomba” [Crl.] = mōg- “to bury” [Lmb.], Gamu mōg- “to bury” [Lmb.], Dache mōg- “to bury”, mōg-e “grave” [Lmb.], Gofa muog (pass. muog-it) “seppellire”, muog “tomba” [Crl.] = mog- “to bury” [Lmb.], Dawro mog-et- “to be buried” [Lmb.] | Koyra mōg- “to bury” [Hyw. 1982, 238], Zayse mōg-utt- “to bury”, mōg-e “cloth to dress the corpse” [Lmb.], Kcm. mog-ānā, mog-āys “seppellire”, mog-ā ~ -u “tomba, sepolcro” [CR 1937, 653] = mog- “to bury” [Lmb.] | Chara mog “seppellire (to bury)” [Crl., Lmb.] | Janjero (Yemsa) muogā “tomba” [Crl.] = mōg-a “grave” [Wdk. 1990, 131] = mō:gā “grave” [Akl.-Sbr. 1993, 38] = mōg-à “grave” [Lmb.] = mōgā “grave” [Akl. MS n.d., #94] (ECu.-NOm.: Crl. 1929, 32, 44; 1938 III, 80, 171; Lmb. 1993, 364; LS 1997, 457) ||l CCh.: (?) Nzangi ngi-ḍadi [ng- < *mg-?] “enterrer” [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 91] ||l ECh. *√m-g “to bury” [GT]: Tumak mäg “1. enterrer un mort, 2. planter (noyaux, tubercules)”, mūgân (m) “tombe” [Cpr. 1975, 83-84] | EDangla māginē, pl. māggàn “le tombeau, la tombe” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 192].

• **707. AA *m-[g/g]** “thread (?)” > NBrb.: Mzab t-mižža [ž < *g reg.] “fils tenant les boucles de la lisse sur la sur la tringle derrière le tissage” [Dlh. 1984, 127] ||l SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-miḡ, pl. i-māgy-an “artère (vaisseau qui porte le sang du coeur aux extrémités), veine (canal qui ramène le sang des extrémités au coeur)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1169; PAM 1998, 211; 2003, 526], Ghat a-mež, pl. i-mž-an “artère” [Nhl. 1909, 129] ||l NAgaw: Qwara

²⁶ The etymology of the Eth.-Sem. root is disputed. F. Praetorius (1879, 509), followed by W. Leslau (1963, 114; 1979 III, 426) and D. Appleyard (1977, 10/52), postulated in Eth.-Sem. a development of mäs < *bās < *bāʾəs based on Geez bāʾ(ə)sī “man”, Tigre bāʾəs “husband”. C.F.A. Dillmann (1865, 519) explained Geez bāʾəsī “man” from the basic meaning “to be strong” (cf. Ar. baʾusa, Appleyard: Sem. *bʾš “to be bad” > “strong”). In M. Cohen’s (1939, 421) view, Eth.-Sem. *m- < *b- was due to an interference influenced by Geez mät “husband”. In this case, Eth.-Sem. “husband” cannot be related with WCh. “vir” and Eg. “Heer”. On the other hand, A.Ju. Militarev (2006 MS, 36, #51.10) combined the ES word rather with Ug. mī “infante” [DLU 309], which is semantically unconvincing.

magg-na “thread” [Flad/Rn.] | LECu.: Oromo māg-ā “ascaris, roundworm” [Gragg 1982, 270] | HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) māga “roundworm” [Hds. 1989, 126].

• **708. AA *m-g-r** “1. to fecundate, 2. grow (of embryo?)” > (???) Ar. mağara “avoir dans le ventre un fœtus très-grand (se dit d’une femelle)”, mağr- “1. ventre ou achat d’un fœtus à naître, 4. fœtus à naître” [BK II 1064] = mağr- “what is in the belly of a pregnant animal (a she-camel or of ewe or a she-goat), when her pregnancy has become manifest” [Lane 2690]²⁷ || (???) Eg. md3 [reg. < *mgr] (phallus det.) “begatten” (NK hapax, Brunner 1964, 16) = “féconder, engendrer” (AC 1978, 14; AL 78.1939, 78.1941) = “to be fertile” (DLE I 258) = “befruchten, begatten” (GHWb 380; WD II 70) || LECu.: Oromo magre “croître, pousser, bourgeonner” [Guiraudon 1896, 181] (hardly borrowed from Ar.).

• **709. AA *m-g-r** “to tie, attach” > Sem.: Ar. miğār- “corde avec laquelle on attache la dernière articulation du pied du chameau pliée au haut de la jambe, en sorte que l’animal ne s’appuie plus que sur trois pieds et reste à sa place” [BK II 1064] || ES: Amharic maggārā “to make a trellis, entangle”, Harari migār “the tying of pieces of wood against a strong wooden frame in the structure of a house” (ES: Lsl. 1963, 104) || Eg. md3 [reg. < *mgr] “(wie ein Vogel) eingesperrt sein” (LEg. 2x, Wb II 187, 1; Bidoli 1976, 72, fn. 5) = “einsperren (parallel mit ḥ3q ’gefangen nehmen’)” (Lange 1925, 75) = “to tie up, fetter” (Caminos 1977, 28, fn. 11) = “entraver, enchaîner” (AL 77.1958) = “to fetter (?)” (DLE I 258) = “Fesseln anlegen, fesseln” (GHWb 380) || LECu.: Oromo miggara (≈/ < Harari migār) “cerchio, cerchiamento (di botti, ecc.)”, miggaru “cerchiare i legni di una casa, circondare, investire, allacciare, stringere con cinghie, legare strettamente” [da Thiene 1939, 244, not in Gragg 1982], Oromo-Borana māgara “1. to interweave sticks (constructing a house or a door), 2. bind poles and sticks together in the construction of a house” [Strm. 1995, 205] || ECh.: EDangla mágirā (f) “filet tressé aux mailles espacées pour ranger une gourde ou une calebasse” [Fédry 1971, 115].

• **710. AA *m-g-l** “male” > Eg. mdr (phallus det.) “Personenbezeichnung, vielleicht Hirte” (PT 233b, ÜKAPT VI 136) = “the Male” (AEPT 55) || LECu.: PSam *mVgVl- “male person” [GT]: Somali-Afgoy megel “man” [Ehret & Nuuh Ali 1984, 238], Somali-Benadir magal “man, vir” [Flm.], Rendille meḡel [-ḡ- < *-g-] “man, vir” [Flm. 1964, 68] = meḡel (pl. only) “male persons” [Heine 1976, 218] = máḡel “Mann, männlich, Ehrenmann, großzügig. Mann” [Schlee 1978, 139, #729] = meḡel “male(s), men (referring to human beings only)” [PG 1999, 223].

• **711. AA *m-k** “long, wide” > Sem.: Akk. makâku “ausweiten, hinbreiten” [AHW 587] = “to spread” [CAD m1, 121], cf. a var. with -g/q- in Akk. magāgu ~ maqāqu “(weg)spreizen” [AHW 574] || Bed. mikik “to stand with legs wide apart”, māḡāk “bandy-legged”, mikūkai “astride” (adv.) [Rpr. 1928, 216] || SAgaw: Kunfel maki “road” [Bnd. 1970 MS, 122, #65; Birru-Adal 1971, 102, #65] || NOm.: Kafa makkā “arco” [Crl.

²⁷ Its Sem. etymology is obscure. W. Leslau (1945, 243) has combined it (reluctantly though) with MSA *mgr: Mehri mūḡr “rectum”. In my view, Ar. mağr- might be perhaps compared rather to MSA: Jbl. miğér “skin (container) for milk” [Jns. 1981, 169].

1951, 471] || WCh.: Hausa máákéékè “long and broad”, mákáká “big and broad” [Abr. 1962, 646, 642], Gwandara míkye “to stretch”, míkyekye “straight” [Mts. 1972, 81] || CCh.: Masa gr. *^mbok [mb- reg. < *mok] “écartier” [GT]: Zime-Dari mbók “écart(ement)” [Cooper 1984, 18], Lame mbók “écart(ement)” [Scn. 1982, 310]. Cf. also Ar. var. $\sqrt{m}h\dot{h}$ > mu-miḥḥ- “long, qui se prolonge (affaire)” [BK II 1072]. Cf. also NOm.: Kafa mako “nervo” [Cecchi apud Rn. 1888, 317] = maqqō “narvo” [Crl. 1951, 473]?

• **712. AA *m-k** “full” > LECu.: Oromo-Bararetta imieke “full” [Flm.], Konso imako-ta “full” [Flm.] = immak- “to be full” [HL], Gidole innako-ta “full” [Flm.] = innak- “to be full” [HL], Mossiya innak- “to be full” [HL], Gato imako-da “full” [Flm.] (ECu.: Dlg. 1973, 256-257; Sasse 1979, 25; HL 1988, 127) || NAgaw: Kemant imkuy “être abondant (le blé)” [CR 1912, 164] || WCh.: Tangale mukmuk “somewhat full” [Jng. 1991, 121] || ECh.: EDangla mak “(idéophone d’accomplissement)” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 192].

NB: The direct derivation of the LECu. data from ECu. *mig-/mug- “fullness”, *-mg- (prefix verb) “to fill” [Sasse 1979, 25] = *-meg- “to be full” [HL 1988, 127; Lmb. 1993, 353] = *-mig- “to be full” [Ehret 1997 MS, 196, #1771] = *mVg- “many, full” [GT] is uncertain. In H.-J. Sasse’s (1979, 25) view, the Konso & Gidole parallels (with -n/-k-) “are obviously cognate, but display problematic correspondences”.

• **713. AA *m-k** “sort of vessel” > Eg. mk “a vessel” (Pap. BM 10795, frag. C, II, 13, CED 80) = “ein Gefäß” (KHW 517) = “un vase” (AL 77.1907) = “nom d’un récipient” (DELC 110) > Cpt. (B) **MOKI** (m) “jar, vessel, quiver, container generally” (CD 161b; CED 80, approved by O sing 1978, 186) = “Gefäß, Behälter, Köcher” (KHW 90, 517) = “1. vase, cruche, récipient, 2. carquois (quiver)” (DELC 110) || SBrb.: Ahaggar ě-meké, pl. i-mekê-t-en “grande cruche en terre”, dimin. té-mekê-t, pl. ti-mekê-t-în “petite cruche en terre” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1183], Ayr e-mäke, pl. i-mäke-t-än “sorte de cruche (en terre)” [PAM 2003, 533] || HECu.: (?) Sidamo mâqqe (f), pl. mâququwa [irreg. -qq-] “a small vessel (for butter etc.)” [Gsp. 1983, 224] = mākke “small vessel” [Hds. 1989, 85] || NOm.: Koyra môkko [mɔ:k:hɔ ~ mɔ:k:h] “old water-pot” [Hyw. 1982, 218] || CCh.: Muturwa māgaia “Topf” [Str. 1910, 464] | Mbara mīkàw (m) “jarre à eau (water-jar)” [TSL 1986, 272, 291]. An old (PAA) *nomen instr.*?

• **714. AA *m-k** (var. ***m-g**?) “1. to be(come), 2. make” > EBrb.: Audjila e-mmóg [-g < *-k?] “divenire, essere, transformarsi” [Prd. 1960, 165] || SBrb.: EWlmd. ə-mmək & Ayr ə-ṇmæk “1. manière d’être, façon, caractère, nature, état, forme, 2. manière d’agir, comportement, procédé, méthode, moyen, 3. manière réelle, vraie, propre, originale etc.” [PAM 2003, 533] || NOm.: Ometo (sic) mak- “preparare, apprestare” [Mrn. 1938, 151] | Magi mamk “preparare” [Toselli 1939, 38] || CCh.: Mandara mag-a “1. sich ereignen, 2. machen, tun” [Mirt 1970-71, 67], Malgwa mága “1. machen, tun, 2. sich ereignen” [Löhr 2002, 301].

• **715. AA *m-k** “to think” > Dem. mkmk “nachdenken” (DG 183:6) = as noun “report, memorandum (in legal use)” (Smith 1978, 360)²⁸ > Cpt. (SB) **MOKMEK**, (A) **MAKMK**, (LF) **MAKMEK** “1. (intr.) to think, ponder, 2. (tr.) meditate, intend, 3. (refl., oftenest) consider”

²⁸ Apparently no earlier etymon. J. Černý (CED 80) explained it from GR mqmq “ruhen, schlafen” (Wb), but it is semantically doubtful.

(CD 162a; CED 80; Smith l.c.) = “1. denken, 2. (refl.) sich etwas überlegen” (KHW 90) = “considérer, réfléchir” (DELC 110)²⁹ ||| LECu.: Afar makk-it- “to figure out, reason” [Hyw. apud S a s s e], cf. Saho makk-o “meaning, concept” [Vergari 2003, 130] | HECu.: Burji makk- “to measure” [S a s s e 1982, 139], Gedeo (Drs.) mikká “to measure” [Wdk. 1976-79, 169]. For Eg.-ECu. see also T a k á c s (2006, 678, #388).

• **716. AA *m-[k]** “to wonder” > SCu.: Ma’a -máka “to wonder, be astonished” [E h r e t 1980, 155, #21]³⁰ ||| WCh.: Hausa mààmáákì “being surprised”, àbím mààmáákì “wonder, marvel” [Abr. 1962, 652].

• **717. AA *m-[k/q]** “to bind” > NAgaw: Qemant maḵ “filer”, maḵwâ “fil” [CR], Qwara makow “to spin” [Flad/Rn.] = mak “spinnen” [Rn.], Dembea mekwâ “Faden” [Halévy/Rn.] = maḵ “filer” [CR] (NAgaw: Rn. 1895, 97; CR 1912, 227) || HECu.: (?) Hadiya mačč-o [č < *k?] “breiter Ledergürtel der Männer” [E h r e t 1991, 252, §179] ||| CCh.: Mbara mikí “lier, attacher” [TSL 1986, 272]. Cf. also LECu.: Somali mīq “spinnen” vs. “Spinnerei, Faden, Filum zum Nähen” [Rn. 1902, 291] = mīq “a length of thread (as for inserting in a needle)”, mīq-ayya “to spin” [Abr. 1964, 180] | Dullay: Dobase maqq-is- “anbinden (ein Tier)” [AMS 1980, 175].

• **718. AA *m-[k]** “to seize” > SCu.: Dahalo muk-ēḏ- “to take by force, plunder” [Ehret] = muk-(ēḏ)- “to plunder” [EEN 1989, 38] = mukkān-ad- “to take by force” [Tosco 1991, 143] ||| CCh.: Masa mēk “saisir en pinçant (avec la pointe des doigts)” [Ctc. 1983, 110].

• **719. AA *m-[k]** “brave” > Eg. mk (not m^ck3) “tapfer, kühn (vom Herzen)” (Lit. MK, Wb II 50, 6) = “brave” (FD 105) = “standhaft, tapfer” (Wst. 1989, 88) = “(m^ck3-jb) tapfer, kühn, draufgängerisch (wie Löwen)” (GHWb 329) ||| SBrb.: Ayr ə-muḵ, pl. i-muḵ-ān (m) “homme de coeur, valeur” [PAM 2003, 533] ||| SCu.: WRift *magi “braveness” [KM]: Iraqw migi “braveness, courage, daring” [MQK 2002, 73], Burunge magūmā “diligence” [KM] (WRift: KM 2004, 198)³¹ ||| ECh.: Migama mákká (adj.) “1. brave, 2. fort (pour les boissons alcoolisées, le tabac, le piment etc.)”, mákkúwé “courage, intrépidité” [JA 1992, 105]. The Eg.-AA match has already been pointed out by T a k á c s (2006, 677-8, #387) who assumed a GW for Eg. mk.

• **720. AA *m-k-ḥ** “to neglect” > Akk. (O/YBab.) mekû ~ makû “vernachlässigen, nachlässig sein”, (OBab.) mēkûm “inaktiver Mann”, (OBab.) temkûm “Vernachlässigung”, (Y/LBab.) mikîtu “Versäumnis (?)” [AHW 643, 651, 1346] = mekû ~ makû “to be negligent, neglect

²⁹ The Cpt. verb is supposed to have been preserved also by Eg. Ar. makmak “to hesitate, be reluctant” (Ishaq 1991, 117, §xxii.40).

³⁰ Ch. Ehret (l.c.) traced back Ma’a -máka to SCu. *mā/ak- “to be happy”, which earlier I was also disposed to accept (item #560 of my *Lexica Afroasiatica VI*, forthcoming Comptes-Rendus du GLECS). It would be in principle phonologically possible, but is semantically unconvincing. Moreover, Hausa (where the distinction of AA *k vs. *ḵ has been retained) -k- speaks for Ma’a -k- < SCu. *k- in this case.

³¹ Note that R. Kießling and M. Mous (l.c.) equated the WRift word with LECu.: Somali miziga “braveness”, which is both semantically (basic mng. “right side”, cf. Lmb. 1986, 261) and phonologically (Somali -z- ≠ WRift -Ø-) unacceptable.

a task, disregard sg.” [CAD m2, 8] III Eg. mkh3 [actually GW for mkhʔ]³² “vernachlässigen, sich nicht kümmern um” (XVIII., Wb II 163, 7-12)³³ = “to disregard” (Grd. 1910, 94, n. i) = “être négligent” (Posener 1950, 297) = “to ignore, eschew (evil), be neglectful of (hr)” (FD 119) = “se détourner, négliger” (AL 77.1911: cf. Zivie 1976, 85, n. hhh ad l. 21) = “verabscheuen, sich enthalten, vermeiden” (Fischer-Elfert 1986, 30, 38) = “1. vernachlässigen, sich nicht kümmern um, sich abwenden von (hr, n, r), meiden, 2. verabscheuen” (GHWb 372; ÄWb I 573: 1x in 1st IMP, ÄWb II 1152: 1x XII./XIII.) > mqh “beseitigen” (late NK: Pap. Sallier I rt. 8:10, Wb II 159, 9) = “to neglect, forsake” (Camino 1954 LEM, 325).

• **721. AA *m-k-n** “to take” > Sem.: Ar. mkn IV “(proprement) mettre en possession de” [Dozy II 607] III Eg. mtn “prendre, saisir” (CT III 188a, AL 78.1921) = “*nehmen” (GHWb 377). Extension of AA *m-k (above)?

• **722. AA *m-k-n** “to assign” > Eg. mtn “(Plätze) anweisen (PT 2040b, Wb II 175, 15; GHWb 377; ÄWb I 574; ÄWb II 1159) = “bestimmen” (Sethe 1928, 63 pace Erman: PT 2040b) = “to assign (places)” (AEPT 292 & AECT I 172, spell 215, n. 13: PT 2040b; AECT III 80, spell 940, n. 3: CT VII 1521) = “anweisen, geben” (PT 2040b, Barta, LÄ IV 388-9, n. 1) = “to usher (indicate direction)” (Allen 1984, 557) = “to be assigned (a place)” (DCT 190: CT III 188a, VII 1521) III Sem.: Ar. mkn II & IV “établir qqn. comme (chef), donner (à qqn. le pouvoir sur qqch.)” [BK II 1139] = IV “arranger, ordonner” [Dozy II 607] = “in die Hand geben” [Wehr apud Behnstedt], Yemeni Ar. mkn: yemakkan (impf.) “übergeben, übermitteln” [Behnstedt 1993, 197] = mkn II (ʿalā) “to give, hand over” [Pimenta 1990, 470].

• **723. AA *m-k-r** “to tempt, challenge, threaten” > ES *m^wkr “to try, test” [Lsl.] = *mVkkVr “versuchen, probieren” [Lmb.]: Geez mkr II: makkara “to tempt, try, (put to the) test, examine, choose by testing”, Tna. mäkkärä & Amh. mōkkärä & Arg. mōkkärä “to attempt, try, test” (ES: Lsl. 1987, 340-1; passed into Cu.-Om., cf. Lmb. 1993, 351) III Eg. mṭ3 [reg. < *mkr] “herausfordern” (Lit. MK, Wb II 175, 8; ÄWb II 1158; GHWb 376) = “to flout, vex” (Faulkner 1955, 82, n. e; FD 121) = “to flout (?), insult (?)” (Hayes 1955, 72, 82) = “insulter ou défier ou provoquer” (Žaba 1956, 114; AL 78.1917 pace Fecht) = “herausfordern(d sein)” (Fecht 1978, 29 & fn. 40 with further exx.; 1981, 149, n. c) III SBrb.: EWlmd. ta-mākərṛa, pl. šī-mākərṛa-wen “défi” [PAM 1998, 215; 2003, 535] III LECu.: Afar (late loan < Sem.?) makare ~ makre “to be hypocritical”, makreyna “crafty person” [PH 1985, 161-2] III CCh.: Vulum mīkīrī “menacer” [Trn. 1978, 304].

• **724. AA *m-k-r** “to hand over” > Sem. *mkr “to trade” [Frz. 1960, 139] = “to sell, buy, trade” [Zbr. 1991, 1677] = *mkr “1. to sell, hand over, 2. betray, deceive” [Kvl.-Mlt. 1993; 1994] = *mkr “to sell” [GT], cf. Akk. (LBab.) makāru “im Handel einsetzen” [AHW 588] = “to do business, use (silver, etc.) in business transactions” [CAD m1, 126] II Ug. mkr G “to trade, sell” [Hnrg. 1987, 146-7: not < Akk.] = mkr N “to be sold”

³² This Eg. verb has been usually conceived as a denominal verb of Eg. mkh3 “back of the head” (Grd.) with a supposed literal meaning “den Hinterkopf zuwenden” (Wb) = “to turn the back upon/to” (Grd., FD, DLE). See Grd. 1910, 94, n. i; Wb l.c.; Camino 1954 LEM, 325; Grd. 1955, 2; FD l.c.; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 38.

³³ A.H. Gardiner (1955, 2) found the rendering “vernachlässigen” (Wb) as “surely not strong enough”.

[DUL 543-4], Phn. mkr “to sell” [Harris 1936, 117], Punic mkr “to sell” [DNWSI 625], O/PBHbr. mkr qal “verkaufen” [GB 422] = mkr qal “1. to sell, 2. betray to others” [KB 581-2], Syr. mkr “emittere (sponsam), despondere, desponsus esse” [Brk.] | OSA: Sab. mkr (coll.) “traders” [SD 85] = mkr “merchant, tradesman” [Biella 1984, 274], Ar. mkr II “accaparer des grains pour les vendre au plus haut prix” [BK II 1138] = II “wucherisch Korn aufkaufen” [AHW] (Sem.: WUS #1567; Zaboriski 1971, 73, #122; 1991, 1677; Kvl.-Mlt. 1993, 28, #1; 1994 MS, 3, #3.1) || Eg. mt3 [reg. < *mkr] “to give, dedicate” (late NK hapax: Nauri Decree of Seti I, l. 78, KRI I 56:1, DLE I 255 after W.F. Edgerton, JNES 6, 1947, 224-5, section IL.B.3.b & fn. 47 against Griffith’s rendering as “forfeiting”) = “geben, widmen” (GHWb 376), cf. hence: mt3.t “vom ererbten Landbesitz” (XVIII. hapax: Urk. IV 132:8, Wb II 175, 6) = “land-heritage” (FD 121) = “Widmung” (GHWb 376).

• **725. AA *m-k-l** “to take, hold” > Sem.: Ar. makila X “prendre (une) femme pour épouse” [BK II 1138] || WCh.: Gwandara makāle “to hold” [Mts. 1972, 78].

• **726. AA *m-k-l** “to arrange (?)” > LECu.: Afar makēlo (f) “outline, precis” [PH 1985, 161] || ECh.: Lele mǎglé “arrangement”, mǎglí “arranger, préparer” [WP 1982, 60].

• **727. AA *m-k(w/y)** (orig. nomen instr.?) “1. wood, stick, 2. (tent) pole” > Sem.: (?) Akk. (YBab.) makkû ~ mequ “eine Stange (?)” [AHW 589], cf. also (Bab.) makûtu, var. makkûtu “2. Brunnenstange, 3. Pfeiler, 4. Stake (?), 5. ein Knochen” [AHW 591] || SBrb.: (???) EWlmd. tǎ-mākāi-t [unless < *-ma-nkay-] “poteau de tente” [Ncl. 1957, 62] || Bed. moḵʷa (f) “die gekrümmte Zeltstange” [Munzinger apud Rn. 1895, 167] = mokwa “curved tent pole” [Rpr. 1928] || LECu.: Oromo muka “tree, woody plant” [Gragg 1982, 458; Bnd. 1975, 193; 1994, 1157, #89]³⁴ || NOm.: Yemsa mukà “Stock” [Lmb. 1993, 364] || CCh.: Buduma makaii “club” [Talbot 1911, 252] = makkay “bâton” [Gaudiche 1938, 22] = makây, mákei “Stock; Stamm des Penis” [Lks. 1939, 118]. Cf. also HSED #1715 (Akk.-Buduma).

• **728. AA *m-k** “to sprout” > Brb. *m-γ-y “to sprout” [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh myi “croître, pousser” [Jst. 1914, 144] = “germer, pousser” [Jordan 1934, 92] = “to sprout, plant” [Aplg. 1958, 21], Tazerwalt myi “sprossen, wachsen” [Stumme 1899, 208], Sus myi “germer” [Lst. 1921, 295] | Demnat e-myī “germer, pousser” [Rns.], Tamazight myey “germer, lever, croître, pousser” [Tf. 1991, 409], Izdeg mmyi “croître, germer, pousser” [Mrc. 1937, 69], Zayan & Sgugu myi “croître (végétal)” [Lbg. 1924, 568] | Seghrushen ə-myī “germer, pousser” [Pellat 1955, 108], Senhazha e-myī “germer, pousser” [Rns.], Iznasen & Rif e-γmi (met.) “germer, pousser (plante)” [Rns. 1932, 388], Shenwa e-myī “être poussé, germé” [Lst. 1912, 147] | Qabyle e-myī “1. germer, lever, 2. croître, pousser, 3. apparaître, surgir” [Dlt. 1982, 509], Zwawa e-myī “pousser, germer” [Blf. 1910, 213] | Nefusa γmi (met.) “pousser, germer” [Lst. 1931, 308] || LECu.: Somali mūq- “apparire, farsi vedere” [Crl.] | HECu.: Sidamo muq-ir/d- “spuntare, germogliare” [Crl. 1938 II

³⁴ Ch. Ehret (1980, 343, #16) reconstructed SCu.: PRift *muk- “stem, stalk” [Ehret] on the basis of Burunge muka “chaff” | Asa mogengera “root”, which seems unconvincing. In addition, Ehret (1980, 324; 1987, #101) equated the PRift stem with the Oromo and Bed. parallels quoted above.

215] = muqâqa “to sprout, bud (not applicable to seeds that are sown, but to grass, that springs up spontaneously)” [Gsp. 1983, 241] = muḵâḵ- “to sprout” [Hds. 1989, 387].

• **729. AA *m-k** “to moisten” > Sem. *mḵḵ “to melt” [GT]³⁵: Hbr. mqq nifal “1. zerfließen, eiteln (von Wunden), 2. sich auflösen, hinschwinden” [GB 457] = nifal “to rot, fester (wounds), decay (eyes and tongue), 2. (metaph.) melt, dissolve (hills, people)” [KB 628-9] = “liquere” [Lauth] = “to putrefy” [Caminos, Hoch], JAram. ʔitmaqmeq “to melt away” [Jastrow 1950, 832] | Ar. maqaqa V “boire petit à petit, buvotter du vin” [BK II 1134] || Geez maqaqa “to melt (intr.), dissolve, be spoiled” [Lsl.], Tigre mäqqa “to melt” [Lsl.], Tna. mākākā (irreg. -k-) “to melt” [Lsl.], Amh. mā/aqqāqā “to become rotten, spoiled” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 355) || NBrb.: Tamazight mmeḡ “se mouiller, être mouillé, trempé, humecté, imbibé” [Tf. 1991, 407], Zayan & Sgugu e-mmeḡ “feucht, naß, durchnäßt sein” [Lbg./Snd.], Ait Ndir mməḡ “moist, damp” [Pnc. 1973, 106], Izdeg mmeḡ “être humide” [Mercier 1937, 139] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-mməḡ “1. plonger, 2. nettoyer une séguia souterraine” [Lanfry 1973, 214, #1017] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-mməḡ “être trempé, imprégné” [PAM 1998, 212; 2003, 528] || WCh.: Bole mokut- “naß machen” [Lks. 1971, 137], Ngamo möktù “to be wet” [Alio 1988 MS] || ECh.: Mahwa mòdògò-ḡ (-ḡ ending of verbal nouns) “einweichen” [Jng. 1978, 38].

• **730. AA *m-k** “all” > NOm.: PMao *muḵ (?) [GT]: EMao mukēs ~ meḵeD- ~ meket- “all” [Flm. 1988] = (Diddesa) muk “all” [Flm. 1990, 27], Sezo I mùkkè “all” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 10], Hozo mūkar-a “all” [Flm.] (Mao: Flm. 1988, 39) || ECh.: Mubi ʔammák (adj.) “tout” [Jng. 1990 MS, 2].

• **731. AA *m-k** “to shine” > SBrb.: EWlmd. ta-mēqq-it “étincelle” [Ncl. 1957, 570] || WCh.: Nbauchi *muk^w-/*muḵ^w- “sun” [Stl.] = *m-k [JS 1981, 256C]: Miya múkù, Mburku múkù, Jimbin mùkwá (NBCh.: Skn. 1977, 42; Stl. 1987, 259; JI 1994 II, 312).

• **732. AA *m-K** (vars. *m-g ~ *m-k) “to sink” > Sem.: Can. *mkk > Ug. mkk G “to fall, flag”, mk “depressed and disgusting place” [DUL 542-3, cf. Dahood 1976, 351] = mk(k) “to sink” [KB contra WUS #1561], Hbr. mkk qal “zusammensinken, niedergedrückt” [GB 421], Samar. Aram. mkk qal “to be low, descend”, mkk “lowliness, humbleness” [Tal 2000, 456], Mandaean mkk “to lie down, go/make flat or level, spread out, become lowly, humble” [DM 1963, 271] vs. Can. *mwk in Hbr. mwk qal “herunterkommen, verarmen” [GB 404] = “to become impoverished” [KB 555], PBHbr. & JAram. mwk “sinken, niedrig sein” [GB; Levy 1924 III 45] = mwk “sinken, niederlegen”, nāmōk “niedrig” [Dalman 1922, 227, 235] = mwk “to be down, be depressed, grow poor” [Zbr.] = nifal “to be low”, hifil “to cause to sink, reduce” [KB 555] vs. JAram. by-form mʔk peal “sinken, niedrig werden” [Dalman 1922, 221] (Sem.: WUS #1561; Zbr. 1971, 75, #140; Frj. 1979, 2) || probably Eg. md [reg. < *mg] “1. (Med. and later) tief

³⁵ As it is well known (cf. Lauth 1871, 635, §136; Caminos 1954 LEM, 76; Helck 1962, 562, #126; 1971, 515, #126), the Sem. root was borrowed into Eg. mqq (GW) “Art Ackerland” (XVIII-XXII, Wb II 159, 12) = “berieselte Felder oder Wiesengründe” (Lauth 1871, 635, §136) = “terre fertile” (Pierret apud Ceugney 1880, 9) = “clods of earth (??)” (Grd. 1911, 39* & fn. 15) = “moist, damp, muddy soil (of the river-bank along which the apprentice tows)” (Caminos 1954 LEM, 76, 135) = “feuchter Boden” (Helck) = “damp-soil” (DLE I 247; WD III 57) = “soft, moist soil” (Hoch 1994, 168) = “feuchter Boden (auch am Ufer)” (GHWb 370).

(sein), 2. (LEth.) versunken sein in (m) (in bildlichem Gebrauch)” (Wb II 184, 4-6) > Cpt. (O) **мoут, мте-** “einsinken” (Pap. BM 10808, O s i n g 1976, 52, 250-1; KHW 521) ||l HECu. *mugg- “to descend” [GT]: Kambatta mugg- “to descend, go down” [Yri apud Hds. 1989, 49, 333: isolated in HECu.], Alaba migg-*ie*? [Lsl.], Qabenna muggi-*yo*? [Lsl.] (borrowed into Eth.-Sem.: Gurage dials. mug ~ mugg *balä “to be bent, bend down, be inclined, bow down” [Lsl. 1979 III, 393]).

• **733. AA *m-K** (vars. *m-g ~ *m-k) “1. to mix, 2. change” (orig. * “to make a circular motion”?) > Sem.: Ar. myġ: māġa “être mêlé, mélangé”, cf. also maġmaġ-at- “mélange, confusion” [BK II 1065, 1170] ||l LECu.: Oromo maka “to mix, add, dilute” [G r a g g 1982, 274] = makū “1. to add, mix, blend, 2. involve”, maktō “fusion”, makā “1. mixture, 2. compound, 3. combination” [Btm. 2000, 186-187] | HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) mak- “to mix” [Hds. 1989, 100: isolated in HECu.] || CCh.: (???) Buduma mugu “masser” [Gaudiche 1938, 29] = moge ~ gome “durchkneten” [Lks. 1939, 119] || ECh.: WDangla mākè & EDangla mǎgē “(é)changer” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 192] = “umtauschen” [Ebs. 1979, 125; 1987, 97] | Birgit mǎgí “changer”, mǎgǎyí “échanger” [Jng. 2004, 356].

• **734. AA *m-K** “to sleep” > Sem.: (?) Akk. muqu “feeble”, muqu “to be slowly, delay” [CAD m2, 214] ||l Eg. mqmq “ruhen, schlafen” (GR, Wb II 159, 1) = “dormir” (AL 77.1902) = “ruhen, schlafen (definiert wohl den) Ruhezustand vor dem Schlaf)” (S c h l i c h t i n g, LÄ V 642) = “to sleep” (PL 470) ||l LECu.: Oromo muga “to sleep a little, slumber” [G r a g g 1982, 293] = “to be sleepy, nap” [Hds.], Konso -mug- “to sleep” [Bnd. 1971, 247, #73] | HECu. (from Oromo?): Burji mug- “to be sleepy, nap” [Hds.], Sidamo muga “to doze”, mugânčo “sleepy, drowsy” [Gsp. 1983, 240] (ECu.: Hds. 1989, 136) ||l CCh.: Fali mekō-te (ending -te) “schlafen” [Lks. 1937, 111]. Note that V. O r e l and O. S t o l b o v a (1992, 201) equated Eg. mqmq with their hypothetical (and false) WCh. *myak/k- (so!) “to sleep” (no reflexes mentioned), which was apparently based solely on WCh.: Boghom miyo “to sleep” [Gowers] = myo:q^h [IL/JI 1994 II, 298] = pí myok “to sleep” [Smz. 1975, 32; 1978, 37, #71]³⁶.

• **735. AA *m-g-r** “to encounter” > Akk. maḥāru “gegenübertreten, angehen, empfangen”: G “1. entgegentreten, 2. sich wenden an, jmd. angehen, 3. empfangen, annehmen, 4. auf sich nehmen” [AHW 577], Hbr. māḥār “morgender Tag” [GB 416] | OSA: Sabaeen mḥr “to face, run, extend towards (boundary)” [SD 84] = “to stand facing sg.” [Lsl. 1969, 19] ||l NBrb.: Shilh √m-k-r ~ √m-g-r: makar ~ magr “to meet” [Aplg. 1958, 61] = mnaggar “se rencontrer” [Jst. 1914, 144] | Qabyle √m-g-r: mmag^{er} “1. rencontrer, 2. se recontrer avec, 3. aller à la rencontre de” [Dlt. 1982, 490] = mmager “rencontrer, aller à la rencontre de” [C h a k e r 1987, 163], Zwawa mager “rencontrer” [Blf. 1910, 219] || SBrb.: Ahaggar meg^{ur}-et “recevoir l’hospitalité (de la nourriture)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1171].

³⁶ The origin of the Boghom form may be quite different, cf. also Sbauchi: Kir te: markàyi, Boghom mfyùk, Jum múyùk, Kiri mirikāy “to sleep” (Sbauchi: Csp. 1994, 66). If the Sbauchi root was *m-r-k, cf. perhaps SCu. *makāla ~ *malāka “dream” [Ehret]: Ma’a maḥala “Traum” [Mnh. 1906, 313] | Dahalo milāk-it- “to dream”, milāk-āni “dream” [EEN 1989, 38] = milāk-it- “to dream” [Tosco 1991, 143] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 154, #9).

- **736. AA *m-q** “1. to reject, 2. eliminate, 2. extinguish” > Sem. *mḥy “to eliminate” [GT]: Can. *mḥ/hy “eliminate by force (?)” [GT]³⁷ | Ar. mḥy: II maḥḥā “emmener qqn. pour qu’il soit loin de qqch.”, V “2. se contenir et s’abstenir de qqch.” [BK II 1075] = “abstinuit” [Levy] || Eg. mḥ (or mḥj?) “bändigen, einstellen (schädliche Tätigkeit)” (Med., WMT I 388; HAM 578) = “juguler” (AL 78.1832) = “im Keime ersticken” (GHWb 357) = “eindämmen” (Hafemann, p.c. on 19 May 2000)³⁸ || SBrb.: Tudalt & Tadghaq māḥ-āt “to be extinguished” [Sudlow 2001, 180]³⁹ || HECu.: Sidamo makk-i-r- “to refuse” [Gsp./Hds. 1989, 122, 384], Hadiya makk-at- “to defend” [Hds. 1989, 293].
- **737. AA *m-ḳ** “waste, empty” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. maḥḥ “freilassen, befreien” [Behnstedt 1993, 193] || HECu.: Sidamo muquq-ânčo “empty, vacant” [Gsp. 1983, 241] || NOM.: Kafa māḳw “ausgehen, -fallen (Haare, Zähne), glatt, kahl werden” [Rn. 1888, 317] = makok-at “cogliere” [Cecci apud Rn.].
- **738. AA *m-ḳ-m-ḳ** “a plant specimen” > Eg. mḥmḥ.wt (pl.) “Art Blumen” (late NK hapax: Pap. Harris 500, 7:3, Wb II 131, 15) = “pourpiers, Portulaca oleracea L.” (Loret 1892 vs. 1975, 140 & §124; Mathieu 1996, 78, n. 245) = “Blumenneme: Portulak” (Guglielmi 1984, 497) = “Art Blumen, Gemüse: *Portulak, Sauburzel, Portulaca oleracea L.” (Germer 1985, 29 with doubts; GHWb 358) = “purslane, Portulaca oleracea L.” (Manniche 1999, 137) || NAgaw: Bilin māqmāḳ-ō “Rumex abessinicus (die Wurzel zum Gelbfärben der Butter verwendet)” [Rn. 1887, 268] || LECu.: Saho māqmāḳ-ō “eine Pflanzensorte, Rumex abessinicus” [Rn. 1890, 265] | Somali maqmāḳ-o “Rumex abessinicus H. oder Chenopodium murale L., als purgativ verwendet” [Rn. 1902, 292] || NOM.: Kafa maqmāḳ-ō “eine Pflanzensorte, und zwar Rumex abessinicus” [Rn. 1888, 317].
- **739. AA *m-ḳ-r** “1. to bind, 2. twist” > Eg. mḥ3 [reg. < *mḥr] “fesseln, (gefangene Vögel) binden” (Lit. MK: Adm. 13:11, Wb II 130, 1-2; GHWb 357) = “to bind” (Grd. 1909, 115) = “to hold, bind together” (JEA 29, 1943, 14, n. c) = “to fetter, chain” (Caminos 1954 LEM, 206) = “to make fast, bind” (FD 115) = “verbinden” (Gdk. 1966, 20, fn. 4) > (?) Dem. mḥj “enwickeln” (Dem. Pap. Leiden I 384, 5:35, Spg.) = “s’entortiller” (Cenival 1984, 230) = “enrouler” (Cenival 1988, 85) || HECu.: Sidamo meqêrra “to plait, twist (thread)”, meqêrra “what is twisted, twined, plaited together, as thread” [Gsp. 1983, 229] = meḳêrr- “to plait (thread, rope)” [Hds. 1989, 385: isolated in HECu.], Gedeo (Darasa) mirḳ- [met. < *mīḳr-] “to bundle”, mirḳ-es-anžo “bundle” [Hds. 1989, 33] || SCu.: Dahalo muḳḳur- “to tie” [Eld. 1973 MS, 6, #375; EEN 1989, 39] = “to

³⁷ Cf. OHbr. mḥy qal “to annihilate (names)” [KB 567], BAram. mḥ? pael “hindern, wehren” [GB 913], MHbr. & JAram. mḥy “2. verbieten, wehren” [Levy 1924 III, 72-73] = i.a. “2. to wear out, destroy”, piel i.a. “2. to forewarn, interfere, try to prevent” [Jastrow 1950, 759] represents the same Sem. bicons. root is highly doubtful (a secondary contamination with Can. *mḥy “to wipe off” is plausible).

³⁸ Earlier rendered as “Verbum von einer Krankheit: sich ausbreiten o.ä.” (Wb II 129, 13: hapax) = “s’étendre” (Lefébvre 1956, 24).

³⁹ To be distinguished from SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr māḳ-āt “être réduit à l’état de braises ardentes, 2. se consumer, s’êteindre par manque de bois (feu)” < EWlmd. a-ḳu “être allumé” [PAM 2003, 351-2], Ahaggar mek-et “1. être réduit, se réduire à l’état de braises ardentes sans flamme, 2. (par ext.) être achevé, tué, recevoir le coup de grâce, s’achever” < u-ku “être allumé (avec ou sans flamme)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 720-1].

bind” [Ehret 1980, 159; Tosco 1991, 143]⁴⁰ ||l NOm.: Haruro mirq- [met. < *miqr-] “torcere” [CR 1937, 655] ||l CCh.: Tera mekári “to twist” [Nwm. 1964, 48, #479] | perhaps Mafa mæk^wer “cordelette en lamelles de tiges de mil tressées, passée autour de la main d’un tireur à l’arc et tenue par un noeud coulant” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 224].

• **740. AA *m-Q** “(to throw a) spear” > SBrb.: Ahaggar meggé, pl. meggî-t-en “javelot à tige de fer d’une espèce particulière” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1169] || Guanche Brb.: Canarian moca(s) “varas tostadas” [Wlf. 1955, 122, §11] ||l SCu.: Qwadza muko-tiyeto, pl. mukokuko “spear” [Ehret] ||l WCh.: Dera múkè “to throw” [Nwm. 1974, 130] = múkè “to throw (stone)” [Kidda 1991 MS, 8] ||l CCh.: Higi-Kamale mùyà “spear” [Krf. 1981, #230] ||l ECh.: Modgel mugtó “Speer” [Lks. 1937, 97]? Note that SBrb.: Ayr te-mæk-it, pl. ti-mæk-it-en (f) “1. épée de Bornou (très tranchante, de qualité supérieure), 2. p.ext. couteau très tranchant” literally signifies “femme des Imakitān” [PAM 2003, 533] cannot belong here.

• **741. AA *m-Q** “to respect, adore” > Eg. mḥ “jemanden ehren” (MK, Wb II 129, 12; GHWb 357) = “to respect (so.)” (FD 115) > Dem. mjh “Ehre”, mḥj “ehren” (DG 153, 176), cf. Eg. mḥ “the honoured one (?)” (CT VII 482, AECT III 174, spell 1137, n. 3) ||l Sem. bicons. *mḥ- “to be respectful (?)” [GT]: (?) MHbr. mhy [-ḥ- reg. < *-ḥ-] hifil “3. to recognize as an authority, (in gen.) authorize, appoint” [Jastrow 1950, 759]⁴¹ ||l Geez ʾamməḥa “salutavit”, ʾamməḥā “osculum, salutatio, munus, donum, munera (venerationis causa oblata)” [Vcl.] = ʾamməḥa ~ ʾamməḥa “to kiss, embrace, greet, salute, worship, revere, pay respect to, offer a gift out of respect”, ʾamməḥā “kiss, salute/-ation, greetings, gift offered out of respect, present”, ʾəmməḥe “greeting, salutation” [Lsl. 1987, 23: isolated in Sem.]⁴² ||l WBrb.: Zenaga emg-ek (1st sg. aor.) “louer, célébrer” [Bst. 1909, 244] ||l NAgaw: Hamir mīkek “verherrlichen, preisen, Ehrenbezeugungen erweisen (einem Mächtigen, Grossen)”, mikk-eš “mächtig sein” < * “geehrt werden” [Rn. 1884, 392].

• **742. AA *m-Q-I** “long thin stick” > Eg. mḥn [reg. < *mḥl] “Art Stock oder Szepter” (PT, Wb II 133, 11; GHWb 359; ÄWb I 555) = “un bâton de voyage du type ordinaire” (Jéquier 1921, 342) = “sorte de canne” (Jéquier 1921, 167 & fn. 5) = “un bâton”

⁴⁰ Ch. Ehret (1980, 159) derived the Dahalo word from his SCu. *muḥur-/ *muruk- “to gain mastery, overcome, overpower” (sic) based on the semantically false equation with Ma’a -mūru “to be able, have power to”.

⁴¹ M. Jastrow treated it as a denom. verb from mūmḥe(h) “tried, skilled, expert, practical”. Any connection to Ar. myḥ: māḥa “avoir une démarche fière, se donner des airs en marchant” [BK II 1171]?

⁴² The etymology of the Geez root has been strongly debated. E.g., F. Praetorius (1890, 30) explained Geez ʾamməḥa < *ʾamʾəḥa as a denom. verb stemming from māʾəḥa “brotherhood, friendship” literally denoting “to treat so. as a brother”. C. Conti Rossini (1905, 205) and C. Brockelmann (1950, 15), in turn, assumed a borrowing from the NAgaw verb “to kiss”, cf. Qemant yəmay [Rn., Apl.], Qwara imay [Rn.] = yəmay- [Apl.], Hamir (i)emqʷ [Rn.] = əmqʷ- [Apl.], Hamta amuḥ [CR, Apl.], Damot amaq [Rn.]. Both suggestions were (rightly) rejected by W. Leslau (l.c.). D. Appleyard (2006, 89) suggested just the opposite direction of borrowing (NAgaw < ES/Geez). Besides, L. Reinisch (1895, 24) combined the Agaw root for “to kiss” with Ar. wmq “lieben” as well as Eg. jm3ḥj “verehren, lieben” (sic) (Rn.) = “(tr.) jem. ehren” (XXII., Wb II 81, 15) < (intr.) “würdig, geehrt sein” (MK, Wb I 13-15) < jm3ḥ “1. Würde, Würdigkeit; 2. Ehrung” (OK, Wb II 81, 16-17). W. Vycichl (1958, 404) too combined Geez ʾmḥ with Eg. jm3ḥ. This comparison is hardly correct due to the semantic and phonological (Eg. -3- vs. Geez -Ø-) difficulties. In addition, L. Reinisch (1895, 97) equated the Geez root with NAgaw: Qwara *magʷa > magā-š (caus.) “singen” [Rn.] = mago-šow “to sing” [Flad].

(AL 77.1850) || NBrb.: Mzab ta-mčul-t, pl. ti-mčal [č reg. < *k] “cylindre de roseau, de métal, etc., étui cylindriques, d’où: flûte, tube, motif de dessin de tissage, de ceinture de femme” [Dlh. 1984, 115] || LECu.: Oromo mukulkula “piece of wood, whose edge is on fire (like torch), brand” [G r a g g 1982, 293] || SCu.: (?) Iraqw magwál ~ mugúl [irreg. -g-] “1. stick with hook on one side and two ends on the other (used for pulling and pushing thorny branches for a hedge or the like), 2. collar bone” [MQK 2002, 69, 74].

• **743. AA *m-^o** “1. to hit, 2. cut” > Sem.: Ar. ma^oma^oa “3. lutter, être aux prises les uns avec les autres”, ma^oma^o-at- “cris, tumulte des guerriers ou des hommes engagés dans une rixe” [BK II 1130] || Eg. m^o “to slay, kill” (GR hapax: Edfu III 4:2, PL 413)⁴³, reduplicated: m^om^o “to kill” (GR, PL 415: 5 exx.) = “töten” (B u d d e & K u r t h 1994, 12, §47) || LECu.: Saho ma^o “spalten, zerteilen, offen, öffnen” [Rn. 1890, 254]⁴⁴ || SCu. *mV^o- “to beat” [GT]: WRift *mu^o- “to beat” [KM 2004, 209] | Ma’a ma “to beat, hit” [TB 1974, 205] || CCh.: PBata *√m “couper (avec un couteau, une faucille)” [Brt.-Jng.]: Bachama má “couper (avec un couteau)” [Skn. apud Brt.-Jng. 1990, 92, 143] = máá “to cut (with knife)” [P w e d d o n 2000, 52], Gude ma “couper de l’herbe, faucher” [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 143].

• **744. AA *m-^o-(y)** “ring” > Eg. m^oj.t “Öse (für Vorhänge)” (GR, Wb II 46, 8) = “boucle d’attache” (A l l i o t 1949 I, 327-9) = “anneau (de rideau)” (GR, AL 78.1670) = “1. loop (on curtain, on the small shrine), 2. (Edfu VI 125:1) perhaps some kind of loop on the harpoon through which the rope passed” (PL 413-4), also in the Tebtunis onomasticon: m^oj “Öse” (2nd cent AD, O s i n g 1998, 227 & n. d) || WCh.: Goemai mai “a ring of iron put around the shaft of a spear (is also put around walking sticks and clubs)” [Srl. 1937, 134].

• **745. AA *m-^o-(y)** “grain, particle” > Sem.: OHbr. *mā^oā “Körnchen (des Sandes), Steinchen” [GB 443] = “grain (of sand)” [KB 609], MHbr. mā^oā (f) “Grundbed.: etwas Rundes: 1. Kern, 2. kleine Münze, Korn, Maah” [L e v y 1924 III 183-4] = “1. Körnchen, 2. eine bestimmte Münze” [D a l m a n 1922, 245] = “(orig. grain of sand) 1. a weight, 2. a (small) coin” [J a s t r o w 1950, 813] || HECu.: Burji máyy-i “bead” [Ss. 1982, 142; Hds. 1989, 24: isolated in HECu.] || NOm.: Kaffa máy-ō “Saat, Samen” [Rn. 1888, 321]⁴⁵ || WCh.: Diri mýá “seed” [JI 1994 II 286] || CCh.: Buduma miaw “corn” [B a r t h 1851, 214]. Do this and the preceding AA roots derive from a common AA *m-^o “round object”?

• **746. AA *m-^o-d ~ *m-^h-d** “internal organs, viscera” > Ar. mi^od-at- ~ ma^od-at- “estomac”, cf. ma^oad- “1. côté, flanc, 2. ventre, 3. chair sous les omoplates, 4. veine dans la partie du corps appelée minsag- chez le cheval” [BK II 1126] = mi^od-at- ~ ma^od-at- “1. estomac, 2. caillette, quatrième estomac des animaux ruminants, 3. gros

⁴³ Written m3^o. P. Wilson (PL): “most likely a corruption of sm3 slay”, declined by D. M e e k s (1999, 581) who, in view of its reduplication, rightly assumed an original stem *m^o.

⁴⁴ Note that Saho ma^o was combined already by L. R e i n i s c h (1890, 254) with a certain LEg. m3^o (knife det., meaning not mentioned).

⁴⁵ Note that Kaffa máy-ō “1. Korn, Getreide, 2. Nahrung, Speise” [Rn.] = māy-ō “cibo” [Crl. 1951, 476] was supposed by E. C e r u l l i (l.c.) to derive from mā “to eat”.

boudin fait avec des oeufs” [Dozy II 602] ||| LECu.: Afar maḥd-a (f), pl. maḥdōdi “entrails, internal organs, innards, viscera” [PH 1985, 161] ||| SOm.: Dime moydu “brain” [Bnd. 1994, 146].

• **747. AA *m-^o-k** “to grill” > Eg. m^oq “Art Spieß oder ähnliches Gerät zum Braten” (XVIII., Wb II 50, 1) = “Grillspieß (bei dem Aufstellen des Feuerbeckens)” (Junker 1941, 117) = “Bratspieß” (OK, Pusch 1974, 20; so also Junge, LÄ III 833, n. 32) = “Bratspieß, Braten” (Guglielmi, LÄ VI 1290) = “Grillspieß” (Verhoeven 1984, 28; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 76)⁴⁶ ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. ə-myəḡ “griller (des grains de céréales) dans leur épi encore vert, 2. être grillé”, hence ă-mayoy, pl. i-măyoy-ăn “grains grillés encore verts (de céréales)” [PAM 1998, 230; 2003, 569], Tadghaq & Tudalt a-măyay “grilled grains (eaten only when the first millet heads are harvested)” [Sudlow 2001, 286]. Note that Brb. *y < *^o is reg. (cf. Vcl. 1992).

• **748. AA *m-^o-l ~ *m-l-^o** “dewlap on neck (?)” > SBrb.: EWlmd. tă-mala, pl. ši-mal-iw-en & Ayr. tă-nala “appendice charnu mobile (voile du apalis?) qui se trouve dans la bouche du chameau entier et qui se gonfle et sort au moment du rugissement (indice de rut ou colère)” [PAM 2003, 537] ||| LECu. *ma^oal- [ext. *-^o- of anatomical terms?] “dewlap” [GT]: Oromo mǎla “Kropf, dicker Hals usw.” [Rn.] = malla (sic, -ll-) [Ehret 1974, 89] = (Borana, Orma, Waata dialects.) mǎla (f) “dewlap” [Strm. 1987, 361; 1995, 206], Somali má^oal [Ibrahim] ~ māl [Rn.] “1. Wamme, Wampe, Koderlappen unter dem Kinn des Schafes und Rindes, 2. Kropf, dicker Hals und Struma” [Rn. 1902, 282, 294] = má^oál “dewlap of sheep” [Abr. 1964, 168], Arbore me^oel (f) “dewlap” [Hyw. 1984, 384] ||| Ongota ma^oalte “dewlap” [Flm. 1992, 192] ||| WCh.: Hausa màlǎlólò “1. goitre, wen on throat, 2. fatness on throat of young animals denoting good health, 3. bird’s crop” and even mǎlǎlá “type of satchel” [Abr. 1962, 649, 652] = màlǎlólò “Geschwulst” (sic) [Drexel 1925, 14] || CCh.: (?) Uldeme mǎmǎlo “gorge” [Mch. 1953, 168] = mǎmǎlò “gorge” [Cim. 1997, 199]. Note that and PMasai *-māl- “cow’s dewlap” [Ehr.] was borrowed from ECu. (Ehret 1974, 89).

• **749. AA *m-l-^h** “1. back, 2. bottom” > Sem.: ES (from Orm.): Gurage-Zway mo^oo “buttocks, anus” [Lsl. 1979 III, 386; Bedecha 1994, 2] ||| Eg. mḥ.w “Unterägypten” (OK, Wb II 123-4)⁴⁷ ||| LECu. *moḥ- “back” [GT]: Oromo mo^o-ō “loins, back” [Lsl.] = (Borana) mō “back of cattle, tailbone of cattle” [Lsl. 1995, 210], Baiso mō “back” [HL 1988, 126], Somali moḥog [-g < *-k, suffix of body parts?] “(a part of the) back” [HL] || HECu.: Sidamo mâhê-ssa (m), mâhê-tte (f) “that is in the rear, and comes after the others (cattle)”, mahô^o-ma “1. to follow the others, 2. be behind the others (animals)”, mahô^o-mino manni “the crowd that came behind” [Gsp. 1983, 219] ||| CCh.: Fali-Muchella mú(n) “buttocks” [Krf. 1972 MS] | Mandara mǎḥa “en bas” [Mch.] (CCh.: Mch. 1950,

⁴⁶ D. Meeks (1997, 43, #227) and P. Wilson (PL 417) derived it (via m- prefix of nomina instr.) from Eg. ^oq “to enter, penetrate”, which would imply that the OK noun m^oq was primary “reflecting the use of the spit as sg. which enters/skewers meat portions so that they can be roasted” (PL). Dubious. Note that the writing of m^oq significantly differs from that of ^oq.

⁴⁷ Note that north in Egypt was in fact conceived as “ce qui est derrière”, which “d’après le système d’orientation des anciens Égyptiens est derrière lui, le Sud en face” (Lacau 1970, 11, fn. 1; 1913, 219, § 453).

56). Areal parallel: WSudanic *-mà- “back” [Wolff-Gerhardt 1977, 1536 with false Ch. match].

• **750. AA *m-ḥ** “to bend” > Eg. mḥ “sich verneigen (ob richtig?)” (GR hapax: Edfu I 142, Wb II 121, 3) || SCu.: Iraqw māḥ-āt “to bend down because of wind, walk while bent down, tiptoe” [MQK 2002, 69, not in Wtl. 1958 & Mgw. 1989] | Ma’a -mama [-Ø < *-ḥ reg.] “to fold” [Ehret 1980, 156, #25].

• **751. AA *m-ḥ** “tomb” > Eg. mḥj “Grabkammer o.ä.” (Ramses III, hapax: Pap. Berlin 10496/6, vs. 13, Wb II 127, 2; GHWb 355) = “Grab” (Erman, SPAW 1910, 335) = “1. (unterirdische) Kammer (allgemein), 2. Grabkammer, Magazin, Keller o.ä.” (Graefe-Wassef 1979, 115-7) = “caveau, tombeau” (AL 79.1316 with lit.) < hypothetical old etymon *mḥw (Graefe & Wassef 1979, 117) || NOm.: (???) Koyra muh-e > HECu.: Burji múh-ē “two stones placed on grave of deceased person who leaves children” [Sasse 1982, 148-9] || ECh.: Toram mohe “grave (tomb)” [AJ 1988, 22; Alio 2004, 260, #328] (its Ch. background has to be investigated).

• **752. AA *m-ḥ-ḥ ~ *m-ḥ-ḥ** (met.) “to hit” > Sem. *mḥṣ “to hit” [GT]: Ar. maḥṣa “frapper le sol du pied” [BK II 1067] = “to stamp, trample” [Lsl.] || ES: Geez maḥṣa “ferire, percutere” [Möller 1911, 156] = māḥṣä “to break, cut” [Lsl. 1945] = māḥṣä “to pierce” [Lsl. 1969] = māḥṣä “to hit” [Lsl. 1982] = maḥṣa ~ mḥṣa ~ maḥṣa ~ mḥṣa [variation of -ṣ- ~ -ḍ-] “to smite, cut, pierce through, split, chisel, destroy, injure, insult, blame, criticize” [Lsl. 1987], Tna. māḥṣa “couper, casser” [Lsl. 1956] = māḥṣä “to hit, break” [Lsl. 1982] = māḥṣa “to hit, cut, break” [Lsl. 1987], Tigre (influenced by Ar. mḥḍ, below?) māḥṣa “agiter le lait pour en faire du beurre” [Lsl. 1956] = māḥṣa “to to churn, shake milk” [Lsl. 1987 pace LH 111b] = maḥṣa “to strike” [KB], Argobba māḥṣa “to hit” [Lsl.], Gafat maṣä “to hit” [Lsl. 1945] = “frapper” [Lsl. 1956] (Sem.: GB 415; Lsl. 1945, 164; 1956, 218; 1969, 58; 1982, 51; 1987, 337; Held 1959, 169-176; Müller 1963, 311; KB 571) || Eg. mḥḥ “1. Holz behauen; 2. Schiffe usw. zimmern” (MK, Wb II 190, 6-7).

• **753. AA *m-ḥ-k** “to upset, annoy” > MSA *mḥk “to pester, annoy” [GT]⁴⁸: Hrs. meḥāk “to pester, bother”, mātḥek “to lose one’s patience, be bothered” [Jns. 1977, 88], Jbl. maḥāk “(children) to annoy, anger so.”, mūtḥak “to become annoyed, lose patience”, mīḥīk “(person) tiresome, annoying” [Jns. 1981, 170], Mhr. mḥāk “(children) to annoy so., pester” [Jns. 1987, 263] || Eg. (*)mqḥ [met.] “to grieve” (LP, Jasnow, below)⁴⁹ > Dem. mqḥ ~ mkḥ “betrübt sein” & “Trauer” (DG 183:1) > Cpt. (OSALB) = **ḥḥḥ**, (B) **ḥḥḥ**,

⁴⁸ The MSA root has only semantically distant and uncertain parallels in Sem., cf. Hbr. mḥq qal “zerschlagen” [GB 415] | Ar. maḥṣa “1. effacer et faire disparaître jusqu’aux traces, 2. de là: rendre malheureux, ne pas faire prospérer qq. ou qqch. (se dit de Dieu qui refuse sa bénédiction, sa faveur à qqch.)” [BK II 1068] = “1. auslöschen, 2. ausrotten, vernichten” [Wehr 1952, 797]. Note that H. Zimmern (quoted in GB l.c.) saw in Hbr. mḥq (influenced by OArām.?) a dial. *Nebenform* to mḥṣ (*mḥḥ).

⁴⁹ R. Jasnow (1992, 161) found two possible LP occurrences of mqḥ in Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.135 that might be regarded as the ancestor form of the Dem.-Cpt. verb. He rendered one of these (p. 64, rt. 3:2) as “to grieve” (> Dem. mqḥ), while the other one (p. 67, rt. 3:10) “to grieve or neglect” (< Eg. mkḥ3?).

(F) **emke₂**, (MF) **mke₂**, (S) **nka₂** (intr.) “betrübt sein, trauern, schwierig (zu tun)” vs. (SAF) **moγk₂**, (S) **moγx₂**, (A) **moγx** (tr.) “betrüben, bedrängen, quälen” (KHW 90).

• **754. AA *m-h-y** “wild cat” > Eg. mhj.t “die Löwengöttin von This und von Sebennytos” (OK, Wb II 127, 7-8) ||| NOM. *mahy- [*-h- < AA *-h- reg.] “leopard” [GT]⁵⁰ ||| WCh.: Hausa mààgéé [Stl. 1987, 89: Hausa -g- reg. < AA *-h-] “cat” [Abr. 1962, 635]. Is the primary sense of the underlying AA root retained by SCu. *meḥ- “spotted” [Ehret]: Iraqw meḥ’na “a black and white spotted cow” [Wtl. 1958, 92] = meḥna “spotted cow” [Ehret] vs. mēḥ “spotted black and white” [MQK 2002, 72] | Dahalo máḥawa “spotted (animal)” [EEN 1989, 36] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 157, #36)?

• **755. AA *m-h** “relation” > Sem.: Ar. ʾamaha “s’engager envers qqn. par un pacte ou une alliance” [BK I 58] = “s’en remettre (to rely on), s’en rapporter à qqn. (to put one’s faith in so.)” [Blachère I 238; DRS 22] ||| Eg. mh.wt (or mhw.t?) “Familie, die Angehörigen, bes. auch Stamm (der Beduinen, der Feinde), auch Sippe (der Bösen, des Apophis)” (MK, Wb II 114, 7-8) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *mī [reg. < *mih] “1. relative (also in wider sense), 2. relation” [GT 2004, 248]: Gerka mi “relation” [Ftp. 1911, 219], Angas mii “a brother (used as a term of endearment)” [Flk. 1915, 195, 244] = ḡḡ-mi “family” (ḡḡ “person”) (≈ Hs. dāngì “relative”, Abr. 1962, 187) [Jng. 1962 MS] = ngo-mi “relative” (ngo- “person”) [ALC 1978, 46], Sura mii “Verwandter (im weiten Sinne)” [Jng. 1963, 74], Kofyar mi “relative” [Ntg. 1967, 26], Montol mi “relation” [Ftp. 1911, 219], Goemay mi “relation” [Ftp. 1911, 219] = mi, pl. mia “1. relation, relative, 2. to be related”, goe-mi “a relative” [Srl. 1937, 65, 139] = mi “relations”, gə-mi “relative”, mə-mya (pl.) “relatives” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 22-23].

• **756. AA *m-h** “to say” > Eg. mh.wt (or mhw.t?) “?” ≈ md.t “Rede” (XIX., Wb II 114, 15) = “paroles (?), opinions (?), expressions (?)” (Clère 1949, 42) = “propos, langage” (Clère 1951, 112-3) = “speech” (FD 113) = “mots, discours” (AL 77.1804) = “words, speech” (Ward 1977, 283-4, §7) = “mots” (Posener 1986, 95) = “expression” (Baines 1992, 245, n. g: XIX. ≈ md.wt “speech”) = “Rede” (GHWb 351) = “escient” (WD II 159) ||| NBrb.: Wargla i-mi “dire” [Prv.], Wed Righ i-mi “dire” [Bst./Wlf.], Sened e-mma (iu-mma) “dire” [Wlf.] || SBrb.: Ghat i-mi “dire” [Prv.]. AP: Nama mí, CKhoisan *mi “to say” (Bnd. 1975, 183, #68.12). For Eg.-Brb. see Takács 1999, 144. Eg. mh.wt

⁵⁰ Attested in Omoto *mahe ~ *mahya [Mrn. 1938, 151] > NWOmoto: Wolamo máya [Rn.] = mahe [Crl.] = mahiya [LS, Alm.], Dorze mahe [Alm.], Zala mahiya [Crl.] = mahiya [LS], Kullo (Dawro) mahia & m’ya [CR] = mahi(y)a [LS], Basketo mahi [Crl.], Malo & Dache & Gamu mahe [LS], Gamu mähé (“1. leopard, 2. tiger”) [Lmb. 1985 MS, 14, #438] = mahe [Alm.], Gofa mahe [LS] = māhe [Alm.] | SEOmoto: Zayse māhe [LS] = mahe [Sbr. 1994, 17], Zergulla mahe [Sbr.] | Chara mahā [Crl.] = maha [LS] | Janjero (Yemsa) me’ō [Crl.] = mewu [Wdk. 1990, 131] = mewū [Lmb.] = mewū [Akl.-Sbr. 1993, 39; Aklilu MS n.d.] | Kaffa máhō [CR] = māhō [Crl.] = māho [LS], Mocha māho [Lsl. 1959, 41], Anfillo māhō [Crl.] = māho [LS], Shinasha (Gonga, Bworo) māho [Bekes/CR, Grt.] = māhā [d’Abbadie/Grt., CR] = maho [Crl. 1929, 1938] = mahā [Crl. 1951] = māhe [Alm.] = māhā [Lmb.] | Sheko māho [LS] | Mao (so) mahó [Grt.], Ganza mahi (“lion”) [James 1965 MS; Bnd. 2003, 356, §56: isolated in Mao] etc. (NOM.: Rn. 1888, 317; CR 1913, 408; Crl. 1929, 32, 44; 1938 III, 79, 115, 171; 1951, 470; Grt. 1940, 356; Alm. 1993, 7; Lmb. 1993, 350; 1993, 368; LS 1997, 457). M. Lamberti (l.c.; LS l.c.) reconstructed NOM. *māk- “leopard”, but neither its *-k- is well founded nor its comparison with LECu. *keb- (!) “leopard” (via met.) is convincing.

may display the same semantic development as Eg. r “mouth” > “speech, utterance” (OK, FD 145) or the Brb. root for “say” < “mouth” does, cf. AA *m-h “mouth” [GT] > Brb. *i-mi “1. bouche, 2. entrée, ouverture” [Bst. 1890, 37; 1890, 312; Bst. 1929, 33-34] || NAgaw *mä-k- “mouth” [Ehret 1987, #438; Apl. 1989 MS, 16] (extended with *-k- to be found in some other AA anatomical terms) || ECu.: Yaaku mēʔ, pl. mēʔε (m) “mouth” [Heine 1975, 130] || SCu.: (?) Ma’a muǒ ~ muho, pl. miǒ “Mund” [Mnh. 1906, 315] = muʔo “mouth” [Ehret 1980, 387] || PCh. *m-(k) “mouth” [JS 1981, 187B] = *m-y “mouth” [JI 1994 I 122] = *maw/yʔ- [Stl. 2002, 273, #23].

• **757. AA *m-h** “vessel” > ES: Geez māhəw ~ māhəw “utensil of glass, glass cup, bottle, crystal, glass”, Tigre māho “goblet”, Amh. māho ~ (ə)mo ~ mahəw (the latter var. < Geez) “goblet, cup of glass”, Grg.-Zway māwa “goblet” (ES: Lsl. 1982, 50; 1987, 334; 1988, 71) || Eg. mh (GW) “a type of container” (late NK hapaxʔ: Pap. Turin B vs. 1:10, Caminos 1954 LEM, 469) = “container, jug” (DLE I 230) = “ein Gefäß” (GHWb 351) = “nom de récipient” (Meeks) || SOm.: Dime maye [Flm.] = máyε [Sbr.] “pot” [Bnd. 1996 MS, 1, #68].

• **758. AA *m-H** (*h- or *-h) “an insect” > Eg. mh.t “unidentified insect” (CT VI 302f, AECT II 244, spell 674, n. 1) = “un insecte” (AL 78.1803) = “ein Insekt” (GHWb 350) = “ein Käfer als göttliches Wesen” (Snk., p.c. by Hafemann, 19 May 2000) = “insect” (DCT 174)⁵¹ || LECu.: Oromo mimmiʔ-ō [-mm- via assim. < *-hm-ʔ -ʔ- reg. < *-ʕʔ-] “insect in grass which causes itching in foot” [Gragg 1982, 287] || SCu.: Iraqw mēhm-ō, pl. mēh-a “tick” [Mgw. 1989, 115] = mēham-o, pl. mēh-a (f) “tick” [Mous 1999, 271]? Cf. perhaps also SBrb.: EWlmd. tə-mkǎ-t, pl. tə-mkǎ-t-en (m!) “esp. d’insecte, charançon (rouge, vit dans le mil stocké)” [PAM 1998, 215]. The C₂ correspondences are everywhere irregular (Eg. -h- ≠ Orm. -ʔ- ≠ Irq. -h- ≠ Brb. *-k-).

• **759. AA *m-H** (with *h- or *-h) “to hit” > Sem.: Ar. mhw: mahā “porter à qqn. un coup violent” [BK II 1164] || SCu. *mah- “to hit” [Ehret 1987, #420] > Burunge mah-as- “to beat (person)” [Ehr.] | Ma’a -ma “to hit” [Green] = ma “schlagen” [Mnh. 1906, 312] = ma “to beat, hit” [TB 1974, 205] = -má & -máʔ-ışa “to hit” [Ehret 1974 MS, 44-45] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 156, #28). Variation of AA *-h-/*-h-ʔ Can. *mḥʔ “to strike” [GT] probably does not belong here as it is usually derived from Sem. *mḥd “to strike” via dissim. from *mḥʕ (e.g., Nöldeke, ZDMG 32, 1878, 409; GVGSS I 242; GB 913; Ast. 1948, 217; Held 1959, 171 & fn. 38 with further lit.; DM 258; Dietrich 1967, 299).

• **760. AA *m-H** “goat, sheep” > HECu.: Sidamo meʔ-ō “capra” [Crl.] = meʔ-é/iččo “capra” [Mrn. 1940, 230] = meʔ-iččo, pl. meʔe “goat” [Gsp. 1983, 228; Hds. 1989, 385: isolated in HECu.], Kambatta mie-iččo-ā “capra” [Crl. 1938 II, 213] || WCh.: PAngas *mâ, younger *ma “sheep” [GT 2004, 239] | Tangale mēç “goat” [Jng./JI 1994 II 166]

⁵¹ R.O. Faulkner (AECT l.c.) suggested an alternative rdg. m + ht. D. Meeks (AL l.c.) was disposed to identify the same word in mhw.t of CT VI 337b, which R.O. Faulkner (AECT II 266, spell 705, n. 3) rendered as an m- formative of hwt “to burn” (cf. CT II 73a, 244d, 247a), lit. “Burnt One (?)”.

(WCh.: Stl. 1987, 234) || ECh.: Kwang-Ngam tó-mèé “goat” [Jng. 1973 MS; JI 1994 II 167].

• **761. AA *m-(H/Q)-r ~ *m-r-Q** “to rob” > (???) Eg. m3r “berauben von ... (m)” (MK, Wb II 30, 5) || Bed. maray “nehmen, rauben”, meri ~ meru “nehmen, erbeuten, bekommen, finden”, mára “Beute, Fund” [Rn. 1895, 171, 173] || NAgaw: Qwara mir “rauben, plündern” [Rn. 1885, 100], Kemant mirāḥ ~ -k “piller, faire des prisonniers de guerre” [CR 1912, 231] || HECu. *mōr- “to steal” [Hds. 1989, 418]: Darasa (Gedeo) mōr- [Hds.], Sidamo mor- ~ mod- “rubare”, mor-ānčō “ladro” [Crl. 1938 II, 213; Mrn. 1940, 230] = mōr- “to steal” [Hds. & LS] = mōra “1. to steal, rob, 2. (m) theft” [Gsp. 1983, 237] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 143, 152) vs. HECu. *morg- “to steal” [S a s s e 1982, 148]: Kambatta mogga?- “to steal” [Hds.: -rg- < *-rg-], Burji mōrg-eḍ- ~ morg-ēḍ- “to steal”, mōrǝ-ó “thief” [S a s s e 1982, 147] = morǝ-o “ladro” [Mrn. 1940, 230] = morǝó “thief” [Hds.], Tembaro mogg-áʔeʔ “to steal” [Lsl.], Alaba mogg-é “to steal” [Lsl.], Qabenna mogg-ānčō “thief” [Lsl.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 152; Lsl. 1988, 195) || PCh. *m-r- “to steal” [Nwm.]: WCh. *m-H-r [Stl. 1987, 233-4]: AS *muḡur > *mūr → *mōr “to steal” [GT 2004, 254] | Bole-Tangale *mōru [Schuh]: Galambu mùur-áalà [Schuh] = mór “thief”, mōr “1. to steal, 2. theft” [Alio 1988 MS], Geruma mòorə- [Schuh], Gera mòorə-mí [Schuh], Kirfi mòyòrú-wò [Schuh] (Bole-Tangale: Schuh 1978, 154; 1984, 218) | Sbauchi *mVHVr “to steal” [GT]: Burma pù-mùre [Smz.], Buli pì-murù [Smz.], Saya bi-miri [Smz.] = mǎər [Csp.], Guruntum fi meerè [Jgr. 1989, 188] = méré “to steal”, méré “theft” [H a r u n a 1992 MS, 23] = meere [Csp.], Zaar fi mugùr [Csp.], Polchi miyìrì [Csp.], Tala muur [Csp.], Boghom móii [Csp.], Mangas muur [Csp.], Kir mwùr [Csp.], Bubure mórè “theft, thief”, móórèè “to steal” [H a r u n a 1993 MS, 28, P040 & 29, P043, f111] (SBch.: Csp. 1994, 34, 67; WCh.: Stl. 1987, 233-234) || CCh.: Tera muura [Nwm. 1977] = múru “to steal”, nè-múru “thief” [Nwm. 1964, 39, #132 & 48] || ECh.: Somray mì [-Ø < *-rʔ] “voler (derober)” [Jng. 1993 MS, 45] | Mubi-Toram *m-r-ŋ [GT] > Jegu marj “stehlen” [Jng. 1961, 115], Mubi mériŋ [Lks.] = màràŋ “voler, derober” [Jng. 1990 MS, 33], Birgit màməŋà “voleur” [Jng. 1973 MS; 2004, 356] (Ch.: NM 1966, 239; Nwm. 1977, 32; JI 1994 II, 308-309). The Ch.-HECu. comparison has already been known due to Müller 1975, 69, #76 and JI 1994 I, 159.

• **762. AA *m-H-(w) (?)** “well” > SBrb.: Ghat a-mu “puits” & Wlmd. a-mu “puits profond” [Bst. 1883, 327] || LECu.: Somali maʔwi “well full of water” [L u l i n g 1987, 364]?

• **763. AA *m-m** “1. to have some deficiency (?)” > Sem.: Hbr. mūm “spot, blemish, injury (physical, moral)” [KB 556], JPArām. mūm “ritual defect” [S o k o l o f f 1990, 295], Samar. Arām. mūm “blemish, defect, wicked” [T a l 2000, 456], Mandeian muma “fault, defect, injury, infirmity, spot, blemish” [DM 1963, 261] | cf. Ar. (< Can.?) mūm- “1. petite vérole, 2. pleurésie” [BK II 1168] || Eg. mm.tj “als schmähende Bez. des Apophis” (LP hapax, Wb II 59, 2) || NBrb.: Tamazight a-mum “1. maigrir, être maigre, chétif, anémié, dépérir, 2. s’amenuiser, s’étioier” [T a i f i 1991, 399], Zayan & Sgugu a-mum “maigrir, s’affaiblir, dépérir” [Lbg. 1924, 565] || SBrb.: EWlmd. u-ṇṇaṇ, Ayr i-ṇaṇ “2. être nain (membre du corps)” [PAM 1998, 217] || ECh.: Dormo mám “schwach” [Lks. 1937, 91].

- **764. AA *m-m** (prob. *mum-) “2. to be imbecile” > ECu. *mūm- “dumb” [GT]: HECu.: Burji môm- “to be ignorant” [Ss.] | LECu.: Gidole mūm-ett- “dumb person” [Ss.] | Dullay: Gollango mum- “to be dumb (stumm sein)” [AMS 1980, 213] (ECu.: Sasse 1982, 147) ||| WCh.: Galambu mù má “blind” [Schuh 1978, 86], Tangale mù m te “deaf man” [Mkr., not found in Jng. 1991] | (???) N Bauchi *mam- [unless redupl. < *m-h] “to forget” [GT]: Siri mama, Jimbin mama, Mburku mamw- (NBch.: HSED #1720) || CCh.: Zime-Dari māmáy “fait d’être en transes” [Cooper 1984, 16] || ECh.: Somray mūm “surdité” [Jng. 1993 MS, 45]. Areal parallels: PMande *mumu “mute, deaf-mute” [Mkr. 1987, 267: Mande-Tng.], PNilotic *mũŋ “deaf, dumb” [Dimmendaal 1988, 37, #45].
- **765. AA *m-m** “source” > Eg. mm.t “Quelle” (Ramses III, NBÄ 744, n. 901; CED 82; GHWb 333) = “source, fontaine” (AL 77.1688, 79.1186) = “spring” (CED 82) ||| LECu.: (???) Oromo mumm-ē “glen (esp. where two mountains or mountain ridges meet, frequently forested)” [Gragg 1982, 295] | HECu.: Darasa (Gedeo) mumme “spring of water” [Hds. 1989, 141] ||| N Om.: Sezo mū:mmē mǎnṣi “well (of water)” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 18] ||| CCh.: Mofu mǐyám “spring” [Rsg. 1978, 333, #682].
- **766. AA *m-m** “curved wooden weapon (?)” > WCh.: S Bauchi *m-(w)-m (perhaps *m^wam-?) “bow” [GT]: Jimi mung-ko [Gwr.], Guruntum mam [Gwr.] = mǎŋ [Jaggar], Geji mowom [Gwr.], Buli mam [Gwr.] (S Bauchi: JI 1994 II, 38) ||| (???) Eg. mm.t (?) “Wurfholz” (PT 1362b hapax, ÜKAPT V 283, the existence of this gloss is dubious).
- **767. AA *m-n** “wet” > Sem.: Ar. manaʾa “macérer la peau avant de la tanner” [BK II 1156] ||| LECu.: Oromo mānya “ocean” [Btm. 2000, 184] = (Borana, Orma, Waata) māña (f) “sea, ocean” [Strm. 1987, 361; 1995, 206]⁵² ||| CCh. *min- “dew” [GT]: Fali-Gili mǐni “dew” [Krf.], Kapsiki minē “dew” [OS, not in Krf.] | (???) Buduma imán “rain” [Barth 1851, 214] | Daba mǐnmǐnī “dew” [LG 1974, 10, #215] | Masa mèn-dà “la saison des pluies” [Jng. 1973 MS] = mēn-tā “la saison des pluies” [Ctc. 1983, 114] || ECh.: Kwang-Gaya kǐ-mǐn “pluie” [Coates 1991 MS, 2] | Somray maani “Regen” [AF apud Lks. 1937, 80]. Here might belong AA *m-n (probably *min-) “river, ditch” [GT]⁵³.
- **768. AA *m-n** “to reject” > ES *mn̄n “to reject” [GT]: Geez mannana “to despise, disdain, reject, repudiate, renounce, repel, cast aside, hold in contempt”, Amh. mǎnnānā “to retire from the world”, Tigre mn̄n “to decline, reject”, Tna. mn̄n “to reject, abstain”, cf. mǎnāwā “to be disgusted, reject” (ES: Lsl. 1969, 54; 1987, 350) ||| CCh.: Margi mnyà “to rebuke, reproach, scold” [Hfm. apud RK 1973, 126] | Lele māny “nier, contredire”,

⁵² LECu. *mān “sea” was analyzed by I.M. D’jakonov (1965, 42) as *m-ān (!). Unproved.

⁵³ Based on Eg. mǐn.t “Kanal” (PT 857a, ÜKAPT IV 121, VI 130) = “plots that were well-watered and susceptible of cultivation” (Grd. 1948 II 166, §3) = “canals” (Mercer 1952 I 158) = “kind of sheet of water” (Gdk., RdE 11, 1957, 66) = “irrigation ditches” (AEPT 152) = “ditches round the fields which receive the water from the ‘streams’ and which in turn pass it into the network of runnels which supply the seed-beds” (CT II 173f, VI 281e, AECT I 120, spell 140, n. 1 & II, 232, spell 660, n. 3) identified by V.É. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (OS 1992, 188; HSED #1770) with CCh. *min- “river” [GT]: Fali-Muchella mnu “river” [Krf.], Mwulyen minu “river” [OS, not in Krf.] || ECh.: Minjile mēni “river” [Doornbos 1979 MS, 5, #162].

mānyē “nier, contradiction” [WP 1982, 61]. From the same biconsonantal root: Sem. *mʔn “sich weigern” [GT] and AA *m-n-ʕ [GT]⁵⁴ (below).

• **769. AA *m-n** “to give (a gift)” > Sem. *mnn: cf. esp. Ug. mny G/D “1. to award, 2. decide fate (?)” [DUL 565] | OSA: Mdb. mnw “attribuer” [A r b a c h 1993, 70] vs. Sem. *mny “schenken, zuteilen”: OSA: Sab. mn “bénifice” [A r b a c h 1993, 70], Ar. manna I “donner, faire une grâce à qqn.”, minn-at- “bienfait, grâce” [Dozy II 616], Dathina mnn “accorder une faveur” [GD 2720] || HECu.: Sidamo mîne (f) “the dowry that the boy’s father gives to the girl’s father in view of the marriage” [Gsp. 1983, 232-3] || WCh.: Hausa mánnà “to give a trifle, small present” [Abr. 1962, 654] | Pero múnù “to give” [Frj. 1985, 42] | (?) Boghom num [met. < *munʔ] “to give” [Gowers] || CCh.: Chibak mari [-r- reg. < *-n-] “to give” [IL]⁵⁵ | Mofu-Gudur -mən- “rembourser” [Brt. 1988, 177] || ECh.: Somray mēn “2. donner qqch. à qqn. rapidement et maladroitement” [Jng. 1993 MS, 44] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 158). For Sem.-Pero see HSED #1798.

• **770. AA *m-n** “day” > Sem.: (???) Ar. ʔal-muminnāni (dual) “le jour et la nuit” [BK II 1156] || (???) Eg. mn.t, occurring in: m mn.t “täglich, alle Tage, pro Tag” (Amarna, Wb II 65, 9-10; GHWb 334) = “daily” (FD 107; DLE I 217)⁵⁶ || LECu.: Somali mān “day” [Rn. 1902, 296], Jäbārti mān “1. day, 2. time” [Rn. 1904, 78], Rendille mān, pl. mănán “(heller) Tag” [S c h l e e 1978, 139, #748] (Sam: H e i n e 1976, 222; 1977, 188; 1978, 90) || CCh.: Muktele mähəný “day” [Rsg.] = mən [Mch.], Mofu mənáy “day” [Rsg.] = mən [Mch.] (MM: Mch. 1953, 153; Rsg. 1978, 234, #181) || ECh.: WDangla ménà (pl.) “journées de 24 heures (jours comptables, comprenant les nuits)” [F é d r y 1971, 127], EDangla mēnāw (f) “journée, durée de 24 heures, le jour” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 201], Migama méènè, pl. méèní “jour (24 heures)” [JA 1992, 106].

• **771. AA *m-n** “intestines (or sim.)” > Cu. *man- “intestine” [Ehret]: Bed. eʔ-mana “die Eingeweide” [Munzinger] é-maná “Gedärme” [Seetzen] = mána “Darm, Gedärme, Eingeweide” [A l m k v i s t 1885, 45; Rn. 1895, 170] = mána “viscera, bowels, intestines” [Rpr. 1928, 217] || LECu.: PSom. *man- (in words for lower alimentary organs) [Ehret] || SCu.: Dahalo mani “Magen” [D a m m a n n 1949-50, 232] = máni “large intestine” [E h r e t 1980, 153; EEN 1989, 36] (Cu.: Flm. 1969, 23; E h r e t 1987, #423) || CCh.: (?) Mada mārāra [r < *nʔ] “abats (intestins, poumons)” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 192] || ECh.: Bidiya móono (f), pl. monon “pancréas” [AJ 1989, 100].

⁵⁴ Hbr. mʔn piel “sich weigern” [GB] = “to refuse (to do sg.)” [KB 540], MHbr. mʔn piel “to deny, refuse” [Jastrow 1950, 723], TArām. mʔn “sich weigern, insbes. oft von einem unmündigen, durch des Vaters Tod verwaisten Mädchen, die von ihrer Mutter oder ihren Brüdern, ja selbst von ihrem Vater verheiratet wurde, der hierzu aber keine Berechtigung hatte” [L e v y 1924 III 5], Samar. Arām. mʔn “refusal” [T a l 2000, 448], Syr. mʔn “to be abhorrent to s’one” [KB] || OSA: Sab. mʔn “sich weigern” [GB] (Sem.: GB 393; M ü l l e r 1963, 311).

⁵⁵ Bura-Margi *-r- derives regularly from PCh. *-n- (see NM 1966, 227; Nwm. 1977, 17, #3.14; JI 1994 I, XXII). Nevertheless, V.É. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (1992, 194) equated Chibak mari “to give” with Eg. m3ʕ “to make an offering” (q.v.), which is false.

⁵⁶ J. O s i n g (NBÄ 470) and W. Westendorf (KHW 94) derived it from an older (!) jmn.jt (attested in fact first in the NK), which they identified with OK jmn.wt (*j̃mē/inw.ʔ) > MK jmn.jt (*j̃mē/iny.ʔ) “dauerndes, tägliches Opfer” < Eg. mn “dauern” (q.v.). Supported by W. Vycichl (DELIC 115).

- **772. AA *m-n** “chest” > SCu.: Burunge mūna, pl. mūnaʔi “chest (physic.)” [Wtl. 1958, 22, #16] = munaʔi “chest” [Ehret 1980, 159] || CCh.: Tera mémánà “chest” [Nwm. 1964, 38, #67].
- **773. AA *m-n** “good (or sim.)” > (?) WSem. *mn “to be kind, show favour, patronize, disdain” [Hnrg. 2000, 2065]: esp. OSA: Sabea √mn: mn “to benefit” [SD 86], Ar. mn VIII “2. être bienveillant pour qq. ...”, minn-at- “grâce, bonté, faveur (de Dieu)”, mannān- “bienveillant, bon” [BK II 1155]⁵⁷ || Eg. mn.t “happy state of being” (late NK, DLE I 217) = “erfreulicher Zustand” (GHWb 334) || HECu.: perhaps Sidamo manà (intercalary part.) “well” [Gsp. 1983, 222] || WCh.: Suroid *men “nice” [GT 2004, 245]: Sura mèn “schön” [Jng. 1963, 74], Mupun mén, pl. ménmén “beautiful (used only with respect to women)” [Frj. 1991, 37] | Dwot (Zodi) màni, màni “good” [Mkr.] = món “to be good, beautiful”, moní “beautiful” [Caron 2002, 210] || CCh.: probably Bura-Margi *m(ə)na-(gu) “good” [GT]: Margi mánágu [Hfm. in RK 1973, 126: “well”] = minagù, mánágu [Krf.], WMargi mna [Skn. 1977, 23: “good, beautiful”] = mʔna [Krf.], Kilba mīnákú [Krf.], Wamdiu minagù [Krf.], Hildi minagù [Krf.] (Ch.: Kraft 1981, #293) || ECh.: Kera máyán “Fröhlichkeit” [Ebert 1976, 81] | Mokilko máanà (f) “entente, générosité” [Jng. 1990, 135] (Margi-Dwot: Mkr. 1987, 197).
- **774. AA *m-n** “game” > Eg. *mn (phon. value of the hrgl. depicting a) “draught-board, set with men (the board is plan, divided into three rows of ten squares each; the draughtsmen appearing on the edge, in elevation, are of two sorts; their number varies in different exx.)” (Griffith 1898, 56) = “Brettspiel mit den quadratischen Feldern” (Ranke 1920, 3) = “damier égyptien” (Pillet 1925-27, 172) = “draught-board” (Grd., EG 1927, 518, Y5) = “un rettangolo scompartito a scacchiera e sormontato da elementi simili a pinnacoli” (Curto 1967, 20-22, §C) = “a gameboard” (Fischer 1996, 225) = “Spielbrett mit Spielsteinen” (Snk. 1997, 58, Y5) || WCh.: Goemay mʔmen “a children’s game” [Srl. 1937, 142; GT 2004, 245: isolated in Angas-Sura] | Fyer mwên “Spiel” [Jng. 1970, 88] = mwen “play” [Blench 2000 MS, 8, #Q027].
- **775. AA *(?) -m-n** “sort of red stuff” > Eg. mnj “ruddle (?)” (Pap. Chester Beatty I rt. 17:3, Grd. 1935 I, 37, n. 2; Caminos 1956, 34; Wente 1967, 169; DLE I 218) = “perhaps ruddle, a form, preparation of red ochre (used not as pigment), a species of red ochre used for marking the hides of sheep and cattle” (Harris 1961, 172-3) = “Harz oder Rötöl oder Halbedelstein” (Helck, MWNr 1198) = “piece of jewellery, could be ‘ruddle’, a preparation of red ochre or a metal object, possibly some item of jewellery (?)” (Ostr. DeM 579, 16 under Ramses III/IV, Janssen 1975, 309-310, §85 & fn. 71) = “Rötölstift” (Hannig & Fuchs, LÄ IV 550-1, n. 9) = “*Rötöl, Schmuckstück” (GHWb 338) || Sem.: Akk. (j/spB) amānu, cf. ṭābat amāni “ein rötliches Salz (Amanus-Salz?)” [AHW 40] = “red salt” [CAD] (DRS 23: no Sem. etym.) || NAgaw: Qemant imān-ā “givre rouge” [CR 1912, 164: no Cu. etym.].
- **776. AA *m-n** “to care for, guard” > Ar. maʔana “4. avoir grand soin de qq., 5. s’arranger, s’ajuster, faire ce qu’on doit faire pour paraître bien, avoir soin de sa personne”

⁵⁷ Cp. alternatively AA *m-n “to give” in this list.

[BK II 1054] || Eg. *mnj* (or **mjnj*) “1. als Hirt weiden, 2. fig. hüten” (NK, Wb II 75, 11-13; GHWb 337) = “to act as herdsman” (PT 936c, FD 108) = “to pasture, guard” (CED 84) || SAgaw: (?) Awngi *man-d-iŋ* [unless < **mal-d-*] “to take care of, look after”, *man-iŋ* “to guard” [Hetzron apud Apl. 1994 MS, 14] || HECu.: Sidamo *mânâwa* ~ *mâna’wa* “1. to keep guard, preserve (money), 2. economize”, cf. *mâna* (f) “wise behaviour, economizing, the knowing of a thing” [Gsp. 1983, 222] || CCh.: probably Mafa *man-* “2. élever un animal domestique” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 226] || ECh.: Tobanga *māpē* [-ñ-] “sauver, secourir” [Cpr. 1978, 165]. The Eg.-Awngi comparison was first suggested by Ch. Ehret (1997 MS, 205, #1804).

• **777. AA *m-n** “bull, buffalo” > NAgaw: Qemant *miyān* “young cow” [HSED #1773!] || LECu.: Saho-Irob *móynoy* “bull” [PW 1953, 385] || NOm. **mēn-* “buffalo” [Bnd.]: Ometo *mēn(t)* “buffalo” [Bnd.]: Wolamo *mien-tā* “buffalo” [Crl. 1929, 33], Male *mēni* “buffalo” [Sbr. 1994-5, 7, #171] | Zayse *mēno* “buffalo” [Sbr.], Zergulla *mīns* “buffalo” [Sbr.], Haruro (Kcm.) *mēno* “buffalo” [Sbr.], Ganjule *mçno* “buffalo” [Sbr.] (SEOmeto: Sbr. 1994, 12) | Gimirra *men* “buffalo” [Bnd.] | (?) Kaffa *mēn-ō* “meat” [Crl.] | Dizi *mīn* “buffalo” [Bnd.] = *mieeŋ* “buffalo” [Flm. apud Bnd. 1996 MS, #22], Sheko *mī:n* “buffalo” [Flm. 1972 MS, 7] = *mēn* “buffalo” [Aklilu apud Bnd. 1984 MS, §22] | Hozo *mEyandi* “buffalo” [Bnd.] = *miándi* [Sbr.-Wdk.], Sezo *meande* “buffalo” [Sbr.-Wdk.], Mao of Bambeshi *mènè* “buffalo” [Sbr.-Wdk. 1993, 55] (Mao: Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 11, #171; NOm.: Bnd. 1988, 151) || WCh.: Boghom *mwòŋ* “ram, sheep” [Jng. 1965, 177] || CCh.: Matakam gr.: Udlam (Uldeme) *maañ-ša* “cow, bull” [Skn. 1977, 184] | Musgu *mwuŋ* “buffalo” [Lks. 1941, 70; JI 1994 II, 51]. Areal parallel: ENil.: Ongamo-Maa: Ongamo pl. *o-mónyí* “bull”, Maasai pl. *il-mónjí* “oxen” (Heine & Voßen 1976, 103).

• **778. AA *m-n-ç-r** “intestines” > Sem. **mṣr* [via assim. < **-Vnṣ-* > **-Vṣ-*?]: Ar. *maṣīr-*, pl. *ʔamṣīr-at-* etc. “intestins où s’élabore le chyle” [BK II 1116], Dathina *ʔimṣār*, pl. *ʔamāṣīr-* “intestin, boyau” [GD 2699], Hadramaut *ʔamṣūr* “intestin, boyau” [L and berg 1901, 716] || Eg. *mnḏr* “ein Eingeweide des Menschen und der Säugetiere” (Med., Wb II 94, 1-2; Grapow 1914, 26) = “Gallenblase” (Grapow 1954, 79; E. Feucht, LÄ I 1206; Quack 1997, 331; HAM 501 after Dawson) = “Magen” (Hornung 1976 II 88, 143, n. 478; GHWb 344; HAM 501) = “estomac (?)” (AL 77.1759 after Hornung) = “an organ receiving sg. into the body and/or connected with the passage of sg. through it: probably either the pancreas or diaphragm or gastro-intestinal tract or at least part of it, particularly the stomach (gall-bladder appears less tenable than stomach)” (Walker 1996, 213-9, 269) = “stomach” (WD III 52 pace Nunn 1999, 258) || LECu.: POmo-Tana **mindīʕar* “intestines” [Hyw. 1979, 76] = **mindīḳar* [Hyw. 1979, 88, n. 6]⁵⁸ > PSam **mindīqar* “intestines” [Heine]: Baiso *menʔēr* “intestines” [Hyw. 1979, 76] = *meñēr* [Hyw. 1979, 125], Somali *mindīʕir* “1. (sg.) der Mastdarm, 2. (pl.) der Bauch, die

⁵⁸ This Eg.-LECu. is only possible if we treat LECu. **-ʕ/k-* as an additional inetymological extension to the root **m-n-ç-r*. Note that such an epenthetic **-ʕ-* is attested in other ECu. anatomical terms too. M. Lamberti (1993, 105; 1993, 348-9; 1994, 115) and R. Sottile (1997, 213) analyzed the LECu. form as a compound (lit. “Kopf der Innereien”/“head of offals”, sic), but the suggested proto-form **mand-* is baseless, and its supposed connection with Cu.-Om. **marḏ-* “Innereien” [Lmb.] = **maraḏ(ḫ)-* [GT] vs. Gonga **māḫ-* [GT] is not convincing.

Eingeweide, Gedärme” [Rn. 1902, 297] = mĩndĩʕĩr “the large intestine” [Abr. 1964, 180] = mindiqĩr ~ mĩndĩʕĩr “intestines” [Heine] = mindiq/ʕĩr “Darm” [Lmb.], Rendille mindaḥār “intestines” [Heine 1976, 217; 1978] = mindaḥār (sic, with plain -d-) “intestine” [PG 1999, 225], PBonī *mānəḡǵər “guts” [Heine 1982, 147] > Bonī mineʔər (f) “Teilstück der Eingeweide” [Heine 1977, 286] = minfʔĩr “part of intestines” [Heine 1978] (Sam: Heine 1978, 69/91; LECu.: Hyw. 1979, 88, n. 6; Lamberti 1993, 348-9).

• **779. AA *m-n-[ǰ]** “few, small” (?) > Eg. mns.t [< old *mnz.t] “(ob richtig?)” (MK, Wb II 88, 14) = “lack (?)” (FD 110) = “*Mangel” (GHWb 342) ||l| NOM.: WMao *mānz- “small, thin” [GT]: Sezo mānzèwì “few”, mānzì “small”, mānzì “thin”, Hozo manza “small”, mānza “few”, mānzet “narrow” (Mao: Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 12, 14, 16, 18) ||l| ECh.: Nancere menǰé “dünn” [Lks. 1937, 89].

• **780. AA *m-n-[ǰ] ~ *m-n-S** (partial redupl. < *m-m-S?) “1. blood, 2. red (material)” > Eg. mnš.t “Mennige, Rötel” (Med., Spg. 1906, 158) = “some sort of clay (in constant connection with ztj ‘yellow ochre’): red ochre (μύλτος)” (Iversen 1955, 19-21, 28-34; WÄDN 246-7; Borghouts 1971, 43-44, n. 21; PL 437; Leitz 1999, 99) = “an ochreous earth used as pigment (but its colour is not definitely identified), probably red” (Harris 1961, 146-7) = “ocre rouge” (Aufrère 1990, 652-3, 659, 742, 765) = “Ocker (viell. roter)” (GHWb 342) ||l| HECu. *munz- “to bleed” [GT]: Sidamo munda “to bleed”, mundē “blood” [Gsp. 1983, 241; CrI. 1938 II, 214], Gedeo (Darasa) mundaʔ- “to bleed”, mundé “blood” [Hds.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 28) ||l| WCh.: EHausa mǎnǰú “red dye, mostly prepared from the red leaf-sheats of a variety of millet” [Broß quoted by Ibr. & Gimba 1994, 134] || CCh.: Bura-Margi *ma[N]za (?) “red” [GT]: WMargi muḡzà [Krf.], Chibak mǎḡzà [Krf.], Bura mamzà [Krf.] = mamsa [Hfm. in RK 1973, 92], Ngwahyi mǎmzà [Krf.] (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #274)? Note that HECu. (Sid.-Drs.) d < ECU. *z is possible and regular (Sasse 1979, 19-20, also 56). N. Skinner (1997, 79) compared the Bura-Margi root with the reflexes of CCh. *m-m-S “blood” [GT], cf. Bura-Margi *mamši [GT]: Margi ʔmámčĩ (-tsh-) [IL], Gwara mámšĩ [Wolff], Bura mamši [Hfm. apud RK 1973, 92] = mámčĩ [Wolff], Bura-Pela & Kilba mamši [Meek] = mǎšĩ [Grieve 1976 MS, 2, #15] (Bura-Margi: Wolff 1974-75, 190, 202) | Fali-Jilbu mamzì “blood” [Krf. 1972 MS] | Gudu mǎmšĩ [IL] | MM *maNbez [Rsg. 1978, 213, #75] | Sukur mumbus [Meek] = múmbùz [IL] (CCh.: Mch. 1953, 172; JI 1994 II 30-31). The reconstruction of the C₂ nasal (Ch. *-m- or *-n-?) and the C₃ sibilant (perhaps Ch. *-ǰ- = Eg. -š-?) is uncertain. Cf. also CCh.: Bata mìs- “to redden” [Pwedd on 2000, 56], Bachama miso-miso “red” [Crm. 1975, 465, #85].

• **781. AA *m-n-ǰ/ǰ-r** “to commit fornication” > Eth.-Sem. *mnzr “to commit fornication” [Lsl.]⁵⁹: Geez mnzr: ʔamanzara “to commit adultery, be licentious”, manzir ~ manzər

⁵⁹ The Sem. etymologies of the ES root are all uncertain. Following C.F.A. Dillmann (1865, 191), F. Praetorius (1879, 59), and Th. Nöldeke (1910, 45), W. Leslau (l.c.) connected it with Hbr. mamzēr “Israelite halfe-breed” [KB 595] = “bastard” [Lsl.], MHbr. & JArām. mamzērā “child of a prohibited mixed marriage” [KB] that are usually explained from Sem. *mḡr “to decay, rot” [KB 566], which makes the Eg.-ES etymology improbable. Alternatively, Leslau explained the ES root from ES *mnzr “to waste money, be spendthrift”, which is semantically much weaker than the Eg.-Sem. etymology.

~ mənzər “bastard, dissolute, who slanders”, Tna. ʔamänzärä & Amh. mänäzzärä “to become dissolute”, amänäzzärä “to fornicate, commit adultery” (ES: Lsl. 1958, 31; 1969, 54; 1987, 353) || Eg. mnz3 [reg. < *mnzr] “geschlechtlich mißbrauchen” (XVIII., GHWb 342) || NAgaw (from ES): Qwara maṇazār “huren” [Rn. 1885, 100], Hamir minzer “huren” [Rn. 1884, 393].

• **782. AA *m-n-ḳ** “to complete (?)” > Eg. mnq “1. zu Ende bringen (Fest), vollenden (Arbeit, Bau), fertigstellen, auch: etwas durchmachen, 2. zu Ende kommen” (MK, Wb II 89, 16-19) = “to come to an end, finish, complete, give effect to” (Grd. 1956, 18; FD 110; DLE I 223) || HECu.: Sidamo munku “complete, whole, all” [Crl. 1938 II, 215] || NOm. *manḳ- “to finish, prepare (?)” [GT]: Chara manḳ-it- “fare” [Crl. 1938 III, 172] | Dizi mamḳ “to prepare” [Toselli quoted by Bnd. 1996 MS, 2, #488] || SOm.: Ari máq- ~ maḳ- [< *manḳ-?] “to finish” [Bnd. 1994, 150] || WCh.: Bubure múṅkò “to cease” [Haruna 1992 MS, #f196].

• **783. AA *m-n-ʕ** “to hold, ward off, hold back, stop” > Sem. *mnʕ “to refuse” [GT]: Hbr. mnʕ qal “zurückhalten, hemmen” [GB], Epigr. Aram. mnʕ “отказывать, удерживать, лишать” [SAN 4, 199] = “to deny, withhold” [DNWSI 661], MHbr. & JA mnʕ “zurückhalten” [GB] | Ar. manaʕa “1. refuser, 2. repousser, éloigner, 3. défendre, protéger” [BK II 1157] | NAr. of Baḥʕa mnʕ “1. Einhalt gebieten, 2. jmdn. ab-, zurückhalten von” [Correll 1969, 168-9] | OSA: Sab. mnʕ “zurückhalten” [GB] = “to prevent, ward off, prohibit (?)”, t-mnʕ “to fight off (enemy)” [SD 86], Ar. manaʕa VIII “se sauvegarder, se mettre en lieu sûr”, manīʕ- ~ mannāʕ- “qui repousse les attaques” [Fagnan 1923, 166] || MSA: Mhr. mūna “ab-, zurückhalten, hindern” [Jahn in Jns. 1987, 267] (Sem.: GB 438) || WCh.: Angas-Sura *maṇ “to stop (raining)” [GT 2004, 241]: Angas maṇ “to stop (raining)” [ALC 1978, 36], Mushere lukun-mang “harmattan period (signifying the disappearance of rain fall)” (lukun “dry season”) [Dkl. 1997 MS], Goemai mang “to stop” [Srl. 1937, 135] || ECh.: (???) Bidiya moonṇ [-ṇ reg. < *-nH] “effrayer les oiseaux en frappant sur les arbres” [AJ 1989, 100].

• **784. AA *m-n-ʕ/h** (alternation of *-ʕ ~ *-h?) “little child” > Eg. mnḥ “1. Jüngling, Bursche (zwischen Kind und Mann), 2. bes. als Bez. von Arbeitern und Sklaven: Jungarbeiter, Lehrling, Gehilfe, 3. Jungtier” (NE, Wb II 83, 13-17; GHWb 340) = “youth, stripling” (Caminos 1954 LEM, 553 index; DLE I 221) = “Halbwüchsiger (als Arbeiter im Nekropolis)” (Arnold, LÄ II 848) = “jeune (d’un animal)” (AL 78.1743 after Borghouts 1978, 1, #2) = “1. junger Mann im heiratsfähigen Alter, 2. spezifisch: Lehrling (der Handwerker von Deir el-Medina)” (Junge 1999, 351) || SCu. *manaʕ- [Ehr.] = *m^(w)anaʕ- [GT] > Ma’a (Mbugu) mwana “child” [Mnh. 1906, 315] | Dahalo mánaʕe “baby” [EEN 1989, 37] = “(new-born) baby” [Tosco 1991, 142]⁶⁰.

• **785. AA *m-n-(n)-y** “(to cover with) lid” > Eg. mnn.t (GW, fem.) “Teil eines Grabes an seinem Granitverschluß (?)” (XX., Wb II 82, 8) = “either a part of granite sarcophagus

⁶⁰ Ch. Ehret (1980, 153, #6) combined Dahalo mánaʕe with Iraqw naʕay “baby” and Burunge naw “baby boy”, which, however, represent a distinct AA root. V.É. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (HSED #1722), in turn, derived the Dahalo word from AA *ma(ya)n- “man”, which is certainly out of question.

(perhaps lid) or part of, a location within the tomb (the burial chamber)” (H o c h 1994, 129, §167) = “*Grabverschuß” (GHWb 339), perhaps < mnnj “to shut up, imprison” (PT 662, AEPT 125, utterance 377, n. 1, cf. p. 329)⁶¹ ||| ECu.: Yaaku (Mogogodo) imni “cover or lid” [Grb. 1963, 32, §44] = imni, pl. ĩmno? (f) “lid for closing beehive” [Heine 1975, 129].

• **786. AA *m-n-y ~ *m-y-n** “to cultivate field” > Sem.: Ar. myn: māna “2. labourer la terre”, mĕn- “soc de la charrue” [BK II 1175] = myn “furchen, spalten” [GB 420] = myn “to cleave, plough” [Honeyman apud KB 577] = myn “pflügen” [Erman] = mwn (!) “pflügen”, mĕn- “Pflugschar” [Vcl.], Yemeni Ar. mwn I: mĕn (impf. yimūn) “to take care by watering and ploughing (of land)” [P i a m e n t a 1990, 474] ||| Eg. mnj.tj (det. of a man working with a hoe) “Art Ackersmann” (NK, Wb II 77, 6-7) = “travaillant aux champs” (Baillet 1907, 6 contra p. 25 with false mngs.) = “cultivator” (Grd. 1911, 6*; DLE I 218) = “Erdhacker” (Vcl. 1953, 373) = “Feldhacker” (Seibert 1967, 116, n. d) = “ein Ackersmann (auch im Stall tätig)” (GHWb 338): most probably a nomen actoris (.tj) from a hypothetic *mnj “fendre la terre” (Brugsch) = “piocher” (Baillet) = “die Erde aufhacken” (Erman) = “to hoe the ground” (Goodwin) ||| WBrb.: Zenaga a-man “lame”, a-man ta-zūz “fil, lame, (de la) hache” [Ncl. 1953, 202] ||| SCu.: Ma’a -mānye “to prepare soil or ground for planting” [E h r e t 1974 MS, 44; 1980, 154, #16] ||| CCh.: Bura mura [r < *n] “a native hoe” [BED 1953, 145]. The Eg.-Ar. comparison is due to Erman 1892, 111; Clc. 1936, #199; Vcl. 1953, 373-4; 1958, 376.

• **787. AA *m-n-y** “to have sexual intercourse” > Sem. *mny: Ar. mny I “5. laisser couler le sperme (dans la copulation ou autrement)”, minā ~ minā “sperme, liqueur de la femelle qui se mêle au sperme et contribue à la génération”, maniyy- “sperme (du mâle), liqueur utérine de la femelle” [BK II 1158-9] = mny I “verser, répandre”, X “provoquer l’éjaculation, se masturber” [F a g n a n 1923, 166], MLAr. mny X “to masturbate, perform onanism”, ?imnā?- “ejaculation”, manīy- ~ minā [< *minay-un] “sperm, seed” [B a r a n o v 1976, 770] || Sqt. (dial. of Qalansiya village, < Ar.?) √mny: méni “sperme, sécrétion vaginale” [SSL 1992, 89] || perhaps Gurage *mny “to have sexual intercourse” [GT]: Ennemor & Gyeto tā-mēñā etc. “be covered (cattle), be coupled, conceive (cattle)” [Lsl. 1979 III, 414] ||| CCh.: Mafa man- “to multiply, have numerous descendants” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 226] || ECh.: Lele mĕn “to cohabit, faire l’amour (cuier, foquer)” [S i m o n s 1981, 29, #501]. Areal parallel: PNilotic *(1-)map “to have sexual intercourse”: Turkana map “to have sexual intercourse”, Kipsikiis imēep “to unsheathe penis” (D i m m e n d a l 1988, 45, #94).

• **788. AA *m-n-y ~ *m-y-n** “1. young of an animal, 2. child” > NBrb.: Tamazight (Ait Ayyash) a-myan, pl. i-myaun “bouc (animal)” [Tf. 1991, 446] | Bottiwa a-mian, pl. i-mian-en “jeune bouc”, fem. ta-mian-t, pl. ti-mian-in “chevrette, jeune chèvre” [B i a r n a y 1911, 185] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-meini, fem. ta-meini-t “petit d’animal” [Bst. 1909, 246] = a-mēini, fem. ta-mēini-t “petit d’animal” [Ncl. 1953, 220] = a-meyni “junges Tier” [Vcl.] || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-maynu “Jungesel” [Vcl. 2005, 65], EWlmd. & Ayr a-māyno,

⁶¹ For a different interpretation of PT 662 mnnj (< mnj “landen”) see ÜKAPT III 218.

pl. Ayr i-məyna & EWlmd. i-mina “jeune homme, fille” [PAM 1998, 230; 2003, 570] ||l WCh.: Polchi miimáni “boy, child” [Csp.], Wangday min “child” [Smz./JI], Boghom man “son” [Csp. 1994, 66], Saya ḡaa-mwán “boy, child” [Csp.], Zul nyé-móone “boy, child” [Csp.] (SBCh.: Csp. 1999, §4) | Bade-Ngizim *mānyim “boy” [GT] > Ngizim máayim “boy, young man” [Schuh 1981, 113], Bade máanyím-ón “Junge” [Lks. 1968, 223], WBade máanyəmên “boy” [Schuh], Bade-Mazgarwa máanyim “boy” [Schuh], Duwai máanyim “boy” [Schuh] (Bade-Ngizim: Schuh 1972, 53) || CCh.: (?) Gisiga maṅgal [< *man-gal?] “child” [Lks. 1970, 128] || ECh. *mǎny ~ *mayn “baby” [GT]: Kwang mǎány “bébé” [Jng. 1973 MS, 43], Kwang-Mobu mǎn “bébé, porte-bébé” [Ebert 1977 MS, 1], Kwang-Ngam ki-mayn-ke & -Mobu kê-mǎn “enfant” [Coates 1991 MS, 4], Kwang-Gaya & Mindera kê-mǎn-ke “enfant” [Coates 1991 MS, 1] | Lele mányò “être petit, petitesse” [WP 1982, 61] | Somray mǎny “bébé” [Jng. 1993 MS, 43], Tumak mǎəṅ “enfant” [Cpr. 1975, 84], perhaps Ndam-Gulei men “Sohn” [Lks. 1937, 95] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 74). Cf. also Ch. *m-n “small” (Chibak, Lele, Tumak) [JS 1981, 240M] = *m-n-y [GT] > ECh.: Tumak mǎnǎ (m), pl. mǎnǎn “petit” [Cpr. 1975, 83].

• **789. AA *m-r** “neck, throat” > (???) Sem.⁶²: Ar. ʾamriʾ-at- “oesophage”, maraʾa I “2. manger qqch.” [BK II 1086] = mariʾ- “oesophage, conduit alimentaire” [Dozy II 577], Yemeni Ar. marīn “gullet”, mrʾ II “to whet an appetite” [Pimenta 1990, 463] ||l Eg. mr.t “Kehle o.ä. eines Gottes” (GR, Wb II 107, 7) “gorge, gosier” (Lefébvre 1952, 22; Berlandini, LÄ IV 85; AL II 167, #1786; Blackman, JEA 22, 1936, 105; Fairman, ZÄS 91, 1964, 8, vii) = “throat, voicebox, larynx” (Walker 1996, 269) = “throat, gullet” (PL 445) ||l WBrb.: (???) Zenaga a-marti “nuque” [Bst. 1909, 242, not in TC 2008] ||l ECu. *marmar- “neck” [Sasse]⁶³: Oromo mórm-ā “Hals” [Rn.] = morm-a “neck” [Gragg 1982, 291] = (Borana, Orma, Waata dialects.) morm-a “neck, throat” [Strm. 1987, 370], Somali mǎrmar “der lange Hals und Nacken des Kamels” [Rn. 1902, 302] = mǎrmar “nape of the neck” [Abr. 1964, 175] = marmar “neck of the camel” [Lsl.] | Burji mǎrmari “(whole) neck” [Flm.] = marmár-i “neck, nape of neck” [Ss.] (ECu.: Sasse 1979, 24; 1982, 141) ||l ECh.: Sokoro mórol-dum “dein Schlund” [Lks. 1937, 36]. For Eg.-AA see Takács 1996, 136, #30; 1997, 226, #3; 2004, 61-62, #353. Takács (1996, 136, #30) compared also some areal parallels: NS *mor- (??) “neck” [Bnd. 1994, 1161, #56] > PKuliak *morok “throat” [Ehret 1981, 92; Flm. 1983, 470], cf. Nyangi mǎrǎk “throat” vs. murut “neck, nape, back of neck” [Flm.] ~ ESud. *mur(u)t “neck” [GT]: Nile Nubian gu-mur, Shilluk muto, Nandi ki-mut, Bari murut, Masai en-murtu (ESud.: Flm.) ~ ENil. *-murut- “neck” [Vossen 1982, 455; cf. also Heine-Vossen 1976, 99; Grb. 1963, 103]. Cf. also Bnd. 1975, 177, #56.12 (Oromo-Masai); Flm. 1983, 456 (NS-SOm.). Cf. also SOm.: Galila murut “neck” [Flm. 1983,

⁶² Cf. also AA *m-r “to eat” (discussed by Takács 2008, 313 under #579).

⁶³ ECu. *marmar- was borrowed into Eth.-Sem.: Harari mǎrmār “shoulder”, Gurage *mǎrmār [Lsl.]: Chaha & Ennemor & Gyeto mǎmār etc. “nape of neck”, Zway marmara “hump of the neck” (ES: Lsl. 1963, 111; 1979 III, 406; 1988, 195). H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) derived ECu. *marmar- “neck” from ECu. *mar- “round, to roll up” via the mediator meaning *‘to turn around’. Cf. PIE *kʷol-so- “Hals” > Lat. collum “Hals, Bergjoch”, Germ. Hals < PIE *kʷel- “drehen” [IEW 639-640].

456: prob. < Nil.]. H. Fleming (1964, 53; 1983, 470) compared also LECu.: Baiso margi “(whole) neck” and NOm.: Dorze morg-e | Maji mork-n’ || SOM.: Dime mork-u “throat”, which may have been borrowed from some NS source.

• **790. AA *m-r** “1. to milk, 2. milk” > Sem. *mry: Ar. mry: marā “1. presser avec les doigts les pis de la chamelle pour en tirer du lait, 2. tirer, extraire qqch., 4. exprimer l’eau d’un nuage”, II “presser avec la bouche les pis de la chamelle en les suçant”, IV “1. laisser couler un ruisseau abondant de lait (se dit d’une chamelle), 2. faire couler un ruisseau abondant de lait en serrant les pis d’une femelle”, VIII “2. tirer, extraire, 3. gagner, acquérir des biens, de la fortune”, mariyy- “qui donne un filet abondant de lait”, miry-at- “lait qui sort en filet abondant du pis de la femelle” [BK II 1097-8] = marā I “ubera strinxit (camelae) mulgendi ergo”, IV “lac radiatim emisit (camela)”, mury-at- “lac radiatim emissum” [Möller]⁶⁴, Dhofar mrâ “1. Milch, welche die Frau bringt (Ali), 2. oder milchreiche Kamelin (Mhammed)” [Rdk. 1911, 56: “beides unsicher”] || MSA: Jbl. mry: méré “to fondle a camel’s teats to encourage it to give milk” [Jns. 1981, 174], Mhr. mry: mārū əmruḥ “to play with a camel’s teats till milk comes”, mārāy “camel with milk but no young” [Jns. 1987, 271] || NBrb.: perhaps Wargla ta-mmār-t, pl. ti-mmār-in “oultre à battre le lait” [Brn. 1908, 343] || LECu.: Saho murr-ā “die frisch gemolkene, kuhwarme Milch” [Rn. 1890, 272] = murr-a (m) “fresh milk” [Vergari 2003, 137], Afar murr-ā “die frisch gemolkene Milch” [Rn. 1886, 884] = murr-a “fresh milk” [PH 1985, 172], Gidole (Dirayta) mōrra (pl.) “curds”, mōr (m) “curds” [Hyw. 1981, 134] || CCh.: Bata mārē “butter” [Barth 1852, 413] | Masa (Banana) miira “milk” [Mch. 1950, 26] vs. mīrā “breast” [Mch. apud JI 1994 II 47] = mī:rā “lait” [Jng. 1973 MS] = mīr “lait” [Ctc. 1983, 107] = mīr “lait” [Ajl.], Gizey mīr “lait” [Ajl.], Lame mbīr [mb- reg. < *m-] “lait d’un animal” [Scn. 1982, 308], Zime-Dari mbīr “lait (animal)” [Cooper 1984, 17], (?) Musey mbīf [-Ø < *-r?] “lait” [Ajl.], Ham mbî “lait” [Ajl.], Lew & Marba ʔāmbīr “lait” [Ajl.] (Masa gr.: Ajello 2001, 33).

• **791. AA *m-r** “as, when, if” > (?) Eg. mr, hence (OK) mj [unless < *ml]⁶⁵ “1. (Präposition) gleichwie, wie, 2. (Konjunktion vor Verbum finitum usw.) wenn ..., so lange als” (OK, Wb II 36-38) || NBrb.: Tamazight mer ~ mur “si (conj., sert à l’expression de l’hypothèse irréaliste ou à l’hypothétique douteux)” [Tf. 1991, 426] | Seghrushen mr “si” [Bentolila 1981, 435] || SBrb.: EWlmd. a-mər & Ayr a-mār “quand, lorsque, pendant que, alors que” [PAM 2003, 549] || HECu.: Sidamo marò (prep.) “when” [Gsp. 1983, 225], Burji marru(na) “if” [Hds. 1989, 83: isolated in HECu.] || NOm.: Yemsa marʔò (interrog. pron.) “wie” [Lmb. 1993, 367] || WCh.: Pero mārù “while” [Frj. 1985, 41].

• **792. AA *m-r** “early (?)” > WBrb.: Zenaga √m-r: mər “débuter dans une action (verbe aux.)” [Ncl. 1953, 211] || CCh.: Musgu-Puss marai “früher, ehemals” [MB 1972 MS, 3].

⁶⁴ C. Brockelmann (1932, 811) explained Ar. mry from the original sense “streichen” (“stringere”). H. Möller (1911, 164) and Ch. Ehret (1989, 182, §53), in turn, assumed a bicons. Ar. *mr- “to brush with the fingers” [Ehr.].

⁶⁵ Cf. AA *m-l “as” (discussed below in this paper).

- **793. AA *m-r** “long thin stick (?)” > Sem.: Hbr. *ʕēmer “brindille” [DRS 24: isolated] = “twig”, ʕimrē-šeper “branched antler” [KB 67] || NBrb.: Tamazight (CMaroccan) a-mūr “harpon, crochet, bâton ferré, aiguillon, flèche” [Lst. 1942, 131, §552] || WBrb.: (?) Zenaga √m-r: ā-nmər, pl. ə-nmār-ān “bâton, canne (des infirmes, des vieillards, ...)” [TC 2008, 363] || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ə-mur ~ ə-m̄mur, pl. i-m̄ār-ān “1. flèche, 2. p.ext.: tout petit bâton sans tête” [PAM 1998, 221; 2003, 550] etc. || WCh.: Angas myaar “the pegs of wood stuck into the walls, on which to hang articles” [Flk. 1915, 251; GT 2004, 262: isolated in AS] || ECh.: Bidiya mārúmàruḡ “perche des circoncis” [AJ 1989, 97].
- **794. AA *m-r** “sharp instrument” > Eg. *mr preserved by the hrgl. U23 depicting a “pointed instrument with wooden handle of peculiar shape (showing that it is to be worked by hand) of rushes (?) bound together: apparently a chisel or borer to be worked by hand, connected with drilling or piercing (not struck with the hammer)” (Griffith 1898, 49) = “chisel” (Ember 1917, 21; EG 1927, 503) = “hand chisel” (Fischer 1983, 45, #U23) = “Grabstichel, Meißel” (Westendorf 1989, 75) || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr m̄arm̄ar “graver (dessin, en bois, métal, pierre), être gravé”, EWlmd. a-sā-mmarm̄ar & Ayr ə-sə-mmerm̄ar “1. outil servant à graver, burin, ciseau, 2. fer de gaufrage, gaufroir (pour métal, cuir)” [PAM 1998, 222; 2003, 553] || HECu.: (?) Hadiya omar- “to pierce” [Hds. 1989, 112] || SCu.: (?) Asa marama-ok “awl” [Ehr.] || CCh.: Kotoko *m-r (?) “axe” [GT]: Gulfei mio ~ mir, Kuseri moröo, m̄or̄ayo (Ktk.: Prh. 1972, 11, #1.5 & 57, #31.10).
- **795. AA *m-r** “to dig” > Akk. (OBab.) marāru “durchgraben (?)” [AHW 608] = “to break a field for cultivation” [CAD m1, 268] || ES: Amh. mārāmmārā “to dig” & Gurage: Selti mirāmārā “to plow a field for the third time” [Lsl.] || Eg. jmr “houer” (V. hapax, Dévaud 1921, 156-8 after Steindorff) = “piocher” (Baillet 1905, 214 & fn. 14; 1907, 21), cf. also the hypothetic (*mr “hacken” (XVIII., Sethe 1929, 4) = “creuser” (AL 77.1765) = “graben (Kunstwort)” (GHWb 345) || SCu.: PRift *maraʔ- “den, burrow, cave” [Ehret]: Burunge maraʔ-iya | Asa maraʔ-ok (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 342).
- **796. AA *m-r** “to work (as servant?)” > Eg. mr.t (coll.) “Hörige, Untertanen (weitgehend für die Feldarbeit eingesetzt; auch arbeiteten sie in den Produktionsanlagen der Güter und Institutionen; ihre Stellung ist mit der von Hörigen des europäischen Mittelalters zu vergleichen, nicht aber mit der von römischen Sklaven)” (OK, Wb II 106, 11-20; Helck, LÄ II 1235-6) = “Untertanen, Diener, Leute” (Spiegelberg 1908, 89) = “not serfs, but rather Egyptians assigned to the periodically compulsory work ordered by the state (on agricultural labour)” (Moreno García, JEA 84, 1998, 71-83) = “1. Hörige (die zu staatlichen Arbeiten herangezogen werden können), Landarbeiter (auf Staatsdomänen), Haushaltsangehörige, 2. dann: Pöbel, einfaches Volk, Anhänger, Parteigänger” (Junge 2003, 227, n. 223) = “1. die Hörigen, Landarbeiter auf Staats- und Tempeldomänen, die Klasse der Hörigen, die Unterschicht, die Untertanen” (ÄWb I 540) || WBrb.: Zenaga u-mūr-ä(y)n “travailleurs”, tyā-mūr-əT ~ ta-mūr-əT, pl. tyā-mūr-äyn ~ t-mūr-äyn “travailleuse” [TC 2002, 436-8] || LECu.: Rendille m̄ir “task-force, (small) group of people pledged to carry out a particular task (applied to a group of warriors on a raid etc.)” [PG 1999, 226] || PCh. *m-r (var. *m-H-r?) “slave” [GT] = *m-(k)-r “slave” [JS 1981,

236, A₁] > WCh.: *mar[i] “slave (раб)” [Stl.]: Hausa mūrímà “слуга, сопровождающий всадника” [Stl.] | Ron *m-H-r “slave” [GT]: Daffo-Butura moór “Sk slave”, mórê “Sk lavin” [Jng.] = mōór, pl. mwāār [Jng. 1992-93, 123], Kulere mahór, pl. mahwaār “Sk slave, Sk lavin” [Jng.]⁶⁶, Sha moḥ [Jng. 1966, 172: -ḥ reg. < *-r] “Sk slave” [Jng.] (Ron: Jng. 1970, 218-9, 287, 353) | N Bauchi *mar- “slave” [Skn.]: Mburku mar, Siri marə-čək, Jimbin mar-žu (N Bauchi: Skn. 1977, 40; WCh.: Stl. 1987, 233, #805) || CCh.: Fali-Kiria mərə “slave” [Krf. 1981, #92] | MM *mər “travail(ler)” [Mch.] > Mofu mbrā, Mboku mér s way, Zulgo mər (Mafa-Mada: Mch. 1953, 182).

• **797. AA *m-r** “difficult” > Sem. *mʔr: Hbr. mʔr hifil part. mamʔir, fem. mamʔeret “bösaartig (vom Aussatze)” [GB 394] = “painful, malignant” [KB 541] | Ar. maʔir- “difficile” [BK II 1052] || Brb. *m-r-y “to be difficult, painful” [GT]: NBrb.: Tamazight mray “être difficile, pénible, 2. être dur, ardu, 3. être incommode” [Tf. 1991, 433] | Iznasen √m-m-r: e-mmra “être difficile, pénible”, ta-mmara “moment difficile, passe pénible” [Rns. 1932, 390] | Qabyle √m-r-y: e-mri “1. être tourmenté, troublé, 2. tourmenter”, cf. a-mray “être difficile, lourd, grave” [Dlt. 1982, 518] || EBrb.: Ghadames ə-mray “1. être douloureux, 2. faire souffrir, être pénible” [Lanfry 1973, 217, #1027] || SBrb.: Ghat e-mri “être difficile” [Nhl. 1909, 151].

• **798. AA *m-r** “to be ill, have pains” > Eg. mr “1. körperlich krank sein, leiden, 2. schmerzhaft, schlimm” (PT, Wb II 95) || NBrb.: Shilh: Tazerwalt ta-märr-it “pain, agony” [Stumme 1899, 230] | Wargla i-mur-ən (pl. tante) “contraintes, douleurs de femme enceinte” [Dlh. 1987, 194] | Qabyle √m-r: u-mr-an (pl. tante) “chagrins, peines”, a-mur, pl. i-mur-en “colique, mal de ventre”, a-mrir “1. embarras, 2. grandes difficultés” [Dlt. 1982, 513] || LECu.: Oromo marar “rattistarsi” [Crl.] = “to be sick” [Lsl.], Baiso marni “to be sad” [HL 1988, 129] | HECu.: Sidamo marar-s- “addolorare” [Crl. 1938 II, 215] = marar-s “to be sick” [Lsl.] = marar- “to have pity, be sad” [Hds. 1989, 385] || NOm.: Yemsa mer-o “illness” [Wdk. 1990, 131] = mer-ə “1. Krankheit, 2. Schmerz” [Lmb. 1993, 366]. Ultimately related to the preceding AA root. See also Lsl. 1949, 315, #481 (Eg.-ECu.); HSED (Eg.-Oromo); BG 1998, 121, §2 (Eg.-Shilh).

• **799. AA *m-r** “powerful” > Sem. *mrr “to be strong” [GT]: Akk. marāru “i.a. to prevail, be strong” [Kutler 1984, 117 after AHW 613-4; CAD m1, 267-8] > (LBab.) marmar(r)u “stark” [AHW 612] = marmāru (LL) “strong person” [CAD m1, 284], Mari Akk. marru “strong (weapons)” [Kutler 1984, 117] || Ug. mr “to strengthen, bless, commend” [Gordon 1955, 291-2, #1170; Segert 1984, 193; Kutler 1984, 117] = “Stärke verleihen, segnen” [WUS #1659] = “to strengthen” [DUL 577] | Ar. mrr X “3. être ferme, constant, 4. durer, continuer”, mirr-at- “3. force d’intelligence, 4. fermeté, constance”, marīr- “1. forte, robuste, solide (homme), 2. ferme, constant, persévérant” [BK II 1084-5] || Hrs. merrét “strength” [Jns. 1977, 89] (Sem.: Shatnawi 2002, 740) || NBrb.: Tamazight ta-mara “1. force, 2. obligation, contrainte” [Tf. 1991, 427] | Wargla ta-mara “force subie, contrainte, nécessité” [Dlh. 1987, 194] | Qabyle mari “2. se forcer”, ta-mara “obligation, nécessité” [Dlt. 1982, 512], Bugi te-mara “violence”

⁶⁶ The origin of the (additional?) *-H- reflected by the Ron data (but unattested elsewhere) is not clear.

[Bst. 1890, 313] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *tă-māra*, pl. *ti-mār-iw-īn* “force, puissance d’action” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1221], EWlmd.-Ayr *tă-mara* “1. force, puissance d’action, 2. personne notable” [PAM 1998, 221; 2003, 549], Tudalt & Tadghaq *tă-mara* “eminent, powerful” [Sudlow 2001, 267] || LECu.: Afar *maʿar* ~ -l (-ʿ- obscure) “strength, force” [PH 1985, 168] || SCu.: Maʿa *muḷu* (*muṛu*) “können (?)” [Mnh. 1906, 315] = -*mūru* “to be able, have power to” [Ehret 1980, 159, #49 with false etym.] || NOm.: Yemsa *mer-* “1. besiegen, 2. schlagen (in einem Kampf), 3. gewinnen” [Lmb. 1993, 366] || CCh.: Mafa *maray* “tout être de grosse taille” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 231] | Musgu *miria* “kräftig” [Lks. 1937, 142].

• **800. AA *m-r** “to attach, get together” > Eg. *mr* “sich anschließen an” (PT, Wb II 105, 19; GHWb 347) = “sich gewöhnen an” (ÜKAPT VI 132) = “jemandem verbunden bleiben, sich zu jemandem halten” (Guglielmi 1991, 9, fn. 45) = “sich an etwas halten” (OK, Altenmüller 1998, 108, 281) = “1. (zusammen, an)binden, 2. (jmdm., r) folgen” (ÄWb I 546a) || SBrb.: EWlmd. *ə-mrər* “attacher solidement” [PAM 2003, 553; 1998, 222] || Bed. (a)marrarai (*marārai*?) “to assemble (intr.)” [Rpr. 1928, 218]. Ultimately related to AA *m-r “to bind” [GT].

• **801. AA *m-r** (?) “heap of stones (?)” > NBrb.: Shilh *i-miri* “tas de pierre et muraille en pierres sèches”, tizi *n imiri* “col du tas de pierres”, a-mra “contrefort en pierres des champs cultivés en terrasse” [Lst. 1942, 40, §77, §79] | Tamazight *i-mr-an* (pl.) “grosses pierres enfoncées à moitié dans la terre, qui servent de bornes délimitant une propriété” [Tf. 1991, 428] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *mémeré* “murette en pierres des terrasses” [Brt. 1988, 176].

• **802. AA *m-r** “to order” > Sem. **māri*?- “commander” [GT]: Ug. *mrù* “to command” [Gordon 1955, 291, #1161] = “Offizier” [WUS #1664] = *mrù* “Ausüßer eines gewissen Berufs, Offizier” [WUS #1661] = *mrù*, syll. [murʷu] “commander” < √mrʷ “to command” [Hnrg. 1987, 148-9] | BAram. *mārē*(?) (st.cstr.) “Herr” [GB 914] = “lord” [KB 1921], Aram. (inscr.) *mr* ~ *mrʷ* “господин, владелец, начальник” [SAN IV 201-2] = (Nabat.) *mrʷ* “lord, master” [Jobling 1995, 50] = *mrʷ* “lord, master”, (Official) *mr-wt* “rule, kingship” [DNWSI 682-9, 691], Samar. Aram. *mrʷ* “masterdom”, *mār* “Lord (said about God)” [Tal 2000, 484], JAram. (TTM) *mārā* “Herr” [Dalman 1922, 251] = *mār*, cstr. *mārē*- “Herr, Besitzer”, *mārā*? or *mārī* “herrisch sein, befehlen”, *mārōn* “Mann, Herr” [Levy 1924 III 233-4, 245], Syr. *mār(əy)ā* “lord” [Brk. 1928, 401], Mnd. *marā* ~ *maria* “Lord, master, owner, possessor”, *mariut(a)* “lordship, dominion, mastery” [DM 251, 254], Maʿlula √mwr: *mōra* “Herr, Besitzer” [Bergsträsser 1921, 58] (Aram.: Kogan 2005, 532, §10) | OSA: Sab. *mrʷ* “man, (over)lord, suzerain, social superior, divine lord, male” [SD 87] = “1. man, person, 2. lord (divine or human)” [Biella 1984, 283], Madhabi *mrʷ* “seigneur” [Arbach 1993, 70], Ar. *marʷ*?- “Mann” [GB] = *marʷ*?- ~ *mirʷ*?- ~ *murʷ*?- “man (vir)”, *muruw-w-at*- ~ *murū/ūʷ-at*- “manhood, power, strength, humanity” [Eitan] (Sem.: Frz. 1964, 267, #2.36; AHW 615; Lsl. 1969, 20; Djk. 1970, 472, fn. 86) || SBrb.: EWlmd. *maṛāw* “autoriser, donner la permission à, etc.” [PAM 2003, 554] || HECu.: Sidamo *murr-isa* “to order, command”, *murr-ičča* (m) “lit.: one who gives orders: a member of the clan (*sēra*) who has the task of giving order on

the occasion of wi⁹la, or when a house has to be built, or for a sçra work” [Gsp. 1983, 242-3] = murr-is- “to order” [Hds. 1989, 108, 387: isolated in HECu.] ||| NOm.: Dorze & Shinasha mura “chief” [Alm. 1993, 6].

• **803. AA *m-r-Ŝ** “a duck specimen (?)” > Eg. m3š⁶⁷ [reg. < *mrš] “eine Ente” (OK, GHWb 321; ÄWb I 505) ||| LECu.: perhaps PBonî *mériš (m) “honey bird” [Heine 1982, 147] ||| CCh.: perhaps Mafa méréž [-zl] “Ponogarthia squarroza (Poacees)” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 231] ||| ECh.: Somray mǎrsá ~ mǎsǎrá (old form), pl. mǎrsé “canard” [Jng. 1993 MS, 44; 1978, 182].

• **804. AA *m-r-g** “1. confused, 2. sad” > Sem.: Ar. mariğa “3. être en désarroi, se déranger, se désorganiser (se dit des affaires politiques d’une communauté ou de sa religion qui se corrompt)” [BK II 1087] = “turbatus et confusus fuit” [Rn.] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. a-mareg, pl. i-murag “douleur, mal d’amour” [Abès 1916, 110] = a-marg/y, pl. i-murag/y “1. amour, 2. chagrin d’amour, 3. mélancolie, 4. tristesse, 5. nostalgie, désir de voir ses parents” [Tf. 1991, 430] ||| LECu.: Somali múrug “Verwirrung, Bestürzung, Trauer”, caus. murg-ī ~ murug-ay “in Verwirrung, Bestürzung, Trauer versetzen” [Rn. 1902, 301] = murug-on-ayya “to become sad” [Abr. 1964, 183] = murug “resentment (Ärger)” [Farah & Heck 1993, 251].

• **805. AA *m-r-K** “to encircle” > NOm.: Chara mǎrga “fence” [Bnd. 1974 MS, 4] ||| CCh.: PKotoko *(m)αργα “кольцо” [Prh.] = *marg- “ring” [GT]: Makeri marge “bague” [Lbf.], Gulfei mǎrəŋge “bague” [Lbf.], Kuseri arga [*m-?] “bague” [Lbf.], Afade marge “bague” [Lbf.] = markéh “Fingerring” [Stz.] (Ktk.: Lbf. 1942, 163; Slk. 1967, 318, #564; Prh. 1972, 78, #49.10).

• **806. AA *m-r-^o** “egret” > Eg. (*)m3^o, hrgl. depicting the “head of a crested bird: heron (?)” (EG 1927, 464, H2 & n.1; Vcl. in DELC 106) = “la tête d’un oiseau de la famille des ardéidés, appelé *m3^o.t: l’aigrette” (Godron 1957, 19-20) = “l’ardéidé, le héron cendré, image du phénix égyptien (bénou)” (Meeks 1994, 205, cf. Houlihan 1986, 15-16), attested in CT VI 285c as m3^o “heron” (AECT II 231; DCT 156) ||| CCh.: Kotoko mǎrà⁹ù “cattle egret, garde-boeuf” (≈ Hs. bâlbéélà “the buff-backed heron or cattle egret, Bubulcus ibis”, Brg. 1934, 69; Abr. 1962, 68) [Bouny 1975, 22, §341.a].

• **807. AA *m-r-ḥ** “to descend (originally to a lower part of a field?)” > Sem.: Ar. maraḥa II “4. sortir sur le champ de bataille, descendre dans l’arène” [BK II 1087] ||| Eg. m3ḥ “(r n m3ḥ) als Ortbezeichnung” (Lit. MK, Wb II 31, 6) = “pasture” (FD 103) = “Weide, wohl: der in der Niederung am Wasser gelegene Bruch” (Guglielmi 1973, 136: cf. Lüddeckens in MDAIK 11, 1943, 32, first under Amenemhat II) = “*Bruch (in der Niederung am Wasser gelegen), in der Niederung am Wasser gelegene Weide” (GHWb 320) ||| SCu.: Ma’a -dí-mi “to descend” (di- “down”), -dí-miri “to put down” [Ehret 1980, 158, #40] ||| WCh.: Gwandara mómóri “1. furrow in the field, on which rice or cotton is planted, 2. low ground where water gathers” [Mts. 1972, 82].

⁶⁷ This is the probably correct reading of the word earlier spelled as m3^o “Art Ente” (Wb), suggested by G. Godron (1957, 20) and R. Hannig (GHWb 321). Besides, Eg. m3š has a further OK (V/V1.) ex. (ÄWb I.c.).

- **808. AA *m-r-ḥ** “to be spoilt, destroyed” > Akk. (a/jB) marāḫu “to allow to become spoiled (?)”, cf. mirḫu “ergot” [CAD m1, 265 & m2, 106]⁶⁸ || JAram. mərəḥ nifal “to be crushed into a viscid mass”, cf. pael “to strike off the pile, finish” [Jastrow 1950, 841], Samar. Aram. mrḥ “spoiling”, mrwḥ (qāṭol adj.) “spoiled” [Tal 2000, 485] | OSA mrḥ “to destroy (разрушить)” [IS 1976, §310 < ?] || Eg. mrḥ “verderben, vergehen (Seele, Leichnam, Platz)” (XVIII., Wb II 111, 14-20) = “to go to ruin” (Badauy 1956-57, 73) = “to decay (of buidings)” (FD 112) = “deterioration” (Ward) = “to decay, pass away” (PL 443) || NOm.: (?) Gamu mōr- “1. to make a mistake, 2. spoil, destroy” [Sottile 1999, 429].
- **809. AA *m-r-h** “opening, hole” > Ar. murh-at- “2. creux en terre où l’eau demeure stagnante” [BK II 1097] || Eg. m3h.t [< *mrh.t] “Tür: 1. Außentür des Tempels zwischen den Türmen des Pylons, 2. Tür der Tempelräume, 3. Kapellentür” (GR, Wb II 30, 11-13) = “lieu à ciel ouvert, vestibule” (Ceugney 1880, 2, §4) = (masc. var. m3h) “Tür” (Edfu, Kurth 1994, 12, #48) || NAgaw: Bilin már-ā “der Raum unmittelbar vor dem Hause, Gehöfte, vor der Türe, daher auch: die Türe, nämlich der Platz vor der Türe” [Rn.], Hamir mir-ā, pl. mir “Tür” [Rn.], Qwara mey-ā ~ mäy-ā [-y- < *-r-] “Tür” [Rn.] = mäy kana “door” [Apl.], Falasha meya “door” [Apl.] (Agaw: Rn. 1884, 394; 1887, 273; Apl. 1996, 14) || CCh.: Mada mîré “intervalle, espace vide entre objets” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 192].
- **810. AA *m-r-n** “wet substance, water” > Sem.: Ar. marana “rendre mou, imbiber” [Dozy II 585] || CCh.: Fali-Bwagira murîn “river” [Krf.] || ECh.: Gadang mârân “1. pluie, 2. dieu” [JI 1990 MS, 4, #76].
- **811. AA *m-r-w** “desert” (???) > Ar. √mrw: marwar-ât- “désert” [BK II 1097], cf. also Ar. marîr- “5. désert” [BK II 1084] || Eg. mrw “Wüste, bes. als Ort der Wüstentiere und als Herkunftsort kostbarer Gesteine” (XVIII., Wb II 109, 5).
- **812. AA *m-r-y ~ *m-y-r** (?) “to haste, gallop (animal)” > Ar. mry: marā I “3. faire courir sa monture le plus vite possible (avec acc. de la monture, en tirer, pour ainsi dire, toute la vitesse à l’aide du fouet, etc.)” [BK II 1097] (provided ≠ mry I “1. presser avec les doigts”) || (?) Eg. mr or mj (?) “als aufmunternder Zuruf an Vieh” (V., MK, Wb II 41, 8) = “ein oft gebrauchter Treiberruf”, mr/j wr “läuft schnell (eigtl. sehr)!” (Guglielmi 1973, 14, cf. also LÄ V 194) = “auf, hüh! (Treibruf an Vieh)”, mr jj wr “hüh, lauf schnell!” (GHWb 344; ÄWb I 538) || NBrb.: Tamazight √m-r: a-mmeṛ [reg. < *√m-y-r] “se dépêcher, se hâter, faire vite, accélérer, faire qqch. sans s’arrêter” [Tf. 1991, 427] || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr mærumær “aller vite” [PAM 2003, 553] || Bed. marâ “to trot (camel) at fastest possible pace short of galloping” [Rpr. 1928, 217] = marai “to trost fast (camel)” [Hds. 1996 MS, 94] || WCh.: PAngas *mʿār > younger *mʿar

⁶⁸ The identification of the Akk.-Aram. root is due to A. Tal (l.c.). Usually, Akk. ḥ points to Sem. *ḥ, but L. Kogan (1995) demonstrated the lexical evidence for occasional shift of Akk. ḥ < Sem. *ḥ, which is confirmed in our case by OSA mrḥ. V.M. Illič-Svityč (l.c.) affiliated the OSA root with PBHbr. mrḥ “(ab)reiben, bestreichen” [Levy 1924 III 248] = “ab-, zerreiben, glätten” [GB] < OTHbr. mrḥ qal “mit einem Heilmittel bestreichen” [GB 461], which would imply a remote cognacy with Eg. mrḥ.t “oil” (q.v.). W. von Soden (AHW 608) too, suggested a relationship of Akk. marāḫu ~ Sem. *mrḥ “einreiben”.

“to leap” [GT 2004, 261]: Angas myaar “to leap, ricochet” [Flk. 1915, 251] = myáar ~ myar “springen” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] = myàr “to jump” [ALC 1978, 41] = mīar ~ myar “to jump” [Gcl. 1994, 62, 70].

• **813. AA *m-r-y** “to sing” > Eg. mr.t “Sängerin (?), Name zweier Göttinnen, besonders als Musikantinnen” (OK, Wb II 107, 2-3; Pusch 1974, 20 after Junker: Giza VII 37) = “chanteuse” (Hickmann 1958, 127) = “musician-goddess” (FD 111) = “Sängerschaft, Sängergruppe” (Guglielmi 1991, 9) = “songstress, singer” (PL 445), cf. mr.wt (coll.) “Sängerschaft” (III., Kahl & Kloth & Zimmermann 1995, 13D, 249) || WCh.: Hausa muryà (f) “voice, tone, melody, musical tone (pitch) in speech” [Abr. 1962, 687] || ECh.: Kera muráy “Musik der Gurna” [Ebert 1976, 82] | Toram măriye “chanteuse” [Alio 2004, 259, #301]? Cp. perhaps also ECh.: WDangla mīliya (f) “chanteuse” [Fédry 1971, 133], Bidiya milay “1. louer, chanter, 2. être sage”, mīlay (f) “chanson, louage, manière”, milaayà (f) “chanteuse, femme qui pousse le you-you”, milaayò (m) “personne qui joue du tamtam, un artiste” [AJ 1989, 99].

• **814. AA *m-l** (perhaps *mala?) “as” > Sem.: Akk. mala, mali, mal, malla/u “entsprechend (wie), gemäß”, mal(a)mališ ~ mammališ “entsprechend” [AHW 591, 596] = mala “im Vergleich zu” [Brk.] = mala “as much as, as many as, everything that, everybody who” [CAD m1, 143f.]⁶⁹ || NBrb.: Mzab mālmi ~ bālmi “quand, lorsque” [Dlh. 1984, 118] || LECu.: Oromo (Orma & Waata dialects) mala “2. as, when, while (cf. 1. time moment)” [Strm. 1987, 363] || NOm.: Wolamo melā “come, a simiglianza di ...” [Crl. 1929, 32] || CCh.: Daba mala “comme” [Mch. 1966, 136] | Mofu mēlēy “to be equal” [Rossing 1978, 245, #240]. Areal parallel: Tarok māl “gleich sein” [Sibomana 1981, 266].

• **815. AA *m-l** “beyond present (?): before or after” > OHbr. mūl (prep.) “vor, gegenüber von, unterhalb (einer Gegend)” [GB 405] = “1. front (n.), 2. (prep.) opposite” [KB 556]⁷⁰ borrowed into LEg. mr (GW) “Adverb, vielleicht der Zeit: früher (?), im Gegensatz zu jetzt (?)” (late NK: Pap. Bibl. Nat. 197/8, Wb II 108, 12) = “earlier, formerly” (DLE I 225) = “früher, *drüben, jenseits” (GHWb 347) || NBrb.: Shilh-Tazerwalt i-māl “im nächsten Jahre” [Stumm 1899, 189] | Tamazight i-mal “l’an(née) prochain(e)” [Tf. 1991, 417] | Rif i-mar “année prochaine” [Tlm. 1998, 64], Mzab i-mal “l’an prochain” [Dlh. 1984, 117], Wargla i-mal ~ (parfois) i-man “prochain(e) fois, une autre fois, à venir (se dit surtout pour l’an prochain)” [Dlh. 1987, 189] || SCu.: Asa mile-k “the day before yesterday, after tomorrow” [Flm.] (Cu.: Dlg. 1973, 194) || SOm.: Ari māl “outside” [Bnd.], Galila māl

⁶⁹ W.F. Albright (1927, 202) and F. Behnk (1927, 82, #13) equated Akk. mala with Eg. mr, hence (OK) mj “1. (Präposition) gleichwie, wie, 2. (Konjunktion vor Verbum finitum usw.) wenn ..., so lange als” (OK, Wb II 36-38), for which cf. rather AA *m-r “as, when” (above). C. Brockelmann (1932, 800) erroneously combined the Eg.-Akk. parallel with NBrb.: Warsenis ammi, Shawiya em “comme”. W. von Soden (AHW l.c.) and CAD (l.c.), in turn, identified the Akk. conj. as the st. cstr. of Akk. malû “Fülle”, which would exclude its comparison with Eg. mr etc.

⁷⁰ The origin of this prep. is highly debated: (1) P. Haupt (AJSL 22, 1905-6, 150, 253, Caquot l.c.; cf. also GB 405): < *mā-ʔōl from Hbr. ʔwl “vorne sein”; (2) P. Lacau (1970, 88, §228): ~ Hbr. mwl qal “to circumcise” [KB 555]; (3) Ar. myl “to bow down”, mayl- “inclination towards”; (4) GT: perhaps a distinct root from the AA heritage?

“the outside” [Flm.], Dime *mīl-o* “the outside” [Flm.] = *mel-o* “outside” [Bnd.] (SOm.: Flm. 1988, 173; Bnd. 1994, 155).

• **816. AA *m-l** “sand” > Ar. *ʔamīl-* “montagne sablonneuse, large d’un mille et longue d’une journée de marche” [BK I 56] = “dunes de sable” [DRS 22] ||l EBrb.: Ghadames *ta-mellil-it* “sabbia” [Prd.], Audjila *mlāl* “polvere, sabbia” [Prd. 1960, 172], Fogaha *u-mlāl* “sabbia, polvere” [Prd. 1961, 301], Sokna *u-mlāl* “sabbia, terra” [Prd.].

• **817. AA *m-l** “chief” > Eg. *mr* [*ml]⁷¹ “Vorgesetzter, Vorsteher, oberster Verwalter” (OK, Wb II 94, 5-13; WD I 89 with lit.) > LEg. var. *r* (from the Saite period, Piehl, ZÄS 21, 1883, 128, fn. 1; 1890, 106, fn. ‡; Griffith 1899, 271; Grd. 1902-3, 143; Franke 1984, 118-9, §518a & §540) reflecting act. *la ~ *lo (Franke 1984, 118-9) > OCpt. *λo-* (Spg., RT 24, 188; Fecht 1960, 134, §259; KHW 74; DELC 93; Vcl. 1990, 248) > Cpt. **λα-* ~ **λε-* ~ **ελο-* (prefix in st.nom.) “Vorsteher” (Griffith 1899, 271; Spg. KHW 48 & fn. 8; KHW 74) in the compounds⁷² ||l Ch. *m-l “chief (Häuptling)” [GT]: CCh.: Zulgo *mala kute* [Lks. 1973, 248-9], Hurzo *maḥmaḥ hū* “chef de village” [Mch.] | Mbara *mīlī* “chef” [TSL 1986, 272, 286] | Gidar *mul* “chef de village” [Mch.] = *mūlya* [Mch./JI; Skn.] | Masa (“Bana”) *mūl* “Häuptling” [Lks. 1937, 129; Ajl.] = *mul* “chef de village” [Mch.] = *mūl-la* < *mul-na [Mch./JI] = *mūl-lā*, pl. *mūlyā-nā* “chief” [Jng. 1973 MS] = *mūl-la* “chef” [Ctc. 1983, 108], Gizey & Ham & Musey *mūl* “chef” [Ajl.], Marba *ʔamūl* “chef” [Ajl.] (Masa gr.: *Aje llo* 2001, 14; CCh.: Mch. 1953, 185) || ECh.: Kwang *mālā* “chef” [Jng. 1973 MS, 48] = *mūlā-tē* “chief” [Jng./JI], Kwang-Mobu *mālā-dé* [Jng.], (?) Kera *kū-mná* [< *ku-mla?] “chief” [Ebert] | Kabalay *kū-mālō* [Cpr.], Lele *kūr-mbālō* [Gowers], Gabri *kā-lmā* [met. < *-mla] “chef” [Cpr. 1972 MS]

⁷¹ Traditionally explained as a frozen nisba compound *jmj-r* literally meaning “im Munde Befindliches” (Behnk) = „was im Munde ist, der welcher etw. zu befehlen hat” (Wb) = “im Munde von, Mundinhalt (sic)” (Sethe) = “he who is in the mouth (i.e., of his subordinates)” (Grd.) = “das, was im Munde ist” (Helck) = “in dessem Mund (die Befehlsgewalt liegt)” (Lange) = “der, in dem/welchem der Ausspruch (r) ist” (Fecht) = “darin befindlich ist der Ausspruch” (Westendorf) = “1. der im Munde ist (seiner Untertanen), or 2. der, in dem der Spruch ist bzw. der, den Spruch hat” (Allam) = “he in whom speech is” (Fischer) = “der sich im Mund befindet” or “der, in dem sich der Spruch befindet” (Buchberger) = “einer, der der Mund ist” (Gdk.). The present Eg.-Ch. etymology discards this old view, all the more, since the earliest (OK) records display but *mr* (alphabetically) contrary to the later pseudoetymological writing *jmj-r* (from the MK on) reflecting a secondary re-analysis of this title.

⁷² (1) (S) *ελο-ιζ* “shepherd” (CD Add., xvib & 55b) = “(Rinder-)Hirte” (KHW 34; Stz. 1994, 196) = “chef de boeufs” (Vcl. 1990, 248, #4) < Dem. *mr-jh* „Rindervorsteher” (DG 166:2) < Eg. *mr-jh.w* “Vorsteher der Rinder(herden)” (Fecht, KHW, cf. Wb I 119, 21); (2) (S) *λε-μνιϋε*, (L) *λε-μνιϋε* ~ -c- “Hauptmann, Krieger, Held” (KHW 79) = “commandement de troupe” (Vcl. 1990, 247, #4) = “Krieger” (Stz. 1994) < Dem. *mr-mš* “1. militärischer Titel, 2. Priestertitel” (DG 166:5) < Eg. *mr-mš* “General” (Wb II 155, 16) > Gk. *λεμῖσα*, vars. *λέμυσος*, *λεμύση* “titre de pretre egyptien” (Fournet 1989, 70, §7 & fn. 46) ~ Meroitic *plmos* (Griffith, JEA 3, 1916, 121-2) = /pelmos/, probably *pelamosa „der Offizier” (Stz. 1980, 83) = *pelamusa (Peust 1992, 118, #c); (3) (SL) *λα-ϣανε* “village magistrate or official” (CD 148a) = “ein Beamter: Dorfschulze, auch allgemein: Machthaber, Herrscher” (KHW 81 & fn. 4) = “Schulze” (Stz.) < Dem. *mr-šn* „Oberpriester, Lesonis” (DG 166:9) < Eg. *mr-šn.t* “Beamter mit richterlicher Befugnis” (MK, XVIII., Wb IV 498) > Gk. *λεσώνις* ~ *λεσώνιος* ~ *λασάνι* “chef administrateur d’un temple (≈ ἄρχιερεὺς)” (Fournet 1989, 70, §8 & fn. 47), Meroitic *plsn* (Griffith, JEA 3, 1916, 114, 121).

l Bidiya milo, pl. mele “propriétaire, créateur”, e.g. miloo-čo ʔùlay “chef de terre” [AJ 1989, 99] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 73).

• **818. AA *m-l** “stone” > NOm.: Zayse & Zergulla mel-o “stone” [Bnd.] = mál-o [Sbr.] (SEOmeto: Bnd. 1971; Mkr. 1981, 212, #43.c; Sbr. 1994, 20; Blz. 1990, 208) ||| ECh.: Kwang dials.: Gaya mOlo, Alowa & Mindera & Tchagine Golo & Ngam & Kawalke mOlđo, Mobu moro “pierre” (Kwang: Coates 1991 MS, 2, 5).

• **819. AA *m-l** “Hügel” > Sem.: PBHbr. $\sqrt{\text{mly}}/\sqrt{\text{mwl}}$: mōlī “Erdhöhung, Hügel” & JAram. mōlyā “Erhöhung, hügelige Stelle” [Levy 1924 III 49] | Ar. mīl- “4. grand monticule de sable, 5. pierre milliaire”, māyil-at- “4. bosse du chameau, 5. grand monticule de sable” [BK II 1175] ||| Eg. mn.w (stone det.) “mountain range (of the land bordering the Nile)” (NK hapax: Pap. Leiden I 348, rt. 2:3, Borghouts 1971, 46, n. 28; DLE I 219) = “Gebirgszug” (GHWb 338) vs. mn.tj (dual of sg. *mn.t) “die beiden Berge: die beiden Bergzüge östlich und westlich des Niltales” (GR, Wb II 69, 3) = “the ranges east and west of the Nile, esp. the place of origin of precious metals” (Lucas & Rowe 1938, 145, fn. 5) = “falaise” (Drioton 1940, 409, §5) = sg. “chaîne montagne, région minière”, dual “les deux plateaux, falaises” (Auffrère 1990, 20, 25, 66) = “mountains, mountain ranges of Egypt” (PL 438-9) = “die beiden Ufergebirge” (Osing 1998, 108, n. c & n. h) ||| SCu.: (???) Dahalo málōl-a, pl. málōlēma “cow’s hump” [EEN 1989, 37]⁷³ ||| WCh.: Goemay mel “to rise very high” [Srl. 1937, 137] (GT 2004, 245: isolated in AS) || ECh.: Kera móolē “stapeln” [Ebert 1976, 82]. For Eg.-AA see Takács 2004, 208, #976.

• **820. AA *m-l** “belly” > NOm.: Doko mill-ē “ventre” [CR 1927, 249] | Haruro mīll-ē “fianco” [CR 1937, 654] | Mao: Hozo ómālī “guts”, Sezo máallē “guts” (Mao: Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 13) ||| ECh.: Sokoro mel-dum “dein Bauch” [AF] = mēel “Leib” [Lks. 1937, 36] = mēl(ú) “belly (external)” [Saxon 1977 MS, 3, #22] = mēl(lú) “belly” [Saxon in JI 1994 II, 21].

• **821. AA *m-l** “straight”⁷⁴ > NOm.: SEOmt. *mol-o “straight” [Bnd. 2003, 110, #94]: e.g. Zayse & Zrg. mol-o [Bnd. 2003, 336, #94] ||| CCh.: Hwona mīlmīl “correct” | Kilba mīl mīlú “correct” (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #287).

• **822. AA *m-l** “palm” > Eg. m3m3 [reg. < *mlml] “Dumpalme” (BD, Wb II 29, 7; cf. Brugsch 1891, 29-30; Müller 1894, 31, fn. 1) = “dom-palm” (FD 103) ||| NBrb.: Mzab a-mlaw, pl. i-mlaw-ən “datte molle, à demi mûre” [Dlh. 1984, 118] || SBrb.: Ahaggar ě-mellé, pl. i-mellī-t-en “nom d’une espèce de dattiers, 2. dattes produites par les dattiers ěmellé” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1193] ||| NOm.: Mao mulu “palma” [Grt. 1940, 356] ||| ECh.: Lele mīlī “deleb-palm” [Simons 1981, 8, #110.c] = “Borassus flabellifer: palmier rônier, Rônier” [WP 1982, 63].

• **823. AA *m-l** “(to twist) rope” > Sem.: (?) Emar Akk. mālту (ma-a-al-tu₄) “lien” [Nougayrol quoted by Sjoberg 1998, 278, §81.n] = “bolt” [Hnrg.], JNAram. mulla

⁷³ For the possible semantic shift cf. German Höcker „Buckel” vs. Hocke „Haufen” vs. Hügel, both akin to Lithuanian kiúgis „großer Heuhaufen von mehreren Fudern” (Kluge 1999, 378).

⁷⁴ The underlying PAA root might have been *m-l-^c root provided related to AA *m-r-^c „right” > Eg. m3^c „richtig, wahr” (OK, Wb II 12-15) ||| CCh.: Zeghwana maña „correct” [Kraft 1981, #287] || ECh.: Somray mārúwe „directement” [Jng. 1978, 205].

“string” [S a b a r 2002, 218] || LECu.: Saho mamûl-ā “Strick, Seil, Tau” [Rn. 1890, 268] || WCh.: Tangale malle “to intertwine (two: rope, thread, cotton, etc.), cf. malmę “1. to put a thread, rope, etc., around an object, 2. embrace, coil (snake)” [Jng. 1991, 119] || ECh.: EDangla mālīyē “wickeln” [E b o b i s s e 1979, 141; 1987, 100]. Related to AA *m-l “to be round” (below)?

• **824. AA *m-l** “to knead into ball” > Eg. mrrj.t “Klumpen o.ä. (von Weihrauch)” (Lit. MK, Wb II 110, 14; GHWb 349) = “paquet (?) (d’encens sacré)” (D é v a u d 1916, 206) = “lumps (?) (of incense)” (FD 112) || WCh.: Hausa mûlmûlāá “to knead between the fingers”, mûlmûlè (m) “kneaded-ball, ball (of fûráá)” [Abr. 1962, 683] || ECh.: Lele mòmlf “faire une boule” [WP 1982, 64]. Related to the following root?

• **825. AA *m-l** “to be round” (or sim.) > LECu.: Afar mīlā (var. bīlā) “Fuß- oder Armring” [Rn. 1886, 881], Oromo mulul-ēssū “to make round, roll”, mulull-ē “sphere, globe”, mulull-ōma “sphericity”, mulul-ū “round, spherical, globular” [Btm. 2000, 203] || SOM. *mul- “round” [GT] > Ari mull-a, Dime mīl-u, mul-ū (SOM.: Bnd. 1994, 157) || WCh.: Hausa mīlīlīlī “small and round (re fruit)” [Abr. 1962, 675] || CCh.: Mafa mēl-mēlle’e “sphérique, lisse (pour une tête)” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 225] || ECh.: EDangla mālīyē “(en)rouler, bander (une plaie)”, cf. mālmlē “1. tourner autour, 2. faire la cour (animaux)” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 193].

• **826. AA *m-l** “to be red” > SBrb.: Ahaggar he-melmel “être rouge et brillant comme un tison: être rouge et éticelant (feu, métal en fusion ou chauffé au rouge, un brasier, objet embrasé, soleil levant ou couchant ...)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1197] || CCh.: (?) PMasa *mbal [Masa *mb- reg. < *m-] “to rust” [GT]: Zime-Dari mbāl “1. (se) rouiller, 2. teindre, colorer (en rouge)” [Cooper 1984, 17], Lama mbāl “1. se rouiller, 2. teindre, colorer” [Scn. 1982, 309].

• **827. AA *m-l** “dry” > Hbr. ʔml pulal “vertrocknen (von Öl, einem Lande, einer Stadt, einer kinderlosen Weibe, Menschen)” [GB 48] = ʔml (with a by-form mll) qal “to wilt, wither, dry up”, pulal “1. to wither, dry out”, hitpoal “to dry up” [KB 593] || HECu.: Kambatta mōl- “to dry (intr.)”, mōl-a “dry” [Hds.], Sidamo mōl-ā “1. secco, arido, 2. stagione asciutta” [Crl. 1938 II, 214] = mol- “seccare” [Mrn. 1940, 230] = mōla “1. to be dry, dry up (intr.), 2. be barren (woman)” & “dry, barren” [Gsp. 1983, 237] = mōl- “to dry (intr.)”, mōl-a “dry”, mōll-e “drought”, mōll-o “dryness” [Hds.], Hadiya omal- “to dry (intr., of wound)” [Hds.], Alaba mōl-a “dry” [Lmb.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 53-54) || NOM.: Ometo *mel- “seccare” [Mrn. 1938, 152] > NWOmeto *mel- “dry” [Bnd. 2000 MS, 55, §38] (NWOmeto: Alm. 1993, 9) | Zayse-Zergulla mela [Sbr.], Kachama mela [Sbr.], Koyra mela “dry” [Flm. 1990, 27] = melleše [Sbr.] (SEOmt.: Sbr. 1994, 13; HECu.-Omt.: LS 1997, 459) || CCh.: Muktele mīlmilē “dry season” [Rsg. 1978, 320, #611], Gisiga muʔul “vertrocknen” [Lks. 1970, 130] || ECh.: EDangla mūlē “sécher, déssecher, flétrir, s’étioier, se putréfier, fermenter, pourrir ...” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 211] = “trocknen” [Ebs. 1979, 125; 1987, 96].

• **828. AA *m-l** “near” > HECu.: Sidamo molē “vicino”, cf. mulç (prep.) “sotto, a danno di ...” [Crl. 1938 II, 214] = mulé “presso, vicino” [Mrn. 1940, 231] = mulé (m) “near, soon (in space, time)” [Gsp. 1983, 240] = mule ~ mulé (adv.) “near”, cf. mule “next to

(the bed)” [Hds. 1989, 104-5, 387: isolated in HECu.] ||l WCh.: Saya mel “near” [Csp. 1994, 59]? Areal parallel: ONub. mol “zu, in die Nähe von” [BG 1996, 208], Nuba - mōlla “nahe bei” [BG] = mɔ:l “nahe” [Hohenwart-Gerlachstein 1979, 281]. Related to AA *m-l “near”?

• **829. AA *m-l** “full” > Sem. *mlʔ “to fill” [GT]: Akk. malû (OAkk., O-MAss. malāʔum) “voll sein, werden, sich füllen” [AHW 596-7] || Hbr. mlʔ qal “1. voll sein, werden, 2. füllen” [GB 423] | Ar. malaʔa “(r)emplir qqch.” [BK II 1141] || Geez malʔa “to fill (up), complete, multiply, be full, filled, overflow, be completed, be abundant, come to an end” [Lsl. 1987, 342] etc. (Sem.: Cohen 1961, 70, §110; Rabin 1975, 87, §32) ||l SBrb.: Ayr mällu “être (rempli) entièrement, pleinement, être concentré”, EWlmd. & Ayr mələməl “être complètement rempli” [PAM 2003, 537, 540] ||l SCu.: Iraqw milalāʕ [ext. -ʕʔ] “to fill to the brim” [MQK 2002, 73] ||l NOm.: Wolayta mūliya (mng. obscure) “perhaps totality, wholeness”, cf. ɣamma mūliya “the whole night” [LS 1997, 461 with improbable cognates] ||l WCh.: Hausa mālālā “to flow into, onto, over, pervade”, mālālā “abundantly”, mālālālé “1. to flow out, leak out, 2. flow into, onto, over, pervade entirely” [Abr. 1962, 650] || CCh.: Mada mēla-kiya “full moon” (cf. MM *kiya “moon”) [Rsg. 1978, 293, #476].

• **830. AA *m-l** “to join, accompany” > NBrb.: Qabyle mlil “1. rencontrer, 2. se rencontrer, se rejoindre”, a-mlili “rencontre” [Dlt. 1982, 496-7; Chaker 1987, 163] ||l HECu.: Sidamo mīla “companion(s), fellow(s)”, milimma “vicinity” [Gsp. 1983, 231] = milimma “vicinity” [Hds. 1989, 386] ||l ECh.: Tumak mā:l “accompagner” [Cpr. 1975, 82], Sarwa mālā “accompagner” [JI 1990 MS, 1, #3], cf. Gadang mār [-r < *-lʔ] “accompagner” [JI 1990] | Sokoro mōlewē “to follow” [Lks.] (JI 1994 II, 151: isolated in Ch.). Related to AA *m-l “to accompany”?

• **831. AA *m-l** “to like” > Sem.: Ar. malaʔ- “6. désir ardent, concupiscence” [BK II 1142] ||l SBrb.: EWlmd. te-mōlli “baiser” [Ncl. 1957, 572], EWlmd. & Ayr mäll-āt “1. (donner un) baiser (à), 2. choyer (enfant)”, sə-mməll-ət “2. aimer beaucoup, chérir”, Ayr a-sā-mmälla “grand amour, amour sincère, tendre” [PAM 1998, 216; 2003, 537], Ghat ta-mella “compassion, pitié”, ta-mull-it “baiser”, mull-et “baiser” [Nhl. 1909, 132, 143, 190] ||l ECu.: Yaaku -māl- “to like, agree” [Heine 1975, 119, 129] ||l WCh.: Mundat mumúli “desire” [Seibert 2000 MS, #a033] || CCh.: (?) Kotoko mēlū “friend” [Bouny 1975, 24, §386] || ECh.: (?) Tumak mālā “ami” [Cpr. 1975, 83: “emprunt possible”].

• **832. AA *m-l** “good” [GT]: ES: Tigre malmäla “to be beautiful” [LH 108]⁷⁵ ||l NBrb.: Tamazight a-mellay “bon” [NZ] | Mzab ta-mella “charme, harmonie, galbe, belle apparence” [NZ] | Qabyle √m-l: a-mellay “bon, miséricordieux, compatissant, clément”, ta-mella-(t) “bonté, miséricordieuse, pitié, compatission, grâce” [NZ] ||l SBrb.: Ahaggar ta-mella, pl. ti-mell-iw-în “bonté, miséricordieuse, bonté tendre et compatissante ...” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1191], Ayr & EWlmd. i-mal “forme unique”, mol-än “good”, tə-mmul-t “good quality” [Alj. 1980, 127] = Ayr i-mal “être bon”, tə-mmol-t, pl. tə-mmol-ən “bonté, bon

⁷⁵ The etymology of the Tigre root has been disputed. (1) LH l.c.: ~ Ar. malīḥ- “beautiful”, while (2) Lsl. 1982, 51: ~ Tna. malmälä “to choose” > malmul “preferred, of beautiful appearance”.

qualité, beauté”, tă-mol-t, pl. tă-mol-en “jour faste (jour heureux, de triomphe)” [PAM 1998, 215-6; 2003, 536] (Brb.: NZ 1998, 143-4, §139) ||| NAgaw: Bilin milmil-í (f) “schön, grazios (nur auf Mädchen und Frauen angewendet)” [Rn. 1887, 270] ||| CCh.: Kotoko mëlà “sweet, pleasant” [Bouny 1975, 27, #446]? Areal parallel: Meroitic mlē [Chn.; Hintze 1955, 359] = mlo [Vcl. 1958, 76] = *ml(e/o) “bon” [Meeks 1973, 12] = mle ~ mlo (*mlē) [Bnd. 1981, 21] = ml(e/o) < *malo (?) [Mlt.], which was combined by M. Cohen (1947, 191) and A.Ju. Militarev (1984, 158, #9) with Sem. *mlh and Eg. mnh (probably false).

• **833. AA *m-l-(m-l)** “to move” > Sem.: Ar. malmala II “s’agiter dans son lit ne pouvant pas dormir, se tourner et retourner sur tous les côtés”, malmal-at- “rapidité des mouvements, célérité”, mulāmil- “agile, rapide, véloce” [BK II 1153] ||| Eg. mnmn “1. (intr.) sich bewegen, sich rühren, 2. (tr.) etw. fortbewegen, fortnehmen” (MK, Wb II 80-81) = “to quake, move (about)” (Badauy 1956-57, 73; DCT 168-9) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight melmel “bouger, remuer, se mouvoir” [Taifi 1991, 417] ||| HECu.: Sidamo milli yâ “to move (intr.), be shaken”, mill-isa “to move (intr.), be animated”, mill-o “movement, capability to move o’self” [Gsp. 1983, 232] = milli ass- “to shake (tr.)”, milli y- “to shake (intr.)” [Hds. 1989, 386] ||| NOm.: Gamu mül- “to shake” [Lmb. 1985 MS, 12, #303] ||| WCh.: (?) Pero málò “to wander about” [Frj. 1985, 41].

• **834. AA *m-l-(l)** “black” > Eg. mnnn (or mnn) ~ var. mn̄r (LP) “der Asphalt (zur Balsamierung und als Bestandteil einer Salbe)” (late NK-GR, Wb II 82, 9-14) = “résine noire, asphalte (?)” (Auffrère 1990, 41, 137-8) = “*Bitumen, *Naturasphalt, *Harzöl” (GHWb 339) = “resin, pitch, asphalt” (PL 430-1)⁷⁶ ||| NBrb.: Qabyle ti-mul-in “suie” [Dlt. 1982, 497] ||| LECu.: Boni mulūl’ “black”, mulūl’ ~ malūl “(char)coal” [Heine 1977, 289, 292; 1982, 95, 98], cf. also Somali māl-éyyo “1. black sap, 2. black blood mixed with impurities which issue from a wound” [Abr. 1964, 172] ||| CCh.: Daba memlin “noir” [Giger & Lienhard 1975, 100] ||| ECh.: Lele mīlī “noir (chevaux)”, mūm’lī “noir et déforme (ongle, mycose)” [WP 1982, 63] | Bidiya mòl “noircir les marmites avec de la bouse de vache” [AJ 1989, 100].

• **835. AA *m-l-(l)** “to suffer, be weak” (or sim.) > Sem. *mll “to wear away” [Bmh.]: (?) Hbr. mll qal “to wilt, wither” [KB 593] = “to languish” [Gray], JNAram. (< Ar.) mallul “sorrowful, painful” [Sabaar 2002, 219] | Ar. mll “gebeugt sein, sich hinschleppen” [GB] = mll I “s’ennuyer de la conduite”, V “être harcelé” [Fagnan 1923, 165] = II “ennuyer, fatiguer, rebuter, dégoûter, désenchanter, désenivrer” [Beaussier] = “to be ill with fever, ill-tempered” [KB] = “to be weary, faint” [Alb.] (contamination of two diverse roots?) || MSA *mll “to be tired” [GT]: Jbl. mell “to be fed up, despair of finishing sg. with so.”, emlél “to tire, make so. fed up”, mīlél “sickening person” [Jns. 1981, 171], Mhr. mæl “to be fed up of sg./so.”, mælél “sickening person (poet.), sickness (poet.)” [Jns. 1987, 265] ||| Eg. mn [< *ml] “krank sein, leiden” (OK, Wb II 66-67) = “1. to be ill, suffer (Med.),

⁷⁶ With regard to LEg. mn̄r and Cpt. -l-, it may be supposed that Eg. mnnn reflects *mll ~ *mnl (or the like) > PCpt. *μιολολ. As noted by W. Vycichl (DELCL 109), the final syllable in Cpt. (orig. *μιολολ?) may have been influenced by the Gk. nom. sg. neutr. ending -ov.

2. be troubled about (Lit. MK)” (FD 107) ||| NBrb.: Izdeg a-mlelli “vertige” [Mrc. 1937, 262] | Qabyale mmelel “2. faire très mal (point douloureux), 3. souffrir de” [Dlt. 1982, 496], cf. Zwawa mal “être dégoûté” [Blf. 1910, 219] ||| ECu.: Dullay: Tsamay malal “to be sick, tired” [Sava 2005 MS, 247], Harso, Dobase, Gollango malāl- “1. schwach werden, 2. zusammenbrechen (Mensch), 3. nicht können”, malāl-a “schwach (von Menschen)” [AMS 1980, 174, 212] ||| CCh.: (?) Musgu mīlik “Schmerz” [Rohlf’s in Lks. 1941, 67] || ECh.: Sokoro móle “ermüden” [Lks. 1937, 36]. For Eg.-AA see Takács 1998, 129, #5.

• **836. AA *m-l-l** “1. (to bake in) hot ashes, 2. coal” > Sem. *mll: JAram. malālā? “Glühkohle” [Dalman 1922, 238], MHbr. melel & JAram. malālā? “das Glimmen, Summen der Kohle” [Levy 1924 III, 134] = mi/īlālā? “embers” [Jastrow 1950, 792]⁷⁷ | Ar. mll I “2. mettre qqch. sous les cendres chaudes ou sur la braise pour griller, 3. passer au feu le bois de l’arc ou de la flèche pour le redresser”, VIII “3. braiser, griller, rôtir sous les cendres chaudes ou sur la braise”, mall- “2. braise”, malal- “marque imprimée avec un fer chaud sur l’os saillant sous l’oreille”, mall-at- “2. cendres chaudes ou braise, 3. creux que l’on fait dans les cendres chaudes pour y rôtir qqch.” [BK II 1140-1] = mll “to put (bread, flesh-meat) into ashes (to bake or roast)”, mall-at- “hot ashes, ashes and earth, in which fire is kindled” [Lane 3022-3] = mall-at- “proprement: la fosse dans laquelle on allume du feu, afin de cuire le pain sur des charbons et de cendres chaudes” [Dozy II 608] = mall-at- “1. cendres chaudes, 2. creux, fosse où l’on met les cendres chaudes destinées à cuire le pain” [Fagnan 1923, 165]⁷⁸, Dathina mll VII: ‘inmalla “être fourré dans les cendres chaudes”, mall-at [māllah] “cendre ou terre chauffée sous le charbon incandescent, le foyer (où se trouvent les cendres), pain”, malīl “cuit sous la centre”, mallāl “Feuersglut” [GD 2712] ||| Eg. mrr [*mll] (fire det.) “flame (?)” (CT V 168g, 169b, AECT II 43-44, spell 400, n. 8; DCT 173) = “flamme (?)” (AL 168, #78.1794; El-Sayed 1987, 64) = “Flamme (?)” (GHWb 348) ||| NBrb.: Zwara a-mmāl “cucina forno” [Prd. 1961, 298] ||| SBrb.: Ahhaggar ě-memmel, pl. i-memmel-en “tison (morceau de bois à demi-enflammé)”, dimin. té-memmel-t, pl. ti-memmel-īn “1. petit tison, 2. p.ext. petite braise ardente: petit fragment de bois réduit en charbon et ardent” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1198], EWlmd. e- ~ a-māmmāl, pl. i-māmmāl-ān “1. tison, 2. flambeau”, EWlmd.-Ayr mämmāl-ət “être ardent, brûler sans flammes (tison, feu, surface de qqch.)”

⁷⁷ In Hebrew lexicography, PBHbr. melel & Aram. of TTM ma/il(ə)lā „das Glimmen, Summen der Kohle” [Levy] are usually treated as a figurative sense developed from „das Wort, der Ausspruch” [Levy] = „word speech” [Jastrow]. Mistaken *Volksetymologie*?

⁷⁸ The AA etymology of the Ar. root has also been disputed. (1) A. Bey Kamal (1912-13, 241) compared Ar. ḥubzu mallati „pain cuit dans les cendres chaudes” and mullā „pain ou gâteau bien cuit” [BK II 1141] with a certain Eg. mnw (sic, stone det., no mng. provided). (2) V. Blažek (1992, 255), in turn, equated Ar. mall-at- with a certain LECu.: Somali maleyo „tar, pitch” [Blz.; absent in Rn. 1902, 296; Bell 1969, 175], where, in principle, the supposed semantic development can be justified, cf. e.g. PIE *smel- „langsam und rauchen verbrennen” > Czech smůla „pitch”, or cf. PIE *dʰegʰh- „brennen” > Lith. degūtas „tar” ~ degū, degti „to burn”. (3) Ch. Ehret (1997 MS, 203, #1798) identified Ar. mll with LECu.: Oromo mullū “boiled grain”, mull-ēs- “to boil grains” ||| NOm.: Mocha ‘mull-o “grains boiled in water” [< ECu.?). (4) G. Takács (1995, 105, #1) equated Ar. mll alternatively with LEG. mn.t ~ mnj.t (flame det.), „Schmelzfeuer” (LP, Wb), cf. also LEG. mn.w m dʰb.t „ein Kohlenfeuer” (GR, Wb II 69, 1).

[PAM 1998, 218; 2003, 542] || LECu.: Somali *míl-ayya* “(he is) melting (this)” [Abr. 1964, 180] || ECh.: Bidiya *mallè* (f) “cautère” [AJ 1989, 97], Mokilko *mállà* “1. chaleur” [Jng. 1990, 136].

• **837. AA *m-l-s ~ *m-s-l** “leg, thigh” > Eg. *mnz.tj* (or *mns.tj?*) dual [**mns.t* < **mls.t* via met. < **msl.t?*] “die Beine” (LP, Wb II 88, 7) = “jambe” (Lacau 1970, 150, #406) || Brb. **√m-s-l* “thigh” [GT]: NBrb.: Shilh a-*msel*, pl. i-m(e)sl-an “fesse, cuisseau, cuissot, râble” [Jordan 1934, 33] | Tamazight i-*mesli*, pl. i-mesl-an “1. fesse, 2. flanc, 3. arrière-train d’un animal” [Tf. 1991, 438] | Iznasen *ta-msäl-t*, pl. *ti-mesl-in*, Iboqqoyen & Tuzin a-*mseř*, pl. i-mesř-awen [ř-reg. < *-l-] “cuisse, arrière-train d’un animal” (Zenet: Rns. 1932, 386) || WBrb.: Zenaga *mäsl-ān* (pl.) “lombes, hanches”, cf. sg. a-măšč, pl. a-m^wašč-ən [-šč- < *-šř-reg. < *-sl-] “hanche” [Ncl. 1953, 219] || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-*msel*, pl. i-*msâl* “flanc (partie du côté comprise entre l’aiselle et la hanche chez les personnes et les quadrupèdes)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1255], EWImd. a-*msəl* & Ayr e-*msəl* (m) “1. flanc, 2. p.ext. croupe (du cheval)” [PAM 1998, 225] || ECh.: perhaps EDangla *lalmöos* [met. < **√m-l-s?*] “fémur, os de la cuisse (homme et animaux)” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 185].

• **838. AA *m-l-ḵ** “to draw (out), strip (off)” > Sem. **mlḵ* “to tear off (or sim.)” [GT]: Hbr. *mlq qal* “to pinch off (the head of a bird with one’s fingernails)” [KB 594] = “to nip off” [Lsl.], Samar. Aram. *mlq* “to unsheath” [Tal 2000, 474], Syr. *mlq* “to tear loose” [KB] = “to pluck off, peel” [Lsl.] | Ar. *mlq* VIII “2. tirer, extraire qqch.” [BK II 1150] = VIII “to pull, tear out” [KB] = VII *ʾimtalāqa* “to extract, draw out” [Lsl.] || Geez *malaqa* “to cut sever, pluck, break off, snap off” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 345) || LECu.: (?) Oromo *mulqū* “to finish completely” [Btm. 2000, 203] | HECu.: Sidamo *mulḵ* “1. to strip, take off (e.g. clothes), 2. take property away, 3. skin, flay (carcass of animal)” [Hds. 1989, 136, 148, 387: isolated in HECu.]. Further var. roots are attested in (1) Sem. **mlg*: PBHbr. *mlg* “abrupfen” [Dalman 1922, 237] = “to pluck, strip (of hair, feathers etc.)” [Jastrow 1950, 787], JPArām. *mlg* “to pluck” [Sokoloff 1990, 308] = “herausreißen” [AHW] = “to pluck” [Lsl.] vs. (2) AA **m-l-[ḥ]* “to pull (out), stretch” (below).

• **839. AA *m-l-k** “clay” > Sem.: Ar. *milāk*- “4. boue” [BK II 1152] || WCh.: Angas *mwalk* “clay (for building houses, pots, etc.)” [Flk. 1915, 249] = *mwàlk* “clay” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] | Dwot (Zodi) *mulkut* “clay for pottery” [Caron 2002, 210].

• **840. AA *m-l-k** “to praise” > ES **ʾamlak* (formally pl. of **mälk*) “God” [Lsl.]: Geez *ʾamlāk* “Lord, God”, denom. *ʾamlaka* “to worship God, a deity, idols”, *ʾamləko(t)* “cult, godliness, Godhead, divine worship, adoration”, Tna. *ʾamlākä* & Tigre *ʾamläka* “to worship, adore God”, Amh. *amlak* “God” > *amällākä* “to worship” etc. (ES: Lsl. 1969, 24, 53-54; 1987, 344; cf. Apl. 1977, 56/98) || Eg. *m3ṭ* [reg. < **mlk*] “preisen” (XI., Wb II 34, 22: hapax, Louvre C15.7 stela, cf. Gayet 1886, 54; GHWb 322) = “to acclaim” (FD 104) = “prier” (AL 79.1149) || NAgaw (borrowed from ES): Qemant *amälāk* “adorer” [CR 1912, 164]. Since ES **mlk* ultimately derives from Sem. **malk*- “king” (cf. Leslau l.c.), we may assume an eventual relationship with Sem. **mlk* “to advise”, and thus possibly also with Eg. *m3ṭ* “to proclaim”. If this is the case, the following semantic development in Sem. may be postulated: “to give an advise” → “one who was advised

(i.e.: appointed) → (deverbal noun) “king” → denom. Ar. *mlk* “to rule, possess” vs. ES pl. *ʔamlak “God” → denom. “to worship”. The semantic shift in our Dyn. XI hapax might be thus compared to that of ES *mlk.

• **841. AA *m-l-[h]** “to pull (out), stretch” > Sem. *mlḥ “to pull out” [GT]⁷⁹: Akk. *malāḫu* “(her)ausreißen” [AHW 593] = “to remove” [CAD m1, 152] || Ar. *malaḥa* I “4. tirer qqch. avec force à soi en saisissant avec les dents ou avec les mains” [BK II 1145-6] = “1. to pull, draw (out, forth, away, off) e.g. grasping with the hand, 2. (a beast) stretch forth (one’s arms), etc.” [Lane 2734] = “arracher, disloquer, déboîter, démettre les os” [Dozy II 611] = “herausreißen, -ziehen” [Wehr 1952, 820] = “to pull out, strip the meat from the bone” [Guillaume 1965 IV, 9] = “to pull out” [Lsl.] || Hrs. *melōḥ* “to pull down” [Jns. 1977, 89] || Geez *malḥa* “arracher (la racine)” [Strelcyn 1948-1951, 44] = *mālḥa* “to extract, extirpate” [Lsl. 1969, 20 with a diff. Sem. etym.] = *malḥa* ~ *malḥa* “to tear out, pluck out, pull out, eradicate, draw (sword), drag forth etc.” [Lsl. 1987; 1988, 78] (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 343; Frolova 2003, 86, §I.4.1) || (?) Eg. *mnḥ* “(einen Halskragen, Perlen auf einen Faden) aufziehen” (OK, Wb II 87, 8-11) || Bed. *meḥal* [met. < *√m-l-h] “(heraus)ziehen, ausbreiten” [Rn. 1895, 166] || LECu.: Saho (borrowed from ES) **malah* “(heraus)ziehen, entblößen” [Rn. 1890, 266] = *muluḥ* “to pull out” [Lsl. 1988, 78] || WCh. *m-l-k “to stretch” [GT]: (???) Gwandara *minka* [irreg. -nk- < *-lk-?] “to stretch” [Mts. 1972, 81] | Tangale *meluuk* ~ *meluk-meluk* “state of lying stretched out (e.g., rope, snake)” [Jng. 1991, 119].

• **842. AA *m-l-ḥ** “to be happy, amused” > Sem.: Ar. *malaḥa* I “3. être entièrement livré, p.ex. aux plaisirs de ce monde, 8. être gai et jouer (se dit d’un cheval)”, III “1. jouer, plaisanter avec qqn., 2. flatter, cajoler qqn.” [BK II 1145-6] || Eg. *mnḥ* “1. sich freuen an etwas, 2. staunen über (m) etwas” (PT 1533a, Wb II 87, 7) = “erstaunen über (m)” (ÜKAPT VI 132; ÄWb I 537) = “sich entsetzen, erstaunen über” (Sethe 1928, 73, n. c) = “1. eine Geschichte erfinden, witzeln, 2. *erstaunen über (m)” (GHWb 341) || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -*mámālk*- “être heureux, être joyeux” [Br. 1988, 176]. A var. root is attested in Ar. *mlḥ* III: *mālaya* “amuser qqn. par des propos obscènes”, VI “se moquer de qqn., le railler” [BK II 1150].

• **843. AA *m-l-Q** “to burn” > Eg. *m3ḥ* (MK var. *m3ḥ*) [reg. < *mlḥ] “verbrennen durch Feuer” (MK, Wb II 31, 8-11) = “to burn” (FD 103; PL 407) || WCh.: PAngas **m^walak* > **muluk* “blister caused by burning” [GT 2004, 257]: Angas *mulk* ~ *mwalk* “a blister caused by heat”, *mwalk* “the skin all burnt off by fire (as by one falling into it)” [Flk. 1915, 247, 249] = *mwòlk* “to get burned” [Jng. 1962 MS].

• **844. AA *m-l-ʕ** “1. to lick, suck, 2. swallow” > Sem.: Ar. *malaʕa* “2. têter sa mère (se dit d’un petit chameau)”, var. *malaqa* “4. têter sa mère (se dit d’un petit)” [BK II 1149-50], Ar. (Dathina) *mlʕ* “avalier” [GD 2717] || Eg. *m3ʕ* [reg. < *m-l-ʕ] “to swallow” (GR: Hibis, Cruz-Urbe 1988, 267) || LECu.: Saho *mulūʕ*- “saugen, lecken” [Rn.

⁷⁹ A. Zaborski (1991, 1677) derived Sem. *mlḥ from bicons. *lḥ based on its comparison with Syr. tlḥ < *tlḥ and Ar. slḥ.

1890, 265] || SCu.: Dahalo mila^c- “to stick out the tongue” [To s c o 1991, 143, not in EEN 1989].

• **845. AA *m-l-ḥ** “to open” > LECu.: Saho malḥo “small opening (in the house or stable)” [Vergari 2003, 131] || Ch. *m-l (loss of *-ḥ?) “to open” [JS 1981, 199 I]: WCh.: (?) Jimbin mbəl- [mb- < *m-?] “to open” [Skn. apud JI, not found in Skn. 1977] || CCh.: Uldeme mēlāwə “fente horizontale dans le rocher entre deux pierres, anfractuosité, cavité” [CIm. 1997, 199] | Puss mili “ouvrir” [Trn. 1991, 106], Vulum (Mulwi) mīlī “ouvrir” [Trn. 1978, 304] = m’l’ “ouvrir” [Trn. 1978, 92] | Masa, Musey, Lew, Marba mál “ouvrir” [A j e l l o 2001, 41], Zime-Dabrang mál “to open” [Jng. 1978, 12], Zime-Mesme māl (pf.) “to open” [Jng. 1973 MS; 1978, 17] = mál “ouvrir” [Ksk. 1990, 32] || ECh.: Kwang male “ouvrir” [Jng. 1973, 44], Mobu male “ouvrir” [L e n s s e n 1982, 109; 1984, 69], Ngam mal kánà túsi “commencer” [Lenssen] | Mubi mīlá “hole” [Jng. in JI 1994 II 189: isolated in Ch.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 264).

• **846. AA *m-l-ḥ** “to exude bodily efflux (orig. of abscess?)” > (???) Sem.: Akk. malū “Beutel, Geschwulst” [H o l m a 1913, 11-15, not confirmed in AHW and CAD] || Ar. malaḥ- “tumeur au jarret du cheval” [BK II 1144] = “tumor in suffragine equi” [Freytag apud Dlg.] (Dlg.: orig. *?”abscess?”) || Eg. mnḥ.w [*mlḥ.w?] “Schaum (auf den Lippen einer wütenden Göttin)” (XVIII., Wb II 84, 10; GHWb 340) = “froth on lips” (FD 109) || SBrb.: perhaps Ahaggar tā-mellemel-t “humeur vitrée qui remplit le fond du globe de l’oeil” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1194] (unless < √m-l-l “white”) || PCu. *malḥ- “to ooze out (of body), pus” [Ehr. 1987, #422] > ECu. *malḥ- “pus” [Sasse] = “Eiter” [AMS]: LECu. *mal(a)ḥ- [Black]: Saho malāḥ “der Eiter” [Rn. 1890, 266] = malaḥ “pus” [Vergari 2003, 130], Afar malaḥ “der Eiter” [Rn.] = malaḥ “pus”, malaḥ-e “to exude pus” [PH 1985, 162; Hyw. 1974, 392], Somali mālāḥ “der Eiter” [Rn. 1902, 295] = malaḥ “pus” [Abr. 1964, 172], Jābārti mūluḥ “der Eiter” [Rn. 1904, 78], PBonī *mālāḥ “pus” [H e i n e 1982, 123], Arbore meleḥ “pus”, meleḥ- “to suppurate” [Hyw. 1984, 384], Oromo malā “pus”, mala’a “to burst (pus from wound)” [G r a g g 1982, 275] = mala’a “pussy, vesicorpuscle”, mala’ū “to be discharged (pus)”, malā “pus, abscess, suppuration” [Btm. 2000, 187], Konso mal- “to let pus out” [Black] (LECu.: B l a c k 1974, 200, 202; S a s s e 1973, 269; Zbr. 1975, 328) | HECu. *mal-a “pus” [Hds. 1989, 417] > e.g. Sidamo malā “to burst and discharge pus (sore, wound)”, malāwa “to have a sour, wound” [Gsp. 1983, 220-1], Burji māl-ā “pus”, mal-iy- “to suppurate” [Ss.] (HECu.: Lsl. 1988, 195; Hds. 1989, 119) | Gollango malāḥ-ko “Eiter, Geschwür” [AMS 1980, 212] | Yaaku mlleh “pus” [Ehr.] (ECu.: Rn. 1886, 882; E h r e t 1974, 87; S a s s e 1979, 5, 21, 35-36; 1982, 139-140; AMS 1980, 64) || SCu. *malih- “pus” ~ *malah- “to expel viscous body fluid” [Ehret]: Iraqw malhari “pus”, malah- “to bring up phlegm, loosen phlegm” [Ehr.] = malāḥ- “to loosen (of a cough), give pus (of a pimple or wound)”, malḥ-ari “pus” [MQK 2002, 69-70] | Dahalo malīḥa’a “pus” [Nurse 1986, 30; EEN 1989, 37] (SCu.: E h r e t 1980, 154, 323; Cu.: E h r e t 1987, #422) || CCh.: perhaps Masa mila “ulcer” [Krf.] = mīl “abcès, plaie” [Ctc. 1983, 106], Banana mbil-na [mb- < *m- reg.] “ulcer” [Krf. 1981, #256]. The semantical connection of Eg. “froth on lips” vs. Cu. “pus” is justifiable, cf. NEg. rj.t [< *rl.t ~ rr.t] “Eiter” (Med., Wb II 399) || Sem. *ryl ~ *ryl:

Hbr. *ryr qal* “fließen” → **rīr* “ausfließender Speichel, Geifer, Schleim” [GB 759] | Ar. *rayr-* “bave qui coule de la bouche d’un enfant” vs. *rāʾūl* “bave, écume qui sort de la bouche du cheval”, *ruʾāl-* “bave, écume que jette le cheval” [BK I 961, 795].

• **847. AA *m-l-ḥ ~ *m-H-I** (probably **m-[ḥ]-I* or **m-h-I?*) “fat” > Ar. *malaḥa* II “être suffisamment gras et beau et bon à être éborgné (se dit d’un chameau)”, IV “2. mettre de la graisse dans la marmite, la graisser”, V “être gras”, *milḥ-* “gras” [BK II 1144] = *mlḥ* III “Fett zusetzen”, V “fett sein”, *milḥ-* “fett” [Růžička] ||l| NOm.: Male *māli* “Fett” [Mkr.] = *malli* [Lewis] = *māli* “fat, grease” [Sbr. 1994-95, 8, #77] = *mā:li* [Bnd. 2000 MS, 55, #46], Koyra *malla* “Fett” [Flm.] | Mao: Hozo *māli* “fat of meat, guts” [Flm.], EMao (sic) *mala* ~ male *māli* “fat of meat, guts” [Flm.], Diddesa *māle* “fat” [Flm.], Bambeshi *mœla* “Fett” [Mkr.] (Mao: Flm. 1988, 39; 1990, 27) ||l| WCh.: Angas-Sura **mʷaɣal* [*-ɣ-reg. < *-H-] “1. fat (adj.), 2. muscular, strong” [GT 2004, 256] = **mʷaɣal* “fat, greasy (жирный)” [Stl.]: Angas *mwaal* (≈ *myaar* in hill Angas) “fat” [Flk. 1915, 249] = *mwaal* (K) “fat (living obj.)” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] = *mwal* “to be fat, becoming fat” [ALC 1978, 40], Sura *mwayal* “gemästet, fett, schlachtreif” [Jng. 1963, 76], Kofyar *mwàgàl* “fat” [Ntg. 1967, 27], Goemay *maal* [ma-reg. < **mʷa-*] “resistance, vigour, hardness” [Srl. 1937, 132]. Note that this NOm.-AS isogloss might be alternatively akin to Ar. *muhl-* “3. huile ou marc d’huile” [BK II 1163] = “Öl” [Rn. 1873, 255].

• **848. AA *m-l-y** “lion” > (?) Eg. *m3j* [reg. < **mly*] “Löwe” (OK, Wb II 11, 14-19) ||l| SBrb.: EWlmd. *molli*, pl. *molli-t-ān* “esp. de léopard” [PAM 2003, 537] ||l| LECu.: Afar *mol-ta* (f) “lioness” [PH 1985, 170] ||l| WCh.: Angas *mulut* “leopard” [ALC 1978, 40] | perhaps Tangale *mālàlá* “name given to lion in stories” [Jng. 1991, 118] | Kariya *mûl* “leopard” [Skn. in JI 1994 II 222] || CCh.: perhaps Ngala *mali* “hyaena” [Mgd. 1922, 237] | Mulwi *á-míl* “Viverra civetta, civette” [Trn. 1978, 206] || ECh.: Kabalay *mlaia* “Löwe” [Lks.] = *m̀l̀apə* [Cpr. in JI], Lele *mílá* “lion” [Garrigues in JI] = *míláng* (so, -á-) [Simons apud JI] = *mílàng* (so, -à-) “lion” [Simons 1981, 18, #284], Nancere *melí* “Löwe” [Lks.] | Sokoro *melā* “cat” [Lks. in JI 1994 II, 65] (ECh.: Lks. 1937, 89, 93; JI 1994 II 227).

• **849. AA *m-w ~ *m-y** “Totentanz” > Eg. *mw.w* “Art Leute, die beim Leichenbegängnis tanzen” (MK, Wb II 53, 14; WD II 60 & III 51: cf. RdE 5, 1946, 256f.; SAK 2, 1975, 1f.; 15, 1988, 10f.) = “class of ritual dancers” (FD 106) = “Muu-Tänzer (im alten butischen Ritual)” (GHWb 330)⁸⁰ ||l| ECh. **m-y* (?) “Totentanz” [GT]: Kera *máayáwná* “Totentanz und -gesang der Männer” [Ebert 1976, 79] | Mokilko *máayé* “cérémonie commémorative en l’honneur d’un ancien (environ tous les sept ans)” [Jng. 1990, 135],

⁸⁰ G. Jéquier (1925-27, 147-8) explained it from Eg. *mw* “water” (lit. “celui des eaux ..., créatures ... que les Égyptiens se figuraient résider au sein du grand abîme”). Similarly, P. Kaplony (KBIÄF 181, n. 261) considered *mw(.j).w* as an old *nisbe* (lit. “Wasserleute”, hence: “unterägyptische Ahnenkönige”). This etymology was adopted also by H. Altenmüller (1975, 36-37), albeit hesitantly (“von unklarer Etymologie”) and from a different standpoint. He maintained that Eg. *mw.w* literally meant “die zum Wasser gehörenden Männer”, which “möglichlicherweise hängt mit den Wasserwegen zusammen, an deren Ufer die ‘Muu’ Dienst tun (mit der ursprünglichen Aufgabe als Fährleute, ... die für die Überfahrt des Toten ... sorgen)”.

WDangla móymò “danse guerrière pour la mort” [Fédry 1971, 136]. Any connection to AA *m-y ~ *m-w “to bury” [GT]⁸¹?

• **850. AA *m-w/y-ç** “to press, squeeze” > Can. *mw/yš “to press out” [GT]: Hbr. *mys > *mīš, st.cstr. mīš “das Drücken, Pressen” [GB 420] = “the pressing out (of milk)” [Lsl.], PBHbr. mīš “das Ausgedrückte, Ausgepreßte” [Levy 1924 III, 107], JArām. mwš “saugen” [GB] || ECu. *mayd₁- “pressen” [Sasse 1981, 155] > LECu.: Oromo mīddā “oppression, repression”, mīdā “1. harsh, harmful, 2. oppressor”, mīdū “1. to injure, harm, hurt, 2. oppress, repress” [Bitima 2000, 196], Oromo (Borana, Orma, Waata) mīč-a, mīč-it-a “to squeeze, wash, press out” [Strm. 1987, 367; 1995, 209; 2001, 56], PBonī *mīč- “to press, squeeze” [Heine 1982, 122, 147] = mīč “auspressen” vs. mīč “drücken” [Heine 1977, 285-6: borrowed “*vermutlich*” from Orma Orm.], Arbore mīč- “to squeeze” [Hyw. 1984, 385] = “zerschmettern” [Lmb.] | HECu.: Darasa (Gedeo) mīč- “to squeeze” [Hds.] = “zerquetschen, auspressen” [Lmb.] (ECu.: Hds. 1989, 142, 159) || NOM.: Haruro māz-āys- [GT: -ā- < *-aw/y(a)-?] “mungere”, māz-ā “latte di burro” [CR 1937, 655] || WCh.: (?) Hausa máácà [-c- reg. < AA *-ç-] “1. to squeeze out (juice from the lime-fruit), extract (oil from the ground-nuts), 2. press together, 3. massage, eke out (food)”, mácà “1. to pinch together, squeeze together, 2. hem in, pester worry, 3. pull tight (rope when binding the sheaf)” [Abr. 1962, 666, 668] = maaša (sic, -š-) “ausdrücken, zerquetschen, auspressen” [Drexel 1925, 14] = mácàà (-ts-) “to squeeze” [JI], Gwandara mácà ~ mácà (-ts-) “to squeeze”, mácà (-ts-) “to be tight”, mácé- (followed by an obj. suffix) “to be tight” [Mts. 1972, 77] | PAngas-Sura *m^woyos ~ *m^weyes [Dlg. 1982: *-γ- reg. < AA *-w- too, GT pace Stl. 1996, 112, t. 22: AS *-s reg. < AA/Ch. *-ç] “to press together (?)” [GT 2004, 259]: Angas mwes “to squeeze” [ALC 1978, 40] = mwes “to squeeze” [Krf.], Sura mōyòs “zwei Dinge, Gegenstände zusammenbringen” [Jng. 1963, 75] | Bade-Ngizim *màđú [GT: *-ā- < *-aw(a)-?] “to squeeze” [Schuh] > Bade màđùwú “to squeeze” [Schuh], Ngizim màađú “to squeeze (out)”, màđtú “to compress”, màmđú “to be crowded, hemmed in” [Schuh 1981, 108, 110] = màđ- “to compress” [Skn.], Duwai màađó “to squeeze” [Schuh] (Bade-Ngizim: Schuh 1977, 165). A. Drexel (1925, 14) was the first to compare Hbr. mys and mšš with the Hausa root.

• **851. AA *m-(w)-k** “to burn, be hot” [GT] > ES *mwk “to be warm, hot” [GT], Geez maqaqa “to burn, sting (e.g. a medicine), burn the throat, cauterize”, Tna. mǎqmǎq bālā “to burn (pepper)”, Gafat moqā “to heat” (ES: Lsl. 1945, 163; 1956, 216; 1963, 109; 1979 III, 414; 1982, 52; 1987, 355, 375; Chn. 1961, 70, #111; Apl. 1977, 37/78) || NOM.: SEOmeto *muḵ-o “ashes” [Bnd. 2003, 82, #3 followed by GT] (SEOmeto: Sbr.

⁸¹ Attested in ECu.: Dullay *māy- “begraben” [GT]: Harso & Dobase māy- “begraben” [AMS], Gollango may- „begraben” [AMS], Tsamay may “to bury”, mayo “tomb” [Sava 2005 MS, 249] (Dullay: AMS 1980, 173, 213, 232) || Ch. *m-w-(?) “to bury” [GT]: CCh.: Lame móʔ(ó) “1. enterrer, 2. planter, mettre en terre” [Scn. 1982, 320], Zime-Dari mōʔ “1. enterrer, 2. semer” [Cooper 1984, 17], Mesme màʔà “planted (e.g. tomatoes)” [Jng. 1978, 17] = (?) [mu] “l’enterrement” [Ksk. 1990, 92] || ECh.: Somray mwà „enterrer” [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 115] = mù “enterrer” [Jng. 1993 MS, 45] | Sarwa mô & Gadang mo: “enterrer” [Jng.-Ibr. 1993 MS, 5, #90]. For the Dullay-CCh. etymology see OS 1992, 193; HSED #1781.

1994, 11; Brz. 1995, 27, §2) || CCh.: Muskum à-mùk [prefix a-] “cendre” [Trn. 1977, 19]. Var. root to AA *m-^c-k “to grill” [GT] (above)?

• **852. AA *m-w-r** (var. *m-y-r?) “farm-building (?)” > presumably Eg. mj3.t [reg. < *myr] “ein Wirtschaftsgebäude” (late NK, Wb II 42, 12) = “a farm-building of some sort” (AEO II 215*, #456)⁸² || PCu. *mayr-/*mawr- [GT] > NAgaw: Bilin maūrā “1. Rinderlager, Lagerplatz wo das Vieh bei Nacht sich aufhält, 2. die Herde” [Rn. 1887, 278] = mawr-a “cattle camp, herd” [Ehr.], Hamir mīrā [< *mayr-] “Lagerplatz des Viehes” [Rn.] || SAgaw: perhaps Awngi mur-í “village” [Apl. 1991 MS, 13] || LECu.: PSam *mawr-o “cattle pen” [Ehret] = *mōr- [GT] = *mōrād- “Gehege” [Lmb.]: Somali mōr (f) “Lagerplatz des Viehes während der Nacht” [Rn. 1902, 300], Somali dials. mōr-o, mōr-ə, mūr-ə “Gehege” [Lmb.], PBoni *mòórə (f) “home, overvillage” [Heine 1982, 112, 147] > Boni mōr “das Zuhause, das heimatliche Dorf” [Sasse 1980, 99] = mōr-ə “Heimat” [Lmb.] (Sam: Lmb. 1986, 211) | Oromo mōrā “Lagerplatz des Viehes” [Rn.] = mōr-a “cattle pen” [Ehr.] | Dullay *mōr- [GT]: Harso & Dobase & Gollango mōr-e (f) “1. Platz, 2. Marktplatz, 3. Kultplatz” [AMS 1980, 176, 213], Gawwada mōr-ḥo “meeting area” [Mlt.-OS 1989, 154] (Cu.: Ehret 1987, 103, #429) || ECh.: perhaps Bidiya mòoro “grenier en paille tressée enduite de bouse” [AJ 1989, 100].

• **853. AA *m-w-y** “bird of prey (orig. beast of prey in gen.)” > Eg. *mw.t “1. Geier, nur aus der Schrift zu belegen”, hence: “2. die Geiergöttin Mouṯ von Theben” (Wb II 53, 15-16) = “divinité vautour (Gypsfulvus)” to be distinguished from *3 “Neophron percnopterus” (Keimer 1935, 186, fn. 4) || Cu.-Om. *moyy- ~ *mōy- “bird/beast of prey” [GT]: Bed. mōy-ta [-ta < ?] “eine Spezies Adler” [Rn. 1895, 176] || HECu. *mōy-ča “beast of prey” [Hds. 1989, 25] > i.a., Burji mó-čča, pl. mó-yya “beast of prey” [Ss. 1982, 147] || NOM.: Basketo moyy-a “hawk-like bird with white chest (eats chickens)” [Flm. apud Blz.] (Cu.-Bsk. etymology: Blz. 2000 MS Bed. Fauna, 21; 2003, 267) || ECh.: WDangla mááwà “oiseau de proie (se nourrit de proies vivantes, noir, sauf blanc sur la tête et le ventre, pattes jaunes): faucon chiquera (?), autour gabar (?)” [Fédry 1971, 109], EDangla màawā “oiseau de proie, sort d’aigle” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 199].

• **854. AA *m-w-y** “1. fresh, 2. new” > Eg. mwmw (in: wnm ... mwmw) “in rohem Zustand (?) (verzehren)” (PT, Wb II 55, 6; Czermak 1931, 25; GHWb 331; ÄWb I 525b) = “entirely raw” (Faulkner 1924, 100 after Ember) = “cru (adv.)” (Cannuyer 1989, 9: PT & CT exx.) || LECu.: Oromo-Borana (dialect of Isiolo) mī “fresh”, ānani mī “fresh milk” [Strm. 1987, 367; 1995, 209] || WCh.: Ron *m-w-y or *m-h^w-y “new” [GT]: Bokkos (má)mwáyí [Seibert], Fyer mu [Jng. 1968, 9, #96; 1970, 88; Blench 2000 MS, 2, §c019] = mo [Seibert], Fyer-Tambas mbuhóí [Smz.], Kulere mūuhwè [IL in JI], Daffo mwa & māmwa [Smz.], Daffo-Butura (mà)mwā [Seibert] (Ron: Jng. 1970; Seibert 2000 MS, c019) || CCh.: Tera mewa “new” [Nwm. 1964, 45, #370] | PMafa-Mada *m-w-y “new” [GT]: Muyang múwèné [Rsg.], Mofu mòúyà [Br. in JI], Mofu-Gudur máwúya “neuf, nouveau” [Br. 1988, 192], Muktele máùgá [Rsg. in JI] = máwgá [Rsg.],

⁸² In both instances of the onomasticon of Amenope, where it occurs, mj3.t precedes mḏ.t “cow-house” (AEO I.c.).

Gisiga máwàýá [Rsg.] = nawaya (so, n-) [Gerstmann apud JI, not found in Lks. 1970], Matakam ḡwíyáḡà “new” [Rsg.], Moloko wàwígà [< m-w-g] [Rsg.] (Mafa-Mada: Rsg. 1978, 297-298, #499; Ch.: JI 1994 II, 254-255). Note that the Ch. root was mistakenly identified in OS 1992, 201 and HSED #1778 with Eg. m3w(j) “to be new”, which, however, had an original *-r- as C₂ (EDE III 63).

• **855. AA *m-y** (?) “sick” > LECu.: Rnd. máy “mild illness, slight sickness” [PG 1999, 222] || CCh.: Masa mòy “maladie” [Ctc. 1983, 107] || ECh.: Gadang mòyò “sickness” [Jng. 1977, 10, #222] | Sokoro móyo, moi “krank (?)” [Lks. 1937, 36]. AP: PKuliak *may “sick” [Flm. 1983, 462].

• **856. AA *m-y** “to eat” [GT] > NAgaw: Hamir mī “bread” [Lmb.] (GT: orig. *“(food)”? || NOm. *mā “manger” [Crl.] = *m- “to eat” [Bnd.; Flm. 1983, 453-4] = *may?- “to eat” [Mlt. 2005, 360, #23: as PAA, but based purely on NOm.] = *mV- [GT] (NOm.: Crl. 1937-40, 34; 1938 III, 79, 205; 1951, 466-467; Mkr. 1981, 217-218, #59.a; Bnd. 1988, 145; LS 1997, 449) || Ch. *m-(y) “to eat” [GT]: WCh.: Waja mǎ- “to swallow” [Kwh. 1990, 239] || CCh.: Bata mwà “to eat together”, mwàa-tò “eating together, sharing cooked food” [P w e d d o n 2000, 58] | Lamang may-a “weiden, füttern” [W o l f f 1972, 198] || ECh.: Kwang mé “manger (viande)” [Jng. in Brt.-Jng. 1990, 113], Kwang-Mobu mé “manger (viande)” [Jng. in L e n s s e n 1982, 109; 1984, 69]. Areal parallel: NS *mày or *māy “to chew up” [E h r e t 2001, 280, #110].

• **857. AA *m-[y]** “1. hinder part, 2. bottom” > LECu.: Oromo (Borana, Orma, Waata) mǎyē “after, behind” [Strm. 1987, 362; 2001, 53] || CCh.: Gisiga miyew “Bodenerde, Erde” [Lks. 1970, 130] | Musgu as-mái (adv.) “unten” [M ü l l e r 1886, 393] = mǎy “en bas” [Lks. 1937/Mch.] = as-mái “unten” [Lks. 1941, 46] || ECh.: Mokilko ?ímméy (m) “là-bas” [Jng. 1990, 112].

• **858. AA *m-y** “path” > Eg. mj.t (fem.) “Weg, Straße” (late NK, Wb II 41, 13-15) = “road, way, path” (DLE I 210-1)⁸³ || Eth.-Sem.: Gafat māya “road” [Lsl. 1945, 165] = mǎyǎ [Lsl. 1956, 219], Gurage *meya “road, way” [GT]: Ennemor meya, Endegeny meyǎ, Gyeto māya (Grg.: Lsl. 1979 III, 441)⁸⁴ || WCh.: (?) Bokkos & Butura ma? [-? < ?] “bridge” [Magwa etc. 1985, 10]⁸⁵ | Galambu máyǎ “journey”, yí máyǎ “to travel” [Alio 1988 MS].

• **859. AA *m-y** (var. *m-w?) “to carry” > Eg. mj “apporter” (GR: Dendera VIII 65:4, AL 78.1654) = “to bring” (PL 410)⁸⁶ || NBrb.: Tamazight √m-w: a-mawa “mobilier (ensemble de meubles), 2. fait de transporter, d’un lieu à un autre, des choses les unes

⁸³ Most authors (e.g., CED 92; KHW 89; AL 77.1646 & 1938; DELC 109) agree on the continuity of OEg. mṯn “way” (OK, Wb II 176), act. *mǎjṯn > *mǎjtṯn (F e c h t 1960, 180, §373) > NK mj.t > Dem. mjt (masc.) “Weg” (DG 153:11) > Cpt.: (S) **HOEIT**, (A) **HAET** etc. “1. Weg, 2. Ort, Stätte” (KHW 89) = “road, path” (CD 188a), which has been partially refuted in EDE III 137.

⁸⁴ The ES parallels are isolated in Sem. W. L e s l a u (1945, 1956 l.c.) connected the Gafat word to MSA: Sqt. miʿeh “side” | ES: Harari mihe ~ mihiye “side” vs. mihi “vicinity, near, beside”, Gurage: Chaha ema, mea, meyǎ etc. “rib, side of the body”. Later, however, L e s l a u (1979) avoided this semantically unconvincing equation.

⁸⁵ The semantic shift “road” > “bridge” is banal, cf. e.g. Lat. pōns < IE *pṛt- “path” (LEW 336).

⁸⁶ Origin disputed. D. M e e k s (AL l.c.) and P. W i l s o n (PL l.c.) prefer to see in it (1) either a faulty writing of mz “herbeibringen” (Wb, q.v.) or (2) the impv. jmj “gib!” (Wb I 76) treated in this case as a distinct verb.

après les autres” [Taifi 1991, 445] || NOm.: Kaffa mih “tragen” [Rn. 1888, 317] = mý “portare indosso”, caus. miž “caricare, porre il carico a ...”, miy-ō “carico” [Crl. 1951, 470, 476], Mocha mīya-yé “to carry on the back”, mi^y-o “load” [Lsl. 1959, 39, 43] || WCh.: Saya moi “to carry” [Csp. 1994, 44] || CCh.: Hurzo mia “apporter” [Mch. 1953, 174: isolated in the Mafa-Mada group].

• **860. AA *m-y** “to bind, attach” > Eg. mj “Mumienbinde (ob richtig?)” (LP, Wb II 41, 10)⁸⁷ || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr mǎymǎy “attacher solidement (selle etc.)” [PAM 2003, 570] || ECh.: Migama máay-àné (m), pl. màay-ígèe “ceinture de femme” [JA 1992, 105]. The etymology of CCh.: Gisiga ma’i “Bündel” [Lks. 1970, 127] || ECh.: Somray mā “nouer, attacher avec une corde” [Jng. 1993 MS, 42; 1978, 186] is uncertain (rather < *m-H?).

• **861. AA *m-y** “to love” > ECu.: Dullay: Harso, Dobase, Gawwada mayy- “to kiss” [AMS 1980, 254; Black 1976, 229] || CCh. *m-y (?) “to love” [GT]: Bachama mà “être d’accord, aimer” [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 93] | Daba may “vouloir, aimer” [Mch. 1966, 135] = māy “to like, want (desire)” [LG 1974, 22, #591-2] | Lame-Peve ...mây... “to like, want (desire)” [Schubert 1971, 16, #329-330]. For the semantic shift cf. e.g. SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr mǎll-ăt “1. (donner un) baiser (à), 2. choyer (enfant)”, sə-mmǎll-ət “2. aimer beaucoup, chérir”, Ayr a-sǎ-mmǎlla “grand amour, amour sincère, tendre” [PAM 1998, 216; 2003, 537].

• **862. AA *m-y ~ *m-ʔ** “hair” > Eg. mjw (mj.w?) “Frisur” (late NK, Wb II 42, 10; GHWb 325) || HECu.: Kambatta mummi “2. hair of head (human)” [Hds. 1989, 75: isolated in HECu.] = mūmmi “hear (of head)” [Wdk. 1990, 673, #35] || SCu. *muʔ- “hair (?)” [GT]: Burunge muʔu “chaff, grain husks” [Ehr.] | Ma’a mamuʔu “wool, fur” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 46] = “plumage, fur” [Ehr. 1980] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 160, #54) || CCh.: perhaps Higi m’a “beard” [Mohrlang 1972, 102] || ECh.: EDangla màyā “charganier tressé de façon ordinaire” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 199]. The sense “hair” may derive from AA *m-ʔ ~ *m-y “(top of) head” [GT] > Bed. moi, pl. moia ~ moiya “1. crown of head, 2. top (tree, hill)” [Rpr. 1928, 213] = moi (m) “top of the head” [Hds. 1996, 89] || HECu.: Kambatta mummi “1. head, 2. hair of head (human)” [Hds. l.c.], Qabenna mūmi “head” [Korhonen] = mūmmi “head” [Crass 2001, 49, #107] | LECu.: Afar moyy-a (f), pl. moyyāyi “brain, head, skull” [PH 1985, 170] (Bed.-Afar: Blz. 1994 MS Bed., 28) || SCu.: Ma’a muá [muha], pl. mia “Kopf” [Mnh. 1906, 314] = muʔa “head” [Ehret 1987, 387: isolated in SCu.] || CCh.: Musgu mo [unless < *mog] “head” [Mch. in JI 1994 II, 183: isolated in Ch.] || ECh.: perhaps WDangla màwó “parure de tête féminine, comme deux ailes de chaque côté de la tête, en doum” [Fédry 1971, 110].

• **863. AA *m-y-ḥ** (???) “to hurry” > Akk. (OBab.) mâḥum [-ḥ < *ḥ?] “eilen (??)” [AHW 586: √mūḥ, GT: < **mīḥ?] || Eg. mhj “fliehen nach (r)” (late NK, Wb II 126, 16-17; GHWb 355; ÄWb I 553: 5x in VI. PT) = “to flee” (DLE I 233) || CCh. *m-y-(?)

⁸⁷ Perhaps the root is attested earlier than the LP too. L.H. Lesko (1972, 46, n. h) interprets the name of the god mj in CT 292b (B1L, B2L, B1C, B2P, hapax, DCT 160: not translated) as “Mummy-wrapper” (or alternatively “Equalizer”), although R.O. Faulkner (AECT III 134, sp. 1041) sees in it a var. of 3j < 3r “Oppressor” (CT ibid.: vars. B13C, B4L, B2Bo).

[GT]: Mofu-Gudur míyáw míyáw ~ míyéw míyéw “rapidement, vite” [Br. 1988, 194] | Lame mỳâ? (ā) “vite” [Scn. 1982, 321]. For the regular correspondence of Eg. C₁C₃j ~ AA *C₁-y-C₃ see Vycichl 1953, 373-7. The C₃ correspondences in Akk. and CCh. are not clear.

• **864. AA *m-(y)-ḥ** “to twist” > Sem.: PClass. Yemeni Ar. mayḥ, pl. amyāḥ ~ miyāḥ ~ muyūḥ “rope” [Pimenta 1990, 475; GD 2727] || Eg. mh “umwinden: 1. von der Schlange, die den Kopf (die Stirn) schmückt, 2. die Stirn mit dem Diadem schmücken” (GR, Wb II 123, 2-4) = “enserrer le front, couronner” (AL 77.1818) = “to go around” (PL 451), cf. mh “eine Tätigkeit beim Spinnen” (MK, Wb II 121, 8; GHWb 354; OK ex.: Pusch 1974, 21 after Junker: Giza V 42:44) || CCh.: Gude mya’a “to twist, squeeze, ring out” [Hsk. 1983, 246].

• **865. AA *m-y-r** “to provide with food” > Sem. *myr⁸⁸: OSA: Sab. myr “grain (crop, harvest)” [Biella 1984, 274], Ar. myr: māra I “1. procurer, fournir des denrées, des vivres, approvisionner qqn., surtout les siens en vivres”, mīr-at- “approvisionnement en grains, en denrées” [BK II 1171] = myr “to supply with grain”, mīr-at- “provisions, grain stores” [Biella] = myr “to supply, make provision for” [KB], Dathina myr “approvisionner”, mīr- “approvisionnement” [GD 2727] || Eg. mr.w (food det.) “provisions” (CT I 351b, DCT 173 after AECT I 73)⁸⁹, perhaps from the same root (?): mrr “als Bez. für Speisen” (GR, Wb II 110, 13) = “provisions” (GR: Edfu, PL 443)⁹⁰.

Abbreviations

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B): Bohairic, Bed.: Bed'awye, Brb.: Berber, BT: Bole-Tangale, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, EWlm.: East Tawlemmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, IMP: Intermediate Period, Irq.: Iraqw, JAram.: Jewish Aramaic, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Muda, N: North, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, Qwd.: Qwadza, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Samar.: Samaritan, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

⁸⁸ Whether Ar. myr is eventually akin to NBab. māru “kaufen” [AWH 616b] = “to buy” [Hnrg.] (< NWSem./Aram., cf. Soden, Or. 35, 18; 46, 190) || Hbr. mwr nifal „to change o’self” [KB], Syr. mwr “to supply” [Hnrg.] = “to import grain” [KB] (Sem.: KB 560; Hnrg. 1986, 170 & fn. 4) is uncertain.

⁸⁹ R. van der Molen (DCT) compared also CT IV 144a mr.w (in a context similar to that of CT I 351b) rendered by R.O. Faulkner (AECT I 248) as a rel. form “what (your name) desires (?)”.

⁹⁰ If, however, A.H. Gardiner’s (AEO II 231*) and P. Wilson’s (PL l.c.) supposition is right that this late word “may ... specifically denote a type of bread and be connected with” Eg. mrr (GW, listed among cakes in the Golénischeff onomasticon 7:1, cf. AEO l.c.) = “ein Gebäck” (Wb II 110, 12) = “(among pastry)” (AEO II 231*) = “Opferbrot” (Helck MWNR 672, #27) = “a baked good” (Hoch 1994, 138, §178), regarded by Hoch as a borrowing from Sem. *mll (Wilson: “possibly a loan word”), any comparison of it with CT mr.w has to be refuted.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AC: Andreu & Cauville, AF: Adolf Friedrich, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Ajl.: Ajello, Akl.: Aklilu, Alb.: Albright, Alj.: Alojaly, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Aplg.: Applegate, Ast.: Aistleitner, BG: Bechhaus-Gerst, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Blc.: Blachère, Blf.: Boulifa, Blz.: Blažek, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brgstr.: Bergsträsser, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brn.: Biarnay, Brt.: Barreteau, Brz.: Brenzinger, Bst.: Basset, Btm.: Bitima, Chn.: M. Cohen, Clc.: Calice, Clm.: Colombel, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Cañtucoli, Dbr.-Mnt.: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Drower & Macuch, Drnb.: Doornbos, Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Fed.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, FH: Farah & Heck, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, Gcl.: Gochal, Gdc.: Gaudiche, Gdk.: Goedicke, GL: Giger & Lienhard, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, Grt.: Grottanelli, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, HL: Haberland & Lamberti, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hnrg.: Huehnergard, Hrn.: Haruna, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Illič-Svityč, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, Ji: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, Jst.: Justinard, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Ksk.: Kieschke, Ksm.: Kossmann, Kvl.: Kovalev, Kwh.: Kleinewillinghöfer, Lbf.: Lebeuf, Lbg.: Loubignac, LG: Lienhard & Giger, LH: Littmann & Höfner, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, MB: Meyer-Bahlburg, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgd.: Migeod, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, MQK: Mous & Qorro & Kießling, Mrc.: Mercier, Mrn.: Moreno, MSkn.: Skinner, Msq.: Masqueray, Mtl.: Motylinski, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, Nkn.: Nakano, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, NZ: Naït-Zerrad, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, Pls.: Pilszczikowa, Pnc.: Penchoen, Prd.: Paradisi, Phr.: Porhomovskij, Prs.: Prasse, Prv.: Provotelle, PW: Plazikowsky & Wagner, Rdk.: Rhodokanakis, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Sgn.-Trn.: Seignobos & Tourneux, Skn.: Skinner, Slk.: Sölken, Smz.: Shimizu, Snk.: Schenkel, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, SSL: Simeone-Senelle & Lonnet, Std.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Strm.: Stroomer, Sts.: Starostin, Stz.: Satzinger, TB: Tucker & Bryan, TC: Taine-Cheikh, Tf.: Taïfi, Tlm.: Tilmatine, Trn.: Tourneux, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, Vcl.: Vycichl, Wdk.: Wedekind, Wlf.: Wölfel, WP: Weibegué & Palayer, Wst.: Westendorf, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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