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SOME BERBER ETYMOLOGIES V

Introduction

The purpose of my series “Some Berber Etymologies” is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic lexical heritage in Berber. The first part of this paper was published long-long ago (Takács 1996), which contained miscellaneous Berber etymologies. Recently, I published the second, third, and fourth parts of the series too, which contain a collection of new etymologies of Berber lexical roots with initial *b-, *b̥-, and *f- resp.,¹ which issue basically from the results of my research for the second volume of the “*Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*” (abbreviated as EDE, Leiden, 2001., Brill),² with a much more extensive lexicographical apparatus on the cognate Afro-Asiatic daughter languages. As for the present part, it greatly exploits the results of my ongoing work for the the third volume of EDE (analyzing the Eg. lexical stock with initial m- and n-).³

The present part contains Berber lexical roots with initial *m- provided it is followed by a dental or velar plosive, sibilant, laryngeal or *-r-. Those roots that have *m-l-, *m-w-, *m-y- will be analyzed in part 6. The numeration of the

¹ A selected list of some 170 Berber etymologies with initial *b-, *b̥-, and *f- (partly discussed herein) has been presented at the international conference “2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie“ (Frankfurt am Main, 11-13 July 2002) with the title “*Notes on the History of Proto-Berber *b-, *b̥-, *f- in an Afro-Asiatic Context*”.

² Which was carried out partially during my research fellowship at Frankfurt (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften) in 1999-2000 and 2002, which was facilitated by the grant of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Bonn). I express my utmost thanks to the Humboldt Foundation as well as to my professor in Frankfurt, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, the prominent Chadicist, for his invaluable help and support.

³ I express my deep gratitude to the OTKA (Hungarian National Scientific Research Fund, project nr. D 45976) for supporting my work on EDE vol. III since 2003.

lexical entries continues that of the preceding parts of this series.⁴ In order to spare room, well-attested and widespread lexical roots that appear to be common Berber ones are quoted only through a few illustrative examples (e.g.). The regular consonant correspondences between Berber vs. Afro-Asiatic the below presented Brb.-AA isoglosses are based on are in good agreement with those established by the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff and summarized by A.Ju. Militarev (1991: 242-3).

Berber *m-

208. NBrb.: e.g. Qbl. am (prep.) “comme” [Dlt. 1982: 478] || SBrb.: e.g. Hgr. am „as, like” [Prasse 1972: 230] || Eg. m “1. in, 2. mit, 3. als” (OK, Wb II 1-2) = “1. in, 2. with, by means of, together with, 3. from, out of, 4. as, namely (m of predication), 5. (before suff. conj.) when, as, though etc.” (FD 99; cf. Grd. 1927, #162), better known as “m *der Identität*”.

209. NBrb.: e.g. Qbl. mi “lorsque, quand” [Dlt. 1982: 477] etc. || ECh.: Mgm. máa “lorsque, quand” [JA 1992: 105].

210. Brb. *i-m-an “soul(s)” (pl. circumfixes *i-...-an + root *m) [GT]: NBrb.: Mzab i-m-an “âme, esprit, soi” [Dlh. 1984: 114] | Iznasen i-m-än “âme, vie, personne” [Rns. 1932: 390] || EBrb.: Siwa & Gdm. & Nfs. i-m-an “âme” [Lst. 1931: 194] || SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr i-m-an “1. âms(s), 3. personne” [PAM 1998: 207] || SCu. *mi “people” [Ehret] = *mV, orig. perhaps *mu [GT]: WRift: Iraqw mu, Qwadza me^o-iko “people” | Ma’a mmú “person”, va-mú “people” (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 160, #55) || WCh. *m[a]y- “person” [GT]: PGoemai *may (with prefix *kə- sg. vs. *mə- pl.) “man” [GT]: Goemai goe-mai “an inhabitant of the Ankwe land” [Srl. 1937: 64] = mó-mai (pl.) “Mann, Mensch” [Jng. 1962 MS, 2] = gə-mai “Goemai”, mə-mai (pl.) “people” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 11, 22] | Bole-Tangale *m[o]yy- (sg.) “person” & *mī-mi (pl.) “people” [GT]: Bele móyyò (sg.), mīmò (pl.), Kirfī mīmī (pl.), Galambu mī (pl.), Geruma mīmī (pl.) (BT: Schuh 1978: 150). From AA *m > *m-y “person” [GT].

211. NBrb.: Snh. ta-ma, pl. ta-mi-win “pan d’un vêtement” [Rns. 1932: 384], Mzab t-ma, pl. ti-mi-wa “côté, direction” [Dlh. 1984: 114] | Mzg. ta-ma, pl. ta-mi-win “côté face, bon côté recto, endroit (en opposition à l’envers), 2. lisière,

⁴ See my papers “Some Berber Etymologies II: Berber Lexical Roots with *b-” in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93-119; “Some Berber Etymologies III: Berber Lexical Roots with *b-” published in Nad’-Zerrad, K. & Ibrizimow, D. & Voßen, R. (eds.): *Nouvelles études berbères Le verbe et autres articles. Actes du “2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie”*. Berber Studies vol. 8. Köln, 2004., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. pp. 191-204; “Some Berber Etymologies IV: Berber Lexical Roots with *f-” forthcoming in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 10 (2005), 173-201.

bord” [Taifi 1991: 399] | Qbl. ta-ma, pl. ta-mi-win “1. côté, face, 2. lisière” [Dlt. 1982: 479] || SBrb.: Ewlm. & Ayr tā-m·a, pl. tā-m·a-wen ~ tā-m·a-ten “1. bout, extrémité, 2. limite, périphérie, bord(ure)” [PAM 1998: 207]. These forms were derived from the Brb. root *m “mouth” by K.-G. Prasse (in PAM). But rather I suppose here a distinct root, cf. Sem.: Sqt. my^c: mi^ceh “côté” [SSL 1991: 1466, cf. Lsl. 1938: 248 with false Sqt. etymology].

212. SBrb.: Hgr. e-mdi “enfoncer sous terre près de la surface du sol” [Fcd. 1951-2: 1160] ||| LECu. *m-d “to (op)press” [GT]: Oromo mudda “to press, tighten, torment” [Gragg 1982: 292] | Rendille a-mída “ich belästige, bedränge, dominiere mit Gewalt” [Schlee 1978: 140, #773]. From AA *m-d “to press” [GT]?

213. NBrb.: Shilh a-maday [met.?] “meule” [Jst. 1914: 121] ||| NEg. mddh.t [< *mgdh-t] “mortar” (NE, DLE I 260; cf. Wb II 193, 2) = mdd.t “Mörser” (GHWb 383) → Cpt. (SB) $\overline{m}x\lambda z\overline{t}$ ~ $\overline{m}x\lambda t\overline{z}$ “Mörser” (KHW 114; CED 101) ||| Agaw: Bilin mægdə^c “mortar” [Lmb.] || LECu.: Saho mūgód, pl. mǎwǎged “Mörser” [Rn. 1885: 96; 1890: 260] = Saho & Afar mōgaḍ “mortier” [CR] = Afar madagge [met. < *magadd- or sim.] “mortar” [Lmb.] (ECu.-Agaw: Lmb. 1993: 354; 1993: 364-5).

NB: Originally an ancient PAA *ma- prefix *nomen instrumenti* formation of an AA root *g-d-(h) or *g-ṭ or *g-ṭ-h [GT]? Cf. CCh.: Mandara ógdza dzra “pilon” | Musgu gəḍa “piler” (CCh.: Mch. 1950: 44).

214. EBrb.: Gdm. u-madir, pl. midar “1. omoplate, 2. houe large à manche court qui forme avec le plan de l’outil un angle très fermé” [Lanfry 1973: 206, #978] ||| ES: Geez maṭarā ~ maṭārā “shoulder(blade)”, cf. Tigre maṭerär “spine” (ES: Lsl. 1987: 373; cf. Rn. 1887: 278) ||| Eg. mjd3 [< *mydr or *mytr] “ein essbarer Körperteil des Rindes (vom Bein?)” (PT, Wb II 45, 7) = “upper foreleg, lower foreleg” (AEPT, apud PT 1546) = “ein Körperteil vom Rind (als Speise)” (GHWb 326) < AA *m-T-r “shoulderblade (?)” [GT].

215. NBrb.: Mzg. $\sqrt{m}dw$ mdu “1. stagner, croupir (eau), 2. être rempli d’eau (cuve, cuvette, puits, fossé ...)” [Tf. 1991: 402-3] ||| Sem.: Ar. mdd I “8. s’élève, être en crue (se dit des eaux d’un fleuve), monter (de la mer, de la marée)”, IV “7. être plein de sève, être juteux (se dit des plantes)” [BK II 1076]. Semantically, a borrowing from Ar. seems excluded. The nominal reflexes of the underlying root are also attested, cf. Ar. madd- “2. crue des eaux, 3. marée montante, flux de la mer” [BK] ||| NBrb.: Iznasen & Senhazha ṭa-mda “flaque d’eau, trou profond dans un cours d’eau” [Rns. 1932: 385], Izdeg a-mda, pl. i-mdw-an “étang” [Mrc. 1937: 107] | Mzg. a-mda ~ a-nda, pl. i-mdw-an ~ i-ndw-an “étang, lac, mare”

[Tf.] | Qbl. ta-mda, pl. ti-medw-in “1. mare, 2. réservoir, bassin” [Dlt. 1982: 486].

216. SBrb.: Hgr. mutti “1. être changé, 2. changer” [Fcd. 1951-2: 1259] ||| LECu.: Oromo mūṭa “1. to change (intr.), 2. shed skin (snake)” [Gragg 1982: 296] = mūṭā “to change (intr.)” [Hds. 1989: 38] < AA *m-T “to change” (*m-t or *m-t) [GT]?

217. EBrb. *-mVṭk “fig” [GT]: Nefusa mətši [ši < *ki] “figue fraîche” & moṭk, pl. i-moṭk-ən “figue” [Lst.] = moṭk, pl. i-mótk-ân [irreg. -k-] “fico fresco” [Bgn. 1942, 305], Siwa i-məṭš-an (pl.) “figues” [Lst.], Sokna a-məčč “figue” [Lst.], Sened a-məṭši “figue” [Lst.] (EBrb.: Lst. 1931: 238) ||| Sem. *mtk “to be sweet” [GT]: Akk. matāqu “süß sein, werden” [AHW 632] || Hbr. mtq qal “2. süß sein”, mātôq “süß” [GB 475] || Ar. mṭq [-ṭ- < *-t- before -q-]: maṭq-at- “Süßes, Honig” [GB] ||| CCh.: Glavda mtaka “sweet” [RB 1968: 66] || ECh.: Mokilko máḍiḍāk ~ máḍḍāk “sucré”, máḍiḍiká “sucrerie, saveur” [Jng. 1990: 136], WDangla múḍûk ~ mîmúḍûk “collant” [Fédry 1971: 138]. From AA *m-t-k → assim. *m-ṭ-k “to be sweet, sticky (of ripe figs)” [GT]:

NB: The Sem. root has been often used in Nst. (IE-AA) comparisons, but its Berber and Chadic cognates have been – to the best of my knowledge – up to now neglected. Only the HSED #1818 has mentioned a comparison between Sem. *mtq and a certain Matakam mtake “sweet”, which is however not found in Rsg. 1978, #211-212!

218. NBrb.: Mzg. MTR: mutter “se grouper, se rassembler, se réunir” [Tf. 1991: 443-4]: perhaps cognate with Sem.: Ar. matara “3. cohabiter avec une femme” [BK II 1056].

219. SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr məḍəmmuḍ-ət “désirer ardemment”, e-măḍămmăḍ “désir” [PAM 1998: 210] ||| HECu. *miṭ- “to wish (for)” [Hds. 1989: 169] ||| ECh.: Birgit maaḍi “demander” [Jng. 1973 MS]. From AA *m-t “to wish” [GT]?

220. NBrb.: Mzab ə-mḍi “1. goûter, 2. se rendre compte en goûtant” [Dlh. 1984: 116], Iznasen tu-mḍi^k-t “action de faire goûter qqch. à qqn.” [Rns. 1932: 385], Izdeg mḍi “goûter” [Mercier 1937: 130] | Mzg. mḍey “goûter (la nourriture)” [Taifi 1991: 406] ||| WCh.: Hausa móóḍè “1. to gulp down all of liquid, 2. suck in (lips)” [Abr. 1962: 677].

NB: A var. root *m-t is attested in NOm.: Gamu mitt- “to swallow” [Sottile 1999: 439] ||| CCh.: Masa mūt-nà “manger (en méchant)” [Ctc. 1978: 73] = mūt-nā “to eat (soft things)” [Jng. in JI 1994 II, 121].

221. NBrb.: Mzg. a-mettar “1. tas, amas, monceau, 2. tas de gerbes sur l’aire, etc.” [Tf. 1991: 445] || Sem.: Ar. mtr I “1. inonder (qq. d’eau), 2. combler (qqn. de biens), 3. remplir (une outre)” [BK II 1122].

222. SBrb.: Ayr mǎz-ăt “1. lutter de vitesse réc. l’un avec l’autre, 2. s’efforcer de dépasser (qqn.) en accélérant le pas (en marchant à toute vitesse)”, a-mǎza “concours de vitesse, effort fait pour dépasser qqn. en accélérant le pas, marche à toute vitesse” [PAM 1998: 230; 2003: 571] || SCu.: Iraqw muĉ-ît [-tɫ-] “quickly” [Wtl. 1953] = muĉ-it [-hl-!] “quick(ly), fast” [Ehret] = mûĉ- [-tɫ-] “to hasten”, mûĉ-ît- “to hasten” [Mgw. 1989: 115] | Qwadza mišamiša [-hl-] “fast” [corrected from Kohl-Larsen mizamiza by Ehret 1980 MS, 4] (Rift: Ehret 1980: 160, #56) || WCh.: Hausa mǎzá [z < *š] “quickly” [Abr. 1962: 671], Gwandara maža ~ mažamaža “quickness” [Mts. 1972: 77] || CCh.: Bura mazamaza “quickly” [BED 1953: 131] | Hide msimsim “vite!” [Eguchi 1971: 220]. From AA *m-ĉ (or *m-š) “to be quick” [GT]

NB: The distinction between SCu. *š- and *ĉ- was preserved in Qwadza in initial position (Qwd. š- and ĉ-, resp.), although I have no data proving the same in medial position (Takács 1999: 411). Therefore the -š- of Qwadza mišamiša is not an absolute proof and support for the SCu. *š- and Ehret’s Irq. -hl- = -š- in this root (contra the -ĉ- = -tɫ- & -tɫ- of Whiteley & Maghway, resp.).

223. NBrb.: e.g. Shilh a-mz “to take, seize” [Aplg. 1958: 47] = “prendre, saisir” [Jst. 1914: 121], Izdeg a-mz “prendre, saisir, tenir”, tu-mmiz-t “poignée” [Mrc. 1937: 196, 202, 204, 248], Mzab ti-mmiz-t “poignée, ce que l’on prend avec une main” [Dlh. 1984: 126], Iznasen a-mēz-t “saisir, prendre” [Rns. 1932: 386] | Mzg. a-mež “1. prendre, saisir, attraper, empoigner, 2. (re)tenir, s’emparer de” [Tf. 1991: 449], Ait Mgild a-mz “to take, catch, hold” [Harries 1974: 225] || ECh.: Mobu maže “empoigner” [Lns. 1984: 69], Ngam maĉí “poignarder” [Lns.] | Tumak mùží “voleur” [Cpr. 1975: 84]. Cf. perhaps also Eg. mz “herbeibringen” (OK, Wb II 135, 7) = “herbeibringen, -tragen, -schaffen” (GHWb 360) > LEg. ms “to bring, present, offer” (DLE I 238) > (?) OCpt. maC- (part. conj.) “bringen, schaffen, hervorrufen” (KHW 520).

NB1: The occasional emphatic -z- < *-z- in some of the Berber records may be secondary.

NB2: The var. root with a voiceless sibilant is also known, cf. AA *m-s “to seize” [GT]: Akk. mašā’u “gewaltsam wegnehmen, rauben” [AHW 624] || Ar. msw: masā “prendre, se saisir de ...” [BK II 1107] || HECu.: Hadiya & Sidamo mass- “to take” [Hds. 1989: 148] = mas- “trarre, conduire” [Mrn. 1940: 229] || WCh.: Hausa ámsè “to take by force”, àmsáá “to receive” [Abr. 1962: 31-32] || ECh.: Bidiya miis “voler, dérober” [AJ 1989, 99], Migama màasò “voler, dérober” [JA 1992: 105]. For Ch.-Akk. see Stl. 1996: 82.

224. EBrb.: Gdm. miməz “1. être pincé, serré, 2. par ext. être dans la gêne” [Lanfrý 1973: 222, #1055] ||| Sem.: Akk. m^z’ or mzy: (a/mA, jB) mazā’u → mazû “auspressen”, mazû [< *mazy-u], var. aA mazium “ausgepreßt” [AHW 637-8]. From AA *m-Z “to press” [GT]

NB1: In principle, LECu. *m-d “to (op)press” (etymologized above from AA *m-d, entry #212) could reflect ECu. *mV[z]- too (we have unfortunately no inner ECu. proof for *z), since AA *z/*ž = ECu. *z, which regularly becomes *d in LECu. Cf. LECu. *m-d “to (op)press” [GT]: Oromo mudda “to press, tighten, torment” [Gragg 1982: 292] | Rendille a-mīda “ich belästige, bedränge, dominiere mit Gewalt” [Schlee 1978: 140, #773].

NB2: The traditional Sem. etymology of the Akk. root is not impossible, cf. Ar. mzz “saugen”, Mhr. muzz “to suck” (Ar.-Akk. suggested e.g. by von Soden, Leslau 1987: 371). In this case, the primary sense might have been *’to press with mouth’. For further possible and less probable Sem. and AA parallels of Akk. mzy see Djk. 1981: 43, fn. 52.

225. Brb. *ti-mVsi “fire” [Mlt.] = *ti-msi [GT]: e.g. NBrb.: Mzab ti-msi “feu” [Dlh. 1984: 123] | Qbl. ti-mess ~ ti-mes ~ ti-messi ~ ti-msi “feu, l’enfer” [PAM 1998: 223] || EBrb.: Siwa tə-msi & Sokna ti-msi “feu” [Lst. 1931: 237] || WBrb.: Zenaga t̄j-m̄ši “feu” [Ncl. 1953: 218] || SBrb.: Hgr. te-mse, pl. ti-mes “feu” [Fcd. 1951-2: 1247] ||| Ar. māmūs- “feu” [BK II 1154] ||| CCh.: Daba msa “to roast, grill” [Pascal] = mīsā [Lienhard in JI 1994 II 275].

NB1: Cf. perhaps also NOm. *mič- [GT]: Wolayta mičč- “to taste hot” [Hyw.], Zayse mičč- “to roast” [Hyw.], Baditu mičč-ē “caldo” [Crl. 1929: 62], Haruro meč-āys “scaldare, bruciare”, mičč-ē “caldo” [CR 1937: 653] | Gimirra-Benesho mič- “to roast” [Hyw.] | Chara miča “to burn” [Bnd. 1974: 29] | Kaffa & Mocha mičč- “to roast” [Hyw.] (NOm.: Hyw. 1988: 283), although the sibilant correspondence is not clear.

NB2: A. Ju. Militarev (1991: 259, #28.1) prefers comparing the common Brb. root “fire” i.a. with Sem. Ar. mays-ān-, pl. mayāsīnu “étoile qui brille d’un vif éclat” [BK II 1173], Sem. *ʔamš- “yesternight” [GT] and even Eg.-Sem. *m-s “night” [GT]. Semantically unconvincing.

226. NBrb.: Qbl. a-mmas “les hanches et le bas du dos”, cf. also a-meššaš “fesse” [Dlt. 1982: 481, 520] ||| ECh.: EDangla máasá “rein, région médiane du dos” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 197], WDangla mààsò “région médiane du dos” [Fédry 1971: 123]. AA *m-s “back” (perhaps *mas-?) [GT].

227. Brb. *a-mmas “inner part of, middle” [GT]: e.g. NBrb.: Qbl. i-mass-en (pl. tante) “1. l’intérieur du pain, de la galette, mie de pain” [Dlt. 1982: 520] | Mzg. a-mmas “milieu, intérieur, centre” [Tf. 1991: 436] || EBrb.: Gdm. a-mmas “milieu, centre” [Lanfrý 1973: 218, #1032] || SBrb.: Hgr. ā-mmas “intérieur, la partie

intérieure” [Fcd. 1246], EWlm. & Ayr a-mmas “milieu, centre, intérieur” [PAM 1998: 224] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *mēs “inner part of plants” [GT 2004: 247]: Angas mees “pith (of guinea corn stalks, grass, etc.)” [Flk. 1915: 244], Gmy. mēs [-ε-] “the hard inner part of a tree, the heart of a tree” [Srl. 1937: 138].

228. NBrb.: Qbl. a-mmas “les hanches et le bas du dos” [Dlt. 1982: 520] ||| Ch. *m-s “back” [JS 1981: 32]: WCh.: Fyer más, pl. maàsi ~ masás, Bokkos más “Rücken” [Jng. 1970: 88, 144] | Guruntum muusi “hip” [Jaggar 1989: 185] || CCh.: Hina mesé “Gesäß” [Str. 1922-23: 116] || ECh.: EDangla máasá “rein, région médiane du dos” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 197], WDangla maàsò “région médiane du dos” [Fédry 1971: 123].

229. Mzg. √m: mmu “être tardif (culture, fruit, labour), être dernier-né, naître tardivement” [Tf. 1991: 450] ||| Ar. maa^ʿa V “3. traîner en longueur et rester longtemps à faire qqch.” [BK II 1125]. Borrowing from Ar. is improbable.

230. NBrb.: Mzab a-məč [č reg. < Brb. *k] “bien, bon, mieux (un degré, non une qualité)” [Dlh. 1984: 115] ||| Sem.: prob. Ar. maqmaqa “être doux” [BK II 1136] ||| LECu.: Elmolo mak-a “sweet” [Lmb.] = máko? “süß” vs. māk “Honig” [Heine 1973: 280] ||| WCh.: Angas myék myäk (frequently myäk myäk) “tasty, sweet, well flavoured” [Flk. 1915: 251] = myék [sic with -k] (Ks) “tasty” [Jng. 1962 MS, 27] || CCh.: Bura mimehyu [-h- reg. < AA *-Q-] “sweet and delicious” [BED 1953: 138] | Lamang mak “honey” [Mch. in JI 1994 II 191]. From AA *m-ḵ ~ vars. *m-k ~ *m-ḵ (?) “1. sweet, 2. good” [GT].

NB: M. Lamberti (1993: 362-363; cf. also LS 1997: 450-451) derived the Elmolo cognate mistakenly from OCu. *me^ʿ- “to be tasty” [Lmb.], which represents a distinct root.

231. NBrb.: Mzg. i-miq “peu, un peu (indique surtout la quantité)” [Tf. 1991: 425] ||| NOM.: Shinasha of Dangur muñ-a “small” [Flm. 1990: 28] = muḵḵ-á “klein”, muḵḵ-à “wenige”, muḵ-ış- (caus.) “vermindern, verkleinern” [Lmb. 1993: 351-2].

232. NBrb.: Mzg. ti-myil-t “croupion (des oiseaux)” [Tf. 1991: 408] ||| Sem.: Ar. maql- “2. fond d’un puits” [BK II 1136].

233. NBrb.: Iznasen a-mehḥaş [infix --?] “baiser voluptueux” [Rns. 1932: 389: not Arabism] ||| MSA *msy: Hrs. amēs “to kiss the nose, greet” [Jns.], Mhr. amōsi [Jns.] = mōsî [Jahn] “to kiss (tr.)” (MSA: Jns. 1987: 272) ||| SCu.: Iraqw maʿās “to kiss” [Mgw. 1989: 115]. From AA *m-s “to kiss” [GT]?

234. EWlm. & Ayr ə-m·ur ~ ə-m·m·ur, pl. i-m·ārr-ān “flèche” [PAM 1998: 221], Hgr. ā-mor, pl. i-murr-en “flèche” [Fcd. 1951-2: 1224]. May represent a var. root with *-r of AA *m-l “arrow” [GT], cp. Sem.: Akk. (m/jB, m/nA) mulmullu ~ malmullu “Pfeil” [AHW 671] ||| NOm.: Haruro (Gats’ama) mala “arrow” [Sbr. 1994: 11] ||| ECh.: Ndam-Gulei mal “Speer” [Lks. 1937: 95], Tumak mà:l “lance (nom générique)” [Cpr. 1975: 82] = mààl “sagaïe” [Cpr. 1971: 54], Tumak-Mawer màl “sagaïe” [Cpr. 1971: 54], Somray málē [Lks.] = malé [AF] = mal [Benton] “Lanze” [Lks. 1937: 80].

235. NBrb.: Qbl. a-mur “part, portion” [Dlt. 1982: 513]: perhaps cognate with Eg. m3^c [*< *mr^c*] “das Ufer des Flußes oder eines Sees” (MK, Wb II 25, 2-3) = “bank of river or lake” (FD 102) ||| Bed. mar “Seite” [Rn. 1895: 171] = mari “direction, side” [Rpr. 1928: 218].

236. NBrb.: Qbl. mari “1. s’entêter, 2. se forcer, 3. agir par esprit de contradiction” [Dlt. 1982: 512] || SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr m·ur-ət “s’entêter, être têtu, s’obstiner”, EWlm. ā-m·m·uru, pl. ā-m·m·ur-ut-ān “entêtement, fait d’être têtu, obstination” [PAM 1998: 221] ||| Sem.: OHbr. mr⁷ ~ mry qal “rebellisch, widerspenstig sein”, NHbr. mry “widerspenstig sein” || Ar. mry I “i.a.: jem. das ihm Gebührende vorenthalten”, III “disputieren, sich gegenseitig provozieren” (Sem.: GB 458-460 with further parallels) ||| NEg. m3w3 (GW for *mw3?) [*< *mwr*] “unbotmäßig, ungehorsam sein” (NE, Wb II 28, 10; GHWb 319) = “être désobéissant” (AL 78.1626) ||| HECu.: Burji morom- ~ morôm- “to deny”, Sidamo morôm- ~ morom- “to deny” (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 48) ||| SOM.: Ari mer- “to forbid” [Hyw. 1988: 290] = mér- “to forbid” [Bnd.-Flm.], Dime mır- “to forbid” (SOM.: Bnd. 1994: 150) ||| CCh.: Bura mula [-l- reg. *< *-r-*] “1. to become unruly or stubborn, 3. to rebel, 3. get out of hand, give trouble”, mulmula “stubborn, unruly, rebellious”, mulmul-kur “obstinacy, stubbornness” [BED 1953: 144]. From AA *m-r ~ *m-w-r “to deny, disobey, be stubborn” [GT].

237. NBrb.: Iznasen & Uriaghel & Bqy. & Tuzin mured “ramper, se traîner (enfant)” [Rns. 1932: 387] | Qbl. e-mred “se traîner sur les genoux, 2. sur le sol”, mured “marcher à quatre pattes” [Dlt. 1982: 514] || SBrb.: Hgr. mured [Fcd. 1951-2: 125], EWlm. murəd “1. ramper, 2. se traîner en marchant sur les genoux”, EWlm. mərədmərəd & Ayr mərəurəd “ramper (reptile)” [PAM 1998: 221-2] ||| WCh.: NBAuchi *mburd- [**mb-* *< *m-*, irreg. *-d-?] “to creep, crawl” [GT]: Warji mburd-, Mburku burda-burda, Kariya burda (noun), Tsagu mburda (noun) (NBAuchi: Skn. 1977: 17 with false NBAuchi protoform) || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -mərḍ- “s’étirer” [Brt. 1978: 139]. From AA *m-r-d (var. *-ṭ?) “to crawl” [GT].

238. SBrb. *a-mrəz „sickle with dentation” [GT]: NTrg.: Hgr. a-mreh, pl. i-mreh-en “1. faucille à dents (faucille dont le tranchant est dentelé et forme scie), 2. scie à main (à lame droite ou recourbée)” [Fcd. 1951-2: 1226] = a-mrəh, pl. i-mrəh-ən [Prs.] = a-mrəh “Handsäge, Sichel” [Zhl. 1934: 111] | STrg.: Wlm. a-mrəz, pl. a-mariz “faucille à dents” (SBrb.: Prs. 1969: 81, #527; Mlt. 1991, 152; 1983, 104, fn. 31) ||| Eg. m3z [< *mrz] „Messer” (PT, Wb II 31, 13) = “ein Messer” (GHWb 321). From AA *m-r-Z “sort of knife (?)” [GT]? Lit. for Eg.-SBrb.: Takács 1996: 135, #26; 1997: 99, #42; 1999: 133; 1999: 199, #1.1.2; 2000: 336, #1.16.

239. EBrb.: Gdm. e-mrəḡ “être armé (piège)” [Lanfry 1973: 216, #1023] ||| OEg. m3d.w [< *mrg-w] “perche, palanche” (PT, AL 77.1610, 77.1635) = „Brückenjoch (?), Stäbe (?)” (GHWb 322), cf. also m3wd [< *mrwg?] “transporter, porter à l’aide d’une palanche” (OK, AL 77.1609) = „tragen, transportieren (mit einer Tragestange)” (GHWb 319), denom. < m3wd “die Arme” (NE, Wb II 28, 16) & “perche, palanche” (NE 1x, AL 77.1610) = „carrying-pole” (NE 5x, DLE I 207) ||| ECh.: Kera ámàrgá “ámàrgá Rückentrage für Säuglinge” [Ebert 1976: 26]. The underlying root may have been AA *m-r-g (or sim.) „1. shoulder, 2. neck, 3. (to put) burden on the shoulder or the neck, equip with” [GT], cf. LECu. *marg- “neck” [GT]: Somali merg-î ~ mirg-î (caus.) “(be)drängen, jemanden am Halse packen und würgen”, mérg-i ~ mírg-i „Hals- und Nackensehne” [Rn. 1902: 301] = mǎrég, pl. mǎrég-ó “rope for neck of lamb or kid”, merg-ín-ayya “to tangle (rope), stick (of meat in throat)” [Abr. 1964: 175, 178] = marg-at- „to choke” [Lmb.], Baiso marg-i „front neck” [Hyw. 1979: 127] = marg-i “neck” [LS], Jiddu merž-ə ~ merž-e [*-g-] „neck” [Lmb.], Dasenech morg-oč “hump” [Lmb.] (LECu.: Lmb. 1988, 88, #130) | HECu.: Sidamo morgogg-e „hock” [Lsl.] (HECu.: Lsl. 1988: 195) ||| NOm. *mUrg- “shoulder” [GT]: Ometo morg-e “dorso, spalla” [Mrn. 1938, 153], Wolayta muorg-ē „spalla, shoulder” [Crl. 1929: 33] = morgiy-a „1. shoulder, 2. hump” [Lmb.], Gamu morg-e “hump” [Sottile 1999: 432], Gofa morg-e „shoulder” [Lmb.] | Shinasha (Bworo) mangr-à [met. + epenthetic nasal < *marg-] „shoulder” [Lmb.] (NOM.-LECu.: Lmb. 1988: 54; 1993: 109; 1993: 354; Hbr.-Lmb. 1988: 129; LS 1997: 466; Baiso-Wolayta: Boisson 1989: 50; 1990: 28).

240. NBrb.: Shilh a-marg [irreg. -g] “2. regret” [Jst. 1914: 121] ||| Eg. m3tr.w [< *m⁷kr or *mrkr?] “(en fait subst.) le pleurer (un mort)” (CT VII 231k, AL 78.1649) = “einen Toten beweinen” (GHWb 322) ||| NAgaw: Qwara mäkar-ā “Trauer, Kummer, Angst, Elend” [Rn. 1885: 98], Xamir miker-ā “Kummer” [Rn. 1884: 392] ||| ECh.: Bidiya morok “être en deuil”, morókò “deuil” [AJ 1989: 100], WDangla mòrkè “être en deuil”, mórkiikà “deuil” [Fédry 1971: 137]. From AA *m-r-k ~ *m-k-r “to be sad, regret” [GT].

241. EBrb.: Augila (m) mrī, pl. mrīy-en, (f) mrīy-et, pl. mrīy-ît “bello” [Prd. 1960: 161] ||| CCh.: Glavda máraw(à) “good” [RB 1968: 63] = marawà “good” [Kraft 1981: #293] | Puss mariya “mieux vaut .., plutôt” [Trn. 1991: 103] || ECh.: Kera marya (adv.) “besser” [Ebert 1976: 80]. From AA *m-r-y or *m-r-w (originally with prefix *m-?) “good” [GT].

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Abbreviations of languages

(A): Ahmimic, (A₂): “Subahmimic” (Asyutic), aA: altassyrisch, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic), aB: altbabylonisch, aAK: altakkadisch, Akk.: Akkadian, Amr.: Ait Ammart, Aram.: Aramaic, Ass.: Assyrian, (B): Bohairic, BA(ram.): Biblical Aramaic, Bab.: Babylonian, Bed.: Bedawye (Beja), BH(br.): Biblical Hebrew, BM: Bura-Margi, Bqy.: Iboqqoyen, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Egyptian Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, E: East(ern), ES & Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, Eg.: Egyptian, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian (dynasties), (F): Fayyumic, Gdm.: Ghadames, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, H: Highland, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (Ḥarsūsi), IA(ram.): Imperial Aramaic, JA(ram.): Jewish Aramaic, jB: Jungbabylonisch, Jbl.: Jibbali or Shabri (Shawri, Šerī), L: Late, L: Lowland, (L): Lycopolitean, LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LE(g.): Late Egyptian, lit.: literature or literary, LL: lexical list, LP: Late (Third Intermediate) Period, M: Middle, mA: mittellassyrisch, Mag.: Magical, Mat.: mathematical papyri, mB: mittelbabylonisch, Med.: medical texts, MEg.: Middle (Classical) Egyptian, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, Msq.: Masqan, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New, N: North(ern), nA: neuassyrisch, nB: neubabylonisch, NBch.: North Bauchi, NE(g.): New Egyptian, Nfs.: Nefusa, NK: New Kingdom, Nsl(m): Taneslemt, O: Old, (O): Old Coptic, OA(ss.): Old Assyrian, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, Omt.: Ometo, OSA: Old South Arabian, PBH(br.): Post-Biblical Hebrew, Phn.: Phoenician, PT: pyramid texts, Pun.: Punic, Qbl.: Qabyle, Qtb.: Qatabanian, rel.: religious, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, SBch.: South Bauchi, Sem.: Semitic, Sgr.: Ait Seghrushen, Snh.: Senhazha, spB: spätbabylonisch, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Tna.: Tigrinya, Trg.: Tuareg, Ulb.: Ulbarag (Urbarag), Urg.: Ait Uriaghel, W: West(ern), Wlm(d): Tawllemmet, Zng.: Zenaga.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Aplg.: Applegate, Bgn.: Beguilot, BK: Bieberstein & Kazimirsky, Bnd.: Bender, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper,

Ctc.: Caitucoli, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Dst.: Destaign, Ebs.: Ebobisse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, Jst.: Justinard, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgw.: Maghway, Mrn.: Moreno, Ncl.: Nicolas, Ntg.: Netting, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzing, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Sbr.: Siebert, Skn.: Neil Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Trn.: Tourneau, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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