

Some Berber Etymologies VI¹

The article continues the author's general research in the field of Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics, concentrating on new Afro-Asiatic etymologies for Berber roots with initial *m-. More than 50 new comparisons are presented.

Keywords: etymology; historic reconstruction; Afro-Asiatic; Berber

Introduction

The purpose of my series 'Some Berber Etymologies' is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic heritage hiding in the Berber lexical stock, which has been little explored from this standpoint.

The first part of this series of papers, containing miscellaneous Berber etymologies, was published very long ago (Takács 1996). My possibilities in this first part were strongly limited by the rather small collection of lexical sources at my disposal at that time (a list of *addenda et corrigenda* is planned to follow in a later issue of this series). Recently, I have prepared the second, third, and fourth parts as well, containing a rich collection of new etymologies for Berber lexical roots with initial *b-, *b̥-, and *f- resp.,² which primarily reflect my research on the second and third volumes of the 'Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian' (abbreviated as EDE),³ with a

¹ This paper was presented at the 4. Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie, 21–23 September 2006, Frankfurt am Main.

² A selected list of 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'. But — due to lack of space and strict page limitations — it was impossible to publish the full collection of 170 lexical comparisons with all details and references (only a brief summary of the presentation) in the proceedings of the Frankfurt-Bayreuth conference (2003 issue of the 'Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter'). Therefore, I decided to use the opportunity in this paper to propose the original material dealing with the Berber lexical roots with initial *f- in full details and length. I plan to publish the further collection of my new Berber lexical comparisons in the subsequent parts of 'Some Berber Etymologies'. The preceding issues of the series were published as follows: • The Origin of Ahaggar h in an Afro-Asiatic Perspective // Chaker, S. & Zaborski, A. (eds.): *Études berbères et chamito-sémitiques. Mélanges offerts à Karl-G. Prasse pour son 70^e anniversaire*. Paris & Louvain, 2000., Éditions Peeters. Pp. 333–356. • Some Berber Etymologies II: Berber Lexical Roots with *b- // *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93–119. • Some Berber Etymologies III: Berber Lexical Roots with *b̥- // Naït-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- // *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 10 (2005), 173–201. • Some Berber Etymologies V: Berber Lexical Roots with *m-. Forthcoming.

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much more extensive lexicographical apparatus on cognates in Afro-Asiatic daughter languages. As for the present part, to a large extent it relies on the results of my ongoing work on the third volume of EDE (analysis of the Eg. lexical stock with initial *m*-).⁴ The numeration of the lexical entries continues that of the first part of this series.

Berber *m-

- **242.** NBrb.: Mzab a-mi '1. écraser, triturer, 2. malaxer' [Dlh. 1984, 125], Wargla a-mi 'écraser, comprimer, compresseur' [Dlh. 1987, 202] ||| HECu.: Burji mo[?]- ~ mō- 'to break (intr.)', mo- 'to be broken (e.g. wood)' [Sasse 1982, 146; Hds. 1989, 149–150] ||| NOm.: Koyra me[?]- 'to break (intr.)' [Hyw. apud Sasse] ||| ECh.: Bidiya mī 'piler, tamponner' [AJ 1989, 99], Mahwa √m-y: mī-ŋ [VN ending -ŋ] 'drücken', nó miyê 'ich drückte' [Jng. 1978, 38; 1981, 56] < AA *m-[?] ~ *m-y 'to crush, pound' [GT].
- **243.** SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr a-məd '1. cueillir (produits végétaux comestibles etc.), 2. ramasser (bois de chauffage; produit sauvage qqch.), 3. arracher, lever (racines, arachides, pommes de terre etc., à la moisson)' [PAM 2003, 520] ||| HECu.: Kmb. & Sid. mid- 'to cut crops, reap' [Hds. 1989, 46].
- **244.** NBrb.: Shilh a-mud 'semence' [Jst. 1914, 121] | Izdeg a-mud, pl. i-madd-en '(graine de) semence' [Mrc. 1937, 130, 233] ||| SLECu. *miḍ- [Black]: Orm. miḍ-āni 'grain' [Black] = miḍ-ān 'grain (growing, harvested, or food)' [Gragg 1982, 285], Konso miḍ-ā & Gidole miḍ-ā 'edible leaves' [Black], Som. mīḍó 'fruit' [Abr. 1964, 179] (LECu.: Black 1974, 218) | HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) miḍ-a ~ mi[?]r-a 'grain, cereal, crop' [Hds. 1989, 72]. Irreg. alternation -d- ~ -ḍ-. From AA *m-d ~ *m-ḍ [GT].
NB: Cf. also HECu. *mutt-i[?]r- 'to sprout' [Hds. 1989, 141] vs. Sid. muḍ-ē 'sprout' [Hds.] | Orm. muṭ-a 'sprout, blade (crop)' [Gragg 1982, 295] = muṭ-ē 'sprout' [Hds.].
- **245.** SBrb.: Ayr a-məd 'nourrir de la rancune contre, être fâché contre', caus. šuməd 'vexer, fâcher, agacer, irriter' [PAM 2003, 524] ||| Ar. maḍḍa '1. faire souffrir qqn., 2. affecter qqn., lui causer de la peine, 3. faire du mal, piquer, picoter' [BK II 1118] ||| NOm.: Yemsa me[?]- [-[?]- < *-ḥ- reg.] 'beleidigen' [Lmb. 1993, 362] < AA *m-ḥ 'to hurt, vex' (or sim.) [GT].
- **246.** NBrb.: Mzg. i-mṭiṭtu 'tempe' [Taifi 1991, 445] || SBrb.: Hgr. é-med, pl. i-medḍ-en 'tempe et région zigomatique: tempe et partie de la joue qui est immédiatement audessus de la tempe entre la pommette et l'oreille' [Fcd. 1951–52, 1163], EWlm. & Ayr a-mḍəḍ, pl. i-mḍəḍ-ān 'tempe' [PAM 1998, 210] ||| LECu.: Orm. madd-ī 'cheek' [Gragg 1982, 273; Hds. 1989, 39], Orm. (Borana, Orma dialects.) madd-ī 'the cheeks, temples' [Strm. 1987, 362] ||| CCh.: Muyang a-miḍ 'chin' [Rsg. 1978, 225, #131] < CCh. *m-d 'chin' [JS 1981, 70B]. Irreg. alternation -d- ~ -ḍ-. From AA *m-d ~ *m-ḍ [GT].
NB: The derivation of the Mzg. form < i-mṭi 'larme' (Taifi l.c.) may rather be merely a *Volksetymologie*.
- **247.** NBrb.: Mzg. i-mṭi 'pleur, larme' [Taifi 1991, 445], Izdeg i-mṭi 'larme' [Mrc. 1937, 153], Zayan & Sgugu i-mṭi ~ i-mṭi 'larme' [Lbg. 1924, 568] etc. (NBrb.: Bst. 1890, 62–63; Biarnay 1917, 90) || WBrb.: Zng. √n-ḍ-w: è-nḍaw-ən (coll. pl.) 'larmes' [Ncl. 1953, 227] || SBrb.: Tadghaq & Tudalt a-məṭṭ 'tears' [Sudlow 2001, 281] ||| HECu. *indīdd-o 'tears of eyes' [Hds. 1989, 149] < *imdīdd-o [GT] ||| NOm.: PMAoid *[?]amṭ- (?) [GT] > Hozo ámt-i &

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Sezo hamiç(ı) ‘tear of eye’ [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 17, #25] ||| WCh.: Pero múḍḍi ‘tear (lacrima)’ [Frj. 1985, 42]. Irreg. alternation -d- ~ -ḍ-. From AA *m-d ~ *m-ṭ ‘tears’ [GT].

NB: The derivation < tiṭṭ ‘eye’ (Taifi l.c.) may be merely a *Volksetymologie*.

- 248. SBrb.: EWlm. a-mḍur & Ayr a-nḍu/ər ‘déchirure, fente, fêlure’ [PAM 2003, 525] ||| HECu. *maṭar- ‘to cut branches, prune’ [GT after Hds. 1989, 46] < AA *m-ṭ-r ‘to cut, split’ [GT].
- 249. NBrb.: Mzg. a-mes ‘1. enduire, 2. oindre, 3. frotter une chose contre une autre’ [Taifi 1991, 435], Izdeg a-ms ‘enduire’ [Mrc. 1937, 34], Zayan & Sgugu a-mes ‘frotter une chose contre une autre’ [Lbg. 1924, 567] | Mzab a-məs ‘masser, essuyer fortement, frotter’ [Dlh. 1984, 122], Wargla a-məs ‘frotter, essuyer fort, masser’ [Dlh. 1987, 197] || SBrb.: Ghat a-mes ‘effacer, ôter l’empreinte’ [Nhl. 1909, 154], EWlm. è-mmas ‘effacer, gratter, décolorer’ [Ncl. 1957, 571] = EWlm. & Ayr ə-məs ‘essuyer, effacer’ [PAM 2003, 555] ||| Sem.: JNAram. mšy ‘to wipe, clean’ [Sabar 2002, 226] || Mhr. mōsī ‘reiben’ [Müller, not in Jns. 1987] || ES *mss ‘to rub’ [GT] vs. Gurage m^wašä ‘to rub’ [Lsl. 1979 III, 432–3] (ES: Lsl. 1982, 54; Sem.: Müller 1981, 401) ||| LECu.: Afar musu^ʕe [ext. -ʕ] ‘to be peeled, scraped sore’ [PH 1985, 172] | HECu.: Sid. miššiga [ext. -g] ‘to rub with the hands’ [Gsp. 1983, 234] ||| CCh.: Lamang mas-a [mósó] ‘einreiben’ [Wolff 1972, 198] | Glavda mas ‘to anoint’ [RB 1968, 63]. Cf. also Sem. *mḥš [ext. *-ḥ-] ‘to rub’ [GT] > Ar. maḥasa ‘frotter avec force’ [BK II 1066] || Tigre māḥasa ‘to wipe’ [LH].
NB: C. Brockelmann (1932, 811) affiliated Brb. *a-mes ‘frotter’ [Bst.] with Ar. massa ‘toucher’ [BK II 1101] = ‘berühren’ [Brk.], which is semantically dubious.
- 250. NBrb.: Mzg. msus ‘être fade, insipide’ [Taifi 1991, 435] ||| Ar. msy: masā I ‘3. amaigrir, exténuer etc. (se dit de la chaleur qui fait maigrir les bestiaux)’ [BK II 1108].
- 251. SBrb.: Ayr ə-msək ‘être habitué à qqch. de bon’ [PAM 2003, 558] ||| ECh.: Bidiya musàk ‘s’habituer, s’accoutumer’ [AJ 1989, 101].
- 252. SBrb. *√m-s-w: Ayr a-māso ~ e-məši & EWlm. e-məšwi ‘puits, point d’eau’ [PAM 1998, 557] ||| CCh.: Gisiga mesauú, Balda māsa, Holma mačoǎ ‘Bach, Fluß’ (CCh.: Str. 1922–23, 126).
- 253. NBrb.: Zemmur ta-měšaš-t ‘rotule’ [Lst. 1918, 4] ||| LECu.: Afar māsayya (f) ‘joint of body’ [PH 1985, 158].
NB: Cf. also Qbl. a-meššaš ‘fesse’ [Dlt. 1982, 520].
- 254. NBrb.: Mzg. √m-z: mmuz ‘être tardif (culture, fruit, labour), être dernier-né, naître tardivement’ [Tf. 1991, 450] ||| Ar. maṣa^ʕa V ‘3. traîner en longueur et rester longtemps à faire qqch.’ [BK II 1125].
- 255. SBrb.: Ayr mǎg-āt ~ mǎgǎy ‘avoir les lèvres noires, être noir (bouche d’animal)’ [PAM 2003, 526, 528] ||| ECh.: Kwang mǎgùwà (f) ‘soir’ [Jng. 1973, 44] | EDangla màakò & WDangla mààkó (f) ‘le soir, crépuscule’ [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 192].
NB: Cf. also LECu.: PSam *múgdī ‘darkness’ [Heine 1978, 69/91] = Omo-Tana *mugd- ‘Dunkelheit’ [Sasse 1981, 155] affiliated by H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) as areal parallel with Kuliak: Ik moku ‘Nacht’.
- 256. SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr mǎgg-āt ‘faire du bien à, bienfait, bonne nouvelle, grâce, volonté de faire des bienfaits’ [PAM 2003, 526] ||| SCu. *magah- ‘to treat well, behave properly toward’ [Ehret]: Iraqw magah- ‘to take care of’ | Qwadza magah-am- ‘to be good’ (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 342, #7).

- 257. NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu muka ‘chouette’ [Lbg. 1924, 569] ||| ECh.: Lele mígí ‘un oiseau: rapace nocturne’ [WP 1982, 62].
- 258. SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr ā-maḡa ‘grand taureau castré’ [PAM 2003, 534] ||| SOm.: Ari mēk- & mayk^h ‘buffalo’ [Bnd. 1994a, 146], Dime mēkē [Sbr.] = méke [Flm.] ‘bull’ [Bnd. 1996 MS, 1, #22].
- 259. Brb. *m-γ-r ‘être grand, vieux, notable’ [Dolgopolsky]: cf., e.g., NBrb.: Wargla a-mγar ‘ancien, vieux, notable du clan, de tribu, anciens chefs’ [Dlh. 1987, 193], Qbl. u- ~ i-mγur ‘1. être grand, grandir, 2. être considérable en proportion ou valeur’, a-mγar ‘1. homme âgé, 2. vieillard, 3. beau-parents, (pl.) les anciens, témoins de la tradition’ [Dlt. 1982, 508], Irzhen a-mγar ‘vieillard, notable’ [Picard], Ait Mgild a-mγar ‘old person, leader of performers, head of tribe’ [Harries 1974, 224] || EBrb.: Gdm. ə-mq̄r ‘1. être âgé, ancien, 2. être notable’ [Lanfry 1973, 214, #1019] || SBrb.: Hgr. a-mγar ‘homme grand (d’âge, de situation dans sa famille ou dans la société)’, i-mγar ‘être grand (de dimensions, d’âge, de position sociale)’ [Fcd. 1951–2, 235, 237] (Brb.: Bst. 1890, 316; Dlg. 1967, 7, #3). Related to CCh.: PLamang *m-l-ḡ [-l- < *-r- poss.] ‘old’ [GT, cf. Büchner 1964, 41–42; Wolff 1971, 65, 69, 71; Mkr. 1987, 279] || ECh.: Bidiya murāk ‘vieillir, s’user’, mūrko ‘vieux, ancien, âgé’ [AJ 1989, 101] via metathesis?
NB: Or any connection to Ar. maḡara I ‘5. élargir qqch. à force de se mouvoir dans l’intérieur’, ya-mḡūr- ~ yu-mḡūr- ‘long, allongé, trop long’ [BK II 1072]?
- 260. NBrb.: Mzg. a-mum ‘1. maigrir, être maigre, chétif, anémié, dépérir, 2. s’amenuiser, s’étioiler’ [Taifi 1991, 399], Zayan & Sgugu a-mum ‘maigrir, s’affaiblir, dépérir’ [Lbg. 1924, 565] || SBrb.: EWlm. u-m̄mān, Ayr i-mān ‘2. être nain (membre du corps)’ [PAM 1998, 217] ||| Sem.: Hbr. mūm ‘spot, blemish, injury (physical, moral)’ [KB 556], JPArām. mūm ‘ritual defect’ [Sokoloff 1990, 295], Samar. Arām. mūm ‘blemish, defect, wicked’ [Tal 2000, 456], Mandaean muma ‘fault, defect, injury, infirmity, spot, blemish’ [DM 1963: 261] | cf. Ar. (< Can.?) mūm- ‘1. petite vérole, 2. pleurésie’ [BK II 1168] ||| ECh.: Dormo mām ‘schwach’ [Lks. 1937, 91] ||| Eg. mm.tj ‘als schmähende Bez. des Apophis’ (LP hapax, Wb II 59, 2). From AA *m-m ‘1. to have some deficiency (?)’ [GT].
- 261. SBrb.: Ayr e-mān, pl. e-mānm-ān ‘épaisseur de corde etc.’ vs. EWlm. a-mām ‘ligoter, être ligoté’ [PAM 2003, 541] ||| Eg. *mm.t (?) > Cpt. (L) **MO(O)ME** ‘Ader’ (KHW 92).
NB: J. Osing (NBÄ 321, 866, n. 1381; KHW 518) explained the Cpt. word from *mā?m̄ < *māt̄m̄(j) < *mām̄t̄(j) via met. (cf. Fecht 1960, §206), in which he saw a prefix *ma- form of Eg. mtj (*māt̄j) > (S) **MOYT** ‘Ader, Band, Sehne’. Improbable.
- 262. SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr ta-m̄mōm-t, pl. ta-m̄mōm-en ‘1. fruit mûr de tādant (juteux), 2. jus de ce fruit (très sucré, sorte de miel végétal), 3. sucre végétal en gén.’ [PAM 2003, 541–2] ||| Eg. mjm.t ‘eine offizinell verwendete Pflanze’ (Med.: Pap. Ebers 93:1–3, Wb II 42, 15) = ‘eine unbekannte Pflanze (die Blätter müßen saftig sein)’ (WÄDN 220) = ‘eine Pflanze, deren Blätter Saft enthalten’ (Edel 1970, 23–24, §11).
NB1: The Tuareg word is explained by K.-G. Prasse (PAM l.c.) from Brb. *t-hāmmīm-t ‘miel’.
NB2: Any connection to Ug. mm (?) ‘an oil-yielding substance’, zt-mm ‘oil of mm’ [Gordon 1955, 289, #1121]?
- 263. NBrb.: Sus a-mun ‘gros poisson comestible’ [Dst. 1938, 225] || SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr e-mān ‘poisson’ [PAM 1998, 218; 2003, 543], Tudalt & Tadghaq e-mān ‘fish’ [Sudlow 2001, 271] < Tuareg *i-manāhan (sic) [Prs. 1974, 145] < PBrb. *ē-manah [PAM 2003, 543] ||| WCh.: Goemay min ‘a species of fish’ [Srl. 1937, 140] || CCh.: Kotoko-Logone munān ‘Mor-

myrops deliciosus (Leach) [Lbf. 1976, 20, §14] | Musgu-Puss mənəŋ ‘Mormyrops deliciosus (poisson)’ [Trn. 1991, 105].

NB: V. Blažek (2000 MS, 13, §69) compared the Brb. word with Akk. (u)mūnu ‘Larve, Raupe’ [AHW 673], Syr. ʔāmūnā ‘sp. lizard’ [Zimmern: < Akk.] as well as distant parallels like Dravidian *mīn(u) ‘fish’ [DED #4885], Uralic *menV ‘sp. fish’ [FUV 99], and (pace Mlt. 1991, 260) also IE *meni- ‘sp. fish’ [IEW 731]. K.-G. Prasse (PAM 2003, 543), in turn, equated Brb. *m-n with Eg. rm ‘fish’, which is phonologically unacceptable.

- **264.** NBrb.: Mzab mənəw (m), mənəw (f) ‘quelques, plusieurs’ [Dlh. 1984, 120] || WBrb.: Zenaga mən (pl. of min) ‘jemand, unbestimmte Leute’ [Zhl. 1942–43, 101, #1] || EBrb.: Gdm. mennaw (m), mennaw-et (f) ‘quelques, un petit nombre, un petit groupe’ [Lanfry 1973, 214, #1016] || Sem.: Akk. (not in aAK, nA) manman (aB), hence assim.: mamman ~ mamma ~ mammu (n/spB) ‘(irgend)jemand, wer auch immer’, manāma, ass. mannāma ~ manamma ‘irgendjemand, wer auch immer’, (nA) memēni ~ mimī/ēni ~ menimeni ‘jemand(en), (irgend)etwas, irgendein’, (nA, n/spB) mamman(n)u ‘irgendjemand von’, mimma [from *mīn(u)-ma] ‘irgendetwas, alles’ [AHW 600–2, 644, 653] || Ug. mn(m) ‘who/whatever’ [Gordon 1955, 289, #1129a–1130] = mm [*mnm(n)] ‘irgendjemand’ [WUS #1586] = mnm ‘any(thing), all (that)’, mnmn ‘anyone, someone’ [DUL 563], JAram. of TM ma(?)n ‘1. irgend jemand, wer, aliquis’ [Levy 1924 III, 5] || OSA: Qtb. mn ‘he who, whoever’ [Ricks], Sab. mn ‘whosoever’ [SD 86], Ar. man ‘1. celui qui, tel qui’ [BK II 1154] || ES: Gurage: Muher & Gogot & Soddo & Selti & Zway mannəm, Ennemor maniyä etc. ‘any(one), whatever’, followed by ‘man’ it means ‘whoever, either’ (Gurage: Lsl. 1979 III, 407) || Eg. mn ‘der und der’ (since PT 147a, Wb II 64, 65) = ‘such-a-one’, fem. ‘such-and-such a thing’ (Grd. 1916, 182) = ‘so-and-so, someone’ (FD 107) = ‘ein bestimmter, der und der’ (NBÄ) = ‘so and so, certain’ (DLE I 216) = ‘(Herr) Sowieso, ein gewisser Mann (als Ersatz des Namens), einer’ (ÄWb I 528) > Cpt. (B) **-MAN** ‘ein gewisser’ (KHW 94) = ‘une certaine personne/chose’ (DELC 114) || CCh.: Mada mana ‘untel (xy), nom que l’on se donne à soi-même (quand on rapporte les propos de qqn. qui mentionne notre nom)’ [Brt.-Brunet, 187] | Sao mena ‘was, irgendwas’ [Duisburg 1914, 44] || ECh.: Kera kə-mán (pron.) ‘jemand, etwas’ [Ebert 1976, 68] | Somray mənī ‘chose (coll.)’ [Jng. 1978a, 205] (orig. *‘something’?). From AA (interrog., rel., indef.) pronoun base *m-n [GT].

Lit. for Eg.-Sem.: Holma 1919, 38; Ehret 1995, 300; Skn. 1995, 33.

- **265.** SBrb.: Hgr. min ‘sans’ [Fcd. 1951–2, 1207] || LECu.: Dasenech mán ‘1. not, 2. there is not’ [Tosco 2001, 516], Rendille menye ~ mīnye ‘nicht, außer, abgesehen von (nachgestellt)’ [Schlee 1978, 140, #771] = ményá ~ mínyá ‘(is it) not so?’, ménye ~ mínye ‘is not (as usual), is not (just) as normal (but ...)’ (appears to negate the normal, expected interpretation of a situation’ [PG 1999, 223] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *man-(t)a(ŋ) ‘do not!’ [Takács 2004, 240–1]: Angas man ~ man-tak (so, -k) ‘1. do not, don’t, 2. lest’ [Ormsby 1914, 208, 313] = man ~ man-ta ‘the negative imperative: don’t, let not’ [Flk. 1915, 241] = man ~ man-áŋ ~ man-táŋ ‘einleitende Partikel im negativen Subjunktiv der 2. Personen mit der Postposition kát’ [Jng. 1962, 24] = man-taŋ ~ man-te ‘don’t’ [ALC 1978, 35], Kofyar mán ‘never’ [Ntg. 1967, 26], Goemay man (with negative is used in giving orders) [Srl. 1937, 134] = man ‘do not’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 21].
- **266.** NBrb. *mun ‘se réunir, accompagner’ [GT] attested in Shilh mun ‘accompagner’ [Jst. 1914, 143] = mun ‘se réunir’ [Dst. 1938] = mun ‘to accompany’ [Aplg. 1958, 61] = mun ‘accompagner qqn., aller avec, se réunir’ [Mntsr. 1999, 176], Tazerwalt mun ‘begleiten, mitgehen mit, übereinstimmen in, zusammenkommen’ [Stumme 1899, 210] | Mzg. mun ‘1. accompagner, escorter, faire escorte, aller de compagnie avec, 2. fréquenter, côtoyer,

3. *s'accorder, se rassembler, se réunir, se grouper* [Taifi 1991, 419], *Mgild mun 'to go together, accompany'* [Harries 1974, 240], *Zayan & Sgugu mun 'aller de la compagnie avec qqn.'*, *ṭa-mmun 'compagnie, réunion, société'* [Lbg. 1924, 569], *Izdeg mun 'accompagner'* [Mrc. 1937, 12] | *Rif mun 's'unir'* [Tlm. 1998, 110], *Botiwa √m-n 'se réunir'* [Bst. 1890, 318] = *Botiwa & Iqrayen mun 'se réunir'* [Brn. 1917, 93], *Temsaman ṭa-mún-t 'compagnie, société'* [Brn.], *Iznasen mun 'se réunir'*, *ṭa-immun-t 'réunion, constellation'* [Rns. 1932, 384] | *Qbl. ta-yemmun-t 'constellation'* [NZ] (NBrb.: NZ 1998, 144, §140) ||| *ECh.: Lele māné 'aller avec une femme', mān 'aller avec une femme, avec un homme'* [WP 1982, 60]. From AA *m-n 'to join so., accompany' [GT]?

NB: This Brb.-Ch. root presumably derives from AA *m-n 'to attach firmly' [GT], cf. *NOm.: Wolayta min-t 'to glue'* [Lmb.], *Dache min-is- 'to glue'* [Lmb.] ||| *Ch. *m-n 'to stick firmly to sg.'* [GT]: *WCh.: Hausa mānnà 'to gum on to, affix to', mānné ~ mānnè 'to stick to'* [Abr. 1962, 654–5] || *CCh.: Mafa mán- 'to attach'* [Brt.-Bléis, 226], *Matakam maṅa 'attacher'* [Mch. 1953, 157] || *ECh.: Somray mēn '1. toucher, 2. coller'* [Jng. 1993 MS, 44], perhaps *Tumak mìn 'appuyer'* [Cpr. 1975, 84] (lit. 'to stick to?') | *WDangla mìnè 'attacher solidement'* [Fédry 1971, 130].

- **267.** *WBrb.: Zng. a-man 'lame', a-man ta-zúz 'fil, lame, (de la) hache'* [Ncl. 1953, 202] ||| *Sem.: Ar. myn: māna '2. labourer la terre', mān- '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', mān- 'Pflugschar'* [Vcl.], *Yemeni Ar. mwn I: mān (impf. yimūn) 'to take care by watering and ploughing (of land)'* [Piamenta 1990, 474] ||| *Eg. mnj.tj (det.: man with hoe) 'Art Ackersmann'* (NK, Wb II 77, 6–7) = '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), which is most probably a *nomen actoris* (.tj) from a hypothetical *mnj 'fendre la terre' (Brugsch) = 'piocher' (Baillet) = 'die Erde aufhacken' (Erman) = 'to hoe the ground' (Goodwin) ||| *SCu.: Ma'a -mānye 'to prepare soil or ground for planting'* [Ehret 1974 MS, 44; 1980, 154, #16] ||| *CCh.: Bura mura [r < *n] 'a native hoe'* [BED 1953, 145].

Lit. for *Eg.-Ar.:* Erman 1892, 111; Clc., #199; Vcl. 1953, 373–4; 1958, 376.

- **268.** *NBrb.: Shenwa a-mnar, pl. i-mnar-en 'montant vertical de la porte'* [Lst. 1912, 147] ||| *Eg. mnj.t [reg. < *mnr.t] 'Pflock an dem das Schiff am Land festgemacht wird, 2. als Werkzeug zum 'pfählen' (als Strafe), 3. als Pfahl an welchen der zu Strafende gebunden wird'* (OK, Wb II 72–73) ||| *WCh.: PAngas *manēr 'pillar'* [Takács 2004, 267]: *Angas maneer 'a prop, pillar (of a house)'* [Flk. 1915, 242] = *māneer (K) 'pillar of house'* [Jng. 1962, 25] = *maner 'pillar'* [ALC 1978, 35].

NB: A prefix *ma- form of AS *nā:r identical with AS *nā:r 'top' (q.v.)? Cf. esp. *Angas mānεεr* (prefix ma-) (K) 'top', *ka mānεεr 'on the top' (ka 'on')* [Jng. 1962].

- **269.** *NBrb.: Mzab & Menaser i-mar 'temps, moment'* [Bst.] | *Bugi i-mir 'temps, moment'* [Bst.] || *WBrb.: Zng. mer 'être', i-mir 'temps, moment', mereñ 'continuer, être continuellement'* [Bst.] = *e-mer [unexpected -r] 'sein'* [Zhl. 1942–43, 104, #32] (Brb.: Bst. 1890, 313) ||| *Ar. marr- '2. fois'* [BK II 1083] ||| *LECu.: Saho & Afar mār '1. die Zeit zubringen, leben, bleiben, wohnen, 2. sein (esse) (dient mit dem Inf. zum Ausdruck des Durativs)'* [Rn. 1886, 883; 1890, 270] = *Afar mare 'to live, continue'* [PH 1985, 164], *Som. már 'time'* [Abr. 1964, 173–4] ||| *ECh.: Bidiya mar 'rester'* [A] 1989, 97]. All borrowed from Ar.?

- **270.** *NBrb.: Wargla ta-mmar-t, pl. ti-mmar-in '1. partie de l'intestin, boyau, tripe, 2. petite outre servant de barette, 4. pl.: les diverses parties de l'estomac des ruminants: bonnet, feuillet et caillette'* [Dlh. 1987, 194] ||| *MSA: Sqt. mer (mher), pl. mírehor 'ventre, intérieur*

de n'importe quelle chose' [Lsl. 1938, 251] = m(h)er [Jns. MS apud SSL] = mēr [Nakano] = √mrr 'ventre' [SSL], Sqt. of ṢAbd-el-Kuri mher 'ventre' [Müller], Sqt. of Qalasniya mhēr / méyri / mīrōhōr 'ventre' [Lonnet 1993, 52], Qadhub mehēr, pl. mīrōhor [SSL], Nogedh meʔr [SSL] (MSA: SSL 1991, 1466) ||| PCu.-Om. *ma/urḍ- 'Innereien (entrails, internal parts, inside, offals)' [Lmb.] = *marḵ- > *març- vs. *marṣ- [GT]: ECu.: Orm. marʔumman ~ marʔiman 'Darm' [Lmb.] = (Borana, Orma, Wellega dial.) marrumāni 'stomach, guts, intestines' [Strm. 1987, 365] = (Borana) marrimā(ni) 'guts, intestines', marrumāni 'guts, intestines, stomach, entrails', cf. mōra 'stomach of cow, fat around the stomach' [Strm. 1995, 208, 210], Konso marq-ina & Dirayta marḵ-ina 'bestimmter Teil des Darmes' [Lmb.], Mossiya marḵ-ina 'Darm' [Lmb.], Arbore merḍ-e 'Darm' [Lmb.] | Gollango marṣimm-e (f), pl. marṣimm-īne 'Darm, Eingeweide' [AMS], Gawwada marṣime 'guts' [Black 1976, 229] = marqine ~ marṣine 'Darm' [Lmb.], Dobase marṣimm-e (pl.) 'Gedärme' [AMS], Tsamay mirmaṣ 'intestines' [Sava 2005 MS, 257] (Dullay: AMS 1980, 175, 212) ||| NOM.: Wolayta maračč-iyā 'Darm' [Lmb.] | SEOmt. *maračč-iyā 'Darm' [GT] vs. Zergulla marete 'guts' [Sbr. 1994, 15] (Cu.-Om.: Lmb. 1993, 348–9; 1993, 105; LS 1997, 465). Cf. Ongota mērṣamēte 'intestines' [Flm. 1992, 212].

- 271. NBrb.: Iznasen ṭa-miri 'moonlight' [Rns. 1932, 386] || SBrb.: Hgr. ě-mmār, pl. ě-mmār-en 'chaleur rayonnée (du soleil, du feu, d'un corps en combustion)', cf. ā-sammer, pl. i-summār 'rayons de soleil chauffant doucement' [Fcd. 1951–2, 1223], EWlm. √m-r: a-sāssa-mīmār ~ ā-sāssā-mīmār, Ayr i-sāssā-mīmār 'rayon de soleil chauffant doucement, chaleur du soleil en temps froid' [PAM 1998, 221; 2003, 541] ||| ES *ʔmr 'hell sein, strahlen' [Rundgren 1963, 181–3]: Geez ʔamir 'sun, day, time', Tigre ʔammāra 'to be bright', Gafat aymārā 'sun', Gurage imir (with dial. vars.) 'sun' etc. (ES-Agaw: Lsl. 1982, 6; 1987, 26; 1988, 91; cf. DRS 24) ||| Agaw (< ES?) *ʔamār- '1. morning, 2. tomorrow' [Apl. 1991, 23; 1994, 3; 1984, 39]. Cf. also NAgaw: Bilin amār 'klar, licht sein/werden' [Rn. 1887, 30]. From AA *m-r 'light' [GT].
- 272. NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu √mrs: a-maṣas, pl. i-maṣas-ən [-s < *-ṣ reg.] 'averse, forte pluie' [Lbg. 1924, 566] ||| Ar. marš- '2. terre que la pluie vient de tremper et dont les parties terreuses sont emportées par le torrent', ʔal-maršāʔu 'sol qui abonde en végétation, couvert d'herbes' [BK II 1091].
- 273. SBrb.: perhaps EWlm. & Ayr ta-mṛək ~ ta-mərək '1. marque de propriété faite au fer rouge, 2. fer à marquer, fer rouge' [PAM 1998, 222] ||| Eg. m3ṭ [reg. < *mrk] 'Granit (und zwar zumeist der rote, auch der schwarze) von Elephantine' (OK, Wb II 34, 3–16) = 'eine Steinart: Blutstein oder Haematit' (Ebers 1895, 12) = 'general term for granite, esp. the common red variety' (Harris 1961, 72–74).

NB1: As confirmed by K.-G. Prasse (p.c., 6 August 2006), the Tuareg form is not a French loan (not indicated as such in PAM l.c. either) but rather 'it should be a genuine Tuareg word, although it seems to be an isolated word with no other words akin to it of the same root'.

NB2: This isogloss may eventually be a metathesis of AA *m-k-r ~ *m-k-l 'red' [GT]: Sem. *mkr 'to be red' [GT]: Akk. (aA, jB) makrū 'rot' [AHW 590] || Syr. mkr 'schwarz sein' [Brk. apud Clc.] || Ar. makira 'être rouge', makr-, pl. makūr- 'terre rouge avec laquelle on marque en rouge', mumtakir- 'marqué de terre rouge' [BK II 1138] = makira 'to be red', IX 'to be red', makr- 'red (noun), red chalk' [Ember] ||| Eg. mkrr 'zwischen schwarz und weiss als Farbenbezeichnung einer Holzart genannt' (GR, Wb II 163, 5) ||| CCh.: PMusgu *m-k-l 'red' [GT]: Musgu mékelē (m), makalāi (f) 'rot, braun' [Krause apud Müller 1886, 400 & Lks. 1941] = mekelé 'rot' [Lks. 1937, 142] = mekele 'weiß' [Decorse apud Lks. 1941, 67] = mekele 'rouge' [Mch. 1950, 37], Kaykay mékélé 'rot' [Sgn.-Trn. 1984, 26], Puss mekele (m), makalay (f), pl. makalakay 'rouge' [Trn. 1991, 104] | (?) Masa bakāl [irreg. b- < *m-ʔ] 'rot' [Lks. 1937, 99].

NB3: For Eg. m3t ~ Sem. *mkr see Alb. 1918, 230, #48; Ember 1930, #3.b.45, #10.a.12, #22.a.21; Clc., #622. V.É. Orel & O.V. Stolbova (HSED #1717) combined Sem. *mkr directly with LEg. mkrr.

- **274.** Brb. *m-l 'to show' [GT]: NBrb.: Shilh mēl 'montrer' [Jst. 1914, 143] = mel 'montrer, indiquer, renseigner' [Jordan 1934, 92] = ml 'to direct, conduct, show' [Aplg. 1958, 61], Shilh-Tazerwalt m'l 'zeigen' [Stumme 1899, 209], Menaser mel 'dire' [Bst.], Wargla mēl '(ra)conter, indiquer, faire part' [Dlh. 1987, 188], Sened emmel 'dire' [Prv. 1911, 110], Shenwa emmel 'indiquer' [Lst. 1912, 147] | Qbl. mel 'indiquer, faire savoir, faire part' [Dlt. 1982, 497], Zwawa imela (aor.) 'indiquer, montrer' [Bst.] = mel 'indiquer' [Brn. 1917, 92] = mel 'indiquer' [Blf. 1910, 219] | EZenet *m-l 'dire' [GT]: Sened ə-mməl [Lst.], Djerba a-məl [Lst.], Nfs. é-mel 'dire' [Bgn. 1942, 288; 1931, 274] = ə-məl [Lst.] = mel 'parler, dire, indiquer' [Bst.] || EBrb. *m-l 'dire' [GT]: Siwa u-mməl 'dire' [Lst.] = a-mel 'parler' [Bst.], Sokna ə-mməl [Lst.] (EZenet-EBrb.: Lst. 1931, 226) || Zenaga a-melli 'parler' [Bst.] || SBrb.: Hgr. a-mel 'indiquer' [Fcd. 1951–2, 1188], Kel Ui a-mel 'to say' [Bst.], EWlm. & Ayr ə-məl '1. indiquer, nommer, 2. informer de, 4. décrire, 5. dire' [PAM 1998, 215; 2003, 536], Tadghaq & Tudalt a-məl (imper.) 'to praise, confess, explain', ə-məl 'to explain' [Sudlow 2001, 144] (Brb.: Bst. 1883, 310, 336; 1890, 78, 317; Rns. 1932, 387) < AA *m-l '3. to show, 4. say' [GT] = *mVI- 'to speak, call' [HSED], cf. Sem.: (?) Ug. mll 'to speak (?)' or 'honey (?)' [Watson 1996, 709–710], Hbr. mll piel 'reden, sprechen' → millā(h) 'Wort, Rede' [GB] | Aram. (Old, Jewish, Official) mll pael 'to speak' [DNWSI 645], Samaritan Aram. mll pael 'to speak, say, talk' & 'speech' [Tal 2000, 473], Mandaeen mll I '1. to speak, talk, 2. show forth, appear' [DM 1963: 273] || Ar. mll IV & ml? IV 'diktieren' [Kautzsch] = mll ~ mlw IV 'dicter qqch. à qqn.' [BK II 1141, 1153] (Sem.: GB 426, 431) ||| LECu.: Afar mallōwa 'to discuss sg. and come up with a solution' [PH 1985, 162] ||| CCh.: Hide (Htk.) malaymalā 'être montré' [Egc. 1971, 217], Logone málàhé 'zeigen' [Nct. in Lks. 1936, 107; JI 1994 II, 293], cf. CCh. *m-l 'to show' [JS 1981, 227C] || ECh.: Bidiya mēlya, pl. melèy ~ meléeliye '1. mot, 2. histoire, 3. querelle, affaire, problème', cf. milay 'être sage' [AJ 1989, 98–99], EDangla māliyā (f) 'l'histoire, le coute' [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 193] | Mubi mēlél 'discuter' [Jng. 1990 MS, 33].

NB: For Aram.-Brb. see HSED 392, #1814. Note that L. Kogan (2005, 522–3, #10) considers the relationship of common Aram. *mll 'to say' vs. Ar. mll as 'possible, but hardly certain', yet is inclined to compare Geez ta-māhlala ~ ta-māhlala 'to beseech, supplicate' [Lsl. 1987, 335], which is, however, evidently to be treated as a distinct root both on semantic and phonological grounds.

- **275.** Brb. *ǎ-mVl 'se diriger vers' [Ksm.] > NBrb. *ə-məl 'arriver à' [Ksm.]: Qbl. mel 'arriver à, échoir' [Dlt. 1982, 495] = ə-məl 'arriver à' [Ksm.] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-məž [ž reg. < *l] 'se diriger vers' [Ncl. 1953, 209] = a-miy 'se diriger vers' [Ksm.] || SBrb. *ə-məl 'être dans un lieu' [Ksm.] (Brb.: Ksm. 2001, 93–94, n. 7) ||| Eg. m3^s [reg. < *ml^s] '6. (since NK) richtig gehen: fahren, (herbei)kommen' (Wb) = '6. aufbrechen, sich auf den Weg machen, 7. fahren (e. Schiffes), usw.' (GHWb) = 'to go straight, lead' (Edfu, PL 395) < AA *m-l-[^s] (?) with a semantic dispersion seen e.g. with the reflexes of IE *reĝ- 'gerade (richten), (st)recken' [IEW]?

NB1: Cf. OIndic fīyati 'streckt sich, eilt (Pferd)', rajī- 'sich aufrichtend, gerade', Av. raz- '(gerade) richten, ordnen', rašnu- 'gerecht', Lat. regō 'gerade richten, lenken, herrschen' > dirigō etc. (IEW 854–7).

NB2: As pointed out by M. Kossmann (2001, 93 & 94, n. 7), WBrb.: Zenaga a-miy || NBrb.: Qbl. ə-məl may be etymologically related with Hgr. e-mel 'être dans un lieu', which have been compared (below) with LEg. m3^s 'place', which would imply an eventual connection of both Eg. m3^s roots.

- **276.** SBrb.: Hgr. e-mel 'être dans un lieu' [Fcd. 1951–2, 1187], Ayr & EWlm. ə-məl 'être dans un lieu', e-mel 'existence, occurrence (dans un lieu)', EWlm. a-sə-məl, pl. i-sə-mal '1. lieu,

emplacement, place, 2. lieu de résidence, domicile' [Alj. 1980, 127; PAM 1998, 215; 2003, 535–6], Tadghaq & Tudalt ə-məl '1. to arrive, 2. be (in a place)' [Sudlow 2001, 149] ||| Eg. m3^ʃ [**ml^ʃ*] 'lieu, place' (LP 1x, GR 5x, Meeks 1994, 203–4, #7) → Dem. m3^ʃ 'Ort, Platz' (DG 149, cf. Polotsky, ZÄS 67, 1931, 7, fn. 5) → Cpt.: (SALBF) **ma**, (S) **ma**, (F) **me**, **mi**, (B) **mai**, (BF) **mo** (m) '1. place (in gen.), 6. part, district' (CD 153a) ||| LECu. **mēl-* [**ma^ʃl-* < **mal^ʃ-?*] 'place' [GT]: Saho *mēl-ā* ~ *mēl-ā* 'Wohnort eines Stammes, Stammsitz eines Tribus' [Rn. 1890, 265], Afar *mēl-ā* 'Stammsitz/-ort eines Tribus, Aussiedlung' [Rn. 1886, 881] | PSam **mēl* [Heine 1978] vs. **mēel* [Heine 1982] = **mēla* [Lmb.]: Boni *mēl* 'Platz, Ort' [Sasse 1980, 99; Heine 1977, 291], Rendille *mēl* 'place' [Heine 1976, 219] = *mēl* 'Ort, Stelle, Platz' [Schlee 1978, 140, #769] = *mēle* (f) 'place' [Oomen 1981, 70], PSomali **mēl* 'Platz' [Lmb. 1986, 445] > Som. *mēl* 'Ort, Platz, Wohnsitz' [Rn. 1902, 294] = *mēl* 'place' [Abr. 1964, 177] (Sam: Heine 1978, 69; 1982, 121; Lmb. 1986, 210, 328; LECu.: Rn. l.c.) ||| CCh.: Mada mla 'lieu, endroit', cf. mlam 'lieu, endroit, monde, place, temps, époque, saison' [Br.-Brunet, 184], Muyang *məlán* 'place' [Rsg. 1978, 304, #533] (unless < **ma-lam*) || ECh.: perhaps Kera *mélé* 'to place' [Pearce 1998–99, 67].

Lit. for Eg.-AA: Takács (EEC). Th. Obenga (1993, 285, #7) has already referred to the common origin of OEg. bw & (SAB) ma & Rendille *mēl*, but he believed Rendille -l to be an 'additional element' (not part of the root).

NB1: As pointed out by M. Kossmann (2001, 93 & 94, n. 7), Hgr. e-mel 'être dans un lieu' may be etymologically related with WBrb.: Zenaga a-rniy 'se diriger vers' || NBrb.: Qbl. ə-məl 'arriver à', which have been compared (above) with Eg. m3^ʃ 'to direct (or sim.)', which would imply an eventual connection of both Eg. m3^ʃ roots. For the semantic shift cf. IE **reǵ-* 'gerade (richten), (st)recken' > i.a. OIndic *rājas-* & Av. *razah-* 'Raum', Latin *regiō* 'Richtung, Gegend', vs. OIndic *rajī-* 'sich aufrichtend, gerade', Avestan *raz-* '(gerade) richten, ordnen', *rašnu-* 'gerecht', Latin *regō* 'gerade richten, lenken, herrschen' > *dirigō* etc. (IEW 854–7).

NB2: For the compensatoric lengthening in ECU. **mēl-* < **ma^ʃl-* see Takács 2000. L. Reinisch (1902, 294) considered LECu. **mēl-* a nom. loci **ma-[w^ʃ]il-*, derived from ES **w^ʃl* 'to spend the day'. This is hardly so. The **-ʃ-* is not reflected in LECu.

- 277. EBrb.: Gdm. *-məl* 'vanter' [Lanfry 1973, 209, #997] || SBrb.: Hgr. a-mel '2. louer: faire d'éloge de' [Fcd. 1951–2, 1180] ||| HECu.: Sid. *mālala* 'to admire, be surprised', *mālale* '(obj. of) admiration', *māla(?)lo* '1. wonderful thing, miracle, 2. astonishment' [Hds. 1989, 220–1]. From AA **m-l* 'to praise' [GT].

NB: For the semantic shift 'to boast' < 'to praise' cf. HECu.: Sid. *morke* (f) 'boasting, bragging' [Gsp. 1983, 237] ||| ECh.: Kera *mírgí* [-rg- < **rk-*] 'grüßen' [Ebert 1976, 82] = *mírki* 'to greet' [Pearce 1998–99, 67].

- 278. SBrb.: Ayr. *mäläy* 'faire ensemble une course en luttant de vitesse (chacun cherchant à devancer l'autre etc.)' [PAM 2003, 538] ||| Sem. **mlk:* Ar. *mlq* VIII '2. échapper à qqn.' [BK II 1150] || ES: Tigre *mälqa* 'to run round about, leave without permission', Tna. *mälläq^{wä}* 'to escape' (ES: Lsl. 1982, 52) ||| LECu.: Orm. *mullūqa* 'to slip through, escape' [Gragg 1982, 294] ||| WCh.: Dera *málák* 'quickly' [Nwm. 1974, 129] < AA **m-l-k* 'to run (away)' [GT].

- 279. NBrb.: Mzg. a-mellay 'bon' [NZ] | Mzab ta-mella 'charme, harmonie, galbe, belle apparence' [NZ] | Qbl. *√m-l:* a-mellay 'bon, miséricordieux, compatissant, clément', ta-mella-(t) 'bonté, miséricordieuse, pitié, compassion, grâce' [NZ] || SBrb.: Hgr. ta-mella, pl. ti-mell-iw-în 'bonté, miséricordieuse, bonté tendre et compatissante ...' [Fcd. 1951–2, 1191], Ayr i-mal 'être bon', tə-mmol-t, pl. tə-mmol-ən 'bonté, bon qualité, beauté', tǎ-mol-t, pl. tǎ-mol-en 'jour faste (jour heureux, de triomphe)' [PAM 1998, 215–6; 2003, 536] (Brb.: NZ 1998, 143–4, §139) ||| ES: Tigre *mālmāla* 'to be beautiful' [LH 108] ||| NAgaw: Bilin *milmil-í* (f) 'schön, graziös (nur auf Mädchen und Frauen angewendet)' [Rn. 1887, 270] |||

- CCh.: Kotoko mǎlà ‘sweet, pleasant’ [Bouny 1975, 27, #446]? From AA *m-l ‘good’ [GT].
 AP: Meroitic *ml(e/o) ‘bon’ [Meeks 1973, 12].
 NB1: The etymology of the Tigre root has been disputed. (1) LH (l.c.): ~ Ar. malīh- ‘beautiful’, while (2) Leslau (1982, 51): ~ Tna. mǎlmǎlə ‘to choose’ > mǎlmul ‘preferred, of beautiful appearance’.
 NB2: K. Nait-Zerrad (l.c.) erroneously compared also Hgr. a-mel ‘louer, faire d’éloge de’ [Fcd. 1951–2, 1180], which certainly reflects a distinct root, cf. above
- 280. WBrb.: Zenaga ɔʔ-muʒʒiʰ [-ʒʒ- < *-ll-] ‘enfanter, accoucher’ [Ncl. 1957, 220] ||| LECu.: Som. ummul- & Baiso umul- ‘to give birth (of women)’ [Hbr.-Lmb. 1988, 68] = Som. umul- vs. Baiso ummul- ‘to give birth’, umule ‘to beget’ [Hyw. 1979, 74, 120] || SCu.: Ma’a mīlo, pl. va~ ‘child’ [Tucker & Bryan 1974, 193] = wa-milo ‘Kinder’ [Copland 1933–34, 244, fn. 5] ||| NOm.: NMao mimelti ‘partorire’ [Grt. 1940, 356], Sezo I mímélú & Sezo II mǎlmǎlə ‘to bear a child’ [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 10, #113]. From AA *m-l ‘to give birth’ [GT].
 - 281. EBrb.: Gdm. tǎ-mǎll-iw-īn (pl.) ‘bandes d’étoffe étroites et longues (dans l’aménagement de l’alcôve nuptiale, elkubbet, ces bandes constituent un parement horizontal qui fait jointure entre la couverture de l’alcôve et les tentures qui violent l’alcôve sur les côtes)’ [Lanfry 1973, 210, #999]: perhaps cognate with Eg. mnj.t ~ mn.t ‘(Substantiv)’ (1st IMP 2x: Urk. I 294, 296, Wb II 76, 8) = ‘*Amtsinsignien, *Schal, Band (des Min)’ (ÄWb I 531), cf. also mn.(w)t ‘shroud (?)’ (CT VI 190d, AECT II 180–1, spell 575, n. 15) = ‘bandelettes, linceul (?)’ (AL 78.1723) = ‘*Leichentuch, Bandagen’ (GHWb 337–8) = ‘?’ (DCT 168)?
 - 282. SBrb.: EWlm. tǎ-mmōlei ‘circoncision’ [Ncl. 1957, 571] ||| Sem.: Hbr. mll II qal & mwl qal ‘beschneiden’, mūlā(h) ‘Beschneidung’ [GB 404, 430–1] = mwl & mll qal ‘to circumcise’ [KB 555, 594] ||| LECu.: Afar mōle ‘to shave (se raser)’ [PH 1985, 170]. From AA *m-l ‘to cut off, shave (?)’ [GT].
 - 283. SBrb.: Hgr. 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 mbàl ‘1. (se) rouiller, 2. teindre, colorer (en rouge)’ [Cooper 1984, 17], Lame mbàl ‘1. se rouiller, 2. teindre, colorer’ [Scn. 1982, 309].
 - 284. EBrb.: Gdm. ta-mulla ‘traquet, petit oiseau noir à turban blanc (qui siffle comme le merle)’ [Lanfry 1973, 211, #99] || SBrb.: Hgr. mūla-mūla ‘nom d’une espèce de motteux (ar. bu-beššir): un petit oiseau à corps noire, à queue noire et blanche, à dessus de la tête blanc’ [Fcd. 1951–2, 1194] ||| CCh.: Kotoko mǎllá ‘francolin (bush-fowl), perdrix’ [Bouny 1975, 22, #344]?
 NB1: Ch. de Foucauld and J. Lanfry (l.c.) derive the Brb. term from Brb. *m-l-l ‘white’.
 NB2: Cf. also Eg. mn.t ‘Schwalbe’ (OK, Wb II 68, 2) ||| WCh.: Tangale ṅaṅaṅaṅ [ṅ- < *m-?] ‘swallow’ [Jng. 1991, 113]?
 - 285. NBrb.: Izdeg a-mlelli ‘vertige’ [Mrc. 1937, 262] | Qbl. mmel ‘2. faire très mal (point douloureux), 3. souffrir de’ [Dlt. 1982, 496] < AA *m-l-l ‘to suffer, be weak’ (or sim.) [GT]: Sem. *mll ‘to wear away’ [Bmh.]: (?) Hbr. mll qal ‘to wilt, wither’ [KB 593] = ‘to languish’ [Gray], JNAram. (< Ar.) mallul ‘sorrowful, painful’ [Sabar 2002, 219] | Ar. 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.] || 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. mǎl ‘to be fed up of sg./so.’, mǎlél ‘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.), 2. be troubled about (Lit. MK)' (FD 107) ||| ECu.: Dullay: Tsamay malal 'to be sick, tired' [Sava 2005 MS, 247], Harso & Dobse malāl- '1. schwach werden, 2. zusammenbrechen (Mensch), 3. nicht können' [AMS 1980, 174] ||| CCh.: (?) Musgu míllik 'Schmerz' [Rohlf's in Lks. 1941, 67] ||| ECh.: Sokoro móle 'ermüden' [Lks. 1937, 36].

- 286. NBrb.: Mzab a-mul, pl. i-mul-ən '1. crête (supérieure, d'un coq, etc.), 2. marque de couleur en ligne sur le nez, le menton, le front' [Dlh. 1984, 118]: cf. AA *m-l 'hair' [GT] > perhaps Eg. mjw (mj.w?) 'Frisur (?)' (NE, Wb II 42, 10) = 'Frisur' (GHWb 325) provided Eg. mj- < *ml- ||| WCh.: Mupun móol 'hairy' [Frj. 1991, 38; Takács 2004, 250: isolated in AS] ||| CCh.: Mafa mamáláy 'touffe de poils an poitrail d'un bélier' [Br.-Bléis, 226] ||| ECh.: Sokoro múliṅ 'Haarbüschel' [Lks. 1937, 36]?

NB: The Sem. parallels are dubious: Aram. mē/īlā '1. a lock of wool, woolly substance, 2. fine wool, 3. a cloak of fine wool' [Jastrow 1950, 773] = 'Wolle' [Levy 1924 III 101] and MHbr. mēlat ~ melet & Aram. mēlat ~ mēltā '1. (lock of) wool, down, 2. cloak of fine wool' [Jastrow 1950, 773] are explained by Jastrow (ibid.) from √mll nifal 'to be compressible, soft', while Levy (l.c.) prefers a borrowing from Greek (cf. NGreek μαλή, μαλιον and OGreek μαλλός 'touffe de cheveux, de poils' derived in Boisacq 1916, 606 from the IE heritage). Note that Akk. (m/spB) malū 'schmutziges, verfilztes Körperhaar' [AHW 597] = 'unkempt hair' [CAD m1, 173] is clearly unrelated, being a derivative of luʔʔū 'beschmutzen' [AHW 565].

- 287. EBrb.: Fodjaha a-mûl '1. bastone per battere il grano o l'orzo, 2. pestello' [Prd. 1961, 300] ||| Eg. m3w.t [reg. < *mlw.t] 'Stab, Stock, Stange, Schaft (des Speeres)' (OK, Wb II 27, 9–10).
- 288. NBrb.: Mzab muləč, pl. i-mulč-an [č < *k reg.] 'rejeton de palmier-dattier non séparé du tronc, du pied de sa mère' [Dlh. 1984, 116] ||| Ar. mulğ- 'datte sauvage', ʔumlğğ- 'sorte d'arbrisseau semblable au cyprès et qui croît dans le désert' [BK II 1143] ||| Eg. m3t.t [reg. < *mlk] 'Art Gewächs, Art Baum' (PT 1440e: M, Wb II 34, 23) = 'mandrake (a sweet, palatable, mildly astringent herb growing in the Delta or imported from foreign lands)' (Dawson 1933, 133–5 followed by FD 103) = 'sehr wahrscheinlich ein Gesträuch mit dem Namen Calotropis procera mit seinen Doppelfrüchten' (Edel 1969, 11–13, d; cf. Edel 1981, 49) = 'a plant of fragrant smell: sodom apple tree' (Borghouts 1971, 93, #160, cf. also 245) = 'le calotrope, le Bed el-Ossar des Arabes, au lait particulièrement caustique employé comme dépilatoire (est incomestible)' (Aufrère 1986, 10) = 'Oscur, Apfel von Sodom (Calotropis procera): eine Art Strauch mit großen, steifen, rundlichen, blau bereiften Blättern und viel Milchsaft' (GHWb 322; ÄWb I 506) ||| Bed. melúk ~ belúk 'Dattel' [Rn. 1895, 48, 169] = belúk 'dates us. in conglomerate mass' [Rpr. 1928, 161], NBisharin mulúk '1. Dattel, 2. Gummi' [Hess 1918–19, 223] ||| LECu.: Som. múlog [-g < *k] 'eine Gattung Baum mit eßbaren Früchten' [Rn. 1902, 295] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *mʷalak ~ *mʷaɣalak 'tree sp. yielding rubber (lit. the 'sticky?')' [Takács 2004, 257]: Angas mwalk '1. the Hs. *dafara* tree (its sap is used in making anything sticky, e.g. as a binding ingredient of a sort of cement)' (cf. Hausa dááfááráá 'a vine, *Vitis pallida*, from whose root a gum is obtained forming an ingredient of the cement', Abr. 1962, 165) [Flk. 1915, 249] = mwàlk ≈ Hs. *dafara* 'a tree (lit. 'sticky')' [Jng. 1962, 27], Mupun mùlák [mu- weakened < *mʷa-] 'climbing tree: *Landolphia awarensis*' [Frj. 1991, 38], Kofyar mwagálak [< *mʷaɣalak, secondary epenthetic *-ɣ-?] 'edible fruit' [Ntg. 1967, 27].

NB1: Netting (l.c.) rendered the Kofyar word with Hausa chiwa (so!), which may be identical with Hausa čiiwo 'a climber which yields a good rubber and has also edible fruit' [Brg. 1934, 166] = čiiwóó 'types of climber yielding rubber (*Landolphia owariensis*, L. florida' [Abr. 1962, 149]. From PAA *m-l-k ~ *m-l-g 'tree with sticky fruit or yielding gum resin' [GT].

NB2: The underlying PAA root might have signified a tree with sticky fruits. Noteworthy is a possible ancient (PAA?) association inherited in NBisharin as 'gum' vs. as the milky juice issuing from *Calotropis procera* in Eg.

- **289.** SBrb.: Hgr. meluw-et ‘scintiller: briller vivement (d’un éclat tremblant, des étoiles, des éclairs, d’un feu, d’un objet de métal poli ...)’; melumelu ‘miroiter: réfléchir la lumière en produisant des reflets tremblants’ [Fcd. 1951–2, 1191], EWlm.-Ayr mələww-ət ‘scintiller’, partial redupl. mələwləw (EWlm. also mələlu) ‘miroiter, refléter de la lumière’, full redupl. mələwmələw ~ mələmələu ‘miroiter longuement’, EWlm. e-mələwləw, pl. a-/i-mələwləw-ən ‘mirage’, ta-miləw-t ‘brillement, éclat, chose brillante’ [PAM 1998, 217; 2003, 541], Tudalt & Tadghaq mələwləw (impr.) ‘to shine, be lit up’ [Sudlow 2001, 196] ||| (?) Eg. m3w.t [if < *ml.wt] ‘die Strahlen der Sonne, ihr Glanz’ (XVIII., Wb II 28, 1) = ‘rays of light’ (FD 103) = ‘Strahlen der Sonne, Strahlenglanz, Glanz (a. Objekte), Licht’ (GHWb 319) ||| HECu.: Dasenech (Galab) mülič, pl. mülli ‘bright’ [Sasse 1974, 421] | Burji milíl-i ‘lightning’ [Ss. 1982, 144] = milil-é ‘lightning (in sky)’ vs. milil-i ‘lightning to earth’ [Hds. 1989, 92: isolated in HECu.] ||| NOm.: Kachama malēl-o ‘rainbow’ [Sbr. 1994, 18] || SOm.: Hamer melela ‘bright, shiny’ [Flm. 1990 MS, 13] ||| WCh.: perhaps PAngas *ma₂la₂m (?) or *melem (partial redupl.?) ‘star’ [Takács 2004, 240] | Dera melí ‘lightning’ [Nwm. 1974, 130] = málí ‘Blitz’ [Jng. 1966, 10] = melí ~ mili [Mkr.], Gera perhaps melkĩmbi ‘Blitz’ [Mkr.] || CCh.: perhaps Mwulyen málwúlkédò (compound?) ‘lightning’ [Kraft 1981, #115] | Buduma malayi ‘éclair’ [Gaudiche 1938, 23] = àməlí ‘éclair’ [Souley 1993 MS, 92] || ECh.: Mokilko ?imilá ‘to lighten’ [Lks. 1975, 223] = (t)imilá ‘briller (par ex. éclairs)’ [Jng. 1990, 112]. AP: Nilo-Saharan *mēl ‘to glare, shine’ [Ehret 2001, 281, #117]; Songhay meli ‘Blitz’ ~ Mande: Mende melomelo, Bobo mòlà ‘Blitz’ (Songhay-Mande: Mkr. 1989 l.c.).

Lit.: Mkr. 1987, 239; 1989 MS, 18, #1 (Songhay-Mande-WCh.-Mwulyen-Burji); Takács 1995, 106, #4 (Eg.-Brj.).

NB: It is difficult to pass any judgement on the etymology of some further Chadic terms for ‘lightning’ with an unknown third radical, cf. WCh.: Pero máláč [*-s?] ‘lightning’ [Frj. 1985, 41] || CCh.: Buduma hâw aməláži ‘es blitzt’ [Lks. 1939, 133]. For Pero-Mwulyen.-Burji see Mkr. l.c.

- **290.** NBrb.: Qbl. ta-maw-t ‘regard, attention’ [Dlt. 1982, 527] ||| perhaps Eg. m (non-encl. part.) ‘1. siehe’ (OK, Wb II 4–5, cf. also AÄG §612–3) = ‘etwa ‘siehe’ imperativischer Bedeutung’ (Czermak 1931, 46) = ‘(possibly an obsolete imper. meaning) behold!’ (Grd. 1957, 178, #234; FD 100) = ‘siehe (hier)’ (GHWb 370) ||| HECu.: Hdy. mo[?]- ~ mō[?]- ‘1. to see, 2. look (at), 3. visit’ [Hds. 1989, 130, 294] = mo[?]- ‘to see’ [LS 1997, 312] | Baiso mu-t- [pass. -t-] ‘to be seen, appear’ [Hbr.-Lmb. 1988, 131] ||| WCh.: Sha mây ‘to see, sehen’ [Jng. 1968, 7, #57; 1970, 287] = Sha & Mundat mây ‘to see’ [Seibert 2000 MS, f092] | Bole-Tangale *mayu ‘to see’ [Schuh]: Tangale me ‘to see’ [Schuh] = meyi ‘to look at/after, perceive, take care of, be aware of, attend to, regard’, and esp. mō ~ mó ‘see! there you are!’ [Jng. 1991, 120–1], Tangale-Billiri mōy- ‘to see’ [JI 1994 I, 145], Bole moy- ‘inspizieren’, moyy- ‘erwarten, warten auf’ [Lks. 1971, 137], Karekare màayú ‘to see’ [Schuh] = màyàw ‘to look at, examine, look for, search’ [Alio 1991 MS, f093–4] = mai- ‘to see’ [Jng./JI] = mayaw [IL], Bele móo-(kò) ‘to see’ [Schuh 1978, 152], Ngamo moy- ‘to see’ [Schuh] = moi- ‘sehen’ [Jng. 1963, 3] = mōyî ‘to see, look at’ [Alio 1988 MS, also in JI] = moy ‘1. to see, 2. think’ [Ibr. 2003 MS, 7], Kwami mōyáy ‘sehen’ [Leger 1992, 28; 1993, 172], Dera mòì ‘to wait for’ [Nwm. 1974, 130] = mo- ‘erwarten’ [Jng. 1966, 11] = mói, mōy- ‘to wait’ [Kidda 1991 MS, 9] (GT: orig. ‘look forward to?’), Maha moy- ‘to see’ [Leger/JI] (BT: Schuh 1984, 217) || CCh.: Buduma mo ~ mō ~ mē ‘to see’ [Lks. 1939, 119] = me [Lks./JI] = áamá [Cyffer] || ECh.: Kera mí ‘warten’ [Ebert 1976, 81; so also Pearce 1998–9, 67] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 284–5).

NB1: Cf. also the isogloss of ECu. *ma^s- ‘to look’ [GT]: Afar ma^saye ‘to expect, look at’ [PH 1985, 158] | Dullay: Harso & Dobase ma^s-aḏ- ‘1. schauen, nachprüfen’ [AMS 1980, 173].

NB2: A further developed meaning of the same AA root is attested in WCh.: Kulere mà ‘denken’ [Jng. 1970, 353] | Ngamo moy ‘1. to see, 2. think’ [Ibr.] || CCh.: Mafa maya ‘intelligence, manière, savoir-faire’ [Br.-

Bléis, 236] || ECh.: Bidiya moy ‘penser, réfléchir, se souvenir’ [AJ 1989, 100] | EDangla mýyé ‘sich erinnern’ [Ebs. 1987, 81].

NB3: Areal parallels: Nilo-Saharan *(-)mo ‘eye, face’ [Bnd. 1994b, 1160, #25; 2005, 101, #148] vs. Nilo-Saharan *má ‘to pay attention, be on the lookout’ [Ehret 2001, 277, #99] ~ PCKhoisan *mũ ‘to see’ [Baucom 1972, 26] (for Khoisan cf. also Planert 1905, 115, 119, 174; Wandres 1918–1919, 27–28; Ehret 1982, 174).

- **291.** NBrb.: Mzg. $\sqrt{m-w}$: a-mawa ‘mobilier (ensemble de meubles), 2. fait de transporter, d’un lieu à un autre, des choses les unes après les autres’ [Taifi 1991, 445] ||| Eg. mj ‘apporter’ (GR: Dendera VIII 65:4, AL 78.1654) = ‘to bring’ (PL 410). ||| NOm.: Kaffa mih ‘tragen’ [Rn. 1888, 317] = míy ‘portare indosso’, caus. miž ‘caricare, porre il carico a ...’, miy-ō ‘carico’ [Crl. 1951, 470, 476], Mocha mīya-yé ‘to carry on the back’, miy-o ‘load’ [Lsl. 1959, 39, 43] ||| WCh.: Saya moi ‘to carry’ [Csp. 1994, 44] || CCh.: Hurzo mia ‘apporter’ [Mch. 1953, 174: isolated in MM]. From AA *m-y ~ *m-w (?) ‘to carry’ [GT].

NB1: A redupl. of the underlying AA root may be reserved in Eg. mm ‘to transport (cattle)’ (1st IMP, FD, q.v.).

NB2: This AA root should be separated (contra Reinisch l.c.) from NAgaw *məq^w- [Apl. 1989] = *mVγ^w-T- ‘to carry (on the shoulders)’ [Apl. 1991] = NAgaw *maû (sic) [Conti Rossini]: Bilin muq-r ~ muq^w-r ‘tragen’ [Rn.] = məq^w-r- = mi^x^w-r- [Apl. 1991], Qwara mô-t ~ meû-t ~ maû-t (refl.) ‘tragen eine Last’ [Rn. 1885, 96], Hamir (Hamtanga) miû-t ~ mû-t ‘tragen, sich aufladen’ [Rn. 1884, 390] = mäw-t/r- [Apl. 1989] = məw-r- ‘to carry’ [Apl. 1991], Qemant mo-t ‘porter, lever’ [CR 1912, 234] = məγ^w-t- ~ mäγ^w-t- [Apl. 1989] = miγ^w-t- ‘to carry’ [Apl. 1991] (Agaw: Apl. 1989 MS, 16; 1991 MS, 3) || LECu.: Rendille meḥ, pl. meḥāḥ ‘load’ [Heine 1976, 218] ||| ECh.: Kera móké ‘etwas Schweres hochheben’ [Ebert 1976, 82] | Bidiya mōg ‘aider qn. à porter un lourd fardeau’ [AJ 1989, 99]. From AA *m-Q ‘to carry’ [GT].

- **292.** NBrb.: Demnat a-mwad ‘taureau, taurassin’ [Rns. 1932, 384] ||| NOm.: Koyra (Baditu) mayd-ō ‘bue’ [CR 1929, 62] = máyd-o ‘bull’ [Hyw. 1982, 219], Haruro māyd-o ‘bue’ [CR 1937, 655] ||| ECh.: Birgit màadó (m), màadì (f) ‘taureau’ [Jng. 2004, 356] < AA *m-w/y-d ‘bull’ [GT].

- **293.** NBrb.: Mzab mawal, pl. i-mawal-ən ‘1. roseau, 2. baguette de roseau ou de palme, 3. p.ext. tringle de bois ou de métal’ [Dlh. 1984, 125] ||| ES: Amharic mäla ‘kind of grass or reed’, Geez məʔilu ≈ Amh. čəfrəgg ‘low-growing bush which is used like a brush in washing large crocks’ (ES: Lsl. 1987, 324) ||| Eg. m3.t [reg. < *mr.t] ‘das Rohr des Schilfs’ (OK, V., Niuserre, Weltkammer, Wb II 6, 11) = ‘joncs’ (Bissing 1955–6, 333) = ‘tige’ (AL 78.1595) = ‘*gemeines Schilfrohr (Phragmites communis syn. Phragmites australis)’ (GHWb 313; ÄWb I 494) ||| LECu.: Oromo-Borana mellā ‘a papyrus-like reed, found in swampy areas’ [Strm. 1995, 209] ||| NOm.: Haruro māylē ‘canna’ [CR 1937, 655] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *mīl ‘high grass or reed sp.’ [Takács 2004, 248]: Angas miil ‘a very coarse grass, used for making ‘zena’ mats’ (≈ Hs. gámbà ‘the grass Andropogon Guyanus’, Abr. 1962, 202) [Flk. 1915, 245] = miil (K) ‘name of grass used for making pagan harp (Hs. molo)’ (cf. Hausa móólóó ‘three-stringed guitarre’, Abr. 1962, 677), mil (K) ‘very coarse grass, straw, used also for making harp’ [Jng. 1962, 26], Kofyar miil ‘1. reed, 2. plucked reed instrument (molo)’ [Ntg. 1967, 26], Goemay mil ‘kind of very high grass’ [Srl. 1937, 139]. From AA *m-w/y-l ‘reed’ [GT].

NB: Does HECu.: Kmb. muluʔla (?) ‘ensete tree trunk’ [Hds. 1989, 58] perhaps also belong here?

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

- NB1:** L. 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).
- NB2:** Perhaps here belongs also NOM. *may?- ‘to dress’ [GT] (NOM.: Alm. 1993, 9; Sbr. 1994, 12; LS 1997, 476). Note that M. Lamberti (LS l.c.) derived the NOM. forms from an old *māk- ‘to dress, cloth’, but, aside from the uncertain Agaw: Qwara māḵ ‘a kind of clothing’, there is no proof for the shift *ʔ < *ḵ in this root. He (LS l.c.) equally falsely compared NOM. *may?- with Bed. máʔwad ‘das Alltagskleid, Leibtuch’ [Rn. 1895, 162], which is a late loan-word from Ar. miʕwaz- ‘habit de tous les jours’ < √ʕwz [BK II 407].
- **295.** WBrb.: Zenaga a-maya ‘trombe précédant la tornade’ [Ncl. 1953, 203] ||| perhaps Bed. mē ~ mī ‘Hagel’ [Rn. 1895, 161] = mi ~ miʔ ‘hailstone’ [Rpr. 1928, 213] || SCu.: Ma’a má ‘blasen’ [Mnh. 1906, 312] (unless identical with Ma’a ma ‘schlagen’) ||| WCh.: Ngizim màrà ‘coldness, the harmattan, cold season’ [Schuh 1981, 110] || CCh.: Hina mii, Musgoy (Daba) mbíí ‘Wind’ (CCh.: Str. 1910, 460) || ECh.: Mokilko màayé ‘wind’ [Lks. 1977, 224] = màayé ‘vent, air’, cf. móyòyò adj. ‘frais, froid’ [Jng. 1990, 135]. From AA *m-y ‘(cold) wind’ [GT]. Cf. also Takács 1999, 107, #33 (Eg.-Hina-Mokilko).
NB: Whether Dem. mj ‘Wind’ (hapax, DG 151:3) = ‘vent’ (Cenival 1987, 4) is cognate is highly dubious. W. Spiegelberg (followed by Erichsen, DG l.c.; Cenival l.c.) derived it from Eg. m3ʕ.w (richtiger) Wind’ (since MK, Wb) = ‘bon vent’ (Cenival), which, in turn, originated in Eg. m3ʕ ‘richtig’ (Wb, q.v.).
 - **296.** SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr e-măy ‘1. conte merveilleux, légende, 2. conte en l’air, fable (destiné à tromper qqn.)’, pl. i-măyy-ăn ‘fantaisies, hallucinations, fantasmes’ [PAM 2003, 569] ||| Eg. *mjh.t (?) → Dem. mjh ~ mjḥ (f) ‘Wunder’ (DG 153) = mjḥ3.t ‘wonder, amazement’ (Dem. Pap. BM 10507, 1:9, Smith 1987, 168) → Cpt.: (S) **MO(Ǝ)IƎƎ**, (AL) **MAƎIƎƎ**, (ALF) **MAIƎƎ**, (F) **MAIƎI**, (A) **MAƎƎ**, (A₂) **MAƎƎIƎ** (m, rarely f) ‘wonder’ (CD 211b; CED 99) = ‘Wunder’ (KHW 89) ||| HECu.: Sid. maha ‘1. to do the job of a sorcerer, a wizard, 2. divine, prophesy’ [Gsp. 1983, 219].
NB: K.-G. Prasse (PAM l.c.) explained the Tuareg word from PBrb. *ē-măḥăy compared with Akk. ūmu ‘dragon’, Hbr. ʔēmīm (pl.) ‘géants préhistoriques’, Ar. ʔaym- ‘diable’. Semantically dubious.
 - **297.** NBrb. *√m-y-g: Qbl. a-mayeg, pl. i-muyag ‘un côté du visage, joue et mâchoire’ [Dlt. 1982, 528] ||| HECu.: Kmb. mōki (-ta) ‘cheek’ [Hds. 1989, 333] ||| WCh.: Hausa múkààmúkíí ~ múmmúkè ‘lower jaw’, pl. mùkààmúkái ‘the upper and lower jaws’ [Abr. 1962, 682] < AA *m-K ‘part of the face between cheek and jaw’ [GT].
NB1: Due to phonological reasons, Kmb. mōki cannot be a reflex of HECu. *boḵ-o (Kmb. m- ≠ HECu. *b- & Kmb. -k- ≠ HECu. *-ḵ-).
NB2: The second PAA radical is not yet fully clear. The three various branches point to three various PAA phonemes: AA *-g (NBrb.) vs. AA *-k (HECu.) vs. *-ḵ (Hausa).
 - **298.** SBrb.: EWlm. 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]: both phonologically and semantically perfect match of Eg. mʕq ‘Art Spiess oder ähnliches Gerät zum Braten’ (XVIII., Wb II 50, 1) = ‘Grillspieß (bei dem Aufstellen des Feuerbeckens)’ (Junker 1941, 117) = ‘roasts on a spit, kebabs, orig.: a spit’ (Edfu, PL 416–7). Note that Brb. *y < *ʕ is reg. (cf. Vcl. 1992).
NB1: Noteworthy is AA *m-w-ḵ ‘to burn (or sim.)’ [GT] (var. root to the hypothetical AA *m-ʕ-ḵ?): ES *mwq ‘to be warm, hot’ [GT] vs. 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. 1979 III, 414; 1982, 52; 1987, 355, 375) ||| NOM.: SEOmt. *muḵ-o ‘ashes’ [Bnd. 2003, 82, #3 followed by GT]: Ganjule muḵ-o [Sbr.] = muḵ-a/ʕ [Brz.], Kachama (Gatsama, Haruro) muḵ-o [Sbr.] = mug-o [CR 1937, 653] = muḵ-a/ʕ [Brz.], Koyra muḵ-o [Flm. 1990, 27] = uḵ-ʕ (sic) [Sbr.] = muḵ-a/ʕ [Brz.], Zayse muḵ-o [Sbr.] = muḵ-a/ʕ [Brz.], Zergulla muk-o

[Sbr.] (SEomt.: Sbr. 1994, 11; Brz. 1995, 27, §2) ||| CCh.: Muskum à-mùk [prefix a-] 'cendre' [Trn. 1977, 19]. The underlying AA root might have contained medial *-w- instead of ayin. The CCh. isogloss *muḳ- 'ashes' [GT]

- 299. SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr a-myar, pl. EWlm. i-myar-än, Ayr ə-myar-än 'pensée, reflexion' [PAM 1998, 230; 2003, 570] ||| LECu.: Som. mí(y)ir ~ mīr ~ mūr (f) 'Verstand, Klugheit' [Rn. 1902, 300], Arbore mariy-aḏḏ- 'to discuss' [Hyw. 1984, 384] | Orm. mariʔ-aḏḏa 'to plan, discuss', marī 'plan' [Gragg 1982, 280] ||| NOM.: Gimira-Benesho mar 'hypothesis' [Wdk. 1990, 107] < AA *m-(y)-r '2. to think' [GT].

Abbreviations of languages

(A): Ahmimic, (A₂): 'Subahmimic' (Asyutic), aA: altassyrisch, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic), aB: altbabylonisch, aAK: altakkadisch, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, 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, Hdy.: Hadiyya, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (Harsūsi), IA(ram.): Imperial Aramaic, IE: Indo-European, JA(ram.): Jewish Aramaic, jB: Jungbabylonisch, Jbl.: Jibbali or Shahri (Shawri, Šheri), Kmb.: Kambatta, 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, MSA: Modern South Arabian, 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, Orm.: Oromo, 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, SA: Saho & Afar, Sab.: Sabaeen, SBch.: South Bauchi, Sem.: Semitic, Sgr.: Ait Seghrushen, Sid.: Sidamo, Snh.: Senhazha, Som.: Somali, spB: spätbabylonisch, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Tna.: Tigrinya, Trg.: Tuareg, Ug.: Ugaritic, Ulb.: Ulbarag (Urbarag), Urg.: Ait Uriaghel, W: West(ern), Wlm(d): Tawllemmet, Zng.: Zenaga.

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В статье, являющейся логическим продолжением работы автора над этимологизацией лексического материала афразийских языков, предлагается около 50 новых афразийских этимологий для праберберских корней с начальным согласным *m-.

