

Semitic ghayin in an Afro-Asiatic perspective

Gábor Takács - Eötvös Loránd University
Dept. of Egyptology,
Muzeum Krt. 4/b, Budapest 1088 (Hungary)

[The paper evaluates the old etymological material suggested for the regular Egyptian correspondence of Semitic * γ and presents new comparative evidence from Berber, Cushitic, and Chadic, which equivocally corroborate that the distinction of * ζ vs. * γ Semitic was inherited from Afro-Asiatic.

Keywords: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Chadic, Afro-Asiatic comparative phonology, etymology.]

0. Introduction

The purpose of this pilot research is to evaluate all available etymological evidence for the Afro-Asiatic background of Semitic ghayin (* γ) primarily in initial position. The ultimate question this investigation is to reply is whether the distinction of Sem. * ζ vs. * γ was due to a mere Sem. innovation or, if not, how this opposition can be projected to the Afro-Asiatic cognate branches.

1. *Egypto-Semitic comparative evidence*

1.1. The “old school” (on which cf. EDE I 2-4) is the only trend of Egypto-Semitic comparative linguistics that has brought so far some reliable evidence in this domain, although most of the examples gathered both by Ember in his pioneering and epoch-making *Egypto-Semitic Studies* (1930) and by Calice in his famous *Grundlagen der ägypto-semitischen Wortvergleichung* (1936) did not stand the test of the time.

1.1.1. Most of Ember’s (1930 = ESS) Eg.-Sem. etymologies for Eg. ζ = Sem. * γ (ESS 34, §5.b) are unconvincing:

- ESS §5.b.1: Eg. ʿ3b “wonderful, extraordinary” ~ Ar. ʿarīb- “stranger”. But Calice’s (GÄSW #519) equation of Eg. ʿ3b “angenehm sein” ~ Hbr. ʿrb “angenehm sein” seems more convincing.
- ESS §5.b.2: Eg. ʿ3b “name of a tree” ~ Ar. ʿarab- “a kind of tree”. Cannot be judged. Calice (GÄSW #520) added Hbr. ʿarab “Populus euphratica”.
- ESS §5.b.3: Eg. ʿw3j “to rob, plunder” ~ Ar. ʿwr III “to make a raid” (so also GÄSW #525), which seems correct.
- ESS §5.b.4: Eg. ʿfn.t “head-covering” ~ Ar. mi-ʿfar- “helmet, head-covering”. Calice (GÄSW #378) added Akk. apāru “das Haupt bedecken”, Ar. ʿafara “bedecken”, ʿifār-at- “Kopftuch”. False because of the 3rd radicals.
- ESS §5.b.5: Eg. ʿrq “to swear” ~ Ar. ʿalaqa “to bind, confirm” (GÄSW #140a: Ar. ʿaliqa “verpfändet sein”), which seems correct.
- ESS §5.b.6: Eg. ʿš3 “to be numerous” ~ Ar. ʿaṭara “to be luxuriant”, which seems plausible in spite of the irreg. Eg. -š- ≠ Sem. *-t-.
- ESS §5.b.7: Eg. ʿšn^c “granary” ~ Ar. ʿšuy-^c-at- “heap of grain”. Declined by Calice (GÄSW #854) with right: “das äg. Wort heisst aber nach Wb. IV. 507. eigentlich ‘Arbeitsplatz’”.

1.1.2. Calice (1936 = GÄSW) also gathered a great deal of unreliable parallels for Eg. ʿ = Sem. *ʿ:

- GÄSW #1: Eg. 3^{sc} “eine fremde Sprache sprechen” ~ Ar. layā “schwätzen”, layiya “erravit in dicendo”, Hbr. l^s or l^y “irre reden” etc. Acceptable.
- GÄSW #12: Eg. ʿ3 “Esel” ~ Brb. *a-ʿyul “Esel”. But the latter corresponds better to Ar. ḥayl- (coll.)” 1. chevaux, 2. cavalerie” [BK I 657] (etc.) as suggested by Militarev (1987 MS, 10) and Blažek (1994, 429), whereas the former has long been convincingly identified with Sem. *ʿayr- “ass”.
- GÄSW #14: Eg. ʿb and ʿb^c (MK) vs. ʿb^b “sich rühmen, prahlen” ~ Ar. ʿayb-at- and ʿaby-at- “Hochmut” etc. Correct.
- GÄSW #134: Eg. ʿmj “verschmieren (Weinkrüge mit Lehm)” ~ Ar. ʿamā “mit Lehm verschmieren”. Correct.
- GÄSW #143: Eg. ʿg3 “kentern” ~ Ar. ʿaraqā “untergehen, ertrinken”. Dubious both semantically and phonologically (Eg. g ≠ *k).
- GÄSW #154: Eg. w^m.t “etwas Schlechtes” ~ Ar. wayima “hassen”, waym- “Überwollen”. Incorrect, since the Eg. noun has been recently rendered as “Verhinderung, Einschränkung” (XVIII., GHWb 185)¹, which has most recently been corroborated by its comparison with SCu. *ʿum- “to stop (intr.)” [GT]: Iqr. ʿom- “to stop (intr.)” | Ma’a -ʿuma “to stand, come to stop”, -ʿumāti “to stop (tr.)” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 278). Note that Eg. √w^m regularly derives from AA *ʿum according to Belova’s law.
- GÄSW #155: Eg. w^r “fliehen” ~ Ar. wayala I & V “weit weggehen”, IV “se abdere coegit necessitas”, which seems correct.
- GÄSW #466: Eg. 3f^c “gefräßig sein” ~ Ar. rayuba “gefräßig sein”, rayiba “begehren”. May be correct.
- GÄSW #521: Eg. ʿ3b.t “Opfer” (Ember, ZÄS 53, 85: “außerordentliches Opfer” accepted by Sethe) ~ Ar. ʿarīb- “wunderbar”, but as Calice rightly noted, it only means “wunderbar im Sinne von fremdartig”.
- GÄSW #534: Eg. ʿnb “Pflanzenart” ~ Ar. ʿunnāb- “Rhamnus zizyphus”. Cannot be judged.
- GÄSW #538: Eg. ʿr(r).wt “Tor” ~ Aram. ʿll “hineingehen”, Ar. ʿll “hineinstecken”, correct.
- GÄSW #602: Eg. p^cp^c “Ziegel streichen” ~ Ar. baybaʿa “treten” (Albright 1927, 217).
- GÄSW #626: Eg. mn^c “säugen” ~ Ar. byl “schwanger sein”. False. Cf. EDE III 268-271.

1. The underlying Eg. verbal root *w^m “to hinder, keep up, hold back, stop” has a Coptic reflex as suggested already in KHW 271: (S) OYΩΩME > OYΩME „einschränken, verringern”, refl. „sich zurückhalten, nachsichtig sein, nachgeben”.

1.2. Rössler and his school (labelled *neuere Komparatistik*, cf. EDE I 333-393) has suggested mostly unconvincing evidence for Eg. ḥ = Sem. *γ:

- Eg. 3ḥf [*rḥf] “Esslust (?)” (MK, Wb I 19, 4) = “fever of appetite” (FD 5): identified by Rössler (1964, 213; 1971, 296, 316) with Sem. *ryb „to be hungry” [GT]². Acceptable. The irregularities (Eg. -ḥ- vs. Sem. *-γ-, Eg. -f vs. Sem. *-b)³ seem possible, cf. Eg. sfḥ “7” vs. Sem. *š/sb⁶. Cf. also SBrb.: Ayr γəbəbbər-ət ~ ḥ- & ETawllemmet həbəbbər-ət “accaparer, s’emparer de qqch. de manière gloutonne” [PAM 2003, 266].

- Eg. wḥ3 „to be foolish, act stupidly” (MK, FD 68) = „töricht sein” (Wb I 354): compared by Schneider (1997, 197, #26) with Ar. wayara ~ wayira “heiss, zornig sein”. Semantically wrong. Besides, Eg. wḥ3 [*wḥr < AA *ḥ-w-r] may be related with WCh.: Angas goor „a lunatic, idiot” [Flk. 1915, 189] (Angas g- = Eg. ḥ- are regular).

- Eg. pḥ3 “to split, open” (MK, FD 93; Wb I 542-3): combined by Rössler (1971, 298, 317) with Sem. *pyr: Hbr. pʿr “to open wide”, Ar. faḡara “to open”. The *communis opinio* is, however, that Eg. pḥ3 = *pḥl, met. of *plḥ, cf. Ar. falaḡa “pourfendre, couper en deux”, II „frapper qqn.” [BK II 629]⁴ || ECh.: Bidiya palāk “1. bifurquer, 2. abandonner” [AJ 1989, 106].

- Eg. rḥ “to know” (OK, FD 151; Wb II 442-5): compared by Schneider (1997, 200, #54) with the reflexes of Sem. *lγ- “to stutter, speak nonsense”⁵. Semantically absurd. Moreover, Sem. *lγ- has been convincingly equated with Eg. 3 [*lʿ < *lγγ] “to gibber, speak a foreign language” (NE, DLE I 2)⁶. Thirdly, as is well known, Eg. rḥ corresponds to PCu. *ʿarQ- “to see, know” [GT]⁷.

- Eg. ḥ3s.t “1. hill-country → 2. foreign land, desert” (PT, FD 185; Wb III 234): connected by Schneider (1997, 204, #76) with Ar. γrt I „hungern”, supposing a semantic development *, „poor country” → “foreign land”, which seems to me absurd. Moreover, the correct Sem. and SBrb. cognates of Eg. ḥ3s.t [*ḥrs-t] indeed confirm its primary meaning “hill country”⁸.

2. Attested e.g. in Hbr. rāʿēb “hungry”, rāʿāb “hunger, famine” || Ar. rayiba “ilā „to desire”, ruyub- “Essgier” || Geez rāḡab ~ raḡab ~ raḡāb [irreg. -ḡ- < *-γ-] “hunger, famine” (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 468).

3. In the framework of the traditional sound correspondences, one would expect Sem. *ryb to be reflected by Eg. *3ʿb ~ *jʿb instead of Eg. 3 f. By the way, the equally irregular Geez reflex seems to display a similar problem.

4. For the Sem.-Eg. etymology see Ember 1911, 88; 1917, 88, fn. 2; 1930, #3.c.11; Behnk 1927, 81, fn. 1; Clc. 1936, #190; Vrg. 1945, 130, #1.d.13; Chn. 1947, #370; Knudsen 1962, 34; IS 1966, 29; HCVA I #38; HSED #1929.

5. Cf. Hbr. lʿ (or lʿy or lwʿ?) “irre reden” [GB 38] = „speak inconsiderately” [Lsl. 1969] = „to stutter” [Lsl. 1987] || Ar. lγw: layā „1. parler, 2. dire des choses futiles, tenir des discours vains” [BK II 1006] vs. lyy: layiya „schwätzen, daherreden” [WKAS II 904] = lγw “schwätzen” & lyy “erravit in dicendo” [GASW] = layā (-w) „schwätzen” [Clc. 1931] = layā (-w) ~ layiya „to make mistakes in speaking, talk nonsense” [Lsl.] || Geez lāʿlāʿa “to stammer, stutter, speak indistinctly” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 304).

6. For Eg.-Sem. see Clc. 1931, 36; GÄSW 1936, #1; Vrg. 1945, 130, 133, #3.a.1; Hodge 1981, 374, #34.

7. Attested in Bed. erh „sehen, schauen, erblicken” [Rn. 1895, 29] = erh, irh, reh, rih „to see” [Rpr. 1928, 153], Ammarʿar reh- ~ rh- „to see” [Dlg.], Bisharin rēh- ~ erh- “to see” [Almkvist] (Bed.: Dlg. 1973, 170) || Agaw *ʿarq- „to know” [Apl. 1989, 6; 1991, 23] || ECu. *ʿarg- „to see” [Sasse 1982, 26] (Cu.: Zbr. 1989, 587). This Eg.-Cu. etymology is commonly accepted (Hommel 1894, 357; Rn. 1895, 29; Zhl. 1932-33, 169; Vcl. 1934, 46, 77; 1938, 134; Chn. 1947, #415; Dlg. 1973, 170; OS 1992, 176). Besides, Schneider rightly declined the false comparison of Eg. rḥ with Sem. *ydʿ „to know” (suggested in Behnk 1927, 82, #23; Albright 1927, 203; Rösslers 1966, 228).

8. Cf. Hbr. ḡoreš „Berge oder Wälder” [GB 264] = „forest (area)” [KB 358] | Jaram. ḡuršā „Gebüsch, Dickicht, dichter Wald” [Levy 1924 II 119] || SBrb.: Hgr. ā-ḡuras „vallée” [Fcd. 1951-2, 487] = „place where many trees grow” [Mlt.], EWlm. ā-ḡoras „dépression circulaire de terrain, 2. p.ext. forêt qui remplit un āgoras, 3. forêt, vallée boisée, 4. p.ext. brousse” [PAM 2003, 244, cf. Alj. 1980, 59] || CCh.: Mwulyen ḡará,i [-,- < *-VčV-?] „forest” [Kraft 1981, #146]. Note that Akk. ḡuršānu „Gebirge” [AHW 360] = „mountain region” [CAD 253-4] || Ug. ḡršn „mountain” [WUS #1091] = „(divine) mountain, dwelling of the god El” [DUL 408] are usually explained as Sum. loanwords. But in the light of this AA etymology, I would not exclude an influence (instead of being borrowed) of Sum. ʿur.sag „mountain” leading to the extension of Akk. *ḡurš- → ḡurš-ān-. For this Eg.-AA comparison see Ember 1917, 85, #112; 1930, #3.b.16; Vrg. 1945, 129; Chn. 1947, #152; Mlt. 1984, 16; 1995, 248-249; HSED #1358. The semantic shift „mountain” ~ „forest” is known in AA.

• Eg. ḥb3 [*ḥbl] “to destroy, lay waste, ravage” (PT, FD 187; Wb III 253, 2-3): compared by Rössler (1971, 297, 317) with Ar. ḡubr- “Rest”, ḡubār- “Staub” (sic). Unacceptable. As is well known and generally accepted⁹, Eg. ḥb3 [*ḥbl] is a perfect match of Sem. *ḥbl “to injure” [Dlğ. 1988, 633, #34]¹⁰.

• Eg. ḥm^s “to seize, grasp” (PT, FD 191; Wb III 281-2): compared by Rössler (1971, 291) with Ar. ḡmz “to touch (with the hand)” and Bed. ḡmd (sic) “to seize, grasp”. False. Even the Ar. and the Bed. *comparanda* are clearly unrelated¹¹, let alone the fully different basic sense of the Ar. root¹². On the other hand, Eg. ḥm^s and perhaps OK j.ḥḥm “*wegnehmen” (PT 61b, 89c, ÄWb I 211; GHWb 99) are both related with PCh. *q-H-m “to seize” [GT]¹³. Note also the remotely related isogloss represented by NEg. ḥm (GW ḥ3m) “besitzen, festhalten an etwas” (NE, Wb III 231, 8-10) = “to possess, gain mastery etc.” (DLE II 161) and Brb. *ḡ-m “to hold” (< AA *ḡ-m) [GT] || SCu. *kam-/kom- “to hold” [Ehret]¹⁴ < AA *q-m [GT].

• Eg. ḥnj “to play music” (CT, FD 192) and Eg. ḥn “speech, utterance” (MK, FD 192; Wb III 289): connected by Schneider (1997, 204, #78) with Sem. *ḡny “to answer” (sic) and Sem. *ḡny “to sing”. Absurd. Schneider confused three entirely distinct roots: (1) Despite the irregular Eg. ḥ ~ Sem. *ḡ, the comparison of Eg. ḥnj “to play music” with Sem. *ḡny “to sing” may be correct, although this Eg.-Sem. etymology is not new at all¹⁵. (2) Sem. *ḡny has a fully different basic meaning („to turn back, turn away”) and Eg. cognate.¹⁶ (3) Eg. ḥn “speech, utterance” (FD) has also a different AA background, cf. PCh. *Q-n “speech” [GT]¹⁷.

• Eg. ḥr “fallen” (OK, Wb III 319-321): compared by Schneider (1993, 81; 1997, 204, #79) with Ug. ḡly “to lower” [Gordon 1955, 309, #1481] = “übermässig beugen” [WUS #2143] || Brb. *ḡ-1-y “to fall”

9. For Eg.-Sem. see Ember 1913, 112, #19; 1930, #15.a.8; Lexa 1938, 222; Vrg. 1945, #1.d.21; Ward 1978, 43-44; Hodge 1976, 14, #137; 1981, 406.

10. Cf. Akk. ḥbl “Gewalt, Unrecht (an)tun” [AHW 302] || Hbr. ḥbl qal „to act corruptly”, piel „to ruin”, pual “to be destroyed, pulled down” [KB 285-6] | JArām. ḥbl pael „verwunden, verletzen, verderben” [Levy 1924 II 5] = „to damage, destroy” [KB] || ESA (Sabaic) ḥbl “ruin (noun)” [SD 58] = (Madhabi) ḥbl “ruiner, détruire” [Arbach 1993, 48], Ar. ḥabala “1. déranger à qq. ses facultés, le rendre fou (un grand chagrin qui trouble la tête), 2. estropier qq.”, ḥabila „1. avoir la tête dérangée, 2. être mutilé ou estropié (se dit d’un membre du corps)” [BK I 536] = ḥabala “to corrupt, disorder the brain, cripple” [Dlğ.] = ḥabala „schädigen, schwächen” [GB].

11. Bed. amid- is a variant of Bed. amit- “to seize, grip, grasp” [Rn. 1895, 19], which may be related to HECu. *abad- “to hold, seize” [Hds. 1989, 80]: Darasa (Gedeo) abid-, Hadiya amad-, Sidamo amad-, in which Hudson supposes an original *-b- (and not *-m-).

12. Ar. ḡamaza I “1. faire un signe, 4. percer, paraître (se dit d’un défaut, d’un vice), 5. boiter, clocher et pencher d’un côté que de l’autre (se dit d’une bête de somme), 6. palper une bête pour s’assurer si elle est grasse” [BK II 503-4] can hardly be a cognate to a root with the sense “to seize”.

13. Attested in WCh.: Hausa káámà “to seize hold of” [Abr. 1962, 463] | Angas-Sura *kayam „to seize” [GT 2004, 161]: Angas kaam “1. to seize, catch, 2. press on, squeeze, 3. throttle” [Flk. 1915, 207] = káam (Kabwir dial.) „to seize sg. with teeth or mouth” [Jng. 1962 MS, 16], Sura kàyám „festhalten, festlegen” [Jng. 1963, 68] | Karekare kum „herausnehmen, aufnehmen” [Lks. 1966, 202] | Geji kàmi & Buli kəmu „to lift” [Mkr.] (WCh.: Mkr. 1987, 315) || CCh.: Gidar ḡəma „to take” [Grb.] (Gidar-Hausa: Grb. 1963, 61, #63).

14. Based on NBrb.: Tuat & Gurara & Rif-Botiwa & Nefusa a-ḡḡim „tenir” (NBrb.: Bst. 1887, 428) || SCu.: Dahalo kam- “to hold” | PRift *kom- “to hold, have” [GT]: Iraqw kom-, Burunge kom- | Asa kom-, Qwadza kom-os- (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 241) || SOM.: Hamer hAm- „to hold, keep” [Bnd. 1994, 152]. Lit. for Eg.-AA: IS 1984, #376; OS 1992, 198; HSED #2033.

15. See Yeivin 1933, 110; Lsl. 1962, 48, #34; Djk. etc. 1986, 55; Djk. 1992, 28.

16. See Akk. enū “1. umwenden, 2. ändern” [AHW 220] || Ug. ḡny „to answer, respond” [WUS #2060], Hbr. ḡny „to answer” [GB 603] || cf. Ar. ḡnn “begegnen, sich abwenden” [GB] = IV „1. retenir (le cheval) avec les rênes, 3. tourner qq. de tel ou tel côté” [BK II 377] || Eg. ḡn “umwenden” (MK, Wb I 188-189). For Sem.-Eg. see Erman 1892, 108; GB 603; Alb. 1918, 229; 1927, #61; Ember 1926, 302, fn. 10; Clc. 1936, #135; Vcl. 1958, 381; Ward 1961, 37, #19.

17. Attested in CCh. *[ḡ]an- “Sprache, Rede” [GT]: Boka ḡan-buda | Chibak kanyar | Higi-Ghye ḡana, Higi-Kamale ḡani, Fali-Kiria -ḡänü, Fali-Gili ḡani (CCh.: Mkr. 1987, 232 < Krf. 1981) || ECh.: Mubi kân “Sprache” [Lks. 1937, 183] | Jegu gone “Geschichte, Erzählung” [Jng. 1961, 113].

[Snd.] and even Sem. *γll “to enter” [GT]¹⁸. These forms represent three distinct roots (besides, comparing Eg. ḥr with NBrb.: Qabyle γ-l-y “to descend, fall” was first suggested by Zyhlarz 1932-33, 98): (1) Ug. γly “to lower” should be separated from Sem. *γll “to enter”. (2) The latter root was convincingly identified by Ember (1911, 93; 1926, 6, #4) with Eg. ṣrr.wt [< *γll] “gate” (OK, FD 45; Wb I 201-211). (3) The correct etymology of Eg. ḥr is Ar. ḥarra I “3. tomber en bas” [BK I 551] which is well known.¹⁹

• Eg. šhr “thought, plan” (OK, Wb IV 258-260): compared by Schneider (1997, 206, #93) with Ar. šayala “beschäftigen, beanspruchen” → šuy- “business, work, care, thing”. Semantically dubious. The etymology of Eg. šhr is still unknown²⁰.

1.3. Tenable parallels for Sem. *γ- = Eg. ṣ- are to be selected as follows:

• Sem. *γwr “to raid” [GT]²¹ ||| Eg. ṣw3j [act. *ṣwry] “rauben” (OK, Wb I 171): Quack (2002) refused this well-known²² correspondence (as „zweifelhaft”) because of NEg. ṣw3j „to reap” (FD 39) = “to reap, gather, harvest” (DLE I 72), which, however, is not an contra-argument at all, since a late secondary semantic shift of OEg. “to rob” > NEg. „to harvest” does not a bit disturb the Eg.-Sem. etymology. The possible primary sense “to take away, collect” (or sim., contra Quack’s erroneous “entreißen”) is, by the way, supported by further cognates from Chadic, cf. WCh.: Angas-Sura *γər (pl., from *γir?) “to pick up and collect (a load?)” [GT]²³.

• Sem. *γib(b)- “dung, faeces” [SED] > (?) Ar. γabba “sentir mauvais, être gâté (se dit des viandes)” [BK II 428] || ES: Geez ṣəbā “dung” [Lsl. 1987, 54], Tna. ṣiba “sterco bovino fresco” [Bassano], Amh. əbbät “fresh bovine dung” [Kane 1990, 1201] | Hrs. γeb “excrement”, γeb “to excrete” [Jns. 1977, 43], Jbl. γəb “excreta”, γebb “to defecate” [Jns. 1981, 82], Mehri γəb “excreta, faeces”, γəb “to defecate” [Jns. 1987, 130], Sgt. ṣəb “boue, crotte”, ṣəb(b) “faire des excréments” [Lsl. 1938] (Ar.-MSA: Lsl. 1938, 293; Sem.: SED I 98, #103) ||| Eg. ṣb.w “Schmutz, Unreines” (CT, GR, Wb I 17, 19) = “impurity” (DCT 46) = “Unreinheit, Sündhaftigkeit” (ÄWb II 493) ||| WCh.: Bade ṣāab-ən “Exkrement” [Lks. 1968, 222] || CCh.: Margi ubi, Kilba íbí, Hildi ṣubī, Wamdiu ṣubī “faeces” | Higi-Kamale ùvyè, Fali-Kiria =vi “faeces” (CCh.: Krf. 1981, #78).²⁴

• MSA *γbr: Hrs. aybōr “to give help, support” [Jns. 1977, 43], Jbl. aybér “to give (material) help, money, charity” [Jns. 1981, 82], Mhr. həybōr “to give help” [Jns. 1987, 131] = hayabōr “jemandem etwas

18. Cf. Ug. ḥll “to enter, wade in” [Gordon 1955, 310, #1482] = „hineintauchen” [WUS #2147], Hbr. «ll „hineinstecken, senken” [GB 593] || Ar. ḥll “insérer, introduire une chose dans une autre” [KB II 487].

19. Eg.-Ar.: Ember 1911, 94; 1930, #12.a.33, #15.a.17; Hommel 1915, 17; Vcl. 1958, 375, 388.

20. (1) W. Leslau (1949, 316; 1962, 46, #10): Eg. ṣr = Hbr. ba-ar “charm” (contra GB 820) || Ar. sa-ara “zaubern”. Improbable both phonologically (Eg. ṣ- ≠ Sem. *r-) and semantically. (2) HSED #466: Eg. ṣr = WCh.: Fyer šóor „Absicht, Plan” [Jng. 1970, 84]. But Fyer -ṣ- ≠ Eg. ṣ-. Eg. ṣ- is regularly reflected by Fyer -k- ~ -g-. (3) GT: cp. perhaps CCh.: Lamang (Hitkala) cūrókú [tsūrókú] “Verstand” [Lks. 1964, 109]? Lamang k = Eg. ṣ- seem regular.

21. Cf. Ar. γwr: |Xra “7. faire une excursion contre une tribu et y enlever des troupeaux”, cf. also ṣyr: ṣāra I “2. commettre des ravages, faire main basse sur le bien des autres (se dit d’un homme), 3. enlever, emporter” [BK II 515, 418] = III: ṣāwara “to make a raid”, |Xr-at- „raid, predatory incursion” [Ember] || MSA: Harsusi |wr: aṣwir „to distract, keep someone’s attention off”, bewyōr “to raid” [Jns. 1977, 47], Jibbali γwr: ayber “to raid, invade” [Jns. 1981, 91] = eyber ~ ayber “to raid” [Jns. 1987], Mehri γwr: aywir “to distract, attract away someone’s attention”, γorət “raid” [Jns. 1987, 145]. A secondary contamination of this root with *γwr “to descend” is possible (esp. in Ar.).

22. Cf. Ember 1917, 86, #122; 1930, #5.b.3; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 63.

23. Attested in: Angas γur “1. to pick up, pick up (of many things such as stones, or the many articles comprising a load), 2. also to pillage, loot (in war)” [Flk. 1915, 187] = γĒr (pl. of Təp) “aufnehmen, einsammeln” [Jng. 1962 MS] = -ər “to pick up” [ALC 1978, 21] = γir (pl.) “to pick up” [Gcl. 1994, 73], Sura γĒr (pl.) “aufnehmen, übernehmen, in Besitz nehmen, haben, tragen” [Jng. 1963, 73], Mpn. hār “to collect, pick up” [Frj. 1991, 22], Msr. ir “load” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 97]. Note that the correspondence of Angas-Sura *γ vs. Sem. *γ vs. Eg. ṣ seems regular.

24. See also Blz. 1994 MS Bed., 3 (ES-Bade); HSED #1116 (ES-Eg.-CCh.).

in den Weg führen” [Jahn], Sqt. ʿáber [< *ʿáber] “donner, passer qqch. à qqn.” [Lsl. 1938, 295] ||| Eg. ʿb3 [< *γbr] “1. (OK) darbringen, 2. (GR) jemanden mit etwas beschenken” (Wb I 177, 2-3) = 1. präsentieren (ohne Objekt), darbringen, ausstatten, (Wasser) spenden” (OK, ÄWb I 265) = “to offer, present, make presentation” (DCT 69)

• MSA *γfn: Jbl. oγófān “to cover (the face), (mother) keep a girl in seclusion for a week before marriage”, γéfxn “white overdress worn by women” [Jns. 1981, 84], Mhr. γōfen “bedecken” [Jahn] vs. γátfān “(woman) to keep the face covered”, γayfēh “coloured sheet used as a sari” [Jns. 1987, 134-5], Sqt. ʿéfeniten “vêtement” [Lsl. 1938, 319] ||| Eg. ʿfn “umhüllen, verhüllt sein (besonders von den verbundenen Augen)” (MK-NE, Wb I 183, 1-3) = “umhüllt sein, mit verbundenen Augen sein” (1st IMP, ÄWb I 270), ʿfn.t “Kopftuch” (OK, Wb I 183, 4) = “Kopftuch, Kopfhaube” (ÄWb I 270).

• Sem. *γpr: Ar. γafāra I “6. arranger, ajuster comme il faut, en y adaptant les parties nécessaires, 7. arranger, raccommoquer une chose, une affaire” [BK II 482] || Jbl. γōfōr “to finish preparing (e.g., an animal pen)” [Jns. 1981, 84], Mhr. γāfūr “to finish making a temporary booth” [Jns. 1987, 135] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & ETawllemet ə-γrāf “1. confectioinner, fabriquer en assemblant, 2. constituer, composer, former, formuler, rédiger (qqch., texte), dresser (conrat), engager (conversation, procès, combat), 3. inventer, imaginer (ustensile, machine, doctrine etc.), 4. assembler, tendre une peau (cuir) sur (p.ex. tambour)” [PAM 2003, 299].

• MSA *γlk: Hrs. γelōk “to look at, for, see to” [Jns. 1977, 44], Jbl. γōlōk “to look (for)” [Jns. 1981, 85], Mhr. γəlōk “to look for” [Jns. 1987, 136] ||| Eg. ʿrq “1. klug, verständig sein, in etwas erfahren, 2. etwas verstehen, kennen, jem. unterweisen in etwas” (MK-, Wb I 212, 10-15).

• Ar. γalaqa “2. paariet, faire un pari, gager”, γaliqa “1. être engagé à condition que si le dégageement n’a pas lieu à l’époque convenue, il ne pourra plus avoir lieu après l’expiration du terme (se dit d’un objet engagé)” [BK II 495] = γalaqa “to bind, confirm” [Ember] = γaliqa “verpfändet sein” [GÄSW] ||| (?) Eg. ʿrq “to swear” (MK, NK, Wb I 212-3), although the Cpt. reflexes suggest an original *-r-, cf. (SB) ωρκ, (F) ωλκ. For the Eg.-Ar. comparison see ESS §5.b.5; GÄSW #140a.

• Ar. γalaqa I & IV “fermer (la porte)” [BK II 495], Hdrn. γaliqa “finir, s’épuiser” [Lsl.] ||| Mhr. aγōlāk “to lock” [Jns. 1987, 136] = γōlek “(ver)schließen” [Jahn], Sqt. ʿéyraq “finir, cesser, disparaître, atteindre” [Lsl. 1938, 311] ||| Eg. ʿrq “vollenden, fertig herstellen, aufhören zu tun (+ Inf.)” (XIX-GR, Wb I 212), hence ʿrqj “der letzte Monatstag” (MK-, Wb I 212, 8) > (SB) λλκε/η “letzter Tag des Monats” (KHW 4). Note that Praetorius (ZDMG 61, 1907, 624), followed by Leslau (1938), unconvincingly equated Sem. *γlk (Ar. and Sqt.) with Akk. ḫalāqu “verschwinden, zugrundegehen, fliehen” [AHW 310] | Geez ḫalqa “se détruire” [Lsl. 1938] = “to be consumed, be wasted, perish, cease etc.” [Lsl. 1987, 261], which represent a distinct root.

• Ar. γamada II “1. cacher les fautes ou les vices de qqn., 2. avoir qqch. de caché, un secret, ou qqch. que l’on dérober aux regards”, IV “2. couvrir, envelopper une chose avec une autre”, VIII “entrer dans la nuit, être enveloppé de ténèbres, entrer dans l’obscurité, comme le sabre dans le fourreau” [BK II 501] | Syr. ʿemad “se coucher (soleil)” [Brk. 1928] ||| Jbl. γmd: γōd “to be hidden, obscure(d), set (sun)”, oγōd “to go at sunset, be covered in gloom after the death of the best member of the family” [Jns. 1981, 86], Sqt. ʿémod “se coucher (soleil)” [Lsl. 1938, 313] ||| Eg. ʿmt [late -t reg. < old *-d] “Gewölk o.ä.” (GR, Wb I 187, 5).

• Ar. γarafa I “puiser (de l’eau, etc.) avec la main ou avec qq. autre ustensile creux (comme godet, cuiller, etc.)”, V “enlever tout à qqn., la dépouiller de tout ce qu’il avait sur lui” [BK II 458] ||| Jbl. γārāf “to scoop up (usually water)”, oγōrf “to scoop up (usually water) into a receptacle” [Jns. 1981, 88] ||| Eg. ʿrf “1. einpacken, 2. etwas umschließen, 3. (bildlich: Ämter, Gunst) sammeln” (MK-, Wb I 210-1), ʿrf “Beutel, Säckchen” (OK, Wb I 210, 20-22) < AA *γ-r-f “to put into a vessel (?)” [GT].

• Ar. wayāla I & V “weit weggehen”, IV “se abdere coegit necessitas” [GÄSW] ||| Eg. wʿr “fliehen, entlaufen (Feind, Sklave), herausfliehen (Kind bei der Geburt), eilends kommen (Überschwemmung), ausweichen (beim antworten)” (MK-, Wb I 286). Eg.-Ar.: GÄSW #155.

1.4. Tenable evidence for Sem. *γ = Eg. ḥ equally exists at least in two instances:

• Ar. γumiya “tomber en défaillance, avoir un évanouissement” [BK II 508] ||| MSA: cf. Hrs. γmg: yemōg “to fail a trial by ordeal” [Jns. 1977, 45], Jbl. γmg: γīg “1. to fail, 2. fail in an ordeal”, γmīg “to be unclear” [Jns. 1981, 86], Mhr. γmg: γáymeg “1. to fail, 2. fail in a trial by ordeal” [Jns. 1987, 138] ||| Eg. ḥm(j) “nicht kennen” (OK, Wb III 278-280) ||| Bed. gam “not to know, be in ignorance” [Rpr. 1928, 185-6] ||| LECu.: Saho agam “nicht wissen, unwissend sein” [Rn. 1890, 21], Afar agam “nicht wissen, nicht kennen” [Rn. 1886, 805] ||| CCh.: Banana hùmù “to forget” [Krf. 1981 III, 182] < AA *γ-m “1. not to be able, fail, 2. not to know” [GT]. See also Rn. l.c. (LECu.-Eg.); OS 1992, 195 (Banana-Eg.).

• Jbl. γyg: ayyég “(goats and sheep) to bear young”, ma-γγég “new-born” [Jns. 1981, 91], Mhr. hə-γγōg “(goats and sheep) to bear young”, məγγīg “new born” [Jns. 1987, 147] ||| Bed. geyi “newness, freshness”, geyī ~ gāyī “newly, freshly”, geyī “new, fresh”, gey-is “to make new, renew” [Rpr. 1928, 190] = gāy “neu sein” [Rn. 1895, 104] ||| Eg. ḥ [act. *ḥj] „jung sein” (Med. Mag., Wb III 217, 1) > Cpt. (S) **᠔᠕** (adj.) „new” (CD 544b; KHW 306) = „nouveau” (DELIC 258) ||| CCh.: Musgu ḥéḥe, fem. ḥáḥai „jung, klein, neu” [Krause > Lks. 1941, 59-60], Musgu-Puss hêhê (m), hâhâ (f), pl. hâhâkay “nuef, nouveau” [Trn. 1991, 94] < (?) AA *γ-y “new, young” [GT].

2. The Semito-Berber evidence

So far, to the best of my knowledge, no one has formulated the regular correspondence(s) of Sem. *γ in Berber. In the following I present the relevant etymological evidence suggesting that this is Brb. *γ = Cu. *g ~ *ḡ.

• Indirectly, the correspondence of Eg. ʿw.t (coll. fem.) “Kleinvieh, Wild” (OK, Wb I 170, 6) ||| (?) SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. ta-γ-at (f) “chèvre” [PAM 2003, 310] (unless < *ta-γad-t) ||| Bed. ēya (pl.fem.) “Ziegen” [Zhl.] = ay, pl. éya “goat” [Flm.] vs. ēū, pl. éwa “ibex” [Rpr. 1928, 157] ||| LECu.: Galab ai “goat” [Flm.] ||| SCu.: Qwadza aʿa-to “sheep” [Ehret], Asa aʿa-ku “sheep” [Ehret], Asa-Aramanik hāw “sheep” [Flm.], Asa-Ngomvia ā-to “sheep and goat” [Flm.] (ERift: Ehret 1980, 277; Cu.: Flm. 1969, 12, #22) ||| WCh.: AS *γə (perhaps < *γī?), var. *əγ (from *γəγ ~ *əγə?) “goat” [GT 2004, 149] | Ron *ʾù “Ziege” [GT]: Fyer ʾoó, Daffo-Butura ʾaá, Sha ha, Kulere ʾaah (Ron: Jng. 1970, 389) ||| CCh.: Masa ḥù “1. le caprin, 2. l’ovin”, ḥù-nà “1. le bouc, 2. le bélier”, ḥù-tà “1. la chèvre, 2. la brebis” [Ctc. 1983, 90] suggests an unattested Sem. root with **γ- < AA *γ-(w) “cattle” [GT]. As areal parallels cf. IE *Howi- “sheep” [GI] ~ Sum. u₈ “ewe” [Boisson].²⁵ The comparison of this AA root with Ahaggar i-w-ân (pl.tante) “boeufs” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1445], Tadghaq & Taneslem & Tawllemmet i-w-an “boeufs” [PAM 2003, 810] is less convincing (no compensatory lengthening in Brb. en lieu *γ).

• Sem. *γbb: Ar. γub-, pl. γubūb- “1. bas-fond, terrain déprimé, encaissé, 3. golfe” [BK II 429] ||| Jbl. γbb: γiét “depths of the sea” [Jns. 1981, 82], Mhr. γəbbēt “depths of the sea, deep sea” [Jns. 1987, 131] ||| SBrb.: Ayr ə-γub, pl. i-γābb-ān, var. Ayr & EWlmd. a-γābor “1. enfoncement demi-circulaire dans le flanc d’une montagne, 2. passage étroit, défilé entre deux montagnes, 3. passage très profond, comme le fond

25. See also Zhl. 1932-33, 165 (Eg.-Bed.); Hodge 1990, 372 and 1990, 644, #4.B (Eg.-PCh.-IE); Blz. 1992 MS, 114 (IE-Eg.-Bed.-Sum.); Skn. 1995, 31 (Ch.-Bed.-SCu.-Eg.-SBrb.-IE).

d'un puits, 4. grotte, 5. fond interne de mortier" [PAM 2003, 265 & 269: not an Ar. loan]. Cf. also SBrb.: EWlmd. a-γābob, pl. i-γābab "trou, creux dans un arbre, arbre creux" [PAM 2003, 266].

- Ar. γabba I "5. finir, avoir sa fin, être terminé (une chose, d'une affaire)" [BK II 428] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. ə-γbāb "1. serrer, enserrer, coller à (vêtement, pansement, plâtre, le corps), 2. (EWlmd.) se coller fermement à (au point d'être indétachable, p.ex. résine, en séchant), 3. être tenace, sévir longtemps (guerre)" [PAM 2003, 266].

- Ar. γbb II "1. saisir par la gorge (se dit d'un loup qui enlève une brebis)" [BK II 428] ||| SBrb.: Ayr γāb-āt "être bridé, porter un mors (cheval etc.)", EWlmd. γābb-āt ~ (incorrectly) qābb-āt "mettre dans sa bouche une gorgée de (liquide, fumée)" [PAM 2003, 266].

- Indirectly, the correspondence of Eg. 'bb "an die Tür klopfen (?)" (NK, Wb I 178, 8; GHwB 136) ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. γābyāb "frapper du pied à une cadence intense (méhari, pour le stimuler)" [PAM 2003, 267] suggests AA *γ-.

- Ug. γbn "bienestar, opulencia" [DLU 155] = "well-being, opulence" [DUL 316] vs. Sem. *by ||| SBrb.: Ayr γāb (interj.) "signale que qqch. (un puits) est plein" [PAM 2003, 265] ||| Bed. gab "satt, reich sein", gāba "Zustand des Sattseins, Reichtum" [Rn. 1895, 87] = gab "to be rich, be satisfied", gaba "rich, satiated" [Rpr. 1928, 183] ||| SCu. *gab- "stout, strong, thick" [Ehret] > Iraqw gawit "hard" | Ma'a -gābi "to become fat" (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 234, #3).

- Indirectly, the equation of Eg. 'pr "ausstatten, versehen" (OK, Wb I 180) ||| SBrb.: Ayr & ETawllmet ə-γfər "1. louer (prendre à louage), 2. charger, 3. mettre en dépôt" [PAM 2003, 275] suggests an unattested Sem. root with **γ- < AA *γ-p-r "to provide" [GT].

- Jbl. γtw: γáté "(cloth, blanket) to be large enough to cover sg." [Jns. 1981, 90] ||| SBrb.: Ayr e-γet, pl. i-γet-ān & EWlmd. e-γāyt "1. cuir (de boeuf, chameau etc.), 2. (p.ext.) semelle de cuir brut (de sandale), 3. (poét.) bouclier" [PAM 2003, 310].

- Ar. γadda "être atteint par la peste et être couvert de boubons pestilentiels (chameau)" [BK II 438] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. u-γdad ~ i-γdad "1. être laid, 2. mauvais, 3. (Ayr, p.ext.) maudit, voué au malheur" [PAM 2003, 271].

- Sem. *γdp: Ar. γadafa IV "3. laisser tomber les filets sur sa proie" [BK II 440] ||| Hrs. γdf: γedōf "to throw a net (fishermen)" [Jns. 1977, 43], Jbl. γdf: γədāf "to throw out a fishing-net" [Jns. 1981, 83], Mhr. γdf: γədōf "(fisherman) to throw a net" [Jns. 1987, 132] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. ə-γtəf "1. guetter, 2. attendre au tournant, 3. être au affût, s'embusquer, dresser une embûche à" [PAM 2003, 311] ||| (?) Bed. gidif ~ gədif "to dare, attempt the dangerous" [Rpr. 1928, 184] < AA *γ-d-P "to wait in ambush for prey, attempt to catch (a dangerous animal?)" [GT].

- MSA *γzr: Hrs. γezīr "deep" [Jns. 1977, 49], Jbl. γzr: γəzər "to plumb a depth", ayzér "to find out how deep rain ater is", γazīr "deep" [Jns. 1981, 92], Mehri γəzāyr "deep" [Jns. 1987, 148], cf. Ar. γazura "être abondant, se trouver en abondance" [BK II 463] ||| SBrb.: Wlmd. γuzər "avoir le dos enfoncé, être cambré, ensellé", Ayr & EWlmd. e-γāzār "1. mare semi-permanente, 2. (Ayr) vallée, oued, ravin" [PAM 2003, 319].

- Sem. *γšy "to faint (?)" [GT] > Akk. ḥašū "schwach werden" [WUS, not so in CAD Ḥ 145 and AHW 335] | (?) Ug. γšy "dahinsinken" [WUS 251, #2176] (rendering debated) | Ar. γušiya "tomber en défaillance", γašy-at- "1. défaillance, évanouissement, 2. stupeur, étonnement", ma-γšiy- "tombé sans connaissance, en défaillance, dans l'évanouissement" [BK II 471-2] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr a-γsəy "crever, mourir (sans être égorgé)" [PAM 2003, 308]. Cf. also Ar. γafīt-at- "3. altération, dérangement des facultés intellectuelles" [BK II 436]?

- MSA *γty: Jbl. γty: γéti "to be tired of, have had enough of s'one, sg." [Jns. 1981, 90], Mhr. γáyti "to get tired, fed up of s'one, sg." [Jns. 1987, 145] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. i-γšaš "être très énervé, extrêmement irrité (personne), être féroce (animal sauvage)" [PAM 2003, 309].

- Ar. γ sw I “1. être sombre, obscur (se dit d’une nuit)” [BK II 469] ||| SBrb.: Ayr $\gamma\check{s}\text{-}\check{a}t$ “être grisâtre” [PAM 2003, 308].
- Ar. γ amma I “3. boucher, tamponner (p.ex., le nez et la bouche d’un âne, etc.), 5. gêner la respiration, suffoquer (se dit d’une chaleur étouffante qui intercepte la respiration)” [BK II 498-9] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & ETawllemmet a- $\gamma\check{a}m$ “être enfermé longtemps en vase clos (mélange liquide), être constipé (personne)” [PAM 2003, 287].
- Indirectly, the correspondence of Eg. $\check{r}n$ “(sich) umwenden, umkehren, abwenden von” (MK-, Wb I 188) ||| SBrb.: Ayr $\check{a}\text{-}\gamma\check{y}\check{a}n$ “tourner, virer (changer de direction), tourner, faire un détour pour, contourner, dévier de”, a- $\gamma\check{y}\check{a}n$ “virage” [PAM 2003, 317] also suggests AA $\ast\gamma\text{-}$.
- Sem. $\ast\gamma a/ur\text{-}$ “(loose) skin” [SED]: Akk. $\check{a}ru$ “hide (?)” [CAD a₂ 318] || Ug. γr “1. Haut, 2. Schwarten mit Speck” [WUS 250, #2165] = “piel” [DLU 159] = “skin” [DUL 325], Hbr. $\check{a}r$ “1. skin of a person, 2. animal skin, 3. leather” [KB 803] ||| SBrb.: Ayr a- $\gamma\check{a}\gamma\check{a}r$ “peau/cuir souple, non tanné(e)”, e- $\gamma\check{y}\check{a}r$ “peau non-tannée et non épilée (ayant tous ses poils)”, ta- $\gamma\check{y}\check{a}r\text{-}t$ “écorce ou feuilles de palmier non trempées ou insuffisamment trempées (avant le tressage)”, cf. i- $\gamma\check{a}r$ “être sec” [PAM 2003, 276].
- Indirectly, the correspondence of Eg. $\check{r}f$ “1. to squeeze, enclose, tie up, 2. (used almost as a synonym of verbs meaning) to hold” (GR, PL 166-167) = “(in einem Beutel?) auspressen” (Med., GR, Wb I 211, 3) ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. $\gamma\check{a}r\check{a}f\check{r}\check{a}f$ “1. se presser, être pressé d’obtenir, avoir grand besoin de, 2. être très pressé (affairé), se hâter beaucoup, 3. être très pressé (affairé), se hâter trop (au degré d’oublier certaines choses nécessaires), 4. être austère, 5. être nécessaireux, dans la misère, 6. être en activité fiévreuse, agir fiévreusement” [PAM 2003, 299] indicates an AA $\ast\gamma\text{-}$ > Sem. $\ast\ast\gamma\text{-}$.
- Ar. $\gamma\check{a}r\check{a}t\check{a}$ “avoir faim, être affamé”, II “affamer, exposer à la faim” [BK II 453] ||| SBrb.: Ayr $\gamma\check{a}r\check{a}\check{s}\check{s}\text{-}\check{a}t$ “être extrêmement assoiffé pendant la saison de $\gamma\check{a}r\check{a}t$ (animal, tellement assoiffé qu’il ne peut pas boire convenablement)” [PAM 2003, 303].
- CSem. $\ast\gamma m$: Ug. $\gamma m\text{-}n$ “Getreidehaufe” [WUS 251, #2172] = γm “1. heap > swarm, 2. heap > men at arms”, denom. $\gamma m D$ “to unite, heap up” [DUL 326], Hbr. $\check{a}r\check{e}m\check{a}$ “1. granaries, 2. heaps, stores of fruit” [KB 887] | Ar. $\check{a}ram\text{-}at\text{-}$ “1. tas de grains battus et entassés sur l’aire, 2. amas de sables” [BK II 235] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. a- $\gamma\check{r}\check{a}m$ “1. ville (autrefois toujours fortifié), village, hameau (avec des maisons en dur), 2. petite forteresse, fortin, poste militaire” [PAM 2003, 301].
- Ar. $\gamma r r$ II “4. se disposer à voler, ouvrir les ailes pour prendre son essor (se dit d’un oiseau)” [BK II 446] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & Wlmd. u- $\gamma\check{r}\check{a}r$ “1. être posé, perché (oiseau etc., une chose haute), 2. être posé, reposer, gésir, rester là” [PAM 2003, 302].
- Ar. $\gamma r w$: $\gamma\check{a}r\check{y}\check{a}$ “1. désirer, convoiter qqch.”, IV “1. pousser qqn. contre un autre, exciter, 2. susciter, exciter des inimitiés, des animosités entre les gens, 3. inspirer à qqn. le désir d’une chose, de l’avidité pour qqch.” [BK II 462] ||| SBrb.: Ayr ta- $\gamma\check{r}\check{a}w\text{-}t$ “1. pleurnichemnet haut et fort (causé par une émotion intense), 2. ardeur amoureuse, transport amoureux, ivresse d’amour, fièvre amoureuse” [PAM 2003, 304].
- Ar. $\gamma r w$: $\gamma\check{a}r\check{a}\text{-}t$ “maigre, amigri, exténué” [BK II 462] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. $\ast\gamma\text{-}r\text{-}y$: a- $\gamma\check{r}\check{a}$ “agneau (cabri) petit et maigre” < $\check{a}\text{-}\gamma\check{r}\check{a}y$ “avorter (chèvre, brebis)” [PAM 2003, 304].
- Ar. $\gamma r y$ III “1. joindre, réunir deux choses” [BK II 462] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. $\check{a}\text{-}q\check{q}\check{a}r$ “1. mélanger un peu de lait à (l’eau de boisson), mélanger avec du lait, des dattes et du fromage, mélanger une substance qqch. à (eau), 2. contaminer, polluer (eau), amalgamer à (corps)” [PAM 2003, 294-5].
- The equation of PBrb. $\ast\check{a}\text{-}\gamma\check{a}h\check{il}$ [Prs.] > SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. a- $\gamma\check{y}\check{il}$, pl. i- $\gamma\check{y}\check{a}ll\text{-}\check{a}n$ “1. avant-bras (main incluse), 2. bras de quadrupède (le plus haut de la patte de devant), 3. balzane de chameau/cheval etc.” [PAM 2003, 277] ||| PCu. $\ast\gamma u\check{h}l\text{-}$ ~ $\ast\gamma u\check{h}\text{-}$ “wrist” [Ehret] > Bed. $\check{g}\check{u}l\check{h}e$ (f) “Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen”, hence $\check{g}\check{u}l\check{h}\check{a}n$, pl. $\check{g}\check{u}l\check{h}\check{a}n$ ~ $\check{g}\check{u}l\check{h}\check{in}$ “Vorderarm, Elle(nbogen)” [Rn. 1895, 95] = $\check{g}\check{il}\check{h}\check{a}n$ ~ $\check{g}\check{a}l\check{h}\check{a}n$ (m.sg.), pl. $\check{g}\check{il}\check{h}\check{a}n$ “edge, side” [Rpr. 1928, 185] || SCu. $\ast\gamma u\check{h}l\text{-}$ “knobbed part of limb” [GT] =

“knob” [Ehret] > Iraqw guḥlay “knobbed club” [Ehret] = gūḥlai, pl. gūḥlāʿi “club” [Wtl. 1953] | Qwadza guḥul-uko “ankle” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 365; Cu.: Ehret 1987, #534) suggests an AA *γ-.

• Ar. γwr I “1. descendre dans un terrain encaissé, venir dans un pays plus bas par rapport aux pays environnants, 4. se coucher, descendre sous l’horizon (se dit du soleil)” [BK II 515] ||| SBrb. *γ-r-w (met.) [GT]: Ayr & EWlmd. γərəwrəw “descendre (terrain en pente, versant de montagne), descendre en arrière en glissant constamment, dégringoler” [PAM 2003, 304].

• Sem. *γwy: Ug. γwy D (?) “sich vergehen, sich versündigen” [Tropper 2000, 662] = “to twist” [DUL 328] | Ar. γwy: γawā I “1. s’égarer, perdre la route, 2. être au désespoir, rester sans ressources, 3. induire en erreur, égarer, séduire, 4. être dégoûté du lait, et maigrir, dépérir, faute de nourriture suffisante (se dit d’un petit chameau ou d’un agneau qui tète)” [BK II 519] ||| Jbl. γwy: γē “1. to be wrong, forget, 2. leave, lose”, γútbi “1. to get lost, lose one’s way, 2. be fooled, 3. forget”, ayətē “1. to become a useless fool, 2. not to know where to find sg. put somewhere for one” [Jns. 1981, 91], Mhr. γwy “to leave behind, forget, lose” [Jns. 1987, 146] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. γəyuyəy “avoir un sentiment d’insécurité, se sentir peu sûr” [PAM 2003, 317] ||| Bed. gwoi “to be unable”, gwoya “unable, weak, impotent”, gwāya “inability, impotence, weakness” [Rpr. 1928, 190] = gōy “matt, müde, schwach, elend, arm sein/werden” [Rn. 1895, 104] ||| CCh.: Masa ḥòy “être fou”, ḥòy-nà “la folie” [Ctc. 1983, 89].

• Sem. *rɣb „to be hungry” [GT]²⁶ ||| SBrb. *γ-b-r [GT: met. < *r-γ-b]: Ayr γəbəbbər-ət ~ ḥ- & EWlmd. həbəbbər-ət “accaparer, s’emparer de qqch. de manière gloutonne” [PAM 2003, 266] ||| Eg. 3ḥf [< *rḥf] “Esslust (?)” (MK, Wb I 19, 4) = „fever of appetite” (FD 5). The Sem.-Eg. root was identified by Rössler (1964, 213; 1971, 296, 316), which is acceptable despite the irregularities (i.e. Eg. -ḥ- vs. Sem. *γ-, Eg. -f vs. Sem. *-b)²⁷ with special regard to Eg. sfḥ “7” vs. Sem. *š/sbʿ. Cf., however, Eg. 3f “gluttony” vs. 3f “glutton” (Lit. MK, FD 3) = “gierig, gefräßig” (Wb I 9, 17).

3. The Semito-Cushitic evidence

3.1. The overwhelming majority of Sem.-Cu. etymologies prove that Sem. *γ- = PCu. *g- > Bed.-ECu.-SCu. *g-, which, thus, has to be regarded as a merger of AA *γ- vs. *g-.

• Ug. γbn “bienestar, opulencia” [DLU 155] = “well-being, opulence” [DUL 316] vs. Sem. *ʿby ||| SBrb.: Ayr γāb (interj.) “signale que qqch. (un puits) est plein” [PAM 2003, 265] ||| Bed. gab “satt, reich sein”, gāba “Zustand des Sattseins, Reichtum” [Rn. 1895, 87] = gab “to be rich, be satisfied”, gaba “rich, satiated” [Rpr. 1928, 183] ||| SCu. *gab- “stout, strong, thick” [Ehret] > Iraqw gawit “hard” | Ma’a -gābi “to become fat” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 234, #3) ||| Ch. *γab- “to swell, increase” [Stl.] > WCh.: Hausa hábì “swelling of domestic animal’s udder just prior to giving birth”, with ext. -k cf. hàbákà “to expand, swell (rice, fire, river etc.)” [Abr. 1962, 358] = hábì “1. the increase in size of an udder (prior to giving birth), increase in size (of fruit)” [Stl.] | Suroid *γap ~ *(e)γep → *γəp „to swell” [GT 2004, 149]: Sura γəp „anschwellen” [Jng. 1963, 67], Msr. ap [< *γap] „to swell up”, ekep [< *eγep] (sg.) vs. ep [< *γep] (pl.) „bellyfull(y), describing the state of swelling of body, wounded arm” [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| CCh.: Mafa haḅ- “1. s’ouvrir, s’aggraver (pour une plaie), 2. faire grandir, faire s’étendre (une plaie, pour un mauvais médicament)” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 165] (Ch.: Stl. 1996, 73).

• CSem. *γdd: Ug. γdd tD “anschwellen” [WUS #2133] = “to swell” [DUL 317] | Ar. γadda IV “to be(come) angry or swollen by reason of anger”, γudad-at- “redundances of fatness” [Lane] = γadda “e. Kropf oder fleischiges Kinn haben” [WUS] ||| Bed. gūd ~ gūd “Menge, Größe”, gūd “viel, zahlreich, groß

26. Attested e.g. in Hbr. rāʿēb “hungry”, rāʿāb “hunger, famine” ||| Ar. raḥiba ʿilā „to desire”, ruḃub- “Essgier” ||| Geez rāḥab ~ raḥāb ~ raḥāb [irreg. -ʿ- < *-ʿ-] “hunger, famine” (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 468).

27. In the framework of the traditional sound correspondences, one would expect Sem. *rɣb to be reflected by Eg. *3ʿb ~ *jʿb instead of Eg. 3ḥf. By the way, the equally irregular Geez reflex seems to display a similar problem.

sein/werden” [Rn. 1895, 90] = gwud ~ gud “to be much, many, plentiful” [Rpr. 1928, 188] || ECu. *gudd- ~ *gūd- “big” [Sasse 1979, 16] || (???) SCu. *gadu “large, big” [Ehret 1980, 235, #7] ||| WCh.: (?) Hausa haḍú [unexpected -T-] “1. to be joined, connected, 2. be full-grown” [Abr. 1962, 360].

• Jbl. γdw: γádō², pl. γádēt “depression on a mountain” [Jns. 1981, 83] ||| Bed. gedāh “sich herab-, hinabgeben, ab-, hinabsteigen” [Rn. 1895, 91] = gidh “to descend”, órbai agidhā “I descended the mountain” [Rpr. 1928, 184] root ext. -w vs. -h?

• Ar. γalla I “1. insérer, introduire une chose dans une autre, 5. pénétrer jusque dans l’intérieur”, γalyala I “être inséré, introduit, entrer dedans”, II “1. entrer, pénétrer jusqu’au fond d’une chose, pénétrer dans le coeur d’un pays, 2. entrer, pénétrer et couler au milieu des arbres, dans l’intérieur d’une forêt (l’eau, un torrent)” [BK II 487, 493] = γalla “hineintun, hineinstecken” [GB] | Ug. γll “to enter, wade in” [Gordon 1955, 309, #1481, not confirmed in DUL] = “hineintauchen” [WUS 248, #2147], Aram. ʾll “eingehehen” [GB 593] = “to enter” [Ember] ||| Eg. ʾr.wt ~ ʾrr.wt “Tor” (OK, Wb I 210, 12-17 & 211, 8-14) ||| ECu. *gal- “to enter, go home” [Sasse 1979, 17] > LECu. *gal- “to enter, return home” [Black 1974, 182] | HECu. *gal- “to spend the night” [Hds. 1989, 110] (GT: act. *’to enter, go home”) > i.a. Burji gal- “to enter” [Hds.] || SCu. *gāl- “to go home” [Ehret] > Ma’a -gale | Dahalo gāliḣ [*-y-] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 235, #13) < AA *γ-l “to enter” [GT]. For Eg.-Aram. see Ember 1911, 93; 1926, 6, #4; Blz. 1994 MS Elam, 8, #46.

• Ar. γaniya I “4. se contenter de ce qu’on a, s’en trouver, s’en croire assez riche, au point de se passer d’autre chose”, γān “4. riche, opulent” [BK II 512] || Jbl. γny: γání “rich”, ayni “to enrich, satisfy, enable so. to dispense with” [Jns. 1981, 87], Mhr. γonáy “rich” [Jns. 1987, 139] ||| Bed. gana “wealth”, gana “to give largely” [Rpr. 1928, 186] (borrowed < Ar.?).

• Indirectly, the correspondence of Eg. “w “schlafen” (MK-GR, Wb I 169, 8)²⁸ ||| SCu. *gī “to sleep” [Ehret] > WRift *gu²- “to sleep” [KM 2004, 120]: Iraqw gu²-(ut)-, Alagwa gu²-(ut)- | Dahalo gī-t- (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 239, #44) speaks for AA *γ-w “to sleep” [GT], whence one might surmise an unattested Sem. root with **γ-. Any connection to NOm.: Koyra woy²- “to sleep” [Flm. 1990, 28] ||| ECh.: Kwang wéy [Jng.] | Kabalay yi [Cpr.] | Sokoro wóiwói [Nct.] = wə’e [Saxon] < AA *w-[γ] “to sleep” [GT] via met.? For Eg.-ECh. see OS 1992, 201.

• Sem. *γ-w-y: Ar. γwy: γawā I “1. s’égarer, perdre la route, 2. être au désespoir, rester sans ressources, 3. induire en erreur, égarer, séduire, 4. être dégoûté du lait, et maigrir, dépérir, faute de nourriture suffisante (se dit d’un petit chameau ou d’un agneau qui tête)” [BK II 519] || Jbl. γwy: γē “1. to be wrong, forget, 2. leave, lose”, γútbi “1. to get lost, lose one’s way, 2. be fooled, 3. forget”, aḡatē “1. to become a useless fool, 2. not to know where to find sg. put somewhere for one” [Jns. 1981, 91], Mhr. γwy “to leave behind, forget, lose” [Jns. 1987, 146] ||| SBrb.: Ayr & ETawillemet γəyuyəy “avoir un sentiment d’insécurité, se sentir peu sûr” [PAM 2003, 317] ||| Bed. gwoi “to be unable”, gwoya “unable, weak, impotent”, gwāya “inability, impotence, weakness” [Rpr. 1928, 190] = gōy “matt, müde, schwach, elend, arm sein/werden” [Rn. 1895, 104] ||| CCh.: (???) Masa hòy “être fou”, hòy-nà “la folie” [Ctc. 1983, 89] < AA *γ-w-y “1. to lose one’s way, 2. be disoriented, unable” [GT].

• MSA *γγg: Jbl. γyg: ayyég “(goats and sheep) to bear young”, ma-γγég “new-born” [Jns. 1981, 91], Mhr. hə-γγōg “(goats and sheep) to bear young”, məγγīg “new born” [Jns. 1987, 147] ||| Bed. geyi “newness, freshness”, geyī ~ gāyī “newly, freshly”, geyī “new, fresh”, gey-is “to make new, renew” [Rpr. 1928, 190] = gāy “neu sein” [Rn. 1895, 104] ||| Eg. ḣ [act. *ḣj] „jung sein” (Med. Mag., Wb III 217, 1) > Cpt. (S) ʿaḣ (adj.) „new” (CD 544b; KHW 306) = „nouveau” (DELC 258) ||| CCh.: Musgu ḣḣe, fem. ḣḣai „jung, klein, neu” [Krause > Lks. 1941, 59-60] < (?) AA *γ-y “new, young” [GT].

28. Note that the Sem. etymology (Ar. waʿā ~ waʿiya “to wake up, watch, pay attention, remember”) offered by Albright 1918, 221 and Ember 1930, §5.a.7 for the Eg. root is semantically unlikely.

• MSA *γyb: Hrs. γyb “to faint” [Jns. 1977, 48], Jbl. γyb “to be faint, absent”, mayyéb “faint(ing fit)” [Jns. 1981, 91] ||| ECU. *gabn- “dainty, delicate, neat” [Sasse 1979, 15].

• CSem. *γwr: Ug. γyr “Grundwasser” [WUS 247, #2169] = “hollow, pit, depth” [DUL 328] | Ar. yawr- “1. fond (en parlant de toute chose), 2. qui va au fond, qui s’engouffre et est absorbé, 3. plaine, pays plat et bas, plus bas que les pays d’alentour, 6. caverne” [BK II 516] = “1. the bottom, or the lowest part, of anything, 2. who is deeper in sg., 3. low, or depressed land, country, or ground” [Lane 2308] = “Bodensenkung” [WUS] ||| SCu.: PRift *giri “under, below, down” [Ehret] > Iraqw gir-is- “to release, let fall” | Qwadza gilando “area of lower ground, ravine, gully” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 238, #31).

3.2. In but one instance, however, we have Sem. *γ- = SCu. *h- < PCu. *h-:

• Sem. *γib(b)- “dung, faeces” [SED I 98, #103] ||| SCu.: WRift *ḥab- [GT] > Iraqw ḥawa [-w- reg. < *-b-] “wet cow dung” [Ehret 1980, 256, #3] ||| Eg. ‘b.w “Schmutz, Unreines” (CT, GR, Wb I 17, 19) = “impurity” (DCT 46) = “Unreinheit, Sündhaftigkeit” (ÄWb II 493) etc. (see above).

4. The Semito-Chadic evidence

So far, the only scholar to have published some results specially focusing on the supposed regular Chadic matches of Sem. *γ, has been Stolbova in her fundamental *Studies in Chadic Comparative Phonology* (1996).

4.1.1. Stolbova (1996, 68, §I.6, table 6) lists the reflexes of PCh. *γ- (*ḡ-) under the “uvulars”: PCh. *γ- (*ḡ-) > WCh.: Hausa h-, Angas-Sura *g-, Ron *g-, Bole-Tangale *g-, North Bauchi *g-, Ngizim g-, CCh. *γ₁-: PTera *ḥ-, Bura-Margi *ḡg-, PHigi *γ-, Bachama *ḥ- ~ *gu-, PMandara *γ- ~ *ḥu-, PMafa-Mada (Matakam) *h-, PKotoko *γ’-, PMusgu *ḥ- (?), PMasa *ḥ-, ECh. *g- with the same reflexes in Kera-Kwang, Lay, Somray, Dangla-Migama, Mokilko, and Mubi-Toram.

4.1.2. Stolbova (1996, 68, §I.6, table 6) sums up the reflexes of voiceless PCh. *h- as follows: WCh.: Hausa g-, Angas-Sura *g-, Ron *g-, Bole-Tangale *g-, North Bauchi *γ-, Ngizim g-, CCh. *γ₁-: PTera *γ-, Bura-Margi *ḥ-, PHigi *γ-, Bachama *ḥ-, PMandara *γ-, *γu- ~ *gu-, PMafa-Mada (Matakam) *h-, *g-, PKotoko *γ-, PMusgu *ḥ-, PMasa *h-, ECh. *γ₁-: Kera-Kwang *γ, Lay & Somray *h-, Dangla-Migama & Mokilko & Mubi-Toram *g-.

4.1.3. Stolbova (1996, 74, §I.7, table 7): PCh. *ḥ- > Hausa g-, Angas-Sura *ʔ-, Ron *h- ~ *ḥ-, Bole-Tangale *h₁-, North Bauchi *γ-, CCh. *ḥ₁- > PTera *ʔ- ~ *ḥ-, Bura-Margi *ʔ-, PHigi *ʔ- ~ *ḥ-, Bachama *ʔ-, PMandara *ḥ- ~ *ʔ-, PMafa-Mada (Matakam) *h-, PKotoko *h-, PMusgu *ḥ- (?), PMasa *h-, ECh. *ḥ- ~ *ʔ- with the same reflexes in Kera-Kwang, Lay, Somray, Dangla-Migama, Mokilko, and Mubi-Toram.

4.1.4. Stolbova’s (1996) external (AA) evidence for PCh. *γ- (*ḡ-) contains but a handful of disputable Chado-Semitic etymologies:

• Ar. γabar-at- ~ γubr-at- “poussière”, γabr-at- “poussière fine” [BK II 430-1] ||| Ch. *γabur- “dry earth, sand” [Stl.] > WCh.: Hausa hàbráá (the var. hàrbáá quoted by Stl. is not recorded by Brg.) “dust or dry loose earth (but used only with reference to the loose earth employed when making bricks)” [Brg. 1934, 432, not in Abr. 1962] ||| CCh.: Mofu ma-hurḃay “sable, sol sablonneux” [Brt. 1988, 171].

• Ar. *ḡāq-* (sic) “raven” [Stl.] (not listed in BK as such²⁹) was compared by Stolbova (2006, 73) with her Ch. **ḡa[k]a* “crow” [Stl.] has little evidence value being evidently onomatopoeia and probably genetically unrelated, cf. Ar. *ḡaqqā* I “1. bouillonner avec bruit (liquide épais), 2. claquer, crier (oiseau de proie)”, *ḡaqq-* “1. bruit que produit l’eau quand elle passe d’un espace large dans un autre resserrée et s’y engouffre, 2. gros croassement d’un corbeau”, *ḡaḡaḡa* “crier, claquer (de la voix des certains oiseaux de proie, de l’épervier)” [BK II 487].

• Ar. *ḡwr* I “7. faire une excursion, une expédition contre une tribu, sur le territoire ennemi, et y enlever des troupeaux” [BK II 515] ||| SCu.: Iraqw *ḡwar-* “to beat hard” | Asa *har* “to punish” ||| Ch. **ḡor-* “to kill, punish” [Stl. 2006, 73] > WCh.: Hausa *hàráá* “2. to try to attain, 3. raid”, *hàri* “raiding” [Abr. 1962, 376, 378] vs. Hausa *hòráá* “to discipline, 2. train, 3. punish, 4. impress” [Abr. 1962, 388] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *-hər-* “égorger, tuer” [Br. 1988, 130]. This cognate set can hardly be supported. The Hausa parallels are incompatible: *hàráá* was borrowed from Ar., while *hòráá* does not fit semantically. The same pertains to Mofu-Gudur.

• Ar. *ḡabḡab-* (not *ḡubḡub-* as apud Stl.) “2. (pl. *ḡabāyibu*) gorge, endroit où passe le couteau de celui qui égorge une bête, 3. fanon, barbe, gorge”, cf. *ḡabab-* “chair pendante sous le menton (chez certains animaux), fanon (chez les boeufs), barbe (chez le coq), gorge (chez l’homme)” [BK II 433] ||| Ch. **ḡobi* “chin, cheek” [Stl. 2006, 74] > WCh.: Hausa *hàbà* “chin” [Abr. 1962, 357] | Pa’a *gábà-čangá* “chin, lower jaw” [MSkn. 1979] | Geji *ḡis-ḡibà* “chin” [Krf.] || CCh. **ḡyobi* [Stl.] > Chibak *ḡubæ* [Stl.: **ḡy-*] “cheek” [Hfm.] | Higi-Nkafa *ḡuḡi* “chin” [Krf.] || CCh.: Kera *gābi* “Wange, joue, cheek” [Ebert 1976, 46].

• Sem. **ḡdd:* Ug. *ḡdd* (tD stem) “anschwellen” [WUS #2133] = “to swell” [DUL 317] | Ar. *ḡadda* “être atteint par la peste et être couvert de bubons pestlentiels (se dit d’un chameau)”, IV “3. se mettre en colère contre qqn.” [BK II 438] = *ḡadda* IV “to be(come) angry or swollen by reason of anger”, *ḡudad-at-* “redundances of fatness” [Lane] = *ḡadda* “e. Kropf oder fleischiges Kinn haben” [WUS] Stolbova’s (l.c.) comparison with WCh. **ḡada* “(to be) fat” [Stl.] > Hausa *hádè* „to become fat” [Brg. 1934, 433] = “to become corpulent” [Abr. 1962, 359] | Bolewa *geddo* “fat (adj.)” [Barth] | Ngizim *gádbàyák* “fat (adj.)” (not “to be fat” as apud Stl.) [Schuh] is unconvincing (like her WCh. **ḡaḡa* “to be fat”). The Chadic parallels are untenable. First, the segmentation of the Ngizim word as **ḡád-bàyák* by Stolbova is false, since it was rightly derived by Schuh (1981, 63) from Ngizim *dəbàú* “1. to become fat, 2. fatten, cause to get fat” [Schuh 1981, 33]. The Hausa term with its *-ḡ-* also derives from a distinct root, cf. Hausa *hádú* “1. to be joined, connected, 2. be full-grown” [Abr. 1962, 360] | Nbauchi **haḡar-* → **həḡər-* “fat (animal)” [GT] = **h-d/?-r* [Skn.]: Wri. *ha’ara* (m.), Pa’a *hiḡur*, Siri *hāḡəri*, Miya & Kry. *ha’ar*, Brk. *həḡər* [irreg. *ḡ-*] (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 21) | Hausa *hádè* [*< *haḡar* via **haḡay?*] “to become fat” [Brg. 1934, 433] = „to become corpulent” [Abr. 1962, 359] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 222, #722 with false parallels and reconstruction) ||| Sem. **hsr* [DRS]: Tigrinya *hasärä* “1. gras, 2. engraisser” [DRS 398] < AA **h-s-r* “(to be) fat” [GT], which might be a remotely related root var. of AA **K-č-r* „fat” [GT], cf. PCh. **k-d-r* [NM 1966, 241, #130]. These proto-roots seem to represent ancient PAA „rhyme-roots” of AA **p-d-r* “fat” [GT] and **P-s-l* “fat” [GT].

• Ch. **ḡa/ol-* “child” [Stl.] combined by Stolbova (2006, 74) with WRift **ḡwayl-* “to bear child” [Ehret].

4.2. Some additional (mostly new, albeit rather insufficient) Semito/AA-Chadic lexical parallels seem to plausibly suggest that Sem. **ḡ-* = Hausa *h-*, AS **ḡ-* ~ **g-*, Kotoko **ḡ-*, Musgu and Masa **ḡ-*:

29. One can find only Ar. *ḡaqq-* “2. gros croassement d’un corbeau” [BK II 487].

• Ug. γ bn “bienestar, opulencia” [DLU 155] = “well-being, opulence” [DUL 316] vs. Sem. * by || SBrb.: Ayr $\gamma\text{āb}$ (interj.) “signale que qqch. (un puits) est plein” [PAM 2003, 265] || Bed. gab “satt, reich sein”, gāba “Zustand des Sattseins, Reichtum” [Rn. 1895, 87] = gab “to be rich, be satisfied”, gaba “rich, satiated” [Rpr. 1928, 183] || SCu. *gab- “stout, strong, thick” [Ehret] > Iraqw gawit “hard” | Ma’a -gābi “to become fat” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 234, #3) || Ch. * $\gamma\text{aḅ-}$ “to swell, increase” [Stl.] > WCh.: Hausa háḅi “swelling of domestic animal’s udder just prior to giving birth”, with ext. -k cf. hàḅákà “to expand, swell (rice, fire, river etc.)” [Abr. 1962, 358] = háḅi “1. the increase in size of an udder (prior to giving birth), increase in size (of fruit)” [Stl.] | Suroid * $\gamma\text{ap} \sim *(e)\gamma\text{ep} \rightarrow * $\gamma\text{əp}$ “to swell” [GT 2004, 149]: Sura $\gamma\text{əp}$ “anschwellen” [Jng. 1963, 67], Mushere ap [< * γap] “to swell up”, ekep [< * γep] (sg.) vs. ep [< * γep] (pl.) “bellyfull(y), describing the state of swelling of body, wounded arm” [Dkl. 1997 MS] || CCh.: Mafa haḅ- “1. s’ouvrir, s’aggraver (pour une plaie), 2. faire grandir, faire s’étendre (une plaie, pour un mauvais médicament)” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 165] (Ch.: Stl. 1996, 73).$

• SBrb.: Ayr u- γ nan “1. ne pas aimer, détester, 2. renvoyer, rebuter”, $\gamma\text{ānān}$ “renier, dénier, revenir sur, regretter (un propos, fait)” [PAM 2003, 292] || Ch. * γ Vn- “to forbid” [Stl.] > WCh.: Hausa hānà “1. to prevent, 2. forbid, 3. regard as illegal, 4. refuse” [Abr. 1962, 368] | Fyer hen \sim hyen “ablehnen, zurückweisen” [Jng. 1970, 86] || CCh.: Lame ḥòn “interdire, défendre” [Scn. 1982, 519] (Ch.: Stl. 1996, 73).

• The correspondence of Eg. hj “boy” (PT 681c, AEPT 128) = “child” (CT III 127b, VI 197g, DCT 369) = “Kind” (PT 681c, ÄWb I 921) = “child” (GR Edfu, PL 706) = “l’enfant” (GR Dendera, Cauville 1997, 409) > Dem. $\text{h} \sim \text{h}\text{j}$ “Kind” (DG 345, 349:2) || WCh.: Boghom (Burrum) kai “child” [Jng. 1965, 177] || CCh.: Tera ḥa “to give birth, beget” [Nwm. 1964, 49], Boka (Boga) ḥweyà “boy” [Krf. 1981, #86] = ḥwəyà “son” [Blz.] = ḥwəya [Blz. MS] | Musgu aḥíí [$\text{h} < \text{AA} * h reg.] “Sohn, männl. Kind” [Krause > Lks. 1941, 43] | PKotoko * γ^w V “рождать (to give birth)” [Prh. 1972, 74, #46.2] (for Boka-Eg.-Sem. v. Blz. 1994 MS Elam, 5, #15; 1994, 432) indicates AA * γ -.$

• Ar. $\gamma\text{w}\text{t}$ I “1. s’enfoncer, entrer dedans, 2. creuser un trou, tirer qqch. de la terre en creusant”, II “3. creuser plus profondément un puits, lui donner plus de profondeur”, IV “plonger, enfoncer, faire entrer” [BK II 517] || Ch. * γ^w a[t]- [Stl.] > AS * g^w oyot > * go oyot “1. cave, 2. hollow (in gen.)” [GT 2004, 140] = * $\text{g}\text{ə}$ oyot “cave” [Stl. 1977, 154, #66] = * g^w AHAt “cave (пещера)” [Stl. 1987, 222, #721] = * go Hot [Stl. 2006, 73] | Ngizim gùutú “to scrape an inscription in the ground” [Schuh 1981, 76] = “to dig a pit, scrape earth” (sic!) [Stl. 2006 l.c.] < AA * γ -w- t “to make a hole” [GT]. Cf. also ECu. * god- “hole (in the ground), cave” [Sasse 1979, 16], which represents a var. root with AA *-d. Stolbova’s suggestion to include here also CCh.: (?) Zime-Batna ḥut “to empty (vider, p.ex. le contenu de laalebasse)” [Scn. 1982, 518] is less convincing.

• MSA * $\gamma\text{y}\text{g}$: Jbl. $\gamma\text{y}\text{g}$: $\text{a}\gamma\text{y}\text{é}\text{g}$ “(goats and sheep) to bear young”, ma- $\gamma\text{y}\text{é}\text{g}$ “new-born” [Jns. 1981, 91], Mhr. $\text{h}\text{ə-}\gamma\text{y}\text{ō}\text{g}$ “(goats and sheep) to bear young”, m $\text{ə}\gamma\text{y}\text{ī}\text{g}$ “new born” [Jns. 1987, 147] || Bed. $\text{g}\text{e}\text{y}\text{i}$ “newness, freshness”, $\text{g}\text{e}\text{y}\text{i} \sim \text{g}\text{ä}\text{y}\text{i}$ “newly, freshly”, $\text{g}\text{e}\text{y}\text{i}$ “new, fresh”, $\text{g}\text{e}\text{y-}\text{i}\text{s}$ “to make new, renew” [Rpr. 1928, 190] = $\text{g}\text{ā}\text{y}$ “neu sein” [Rn. 1895, 104] || Eg. h [act. * hj] „jung sein” (Med. Mag., Wb III 217, 1) > Cpt. (S) $\omega\lambda\text{i}$ (adj.) “new” (CD 544b; KHW 306) = “nouveau” (DELC 258) || CCh.: Musgu $\text{h}\text{é}\text{h}\text{e}$, fem. $\text{h}\text{ā}\text{h}\text{ai}$ “jung, klein, neu” [Krause > Lks. 1941, 59-60], Musgu-Puss $\text{h}\text{ē}\text{h}\text{ē}$ (m), $\text{h}\text{ā}\text{h}\text{ā}$ (f), pl. $\text{h}\text{ā}\text{h}\text{ā}\text{kay}$ “neuf, nouveau” [Trn. 1991, 94] < AA * γ -y “new, young” [GT].

• Eg. w.t (coll. fem.) “Kleinvieh, Wild” (OK, Wb I 170, 6) || (?) SBrb.: Ayr & ETawillemmet ta- γ -at (f) “chèvre” [PAM 2003, 310] (unless < *ta- γ ad-t) || Bed. $\text{ē}\text{y}\text{a}$ (pl.fem.) “Ziegen” [Zhl.] = ay, pl. $\text{é}\text{y}\text{a}$ “goat” [Flm.] vs. $\text{é}\text{ū}$, pl. $\text{é}\text{w}\text{a}$ “ibex” [Rpr. 1928, 157] || LECu.: Galab ai “goat” [Flm.] || SCu.: Qwadza a²a-to “sheep” [Ehret], Asa a²a-ku “sheep” [Ehret], Asa-Aramanik hāw “sheep” [Flm.], Asa-Ngomvia á-to “sheep and goat” [Flm.] (ERift: Ehret 1980, 277; Cu.: Flm. 1969, 12, #22) || WCh.: Angas-Sura * $\gamma\text{ə}$ (perhaps < * γi ?), var. * $\text{ə}\gamma$ (from * $\gamma\text{ə}\gamma \sim * $\text{ə}\gamma\text{ə}$?) “goat” [GT 2004, 149] | Ron * γ^w V “Ziege” [GT]: Fyer $\text{ʔ}\text{o}\text{o}$,$

Daffo-Butura ʔaá, Sha ha, Kulere ʔaah (Ron: Jng. 1970, 389) || CCh.: Masa ʔù “1. le caprin, 2. l’ovine”, ʔù-nà “1. le bouc, 2. le bélier”, ʔù-tà “1. la chèvre, 2. la brebis” [Ctc. 1983, 90] < AA *γ-(w) “cattle” [GT].³⁰

• Ar. ʔumiya “tomber en défaillance, avoir un évanouissement” [BK II 508], cf. also MSA *γmg: Hrs. γmg: ʔemōg “to fail a trial by ordeal” [Jns. 1977, 45], Jbl. γmg: ʔīg “1. to fail, 2. fail in an ordeal”, aʔmīg “to be unclear” [Jns. 1981, 86], Mhr. γmg: ʔáymeḡ “1. to fail, 2. fail in a trial by ordeal” [Jns. 1987, 138] || Eg. ʔm(j) “nicht kennen” (OK, Wb III 278-280) || Bed. gam “not to know, be in ignorance” [Rpr. 1928, 185-6] || LECu.: Saho agam “nicht wissen, unwissend sein” [Rn. 1890, 21], Afar agam “nicht wissen, nicht kennen” [Rn. 1886, 805] || CCh.: Banana ʔumù “to forget” [Krf. 1981 III, 182] < AA *γ-m “1. not to be able, fail, 2. not to know” [GT]. See also Rn. l.c. (LECu.-Eg.); OS 1992, 195 (Banana-Eg.).

4.3. The multivalence of Musgu ʔ-. Additional external evidence clearly indicates that this phoneme seems to be a merging point of a number of diverse proto-phonemes: (1) the reflex of AA *γ- (above), (2) merger of AA *ʔh- vs. *h-, (3) a mere spirantization of AA *k-.

4.3.1. Masa ʔ- < AA *ʔh-

• Masa ʔàk “1. (re)chercher, 2. chasser” [Ctc. 1983, 86] < *ʔah (with obligatory *h# > -k as in many other Chadic languages) || Eg. ʔhʔ “suchen” (PT-, Wb III 151-2). Reduplication of AA *ʔh-y “to look for” [GT] attested in MSA: Jbl. ʔyww: ʔh “to search, look for” [Jns. 1981, 121] = ʔh-ʔh “he will look for” [SS - 1997, 409] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *ʔy₃ī “to seek, look for” [GT 2004,]: Angas gee (so, -ee! error?) “to seek” [Ormsby] = gii ~ gyii “to seek, look for” [Flk.] = ‘gii (VN ‘gii) “suchen” [Jng.] = ʔyi “to seek” [ALC] = gyi “to search for” [Gcl.], presumably Mushere bii (so, with plain b-! error?) [act. ʔyi < *ʔy₃ī?] “to follow” [Dkl.]

• Masa ʔòk “1. faire couler (un liquide pour remplir ou vider un récipient), 2. verser” [Ctc. 1983, 89] < *ʔah (with obligatory *h# > -k as in many other Chadic languages) | Eg. ʔh “1. (XVIII.) vom Fluten des Nils, 2. (GR) Bez. des Überschwemmungswassers” (Wb III 152, 9, 13). Reduplication of AA *ʔh-y attested in Eg. ʔh “die Flut eines Gewässers” (PT, GR, Wb III 48, 24) and ʔh (not ʔhwj) “1. fließen, fluten, 2. etwas bewässern, fließen lassen” (MK-, Wb III 48)

• Masa ʔùr “faire avancer (en poussant), avancer” [Ctc. 1983, 90] || Eg. ʔ3.t “Vorderseite” (PT-, Wb III 19-22). Cf. also Ecu. *ʔhor- “to be in front” [Sasse 1979, 40] with a different laryngeal.

4.3.2. Musgu ʔ- < AA *h-

• Musgu ʔáda ~ ʔáta [Krause], hada [Decorse] “zerbrechen” [Lks. 1941, 59] corresponds to WCh.: PGoemay *het [-t reg. < *-d#] “to beat” [GT 2004, 156]: Goemay het “to beat, strike” [Ftp. 1911, 214, 220] = het, pl. ʔuap “to beat”, also het, pl. haram “1. to hit, lash, 2. hurl” [Srl. 1937, 78] = ni het-ni “to hit” [Krf.] = het “to beat, hit, punch” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 13] || Sem.: Ar. hdd “(zer)brechen, zerstören” [Erman, Vrg.] || Eg. hd “Steine brechen” (MK, Wb II 505, 10).³¹

• Musgu ʔadég, pl. ʔadəkái “Dorn” [Krause apud Lks. 1941, 59] is cognate to CCh.: Gisiga hadaw “Dorn” [Lks. 1970, 123] || Eg. hd.t “Dorn (?) der Akazie” (XIX. Med., Wb II 505, 15) = “ein Teil der

30. Cf. IE *Howi- “sheep” [GI] ~ Sum. u₈ “ewe” [Boisson]. See also Zhl. 1932-33, 165 (Eg.-Bed.); Hodge 1990, 372 and 1990, 644, #4.B (Eg.-PCh.-IE); Blz. 1992 MS, 114 (IE-Eg.-Bed.-Sum.); Skn. 1995, 31 (Ch.-Bed.-SCu.-Eg.-SBrb.-IE). The comparison of this AA root with Ahaggar i-w-ân (pl.tante) “boeufs” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1445], Tadghaq & Taneslemt & Tawllemmet i-w-an “boeufs” [PAM 2003, 810] is less convincing (no compensatory lengthening in Brb. en lieu *γ).

31. See Erman 1892, 114 (Eg.-Ar.); Vrg. 1945, 145, §23.a.16 (Eg.-Sem.); OS 1992, 198 (Gmy.-Eg.); HSED #1193 (Ar.-Eg.-Musgu-Gmy.).

Akazie: *Dorn, *Splitter, *Keil” (GHWb 499) ||| LECu.: Elmolo εd “Dorn” [Heine 1973, 279] | HECu. *ut-a “thorn” [Hds. 1989, 153] < AA *h-d [GT]. See also OS 1992, 168 (HECu.-Eg.); HSED #1154 (Eg.-Gisiga).

• Masa ḥii “1. méchant, 2. violent, 3. querelleur” [Ctc. 1983, 88] ||| Eg. hjw ~ hwj “ein böses Tier” (XVIII. Mag., NK Mag., Wb II 484, 2, 15), hjw “Monster, Eseluntier” (PT-, ÄWb I 747, II 1561; DCT 296).

• Masa ḥò “1. faire tomber, 2. tomber” [Ctc. 1983, 89] ||| Sem. *hwy “to fall” [DRS].

4.3.3. Musgu ḥ- < AA *k-

• Musgu ḥála “stehlen” [Krause apud Lks. 1941, 59] < Ch. *k-r “to steal” [JI 1994 I 159B] ||| Eg. t̄3j [reg. < *kry] “nehmen” (MK-, Wb V 346-7) and t̄3w “stehlen” (MK-, Wb V 350) ||| Brb. *a-ker “stehlen” [Rsl. 1952, 130, #5].

• Musgu ḥalúú [Krause] = hollú [Rohlf] = hellu [Barth] = helú [Röder] “Büffel” [Lks. 1941, 59] ||| Eg. k3 [reg. < *kr or *kl] “Stier” (PT-, Wb V 94).

• Musgu ḥelíf, pl. ḥalafái “Fisch” [Krause apud Lks. 1941, 59] = helif [Barth] = hillif [Overweg] = helif [Röder] = helf [Rohlf] < Ch. *k-l-p “fish” [JI 1994 I 67A].

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B) Bohairic, Bed.: Bedawye, Brb.: Berber, Brk.: Mburku, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, (F) Fayyumic, Gmy.: Goemai, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Era, H: Highland, Hbr.: Hebrew, Hdrm.: Hadramaut, Hrs.: Harsusi, IE: Indo-European, J: Jewish, Jbl.: Jibbali, Kry.: Kariya, L: Lowland, LP: Late Period, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, Mpn.: Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Musher, N: North(ern), NE(g.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: proto-, PT: Pyramid Texts, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Sum.: Sumerian, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), Wlmd.: Tawlemmet, Wrj.: Warji.

For the abbreviations of authors’ names and the literature quoted herein see Takács, G.: *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian: Volume Three: m-* (Leiden, 2008., E. J. Brill), pp. xxv-xxix and 887-1010, respectively.