7 Mafa *ɓáł-* ‘fermenter (bière)’, Mofu *-ḿbəł-*, Chuv *méɓàłèy* ‘fermenter’ Ould *-ɓàł* ‘cailler, se décomposer, moisir pourrir’.
//Sem Arab *bwḍ-at-* ‘bouza, espèce de boisson fermentée’ [BK I: 178].

177. **(ba)baƗ-* ‘to clean the field before sowing’: C 6 Mbedam *baƗ* ‘défricher’ [NdP]; 7 Mofu *-baƗ-* ‘défricher, débroussailler’, Mafa *bəƗa* ‘écobuer, déchaumer’, Mbuko *bébaƗ* ‘netoyer le champ avant de semer’, Zlg *bàbəƗ* ‘préparer le champ avant de semer’; E 5a Bid *bol* ‘débroussailler’.

178. **bVƗ-* ‘to break, ruin, forge’: W 1 Hs *bážè* (*bazu*) ‘to demolish’; C 2 Mrg *bƗəˇ* [HfM: 28] ‘to forge’, Bura *bƗa/i* ‘to do blacksmithing’, deriv. *bƗiha* ‘to re-forge a tool’, *bƗimta* ‘to forge a tool’ [BlB]; 5 Pod *báƗa* ‘to push’; 7 Mafa *baƗ-* ‘briser’, Mofu *-báƗ* ‘(s‘) ecrouler, (se) détruire’, Ould *bàƗàm* ‘bousculer’.
Deriv. in *–t-:* W 3 Kupto *bàl-téy* ‘to press ; C 7 Mada *ábƗát* ‘être aplati’.
Deriv. in *m-:* C 7 Mofu *-mbəƗ-* ‘frapper du pied’, Ould *-mbàƗàŋ* ‘fouetter’, Mol *mbaƗ* ‘to demolish’ [FsM], Mbuko *mbaƗ* ‘s'effondrer (maison, mur)’, Zlg *mbáƗá* ‘(s') ecrouler’.
Derived noun: C 6 Daba *mbàƗà* ‘forgeron’ [Lnhr: 84].
//Cf. Sem Arab *nbš* ‘frapper qqn’ [BK II: 1381].
a. C ****ɓVƗ-* ‘to hit, to ruin’:** 1 Tera *ɓəƗi* ‘to forge’ [NmT]; 3 Bana *ɓ(à)Ɨi* ‘taper avec un baton’; 7 Mofu *-ɓəƗ-* ‘se fendre (sol. mur; par le froid), se fissurer’; 9a Gdr *ɓáƗ* ‘to collapse’ [FrG].
The next issue may cognate.

179. C **baƗ-* ‘to kill’: 2 MrgC *bƗànà* ‘to kill (many)’; 3 FK *bàƗà* ‘to kill in mass, destroy’; 7 Merey *bəbàƗ* ‘exterminer’, Muy *ábàƗ* ‘to kill’ (pl. object), *bàƗàbàƗà* violence’, cf. *bāƗāc* idf. ‘wounding’, Mafa *baƗ-* ‘être décimé, mourir en grande nombre’; E 5a Cf. Bid *belbèl* ‘tuer des criquets avec des chiffons’.

180. **bVƗ-* ‘to build’ > ‘granary, cabin’: C 7 Ould *-bàƗ* ‘construire, bâtir une case’; Mada *mbéƗƗe* ‘mur de separation, compartiment’; 5 Pod *búƗe* ‘small granary’; 7a Skn *mbəƗi* ‘granary in loft’; E 2 Lele *mbóló* ‘corn-bin’ [JgIb].
a. **bVƗ-* ‘enclosure, cage’: 6 Buwal *béƗɛ̄* ‘animal enclosure’; 7 Mada

émbèɮ ‘piège’, *ámbáɮ-wàr* ‘piège avec bûche’, Mafa *mboɮor* ‘nasse a souris’.
Denom. verb in ***ʔa-/m-***: C 6 Buwal *ɓèɮ* ‘to fence’; 7 Chv *mɛ́ɓàɮɛ̀y* ‘fermer’, Mbuko *mbāɮ* ‘piéger’.
Derived verb in *–t-* (comlete action): W 3 Bol *bàl-tu* ‘to lock’ [GAB].

181. **(m)bVɮ-* ‘to turn (over)’: 6 Daba *mbàɮàk* ‘retourner’; 7 Ould - *bàɮày* ‘rouler à terre’, Muy *émbìɮìmēy* ‘to seek smth turning things over’, Mafa *bəɮam* ‘renvercer un objet placé trop haut’; E 2 Tob *bálé* ‘renvercer’ (Ch ****ɮ*** regularly > ECh ****l***).
//Sem Arab *bʾš* ‘renverser, jeter qqn par terre ; se défendre, repousser’ [BK I: 80].

182. **bi/al-* ‘to cut (down a tree), to chop’[30]: W 5 Saya (Zaar) *bəl* ‘to split, make incision’ [Cs №825]; C 6 Buwal *bàl* ‘to cut down (tree)’, Mina *bál* ‘to cut’ [FrJ: 123]; 9 Mlw *bìlí* ‘couper, abattre’, Mnj *bili* ‘couper à la hache’, Msg *baláŋ, bala* ‘fällen, schlagen’ [LkM]; 9a Gdr *bál* ‘to cut with a machete’ [FrG]; 10 Gizey *bàlàw* ‘séparer, couper’ [LexC]; E 4 Barein **billo* ‘to chop’.
Derived noun: E 5a Mig *bòolâ* ‘hache’. Cf. W 1 Hs *bàlbee-tà* ‘a tatooing scalpel’
Derived noun: C ****bal-* ‘piece’**: 3 Bana *b(ə)là* ‘morceau’; 8 Makari *bala* ‘piece, half’ [AlM].
Derived noun ****(m-)bVl-* ‘scar, wound’:** W 3 Bol *bòlè* [GAB], Krkr *bàlè-dˊ* [GK] ‘scar’; 5 Zaar *mbelle* ‘tribal scars’ [CrZ]; 6 W Bade *baalon* ‘scar’; C 6 Buwal *ᵐbəlàx* ‘wound, sore’, Daba *mbəlāh,* Mbedam *mbəlah* ‘plaie’ [NdM]; 7 Mafa *balay* ‘plaie à la tête’, Baka *ambàlà-k* ‘plaie’ [BAS].
//Cf. Eg *wbnw* [if wbl] ‘Wunde am menschlichen Korper’ Med [EG I: 294].
a. ***ɓal-* < **HVbal-* > ‘to cut in pieces’:** W 4 Miya *ɓal* ‘to chop’ (also ‘to break rope’) [Sch]; C cf. 6 Mina *ɓál* ‘to cut’ [FrJ: 397], note *bál* id.; 7 Mbuko *ɓál* ‘cut in two’; E 5a EDng *ɓàlō* ‘couper (pour faire une lanière)’.
Cf. W 2 Goem *ɓál* ‘flute or whistle carved of wood’ [Hlw].
//Sem Arab *ʿbl* ‘couper, retrancher’ [BK II: 158-9].
The following root is probably cognate:

[30] May be cognate with **№183. **bal(l)-* ‘to break (off)’.**

b. W ***ɓVl-* (< **Hbl*) 'to etch, tattoo > to write, design'**: Tng *ballɛ,* Pero *bállò,* Dera *ɓùlí* 'to write' [NmK], Bol *ɓìllu* 'to trace, design, etch' [GAB], Kupto *ɓìllέy* 'to draw, write, make tatoes'; C 1 Tera *bəla* 'to write' [NmT].
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *ɓállíyáa* 'ornamental saddle-cloth'; 2 Goem *ɓóol* 'scar, tatoo' [Hlw].
//SCush Dah *ɓil-* 'to decorate' [EEN]. Cf. Sem Akk **biblu* (a type of tablet and text) SB pl. only [CAS b: 222]. Cf. [TN №267].

183. **bal(l)-* 'to break (off)': W 3 Bol *bàllu* 'break a piece off; remove bark from a tree' [GAB], Tng *bɛlɨ* 'to break (stick), pinch'; C 2 Bura *bəli* 'to break (such things as wood, etc.)' [BlB]; 5a Hdi *balay* 'to break, casser'; 6 Buwal *bᵊlax* 'to break off'.
Derived nouns: C 5a Hdi *bala-ku* 'broken bone'; 9 Mnj *abaalaŋ* 'tesson'.
//Cf. Cush Afar *bal,* Saho id. 'teilen' [RA], cf. Sem Geez *bll* 'spoil, ruin, destoy, mix' [LsG: 96].
a. **ɓal-* (< ****bhl*** or Intensive stem) 'to break (in pieces), to smash, to separate': W 1 Hs *ɓállè* 'to snap (bone, stick)'; 3 Kupto *ɓèléy* 'to break, fracture; to prick', Bol *ɓolu* intr. 'break (of stick, etc.)', plurac. *ɓòllu, ɓògìlu* (< **b-k-l,* internal *–k-* pl.) 'to break up, into pieces' [GAB], Krf *ɓàɣàléy* (internal *–k-* pl.) 'to break (stick)' [Stl], Pero *ɓelò* 'to break wood, crack', Maka *ɓòláayò* 'to break (stick)'; 4 Miya *ɓal* 'to break rope' (also 'to chop') [Sch]; 5 Dott *ɓóli* 'to divide, separate', Guus *ɓəl* 'to separate' [CrD, G]; 7 Fyer *ɓaal* 'to break (stick)' [JgIb]; C 2 Klb *ɓəlà* [MuK], Mrg *ɓàl* 'to break' [HfM: 23], Bura *ɓàlà* 'to break (stick)' [BlB]; 3 FK *ɓàl* 'to break', Bana *ɓ(ə)lí* 'casser', *ɓálí* 'briser beaucoup'; 5a Hitk *ɓal-* 'abbrechen, to beak off', Lmn *ɓala* 'to break, ruin' [Wff], Hdi *ɓəlay* 'to break, smash; briser'; 7 Zlg *ɓál* 'être cassé en deux', Mada *áɓal* 'séparer, enlever'; 10 Dari *ɓūl* 'partager', Dzpw *ɓúl* 'separer'; E 3 Smr *ɓwālā* 'casser' [JgSib] .
Derived noun: W 3 Bol *ɓòlò* 'fracture, break' [GAB].
Deriv. in *-t-/-k-:* W 3 Bol *ɓòl-tu* 'to break a stick or other object that snaps in two' [GAB], Ngm *ɓal-kô* 'to break stick, break in-two' [NEH]; C 10 Azum *ɓila-ka* 'to destroy, ruin, spoil, defile'.
Cf. C 7 Muy *mbəlał* 'to divide'

184. **b[a]ll-/*bVbVl-* 'to bend, curve, encircle': W 1 Hs *balaaloo* 'to

wriggle (of a snake)'; 3 Kupto *bèlléy* 'to bend smth.', Dera *bálì* 'to encircle, go around' [NmK]; C 2 Bura *mbala* 'to turn, curve', *mbali* 'to bend' [BlB]; 7 Ould -*bàlày* 'se rouler', Mada *óbbòl* 'faire rouler (une pierre)'; E 1 Ngam *bìbìle,* Mobu *bábálé* 'rouler à terre (cheval)'.
Derived verbs: W 3 Kupto *bàl-téy* 'to bend'; C 7 Mafa *áblà-k* 'faire tourner en rond', *bəla-ɗ-* 'écarter, écarteler'; 8 Makari *mbɨl-ḳa* 'to roll around'.
//Cf. Berb Ayr *ebel* 'entourer de tous côtés, ourler' [NZ: 55].
Cf. TN №260 (includes Dera and Mada forms).

185. **b[u]l-* 'to dig': W 3 Ngm *bùlâ* [NEH], Bol *bùlaa* 'to dig out', *bùllaa* (plurac.) 'to scoop out (tuwo, earth)' [GAB]; C 9 Msg *bol(a)* 'hacken, graben' [LkM]; E 5 Bid *balbàl* 'creuser les fourmilières pendant la famine'. Cf. E 5a EDng *bòl-tō* 'gratter la terre'.
Derived noun: ****bVl-* 'well':** C 8 Affade *blə,* Ngala *pəlii* [Sol], Makari *bɨle* Kus *fley*, Log *fɨli*[31] [Al]; E 3 Ndam *bǎl* [Jg], Tum *bal* 'well', Smr *béllali* 'kurzer Brunnen' [Luk]. Cf. W 3 Maka *búlá-gàǯì* 'well' [SvP].
Deriv. in *m-* 'to bury': W 3 Kupto *mbàaléy* 'to bury, cover with sand', Krkr *mbìlmu, mbùlmu* [GK], Bol *mbàlu* 'to bury' [GAB], Glm *mbíl-àalá* 'to dig out' [SchB].
Derived noun: W 3 Bol *mbàlù,* Ngm *mbèelù* 'burial' [NEH]; C 6 Buwal *bal* 'funeral'.
//Sem Sab *blw* 'construct a tomb', *blyt* 'tomb' [SD: 29], *bly* 'élever une sépulture', *blwt* 'tombe' [DRS: 66], Aram Hatra *bly* 'designation of a (certain type of) tomb' [HJ: 166].
a. The following forms: W 5 Zaar *ɓəl* 'to dig' [CrZ]; E 3 Tum *ɓàl* 'creuser; évaser', *ɓəl* 'pit' < Ch ****bHl*** may be cognate with Sem Sab *bʿl* 'work, excavate bedrock' [SD: 26] < Sem **bʿl* 'to make, work': Ug, Hbr, Phn *bʿl* 'to make, prepare', Pun *bʿl* 'to make, to construct' [DUL: 202f]. For the latter cf. C 7 Mol *ɓalay* 'to build' [FsM].
Note also: ****bVHVl-* > *ɓVl-*** 'slave': C 7 Mafa *ɓele*, Chuv *ɓèlèy,* Mbuko *ɓīlē* 'slave'; 9 Msg *bɛɛl* 'Sklave', *bulíi* 'Sklavin' [LkM]; E 6 Mok *ɓúlè* 'esclave', *ɓúulè* 'traiter comme un esclave, brimer'. Cf. 6 Daba *bàlàm* 'slave'.
//Sem Ug /*b-ʿ-l*/ 'to make, work', *bʿl* '(unskilled) labourer; craftsman, maker' [DUL: 202f].

[31] Devoicing and velarization in contact with *-l-* (*bl-* > *fl-*) is possible. Note, however, SEOmot: Zayse *p/fulto,* Harro cluster *pult-* 'well' [BnO: 337].

186. **bVl-* 'to flow (out), pour (out)': W 1 Hs *búlbùulaa* 'to pour out'; C 8 Zina *bàlà* 'to flow'; 10 Azum *buluk* idf. of 'splashing out (water)'; E 5a Mig *bóoló* 'vider une bouteille d'un trait', EDng *bòllē* 'déborder (en bouillant)', Bid *bòlol* 'déborder (liquid)'. Cf. 7 Baka *bàhalay* 'verser' [BAS].
Deriv. a. ****bVl(l)-* 'river':** W 5 Bgh *ɓul, pwil* [Cs], Zul *bullai* 'river' [Cs 'stream'; 5a WDng *bààlà* 'rigil, rivière', EDng *bàla* 'le ruisseau', 5b Mubi *bèelí* 'fleuve'; E 3 Smr *bal* 'river' [Bn]. Cf. C 10 Azum *àbila* 'a wave (on water)'.
b. ****bVl-* 'rain':** C 4 Bata (dial) *bole* [Bn]; E 3 Smr *bɛláani* [Luk] 'rain', cf. Ndam *bəlan* 'ciel, dieu', Tum *bàlàn* 'God'.
//ECush Som *bilbiayl* 'to spray' [LlS], Oromo *bulula* 'to flow' [Grg], Cush Beja *bile* 'Regen' [RBd], Sem Hbr *ybl* 'pour down rain', *yābāl-* 'heavy shower' [KB: 359], *ʾābēl* (< **yôbēl*) 'Wasserlauf, Bach; watercourse, brook' [KB: 6], Aram Samal (Syr) *ybl-* (meaning uncert.) 'river, brook' [HJ: 433], Arab *wbl* 'verser une pluie abondante (se dit du ciel)', *wabl-* 'pluie abondante' [BK II: 1478]. Note also Sab *bll* 'wet, moist' [Bl: 44], Geez *bll* 'moisten, wet', Ug, Hbr *bll* [LsG: 96]. Eg *wbn* [if= wbl] Nä 'Quelle (in der Oase)' [EG I: 294]. Cf. E 5a Mig *báláanyí* 'humidité' < Arab *ballān-at-* 'baigneuse' [BK I: 156].
[AA 2 №131, Dolg: 54, Coh: 465, HSED №312].
For Ch **bal-/*bulay* 'pond' see [BlL №3] and [TN №264].

187. **bVl-(bVl)-* 'to burn': W 1 Hs *bàlàabalàa* 'scorching undecorticated monkey-nuts'; E 5a Mig *bálbìlò* 'brûler'; 5b Tor *biliw* 'rôtir, griller'.
Cf. W 1 Hs *bàlbàl* adj. '(to burn) with bright flames'; 3 Kupto *bùlbùl* idf. 'describing high flame(s)'; 6 WBade *bəlbəla* idf. 'indicates flames'. Cf. E 6 Mok *ʾùbìl-só*, pl. *ʾùbàlí* 'braise'.
Derived nouns: a. ****m-b[u]l-* 'ashes':** W 3 Kupto *bùl-tó* 'ashes'; E 4 Saba *tə-mbəl* 'ash'; 5a Mig *bó-mból-ká* 'cendre (d'herbe), suie'.
//Cush Sid *buluulo,* Gede'o *bululo* 'ashes' [Hds].
b. E ****baal-* 'place for burning pots':** 5a WDng *báálè* 'creux circulaire rempli de paille pour faire cuir le poteries'; 6 Mok *bàalá* 'foyer sur lequel on cuit, endroit où les poteries sont cuites'.
//Sem Akk *nablu* OB, MB 'flame' [CAD n_1: 25], Geez *balbala, ʾanbalbala* 'to blaze, kindle into blaze, flash', *nabalbāl* 'flame', Eth 'to blaze, flame' (Tna *bälbälä*, etc.), Amh *bil-bill alä* 'to burn quickly'.

Common with Cush: Oromo *belbel* ‘flame’ Som, Beja, *balōl*, Saho *bolol* ‘burn’ [LsG: 95]. Cf. Sem **nabal-* [Kg: 195]. Also: Cush Beja *balól* ‘Brand, Flamme’, *balool* ‘burn’ [RBd], Saho *bola* ‘flame’ [Vr], Afar *boli* ‘to burn, to boil’ [RA]Berb Wrgl *bbelbel* ‘monter haut (flame)’, Ghad *belbel* ‘brûler’, NIG *ebabbal* ‘grand feu’ [NZ: 52], Ayr *e-bewil* ‘baking in ashes’ [NZ: 81].
For Cush Afar *boli* ‘to burn, to boil’ cf. C 7 Baka *búláy* ‘bouillir’ [BAS], Mol *vəlay* and *vərɗay* ‘to boil’ [FsM].
For the next entry cf. Sem Geez *ʾanbalbala* ‘to blaze, kindle into blaze, flash’.
Deriv. in ***ʾa-: *ʾa-ɓ[i]l- > ɓVl-*** **‘to make fire’:** W 2 Ngas *bel* ‘to light a fire’ [Fl], *ɓél* ‘to set fire, start a fire’ [JgN], Goem *ɓál* ‘to blow a fire’, Mghv *ɓɛ́l-wus* ‘to light fire’ [BlM], Mpn *ɓil-wus* ‘to make fire’; C 4 Gude *ɓələ* ‘to blow out flame’; C 5 Pod *ɓəla* ‘allumer (le feu), to light’; 7 Gis (*bəl, bl*) ‘anblasen (Feuer)’; E 5a Bid *ʾebel* ‘se rallumer, se raviver (charbon)’. Cf. W 3 Krkr *ɓàlùu* ‘firing a pot’ [GK].
Derived noun: ****ʾa/m-bVl-*** **‘embers, flame’:** W 2 Mghw *mbəlèm* ‘Funke’ [JgS], Mush *bələm* ‘flame’ (apud [TAS: 13]); E 5b Brg *ʾùbàalì* ‘braise’, 5a Bid *ʾùbáalà* ‘braise’, EDng *ʾùbìlā* ‘la braise rouge’.
[AA 2 №132: Ch Ngas, Mghv, Bid, Gis; Coh: 403, ISv: 17].

188. **bVl(l)-* to tie’: W 3 Kupto *bèlléy* ‘to tie’, *bàl-téy* ‘to tie a knot’.
a. C ****b[a]l-*** **‘rope, net’:** 2 Bura *bala* ‘rope’, *bula* ‘rope shrub’, *balabala* ‘braided, twisted’ [BlB]; 5 Mlg *bél* ‘Gürtel, Gurt’; 8 Lgw *bale* ‘fishing net’ [AlL]; 10 Azum *abalalu-na* ‘cobwebs’.
b. ****bVl-*** **‘vein’:** W 2 Goem *vèel* (< *-beel,* may derive foom a form with a body-parts’ pref.) ‘vein, artery’ [Hlw]; C 7a Skn *bəli-ǯi* ‘vein’, *bule-ǯiy* ‘tendon’; 8 Log *bílle* ‘Adern, veins’ [LkL].
c. ****m-bVl-*** **‘tendon, bowstring, root’:** C 8 Afd *mbill* ‘Bogenschnur’, Bud *balei, palei* ‘Nerv, Sehne’ [Sol: 290], Log *mbélee* ‘Wurzel, root’ [LkL], *mɓɨl* ‘tendon, root’ [AlL], Kus *mɓɨl* ‘tendon, racine’, Makari *mɓɨl* ‘root, muscle’ > *mbɨl-ḳan* ‘knot, noeud’ [Al]; E 4 Mawa *biluwa* ‘tendon’.
//Sem Akk *eblu* (OB) ‘rope’ [CAD e: 15], Ug, OAram *ḥbl* ‘cord, rope’ [DUL: 347] Arab *ḥbla* ‘prendre (une bête) au filet, serrer avec une corde’, *ḥabl-* ‘corde; veine ou artère ou tendon’ [BK: 370], Geez *ḥabala* ‘to bind, fetter’, *ḥabl* ‘string, rope, snare’, *ḥablay* ‘plaited work, ornamental collar for mules’, Soq *ḥabehol* ‘rope’, Tgr *ḥabl,* Tna *ḥabli*,

Amh *habl* ‘rope’ [LsG: 223].
d. CCh 7 Gis *ʔaɓalaŋ* ‘Fussspange’//Cush Afar *bilaa* ‘Bracelet, Arm-, Fussspange’ [RA].
For Arab *ḥābil-* ‘qui tend les filets; sorcier, magicien’ (ḥbl) [BK I: 370] see W 5 Bgh *ɓál* ‘to tell fortune’.
Consider the next issue as a possible root-variant.

189. **HVbal- > *ɓal-*: 1. ‘to plait, knot’; 2. ‘to attach’: 1. W 1 Hs *ɓállà* ‘to knot, secure by pulling, pullstrap’; C 5 Pod *ɓala* ‘tresser’; **2.** W 2 Goem *ɓàl* ‘lock or fasten smth’ [Hlw], Mghv *ɓàl* ‘to unite, fix, join’ [JgM], Mpn *ɓaal* ‘to join’; C 5 Pod *ɓala* to catch with glue’; 7 Mada *áɓal* ‘fixer, coller’.
For the semantic link between ‘to knot’ and ‘to attach’ see Arabic.
Derived noun: ****ɓVly-/ɓyVl-* ‘trap’:** W 4 Wrj *ɓyala-na* ‘trap for small birds’ [BlS]; C 7 Mafa *ɓalay* ‘piège sp.’, Mbuko *ɓàlāy* ‘piège’.
//Sem Arab *ʿbl* ‘tordre, tresser; lier, attacher, serrer’, *ʿablal-* ‘corde grosse et bien tressée’ [BK II: 158].

190. **bVl-* ‘(to) dance’: W 1 Hs *bàluulà* ‘kind of dance’; C 9 Mlw *bùlí* ‘danser (hommes)’; 10 Masa *bòl* ‘danser’ [CC].
Derived noun: W 2 Mghv *ɓɛ́l* ‘dance (for energetic people)’ [BlM]; E 5a Bid *bàalà* ‘danse d’accueil’.
/ECush Som *bullo* ‘type of Somali dance’ [LlS], Eg *ybʒ* (if = [ybl]) ‘tanzen’, *ybʒ* AR ‘Tänzer’ [EG I: 62].

191.(m-)bVl-* ‘to harvest, gather, pluck’:** C 6 Mbedam *mbal* [NdP], Daba *mbàl* ‘cueillir’, Buwal *ᵐbāl* ‘to pick fruit; stop, hold, grab’, Mina *mbál-* ‘pick’ [FrJ]; 7 Ould *mbàlàt* idf. ‘arracher’; E 4 Barein **bílό* ‘to harvest (peanuts)’; 5a Mig *búláw* ‘ramasser un à un’, EDng *bàlbìlē* ‘glâner, ramasser les grains de mil’. Cf. 6 Mok *ɓúulè* ‘glaner’.

192. **(m)bVl-* (or ****bVHVl- > bVbVl-*** (compensatory redupl.) ***> mbVl-/bVl-* ‘to say, to cry’ > ‘a cry, chat’:** W 2 cf. Grk *ko-bel* ‘to call’ [Fp]; 3 Bol *bàlaa* ‘to cry’ [GAB], Ngm *bàlâ* ‘to cry’ [NEH], 4 Miya *babəla* ‘to say (several times)’ [Sch], *bəla* ‘to say’, Tsagu *mbul* ‘to say, to speak’ [SkNB]; C 5 Pod *mbala* ‘répandre, annoncer’; 7 Baka *bùbùlu* ‘crier’ [BAS]; 8 Kus *bɨl* ‘to say’, Log *vɨle* ‘to call someone’ [AlK].
Derived noun ****bVl-* ‘a cry, chat’:** W 3 Bol *bèle* ‘crying’ [GAB]; C 7

Mbuko *bàlà* ‘causerie‘, Mada b*òblò* ‘cris de deuil, cris d’alerte’; 10 Mus *bolla* ‘langue, discours, sermon’ [ShyM]; E 2 Lele *bìlà, bùlà* ‘bruit, cri’, *bòl* ‘paroles abondantes’. Cf. C 8 Afd *mbóli* ‘Sänger, singer’ [Sol: 130].
a. ***bVHVl- > bHVl-> ɓVl-*** **‘to say, tell’:** W 3 Dera *ɓálè* ‘to say’ [NmK], cf. Krkr *ɓoolo* ‘crying for help’ [GK]; C 1 Tera (dial.) *ɓəla* ‘to speak’ [Kr]; 5 Pod *ɓəla* ‘raconter’.
//Sem Geez *bəhla, bəḥla* ‘to say, speak, call’, Mhr *behl-īt* ‘word, thing’, Eth Tna *bälä,* Tigre *bela,* Gaf *balä*, etc. ‘to say’ [LsG: 89]. Accord. to Leslau the following forms are cognate: Akk *baʾālu, bâlu* (SB) ‘to beseech, pray’, Arab (*bhl*) *ʾibtahala* ‘to implore, beseech’.
For possible cognates of Arab *bhl* ‘maudire, atteindre de sa malédiction (se dit de Dieu)’ [BK I: 173] see Chadic: W 3 Dera *ɓèelé* ‘to insult’ [NmK]; E 1 Kera *ɓálgé* ‘abîmer, offencer’.
[AA 2 №110 **bahl-* ‘(ritual or emphatic) speech; to speak’ (includes Ch W 1 Hs *bállì* ‘quarrelling, abusive language’ and W], for Log, Lele forms see [TN №254].

193. *bV(wV)l-* ‘to grow’: W 2 Mpn *boál* (*bwal*) ‘to grow abnormally’; C 2 Bura *bula* ‘to develop or grow rapidly’ [BlB].
a.*(bV-)bVl-* ‘big, wide’: W 3 Gmy *puul* ‘large sized’ (apud [TAS: 291); 4 Paa *bábəlà* ‘very big’ [MS], *bəlam*, Diri *ɓula* ‘long, tall, big’ [SkNB]; 6 Mbedam *bəla-x*^{w} ‘gros’ [NdP]; 8 Lgw *bala* ‘(to be) wide’ [AlL]; 9 Msg *bóbolo* ‘gross’ [LkM]; 10 Azum *bulà* ‘wide’; E 1 Kera *bòbló* ‘big’; 3 Cf. E 5a EDng *bòló-kí* ‘long, profond, grand’.
//Sem Akk *baʾālu* ‘to be abnormally large’ [CAD b: 1].
For C 10 Azum *bulâ* ‘wide’, *buloɗa* ‘distance, the space between two things’ see PECush **bald’*- ‘broad’: Burji, Bayso *bal’*-, Som *ballaḍ*-, Oromo *bal’-, ball-, bald’*- [SsB], Rend *balaḍ-an* [Sam].
Denom. in *ʾa-: ***ʾabVl-* > ***ɓVl-*** **‘to enlarge, to widen’:** E 3 Tum *ɓàl* ‘élargir’, Ndam *ɓəlʌ* ‘evaser, agrandir, élargir (un trou)’, *ɓəl* ‘grand’.
The next rot may be cognate, note that terms for ‘many’ and ‘big’ are confused in W 7 Bok *ɓâl* ‘viel, gross werden’.

194. *(m-)bVl-* ‘many, much’: W 2 Ngas *bál* ‘be sufficient, plenty’ [JgN], *bull* ‘much’ [Or], Mnt *bul-bul* ‘many’ [Fp], Goem *mbel* ‘many, in great number' (apud [TAS: 31]), Goem *mɓəl* ‘much, many’ [Hlw]; 3 Tng *bilim* ‘crowd grouping, multitude’; C 5 Pod *mbála* ‘to be too much’; 10 Musey *bòlòw*, Lew, Marba *ʾàblàw* ‘nombreux’ [LexC], Mus

bolow ‘beaucoup, nombreaux’ [ShyM]; E 1 Kera *àblàw* ‘viel, zehr’.
Derived verb: C 8 Kus *bal-ka* ‘to increase, add’ [AlK].
Denom. verb in *ʔa-: ***ʔabVl-*** **‘to multiply, increase’:** W 2 Mghv *ɓúl* ‘to increase’ [BlM]; 5 Zul *ɓúli* ‘to increase’ [Cs №900]; 7 Bok *ɓâl* ‘viel, gross werden’ [JgR]; C 5 Pod *ɓəla* ‘multiplier’.
Deriv. W 3 Krf *ɓúllí* ‘many, much’ [SchB]; 7 DB *ɓâl* ‘zu viel sein, im überfluss vorhanden’ [JgR].
//Sem Arab *bawl-* ‘grand nombre’, *bawāl-at-* ‘grand nombre, grande quantité’ [BK I: 180], Sab *bll* ‘abundance’ [SD: 28], Cush Arb *buli* ‘all’ [ATO], Om Kafa *bulloo* ‘Gesamtheit, jeder, alle’, *balloo* ‘hundert’ [RK].
For Ch ‘many, much’ and Akk ‘to be abnormally large’ see [TN №141].

195. C **bVl-* ‘to swell’: 3 FK *búl* ‘to swell up, inflate’; 10 Gizey, Masa, Musey, Ham *bàl,* Lew *bòl* ‘enfler’ [LexC], Masa *bàl* [CC], Musey *balla* [ShyM] ‘gonfler, enfler’.
Derived nouns: C 3 FK *mbə́lá-kànà* ‘swelling or groin following injury to leg’; 7a Skn *mbəla-kən* ‘mumps, swelling’.
Cf. W 2 Mpn *ɓə̄əl* ‘to swell up, be filled up (e.g. with food)’
a. ****bVl-*** **‘to be full’:** W 3 Tng *bɛl* ‘full’; E 5a EDng *bàlče* ‘se remplir à nouveau (puits)’.

196. **ɓ[a]l-* < **HVbVl-* > ‘to shoot (an arrow), sting’: W 1 Hs *ɓállà* ‘to inflict, sting, kick’; 7 Bok, DB, Sha *ɓol* ‘schiessen (Tiere)’ [JgR]; C 6 Buwal *ɓàl* ‘to shoot’; C 6 Gavar *ɓal* ‘tirer’, Daba *ɓàl* ‘lancer la flèche, piquer’, Mina *ɓàl-* ‘to shoot’ [FrJ]; 7 Muy *ábál* ‘to shoot, sting’, Mbuko *mbalay* ‘tirer la flèche’, Chuv *mɛ́bɛ̀lɛ̀y* ‘viser (avec une arme)’, Mada *ábal* ‘tirer (a l'arc), flécher, piquer (insects)’, Baka *ɓar* ‘tirer’ [BAS]; 9 Mnj *bili* ‘lancer’; E 2 Lele *ɓìlé* ‘tirer’.
Derived noun: W 3 Krkr *ɓèlu* arrow [Kr]; E 5a Bid *ɓállà* ‘flèche’, *ɓàalò* ‘arc’, 5b Tor *ɓele* ‘arrow’.
//Sem Arab *nbl* ‘jeter, lancer (traits, dards)’, *nabl-* ‘flèche’ [BK:1187].
Cf. also Arab *ʿbl* ‘garnir une flèche d’une fer long et large’, *mibʿal-at-* ‘fer de flèche long et large, flèche au fer long et large’ [BK II: 158f].

197. **ɓal-* > **HVbVl-* > ‘to send, chase away’: W 3 Kupto *ɓàlléy* ‘to chase away birds’; C 5 Gdf, Gava *ɓl:a,* Chn *ɓəla* ‘to send’ [HmG], Wnd *ɓálá* ‘to send’ [FW], Mlg *ɓála* ‘senden’; 7 Mbuko *ɓāl* ‘chasser’,

Gis *ɓol* ‘verfolgen, verjagen’.
//Sem Arab *ʿbl* ‘repousser, éloigner [BK II:158].
Note two root-variants:
a. ***(m)bVl-*** (possibly, compensatory prefixation < ****HVbVl-***) **‘to drive, chase, push’**: C 2 Klb *mbəllà* ‘to push’ [MuK], 5 Pod *mbə́la* ‘depart, send, throw’; 7 Mafa *mbál* ‘éloigner, chasser’.
b. W 5 Dott *bəl* ‘to drive away’ [CrD]; C 3 Bana *vəlì* (*w-b-l /n-b-l*) ‘envoyer; send’.
Deriv. in *-ɗ-* : C 7 Muy *ábàlà-ɗ* ‘to push’.
//Cf. Sem Sab *nbl* ‘to despatch, send so. on a mission’ [SD: 90], Arab *wbl* ‘poursuivre avec ardeur, donner une chasse vigoureuse à sa proire’ [BK II: 1478].

198. **ɓVl- < *HVbVl-* ‘to throw, fall’: W 1 Hs *ɓíllà* ‘to throw’; 3 Krkr *ɓàlu* ‘to drop, release, divorce, lay eggs’, *ɓàlaa* ‘to throw, put on an upper garment’ [GK], Kupto *bùuléy* ‘to throw, to fling’, *bùkléy* (internal –k- pl.) ‘to throw’; 7 Kul *ɓìl* ‘werfen’, DB *ɓîl* ‘über Etw fallen, stolpern, anstossen’ [JgR]; C 5 Glv *bəl* ‘to throw’, *bil* ‘to fall’, 5a Gdf *ɓl:a,* Gava *ɓˀla* ‘to fall’ [GvH], Wnd *ɓela łaya* ‘to lay eggs’ (łaya ‘egg’) [Voc].
//Sem Soq *ʿbll* ‘faire descendre’, Arab *ʿbl* ‘tomber (feuillage)’ [LsS: 293].

199. **bal-* ‘field’: W 3 Kupto *bàlbàl* ‘field(s), space, area, ground’; C 3 FK *bábàl* ‘field’; 8 cf. Ngala *baala* ‘plain, flat country’ [Bn]; E 4 Mawa *bəla* ‘champ’. Cf. C 5 Hdi *vəli* ‘place’.
//PECush **bal-* ‘field, plain’ [SsB: 32], Oromo *boollee* ‘soil’ [Grg], Sem Arab *baʿl-at-* ‘champ’ [BK I:144], Yem dial. *baʿl-* ‘land sown in winter’, Sab *bʿl* ‘rain-irrigated land’ [SD: 26].
Denom. verb in *ʔa-* (Caus): ****ʔabal- > ɓal-*** **‘to clear a field’**: W 3 Ngm *ɓàalâ, ɓàalo* (dial.) ‘to clear bush for a farm’ [NEH], Bol *ɓòlà* ‘clearing area for a farm’ [GAB], Kupto *ɓélí* ‘clearing the bush for farming’.
Derived noun: C 5 Malgwa *ɓala* ‘Gemeinschaftarbeit auf dem Field’, Lmn *ɓàlà* ‘customary collective help or community labour’.
//Cf. Om Yemsa *bul-* ‘(Land) bebauen)’ [LmY].
The following forms may be cognate with the main root:
a. C ****bal-m-*** **‘place’:** 9 Mnj *balam* ‘emplacement, endroit’; 10 Musey *balamma* ‘place’ [ShyM], Dzpw *mbàlàm* ‘espace dévasté’.

b.***bal-k-* ‘threshing place’:** 5a Hdi *bəlikʷi* ‘round walled area where grains are threshed’, Lmn *bàlkò* ‘threshing place or ground’ [Wff]; 7 Vame *valak* ‘cour intérieure’.
The following forms are labelled as loans from Kanuri *bàlbàl* ‘Ruheplatz (vor der Hütte)’, namely: C 2 Klb, Mrg *bàlbál* ‘open space’ [MuK, HfM: 18]; 8 Bud *bélbelee* ‘Hof’ [LkBd], Kus *balbal* ‘courtyard’, Makari *balbal* ‘cour’ [AlK, AlM]. Note however the lack of a Nilo-Saharan etymology. Cush Burji *balbala* ‘place covered by a canopy’ [SsB] may be also involved.
The next root is possibly cognate:
C ***ɓal-* (< **bHal-*) ‘open, uncultivated land’**: 5 Lmn *ɓálá* ‘open space between two settlements’, Pod *ɓala* ‘terrain plat’; 7 Ould *ɓálá* ‘terrain déserté, sans herbes’, Mada *ɓálá* ‘lieu inculte, stérile, désert’; 8 Makari *mɓala* ‘terrain’. Deriv.: 7 Muy *ɓòlòl* ‘abandoned’.
//Sem Aram *bālā, bāʾlā*, Mand *bala* ‘prairie, terre inculte; animaux féroces?’ [DRS: 51].

200. **ball-/*bVlw-* ‘jackal, (barking) fox’: C 6 Daba *bàlwāy* ‘renard’; 7 Baka *bóló* ‘dog’ [YB]; 9a Gdr *bàlwá* ‘fox’ [FrG]; 10 Gizey *bàlèy*, Masa *bà/òlìy,* Musey *bòlìì* ‘chacal’ [LexC], Musey *boli-na* ‘chien sauvage’ [ShyM], Azum *boli-na* ‘like a fox; has a white tail’; E 5 Bid *bàlàalìyo* ‘fennec’, WDn *bɔ̀llɔ̀* ‘espèce de chat sauvage au pelage fauve, il creuse des galeries en terre, aboie comme chien’, EDng *bólóló* ‘le chacal’; 7 Jegu *báló* ‘Fuchs’.
//Sem Geez *ʾabbəl* ‘jackal’ [LsG: 3]. For Geez and ECh ‘hyena’ see [TN №271].

201. **bal-* ‘hangar, shelter’: W 4 Miya *bali* ‘entrance hut’ [SkNB]; 5 Dott *bəláŋ* ‘hut’ [CrD]; C 6 Daba *màbàlà* ‘hangar’; 7 Mofu *bəla-k* ‘hangar’, Mada *bala-k* ‘séchoir, abri’, Mol *abala-k* ‘hangar to give shade in front of a house’ [FsM], Gis *ʾabalak* ‘Schattendach’; 9 Mnj *bala-k* ‘hangar’, Msg *bála-k* ‘Schattendach’ [LkM]; 10 Dzpw *bàlà* ‘abri’, Azum *ɓala* ‘a rough-shelter’.

202. **b[a]l-* ‘a species of crested bird’: W 1 Hs *balbelàa* ‘buff-backed heron or cattle egret’; 3 Bol *bàalà* ‘Abdim's stork’ [GAB]; 4 Miya *mbàlam* ‘crowned crane’ [Sch]; 5 Guus *bélbéla* ‘white egret’ [CrG]: E 2 Lele *báàlē* ‘heron’; 5a Mubi *búulè* ‘héron sp. ’ [JgM]. Cf. W 3

Kupto *ʔàbùulà* ‘bird sp. (marabou stork)’,
//Sem Akk *bulīlu* lex* ‘a species of crested bird’[32] SB [CAD b: 310, AHw: 137], Berb EWlm, Ayr *ebélbél* ‘héron’ (a Ch loan?) [NZ: 53]. For Hs, Lele, Mubi, Eg *bn.w* ‘Phönix‘ and Berber see [EDE II: 211, TN №282].

203. **ba/ul-* (bwl) **‘goat’:** C 1 Boka *ɓwələ* [Kr]; 8 Afd *búl-goéh* ‘Ziege, she-goat’ [Sol:122]; 10 Azum *balâ* ‘a castrated goat’; E 2 Kaba *bal,* Lele *bùlóbùló* ‘bouc’; 4 Sok *bàl*; 5a Mig *bòolíyò* ‘he goat’ [JgIb]; 6 Mok *báàlè* ‘grand (bouc)’.
/Cf. Eg *bꜣ* AR ‘heiliger Bock’ = ‘ram’, for alternative cognates see [EDE II: 23-25].

204. **b[u]l-* ‘hole’: W 2 cf. Mpn *bàlló-k* (or *bàl-lók*) ‘hole’; C 7 Mada *blè-k* ‘trou, nid’, Mafa *mbolo-v* (< *mbolo-b*) ‘rectum humain’; 8 Lgw *búlu*, Makari *bolo* ‘hole’, cf. Kus *bɨl-g^{w}i* ‘anus’ [Al]**;** E 5a Mig *bùulè* ‘entrée (d'un concession), trou (dans un mur)’, Bid *búllo* ‘fond, trou’, *búlàlo* ‘anus’, 5b Jegu *bolo-k etento* ‘Nasenloch’ (‘hole’ +‘nose’) [JgJ]; 6 Mok *bûl-dǒ* ‘trou, valley’. [HSED №332].
Cf. W 7 Bok ^{m}*bwal-ši* ‘Anus, Vagina’ (cf. *šiši* ‘excrement’) [JgR], DB, Sha, Mundat *mbòkòl,* Monguna *mbùkòl* ‘vagina’ (internal –*k*-??) [RC].
Denom. verb in *m*-: W 3 Kupto *mbòoléy* ‘to pierce, make a hole’; C 7 Mbuko *mbalay* ‘manger un trou (insecte)’.
Denom. verb in ***ʔa-: *ʔabVl- > ɓVl-*** ‘to make a hole, to hollow’: W 1 Hs *ɓúulà* ‘to make a hole, knock a hole in thing’; 2 Ngas *ɓèl* ‘to hollow out, bore a hole’ [JgN], cf. Mghv *ɓél* ‘einen Hirsenhaln aushölen’ [JgS].
Derived nouns: W 3 Krkr *ɓululu* idf. ‘very small opening or hole’ [GK]; 5 Bogh *pyu-ɓol*, Mng *mɓil* ‘door’ [Cs], Zaar *ɓî:l* [CrZ] ‘doorway’
[AA 2 №135: Cush+Ch ‘to make a hole’].

205. **bul-* ‘type of man's gown’: W 3 Bol *bullàm* ‘type of men’s gown’ [GAB], Tng *bulum* ‘traditional man's skirt’; C 2 Bura *bul* ‘large gown worn by men’ [BlB].
a. ****(ʔa)bVl-* ‘loin-cloth for women’:** C 7 Muy *àbɔ̀lò* ‘woman's cache-sexe (made of bark)’, Ould *ābāló* ‘cache-sexe des femmes Madas’;

[32] Accord. to [SED I №60], Akk is cognate with EthSem **bull-* ‘dove’, see below.

8 Kus *bol* ‘cloth worn by woman’ [AlK]; 9 Msg *ablúk* ‘Schambinder (der Frau)’ [LkM]; 9 E 5a WDng *bállà* ‘cache-sexe’; 6 Mok *búlè* ‘cache-sexe f., tissu de cotton blanc’. Cf. W 3 Tng *bɛllɛ* ‘sp. type of leaves (used as cache-sexe)’.
//Cf. Sem Akk *bultu* (a blanket?) EA, NUzi, *bulû* (NB) (a curtain of linen, used in sanctuaries) [CAD 311, 313].

206. **bVl-* ‘light’: W 2 Ngas *bel* (or *bäl*) ‘clear, daylight’ [Fl]; 4 Kariya *bila-ɗu* ‘lightning’ [SkNB].
Denom verb in ***ʔa-*: **ʔabVl-* > **ɓVl-*** ‘to become bright, to shine’: W 2 Ngas *ɓel* ‘to clear up’ [JgN]; 3 Bol *ɓèelu* ‘to become bright’ [GAB]; C 3 FK *ɓàl* ‘to shine’; E 1 Mobu *bálányé* ‘briller’; 5 Mig *ɓéeló* ‘briller’.
Derived noun: W 4 Jmb *ɓalala* ‘whiteness’ [SkNB].
//Sem Akk *baʾālu* [OB, SB] ‘to become bright, to shine brightly (referring to the planets, sun, moon and other stars)‘ [CAD b: 1].
Denom. verb in *m-* ‘to shine’: C 2 Mrg *mbəl* [HfM: 34], Klb *mbəl* ‘to shine’ [MuK]; 7 Muy *mbūl* ‘shining, pretty’; 6 Daba *mbāl* ‘allumer’.
[AA 2 №133: Ch Ngas, Cush **b-l* ‘day (24 hours)’].

207. **bVl-* ‘man’: W 3 Bol *balaawò* ‘respected old man’ [GAB]; 4 Wrj *mbulai* ‘common man’ [BlS]; C 8 Log *bla,* pl. *mi* ‘homme’ [Mo: 49], *bàlò*, pl. *mùŋgù* ‘man’ [JgIb], *bəla* ‘Mensch’ [LkL], Afd *beelo* ‘people’ [Bn], *beló,* Gulfei *bel-ewe* ‘Mann’ [Sol: 232], Makari *blo* ‘man’, *blo-se* ‘man (male)’, Kus *bluwe* ‘man (male)’ [Al].
Cf. 10 Azum *ablou-ɗa* ‘many people, crowd’, C 7 Balda *bùlù-múŋ* ‘être humain’ [Bry].
Deriv. in *–k-* ‘guest’: C 6 Buwal ^{m}*bəlok*^{w} ‘guest, visitor’; 7 Zlg *mbálák*^{w} ‘visiteur’, Mbuko *mbálók* ‘étrangler, hôte’.
Cf. also: ‘alien’: C 10 Musey *babali-na* ‘enemy’ [ShyM]; C 5 Hdi *mbəlaam* ‘anyone who is not part of a blacksmith family’; 7a Skn *mbilim* ‘non-smith, member of the farmer caste’.
//Sem **baʿl-* ‘seigneur, maître, mari’: Akk *bēlu,* Ug *bʿl,* Hbr *baʿal,* Arab *baʿl-,* Geez *baʿāl,* Amh *bal,* Tgr *baʿl*, Soq *baʿal,* etc. [DRS: 74, LsG: 84, Kg: 237]. Cf. Cush Afar *báll-aa*, fem. *–á*, Saho *báll-o,* fem. *-ó* ‘father-in-law’ [RA]. [HSED №182].

208. **bVl(l)-* ‘spear’: W 1 Hs *bellam* ‘spear, harpoon’; 3 Tng *bal* ‘spear with a large blade’, Kupto *béllí* ‘spear sp (for fishing)’, *bèllèm*

‘spear sp. (for horse riding)’; C 5 Lmn *bálá* ‘spear with leaf-shaped blade’.
Denom. verb in ***ʔa-*** : ****ʔa-bVl- > *ɓVl-*** **‘to pierce (with a lance, sharp point, through)’**:W 3 Krf *bòɣòléy* ‘to pierce’ (pl. in *-k-*) [Stl], Bol *ɓìl-tu* (complete action) ‘to pierce or lance a boil, blister’ [GAB]; 4 Jmb *ɓul-* ‘to pierce’ [SkNB]; C 9 Mnj *ɓili* ‘enfoncer (une pointe), percer’, Mulwi *ɓìlì* ‘percer’ 10 Azum *ɓalá* ‘to transfix (across)’; E 1 Kera *ɓélé* ‘nageln, clouer’.
a. W 3 ****bVl-*** **‘sharp edge’**: Bol *bêl* ‘cuspid, canine tooth’, *bèelu* [GAB]**,** Ngm *bàalà* ‘spur on rooster's foot’ [NEH].
Denom. verb in ***ʔa-*** : W 3 Dera *ɓèelé* ‘to sharpen edge of tool by beating’; 5 Zaar *ɓal* ‘to sharpen by beating the edge; sharp’ [CrZ].
Denom. verb in *m-*: C 5 Pod *mbala* ‘to sharpen’.
//Sem Akk *bēla* ‘etw. Waffe’ (not in CAD), cf. Geez *balḫa, balḥa* ‘be sharp’, Tna *bälḥe,* Tgr *bälḥa,* Amh *bälla* ‘be sharp’, Amh *bäliho* ‘knife’ > Bil *balaḥ* ’spear’ [LsG: 95].
The next root may be cognate either with Ch ‘spear’, or with Cush ‘knife’.

209. **bil-* ‘throwing knife’: C 10 Masa *bīl* [CC], Musey *bil-na* [ShyM], Masa, Musey, Marba *bil-* ‘throwing knife’ [Shy], Azum *abílá* ‘kind of a throwing knife’; E 2 Lele *bòlòm* < **bil-om* < **bil-um*, vowel assim.) ‘throwing knife’. Cf. C 5 Mlg *biila* ‘Schere, scissors’.
//ECush Oromo *billaa* ‘sword, knife’ [Grg], Arb *bila,* Tsam *bilako* ‘knife’ [ATO], Om Wolt *billama* ‘knife’, Cush Kamb, Had *billawa,* Sid *billaawa,* dull *pillawo*, Arb *billaw*, Oromo *billaa,* Som *billaawe* [LmW: 319f]. According to Lamberti, Amh *billawa* ‘petit couteau de table’ is a Cush loan. Cf. Eg *ybn* [if *ybl]. Sp ‘Art Messer’ [EG I: 63]. Consider the following forms as loans from Kanury *beli* ‘razor’ [Sol: 307], note one and the same root-shape through Chadic (typical of loan-words): W 3 Kupto *bèelí* ‘shaving knife’; C 2 Bura *bel* ‘razor’ [BlB]; 8 Lgw *bel,* Kus *bel* ‘razor’ [AlL, AlK]; 10 Masa, Ham *bèlè,* Gizey, Musey, Lew, Marba *vèl* ‘rasoir traditionel’, Musey *vella* ‘la lame du rasoir’ [ShyM], Azum *velâ* ‘razor’; E 5a Mig *bêllé* ‘couteau-rasoir’, EDng *béllé* ‘le couteau très fin’; 5b Mubi *béelì* ‘rasoir’ [JgM].

210. **bVlVʔ-* (****bVl-h-*** pl.?) **‘scales, bark’:** C 10 Dzpw *bìlèʔè* ‘écaille’, Dari *bəlēʔ* ‘bark, scales’, Peve *bəlēʔ,* Hedẽ *bəleʔ,* Marba *bloha* ‘bark,

peel' [Shy], Azum *bulo^{ʔ}â* 'bark, husks'; E 2 Kaba *bala,* Nch *ko-bla* 'peau' [HmK]**.**
Denom. verb. W 5 Jimi *bula* 'to peel' [Cs].
Deriv. verb in *-ɗ-:* C ***mbVl-ɗ-*** **'to peel, bark':** 7 Mbuko *mbə/ulo-ɗ* 'enlever la peau (maniok..)', Mada *ómbló-ɗ* 'arracher à la main, écorcher', Mol *mbəl-ɗoy* 'to skin, peel' [FsM]; 10 Azum *blo-ɗa* 'to strip (the outer layer of skin or bark) with the teeth'.
For a root-variant see **№219.*ɓVl- 'skin, leather' > *ɓVl-k- 'bark'.** Note that both roots are attested in the masa group (C 10).

211. *ba(y)l- 'uvula, throat': W 'uvula': 1 Hs *bèelii;* 2 Mghw *bèlbèl* [jgS]; 4 Miya *bèlebel* [Sch]; 5 Bogh *beelu* [Cs № 97]; 6 Duw *bàalu* 'uvula'; E 4 (dial.) *bolol* 'throat'; 5a Bid *béle* 'gorge, voix'.
a. *(m)bul- 'crop of a bird': W 2 Goem *bûl* 'goitre' (apud [TAS: 21]); 7 Bok *bùlè^{ʔ}* 'Kropf' [JgR]; C 6 cf. Gavar *mbil-gin* 'goitre'; 8 Makari *mbulu* 'crop of a bird' [AlM].
For a primary verb cf. C 7 Mofu *-bál-* 'donner à manger (à un enfant)', derived noun: W 4 Wrj *bula^{ʔ}ana* 'manger (carved from wood for putting food for animals)' [BlS].
//Sem *bl^{ʕ} 'to swallow, to eat': Hbr *bāla^{ʕ},* Aram *b^{e}la^{ʕ},* Mand *bla,* Ug *bāl^{ʕ}* [DRS: 68, Kg: 78], Arab *bl^{ʕ}* 'avaler', II 'donner à avaler', *mabla^{ʕ}-* 'canal de deglutition, gorge' [BK I: 161], Geez *bal^{ʕ}a* 'eat, consume', *bəllā^{ʕ}* 'food, that which is eaten up, residue of food, fodder', EthSem *bl^{ʕ}* 'to eat' > Cush: Bil *belaā^{ʕ},* Saho *bala^{ʔ}* [LsG: 94]. Cush Beja *bála* 'Kehle, Schlund' [RBd], Om Koyra *balaa* 'neck' [BžO], Berb Ghat *bêlébêlé*, Fig *tabilult,* Snus *tabelḥuḥt* (*blḥ*) 'luette' [NZ: 53, 61], Eg *b^{ʕ}n.t* [if b^{ʕ}l] Pyr 1.'Hals o. ä eines Vogels?'; 2.'als menschlicher Körperteil: Hals o.ä. /neck of a bird,of a man?' [EG I: 447].
[Coh: 46, AA 2 № 136: Ch Mghv, Bok, Bid, HSED №333, EDE II: 163-5].

212. *bVl- '(planting) stick, hoe': W 3 Kupto *bèl* 'planting stick', *bèlé* 'stick; flail, cudgel', Bol *bèl* 'long-handled planting hoe' [GAB]; 4 Wrj *balale-na* 'hoe used for planting' [BlS]; E 5a EDng *bélá* 'la houe à long manche ou le manche seul qui sert à sarcler', Mig *béllá* 'bâton (pour transporter de l'eau)', Bid *béllà* 'bâton servant de soutien pour le transport'. For Mig, Bid see [TN №304].
The next root is most probably cognate:

a. *m-b[u]l-* 'heavy stick': W 3 Tng *bulâŋ* 'stick, club'; 5 Zaar *mbúluŋ* 'heavy wooden club' [CrZ]; C 5 Hdi *mblaw* 'bâton' [Ech]; 7 Mafa *mbəlaw* 'fléau (poure battre le mil)'; C 8 Bud *bílabíla* 'Pfahl, pole' [LkBd], Makari *mbol-de* 'kind of stick' [AlM].
//Cf. Eg *nbʒ* [if nbl] seit Westcar 'Tragstange für den Kornsack', *nbʒ* 19 'Pfahl' [EG II: 243], Sem Arab *wbl* frapper qqn avec une bâton', *wabīl-* gros bâton' [BK II: 1478].
For C 7 Mofu *ɓéɓéle* (compensatory redupl.) 'bois de soutien d'un hangar' cf. Eg *ʿbʒ* [if *ʿbl*] 'der Stab zum Schlagen und als Herrschaftszeichen' [EG I: 176].

213. *bVl-* 'magic (spirit, socerer)': W 4 Paa *bali* 'bewitch', *bàlà-mà* 'witchcraft' [MS], Wrj *bələ-mai* 'sorcerer' [BlS]; C 7a Skn *ma-mbəlum* 'spirit, ghost'; 8 Kus *balai* 'ghost (visible apparition)', *mbɨlla* 'magic' [AlK]; E 3 Ndam *bàlí* 'guérisseur, sorcerer'; 4 Barein (dial) *bòlí, boli, bōlí* 'traditional healer'. Cf. E 5a Bid *bulo* 'arbre sous lequel on dépose les biens du mort'.
//Sem Geez *balbala* 'predict through omens' [LsG: 95].
Cf. E 3 Smr *bàlə* 'guérir', rather < Sem Arab *bll* 'guérir, être guéri' [BK I: 155].

214. *m-/b-bal-* 'shoulder, upper arm' > 'wing': W 2 Mghw *baal* 'arm, hand' [BlM], 'upper arm' [JgS] Ngas *beel* 'shoulder' [Fl], 'shoulder blade' [JgN], Mpn *báàl* 'arm'; 3 Ngm *mbùlu* [NEH**],** , Pero *té-mbèl,* Dera *bálá-m* 'shoulder' [NmK], cf. Krkr *se-balia* 'arm between elbow and shoulder' [Kl]; 5 Plc *babələ*, Zul *bi-mbyaalá* 'shoulder' [Cs №85]; 7 Bok *baàl* 'Schulter' [JgR]; C 1 Tera *be^{m}bálém* 'shoulder' [NmT]; 2 Chb *bàbál* 'Schulter' [HfC]; 7 cf. Gavar *ma-balaleŋ*; 8 Makari *mbala* 'upper arm, wing' [AlM], Afd *mbəla,* Sao, Gulfei, Makari *mbala,* Kus *mpala* 'bras' (< *mbala*, influenced by *pala* 'wing') [Sol: 257, AlK], Afd *bál-deh* 'Flügel' ('arm'+'bird') [Sol: 121]; E 2 Lele *būblā* 'shoulder'.
Accord. to [GrR], kotoko forms (including Log *mpala*) cognate with Mbuko *baɮa* 'upper arm'.
//Sem Akk *nuballu* SB '(Adler-)Flügel' [AHw: 799], 'wing' [CAD n$_2$: 306], Cush Beja *babáal, babáar* 'Federn' [RBd], PECush **baal-* 'feather': Burji *baal-ée,* Afar *bal*, Dasenech *baal,* Had *bal-l-a^{ʔ}e*, Boni, Bayso *baal*, Konso *palla* [SsB], Som *baal* 'wing, feather' [LlS],

Oromo *bala* ‘wing’, *baala* ‘feather’ [Grg], HEC **baalle* ‘feather’: Kamb *baall-ita*, Sid *balle* [Hds], Om Kafa *baaloo* ‘feather’ (not in RK); Wolt *baalliy*, Dawro *balle* ‘feather’, Cush Gaw *paala* (*p-* < **b-*) [LmW: 320]; Berb Mzab, *tbulbult*, Nef *tebulbult* ‘plume d’oiseau’ [NZ: 55]. Cf. Sem Arab *wābil-at-* ‘tête du fémur; tête du bras, le haut de l'épaule’ [BK II: 1478].
[AA 2 №129: WCh Ngas, Mghv (Sura), C 8].
Vonsider the following Chadic and Cushitic forms as Arabic loans:
Ch W 3 Bure *báalé* ‘leaf, foliage’, Cush Arb *baala* ‘leaf’ [ATO], Oromo *baala* ‘leaf’ [LmW: 320]. Cf. Sem Arab *ʿabāl-at-* ‘une feuille’ [BK I: 159].

215. *m-bVl- ‘dove’: W 1 Hs *bóolóo*; 2 Ngas *bul* [Fl], *m̀bul* [JgN], Mghv *m̀bul* [BlM], Mpn *m̀búl*, Chip *bul* [Kr] ‘dove’, Goem *bə́1* ‘pigeon or dove’ gen. [Hlw]; 3 Kupto *mbòlè* (gen.), Bure *mbúul-dò* ‘dove’, Bol *mbole* ‘Senegal dove’ [GAB], Tng *mbole* ‘turtle-dove’; C 1 Tera *mbólá* ‘dove’ [NmT]; 7 Mada *óblò* ‘pigeon sauvage sp.’; E 2 Gbr *bélu* ‘Taube’ [Luk]; 5 Bid *bályà* ‘tourterelle sp.’
//Sem Amh *bullal* ‘dove’, gurage Gogot, Soddo *bullal*, Muher *bulle*, Ezha *bunnəyt*, Chaha *bunyät*, etc. ‘pigeon’ > Cush Beja *belbel* ‘wilde Taube’, Oromo *bulbula* ‘Taube’ apud [SED I №60].
[Gr: 55, ISv: 17, AA 2 №134: Ch, EthSem, Geez *bābil* ‘name of a fictitious bird’, HSED №330]. On Eg *bꜣ* Pyr ‘der Vogel, den die Hieroglyphe darstellt’ see [EDE II: 4f].

216. *(m)bal- ‘locust’: W 2 Mghv *mbwàl* ‘grasshopper, locust’ (internal *–w-* pl.) [BlM], Mush *bwaal* ‘grasshopper’ [JgO]; C 9 Log *mbɨlɨm* ‘locust’ [AlL], *mbûllum* ‘Heuschrecke’ [LkL]; E 5 Bid *bàalò* ‘criquet-pèlerin’.
//Om Wolt *booliy* ‘locust’ [LmW: 320]. Cf. Sem Geez *nəbləs* ‘criquet’ [LsG: 383].

217. *m-bVl- ‘flute’: 3 Bol *mbèele, mèele* ‘type of flute’ [GAB]; C 3 FK *mbəlaaw* ‘flute’; 7 Mofu *bəláy* ‘grande flûte’, *mbálay* ‘kind of flûte’.
//Cf. Sem Amh *ənbilta* (> Geez *ʾənbiltā*), Tna *ʾəmbilta* ‘flute’ [LsG: 27]. Cf. W 2 Mghv *bɛ́l* ‘dogstooth grass; flute made from grass of this name’ [BlM], W 2 Ngas *beel* ‘musical wind instrument’ [Fl], *bɛ́l* ‘flute made

from grass' [JgN], Mpn *ɓél* 'reed growing in water; musical wind instrument made from the stalks of *ɓél*'; C 10 Azum *bola* 'a tall coarse grass which stem may be a half inch thick'.

218. C **bVl-N-* 'flat/tomb-stone': 5 Pod *ɓələma* 'pierre plate pour fermer le tombeau'; 7 Zlg *beliŋ* 'pierre plate qui couvre le tombeau', Mbuko *bélélen* 'pierre plat qui couvre le tombeau', 7 Muy *bèlīm* 'tombstone'; 10 cf. Dari *bèlè bēlē* 'assiette, plateau'.
Deriv.: C 7 Mada *ɓlah* 'à plat'.
Caus. in *–s-*: C 10 Lew *blàs* (Masa, Marba *bàs*) 'aplanir, rendre plat' [LexC], Azum *blasa* 'to make flat'.
//Cf. Eg *ybꜣ* [if ybl] 'Stein des Brettspiels' [EG I: 62], Sem Akk *billu* (a stone) SB [CAD b: 229].

219. **HVbVl-/*bVHVl- > *ɓVl-* 'leather': C 5a Hdi *ɓəli* 'leather', *ɓəla-vəɣa* 'human skin' (*vəɣa* 'body'). Cf. W 1 1 Hs *ɓúulà* 'to become skinned e.g. of inside of thights from riding', *ɓúl-čè* 'to abrade'.
Deriv. ****ɓVl-k-* 'bark, coque':** 5a Hdi *ɓəla-ka-tavu* 'bark'; 7 cf. Ould *ābēlīyá* 'cosses d'arbre'; 9 Mbara *ɓólòkò* 'bark, écorce'; 10 Musey *ɓolokŋa* 'écorce, coque, coquille, cosse' [ShyM], Gizey, Masa, Marba *ɓúlók*, Ham, Musey, Lew *ɓólók* 'écorce, coquille; enveloppe' [LexC], Masa *ɓūlōk-ŋā*, Musey *ɓūlók-ŋā* 'bark, peel' [Shy]; E 1 Kera *ɓəlógí* 'bark'.

220. **HVbVl > ɓ/bVl-* 'thigh': C 1 Tera *bol* 'thigh', *ɓulɓúl* 'hip' [NmT]; 9 Msg *bul* 'Hüfte', *bla* 'Bein' [LkM], *àbùl* [JgIb], Mnj *ɓalak, ɓəl* 'cuisse'; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *ɓál*, Lew, Marba *ʔàbál* 'cuisse' [LexC], Azum *aɓalâ* 'thigh' (no pl.); E 1 Kwn *tòoból* (< *t-Hbl*) [JgIb] 'thigh'.
One wonders, if *ɓVl-* could stem from a form with a body-part' pref. *ḥ-*[33]*: *ḥ-bVl- > ḥbVl- > ɓVl-*.

221. **HVbVl-/*bVHVl- > *ɓVl-* 'horn': W 2 Grk *bil*, Mnt *bulu* 'horn' [Fp], Grk *ɓál* [JgIb]; 3 Dera *ɓílí* [NmK], Bol *ɓalù-m* 'horn of an animal', *ɓòlu-m* 'horn (musical instrument made from animal horn)' [GAB], Tng *bəl* 'horn with 2 holes', Krkr *ɓèeli-m* [GK], Ngm *ɓàlû*

[33] Cf. W. Leslau. A prefix *ḥ-* in Egyptian, Modern South Arabian and Hausa. *Africa* 32/1, 1962, 65-68.

‘horn’ [NEH], Kupto *ɓóolù-m* ‘horn, musical instrument’, Krf *balla* [JgIb], Glm *ɓàlí* [SchV], Maka *bele-m* [NmM], *ɓèlé-m* [SvM]; C 7 Mol *aɓalan* ‘goat horn’ [FsM].
Forms in C 2: Bura *tə́mbə̀l* ‘horn of an animal’ [BlB] and similar may follow ***tV-m-bVl-*** (a rare case of a two-prefixed form?).
//Om Ari *baali, baali,* Dime *bal-tu* ‘horn’ [BnA].
[HSED № 192].
For cognates of Eg **bjʒ* or **bj* ‘tusk or similar’ see [EDE II: 129f].

222. **bV(wV)l-* ‘spotted, multicolored’: W 6 WBade *bòolà-boolaan* ‘spots, spotted pattern’; C 8 Makari *bolbol* ‘spotted’ [AlM].
Denom. verb in *ʔa-* : ****ʔa-bVl- > ɓVl-:*** E 2 Lele *ɓāĺ* ‘être en plusieurs couleurs, to be multi-colored’, *ɓālé* ‘plusieurs couleurs’.
//Cush Burji *bull-anc-i* ‘grey, all mixed colors, spotted’ [SsB], Sem Akk *balālu* ‘to mix, brew beer, to knead, (in the stative) to be spotted, varieagated’ [CAD b: 39]. Cf. Sem **blbl, *bwl* ‘mélanger’ [DRS: 51].
For Akk ‘to knead’ cf. C 7 Mol *bolay* ‘to knead’ [FrM].
The following isoglosses may relate:
a. **buHVl- > ɓUl-* ‘yellow, brown’ (i.e. – ‘variagated’?): W 3 Bol *ɓûl* ‘yellow’ [GAB]; 7 Fyer *ɓwèl* ‘rot, braun’ [JgR]; E 6 Mok *ɓólìlé* ‘yellow’
//Cf. Sem Amh *bulla* ‘yellow, brown’ [SsB: 43], Cush Oromo *bullaa* ‘brownish (mule, etc.)’ [Grg].
b. W 5 Grnt *mbàli* ‘red’ [Hr]; 6 Duw *bəl* ‘red.
Denom. verb in *m-:* C 10 Dari *mbàl* ‘(se) rouiller, teindre colorer en rouge’, Dzpw *mbàl* ‘teindre, colorer’.

223. **HVbal- > Hbal- > *ɓal-* ‘strong, fat’: W 1 Hs *ɓúuléelèe* ‘very fat’; 2 Mghv *ɓál* ‘strong, forceful’ [BlM], Mpn *ɓál* ‘hard, strong’, Mush *ɓál* ‘to be strong’, *ɓál* (n.) ‘strenght, force’ [JgO], Chip *ɓál* ‘strength’ [Kr], Ngas *ɓáal* ‘to recover, get well, heal’ [JgN]; 7 Mada *ɓòlòl* ‘gros, epais’; 8 cf. Makari *ɓalao* ‘to be ripe’ [AlM]; E 2 Lele *ɓāl* ‘avec force’. An Arabic loan?
Denom. in *ʔa-*: ****ʔaɓVl- > *ɓVɓVl-*** (compens. redupl.) 7 Mofu *-ɓaɓəl-́* ‘grossir, engraisser’.
//Sem Arab *ʿbl* ‘être gros, épais’, *ʿabil-* ‘gros, épais’, *ʿabalbal-* ‘grand, fort, robuste, granite’ [BK II: 158f], cf. Berb Qab *bbelbel* ‘être gros, replet’ [NZ: 54].

Consider the following isogloss as a root-variant:
C ***bVl(VH)-*** ‘fat’ adj.: 3 Bana *bálbál* ‘épais’; 6 Buwal *blòx*^{w} ‘solid, fat’.
//Sem Tgr *balhit* ‘gros et épais’ (*blh*) [DRS: 66].

224. *baHVm- ‘to catch’: W 2 Ngas *ɓaam* ‘to take away, snatch, seize’ [JgN], Goem *ɓáam* ‘to seize or take away smth by force’ [Hlw], Mghw *ɓam* ‘to catch’ [BlM], Mpn *ɓám* ‘to snatch’; E 5 Brg *bàamí*, Mig *báamó* ‘tenir, attraper’.
Derived nouns: W 1 Hs *búumà* ‘a fish-trap’, *búmà* ‘animal or bird trap’; 6 Duw, GBade *bamà* ‘hand fish trap’.
Cf. 3 Krkr *bâmma* ‘net for carrying guinea-corn heads, fodder, etc.’.

225. *b[a]n- ‘to open’: W 1 Hs *bányè* ‘to open, uncover’; C 7 Mofu *báŋ, béŋ* ‘troué, ouvert’, Mada *bbàŋ bbàŋ* ‘ouvertement, clairement’; 8 Makari *ban* ‘open, ouvert’ [AlM]; 10 Gizey *bù/òŋ* ‘ouvrir’, Azum *bon-gà* ‘to open wide (by removing the opening or covering)’; E 1 Kera *bìnyì* (vowel assim.) ‘to open’.
//ECush Bayso, Orormo, Arb *ban-,* Konso *pan-* ‘to open’, Had *ban-* ‘to separate, distinguish’ [SsB, Hay].
Cf. [HSED №212].
Deriv.: W 6 GBade *ɓà/ən-tu* ‘to make a small opening, open a little’, WBade *ɓən-tu* ‘to open smth (eyes or curtains) allowing one to look through’, Duw *ɓàn-to* ‘to pull open, open by separating (bag, eyes)’.
Cf. ***bVnn-/*bVng-* (< *bVn-k-) ‘hole’** (note a tenable semantic shift: ‘to open’ > ‘an opening’ > ‘a hole’)**:** W 5 Zaar *mbuŋ* ‘hole in a trunk of a tree’; 5a EDng *béŋ* ‘le trou’, Mig *bûnnè* trou’; 5b Brg *bàŋgó* ‘trou’, Mubi *bàŋ* ‘bouche; porte’[34] [JgM].
Denom verb in *ʔa:* W 7 Bok *pibaŋ* (compensatory redupl.), Karfa *ɓwâ:nây* ‘to widen hole’ [RC].
The following isogloss may also cognate (consider a tenable semantic shift: ‘to open (wide) > ‘to stretch’).
a. *ban- ‘to stretch; be wide’: W 2 Mpn *ban* ‘to stretch, weiden’, Ngas *ben* ‘broad, wide’ [Fl, JgN]; 3 Tng *ban-dɛ* ‘to lay, stretch across or along’; C 4 Gude *bwáŋ* ‘wide’; 3 FK *bwàn-gə́* ‘wide, broad’.
//Cf. Eg *bnbn* ‘to stretch out’/‘(sich) ausstrecken’ (apud TN №163 ‘to stretch wide’, this form can not be found in [EG: I]).

[34] For ECh < AA **bnk* ‘hole’ see [TN №173].

226. *bi/an- (sg. vers. pl.?) **'to bathe':** W 3 Bol *bìnaa* 'to wash, bathe' [GAB], Ngm *bìnâ* [NEH], Tng *pine* 'to bathe', Pero *bínà* 'to wash', Dera *bínà* 'bathing' [NmK], Kupto *fínéy* 'to bathe, take a bath'; C 5 Mlg *bára* 'baden, waschen', Glv *bar-,* Wnd *bar-a* 'to wash' [JgIb]; 6 Buwal *ban* 'to wash', Gavar *ban* 'laver', *bàŋ* 'se laver', Mina *bán* 'to wash body' [FrM]; C 7 Dugwor *mébérέy* 'laver', Muy *ábàrāy,* Merey *bara*, Zlg *bara* 'laver, nettoyer', Ould *bā/ērίyà* 'se laver', Gis *bon* 'sich waschen', Vame *bun-,* Mbuko *banay*, Baka *báláy* 'laver' [BAS], Mol *balay* 'to wash' [FsM], Mada *ábàlá* 'se laver, baigner' (**bVn- > bVr- > bVl-* ?); 7a Skn *banəvə* 'to bathe'; 8 Makari *mban*, Kus *ban*, Log *bìnì* 'se laver' [Al], Zina *bànà* 'to bathe', Bud *béeno, byέnnὲ* 'waschen' [LkBd], *bènú* 'laver' [Awg].
Deriv. C 7 Ould *bārāká* 'laver la saleté de..; s'éclaircir'.
Deriv. in *m-* 'to dump' (Caus.): 3 Bol *mbùunu* 'to dump dry substance' [GAB].
Deriv. in **ʔa-* (to cause bathing?): W **ʔa-bwan* > ***vwaŋ*** (note *–w-* as an infix of pl.) **'to wash, clean smth'**: Goem *vwáŋ* 'to wash or clean smth' [Hlw], Mghv *vwaŋ* 'to wash, cleanse' [BlM], Ngas *vwaŋ* 'to wash smth' [JgN], Mpn *vwān* 'to wash (hands, dishes)', Mush *nvwang* 'to wash' [JgO]; 5 Grnt *vuni* 'to wash' (tr.) [Cs].
Cf. W 1 Hs *ɓùnaa* 'permanently damp piece of ground' (< **ʔa-bun-,* 'to be permanently washed').
//Ch **b-n-* 'to wash, bathe' [Nm], **b-n* 'to wash' [JgIb], CCh **bana* 'wash' (including Proto-Mafa **pana* [GrR].
For cognates of Eg *bnᶜnᶜ* 'baigner, plonger' see [EDE II: 205f].

227. *bVn- **'to build':** C 6 Mina *bíŋ* 'to build' [FrJ]; E 4 Sok *beeni* 'to build' [GrL]; 5b Mubi *beeni, bénì* [JgIb], *bénì, búnà* [JgM] 'to build'. Cf. W 2 Ngas *bɔŋ* 'pen with a stone rampart' [JgN].
Derived noun: ***(k-)bin-** **'hut, room', *ban-* 'village' (pl.):** W 1 Hs *béenée* 'upper story of a building'; 2 Mnt *pin*, Grk *pin* 'room' [Fp, BlY], Goem *pìn* 'hut (in a compound), room (in a house)' [Hlw]; 3 Krkr *bèenù* 'hut, room' [GAB], Bol *bìn* 'hut, room', *bònò* 'house, compound' [GAB], Dera *bínò* 'a distant town' [NmK], Bele *bìn* 'hut', *bùnù* 'compound, household', Gera *bàná* 'town' [SchB], Ngm *bànâ* 'small village', *bànò* [NEH], Maka *bìnò* [SvM] 'compound, house', Bure *bàan-dé* 'compound, house', Kupto *bànìn* 'ward, hamlet; neighbourhood'; 4 Wrj *vin* 'room' [BlS]; 5 Dott *bən* 'compound,

house', *ben* 'grasshut, animal pen' [CrD], Plc *bən*, Zul *bəni* 'town, village' [Cs №417-8], Geji *bəəŋ* town' [Cs №417]. Grnt *biiŋ* 'house' [Ja], *bo-biiŋ* 'husband' [Hr], Guus *vìin* 'compound', Zaar *vìin* 'hut, room' [CrG, Z]; C 1 Tera *bán gar* 'village' (*garu-k* 'wall') [NmT]; 3 FK *vànà* 'sleeping room for husbands'; 4 Bata *vəne* 'case' [Mo], Bch *vine* 'hut' [JgIb], FM *kù-vu,* FB *kù-vun,* Mwl *bìn-tí*, Nzn *vine*, Gudu *viin* 'hut' [Kr]; 5 Pod *vira* 'chambre', Mlg *bəré* 'Haus, Raum', Wnd *bere* 'room' [Voc], *búre, brè* 'maison' [WfN], Wnd *kú-vra*, Dghw *ká-vìré* 'cornbin' [JgIb], 5a Hdi *viŋ* 'boy's room', Lmn *ivŋi* [ívəŋì] 'hut, room' [Wff]; 6 Buwal *bèn* 'bedroom (for men)', Mina *bín* 'house', *bíŋ* 'hut, room' [FrJ]; 7 Gis *veŋ* [JgIb], Zlg *bír* 'chambre de fils', Merey *ber* 'chambre à coucher', Mol *ver* 'chambre' [FsM], Mofu *ver* 'chambre'; 8 Log *vəni* 'Hütte' [LkL], Kus *vrio* 'hut', Makari *fìn* 'hut, nest' [Al]; 9 Mnj *fùnú*, Mbara *fiŋ* (< **k-bVn-*) 'maison'; 9a Gidar *biina* 'hut' [Mo: 46], *bíinà* 'roof' [FrG]; E 5a Mabire *bɛn* 'house' [JnH], Bid *bèenà*, Mig *béŋ* 'chambre, case'; 6 Mok *bíìnó* 'case en paille'.
Velarization of the initial (*b-* > *-v-/-f-*) may be provoked by prefixes, typical of derived nouns (cf. C 4 FM *kù-vu*, FB *kù-vun*, 5 Wnd *kú-vre*, Dghw *ká-vìré* 'hut'). Note CCh **vin*^{y} 'hut' [GrR].
//Sem *bny* 'to build, create': Akk *banū,* Phn *bny*, Pun *bn*^{ʔ}*, bny*, Aram *b*^{e}*nā*, Arab *banā(y),* Ug *bnw,* Sab *bny*, Mhr *benu,* Soq *bene* [DRS: 71], Ug *bnt* 'building, construction, creation', Akk *binītu* 'Gestaltung' [DUL: 229], OffAram, Nab, Palm *bnyn* 'building, construction' [HJ: 178], Arab *biny-at-* 'construction' [BK I: 169], E Cush Som *beni* 'hut' [LlS], for Berb cognates see [AA 2 №112]. Note Eg *bnn* Totb 'erzeugen o.ä.; generate, create' [EG I: 460].
[Nm **bən*, JgIb **bn,* GrL: 297, Coh: 416, ISv: 15, HSED №261, 264].

228. **bVn-* 'to cook': W 6 WBade *bànu* 'to cook tuwo', GBade *bàŋ,* Duw *bàno* 'to cook'.
Deriv. in *m-* 'to burn': C 2 Mrg *mbànà* 'to burn' [JgIb].
Caus. in *ʔa-*: ****ʔabVn- > ɓan-* 'to heat, make warm, burn completely'**: W 2 Goem *ɓáan* 'to make smth warm' [Hlw], Mghv *ɓáan* 'verbrennen, versengen' [JgS], 5 Dott *ɓan* 'to heat up, warm up; burn' [CrD]; E 3 Ndam *ɓànà* 'bouillir (eau)'.
Deriv. ****ɓan-* 'hot':** W 2 Chip *ɓán* 'hotness' [Kr], Goem *ban* 'hot' [Fp]; 5 Dwot *ɓanii* 'hot, difficult' [CrD]; E 3 Ndam *ɓàn* 'chaud (comme feu)'. For W 2, 5 see [TN №166 **bn* 'warm'].

229. *bVn(Vˀ)- 'to pierce': W 2 Mpn *byāŋ* 'to pierce', *ɓyàŋ* 'to prick'; 3 Krkr *bìn-tu* 'to be pierced, pierce'. Cf. 5 Dott *ɓoŋ* 'to pierce' [CrD]. Derived nouns: a.***bVn-* 'sharp point'**: W 3 Tng *bɔn* 'arrow'; C 5 Lmn *mbànà* 'spear' [Wff]; 8 Log *bendəm* 'Eckzahn' [Luk], *vin* 'molar tooth' [AlL]; 9 Mnj *boŋ* 'eperon'.
//Cf. Eg *bwn* (Pyr) 'Bezeichnung der beiden Spitzen des Fischspeers' [EG I: 455], for Eg-Tng see [TN №146].
b. ***bVn-* 'horn':** W 3 Gera *bena* 'horn' [SchB]; E 6 Mok *búnnò* 'corne à siffler'.
//ECush Som *buun* 'conch horn, horn' [LlS].

230. *(ˀi)bVn- (< *yVbVn-*, a metath. variant of Sem (and AA) **byn*) 'to know, to think':** W 2 Mghv *bɛ̀n* 'to assume, think, hope for' [BlM], Mpn *bén* 'to think, disuss'; 3 Krf *ban-,* Grm *–ban-,* Dera *bán* 'to know' [JgIb], Gera *bîn-mí*, Bele *mbón-kò,* Glm *bán-àalá* [SchB], Pero *pénò,* Bure *ban-* 'to know'; 5 Dott *bən* 'to be able, know', Bogh *mabáŋ* 'to know' [Cs №743]; 7 Fyer *ben* 'denken' [JgR], Monguna *ben* 'to think' [RC] (possibly, a loan from W 2); C 3 FK *mbànə́* 'to be able, can' [BlFK]; 6 Mina *ɓáŋ* 'to think' [FrJ]; E 4 Sok *íbene* 'lernen' [Luk]; 5a Mab *ibina* 'to know' [JnH], Mig *ˀìbìnò,* WDng *ˀìbìnè,* EDng *ìbìnē,* 5b Brg *ˀibini* 'savoir, connaître, comprendre'.
//Sem Ug *bn* 'understand', Hbr *byn* 'understand, pay attention' [DUL: 222, KB: 121], Arab *byn* 'être séparé; être clair, lucide, évident', II stem 'expliquer' [BK:186], Geez *bayyana* 'distinguish, notice, recognize, decide, judge' > make clear', Eth *byn* 'become evident, decide' [LsG: 115f], Phn *bnh* 'intelligence' [HJ: 173]. Arab *ˀbn* 'juger, se former une opinion de qqch' [BK I: 6].
For Geez 'to make clear' cf. WDng *bɛ́ɛ̀ŋɛ̀* (< *byn*) 'éclairer avec du feu'. [HSED №275].
Accord. To [GrR], CCh FK *mbànə́,* 4 Sharwa *mban* 'capable' and 7 Gemzek *mambana* 'be capable' follow CCh **mba* 'to be able'.

231. *bi/un- 'bran': W 3 Bol *biinà* [GAB], Dera *bíinà* 'bran' [NmK], Kupto *bìinán* 'sorghum sp.; chaff'; 6 Duw *vìinau* 'bran' (note **bin-* > *vin*); C 2 Bura *bina* 'outside shell of guinea-corn' [BlB], Mrg *bínə́* 'bran' [HfM: 22]; 5 Pod *bina* 'son de mil'; 9 Mnj *bəraa* 'son de mil'; 10 Dzpw *bàinà* 'son (mil)', Dari *bāynā* 'son de céréale', Musey *banana* 'son de grain' (int. *–a-* pl.) [ShyM]; E 2 Lele *bìnā, bìn-dā*

‘son’; 5a EDng *bùnyā* ‘la bâle, la capsule du grain’, WDng *búnyà* ‘balle du grain’.
For W 3 Kupto ‘sorghum sp.’ cf. E 2 Lele *bèné* ‘k of sorgho’, 3 Ndam *bínê* ‘sorgho.
For a denom. verb in *ʔa-* see W 5 Grnt *ɓoŋi* ‘to peel’ [Hr].
//ECush Som *buunše* ‘husk’ [LlS], Berb Ghad *bina* ‘dêchet de mouture de mil’ (< Ch) [NZ: 73].

232. **bin-* ‘feather’: W 7 DB *b(i)yàŋ* (< *bi-a-ŋ*, internal *–a-* pl.) [RC], *bâŋ* [JgR] ‘feather’, Mangar *ɓâŋ* ‘feather, leaf’ [RC]; C 4 Jimj *bínún*, Sharwa *bíbīʔīn* ‘feather, wing’, Gude *bíbínà* ‘feather’ [BrJ]; E 3 Ndam *dá-biny* ‘plume’.
a. ****bin-* ‘arm‘:** W 7 Fyer *beŋ* [JgR]; C 1 Tera *bən* [NmT], Jara *binna* [Meek].
//Cf. Om Shin *bangá* , Zayse *paange* ‘Feder, Flügel’ [LSh].
Cf. [HSED №211].

233. **bVn(n)-* ‘field, farm’: W 2 Mghv *bóŋ* ‘farmland (around the compound)’ [BlM], C 9 Mnj *boŋor* ‘butte de terre’; E 5a ‘EDng *bāaŋày* coll. ‘les champs de sorgho’; 6 Mok *bónì-só* ‘parcelle de champ à cultiver’ (*-so* is a suff. of sing.)
Denom. verb in **ʔa-:*ʔabVŋ- > ɓVŋ-:* W 2 Mpn *ɓyāŋ* ‘to start farming for the first time’.
Derived noun: C 10 Musey *banaŋŋa* ‘grande houe pour faire les sillons’ [ShyM].
//Eg *bn.t* (n) ‘Art Acker’ [EG I: 458]; ECush Som *ban* ‘field, plain out of doors’ [LlS], Sem Arab *bunan-at-* ‘jardine riche en plantes et en fleurs’ [BK I: 166]. Consider the folllowing forms as Arabisms: W 2 Mghv *boŋ* ‘garden’ [JgS]; 7 Bok *bìbìn* ‘Garten’ [JgR].

234. **ban-* ‘kind of band, leather apron for men’: W 2 Ngas *(m)bèné* ‘apron (made of leather)’ for man)’ [JgN], Mush *byàn* ‘leather apron’ [JgO]; E 2 Lele *banya* ‘cache-sexe masc.’; 6 Mok *báanè* ‘ceinture en peau d'antilope’.
//Eg *wbn.t* Sp ‘Name der Mumienbinde für die Stirn’ [EG I: 294]. May be cognate with the next root.

235. **bVnn-/*bVwVn-* ‘rope, tendon, net’: C 7 (compensatory

redupl.) Merey *bəbàŋ* ‘corde avec laquelle on lie le boeuf’, Mofu *bébeŋ, bábaŋ* ‘muselière (pour les moutons)’, Zlg *bwànwa* ‘cache-sexe de fibres’; 9 Msg *boane* (< **bwn*) ‘Netz’ [LkM]; 10 Dzpw *bōŋ* ‘bride (cheval)’, *bēŋ* ‘filet fin’; E 6 Mok *bônné* ‘corde’; E 5a WDng *bínyìnyò* ‘nerfs du corps’, Mig *bînnyè* ‘tendon’. Cf. E 3 Tum *bēŋ* ‘piège sp.’.
//Cf. Cush Saho *baanto* ‘kind of vegetal rope; tendon’ [Vr].
Denom. verb in **ʔa-: *ʔ**aban-*** > ****ɓan-*** **‘to tie’:** C 7 Mbuko *ɓán* ‘lier, attacher’, Merey *ɓar* ‘lier’; 8 Log *ɓunun he* ‘fasten bind (load)’, *ɓán* ‘binden’ [AlL, LkL], Kus *ɓan he* ‘to tie, fasten, bind’ [AlK]. Cf. Bud *pēnai, fenai* ‘to tie’ [LkBd].
Derived noun: C 5a Hdi *ɓanava* ‘belt’; E 2 Lele *ɓèndè* ‘filet sp’.
//Berb Ghad *aḇen* ‘attacher une bête à un point fixe’, Ahag *ahen* [NZ: 72]. [AA 2I № 113: Logone, Berb].

236. **buwan-* ‘God, sky, rain’: W 5 Guus *von* (< *bwVn*) ‘rain’ [CrG]; C 9a Gdr *bùwàn, bùná* ‘rain’ [FrG]; E 4 Mawa *bwan* ‘God, sky’ [RbM], Ubi *bwane*, Mawa *buan* ‘ciel’ [HuJ]; 5a Mabire *boŋ* ‘ciel’ [HuJ], EDng *búŋ* ‘le devin, le mystérieux, dieu’, Mig *búŋ* ‘dieu de pluie, ciel’, Bid *bùŋ* ‘Dieu’, 5b Mubi *bùn* ‘sky’ [Luk], *bùn* ‘God’ [JgM], Jegu *bóŋ* ‘Himmel, Gott’, Tor *bùŋ* ‘Dieu’.
Cf. C 10 Dzpw *bùŋōr* ‘arc-en-ciel, pluie’.
[ISv: 15: Gdr, Msg, Mubi, cf. HSED №326, EDE II: 162].

237. **bVn-* ‘bad’: W 5 Tala *bonnu* ‘bad’ [Cs], E 4 Sok *bénaa* ‘hässlich, schlecht’ [Luk]. Cf. W 3 Kupto *bòné* ‘hard, tough, punishment’, derived verb: *bònì-téy* ‘to punish’.
a. **bVn-* ‘to be cruel’: W 3 Tng *bana* ‘anger, rage’; 5 Zaar *bəən* ‘to be arrogant, quarrelsome’ [CrZ]; C 4 Gude *mbíinə* ‘to behave cruelly’; 5a Mig *bòŋ-sò* ‘se facher’.
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *bùunaa* ‘a fierce, hot-tempered, quarrelsome person’. For a link between ‘bad’ and ‘cruel’ see Eg.
//Eg *byn* (AR) ‘schlecht’, *byn* Nä ‘die Böse’ [EG I: 442f].
[ISv: 20: Eg-Sokoro, HSED №263].

238. **(m)bVn-* ‘good, beautiful, sweet’: W 2 Bol *ben* ‘good’ [Bn]; 4 Miya *mbána*, Kar *mban* ‘good, beautiful’ [SkNB], Wrj *mbanai* ‘good, fine’ [BlS]; 5 Pol *mbon*, Zul *búùni,* Zaar *mbuní,* Bogh *puŋnún,* Buli

mbənə́, Geji *mbuntíi* ‘good’ [Cs №474]; C 5a Hdi *bənbəna* ‘very sweet’; 6 Daba *və́n* ‘très bon, très beau’; 8 Makari *mbin* ‘right, good’[AlM]; cf. E 2 Lele *bìnỳ* ‘fleurir’.
//Sem Akk *banû* ‘to be pleasant, friendly (said of the face)’, *bunnû* to ‘beautify; to treat kindly’ (from OB on), *banû* ‘well-formed, well-made (said of staples, objects), fine, beautiful’, *bunnû* SB ‘beautiful’ [CAD b: 90, 81, 319]. For WCh-Akk see [TN №157]. Cf. Eg *bnj,* later *bnr* ‘süss sein; sweet’ [EDE II: 200-205].
For Akk *bunnû* ‘to treat kindly’, *banû* ‘to be pleasant, friendly’ see the following Ch root:
a. ***ban-* ‘to help’:** W 3 Bol *banà* ‘help, aid’, *bànàanu* ‘to help’ [GAB], Kupto *bànà* ‘donation’, *mbàntéy* ‘to help, give a hand, lift smth’; C 1 Gaa *mbə́n* ‘to please’ [MN]; 7 Mofu *-bábən-* ‘amadouer, choyer qqn pour retenir chez soi, prendre soin de qqn’; E 5a EDng *bànye* ‘avoir pitié’.
Note a possible root-variant:
b. ***bVl-* ‘good, beautiful, sweet’**: W 5 Dott *bəli* ‘sweet’; 6 Duw *bàlân* ‘nice, beautiful, good’ : E 1 Kera *bàl* ‘good’,
Cf. C 7 Muy *ābəlāy* ‘to be good, beautiful’ (? ‘to become good, beautiful’)
Consider the following forms as Arabic loans: W 4 Siri *amberi* ‘good, beautiful’ [SkNB]; C 1 Tera *mbari* ‘good, beautiful’ [NmT]. Note Sem Arab *bāriʿ-* ‘chose belle, excellent’ [BK I: 112].

239. **bar-* ‘to shine’: W 2 Mush *bara* ‘to shine’ [JgO]; 7 (drived noun) DB *bará* ‘Blitz and Donner’ [JgR]; C 9 Msg *bára* ‘blitzen, wetterleuchten; to shine’ [LkM]; E 5a cf. Bid *ber* ‘apparaître (lune)’.
Deriv. in *-ɬ-:* C Ould *mbə̀rɮà* (voicng in contact) ‘étoile’; 9 Msg *ábrałai* ‘Perle’.
//Sem Akk *birbirrū* (OB) ‘luminosity, light’, *barīru* SB ‘rays’ cf. *barāru* A ‘sparkle’?? [CAD b: 245, 111], cf. Akk *brr* ‘étinceler (?)’ [DRS: 87], Geez *brh* ‘to shine, be bright, light up, be clear’, Tgr *bärha*, Tna *bärhe*, Amh *bärra* ‘to shine’, Bilin *barh* ‘clear’ [LsG: 103]; Cush Saho, Afar *beeraa* ‘sunny weather’, Som *birbiray* ‘to sparkle, twinkle, blink’ [LlS].
For Geez *bəruh* ‘happy’ cf. CCh 3 FK *mbə̀rìvə̀* ‘lucky’.
Note a possible derived noun: ***bur-* ‘day, morning’:** C 10 ‘day’: Gizey, Masa, Lew, Marba *bùr,* Ham, Musey *bùù*, Masa, Lew, Marba

bùr [LexC], Azum *burà*; E 5b Mubi *bùrbùrù* ‘morning’.
//Cush Afar *beeraa*, Saho id., Oromo *bóru* ‘der Morgige Tag, Morgen’ [RA], ECush Som *bari,* Rend *ber'i* ‘east’ [Sam], Arb *barrí* ‘dawn, tomorrow’ [Hay], Ong *bē²ri* ‘to dawn’, *baram* ‘tomorrow’ [FlO], *baram* ‘tomorrow’ [SaT], SOmot Hamer, Kara *bu(u)ri* ‘be morning’ [BnA].
The following cognates stem from a root-varian (cf. Sem **brr, *brh* vers. **bhr*).
a. ***ɓVr-*** (< ****bHr***) **‘to shine’:** C 4 Gude *ɓərə* ‘to shine, be bright’.
Deriv. C 3 Bana *ɓ(ə)raɬi* ‘étinceler’
Derived nouns: W 3 Bol *ɓeɓire* ‘sparks’ [GAB]; 7 Bok *ɓyáar* ‘Stern’ [JgR].
//Sem Hbr *bāhīr* ‘clear’, Aram *bəhar* ‘be clear’, Syr *(ša) bahar* ‘to glorify’, (Mand) *bhr, bar* ‘to shine’ [LsG: 103f], Arab *bhr* ‘surpasser (en beauté, en bravoure); ‘briller par qq qualité, briller parmi les autres’ [BK I: 170].
Alternatively, Ch ****ɓVr-*** may cognate with Eg *ʿbȝ* [if ʿbr] D18 ‘funkeln, leuchten (von der Sonne und von funkelnden Gegenständen)’, *ʿbȝ* Gr ‘Licht’ [EG I: 177], Om Kafa *borea* ‘Licht’ [RK].
[AA 2 №115, HSED №327].

240. **b[a]r-* ‘to cover, to wrap’: C 2 Bura *barwa* ‘to wrap an object inside smth.’ [BlB]; 7 cf. Ould *-vàr* ‘couvrir d'une toit’ (irreg. *v-*); 9 Mbara *bàr* ‘couvrir une maison, to thatch’, Mulwi *bìrí* ‘étendre (un tissu), couvrir (avec un tissue)’; 10 Ham, Masa, Gizey *bàr*, Musey *bàà* (< **bar#,* compensatory lengthening of the vowel) couvrir avec tissu’ [LexC], Azum *barà* ‘to cover smth.’, Masa *bàr* ‘(se) couvrir’ [CC], Musey *baara* ‘couvrir’ [ShyM]; E 5a WDng *bóòrè* ‘couvrir’.
Derived noun: C 7 Mbuko *vévar* (< *bVvVr* < *bVbVr*) ‘toit, roof’
//Berb Qab *sburr* ‘se couvrir’, Mzab *bberber* ‘couvrir’, Ghad *berber* ‘être couvert, enveloppé’, Ahag *beruberet* ‘couvrir’, NIG *barbar* ‘fermer’, Ghat *sberber* ‘boucher’ [NZ: 91].
Cf. [TN №191].
For Ghat ‘boucher’ cf. E 5a EDng *bàr-dɛ̄* ‘boucher un petit trou ou une fente, colmater; aveugler’.
For a ‘Wanderwort’[35] cf.: Ch W 1 Hs *bàrgoo* ‘blanket’, C 7 Mafa *boruk^{w}a* ‘couverture’ (a loan), E 1 Kera *bòrgó* ‘Decke’ (a loan). C 5 Mlg *bárk^{w}a* ‘Decke’, Pod *bərəkwa* ‘couverture’, Wnd *barkwa* [Voc]; 7

[35] note, however, that Ch forms (labelled as loans) look like derived nouns in *–k-*.

Zlg *bàràgwa*, Ould *bàrkù* ‘couverture’, also Saharan Kanuri *borko*, Tubu *borgo,* Sem Amh, ECush *bullukko* ‘blanket’ [SkH: 17].

241. **bar-* ‘to make love, marry’: W 4 Paa *bar* ‘to marry’ [MS]; C 1 Tera *ɓəri* ‘to marry’ (irreg. initial) [NmT]; C 5a Hdi *baray* ‘to seduce’; 7 Mofu *-ḿbər-* ‘faire l'amour, coîter’, Chuv *mémbrə̀y* ‘faire l'amour’; 10 Dzpw *bàr* ‘cohabiter’.
Derived nouns: W 1 Hs *bárbáráa* ‘copulation of birds or animals; keenness, eagerness’, *búurì* ‘longing, keen wish’; C 7 Mol *obor* ‘lust’ [FsM].
//Cf. Berb Ghad *ebr* ‘vouloir, désirer’ [NZ: 90].

242. **bi/ur-* ‘to dig’: 5 Zul *bori* ‘to dig’ [Cs №788]; E 2 Lele *bìír* ‘to dig’ [JgIb].
Derived verb: E 5a EDng *bòrsē* ‘labourer la terre (phacochère)’.
Derived noun: ****bur-* ‘grave, pit’:** W 3 Kupto *fúré,* Pero *púré,* Tng *pure,* Ngm, Dera *bùrè* [NEH, NmK], Bol *bùre* ‘grave’ [GAB]; C 7 cf. Muy *bùr-zùm* ‘hole where pot-clay or building-clay is extracted’; E 5a EDng *bùrí* ‘ancien trou de puits’.
Denom. verb in *ʔa-* : 5a Mig *ʔàbìrò* ‘déterrer, creuser un trou avec les ongles’.
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *búr-sò* ‘hole in the ground used as a fireplace’
Derived noun ****bVr-m-* ‘pit, burrow’:** W 1 Hs *bàramii* ‘an excavation, mine’; 3 Bol *borom* ‘burrow (esp. - in termite hill)’; C 7 Mbuko *bérom* ‘trou (que l'on creusé), nid d'une poulet’.
Denom. verb: E 5a Mig *bàrmò* ‘élargir (trou)’.
//Sem Arab *bʾr* (u) ‘creuser un puits, une fosse, cacher’ [BK I: 79], Sab *bwr* ‘grave’ [SD: 33], Hbr *bōr* (< *bʾr*) ‘hollow dug in the ground in which to cook’ [KB: 114], Sem **bi/uʾr-* ‘well, cisterne’: Akk *būrtu* MR, SB ‘well, cistern; fish pond, waterhole; hole, pit’ from OB on [CAD b: 335], OAram *byrʾ,* Imp *bʾr*, Sab *bʾr*, Hbr *bəʾer* ‘puits’, Arab *biʾr-* ‘puits’, *buʾur-* ‘fosse’, etc. [DRS: 41, LsG: 102, cf. Kg: 192]. ECush Oromo *bor* ‘to dig’ [Grg], Om Dime *burbur,* Hamer *bar* ‘hole’ [BnA], Berb Ghad *i-b̲er* ‘canale, rigole d’irrigtion’ [NZ: 91]. Cf. Eg *bꜣbꜣ* ‘Loch’ and *bj3* ‘Bergwerk’, for all possible cognates see [EDE II: 56-63, 122-125].
//Coh: 384, AA 2 №142 **bʾr* ‘pit, well; to dig’: Tng, Lele, ron, HSED №319 ‘dig’, №164 ‘pit, well’].

243. **(m)bVr-* 'to jump, to fly': W 1 Hs *ɓìraa, ɓùraa* (irreg. initial, probably motivated by the semantics) 'to jump, hop'; 6 Daba *mbə̀r* 'voler, s'envoler, sauter', Mbedam *mbər* 'to fly' [LMb], Gavar *mbir* 'sauter', Mina *mbír* [FrJ], Buwal *^{m}bēr* 'to jump', Musgoi *mbir* 's'envoler' [Mo: 30]; 7 Ould *bə̀r* idf. 'bruit de vol'; 8 Zina *bùɣ^{w}rà* 'to jump' (internal pl.?); 9 Mlw *bìrì* 'voler (oiseau)', Mnj *bára* 's'envoler' [Mo: 30]; E 1 Mobu *bə́ré* `to jump', Ngam *bré* 'voler (pour oiseau)'; 4 Barein (dial. Jalkiya) *béeró* 'to jump'; 5a EDng *béré* 'sauter en dansant'; 5b Mubi *bír* 'voler (pour oiseau)' [JgM], Brg *bèrì* 'voler'.
Derivatives: C 4 Gude *bə̀rə̀-dă* 'hopping on one foot'; 7 Merey *mbər-ʒa* 'sauter'.
Note possible derived nouns: C 7 Mada *mábráh* 'chauve'; E 5a Bid *bùrbùrum* 'ver sp. (volant)'.
//Sem Geez *brr* 'to fly, run fast', Tgr *bärra*, Tna Harari *bärärä,* Gur, Amh *bärrärä* 'to fly' [LsG: 107], Jib *ebré* 'to jump' [JnJ], ECush Burji *burr-,* Saho *ibrir* 'to fly' [SsB], Ong *barara* 'to fly', HECush **barar-* 'to fly'? (but a loan) Oromo *barara,* Gede'o *birret-*, Had *barar-*, Kamb *burriy-* 'to fly' [Hds]; Kemant *bərt-* 'to jump' [ApAg].
For Geez to run fast' cf. W 1 Hs *bàaburà* 'to gallop a horse quickly'.
Cf. 3 Kupto *bàrè* 'dance sp.'; C 7 Ould *bə̀rə̀kw* 'danse d'un cabri'
[AA 2 №119 **bVr* 'to fly, to jump', HSED №291, TN №1879 **br* 'to jump'].
The following insect names may be derived form 'to fly'/'to jump':
a.****bVr-* 'a fly'**: W 5 Zaar *bərə́m* 'a fly' [CrZ]; C 7 Mofu *béber* 'taon', E 5b Tor *bèreera* 'papillon', cf. also W 3 Krkr *barmaʒè* 'horse-fly'; C 8 Makari *abra-susu*, Log *barababiyo* 'dragonfly' [Al].
//Cf. Om Bench *bur* 'fly (of the biting type)' [LmW: 320].
b. W 3 ****m-bVr-* 'bee'**: Bol *mboori* 'bee which makes honey in a hole in the ground' [GAB], Kupto *mbìrìirì* 'mason wasp'. For confusion of semantics 'fly' & 'bee' see SCush.
//SCush rift **baˀara* 'flies': Irq, Gor *baˀár* 'flies', Alg *baˀara* 'flies, honey bees', **baˀarimo* 'fly' (with suff. *–imo* for singulatives): Irq *baˀa(a)rmo,* Gor *baˀarmó* 'fly, honey bee', Bur *baˀarimoo* [Kies].
c. C ****(m-)bar-* 'locust, grasshopper'**: 6 Daba *màbàrà* 'kind of criquet' (clearly derived < Daba *mbə̀r* 'voler, s'envoler, sauter'); 10 Gizey Masa *bár,* Ham, Musey *báa,* Lew, Marba *ˀàbár* 'criquet sp., sauterelle' [LexC], Musey *baara* 'locust' [ShyM], Azum *abárá* 'edible

grasshoppers'.
//Berb MC *aburri,* Sen, Rif *abarru* 'criquet', Izn, Snus *aberru* 'sauterelle' [NZ: 95].
A loan from the masa gr. to Berber or vice versa is likely.

244. **bVr-* 'to cut, chop': C 4 Gude *burə* 'to chop, hammer'; 9 Mnj *biri*(*bara*) 'taller' ('tailler'?) [TrMnj: 62], E 2 Lele *bòr* 'casser, couper'.
Derivatives: W 1 Hs *abàarà* 'large round-bottomed dug out canoe as used by the Kakanda tribe'; E 4 Mawa *bəra* 'bois coupé'.
Derived verbs: C 5 Pod *bɨrəkə* 'ciseler'; 7 Ould *-bàràm* 'couper plusieurs plantes à la fois', Mada *ábràč* 'ronger, fendiller'.
Derived noun: a.W 1 Hs *béerà* 'a small razor used in tatooing'.
//Sem Arab *brw* 'dégrossir avec une hache' [BK I: 119], Hbr *brʾ* D-stem 'cut down (forest)' [KB: 147]), Pun *brʾ* 'graveur (?)' [DRS: 80].
b. cf. C 1 Tera *mbir* 'sore, plaie' [NmT]; 10 Dari *mbír* 'wound'
//ECush Sam (Som, Rend) **nabar* 'sign cut into skin' [Sam].
For Sem Pun *brʾ* 'graveur' cf. C 3 FK *bàvìrə́* 'scar, mark on the body'; E 4 Mawa *burus* 'cicatrice'; 5a EDng *bīrčò* 'la cicatrice'.
For a root variant see the next issue.

245. **bVHVr- > *ɓVr-* 'to tatoo, cut': W 3 Tng *bɛrɨ* 'to cut round, circumcise', Glm *ɓár-* 'to cut off; slaughter (by cutting throat)' [SchB], Kupto *ɓèɓìréy* 'to cut into small pieces'; C 6 Daba *ɓòr* 'tatouer comme marque tribales or signe de beauté'; 10 Ham, Marba *ɓír,* Musey *ɓíí* (< **ɓir,* compensatory lengthening) 'graver du bois, scarifier', Gizey, Masa *ɓír* 'inciser, tatouer', Gizey, Masa, Ham *ɓír* 'scarifier' [LexC]; E 5a WDng *ɓòr* 'tatouer', Bid *ɓòr* 'fendiller, fissurer'.
Derived noun: W 3 Pero *ɓérà* 'face cutting'.
Derived verbs.: W 3 Kupto *ɓèr-téy* 'to cut, slaughter; to stop (a child from breast feeding)'; 6 Duw *ɓár-nìyo* 'to cut open (fish, fowl)'; E 1 Kera *ɓír-lí* 'to tatoo'; 5a EDng *ɓìr-čɛ̄* 'ébrancher, élaguer'.
//Sem Arab *bḥr* 'fendre, déchirer (se dit de la pratique de fendre l'oreille à une chamelle)' [BK: 88], ECush Dah *ɓiir-* 'to cut grass, mow' [Eh: 138].
Cf. [HSED №188].

246. **bVr-* 'to insult': W 3 Bol *bàriyà* 'admonishment, scolding' [GAB]; 5 Grnt *bari* [Ja], Dott *ber* 'to abuse, insult' [Cr], Zaar *ver* 'to

insult' [CrZ]; C 7 Mafa *bə́ra* 'insulter'.
//Cush Afar (Saho, Oromo id.) *abaar* 'fluchen, verfluchen; curse' [RA], Oromo *abbaara* 'curse, scold' [Grg].
The following forms may relate: C 7 Mada *ómbròv* 'dénigrer, critiquer'//Sem Arab *ʾbr* 'calomnier ou diffamer un absent', *ʾibr-at-* 'méchanceté, médisanse' [BK I: 3f].

247. **bVr-* 'to drill a hole': W 3 Dera *borè* 'to make a hole in' [NmK], cf. Glm *mbáry-àalá* 'to stab' [SchB]; C 7 Muy *ábə̀r* 'to drill a hole by turning a bit', cf. Ould *bə̀rə̀f* idf. 'action de percer qqch'.
Derived noun: W 3 Bol *bèrem* 'hole into which water of a pond is draines, leaving fish exposed' [GAB].
//SOm Hamer *bar,* Dime *burbur* 'hole' [FlA].
Derived verbs: C 7 Mafa *búrc-* 'percer (un mur)', Mofu *-vávə́rkʷ-* (< *bávə́rkʷ* < *-bábə́rkʷ-*) 'percer qqch dur'.
//Cf. Eg *wbʒ* [if wbr] 'bohren, öffnen' [EG I: 290]. Sem Geez *brr* 'pierce, penetrate, go through' > 'passage', Amh *bärrärä* 'pierce, make a hole in a water jug' > 'door, gate', Tgr *bärabära* 'pierce', Hbr *bārūr* in *ḥes bārūr* 'penetrating arrow' [LsG: 107], note Hbr *brr* qal 'polish, point (arrow)' [KB: 156]. For Sem 'penetrate, point an arrow' and Ch 'to pierce' see the next isogloss (though, the common origin is not doubtless):
a. **m/ʾa-bVr-* arrow': W 5 Guus *mbàrà* 'arrow, sting, quil of insect', Zaar *mbàrà* 'arrow' [Cs]; 7 Mundat *àbəbar* 'arrow' [RC]; C 9 Msg *bárau* 'Pfeil' [LkM], Mnj *ɓaraw* 'arrow'; 10 Masa *báraw* [Mo: 53], Musey *mburura* [ShyM], Gizey *ɓùr* 'arrow' [LexC]; E 1 Kera *aɓooro* 'arrow'.
Denom. verb in *ʾa-: ʾabar-* > C 7 Mol *ɓar* 'to shoot an arrow' [FsM]. Cf. also W 1 Hs *bàaraa* 'shooting'.

248. **bVVr-/*ɓVr-* (< **baHar-*) 'to hunt, hunting': W 1 cf. Hs *bàaraa* 'aiming, shooting at an onject'; 2 Grk *bàr* 'to hunt' [BlY]; 3 Bol *bàrà* 'hunting, fishing' [GAB], Dera *bárà* 'hunting' [NmK], Ngm *bàarà* 'hunting' [NEH], Maka *bàarà* 'to hunt', Krf *bar-* 'to chase, hunt', Dera *barà*, Grm *ŋbara* 'to hunt' [SchV], Krkr *bàaràa* 'hunting, festival' [GK], Pero *párà* 'hunt' n., Kupto *fárá* 'hunting with spear', Tangale *pari* 'look for, search', *para* 'hunting'; 6 Ngz *bàrú* 'to hunt' (< Kanuri *bara* ??), Duw *bàarà* 'hunting'; C 1 Tera (dial.) *bərə*

‘hunting’ [Kr]; 2 Bura *bara* ‘to seek, want, be in love’ [BlB], Bura *bàrà* ‘suchen, jagen, wollen’ [HfB], Chb *bàrà* ‘suchen, jagen, wollen’ [HfC], *bàrà-ntàkù* ‘hunting’ [Kr]; 7 Vame *ɓər-* ‘chasser’, *bər-* ‘to catch’; 10 Azum *ɓerá* ‘to hunt on foot, in the heat of the day when the animals are resting’, Musey *ɓeera* ‘la chasse, aller faire la chasse’ [ShyM], Gizey, Masa, Ham *ɓér* ‘chercher’ [LexC]; E 1 Kera *ɓéeré* ‘to hunt’; 5a WDng *bàrìyè* ‘aller chercher’; 6 cf. Mok *bèerè* ‘enquête, surveillance (en cachette)’.
For C 2 ‘to seek, hunt, want, be in love’ cf. **№241. **bar-* ‘to make love, marry’ .**
Deriv. W 3 Ngm *bàr-tâ* look for, seek out’ [NEH]; C 2 Bura *bara-ta* ‘suchen’ [HfB: 295].
Deriv in *–g-*: C 9 Mlw *bìrgì* ‘chasser, faire la chasse’, Mnj *birgi* ‘chasser’ ; E 6 Mok *bôrge* ‘chasser (animaux)’. Cf. C 8 Makari *birǯi* (< *birgi*) ‘fishing net’ (note Akk, Sab ‘to fish’) [AlM].
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *búréerée* ‘bird snare’; C 5 Pod *bəra* ‘filet de pêche’; 6 Gavar *ma-bar* ‘filet’.
Derived noun in *-m-/-n-*: W 1 Hs *bàramii* ‘bird-snare’; C 5a Hdi *barum* ‘handmade tool to catch grasshoppers’; 10 Lew, Marba *bìrím* ‘nasse à poisson’ [LexC]; E 5a WDng *báàrnè* ‘grand filet’.
//Sem Akk *baʾaru* ‘to catch (fish, birds), to hunt’ from OB on [CAD b: 2], *na-bāru*, *na-bār-tu* ‘trap, cage’ [CAD n_1: 21], Soq *bʿr* ‘to fish’ , Mhr *biter* (T-stem) [LsS: 92, DRS: 41], Amh *abarrärär* ‘chase’ [Hds].
Emphatization of *b-* (observed in a few Ch languages) and a long root vowel point to a "weak" laryngeal (ʾ or ʿ) as C_2 on the PCh level.
Nilo-Saharan Kanuri *bara* ‘to hunt’, lacking an etymology, is rather a Ch loan.
[StH №VIII.2]. Cf. ****pVr-* ‘to hunt, to search’.**

249. **bVr-* ‘(to) fear’: W 5 ****bVr-t-*** ‘fear’ n.: Jimi *bwattóo* (assim. < *bwarto*), Plc *bár-ti*, Zul *bər-ti* [Cs № 431], Zaar *vər-tá* ‘fear’ [CrZ], Dott *bər-ti* ‘to have fear’ [CrD]; C 5 Pod *mbəra* ‘to have fear’; 7 Ould *mbəmbər* ‘peur, fear’; E 5a WDng *bàárìyè* ‘craindre’.
//Berb Qab *abrari* ‘crantif’ [NZ: 94], Sem Geez *barʿa* ‘tremble, shake’ Tgr *bärʿa* ‘fear’ [LsG: 101], Syrian-Arab *barbaʿ* ‘frighten’ [LsG: 101].
For WDng-Qab-Tgr see [TN №221].
For W 1 Hs *ɓárì* (< *bHr*)‘shivering, trembling (whether from cold, fear, joy, or anything else)’ cf. Sem Arab *bḥr* ‘être saisi et enterdit de

frayeur' [BK I: 88], Geez *baḥrara* 'to be startled, fear, frightend' [LsG: 92].

250. **bVr-* 'to spread, extend': W 2 Mghv *bígɨr* (internal *-k-* pl.) 'to expose, spread', *bwɛɛr* 'to spread open'; C 5 Pod *mbála* 'étendre, spread out'; 9 Mnj *biri* '(s') étaler', Mlw *bìrí* 'étendre (un tissu) couvrir avec un tissu'; 10 Musey *baara* 'étendre, tendre' [ShyM], E 5a Bid *birràỳ* 'étendre (habit, tissu)'.
Deriv.: C 6 Buwal *blɛ̀-k* 'to spread over'.

251. **bVr-* 'to help': W 3 Krkr *mbìru* 'to save' [GK]; 4 Miya *bər* 'to help, save' [Sch], Paa *mbùre* 'to help' [MS], Siri, Mburku *bur*, Tsagu *buru*, Miya, Jmb *mbur* 'to help' [SkNB]; 5a Hdi *mbəray* 'to support'; 6 Mina *mbə̀l* 'to help' [FrJ]; 7 Baka *mé-mber* 'care for' [BAS], Mol *mbar* 'to heal, cure, care for' [FsM], Vame *mbə̀rà* 'to care for, take care' [GrR].
Note **№255. **(m)bVr-* 'to recover'.** Terms for 'to help, to cure' and 'to recover, to cure' are confused in CCh.

252. **bVr-* 'to separate, detach': E 4 Barein (dial) *báaró* 'to separate'. E 1 Kwn *ábəré* 'dénouer, détacher'. Cf. C 3 Bana *vrí* (< **-bri* 'be separated') 'champ partagé parmi co-épouses'.
Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *byàar* 'forked stick' [JgN].
Derived noun 'part': C 9 Mnj *bəriy* 'part'; E 6 Mok *bár-tà* 'moitié'.
Derived verb: ****bVr-ɮ-*** 'to separate (people), select': C 6 Buwal *vrɛ̀-ɮ* (regressive fricativization) 'to separate out', 7 Mafa *vər-ɮ-* 'démarier, séparer des personnes; lancer une pierre pour éloigner qqn)'.
//Sem Geez, Hbr *brr* 'separate, choose, select', Arab *brr* VIII 'be separated from one's friends', Aram *bərar* 'separate, choose' [LsG: 107], Cush Bilin *babar* 'trennen' (< Arab?) [RB]. For Sem 'choose, select' cf. ECh 2 Lele *bāŕ* 'choisir'.
a. W 3 Tng *bɛréɨ* 'between'; C 8 Makari *boro* 'distance between two rows of plants' [AlM].
//Sem Akk *biri, beri, bari* 'between' from OA on , *birītu* 'in-between terrain, alley, balk (between fields)' = *bīru* from OAkk on [CAD: 246, 252, 266].
For a root-variant cf. Sem **bḥr:* Akk *bêru, beḫēru* 'select, choose' from OAkk on, Hbr *bāḥar,* Aram jp. *b^{e}ḥar,* Sab *bḥr* 'élire' [DRS: 56, CAD

b: 212] and Ch **vVr-* (< ***v-H-r*** **<** ***b-H-***r) ‘to choose’: C 9 Mnj *viri* ‘trier’; 10 Musey *vaara* ‘trier; choisir, ramasser; essuyer’ [ShyM], Azum *vara* ‘to select (from among others)’; E 1 Kera *vèrè* ‘to choose’. Cf. [HSED №187].

253. **bVr-* ‘to sleep, spend the night’: W 1 Hs *bárčíi* ‘sleep; death’; 3 Tng *burbura* idf. ‘sleeping’; C 10 Dzpw *bàr* ‘dormir, se coucher’, Ham, Musey *bùù,* Gizey, Masa, Lew, Marba *bùr* ‘passer la nuit’ [LexC], Musey *buuna* ‘passer la nuit, séjourner, coucher’ [ShyM], Masa *bùr* ‘coucher, poser’, Azum *burà* ‘to lie down (asleep)’.
//Cf. ECush Rend *bary* ‘to sleep (at a place)’ [pG], Arb *barj-* ‘to sleep’ [Hay].

254. **(m)bVr-* ‘to tear’: C 2 Klb *mbar-* ‘rip, tear’ [MuK]; E 1 Mobu *báré* ‘arracher’.
Derived verb in *-ƙ-* ‘to tear off’: C 7 Mafa *bərƙ-* ‘arracher (une branche d'arbre)’; 9 Mnj *birƙi* ‘casser en tirant, rompre’.
Derived verbs: C 7 Mofu *-mbár-č-* ‘rompre, casser (une corde)’; E 1 Kera *bàr-gé* ‘ausreissen’.
b. (Intensive stem) ****ɓVr-* ‘to tear (with force)’:** W 3 Kupto *ɓàkréy* (pluract. in *–k-*) ‘to tear’; 9 Mbara *ɓíráw* ‘déchirer’.
Derived verbs: E 1 Kera (complete action) *ɓár-tí* ‘arracher avec force’; 5 WDng *ɓârčè* ‘ébranler, arracher avec la main’.

255. **b[u]rm-* ‘to step on, cave in’: W 1 Hs *búrmà* ‘to stab deeply with (foot into a hidden hole); partially cave in (ground, mud roof)’; 4 Miya *bərmay* ‘to cave in’ [Sch].
Cf. E 1 Kera *bàlàm* coll. ‘trace, Spur’.
a. ****burum-* ‘clay’:** W 4 Paa *bùrúmà* ‘clay’ [MS]; C 7 Muy *brùm* ‘potter's kiln’.
//Sem Akk *barāmu* A (OB) ‘to seal (a tablet, an opening), to engrave’, *birmu* (MB) ‘seal impression’ [CAD b:101, 258], *barāmu* B (OB) [CAD b:103] ‘to be speckled, multicolored’.

256. **(m)bVr-* ‘to recover’: W 2 Ngas *baar* ‘to get well, recover’ [Fl], Mghv *bàr* ‘to recover’ [JgS], ‘to survive, heal’ [BlM], Mpn *bár*, Chip *bar* [JgC] ‘to recover’; C 3 Bana *mb(ə)lí* ‘commencer à pousser, se remettre, être guéri’; 6 Daba *mbəl* ‘reverdir; ressusciter’, Gavar *mbəl*

‘get well, recover’ [Vj]; 7 Gis *mbul* ‘genesen, recover’, *mbol* ‘heilen, genesen’, Mada *ámbàl* ‘guérir’, Mafa *mbál-* ‘sauver, guérir’ Ould *mbàl* ‘guérir’, Mofu *-mbəl-* ‘guérir, reprendre (une plant repiquée), ressusciter’, Chuv *mémɓàlèy* ‘sauver’, Muy *ámbàl* ‘to sprout again, survive’, Mbuko *mbar* `être guéri, donner naissance’, Zulgo *mbál (dár)* ‘guérir’; 8 Makari *bɨro* ‘be mature‘; E 1 Kera *bìirì* ‘ranimer, ressusciter’.
Cf. CCh **mbɨr* ‘to get well’ [GrR].
//Sem Akk *bâru* ‘to stay firm, stable, in good health’ OAkk on [CAD b: 125], Hbr *brʾ* ‘zehr fat sein’ [KB: 147], Aram talm *bārī* ‘sain, fort, gras’ [DRS: 80], Sab *bry* ‘keep os healthy’ [SD: 32], Arab *brʾ* (a) ‘guérir’ [BK I: 104].
[AA 2 №116 **bwr, *bryʾ* ‘to become fattened, healthy; fat’: Sem, WCh 2, Gisiga, for Ch ‘oil’ see****(m)bur-* ‘oil, butter’].**

257. **(m)bVr-* ‘to become tired, weak’: C 5 Pod *mbára* ‘s'aggraver’; 9 Log *mbári* ‘ermüden; tired’ [LkL]; 9a Gdr *ívrè* (velarization in contact) ‘to weaken’ [FrG]; E Bid *bèerí, bèrèy* ‘faiblesse, parresse’.
//Sem Arab *bry* ‘exténuer, amaigrir une bête de somme, une monture (se dit des voyages et des fatigues)’ [BK I: 119]. Cf. Berb Nig *barori* ‘misère’ [NZ: 94].
Accord. to [Gr: 90] and [TN №322], Log and Bid are cognate with Arab magr *bār* ‘ne pas trouver d’acheteur (marchandise); être très fatigué’ [DRS: 53] < Arab *bwr* ‘périr, se perdre; avoir été fait en pure perte’. Note also Arab *bawr-, bawār-* ‘manque de débit, stagnation de la commerce’ [BK I: 177] and W 3 Ngm *mbura* ‘to become poor’ [NEH], Bol *mbùrè* ‘poverty, lack’ [GAB].

258. **bVHVr-/*bVwVr* > *bVbVr-* (compensatory redupl.) > ***bVvVr-* > *vVvVr-* ‘to burn’:** W 3 Kupto *bùuréy* ‘to separate the grains of corn from the chaff by roasting in the fire; to roast millet’; 4 Wrj *vivirau* ‘burning the hair off an animal before cooking’ [BlS]; C 1 Tera *vara* ‘to burn’ [Kr]; 6 Mbedam *var* ‘brûler’ [NdP], Buwal *vár* ‘to burn lightly’; 7 Mafa *báwár* ‘chauffer, brûler’, cf. Ould *bàr* idf. ‘prendre feu’; E 5a WDng *bòòrè* ‘activer le feu’.
Cf. W 3 Pero *píirò* ; C 2 Mrg *mbàrì* [HfM: 19] ‘to make a fire’.
Derived noun: W 5 Zaar *mburúŋ* ‘hearth’ [CrZ]; 7 DB *mburú*, Karfa *mbùrùš* ‘fire-place, hearth’ [RC]. Cf. Berb MC *abraw* ‘trou du feu,

foyer' [NZ: 121].
Cf. : ECh ***k-/t-bVr-*** **'ash':** 1 Kera *kóráy* (< *k-bVr-,* with a pref. of coll. nouns) [JgIb]; 2 Kaba *təri,* Lele *tìbrè* [JgIb]; 3 Tum *dàbár*, Smr *dəbrîny,* Ndam *dəbrīny*, all < *t-bVr-(n-*). According to [JgIb], these forms should be compared with Nubian *obur(ti),* Murie, Shilluk *bur,* Songai Djerma *boron.* "All this may indicate that we are dealing with an old areal lexical item" [JgIb: 2].
//Sem Ug, Hbr *bʿr* 'to burn', Geez *baʿara* 'eat up completely, burn up, set (a field) on fire' (may be a transcription of the Hbr root, but cf. Tgr *baräʿe* 'the fire broke out') [LsG: 84]. Cush agaw Bilin *birbir* 'brennen' [RB].

259. **bVr-* 'to turn (into)': W 2 Ngas *baar* 'to become dislocated; to become (a trader; big)' [JgN], 'to become mad' [Fl], Mush *mbakar* 'to turn' (internal *–k-* pl.) [JgO]; Mpn *brán* 'to turn into, become'; C 9 Mlw *bìrìyí* 'se transformer'. Cf. [TN №184].
Deriv. in *-ɗ-* C 5 Pod *bərəɗa* 'tordre', 7 Mafa *bərɗ-* 'tordre (un couvrir, membre)', Ould *-mbàráɗ* `tordre, extraire en tournant', Cf W 3 Bol *bargìlu* 'sprain, dislocate, slip out of place',

260. **Hbr* > **ɓar-* 'to divide, separate, crack': W 1 Hs *ɓáarà* 'to split a kola-nut into cotyledons'; 3 Gera *ɓàarè-mí* 'to break (stick, etc. in pieces)' [SchB], Pero *ɓwárò* 'to share, separate', Dera *ɓìɓiré* (compensatory prefixation) 'to crack (hands due to cold)' [NmK]; 6 Ngz *ɓàrú* 'to separate a unitary thing into parts', WBade *ɓàru* 'to split in two, sepatrate in halves, crack', *ɓàrɓàru* 'to break adhering things off'; C 6 Buwal *ɓar* 'to crack'; 7 Mofu *-ɓ́ər-* 'se fendre (mur, bois)'; 9 Mulwi *bírwí* 'séparer, diviser, partager', Mnj *bírwí* 'diviser'; 10 Gizey, Lew *ɓáráw,* Masa, Ham *ɓúrów*, Musey *ɓórów* 'diviser, partager' [LexC].
Derived noun 'a part, share': W 1 Hs *ɓáryà* 'portion of a compound, house; section of a fence'; C 9 Mnj *ɓəraw* 'partage'.
Cf. W 3 Kupto *ɓórɓór* 'path, line, street; crack, split, gap'.
Deriv. in ***-ç-***: C 5a Lmn *ɓərca* 'divide or cut into two'; E 1 Kera *ɓársé* 'diviser'.
Deriv. in *–k-*: W 2 Ngas *ɓúrk* 'to break up (soil)' [JgN].
//Sem Arab *hbr* 'partager, couper viande en gros morceaux' [BK II: 1379].

261. WbVr-/ C **mbVr-* ‘to crack, break’:** W 3 Tng *bire* ‘to crack (house, soil)’, Bure *ber-* ‘to break’, Pero *bírù* ‘to beat’; C 7 Mol *mbərway* ‘to destroy violently’ [FsM]; 7a Skn *mbara* ‘to break (as of a stick)’; 10 Azum *mbru-ka* ‘to break pieces off’.
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *bà-mbàraa* ‘coarsely ground milet flour’.
//Cf. ECush Som *bururay* ‘break up’ [LlS: 55].
Deriv. in *–s-* ‘to crumble, grind’: C 7 Muy *ábrùsāy* ‘to crumble’; E 5aWDng *bôrsɛ̀* ‘écraser à demi‘, EDng *bòrsē* ‘concasser, écraser’, Mig *bòrzò* ‘écraser à moitié’.
Cf. C 5 Pod *mbárəɮa* ‘to crack; fendre les grains’.
Judging by derivatives, Chadic ***(m)bVr-* ‘to crack, break**’ could also mean ‘to grind coarsely’ or similar. If so, the following Berber forms may be cognate: Berb Qab *bri* ‘moudre, broyer, concasser’, MC *brey* ‘moudre’, Rif *brey* ‘concasser (grains)’, Shilh *bri* ‘moudre, broyer’ [NZ: 123].
It is not clear, if the next root may also be cognate (as a derived noun of the verb **bVr-* ‘to break > to grind coarsely’).

262. **bur-* ‘flour’: W 1 Hs *búrí, bírì, búrbúr-kò* ‘the flour in which balls of fura are rolled’; E 2 Kaba *kù-bàrà,* Lele *kú-brà;* 3 Smr *būrá* ‘flour’ [JgIb], *bróe* ‘Mehl’ [Luk], Tum *ɓar* ‘flour’ (irregular initial).
//Cush Som *bur* ‘flour, powder’ [LlS], Sem Arab *burbūr* (*brbr*) ‘blé broyé’ [DRS: 81].
Denom. verb.: E 6 Mok *ʔòbbìrá* ‘piler’.
Some more forms may be taken for derivatives in *-ɮ-* from the denom.: ****ʔVbVr- > ɓVr-> ɓVr-ɮ-* ‘to grind (coarsely)’:** W 1 Hs *ɓárzà* ‘to grind coarsely’; 7 Mofu *-ɓárɮáw-, ɓáɓárɮ-* (compensatory redupl.) ‘concasser (mil), moudre (grossièrement pour la première fois)’.
Cf. C7 7 Mol *ɓorcay* v. ‘first pounding’ [FsM].
[HSED №224, TN №193].

263. **bur-* ‘sand, dust’: W 2 Ngas *bur* ‘sand, dust’, *bur wus* ‘the ashes’ (*wus* ‘fire’) [Fl]; 3 Kupto *bùrbúr* ‘sand, soil, ground, dust, dirt’; C 6 Mina *bər-tìk* ‘dust’ [FrJ], Mbedam *bər-tik* ‘ash’ [NdM]; 8 Log *búra, búura* ‘Sand, Staub’ [LkL], *bura* ‘dust’ [AlL]; C 10 Marba *bùbùr* ‘terre sablonneuse’, cf. Musey *barra* ‘la poussière de mil pilé’ [ShyM], Azum *bra-ɗa* ‘grain-dust’.
Cf. C 9a Gdr *burduku* ‘earth’ [Mo: 19], Mlg *barúdu* ‘Pulver’.

The following compound (with an unidentified component) may relate: E 5a Mig *bùrú-n-tùllé* , EDng *bùrí-n-tál* coll. 'la poussière'
//Sem Arab *bary-* 'terre, surtout ce qui est à la surface du sol, comme sable, poussière' [BK I: 120], Cush Som *boor* 'dust', *burʿo* 'sandy hill' [LlS], Saho *buure* 'soil' [Vr].
Note W 7 DB, Bok, Monguna *ɓúrà*, Karfa *áburúk* 'dust' [JgR, RC]; C 10 Dari *ɓārīm* 'dust'. There is no explanation of the initial up to now, but cf. SCush Dahalo *ɓúrune* 'dust' [TD].
Redupl. forms is numerous Ch languages (Ngz, Bade *bərbər*, Mlg *bárəbáre,* Gude *bárəbər̀* 'dust', etc.) are Kanuri loans.

264. **b[a]r-* 'kind of corn (millet)': W 3 Kupto *bárná* 'guinea corn sp.'; C 2 Bura *bari* 'pink guinea corn variety' [BlB]; 5a Hdi *burbur* 'corn'; 8 Zina *bàbərà,* Log *babra* 'maize, corn' [AlL], Log *báa-beraa* 'ägyptischer Mais, millet' [LkL]; 10 Azum *boborâ* 'unripe grain'; E 5 WDng *bùùr* 'grain jeté à la volée'. Cf. W 3 Krkr *bìryaa* 'unripe millet heads for roasting'.
a. **bar[k]-* 'sorgho': C 10 Musey *borokka* 'k of sorgho' [ShyM], Gizey *bòrgéy* 'mil – sorgo précoce' (early) [LexC]; E 1 Kera *bòrgóy* 'mil (sorgho)'; 7 Kaj *bargi* 'sorgho'.
Cf. W 6 Ngz *bárákau* 'fesival after crops are planted', E 6 Mok *búùré* 'fiest of ripe corn'.
//Sem Akk *baru* (a cereal) lex* [CAD b: 115], Akk *burru* (a cereal) Mari [CAD b: 330], Arab *burr-* 'grain, wheat' [BK I: 103], Sab *br* 'wheat' [Bl: 59], Soq *bor* 'froment', Mhr *barr*, Jib *barr* [LsS: 98], PWSem **burr-* 'wheat' [Kg:203]. SCush Bur *bariya* 'grain of corn' [Kies], Berb Ahag *a-bōra* 'sorgho á gros grains' [NZ: 93].
[AA 2 №118: Sem, berb, Logone, MtF: **ba/u(ʾV)r-* 'cereal' (including Ch forms for 'yams' and 'ground nut'), cf. HSED №224].
The followung isogloss may be cognate:
W 6 Ngz *barbari* 'gruel'; C 4 Bch *ɓùrey,* Mwl *ɓúrô* 'gruel' [Kr].
//Eg *bȝy* [if bry] 'Etwas essbares aur Getreide/food made of grain' [EG I: 417].

265. **(ba)bar-/*mbur-* 'gazelle, antelope': W 1 Hs *bàreewaa* 'red-fronted or Dorcas gazelle'; 3 Kupto *bírí,* pl. *bèndén* 'antelope sp. (big)'; 4 Paa *babar,* Siri *babari* 'gazella-dama', Tsagu *burā-mən* 'gazelle' [SkNB], Paa *bàbár* 'roan antelope' [MS]; 5 Zul *bar-námi* 'roan

antelope' (Buli *nam* 'duiker') [Cs №238], Guus *bur-to* 'ground hornbill' [CrG]; C 10 Gizey, Masa *bòr,* Ham, Musey *bòò,* Lew *bòbór,* Marba *bùbór* 'céphalophe de Grimm (duiker)' [LexC], Masa *boʔora* 'duiker' [JgIb], Azum *bòbórá* 'duiker'; E 1 Kwn *mā-bárā* 'duiker' [JgIb]; 2 Lele *mbúr* 'cobe onctueux (Cobe Defassa)'; 3 Ndam *bùri* 'cobe onctueux'.
a. C 9 Mnj *bariyam* 'cob de Buffon', Mbara *bàrìyàm* 'redunca; Bohor reedbuck' (note *yam* 'water'); 10 Azum *bariama* 'male sp. of antelope', *bariamba* 'female sp.'.
//Berb Ahag *é-berəy* 'faon d'antelope addax', Ayr *ébărăy* 'faon d'oryx, addax' [NZ: 125], Om Kafa *borewoo* 'die Gazelle' [RK], SCush rift Bur *baʔuru* 'oryx antelope' [Ehr: 135].
[AA 2 №108 B, Ch Hausa, Paa, Siri; HSED №217].

266. **bir-* (< **biHr-)* 'herd' (n.): W 3 Krkr *biiri* 'a herd, flock' [GK], Ngm *bìrî* 'herd' [NEH]; 6 Ngz *bárí* 'herd of animals'; C 2 Bura *bri* 'herd of cattle', *bribri* 'very large herd of animals or flock of birds' [BlB]; 3 FK *bàrrì* 'herd of cows'; 6 Buwal *bré* 'herd'; 7a Skn *biri* 'herd of domestic animals'.
a. ****bir-k-*** **'bull':** W 3 Dera *bírìk* 'bull' [NmK]; C 7 Mafa *virek-* 'taurillon'; 8 Bud *bɛrgá* 'Büffel' [LkBd], cf. Makari *mbirga* 'herd of cattle, sheep' [AlM]; E 4 Ubi *bòrgù* (vovel assim.); 5 Bid *birka* 'vache' [HuJ], *bìrkì* 'taureau, vache, troupeau', WDng *bèrkì* 'bovin male, boeuf, taureau', EDng *bérkí* 'le bœuf, le taureau', *bèrkā* 'la vache', *bārkày* coll. 'les boeufs, les bêtes (en général)'.
a. E 4 Mawa *bur* 'vache, boeuf'; 6 Mok *búrú* m., *bûr-só* (with a sing. suff.) f. 'boeuf'.
Deriv. **'to become rich':** W 3 Krkr *bìrì-ɗ* 'wealth, riches'. Cf. W 2 Goem *bû:r* 'become rich or wealthy in smth' [Hlw]; C 6 Daba *mbùrū* 'la richesse'. For the semantics cf. [ApAg: 41f 'cattle'].
//Sem Akk *bīru* 'bull, yound cattle' MB, SB [CAD b: 266], Sabaic *bʿr* n. s. & coll. 'cattle, head of cattle' [SD: 26], Hebrew *bəʿīr* 'cattle, livestock', Aram (Jud) *bəʿīr(ā)* 'grazing animal, cattle', Syriac *bəʿīrā*, Neo-Syrian *bʿîrâ* 'cattle', Geez *bəʿər* 'ox, bull, horned cattle', Tgr, Tna *báʿray* 'ox, bull', Arabic *baʿīr-* 'camel' [SED: №53 **bVʿVr-* 'household animal; beast of burden', Sem **bVʿVr-* 'bull' [Kg: 205], Cush Som *barta* 'livestock' [LlS], Berb MC *taburrit* 'troupeau' [NZ: 125].
Not only in Chadic but also in Semitic (likely – in AA) the primary

semantics was ‘cattle, herd’, with a shift to ‘bull‘ in Akkadian and Ethio-Sem (contrary – in SED and Kg). For Cush agaw **bir-a* ‘ox, bull’, Afar *beʿra* ‘young bull’, Saho *beʿéra*, Kamb *boora* ‘ox’, etc., as possible Ethiosem loans see [ApAg: 109].
[HSED №185].

267. **bir-* ‘enclosure, small structure’: W 3 Bol *biri* ‘corral for cattle’ [GAB]; 5 Buli *àber* ‘hut’ [Cs]; 6 WBade *bàràabàran* ‘granary’, Duw *bàra* ‘granary, in a shape of a bottle’; C 8 Bud *beri* ‘Einfriedung, enclosure’ [LkBd]. Cf. C 7 Mol *ɓəra* ‘granary’ (irreg. initial).
b. **bir-n-* (pl.) **‘village’:** W 1 Hs *bírníi* ‘(walled) town, the wall of a town, a mound round a farm’; C 3 Bana *bèrnì* ‘ville’, pl. *bèrnì-xì*; 4 cf. 4 Gude *vərənə* ‘villlage, neighbourhood’; 5 Pod *bərəna* ‘ville’; 7 Ould *bàrà* ‘village’.
Cf. Kanuri *bərnyi* ‘large town surrounded by wall’, Songai *birni* ‘fortified village’ [SkH]. A loan from Hausa?
//Sem Akk *birtu* ‘citadel, castle’ from OB on [CAD B: 261], Hbr *bīrā* ‘castle’, Aram *byrh* ‘fortress, temple, sanctuary’ < Akk [KB: 122, JH: 155, DRS: 63]. Cf. Cush Arb *baara* ‘hut’ [Hay]. [HSED №359].

268. **bVr-(w)-* ‘(cotton) cloth’: W 1 Hs *búrà* ‘white cloth’; C 10 Dari *mbàràw*, Dzpw *mbáráó* ‘cotton, cloth(es)’, Musey *baraw-na* ‘vêtement’, *baraw-ra* ‘cotton, chemise’ [ShyM], Masa *bàraw* ‘coton’, Musey *bàràw,* Ham, Lew, Marba *bàrú* ‘cotton, bande étoffe’, Mus *bàràw,* Lew *bàrúw,* Marba *bàrú* ‘habit’ [LexC]; E 2 Lele *bàrù* ‘cotton’.
//Sem Akk *barru* (or *parru*) OAkk (a piece of apparel) [CAD b: 113], Cush Saho *boor, buur,* Afar *boru* ‘das Leibtuch’ [RA], Om Kafa *buuroo* ‘das Leibtuch, womit die Körper eingehült wird’ [RK].

269. **bVr-* ‘ram’: W 4 Tsagu *baaren* ‘ram’ [SkNB]; 5 Buli *bára* ‘ram’ [Cs №230]; C 5 Wnd *avire,* Pod *víira* ‘agneau’ [Mo: 21].
a. **m-bVr-* ‘sheep’: W 5 Buli *mberra,* Geji *mbella*[36] , Jimi *mburra* [JgIb], *mbùra*, Grnt *mbòrò* [Cs].
b. Deriv.****m-bVr-(K)-*** ‘ram’: W 4 Mburku *mbur-gu* [SkNB], Miya *mbàr-gu* ‘ram’ [Sch].
Cf. C 10 Musey, Lew, Marba *mbràŋ* ‘bélier castré’ [LexC], Musey *mbaraŋŋa* ‘le mouton castré’ [ShyM], Azum *mbrangâ* ‘castrated sheep,

[36] Cannot follow AA **(wa)bil-* ‘small cattle’ as in [SED №245].

mature'.
//ECush Som *baraar-ka* coll. 'lamb, lambs' [LlS].
[HSED №341].

270. **bVr-* (or ****HVbVr,*** note compensatory reduplication in CCh) **'field':** C 4 Gude *bà-bárá* 'open field, farm'; 7 Muy *bù-bùr* 'tilled field'; E 1 Kwn *kō-ɓárā* 'field'; 4 Sok *bər-sù* 'field' [JgIb]; 5a WDng *bûr-dà, búr-dŭwā* 'champ d'arachides ou de pois de terre', Mig *bâr-če* 'jachère'.
//Sem Akk *aburru* 'field or pasture by the city wall' from OB [CAD a: 90]; ECush Som *beer* 'farm, garden', *beero* 'farms, plantations' [LlS]. Boni *beer* 'garden' [Sam]; SCush rift Alg *burabura* (redupl.) 'cultivated ground' [Eh].
Denom. verb: ****(ʾa)bVr-*** **'to cultivate, to hoe':** C 7 Mada *óbbòr* 'biner devant de semer'.
a. Deriv. in *–s-*: W 6 Duw *bàrùs-čùwo* 'to hoe up'; C 9 Mbara *búrsì* 'to hoe'; E 5a Mig *bòrzò* (voicinf in contact) 'remuer la terre pour préparer les semences des sésames'.
b. Derived verbs: C 7 Mafa *búr-h^{w}-* 'labourer à la houe', *vúr-h^{w}-* 'labourer, retourner la terre'. (note that *bur-* & *vur-* becoming free varants in CCh); E 5a Bid *bere-t* 'sarcler, biner; to weed, hoe' (totality ext.), W 4 Jmb *bər-ɗa* 'to cultivate' [SkNB].
//Old Cush (Cush-Om) **ʾabuʾr-* 'to cultivate': Om Yemsa *bul-* 'cultivate', ECush Alaba *abuurr* 'to cultivate', Had *abuull-* 'to cultivate, plough', Sid *habuur, hawuur* 'cultivate, plant' (with 'parasitic *h-*, compensating lenition of *–b-*) Som *abuur,* Afar *-ubʿur* 'to cultivate' [LmW: 313], Cush agaw Hamir *baruw* 'auflockern die Erde mit einem Karst' [RCh]. Som *beeray* 'to farm, sow, cultivate, plant' [LlS]. Sem Geez *baʿara* 'dig, plough, break clods', *mabʿər* 'one who ploughs, plough, instrument for digging', *məbʿār* 'instrument for digging' > Cush Afar *-ubʿur-* 'to cultivate' [LsG: 84],
Cf. MtF №17 (Mada, Mig forms are included). For Eg *bȝ* 'hacken'as a possible cognate of Hamir and numerous alternative etymologies see [EDE II: 26-29].
Derived nouns:
c. ****bVr-/*bVwVr-*** **furrow'**: W 3 Krkr *booro* 'ridgegrow' [GK], Bol *booro* 'furrow' [GAB]; 5 Zaar *m-bári* 'perpendicular ridge limiting a field at both ends' [CrZ]; C 6 Daba *bàràỳ* 'le sillon'.

d. ***bVr-m-*** (with a suff. of instruments) **'hoe':** C 7 Merey *bàràm*; 10 Masa *bòrom* [CC]; 9a Gdr *bár-daw* [GdD]. Cf. Cf. C 5 Wnd *yivere* 'small hoe' [Voc].
//Cush Burji *bóyr-a* 'two-handed hoe', Konso *payr-aa* 'two-tipped digging stick'; Gidole *pawr-* 'a two-bladed digging stick', Dob *payr-e* 'two-pronged hoe' [SsB].
For E 5 Bid *beret* 'sarcler, biner' (see above) cf. ***bVr-* 'weeding; to weed':** C 6 Buwal *barayy* 'second weeding'; 7 Mofu *báray* '2nd weeding'; 10 Azum *bara-t-na* 'weeding of fields, garden'; E 2 Lele *bìŕ* 'sarcler, décherber', *bìré* 'sarclage'.
Note C ***ɓVr-* 'to weed'** (denom. < ***bar-*** 'weeding') : 6 Daba *ɓèr* 'sarcler; tracer une ligne'; C 8 Kus *ɓɨrgo* 'enlever les mauvaises herbes; sarcler' [AlK].
//Cf. Om Wolt *bu'l-* 'to weed' "From an Old Cush stem *ʔabuʔr- 'to cultivate' [LmW: 313].
For Geez *baʿara* **'to dig'**[37] cf.:
WCh ***ɓur-* < *bHur-* < *buHur-* 'to dig, to bury'**: 3 Kupto *ɓùuréy* 'to dig, hollow out'; 7 **ɓur-* 'to bury, to dig: Bok *ɓor* 'graben, Feld bestellen, to dig', Fyer *ɓur* 'begraben, eingraben, to bury, dig in', DB *ɓuur*, Sha *bur* 'begraben' [JgR], Bok *ɓor,* Mangar *ɓo* 'to dig' [RC].
Derived nouns: 1. W 7 Sha *ʔabúr* 'Grab' [JgR], Mundat *àbùrèŋ*, DB *ɓurán,* Monguna *ɓûr* 'funeral' [RC].
2. W 3 Bol *ɓooriyo* 'gap or hole' [GAB]; C 4 Gude *ɓùrəhá* 'cave'.

271. *bVr-* 'rope, tendon': C 3 FK *bər-tə* 'muscle'; 4 Gude *bərə-dá* 'Achilles' tendon', *baarə* 'to spin web (of spider)', cf. Gude *bəryàncánə* 'thread'; 7 Mada *mèbbèr* 'cordelette en fibre de palmier', Ould *bəbər* 'fil à décoration'; 10 Gizey, Masa *bàràw* 'fil' [LexC]; E 1 Kwn *bāru* 'thread'; 5a Mab *burɛ,* Bid *bɛr-no* 'rope' [HuJ], WDng *bíìrò* 'tendon d'Achille', cf. EDng *bèrì-ngō* 'le tendon du biceps (qui enfle quand on le frappe)', Bid *búrà-sá* 'muscle'; 5b Jegu *búrré* 'rope'.
[HSED №193].

272. *bVr-* 'bad spirit': W 3 Tng *bura* 'name of bad spirit'; E 4 Ubi *beere* 'mauvais'; 6 Mok *bîrré* 'se promener (pour les mauvais esprits) la nuit pour manger les âmes des gens'.

[37] Cf. AA **bʿr* 'to dig' (Geez, ron **ɓur* '(be)graben') [TN №129].

Cf. W 2 Mghw *Kíbírí* personal n. ‘Mwaghavul spirit; spirit causing a sickness affecting teeth, tongue, gums)’ [BlM].
Derivd nouns : W 7 Sha, Bok *ᵐburú,* DB *ᵐbúrú* ‘Medizinmann’ [JgR]; C 9 Mbara *ᵐbré* ‘sorcerer’.
//Sem Akk *bārûtu* (from OB on) ‘act of divination’, *bārû* (from OB on) ‘a diviner’, *barīrītu* (MB, SB) (a female demon) [CAD b: 131, 121, 111]. Cf. Geez *bāryā* ‘slave, one who is in the service of a demon, epilepsy’, Tna, Amh, Gur *barya* ‘slave’ (orig. the name of a population). Accord. to the popular belief, the *barya* is a spirit that brings an epilepsy’ [LsG: 108].

273. **bVr-* ‘side, bank’: W 3 Bure *búrà* ‘bank, edge of river’ [GAB], Krkr *bàrà-kuu* (pl.) ‘ribs, side‘ [GK]; C 3 Bana *b(ə)là* ‘côté’; 6 Mina *bə́r* ‘side’ [FrJ], Mbedam *bəra* ‘côté, flank’ [NdM]; 8 Makari *bala* ‘side of smth’ [AlM].
Cf. W 5 Zaar *bílâ:r* ‘river-bank’ [CrZ].
Deriv. (with a body-part’ suff.) ****bal-m-* < **bar-m-* ‘cheek’**: 7 Gis *balam* ‘Schläfe, Wange’ [LkG], Mofu *bàlàm,* Gis *balam* ‘cheek’ [JgIb].
//SCush rift **bara* ‘side, direction’: Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *bara* [Kies], ECush Som *barbar* ‘side, edge’ [LlS], Sem Arab *barr-* ‘rivage’ (also ‘terre, pays’, etc., see above) [BK I: 103].

274. **bVr-* ‘pigeon, dove’: W 1 Hs *bàruu* ‘pigeons’; 3 Krf *mbìrù* ‘dove’; 4 Wrj *baru-na* ‘pigeon’ [BlS]; 6 Ngz *bàrí* ‘domestic pigeon’; C 10 Gizey *bèrbér,* Masa, Ham *bérbér,* Musey *bèbée,* Lew *ʔàbèrbér,* Marba *ʔàbèrbèr* ‘Treron walia’ (pigeon) [LexC]. Cf. W 3 Glm *mbûr-gu* ‘dove’ [SchB]: C 10 Azum *ber-ge-iɗa* ‘sp. of dove’.
//Eth Sem Tna *bareto, barätо* ‘turtledove’, Amh *baret* ‘pigeon, dove’ (apud [SED II №61]).
Note two more fragmentary isoglosses for: ‘kind of small bird’:
a.****baHar-* ‘quail, partridge’:** W 1 Hs *bárwáa* ‘the common quail’; E 5 Mig *bàaré* , WDng *báàrè* ‘perdrix’.
b. ****bi/ur-* ‘quail’:** Hs *bùràaburàa* ‘quail’; E 5 Bid *bìrbìrnyí* ‘caille’
//ECush Burju *bur-o* ‘partridge’ [SsB], Berb Sen, Rif *abarran* ‘perdrix mâle’ [NZ: 114]. [HSED №293].

274. **(bV)-bVr-* ‘wind, storm’: 3 Krf *bùrá*‘harmattan’ [St]; C 9 Mbara

bàràwáy ‘tornado’,Msg *bebeer* ‘Wind’, *berbéer* ‘Sturm, Wind’ [LkM]; 10 Gizey *bàr* ‘vent’, Gizey, Ham, Masa *bìrí* ‘orage, tornado’, Lew, Marba *bàbàr* ‘tornado’ [LexC], Azum *babarâ* ‘storm with wind’, cf. Musey *mbir-vinda* ‘tourbillon’ (*vinda* ‘vomir’) [ShyM]; E 1 Kwn *ká-bār* ‘wind’ [Jg]; 7 Kaj *bùrúurù* ‘tourbillon’. Cf. C 7 Mofu *bər-zawal* ‘tornade séche’ and Balda *vúvúrūˀ* (< *buvuru* < *buburu*) ‘wind’ [Bry]. Note C ***ɓVr-* ‘dry wind’**: 6 Daba *ɓùr-tótóy* (cf. *tóy tóy* ‘dur, fort’) ‘vent fort avant la saison de pluie’; 9 Mnj *ɓaray* ‘orage, tornade sèche’. Secondary emphatization.

a. **(ˀa-/m-)bVr-* ‘to blow (wind)’ (denom. verb?): C 2 Chb *mbər* ‘blasen’ [HfC]; 10 Musey *bura* ‘souffler’ [LexC]; E 1 Mobu *boore,* Ngam *bré* ‘souffler’; 5 Bid *ˀàbar,* EDng *àbìre* ‘souffler (vent)’.

//Sem Arab *bāriḥ-* ‘hot wind’ [BK I: 107]. HECush **bobore* ‘wind’: Kamb *bobora* [Hds]. Cf. [IgIb *b-r,* TN №216].

276. **bVVr-/*ɓVr-* (< ****bVHVr***-) ‘fighting, rebellion’: W 1 Hs *bòoree* ‘perversity, disobedience, rebelling against authority’; 2 Mghv *ɓèer* [BlM], Mush *ɓèer* ‘war, fight’ [JgO]; 3 Pero *ɓúrè* ‘fighting’; 6 Bade *bòorai* ‘rebellion’ (< Hs); 7 DB, Monguna *ɓúr,* Bok *ɓur,* Sha *bur,* Mundat, Kulere *bûr,* Karfa *ɓûr* ‘war’ [RC]; C 10 Peve *ɓar* ‘rebel’ [Vn]. Cf. C ****vVr-*** < (****HVbVr-***?) **‘fight’:** 7a Skn *vur* ‘fight, war’; 7 Mofu *vəram* ‘guerre, combat’, Mbuko *véram* ‘guerre’.

Denom. verb: E 6 Mok *ˀòbbìrá* ‘combattre (pendant une guerre)’, *ˀòbbìrè-k-árkà* ‘faire la guerre’.

//Sem Akk *bâru* (from OB on) ‘stir up a revolt’ (CAD b: 130). Note also SCush Dah *ᵐbóori* ‘fight, war’ [TD]. For an alternative etymology of Ch see [TN №198].

277. WCh ****-bVr-* ‘horse’:** ngas gr. Mush *bìrìŋ,* Ngas *bárəŋ*, Mghv *bárìŋ* (note also *m̀bəra-m* ‘horse harness’), Mpn *bráŋ* ‘horse’; ron gr. Bok *ᵐbírí,* Fyer *búrí* ‘horse’; E 3 Smr *bráaberaa* ‘Nilpferd’ [Luk].

b. CCh ****m-/ˀ-bVr-* ‘strength’:** 3 Bana *bàr-čí* ‘force’; 5 Hdi *mbəra-ku,* Lamang *mbàrú-kú,* 6 Buwal *ɓarəɓar.*

//Sem Ug *ỉbr* of a stocky male animal ‘bull, horse’, Hbr *ˀabbīr* ‘bull, stallion’, *ˀābbīr* ‘strong powerful’ [DUL: 11f, Kg: 8f]. Kogan suggested that this animal name may represent a substantivized adjective **ˀab(b)īr* ‘strong, mighty’, while the latter is derived from the verbal root **ˀbr* ‘to be strong, vigorous’.

278. ECh **bur-* 'boat': 2 Kaba *ko-brə* [Cp], Gbr *ko-boro* 'Boot' [Luk], Lele *kò-brō* 'piroque'; 3 Smr *bruua* 'Boot' [Luk], Ndam *buro* 'boat'.
//Eg *br* (*bjr*) (N) 'Art Seeschiff (zu Reisen, zum Transport von Lasten)' [EG I: 465]. The following Sem data (isolated and *hapax*) seem to be a Eg loan**:** Ug *br* 'sorte de navire', Hbr **bar* (*b^{a}rēhem*) 'cargo' [DRS: 63]; Ug *br* 'type of barge' [DUL: 233]. One more Eg word may be cognate with ECh **bur-,* namely: Eg *bꜣw* [if = brw] (Lit.MR) 'Art Schiff zu Lustfahrten und Reisen' [EG I: 418]. Cf. [HSED №336].

279. **bVr-m- > H-/k-bVr-m-* 'knee': W 'knee'; 2 Mpn *furùm*, Mghv *kə-fùrùm, fùrùm* [JgS], Ngas *ferem* [Hff], Mnt *fīm, pə-fiim,* Grk *furûm* [JgC], Mush *bórùmò* [JgO], Goem *fərəm* [Hlw]; 3 Gera *bùrmì,* Glm *bù-bûr,* Grm *burmù* [SchB], Bol *burum* [JgIb], *bo-burum* [Meek], Krkr *bèeràsìn* [GK], *beera-sim* 'knee' ('knee' + 'leg') [Meek], Ngm *bùurù,* Dera *bərəm* [SchV], *bò-bərəm* [JgIb], Tng *purum,* Pero *púrùm,* Kupto *fúrúm,* Maka *burum* 'knee' [NmM], Bure *bórùmò* 'knee, elbow'; 4 **ɣ-burum-*: Warji *ɣwùrmù-ná,* Kariya *(ɣ)wurum,* Miya *wúrùm,* Paa *bùrmi*, Tsagu *ɓóm-bárən (-n# < *-m#),* Siri *ɣərma,* Mburku *wīrin,* Jmb *vurmú* (compensatory prefixation) [SkNB]; 5 Tala *kàa fùrùŋ,* Geji *gú hulan,* Kir *kaa furum* [Smz], Guus *vùrún* [CrG], Grnt *vàran,* Jimi *húrum,* Tala *kaa-furin,* Bogh *fiim,* Mng *kam-hurum,* Saya *gaŋ-varən* [Cs]*;* C 6 Buwal *bᵊra* 'hip' (cf. Sem Akk).
Denom. verb in ʔa-: ***ʔabVr- > ɓVr-* 'to kneel'**: C 10 Dzpw *búrú*, Diri *ɓūrū* 'marcher sur les genoux'; E 6 Mok *ʔòbbìrá* 's'agenouiller au bord d'un ruisseau pour boire' (cf. Sem Soq *berk* 'genou' > *ʔébrek* 'faire agenouiller' [LsS: 96]).
//Sem **bi/ark-* 'knee': Akk *birku* (*burku*) 'knee; lap' from OB on [CAD b: 255], Ug *brk,* Hbr *bäräk,* Aram (Jud) *birkā,* Arab *bārik-at-,* Geez *bərk,* Soq *berk,* etc. 'knee' [Fron**birk-* 2.92, SED I №39]. Cf. Om Kafa *borboroo* 'Schienbein' [RK], Ari *bar* 'thigh' [BnO: 352].
For the same reflex of Ch **b-* (**k-bVC- > k-fVC- > fVC-*) see CED №1 ****ʔabVn-/*ku-ʔabVn- > fun-* 'grinding quern'**.For *-m-* as a possess. suff. in Ch body-parts see [Luk], **lVs-m-* 'tongue' [CED №568].
It cannot be excluded, that C_3 in AA **bVr-k-* was attributed as a body-part' affix (attested, e.g., in ****baw/y-k-* 'mouth'**, see №5 above) and replaced on the PCh level by the possessive marker: AA **bVr-k-* > Ch **bVr-m-*.

280. **(m)bar-* 'person': W 'person': 3 Gera *bár-mì* m., *báar-nàaná* pl., Glm *mbər* pl. [SchB]; 4 Paa *mbárìn,* Mburku *bar-gi* (< *bar-ki*) (cf. *mbur-gu* 'ram'); 5 Jimi *mbur*, Zul *mbarime,* Plc *mbáam*, Tala *baa, mbar* [Cs], Geji *mbalîn* (< **mbarVn*) [JgIb] cf. Mng *bəbəər* 'man, male' [Cs]; C 7 Mada *mbre* 'personne', Gis *mburo*, pl. *muɮay* 'Mensch'; E 1 Kera *bàr* 'father'; 2 Drm *bara,* Gbr *barua* 'Mann' [Luk]; 3 Ndam *bàr* 'person' [JgIb].
Cf. W 3 Ngm *bòr* 'unmarried man' [NEH]; E 5a EDng *bùurìyē* 'rester invendu, non marié'.
a**. **m-bVr-* 'people'**: W 3 Glm *m̀bár* pl. of *mìi* 'person' [SchB]; C 3 FK *mbárí* 'people, person' pl. of *ndə́* 'person'; E 3 Smr *burre* 'people' [Bn].
//Cf. ECush Som *barbaar* (pl.) 'young man' [LlS], Om Yemsa *bar* 'he' Personal pronoun 3 sg. m. [LmY].
[HSED № 214].

281.mb(w)ar-* 'lion':** W 2 Ngas *bwaar* [Fl], *m̀bwàar* [JgN], Mghv *m̀bɔ́ɔ́r,* Mpn *m̀vér* (irreg. reflex) 'lion'; 7 Fyer *ʔmbwaar* [JgIb]; 5 Geji *mbwol* [JgIb], Plc *bwár*, Zul *mbori* [Cs №265]; C 4 Nzn *mbárō-ga* [JgIb]; 6 Mina *mábàr* [FrJ]; 7 Chuv *màbàr,* Mofu *mòbár,* Gis *mobor* 'lion' [JgIb], Mbuko *bérbór* 'animal (lion?)', 7a Gdr *bōlu* [JgIb], E 5a WDng *bùùrì;* 5b Tor *borom,* Brg *bóròm,* Kaj *bùrmà* 'lion'.
[JgIb: 112, AA 1 №140: Ch Ngas, Mghv, Dng + Berb Ghad *aβur,* Ghat *ahər,* Ahag *a-har*, Zng *war,* Nef *waar,* HSED №246 'lion, hyena'].

282. **(m)bur-* 'oil, butter': 7 Bok, DB *ᵐbaar* 'oil', Koll. [JgR]; C 7 Mafa *mbár* 'huile'; 8 Log *bráaree* 'frische Butter' [LkL]; 10 Dzpw *mbūr* 'graisse, huile, miel', Dari *mbúr* 'oil, fat', Peve, Ngiɗe *mbúr,* Heɗe, Zime *mbur* 'oil' [Shy], Azum *mbula* 'fat, oil, grease', Gizey, Masa *mùl,* Ham, Lew, Marba, Musey *mbùl* 'graisse, huile' [LexC]. (masa *–l#* < Ch **-r* is irregular. A root-varint?).
[JgIb *mbur*].
Denom. verb in *ʔa-* 'to oil': W 5 Zaar *ɓor* 'add (oil to a dish)' [CrZ].
//PHEC **buuro* 'butter': Had, Gede'o *buuro,* Kamb *buuru,* Sid *buuró* , **buur-* 'anoint, smear', cf. **buur-d'-* 'annoit os' [Hds], dull Goll *piir-* 'buttern' [AMS]. Cf. Eg *ybȝ.t* [if ybr] 18 'Art Salbe oder Öl' [EG I: 62].

283. **(m)bVr-* 'plain, place, land': W 3 Maka *bóró* 'fallow, unfarmed

land' [SvP]; 4 Paa *mbùrá*, Siri *bəri* 'place' [SkNB]; 5 Buli *ábər* 'place', Jimi *baaro* [Cs №426]; C 7 Muy *mbərnā* 'unfertile area', Mbuko *barbarawan* 'la plaine'; 7a Skn *mburum* 'land, place'; 10 Masa *bàrà,* Gizey *lìy bùrù* 'terre noir', Gizey *bàárí* 'terre lessivée' [LexC]; E 6 Mok *bérè* 'plaine au pied de la montagne'.
Note C 6 Daba *vàrà* 'la plaine'; 7 Mafa *vara* 'terrain plat' (< *-*bara*).
//Sem Akk *bāru* (a syn for open country). L(oan) W(ord) from Sum *bar* [CAD b: 120], Akk *barr-* 'terrain non construit', Aram JP, Syr *barrā* 'campagne, champ ouvert', Sab *br* 'terre, région, plaine', *brr* 'zône de pâturage' [DRS: 87], Sab *brr* 'open coutry, plain' [SD: 31], Hbr *bar-* 'freies Feld; open field' [KB: 146], OffAram *br* 'what is outside' [HJ: 195], Arab *barr-* (*brr*) 'terre ferme, continent; pays, champs, ravage; campagne (opp. à jardine), dehors', *bariyy-at-* (*brr*) 'champ, plaine' [BK I: 103f], Mehri *bur* 'country' [JnM], Cush Bilin *bira* 'land' [RB], *bəra* 'ground' [ApAg: 59], Beja *beréer* 'Steppe, Wüste' (< Arab *brr-*) [RBd], Saho *baarho* 'earth, ground, country' [Vr], Som *bírri* 'land (as opposed to sea)' [LlS], Arb *boore* 'earth' [Hay]. For cognates of Eg *bꜣ.t* 'Steppe' see [EDE II: 32].
Note C 10 Musey *bubura* 'large, vaste', *buru* 'outside' [ShyM] and Berb MC *abaraw* 'large, vaste' [NZ: 121].
Cf. [HSED №337].

284. **bHr/*Hbr- > *ɓVɓVr-* 'bed-bug': W 5 cf. Guus *ɓul*, Dott *ɓólí* 'bed-bug' (irreg. *–l-*) [CrG, CrZ]; C 6 Daba *ɓàràrām* 'punaise'; 7 Gis *ɓaɓaram* 'Wanze', Mofu *ɓáɓáram* 'punaise'; 9 Mbara *ɓòɓór* 'bed-bug'; 10 cf. Masa *ɓari-na* 'perce-oreille, tick'; E 2 Lele *ɓòrɓór* 'punaise'; 4 Sok *bóboroo* 'Wanze' [Luk].

285. **burgVč-* 'louse': C 5 Pod *bɨrəgešəwe* 'pou de chien', Glv *bírəgšùwa* 'tick'; 6 Daba *mbùrgūč* 'le pou'; E 5a Bid *bugùlčú-mò* (metath., *-lč-* < *-*rč-*) 'larve'. Cf. C 8 Log *mburgumɨsɨ* 'punaise' [AlL], Afd *bligmy*, Log *bórgomī* 'Kamellaus', cf. Musuk *biggerui* [Sol: 229]; E 4 Saba *bər* '(head) louse'.
//Sem Arab *burġuṯ-* 'puce, flea' [BK I: 113], Akk *perša'u* (OAkk on) 'Floh' [AHw: 855], Hbr *parʿōš* 'flea' [KB: 780]. Cf. Sem**p̀VrġV̀ṯ* [SED II №185], **parġuṯ* [Fron 5.88], **pVrġV̀ṯ* [Kg: 212]. Berb Shilh *aburegs* 'sauterelle' [NZ: 107], Rif *buryes,* Izn *bureḫs* 'grillon', Snus *aburɣes* `insect', Sghr *burḫs* 'small grasshopper' (apud [SED]).

On Semitic **ṗ* see [SED I: 246]. Cf. [HSED №345].
Note a possible root variant with a lateral fricative: Central Ch 7 Ould *té-^{m}bèrèkéɬēw* ‘criquet migrateur’ ~ Sem Arab *barġaš-(at)-* ‘moucheron’ [BK I: 113]. Both < AA **bVrġVĉ-*.

286. **bVr-* ‘white’: W 5 Dott *bèrì*, Wangdai *ɓəri* white’ [Smz]; C 6 Daba *bàrən* ‘blanc’; 7 Gis *babar-an* ‘white, clear’, Mofu *má-bará* ‘white’; 8 Gulfei *ber-de* [Luk]; 9a Gdr *bàbàr* [FrG]; E 1 Kwn *bārē-tín* [JgIb]; 2 Kaba *burwa*, Nch *barə* [HmK], Gbr *bére,* Drm *bere* [Luk], Lele *bòŕ* ; 3 Smr *buró-ge* ‘white’ [Luk].
Denom. in *ʾa-*: ***ʾabVr- > ʾabVr- > ɓVr-:*** W 5 Dott *ɓári* ‘to be, become white’ [CrD]; C 9 Mnj *ɓirhi* ‘blanchir’, Mlw *ɓìrhì* ‘devenir blanc (de poussière), blanchir’.
//Sem Geez *brr* ‘purify, make white’, Hbr *bārer* ‘purify’ [LsG: 106] Arab *bariha* ‘be white’ [LsG: 104], *brh* ‘avoir de carnation blanche’ [BK I: 118f], Ug *brr* ‘to be or remain pure, clean, free’, Aram Palm, Jud Aram *brr* ‘to make clear’ [DUL: 237]. For Ch and Eg *bʔḥ* ‘le blanc de l’oeil’ (if = **brḥ* ‘white’) see [EDE II: 81f].

287. **(ʾa)bar-/bVwVr-* ‘big, large’[38]: W cf. 1 Hs *ábàarà* ‘an epithed applied to anything which is both large and heavy’; 4 Mburku *babar-ən* ‘long, tall, big’ [SkNB]; 5 Dott *bari* ‘big’ [Cr], Zaar *vàrì* ‘big’ [CrZ], Buli *bàr,* dass sub-group **bàrì* ‘big’ [Smz]; C 5a Lmn *bər-ɮà* ‘(to be) big’ [Wff]; 6 Mina *bì-mbrìv* ‘large’ [FrJ]; E 4 Mawa *bwar* ‘large’, *bwar-* ‘élargir’, Ubi *boor-gà* ‘large’.
Redupl.: C 7 Zlg *ɓárɓàr* ‘être lourd à porter’, Chuv *ɓèlɓèl* ‘lourd’.
Denom. verb: E 5a Bid *buràm* ‘agrandir, élargir’, EDng *bèrlē* ‘devenir large’ > *bérél* ‘large, gros, épais, volumineux, enflé’.
Cf. W 3 Dera *ɓá-mbəràm* ‘largeness, importance’ [NmK].
//Berb Qab *abarar* ‘énorme, très grand/en grand quantité (taille ou volume)’, MC *abaraw* ‘large; vaste; épais; gros’ [NZ 93,121], Shilh *berari* ‘être epais’ [NZ: 124], ECush Som *buur-an* ‘stout’, Rend *buur* ‘big (of things)’ [Sam].
For Arab *nbr* ‘grandir’ cf. CCh **vir-* (< *nbr* ?) ‘to increase’: 2 Bura *vira* ‘to increase’; 9 Mlw *vìrdí,* Mnj *virdî* ‘augmenter’.
The following root may be cognate (terms for ‘big’ & ‘swollen’ are often confused, see eg, E 5a EDng *bérél* ‘large, gros, épais enflé’ and

[38] For Eg *bʒ.w* ‘Ruhm, Macht, Gewalt’ as a cognate see [EDE II: 9].

Berber *abaraw* ‘large; vaste; épais; gros’).
a. ***bVwVr-* ‘(to be) full, to swell’:** W 2 Mghv *bwer* ‘full’ [JgIb]; C 4 Gude *mbaarə* ‘to swell from pregnancy (stomach only)’; C 10 Musey *bura* ‘pourrir, enfler’ [ShyM]; E 5a EDng *búuríyé* ‘fructifier, gonfler, enfler’.
Deriv. in ***m-/ʔa-* ‘filled, swollen’:** W 2 Mghv *ɓwɛr* ‘to be full, fill to the brim’ = ‘filled’ [BlM]; C 7a Skn *mbur* ‘swollen’; 7 Mafa *ɓor-ɓororaʔa* ‘épais, gonflé’.
//ECush Som *barar,* Boni *barʔêr* ‘to swell’ [SAM].

288. **bir-* ‘wet’: W 2 Mghv *mbɨra-k* ‘wet, not fully dry’ [BlM]; E 2 Gbr *bírra,* Drm *bra* ‘nass’ [Luk].
Denom. in ʔa-: ***ʔabarak* > *ɓara-k* ‘to become wet’:** W 2 Goem *ɓàrá-k* ‘become wet, fresh’, Mush *ɓara-k* ‘to be wet’.
//Berb Qab *bberber* ‘être mouillé abondemment’ [NZ: 90], cf. Eg *bʒy* [if bry] ‘feucht sein’ Med [EG I: 417], for alternative cognates see [EDE II: 44-48], [TN №185].
For a root variant cf. ****fVr-* ‘(to) wet’*:*** W 2 Ngas *fir* ‘to wash hands’ (apud [TAS: 108]), Mghw *fəriš* ‘auswaschen (durch Wasser)’ [JgS]; C 9 Msg *áfri* ‘feucht, nass; wet’ [LkM].

289. **bVr-* ‘heat’: W 2 Mpn *biar* ‘heat’ [Fp]; C 2 Bura *borbor* ‘hot’ [BlB].
Derived verb: W 1 Kera *bóoré* ‘to warm o.s., to find fire’; cf. C 4 Gude *ɓəraŋə* ‘to warm smth (oneself)’.
//Cush agaw Bilin, Hamir, Aungi *bər-* ‘hot, warm’ [ApAg].

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290. **fV$^{?}$/w/y-* 'to blow[39], dry': W 2 Ngas *fii* 'to blow' [Fl], *fìi* 'to blow, winnow, dry' [JgN], Goem *fĭ* 'to blow or fan smth (in order to dry it)' [Hlw], Mpn *fìi,* Chip *fi* 'to blow' [Kr], Mush *fìì* 'to be dry, blow' [JgO], Mghv *fìi,* pl. *fyaat* 'to blow, dry' [BlM]; 3 Bol *fo$^{??}$-* 'trocken werden' [LkB], *pò$^{??}$ù* 'to dry up' [GAB]; 4 Wrj, Mburku, Miya, Kariya *fay-* 'to blow' [SkNB]; 5 Dott *fífee* 'to whistle' [CrD]; 6 Duw *fiyo* 'to start fire, blow fire', Ngz *fiyú* to 'blow', *fiifiyu* 'to whistle'; C 2 Bura *fi* [BlB]; 4 Gudu *ufi* [JgIb]; 5a Gdf *fə-* 'to blow' [KimG]; 6 Daba *$^{?}$uf* (metath.) 'to blow'; 7 Mofu *-f-* 'souffler, siffler', Mol *fowwa* idf. 'sound of wind blowing' [FsM]; 8 Bud *fa, phe, fwo* [LkBd], *fá* [Awg] 'to blow', Log *fa* 'to blow' [JgIb]; 10 Dzpw *fó$^{?}$ó,* Dari *fō$^{?}$* 'souffler', Peve, Hedẽ *fo$^{?}$,* Zime *fo$^{?}$o* 'to blow' [Shy], Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba *fó,* Masa *fóó* 'souffler' [LexC] (cf. 10 Musey *fora* [fo-ra] 'souffler' [ShyM]): E 2 Nch *–pa* [HmK]; 3 Tum *po* 'to blow'. Cf. C 5 Wnd *uk-feya* 'wind' [Voc].
//Cf. Eg *nfy* 'ausatmen, hauchen', *nf* MR 'Atem; Wind' [EG II: 250], PECush **$^{?}$uf(u)f-* blow' [SsB: 183], agaw **əf y-* 'blow', Beja *fuuf-* [ApAg]. Berb Shilch *uff* 'être gonflé, enflé; souffler', Zng *yu$^{?}$f* 'gonfler', *af* 'souffler', Rif, Qab *uff* 'enfler, gonfler', etc. [NZ: 506f]. For Berb 'to swell' cf. C 2 Mrg *fiifì* 'swollen' [HfM: 23]; 3 Hya *fyiye* [BlH] 'to swell'; W 3 Kupto *$^{?}$òfìyà* 'swelling (of the body)'.
a. Derived noun **fufu* 'lungs': W 1 Hs *fùufuu, hùuhuu* > 2 Mpn *fùufúu* 3 Bol *pùupu;* C 1 Tera *fufúf* [NmT], Gaa *pìpìf-á* [MN] 'lungs'.
//Cf. Eg *wfȝ* (Totb) 'die Lunge' [EG I: 306].
Note Eg *f$^{?}$* 'to blow' (apud [GrL: 300]). Accord. to [EDE II: 553f], 'Meaning and origin [of Eg *fȝ*] obscure. Perhaps 'to have (bad) odor'?' [Nm **fi,* ISv: 21, AA 1 №70, HSED №797]. Cf. CCh **v* ("the change **v* > *f* is regular in n Proto-Margi and Proto-Kotoko Island") [GrR].
b. ****fVH-* 'to blow, to winnow'**: W 7 Bok *fu$^{?}$,* DB *fû$^{?}$* 'blasen', Sha *fyaḥ* 'blasen (Flöte, Horn)' [JgR]; C 5 Hdi *vihay* (regr. spirantization) 'to winnow, whistle'; 7 Mada *fàáh* 'légèrement (bruissement du vent)'.
//Sem Arab *nfḥ* (a) 'souffler (d'un vent froid)' [BK II: 1305].

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[39] On 'onomatopoetic/ideophonic' origin of roots for 'blowing' in *f*-initial see [JgIB I: 15]. Note, on the other hand, that verbs for 'blowing' differ in their semantic components – 'to blow, to dry'/'to blow, to winnow', etc.

291. C **fV(y)-* 'to place, put': 2 Klb *fiyà* 'to put down' [MuK]; 3 Bana *fə̀* 'poser', FK *fə́, fàyì* 'to put'; 5 Glv *f* 'to do, set, put, to lay', Mlg *fâ* 'bauen, stellen, legen', Pod *fa* 'to place, put'; 7 Mada *éfe,* Imp. *fe, fe-ma* 'mettre, poser', Muy *áfáy* 'to put' (single obj.), Ould *-fāwō* 'poser qqch et partir', Mafa *fa* 'mettre (pl. objets)'; 7a Skn *fə* 'to put down'.
a. W **fVw-* (pl. in *–w-*) **'to throw, sow'**: W 2 Mghv *fwo* 'to throw' pl. [BlM], Mpn *foo* pl. 'to sow, broadcast, throw many things', Ngas *fwo* 'to throw down, away' [JgN], Goem *fú* 'to scatter or sow smth.' [Hlw]; 3 Bele *fóyí-kò* 'to throw' [SchB].
For a derived noun cf. W 1 Hs *fàyau* 'a game of disc-throwing'.

292. **faˀ-/*fiˀ-* 'to scrape (off), rub': W 2 Mghv *fee* 'to clean, drag', *fee-fee* 'to sweep the farm' [BlM], Mpn *fáò* adj. 'clear of vegettion'; 3 Kupto *fiyéy* 'to bark off, decorticate'; 7 Sha *fêf* 'jucken' [JgR]; C 2 Bura *fova* (< *fofa*) 'to rub, wipe off (dust or damp) ' [BlB]; 3 FK *fə̀ˀ* 'to rub'; 7a Skn *fow* 'itching'; 8 Kus *fe ho* 'to peel (+ms'al) 'pluck (chicken)' [AlK]; 9 Mlw *fi,* Mnj *fi* 'racler, polir'; 10 Dari *fàˀ* 'to scrape to make lisse', Dzpw *vàˀà* 'gratter pour lisser', Masa *fòo* 'ôter (vêtement)' [CC].
Cf. W 2 Mghv *fee* 'ziehen, eggen' [JgS], C 7 Gis *fe* 'Boden bearbeiten, hacken' ('to scrape a field' ?).
Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *fwoop, foop* (pl. in *-p*) 'the shell of an egg, snails, etc, but not the bark of trees' [Fl], *fóp* 'husk, hull' [JgN], *fop* 'bark' [Kr]; C 8 Bud *fóu* 'Haut' [LkBd]; E 1 Kera *fə́yá* 'Lepra'.
//HECush **fiy-* 'to sweep': Sid *fea,* Gede'o *fe,* Had *fiiˀ-* [Hds], Saho *fiye* 'to sweep' [Vr], Arb *fayya* 'to clean' [Hay].
Cf. [TN №480].

293. **fVw/y-* 'to tell, call': W 5 Zaar *fuu* 'to tell'; 7 Sha *fi* 'sagen' [JgR]; C 5a Hdi *fay* 'to sing'; 8 Bud *fé* 'appeler' [Awg], Makari *fe* 'to call' [AlM].
//Sem Arab *fwh* (*u*) 'prononcer (un mot, discours); parler' [BK II: 649].

294. **fV(y)-/*HVf-* (< **fVH-*) 'to go up, rise': W 7 Sha *wàfày*, Karfa *hàf* (metath.) 'to mount' [RC]; C 9 Mulwi *fi* 'emporter dans les airs (oiseau de proie)', cf. Musgu *afa, efe* 'up (?)' [LkM]; E 1 Kera *fə́* 'sich erheben, se lever'.
Derived noun: C 5 Mlg *fáya* 'Himmel, sky', cf. W 6 Duw *àafà,*

WBade *afà* ‘sun’.
//Sem Arab *yfʕ* ‘to mount’ [BK II: 1631], Sab *yfʕ* ‘go up, rise’ [SD: 168, Bll: 233], SOmot Dime *fuh-* ‘to climb’ [BnA].
Cf. TN №388 **pʕ ~ *f[ʕ]* ‘to rise, swell’.

295. C ****fVy/ʔ-* ‘to decrease’:** 7 Mofu *-fáfiy-* ‘diminuer’; 9 Mnj *fiyi,* Mlw *fíyí* ‘diminuer’; 10 Dzpw *fái* ‘diminuer', *féʔé* ‘(se) rétrécir’.
Cf. 9a Gdr *mù-fíyá* ‘small’ [FrG]; 10 Dari *fày* ‘small, piece’.
//Sem Arab *fhh* ‘etre faible, débile’ [BK II: 640f]. Note W 3 Kupto *fúhé* ‘stupid’ as an Arabism.

296. ****(ʔV)fVy/w-/*fVʔVw-/y > vVw, fyf*** (compensatory redupl.) **‘to roast’**: W 3 Tng *pipe* ‘to roast’, Bol *pèeyu* ‘to roast directly on fire’, *pau* idf. ‘indicates hotness’ [GAB]; 7 Kul *fyef* ‘rösten’ [JgR]; W 5 Guus *vaa* ‘to burn, grill’, *vay* ‘hot’ [CrG], Zaar *vaa* ‘to heat up, burn; be hot’ [CrZ], Grnt *vuu,* Tala *huu* ‘to roast’ [Cs]; C 1 Hona *fye-*, Tera *vi* [NmT], Gabin, Gaa *fiʔ-* ‘to roast’ [Kr]; 8 Kus *viow* ‘to bake in ashes, roast’ [AlK], Bud *fέw* ‘griller, brûler’ [Awg]; 9 Mbara *fèè* (or *féé*) ‘to grill’; E 2 Kaba *puwə* ‘to roast’ [JgIb].
Compensatory redupl. (in Tng & Fyer) and *v-* in W 5 and in Kusery point to a laryngeal.
//Sem **ʔpy/w* : Akk *epû, (apû)* (OB on) ‘to bake’ [CAD e: 247], Phn *ʔpy* ‘to cook, to bake’ [HJ: 94], Aram (Emp) *ʔpy*, (Syr) *ʔepā* (Mand) *apa* ‘cuire’, Ug *ʔpy,* Hbr *ʔāpā* (*ʔpy*) ‘to bake’, Geez *ʔafaya* ‘to bake’, Sab *ʔfy* ‘baked’ (= ‘sort of foodstuff’) in [SD: 3]) [DRS: 28, DUL I: 89, Bl: 25, LsG:10].

297. ****(ʔV)fVw-/*fVʔVw- > vVw, fwf*** (compensatory redupl.) **‘to smell, (bad) smell’:** W 2 **fwVp*: Ngas *fweep* ‘to smell, sniff; a smell, a stink, also a pleasant smell’ [Fl], *fwèep* ‘smell, stink’ [JgN], Mghv *fwàap, fwàɣàp* (internal k- pl.) ‘odour, smell’ [BlM]; 6 Ngz *fóowâ* ‘stench’; C 8 Bud *pho* ‘vefault sein (Fleisch)’ [LkBd], Makari *fio* ‘odour, to smell’, Log *via* ‘smell’, *vi* (< *fiʔ-*) ‘to stink, smell bad’ [Al].
Note that *v-* in Log and compensatory redupl. in W 2 point to a laryngial (in pre- or postposition)
//Sem Arab *fawʕ-at-* ‘odeur qui se répand partout’ [BK II: 646], Geez *ʔafaw* (pl. *ʔafawāt*) ‘sweet odor, scent’ [LsG: 10].
For W 2 **fwVp* < AA **bwb* see [TN №312].

298. ***(wV)fiy- > fVy-, vVy-*) 'to receive, find, obtain'**: W 3 Tangale *piye* 'to receive, accept'; C 2 Chb *fa* 'nehmen, becommen' [HfC]; 10 Masa *fi* 'trouver' [CC], Dzpw *fé* 'obtenir, recevoir', Marrba *fe,* Musey *fi*, Peve *fie*, Hedẽ, Zime *fe* 'to obtain' [Shy], Musey, Marba, Masa *v-,* Peve *vie* (< **wfy*) , Hedẽ *fe* 'to receive' [Shy]. Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *fi*, Lew, Marba *fé* 'recevoir, trouver' [LexC], Musey *fi-ra* 'recevoir, trouver, gagner' [ShyM].
'to pay' see Ch **p(Vw)ay/ʔ-* 'to pay, give'.
For reflexes in some masa languages see [TN №380 **pḥ*].
//Sem Geez *wfy* 'receive, grant, transmit, hand over, deliver, transfer' [LsG: 607]. For Geez *wfy* 'to hand over, deliver, tranfer' < Sem **w/ʔpy* a. ***ʔafVy-* 'to seize, catch, take'** (either, Caus in ***ʔa* from **fiy-* 'to receive', or – an independent root): W 2 Goem *fyàp* 'to snatch at smth' (< *fyaf*, compensatory redupl. < **ʔafVy*. Ch *–P# > W 2 *–p#*) [Hlw]; C 3 Bura *fa* 'to take' [BlB]; 3 FK *fə̃ʔ* 'to pick up a quantity of things'; 5-10 **vVy-* (< **ʔafVy-*): 5 Glv *vay* 'to catch'; 7 Mofu *–v-* 'arracher de force, saisir'; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *vì*, Lew, Marba *vè* 'saisir, accepter' [LexC], Musey *vi-ra* 'prendre, attraper, tenir, saisir' [ShyM], Dzpw *vè* 'accepter', Dari *vīē* 'prendre qqch presenté', Masa *vì* 'attraper, attaindre, saisir' [CC].
For possible derived nouns cf. C 9 Mnj *ava* 'filet'; E 1 Kera *vèw* 'piège'.

299. ***wVfVḥ- > fwV/vwV* 'to boil, heat':** W 4 Kar *vuu*, Paa *vùvu* (< *wuv-* < *wVf-*), Mburku *viy-*, Tsagu *vi,* Siri *wuɣu* 'to boil' [SkNB, MS], Wrj *vúwú-nà* 'boiling', cf. *vúwù-nà* 'three stones for cooking, fireplace' [BlS]; C 3 Bana *wəàfə̀* 'cuire la viande un peu le matin pour que ça ne pourrisse pas avant le soir quand on va la préparer bien et la manger', FK *fívù* (< *fifu*, compensatory reduplication) 'to boil' [Kr]; 5 Pod *ufá* 'to heat, boil'; 5a Hdi *fway* 'to heat, boil'; 7a Skn *fowa* 'to heat liquid', *fwa* 'to warm (of liquids)', *mu-fwan* 'heated, warm'.
//For a metath. see Sem Arab *fwḥ* être en ébullition, bouillonner (se dit d'une marmite)' [BK II: 644].

300. C 8 ***fa* 'to bury, sow'**: Makari, Kus *fa,* Log *fa-* [Al], Bud *fa* [LkBd] 'to bury, to sow', Makri *fa go* 'to cover, close'.
//SCush Qwadza *foʔ-at-* 'to bury' [Eh: 152].
Consider the following isogloss as a possible derivative:

a. W ***fV(w)VH-* ‘to close, cover’**: 3 Bol *f(a)* [LkB], *paa* [GAB] ‘to close’, Krf *fe??-* [Stl], Krkr *faa* [GK], Glm *pyáa-*, Bele *fè??yú-kò,* Grm *fée-* ‘to close’ [SchB], Ngm (dial.) *fa?à, hâ* ‘to cover, close’ [NEH]; 7 Kul *fu* ‘schliessen’, Sha *vu*, DB *voh*, Bok *vo* ‘schliessen, bedecken’ [JgR], Tambas *fwa,* Karfa *fwâ:y*, Bok, Monguna *vo*, Sha *vu*, ‘to shut, close’ [RC]; C 5a Hitk *f-* ‘Schliessen’
//Cf. Sem Arab *hfw* ‘être caché à qqn, être à la connaissance de qqn’ [BK II: 1430].

301. **HVfVy-* ‘rainy season’: W 3 Kupto *fòó* ‘rainy season’ (pl. in –w-?, cf. W 7); 4 Paa *fáfìya* (compensatory redupl.) ‘rain’ [MS]; 7 Bok *fu,* Monguna *fi,* Mundat *fyôw* Mangar *fi,* Fyer *fù,* Tambas *fuu* ‘wet season’ [RC]; C 2 Mrg *viya*; 3 Hya *fà* ‘rain’ [BlH], HG *gəfiya* [Kr], FK *vìyá* ‘rainy season’; 5 Mlg *víya,* Lmn *viya* [Wff], Hitk *vìyà* ‘rainy season’; 6 Buwal *viyā* ‘wet season’, Mina *vì* ‘rainy season’ [FrM], Daba *vìyà* ‘rainy season’; 7 Mafa *viya*, Zlg *viye*, Mada *vya* ‘saison de pluies’, Ould *lə̄-vìyò* ‘pluvieuse’; 7a. Skn *vi* ‘rainy season’.
Cf. [TN №326] **by* ~ **py* ‘rain’, CCh **vɨya* ‘rainy season’ [GrR].

302. W 7 **faw-* ‘mouth’: Bok *fò* ‘mouth, face, front’ [BlR], Monguna, Mangar *wo,* Fyer *fo,* Tambas *fwoi,* DB *fóó* ‘mouth’, Fyer *fufwo* ‘door’ [RC].
Denom. in **?-:* W 1 Hs *áfà* ‘to throw into the mouth such things as tobacco in powder form, or a number of groundnuts’.
//Sem Akk *pû* ‘mouth, command, order, advice, mind, speech, language, opening (of a part of the body), entrance’ from OAkk on [CAD p: 453], Ug *p* ‘mouth, snout; orifice, vulva’, Phn *py,* Aram *pm*, Hbr *pe(h)* ‘mouth’ [DUL II: 647], Geez *?af* (pl. *?afaw*) ‘mouth, beak, entrance, brim, orifice, border’, Arab *fū* (in construct status), Sab *f* ‘voice, mouth’, Tgr, Tna *?af*, Amh, Harari, Gur *af*; also in Cush, etc. [LsG: 8f], Sem **pay/w-* [Kg: 221]. SCush **?afo* ‘mouth’ [Eh: 281], rift **?afa*: Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *?afa* [Kies], PEC **?af-:* Som, Saho, Afar, Rend, Boni *af,* Dasenech *?afu,* Oromo *af-aan* (pl.), Konso *af-aa* (pl.), Sid, Darasa, Alb *af-o*, Burji *afa* ‘mouth’, Had *?af-o(?)o* ‘hole’ [SsB], Beja *yaf* ‘mouth’ [RBd].
[Coh №380, Dolg: 231 Cush **?Ap* ‘mouth’].

303. **fVdV?-/*fVdd-* ‘to blow (fire)’: W 3 Kupto *fiddéy* ‘to blow fire,

set/strike fire', *fiɗɗéy* 'to whistle'; 7 Kul *fùd* 'blasen', Sha *fud* 'blasen (Feuer)' [JgR], DB, Monguna *fû$^{?}$,* Bok *fu$^{?}$,* Sha *fud* 'to blow (mouth)' [RC]; C 8 Log *fiɗ-un a* 'to blow up, inflate' [AlL]; 10 Azum *foɗá* 'to blow, breathe'.
//SCush rift ***fudu$^{?}$*** 'to blow': Bur *fudu$^{?}$,* Irw *fuuruu$^{?}$* [Kies[.
Derived noun: ****fud-* 'wind, harmattan':*** W 3 Kupto *fúddò* 'harmattan, dust, cloud'; C 5 Gdf *fuɗe,* Gava, Chk, Chn *fuɗa,* Glv *fudə* 'wind' [HmG]. Cf. C 9 Msg *fɔdú-m* (with a body-part' suff.) 'Bauchwind' [LkM].
//SCush *fudu$^{?}$aa* 'wind': Bur *fudu$^{?}$umee* 'blowing and howling of wind', Irq, Gor *fur$^{?}$a,* Alg *furu$^{?}$aa* 'wind' [Kies].

304. **fVd(VH) > fVɗ-* 'to fight, to kill': W 1 Hs *fàaɗa* 'to quarrel, fight'; C 9 Msg *fáda* [LkM], Mbara *fàɗ* 'to kill', Mlw *fiɗî* 'tuer, faire mal', Mnj *fiɗî* 'tuer, abbatre (arbre)'.
//Cf. Sem Akk *pādû* 'merciless, pitiless, unsparing' MB, SB [CAD p: 7], 'schonungslos (Waffe); ruthless, merciless (weapon)' [AHw: 808].

305. **fVHVd-* (note a long vowel in Krkr **) > **fVɗ-* 'to gather, roll up, pack':** W 3 Krkr *fèeɗu* 'to roll up' [GK]; C 4 Gude *fədə* 'to roll up (mat); gather together and take away'; 5 Mlg *fáɗa* '(zusammen) rollen, falten', Pod *faɗa* 'assembler, enrouler'; 7 Mofu *-faɗ-* 'rouler, enrouler', Mada *óffoɗ* 'enrouler, envelopper', *offóɗ* 'anneau, bague', Muy *éfèdēy* 'to roll up', Gis *foɗ* 'zusammenrollen', Mol *faɗay* 'to fold' [FsM]; 9 Mnj *fiɗi* 'enrouler, envelopper; emballer', Mlw *fiɗî* 'enrouler'.
Deriv. C 7 Mada *óffoɗo-và* 's'enrouler'.
The following (derived) nouns support the original semantics 'to gather':
C 8 Kus *fudu* 'heap' [AlK]; E 1 Kera *fáada* 'Versamlung, réunion'.
For a root variant see **. 419. C **pad(VH) > paɗ-* 'to wrap, bandage'.**

306. **faHVd- > faɗ-/*fad-* 'to fall, put': W 1 Hs *fáadî* 'to fall down', *fáaɗà* 'to throw o.s. into the water'; C 7 Mol *faɗ* 'to put, set down' [FsM]; E 2 Lele *pādīwí* 'tomber'; 5b Mubi *fúudi,* pl. *fádé* '(faire) tomber' [JgM].
//ECush Ong *faɗ-* 'to put down' [SavT].
a. W 6 Ngz *vàdú* (< *HVfVd-*) 'to lie down'.
// Eg *ḥfd* Totb, NR 'sitzen, sich setzen' [EG III: 75].

307. C **fiɗ-* 'to shave, peel': C 3 Bana *f(ə)dǐ* 'peler, enlever'; 4 Gude *faadə* 'to peel with knife'; 5 Hdi *fiɗay* 'to peel'; 6 Mina *fəɗ-* 'to shave' [FrJ]; 7 Chuv *méfədɛ̂y* `déchaumer (champ)', Mbuko *fuɗay* 'raser'; 9 Mbara *fiɗ,* Mlw *fídǐ* 'raser'.
a. ****fiɗ-* 'to cut ears (of corn), harvest'**: C 7 Mafa *fiɗ-* + *daw* 'mil' 'couper un épi pour le mettre à sécher'; E 1 Kera *fédɛ́* 'Hirse ernten'.
For a possible derived noun cf. C 7a Skn *viɗ* 'sickle' [ThS: 23].
Cf. C 7 Mofu *-fáfád-* 'inciser, couper la peau pour arracher (une épine)'.
//Sem Arab *ḥfd* 'tondre; to mow' [BK I: 456].

308. C **faɗ-* (< Ch ****fVd-*,** cf. Eg) **'to sweep, wipe':** C Chuv *méfɛ̆dɛ̂y* 'nettoyer', Zlg *fádǎ* 'balayer', Mafa *faɗ-* (+ *mbar* 'huile') 'enduire d'huile'; 8 Makari *faɗɨ* 'to wipe bottom' [AlM]. Secondary *-ɗ-*.
//Eg *fd* (Pyr) 'etw abwischen, fortwischen, to wipe (off)' [EG I: 581].
For alternative cognates see [EDE II: 607-609]

309. W **fad-* > *faɗ-* 'disease, pain': W 3 Tng *pada* 'sickness, disease', Bol *pàdà* 'pain, sore' [GAB], Krkr *faɗàa* 'pain, ach' [GK], Ngm (dial.) *faɗà, hòdà* 'pain' [NEH], Kupto *fàɗá* 'sickness, pain, disease', Pero *pìdá, pìdá* 'pain', *peɗdò* 'to hurt', Dera *pàrí* 'to pain' [NmK]
Cf. C 5 Glv *fəɗa* 'fever'.
//Sem Geez *fawd* 'tribulation, suffering', Amh *fayd* id. [LsG: 172].

310. **fVHVd-* 'thigh': C 1 Hona *fùɗa-ra*, Gaa *fùɗa-tà,* Gbn *fìdə̂-tə̀,* Boka *fùdə̂-tə* 'thigh' [Kr], Hona *fəda-ra* 'thigh' [Meek]; E 5a Jegu *paado* 'Oberschenkel', Brg *fáadì,* Mubi *fùúdí* 'thigh' [JgIb], Kaj *fùudì.*
Cf. E 5a Mig *pàatè* (< *fad-at-*) 'cuisse'.
//Sem Arab *fahd-at-* 'fesses, derrière' [BK II: 641].

311. **f(w)Vd-ɗ- > fVr-ɗ-/ fVɗɗ-* 'four': W 1 Hs *húdú, fúdǔ* [JgIb]; 2 **fVr#* (<**fVd-[d],* note that Ch **CVd/t-* > W 2 *CVt#*), Mghv *féer* [BlM], Mpn, Mush [JgO] *fɛ́er,* Ngas *fiir* [JgN], Grk *pro* [BlY], *púró,* Mnt *fei* [JgC], Goem *fə́r* [Hlw]; 3 Bol *pˀor-do* [Kl], *pòɗdo* (< *fod-do*) [GAB], Krkr *fèedu,* Dera *páráu*, Tng *padau* [JgIb], Maka *paɗdu* (< *pad-du,* assim.) [SvP], Ngm *hòdò* [NEH], Gera, Grm *fúdu,* Glm *páryá,* [SchB], Bure *pódǒ,* Kupto *fàdàw*; 4 Kar *fudû,* Diri *fídǐi*, Miya *fudù*, Pa'a *fádù,* Tsagu *fədə,* Siri *bíì-fədíí*, *bi-fid-di* [**f-ɗ-* SkNB], Paa *fáadu* [MS], Miya *fədə̂* [Sch], Wrj *fədî* [BlS]; 6 Ngz *fúdú,* Duw *fədù,* Bade *fədu;* 7 Sha *fúd,* Fyer *píit*, DB *púˀ* [JgR], Richa (Kul) *fúud* [RC]; C 1 Tera *vàt*

[NmT], Gabin *fwəɗa,* Boka *fwəɗa,* Hona *faɗa* [Kr]; 2 Bura *fwar;* Chb *fɔ́dū,* Klb *fódù* [Kr], Mrg *fòdù* [HfM: 20]; 3 Bana *fádə̀,* FK *fwàdə*, Kap *fwadɛ,* HN *fwàre* [Kr], Hya *fwudî* [BlH]; 4 Gude *nfáda,* Gudu *fwad,* Nzn *fwat*, FM *fwat* [Kr], Bch *fwat,* Bata *fwot* [Sk], Jimj, Sharwa *fwát',* Gude *umfát',* Tsuvan *àfwát*ˀ [BryJ]; 5-5a Mlg *ufáɗe,* Dghw *fiɗe;* Gdf *ufaɗe,* Gava *ufaɗ,* Chn, Glv *ufada,* Gvoko *ofado,* Lmn *ufada,* Hdi *fʷad,* Vemgo *ufʷaɗ* [HmG], Wnd *ufade*, Lmn *ùfádɔ́* [JgIb]**;** 6 Daba *fōɗ,* Buwal *ŋ̀fát,* Mbedam *ɔ́nfaɗ* [LMb]**,** Mina *nfáɗ* [FrJ]; 7 Chuv *fàɗ,* Muy *fāɗ,* Baka *wúfaɗ* [BAS], Mafa *fáɗ,* Ould *m̩ə́fáɗ,* Merey *faɗ,* Mbuko *fédo,* Mol *məfaɗ , əwfaɗ* [FsM], Mofu *m̩əfàɗ,* Gis *mufaɗ,* Dugwor *m̀fàɗ* ; 7a Skn *fwaɗ ;* 8 Zina *fódî,* Log *gáɗɛ́,* Kus *káɗɛ́,* Afd, Maltam, Makari *gàdɛ̀,* Mazera *fùdɛ́,* Zina *fóodî* [Sol: 166, TrN with a discussion]; 9 Mnj *pudu,* Mbara *púdǔ*[40]; 9a Gdr *podo* [JgIb], *pódɔ́* [FrG]; 10 Dari *fədĩ*ˀ*,* Musey *fidî,* Masa, Marba, Peve *fədĩ*ˀ*,* Hedɛ *fidî*ˀ*,* Ngidɛ *fədì,* Zime *fidî* [Shy], Gizey, Masa, Ham *fídî,* Marba *fídî* [LexC], Azum *fídî;* E 2 **p-r* < **f-d-*: Lele *pōrīŋ* [JgIb], Kaba, Nch *pəri,* Gbr *porin* [Luk]; 3 Smr *wódii* [Luk]; 4 Saba *paˀa*, Ubi *pora*, Mawa *par* [HuJ], Ubi *podà* [Alio]; 5a Mig *póodî*, Bid *paaɗaŋ,* WDng *pòot, pòoɗ*; 5b Mabire *pot* [JnH], Jegu *food,* Brg *fòodì,* Mubi *fádà* [JgIb], MM *faat,* Tor *fòoɗa*.
//Eg (OK) *fdw* 'four' [EG I: 582].
For Chadic data see [Nm **fʷadə*, JgIb **-pɗ*], for references - [EDE II: 599].
Note that only the PCh **fVd-ɗ-*form accounts for all the manifestations of the root in Chadic languages. For the same suff. in numerals see: Ch **kVn-ɗ-* 'three', **cir-ɗ-* 'two', CCh Mafa *sta-ɗ,* Mofu *té-ɗ* 'one'. The suffix can be traced in the bole gr. by assimilation: Bol *podɗo,* Maka *paɗɗu*, assim. < *fVd-ɗ-*. Forms in W 2 (namely, **fVr#*) follow Ch **fVd-* < *fVd-ɗ-* , while Ch **fVd-*> W 2 *fVt#* . In other languages **fVd-ɗ-* > **fVdɗ* > **fVdɗ-* > **fVd-* > *fVt#* . For *k-* in kotoko numerals see [TrN].
[Gr: 57, ISv: 21].

312. **fVt-* 'to blow, to start fire': W 3 Kupto *fiitéy* 'to blow'*,* Bol *fitt-* 'anblasen (Feuer)' [LkB]; 5 **fwat* (internal *–w-* pl.) Zaar *fot* 'to blow, winnow' [CrZ], Plc *fwaat*, Zul *hori, fwari* , Geji *hooti*, Dott *fwat,* Buli

[40] Irreg. *p-*. Probably, due to regress. assim. of a spirant: *f-d-* > *p-d-*.

farən [Cs №726], Dyarim *fátà,* Guus *fot* ‘to blow (with mouth), winnow’ [CrG]**;** 6 Ngz *fiitú* ‘to blow on, start fire’, WBade *fiitu* ‘to start fire’, Duw *fùuto* ‘to blow’; C 5 Dghw *fítà* [JgIb], Pod *fəta* ‘to blow’; 6 Buwal *fɛ́t* ‘to blow with mouth’, Mbedam *fətéw* ‘to blow on’ [LMb]; 7 Mofu *-fət-* ‘éventer en soufflant, souffler’; Chuv *méftèy* ‘souffler’, Mbuko *fefet* ‘siffler’, Mafa *fit-* ‘souffler sur’, Baka *–vete* ‘suffler (vent)’ [BAS]; E 1 Kera *vìtì* ‘blasen’.
Derived nouns: a. W 3 Krf *fèttó,* Gera *fètà* (*< fVtt-)* ‘wind’ [SchB].
b. W 3 Kupto *fùutá* ‘breath’; C 8 Afd *phtih* [fti:] ‘Atem’ [Sol: 267].
Note E 6 Mok *pùutó* ‘soufflet de forgeron’.
//Cf. Sem Arab *fatḥay-* ‘vent’ (Sem **fṯḥ* ‘to open’) [BK II: 533].
a. **fVfVt- > avat-* ‘to fan’: W 1 Hs *fiifiitaa* ‘to fan food to cool it’, *fiifiitaa* ‘fanning a person’; 2 Goem *fyuut* ‘to fan smth or blow on smth to cool it’ [Hlw]; 4 Zaar *vat* ‘to fan, blow‘ [CrZ]; C 5 Mlg *váta* ‘fächeln, ventilieren’; 7 Ould *–vàtày* ‘éventer, souffler le feu’, Muy *ávàtā* ‘to blow’, *évìtēy* ‘to blow (off)’; 10 Giz, Masa, Marba, Ham Lew, Musey *vèt* ‘éventer’ [LexC], Azum *veta* ‘to fan’; E ****pVpVt-*:** 1 Mobu *pebde,* Ngam *pepeté* ‘s’éventer’**;** 3 Ndam *pədà* ‘s'éventer’; 2 Tob *pà-bdé* ‘éventer’.
Derived noun: C 10 Azum *avevet-na,* Musey *vevedta* ‘a fan’ [ShyM].
Cf. C 5 Guus *vaatə* ‘bellows’ [CrG].
//Berb Wlmd, Ayr *fatfat* ‘ventiler, éventrer’ [NZ: 668]. A Chadic loan?

313. **fVt-* ‘to sweep, to clean’: W 2 Mush *fét* [JgO], Mpn *fét*, pl. *fəfét* ‘to sweep’, Ngas *fet* ‘to sweep up, clean up by sweepng’ [Fl], *fét* ‘to sweep, to clean’ [JgN], Mghv *fét* ‘to sweep’, *fet pee* ‘cleanliness’ [BlM]; 5 Jimi *fotee* ‘to sweep’ [Cs]; E 4 Mawa *piitiŋ* ‘essuyer’.
Derived noun: W 2 Mush *fi-nfét* ‘broom’ [JgO].
//Sem Jib *fett* ‘wipe oneself with small stones after excreting’ [JnJ], Omot Wolt *fit-* ‘to sweep’, Gamu *pitt-/fit-* ‘sweep, wipe, rub’ Dac’e *pitt-* ‘wipe’, Koyra *fit,* Yemsa *fit-* id., Sheko *fid-* ‘sweep’, Wolt *fittiya-go*, Yemsa *futu* ‘broom’ [LmW: 357f]. Omot Yemsa *fút-* ‘sweep’ [LmY], NWOmeto Wolt *fitt-,* Gofa *pitta,* Malo *fit-,* Gimira *pitt-* ‘sweep’ [BndO: 323].
[AA 1 №58, EDE II 595-6].
a. ****fat-*** ‘to scratch, to shave’: W 2 Ngas *fwat* ‘to scratch ground as fowls do’ [JgN]; C 5 Pod *fəta* ‘raser, to shave’; 6 Buwal *fat* ‘to shave’.
Cf. 10 Dzpw *fát* ‘ronger’, Dari *fāt* ‘ronger (uniquement pour les vers

qui s'attaquant au bois'.
Cf. W 3 Bol *puutàatà* 'a game involving scraping out holes in sand' [GAB].
//Eg *ftt* Amarna 'vom auslöschen einen Inshrift/to become erased ' [EG I: 580], Omot Yemsa *fiit-* 'rasieren' [LmY], Sem Gur (Chaha, Endegen, etc.) *fwäfwätä* 'to make a hole by scratching, scratch the ground' [LsGur: 228].

314. **fat-* 'to germinate': C 7 Mol *fatay* 'to grow, sprout, germinate' [FsM], Ould *-fàt* 'germer, pousser', Muy *áfət* 'to grow (plants)', Mofu *-fáfət-* 'végéter'; E 3 Ndam *pəžā* 'germer' < *pVd-* < **fVt-*.
Note: W 1 Hs *fita* 'to go out, (crop) to germinate', 3 Kupto *féktá* (internal *–k-* pl.) 'to go out, to come out, to appear; to germinate'; Bol *pàtaa* 'to go out', in Ventive 'to sprout, germinate' [GAB], cf. *fat* 'to go out; to rise (sun)'/'hinausgehen; aufgehen (Sonne)' [LkB].
For the same linking of semantics see Ch Paa *mbá* to go out, germinate' [MS], Miya *baw* 'to go out, sprout' (№1a.***ba[w]-* 'to go out'**, №3 ***baw/y-* 'to grow, germinate').** In the present case, we may suggest that reflexes of two independent roots (**pVt-* 'to go out' (№422) *&* **fat-*'to germinate') conflated in WCh Hs and Kupto.

315. **fVt-* 'to scatter, sprinkle' W 2 Mghv *fwat* 'to scatter'; W 3 Bol *pìtaa* 'to sprinkle (spices on food, etc,)' [GAB], Tng *pitɛ* 'to spread, sprinkle (powder, ashes, flour)', Ngm *fìt-kô* 'to sprinkle on (medicine, etc,)'; 4 Wrj *fufutau* 'adding salt or seasoning to food' [BlS]; 5 Zar *fufút* 'sprinkle powdery substance' [CrZ]; C 7 Mofu *-fáfət-* 'saupoudrer, verser une petite quantité'; 10 Azum *fata* 'to sprinkle (powder)', Musey *fadta* 'saupoudrer' [ShyM], Dzpw *fát,* Dari *fāt* 'saupoudrer', *fətát fətát* 'éparpillé absolument partout'; E 5a WDng *pètpìdé* (< **pet-d-* or disssim.) 'saupoudrer'**.** Cf. E 1 Ngam *pitinyé* 'se dispercer'. Forms like Mofu *-fáfət-* may follow **Hft* (compensatory redupl.).

316. C **fVt-* 'to cultivate': 2 Bura *fota/i* 'to clear field for farming' [BlB]; 7 Dugwor *mé-fítéy* 'to cultivate', Zlg *fət* 'sarcler, cultiver', Merey *fət* 'cultiver'.
a. W ****fVt-* 'hoe'**: 2 Mghv *fèt* 'Berom hoe' [BlM]; 3 Bol *pèeta* 'worn out hoe' [GAB}; 5 Jimi *feeta* 'hoe' [Cs].
Cf. C 8 Afd *fting,* Makari *ftə* 'Erde' [Sol: 189]; 9 Msg *áftí* 'Boden'

[LkM], Mnj *aftiy* ‘sol, terre’.

317. **n/HVfut-* ‘to turn back, over ’: W 6 Ngz *vùutú* ‘to turn away, turn o’s back’; C 8 Kus *fte* ‘to go back, return, turn over (tr.)’ [AlK]; 10 Dari *fūt,* Dzpw *fút* ‘changer de direction, s'écarter’.
Cf. W 3 Krkr *fitu* ‘to dodge, duck’ [GK].
//Eg *nft* Med ‘verdrehen’ [EG II: 263].

318. W 2 ****fuut* ‘to vomit’:** Ngas *fuut* [Fl], *fuut* ‘to exhale, vomit’ [JgN], Goem *fúut* ‘to vomit smth’ [Hlw], Mpn *fūut,* Mushere *fúut* [JgO], Mghv *fuut* ‘to vomit’.
//ECush dull Gaw *fat-, fac-* ‘sich erbrechen’ [AMS]. Eg *ft* Med, Nä ‘sich ekeln; überdrüssig werden; to vomit’ [EG I: 581], for alternative cognates see [EDE II: 590f].
For Ngas-Goem-Eg see [GrL: 300, ISv: 23].

319. C ****fVfVt-* ‘to diminish’:** C 6 Buwal *fɛfɛt* ‘to diminish’; 7 Mofu *-fáfət-* ‘maigrir’.
Deriv. ****afVfVt- > fVwVt-/vVt* ‘small, light’:** 2 Mghv *fyoot* (< **fVʔVt*) ‘to be tiny (of a hole)’ [BlM]; 7 Monguna *vaat* Mangar *vât* ‘small’ [RC], DB *vàat* ‘klein, ein venig’ (< *-fat*) [JgR]; C10 Azum *afafeta* ‘light (of weight)’.
Cf. C 7 Mofu *-fə́t-* ‘prélever une petite quantité, couper en peu’.
//Sem Arab *ftt* ‘affaiblir, fatiguer’ [BK II: 531], Berb Wlmd, Ayr *fatfat* ‘être mince comme du papier’ [NZ: 668].
Note the next issue as a root variant:
C **fVd-* ‘small, thin’: C 4 Gude *fə́dyá* ‘very small’; 8 Makari *fafadî* ‘thin’, derived verb: C 10 Azum *fefdá* ‘to diminish’.
//Sem Arab *nāfid-* ‘amaigri, exténué’ [BK II: 1306].

320. **fVt-* ‘skin’: W 1 Hs *fáatà* ‘skin (of a person, animal)’; 3 Krkr *faatàa* ‘skin, hide’ [GK], Bol *pàata* ‘small round piece of leather on which a spindle is spun’ [GAB]; C 5a **xut-* ‘skin’ (< **x-fVt-*, cf. **x-čin-* ‘nose’, alternatively, **fu-> hu-*, for the same reflex see №327a., note also *fu- > hu-* in Hausa): Lmn, Hdi, Vemgo *xuta* [HmG], Hdi *huta*; 7 Ould *àftà* ‘lanières des parures féminines, faites en peau de vache et portées après le premier accouchement’.
Deriv. C 9 Mnj *foto-rok* écorce’.

Derivd verb: C 6 Mina *fát* ‘to skin’ [FrJ].
//Om Cara *pata* ‘skin’ [BndO: 120].

321. **fut-* ‘hole’: W 2 Ngas *fut* ‘deep hole’ [Fl]; C 7 Muy *mà-ftà-tùr* ‘window’ (cf. *tùrà* ‘wide’), *fōtūt* ‘empty’.
//Sem Akk *pītu(m)* ‘opening’ [AHw: 871], cf. Arab *futt-* ‘fente, crevasse (dans un rocher)’ [BK II: 531], ECush Oromo *futee* ‘anus’ [Grg], Om Shin *futt-*‘dürchbohren’ [LmSh], Eg *wft* ‘dürchbohren’ Med [EG I:306]. [AA 1 №57 **fət* ‘hole’].

322. **fVt-* ‘kind of insect’: C 8 Afd *phtô* ‘Floh’ [Sol: 132]; 9 Mnj *foto* ‘charancon’; 10 Azum *fotna* ‘borare (insect in wood)’; E 5a EDng *pátpàt* ‘petit insect rouge qui pique’.

323. **fVt-* ‘kind of antelope’: W 4 Tsagu *fiite* ‘oribi’ [SkNB]; C 2 Bura *pta* (assim. < **ft-* is regular) ‘reedbuck’; 3 FK *pátà-kə́* (assim., *f-d/t-* forms are not attested in [BlFK]) ‘red bush duiker’.

324. **(ʾa)fVti* ‘sun’: W 3 Kupto *fìšì* ‘sun, (mid)day’, Bol *pòtì* ‘sun, daytime’ [GAB], Krkr *fàti* ‘sun, daylight’ [GK], Maka *pòoti,* Ngm (dial.) *fòtì, hòti,* Krf *fìččí,* Glm *pìizí,* Grm *fìččé* ‘sun’ [SchB], Pero *póorì* (< *pooti*); 4 Wrj *fai,* Paa *fei*, Diri *fata,* Kar *afai* ‘sun’ [SkNB]; 5 Grnt *fudîm,* Jimi *huto,* Tala *fidi, pidi* ‘sun’, Grnt *fùdî,* Jimi *hooto,* Tala *fidi* ‘day’ [Cs], Plc *pidîi,* Zul *pəte* ‘sun’ [Cs №406], Guus *fiit* ‘sun, God’ [CrG]; 7 Kul *fat* ‘sun’, Sha *fat* ‘Sonne, Tag, Gott’ [JgR], Mundat, Monguna *fat,* Fyer *vivát* (< *fivat* < *fifat*) ‘sun’, Sha, Mundat *fat,* Monguna *àdáa fàt*, Karfa *abá fát* ‘God (high)’ [RC]; C 3 *ʾafati* > *avati* > *vači:* Bana *v(ə)čí* ‘soleil, jour’, *fča* ‘jour’, FK *vàčí*, HN *vìči* [Kr] ‘sun’; 4 Jimj *fíátèn* ‘sun, sky’, Tsuvan *fètéʾ,* Sharva *fètέ* ‘sun’ [BryJ], FJ *fitî* [Kr], Gudu *fotə* [Meek]; 5 Gdf, Gava, Gvoko *faciya,* Chn *fečiya,* Glv *fačiya,* Lmn *fiti,* Hdi *fiti-k,* Vemgo *fitə-k,* Dghw *fice* ‘sun’ [HmG], Wnd *futi* [Kl], *vačíyá* [FW], Mlg *vačíya* ‘Sonne, Tag’, *vačíte* ‘Tag’, Hitk *fítí* ‘Sonne, Tag’; 7 Dugwor *pàt* ‘sun’ (no forms in *f*-initial), Mol *fat* ‘sun’ [FsM], Mada *fat* ‘soleil, jour’, Merey *pat,* Ould *fāt,* Muy *fāt,* Baka *fát* [BAS], Zlg *pat* ‘sun’ (irregular labial); 9 Msg *fad, fat afat* ‘summer, dry season’ [LkM], Mnj *afat* ‘saison chaude et sèche’, *fətiy,* Mbara *fútúy* ‘soleil’; 10 Dari *fətá,* Dzpw *fátā* ‘saison sèche’, *fətá* ‘soleil, lumière, journée’, cf. Dari *vədà* ‘soleil, lumière’,

Azum *fata*_‘sun, day’, Musey *faɗ-ta,* Peve *vàtà,* Heɗe *fútá,* Zime *faɗa* ‘sun’ [Shy], Lew, Marba *ʔàfàt,* Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *fàt* ‘soleil, jour’, Gizey, Masa *fàt* ‘saison sèche’ [LexC]; E ‘sun’: 4 Saba *pidɔ,* Ubi *pidio,* Mawa *pidi;* 5 Mabire *pat* [HuJ], Mig *páató* f., Bid *páato,* EDng *pátó,* 5b Jegu *fóot,* Kaj *fàatì,* Brg *fòotó;* 6 Mok *pèeɗó.*
//Cf. Eg *ʿftyw* Pyr ‘Bezeichnung für Götter’ [EG I: 183].
[JgIb **p-t,* ISv: 21 **phVtV* ‘sun, day’: Bol, Musgu and Margi *fàat*].

325. ***(ʔa)fVt-* ‘flour’:** W 1 Hs *fàtèefatee* ‘mushy food made with flour’; 4 Wrj *fɨy-ai,* Paa *fiya,* Siri, Mburku *fiyi,* Diri *afəta,* Miya, Kariya *fii,* Tsagu *fiye* ‘flour’ [SkNB], cf. Paa *fɨtá* ‘dust’ [MS]; ‘dust’; 3 Kupto *fító* ‘salt’; C 9 Msg *afdíi* [LkM]*;* 10 Musey *fuɗta,* Marba, Peve *fūt,* Heɗe, Zime *fut, Peve fur* [Shy], Gizey, Ham, Musey *fút,* Masa *fútúw, fút,* Lew, Marba *ʔàfút* [LexC], Dzpw *fút,* Dari *fūt* ‘farine’, Azum *afuta* ‘flour, powder’; E 5a WDng *pùttìyà* ‘farine de mil rouge hâtif, mélangée avec l'eau et versée en libation sun un mort’.
[JgIb **pt-* ‘flour’].
Presumably, a derived noun, for the corresponding verb cf. Sem Arab *ftt* ‘écraser, broyer, piler’ [BK II: 531], Proto-WSem **ptt* ‘to crumble’ [Kg: 95], Berb MC *ftuty* ‘s’éffriter (terre), être réduit en poussière, tomber en poussière’, *afɨuty* ‘réduit en poussière; poussière très fine’, Izn *seftutiy* ‘émietter’ [NZ: 674f]. Alternatively, Ch ‘flour’ may derive from ***fVt-* ‘to scatter, sprinkle (powder, ashes, flour)’** (see above)**.**

326. ***fVt-* ‘to dry’:** W 3 Gera *fèeɗ-mí* ‘to dry up’ [SchB]; C 5 Pod *fɨte* ‘sécher le mil germé’.
a. C ***fVt-* ‘dry’** adj.: 5 Pod *fɨt* ‘dry’; 8 Makari *fta* ‘dry, not wet’ [AlM].
b. ***fVt-* ‘to spread clothes for drying’**: W 3 Tng *patɛ* ‘to spread clothes out for drying’.
Deriv in *–r-* (pl.): ***fVtVr-*** ‘to spread out to dry’: W 3 Krkr *fàtàru* ‘to put out laundry to dry, spread things out’ [GK], Ngm *fɨtrô* ‘to spread out to dry’ [NEH]; C 7 Mada *áftal* ‘étaler, étendre (pour faire sécher)’, Zlg *fətə́l* ‘étendre, déployer’, Ould *fətəl* ‘étaler’.

327. ***fVt/ṭ-* ‘to strike, break’:** W 6 Bade *fàftu* ‘to break off’; C 6 Ould *-fətày* ‘taper, frapper’, (deriv. or pl.) *-fətàhá* ‘castrer’; E 5a WDng

pàatè ‘frapper d'un coup, avec un bâton ou de la main’.
//Sem Arab *fṭ²* ‘frapper qqn sur le dos; jeter par terre; casser, briser; aplatir’, Arab *fṭḥ* ‘frapper avec un bâton’ [BK II: 609f].

328. **fV(wV)t/ṭ-* ‘to roast’: W 7 Kul *fut,* Sha *f^{w}ôt* ‘rösten’ [JgR], Monguna *fot* ‘to bake, burn fire, roast’, Karfa *fwòt* Mangar *fot* ‘to roast’ [RC]; C 4 Mwl *²ùfùtà*, FJ *fcə,* FM *fùci,* FB *fici,* Gude *cə̀* (< *fcə* < **ft-),* Nzn *fìtà-di* ‘to roast’, Mwl *ùfùta,* Gudu *fiyá* (< **fita*) [Kr]; E 2 Lele *pādī* ‘griller, cuire à la braise’ (alternatively, may be cognate with Sem Arab *f²d* ‘cuire (le pain) sous les cendres, faire rôtir les viandes au feu’ [BK II: 527]).
Derived noun: C 6 Buwal *fətàn* ‘spark’.
Derived noun: ****(²a)fVwVt-* ‘(hot) ashes’**: W 2 Grk *fát* [BlY], Ngas *fwat* [Fl, JgN], Mpn *fwát,* Mghv *fwat* [BlM], Mush *fwat* [JgO], Chip *fwət* [Kr]; 5 Jimi *hotoo* (< *fotoo*) [Cs №358]; 7 Fyer *futù,* Bok *²afût,* Karfa *ífyât* [RC]; C 4 Bch *fito-dìže* [Sk], Tsuvan *fúcɛ́* ‘ashes’, cf. Jimj *fəcə́n* ‘salt’ [BryJ]; 5 -5a Hdi *huti-dif,* Lmn *xuci-dîfi,* Hdi *xuti-dîf* (**fu- > hu-*), Dghw *fcu²e,* Gdf *fce,* Gava, Chk, Chn *fca,* Glv *afca,* Gvoko *fəču* [HmG], Chn *fə̀čà*, Gdf *fəcè* [Kim]; 7 Baka *viti* [BAS], Mada *áftà*, Gis *²afco,* Muy *vìtī;* E 5b Kaj *fìtàatàw*.
//Sem Geez *wfṭ* ‘burn, cook’, Sab *wfṭ* ‘burn’ [LsG: 607, Bl: 136].

329. W **fVt/ṭ-* ‘to throw’: W 2 Mghv *fwèt* ‘werfen, schlagen’ [JgS], Mpn *vwét* ‘throw away’; 3 Bol *fatt-* ‘werfen’ [LkB], *pàttu* ‘to throw away’ [GAB]; 6 WBade *fàtu* ‘to throw’; 5 Guus *vot* ‘to drop’ [CrG].
a. ****fVt/ṭ-* ‘to descend’**: W 6 Duw *àfto* ‘to lie down, incubate eggs’; C 7 Mol *fatay* ‘descend’ [FsM].
//Cf. Sem Arab *fṭ²* ‘frapper qqn sur le dos; jeter qqn par terre’ [BK II: 609]. Terms for ‘to throw’ & ‘to strike’ are confused in WCh 2 Mghv and in Sem Arabic.
Differently see in [TN №№338, 339].

330. **fV[ṭ]-* ‘to slaughter’: W 2 Mghw *fɛ̌t* ‘schlachten’ [JgS], Kofyar *fɛ́t* ‘to cut’ (apud [TAS:106]); C 6 ‘to slaughter’: Mina *fàt* [FrJ], Buwal *fat,* Mbedam *fàt* [NdP], Gavar *fat*, Musgoy *fat* [Mo: 24]; 9a Gdr *fótù* ‘to slaughter’ [FrG]; 10 Ham, Musey, Marba *fèt,* cf. Gizey *fégéd* (internal *–k-* pl.) ‘tailler au couteau’ [LexC].
Deriv. in *d-*: C 7 Mofu *-fətád-* ‘tailler en pointe, couper (les épis de

mil)', Mada *éftèd* 'couper les épies (sans laisser de tige)', Mol *fətaday* 'sharpen to a point' [FsM].
a.*fV[ṭ]- 'to harvest': W 3 Tng *pete* 'to cut corn, harvest', Dera *peer* 'to cut' [JgIb]; C 10 ***fe[ṭ]-:*** Azum *feta* 'to harvest (grain) (cutting off the ears one by one of the high grains, using a knife)', Gizey *féd,* Masa *fé*ˀ, Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba *fét* 'récolter' [LexC], Musey *fedta* 'récolter le mil' [ShyM].
Presumably, the ***–t- ~ -d-*** correspondence within the masa gr. points to PCh ***-ṭ-.***

331. ***fV[ṭ]-/*fw[ṭ]-*** (or ***w-fV[ṭ]-***) **'to lose, to be lost':** W 7 DB *fot,* Bok *fôt* 'to lose smth' [RC]; C 10 Masa, Marba *vit,* Peve *fid,* Hedɛ *vid* 'to lose, disappear' [Shy], Musey *vidta* 'perdre, oublier, tromper' [ShyM], Dzpw *vìdî* '(se) perdre', Dari *fid* '(se) perdre, s'égarer', Musey, Lew, Marba *vìt* 'égarer (s'), se perdre' [LexC], Azum *vita* 'to be ignorant; to lose' (*vi-* < **-fi-*).
Deriv. C 6 Buwal *fìtɛk* 'to be lost'.

332. ***fVh-*** **'sorghum':** W 7 DB, Bok *fòˀ* 'Acca-Hirse' [JgR]; C 8 Makari *fio* 'sorghum', Afd *phioh* 'Hirse' [Sol: 132], Log *vio* 'Guinea corn' [AlL], Bud *fieù* 'Negerhirse, Korn' [LkBd].
Cf. C 10 Masa *fū* 'boule de mil, nourriture' [CC], Masa, Gizey, Ham, Musey *fù,* Lew, Marba *ˀàvù* 'boule de mil' [LexC].

333. ***fVg-*** (or ***fVɣ-***) **'to fall':** W 6 Duw *fəgo,* GBade *fàgu,* WBade *àvgu* 'to fall', Ngz *vəgú* 'to fall down'; C 4 Sharwa *fûg,* Jimj *fuič,* Tsuvan *fuʒɛ* 'to fall' [BryJ]. The next isogloss is cognate. The semantic link between 'to fall' and 'to throw' is quite common.
[f]Vɣ- **(or *nfɣ) 'to throw'**: W 4 Wrj *vaɣ-,* Kar *voo* 'to throw' [SkNB]; C 4 Gude *vugə-də* (directional suff.) 'to throw far away'.
//Sem Mhr *nfġ* 'to throw' [JM: 283].

334. ***fVg/ɣ-*** **'to begin, be new'**: W 3 Tng *pəgyə* 'new, young'; C 5 Glv [*fVg-*] *fùyàrža fugà* [Kr], *fəgàrəšá* (with infixes *–r-* and *–sha-*), i.e. [*fVg-*] 'to begin' [Rp]; 8 Kus *faga* '(be) first' [AlK]; E 4 Sok *ófogoo* 'anfangen' [Luk]. Cf. C 3 Bana *fùɣù* 'beginning of the dry season'.
//ECush Som *foog* 'morning, tomorrow' [LlS].

335. **fak-* 'to shelter, close' (sg.): W 1 Hs *fákà* 'to shelter'; C 7 Ould *–fākó* 'fermer en couvrant d'en haut' (sg.), cf. *-pāko* (pl.) 'couvrir'.
Derived noun; W 2 Grk *vu-vok* (< *fu-vok* < *fu-fok*) 'roof' [Fp].
Deriv.: W 5 Mng *fuki-ne* 'to hide smth' [Cs].
a. ****pVk/ḳ-* 'to cover'** (pl.): W 2 Mghv *puk* 'to cover a top of a temporary shelter/house' [BlM]; C 6 Mina *pék* 'to cover a receptacle'; 7 Baka *paká* 'couvrir' [BAS], Ould *pākó* **(**pl. of *fako***)** 'couvrir'.
//Cf. Sem Mhr *fḳw* 'to cover' [JM: 92]. Note that Hs *k* follows Ch and AA **k*. Thus, the original opposition: ****fak-* 'to shelter, close' ~**pVḳ-* 'to cover'** was replaced in Chadic by: ****fak-*** sg. **~ **pa[ḳ]-*** pl. See also **№ 337 'to put'.**
Cf. [TN №544 **PQ/K* 'to conceal, hide'].

336. **fVwVk-/*fVfVk-* 'to blow, whistle, breathe'[41]: W 1 Hs *fúkú-fùkù* 'puffing up or swelling of anything'; 2 Goem *fùk* 'to blow a flute, inflate smth' [Hlw], Mghv *fùk* 'to blow air with bellows; to be very angry' [BlM]; 3 Tng *puke* pl. 'to winnow (in calabash)'; 4 Siri *fikū* 'to blow' [JgIb], Paa *faki* 'to blow with mouth' [MS]; 7 Fyer *vivik* (< *fivik* < *fifik*), Sha *fúk* 'to blow' [JgIb]; C 5 Pod *fik^{w}à* 'siffler', Mlg *fiik^{w}a* 'a whistle'; 6 Buwal *fɐfæk^{w},* Mbedam *fefek* 'siffler' [NdP]; 7 Mofu *-fáfák^{w}-* 'siffler (avec la bouche)', Mafa *fuk^{w}-*, Muy *éfik^{w}ēy*, Zlg *fèfek^{w}é*, Merey *fəfùk,* Baka *fík^{w}éy* [BAS], Mol *fokoy* [FsM], 'siffler', Mada *fòfóeyyok^{w}* 'siffler avec les lèvres', Chuv *méfək^{w}oèy* 'siffler (homme)'; E 3 Tum *pàg púl*, Ndam *piga* 'respirer'; 6 Mok *púùkè* 'respirer.
Cf. CCh **pik^{w}-* 'whistle' [GvP].
Derived nouns: 1. W **fu(k)fuk-* 'lungs': 2 Ngas *fùkfúk* [JgN]; 5 Zaar *vùvùk* [CrZ]; 6 Duw, WBade *fəkfək.* Cf. W 1 Hs *fúkà, húkà* 'bronchitis, asthma' > *fúkà-čee* 'suffer from asthma; to become weak, dried up, exausted'.
2. W 2 Ngas *fuk* 'bellows' [Fl, JgN]; C 8 Kus *vak^{w}ika* 'bellows' [AlK].
a. For W 1 Hs 'puffing, swelling' (see above) cf. C 2 Bura *fika* 'to swell up' [BlB], W 3 Kupto *fùkkùl* 'goitre'; C 10 Musey *fefekka* 'le gésier' [ShyM].
For a similar linking of 'to blow' & 'to swell' see also №290 ****fV^{ʔ}/w/y-* 'to blow'.**
//SCush rift **fukuuku'* 'to blow (wind)' [Kies].
[JgIb *pk* 'to blow'].

[41] Possibly, pl. in *–k-*, cf. №290 ****fV^{ʔ}/w/y-* 'to blow, dry'.**

337. C 7 ***fak-* 'to put'** (sg. obj.): Muy *áfkā-ɗ* 'to put down (one obj.)', Ould *-fākō* (sg.) 'poser sur qqch'. Cf. 4 Bch *fùkó* 'to fall' [Sk].
a. ***pak-* 'to put'** (pl.): W 2 Ngas *pak* 'to put one thing on top of another' [Fl]; C 7 Ould *pàkó* pl. 'poser, mettre pl. choses sur qqch d'horizontal'.

338. W 7 ***fuk-* 'to want, love':** DB *fuk* 'to want, love', Monguna *fûk* 'to want' [RC].
Cf. W 2 Mush *nvúkún* (*nv-* < **nf-)* 'to be determind, eager' [JgO]; C 7 Ould *-fākōmá* 'vouloir, aimer'.
//Sem Akk *puqqu* 'to heed, be attentive to, concerned, anxious' OB on [CAD p: 512], Geez *nfq* 'care for, long for', Tna *nafäqä* 'yearn, long for', Amh, Gur *naffäqä-* [LsG: 389], Akk *nuppuqu* 'to pay attention' OAkk [CAD n_2: 342].

339. E **fVk-* 'to release': E 1 Kera *fógé* 'losmachen, détacher'[42]; 5a EDng *píké* 'détacher (les bêtes), lâcher, relâcher, relaxer', WDng *pìkè* 'relâcher, lâcher'.
//Sem Arab *fkk* (u) 'dégager, défaire; séparer, (re)lâcher' [BK II: 623].

340. **fVk-* 'dry season': W 3 Krf *fókkí* 'warm (weather)' [Stl]; C 2 Bura *faku* [BlB], Ngwahi *fwohu* [Kr], Klb *fwàkù* 'dry season' [MuK]; 5 Hitk *fàakà* 'heisser Jahreszeit'. Cf. W 3 Kupto *fàkkàk* 'shining, beaming'.
//Common Berb *fk* 'soleil': Shilh, Ntifa, Sen *tafukt* 'soleil', Qab *tafukt* 'soleil, chaleur', etc. [NZ: 547f].

341. C 10 ***fVyVk-* 'long, tall':** Masa *fyòk* 'longueur', Musey *fekka* 'longeur, hauteur', Gizey *fíyók,* Ham *féék*, Lew *fíyék,* Marba *fíyák* 'haut, long' [LexC], Azum *fiaka* 'long, tall' Cf. W 1 Hs *fíifíikò* 'superiority'**.**
//ECush dull Harso, Dob *faak-* 'grösser sein, hoch sein' [AMS].

342. C ***(ʾa)-fVk(w)-* 'face, front'** : 5 Wnd *áfkè, wofke* [WfN], Mlg *fəke* 'Gesicht', Glv *vúk^{w}a* 'face'; C 8 Zina *má fká* 'before', Kus *fago* 'in front of, front of' [AlK]; 10 Musey *fok*' [ShyM], Masa *vòk* 'le front,

[42] For an alternative cognate for Kera, namely – Eg *fḫ* 'ablösen, loslassen/release' see [TN №474].

devant, avant' [CC], Gizey, Masa, Ham *vòk,* Lew, Marba *àvòk,* Musey *fòk* 'devant' [LexC], Dari *vūk,* Dzpw *vùk* 'front' (*ʔafVk- > avVk- > vVk-*). Cf. W 1 Hs *fúskà* (if < *fuk-sa*, metath.) 'face, embroidery on front of gown'. Note: "Kan *fəska* ? < > Hs" [SkH: 71].

343. **fV[ḳ]-* 'to dig': W 2 Ngas *fok* 'to dig' [Or], *fòk* 'to dig a hole' [JgN]; E 4 Saba *ʔəpke* 'to burry'.
Derived noun: ****ʔafVk-* 'hole'**: W 6 Ngz *vàk,* WBade *vàkən* 'hole'; C 5 Pod *vge,* Wnd *əvge* 'trou' [Mo: 19], Wnd *évege* 'hole' [FW], Glv *áfgà* 'ditch, hole, hollow, opening'; C 10 Dari *fōk* 'trou laissé par qqch'. Hardly < AA **bk* 'hole' as in [TN №91].
//Sem Arab *faqʔa, faqiy-* 'creux dans un sol dur' [BK II: 617], dull Dob *puqe,* Goll *paqe* 'Fenster, Loch in der Wand' [AMS].
Note C 4 Gude *fúkə-nə* 'vagina', possibly < Sem Arab *fūq-* 'ouverture de la bouche; vagin' [BK II: 648].

344. **fV[ḳ]- > fy/wVk-* 'to have bad luck': W 2 Mghv *fyak* 'to feel annoyed, pained' [BlM]; C 10 Dari, Dzpw *fòk* 'avoir de la malchance' //Sem Akk *pīqu* 'distress, difficulty' SB [CAD p: 394], Arab *fuwwāq-* (*fʔq*) 'douleur, peine' [BK II: 529]. Cf. ECush dull Goll *pok-* 'Schmerzen haben'.

345. W **fVḳ-* 'to sharpen, sharp point': W 1 Hs *fíḳà* 'to sharpen to a point'
Derived nouns: W 1 Hs *fíḳà* 'fang of an animal, canine tooth', *fíiḳee* 'any sharpened point'; 2 Goem *fuak* 'kind of spear' (apud [TAS: 113]); 3 Kupto *fik* 'arrow'.
//Sem Arab *fqʿ* 'percer (un clou sur le corps)' [BK II: 621]. ECush Som *fiiqay* 'to sharpen', *fiiq-a* 'point, tip' [LlS].
For Hs-Sem see [TN №366]. Cf. Eg *fq* 'vom Löwen, dessen Krallen and Zahne das Wild 'zerreissen'/about lions, whose claws and teeth tear the prey' [EDE II: 584f].

346. **fVḳ-* 'hard earth, farm': W 1 Hs *fáḳò* 'hard, barren ground'; 3 Kupto *fiifàk* 'land or place where there are garvels', cf. Kupto *fùhà, fùkà* 'sand'; C 2 Chb *foku* 'Farm, Feld' [HfC], Bura *faku* 'farm' [BlB]; 5 Pod *fika* 'champ de mil de la saison sèche'.
//Sem Arab *fāq-* 'desert' [BK II: 648].

347. **fVs-* 'to boil, burn': W 1 Hs *tà-fasà* 'to boil'; 7 Fyer *fwaš* 'verbrennen', DB *fâš* 'rösten', Sha *fos* 'kochen', Bok *fos* 'kochen' (intr.) [JgR], *fos ya*, Monguna *fos* 'to boil (up)' [RC]; C 5 Hdi *fəsay* 'to grill'.
//Eg *fs* alt, später *pfs, ps* 'kochen' [EG I: 578]. For alternative cognates: Eg, WCh, CCh **pc,* etc., see Cf. EDE II: 582-584].

348. **fVs-* 'to rob; robbery': W 1 Hs *fáší* 'highway robbery'; C 3 FK *fwásà* 'to rob'; 4 Gude *fwásà* 'highway robbery, mugging'.
//SCush rift **fiis* 'to steal': Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *fiis* [Kies], cf. agaw Hamta *fis-,* Kem *fäš-* 'to take away' [ApAg]. Cf. [TN №469].

349. **fVs-* 'to sprinkle, make wet': W 1 Hs *féesà* 'to spurt out water from the mouth on to an article'; 7 DB *fes* '(to be) wet', Karfa *fes* 'to make wet' [RC]; C 4 Gude *fəši, fisə* 'to spray water out from mouth', Bch *fiisə* 'to spew, sprinkle' [Nm]. Cf. W 3 Bol *fuuš-* 'to wash (clothes)' [LkB].
Possibly, a metath. variant of Ch ****sVf-* 'to drizzle, flow'**, see [CLD III №573].

350.fVfVs-*** (compensatory redupl. **< **HVfVs-*) 'to scrape, erase':** W 2 Ngas *fiis* 'to scrape off the hair on a skin for tanning, be bald, be free of hair' [Fl], *fis* 'to remove hair, esp. from animal skin' [JgN]; C 7 Mofu *-vávəs-* 'effacer, faire disparaître des traces', Mbuko *vevas* 'effacer' (< *fVvVs-*< *fVfVs-*); 9 Mulwi *fifisí,* Mnj *fifisi* 'effacer'. Cf. 5 Pod *vusa* 'to erase, cross out; essuyer, effacer'.
//Sem Arab *ʕfs* 'frotter (une peau pour la préparer)' [BK II: 299], ECush dull Dob *fas-* 'kratzen' [AMS], Om Wolt *foossh-* 'to scratch' [LmW: 356].

351. **n-fVs-* 'to blow, breath, operate bellows': W 7 DB *nafos,* Bok *lafós,* Monguna *mafòs,* Sha *lufwos*, Mundat *lafôs* 'to breathe' [RC]; C *vVs-* < *nfVs-:* 4 Gude *vasə* 'to smoke animal out of hole, operate bellows'; 5 Vemgo *vusu* 'to blow' [HmG]; 7a Skn *vus-ma* 'to blow at smth'; 8 Makari *fasɨ* 'to work the bellows, fan, air, breath', Log *vasɨ-wun* 'to fan', Kus *se vas* 'respirer', cf. *vaska* 'to light fire' (if = 'to blow up fire') [Al], cf. Log *fífəssə* (compensatory redupl.) 'to blow' [JgIb]. Cf. CCh **vats* 'to blow' [GrR].

Derived noun: W 6 Monguna *mafós* ‘life’ [RC]; C 8 Log *viši* ‘breath, soul, spirit’, Kus *vas* ‘soul, spirit (of living person), breath’ [AlK].
//Sem ***nfs*** ‘to blow’ > ‘soul, breath, wind’: Akk *napāšu* ‘blasen, (auf)atmen, relax’/‘to breathe freely’ OA, OB on [AHw: 736, CAD p: 288], Geez *nafsa* ‘to blow (wind, spirit)’, *nafs* ‘soul, spirit, breath’, Sab *nfs*$_1$ ‘soul’, Hbr *npš* ‘to take a breath’, Aram, Ug *npš* ‘soul, person’, Ethiosem *nfs* ‘to blow’ > ‘wind, soul’ [LsG: 389], Ug, Phn, Pun, OAram *npš* ‘throat; breath, soul’ [DUL: 627], Arab *nfs* V ‘respirer’, *nafas-* ‘respiration; souffle’, nafs- ‘ame, principe vital’ [BK II: 1310].
For Sem see [SED: I 389].

352. *fuz- to pierce’: W 2 Kofyar *fús* ‘to pierce’ (apud [TAS: 292]); C 7 Mafa *fuzaˀa* ‘percé (porte, habit)’; cf. E 6 Mok *ˀáppìzá* ‘percer (avec une lance); tatouer’ (an arabism ?).
//Sem Arab *ḫfz* (i) ‘percer avec une lance’ [BK II: 458].
For Mafa-Mok < AA ***p-ʒ*** see [TN №346].

353. *fiç- ‘to cut, slice’: W 1 Hs *fèets’aa* ‘to wound superficially’, *fèets’ee* ‘a short cut’; C 3 FK *vìcə* ‘to cut’ (***fVc/č- > v-c/č-**); 7 Ould *fəcāy* ‘tailler, couper un épi’, Mada *éfčé* ‘couper, trancher’.
Deriv. in *-d-*: C 7 Merey *fəcad* ‘tailler’.

354. *fVč- ‘to blow, to smoke’: W 1 Hs *fáačè* ‘to blow the nose’; 4 Diri *fəčù,* Tsagu *fées-* ‘to blow’ [SkNB]; C 7 Mada *ávàčà* ‘souffler’, Chuv *mévèčèy* ‘enfumer’, Mofu *-fəč-, -vəč-* ‘enfumer, activer (le feu)’, cf. Muy *ávàcāy* ‘to treat, cure by blowing’ (***fVč- > v-c/č-, or < *nfč-**).
Derived noun: C 6 Daba *vīč* ‘soufflets de la forge qui servent pour active le feu’.
//Sem Arab *nft* (*i, u*) ‘souffler sur qqch’ [BK II: 1304].
[HSED №789].

355. *fal(l)- ‘to slaughter, cut’: W 1 Hs *fállè* ‘to behead a criminal’; C 10 Dzpw *fál* ‘couper en morceaux, égorger’, Peve *fol* ‘to butcher’ [Vn], Mesme *fàl* ‘to cut’ [Kr], *fál* ‘cuts’ [JgZ]; E 2 Lele *pàl* ‘tailler légèrement’; 3 Tum *pāl* ‘tailler, sculpter’.
Derived noun: C 7 Mada *me-fefel* ‘cicatrice’.
//Sem Arab *fl*^{ç} (a) ‘fendre, couper’ [BK II: 631].
a. ***fil-* ‘to cut (in pieces)’:** W 2 (deriv.) Mghv *fìlet* ‘to cut a small

piece' [BlM]; C 7 Muy *éfīl* 'cut round smth'; E 5a EDng *pílé* 'dépecer'.
//Sem Arab *fly* (i) 'frapper avec un sabre' [BK II: 635], Aram *pəlā* (*ply*) 'split, cut open' [LsG: 161] Malt dial. *fellel* 'to slice, to cut into slices' [Bel 2: 275], Shilh *flu,* Siwa *fli* 'fendre', Ahag *efleh* 'se, être fendre', *efli* 'fendre' [NZ: 562, 567, 575].
[AA 1 №38 'to cut, separate', cf. **pVl-* 'to separate' ~ Sem Arab *faliya* 'be cut off'].

356. **fǰi]l-* 'to pierce, hollow out': W 2 Ngas *fyalaŋ* (< *fila-ŋ* pl. in *-n* ?) 'to hollow out, bore a hole' [JgN]; C 7 Mada *éfle* 'évider, percer', E 5a EDng *pìlē* 'échancrer, (entr)ouvrir, trouer, béer, bâiller'. Note confusion of semantics 'to open (slightly)' & 'to hole' in EDng.
Cf. C 8 Makari *falal* 'spear sp.' [AlM].
//ECush dull Harso, Dob *foola* 'scharf', Goll *fool-* 'scharf sein' [AMS].
Derived noun: ****ful-*** '**hole**'**:** W 2 Goem *ful-dyas* 'anus' ('hole' + 'excrements') [Hlw]; C 2 Bura *fula-m* 'throat' (*-m-* is a body-part' marker) [BlB]; E 3 E Tum *pùūl* 'trou'.
Derived verb in *–k-:* C 7 Mofu *-fə́lkw-* 'passer à travers un orifice, entrer, pénétrer'.
Derived noun: C 7 Mbuko *felek* 'trou à côté de l'oreille', Muy *fə̄lə̄kʷō* 'any hole in a wall of a house'; 8 Log *flaga* 'cave, grotte' [AlL]; E 5a WDng pálìigò 'trou de terrier de souris, tunnel latéral'.
//Sem cf. Geez *falfala* 'gush out, break forth', etc., (K* 'to shell, pierce'), Tgr *fälfälä* 'sprout forth, break through', Tna *fälfälä* 'break, make a hole'[43] [LsG: 158], Berb Qab *flu* 'trouer, perforer', *tifli* 'petit trou', Mzab *fel* 'percer' [NZ: 561f], ECush Oromo *fulla'a* 'break through, pierce through', *fulla'a* 'be broken' [Grg], Burji *ful-áa* 'hole'', Oromo *fullaw* 'be perforateed' [SsB], Konso *fula* 'Loch, Tur', Ong *fulle* 'hole, passage, nostril' [FlO], SOm Hamer *pula* 'hole' [BnA].

357. **fil-* 'to open (eyes)': W 3 Kupto *filléy* 'to open (esp. eyes in order to frighten so)', cf. 2 Mghv *fəlip fəlip* idf. 'halboffen (von Augen)' [JgS]); E 5a WDng *pílè,* Bid *pil* 'ouvrir', EDng *pìlē* 'ouvrir, bâiller, trouer'. Cf. the previous entry.

[43] For 'to break' in Sem cf. CCh **ful-* 'to break': 1 Hona *fùlàŋ,* Boka *filə-dì;* 4 Nzn *fila-adi* 'to break in pieces' [Kr]; 4 Bch *fúlò* 'to break pot' [JgIb].

//Berb Ahag *felelli* ‘être fixe et grand ouvert (oeil)’ [NZ: 576]. For Ahag, ECh see [TN №442].

358. **fil-* ‘to peel, skin’: W 2 Ngas *fil, fhil* ‘to peel, skin’, *fwál-p* (pl.) ‘to strip, peel’ [Fl, JgN], Mghw *fɛɛl* ‘häuten’ [JgS], ‘to peel’ [BlM], Mush *feel* ‘to peel cocoyam with hand’ (apud [TAS:105]); E Mawa *pɛliyaŋ* `de′pouiller'; 5a Bid *pil* ‘écorcher un animal, dépouiller’, EDng *pílé* ‘dépecer, dépouiller, enlever la peau d'un animal’; 5a Brg *fìlí* ‘écorcher’.
Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *fīl* ‘the slough or cast skin of a snake’ [Fl], *ma-fel-p* ‘fish scale’ [JgN], Goem *tə-fala-p* ‘bark of a tree’ [Hlw], Mpn *fəlī-p* (*-p* pl.) ‘husk, shell’; 5 Zaar *fwáli* ‘slaughtered-off skin of snake or lizard; bran’ [CrZ]. Cf. W 4 Miya *pèler* ‘skin, hide’ (possibly < *feler,* in [Sch] *f-l* structures are not attested).
Deriv. in *–k-:* C 7 Ould *-fəlàk* ‘décortiquer’; 9 Mnj *fulki* ‘décotiquer (arachides), éplucher à la main, ‘égrainer à la main’, Mulwi *fúlki* ‘éplucher, décortiquer’.
Deriv. in *-t-*: C 10 Ham *félét,* cf. Gizey *léfét* (metath.) [LexC], Musey *fùlot* ‘décortiquer’ [ShyM].
//SCush Bur *fala,* Asa *fulo* ‘hide’ [Eh: 150], SCush Irw, Gor *fala* ‘hide, prepared skin', Alg, Bur *fala* ‘skin’ [Kies], Afar *falee* ‘Ziegenhaut’ [RA], Sem Arab *wfl* ‘peler qqch en en êtant l’écorce’ [BK II: 1578], cf. Berb *fl* ‘tanner, assouplir’: Shawiya *afel* ‘tanner’ Ahag, Wlmd, Ayr *afel* ‘être tanné’, etc., ACE *tifli* ‘écorce’ [NZ: 560f].
[AA 1 №68 **fVl-* ‘(to) skin, peel’: Arab, SCush, Ngas, Mghv; TN №№505, 507].

359. **fVl-* ‘to boil’: W 2 Goem *fyàl intr.* ‘boil or sparkle’ [Hlw], *fial* ‘hot’ [Fp], Grk *fwíl [*BlY], Ngas *fil* [JgN], Chip *fiyèl,* Mghv *fil* ‘to boil’ [Kr]; 3 Krkr *filu* ‘to boil’ [GK], Kupto *fùlò* ‘to expand, to bloat, to reach a boiling point’, Dera *pùlí* ‘to boil’ [NmK], Bol *fulo* ‘Kochen’, *ʔi fulo* ‘kochen, to boil’ [LkB], *pulu* ‘to boil, swell, foam, be angry’ [GAB] (cf. Tng *pule* ‘to be(come) annoid, angry’, for the similar semantic shift see Geez); 5 Grt *fùlwi* ‘to boil’; E 4 Mawa *pə-pələ-ŋ* ‘bouillir, cuire’.
Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *tə-fəlk* ‘foam, froth’ [JgN]; 3 Bol *pùlùm-pùlum* ‘foam, froth’ [GAB], Pero *púlpúl*.
Derived verb: W 3 Bol *pùl-tu* ‘to ‘boil, cause to swell’ [GAB]. For Bol *pulu* ‘to swell’ cf. W 3 Tng *pildum* idf. ‘describes state of swelling’

and W 1 Hs *fúlú-fùlù* ‘the swelling of eyes; of seeds’.
//Sem Geez *falḥa* ‘bubble out, boil’ > ‘get angry’, Argobba *fällaha,* Tgr *fälhä,* Amh *fälla,* Harari *fälahä,* Gur *fäla* ‘boil’ [LsG: 159], ECush dull Gaw *fool-* ‘Wasser kochen’, *foolis-* (trans.) ‘kochen’, *foola* ‘warm’, Dob, Goll *fool-* ‘warm werden’ [AMS], Ong *foolisa* ‘boiled‘ [FlO], Berb Shilh *fluflu* ‘bouillir’, Maroco dial. *flulel* ‘bouillonner’, Wlmd, Ayr *falfal* ‘bouillir, bouillonner (liquide)’ [NZ: 560].

360. **fVl(l)-* ‘to mount (an animal)’: W 4 cf. Miya *pəla* < *fəla* ‘to jump’ (forms of the *f-l* structure are not attested in [Sch]); C 2 WMrg *fil-de* ‘to mount’ [Kr], Bura *fil, fil-ta* ‘to ride, to mount’, *filhi* ‘to dismount’ [BlB], Klb *fél-tì* ‘to mount’ [MuK], Chb *fil, fə́l-tə́* ‘besteigen’ [HfC]; 10 Musey *fulla* ‘monter, embarquer’ = ‘descendre’, Gizey *fíl* ‘monter à cheval’, Gizey, Masa, Ham *fíl,* Musey, Marba *fúl* ‘monter à velo’ [LexC], Azum *fula* ‘to mount an animal’.
//Berb Shilh *afila* ‘partie supérieure; le haut’, Ntifa, Zng *afella* ‘le haut, le dessus’, etc. [NZ: 557], HECush **ful-* ‘to climb, go up’ [Hds], PECush **fu(u)l-* ‘go out, up’: Som *fuul-* ‘mount’, Sid, Darasa, Kamb *ful-* ‘go out, mount’ [Ss], Som *fuul* ‘get on top of, climb, mount’ [LlS]. Cf. Eg *fȝy* (OK) ‘hochheben, tragen, raise high’ [EG I: 572], for other possible cognates see [EDE II: 555-557].
Cf. №377 ****fVr-* ‘to spring, jump, fly’.**

361. **fVl-* ‘to blow (away)’: W 4 Jmb *fal-* ‘to blow’ [SkNB]; 5 Grnt *fali* ‘to blow ’ [Ja]; C 2 Bura *fifilə* ‘to whistle with the breath’, cf. *fiɓəla* (dissim.) ‘to blow out’ [BlB]; 8 Makari *fɨl* ‘to blow away’ [AlM]; 10 Azum *fela* ‘to be blown about’, Gizey *fúl* ‘souffler’ [LexC]; E 1 Kera *fúulí* ‘souffler’. For a root variant see №381 ****fVr-* ‘to blow, winnow’** (note that both are attested in Bura).
For a possible deriv. cf. W ****f(w)l-k* ‘lungs’:** 2 Ngas *fwolok* [Fl], Mghv *fəlòk* [JgS], Mpn *flòk,* Goem *fələk* [Hlw]; 7 DB *folōk,* Bok *fòlòk* [RC].
//HECush **fool-* ‘to breathe’: **foole* ‘breath’: Sid *foole* ‘breath’, Kamb *fooli* ‘soul’ [Hds]. Cf. [TN №567 **Pl*].
a. ****fVl-* ‘wind’ > ‘ghost’:** W 3 Bol *pēlì* ‘wind’ (perhaps only in archaic language), *pe-mpelì* ‘wind, spirit, ghost’ [GAB], Krkr *filfilà, fiifilàa* ‘wind’ [GK], Kupto *filfil* ‘wind, air; spirit, devil’; 5a Hdi *fala-k* ‘wind’; 7 Mada *fla* ‘génie, esprit lié à un objet magique, souvent maléfique’; 10 Azum *flei-na* ‘idol, oracle’, Dzpw *fūr* ‘esprit’, Gizey

fùl ‘esprit’, Marba, Musey *ful-na,* Ham *fùl* ‘esprit-génie’, Masa, Lew *fúl* ‘génie de la brousse’ [LexC]; Cf. E 3 Tum *púl* ‘air’.

362. W **ful-* ‘to abuse’: 2 **ful-p* (pl.): Grk *fluep* ‘to abuse’ [Fp], Mghv *fulup* ‘to curse’ [JgS] ‘to abuse’ [BlM], Mpn *fəlāp,* Mushere *fulup* ‘to abuse’ [JgO], Mush *fulup* [JgO], Goem *fəlàp* ‘to insult smb’ [Hlw]; 3 Krkr *fùulu* [GK], Bol *full-* ‘abuse, curse’ [LkB], *pùllu* ‘to abuse’ [GAB].
Cf. W 2 Grk *flup-ni*, Mnt *ful-ni* to curse‘ [Fp] (pl. in *–n*?).
//Cush Arb *fal-* ‘to curse’ [Hay], Rend *fal-* ‘curse’ [Ss: 18], Eg *ʃ3w* [if = flw] (Pyr) ‘Bedrohung o. a.’ [EG I: 575].
Common origin of Ch and Sem **fʾl* (as suggested in AA 1 №67) is hardly possible, in the view of a semantic gap. Note: Arab *fʾl* II stem ‘faire tirer à qqn un bon augure/to make favourable prophecy’ [BK II: 529], Sab *fʾl* ‘wish ill to smb’ [SD: 43], Hbr, Aram *plʾ* ‘make miraculous, miracle’ [KB: 759f].

363. **ful-* ‘(exausted) field’: W 2 Ngas *fül* ‘soil exhausted from cultivation’ [Fl], *fúl* ‘farm land passes on from generation to generation; sterile land (exhausted from cultivation)’ [JgN]; 5 Guus *vul* ‘ground’, Zaar *vùlùm* ‘field cultivated by the grand-father’ [CrG, CrZ]; 10 Azum *fula* ‘the plaine where the people have their fields’, *fulâ* ‘the uninhabited plains’.
a. ****fil-* ‘open space’:** W 1 Hs *fíilíi* ‘an open space, cleared spot’; 3 Krkr *fílaa* ‘a place’ [GK]; C 7 Zlg *fəla* ‘region’.
Deriv. in *–k-*: W 6 Bade *fəlak* ‘dry, barren area’; C 10 Gizey *fùlòk* ‘dust’ [LexC].
//Cf. Sem Arab *flḥ* ‘labourer la terre’ > *falaḥ-at-* ‘champ cultivé et ensemencé’ [BK II: 628].

364. **fVl-* ‘diarrhea, excrements’: C 6 Mbedam *ḿvəlà* ‘diarrhea’ [NdP]; 9 Mnj *flay* ‘crotte, excrements’, *flay zi mi* ‘diarrhée’, Msg *fúlai, fílai*, pl. *fila-káy* ‘excrements’ [LkM], Mnj *flay* ‘merde’; 9a Gdr *pəlwá* ‘excreme (irreg. *p-*) [FrG]; E 4 Barein (dial.) *pílló* ‘to have diarrhea’; 5 Mig *pálló* ‘déféquer’, *pàllì* pl. ‘fécales, selles’.
//ECush Som *fal-ti* ‘cattle dung’ [LlS].

365. ****fVn-* ‘to surpass, overtake’:** C 7 Mafa *fən-* ‘être supérieur à,

dépasser', Mofu *-fən-ˊ* 'dépasser, surpasser'; 8 Log *fɨna-wun* 'overtake; surpasser', Kus *fra* 'surpasser, dépasser; overtake', Makari *fira* 'overtake' [Al].
Derived noun: W 4 Wrj *fana-na* 'pride, arrogance' [BlS].
//Sem Arab *fnˁ* (*a*) 'être riche, s'enrichir' [BK II: 638].
The following isogloss may be cognate:
a. **fVn-* 'to increase': C 6 Daba *fòn* 'élargir'; 10 Dzpw *fáŋ* 'devenir, grandir, métamorphoser'; E 5a EDng *pènyìyē* 'se multiplier, augmenter.'

366. C **(HV)fin- > vin-, vin-x-* (pl.?) '**to vomit':** 3 Bana *vənəxwə,* FK *vənəhú,* Hya *fənu-gwə* [BlH]; 4 Gude *vaana,* Jimj *vúní,* Tsuwan *vənáʾən*, Sharwa *vánā* [BryJ], Bata *vəna* [Sk]; 5 Lmn *vunaɣʷa,* Hdi *vənaxinta,* Vemgo *venaxʷa,* Gvoko, Dghw *vraxa,* Gdf *vərxa,* Gava *vrxa,* Glv *vraga* [HmG], Glv *vərəɣ* [Rp], Pod *vára-ha;* 6 Buwal *vəna,* Daba *vənà,* Gavar *vəna* ; 7 Dugwor *mé-vɨnèhéy,* Mafa *vínéh-*, Chuv *mévənèhèy,* Mbuko *véne,* Mol *vənahay* [FsM], Mada *ávnàh;* 8 Log *vɨnahɨ-wun* [AlL]; 9 Mbara *finé;* 10 Masa, Marba, Musey *vin,* Lame *vìnèʾè* [Shy], Dzpw *vìnèʾè,* Azum *vina.*
Derived noun: C 7a Skn *fine-di* 'child's sickness (vomitind and "tightening of the belly").
Cf. CCh **vinah* [GrR].

367. **fVn-* 'skin': E 4 Sok *fáná, páná, pháná* 'Fell' [Luk]. Note C 3 FK *fùn* 'rhino'; 7a Skn *fən* 'rhino (hide used for schields)' [DS].
Denom. verb: ****fin-*** **'to skin':** W 2 Goem *fin* 'to peel off the skin of smth' [Hlw]; C 10 Dzpw *finéʾé,* Dari *fənèʾ* 'muer, peler (pour la peau)'.
//Cf. PHEC **feenk'*- 'to shell' [Hds].
For a root-variant cf. №358. ****fil-*** **'to peel, to skin**':

368. **fV(HV)n-* 'foot, trace': W 2 Goem *vuŋ* 'footprint' [Hlw]; C 7 Muy *fùŋwā* 'trace of smth'; E 4 Sok *offen* < *fVHVn*) 'Fuss, Bein' [Luk].
//Sem Ug *pˁn* 'foot, (hind) hoof' (Hbr, Phn, Pun *pˁm* 'foot') [DUL: 650], HECush **faana* 'track of an animal' > Burji, Sid, Gede'o, cf. Sem Amh *fana* [Hds].

369.fifin-*** (compensatory redupl. **< *HVfin-***) **'stalk for brooms,**

fences': W 4 Wrj *fifina* 'kind of grass, smth used for brooms' [BlS]; C 7 Mol *fefen* 'stalk' [FsO], Muy *fífiŋ* 'millet stalk', Mada *ávvàŋ (< ʔavVfVn- < ʔafVfVn-)* 'tige de mil'; E 5a Mig *pìinú* 'paille pour les palissades'.
For a root variant see №522. ***pan-* 'millet stalk (for plaiting)'.**

370. *[*w-f-n] > fwan-/vwan-/hwan-* 'rain': W 2 'rain': Grk *fien* [Fp], Ngas *fwan* [Fl], Goem *fwàan* [Hlw], Mghv *fwan* [BlM], Mpn *fwàn,* Msh *fwan* [JgO]; 4 Wrj *von* [BlS], 5 Dyarim *vwàn*, Guus *von,* [CrG], Zaar *vòn* [CrZ], Grnt *vwan,* Jimi h^w*an* (<*fwan*), Tala h^w*aan, faan* 'rain', Tala *ba-hawan* 'rainy season', *tərə-*h^w*ano* 'rain-bow', Mng *fwán* 'cloud' [Cs], C 3 FK *vàn* 'rain'; 4 Gude *vənná* 'rain', *vyánə* 'rainy season', Jimj *vònán,* Tsuvan *vwónέ,* Sharwa *vòné* 'rain' [BryJ]; 6 Buwal *van,* Daba *vàn* , Mina *ván* [MnGr], Mbedum *vàŋ* 'rain'; 7 Gis *voŋ* 'rain', *bil-voŋ* 'Gott', Mafa *vanay 'nuage'*, Ould *āvər* Muy *āvər,* Baka *ávàr* 'rain' [BAS], Mofu *vár* 'pluie, nuage', Mbuko *vévara* 'vent qui précède la pluie'; 9 Msg *(a)faŋ* [LkM], Mnj *faŋ* 'pluie'.
Cf. CCh **vɨn* 'rain' [GrG].

371. **fVn-* 'black': W 7 Karfa *ufon,* Kul *má-fwòn* 'black', *fwanàn* 'dunkel' [RC, JgR]; E 5a WDng *pón-dà* 'noir', EDng *pùn-dà* 'sombre, noir, foncé (symbole de méchanceté)'. Cf. C 7 Ould *fēŋw* 'nuit'.
The structure of the next root is typical of derived nouns:
a.ʔafVn-* 'charcoal'**: W 3 Ngm *ùfna* [NEH]; 4 Paa *avuŋ* (cf. Kariya, Jmb *li-vin*) [SkNB]; 6 Ngz *àván*, Bade *avan* 'embers, charcoal', Duw *vàanyaakâ* 'embers', *vàanyi* 'charcoal'; C 'charcoal': 2 Bura *vina* [BlB], Klb *vúní*, Hld, Mrg *vwunyi [*Kr]; 4 Chn *àvèni,* Gude *ʔivínyin* [Kr]; 5 Hdi *vwani*; 7 Chuv *vɔ̀ŋ*, Mafa *váng;* 7a Skn *vin;* 8 Kus *uvun* [AlK]; 9 Msg *àŋvèŋ* [JgIb], Mnj *eveŋ*; 10 Peve *vōn* [Shy *v-n], Masa *vèŋ,* Dari *vōn*, Dzpw *ʔəvàn*.
Note C 8 Afd *phánphan* [Sol: 132], Makari *fonfon* [AlM] 'charcoal' (orig. 'black-black'??).
Cf. CLD V №242 ***ɣVw-*** 'fire' > ****ɣ^{w}V-fVn-* (< **ɣ^{w}V-ʔafVn-*)** 'burning coal' (e.g., C 5a Lmn *ɣùvíní,* 'ashes, coal', etc.). An alternative etymology of Ch 'coal', namely, - Sem **faḥm-* 'coal'[44], is attractive,

[44] Akk *pēntu* (*pēndu, pēmtu*) 'charcoal, embers', Arab *faḥm*, Hbr *peḥām*, Soq *fḥam*, Ug, Phn *pḥm*, Geez *faḥm* 'coals' [LsG: 157]. Denom. verb: Arab *fḥm* 'être très noir, noir comme le charbon' [BK II: 550].

but not without a problem. There is no proof that **fVHm-* would yield *vVn-* in Chadic languages.

372. **fun-(H)-* 'hole, opening, gap': W 2 Ngas *fùŋ* 'hole, opening, gap, window' [JgN], Goem *fùŋ* 'hole, opening' [Hlw], Mghv *fùŋ* 'hole, opening, tunnel, window' [BlM], Mpn *(m̀)fûŋ* 'hole (in a vertical surface)', Chip *fùŋ* [Kr], Mush *fung* 'hole' [JgO]; 7 Fyer *fuŋ* 'hole' [RC] (< W 2 ?); C 2 MrgC *fwàŋ* 'hollow'; 3 FK *fə́ná-kù* 'space on gum where teeth are missing'; 7 Muy *mà-fùŋ* 'exit hole made by an animal'; 9 Mbara *vìŋ* 'hole'.
//ECush **fanḥ-* 'opening' > 'gap, space, interval': Som *fanaḥ* - 'gap between front incisors', Rend *faḥan* 'gap in upper teeth ridge', Saho, Afar *fan* 'space, interval' [Ss: 38].
a. **k-fun-*[45] > *vun-* 'mouth': W 1 Hs *fàafungà* (compensatory redupl. < **ka-funga*) 'a hole, pot with a very wide mouth, toothless mouth'; 4 Cagu *vehe*, Diri *vəna,* Wrj *vina-həna*, Paa *vɨngi*, Siri *vəngi,* Mburku *vəŋhu,* Kar *vinahə*, Tsagu *vehe,* Miya *vun* [SkNB], Wrj *vina-* 'mouth', *vinah-* 'in front of' [BlS], Paa *vìngí* 'mouth, side of' [MS], C 3 Hya *fyiŋ, vyiŋ* [BlH]; 5 Pod *váŋwa* 'bouche, orifice; bord'; 10 Masa *vùn* 'bouche, bec, ouverture, extremité' [CC], Dzpw *vùn* 'bec, bouche, entrée, gercule, borde de l'eau, bout, éxtremité', Dari *vūn* 'bouche, ouverture, bout', Peve *vūn,* Heɗe *vùn* 'mouth' [Shy], Gizey, Ham, Lew, Marba, Musey *vùn* 'bouche, porte', Lew, Marba *ʔàvùn*, Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *vùn* 'devant' [LexC], Musey *vunn*a `mouth, opening' [ShyM], Azum *vuna* 'mouth, opening, language, edge of hem'; E 5b MM, Kaj *fàn* 'bouche'.

373. **far-* 'to count, buy': W 7 Kul *fàr* 'zahlen', Sha *ʔàfàḥ* 'das Zahlen' [JgR], Sha *fàrú*, Mundat *fâr* 'to count' [RC]; C 7 Mada *áffàr* 'consentir un surplus à un acheteur', Ould *fèrfè* 'supplèment, prime, cadeau en plus'; E 4 Sok *éferee* 'kaufen', *éfergádi* 'verkaufen', *éfergo* 'tauschen' [Luk], Saba *ʔepəre* 'buy' [DMT].

374. **far-* to be ill, exausted': W 1 Hs *fárá* 'evidence of serious anaemia from whatever cause', *faaràa-čee* 'to become anaemic'; 3 Kupti *fòorò* (< *fwr*) 'to become tired, exhausted'; 6 Ngz *fərú* 'to be sick', *fərá* 'disease', WBade *fəru* 'to suffer from an illness'; E 5a Mig

[45] For the same pref. see W 5 Tala *ka-bi*; E 2 Nch *kwo-bə*, Lele *ku-b* 'mouth' in **№18.**

parâyò ‘être malade’, WDng *párìyà* ‘fièvre’, EDng *pàrīyà* ‘le paludisme, malaria’.
Derived nouns: W 2 Ngas *farum* ‘fever’ [Or], *farm, fwarm* ‘cold in the head’ [Fl]; 6 WBade *fəráán* ‘smallpox’.
//Berb Ahag *afri*, Wlmd, Ayr *efrey* ‘ressentir; être légèrement malade, souffrir’ [NZ: 649].
Cf. [TN №554 **Pr (*p/*b)* ‘sickness’].

375. **fur-* ‘to descend, fall’: W 4 Siri *furu,* Cagu *fur* ‘to descend, unload’ [SkNB]; 7 Bok, DB, Kul *fur,* Fyer *fuḥ* ‘fallen‘ [JgR], Monguna, Mundat *fûr,* Sha *fuú,* Karfa *fuur,* Mangar *fuy* ‘to fall’ [RC]; C 7 Mofu *-fə́r-* ‘lâcher involontairement, laisser tomber’. Cf. W 2 Ngas *fíir* ‘to throw on ground’ [JgN].
Deriv.: E 5b Mubi *fàaràdə́* ‘to fall’ [JgIb].
//Sem Arab *fr*^{ç} (a) 1.‘monter sur une hauteur’, 2. Contr. ‘descendre d’une hauteur’ [BK II: 578].
Cf. Eg **frfr* or **brbr* ‘to fall down’ with all possible cognates in [EDE II: 578f].

376. **fVr-* ‘to scrape, itch’: W 1 Hs *féeríyáa* (East Hs) ‘scraping (esp. the surface of the ground)’; 2 Ngas *fiir* ‘scrape (calabash of porridge, with the fingers); to get grains out of the late guinea corn’ [Fl, JgN]; 3 Bol *pèeru* ‘scrape out inside of hollow obj.’ (cf. *pèereyà* ‘a v-shaped cut on a lip of a decorated calabash’) [GAB]; C 2 Bura *fìrwa* ‘to re-sharpen a pointed instrument’ [BlB]; 6 Baka *far* ‘frotter, gratter’ [YB], Mbedam *fəfər* ‘gratter’ [NdM]; 7 Mol *far* ‘to itch, scratch’ [FsM], Muy *âfār* ‘to scratch, cause to itch’, Mafa *(fa)fər-*‘se gratter’, Chuv *máfrèy* ‘frotter, gratter’, *méfɛ̀fərèy* ‘se gratter’, Mada *óffor* ‘démanger, to itch’, *ófforvà*, *fròh fròh* ‘se gratter’, Mofu *-fáfər-* ‘se gratter,frotter’, Merey *fəfar* ‘gratter’; E 5a Mig *pòrrò* ‘griffer’ > *pùrrùn* ‘ongle, griff’. Note E 4 Sok *fíriŋ-fíriŋ* ‘schreiben’ [Luk].
Deriv. in *–t-*: W 1 Hs *fárčè, fártà* ‘to scrape up soil’, *fárčì* `scraping the ground (eg. animal before defecating)’.
Deriv. in *-k-/-g-:* C 10 Gizey, Masa, Lew, Marba *vìyòk*, Ham *vèèk,* Musey *vèrèk* ‘se gratter’ [LexC], Azum *vioka* ‘to scratch; scabies’; E 1 Kera *fèrgé* ‘jucken, démanger',
//Sem Amh *farä* ‘to scratch, carve (wood)’ (also ‘to husk, to shell’), Berb Ntifa *ta-fura* ‘eczéma’, Wlmd, Ahag *ta-fuure* ‘maladie de peau’,

Snus *tfuri* ‘dartre’, etc. [NZ: 600]. Cf. SCush rift Irq *fura* ‘toothbrush’ [MQK], ECush Had *fur-š-* (caus.) ‘to rub off’ [Hds].

377. **fVr-* ‘to spring, jump, fly’: C 2 Bura *fila* ‘to jump, fly’, *filwa* ‘to jump and land in the same spot as did the previous jumper’ [BlB], Klb *fəlà* ‘to jump’ [MuK], Chb *fə́lá* ‘fliegen’ [HfC]; C 3 FK *vàllá* ‘to jump’; 5a Hdi *valay* ‘to spring up’; 6 Mina *fír* ‘to fly’ [FrJ]; 7 Ould *fə̄r* idf. ‘sauter’; 8 Bud *fer* ‘springen, tanzen, fliegen, to jump, danse, fly’ [LkBd], Kus *vɨl,* Makari *fɨl*, Log *vil-wun* ‘to fly’ [Al].
Deriv.: ****fír-* ‘top, up’:** W 3 Krkr *fiiri* ‘peak, top’ [GK], Dera *pórò* ‘up, upwards’ [NmK]; C 7 Mada *ávlà* ‘en haut, au-dessus’, 2 Lele *pīrīw* ‘en haut’.
Derived noun: C ****fVr-* ‘flight’**: 7 Mofu *várr* ‘envol (d'oiseaux)’; 8 Kus *vɨlan* ‘vol, volée (d’oiseaux); flock (of birds)’, Makari *fale* ‘flight’ [Al].
Derived noun: ****fVr-* ‘sky, God’**: W 3 Dera *púró* ‘sky’ [NmK]; C 10 Dari *fə́rè* ‘haut, ciel’ > *Yifəre* ‘Dieu’, Peve *fray* ‘sky’ [Vn], Mesme *afiʔ* (< **afir#*) ‘sky’ [Kr]. Cf. 7a Skn *ma-far* ‘rainbow’.
//Cush Saho *fooro* n. ‘rise, upwards slope’ [Vr], Afar *fär* ‘hinaufsteigen’ [RA]; Om Wolt *fall-,* Dawro *fal-*, Gamu *per-edd’-*, Dac’e *fir-add’-*, Yemsa *ful-* ‘to fly’ *(*-rr-* > **-ll-* > *-l-*) [LmW: 353]. Berb Ahag *e-feri* ‘aiguille rocheuse; pointed peak of a rock’ [NZ: 608], Maroco dial. *afurar* ‘endroit surlélevé d’un champ’, also ‘créme (de lait)’: Rift *tafrirt,* etc. [NZ: 600], Nef *far* ‘voler’ [NZ: 599]
[AA 1 №66 **fVr* ‘go up’ (only ECh].

378. **fVwVr-* ‘to smear’: W 2 Goem *fwaar* ‘to smear, annoint’ (apud [TAS: 115]) [Hlw]; C 3 Bana *vərə* (*v-* < *fw-*) ‘oindre’; 10 Musey *fuura* ‘oindre d'huile’ [ShyM]; E 5a Mig *póoró* ‘enduire, oindre’.
Deriv. C 10 Azum *frî-da* ‘to wipe the nose’.
Derived noun: C 8 Makari *mfrač’i* ‘coating, enduit’.
//Cf. Om Shin *fir-* ‘(ab) wischen’ [LmSh].
Common origin with №376. ****fVr-* ‘to scrape, itch’** can not be excluded.

379. a. **fVr-* ‘to dig (out)’: C 6 Daba *fár*; 7 Gavar *far* ‘déterrer’.
//ECush Som *farfaray* ‘dig (small holes’ [LlS].
For a deriv. cf. W 1 Hs *fárám* ‘gaping (of hole)’.
Derived verb: E 1 Kera *fə̀rgì* ‘creuser’// Cush Bed *ferik-* ‘graben einen

Brunnen; ein Grab' [RBd]
b. C ***vur-k-*** 'to dig (out)': 9 Mlw *vùrgí,* Mbara *vùrók* 'to dig out', Mnj *vurgi* 'ouvrir, creuser, arracher (tubercule)'; 10 Giz, Masa *vùròk* 'fouir, creuser, bêcher', Musey *vèk, vèrèk* 'bêcher, creuser' [LexC], Musey *vekka* 'gratter, creuser' [ShyM].
CCh forms in the second set should be analized as derivatives in *–k-* from [***-vur-** < ***H-fVr-***] 'to dig'. For a derived noun see C 5a Hdi *vəvərəm* 'deep pit' (compensatory redupl. < **Hvr-m* < *Hfr-m*) 'deep pit'. A reliable cognate of Ch [***H-fVr-***] (attested only in derivatives) is Sem **ḥpr* 'to dig': Arab, Sab *ḥfr* 'creuser (la terre)' [BK II: 457, Bll: 182], Hbr, Aram *ḥpr*, Akk *ḫapāru* [KB: 322].

380. **fVr-* 'to move, run': C 7 Muy *ferey* 'to move', *fār* idf. 'running'. Deriv. in *–t-*: ****fVr-t-* 'to run away, to escape, to save os':** W 1 Hs *fárčè* 'to run away', *fírčè* 'to elude one', *fírtà* 'to elude, escape'; C 5 Pod *fərətá* 'échapper, escape', Mlg *fǎrta* 'retten; entrinnen; to escape, to save os'.
Note E 5a Mig *pàrsò* 'échapper, chuter d'un arbre, to escape'.
//Sem Arab *frr* 'e'enfuir, se sauver; courir' [BK II: 558], Ug *pr* (*prr*) 'fliehen' [Ais: 259].
For a root variant see: WCh 1 Hs *fállà* 'to run away'; C 5 Pod *vála* 'courir'//Sem Sab *fll* 'flee in disorder' [SD: 44].

381. **fVr-* 'to blow, winnow': W 1 Hs *fúurè, húurè* 'to blow away'; 2 Bura *ferar* 'to blow with breeze', *ferr* 'sound of a slight breeze' [BlB]; 7 Gis *far* 'to fan'; 9 Mulwi *firì* 'vanner', Mnj *fili* 'vanner au vent', cf. 7 Zlg *fərfər* 'haleter'.
//Cf. Cush Arb *fuur-* become bloated' [Hay].
Deriv. in *-t-*: W 1 Hs *fàrfàčee* 're-winnowing'; C 5 'to blow': Pod *fərətá* Mlg *fǎrta,* Gdf *vrta,* Gava, Chn *frta, vrta*, Glv *frtᵊ-ga* [HmG].
//Berb Ahag *efer*e 'vent présage de pluie', Wlmd, Ayr *efare* 'vent de mousson venant du sud-ouest' [NZ: 608f].
Cf. [TN №491].
The following isogloss may derive from ****fVr-* 'to blow'** or from ****fVr-* 'dust',** cf. №383. ****f[u]r-* 'uncultivated area'** > 'dust', Sem **ʿaf(a)r-*: 'dust':
a. **fifir-* (compens. redupl. < *HVfVr*) 'dust-devil': W 2 Mghw *fí-vír*[46]

[46] Accord. to TN №33, < AA **bubir*, cf. №274. **(bV)-bVr-* 'wind, storm'.

(< *fi-fir*) ‘tornado, dust-devil’ [BlM], Mpn *və̄-vir* ‘whirlwind’; C 7 Mol *vəvele* ‘dust-devil’ (< *fi-vir* < *fi-fir*) [FsO]; 9 Msg *fúlfili* ‘Wirbelwind’ [LkM].

382. C ***furi[y]-*** **‘to love, to delight, be happy’:** 9 Msg *fára* ‘be happy; sich freuen’ [LkM], Mlw *fríyí,* Mbara *fríi* ‘aimer’, Mnj *firiyi* ‘plaisir, bonheur, aimer d'amour; joie, agrément’; 10 Musey *furi-ra* ‘réjouir, la joie’ [ShyM], Gizey *fiìrù,* Masa *fù/ìrìy,* Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba *fùrì* ‘bonheur, joie’ [LexC], Azum *furi-da* ‘joy’.
//Cf. Cush Saho *farhe* ‘to want, need’ [Vr].

383. ***f[u]r-*** **‘uncultivated area’:** W 1 Hs *fàràa-faràa* ‘arid soil’; 2 Ngas *fur* ‘open space in front of the house, generally surrownded by a stone wall’ [Fl]; 6 Duw *fə̀ra-k* ‘open barren area’; C 1 Boka *fur-tà,* Gbn *fɨr-tà* ‘ground’ [Kr]; 10 Dzpw *fúr* ‘terre inculté’, Musey *fūl-nà*, Hedẽ *fur* ‘uninhabited and uncultivated land’ [Shy]; E 5 Mig *páar* ‘terrain où l'herbe ne pousse pas’.
a. E 6 Mok *pùuré* coll. ‘dust’, *pùrùrú* ‘dusty, dirty’.
//Sem OffAram *ʿpr* ‘dust’, pl. ‘plot, terrain’ [HJ: 879], Ug *ʿpr* ‘dust; earth, ground, steppe’, Hbr *ʿāpār* ‘dust, soil’, Akk *eperu* ‘earth, dust’ [DUL: 171], Arab *ʿfr* ‘jeter qqn par terre et le rouler dans la poussière, rendre poudreux’ > *ʿafar-* ‘terre, poussière’, *ʿafr-* ‘poussière’ [BK II: 296f], Tigre *ʿafär* < **ʿapar-* [Kg: 189].
For cognates of Eg *ḥ.t* ‘Staub/dust’ or ‘Vervünschung/curse’ see [EDE II: 553].

384. ***fVr-*** **‘bark, shell’:** W 1 Hs *fúurú, húurúu* ‘skin of monkey-nuts’; 3 Tng *paara* ‘skin of the locust -bean pod’; 4 Diri *fu-fur* ‘bark’ [SkNB]; E 1 Kera *ké-fré* coll. ‘egg-shell’; 6 Mok *pùrnyó* ‘écorce d'arbre sp. (pour soigner les diarrhées)’.
Derived nouns: ***fur-k-*** **‘bark’**: C 7 Mnj *fotorok* (metath. < **t-forok*); 1 Kera *fekre* ‘harte *Schale* (bei Nüssen), coquille’ (metath. <**fVr-k-*); 4 Sok *furkía* [Luk], Ubi *pirika,* Mawa *purka* [HuJ].
Denom. verb: C 2 Bura *fira* ‘to pull out bits of lose skin’; 7 Mada *óvróm* ‘peler’.
//Berb Sened *ti-fre*, Ghdm *ti-fra* ‘écorce’ [NZ: 607]; Maroco dial. *afrekki,* Zng *tafərki,* Shilh, Ntifa *tiferkit,* Shawiya *tafercit,* Ahag *taferkit* ‘écorce’ [NZ: 626]. Note derivatives in *-k-* in Chadic and in Berber

languages. ECush Som *fur* ‘cork, cover’ [LlS].
[AA 1 №65 Sem ‘skin’, Berb + Diri, Kera, Sokoro, HSED №838. For Sok, Kera cf. **prḳ*].

385. **fu/ir-* ‘flower’: W 1 Hs *fùree* ‘blossom of tobacco’[47], Gwandara *hureˀ* [JgIb]; 7 Mangar *fure* ‘flower’ < Hs [RC]; C 5 Dghw *fírá;* 8 Bud **phōrío* [JgIb] ‘flower’.
//Cush Beja *faar* ‘Blume, Blüte, Knopse’ (Sem Tgr *fr* id.) [RBd: 80], Om Yemsa *fuˀra* ‘flower’ [BnO: 340].
Accord. to [AA 1 №35] and [EDE I: 111f], Ch ‘flower’ is cognate with Eg *pr* ‘fruit, seed’. Note, however, that the correspondence: Ch **f-* ~ Eg *p-* would be irregular, to say nothing on the sematic gap.

386. **-fVr-* (a derived noun?) **> *vVr-* ‘(part of a) hut, granary’:** W 4 Kariya *var*, Wrj *var-ai* ‘entrance hut’ [SkNB]; C 1 Tera *var kəbà* ‘wall (of a room)’ [NmT]; 2 Chb *fər* ‘Hütte, Haus’ [HfC]; 5 Pod *vira* ‘chambre’; 6 Buwal *varvara* (compensatory redupl.) ‘courtyard’; 7 Mofu *ver* ‘chambre’, Mbuko *veray* ‘nouvelle maison’; 9 Mgs *fúrai* [LkM], Mnj *vre* ‘grenier’; 10 Masa *vìre* ‘grenier’ [CC], Gizey, Lew *vér*, Masa *vér, fér, fré*, Ham, Musey *vée*, Lew, Marba *ˀàvír* ‘grenier à mil’ [LexC], Musey *veena* < *ver-na* (compens. lengthening of a vowel) [ShyM], Azum *avira* ‘a small silo, granary made in a shape of a bottle’, *avirâ* ‘a large granary’, *avirî-n*a pl.

387. **fVr-(t/n)-* ‘finger’: E 5 WDng *pérné*, EDng *pēernò*, Mubi *fèerí* [JgIb] ‘finger’. Cf. W 3 Bol *paala* ‘finger’ [Kl].
Deriv.: ****fVr-t/d-* ‘finger, nail’:** W 1 Hs *fárčè,* pl. *fáràutaa* ‘fingernail, finger’; 6 Duw *vàre-ɗ,* GBade *vàrà-ɗ* ‘fingernail’; C 5 Wnd *fali-d-ṣe* ‘nail’ [Kl]
//Cush **pVr-* ‘finger’: Afar *fera* [RA], Saho *fera*, Som *far(-ta)* ‘finger’, Rend *farro* ‘finger, toe’ [PR], Boni *far* [Sam], Bayso *per,* Kamb *far* ‘finger’ [Dolg: 41f].
[ISv: 21].

388. C **far-* ‘cattle, wealth’: 9 Mbara *fàràỳ* ‘bride's wealth’, Mnj *faray* ‘prix, richesse, troupeau, betail’; 10 Masa *fàri* ‘richeuse, dot’

[47] The following forms are Hausa loans: W 3 Krkr *fire* ‘tobacco blossom’, 4 Paa *pure*, Miya *fùré,* Diri *fùrée*, Mburku *púrée,*5 Guus *pùer* ‘flower’, cf. [JgIb I: 146].

[CC], Gizey *fòrèy*, Masa *fàrèy*, Ham *fàrìy* ‘richesse, biens’ Gizey *frèy,* Masa *fàrèy*, Ham *fàrì* ‘animal domestique’ [LexC].
This ch root is hardly cognate with Sem **parr-* ‘young of small or large cattle’, as suggested in [SED II, №181].
For Mbara, Mnj, Masa < AA **br* see [TN №175].

389. W ****fir-* (**fVyVr-*) ‘big’:** 2 Ngas *fier* ‘largeness’ [Gr], Mush *fir* ‘bigness’, *kú-fiir* ‘big, large’ [JgO], Goem *firr* ‘great’ [Fp], *fyer* ‘to be big’ [Hlw].
a. ****fir-* ‘to overtake’:** W 3 Dera *pərí* ‘to overtake (a person)’ [NmK].
Cf. W 1 Hs *fártòo* ‘a big, strong fearless man’.
For a possible cognate cf. C ****fir-* ‘crowd, many’**: 6 Bana *v(ə)rəm* ‘foule debout ou en marche’; 9 Mnj *fara, firi* ‘foule’; 6 Buwal *vra-m (*fr- > vr-)* ‘many’; W 1 Hs *fàràrà* ‘in immense numbers’.
//Sem Arab *fariyy-* ‘grand’ [BK II: 589].

***P**

390. **p(Vw)ay/ʔ-* 'to pay, give': W 2 Mnt *pɛ̀ɛ̀* [JgC], Mush *pí* [JgO] 'to give', Goem *pʰə́* 'to give someone smth' [Hlw]; C 3 Bana *pá* 'acheter'; 5 Pod *pa* 'to take, give', 6 Mina *pá* 'to give' [FrM]; 7 Mafa *pa* 'mettre, donner' (pl. obj.); 10 Dari *pōʾ* (< *pawʾ-*) 'payer, rembourser', Dzpw *póʾó* 'acquitter une dette; payer'; E 2 Lele *pōy* 'rembourser'.
Cf. W 4 Miya *piyay* 'to take back, return' [Sch]; C 7 Gis *paw* 'wegnehmen, to take back'. Note that terms for 'to give' and 'to receive' are confused in Geez.
//Sem Geez *wfy* 'receive, grant, transmit, hand over, deliver, transfer', Sab *wfy* 'pay a debt', Soq *ʾefe* 'pay, Tna *ʾawäfäyä* 'give, make a gift' [LsG: 607], Arab *wfy* 'payer, acquitter (la dette)' [BK II: 1578].

391. **pVʔ/w-* 'to cover, protect, hide': W 2 Ngas *pee* 'to shut, close' [Fl], *pee* 'to close, shut, cover' [JgN], Mghv *páa* 'to cover, close, shut' [BlM], Mpn *páa* 'to cover; to bury', Mush *páa* 'to cover' [JgO]; 4 Paa, Jmb, Mburku, Tsagu *pu(w)-* 'to hide' [SkNB], Paa *pu, puwíi* 'to hide o.s.' [MS], Miya *puwa* 'hide' tr., intr. [Sch], 7 Fyer *pa* 'to shut, close' [RC] (? < W 2); C 2 Bura *pua* 'to cover with grass against weather' [BlB]; 4 Gude *paʾa* 'to close, cover'; 7 Mada *ápá* '(re)couvrir, mettre', Mofu *-piy-* 'protéger le mur d'une natte, (se) protéger', Ould *-pàb* 'couvrir', Baka *pàvu* 'fermer' [BAS]; 10 Dari *pīēʾ* Dzpw *péʾé* '(se) cacher'.
Derived nouns: W 1 Hs *fáifái* 'circular mat or tray used for covering vessels' > W 2 Mghv *pyepy*e 'flat cover for calabash',
//SCush Qwadza *paʾ-* 'to cover' [Eh: 143], Berb Ntifa *nfi* 'être caché, abrité', Wlmd, Ghat *ifi,* Ahag *êfi* 'abri' [NZ: 682].
Cf. TN №457 (including metath. forms in Sem & Eg).

392. **pVʔ/w/y-* 'to shoot, sting': W 2 Kupto *fèyéy* 'to shoot, sting, kick, spin', Tng *pɛyi* 'to kick, shoot', cf. Krkr *fiʾyu* 'to pinch' [GK]; C 2 Bura *pwa* 'to strike (in shooting)' [BlB]; 4 Gude *páʾ* 'hitting of arrow'; 7 cf. Ould *pīyūw* idf. 'coup de bec'; E 5a Mig *ʾúppó* 'to strike, shoot (arrow and bow, fusil)'.
Cf. C 7 Mada *pàwpá* 'sagaie', W 3 Bol *pîu* 'awl' [GAB].

//SCush Dah *paḥ-* ‘hit, shoot’ [EEN], rift Irq *paʿ* ‘sound of sudden shooting out, for example a stone leaving a sling’ [MMQ].
For Tng-Bura-Dah see [TN №379].

393. **p[a]w/y/ʔ-* ‘to cut, split’: W 1 Hs *fáa-fà* (Kats. *hʷahʷa*) ‘to split open a gourd’, deriv. *fau-taa* ‘to cut up meat for sale’; C 7 Mbuko *paway* ‘to cut meat in pieces’, Muy *ápàwāy* ‘to split into pieces’; 8 Bud *phhayu, fayú* ’schneiden, umhauen’ [LkBd], *fàyú* ‘couper’ [Awg]; 10 Masa *pòo* ‘couper en quartiers’ [CC]; E 1 Mobu *paye* (pl.) ‘casser’; 2 Lele *pōy* ‘casser beacoup’.
Derved nouns: W 1 Hs *fáawà* ‘the work and profession of a butcher; cutting of animal’s mouth by a bit’, 3 Bol *peʔʔe* ‘Schröpfen’ [LkB], Tng *pawa* ‘act of slautering’.
//Sem Arab *fʾw/y* ‘fendre, pourfendre d’un coup de sabre la tête de qqn’, *faʾaw-* ‘fente, brèche’ [BK II: 530f], Hbr *pʾy* ‘to cleave, split’ [KB : 749]. Note 6 Mok *pówwò* ‘crevasse, trou (dans un arbre)’ as a possible arabism.
For a metath. cf. 5a WDng *ɔ́pɛ̀* ‘couper en deux’, EDng *òpē* ‘fendre le bois’ (< **ʔwp*).
//Eg *wp* (gr) ‘zerteilen, zerstückeln’, *wp* (Nä) ‘Messer oder ähnl. Werkzeug aus Kupfer’ [EG I: 302].
The following isogloss is rather cognate:
a. C ****pay-/pVy-* ‘to harvest’:** 7 Mada *pày* ‘(moissonner) à coups de faucille’; 8 Log *pia-wun* ‘to cut; harvest’, *tun a pia-wun* ‘harvest’ (n.), Kus *pia ho* ‘to cut’ [Al];

394. **pVy/w/ʔ-* ‘to pour’: W 3 Gera *fûu-mí* ‘to pour’ [SchB]; 6 GBade *po* ‘to pour, empty out, pour out or put down several objects or a liquid’, WBade *po* ‘to pour, empty out’, Duw *pùwo* ‘to pour’, Ngz *páu* ‘to pour’; C 2 MrgC *pwá* ‘to pour in’, Mrg *pù* ‘to pour’[HfM: 25], Bura *pu* ‘to pour’ [BlB]; 5 Mlg *púwa* ‘giessen, strömen’; 7 Gis *pi* ‘(hin)eingiessen’, Dugwor *má-páy* ‘verser’, Mofu *-p-́* ‘pleuvoir’, Zlg *púwùw* ‘verser, répendre un liquid au loin’; 8 Makari *pe he* ‘sprinkle’ [AlM]; 9 Mlw *púwí* ‘puiser dans la marmite où est cuite la boule pour en servir les parts’; 10 Musey *po-ra* ‘verser’ [ShyM]; E 3 Tum *pè* ‘verser (remplir)’.
Derived noun (or a remote cognate): C 7 Mofu *piyá* ‘rainy season’; 9 Msg *pīáʿ*, *afiia* (**pVH > fV,* see №№402, 405) [LkM], Mbara *pìyà,*

Mnj *piya* ‘rainy season’; E 1 Kera *pépé* ‘Gott, Regen, Donner’.
//HEC **foˀo* ‘waterfall’: Had *foˀo,* Kamb Sid *foˀa* [Hds], Beja *fi/uf* ‘aus-, vergiessen, ausschütten’ [RBd], Arb *foˀ-* ‘overlow’ [Hay], Berb **fy:* Shilh *ffi* ‘répendre, être, verser, êtrw, s’écouler’, Ntifa *ffi* ‘verser’, Ahag *effi* ‘verser (dans qqch), couler’, Snus *effiy* ‘verser (du thé, du café), Izns *effey* ‘transvaser, verser (liquide)‘, Wlmd, Ayr *effey* ‘verser, couler (liquide)’, Ghat *effi* ‘verser (dans un récipient) ’ [NZ: 681].
Cf. [TN №452 **pVḥ*].

395. **pVw/y-* ‘to breathe, blow; wind, breath’: W 3 Pero *púyò* ‘to blow; wind, air’, Kupto *fùu-tá* ‘breath’; C 1 Tera (dial.) *píya* ‘to blow’, *pi-di* ‘wind’ [Kr]; 3 Bana *píy* ‘aspirer, vivre’; 4 Gude *puu* ‘to blow strongly’; 10 Dzpw *pé* ‘respirer’ (for Dzpw *fóˀó*, Dari *fõˀ* ‘souffler’ see №290).
//SCush Bur *pupuˀiya* ‘wind’, Alg *pupuˀumis* ‘to flap, flatter (in wind)’ [Eh: 145]. Cf. Om Yemsa *ipuwa* ‘Sturm’ [LmY].
a. C ****pV-* ‘to swell’**: 3 Bana *pə̀* ‘gonfler, enfler’; 5 Pod idf. *pəvəva* ‘très gonflé’. Cf. 4 Gude *pə̀hə́ɓ* ‘very swollen’.
b. ****pVy-* > **pVh-*** (pl. in *–h-*): **‘to winnow’:** W 3 Kupto *fiiyéy* ‘to separate corn (by the blowing wind)’; C 2 Bura *puha* ‘to winnow grain’; 3 Bana *pxə́* ‘vanner’; 5 Pod *pava* (compens. redupl. < *papa* < **paha*)/
Derived noun: W 3 Bol *puuyò* ‘remnants of grain husks after sifting’.
//Sem Akk *pû (paˀu, puˀu)* OA, OB ‘chaff, husks (of grain, plants), straw, stubbble’ [CAD p: 471]. Cf. Sem Akk *napû* (OB) ‘to sift’ [CAD p: 327], Geez *nafaya*, Aram *nəpā* (*npy*) ‘to sift’, Tna *näfäyä,* Amh *näffa,* Tgr, Harari *näfa* ‘to sift’ [LsG: 390], Arab *nafaˀ-* ‘brins de plantes, d’herbes’ [BK II: 1303], Sem **npy* ‘to sieve’ [Kg: 342], Berb Shilh *afuf*, Maroco dial. *afif, ifif*, Qab *ifif* ‘être tamisé’, Izns, Ntifa *siff,* Sen *sif* ‘cribler, tamizer’, *sifef* ‘tamiser’, etc. [NZ: 512]. For Akk see [TN №521].

396. **pVw(Vˀ)-* ‘to tear (off), pull’: W 5 Zaar *pwaa* ‘to pull sharply’ [CrZ]; C 4 Gude *pàwù* ‘tearing of cloth’; 7 Mofu *-puw-* ‘dépecer, déchirer, dépouiller’; E 1 Kera *pí* ‘enlever’, Mobu *pe* ‘enlever’, Ngam *pée* ‘arracher, deshabiller’; 2 Kaba, Nch *ba-puwa* ‘tirer’ [HmK].
a. C ****pah-* ‘to peel’** (pl. in *–h-*?): 4 Gude *pwaˀa* ‘to remove bark’; 7 Mada *ápah* ‘écorcher, racler’, Mafa *páh-* ‘écorcher, enlever’.

b. C ***pVhVw-* ‘to pull, tear off, untie’** (pl. in *–h-* ?): 6 Daba *pōh* ‘arracher’; 7 Mafa *puh*^{w}- ‘tirer’, Ould *pùh*^{w} ‘se détacher’, Zlg *páhá* ‘détacher, ôter ce qui attachait’.
Deriv. in *–k-:* C 5 Pod *pəh*^{w}*akə* idf. ‘enlever qqch qui est attaché’; 6 Buwal *pòh*^{w}*òk*^{w} ‘to pull away’.

397. **pVy/ʔ-* ‘to walk’: C 7 Mnj *payay* ‘promenade’; 10 Masa *pày* ‘se promener’, Musey *póy*, Gizey *túɗ́ póy* ‘promener’ [LexC]. Cf. Dari *pā* ‘sortir’.
//Cf. Eg *py* ‘sich begeben’ [EDE II: 414].
a. ****pVy-* ‘to arrive, return’:** W 4 Miya *piya* ‘to return’ [Sch], Diri *piya,* Kar *piy-* ‘to return’ [SkNB], Wrj *pəy* ‘come back, return’, *pyiyi* ‘coming back, return from a journey’ [BlS]; C 5a Hitk *piy-* ‘treten’, 5 Pod *pavá* ‘to arrive’; 6 Buwal *páy* ‘(to be) arrived’.
//Sem Arab *fy*^{ʔ} ‘retourner, revenir’ [BK II: 651] .

498. **pVy/ʔ-* ‘to dig, bury, (trans)plant’: W 2 Mpn *páa* ‘to cover; to bury’ (reflexes of Ch ‘to cover’ & ‘to bury’ are confused in Mupun); 4 Wrj *pya-,* Siri *pyaa*, Kar *peya*, Paa *pi* ‘to (trans)plant’ [SkNB]; C 8 Zina *pàyà* ‘to bury’; 9 Mlw *pì*, Mnj *pi*, Mbara *pàa* ‘enterrer, planter’, Msg *pa* ‘begraben’ [LkM]; 10 Masa *pì* ‘planter, enterrer, repiquer’ [CC], Dzpw *pé* ‘planter’, Dari *pāy* ‘déterrer’, *pīē* ‘planter; Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *pí,* Lew, Marba *pé* ‘planter’ [LexC]; E 1 Ngam *pée* ‘creuser’; 2 Lele *pē* ‘creuser, déterrer’.
//SCush Qwadza *poʔotis-* ‘to dig (hole)’, Alg *poʔo* ‘hole in the ground’, *poʔis-* ‘to bore hole’ [Eh: 148].
a. ****ʔVp(p)-* ‘to dig out’** (plurac.): W 3 Tng *ope* ‘to dig out’, Bol *ʔopp-* [GAB], Krkr *àfā* [GK], Krf *ʔopp-* ‘to dig’ [St], Kupto *ʔòppéy* ‘to dig, to drill, to excavate’ [LgK]; E 4 Mawa *opoŋ* ‘évider, creuser (puits, trou), enterrer’, Ubi *ʔòpì-n* [Alio], Sok *ə́pè* ‘dig’ [JgIb], note Saba *ʔəpke* ‘to burry’.
[JgIb **-p-* ‘to dig’].

399. **paʔ-/*HVp-* ‘to sweep’: W 4 Wrj *pəpə* (< **HVp,* compensatory redupl.) [BlS], Paa *pei* [MS] ‘to sweep’; 5 Zaar *paa* ‘to scoop out the surface of liquid in order to clean it’ [CrZ]; C 3 Bana *pà* ‘balayer, ramasser’, FK *mpà* ‘to sweep’; 10 Dari *póʔó* ‘brosser, nettoyer avec une brosse’; E 1 Kera *péʔé* ‘enlever la poussière avec une branche’. Cf.

C 5 Mlg *púwa* ‘schreiben’.
//Sem Arab *ʿfw* (*u*) ‘effacer (l’éctiture, etc.)’ ‘Le vent a effacé les traces…’ [BK II: 304], Cush Sid *f-* ‘to sweep’ [KS : 44].
The following root may cognate (cf. reflexes in C 10):
a. ***pVw-* ‘to clear land for farming’:** W 1 Hs *fàa-faa* ‘to clear a large tract of uncultivated ground for farmimg’; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Lew, Musey, Marba *pó* ‘débrousser’ [LexC], Masa *pò* ‘débroussailler, défricher’ [CC], Musey *po-ra* ‘nettoyer le champs avant de le semer’ [ShyM].

400. W 4 ***pa-* ‘to gather’:** Wrj *pa* ‘to gather, join, meet’ [SkNb, BlS], Miya *pa* , pl. *pàhiy* ‘to collect, gather’ [Sch], Paa *pá* ‘to gather’ [MS]; C 3 Bana *pà* ‘balayer, ramasser’ (reflexes of Ch ‘to sweep’ & ‘to gather’ conflated in Bana).
a. ***pVw/y-* ‘many, all’:** W 2 Ngas *peep* ‘all, whole’ [JgN]; 3 Tng *pip* ‘all’; C 2 Bura *pwapwa* ‘all’ [BlB]; 7 Mina *pè* ‘much’ [FrJ]; 7 Mada *pày* ‘tout’, cf. Muy *pāy* idf. ‘appearing totally’; 8 Log *piya* ‘many’ [AlL]; 10 Azum *pappa* ‘all (absolutely)’; E 3 Smr *píiya* ‘alles, alle’ [Luk]. Cf. W 3 Bana *pàfə* ‘plein’.
//Cf. Sem Arab *wfy* ‘être abondant, complet’ [BK II: 1578].
Cf. TN №332 **p(p),* № 378 **pḥ,* №522 *PP.

401. C ***(m)pa(ʔ)-* (< ***mVpVʔ-*) ‘to fight’:** 2 Bura *mpa* [BlB], MrgC *mpà*, Klb *pà* [MuK] ‘to fight’; 3 Bana *pá* ‘faire la guerre’, FK *mpá* ‘to fight’ [BlFH], Hya, Kap *mpha* ‘war (fight)’ [BlH]; 4 Gude *pa* ‘to fight’, *pəʔu* ‘to kill many people, animals’.
//Sem Arab *nfḥ* (*a*) ‘atteindre qqn légèrement avec un sabre, ne lui faire qu’une égratignure’ III ‘lutter avec qqn, combattre qqn’ [BK II: 1305]

402. ***paʔ/y-, *ʔapaVy-* ‘milk, female breast’:** W 4 Paa *api,* Siri ipi, Diri *yapu,* Jmb ifi, Kariya *api,* Mburku *pii-hu,* Tsagu *iipə-n* ‘breast, milk’ [SkNB]; Wrj *pii-na* ‘breast, milk’, *pyi-na* ‘sour milk’ [BlS], Miya *ápíy* ‘breast, milk’ [Sch]; C 7 Mbuko *páy* ‘sein, lait’; 9 Msg *fiiau (*pVʔ- > fVʔ-,* see №394) [LkM]; 10 Dari *pāʔ* ‘sein’, Dzpw *paʔ* ‘lait, sein’, Azum *apo-na* ‘the breast, human milk’, Masa *pò* [CC], Musey *po-na* ‘sein’ [ShyM], Lew, Marba *ʔápó,* Ham *mbò* ‘sein’, Gizey, Masa *pòpò* ‘sein des animaux’ [LexC], Masa, Musey, Marba, Peve *pāʔ,* Hedẽ *paʔ,*

Zime *pa* ‘breast’ [Shy]; E 4 Sok *paió* ‘Milch’ [Luk], Ubi *paawò* ‘milk’, *pay-nà*, Mawa *payi* ‘sein’; 5a Mabire *pay* [HuJ], (Lallwort) Mig *púupú* ‘sein’, WDng *pòopìy,* EDng *póopí* ‘le sein, la poitrine, la mamelle’, 5b MM *fàafé,* Kaj *fàafè* ‘lait’, *fàafò,* Brg *fiifó* ‘sein’.
//For cognates of Eg *pḥ* ‘Euter’ see EDE II: 491. Cf. Berb Shilh, Fig, Ntifa, Mzab, Qab *iff,* Ghat, Sened *ifef*, etc., ‘sein, mamelle’ [NZ: 508f]. Note WCh ron gr.: Fyer, Kul *fuf,* Bok *fof* ‘breast’ as possible Berber loans.
Cf. Sem Amh *fäyä* ‘to suck the breast, to drink milk’, gurage gr. Muher *fw-at,* Soddo *aa-fa-t,* Gogot, Gafat *a-fwa-t* ‘milk’. Accord to [AA 1 №53], Ethsem forms are cognate with Berber and WCh ron.

403.pVw-* ‘gruel, meal’:** W 3 Kupto *fòo* ‘food, tuwo’; C 2 Bura *mpwa* ‘flour, meal; balls of guinea corn and peanut flour, wrapped in leaves & boiled’; 7a Skn *powa* ‘millet flour (dry or mixed with water as thin gruel’ [DS], *pwa* ‘powder’ [ThS: 43].
a. ****pVy-* ‘to eat (soft)’**: W 3 Pero *púyò* ‘to eat up’; 5 Wnd *piya* ‘to graze’ [Voc]; 7 Vame *piya* ‘manger’, Mbuko *pa* ‘manger (mil)’, cf. *āpā* ‘fourrage’.
//Cf. Eg *pw* 21 ‘Opferspeisen’ [EG I: 506]. For a part of Ch forms see TN №384 **p[ʕ]* ‘to eat’.

404. **pay-* ‘kind of net, trap’: W 1 Hs *fáifái* ‘part of a net or snare’; C 10 Masa, Musey *pày,* Lew, Marba *pèy* ‘nasse à poisson’ (= ‘chambre de capture’ ?) [LexC: 38], Azum *pai-na* ‘a fish trap, in course of constructing’, *pai-da* ‘a fish trap, in place’.
Any relation to №391. ****pVʔ/w-* ‘to cover, protect, hide’?** Note that terms for ‘mat, cover’ and ‘part of a snare’ are confused in Hausa.

405. **pVʔ/wVy-* ‘field, earth’: W 3 Pero *péepè* (compensatory redupl.) ‘earth’; cf. Bol *puuya* ‘courtyard of a compound’ [GAB]; 7 Sha *pyà* ‘best Land, weicher Erde’ [JgR]; C 3 FK *pwày* ‘field’; 9 Msg *fɔwái* (**pVʔVw- > fVw-,* see №394) [LkM], Mnj *vuway* ‘champ, jardin’.
For a root-variant see the next isogloss (note that both roots are attested in C 3 FK.
a. C ****pVɣVw-* ‘field, plot of land’:** 3 FK *pwìɣày* ‘plot’; 5 Pod *vúhwa* ‘champ’ [Mo:19]
//Cf. Eg *pḫʔ .t* [if=pḫʔ] Nä ‘Art Acherland’ [EG I: 544].

406. *paw-p-* 'kind of tree': W 2 Goem *papai* 'a type of tree' [Hlw]; 6 Duw *pòopo* 'the trees Crateva religosa'; C 2 Bura *puba* 'tree' [BlB]; 6 Mbedam *mpay* [NdM], Mina *pày* 'tree' [FrM]; E 1 Ndam *pāý* 'brousse'.
//Sem Geez *fewā* 'dark wood', (T.K.) 'rotten log or name of a tree' [LsG: 172].

407. *pap-* 'shoulder (blade)': W 3 Bol *pappà* 'shoulder blade' [GAB]; C 6 Daba *pəpá* 'la plume', Mbedam *púmpa* 'wing' [LMb]; 7 Ould *pēpē* 'omoplate';8 Kus *papa* 'shoulder' [AlK]; 10 Dari *pāpáˀ* 'omoplate'. Compensatory redupl., cf. CCh ***hVp-* 'shoulder'**: 5 Glv *áhyɛpa* 'shoulder'; 7 Mada *ahpá-ł* 'épaul'.

408. C ***paˀVw-* 'cotton (thread)'**: 2 Bura *powa* 'cotton' [BlB], Klb *pàwà* [MuK]; 7a Skn *paˀwa* 'cotton thread' [DSk], *paˀwa* 'cotton' [ThS: 23]. Note 3 FK *páw* 'shirt'.
May be cognate with ***pVy/w-* 'white'**.

409. C 10 ***(pV)pay/ˀ-* 'rib(s), side':** 10 Lew *pèpèy,* Marba *pìpèy* 'côtes' [LexC], Musey *pay-na* 'la côte, le côté', *pay* 'à côté de, près de' [ShyM], Azum *papei-na,* 'ribs'.
//Sem Geez *fe* 'to this side', Hbr *peˀā(h)* 'side, edge' [LsG: 154].

410. *pVy/w-* 'white': W 2 Grk *pyaˀ* [JgC], Ngas *pée* 'to become white, bright' [JgN], Mghv *pyáa* 'to be white, fair, clean' [BlM], Mpn *pyá,* Mush *pyáa* 'to be(come) white' [JgO], Chip pìya [Kr], Mnt *pia* [JgC], 'white', Goem *pyá* 'to whiten or clean smth, to become white or clean' [Hlw]; 3 Kupto *fèe,* 'white', Tng *pɛɛ* 'blank(ness), white(ness)', Gera *fèewà* [SchB], Krf *feewa* 'white', *feewu tar* 'moon-white' [Stl], Pero *pé* 'white, light', Bol *pee* 'white', *pee-tire* 'moonlight' [Bn], *pee-tire* 'full moon' [GAB], Maka *pée* 'white', Bure *pèewà*; 4 Wrj, Kar *pyau-naa* [SkNB], Miya *pyòoya* 'white' [Sch]; C 3 Bana *pay* 'blanc', 4 FJ *pwà-yin* 'white' [Kr], Gude *pwáh* 'very white'; 8 Log *paw* 'be white' [AlL], Kus *pow* 'be white' [AlK] .
a. ***pay-t-* 'white'**: W 2 Mghv *pétpét* 'intensifies white' [BlM]; 6 Duw *peet,* Bade *peetà* 'white', Daba *pətpət* 'clair'.
b. ***pa(wV)-k-* 'very white'** (pl. in *k* ? or fem. n *–t-* (see above), mask. in *–k-*??) : W 3 Bol *pok* idf. 'whiteness' [GAB]; 6 WBade *pakpaka* idf.

indicates whiteness; C 2 MrgC *pwákù* ‘snow white’, Bura *pwak(u)* ‘very white’ [BlB]; Cf. E 1 Kera *pəkay* ‘sorgho sp., mil blanc’.
//SCush rift Alg *poy* (idf) ‘very white or grey from dirt’, Bur *poy* ‘very white’ [Kies], ECush dull Harso, Dob *pi$^{\varsigma\varsigma}$a,* Goll *pi$^{\varsigma}$a* ‘weiss’ [AMS][48]. Cf. Sem Arab *fūf-, fawf-* ‘tache blanche qui paraît aux ongles chez lez jeunes garçons’ [BK II: 647].

411. **pVd- > pVɗ-* (dissim. of polosives) **‘to make a hole’:** W 2 Hs *h/fúudà* ‘to pierce, bore hole’; C 10 Azum *peɗà* ‘to plant by making a hole, to make a hole with a stick’
Derived noun: C 7 Mol *pəɗe* ‘hole‘ [FrO], Baka *pidî* ‘trou‘ [BAS].
//Cf. Ethiosem Harari *fuddi*, Gur *fodo* ‘anus’ [LsG: 162] (if not < **fnd,* see №524).

412. **pVd- > pVɗ-* ‘to cut’: W 3 Tng *pidɛ* ‘to cut open, sting, puncture a boil’; C 5 Pod *pɨɗe* ‘tailler, éplucher’; 7 Mada *épɗe* ‘tailler, évider, éplucher’, Mofu *-pə́ɗw-* ‘partager en coupant, fractionner’; E 1 Mobu *pade* ‘cueillir; couper (fruits)’.
Derived noun: W 3 Pero *pídà, pídà* ‘wound’// Cush Beja *fade* ‘die Narbe’ [RBd].
Deriv. in *–k-*: C 6 Mina *pə̀ɗák* ‘to split’ [FrJ], Mbedam *paɗaku* ‘fendre’ [LMb], Buwal *pə̄ɗak* ‘to slice’, Gavar *pəɗok* ‘trancher’; 7 Mofu *-pə́ɗk-* ‘fendre, séparer, tatouer’, *-pə́ɗk^{w}-* ‘(se) blesser, se couper, percer', Chuv *mɛ́pə̀ɗɛ̂kɛ̀y* ‘fendre (bois)’, Mol *pəɗakay* ‘to chop’ [FsM].
Cf. E 5a Bid *pidə̀ny* ‘ouvrir la ventre d'un animat tué à la chasse; opérer’.
Derived noun (or a loan): C ****pVɗVk-* ‘razor’:** C 4 Gude *pídək^{w}á* ‘type of razor’; 6 Buwal *pəɗɛ́k^{w}* ‘razor’; 7 Mol *peɗewk* ‘ razor’ [FrM], Mafa *púɗɛ́k^{w}-* ‘lame de rasor, en fer’, Mofu *pəɗek^{w}* ‘rasoir’, Zlg *pédɛ̀kw* ‘hache’; 7a Skn *pidoek^{w}* ‘razor’**.** Cf. CCh ****pɨɗak^{w}*** ‘rasoir’ [GrR].

413. **pVd- > *pVɗ-*[49] ‘to skin, to cork’: W 1 Hs *féedà* ‘to flay, skin, draw a fowl’; 3 Pero *póɗɗò* ‘to peel (yam, potato)’; 6 Daba *pə̀ɗ* ‘arracher, enlever qqch’; 7 Mofu *-pə́ɗw-* ‘s’écorcher’; 9 Mlw *pídĩ* ‘peler, éplucher avec un couteau, une hache’, Mbara *píɗ* ‘to polish’; E 5a Mig *píɗə́w* ‘éplucher’.

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[48] For dullay < AA **b$^{\varsigma}$* ‘white’ see [TN №120].
[49] Dissim. of plosives, note *–d-* in cognate forms.

Cf. C 5 Pod *pɨɗe* ‘tailler, éplucher’; 7 Mada *épɗe* ‘tailler, évider, éplucher’. Reflexes of two independent roots confalated in these languages (see the previous root).
//ECush Som *feyday* ‘take off covering or clothes, strip of’ [LlS]. Berb Ahag *fadey* ‘être écorché, s’écorcher’, Wlmd *fudi* ‘être écorché au dos’, etc. [NZ: 530].
The following isogloss is cognate:
C ***pVɗ-*** **‘to brush, sweep’:** 7 Muy *pādādā* ‘cleared, swept’, Zlg *pəd* ‘ôter une liquid en passant qqch’; 10 Azum *poɗa* ‘to brush, dust off’.

414. *pVd- > pVɗ- **‘to pull out, remove, extract’:** W 3 Krkr *fàdu* ‘take out, remove, undress’ [GK], Bol *podu* ‘to take out, remove’ [GAB], Kupto *fòdɛ́y* ‘to remove anyth, pull of’, Tng *podi* ‘to take (out), pull out, detach, choose, select’, Dera *pòrí* ‘to take out, pluck out’, pl. *pòdɛ́* [NmK], Pero *púdù* ‘to extract’, *poɗò* ‘to pick out a thorn, dig clay’, Gera *fâd-mí* ‘to remove; pull out’ [SchB]; 5 Grnt *poodì* ‘to tear’ [Hr]; 6 Duw *pìiɗo,* GBade *pìiɗu* ‘to draw, pull out’; C 6 Musgoi *pəd* ‘dépouillir’ [Mo: 24].
Pluract. ***pVɗɗ-:*** W 3 Kupto *fòɗɗɛ́y* ‘to pluck (only cotton)’; E 5a Mig *píɗɗó* ‘pincer’.
Derived verbs: a. E 5a Bid *peɗèč* ‘récolter des arachides’, Mig *píɗíčó* ‘cueillir des feuilles une à une’; 6 Mok *pèɗîsè* ‘extraire qqch du corps (une épine)’.
b. E 5a ***píɗtk-*** *> pítk-*): EDng *pít/dkē* (*nó píɗákí*) ‘arracher’, WDng *pètkè* (< *pèɗîkè* ?) ‘arracher, arracher un bouchon de terre’.
//Sem Arab *nfd* VIII ‘tirer, extraire’ [BK II: 1306].

415. *pVHVd-/*pVdd- > pVɗ- **‘to dig, bury’:** W 1 Hs *h/fúudà* ‘to bank up (growing corn), make ridges for sowing potatoes’; 3 Kupto *fùudɛ́y* ‘to ridge up’; 5-5a Lmn *paɗa*, Vemgo *paɗo*, Gvoko *paɗube* ‘to bury’ [HmG]; 7 Chuv *mɛ́vɛ́dɛ̂y* ‘déterrer’.

416. *pVd(d)- > pVɗ- **‘to pour out; rain’:** W 4 Paa *pùɗa* ‘to pour out’ [MS]; C 2 MrgC *páɗő* ‘to rain’; 6 Mok *píɗɗɛ̂* ‘cracher’.
Deriv.: C 3 Bana *pəɗəmə* ‘couler très fort (d’une rivière en saison de pluies)’, cf. W 1 Hs *fàdamà* ‘land which is flooded in the wet season’.
a. E 5a ***pVdVy/w-*** **‘rainy season’:** Mig *pídíwáŋ,* Bid *pude,* WDng *pùdìyà,* EDng *pùdìyā;* 5b Brg *fidì* ‘la saison des pluies’.

//Cf. Sem Arab *fyd* ‘humecter, mouiller’ [BK II: 652].

417. **pVdVH- > *pad- ‘to grind’: C 5 Pod *pəɗa* idf. ‘taper, cloquer’; 6 Daba *paɗ* ‘piler’; E 1 Mobu *pábádé* ‘frotter’; 5a Bid *pódpòɗ* ‘broyer, froiser’. Cf. EDng *páaɗě* ‘marteler le fer rougi au feu’.
Cf. W 3 Bol *pìdî* ‘hard black stone (for roughing grinding quern)’ [GAB].
//Cf. Sem Arab *fdḫ, fdġ* ‘casser, briser, écraser avec une pierre’ [BK II: 555f].

418. W **pVɗ- (< *pVdd- ‘to untie, unfold’: 3 Pero *píɗdò* ‘to unbind’, Gera *fòoɗə̀-mí* ‘to untie’ [SchB], Tng *pɛɗɛ* ‘to untie, loosen, unfold’; 4 Paa *pɨdà* ‘to lay out (straw before plaiting)’ [MS].
//Sem Akk *padû* ‘to release, relent’ OB, SB, NA [CAD p: 6], Arab *fdy* (*i*) ‘donner la liberté à qqn’ [BK II: 557].

419. C **pVɗ- (< *pVdVH-) ‘to wrap, bandage’: C 2 Klb *mpədû* ‘to roll up’ [MuK]; 5 Pod *peɗe* ‘to roll up, wrap up’; 6 Daba *paɗ* ‘retourner, bander’; 7 Cuv *mépèdɛ̂y* ‘enrouler’, Zlg *pádá* ‘envelopper, entourer’ > *pádá ákábá* ‘enrouler, rouler une chose sur elle-même’ (*ákábá* ‘sur soi’), Merey *paɗa* ‘to pack, to pack’, Mafa *pád-* ‘enrouler, bander’, *páɗayi geɗ* ‘bandeau de tissu’, Mofu *-paɗ-* ‘rouler, enrouler’. Cf. E 1 Mobu *poɗde* ‘couvrir’.
Note that 2 root variants (cf. **№305. **fVHVd- ‘to gather, roll up, pack’)** differ in Podoko. On the other hand, reflexes in Mofu differ only on the phonological level: C 7 Mofu *-paɗ-* ‘rouler, enrouler’ & *-faɗ-* ‘rouler, enrouler’.
//Sem Akk *napdû* (SB) ‘tie, bandage’ [CAD n_1: 291], ‘Ferstärkungsband’ [AHw].

420. **pat- ‘to tear, extract: W 1 Hs *fáttà* ‘to tear, rip’; 6 Duw *pàatìyo* ‘to strip palm leaves for weaving’; 9a Gdr *–pt-* ‘to uproot’; 10 Masa, Musey, Marba, Peve, Heɗe *pat* ‘to extract’ [Shy], Gizey, Masa, Musey, Ham, Lew, Marba *pát* ‘extraire’, Gizey, Masa, Musey *pát* ‘arracher’ [LexC], Musey *paɗ-ta* ‘arracher, enlever, cueillir’ [ShyM], Masa *pàt* ‘enlever, arracher, récolter; castrer’ [CC], Dzpw *pát* ‘retirer, épiler, enlever; ôter, castrer’, Dari *pāt* ‘enlever, ôter’, Azum *pata* ‘to remove, extract, to castrate’; E 1 Ngam *patí* ‘cueillir’.

Deriv. in *–k-:* : C 6 Buwal *putok*^{w} ‘to tear in passing’.
For a roott-variant cf. **430. **pit/ṭ-* ‘to peel, pluck’**.

421. **patt-/*paw/yVt-* ‘to pour’: W 3 Bol *pàttu* ‘pour, spill’ [GAB], cf. Pero *páttò* ‘to put in, spill’, Kupto *fàttéy* ‘to pour (in, out)’; E 5a Bid *pet* ‘transvaser’, *pòyot* ‘puiser de l'eau’, WDng *pâytè* ‘verser de l'eau par terre en grande quantité’, Mig *pòotò* ‘verser’.
Derived noun: W 3 Bol *pìto* ‘rain [Bn], *pìto* ‘rain, storm’, *pàttàana* ‘waterway, route that water follows during rain’ [GAB].
Deriv.: W 3 Pero *pút-dò* ‘to wash’.

422. **pVt-* ‘to go (out)’: W 1 Hs *fìta* ‘to go out; (crop) to germinate’; 2 Ngas *put* ‘to come out, go forth’ [Fl], *put* ‘to go out, come out; happen’ [JgN], Chip *pút* [Kr] ‘to go out’, Mpn *pūt*, pl. *pwát,* Mush *pút* ‘to go out, come out’ [JgO], Mghv *put* ‘to go out, get out’ [BlM], Goem *ṗə́t* ‘to exit, go out, apear’ [Hlw]; 3 Ngm (dial.) *fàta, hàtâ* [NEH], Tng *pə́di*, Krkr *fàtaa* [GK] ‘to go out‘, Bol *pàtaa* ‘go out, exit’ in Vent ‘to sprout, germinate’ [GAB], Pero *pétò,* Bele *fátí-kò,* Gera *fíd-mí,* Glm páz- (*-z-*< *-t-* is regular), Krf *fat-* [SchB]; C 4 Gude *pitə* ‘to go, pass by’, Gudu *pit* ‘to go’ [JgIb]; 6 Daba *pə́t* ‘sortir de la maison’; 7 Mofu *pát pét* ‘sortir brusquement’, *pētīt* idf. ‘running’; E 3 Tum *pə́d* ‘passer’.
Note W 3 Kupto *féktá* (internal *–k-* pl.) ‘to go out, to come out, to appear; to germinate’;
//Cush agaw **fät-* ‘to go’ [ApAg], Berb Shilh *ftu* ‘partir, marcher, aller’, MC *ftu* ‘partir, s’en aller’ [NZ: 667].
[Nm **pəta,* JgIb **pt,* AA 1 №54 **ft,* №43 **ṗt*].

423. C ****pVt-* ‘to untie, disconnect’:** C 4 Gude *pitə* ‘to unfasten; break off tree limbs’; 10 Dari *pùt* ‘détacher, dérouler, démêler’, Ham *pót,* Marba *pát* ‘retirer (une corde)’ [LexC], Dzpw *pát* ‘se peigner’.
Cf. E 4 Sok *fítifíti* ‘öffnen, lösen’ [Luk]; 5a Bid *pit* ‘ouvrir’; C 7 Mofu *-pə́th-* ‘écarquiller (les yeux), ouvrir (l’anus)’.
a. Secondary *f-* in Sokoro can not be excluded. In this case all Ch forms follow ****pVt(Vh)-* ‘to untie, to open’** (for the same semantic link see Geez).
b. Alternatively, Mofu *-pə́th-* may be considered an Arabism. In this case it is reasonabale to postulate CCh ****pVt-* ‘to untie, disconnect’** and ECh ****fit-* ‘to open’** cognate with Sem **ptḥ.*

//Sem Akk *petû, patû* OAkk 'to open' [AHw: 858], Ug *ptḥ*, Hbr, Phn, Pun, Aram *ptḥ* 'to open' [DUL II: 675], Arab *fṭḥ* 'ouvrir' [BK II: 532], Geez *faṭḥa* 'open, untie, release', Sab *fṭḥ*, Ethiopic *fṭḥ* > Cush Bilin *fätah,* Beja *fetah* 'open' [LsG: 170], 'öffnen, auftun' [RBd].

424. **pVt-* 'to escape, disappear': 3 Bol *pìttu* [GAB]; 4 Paa *patèe* [MS]; 6 WBade *pàtu,* Duw *àpčùwo*, VN *àptà* 'to get lost, disappear'; 7 Monguna *pwêt,* Mundat *pwét,* Karfa *pwet* 'to escape' [RC]; C 5 Pod *putə* idf. 'se sauver'.
Deriv.: W 6 WBade *pàt-ku* 'to escape'.
//ECush dull Dob *pata* 'verloren', Goll, Dob *pat-* 'verlorengehen, disappear', Dob *pat-* 'verschwinden' [AMS].

425. **pVtt-/*pVHVt-* 'to cut into pieces': W 2 Mghv *pet* 'aufschneiden' [JgS]; 3 Pero *péttò* 'to cut into pieces'; 4 Paa *patà* 'to split' [MS]; 6 WBade *pìitu* 'to slit, cut slit in'; C 4 Gude *pwatə* 'to cut animals into pieces' (plurac. in -w-); 5 Pod *pətə* idf. 'couper'; 6 cf. C 6 Buwal *pɛ̀t* 'to harvest'; 7 Mada *pápàt* (compensatory redupl < *Hpt/pHt*) '(couper) d'un coup', Mafa *pat-* 'tailler, rendre pointu', Mbuko *pépet* 'to cut small pieces', Mol *pataw* 'to cut' [FsM]; E 5a Mig *pèetò* 'fendre, tatouer', Bid *peet* 'fendre un bois, bifurquer, cicatriser'.
For C 7 Mafa *pat-* 'tailler, rendre pointu' cf. C 6 Mina *pèt* 'to sharpen' [FrJ].
Deriv. in *–k-* : C 6 WBade *àpčəku* (< **pt-k*) 'to cut piece off'; C 7 Mofu *-pátkʷ-* 'percer (un bouton, citron)'. Note also C 7 Mbuko *pétèk* idf. 'small portions'.
//SCush rift Irq *paʿat* 'be split' [MQk]. Cf. Sem Arab *ftt* 'fendre (pierres), casser, broyer' [BK II: 531]. For Irq *puʿuut* 'to burst, pop' [MQK] cf. WCh 2 Mghv *pet* [BlM], Mpn *pèt* 'to burst, explode'.
[JgIB **pt* 'to cut'].

426. **pVt-* 'to winnow, blow away': W 2 Ngas *pat* 'blowing away smth in the wind' [Fl]; 3 Ngm *àptâ* 'to winnow using faifai', Tng *peede* 'to winnow, fan'**;** 5 Bogh *paat, paadwii* 'to blow' [Cs], Guus *pipiitá* 'to fan' [CrG[.
Deriv.: a. E 5a WDng *pàtàr pàtàr* 'emporté par le vent'
b. C 7 Mofu *-pát-k-* 'vanner, séparer (une graine de sa coque)'.

For a root variant see №312**. **fVt-* 'to blow, to start fire':**
Cf. Bol *pito* 'wind' [Kr], *pito* 'wind, storm' [GAB], *pito* 'rain' [Bn]. Probably, reflexes of **fit-* 'wind' and **pVt-* 'rain' conflated in Bolewa.

427. **pV(wV)t-* 'to exceed, surpass': W 1 Hs *fiifità* 'to surpass'; C 5 Pod *pəta* 'dépasser, faire trop' ; E 5a WDng *pàatìyè* 'dépasser la mesure', EDng *pòtìyē* 'rester, être en trop, dépasser la mesure'< Arab? 6 Mok *púutè* 'dépasser, vaincre'.
//For a possible cognate cf. Sem Arab *ftw* 'surpasser qqn en générosité et en qualités mâles' [BK II: 541], *fwt* 'dépasser, devancer qqn avec qqch [BK II : 683].

428. **pVṭ/t-* 'to sweep, rub': WCh 2 Ngas *pet* 'to sweep' [Fl], Goem *pàt* 'to wipe or brush smth, rub smth lightly' [Hlw]; C 7 Baka *patáy* 'balayer' [BAS]. Mol *patay* 'to wipe, rub' [FsM]; 10 Azum *peta* 'to strop (a razor); to rub (ochre into gourds)'; E 5a cf. WDng *pàt* 'glisser'.
Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *mpèt* [JgN], *pet* [Fl], Mpn *(m)pét,* Mghv *(m)pét* [BlM], Goem *mpàt* [Hlw] 'broom'.
//Cf. Berb Shilh *afuḍ* 'être balayé, essuyé, nettoyé' [NZ: 532].

429. **pVt/ṭ-* 'to shoot an arrow': W 2 Mush *pet, peet*, pl. *perep* (< *pete-p*) 'to shoot an arrow' [JgO]; 5 Bogh *pyiita*, Mng *piir, piidi* 'to shoot' [Cs]. Derived noun: C 7 Gis *petew* 'Pfeil'.
//Cf. Sem Geez *nafṭ* 'rifle', *nafaṭa* 'to shoot' (denominative'), from Arab *nafṭ,* from Akk *napṭu* 'Naphta' [LsG: 390, AHw: 742].

430. **pVit/ṭ-* 'to peel, pluck': W 4 Paa *pɨtàa* 'to pluck' [MS]; C 7 Muy *épètèy* 'to peel', Mofu *-pápət-* 'to bark, peel', Baka *mí-pete* 'éplucher' [BAS], Mafa *pit-* 'décortiquer'; E 1 Kera *pété* 'to pluck feathers, bark'; 4 E 4 Mawa *pitiŋ* 'retirer', Barein (dial.) *póotó, pooto, pōotó* (< **pwt*) 'to shell (peanuts)'.
Deriv.: E 5a WDng *pìtìnye* 'décortiquer, défaire, déunir'.
Derived noun: E 4 Barein (dial) *píttí, píttá* 'bark' ~ ECush dull Harso, Dob *feeṭe* 'bark' [AMS].
//Om Shin *fèèt-* 'schählen' [LSh], Sem Soq *fṭ*ˁ 'mettre à nu, dépouiller', Mhr *faṭaʾ, fataʾ,* Jib *fṭa*ˁ 'nu' [LsS: 335].

431. **pVt-* 'feather': W 4 Paa *pooti* [MS]; C 7 Mofu *-pepét*; 8 Afd

phti-gge ‘Feder’ [Sol: 132]; 9 Mbara *pàatà*. Cf. E 6 Mok *púttù-sú* ‘feuille’ (with a suff. of sing.).
Common origin with the next issue can not be excluded:
E ***pVt-* ‘arm’**: 4 Sok *pótu* ‘Arm’ [Luk]; 5a Mabire *pota* [JnH], 5b Jegu *fòtó, pòtó* ‘arm’
//Cf. Eg *ḥpt* MR ‘umarmen, umfassen’, *ḥpt* Lit MR, Gr ‘die Arme’ [EG III: 71].

432. *pVt-* ‘all’: W 3 Kupto *pát*; C 2 Klb *pàpàtù* [MuK]; 7 Mol *pat* [FsM]; 7a Skn *pat*; 9 Mbara *pét*; 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Musey *pét* [LexC], Azum *pet*; E 2 Kaba, Nch *pət* [HmK], Lele *pēd;* 3 Tum *péd,* Ndam *pét.*

433. *puHVw-* ‘to fall, to lie down’: W 4 Wrj *ṗiy-, ṗiw-,* Mburku, Tsagu *ṗiy-,* Kar *piy-,* Miya *piya* ‘to lie down’ [SkNB], Wrj *p’iy-* ‘to lie down’ [BlS] (*ṗ-* < *Hp-/pH-*); 6 WBade *pàwu* ‘to get down’; C 2 Klb *pwù* ‘to put into’, *pu* ‘to put’ [MuK], Bura *pi* ‘to lie down; to recline’, *pupi* ‘to lie down’, *pwi* ‘to put or place (many things), put down a load, go down’ [BlB], Chb *pùi* ‘setzen, legen’ [HfC]; 5 Pod *pa* ‘to put’, Mlg *púwa* ‘legen’; 6 Buwal *pa* ‘to put’; C 7 Ould *-pùh*^{w} ‘tomber d'en haut’, Mada *épe* ‘mettre, poser’, Merey *pà* ‘déposer’; Mofu *-p-́* ‘placer, poser’, cf. Ould *pə̄b* ‘action de tomber’; 8 cf. Makari *pa he* ‘pencher qqch’ [AlM]; E 5a WDng *pàayè* (tr., intr.), Bid *paay* ‘descendre’.
//SCush rift Iraq *púx* idf. ‘sound of smth falling on the ground’ [MKQ], *paaḥ* ‘crumble off, fall down in small bits, drip’ [Kies], Berb Rif *fuḥa* ‘tomber’ [NZ: 544].

434. *pVH-* ‘to give birth’: W 4 Wrj *ṗa-,* Mburku *ṗu-,* Kar *paay* ‘to give birth’ [SkNB]; C 4 FM *poyi,* FBw *pwe* [Kr], Gude *poo* ‘to give birth’; 7 Ould *pàhóŋ* ‘donner des fruits’ (pl. in *–n-*) .
//Eg *pʿpʿ* Gr ‘gebären, geboren werden’ [EG I: 504].
Cf. [EDE II: 426].
a. W ***pVwVy-* ‘new’**: 2 Goem *pwə́* ‘to be new’ [Hlw], Mush *pwoo* ‘novelty’ [JgO], Mpn *púo* ‘new’; 3 ‘new’: Bol *pooyo* [GAB] Maka *poyo,* Ngm (G) *hòoyò* [NEH], Pero *póyò* , Krf *fǒoyó* [Stl], Kupto *fòoyò.*
Denom. verb in *ʔa-:* W 3 Kupto *ʔàppéy* ‘to start (a new day)’.
b. W 2 ***pVy-* ‘early’:** Goem *pyú* ‘very early in the morning’ [Hlw],

Mpn *m̀pə bít* ‘morning, very early when cock crows’ (*bít* ‘morning’). //Sem Sab *fw*^{ʕ} ‘beginning’ [Bl: 401], Arab *faw*^{ʕ}*-at-* ‘commencement (du jour ou de la nuit)’, *fay*^{ʕ}- ‘commencement (d’une chose)’ [BK II: 646, 664], ECush dull Harso, Dob *payy-* ‘anfangen’, Goll *payy-* ‘beginnen’ [AMS].

435. **pVh(Vw)-* ‘to break (off, into pieces), destroy’: W 3 Bol *pòyyu* ‘to break into pieces, shatter’, *pìyàayu* ‘to perish, destroy’ [GAB]; C 5 Pod *pəh*^{w}*a* ‘to break off (a limb)’, deriv. *pah*^{w}*a-ca* ‘to break up’; cf. 8 Bud *fò* (< *phw*) ‘piler’ [Awg].
Derived noun ‘flour’: C 1 Gaa *foh*^{w}*ə̀-ta*, Gbn *fux*^{w}*ə̀-tə* (regressive assim. of *p-*) [Kr]; 5 Pod *pəh*^{w}*a.*
//ECush dull Dob, Goll *pah-* ‘zerstören’ [AMS], SCush Bur *puh-*, Alg *puhum-* ‘to pound (grain)’ [Eh: 146].
Not nessessarily cognate with the next issue (note related forms in Cush, on the one hand, and in Arabic, on the other).

436. C ****pVH-* ‘to hit, strike’:** C 7 Mbuko *pa* ‘battre’, Muy *pāx* idf. ‘(hitting) lightly’; 8 Bud *fì* (< **pVh-*) ‘frapper’ [Awg]; 10 Azum *pâ* ‘the sound made by hitting smo’, Dari *pīē* ‘frapper’, Musey *po-ra* ‘claquer les mains’ [ShyM].
Derived noun: C 6 Buwal *pox*^{w}*póx*^{w} ‘thrashing stick’; 10 Dari *pāpá*^{ʔ} ‘fléau’.
//Sem Arab *nfḥ* ‘frapper avec le pied (chamelle)’ [BK II: 1305].

437. W ****piya(h)-* ‘clay’:** 5 Zaar *vyaa* ‘clay used to build houses’ [CrZ]; 7 DB *piya* ‘clay-pit’, DB *píyà*, Sha *pyà,* Mundat *pya* ‘clay’ [RC], DB *piyah* ‘Lehm’ [JgR].
//Eg *pyp* ‘(Lehm) kneten’ Na [EG I: 502]. For alternative cognates of Eg see [EDE II: 416-418].

438. **pVɣ*^{w}- ‘to split (wood)’**: W 6 WBade *pàgu* ‘split’, deriv. *pàgbu, pàbgu* ‘break in pieces’; C 3 Bana *páx*^{w}*ə́* ‘fendre le bois’ [BlB]; 4 Tsuvan *páɦə-n* ‘to split wood’ [BryJ].
//Cf. Eg *pḫ*^{ʒ} ‘spalten, öffnen’ [EDE II: 496].
a. C ****pVɣ*^{w}**- ‘to scratch, tatoo’:** 5 Glv *pɔɣ*^{w} ‘to scratch, bruise’; 7 Zlg *pàhá* ‘se cicatriser’, Mbuko *páháy* ‘cicatriser’, *pahay* ‘couper’. Cf. C 7 Mafa *páhác-* ‘ébrécher’.

439. *pVɣ(Vw)- 'to accompany, lead': W 3 cf. Kupto *fàggé* idf. 'to go in groups'; C 3 Bana *pxì* `accompagner, HF *bɣa-*, Kap *bɣà-ke* (voicing in contact), FG *pxa-ki* 'to accompany' [Kr]; 5 Glv *poɣ^{w}* 'to lead', Gdf *pɔ̀ɣà* 'to accompany' [KimG].

440. C *pVɣ- 'to pour': 5-5a Lmn *puɣa,* Hdi *pəʁai,* Vemgo *mbʁa*, Dghw *pəʁə* 'to pour' [HmG], Hitk *pəɣ-*'eingiessen'; C 7Mafa *páha^{ʔ}a* 'couler
abondement', Ould *-pùhw* 'couler, tomber d'en haut'.
For a possible cognate cf. C 5a Hdi *paɣa-ku* 'une femme qui coule du sang'.
//SCush Dah *paaḥ-* 'to wash' [TD], Irw *paaḥ* 'fall down in small bits, drip' [MMQ].
For C 5 < AA **pk/Q* see [TN № 367].

441. *pVɣ/ḥVl- 'thigh': W 2 Ngas *pyaal* 'the thigh, generally used of cattle' [Fl], Mghv *pyáɣál* 'thigh' [BlM], Mush *pyákál* 'thigh' [JgO]; 3 Tng *pila*, Glm *pàlà* [SchB]; C 6 Daba *pòhōl*, Kola *páwâl* [JgIb] 'thigh'
//Sem Akk *paḫallu* OB, Mari, SB 'thigh' Sum lw. [CAD p: 20], *paḫallu* 'Oberschenkel' [AHw: 810].
[JgIb **pwl*].

442. *pag- 'hide, shelter': W 4 Kar *pag^{w}a*, Paa, Jimb, Mburku, Tsagu *pu(w)-* 'to hide' [SkNB], Miya *puwa, pl. pùwa-kə* 'to hide'.
Derived verb: W 3 Tng *pigde* (< **pg-t-,* complete action) 'to shield, protect'.
Derived nouns: W 6 GBade *pagà,* WBade *pagán* 'shelter, shed'; E Tum *pàgá* 'vannerie pour le toit des maisons'.
//Cf. Eg *pḏ.wy* 'Seitenwande eines Gebäudes', (?) 'part of a buiding' [EDE II: 546], Sem Akk *napāgu* (MB) 'to sink, disappear, hide' (only Inf. attested) [CAD n$_{1}$: 263].

443. *[p]Vg- 'to pluck, remove, tear': W 1 Hs *fiigà* 'to strip heads of g-c for fodder', *fiigaa* 'to pluck (feathers, hair); <u>snatch thing from person</u>'; E 3 Tum *pəg* 'arracher, rétirer, enlever', Ndam *pəgà* 'enlever, écorcher'.
//ECush Som *fiig* 'to sweep, remove cataract from eye; peel', cf. Sem

Arab *fgw* II ‘découvrir une chose en ôtant de dessus ce qui la couvrait; ôter, enlever qqch’ [BK II: 546].
The following isogloss (suggested in [TN №365]) might be a remote cognate (cf. Hs ‘to snatch thing from person’):
W 2 Ngas *puk* ‘to take everything away, devastate, esp. in war (includes the burning and destruction of goods and houses)’ [Fl].
//Sem Akk *puāgu* OA, MA ‘to take (by force), to appropriate, to control’ [CAD p: 472].

444. **pVk-* ‘to fall, throw’: W 2 Mghv *paak* ‘to throw’ [Kr]; C 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Gizey, Marba *púk*, Musey *pukka* ‘tomber’ [LexC], Azum *puka* ‘to fall over’, Dari *pīk* ‘jeter (petites choses)’, Dzpw *pík* ‘jeter’; E 3 Tum *pòg* ‘abbatre, terrasser (qqn), faire tomber’ (*-g-* < **-k-* is regular).
//Cf. Sem Arab *ʔfk* ‘renverser, retourner’ [BK II: 40].
For Dari-Tum see [TN №369].

445. **pVk-* ‘to give birth’ (pl. in *–k-*, for sg. cf. №434. ****pVH-* ‘to give birth’**): C 9 Mlw *púkí,* Mnj *puki,* Mbara *púk* ‘enfanter, accoucher’; 10 Gizey, Masa, Musey *púk* [ShyM], Masa *pùk* ‘accoucher’ [CC], Azum *puka* ‘to be born’; E 1 Ndam *piga* ‘pondre (des oeufs)’.
Derived noun: C 4 Gude *pəkə* ‘bloom, sprout’.
Cf. E 5a EDng *píké* ‘éclater, sortir (épi qui devient visible)’.

446. **pVk-* ‘to shelter, cover, protect’: W 1 Hs *fákà* ‘to shelter’; C 6 Mina *pék* ‘to cover a receptacle’ [FrJ]; C 7 Baka *paká* ‘couvrir’ [BAS].
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *fákèe* ‘a shelter’; 5 Zul *piike,* Geji *puki* ‘wall of room/compound’ [Cs №172], C 7a Skn *mə-pəkə* ‘vestibule (thatched extension to a room)’.
//Cf. ECush dull Harso, Goll, Gaw *pokkólle* ‘Hauswand’ [AMS].

447. **pak-* ‘to (lie in) wait’: W 1 Hs *fàkaa* ‘lie in wait for; listen to person unobserved’; C 5 Mlg *páka* ‘warten’, Glv *pak,* Wnd *páká* [FW] ‘to wait’.

448. W **pVk-* ‘to end, to die’: 1 Hs *fàku* ‘to die, disappear from the sight of one’s friends’; 5 Zaar *pok* ‘to finish’ [CrZ].
Derived noun: 4 Wrj *pok-ti* ‘end’ [BlS].

//SCush Irq, Bur, Alg *fak-* ‘to finish', Asa *fak-* ‘to end’ [Eh: 150], rift **faak-:* Irq, Gor, Alg, Bur *faak* ’to finish, to come to an end’ [Kies], E dull Harso, Dob *pakk-* ‘aufhören’ [AMS], Berb Qab *fakk, fukk-* ‘cesser, être fini’, Shawiya *fuk* ‘terminer’ [NZ: 550].
The following isogloss may be cognate:
a. W ****puk-* ‘to empty’:** 2 Goem *phuk* ‘to empty the contents of a vessel into another’ (apud [TAS: 291]); 3 Bol *pùkku* ‘to dip out, scoop out’ [GAB], Kupto *fùkkéy* ‘to scoop’.

449. **pak-* ‘wing, arm’: W 1 Hs *fíffíkè, fúffúkè, fíkàafikii* ‘wing of a bird’; 3 Tng *paka* ‘hand, arm, branch’, Kupto *fáhá,* pl. *fákká* ‘arm, wing, branch’; 4 Miya *pàkə* ‘arm, wing’ [Sch], Wrj *pak-ai,* Kariya *pak*, Paa *puka*, Miya *pakə* ‘arm, wing’ [SkNB]; 5 Tala *pik-par* ‘wing’ [Cs]; C 7 Chuv *pépòek*^{w} ‘plume’.
//Berb Ahag *tefâkfak* ‘partie osseuse et charnue de l’aile (aile sans les plumes); aile’, Ghat *tafakfak* ‘aile’ [NZ : 550]. < Ch ?

450. **pak-* ‘cheek, temple, side (of face)’: W 2 Mghv *kə́-pák* ‘cheek, side of face’ [JgS, BlM], Mpn *kə̀-pák* ‘cheek’; C 2 Bura *puk-um* ‘cheek’ [BlB]; 5a Htlk *pág-ám* ‘Schlafe, temple’ [LkH]. Cf. C 6 Buwal *pak* ‘to put to one side’. Note *k-* and *–m-* as affixes of body-parts.

451. **pak/ḳ-* ‘to lift, rise’: C 4 Gude *paka* ‘to lift up edge of smth’; 5 Pod *paká* ‘to lift up smth flat’; 6 Daba *pàk* ‘suspendre’; E 5a Bid *pak* ‘ressusciter’; 5b Tob *pógé* ‘soulever’.
//Sem Geez *fwq* ‘jump up, go up, boil over’, Arab *fwq* ‘surpass’, *fawqu* ‘up(stairs), on top’ [LsG: 172].

452. **puk/ḳ-* ‘to collect’: W 2 Goem *ṗuk* (intr.) ‘to collect into mass’ [Hlw]; C 7a Skn *pəka, puka* ‘to collect’. Cf. 9a Gdr *pák* ‘all’ [FrG].
Deriv. in *–t-*: W 3 Bade *pàk*^{w}*-tu* ‘to join’.
//Cf. Eg Copt *pōōk* ‘sammeln ; tragen’ [EDE II: 432].

453. **pVk/ḳVw-* ‘to peel, strip off, pinch’: W 2 Ngas *pok* ‘to peel, skin’ [Fl, JgN]; 3 Bol *poku* ‘to peel, strip off' [GAB]; 6 (partial redupl.) Ngz *pàpkú* ‘to scrape off, shave’; C 6 Daba *pèpèk* ‘enlever la peau d’arachide’; 7 Mofu *-pə́k*^{w}- ‘enlever (un bonnet), décherber (à la houe), arracher’, Muy *ápàk*^{w}*āy* ‘to tear open’; 9 Mlw *píkí,* Mnj *piki* ‘pincer’;

10 Dzpw *pók* ‘pincer’, Dari *pōk* ‘pincer, couper qqch de mou’, Musey *pekka* ‘pincer; ôter, énlever; couper une petit morceau’ [ShyM], Peve *pok* ‘to pinch off’ [Vn]; E 5a WDng *pòkkìyè* ‘décapsuler’.
Derived noun: W 3 Pero *pékúrò* ‘husk’; E 6 Mok *pákìr-tè* ‘écorce’ (pl. in *–r-*), C 7 Mofu *to-pok*^{w} ‘glume de mil’, Ould *pákà-pákàw* ‘écorce du tronc, arraché à un bananier, palmier’.
Cf. C 10 Dari *pōk-sóɗ* (‘pincer + dirt’) ‘charognard’.
//Sem Aram (Syr) *pqˀ* ‘to peel, shell, hull’, Arab *fqˀ* II stem ‘crever, s'ouvrir (se dit de la capsule, de l'enveloppe du fruit dans certaines plantes)’, *faqˀ-* ‘membrane qui enveloppe la tête du foetus’ [BK II: 617]; Omot Wolt *fookk'-,* Gamo *pokk'-* ‘to peel’ [LmW], Wolt *fokuw,* Dache *fok'o,* Gamu *poko* ‘bark’ [LmW: 351f], EWOmeto, C’ara *pok'o* ‘bark’ [BndO : 54], SCush Qwadza *paˀuko,* Dah *páḳo* ‘bark’ [Eh: 143].
[AA 1 №16 **pVk* ‘to peel, scratch’: Sem+Ngas, Kera; for Pero-Mok see TN №426].
The following isogloss seems cognate:
a. **pVK-* ‘to harvest and peel cotton’: W 2 Ngas *puk* ‘to harvest cotton’, *puk* ‘cotton, cleaned from seeds’ [Fl], *puk* ‘to pick cotton, separate from seeds’ [JgN]; E 1 Kera *póké* ‘éplucher, récolter la cotton’

454. **pVk/ḳ-* ‘to pour’: W 3 Tng *pukɛ* ‘to water’; C 4 Bch *puke* ‘to pour’ [SkNB], Gude *pəkə* ‘to put or place by pouring’; 7 Mbuko *pāk, pəkay* ‘verser’; 9 Mnj *puki* ‘verser’; E 1 Kera *púkí* ‘vergiessen’; 5a WDng *pàkè* ‘verser à grande eau’, EDng *pàkē* ‘verser un liquid’; 5b Jegu *pak-* ‘herabfallen (Regen)’.
Cf. W 7 Monguna *pok,* Mundat *apók* ‘seasonal river’ [RC].
//Sem Ug *npk* ‘Quelle’ [Ais: 210], Ug *åpq* ‘spring, source’, Hbr *ʾpyq* ‘stream-bed’ [Ais: 32, DUL: 87], Berb NIG *effek* ‘verser’, Awj *effok, ffok* ‘verser, couler’ [NZ: 551].

455. **pa[ḳ]-* ‘to pound’: W 2 Goem *ṗák* ‘pound in a mortar (smth that is moist)’, *ṗyàk* ‘step on, crush smth (with foot)’ [Hlw]; Note, that Goemai *ṗ-* rather resuls from a shift of emphasis: ****pVḳ > ṗVk.***
a. Deriv.: ‘to break (off, down): C 7 Muy *ápɔ̀k*^{w}*āy* ‘to break off (wood) at the join’; 2 Bura *pukła* ‘to raze, break down/apart’.
//Sem Geez *faqʿa* ‘split asunder, shatter, break through, split head, wound’, Sem *fqʿ* ‘to split’ [LsG: 163]. ECush dull Goll *paq-*

‘zerbrechen’, Dob, Goll *paq-* ‘zersplittern’ (intr.) [AMS].
456. **pas-* ‘to dig, bury’: W 4 Paa *pɨsù* [MS], Miya *pəsə,* pl. *pàsa-ke* ‘to bury’ [Sch], Wrj *pəš-* ‘to bury, fill a hole up (as when covering a grave)’ [BlS, SkNB] C 5 Wnd *pášá* ‘to dig’ [FW]; 6 Buwal *m̀pàs* ‘to bury’, Mina *pàs-* ‘to cover with soil’ [FrJ], cf. Daba *pās* ‘biner’; 7 Zlg *pásá* ‘déterrer en grattant’, Mofu *-pəš-* ‘enterrer, boucher un trou’, cf. Cuv *mɛ́-pšɛ́hɛ̀y* (pl.?) ‘enterrer, boucher un trou’; 8 Makari *fasi ho* ‘deterrer’ (regressive assim. of *p-*) [AlM].
Deriv. in *–k-*: W 1 Hs *fáskà* ‘to dig (ground)’ (but cf. W 4 Miya *pàsa-ke* pl. in *–k-*).
Note E 2 Lele *pāsīlī* ‘creuser dans un endroit dur’.
//Sem Geez *fḍs* ‘to dig, examine, scrutinize carefully’ [LsG: 157].
The following forms may be cognate:
a. W ****pVs-* ‘to dip out’:** 3 Bol *paašì* ‘scooping water to expose fish’ [GAB]; 6 Duw *àpso* ‘to dip out’.

457. **pas-* ‘to comb hair’: W 1 Hs *fiišíi* ‘putting tidy or tittivating woman's hair’; 2 Ngas *pes* ‘to remove, comb’ [JgN], Mpn *pāas* ‘to comb hair’, Mghv *pàas* ‘to comb, clean’ [BlM], Kofyar *paas* ‘to comb hair’, Goem *paas* ‘to clear (a horse's tail from dirt)’ (apud [TAS: 282]); C 7 Muy *ápàsāy* ‘to comb’[50]. Cf. W 3 Bol *pišordì* ‘a comb’ [GAB].
The following root is cognate:
a. C 7 ****pas-* ‘to detach’:** 3 Bana *pásə́* ‘décortiquer, déplucher, peler’; 7 Mada *áppas* ‘délier, détacher, découdre, défaire’, Mol *pasay* ‘to detach’ [FrM]. Cf. B 2 Bura *psi* ‘to acquit, release, let go’.
Deriv in *–k-*: C 7 Mol *pəsakay* [FsM], Mbuko *pésak* ‘détacher’, Mofu *-pəsk-* ‘détacher, défaire, découdre’, Gis *psak* to unfold (mat)’.
//Berb Shilh *fsu* ‘carder’, Rif *fsu* ‘peigner la lain, le lin’, Maroco dial. *fsu* ‘défaire, étirer, nettoyer (la lain)’, Qab *fsu* ‘défaire, étirer (la lain)’, Shilh *fsi* ‘denouer, détacher, délier’ [NZ: 656, 665].

458. **pVs-* ‘to sprinlke, drizzle, spit’: W 4 Wrj *pusi* ‘to spew something out of your mouth, spit something out’ [BlS]; 5 Zaar *paas* ‘to spill’ [CrZ]; C 1 Gaa *pišə* [SkNB: 41]; 2 Bura *pši* (also *pšita*) ‘to sprinkle’ [BlB]; 3 FK *píší* ‘to squirt, spray’; 5 Mlg *páša* ‘Wasser sprenkeln; melken’, Pod *pišе* ‘to drizzle, sprinkle’; 7 Mafa *piš-* ‘cracher

[50] Common origin of WCh and Arab *nfš* (< AA **nfĉ*) was postulated in [AA]. However, CCh data points to AA ****-s-***. Thus, Arabic form is not cognate with Ch.

de l'eau, bruiner', Mada *épse* 'asperger, cracher', Mofu *-ṕəs-* 'cracher dans une calebasse pour la bénir', Zlg *písé* 'asperger'; 10 Dzpw *pís* 'asperger'; E 4 Mawa *pəso* 'mouillé, humide', Sok *péso, pézo* 'wet' [Luk]; 5a Mig *písáw* 'cracher'.
Deriv.: C 6 Buwal *pišɛk* 'to spit out'; 7 Balda *píšét* 'to spit (salive)' [Bry]. Cf. Mghv *pàšpàš* idf. 'sound of splashing water or water coming out of a spring' [BlM].
[Nm **pəsə* 'to spew, spray'].
//Cf. Sem Sab *nfs* 'to cause water to spread out', Arab Dat *nfs* 'spread out, flow out' [Bll: 309]. Berb Mzab *fsa* 'répandre, verser', Qab *efsa* 'être répandu, se répandre (liquide)' [NZ: 658]
For root-variants cf. ****fVs-* 'to sprinkle, make wet', **pał-* 'to drizzle, sprinkle', **pVz-* 'to spray, sprinkle'.**

459. **pVs-* 'to rebel, resist': W 2 cf. Ngas *pes* 'to instigate' [JgN]; C 7 Zlg *pásá* 'se rebeller'; E 6 Mig *ʔáppìsò* 'refuser, résister'.
//Sem Ug *pšʿ* 'rebellion, transgression', Hbr *pšʿ* 'to break with, behave as a criminal', *pšʿ* 'offence, crime' ('to rebel, revolt' [KB: 785]), cf. Syr *pšʿ* 'to behave foolishly' [DUL: 675].
As L. Kogan [Kg: 37] noted, CC may be cognate with Akk *puāšu,* see the next issue.

460. **pVs-* 'anger, irritation; to insult': W 1 Hausa *fúšíi* 'anger, exasperation', *fùsaatà* 'become angry'; C 7 Mada *ápsàwà* 'mépriser, déshonorer'; E 2 Lele *pōsí* 'insulter'.
//Sem Akk *puāšu* etwa 'sich ärgern', D 'schimpfen'? [AHw: 875], *pištu* 'insult' n. [CAD p: 433].

461. **pVs-* 'to grow (plants)': W 2 Goem *pias* 'to start to grow' (apud [TAS: 297]); C 3 Bana *pəsə́* 'grandir, pousser'; 5 Pod *pəsá* 'pousser (tête de mil)'.
//Berb Ntifa *fsu* 'croitre, pousser', MC *fsu* 'pousser, végéter', Shilh *fsu* 'épier' [NZ : 656].

462. **pVs-* 'to break': W 1 Hs *fásà* 'to break irregulary'; 3 Tng *pas* idf. describing sound of smth breaking; 5 Guus *pas* 'to break, smash (a pot)' [CrG]; C 2 Bura *pwasi* 'to divide smth hard' [BlB]; 4 Gude *púší* idf. 'breaking of falling object'; ECh 3 Tum *pàǯ* 'casser' (all Ch

sibilants and sibilant affricates yield *-ʒ#* in Tumak); 5a WDng *pèssè* ‘casser avec la main (noix, morceau de sucre)’.
b. W 1 Hs *fášì* ‘the first rough grinding of corn’ E 4 Mawa p*isu* ‘flour’.

463. **pVs-* ‘to blow, breath; winnow’: C 7 Mbuko *pasay* ‘respirer’, *ápas-và* ‘se reposer’; 9 Mbara *pìsé* ‘souffler’, cf. Msg *psa* ‘pfeifen’ [LkM]; E 5a Mabire *-pisa* ‘souffler’ [HuJ], Mig *pássó* ‘vanner’, EDng *pésé* ‘vanner dans le vent’.
Derived noun: C 7 Mbuko *āpāsáy* ‘esprit’; Muy *ápəs* ‘to rest, chat’.
//Sem **ps* ‘to breathe’: Akk *pašû,* Hbr pB *pwš,* etc., **nps* ‘to breathe’ [SED I, Vb. 56, 46], Cush Ong *fusaa* ‘to blow’ [FlO].
For Mbara – Sem **ps* see [TN №350].

464. **pV(HV)s-* ‘to disperse, spread’: W 1 Hs *fásà* ‘to disperse a gathering’; C Pod *pəsa* ‘to pour (smth powdery)’; 6 Buwal *papas* ‘to spread out bits of’; 7 Mada *ávvàsà* (< *avavas* < *apapas-*, compensatory redupl.) ‘être disperser’.
Derived verbs: C 2 Bura *pšari* ‘to spread on the ground’; 6 Daba *pùsūk* ‘éparpiler, répandre’; E 2 Lele *pàsìní* ‘disperser’’.
//Sem Geez *fḫs* ‘to spread out, stretch out’ [LsG: 157], SCush rift Alg *pas-it-* ‘to scatter’ [Eh: 161].

465. W ****pVs-* ‘to sting, shoot’:** W 2 Ngas *pus* ‘to shoot as of an arrow, to sting, it generally connotes the meaning that the arrow has hit the mark’, *pwas* ‘to shoot, but generally used of many shootings’ [Fl], *pus*, pl. *pwas* ‘to shoot, to nail’ [JgN], Mghv *pùs,* pl. *pwas* ‘to shoot, to arrow; kick, butt (animal); to nail smth in’ [BlM], Mpn *pùs* ‘to throw spear, shoot arrows; kick’, Mush *pús* ‘to throw, shoot’, pl. *pwas* ‘to throw’ [JgO], Chip *pus gwe* ‘shoot’ [Kr]; 5 Tala *fiš-, fəsi* ‘to shoot’ [Cs]. For external cognates of W 2 see [TN №351].
a. ****pVs-* ‘sting, arrow’:** W 1 Hs *fàasaa* ‘broad arrow with long barbs’; 2 Mghv *pas* [BlM], Mpn *pās* ‘arrow’ , Ngas *pas* ‘arrow, needle’ [JgN], Mush *pas* ‘traditional needle, arrow’ [JgO]; 3 ‘arrow’: Bol *poccˇo* Krkr *fàs-ku* [GK], Pero *púʒù-k,* Bele *fóccˇóˊ,* Ngm *hòˀòcˇò*, Krf *fùšíˊ,* Glm *pəšíˊ,* [SchV], Maka *póccˇóˊ* [SvP]; 5 Grnt *pəši* [Ja], Saya *píis,* Jimi *fusko* (< Krkr?), Plc *pyas,* Saya *piis*, Zul *pəse* ‘arrow’ [Cs №105], Zaar *pîːs* ‘sting, arrowhead’ [CrZ], Dott *pəs* ‘quill, sting; arrow; awl’ [CrD]; 7

Karfa *ak-pas* ‘iron arrow’, Fyer *fwaš* ‘arrow’ [RC]; C 5a cf. Hdi *pusa* ‘clou, nail’ (‘a sharp point’).
[Cf. ISv: 25 – Bol, Ngas, Krkr forms].

466. C ***pVs-* ‘to drop ’:** 2 Bura *psi-ta* ‘drop smth’, *psi-wa* ‘to drop smth into smth’ [BlB]; 7 Mbuko *pépas* ‘tomber à terre (toit, miettes)’ (< **HVpVs,* compensatory redupl.), Zlg *pèspèsís* ‘tomber**’.**
//Sem Arab *ʿfs* ‘terrasser et traîner par terre’ [BK II: 299].
For Arabic ‘traîner par terre’ cf. the following isogloss:
a. W 6 ***pas-* ‘to drag on the ground’:** Duw *pàaso,* WBade *pàasu.*
For a derived noun cf. C 9 Mnj *pus-pus* ‘charrette à bras’; 10 Musey *pupus-na* ‘la charrette’.

467. **pus/c-* ‘to wash’: W 3 Bol *pùušu* ‘to wash (thing)’ [GAB], Ngm (G) *hùušâ* ‘to wash’ [NEH]; 5 Zar *pes* idf. ‘to wash’ [CrZ]; 6 WBade *ə̀psu* ‘to bathe’; C 3 Bana *pši* ‘laver’; 7 Gis *pus* ‘waschen’.
For a root variant see №484 ****pič-* ‘to wash, to clean’.**

468. **pVHVs/c- > pVpVs-* (compensatort redupl.) ‘to render into small pieces‘: W 6 Ngz *pəpsú* ‘to render into small pieces or powder’; C 7 Mofu *-pápəs-* (compensatory reduplication) ‘émietter, distribuer en petites bouchées, diviser la boule en petits morceaux’
Derived nouns: a. C 5 Glv *pášpàša* ‘crumbs, broken pieces’; 7 Muy *pìš-pīš* ‘crumbs’, Ould *péspès* ‘petit morceau’.
//Sem **pḥc* : Arab *fḥs* ‘broyer, frotter dans la main’ [BK II: 547], PbHbr *pāḥas* ‘smash, beat out of shape, dissolve by rubbing’ [LsG: 157].
Root extension (*ḥ* as C_2) in Sem. On the other hand, partial redupl. (*pVpVs*) may be taken for ‘compensatory reduplication’: $C_1HC_2 > C_1C_1C_2$).
Alternatively Ch forms may stem fom №462. ****pVs-* ‘to break’**:
For a ‘root variant’ cf. C 6 Daba *pās* ‘détruire’, *pəsēr* ‘détruire, démolir’ and Sem Akk *pasāsu* ‘to break, to cancel’ OAkk on [CAD p: 218] < AA **pcc* ‘to break, to destroy’.

469. **pVs/c/ç-* ‘to spin’: W 2 Ngas *pus* ‘to spin cotton’ [JgN]; E 1 cf. Ndam *pə́sâ* ‘coudre’.
Derived noun: ****pVS-* ‘rope’:** W 2 Ngas *pus* ‘rough string’ [Fl], Mpn

pùs ‘tissue of plants used in rope-making’, Mghv *pìs-yáa* ‘yute, fibre’, *pìzèp* (< *pis-p*, pl. in *-p*) ‘fibre from maize cob’ [BlM]; E 1 Kera *pesi* ‘belt for a female loincloth’.
//Sem Geez *fḥs* ‘spin (thread), twist’, *fəḥso* ‘thread’, Mhr *fḥās*, Tgr *faḥasa* ‘twist’ [LsG:157].
Alternatively, W-ECh may be cognate with C 5a Hdi *paca-paca* ‘woven cord used to protect young girl's genitals’, all < Ch ***pVç-.**

470. *pVs/c- ‘hand’: E 5a Bid *pésè* ‘main, bras’, Mig *píssí* ‘main, bras, doigt’; WDng *pìsè* ‘hand, arm’, *pòosà* ‘patte avant d'un animal’, EDng *pósíŋ* ‘la main, le bras’; 5b Mubi *fɔ́sɔ́* ‘hand, arm’ [Luk], *fòósó* ‘main’ [JgM], Kaj *fòoso,* pl. *fàs* ‘main’.
For a denom. verb cf. C 9a Gdr *ps-* ‘to give’ [FrG].
//Sem Aram (Bibl) *pas-,* (Jud) *pis-t-,* (Mand) *pas-* ‘palm of a hand’ (< Afras **pVc-*). Cf. Berb **afus, fus* ‘main, bras’ [NZ: 653-5]. According to A. Militarev, Berb **s* follows only AA sibilants *(*s, *ŝ*). If so, Berb and Aram forms can not follow one and the same proto-form. Ch and Aram may stem from AA **pVc-*, while Ch and Berb - from AA **ps.* To put them all together, we need to assume that Berber **s* may folllow AA **c.* Cf. [AA 1 №12 **pVŝ*, var. **pVs*,‘hand’].

471. *pVz- ‘to spray, sprinkle’: W 6 Ngz *bàzìyú* (regress. voicing) ‘to spray water from mouth’, WBade *pàzwu* ‘to spray’; C 7 Muy *épìžēy* ‘to sprinkle with the mouth’; E 6 Mok *páàzá* ‘(re)cracher, asperger le corps d'un noveau-né’.
a. *puz- ‘rainy season’: W 2 Ngas, Mnt, Chip *pas* [JgC, JgN], Mpn, Goem *pas* [Fp], Goem *p’às* [Hlw], Mwgh *pas, tar-pas* [BlM], Mushere *pàs* [JgO] ‘rainy season’ (pl. in internal *-a-*, cf. [TAS: 299]), Mpn *tù-pūš* ‘tiny rain, heavy mist’; 3 Bol *puzò* ‘rainy season, rust’ [Bn, GAB], Ngm *hùzô* , Krkr *fə̀zò* ‘rainy season’ [SchV] .
//Cf. Sem Arab *fzz* (*i*) ‘saigner ou suppurer (se dit d'une plaie)’ [BK II: 589], Cush agaw Kemant *fäz-* ‘to flow’ [ApAg].

472. *pVz- ‘to disperse, spread’: C 3 FK *pəzə* ‘to spread’; C 8 Bud *phaʒii* ‘sich zerstreuen (Leute)’ [LkBd]; E 5a WDng *pàzzìyè* ‘se répendre, s'éparpiller (chèvres...)’.
//Berb EWlmd *feziwek* ‘se dispercer en désordre', Mzab *fezzeʿ* ‘éparpiller, disperser’ [NZ: 688].

The next root may be cognate with the present one.
473. **pVz-* 'to smear, scrape': C 5 Pod *pìžé* 'to rub; frotter'; 6 Daba *pàz* 'oindre le corps'; 7 Mafa *páz-* 'cultiver (à la houe), gratter (la terre), se gratter'.
Note W 1 Hs *fázàyii* 'any clear space' ('scraped, cleaned' ?).
//Sem Geez *fwz* 'wipe off, efface, rub the back, sweep, clean by rubbing', Tna *fawäzä* 'scrape' [LsG: 172f].
For a 'root variant' cf.:
W **pVwVs-* 'to smear, rub, clean': 2 Mghv *pwos* 'to rub' [BlM], Ngas *pwas, pwis* 'to smear, annoint' [Fl], *pos* 'to rub on' [JgN], Mpn *pwās, pwēs* 'to rub (ointment)', Mush *poos* 'to rub, clean' [JgO]; 5 Grnt *pòoši* 'to wipe, rub' [Hr].
//Sem Akk *pašāšu* from OA, OB on 'to smear, anoint' [CAD p: 245] 'salben, einreiben' [AHw: 843].

474. **paç-* 'to catch, take': W 1 Hs *fátsà* 'catching fish by hook and line; fish-hook'; C 6 Mina *pàts-* 'to take' [MGr].
//Sem Akk **puʾuṣu* NA 'to appropriate, embezzle' [CAD p: 555].

475. **p[a]ç-* 'to unload, put': W 4 Wrj, Kariya *pəts'-* 'to descend, unload' [SkNB], Wrj *pəts'-* 'to bring down, unload' [BlS]; C 6 Mina *pac* 'to put' [FrJ].
//Cf. Sem Arab *ḥfṣ* 'jeter qqch, lancer' [BK I: 459]. For an alternative cognate of W 4 see [TN №348].

476. **pVç-* 'to tear, pluck': W 1 Hs *féetsè* 'to remove loose 'leaves' from reeds to be used in making mats or string'; C 5 Gdf *pìcà* 'to pluck' [KimG]; 6 Daba *pəč* 'arracher avec les racines'; 7 Mafa *puc-* 'arracher (plant, arbre), déraciner', Muy *ápác* [ts] 'to weed', *ápəcāy* ' remove'.
//Sem Arab *fṣṣ* 'tirer, extraire une chose d'une autre et l'en séparer' [BK II: 598].

477. **pVç-* 'to roast, burn': C 2 Bura *pca* 'to roast, bake', *pca-maya* 'to roast it all' [BlB], MrgC, Mrg [HfM: 29] *pcà* 'to roast', Ngwahi *cə,* Hildi *ca* [Kr]; 3 HK *psa-* HB *pceyo,* FK *wča* 'to roast' [Kr], Bana *psá* 'griller dans le feu', *pásá* 'griller beacoup de choses'; 5 Mlg *páša* 'verbrennen, rösten', Wnd *pša* 'to roast, to burn' [JgIb]; 9a Gdr *pse* 'to grill' [FrG].

Derived noun: ***puç-r/n-*** **'ash':** W 4 Tsagu *ṗusə-n* (shift of emphatization), Siri *vəcə-ki* [SkNB]; C 1 Tera *pəžì-t* [NmT], cf. Gaa *fiža* Gbn *fiče,* Boka *fûši* (regressive assim. of *p*-) [Kr]; 2 Bura *pinžù* [BlB], Ngwahi *pinžu* 'ashes', Chb *pinzú* (metath. and voicing in contact), Mrg *punsu-du*, Klb *púcìrú* [Kr]; 3 Bana *psə́-r;* 7 Balda *púčú*$^{?}$ [Bry].
For CCh 1-2 < ***pnZ*** see [TN №407].
//Cf. Eg *wps* '(der Bösen) verbrennen' NR, *wps.t* 'eine Göttin, welche die Bösen verbrennt' Sp, Gr [EG I: 305].
478. C **paç-* 'to cut through, off': 4 Gude *pacə* 'to chop through with one blow'; 7 Ould *pac* idf. 'action de couper qqch', Zlg *pac,* Mbuko *pocpoc* 'couper en abattant'.
//Cf. Cush Sid *faffač'-* 'to split (a log into small pieces)' [KS: 312].

479. **pVç/č'-* 'to germinate, give birth': W 3 Kupto *péešè* 'germinating'; C 2 Bura *pca* (ts) 'to sprout'; 7 Mofu *-pəč-* 'germer, pousser', Chuv *mépčèy* 'germer', Muy *pəcūk*^{w} idf. 'giving birth'; E 2 Lele *pōsī* 'engendrer beaucoup, se multiplier abondamment'. Cf. C 5 Pod *pəcəcə* idf. 'plante toute petite qui vient de sortir'.
For a root-variant cf. №461. ****pVs-* 'to grow (plants)'.**

480. **pVç-* (or ****pVHVç-*****) 'sun(shine), day'**: W 2 Ngas *pus, puus* 'sun, daylight' [Fl], Mpn *pūus* 'sun', Mghv *puus* 'sun, day', Mnt *pəɣəs,* Grk *p*^{w}*əəɣəs* [JgC], Mush *puus* [JgO] 'sun', Goem *p'ʉ́:s* 'sun, time' [Hlw]; C 2 Bura *pči* 'sun, daytime', *ti-pči* 'noon, daytime as contrasted with night' [BlB], Mrg *ɓiči*, Wmd *piči,* Hld *pučī,* Ngwahi *čì čì* (< *pči*), WM *bìjì* [Kr], Klb *pìčì* 'sun', *pùčì* 'during the dry season' [MuK]; 6 Buwal *pɛ̀š,* Daba *pīč,* Mina *pič* [FrJ], Mbedam *piss* 'sun' [LMb]; 7 Gis *pas* 'Sonne', *papas* 'Tag', *ta-pas* 'Sonnenhitze, Tageslicht', Mbuko *pac,* Chuv *pás,* Balda *pas* 'soleil' [Bry], Mofu *pás* 'soleil, jour', Mafa *pac* 'soleile, jour, lumière', Vame *pas* 'sun'; 7a Skn *pis* [pith or bis] 'sun' [DSk], *pis* 'sun, day' [ThS: 23]; E 4 Mawa *puusi* 'chaleur', cf. Sok *píoo* 'Sonne' [Luk].
Deriv. in *–r-* (pl.?): W 1 Hs *fátsàr-fátsàr* 'noonday heat of the sun'; 6 Duw *puusara* 'dry season'.
Consider W 2 Mnt *pəɣəs,* Grk *p*^{w}*əəɣəs* as forms in internal *–k-* pl. Alternatively, these (and other) forms could derive from Ch ****pVHVç-*.**
//Cf. Sem Arab *fṣḥ* 'briller de loin et paraître blanc' > 'aurore' [BK

II: 605].
Cf. [GrR] CCh **pitsɨ* ‘sun’, including Proto-Bata, Lmn and other forms of the **f-t-* structure. For the latters see №324****(ˀa)fVti*** ‘sun’.

481. **pVc̣-* ‘white; light (colored)’: W Hausa *fátsíi* ‘a lightish-skinned coloured person’; E 5a WDng *pàs-pàs* ‘entièrement blanc, couvert de terre’, EDng *púsísày* ‘gris’.
//Sem Akk *peṣû* OAkk on ‘white, pale, bleached’, *peṣû* ‘to become white; to pale’ [CAD p: 328-334], *peṣû* I ‘weiss, hell(grau) (Wolle, Stoffen, Tieren, Fellen, Menschen (Haut oder Haar?), *pūṣu* (Bab) ‘das Weisse, weisse Fleck’, *puṣû* (OA, OB) ‘Weisses’ [AHw: 857, 883], note Sab *fṣy* (if it really means ‘white’) and discussion in [Bll: 407]. Note Cush agaw Aungi *fúčči* ‘white’ [ApAg].

482. **pu/ič-* ‘to spit’: W 3 Krf *fiš-,* Glm *pás-àalá,* Gera *fiišíi-mí* [SchB], Bure *pis-,* Pero *púuʒò;* 4 Paa *pìsùu,* Diri *pəʒa,* Jmb *fəš-,* Kar *pəcə,* Tsagu *pəč-* [SkNB]; 5 Bogh *pyas,* Grnt *pasi* [Cs], Zaar *pyaacə́* (< *pyaačə*) [CrZ], Buli *pisən,* Dott *pes, pyas* [Cs №751]; E 4 Saba *pise*, Mawa *pičiŋ* ‘to spit’, cf. Ubi *pižìŋ* ‘to spit’, *péčò* ‘humid’**;** E 5a Mabire *pačawa* [HuJ], EDng *pìčē*, WDng *píčè,* Bid *pič;* 5b Kaj *fáču.* Cf. E 4 Ubi *pačyo* ‘dew’ [HuJ].
Reflexes of *–č-* are not quite regular in W 4. It is possible, that reflexes of ****pu/ič-*** ‘to spit’ and ****pVs-*** ‘to sprinlke, drizzle, spit’ conflated in some of W 4 languages.
//Sem Ug *wpṯ* ‘to spit’, cf. Hbr *tpt* ‘spittle’, Akk *wapāšu* OB ‘to insult’ [DUL: 929f], Arab *nfṯ* (*i, u*) ‘vomir cracher, jeter dehors la salive’ [BK II: 1304]. Cf. Berb Ntifa *sufs,* Izn *siuffes*, Snus, Ghad *sufes ssufes* ‘cracher’ [NZ: 659].
[JgIb **pṣ* ‘spit’, AA 1 №10: Sem,WCh 3, Berb].

483. **pVč-* ‘to be full; to swell’: W 4 Wrj *pəč-,* Paa *puču,* Diri *fəču* ‘to swell’ [SkNB], Paa *pɨčùu* ‘to swell, puff up’ [MS]; C 7 Mbuko *pečepeče* ‘plein à déborder’.
//E Cush Arb *patʃa,* Tsam *hotʃî* ‘full’ [ATO], *pačč* ‘full thing’ [Hay],
a. **pVč-* ‘many’: W 1 Hs *fáčáa-fàčàa* ‘in large quantities’; C 2 Bura *piči-ku* ‘of great quantity’;
Sem Arab *mafaṯṯ-at-* (*fṯ*) ‘multitude, abondance’ [BK II: 542].
These fragmentary attested isoglosses may follow one AA root (****pč(č)***

‘to be full, abundant’).
484. **pič-* ‘to wash, to clean’: W 3 Krf *féčči* ‘clean, cleaned’ [SchB]; C 2 MrgC *pčìpčò* ‘washed clean’, *pčìnà* ‘to wash’, Mrg *pču* ‘to wash, to be cleaned’ [HfM: 29]; E 1 Ngam *pìče* ‘blanchir, laver (une chose)’, Mobu *péžé* pl. ‘laver qch’; E 5a Bid *pič* ‘administrer un clystère (lavement)’, Mig *páčáw* ‘s'éclaircir (ciel)’ (a modified vowel in Reflexive). Cf. WDng *pač pač* idf. de *ače* ‘laver’.
Deriv. ‘white (spot): W 1 Hs *fáačì, fyáčì* ‘a blaze down the whole face of a horse’; 4 Tsagu *paačahan* ‘white’, cf. Siri *mbiicənni* ‘whiteness’ [SkNB] (it is not clear, if *mb-* < **mp-* would be regular).

485. **pič’-r-* (*-r-* pl.) **‘urine’**: W 1 Hs *fítsáaríi*; 4 (metath.) Wrj *cəpr-ái*, Kar *cípír,* Diri *àcəbəlá,* Miya *cəpúr,* Siri *č’ípári* [SkNB], Wrj *cipurai* [BlS], Paa *cipùrá* [MS]; 5 **ɓVs(Vr)-* < **pič’-r-* (shift of empfatization): Bogh *ɓés,* Buli *bas*, Dott *ɓusaari,* Geji *bási* Guus *ɓìžá,* Zaar *ɓes* [Cs №96]; C 10 Dari *ʒəbūr,* Dzpw *ʒùbūr* [Sa], *čubùr* [JgIb] (< **čVpVr,* voicing of *-p-,* metath. < **pVč’Vr-*); E 1 Kwn *kó-čor* (< **k-čwr* < **k-čpVr, k-* is a pref. of coll. nouns) [JgIb]; 2 Kaba *čəbərá,* Lele *čóòró* (< **čVpVr-,* metath. < **pVčVr-*) [JgIb], Nch *čəbrə* [HmK]; 3 Tum *bāžər,* Ndam *būž* (< **PVCVr-,* regular voicing) [JgIb]; 4 Mawa *swari,* Ubi *čario* (< *čVwVr* < *čVpar*); 5a Mabire *čora* (< **čpar-,* metath. and lenition of *-p-*) ‘urine’ [HuJ], **pidy-* (< Ch **pVč’-*): EDng *pídyé* ‘uriner’, *pídyí* coll. ‘urine, sperme’, Mig *pìddyì,* Bid *piˀi* coll. ‘urine’, *piˀàw* ‘uriner’; 5b Brg *fídyì,* Mubi *fàràdyé* (metath.) ‘urine’ [JgIb].
Note *p-č’ > č’-p* in Chadic languages - in accordance with the law of "rising sonority".
//Sem Arab *faẓẓ-* ‘horse urine or water from the stomach of a ruminant’ [BK II: 613]. Berb Ahag *tafeẓẓa* ‘urine’, Air *tafeẓẓe,* Ghat *čifeẓẓa* ‘urine de chameau’ < Arab [NZ: 689]. Note ECush Oromo *finč’an* ‘urine’ [Grg], SCush Irq *pitsaḥ* ‘collected cow’s urine for softing lather’ [MKQ].
[JgIb**pṣr,* AA 1 №11 (Arabic, some W and ECh forms)].

486. W **p[i]ž-* ‘bran’: 2 Goem *p’is* [Hlw]; 6 Bade *pəží,* Ngz *bəží* ‘bran’ (regular voicing by assim. with the medial consonant).
For a derived verb cf. Cf. 2 Mush *pus* ‘to separate chaff from grain by using calabash’ (apud [TAS: 294]).

487. **paɬ-* 'to drizzle, sprinkle': W 3 Pero *páaʒó* 'to sprinkle', Krkr *faasò* 'flowing' [GK]; C 6 Buwal *paɬ* 'to pour libation'; 7 Mbuko *paɬáy*, Zlg *paɬ* 'asperger avec une calebasse', Muy *pàɬà* idf. 'splashing', Mofu *-páɬ-* 'verser à terre (un liquide en libation), asperger'
//Sem Arab *ḥfš* 'verser, donner (de l'eau) en quantité' [BK II: 458]. Root extension (*ḥ-* as C_1) in Arabic.

488. **(HV)pVɬ-* 'to peel, pluck': W 2 Ngas *pèes* 'to pluck feathers' [JgN]; C 4 Gude *piɬə* 'to pluck seeds from plant one by one'; 5 Pod *paɬa* 'to peel off, crack off, décortiquer, arracher' ; 6 Buwal *pa-paɬ* (compensatory redupl.) 'to shell peanuts'; 7 Mada *ápaɬ* 'décortiquer, écosser, écorcher', Mafa *papaɬ-* (compensatory redupl.) 'prendre peu à peu tous des biens de qqn, dépouiller', Muy *ápàɬāy* 'to shell (peanuts)'; 10 Dzpw *púɬ* 'écorcher un arbre coupé'.
Derived noun: ****pVɬ-* 'bark':** C Daba *pàpáɬ* 'l'écorce'; 7 Mada *paɬaf* 'coque, écorce', cf. Zlg *paɬáa-ŋgwaɗ* 'écorce (d'arbre)'
Deriv. in *–t-* (complete action) : C 7 Mofu *-pəɬ-t-* '(se) séparer, retirer (la main de qqch)'; 6 Buwal *pàɬ-ɛt* 'to peel off layers'.
Deriv. in *-ɗ-* : C 6 Daba *pàɬā-ɗ* 'éplucher avec les ongles, enlever la peau'; 7 Zlg *pàɬà-ɗ* 'décortiquer', Mofu *-páɬá-ɗ-* 'écorcher, fendre dans le sens de la longueur (tige)'.
//Sem Arab *ḥfš* 'péler, ôter l'écorce' [BK I: 458], Geez *ḥafaśa* 'rake up, sweep up' [LsG: 227].

489. **pVɬ-* 'to flatter a woman, to marry': W 6 GBade *pàɬau* 'to marry', *paɬà,* WBade *paɬa-n* 'marriage festival'; C 3 FK *páɬə* 'to pet, love'; 6 Daba *pèɬ* 'flatter une femme'.
//Sem Arab *ḥfš* (n. d'act. *ḥafiša*) 'témoigner une grande affection à qqn' [BK I: 458].

490. **PVɬ-* 'to abandon, to refuse': W 1 Hs *fáasà* 'to abandon the idea of doing smth.'; E 5a EDng *póočé* 'refuser, ne pas vouloir', Mig *póočó,* WDng *pèečè,* Bid *pòoč;* 5b Brg *fòočí* 'refuser'.

491. C ****pVɬ-* 'to worship:** 4 Gude *pəɬə* 'to worship at pagan shrine or fetish'; 7a Skn *paɬa* 'ceremonial centre'.
/Sem Akk Bogh *upīšu* 'sorcery, magical machinations, (objects used for magical machinations)', Bogh *epēšu* (*epūšu*) 'work, activity; evil

magic' from OB on [CAD u: 179, e: 191].
492. *pV[ɬ']- 'to break, to smash': W 3 Krkr *paɬ* idf. indicates striking a blow [GK]; 4 Paa *piɬàa* 'to break, smash' [MS], Siri *-* (shift of emphatization: **pVɬ'- > ṗəłu*), Paa *piɬa*, Diri *fəłu* (regressive assim. of *p-*) 'to break' [SkNB], Miya *pəłə* 'to hit, slap' [Sch]; C 2 Mrg *piɬù* 'to break in pieces' [Kr], *pəłù* 'to break (pot, calabash)' [HfM: 148], MrgC *płəpło* 'forged', Bura *pła* 'to break out, crack or smash' [BlB]; 3 Bana *płi* 'casser, forger', HN *płɛ* 'to break in pieces' [Kr]; 4 Gude *pwałə* 'to break off tree limb', *pəłáƀ* 'squashed, smashed flat'; 5 Glv *piɬ* 'to crush, to press, to touch', 5a Hdi *pəłay* 'to break'; 7 Mafa *páɬ-* 'casser, piler', Mofu *-paɬ-* 'détruire, décimer, casser les branches', Ould *-pàłày* 'se casser, s'éclater', Mol *paɬ* [FsM]; 7a Skn *pəła* 'to break up, smash to'; 10 Azum *piɬ* 'the sound of hitting often', *puɬ* idf. of 'breaking'.
Deriv. in *–k-* : C 7 Mofu *-páłk^{w}-* '(se) casser (bois, outil), casser une partie de qqch'.
Deriv, in *–t-*: W 6 Bade *pàɬ-tu* 'to press out'.
Derived noun: C 7 Muy *pàłāy* 'a piece of broken calabash', Mada *pałara* 'tessson, morceau de calebasse'.
//Sem Arab *fḍḍ* 'casser, romper, briser' [BK II: 644], Hbr *fṣṣ* 'zerbrechen' [KB: 772], Akk *puṣṣû* SB 'to crush (?)' [CAD p: 539]. Cf. Arab *fhḍ* 'briser, casser' [BK II: 641].
[JgIb *pɬ*$_2$ 'to break', AA 1 №45 **ṗəĉ* 'to break, pierce'].

493. *paɬ/ɬ'- 'to nail': C 2 Mrg *pàłù* 'to nail' [HfM]; 5 Wnd *páɬé* 'to nail' [FW].
Deriv. W 6 Duw *pàɬ-to* 'to pierce, lance'.

494. *paɬ/ɬ'- 'flat spot': W 6 Ngz *páɬâ* 'crown of the head', Duw *paɬpàɬ* 'flat of the hand'; C 4 Gude *páɬá* 'large flat exposed rock'; 7 Mada *pła-tat* 'plat et large'.

495. C 7 ***pVɮ- 'to close, cover'**: Mafa *píɮ-* 'fermer', Zlg *váɮ* 'boucher, fermer une couverture'.
Derived noun : W 2 Ngas *péel* 'mud ceiling' [JgN]; cf. C 7 Mafa *veɮed* 'balèvre à l'entrée de la maison'.

496. *paɮ- 'open space': W 1 Hs *fázàyii* 'any clear open space'; C 2

Bura *pwaƙa* ‘area outside of gate’; 3 FK *peƙai* ‘vergin land’.
497. **p[a]l-* ‘to separate’: W 1 cf. Hs *fálán* ‘separately’; C 6 Buwal *pàlax* ‘to take apart’ (pl.?), Daba *pàlà* ‘séparer’; E 5a Mig *páaló* ‘s'écarter’, cf. Mig *pìlŋò* ‘séparer (avec difficultes)’ (for *-aN-* pl. in Ch see [BlP]).
Derived nouns: C 6 Daba *pàlà* ‘la partie’; E 2 Lele *pólú* ‘séparation, frontière’.
Cf. W 6 GBade *pàal-tu* ‘to divide, distribute’; E 5a Bid *palàk* ‘bifurquer’.
For CCh **pVl/r-* ‘to untie’ see № 544. ****(ˀV)pVr-* ‘to untie, unfold, release’.**
//Sem Geez *falaya* ‘separate, divide, distinguish between’, Arab *flw* ‘to wean’, Aram (Mand) *pla,* Jud *ply* ‘be sepatared, distinguished’, *ply* (hifʿil) ‘treat as special, distinguish between’, Ug *ply* ‘be sepatared, distinguished’, Tna *fäläyä,* Tgr *fäla* ‘separate’ > Cush Bilin *faley* ‘separate’ [LsG: 161], Berb Ahag *tafult* ‘part’, Wlmd, Ayr *tafult* ‘part, portion d’une chose devisée’, Ghat *tafult* ‘part, portion’ [NZ: 563]. Cf. [AA 1 №38 **pl* ‘to cut, separate’].
Consider the next issue as a derivative, note a tenable semantic shift ‘to be separated’ > ‘alone’.
a. ****pal(l)-*** ‘single, alone’: W 1 Hs *fállé* ‘a single one’; 3 Bol *palpal* ‘one each, one at a time'; 6 WBade *palla* idf. indicates exactly one; C 2 Bura *pal* ‘one’ [BlB]; 5-5a Chn *pala* [Kim], Wnd *pálle* [JgIb], Glv *pal, pállá* ‘one’, Mlg *pálle* ‘eins, allein’; 6 Buwal *pal* ‘to be alone’; 7 Mofu *pál* ‘one’ (num. en syntagme, *tedˊ* ‘un’, en comptant [BaMo]), Gis *pal* ‘eins’; 8 Makari *pal* ‘one’ [AlL].
According to [JgIb I: 131], Wandala, Glavda, Mofu and Gisiga forms “are loanwords from Kanuri *fal* ‘one’”. However, relevant cognates, given above contradict to this statement. Note also that replacing of Kanuri *f-* by *p-* in loaned forms would be anomalous.
Some more forms may be cognate: ****pVl-*** ‘to be few, lack’: C 5 Glv *pil* ‘to be deficient, lack, cannot’; E 5 Mabire *pali* ‘peu’ [HuJ]. Derived verb: W 6 WBade *pàlùu-tu* ‘to reduce’.

498. **pal-* ‘to fall’: W 2 Ngas *pal* ’to stumble and fall’ [Fl], Mghw *pal* ‘to fall > to fail economically’ [BlM], Mpn *pál,* Chip, Mush *pal* ‘to fall’ [JgC, JgO]; Note C 10 Azum *plu-mba, plu-ta* ‘to be down-graded (from a high position to a lower one)’.

a. ***p[a]l-* 'to lie down':** W 2 Ngas *paal* 'to lie down' [Fl]; C 3 FK *mpəlà-bə́* idf. describes how so. lies down to sleep stretched out'; 7 Chuv *mépàlèhèy* 's'allonger'. For confusion of semantics 'to fall' and 'to lay down, stretch o.s.' see Hebrew.
Derived noun: ***paal-* 'bed, sleeping mat'**: W 2 Mpn, Mush *pàal* 'bamboo bed' [JgM], Ngas *pal* 'a bed made of strips of a palm, bored and threaded together, it serves as a solid mat to sleep on' [Fl], Mghv *pàal* 'mat from ruffia branches' [BlM], Goem *páal* 'stem of the raffia palm branches' [Hlw]; E 4 Barein (dial.) *páalè, páalé* 'bed'.
For W 2 'bed, mat' & SCush **paʾal-* wood' see [TN №394].
//Sem Hbr *npl* 'to fall, lay down, prostrate' [KB: 264f], Ug, Aram *npl* 'to fall' [DUL: 626] Akk *napālu* 'to fall' < WSem [CAD n_1: 277], Cush Sid *ofoll-* 'to sit down' [KS: 121].

499. *pal-* 'to break': W 2 Mpn *pl-āŋ* (pl.[51]) 'to explode, crash'; C 5 Dghw *pìlayà* '(rope) broke' [Kr]; 3 Maaka *pìláayò* 'to break, smash (pot)' [SvP]; 7 Mafa *pal-* 'casser (rocher, pierre)'; E 2 Kera *pálwé* 'zerbrechen, rompre'.
Cf. W 3 Tng *paalɛ* 'to slap, clap', Pero *páalò* 'to slap'.
Deriv. in *-ɬ-:* C 7 Muy *áplát* 'to split (grains or seeds)', Mol *pəlɬay* 'to split in half' [FsM], Mada *áplàtà* 'être écrasé (haricot, arachides)'.
Deriv. in *–k-:* C 10 Azum *poloka* 'to crack open (nuts)'.
//Sem Arab *flq* 'fendre, couper en deux' [BK II: 631], ECush Oromo f*olloqa* 'break off' [Grg].

500. *p[u]l-* 'to dig (out)': W 3 Kupto *fùléy* 'to dig out, gouge out, reveal', Tng *puule* 'to break up soil, to raise dust'; C 5 Pod *pələmə* idf. 'creuser'; 7 Mafa *pul-* 'déterrer, déraciner'; 8 Log *pɨl-wun* 'creuser, hollow out'; E 1 Ndam *pə́lʌ́* 'creuser (évider) arbre'; 3 Smr *pól* 'to dig' [JgIb].
Derived nouns: C 5a Lmn *pálámú* '(pit)hole, trap'; E 6 Mok *pôlle* 'fossé, vallée'.
//Sem Akk *napālu* (OAkk) 'to dig out, to gouge out (eyes); quarry stones, to tear down, demolish' [CAD n_1: 272], Sab *flg* 'cut a water-channel' [SD: 44]. ECush dull Dob *póolle* 'Loch in der Erde', Goll *poolle* 'Schlucht, gorge' [AMS].
For Akk 'to quarry stones, to tear down, demolish' see the previous

[51] For *–aN* pl. in W 2 see [BlP].

root.
501. *pVl- 'to protect, care, cover': W 2 Mpn *pìél* 'to take care, be careful'; 6 Bade *pàlu* 'to guard, protect'; C 6 Daba *pàlà* `protéger'; 5 Pod *pəl*a 'couvrir de chaume; to roof, thatch'; 10 Azum *pola* 'to guide, shepherd, care for'. Cf. W 2 Goem *póol* 'to hide smth.' [Hlw].
Derived noun 'a cover': W 2 Ngas *pəlpəl* 'small round mat' [Brq]; C 5 Pod *pəláya* 'couvercle de vannerie', 5° Lmn *pàlày* 'small round mat to cover vessels and winnowing'; 7 Muy *pílì* 'wicker food cover', Mada *pálya* 'disque en vannerie, vannerie', Mofu *pəlay* 'couvercle de jarre plat en paille tressée'; 10 Azum *polâ* 'large leather shield', Musey *pol-na* 'la grand bouclier en peau' [ShyM]. Cf. W 5 Grnt *pèele* 'penis sheath' [Hr].
Note: 'to defend' > 'a cover' (derived noun) in Arabic.
//Sem Arab *nfl* (i) II 'défendre', *nawfaliyy-at-* 'sorte de voile en étoffe de laine en usage chez les femmes arabes' [BK II: 1316f]. Berb Ahag, Wlmd, Ayr *efel* 'être couvert d'un toit', Wlmd *asefel* 'toit' [NZ: 558].

502. *pVl- 'to search': W 2 cf. Goem *píl* 'to watch or look at smth' [Hlw], Mush *píyél* 'to search' [JgO]; C 3 Bana *p(ə)là* 'chasser, chercher'; 7 Merey *pəla,* Mbuko *pélay* 'chercher'.
Deriv. in *–k-:* C 7 Mofu *-pəl-k-* 'rôder en cachette, chercher, fouiller'; E 5a Bid *palàk* 'désirer'. The semantic shift: 'to search' > 'to desire' seems tenable.
//Sem Akk *palû* (Aram. loan) G 'durchsuchen' [AHw: 817], OffAr *pl* 'to scrutinize, to scan' > Akk [HJ: 911], Arab *flw* 5. 'rechercher, examiner' [BK II: 634].

503. *pVl- < *pwal- < *wVpal- 'to cork, to bark' > 'to shave': W 3 Tng *pullɛ* 'to peel (gr. nuts); to be hatched', *pallɛ* 'to peel bark (for medicine)', Kupto *fùlléy* 'to peel', Dera *pùulé* 'to take off clothes' [NmK], Bol *pelle* 'shaving the face' [GAB]; 5 Zaar *pul* 'to remove the bark of trees, hemp to make ropes' [CrZ]; C 2 Bura *pwala* 'to pluck off petals of loosen bark' [BlB]; E 3 Tum *pāl* 'éplucher'.
Derived adj.: C 8 Log *plapla* 'bald' [AlL], ('with removed hair').
Derived noun: E 3 Tum *pùlə̀l* 'coquille'.
Deriv. in *–k-* : W 2 Ngas *pwòl-k* 'to remove bit by bit from a shell', *pwàl-k* 'to husk' [JgN]; 3 Bol *pòl-ku* 'to peel off, strip off (bark from tree)' [GAB]; C 10 Masa *púlók, púlót*, Ham *pólók* 'décortiquer,

écosser', Musey *pólók,* Lew, Marba *plók* 'décortiquer, écosser, éplucher', Gizey *pólók* 'éplucher' [LexC], Musey *polokka* 'écosser, muer' [ShyM], Azum *puloka* 'to peel smth off'.
Deriv. in *-t-*: W 3 Bol *pìl-tu* 'to hatch' ('the chicken hatched the egg') [GAB]. Fot confusion of semantics 'to peel'&'to hatch' see Sem Gur.
//Sem Arab *wfl* 'peler qqch en en ôtant l'écorce' [BK II: 1578].
a. ***pil(VH)-* 'to cork, to bark':** C 5 Pod *pəláha* 'to clean beans'; 10 Dzpw *pílé*^{ʔ}, Dari *pàlè*^{ʔ} 'décortiquer';
Derived noun: C 7 Dugwor *pàlɔ̀-ŋgwɔ́ɗ* , Mbuko *pálə̀-ngwáɗ* 'bark' [GrM], Mol *pəlo-ngoɗ* 'skin' [FsO].
Deriv. in *–d-:* C 7 Mol *pəlday* 'to shell' [FsM]; E 6 Mok *pìlɗá* 'décortiquer arachides'.
Deriv in *-ɬ-:* C 7 Mafa *pəlaɬ-* 'écorcher'.
//Sem Geez *falfala* (K*) 'to shell, pierce', Amh *fäläffälä* 'shell (peas, beans)', Har *filäfäla,* Gur *fəläfälä* 'shell, hatch out, make a hole by scratching' [LsG: 158], ECush Oromo *falfala* 'husk' [Grg].

504. **pVl-* 'to flow, pour': C 4 Gude *pulə* 'to flow out'; C 7 Mofu *pálá* 'verser d'un seul coup'; E 5a WDng *pâllè* 'asperger'[52], cf. Mig *píláw* 'abreuver, to water smb.'.
Derived nouns: a.W 5 Zaar *polpópli* 'small river running down rocky slope' [CrZ]; E 5a WDng *pèllèlè* 'filet d'eau'.
b. **p[a]l-* 'a flow-through pond, lake': W 1 Hs *fálámíi* 'a pond the water of which does not dry up'; 3 Krkr *fàalii* [GK], Bol *pàali* 'lake, pond' [GAB], Tng *paali* 'large body of water (standing or *flowing*), lake', Ngm (dil.) *fàali, hàalì* 'lake' [NEH], Pero *pali,* Glm *pàl* 'pond' [SchB]; 7 DB *póló-k*, Kulere *ʔapìlìn* 'pond' [RC]; C 10 Ham *pèlèw* (vowel assim.) 'marigot long' [LexC]. Cf. [BlL №37].
Derived verbs: E 5a WDng *pâlčè* `déborder d'un récipient', EDng *pòlčìkē* 'déborder'; 6 Mok *pilɗè* 'vomir, déborder'.
//Sem Ug *pl* 'rieseln, trickle', Arab (Dozy) *fāla* (*fyl*) 'vergiessen, rieseln' [Ais: 255], Geez *falfala* 'gush out, burst out as a fountain', *falfal* 'fountain', Syr *pal* 'sprinkle', "for 'spring of water' cp. Tgr *fälfäl*, Tna *fəlfalo,* Amh *fəlfəl*" [LsG: 158].
a. **ʔapil-* 'to wash, bathe': W 2 Mush *pla-ng* (pl. in *–aŋ*[53]) 'to wash' [JgO], Mghv *pəlaŋ* 'to wash' tr. [JgS] 'to rinse' [BlM], Goem *pàlàŋ* 'to

[52] For WDng see [TN №440].
[53] For pl. in *-aŋ* in WCh 2 see [BlP].

rinse smth.' [Hlw], Ngas *palŋ* 'to rinse, cleanse' [JgN] W 3 Tng *pali* 'to bathe'; E 1 Mobu *pélé,* Ngam *péle* 'se laver'; 2 Lele *pìl* 'se laver', Kaba, Nch *-pəl* 'laver' [HmK], Gbr *pelée*, Dormo *pelenga* 'waschen' [Luk]; 3 Ndam *pálʌ* 'blanchir (laver) une chose', Tum *pāl* 'to wash things' [JgIb]; 5 Mabire *apali* 'laver qqch' [HuJ], Bid *ʔápàl*, Mig *ʔàpìlò* 'laver', 6 Mok *òpílè* 'to wash'. Cf. W 5 Geji *pólti* 'to wash' tr. [Cs №845]. [JgIb **pl* 'wash'].

505. **(ʔa)pVl-* 'to pay (a debt)': W 3 Pero *pílù* 'to buy'; 4 Wrj *pəl-,* Mburku, Kariya *pul-* 'to pay, ransom' [SkNB]; C 2 Bura *pili* 'to ransom' [BlB]; 5 Mlg *pála* 'leihen, to lend', Pod *pəla* 'to pay back'; 5a Lmn *pəla* 'compensate (re)pay' ; Hdi *pəlay* 'to pay', (compounds) *pəla-səku* 'to sacrifice to ancestors to remove the evil in the village', *pəla-ɣəŋ* 'to sacrifice to God'; 7 Mafa *pál-, píl-* 'payer', Mofu *-pəl-* 'rembourser (une dette)', Mada *ápal* 'payer, lâcher, régler (affaire)', Zlg *pál* 'rembourser', Ould *-pāl* 'indemniser, compensate', Muy *ápál* 'to pay'; 9 Mbara *púl* 'to pay'; E 5a WDng *ápìlè, âplè* 'rembourser (une dette)'; 5b Toram *ʔàfil* 'payer'.
Deriv.: E 5a Mig *pìlkò* 'payer, rembourser, pay debt'. Note C 2 Bura *pala* 'to exchange'; W 3 Krkr *fàl-tu* 'to exchange' [GK].
Derived noun: W 1 Hs *fáláašì* 'wages'.
//Sem Akk *apālu* 'to satisfy a demand; to answer', *uppulu* 'to pay a debt', *apiltu* (MB, SB, NB) 'full payment' [CAD a_2: 155f, 169], *napālu* (OA, OB) 'to make a supplementary payment, to compensate' [CAD n_1: 275], Arab *nfl* 'donner qqch à qqn' [BK II: 1316], Cush Oromo *fuulloo* 'bridle price' [Grg].

506. W 2 ***pVl* 'to sprout, to blossom':** Ngas *pèl* 'to sprout, bud ' [JgN], Goem *pál* 'to cause smth to flower or blossom' [Hlw], Mghv *pèl* 'to flower' [BlM], Mpn *pél* 'to bloom'.
Deived noun: ***pVl-* 'flower, sprout, child'**: W 2 Ngas *m̀pɛ̀l* 'blossom, young leaves, sprouts, buds, flower on tree' [JgN], Mpn *pèl* 'young shoots of plants', Mghv *pɛ̀l* 'flower' [JgS, BlM]; 3 Pero *pìlít* 'flower', Bol *pilili* 'flower of a male date palm' [GAB], Kupto *fíllè*, Tng *pil* 'flower'; C 9 Mnj *plapla* 'fleur'; E 5 Mabire *ta-pil* 'child' [JnH]. Cf. C 2 Bura *pilpil* idf. 'describes a small boy who is well dressed; a youngster who intrudes in the conversation of the elders'.
Derived adj. 'new, fresh': W 2 Mush *pál* 'to be immature' [JgO], Ngas

pal ‘unripe; fresh sprouts or bud’ [Fl], Grk *pla-ŋ* ‘young’ [BlY]; 3 Bol *pil* idf. indicates newness [GAB]; 5 ‘new’: Mng *pyele, pela-sa,* Tala *pyaalii,* Geji *pyaali* [Cs], Grnt *pyàalì* [Hr]; C 4 Gude *pul* idf. ‘very new’.
//Sem Akk *papallu* MA, SB ‘young shoot; offspring, descendants’, cf. *niplu* OB ‘offshoot’ [CAD p: 105, n_2: 247].
For WCh 2 ‘unripe’, W 5 ‘new’ + Akk see [TN №439].
[JgIb **pl* ‘flower’].

507. **pal-* ‘(flat) stone’: W 1 Hs *fàlalì* ‘a large smooth rock or stone of about the same height as the surrounding land; a cemented slaughter-place’; 5 Zaar *pâ:l* ‘type of flat stone (formely used to make the blade of farming instruments)’ [CrZ]; C 2 Bura *pəla* ‘stone’ [Ann, BlB], *pəla bɮa* ‘blacksmith’s anvil’, *pəla ǯinatu* ‘flint, rock’ [BlB], Həba *pelia* ‘white stone used for magic purposes’; 5 Wnd *pala* ‘rock’ [FW], 5a Hdi *pala* ‘stone’, Lmn *pálá ~ pàláká* ‘big stone, flat rock’ [Wff], *Lmn pala-k,* Hitk *páláká* ‘stone’ [HmG]; 6 Daba *pàpəláh* ‘rocher plat, pierre large et plate’; 7 Mofu *pəlay* ‘pierre creuse utilisée comme cuvette’, Ould *pēlēɓ* ‘pierre plat’; E 4 Mawa *pəl* ‘rocher plat’.
//Sem Akk *pīlu* (OB, Elam) ‘Kalkstein (Block)/limestone (used as building material, for inscribed foundation stones, for vesssels)’ [AHw: 864, CAD p: 380], Berb Maroco dial. *tifiilit, ifilu* ‘grosse pierre plat, dalle’, Shawiya *tifilt* ‘pierres qui se débitent en lames et servant de dalles’, Ahag *téfilt* ‘pierre plate’ [NZ: 561]. ECush dull Dob *pala-cakkó*, Goll *pal-takkó* ‘Schabstein der Lederhandwerker (bevorzug Obsidian)/kind of stone’ [AMS]. Note an isolated form in Omotic: SEOmeto Gaṭame *ṗālō* ‘stone’ [BdO: 95].

508. **pal-* ‘flatland’: W 3 Krkr *fàl-tò* ‘open space, area’, Bol *pal-ta* ‘gathering place, field, open area’; C 6 Daba *pàlā* ‘la plaine’, Mina *páláh* ‘outside’ [FrJ]; 7 Gis *pala* ‘Ebene im Busch’, *papala* ‘Ebene’, Mbuko *pala* ‘desert', Mofu *paaláh* ‘plaine, endroit plat’.
a. C ****pal-* ‘flat’:** 3 FK *mpàlàhày* ‘flat’, *mpàlàhə̀* ‘dwarf’; 5 Pod *pəlá* ‘plat’, Mlg *pál-téke* ‘flach’.
Note ****pal-* ‘flat’** in the following compounds: C 2 Chb *páplá mà srá*; 5a Lmn *páplé mà srá* ‘Fuss’ (note *sra* ‘Bein’) [Luk]; 7 Merey *pala-ɓaɬ* ‘nom d'une os, os plat’.
//Sem Ug *pålt* ‘f. ‘fallow land, waste land’ < *pʾl*, byform of **pwl*

[DUL: 648].
Note Sem Akk *palkû* 'broad, vast' SB [CAD p: 67] ~ W 4 Wrj *palaki-na* (if not < *pala-k-na*) 'open area of field outside the compound'.

509. **paHal- > pall-, papal-* 'plank, frame': W 2 Mghv *pwáɣál* 'frame for hanging animals to be smoked' [BlM]; 3 Bol *pàllo* 'frame for a thatched roof' [GAB]; 6 WBade *pàllon,* GBade *pàllau* 'frame for a thatched roof' (< Bol?) ; C 6 Buwal *pápálàm* (compensatory redupl.) 'plank'; 8 Kus *palo* 'beam, rafter; plank' [AlK]; C 10 Dzpw *pàl* 'claie'.
For 'beam' cf. W 3 Bol *pà-mpìlàm* 'log, attached to the leg of a mad person' [GAB]. For Cush 'stick' cf. E 5a cf. Bid *pòl* 'manche de houe, hampe de lance'.
//SCush Irq *paaʿala* 'sticks (thin) to make a platform or bed with; thin wooden pole, untied stick' [MQK], Sem Akk *palû* (*pālu, pallu*) OB 'rod' [CAD p: 74], *palû(m)* 'eine Stange' (sum LW) [AHw: 817], Berb MC *tiflut* 'assemblage de planches qui ferme un passage; planche, porte', Shilh *iflu* 'porte; planche', Rif *tawlawt* 'planche', Ntifa *tiflut,* Ahag *taflut,* Figig *taflewt* 'porte' [NZ: 573].
For possible cognates of Eg *pjpj.t* 'die Kielbalken des Schiffes' see [EDE II: 418f].

510. **pVl-* '(upper) arm > shoulder, wing': 5 Dyarim *pàlə* 'wing'; C 1 Boka *pel-fatə* 'shoulder' (*fətə* 'body'), Gbn, Gaa *pèl-*, [Kr]; 3 cf. FK *pàlà* 'hand' (rather - 'arm', cf. FK *pàlà-pàw* 'sleeve', *pàlà-fúə* 'branch', i.e. – 'arm of tree', while 'hand of tree' is 'leaf'), Higi Moda, HN, Kap *pilla* 'arm' [Meek], HB *pɨlà* 'arm' [Kr]; 8 Kus *pala* 'wing' [AlK], Log *mpála* 'arm' [Mo: 31]; 10 Gizey *vùn pèl,* Masa, Ham, Musey *pèl,* Lew *pèpél,* Marba *pèpèl* 'épaule' [LexC], Musey *pella* 'l'articulation de l'épaule' [ShyM], Azum *pepela* 'shoulder-blade'.
Derived noun: ****pVpVl-* 'bat':** C 5 Pod *pəpála*, Wnd *na-palapala* [Voc]; E 2 Lele *pépélēdí* 'chauve-souris'.

511. **pVl-* 'knife': W 2 Ngas *pel* 'knife for cutting grass, etc., sickle' [Fl]; C 7 Mbuko *péla-dˊ* 'petite lame'; 8 Makari *pil* 'razor'.
Cf. C 7 Mofu *–pálár-* '(se) fendre facilement'; 10 Musey *palaw-ra* (< **plw*) 'to cut meat in pieces' [ShyM]. A denom. verb?
//Cush dull Harso, Dob, Goll *pillawho*, Gaw *pillawo* 'Messer' [AMS].
a. ****pil-* 'sharp point':** W 3 Tng *pɛla* 'pointed wooden tool', Kupto *fìl*

‘pin’, Bol *pîl* ‘wooden pins’ [GAB]; 5 Bogh *pilaŋ* ‘spear’ [Cs]; 7 Karfa *fəl* ‘wooden arrow’ [RC]; C 1 Hona *pèla*, Boka *pêla* ‘spear’ [Kr]; C 7 Muy *plà-t* ‘broad-headed spear’ (less probably < ‘flat’, cf. №508a); E 5a Bid *pélpèl* ‘lance (grande)’.
Denom. verb: W 5 Dott *pál,* Zaar *pelə́* ‘to sharpen’, *peləpelə́* ‘sharp’ [CrD, Z]; C 6 Buwal *plav* (< *plap*) ‘to pierce’.
//Sem Akk *apelu* (arrowhead(?); Nuzi, foreign word [CAD a: 169], SOm Ari *pal*ʾ*a* ‘arrow’ [BnAr], Cush Ong *falde,* Tsam *palde* ‘arrow’s point’[SaT]; Berb MC *tafala* ‘lance, épée, baïonette’, Izns *taffala,* Shilh *tafala* ‘baïonette’ [NZ: 559].
For Berb + Bid see [TN №570].
b. ***pil-* ‘nail’**: C 2 Mrg *pil,* Klb *pilu* ‘nail’ [Meek], Bura *mpil* ‘claw, nail of finger or toe’ [BlB]; 3 Bana *p(ə)là* ‘ongle’, Hya *phəla,* Kap *plə* ‘nail’ [BlH]; 7a Skn *pəla-k* ‘fingernail’; E 5b Jegu *fílló* ‘fingernail’.
c. Cf. W ***pil-* ‘kind of coarse grass, spear grass’**: 2 Ngas *pil* ‘a strong spiky grass’ [Fl], ‘spear grass’ [JgN]; Mghv *píil* ‘swordgrass’ [BlM], Mush *piil* ‘elephant grass’ [JgO], Mpn *pīil* ‘spear grass’; 3 Dera *pépèl* ‘type of coarse grass for mats’, *pílí* ‘thatching grass’ [NmK], Bol *popol* ‘type of grass that grows in river beds’ [GAB]; 5 Dott *píilá* ‘weed growing along roads, used to make brooms’ [CrD].
//Cf. Cush Burji *fál-a* ‘straw’ [SsB].
For W 2 ‘spear grass’ < AA **bl* ‘reed’ see [TN №288].

512. **pVHVl-/*HVpVl-* ‘ashes’: W 4 Wrj *ṗəlii-na*, Jmb *buli,* Miya *pəli*, Kar *pɨli*, Mburku *ṗili* ‘ash’ [SkNB], Miya *pàliy* [Sch]; E 5a Mig *pèelú* ‘tison’. Note W 4 *ṗ-* < ****pH-/*Hp-*.**

513 **pVm-* ‘to hit, crash’: W 2 Ngas *pam* ‘to flatten’ [JgN]; 6 WBade *pàmu* ‘hit, strike’; C 10 Peve, Hedẹ *pum* ‘to hit’ [Shy], Dari *pūm,* Dzpw *pə́m* ‘frapper, battre’; E 4 Barein (dial.) *pámó, pámō* ‘to crash’.
//Cf. SCush rift **puhum* ‘to smash grains, pound grains’: Alg *puhum,* Bur *puum* [Kies].

514. **pan-* ‘to wash, to bathe’: W 5 Bgh *paanak, paaanki,* Mng *paan, pane* [Cs], Bgh *paanáŋ* ‘to wash’ tr. [Cs № 845]; C 2 Bura *párá* ‘to bathe, bath’ [BlB]; 3 FK *pányí* ‘to shower, bathe’; 5 Pod *para,* Gdf, Chn *pàrà,* Dhgw *para* ‘to wash’ [KimG]; 6 Daba *pān* ‘se laver’; 7 Mofu *-pər-,* Mafa *pán-* ‘(se) laver, se baigner’, Cuv *mépénèy* ‘laver’.

Cf. W 2 Goem *gə-püŋ* ‘hippo’ [Hlw].
515. **pan-* ‘to build, repair, plaster’: W 2 Goem *pàŋ* ‘to build with clay, plaster’ [Hlw], cf. Ngas *pàŋ* ‘sitting arrangement made of stones’ [JgN]; C 5 Mlg *ványa* ‘kleben, reparieren’; E 5a Mig *pánáw* ‘construire, réparer’. Cf. C 10 Dari *pāŋ* ‘attacher’.
a. E ****pin-* ‘to work, build, plait’:** 4 Mawa *pɛniy-aŋ* ‘travailler’, *pɛni* ‘travail’, EDng *pìnɛ̄* ‘faconner, travailler, confectionner un charganier, un panier, un mur’, Bid *pin* ‘tresser une natte, secco; construire’, WDng *pínè* ‘construire par assemblage (poterie, assemblage de colombines, certain de tressage)’. Cf. W 3 Pero *péndà* ‘to be able’.
//Om Shin *fiin-* ‘machen, arbeiten’ [LmSh].

516. **pVn-* ‘to give, to pay’: 2 Ngas *pan* ‘to give, to hand to one’ [Fl], *pən* [JgN], Goem *pinì* ‘to give’ [Kr]; 4 Paa *pun* ‘to pay’, *pən* ‘ransom, free’ [MS], Miya *pəna* ‘pay, ransom’ [Sch], Siri *punu* ‘to pay, ransom’ [SkNB]; C 3 HB *pan-do,* HGh *pan-dɛ,* HF *pan-to* ‘to sell’ [Kr]; 7 Baka *par* ‘payer’ [BAS]; 7a Skn *pər* ‘to pay’, *pəra* ‘to sell’.
Derived noun: W 3 Goem *p’yán* ‘trade, price’ [Hlw]
//Sem Akk *panū* s. pl. (a type of payment) OB 95, cf. Arab *fnn* (u) ‘prolonger à qqn le délai pour le payement la dette’ [BK II: 635].
For W 4 Wrj *pəl,* Mburku, Kariya *pul* ‘to ransom, pay’ see №505.
For AA **bn* ‘to give a share’ see [TN №150].

517. **pVy/wVn-* ‘to break, beat’: W 2 Ngas *piin* ‘break, divide’ [Fl], *pyan* ‘to break (of many things)’ [JgN], Msh *píin* ‘to break (apart)’ [JgO], Mpn *pīin,* pl. *pyān* ‘to break a round object’, Goem *pyán* ‘break or shatter smth (e.g., a pot)’ [Hlw], *piaram* (pl.) ‘to break’ [Fp], Chip *piyən* ‘to break in pieces’ [Kr**],** Mghv *piin,* pl. *pyan* ‘to break, split, smash’ [BlM]; 6 Fyer *pyan* ‘to break’; C 10 Musey *poŋ* ‘to hit’ [ShyM], *póŋ* ‘frapper un person’ [LexC], Musey, Marba *póŋ* ‘battre’ [LexC]; E 5a Mig *páano* ‘to beat drum’ [JgIb].
Note W 3 Mghv *pun* ‘to thresh maize’, *puun aas* separation of flour’ [BlM].
Deriv. in *–d-* (directional): W 3 Tng *paŋ-dɛ* ‘to tear, break off’.
//Sem Akk *pênu* ‘to crush , grind’ Nuzi (only Inf. attested) [CAD p: 326]. For W 2 see [TN №396].

518. W 2 **pVn-* ‘to drive, chase’: W 2 Mghv *pun* ‘to eject, evict’

[BlM], Ngas *pán* ‘to chase, drive off’ [JgN], Mushere *pun* ‘to remove, chase’ [JgO]; cf. C 9 Mbara *vìnì* ‘to send’.
Deriv. in *–g-* (or *–k-*): C 3 FK *vùngə́* ‘to send s.o. away unpolitely’, Kap *puŋgɛ*, HF *puŋɨnto* ‘tp push’ [Kr].
//Sem Geez *fannawa* ‘send away, off, forth’, Tna *fännäwä* ‘release abandon, send’ [LsG: 163]. Accord. to Leslau, EthSem forms are cognate with Arab *fnɣ* ‘turn (away)’, Aram Syr ‘turn toward or upon’, denom. from ‘face, front’. Cf. also Arab *fnn* ‘mener, faire marcher devant soi’ [BK II: 635].
[AA I №26: Ngas-Sem, TN №402: Arab, Mushere, Ngas].

519. W **pVn-* ‘to think, know’: 2 Grk *impen* [Fp], *k-pə̀n* [BlY], *pən* ‘to know’ [JgIb], Mghv *pàn* ‘to think, worry, remember’ [BlM], Mpn *pàn* ‘to think, remember’; 3 Tng *pɔni* ‘to recognize, understand’; 5 Wangdai *pə̀ŋ,* Grnt *–pin-* [JgIb], Grnt *mpə̀na* [Cs], *pəni* [Hr] ‘to know’.
//Cf. Sem Geez *fayna* ‘to estimate, evaluate’, Tgr *fänna* ‘to explain’ [LsG: 173]. Akk *panu* ‘wish, choise, intention, plan, concern, consideration, opinion’ [CAD p: 84], Eg *pʿn* Pyr ‘eine gute Eigenschaft: klug o.a. (vom Menschen)’ [EG I: 504].
Cf. E 5a WDng *pánúwò* (rare) ‘homme habile’.
The following forms may be cognate:
a. **pan-* ‘to know (magically)’: W 3 Tng *pɔnɔn* ‘magic power’; 5 Mng *pàŋ* ‘to tell fortune’ [Cs].
Derived noun: W 2 Ngas *ka-pan* ‘kind of ghost’ [Fl]; E 2 Lele *pányá* ‘spirit of ancestors’.
Derived verb: W 3 Bol *pùn-su* ‘to curse, cast a spell on’ [LkB, GAB].
Cf. W 2 Grk *k-paŋ* ‘hatred’ [BlY].

520. C ****pVn-* ‘to open’**: W 5 Guus *puŋ* [CrG];4 Nzn *pùnà-d* [Kr]; 10 Dzpw *poŋ* ‘to open’ [JgIb] Cf. Muy *prēkā* idf. ‘opening wide’.
//Cush Kamb, Alb, Sid *fan-*, Konso *pan-* ‘open’ (acc. to Lamberti < **ban-)* [LmW: 354].
a. E 5a ****pann-/paan-* ‘to stretch’:** EDng *páanyé* ‘s’étirer les bras’, Bid *paany,* Mig *pánnyó* ‘s'étirer’ WDng *pàanyè* ‘se détendre, s'étirer, se dégourdir’.
//Cush Beja *fenin* ‘ausstrecken, strecken’ [RBd].

521. **pVn-* ‘to cut, to castrate’: W 2 Ngas *pun* ‘to castrate; also used

of cutting off the combs of cocks', Mghv *pùn* 'beschneiden (Hund, Widder, etc.)' [JgS], Ngas 7 cf. Fyer *pun* 'to circumcision' [RC]; C 6 Buwal *pɛŋ* 'to cut at an angle'; 7 Zlg *pàŋ* 'couper', Mbuko *pànpàn* 'couper de la hache/houe'; 9 Mulwi *pìinì* 'faire un sacrifice sanglant'. Cf. E 5a Ubi *pannè,* 5b Brg *fàanó,* Tor *fannà* 'hache'.
//Sem Geez *fanna* 'cut off the end of a nose', Amh *fonnänä* [LsG:162], Som *finiinay* 'to splinter' [LlS]. Cf. Eg *pnz* AR a. '(den Kopf des Rindes, die Rippenstück) abtrennen, abschneiden', b. '(Haare) ausziehen' [EG I:510].
For W 2 < AA **bn* 'to make distinction' see [TN №150].

522. **pVn-* 'to blow, winnow': W 2 Mush *pun* 'to winnow, sieve' [JgO]; 3 Bol *pìnˀyu* 'whistling' [GAB], cf. *pìnˀyú* 'Pfeifen, whistle', *ˀi pìnˀyú* 'to whistle' [LkB], Krkr *finˀyau* 'whistling' [GK]; E 2 Lele *pìńy* 'souffler avec la bouche, vanner'; E 5a EDng *pánné* 'souffler dans', WDng *pàanè* 'jouer d'un instrument à vent (flûte, corne de chasse..)', *púnnà* 'corne de chasse'.
Deriv. in *m-*: C 3 FK *mpányí* 'to breathe', *mpànyì* 'life'.

523. **pan-* 'millet stalk (for plaiting)': C 7 Mofu *pánay,* Chuv *pándày* 'tige de mil'; 7a Skn *panay* 'millet stalk'.
Deriv.: W ****pan-* 'plaited obj.':** 4 Wrj *panai* 'zana mat, woven fence' [BlS]; 3 Dera *pándá* 'mat' [NmK].

524. W ****pan-* 'fire'**: W 3 Bol *pònò* [GAB], but cf. *fono* [LkB], Ngm (dial.) *fànò, hànò* [NEH] 'flame'; 4 Paa *pàna* 'fire' [MS], Miya *ápanà-kú* 'embers' [Sch]. Cf. W 2 Grk *k-pàn* 'to smoke fish' [BlY].
//Cf. Cush Hamir *fanaa,* Sem Amh *fana* 'Fackel, torch' [RCh], Bilin *fanaa* 'torch' [RB].
a. C ****pin-* to roast':** 7 Mafa *pín-* 'griller'; 7a Skn *pən* 'to roast' [ThS: 124]. Cf. W 3 Pero *pún-dò* 'to cook'.
b. W ****pin-t-* 'to make fire':** W 3 **pin-t-* 'to make fire': Krkr *fintu* 'to blow, start fire' [GK], Ngm *fintô* [NEH], Bol *pìntu, pittu* 'to kindle fire' [GAB], Dera *pìndé* 'to blow on fire' [NmK], cf. Tng *pelde* 'to light fire'.
//Cf. Om Wolt *fen* 'to boil', Gamu *pent,* Dac'e *fent* 'to boil', Kac'ama *pant* 'be hot' [LmW: 355]

525. **pVn-* 'kind of fish': W 2 cf. Goem *p'aan* (*-a-* pl.) 'k of fish (white and shiny color, red tail)' [Hlw]; C 10 Gizey *pìnéy,* Masa, Musey *pìnì,* Lew *pìní,* Marba *píní* 'kind of fish (*Chrysichthys auratus*)' [LexC]; E 6 Mok *pùunì-só*, pl. *pùuní* 'fish' gen.

526. **pang(u)* 'stone, rock': W 1 Hs *fáng^{w}ái* 'a high rock with no protuberances'; 2 Ngas *pang* 'a wall, terrase made of stones and rocks; a very large rocky hill or mountain' [Fl], Mush *pàng* 'sitting place of stone', Goem *p'áŋ* 'stone, hill, mountain' [Hlw], Mghv *pàng* 'soil type, red and stony' [BlM], *pang* 'stone' [JgS], Mnt *pang* 'stone' [Fp], Chip *pəŋ* 'stone, mountain' [Kr]; 4 Wrj *pang^{w}a-na* 'local curtain or screen made of mud bricks' [BlS]; C 3 FK *pángə́* 'rocks'.
//Cf. Sem Akk *panāgu* 'to mount, to cap' EA, SB [BK II: 78].

527. **pun-d-* 'thigh': W 3 Pero *pún-dè* `thigh (of man), Tng *pùndo,* Bol *pùndo* [GAB], Krf *fòndó* Krkr *fùnto, fùntau* [GK], Ngm (dial.) *hùndò, hùndo,* Glm *pàndá,* Gera *fìndí,* Dera [SchV] 'thigh'; C 3 FK *pún* 'thigh' [BlFK].
//Cf. Sem Geez *fandot* 'anus, buttock', Tgr *fändot* 'buttock' [LsS: 162]

528. **par-* 'to pluck (fruit, beans, grass)': W 1 Ngas *par-p* (pl.) 'to pluck (of grass, fowls)' [Fp]; 4 Miya *par* 'to pick (beans)' [Sch]; C 5 Pod *palá* 'final weeding'; 6 Daba *pàr* 'enlever en arrachant', 7 Mafa *pár-* 'ramasser, collecter, cueillir', Ould *-pàlày* 'cueillir (des fruits)', Mada *ápal* 'cueillir (haricots), ramasser', Muy *ápālāy* 'pick one by one', Chuv *má:pàlɛ̀y* 'to weed (2nd time)', Zlg *papəl* 'to pluck weeds'; 10 Peve *par* 'to pluck' [Vn]; E 2 Lele *por* 'cueillir, déchirer'; 4 Mawa *pərəŋ* 'arracher, décherber'.
Deriv.: E 5a Bid *porò̀k* 'déplumer'.
//Sem Mhr *frōr* 'to strip a fruit off a tree, bush' [JM: 97], cf. SCush Irq *puruʿus* 'to strip off' [MKQ], Alg *puruʿ* 'to strip off' [Eh: 145].
a**. **p[u]r-* 'to tear':** C 6 Daba *pūr* 'déchirer'.
Deriv. in *-k-*: W 1 Hs *fárkà* 'rip, tear open', *fàrkaa* 'rip and remove (cloth)'.
Deriv. in *-ɬ-* C ****pur-ɬ-***: 5 Pod *pərə-ła* 'dislocate (a limb); arracher'; 7 Mafa *pur-ɬ-* 'arracher (dent, racine)'.
For this extention see: C 5 Pod *ła-e* 'personne', W 4 Mburku *mur-ɬ'a, Jmb amir-ɬ'u* 'ring' ('iron-person') and [CLD II №302], note that

reflexes of Ch *ɬ & *ɬ'* have fallen together as *ɬ* in C 5, 7.
Deriv. in *– ç-*: C 5 Pod *pəráca* 'déchirer'.
//Sem Arab *frfr* 'déchirer (une outre, etc.)' [BK II: 582], Berb Qab *fri* (*fry*) 'déchirer, ouvrir (des boyaux, des tripes, pour les nettoyer)' [NZ: 648].

529. C **par-* 'to sacrifice': 7 Muy *prà* 'sacrifice, God, spirit', *pápàrá* 'a sacrifice', Ould *-pàr* 'donner (pl. choses)', 10 Gizey Ham, Lew, Marba *pòr,* Masa *pòr, pùrò*, Musey *pòò* 'sacrifice de purification' [LexC], Musey *puu-ra* 'donner un cadeau à qqn qui part pour un voyage' [ShyM].
//Sem Sab *frˁ* 'pay/render tribute of first-fruits' [Bl: 410], Off, Palm, Jud Aram *prˁ* 'to pay' [HJ: 942].
a. ****par-* 'to exchange, trade':** W 1 Hs *fùrfurà* to 'barter, exchange one thing for another'; 3 Dera *pàré* 'to exchange' [NmK]; C 2 cf. Bura *pari* 'to return (goods)' [BlB]; 4 Gude *pəra* 'to exchange; C 7 Mol *par* 'to pay' [FsM] 10 Dari *pār* 'petit commerce', Musey *paara* 'faire le commerce' [ShyM].
Deriv. in *-ŋ* pl.: W 2 Goem *píríŋ* 'change or exchange smth' [Hlw], Mpn *pārīŋ* 'answer, exchange' Ngas *pyarng* [Fl], *pyarm* [JgN] 'to exchange'.
//Cf. Eg *prw* MR 'Lieferungen; delivery' [EG I: 526], Berb Zng *teffert* 'cadeau', Ghad *efer* 'louer ou acheter', Wlmd *efer* 'louer', Nef 'salaire' [NZ: 603]. Cf. Berb Shilh *fru* 'payer (l'impôt, dettes)', Maroco dial. *fru* 'payer ses dettes, rembourser' (if not < 'régler, terminer', as in [NZ: 602]).

530. **pa(ˀ)Vr-* (> *paar-*) 'to braid a rope, plait': C 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham, Gizey, Lew, Marba *pár,* Musey *páá* (< *par*, replacing lengthening of a vowel) 'tresser cord (entre les mains, sur cuisse)' [LexC], Masa *pàr* 'tresser' [CC], Musey *paara* 'filer, tresser' [ShyM], Dzpw *pár* 'filer', Azum *para* 'to roll (cotton fibre into a thread), to make (rope)'; E 5a Mig *páaró* 'tresser', Bid *paray* 'tresser une corde', EDng *páaré* 'tresser (natte, panier)', WDng *pàarè* 'tresser (une natte, une corde)'.
Derived nouns: a. C 7 Muy *párá-pàrà* 'cord, belt'.
b. ****pVr-* 'a plaited object':** C 4 Gude *páərí'ínə* 'woven straw pot cover'; E 3 Smr *pore* 'mat' [Bn]; 5a Mig *pârpàr* 'rideau tressé en

paille'. //For possible cognates of Eg *pry* 'Binde' see [EDE II: 474f].
531. **pa(ʔ)Vr-* (> *paar-*) 'to make ridges for planting, to dig': W 1 Hs *fàràa-faràa* 'making ridges at the end of rainy season for spring sowing; arid soil'; 2 cf. Mush *peer nung* 'to make ridges of a farm' (apud [TAS: 285]), *nung* 'piece of land' [JgO]; 6 Ngz *pàarú* 'to make holes with planting hoe to drop seeds'; C 10 Musey *paara* 'creuser' [ShyM]. Note C 1 Tera (dial.) *para* 'to bury' [Kr].
Deriv. in *-ɗ-*: W 1 Hs *fàr-ɗaa* 'to hoe up groundnuts'; 6 Bade *pər-ɗu* 'to hoe up', cf. Ngz *pùuɗú* (< **puɗɗu* < **pur-ɗu*) 'to bank up, hoe up or plow up to make hills'; E 5a WDng *pɔ̀r-ɗà* 'tranchée circulaire autour d'un arbre pour l'arrosage'.
Cf. W 1 Hs *fártányà, fántáryà* 'a small hoe with triangular blade'. According to [SkH: 66] < **farT+nya.*
//Sem Arab *fʾr* 'creuser (la terre), enterer qqch, cacher qqch sous terre' [BK II: 29], Berb Sened, Shilh *afer* 'creuser' [NZ: 607].
The next root may be cognate.

532. **pVr-* 'to cultivate': C 7 Balda *àpūr-s* 'to cultivate' [Bry]; 8 Makari *fari* (irreg. initial, probaly < *wfr*, cf. Sem) 'deuxième labour du champ' [AlM]; For a noun deriv. cf. W 3 Pero *pórò* 'work' n., i.e., 'field-work', note ECush Som *fal-* 'arbeiten, hacken'.
Deriv. in *–t-*: E 1 Kera *pə́rtí* 'défricher'.
Derived noun: W 2 Mghv *parkiya* 'small hoe used mainly for scrapping and weeding' [BlM].
//Sem Geez *wafara* 'go to a field', *wafr-* 'field, farm', *mofar* 'beam of a plough', *mufār* 'farmland, pasture, village', Tna *wäfärä* 'go to a field', *täwäffärä* 'to plough, cultivate', Cush Saho *ifär* 'go to a field' (< Sem) [LsG: 606], Sab *wfr* (tfry) 'to cultivate, be cultivated' [SD: 158]; Cush Saho *faraaʿe* 'to dig, to hoe' [Vr].

533. **pir-* 'to fly, jump, run away': W Hs *firaa* 'to soar into the air'; 3 Kupto *firò* 'to fly', cf. Krkr *pir* idf. indicates whirring of wings [GK]; 7 Karfa *púrà* 'to fly' [RC]; 5 Bogh *pìiru* 'to jump' [Cs]; C 1 Hona *pəra* 'to leap, fly' [Nm]; C 4 Tsuvan *pərə-n* 'to fly' [BryJ], Gude *pə́r* idf. 'flying away'; 5 Pod *pərərəra* idf. 's'envoler'; 9 Mulwi *pírí,* Mnj *piri* 'sauter'; 10 Masa *pìr* 's'élever au dessus du sol, bondir, sauter, voler; s'éloigner en courant, s'enfuir' [CC], Masa, Gizey, Lew, Marba *pír,* Ham *píí, pír* Musey *píí* (< *pir*) 'voler, s'envoler, bondir, sauter', Gizey,

Ham *pír,* Masa *pír, pí,* Musey *pií* ‘s'enfuir’ [LexC], Azum *pira* ‘jump, spring up, over’, Musey *piira* ‘voler; fuir, échapper’ [ShyM].
Derived noun: C 7 Mofu *párr, pérr* ‘envol d'oiseaux’.
Derived verbs: W 6 Bade *pàrdàgu* ‘to escape, run away’; C 6 Buwal *pārɮòk*^{w} ‘to escape’.
a.***par-*** (pl. in *–a-*?) **‘to hop, jump’**: W 2 Ngas *pyaar* ‘to jump, hop’, [JgN], Mpn *pāar* , Goem *parr* ‘to jump’ [Fl], *páar* ‘to jump or bounce’ [Hlw]; E 1 Mobu *pəre* pl. ‘sauter’, cf. *pare* ‘monter à cheval’; 3 Smr *pâr* ‘to jump’ [JgIb].
Deriv.: C 5 Pod *peré-ke* ‘to jump, bound’. Cf. W 1 Hs *fàaraa* ‘locust or grasshopper’.
//Cush Beja *fi(i)r* ‘fliegen’, *far* ‘springen, hüpfen’ [RBd]. Note the similar correlation of vowels in Chadic and in Beja (*-i-* ‘to fly’~ *-a-* ‘to hop, jump’). Eg *pry* ‘herforgehen, herausgehen, emporsteigen, hinaufsteigen’ [EG I: 518], Eg *prpr* ‘umherspringen’ [EG I: 532], Sem **prr* ‘fuggire, come in volo’: Ug *pr* (*prr*), Aram *prr*, Arab *farra* ‘fliehen’ [Fron 5.66], Hars, Soq *fer* ‘voler, courir’, Jib *ferr* ‘voler, sauter’ [LsS: 342], Mhr *frr* ‘to jump, fly up, flee’ [JM: 96], Cush agaw Bilin *fir y* ‘to fly’ [ApAg:70], Saho *fire* ‘to fly’ [Vr], Omot NWOmeto Gamo *fir*, Basketo *fər*, Dorze *ṗirap̣;* SEOm Zayse *para-ḍḍ, fər-,* Yemsa *fuul,* Aroid *far* ‘to fly’ [BndO: 142, 198, 305, 326]; Berb **f-r(r)*: Wrgl *u-fər,* Izdeg, Sghr *a-fru,* Shilh *firri, farri* ‘voler’, etc. [NZ: 597f].
[Nm **pərə* ‘fly, jump’, JgIb *p-r*; Coh №366; Dolg: 46, GrL: 300, AA 1 №33 **pVr* ‘to fly’, №46 **p̀Vr* ‘to jump’]. For possible cognates of Eg *pꜣ* (OK) ‘auf-, fortfliegen’ see EDE II: 379-384].

534. **pir-* ‘to drop, throw’: W 3 Krkr *fìraa* ‘to throw’ [GK]; C 2 Bura *peri* ‘to lay a thing or put down’ [BlB]; 7a Skn *pəra* ‘to drop, throw’ [DSk, ThS].
Deriv in *–t-*: ‘to slide down’: C 4 Gude *pəritə* ‘slip off, slide off’; 7 Mofu *-pərt-*́ ‘lâcher, laisser tomber, tomber’. Cf. E 5a Bid *per-gèt* ‘glisser d'un arbre’.
Cf. C 7 Mbuko *per-slolo* ‘thrown down’.
//Sem Arab *ʿfr* (*i*) ‘jeter qqun par terre et le rouler dans la poussière’ [BK II: 296]**;** Cush dull Harso *poʿ-,* Gaw *purʿ-* ‘fallen’ [AMS], Som *fariisiyey* (Caus?) ‘cause to sit down’ [LlS].

535. **puHVr-* > *puur-* ‘to rub in hands’: W 2 Goem *puur* [phʉ̀:r] ‘to

rub or twist smth with hands or feet' [Hlw], Mush *pukur* (internl *–k-* pl.) 'to rub'; 3 Tng *pure* 'to rub smth in hands', Dera *pùuré* 'to rub' [NmK]; 6 Ngz *pàrpàrú, fərfârú* 'to roll forth and back between hand'; E 1 Kera *pápré* 'reiben, zerknittern'.
Derived noun: C 8 Afd *phro* 'Handmühle, handmill' [Sol:132].
a. ***pVr-* 'to break' (tr., intr.):** W 2 Ngas *paarp* (pl. in *–p*) 'to smash (with a noise)' [Fl]; 3 Tng *puure* '(to cut or) break smth into pieces'; 5 Bogh *puray* 'break stick' [JgIb]; C 3 Bana *prá²wə́* 'se casser en deux'; 6 Buwal *par* 'to come apart'; E 4 Mawa *əpar-aŋ* 'démolir (une maison)'.
//SCush rift **puhuru* 'smashing, pounding': Alg *puhuru* 'smashing, pounding', Bur *puuru* (irreg. loss of *–h-*), Irq, Gor *puurú* 'flour' [Kies: 226], Sem Akk *parāru* (uncert. meaning) 'to break up, shatter, disperse' [CAD p: 161], Geez *farafara* 'to crumble bread', Aram *parper,* Ug *prr,* Hbr *prr* 'break', HbrPb *pirper* 'crumble, pulverize', Tgr *färfära* 'be redused to powder', Amh *färäffärä* 'to crumble' (accord. to Leslau, Arab *farfara* 'couper, briser, déchirer', Tna *färfärä* 'cut wood or stone into small pieces, break into small pieces' also cognate) [LsG: 165]; Berb Wlm, Ayr *farfar* 'se frotter le mains, frotter le cou', Ahag *fuffer-et-* 'frotter' [NZ: 609].
Derived verbs:
a. ***pVr-s/c-* 'to crumble, grind'**: C 7 Mada *óprósó* 's'émietter, to crumble', Mofu *-pə́rs-* 'reduire en poudre'; E 6 Mok *pìrzá* 'écraser (des grains)'.
//Sem Hbr *pāras* 'break (bread)', Aram *pəras* 'divide, break up', Geez *farasa* 'be destoyed, demolished' < Sem ***prc*** [LsG: 167].
b. C 5-5a ***pVr-ç-***: Gava, Chn *prca*, Glv *prcᵊ-ga* 'to squeeze' [HmG].
c. C ***pVr-ɬ***: 4 Gude *pərałə* 'to smash up (between stone, teeth)'; 6 Daba *pàrāɬ* 'casser, briser en deux parties'.
Cf. [AA I №29]. For Ch-Berb see [TN №418].

536. *pVr-* (possibly, < ***Hpr***) **'to pour, to spit':** W 2 Ngas *por* 'to spit (out)' [Fl]; 3 Krkr *fùuru* [GK], Bol *pùuru* 'to spray' [GAB]; 6 Duw *fàaro* 'to spray' (irreg. initial, < *Hpr* ?); C 6 Buwal *pɛr* 'to sprinkle water', Mbedam *párə́w* 'to spit (saliva)' [LMb]; 7 Mbuko *péré* 'asperger avec la bouche', Ould *-pàrò* 'verser', *pàrày* 'verser, jeter pl. choses)' Mofu *-pápər-* (compensatory redupl.) 'projeter de l'eau avec la bouche, vaporiser de l'eau (sur une natte)', Mol *pəray* 'to spray' [FsM].

Partial redupl.: C 4 Mwl *ùpòrápà* ‘to pour’ [Kr]; 9 Mulwi *pùrfì* ‘vaporiser avec la bouche’; 10 Masa *púrúf* ‘arroser avec la bouche’ [LexC].
Deriv. in *–s-:* C 10 Musey *purussa* ‘vaporiser avec la bouche’ [ShyM], Gizey, Ham, Musey *púrús,* Lew, Marba *prús* ‘arroser avec la bouche’ [LexC].
Cf. also: W 5 Plc *pərƗi* ‘to flow’ [Cs №767], C 7 Ould *-pèrgè* ‘to pour from one vessel to another’, *-pārēgē* ‘verser dans un recipient; jeter’.
Derived noun: ‘rain, rainy season’: C 10 Dari *pùwōr* ‘pluie’ (pl.?); E ‘rainy season’: 1 Kera *páárú;* 4 Sok *pírdii* [Luk], Bigrit (dial.) *pìr, pīrī,* cf. Mawa *purgun.*
//Sem Arab *ʕfr* ‘arroser les céréales pour la prèmier fois’ [BK II: 296].
Note the following correlation: initial *ʕ* in Arabic ~ reduplication of the firt syllable in C 7 Mofu.

537. *pVr- ‘to hunt, to search’: W Hs *fàafarà* ‘to persue, chase’, *fárautà* ‘to hunt by a number of peeple’; 2 Grk *pra* ‘to chase’ [BlY]; 7 Bokos *faar* ‘suchen, jagen’ [JgR], DB *faar* ‘to hunt’ (irreg. initial, prob. < Hausa) [RC]; C 1 Gaa *pàrà-* ‘to follow’ [MN]; 3 Kap *puri* ‘hunting’ [Kr]; 7 Mofu *-pápar-́* ‘poursuivre qqn en le disputant’, (deriv.) *-pərh-* ‘chasser, renvoyer, répudier’, Mbuko *péra* ‘suivre’; E 5b cf. Mubi *fàrà-n-gàtá* ‘chasser (animaux)’ [JgM].
Deriv. in *–n-*: W 2 Grk *pra-ne* ‘to drive away’ [Fp]; 5a EDng *párí-ŋé* ‘chasser, poursuivre le gibier’;
Derived noun: C 7 Mafa *mé-pér* ‘chasse aux oiseaux’; E 5a WDng *pàràm* ‘chasse isolée’, *pàrmè* ‘petite chasse’ > (denom. verb) ‘chasser de façon non organisée, de nuit ou de jour’.
//Sem Akk *pâru* (OA (?), OB) ‘suchen’ [AHw: 836], ‘to look for, search for, check, inspect scrutinize’ [CAD p: 210], Om Shin *p’e(e)ra* ‘to hunt’ [BnO: 341], Berb Shilh *furu* ‘espionner, guetter’ [NZ: 603].
[StH: VIII.5].

538. *pVr- ‘to wrap, turn’: C 2 Bura *pəra* ‘to wrap around’ [BlB]; 3 FK *pár* ‘to wrap, turban’, Bana *párə́* ‘enrouler, envelopper’. Cf. W 2 Mpn *pàréŋ* ‘to turn over’ (pl. in *–ŋ* ?).
//ECush Som *foorori* ‘to turn smth. over, bend smth.’ [LlS], cf. Berb *frɣ* ‘tordre, courber’ [NZ: 635].
Derived nouns: a. W 5 Zaar *pəri* ‘piece of traditional cotton cloth’; 7

Karfa *àpaar* ‘mat, blanket’ [RC]; 4 Gude *pírì-tyá* ‘handkerchief-like cloth’; E 3 Tum *pár-tà* ‘tissu’.
b. E ***par-d-* ‘loincloth’:** 2 Lele *párdà;* 4 Mawa *parda* ‘pagne, couvercule’; 5a EDng *pārdà* ‘la pagne’ (possibly, a loan).
//Eg *pry* Totb ‘die Binde’ [EG I: 531] > Sem Hbr *pəʾēr* ‘head-dress, Kopfbinde’ [KB: 750].
The following forms may be taken for derivatives (note a tenable semantic shift: ‘to wrap’ > ‘to turn around, twist’).
Deriv. in *-ɗ-* (directional aff.): C 5a Lmn *pər-ɗa* ‘to fold (hands)’, 5 Pod *pərə-ɗə* ‘tordre’, *pərə-ɗá* ‘dislocated joint’; 7 Mofu-*párɗ-* ‘se fouler (membre), (se) tordre’.
Deriv in *–t-* (complete action): C 10 Azum *prata* ‘to twist, convulse’; E 1 Kera *pérté* ‘drehen, knicken, tourner, courber’.
Derived noun in *-ɬ-*: ‘to turn, dislocate’ + ‘person’ > **‘a joint’** (see №528): C 3 FK *pír-ɬə* ‘hoof’; 4 Gude *párə-ɬì-nə* ‘hoof of an animal’; 7 Zlg *pípìri-ɬ* ‘poignet’, Mbuko *vérrƗ* ‘poignet’.

539. **pVr-* ‘to cut’: W 2 Mghv *pyɛ́er* ‘to cut, slice’ [BlM]; 3 Tng *purɛ* ‘to prepare the field by cutting down trees; to fell a tree’, *puure* ‘to cut (or break) smth into pieces’; 4 Miya *pər* ‘to cut, slaughter’, *papəra* ‘to cut many, slaughter many’ [ShM]; C 3 Hya *prawe,* Kap *prowu* ‘split (wood)’ [BlH]; 9 Mnj *piri* ‘couper à ras de sol’ > *pir-ɬi* ‘to cut with a sickle’; E 2 Lele *por* ‘couper’.
//Sem Akk *parāʾu* (a/jB) ‘durch-, abschneiden’ [AHw: 832], (OA, OB) ‘to cut through, sever, slit’ [CAD p: 181], Arab *fry* ‘tailler, couper’ [BK II: 588], Berb Ghad *efru* ’être cassé, déchiré; se casser, fendre’ [NZ: 607].
Note the next isoglosses as possible derived nouns.
a. **p[i]r-* ‘kind of razor’: C 2 Bura *per-ku* ‘razor blade’ [BlB]; 3 Bana *pìrə* ‘rasoir, lame’, FK *pìrú-kú* ‘razor’; 10 Dari *pàrà* ‘throwing knife’; 5a Mig *péèrú* ‘couteau’.
b. ***par-* ‘sickle’:** C 7a Skn *parpar* ‘ceremonial man's sickle’; E 1 Kera *páará-m* (with an a suff. of instuments) ‘sickle’.
//Berb Maroco dial. *tafrut, tafra* ‘couteau à manche de bois’, Wlmd *tafrut* ’petit couteau’, Qab *tafrut* ‘couteau’ [NZ: 606].
Derived verbs: a. ****pVrVç-* ‘to cut, split wood’:** C 7 Muy *ápùrcāy* ‘to

cut up', *prāc* 'chip of wood'; E 4 Saba *pirisa* 'to split wood', Sok *purse* 'to split', Mawa *pɛrsɛŋ* 'fendre (ex. bois)'; 5a WDng *pàrsè* 'couper un branche (au couteau)'.
//Sem Arab *frṣ* 'couper, fendre en deux' [BK II: 572], Geez *faraṣa* 'break open, cut open, split' [LsG: 167].
b. ***pVrVč-* 'to cut (throat)'**: C 7 Mbuko *puroč* 'manière d'égorger', Mofu *-párč-* 'couper (au couteau, à la faucille)'; E 4 Ubi *pɛrǯe*; 5a Mabire *pɛrčɛ-k* 'fendre' [HuJ].
//Cf. Sem Arab *frṯ* 'percer, crever et vider' [BK II: 560].
c. C ***pVrak-* 'to split in two':** 4 Gude *purakə* 'to split in two'; 8 Makari *parak* 'to cut clean in two' [AlM]. A loan?
//Sem Arab *frq* (*u*) 'fendre et séparer en deux' [BK II: 582], Old Aram, Jud Aram *prq* 'to cut off' [JH: 943].
d. C 6 Buwal *prɛt* 'to split'// Sem Arab *farraṭa* 'separate', HbrPb *pāraṭ* 'split', Aram-Syr *pəraṭ*, Mand *prṭ* [LsG: 167].
Note W 1 Hs *fîr-ɗee* 'to split firewood', *fár-ɗà* 'to slit open the front of an animal, bird, person' (*-rɗ-* < *-rṭ-* ?).
The following forms are cognate (for the link of 'to cut; & 'to scratch' cf., eg., Amh *farä* 'scratch, carve (wood)'):
W 2 Grk *k-par* 'to shave' [BlY//Berb Ahag *əfr-ən* 'to shave, cut hair' [NZ: 606].
Derived verbs: E 1 Kera *pírkí* 'kratzen, to scratch'; 5a WDng *pòrkè* 'égratigner'.
Cf. C 4 Gude *pùràsá* 'scar on the back of head'.
[AA 1 №28 (ECh only)].

540. **pVr-* 'to peel, shell': W 1 Hs *féerà* 'to pare off outer surface of a rind'; 4 Wrj *puri* 'to take a portion of the bark off a tree', *pura-kai* 'act of…' [BlS]; C 9 Mnj *piri* 'éplucher', Mulwi *pírí* 'écorcher à la hache'; E 4 Mawa *puru-ŋ* 'to peel, bark'; 5a WDng *pèerè* 'décortiquer', EDng *péré* 'décortiquer, écosser, écorcher, enlever la peau', Bid *pir* 'décortiquer l'arachide', Mig *píráw* 'enlever la coquille, le peau', páráw 'devenir chauve, épiler, devenir lisse' .
Deriv. in *-ɗ-* (directional): E 5a Bid *perèɗ* 'décortiquer'. For a derived noun cf. Bid *pàráaɗa,* EDng *pàrdā,* WDng *pàrdé* 'écorce'.
Deriv. in *-g-:* E 5a WDng *pírgé* 'décoller, écorcher la peau d'un animal, fruit'. Cf. C 10 Dari *pùrùk* 'effacer'.
//Sem Geez *frr, farra* (yəfrər) 'to shell, husk', Amh *frr* 'remove' >

farä ‘to shell’, Aram (Syr) *par-t-* ‘husk, seed-shell’. According to Leslau, cognate with Arab *frr* ‘to break’ [LsG: 166], Off Aram *pr* pl. ‘bran’ [HJ: 934].

541. **pVr-* ‘to say, cry’: W 3 Bol *poru* (plac. *pogiru* < *pokiru,* internal *-k-* pl.) ‘to say, tell’ [LkB, GAB], Pero *pérò* ‘to anounce by shouting’, Kupto *fèréy* ‘to say, tell, assert’, Maka *pòráayò* ‘explain’ [SvP]; 4 Miya *paara* ‘cry, to make a cry’ [Sch]; C 2 Klb *pàrì* ‘to relate a story’ [MuK], cf. Bura *pəla* ‘to say, speak, tell about’ [BlB]; 9a Gdr *pél* ‘to talk’ [FrG]; E 4 Mawa *pəərəŋ* ‘discuter’.
Deriv.: W 1 Hs *fúrtà* ‘to speak, mention’, *fíríčii, fúrùčii* ‘speech’.
//Berb Ahag *tafirt,* Wlmd *twfwrt,* Ayr *tefirt* ‘mot, qq paroles’, Ghad *tafirt* ‘mot’ [NZ: 608f] < Hs?

542. **pVr-* ‘to look, see’: C 7 Gis *por* ‘sehen’, Zlg *pàr* ‘voir, noter, examiner’, Ould *-pāréŋ* ‘voir’; E 2 Lele *pàŕ* ‘ouvrir(les yeux)’.
Deriv in *–t-* (complete action) : C 9 Mlw *pìrtì* ‘écarquillerles yeux’; E 5a Bid *pirat* ‘écarquiller les yeux’.
Cf. E 5a WDng *pìrnyè* ‘regarder par un trou’.
//Cf. ECush Som *fiiriyey* ‘look at, ponder’ [LlS], Rend *fiiricha* ‘to observe’ [PG]. [HSED №1954].

543. **pVr-* ‘fear: W 5 Tala *pùri,* Zaar *vər-tə́* [Cs]. Cf. W 1 Hs *fárfárwà* ‘trembling’.
Denom. verb: C 7 Mbuko *péran* ‘effrayer’; 6 Daba *pàrə̀t* ‘avoir peur’.
//Sem Geez *farha* ‘be afraid, fear’, Eth Tgr *färaha* ‘fear, be afraid’, Tna *färhe*, etc., [LsG: 165f], Cush dull Harso, Dob *fuur* ‘Angst haben’ < Eth-Sem, Arab *nfr* ‘être peureux’ [BK: 1307], Akk *pardu* (fem. *parittu*) ‘frightened, confused’ Mari, SB [CAD p: 182].

544. **(ʔV)pVr-* ‘to untie, unfold, release’: W 2 Ngas *piir* ‘to extend (wings), unfold cloth’ [Fl]; 6 GBade *pàlpàlu,* WBade *pàrpàru* ‘to untangle’; C 1 Tera *párì* ‘to untie’ [NmT]; 2 Bura *mpili* ‘to loosen, untie’ [Ann], Klb *mpəlìyà* ‘to untie’, *mpál* ‘to untie, loosen’ [MuK], Chb *mpìli,* Hld *pul-nā*, Mrg *pil-nà* [Kr]; C HN *pɨl-unte*, FK *p(á)lá-cá,* HB *pɨlu-ndò,* HGh *plɨ-ndɛ,* HF *pələ-nto* ‘to untie’ [Kr], Bana *pálí* ‘déplier, détacher, étaler, déballer’, FK *mpál* ‘to untie, loosen’ BlFK]; 4 Gude *pərə* ‘to untie, unfold’, Bch *para* ‘to untie’ [Sk], FJ *pɨla-bì,* FM *piri,* FBw *pir,* Mwl *ùpùrán* ‘to untie’ [Kr]; 5 Mlg *pála* ‘(sich)

lockern, aufknoten', Pod *pəla* 'détacher, relâcher, untie, release', Dghw *pùl-nayà* 'to untie' [Kr]; 5a Hdi *pəlay* 'to untie', Lmn *pəla* 'to untie, release, spread'; 6 Daba *pāl* 'détacher, déplier', Mbedam *pəl* 'détacher' [NdP], Mina *pàl* 'to detach' [FrJ]; 7 Mafa *pár* 'délier', Ould *-pāl* 'se détacher', pl. *–pālāy* 'se détacher a plusieurs points', *-pēléŋ* 'détacher, dénouer', Zlg *pàl* 'se détacher', Cuv *mépàlèy* 'défaire un toit en paille, délier, étendre', Muy *êpēl* 'unwind'; 9 Mnj *pili* 'délier, détacher'; 9a Gdr *əppəla* 'détacher' [Schuh]; E 1 cf. Kera *féré* (irreg. reflex of **p-*) 'losmachen', Kwn *apre* 'to untie'; 2 Lele *pòŕ* 'détacher, dénouer', Nch *pure* 'to untie' [Nm]; E 4 Mawa *əparaŋ* 'délier, détacher'; 5a WDng *ìpìrè*, Mig *ʔípíró* 'dénouer, détacher', EDng *ípíré* 'détacher', *pìrrìyē* 'dérouler, étendre'; 6 Mok *ʔèppírè* 'détacher, liberer, délier'.
Derived verbs: W 6 WBade *pèrtu* 'to unravel, undo woven thing', Ngz *pàrtú* 'to undo, take apart'; C 7 Mada *áppas* < *apras* (regressive assim.) 'délier, détacher, découdre, défaire'; E 5 EDng *pìrnyē* 'écarter, ouvrir (écarter la paille pour voir à travers un charganier)'.
[Nm CCh **pira* 'to untie', including kotoko *f-l/v-l* [GrR], AA 1 №36 **pr* 'to untie' (Tera, Dng, Mig, Nch), for CCh 'to untie' see CED №611 **pVl-* 'to separate, to untie', TN №442 **p-l* 'to separate, open, untie'].
//ECush **fur-* 'to open, free, untie': Rend, Boni, Dasenech, Burji, Gidole, Konso *fur-* [Ss: 20], Som *furay* 'to open, divorse, set free, untie' [LlS], Oromo *fura* 'to release (from fetters)' [Grg], Berb Qab *ə-fru* 'to untie' [NZ], Sem Soq *nfr* 'délier, racheter (redeem?), sauver', Arab *nfr* 'fuir et se dispercer (se dit d'une troupe d' hommes)' [BK II: 1307]. The next root may cognate.

545. **pVr-* 'to separate, choose[54] > divorce': W 3 Tng *pɔr* 'divorced'; C 6 Mina *palay* 'to choose' [FrJ]; 7 Chuv *mépélèy,* Mol *palay* [FrM] 'to choose'; E 5a WDng *párè* 'se diviser en deux équipes, deux partenaires', Mig *píráw* 'séparer (des bagarreurs)', *ʔápíró* 'to choose' ; E 1 Mobu *páaré,* Ngam *pàare* 'to choose'; 6 Mok *péerè* 'se séparer, divorcer'.
Cf. C 6 Gavar *parpar* 'different'; 7 Muy *pràs* 'in different directions'.
//ECush Som *feeraariyey* 'separate, move apart' [LlS]. For confusion of semantics 'to untie, release' & 'to divorce' cf. Som *fur* 'to open,

[54] For the linking of 'to separate' & 'to choose' see Sem Geez, Hbr *brr* 'separate, choose, select' [LsG: 107].

divorce, set free, untie'.
a. Deriv. in *–g-*: C 5a Bid *pirgày* 'séparer', EDng *pèrgìyē* 'séparer, diviser, distinguer'.
b. Deriv. in *–k-:* C 8 Log *prukun ala* 'to divide, separate', *prekel zi a* separate, become separated' [AlL]; E 5a WDng *pìrkìyè* 'distinguer'.
//Cf. SCush Irq *paraatl* 'to separate, put apart' [MKQ].

546. **pVr-* 'to begin': W 1 Hs *fáarà* 'to begin, start, be the first to do', *fáarì* 'beginning, first'; C 6 Mina *pə́r* 'first' [FrJ]. Cf. W 3 Pero *péerè* 'place of origin, source' (= Pero?).
a. **(ʔa)pVr-* 'dawn': W 2 Grk *parr* 'dawn' [Fp]; C 9 Msg *par* 'früh, early' [LkM]; 10 Gizey, Masa *pír,* Ham *píí* (< *pir,* compensatory lengthening) Lew *pìpír* [LexC], Musey *piipiira* 'aube' [ShyM], Azum *pipira* 'at dawn' (compens. redupl.).
Some more verbs seem to be Hausa loans: W 4 Miya *faara* 'to start, begin' [Sch], Tsagu *paar* n' [SkH]; 7 DB *fáràỳ* 'to begin' [JgR].
//Cush Afar *fir* 'Anfang, Beginn', *fawir* 'an der Spitze stehen, zuerst tun oder sein, anfangen, beginnen; to begin, start' [RA], Berb Taneslemt *affar* 'commencement' [NZ: 610].

544. **par-* 'granary, part of the granary': W 2 Goem *pàar* 'barn, platform raised on sticks' [Hlw]; C 4 cf. Gude *pìirá* 'wall inside granary'; 10 Dzpw *bēbé pàr* 'porte' = 'hole of the house'; E CF. 2 Lele *pāré* 'kind of cage'; 5a Mig *pàrá* 'hangar'.
Deriv in m- : C 7a Skn *ma-param* 'gateway, house of stone'.
//Eg *pr* (Pyr) 'Haus, Laube aus Rohr, Palast des Königs' [EG I: 511], Berb Ahag, EWlmd, Ayr *afarra* 'clôture (haie, mur)', Ahag *tâfré* 'petit mur en pierres dèches', Snus *əfri* 'to fence', Rif *affray* 'haie' [NZ: 608, 648]. Note Sem Akk *nupāru* (OB) 'workhouse' [CAD n_2: 341, Cush Sid *nafara* 'compound' [KS: 19].
[AA 1 №30: Eg+Berb].

548. **pur-* 'coarse (thatching) grass': W 1 Hs *fúrfúráa* 'a grass used in making mats'; 3 Bol *puro* 'plant used as fodder, stalks - for roof thatching' [GAB], Krkr *fùrò* 'kind of tall grass' [GK], Kupto *fùròfùrò* 'grass sp' (< Hs?), Pero *púrè* 'grass for roofing'; 6 Duw *puura* 'coarse tall grass with fluffy flowering heads, used for thatching'; C 4 Gude *pàrá* 'grass for mats'. Cf. 7 Mol *mpapar* 'grass fence' [FsM]; 2 Bura

parapara ‘wood stalk of the palm branch’.
//Cf. Berb Shilh, Rift, Qab, etc. *afar* ‘chiendent, crabgrass’, Figig *affar* ‘herbe’ [NZ: 599].
549. **pVr-* ‘tendon’ > ‘vein’: W 2 W 2 Ngas *peer* ‘tendon, ligament’ [Fl], *mpèer* ‘nerv, sinew, vein’ [JgN], Mpn *pàar* ‘vein, tendon, muscle’, Mghv *paar* ‘artery’ [BlM], Chip *par* ‘vein’ [Kr]; 7 Fyer *pyer*, Tambas *per,* Monguna *fer a ǯol* (*ǯol* ‘hand’) ‘vein’ [RC]; C 2 Mrg *pur-da* ‘vein’ [Kr], Bura *pur-dà* ‘tendon, nerve, blood-vessel’ [BlB] [Kr]; 5 Mlg *pár-da* ‘Sehne’, Wnd *pur-dà* [Kr], 5° Lmn *prá-łá* ‘vein’ [Wff].

550. W ****pu/ir-* ‘type of (small) bird’:** W 1 Hs *fúríi, féerúu* ‘the name of a small bird’; 3 Bol *pìiri* ‘a black bird, that lives in wells’ [GAB], Krkr *fiirii* ‘type of bird, lives in wells’, *fìrfìr* ‘francolin’ [GK]; 6 Duw *pìiri* ‘a black bird, that lives in wells’ (< W 3?), GBade *pìiri,* WBade *pìirən* ‘starling, oxpecker’.
a. ****pVr-pVr-* ‘kind of flying insect’[55]**: W 5 Grnt *pupur* ‘butterfly’ [Hr]; C 2 Bura, Klb *pərpər* ‘butterfly’; 3 Bana *pálpálì* ‘papillon’; 4 Gude *pár-pípàrí-nə* ‘butterfly, moth’; Mlg *napalpala*; 6 Mbedam *məpulpula* [Nd] ‘butterfly’; 7 Mofu *péper* ‘moustique sp.’; 7a Skn *muɮə-pərpər* ‘butterfly’; 10 Musey *piipiira* ‘le papillon’ [ShyM]; E 5a Mig *pìrpìr* ‘moustique sp.’, Bid *papiro* ‘insect sp.’. Cf. W 3 Kupto *fùr-máa-fùr* ‘butterfly’.
//SCush rift Irq *piryo* ‘small bird’ [MQK], Sem Geez *fərfərt* ‘quail, (K*) night moth, butterfly’, Arab *firr-at-* ‘quail’, *furfur* ‘small bird’, Hbr *parpar* butterfly’. Accord. To Leslau, the following forms derive from *frr, frfr* ‘to flatter, quiver’: Geez *frfr* ‘thrash about, flail about, move convulsively’, Eth ‘writhe, flop around, agitate’, etc.), Eth Tgr *fərfərät* ‘a bird’, Amh *fərfərt* ‘partridge’ [LsG: 165], Arab *furfur-, firfir-* ‘sorte de petit oiseau aquatique’, *furfr-* ‘passereau’ [BK II: 582]. Cf. Eg *pʿr.t* ~ *pʿr* ~ *prʿ* ‘Art Geflügel (neben Tauben)’ [EDE II: 431], *pr* OK ‘ein Vogel’ [EDE II: 459].
For Arab-Eg-Hausa see [AA 1 №34].

551. **pVr-* ‘kind of stone’: W 2 Ngas *pár, pɛ́r* ‘type of stone’ [JgN], Goem *pyer* ‘stone for scrubbing the heels’ [Hlw], Mghv *kə-pɛ́r* ‘Stein, Kiesel’ (*k-* coll**.)** [JgS], Grk *k-pàár* ‘gravel’ [BlY], cf. Mpn *pēer* ‘term

[55] terms for ‘small bird’charcoal and ‘moth, butterfly’ are confused also in Semitic.

for any light-coloured stone'; C 3 Higi Humsi *pere,* Higi Moda *pirre* 'stone' [Meek], HB *pìrɛ,* FK *pérí,* HN *pùre*, Kap *pùrɛ* 'stone', HF *pìre* 'mountain' [Kr], cf. 4 Bch *fara* 'stone' [Meek]; 7 Mafa *ḿpá-pár* (pl.) 'pierres plates', Chuv *pàrà* 'pierre plate'.
Deriv. in *-ɗ-* (= suff. of sing., cf. Mafa) 'flat rock': C 7 Mafa *párá-ɗ* 'rocher plat', Merey *pəla-ɗ* 'rocher', Mada *pla-ɗ*, Muy *plá-ɗ* 'flat rock', Ould *pàlà-ɗ* 'grand rocher plat', Mol *pəra-ɗ* 'lage rock' [FsM]. Cf. E 1 Kera *pár-kí* 'stone, mountain, hill'.
//Cf. Sem Arab *fihr-* 'pierre assez grande pour remplir tout la main et avec laquelle on casse les noix' [BK II 641].

552. **pVr-* 'shoulder': W 5 Bgh *pàràp ɗwai* 'wing' (*ɗwai* 'bird') [Cs]; 6 Duw *pàrɗa,* WBade *pârɗa-n* 'shoulder'; C 7 Baka *piperi* 'épaule', Muy *pērēpērā* 'shoulders', Chuv *pàr-kʷùłà* 'aile'; E 3 Tum *pèr* 'shoulder', *(dərí) pàrá* 'wing' ('bird' + 'shoulder'); 5b Brg *fèrfèr* 'shoulder'.
Cf. №510 **pVl-* '(upper) arm > shoulder, wing'.

553. **pVr-* 'boat; paddle': C Glv *pérà* 'canoe', Wnd *pɛre*, Chn *pere* 'boat' [Kr], Lmn *páré* 'boat' (also 'wooden board, door') [Wff]; 9 Mbara *pèrè* 'side of a canoe'; 10 Masa *púrá*, Musey *pereŋŋa* 'paddle' [ShyM], Azum *prau-na* 'paddle (used with canoe)'; E 1 Kera *paara* 'Ruder, paddle'. For Lmn 'board' cf. C 4 Gude *párálə́wá* 'wooden bed without legs'.

554. **pVr-* 'harmattan, fog': W 2 Hildi *parəw* 'storm' [Kr]; 4 Bata *pùrá-tò* 'cloud' [IL]; C 8 Kus *pori* 'fog' [AlK]; E 4 E 4 Mawa *pur-na* 5a Bid *pàrúurùŋ,* Mig *pàrlúm* 'brouillard'.
a. C ****pur-d/ɗ-* 'harmattan, fog'**: 2 Hildi *purɗə,* Bura *purdu,* Chb *mpurɗù,* Mrg *pɨrɗu*, Ngwahi *purɗo* 'fog, harmattan' [Kr]; 4 Mwl *pòrdĩ* cloud', *púrdùò* 'harmattan' [Kr].

555. **pVr-* 'child, boy': W 2 Ngas *paar* 'infant, baby', *yem maa paar* 'a suckling lamb' [Fl], cf. Kofyar *pár* 'to be in labor' [apud [TAS: 281]); E 1 Kera *pur* 'Junge, garcon'; 5a Bid *pàrpàr-gú* 'jeune garçon', EDng *pòrpóríčé* 'jeune homme pas encore pubère, pas encore nubile'.
Cf. W 3 Bol *pirpir* idf. 'a child who is small but clever' [GAB].
//Sem Akk *nipru* SB 'offspring' [CAD n_2: 247].

Note that Proto-WSem **piry-* 'fruit'[56] is hardly an immediate cognate. Cf. Eg *pr.t* AR 'Frucht o ä', A.'Frucht einer Pflanze'; B. 'Same = Nachkommenshaft /seed = descendants'. For all possible cognates of Eg *pr* see [EDE II: 559-462].
[Coh: 169, Isv: 26].

556. **pVr-* 'kind of (big) fish': W 1 Hs *f/húràa* 'the name of a fish'; E 1 Kera *párwá* 'big fish'; 5a EDng *pārpīrā* 'la carpe' WDng *párpò* 'fish' gen.
Cf. W 1 Goem *pwár* 'to fish or take smth from water' [Hlw], 3 Kupto *fártè* 'fishing (festival)'.
//Cf. Sem Akk *purādu* 'carp' Mari, SB [CAD p: 516].

557. **pVr-* 'white': W 1 Hs *fáríi* 'white'; 3 Tng *pɛrɔ* 'white-wash, white earth, chalk'; 5 Zaar *paraat* idf. 'white' [CrZ]; C 2 Klb *pərtù* [MuK], Hld *pùrtu,* Mrg *pɨrtù* [Kr] *'white';* E 3 Tum *pūrí* 'blanchâtre', cf. 'briller'; 5a Mabire *pororan* [HuJ], EDng *pùr-tà* 'blanc, clair, immaculé (symbole de la joie)', Mig *pùrtà,* 5b Brg *fóróorà,* Mubi *fèrét,* Jegu *pórórân* 'white' [JgIb].
Denom. verb: W 1 Hs *fáràntaa* 'to whiten'; E 5a WDng *so-pire* 'devenire blanc' (Caus?). Cf. C 7 Muy *prəɮprəɮ* 'shining'.
//Sem Akk *parūtu, paruttu* (a type of alabaster) MB Emar [CAD p: 211].
[JgIb **pr,* for Hs-Mrg-Mubi see ISv: 24].

558. **(HV)pVr-* 'red': W 2 Mush *paar* 'redness' (meaning uncertain, apud [TAS: 281]); 3 Tng *pərɔl* idf. 'redness'; 5 Buli *mè-piriŋ* 'red' [Kr]; C 6 Buwal *vˀrɛ̀* (< **H-pVr-)* 'to be red', Daba *pírèn* 'rouge, rougir', Musgoy *párreŋ*; 9a Gdr *pepréŋe* (compensatory reduplication (< **H-pVr*) [Mo: 37] 'red'; E 3 Ndam *pàré,* Tum *pàrī* 'rouge', *pà* (< *par#*) 'être rouge'; 5 WDng *pòròny* 'rougeâtre'.
//Sem MSA **ʿpr* 'red': Soq *ʿáfer,* Mhr *ʿôfer*, Jib *ʿófer* 'red', Arab *ʿafīra* 'avoir le pelage rougeâtre' [LsS: 320]. Cf. Geez *ferä* 'pestilence, plague' (T: 'blood') [LsG: 165].
Deriv.: ****H-pVr-(m)-* 'blood'**: W 4 **þəram-* (< **HpVr-m-,* note *-m-* as a body-part' marker): Siri *páramí,* Mburku *þ́áraŋ,* Miya *páràm,* Jmb

[56] Ug *pr* (*pry*), Hbr *pərī,* Geez *fəre*, etc. [Kg: 201].

bəramá [SkNB], Miya *pàram* [Sch]; 5 Kir *pirəŋ*, Tala *prà* [Smz], Grnt *bàran*, Jimi *biram* (*b-* < *-p-*) [JgIb], Mng *puruŋ* [Cs], Plc *burán,* Zul *bəraani* [Cs №45], Dott *bəraan* [CrD], Zaar *vòràŋ* [CrZ], Buli *pirìŋ* [Kr]; C 1 **f/vVr-* < **HpVr-:* Tera (dial.) *vər*, Gaa *fera*, Gbn *fere,* Hona *farà*, Boka *fwùra* [Kr]; 9 **fVl- (< *HpVr-)* Msg *fɛɛl* [LkM], Mnj *fèl*, Mbara *fàl;* E **bVr-* (< *k-pVr-*): 1 Kera *kor* (< **kV-bVr-*< **k-pVr,* note *k-* as a suff. of collective nouns), Kwn *kú-wáar* < **ku-bar* [JgIb]; 2 Kaba *ka-brə*, Nch *ku-bra* [HmK]; 3 Tum *bà* (< **-bar#*), Smr *bàrē,* Ndam *bā:r* [JgIb]; 4 Barein (dil.) *baar-*; 5 Mig *báará* pl., WDng *bààr* pl. coll., EDng *báarì* pl., Mabire *bar* [JnH], 5b Kaj *ʔàbàr,* Jegu *bar*, Brg *bàrà,* Mubi *òbòr* [JgIb].
Derivatives: W 5 Buli *mè-piriŋ* 'red' [Kr]; E 5a Bid *baar* 'rougir'.
//Cf. Cush Agaw **bər-* 'blood': Bilin Hamir, Kem *bər*, Awiya *bəri,* [ApAg], Arb *burri* 'red' [Hay]; Omot Shin *birá* 'rot' (Cush and a few Chad parallels) [LmSh].
[JgIb **br* , Nm **bar* 'blood'].

559. **pVr-* 'many': W 1 Hs *fàri* 'in large numbers with intervals between them', *fàràrà* 'in immense numbers; of immense area'; 6 Duw *pəra* 'all'; C 7 Mada *pérpér* 'en grand nombre'.
//Sem Arab *wafr-* '1'abongance, richesses; nombreux' [BK II: 1575].
a. C ****pir-* 'to fill, (be) full'**: C 3 Kap *pire* 'to fill' [Kr]; 6 Buwal *péré péré* '(be) full to overflowing'; 8 Makari *per* 'full' [AlM].

Fragmentary isoglosses./ Фрагментарные изоглоссы

Chadic **b-*

1. C ****bVy/w-* 'to wait':** 3 FK *mbúə* 'to wait'; 7 Mbuko *bà* 'attendre'; 9 Mbara *bìyì,* Mj *biyi* 'attendre', Msg *be* 'warten' [LkM] //Cf. Sem Arab *bwy* 's'arreter, faire halte dans un endroit' [BK I: 181].

2. **bVy-* 'white(wash)': W 5 Dott *ɓiyu* 'white coloured earth used to plaster walls' [CrD]; C 8 Makari *boya* 'lime, whitewash' [AlM]. //Cf. Eg *by.t* 'Bezeichung des Alabasters from Hatnub' AR, MR [EG I: 433]. Cf. №20****bVw-* 'milk',** 20a. ****biˀw/y-* 'white'.**

3. **ɓaw/y-* '(to) bark': 1 Hs *ɓáawóo* 'bark, shell, rind'; C 6 Buwal *ɓāw* 'to peel away'.

4. W 2 ****HVbwVp*** 'kind of fish': Ngas *bwoop* [Or], *buup* [Fl], *m̀bup* 'fish' [JgN], Mpn *púpwáp,* Mghw *púpwáp* (compensatory redupl.) 'fish sp.' [BlM].
//Eg *ʿwbbw* MR 'Art Fische' [EG I: 172] , Soq *ʿaaba* 'a carp-like fish' [EDE II№ 27],
Cf. C 8 Log *bwabwa* 'fish'; E 4 Sok *buuwi* 'fish' [Bn] //Eg *bw.t* AR 'Art Fish' 453,// EDE II 175

5. W 3 Grm *ɓèeyí* 'horn' [SchB]// Eg *ʿb* 'das Horn' 173 (NR 'Stachel des Skorpions);
a.W 1 Hs *bóoyóo* 'a spear'; 7 Fyer *bubo* (compensatory redupl.) 'spear, lance' [RC]
//Eg *ʿbb.t* MR 'Speer' [EG I: 178].

6. C **bVd-* 'to deceive, flatter': 5 Mlg *báda* 'verführen, täuschen; to seduce, deceive'; 7 Muy *ábàdāy* 'to flatter, trick'. Note C 7 Mafa *mbiɗ-* (< *bVdVH-*)'tromper'
//Sem *bdˀ*: Hbr *bādā* 'inventer, imaginer', Aram JP,Syr *beda* 'inventer, mentir' [DRS: 44], Off Aram *bdˀ* verb. poss. meaning 'to devise falsehood' [HJ: 144], Soq *béde* Mhr *bedú* 'mentir' [LsS: 82].

7. **bud-* 'duiker': C 6 Daba *bùdà* 'cob de rosseau'; E 6 Mok *búdî-só* 'duiker'[JgIb]
//Cush Afar *beʿidaa* Sa id, Som *beʿid,* Das *beza,* Antilope oryx']RAf],

8. C **bud-* 'tax': 2 Mrg *búdụ̀* 'tax' [HfM: 22]; 7a Skn *budə* 'tax'.

For a possible deriv. in *m-* cf. C 5a **m-bVɗ-* ‘to count’: Hdi *mbəɗay,* Vemgo *mbaɗa*, Lmn *mide,* Gvoko *məda* [CH].
//ECush Som *baad* ‘tax, tribute, protection money’ [LlS]

9. **bVd-* ‘reed’: W 3 Tng *bada* ‘stalk, reed’, Bol *bàdà* `round cornstalk hut‘ [GAB]; 4 Miya *bàday* ‘large basket’ E 2 Lele *bùdū* ‘récipient en vannerie’.
Derived verb: C 4 Gude *mbəədə* ‘to weave grass stalks’.

10. C ****but-* ‘to be without’:** C 5 Pod *búta* ‘gencive sans dent’; 8 Log *bútu* ‘leer, nakt’ [LkL].
Deriv.: W 6 Fyer *bubwàt* ‘verlieren, to lose’ [JgR].

11. W ****bVt-* ‘gourd’:** 1 Hs *búutà* ‘water-jug, a bottle-shaped gourd’; 3 Gera *mboota* ‘gourd’ [SchB]; 3 Tng *bátɛ* ‘gourd’
//ECush ‘pumpkin’: Oromo *bota* Tsam *boote,* Gol *poote* [AMS], Arb *bóte* [Hay].
a. **bat-* ‘kind of vessel’: C 7 Ould *mbàt* ‘poterie sacrificielle’. Cf. E 5a EDng *bàt-kā* ‘le tesson de poterie’.
//ECush Brj *bóta* ‘big pot’, Had *baat-aʾa* ‘a very large clay pot’ [SsB], Afar *búti* ‘Kochtopf’ [RA].

12. W 2 **ɓVt-* (< **bVṭ-*) > **ɓVkVt* (internal *–k-* pl.) ‘to tie, to imprison’: Ngas *baat* ‘to tie, bind’ [Fl], *ɓaat* ‘to tie, bundle up’ [JgN], Mghw *ɓwaɣat* ‘to tie, imprison’ [BlM], Goem *ɓóot* ‘to tie or bind smth, wear smth (by tying), imprison’ [Hlw], Mpn *ɓwāat,* Mushere *ɓwakat* ‘to tie’ [JgO], Mnt *baad-ni* ‘to bind’ [Fl], Chip *ɓòkət* ‘to tie’ [Kr].
Derived noun: Ngas *baat* ‘the webbing made by the Angass used as girths or breast straps’ [Fl], Mghv *ɓwàɣàt* ‘bundle’.
//Sem Akk *ebēṭu* ‘to be tied, girt; to have cramps’ OA, OB on [CAD e: 13], Aram Mnd *abṭ* ‘bind, hold fast’ [LsG: 55]. Cf. ECush Oromo *battee* ‘rope’ [Grg].

13.ɓVt-* (< **bVṭ-*) ‘anus, bottom’:** W 1 Hs *ɓúutìyaa* (*ɓVt-*<**bVṭ-*) ‘anus’; cf. Cf. C 5a Lmn *mbùt-* ‘bottom’ [Wff].
//Sem Aram (mand) *buṭa* ‘anus, derrière’ [DRS: 51 *bwṭ*], Berb Nef *buṭa* ‘anus, derrière’, Fig *buḍ* ‘fesse, anus’, Izn, Cha Snus *buḍ* ‘fond’, Mzab *buḍ* ‘fond, cul’, etc. [NZ: 28f].

14. W ****bVɣ/g-*** ‘to search, look for’: 1 Hs *bàgoo* ‘surrounding anyth it is desired to catch; lurking, lying in wait’, 5 Bogh *baɣəyéi* ‘to

look for' [Cs №713].
//Sem *bġy: OldAram *bʿy* 'to search for, look for, want' [JH: 180], Hbr *bʿy* 'to inquire', Arab *bġy* 'demander, désirer une chose' [BK I : 147], Mehri *bġy* 'to desire' [JM: 44], etc. see [DRS: 76].
Cf. [TN №103].

15. C ***ɓaw-*** (< ***bVH-**,* see below) **'to gather'**: 4 Mwl *úɓòwò* 'to gather' [Kr]; 10 Dzpw *ɓá* 'ramasser, entasser'.
//Berb Nefusa *ebbi* 'ramasser, cueillir, récolter' [NZ:144].

a. C *bVh- 'to gather, be plenty': 2 Bura *buha* 'to gather things at one spot' [BlB]; 3 FK *bàbàxə* 'plenty, several'; 7 Mada *mbàáh* 'à flots, en foule'.

16. C ***bVɣ-* 'to be(come) warm'**: 6 Buwal *ɓōxʷɓōxʷ* (***bVxbVx*** > *bVxɓVx* > *ɓVxɓVx*) 'to be warm'; 3 Bana *bəɣə-ɮì* 'se chauffer'.

17. C ***buhʷal-* 'deer'** : 7 Mafa *búhʷál* 'biche sp.', Cuv *pəhʷə̀l* (regress. devoicing) 'biche'; 10 Lew *bùhù, búhʷál* 'biche sp.' [LexC].
//Cf. Berb Ahg *abaxul* 'chameau de charge', Ghat *abaxul* 'vieux chameau' [NZ:141. For the origin of Berb forms see [Bel, № 34, стр. 99-101].

18. C ***mbVgVw/y-* 'pumpkin':** 5 Mlg *mbégʷa* 'Kurbis'; 8 Kus *mbeigu* 'pumpkin'.
//ECush Ong *bagaye* 'small portable container for water' [SaT].

19. *bVg-* 'kind of food (made with flour)': W 1 Hs *bágaayii* 'a food which is made with bulrush-millet flour'; C 9 Msg *bɔg* 'Mehlbrei' [LkM].

20. E 5a ***bag-* 'to dry, to become old':** WDng *bàgìyè* 'sécher (feuilles), dev. vieux', Bid *bàgìy-àŋ* m., *bàgáy-ma* f. 'vieux, âge'.
//Sem Geez *baggʿa* 'be the dry season', "probably a denom. from Amh *bäga* 'dry season' in a reconstructed Geez form" [LsG: 88].

21. C 3 ***m-bVg-* 'spear':** HF *mbùgà* [Kr], Higi Moda *mbaga* 'spear' [Meek.
//Sem Arab *bgg* 'percer (avec une lance)' [BKI: 85]; Berb Shilh *bgu* 'percer, trouer, creuser' [NZ: 33].

22. W ***bVg-* 'to lie, liar'**: 1 Hs *bìigaa* 'a liar'; 3 Tng *bugɛ* 'to deceive'.
//Sem Geez *bagbaga* 'caluminate, slander' (without reliable cognates

in Semitic) [LsG: 88].

23. C ***bak-* 'to watch':** 3 FK *bàkə* 'to watch'; 7 Mofu *bák* 'regarder (un jeune homme)'.
//Cf. ECush Oromo *beek*, Gide'o *beek-* 'to know' [LmSh].

24. C ***bak-* 'to shine, to bloom'**: 7 Ould *-bàkò* 'briller, fleurir', Mada *óbbòkwó* 'fleurir';
a. C 7 Mada *àbàk* 'jour';10 Dari *bəkà* 'jour, matin', Dzp *bəgà* 'matin'.

25. C ***(m)bVk-* 'hen'**: 3 FK *mbəkə́* 'duck', *mbákwənə́* 'hen'; 7 Gis *bokoy* 'Hahn'. Cf. W 2 Mpn *ɓwák* 'to peck' (a denom. verb in *ʔa*-?)
//Om Shin *baaka*, Kaffa *bakko,* Sheko *bakku,* Ari *baca* 'Hähnchen', cf Cush Hadiya *anta-bakkiččo* 'Hähnchen' [LmSh].

26. C 10 ***bVk-* 'vulture':** Azum *àbaka* 'species of eagle', Dzpw *bòk* 'marabout, vautour', Masa, Musey *bak-,* Peve *bwok* [Shy], Mesme *bok* [Kr] 'vulture'. Cf. 9 Mgs *begéš* 'vulture' [LkM].
//Eg *byk* 'die Falke' [EG I: 444]. Cf. [HSED №356, EDE II: 149].

27. W 2 Mghw *ɓúk* 'fine dust' [BlM]; 3 Gera *bùbùkà* 'dust' [SchB].
Ch forms may be of different origin, note: Sem *ʔbq* ~ Cush **buko.*
//Sem Hbr *ʔābāq*, Aram Syr *ʔabqā* 'poussière' [DRS: 4], PHEC **buko* 'dust': Sid, Gede'o *bukk-o,* Burji *buho* [Hds], Berb Ghd *tabékka* 'poussière de terre desséchée', Ahag *taboqqa* 'poussière' [NZ: 46, 85].

28. *bVḳ- > *ɓVk-* 'to nail': C 7 Mada *áɓak* 'clouer, fixer'.
Derived noun: E 2 Kera *ɓəkay* 'harpoon'
//Sem Arab *baqaʿa* 'to pierce' [LsG: 100].

29. ***bVḳ(w) > ɓu/ok-*:** W 3 Ngm *ɓùkò* n. 'spring (water)' [NEH]; E 5a Bid *ɓok* 'jaillir'.
//Sem Arab *bqq* 'verser beaucoup de pluie' [BK II: 148], Cush agaw **bəqw-* 'flow, pour out', ECush Som *buq* 'source of stream; spring' [LlS].

30. *bis(s)-* 'to mary': W 3 Bol *bissu* 'to marry the wife of a deceased older brother'; C 8 Zina *bìsà* 'to marry'.
//Cf. Sem Arab *bsʔ* 'devenir familier, intime avec qqn' [BK I: 124], cf. Cush Arb *bays-* 'sister-in-law' [Hay].
Note ***bus(s)-* 'to divorce, drive away'** : C 10 Mus *bussa* 'rompre une alliance ou une amité; divercer, la divorce' [ShyM]; E 1 Kera *bùusí* 'divorcer, répudier, sich scheiden, verstossen'.

31.***bas-* **'health, strength':** W 4 Paa *bàsá* 'health' [MS]; E 2 Gbr *basua* 'stark' [Luk]
//Sem Arab *baʾusa* 'be strong', Geez *bəʾsa* 'grow (mature), be strong' > *bəʾəsi* 'man, male, husband', *bəʾəsit* 'woman, wife', Tgr *bəʾəs* 'husband' [LsG: 83].

32. ***bus/c-* 'haze':** W 3 Gera *bùsá* 'haze', Glm *bùuzà* 'cloud' [SchB]; E 2 Lele *búsú* 'brouillard'.
//Sem **bws* (AA **bwc*) > Tgr *busay* 'bruine, brouillard' [DRS: 52].

33. C 10 ***ɓas-* 'sister'**: Ham, Masa *ɓàs,* Lew *ɓás* Gizey *ɓàsù,* Masa *ɓà/ùsù* [LexC].
//?? Eg *ḥbsy.t* MR 'als Bez. der Ehefrau, der Konkubine' [EG III: 66].

34. C ***ɓas-*** (< ****Hbs/*bHs***) 'to assemble': 3 Bana *ɓàsə* 'se réunir, rassembler', *bàsəvà* 'reunion, collection'; 6 Daba *ɓàs* 'assembler, ramasser', Buwal *ɓèč* 'to assemble'.

35. *baç-* 'to harvest': C 6 Daba *ɓac* 'cueillir (fruits, arachides)'; 7a Skn *bac* 'to harvest'.
Cf. C 8 Mak *baṣɨ* 'to pluck (chicken)' [AlM].
Derived noun: W 3 Dera *bášà* 'harvest season' [NmK].

36. ***baz-*** 'to spread, scattter': W 1 Hs *bázà* 'to spread thing out to dry'[57], *báǯè* 'to remove by scattering'; C 3 FK *mbwàzə* 'to scatter'
//Sem Hbr, Aram *bzbz* 'diviser, dissiper' [DRS: 53], Hbr, Aram *bzr* 'to scatter; répendre, éparpiller' [KB: 116; DRS: 55].

37. C ****mbVz-* 'fat'** n.: 5 Pod *məza* (< *mb-z-*); 6 Daba *mbəzā* 'la graisse', Mbudum *mbəza,* 'graisse' [MbP], Mafa *mbəza* 'graisse animale'.
//Cf. Eg *ibzȝ* AR 'Art feines Salböl' [EG I: 64], Cush agaw Aungi *buzzi* 'fat' [ApAg:160].
Differently see in TN №44 **b[c],* EDE II: 321.

38. W **buz-* 'skin': 1 Hs *búuzúu* 'an undressed skin mat or loin cloth'.
Derived verb in ****ʾa-*: **ʾabuz-* > *ɓ/vVz-*** 'to skin': W 4 Paa *ɓuzùu* 'to skin, flay' [MS], Jmb *vaz-* 'to skin' [SkNB].

39. **bVz-* 'dirt, faeces': W 1 Hs *bízò* 'rubbish or dung heap or hole';

[57] Accord. to [TN №34], Hs follows AA **bȝ* 'to open'.

6 Ngz *bàžàk* ‘rubbish heap’; C 4 Mwl *bwoǯi* ‘faeces’ [Kr].
//Cf. Sem Arab magh.dial. *bza* ‘excréments’ (Sem **bzy*) [DRS: 54f].

40. C **ɓVz- < Hbz-* ‘to be ill, weak’: 5 Pod *ɓaza* ‘personne sans force’; 7 Muy *ɓézāeɓézāe* ‘illness’.
//Sem Geez *ʿanbaza* ‘be fainthearted, weak minded, faint’ [LsG: 64].

41. E 5a WDng *bídʸé* (< Ch ****biɬ’-)*** ‘allumer le feu’, *bìdʸìrè* ‘souffler sur la feu’; C 7a Skn *ɓał-yak* ‘hot, red or white hot’.
//Sem Arab *byḍ* ‘sécher; être intense (de dit de la chaleur)’ [BK I: 183]. For Arab ‘sécher’ cf. W 5 Guus *ɓàłə* ‘thirst’ [CrG].

42. E 5a ***ɓádʸ-*** < Ch ****bač̣/ɬ’-*** : EDng *ɓádʸē,* WDng *ɓáadʸē* ‘copuler (hommes et femmes, pas les animaux)’.
//Sem Arab *bwẓ* ‘injecter le sperme dans l’utérus’ [BK I: 179] > Berb Ahg *beẓbeẓ* ‘copulation’ Mzab *bbeẓ* ‘piquer, tromper, plonger dans un liquid; coïter’ [NZ:154]

43. **bVɮ-* ‘white, colored’: W 3 Krkr *boolàa* ‘white horse’; C 6 Daba *bəɮ* ‘être blanc, briller’; 7 Ould *mbaɮa-mbaɮak*^{w} ‘tacheté’.
//Sem Arab *wbš* ‘être marqué de taches blanches (ongles, peau)’ [BK II: 1476].

44. C ***[*bVɮ-]* ‘shoulder’**: 3 Bana *báɮí* ‘epaule’, FK *bàbàɮà* ‘shoulder’; 7 Mbuko *báɮā* `partie supeṛieure du bras’. See [GrR].
But cf. **№214. **m-/b-bal-*** ‘shoulder’

45. C ****bVl-* ‘weak(ness), sickness’:** 7 Mbuko *bele,* Mofu *bəlé* ‘faiblesse’, Merey *bèle* ‘faible, faiblesse’, 8 Makari *bululu* ‘sickness sp.’, Kus *bal-ḳan* ‘(be) weak’ [Al]. Possibly, a loan from Arab *bʾl* ‘être faible, chétif, faible’ [BK I: 80].
Note also ECh 4 Barein **bòlló* ; 5b Kaj *bállè* ‘to vomit’, 2 Nch *-bəlu* ‘vomir’ [HmK]

47. **bi/ul-* ‘back (of the body)’: W 3 Krkr *mbilàa* [GK], Ngm *mbulà* ‘buttocks’; C FK *mbúl* ‘back’; 8 Afd *billum* ‘Rüken’ [Sol:121].
Denom verb: C 8 Kus *ɓiɬim* ‘to be last, back, behind’, Makari *ɓiɬim* ‘behind, back’ [Al].

48. **m/H-bVl-* ‘to be able’: W 3 Kupto *mbòléy* ‘to be able to do smth, manage’; E 2 Lele *ɓàl* ‘égaler, suffir, être capable de’.
//Cf. Sem Geez *ʿabbala* ‘make, do’ [LsG: 34].

49. *m/H-bVl- 'to like, love': C 6 Mina *mbál* 'to like', Daba *mbàl* 'aimer, vouloir'; E 1 Kera *bèlè* 'want, love'. Cf E 6 Mok *búlmè* 'avidité', 1 Kera *ávàlày* 'jalousie'; C 5a Hdi *mbuli* 'égoiste'.

50. C 2 Bura *mbàl* 'beer'; 8 Makari *mbol* 'milllet beer'
//Sem Akk *billu* 1. 'alloy, melt'; 2. (a t of beer) MA, Nuzi [CAD b: 228], Ug *bl* 'blended beer' [DUL: 219].

51. C 10 Gizey, Masa *bìnén,* Ham, Musey *bénén,* Lew *ʔàbènén,* Marba *mábìnèn* 'fish Gnatonemus sp.' [LexC], Azum *bauna* 'a sp. of edible fish, big and strong'.
//Cf. Sem Arab *bunniy-* 'carpe' [BK I: 166].
b. *[*H-f-n /*H-b-n]* 'fish': W 6 Duw *vànyìyà*, Bade, Ngz *vànàkau.*
//Eg *ȝbnn* 'Art Fisch' Sp [EG I: 8].

52. *bVr- 'to go around': W 3 Ngm *bùurô* 'to go around' [NEH]; C 2 Bura *bari* 'detour, to go around' [BlB].
Deriv.in ***–t-:*** W 6 WBade *bàrtànu* 'turn over, roll over', *bàrbàr-tu* 'roll around on ground (donkey..)', 3 Krkr *bìrku* 'go around, surround' [GK].

53. *bVr- 'to leave': W 1 Hs *bárì* 'to leave off'; C 7 Muy *ámbràŋ* 'leave, stop, let abandon',
Cf. C 10 Dzpw *vìrì* (< *ʔabiri*) 'abandonné', C 4 Miya *bàrəm* 'remainder' [Sch]
//Cf. Sem Ug *bʿr* 'abandon, forsake; to leave', Hbr *bʿr* 'devastate, sweep away, remove' [DUL: 209], Aram jp *baʿeer* 'éloigner' [DRS: 75] For cognates of Eg *byȝ* Pyr 'sich entfernen' see [EDE II: 126].

54. *n-bVr- 'to chase, drive away': W 2 Ngas *várə-ŋ* 'to chase away' [JgN]; C 7 Mol *varay* 'chase away' [FrM]. Note *v-* < *nv-* < *nb-*
//Sem Arab *nbr* 'chasser qqn, l'éloigner à force de cris' [BK II: 1183], ECush Som *buritey* 'to chase (away)' [LlS].

55. W 3 ***bur-* 'to build':** Glm *bár-àalá*, Krf bur- 'to build' [SchB]; C 7 Mada *mebeber* 'mur de pierres qui soutient les terrasses';
//Sem Sab *brʾ* 'build, construct' [SD: 30] < Sem **brʾ* 'create (God)': Hbr *bārā*, Aram *bᵉrā,* Arab *baraʾa,* etc. [DRS: 80]. [HSED №342].

56. *bar- 'jackal, wild dog': W 3 Ngm *bàbàarà* 'wild hunting dog' [NEH]; E 5a Brg *bàrá,* Tor *bara* 'chacal'.
//Sem Akk *barbaru* from OAkk on 'wolf' [CAD: 108, AA 140]

Chadic *f-

57. **fVd-* 'to die (of fire)': C 9 Mnj *fidî* 'éteindre'; E 1 Ndam *pàdà* 'cacher, éteindre (feu)'.
//Cf. Sem Arab *fyd* 'mourir, périr' [BK II: 652]

58. W 2 ****fuut* < **fut/d#***: Ngas *fut* 'stocks for the feet' [Fl], Mghv *nfùt* 'metal lock, stocks (used in detention centers to keep inmates from escaping)' [BlM], Goemay *fuut* 'log of wood to which prisoner was attached', *lu fuut* 'prison' (lu 'hut').
//Sem Akk *pâdu* 'to fetter, put in fetters, imprison' OB, MB, SB [CAD p: 8], 'einschliessen, gefangen setzen' [AHw: 808].

59. W ****fayat-* 'to fight, wrestle'**: 2 Mghv *fyaat* 'to throw someone to the ground in wrestling' [BlM]; 4 Wrj *fatai* 'fighting' [BlS].
//Sem Tgr *fetäta* 'to knock down' (Geez *fyt* 'to plunder, rob') [LsG: 173].

60. W ****fa[ḥ]-* 'to pour':** W 2. Ngas *foo, fhoo* 'to pour away, throw away' [Fl]; 4 Cagu *vo, va*, Mburku *vaɣ* (regress. velarization by assim.), *vow-* 'to pour' [SkNB]; Cf. W 5 Grnt *v^{w}àa* 'to pour' [Hr].
Cf. TN №452 (includes a few Ch forms, following ****pVy/w/^{ʔ}-* 'to pour',** see №394 of the present volume).

61. C 10 Gizey, Masa, Ham *fék* 'chasser avec le chien' [LexC].
//Sem Arab *fqw* 'suivre les traces de qqn' [BK II: 623].

62. **fVl-* 'to be, become big': W 2 Grk *fwel* 'to grow; tall' [Fp]; C 2 MC *fliy* 'être large'; 6 Buwal *fàl* 'to enlarge', Daba *fəfəl* 'ajouter; accroître'.

63. **fVn-* 'flower': C 'flower' 4 Bch *fín-to;* 6 Daba *fòfón* [JgIb], Buwal *fàfàn,* Gavar *fafan*; 7 Cuv *méfnéy;* E 6 Mok *póopóonyà* 'fleur, fraîche'.

64. **fun-* 'mush': W 2 Goem *fwən* (-a- pl.) 'mealy, floury substance (usually of cassava)' [Hlw]; C 10 Musey *funa* 'la boule, food made of flour' [ShyM], Dari *fún* 'boule', Dzpw *fũn* 'boulette', Azum *afuna* 'mush'.

65. W ****fVr-* 'to weed':** W 1 Hs *fírè* 'complete the 1st weeding of a corn crop'; 2 Mpn *fùr* 'to weed', Goem *fər* 'to weed field, clear land'

[Hlw]. Cf. C 8 Bud *fərtə́* ‘déplumer’ [Awg].

66. **fir-* ‘to cut (a small piece)’: C 10 Dzpw *fír* ‘tailler en pointe’. Deriv in *–s-:* W 2 Mghv *fi/uriš* ‘to slice’ [BlM]; 7 Mofu *-fəfərs-* ‘mettre en miettes, couper en petites bouchées’.
//Sem Arab *frfr* ‘couper, briser, dechirer’ [BK II: 582].

67. **(n-/H-)fVr-* ‘antelope’: W 2 Ngas *fiir* [Fl], Ngas *nfiir, mfiir* ‘roan antelope’ [JgN]; C 7 Mbuko *fuwar* ‘antelope’. Cf. 10 Dari *vārē* ‘animal sauvage, viande de gibier’, Dzpw *vìrèŋ* ‘animal sauvage’. Note W 2 Ngas *fiir* ‘musical instrument made of the horn of *fiir* antelope’.
//Sem Arab *yaʿfūr-* ‘gazelle’ en gen. [BK II: 298].

Chadic **p-*

68. C 7 Baka *pay* ‘ouvrir’ [BAS], Mol *pay* ‘open’ [FsM].
//SCush rift **poo^{ʔ}-* ‘be open’: Irw *puu^{ʔ},* Alg, Bur *poo^{ʔ}; *poo^{ʔ}a* ‘opening, hole, space between’.
For a metath. see CLD V №16 ****^{ʔ}a/wVp-*** ‘to widen, to open (mouth)’.

69. **pVh-* ‘to rot’: C 8 Afd *pheóh*, Gulfei *fīa, fīya* ‘rot’ [Sol: 205], Makari *pu* ‘to spoil (food), (intr.) pourrir’ [AlM].
Cf. W 1 Hs *fiyaayà* ‘mildew’.
//Berb Shilh *fi* ‘suppurer, être crevé (abceès)’, Qab *fi* ‘suppurer’ [NZ: 680].

70. **pVɣVs-* ‘upper leg’: W 2 Mnt *pəɣas* ‘Wade’ [JgC], Gmy *ṗaas* ‘calf of leg’ (apud [TAS: 302]); C 3 Bana *pxəšì* ‘hanche’.

71. Cf. E 5a Mig *páɗáw* ‘perdre les cheveux’.
Derived noun: C 5 Pod *ma-fəɗa* n. ‘chauve’; 7 Mafa *fuwɗa-k* ‘calvitie temporale’.

72. E 1 Ngam *pedĩ* ‘natter, tresser (les cheveux)’, Mobu *poɗe* ‘tresser (cheveux)’
//Sem Arab *ḥfd* ‘filer’ [BK I: 456].

73. **pVt-* ‘to refuse, reject’: C 3 Mofu *-pət-* ‘to refuse to do smth to smbd’; E 4 Sok *piti, phítee* ‘verweigern, zurückstossen, refuse, deny, reject’ [Luk]. Cf. W 3 Pero *póttó* ‘to betray’.

74. **pVt-* ‘to respect’: W 1 Hs *fàataa* ‘to wish well to person’; 3

Kupto *fùktéy* ‘to greet’ (pl. in *–k-*); C 10 Dzpw *pít* ‘respecter’.
//Sem Arab *fṭḥ* ‘faire une faveur à qqn, lui accorder qqch’ [BK II: 532].

75. **pVt-* ‘to wrap’: C 6 Buwal *pat* ‘to wrap up’; E 6 Mok *pùttέ* ‘envelopper’.
Derived noun: C 5a Hdi *pəta* ‘mat’; 9 Mnj *potok* ‘natte en bandes cousues’**.**

76. **pVt-* ‘cattle’ > ‘bull, cow’: W 2 Mghv *mpaat* ‘castrated cow’ [BlM]; 10 Gizey *pùtat* ‘vache, cow’ [LexC], Masa *pùt* ‘bovin’, *pùtnà, pùttà* ‘taureau, vache’ [CC]

77. **pVHVt-/pVṭ-* ‘k of plaited net, cage’ : W 2 Goem *p’ít* ‘a type of net used by women in fishing’ [Hlw]; E 5a WDng *póɔ̀tɔ́, pótɔ́* ‘piège à oiseaux construit avec un fil de poils de queue de cheval’, 6 Mok *póotɔ̀* ‘piège pour oiseaux (construit à terre)’.
//Berb Wlmd *eftew* ‘tendre (une piège), pièger’ [NZ: 674].

78. W 2 ****pVk-* ‘to rub’:** Ngas *puk* ‘to rub smth’ [JgN], Goem *pək* ‘to rub smth (oil on body, feet on ground)’ [Hlw].
//SCush rift **pikis,* Caus. ‘rub husks from grains’: Irq, Gor *pikiis* [Kies].

79. **PVg-* ‘to fan’: W 3 Tng *puge* (sg.) ‘to fan, wave’ (cf. Tng *puke* pl. ‘to winnow (in calabash)’); E 2 Lele *pēg-dē* ‘éventail.
//Sem Arab *nfg* ‘commencer à souffler (se dit du vent)’ [BK II 1304], Cush Hamir *figya* ‘wind’ [ApAg], dullay Dob *fug-* ‘blasen’ [AMS].

80. C ****pak-* ‘leopard, panthere’:** 1 Boka *pêk-tə* leopard’ [Kr]; FK *p(á)kɔ́* ‘leopard’, Higi Moda *puke* [Meek]; 5a Hdi *pakaˀw* ‘panther’, *pakaˀw ɣuvi* ‘hyena’.

81. C 7 **pVs-* < **pVs/c-* ‘to cut in small pieces‘: Muy *épéš* ‘to cut up into small pieces’, Ould *-pāsāy* ‘cut in small pieces; remettre’, *péspès* ‘small pieces’
//Cf. Sem Aram Nab *ps* (< **pc*) ‘part, portion’ [HJ: 921].

82. C -5a ****pVɮ-* ‘to fly’:** Cinn *pəɮʸà,* Gdf *pəɮɟà* [Kim], Gava *pᵊɮa*, Glv *piɮ-ga* [GvH].
For a derived noun cf.: W 2 Ngas *pul pul* [Fl], Mpn *npílpùul,* Mghv *mpúlpùl* ‘butterfly’ [BlM]; C 2 Bura *pła* ‘flying insect’ (regress. devoicing in contact).

83. *pVl- 'to be ill': W 2 Ngas *pal* 'to feel pain' [Fl]; C 10 Azum *pupuluka* 'agony'; E 5a EDng *pàllìsē* 'be very tired'. Cf. C 2 Bura *pili* 'to infect' [BlB].
Derived noun: W 6 GBade *pəlaatâ* 'spirit which causes physical affliction'.
//Sem Arab *fyl* 'être faible, affaiblir' [BK II: 65], Akk *pilû* SB 'a disease' [CAD p: 380].

84. *pVl- 'to brush, shake': W 1 Hs *fíllà* 'to get rid of dust (brush)'; C 6 Daba *pèlēn* 'secouer'
//Sem Akk *napālu* from OAkk 'kick up dust, turn upside down' [CAD n_1: 272].
Cf. W 2 Goem *ṗuul, pul* 'dusty, dirty' [Hlw].

85. *pal- 'hangar, granary': C 7 Mol *palpala* 'straw hut' [Bow]; 9 Mbara *pólòyó* 'granary'; E 2 Lele *pàl* 'hangar'.
//Berb Wlm, Ayr *tafala* 'hangar; tente, maison provisoire', Awj *tifili* 'maison' [NZ: 563].

86. *p[a]n- 'to raise': C 6 Daba *pān* 'soulever'; E 1 Kera *póŋé* 'heben, soulever'. Deriv. 10 Musey *poŋ-ga* 'lever, soulever' [ShyM].

87. W ***pan- 'to carry, hold':** 2 Mpn *pán* (pl.) 'to carry; hold', Kfy *pan* 'to carry along' (apud [TAS: 280]); 3 Bele *fán-kò* 'to carry, take up' [SchB]; 5 Zul *pəni* [Cs №782], Mangas *pan* [Cs] 'to carry'. Cf. 5 Grnt *pani* 'to take' [Hr].
Derived noun: 3 Dera *pínén* 'load' [NmK].

88. C ***pun- 'to rot, smell':** 3 FK *pùnə́* 'to ferment, decompose'; 9 Mnj *ko-poŋ* 'cadavre'; 10 Azum *pun-da* 'to make a smell (body, faeces)'.
//Sem Arab *ʿfn* 'gâter (la viande)' [BK II:302], Berb Ghad *taffant* 'puanteur' [NZ: 578].
Note W 7 Bok, DB, Sha *fun* 'Leiche, corpse' as a loan < Arab *ʿufun* 'putréfaction' [BK II: 302].

89. W 2 ***paŋ 'viper':** Goem *páŋ* 'puff-adder' [Hlw], Mpn *pāŋ* 'viper', Mghv *paŋ* 'poisonous snake' [BlM].
//Sem Arab *ʾafnūn-* 'serpent' [BK II: 636], cf. Eg *ʿpnn* Med 'Art Wurm, oder Schlange' [EG I: 180].

90. *pVr- 'to snatch': C 8 Zina *prà* 'to grab, hold'.

Derived verbs: 6 Buwal *pᵊràł* ‘to snatch’; 10 Azum *pru-ta* ‘to snatch out (of enemies hand or mouth), to wrest from another’.
Derived noun: W 5a WDng *pɛ̀ɛrɛ̀* ‘petite pince en fer’.
//Cf. Cush Beja *feraʔ* ‘aus-, herausziehen, hervorbringen’ [RBd].

91. W 2 Goem *par,* Mnt *pai* ‘to send, messenger’ [Fp].
//Cush Afar *far,* Saho *fare* ‘to send’, *farto* ‘message’ [Vr], Afar, Saho *faar* ‘senden, schicken’ [RAf], ECush Som *faray* ‘send a message, setting out for a journey’ [LlS], Ong *farat-* ‘to send away’ [SaT].

92. W 4 ***par-* ‘antelope horn’**: Paa *púrkìti* ‘horn’ (*kiiči*, pl *kiitčyaani* ‘Grimm’s duiker’), Wrj *par-ai,* Miya *apar,* Kariya *par* ‘horn’ [SkNB];
Note E 6 Mok *pârrè* ‘longue trompette’.
Cf. C 6 ***fara-m* ‘(cow?) horn’** Daba *fàlām*, Buwal *fárám*, Mina *fòrə́m*, Mbedam *faram* [LMb].

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Bibliographic abbreviations

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

References by default

Azumenia - PAz
GBade - Tarb
WBade - DgB
Bana - GlBn
Bidiya - JgB
Bure - BtB
Buwal - VBw
Chuvok - NdC
Dari - Cpr
Dugwor - BryD
Duwai - SchD
Dzəpaw- Sa
Dyarim - BlD
EDangla – Dj
FK - BlFK
Gavar - VGv
Gisiga - LkG
Glavda - Rp
Gude - Hsk
Hausa- Bargery
Hdi - BrH
Hitk - LkH
Kajakse - Alio
Kera - Eb
Lele - WP
Mada - BaMd
Mafa - BaMaf
Ma(a)ka - SvM
Makari - AlM
Malgwa - Lr
Masmaje - Alio
Mawa - RoM
Mbara - TrMba
Mbuko - GvNT
Merey - GvMr
Migama - JgM
Mobu - Lns
Mofu - BaMof
Mokilko JgMk
Mulwi - TrMlw
Munjuk - TrMnj
Muyang - SmM
Ngizim - SchN
Ouldem - KOu
Pero - FrP
Podoko - JL
Saba - DMT
Sakun - DS
Tangale - JgT
Toram - Alio
Tumak - CpT
Vame - Kin
WDangla - Fd
Zulgo - ZlL

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