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Omotic lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic setting III: Omotic *p-

The present paper is published as part of a set of papers whose goal is to identify the Afro-Asiatic heritage in the Omotic lexicon according to initial consonants. The current installment deals with instances of Omotic **p-* and **pʰ-* that may be traced back to Proto-Afro-Asiatic **p-* and **f-*. Altogether, 28 etymologies are discussed under this section.

Keywords: Afro-Asiatic languages, Omotic languages, comparative phonology, historical reconstruction.

We owe much to H. C. Fleming, M. L. Bender, and M. Lamberti for their pioneering studies in Omotic lexical comparison and reconstruction. The latter two authors even managed to come up with a few monographs on the subject (Bender 1975, 1999, 2003, Lamberti 1993, Lamberti and Sottile 1997). Still, this language branch arguably represents the least cultivated field within the immense Afro-Asiatic domain from the viewpoint of systematic etymological elaboration of the inherited Afro-Asiatic lexical treasures. To the best of my knowledge, the only special study devoted to a systematic treatment of Omotic/Afro-Asiatic matches is the unpublished paper presented by V. Blažek at the 2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Torino, November 1989).

This kind of research has already brought considerable progress in other branches of the vast Afro-Asiatic language macrofamily (Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Chadic). The abundant results in Semito-Egyptian linguistic comparison are well-known and are due to some two centuries' efforts (cf. EDE I 1–8). The Afro-Asiatic background of the Berber root inventory has been investigated in special studies by O. Rössler (1952, 1964), A. Militarev (1991), and most recently by myself in a series of papers entitled 'Some Berber etymologies' (Takács 2011 with a list of previous parts). Materials for an etymological dictionary of Bedawye (North Cushitic) have been collected and partially published by V. Blažek (1990 MS, 1994 MS, 2000 MS, 2003, 2006), whereas D. Appleyard (2006) has most recently concluded his Agaw (Central Cushitic) comparative lexicon. A. Dolgopolsky examined in 1983 the Semitic matches of East Cushitic roots, in 1988 the word-initial laryngeals and pharyngeals in Semitic vs. East Cushitic, and, in 1987, the South Cushitic laterals as compared to Semitic. Regular phonological and lexical correspondences between South Cushitic and Afro-Asiatic have been established by myself (Takács 1999, 2000, 2010). Numerous works by H. Jungraithmayr (e.g., JI 1994 I), O. Stolbova (e.g., 1996 or CLD I–III), and myself (e.g., in my diverse series like 'Angas-Sura etymologies'[1], the one on North

[1] G. TAKÁCS. Angas-Sura Etymologies I = *Lingua Posnaniensis* 46 (2004), 131–144. Angas-Sura Etymologies II = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 57/1 (2004), 55–68. Angas-Sura Etymologies III = *Lingua Posnaniensis* 48 (2006), 121–138. Angas-Sura Etymologies IV: *f- = *Folia Orientalia* 47/2 (2011), 273–289. Angas-Sura Etymologies V: *m- = *Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie* 13–14 (2010), 137–142.

Bauchi[2] or the one on 'Chadic Lexical Roots'[3]) were devoted to Chadic reconstruction in the light of comparison with Afro-Asiatic.

The aim of this paper is to present new etymologies in addition to those Omotic lexemes whose etymologies have already been demonstrated by other authors. In the first part[4] of this series, Omotic roots with **b-* plus dentals, sibilants, and velars were dealt with from an etymological standpoint. The second part (forthcoming) contains new etymologies for Omotic roots with **b-* followed by sonorants, etc. In this part I examine the Omotic lexical stock with the voiceless initial labial, of which (judging by evidence from Kefoid) there seems to have existed two varieties: **p-* vs. **p^h-* (reflecting the opposition of AA **p-* vs. **f-*, resp.?). The numeration of the lexical entries is continuous, beginning from the very first paper.

Omotic *p- and *p^h-

● **54. SOm.: Hamer pe** 'earth, soil, ground' [Bnd. 1994, 148] ||| (?) Eg. *p* '1. Untersatz, Sockel (aus Holz, Stein) (XVIII.), 2. Thron (GR)' (Wb I 489, 5–7) = '1. base (for statue) (XVIII.), 2. seat (Ptol.)' (EG 1927, 488, Q3) ||| WCh.: Sura *pèɛ* '1. Grund, 2. Ursache' [Jng. 1963, 78] | Pero *péepè* (redupl.) 'earth' [Frj. 1985, 45] || CCh.: Gude *apaa* (adv.) 'on the ground' [Hsk. 1983, 158] < AA **√p* 'ground' [GT].

● **55. NOm.: Kefoid **√p^ht** [GT]: Kafa *hot-* [h- < *p^h- < AA *f-?] 'disprezzare, avvilire' [Crl. 1951, 457] = *hot-èhè* 'dispresso' [Cecchi apud Rn. 1888, 298] ||| Eg. *ft* 'sich ekeln, überdrüssig sein' (Med., Wb I 580, 8–13) = 'to show dislike, disgust' (FD 99) ||| PCh. **√pt* 'to refuse' [GT], a var. root displaying AA **√pt* [GT], cf. CCh.: Bura *mpimpata* 'to scold, rebuke very severely' [BED 1953, 141] | Mofu-Gudur *-pət-* 'refuser catégoriquement de donner qqch. à qqn.' [Brt. 1988, 222] || ECh. **√fty* 'to refuse' [GT]: Sokoro *phítē ~ piti* 'verweigern, zurückstossen' [Lks. 1937, 38] | WDangla *pèètyè* 'refuser de faire une chose' [Fédry 1971, 60], EDangla *póótyé* 'refuser, ne pas vouloir, résister, ne pas céder, ne pas admettre, ne pas accepter, récalcitrer' [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 248] = *póótyé* 'ablehnen' [Ebs. 1979, 134; 1987, 73] | Birgit *fòočí* [*-či* < **-ti*] 'refuser' [Jng. 1973 MS] < AA **√ft ~ **√pt* 'to despise' [GT].

● **56. Om. *put-** 'cotton' [Bnd.] = **fūtt-* 'cotton' [Lmb.] (Om.-Cu.: Crl. 1929, 29; 1938 III, 167, 202; 1951, 457; Bnd. 1988, 146; LS 1997, 357) ||| HECu. **fūtt-a* 'cotton' [Hds. 1989, 410; Sasse 1982, 71] | SOromo *fúṭ-a* 'cotton' [Mrn.][5] ||| Eg. *ftt* (rope det.) 'ein pflanzlicher Faserstoff: als

[2] G. TAKÁCS. Outline of a North Bauchi Historical Phonology = *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 70 (2002), 167–190. The Afro-Asiatic Background of the North Bauchi Consonant System II = TOURNEUX, H. (éd.). *Topics in Chadic Linguistics III. Historical Studies. Papers from the 3rd Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages, Villejuif, November 24–25, 2005*. Köln, 2007., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Pp. 103–131.

[3] G. TAKÁCS. The 'Chadic Lexical Roots' and Their Afro-Asiatic Background Fourteen Years Later = BALDI, S. (ed.). *Studi Magrebini*. Vol. VII. Napoli, 2009. Pp. 211–224 (this part jointly with H. Jungraithmayr). The 'Chadic Lexical Roots' and Their Afro-Asiatic Background II = AWAGANA, A. & LÖHR, D. (eds.). *Topics in Chadic Linguistics VI: Papers from the 5th Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages, Leipzig, June 11–13, 2009*. Köln, 2011. Pp. 169–185. The 'Chadic Lexical Roots' and Their Afro-Asiatic Background III = BALDI, S. & YAKASAI, H. M. (ed.). *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Hausa Studies: African and European Perspectives (Napoli, 5th–7th July 2010)*. Studi Africanistici, Serie Ciado-Sudanese 3. Napoli, 2011. Pp. 313–329.

[4] G. TAKÁCS. Omotic Lexicon in its Afro-Asiatic Setting I: Omotic *b- with Dentals, Sibilants, and Velars = BUSETTO, L. (ed., scientific committee: M. Tosco, L. Tonelli, R. Sottile). *He bitaney laagaa. Dedicato a/Dedicated to Marcello Lamberti*. Quaderni di Lingua e Storia 3. Milano, 2011., Qu.A.S.A.R. s.r.l. Pp. 57–74.

[5] The origin of the Cu.-Om. terms for 'cotton' is disputed. E. Cerulli (1938 III, 167; 1951, 457) explained the HECu.-NOm. root from ES **√q^wṭn* 'cotton' < Ar. *quṭn-* 'cotton', which is phonologically unacceptable. M. M. Mo-

Tampon-Zäpfchen, in Verbänden mit *mrḥ.t* und *bj.t* etc.' (Med., WÄDN 210–211 , cf. also Wb I 581, 9–10) = 'lint' (FD 99) = '1. Faserbausch (als Tampon-Zäpfchen), 2. Faserstoff (aus der Pflanze dbj.t): *jrj m ftt* 'zum Faserbausch machen etwas (und in Körperöffnung einführen)' (GHWb 308) ||| NBrb.: Mzab *ta-fətfat ~ ta-fədfad-t*, pl. *ti-fətfat-in ~ ti-fədfad-in* '1. bourre de palmier, 2. plaque de cette bourre' [Dlh. 1984, 55–56] ||| CCh.: Muskum *fɨ̀t* 'coton' [Trn. 1977, 20][6] < AA *√*ft* 'wadding, flock of plant (e.g. cotton)' [GT].

● **57. NOm.: PKefoid (Gonga) *p^{h}ut-** 'to smear' [GT]: Kafa *hut-* [*h-* < *p^{h}-*] 'ungere', *hut-ō* 'unguento' [Crl. 1951, 457] = *hut-* 'to smear, grease', *hut-o* 'ointment' [Flm.], Mocha *pʊ̀ti-yé* 'to anoint' [Lsl. 1959, 45], (?) Naga *fur-* [-r- < *-t-?] 'butter' [d'Abbadie] (Gonga: Flm. 1987, 157, #9) ||| LEg. *fdfd* [< **ftft*] 'vom Auftragen der Salbe an (r)' (GR *hapax*: Mendes stela, Urk. II 29, 12, Wb I 583, 4) = 'frotter avec de l'onguent' (Meeks, p.c. on 18 Feb. 2001) < AA *√*ft* 'to anoint' [GT].

● **58. SOm.: Dime fot-** 'to fall' [Bnd. 1994, 149] ||| ES: perhaps Gurage-Soddo *fafat*, Amh. *f^{w}af^{w}ate* 'waterfall' (ES: Lsl. 1979 III, 228 with dubious HECu. etymology) ||| WCh.: Hausa *fáúčè* [-če < *-te] '(bird) to swoop on to seize sg.' [Abr. 1962, 261] || CCh.: Hurzo *fat-day* 'to descend' [Rsg.], Moloko *fàtáy* 'to descend' [Rsg.] (MM: Rsg. 1978, 236, #189) | Lame *putu* 'tomber du haut de' [Scn. 1982, 272] || ECh.: Mubi *fóót* (pf.), *ʔafad-é* (inf.), *ʔufát* (impf.) 'to fall' [Nwm. 1977, 183] = *fádé* (pl.) 'tomber' [Jng. 1990 MS, 14] (Ch.: JI 1994 II; Stl. 1996, 17) < AA *√[*p*]*t* 'to fall' [GT].[7]

● **59. NOm. *√Pṭ** 'to fall' [GT]: Shinasha-Bworo *fèḍḍ-* 'to fall' [Lmb. 1993, 301] | Sezo *ṗɛṭɛš ṗèṭèšą́* 'he falls down' [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 12] ||| Sem.: Ar. *faṭaʔa* '(i.a.) jeter qqn. par la terre' [BK II 609] ||| Ch. *√*pḍ* 'to fall' [JS 1981, 98], in fact solely based on WCh.: Hausa *fáádà* 'to fall into, on', *fáádád dà* 'to drop sg., cause sg. to fall', *fáádìì* 'to fall down, over, on to, into, off, out', *fáádóó* 'to fall down, off' [Abr. 1962, 241–243] < AA *√[*p*]*ṭ* 'to fall' [GT].

● **60. NOm.: Mao *pŭš-** 'to blow' [GT]: Hozo *pú:šti*, Sezo *ṗŭ́šɛ́ ~ fŭ́šɛ́*, Bambeshi *pŭ́šɛ́* 'to blow' (Mao gr.: Sbr.-Wdk. 1993, 13; 1994, 10) ||| Sem. *√*pš* 'to breathe, blow' vs. *√*pšw* 'to break wind silently' [SED]: Akk. *pašû* G 'hauchen, leise furzen', Gtn 'immer wieder rasselnd atmen' [AHW 846] || PBHbr. √*pwš* (met.) 'to breathe, rest one's self' [Jastrow 1950, 1149], NHbr. √*pwš* 'aufatmen' [WUS] | Ar. √*fsw: fasā* 'lâcher un vent (qu'on n'entend pas)', cf. also *fiss-at-* 'pet' [BK II 595][8] || ES *√*fsw* → *√*f^{w}s* 'to fart' [GT]: e.g. Geez *fasawa* 'to break wind' [Lsl.] vs. Tigre *fäšfäšä* 'to bluster, steam', *fəšfəšo* 'vapour-bath' [Littmann-Höfner] (ES: Lsl. 1956, 199; 1987, 168; Sem.: SED I 314–5, #56 vs. #57) ||| CCh.: Kotoko *fàssà* 'souffle' [Bouny 1978, 57] | Mbara *pìsé* 'souffler' [TSL 1986, 275] || ECh.: WDangla *pîsè* 'rester' [Fédry 1971, 64][9] < AA *√*ps* '1. to blow, 2. breathe → rest, 3. fart' [GT].[10]

● **61. NOm.: Yemsa (Janjero) fus-** 'zwicken' [Lmb. 1993, 343] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **pus* '1. to shoot (arrow), 2. sting' [GT]:[11] e.g. Angas *pus*, pl. *pwas* '1. to shoot (as of an arrow),

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reno (1937, 235) affiliated PCu.-Om. **fūtt-* 'cotton' with Sem.: Ar. *fūṭ-at-* 'cotonata' [Mrn.] = 'serviette, essnie-mains' [Lsl.], which is improbable due to the supposed Indian origin of Ar. *fūṭ-at-*, cf. OInd. *paṭa-* '(woven) cloth, blanket, garment, veil, etc.' [Monier-Williams 1899, 579] (as suggested by Vollers, ZDMG 50, 616 & 56, 523, cf. also Leslau 1938, 334; 1963, 65).

[6] The Muskum parallel seems isolated in Chadic.

[7] The uncertain reconstruction of PAA *[p]- is based on the **p-* in some remote root varieties.

[8] A var. root can be found in Ar. *fašša* 'faire sortir l'air d'une outre en la comprimant' [BK II 595].

[9] The vocalism **-i-* of the Chadic examples is obscure.

[10] Cf. also AA *√*bs* '1. to blow, 2. breathe, 3. rest' [GT] (discussed in my paper 'Lexica Afroasiatica II', #273).

[11] J. H. Greenberg (1958, 301), V. M. Illič-Svityč (1966, 25, #3.9), followed by N. Skinner (1996, 66), correlated Angas-Sura **pus* directly with OEg. *pzḥ* 'to bite (PT), sting (Med.)' (FD 94), a comparison rejected by G. Takács (1999, 82; 1999, 368). The underlying PCh. root had a voiceless sibilant (cf. JI 1994 II, 2), although, in principle, the change Ch. *-*Z* > Angas-Sura *-*s* seems plausible.

2. shoot (of insects, of their stings), sting, 3. arrow' [Flk. 1915, 268–269] = *puus* '1. to shoot, 2. sting' [Grb.], Sura *puus* '1. to shoot, 2. sting' [Grb.] = *pùs* (sg.), *pwas* (pl.) 'schießen' [Jng. 1963, 79], Kofyar *fús* [fu- < *pu- reg.] 'to pierce' [Ntg. 1967, 13], Chip *pùs* '1. to shoot, 2. sting' [Grb.], Goemay *puas* (pl. of hes) 'to pierce' [Srl. 1937, 184] (AS: Grb. 1958, 301, #2; Stl. 1977, 156, #170) < AA *√*ps* (possibly **pus*-) '1. to sting, 2. shoot an arrow' [GT].

• **62. NOm.: Haruro pes-o ~ pis-o** 'deretano' [CR 1937, 657] ||| Eg. *psḏ* [reg. < **psg*][12] 'Rücken, Rückgrat' (OK, Wb I 556, 1–9) = 'back, spine' (FD 95) ||| PCh. **pas*- 'back' [GT]: WCh.: presumably Hausa *fáásà* 'to postpone (beginning sg.), be postponed indefinitely' [Abr. 1962, 257] || CCh.: Logone *pásē* 'Gesäß, Hinterer' [Lks. 1936, 115] = *mpáseˌ* 'cul' [Mch.] = *páséé* 'podex' [IS] < AA *√*ps* (perhaps **pas*- ~ **pis*-) 'back' [GT].[13]

• **63. NOm.: Zayse fīc-o** [-ts-] 'tail' [Bnd.] = *fīc-o* [-ts-] 'tail' [Mkr.] = *fiš-o* 'tail' [Hyw. 1988, 285] = *fic-o* [-ts-] 'tail' [Sbr. 1994, 20] ||| Eth.-Sem. (borrowed from HECu.): Gurage: Selti *fāččo*, Zway *əfwačč̣o* etc. 'tail, hair of tail' (ES: Lsl. 1979 III, 226) ||| HECu.: Burji *fǎč-o* 'bushy end of animal's tail' [Sasse 1982, 68: 'ohne Etymologie'], cf. Darasa *fāč-ò ~ fāčč-o* 'fly whisk' [Lsl.] ||| CCh.: Logone *pisḫaa* 'tail' [Mkr.] < AA **pis*- '2. tail' [GT]? Is it related to AA **√ps* 'back' [GT] (above)?

• **64. SOm.: Ari feg-á** 'far' [Bnd. 1994, 149] ||| ECu. **fVg*- 'far' [Flm. 1969, 22, #11]: LECu.: PSomali **fog* 'far' [Ehret & Nuuh Ali 1984]: Somali *fog ~ fug* '1. Entfernung, 2. weit, fern' [Rn. 1902, 147] = *fóg* 'far' [Abr. 1964, 80], Rendille *fog-á* 'far' [Heine 1976, 215], Arbore *feḳá ~ feḳ-í* [irreg. *-ḳ* < **-g*?] 'far' [Hyw. 1984, 358], Dasenech (Geleba) *fɨ́k* 'far, distant' [Flm./Dlg.] | Oromo *fag-ō* 'far' [Gragg 1982, 139] = *fag-o?* 'weit' [Sasse] | HECu.: Sidamo *fag-o* 'far' [Hds. 1989, 362] = *faf-ō* [< **fag*^{w}-] 'lontano' [Crl. 1938 II, 200] (ECu.: CR 1913, 421; Dlg. 1973, 320; Sasse 1975, 246) ||| EBrb.: Ghadames *ū̱-fəġ* '1. dépasser une limite, une mesure, 2. aller trop loin (ene verrou dans son logement)' [Lanfry 1973, 88, #382] ||| WCh.: Ngizim *fák* [irreg. *-k* < **-g*?] 'at a great distance (in time or space)' [Schuh 1981, 57] < AA **√Pg* 'far, long' [GT].

• **65. NOm.: Mao: Bambeshi φɛ̀gá́ ~ ’à̱ fɛ́ká́** 'to fall' [Sbr.-Wdk. 1993, 15] ||| PCh. **√pk* 'to fall' [GT]: WCh.: Bade *vg*- 'fallen' [Lks. 1974–75, 105], Ngizim *vàgú* 'to fall down, descend down into, set (of sun)' [Schuh 1981, 165] = *vàgə* 'to fall from high position' [JI] || CCh.: Bachama *vùkɔ́, fùkɔ́* 'to fall' [Skn.] = *vúkó* 'to fall' [Crn. 1975, 463] || ECh.: Jegu *pak*- 'herabfallen (Regen)' [Jng. 1961, 116] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 130–131) < AA **√*[*p*]*K* 'to fall' [GT].

• **66. NOm. *√p^{h}k** 'to throw' [GT]: Janjero (Yemsa) *foq*- 'scagliare (la lancia)' [Crl. 1938 III, 73] = *fòkà* 'to throw spear' [Aklilu n.d.] | Mocha *p̀òkkí-yé* 'to throw away' [Lsl. 1959, 45] = *p·ok*- 'to throw away' [Flm.], Wombera *hok-a* [*p^{h}-] 'rubbish, garbage' [Flm.] (Kefoid: Flm. 1987, 157) ||| CCh. **√Pk* 'to throw' [GT]: Gisiga *mu-fko* (nom. instr. prefix ma-) 'Wurfmesser' [Lks. 1970, 131] | Lame *pík* 'jeter (petites choses)' [Scn. 1982, 268], Zime-Dari *pīk* 'jeter (petites choses)' [Cooper 1984, 21] || ECh.: Tumak *pòg* 'abattre, faire tomber, terrasser (une personne…)' [Cpr. 1975, 91] < AA **√PK* 'to throw' [GT].

• **67. NOm.: Mao *√pʔ** 'to stab' [GT]: Hozo *pā ~ pāʔ* 'to stab, pierce', Sezo *pe, pēʔ* 'to stab, pierce', EMao *piy-a* 'to stab, pierce, kill' (Mao: Flm. 1988, 38) ||| WCh.: Ngizim *vău* '1. to shoot, 2. sting (scorpion)' [Schuh 1981, 167] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *váv ~ vév* (redupl.?) 'piquer (insecte)' [Brt. 1988, 251] < AA **√PH* 'to sting' [GT].

• **68. SOm.: Hamer pi-o** 'feces, dung' [Bnd. 1994, 149] ||| SCu. **pU*[ʕ]- 'to defecate' [GT] = **pūʔ-*/**pūʕ*- 'excrement' [Ehret]: Qwadza *poʔo-tiko* 'mud' | Ma'a *ki-pwúʔu* 'excrement', *-pwúʔu* 'to

[12] The Egyptian counterpart has been extended by a third non-etymological *-g (hence -ḏ), which further occurs in a number of Eg. body part names, cf. e.g. *fnḏ* 'nose', *mnḏ.t* 'cheek', *nḥḏ.t* 'tooth', *ḫnḏ* 'lower part, calf of leg' (meanings are quoted after FD). For the problem in detail cf. EDE II 577.

[13] Lit. for the AA comparison: Mkr. 1981, 115, #24 (Gurage-Zayse); 1987, 360 (Logone-Burji-Zayse); Leslau 1979 III, 226; 1988, 188 (HECu.-Gurage).

defecate' (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 145) ||| CCh.: Nzangi *poyəi* 'faeces' [Mch. in JI 1994 II, 129] < AA *√*pʕ* (or *√*pʔ*) 'to defecate' [GT].[14]

• **69. NOm.: Janjero (Yemsa) fin-** 'überqueren' [Lmb. 1993, 341] ||| LECu.: cf. perhaps Somali *fān* 'Prahlerei, Großtuerei, Lobgesang auf sich selbst' [Rn. 1902, 150] = *fan-ayya* 'to boast' [Abr. 1964, 76] ||| CCh.: Logone *fánà ~ fena* 'übertreffen' [Lks. 1939, 91] = *fən* 'surpasser' [Mch.] | Matakam *fəna* 'übertreffen' [Lks.], Mofu *fun* 'surpasser' [Mch. 1953, 187], Gisaga *fun* 'übertreffen' [Lks.] (Mafa-Mada: Lks. 1970, 35) < AA *√*fn* (or *√*pn*?) 'to surpass' [GT].[15]

• **70. NOm. *√p(n)z** 'ashes' [GT]: (?) Sheko *fɛmfus* 'burnt' [Flm. 1972 MS, 1] | PMao **pūz-* [from **punz-*?] 'ashes' [GT]: Bambeshi *pù̱zḛ̀* [Sbr.-Wdk. 1993, 13], Diddesa *pūse* [Flm. 1990, 27] = EMao *pūse ~ puse* [Flm. 1988], Sezo *pūsi ~ ṗūsi* [Flm. 1988] (Mao group: Flm. 1988, 38) ||| LECu.: PSomali **be*(*ze*)*mbez* [irreg. *b-] 'ashes' [Ehret & Nuuh Ali 1984, 218] ||| CCh. **pinǯ-* 'ashes' [GT]: Tera *pəžìt* [Nwm. 1964, 40, #162], Pidlimdi *pɨ̀zɨ̀di* [Krf.], Ga'anda *fiža* [Krf.] | Bura *pinǯu* [BED 1953, 172] = *pınǯu* [Krf.], Ngwahyi *pınǯu* [Krf.], Margi *pınsuḍu* [Krf.] = *ʔpǯínẑduuʔ* [JI], Chibak *pınzù* [Krf.] = *pinzu* [Ibr.] = *pənzu* [IL] (CCh.: Krf. 1981, #128; Ibr. 1990, 88; JI 1994 II, 4) < AA *√*pnZ* 'ashes' [GT].

• **71. NOm.: Mao *pEng-** 'to kill' [GT]: Hozo *pēŋg-* 'to kill' [Flm.] = *pɛŋgi* [Bnd. 1994, 1158, #43], Sezo *piyaŋ* 'to kill' [Flm.] (Mao: Flm. 1988, 38, #1) ||| Eg. **png* 'to kill (?)' (GT) → Cpt.: (B) **ϕωnϫ** 'to overthrow, destroy' (CD 515a; CED 525) = 'vernichten, zerstören' (KHW 149) ||| CCh.: Mafa *páng-* 'égorger (plusieurs personnes, avec couteau)' [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 308] < AA *√*png* 'to kill' [GT].

• **72. NOm. *√png** 'to swim' [GT]: Oyda *ṗīng-* 'to swim' [Bnd. 1971, 206] | Mao **pāŋg-* 'to swim' [GT]: Bambeshi *pāŋg-* [Flm.-Bnd.] = *pāŋga* [Mkr.], Diddesa *pāŋg-* [Flm.-Bnd.], Hozo *pāŋg-* [Bnd. 1990] = *pāŋge* [Bnd. 1971, 207] = *pāŋgɛ* [Bnd. 1994, 1159, #81], Sezo *pāŋg-* [Bnd.] = *pʲa̱ŋál pʲa̱ŋá ~ ɸa̱ŋpà̱ŋá* [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 17] = *payŋ-* [Flm.] = *paynɛ* [Mkr.] (Mao: Mkr. 1981, 236; Flm. 1988, 38; Bnd. 1990, 603, #81) ||| WCh.: SBauchi **pān*(*k*)- 'to swim' [GT]: Boghom *pàanki*, Jum *pàanak*, Mangas *paan*, Kir *pane* (SBch.: Csp. 1994, 71) || CCh.: Vulum *fíní* (adv. *féng*) [f < *b poss., vowel irreg.?] 'flotter' [Trn. 1978, 293], Pus *fini* 'flotter' [Trn. 1991, 88][16] < AA *√*pnK* 'to swim' [GT].[17]

• **73. NOm.: Mocha piripiro** 'worm' [Lsl. 1959, 45][18], cf. probably Kafa *hipper-ō* [GT: < **pʰirper-* < **pʰirpʰer-* via dissim.?] 'verme' [Crl. 1951, 456] ||| Eth.-Sem. (borrowed from NOm.?): Gurage: Chaha, Ezha, Endegeny, Gogot, Selti *fərfər*, Muher *fərəffər* '1. kind of worm, 2. eggs of the tick, disease that affects the food' (Gurage: Lsl. 1979 III, 241: from NOm.?) ||| Eg. *pʔwj.w* [< **prwj.w*] (worm det.) (pl.) 'Bez. von Tieren die im Holz leben: Würmer (?), Ameisen (?)' (XVIII, Wb I 498, 5) = 'Art Tiere (die im/am Holz leben): Würmer oder Ameisen' (GHWb 271) ||| NBrb.: Mzab *ti-ffər-t ~ ti-frə-t* 'mites (insects)' [Dlh. 1984, 50] ||| WCh.: Hausa *fùùráú* (m) 'larvae of digger-wasp' [Abr. 1962, 273] || ECh.: EDangla *pírr̃pìr̃ē* (m) 'le parasite du mil sorgho, 'coréides'' [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 245], Bidiya *pirpìḍ* [-ḍ < *-r-T?] 'ver de terre' [AJ 1989, 108] < AA *√*pr*, possibly **pirpir-* 'kind of worm' [GT].

• **74. NOm. *√pʰr** 'hole' [GT]: Kafa *hir-o* [h- reg. < *pʰ-] 'Loch' [Lmb.], Shinasha-Bworo *fur-à* 'Loch (zum Sehen)' [Lmb.] (NOm.: Lmb. 1993, 303) ||| SAgaw: Awngi *fár* [irreg. f- < *p-] 'hole' [Apl. 1994 MS, 12.] || SCu.: Qwadza *paʔal-uko* [-l- reg. < *-r-] 'hole, pit' [Ehret 1980

[14] Represents a var. of AA *√*bʕ* 'faeces, dirt' [GT]. For the AA etymology see also HSED #179 (CCh.-SCu.); Ehret 1995, 91, #39 (SCu.-Ngizim).

[15] A var. of AA *√*bwn ~ *√*bn* 'to surpass' [GT] (see my paper 'Lexica Afroasiatica I' in AAP 2002, #259).

[16] Weakening of PCh. *-*nk* > *-*ŋ* in the Musgu group to *-*ny*?

[17] Cf. AA *√*bn ~ *√*bm* 'to swim' [GT] (cf. my paper 'Lexica Afroasiatica I' in AAP 2002, #131).

[18] C. T. Hodge (1961, 36) mistakenly identified the Mocha term with LEg. *prpr* 'to jump about' (q.v.) and Hausa *pílpílò* 'butterfly'.

MS, 2][19] ||| Sem.: Ar. *faʔara* 'creuser la terre' [BK II 529] = 'to dig' [Lsl. 1987, 157][20] || ES: Gurage *furä* 'hole in the wall or in the fence of the house, hole in a container', cf. Ennemor & Gyeto *fəräfärä* 'to make a hole', Amh. *färäffärä* 'to make a hole', Tna. *färfärä* 'to pierce, break' (ES: Lsl. 1979 III, 241)[21] ||| Eg. *pr.t* 'Öffnung des Höhle (?)' (NK, Wb I 532, 3) = '*Höhle (≈ *qrr.t* in anderen Versionen)' (GHWb 287) ||| NBrb.: Iznasen, Rif, Senhazha *i-fri*, pl. Iznasen, Tuzin, Uriaghel, Iboqqoyen *i-fr-än*, Ait Ammart *i-farya-un*, Senhazha *i-frï-aw-en* 'caverne, terrier, trou' (NBrb.: Rns. 1932, 298) ||| WCh.: Kofyar *pigar ~ piaŋar* [< *piγar, -γ- < *-ʔ-] 'to bore a hole' [Ntg. 1967, 32] | Ngizim *pàarú* 'to make holes with planting hoe to drop seeds in' [Schuh 1981, 132] || CCh.: Gude *fóréeŋ* 'having one or more holes in it' [Hsk. 1983, 184] < AA *√*f*(ʔ)*r* ~ *√*p*(ʔ)*r*[22] 'to make a hole' [GT].[23]

● **75. NOm.: Mao p^{h}ir-o** 'vimini usati in lavori di intrecciatura' [Grt. 1940, 358] ||| LECu.: Baiso *ferfer-a* (f) 'punting pole, oar' [Hyw. 1979, 127–128] ||| Sem.: Hbr. **poʔrā*(*h*), pl. *porʔōt* 'Ast, Zweig', *puʔrā*(*h*) 'Äste, Zweige' [GB 632] ||| SBrb.: ETawllemmet *ā-fėr* 'jonc' [Ncl. 1957, 56] ||| WCh.: Hausa *firyáá ~ fùryáá* (f) 'small-headed drumstick' [Abr. 1962, 269, 274] < AA *√*Pr* (*p- or *f-) 'stick, rod' [GT].

● **76. NOm.: Gimira pirik-o** (?) 'ritorna! (imprv.)' [CR 1925, 622] ||| Eth.-Sem.: Harari *färäqa* 'to turn', Amh. *färäqa* 'to turn' (ES: Lsl. 1963, 64) ||| Eg. *pḫr* [met. < **prḫ*?] 'umwenden, umdrehen' (PT, Wb I 544–7) ||| NBrb.: Mzab *ə-frəγ* '1. tourner, bifurquer, 2. être tordu, 3. (fig.) être mal venu, mal fait, défectueux' [Dlh. 1984, 52], Iznasen, Uriaghel, Senhazha *e-fraγ* 'être courbe, tordu, sinueux' [Rns. 1932, 299] || EBrb.: Ghadames *e-frəγ* 'être tordu' [Lanfry 1973, 98, #430] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *e-freγ* 'n'être pas droit (dévier de la ligne droite)' [Fcd. 1951–2, 355–6] ||| CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *-várk-* '(se) retourner, tourner' [Brt. 1988, 250], Mafa *vərk-* 'retourner (un récipient)' [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 370] | Vulum *f ˈr ˈk ˈ: *fìrkì* 'to turn upside down (renverser, retourner)' [Trn. 1978, 293; Brt. 1995, 213] < AA *√*prḳ* ~ *√*prQ* 'to turn (round), twist' [GT].

● **77. NOm.: NMao pēll-i** 'vergine' [Grt. 1940, 358] ||| Sem.: perhaps Akk. *papallu* (j/spB) 'Schößling, Zweig' [AHW 823] (unless it was a Sum. loan) (?) ||| Dem. *ppj* [reg. < **ppl*] 'kleiner, junger Vogel' (DG 131) → Cpt.: (S) **ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲓ**, (SL/A$_2$) **ⲡⲁⲡⲁⲓ** (m) 'junger Vogel, Küken, Huhn' (KHW 149) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **ṗal* 'fresh, unripe' [GT]: Angas *pal* '1. unripe, 2. fresh sprouts or buds' [Flk. 1915, 259], Kofyar *pél* 'new, first' [Ntg. 1967, 32], Goemay *ṗal* 'unripeness' [Srl. 1937, 172] | SBauchi *√*pʸl* 'new' [GT]: Guruntum *pyàli* [Csp.] = *pyàalì* [Jgr. 1989, 186], Tala *pyaalii* [Csp.] = *pyaali* [Smz.], Kir *pyele* [Csp.] = *pyelè* [Smz.], Laar *pyella* [Smz.], Mangas *pyelà* [Smz.] = *pelàsà* [Csp.], Soor (Zangwal) *pyaalì* [Smz.], Booluu *pyaali* [Smz.], Geji *pyalì* [Smz.], Zaranda *pyààlè* [Smz.], Zul *pyel* [Smz.], Barang & Dir *pyèlì* [Smz.], Buli *pyel* [Smz.], Zeem *pyàlì* [Smz.] (SBch.: Smz. 1978, 44, #96; Csp. 1994, 27, 60) || CCh.: Gude *púl* 'very new' [Hsk. 1983, 260] < AA *√*pl* 'fresh, new' [GT].

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[19] Ch. Ehret (1980, 143, #7) derived Qwadza *paʔal-uko* from his SCu. **paʕ-* 'to cut', which is certainly false. By the way, Qwadza *paʔal-* could be alternatively derived either from **paḳar-, *paḫar-, *paḥar- or *paʕar-*.

[20] According to W. Leslau (1987, 157), the meaning of Ar. *faʔara* is secondary, being a denominative verbal root derived from Ar. *faʔr-* 'rat, mouse', which would mean *'to dig as a rat does'. If so, its relatedness is improbable.

[21] W. Leslau (1979 III, 241) explained ES *√*frfr* 'to make a hole' (or sim.) [GT] from Sem. *√*ḥpr* (with met. in Ar.-ES *√*fḥr*) 'to dig', which is disproved by the clear distinction in Tigrinya between the reflexes with and without **-ḥ-*, respectively, cf. Tna. *färfärä* 'to pierce' vs. *fäḥarä* 'to dig out'.

[22] Awngi *f-* and Kefoid **p*^{h}- seem to point to AA **f-* ≠ AA **p-* indicated by Eg. *p-* = Qwadza *p-*. Perhaps there were two distinct var. roots (AA *√*pr* vs. *√*fr*). Ch. Ehret (1987, #189) combined Awngi *fər* with ECu. **fur-* 'to open'. Ultimately, a connection (at PAA level) to AA *√*pr* 'to open' (or sim.) cannot be excluded.

[23] Ch. Ehret (1995, 99, #61) equated the Ar.-Ngizim parallel with his PCu. **paʔr-/*baʔr-* 'field, cultivated ground' and derived all of this from AA **-pâʔr-* 'to dig up', which is false.

● **78. NOm.: Haruro (Kachama) pɛ̄l-uc** [-ts] ‘to pour’ [Sbr. 1994, 18] ||| SCu.: Dahalo *pill-ēð-* ‘to shake water off the body (in manner of dog or duck)’ [Ehret 1980, 144; EEN 1989, 7] ||| Sem.: Ug. *pl* ‘rieseln’ [WUS #2219], Syr. √*pll* ‘to sprinkle’ [Lsl.] || Ar. √*fyl* ‘vergießeln, rieseln’ [WUS] || ES: Geez *falfala* ‘to gush out, spring forth, bubble up, break forth, burst out as a fountain, make gush, etc.’ [Lsl. 1987, 158] ||| ECh.: WDangla *pâllè* ‘asperger (équivalent profane de ḅâllè, réservé aux libations faites aux génies)’ [Frédry 1971, 58] < AA *√*pl* ‘to sprinkle’ [GT].

● **79. NOm.: Benesho pel** ‘to blow (e.g. on fire)’ [Wdk. 1990, 109] ||| LECu.: Afar *fulto* ‘blowing, puffing’ [PH 1985, 105] | Oromo *fōl-ī* ‘odor’, *fōll-a^{w}a* ‘to have odor, give scent’ [Gragg 1982, 148] = *fōl-i* ‘odore’ [Mrn.] | HECu. **fōl-* ‘to breathe’, **fōl-e* ‘breath, odor’ [Hds.]: Sidamo *fōl- ~ fōʔl-* ‘to breathe’, *fōl-e* ‘breath, odor, smell’ [Hds.] = *fōl-ā* ‘odore’ [Crl. 1938 II, 200] = *fōl-é* ‘spirito’ [Mrn. 1940, 215], Burji *fōl-e* ‘odor, smell’ [Hds.], Hadiya *fōša* [< **fōl-ča*] ‘odor, smell’ [Hds.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 106–107, 363, 409; Lsl. 1956, 993) || SCu.: perhaps Qwadza *pelay-iko* [*p-* irreg., *-iko* noun suffix] ‘wind’ [Ehret 1980, 144] ||| Eth.-Sem. (borrowed from ECu.?): Gurage: Wolane & Masqan *fol* ‘breath’ [Lsl. 1979 III, 231] ||| WCh.: Daffo-Butura *fòl* ‘Pfeife’ [Jng. 1970, 214] | Jimbin *fàl-* ‘to blow’ [Skn.] | Kir *fwale* ‘to blow (mouth)’ [Csp. 1994, 42], Guruntum *fali* ‘to blow’ [Jgr. 1989, 183] || CCh.: Zime *fòl* ‘to blow’ [CWC in Mkr.] | Pus *fili* ‘vanner au vent’ [Trn. 1991, 88] || ECh.: Kera *fúulí* ‘blasen, wehen’ [Ebert 1976, 46] = *fɛ́ɛ́lɛ́* ‘to blow’ [Ebert in JI] (Ch.: Mkr. 1987, 103; JI 1994 II, 32–33) < AA *√*fl* ‘1. to blow, 2. smell, 3. breathe’ [GT].

● **80. NOm.: Kafa pay-ō** ‘canna con la quale si danno battiture’ [Crl. 1951, 481] ||| Eg. *pjpj.t* (wood det.) ‘der Kielbalken des Schiffes (?)’ (NE, Wb I 502, 8) = ‘keel’ (DLE I 170) = ‘la quille (?) d’un navire’ (AL 79.0973) = ‘*Kiel’ (GHWb 273) ||| Bed. *fu* (f) ‘die große Zeltstange in der Mitte des Zeltes’ [Rn. 1895, 75] = *fi* (f), pl. *fō-t* ‘1. pole, prop, esp. of interior, 2. (*pars pro toto*) house, home’ [Rpr. 1928, 177] ||| CCh.: Hina *pai* ‘1. Baum, 2. Mattenstange’ [Str.], cf. Daba *paĭ ~ poĭ* ‘Baum’ [Str.] (CCh.: Str. 1922–3, 129, 136) < AA *√*py* ‘(log of) wood’ [GT].

● **81. SOm.: Dime fuy-** ‘1. to spit, 2. saliva’ [Bnd. 1994, 159] ||| SCu. **paʕa-* ‘spit, sputum’ [Ehr.]: Ma’a *ma-paʔé* ‘spit, sputum’ [Ehr. 1980, 143] ||| Sem.: Ar. √*fwʕ*, impf. *yafūʕu* ‘speien, vomieren’ [Vcl.] ||| LEg. *pʕ* (or *pʕj*) ‘spucken’ (GR, Edfu II 260, 12, Grdseloff, ArOr 20, 1952, 482–486) = ‘cracher’ (Drioton, RdE 10, 1955, 91–92; AL 77.1381) = ‘speien’ (NBÄ 195) ||| WCh.: Tangale *puye* ‘to expectorate, eject from mouth (anything unpleasant)’ [Jng. 1991, 135] < AA *√*pʕ* (presumably **puʕ-*) ‘to spit’ [GT]. Onomatopoeic. See also Vcl. 1959, 73; 1959, 39; 1959, 29 (Eg.-Ar.); Takács 1998, 158, #4.3 (Eg.-Ar.-Ma’a); 2000, 75, #2.6 (Ma’a-Ch.-Ar.).

Special symbols

P: any labial stop (*f, p, b, ṗ*), *T*: unspecified dental stop (*t, d, ṭ*), *S*: any voiceless sibilant and/or affricate (*s, š, ŝ, c, č, ĉ*), *Z*: unspecified voiced sibilant and/or affricate (*z, ʒ, ǯ*), *K*: any velar stop (*k, g, ḳ*), *Q*: unspecified uvular or postvelar etc. (*q, g, q̇, ḳ*), H: any of the pharyngeals or laryngeals etc. (*ʕ, ɣ, ḥ, h, ʔ*). The vertical strokes signify the degree of closeness of the language groups (e.g. Kotoko | Masa), subbranches (e.g. North Berber || East Berber), and branches (Semitic ||| Egyptian), from which the individual lexical data are quoted.

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), Brg.: Burunge, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grw.: Gorowa,

H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), Irq.: Iraqw, Jbl.: Jibbali, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, Omt.: Ometo, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm(d).: Tawllemmet.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Akl.: Aklilu, Alm.: Alemayehu, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein & Kazimirski, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brn.: Brunet, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Crn.: Carnochan, Csp.: Cosper, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Grb.: Greenberg, Grt.: Grottanelli, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, Jgr.: Jaggar, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lsl.: Leslau, Mch.: Mouchet, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Mrn.: Moreno, Ncl.: Nicolas, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, PH: Parker & Hayward, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: N. Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Trn.: Tourneux, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, Vcl.: Vycichl, Wdk.: Wedekind, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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Статья является очередной публикацией в специальной серии, посвященной исследованию исконно афразийского слоя в лексике омотских языков, распределенной по начальным согласным корня. В настоящей работе исследуются омотские лексемы на **p-* и **pʰ-*, которые могут быть возведены к соответствующим праафразийским корням на **p-* и **f-*. Всего в статье обсуждается 28 этимологий, удовлетворяющих этим условиям.

Ключевые слова: афразийские языки, омотские языки, сравнительно-историческая фонетика, лингвистическая реконструкция.