

The Biconsonantal Semitic Lexicon. The Series /B-X-/*

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[Like the previous instalments, this third part carries out a comparative linguistic analysis of the articulatory Semitic binary series /B-X-/, aiming to establish its intensified and expanded realizations. Starting from the phonological cluster, special attention is paid to the semantic shifts which the basic seme presents in the different Semitic languages and which should be considered as internal developments of the same base.]

With this series we enter a more normalised phonological comparative realisation, that of the phoneme /b/ in the whole Semitic family. Therefore the correspondences between the different languages are easier to establish.

Furthermore the BIB (Binary Intensified Base) denomination is introduced in this instalment in order to define more precisely the phonological nature of the Semitic binary base and to overcome the (in my opinion) false controversy on the existence of the ‘biconsonantal roots’ in Semitic. These bases are binary according the phonetic articulation but their realisation is intensified, which makes them virtually ternary. This virtual intensification can be carried out through simple elongation with possible duplication (/XvZZ-/ > /XvZvZ-/), reduplication (/XvZXvZ-/), regressive compensation by either vocalic elongation or semivocalic epenthesis (/XṽZ-/ , /XvW:Y:’ :HZ-/) or through progressive extension/expansion (/XvZvY:W:’ :H...-/). Other possible realisations of this virtual intensity (by prefixation and infixation) are rarer, though not impossible¹. The Semitic binary bases belong universally to this category with very few nominal pure binary bases left out, regardless of their status in the pre-proto-Semitic or common Afroasiatic linguistic level.

This last class of pure binary lexemes frequently includes the numerous onomatopoeias that arise in this series, most of them related to animal or physical sounds. They are in fact articulated versions and imitations of unarticulated resonances (most of them tend to include a ‘guttural’ phone) and in this regard they differ from the original set of Semitic bases both because of their origin (arbitrary rather than conditioned) and because of their areal diffusion (irregularly distributed synchronically and diachronically). They form a secondary class within the set of the original Semitic bases.

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1. For a more detailed presentation of this approach see G. del Olmo Lete, “Phonetic distribution in Semitic Binary Articulation Bases”, paper presented at the 13th *Italian Meeting of Afroasiatic Linguistics* (Udine, 21-24 May, 2007), in the press.

As for the conson. homographs, in this series, as in the previous ones, we take them to be either allophones, loanwords, onomatopoeic bases or the result of seman. shifts which are now probably untraceable, taking for granted that the original radical cluster was univocal, namely, it could not have had different semantic values.

Most of the abbreviations may be consulted in the previous instalments, except for a small number of new ones we have added here.

/Bv'-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/Ba'-/ 1) Onomatop. human sound, with spont. reduplic., CS. **BS**: 'a baby's voice calling his parents > obj. and subj.: 'papa', 'baby' ('one who says *ba'ba*): **Akk.** *bibû(m)*, 'baby' (?); **Aram.:** Syr. *bb'*, 'papa'; Man. *baba*, 'father, daddy'; Tur. *babo*, 'Vater'; NAram. *bâbâ*, *bâbû*, 'father'; **MSA**: Soq. *bébe*, 'père' > *bioh*, 'mère', by seman. opposition (SL 80f.); **Ar.** *ba'ba'a*, 'to call (the child) s.o. 'papa'', *bā'bā'*, 'papa, father' (cf. /'ab-/); DialAr. *bāba(h)*, 'papa, my father', *bābūs*, 'petit garçon' (< Syr. *bābōsā*, 'petit garçon'; DRS 40); **Eth.:** Amh. *baba alä*, 'to say 'daddy' (child)'; Gu. *babba*, 'stammer' (< Ar. *bā'bā't-* or < /ba'-/ 2)

AA *ba', 'father' (HSED 38). - **SF**: family vocabulary, onomatop.

/Ba'-/ 2) Onomatop. animal sound, with reduplic., W/SS. **BS**: 'animal sound analysed as reiteration of the labial phoneme /b/' (AEL 144): **Ar.** *bā'bā'*, 'camel braying' > 'mewing of a cat'; **Eth.:** by suffix. expan. and seman. meton. Ge. *babbaya*, *bebaya*, 'celebrate, be happy', *bāb*, 'goat's milk' < onomatop.? (CDG 85); Tig. *bo' bela*, 'to drive the herd by shouting *bo'-bo*', by contracted reduplic. *bub bela*, 'to bark' > *bub*, 'big fly', 'horn (to blow)', *bub alä*, 'to make noise'; Tigñ. *bub bälä*, 'to moan', 'to resound', alloph. *bu^c bälä*, 'to roar (lion)', 'to try to scare s.o. by saying 'boo''; Amh. *bubb alä*, 'to moan, resound', *baba alä*, 'to bleat (sheep)', *bub(b)u*, 'sound made to quiet a child', *babba*, 'to fear (baby)'; *bu alä*, 'to howl' (DRS 40).

SF: onomatop. physiol. sound.

/Bā'-/ PrimBIB, predic.-nom. expan. by vocal. intens. and reduplic., CS. **BS**: 'movement inside' > 'to move into (inner) place' (# '[outer] place), 'to go in' / 'to come back' / 'to come' (the 'entrance' implies the 'return' and the 'return', the 'entrance'): **Akk.** *bā'u(m)*, 'to go along'; MariAk (Can.), 'to come'; **Ug.** *ba'*, 'to come, get in'; **Heb.** *bô*, 'to enter, come', *bī'āh*, *mābô*, 'entrance'; **NWS**: Phoen. *b'*, 'to come in'; **ENA**: Tham. *bw* (pour *bw'*?), 'faire halte' (?) (DRS 50); **ESA**: Sab. *bh'*, 'to enter'; **Ar.** *bā'a*, I 'to return' > 'to suit, match' > 'be equal' > II 'to lodge s.o.', *mabā*, 'resting place', by reduplic. *bu'bu'*, 'origin, source, root' and 'heart' (of a man or thing), and by metaph. deriv. 'noble, chief, lord ... important person' may go back to the original seme 'interior or inner place'; **Eth.:** Ge. *bo'a*, 'to enter', *ba'at*, 'entrance'; Tig. *bā'a*, 'to enter, come'; Tigñ. *bo'ē*, 'to enter, come in', *bā'atu*, 'entry'; Amh. *b^wa*, *bu'a*, 's'ouvrir entièrement' (DRS 50); Gu. *b^weyä*, 'to go down' (?) (EDG 167).

The sexual coital meaning is a seman. deriv. - The meaning 'pupile' of Ar. *bu'bu'*- (above all in Heb. *bābāh*, Aram. *bab^étā*, Syr. *babtā*, without /'/, and meton. deriv. JAram *būbyā*, NHeb. *bābū'ā*, 'reflected, reflex, shadow') may be also a metaph. seman. deriv. < *bu'bu'*-, 'center, root' (but see also NAram, *bābāgī*, 'pupil of the eye' < Pers. *babāk* [DDVS 24]). Other possible etymol. > the noun 'baby' < Ar. *babbat*, 'little child' (HALOT 107; cf. Heb. *'īšōn*, Fr. 'pupille', Sp. 'niña [de los ojos]') or Ar. *bab-* 'door' (DRS 50). - AA *ba'/baw/bay, 'to walk, go'

(Murtonen 1989:107f.; HSED 39). The relationship of this base with the pre-CS functor /b/ is problematic - **SF**: basic movement/place.

2 - Second level: expanded binary base

No sure expanded bases of this binary cluster can be ascertained. It can probably be found in /ba'aw:ya/ as predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-w:ya/ < /bə'/ > /ba'a+w:ya/ WS, BS: 'movement of going in like ...' (¿?), specifically Ar. *ba'ā*, 'redresser la tête', 'se vanter' > *ba'ū*, *bā'awā*-, 'orgueil' (DRS 40, but the seme is not recorded by Lane). The same can be said of a possible prefix. expan. /n-/ of an onomatop. BIB /ba'-/ 2) > /naba'a/, with the BS 'to whisper' in the SF of 'prophecy' (< Eng. 'soothsaying'); Akk. *nabā'um* and byforms, 'to name, nominate', *nabūum*, 'called', 'authorised person'; Heb. *nābî*', 'prophet'; JPAr. *nby*, *nbyyh*', 'prophet'; JBAr. *n^ebū^atāh*, 'prophecy'; Syr., *nabiyā*, 'prophet'; NAr. *nwiya*, 'prophet'; Ar. *naba'a*, 'to utter in a low voice', 'to come upon s.o.', 'to go forth', 'to bring forth, lead s.o.', III/IV 'to inform', *nabā*'- 'information', *nab'āt*-, 'a low voice', *nabî*'-, 'prophet', *nābî*'-, 'that goes forth from one land to another'; Meh. *nay^(c)wū*, 'to mew', 'to keen over the dead'; of those witnesses, Ar. and Meh. seem to preserve the best the original seman. value, while the specific meaning 'prophet' seems of WS stock.

3 - Homographs/Loanwords

Akk. *bi'u*, 'hole' < AA (HSED 40)

Akk., *be'u*, 'bird', NHeb. *bō'at*, 'unclean bird', Syr. *bā'wā*, 'noctua' < maybe onomatop. deriv. (cf. SED2 72).

Ar. *nab'āt*-, 'protuberance' < (?).

Soq. *bé'i*, 'date unripe' < (?).

Tig. **bā'ā*, *bay'āt*, 'deceit, breach of faith' < (?). (cf. DRS 63).

/Bv^C-/

1 - First level: simple binary base

/Ba^C-/ Onomatop. sound with different expan., alloph. of /bağ-/ , CS. **BS**: 'to make a bubbling noise, to bubble' > 'to burst forth' in different aspects (wounds and joy) (cf. DRS 73): **Akk.** *bubu^(t)tu(m)-*, *bubuhtu*, *buhbuhtu*, *bubuttu*, *bubutu* 'boil, pustule', by dissimil. *burbu^(t)tu/burbu^(t)ātu*, *burbu^(t)hātum*, 'bubble' (cf. Lat. **bulbulliare*, Sp. 'burbuja'); **Heb.:** *^aba^cbū^cōt*, 'blister, ulcers'; NHeb. *bi^cbē^c*, 'to cast bubbles', 'to bulge' (DTT 180); **Aram.:** JAr. *bū^c*, 'to swell, burst forth', *bū^cā*, *bu^{ca}tā*, *būtā*, 'swelling, abscess', 'bursting forth, rejoicing' (by seman. shift > 'alarm-post, signal-pole' [?]) (DTT 147), *bi^{ca}tā*, 'rejoicing' (DTT 164), *bayya^c*, 'cesser de, attendre' (DRS 63); **Ar.:** DialAr. *bawwa^c*, 'to exult' (DRS 52).

See SED I n° 30, for a supposed PrimW. **bu^c(bu^c)at-*, 'blister, boil'. Murtonen 1989:115, /b^c/, 'swelling, abscess'; while HSED 75 proposes AA **bo^c-bo^c-*, 'pour, drink' and mentions (HSED 45) a Sem. **bV^c*, Ar. *b^{cc}* (!), 'rain'; Ehret 1995:91: **-bāa^c-*, 'to flow heavily, defecate', pre-Proto-Semitic **b^c*, 'to pour out'. - Maybe a resonance cluster [{labial+fricative-pharyngeal}] with multiple expan.: cf. /BW^c/, /BB^c/, /B^cB^c/, /B^cY/^c, /B^{cc}/, /NB^c/ (DRS 73; DTT 147); see also the alloph. resonance /b-^c/, /b-ğ/^c, /b-g/^c, /b-k/^c (MD 287). - **SF**: onomatop. physic. sound.

/Ba^C-/ PrimW by vocal. intens., W/SS. **BS.:** 'body part, extended extremity (hand/arm)' > 'extended hand as measure' > 'to offer', 'to measure', 'to sell', as derived sense in SF of trade (cf. Heb. *qānā* < *qāneh* [very dubious], DialAr., *zban*, *zibanat*; SL 83f.; DRS 52): **NWS:** Pun. *b^ct*, 'tarif'; **Aram:** NAr. *b^c*, 'hypothèque, mortgage' (DRS 62); **ENA:** Tham. *by^c*, 'to sell'; **MSA:** Soq. *bāḥ* 'mesurer', 'brasse', Ṣḥ. *bi^c*, 'brasse'; Meh. *bôt/bi'â*, 'brasse' (SL 83) < **Ar.** *bā(w)^ca*, 'to extend the arms to their full reach', *bā^c-*,

‘fathom’, ‘the space between the two extended hands’ > ‘reach, power’ ... # by constr. distrib. and seman. meton. *bā(y)^ca*, ‘to sell’ / ‘buy’ (?), *bay^c-*, ‘hire’, ‘thing sold’ (to stretch the hand < to measure // to offer to buy), as deriv. meaning by meton. *bā^ca*, ‘to confess, admit’ (as a result of an interchange or transaction) > *bāya^c(a)* > **Aram.:** Syr. *baya^c* ‘to swear’ > ‘to close a transaction’ (DRS 62-63); **Ethp.** Ge. *ba^c*, ‘palm (hand)’ and denom., *ba^cat*, ‘calf (of the leg)’ > ‘basic measure’ > ‘elbow’ (Sp. ‘cuerpo’, ‘brazo’ // ‘braza’ as ‘measure’), maybe by phonetic conversion /ba^cba^c-/ < /baba+ya/ < *bebeya*, ‘stretch out, separate’ > ‘to go around’; Tig. *bā^c*, ‘fathom’ (< Ar.).

Not recorded in SED I. On the contrary HSED 64 quotes AA *bayV^c-, ‘to sell’ (?). The suggestion of Ehret 1995::90: *-ba^c-, ‘to increase’, Ar. *ba^cba^c*, ‘prime of youth’, may be more pertinent - **SF:** body part.

2 - Second level: expanded binary base

Only a couple of expan. can be ascertained with any confidence: suffix. /-ya:wa/ and prefix. /na-/:

/Ba^caY:Wa/ BIB, predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-y:wa/ < /ba^c-/ > /bā^ca+y:wa/, WS. **BS:** ‘to make boil’: **Heb.:** *bā^cāh*, ‘to bring to the boil’, ‘to bulge out’ (HALOT 141); by metaph. shift > **ESA:** Sab. *b^cw*, ‘to overcome, assault’; **ENA:** Tham. *b^cw*, ‘commettre un crime’ (DRS 74); **Ar.** *ba^cā*, ‘commettre un crime’, ‘atteindre quelqu’un et lui nuire’ (DAF 144; DRS 74).

This base should be distinguished from CS /bgy/, ‘to search, inquiry, wish’ with some other seman. deriv. in Akk., Ug., Heb., Phoen., Ar. (also ‘leave an ambush and attack’), Aram. (here JArAm. *ba^cbē^c*, ‘to ask entrance’, ‘to knock at the door’, should be included; cf. DTT 180), expression of a primary attitude (cf. *infra*); while Ar. and others /bḡw/, ‘to swell up’, may be considered an easily confused alloph. of /b^cy:w/: ‘to boil’ // ‘to swell up (wounds)’. In Ar. the two bases have felt together; cf. also *baḡḡa*, ‘être mis en mouvement et bouilloner (se dit du sang)’ (DAF 144). Seman. ‘wish’ and ‘boiling’ are easily mixed up.

/NaBa^ca/: BIB predic. deriv. by prefix. /n/- < /ba^c-/ > /na+ba^ca/, CS. **BS:** ‘to burst forth’: **Akk.** *nabā’u(m)*, ‘to rise, well up’, *nib’um*, ‘(s)welling up (of water)’, *namba’u*, ‘source, spring’; **Heb.** *nāba^c*, ‘to gush’, *mabbū^c*, ‘spring’; MHeb. *nāba^c*, ‘to burst forth, flow’, *mabbū^c*, ‘well, spring’; **Aram.:** JArAm. *n^eba^c*, ‘to burst forth, flow’, *mabbū^cā*, ‘well, spring’; JPArAm. *nb^c*, ‘to flow, spring forth’, *mabbô^c*, ‘spring, source’; JBArAm. *nb^c*, ‘spring forth, flow’, *mabbū^cā*, ‘spring’; Syr. *nba^c*, ‘fluxit’, *neb^cā*, ‘fons’, *mabū^cā*, ‘fons’; Mand. NBG/NGB, ‘to (a)rise, spring up, weel up’; **Ar.** *naba^ca*, ‘to well, issue forth’, DialAr. *naba^c*, ‘source’; > **Eth.:** Ge. **nab^ca* > ‘*anbā^ca*, ‘to weep, shed tears’, ‘*anbē^c*, ‘tear’; Tig. *nāb^ca*, ‘to shed tears, weep’, ‘*am:nbē^c*, ‘tear’; Tigñ. *nāb^ce*, ‘shed tears, weep’, *nāb^cat*, ‘tear’ (CDG 382).

3 - Homographs/Loanwords

Ar. *ba^cat*- ‘défilé, troué’ < (?) (DRS 52).

/BaB-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BaB-/ PrimW/KW with vowel intens., CS. **BS:** ‘opening, hole (entry)’ (> /bw’/ > /b’b(’)/ > /byb-/ [DTT 136]), maybe in opposition/altern. Distrib. to /bāb-/: **Akk.** *bābu*, ‘door’, *bābtu*, ‘quarter’; **Heb.** **bābāh*, ‘eyeball’; **Aram.:** EpArAm., Palm. *bb(’)*, ‘gate’; JBArAm. *bābā*, ‘door, gate’ > ‘court’ > ‘section’ ‘entry, chapter’ (cf. Eng./Sp. ‘entry’/‘entrada’); Syr. *bābā*, ‘porta oculi’ (TS 442) > *babtā*, ‘pupilla,

oculus' (< JAram *babtā*, *bābītā*, 'pupil of the eye'; LS 62; DDT 136); Mand. *baba*, 'gate, door'; **Ar.** *bāb-*, 'door, gate', 'place of entrance' > *bābat-*, 'mode, manner', 'habit' (also by complem. distrib., conson. intens. *babb-*, *babbān-*, *babān*, 'espèce, manière') > *bawwāb-*, 'door-keeper' and deriv., *bu'bu'*, 'prunelle, pupille'; **MSA:** Šh. *ōb/bubet*, 'porte' (DRS 50); **Eth.:** Tig. *bab*, 'gate'; Tigñ. *bab*, 'large gate, door'.

SED I n° 29 supposes the seme 'pupil of the eye' to correspond to a PrimW. - **SF:** space > abode/house.

/BəB-/ 1) PrimW with vowel intens.-glide, CS. bs.: 'opening, hole (outlet)' > 'from where it flows, channel', phonol./seman. altern./opposition: **Akk.** *bību*, 'opening, outlet' (< *bī'u*; cf. DRS 50); > **Heb.:** MHeb. *bīb*, 'pipe, gutter, canal' (DTT 159); **Aram.:** JAram. *bībā*, 'duct, underground walk' >? *bēbannī*, 'bath-house' (DTT 159), with expan. /-ya/ JPAr. *bābītā*, *būbītā*, 'canal'; Syr. *būbyā*, 'canal'; (>) NAram. *būyā*, 'trou, caverne', *bīwā*, 'écoulement d'eau, ruisseau' (DRS 50).

SF: space > related to water.

As PrimW, there should be no expan. of those bases.

/BəB-/ 2) PrimW name of an animal, E/SS: **Akk.** *bibbu(m)*, 'wild sheep' (< Ura.; CDA 43 [?]); **Eth.:** Tig. *buba*, 'koodoo (antelope)'.

The presence of this base argues in favour of the secondary (complem. distrib.) nature of /bəb-/ 1). AA, see SED II n° 54. - **SF:** fauna.

2.- Homographs/loanwords

Akk. *bubātu(m)*, *bubūtu(m)*, 'hunger' < (?).

Akk. *bubūtu(m)*, 'axle of cart, chariot' < (?) (KW).

Ar. *bawbāt-* / *mawmāt-*, 'désert' < (?) (DAF 176)

/BvD-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

a) **/Ba:əD-/** PrimBIB with conson. spont. intens., CS. **BS:** 'part' > 'separated, parted' (# 'whole' > 'joint, complete'), with different seman. deriv.: **Akk.** *buddudu*, 'to waste, dissipate' < **badādu* (AHw 95); **Ug.:** *bd*, 'separation, isolation', *bddy*, 'alone, disconnected'; **Heb.** *bad*, 'part, portion', *bad b^ebad*, 'in equal portions', 'separated' (QumHeb.), 'solitude', *l^ebaddô*, 'he alone', *l^ebad min*, 'apart from', etc. by conson. gemin. *bōdē*, 'solitary' < separated, *l^ebādād*, 'solitude' > 'alone'; MHeb. *bad*, 'single, separate', *bādād*, 'scatter', 'to be alone', *bādād*, 'solitude' (DTT 139); **NWS:** Phoen. *bdd* (?), 'to separate' (?) (DNWSI 144f.); **Aram.:** Aram. *bādīd*, 'bêche', 'tranchée, sillon' (DRS 44); Syr. *bdôdā*, 'perturbator'; **ENA:** Tham. **bdd*, 'repousser', *mbd*, 'quote-part' (DRS 44); **ESA:** Sab. *bdd*, 'period (time)'; **MSA:** Meh. *bāded*, 'separation'; Jibb. /*bdd*/, 'to separate'; Har. *bedēd*, parting, separation'; **Ar.** *budd-*, 'a separating oneself', 'an artifice whereby one may avoid a thing', 'piece, portion', 'lot share', 'separated, disunited', 'a substitute' > *bidd-*, 'a like, a fellow' (< a part of), *buddat-*, 'a distance, a space', *badda*, 'to part one's legs', 'to make to retire, refrain', 'to separate, scatter, overcome, reject' (DialAr. *badd*, 'to extend', DRS 44), *badād-*, 'state of dispersion' < *badada(n) badada(n)*, *bidād-*, *badīd-*, 'saddle bag' (to defend the animal from being hurt [by reparing?]), DialAr. *bidd*, *bedd*,

‘coussin de selle’ (< Ar. *badda*, ‘extend’ or < *batt*, ‘garment of coarse stuff’, *batta*, ‘to cut’; cf. Sp. ‘pieza’; HALOT 109; DRS 44-45), DialAr. *baddan-*, ‘dung’ (< separated?), *badida*, ‘to keep the legs wide apart’, etc.; **Eth.**: Ge. *badd*, *baddada*, *badda*, ‘to separate, detach, make single’, *badbada*, ‘to perish’, *bedbed*, ‘plague, pestilence’, by meton. > *badado*, ‘smallpox’ (illness as cause of seclusion); Tig. *bädäd belä*, ‘to be poured out, to fall out’ (< to be separated from), *bäd*, ‘poverty’, *bäda*, ‘étranger à la famille’, *bädu*, ‘fallow-land’; Tigñ. *bädu/bodu*, ‘untilled land’, *bäda*, ‘desert’, *bada*, ‘own, belonging to’, *bado*, ‘void, devoid’, ‘solitary, deserted place’, by different seman. shift (< ‘to separate’) *bädäd bälä*, ‘to stand up suddenly’, *bädbäd bälä*, ‘to tremble, shake’, *bädbäd*, ‘fetid’, ‘a kind of illness’, *bada*, ‘malady of the livestock’, *bädädo*, *bädido*, ‘smallpox’; Amh. *bad*, *bada*, ‘who lacks consanguineal ties’, *bayäd*, ‘extraneous, unrelated’, *bäda*, ‘uncultivated land, desert’, *bado*, ‘empty, hollow’; Gu. *bäda*, ‘uncultivated field’, *bädda*, ‘to take, take away’, *bada*, ‘stranger, outsider’, *bado äg*, ‘empty-handed’, *budded barä*, ‘to run fast’.

b) /Ba:əd-/ PrimBIB with vocal. spont. intens.-glide, WS. **BS**: ‘to make s. (de)part’: **Aram.**: Syr. *bad*, ‘permiscuit’, ‘se effudit’ (TS 449); **Ar.** *bā(y)da*, ‘to go away, perish’ (cf. Sp. ‘partir’ < ‘dividir’/‘irse, separar[se]’), *baydā*, ‘a desert’; by lexical. *bayda ’anna*, ‘but, although’ (Sp. ‘a parte de que ...’); DialAr. *bayd*, ‘cause, reason’ (DRS 61) **ENA**: Tham. *byd*, ‘to go away’, *bd*, ‘to perish’; ‘loose, ruin’ (DRS 61).

This is one of the classic resonances ({labial+dental}, ‘couper’ // ‘jaillir, suinter (à travers une brèche)’) with many seman. deriv. and alloph. of close articulation and complem. expan. (DRS 43f., 76; Moscati 1947:128f.; Murtonen 1989:105). Its seman. evolution shows well the inner polysemy of primitive semes such as ‘part’: ‘stranger’ (< apart from, separated) and ‘equal’ (< a part of). In this meton. and denomin. sense see Akk. *b:pūdu(m)*, ‘shoulder’ > (?), cf. Ar. *badda*, ‘to part one’s legs’ > ‘to be (come) wide between the thighs’, *bādd-*, ‘the inner side of the thigh’, *badad-*, ‘écartement des cuisses’, *badā*, ‘membre du corps’, possible contamination with *badan-*, ‘body’ (DAF 93, 99). - AA. *bad, ‘separate’ (HSED 43); see also SED I n° 32 for a possible AA PrimW **ba/uday-*, ‘back of the thorax’ > *badan-*, ‘body’ (“unless deverbal from *bdd* ‘séparer, écarter les pieds’), Har. *bädu*, ‘croupe (d’un animal)’ (DRS 45). Also Akk. *b:pūdu(m)*, wooden or metal implement > (?) Heb. **bad*, ‘carrying pole’, ‘shoots’; MHeb. *bad*, ‘single stalk’, twig’ (DTT 138); JAram. *baddā*, ‘stalk, beam’ DTT; Ar. *badd-* ‘beam/poutre’ (HALOT 109) < KW or meton. > ‘branch’ (< that comes out, separates from trunk), used as a building implement, ‘beam’ > then as KW in the SF of olive oil manufacturing: MHeb., JAram. Ar., *bad(d)*, ‘olive press’, ‘tank’, *budd-*. ‘press axis’ (DTT 138); Syr. *badā*, ‘pressorium, torcular’ (LS 59), NAram. *bādūwā*, ‘tisonnier’ (DRS 45). - **SF**: elementary constituent of reality; univer. seman.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

Surprisingly, there are no very clear extens. from this original cluster (see Moscati 1947:129: *bdq*, ‘lacerare’), not even a frequent suffix. exten. like /-w:ya/. We record a couple of other possible exten.:

/’aBaDa/ Predic. deriv. by prefix. expan. /’a- / < /ba:əd- / > /’a+bada/, CS. **BS**: ‘to make s.o. (de)part, run away’ > ‘to be lost, perish’: **Akk.** *abātu(m)*, ‘to destroy’, ‘to run away, to escape’; stative sense, **Ug.** *’bd*, ‘to be missing, feel lost’, ‘to perish’; **Heb.**: *’āba/ēd*, ‘ro become lost, to go astray, to perish ...’ > *’baddôn*, ‘underworld’ (place of destruction, HALOT 3); MHeb. *’ābad*, ‘to be lost, perish’; **NWS**: OCan. **abada*, Phoen.[?], Moab., Yaud., Heb., EpAram., Nab. /’bd/, ‘to perish, to be lost’, Moab. *’bd*, ‘destruction’ (DNWSI 4f.); **Aram.**: BAram. /’bd/, ‘to perish’; JA /’bd/, ‘to be destroyed’; JAram. *’bad*, ‘to be lost’, *’abdā*, ‘destruction’ (DTT 3); JPArAm. /’bd/, ‘to be lost, perish’; *’bdn/’wbdn*, ‘destruction’; JBArAm. /’bd/, ‘to be lost, perish’, *’abdē tā*, ‘lost object’; Syr. *’ebad*, ‘perit, interit’, *’abîd*, ‘perditus’, ‘demens’; **Ar.** *’abada*, ‘to become wild, shy’, ‘to run away’, ‘to use unusual words’, *’abid-*, ‘unsocial, unfamiliar, shy’ (that separates himself); **Eth.**: Ge. by metaph. shift > *’abda*, ‘to be

insane' (see Eng, 'at a lost'), A 'to lead away', 'abandon', 'ruin, perdition, hell' (< Heb.); Tig. *äbbädä*, 'to deceive', 'abd', 'fool-hardy', Tigñ. *abädä*, 'too go mad', *abbädä*, 'to pacify, calm down' (< to take away), *abdi*, 'mad', *abdaw*, 'nomad'; Amh. *abbädä*, 'to be/go crazy'.

The seman. shift by metaph. application to the loss of the mind, common in SS. is clearly seen in Syr. - It is difficult to decide whether Ar. 'abada, 'to remain in a place', 'to dwell constantly', 'abad-', 'unlimited time', 'abadan, 'for ever' (< in Aram., Mand., Tig., Gu. and maybe in Heb.), 'abidat-, 'deed, calamity ever to be remembered', results by enant. in the specific SF of 'time' ('to depart' # 'to remain, to endure') or represents a seman. shift (time as the most distant horizon, the experience of running away into endless distance); cf. Ar. *rabada*, 'to remain, dwell', as possible free altern. alloph. ('sonants'), without no relationship to a common base /bvd-/.

/BaDaLa/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-la/ < /ba:əd-/ > /bada+la/, W/SS. **BS:** 'to make disappear, scatter' > 'to change': **Ug.** by meton. shift *bdl*, 'substitute, reserve personnel' (< instead of the person disappeared, or altern. as if it would make s.o. disappear); **Heb.** /bdl/, N 'to withdraw', 'to be excluded', Hif. 'to separate', *bādīl*, 'separation' > 'slag'; MHeb. *bādal*, 'to separate, divide, distinguish' (DTT 140); **Aram.:** JAram. *b^edal*, 'to abstain from' (?); JPArAm. *bdl*, 'to separate'; JBArAm. *bdl*, 'to abstain', 'separate'; NAram.: *bādīl*, 'to change'; Tur. *bādāl*, 'Ersatz'; **MSA:** Meh. *bdl*, 'to change', *bādēl*, 'improvement, change', *bādāl*, 'instead of'; Jibb. /bdl/, 'to change'; Har. /bdl/, 'to change'; Soq. *bdl*, 'être changé'; **Ar.** *badala/baddala*, 'to change', *tabdīl-*, 'changing', *badal-*, 'substitute', *baddāl-*, 'seller' (< that changes); **Eth.:** Ge. *badala*, 'exchange'; Tig. *bādllä*, 'to change'; Tigñ. *bāddälä*, 'to exchange, barter'; Amh. *bdl, T *tābaddälä* 'to be exchanged' (< Ar.), *tābadälä*, 'uneven'.

The various seman. shifts ('disappear' / 'change' / 'exclude' / 'exchange') are easily understood as modifications of the BS of the binary cluster 'part' > 'separated, parted', from the physical to commercial semantic field in the different linguistic areas (see Murtonen 1989: 105f.; Moscati 1947:128: *bdd*, *bdq*, *qtl*).

/BaDaRa/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ra/ < /ba:əd-/ > /bada+ra/, W/SS. **BS:** 'to make disappear, scatter': **Aram.:** JPArAm. *b^edar*, 'to scatter, strew' (DTT 140f.); JA *bdr*, 'scatter' (DJA 35); JPArAm. *bdr*, 'to disperse, scatter'; JBArAm. *bdr*, 'to scatter'; **MSA:** Meh. *bdr*, 'to outstrip'; Jibb. /bdr/, 'to outrun'; Har. /bdr/, 'to outstrip'; Soq. /bdr/ N. 'être tacheté'. Maybe by seman. shift > **Eth.:** Amh. *bdr, T *tābaddärä*, 'to borrow', *bāddär*, 'loan' (cf. supra *tābaddälä* 'to be exchanged'); Gu. *bāddär*, 'loan' (< Amh.).

On the other hand, Ar. *badara*, 'to become full', 'to be the first' > 'to precede' ..., 'to rush', seems to be an independent ternary base (cf. Tham. *bdr*, 'to hurry', CDG 87); Ge. *badara*, 'to be swift', 'to hurry', 'to precede', *badr*, 'race'; Tig. *bādrä*, 'to hasten', to precede'; Amh. *bodari*, 'rival, competitor'; Gu. *bāddärä*, 'to advance, be first'.

/BaDaWa/ Nomin. deriv. by suffix. extens. < /-w(a)/ < ba:əd-/ > /bada+wa-/, W/SS. **BS:** 'separated place/way of life in': **ESA:** Sab. *bdw > *bdt*, 'open country'; **MSA:** Meh. *bdw*, 'beduin' < ; **Ar.** *badw*, 'bedouin life', by denom. deriv. *badā(w)*, 'to go away into the desert', 'to lead a nomadic way of life', *bādiyat-*, 'desert'; **Eth.:** Ge. *badw*, 'desert' > *badwa*, 'to be desolated, barren'; Tig. *badob*, 'desert'; Tigñ. *bodu*, 'fallow ground' ... (see above).

There does not seem, however, to be a suffix. extens. /-w:ya/ of this nomin. base CS /bdw/ with the meanings 'to appear, become apparent', as well as /bd':y/, 'to begin', 'to devise', 'to lie', 'to sing', /bdh/, 'to happen'; possibly interconnected, apparently are not related to the discussed cluster. They seem to be ternary altern. allotheses. For its part HSED 79 adduces AA. *bud-, 'hate' > Ar. *bdy*, based on *bVd-.

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

Akk. *bādu*, ‘evening’ < *biātum*.

Akk. *būdu*, an implement < (?) (HSED 74: AA.*bo’Vd, ‘vessel’).

Ug. *bd*, ‘intone a song’, ‘song’ < Heb. *bādā*:*h*, Ar. *bada’**a*, *badā*, *badaha* (DUL 213).

Heb. *bad/baddim*, ‘linen, linen cloth’; MHeb. *bad*, ‘fine, precious cloth’; Aram. *baddā*, ‘fine garment’ (DTT 138) < Gr. *baddin*, through Heb. pl. *baddim* (CDG 86).

Heb. *bad*, ‘loose talk, boasting’ (HALOT 109), *bad*, ‘oracle priest’ (HALOT 109) < Phoen. *bd*, ‘idle talk’ (DNWSI 144) < MariAkk. *baddum*, ‘clerk’ < seman. shift (?) (CDA 35). See *infra* /b_{tw}/.

ESA/Sab, *bd*, ‘currency’ < (?)

SS. *buda*, ‘evil eye’, ‘sorcerer’ in SS, cf. *infra* /b_{ty}/.

Tigñ. *bad*, ‘salt water’ < (?)

Amh. *bido*, ‘cry to make a ram halt’ < (?)

Amh. *beddo*, ‘grain measure’ < (?)

Amh. *bodda*, ‘black cotton soil’, ‘unfertilized, barbecho’ < Orom.

Amh. *bwadde*, ‘a container’ < (?)

Amh. *bād(d)ādo*, ‘cricket’ < onomatop. (?)

/BvD-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

a) /Ba:əD-/ PrimBIB possible allopho. of /bad-/ , WS. **BS**: ‘part’ > ‘isolated’ / ‘divided into two’, ‘part of’ > ‘equal’: **Ar.** *baḏ-*, ‘single, sole, alone’, *biḏdat-*, *baḏḏat-*, ‘part, portion, identical lot’ > ‘*ibtadḏa*, ‘couper, retrancher’, *badd-*, *baḏḏ-* ‘identique, semblable’ (< part of,) (DRS 46); by conson. intens. and seman. shift (> to split up) > **ENA**: Tham. *bdd* [b_{dw}], ‘vaincre’; **Ar.** *badda*, ‘dépasser qn., à la course, vaincre’ (DRS 46). > > *bazza*, ‘to threaten, boast, out on airs’, *bazbaza*, ‘calumniate, offend, despise’ (CDG 117 < /b-z/, mixing up two different roots; cf. *infra*)

This base should also be compared with /b-z/, Ar. *bazza*, ‘to take away by force, to strip, despoil ...’ with correspondence in the Sem. languages (cf. *infra*); see Zaborski 1971:57: *B-Z, ‘to condemn, despise’; Murtonen 1989:108:BWZ. The resonance (bd) {labial + dental} is pointed out by Cohen (DRS 46), with bases more or less related (/BDD/, /BDW:Y/, /BDH/, /BDH/, /BDL/, /BD^c/, /BD^cR/, /BDQR/, /BDR/, /P/BDR/, /BDRQ/, /BWD/). The notion of ‘part, share’ is seman. ambiguous > s.th. detached and s.th. belonging to. There seems to be a great deal of mixing up between those allophon. bases. **SF**: elementary constituent of reality; universal seman.

b) /Ba:əD-/ PrimBIB with vocal. intens., W/SS. **BS**: ‘(to be in) bad condition’, physical and mental: **Ar.** *baḏ*, ‘threadbare, shabby’ and deriv., *baḏiḏa*, ‘être en mauvais état’ [DRS 46f], *bāḏa*, ‘être méchant’, ‘devenir pauvre et humble’ (DRS 50-51); **Eth.**; Ge. *boza* /bwz/, ‘to be stupid’ (CDG without Semitic reference); Amh. *boz*, ‘stupid’, *bozä*, ‘to be dull, stupid’; Gu. *būz*, ‘ignorant, stupid, fool’, *bazäzä*, ‘to be in low spirit, feel lonely’, *bužž* **balä*, ‘to be lonely’; possible contamination with /b-z/.

The proposed Pers. deriv. should be ruled out, given the old Semitic testimonies (AED 172). There seems to be a certain correlation between the two homographs (‘part’ // ‘bad condition’). – **SF**: physical and mental basic condition.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

/BaḌa':W:Ya/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-':w:ya/ < /ba:əḏ-/ b) > /baḏa+w:ya/, CS. **BS:** 'to fall /consider s.o. in bad condition': **Akk.** *bazā'um*, 'to make demands', *buzzu'u*, 'to treat harshly' (Cf. HALOT 117); **Heb.** *bāzā*, 'to despise', *bizzayyôn*, 'contempt'; **Aram.:** EpAram. *baddē, 'mépriser' > *mbdh* (DRS 46; but cf. DJPAram. 85); JAram. *b^ezê*, *b^ezā*, 'to despise', *bîzyāh*, 'rag, wreck', *bizzāyôn*, 'contempt, disgrace' (DTT 153); JPAram. *bwz*, 'disgrace', *bzbz*, 'to waste, squander', *bzbwz*, 'squandering' (or < /b-z/?), *bzy*, 'to expose, scorn, disgrace', *bezyôn*, 'disgrace'; JBAram. *bzbz*, 'to squander', *bzy*, 'to debase', 'to show contempt'; Syr. *bsā*, 'contempsit, despexit'; Mand. BSA, 'to trample, to scorn, despise' (HALOT 117); **Ar.** *baḏu'a*, *baḏuwa* 'to be foul, unseemly, obscene'; by conson. inten. > **MSA:** Soq. *bezóze*, 'tachteté'; **Eth.:** Ge. *bazza*, 'to threaten, boast, put on airs', *bazbaza*, 'calumniate, offend, despise' (CDG 117; possibly some confusion with /b-z/; cf. *infra*).

See HSED 86, AA. *buḏ, 'be bad', Sem *bVzVy, 'treat badly'.

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

Ge. *boz*, 'harp string' (see below /bḏ/, /bz/)

Amh. *boze*, a reddish soil < (?).

/BvḌ-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/Ba:əḏ-/ (?) PrimW (?) with conson.-vocal intens./gemin. /baḏ-/ , CS. **BS:** 'drop or small quantity of water' > 'humid' (see Sp. 'humedales'): **Akk.** *biṣû*, 'drop' > *bāṣu(m)*, *baṣṣu*, 'sand' (MariAkk. 'sandbank'), *biṣṣu*, 'droplet', 'tears', *biṣû*, 'to drop' (?) > *baṣāṣu*, 'to trickle', by seman. shift > *buṣaṣû*, 'trifles'; **Heb.** *boṣ*, 'silt', *biṣṣāh*, 'waterlogged ground' > *bāṣaṣ*, 'to drip' (DTT 185), *baṣbēṣ*, 'mud, muddy'; **Aram.:** maybe by enant. Syr. *baṣ*, 'exaruit, macruit' (LS 85); **Ar.** *baḏḏ-*, *baḏḏat-*, *baḏḏāḏ-* 'soft, tender, plump (in body, skin)' > denomin. *baḏḏa*, 'to become *baḏḏ-*', *baḏaḏ-*, 'little water', *baḏūḏ-*, 'a well having little water', *baḏīḏat-*, 'small quantity of rain' > deriv. meaning 'compact in flesh', according to the Oriental ideal body complexion, above all applied to women (see AEL 213), by reduplic. *buḏābiḏ-*, 'fort, robuste' (DRS 77; see *infra* its seeming alloph. /b-z/).

The mixing up with base /b-ṣ/ (see *infra*) is very probable; they seem to be alloph. (see Murtonen 1989:117: /BC/; HSED 79: *buḏ, 'sand, earth'; Diakonoff-Kogan, *ZDMG* 146, 1996, 29; Orel-Stolbova, *ZDMG* 147, 1997, 213). The existence, however, of a biconson. root/cluster /b-ḏ/ with the BS 'white' is not clear; the base /bayḏ/ turns out to be a CS ternary PrimBIB (including the seman. development 'egg'; see SED I n° 43; Kogan. *JSS* 47, 2002, 189; Murtonen 1989:111) from which the rest of the related meanings derive. Contamination of bases is quite possible (cf. in this regard AEL 213 on *baḏḏ-*, said of the skin: "not particularly implying whiteness" // "with a very white or fair complexion"). – **SF:** elementary natural phenomenon related to water.

2.- Homographs/loanwords

Ar. *bā(w)ḏa*, 's'arrêter dans un endroit' < (?) (DAF 178).

Ar. *baḏḏa*, 'to jerk a string, to tune an instrument (see Zaborski 1971:55), *bazza*, 'accorder un instrument de musique' (DAF 139); but see also Ge. *bezā*, *boz*, 'harp string' (CDG 117); also Tig. *boza*, 'a certain tune of the flute' (WTS 293) < KW (?), maybe denom.

Ge. *baḏawa*, 'to sleep' < /b-t/ (?) (see CDG 88)

(BvG-)**1.- First level: simple binary base**

- a) **/BaG-/** PrimBIB of verbal denom. by conson.-vocal. intens. W/SS. **BS:** ‘good body aspect’ (size): **Ar.** *bağğa*, ‘engraisser, rendre gras’ (< ‘à le faire crever’ [?]; Sp. ‘gordo a reventar’) > *bağğa*, ‘percer, faire crever’ (DAF 85) > *bağğat-*, ‘sang tiré par incision’ (DAF 85) > Syr. *bagīgūtā*, ‘macies’ (LS 57), by reduplic. *bağbāğ*, ‘gras et gros’; DialAr. *bağbağ*, ‘to inflate’; **Eth.:** Tig. *bāggā*, ‘to grow (plants)’ (< ‘to grow fat’); Tigñ. *bāgg/bāgäg bälä*, ‘to burst’ and deriv., *bāgog bälä*, ‘to cry a long time (child)’, *bog^w bälä*, ‘to burst, perforate’ > *bog^wbog^w bälä*, ‘to be perforated’; Amh. *bāğğä*, ‘to turn out well, be good’, *bāggo*, ‘good, in good health’; Har. *bēğä*, ‘être supérieur à’ (< Cush. ?; DRS 42).
- b) **/BaG-/** PrimBIB of verbal denom. by vowel intens./glide /-w-/, W/SS. **BS:** ‘good body aspect’ (brightness): **Ar.** *bāğä*, ‘enveloppeur, accabler’ > ‘briller en enveloppant tout l’horizon (éclair)’ (DAF 176), *bawğ-*, ‘coruscation des éclairs qui embrassent tout l’horizon’ (DRS 50); **Eth.:** Ge. *bagbaga*, ‘to be sick’, ‘calumniate’, represents enant. shift to be ascertained already in Tig., Tigñ. and Gu. (‘burst’ > ‘die’ and ‘lie’) and in Ar. *bağğa*, ‘percer’, see *supra*; Tig. *beg*, ‘red glass-beads’ (< ‘shining’), *bāgbäg bela*, ‘flash’ (CDG 89) > *bog*, ‘bois à fumigation’ (WTS 298); Tigñ. *bāgg/bāgäg bälä*, ‘to shine’, ‘to pass quickly to a better condition’, *bog bälä*, ‘to flare, blaze up’, by reduplic. *bāgbäg bälä*, ‘to flash, gleam suddenly’, *bog bälä*, ‘to flare, blaze up’; Amh. *bog/bugg alä*, ‘to flare’, ‘break out’ > *bāga*, ‘the dry season’, (< ‘burnt’, better than < (i) *bä* + *ħəga*, DRS 42), *bağğä*, ‘to spend the dry season’, *bogäbbogä*, ‘to shine’ and deriv., *bāggo*, ‘good, in good health’; Gu. *b^wāgg/bugg bea*, ‘blaze’ > (*a*)*buğī*, ‘to cheat, deceive’; Har. *bāg bāya*, ‘flare up’ (CDG 89).

Nuanced aspectual distrib. by phon. variation. No affix. extension of this cluster is found. - **SF:** physiol. field.

b) Homographs/Loanwords

Syr. *bagbeg*, ‘garrivit’, *būgbagā*, ‘strepitus ventris’, ‘gemitus columbae’ < onomatop., cf. Ar. *bawğ-* ‘cri’ (DAF 176), *bağbağat-*, ‘creking arm-chair’/ (DRS 42).

Ar. *buğğ-*, ‘petit oiseau, poussin’, ‘fruit d’un arboussier’ < (clearly denom.), cf. Tig. *beg*, ‘red glass-beads’.

Ar. *bāğ-*, ‘voie, grande route’; DialAr. *bāğä*, ‘grand space, plan où les eaux s’amassent’; Gu. *bāğä*, ‘plain, field’ < (?) (DRS 50).

Tig. *bagi*, ‘bribe’ < Ar. (?) (WTS 298).

Tig./Tigñ. *bāggo*, ‘honey eating ant’ < (?)

Tigñ. *bāgg^w bälä*, ‘to die prematurely’ < denomin. (?)

Amh. *bāg*, ‘sheep’ < (?)

Amh. *baği*, Gu. *bağo*, ‘hornless cow’ < (?)

/BvĠ-/**1.- First level: simple binary base**

/BaĠ-/ Onomatop. by conson.-vocal. inten., epenth. and reduplic., alloph. of /ba^c-/, cf. *supra* for the E/WS, Ar. **BS:** ‘strong bubbling noise as a manifestation of violence’: **Ar.** *bağğa*, ‘bouilloner, gicler (sang)’ > *bayğ-*, ‘coup de sang’, > in the *bedu* language *buğğ-*, ‘chamelot’ (> ‘bubbling’), *bağbağt-*, ‘ronflement du chameau’; *bağbağ-*, ‘puits peu profond’ (Sp. ‘borbotante’) (DRS 75-76). – By seman.

shift in the razzia language > the bubbling noise/cry as an attitude of attack or of fear: **ENA:** Tham. *bġ*, ‘vaincre in a raid’) (DRS 52); **Ar.** *bāġa*, ‘vaincre’, *bawwāġa*, ‘assaillir, surprendre’ (DRS 52), by seman. psychol. shift *baġā*, ‘sortir des bornes, dépasser ses droits, abuser, opprimer’ (DRS 76), by aspectual pass. transf. *bāġa*, ‘périr’ > *tabayyāġa*, ‘to get fixed, to freeze’ (DRS 63).

SF: onomatop. animal sound.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

Aside from the usual suffix. expan. /-ya/, we have in Ar. /nabaġa/, an alloph. of /naba^ca/, cf. *supra*. Of this base a deriv. seme evolves which is related to ‘dust’, ‘flour’, ‘powder’ < ‘laisser couler le contenu’, dit d’un sac de farine (DAF 1186). Some other Ar. lexemes may have derived from this expan. by metaph. shift (< ‘bubble’, ‘drop’, ...): *baġw*, ‘baies, arbrisseaux à baies’, *bawġ*, ‘spores’, *bawġā*, ‘terre friable’, DialAr. *būġa*, ‘cendre chaude’ ... (DRS 75).

/BaĠaYa/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-w:ya/ < /baġ-/ > /baġa+ya/, alloph. of /ba^ca+ya/, cf. *supra* for the E/WS, CS. **BS:** ‘to produce the bubbling noise...’ > by metaph. psychol. transformation: ‘to yearn for s.th., to search for it’ (Sp. ‘anhelar’ [< ‘babear’] > ‘buscar’; see above for the razzia bedu language); **Akk.** *bu’’û(m)*, ‘to look for’; by metonym. or metaph. deriv. > **Ug.** *bġy*, ‘to reveal, show’ (< ‘to make to search’ or Ar. /faġā/ (?); DRS 76); **NWS:** EpAram *yb^ch*, *b^ch*; Nab. **b^cy*, Palm. *ytb^c*; Hat. *l-b^c*, ‘to search for, look for’ (DNWSI 180ff.); **Heb.** *bā^cāh*, ‘to inquire, search’, *bā^cāh* ‘to graze bare’; < (?) **Aram.:** JAram. *b^{ec}ā*, ‘to search, ask, desire’, ‘to remark, assert’, ‘to yawn’, *ba^cyā*, ‘yawn, question’ (DTT 181); Syr. *ba^c*, ‘to graze’; Mand. BAA, *aba*; MAram. *bā^ce*, *bāyi*, *beye*, *bāye*, ‘désirer, chercher’ (DRS 76); **Ar.** *baġā*, ‘to seek, desire’, ‘to find, take’, *biġyat-*, ‘a thing sought’ > *baġy-*, ‘much rain’, ‘the main portion, ‘violence’.

See HSED 88, AA *bVġ-, ‘wish’, Sem. *bVġiw:y (?); Kogan, *JSS* 47, 2002, 189; Murtonen 1989:115.

/BvH-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BaH-/ PrimBIB predic.-nomin. by conson.-vocal. intens. and suffix. expan. (/-'h/), W/SS. **BS:** ‘to become close to, familiarise with, cohabit’: **ESA:** Sab. *bh*, ‘to enter’ (a woman, enemy country); **ENA:** Tham. **bwh* (*bh* imper.), ‘se rappeler’ (DRS 51) by metaph. expan. (< to become close to s.th.); **Ar.** *bhh*, ‘être influent’ (DRS 47), *bāha*, ‘to know, recognise’ > ‘copulate’ (cf. the sexual ‘seman. chain’ in Heb./Ethp. ‘to know’ /yd^c/, ‘to get into’ /b/), *bāh-*, ‘coitus’, ‘marriage’, *bāhat-*, ‘the court of a house’ (< familiar, interior space), *baha’a*, ‘to become sociable, familiar with’, ‘to understand, know’, by enant. ‘dévaster un lieu’ (cf. ESA); DialAr. *bawwaha*, ‘regarder fixement’ (DRS 51); by meton. shift > **Eth.:** Tig. *bāh belä*, ‘to rejoice’; Tigñ. *bah bälä*, ‘to be pleasing, agreeable’, ‘to please’ (< to be familiar?).

SF: space and social situation

/Bəh-/ PrimW, name of an animal, CS: **Akk.** *be’u*, a bird; **Heb.:** MHeb. *bā(’)wat*, ‘owl’; **Aram.:** JAram. *bāwetā*, an unclean bird; Syr., *bā’wā*, ‘noctua’; Ar. *būh-*, ‘hibou’ > ‘plume’.

Maybe of onomatop. origin (see SED II n° 52). – **BS**: fauna.

/bahaw:ya/, Ar. *bahā*, ‘to be beautiful’, *bāhā*-, ‘beauty’ (> *ubbahat*-, ‘greatness, majesty, goodness of aspect’), could represent a suffix. expan. of this cluster (cf. *supra* Tigñ. *bah bälä*, ‘to be pleasing, agreeable’, ‘to please’); HSED 88, AA *bVhVw-, ‘to shine’ (?). While /bahaw:ya/, ‘to be empty’: Heb. *bhw*, ‘emptiness, waste’ (< *bhh’), HALOT 111); MHeb. *bhy*, *bāhā*:h, ‘to be broken’; JAram. *bhī*, ‘to be broken’ (DTT 142); Ar. *bahw*-, ‘ampleness’, ‘vacant space’, *bahiya*, ‘to be empty, vacant’, *bāhin*, ‘empty, vacant’ (>? Ar. *būhat*-, ‘dust, down, nap’; (DRS 51; Murtonen 106); Amh. *bāha*, ‘sorte de pierre blanche’ > Amh. *buha bag*, ‘mouton qui a une tache blanche sur le front’ (DRS 47); Ge. *bəhnun* (?), ‘vide’ (DRS 47); and maybe by metaph. seman. shift: MHeb./JAram. *bhy*, *bāhā*:h, ‘to be stirred up, confounded, in disorder’ (DTT 142); Mand. BHA, ‘to burst forth, be confounded’ (> ‘être vide’), may be an autonomous ternary root /bahaw:ya/, since the seman. relationship is not apparent except by enant. In contrast, besides the suffix. expan. /bahah:a/ already quoted, the following has the appearance of an actual prefix. expan. of /bah-/: Ar. *‘abaha*, ‘to know’ (cf. *supra baha’a*, ‘to become sociable, familiar with’, ‘to understand, know’). On the other hand, a denom. origin for the well attested CS PrimW. **bāhā/in*-, ‘thumb’, ‘big toe’ seems unlikely, though it cannot be ruled out altogether; see SED I n. 34.

/BvĤ-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

a) /BaĤ-/ Onomatop. exclam./expres. BIB predic. by conson. intens. and by reduplic., W/SS. **BS**: ‘(to make grunting noise’, ‘snoring’ > ‘exclamation of admiration’, ‘to produce the sound /baĥ/ in different ways’: **Ar.** *baĥ(h)*, ‘a word used on the occasion of praising, ironically of disapproval’ (“from the sound made by a he-camel in state of excitement”, AED 158), *baĥĥa*, ‘blatérer, ronfler’, ‘trotter’ (DRS 58) > said of the camel, by denom. seman. shift, *baĥĥ*-, ‘opulent, généreux’ (< Sp. ‘que hace mucho ruido’ (?), in relation to /bĥĥ/, *‘ibtihāĥ*-, ‘opulence’; (DRS 56, 58; see *infra* /baĥ-/), *baĥbaĥa*, ‘to bray’, ‘to rejoice’, ‘rechercher la fraîcheur à la méridienne’ (DSRS 58), *baĥbūĥat*-, ‘hoarseness’ (CDG 91), by seman. shift > *baĥbāĥat*-, ‘disgraceful woman’; DialAr. *baĥĥ*, ‘asperger en soufflant, bruiner’, *bāĥāĥā*, *bāĥĥāĥa*, ‘fainéant’ (< ‘yawning’?; DRS 58), by seman. deriv. (?) *baĥbaĥat*-, ‘flaque d’eau’ (DRS 58), *baĥbaĥ*, ‘chatouiller’, *baĥbaĥ*, ‘tremper du pain’, *tbāĥbaĥ* ‘to expand ...’; *baĥbaĥ*, ‘bruiner’ (DRS 58); **Eth.**: Ge. *baĥ*, *baĥ*, *bāĥā*, ‘greetings, hail!’, *bāĥbāĥa*, ‘flow roaring, rumble’, *‘anba ĥbāĥa*, ‘flow roaring’; Tigñ. *baĥbāĥe*, ‘to flow roaring’; *b^waĥ bälä*, ‘to flow’ (CDG 91); Amh. *baba alä*, ‘to make noise’, (*tän*)*bwabbwa*, ‘gush, bubble’; Har. *buĥ*, *bāya*, ‘to flow’ (CDG 91).

According to Cohen “des racines comportant les sequences BĤ ou BĜ, avec répétition partielle ou totale, signifient ‘faire un bruit’ (comme de ronflement, de râle, etc.), v. BĤBĤ, BĤĤ, BĜBĜ, BĜ”. (DRS 57). He distinguishes two other /bĥ/ roots, of which the first can be reduced to the one treated here. The second is a “séquence biconsonantique entrant dans la constitution de rac. signifiant ‘creuser, perforer, éborgner’”. But this and other quoted ‘resonances’ do not offer any of the morphemic expan. taken into account here. They belong to the sort of root variations in a third conson. to be explained by allothesis or otherwise. In Eth. (also to some extent in Ar.) there is a confusion between /bĥ/ and /bĥ/. – **SF**: onomatop. cry, shout.

b) /BaĤ-/ Onomatop. BIB predic. by vocal. intens.-glide, WS. **BS**: WS. bs.: ‘psycho-physic. state that manifests, accompanies the emission or effect of the cry/sound /baĥ/: ‘tired, inflated ...’: **ENA**: Tham. *bĥ*, ‘se reposer’; **Ar.** *bāĥa*, ‘être las’, *būwāĥ*, ‘vapeur, exhalation’ (< ‘grunting’); by epent. *bawĥ*- ‘trouble, confusion’ (DRS 51).

SF: psycho-somatic state.

2.- Second level; expanded binary base

Onomatop. clusters, mostly idiolectic, usually have no expan. except for denom. suffix. /-wa/:

/BaḤaWa/ Predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-wa/ < /baḥ-/ > /baḥa+wa/, CS. **BS.:** ‘psycho-physic state that manifests, accompanies the emission or effect of the cry/sound /baḥ/: ‘brittle, weak,...’: **Akk.** *baḥū*, ‘to be thin, be scarce’ (?); **Ar.** *baḥā*, ‘to rot’ (?), *baḥw*, ‘dates beginning to rot’ (CDG 93); **Eth.:** Ge. *baḥ^wabaḥ^wa*, ‘to decay, become putrid’, see *baḥḥa*, ‘to rot, decay’; Tig. *bāḥbāḥä*, ‘to putrefy’, Tigñ. *baḥbəḥe*, ‘to rot’ (CDG 93).

The relation of this cluster to Tigñ. *bāk^wbāk^wä*, *bok^wbok^wa*, Amh. *bokäbbokä*, ‘to be worm-eaten’ (see CDG 93) is apparently a resonance alloph. (see SED I n° 57).

c) Homographs/Loanwords

Ar., Eth. *biḥ*, *bəḥe*, ‘hippopotamus’ < Eg. (CDG 93). The term is not registered in SED II.

/BvḤ-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BəḤ-/ PrimW, physiol. term, WS: ‘virile member’ # ... : **ESA:** *bḥt*, ‘phallus’ (?); **Ar.** *būḥ-*, ‘penis, coitus’ > denom. Ar. ‘*abāḥ a*, ‘to violate a woman’ (cf. Couch. Som. *abāḥ*, ‘to assault’) (DRS 51).

AA Eg.. *bəḥ*, ‘penis, male sex’ (SED I n° 35; *Essai* 176; HSED 78: *bu’uḥ-, ‘penis’). - **SF:** body part.

/BaḤ-/ Onomatop. BIB predic. by conson. intens, alloph. of /baḥ-/ , W/SS. **BS:** ‘to produce a hoarse, rough sound’: **Ar.** *baḥḥa*, ‘to have a hoarse rough voice’, *buhḥat-* (// *buhḥat-*), ‘hoarseness, roughness’; > **Eth.:** Tig. *bubu bela*, ‘to bark’; Tigñ. *bubb bela*, ‘to make noise’, ‘*əmbaḥ bälä*, ‘to bark’; Amh., *bu älä*, ‘roar’; Har. *ḥumbō bäya*, ‘to moo’; Gu. *embabba*, ‘to pop’ (CDG 91).

The consistence of this alloph. can be proved by the CS prefix. /n-/ expan. /nabaḥa/:

/NaBaḤa/ Predic. deriv. by prefix. expan. /na-/ < /baḥ-/ > /na+baḥa/, CS. **BS.:** ‘animal voice mainly of dogs’: **Akk.** *nabāḥu*, ‘to bark’; **Heb.** *nābaḥ*, ‘to bark’; **Aram.:** JAram. *n^ebaḥ*, ‘to bark’ (DTT 868); JPAram. *nbḥ*, ‘to bark’; JBAram. *nbḥ*, ‘to bark’; Syr. *nbaḥ*, ‘latravit’; ‘Mand. NBA, ‘to bark’; **MSA** Šḥ. *nbḥ*, ‘to bark’ (CDG 91); **Ar.** *nabaḥa*, ‘to bark’, *nubūḥ-*, ‘clamour, mixture of voices ...’; **Eth.:** Ge. *nabḥa*, ‘to bark’; Tig. *nābḥa*, ‘to bark’; Tigñ. *nābḥe*, Amh. *ənb^wa*, ‘lowing of bovines’ (CDG).

/BaḤ-/ PrimBIB predic.-nomin. by conson.-vocal. intens., W/SS. **BS:** ‘(to be in an) open place’ > ‘to become present, occupy an open manifest place’: **Ar.** *buhḥat-*, ‘patio’, ‘central part’ (?) <(?) /bḥḥ/, ‘to be in the centre, to have power’ (> /baḥat/ [?]), *baḥbūḥat-*, ‘the middle, best part’, *baḥbaḥa*, ‘to be comfortable’, *tabaḥbaḥa*, ‘to be (stablished) in the middle’, ‘to be possessed of mastery, dominion...’; DialAr. *baḥbaḥ*, ‘to make place for s.o., to give abundantly, to make abundant’; > *baḥbāḥ*, ‘nothing else, ended!’; DialAr. *baḥḥ*, ‘no, nothing’, ‘nothing else!’ (children’s slang); Ar. *bāḥa*, ‘to appear, to

show oneself, to be divulged (a secret)'; by seman. and morph. deriv.: > 'abāh a, 'to allow' (< 'to give/make place') ; > **Eth.:** Ge. 'abha, 'to allow, to give the faculty of', bāh, 'ave, salut!' (< Sp. '¡sitio!', '¡permiso!') (DRS 51); Tigr. bāh, 'pas du tout, rien!' (DRS 56) (<? 'empty space', 'to clear up!'); Amh. b^waḥa, 'cauve' (?) (DRS 51). Also **Aram.** b^ehū, 'to pay attention, regard' (> 'to situate ...') may represent an altern. suffix. expan. of this cluster (/baḥaya/, 'to make place, to place'); *beḥi, 'to look out, be cautious' (DTT 155).

HSED 75 proposes AA *boh-, 'middle' (?) > Ar. buḥbūḥat-. - **SF:** space/landscape.

No extens. of this cluster can be reliably ascertained.

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

Ar. /byḥ/, bayyaḥa, 'tu cut meat into small pieces' < (?).

Ar. biyāḥ, 'kind of fish'; biyyaḥat-, '(fisherman's) line' < (?) (not recorded in SED I).

Tig. bəwaḥ, 'coarse porcelain' ('shell') < LW, KW (?) (DRS 51).

/BvK-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BaK-/ Onomatop. alloph. of /b^c/, /b-h/, /b-h/ by conson.-vocal. intens., W/SS. **BS:** '(to) crack, burst, bubble' of different materials or subjects and so from it different but related semes (fermentation, bubbling) have derived: 'to burst up' > 'to show agitation, excitation': **Aram.:** JAram. būk (part. bāyēk) 'to run here and there, to be agitated' > denom. būkyā, 'the weaver's shuttle' (DTT 145); **Ar.** bakka, 'to agitate in crowd', by reduplic. bakbaka, 'to push in crowd', by seman. shift > bāka, 'engraisser' (cf. Sp. 'está que explota, revienta', said of a fat person), 'couvrir la femelle', 'remouer, agiter', 'trafiquer, acheter' 's'embrouiller', 'être dans le trouble' (DAF 180) and many other seman. deriv., bawkā, 'confusion'; DialAr. bakbak, 'to bubble (a dish at the fire)' and > by meton. cause-effect bakka, 'to tear, split', bā'akat-, 'well furnished shop' (Sp. 'lleno a reventar'); **Eth.:** Ge. bohaboha, 'to rot (trunk in earth)'; Tig. bāk'a, 'to drop the skin vessel, to tear', tābakkə'a, 'to burst, crack'; Tigñ. bākāk bälä, 'to smoke' (TED 1174); Amh. bokkā, 'ferment', buho, 'fermented dough', bākäbbäkä, 'to boil', bokäbbökä, 'to rot', 'to become fat'; Har. bug bāya, 'ferment' (DRS 63-64) (HALOT 111); by altern. vocal.-glide intens. Gu. b^wäka, boka, 'ferment' > bākāk barä, "to smell bad".

Leslau (CDG 94) relates Ge. bakka, 'to vanish, become void' (Tigñ. bākki, 'just so, useless' [maybe also bākwayä, 'to become bald', bəka, bəkay, 'perhaps', TED 1170, 1175f.]; Amh. bākākä, 'to be destroyed', bāk, 'useless'; Gu. bokak bälä, 'to exhaust oneself') to Ar. bakka, 'to tear, break, lower the value of something' > 'being nothing', which is very likely (see HSED 49: AA *bak, 'squeeze, strike'; Murtonen 1989:108). Minimal seman. shifts of meton. cause-effect character may have given rise to those semantic nuances. Its relationship with the alloph. /baq-/ /baqbaq-/ is also clear. - **SF:** expres. onomatop. of natural noise.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

A prefix. expan. /na-/ can be presumed along with the common suffix. expan /-ya/:

/BaKaYa/ PrimBIB predic. deriv. by suffix. expan. /-ya/ < /bak-/ > /baka+ya/, CS. **BS:** ‘to boil, to burst (in tears) like a bubbling liquid or fermented mass ...’: **Akk.** *bakû(m)*, ‘to weep’ and deriv.; **Ug.** *bky*, ‘to weep’ and deriv.; Heb. *bākā*, ‘to weep’, *b^ékî*, ‘weeping’; **NWS:** Yaud. *bky*, DA *bkh*, EpAram., *bky*, ‘to lament, weep’, *bky*, ‘weeping’; **Aram.:** JAram. *bky*, *b^ékā*, ‘to lament’ and deriv. (DDT 169); JPArAm. *bky*, ‘to cry’; JBArAm. *bky*, ‘to cry, weep’; Mand. *bka*, ‘to weep, cry’: NAram. *bāhī*. ‘pleurer’ (DRS 64); **Ar.** *bakā*, ‘to weep’ and deriv.; **MSA:** Meh. *bky*, ‘to cry, weep’; Hars. *bekō*, ‘to weep’; Šḥ. *béké*, ‘to weep; Soq. *béše*, ‘pleurer’; **Eth.:** Ge. *bakaya*, ‘to weep’; Tig. *bāka*, ‘to weep’ > *bākā’ä*, ‘to tear’; Tigñ. *bākäyä*, ‘to weep’ and deriv.; by altern. conson. intens. Gu. *bekkä*, *bäk’ä*, *bäkk’ä*, ‘to cry’, Gaf. *bäššä*, ‘to cry, weep’ (EDG 136).

The sound component implicit in the seme ‘to weep/cry’ makes its onomatop. deriv. very likely. Furthermore this seme implies two complementary seman. features: ‘to let flow’ (‘tear’) and ‘to burst loud’ (‘to cry’). This may produce different deriv. seman. fields. - AA. Murtonen 1989:112; *Essai* 173, binary base.

/NaBaKa/ Predic. deriv. by prefix. expan. /na-/ < /bak-/ a) > /na+baka/, WS. BS: ‘to bubble up’: **Ug.** *nb/pk* (*napku*), ‘fountain, spring’ > *mbk*, ‘source, spring’; **Heb.** **nēbek*, ‘source(s)’, *mabbāk*, ‘water-source’; alloph. > **Aram.:** JAram. *n^ébag*, ‘to break forth’, ‘to come to the surface’ (DTT 867), *nibgā*, ‘shoot, twig’, *nabgā*, ‘a vessel’ (its relationship with Heb. *baqbûq* is not clear, unless by alloph.; DTT 867); Syr. *nbag*, ‘scaturivit’, *negbā*, ‘virgultum’; Mand. NBG, ‘to spring up, well up’.

It is not clear whether Ar. *nabağa*, ‘to utter a loud voice, cry’, ‘crepitem ventris emitere’, ‘to mix up beating’, *nabbāğ-*, ‘loud cry’, > denom. *nabbāğat-*, ‘anus’, represent an alloph. of the same cluster as Aram. Or an independent base; the seman. relationship is not very strong. It may represent an allothesis. More significant in this regard is CS /nb^c/, ‘to spring up, gush forth’, by altern. /b^c/ // /b-k/.

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

Heb. *bākā*, ‘pistacia lentiscus’ < denom. (?) (cf. Sp. ‘sauce llorón’). (HALOT 129), cf. Ar. *bakā*, ‘thorny bush’ < denom. (?)

Aram. *bēykā*, ‘net, head-dress’ < (?)

EpAram. *bkth*, ‘hen’; NAram. *abbākā*, ‘cock’, *baktā*, ‘hen’ < LW, KW (?)

/BvL-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BaL-/ PrimBIB predic.-nomin. by conson. intens.-reduplic. (also by vocal.-glide intens. in Aram.), CS.

BS: ‘to put together > ‘confusion’ > ‘mixing up’, firstly with water: **Akk.** *balālu*, ‘to mix up’, ‘to upset’, *ballu*, ‘mixed (perfumes, omens (see infra Ge., fodder)’, *billu*, *billatu(m)*, ‘mixture’, *baliltu*, *balītu*, ‘rubbish tip/waste land’, *bullu*, ‘decay’(?)’; **Can.:** Pun. *bll*, ‘certain type of offering, probably farinaceous food mixed with oil’ (DNWSI 167); **Heb.:** *bālal*, ‘to mix up, confound’; NHeb. *balûl*, ‘mixed up’, *bilbēl*, ‘to mix up’ > ‘to upset, disturb’ (DTT 171); **Aram.:** JAram. *bwl/byl*, ‘to mix, knead’ (> NHeb. *hōbîl*, ‘to mix’), *bwl*, ‘something kneaded’, *bîlāh*, ‘thorough mixture’ (DTT 145, 161), *balbel*, ‘to mix up’ (DTT 171); JPArAm. *bll*, ‘to mix, confound’, *bwl*, ‘lump, clump of earth’; JBArAm.: *blbl*, ‘to mix up’; NAram. *balbi*, ‘fouiller’ (DRS 65); Syr. *balbel*, ‘perturbavit’, *bûlbālā*, ‘confusion’; **Ar.:** DialAr. *balbūla*, ‘orge broyée’; **Eth.:** Ge. *balla*, ‘spoil, mix, confuse’, *maballat*, ‘widow’, **balbala* > *bābbala*, ‘to be mixed up, confused’ (CDG 85); Tig. *bällälä*, ‘to change colour’, *‘əbəlbul*, ‘confused, scatered’; Tigñ. *bällälä*, ‘to cause to fade (colour due to washing)’, *bälbäl bälä*, ‘to

flap, ‘flutter’ (TED 1092; but see *infra*); Amh. *bällälä*, ‘to be spoiled’; Gu. *bulbulä*, ‘honeyed water’; Har. *bäläla*, ‘être devasté’ (DRS 68).

In its original seme (‘to wet, moisten’) this base may come from /bəl-/; Murtonen 1989:112. – **SF**: physical operation.

/BaL-/ Onomatop. BIB predic.-nomin. by conson. reduplic. (also by vocal.-glide intens. in Aram.), CS. **BS**: ‘(to) stammer(ing)’ (sounds): **Akk.** by denom. shift *bubīlu*, ‘a species of crested bird’ (see Sp. ‘(a)bubilla’ < Ar./Lat. dimin. of ‘upupa?’); **Aram.:** NAram. *bulbalā*, ‘babbling’, *bülbül*, *bilbil*, ‘nightingale’ (also Ar. *bulbul* perhaps by denom. meton. or LW < Pers.; DRS 65); *bûlbâlā*, ‘babillard’ (DRS 65); related to this base by vocal. glide or first conson. reduplic. may be Syr. *bawlā*, ‘tumultus’, *bawlā*, *bbwlyy*, *bbw’y*, ‘instrument de musique’ (DRS 51); **Ar.** *balīl*, ‘gémissement’, *ballala*, ‘roucouler (colombe)’, ‘crier (paon)’ (DRS 68), *balbala*, ‘être embrouillé (se dit du discours)’, *balbāl-*, ‘trouble, agitation’ (DAF 157), by denom. shift *bulbul-*, ‘rossignol’ (< Pers.?) ; DialAr. *balbal*, ‘crier (bouc)’, by instrumental meton. *bulbul-*, ‘bec de gargoulette’ (DRS 65); **MSA**: Soq. *blbl*, ‘mugir’ (related to *brbr*; SL 87, 94; see below); **Eth.:** Ge. *balbala*, ‘to predict through omens’ (cf. Akk.); Tig. *bälbäl belä*, ‘to rattle, clatter’, A1 *abälbälä*, ‘to talk as if possessed’, by denom. shift *bäla*, ‘a small brown bird’; Tig. *bēla bēläw*, ‘rumour, gossip’; Amh.: *bullal*, ‘dove’ (LW < Cush.?: EDG 141?) >; Gu. by meton. *bulle*, *bullal*, ‘dove, pigeon’.

SED II n° 60 considers **bvl-*, ‘kind of small bird’, to be an AA PrimW. - There may be a meton. shift < from sound confusion > to objective confusion: stammering > confusion > mixture, or the other way round. DRS 65 points out a possible clustef /BL/, ‘mélanger, troubler’: BWL, BKL, BLBL, BLK, BLL, BLS, BL^C?, BŠLL. - Ar. *balla*, ‘to take possession’, ‘to cleave to’ (AEL 243), *balāl-* ‘to make close the ties of relationship by goodness with one’s kindred’ (AEL 244) may suppose a seman. shift in the positive sense of the proposed base (< the general seme ‘to put together, join’), while Ar. *balla*, ‘to escape’, ‘suffer distress’, ‘not to meet’ (AEL 243), *bill*, ‘malheur’; *balila*, *balla*, ‘être agressive’, *balalat-*, *bulalat-* ‘haine implacable’, *balla*, ‘errer’, ‘être dispersé’, *billā*, ‘séparé des siens’ (DRS 68), >? Tig. *bolälä*, ‘to feel badly, to hate’, may imply eneant. (< the general seme, in the negative sense, ‘to separate, disjoin’) to a certain extent rather than a new base /bal-/ 2). - On the other hand, the seme ‘to blaze, flare’ could be a seman. shift of this base (< ‘to move to and fro’) applied to ‘flame’, although a deriv. by apheresis from **nbl*, ‘flame’ is also possible ; cf. *infra*. However, I take /wbl/ to be an original ternary base, not a reduction of **B-L* (see Zaborski 1971:56; Diakonoff-Kogan, *ZDMG* 146, 1996, 28). - **SF**: the onomatop. origin is debatable: a natural phenomenon and action.

/BəL-/ PrimBIB predic.-nomin. by conson.-vocal. and glide intens./reduplic., W/SS. **BS**: ‘watery element, rain’ > ‘overflow, to let fluids go’: **ENA**: Tham. *hbl*, ‘guérison’ (DRS 67); **ESA**: *bll*, ‘abundance’ (‘bien’, dubious; DRS 68); **Ar.** *ball-*, ‘moist’, *balīl*, ‘wind in which is moisture’, *bilāl*, ‘water’, *balla*, ‘to moisten’, *balal-*, ‘moisture’, *ballat-*, ‘a single act of moistening’ > ‘wealth’, ‘freshness of youth’; possibly related to Ar. *bill(at)-*, ‘good fortune, health’, *bill-*, ‘allowable’, ‘good’, *bulalat-*, ‘garb, guise’ (AEL 244), *balāl-*, ‘bien’, *bullat-/bilāl*, ‘bien, bienfait’ (DRS 67), by metaph. shift related to physiolog. fluids > *bāla*, ‘to discharge one’s urine’, *bawl-*, ‘urine’, ‘seminal fluid (of mules)’, *bawl-*, *bīlat-*, ‘discharging of urine’; **Eth.:** Ge. *balla*, ‘to moisten, immerse in a liquid’ (CDG 96; but cf. above /bal-/); Tig. *bäläl belä*, ‘to be full, to overflow, to rain’; Gu. *bällä*, ‘abundant’ (< Cush.; ETG 138).

Zaborski 1971:56; AA. Ehret 1995:84: **bäl-*, ‘to wet’; *Essai* 175s.: Eg. *by3*, ‘ciel, eau du ciel’ (but cf. EDE 2: “Bez. des Gewässers am Himmel”, p. 128; also GHÄS 246: ‘Eherner’, woher das Eisen stammt), Cush. *bire/bile*, ‘ciel, pluie’ (Cf. EDE a.l.), Chad. **bal-* ‘sky’, ‘cloud’ (cf. HSED 52, 77, 80f.; Kogan, *JSS* 47, 2002, 189; also HSED 72, 87: **bil-*, ‘door’ [?]; **bül*, ‘cure, Sem. **bil-* ‘to heal, cure’). - **SF**: natural phenomenon.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

/BaLaW:Ya/ Denom. verbal BIB by expans. /-w:ya/ < /bal-/ > /bala+w:ya/, CS. **BS:** ‘to (be) spoil(ed), destroy(ed)’ (see above the seman. shift /bal-/ , ‘to mix up’ > Eth. ‘to spoil’, ‘to ruin’, ‘to fade’); **Akk.** *balû, belû*, ‘to be extinguished (fire, smoke)’, *bulû(m)*, ‘dry wood, dry reed’ (> Heb. *bûl*, ‘wood block’); *bullûm*, ‘putrid’(?); **Ug.** *bly*, ‘to devore, consume’; **Heb.** *bālāh*, ‘to wear out (cloths)’, * *bāleh*, ‘worn out, old’, *b^élôy*, ‘rags’; **Aram.:** EpAram. *bl*, ‘to deteriorate’; JAram. *b^élā(‘), b^élē(y)*, ‘to be worn out, ‘to perish’ (DTT 172); NAram (Tur.) *bāla*, pl. *būlawât*, ‘plage, unheil’, *bālî*, ‘to wear out’; Mand. *bla*, ‘usé (vêtement)’ (DRS 66); by unknown meton./metaph. shift > **ESA.** *blw*, ‘to construct a tomb’, pas. ‘to be interred’, *blwt*, ‘funerary monument’; **Ar.** *balā(w)*, ‘to try, prove’ > ‘to afflict’, *bilw/yat-*, ‘test, probation’, *bilw/y-*, ‘worn, wasted’ > *baliyyat-*, ‘she-camel bound to death at her master’s grave’; DialAr. *bla*, ‘affliger, frapper’ (DRS 66); **Eth.:** Ge. *balya*, ‘to be old, decrepit’ > by reduplic. *balbala*, ‘to become old’, *balbāle*, ‘tattered clothes’ (*bālu y kidan*, ‘Old Testament’); Tig. *bāla*, ‘to be old, be worn out’, *bālāya*, ‘means for disseminating information’ (TED 1098); Tigñ. *bālāyā*, ‘to be old, to be worn’; Gu. *bāla*, ‘to eat, graze’.

See Murtonen 1989:113; Zaborski 1971:56: *B-L, ‘to be worn out, to decay’.

d) Homographs/Loanwords

CS *bal, negat., adverb. functor (DRS 65), unrelated to the previous /bal-/; secondary gramm. function; simple, non-inten. # *bal, affirm./neg. functor (<? b-l: emphat. deisis): Akk., Heb., Phoen. Aram., ESA, Ar., Eth. (*‘anbala*), with different morph. expan.: *bly, *blty* (cf. HALOT 131).

Akk. *bullu*, ‘to throw down, cast away’(?), maybe a seman. shift of < /bal-/ a).

Akk. *būlu(m)*, ‘animals, livestock’ (cf. Aram. *bālā, bā’lā*, ‘animaux feroce’? < /ybl/, Ar. *bāl-*, ‘ballena’, ‘spade’ (AEL 277) < LW?; cf. DRS 51f.; SED I, p. lxxxv, n° 245).

Akk. *biltu(m)*, ‘load, tribute’ < /wbl/ (DRS 67; cf. also Heb. *bûl*, ‘produce, tribute’ < *y^ébûl*; Aram *b^élô*, EpAram. *blw*, ‘contribution’(?)) gift’, Tig. *ble*, ‘aide’).

Akk. *billu*, ‘a plant’, ‘a stone’, *bulālu*, (*a*)*bulilulu*, ‘a plant’; cf. Ar. *ball-* (collec.), ‘fleurs, fruits’; *balalat-*, ‘sorte d’épineux’, *ballān-*, ‘sorte de plante’; DialAr. *balbal*, ‘espèce d’éphèdre ...’ (DRS 65); Ge. ‘*ablalit*, ‘sorte de chardon’; Tig. *bālla*, ‘mauvaise herbe’ (DRS 68); Tig., Tigñ. *bālbāta*, ‘a plant’; Amh. *bālbāla*, ‘a kind of sorghum’ (< Orom; cf. AED 865), *bālbāta*, ‘plant used as a taeniicide’, *balaw*, ‘sorte de poivre’ (DRS 66) < LW ?

Can. *bûl*, ‘name of (harvesting) month’ (ESA, Phoen., Heb., NAram *bwl*, <? *y^ébûl*; HALOT 115, DRS 52).

Aram. *bālā, bā’lā*, ‘prairie, terre inculte’ (DRS 51s, 66); Mand. *bala*, ‘prairie, land outside towns’ (MD 48) < (?).

Aram./Ar, *byl, ‘mind’ (EpAram, *bl*, BAram *bāl*, Syr. *balā*, NAram *bālā* (DRS 51), Mand. *bal, bala*, ‘heart, mind, state’; < Ar. *bāl-*, ‘state, condition, heart, mind’; DialAr. *bālā-k*, ‘attention’ (DRS 51). A possible (?) seman. (even phonol.) chain may be here at work in parallel to. /byn/, ‘interval, between’ > ‘understand’ // /byl/, ‘to join, mix’ > ‘mind’ (cf. Lat. *comprehendere*: {dental + liquid.-nasal} with glide-vocal. intens) (?).

Ar. *bulbulat-*, ‘litter, palanquin’ < /ybl/ (DRS 65 ; cf. Ug. (*i*)*blblm*) ; cf. DUL 8).

Ar. *baylam-*, ‘cotton husk’ < ?

Ge. (*an*)*balbala*, ‘to blaze, kindle’; Tigñ, *bālbālā*, ‘to flame, flicker’; Amh. *tānbālābbālā*, ‘blaze’; Gu. *bolbol balā*, ‘to flicker, blaze’ < Cush (CDG 95; TED 1092, 1087ss; ETG 139; but cf. *supra* on /bal-/).

Tigr. *ble*, ‘help, salvation’ < (?) (cf. WTS, p. 268).

Amh. multiples lexemes of binary articulatory base /b-l/ of uncertain etymol. origin (cf. AED, pp. 857-861).

Gu. multiples lexemes of binary articulatory base /bl-/ of uncertain etymol. origin (EDG 138s.).

/BvM-/**1.- First level: simple binary base**

/BaM-/ PrimW, CS. **BS:** ‘elevated point: in landscape and <> animal body’, of possible nostratic origin/loan (< KW, Gr. *bômós* = ‘back’/‘height’): **Akk.** *bāmt*, *bānt*, ‘half, border, breast’; **Ug.** *bmt*, ‘back’; **Heb.** *bāmā*, ‘high place, fortress’; **NWS:** Moab. *bmt*, ‘sort of high place, holy place’; **Aram.:** Syr. *bīm*, ‘tribunal, high place’; NAram. *bīm*, ‘raised place between the temple wall and the ...’, ‘seat of justice, throne’ (< Gr. *bēma*); by seman. expan. < DialAr. *būma*, ‘retranchement’ (DRS 52); **Eth.:** Ge. *bāmā*, ‘high place’ (< Heb.).

Murtonen 1989:114. The difference in vocalisation is also to be seen in Gr. from which Syr. and NAram. may have been directly borrowed. On the other hand Ar. *buhmat*, *bahmat*, ‘stone block’, may represent an infix. or glide expan /-h-/ (DRS 52). The behaviour of /h/ in this regard is parallel to that of /w/ and /y/. The base shows a very simple articul. frame [labial]{labial}. - **SF:** natural phenomenon.

/BəM-/ PrimW of onomatop. origin, WS: name of an animal; **Aram.** Syr. *būmā*, ‘bubo, strix’; Mand. *bum*, *buma*, ‘owl’; NAram. *būmā*, ‘owl’; Mand. *bum(a)*, ‘owl’; **Ar.** *būm-*, ‘hibou’ > **Eth.:** Amh. *bum*, ‘owl’.

SED II n° 52 takes this base as a possible alloph. of **bv(w)/*būh + -m*; cf. *supra*. - **SF:** Fauna.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

As is well known, Albright derives CS /bhmt/, ‘beast, animal’ by infix. /-h-/ from this PrimW as witnessed in Ug. ‘back of animal’ (see HALOT 111f.); but cf. DRS 48: “dépend vraisemblablement de” < /bhm/, ‘to be unable to speak and hear’. The denom. deriv. by epenth. /-y-/ seems more likely for /BaYaMa/, ‘to raise, place himself on an elevated position’ >: Ge. *bay(y)ama*, ‘to become a monk.’

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

Ar. *bamm-*, ‘la plus grosse corde d’un instrument de musique’ < Pers. LW. (DAF 166).

/BvN-/**1. First level: simple binary base**

/BəN-/ PrimW.CS. BS.: ‘generative product’ < ‘son, daughter’: **Akk.** *binu/bintu/buntu/bunat* (*bennu*); **Ug.** *bn/bt*; **Heb.** *ben/bat/bitt*; **NW/SS:** Phoen., Pun., Moab., *bn/bt/bat(?)b^ct*; Nab. *bn*; **Aram.:** JAram /NHeb *bar/berat*, ‘son’/ ‘daughter’; Mand. *bin*, ‘son’ (< Ar. *ibn*), *bra/b^enayyā* (pl.); **Ar.** *ibn*, *bin/bint*, *bawnat-*, ‘little girl’ (< *bint*, cf. Fr. ‘fillete’); **ENA:** Lih. *bin/bint*; Tham. *bn/bnt*, du. *bny*; **ESA:** *bn*, pl. */bnt*; ‘son’/‘daughter’; **Ethp.:** Ge, *bənt* (*ayn*), ‘pupil’ (see Sp. ‘niña del ojo’).

Perhaps by conson. intens. Akk. *bennu*, ‘Familienältester’ (?) (AHw 122). AA **bin*, ‘man, male relative’ (Murtonen 1989: 114; HSED 72; Ehret 1995:85). For the Aram. phenot. /b-r/, rather than to postulate an alloph. /{n:r}/, see below base /br’/, by root contamination. - **SF:** family name.

/BaN-/ PrimBIB predic.-nomin. by conson. intens., W/SS. **BS:** ‘(to be in) a fixed place’: **ENA:** Tham. *bn*, ‘to rest in’ (DRS 72); by conson. intens. **Ar.** *banna*, ‘to stop at, to fix in a place’; **Aram.:** NAram. *bînâ*, ‘here I am’ ([?] see DDVS 34); **Eth.:** Ge. *bonu*, ‘is there’ (?); Gu. *banä*, ‘to be’ (cf. GED 143-44).

/BaN-/ BIB predic.-nomin. by vocal. intens./glide /y:w/ < /ban-/ > /bāna/, **CS. BS:** ‘to set aside, in a specific spot’ > ‘to separate one from the other, isolate, distinguish’ (vd. Ar.) > by seman./metaph. deriv > ‘to understand’: alloph. /n/ > /r/ (see may be Aram /bar/ // /ben/, Gu. /banä/ // /barrä/); **Akk.** *biri, birī, birti*, ‘between’, *bī:ēru(m), birītu*, ‘space between’; **Ug.** *bn*, ‘to know, understand’, by conson. reduplic. *bnyy*, ‘intermediary’; **NWS:** EpHeb. *nbwnh*, ‘understood’; Palm. **byn*, A ‘to cause to understand’ (DNWSI 152); EpHeb., EpAram., Palm., Nab., *byn*, ‘between’; Palm. *bynwt*, ‘between’; **Heb.** *bîn*, ‘to understand, to see’, *bînāh*, ‘intelligence’, *bên*, ‘interval’, ‘between’; MHeb. *bênônî*, ‘central, mean, average’ (DTT 163); **Aram.:** BAram. *bên*, ‘between’; JAram. *bayyēn*, ‘to teach, make wise’, *bên*, ‘between’, *bênayîn*, ‘interval’, *bîntā*, ‘the inside part’, **bantā*, ‘understanding’ (DTT 162f., 8); JPArAm. *bên, bn, byny*, ‘in, between’, *bynyy*, ‘intermediary row; Mand. BUN, BNN, ‘to separate, expound’, *binat, binia, bit, abinia*, ‘between’; NAram. *bīl, ben, bīn, b(e)yt l*, ‘between’, **mba-yin*, ‘to show’ (MD 153); **EN/SA:** Tham. **bn (bnt)*, ‘être clair, évident’ (DRS 62); Sab. *byn*, ‘to remove, intervene’, *byn, bn, bnn*, ‘between’; **Ar.** *bā(y)na*, ‘to be(come) separate from, distinct, evident’, *ba(w)na*, ‘to excell, surpass’, *bayn(a)*, ‘separation’ > ‘between’, *bayān-*, ‘apparent’, *bayyin-*, ‘distinct’, *bawn-*, ‘interval, distance’, etc.; **Eth.:** Ge. *bayna*, ‘between’, *bayyana*, ‘to discern, remark’ (see CDG 115); Tig. *ban-*, ‘alone, separate’ < /byn/ (WTS 288), (*tə*)*bäyyänä*, ‘to become evident’; Tigā. *baynu-*, ‘alone’, *bayna*, ‘between’, *bäyyänä*, ‘to resolve, conclude’; Amh. *bäyyänä*, ‘to give a verdict’, ‘to make clear’.

HSED 69, supposes a double AA **bi’an-* / **biyan*, ‘to separate, divide’ / ‘to look, know’; Murtonen 1989:110f. - The MHeb/Aram./Mand., etc. seme ‘fine, excellent thing’ for *bīna*’ may be considered a seman. shift < /ban-/ , ‘separate’ (cf. DRS 62). Jastrow’s etym. for this base (< *bō*, DDT 162) has little to recommend it. In its (pre- proto-Semitic) origin a nasalised exten. (< {/b/ + /n/}[?]) could be presumed. See in this regard /bi-/ in Ar. as an existence adv. On the other hand, taking into account the supposed alloph. {n:r}, witnessed in Aram {bar/ben}, ‘son’, the relation of Akk. *bāru(m)*, ‘in Erscheinung treten’, *barū(m)*, < ‘sehen’ (AHw 108f.) to this base could be suggested; but see later /br/.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

/BaNaYa/ Denom. verbal BIB by expans. /-ya/ < /bən-/ > /bana+y:wa/, **CS. BS:** ‘to produce something’ > ‘to construct’: **Akk.** *banû(m)* (> *biniannum*); **Ug.** *bnw/bny*; **NWS:** Phoen. *bny*; Pun. *bn’, bny*; Moab. *bnh*; Yau. *bny*; EpAram., Nab. *bnh, bn’*; Palm. Hat. *bn’*; **Heb.** *bānā* [> *binyān*]; **Aram.:** *b^enā*; JAram. **bny* (*’tbny*); Mand. *bna*; NAram. *bānū/bāni*; **EN/SA:** Tham. *bn’, bny*; Lih. *banay*; Sab. *bny*; **Ar.** *banā(y)*; **MSA:** Meh. *benú*; Šh. *bené*; Soq. *béne*: ‘bâtir’ > ‘to create, generate’ (DRS 71).

See Murtonen 1989:114f.: the distinction between two /bny/ bases is unnecessary in my opinion; HSED 65: AA **ben-*, ‘build’ [?]).

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

Akk. *banû(m)*, ‘good, beautiful’ < (?)

Akk. *bennu(m)*, ‘epilepsy’ < KW (?); cf. Soq. *béne*, ‘very’.

Akk. *bīnū* < JAram, Syr., Mand. *bīnā*; Ar. *bān-*, ‘tamarisk’ < (?)

JAram. *bunyā*, ‘a bird’ < (?) (not registered in SED II).

JArām, Mand. *bīnā*, *bīntā*, *bina*, ‘a thin thing, hair, thread’; PArām., *bnyyh*, ‘plaited object’. See above.
 JArām. *bīntā*; Syr. *bīnyatā*; Ar. *bunniy-*, ‘small fish, carp’ < maybe denomin. (not registered in SED II).
 JPArām. *bynyrt*, ‘seed’ < (?).
 Ar. *binn-*, ‘fat’ // ‘stinking place’, ‘strength’, ‘layer of fat’ > *bannat-*, ‘smell’; DialAr. *banna*, ‘taste’ < (?).
 Ar. *bu/anān-*, ‘extrémités des doigts’ < (?) (see DRS 72).
 Ar. *bunn-*, ‘berry’, *bunniyyat-*, ‘coffee’ > Ge., Tigñ., Amh., Gu. < (?).
 Ar. *bunānat-*, ‘prairie’ < (?).
 Ge. *bännänä*, ‘to fly about (dust, smoke)’; Gu. *bunn balä*, ‘rise (smoke)’ < (?).
 Tigr. *bäyyänä*, ‘to be cured’ < (?).
 Amh. *bonä*, ‘to be spoiled, to rot’ < (?).

/BvQ-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BəQ-/ PrimBIB predic.-nomin. by conson.-vocal. intens. and reduplic., W/SS. **BS**: ‘void/hole’ > ‘to produce a void/hole’ > ‘to spoil’, ‘to rot’ (cf. Lat. *vacuum* / *bucca*, It. ‘bucco’) < ‘breach in a solid whole’: **Heb.** *būqāh*, ‘emptiness’ > *bāqaq*, ‘to lay waste’; **Aram.**: JArām. *bīqa*, ‘rift, crevice’ > JArām. *bēqīqā*, ‘broken piece, potsherd’ (DTT 186); Syr. *baq*, ‘vastavit’, *bqīq*, ‘putridus’, Syr. Af. *’abbeq*, ‘macravit’; Mand. BQQ, ‘to be corroded, rotted’; **ESA**: Sab. *bāq*, ‘violier, trahir’; Hadr. *bāq*, ‘tracasser’ (?) (DRS 53); **Ar.** *baqqa*, ‘to clave, rend’, *bāqa*, ‘to bring calamity upon’, ‘to assault’, ‘to wrong’, by seman. meton. > ‘empty, voided object’ > *būq-*, ‘horn, trumpet’ (> Ge. *buq*, *bawq*, ‘trumpet’; maybe of Gr./Lat. origin < *buccina*; CDG 115); DialAr. *bewwaq*, ‘to hollow’ (HALOT 116); > **Eth.**: Ge. *baqqa*, ‘to split’, *baqbaqa*, ‘to break/cultivate the soil’; Amh. *bäqqäqä*, ‘to gape, be opened’, *änbaqqäqä*, ‘to yawn, open the mouth wide’; Tig. *bäq bela*, ‘to appear suddenly’ (see Lat. *irrupere*), *bäq ’abälä*, ‘to hit’, (*tän*)*bäqäbbäqa*, ‘to be ploughed deeply’; Tigñ. *bäq bela*, ‘to appear, lift the head’, *bärq’äq’ä*, ‘to uproot’, (*’am*)*bähaq’ä*, ‘to yawn’; Amh. *bäqqäqä*, ‘to open’, *bəqq alä*, ‘to appear suddenly (by raising the head)’; see EDG 146); Gu. *bəqäbäqä*, ‘to be destroyed’, *b’äqäqä*, ‘to crack in the ground’.

Cohen suggests a cluster /b-q/: ‘fendre, percer’ ({BWQ, BQQ, BQ^C, BQ, BQW...}) (DRS 78). There is an apparent contamination with /bq^C/, ‘to part, split’, but originally the semes are different although close to each other (‘to void’/‘hole’ # ‘to split’/‘pierce’). At most an allothesis between /bqq/ and /bq^C/ can be supposed by phonetic (/q/ # /^C/) and semantic shift. Finally, the cluster /bq/ may be of onomatop. origin (a Wanderwort?) and related to /baq-/ by seman. deriv. (see Gr. and Lat.) But this pre-Proto-Semitic level cannot be checked. For the seme ‘to rot, to perish’ see Zaborski 1971:56; HSED 76 AA *boḳ-. - **SF**: basic physical phenomenon.

/BaQ-/ Onomatop. BIB predic.-nomin. by conson. reduplic. (also by vocal.-glide intens. in Arām.), W/SS. **BS**: ‘bubbling sound’ > ‘recipient producing such a sound’ (cf. Gr. *bý/ikos*): **Heb.**: *baqbūq*, ‘bottle’, by seman. glissement and meton. deriv. (positive): ‘to burst up’ < ‘to flourish’ (cf. Sp. ‘clavel reventón’), *bāqaq*, ‘to proliferate (vegetation)’; **Aram.**: EpArām. *bq*, ‘jar’ (?) (DNWSI 186); JArām, JBAram. *būqā*, ‘jar’; Syr. *bagbeg*, ‘garrivit’, *bagbūgā*, ‘urceus’; *bugbagā*, ‘strepitus ventris’, *bagbūgītā*, ‘bulla’; **Ar.** *baqbaqa*, ‘to make a gurgling sound’ (water that flows away, the cooking pot), *baqbaqat-*, ‘gurgling sound’, by seman. metaph. ‘to burst, let out’ as an explosion of abundance of any kind, *bawq-*, *bawqat-*, ‘abundance of rain’ (see Sp. ‘a borbotones’), *baqqa*, ‘to give widely, spread (his receptacles of skin...), ‘to give forth many children’, ‘to become loquacious’; DialAr. *baqbaq*, ‘faire des bulles’ (DRS 78); **Eth.**: Ge. *baqbaqa*, ‘to cause to gargle, bubble’; Tig. *bäqbäqa*, ‘to churn’; Tigñ. *bäkäka*, ‘onomatop. name for a noisy kind of magpie’; Amh. (*tän*)*bäqäbbäqä*, ‘to gargle’, *boqq alä*, ‘make a sound when poured (water)’; Gu. *b’aq b’aq epā*, ‘gargle’ (CDG 100).

See Zaborski 1971:56; Murtonen 1989:118; HSED 50f., 63: AA *baḵ, 'pour, flow', *baḵ/*buḵ, 'gourd bottle', *bawVḵ-, 'drop'. But a base *B-L. 'to run away, to fly' (> Ar. 'abaqa, sabaqa, Aram. š-b-q) seems to be rather doubtful. - **SF**: water and its handling.

/BaQ-/ PrimW, name of an insect, CS: **Akk.** *baqqu(m), baqbaqqu, buqāqu(m)*, 'small fly, mosquito, gnat'; **Aram.:** JAram., JBArAm. *baqqā, bāqqātā, bāqā*, 'gnat'; Syr. *bāqā*; 'culex'; NAram. *bāqa, bāqtā, bōqo*, 'gnat, mosquito'; **Ar.** *baqq-*, 'cousin'; **MSA:** Har. *beqqet*, 'bug'.

See SED II n. 58. AA *baḵ, 'insect', HSED 49. Perhaps in complem. distribution with *bukay- (?) (see SED II n° 57). - **SF**: fauna.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

/BaQaWa/ Denom. verbal BIB by expan. /-wa/ < /bəq-/ > /baqa+wa/, W/SS. **BS:** 'to make a breach in, to penetrate' > 'to examine' (see Lat. *intus-legere* > *intelligere*): **Aram.:** JAram. *b^eqā*, 'to search, examine' (DTT 185), *bāqī*, 'expert, versed' (DTT 185); JBArAm., *bqy*, 'to inquire into'; APArAm. *bqy*, 'expert'; Syr. *bqā*, "exploravit"; Mand. BQA, 'to search'; **Ar.** *baqā(w)*, 'to look, watch'; **Ethp.** maintains the original value 'to make up a void': Ge. *baqawa*, 'to separate, split open', 'abqāwä, 'to stretch asunder, open the mouth' >? Amh. *ambaqäqä*, 'to yawn'.

/BaQaYa/ Denom. verbal BIB by expan. /-ya/ < /bəq-/ > /baqa+ya/, W/SS. **BS:** 'to be the consequence of a hole/void' > 'what is left': **ESA:** Sab. *bky*, 'to leave (unirrigated)' (?); **Ar.** *baqiya*, 'to remain' > 'to last'; **ENA:** Tham. *bqy*, 'être de reste' (DRS 78); **ETH.:** Tig. *baqyat*, 'the remaining part' > *bäqqä*, 'to spare' > *bäqqot*, 'avarice'; Tigñ. *bäqqa*, enough, *bəqqi*, 'avarice', by reduplic. *bäqqäqä*, 'to be avarice' > *bäqa*, 'to get into danger, to be hurt', *bäqäy, bəqot*, 'danger'; Gu. *bäqä*, 'to be enough' (< Ar.)

Murtonen 1989:118: both semes from the same base. Possible prefix. exten. like /'bq/, with different values in the Semitic languages, either represent lexicalisations of the causative pattern or cannot easily be reduced to a common deriv. pattern, so they appear to be ternary conson. clusters.

d) Homographs/Loanwords

Akk. *baqīqātu*, pl. 'a type of groats' < (?)
 JBArAm. *bōqā, bāqā*, 'joint' < (?)

/BvR-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BaR-/ 1) PrimW, name of an animal, by conson. reduplic., CS: **Akk.** *barbaru(m)*, 'wolf'; **Heb.** *barbūr*, 'cuckoo' / 'goose' / 'young chickens'; **Ar.** *abu burbur*, 'cuckoo', *birbir*, 'chickens' (HALOT 154); **Eth.:** Tigñ. *baro, bareto, baräto, barito*, 'turtledove'; Amh. *baret, bareto*, 'pigeon, dove' (SED II n° 61).

Perhaps of onomatop. origin (see SED II n° 61); on the last meaning see Diakonoff-Kogan, *ZDMG* 146, 1996, 28: Heb. *barbūrīm*; and the reply of Orel-Stolbova, *ZDMG* 147, 1996). – Like the cluster /brbr/ in MHeb./JAram. *barbarōn, barbarī, barbaray*, NAram. (*m*)*berbir* < *bārbir*, 'loud voiced' < Ar. *barbara*, 'to talk confusedly', 'to cry'; > Meh. *brbr*, 'to make incomprehensible sounds'; Soq. *Brbr*, 'mugir'; Ge. *barbar*, 'barbarians'; almost surely a LW from Gr. in relation to the human talk (cf. Gr. *bárbaros*; DTT 189f.). - **SF**: animal onomatop.

/BaR-/ 2) PrimW with possible conson.-vocal. intens., CS. **BS.:** ‘open, outside, separate, extent and free space from the point of view of the inhabitant in a closed space’ > ‘ample’ # ‘cultivated’: **Akk.** *barru*, ‘unbebautes Land’ (< Aram.; AHw 107); **Heb.** *bar*, ‘open field’ (< Aram.); **Aram.:** EpAram., Palm. Hatr., *br*, *bry* ‘what is outside’ (DNWSI 195, 197); JA *br*(‘), ‘outside’; BAram. *bar*, ‘field, countryside’, JAram. *bôrāh*, ‘fallow ground’, *bar*(‘), ‘forest, prairie’, *bārā’ā*, *bārā’/yā’/h*, ‘external’, *brā’î*, ‘outside’, *bôrût*, ‘emptiness’ (DTT 150, 188f.), JPAram., *bar*, *bārāh*, ‘open country, field’, ‘except for, without’, *bryy*, ‘external, alien’; JBAram. *barrā*, *bārā*, ‘field, outer part’; Syr. *ba(r)rā*, ‘campus’, *lbar*, ‘extra’, *barāyā*, ‘agrestis’, *barānāyā*, ‘externus’, *bay(y)ārā*, ‘incultus’; NAram. *barā*, ‘the outside’, *barīyā*, ‘desert’, mainland, open fields’, *būrā*, *beyār*, ‘terre inculte’, *būrā*, ‘fou, insensé’ (DRS 53), *elbar*, ‘open country, outside, apart from’ (HALOT 1838), *bārā*, *bāri*, *barāi*, ‘hors de, excepté’, *bārā*, ‘côté’, ‘éloignement’, *bārīyā*, ‘désert’ (DRS 87); Mand. *bar*, ‘outside, country outside, desert’, *lbar*, ‘outside’, *barai*, ‘exterior’, *bar*, ‘chasser, expulser’ (DRS 87); **ESA:** Sab. *brr*, ‘country, plain’, *brr*, ‘to come into the open to fight’ (< /wrr/?; see CDG 1023); **Ar.** *barr-*, ‘land’ (opposed to *baħr-*) <(?) *birr-*, ‘ampleness, largeness’ > ‘benevolent conduct’ (according to Lane AEL 176, better the other way round), ‘large, ample’ > ‘comprehending every kind of goodness’; *barrāniyy-*, ‘external, outward, apparent’, (by enant.) *bawr-*, ‘not sown (land)’, *bāra*, ‘to remain uncultivated (land)’ (> any kind of sterility/dullness) > ‘to get lost, perish’, *barriy-*, ‘belonging to land’, ‘uncultivated land’, ‘desert’; DialAr. *bawwar*, ‘laisser un champ en friche’, *būr*, ‘terre en friche’ > *bāyra*, ‘vielle fille’ (DRS 53); **MSA:** Meh. *bar*, ‘desert, land’, *abār*, ‘outside’, *berōr*, ‘sandiger Meeresboden’; Soq. *bar*, ‘côté, éloignement’, *barran*, ‘dehors’, *bir*, ‘s’éligner’; **Eth.:** Tig. *bar*, *bār*, ‘mainland, outside’ (HALOT 153; DRS 53), *burur*, ‘spacieux, ouvert (le terrain)’, *borā*, ‘to wane, to be null’ (< Ar.)

Cohen finds this base present in clusters such as /{B’R, BR’, BRZ, BRBS, BRBR, BRĤ, BRW/Y, BRR}/. For its many seman. shifts see DRS 80, 87; Murtonen 1989:108; Zaborski 1971:57; the seme ‘to blame’ does not suppose a separate base /b-r/ in my opinion. AA *Essai* 174; HSED 82, *bur-, ‘earth, sand’. - **SF:** open space.

/BəR-/ 1) PrimW maybe by phon. distribution (/a/ # /ə/) or meton. deriv. cause/effect (?), CS. **BS:** ‘main eatable product’ (of the /bar/ [?]): **Akk.** *bā/aru*, a cereal, *burrum*, ‘a kind of cereal’ (Mari); **Heb.** *bar*, ‘grain’; **ESA:** Sab. *br*, ‘wheat’; **Ar.** *burr-*, ‘wheat’, > by reduplic. DialAr. *burbūr*, ‘blé broyé’ (DRS 81); **MSA:** Meh. *barr*, ‘maize’ (< Ar.); Soq. *bor*, Šh. *barr*, ‘froment’ (SL 98).

AA *Essai* 174, LW?; HSED 56, *ba:ur-, ‘grain, cereal’. - **SF:** flora, food.

/BəR-/ 2) PrimW maybe through a further phon. distribution (/u/ # /i/) and by conson.-vocal. inten. and denom. deriv., CS. **BS:** ‘opening, gap’, by tier seman. deriv. > a) ‘to go through, penetrate’ > b) ‘to separate’; c) ‘to be pure, shine’; d) the metallurgical process: **Akk.** *birr-*, ‘grille, lattice’, *bīru*, ‘ridge’; **Eth.:** Ge. *barr*, ‘gate, passage’, *barar*, ‘opening’, *barbir*, ‘cistern, well, pit’; Tig. *bār(r)*, ‘passage, entrance’, *burur*, ‘spacieux, ouvert’; Tigñ. *bārri*, ‘passage, entrance’, Amh. *bārr*, ‘door, gate’, *bir*, ‘pit’, *bārbir*, ‘latrine’, *borābborā*, ‘to make a hole’; Gu. *bār*, *bārr*, *bāri* ‘gate, entrance’, *b^wer*, *bur*, ‘pit, well’, *bārābārā*, ‘to make a hole’, Har., *būr*, ‘deep’ (see CDG 102, 107); **a)** ‘to go through, penetrate’: **Heb.** *bwr, ‘to examine’; **ESA.:** Sab. *brr*, ‘erupt (volcano)’, ‘to open up a passway’; **Ar.:** *bāra*, ‘to examine’, by seman. shift > DialAr. *barbūr*, ‘pénis’ (not recorded in SEL I; for the seman. application cf. Heb. *n^oqēbāh* and the sexual meaning ‘to penetrate’); > **MSA:** euphem. Soq. *berberoh*, ‘cuisse’ (SL 94); **Eth.:** Ge. *barra*, *barara*, ‘to pierce, penetrate, go through’; Tig. *bārābāra*, ‘to pierce’; Tigñ. *bārbārā*, ‘to cut the flesh to heal’; Amh. *bārrārā*, ‘to pierce, make a hole’, *borābborā*, ‘to dig’; *bārābārā*, ‘to bore a hole and go through’ (CDG 107); Gu. *bārrā*, ‘thigh’ (see Soq.); **b)** ‘to separate’: **Akk.** *bēru(m)*, ‘to choose, select’, *bēru/bīru*, ‘distant’, *bīru(m)*, ‘selected’, *bāru(m)*, ‘to catch, trap’, by seman. shift *bāru(m)*, ‘to revolt, rise against (each other)’, *bārtu(m)*, ‘revolt, rebellion’ <(?) (CDA 39);

Heb. *bārar*, 'to purge out, separate', 'to clear, place outside', *bōr*, 'cleanliness', *b^erîrāh*, 'sifting, assorting', *b^erêrāh*, 'choosing'; **Aram.:** JAram. *b^er^rar*, 'to clear, put outside'; JPAm. *brr*, 'to choose'; JBAm. *brr*, 'to set aside, choose, clarify', *berîr*, 'set apart': Syr. *barî*, 'separavit'; **Ar.** *bāra*, 'to perish', 'be bad, corrupt', *bawr-*, 'bad, corrupt'; **Eth.:** Ge. *barbara*, Tigñ. *bārbārā*, 'to plunder'; Tig. *bāra*, 'to deny, refuse', *bārbāra*, 'to rummage, plunder'; Amh. *bārābbārā*, 'to rummage, plunder'; Gu. *bārābbārā*, 'to rummage'; **c)** 'be pure, to shine': **Akk.** *barr*, *barāru*, 'to flicker' with multiple deriv., *barīru*, 'radiance, glitter', *bāru(m)*, 'to appear, turn up'; **Ug.** *br(r)*, 'to be or remain pure, clean, free'; **Heb.** *bārūr*, 'clear, pure, bright'; **Aram.:** JAram. *bārîr*, 'clear, pure, bright', 'chosen, peculiar'; JPAm. *brr*, 'purity, clearness'; **ESA:** Min. *šbrr*, 'purifier, faire un acte de piété', *mšbr*, 'piété' (DRS 87); **ENA:** Tham. *br*, 'être juste', *hbr*, 'bienfaisance', *br*, 'guérison' (DRS 87); **Ar.** *barra*, *barira*, 'to be pious, merciful' (see above *birr-*); DialAr. *burr*, 'guérison'; DialMér. *barra*, 'apparaître, sortir, briller' (DRS 87); **MSA:** Soq. *ber*, 'devenir', *beri*, 'libre, exempt'; **Eth.:** Ge. *barra*, 'purify, make white'; Tig. *barārā*, 'to be glad', *bārur*, 'regular'; Gu. *barrā*, 'to clear up (weather)', *berber barā*, 'to shimmer, flicker': **d)** KW by seman. deriv. in the field of metallurgy as a process of purification: **Akk.** *barru*, said of metals ('rein' < *barāru* (?); Ahw 107); **Ug.** *br(r)*, 'tin'; **Heb.** *bōr*, *bōrît*, 'potash'; **Aram.** *b^erîtā*, 'a sort of soap'; **ESA:** *brt*, 'silver' (?); **Eth.:** Ge. *bārūr*, 'silver, money', *bārat*, 'iron' (CDG 108); Tig. *bārayār*, 'silver ear-pendants'; Tigñ. *bārūr*, 'silver', *bārri*, 'taler', *brät*, 'iron'; Amh. *bārr*, 'taler, silver'; Gu. *bār*, 'silver, taler' (CDG 106f.; DRS 87). The relationship with Eth. (Ge., Tigñ., Gu.) *bārat*, *brät*, 'iron', is doubtful (CDG 108).

The phon. distribution of the base becomes clear contrasting Akk.-Ar. *burr-* and Akk.-Tigñ. *birr/bārri*. The /-a-/ forms depend on regressive assimilation of /-r/. Seman. it is very productive in different directions, starting from the basic seme 'open, free' (see CDG 107). Also the SS seme 'to fly', 'plunder' must be taken as a seman. shift of this seme (see AA *bar-, 'clean, wash', *bar-, 'fly', *bar-, 'see', *bür, 'door'; HSED 54f., 87). The vocabulary of 'divination' (see below) also comes from this base-seme by seman. metaph. shift ('to penetrate' > 'to see through'). On the other hand, Ge. *barra*, 'to fly, run fast', *baraya*, 'to flee', Tig. *bārra*, Tigñ. *bārārā*, 'to fly', Amh. *bārārā*, *bārr alā*, Gu. *bārr* **balā*, *bār(r)ārā*, 'to fly', must be considered an alloph. of /pr(r)/, Syr. *par*, Ar. *farra*, Soq. *fer*, Tig. *fārra*, Tigñ. *fārārā*, 'to fly' (CDG 107). - **SF:** Basic physical structure.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

This very productive BIB apparently shows some expan. bases besides the common /-w:y/: see Moscati 1947:127: *h-br*, 'tagliare', *š-br*, 'rompere', *b-'r*, 'incidere', *br*, *brh*, *brr*, *pr*, etc... In the case of /hbr/, the Heb. witness fits < better Ug. *hbr*, 'to bow' (see HALOT 237), while Ar. *habara*, *habbara*, 'couper', is semantically very specific and related to *habr-*, 'chair, gross morceau de chair' (DAF 1379f.); for *š-br* see Ug. *šbr*, Ar. *šabara*. One of the clearest is the suffix. expan. /'/. But this cluster /b-r-/, with the seme 'strong, fat...', must be taken as an alloph. of /m-r-/, /w-r-y/: Heb., MHeb. *bārā*/*bārā* > *bārî*, 'fat, healthy', 'to consume food' > Hif. 'to make oneself fat' (HALOT 154, 156; DTT 192f.); JAram *b^erā*, 'to get well, strong ...', *b^erî*, *b^erî*, 'in natural condition, healthy' (DTT 193) > *baryōnā*, 'rebel' (see above Akk.; DDT 193); JPAm. *bry*, 'healthy ...', Tig. *bārāy*, 'grease of entrails' (DJPA 112; DJBA 243f.; LS 94; WTS 279).

There is also a large number of homographs that are very difficult to reduce to this base. The base /b-'r/ seems to have a specific primitive seme related to 'water well' / 'dig' so that we can see in it an independent allothesis (see HSED 69f., 78). Other correlations like the one suggested by Jastrow linking /brk/ with /brr/, 'to select' (?) has little to recommend it (DTT 195); this is a case of seman. shift not of phon. deriv.

/BaRaW:Ya/ Denom. verbal BIB by exten /-w:ya/ < /bar-/ 2) > /bara+w:ya/, CS. **BS:** a) 'to be open > empty' // b) 'to put outside, separate/link', 'to void' // c) 'to look into the distance, divine', maybe by phon. distribution (/w/, /-y/): **a)** **Akk.** *berû(m)*, 'to be hungry', *bīru*, 'hunger, thirst'; **b)** **Akk.** *bari*, *biri*, 'between, among', *barītum*, 'intervening space', *birītum*, 'space between, distance', *biri-*, *biru*,

beri(-), *birtu*, *birti*, ‘between’, *birâ*, ‘in between’ (?), *birūyum*, *barium*, ‘medial’, in both senses (separate/link) > *birītu*, ‘fetter’; **Heb.** *berît*, ‘agreement, covenant’ (see Murtonen 1989:120), *bārā* (?), ‘to define, choice’; MHeb. *bry*, *bārā*, ‘to hollow out, perforate’, > by seman. shift ‘to think out, plan’; **Aram:** JAram. *bry*, *bārā*, ‘to hollow out, perforate’; JBAm. *bry*, ‘to remove, penetrate, separate’, ‘to quit a claim’; Syr. *brā*, ‘liber’, *beryātā*, ‘chemin, ouverture’ (see above; DRS 82), *braytā*, ‘prescriptio’; **ESA:** Sab. *brw*, ‘freedom from liability’ (?), alloph. *br*, ‘free of responsibility’; Min. *bry*, ‘porte’ (?) (DRS 82); **Ar.** *barā(w:y)*, ‘to form by cutting’ > ‘to make lose flesh’, *bariyy-*, ‘formed by cutting’, *barrā*, ‘maker of arrows’, by menton. shift *burat-*, *burwat-*, ‘ring, bracelet’, > by seman. shift *bārā*, ‘to vie, compete’; > **Eth.:** Ge. *tabāraya*, ‘alternate’; Tig. *bārāw belä*, ‘to be scattered, to dissolve’; Tigñ. *barāwä*, ‘to bore the soil’; Amh. *bārrāyā*, ‘to run away scared’ (?); **c) Akk.** *barû*, ‘to see, look at’, ‘to perform divination’, *bārû*, ‘diviner’, *bīru(m)*, ‘divination’ (see above); **Heb.** *bar*, ‘soothsaying priest’ (?) (< Akk. *bārû*); **Aram.:** Mand. *baraia*, ‘to exorcize’.

For possible AA references see Essai 175; HSED 77 AA, *bor, ‘to eat’ > Heb. *bry*: “based on biliteral *bVr-”; see Diakonoff-Kogan, *ZDMG* 146, 1996, 29; Orel-Stolbova, *ZDMG* 147, 1997, 213.

/BaRa’a/ Denom. verbal BIB by exten /-’/ < /bar-/ 2 > /bara+’a/, **WS. BS:** ‘to form by cutting, separating parts or elements’: **Heb.:** *bārā*, ‘to create’ (see above Ar. *barā(y)*), theol. technical term < *bērē*, ‘to cut down’ (“sans doute sens dérivé de” celui-ci; DRS 80); **NWS:** Pun. *br*, ‘engraver’ (?); **Aram.:** JAram. *bry*, *b^erā*, ‘create’ (DTT 192); JPAm., *bry*, ‘to create’; JBAm. *bry*, ‘to create’; Syr. *brā*, ‘creavit’, *brītā*, ‘creatio’; NAram. *bārī*, ‘to create’; Mand., BRA, ‘to create’; **ESA:** Sab. *br*, ‘to build, construct’, alloph. *bry*, ‘monument sculpté’, *hbrw* ‘tailler en pièces’ (DRS 82) > maybe *bry*, ‘to wipe out, destroy (enemy)’, *brw*, ‘child, son’; **ENA:** Lih., *bara*, ‘sculpter, creuser’ (DRS 80); **Ar.** *bara’a*, ‘to create’, *bariyyat-*, ‘creation’, maybe alloph. of *barā* (< Heb.?: see AEL 178, 197), while *bari’a* / *barî-*, ‘to be(come) free, immune, secure, safe, clear’ seems rather an alloph. of *baraw:ya* (see above Sab., Syr.); **MSA:** Meh. *brw*, ‘to bear, give birth’, *ber*, ‘son’; Soq. *bere*, ‘mettre au monde, enfanter’, *bérhe*, ‘père’, *bóreh*, ‘mère’, *míbrhe*, ‘enfant’.

Common Aram. *bar*, *b^erā*, ‘son’, *b^erāh*, ‘daughter’ (HALOT 1838; DJPA 111); EAram., *br/brt*, ‘son’; JAram. *b^erattā*; Syr. *bar^ettā*, ‘daughter’; NAram. *brūnā*, *bar*, *brātā*, ‘son’/‘daughter’ (DRS 70) > Akk. *buru*, ‘son’, could be considered a reduced seman. deriv. from this expanded base (see in this regard the ESA and MSA testimony), by the alloph. /{’:h}/, rather than a product of the common assumed alloph. /{n:r}/ (see above). But a secondary deriv. (*bn* > *br* > *brh*, ‘to make a son’ > ‘to give birth’) cannot be ruled out for MSA < Ar. (DialAr. *bir*, ‘fils’ < Aram.; DRS 70). Akk. *māru(m)*, ‘son’, must also be taken into consideration as an alloph. In any case a multiple contamination between bases should be considered. - AA *Essai*. 175; HSED 56f. 84, *bara’-, ‘to recover’, *bura’- ‘to build’.

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

The seman. deriv. of its expan. manifests the seman. diversity of the BIB base /bər/.

Akk. *bē:irūtu(m)*, ‘mound’ (of corpses) < (?).

Akk. *be:irātu*, ‘waters, lagoons’ < (?), *būrtu(m)*, ‘cistern, well’.

Akk. *bēru*, ‘double hour, league’, *būru(m)*, a surface measure < (?) (maybe a LW).

Akk. *birtu(m)*, ‘fort, castle’, by denom. seman. shift < /m-r-’/ (see above); Heb., Mheb. *bīrāh*, ‘citadel’, ‘temple’ (HALOT 123f.; DTT 165); JPAm. (see this seman. chain in IE languages. ‘fort/fuerte’), better than < late Gr. *bāris*, maybe a LW) (Murtonen 1989:111; HSED 87, AA [?] *būr, ‘fortified place, building’).

Akk. *birtu(m)*, ‘riffraff’ < (?) maybe denom.

Akk. *bī/ēru*, *būru(m)*, ‘(bull) calf’, *būrtu(m)*, ‘cow’, Tig. *bare*, ‘ox’, *huri*, ‘ostrich’ < maybe denom. < /b-r-’/ // /m-r-’/) ‘to be strong, fat’ (see above) (HSED 83, AA *bur, ‘calf’).

Akk. *burû(m)*, ‘(reed) mat’ < (maybe LW).

JArām. *b^erātā*, ‘cypress, pine-tree’ < denom. (DTT 198), JPArām, *brwt*, *brt*, ‘juniper tree’ (DJPA 112); NArām, *brūtā*, ‘cypress’, ‘juniper-tree’ (DDVS 39); Syr. *brwt*, ‘spinae (?) rosae’ (LS 63); Amh. *bərbərā*, Gu. *bərbərrä*, kind of tree.

Soq. *būri*, ‘bassinet (de la rušbat-)’ (SL 94).

Gu. *bär*, ‘river’ < (?).

Gu. (*a*)*bräbärä*, ‘to be drunk’ < (?).

Har. *bōr*, ‘arôme’ < (?) (DRS 53).

/BvS-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BaS-/ 1) Onomatop. BIB predic.-nomin. by conson. reduplic., W/SS. **BS:** ‘sound of bubbling, gushing water’ // to exude, be wet < sparkling: by reduplic.: **Ar.** *basbasa*, ‘faire jaillir, couler’, *tabasbasa*, ‘s’écouler’ (DRS 72); **Eth.:** Ge. ‘*anbasbasa*, ‘to leap, jump ...’, ‘glitter, sparkle...’ (CDG 109; better than < Ar. *bašša*); Tig. *bäsbäsä*, ‘to become moist’; *bäšäwbäšäw*, ‘cliqueter, bruire’ (poetic) (DRS 72); Tigñ., *bäsbäsä*, ‘to rot, ‘to be damp’; Amh. *bäsäbbäsä*, ‘decay, be wet’ (CDG 109); Gu. *bäsüb(b)äsä*, ‘to be rotten, drenched through by the rain’.

SF: onomatop. water sound, humidity state.

*/BaS-/ 2) BIB predic.-nomin. by conson.-vocal. intens. and reduplic., W/SS. **BS:** ‘tread’ > ‘mix (by treading)’: **Heb.:** *bās*, ‘to tread down’; MHeb. *bāsas*, ‘to tread’, *bāsīs*, ‘anything to tread upon’ (DTT 178f.); **Arām:** JArām. *b^esas*, ‘to tread’ > *bsy*, *bsā*, ‘to trample upon’ > ‘to despise’, *b^esīs*, ‘anything to tread upon’, by metaph. shift *bisyāh*, ‘negligence, indifference’ (DTT 178), *bys*, ‘basin for kneading’, *besīsay*, ‘footstool, base, stand’ > **bīsay*, ‘tray for wine cups’ (DTT 164); JBArām. *bsy*, ‘to be negligent’; JPArām. *bwsyyh*, ‘wilful negligence’; Syr. *bsā*, ‘despexit, neglexit’, *basbes*, ‘pervellit, laceravit’; Mand. BSS < *bsus*, ‘to tread down’, BSA, ‘to trample on, tread on, despise’; **Ar.** *bāsa*, ‘mêler’ (DRS 52), *bassa*, ‘to mix’, ‘to break’, ‘to bray’ > ‘to reduce to powder’, ‘to scatter’, > ‘travailler, s’occuper’ (DRS 73; cf. Sp. ‘meter(se) en harina’) > *basīsāt-*, ‘wheat broken, crumbled’, ‘flour mixed with butter’, by metaph. shift > *basīsāt-* ‘intrigues, manoeuvres’ (DRS 73); **Eth.:** Tig. *bässä*, ‘to roast corn, to grind and boil’; Tigñ. *bäссо*, ‘roast barley flour’, *bässäwä*, ‘to prepare it’, *basäsä*, ‘essayer’ (DRS 73); Amh. *bäссо*, ‘roast barley flour’; Gu. *basbas barä*, ‘rummage’, *bäссо*, ‘dish made of flour and roasted barley’.

The meaning ‘to knead’ and similar, related to cereal/bread preparation, seems to be a derived secondary Kultur meaning, and it is ‘flour’. In this case contamination of both bases should be considered. - For the radical sequences ({labial + dental}) see DRS 72 (/BGS, BHNS/Š, BWS, BḤS, BLS, BSS, BSR, BRBS, BRS, BRQS/), but what is the basic common meaning? - **SF:** elementary action < food.

/BəS-/ Onomatop. sound W/SS. **BS:** ‘sound to chase away/entice a cat’: **Ar.** *biss*, ‘chat’ (DRS 73); > (?) **Eth.:** Tigñ. *bəs/bäs*, ‘sound for chasing away a cat’; Amh. *bəs*, ‘scat’ (sound used to chase away cats) (< (?) Pers., see below LW Ar. *bas*; DRS 73; but the base turns out to be an onomatop. univer. to call them).

SF: animal onomatop.: fauna.

Apart from the usual suff. expan. /-ya/ no other can be reliably ascertained. The possible link with /b's/, 'to be bad', as an infix. expansion is rather remote (see Ehret 1995:89. *-ba?-, 'to be ruined'; I believe that the apocope is an easier explanation than the expan.). The same can be said of the possible suffix. expan. *bas'a*, 'to be sociable, friendly', unless we relate it to Ar. *bawš-*, 'a mixed and confused company', through an irregular phon. alloph.

2.- Homographs/Loanwords

Akk. *bis*, 'then, afterwards' < (?) (see Amh. *bis*, 'without' in comp. [AED 895]).

Ar. *bas*, 'assez!' (said to appease or to call beasts), *basbasa*, *bassa*, 'appeler (les bêtes)'; MSA: Soq., Šh. *bes*, Meh. *bess*; Eth.: Tgr. *bäs*, 'ça suffit! assez!' < Pers. LW (DRS 72)

Ar. *basbas-*, 'terre déserte et inculte' > /ybš/ (DRS 72), cf. *b^waššäšä*, *m^waššäšä*, 'to perish, wither'; Amh. *bäsäbbäsä*, 'to be dry, wither'. By seman. shift > Ar. *bāsa*, 'être rèche' [DRS 52].

Ar. *bāsa*, 'to kis' > Pers.

Ge. *basasa*, 'to spy' < Ar. /bšš/ (CDG 110); see Amh. *bässäsä*,

Tig. *bəsat*, 'forehead', 'luck, lot' < (?) (not recorded in SED I).

Tig. *bis*, une couleur; Tigñ. *biso*, 'dark gray' < Gr. *býssos*, *infra bš* (Ge. *bisos*; DRS 62).

Tig. *busay*, *busät*, 'drizzling rain, fog', maybe by metaph. shift of the former (DRS 52).

Amh. *bässa*, 'to perforate' < (?) (see Amh. *bas(s)o*, a kind of stinging object).

Amh. *bus(s)i*, 'tree hollow' < (?)

Amh. *bus(s)a*, 'illness affecting equines' < (?), maybe denominative.

Amh. *basä*, 'to worsen, deteriorate' < /b's/.

Amh. *tämbäšäbbäšä*, 'rebouter (l'enfant), faire le dédaigneux' < (?) (DRS 72).

Gu. (*a*)*bsäbäsä*, 'to cut wood to small pieces', *bäsa*, 'cut of meat' < (?)

Har. *bēsa*, 'être préféré' < (?) (DRS 62).

/BvŠ-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

*/**BaŠ-**/ BIB predic.-nomin. by conson. intens. and redupl, W/SS. **BS**: 'joyful countenance': Ar. *bašša*, *tabašbaša*, 'to be cheerful', 'to show joy', *bašš-*, 'face, countenance', by suffix. expan. /-ya/ *bašā*, 'être d'un bon naturel' (DRS 88f.); **Eth.**: (?) by irregular phon. correspondence Ge. *basbasa*, 'open the eyes wide', *anbasbasa*, 'leap, move quickly, sparkle (eyes) ...'

Not recorded in SED I; maybe alloph. of /bš/. For the possible 'root' /{labial + š:š}/ see DRS 88f. (/BHŠ/Š, BTŠ/Š, BĠŠ/T, BŠBS, BHT/Š BLŠ, BRŠ, BTŠ/ [?]). - **SF**: physio-psychological attitude.

Maybe we have in Ar. *bayyaša*, 'doter qn. d'un beau visage (Dieu)', an infix. expan. (DRS 63).

2.- Homographs/Loanwords

Ar. *bayš-*, sorte de plante (DRS 63) > Ar. *bawš-*, *būš-*, 'cataplasme' (DRS 53). Possible alloph. of /bəš-/.

Ar. *'abaša*, 'faire germer, produire' < (?) (DRS 63), maybe lexical. caus.

Ar. *bawš-*, *būš-*, 'recipient, jar' < (?) LW (?) (DRS 53).

Ar. *bawš-*, 'a mixed and confused company', 'a multitude', an original tricon. PrimW > denom. *bāša*, 'to mix, associate' > 'to cry, vociferate'; (?) Tigr. *bost*, 'armée, troupe principale'; > by meton. shift DialAr. *bāš*, 'piller, enlever à la razzia' (DRS 53).

DialAr. *bašbaš*, *bašš*, 'suinter', 'faire pipi', *mbašbaš*, 'imprégné d'humidité' < (?) (DRS 72, 89), maybe onomatop. alloph., see above /bas-/ 1).

DialAr. *baššaš*, 'couper menu' < (?) (DRS 89).

/BvŠ-/**1.- First level: simple binary base**

/BaŠ-/ PrimBIB predic. by conson. intens., WS. **BS:** ‘(to) slow down (movement)’: Ug. *bš*, ‘to go slowly’, ‘to be late’; Heb. *bwš*, ‘to hesitate’, Po. ‘to tarry’; Ar. *bassa*, ‘to drive slowly’ (HALOT 117).

HSED 59f. points out AA *bas-, ‘to walk’ and *bas-, ‘to live, beget’, both seriously dubious.; see Diakonoff-Kogan, *ZDMG* 146, 1996, 28. - **SF:** social organisation.

/BəŠ-/ PrimW, name of plant: **Akk.** *biššu*, *buššu*, ‘rue’ (plant) (j/NB), *bišbišu*, ‘pith (inside reed)’ (jB) <; **Aram.** JBaram, *baššaš*, ‘Syrian rue’ (plant) > JAram. *b^ešaš*, ‘seasoning, relishes’ (DTT 200).

Maybe related to Ar. *bayš*-, sorte de plante. On the contrary the /ybš/ seems to an original ternary base; see Zaborski 1971:57: “this reconstruction is uncertain”. - **SF:** flora.

/BvŞ-/**1.- First level: simple binary base**

***/BaŞ-/** Onomatop. BIB predic. by conson.-vocal. intens. and reduplic., W/SS. **BS:** ‘sound of bubbling, gushing water’, cf. /baš-/ 1): **Heb.:** MHeb. *būš*, ‘to swell, bubble, burst forth’ (DTT 147), *bîššāh*, ‘channel, marsh, pond’ (DTT 183), *bāšaš*, ‘to break through, divide’ (DTT 185), *bišbēš*, ‘to break through, bubble forth, burst forth’ (DTT 183); **Aram.:** JAram. *bîššā*, ‘swamp, pond’ (DTT 183), *bašbēš*, ‘to break through, bubble forth, burst forth’ (DTT 183); JParam. *byšh*, ‘pond’; JBaram. *bšbš*, *bsbs*, ‘to emit bubbles’; **Eth.:** Ge. *bašbaša*; Tigñ. *bāšbāšā*, ‘to mix by stirring’ (maybe < /bʃ(t)/, see Amh. *infra*; CDG 111); *beša*, ‘dilute, mix’, *bəṭābāṭā*, ‘stir powdery substances in water’ > *bəṭabāṭā*, ‘cause misunderstanding between two persons’ > ‘become very old’ (EDG 165). – By seman. deriv./meton. > ‘to appear, come out suddenly, spring out, shine...’: **Ar.** *bašša*, ‘to shine, glisten’ > *bašš*-, ‘live coal’, *baššās*, ‘shining’, *bašbūšat*- ‘live coal’ (cf. NAram. *bišā*, *bašwat*-, ‘braise’. DRS 77); *bāša*, ‘to go at the head, swiftly’, *bašbaša*, ‘to wag the tail’ > ‘to speed up’ (camel) – By metaph. deriv.: **Aram.:** NAram. ‘croupe’ < **Ar.** *būš*-, *bawš*-, ‘croupe saillante, ‘callypigie’ (DRS 52); Gu. *b^wat* **balä*, ‘to brighten (weather)’.

For the different possible radical clusters ({labiale + dentale} > {b+d:š:d}) ({BDD, BDL, BDĠ, BDQ, BD, BZ, BT, BS/D, BŠ, BŠ, BṬ; BYŞ, B^c D, BQD, BRŞ, BŞL, BŞR, BḌK...}) see DRS 43f., 76; cf. *supra* /b-d/, /b-s/. - **SF:** onomatop. sound.

2.- Homographs/Loanwords

CS /bwš/ (Akk., Hb., Ph., Pun., ESA, Ar., Ethp.), ‘byssus’ < Gr. *býssos*, KW/Wanderwort (Murtonen 1989:108).

Akk. *būšīnnu*, ‘mullein’, a plant (Verbascum) > ‘wick’, ‘lamp’ (made of); NHeb. *bišbūš*, *bišbēš*, ‘prêle’, kind of plant (Equisetum Telateia?); JAram., JBaram. *būšīnā*, ‘a young pumpkin’ (metaph. ‘lampe’), Pahl. *bwšsyn*, ‘a kind of cucumber’; Mand. *bušina*, ‘pumpkin’; Ar. (coll.) *būš*- ‘reed’; DialAr. *bawwaš*, ‘to wither’ (plant) < (?).

Akk. *būšu(m)*-, ‘hyaena’, also a bird < (?).

EpAram. **ibšy*, ‘être recherché, choisi’; JParam *b^ešē*, *b^ešā*, ‘examiner’, ‘scruter’ (DRS 77); Ge. *bēša*, ‘to separate, cut, choose’, *bayyaša* ‘to separate’, *biš*, ‘single, individual’ > ‘fellow, friend’, *biša*, ‘near’ > *tabāyaša*, ‘to become companions’, Gu. *bəṭe*, ‘companion’ < /bṭ:j / (CDG 116).

JBaram. *būšītā*, ‘small boat’ < Ar. *būšiy*- < (?).

Ar. *bayṣ-*, ‘difficulty’ < (?).

Ar. *baṣā*, ‘castrate’; *baṣiyy-* ‘eunuch’ < (? (DRS 76f.)).

/BvT-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

***/BaT-/ 1)** PrimBIB predic.-nomin. by conson.-vocal. intens. and reduplic., W/SS. **BS:** ‘(to) cut’ > ‘to reduce to bad condition, to separate’: **Akk.** *battu(m)-*, ‘side, region around’, *ana b.*, ‘aside’, *bātu*, ‘half’ (?) (see CDA 44 < *bā’um* < Sum.); **Ug.** *bt(t)*, ‘to cut’; **Ar.** *batta*, ‘to cut utterly’, *bātt-*, ‘cut off from reason, stupid’; > DialAr. *batta*, ‘s’en aller’ (DRS 90); **MSA:** maybe by seman. shift Meh. *butt*, ‘se perdre’ (DRS 90); also > Soq. *š-btt*, ‘apparaître, être évident’ (SL 100); **Eth.:** Ge. *batata*, ‘wear out, become old’; Tig. *anbätbätä*, ‘vieillir’ (DRS 90), by metaph. shift > *bät belä*, ‘to jump fast’, *but-but belä*, ‘to make search’ (< ‘to separate?’); Tgñ. *bätä*, ‘fuir rapidement’, *bätbätä*, ‘to disembowel, rip out guts, devour’, *bätbut*, ‘torn to pieces’; Amh. *bätäbätä*, ‘to eat eagerly’, ‘hollow out the inside’, *bätatbätä*, ‘to bite’, *bättätä*, ‘to wear out, become old and worn out’, *butatto*, ‘rag, rags’, *buččēt*, ‘ditch’; Gu. *bäta*, ‘to take, take away’, ‘mow grass’ (< /bd(d)/; EDG 161), *batbat barä*, ‘rummage’ < maybe by seman. shift (< ‘to separate?’), (*a*)*bitä*, ‘to take for oneself’.

For the root /BT/ see {labial + dental} see DRS 89 ({BLT, BLTY, BRT, BTBT, BTW, BTK/Q, BTL, BTN, BT^C, BTR, BTT}) and *supra* /bd/. Zaborski 1951:57. AA *ba:it-, ‘to cut’; HSED 60). - **SF:** basic action/state.

/BaT-/ 2) Onomatop. by reduplic., WS. **BS:** ‘stammering’: **Ar.:** DialAr *batbat*, ‘parler indistinctement’; DialAr. *batbat*, *baṭbaṭ*, ‘chevroter’ (DRS 90).

SF: onomatop. Sound.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

/BaTaWa/ Deriv. nomin. BIB by exten /-y/ < /bat-/ 1) > /bata+wa/, WS. **BS:** ‘to cut off’ > ‘to spoil, waste’: **Heb.** *bätäh*, ‘dévastation, wasteland’, *battäh*, ‘precipice, cliff’; **Aram.:** *batwā* (pl. *batwāwtā*), ‘the untillable cuts’ (in the valley) (DTT 200), *batw^etā*, ‘motte’ (?) (DRS 90).

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

CS *bayt-*, ‘house’ (HALOT DRS 63; Murtonen 1989:111f.; HSED 64; Kogan *JSS* 47, 2002, 188f.) > Syr. *bāt*; Ar. *batā*, *baytat*, Tham. *bt*, *byt*, *bṭ*, Lih. *bt*, ‘to pass the night’; ‘way to pass the night’, ‘provisions’, Ge. *beta*, ‘spend the night’... (< the house as a place to spend the night); > Ge. *betata*, ‘to persevere, persist’ (CDG 113), *’abeta*, ‘to lodge’, Ar. *bata’a*, ‘s’arreter en un lieu’ (DRS 90); etc. < ternary PrimW /bayt/, better than intens.-epent. of an original base /b-t/.

Akk. *betātu*, ‘a decoration on garments and leathers < maybe denom.; (see Heb. *bat(t)*, ‘woven dress’; Ar. *batt-*, ‘garment’; NAram. *batīyā*, ‘vêtement’ (DRS 90f.); Amh. *bit(t)a*, ‘embroidered hem’ > denomin. (see Sp. ‘corte’, said of garment).

Akk. *būt*, ‘where, when’ < (?).

EpHeb. *bt*, Heb. *bat(t)*, JPArAm. *battā*, *bittā*, *bat*; NAram. *bat*; Ge. *bet*, *bāt*, Tig. *bat*, ‘a liquid measure’, Syr. *bt’ty* (pl.), ‘vasa, dolia’; Ar. *buttiyyat-*, *battiyyat-*, *bittiyyat-*, ‘tonneau, barrique’; Amh. *bat*, ‘small measure’ < LW (see Lat. *buttis*, *buttia, Gr. *būtis*, kind of bottle; *bátos* [Murtonen 1989:124]; see Sp. ‘bota’) (HSED 85, AA. *but-, ‘vessel’).

EpAram. *bwt*, ‘fardeau’? < (? (DRS 53)).

JAr. *bawtā*, *baw^ettā*, ‘hibou, sorte de taupe’, *bāwāt*, ‘oiseau de nuit, hibou’; Tig. *bətu*, ‘an animal’; Amh. *batī*, a bird < (?) (DRS 53) (Aram. /batt/, /bitt/, a measure of volume < Gr. *Bátos* (Murtonen 1989:124).

Ar. *bātāt-*, ‘provisions, equipments, furniture, utensils’ > denomin. (?).

Tig., Tigñ. *bita*, ‘bracelet of gold’; Amh. *bitāwā*, ‘bracelet de metal’ < (?) (DRS 90).

Amh. *bätto*, a plant; Gu. *bita*, a kind of grass < (?).

Amh. *batä*, ‘to begin’, *bätät*, ‘beginning (of the month)’ < (?) (a seman. shift < ‘to cut’? or < /bd’/).

Amh. *bat*, ‘calf (of the leg)’ < (?).

Amh. *buta*, ‘cry for help’; ‘wealthy person’ < *bu alä*, ‘roar’ (see AED 583, 911).

Amh. *bota*, ‘place, spot’ < (?).

/BvT-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

/BaT-/ Predic.-nomin. PrimBIB by vocal. intens. or epent. /-h-/, CS. **BS**: ‘(to feel) shame of / shame producing reality’: **Akk.** *bāšu(m)*, ‘to be ashamed’, *būšu(m)*, ‘shame’ > by enant. seman. *bāštu(m)*, ‘dignity’; **Ug.** *bṭ*, ‘to be ashamed’; **Heb.** *bwṭ*, ‘to be ashamed’, *būšāh*, ‘shame’, *bošet*, ‘shame’, *bošnāh*, ‘shame’; MHeb. *bōš*, ‘confounded, ashamed’, *būšāh*, ‘shame’ (DTT 151); **Aram.:** JAr. *b^ehat*, ‘to be confounded, ashamed’, *bah^atāh*, ‘shame, nakedness’ (DTT 143); JPAr. /JBAr. *bht*, ‘to be ashamed’, *behtāh*, *bah^etā^h/h*, ‘shame’, ‘areal meaning for sexual organs’ (see Lat. ‘pudenda’; Sp. ‘vergüenzas’); Syr. *b^ehet*, ‘puduit eum’, *behtōtā*, ‘pudor’, ‘turpitude’; Mand. BHT, ‘to be ashamed’, *bahtuta*, ‘shame’; NAr. *bāhit*, ‘to be ashamed’ > **Ar.** *buh^hat-*, ‘prostitution’ (DRS 91), by anomal. phon. *buhita*, ‘to be confounded, amazed’; *bahata*, ‘to confound, calumniate’.

The seman. shift to sexual meaning (‘vagine, vulva’, Akk., Heb., Aram.) may be related to a PrimW of AA origin: Berb. *bešši*, ‘vagine’; Cush. *bus*, *bōsā*, ‘vulva’; see DRS 91; *Essai* 176; Murtonen 1989:108; HSED 79. *buč, ‘pudenda’. -**SF**: basic attitude / animal anatomy.

/BəT-/ PrimW, WS, **BS**: ‘fine dust, ash’: **Ar.** *bi^{an}*, ‘ash, dust’, *batta*, ‘faire voler la poussière’ > ‘divulguer’ (DAF 84f.), *bāta*, ‘dispenser’ (DAF 176) > by reduplic. *baṭbaṭa*, ‘to raise, scatter (dust)’ (DRS 91), alloph. *bāta*, ‘to fall in dust’ (DRS 51).

See Ehret 1995:88. -**SF**: landscape element.

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

/BaṭaWa/ Deriv. nomin. BIB by exten. /-y/ < /baṭ-/ 1) > /baṭa-wa/, W/S. **BS**: ‘to stare with bad eyes’: **Ug.** *bt^y*, ‘evildoer’, ‘wizard’; **Ar.** *baṭā*, ‘to denounce’ (DRS 91), *baṭiyyu*, ‘sycophant, impostor, flatterer’ (cf. Hava 21); **Eth.:** Tig. *boza*, ‘magic’, *bozay*, ‘magician’ > by phon. shift *buda*, ‘sorcerer’ (EDT 291, 295), *bāzzā*, ‘to stare with one’s eyes wide open’; Tigñ. *buda*, ‘sorcerer, person who can cast the evil eye’, *bozay*, ‘magician, one who harms with the evil eye’; Amh. *buda*, ‘spirit who causes evil eye’ (AED 934).

AA *bawVd- ‘sorcerer’ (HSED 62; see also Kogan *JSS* 47, 2002, 188). Maybe Heb. *bad*, ‘loose talk, boasting’ (HALOT 109), *bad*, ‘oracle priest’ (HALOT 109) < Phoen. *bd*, ‘idle talk’ (DNWSI 144) < Akk./Amar. (Mari) *baddum*, ‘clerk’ < seman. shift (?) (CDA 35), have a different lexical origin, unless we accept an anomal. equivalence of the phoneme /t/ in NWS in this case. - Confusion of bases /b-d/, /b-t/, /b-z/ should be considered, but should be separated from /b^h-s/, ‘bad’ (originally related to smelling), although possible contamination cannot be

ruled out; see De Moor *UF* 11, 1979, 647, n. 55, but I find his reference to Ar. *bašiša*, ‘to behave in a kindly way’, unacceptable, see above */baš-/; Del Olmo Lete, *CR* 382, n. 168; *AuOr* 19, 2001, 295f.

Among other possible expan. of this base already the infix. /-h-/ has been recorded above in Aram and Ar. with possible borrowing between the two languages. Akk. also presents the infix. *bayyašû*, ‘modest, decent’, by enant. (CDA 41f.)

3.- Homographs/Loanwords

Akk. *bašû(m)*, ‘to be, exist’ < *ba-šû, ‘in ihm’ (?) (AHw 112; see HSED 60, AA *bas-, ‘to live, beget’ (?): Diakonoff-Kogan, *ZDMG* 146, 1996, 28: “without a convincing etymology”).

Akk. *bâšu*, ‘to stamp, tap’ < (?) (CDA 41).

Ar. *bašā*, ‘suer, transpirer’ < (?) (maybe denom.; DAF 85).

Ar. *bišā*, ‘grasse (bête, terre)’ < (?) (DRS 91).

/BvṬ-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

*/**BaṬ**-/ Predic.-nomin. PrimBIB by conson.-vocal. inten. and reduplic., WS/S. **BS**: ‘void space/receptacle and its resonance’: **Akk.** *baṭū(m)*, a vessel (?); **Heb.** *bāṭā*:h, ‘to gossip’, Pi ‘to speak impetuously, thoughtlessly’; by suffix. expan. *bṭy*, *bāṭā*:h, ‘to be hollow, swell’, ‘to talk inconsistently’; MHeb. *beṭ*, ‘bottom’, ‘bathing bassin’, by reduplic. *biṭbēṭ*, ‘to swell’, *biṭbūṭ*, ‘hemp’; **Aram.:** JAram. *b^eṭaṭ*, ‘to swell, burst forth’, *b^eṭṭā*, ‘cleft, grotto’, *biṭwayyā*, ‘column-like receptacles’; Syr. *bāṭā*, ‘cadus, urceus’; **Ar.** *baṭṭat-*, ‘a kind of bottle’, *bāṭiyat-*, ‘cratère’ (Pers. LW?; DRS 59); by seman. shift DialAr. *baṭbaṭ*, ‘lâcher des vents (a la selle)’ (DRS 59); **Eth.:** Tig. *bāj bāj a*, ‘to stir about, to mix up’ (?); Amh. *baṭ(t)i*, ‘hive, beehive in the shape of a milk jug’, *baṭ*, ‘framework of poles for the roof of a traditional round Ethiopian house’, *bāṭābbāṭā*, ‘to mix by stirring’ > but seman. shift ‘to disturb’, and by meton. deriv. > (?) *bāj a*, ‘yellow, small yellow bird’ (see Sp. ‘volverse amarillo’), *bāj äbbāj ä*, *tāmboj äboj ä*, ‘to gurgle’, ‘to pour down’ ...; *boj äbboj ä*, ‘to be upset ... to pour out’; Gu. *beṭa*, ‘to dilute or mix’, *bāṭābbāṭā*, ‘to stir powdery substances in water’.

This base is maybe of onomatop. origin. For the ‘root’ /b-t/ see DRS 59; Murtonen 1989:109; HSED 85, AA *buṭ-, ‘vessel’. The suggested BS makes very seeming a denom. deriv. > CS **baṭn-*, ‘(big) belly’ (see SED I n° 42). On the other hand HSED 61 suggests AA *baṭ-, ‘to speak’, very dubious. -**SF**: basic space configuration.

There are possible expan., but only certified in single languages, for instance, Ar. *baṭa’a*, ‘to be(come) slow’: but the seman. shift is not clear. More acceptable in this regard is Amh. ‘*abbāṭa*, I ‘to swell, be swollen’ II ‘to trouble, upset’. On the other hand Ar. *ba’aṭa*, ‘to lie on the stomach’ (CDG 114) = *baṭṭata*, ‘flatten’, with correspondences in SS (= Ge. *baṭata*, ‘to lie on the stomach’, Tigñ. *bätt bälä*, ‘to lie down’, be stretched out’, Tig. *bāṭṭ bela*, Amh. *bāṭṭāṭā*, ‘to stretch out’; CDG 114), seems rather an alloph. of / bṭh/: Ar. *inbaṭaḥa*, ‘to lie prone’; Soq. *bṭh*, Heb. *bāṭaḥ*, ‘to lie flat on one’s belly’ (CDG 114).

2.- Homographs/Loanwords

JAram. *bōṭṭā*, ‘spark’ > *bōṭṭā*, ‘flower-bud’ < (?) (DTT 144).

NAram. *būṭā*, ‘penis’; Mand. *buṭa*, ‘anus, derrière’ < LW (?) (DRS 51; not recorded in SED I).

Ar., Syr. *baṭṭ-*, ‘duck’, ‘goose’ < Pers. (> *baṭbaṭa* ‘to bubble, to plunge in (duck)’; Sp. ‘pato’).

Ar. *baṭṭa*, ‘to slit a wound’ < (?) (= Tigñ. *b^wahṭāṭā*, ‘to scratch the ground’; Amh. *bāṭṭa*, ‘to make an incision in the flesh’ (> (?) *bəṭet*, ‘habit, choice’; AED 950), *b^waṭṭāṭā*, ‘to scratch, tear’; Gu. *baṭāṭā*, ‘to scratch with the nails’; HSED 60 supposes AA *baṭ-, ‘to pierce, cut’).

Ar. *baṭṭa*, ‘terrasser qn.’ < (?) (DRS 59s).

Ar. *baṭṭat-*, ‘partie grasse de qc.’ < (?) (DRS 61).

Ge. *baṭata*, ‘to jump up’ < (?) (CDG 114) (= Tig. *beṭṭ bela*, Tigñ. *biṭ bälä*, Amh. *baṭṭätä*, *baṭṭ alä*).

Ge. *baṭata*, ‘to defecate’ < (?) (CDG 114) (=Syr. *baṭbaṭ*; Tig. *bäṭṭṭ bela*, Amh. *bäṭṭätä*, *bäṭṭ alä*).

Tig. *boč*, ‘state of being weak-eyed’ < (?) (= Amh. *boṭäbboṭä*, ‘émousser, se brouiller (la vue)’).

Tig. *bäṭbäṭä*, ‘to drag with the teeth (like dogs)’ < (?) (‘secouer la poussière’, DRS 59).

Tig., Tigñ. *bäṭṭ bälä*, ‘to lie down’ < (?) (Amh. *bäṭṭätä*, Gu. *buṭṭ beq*).

Tigñ. *bäṭbäṭä*, ‘to move, brandish a lance’ > (?)

Tigñ. *bäṭäbäṭ*, ‘crawling on hands and knees’ < (?)

Tigñ., Amh. *buṭṭi*, ‘fist, blow with the fist’ < (?) (not recorded in SED I).

Amh. *buṭ*, ‘pith’ < (?)

Amh. *biṭ(t)a*, ‘side, shoulder muscle, armpit’ < (?) (not recorded in SED I).

Amh. *biṭe*, *bəṭe*, ‘type, sort of ...’ < (?)

/BvW-/

1.- First level : simple binary base

*/Ba:əW-/ No primary BIB can be ascertained.

2.- Homographs/Loanwords

Ar. *baww-*, ‘a skin of a young unweaned camel stuffed with grass or dry herbage’ > ‘a she-camel’s young one’ > ‘stupid, foolish’ > ‘ashes’ (an idiosyncratic beduin neologism; AEL 270) > *bawā*, ‘imitate’ (DRS 51).

Ar. *bawā*, ‘passion, souffrance’ > (?) (DRS 51).

/BvY-/

1.- First level: simple binary base

*/Ba:əY-/ No primary BIB can be ascertained.

2.- Homographs/Loanwords

Heb. *bāyay, ‘souplier’ > *bî*, ‘by your leave’ (DRS 61; HALOT 121f.).

Syr. *baya(ʿ)*, ‘consolatus est’, *buyāʿā*, ‘consolatio’; Ar. *bayya*, ‘to confort’ > ‘to greet’ (LS 68; DAF 181).

Ar. *bayy-*, ‘de basse condition’ < (?) (DRS 62).

DialAr. *biyya*, ‘lionne’ < (?) LW ? (DRS 62).

/BvZ-/

1.- First level : simple binary base

/BaZ-/ 1) Predic.-nomin. PrimBIB by conson.-vocal. inten. and reduplic., WS/S. **BS:** ‘to detach s.th. from a whole’ > ‘to separate’ > ‘to grasp, take possession of s.th. alien’ > ‘robbery’/‘salvation’; by reduplic.: **Heb.:** *baz*, *bizzāh*, ‘plunder, spoil’, *bāzaz*, ‘to plunder’; MHeb. *bûz*, ‘to divide’, *bāzaz*, ‘to make spoil, to rob’, *bāzôz*, ‘robber, plunderer’, *bizbēz*, ‘to divide, distribute’ (DTT 144, 152); **NWS:** Phoen. *bzz

(?), EpAram. *bzz (?), *bzyzt*, ‘booty, loot’ (DNWSI 148f.); **Aram.:** JAram. *bûz*, ‘to plunder, ransack’, *b^ezaz*; *bazbēz*, ‘to shater, squander’, *bazbūzā*, ‘to plunder, spoil’; JAram. *bāzôzā*, ‘robber, plunderer’, *bizzûzā*, ‘robbery, plunder’ (DTT 144, 152); JPAm. *bzz*, ‘to despoil, *bzwz*, ‘despoiler; *bzbz*, ‘to waste, squander’; JBAm. *bzbz*, ‘to squander’, *bāzôzā*, ‘plunderer’; Syr., *baz*, ‘rapuit’, *bezā*, ‘praeda’; Mand. **BZZ**, ‘to plunder’, *bizta*, ‘plundering, looting’; **Ar.** *bazza*, ‘to take away, to seize by force’, *bizzat-*, ‘constraint, force’, *bizzîzay-*, ‘expoliation’ > *bazbaza*, ‘fuir vivement’, *buzbuz*, *buzbaz*, ‘vif, rapide’ (cf. Span. ‘furtivo’; DRS 51, 53), by enant. *bāza*, ‘être sauvé, vivre’, ‘décamper (nomades)’ (see Fr. ‘se sauver’; cf. /bazawa/; DRS 51, 62); DialAr. *bazzaz*, ‘écraser, violer’ (DRS 54), by epent. /-w-/ and seman. shift > DialAr. *bawwaz*, ‘dégréer un navire, changer la disposition des objets’ (DRS 51); **Eth.:** Ge. *bazbaza*, ‘pillage’ > *bazbaza*, ‘spread, waste’, *bazza* > ‘to threaten, boast’; Tig. *bāzbāzā*, ‘to plunder, rob’; Tigñ. *bāzbāzā*, ‘to sack, plunder’; Amh. *bāzābbāzā*, ‘to sack, pillage’ < *boj abboj a alā*, ‘to be upset, disturbed’; Gu. *bāzābbāzā*, ‘to pillage, plunder’.

For the base /b-z/ see DRS 53. It seems there is a frequent confusion between the bases /b-d/ y /b-z/ (see for instance HALOT 117-8 and DTT 144, 152). - **SF:** elementary physical and social activity.

/BaZ-/ 2) Onomatop. by conson. inten. and reduplic., SS. **BS:** ‘sound made by > an insect > organ /instrument used to produce it’: **Ar.** *bazza*, ‘bourgeonner’, *būz*, ‘groin’ (DRS 51, 54); < DialAr. *bazz*, ‘lever, enfler’, *bazāz*, ‘criquet, cigale’ (DRS 54), by reduplic. and meton. shift DialAr. *bazbāz*, ‘bec du soufflet’ < ‘clitoris’, *bazbūz*, ‘pipe, soufflet’, *bazbūz*, *bizbūz*, *bisbis*, ‘bec du pot à eau’ (DRS 53); **MSA:** Soq. *bizbuz*, ‘pipe’ (DRS 53-54).

SF: onomatopoeic sound.

/BāZ-/ PrimW by conson. inten. or reduplic., WS.: ‘teat, nipple’: **Ug.** ‘udder’; **Aram.:** ChrPAm. *bī/ūzzā*; Syr. *bez(z)ā*, ‘mamma, papilla’; Pahl. *bz*, ‘poitrine’; MAram. *bazbiz*, ‘couler en filet des pis de la vache’; **Ar.:** *bazan*, ‘prominence of the breast’, *baziya*, ‘to have *bazan*’ (AEL 201); ‘*abzā*, ‘allaiter’, *baziyy-*, ‘frère de lait’ (DRS 54); DialAr. *bazbūz*, ‘petite mamelle’, *bazbūz*, *bazāzo*, ‘enfant gaté’ (cf. Sp. ‘mamoncillo’; DRS 53).

See common semitic **bizz* (SED I n° 44); AA, **būz-*, ‘breast, bosom’, (HSED 87)). - **SF:** body part (LW? < Pehl.)

2.- Second level: expanded binary base

/BaZaW/Ya/ Denom. verbal BIB by expan /-w:ya/ < /baz-/ 1) > /baza+w:ya/, CS. **BS:** ‘to set apart, separate in negative/positive sense’: **Akk.** *buzzu’u(m)*, *buzzû(m)*, ‘unrecht behandeln’ (AHw 145); **Heb.:** /bz/ (?), ‘to wash away’ (HALOT 117); **Aram.:** JAram. *bzê*, *bezā*, ‘to break, divide’ (DTT 153), *bîsyā*, ‘rag, wreck’, *b^ezayyāh*, ‘cuts, rents’ (DTT 160); JBAm. *bzy*, ‘to perforate, divide’; Mand. *baza*, ‘crevice, hole’, **BZA**, ‘to split, cleave’ (Mand. 46, 57); **Ar.** *bazāw*, ‘to subjugate’ (HALOT 117; Murtonen 1989:109), ‘*abzā*, ‘subjugué’ (DRS 54); by enant. of the seme ‘to separate’ > **Eth.:** Ge. *bezā*, ‘ransom, redemption’, *bezawa*, ‘to free, safe’; Tgr. *beza*, ‘to buy back, redeem’; Trgñ. *beza*, ‘ransom, redemption’, Amh. *bāzā*, ‘to free’, *beza*, ‘redemption’, *bāzāza*, *beza*, ‘ransom, rescue’ (CDG 118).

Apart from this common suffix. expan. a series of bases with initial /bz/ cluster (/BZH/, /BZL/, /BZM/, /BZN/, /BZĠ/, /BZR/, /BZT/) with the common seme ‘to shatter, spread’ should be taken rather as allotheses of the same resonance with a change in the last unstressed position of similar articulation sounds (see DRS 53).

3.- Homographs/loanwords

JBaram, *bāzā*, ‘falcon’; / Mand. *baz*, ‘falcon’ see also Syr.; Ar. *bāz-*, ‘hawk, falcon’ < denom. ? / (not recorded in SED II).

JAr. *b^zzîzê*, *bizbezê*, ‘vessels, dishes’ (< ‘distributors’; DTT 153, But see Ar. *bazz-*, ‘cloths’, ‘weapons’ (denom.; see AEL 198 < *býssos* or booty); DialAr. *bazz*. ‘éttoffe’; Soq. *bízeh*, ‘marchandise, outil’ (DRS 54).

Syr. *bazāzā*, ‘pannarius’ < (?) (maybe as a denom., LS 64).

Ar. *bazw-*, ‘equal, equivalent’ < (?) (AEL 201).

Ar. *bawwaza*, Amh. *bāwwāzā*, ‘to shuffle cards’, ‘intersperse’ < (?) denom. (AED 927; see Sp. ‘cortar’, talking of ‘cards’).

DialAr. *bāz*, ‘caillou’ < (?) (DRS 62).

Ge. *beza*, ‘to shine’ < *bez*, ‘flashing star’ < Cush. (CDG 117) / Amh. *bawza*, ‘spotlight, searchlight’ (AED 927).

Ge. *bezā*, ‘harp string’ < (?) (CDG 117), KW, maybe denom. < (?) Tig. *boza*, ‘a certain tune of the flute (WTS 293; see Ar. *bazza*, ‘accorder un instrument de musique’; DAF 139).

Amh. *bazza*, ‘bottom land’ < (?) (AED 929).

Amh. *bezzo*, a fish < (?) (AED 929; non recorded in SED II).

Amh. *bez*, ‘internal tumour’ < denom. < /bəz-/ (?) (AED 929).

/BvZ-/

1.- First level : simple binary base

/BaZ-/ Predic.-nomin. PrimBIB by conson.-vocal. inten., WS. **BS**: ‘(to be) stout’: Ar. *bazz-*, *baẓīz-*, ‘gras’, *baẓiya*, *baẓā*, ‘être charnue, épais’ > maybe denom. *bazza*, ‘faire des efforts’ < ‘to show one’s stoutness’ (DAF 139); DialAr. *bazz*, ‘faire jaillir en pressant’, ‘procréer des enfants en gran nombre’ (DRS 61), *bāza*, ‘injecter, lancer le sperme dans l’utérus’, ‘engraisser’ (DAF 178), by epent. *bayz-* ‘sperme’ (DAF 185; DRS 62; SED I 41; see Sp. ‘leche’, as sexual denom.)

Maybe alloph. of /b-ḏ/, only certified in Ar. For *bayz-* ‘sperme’ see SED I n° 43. It could well be a ternary PrimW: the sexual potency as the first *analogatum* of vigor/stoutness – **SF**: anatomy.

Additional note.- I did not take into consideration Bohas’ work, since I strongly disagree with his proposals on the binary bases (see Del Olmo Lete 2003:132ff.) Nevertheless the reader may be interested in knowing and contrasting them. Here are some items of interest in connection with the series /B-X-/: ‘root’ alternance (/CjCiCi/, /CjW/YCi/, /WCjCi/, /CjCiCjCi/; Bohas-Chekayri 1993:3ff; Bohas 1997:11f.); *ordonnance and non-ordonnance of etymons and in particular those including /b/* (Bohas 1997: 53ff., 70ff., 94ff.; Bohas 2000:15, 19ff., 135ff.); /-m/ expansion (Bohas 1997 65f.); *expansion by reduplication* (Bohas-Chekayri 1993:10ff.); *quadriliterals* (Bohas-Chekayri 1993:7ff.; Bohas 1997:151; Bohas 2000:58); *extensions in ‘sound’ ternary ‘roots’* (Bohas 1997:166f.; Bohas 2000:33f.); *ternary ‘roots’ by crossing* (Bohas 1997:175f.; Bohas 2000:49); *expansion by glide* (Bohas 2000:55); *organisation of the SF ‘frapper’* (Bohas 2000: 65ff., 69ff.); *the ‘matrices’ with first {[labial]} ‘trait’* (Bohas 2000:81ff., 91ff., 107ff.); *on enantiosemy* (Bohas 2000:149).

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Here we have the outcome of the different seemingly certain expan. of the series. I am increasingly reluctant to consider as such the ternary bases which have this sequential or discontinuous conson. cluster and show a certain degree of semantic coincidence. They already appear at the proto-Semitic level as quite independent allotheses whose origin can be explained in another way

Prefixation

- /ʾa+bada/ , ‘to make s.th. to (de)part, run away’ > ‘to be lost, perish’ < [/ba:əd-/] (CS).
 /na+ba^ca/, ‘to burst forth’ < [/ba^c-/] (CS).
 /na+baḥa/, ‘animal voice mainly of dogs and bovines’ < [/baḥ-/] (CS).
 /na+baka/, ‘to bubble up’ < [/bak-/ a] (WS).

Infixation

- /ba+ha+ta/, ‘(to feel) shame of / shame producing reality’ < [/bat-/] (CS). /ba+ya+ma/, ‘to raise, place himself in an elevated position’ < [/bam-/] (Eth.) (?)

Suffixation

- /bara+ʾa/, ‘to form by cutting, separating parts or elements’ < [/bar-/ 2] (WS).
 /bada+la/, ‘to make disappear, scatter’ > ‘to change’ < [/ba:əd-/] (W/SS).
 /bada+ra/, ‘to make disappear, scatter’ < [/ba:əd-/] > (W/SS).
 /bada+w:ya/, ‘to fall /consider s.o. in bad condition’ < [/ba:əd-/] b) (CS).
 /bala+w:ya/, ‘to (be) spoil(ed), destroy(ed)’ < [/bal-/] (CS).
 /baza+w:ya/, ‘to set apart, separate in negative/positive sense’ < [/baz-/] 1) (CS).
 /bada+wa-/, ‘separated place/way of life in’ < /-w(a)/ < [/ba:əd-/] (W/SS).
 /baḥa+wa/, ‘state that manifests the sound /baḥ/: brittle, weak,...’ < [/baḥ-/] (CS).
 /baqa+wa/, ‘to make a breach in, to penetrate > to examine’ < [/bəq-/] (W/SS).
 /bata+wa/, ‘to cut off’ > ‘to spoil, waste’ < [/bat-/] 177) (WS).
 /baṭa-wa/, ‘to stare with bad eyes’ < [/baṭ-/] 1) (W/S).
 /ba^ca+y:wa/, ‘to make boil’ < [/ba^c-/] (WS).
 /baḡa+ya/, ‘to produce the bubbling noise...’ >: ‘to yearn for s.th., to search’ < [/baḡ-/] > (CS).
 /baka+ya/, ‘to boil, to burst (in tears) like a bubbling liquid or fermented mass’ < [/bak-/] (CS).
 /baqa+ya/, ‘to be the consequence of a hole/void’ > ‘what is left’ < [/bəq-/] (W/SS).
 /bana+y:wa/, ‘to produce something’ > ‘to construct’ < [/bən-/] > (CS).
 /bara+w:ya/, ‘to be open > empty’, ‘to put outside’, ‘to look into the distance’ < [/bar-/ 2] (CS).

Complementary abbreviations

[cf. *AuOr* 22, 2004, 87f.; 24, 2006, 55f.]

CR G. Del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion according the liturgical texts of Ugarit*, Bethesda MD 1999.

Languages abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
Can.	Canaanite
ChrPAr.	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
DialAr.	Dialectal Arabic
Hadr.	Hadramawtic
Hars.	Ḥarsūsi
MariAkk.	Akkadian of Mari
OCan.	Old Canaanite
Pahl.	Pahlevi
QumHeb.	Qumran Hebrew

Urar. Urartean

General abbreviations

advers.	adversative
affix.	affixed
articul.	articulation, articulatory
BIB	Binary Intensified Base
complem.	complement, complementary
imin.	diminutive
dissimil.	Dissimilation
etym.	Etymology
euphem.	euphemism
exten.	Extension
gramm.	grammar, grammatical
lexical.	lexicalised, lexicalisation
obj.	object
pass.	passive
phenot.	Phenotype
phon.	phonetic
psychol.	psychological
qc.	quelque chose
qn.	quelqu'un
s.o.	someone
s.th.	something
SSR	strong semantic relation
Subj.	subject
theol.	Theological
v.	vide
WSR	weak semantic relation