

A complete etymology-based hundred wordlist of Semitic updated: Items 35–54

The paper represents the second part of the author's etymological analysis of the Swadesh wordlist for Semitic languages (the first part having already appeared in Vol. 3 of the same Journal). Twenty more items are discussed and assigned Proto-Semitic reconstructions, with strong additional emphasis on suggested Afrasian cognates.

Keywords: Semitic, Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic), etymology glottochronology, lexicostatistics.

The object of the present study is analysis of the second portion¹ of Swadesh's 100-wordlist for Semitic. It is a follow-up to the author's second attempt at compiling a complete Swadesh wordlist for most Semitic languages that would fully represent all the branches, groups and subgroups of this linguistic family and provide etymological background for every possible item. It is another step towards figuring out the taxonomy and building a detailed and comprehensive genetic tree of said family, and, eventually, of the Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) macrofamily with all its branches on a lexicostatistical/glottochronological basis.

Several similar attempts, including those by the author (Mil. 2000, Mil. 2004, Mil. 2007, Mil. 2008, Mil. 2010), have been undertaken since M. Swadesh introduced his method of glottochronology (Sw. 1952 and Sw. 1955). In this paper, as well as in my previous studies in genetic classification, I have relied on Sergei Starostin's glottochronological method (v. Star.) which is a radically improved and further elaborated version of Swadesh's method.

That the present portion includes only twenty items out of the 100-wordlist, instead of a second third (33 items), as I had previously planned, is justified by my efforts to adduce as many Afrasian parallels to Semitic words as possible — more than I did within the first portion. I hope to fill all the Afrasian gaps in the first portion as a supplement to the forthcoming portions which I will also try to provide with Afrasian etymologies. It should be noted that my aim is not to give complete data from all the non-Semitic Afrasian languages for all the items (i.e. *not* the complete etymological entries), but only to present available data demonstrating the Afrasian origin of all Semitic words involved, *inter alia*, to eliminate the possibility of the latter items having been borrowed from non-Afrasian languages. Compared with the same 20 items of the list included in one of my previous papers (Mil. 2008), these ones are updated, corrected in some points, and some more reliable etymologies are suggested.

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¹ See the first portion (items 1–34) and a more extended introductory note in Mil. 2010.

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The list below is based on the following main sources (not referred to in the text except for special cases): Akk. — CAD and AHw; Ugr. — DUL; Hbr. and Bib. — HALOT; Pho. — Tomb.; Pal. — Sok. JP; Syr. — Brock. and Sok. Syr.; Mnd. — DM; Urm. — Tser. and Sarg.; Qur. — Pen. and BK; Leb., Mlt. — native speakers, Mec. — Sat.; Sab. — SD; Gez. — LGz; Tna. — native speakers and Kane T; Tgr. — a native speaker and LH; Amh. — native speakers, Baet. and Kane A; Arg. — LArg; Gaf. — LGaf; Sod. and Cha. — native speakers and LGur; Har. — a native speaker and LHar; Wol. — LGur; Hrs. — a native speaker and JH; Mhr. — native speakers, JM and Nak.; Jib. — native speakers, JJ and Nak.; Soq. — data collected by L. Kogan and LS.

The Data.

The data consist of items 35–54 of Swadesh’s 100-word list of 28 Semitic languages, representing all groups within the family. Each item unites all the synonyms that are different in origin, i. e. form different sub-entries within the same entry, each of which is preceded by its own number (in round brackets). Each sub-entry, in its turn, consists of one or several cognate lexemes divided by a semicolon; the etymological comments including a Sem. protoform follow after a double slash; non-Semitic Afrasian parallels and a suggested Afrasian proto-form follow after the symbol □. Note that for cases when the choice of only one representative lexeme in a language is too difficult, Starostin’s procedure allows for several synonyms in the same language to be scored; in this case, synonyms from the same language would be present in two or more entries. Within each item there may occur two kinds of cases which are not scored at all — borrowings and lack of a corresponding term in the available sources; such cases form a separate section within the item, preceded by the symbol ◇. Each item is completed with its Semitic proto-form(s) in bold letters on the deepest level of reconstruction available (Proto-Semitic, Common West and South Semitic, etc.) in accordance with my classification of Semitic.

The following dates (some of them fairly conventional, some chosen after much hesitation and discussions with specialists in individual languages, and still liable to changes before a final scoring) have been attributed to individual languages: Akkadian, 1450 B.C.E.; Ugaritic, 1350 B.C.E.; Hebrew, 650 B.C.E.; Phoenician 850 B.C.E.; Biblical Aramaic, 200 B.C.E.; Palestinian Judaic, 200 C.E.; Syrian Aramaic, 200 C.E.; Mandaic, 750 C.E.; Urmian Aramaic, 1900; Qur’anic Arabic, 600 C.E.; Lebanese Arabic, 2000; Meccan Arabic, 2000; Maltese Arabic, 2000; Sabaic, 200 B.C.E.; Geʿez, 500 C.E.; Tigray, 2000; Tigre, 2000; Amharic, 2000; Argobba, 2000; Gafat, 1900; Soddo, 2000; Harari, 2000; Wolane, 2000; Chaha, 2000; Harsusi, 2000; Mehri, 2000; Jibbali, 2000; Soqotri, 2000.

Abbreviations of languages, language periods and ancient sources:

Afras. — Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Akk. — Akkadian; Amh. — Amharic; Arb. — Arabic; Arg. — Argobba; Arm. — Aramaic; Ass. — Assyrian, B — Babylonian, BD —

Book of the Dead; Brb. — Berber; Bib. — Biblical Aramaic; C. — Central; Cha. — Chaha; Chad. — Chadic; Clas. — Classical; CT — Coffin Texts; Cush. — Cushitic; Dat — Daḩina Arabic; Dem. — Demotic; Ɖof. — Ɖofar Arabic; Dyn. — Dynasty; E. — East; Egyp. — Egyptian; ESA — Epigraphic South Arabian; Eth. — Ethiopian; Gaf. — Gafat; Gez. — Geʿez; Gur. — Gurage; Har. — Harari; Hḩr — ḩaḩramawt Arabic; HEC — Highland East Cushitic; Hbr. — Hebrew; Hrs. — Harsusi; Jib. — Jibbali; Jud. — Judaic Aramaic; LL = lexical lists; Leb. — Lebanese Arabic; LEC — Lowland East Cushitic; Mlt. — Maltese Arabic; Mec. — Meccan Arabic; Med. — Medical Texts; Mhr. — Mehri; MK — Middle Kingdom; Mnd. — Mandaic Aramaic; Mod. — Modern; MSA — Modern South Arabian; N — New, N. — North; NK — New Kingdom; OK — Old Kingdom; Omot. — Omotic; Pal. — Palestinian Aramaic; pB. — postbiblical; Pho. — Phoenician; Pyr. — Pyramid Texts; Qur. — Qur’anic Arabic; S — Standard, S. — South; Sab. — Sabaic; Sem. — Semitic; Sod. — Soddo; Soq. — Soqotri; Syr. — Syrian Aramaic; Tna. — Tigriñña (= Tigray); Tgr. — Tigre; Ugr. — Ugaritic; Urm. — Urmian Neo-Aramaic; W. — West.; Wol. — Wolane, Y — Young.

Transcription and transliteration:²

p — bilabial emphatic voiceless stop; *b* — bilabial emphatic voiced stop; *ɸ* — bilabial voiced fricative; *t* — dental emphatic voiceless stop; *d* — dental emphatic voiced stop; *t̤* — voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyptian, a conventional symbol most likely conveying *č*); *d̤* — voiced interdental fricative (in Egyptian, a conventional symbol most likely conveying *ž*); *c* — alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; *z* — alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; *č* — palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ]; *ž* — palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dʒ]; *ʃ* — hissing emphatic voiceless fricative; *ʃ̤* — emphatic voiceless affricate; *z̤* — conventionally stands for what was likely *d̤*, emphatic voiced interdental spirant, or *t̤*, emphatic voiceless interdental spirant; *č̤* — palato-alveolar emphatic affricate; *ʃ̂* — lateral voiceless fricative (denoted by *ʃ̂* in Sem. reconstructed proto-forms); *č̂* — lateral voiceless affricate; *č̤̂* — lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; *ž̂* — lateral voiced emphatic fricative (or perhaps affricate); *ž̤̂* — lateral voiced fricative; *ĝ* — voiced velar fricative (in Berber), *k̂* or *q̂* — emphatic velar stop; *q̂* — hypothetical velar affricate [kʰ] (only in reconstructed Afrasian proto-forms); *ɣ* — uvular voiced fricative (Arabic “ghain”); *ħ* — uvular voiceless fricative; *ħ̤* — presumably velar voiceless fricative (only in Egyptian); *ħ̂* — pharyngeal voiceless fricative; *ʕ* — pharyngeal stop (“ayin”), *h* — laryngeal voiceless fricative; *ʔ* — glottal stop (“aleph”, “hamza”), *y* — palatal resonant; *ʔ* and *ʔ̂* — conventional transcription symbols accepted in Egyptology.

Conventions for reconstructed protoforms:

- V* renders a non-specified vowel, e.g. **bVr-* should be read “either **a*, or **i*, or **u*”
- H* renders a non-specified laryngeal or pharyngeal
- S* renders a non-specified sibilant
- /* when separates two symbols means ‘or’, e.g. **?i/abar-* should be read “either **?ibar-* or **?abar-*”
- () a symbol in round brackets means ‘with or without this symbol’, e. g. **ba(w)r-* should be read “**bawr-* or **bar-*”
- ~ means ‘and’ pointing to two or more co-existing protoforms

² It should be stressed that the vocalism reconstructed below for Semitic and, especially, Afrasian protoforms is, in many cases, conventional and highly tentative.

35 GREEN

- (1) Akk. (*w*)*arḫu*; Ugr. *yrḫ* ‘greenish-yellow (of metal)’; Hbr. *yārōḫ*, *yārāḫraḫ*; Pal. *yrḫ*; Syr. *yūrāḫ*-; Mnd. *yurak*-; Har. *warīḫ* // < Sem. **warḫ*- ‘yellow, green’ (v. in DUL 982; Bulakh 2003 8–10).
- < Afras. **Vraḫ*- ‘green, yellow’ (ADB): (?) Egyp. *īḫ* (MK) < **yrḫ* ‘leeks, greens, vegetables’ (more likely < Canaanite than an inherited term, cf. Hbr. *yārāḫ* ‘greens, vegetables’); Brb.: Ghadames *aray* ‘be green’, Siwa *a-wray* ‘green’, Ahaggar, Ayr *irway* (met.), Qabyle *awray* ‘be green’, etc.
- (2) Qur. *ʔahḏar*-; Leb. Mec. *ʔahḏar*; Mlt. *aḥdār* // < **ḥṣr*. Perhaps related to Akk. *ḥaṣartu* (*ḥaṣertu*, *ḥaṣaštu*) ‘(wool or cloth of a certain color, probably green); (green) dry mucus, nasal discharge’ (CAD ḥ 130) if the meaning ‘green’ is genuine. Probably further related are Pho. *mḥṣrt* ‘herbage’ (Tomb. 172), Hbr. *ḥāṣīr* ‘grass, leek’ (HALOT 343), Old Arm. *ḥṣr* ‘grass, herb’ (HJ 400), Jud. *ḥāṣar* ‘grass, leek’ (Ja. 496) if the latter forms represent a case of Sem. **ḥṣ* > Arm. *ṣ*; cf., however, Arb. *ḥiṣrim*- ‘tout fruit vert, non mûr et acide; datte non mûre’ and *ḥaṣīr*- ‘tissu; ... natte (de roseaux ou de jonc); ... panier tressé de feuilles de palmier’ (BK 1 441) pointing to **ḥṣr*, perhaps a variant root of **ḥṣr*. The situation looks still more entangled in view of Jib. *ḥadôr* ‘grün’ (attested in Jahn 190; another variant root **ḥṣr*?). Cf. the discussion in Bulakh Dis.
- There are problematic Afras. parallels with metathesis (ADB): Chad. C.: Mandara *ṣurke* ‘blue’, Podoko *ṣaraka* ‘black’ (St. 2007 #275), Malgwa *ṣarake* ‘green’ (ibid. #270), E.: Kera *ki-sīrki* ‘black’ (ibid. #275; all the above examples are treated as forms with secondary -*k*, which needs proof; in all of them *ṣ* can reflect **ḥ* acc. to Stolbova’s table of reflexation — ibid. 8); C. Cush. **ḥiḥur*- ~ **ḥarḥ*- ‘black’: Waag *ṣiḥur*, Kunfāl *sarki*, Aungi *cārki*, *ṣarqī*; Omot. N. **karc/ç*- ‘black’ (although these forms are reconstructed as **kar-tt*- in Bnd. Om., *c* and especially *ç* more or less contradict the tables of correspondences in both Bnd. Om. and Bla. Om. and can hardly reflect the common Afras. suffix in *-*t*): Gamo *karec*, Male *karçi*, Zaise *kārç*, Ganjule *karçi*, etc., (?) S.: Ongota *čarkamuni*, *čarkamuni*, *čarḫa-muni* ‘green, wet’ (compared in Bla. Ong., on one hand, with Ong *čarki* ‘dew’, Tsamai *čarke* id., on the other, with Aungi *carki* ‘black’). If related to Arb. *ʔahḏar*-, all of these forms imply Afras. **qVḥVr*- ~ **qVrVḥ*- ~ **ḥVrVq*- ‘green, black’.
- (3) Gez. *ḥ/ḥamalmil*; Tna. *ḥamālmil*³; Wol. *ʔaməl dānā* // < Eth.: Gez. *ḥaml* ‘vegetation, vegetables, herbs, shrubs’ (LGz 233), Tgr. *ḥamle* coll. ‘vegetables, herbs, grass’ (LH 59), Tna. *ḥamli* ‘edible herbs, vegetables, cabbage or mustard greens’ (Kane T 169), etc.⁴ Perhaps comparable with Arb. *ḥamilat*- ‘douce, molle, tendre; terrain bas, doux et propre à la culture; terrain sablonneux très doux et couvert de végétation; bois épai, arbres touffus et dont les branches s’entrelacent; jardin où il y a beaucoup d’arbres’ (BK 1 635). See detailed discussion in Bulakh Dis. No Afras. parallels.
- (4) Tgr. *saḏarsaḏaro*⁵; Cha. *sārimäsər* // < Eth. **šaḏ(a)r*- ‘grass, vegetation’: Gez. *šaḏr*, Har. *sāḏar*, Cha. *sār*, etc. (LGz 525, LGur 531; Cha. *sārimäsər* is interpreted by Leslau as “it resembles grass” from *sār* + (*y*)*ämäsər* from *mäsälä* ‘to be like’ with *l:r* ibid. 560), further related to Arb. *šaḏār*- ‘vegetation, trees’.
- < Afras. **ḥa(ḡ)r*- ‘green, grass, vegetation’: Chad. W.: Hausa *šār*, emphasizes greenness, Ngizim *šārāt* ‘green, not ripe’, E.: Somrai *sera-n-du* ‘green’, etc. (St. 2007 #270; likely also

³ The other Tna term for ‘green’, *ḫätälyä*, is an Amharism, judging by -*t*- instead of the expected *-*ṣ*- (v. Bulakh Dis.).

⁴ Borrowed into Cush.: Aungi *amlí*, Bilin *ḥamla*, etc. ‘cabbage’ (App. CDA), Kambatta *hamiilu* ‘cabbage’ (Huds. 320).

⁵ The other term for ‘green’, *ʔahḏar*, is borrowed from Arb.

- *š(y)VrV ‘leaf’ *ibid.* #285 and perhaps *šVrV ‘black, blue’ *ibid.* #275 as a secondary development from ‘green’). Very likely further related to Afras. *ča(ʃ)rVy- ‘barley’: Sem. *šaʃVr- ‘barley; grass’ (Dolgopolsky explained -ʃ- as the result of contamination with Sem. *šaʃr- ‘hair’; otherwise influenced by Sem. *šVʃVʃ-⁶); Egyp. (MK): *šr.t* ‘Gerste’ (EG IV, 524); E. Cush.: Kambatta *ašārú-ta*, Tembaro *ašaru* ‘barley’, etc. (see Mil. Farm. #6).
- (5) Amh. *ḳəṭälamma*, *ḳəṭäləyya*, *ḳəṭälṭal* // < Eth. *ḳ^wašl: Gez. *ḳ^wašl* ‘leaf, foliage’ (LGz 450), Tna. *ḳ^wäšli* ‘leaf, branch, green branch, foliage’ (Kane T 1059), Amh. *ḳəṭal* ‘leaf, plant, occasionally tree’ (Kane A 829), etc., related to Arb. *ḳašīl-* ‘fourrage vert coupé pour les chevaux’, *ḳašlat-* ‘tendre et flexible (arbre); gerbe (de céréales fauchées)’ (BK II 755).
- This Arb.-Eth. *ḳ^wašl- is comparable, as a form with -l- extension (see Mil. RE), with Cush. C.: Aungi *ḡaci* ‘leaf’ (App. CDA 91; < *ḳac(ç)-), S.: Iraqw *qaančaar*, Alagwa *qaančar*, etc. ‘green’, likely < *ḳanč-: Burunge *qaanča* ‘rawness, state of being unripe’⁷, Qwadza *ḳanza* ‘green’, perhaps Dahalo *ḳátte* ‘unripe, raw’ (HRSC 250, in which Maʔa -*kúsa* ‘bad’, semantically possible but hard to prove, is also included). The resulting Afras. protoform can be reconstructed as *ḳ^waš-l- ‘green, unripe’.
- (6) Amh. *aräng^wäde* (syn.); Arg. *aräng^wäde*; Sod. *aräng^wäde* // No Sem. etymology.
- Cf., however, C. Cush.: Kemant *aräg^wina* ‘green’ (“connected with Amh. *aräng^wäde*”, according to App. CDA 77); the connection is unmistakable, though quite enigmatic. While -d in S. Eth. fails explanation, the Kemant term matches Egyp. (Pyr.) *wšd* (if < *wrg) ‘be green’ (EG I 264) and S. Omot.: Dime *ärgo* ‘leaf’ (Dolg. 141). Are these scattered forms sufficient to reconstruct Afras. *ʔ/warg^w- ‘green’?
- (7) Hrs. *hežōr*; Mhr. *hežōr*; Jib. *šəčrōr*; Soq. *šəžhor* // < MSA *šəšōr- with no direct cognates. As the similarity with *ḥšr (#3) can hardly be ignored, may be suspected to be a contamination case (*ḥšr > *ššr influenced by another MSA root with a similar meaning and initial š-), but I have so far been unable to find the “pattern” words with š- in MSA which may have “engendered” the phonetic shift. One wonders whether it could be the other way round: MSA *šəšōr- reflects a primary root *š_xVšVr-, while in Arb., where š and ḍ are incompatible, *šḍr > ḥḍr by contamination with ḥḍb ‘be green’?
- ◇ Urm. *mīl* // Borrowing from Iranian (information from Prof. F. Pennacchietti). No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Sab. and Gaf.
- **Proto-Semitic:** *wark- (#1) .

36 HAIR

- (1) Akk. *šartu*; Ugr. *šʃr*; Hbr. *šeʃār*; Bib. *šəʃar*; Pal. *šʃr*, *sʃr*; Syr. *səʃart-*; Qur. *šaʃr-*; Leb. Mec. *šaʃar*; Mlt. *šā(gh)ir*; Gez. *šəʃar-t* // < Sem. *šaʃar(-at)- (SED I #260).
- < Afras. *čVʃar- (ADB): Brb. *a-zzar (possibly < *čVHar) ‘hair’: Semlal *a-zzār*, Izdeg, Seghrushen *a-zzar*, etc.; Chad. C.: Mofu *žára*, Gisiga *žara* ‘feather’, E.: Migama *čéère id.*, Dangla *číré* ‘long feather’.
- (2) Mnd. *manzy-*; Urm. *mizt-* // < Arm. *miʃanz-ay-: Jud. *məʃazzəyā* ‘hair’ (Sok. 693), *mazzəyā id.* (*ibid.* 652). Likely a relative adjective (“goatish”) < Sem. *ma/iʃ(a)z- ‘goat’: ESA: Maʃin *mʃzy*

⁶ Sem. *šVʃVʃ- ‘barley, ear of corn; k. of beans’: Akk. *šeʃu* ‘barley, grain; pine nut’ (CAD š1 345; AHw 1222; acc. to both sources, from Sumerian; the quoted reading has been recently put under doubt by Huehnergard), *šuʃu* ‘pulse, chickpea’ (CAD š3 416), ‘eine Getreideart’ (AHw 1294); Jud. *šəʃūt* ‘a species of beans’ (Ja. 1610), *šəʃit- id.* (Ja. 1611); Arb. *šaʃāʃ-*, *šīʃāʃ-*, *šūʃāʃ-* ‘barbe de l’épi’, šʃ IV ‘se remplir de grains (se dit des épis, des céréales)’ (BK I 1234); Tgr. *səʃaʃ* ‘oats’ (LH, 194), etc. (see Mil. Farm. #5).

⁷ United in KM 230 with Iraqw *qaanča* ‘saliva of a dead man’, Alagwa *qaanča* ‘rainy season’, which is semantically unconvincing.

- (du.) ‘chèvre’, Arb. *maʕz-*, *maʕaz-*, ‘nom gén. chèvres et boucs, espèce, race caprine’, etc. (SED II #148).
- < Afras. **maʕi(n)z-* ‘horned ungulate’: Egyp. (CT) *myz.t* ‘horned animal (?)’; Chad. W.: Hausa *màazo* ‘harness antelope’, C.: Gudur *maŋgazaw* ‘Redunca (reedbuck)’, E.: Barein *múzo* ‘ox’; (?) S.Cush.: Dahalo *máʕade*⁸ ‘female topi’; N.Omot.: Gamo *múzi*, Dorze *miiz*, Anfillo *minzo*, Bworo *mii(n)zà* ‘cow, cattle’ (ADB; EDE III 156–7⁹).
 - (3) Sod. *gunnän*; Cha. *gunär* // Also ‘head’ (Muher, Masqan, Goggot *gunnän* id.) < Sem. **gul/in-* ~ **ʔ/wVgn-* ‘cheek-bone’: Arb. *ʔaʕnat-*, *waʕnat-* ‘joue, surtout joue saillante’, Jib. *égənt* ‘cheek-bone’, etc. (SED I #84).
 - < Afras. **gi/un(Vn)-* ‘cheek; jaw; face; head’: Egyp. (Med.) *dnn.t* ‘Schädel, Kopf’ (EG V 576; if < **gi/unn*); Brb.: Ayr *əganən* ‘os maxillaire; mâchoire’; Chad. W.: Montol *gun* ‘cheek’, Geruma *genne* ‘face’, C.: Lame *gíní* ‘cheeks’, E.: Birgit *gin* ‘forehead’, etc.; N. Cush.: Beja *genúñ* ‘jaw, chin’ (ADB; cf. SED I #84).
 - (4) Wol. *dumi* // < Eth.: Gez. *dəməh*, *dəməh*, *dəməh* ‘head, crown of the head, skull, summit’, Amh. *dəmah* ‘top of the head’, Arg. *dəmah* ‘head’, Gaf. *dəm^wä* ‘tête’, comparable with a cluster of variant roots in Arb.: *dimāy-* ‘cervelle, cerveau’, *dmy* ‘frapper à la tête au point d’attendre la cervelle’, *dmḥ* ‘briser la tête’ and *dammaḥa* ‘pencher la tête’ (cf. SED I #52, DRS 271; cf. also Kog. Eth. #42). Apart from Mhr. *dəməy* ‘brains’, likely an Arabism, I have found neither Sem. nor Afras. parallels.
 - (5) Hrs. *šāfēt*; Mhr. *šēfī-t*; Jib. *šfe-t*; Soq. *šfeh* // < Sem. **šV(ʕ)p(-at)-* ‘(tuft of) hair’: Arb. *šaʕfat* ‘mèche de cheveux, tupet, cheveux’ (BK 1 1240), etc. (SED I #259).
 - < Afras. **caʕVp-* (ADB): Brb. **zi/aff-*: Ahaggar *ta-hiffa*, E.Tawllemmet *ta-žffa* ‘unplaited hair’, Wargla *zaff*, Iznasen *azäf*, Snus *zäf* ‘hair’; Chad. (?) C.: Kotoko *šəpàfə* ‘tail’, Mada *ášapa* ‘plait (hair)’, Mofu *šášəp-* ‘plait (hair, rope)’ (otherwise < **šVpV* ‘rope’ or **šVp-*), E.: Ndam *sap* ‘tail’, Masmaje *sàfifi-té* ‘mane’ (St. 2007 #90, 94); E. Cush.: Oromo *sap̄ii* ‘pubic hair’, Darasa *sape* ‘hair, pubic hair’.
 - ◇ Tna. *čäg^wər*, *šäg^wər*; Tgr. *čəgär*; Amh. *ṭägur*; Arg. *čəgär*; Gaf. *šəgärä*; Har. *čigär* are all < Cush. (cf. C.: Qwara *ṭagur*, E.: Somali *dagur*, etc., v. LGz 550). No terms in Pho. and Sab.
- **Common North and West Semitic:** **šaʕr(-at)-* (#1).

37. HAND

- (1) Akk. *kātu* // No Sem. etymology.
- If *-t-* is a fossilized suffix, related to Afras. **kaʕVw/y-* ‘claw, fingernail, hand’ (ADB): Chad. W.: Mburku *kaui*, Jimbin *kuuya* ‘finger-nail’, E.: Ubi *kòyà* ‘hand’, Mokilko *kóokè* (redupl.) ‘claw’; E. Cush.: Konso *kayaa*, Darasa *keʔya* ‘claw’, Gawwada *qoy-akko* ‘claw, nail’, Dobase *qoʕ-akko* ‘finger’, Tsamay *goʕ-akko* ‘claw, hoof’; perhaps also Egyp. (MK) *kʕḥ* ‘(upper) arm, shoulder, elbow’ without reliable Afras. parallels¹⁰, implying that Egyp. *kʕḥ* may be a result of secondary phonetic processes, considering that the combination **ʕḥ* is impossible in Sem. and unusual for Afras.
- (2) Ugr. *yad*; Hbr. *yād*; Pho *yad*; Bib. *yad*; Pal. *yad*, *ʔid*; Syr *ʔid-*; Mnd. *ʕ(i)d-*; Urm. *ʔayd-*; Qur. *yad-*; Leb. *ʔad-*; Mec. *yad*; Mlt. *idey*; Sab. *yad*; Gez. *ʔad*; Tna. *ʔid*; Tgr. *ʔade*; Amh. *ʔəʕ*; Arg. *ənʕ*; Sod.

⁸ There seem to be a few cases of Dahalo *d* < **ʕ/ʕ* (although *d* mainly < **d*), but this correspondence still has to be investigated.

⁹ I do not see any reason to separate what Takács reconstructs as two N. Omot. roots — **miiz-* ‘cow’ and **minʕ-* ‘cattle’, for which he admits the possibility of being a palatalized form < **ming-* borrowed < Eth.: Amh. *mānga*, etc. The change **g* > *ʕ* is not characteristic of Omotic in genuine words and is hardly expected in loanwords.

¹⁰ The ones suggested in EDE I 332 are all with **k-*, not **ḳ-* as in Egyp.)

ǎš; Har. *išī*; Wol. *ənš*; Cha. *ǎš*; Hrs. *ḥayd*; Mhr. *ḥayd*; Jib. *ed*; Soq. *ʔed* // < Sem. **yad-* ~ **ʔid-* (SED I #291).

- < Afras. **ya/id-* (ADB; scarce attestation): Egypt. *d*, hieroglyph for hand; E. Chad.: Mawa *kwa-yida-m* ‘(my) hand’ (cf. *kwa-kal* ‘bras’, *kwa-kam* ‘griffe’, etc.).
 - (3) Gaf. *šatä* // < Sem. **šVbʕ(-at)-*, *ʔa-šbaʕ-* ‘finger’ (SED I #256).
 - < Afras. **šibVʕ-* ‘finger’ (ADB): Egypt. (Pyr.) *ḏbʕ* ‘finger’; (?) Brb.: Ghadames *ta-ḏabu-t* ‘finger-ring’¹¹; E. Cush.: **ʕVḏib-* ‘heel’: Somali *ʕeḏib-*, Rendille *ḏábḏáb* (redupl. with a loss of initial pharyngeal), Baiso *iʔʔib-* (**ḏ-* > \emptyset in Baiso)¹².
- **Common West and South Semitic:** **yad-* ~ **ʔid-* (#2).

38. HEAD

- (1) Akk. *kaḫḫadu* // < Sem. **ka/udka/ud-* ‘skull, head’ (SED I #159).
 - Likely a reduplicated form < Afras. **ḵ^wad-* ‘calabash, vessel’ (ADB)¹³: Chad. **ḵwad-/ḵwad-* (with a shift of emphasis): W.: Kirfi *kwàḏó*, Gera *kwaḏa*, Geruma *koddo* ‘calabash’, C.: Higi *kwadya* ‘small pot’, Logone *ḵkóda* (< **nV-ḵwad-*) ‘bottle’, E.: Dangla *kóḏà* ‘small jug’; Cush. E.: Oromo *qodaa* ‘receptacle’, S.: Dahalo *ḵoodo* ‘kind of calabash’.
 - (2) Ugr. *riš*; Hbr. *rō(ʔ)š*; Pho. *rʔš*; Bib. *rēʔš*; Pal. *rē(ʔ)š*, *ryš*; Syr. *rēš-*; Mnd. *riš-*; Urm. *rīš-*; Qur. *raʔs-*; Leb. *rās*; Mec. *rās*; Mlt. *rās*; Sab. *rʔs₁*; Gez. *rəʔəs*; Tna. *rəʔəs-i*; Tgr. *rüʔäs*; Amh. *ras*; Har. *urūs*; Hrs. *ḥerih*; Mhr. *ḥərōh*; Jib. *reš*; Soq. *rey* // < Sem. **raʔ(i)š-* (SED I #225).
 - < Afras. **raʔis-* ‘brains, head’ (ADB): Egypt. *ʔys* (Med.) ‘brain, viscera (of the skull)’; Chad. C.: Glavda *rüršà*, Nakatsa *rəršà*, Mofu *māḵḡ-řâš* ‘brains’ (on the phenomenon of “secondary lateralization” in C. Chad. see St. LS), E.: Mawa *rəsa*, Kajakse *reeze* ‘brain’.
 - (3) Arg. *dəmah*; Gaf. *dəm^wä*; Wol. *dumi* // See HAIR #4.
 - (4) Sod. *gunnän*; Cha. *gunär* // See HAIR #3.
- **Common West and South Semitic:** **raʔ(i)š-* (#2).

39. HEAR

- (1) Akk. *šemû*; Ugr. *šmʕ*; Hbr. *šmʕ*; Pho. *šmʕ*; Bib. *šmʕ*; Pal. *šmʕ*; Syr. *šmʕ*; Mnd. *šma*; Urm. *šmʕ*; Qur. *šmʕ*; Leb. *səməʕa*; Mec. *simiʕ*; Mlt. *sēma(gh)*; Sab. *s₁mʕ*; Gez. *smʕ*; Tna. *sämʕe*; Tgr. *sämʕa*; Amh. *sämma*; Arg. *sämma*; Gaf. *sämmä*; Sod. *sämmam*; Har. *sämaʕa*; Wol. *sämä*; Cha. *sämam*; Hrs. *hōma*; Mhr. *hēma*; Jib. *šīʕ*; Soq. *hemaḥ* // < Sem. **šmʕ-*.
 - < Afras. **sim(ʕ)-* (ADB): Egypt. *smt* (Pyr.) ‘hear’, *sm.t* ‘ears’ (NE), *smtmt* (BD) ‘eavesdrop’¹⁴; Chad. C. **šim-* (with secondary lateralization) and E. **sVm-* ‘ear’ (St. 2009 #266).
- **Proto-Semitic:** **šmʕ-*.

¹¹ Phonetically possible, but semantically problematic; quoted as *ta-ḏabb-ut* ‘finger-ring’ in EDE I 256–7 together with Ahaggar *ta-ḏeho-t* id., which I could not find in available sources.

¹² Cf. EDE I 256–7, where the E. Cush. forms are not drawn into comparison, while cognation with N. Omot. Hozo *zaba*, Sezo *zābi* ‘finger’, made without any reservations, is questionable: there is no **ç-* > *z-* shift in Hozo or Sezo (-*z* can be < **ç-* in non-initial position only in Sezo), according to Bender’s chart of correspondences (Bnd. Om. 290).

¹³ A metaphoric semantic shift, attested in various languages.

¹⁴ Sem. **-ʕ*, with no traces of it in Egypt., looks like a secondary root extension (see Mil. RE). In EDE I 194 and 262, Sem. **šmʕ* and the Chad. forms are instead related to Egypt. *šdm*. Though, according to EDE III 609, “...Eg. *šdm* has been convincingly etymologized from **smd* < **smʕ* ~ Sem. **šmʕ* ‘to hear’ (see EDE I 262)”, this is based only on a bare statement in EDE I 262, with no arguments at all, convincing or not, in favor of this comparison; recognizing in Sem. **-ʕ* a secondary extension, regardless of whatever reasons may lie behind it, is in better agreement with the principle of Occam’s razor than the multiple-stage explanation of incompatible *s* and *ʕ* in Egypt., with *ʕ* for some unknown reason changing to *ḏ* (reflecting **g?* or one of the emphatic affricates?), the whole process crowned with metathesis at that!

40. HEART

- (1) Akk. *libbu*; Ugr. *lb*; Hbr. *lēb*; Pho. *lb*; Bib. *lēb*; Pal. *lb*; Syr. *lebb-*; Mnd. *lib*; Urm. *lib-*; Sab. *lbb*; Gez. *labb*; Tna. *labbī*; Tgr. *lāb*; Amh. *labb*; Arg. *labb*; Sod. *labb*; Hrs. *ḥelbēb*; Mhr. *ḥalbib*; Jib. *ub*; Soq. *ḥilbib* // < Sem. **libb-* (SED I #174).
- < Afras. *(?-)lib(b)- ‘heart’ (ADB)¹⁵: Egyp. *īb* (OK) ‘heart’; Chad. C.: (?) Bura *libu* ‘weed with heart-shaped leaf’, Daba *libī*, Musgoy *lib* ‘belly’ (or < **la/ib-* ‘chest, side of body’ — see footnote 15), E.: Mokilko *ḥūlbò* ‘heart’; Cush. N.: Beja *leew* (if < **lib-*) ‘pylorus’ (cf. *leeb* ‘belly, stomach, heart’ < Eth.), C. **lab(b)ak-* ‘heart’ (App. CDA 82 with the comment “the suffix element *-āk-* ... is unexplained”), E.: Afar *alib* ‘lung’ (*lūbbi* ‘heart, soul’ is < Eth.), Somali *laab*, Konso *luppoota* (unless < **la/ip?*-, footnote 15) ‘heart’ (both rather genuine than borrowed, whereas Oromo *lubbuu* ‘heart, soul, spirit’ is likely < Amh. and Sidamo *lubbo*, Burji *lubbóo* ‘soul’ are < Oromo rather than < Amh.), S.: Maʿa *lubúra* ‘spleen’ (the comparison with Asa *liba* ‘chest’ in HRSC 205 implies a suffixed *-ra* in Maʿa; Asa *liba* ‘chest’ likely belongs to **la/ib-* ‘chest, side of body’, footnote 15); Omot. N.: Bworo *libbo* ‘heart’, S.: Ari (Ubamer) *lip/ḥa* id. (otherwise < Afras. **la/ip?*- ‘inner organ’, footnote 15).
- (2) Qur. *ḳalb-*; Leb. *ḳalāb*; Mec. *ḳalb*; Mlt. *alp* // Most likely, related (with metathesis) to Akk. *ḳablu* ‘middle, center, middle part; hips, loins, waist’ (CAD *ḳ* 6; cf. also SED I #161).
- < Afras. **ḳabl-* ~ **ḳalb-* (ADB): Egyp. (MK) *ḳʕb* ‘breast’ (if < **ḳVlb-*; cf. EDE I 314); W. Chad.: Mburku *ḳubulo* (and Siri *bukuli* with met.?) ‘stomach’ (E. Cush.: Oromo *qalbii* ‘mind’ must be an Arabism).
- ◇ Har. *ḳālbi*, isolated in Eth., is rather an Arabism than an inherited term; Wol. *wāzān* is a loan from Cush. (cf. Kambatta *wozāna*, etc.); Cha. *kʿən* (together with similar Gurage forms

¹⁵ In almost all of the sources (Dolg. 1973 163–4, EDE I 87–8, App. CDA 82 et al.), several roots are confused — part of them have presumably been variant roots as early as in Proto-Afras.; I hold it methodically correct to treat them separately. Besides *(?-)lib(b)- ‘heart’, they are (ADB):

(1) **la/ib-* ‘upper torso’: Sem. **labb(-at)-* ‘neck with chest; back and flank’: Akk. *labānu* ‘tendon of the neck; neck’, Arb. *lubb-at-* ‘le haut de la poitrine qui touche à la clavicule’, *labab-* ‘le haut de la poitrine ou de poitrail d’où descend un collier ou autre parure du cou’, *labān-* ‘poitrine, surtout la partie entre les mamelles, poitrail (de tout animal à sabot)’, Tgr. *lābbāt* ‘place of the fillet steak on the back of animals; midst, side’, Jib. *leb* ‘side’, etc. (cf. SED I #173); Chad. W.: Guus *lāabi* ‘corpse’, C.: Mada *lāwvā* ‘side’; Cush. N.: Beja *léew* (< **IVb-*?) ‘side’, C.: Aungi *yelib* ‘woman’s breast’, E.: Afar *lab-* ‘side of the body’ (cf. *labka* ‘scapula, back of shoulder’), Saho id., Somali *laab* ‘chest, sternum, thorax’, Burji *lap-ée* ‘side’ (or < Oromo *lappée* ‘breast?’), S.: Asa *liba* ‘breast, chest’.

(2) **la/ip?*- ‘inner organ; chest and belly with interior’: Egyp. *npʕ* (CT) ‘guts’ (if < **IVp?*); W. Chad.: Sura, Angas *lap* ‘spleen’, Bokos *ma-laf* ‘liver’; Cush. E.: Afar *aleefu* ‘spleen’, Oromo *lappée* ‘heart, breast’ (Gr. 262; unless < **labb-*, but, in any case, hardly < Amh. *labb*). S.: Dahalo *lafi* ‘lungs’; N. Omot.: Basketo *lippe*, Galila *lib/pa* ‘belly’ (otherwise **lib(b)-* ‘heart’). Here, perhaps, also Sem. **li/api?*- ‘adipose, fleshy tissue, fat; marrow, pith’ (cf. SED #180).

(3) **na/ib-* ‘heart’: Chad. C.: Daba *nūv* ‘heart’, *nəv* ‘stomach, chest’, Musgoy *nəv* ‘heart, stomach’ (perhaps also W.: Zar *nābi* ‘left’ with a meaning shift from ‘heart’); C. Cush.: Bilin *nabaká*, Kemant *nābay* ‘middle’ (acc. to CDA 82, “variant forms” of **IVb-*); N. Omot.: Yemsa *nibaa*, Kafa *nibboo*, Bworo *niiba*, Hozo *nibba*, Sezo *nibba* ‘heart’ (it is highly unlikely that in all these forms **l-* evolved into *-n-* in various Afras. branches independently from one another, especially in view of the fact that the forms in *-l* and *-n-* coexist in some of the languages; Bender’s assumption in Bnd. Om. 167 & 274 that Omot. forms in *-n* might be loans from Amh. *libb-* is untenable).

(4) **ʕawVyl(-im)-* ‘heart; belly’: Brb.: Siwa *uli*, Ayr. E. Tawllemmet *əwəl*, Ahaggar *ul*, Kel-Ui *uləm* (note *-m!*), Taneslemt *ulh*, etc. ‘heart’ (in my opinion, cases of the much-discussed correspondence Tuareg *h* ~ Ghadames and Audjila *b* ~ other Brb. \emptyset can reflect Afras. **b* only if there is a laryngeal or pharyngeal in the reconstructed Afras. root; in the present case, the absence of either corresponding forms with *b* in Ghadames and Audjila or traces of a laryngeal or pharyngeal consonant in Afras. **lib(b)-* gives no grounds to relate the above Brb. forms to the latter); (?) W. Chad.: Jimbin *hwahala* ‘intestines’; E. Cush.: Saho *uluʕ-* ‘belly’ (with metathesis), Somali *ʕalol* ‘belly’; Omot. N.: Welaitta *ʕuluwa* ‘belly’ (metathesis), S.: Hamar *wəwylim* ‘heart’ (note *-m!*), perhaps Ongota *ləta* id.

in LGur 372) is tentatively regarded by Leslau as a loan from Oromo *onnē* ‘heart’, which is not very convincing, but I could not find an alternative etymology (possibly < Sem. **gal/in(a)n-* ‘viscera; heart’ SED I #83?). No term in Gaf.

→ **Proto-Semitic:** **libb-* (#1).

41. HORN

(1) Akk. *ḫarnu*; Ugr. *ḫrn*; Hbr. *ḫārān*; Pho. *ḫrn*; Pal. *ḫrn*; Syr. *ḫarn-*; Mnd. *ḫarn*; Urm. *ḫa(r)n-*; Qur. *ḫarn-*; Leb. *ḫaran*; Mec. *ḫarn*; Mlt. *rūn*; Gez. *ḫārn*; Tna. *ḫārn-i*; Tgr. *ḫār*; Amh. *ḫānd*; Arg. *ḫarara*, *ḫānd*; Gaf. *ḫāndä*; Sod. *ḫār*; Har. *ḫār*; Wol. *ḫār*; Cha. *ḫān*; Hrs. *ḫōn*; Mhr. *ḫōn*; Jib. *ḫuhn*; Soq. *ḫan* // < Sem. **ḫar-n-* (cf. SED I #168).

□ < Afras. **ḫar(-n)-* (ADB): Omot. N.: Yemsa *kala*, Kafa *ḫaroo*, Mocha *ḫáro*, Anfillo *ḫaroo*, Bworo *ḫalla*, Sezo *ḫālì*, Hozo *ḫara* ‘horn’¹⁶, S.: Ari *ḫari* ‘tusk’.

◇ No term in Bib. and Sab.

→ **Proto-Semitic:** **ḫar-n-*.

42. I

(1) Akk. *anāku*; Ugr. *ʔan*, *ʔank*; Hbr. *ʔānī*, *ʔānōkī*; Pho. *ʔnk*; Bib. *ʔānā*; Pal. *ʔānā*; Syr. *ʔenā*; Mnd. *ana*; Urm. *ʔānā*; Qur. *ʔanā*; Leb. *ʔani*; Mec. *ʔana*; Mlt. *yīn*; Sab. *ʔn*; Gez. *ʔanä*; Tna. *ʔane*; Tgr. *ʔāna*; Amh. *əne*; Arg. *an*, *äy*; Gaf. *anät*; Har. *ān*; Cha. *əya* // < Sem. **ʔan(-akV)*.

□ < Afras. **ʔa-na(-k/tV)* (ADB): Eyp. *ʔnk*; Brb. **na/ikk*: Ahaggar *nek*, Zenaga *niʔk-an*, Qabyle *nakk*, etc.; Chad. W.: Hausa *nīnaa*, Bolewa *ina*, Dera *naani*, Sura *an*, Fyer *yīn*, etc., C.: Tera *ḫa*, Margi *nayu*, Musgu *ta-nu*, Bachama *-na-*, Masa *nan*, etc., E.: Migama *ná*, *náàtā*, Jegu *nō*, Mokilko *nun*, *nuuno*, Tumak *nə*, etc.; Cush. N: Beja *aní*, *ane*, C.: Bilin *an*, Khamta *ān*, Kemant, Aungi *an*, E.: Afar *anú*, Somali *aniga* (< **ʔa-ni-ka*), Boni, Rendille, Oromo *ani*, Konso *ānti*, Sidamo, Hadiya, Burji *ani*, Gawwada *ano*, Tsamay *ʔāno*, S.: Iraqw *an/ani*, Maʔa *ani*, Dahalo *ana* / *añi*; Omot. N.: Anfillo *to-ʔoni*, Hozo *na-ga* (< **na-ka?*), Nayi *na*, Sheko *nta*, Dizi *inu* (cf. metathetic forms *tana*, *tani* in Omoto, Chara, Bworo, etc.).

(2) Sod. *ādi* // An enigmatic pronoun with no Sem. parallels (cf. various suggestions quoted in LGur 13, none of which is convincing); cf., however, C. Chad.: Buduma *n-dau*, *dau*, Logone *n-dau* ‘I’ (independent form).

(3) Wol. *ihe* // In spite of formal affinity with (4), more likely < **ʔik-* (cf. LGur Vol. I XXXVII–VIII and LXIV) to be tentatively related to the **-k-* element in Sem., Eyp., Brb. 1st person sing. pronoun, Chad. C.: Glavda *kaya*, Daba *kata*, Cinene *káyà*, *kà*, Guduf *kà*; (?) E. Cush.: Yaaku *úçe?* (< **ʔik-?*); S. Omot.: Ongota *kata*.

(4) Hrs. *hoh*; Mhr. *hoh*; Jib. *he*, *he?*; Soq. *ho* // Certainly a separate root, not distorted forms of **ʔan*¹⁷.

→ **Proto-Semitic:** **ʔan(-akV)* (#1).

¹⁶ Yemsa *kala* and Sezo *ḫālì* can be < **ḫar*, according to the correspondence charts in Bnd. Om. 184 and 290; as for Bworo, **-r* > *-r* and *-rh*. There is little doubt, however, that the Omot. proto-form is **ḫar-*, perfectly matching Sem. **ḫar-n-*. Since the Omot. forms can hardly be regarded as borrowed from Tgr. or S. Eth. forms lacking *-n*, or from Gez. *ḫārn*, or from Amh. *ḫānd*, the root should be considered Common Afras. which is decisive in the old dispute about broader connections of Sem. **ḫarn-* with its Indo-European and Kartvelian counterparts: they could be either borrowed from the former or go back to the common Nostratic-Afrasian proto-form, while borrowing into Sem. is unlikely.

¹⁷ The *h* element occurs in this personal pronoun in other Afras. languages as well, although rarely — cf. C. Chad.: Mofu *yah* (and, perhaps, forms like Bura *ya*, Malgwa *ʔiyya*, Podoko *waya*, Gisiga *ʔiya*, etc. in which **h* may yield *ʔ* or *ʃ*); E. Cush.: Arbore *yehelo*, etc. One wonders whether it may eventually be traced back to the *h* element in deictic pronouns.

43. KILL

- (1) Akk. *dâku* (*duâku*) // also *dakâku* ‘to crush’ (CAD *d* 34, lex.), apparently from Sem. biconsonantal base **dk* ‘to crush, pound’: Hbr. *dk?* (pi.), *dky* ‘to crush’, *dwk* ‘to pound’, Arb. *dkk*, etc. (HALOT 216, 221).
- Related to Chad. W.: Hausa *dákā̀*, Bolewa *dak-* ‘to pound’ (HSED #633), C.: Bura *dika* ‘to pound with a club’, Mbara *dāk* ‘to strike’ (ADB). However, Akk. *dâku/duâku* ‘to kill’ also has direct parallels with the meaning ‘to kill’ in Chad. W.: Karekare *dukwa*, Bolewa *dùwí* (< **duk^w*-), Ngamo *duko*, Kirfi *duk-/duy^w*-, Sha *duk* (also ‘to beat’) and C.: Logone *duku* (ADB); the question is whether the presence of two different forms in Akk. and Bolewa forms speaks against uniting the Sem. and Chad. forms meaning ‘to pound, beat’ and ‘to kill’ within one root (although their eventual kinship on the Proto-Afras. level is evident), or the semantic shift took place independently in both languages.
- (2) Akk. *nēru* (syn.) // Likely related to Arb. *nḥr* ‘causer à quelqu’un une lésion à la clavicule; égorger (surtout un chameau)’ (BK 2 1211–12)¹⁸.
- (3) Ugr. *mḥš*¹⁹ // < Sem. **mḥš*: Akk. *maḥāšu* ‘to strike’, Hbr. *mḥš* ‘to smash’, etc. (HALOT 571). No reliable Afras. parallels.
- (4) Hbr. Sab. *hrg* // < Sem. **hrg*: Moabite, Old Aram., Arb. ‘to slaughter’ (HALOT 255). No Afras. parallels.
- (5) Bib. Pal. Syr. *ḵṭl*; Mnd. *gṭl/geṭal*; Urm. Qur. *ḵtl*; Leb. *?atəl*; Mec. *ḵatal*; Mlt. *ātel*; Sab. *ḵtl* (syn.); Gez. *ḵtl*; Tna. *ḵātälä*; Tgr. *ḵätla*; Wol. *ḵätälä*; Cha. *ḵätäräm* // < Sem. **ḵtl*: Akk. *ḵatālu* ‘to kill, slaughter’ (CAD *q* 162), Hbr. *ḵṭl* ‘to kill’ (a rare term, considered an Arameism, see HALOT 1092²⁰).
- Perhaps a form with fossilized *-l* (see Mil. RE), derived from Afras. **ḵVṭ/t-* ‘strike, kill’ (ADB): Sem.: Arb. *w/yḵt* ‘beat (so.)’; Chad. C.: Podoko *kaḍa*, Ouldeme *kàḍ*, Gisiga *kaḍ* ‘kill’, Mofu *-kaḍ-* ‘strike, kill’, etc., E.: Migama *kōḍo* ‘to strike’ (according to O. Stolbova, Chad. *ḍ* reflects Afras. **d* adjacent to a laryngeal, but not **ṭ*; there are, however, quite a few cases worth further research where Chad. *ḍ* seems to continue Afras. **ṭ*); N. Cush.: Beja *kaḍaw* ‘to strike’.
- (6) Amh. *gäddälä*; Arg. *gäddäla*; Sod. *gäddäläm*; Har. *gädälä* // < Sem. (Arb.-Eth.): Gez. *gadala* ‘to strive’, Tgr. *tägädälä*, Amh. *tägädälä* ‘to fight’ (in LGz 182 related to Sem. **gdl* ‘be big, grow big and strong’, which is semantically hard to prove), Arb. *ḵdl* ‘jeter, renverser par terre’, II id. (d’un coup de lance), III ‘se quereller, se disputer avec quelqu’un’ (BK 1 265–6). No Afras. parallels.
- (7) Hrs. *letōy*; Mhr. *lutōy*, Jib. *letəy*, Soq. *lataḥ* // < Sem. (Arb.-MSA; less likely an Arabism in MSA with a shift from one of the many synonyms meaning ‘to strike, hit’ in Arb. to the main term for ‘to kill’): Arb. *lty* ‘frapper; piquer’ (BK 2 964), cf. *ldy* ‘piquer (du scorpion)’ (ibid. 983). No Afras. parallels.
- (8) Jib. *enúsum* (syn.) // < Sem. **nšm* ‘to breathe’ (see DIE #6). No Afras. parallels.
- ◇ No term in Pho. and Gaf.
- **Proto-West Semitic: *ḵtl*** (#5).

¹⁸ Compared in St. 2005 #569 with E. Chad.: Dangla *ḡèrḡirē* ‘schneiden’, Mokilko *nyèrìrè* ‘tailler’.

¹⁹ Suggested by L. Kogan instead of *hrg*, which has very scarce attestation.

²⁰ In Mil. 2008, instead of “in Heb. an Arm. loanword”, I have miscopied “in Heb. and Arm. loanword” from HALOT, taking it for an assertion that implies borrowing into both from Akkadian, and, ridiculously, gave my objections.

44. KNEE

- (1) Akk. *birku*; Ugr. *brk*, *birku*; Hbr. *bārūk*; Bib. **barak*; Pal. *brk*; Syr. *burk-*; Mnd. *burk-*; Urm. *birk-*; Gez. *bark*; Tna. *barki*; Tgr. *barak*; Wol. *bark*; Hrs. *bark*; Mhr. *barak*; Jib. *berk*; Soq. *berk* // < Sem. **bi/ark-* (SED I #39).
- Cf., on one hand, C. Chad. forms in *p-* (a triconsonantal variant root with partial reduplication?): Gisiga *poporok* ‘knee’, Matakam *pápərakw* ‘paw’ and obscure E. Cush.: Yaaku *loiporokuçi* ‘knee’ (unless a borrowing from a non-Afras. language, composed of *loiporokuçi* < **-porokuki* < **borok-* with *loi* of unknown meaning?) and, on the other hand, Chad. forms meaning ‘knee’ like W.: Ngamo *buru*, Maha *burum*, Galambu *búbur*, Paʔa *bùrmí*, Guruntum *vàran*, etc. (and such forms as Sura *kə-fùrùm*, Tangale *purum*, Warji *ɣwùrmù-ná*, Kir *kaa-furum*, etc., in which, according to Stolbova, the modification of the initial consonant is due to the body part prefix **kV-* < **kV* ‘head’), C.: Padoko *bár-na* ‘knee’, Gude *búra* ‘elbow’, Zime-Bata *búru* ‘to kneel, to crawl’, E.: Mokilko *ʔəbbírà* ‘to kneel on river shore to drink’ (all ADB; the latter comparison is valid only if we presuppose a fossilized *-k* in Sem.; note the *-k* element in body parts in some of the Cush. languages quoted above, like Agaw **lab(b)ak-* ‘heart’ and Saho-Afar *labka* ‘shoulder’; see also Mil RE).
- (2) Bib. **ʔarkubbā*; Qur. *rukbat-*; Leb. *rikbi*; Mec. *rukba*; Mlt. *arkoppa* // < Sem. **(ʔa-)rakub(at)-* ‘knee’ (cf. SED I #232); should be scored differently from **bi/ark-*. A clearly secondary metathetic variant of the latter, derivable from it on the Common WSem. level: cf. Bib. *birkōhī* and *ʔarkubbātēh* (both dual) ‘knee’, Jud. *birkā* id. and *rəkūbā*, *rəkūbtā*, *ʔarkūbtā* ‘part of the leg’ and Arb. *barikat-* ‘genou’, *brk* ‘s’agenouiller’, with both variant roots coexisting in the same languages.
- ◇ Amh. *gulbät*; Arg. *gulbät*, *gulot*; Gaf. *gulbät*; Sod. *gulbät*; Har. *galib*; Cha. *g^wərbät* are from Cush., more likely from HEC (cf. Kambatta *gulubi-ta*, Darasa *gulubo*) than from LEC, where the pertinent terms have **ʒ-* as the first radical (Oromo *žilba*, Somali *žilib*), whereas similar forms in Agaw, with the exception of Dembea *gulviε*, have *-r-* as the second radical; Saho and Afar fit in phonetically (both have *gulub*), but can hardly be the source of a loanword that is so widespread in the S. Eth. area. No term in Pho. and Sab.
- **Proto-Semitic:** **bi/ark-* (#1).

45. KNOW

- (1) Akk. *idû*; Ugr. *ydʃ*; Hbr. *ydʃ*; Pho. *ydʃ*; Bib. *ydʃ*; Pal. *ydʃ*; Syr. *ydʃ*; Mnd. *yda*; Urm. *dʃy* (met.); Sab. *dʃw* (met.); Hrs. *yōda* // < Sem. **ydʃ*.
- < Afras. **yadaʃ-* ~ **dayaʃ-* ‘know’ (ADB): C. Chad.: Mandara *díya*, Malgwa *díya* ‘know’; Cush. E.: Saho *da/iʃ-* (also *ḍa/iʃ-*), Afar *daʃ-* (also *ḍaʃ-*) ‘know, be able’, Somali (Isaq) *daʃ-* ‘understand’, Oromo *yaada* ‘think’, *yaada-ḍḍa* ‘remember’, Sidamo *yaad-* ‘think’ (likely < Oromo), S.: Iraqw *daʃ-ati* ‘witchcraft’ (acc. to HRSC 224, < **dʷaʃ-*), *daʃ-ari* (acc. to KM 78, < **daʃ-* ‘burn’, which is less probable), Alagwa *dandaʃ-as* ‘to treat injury, wound’, Asa *daʃ-aruk* ‘doctor-diviner’; (?) N.Omot.: Bworo *daan* ‘know’ (if < **daʃ-an*).
- (2) Pal. *ḥkm* (syn.) // < Sem. **ḥkm* ‘to know, be wise’ (HALOT 313–14). No reliable Afras. parallels.
- (3) Qur. *ʔalima* // other meanings are ‘savoir distinguer une chose de l’autre; apprendre quelque chose’ and (*ʔalama*) ‘marquer, distinguer par une marque’ (BK 2 349) < Sem. **ʔlm*, something like ‘make/discern hidden signs’: Ugr. *ʔlm* ‘be hidden, unknown, go unnoticed’ (DUL 158), Hbr. *ʔlm* (nif.) ‘to be concealed’ (HALOT 834), Gez. *taʔalma* ‘to be hidden, disappear from sight’, Amh. *allämä* ‘to disappear from sight’ (LGz 61), Mhr. *ʔälōm* ‘to brand (with a rag), to make a mark’ (JM 22), etc.²¹

²¹ For possible Afras. parallels cf. Chad. W. **lVm-* ‘to hide, to disappear’ and, perhaps, E.: Mafa *lém-* ‘think’ (ADB).

- (4) Leb. *ṣarəf*; Mec. *ṣirif* // Class. Arb. *ṣrf* id. No parallels in other Sem. or Afras. that I could find.
- (5) Mlt. *kin yaf* // *yaf* < **yakf* related to Class. Arb. *ḵwf* ‘connaître, deviner l’état intérieur d’une chose à l’aide des signes extérieurs’ (BK 2 835). No parallels in other Sem. or Afras. that I could find.
- (6) Gez. *ʔaʔmara*; Tgr. *ʔammärä* // < Eth. **ʔmr* ‘to show, indicate’: Gez. *ʔammara*, Tna. *ʔammärä*, Amh. *ammärä* < Sem. **ʔmr* ‘to see’: Akk. *amāru*, Pho. *ʔmr* id., Ugr. *ʔamr* ‘to look at’ (DUL 71), Sab. *ʔmr* ‘sign, omen, oracle’ (SD 6).
- < Afras. *(ʔV-)mVr- ‘to see, look, show, search for’ (ADB)²²: Egyp. *mʔʔ* (OK) ‘see, look’ (if < **mrr*), *mr.t* ‘eye’, *mʔr* ‘supervisor’; Chad. W.: Ankwe *mèr* ‘spy on, look for’, C.: Lamang *mar-*, Mandara *marä*, Malgwa *mára* ‘to show’, Glavda *mar-* ‘show, make known’, E.: Bidiya *mer* ‘look, peer’, Kera *kə-maarä* ‘soothsayer’; Cush. N.: Beja *mir* ‘see, attend to; find’, C. (re-dupl.): Khamir *mirmir*, Kemant *märämär*, Aungi *marmara-əḡ* ‘examine, search for’, E.: Oromo (Waata) *mar-aḏḏa* ‘look for, search for’, Rendille *mór-o* ‘soothsayer, star-gazer, who sees visions’; (?) N. Omot.: Mocha *marà ra(yé)* ‘to dream’ (cf. EDE III 30–33, 353–6).
- (7) Tna. *fälätä* // Eth. **flṯ* ‘to separate, split’: Gez. *falaṯa* ‘to separate, split, discern, know, etc.’, Amh. *fällätä* id. < Sem. (Eth.-ESA) **flṯ* ‘to split, separate’: Sab. *flṯ* ‘to assign land’ (SD 44); probably related to Sem. **plṯ* ‘to save’ (cf. LGz 161). No Afras. parallels.
- (8) Gaf. *šalä*; Sod. *šalä*; Wol. *čalä*; Cha. *ḵaräm* // < Sem. **ḵhl* ‘to be able’ (LGz 277). No Afras. parallels.
- (9) Hrs. *yerōb* (syn.); Mhr. *yerōb*; Jib. *yarob*; Soq. *ṣerob* // The only solution, though debatable, that I can suggest is to trace these forms back to Sem. **yarb-* ‘sunset, west’ with a peculiar semantic shift ‘to come to know/learn’ < ‘to go to an unknown place’ < ‘to go west’ (e. g. Mhr. *yarbēt* ‘strange place, unknown place, abroad’ JM 140, Jib. *oyórb* ‘to go west’ JJ 88, Akk. *ereb-* (*erb-*) ‘setting of the sun, west’ CAD e 258, Arb. *yarb-* ‘coucher (du soleil)’ BK 2 450, etc.)²³.
- ◇ Amh. *awwākä*; Arg. *wōnḵa*, *ōnḵa*; Har. *ākā* < C. Cush.: Aungi *-aq-*, Damot *y-aḵ-*, Qwara *ax-*, etc. ‘to know’.
- **Proto-Semitic:** **yḏṯ* (#1).

46. LEAF

- (1) Akk. *aru*, *eru* ‘frond, leaf of the date palm’ OB on (CAD a2 311), *artu* (and *aštu*) ‘foliage’ Y/NB (ibid.)²⁴ // < Sem. **yar-*: Arb. *yār-* ‘feuilles de la vigne; espèce d’arbre qui produit une résine’ (BK 2 516), perhaps also Hbr. *šārōt* (pl.) ‘reeds (on the Nile)’ (HALOT 882; hapax) unless < Egyp. (Pyr.) *ṣr* ‘Binse; Pflanze; Schreibfeder’ (EG I 208, VI 28, 136), which, if *-r* reflects **-r* (otherwise see #2 below), may be related to Sem. **yar-*.
- For non-Sem. parallels cf. Cush. N.: Beja *rat*, *rāt*, *erat* ‘leaf’ (unless the same as *lat*, though registered by several authors on a par with *lat*).
- (2) Akk. (syn.) *ḵaru* // v. footnote 24.

²² Often merged, as in EDE III 30–33, 353–6, with Sem. **ʔVmVr-* < Afras. **mVr-* ‘to say, order’; I prefer to treat the two as homonymous roots on the Proto-Afras. level.

²³ The only, though interesting, parallel outside Sem. is in S. Omot.: Ongota *girib-* ‘become night’, if Ong *g* may render Afras. **ḡ*.

²⁴ Also *ḵaru* id., cf. *ḵarū* ‘young shoot of the date-palm’ SB (CAD ḵ 117), *ḵarūtu* NB ‘branch of the date palm’ (ibid. 121), referred to as an Arm. lw.; cf. HJ 404 with no indication of language: *ḵrwt* = ‘branch of date palm’ > Akkad., referring to AHw 329 asserting the same borrowing < Arm.). Perhaps two variant roots (with semantic contamination in Akk.): (1) *elaru* / *artu* ‘foliage, leaf’ < **yar-*, (2) *ḵaru* ‘frond, leaf, branch, shoot of the date palm’ < Afras. **ḵaruy-* ~ **ḵuray-* ‘leaf, palm leaf, palm’: Egyp. (Med.) *ḵʔ.w* (if < **ḵr-w*) ‘leaves’ (also **ḵʔ* ‘leaf (and stalk) of lotus’, an hieroglyph); C. Chad.: Musgu *ḵurai*, *ḵorai* ‘Deleb palm’ (cf. also Zime *ḵūrāy*, plant *Grewia venusta* whose leaves are used for making sauces); S. Cush: Iraqw *ḵuray-* ‘Borassus palm’ (HRSC 260). Cf. EDE I 160 and ADB.

- (3) Hbr. *šālā* // No straight parallels in Sem.²⁵
 □ < Afras. **šaly/w-* ~ **wašl-* ~ **lawš-*: Chad. W.: Pero *álàu*, Jimbin *aluhu*, Polchi *wál*, Zul *wali*, etc. ‘leaf’, (?) C.: Chad. *ʔèliya* ‘liane’; Cush. N.: Beja *lāt* ‘leaf’ (< **laš-at-*? Cf. also *rāt* id. above), E.: Somali *šáléen*, pl. *šáléemó* id., S.: Iraqw *lofo*; N. Omot. Mao *waale*, Kafa *wollo*, etc. id. (ADB)²⁶.
- (4) Pal. *ṭrp*, *ṭrb*; Syr. *ṭarp-*; Mnd. *a-ṭirp-*; Urm. *ṭarp-* // < Sem.: Hbr. *ṭārāp* ‘fresh twig, shoot’ (HALOT 380), Arb. *ṭarfāt-* ‘espèce de tamarise’ (BK 2 73; cf. also *ṭirf-* ‘plante qui n’est pas encore épanouie’, perhaps to be connected with *ṭirf-* ‘nouveau’ ibid.), Akk. *ṭarpaʔu* ‘ein Tamariskenart’ (AHw 1382; compared with Arb. *ṭarfāʔ-* ‘tamarisk’)²⁷.
- (5) Qur. *warāk-at-*; Leb. *waraʔa*; Mec. *waraga*; Mlt. *werʔa* // < Sem. **warāk-* ‘green, yellow’ (see GREEN #1).
- (6) Gez. *ḳʷāšəl*; Tna. *ḳʷāšl-i*; Amh. *ḳəṭäl*; Arg. *ḳəṭäl*, *hätal*; Gaf. *ḳəṭälä*; Sod. *ḳəṭäl*; Har. *ḳuṭṭi*; Wol. *ḳuṭäl*; Cha. *ḳəṭär* // See GREEN #5.
- (7) Tgr. *ḳäṭfät* // < Sem. **ḳṭp* ‘to pluck (leaves, fruit)’: Akk. *ḳatāpu* ‘to cut off, pluck off’, Hbr. *ḳṭp* ‘to pluck off’, Gez. *ḳaṭafa* ‘to pick, cut (flowers, leaves), pluck, snap’, Amh. *ḳäṭṭäṭä* ‘to pick flowers’, etc. (LGz 453). No reliable cognates outside Sem.
- (8) Cha. *ənzar* (syn.) // < ‘ear’, with a common semantic shift < Sem. **ʔud(V)n-* ‘ear’ (see EAR #1).
- (9) Mhr. *çyā(l)föt*; Jib. *çyizfot*; Soq. *šašlof* // No direct parallels. Cf. Arb. *šf* IV ‘ê. en feuilles (se dit des céréales, quand elles n’ont que des feuilles)’ (BK 2 272). Compared in LS 354–5 with Hbr. *səšip*, *saršap* ‘branche’, Syr. *saršep* ‘former des branches’, Arb. *sašf-* ‘rameaux ou feuilles de palmier sec’ with the improbable comment “le š emphatique est amené par la présence de ʔ”.
- ◇ No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Sab. and Hrs. (the two Akk. terms should rather remain unscored).
- **No common Sem.**

47. LIE

- (1) Akk. *šalālu* // ‘to lie/fall asleep, be at rest; remain inactive; sleep with a woman’ (CAD s 67). Likely from Sem. **šll* ‘to fall/lie/go/stay down’: Hbr. *šll* ‘to sink’ (HALOT 1027; hapax), Syr. *šll* ‘se inclinavit, inclinatus est, se demisit; flexit, disposuit; insidiatus est’ (Brock. 628), Arb. *šll* ‘surprendre quelqu’un, tomber inopinément sur quelqu’un (se dit d’un malheur)’, *šall-* ‘pluie abondante; pluie légère qui tombe çà et là comme une rosée’ (BK 1 1355), Gez. *šal(l)ala* ‘to float upon, come to the surface, swim’, Tna. *šälälä* ‘to float’, Amh. *čällälä* ‘spread (intr.) over a surface (butter or oil)’ (LGz 555)²⁸.
- (2) Akk. *nālu*, *niālu*, *i/utūlu* (syn.) // < **nyl*, likely related (with metathesis) to Ugr. *ln* ‘sleep, stay the night’ (DUL 500), Hbr. *lyn* ‘to spend the night, stay overnight, etc.’ (HALOT 529), (?) Arb. *laynat-* ‘coussinet’ (BK 2 1051; unless from *lyn* ‘ê. tendre, mou’). No visible Afras. parallels.

²⁵ HALOT 830 quotes Jud. *šalyā* id., which is more likely a Hebraism. Cf. also Syr. *šalway*, *ʔelway*, Gez. *šalwā*, *ʔalaw*, etc. ‘aloe’, considered a loan from Greek *aloē* of Sanskrit origin (LGz 63); I wonder whether ‘aloe’ could, on the contrary, be equated to ‘leaf’ and treated as a genuine Sem. (and Afras.) word meaning ‘leaf’.

²⁶ Cf. EDE I 94, where the Hbr., Syr. (quoted as ‘leaf’, not ‘aloe’), part of W. Chad., Somali (with reservations) and S. Cush. (Iraqw *halmi*, Alagwa *elemi*; hardly related to the present root, since Afras. **ʔ* yields Iraqw *ʔ*, not *h*) forms are compared to Egypt. *ʔr* ‘Binse; Pflanze; Schreibfeder’ (see #1), unquestionably interpreted as reflecting **ʔl*.

²⁷ Cf. E. Chad.: Bidiya *tirip* ‘k. of tree’ (ADB).

²⁸ Perhaps related to Chad. W.: Hausa *čälälāa* ‘pour out a large quantity of fluid’, C.: Gude *čälāʔ* ‘dripping’, Logone *šili-wun* ‘to drip’; according to St. 2009 #735, < **çVI-* ‘to drip’ including other parallels meaning ‘rinse, soak’ and ‘be liquid, watery’ which, if related, make the comparison with the Sem. root unlikely.

- (3) Ugr. *škb*; Hbr. *škb*; Pho. *škb*; Gez. *sakaba* // < Sem. **škb* (HALOT 1486–7); cf. Akk. *sakāpu* ‘to lie down, lie still’ (rare) with irregular *s-* (< **s*, not **š*) and *-p* (< **p*, not **b*). No Afras. parallels.
- (4) Pal. Urm. *dmk* // Common Arm.: Syr. *dmk* ‘dormivit’ (Brock. 157), etc. (v. DRS 272); no other Sem. or Afras. parallels (if not for unexplainable *-k*, cf. Afras. **dalim-* ‘dwell, stay’ incl. Eyp. *dm?* ‘lie’).
- (5) Pal. *rbʕ* (syn.), Mnd. *rba*; Wol. (syn.) *rebätä* // The Arm. and Wol. forms are related, if the former reflect **rbʕ* (they may alternatively go back to **rbš*) < Sem. **rbʕ*: Hbr. *rbʕ* ‘to lie in position, recline; to copulate’²⁹, Arb. *rbʕ* ‘se tenir debout; atteindre’ (with a comment: “dérivé probablement des quatre pieds des quadrupèdes”); rester’, V ‘s’asseoir, ê. assis les jambes croisées, à la turque’ (BK 1 808), Wol. (above), Selti *rēbätä* ‘to lie down to sleep’ (LGur 521).
- An interesting if controversial, parallel is found in E. Cush.: Elmolo *rap-* ‘to sleep’ (**b* yields Elmolo *p*), Tsamai *rabe* ‘lie, sleep’ (SLLE; *-ʕ*, however, is expected to be preserved in Tsamai) which seem to imply **rab-*. Though Elmolo *rap-* is included by Sasse (PEC 22) into common E. Cush. **raf-* ‘to sleep’ (a variant root of **rab-*?), **f* yields in Elmolo *f*, not *p*.
- (6) Syr. *gānā* (syn.); Mnd. *gna* (syn.) // < Sem. **gny/?* ‘bend down, lie down’: Arb. *ʕn?* ‘bend over smth.’, Gez. *ganaya* ‘bow down, prostrate oneself, etc.’, Soq. *ʕignin* ‘bend, bow down’ (LGz 200).
- < Afras. **gina?* ‘lie/fall/bend down’ (ADB): Brb. (alternatively can go back to **h^(w)in-* in footnote 30, as Afras. **h* yields Brb. **g*): Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *əgən* ‘s’accroupir, descendre, faire halte’, Izdeg *gən* ‘dormir’, Qabyle *gən* ‘dormir, ê. couché’; Chad. W.: Bolewa *gan-d-* ‘lay down’, Buli *gin-dā* ‘fall down’, Ngizim *gīnā* ‘to sleep’, C.: Zime-Batna *gənā* ‘la bas’, E.: Migama *gōne* ‘bottom’, Bidiyo *gāny* ‘be on the bottom’; (?) E. Cush. **gʕin-* ‘stay in place’ (only the reconstructed form, enigmatically adduced in Ehr. #124); Omot.: Male *gən?*, Ari *gin?* ‘to sleep’³⁰.
- (7) Leb. *lʕh* // < **lkʕh*, same as Class. Arb. *lkʕh* ‘jeter, lancer’, VIII ‘ê. jeté par terre’ (BK 2 1012–13), perhaps related to Sem. **lkʕh* ‘to take, lend’ (see in LGz 317), though a semantic connection is far from evident. No Afras. parallels.
- (8) Mec. *tamaddad*; Mlt. *kin mindud* // < Sem. **mdd* ‘to stretch, spread’: Hbr. *mdd* (hitpo.) ‘to stretch out upon’, Arb. *mdd*, Gez. *madada*, Tgr. *mädda* ‘to spread’, Mhr. *məd*, Soq. *med* ‘to stretch’, etc. (v. LGz 329).
- < Afras. **midd-* (ADB; cf. EDE III 791): Brb.: Mzab *əmdi* ‘tendre (un piège)’; Cush. N.: Beja *midi* ‘to stretch out’, E.: Hadiya *midid* ‘to stretch (body)’, perhaps also Eyp. *mʕdd* ‘somnoler’ (late, its determinative depicting a man sinking to ground from fatigue), compared in EDE III 130 as “very uncertain” with W. Chad: Zeem (*taarū*) *maḍai*, Tule (*dar*) *maḍā* ‘to sleep’; Oromo (Borana) *mudda* ‘feel sleepy’ (quite tenable, for my money).
- (9) Mlt. *imtēt* (syn.) // < Sem. **mtt/y* ‘to stretch, spread’: Hbr. *mty* ‘to spread, stretch out’ (HALOT 654), Arb. *mtt* ‘étendre quelque chose en long’ (BK 2 1055), etc.³¹

²⁹ Treated in HALOT 1180, after Wagner, as a loan from Arm. **rbʕ*, considered a reflex of **rbš*: Hbr. *rbʕ* ‘to lie down, rest’ (ibid. 1181), Arb. *rbʕ* ‘ê. couché les jambes ployées’ (BK 1 805), etc. Since there are apparently no other arguments for interpreting Hbr. *rbʕ* as an Arm. loanword (the Hbr. term is attested in Ps. and Lv.), the whole idea looks ungrounded, since Hbr. *rbʕ* has direct cognates pointing to Sem. **rbʕ*.

³⁰ Compared in EDE I 164 with Eyp. (Pyr.) *hny* ‘to rest’, confusing three different Afras. roots: (1) **gina?* ‘lie/fall/bend down’, (2) **h^(w)in-* ‘rest, lie down’: Eyp. *hny*; C. Chad.: Gaʕanda *huna*, Hwona *hūna*, Fali-Kiria *hānu*, etc. (several other forms are adduced in ADB and reconstructed by O. Stolbova as **hwVn-*, compared with Arb. *hwn* ‘to fall asleep’; I would rather reconstruct the quoted C. Chad. forms as **hwVn-*, likely related (with metathesis) to Sem. **nwʕ-* ‘be extended, stretched out, repose’ and S. Omot.: Dime *na(a)ʕt-* ‘to sleep’, (3) **kVwVn-* ‘sit, lie’: Sem. **kwn* ‘be firmly established’ (> ‘be’); E. Chad.: Kera *áw kin* ‘to sleep’, Mokilko *kon-* ‘sit’; N. Omot.: Yemsa *kuna* ‘lie’, etc. (cf. Bla. Om., comment to #47 ‘lie’, where several unrelated roots are also confused in one entry).

³¹ See Sem. variant roots and some suggested Afras. parallels in EDE III 700.

- (10) Tna. *tä-gadämä*; Amh. *tä-gaddämä* // Mod. Eth. only³².
- (11) Tgr. *ʔakrur hälla* // < Sem. **krr*: Akk. *karāru* ‘to put an object in place, set, lay (a foundation), throw, cast’ (CAD *k* 207), Gez. *krr* ‘to fall’, Amh. (*tän*)*karrärä* ‘to lie on one’s back’ (LGz 294). No Afras. parallels that I could find.
- (12) Amh. *zäg alä* (syn.); Har. *zäg bāya* // Mod. Eth. only: Tna. *zäg bälä* ‘to fall down heavily’ (LHar 164)³³.
- (13) Arg. (*b*)*angerru t-eñña*; Sod. *aññām*; Har. *ñēʔa* (syn.); Wol. *aññe* // < Eth. **nhy* (Gez. *nahya* ‘to repose, recover, be quiet’ LGz 394). Within Sem., the Eth. forms can be compared (with metathesis) to Arb. *hwn* ‘se reposer, se calmer, s’endormir’ (BK 2 1460).
- < Afras. **nahy-* (ADB): Chad. W.: Dera *nōwe* ‘to rest’, Daffo-Butura *nyah*, Kulere, Sha *nya* ‘to sleep’, C.: (?) Mofu *-n-* ‘se coucher, passer la nuit, durer’; N. Cush.: Beja *nay* ‘to sleep, rest’ (LGz 304). Cf. what seems like variant roots (ADB): (1) **nuny-*: Egypt. *nyy* (MK) ‘be tired’; Chad. W.: Dera *ʔnòn* ‘to sleep’, E.: Somrai *nùnii*, Tumak *nùn* ‘sleep’ (n.), Ndam *ʔáʔá nūn* ‘to sleep’; (2) **wny* ~ **nwy* ‘be tired’: Sem.: Arab *wny* ‘to be weak, tired’; Egypt. *nw* (MK) ‘weak’; Chad. W.: Ankwe *ne* ‘tiredness’, Warji, Kariya *nuw-* ‘be tired’, E.: Dangla *nàwiyè* ‘rest but not relax’.
- (14) Gaf. (*tä*)*gäddälä*; Cha. (*tä*)*gätäräm* // Related to Arb. *ʔdl* ‘jeter, renverser par terre’ (BK 1 265), perhaps to be analyzed as **gd-l*, with the extension *-l*, eventually related to Cush. **gVd-* (see footnote 32).
- (15) Hrs. *enbelṭāḥ*; Mhr. *ənbaltəḥ*; Jib. *bóṭṭaḥ*, *ənbaltāḥ* // < Sem. **b(l)ṭḥ*: Hbr. *bṭḥ* ‘to fall on the ground’ (HALOT 120), Arb. *bṭḥ* ‘renverser, faire tomber quelqu’un la face contre terre’, VII ‘s’étendre’ (BK 1 135), *blṭḥ* (and *bldḥ*) ‘ê. couché à terre et s’y coller’ (ibid. 159, 161), Soq. *bṭḥ*, *blṭḥ* ‘to lie’³⁴. In DRS 59 compared with Tgr. *bät belä*, Tna *bät bälä* ‘ê. couché de tout son long’, which is phonetically questionable. No Afras. parallels.
- (16) Hrs. *engerdōš* (syn.) // *agerdōš* ‘to lay down’ < Sem. **grdš* ‘to fall down, be ruined’: Ugr. *grdš* ‘be undermined, ruined’ (DUL 307), Syr. *gardeš* ‘erosit’, (etpa.) ‘fractus, laceratus est’ (Brock. 132), Jib. *əngerdeš* ‘fall down’, etc. No Afras. parallels.
- (17) Mhr. *šə-wkūf* (syn.) // Related to Arb. *wkf* ‘ê. incliné, penché’, *wakf-* ‘tapis ou peau qui l’on étend par terre pour s’y asseoir’ (BK 1 1598)³⁵, likely related, assuming the extension *w-*, to Sem. **kpp*: Akk. *kapāpu* ‘to bend’, Hbr. *kpp* ‘to bend, bow down’, Arb. *kff* X ‘to curl up’ (HALOT 497), likely also Tgr. *käf belä* (LH 425), Tna. *kof bälä* ‘to sit’ and, perhaps, with a further semantic shift, Jib. *šéf* ‘to sleep’ (JJ 267; related if *š* in this root is derived from palatalized **k*; unrelated if it goes back to **š*, cf. below Soq. *šəʔəf* ‘to lie, sleep together’ ibid.)³⁶.

³² Inseparable from C. Cush: Xamtanga *gadam y-* ‘to lie down’ (in App. CDA 92 considered an Amharism), Khamir *gidem-š* ‘ausgestreckt liegen’ (also from Amharic, according to RCham 359); cf., however (ADB): Cush. N: Beja *gad* ‘to stop, stand, stand still, wait’, E.: Arbore *gaad-* ‘to stalk, ambush’ (i. e. lie in wait). If the Agaw forms, with a suffixed *-m*, go back to common Cush. **gVd-*, the isolated Eth. forms may, on the contrary, represent loans from C. Cush.

³³ The only remote parallel that I could find is in C. Chad.: Guduf *nʒəg-àna* ‘sit!’, Dghwede *nʒəginʒəgè* ‘to sit’ (reconstructed in Tak. 2001 6 as **nʒ[a]g-*).

³⁴ Not mentioned as the main term (which is *šeʔef*) in Kogan’s list.

³⁵ Perhaps cognate to Sem. terms for ‘saddle’ or to the Akk. term (if other Sem. parallels are a chain of loanwords, eventually from Akk.): Akk. *ukūpu* ‘Packsattel’ (AHw 1405), Syr. *ʔakkīp-* ‘sedulus’ (Brock. 19), Arb. *wi/ukāf-*, *ʔikāf-* ‘bât (d’un âne ou d’un mulet)’ (BK 2 1598), etc.

³⁶ The N. Eth. forms are inseparable from C. Cush.: Bilin *kaf y* ‘sit’ (App. CDA 124), which would undoubtedly qualify as a loan from N. Eth. (apparently having cognates in other Sem.), if not for E. Cush.: Yaaku *kopehm* (< **kop-*) id. perhaps implying common Cush. **kaf-*.

- (18) Jib. *aštékél* (syn.) // Likely < Sem. *ʕkl ‘to turn, bend’: Ugr. *ʕkltn* ‘winding’ (DUL 177), Hbr. *ʕāḳallātōn* ‘writhing (snake)’, *ʕāḳalkallōt* ‘twisting (road)’, Syr. *ʕuḳḳāl-* ‘winding track’, Arb. *ʕkl* ‘to turn, bend’ (HALOT 874). No Afras. parallels.
- (19) Soq *šēʔef* // As to its problematic affinity with Jib. *šēf*, see #17; Leslau (LSOq 409) quotes Bittner’s comparison with Hbr *šʔp* ‘to gasp’ (HALOT 1375 also quotes Jud. *šʔp* ‘gasp for air, pant’ and Arb. *shf* ‘gasp, thirst’, whereas BK 1 1156 translates *shf* as ‘s’agiter dans des convulsions, avoir les derniers mouvements de l’agonie’ and ‘éprouver une soif violente’), which is not quite convincing. I failed to find any Sem. or Afras. cognate.
- ◇ No term in Bib., Qur. and Sab.
- **Proto-West Semitic:** *škb- (#3).

48. LIVER

- (1) Akk. *amūtu* // < Sem. *maʕay/w(-at)-: Hbr. *mēʕayim* (pl.) ‘entrails, intestines’, Arb. *maʕy-* ‘intestins’, etc. (v. in SED I #185).
- < Afras. *maʕay- ‘liver, entrails’ (ADB): (?) E. Chad.: Gadang *mùʔò* ‘liver’ (quoted in EDE III 161; an isolated form, but hardly coincidental); Cush. E.: Bussa *máyyē* ‘liver’ (according to EDE III 160, may be a borrowing from N. Omot., which is quite plausible; cf., however, Oromo *moʔo* ‘loins, back’, which could also belong here with a shift of meaning), (?) S.: Gorowa *meheme* ‘second stomach’, Maʕa *mméme* ‘navel’ (HRSC 157); N. Omot. *maʕay-: Zaysse, Gidicho, Ganjule, Koyra *maayyé*, Zergulla *maʕe*, Haruro-Kachama *maayyé* (in another source, *maʕe* is attested), Chara *mayya*, Sezo *méʔi*, She *mai* ‘liver’, Bench *may* ‘heart’³⁷.
- (2) Ugr. *kbd*; Hbr. *kābēd*; Pal. *kbd*; Syr. Mnd. Urm. *kabd-*; Qur. *kabid-*; Leb. *kābdi*; Mec. *kabed*; Gez. *kābad*; Tna. *kābdi*; Tgr. *kābdāt*; Har. *kūd*; Wol. *hābd*; Cha. *kāpt*; Hrs. *šebdēt*; Mhr. *šabdīt*; Jib. *šubdet*; Soq. *šibdeh* // < Sem. *kab(i)d- ‘liver; stomach, entrails’ (SED I #141), perhaps derived from Sem. *kbd ‘be heavy’ through a semantic shift that has certain typological parallels (see references *ibid*). No Afras. parallels.
- (3) Amh. *gubbät*; Sod. *gabbot* // Presumably not the same as *kab(i)d-; more likely < Sem. *ga(n)b- ‘side of body’: Arb. *ʕānb-* ‘côté’ (BK 1 334), Gez. *gabo* ‘side, flank, rib, loins’ (LGz 176), etc. (cf. SED I #85); cf. also Akk. *gabbu* ‘part of the human or animal body (...an internal part of the animal body)’ (CAD g 5) and Arb. *ʕabʕab-* ‘estomac du chameau farci de viande hachée’ (BK 247).
- If the meaning shift ‘side of body’ > ‘liver’ holds water, < Afras. *gab- ‘side’ (ADB): Egyp. (Westcar) *gbʕ* ‘side of a room’; Chad. W.: Hausa *gāba* ‘across, on the other side of’, Dwat *gáap* ‘side’, C.: Higi-Bana *góbio*, Musgu *gubbi*, *gobi*, Masa *gob* ‘nearby’; Cush. N.: Beja *gab* ‘side’, C.: Bilin *gāba* ‘side (of body)’, Khamir *gāba* ‘side’, E.: Afar *gabbe* ‘side (of back)’, Konso, Dirasha *kapa* (*k-* < *g-, *-p* < **-b*) ‘beside, near’, Burji *gāba* ‘side’, Harso *kapa* (*k-* < *g-, *-p* < **-b*) *id.* (cf. EDE I 223).
- (4) Arg. *amfaha* // Regardless of the form being interpreted as derived from a triconsonantal root *mḫ/h/h or *nḫ/h/h, or from biconsonantal *ḫ/h/h, it has no fitting etymology whatsoever.
- ◇ Mlt. *fuiet*; borrowed from a Romance language. No term in Pho., Bib., Sab. and Gaf.
- **Common West and South Semitic:** *kab(i)d- (#2).

³⁷ EDE III 159 asserts that South-East Omot. *mayy- is regularly < *mayz-. However tempting it is to equate the two forms, in Bla. Om., where correspondence tables by Lamberti-Sottile, Bender, Hayward and Ehret are quoted, the shift *z/ž > y is postulated only for Kafa-Mocha; Bender’s way of solving this problem by reconstructing (in Bend. Om. 118) N.-W. Omot. *may+z does not help, since it implies an unproved suffix *-z. Anyway, the development *z/ž > y, possible in theory, of course, requires proof; until it is presented, I prefer to regard N. Omot. *maʕay- and *mayz- (undoubtedly cognate with Egyp. (Pyr.) *myz.t* ‘liver’) as separate roots, both with sound Afras. etymologies at that.

49. LONG

- (1) Akk. *arku*; Ugr. *ʔrk* (verb); Hbr. *ʔārōk*; Pho. *ʔrk*; Pal. *ʔryk*; Syr. *ʔarrīk-*; Mnd. *aruk-*; Urm. *yarīk-* // < Sem. **ʔarV*k- ‘long’.³⁸
- (2) Qur. *ṭawīl-*; Leb. *ṭawīl*; Mec. *ṭawīyl*; Mlt. *twīl* // < Sem.: Hbr. *ṭwl* (hif) ‘to throw far’ (HALOT 373; Tgr. *ṭāwwālā*, quoted *ibid.* as ‘to extend’, implying cognation, is actually ‘to lengthen’ in LH 618, likely derived from *ṭawīl* ‘long’, an obvious Arabism), Sab. *ṭl-m* ‘length’, *ṭwl* ‘to extend, stretch’ (SD 154), etc.; cf. the Eth. root augmented with *ʔ*: Gez. *ʔanṭolāṣa*, Tgr. (*ʔan*)*ṭolṣa* ‘spread, stretch out’ LGz 590).
- Perhaps < Afras. **ṭawl-* ‘be long, stretch’ (ADB)³⁹: (?) Egyp. *dwn* (Pyr.) ‘to stretch out’ (if < **dwl* < **ṭwl*); C. Chad.: Ouldem *tāl*, Mofu *-təl-* ‘extend (a hand)’, Mada *átla* ‘extend, reach (toward)’.
- (3) Gez. *nāwīḥ*; Tna. *nāwīḥ* // < Sem. **nwh* ‘be extended, stretched out, repose’: Gez. *nwh* ‘to be long, tall, extended, stretched out, repose, etc.’, Akk. *nāḥu* ‘to be slow, still; rest, etc.’ (CAD *n* 143), Ugr. *nḥ* ‘to rest’ (DUL 629), Hbr. *nwh* ‘to settle down, rest, repose’, Arb. *nāyīḥat-* ‘étendue de terre, pays qui s’étend au loin’ (BK 2 1364)⁴⁰.
- (4) Tgr. *rāyim*; Jib. *rihm*; Soq. *rihom* // < Sem. **rym* ‘to be high, long’: Ugr. *rm* ‘high’, Hbr. *rw/ym*, Syr. *rym* ‘to be high’, Arb. *rym* II ‘to exceed’, Sab *rym-m* ‘height’, Gez. *rayyama* ‘be high, long’, etc.
- < Afras. (ADB): Egyp. *wrm.t* (Pyr.) ‘Dach (begründung eines Gebaudes)’, *wrm* (late) ‘hochragende Figur’; W. Chad.: Hausa *rímí* ‘stand (on hind legs)’ (semantically debatable); S. Cush.: Dahalo *rúm-ate* ‘long, tall’ (for other possible parallels cf. EDE III 368).
- (5) Amh. *rāžim*; Arg. *rāžžim* // Amh. *rāzzāma* ‘to be long’ (Gez. *razama* ‘to become long, be tall, heavy’, *razum* ‘tall, long’, etc. are marked in LGz 479 as borrowed from Amh., which requires argumentation); cf. also Tgr. *tarazzāmā* ‘to be heavy, intense’, *mārāzzām* ‘strong, intense, steady’ (compared with Amh. *rāzzāma* in LH 160; the semantic connection is far from evident). The only non-Eth. parallel, though also debatable semantically, that I could find is Arb. *rzm* II ‘rester longtemps chez soi, à la maison’ (BK 1 856; cf. also *mirzāmat-* ‘qui fait de grandes enjambées (chamelle)’ *ibid.* 857). No Afras. parallels.
- (6) Arg. *gudor* (syn.); Gaf. *gaddärmä*; Har. *gudōr*; Wol. *gudār* (the three latter forms also meaning ‘big’) // < **gdr* ‘to grow, grow big’: Wol. Zway *gādārā* ‘to grow up (child), be big’, Amh. (*tä*)*gāddārā* ‘to germinate’ (“that is, grow” LGur 264 where the Gur. and Amh. verbs are compared with hesitation, but quite reasonably), Arb. *ždr* ‘s’élever au-dessus du sol (se dit des plantes); se former (se dit des certain fruits)’ (BK 1 263). The Eth.-Arb. **gdr* presumably goes back, with the extension **-r*, to Sem **gVd(d)-*: Arb. *židd-* ‘beaucoup, extrêmement’ (BK 1 260), Sab. *gdd* ‘great’ (SD 49), Tgr. *gāddā* ‘to be bigger, surpass’ (LH 602); see Afras. etymology in BIG #8.
- (7) Sod. *gällaf*; Cha. *gef* // quoted as ‘tall’ in LGur 272, but as ‘tall, long’ in LGur., I 56 and 1066. The Gur. verb **glf* is identified in LGur 272 either with Oromo *golfofa* ‘to be tall and lazy’

³⁸ For odd external parallels cf. (with metathesis) W.Chad.: Miya *kārəkərə* ‘long’; C. Cush.: Kemant *kaar-t* ‘be far, distant’, Qwara *kaar-* ‘be long, distant’ < **ka(?)ar-* (though Dolg. 202 relates these forms with E. Cush. **kVr-*); one wonders whether Yaaku *etirak* ‘long since’ could be explained as having a prefix *t-* and thus related (it is tempting to compare E. Cush.: Bayso *kaṭeri* ‘long, high’ as in Dolg. 202, but *ka-* is a prefix of adjectives in Bayso).

³⁹ Cf EDE I 247, comparing Egyp. *dwn* with the Hbr. and Arb. verbs and E. Cush. **ḏāl-* (referring to Sasse PEC 27, where Gidole *ṣaal-* ‘be better, welthier, taller’, Konso *ṣaal* ‘exceed, be bigger, longer’ and Oromo *ṣaal-* ‘exceed’ are quoted, clearly pointing to the initial affricate, and not to **ḏ-* < **ṭ-*) that yields Lowland E. Cush. **ḏēl-* ‘be long’ with no specific forms adduced, which I could not find (there is what may be a variant root of **ṭawl-*, namely E. Cush. **ḏi/er-* ‘long’: Saho *ḏeel*, Afar *ḏeeri*, Somali *ḏeer*, Dasenech *ḏir*, etc. related in Dolg. 126–7 with Sem. **šrr* ‘be high’).

⁴⁰ To be compared with isolated S. Omot.: Dime *na(a)ḥt-* ‘to sleep’; for parallels (with metathesis) see fn. 30.

(in this case, a loanword) or with Amh. (*tän*)*g^wäfallälä* (with metathesis) ‘to be long (of hair)’; in favor of the latter assumption cf. Arb. *žālif* ‘longue mèche de cheveux qui descend sur les tempes’ and *žalfi* ‘robe à manches longues’ (BK 1 317). No Afras. parallels.

◇ Hrs. *ṭewīl* and Mhr. *ṭawīl* are almost certainly Arabisms. No term in Bib. and Sab.

→ **Common North and West Semitic:** **ʔarVʔk-* (#1).

50. LOUSE

(1) Akk. *uplu* // < Sem. **pVl(y)-*: Arb. *fly*, Mhr. *fālō* ‘to delouse’, etc. (SED II #175).

□ < Afras. *(*ʔV-*)*pil-* (ADB; cf. EDE II 393): Eyp. *py* (Med.) ‘flea’ (if < **pVl-*); Chad. W.: Sura *ṁpil-wus* ‘Glühwürmchen’ (*wus* ‘fire’), C.: Bura *ma-fil-kwi* ‘flea’, Hildi *ma-fīlī* ‘spider’, Mada *offól* ‘tique (du chien, des vaches)’, Matakam *n-fālīyá* ‘k. of ant’; Cush. C.: Qwara *peḷiya*, Kemant *fāle* ‘flea’, E.: Dirasha *fillét*, Sidamo *pillo*, Harso *filláyye*, Gollango *filláye* id., S.: Qwadza *paʔal-iko* ‘flying termite’; N. Omot.: Kafa *pillō* (perhaps < E. Cush.).

(2) Akk. *kalmatu* (syn.); Pal. *klmh* // Presumably < Sem. **k^wal-m-*: Akk. *kulīlu* ‘dragonfly’ (CAD k 503), Gez. *k^walk^wal(t)* ‘kind of black ant’ (LGz 283). See discussion in SED II #130.

□ < Afras. **k^(w)al(-m)-* ‘a biting insect’ (ADB): S. Brb.: Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *kālkāt* ‘ê. pouilleux’; Cush. E. **kilm-*: Saho, Afar *kilim* ‘tick’, Somali *šilin*, pl. *šilm-o*, Boni *šilm-i*, Rendille *čilim*, Oromo *šilm-a* id. (Sas. Bur. 173).

(3) Syr. *qalmət-*; Urm. *qalm-*; Qur. *qaml-*; Leb. *ʔamal*; Mec. *gamil*; Mlt. *āmel*; Gez. *q^wamal*; Tna. *q^wamal*; Tgr. *qamal*; Amh. *qamal*; Arg. *qamal*; Sod. *qamal*; Har. *qumāy*; Wol. *qumal*; Cha. *qamar* // < Sem. **k^(w)aml-/k^wumāl-* ~ **qalm-* (SED II #130).

□ With a few parallels in Chad. (?) W.: Hausa *qumā* ‘flea (of rats, dogs)’ (with a loss of final *-l*? or < Arb. *qaml-*?), Mupun *kuma* id. (< Hausa?), C.: Buduma *komāli* ‘ant’ (ADB).

(4) Gez. *k^wəṭni* (syn.) // < Sem. **k^wVṭVn-*: Syr. *qetṭōnā* ‘cimex’ (Brock. 659), Arb. *qtn* IV ‘tuer la teigne’ (BK 1 675), see SED II #141.

□ < Afras. **k^wVṭVn/m-* (ADB): Chad. (?) W.: Hausa *qwarqwatā*, *qwalkwatā* (< **qwatqwata?*) ‘louse’, Karekare *kùtkùšùm*, *kùškùtùm* (< **kuš kutum?*) ‘fowl lice’, etc., C.: Cuvok *mā-k^wəṭtè-k^wəṭtè* ‘an insect with a pointed head’; E. Cush.: Dasenech *kuuḍin* ‘worm’, Darasa *qooṭaamo* ‘ant’; cf. what may be a variant root **g^wVṭVn/m-* in HEC: Sidamo *gooṭaamo*, and N. Omot.: Wolaitta *guṭṭun-īya*, Gamu *guṭune*, Malo *guṣine*, Dače, Zaisse *guṭume* ‘worm’.

(5) Hrs. *kenemōt*; Mhr. *kenmīt*; Jib. *šinit*; Soq. *konem* // < Sem. **ki/ann(-Vm)-* ‘a harmful insect’: Hbr. *kēn* ‘gnat’, *kinnām* ‘gnats’, pB. *kinnā* ‘vermin, louse’, *kənimā* ‘vermin, moth’, etc. (SED II #116).

□ Cf. scattered parallels in E. Chad.: Migama *kákkùmá* ‘louse’ (< **kankum-*?) and N. Omot.: Hozo *konni* ‘louse’ (ADB).

◇ No term in Ugr., Hbr., Pho. Bib., Mnd., Sab. and Gaf.

→ **Common North and West Semitic:** **k^(w)aml-* ~ **qalm-* (#3).

51. MAN

(1) Akk. *zi/akarū*, Hbr. *zākār* // < Sem. **dakar-*: ‘man, male’ (HALOT 270, DUL 269)⁴¹.

(2) Ugr. *mt* // also ‘individual’ and ‘husband’ (DUL 598; the meaning ‘man’ debatable, probably ‘husband’ — v. Kog. Ug.) < Sem. **mVt-*: Akk. *mutu* ‘husband; man, warrior’ (CAD m 313), Hbr. *māim* (pl.) ‘men, people’ (HALOT 653), Gez. *mət* ‘husband’ (LGz 371).

□ < Afras. **mVt-* ‘man, husband’ (ADB): Eyp. (Pyr.) *mt* ‘man’; Brb.: Ghadames *tə-mettay-n* ‘peuples’, Ahaggar *ta-mətté*, pl. *ti-məttiw-în* ‘ensemble de population très considerable,

⁴¹ The only distant non-Sem. parallel that comes to mind is in N. Brb.: **a-rgaz* ‘man’ with metathesis, although *-g-* does not correspond to Sem. *-k-*. A mere chance resemblance?

tous les peuples du monde, etc.’; Chad. W.: Hausa *mùt-ûm* ‘person’, E.: Dangla *mítì-kò* ‘man’, *mítà* ‘husband’, Jegu *mìtó* ‘man’, Sokoro *mátii* ‘man, husband’, etc.; (?) E. Cush.: Oromo *maatii* ‘family’ (cf. also N. Omot.: Welaitta *attuma* ‘man’ < *ʔa-tum- with metathesis?). Perhaps eventually related to Afras. **mwt* ‘die’, implying the primary notion of human being as mortal.

- (3) Pho. ʔš; Hbr. ʔš ‘man’ (syn.; also ‘husband; human being’); Sab. ʔys₁ // < Sem. *ʔiš- ‘man’: Arm. (Old, Palm., etc.) ʔyš (HALOT 43).
- < Afras. *(ʔi-)was- (ADB) ‘man, person, male relative; female; daughter’: Brb.: Siwa *t-áččiw-in* (pl.), Ahaggar *ášš*, Nefusa *issi*, Mzab *issis*, etc. ‘daughter’; Chad. W.: Siri *wuší*, Geji *yasi* ‘brother’, Bokkos *wâš* ‘father-in-law’, Daffo-Butura *waš* ‘uncle’, C.: Mbara *wùs, us*, Musgu (*w*)*us* ‘man’, Glavda *us* ‘woman’; Cush. C.: Xamtanga *as-ääw* ‘male (human)’⁴², *wäs-räy*, Bilin *ʔus-äri*, Kemant *yus-äy* female’, E.: Somali *was-* ‘to copulate (with a woman)’, Sidamo *osoo*, Hadiya *oos-ičó* ‘boy’, Kambatta (*w*)*osoo* ‘child’; N. Omot.: Wolaitta *asā*, Male *ʔasi*, Koyra *aci*, Ganjule *aci*, Chara *asā, áca*, Mocha *ʔašo*, Mao (Bambeshi) ʔESESSE, Ganza *ʔäsi* ‘man, person’, Hozo *šee*, Sezo *šaay*, Ganza *saa* (< *sa(ʔa)y with met.?) ‘woman, wife’.
- (4) Bib. *gəbar*; Pal. *gəbar*; Syr. *gabr-*; Mnd. *gabr-* // < Sem. **gabr-* ~ **gabbār-* (Kog. DD) ‘strong man, hero’⁴³: Hbr. *gibbōr* ‘manly, vigorous; hero’, *gəbūrā* ‘strength’ (HALOT 172), Jud. *gibbār-* ‘strong, hero, giant’, *gəburt-* ‘superiority, strength, might’ (Ja. 234), Arb. *ʔabbār-* ‘fort, grand et robuste; puissant; homme violent, tyran’ (BK 1 248).
- (5) Urm. *ʔānāš-*; Sab. *ʔns₁* (syn.); Tgr. *ʔenas* (less likely to be reinterpreted as sing. < Arb. coll. pl.) // < Sem. *(ʔi-)naš- ‘man(kind)’: Akk. *nišū* ‘mankind, people’, Ugr. *ʔinš* ‘people’, Hbr. *ʔānōš* ‘man’, Syr. *nōš-*, (?)*naš*, Arb. *ʔins-ān-*, *nās-* (coll.), etc. (cf. HALOT 70).
- < Afras. *(ʔi-)nas- ‘human being, male, male relative’ (ADB): Egyp. (MK) *nswy.w* ‘servants’; Brb.: Ahaggar *a-ynəs* ‘jeune homme’; W. Chad.: Bokkos *nús*, Daffo-Butura *nís* ‘brother’; Cush. C.: Bilin *nās-ah^w*, Kemant *nāsəyā*, Qwara *nāsa* ‘male’, S.: Maʔa *naseta* (with the fem. suffix *-t-*) ‘woman’; Omot. N.: Gimira (Bench) *nas*, (She) *yənəs* ‘person, man’, Nao *nuuše* ‘husband’, S.: Ari *ins-e* ‘boy’, *nas-i* ‘son’, Hamar *nas* ‘child’⁴⁴.
- (6) Qur. *raʔul-*; Leb. *raʔžəl*; Mec. *riʔžāl*; Mlt. *rāʔal* // with a semantic shift ‘foot’ > ‘pedestrian, foot-soldier’ < Sem. **riḡl-* ‘foot’ (SED I #228; see ‘FOOT’ #3); cf. Hbr. *rāḡāl* ‘foot, leg; one who goes by foot, pedestrian’, Pho. *mrgl*, Jud. *riḡlaʔ* ‘footman’ (HALOT 1184–6, Tomb. 198).
- < Afras. **riḡalul-* ‘limb, leg’ (ADB): Brb.: Zenaga *tə-rgəl*, Ghadames *ta-rʔal/el-t* ‘plume’, *tū-rəḡl-a* ‘gros pédoncule du régime de dattes’, Ayr *a-rgul* ‘penis’, Ahaggar *â-rḡal* ‘queue’; Chad. W.: Angas *tu-rgul* ‘ankle, ankle bone’, Tangale *argil* ‘inner side of upper thigh’, (?) E.: Mawa *dərgəl*, Sokoro *dərgəl, dərkál* ‘knee’ (if < *dV-rgVl-). Cf. also Egyp. (Pyr.) ʔḡ.t ‘hoof (of cow and ass)’ (< *ʔlg dissimilated < *ʔlg < *rlg < *rgl?), (NK) ʔḡ.t (< *rgl?) ‘claw (of lion and bird)’ (cf. footnote 54).

⁴² Comparing this form with Kemant *nāsəyā* ‘male’, D. Appleyard (App. CDA 96) states: “the Xam.[tanga] form is surely related, but the absence of the initial nasal is difficult to explain. Perhaps **nāsa-* > **ānsā-* > *asā-*.” In fact, it is easy to explain as reflexes of two different Afras. roots: (ʔi-)was- and *(ʔi-)nas- (see #5).

⁴³ With a couple of surprising parallels in C. Chad.: Ouldem *gūbār* ‘homme, mari, adulte’ (an Arabism?), Bachama *gboara* ‘person’ (ADB) and S. Brb.: Ahaggar *a-ʔabbar* ‘homme géant de l’époque préhistorique’ (Fouc. 709), E Tawllemmet *əʔobbar* id. (ʃ < *g is possible; one wonders if this could be an Arabism, which would be somewhat strange from the historical point of view, or a loan from Punic), *ʔabbār* ‘è. adulte’ (Aloj. 83).

⁴⁴ Cf. Bnd. Om. 206, where the quoted Ari and Hamar forms are united with Galila *yinč* and Dime *nic, nit^h* ‘child’. However natural such an agglomeration of similarly looking terms with the same meaning may seem, I prefer to relate the Galila and Dime forms to a different Omot. root *ʔinč-, also including Ongota *ʔinta, hinta* and N. Omot.: Mao *əntê / êntê* ‘man’ (quoted by Fleming), to be related, for phonetic reasons (Omot. reflexes of Afras. *č are still not clear), with Sem. *ʔant-at- ‘woman’, reconstructing Afras. *ʔa/inč- ‘man, woman, child’ (ADB).

- (7) Gez. *bəʔəs-i* // also ‘male, husband, someone’, *bəʔəsit* ‘woman’, Tgr. *bəʔəs* ‘husband’ (LGz 83). No Sem. cognates.
- < Afras. **bVʔVs-* ‘son, boy, coeval’ (ADB): Chad. W.: Siri *beʔsi* ‘son, boy’, C.: Tera *bəsoŋka* (< **beso-n-k?*) ‘boys’; Cush. C.: Kemant *baas* ‘beget, become father’, S.: Qwadza *boʔos-iko* ‘friend’ (HRSC 138), Dahalo *boʔoʔo* (met.) ‘friend of same age, coeval’; N. Omot.: Dawro *biša* ‘brother’, Malo *biša* ‘child’, Yemsa *buʔsa* (pl.) ‘boys’, Kafa *bušō* ‘boy, son’, Mocha *buš(o)* ‘child’, Bworo (Shinasha) *bušoo* ‘son’.
- (8) Gez. *ʕad* (syn.) // also ‘male, husband’, pl. *ʕadaw*, *ʕaʕadāw* ‘men, people’ (LGz 56). Likely < Sem. **ʕi/add-* ‘assembly, gathering of people, community’: Ugr. *ʕdt* ‘assembly’ (DUL 151–2), Hbr. *ʕēdā* ‘assembly; gang; national, legal and cultic communities’ (HALOT 789–90), Arb. *ʕidd-* ‘grand nombre, foule, grand quantité; ami, camarade; pareil, égal’ (BK 2 187), Tgr. *ʕād* ‘tribe (i.e. the own tribe), family, people, village, country’, Tna. *ʕaddi* ‘country, village; people’ (LGz 56; contra Dolg. 148, the Eth. forms are not Cushitisms).
- < Afras. **ʕV(n)d-* ‘community, tribe, (member of) clan, person’ (ADB): Brb. **yudaw-* ‘(gathering of) people; companions, relatives’: Nefusa *y-ud-ân*, Sokna *ud-ân*, Iznassen *i-ud-an*, etc. ‘people’, Zenaga *eddiya* ‘famille, parents’, Ayr. E. Tawllemmet *idaw* ‘faire compagne (avec); aller ensemble; se réunir’, *idawät* ‘rassemblement de pers.’, *a-m-idi* ‘compagnon, ami’; C. Chad.: Gude *nda*, Tera *ndi-fya*, Musgu *di-f*, pl. *dai*, Gidar *də-f*, pl. *di* ‘person’ (acc. to O. Stolbova, *-f* in Musgu and Gidar is a suffix of singularity; cf. also Mbara *ʔúdà* ‘nomadic Fulani keeping sheep’); Cush. N.: Beja *o-ʔandoa* ‘clan, tribe, village’, *ʔéenda* ‘people’ (C.: Bilin *ʕad* ‘tribe’ is likely < N. Eth.), E.: Saho *endaa* ‘clan, tribe, family’, Somali *ʕid* ‘people, community, tribe, family’ (less likely < Eth.), (?) Oromo *daadoo* ‘cooperative work’, Arbore *ʔedan* ‘people’, Sidamo *aydde* ‘family’; S.: Asa *ʔido-k* ‘man’ (unless < **hi/ud-*); Omot. N.: Malo *adde*, Koyra *ade*, etc. ‘man, male’, Yemsa *ad-*, Mao (Diddesa) *ondu* ‘family’, Gofa *indo*, Gamo *ʔindó*, etc. ‘woman, female’, Oyda, Male *ʔindo*, etc. ‘mother’, S.: Ari *ʔeed*, Hamer *eedi* ‘person’, Dime *ʔindidʔ* ‘wife’ (cf. Bla. Om. comparing aslo W. Rift **hed-* ‘person’ and C. Chad. forms in *h-* more likely constituting another root, **hi/ud-*).
- (9) Tna. *səbʔay*; Amh. *səb*, *səwu*, Arg. *su*, *səwy*; Gaf. *səwwä*; Har. *usuʔ* (< **subʔ?*); Wol. *səb*; Cha. *səb* // < Eth. **sabʔ-*: Gez. *sabʔ* ‘persons, men, people, mankind’ (LGz 482), Tgr. *səb* (*səbəʔ-* when with suffixes) ‘men, people’ (LH 182). Likely connected (borrowed from? or into?) with the ethnonym ‘Saba’: Akk. (Ass.) *Sabʔaya* (HALOT 1381 after S.Parpola), Hbr. *šəbāʔ*, a people and a kingdom in South Arabia (ibid.), *šəbāʔ-īm* ‘Sabaeans’ (ibid. 1382), Arb. *sabā* ‘nom d’un peuple du Yémen’ (BK 1 1049; note the absence of *-ʔ?*); cf. also Mhr. *habû* ‘people’ (possibly < **šabVʔ-*; quoted in Gz 482 with reference to Bittner who “expresses doubts concerning this comparison”; absent in JM)⁴⁵.
- There are parallels, perhaps haphazard, in Chad. W.: Siri *subúni* ‘person’, C.: Jimijimen *sobagi* (*-gi* suffix?) ‘friend’, Daba *səbàn* ‘parente, clan, la race’ (ADB).
- (10) Amh. *wänd* (syn.) // < Sem. **wald-* ‘child’ (v. Kog. DD), **wld* ‘to bear, give birth to’ (LGz 613).
- < Afras. **walad-* ~ **wadal-* ~ **dawal-* ‘child; young’ (ADB): Chad. W.: Dera *dwal* ‘small’, Tangale *dele* ‘a younger brother, sister’, C.: Dghwede *dəwale* ‘new’, Malgwa *dáwale* ‘young’, Glavda *dálá* ‘new, young’, E.: Mokilko *dáàlà* ‘new’, Mawa *dwal* ‘young girl’; E. Cush.:

⁴⁵ Cf. Arb. *subʔat-* ‘long voyage’ (BK 1 1040; unless < Sab.), Sab. *s₁bʔ-t* ‘expedition, undertaking, journey’ (same in Qatabanian), *s₁bʔ* ‘militant’, *s₁bʔy-n* ‘warrior (?)’, *ts₁bʔt* ‘participants (in a military expedition)’ (SD 122) and, perhaps, Mhr. *sátbu* ‘(of a tired and thirsty desert traveller) to move a little and then rest’ (JM 341); it is unclear if these forms allow a reconstruction of **šVbʔ-*, meaning something like ‘traveller, member of a (military) expedition’, which may be also compared with the present root.

Bayso *wadala* ‘young man’, Sidamo *wedel-icco* ‘young (of animals)’, *wedella* ‘young man, young woman’, Kambatta *wadal-iccu* ‘young man’, etc.

- (11) Sod. *mæss* (syn.) // Arg. *mis* ‘husband’, Har. *miš* ‘fellow’, etc. No Sem. cognates that I could find.
 □ < Afras. **mVs-* ‘male, husband’ (ADB): Brb.: Zenaga *o-massən* ‘mâle (animal, plante)’; Chad. W.: Angas *mulis* ‘male, husband’, Sura *miš*, Mupun, Ankwe *mis* ‘man, husband’, Chip *mis* ‘man’, Galambu *mi muši*, pl. *māšəna* ‘man, husband’, Guruntum *māši* (suppletive plural of *mar* ‘man’), Boghom *mees* ‘person, man’, W. Bade *mśən*, Ngizim *māsək* ‘husband’, etc., C.: Muyang *miš* ‘person, male’, Kotoko *māsə* ‘husband’⁴⁶; cf. N. Omot.: Chara *mašná*, Yemsa *māš-k-àsú* ‘woman’ (interpreted in Bnd. Om. 177 as ‘female -k- person’), Anfillo *temišen*, Bworo *mišə* ‘sister’, Nao *moškn* ‘woman’.
- (12) Hrs. *ɣayg*; Mhr. *ɣayg*; Jib. *ɣeg*; Soq. *ɣayg* // Cf. Mhr. *ɣiggēn* ‘boy’, *ɣəggēt* ‘big girl’ (JM 147) derived from the same root⁴⁷. For highly tentative connections outside MSA, cf. a proper name in Hbr. *ʕōg* ‘Og, Amorite king of *Bāšān*’, Pho. *ʕg* (in *hʕg... hʕdr* ‘the powerful Og’), a god of the underworld (?), etc. (compared with the MSA terms in HALOT 794; add Arb. *ʕūž-* ‘Oudj, fils d’Ouk, n. pr. d’un homme d’une taille gigantesque, qui, dit-on, a vécu depuis Adam jusqu’à Moïse’ BK 2 399).
- (13) Soq. *hóriš* (syn.) // Composed from *hor* ‘black’ and *reš* ‘head’ (LS 193), according to Müller, who refers to a similar word combination in Akk. *salmat kaḫḫadi* ‘men’ (‘black-headed’). An alternative etymology is < Sem. **ḥar(a)š-* ‘wise, skillful person; craftsman’: Akk. *eršu* ‘wise’ (CAD e 314), Ugr. *ḥrš* ‘craftsman, manual worker’ (DUL 370), Hbr. *ḥārāš*, Pho. *ḥrš* ‘craftsman’ (HALOT 358).
- **Common West Semitic:** **(?i-)naš-* (#5).

52. MANY

- (1) Akk. *mādu*; Ugr. *mʔud*, *maʔdu* // < Sem. **mVʔad-* ‘many, much’: Hbr. *məʔōd* ‘very’ (HALOT 538).
 □ < Afras. **mVʔVd-* ‘big, many, entire, all’ (ADB)⁴⁸: (?) Copt. **mity.at* (EDE III 708 after Vyčichl; if < a hypothetical Egypt. **md.t*); Brb. **i-mdu/aH-* ‘be complete, whole’: Ghadames *imda* ‘all’, *əmdu*, Ahaggar *əmdu* ‘ê. entier’, etc.; Chad. C.: Daba *mādày* ‘big, large’, E.: Fianga *modo* ‘big’, Mokilko *mèedá* ‘big’ (fem.) and ‘hundred’, Kajakse *emadi* ‘many’ (and very likely Somrai, Gabri, Dormo *moid* ‘ten’); E. Cush.: Afar *made* ‘be full’, Darasa *madadi-nke* ‘all’; Omot. N.: Dizi *mad-* ‘very’, S.: Ari *mūda* ‘all’.

⁴⁶ Cf. EDE III 613–17, where the above forms are quoted indiscriminately under Afras. **m-S-* (with a question mark) together with Chad. forms in *-z/ž* (Tacács wonders if they reflect a hypothetical Afras. **ž*), and all of them are tentatively compared to Eyp. *mšʕ* (OK) ‘Heer, Truppen’ (with *š* reflecting the Afras. lateral sibilant). Though the latter comparison is quite plausible semantically, it is not proper from the phonetic side, since the Chad. forms with voiceless sibilants are not lateral (cf. St. 2007); as for such Chad. forms as **miž/ž-*, they should be treated separately together with Omot. N.: Sezo *maž* ‘man’ (EDE III 616) and S.: Dime *ʔamz* ‘woman’ (Bnd. Om. 220).

⁴⁷ For possible Afras. parallels, cf. W. Chad. reconstructed by O. Stolbova in ADB as **nV-gaw-* (one wonders if it can be reconstructed as **ḥgaw-*, *ḥ-* reflecting **ʕ-* or **ɣ-*): Sura *ḥgō* ‘man’, Angas *go*, Karaekare *ḥgá*, Ngamo *ḥgo* ‘person’; S. Omot.: Hamar *anḡ*, Ari *anḡi*, *anḡ*, *anḡ*, etc. ‘man’ (ADB). Since Chad., Cush. and Omot. reflexes of Afras. **ɣ* are some of the weakest points of comparative Afrasian phonology, it is unclear if Afras. **ɣayg-* can be reconstructed on such evidence.

⁴⁸ See the entire spectrum of etymological opportunities in EDE III 708–10; what I cannot agree with is the reconstruction by Takács of such an Afras. proto-form as **m-t ~ *m-d* ‘many’: separating such roots as distinctly as possible (marking, of course, all cases of the regular shift **d > t* or **t > d*, if any) and only thereafter making a cross-reference to variant roots is methodologically the only correct way to treat such an entangled and evasive phenomenon as root variation.

- (2) Hbr. *rab*; Pho. *rb*; Urm. *rāb-* // < Sem. **rabb-* ‘big’, see **BIG** #1.
- There are scattered but unequivocal Afras. parallels (ADB): Chad. W.: Hausa *riibà*, *rúbà* ‘multiply, exceed’ (cf. also *rābābā* ‘in large quantity’), C.: Bura *ribribu* ‘many’; S. Omot.: Ongota *arba* ‘big’.
- (3) Bib. *šaggīl*; Pal. *saggī*; Syr. *saggī* // < Sem. **šg?* ‘to be numerous, large’ (with an interesting reduplication of the second radical in Arm. and esp. Arb.: possibly conveying the semantics of plurality or largeness?): Hbr. *šg?* ‘to grow’ (HALOT 1305), *šgy* ‘to increase, become large’ (ibid. 1306), Arb. *šašawšā?* ‘très grand, très haut’ (BK 1 1196)⁴⁹.
- (4) Mnd. *napš-* // No suggestions other than a non-trivial development from other meanings of the same word — ‘soul, personality, self’ (DM 285) < Sem. **nap(i)š-* ‘soul, person, etc.’ < **npš* ‘to breathe’ (SED I Verb #46).
- < Afras. *nVfVs-* ‘breathing’: Brb.: Ahaggar *unfas* ‘breath’, Izayan *unfus* id., *naffās* ‘breathe’; Chad. W.: Hausa *númfāsā* (and *lúmfāsā* with dissimilation? Cf. also Sha *lufwos* ‘breathe’) ‘breathe; rest’, Daffo-Butura *nafos* ‘breathe’ (in principle, the Brb. and W. Chad. terms can be Arabisms, but this seems less likely to me), C. (met.): Mofu *-safn-*, Musgu *súmfa* id., etc.; E. Cush.: Saho *nafse* ‘breathing’ (more likely < Eth.), Boni *neefso* ‘breathe’, Rendille *nefsi* ‘breath’, *nefsó*, *nefs-áda* ‘breathe’ (not necessarily < Eth.).
- (5) Qur. *kaṭīr-*; Leb. *ktir*; Mec. *katiyr* // Most likely < Sem. **kṭr* ‘fit, achieve, be optimal, plentiful, etc.’ (cf. also Kog. DD): Akk. *kašāru* ‘(1) to repair (ruined or damaged walls, buildings, etc.), (2) to succeed, achieve, (3) to replace, compensate’ (CAD *k* 284–5, given as three unrelated roots), Ugr. *kṭr* ‘skillful’ and ‘vigour, good health’ (DUL 471, two different entries; cf. also *kṭrt*, goddesses who preside over childbirth, ibid. 472; could this be goddesses of fertility or “abundance”?), Hbr. *kšr* ‘to be proper’, *kišrōn* ‘skill, success, profit, advantage’ HALOT503), etc.
- < Afras.? Perhaps related to Egyp. (OK) *ttʔʔ* (< **kčr?* Eg. *t* renders **ki/u*, and *t* can be < **č*) ‘Eigenschaft von der Macht des Königs’ (EG V 411; compared with Sem. in EDE I 317). One wonders if the Arb. term (or all of the abovelisted forms if they do indeed reflect the same root; if so, with the primary meaning ‘be many, plentiful’) is derived, with the extension *-r* of unclear function (see, however, Mil RE 122–4), from Afras. *(?*i*-)*kač-* (ADB): Sem.: Akk. *kašāšu* ‘be massive’; C. Chad.: Mbara *kočo* ‘many, much’; Cush. N.: Beja *kass* ‘all’ (or assim. < *kars*, *káris* id., which, in turn, can be a metathesis < **kačr-*?), C.: Khamta *ek-sät* ‘many’, E.: Harso *ikiša* ‘many’.
- (6) Mlt. *ħafna* // < Sem. **ħVpn-* ‘hollow of the hand, handful; fist’: Hbr. *ħopnayim* (dual) ‘the hollow of both hands’, etc. (SED I #125). No reliable Afras. cognates.
- (7) Sab. *ʔħny* // The only parallel that I could find is Arb. *ħny* IV ‘pondre, déposer une grande quantité d’oeufs (se dit des sauterelles); av. une végétation très-riche (se dit d’un pré)’ (BK 1 643). No Afras. parallels⁵⁰.
- (8) Gez. *bəzuḥ*; Tna. *bəzuḥ*; Tgr. *bəzuḥ*; Amh. *bəzu*; Har. *bäžiḥ*; Wol. *bəžži*; Cha. *bəzä* // Related to Arb. *bazḥ-* ‘abundance (de biens)’ (LGz 117, DRS 54)⁵¹.
- (9) Arg. *nabbur* // < Sem. **nbr* ‘to elevate, raise, place atop’⁵²: Amh. *annäbabbärä* ‘to heap, pile up’ (LArg 215), Gez. *nabara* ‘to sit, stay, live, etc.’ (with a semantic shift that is somewhat

⁴⁹ Obviously related to C. Cush.: Bilin *šiig y-* and Khamir *çag-* ‘be plenty’ (Dolg. 120 reconstructs **čV[w]g-*, comparing these Agaw forms with unrelated Beja *šaw-* and some Omot. words, but, for some reason, overlooking the comparison with Sem. **šg?*-).

⁵⁰ Cf. what may be a variant Afras. root **ħin-*: Egyp. (Gr.) *ħn* ‘grow’ and E. Chad.: Lele *hin-* ‘increase’ (ADB).

⁵¹ The only similar-looking forms (perhaps look-alikes) that I could unearth are in E. Chad.: Kabalai *peša*, Nanchere *bəša* ‘many’.

strange for the main verbal stem), *tanābara* ‘to be placed (one thing upon another)’, *manbar* ‘seat, chair, high place, pulpit, throne’ (LGz 383–4), Arb. *nbr* ‘élever, exhausser (une chose); grandir, av. grandi (se dit d’un petit garçon)’, *minbar-* ‘estrade, place un peu élevée au dessus du sol; chaire, prône où se place l’imam ou un khatib pour réciter la prière ou haranguer le peuple’ (BK 2 1183), Hbr. *pB*, Jud. *nbr* ‘(of the swine) to turn the ground up with the snout’ (Ja. 870), Syr. *nbr* ‘excitavit (terram)’ (Brock. 412), perhaps also Akk. *nēberu* ‘ferry, ford, crossing; ferryboat’ (CAD n2 145). No Afras. parallels.

- (10) Gaf. *tābbä*, *tāb^wä* // also ‘ê. abundant’ (LGaf 240), presumably a non-trivial semantic shift < Eth. **tbʕ* ‘to be courageous’: Gez. *tabʕa* ‘to be brave, courageous, manly, strong, etc.’ (LGz 569–70), Tgr. *tābʕa*, Tna. *tābʕe*, Amh. Gur. *tābba* ‘to be courageous’. Perhaps related to Akk. *tebû* ‘aufstehen, sich ergeben, etc.’, *tēbû* ‘Insurgent’ (AHw 1342). No Afras. parallels.
- (11) Sod. *yādank* // “Probably for *yādank*, jussive of *dämmākä* ‘to be beautiful, pretty’” (LGur 680); if true, < Sem. **dmk* (ibid. 209). No Afras. parallels.
- (12) Hrs. *meken*; Mhr. *mēken*; Jib. *mekən* // < **me-ken*, cf. Soq. *kəən*, *kəyhən* id. (related to the Mhr. and Jib. forms in JM 264; not on Kogan’s list). Likely related to Arb. *kʔn* ‘ê. fort; devenir fort et gros’ (BK 2 850)⁵³.
- (13) Soq. *dī-lak* // Related to Eth.: Gez. *lahākä* ‘grow’ (cf. *lik*, Tgr., Tna, Amh. *lik* ‘chief’), Amh. *laḳä* ‘grow’, *tallak* ‘big’ (< **ta-llakʔ*?), Gurage **lakä* ‘be superior, grow, etc.’ (LGur 381). No Afras. parallels.

→ **Common North and West Semitic:** **mVʔad-* (#1).

53. MEAT

- (1) Akk. *šīru*; Pho. *šʔr* // both also ‘flesh’ < Sem. **šīʔr-* ‘flesh’ (SED I #238).
- < Afras. **sVʔur-* (ADB): Chad. W.: Ngizim *saurāk* ‘long stripes of dried meat’, pl. *saurarin* (< **sawr-*), C.: Kulung *asāra* ‘meat, flesh’, E.: Kera *ku-sur* ‘body’; E. Cush.: Arbore *sóra* ‘meat’.
- (2) Ugr. *bšr*; Hbr. *bāšār*; Bib. *bəšar*; Pal. *bēšar*; Syr. *besr-*; Mnd. *bisr-*; Urm. *bisr-*; Gaf. *bäsärä*; Sod. *bäsär*; Har. *bäsär*; Wol. *bäsär*; Cha. *bäsär* // < Sem. **bišr-* ~ **bašar-* ‘flesh, (human) body; skin’ (SED I #41).
- The only etymological guess I can make is that the meaning ‘skin’, attested in Arb. and MSA, is the primary one here, so the root can be compared, assuming the extension *-r*, with such forms as Sem.: Arb. (Syrian) *baššaš* ‘couper menu (viande, etc.)’; Brb.: Ghadames *bzar* ‘to be peeled’ (note preservation of *-r*); (?) E. Chad.: W. Dangla *bèèsè* ‘faire une coupe pure de la peau au couteau’, E. Dangla *bésé* ‘scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair’ (if Afras. **-ĉ* can yield Dangla *-s* in non-initial position; acc. to St. 2007 8, Afras. **ĉ-* in the initial position yields Dangla *č-*); Cush. C.: Khamir *bas-* ‘to make an incision in the skin, tattoo’, (?) E.: Somali *būš-e* ‘chaff’, S.: Maʔa *buše* ‘skin’, all < Afras. **baĉ(-Vr)-* ‘skin; to (cut) skin’ (ADB).
- (3) Qur. *lahm-*; Leb. *lahm*; Mec. *laham*; Mlt. *lāham-* // < Sem. **lahm-* ‘food’: Ugr. *lḥm* ‘to eat’, ‘grain, bread; food, meat’, Hbr. *lāhām*, Syr. *lahm-* ‘bread’, etc. (v. in DUL 495, 497; HALOT 500).
- Cf. tenable parallels in Chad. W.: Hausa *lāmāmē* ‘k of gruel’, *lamai* ‘tuwo’, Mburku *laamù*, Guruntum *lām* ‘meat’, E.: Bidiya *kà-láamò* ‘meat-lover’ (ADB).
- (4) Hrs. *tewi*; Mhr. *tīwi*; Jib. *teʔ*; Soq. *te* // < Sem. **tʔw/y* ‘to eat’ (see EAT #5).

⁵² Perhaps with a fossilized *n*-prefix < Afras. **bVr-* ‘big’ (see a variety of derived terms in EDE II 9–10).

⁵³ Note E. Cush.: Oromo *ikkaan*, Dirasha *kaan-* ‘big’, unless a chance coincidence, implying Afras. **kaʔn-* ‘many, big’.

- < Afras. **tiʔaw-* ‘eat’: Egyp. *tʔ* (Pyr.) ‘bread’; Brb. **tatt* ‘eat’ (habitative); Chad. W.: Hausa *túwō* ‘tuwo’, *čí*, Bolewa *ti-*, Dera *twi/a*, Geruma *tii-*, Jimbin *ti, taa*, Tule *či/ši*, Daffo-Butura *čuh*, Ngizim *tá* ‘eat (soft food)’, C.: Lame *-tí-*, Masa *tā*, etc. ‘eat’, E.: Dangla *tè*, Migama *tí-yáw*, Birgit *túwà*, *tìya* ‘eat (soft food)’; N. Cush.: Beja *tiyu* ‘eat’; N. Omot.: Yemsa *taʔ-* ‘eat’ (pl.), Gimira (Bench) *tyaʔ-* ‘eat (of carnivores)’.
 - ◇ Gez. *šagā*; Tna. *səga*; Tgr. *səga*; Amh. *səga* < C. Cush. (see in LGz 526). The only tenable explanation for Arg. *žäw*, having no parallels in Sem., is a loan from C. Cush., in spite of phonetic differences, cf. Khamir *ziyaa*, Qwara *zeyaa* ‘meat’, etc. No term in Sab.
- **Common North and West Semitic:** **šir-* (#1).
Common West Semitic: **bišr-* ~ **bašar-* (#2).

54. MOON

- (1) Akk. *warḫu*; Ugr. *yrḫ*; Hbr. *yārēḫ*; Pho. *yrḫ*; Gez. *wärḫ*; Tna. *warḫ-i*; Tgr. *wärəḫ*; Har. *wahrī*; Wol. *wari* // < Sem. **warḫ-* ‘moon’⁵⁴.
- (2) Pal. *shr*; Syr. *sahr-*; Mnd. *sir-*; Urm. *sahr-* // < Sem. **šahr-* ‘new moon’: Arb. *šahr-*, Gez. *šahr*, Jib. *šehər*, etc. (v. LGz 528).
 - < Afras. **calihar-* ‘night celestial body: moon, star’ (ADB): Chad. **šVHVr-* ‘star’: W.: Ankwe *sum-šar* (*sum* is ‘sky’), Boot *šaàr*, Guus *šyààr*, Kulere *sisiri*, C.: Mbara *mì-zèr* (St. 2007 #289). There is also S. Cush. **šalih-* ‘moon’: Iraqw *šahan^w*, pl. *šaheeri*, Alagwa, Burunge *šehe*, Qwadza *šaha-yiko*, Maʔa *mšihe*, but **š-* in W. Rift languages, where Afras. **č* usually yields **č* and Afras. **š* yields **š*, is unusual. Even if the S. Cush. root is related, the question remains whether it has lost its final *-*r* or it actually represents the original root without the secondary extension.
- (3) Pal. *z^ehar* (syn.) // < Sem. **zhr* ‘to shine’ (HALOT 265).
 - < Afras. **zalihr-* ‘night celestial body: moon, star’ (a variant root of Afras. **calihar-*) together with Brb. **-zir-* ‘moon’ (ADB): Siwa, Mzab *ta-ziri*, Qabyle *ti-ziri*, etc., unless the latter continues **calihar-*, a problem doomed to remain unsettled, since both Afras. **č* and **z* yield Brb. **z*.
- (4) Qur. *qamar-*; Leb. *qamar-*; Mec. *gamar*; Mlt. *amar* // The exact meaning in Class. Arb. is ‘lune, surtout depuis la troisième jusqu’à la vingt-sixième nuit du mois lunaire’ (BK 2 811). Either derived from the verb *qmr* ‘è. blanc ou blanchâtre, briller’ (BK 2 811) or constitutes a primary noun; in the latter case, there are two etymological opportunities, both debatable: (1) < Sem. **qamar* ‘arch’ (implying the association of the crescent moon with an arch): Hbr. pB. *qmr* ‘to bend, arch over’, Jud. *qmr* ‘to bend’ (Ja. 1387), Gez. *qamara* ‘to build an arch, round off, etc.’, *qamar* ‘vault, arch, firmament’, Tna. *qämärä* ‘to build an arch’; (2) related to Gez. *qamar* ‘moon’ (LGz 432), if it is *not* an Arabism (contra Leslau), to be further compared to Gez. *qammara* ‘to count, compute, etc.’, Tna. *qämärä* ‘to compute, reckon by the calendar’, Amh. *qämmärä* id. commented upon ibid. as “the verb is perhaps a denominative from *qamar* ‘moon’... which serves in the computation” (ibid.). No Afras. parallels in either case.

⁵⁴ With no other parallels outside Sem., the only well-known unsophisticated comparison, proposed by various authors and justly doubted by Takács (in EDE I 280), is to Egyp. *šḫ* ‘moon’. However, it may eventually prove to be acceptable; possible proof, the way I see it, should involve painstaking research on positional changes in Egyptian due to full and/or partial consonantal incompatibility (requiring detailed and exact calculations like the ones made by J. Greenberg in his pioneering study on Arabic triconsonantal verbal roots, see Green.) and, in this particular case, in connection with what I suspect to be “rhotal R” in Egyptian conveyed by *ʔ* and causing certain positional changes — a hypothesis I am working on.

- (5) Amh. *čäräka*; Arg. *čäräka*; Gaf. *šäräkä*; Sod. *därrakka* // No etymology proposed in LGur. 632, except for a mention of Cerulli's opinion that the Eth. term is a loan from Beja *terig* id.⁵⁵ Clearly related to Arb. *ṭāriḳ-* 'étoile du matin', the primary meaning being 'a night luminary' (*ṭrḳ* 'venir de nuit; faire une sortie de nuit, etc.', *ṭurḳat-* 'ténèbres' BK 2 75). No Sem. or Afras. parallels for this Eth.-Arb. root.
- (6) Cha. *bäna* // No parallels outside Gur. According to LGur. 146, "it is tempting to identify it with S[elti] and W[olane] *wäri* with the alternance *r:n:ñ* and with *w* becoming *b*", but this etymology, first suggested by Ullendorf ("with reservations" *ibid.*), is out of the question.
- (7) Hrs. *ḥārēt*; Mhr. *ḥārīt*; Jib. *ḡerat*; Soq. *ḡere* // < MSA **ḡary-* 'moon'. Probably related to Sem.: Akk. *urru* '(heller) Tag' (AHw. 1433), Hbr. *ḡōr* 'brightness, daylight; light; dawn' (HALOT 24), Soq. *ḡérir* 'allumer' (LS 75), etc. (v. DRS 13, where Sem. 'è. allumé, briller (lumière, feu)' is not compared with MSA **ḡar-* 'moon')⁵⁶.
- ◇ No term in Bib. and Sab.
- **Common North and West Semitic:** **warḥ-* (#1).

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⁵⁵ Also *terik* (RBeq 231), which is most likely an Arabism, despite the difference in meaning.

⁵⁶ Cf., however, a direct parallel in Brb.: Ahaggar *eôr*, Zenaga *ežžir*, Semlal *a-yyūr*, etc. 'moon' (ADB) which, together with Sem. **ḡwr ~ *ḡrr* 'be light' and MSA **ḡary* 'moon', should apparently imply Afras. **ḡay/wr- ~ *ḡary-* 'light (of sun or moon)'.

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Статья является второй частью этимологического разбора, проделанного автором для стословного списка Сводеша по семитским языкам (первая часть была уже опубликована в третьем номере *Вопросов языкового родства*). Анализу подвергаются еще двадцать элементов списка, для каждого из которых предлагается прасемитская реконструкция и обсуждаются возможные параллели в других языках афразийской семьи.

Ключевые слова: семитские языки, афразийские языки, глоттохронология, лексикостатистика.