

The Afro-Asiatic background of West Rift *ḥ, *ḥ, *ʕ, *h, and *ʔ

The main goal of the paper is to assert that the rich laryngeal inventory, reconstructed for the West Rift subgroup of Southern Cushitic languages, must be seriously archaic in origin; with direct parallels to each of its constituents in Semitic and Egyptian languages, it can be deemed as retaining the original phonology of Afro-Asiatic, thus underscoring the significant importance of West Rift languages in the task of reconstructing this macrofamily. The hypothesis is supported by numerous etymologies.

Keywords: Afro-Asiatic languages, Southern Cushitic languages, comparative phonology, historical reconstruction

Introduction

As I have demonstrated elsewhere (Takács 1999; 2001, 55ff.; 2003, 143ff.), the consonantal system of South Cushitic has apparently retained a number of archaic features that make the importance of this remote subbranch (comprising the West Rift, the East Rift languages, Ma'a, and Dahalo in the border area of Kenya and Tanzania) almost unique (along with the equally extraordinary North Bauchi group of West Chadic) in the whole Afro-Asiatic macrofamily from the standpoint of consonantal reconstruction. This is why the pioneer monograph from 1980 by C. Ehret on the historical reconstruction of South Cushitic phonology and lexicon (abbreviated as Ehret) represents up to now — in spite of all its shortcomings — an equally extraordinary treasury of information. The new comparative lexicon of the West Rift languages (Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge) by R. Kießling & M. Mous from 2004 (referred to below as KM without year) provides us with a fairly solid inner reconstruction of the best known and most reliable group of South Cushitic.

The publication of this magnificent work allows us to tread on a safer path than any time before towards understanding the Afro-Asiatic background of an exciting segment of South Cushitic consonantism (*ḥ, *ḥ, *ʕ, *h, and *ʔ) that has been best preserved just in West Rift and Dahalo. Henceforth, in the light of my permanent research on this noteworthy subbranch, I have re-examined at the Starostin Memorial Conference (Moscow, 25–31 March 2008) how this set of the South Cushitic phoneme inventory relates to the corresponding segments in Semitic and Egyptian, where Afro-Asiatic *ḥ, *ḥ, *ʕ, *h, and *ʔ have been best retained. Since there is a regular correspondence between the WRift, ERift, Ma'a, and the Dhl. “laryngeals”, some extra-WRift parallels have also been used and discussed in this paper.

Methodological problems of South Cushitic etymology

Before going into details about the regular correspondences, I have to briefly address a fundamental weakness of the inner and the (luckily not too frequent) extra-SCu. etymologies in all three recent comparative compendia dealing with West Rift (Ehret 1980, Elderkin and

Maghway 1992, Kießling and Mous 2004). Unfortunately, the authors of these works — albeit in different degrees — have all failed to avoid the very same methodological pitfalls of comparison both in terms of phonology and semantics. It has been especially striking to observe in the latter two works the strong inclination towards far-fetched inner SCu. pseudo-etymologies, which has made Southern Cushitic until now a strangely introverted domain uncomparable with the much higher niveau of comparative Agaw (cf. Appleyard 2006) and East Cushitic (cf. Sasse 1979 and 1982).

The general questions around Ehret's pioneering reconstruction have already been dealt with by reviewers (cf. Hetzron & Tálós 1982; Voigt 1983; Zaborski 1984), although a detailed review of this precious and so far unparalleled accumulation of data would be desirable before one gets to completing a new South Cushitic comparative (and etymological) dictionary (for a number of corrected SCu. lexical entries cf. Takács 2000). The lengthy study by Elderkin and Maghway (referred to below as Eld.-Mgw. 1992) has, unfortunately, on each page of it several false omnicomparativistic West Rift etymologies¹ without any reference to the external parallels. The problems are unfortunately rather similar (albeit luckily in a relatively lower degree) also with the most recent lexical comparisons by Kießling and Mous, which can be illustrated with the following instances:

- **WRift *ṫānc-ō** “(molar) teeth” [KM 57]: semantically, this is, in fact, not an exact correspondence to “*Dullay* (sic, for Gollango) /ad'o ‘cheek’” as KM 36 claim (following a bad tradition of Cushitic linguistics). Cf. rather LECu.: Saho aḏ-a “back teeth” [Lmb. 1987, 533] ||| Om. *aç- “tooth” [Bnd. 1988, 145]. *Dullay* *ṫaḏ(ḏ)- “Backe” [AMS 1980, 232], in turn, fits WRift *ṫūnc-a “cheek” [KM 2004, 309], which KM falsely regard as a WRift innovation from *ṫuċ “to wrap, twist, wring”.

- **WRift *ṫīs** “to do” [KM 166]: its inner derivation proposed by KM was clearly made due to the ignorance of the external cognates: “*may go back to a Pre-WR form */ihis, the status of the final consonant as a lexicalized causative extension is confirmed by the intrusion of the durative suffix in */iimis*”. It is a pity that KM failed to consider the widely-known cognates of this root, cf. below in the section for SCu. *ṫ.

- **WRift *ṫōc** “to shrivel, shrink, dry up” [KM 222] can hardly be cognate with ECU. ṫaw/yš- “grass” [Sasse 1979, 60] as KM think (aside from the semantical difficulties, WRift *c ≠

¹ E.g., (1) Irq. & Alg. sāp- “to approach” ≠ Irq. céw “near”, Brg. čia “near” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 53); (2) Irq. daṫāf-m- “to be hot” > dàṫrā “ashes” can have nothing to do with Irq. čarāw “dust of ashes”, Grw. čaraṅ “dust” (as suggested in Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 53); (3) Irq. ḥorōċ- “to snore” has nothing in common with Irq. ḥāḥaž-ūs- “to yawn”, Alg. ḥānžāḥānž-ūs “to yawn” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 55); (4) WRift *gu?- “to sleep” is unrelated to WRift *qāt- “to lie down, sleep” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 55); (5) Irq. qaw “to give, bestow” cannot be related to Irq. qēru “intellect” or WRift *ḥu?- “to know” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 56 arguing that “*intelligence is something given*”); (6) WRift *qaf- “bark, skin” ≠ Brg. kaʔafu “gateway” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 56); (7) WRift *sag- “head” is not comparable with Irq. seʔēmi “hair” or Dhl. saḵ- “to plait hair” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 56); (8) WRift *ḥirf- “to praise” vs. WRift *šuf- “lip” vs. *šūf- “to swell” are also to be separated (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 57); (9) WRift *ḥāf- “to scrape” ≠ WRift *ḥīš- “to rub, scrape” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 57); (10) WRift *hīmP- “to breathe” has nothing to do with Irq. hī(n)š- “to breathe” (as in Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 58); (11) Irq. paḥál “bow-legs” ≠ WRift *páš- “to deviate” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 58); (12) Irq. ḥorōrmi “shell” is unrelated to WRift *šuma “fence” (as suggested in Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 58); (13) WRift *cōf- “to strain” ≠ WRift *corḥ- “to trickle” (as in Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 58); (14) WRift *dawr- “sky” ≠ WRift *rāw- “sky” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 60); (15) WRift *duʔ-ūm- “to suckle” is unrelated to Irq. nūnūʔ- “to suck breast” (contra Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 60); (16) Irq. gumamāʔ- “to close” has nothing to do with Alg. gībis “to stop up” (as maintained in Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 60); (17) Irq. tumbararaʔ-at- “to kneel” ≠ Irq. sakʷneneʔ-it- “to squat” (as in Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 61) etc. The aforementioned lexemes massively confused in this work by Elderkin and Maghway, in fact, represent distinct SCu. (and, eventually, AA) etyma.

ECu. *š). Cf. rather Ar. biconsonantal *ʕs “to get dry” [GT] (details below in the section for SCu. *ʕ). KM confused again two distinct etyma. By the way, A. B. Dolgopolsky (1983, 138, #10.10) affiliated the ECu. stem (probably incorrectly) with Sem. *ʕiʕ(V)b- “herb(age), grass” [Dlg.], whereby we may assume in the ECu. cluster *-wš- a lenition from *-bš-. For ECu. ʕaw/yš- cp. better WCh.: Nbauchi *(a)was- < **ʕawas- (?) “grass” [GT]: Warji wasə-na, Mburku wāsə, Kariya wasisi, Miya awasu, Jimbin awaši (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 24).

- **WRift *ʕūnĉ-a** “cheek” [KM 309] cannot be a WRift innovation from *ʕuĉ “to wrap, twist, wring” as KM proposed, since it was inherited from the common Cushitic anatomic terminology, cf. its cognates without the epenthetic *-n-, namely SCu. *ʕoĉ- “cheekbone” [Ehret 1980, 278] || ECu. *ʕaĉ- “cheek” [GT]: e.g. Gollango ʕaĉ- “Backe” [AMS 1980, 195] | Konso aĉ-á, Dirayta aĉĉ-á (pl.), Mosiya aĉĉ-etá “cheek” (Konsoid: Lmb. 1987, 533, #8.b) ||| Sem. *ʕaš(aš)- “bone” [Lsl. 1945, 233]. For Sem.-Cu. see Dlg. 1987, 209, #103; 1989, 100, #43.

- **WRift *ĉāʕ-a** “rock” [KM 36]: KM’s astonishing equation with Somali ɗaʕ-a “sound of a falling stone” is simply a rude error, since the latter evidently derives from Somali ɗaʕ- “to fall” [Rn. 1902, 124]. Instead cf. rather Saho-Afar ɗāy ~ ɗā “Stein, Fels” [Rn. 1890, 127] = ɗā “pebble” [Sasse], in which H.-J. Sasse (1982, 61) rightly surmises an irreg. reflex of his ECu. *ɗagh- “stone”. Future research has to clear up how the cluster *-gh- was resolved in Saho-Afar *-V̄y- and SCu. *-V̄ʕ-. Cf. perhaps also NEg. dh.wt (fem.pl.) “Steinblöcke” (NE, Wb V 484, 10) = “Geröllblöcke” (GHWb 986), whose -h- is equally irreg.

- **WRift *ĉub** “rain” [KM 36] = SCu. *ĉub- “to rain” [Ehret 217, #24] is probably unrelated to ECu. *ɗub- “to dip in” [Sasse 1979, 30, 61]. A.B. Dolgopolsky (1987, 208, #101) has, besides, long pointed out the correct cognates of the SCu. root: Sem. *hḏb (i.e., *hšb) [prefixed *h-] “heavy shower” [GT]: OSA (Sab.) hḏb “showers of rain” [Biella Kendrick], Ar. haḏaba, impf. -hḏib- “faire tomber de l’eau, pleuvoir (ciel), mouiller” [BK II 1425, cf. DRS 443] = “to rain continuously” [Dlg.] < AA *ĉ-b “to rain” [GT].

- **WRift *gad-a** “forest” [KM 37] ≠ ECu. *garb- “swamp, thicket” [Sasse 1982, 80]. How could one equate SCu. *-d- with ECu. *-rb-? Let alone the semantical difficulties.

- **WRift *gawa** “peak” [KM 37] = PRift *gawa “above” [GT]: the same is the case with this stem, erroneously equated by KM with ECu. *gub- “mountain” [Sasse 1979, 15]. (1) For the former root cf. AA *g-w (act. *gaw-?) “hill” [GT] > Geez nagəgaw “hill” [Lsl. 1987, 391] ||| Eg. ḏw [reg. < *gw] “mountain” (PT, Wb V 541–5) > (S) ἄοοϣ (indicating OEg. *ḏāw < pre-Eg. *gaw) ||| SBrb.: ETawllemmet & Ayr a-ggu “être au-dessus de, être sur le dessus de”, ETawllemmet i-ggi & Ayr ə-ggi “lieu élevé, hauteur, élévation” [PAM 2003, 192] ||| Ch. *g-w-y “mountain” [GT]. (2) For ECu. *gub-, in turn, cp. AA *gub- “hill” [GT] discussed in EDE I 400.

- **WRift *hawʔ-ut** (med.) “to go away” [KM 134] can hardly be cognate with Oromo baʔ “to go out” as KM suggest without any reasoning. Naturally, WRift *h- (= LECu. *h-) has nothing to do with LECu. *b- (= WRift *b-).

- **WRift *hāmpu** “wing” [KM 148]: its comparison with ECu. *hūbn- “muscle (?)” [Sasse 1979, 15, 58] is semantically unconvincing and, in addition, would be also phonologically irregular (WRift *-p- ≠ ECu. *-b- burdened by a metathesis).

- **WRift *hitim** (dur.) “to destroy” [KM 154]: I am afraid that it has nothing in common with Somali ḥad- “to steal” as KM envisage, but should be re-analyzed as a haplology for *hit(i)m-im, cognate with Eg. ḥtm “to destroy” (discussed below).

- **WRift *hūĉ** “to plait, braid, weave, knit, twist” [KM 156] cannot be compared to both ECu. *hā/undūr- “navel” [Sasse 1979, 24, 62; 1982, 91] and Somali ḥid- “to tie” [Abr. 1964, 120] < ECu. *hīĉ- [Sasse 1979, 62]. Only the latter cognate is correct. The WRift-Somali parallel speaks for AA *h-ĉ, whereas the Eg. cognate (ḥnt3 < *hntṛ) to ECu. *hā/undūr- suggests an underlying AA *h-n-ṭ-r (with *-ṭ-!).

• **WRift *ḥūmp-á** “lungs” [KM 155] cannot be identified with LECu.: Oromo *humb-ī* “trunk of elephant, snout of pig” [Gragg 1982, 217: hence Amh. *kun/mbi* “trunk”], for which cf. rather perhaps PAgaw **gʷəmb-* “nose” [Apl. 1984, 38] = *[q/ḥ]^{wəmb-} [GT, cf. EDE II 577]. Besides, WRift **p* ≠ ECu. **b*.

• **WRift *ḥūnc** “to wash (clothes)” [KM 155] for semantic reasons can hardly have anything to do with LECu.: Somali *ḥundúr* “dysentery” [Abr. 1964, 124].

• **WRift *ḥar(V)m-** “horn” [GT] = **ḥadāḥ^w* ~ **ḥadamu* “1. horn, tusk, 2. sg. protruding” [KM 318–9] it has, of course, no connection with ECu. **gās-* “horn” [Ss.] as KM maintain. Cf. SCu. **ḥarim-* “horn” [GT] below.

• **WRift *ḥās-īt** (med.) “to be silent” [KM 320] can hardly be regarded as an inner development from WRift **ḥās-* ~ **ḥīš-* “to smoothen a surface” (reflected by Irq. *ḥīš-* “to scrape” and Brg. *ḥila-ḥās-* “to clean a field, rake”!) as KM suggest. Instead, here too, we may safely assume a distinct AA root, cf. Sem. **ḥšf* “to be calm, still” [GT] (discussed below).

• **WRift *rawa** “sky” [KM 37] ≠ ECu. **rōb-* “rain” [Sasse 1979, 22] as KM suggest. For the former cf. LEg. *rj.t* “Himmel” (GR, Wb II 400, 3) ||| Ch. **r-w* “sky” [JS 1981, 234E] (for Eg.-WCh.-Brg.: HSED #2101). The latter root is (as demonstrated long ago by W. W. Müller 1975, 67, #39) cognate with Sem. **rbb* “to rain”. KM confused two different AA etyma.

The Afro-Asiatic correspondences to West Rift and South Cushitic *ḥ, *ḥ, *ʕ, *h, and *ʔ

Below those West Rift (and sometimes also some other South Cushitic) lexical items will be examined — *ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit* — that contain these phonemes, primarily in the Anlaut, and whose Semitic and/or Egyptian parallels have been identified (mostly by myself in the course of my current research on South Cushitic historical phonology, ongoing since spring 1998). In rare cases, lone data from some East Cushitic daughter languages (usually equally conservative about *ḥ, *ʕ, *h, and *ʔ, but not *ḥ) have also been considered. Since Berber, Omotic, and Chadic languages are very innovative about these old phonemes (with erosions and mergers), reflexes from these Afro-Asiatic branches will only be quoted briefly, provided the Semitic and/or Egyptian cognates are available.

SCu. *ḥ

SCu.	WRift	Qwadza	Asa	Ma'a	Dahalo	Sem.	Eg.	AA
*ḥ	*ḥ-, *-ḥ-	ḥ-, -ḥ-	?	ḥ ~ k	k, h- (?)	*ḥ	ḥ	*ḥ

• **SCu. *ʔaḥ^w-** “to listen” [Ehr.] < an incompatible ***ʔaḥ^w-* (note: SCu. *ʕ-ḥ is unattested!) “to hear” [GT]: WRift **ʔaḥ-as* and **ʔaḥ-am-is* “to hear”, **ʔaḥw-es* (caus.) “to talk” (GT: lit. *’to make s’one listen”) [KM 64] | Asa *h-as-* “to hear” [Ehr.] | Dhl. *ʔágaʒʒo* [affix -ʒʒo] “ear” [Tosco 1991, 127] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 288, #47) || Bed. *ʔángwīl* [affix -īl] “Ohr” [Rn.], Bisharin *ʔanḵwīl* “ear” [Almkvist] || Agaw **ʔəḥw-* “ear” [Apl. 2006, 59]² || LECu.: Saho *oḵkǎ*, pl. *ókāk* “Ohr” [Rn. 1890, 23] = *ʔokka* [Bnd.] = *ʔokka* “ear” [Vergari 2003, 66], Saho-Assaorta *ʔoqqá*, pl. *ʔoqqáq* “orecchio” [CR] = *ʔoḵḵwā* [Dlg.: ʕ- “записано ошибочно или вторично”], cf. Afar *ʔòkka* “ear-wax (cérumen)” [PH 1985, 61] (Cu.: Crl. 1938 II, 213; Dlg. 1973, 183 with false re-

² D. Appleyard’s (l.c.) reluctance to accept its old equation *wih* — as “*probably not related*” — is baseless.

construction; Zbr. 1989, 580, #21; Ehr. 1995, 521, #728) ||| Eg. ḥnh.wj “die zwei Ohren (als Körperteil des Menschen)” (MK, Wb I 204–5)³ ||| CCh.: Bura ngga “hören”, ngga-ta “hören, fühlen, empfinden” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 93], Chibak ngá-tì “hören” [Hfm. 1955, 135], Margi-Wamdiu nga-ri “to hear” [Krf.], WMargi ngə-dì “to hear”, ngà-dì “1. to hear, 2. feel” [Krf.] | Higi nga-rdì “entendre” [Krf.] (CCh.: Krf. quoted by Jng.-Br. 1990, 77) || ECh.: Mokilko ʔànnìgá “(se) taire” [Jng. 1990, 58] < AA *ʕaQ^w ~ *ʕanQ^w “to listen, hear” [GT]. For Eg.-Cu. (*sine* SCu.) see Zhl. 1932–3, 166.

• **WRift *ʔānh** “to be satiated” [KM 58] ||| Ar. nḥw: naḥā I “1. se donner des airs, être fier, bouffi d’orgueil”, X “enfler, gonfler” [BK II 1223] || MSA *nḥw > Hrs. nḥō “to be glad”, Mhr. hənḥū “to be happy” (MSA: Jns. 1977, 99; 1987, 309) ||| Eg. nḥnh “sich freuen (vom Herzen)” (PT, Wb II 312, 11).

• **WRift *ʔānh-ari** (affix *-ar-) “phlegm” [KM 58] ||| Sem. *naḥ- “mucus, phlegm” [SED I, no. 197: no AA cognates] ||| Eg. nḥ “Speichel” (PT, Wb II 318, 14–15) ||| CCh.: Tera naḥa “saliva” [Nwm.] | Mandara neḥe [Mch.] etc. (Ch.: JI 1994 II 279) < AA *n-ḥ “mucus” [GT]. For Jbl. nḥḥ “phlegm” [Jns. 1981, 199] note also Mhr. nəḥyōk “phlegm” [Jns. 1987, 308], whose *-k is not yet explained. Note that a var. root (with an original *-k) has apparently been retained in WCh.: Nbauchi *nəḥ- “saliva” [GT]: Warji nənīki-na ~ nənāki, Kariya nənəkí, Miya nínəkí, Siri nīkí, Mburku nənəkə etc. (NBCh.: Skn. in JI 1994 II 278) < AA *n-k “saliva” [GT].

• **PRift *caḥ^w-** “to trap” [GT]: Pirq. *cāḥwēli “caltrop, rope trap” [KM] > Irq. caḥweli “trap” | Qwd. caʔ-uko [-ʔ- < *-ḥ-] “bird trap” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 355) ||| Eg. šḥt “(Vögel) mit dem Netz fangen” (OK, Wb IV 262–263) = “to trap, snare” (FD 243). The third Eg. root consonant -t is still unexplained. Interestingly, the same problem appears in Eg. šḥt “flechten, weben” (PT, Wb IV 263) ||| ECu. *sōh- “flechten” [Sasse 1976, 126; 1979, 41].⁴

• **SCu. *dōḥ-** “to take away” [Ehret]: WRift *dūḥ “1. to take out, take away, 2. marry” > *dūḥō “marriage” [KM 100] | Asa duḥ-um- “to marry” [Ehret] | Dhl. dōk- [k reg. < *ḥ] “to take away” [Ehret] = dōk- “to seize, take away from” [EEN 1989, 28] = dōk- “to take away, kidnap (woman)” [Tosco 1991, 132] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 166, #34): although SCu. *d vs. Sem. *ḍ do not regularly correspond⁵, this root may be an irregular metathetic match to Sem. *ʔḥḍ “prendre, saisir” [DRS 15] > esp. Akk. aḥāzu “1. nehmen, 2. heiraten” [AHW 18].

• **WRift *dūḥa**, pl. *dūḥahē “ditch” [KM 100] ||| Sem.: Geez daḥəḥa “to excavate, hollow out”, dəḥuḥ “hollow, excavated, concave, chasm, cave”, daḥaya “to excavate, dig up, hollow out, dig deep, penetrate” [Lsl. 1987, 128, 130] (listed in DRS 245 with -ḥ-!). Leslau’s (l.c.) proposal on the relationship of this Geez root to Geez daḥaya “grind grain” > madḥe “upper millstone” (listed in DRS 245 with -ḥ-!) as well as to Sem. *dḥy “to push” has to be declined.

• **SCu. *ḥaʔ-** “to burn” [GT]: Qwd. ḥaʔo “fire” | Ma’a -ká ~ -ḥa “to be lit, burning”, -kakó ~ -ḥaḥó “heat” | Dhl. kok- (partial redupl.) “to be lit, be burning” (Ehret 1980, 259, #29–#30) || ECu.: (?) Dullay *ḥa(t)te [suffix -tte?] “fire” [GT after AMS 1980, 241] (SCu.-Dullay: Flm. 1969, 22; Dlg. 1973, 263) ||| Eg. ḥ.t “fire” (PT, Wb III 217–218).

• **SCu. *ḥab-i** “firewood” [Ehr.] > WRift *ḥābiya, pl. *ḥāb-ō “charcoal” [KM 318] | Ma’a lu-hābi “firewood” [Ehr.] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 256, #4) ||| Ar. ḥbw > ḥabā I “2. brûler (se dit du feu)” [BK I 537] ||| (???) Eg. ḥb.t “Feuer” (NK, Wb III 252, 16)⁶.

³ For this Agaw-Eg. etymology see Zhl. 1932–33, 166.

⁴ Albeit for other reasons, but Kießling and Mous (2004, 294) have also suggested a biconsonantal origin for the WRift term, namely a semantically far-fetched derivation from a hypothetical WRift *caḥ^w- (ideophon.) “sudden hopping or snapping movement” based on the comparison of such unrelated terms as Pirq. *caḥ-ūt “to hop”, *caḥway “grasshopper sp.”, and even *caḥ-ad “to aim at, shoot and hit”.

⁵ Whereas normally SCu. *ʕ₂ > WRift *d, Qwd. d, Asa ʕ, Ma’a z, Dhl. ḍ ~ Sem. *ḍ.

⁶ Unless < ḥb.t “Richtstätte (an der die Bösen verbrannt werden)” (since MK, Wb III 252).

• **SCu.** ***hāl-** “to be dry” vs. ***hāla?** “dry” [Ehr.] > Alg. *hala?* “dry”, *hala?ame* “barren (of land)” | Ma’a -*hála* ~ -*hála* “to be dry”, -*halá-ti* “to dry (sg.)”, -*halá?e* “dry” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 257, #9-#10) ||| Sem. **hlw* > Ar. *ḥalā* “être vide, vacant” [BK I 626]. For the semantic shift cf. Eg. *šw* “dry” ~ *šw* “empty”.

• **SCu.** ***ḥarim-** “horn” [GT] > WRift ***ḥar(V)m-** “horn” [GT] = **ḥadān^w* ~ **ḥadamu* “1. horn, tusk, 2. sg. protruding” [KM]: Irq. *ḥarmo*, Grw. *ḥarmó*, Alg. *ḥarimo*, Brg. *ḥadaṇ* | Qwd. *ḥalin-ko* [GT: < **ḥarim-*], Asa *hadon-k* | Ma’a *lu-ḥaremú* ~ *lu-haremú* (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 256, #5; WRift: also KM 318–9) ||| Sem.: Ar. *ḥarm-* ~ *ḥurm-* “pic d’une montagne”, ma-*ḥrim-* “1. sommet saillant d’une colline, 2. pointe d’une arme” [BK I 565]. For the SCu. vs. Ar. meaning cf., e.g., Armenian *sar* “Höhe, Gipfel, Abhang”, Homeric Greek *κάρηνα* (pl.nom.) “Köpfe, Bergespitzen” < IE **ker-* “das Oberste am Körper: Kopf, Horn, Gipfel” (IEW 574ff.).

• **SCu.** ***ḥas-** “gully, streambed, dry watercourse” [Ehr.] > Irq. *ḥasa* “valley or ravine without running water” | Dhl. *kaso* “furrow (for irrigation or drainage)” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 256, #6) ||| Eg. *ḥz* (old **-s/*-z?*) “Kanal, Brunnen” (XVIII., Wb III 332, 4) = “Sumpfloch, Rinnsal, Bach”, cf. *ḥz n mw* “Brunnen (am Grab)” (GHWb 619) < AA **ḥ-ṣ* “to bore a hole, dig out” [GT]⁷ with irreg. SCu. **-s-* < AA **-ṣ-*.

• **WRift** ***ḥāš-it** (med.) “to be silent” [KM 320] can hardly be regarded as an inner development from WRift **ḥāš-* ~ **ḥīš-* “to smoothen a surface” (reflected by Irq. *ḥīš-* “to scrape” and Brg. *ḥīla-ḥāš-* “to clean a field, rake”!) as KM suggest, cf. Sem. **ḥšṯ* “calm” [GT]: Ar. *ḥašafa* “to be humble, submissive, faint (voice)” || Geez *ḥašfa* ~ *ḥašfa* “to be calm, still etc.” (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 266) ||| CCh.: Glavda *ghačəga-ghačəga* [gh- < *Q- reg.] “still, calm” [RB 1968, 42] < AA **Q-š-ṯ* “calm” [GT].

• **WRift** ***ḥāš-** ~ ***ḥīš-** “to smoothen a surface” [KM 320] = WRift **ḥīš-* “to scrape” [Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 57] = SCu. **ḥīš-* “to scrape” [GT]: cognate with Bed. *se-has* (caus.) “(ab)reiben, abputzen” [Rn. 1895, 127] ||| Geez *ḥ^wašaša* ~ *ḥošaša* “to sweep” and ES **ḥss* “to sweep” [Lsl. 1987, 266]. It is dubious whether Saho *hašay* “reiben, frottieren”, *hešiy* “(aus)reiben (z.B. Getreidekörner aus den Ähren, zwei Hölzer um so Feuer machen zu können)” [Rn. 1890, 196] | Dobase *ḥaš-* “schaben, Leder bearbeiten” [AMS 1980, 191] | Burji *hāsiy-* “to rub, stroke, massage” [Sasse 1982, 88].

• **WRift** ***ḥaw** “to come” [KM 320] < (?) SCu. **ḥā-* “to come to” [Ehr. 1980, 256, #2] = **ḥaw-* / **ḥ^wa?* [GT]: cp. perhaps Ar. *ḥwy:* *ḥawā* I “6. emporter, enlever”, II “tirer vers le coucher” [BK I 651].

• **SCu.** ***ḥo?** [**x-*] “to bend”: Irq. *ḥu?-us-* “to turn one’s back on” | (?) Qwd. *ḥu?umbayo* “leather wrapping securing bowstring to bow” | Dhl. *ko??-ēd-* “to fold” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 259) ||| Eg. *ḥ3* [if < **ḥ?*]⁸ “sich beugen” (GR, Wb III 223, 1).

• **WRift** ***ḥoh-** > sg. ***ḥohōḥ^w** “hollow form”, pl. ***ḥohēri** “hollow forms” [KM 323] || ECu.: perhaps Dullay **ḥoh-* “hole” [GT] > Dobase *ḥohr-o* & Gollango *hóhn-o* “Loch” (Dullay: AMS 1980, 192) ||| Sem. **ḥawḥ-* “hollow” [TG]: Hbr. *ḥāwāḥīm* ~ *ḥohīm* (pl.) [< **ḥawḥ-*] “hole, crevice” [KB 296] = “das Felsspalten” [GB 217] = “hollows, recesses” [Lsl.] || Ar. *ḥawḥ-at-* “aperture in a wall, small doorway between houses” [Lsl.] || Geez *ḥohət* “door(way)” [Lsl. 1987, 260] = *hōht* “hole in the wall” [KB] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **kuk* ~ **kok* “(i.a.) be empty” [GT 2004, 207]: cf. esp. Angas *kok* “empty” [Ormsby 1914, 209], Mnt. *ku* (so, without -*k*) “empty” [Ftp. 1911, 216]. The non-reduplicated root appears in Sem. **ḥwy* “empty” [GT].

⁷ Cf. Sem.: Ar. **ḥz* “to sting, pierce” [Zbr.] = “durchbohren” [Eilers]: Ar. *ḥazza* ~ *naḥaza* ~ *waḥaza* (for the Ar. biconsonantal root see Zbr. 1971, 71, #113; Eilers 1978, 128; Blv. 1993, 34, #22) ||| Brb. **γ-z* “creuser” [GT after Prs. 1969, 84, #565].

⁸ Is GR *ḥ3* to be separated from older Eg. *ḥ3b?*

• **SCu. *ħor-** “to be in trouble” [Ehr.] > Irq. ħore “trouble, calamity” | Dhl. kor- “to be in trouble” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 259, #26) || ECu. *har- “to become tired or weak” [Sasse 1979, 40] ||| Sem. *ħwr: Ar. ħwr: ħāra “être faible, débile (homme), faiblir, perdre de son intensité (la chaleur)” [BK I 645] || (?) Mehri ħaur “peu” [Jahn] (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 192) ||| Eg. ħ3j.t [< *ħry-t] “Krankheit, Leiden” (MK, Wb III 224), cf. ħ3w.tj “Personifikation des Todes (?)” (PT, Wb III 227, 2). For ECu.-Ar. cf. Dlg. 1987 MS, #44.

• **PIrq. *ħorōramay** “snail shells” [KM 322] = PIrq. *ħorōr- [GT]: Irq. ħororami “cowry shell” [Ehret 1980, 259] = ħorōrmi “shell” [Mgw. 1989, 102]:⁹ < SCu. *ħora- “large hard shell of sg.” [Ehret 259, #27] ||| Eg. *ħ3 [< *ħr] “Muschel (nur als altes Schriftzeichen für ħ3 belegt)” (Wb III 218, 17) = “bivalve shell” (a lost word, preserved only by the hrgl. representing a bivalve shell, EG 1927, 468, L6) ||| WCh.: Hausa kwáryár “shell (of tortoise)” [Abr. 1962, 594] | (?) Pero kókólò [irreg. -l- < *-r-?] “shell” [Frj. 1985, 36]. For Irq.-Hausa see HSED #2071.

• **WRift *ħoš-** [Ehr.] = *ħōš- “to grind” [Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 57; KM 322]: Irq. & Grw. ħoš-im- “to grind” [Ehret 1980, 259] = Irq. ħós- “to grind” [Mgw. 1989, 102] = -ħōč-íŋ^w-, a ħōč-ím “to pound” [Wtl. 1953] = *ħōš- “to grind”: ħōš-ím- “to be grinding”, ħōš-íŋ^w- “grinding” [Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 57]¹⁰ ||| Sem.: Akk. ħašû “zerkleinern, verstümmeln” [AHW 335] ||| Eg. ħšħš “Schutt” (NE, Wb III 339, 7) = “rubble” (DLE II 195) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *ğy₁ēs “to grind” [GT 2004, 147]¹¹ | Daffo-Butura ġiğyàš “zerbrechen” [Jng. 1970, 86] | Ngizim kàšú “to break into pieces, shatter” [Schuh 1981, 89] || CCh.: Daba ħiz “to grind” [LG], Kola -hèz- [-z- < *-ž- < *-š-?] “to grind” [Schubert] (CCh.: JI 1994 II, 171) < AA *ħ-š “to grind into fine particles” [GT]. For Akk.-WRift cf. Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 62.

• **WRift *ħu?** “to know”, ***ħu?-um** (dur.) “to watch, observe” [KM 323–5]: cognate with Dullay *ħi?- “sehen” [GT]: Harso, Dobase, Gollango ħi?-, Gawwada ħi?- (Dullay: AMS 1980, 168).

• **WRift *ħuf** “to drink alcohol” [KM 323]: cp. Eg. ħfħf.t “Ausströmen, Erguß” (PT, Wb III 273, 15). For the semantic change cf. Sem. *šty “to drink” [GT after Rabin 1975, 87, #19] ||| Eg. stj “(eine Flüssigkeit) ausgießen” (PT, Wb IV 328–9).

• **SCu. *ħul-** “to be sated, full” [GT]: Ma’a -ħú [regular < *-ħul] “to be sated (of food), full” [Ehret] | Dhl. kul- “to gorge oneself” [Ehret & EEN 1989, 12] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 260) ||| NOM.: Gamu kall- “to be satiated” [Sottile 1999, 440] ||| Eg. nħ3ħ3 [*n-ħl-ħl] “strotzen (von den Brüsten säugender Frauen)” (PT, Wb II 306, 10).

• **WRift *ħūmpa** “fever illness” [KM 323] ||| Eg. ħnfj (fem. < *ħnf.t) “1. Feuer, 2. (den Bösen) verbrennen” (LP, Wb III 291, 15–16). Irregular WRift *-p- vs. Eg. -f-.

• **WRift *ħup** “to turn oneself face down” [KM 324]: cp. perhaps (with nasal root extension) Ar. ħanafa I “1. (dé)tourner, 2. détourner le museau de la muselière (chameau), 3. tourner la tête et le cou du côté du cavalier” [BK I 641].

⁹ The Irq. word has nothing to do either with SCu. *ħora/*ħoda “large” (as supposed by Ehret 1980) or with WRift *šum- “protective enclosure” (as in Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 58).

¹⁰ It seems to me more than dubious whether there was any connection between WRift *ħoš- “to grind” and SCu. *ħiš- “to scrape” [GT] as supposed by Elderkin & Maghway (1992, 57), cf. WRift *ħiš- “to scrape” [Eld.-Mgw.]: Irq. ħiš-it- [x-] “to peel” [Ehret] = ħiš- “to scrape” [Eld.-Mgw.], Alg. ħiš- “to rub” [Ehret] = ħišà “to rub” [Eld.-Mgw.] (WRift: Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 57) | Ma’a -ħi [regular loss of *-š-] “to scrape off” [Ehret] | Dhl. ħiš- [unexplained h-] “to scrape scales off fish” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 258).

¹¹ Attested in Sura ðiyees “(Korn) mahlen” [Jng. 1963, 64], Mpn. ðiés “to grind” [Frj. 1991, 15], Kofyar eés “to grind” [Ntg. 1967, 12], Chip ?ées “mahlen” [Jng. 1965, 166] = ?es (so!) [Stl. 1972 < ?], Mushere ess (so, -ss) “to grind” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Montol ees “to grind” [Ftp. 1911, 217], Goemay ees “to grind” [Ftp. 1911, 217] = ès, pl. ûas “to grind” [Srl. 1937, 47] = ?ees “mahlen” [Jng. 1962 MS, 7] = ees “to grind” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 8] (AS: Stl. 1972, 181; 1977, 154, #54; 1987, 230, #785).

• **WRift *hūru?** “to roar, blow, rumble” [KM 324] ||| Sem.: Ar. ḥrr: ḥarra “produire un bruit avec ses ailes en volant, 2. murmurer”, ḥrḥr: ḥarḥara “ronfler” [BK I 551, 556] ||| Eg. ḥrw “Stimme, Geräusch” (PT, Wb III 324).

• **WRift *hūs** “scrape, gnaw” [KM 324]: akin to HECu.: Gedeo kušš-, Kambata kuss- “to rub (off)” (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 126). Remotely (as a reflex of a PAA var. root?) related to WRift *hā/iš- “to scrape” [KM, Eld.-Mgw.] (discussed above)?

• **WRift *hwanšāʔó** “garbage, dirt, refuse” [KM 325] ||| Eg. ḥnš stinken” (Med., Wb III 301).

• **SCu. *hwar-** “to stir, mix” [GT] = *hwar- “to stir” [Ehret 1980, 270, #5]: WRift *hwarānhwar “to stir, jumble, mould” [KM 326]: Irq. ḥwaranḥwar- “to stir” [Ehret] = ḥwara:ḥwār- “to jumble” [Mgw. 1989, 102], Brg. ḥwaraḥwar-es- “to stir” [Ehret] | Ma’a -kwári “to mix” [Ehret] (Ehret 1980, 270) ||| Eg. ḥ3w ~ ḥ3w [< *ḥrw] “zerstoßen und in eine Flüssigkeit mischen” (Med., Wb III 361, 8) ||| WCh.: Pero gbúru [*gʷuru] “to mix (with oil or water)” [Frj. 1985, 31] || CCh.: Bura gwar “mischen”, gwar-ta “vermischen” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 88] < AA *hʷ-r “to mix” [GT].¹²

• **WRift *hwayaʔi** “evening” [KM 326]¹³ ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *kʷō > *kʷo “darkness” [GT 2004, 192] < AA *h-w, whose metathetic var. (AA *w-h) is attested in Eg. wḥ “dunkel sein” (Med., Wb I 352, 3–4), wḥ “das Dunkel” (MK, Wb I 352, 6–10), wḥ.t “Dunkelheit” (MK, Wb I 352, 11) ||| CCh.: Bura-Margi *-wagu “evening” [GT] > Margi wagù, Wamdiu uwàgu, Hildi ʔuwāgu, Kilba ákù, Gava ḥawugà (CCh.: Krf. 1981, #122).

• **WRift *hwaycā**, pl. *hwaycō “switch, flexible stick” > *hwayc-is “whip with a flexible stick” [KM 326–7] ||| Ar. ḥwṭ > ḥūṭ- “1. rameau, branche jeune et tendre, 2. cep de vigne”, hence ḥūṭ-ān-at- “grand, d’une belle taille, et souple comme un rameau (homme, femme)”, mu-ḥāṭ-at- “racines de souchet” [BK I 647].

• **WRift *hwayla** “child, giving birth” [KM 326] ||| Eg. ḥnw [reg. < *ḥlw] “Kind” (MK, GR, Wb III 286, 28).

• **WRift *hwereʔ-es** (caus.) “to fry” [KM 327] ||| Eg. ḥr.t “Flamme” (NK, Wb III 323, 20; GHwB 613) ||| WCh.: Sha hwoḥ [reg. < *hwor] “brennen (intr.)” [Jng. 1970, 285] < AA *hʷ-r “to burn” [GT].

• **WRift *sōḥ** “to urinate” [KM 252] ||| Sem. *šḥḥ: Ar. šaḥḥa “1. uriner, 2. produire un bruit en coulant, 3. lancer l’urine en long filet”, cf. šaḥšaḥa “lancer l’urine, etc., en filet” [BK I 1200, 1202]. Irregular WRift *s- vs. Sem. *š- > Ar. š-.

• **PIrq. *sāḥi** “gall, bile” [KM]: Irq. saḥi “gall-bladder, gall, bile” [Ehret 1980, 179; 1974, 82] = sāḥi “bile” [Mgw. 1989, 100] = sāḥi [KM], Grw. sāḥi “gall, bile” [KM] (WRift: KM 247) < SCu. *saḥ- [Ehret] ||| N.Eg. šḥ “gall” (XIX. Med., Wb IV 228, 9–11) = šḥ.w “Galle” (Deines-Grapow 1959, 460–461) = šḥwj “bitter gall” (DLE III 84) ||| CCh.: Logone cekī [c-/ts- < *s-?] “Galle” [Lks. 1936, 123] < AA *s-h “gall” [GT]. The Eg.-Irr.-Logone etymology was first suggested by Militarev (1987 MS, #117) and was first published in Orel 1995, 125; HSED #2171. But it has been observed independently also by G. Takács (1996, 145, #49). Logone cekī comes by partial assim. from *šḥV, being etymologically connected to PKotoko *šḥV “bitter”: Kotoko šḥáne, Logone šḥa [Lks. 1936, 119], Buduma čay, čei [Lks. 1939, 93], Afade szâsza [sasa] (CCh.: Prh.

¹² To be distinguished from Dhl. ʔōr- “to stir” [EEN 1989, 14], which is perhaps akin to WCh.: Sha yèr “mischen” [Jng. 1970, 289].

¹³ Its extended version is WRift *hwayrā “evening” [KM 326] > i.a. Irq. ḥwera “night, especially the earlier part of it” [Ehr. 1980, 270, #7 with false comparanda], which I was earlier disposed to affiliate with Eg. ḥ3wj [-3- < *r-] “Abend” (PT, Wb III 225, 17). Or should we assume the same affix *-r- in Eg. (NB: the Wb III 225 has a hint on the surmised connection of wḥ vs. ḥ3wj)?

1972, 62, #35.2; JI 1994 II, 27). SCu. *s-, the alternation of s- ~ č- in the CCh. reflexes, and esp. Buduma č-, all point to AA *s-.

• **WRift *wah-ā** “thirst” vs. ***wah-īt** “to be thirsty” [KM 317]: presumably akin to Sem.: Ar. why: wahā “tendre vers, se proposer de, (re)chercher”, cf. wahh- “1. peine, fatigue, 2. intention” [DRS 524–5; Dozy II 790; BK II 1503] with a semantic shift “to search” ~ “to desire” ~ “to thirst”¹⁴.

SCu. *ʕ

SCu.	WRift	Qwadza	Asa	Ma'a	Dahalo	Sem.	Eg.	AA
*ʕ	*ʕ	ʕ-, -ʕ-	ʔ-, -ʔ-	ʕ-, -ʔ-, -ʕ	ʕ-, -ʕ-	*ʕ, *ʕ	ʕ	*ʕ, *ʕ

• **WRift *ʕab** “new” [KM 46, so also Ehret 376] and ***ʕabāk^w** “white” [KM 47: fossilized adj. pl. suffix *-k^w] = *ʕabak^w- “white” [Ehret 376: rare adj. derivative suffix *-k^w] — as rightly assumed both by Kießling & Mous (l.c.) and Ehret (l.c.) — may indeed derive from a common etymon, whose basic meaning may be close to “white” and which is preserved in Ar. ʕbw: ʕabā I “1. brillant, avoir de l'éclat (se dit du teint, du visage)” [BK II 160] ||| Eg. ʕbʕb “(von den Strahlen der Sonne, die auf das Gesicht scheinen)” (XVIII., Wb I 178, 4) = “to appear, shine” (FD 41) ||| Om. *ab “sun” [Bnd. 1994, 1157, #80]. For the shift of meaning Ehret (l.c.) quotes PKalenjin *lēl “1. white, 2. new” in EAfrica.

• **SCu. *ʕač-** [*-tl-] “fat (adj.)” [Ehret 1980, 275] > **WRift *ʕač-ar** (affix *-ar) “fat, thick-set, fully-grown, chubby” [KM 62]: Irq. ʕačar “fett”, Brg. ʕačari “fett” | Ma'a eš-amúye [-hl-] “fett” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 275)¹⁵ || LECu.: Afar ʕēd-o “suet, animal fat rendered down and used for water-proofing (graisse de rognon, graisse de boeuf, graisse animale servante à imperméabiliser)” [PH 1985, 59] ||| Sem. *ʕšš > Ar. ʕiḏḏ- “4. ardent et vigoureux à faire qqch., 5. fort, robuste” [BK II 276] | Jbl. ʕəžž “to be fat” [Jns. 1981, 21] ||| Eg. ʕḏ [reg. < AA *ʕč] “Fett” (OK, Wb I 239)¹⁶ ||| perhaps WCh. *[ʕ]aḏa(-r) “Fett” [Stl. 1987, 222; 1986, 94] < AA *ʕ-č “to be fat” [GT].

• **WRift *ʕadaʔ** “to be grey” [KM 47] ||| LECu. *ʕad- “white” [Black 1974, 203]: Saho ʕad-o “white” [Welmers 1952, 251] | PSam *ʕad “white” [Heine 1978, 99].

• **WRift *ʕag** “to eat” [KM 50]: cf. Qwd. ag-, Asa ʕag-im- “eat” | Ma'a -ʕa [loss of *-C# reg.] “to eat” | DhI. ʕag- “to eat” (SCu.: Ehret 275) ||| ECU.: Yaaku -ek- [k < *g reg.] “to eat” [Heine 1975, 124; Tosco 1989 MS, 10: Yaaku-DhI.] ||| Ar. ʕǧw: ʕaǧā I “1. allaiter (son enfant), av. acc.”, III “2. nourrir l'enfant d'un autre lait que de celui de sa mère, mettre un orphelin en nourrice” [BK II 186]. Perhaps also ECU. *ʕVg- “to drink” [GT]: HECU. *ag- “to drink” [Hds. 1989, 404] | HECU. *ʕug- “to drink” [Black 1974, 108] | Dullay *ʕuk- “trinken” [AMS 1980, 274].

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. (1) IE *ais- “begehren, wünschen, (auf)suchen” > i.a. OIndic eṣ- “wünschen erstreben, suchen” ~ OSlavonic iskati “suchen”, iska “Wunsch” (IEW 16; EWA I 270–1); (2) AA *ʔ-b “to desire” [GT] > i.a. Sem. *ʔby: Hbr. ʔby qal “vouloir, désirer ardemment”, JPAr. ʔābā “vouloir” || Hadramaut ʔabā “vouloir” (Sem.: DRS 3) ||| Eg. jbj “dürsten, durstig sein” (OK, Wb I 61, 8) ||| WCh.: Boghom yip, Kir yip “to thirst” (WCh.-Eg.: OS 1990, 90, #48); (3) AA *l-(w)-b “to love” [GT] > i.a. Sem.: Ar. lwb “dürsten” [Erman] ||| Eg. 3bj [reg. < *lby or *rby] “wünschen” (MK, Wb I 6–7) ||| WCh.: Bole-Tangale *lab- “любить” [Stl. 1987, 247].

¹⁵ Cf. also WRift *ʕač “to be mature, fully grown” [KM] > Grw. ʕāč “to be mature”, Alg. ʕač “to be fully grown”, ʕača “mature”, Brg. hīʕač “to be strong” (WRift: KM 62). Primarily *ʕ “fat, robust”?

¹⁶ Eg. ʕḏ [if < *ʕg] has been alternatively compared to ECh.: Mokilko ʔègéy “Öl” [Lks. 1977, 222] (for Eg.-Mokilko cf. OS 1989, 135; 1992, 190), which is less convincing.

• **WRift *ʕāg^w** “to dig for water, dig a well” [KM 51]: cognate with LECu.: Saho *ōʕoge* “to bury” [Vergari 2003, 142] = *-uʕug-* “to bury” [Welmers 1952, 150] = (Assaorta dial.) *-ʕag^w-* “seppellire” [CR 1913, 39] = *ʕag* “be-/eingraben” [Rn. 1890, 60] = (Irob dial.) *ɣaga* “begraben” [Rn. 1878, 137] ||| Eg. *ʕd* [reg. < *ʕg^w] “hakken, aushöhlen, graben (Fundament, Grab)” (OK, ÄWb I 297) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **hok* [*h- < *ʕ- (?), *-k < *-g# reg.] “to dig (with a hoe?)” [GT 2004, 157]. AP: PKuliak **ʔug* “to dig” [Ehret 1981, 99].

• **WRift *ʕalu**, pl. **ʕalalē* “pot” [KM 54]: cp. perhaps Eg. *ʕn* [reg. < *ʕl] “Art Gefäß” (OK, Wb I 187, 12).

• **WRift *ʕāmiya**, pl. **ʕāmú* “1. fruit, 2. boil (disease)” > i.a. Brg. *ʕāmiya* “1. fruit, 2. testicle”, PIrq. **ʕamʕāmimo* “testicle” [KM 55–56]: its primary sense may have been “round, circular object”, cf. Ar. *ʕwm*: *ʕām-at-* “1. gerbe, botte (de blé, de foin), 2. cône formé par le turban roulé en spirale, 3. tête de cavalier coiffée d’un turban, 4. outre gonflé d’air” [BK II 413]. Noteworthy might be Eg. *ʕmm* “ein tierischer Körperteil (von Gans, Fisch, Wurm u.a.): Ei, Roggen (?)” (Med., Wb I 186, 14–16), although it has been recently rendered as “brain”.

• **WRift *ʕānĉ-ō** “(molar) teeth” [KM 57]: this is hardly an inner innovation derived from WRift **ʕaĉ-* “to be mature” as KM suggest, but rather cognate with LECu.: Saho *aĉ-a* “back teeth” [Lmb. 1987, 533] ||| Om. **aĉ-* “tooth” [Bnd. 1988, 145]: Ometo **aĉ-* & Dizoid **aĉ/ž-u* & Aroid **aĉ-i* “tooth” [Bnd. 2003, 122, 219] (Cu.-Om.: Dlg. 1973, 307; Flm. 1969, 26–27; 1974, 90; 1976, 320) ||| Ar. *ʕdĉ* “mordre à qqch., saisir avec les dents, et y enfoncer les dents” [BK II 276] ||| WCh. **H/ʕaĉ-* “to bite, chew” [Stl. 1991 MS, 7; 1995, 61] < AA **ʕ-(n)-ĉ* “to bite, chew” [GT]. This set of cognates is probably to be separated from SCu.: Dhl. *ħunĉ-* [*ħ-* < **ʕ-* would be irreg.] “to chew” [EEN 1989, 27] || HECu. **inĉ-* “to chew” [Hds. 1989, 413], for which cf. perhaps Eg. *nĉ.t* [*-d-* reg. < **-ĉ-*] “tooth” (OK) via possible met.

• **WRift *ʕānta**, pl. **ʕāntō* “termite hill” [KM 57]: its connection to Sandawe *ʔántá* “calabash with wide mouth” preferred by KM is not too likely. Cp. rather Ar. *ʕuntūt-* “1. petite montagne dans le désert, 2. pénible, difficile à gravir (colline)” [BK II 380].

• **WRift *ʕay-i**, pl. **ʕay-ō* “flower, blossom” [KM 65] ||| Eg. *ʕ* “Erzeugnis des Ackers” (GR, Wb I 159, 14), cf. *ʕj* “Kind (?)” (LP, Wb I 169, 5). Any connection to Ar. *ʕayiy-* “trop faible” [BK II 416]?

• **PIrq. *ʕayl-ā** “wedding dance” [KM 65] ||| Ar. *ʕāyil-at-* “2. fille, femme, 3. famille”, *ʕayyal-* “femme, enfant ou toute autre personne dont l’entretien est à la charge d’un père de famille”, *ʕiyāl-* “famille, femme, enfants et toute la domesticité à la charge d’un père de famille” [BK II 423].

• **SCu. *ʕĉ-** [*-tl-] [*-ĉ₂- < *-ĉ-] “unripe, raw” [GT after Ehret 277]: WRift **ʕĉ* “to be unripe” [KM 102] > Irq. & Alg. *ʕĉ* | Ma’a *išé* (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 277): related to Bed. *yaĉaʔ* “feucht, nass, unreif sein” [Rn. 1895, 241] || LECu.: PSam **ʕayĉi* “unripe” [Heine]: Somali *ʕayĉin* ~ *ʕĉin*, Rendille *ħĉdi* [*ħ-* < **ʕ-*] (Sam: Heine 1978, 77) ||| Sem.: Ar. *yaĉĉa* I “être plein de vigueur, de jeunesse (se dit d’un homme, d’une plante)”, II “être dans la bien-être, prospérer”, *yaĉĉ-* “frais, tendre, nouveau, plein de vigueur et de santé (homme), tout jeune, né récemment (veau, etc.)”, *yaĉw*: *yaĉā* “être entier, complet et en bon état” [BK II 473–4, 477] ||| Eg. *ʕd* “wohlbehalten, unversehrt, intakt sein” (MK, Wb I 237–238, so also GHWb 165)¹⁷, orig. “fresh” (?) [GT] ||| WCh.: Diri *yaĉa* “unripe, wet” [Skn. 1977, 47] < AA **ʕ-(y)-ĉ* “fresh” [GT].¹⁸

¹⁷ The comparison of Eg. *ʕd* to Sem.: Ar. *ʕalaġa* (Alb. 1918, 238; Ember 1930, #5.a.14; Clc. 1936, #137; Vrg. 1945, 135, #9.b.2, 146, #24.a.1) or to Sem. **ʕzz* “to be strong, powerful” (Ward 1962, 412, fn. 3; 1968, 69) cannot be accepted, since the Eg. root was neither **ʕnd* nor was Eg. *d* a reflex of Sem. **z*.

¹⁸ Lit.: Hodge 1968, 27 (Eg.-LECu.-Ar.); Dlg. 1987, 209, #104 (LECu.-Ar.-SCu.).

● **WRift *ʕēt** < **ʕaw-it (med.) “to descend” [KM 101] = **ʕa[(w)h]-it (???) [GT] ||| Ar. ʕwh II: ʕawwaha “2. faire halte, s’arrêter à la fin de la nuit, après avoir voyagé pendant toute sa durée, 3. être arrêté, retenu dans un endroit” [BK II 415]. For the semantic shift cf. Eg. ḥnj “1. niederschweben, sich niederlassen auf, 1. Halt machen bei etwas” (OK, Wb III 287).

● **WRift *ʕis** “to do” [KM 166] || LECu.: Saho is- ~ iš- (so, no *ʕ-) “to do, make” [Sasse] = iše “to make, do” [Vergari 2003, 107], Boni as- “to prepare, make” [Sasse] | HECu. *ass- (var. *iss-) “to do” [GT, cf. Sasse 1982, 107; Hds. 1989, 51] ||| Sem. *ʕšy “to make, do” [GT] > Ug. ʕšy G “to make, process, work” [DUL 190], Hbr. ʕšy qal “to make, manufacture” [KB 890] || OSA: Sab. ʕs₁y “1. to make, do, 2. acquire, buy” [SD 20] = Madhabi ʕs₁y “1. faire, 2. prendre possession de qqch.” [Arbach 1993, 17]. The Sem.-Alg. etymology was first suggested by A.Ju. Militarev (1986, 74).

● **WRift *ʕōc** “to shrivel, shrink, dry up” [KM 222] ||| Ar. ʕsw ~ ʕsy “1. se durcir et sécher (se dit des plantes), 3. se durcir, contracter une peau dure par suite du travail (se dit des mains)”, also ʕys IV “sécher, perdre sa verdure (se dit des céréales)” [BK II 258, 420] (WRift *c = Ar. s < AA *c reg.).

● **SCu. *ʕōc** “cheekbone” [Ehret 278] || ECu. *ʕaḍ- “cheek” [GT]: e.g. Gollango ʕaḍ- “Backe” [AMS 1980, 195] | Konso aḍ-á, Dirayta aḍ-á (pl.), Mosiya aḍ-éta “cheek” (Konsoid: Lmb. 1987, 533, #8.b) ||| Sem. *ʕaṣ(aṣ)- “bone” [Lsl. 1945, 233].

● **WRift *ʕōš** “to curse, insult” [KM 222] may eventually derive from AA *ʕ-š “to call, ask” [GT] > Eg. ʕš “rufen” (MK, Wb I 227, 4) = “to summon” (FD 48) ||| ECu. (?) Yaaku -es- “to beg sy.” (tr.) [Heine 1975, 121] = -is- “to pray” [Ehret 1987, 117, #491] ||| WCh.: Bole ʕeeš- “rufen” [Lks. 1971, 133] | Boghom yi:s “rufen” [Smz.] (WCh.: JI 1993, 140; 1994 II, 58). The Eg.-WCh. parallel was suggested already in OS 1992, 193; Orel 1995, 100, #8. For the semantic shift in WRift cf. the same change of meaning in SCu. *wāʕ- “to curse, revile” [Ehret] < AA *w-ʕ “to shout” [GT].¹⁹

● **SCu. *ʕora** “ashes” [Ehr.] > WRift *ʕura “ashes” [KM 310] | Asa wura-to [wu- < *ʕu- < *ʕu-] “ashes” [Ehr.] | Ma’a iʕorá “ashes” [Ehr.] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 279, #34) || (?) ECu. *ʕār- “steam, smoke” [Ss. 1982, 161] (S-ECu.: Ehr. 1987, 117, #493) ||| Eg. ʕj “Feuersglut” (LP, Wb I 166, 9).

● **WRift *ʕuĉ** “1. to wrap, 2. twist, wring” [KM 311]: cf. HECu. *unĉiĉ- (?) [epenthetic *-n-?] “to twist” [Hds.]: Hadiya inĉiĉ-, Kambata inĉiĉĉ-, Sidamo hūnĉ- (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 159), which indicates that WRift *ʕuĉ < *ʕuĉ here. A reflexation with non-glottalized AA *-ĉ- has been retained by Ar. ʕanaša I “plier, courber”, III “mettre la bras autour du cou de qqn. et le saisir” [BK II 384].

● **SCu. *ʕum-** “to stop (intr.)” [GT]: Irq. ʕom- “to stop (intr.)” | Ma’a -ʕúma “to stand, come to stop”, -ʕumáti “to stop (tr.)” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 278) ||| Eg. wʕm.t [Belova’s law: < *ʕum] “Verhinderung, Einschränkung” (XVIII., GHWb 185)²⁰.

● **SCu. *ʕur-** “strength” [GT]: Irq. & Alg. ʕuru | Ma’a ʕú [reg. < *ʕur] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 279) ||| Eg. ʕ3 [< *ʕr] “great” (OK, Wb I 161–162).

¹⁹ Cf. Sem.: Ar. waʕwafa “to shout” [Ember 1930, 32] ||| Eg. wʕ3 [< *wʕʔ] “Böses reden, schwächen, schwächlich reden” (MK, Wb I 279, 14–17) = “to curse” (FD 57) ||| PCu. *waʕ-/wāʕ- “to yell” [Ehret] > Bed. wuʕ “to cry out” [Ehret] || ECu. *waʕ- “to shout” [Sasse 1979, 42] || SCu. *wāʕ- “to curse, revile” [Ehret]: Asa waʕ-am [Ehret] | Dhl. wāʕ- “to insult, curse” [EEN 1989, 43] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 313; Cu.: Ehret 1987, #585) vs. WRift *ʕōʕ- (different ablaut pattern of the same root?) “to call, warn” [KM 219] ||| Ch. *wa “to call” [Nwm. 1977, 23]. The AA comparison was first suggested in Mlt. 1984, 157.

²⁰ The meaning of the NEg. hapax is corroborated by the regular SCu. reflex. We may postulate an underlying Eg. verbal root *wʕm “to hinder, keep up, stop”, whose Coptic reflex has already been identified by W. Westendorf (KHW 271) in (S) OYΩOME > OYΩME “einschränken, verringern”, refl. “sich zurückhalten, nachsichtig sein, nachgeben”.

● **WRift *ʕurufi** “lizard (sp.)” [KM 310]: presumably related to Ar. ʕaḍrafūṭ- (< √ʕḍrf with inetymological *-ʕ- + additional -ṭ, cf. pl. ʕaḍārifu, dimin. ʕuḍayrifu) “sorte de lézard sur lequel les démons voyagent” [BK II 280].

● **PRift *baʕ-** “to excel, exceed” [Ehr.] > **WRift *baʕ** “to surpass, exceed, win” [KM]: Irq. baʕ- “to excel, exceed” [Ehr.] = bāʕ “to surpass, defeat” [KM], Grw. bāʕ “to surpass, exceed, win” [KM], Alg. baʕ- “to overcome” [Ehr.] = baʕ “to surpass, exceed, win” [KM], Brg. baʕ “to surpass, exceed, win” [KM] | Qwd. baʕ-at- “to increase in size” [Ehr.] (WRift: KM 66; SCu.-Orm.: Ehret 1980, 338) || LECu.: (?) Oromo bay-e “plenty, abundant” [Ehr.] = bāy-ē “many, much” [Hds. 1989, 96] ||| Sem. *bɣy “das Maß überschreiten” [GB]: Hbr. bʕy qal “(das Wasser) anschwellen, d.i. überkochen machen (Feuer)”, nifal “anschwellen, sich vorschieben (v. einem Mauerstück)” [GB 106] || Ar. bɣy: bayā “das Maß überschreiten (auch von einer Wunde)” [GB] = “1. sortir des bornes, 2. dépasser ses droits, abuser, opprimer” [DRS 76] < AA *b-ɣ-(y) “to exceed” [GT].

● **WRift *boʕ-** “antisocial behaviour” [KM] > Irq. biʕiri “greed”, Alg. biʕa “adultery”, Brg. biʕa “madness, lunacy” (WRift: KM 73) ||| Sem. *bʕw > Ar. baʕw- “crime”, baʕā “commettre un crime, un péché”, Thamudic bʕw “commettre un crime”, OSA bʕw “attaquer par surprise, se révolter” (Sem.: DRS 74).

● **WRift *boʕ-** “black” [GT]: Irq. boʕ-â, Brg. boʕ-i (WRift: Flm. 1969, 22, #6; KM) ||| Ar. byṭ ~ bys (root ext. -ṭ vs. -s?): bayṭa “être tacheté de noir, grisâtre”, cf. bays- “couleur noire” [DRS 76: isolated in Sem.] ||| WCh.: Fyer ʔwû [**bʕiH < *√b-w-ɣ?*] “black” [Jng. 1968, 9, #91] | cf. Bole buʕum “black” [IL in JI 1994 II, 28]: < AA *b-ɣ “black” [GT].

● **WRift *daʕarā** “ashes” [KM 78] || ECU. *darʕ- [met. < **daʕr-?] “ashes” [Sasse 1979, 16] ||| Sem.: Ar. daʕira I “1. fumer beaucoup (se dit du bois vert, quand il ne brûle pas bien), 2. fumer et ne pas donner de flamme (se dit d’un briquet consistant en une espèce de bois qui s’allume par le frottement)” [BK I 700] = “fumer sans donner de flamme” [DRS 293: isolated in Sem.]. In the light of ECU. *rʕ- and the Ar. cognate, the derivation of the WRift term from *daʕ- “to burn, roast” does not seem fully evident.

● **WRift *dabaʕ** “to circumcise” [KM] = “to deprive” [GT] > Irq. dabaʕ “to lack”, Brg. dabaʕ “to circumcise” (WRift: KM 80) ||| Ar. daʕaba I “repousser, éloigner” [BK I 698].

● **SCu. *deʕ-** “to be fat” [Ehret]: WRift *duʕiya “fat, oil”, pl. *duʕáy “pieces of fat” [KM 99] > Irq. deʕ-eta “fat, lard” [Ehret] = dééʕēta “fat”, cf. díʕi “oil” [Wtl. 1953] = diʕi “oil, fat” [Mgw. 1989, 112], Burunge dǒʕǐǐ & dǒgiʕa “Fett” [Mnh. 1906, 331] | Asa daʕ-ara “heavy” [Ehret] | Dhl. deʕʕ-em- “to be fat” [Ehret] = deʕ-em- “to be fat” [EEN 1989, 28] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 165, #22) ||| Sem. *dʕdʕ “to move with heavy steps, with difficulty” [GT]: Ar. daʕdaʕa “courir d’un pas lourd” || Amh. da (da) ʕalā “marcher lentement, avec difficulté, parler difficilement” (Sem.: DRS 289–290) ||| (???) OEg. *dʕ [reg. < *dʕ] attested only late as LEg. ʔh “fett, gemästet (von Ochsen)” (GR, Wb V 325, 15).

● **WRift *gaʕaw** “to watch, observe” [KM 111] ||| Eg. wdʕ [reg. < *gʕwʕ] “offenbar sein” (LP, Wb I 406, 15).

● **WRift *kiʕ** “to return”, *kiʕ-is (caus.) “to bring back” [KM 175] ||| Sem.: Ar. kʕ IV “retenir qqn. et l’empêcher d’aborder qqch.”, kʕkʕ: kaʕkaʕa “2. retenir, contenir qqn. et l’empêcher d’aborder qqch.” [BK II 906, 908].

● **WRift *kʕafi ~ *kʕafay** “hare” [KM 187]: perhaps connected to Sem.: Ar. kwʕ: kāʕa “reculer de peur, et s’éloigner de qqch.” [BK II 944].

● **WRift *liʕ** “to hate” [KM] > Irq. liʕáy (m) “paying back, hate among neighbours, revenge”, Alg. liʕ “to hate”, Brg. liʕ “to be unhappy” (WRift: KM 194) || LECu.: (?) PSomali *neʕ- [unless < *neʕeb-] “hassen” [Lmb. 1986, 445] ||| Eg. nʕw [**lʕʕ*] “médisance (?)” (CT IV 20c, AL 78.1995) = “slander (?)” (Osing) > Dem. lʕ “Strafe, Verleumdung” (DG 260:10) = “pun-

ishment, slander” (CED) > (SALB) $\lambda\lambda$ “Neid, Bosheit, Verleumdung” (KHW) = “envy, slander” (CD 134b) = (SB) $\lambda\lambda$ vs. (F) $\lambda\epsilon$ “1. envie, méchanceté, 2. calomnie” (DELC 93; Eg.-Cpt.: KHW 74; Osing 1978, 187) ||| WCh.: Angas ka-la (prefix ka-?) “accusation” [ALC 1978, 23] < AA *l- λ “to slander from hatred” [GT].

• **SCu. *lo λ -** “to bring to” [GT]: Brg. lu λ - “to apply”, Alg. lu λ - “to apply” | Qwd. lo λ - “to give” | DhI. lo λ - “to bring to” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 206) || Agaw: Qwara lē “geben”, caus. lä-š “bringen” [Rn. 1885, 92] ||| Eg. jw λ [< *lw λ] “beschenken mit (m)” (XVIII., Wb I 51, 8) = “to reward” (FD 13) → jw λ “Belohnung” (GR, Wb I 51, 10) < AA *l-w- λ “to hand over to” [GT].

• **Pirq. *na λ ay** “child” [KM 214]: cp. perhaps Ar. na λ - “faible, débile, infirme (se dit d’un homme)” [BK II 1291].

• **WRift *ni λ** “to move in a circle” [KM] attested in Brg. nīni λ -id “to encircle” + WRift *ni λ -im “to dance” [KM 217] > Brg. ni λ -im “to have sexual intercourse” has a striking parallel with similar semantic development in Sem. *n λ y > Akk. *nī/ū D “aufhetzen, aufstacheln, aufputschen, anregen”, ēpiš nu??ūti “jemand, der die Leute mit Witzen o.dgl. anregt, Witzmacher” [Soden 1955, 388–9] || Ar. n λ y: na λ ā I “3. exciter”, X “1. courir çà et là et porter son cavalier on ne sait où” [BK II 1300] ||| Eg. n λ w “sich Gauklerweise herumziehen” (PT 702a, ÜKAPT VI 138) = “to caper with” (AEPT 132) = “to cavort (?)” (Allen 1984, 570) = “bondir (??)” (Jacq 1986, 31) = “herumtollen” (GHWb 395; ÄWb I 600), cf. n λ w.tj “fahrender Gaukler” (AÄG 107, §247; ÄWb I 599) > (?) n λ w “s’accoupler” (late NK, AL 77.2005) = “sich paaren” (GHWb 395). Cf. also Sem.: Hbr. nw λ “to quiver, wave, move unsteadily” || ES: Tna. na λ nā λ e “to shake, make fall, reverse” (Sem.: Lsl. 1958, 33). The PT hapax and the LEg. verb have been connected by Satzinger (2003, 222). Eventually, the underlying AA root may have primarily signified an excited rhythmical circular motion.

• **Rift *po λ -** “to clean” [Ehr.] > Brg. bo λ -em-is- | Qwd. po λ - (Rift: Ehr. 1980, 340, #2): presumably a met. of AA * λ -b “to be clean” [GT] > Sem.: Akk. G ebēbu “to be clean, pure”, D ub-bubu “to clean, purify” [AHW 180–1] ||| Eg. λ b.w “purification, purity” (OK, FD 40), w λ b “(to be) pure” (OK, FD 57) = “reinigen, rein sein” (Wb I 280–2) ||| CCh.: PHigi *y[a] λ - [met. < *Hab-] “to wash” [GT]: Higi-Nkafa ya λ u-, Kapsiki ya λ u-, Fali-Gili ‘ye λ u-, Higi-Ghye ya λ u- | Bachama ya λ wə “to wash” | Kuseri ubau “to wash” (CCh.: Krf. 1981). A widely accepted AA etymology.²¹

• **SCu. *wā λ -** “to spill out, flow” [Ehret] > WRift *wa λ “to vomit, flood, gush out” [KM 312] | Qwd. wa λ a-muko “river” [Ehret] | Ma’a -wa “to urinate” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 313): cognate with ECu. *wa/i λ - “water” [Sasse 1982, 186] > LECu.: cf. e.g. Afar wa λ “river” [Mkr. 1987, 298] | HECu. *wa λ -a “water” [Hds. 1989, 423]. There was also an AA var. root with *y-, cf. LECu. *yā λ - “to flow away” [Sasse 1982, 192] ||| Eg. j λ j “waschen” (OK, Wb I 39)²². A.B. Dolgopolsky (1988, 631, #17) affiliated ECu. *yā λ - with the Sem. *hy λ assuming a secondary prefix *h- (for which, however, cf. rather SCu. *ho[λ]- “to pour” [GT] below). It is entirely plausible that PAA *w- λ ~ *y- λ ~ *h- λ were ultimately related.

SCu. *h

SCu.	WRift	Qwadza	Asa	Ma’a	Dahalo	Sem.	Eg.	AA
*h	*h	-h-	?-/h- (?)	h-, -h-, - \emptyset	h	*h	h > h	*h

²¹ For Eg.-Akk.: Alb. 1918, 222, fn. 1; 1923, 67; Holma 1919, 37; Ember 1930, #5.a.17; Blv. 1991, 88, #16; 1993, 53, #16. For Eg.-CCh.: OS 1992, 200.

²² For the shift of meaning cf., e.g., PIE *plew- “rinnen, fließen” > i. a. Gk. πλύνω “ich wasche”, OHGerm. flouwen, flewen “waschen, spülen”, Lith. pláuju (caus.) “wasche, spüle” (IEW 835–6).

• **WRift *bōh** “heap, bundle” [KM 75] ||| WCh.: Waja à búw-à [irreg. b-?] “to pile up, heap up (past)” [Kwh. 1990, 240] < AA *b-w-ḥ “to heap up” [GT]: remotely cognate to the reflexes of AA *p-(w)-ḥ “to heap up” [GT] > Eg. pḥ.t “die Garbe des Kornes” (OK, Wb I 533, 11) = “gerbe” (AL 78.1489) = “der Garbenhaufen (des Kornes), Kornmiete” (GHWb 287) ||| NBrb. *a-ffa < **a-fwaH “stack of sheaves” [GT]: Mgild a-ffa, pl. i-ff-an “stack of grain-sheaves” [Harries 1974, 222] | Iznasen & Rif & Senhazha ta-ffa, pl. ta-ffiw-in “meule de gerbes à dépiquer” [Rns. 1932, 297] | Qabyle ta-ffa, pl. ta-ffw-in “tas de bois” [Dlt. 1982, 189] || CCh. *pa (?) “to pile up” [GT]: Margi pá “to pile up, fold” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 134, #123, #131, #135] | Bana pá “ramasser, rassembler” [Hfm. in Brt.-Jng. 1990, 86].

• **WRift *cēḥ-a** “dry dung” [KM]: Irq. cēḥa “dry cowdung” [Ehret 1980, 355], Grw. cēḥa “dry dung” [KM], Alg. cēḥa “cow dung” [KM], Brg. cēḥō “dung of sheep and goats” [KM] (WRift: KM 296) ||| Eg. šḥ.w (pl.) “Dreck” (NE, Wb IV 211, 12).²³

• **WRift *cuḥiya** “finch”, ***cuḥ-ā** “finches” [KM 302] ||| Eg. šḥ.t “Art Vogel (der geopfert wird)” (XXII., Wb IV 209, 8).

• **WRift *caḥ-as** (caus.) “to forbid, prevent” [KM]: Irq. caḥ-ās “to keep cattle herd together, prevent cattle from going astray”, Alg. caḥ-as & Brg. cācaḥ-as “to forbid, prevent” (WRift: KM 2004, 275) ||| Sem.: (?) Ar. ḏḥw II “2. faire paître les bestiaux” [BK II 12] (unless < “pleine jour”) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight **vd**: ta-ḏa (no pl.) “protection, alliance instituée entre deux tribus, surtout contre les vols” [Tf. 1991, 86] (not found in Qabyle, Tuareg).

• **WRift *cēḥ** “to build, do, prepare”, *cēḥitu “building, constructing”, cēḥimā “character, nature” [KM 282] ||| Sem.: Ar. šyḥ: I “1. faire qqch. avec le plus grand zèle, être très-sérieusement occupé de qqch.”, III “1. s’appliquer avec assiduité etc.”, IV “2. faire qqch. avec le plus grand soin” [BK II 1295].

• **WRift *fāfaḥ** < ****faḥafaḥ** “to intrigue, persuade” > esp. Brg. hifāfaḥ “to tell or give away secrets, tattle, blab” [KM 103] ||| Sem.: Ar. fḥw II: faḥḥā “2. indiquer qqch. par des allusions, faire une allusion à qqch.”, faḥwā- and fuḥawā?- “sens (des mots, des paroles, d’un discours), intention, ce que l’on se propose dans une phrase, dans un discours”, cf. perhaps faḥfaḥa “3. être sincère dans son amitié” > faḥfāḥ-at- “bavard, loquace” [BK II 551, 549].

• **WRift *fēḥ-is** (caus.) “to tear, slit” [KM 106] ||| Sem.: Ar. fyḥ: fāḥa “1. être vaste, spacieux (p.ex. la caverne), 2. répandre” > esp. fayāḥ- “incursion, invasion de l’ennemi qui se répand dans toutes les parties du territoire” [BK II 644]. The primary sense of the underlying AA root (*f-y-ḥ) might have been “to open wide”.

• **WRift *gaḥ** “to shake off, throw off” > *gāgaḥ “to let fall, drop off”, *gaḥ-at “to scold, rebuke” [KM 112] ||| Sem.: Ar. ḡwḥ: ḡāḥa “2. dévier, s’écarter de la ligne droite”, II “déchausser (le pied), c.-à-d. en ôter la chaussure” [BK I 350] ||| Eg. wdḥ [reg. < *wgḥ < *gwḥ via Belova’s law] “(den Säugling) entwöhnen” (PT, Wb I 409, 14).²⁴

• **WRift *guḥulay** “knobbed club” [KM 121]: its semantically dubious equation with Bed. gulhe “upper arm” (suggested by KM) cannot be accepted. Instead, I would rather think of a basic sense “huge round knob”. Cp. Ar. ḡaḥl- “(outré) ronde, pleine”, ḡayḥal- “gros, massif, imposant” [DRS] = ḡaḥl- “grande outre à eau”, ḡayḥal- “1. rocher, pierre énorme, 2. grand, énorme (se dit de toute chose)” [BK I 257] || MSA: Jibbali ḡihál- “tonneaux” [DRS], Sqt. ḡhel “devenir fort” [Lsl. 1938, 108] (Sem.: DRS 112).

²³ Is NEg. šḥ.w just the met. of OEg. ḥs [*ḥās] “Exkremente, Kot” > (S) **zoc** (PT, Wb III 164) ||| (???) Bed. hūš [irreg. -š] “dünnere Kot” [Rn.] = “liquid faecal matter” [Rpr.] (Bed.-Eg.: Zhl. 1932–3, 170)?

²⁴ Semantically, less likely seems an equation of the Eg. root with Sem.: Hbr. ḡyḥ: goḥī (qal part. with suffix) “der mich hervorzieht” [GB 137] || Ar. ḡaḥḥa “to draw” [Zbr.], cf. also ḡḥw: ḡaḥā I & VIII “arracher, déraciner, extirper” [BK I 257–8] | MSA: Jbl. wgḥ: egēḥ “to snatch, take by force”, saḡēḥ “to snatch from” [Jns. 1981, 288, 69] (Sem.: Zbr. 1971, #53).

• **SCu. *h[ay]d-** “to be fat” [GT] = *hed- [Ehr.] > Irq. ḥar-em-is- [-r- reg. < *-d-] (caus.) “to fatten” | Dhl. ḥed- “to be fat”, ḥédḏune “fat (person)” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 301, #16) ||| ECu. *ḥayḏ- “fat” [Sasse 1979, 46]. Irreg. SCu. *-d- vs. ECu. *-ḏ-.

• **WRift *ḥaf-a** “sticks of the roof construction of a house” [KM 146]: cf. Dobase ḥap-e “kleiner Zweig” [AMS 1980, 163].

• **WRift *ḥaf** “to spread” [KM 146] > cf. esp. Grw. ḥāf “to cover, lay on top”: equated by KM with Oromo ʔāf “to spread”. GT: cf. also Ar. ḥaffa “couvrir de tous côtés d’un voile, d’un rideau (une litière, etc.)” [BK I 455].

• **WRift *ḥagili** > only Irq. ḥagli “string of beads” [KM 331] ||| Ar. ḥağl- ~ ḥiğl- ~ ḥiğil- “anneau, boucle d’entrave, entrave” [BK I 384]. KM’s comparison with LECu.: Somali ḥarg-o “rope” may only be valid provided -rg- < *-lg-.

• **WRift *ḥam-** “to be lost”, *ḥam-is (caus. suffix *-is-) “to extinguish” [KM 147–8] = “to be spoiled” [GT]²⁵: Brg. ḥamu “to be spoiled, lost”, ḥam-is- “to spoil, lose the use of”, Alg. ḥam-is- “to get lost, forget” (WRift-LECu.: KM l.c.; Ehret 1980, 334, 379) || ECu. *ḥam-/*ḥum- “bad” [Sasse 1979, 38]: cf. PSam *ḥum “bad” [Heine 1978, 64] ||| Eg. ḥm.t “Übel, Unglück” (GR, Wb III 80, 12) ||| Sem.: (?) Geez ḥamäyā “to speak ill of” [Lsl. 1944, 55–56]. For Eg.-ECu. see Takács 1995, 161, #c; 1996, 90, #c.

• **SCu. *ḥame** “father’s brother” [Ehret]: Ma’a ḥame “my uncle” | Dhl. ḥáme “father’s brother” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 299) || Bed. ḥamo “father/mother-in-law” [Rpr.] ||| Eg. *ḥm [palatalized < *ḥm] attested as šm “father-in-law” (fem. šm.t “mother-in-law”) → Cpt. (S) **ግዕዝ** “father-in-law” (OK, Roquet 1977; Vcl. 1990, 53; Ward 1996, 43, fn. 8) ||| Sem. *ḥam- “father-in-law” [GT]. The Sem.-Eg. match has already been known.²⁶ Perhaps Cu. < Ar.?

• **WRift *ḥāmpu** “wing” [KM 148] was equated by KM with ECu. *ḥubn- “muscle, limb”, which is both semantically and phonologically (WRift *-p- ≠ ECu. *-b-) unlikely. Cp. rather Eg. ḥp “vielleicht ein Wort für Hand (?)” (NK, Wb III 69, 17).

• **WRift *ḥapē**, pl. *ḥapapu “soil, ground, earth, land” [KM 149] ||| Sem.: presumably Ar. ḥifāf- “côté (d’une chose)”, ḥāff-at- “côté, bord, marge”, ḥāf-at- “bord, marge, extrémité” [BK I 455–6, 516] ||| Eg. ḥp.tj “1. als Bez. der Welt, 2. (vereinzelt) als äußerste Grenze eines Gebietes”, ḥpḥp “das Äußerste der Welt”, cf. t3 m ḥp.t=f “die Erde in ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung” (GR, Wb III 69).

• **WRift *ḥaraci** “weather” [KM 150]: cp. perhaps Ar. ḥars- “âge, moment, temps” [BK I 407]. Cf. Hungarian idő “time” ~ idő(járás) “weather”.

• **SCu. *ḥas-** “tendon (bow string)” [Ehr.]: Irq. ḥasini “spinal cord” | Asa ʔasu-k “tendon (bow string)” | Ma’a lu-ḥási “tendon (bow string)” | Dhl. ḥáso “tendon (bow string)” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 300) ||| Eg. ḥs [GT: GW ḥs3] “Faden, Schnur (z.B. zum Aufreihen von Perlen)” (NE, Wb III 166, 4) = “thread, cord, string” (DLE II 139).

• **PIrq. *ḥasām-a** “problems, trouble” [KM 150]: cf. perhaps Ar. ḥusūm- “malheureuses (nuits)”, ma-ḥsūm- “mal nourri et qui ne grandit pas (enfant)” [BK II 427].

• **PIrq. *ḥaš** “to worry” [KM 150]: cf. Ar. ḥwš VII “3. faire attention, appréhender, s’inquiéter de qqch.”, ḥyš I “avoir peur, être effrayé”, perhaps also ḥšy III “2. faire attention”, V “3. avoir honte devant qqch.”, VI “éviter qqch., se garder de qqch.” [BK I 513, 526, 436].

• **WRift *ḥay-** ~ *ḥaw- “row, family line” [GT] = *ḥayi “row, line” [KM]: Iraqw ḥai “1. a patrilinear clan, 2. loosely, one’s kinsfolk” [Wtl. 1953, 87] = ḥay “kinsfolk, clan” [Ehret] = ḥayi

²⁵ WRift *ḥam- is to be separated from WRift *ḥamu-: Alg. ḥamu “hardship, distress”, Irq. ḥamusoʔo “unlucky person” (contra Ehret).

²⁶ Lit.: Erman 1892, 116 (Cpt.-Sem.); Chn. 1947, #127 (Eg.-Sem.-Bed.); Ward 1968, 69 (Eg.-Sem.); Rsl. 1971, 303 (Eg.-Sem.); Blv. 1989, 16, #11 (Eg.-Sem.).

“line, clan” [KM] ||| Eg. wḥj.t ~ wḥw.t [reg. < *ḥuy/w-] “Familie, Sippe” (MK, Wb I 346, 9) ||| Sem. *ḥayy- “clan” [GT]: Hbr. ḥay “family, kinsfolk” [KB 309] || Ar. ḥayy- “tribal community, descendants of one father” [Smith/KB] = “tribu (grande subdivision)” [BK I 523]. From the same root derives the isogloss of the following entry. Lit. for the AA etymology: Ember 1911, 93; Vrg. 1945, 138, #12.a.1; Mlt. 1984, 16 (Eg.-Sem.); HSED #1256 (Eg.-Iraqw). The reconstruction of SCu. *ḥa- “relative, kin” [Ehret 1980, 299] is baseless.

• **WRift *ḥeʔ-ēs-** (caus. suffix -ēs-) “to finish, bring to an end” [KM 152] ||| Sem.: Ar. ḥwy: ḥawā “réunir, rassembler” [BK I 522] ||| Eg. šwǝj (caus. prefix s-) “to collect, assemble” (MK, FD 258). For the semantic shift in WRift cf. Eg. kmm “to complete” > “to put an end to” (MK, FD 286).

• **ERift *ḥel-** “to clean” [Ehret]: Asa ḥil-us- [h reg. < *ḥ] “to strain, filter” || LECu.: Somali ḥal- “to wash” (Cu.: Ehret 1980, 335) ||| Eg. ḥ3.tj “Bleicher, Wäscher” (OK, GHWb 501; cf. Wb III 7, 7): nomen actoris of an unattested *ḥ3 [< *ḥl] “to clean white” [GT]²⁷ ||| Sem. *ḥll: Akk. ellu [*ḥall-u] “clean, pure”, Syr. ḥll pael “to wash, clean”, Aram. of Targum ḥll “abspülen”, pael “waschen, abspülen”. For Sem.-LECu.-ERift see Dlg. 1987, 198, #24; 1988, 631, #18.

• **WRift *ḥitim** (dur.) “to destroy” [KM 154] ||| Eg. ḥtm “vernichten, beseitigen (Unreines, Durst), vertilgen” (OK, ÄWb I 911). Not yet clear whether the equation of Eg. ḥtm with Ar. ḥtm (supported by a number of Egyptologists²⁸) is correct.

• **WRift *ḥiyaʔa** “male relative, male sibling” vs. **ḥiyaʔaʔō > *ḥiʔō “sister” [KM 154] > i.a. Irq. ḥiya “brother” [Ehr. 1980, 299] = ḥiyaʔ “brother, cousin” [KM] ||| Sem.: Sqt. ḥiyo “fraternité” [Lsl. 1938, 172]. Ultimately related to AA *ḥ-y “clan” [GT] (dealt with s.v. WRift *ḥay- ~ *ḥaw- “family line” above)?

• **WRift *ḥōš** “to scratch, rub” [KM 155] || LECu.: Oromo hōsa “to caress, stroke (animals to calm down)” [Gragg 1982, 214] ||| Sem.: Ar. ḥwš III “1. exciter, pousser qqn. contre qqn. ou à qqch.” [BK I 513].

• **WRift *ḥūmb-āt** “to crawl” [KM 155] ||| Eg. ḥnm.w [nm < *nb reg.] “crawler”, ḥnmnm “to creep” (CT, DCT 338).

• **Alg. ḥungululay** “kite” [Ehr. 1980, 302, #25 with false Dhl. cognate] ||| Eg. ṭḥr [< *knḥl] “Art Falke” (OK, Wb V 384, 12) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *kələŋ < *kalan ~ *kelen ~ *kilin (?) [reg. < *k-l-ḥ-n] “falcon, hawk” [GT 2004, 171]²⁹ | Dera kalinže [-že < *-ge] “kite” [Krf.] | Burma čəŋlèt [< *kVIVŋ- via met.?] “kite” [Krf.] || CCh.: Pidlimdi kilengərti “hawk” [Krf.] etc. (Ch.: Krf. 1981, #202, #203).

• **SCu. *kʷaḥ-** “to be tired, have a rest” [GT]: WRift *kwaḥ-as “to have a rest” [KM 186] > Alg. kwaḥ-as- “to rest” | Ma’a -kwaha “to be tired”, kwahamu “tiredness” (SCu.: Ehret 1980,

²⁷ Semantically a little bit weaker is the possibility of comparing Eg. *ḥ3- to Sem. *ḥwr: Syr. ḥewār “white”, Ar. ṯiḥwarra “to be intensely white” (Sem.: Rabin 1975, 89, #98).

²⁸ Ar. ḥaṭama “casser, écraser, broyer” [BK I 452] = “to break, destroy” [Ember] > ḥaṭm-at- “(year of) dearth, drought, sterility”, ḥuṭam-at- “a vehement fire that breaks in pieces everything that is cast into it (as name of the fourth stage of Hell)”, ḥuṭām- “what is broken in pieces, perishing” [Lane 594–5]. For Eg.-Ar. see Albright 1918, 238, #68; Ember 1930, #10.a.29, #14.a.26, #25.b.7; Vergote 1945, 143, #21.b.5. Note that the inner Eg. derivation from tm “vollständig sein” by a prefix ḥ- (Sethe 1910, 80, fn. 2; Vycichl 1936, 110) can be regarded as semantically satisfactory. Th. Schneider’s (1997, 204, #75) hazardous equation with Hbr. ṯtm (hapax, meaning obscure) is even worse, not to mention that Eg. ḥ ≠ Sem. *ṯ.

²⁹ Attested in Angas “hawk (Hs. širna)” [Flk. 1915, 207] = kələŋ (KS) “falcon sp. (not eaten by the ḥkàn-čan people, who live among all Angas)”, kələŋ ~ ḥkələŋ (K) “falcon”, nkələŋ “Milan” [Jng. 1962 MS, 16, 28], Sura ḥkələŋ “Falke” [Jng. 1963, 78], Mupun nkələŋ “kite, hawk” [Frj. 1991, 44], Kofyar kòeloeng [kələŋ] “hawk” [Ntg. 1967, 18], Mushere kələŋ “hawk” [Dkl. 1997 MS] = kelen “hawk” [Jng. 1999 MS, 7], Chip nkələŋ “kite” [Krf.], Goe-may keleng (so, -e-) “a hawk” [Srl. 1937, 97] = kilin “kite” [Krf.] = kələŋ “kite” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 16].

266) ||| Sem.: Ar. kiḥkiḥ- ~ kuḥkuḥ- “1. vieille femme décrépète, 2. chamelle très-vieille”, kuḥkuḥ- (pl.) “vieilles femmes décrépètes” [BK II 869–870] ||| Eg. kḥkḥ “alt, hinfallig, gebrechlich werden” (XIX., Wb V 138, 10–12).³⁰

• **WRift *kʷah** “1. to throw, 2. forge” [KM 186] ||| Sem.: Ar. kwḥ: kāḥa I “2. plonger qqn. dans l’eau ou le jeter dans la poussière”, III “2. jeter des gros mots, des injures à la tête de qqn.” [BK II 941].

• **WRift *leḥ-** “to search” [GT]: Irq. lēlēḥ- (sic, -h-!) “to look for” [Wtl. 1953, 91] = leleḥ- “to seek” [Ehr. 1980, 205] = lēlēḥ- “to search, look for” [Mgw. 1989, 117], Alg. leḥ- “to choose” [Ehret] (WRift: Ehret 1980, 205, #21) ||| Eg. nḥj [*lḥy?] “wünschen, erbitten” (MK, Wb II 288–289) ||| WCh.: perhaps Nbauchi *leʔ- < **leḥ- (?) [GT]: Warji leʔy- ~ lāʔlāʔa ~ leʔaleʔə “to hunt” [Skn. 1977, 27]³¹. From AA *l-ḥ “to search for” [GT].

• **WRift *sēḥ-ā** “tsetse-flies”, sg. *sēḥ-imo [KM 247] ||| (???) Eg. šjh.t “ein Insekt” (Med., Wb IV 210, 13).

• **WRift *ṣuḥi**, pl. *ṣuḥáy “deserted homestead” [KM 263]: perhaps related to Ar. šḥy: šaḥā “1. ouvrir, 2. être ouvert”, šaḥan “large, spacieux, ample” [BK I 1200].

• **WRift *wārah-** “to pass” [KM 315] ||| Eg. w3ḥ [reg. < *wrḥ] in: w3ḥ-š “vom Passieren des Wassers durch die Rinder” (OK, Wb I 257, 6) = “den See (š) Passieren (durch die Rinder)” (ÄWb I 304).

• **WRift *yāḥáy** “shower of rain” [KM 328] ||| Sem.: Ar. ḥayā- ~ ḥayāʔ- “pluie” [Lane 681; BK I 523] ||| Eg. ḥw.t “rain” (PT, Wb III 49). For Eg.-Ar. see Ember 1916, 74; 1930, #14.a.15; Mlt. 1987, 105. Eg. ḥw.t “rain” is to be combined also with Eg. ḥwj “fließen” (since MK, Wb III 48).

Irregular WRift *ḥ < AA *h

• **WRift *ḥāla** “well, waterhole” [KM 147]: Ehret has h- in the *Anlaut*, whereas KM consistently ḥ-, cf. Irq. ḥalaṇ, pl. haleli “well” [Ehret] = ḥalāngw ~ ḥala “well” [KM] etc. Its comparison with LECu.: Rendille ḥár “hollow where water collects in the rainy season” [PG 1999, 136] (suggested by KM)³² seems less probable than that with ERift: Qwd. ḥali-to (sic, ḥ-/x-) “waterhole” [Kohl-Larsen] = *hali-to [Ehret] | DhI. helel-ād- “to flow” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 306) < SCu. *ḥ/h[a]l- “(to flow from a) well” [GT] ||| Sem.: Ar. hll V: tahallala “soudre, jaillir (se dit de l’eau d’une source, des larmes qui coulent des yeux)”, VII “1. être versé par torrents, se répandre (se dit de la pluie), 2. être baigné de larmes (se dit des yeux), 3. répandre, verser, faire tomber de la pluie”, hall-at- and halāl- “première pluie de la saison” [BK II 1434; DRS 415]³³ ||| (?) Eg. hn.w [reg. < *hl-w] “Welle, Flut” (NE, Wb II 481, 10–11) ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar tā-hāla, Tawllemmet tāla [contracted < *ta-hala] “small brook, spring” (SBrb.: Mlt. 1991, 165) ||| WCh.: perhaps Goemay hal “watery” [Srl. 1937, 74] < AA *hal- “to flow (primarily of water from its source?)” [GT].

• **WRift *ḥaw** “to be weak” [KM 150] ||| Sem. *hwy: Tigre ḥawā “se faner” [DRS 386].

• **SCu. *ḥaw-/*ḥāy-** “husband” [GT] = *ḥā- (sic) [Ehr.] > WRift *ḥawata, pl. *-ē “husband” [KM 150] | DhI. ḥāʔo [-ʔ- reg. < *-y-], pl. ḥāʔi “husband” [Ehr.] = ḥāʔo, pl. ḥāʔi ~ ḥāʔōma “man,

³⁰ Cf. perhaps Eg. kḥw “keuchen (vom ermatteten Herzen)” (Med., Wb V 138, 5; GHWb 887) unless it is of onomatopoeic origin.

³¹ For the semantic shift “to search for” > “to hunt”, cf., e.g., the entry for Eg. bḥs in EDE II 284.

³² Cf. also Eg. ḥ3j [reg. < *ḥly] “fließen, fluten vom Nil” (GR, Wb III 13), ḥ3j.t “bewässerte Stelle an einem Brunnen in der Oase” (NK, Wb III 13, 11).

³³ D. Cohen (DRS 415) listed this Ar. hll under Sem. *hll III as a distinct root, carefully separating it from Sem. *hll II with the basic sense “to appear on the horizon”.

husband, judge” [EEN 1989, 26] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 299, #2) || Bed. hiyi (comm.), hiy-ob/ot (acc.) “husband, wife” [Rpr.] ||| Eg. hj (written OK h, MK hj, NK h3j) “Gemahl, Gatte” > (SB) 𐤆𐤀𐤋 reflecting old [*hǿ] (OK, Wb II 475, 10) < AA *hiy- “husband” [GT], whereby SCu. *-a/ā- is also irregular. For Bed.-Eg. see Ember 1917, 21; Cohen 1947, #92; IS 1971, 241, #100; Mlt. 1986, 72; OS 1992, 169; HSED #1174.

• **WRift *ḥawi** “grass (sp.)” [KM 151] || LECu.: Afar hawāy (h-!) “herbs, spices” [PH 1985, 120].

• **WRift *ḥay-ūt** “to travel” [KM 151]: cp. perhaps LECu.: Saho hay “get moving!” [Vergari 2003, 96].

• **WRift *ḥōʔ**, pl. *ḥoʔ “nice, good” [KM 154] > Irg. ḥoḥo “good, beautiful, fine”, Brg. ḥoʔinay “goodness”, Alg. ḥo “goodness” (WRift: Ehret 1980, 302, #28 with false reconstruction) ||| Sem. *hyʔ [DRS]: Ar. hāʔa “être beau, bien fait, d’une forme élégante, de belle apparence”, haʔuʔa “être beau, bien fait, d’une forme élégante”, hayyiʔ- ~ hayiʔ- “beau, bien fait (homme)”, hayʔ-at- ~ hiʔ-at- “4./2.belle forme” [BK II 1463; Dozy 781; Fagnan 1923, 182] || Sqt. hiyoh “splendide (?)” [Lsl. 1938, 142] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight heyya “être bien, bon, satisfaisant, meilleur, de bonne qualité” [Tf. 1991, 227: not borrowed from Ar.]³⁴ (Sem.-Brb.: DRS 398).

SCu. *H (?)

There is a group of three Eg.-SCu. cognates, where on the SCu. side Ehret did not reconstruct either *ʕ- or *h-. SCu. *H- is attested in the *Anlaut* only and can be isolated on the basis of a regular correspondence of WRift *ʕ- ~ Dhl. h-. The Eg. cognates have ʕ-, but the SCu. reflexes are not evident: they do not fit within the regular reflexations of either SCu. *ʕ- or *h-. Henceforth, these SCu. reflexes point neither to *ʕ or *h. Therefore, I have marked this initial “laryngeal” with the symbol *H-. It is unclear at the moment why we have a second set of correspondences for what we would normally expect to represent SCu. *ʕ-. Sem. lexical evidence would be needed to decide whether this phenomenon has anything to do with the distinction of *ʕ vs. *ɣ in Sem.

SCu.	WRift	Qwadza	Asa	Ma’a	Dahalo	Sem.	Eg.	AA
*H	*ʕ-	ʕ-	?	?	h-	?	ʕ- ~ ḥ- (1×)	*ʕ/*ɣ (?)

• **SCu. *Ham-** “to nibble” [Ehr.]: Qwd. am- “to chew” | Dhl. ham- “to toss a portion of food in the mouth” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 297) || Bed. ʔām “gierig fressen, essen” [Rn.] || LECu.: Somali ʕūn [-n# < *-m#] “to eat” [Abr.] ||| Eg. ʕm “verschlucken” (OK, Wb I 183–184) ||| WCh.: Pa’a ʔḡmma “to eat” [Jng. 1967, 198] || ECh. *ʔaym- “to eat” [GT]: Somray ʔám | Sokoro áymè | Dangla ēme, Mokilko ʔóòmí, Migama ʔâyme etc. (ECh.: JI 1994 II, 119, 121) < AA *ʕ-m “to eat” [GT].³⁵

• **SCu. *Har-/*Hār-** “goat” [GT]: Irg. & Brg. & Alg. & Grw. ara [pl.] “goats” | Qwd. ali-to [*-r-] “goat” | Dhl. héri ~ eri “goat, sheep” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 297; 1974, 73; Flm. 1969, 29) ||| Eg. ʕr “goat” (Med., Wb I 208, 10) ||| WCh.: Kulere war “he-goat” [Jng.] || ECh.: Lele ōrē (pl.)

³⁴ The position of NBrb.: Qabyle e-hwu “plaire, être agréable” [Dlt. 1982, 295] is dubious (Dlt.: < Ar. hwʔ vs. DRS: ~ Sem. *hyʔ).

³⁵ Lit. for this AA etymology: Mnh. 1912, 233; Behnk 1928, 139, #16 (Eg.-Somali); Zhl. 1932–1933, 166 (Eg.-Bed.); Chn. 1947, #60 (Eg.-Bed.-Somali); Djk. 1965, 44 (Eg.-Bed.-Somali); Dlg. 1970, 623, #74 (Eg.-Bed.); HSED #1064 (Eg.-Qwd.).

“goats, caprin” [WP 1982, 74; JI 1994 II, 167] ||| (?) Guanche: Tenerife ara “goat” [Mlt.]³⁶ < AA *[\u026a\u028c/\u026a\u028c\u02e9]ar- “goat” [GT].³⁷

• **SCu. *HUI-** “to smell bad” [GT]: Qwd. ol- “to be rotten” | Dhl. hul- “to smell bad”, hùll-a “odor” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 298) ||| Eg. \u03c93 [< *hwl] “verderben, faulen” (PT, Wb I 172, 3–4), var. h\u03c93 [< *hwl] “faulig sein” (PT, Wb III 50) → h\u03c93.w “Fäulnissgeruch, Gestank” (Med., Wb III 51, 6–7).

SCu. *h < AA *h

SCu.	WRift	Qwadza	Asa	Ma'a	Dahalo	Sem.	Eg.	AA
*h	*h	h-, -h-	?	h-	h-	*h	h	*h

• **WRift *bahut** “to be stupid, foolish” [KM 68] < **bahut-ut (med. suffix *-ut) via haplology [GT] ||| Sem. *bht > Ar. bahita ~ bahuta “être stupéfait” (borrowed into NSyr. bāhit) [DRS 50 pace BK I 170]. Cf. perhaps also AA *b-h-t “to oppose, quarrel with” [GT] > Sem.: Ar. bahata “calomnier, assaillir” [DRS 50] ||| LEg. bht “Widersacher o.ä.” (GR, Wb I 467, 11) ||| WCh.: Hausa ɓááɓáátúú [partial redupl. < *bah(t)baht-] “quarrelsome talking” [Abr. 1962, 51].

• **SCu. *bōh-** “hole” [Ehr.] = *bōh^w- [GT] > WRift *bohoʔ “to be full of holes” vs. *bohō\u028c\u02e9w “valley, hole in the ground” vs. *bohōnta ~ *-ō “pit(fall), hole in the ground” [KM]: e.g., Irq. bōho\u028c, pl. bōh\u028ci “hole” [Wtl. 1953] = bohō\u028c “hole” [Ehr.] = bohō\u028c\u02e9w, pl. boh\u028ce “hole” [Mgw. 1989, 111], Alg. bohunda “hole” [Ehr.] (WRift: KM 74–75) | Dhl. ɓōw-i [< *boh^w-] “small hole not in the ground” [Ehr.] = ɓōw-í “1. nostril, 2. small hole” [EEN 1989, 34] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 139) || LECu.: Afar bōh-a “hole, puncture”, bōh-āte “to be perforated, punctured” [PH 1985, 73] | HECu. *bōh-e “ditch” [Hds.]: Burji bōʔ-e “ditch”, Hadiya bōheʔ-e “ditch”, Kambatta bōh-uta “ditch”, Sidamo bōʔ-e “aqueduct”, buʔʔ-a “well”, buʔ-e “well, spring of water” (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 51, 355) ||| Sem. *bh^w/y “to be empty” [GT]: Hbr. bōhū “Leere” [GB 85] = “emptiness, wasteness” [KB 111] | Ar. bahw- “2. plaine, vaste étendue de pays, 3. cavité de la poitrine, 4. (pl. buhiyy-) cavité (du ventre où repose le foetus)”, bahiya “être vide (maison sans meubles), déchiré (tente)”, bāhin “1. vide, 2. dont le creux ou l’orifice est spacieux” [BK I 174] = bahw- “espace dégagé, trouée, etc.” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 47) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight (Ayt Hadiddu) a-buhu “trou, orifice, ouverture” [Tf. 1991, 12] ||| Ch. *mbuh^{wa} (?) “empty room” [GT] > WCh.: Tangale ɓwâ “hole” [Krf.], Gera bûwa “hole” [Krf.], Kirfi bo\u028co [-\u026a- < *-h-] “hole” [Krf.], Galambu bō àmá “well” (act. *’hole of water”) [Schuh 1978, 157] (Bole-Tangale: Kraft 1981, #266) || CCh.: Chibak mbwá ~ mbwà “Zimmer, Raum” [Hfm. 1955, 125, 136] | Mofu-Gudur mbuwá “aisselle” [Brt. 1988, 199], Mafa mbəhaw “aisselle” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 245] < AA *b-h-w “to be empty (of space)” [GT]. The Tamazight-Hbr. etymology was first suggested by K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB I 38).

• **WRift *had** “1. to pass, proceed, 2. accompany”, hence: *had-a “accompanying”, *had-is (caus.) “to give” [KM 129] = SCu. *hăd- “to go along with, accompany” [Ehret 305, #9]: the same semantic shifts are attested in the AA cognates, cf. Sem. *hdw [DRS]: Aram. (Targum) ba-h^adē “avec, chez”, la-h^adē “à, vers, en direction de” || Ar. ʔahdā bi- “présenter”, Eg. Ar. hada, hāda “offrir”, Maghrebi Ar. hdā “continuer, ne pas cesser de” | Mehri hədū retrouver le droit chemin, tourner la page” (Sem.: DRS 374) ||| WCh.: PGoemai *hēt (?) “to push, move” [GT 2004, 156].

³⁶ Unless < PGuanche *ta-ha\u028c-an coll. “sheeps” as suggested by Militarev (1991, 168, fn. 4).

³⁷ Lit.: OS 1992, 182 (Eg.-Ch.); HSED #1112 (Ch.-Eg.-SCu.).

• **SCu.** ***ham**(ā[ḍ])- “to ripen” [GT: ultimately bicons.?] = ***hamāḍ** [Ehr.] > WRift ***hamāḍ** “to ripen” vs. ***hamana** [KM: < ****hamāḍ-ina** “ripeness” [KM 130] | Dhl. **hamāḍ-** “to ripen”, **hāmāḍe** “ripe” [EEN 1989, 14; Tosco 1991, 135] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 305, #7-#8) ||| Sem.: Tigre √**hmhm** “mûrir, porter de la sémence” [DRS 422]. Cognate to the following root?

• **WRift** ***ham-** “to be warm” [GT] = ***hām-** “to be(come) hot” > ***ham-é**, ***hāmi**, and ***hamēriya** “heat”, ***ham-is** (caus.) “to cook, burn, set fire to” [KM 130–1] (WRift: also Ehret 1980, 299) ||| Eg. **hm** “heiß sein, brennen” (XVIII. Mag., Wb II 489, 15) < AA ***h-m** “to be warm, hot” [GT]. For Eg.-Irq. see HSED #1285 (with false reconstructions). Cf. WRift ***hum-im** “to cook” [KM 144]?

• **WRift** ***hamaĉ** “to stir” [KM 131]: cf. Ar. **hamaša** I “1. réunir, ramasser, rassembler”, VIII “2. se remuer, s’agiter avec bruit, se mêlant les uns aux autres (se dit du peuple rassemblé en foule)” [BK II 1447].

• **WRift** ***haraʔu** “dew” [KM 133] ||| Sem. ***hrʔ** > Tigre **harʔa** (intr.) “tremper dans l’eau, être très humide, s’amollir” [DRS 447]. Cf. also Sem. ***hrr** > Ar. **hurr-** “grande quantité d’eau ou de lait” etc. [DRS 459].

• **WRift** ***har-ā** “at once, at first” [KM 132] || ECU. ***hor-** to be in front” [Sasse 1979, 62].

• **WRift** ***hawʔ-ut** (med.) “to go away” [KM 134] || LECu.: Saho **haw-eṛḥe** “to go away”, **haw-iše** “to take away” [Vergari 2003, 95] ||| Eg. **hwhw** “davonlaufen (von den Füßen)” (MK, Wb II 485, 1).

• **WRift** ***hay** (exclam.) “excuse me, sorry for you” [KM 134] ||| Sem. ***hwy**: Hbr. **hōy**, Syr. **hāwāy** “ah! malheur!” | Ar. **haway-ka** “gare à toi!” etc. (Sem.: DRS 386).

• **WRift** ***hē** “this” [KM 135] = SCu. ***ha** “this”, cf. ***ho** “this referred to”, ***hū** “that” [Ehret 1980, 304, #1 & 309, #39 & 310, #46]: this is a common AA deictic morpheme, cf. ECU.: e.g. Gollango **há-ma** “1. dort(hin), 2. hierher” [AMS 1980, 201] ||| Sem. ***hā** “demonstrative element” [GT] (Sem.: DRS 346) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura ***ha** “this” [GT 2004, 151], etc.

• **Dhl.** **hēl-** “to seize, catch hold of” [Ehret 1980, 307] = **hēl-** “to hold, seize” [EEN 1989, 15] || LECu.: Sam ***hel-** “to get” [Heine]: Somali **hel-**, Rendille **hel-**, Boni **hel-** (Heine 1978, 63; Sasse 1979, 40) ||| Eg. **h3j** [< ***hly**] “(den Gegner) annehmen” (MK, Wb II 475, 1) ||| WCh.: Angas eel ~ el (hill) “to seize, snatch” [Flk. 1915, 175] = **ʔel** (P) “ergreifen, schnappen” [Jng. 1962 MS] || CCh.: Gisiga **hal** “nehmen (Hirse, Erdnüsse)” [Lks. 1970, 123] < AA ***h-l** “to seize” [GT].

• **WRift** ***hēleʔ-es** (caus.) “to winnow, sift grains by tossing” [KM 135]: cp. Sem.: Tigre √**hyll**: **helälä** “jeter”, **helälib** ~ **helälit wāda** “jeter rapidement l’un après l’autre” [DRS 402].

• **WRift** ***hīmp** “to breathe” [KM 137] ||| Eth.-Sem.: Tigre **hanfəʔa** “haleter, reprendre haleine, se reposer”, cf. **hanfofəyät** “forte tempête” [DRS] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar **hənəff-ət** “être essoufflé; pousser des petits gémissements plaintifs” [Prs. 1969, 60, #307]. Tigre-Ahaggar: DRS 435.

• **SCu.** ***hir-** “to sew” [GT] = ***hēr-** [Ehr.] > WRift ***hir-it** “to sew” [KM 142] | Ma’a -**hi** “to sew” [Ehr. 1980, 307, #28] (but Dhl. **has huḍ-** “to sew” [Ehr. 1980, 310, #48 with false etymology!]): cp. perhaps Sem. ***hyr**: EDathina **hayyar** “préparer, mettre en ordre”, Palest Ar. **hayyar**: “effiloche la laine pour faire le feutre” (Sem.: DRS 405).

• **SCu.** ***hoʔ-** “to divine” [Ehr.] > Brg. **hoʔ-** “to curse, heal” | Asa **hoʔ-** “to divine” | Ma’a -**hoʔi** “to divine” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 310, #45) ||| (?) Ar. **hwʔ**: **hāʔa** “être inquiet, troublé comme qqn. qui a peur, 2. être agile, vif, 3. attaquer qqn.”, **hūʔ-** “inimitié, hostilité”, **mi-hwaʔ-** ~ **ma-hwāʔ-** “tumulte, vacarme des combats” [BK II 1458; DRS 390: isolated in Sem.].

• **SCu.** ***hoʔ-** “to spill” [Ehr.] > Asa **hoʔ-** “to pour” | Ma’a -**hóʔo** ~ -**hoʔomi** “to vomit”, -**hoʔoti** “to purge” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 310, #44) ||| Sem. ***h(y)ʔ** “to flow” [Dlğ.] > esp. OSA (Sabaeen) **hyʔ** “1. couler, s’écouler (eau), 2. aller, s’étendre (limites), 3. offrir un sacrifice”,

mhyʕ “libation (?)” [SD 57], Ar. hʕʕ I: haʕʕa “vomir”, hwʕ I: hāʕa “4. avoir un vomissement”, II “causer un vomissement à qqn., faire vomir”, V “s’aider pour vomir, se faire vomir”, hawʕ- ~ huwāʕ- ~ hayʕūʕ-at- “vomissement”, hyʕ I: hāʕa “3. couler et se répandre, 10. vomir” [BK II 1428, 1458, 1467–8] (Sem.: DRS 390, 404, 439).

• **SCu. *hopi** “stalk” [Ehret] > WRift *hopi-na “handle” [KM 142]: Brg. hopi-na “handle, haft” | (?) Ma’a ihópi “leaf” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 309) || LECu.: Oromo hof-a “stalk, stem” [Ehret] = hof-ā “1. kind of spear for throwing, made of sharpened wood only; 2. stalk (millet or corn; looks like sugar cane)” [Gragg 1982, 211] = hoff-ā “stalk” [Bitima 2000, 146] (SCu.-Oromo: Ehret 1980, 309) ||| Eg. hpw.tj “Art Gestell (auf dem die göttlichen Vögel zu hocken pflegen)” (PT, Wb II 489, 8) = “hpwty-pole” (Faulkner, AEPT 259) = “Kletterbaum (auf dem die göttlichen Vögel zu sitzen pflegen)” (GHWb 492; ÄWb I 749) < AA *hVp- “stalk” [GT].

• **Dhl. holló** “1. with, 2. and” [EEN 1989, 16; Tosco 1991, 135] ||| Sem. *hl > Hrs. hel, helt “with, in the company of, at”, em-hel “from amongst”, Mhr. hāl “to, with, in the company of, in(to) the presence of, at” (MSA: Jns. 1977, 51; 1987, 155).

• **PRift *hō-t** “to dwell, live at, in” [KM 143] < **haw-at (refl.) [GT] < SCu. *haw- “to stay” [Ehret 1980, 381] || Bed. hāy “sein, existieren”, hāy “lebendig” [Rn. 1895, 132] = hai(y) “to be (on the first of the new moon)”, hāy-am (refl.) “to appear (heavenly body only, esp. new moon)” [Rpr. 1928, 200] || LECu.: Somali hay “sein, esse” [Rn. 1902, 211], Rendille -hai “to be” [Zbr. 1975, 72] ||| Sem. *hwy “to be(come)” [GT] > Akk. ewû, hence emû “devenir” || Hbr. hāyā, BARAM. & Syr. hawā “être, devenir, survenir” etc. (Sem.: DRS 386) ||| SBrb. *ʕh₂-h₁-h₁ “être dans” [Prs.] = *i-h[ā] (pf. int.) [GT]: Ahaggar i-hā, Taneslemt & Tawllemet & Ayr & Ghat i-ha (Prs. 1969, 43, #119). Cf. also the isogloss (AA *y-w “to be” [GT], var. to AA *h-w?) of Eg. jw [irreg. < *hjw?] “sein” (OK, Wb I 42–43) ||| WCh.: Daffo-Butura yò “sein, to be” [Jng. 1970, 223]. For the AA etymology see Ember 1911, 89; 1930, §4.g.2 (Eg.-Sem.); Behnk 1928, 138, #5 (Eg.-Sem.-Bed.); Cohen 1947, #94 (Sem.-Eg.-Brb.-Cu.); Mlt. 1986, 72, #3.a.2.a (Sem.-Cu.); Blz. 1989, 217 (id. + Rendille); Ctv. 1988, 76 (Eg.-Sem.).

• **PRift *hu?** “to fall” [GT] = PRift *hu- “to fall” [Ehret 1980, 381] > WRift *hū? “to fall” [KM 143]: Irg. hū- [Dlg.] = hu- [Ehret], Grw. & Alg. hū- [Dlg.] = hu- [Ehret], Brg. hu- [Ehret] | Asa hu?- [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 381; Dlg. 1973, 243) ||| Sem. *hww/y “to fall” [DRS 385] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar i-hi “tomber dans/sur” [Prs. 1969, 43, #120] < AA *h-w “to fall” [GT].³⁸

• **WRift *hub** “to carry, bring” [KM 143] > i.a. Iraqw & Gorowa hūw “to carry, bring”, hūwa (f) “load”, hūwā “burden, luggage” || (?) Bed. hawīye [-w- reg. < *-b-] “pack-saddle” [Rpr. 1928, 200] ||| Sem. *whb “to give” [GT] > i.a. Hbr. yəhab “fardeau”, cf. Ar. ʔuhb-at- “équipement” (Sem.: DRS 508) ||| WCh.: Pa’a hwà-hwa (redupl., m), pl. hwà-hwí “load” [MSkn. 1979, 180] (Pa’a hwV- weakened < NBch. *hbV-?) < AA *h-b (orig. *hub?) “to bring, carry load” [GT].

• **PIrg. *hučay** “big earthen pot” [KM 145]: cp. Sem.: Palest. Ar. hišš “poterie” [DRS 463] ||| Bed. hayiš “to make pottery-ware” [Rpr. 1928, 201].

• **WRift *hūnguruʔu** “central pillars of the house” [KM 145]: cp. Sem. *hngr: Tigre han-gora “lance de bois (jouet d’enfant)” [DRS 431].

• **WRift *hur-im** (dur.) “to cook” [KM 145] cannot be compared with LECu.: Somali kar “to become boiled” as KM did (WRift *h- ≠ Somali k-), for phonological reasons (WRift *h- ≠ ECU. *k-). Instead, cf. ECU. *hUr- “to kindle” [GT] > PSam *huri “schüren (Feuer)” [Heine 1977, 292] = “to kindle” [Heine 1978, 63] | Dullay *hōr- [GT] > Dobase hor-as- (caus.) “kochen”,

³⁸ Etymological lit. for this AA widespread AA root: Erman 1892, 114; Ember 1913, 116, #53; 1930, #3.e.2; Alb. 1927, 224; Clc. 1936, #21; Chn. 1947, #93; Vcl. 1958, 374; 1990, 49; Ward 1969, 265, fn. 5; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 66; OS 1992, 200; HSED #1163.

Gollango hōr- “wärmen” (Dullay: AMS 1980, 162, 202) ||| Sem.: Ar. haraʔa I “4. cuire trop les viandes, au point qu’elles soient en charpie”, hariʔa “être en charpie pour avoir été trop cuit (se dit des viandes)” [BK II 1409] || ES: Tna. harhar bälä “être en flammes” [DRS 451] ||| Eg. h3 [reg. < *hr] “rösten (in den Bez. für Brotsorten)” (NE, Wb II 475, 9) = “Glut”, $\zeta q n h3$ “Röstbrot” (GHWb 486) < AA *h-r “to cook (?)” [GT]. Any connection to ES: Tigre hwr “ripe” [DRS]?

• **SCu. *loh-** “to carry load” [GT]: WRift *lōh- “to migrate, carry goods”, *lōh-is “to carry, move house” [KM 195] > Irq. loh- “to move hose”, loh-is- “to carry load”, Alg. loh-is- “to carry load” | Qwd. loh-is- “to move house” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 206) ||| Eg. jwh [< *lwh] “beladen mit etwas” (Westcar, Wb I 56, 17–19) ||| WCh.: Suroid *lē “load” [GT]: Sura léε “Last” [Jng. 1963, 72], Mupun léε “load” [Frj. 1991, 33] < AA *l-[w]-h “to carry load” [GT].

• **SCu. *wah-** “to drink” [Ehret] > WRift *wah- “to drink” [KM 313] | Qwd.-Asa wa-t (continuative suffix -t-) “to drink” [Ehret] | Ma’a -wáha “to drink” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 313, #19) ||| ES *wh- > Geez wahəha “devenir aqueux”, Amh. wuha “eau”, wāhayyā “devenir aqueux” (ES: DRS 507, 509). For the semantic shift cf. e.g. IE *ak^w- > Latin aqua “water” ~ Tokharic AB yok-tsi “to drink”, Hittite ekuzi “(s)he drinks” (IEW 23).

Irregular WRift *h < AA *ḥ

• **WRift *dabāh** “to search, look for” [KM 80] ||| Eg. dbḥ “bedürfen, (er)bitten” (PT, Wb V 439–440). This new etymology discards all previous suggestions for the affiliation of our Eg. root³⁹.

• **WRift *habaĉ** “to spread, open mouth” [KM 129] ||| Eg. ḥbḍ [reg. < AA *ḥbĉ] “vom Öffnen des Mundes” (CT, BD, Wb III 67, 8) = “to open the mouth” (CT, DCT 327) = “öffnen (Mund, um Nahrung aufzunehmen), aufsperrn” (CT, ÄWb II 1651)⁴⁰. Note that Eg. ḥpd “öffnen (nur vom Mund gebraucht)” (BD, Wb III 72, 12) represents a secondary variety (variation of -b- ~ -p-, shift of -ḍ > -d⁴¹). Any connection to Ar. ḥabaĉa I “2. tirer à soi avec force la corde de l’arc, et la lâcher, en sorte qu’elle produise un son” [BK I 368] < common AA *ḥ-b-ĉ “to spread out (?)” [GT]?

• **PRift *hac-** “to be full” [GT] = *haĉ- [Ehret 1980, 81, #2] > WRift *hac “to be full” [KM 134] | ERift *haĉ- “to be full” [GT] > Asa haš- “to be full” [Ehret], Qwd. hacumo “much” [Ehret]: a doubly irreg. cognate appears in Ar. ḥašaʔa “remplir, bourrer, farcir de qqch.”, ḥašiʔa “être rempli” (de qqch.)” [BK I 435]. Note that Rift *h- ≠ Sem. *ḥ-, neither Rift *c corresponds to Sem. *ṣ.

• **WRift *haĉ** “to stick, fasten, pin” > *haĉ-im “to set a trap”, *haĉ-ir-ō “trap” [KM 133–4]: its comparison with ECu. *ḥiḍ- “to tie” [Sasse 1979, 36, 59] (not “to fasten”, suggested by KM) is unconvincing. Instead, one might be inclined to compare it with ECu. *haš- “to hold, keep” [Sasse 1979, 39, 62], but the reconstruction of this latter form is not well-founded (the reflexes listed by Sasse belong in fact to distinct AA roots). Cf. perhaps Ar. ḥašša I “8. traquer, cerner, entourer de tous côtés et ne pas laisser d’issue (augibier, à la bête)” [BK I 430]?

³⁹ Cf. (1) Rn. 1890, 21, n. 10; Müller 1907, 301, n. 1; Clc. 1936, #458; Vcl. 1958, 373; IS 1964, 6, #19; Hodge 1981, 406; SISAJa III, #59, Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 58: ~ Sem. *-ḍbaḥ- “to sacrifice” [Frz.]; (2) Rsl. 1971, 290: ~ Akk. $\sqrt{\text{ṣb}}_{3/4}$ > ṣa/ebū “wünschen” [AHW 1073]; (3) Dlg. 1966, 87, #8.16; 1973, 230; 1983, 131 (followed by Blz. 1989, 210): ~ ECu. *ḍēb- “(to be) thirst(y)” [Sasse 1982, 62].

⁴⁰ An alternative comparison with Sem. *hbṣ > Ar. habaša “frapper” [BK II 1381; DRS 363] would be semantically much weaker.

⁴¹ For these changes cf. e.g. Ward 1975, 64f.; Peust 1999, 135, §3.12.4 and Vycichl 1990, 46.

● **SCu. *hap-** “to put up, put above, put on top of” [Ehr.] > Irq. hape “roof” | Ma’a -hapári “to cover” | Dhl. hap- “to suspend” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 304, #4) ||| Sem. *h̥p “to hide, shelter” [Zbr.]: i.a. Hbr. h̥pp qal (with ʕal) “to shield” [KB 339], MHbr. h̥pp polel “to bend over, cover” [Jastrow 1950, 492] | Ar. ḥaffa “7. envelopper de qqch., 9. couvrir de tous côtés d’un voile, d’un rideau etc.” [BK I 455] (Sem.: Zbr. 1971, #91) ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar t-êf-it [*ta-yaf- < *ta-Haf-] “linceul” [Fcd. 1951–2, 299].

SCu. *ʔ

SCu.	WRift	Qwadza	Asa	Ma’a	Dahalo	Sem.	Eg.	AA
*ʔ	*ʔ	∅-, -ʔ-	∅/ʔ-, -ʔ-	ʔ-, -ʔ-, -∅	∅/ʔ-, -w-(?)	*ʔ	j-, -3-	*ʔ

● **WRift *ʔah-as** (caus.) “to hear” [KM 64]: cognate to PAgaw *ʔənq̄w- “ear” [Apl. 1989 MS, 4] || LECu.: Saho okk-ā [Rn.] = ʕok̄kw-ā (sic, ʕ-) [CR] = okk-ā “ear” [Zhl.] = okk-a [Bnd.] (Cu.: Crl. 1938 II, 213; Dlg. 1967, 5; 1973, 183; Zbr. 1989, 580, #21) ||| Eg. ʕnh.wj (dual, epenthetic -n-as in Agaw?) [ʕnh < *jn̄h reg.] “die zwei Ohren” (MK, Wb I 204–5). For Cu.-Eg. cf. Zhl. 1932–33, 166.

● **WRift *ʔako** “old man”: Irq. & Grw. áako “old man” | Asa akuya “grandparent (in address)” (Ehret 1980, 377) || ECU. *ʔakāk-/*ʔākk- “old man, grandfather” [Sasse 1982, 21, 24] (Cu.: Flm. 1969, 11; Apl. 1994, 3) ||| Eg. jk “alt, bejahrt” (BD, Wb I 34, 4).⁴²

● **NWRift *ʔāk-ō** “old man” [KM 51] = PRift *ʔak-o “old man” [Ehret 1980, 377]: related to ECU. *ʔakāk-/*ʔākk- “old man, grandfather” [Sasse 1982, 21, 24] (Cu.: Flm. 1969, 11; Apl. 1994, 3) ||| Eg. jk “alt, bejahrt” (BD, Wb I 34, 4). For AA *ʔ- ~ Eg. j-, cf. EDE I 81–83.

● **SCu. *ʔal-** “girl” [Ehr.]: Qwd. elanko, Asa eleto | Ma’a mʔaléta (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 284) ||| (?) Eg. jr.wt [reg. < *ʔl-wt] (pl.) “Bez. für Frauen” (PT, Wb I 114, 15).

● **SCu. *ʔani** “I” [Ehret 1980, 283] ||| Bed. ane “I” [Rpr.] || Agaw: Awngi an “I” [Hetzron] || ECU. *ʔani/*ʔanu “I” [Sasse 1982, 26] ||| SOm. *in-ta “I” [Flm. 1976, 315] ||| Eg. jnk “I” (OK, Wb I 101) ||| Sem. *ʔan- “I” [GT], etc. A well known AA root with abundant literature (cf. EDE I 82).

● **SCu. *ʔar-** “old (of things)”: Irq. ar-ʔad [Ehret: *ʔar-ʔar-at- contracted] | Ma’a -ʔeraru | Dhl. ʒār- [irreg. *y- < *ʔ-] “to grow old” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 287) ||| Eg. j3wj [*ʔrwy] “to be old” (OK, Wb I 28, 13) ||| CCh.: Mwulyen iʔiri, Bachama ʔiyrey “old” (CCh.: OS) < AA *ʔ-r “to be old” [GT]. For CCh.-Eg. see HSED #84.

● **WRift *ʔaša** “fire” [KM 61] ||| Sem. *ʔišš-(at)- “feu” [DRS 35]: irregular correspondence. Normally, WRift *ʔs̄ = Sem. *ʔs̄.

● **SCu. *ʔaši** [*-hl-] “fat, oil” [GT]: Qwd. aši-to | Dhl. áši (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 285) ||| (?) Eg. js “sort of oil” (OK, Wb I 130, 15; cf. GHWb 101). Eg. -s < AA *-š̄ in final position? Otherwise, Eg. s ~ SCu. *-š̄ are not regular.

● **SCu. *ʔila** “eye” [Ehret]: Irq.-Brg.-Alg. ila | Qwd. ili-to, Asa ʔila-t | Ma’a iʔilá | Dhl. ʔila (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 291) || ECU. *ʔil- “eye” [Sasse 1979, 5, 22; 1982, 104] || Agaw: Hamir əl, Qemant [y]əl, Bilin ʕəl [irreg. ʕ- < *ʔ-] “eye” | Awngi əll “eye” (Agaw: Apl. 1991, 20) ||| Eg. jr.t [< *ʔl-tʔ] “eye” (OK, Wb I 106–7) ||| CCh. *ʔil- “eye” [GT]: Lamang (Hitkala) iri & (Waga dial.) ili [Meek] = ílí [Lks.], Vizik ili, iri [Wolff] | Alataghwa il-yia [Wolff] | Buduma yíl [Lks.] = yèl

⁴² The Eg. root is to be read jk, BD -3- being purely orthographical (influenced by an association to Eg. j3w “old?”), cf. the “old man” det. of MK jk “quarryman” and jk.w “Steinbruch” (Wb I 39).

[Cyffer], Gulfei el [Wolff], Logone (pl.) ?àl [Bouny] = al (pl.) [Nct./Lks.] (CCh.: Wolff 1971, 65; JI 1994 II, 126–127) < AA *ʔil “eye” [GT].⁴³

• **PRift *kʷalaʔ-** (sg. stem), ***kʷaʔal-** (pl. stem) “widow” [GT]: WRift *kʷaʔalaʔō, pl. *kʷaʔēli “1. widow, 2. poor or unmarried woman” [KM 186] > Iraqw kʷálôʔo, pl. kʷáʔēli, Gorowa kʷálôʔo, pl. kʷáʔēli, Alagwa kʷálôʔo, pl. kʷáʔēli ~ kʷaʔal-itoʔo, Burunge kʷálôʔo, pl. kʷáʔēli ~ kʷaʔal-itoʔo | Asa kalaʔ-ayi “widow” (SCu.: Wtl. 1958, 26, #116; Zbr. 1978, 375) ||| Eg. ḥ3r.t [reg. < *ḥʔl-t] “widow” (MK, Wb III 363, 4) < AA *qʷ-ʔ-l “widow” [GT].

• **SCu. *roʔ-** “to go away” [GT]: Ma’a -ro “to leave” [Ehret] | Dhl. roʔ- “to go/pass by” [Ehret] = “to go” [EEN 1980, 40] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 220) || ECu.: Yaaku -rɛʔɛ “to run away” [Heine 1975, 132] = reʔ- “to run away” [Tosco] (Yaaku-Dhl.: Blz.-Tosco 1994 MS, 3) ||| Eg. rwj [-j reg. < *-ʔ] “fortgehen, verlassen” (OK, Wb II 406–7) = “to go/pass away, depart, leave” (FD 147)⁴⁴ < AA *r-w-ʔ “to leave” [GT].

Summary

In the light of the lexical parallels examined above, we can safely maintain that West Rift (and, henceforth, South Cushitic) *ḥ, *h, *ʕ, *h, and *ʔ represent a very archaic segment of the phoneme inventory, having retained presumably the same articulation they had in Afro-Asiatic.

Abbreviations of languages

AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, (B): Bohairic, BD: Book of the Dead, Brb.: Berber, Brg.: Burunge, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, GR: Greek and Roman period, Grw.: Gorowa, Hbr.: Hebrew, Hrs.: Har-susi, Irq.: Iraqw, Jbl.: Jibbali, Mag.: Magical Texts, Med.: Medical Texts, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: North(ern), NE(g.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qwd.: Qwadza, (S): Sahidic, S: South(ern), Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), XVIII.: 18th Dynasty.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, Alb.: Albright, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brt.: Barreteau, Clc.: Calice, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlt.: Dallet, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Kwh.: Kleinewillinghöfer, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lsl.: Leslau, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, MQK: Mous & Qorro & Kießling, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prh.: Porhomovsky, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzing, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsl.: Rössler, Skn.: Skinner, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Taïfi, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, WP: Weibegue & Palayer, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

⁴³ The literature on this widespread AA etymology has been most recently surveyed in EDE I 83.

⁴⁴ The comparison of Eg. rwj with Brb. *r-w-l “to flee” (Möller 1921, 196; 1924, 42; Hintze 1951, 84, #429) is not acceptable for semantical reasons. Besides, O. Rössler (1952, 131, #8) correctly identified Brb. *r-w-l with Ar. hrwl: harwala “schnell gehen”.

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В статье утверждается, что богатый инвентарь ларингальных согласных, восстанавливаемый для западнорифтской подгруппы южнокушитских языков, скорее всего носит архаичный характер; поскольку для всех этих согласных находятся однозначные соответствия в семитских и египетском языках, можно предположить, что слова с ларингалами в западнорифтских языках сохраняют старую афразийскую артикуляцию, что, в свою очередь, подчеркивает чрезвычайную важность этих языков для решения задачи реконструкции праафразийского языка. Гипотеза подтверждается на материале многочисленных этимологий.