

A complete etymology-based hundred wordlist of Semitic updated: Items 75–100

The paper represents the fourth part of the author's etymological analysis of the Swadesh wordlist for Semitic languages (the first three parts having already appeared in Vols. 3, 5 and 7 of the same Journal). Twenty six more items are discussed and assigned Proto-Semitic reconstructions, with strong additional emphasis on suggested Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) cognates.

Keywords: Semitic, Afrasian, etymology, glottochronology, lexicostatistics.

This study, the fourth portion of an etymologized 100-wordlist of Semitic, concludes the author's second attempt to compile a complete one hundred word list ("Swadesh list") for most Semitic languages, one that would thoroughly represent all branches, groups and subgroups of this linguistic family and provide the etymological background wherever possible. It is another step toward figuring out the taxonomy and building a detailed and comprehensive genetic tree of this family and, eventually, of the Afrasian (Afroasiatic) macro-family with all its branches on a lexicostatistical / glottochronological basis.

Several similar attempts, including those by the author (Mil. 2000, Mil. 2004, Mil. 2007, Mil. 2008, Mil. 2010, Mil. 2011, Mil. 2012), have been made since M. Swadesh introduced his method of glottochronology (Swadesh 1952; Swadesh 1955). In this paper, as well as my previous studies in genetic classification, I rely on Sergei Starostin's method of glottochronology and lexicostatistics (see Starostin 2000), which represents a radically improved and further elaborated version of the Swadesh method.

It should be noted that my main interest in working on these four portions has been in providing new and unrevealed or understudied Semitic etymologies and Afrasian parallels to the 100-wordlist items, rather than in adducing well-known etymologies (which are also given in a feasible measure) or in a strict selection of one most appropriate lexeme for each item, reducing synonymy to a minimum. The latter task will be addressed in the fifth portion which, besides addenda and corrigenda, is going to contain a final scoring of cognates to build up an updated and, hopefully, more refined lexicostatistical classification and chronology of the branching of Semitic. As for Afrasian parallels, my aim, again, was not to adduce the most detailed and complete data for all the items, but to demonstrate the Afrasian origin of as many Semitic words as possible, *inter alia* to eliminate the possibility of the latter to have been borrowed from non-Afrasian languages.

This study was carried out within the frame of two projects: "Bounds of the Afrasian linguistic macrofamily: chronology of branching to be checked against historical dates obtained by natural-science methods; genealogical tree; contacts with Non-Afrasian African languages" (project No. 12-06-00214, supported by the Russian Foundation for Sciences) and "Elaboration of a complete system of regular inter-Afrasian consonantal correspondences and a pilot reconstruction on its base of common Afrasian terms featuring the inner world of the Early Neolithic Man" (project No.12-04-00293, supported by the Russian Foundation for the Human-

ties). Besides these foundations, my gratitude also goes to my colleagues and collaborators in different projects: Prof. O. Stolbova (with whom we work on the Afrasian Database within the “Evolution of Human Languages” project, wherefrom I draw most of the data) and Drs. L. Kogan and G. Starostin for consultations and discussions. I am also indebted to Dr. M. Bulakh for obtaining for me a 100-word list from a Tigre speaker and to L. Kogan for sharing with me the Soqotri list (namely, of the dialect spoken by a Bedouin tribe of Darho in the central part of Socotra) compiled by him during his expedition to Socotra in November 2010, which allowed me to rectify a few items and cancel several synonyms that, for lack of more precise data, I previously had to treat on par with the corresponding main term in my previous list. Additionally, this portion of the 100-wordlist includes terms from one more MSA language — Hōbyot, thanks to Prof. Robert Ratcliffe, who in 2013 edited the last work of late Prof. Aki'o Nakano (see Nak. 2013) and kindly sent it to me; I am planning to adduce items 1–74 of the Hōbyot list in the fifth portion as well as include the Hōbyot data into the final scoring of cognates.

The list below is based on the following main sources (not referred to in the text except for special cases): Akk. — CAD and AHw; Ugr. — DUL; Hbr. and Bib. — HALOT; Pho. — Tomb.; Pal. — Sok. JP; Syr. — Brock. and Sok. Syr.; Mnd. — DM; Urm. — Tser. and Sarg.; Qur. — Pen. and BK; Leb., Mlt. — native speakers, Mec. — Sat.; Sab. — SD and Stein; Gez. — LGz; Tna. — native speakers and Kane T; Tgr. — a native speaker and LH; Amh. — native speakers, Baet. and Kane A; Arg. — LArg; Gaf. — LGaf; Sod. and Cha. — native speakers and LGur; Har. — a native speaker and LHar; Wol. — LGur; Hob. — Nak. 2013; Hrs. — a native speaker and JH; Mhr. — native speakers, JM and Nak.; Jib. — native speakers, JJ and Nak.; Soq. — data collected by L. Kogan and LS.

The Data.

The data consist of items 75–100 of Swadesh’s 100-word list of 28 Semitic languages representing all groups within the family. Each item unites all synonyms differing by their origin, i.e. forming within the same item different entries preceded by an entry number in round brackets. Each entry, in its turn, consists of one or several cognate lexemes divided by a semicolon; the etymological comments including a Sem. protoform follow after a double slash; non-Semitic Afrasian parallels and a suggested Afrasian proto-form follow after the symbol □. Note that for cases when a choice of only one representative lexeme in the same language is random or unbiased, Starostin’s procedure provides for scoring several synonyms in this language; in this case, synonyms from the same language are present in two (and, in a couple of instances, even three) entries. Within each item there may occur two kinds of cases which are not scored at all (i.e. scored *zero*): borrowing and lack of a corresponding term in the available sources. Such cases form a separate section within the item preceded by the symbol ◊; in each item this section is completed with a Semitic proto-form(s) on the deepest level of reconstruction available (Proto-Semitic, Common West and South Semitic, etc.) in accordance with my genealogical classification of Semitic.

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

Abbreviations of languages, language periods and ancient sources.

A — Assyrian; Afras. — Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Akk. — Akkadian; Amh. — Amharic; Arb. — Arabic; Arg. — Argobba; Arm. — Aramaic; Ass. — Assyrian, B — Babylonian, BD — Book of the Dead; Brb. — Berber; Bib. — Biblical Aramaic; C. — Central; Cha. — Chaha; Chad. — Chadic; Clas. — Classical; CT — Coffin Texts; Cush. — Cushitic; Daṭ — Daṭīna Arabic; Dem. — Demotic; Doḫ. — Doḫar Arabic; Dyn. — Dynasty; E. — East; Egyp. — Egyptian; ESA — Epigraphic South Arabian; Eth. — Ethiopian; Frahang-i-Pahlavik (Aramaic); Gaf. — Gafat; Gez. — Geʿez; Gur. — Gurage; Har. — Harari; Ḥḍr — Ḥaḍramawt Arabic; HEC — Highland East Cushitic; Hbr. — Hebrew; Hob. — Höbyot; Hrs. — Harsusi; Jib. — Jibbali; Jud. — Judaic Aramaic; LL = lexical lists; Leb. — Lebanese Arabic; LEC — Lowland East Cushitic; Mlt. — Maltese Arabic; Mec. — Meccan Arabic; Med. — Medical Texts; met. — metathesis; Mhr. — Mehri; MK — Middle Kingdom; Min. — Minean; Mnd. — Mandaic Aramaic; Mod. — Modern; MSA — Modern South Arabian; N — New, N. — North; NK — New Kingdom; O — Old; OK — Old Kingdom; Omot. — Omotic; Pal. — Palestinian Aramaic; pB. — post-Biblical; Pho. — Phoenician; Pyr. — Pyramid Texts; Qat. — Qatabanian; Qur. — Qur’anic Arabic; RT — Royal Tombs texts, S — Standard, S. — South; Sab. — Sabaic; Sem. — Semitic; Sod. — Soddo; Soq. — Soqotri; syn. — synonym; Syr. — Syrian Aramaic; Tna. — Tigriñña (= Tigray); Tgr. — Tigre; Ugr. — Ugaritic; Urm. — Urmian Neo-Aramaic; W. — West.; Wol. — Wolane, Y — Young.

Transcription and transliteration.

\dot{p} — bilabial emphatic voiceless stop; b — bilabial emphatic voiced stop; \underline{b} — bilabial voiced fricative; \dot{t} — dental emphatic voiceless stop; \underline{d} — dental emphatic voiced stop; \underline{t} — voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol most likely conveying \check{c}); \underline{d} — voiced interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol most likely conveying \check{z}); c — alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; z — alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; \check{c} — palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ]; \check{z} — palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dʒ]; \mathfrak{s} — hissing emphatic voiceless fricative; \mathfrak{c} — emphatic voiceless affricate; \mathfrak{z} — conventionally stands for what was likely \underline{d} , emphatic voiced interdental fricative, or \underline{t} , emphatic voiceless interdental fricative; \check{c} — palato-alveolar emphatic affricate; \hat{s} — lateral voiceless fricative (denoted by \hat{s}_x in Sem. reconstructed proto-forms); \hat{c} — lateral voiceless affricate; $\hat{\mathfrak{s}}$ — lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; $\hat{\mathfrak{c}}$ — lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; \hat{z} — lateral voiced emphatic sibilant (or perhaps affricate); \hat{z} — lateral voiced sibilant; \bar{g} — voiced velar fricative (in Brb.), k or q — emphatic velar stop; q — hypothetical velar affricate [kʰ] (only in reconstructed Afrasian proto-forms); γ — uvular voiced fricative (Arabic “ghain”); \underline{h} — uvular voiceless fricative; \underline{h} — presumably velar voiceless fricative (only in Egyptian); \mathfrak{h} — pharyngeal voiceless fricative; $\mathfrak{ʔ}$ — pharyngeal stop (“ayin”), h — laryngeal voiceless fricative; $\mathfrak{ʔ}$ — glottal stop (“aleph”, “hamza”), y — palatal resonant; \mathfrak{z} and \mathfrak{i} — conventional transcription symbols accepted in Egyptology.

Conventions for reconstructed protoforms.

- V renders a non-specified vowel, e.g. $*bVr-$ should be read “either $*bar-$, or $*bir-$, or $*bur-$ ”.
- H renders a non-specified laryngeal or pharyngeal; S, Z render a non-specified sibilant.
- $/$ when separates two symbols means “or”, e.g. $*?i/abar-$ should be read “either $*?ibar-$ or $*?abar-$ ”.
- () a symbol in round brackets means “with or without this symbol”, e.g. $*ba(w)r-$ should be read “ $*bawr-$ or $*bar-$ ”.
- \sim means “and” pointing to two or more co-existing proto-forms.

75. SKIN

- (1) Akk. *mašk-*; Pal. *mšk*; Syr. *mešk-*; Mnd. *mišk* // < Sem. **mašk-* ‘skin’: Hbr. *māšāk* ‘leather pouch’, Arb. *mask-* ‘peau ôtée récemment d’un agneau ou d’un chevreau’ (SED 1 #190), Har. *miskāt* ‘buttocks’, Sel., Wol., Zway *maskāt* ‘back of body; clitoris, female genital organs’ (compared *ibid.* with a question mark).
- < Afras. **mask-* (ADB): Egypt. (Pyr.) *mskʔ* ‘skin, hide’ (*ʔ* is not quite clear: probably conveys the *a* vowel by means of graphic metathesis). The comparison can be tentatively extended, on the one hand, to Brb.: Zenaga *a-mašk* (*-k* < **-k*) ‘haut de la cuisse, cul’; C.Chad.: Logone *māska*, Kuseri *msāka* ‘leg’; Cush.¹ E.: Somali *mísig*, pl. *mískó* ‘meat of the hip’ (< **misk-*), S.: Burunge *mičoko* ‘calf of leg’ (if *-č-* here continues Afras. **-s-*); N.Omot.: Gamu, Dorze *miskata* ‘buttocks’² and, on the other, to Brb. (met.) **kasum-* ‘meat’: Ghadames *a-ksəm*, Audjila *ksûm*, Qabyle *a-ksum*, etc. (likely also Canarian: Gran Canaria *ta-quasem* ‘pig’)³. In Proto-Afrasian, the probability of simple homonymy of triconsonantal roots with the same consonantal composition and compatible meanings being extremely low, all the quoted lexemes are likely to go back to a single Afrasian noun meaning something like ‘(meat and hide/skin of) hip, calf of leg (of an animal)’; borrowings within the Eth.-Sem., Cush. and N.Omot. area are, of course, possible.
- (2) Ugr. *yr*; Hbr. *ŷôr*; Pho. *ŷr* // < Sem. **γα/ur-/*yaryar-* ‘(loose) skin, dewlap’ (SED I #105): Arb. *yaryarat-*, *yuryurat-* ‘gésier d’oiseau’, etc.
- < Afras. **γur-* (highly tentative): Egypt. (OK) *hʔ.w* (if — *ʔ* renders **-r*, and *h-* corresponds to Sem. **γ-* before **r*) ‘skin’; Chad. C.**γar-*: Dghwede *hára* ‘to skin’, Gisiga *gar-ak* ‘skin’, E. **gVr-*: Somrai *gàré*, Ndam *gàré* ‘skin’, Mokilko *gúnḡùrú* ‘egg-shell, bark’; E. Cush. **ḡ^wVr-/*ḡ^wkur-* (hypothetical, since reflexes of **γ* in Cush. are still obscure) ‘skin’: LEC: Elmolo *úrat* (**ḡ* > Elmolo *θ* is regular), Dullay: Tsamay *ḡúuro* (ADB).
- (3) Syr. *geld-* (syn.), Urm. *gild-*; Qur. *šild-*; Leb. *žild*; Mec. *šild*; Mlt. *šilda* // < Sem. **gilald-* (SED I #78; Hob. *žoód*, pl. *žiileéd*, Hrs. *gōd*, Mhr. *gēd*, Jib. *gód*, Soq. *gad* are probably Arabisms).
- (4) Gez. *māʔ/ʕs* // < Sem. **maʕaš-* or **maʕas-*: Tna. *maʕsi*, Tgr. *māʕas*, Amh. *mas* ‘skin, leather’, Arb. *mʕs* ‘rub (leather) vigorously’ (LGz 324; E.Cush.: Saho *maʕas* ‘tan hide’, quoted *ibid.* is an Arabism).
- (5) Tna. *ḡ^wərbät*; Tgr. *ḡərbät*; Amh. *ḡ^wərbät* // < Sem. **ḡ^wirb-at-*: Gez. *ḡ^wərbābit* ‘leather bag’ (LGz 440: “probably reconstructed from Amh *ḡ^wərbabičča*”), Arb. *ḡirbat-* ‘grande outre à lait ou à eau faite d’une seule peau cousue au milieu’ (BK 2 704)
- < Afras. **ḡ^wirab-* ‘bark, skin’: Cush. N.: Beja *kurbe* ‘skin’ (or < Eth.?), C.: Qwara, Kemant *k^wərbäy* ‘skin’, Khamta *qärvoì*, Khamtanga *qärbi/qäbri* ‘bark’; N. Omot.: Male *ḡurubi* ‘bark’ (ADB).
- (6) Amh. *ḡodä* (syn.) // Arg. *ḡoda*, *oda*, Gaf. *ḡodä*, Eža, Muher *ḡ^wäda* ‘skin of body’, Arb. *ḡadd-* ‘lamb skin’, *ḡidd-* ‘strip of skin; skin of body’.
- < Afras. **ḡ^wad-*: W. Chad. **ḡad-*: Tangale *kada*, Pero *kádà*, Kirfi *kàdà* ‘skin’, Jimi *káda* ‘leather loin cloth’ (St. 2011 #315)⁴.
- (7) Mhr. *bāšarēt*; Jib. *bāšarét* // < Sem. **bi/ašar-* ‘flesh, (human) body’ (SED I #41).

¹ N. Cush.: Beja *mesík* ‘skin, hide’ is an Arabism.

² Data quoted after EDE III 599, where a comparison is hypothetically, but still inconclusively, made with Egypt. *msd.t* ‘haunch’ (not with *mskʔ*).

³ Cf. an identical semantic link between ‘skin’ and ‘body’: Sem. **bišr-/*bašar-* ‘meat’ vs. Arb. *bašar-* ‘(human) skin’ (SED I #41).

⁴ An Arabism in W.Chad. is less likely because of the vocalism *-a-* vs. *-i-* in Arb. *ḡidd-* ‘skin of body’, whereas Arb. *ḡadd-* ‘lamb skin’ does not quite fit as a source word for semantic reasons.

- (8) Soq. *širhi* // < Sem. **šir-* ‘flesh’ (SED I #238).
 ◇ Gaf. *g^wagä*, Sod. *goga*, Har. *gōga*, Wol. *gogä* and Cha. *goga* are most likely < Oromo *googa*. No term registered in Bib. and Sab.
 → Common North and West Semitic **mašk-* (#1).

76. SLEEP

- (1) Akk. *šalālu* // also ‘to fall asleep, be at rest; remain inactive; sleep with a woman’. Most likely < Sem. **šll* ‘to lie or go down, be in a horizontal position’: Gez. *šll* ‘float upon, come to the surface, swim’, Tna. *šälälä* ‘to float’, Amh. *čällälä* ‘spread (intr.) over a surface (butter or oil)’, Gur. *čälläll* ‘float, soar’ (the Akk. and Eth. forms compared in LGz 555), Hbr. *šll* (hapax) ‘to sink’ (HALOT 1027), Syr. *šll* ‘se inclinavit, inclinatus est; flexit, disposuit; insidiatus est’ (Brock. 628)⁵. See also No. 47 ‘lie’ (1) in Mil. 2011.
- (2) Akk. (syn.) *itūl-* (< **nyl* : *nālu*, *niālu*, *i/utūlu* ‘to lie (down)’ // likely met. < Sem. **lyn*: Ugr. *ln* ‘spend the night’, Hbr. *lyn* ‘spend the night, stay overnight’, etc. (HALOT 529), Arb. *laynat-* ‘coussinet’ (BK 2 1051; unless from the homonymous *lyn* ‘ê. tendre, mou’). Same as No. 47 ‘lie’ (2) in Mil. 2011.
- (3) Ugr. *yšn*; Hbr. *yšn* // < Sem. **šin(-at)-* ‘sleep, dream’ (cf. SED I Verb #182).
 □ < Afras. **wisan-* ~ **sawin-* ‘sleep, dream’: Chad. W.: Bole *ʔi-súnná*, Karekare *súunà*, Kirfi *súnnà*, Guruntum *suní* ‘to dream’, Warji *ussanna* ‘to sleep’, Ngizim *sáunú* ‘to dream’, C.: Musgu *wéseŋ*, Kotoko *wisàn* ‘to sleep’, *súwáné* ‘to dream’, E.: Kabalai *surwán*, Kera *sócné*, Jegu *suun-* ‘to dream’, etc.; E.Cush.: Saho, Afar *sonoo* ‘dream’ (n.), Dullay: Dolpena *šann-*, Dihina *šenn-* ‘to lie, repose’ (ADB).
- (4) Pal. *dmk*; Syr. *dmk*; Urm. *dmk* // No visible etymology unless somehow linked to Soq. *deme* < Sem. **dVm-/*dVwVm-* (v. below 13) with an unexplainable *-k*.
- (5) Pal. (syn.) *nwm*; Qur. *nwm*; Leb. *nēm*; Mec. *nām*; Gez. *nwm* // < Sem. **nwm* ‘to sleep, slumber’ (SED I Verb #52).
 □ With parallels in Afras. (ADB): Egyp. (Pyr.) *mm.t* (< *mV-nVm-t*) ‘bed’, (Amarna) *nmḫ* ‘to sleep’ (-ḫ, since it is not clear, is to be treated as a root extension); E.Chad.: Mokilko *mòné* ‘to sleep’ (met.?).
- (6) Syr. *škb* (syn.), Mnd. *škb*; Tgr. *sākāb hälla* // < Sem. **škb* ‘lie (down), sleep’. See No. 47 ‘lie’ (3) in Mil. 2011.
- (7) Urm. (syn.) *ḫlḫ* // Syr. *ḫūlāḫ-* ‘somnus altus’. Cf. Arb. *ḫly* ‘ê. faible ou fatigué’ (BK 2 99).
- (8) Mlt. *raʔat* // < Arb. *rḫd* ‘to sleep’. No visible Sem. parallels.
- (9) Tna. *dākḫāsä* // Gez. *daḫḫasa* ‘be sleepy, fall asleep, slumber’ (LGz 140); acc. to Leslau, related to Arb. *dukās-* ‘sleepiness’ (I prefer to qualify such cases as “variant roots”). No Sem. parallels.
- (10) Amh. *tāññä*; Arg. *teñña*, *eñä*; Sod. *aññäm*; Har. *ñēḫa*; Wol. *aññe*; Cha. *nəyäm* // < Sem.: Eth. **nhy*: Gez. *nəhya* ‘to repose, recover; be quiet’ (LGz 394), Ugr. *nhmmt* (*nhm* + *mt*) ‘drowsiness, fainting fit’ or ‘deep sleep (of death)’ (DUL 626); cf. with metathesis Arb. *hwn* ‘se reposer, se calmer, s’endormir’ (BK 2 1460). Same as No. 47 ‘lie’ (13) in Mil. 2011
 □ < Afras. **nhy* ~ **hwn*: Chad. W.: Sha, Kulere *nya*, Daffo-Butura *nyah* ‘to sleep’, C. **hVn-* ~ **hany-*: Gabin *ʔyenè*, Kilba *hány*, Margi *ʔanyi*, Gudu *wiyènù* ‘sleep (n.)’, etc., E. **waHVn-*: Kwang *wéŋ* ‘to sleep’, Migama *wáànò* ‘to dream’ (ADB).
- (11) Gaf. (*tä*)*gäddälä*; Cha. (*tä*)*gätäräm* // Related to Arb. *ždl* ‘jeter, renverser par terre’ (BK 1 265), same as No. 47 ‘lie’ (14) in Mil. 2011.

⁵ There are two less plausible etymologies for Akk. *šalālu*: < **ḫall-* ‘shadow’ (> ‘to lie in the shadow’), cf. Gez. *šalālot* ‘shadow, shade’, *ʔašlala* ‘to seek shade, lie down in the shade, take a rest, etc.’ (LGz 555); and < **šll*, cf. Sab. *qll* ‘to fall sick (of an epidemic)’ (SD 41).

- (12) Hob. *šu-ukóof*; Hrs. *še-wkōf*; Mhr. *š-ūkūf*; Jib. *šef* // < Sem. **wkʷ* ~ **kʷ* ‘to lie, sit’, see No. 74 ‘sit’ (5) in Mil. 2012.
- (13) Soq. *déme* // < Sem. **d(w)m* ‘to dwell, last, stay a long time in one place’: Ugr. *dm* ‘to remain still’ (DUL 272), Hbr. *dāmā* ‘to be silent, still’ (HALOT 225), Arb. *dwm* ‘durer, continuer d’exister’ (BK 1 752), Mhr. *adyīm*, Hrs. *adīm* ‘stay a long time in one place’ (JM 75). Cf. DRS 236 #1, where several apparently unrelated roots are united under one entry.
- < Afras. **dam-* ‘to dwell, stay, rest’: Eg. *dmʔ* ‘lie’ (if < **dVmʔ-*, with -ʔ metathetically conveying -a-, cf. *mskʔ* in No. 75 ‘skin’ #1); Chad. W. **di/am-* ‘live, sit’: Geji *dām-ti* ‘live, sit’, Boghom *tam* ‘sit’, *tām-ún* ‘live’, Zakshi *dīm*, Guus *dám* ‘sit’, E.: Somrai *dāma* ‘sit’, Sibine *dām* ‘dwell’; S. Cush.: Iraqw *dam-* ‘wait’ (ADB).
- (14) Soq. (syn.) *henod* // < Sem **hnd* ‘to be languid, slack, drowsy’: Mhr. *hōnad* ‘to feel drowsy’ (JM 158), Jib. *ohúnd* id. (JJ 97), Arb. *hnd* II ‘n’avoir pas de force à faire quelque chose, être très lent à faire quelque chose’ (BK 2 1452), Tgr. *hanad gāʔa, tāhannādā* ‘träge, schlaff, betäubt sein’ (LH 19; not quite adequately rendered into English as ‘to be lazy, amazed’, rather to be translated as ‘to be languid, slack; be in stupor, stupefied’; *gāʔa* is a truncated form of *gābʔa* ‘to be, become’ ibid. 585).
- ◇ No terms registered in Pho., Bib. and Sab.
- Common West Semitic **nwm* (#5).

77. SMALL

- (1) Akk. *šeḫru*; Pho. *šr* ; Qur. *ṣayīr-*; Leb. *zḡr* (< **šyr*); Mec. *ṣayīr*; Mlt. *zā(gh)ir*; Sab. *šyr* // < Sem. **ṣayīr-* (Kog. DD): Ugr. *šyr-* ‘young’, Hbr. *šāīr* ‘the smaller one, little’ (HALOT 1041), Syr. *šāīr-* ‘contemptus, turpis’ (Brock. 634).
- (2) Akk. (syn.) *daḫḫ-*; Gez. *daḫiḫ* // < Sem. **da/iḫḫ-* ~ **daḫiḫ-* ‘small, tiny, fine’: Ugr. *dḫ* ‘tiny, fine; weak’ (DUL 276–7), Arb. *diḫḫ-* ‘menu, fin, etc.’ (BK 1 715), Amh. *dāḫḫākā* ‘be fine, minute’ (LGz 140), Soq. *dḫḫ* ‘devenir mince’ (LS 133)⁶.
- Cf. Afras.: W. Chad.: Boghom *kō-ḏók*, Dwot *nḏak* ‘short’; E.Cush. **d/ṭi/ukḫ-*: LEC: Somali *dīq-* ‘to become faint, tenuous’, Oromo *diqqa* ‘small’, HEC: Hadiya *ṭuḫḫa*, Burji *ḫiḫḫó* ‘narrow’ (ADB).
- (3) Hbr. *ḫāṭān*; Mnd. *ḫotān-*; Sab. *ḫṭn* ‘small’ // < Sem. **ḫatan-* (Kog. DD): Akk. *ḫatnu* ‘thin, fine, narrow’ (CAD q 173), Syr. *ḫṭn* ‘grow thin’, Arb. *ḫatīn-* ‘thin iron of a spear’, Gez. *ḫṭn* ‘be thin, fine, lean, etc.’ (LGz 453), Mhr. *ḫáyṭen*, Jib. *ḫéṭen* ‘become thin’, Soq. *ḫáṭḫon* ‘thin’ (JM 245).
- with extension -n (see Mil. RE) < Afras. **ḫ(w)Vt-* ‘small, thin: Chad **k/ḫ(w)Vt/ṭ-*: W.: Ngas *kwīit* ‘small, narrow’, Tangale *kate* ‘diminish, decrease, reduce, abate’, C.: Tera *katà* ‘decrease’, Mafa *kwitee* ‘small’, Zime-Batna *kwétété* ‘étroit’ (St. 2011 #110; compared with Agaw); Cush.C. **ṭaq^wt-* ‘be small, few’: Bilin *ṭaḫ^wt-aw* ‘few’ (in App CDA 66 compared with E.Cush. with metathesis — see #2, but not with Sem. **ḫatan-*), E.: Dullay: Harso *tiḫḫ-assa* (rather metathesis from **ḫit-* than related to E.Cush. **d/ṭi/ukḫ-* in #2, with *t-* hard to explain) ‘small’ (ADB).
- (4) Bib. *zāfēr*; Pal. *zḡwr*, *z^ʿḡ(y)r*; Syr. *zāfōr-*; Urm. *zāfōr-* // < Sem. **zḡr* ‘be small, thin’: Hbr. *zāīr* ‘a little’ (< Aram? HALOT 276), Arb. *zḡr* ‘ê. clairsemé (se dit des plumes, du poil)’ (BK 1 990).

⁶ More than likely related to Sem. **dkḫ* ‘crush, pound’ (LGz. 140) and further to Afras **dVḫ-* ‘to pound, crush’: Brb.: Qabyle *duqq* ‘strike, pound’; Chad. W.: Hausa *dán-dàkā* ‘pound, beat’, Polchi *ḏok*, Ngizim *ḏakú* ‘pound’, E.: Mawa *ḏuku-ḡ* ‘hit (a person), thrash millet’; S. Cush.: Dahalo *ḏuk-ud-* ‘destroy’ (ADB). In this case, the Proto-Afrasian term must have at one point become bisemantic, meaning both ‘to pound, crush’ and ‘small, tiny, fine’, eventually evolving from ‘to pound, crush finely’.

- < Afras.: Chad. *zVr- ‘to be narrow’ (St. 2009 #563; I would add ‘thin, lean’): W.: Hausa *zúirúrii* ‘narrowness’, Duwai *zàràwo* ‘reduce’, C.: Gude *zár* ‘long and thin’, Podoko *záraka* ‘lose weight’, Mafa *n-zaraʔa* ‘thin’, E.: Migama *zíráw* ‘lose flesh’, East Dangla *zèr-zirē* ‘reduce’.
- (5) Mnd. *zuṭ-* // < Aram. *zṣṭ (DRS 769). No parallels.
- (6) Gez *nəʔus*; Tna *nuʔus*; Tgr. *nəʔuš*; Arg. *mans*, *mass*; Gaf. *ənsä*; Sod. *maläs*; Wol. (y)*anäsä*; Cha. (syn.) *ərs* // < Sem. *ʔVnVš- ‘be weak, sick, small’: Akk. *enēšu* ‘be(come) weak’ (CDA 73), Soq. *ʔenes* ‘ê. petit’ (DRS 26).
- (7) Amh. *ṭannəš* // Gur. **ṭänäsä* ‘to shrink because of a disease or lack of food, lose strength, be extinguished (glowing wood)’ (LGur 625); not compared with the Amh. term in spite of an obvious phonetic and semantic similarity and commented upon as “represents *ṭällāsā* (with the same meaning) with *l:n*”, compared, in its turn with Amh. *ṭällāsā* ‘die out (fire)’ with the comment “related to Tgr. *ṭārsa* ‘emaciate, become weak’” (rather variant roots with *-n-/l-/r*)⁷.
- (8) Har. *ṭit*; Wol. (syn.) *ṭit* // According to LGur 635, < **ṭəʔit* < **ṭəḳit* < S. Eth.: Amh. *ṭəḳit* ‘few, a little’⁸.
- (9) Cha. *ḳəsi* // Acc. to LGur 504, < S.Eth. *ḳəssən* id., related to Arb. *ḳsm* ‘divide’ (ibid. 505).
- (10) Hob. *ḳanuún*; Hrs. *ḳennōn* // Mhr. *ḳənnēt* ‘child, little, young’ (JM 232), Soq. *ḳéyhen* ‘petit’ (LS 478), Arb. *ḳunḳuḳ* ‘petit’ (BK 2 825; an uncommon form: partial reduplication with the extension -ʔ?).
- < Afras. **ḳayn-*: Chad. W.: Hausa *ḳàḳánè* ‘small, little’, Mburku *kíyìn*, C.: Mwulien *kiéŋ*, Lame *kʷáníyāù*, E.: Kwang *končé*, Jegu *kóyán* ‘small’ (compared with the MSA terms in ND 1088).
- (11) Jib. *nišan* // No etymology that I could find.
- Common North and West Semitic. **ṣayīr-* (#1) and **dal/iḳḳ-* ~ **daḳiḳ-* (#2).

78. SMOKE

- (1) Akk. *ḳutr-*; Ugr. *ḳṭr*; Mnd. *guṭr-* // < Sem. **ḳuṭār-*: Ebl. /*ḳuṭturū*/, Hbr. *ḳəṭōrāt* ‘incense’ (> Eg NK *ḳdr.t*), *ḳṭr* (pi) ‘make a sacrifice, go up in smoke’ (HALOT 1094), Sab. *m-ḳṭr* ‘incense-altar’ (SD 109), Gez. *ḳəttār(e)* ‘incense, fumigation’, *ḳṭr* ‘fumigate, give off an odor’, Tgr. *ḳətare* ‘fragrance, spice’, Amh. *ḳəttārä* ‘burn incense in church’, *ḳəttärä* ‘bathe in steam or in incense smoke’ (LGz 452).
- If < **ḳuṭ-r*, with the root extension *-r*, cf. either 1) Chad. **ḳut-* (*-t* may convey Afras. **-ṭ*): W.: Sura *kwut* ‘wind’, Chip *kuṭ*, Tangale *kudo*, ‘harmattan’, Burma *kuṭ-küt*, Mangas *ku-kuṭ* ‘dust’ (note also Jimi *kwatir* id., with *-r!*), Zul *kwutu-kwütù* ‘fog’, C.: Gabin *kuṭkuṭ* ‘dust’, Zime *küt* ‘fog’, Lame *kwátú*, Masa, Banana *kuṭ-na* ‘harmattan; fog’, Mesme *kuḍ* ‘fog’ (St. 2001 #103) or 2) Chad. **k/ḳut/ṭ-*: W.: Karekare *kuṭò*, Ngamo *kütò* ‘ashes’, E.: Mawa *koto* ‘cold ash’ (from St. 2011 #113a, with a different interpretation). Unrelated if the Chad. forms are akin to E.Cush. **ḳut-* ‘smoke’ (see footnote 14).
- (2) Hbr. *ṣāšān*, Soq. *ṣeto* (with a loss of *-n?*) // < Sem. **ṣVṭan-⁹*: Arb. *ṣaṭān-* ‘fumée’, *ṣuṭān-* ‘fumée; poussière’ BK 2 172.

⁷ Cf. also E.Cush: LEC: Oromo *ṭinnā* ‘small’, however, without any signs of *-š/s*.

⁸ LGur 635 also compares Gez. *ṭəḳ(k)*, translating its main meaning as ‘minuteness’. However, the meanings quoted for *ṭəḳka* in LGz 596 do not confirm this. Better comparable with S.Eth. **ṭəḳ-it* ‘little’ is Gez. *ṭəḳawa* ‘beat, pound’ (LGz 596); for the meaning shift see footnote 6. As a whole, Eth. **ṭḳ(w)* looks like a late variant root of Sem. **dḳḳ* ‘crush, pound’.

⁹ Soq. *ṣeto* can be alternately compared with Arb. *ḡayṭ-* ‘pluie abondante et qui s’étend aux environs’ (BK 2 522), phonetically immaculate, though semantically less so.

- Compared in Tak. **h* 256 with various Afras. forms meaning ‘smell’ and ‘nose’ going back to Afras. **sVn*- ‘smell’ and **sa/in*- ‘nose’.
- (3) Pal. *tⁿnan*; Syr. *tān*-; Urm. *tin*-; Gez. *tann*; Tgr. *tānan*; Arg. *tan*, Gaf. *tännä*; Sod. *tān*; Har. *tān*; Wol. *tān*; Cha. *tān* // < Sem. (Arm.-Eth.) **tan*¹⁰.
 - Cf. isolated W.Chad.: Pero *tuuṇa* ‘smoke’ (ADB).
- (4) Qur. *duḥān*-; Leb. *dhan*; Mec. *duḥḥān*; Mlt. *duḥḥān*; Hob. *ndóoh*; Hrs. *nedēh*; Mhr. *nidiḥ*; Jib. *māndoh* (met. in all MSA) // A controversial case: acc. to HALOT 218, Sem. terms for ‘millet’ (Hbr. *dōḥan*, Syr. *duḥn*-, Arb. *duḥn*-, Akk. *duḥn*- < Sem. **duḥn*-) actually mean ‘smoke-colored’¹¹, in which case color may be a primary meaning, cf. Arb. *duḥnat*- ‘couleur foncée’, *dahnān*- ‘sombre, couvert, nuageux’ and Hrs. *edḥān* ‘couleur foncée, pourpre’ (DRS 250), likely an Arabism. However, in view of the triconsonantal roots obviously related in Arb. and MSA (while metathesis speaks against borrowing into MSA from Arb.), the primary meaning ‘smoke’ seems more likely¹².
- (5) Gez. (syn.) *ṭis*; Amh. *ṣas*; Arg. *ṣis* (syn.) // Only Eth. **ṭis* according to LGz. 601, where Brockelmann’s opinion of a loan from C.Cush. (Aungi *tiša*, Bilin *tida*, Kemant *taḥsā*) is quoted; however, the case is much more intricate¹³. In view of Arb. *ṭassān*- ‘poussière soulevée et qui voltige et tourbillonne dans l’air’ (BK 2 81), likely related with the Eth. forms (for the meaning shift see Chad. above in #1), the Aungi and Kunfal (*ṭiši*) terms are Ethiopisms.
- (6) Tna. *takk-i* // Tigre *tāka* ‘put on fire’. No Semitic parallels¹⁴.
 - < Afras. **tVk*- ‘burn, put on fire’: Eyp. (RT) *tkʔ* ‘burn’ (< **tak*-, *ʔ* conveying *-a*- with graphic metathesis? Or < **tVkVr/l*- with a root extension?); Chad. W.: Hausa *tōká* ‘cold ash’, Pero *tókkò* ‘put on fire’, C.: Matakam *tákwá-r* ‘burn’, E.: Dangla *tuki-nà*, Bidiya *tokí-nà* ‘stove’; Cush. C.: Bilin *tāk^wäd*- ‘burn’ (< **tak^w-ad*-?)
 - ◇ No term registered in Pho., Bib. and Sab.
 - Common North and West Semitic **kuṭr*- (#1).
 - Common South and West Semitic (Arabic) **duḥān*- ~ **nidVh*- (#4).

79. STAND

- (1) Akk. *u/izuzz-* // Probably cognate with Arb. *wzy/yzy* ‘è. rassemblé, aggloméré sur un seul point’, III ‘è. placé dû côte opposé, vis-à-vis d’un autre’, IV ‘appuyer, p. ex. le dos contre quelque chose’, *mustawz-* ‘dressé, qui est debout (homme, object)’ (BK 2 1532)¹⁵.

¹⁰ In LGz 577, the Eth. root is compared with the Arm. one, though Brockelmann’s suggestion of the Arm. forms coming from **ʕn* (see 7 below) is regarded as an alternative, while in Tak. **h* 256, the latter, much weaker, if not completely wrong, etymology is quoted as the only one, the Eth. forms left without mention.

¹¹ In DRS 250, ‘millet’ and ‘smoke’ are quoted in different entries, though with the comment: “Le nom de la plante s’expliquerait par sa couleur”.

¹² It is somewhat dubious whether ‘smoke’ could have transferred its color to ‘millet’ without leaving any traces of the original meaning (or at least of a similar color) in those languages where **duḥn*- ‘millet’ is attested.

¹³ Bilin *tāda*, Khamir *ṭiyā* < North Agaw **ṭiz*-, Aungi *tiši*, Kunfal *ṭiši* < South Agaw **ṭiš*-. The forms reconstructed for North and South Agaw do not correspond to each other regularly (it is *-s* rather than *-š* that corresponds to NAgaw **z* according to correspondences in App. CDA 13), which would rather point to a borrowing into Agaw. As for Kemant *taḥza* and Falasha *tāksa*, those forms seem to belong to a different root (according to Appleyard, *-h*- remains unexplained if the forms are indeed related).

¹⁴ Coincides with Saho *tika* ‘smoke’ with no direct cognates either, unless the latter is related through metathesis with E.Cush. **kut*- (in which case it should be considered a loan in Tna.). LEC: Mashile *kutayt* (according to Black, also *tutayt*), Dullay: Gawwada, Gollango, Gobeze, Harso *kuute* (ADB).

¹⁵ In Kog. Ug. 2 #17, Akk. *u/izuzz-* is compared (after Poebel and others) with Ugr. *n-dd* ‘to stand’, pB Hbr. *zww* ‘to move, go away, depart’ (acc. to Kog. *ibid.*, “well compatible semantically”, which to me does not look so), im-

- (2) Ugr. *ḵm* ('stand up'); Bib. *ḵwm*; Pal. *ḵwm*; Syr. *ḵwm*; Mnd. *ḵwm*; Qur. *ḵwm*; Sab. *ḵwm*; Gez. *ḵwm*; Tna. *ḵomä* (the other term, *däw* in *däw bälä*, is a loanword from Bilin *däw y-* or Saho *dau* id.); Amh. *ḵomä*; Arg. *ḵoma, oma*; Gaf. *ḵomä*; Sod. *ḵomäm*; Cha. *ḵämäm* // < Sem. **ḵwm* 'stand (up), rise': Hbr. *ḵwm* 'to rise, get up, stand up' (HALOT 1086).
- < Afras. **ḵaw/ym-* 'stand up, rise': Berb. **ḵaym* 'to sit' (with a meaning shift, perhaps primarily 'to sit up, rise to a sitting position'): Ghadames, Siwa, Rif *qim*, Ahaggar, Taneslemt *ḵaym*, Zenaga *imi* (< **iḵmi* < **iḵmi*), etc.; W.Chad: Geji *kàmi*, Buli *kəmu* 'lift' (ADB).
- (3) Hbr. *ʕmd* // < Sem. **ʕmd*: Akk. *emēd-* 'lean against, impose', Arb. *ʕmd* 'to support; intend'.
- Cf. W.Chad. **Hind/d-* (with assimilation of *-n-* to the dental?) 'stand up': Karekare, Ngamo *hind-*, Bele *hindú-kò*, etc. (ADB).
- (4) Urm. *kl?* // No etymology, suspicious as a borrowing.
- (5) Qur. *wḵf* (syn.); Lbn. *wəʔəf*; Mec. *wagaf*; Mlt. *wiʔf* // < Sem.: Sab. *wḵf* 'attach, fix', *mḵf* 'base' (SD 161), Mhr. *awōḵəf* (JM 427), Jib. *ōḵuf* 'to stop doing st.' (JJ 291)¹⁶.
- (6) Tgr. *bātra* // Looks like a singular semantic development from 'to be arrogant, haughty': Amh. *tānbāṭārrārā* 's'avancer avec une démarche orgueilleuse', Arb. *bṭr* 'être arrogant' (DRS 61).
- (7) Har. *ḵānāna*; Wol. *ḵānānā* // Arb. *ḵnn* VIII 'se reposer', X 'faire halte avec ses troupeaux pour en traire les femelle et boire le lait' BK 2 817 (In LGur 488, Arb. *ḵanna, ʔiḵnānna* 'stand up' are quoted).
- (8) Hob. *šoor*; Hrs. *šōr*; Mhr. *šōr*; Jib. *šōr* // < Sem. **šw/yr-*: Sab. *šrr* 'to stay, stand' (SD 147), Arb. *šyr* II 'arrêter (p.ex., l'eau) dans son cours' (BK 2 1390). Perhaps related, with a meaning shift, are Soq. *šwr* 'carry', Gez. *šwr* 'to bear, carry, support (old parents), bear up' (LGz 567), Tgr. *šora* 'carry, support', Tna. *šorä* 'carry', Amh. *ṭorä*, Gur. *ṭorä* 'carry, support'.
- If the primary meaning is 'to stand' rather than 'carry, support', related to Chad. W. **čVr-* 'to stand': Hausa *čáyà*, Pa'a *ciràà* 'to stand', Warji *čərw-*, Miya, Kariya, Mburku, Cagu *šər-*, Siri *còuru* 'stand, stop, wait', Tangale *seri* 'stand (up), stop', Geruma *sora*, Daffa-Butura *soor* 'stand' (St. 2009 #772).
- (9) Soq. *ḵəšəʔ* // Cf. Arb. *ḵšʔ* II 'ne pas quitter la maison' (BK 2 753).
- ◇ No term registered in Pho.
- Common West Semitic **ḵwm* (#2).

80. STAR

- (1) Akk. *kakkab-*; Ugr. *kbkb*; Hbr. *kōkāb*; Pho. *kkb*; Pal. *kebkīb*; Syr. *kaḵkəb-*; Mnd. *kukb-*; Urm. *kāḵkəb-*; Qur. *kaḵkəb-*; Sab. *kwkb*; Gez. *kokāb*; Tna. *ḵ^wakob*; Tgr. *kokāb*; Amh. *kokāb*; Arg. *kokāb*; Gaf. *kokobä*; Sod. *kokāb*; Cha. *ḵ^wāk^wab*; Hob. *kəbkīb*; Hrs. *kebkīb*; Mhr. *kebkib*; Jib. *kəbkīb*; Soq. *kibšib* // < Sem. **kabkib-*, perhaps derived with the original meaning 'a round object' < Sem. **kVbb-*, *kVbkVb-* '(to be) round': Hbr. *kirkeb* 'encircle', Arb. *kbb* 'form into a ball', *kubbat-* 'ball, ball of thread, lump', *kabkāb-* 'ball of thread', Gez. *kəbb, kabub* 'round', etc. (ADB).
- (2) Qur. (syn.) *nažm-*; Lbn. *nižmi*; Mec. *nažma* // No etymology that I could find.
- (3) Har. *ṭūy* // No etymology.
- ◇ Mlt. *stilla* < Italian; Wol. *kālbäžo* (see LGur for a source of borrowing). No term registered in Bib.
- Common Semitic **kabkib-* (#1).

plying Sem. **(y/w)dd* as an underlying root. At the same time, Ugr. *ndd* 'to go, move; disappear, be extinguish; prepare, hurry, rush, launch oneself' (DUL 620) is by far better compatible both semantically and phonetically with Hbr. *ndd* 'to flee, escape', Jud. Arm. *ndd*, Arb. *ndd* 'to flee', etc. (HALOT 672), going back to Sem. **ndd*.

¹⁶ Modern Arm. *wakḵef* 'se tenir debout' (compared in DRS 609), absent in other Arm., must be a loan from Arb.

81. STONE

- (1) Akk. *abn-*; Ugr. *ʔbn*; Hbr. *ʔäbän*; Pho. *ʔbn*; Bib. *ʔäbän*; Pal. *ʔäbēn*; Sab. *ʔbn*; Gez. *ʔäbän*; Tna. *ʔämn-i*; Tgr. *ʔämən*; Sod. *əmmayyü*; Har. *ün*; Wol. *un*; Cha. *əməṛ*; Soq. *ʔöben* // < Sem. **ʔabn-*.
- < Afras. **(ʔa)bun-* ‘stone, millstone’: Egyp. (ME) *bnw.t* ‘stone, millstone’; Chad. W. **ʔabun-* ‘millstone’: Bolewa, Dera, Ngamo *bùní*, Kariya *vun*, Mburku *avəna*, Zaar *vuun* (*v* points to **ʔab-*), C: Dghwede *vuṛá*, Mandara *úvra* ‘millstone’, Zime-Batna *və̀nà* ‘stone’, Gidar *búúna na ara* ‘stone for grinding’ (ADB)¹⁷.
- (2) Syr. *kəp-*; Urm. *kīʔp-* // only Arm. (see HALOT 493).
- (3) Mnd. *gʕal-* // Arm. (Off. *gll*, Palm. *gllʔ*) HJ 224 < Sem. **ga/ul-* ~ **gʕilal-* ‘stone’: Hbr. *gal* ‘heap, heap of stones’ (HALOT 190), Arb. *ʔūl-*, pl. *ʔilāl-* ‘rocher dans l’eau’ (BK 1 358). Perhaps < Sem. **gll* ‘be round’ (see DRS 125–6). If so,
- < Afras. **g^walVl-* ‘be round’: Brb. **gelell-et* ‘be round’; Chad. W.: Hausa *gùlùlù* ‘ball’, C.: Gulfei *ngolō* ‘round’, Mofu *-ngá-ngál-* ‘make a ball’. Cf. also isolated E. Chad.: Somrai *gálá*, Mubi *zarḡ-gala* ‘stone’ (ADB).
- (4) Qur. *ḥaʕar-*; Lbn. *ḥaʕar*; Mec. *ḥaʕar* // No direct cognates. Cf. Tgr. *ḥəgrat* ‘a sort of red stone or red earth’ (LGz 228), which may be an Arabism, and Gez. *ḥəg^wər* ‘grape seeds’ (ibid.: “probably from Ar. *ḥaʕar* ‘stone’”).
- Probably related (with metathesis) to Brb. **Hirg-* ‘stone’: Ghadames *irəg*, Zenaga *t-iʔrg-ət* ‘stone’.
- (5) Mlt. *ʕebbla* // < Sem. **gVbVl-* ‘mountain; boundary, border’, see No. 55 ‘mountain’ (4) in Mil. 2012.
- (6) Amh. *dəngay*; Arg. *dəngay*, *gəṇʒela* (< **gVndVl-*, met. < **dVngVl-*); Gaf. *dānga* // Tgr., Tna. *dāng^walla* ‘rocher’ (DRS 279). No cognates in Sem.; looks like a loan.
- Hardly a loan from Oromo *ḍagaa* ‘stone’ < E.Cush.: LEC **ḍagaḥ-* id. Obviously connected with C.Cush. **dalɪng^wVr-* ‘stone’ (Bilin *dāng^wəra*, Khamtanga *dəg^wra*, *dengúr*, Khamir *dīgūrā*, Waag *digura*), but why *-l*?
- (7) Hob. *šoor*; Hrs. *šewwer*; Mhr. *šowwer* // < Sem. **šVwwVr-* ~ **šir(a)r-*: Hbr. *šərōr* ‘stone or pebble’, Jud. Arm. *šərār-* ‘pebble, flint’ (HALOT 1055; not related to *šōr* < Sem. **ʔul/ir-* ‘flint, rock’), perhaps also Syr. *šūr-* ‘pulvis’ (Brock. 536), Arb. *širrat-* ‘poussière’ (BK 1 1326).
- (8) Jib. *fúdún* (also ‘rock’) // Soq. *félídehon* ‘montagne’ (LS 333) < Sem. **pad(d)an-* ‘path in the mountains’, see No. 55 ‘mountain’ (10) in Mil. 2012.
- Common Semitic **ʔabn-* (#1).

82. SUN

- (1) Akk. *šamš-*; Hbr. *šämāš*; Pho. *šmš*; Bib. *šəmaš*; Pal. *šmš*; Syr. *šəmš-*; Mnd. *šam(i)š-*; Urm. *šimš-*; Qur. *šams-*; Lbn. *šaməs*; Mec. *šams*; Mlt. *šemeš*; Sab. *s₂ms₁*; Soq. *šam* // < Sem. **š_xam(š_xam)-*
- < Afras. **šam-* ‘burning heat’: Brb. **ʔi-sam* ‘lightning’: Ndir, Figig *i-ssim*, Ahaggar *e-ssam*, etc.; Egyp. (OK) *šm*, *šmm* ‘be hot, be burning’; (?) W.Chad.: Angas *lem* ‘sun’ (questionable as Angas *l-* can reflect **l-*, **š-*, **č-*); S. Cush: Alagwa *čehemu* (with a secondary extension *-h-*, see Mil. RE) ‘sun, daylight’, Burunge *čema* ‘sun’¹⁸ (perhaps also Asa *demo-k* ‘morning’). ADB.

¹⁷ The status of **ʔa-* is not quite clear. Presumably, it is a prefixal root extension, not preserved in Egyp. On the other hand, cf. Cush. **ʔab-* (suggesting a segmentation **ʔab-n-*?): Cush. N.: Beja *ʔawi* ‘stone, rock’ (< **ʔab-*?), C.: Bilin *ambá*, Khamta *abaa*, Khamir, Qwara *abaa* ‘mountain’, E.: LEC: Baiso *eʔebo* ‘stone’ (ADB).

¹⁸ According to Tak. 2011 131, S.Cush. **č* (= *tl*; rendered ibid. as **č₁* vs. S.Cush. **č₂* continuing Afras. **č*) points to Afras. **č[a]m-*, not **šam-* as suggested here. However, the situation with S. Cush. laterals is not so straightforward and requires further investigation. According to O. Stolbova, “S.Cush. **š* corresponds to both Chadic non-

- (2) Ugr. *špš* // (cf. Ebl. *sí-piš*, cf. also Hbr. pl. *šabūs-ūm* ‘small sun disc used as jewellery or amulet’ HALOT 1392–93; strangely with *-b-*).
- < Afras. **šip-* ‘sunlight, brightness’: Egyp. (Pyr.) *sšp* ‘to be light’ (*sš-* reflects **š-*?), Brb. **a-sif* ‘day’: Ghat *a-sef*, Ahaggar *esef*, etc.; Chad. W.: Hausa *záafí* ‘heat’, *zúffā* ‘hot weather’, Mupun *mì-lēp* ‘shining thing’, Angas *mu-lep* ‘shine; star’, Ankwe *mìye-lap* ‘lightning’, Tangale *ki-lip*, *ŋi-lip* ‘shining, brilliant; lightning’ (the former four words can be < **žyap-* or **-lyap-*), C.: Kapsiki *žàvu* (< **šap-*) ‘white’ (ADB; cf. otherwise St. 2007 #437).
- (3) Gez. *dāḥay*; Tna. *šāḥay*; Tgr. *šāḥay*; Amh. *ṭay*; Arg. *čāhed* // < Sem. **šVḥy-*: Arb. *duḥā*, *dīḥḥ-* ‘sun’.
- < Afras. **čVḥay/w-* ‘burning sun’: C.Chad. **čaw-* ‘red’: Zime *šīēw*, Masa *cáw*, Mesme *šeo*, Banana *šawi* (St. 2007 #304); S.Cush.: Dahalo *šaḥ-* ‘to burn’ (ADB).
- (4) Gaf. *äymärä*, Sod. *yimər*, *imər* // < Eth.: Gogot *imir* ‘sun’, Gez. *ʔamir* ‘sun, day, time’ (according to LGur 51, the Gurage and Gafat terms are probably from the Gez. root *ʔamärä* ‘indicate, show’, which seems far-fetched), Tgr. *ʔammära* ‘be bright’.
- < Afras. **ʔamir-* ‘daylight’: Egyp. (18 Dyn.) *mšw.t* (if *š* < **-r-*) ‘rays, beams, brightness’; Brb.: Iznasen *ta-miri* ‘moonlight’, Ahaggar *é-mmar* ‘chaleur rayonnée’, *a-sa-mmer*, Ayr *i-səssə-mmar* ‘rayon de soleil’, etc.; C.Cush.: Bilin *amār* ‘klar, licht sein’, **ʔämär-* ‘tomorrow’ (in App. CDA 138, called “a borrowing in EthSem, Gz. *ʔamir* ‘day’”), which is as semantically impossible as, vice versa, a borrowing from Gez.: Agaw ‘tomorrow’ is a normal meaning shift from ‘morning’). See also EDE III, 68–9.
- (5) Har. *īr*; Wol. *ayr*, Cha. *eyat* // < Eth.: Gez. (Sawasew) *ʔer*, Selti *ayər*, Zway *arīt*, Muher, Masqan, Gogot *aret* ‘sun’. Unless from E.Cush.¹⁹ < Sem. **ʔVr-* ‘daylight’ 2, ‘sun’ 3: Akk. *urru* ‘daytime’ (CDA 426), Ugr. *a/ir* ‘light’ (DUL 94), Hbr. *ʔōr* ‘daylight’ (HALOT 24).
- < Afras. **ʔay/wr-* ‘sunlight’: Chad. C. **wur-* / **yirVw-*: Gudu *wür* ‘morning’, Gude *wurə* ‘go to do something or go somewhere early in the morning’, Buduma *yirow* ‘day’, E. **ʔiray-*: Dangla *èrìyó* ‘noon’, Bidiya *ʔíra* ‘day’; E. Cush.: Saho, Afar *ayro*, LEC: Jiddu *ʔariye?*, Baiso *ʔareti*, HEC: Darasa *ari-ššo*, Sidama *arri-ššo*, Qabenna *arru*, Tembaro *arri-čču* ‘sun’ (ADB).
- (6) Hob. *ḥyúúm*; Hrs. *ḥeyom*; Mhr. *ḥeyum*; Jib. *yum* // < Sem. **yawm-* ‘day’: Akk. *ūmu*, Ugr. *ym*, Hbr. *yōm*, Arb. *yawm-* (HALOT 399).

emphatic laterals” (St. 2007 11), i.e. to **č* (corresponding to Sem. **š* < Afras. **č*) and **š* (corresponding to Sem. **š*_x < Afras. **š*). In two sets of correspondences adduced by Takács, the opposition **š* vs. **č* in Proto-Afras. is based on the same opposition in S.Cush., Chad. and Sem. (following, without mentioning it, the correlation first established by the present author in an unpublished manuscript of 1979 and later described in detail in SED I XCVIII–CV). As for Sem., the difference between the somewhat rare **š*_x (< Afras. **š*) and the much more common **č* (< Afras. **č*), suggested in these studies and apparently accepted by Takács, lies in the opposition of two sets of correspondences: (1) **š*_x > Hbr. *š* ~ **-s*, MSA **š* and (2) Hbr. *š*, MSA *š*, with Arb. *š* in both sets. However, out of all the examples illustrating Afras. **š* and **č* that are adduced in Tak. 2011 128–132, I could not find a single convincing Semitic case supporting the opposition **š* vs. **č* in S.Cush. (I will analyze these examples in my forthcoming review of Tak. 2011).

¹⁹ According to LGur 118, forms with *-r* are either borrowed from Cushitic or represent the Ethiopic root *ʔmr* with weakened *m*, including the possibility of Eth. *ʔmr* “taken over as *ir* into Cushitic and then borrowed under this form by the various Ethiopic languages”. The idea of “weakened” *-m-* does not hold water, if only because *ʔer* is attested in Sawasew; the Eth. forms are hardly the source of borrowing into East Cushitic, where it is a widespread term for ‘sun’. As for Cha. *eyat* (and similar forms in other Gurage), it is “perhaps to be identified with *aret*, by palatalization of *r*”, according to LGur 118; though I am somewhat skeptical about the loss of *-r-* “by palatalization”, I am including the Cha. term into this entry for lack of a better etymology (another possibility is a borrowing from Omotic: cf. Chara *oyá*, Dime (*ʔ*)*iyu-u*, etc.; cf. also E.Cush.: LEC: Arbore *ʔawaté*, Elmolo *áóte?* < **ʔawajš-*, all meaning ‘sun’). ADB.

- < Afras.: Egyp. (MK) *imy* ‘sun (as an eye)’; W.Chad.: Hausa *yàmmā* ‘west; afternoon (when the sun is in the west)’ (unless an Arabism). ADB.
- Common Semitic *š_xam(š_xam)- (#1).

83. SWIM

- (1) Hbr. *šhy*; Syr. *shy*; Urm. *shy* // < West Sem. (Hbr.-Arm.) *š_hy or *š_hy: Chr-Pal. *sh?* ‘wash oneself’, Jud. *shy* ‘swim’, Mnd. *saa* ‘wash, perform ablution’ (HALOT 1314).
 - < Afras. *čah/š- ‘bathe, wash oneself, swim’: Chad. *šVw/y- ‘to bathe, wash’: W.: Sayanchi *šaa* ‘to swim’, Tala *šau* ‘wash’, C.: Gidar *šay* ‘to bathe’, Mafa *šah-* ‘wash a calabash’, Musgu *šaf* ‘swim’ (ADB after Lukas, not included into St. 2007 #19), E.: Mokilko *súuyè* ‘to bathe, wash oneself’, Saba *so?e* ‘wash’, etc. (cf. *ibid.*); S.Cush.: Iraqw *šawš-aas* ‘to rinse, clean’.
 - (2) Pal. *šwt* // No etymology I could find.
 - (3) Qur. *sbh*; Lbn. *sabaḥ* // Hob. *soóbəḥ* must be an Arabism. No etymology.
 - (4) Mec. *šām*; Mlt. (gh)ōm // No etymology.
 - (5) Gez. *ḥ/ḥammaša*; Tna. *ḥambäsä*; Tgr. *ḥämmäsa* // Cf. Arb. *ḥāmišat-* ‘petit ruisseau ou cours d’eau’ (BK 1 633).
 - Cf. isolated W.Chad.: Gwandara *amiši* ‘swimming’.
 - (6) Gez. *wānaya*; Amh. *waññe*; Arg. *wañña*; Sod. *waññäm* // Only Eth. (LGz 615) with this meaning.
 - Cf. Egyp. (Gr.) *iwny* ‘waters’; Chad. C.: Gude *yinwa* ‘dip into’, E.: Migama *ʔányáw* ‘to bathe’, Mubi *ʔányý*, Kajakse *ʔanyiinyà* ‘to swim’; N.Omot.: Mocha *wāna* ‘swim’ (looks an Amharism). All < Afras. *wny/*ynw/*nw/y ?
 - (7) Cha. *darag’ä* // According to LGur 219, lit. ‘hit a hitting’ < Common Gurage *dārrägä ‘hit, beat’, perhaps to be identified with Amh. (a)dārrägä ‘make, do, act’. Another possibility is a meaning shift from Sem. *drg ‘to march, travel’, *darag- ‘way, path’: Akk. (YB) *daragg-* ‘way, track’ (CDA 56), Arb. *drž* ‘aller, marcher’, *daraž* ‘chemin, sentier’, etc. (DRS 308).
 - (8) Jib. *reḥ* (< *rbḥ*) // Soq. *rābaḥ* ‘se baigner’ (LS 392). No etymology.
 - (9) Soq. *geb* // Likely < Sem. *gVbb-, *gab?- ‘well, water-basin’: Mhr., Hrs. *gēbyət* ‘pond, round cistern’, Ugr. *gb* ‘well’, Hbr. *gēb* ‘pit, ditch’, *gäbā?* cistern, puddle’, Syr. *gubb-*, *güb-* ‘well’, Arb. *žubb-* ‘well’, *žab?* ‘lake, pool’, Gez., Tgr. *gabb* ‘pit, ditch, hole’ (LGz 176).
 - < Afras.: Egyp. (Pyr.) *ʔgby* ‘flood’; cf. also Chad. C.: Lamang *óghbù* ‘hole’, *ghùvàyà* ‘well (n.)’, Bachama *gòháḃi* ‘well (n.)’, Gidar *ógbàʔá* ‘to pour’, E.: Somrai *gúbu* ‘hole’; N.Cush.: Beja *gabōy* ‘to flow’ (ADB; cf. EDE I, 68).
 - ◇ Har. (tä)wāka and Wol. *wače* are < HECush. (see LGur 650); Hrs. *sebōḥ* and Mhr. *sūbaḥ* must be Arabisms. No term registered in Akk., Ugr., Pho., Bib., Mnd., Sab. and Gaf.
- No common Sem. term.

84. TAIL

- (1) Akk. *zibbat-*; Ugr. *ḏnb*; Hbr. *zānāb*; Syr. *dunb-*; Mnd. *dinabt-*; Mlt. *demp*; Gez. *zānāb*; Tna. *zānāb*; Tgr. *zānnab*; Hob. *ḏenuúb*; Hrs. *ḏenēb*; Mhr. *ḏənūb*; Jib. *ḏúnub*; Soq. *dínob* // < Sem. *ḏalinab-(at-) (SED I #64).
- (2) Pal. *ḫkwš* // Most likely < West Sem. *ḫkš* ‘curl, braid’: Syr. *ḫaḫušḫuš-*, *ḫaḫušḫus-* ‘crispus’ (Brock. 543), Arb. *ḫiḫšat-* ‘tresse, natte de cheveux’ (BK 2 318).
 - Cf. isolated, but immaculately compatible N.Omot.: Bworo *ḫaččea* ‘tail’.
- (3) Urm. *ḫipr-* // Perhaps a meaning shift < Sem. *ḫip(V)r-* ‘claw’: see No. 13 ‘claw’ (1) in Mil. 2010.
- (4) Lbn. *ḏayl*; Mec. *dayl* // with a metaphoric meaning shift < Sem. *ḏyl ‘to be low, humble’: Arb. *ḏyl* ‘ê. peu estimé, bas; traîner par terre (vêtement)’, *ḏayl-* ‘partie inférieure, bas, queue’, Syr. *dāl* ‘ê. humble’ (DRS 331).

- (5) Tna. (syn.) *mälaläs* // No etymology (if < **mä-laslas-*, note a distant and curious parallel in Arb. *lt?* ‘introduire la tête dans un vase et y boire en remuant la queue (se dit d’un chien)’ BK 2 965).
- (6) Har. *ḳänāwa* // < Sem.: Gur. **ḳən* (in LGur 516, the notation is *q’an*) ‘buttocks, anus, bottom of a thing’, Tgr. *ḳən* ‘lower/back part; vulva’ (LGur 516), Akk. (NB) *ḳinnatu* ‘buttocks, rump’ (CDA 289), Arb. *ḳaynat-* ‘derrière, le bas du dos’ (BK 2 848)
- < Afras. **ḳayn-* ~ **ḳany-* ‘lower part of back’: Chad. W.: Hausa *ḳāniyā* ‘perineum, female pudenda, anus’, Sura *ḳānòk*, Montol *ḳóḳ* ‘back’, C.: Glavda *kúnya*, Tera *ganà* ‘back’ (*g-* < **k* or *g*); Cush. E.: LEC: Oromo *ḳinti*, *ḳinti* ‘spine (esp. at the waste line)’ (ADB, cf. ND 1078b).
- (7) Sod. *wədinna* // No etymology.
- ◇ Amh., Arg. and Gaf. *čəra* are probably loans from E.Cush. (Oromo *čəṛā*, Sidamo *čira*, etc. LGur 187); Wol. *goññä*, also meaning ‘penis’, is a Cushitism: HEC: Hadiya *gonnāṛä* ‘penis’ (LGur 286); Cha. *žəwä* is, according to LGur 319, from E.Cush.: Oromo *dubo*, etc., with *d* > *ž* and *b* > *ḳ* > *w*. No term registered in Pho., Bib., Qur. and Sab.
- Common Semitic **da/inab-(at-)*- (#1).

85. THAT²⁰

- (1) Akk. *ulliw*; Qur. *dālika* // The elements *-ll-* and *-l-* supposedly denote distal deixis as opposed to the proximal one, marked with *-nn-* in Akk. and what seems to be a zero marker in Qur. (ADB).
- (2) Ugr. *hnk*; Bib. *dēk*; Qur. *dālika*; Lbn. *hadak*; Mec. *dak*, *hādāk*; Mlt. *dak*; Gez. *zəkkū*; Hob. *dēek*; Hrs. *dēk*; Mhr. *ḳik*; Jib. *dōkun* // Related by the element *-k*, apparently denoting distal deixis as opposed to the proximal one (seemingly expressed by *-d* in Ugr., *-n* in Gez. and MSA, \emptyset in Lbn. and Mec., etc.) (ADB).
- (3) Hbr. *hahū(?)*; Pho. *h?*; Pal. *hāhū(?)*; Syr. *haw*, *huw*; Urm. *hō*; Sab. *h?*; Tgr. *loha* // Related by the element *h*, apparently denoting distal deixis as opposed to the proximal one, expressed by the elements *-nd/-dn* in Hbr., Pal., Mnd., etc., by the element *-n* in Syr., by the element *?* in Urm. and Tgr., etc. (ADB).
- (4) Mnd. *hanata*; Tna. *ʔati*, *ʔatuy* // Related by the element *-t-*, apparently denoting distal deixis as opposed to the proximal one, expressed by the element *-z-* (< **d*) both in Mnd. and Tna. (ADB).
- (5) Amh. *zzəya*, *ya*, Gaf. *aññä*; Har. *ya?*; Wol. *annä*; Sod. *za*; Cha. *za* // United by the vocalism *-a-*, apparently denoting distal deixis, as opposed to the proximal one, expressed by the vocalism *-i-* in most S.Eth. (in Amh. also by the element *-h* < **k*). ADB.
- (6) Arg. *hod*, *wod* // Very likely to be qualified with other S.Eth. (#5) by the vocalism *-o-* (< **a*) as opposed to the proximal deixis, expressed by the vocalism *-u-* (ADB).
- (7) Soq. *degen* // With the element *-n*, probably denoting distal deixis as opposed to the proximal one expressed by a zero marker, and the element *-g-* of an obscure origin (ADB).
- Common West and South Semitic **dVḳ-*.

²⁰ In view of the compound character of deictic pronouns in Sem. and after much hesitation and failed efforts to organize the entries in different ways, I have opted for the present method. It relies on the binary opposition between proximal and distal deixis in the same language (e.g. Akk. *anniw* ‘this’ vs. *ulliw* ‘that’) allowing to single out proximal and distal deixis markers (Akk. *-nn-* vs. *-ll-*) and then give identic scores to those of them that coincide phonetically in different languages, disregarding those other pronominal elements that apparently do not convey the notion of proximal or distal deixis. Afrasian parallels to Sem. deictic pronouns are not adduced, since this would require a separate full-scale study.

86. THIS

- (1) Akk. *anniw*; Bib. *dānā*; Syr. *hānā*; Mlt. *dan*; Sab. *dn*; Gez. *zantu*; Hrs. *den* (also *dah*, *dī*); Jib. *denu* // Related by the element *-n*, apparently denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one, expressed by *-ll-* in Akk., *-k* in Bib., Gez., Hrs. Jib., etc. (ADB).
 - (2) Ugr. *hnd* (*d* < **d*); Hbr. *hazzē* (< **hand-*); Pho. *zn* (and *z*); Pal. *dē(y)n*, *hādē(y)n*; Mnd. *hazin*; Hob. *dāanah* // Related by the element *-nd/-dn*, apparently denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one expressed by *-k* in Ugr., *-h-* in Hbr., Pho. Pal., *-t-* in Mnd. (ADB).
 - (3) Urm. *āhā*; Tgr. *ʔalli/a* // United by the element *ʔ-*, apparently denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one, expressed by a zero marker in Urm. and *-h-* in Tgr. (cf. also changes in the vocalic patterns). ADB.
 - (4) Qur. *hādā*; Lbn. *hēdā*; Mec. *hāda* // Featuring the element *h-*, supposedly denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one, probably expressed by the elements *-l-* and *-k* (or one of them). ADB.
 - (5) Tna *ʔazi*, *ʔazuy* // With the element *-z-* (< **-d-*), apparently denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one expressed by *-t-* (ADB).
 - (6) Amh. *zzih* (< **zik*), *yih* (< **yik*); Gaf. *āññə* (*ə* < **i*); Har. *yīʔ*; Wol. *ənnä* (*ə* < **i*); Sod. *zi*; Cha. *zə(k)* (*ə* < **i*) // United by the vocalism *i-* (also with the *-k* element in Amh. and Cha.), apparently denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one expressed by the vocalism *-a-* (ADB).
 - (7) Arg. *hud*, *hudatte* // Distinguished by the vocalism *-u-*, apparently denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one, expressed by the vocalism *-o-* (likely < **a-*) (ADB).
 - (8) Mhr. *dome* // Distinguished by the element *-m-*, supposedly denoting proximal deixis, as opposed to the distal one, probably expressed by the element *-k* (ADB).
 - (9) Soq. *da* // Distinguished by the zero marker, apparently denoting proximal deixis as opposed to the distal one expressed by the elements *-g* and/or *-n* (ADB).
- Common West and South Semitic **dVn-*.

87. THOU (m.)

- (1) Akk. *atta*; Ugr. *ʔat*, *ʔattā*; Hbr. *ʔattā*; Pho. *ʔt*; Bib. *ʔantā*; Pal. *ʔat(t)*; Syr. *ʔa(n)t*; Mnd. *anat*; Urm. *ʔa(n)t*; Qur. *ʔanta*; Lbn. *ʔint(ə)*; Mec. *ʔinta*; Mlt. *int*; Sab. *ʔnt*; Gez. *ʔanta*; Tna. *ʔanta* (only in addressing); Tgr. *ʔanta*; Amh. *antä*; Gaf. *ant*, *antä*; Wol. *atä* // Sem. **ʔanta* (ADB).
 - < Afras. **ʔa(n)tV*: Eyp. (Pyr.) *ntk(y)*; Cush. C. **ʔant-*, E. **ʔati*, S.: Dahalo *ʔāta*; N. Omot.: Dizoid **yetu/a* (ADB).
 - (2) Tna (syn.) *nəssə-ka*; Arg. *ank(u)*; Har. *akā-*; Cha. *akä-* // As a personal pronoun in Mod. Eth. only (Tna. *nəssə* is assimilated < **nəfsə* ‘soul’). Likely of the same origin as the Sem. possessive pronoun **-k* of the 2nd person (ADB).
 - < Afras. **ʔa-(n)kV(k)-* ~ **kVn-* ‘thou’: Eyp. *kw* (m.), *tw* (f.); Brb. **kay* ~ **kunn* ~ **kVkk*; Chad. W.: Hausa *kay/kē*, Bole *kai*, Kiir *gay* (< **kay?*), C.: Mandara (*ba*)-*ka*, Gisiga *ka*, Mofu-Gudur *ka(h)*, Musgu *tuku(nu)*, E.: Migama *kîtà*; *ki/a*, Jegu *kē*, Mokilko *keŋ/koŋ*; Cush. E.: LEC: Dase-nech *kúuni*, Arbore *ké*, etc., S.: Iraqw *kuŋ/kiŋ*, Qwadza *-ku* (ADB).
 - (3) Sod. *dāhā* // No etymology.
 - (4) Hob. *hēt*; Hrs. *hēt*; Mhr. *hit*; Jib. *het*; Soq. *het* // No etymology (Proto-MSA **h-* cannot be explained from **ʔ-* in *ʔanta*).
 - (5) Soq. (syn.) *ʔē/ī* // No reliable etymology proposed.
- Common Semitic **ʔant-* (#1).

88. TONGUE

- (1) Akk. *lišān-*; Ugr. *lšn*; Hbr. *lāšōn*; Bib. *liš(š)ān*; Pal. *lyšn*, *lāššān*; Syr. *leššān-*; Mnd. *lišān-*; Urm. *lišān-*; Qur. *lisān-*; Lbn. *lsen*; Mec. *lisān*; Mlt. *lsin*; Sab. *ls₁n*; Gez. *lassan*; Tgr. *nəssal*

(met.); Hob. *lšáan*; Hrs. *lēšen*; Mhr. *ewšēn*; Jib. *elšén*; Soq. *léšin* // Sem. *liš(š)ān- (SED I #181).

- < Afras. *lis- ‘tongue’: Egyp. (Pyr.) *ns*; Brb. *ilVs- (< *?V-lis); Chad. W. *ḥa-lis-um-, C. *?V-lyas-, E. *lyas-an- (ADB).
 - (2) Tna. *mālḥās*; Amh. *mālas*; Arg. *mālas*; Gaf. *mālasū* // < Sem. *lḥs ‘to lick’: Akk. *lāš-* ‘to taste, lick’ (otherwise < *lḥš, cf. Arab *lḥs*), Arb. *lḥs*, Gez. *laḥasa*, Mhr. *laḥās* ‘to lick’ (LGz 311, ADB).
 - ◇ Sod. *alāmāt*; Har. *arrāt*; Wol. *arāmāt*; Cha. *anābat* are loans from E.Cush. (see LGur 89). No term registered in Pho.
- Common Semitic *liš(š)ān- (#1).

89. TOOTH

- (1) Akk. *šinn-*; Ugr. *šn*; Hbr. *šēn*; Bib. *šēn*; Pal. *šn*; Syr. *šenn-*; Mnd. *šin-*; Qur. *sinn-*; Lbn. *sən*; Mec. *sinn*; Mlt. *sinna*; Gez. *sənn*; Tna. *sənni*; Arg. *sən*; Gaf. *sənā*; Sod. *sənn*; Har. *sən*; Wol. *asən*; Cha. *sən*; Jib. *šnin* // Sem. *šinn- (SED I #249).
 - < Afras. *sin- ‘tooth’: Brb. *sīn- ‘tooth’; Chad. W. *sin-, C. *šyan- (with a “secondary lateralization”), E. *syān-; S.Cush. *siḥin- (with the presumptive body part marker *ḥ inserted, see Tak. *ḥ): Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge *siḥino* (ADB).
 - (2) Urm. *kīk-* // Sem. *kVkk- ‘tooth, thorn’: Syr. *kakk-* ‘dens molaris’ (Brock. 326), Akk. *kakk-* ‘weapon, tool, shaft, barb, thorn’ (CAD *k* 50); Gez. *kokaṭwa* ‘to break or chip the teeth; set the teeth on edge’, Tna (*ʔa*)*kok^wäyā* ‘set the teeth on edge’ (LGz 281) are denominal verbs. < Afras.
 - Cf. Cush.: E.: Saho, Afar *ikoó* ‘tooth’, S.: Maʔa *iʔike* ‘tooth’ (< Afras. *ʔik- ~ *kak(k)-?).
 - (3) Sab. *ṭn*, Hob. *mṭənyóot* (also ‘incisor’; no other term for ‘tooth’ in Nak.Hob.); Soq. (syn.) *mitnióh* (quoted as ‘dent’ in LS 443) // Mhr. *məṭənyēt* (JM 418), Jib. *muṭnút* ‘incisor tooth’ (JJ 285), Arb. *ṭaniyyat-* ‘dent de devant (l’une de quatre, dont deux supérieures et deux inférieures)’ (BK 1 239), Sab. *ṭny* ‘front-teeth’ (SD 151), with a very likely semantic development from Sem. *ṭinay- ‘two’ < Afras. *čīn- ‘two’: see below No. 91 ‘two’ (#1).
 - (4) Tgr. *nibāt*, pl. *ʔänyab* // < Sem. *nīb-, *nāb- ‘(canine) tooth’: Akk. *nayabtu* ‘floating rib or cartilage at the tip of the rib’ (CAD *n1* 151; according to AHw 717, ‘ein innerer Körperpart. nahe der Galle’), Hbr. pB *nīb šəpātayim* ‘upper lip’ (Ja 902), Syr. *nīb-, nāb-* ‘dens maxilaris’ (Brock. 427), Arb. *nāb-* (pl. *nuyūb-*) ‘dent canine’ (BK 2 1375).
 - (5) Amh. *ṭərs*; Hrs. *mežréḥ*; Mhr. *məžrāḥ* // non-etymological -ḥ may be the body part marker *ḥ in postposition; < Sem. *šīrs- ‘molar tooth’: Eblaitic *za-ra-sa-tum /qaraštum/* ‘scheggiatura dei dente’ (after Conti), Syr. *šaršā*, Arb. *ḥīrs-*, Sab. (pl.) *ʔḥrs₁*, Gez. *ḥərs* (SED I #275).
 - (6) Soq. *šále* (the main term for ‘tooth’, according to Kogan’s list) // In LS 309, quoted as *šélhe* ‘dents’ (“originairement ‘dents supérieures’”), deriving it from *šélhe* ‘haut’ < Sem. *šly ‘être haut’, which seems the only plausible etymology for lack of better ones.
 - (7) Soq. (syn.) *šásal* // One more term for ‘dent’ adduced in LS 431 with no Sem. etymology, save for a tentative, according to Leslau (and impossible) comparison with Arb. *sinn-*.
 - Cf. Brb. *ta-zal-t (rather *ta-zHal-t) ‘dent canine’: Ahaggar *tā-hal-at*, Ayr *ta-zal-at*, etc. (compared with a question mark in Tak 2001 85 with Egyp. OK *zʔ.t* (also *zʔr.t*) ‘ein Meissel’) which is ideally compatible with the Soq. term both phonetically (< Afras. *čāʔ(a)l-) and semantically.
 - ◇ No term registered in Pho.
- Common Semitic *šinn- (#1).

90. TREE

- (1) Akk. *iš(š)-*; Ugr. *šs*; Hbr. *šēš*; Gez. *šəḥ*; Tgr. *šəčūt*; Gaf. *ənča*; Wol. *ənče*; Cha. *äčä* // < Sem. *šī/ušš-: Bib. *ʔāšā* ‘wood’ (HALOT 1821), Arb. *šudḥ-* ‘gros chicot d’arbre; gros morceaux de bois’, *ʔašdāḥ-* (pl.) ‘arbres ou arbrisseaux à épines’ (BK 2 277)

- < Afras. *ʕi(n)ĉ-: Egyp. (BD) *ʕd* ‘k. of wood’; Omot. **HinĈ-* (< **ʕinĉ-*) ‘tree’: Gimirra (Bench) *inĉ*, Mao (Hozo) *ʕiinc*, Dizi (Sheko) *iinĉu*, Ongota *hanĉa*, *hanša* (ADB). Cf. also Brb.: Zenaga *te-iḏuḏ* ‘big stick’ and N.Cush.: Beja *ʔaḏa* ‘pole, long stick’ compared with Egyp. and Sem. in EDE I 95.
- (2) Bib. *ʔilān*; Pal. *ʔilān*; Syr. *ʔilān-*; Mnd. *alan-*; Urm. *ʔilān-* // < Sem. **ʔalyān-* ‘(oak)tree’: Akk. *aliānu* ‘oak; acorn’ (CAD *a1* 354), Ugr. *ʔaln* ‘oak grove’ (DUL 58), Hbr. *ʔallōn* ‘any big tree’, pB ‘oak, acorn’ (HALOT 54)²¹.
- < Afras.: (?) Egyp. (OK) *wʕn*, *wʕr* (conveys *wʕl*; I suspect here a change *ʔ > ʕ, perhaps caused by the vicinity of **l*) ‘Art Nadelholz’ (ADB); Chad. **lV(wV)ηV*: W.: Daffa-Butura *lan* ‘Wildnis, Busch’, C.: Mbara *luḡ* ‘tree’, Munjuk *luḡ* ‘bois, arbre’, Musgu *lúuḡ* ‘tree’, E.: W. Dangla *lèlnyó* ‘arbuste’, Bidiya *lèeliḡko* ‘arbuste sp.’ (St. 2005 #303).
- (3) Qur. *šažar-*; Lbn. *šažar*; Mec. *šažara*; Mlt. *sižra* // < **šagar-*. Hob. *šəžrét* ‘tree’ (syn.) and Hrs. *šegerét* ‘plant name’ may be Arabisms, though *š* in both cases as well as -*g-* (instead of the expected *ž*) and a different meaning in Hrs. leave a grain of doubt.
- < Afras. **ĉagVr-*: Chad. W.: Dott *šakar* ‘Deleb-palm’ (irregular -*k-*?), E. **ĉVgVr-* ‘palm Hyphaene thabaica’: Sokoro *sóger*, West Dangla *čargó*, Bidiya *čargò* (met.). ADB (in view of regular correspondences in the Sem. and E.Chad. triconsonantal roots their similarity is hardly accidental).
- (4) Tna. *ʔom* // No etymology that I could find.
- (5) Hob. *hərmūt*; Hrs. *herōm*; Mhr. *hərmáyt*; Jib. *heyrōm* // < Sem. **harūm-* ~ **harm-ay-*: Soq. *hərcm*, Akk. (MB) *urūmu* ‘a tree in mountains’ (CDA 427), Arb *harmī* ‘bois sec’ (BK 2 1415)²².
- (6) Soq. *širohom* // < **širVm-* or **š_xirVm-*. No regular parallels in Sem., but it is possible to suggest two debatable ones: Jib. *šerm* ‘kind of thorn-bush’ JJ 255 (with irregular correspondence of sibilants) or, with metathesis, Sem. **šami/ur-* ‘thorny bush or tree’ (Hbr. *šāmīr*, Arb. *samur* HALOT 1562); the eventual connection of all of them as variant roots cannot be ruled out either.
- Cf. Egyp. (18 Dyn.) *š* ‘tree’ (if < **šr*); C.Chad. **šarVm-*: Mofu *šarəma* ‘Balanites aegyptica’, Daba *šərmə* ‘soap-tree’ (Chad. **š* seems to contradict Soq. *š*, if < **š_x*). ADB.
- ◇ Amh., Arg. and Sod. *zaf* are loans from C.Cush. (LGur 703 quotes Qemant *zaf* and Qwara *žafa*; see App CDA 140 for more Agaw forms); Har. *läfu* without Eth. parallels looks like a loan from deverbal Arb. *laff-* ‘arbre touffu, plante touffu’ (BK 2 1008) from *lff* ‘è. épais, touffu (se dit des herbes)’ (ibid. 1007). No term registered in Pho. and Sab.
- Common North and West Semitic **ʕi/ušš-* (#1).

91. TWO

- (1) Akk. *šinā*; Ugr. *tn*; Hbr. *šənayim*; Pho. *šnm*; Qur. *ʔitnāni*; Lbn. *tneyn*; Mec. *ʔitnayn*; Mlt. *tnēyn*; Sab. *tny* // Sem. **tinay-*

²¹ In view of Chadic parallels, Sem. **ʔalyān-* goes back to **ʔa-lyān-* (supported by Arb. *linat-* ‘palmier en gen.’ BK 2 1051 and *lūnat-* ‘sorte de palmier’ ibid. 1045, compared by Stolbova) rather than to **ʔaly-ān-* (supported by Ugr. *ʔlt* ‘support, pillar’ or ‘footstool, base’ DUL 66, Hbr. *ʔēl-īm* (pl.) ‘mighty tree’ HALOT 40, *ʔallā* ‘majestic tree’ ibid. 52).

²² While *h* in Hrs., Mhr. and Soq. may continue **š*, seemingly supported by Soq. *širohom* (#6), *h* in Jib. continues only **h*, confirming the protoform reconstruction with **h-* (to which the Arb. and, to a lesser degree, Akk. parallel also contribute), thus proving that the two partially — and misleadingly — similar Soq. forms, *hərcm* and *širohom*, are unrelated. One wonders if the meaning ‘tree’ in MSA could be a shift from Proto-Afras. ‘wood’, which could have given rise to Cush. **hVram-* ‘ashes’: E.: Afar *rama*, LEC: Arbore *rómm*, Elmolo *rôm*, Yaaku *hroon*, pl. *hroómê* (allegedly from Masai).

- < Afras. *čín- ‘two’: Egyp. (Pyr.) *sn*; Brb. **sin*; C. Chad.: Gisiga *mu-čunan* ‘the second’ (ADB).
- (2) Bib. *tārē(y)n*; Pal. *tray(y)n*, *tryy*; Syr. *tārē(y)n-*; Mnd. *trin*; Urm. *tārī*; Hob. *itróh*; Hrs. *terō*; Mhr. *terōh*; Jib. *troh*; Soq. *tiro* // < Sem. **tiray/w-* (ADB).
- (3) Gez. *kālʔe*; Tna. *kālattä, kältä*; Tgr. *kālʔot m., kālʔe f.*; Amh. *hulät*; Arg. *ket, hāʔət*; Gaf. *alattä*; Sod. *kitt*; Har. *koʔot*; Wol. *hoyt*; Cha. *kʷet* // < Sem. **kilʔ-* ‘both’-: Akk. *kilallū*, Ugr. *kla-t* ‘both’, Hbr. *kilʔ-ayim* ‘of two kinds’, Arb. *kilā*, Sab. *klʔy*, Soq. *keʔala* ‘both’ (ADB).
- < Afras. **ki/alVʔ-* ‘the two equal, one and the other’: Egyp. (Pyr.) *ky* ‘other’ (if < **kVl-*); C.Chad.: Mada *kal* ‘to be equal’, Mofu *kal kal* ‘pareil’ (considered by some Chadacists a loan from Fulfulde); S.Cush.: Burunge *kalel-* ‘to be similar’ (ADB).
- Common North and West Semitic **tīnay-* (#1)²³.
- Common West (Arm.) and South Semitic **tīray/w-* (#2)²⁴.

92. WALK

- (1) Akk. *alak-*; Ugr. *hlk*; Hbr. *hlk*; Pho. *hlk*; Bib. *hlk*; Pal. *hlc* // < Sem. **hlc-*: Arb. *hlc* ‘périr’, Tgr. *halkä* ‘s’efforcer de, mourir’, Tna. *halakä* ‘se fatiguer; aller et venir d’un endroit à l’autre sans raison’, etc. (DRS 413)
 - Most likely, with the root extension **h-* (see Mil. RE) < Afras. **lkw ~ *lwk* ‘to walk’: C.Chad. **lakw-*: Buduma *lokúí* ‘Wohnsitz verändern’, Bura *laku*, Kilba *lākù*, Ngwahyi *lakù*, Banana *lakù* ‘road’; N.Omot.: Basketo *lukk-*, Dokka *luk(k)-* ‘to walk’ (ADB)²⁵.
- (2) Pal. *ʔzl* (syn.); Syr. *ʔzl*; Urm. *ʔzl* // < Sem.: Hbr. *ʔzl* ‘go away, disappear’ (HALOT 27), Arb. *zll* ‘glisser sur un sol glissant; passer rapidement, passer, se terminer (vie)’ (BK 1 1002).
 - < Afras. **(ʔa)ʔVl-* (?) Eg. (ME) *zny* ‘come’ (if < **zly*) or > *zʔ* ‘betake oneself to’ (if < **zl*) or both; Brb. **HazVl* ‘run’: Qabyle *azzal-*, Ahaggar *ahal*, Ayr *azal*, etc.; C. Chad. **ʔVl-*: Higi *zulu-tò*, Higi-Nkafa *zulu*, Kapsiki *zul-tè* ‘follow’, Logone *zalan* ‘road’ (ADB; cf. St. 2009 #468).
- (3) Mnd. *sga* // < Sem. **šxgy*: Syr. *ʔasgā* ‘ivit’ (Brock. 458), Hbr. *šgy* ‘to stray, stagger; do wrong’ (HALOT 1413), Pho. *šgy* ‘to roam, stray’ (HJ 1109), Arb. *šgy* ‘s’en aller, s’eloigner de quelqu’un’ (BK 1 1195), Mhr. *hegg* (*h* < **š*) ‘to stray, wander aimlessly’ (JM 96).
 - < Afras. **šVg-* ‘to roam, stray, err’: Chad. W.: Hausa *záagà* ‘go around’, Ngizim *žàg-dú* ‘move off road, go round’, C.: Mofu *žəg* ‘to err, go without aim’, Mafa *žəgám-žəgámmaža* ‘to be lost’, E.: Mawa *sugun* ‘to move (bouger)’ (distributed in different ways among the entries in St. 2007 #481, 486, 488).
- (4) Qur. *mšy*; Lbn. *māša*; Mec. *mišiy*; Mlt. *meša* // No Sem. etymology that I could find.
 - Cf. Egyp. (NK) *mšʕ* ‘to march, journey, travel’, compared in EDE III 619–20 and Tak. 2011 55 with its exact match Arb. *mšʕ* ‘marcher doucement’ (root extension -ʕ both in Egyp. and

²³ This root also occurs with derived meanings in those languages where the numeral “2” is conveyed by the forms continuing **tīray/w-*: Off. Arm. *tnyn* ‘second’ (HJ 1223), Syr. *tenyān-* ‘secundus’ (Brock. 828), MSA **mi-tnay* ‘(incisor) tooth’ (see No. 89 ‘tooth’ #3 above) and Jib. *məṭənyéh* ‘ring twisted like the strands of a rope’ (JJ 285) as well as in Eth. where “2” is conveyed by **kilʔ-* (Gez. *sanuy* ‘the second day of the week or month, two days’, etc. LGz 509).

²⁴ One wonders if **tīray/w-* (reflecting Afras. **čiray-*) could continue Afras. **cir(ay)-* with **c-* > **č* by contamination with **tīnay-*, cf. Chad. **cVr-* ‘two’ (so St. 2009 #632 where some forms seem to point to **čir-*): W.: Paa *čírù*, Jimbin *šír*, Ngizim *šírín*, etc., C.: Podoko *sará*, etc., E.: Somray *sir*, Mokilko *siré*, etc.

²⁵ Plausibly related to Afras. **likw-* ~ **luk-* ‘leg, foot, hip, thigh’: Sem.: Akk. (YB) *ilku* ‘hip area’ (CDA 127); C.Chad.: Muyang *kō-lōkó* ‘hip’ (with a body-part prefix); Cush. C. **likw-* ‘leg, foot’: Bilin, Khamir, Qwara, Dembea *likw*, Khamta *lukw*, Kemant *läkwə*, Aungi *lakw*, E.: Saho, Afar *lak* ‘hip, thigh, leg’, LEC **lukk-* ‘leg, hip’: Somali *lug*, Oromo *luka*, Baiso *lukka*, Arbore *lukk*, Gidole *lukkə-to*, HEC: Sidamo *lekkee*, Burji *lukka*, etc., Dullay **luk-* ‘leg, foot’: Gawwada *luhte*, Dobase *luh-*, etc., S.: Dahalo *luka* ‘thigh’ (ADB).

Arb.?) and W.Chad.: Tangale *mεε* ‘journey, travel, walking’; although *s* in Tangale may continue Chad. *š (< Afras. *ĉ), the term may be an Arabism. Could Afras. *mĉy/ɣ be reconstructed on this basis?

- (5) Sab. *mḏ?* (< *mz?) // < Sem. *mṯ?: Ugr. *mz?* ‘meet, run into’ (DUL 608), Hbr. *mš?* ‘reach; meet accidentally’ (HALOT 619), Mnd. *mṯa* ‘arrive, reach’, Gez. *mašʔa* ‘come, happen to, etc.’, Tgr. *mäšʔa* ‘come’ (LGz 370), Jib. *mīḏī* ‘reach’ (JJ 169), Soq. *mṯy* ‘venir, arriver, atteindre’ (LS 241), etc. — see also No. 16 ‘come’ (#2) in Mil. 2010.
- (6) Gez. *ḥwr*; Gaf. (a)horä; Har. ḥāra; Cha. *wərwər, wärä* // < Sem. *ḥwr: Arb. *ḥwr* ‘revenir, retourner’ (BK 1 509).
- < Afras.: Eyp. (Pyr.) *ḥry* ‘be far from; go far from, move away’, *ḥr.t* ‘road’; E. Chad. *HVr- ‘go’: Nanchere *āre*, Gabri *ōre*, Kabalai *ārrā*, Dormo *erauá*; E.Cush.: HEC: Sidamo *haʔr* ‘go’ (ADB).
- (7) Tna. *kädä, kedä*; Tgr. *kedä*; Amh. *heddä*; Arg. *heda*; Wol. *hedä* // < *kyd ~ *kdkd: Arb. *kdkd* ‘marcher lentement et lourdement’ (BK 2 875), cf. also *kawdaʔa* (a somewhat odd form) ‘se mettre à courir’ (ibid. 941)
- Cf. Afras.: Cush. E.: Saho *ku(u)d-*, Afar *kuud-* ‘run (away)’; N. Omot.: Dizi *kudu* ‘road’ (ADB).
- (8) Sod. *alläfam* // < Sem. *ḥlp ‘to pass’: Arg. *halläfa*, Tgr. *ḥalfa*, Gez. *ḥälafa*, Hbr. *ḥlp* ‘pass’, Arb. *ḥlf* ‘follow, succeed’, etc. (LGz 260).
- (9) Jib. *ayad* // Arb. *wyḏ* ‘marcher d’un pas régulier’ (BK 2 1571). Borrowing into Jib. is also possible.
- (10) Soq. *ʔód* // < Sem. *ʔdw/y: Hbr. *ʔdy* ‘walk along’, Jud. Arm. *ʔdy* (pe.) ‘pass by’, Arb. *ʔdw* ‘walk, pass by’, etc. (HALOT 789).
- < Afras. *ʔad- ‘walk, come and go’: Brb.: Zenaga *edda*, Senhadja *addu*, Semlal *əddu* ‘go’, Izayan *əddu* (*d*) ‘come’, etc.; Chad. W.: (?) Sha *du-* ‘come’, C. *wuHad-: Hwona *wúḏà* ‘go out’, Bachama *wudó*, Bata *wādo* ‘go’, E. *Had-: Dangla *àḏḏē* ‘follow’, Migama *ʔáḏ-*, Bidiya *ʔàḏ* ‘go’, Mokilko *ʔáḏḏē* ‘(make) go away’, *ùḏó* ‘come’; Cush. E.: Saho *-ad-/ed-*, HEC: Somali *aad-* ‘go’ (questionable since the expected ʔ is missing), S.: Asa *adi* id., Dahalo *ḏaaʔ-* (met.?) ‘leave in a hurry’; Omot. N.: Male *ad-* ‘come’ (Bla. Om. #16.4. after Fleming), S.: Ari *ad-*, Ubamer *aad-* ‘come’ (ADB).
- (11) Soq. *ṯaher* (syn.) // Quoted as ‘to walk’ by native speakers (Kog. MS) alongside *ʔód*, while in LS translated as ‘aller, s’en aller’ and compared with Jib. *ḏhr* ‘sortir’ and Arb. *ḏhr* ‘paraître, sortir contre quelqu’un’; an alternate comparison, also plausible both phonetically and semantically, is with Arb. *ṯrr* ‘faire marcher d’un pas accéléré (les chameaux)’ (BK 2 264).
- ◇ Hob. *syóor*, Hrs. *seyōr*; Mhr. *səyūr* are most likely from Arab. *syr* ‘aller, se rendre vers...’ (BK 1 1390)
- Common North and West Semitic *h_lk (#1).

93. WARM

- (1) Akk. *emm-*; Hbr. *ḥām*; Pal. *ḥmym, ḥmyn*; Syr. *ḥamīm-* // < Sem. *ḥamm- ‘heat’: Arb. *ḥamm-*, Ugr. *ḥm*, etc. (HALOT 325).
- (2) Akk. (syn.) *šahān-* (v.); Ugr. *šḥn* (v.); Syr. *šḥen*, Urm. *šāḥīn-*; Lbn. *səḥni*; Mlt. *šḥūn*; Jib. *šḥan* // < Sem. *šḥn ‘become warm, warm oneself’: Arb. *šḥn*, Gez. *səḥna, saḥana* (LGz 495) etc., Hbr. *šəḥīn* ‘ulcer, inflamed spot’ (HALOT 1462, 1460).
- Cf. S.Omot.: Ongota *šōni* ‘warm’ (ADB).
- (3) Mec. *ḥārr* // < Sem. *ḥrr ‘be hot’: Hbr. *ḥrr, ḥry*, Arb. *ḥrr*, Gez. *ḥarra*, Jib. *ḥar* ‘heat’, etc. (LGz. 243), see also No. 12 ‘burn’ (2) in Mil. 2010.

- (4) Gez. *məwuk*; Tna. *məwuk*; Tgr. *moqa*; Amh. *muk*; Arg. *ʔamo*; Gaf. *moḳä*; Sod. *muḳəṇna*; Cha. *m^wäk*; Har. *muk*; Wol. *muḳamuk* // Seems to be Eth. only; cf. Gez. *maḳaḳa* ‘burn, sting (e.g. medicine), burn the throat, cauterize’, Tna *mäḳmäḳ bälä* ‘burn (pepper)’ (LGz 355); cf. also with metathesis Akk. *ḳamû* ‘burn (up)’ (CDA 283).
- Cf. Egyp. (18 Dyn.) *mḳk* ‘roasts on a spit’ (secondary -ḳ-?); N.Omot. **muk-* ‘ashes’: Dache, Gidicho, Haruru *muḳo*, Gidiche *muḳa*, etc. (compared in EDE III 186–7).
- (5) Tgr. *ḥəfun* (syn.) // No etymology that I could find.
- Cf. Afras. **faḥ-* ~ **HafVw-* ‘fire; burn’: Egyp. (late) *wfḥ* ‘burn’; Brb. **HafVw* ‘fire’: Ghadames *ufa*, Adghaq *efiw*, Izayan *afa*, Nefusa *tə-faw-t*; Chad. W. **fwa/yaH-*: Diri *fáyá* ‘fry’, Zaar *vwa* ‘burn’, Kulere *fyef* ‘roast’, C. **ʔafwaH-*: Kapsiki *nu-fu* ‘boil’, Gisiga *ʔavo* (< **ʔaf-*), Munjuk *afu*, Logone *fùù*, Musgu *àfú* ‘fire’, E.: Kwang *èpè* ‘burn’ (ADB).
- (6) Hob. *huúb*; Hrs. *hwob* // < Sem. **hawb-*: Mhr. *hūwəb*, Jib. *šəheb* ‘se rechauffer’, Tgr. *hawhaw belä* ‘flamber’ (perhaps an Arabism), Arb. *hawb-* ‘intensité, ardeur du feu’ (DRS 383).
- Cf. Afras.: Cush. N.: (?) Beja *nəbʔa* ‘warm’ (adj.), *tibʔa* ‘burn’ (< **n/tV-Hibʔ-?*), E.: HEC **Hibb-* ~ **Hayb-* ‘warm’ (adj.): Sidamo *iibb-ado*, Hadiya *iibba(lla)*, Burji *ḍayb-aḍ-* (vb.) < *ḍa-ib-aḍ-* (ADB).
- (7) Mhr. *gōna* // < Sem. **gawn-*, var. **gVnʔ-* ‘heat’: Jib. *egnúʔ* ‘to protect from cold’, *gúneʔ* ‘sheltered, warm place’ (JJ 77), Arb. *šawn-* ‘jour; rouge foncé’, *šawnat-* ‘rouge; soleil, disque du soleil, rouge à l’heure où il se couche’ (BK 1 359).
- < Afras. **gawn-* ‘heat; fire’: Chad. **gawn-*: C.: Gude *gúnə* ‘fire; heat’, Fali-Bwagira, Bata *gun* ‘fire’, Makeri *ganun* ‘mobile metal fireplace’, E.: Sokoro *gáun* ‘to cook’ (ADB, St. 2011 #659), cf. also **gVn-* ‘smoke’ (ibid.). Comparison (ibid.) with Egyp. (Sarc.) *ḏnḏn.t* ‘fire’ is valid if the latter is < **gnḡn*.
- (8) Soq. *di-yenáḥa* // < MSA: Mhr. *hə-nḥū*, Jib. *e-nḥé*, Soq. *ə-nḥi*, see No. 12 ‘burn’ (#13) in Mil. 2010.
- ◇ Hrs. *ḥrōk* is an Arabism. No term registered in Pho., Bib., Mnd., Qur. (in classical Arabic outside the Qur’an it’s *suhḡn-*) and Sab.
- Common Semitic **šḥn* ‘become warm, warm oneself’ (2).

94. WATER

- (1) Akk. *mū*; Ugr. *my* (*mym*, *mh*); Hbr. *mayim*; Pal. *may(y)ʔn*, *myy*; Syr. *mayyē*; Mnd. *mi-*; Urm. *məy-*; Qur. *māʔ-*; Lbn. *may*; Mec. *mayya*; Mlt. *ilma* (*il-ma*, with the article); Sab. *maw*, *mwy*; Gez. *may*; Tna. *may*; Tgr. *may*; Har. *mīy*; Wol. *mäy*; Hob. *ḥmóh*; Hrs. *ḥemyoh*; Mhr. *ḥemūh*; Jib. *mih* // Sem. **maʔ-* with **may-* and **mah-* variants
- < Afras. **maʔ-*: Egyp. (OK) *maw* ‘water’; Chad. W.: Guruntum *mà* ‘water’ (with various meaning shifts: Dera *màyé* ‘to bathe’, Angas *mwee* ‘sap, juice’, Ankwe *mua* ‘a liquid substance’, etc.), C.: Gude *màʔinə*, Bachama *màʔyin* ‘water’, etc.; Cush. N.: Beja *muʔ-* ‘liquid’, C.: Khamir *maw* ‘fliessig werden’, E.: LEC: Somali *māy-ad* ‘tidal waters’ (cf. *māh-* ‘eau courante’), S.: Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge *maʔay*, Asa *maʔa*, Qwadza *maʔaya*, Maʔa *maʔi*, Dahalo *maʔa* ‘water’ (ADB; cf. EDE I, 120)²⁶.
- (2) Arg. *ʔofa* // No etymology that I could find.
- Cf. Afras. **pi(ʔa)ḥ-* ‘rain’: Egyp. (Pyr.) *pʔḥ.t* ‘sky waters’; Chad. C.: Musgu *pīáḥ*, Higi-Hye *gə-fiyà* ‘rainy season’ (cf. also Tera *vīya*, Bura *vīyà*, Hildi *vwiyà*, etc. id.; according to Stolbova, irregular reflexation of the labial is due to a prefix), E.: Kera *pépé* ‘God, rain’ (ADB).
- (3) Soq. *riho* // < Sem. **rVwVy-* ‘abundant water; watering, irrigating’: Soq. *re* ‘drink’, Hbr. *rwy* ‘to drink one’s fill’, (pi.) ‘to give to drink abundantly, water thoroughly (e.g. the furrows)’,

²⁶ Brb **Ham-an* (pl.) ‘water’ belongs to a different Afras. root **ham-*, cognate with Arb. *hmw*, *hmy* ‘to pour’; Chad. W. **ham-* ‘water’, E. **ʔam-* ‘water, rain’ (ADB).

rāwā ‘well watered, irrigated’, Syr. *rəwū* ‘be satisfied with drink, be drunk, wet, flooded’, Arb. *rwy* ‘to drink one’s fill, be watered’, *ri/ayy-* ‘irrigation, network’, *riyy-* ‘quenching of one’s thirst’ (HALOT 1194–5), Sab. *ryh-twiy* ‘provide a water-supply’, *rwym* ‘tank, cistern’, *mrw*, *mryt* ‘irrigation system’ (SD 119–20), Gez. *rawaya* ‘to drink one’s fill, be watered, irrigated’.

- < Afras. **riway/?- ~ *?Vraw/y-* ‘abundant water; watering; rain; river’: Egyp. (MK) *īwy* to water (field), pour out (liquid) (if < **rwy*); Chad. W.: Hausa *rúwá* ‘water, rain’, Galambu *rwaà*, Geruma *ará*, C.: Mbara *rè*, Musgu *erÉ*, *ree* ‘river’, Munjuk *aray* ‘canal’, E.: Mokilko *ǎró* ‘to drink’; Cush. C.: Aungi *ári* ‘rain’ (according to App CDA, < Omot.), E.: LEC: Arbore *ǎriy*, Dasenech *ǎir*, Dullay: Gawwada *irrawo*, Harso *irrawo*, etc. ‘rain’, S.: Alagwa, Burunge *ra?u* ‘dew’, Ma?a *re* ‘rain’ (according to Fleming), ‘mare’ (according to Ehret); N.Omot.: Wolaita *ǎira*, Yemsa *irō*, Chara *ira*, Dizi *iru* ‘rain’ (ADB).
 - ◇ Amh. *wəha*, Gaf. *ägä*, Sod. *yiga*, Cha. *ǎka* are considered as Cushitisms: cf., on one hand, Cush. E.: HEC (a source of borrowing for Amh.?): Sidamo *waa*, Hadiya *wó?o*, on the other, C. (a source of borrowing for Gaf., Sod. and Cha.?): Bilin *aqu*, Khamta *āqw*, Aungi *ayhu*. No term registered in Pho. and Bib.
- Common Semitic **ma?-* (1).

95. WE

- (1) Akk. *nīnu*; Ugr. *nḥn*; Hbr. *anaḥnū*; Pho. *?nḥn*; Bib. *ǎnaḥnā?*; Pal. *ǎnan*; Syr. *ḥanan*; Mnd. *anin*; Urm. *ǎḥanan*; Qur. *naḥnu*; Lbn. *nḥn(i)*; Mec. *ǎḥna*; Mlt. *aḥna*; Gez. *nḥnā*; Tna. *nḥna*; Tgr. *ḥana*; Amh. *ǎñña*; Arg. *anna*; Gaf. *anni*; Sod. *ǎñña*; Har. *ǎñña*; Wol. *iñña*; Cha. *yəna*; Hob. *nḥáh*; Hrs. *neḥa*; Mhr. *nḥah*; Jib. *nḥan*; Soq. *ḥanhen* // Sem. **(?a)naḥnu ~ *(?a)ḥan(an)* ‘we’.
 - < Afras.: Egyp. (Pyr.) *n* (dependent), (NE) *inn* (independent, Coptic *anon*); Brb. **nukni*: Ghadames *nekenin*, Ayr *nəkkəni*, Zenaga *nəkni*, Ntifa *nukni*, Qabyle *nək^wni*, etc.; Cush. N.: Beja *hanín* (< **ḥanin*), C.: Bilin *yin*, Khamir *inaa*, Khamta *yīn* (according to Fleming), *iná* (according to Conti Rossini), Qemant *anniw*, Qwara *anän*, Aungi *ənnó-ǎi* (according to Hetzron), Kunfal *n^wa*, E.: Saho, Afar *nanu*, LEC: Somali *a/inna-ga*, Oromo *nu*, *nuy*, Baiso *no*, Arbore *ʎonó(-lo)*, Elmolo *ínó*, Dasenech *ḥiini* (excl.), Konso *ino*, HEC: Sidamo *ninke* (note suffixal *-k* as in Brb., though in a different position), Kambatta *no?o*, Hadiya *nees*, Burji *naanuu*, Dullay: Gawwata, Tsamai *ine*, Yaaku *nīni?*, S.: Ma?a *nine*, Dahalo *nyányi*; N.Omot.: Male, Gofa, Oyda, etc. *nuni*, Zala *nu*, Zaise *nuú*, Chara *núni*, Gimirra (Bench) *nu(-na)*, Yemsa *inno*, Bworo *noo*, Kafa *no*, Dizi (Sheko) *inu*, Dizi (Nao) *natoknu* (note infixal *-k* as in Brb. in the same position), Mao (Hozo) *nunga* (ADB)²⁷.
 - ◇ No term registered in Sab.
- Common Semitic **(?a)naḥnu ~ *(?a)ḥan(an)* (1).

96. WHAT?

- (1) Ugr. *mh*; Hbr. *mā*; Pho. *m*; Bib. *mā*; Pal. *mh*; Syr. *mā*; Mnd. *mahu*; Urm. *mū(-dī)*; Qur. *mā*; Sab. *m*; Tgr. *mi/ə* // Sem. **ma(-h)*, variant **mi* (Tgr.)

²⁷ Of interest is a peculiar phenomenon with a more or less similar pattern, obviously distributed across and independently from the genetic grouping: 1) to Sem. **(?a)naḥnu* (Akk., Ugr., Hbr., Pho., Bib., Qur., Lbn., Gez., Tna., Hrs., Mhr., Jib.): Afar *nanú*, Dasenech *ḥiini*, Burji *naanuu*, Yaaku *nīni?*, Ma?a *nine*, Dahalo *nyányi*, Male, etc. *nuni*, Zaise *nuú*, Chara *núni*, Mao (Hozo) *nunga*; 2) to Sem. **(?a)ḥan(an)* (Syr., Mnd., Urm., Mec., Mlt. Tgr., Soq.): Beja *hanín*, Qemant *anniw*, Qwara *anän* (< **Han(a)n* where *H* may represent either **?-* or **h-*), the other Agaw forms may be from **ḥin-* or **?in(n)-* like in Egyp. (NE); 3) to Brb. **nukni*: Sidamo *ninke*, Dizi (Nao) *natoknu*. Does this distribution reflect any system or at least its remnants or is it merely accidental?

- < Afras. **mali* or **may* ‘what?’: Egyp. (OK) *m*; Brb. **may(t)* ‘what?’ (sometimes ‘who?’): Fodjaha *metta*, Ghadames *mi*, Ahaggar, Adghaq, Zenaga, Baamrani, Izayan, Senhadja, Mzab, Nefusa, etc. *ma*, Izdeg *may*, Rif *mi*, Shenwa, Snus *matta*, etc.; Chad. **may*: W.: Hausa *mè*, Angas *mai*, Karekare, Ngamo *miyà*, Kirfi *màamí*, Geruma *màama*, Miya *mà*, Fyer *mi*, etc., C.: Tera *nə-ma*, Boka, Bura *mi*, Wamdiu *miya*, Mbara *ʔámá*, Mandara, Mofu *me*, Munjuk *ma*, Sukun *ma...wa*, Gude *mya*, Bata *muno*, Bachama *munə*, Buduma *meni*, Zime *má*, etc., E.: Lele *me*, West Dangla *man*, East Dangla *ma*, Migama *ʔini-mée*, Bidiya *ma*, Birgit *mintu*, Mokilko *moo-me*; Cush. E.: Afar *ma-ħa*, LEC.: Somali *ma-ħ*, Oromo *ma-al*; Dasenech *métè*, Arbore *me*, *meh* (< **mV-ħ*), Elmolo *máa*, Baiso *me*, HEC: Hadiya *maha* (< **ma-ħ*); Sidamo *ma(a)*, *mai*, Burji *miya*, etc. Dullay: Gawwata *moʔo*, Tsamai *mō*, etc., S.: Iraqw *mi-lá*, Qwadza *homi* (< **ho-mi*), Dahalo *má-ka*; N.Omot.: Zayse *ʔaal-ma* (cf. *ʔála* id. in closely related Ganjule), Mocha *ámo* (ADB). For a more detailed review, see EDE III 9–13.
- (2) Akk. *mīnu*; Gez. *mənt*; Tna. *məntay*; Amh. *mən*; Arg. *mən*; Gaf. *mən*, *məni*; Sod. *mən*; Har. *min*; Wol. *mən*; Cha. *mər* // < Sem. **min-*.
- Though probably accounted for by a secondary parallel development, the following forms in the **mali* entry (#1) deserve mention here: Chad. C.: Bata *muno*, Buduma *meni*, Bachama *munə*, E.: West Dangla *man*, Birgit *mintu*; E.Cush.: LEC: Konso *maana* (see more examples of **m-n* in EDE III 9–13).
- (3) Lbn. *šū*; Mec. *ʔayš*; Mlt. *še*; Hrs. *hašen*; Mhr. *hēšən*²⁸ // < Sem. **šayʔ-* ‘thing’²⁹: Hrs. *šī*, *šay*, Mhr. *šī*, Jib. *šé*, Soq. *šī*, *šīʔ* ‘thing’ (JM 150), Arb. *šayʔ-* ‘thing; what?’
- < Afras. **čayʔ-* ~ **ʔič-* ‘thing’: Egyp. (Old) *īš.t* ‘thing (Sache, Habe, Besitz)’, *īšs.t* (Pyr.-MK; -šs probably conveys the affricate *č*) ‘what?’; C. Chad.: Masa *šé* ‘thing’ (can reflect both **č* and **š*: see St. 2005 #32); cf. S. Omot.: Ongota *saay* ‘who?’ (ADB).
- (4) Hob. *inīh*; Jib. *ʔinē*; Soq. *inim* (**ʔini-maʔ*) // < MSA **ʔin-* < Sem. **ʔay(y)-Vn-*: Arb. *ʔayn-* ‘ou?’ (BK 1 75), Hbr. *ʔayin* (always with *min*) ‘whence?’ (HALOT 42), Syr. *ʔaynā* ‘what?’, Gez. *ʔaynu* ‘what? which?’, Tna *ʔayyän* ‘which?’ (LGz 49).
- Cf. Afras. ‘what?’: Egyp.: Coptic (Fayumic) *ʔun*; Chad. W.: Kiir *wun*, C. **ʔawVn-*: Dghwede *awe/wini*, Glavda *ʔawninà*, Zulgo *wana*, Logone *ɣwani*; Cush. N: Beja *nān* (redupl.), E.: Yaaku (*di*)*nyoh* (< **-nVy-Vh*); Omot. N.: Basketo *ɔɔ*, Anfillo *aanto* (unless < **am-t-* with assimilation), S.: Ongota *neeni* (redupl.)³⁰.
- Common North and West Semitic **min-* (2).

97. WHITE

- (1) Akk. *pešû* // < Sem. **pVšVh-* ‘be bright’: Hbr. *pšh* ‘be cheerful, happy’ (HALOT 953), Syr. *pəšīh-* ‘splendens; laetus, hilaris’ (Brock. 587), Mnd. *pših-* ‘bright, clear; cheerful’ (DM 376), Arb. *fšh* ‘apparaître à quelqu’un dans tout son éclat’ (BK 2 599)³¹.
- Most likely related through metathesis with Chad. W. **puHaç-* ‘sun’: Sura, Angas *pūs*, Montol *pəɣəs*, C. **paç-* ‘sun’: Mandara *vačia*, Glavda *fáčiy*, Guduf *fáčiyá*, Mofu *pás*, Gisiga *pas*, Matakam *pâac* (ADB). Both < Afras. **pVçVh-* ~ **puħaç-* ‘bright sun’?

²⁸ With *ʔay* (< *ʔayyu šayʔ-* ‘which/what thing?’) in Mec. and the preposition *h-* ‘to, for’ and (*ə*)*n* “an obsolete marker of oblique case” (JM 150) in Hrs. and Mhr.

²⁹ While the idea of rendering ‘what?’ in Mhr./Hrs. by means of the noun ‘thing’ is likely to be accounted for by the influence of Arabic, the MSA noun itself does not seem to be an Arabism (even an early one, in view of *š* and attestation in all MSA languages).

³⁰ Cf. also Omot. **ʔay/w-ni* ‘who?’: Cancha *ʔooni*, Gimirra (She) *onə*, Yemsa *oon*, Banna *ayne*, etc. alongside **Hay/w-* id.: Basketo *ʔo*, Mao (Hozo) *haya*, Ari (Bako) *ayi*, Galila *háyi*, etc.

³¹ A different and erroneous etymology suggested in SED I #43 had to be corrected for this traditional one after a convincing argumentation had been published by M.Bulakh in Bul. 2003 4.

- (2) Ugr. *lbn*, *labanu*; Hbr. *lābān*; Pho. *lbn*; Mnd. *lbina*; Hob. *lboón*; Hrs. *elbōn*; Mhr. *əwbōn* (pl. *lēbān*); Jib. *lūn*; Soq. *líbehon* // < Sem. **lbn* ‘be white’: Mnd. *lbyn?* ‘white’, Arb. *laban-* ‘milk’ (HALOT 517).
- < Afras. **li/ab(-an)-*: Egyp. (Pyr.) *nb* ‘gold’ (if < **lb*); Chad. W.: Hausa *liibaa* ‘light-colored earth used for glazing’, C.: Affade *elboh* ‘chalk’, (?) Mada *élbésè* ‘mil blanc sp.’; E.: West Dangla *lambany* ‘variety of white sorgho’, Bidiya *lambàny*, Migama *làmbàny* ‘sorgho blanc sp.’ (St. 2005 #77; perhaps also **lVbV* ‘cloud’ ibid. #78 and **lVbV* ‘cotton’ ibid. #79). ADB.
- (3) Bib. *hiwār*; Pal. *hwwr*, *hywr*; Syr. *hewwār-*; Mnd. (syn.) *hiuar-*; Urm. *həwār-* // < Sem. **hwr* ‘be black and white’: Hbr. *hwr* ‘to grow pale’, Arb. *ʔaḥwariyy-* ‘blanc, qui a la peau blanc’, *ʔaḥwar-* ‘qui a les yeux grands, d’un beau noir, que le blanc qui les entoure...’, Mhr. *höwar* ‘black’, Soq. *hohar* ‘black’, *heyhor* ‘cloud’, etc. (ADB; cf. also Bulakh 2004 273–4).
- (4) Mnd. *shuhar* ‘white’ (syn.) // < Sem. *sh̄r* ‘be light, bright, yellowish, reddish’: Hbr. *šāḥōr* ‘white, yellowish-red, reddish grey (exact shade uncertain)’, Syr. *šəḥar* ‘to blush’, Arb. *ʔaṣḥar-* ‘yellowish-red’, etc. (HALOT 1019). A secondary formation with the root extension *-r* (see Mil. RE) < Sem. **šVḥ-* (see 7 below) can be presumed.
- (5) Qur. *ʔabyaḍ-*; Lbn. *ʔabyaḍ*; Mec. *ʔabyaḍ*; Mlt. *abyat* // < Sem. **bayṣ-* ‘egg’: Hbr. *bēṣā*, Syr. *bīṣt-*, Arb. *bayḍat-*, etc. (cf. SED I #43)
- < Afras. **bayṣ-*: W.Chad. *(*m-*)*bwiṣ-* ‘egg’: Polchi *mbwâs*, Geji *mbúsi*, Mangas *mbóś*, Zaar *buúś*, Sayanchi *mbúś*, Buli *mbiś*, Tule *mbòòśa*, Wangday *mboś*, Tala *mbeś*, Zul *mbúše* (ADB); N.Omot. **bawṣ-* ‘white’.
- (6) Gez. *šāḏdā*, *šaḏadā*, *ḏaḏadā*; Tna. *šaḏda*; Tgr. *šaḏda* // No etymology.
- (7) Amh. *nāčč*; Gaf. *našwä*; Sod. *nāččä*; Har. *nāčih*; Cha. *nāčä* // < Sem. **nšḥ* ‘be pure, clean, brilliant’: Gez. *našḥa* ‘be pure, clean, etc.’, Arb. *nšḥ* ‘be pure, sincere’, Syr. *našah* ‘be brilliant, shine’, etc. (LGz 405), with the prefixed root extension *n-* < **šVḥ-* ‘clear, bright (day, weather)’: Hbr. *šḥḥ* ‘be white’, *šāḥ* ‘clear, bright’, Syr. *šāḥīḥ-* ‘clear, bright’, Arab. *šḥw/y* ‘become clear, serene (day)’, Gz. *šəḥwa* ‘be serene, bright (sky)’, Tgr. *šāḥa* ‘become clear, bright’, Tna. *šāḥe* ‘clear up (weather)’, Soq. *šḥy* ‘be clear (weather)’ (LGz 553).
- < Afras. **čaḥ-* ‘be clear, bright, white’: (?) Egyp. (Pyr.) *ḥd(y)* ‘white’ (< **ḥṣ* and metathetic?); Chad. W.: Paʔa *càà/cú/câu* ‘get light (of town when light comes)’, C.: Fali-Kiria *cəhu* ‘clear’, Mafa *cáyaʔa*, *céyeʔe* ‘brilliant, shining’; S.Omot.: Ari *caa-mi* ‘white’ (ADB).
- (8) Arg. *zah*, *zahi* // < Sem. **zhy* ‘be brilliant’³²: Jud. *zīhā* ‘reflected light, reflexion’ (Ja. 391), Syr. *zəhe*, *zahyā* ‘splendidus’ (Brock. 189), Mnd. *zha* ‘be bright, radiant, shining’ (DM 162), Arb. *ʔazhā* ‘brillant; fauve, rouge (se dit des dattes, quand elles mûrissent)’ (BK I 1024).
- (9) Arg. *zellāha* (syn.) // < Sem. **zlh* ~ **zḥl* ‘be bright, clear, clean’: Tgr. *žəḥallāy* ‘stream with turbid water changing colour; übertr. von einem Heer; von der Haut des Elefanten’ (LH 548), Jud. *zəḥal* ‘to be bright, brighten up’ (Ja. 390), Mnd. *zhl*, *zlh*, *zla* ‘to pour down, pour out, cleanse, wash, sprinkle’ (DM 163).
- (10) Wol. *gumärä* // South Eth.: Wolane *gumärä*, Zway *gōmārä* id. Compared in LGur 279 with Amh. *gʷämärä* ‘become white, pale, mature (grain)’; not compared with Ennemor *gāmār*, Gieto *gāmār* ‘grey’ (cattle)’ (ibid. 278), although these terms seem quite compatible. Perhaps a meaning shift ‘white’ (and ‘grey?’) < ‘smoke colored’ < ‘smoulder, embers, firebrand’, cf. DRS 144: Akk. (NA) *gumār-* ‘bois carbonisé’, pB Hbr. *gimmēr* ‘fumer, fumiger’, Syr. *gāmūrt-*, Mnd. *gumr-* ‘charbon ardent’, Arb. *žamrat-* id., *žumrat-* ‘braise, tison’, *žmr* II ‘fumer, fumiger’, Soq. *migméreh* ‘casserole à encens’, etc.
- (11) Cha. *gʷad* // Probably < Eth.: Gez. *gahada*, *gəhda* ‘to be manifest, be said openly, be revealed, become visible’ (LGz. 185), Tgr. *gahād* ‘open, manifest’ (LH 559), Tna. *gāhadä* ‘to be

³² Otherwise, same as *zellāha* (< **zVllh-*, with *-lli* > *-y/i*, cf. LArg 7); see below (#9).

clear, plain, manifest, obvious' (KT 2200), Amh. *gadä* 'to be revealed, become visible' (K 2035), compared by M. Bulakh (in her doctoral dissertation) with Arb. *ʔaʒhada* 'paraître, se montrer' (BK I 342) < Sem. **ghd* 'be clear, visible'.

◇ No term registered in Sab.

→ Common West and South Semitic **la/ibān-* (2).

98. WHO?

(1) Akk. *mannu*; Bib. *man*; Pal. *man*, *mʔn*; Syr. *man(-nu)*; Mnd. *man*; Urm. *man*; Qur. *man*; Lbn. *meyn*; Mec. *miyn*; Mlt. *mīn*; Sab. *mn*; Gez. *mannu*; Tna. *mān*; Tgr. *mān*; Amh. *man*; Arg. *man*; Gaf. *man*; Sod. *man*; Har. *mān*; Cha. *m^wan*; Hob. *moón*; Hrs. *mōn*; Mhr. *mon*; Jib. *mun*; Soq. *mon* // Sem. **man-* (ADB; see also. EDE III 9–13)

□ < Afras.: Brb.: Rif *man*, Shawiya *mani*, Mzab *manayn*, etc. 'who?' (see also No. 96 'what?' #2).

(2) Ugr. *my*; Hbr. *mī*; Pho. *mī*; Arg. (syn.) *ma*; Sod. (syn.) *ma*; Wol. *ma* // < Sem. **mi/a* (< **may-*?). See also EDE III 9–13.

□ < Afras.: Cush. E.: LEC 'who?': Somali *-uma*, Arbore *ma(h)*, Elmolo *máa* (also 'what?'), Dasenech *maya*, S. 'who?': Iraqw *heemá* (*he* 'person'), Alagwa *miyyaa*, Burunge *miya* (see also No. 96 'what?' #1).

→ Common Semitic **man-* (1).

99. WOMAN

(1) Akk. *sinništ-* // One of the most enigmatic Semitic words. No etymology.

(2) Ugr. *ʔatt*; Hbr. *ʔiššā*; Pho. *ʔšt*; Pal. *ʔä(y)ttā*, *ʔth*; Syr. *ʔi(n)tət-*; Mnd. *ant-*; Sab. *ʔtt* (pl. *ʔnt*); Gez. *ʔanast*; Tgr. *ʔassit*; Arg. *anāšča*; Gaf. *ansatä* // < Sem. **ʔa/int-at-*.

□ Probably to be related with S. Omot. **Hinč-*: Dime *nic*, *nit^h*, Galila *yinč*, Ari *yinc-i* 'child', Ongota *ʔinta*, *hinta* 'man' (ADB).

(3) Urm. *niḳva* // < Hbr.-Arm. **naḳb-at-* 'woman' (< Sem. **nḳb* 'to drill, bore through', Akk. 'to deflower, rape'): Syr. *naḳbat-*, Hbr. *nəḳēbā*, etc. (HALOT 719).

(4) Qur. *ʔimraʔat-*, *marʔat-*; Lbn. *marā*; Mlt. *mara*; Sab. (syn.) *mrʔ-t* // fem. < Sem. **marʔ-* 'male human' (ADB): Akk. *māru* 'son, boy', Arab. *marʔ-*, *murʔ-* 'man, husband', Qatabanian *mrʔ* 'child', Sab. *mrʔ* 'man; male child, lord; social superior', Mhr. (pl.) *ḥə-mrō* 'children' (ADB).

□ < Afras. **marʔ-* 'man/woman, human being': Egyp (OK) *mr.w* 'people'; Chad. W.: Dera *murà* 'woman, sister', Dwot *meer* 'family; woman', Wangday *mar* 'person', Kulere, Fyer *mor* 'woman' Fyer *mará* 'male', *mor*, Kulere *mor* 'woman', Daffo-Butura *máàr* 'boy', *māra* 'masculine', C.: Bura *mara* 'co-wife', Gudu *már*, Nzangi *mùre*, Fali-Muchella *muru*, Bachama *mùré*, Bata *muré* 'man', E.: Dangla *ùmìrnè* 'person', Kera *mar* 'wife', Migama *máar-tù* 'my uncle', Mawa *mər* 'clan, family'; Cush. E.: LEC: Dasenech *mār-ti* 'girl', HEC: Sidamo *mure* 'child, baby'; Omot. N: Mao (Hozo) *mēri*, (Sezo) *méri* 'boy, child, son', S.: Ongota *mara* 'baby' (ADB; on possible broader connections see EDE III 357–358, 380–382).

(5) Mec. *ḥurma* // < Arb. *ḥurmat-* 'chose sacrée; famille d'un homme, surtout sa femme ou sa fille' (BK 1 415) < Sem. **ḥrm* 'forbid, dedicate, declare sacred' (see HALOT 353).

(6) Gez. (syn.) *bəʔəsīt* // fem. < *bəʔəs-i* 'man, male, husband, someone', Tgr. *bəʔəs* 'husband' (see No. 51 'man' (#7) in Mil. 2011)

□ < Afras. **bVʔVs-* 'son, boy, coeval': Chad. W.: Siri *beʔsi* 'son, boy', C.: Tera *bəsoŋka* (< **beso-n-k?*) 'boys'; Cush. C.: Kemant *baas* 'beget, become father', S.: Qwadza *boʔos-iko* 'friend', Dahalo *ḥosóʔo* (met.) 'friend of same age, coeval'; N. Omot.: Dawro *biša* 'brother', Malo *biša* 'child', Yemsa *buʔsa* (pl.) 'boys', Kafa *bušō* 'boy, son', Mocha *buš(o)* 'child', Bworo (Shinasha) *bušoo* 'son' (ADB).

- (7) Tna. *säbäy-ti*; Amh. *set* // fem. < Tna. *säbʔay*; Amh. *säb, säwu* < **sabʔ-*, see No. 51 ‘man’ (#9) in Mil. 2011.
- (8) Sod. *məšt*; Wol. *məšt*; Cha. *məšt* // No Sem. cognates that I could find. For the Afras. parallels see No. 51 ‘man’ (#11) in Mil. 2011.
- (9) Har. *idōč, indōč* // (-oč like in *abōč* ‘male’ < **ʔab-* ‘father’?) < Sem. **ʔVd-at-*: Ugr. *ʔdt*; Pho. *ʔdt*, Palm *ʔdt* ‘lady’³³.
- < Afras. **ʔa(n)d-* ‘elder female relative’: Chad. C. **ʔadi* ~ **dada* ‘grandmother’: Mbara *dādā*, Munjuk *adi*, Musgu *adā*, E.: Kera *ādīdā* ‘mother-in-law, grandmother, daughter-in-law’; Cush, N.: Beja *enda*, C.: Bilin *adē* ‘mother’, E.: LEC: Somali *eddo* ‘paternal aunt’, Oromo *adada* ‘aunt’, HEC: Sidamo *adaada*, Darasa *adaada*, Hadiya *adda*, Kambatta *adda* ‘mother’, Dullay: Gawwata *a-atitē* ‘elder sister’; N.Omot. **ʔind-* ‘mother’: Malo *indo*, Haruro *endo*, Yemsa *intoo*, Kafa *indo*, Mocha *ʔinde* (ADB).
- (10) Hob. *tētē*; Hrs. *tēt*; Mhr. *tīt*; Jib. *tēt* // No etymology, unless < **t-it* < **tV-ʔit-*, reflecting some relict form of **ʔa/int-t-* (see above in #2) with a prefixed, not suffixed, feminine formant.
- (11) Soq. *ʔāže* // fem. < *ʔayg* ‘man’ (with palatalization of -g), see No. 51 ‘man’ (#12) in Mil. 2011.
- ◇ No term registered in Bib. Urm. *baḥṭa* (syn.) is from Kurdish.
- West Semitic **ʔa/int-t-* (or West and South Semitic, if the hypothetical etymology in #10 holds water).

100. YELLOW

- (1) Akk. (*w*)*arḫ-* (also ‘green’); Ugr. *yrḫ* (greenish yellow); Pal. *yrḫ* (also ‘green’); Syr. *yūrāḫ-* (also ‘green’); Mnd. *yuraq-* (also ‘green, pallid’) // < Sem. **warḫ-* ‘yellow, green’ (v. in DUL 982; Bulakh 2003 8–10).
- < Afras. **wVraḫ-* ‘green, yellow’: Egyp (MK) *iḫ* ‘onion, greenery, green stuff’; Brb. **wVraḫ* ~ **rVwaḫ*: Ghadames *arəḡ* ‘be green’, Siwa *a-wray* ‘green’, Zenaga *yərəḡ* ‘yellow’, Ayr *irway*, Ahaggar *irway*, Semlal, Izdeg, Shawiya *awray*, Qabyle (Ait Mangellat) *awray* ‘be yellow’.
- (2) Hbr. *šāhōb* // The color is uncertain: HALOT 1007 gives ‘bright red (of hair)’, Ja. 1264 gives ‘yellow’ for pB Hbr.; in any case < Sem. **šhb* ‘to be light, yellow, light brown’: Arb. *ʔašhab-* ‘alezan (cheval); roux, fauve (chameau); blond, aux cheveux blonds’ (BK I 1379), Mhr. *šahwēw* ‘cream-coloured, creamy-white, fawn’ (JM 360), Jib. *šahbōb* ‘fawn, light brown’ (JJ 237), Soq. *šāšbab* (with unexpected -š- instead of *-h-) ‘blanc’ (LS 354).
- (3) Qur. *šafṛāʔ-* (f.); Lbn. *ʔašfar*; Mec. *šfar*; Mlt. *isfar*. Mhr. *šāfər* (‘yellow, green; brass’), Jib. *šəfrór* // Soq. *šəfḥər* ‘brass’ (JMhr 359). The MSA words are likely, but not certainly, Arabisms.
- (4) Gez. *beša, bašā*; Tna. *biča*; Amh. *bi/əča*; Arg. *bəča*; Wol. *bičä* // < Sem. **bišš-* ‘bright, brilliant’: Tgr. *bäyyäsä* ‘to be bright, brilliant’, Arb. *bšš* ‘briller, luire’, Soq. *bišiš* ‘blanc’³⁴.
- (5) Tgr. *šāgray* // also ‘greyish brown, light-coloured’ (LH 229), Tna. (Hamasen) *šagəray, šag^wəray* ‘dull gray, dark gray (animal’s coat), cow that has a white and light brown coat’ (KT 871). Either < Sem. **šag^wVr-*: Arb. *ʔasžar-* ‘qui a des taches ou des veines rouges au blanc des yeux (homme); oeil dont le blanc est injecté d’une teinte rouge; lion; étang dont l’eau est limpide’, *sažar-* ‘teinte rouge de sang dans le blanc des yeux’ (BK I 1053) or, according to Leslau 1990 178, a borrowing from Arb. *škr* ‘être de couleur alezan’ (BK 1 1254) via Sudanic Arabic, where **k* > *g* and the corresponding form is *ʔašgar* ‘gelbbraun, goldbraun’ (Reichmuth 1981 61)³⁵.

³³ Another possibility is a loan from Cushomotic **ʔind-* ‘mother’ (cf. LHar 19, LGur 18). Tna. *addē* ‘mother’ is either from Sem. **ʔVd-at-* or from Cushomotic **ʔind-*.

³⁴ A correct etymology, published in Bulakh 2003:4, which has convinced the authors that their comparison in SED I #43 of the Eth. terms for ‘yellow’ with Sem. **bayš-* ‘egg’ was wrong.

³⁵ I am indebted to Dr. M. Bulakh for this comment (see footnote 31).

- (6) Sod. *weṭa*; Cha. *weṭa* // Arb. *waḍaha* ‘être manifeste, évident, clair’, *wāḍih-* ‘clair, évident, manifeste; brillant, éclatant de blancheur ou de lumière’, *waḍah-* ‘tout ce qui paraît, brille et se laisse voir distinctement; éclat de l’aurore ou de la lune qui paraît; tache blanche au front ou aux pieds d’un cheval; marqui imprimée sur la peau d’un cheval; canitie, cheveux blancs; lait; lèpre’ (BK 2 1553), *mutawaḍḍih* ‘blanchâtre (chameaux)’ (ibid. 1554).
- (7) Hrs. *hežôr*; Mhr. *hažáwr*; Jib. *šazrór* // Soq. *šézar* ‘green’ (Kog. MS) < MSA *šVžar-. It is tempting to relate this word to Arb. *ṣaḥḍar-* (see No. 35 ‘green’ 3), but MSA *š- (> Hrs. and Mhr. *h-*) does not correspond to Arb. *ḥ*, and there is nothing to do about it. One of the “toughest” cases of Semitic etymology. Contamination may be suspected, but I have so far failed to find any MSA forms by analogy with which *ḥ- could have turned into *š, or any Arabic form by analogy with which *-s- could have turned into -ḥ-.
- ◇ Urm. *zärdä* is an Iranism; Soq. *kirkam* (and *kérkham* ‘safran’ LS 225) is considered a borrowing from Arb. *kurkum-* ‘safran indien, curcuma; henna’ (BK II 888), the same must be true of Hob. *karkmí*. No term registered in Pho., Bib., Sab., Gaf. and Har.
- Common North and West Semitic *wark- (1).

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А. Ю. МИЛИТАРЕВ. Новый вариант подробной этимологизации стословного списка семитских языков: элементы 75–100.

Статья представляет собой четвертую часть этимологического анализа списка Сводеша, составленного автором для семитских языков (предыдущие три части были опубликованы ранее в № 3, 5 и 7 настоящего журнала). В ней обсуждаются последние двадцать шесть элементов списка; для каждого элемента предлагается прасемитская реконструкция. Помимо этого, особый упор сделан на поиск внешних (афразийских) параллелей к каждому из разбираемых этимонов.

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

