

Addenda and conclusion of an etymology-based 100-item wordlist for Semitic languages

The paper concludes a series of four previous publications by the author that contained a detailed word-by-word etymological analysis of 100-item Swadesh wordlists for all known Semitic languages for which such a wordlist could be compiled. This concluding part is intended as a brief, but comprehensive summary of the preceding research, containing all the Proto-Semitic equivalents that the author was able to reconstruct for Swadesh list etyma, accompanied with brief notes. A new, improved lexicostatistical tree for Semitic languages is also given, together with some historical comments.

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

The present paper concludes a series of four previous papers (Mil. 2010, Mil. 2011, Mil. 2012, Mil. 2014) whose primary aim was to compile a 100-item wordlist for most Semitic languages, one in which the etymological background for every item, wherever possible, would be taken into consideration so as to arrive at a detailed and comprehensive genealogical tree and chronology of the historical branching of the Semitic family on a lexicostatistical basis. In turn, this would assist us in constructing a similar model for the Afrasian macrofamily as a whole (hopefully, in the near future).

This paper should be regarded as a companion piece to the four previous papers which, on the whole, contain more detailed data, a short prehistory of the research, and a comprehensive bibliography with abbreviations. Its main goal is to provide a list of corrections, additions (mostly Afrasian parallels to already discussed Semitic items), updates, and revisions of the etymological entries discussed in the four above-mentioned papers, and to present the results of final statistical calculations in the form of a proper genealogical tree for Proto-Semitic (all the absolute datings, for Proto-Semitic as well as all the intermediate nodes on the Semitic tree, were obtained with the aid of Sergei Starostin's revised glottochronological method).

Below we list the slightly modified dates, some of them averaged and hence somewhat conventional, that are ascribed to individual extinct languages: Akkadian, 1750 B.C.E.; Ugaritic, 1350 B.C.E.; Hebrew, 750 B.C.E.; Phoenician 850 B.C.E.; Biblical Aramaic, 250 B.C.E.; Palestinian Judaic, 200 C.E.; Syrian Aramaic, 200 C.E.; Mandaic, 750 C.E.; Urmian Aramaic, 1900; Qur'anic Arabic, 600 C.E.; Lebanese Arabic, 1950; Meccan Arabic, 1950; Maltese Arabic, 2000; Sabaic, 200 B.C.E.; Ge'ez, 500 C.E.; Tigrai, 1950; Tigre, 2000; Amharic, 2000; Argobba, 1950; Gafat, 1950; Soddo, 2000; Harari, 2000; Wolane, 2000; Chaha, 2000; Harsusi, 2000; Mehri, 2000; Hobyot, 2000; Jibbali, 2000; Soqotri, 2000.

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00293), and “Limits of the Afrasian macro-family: chronology of branching; coordination with the dates obtained by extralinguistic methods; contacts with non-Afrasian African languages” (supported by the Russian Foundation for Sciences, project 12-06-00214-a).

The data below are based on the following primary sources (not referred to in the text except for special cases): Akk. — CAD, AHw and CDak; Ugr. — DUL; Hbr. and Bib. — HALOT; Pho. — Tomb.; Pal. — Sok.; Syr. — Brock.; Mnd. — DM; Urm. — Tser. and Sarg.; Qur. — Pen. and BK; Leb., Mlt. — native speakers, Mec. — Sat.; Sab. — SD; Gez. — LGz; Tna. — native speakers and Kane T; Tgr. — a native speaker and LH; Amh. — native speakers, Baet. and Kane A; Arg. — LArg; Gaf. — LGaf; Sod. and Cha. — native speakers and LGur; Har. — a native speaker and LHar; Wol. — LGur; Hrs. — a native speaker and JH; Mhr. — native speakers, JM and Nak. 1986; Hob. — Nak. 2013; Jib. — native speakers, JJ and Nak. 1986; Soq. — data collected by L. Kogan in Soqotra, LS, JM, JJ and Nak. 1986.

Abbreviations of languages, language periods and sources:

Afras. — Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Akk. — Akkadian; Amh. — Amharic; Arb. — Arabic; Arg. — Argobba; Arm. — Aramaic; BD — Book of the Dead; Brb. — Berber; Bib. — Biblical Aramaic; C. — Central; Chad. — Chadic; Clas. — Classical; Cush. — Cushitic; Dyn. — Dynasty; E. — East; Egyp. — Egyptian; ESA — Epigraphic Sout Arabian; Eth. — Ethiopian; Gaf. — Gafat; Gez. — Geʿez; Gur. — Gurage; Har. — Harari; HEC — Highland East Cushitic; Hbr. — Hebrew; Hob. — Hobyot; Hrs. — Harsusi; Jib. — Jibbali (= Shaḥri); Jud. — Judaic Aramaic; Leb. — Lebanese Arabic; LEC — Lowland East Cushitic; Mlt. — Maltese Arabic; Mec. — Meccan Arabic; Med. — Medical texts; Mhr. — Mehri; MK — Middle Kingdom; Mnd. — Mandaic Aramaic; Mod. — Modern; MSA — Modern South Arabian; N. — North; NK — New Kingdom; OK — Old Kingdom; Omot. — Omotic; P. — Proto; Pal. — Palestinian Aramaic; pB. — postbiblical; Pho. — Phoenician; Pyr. — Pyramid Texts; Qur. — Qur’anic Arabic; S. — South; Sab. — Sabaic; Sel. — Selti; Sem. — Semitic; Sod. — Soddo; Soq. — Soqotri; Syr. — Syrian Aramaic; Tna. — Tigriñña (= Tigray); Tgr. — Tigre; Ugr. — Ugaritic; Urm. — Urmian Neo-Aramaic; W. — West; Wol. — Wolane.

Other abbreviations:

acc. — according (to); lw. — loanword; met. — metathesis; pl. — plural; rel. — related; syn. — synonym.

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; 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 $\check{ḣ}$); c — alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; $ɟ$ — alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; \check{c} — palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ]; $\check{ḣ}$ — palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dʒ]; ς — hissing emphatic voiceless fricative; ζ — emphatic voiceless affricate; ζ — 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; $\hat{\varsigma}$ — lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; $\hat{\zeta}$ — 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); *ħ* – pharyngeal voiceless fricative; *ʕ* – pharyngeal stop (“ayin”), *h* – laryngeal voiceless fricative; *ʔ* – glottal stop (“aleph”, “hamza”), *y* – palatal resonant; *ʕ* and *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* renders a non-specified sibilant.
- /* when separates two symbols means “or”, e.g. **ʔi/abar-* should be read “either **ʔibar-* or **ʔabar-*”.
- () a symbol in round brackets means “with or without this symbol”, e.g. **ba(w)r-* should be read “**baʔwr-* or **bar-*”.
- ~ means “and” pointing to two or more co-existing proto-forms.

1. ALL

- (1) Akk. (OB), MB *kalû*; Ugr. *kl*; Hbr. *kōl*; Pho. *kl*; Bib. *kōl*; Pal. *kwl, kol*; Syr. *kul*; Mnd. *kul*; Urm. *kəl*; Qur. *kull-*; Leb. *kəll*; Mec. *kull*; Mlt. *kolla*; Sab. *kll*; Gez. *kʷəllu*; Tna. *kʷəllu*; Tgr. *kəllu*; Amh. *hullu*; Gaf. *yəlhʷä* (< **yalkʷ-*, met.); Sod. *kulləm*; Cha. *ənnəm*; Har. *kullu*; Wol. *hulləm*; Hrs. *kal(l)*; Mhr. *kal*; Hob. *kall*; Jib. *ka(h)l* // < Sem. **kʷall-u*.
- (2) Arg. *muli* // < Sem. **mlʔ* ‘to be full’ (v. FULL #1).
- (3) Soq. *faḥere* // < Sem. **pḥr* ‘to gather’, **paḥir-* ‘totality, gathering’ (Mil. 2010; Kog. LE 466).
→ Proto-Semitic **kʷall-u* (#1) < Afras. **k(ʷ)al-* ‘all, each, much’ (Mil. 2010).

2. ASHES

- (1) Akk. (MB) *ʔ/dikmēnu* (‘ashes, soot, residue’; wr. syll. *ʔi-ki-ni* CAD ʔ 110); Pal. *ḫṭm*; Syr. *ḫeṭm-*; Mnd. *giṭm-*; Urm. *ḫiṭm-* // Arb. *ḫatām-* ‘poussière’ (BK 2 675) < Sem. **ḫiṭām-* ~ **ṭiḫm-* < Afras. **ṭiḫm/n-*: N.Omot. **ḫiak/ḫn-* (< **ṭVyak/ḫn-*) ‘ashes’: Gimirra (Benesho, She) *ḫiakn*, Dizi (Sheko) *ḫiakin*, (Maji) *ḫeyakn* (ADB).
 - (2) Ugr. *ḫmr* // likely < **(tV-)ḫVmr-* (v. Mil. 2010 #1); cf. W.Chad.: S.Bauchi: Jum *mùrún*, Mangas *mwúrùn*, ḫúrurḫ, Kir *mwurín*, Laar *ḫḫoro* ‘ashes’ (< **murun-*) and with met. (a variant root?): E.Cush.: Afar *rama* ‘hot ashes’, LEC: Arbore *rómm*, Elmolo *rôm* ‘ashes’, Yaaku *hroon*, pl. *hroómê* (*h-* is not < **ḫ*; allegedly < Masai) ‘ashes’ (ADB).
 - (3) Hbr. *ʔēpār* // < Sem. **ʔapar-* ‘dust, soil; ashes’ (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **(ʔa-)ʔar-* ‘k. of poor, unfertile soil’: Egyp. (Pyr.) *ḫ.t* (if < **ḫVr-t*) ‘dust (?)’; Chad. W.: Hausa *fàrà* ‘dry soil’. C.: Gaanda *fīr-tà*, Boka *fur-tà* ‘ground’, Masa *fūl-là* (*-l* can be < **r* – v. St. 2005 9) ‘uncultivated land’, E.: Migama *paar* ‘barren soil’, Mokilko *pùùré* ‘dust’ (*p* < **p/f*); E.Cush.: LEC: Dase-nech *faara* ‘clay’ (ADB).
 - (4) Pho. *ʔry* // < Sem. **ʔūr-* ~ **ʔirr-* ‘fire’, **ʔry* ~ **wry* ‘set fire to’ (v. Mil. 2010 #3) < Afras. **ʔu/ir-* ‘fire, to burn’: Egyp. (Gr.) *ir.t* ‘flame’; Chad. W.: Boghom *yarwi* ‘burn’, C. **war-* ~ **ʔur-* ‘burn, roast in ash, hot’, E. **ʔy/war-* ‘burn, warm oneself’; Cush. E.: Afar *ur-* ‘burn’ (ADB).
 - (5) Qur. *ramād-*; Leb. *rməd*; Mec. *rumād*; Mlt. *ərmit*; Hrs. *reməd*; Mhr. *rmid*; Hob. *rmiid*; Jib. *rīd*; Soq. *rimid* (less likely < Arb.: common MSA term with derived forms in all the languages) // < Arb.-MSA **rVmVd-*.
 - (6) Gez. *ḫamad*; Tna. *ḫamäḫʷəsti* or *ḫamäd ḫʷəsti* (on *ḫʷəsti* see Mil. 2010); Tgr. *ḫamäd*; Amh. *amäd* (syn.: *afär* – v. #3); Arg. *hamäd*; Sod. Cha. *amäd*; Har. *ḫamäd*; Wol. *amäd* // Either < Sem. **ḫmd* (with *ḫ-* in Gez. to be treated as a scribe’s mistake for **ḫ-*) or, less likely, < Sem. **ḫmd* ‘to be hot’ (v. discussion in Mil. 2010).
- ◇ No terms in Bib., Sab. and Gaf.

- North and West Semitic **tikm-* ~ **kiṭām-* (#1).
 → (?) South and West (Arb.) Semitic **rVmVd-* (#5; unless MSA < Arb.); with met. < Sem. **midr-* ‘dust, dirt’ not to be ruled out (v. Mil. 2010).

3. BARK

- (1) Akk. (OB) *ḫuliptu*; Syr. *ḫalāpat-*; Urm. *ḫalpa*; Hrs. *ḫelfēt*; Mhr. *ḫalifūt*; Jib. *ḫiṣifōt* (syn.: *ḫaṣrot* ‘husk, peel, skin’ in JJ, but ‘bark’, acc. to my informants — v. #3); Soq. *ḫalifoḥ* // < Sem. **ḫal(i)p-* (Mil. 2010; cf. Kog. LE 474).
 (2) Mnd. *masik-* // < Sem. **mališk-* ‘skin’ (v. SKIN #1).
 (3) Leb. *ʔišri*; Mec. *gišra* // < Sem. **ḫVšr-* (Mil. 2010).
 (4) Gez. *lāḫṣ*; Tna. *lāḫṣi* (syn.: *ḫ^wərbāt* — v. Mil. 2010 #5 and Note, *ḫārāf* — v. #5); Tgr. *lāḫṣ* (syn.: *ḫārāf* — v. #5); Amh. *laṭ* (syn.: *ḫārfit* — v. #5); Arg. *lihinto*; Har. *inči lāḫit* (“tree bark”); Wol. *lāččače* // < Eth. **lhṣ* ‘to peel, bark’, likely < Sem. **lhṣ/hlṣ* ‘to draw off, peel’ (Mil. 2010).
 (5) Har. *ḫārfit* // < Arb.-Eth. **ḫVrp-* (LGz 441) < Afras. **ḫ^warp-* (Mil. 2010 Note).
 (6) Sod. *kana* (syn.: *ḫārfit* — v. #5), Cha. *ḫara* // only Gur. (Mil. 2010).
 ◇ Mlt. *barka* is a lw., likely < English; no terms in Ugr., Hbr.; Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Gaf. and Hob.
 → Proto-Semitic **ḫal(i)p-* (#1) < Afras. **ḫalp-* (Mil. 2010); add Chad. W.: Bade *kulbàk* (-*lb-* < **-lf-*), pl. *kulbàn* ‘bark of tree’, C.: Cuvok *kàkàlâf* ‘bark’ (St. 2011 #349b **[k]VIV[f]*- assumed to be a derived noun < **kVl-*). Note that **ḫal(i)p-*, **ḫVrp-* (and **ḫ^wirb-at-*) are variant roots not at the Proto-Sem. but at the Proto-Afras. level; cf. Kog. LE 475).

4. BELLY

- (1) Akk. (OB) *karšu*; Syr. *kars-*; Mnd. *kars-*; Urm. *ki(r)s-*; Gez. *karṣ* (syn.: *kabd* — v. #2); Tna. *kārṣi* (and *kābdi* — v. #2); Tgr. *kāršāt* (syn.: *kābād* — v. #2); Arg. *kārs*, *hars*; Gaf. *arsä*, Sod. *kārs*; Har. *kārṣi* // < Sem. **kar(i)ṣ-* (SED I #151).
 (2) Ugr. *kbd* (?); Amh. *hod* // < Sem. **kabid(-at)-*, v. in LIVER #2 (for a possible meaning ‘belly’ in Ugr. see Kog. LE).
 (3) Hbr. *bāṭān*; Qur. *baṭn-*; Leb. *baṭan*; Mec. *baṭin* // < Sem. **baṭn-* (SED I #42).
 (4) Bib. **məḏē* (pl. suff. *məḏōhī*) // (debatable: in Gn. 3:14 translates Hbr. *gāḥōn* ‘belly (of snakes and reptiles)’ HALOT 187) < Sem. **maḏay/w-at-* ‘intestines, entrails’ (SED I #185) < Afras. **mVṣay-* ‘entrails, liver’: E.Chad.: Gadang *mùtyò* ‘liver’; Cush. E.: LEC: Oromo *moḷo* ‘loins, back’, Bussa *māyē* ‘liver’; N.Omot. **maḏay-* ‘liver; heart’ (not < **mayz-* contra Mil. 2010) ADB.
 (5) Wol. *dāl*; Cha. *dān* // either < Sem. **dan(V)n-* ‘viscera, inner organ, intestine’ (SED I #54) with a parallel in Brb. or < Arb.-Eth. **dawl-* ‘stomach, interior’ (Mil. 2010).
 (6) Hrs. *höfel* (syn.: *kērāṣ* — v. #1); Mhr. *höfel* (syn. *kīrāṣ* — v. #1); Hob. *hóofal*; Jib. *šofal* (syn.: *širṣ* — v. #1) // < Sem. **ṣ_xV(n)pVl-* (SED I 271; on *ṣ_x* v. *ibid.* XLVIII–CV). Note that my continental MSA informants gave preference for the forms derived from **šofal*; the same follows from Nak. 1986 (cf. discussion in Kog. LE 475) and is corroborated by Hob.
 (7) Soq. *mer* (syn.: *ḫant* — v. Mil. 2010 #8 and Kog. LE 476) // either < Sem. **mar?*- ‘fat’ (v. FAT #9) or, less likely, < **mil(ar)Vr(-at)-* ‘gall, gall-bladder’ (SED I #188).
 ◇ Mlt. *stonku* < Italian or English; no term in Pho., Pal., Sab.
 → North and West Semitic (Proto-Semitic with the MSA syn.) **kar(i)ṣ-* (#1).
 → West Semitic **baṭn-* (#3) < Afras. **ba/uṭ(n)-* ‘belly’: Brb. **buṭ-*: Ntifa *a-buḏ* ‘belly’, Audjila *a-bûṭ* ‘navel’, etc.; (?) Egypt. (Med.) *bnd* ‘difficult delivery’; Chad. W. **buṭ-* ‘belly, stomach’, C.: Bata *butiye* ‘navel’, Hurso *búdubúdu* ‘stomach’ (ADB).

5. BIG

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *rabû*; Ugr. *rb*, *rabbu*; Pho. *rb*; Bib. *rab*; Pal. *rb*; Syr. *rabb-*; Mnd. *rba* // < Sem. **rabb-* (HALOT 1170); Arm. forms are thought by some authors of being < Akk. on grounds I fail to understand.
 - (2) Hbr. *gādōl* // < Sem. **gVdVl-* (Mil. 2010) // perhaps derived, with root extension *-l* < Afras. **gVd-* ‘big, many’ (v. #9).
 - (3) Qur. *kabīr-*; Leb. *kbeyr*; Mec. *kabiyr*; Mlt. *kbīr* // < Sem. **kbr* ‘be big, thick, plenty’ (v. Mil. 2010 #4) < Afras. **kabir-* ‘big, thick’: W.Chad.: Hausa *kábrí*, *kauri* ‘thickness’, Mangas *gibàr* ‘be thick’, Boghom *kibur-de*, Tala *kibùr* ‘be heavy’; N.Omot.: Yamsa *kupira* ‘all’.
 - (4) Sab. *bht* // one attestation (Stein 721), strangely isolated (v. DRS).
 - (5) Gez. *ʕabiy*; Tna. *ʕabiy*; Tgr. *ʕabi* // < Sem. **ʕlʕby* ‘to be big, thick’ (LGz 55; add Arb. *wʕb* ‘prendre tout, s’emparer de toute la chose; amasser, amonceler’ BK 2 1565) < Afras. *(*w/yV-*)*ʕlʕVb-* ‘to be big, piled up’: Egypt. (OK) *yʕb* ‘vereinigen’; (?) Chad. (if *h-* may continue **ʕ* or *ʕ*) W.: Hausa *hábi* ‘the increase in size’, C.: Mafa *hab-* ‘faire grandir (plaie)’ (ADB).
 - (6) Amh. *tə-llək*; Sod. *ma-läk* (syn.: *gəddər* — v. #9); Cha. *nək* (syn.: *əmmiyä* — v. #8) // < Sem. **lhk* ‘to grow, be big, numerous’ (cf. LGz 309).
 - (7) Arg. *läham*, *näham* // < Sem. **IVhVm-*; cf. a couple of Afras. parallels (Mil. 2010).
 - (8) Gaf. *əmmuna* // likely < Sem. **ʔu/imm-* ‘mother’ (v. Mil. 2010).
 - (9) Har. *g(i)dūr*, Wol. *gädärä* // < Eth.-Arb. **gdr* ‘to grow, grow big’, presumably, with fossilized **-r* < Afras. **gVd(d)-* ‘big, many’ (Mil. 2010; add Chad. **gVd-* ‘big, strong, many’ St. 2001 #504).
 - (10) Hrs. *šoḥ* (f. *nyōb* — v. Mil. 2010 #11); Mhr. *šoḥ* (also ‘old’; f. *nōb* — v. Mil. 2010 #11); Hob. *šooh* // < Sem. **šyh-* ‘to grow big or old’ (Mil. 2010).
 - (11) Jib. *ʔeb* (m.; f. *ʔum* — v. #8) // likely < Sem. **ʔab-* ‘father’ (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ʔab-* ‘father’.
 - (12) Soq. *ʕəkar* (syn.: m. *ʔeb*, *heb* — v. #11, f. *ʔām* — v. #8) // < Arb.-MSA **ʕkr* ‘to grow up, big’ < Afras. **ʕVḵ^wVr-* id.: Brb. **a-mVḵḵ^war-an* ‘big’; Chad. **ḵVr-* ‘to increase’ (St. 2011 #392) and W.: Tala *kwoori* ‘big’ (ADB).
- ◇ Urm. *gūr* < Kurdish *gaur*, *gūr*.
- North and West Semitic: **rabb-* (#1) < Afras.**rVb-*: Chad. W.: Hausa *riibà*, *rúbà* ‘multiply, exceed’, C.: Bura *rioribu* ‘many’ (St. 2005 #706); Omot.: Ongota *arba* ‘big’.

6. BIRD

- (1) Akk. (OB) *iššuru*, Ugr. *ʕsr* // < Akk.-Ugr. **ʕVššūr-*.
- (2) Hbr. *šippōr*; Pho. *spr*; Bib. *šippar*; Pal. *šypr*; Syr. *šəppər-* (syn.: *ʕayr-* — v. #3, *pārah-t-* v. Mil. 2010 #4); Mnd. *šipr-*; Urm. *siḗr-* (syn.: *ʕayr-* — v. #3), Mlt. (*gh*)*asfūr* (with a common Arb. root extension *ʕ-*) // < Sem. **šVp(p)Vr-* (Mil. 2010).
- (3) Qur. *ʕayr-*; Leb. *ʕayr*; Mec. *ʕayr* // < Sem. **ʕayr-* (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ʕay/wr-* ‘bird’: E.Chad.: Tumak *dāri* ‘bird’ (likely < **ʕVri*, not **dVHr-*: cf. Tumak *dōr* ‘turtle-dove’); N.Omot.: Kafa *ṭōro* ‘vulture’.
- (4) Gez. *ʕof*; Tna. *ʕuf*; Tgr. *ʕuf*; Amh. *wof*; Arg. *of*, *wof*; Gaf. *yəf^wä*; Sod. *wof*, *of*; Cha. *af^w*; Har. *ūf*; Wol. *ūf^w* // < Sem. **ʕawp-* ‘bird’ < Afras. **ʕa(w)p-* ‘bird; to fly’ (Mil. 2010 #5).
- (5) Tgr. *sārerät* // acc. to LGz 514, < Sem. **šrr* ‘to fly, jump’ (Eth.; quoted ibid. forms in other Sem. are not in the main dictionaries); likely rel. to Chad. **sVwVr-* ‘kite’ (St. 2009 #341).
- (6) Hrs. *ʔakāb*; Mhr. *ʔakabit*; Hob. *ʔikiibit*; Jib. *ʕəšyet* // < Arb.-MSA **ʕakVb-* ‘vulture; bird’ (Mil. 2010 #7; cf. probably with met. and an odd meaning shift, Syr. *ḵūʕb-* ‘avis cantans’ Brock. 667a); cf. isolated C.Chad.: Boka *koḗ* ‘kite’ (ADB).

(7) Soq. *noyhir* // < Sem. **nVšr*- ‘eagle, vulture’ (SED II #166), perhaps, with fossilized *n*-, rel. to #5.

◇ No term in Sab.

→ North and West Semitic (Ugr.) **Vššūr*- (#1), with met. < Afras. **çirāf*- (Mil. 2010).

→ West Semitic **šVp(p)Vr*- (#2) < Afras. **çilapur*- (Mil. 2010).

7. BITE

(1) Akk. (OB) *našāku*; Ugr. *ntk*; Hbr. *nšk*; Gez. *nsk*; Hrs. *netōk*; Mhr. *netk* // < Sem. **ntk* (LGz 420).

(2) Pal. Syr. Mnd. *nkt*; Tna. *nākāsā*; Tgr. *nākša*; Amh. Arg. Gaf. *nākkāsā*; Sod. *nākkāsām*; Cha. *nākkāsām*; Har. *nākāsā*; Wol. *nākāsā* // < Sem. **nkṭ* (v. Mil. 2010).

(3) Urm. *krṭ* // < Sem. **k^wrṭ* ‘to cut, pinch’ (Mil. 2010).

(4) Qur. Leb. Mec. *ḡdḡ* // < Sem. **ḡḡḡ* with Afras. parallels, eventually likely < Arb.-MSA **Vḡā/īḡ*- < Afras. **ḡaḡ(ḡaḡ)*- ‘cheekbone, (lower)jaw’ (v. BONE #3).

(5) Mlt. *gidem* // Either < **gdm* or < **kdm* (Mil. 2010).

(6) Hob. *ḡāār* (syn.: *sūt*); Jib. *ḡaḡar* // for debatable Sem. parallels v. Mil. 2010; cf. Chad. verbs **ḡVVr*- ‘to rip, tear away’ (St. 2007 #357) and **ḡVr*- ‘to split (wood)’ (ibid. #360).

(7) Soq. *ḡuḡob* (syn.: *ḡarḡeb* — v. Mil. 2010 #7) // perhaps with met. < Soq. *ḡaḡob* (not in LS) ‘wound’, Mhr. *ḡāḡāwb* ‘to be imperfectly healed (a broken bone)’, *māḡābēt* ‘cut’, Jib. *maḡḡot* id., Hrs. *ḡāḡōb* ‘to wound’ (all JM 39).

◇ No terms in Pho., Bib., or Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic **ntk* (#1) with probable Chad. and problematic Egypt. parallels (Mil. 2010).

→ West Semitic **nkṭ* (#2) < Afras. *(*nV*-)*kVč*- ‘tooth; biting’ (Mil. 2010). The reasons why these two roots are scored differently are given in Mil. 2010, footnote 26.

8. BLACK

(1) Akk. (O) *šalmu*; Sab. *ḡlm* (?); Gez. *ḡallim*; Tna. *ḡallim*; Tgr. *ḡallim*; Gaf. *ḡallāma* (syn.: *ḡaḡurā* — v.#5); Harari *ḡäy*; Wol. *ḡem* // < Sem. **ḡlm* ‘to be black’ (Mil. 2010).

(2) Hbr. *ḡāḡōr* // < Sem. **ḡḡr* ‘to be black’ (Mil. 2010).

(3) Pal. *ḡwkm*, *ḡkwmm*; Syr. *ḡukkām*- (syn.: *ḡānāḡ* — v. Mil. 2010 #4) < Sem. *(*ḡa*-)*kaḡwm*- ‘black, dark’ < Afras. **kVm*- ‘black’ (Mil. 2010).

(4) Qur. *ḡaswad*-; Leb. *ḡaswād*; Mec. *ḡaswad*; Mlt. *ḡiswet* // for possible Sem. cognates and parallels in Chad. v. Mil. 2010 #5, for Chad. v. also **sVwVḡ*- ‘dark, black’ (St. 2009 #100) and **swaḡ*- ‘faeces’ (ibid. #99).

(5) Amh. *ḡaḡwār*; Arg. Sod. Cha. *ḡaḡur* // < Eth. **ḡkr* ‘to be black’, **ḡaḡar* ‘soot’ (Mil. 2010 #6).

(6) Hrs. *ḡéwer*; Mhr. *ḡōwār* (*ḡḡr*); Hob. *ḡóowār*; Jib. *ḡḡr*; Soq. *ḡohar*, *ḡaur* // < Sem. **ḡḡwr* ‘to be black and white’ (Mil. 2010 #7); cf. C.Chad. **waraḡ*- (with met. < **Hwr*?) ‘black’: Masa *wuraḡa*, Peve *oraḡ*, Musey *waraḡa*, Zime-Batna *rowa* (ADB).

◇ No terms in Ugr., Pho., or Bib.

→ North and West Semitic **ḡlm* (#1) < Afras. **ḡilam*- ‘to be dark, black’ (Mil. 2010).

9. BLOOD

(1) Akk. (OB) *dāmu*; Ugr. *dm*; Hbr. *dām*; Pho. *dm*; Pal. *ḡadam*, *ḡydm*; Syr. *dām*-; Urm. *dim*-; Qur. *dam*-; Leb. Mec. *damm*; Mlt. *dem*; Sab. *dm*; Gez. Tna. Tgr. Amh. Arg. Sod. Cha. Har. Wol. *dām*; Gaf. *dām^{wä}* // < Sem. **dam*- (SED I #50).

(2) Mnd. *zma* // < Sem. **zam*- < Afras. **zam*(?)- ‘blood’ (Mil. 2010).

(3) Hrs. *ḡōreḡ*; Mhr. *ḡōr-ah*; Jib. *ḡohr*; Soq. *dör* // < MSA **ḡrḡ/y/w* ‘to bleed’ < Sem. **ḡrḡ/y/w* ~ **ḡrr* ~ **ḡrḡr* ‘to scatter, spread (seed), disperse, winnow’ (DRS 340, 342) < Afras. **ḡVr*- (v. SEED #2).

◇ No term in Bib.

→ North and West Semitic **dam-* (#1) < Afras. **dam-* ‘blood’ (Mil. 2010).

10. BONE

(1) Akk. (OB) *ešemtu*; Ugr. *šzm*; Hbr. *ššām*; Pho. *šsm*; Qur. *šazm-*; Leb. *šazam*; Mec. *šazum*; Mlt. (*gh*)*adma*; Gez. *šaşəm*; Tna. *šaşmi*; Tgr. *šäčəm*; Amh. *šatənt*; Arg. *hašəm*, *ašənt*; Gaf. *ašm^wä*; Sod. Cha. Wol. *ašəm*; Har. *āt* // < Sem. **šatm(-at)-* (SED I #25).

(2) Bib. *gəram*; Pal. *grm*; Syr. Urm. *garm-*; Mnd. *girm-* // < Sem. **gVrm-* ‘body; bone’ (SED I #94).

(3) Hrs. *šāzayz*; Mehri *šāzayz*; Hob. *šiišēēš*; Jib. *šayčēč* // < Arb.-MSA **šVšā/īš-* (v. SED I #24) < Afras. **šāč(šaç)-* ‘cheekbone, (lower) jaw’ (Mil. 2010).

(4) Soq. *šēhloh* // perhaps with met. < Sem. **šVlš-* ‘loin, hip’ (Mil. 2010); otherwise, cf. Arb. *hlš* ‘to be fractured (bone)’ and *hašil-* ‘tail’.

◇ No term in Sab.

→ North and West Semitic **šatm(-at)-* (#1).

11. BREAST

(1) Akk. (OAKk on) *irtu*; Ugr. *širt* (syn. *td* — v.#2) // < Sem. **šir(r)-at-* (Mil. 2012).

(2) Hbr. *šōd* (partial syn.: *hāzā* ‘breast of a sacrificial animal’, 7 attestations, in the “Priestly” narrative only HALOT 301 — v. #3); Pal. *td*; Hrs. *tōdi*; Mhr. *tōdi*; Hob. *tōoda*; Jib. *tode?* (syn.: *gēhe?* — v.#6) // < Sem. **šVdy-* ‘breast’ (SED I #280).

(3) Bib. *hādē*; Syr. *hady-* (syn.: *tād-* ‘pectus’ — v. #2); Mnd. *hady* // < Hbr.-Arm. **had(V)y-* ‘breast’ (SED I #112).

(4) Qur. *šadr-*; Leb. *sidr-*; Mec. *šadr*; Mlt. *sidēr* // for debatable parallels outside Arb. v. Mil. 2010.

(5) Gez. *šab* ‘breast, teat’; syn.: *šəngəd/šā* ‘chest, breast’ — v. Mil. 2010 #5); Tna. *šub*; Tgr. *šab*; Amh. Arg. *šut*; Gaf. *šūwwä*; Sod. *šabuuyä*; Cha. *šu*; Har. *šōt*; Wol. *šub* // < Sem. **šVb-* ‘teat’ (SED I #277).

(6) Soq. *gehe* (syn.: *todi* — v. #2) // presumably < Sem. **gaw(w)i?*- ‘(front part of) body; chest, belly; interior’ (SED I #99) < Afras. **g^way-* ‘body; corpse; belly; breast’: Eyp. (Pyr.) *d.t* ‘body’ (if < **gV-t*), *ngšyy* ‘belly’; Chad. **gaw-* ‘corpse, carcass’ (St. 2011 #434), C.: Gidar *gu-duf-ko* ‘body’ (*def* ‘person’), E.: Tumak *gàu*, Ndam *gàwu*, Kera *gàw* ‘breast’, Sokoro *goi* ‘corpse’; N.Omot. **gaw-* ‘belly’, Kafa *gētō* ‘breast’ (ADB).

◇ No terms in Pho. and Sab. Urm. *šadr-* < Arab.

→ North and West Semitic (Ugr.) **šir(r)-at-* (#1) < Afras. **šVr(a)r-* chest and belly’ (Mil. 2010).

→ South and West Semitic **šVdy-* (#2); cf. E.Cush.: LEC: Konso *sataata* (< **sadad-*), Arbore *sede* ‘heart’ (ADB).

12. BURN (tr.)

(1) Akk. (OB) *šarāpu*; Ugr. *šrp* (syn.: *hrr* — v. #8); Hbr. *šrp* // < Sem. **šrp* (HALOT 1358).

(2) Bib. Pal. *ykd*; Syr. *š-ykd*; Urm. *kwd* (with met.) // < Sem. **y/wkd* (HALOT 430) < Afras. **wVkd-* ~ **kVwVd-* ‘to burn’: Brb. **(w/yV)kd-* ‘to burn’, **iyd* ‘ashes’ (ADB); Chad. **kVd-* (< **kVd-*) ‘to burn; to boil’ (St. 2011 #75).

(3) Mnd. *kla* // < Sem. **klw* (LGz 431) < Afras. **kVl(-Vm)-* ‘hot, burning’: Coptic: Fayumic *klōm* ‘hot’; Chad. **kVl-*, **kVlVm-* ~ **kVmVl-* ‘charcoal’ (St. 2011 #205), C.: Bachama *kwalkwal* ‘hotness’; Cush. E.: LEC **kul-* ‘warm, hot’, Dullay **kāl-* ‘sun’, S.: Qwadza *kalem-uko* ‘charcoal’; perhaps N.Omot. **ko/al-* ‘dry’ (ADB).

(4) Qur. *hrk* VIII; Leb. *harrā?*; Mec. *harak*; Cha. *māk’ärä* (revised from Mil. 2010 #11 where a different etymology relying on LGur 400 was accepted) // cf. variant roots with met. in Eth.:

**krh* ‘burn, be hot’ (LGz 441) and **khr* id. (ibid. 425), all < Afras. **hVrVḵ-* ~ **rVḵVh-* ~ **karah-* ‘burning, drying’ (v. Mil. 2010; add E.Cush.: LEC: Somali *korrah* ‘sun’, *karah-* ‘dry’, Boni *orrah*, Rendille *orra(h)* ‘sun’ ADB).

- (5) Mlt. *ṭabbat* // for possible parallels v. Mil. 2010.
- (6) Sab. *wft* // < Eth.-Sab.; for possible Afras. parallels v. Mil. 2010.
- (7) Gez. *ʔandada* (syn.: *ʔahrara-* v.#8, *wafaṭa* — v. Mil. 2010 #7, *ʔawṣaya* — v. Mil. 2010 #9); Tna. *ʔanāddādā* (syn.: *harärä*, *ʔahrärä* — v. #8, *ʔaḵkaṣälä* — v. #9); Sod. *änāddādä* // for possible Sem. parallels v. Mil. 2010.
- (8) Tgr. *harärä* // < Sem. **hrr* (HALOT 357, LGz 243).
- (9) Amh. *aḵattälä*; Arg. *aḵḵattälä*; Gaf. (tä)ḵattälä // < Mod. Eth. **ḵsl* (Mil. 2010 #11).
- (10) Har. *māgāda*; Wol. *magāda* // only Mod. Eth. (v. Mil. 2010 #12).
- (11) Mhr. *hə-nhū*; Hob. *anhū*; Jib. *e-nhé*; Soq. *ə-nhi* // likely < **n-ḥw/y* (v. FIRE #4).
 ◇ Hrs. *hrōḵ* must be < Arb.; no term in Pho.
 → North and West Semitic: **šrp* (#1).

13. CLAW (FINGERNAIL)

- (1) Akk. (OB) *šupru*; Hbr. *šippōrān*; Bib. *ṭapar*; Pal. *ṭpr*; Syr. *ṭepr-*; Mnd. *ṭupr-*; Urm. *ṭarp-* (with met.); Qur. *zufr-*; Leb. *zafir*; Mec. *zafir*; Mlt. *dufrēy*; Gez. *ṣafar*; Tna. *čafri*; Tgr. *čafar*; Amh. Sod. Cha. Wol. *ṭafar*; Arg. *čafar*; Gaf. *ṣafra*; Har. *ṭifir*; Hrs. *ḍefir* (syn.: *kef* — v. #2); Hob. *ṭiifeér*; Soq. *ṭifer* // < Sem. **ṭip(V)r-* (SED I #285).
- (2) Mhr. *kaf* (syn.: *ḍfēr* — v. #1); Jib. *kéf* (syn.: *ḍifēr* — v. #1) // < Sem. **kapp-* ‘palm, flat of hand or foot’ (SED I #148) < Afras. **ka/u(n)p-* ‘claw, flat of hand or foot’: Egyp. (NE) *kp* ‘sole’; Chad. W.: Hausa *ákáifā*, *káifāfā* ‘claw, talon’, E.: Kera *kámpá* ‘leg’; E.Cush.: LEC: Arbore *kunúf* ‘claw, nail, hoof’, Dasenech *konof* ‘finger, hoof’, Elmolo *kúnuf* ‘nail’ (ADB).
 ◇ No terms in Ugr., Pho. and Sab.
 → Common Semitic: **ṭip(V)r-* (#1) < Afras. **čipar-* ~ *žafir-* ~ **žaruf-* (part of the correspondences irregular) ‘claw, fingernail’; add (?) W.Chad. Ngamo *šaptirò* ‘fingernail’; N.Omot.: Gamo *woršofa* (with met.) ‘claw’, Kafa *yafaroo* (< **žafar-*?) ‘finger’ (ADB).

14. CLOUD

- (1) Akk. (OB) *erpetu*; Ugr. *šrp-t* // < Sem. **šVrp-* (Mil. 2010).
- (2) Hbr. *šānān* (syn.: *šāb* — v. #3); Bib. *šānān*; Pal. *šānan*; Syr. *šānān-*; Mnd. *anan-* (syn.: *ib(a)* — v. #2) // < Sem. **γayn(an)-* (v. Mil. 2010).
- (3) Urm. *šayb-* (syn.: (š)nān- — v. Mil. 2010) // < Sem. **γayb-* (HALOT 773), likely < Afras. **γay/wb-* ‘cloud’: Egyp. (Gr.) *wšb.t* ‘sky’; Chad. W. **H(y)ab-* ‘cloud’: Dear *ábé*, Pero *yéḥu*, E. Tumak *ūbāy* id. (ADB).
- (4) Qur. *saḥāb-*; Mec. *siḥāb*; Mlt. *šhāp* // apparently < Arb. *šhb* ‘traîner par terre’ (BK 1 1957, cf. *saḥāb-* ‘nuage (surtout quand poussé par le vent il est en mouvement)’ ibid.) < Sem. **šhb* ‘to drag, pull’ (LGz 492–3; HALOT 749; LS 284).
- (5) Leb. *γeym*; Sab. *γymt* (Stein; one attestation) // < Sem. **γaym-*: Arb. *γaym-*, Syr. *šaym-* ‘nebula’ (Brock. 522).
- (6) Gez. *dammānā*; Amh. Gaf. *dämmāna*; Arg. *dammāna*, *dona* // < Eth. **daman-* < Sem. **dalim(-an)-* ‘cloud, fog, rain’ < Afras. **dim(-an)-* ‘cloud, rain’ (v. Mil. 2010).
- (7) Tna. *dābāna* (syn.: *dämmāna* — v. #6); Har. *dāna*; Wol. *dābāna*; Sod. *dabāna* (syn.: *dämmāna* — v. #6); Cha. *dabāra* // < Mod. Eth. **daban-* < Sem. **dVb(a)b-* ‘to fall, flow drop by drop’: Hbr. *dobēb* ‘qui coule goutte à goutte’, Amh. *dubb* alā ‘couler, tomber goutte à goutte’, etc. (DRS 204) < Afras. **dub(-an)-*: E.Chad.: Kera (of Fianga) *dubueni* ‘rain’; E.Cush.: LEC: Rendille *dubbat*, Bayso *dumbo*, Hadiya *duuba* ‘cloud’; Omot. N.: Dizi (Maji) *dieb* ‘to rain’, S.: Dime

diibe, Ari *doobi*, Hamar *dubi* ‘rain’ (ADB; a variant root of **dim(-an)-* #6, perhaps contaminated with the latter: the etymological decision differs from Mil. 2010 #6).

- (8) Tgr. *gimät* // < Eth. **gim-* with Cush. parallels (or sources of borrowing), v. Mil. 2010 #7.
- (9) Hrs. *ʔāfor*; Mhr. *ʔafur*; Jib. *ʔafor* // likely a meaning shift from ‘dust cloud’ (cf. Hrs. *ʔāfor* ‘cloud, dust wind’ JH 6) < Sem. **ʕapar-* ‘dust, soil’, incl. Sab. *ʕpr* ‘sowing (land) before rain’ (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ʕapur-* ~ **pVrʕ-* ~ **rV(HV)p-* ‘rain-watered or irrigable land/soil; sowing or planting (in such soil)’ (ADB; one of the terms likely pointing to agriculture practiced at least by Proto-North Afrasian speakers, differs from Mil. 2010): Brb.: Ahaggar *a-fara*, pl. *i-ferw-ân* ‘lieu couvert de végétation persistante’; Egypt. (Pyr.) *p;ʕ.t* ‘irrigable land’; Chad. W.: Zul *rupi* ‘dig ground for planting’, C.: Mofu *-rəv-* ‘planter’ (St. 2005 #739), E.: Sokoro *ripe* ‘earth’ (cf. *ibid.* #744).
- (10) Soq. *ʕälhel* // < MSA **ʕVlVl-* with debatable Arb. parallels (Mil. 2010).
 ◇ No terms in Pho.; Hob. *kādāʔ* ‘black c.’ (preferably not to be scored; no parallels found), and *shóob* ‘white c.’ < Arab.
 → North and West (Ugr.) Semitic **ʕVrp-* (#1) with parallels in E.Chad. (Mil. 2010; add: cf. with met. W. Chad.: Dera *àpəre* ‘to shed, pour out’, E.: Kera *páəru* ‘Regenzeit’).

15. COLD

- (1) Akk. (OB) *kašû*; Mlt. *kiesah* // < Sem. **kVʕah-* (Mil. 2010); surprising as this comparison may seem, there is no other etymology for either of these two triconsonantal terms, whose phonetic structures correspond to each other regularly.
- (2) Hbr. *qar*; Pal. *qryr* (syn.: *ʕnin* — v. Mil. 2010 #3; likely rel. to E.Cush.: HEC **ʕeen-* ‘rain’ ADB); Syr. *qarir-*; Mnd. *qarir-* (syn.: *qaruš-* — v. Mil. 2010 #4; rel. to Brb. **kVris-* ‘frozen water, ice’ ADB); Urm. *qayr*; Gez. *qärir* (syn.: *bərud* — v. #3) // < Sem. **k^wr(r)* ‘to be cold’ (Mil. 2010, Kog. LE 476).
- (3) Qur. *bārid-*; Leb. *berid*; Mec. *bārid*; Tna. *bārid* (syn.: *k^wərri* — v. #2, < Gez. acc. to LGz 444, and *zəhul* — v. Mil. 2010 #6); Tgr. *bərud* (syn.: *qarur* — v. #2); Sod. Wol. *bərd*; Har. *bārād* // < Sem. **barad-* ‘hail; cold’, **brd* ‘to be cold’ (Mil. 2010 #5, Kog. LE 476).
- (4) Sab. *ḥbr* ‘Kälte’ (Stein, one attestation; perhaps should not be scored, since it is a noun); Hrs. *ḥebūr* (syn.: *qəšm* — v. #6); Mhr. *ḥəbūr* (syn.: *qəšəm* — v. #6); Hob. *ḥəbboór*; Jib. *ḥōr* (syn.: *qəšm* — v. #6) // < Sab.-MSA **ḥVbūr-* (for possible Arb. and Chad. parallels v. Mil. 2010 #8, Kog. LE 476–7).
- (5) Amh. *qäzqazza* (syn.: *bārid*, *bārrad* — v. #3), Arg. *qäzqazza* // v. Mil. 2010 #7.
- (6) Soq. *qəšam* (syn.: *ḥəbhor* — v. #4, *šəkaq* — v. Mil. 2010 #11) // < MSA **qəšm-* < Afras. **kVç-* (the Chad. examples are to be transferred here from Mil. 2010 #7).
 ◇ No terms in Ugr., Bib., Pho. Cha. *ziza* < Omot.
 → (?) North and West (Mlt.) Semitic **kVʕah-* (#1; if valid).
 → West Semitic 1: **k^wr(r)* ‘to be cold’ (#2), possibly related to Afras. **kVr-* ‘dry’ (if the latter is associated with cold rather than heat), v. Mil. 2011 #2 and St. 2011 #275a.
 → West Semitic 2 **barad-* ‘hail; cold’, **brd* ‘to be cold’, with a tenable cognate in Egypt. (NK) *brd* ‘to be stark, stiff’.

16. COME

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *alāku* // < Sem. **hlk* (v. WALK #1).
- (2) Ugr. *myy*; Gez. *məʕ* (syn.: *ʔatawa* — v. #4); Tna. *məʕə*; Tgr. *məʕə*; Amh. Arg. *mätṭa*; Sod. *mätṭa*; Wol *mätṭä*; // < Sem. **mṭṭ* ‘to reach, arrive’ (Mil. 2010; for reconstruction difficulties due to the variant roots v. EDE III 724–5).
- (3) Hbr. *bwʔ* // < Sem. **bwʔ* < Afras. **baʔ-* ‘walk, go’ (v. Mil. 2010 #4).

- (4) Pho. *ʔtʔ*; Bib. *ʔty/ʔ*; Pal. Syr. Urm. *ʔty*; Mnd. *ata*; Qur. *ʔty* (syn.: *ʒyʔ* — v. #5) // < Sem. **ʔty/w* (v. in LGz 46–7).
- (5) Leb. *ʔaža* (with met.); Mec. *ʒāʔ*; Mlt. *aža* (with met.) // < Sem. **g^wVy(?)*- ‘come, run’ < Afras. **g^way-* ‘to move, run’ (v. Mil. 2010; add S.Cush.: Iraqw *gow-* ‘run away’ ADB).
- (6) Sab. *ʔys₁* (Stein, 2 attestations; syn.: *ʔtw* — ibid., 1 attestation) // (no Sem. cognates found) < Afras. **ʔays-* ‘come, go’: Brb. **(H)as-* ‘come’; Egyp. (ME) *ʔs* ‘hurry, hasten’; Chad. W.: Mupun *iso*, Bokos *yēs*, Daffo-Butura *yes*, E. **ʔas-* ‘come’; E.Cush.: Dullay **ʔašš-* ‘go’ (ADB).
- (7) Gaf. *sällä* // S. Eth. only (LGur 542; hardly < Omot.) < Afras. **sawl-* ‘come and go, wander, walk’: Chad. **sVl-* ‘go out’, **sVwVl-* ‘wander’ (St. 2009 #221); N. Omot.: Chara *s’álm-*, Gimirra (She) *šila* ‘walk’ (ADB).
- (8) Har. *diža* // likely < Sem. **dydy* ‘to arrive, come, walk’ (v. HALOT 214 and DRS 223) < Afras. **dVy/w-* ~ **ʔ/wVd-* ‘come’: Brb.: Izdeg *addu*, Zenaga *š-ed*, etc.; Chad. W.: Kirfi *ndo*, Dera *do-*, etc., E.: Mokilko *ʔidó*; Omot.: Chara *wod*, Dime *aad-* (ADB).
- (9) Cha. *čänä-m* // likely < **tan-* (v. Mil. 2010 #8).
- (10) Hrs. *nōka*; Mhr. *nūkaʕ*; Hob. *núukəʔ*; Jib. *nikaʕ* (syn.: *zahám* — v. Mil. 2010 #10) // < Arb.-MSA **nkʕ* (v. Mil. 2010 #9); cf. isolated C.Chad.: Mofu *-nakwá-* ‘aller, marcher’ (ADB).
- (11) Soq. *gédah* (syn.: *nkʕ* — v. #10, *ʔérah* — v. Mil. 2010 #11) // possibly < **gdʕ* — cf. Arab. *ʒdʕ* ‘passer rapidement’ and C.Cush. (met.): Bilin *gaʕd* ‘move’, *giʕd*, pl. *giʕz* ‘way’, Kemant, Kailinya *gaz* ‘road’, Kunfāl *gaz-* ‘go’ (if < **gʕʕ*; if < **gʕʕ*, rel. to or borrowed from Eth. **gʕz* ‘move, change camp, emigrate’ LGz 175) ADB.
- West Semitic 1: **mʔʔ* (#2), perhaps < **m-ʔʔ* < Afras. **čVʔ-*, cf. Chad. *čVw-* ‘to come, arrive’: W.: Pa’a *čùwí* ‘come’, C.: Fali-Kirua *cù* ‘walk, to go’, Podoko *cawa* ‘to reach, arrive at’, Gisiga *če* ‘eintreten’, Masa *čò* ‘to arrive’ (St. 2009 #939).
- West Semitic 2 **ʔty/w* (#4) < Afras. **ʔa/it-* ‘walk, come and go’ (Mil. 2010 #3; add N. Omot. Gimirra (Benesho, She) *at-* ‘come’ ADB).

17. DIE

- (1) Akkadian (Oakk on) *mātu*; Ugr. Pho. *mt*; Hbr. Pal. Qur. Sab. Gez. *mwt*; Syr. Urm. *myt*; Mnd. *mit*; Leb. *mət*; Mec. *māt*; Mlt. *mīt*; Tna. *motä*; Tgr. Amh. Wol. *motä*; Arg. *moda*; Sod. *motäm*; Cha. *m^wätäm*; Har. *mōta*; Hrs. *mōt* (syn.: *γāb* < ‘faint’ — v. Mil. 2010 #3); Mhr. *mōt* (syn.: *γəzōl* < ‘to spin’ — v. Mil. 2010 #4); Hob. *móot* // < Sem. **mwt* (v. in LGz 375–6).
- (2) Gaf. *fättärä* // < S. Eth. with a probable Arb. parallel, perhaps < Sem. **p(w)t* with root extension *-r* (v. Mil. 2010 #2).
- (3) Jib. *enúsum*, *əntsím* (so acc. to my informants; syn.: *háróʒ* — v. Mil. 2010 #5 and Kog. LE 467) // also ‘to breathe one’s last’ < ‘to breathe’ < Sem. **nšm* ‘to breathe’ (SED I Verb #50), perhaps < Afras. **nVs-* with fossilized *-m*; cf. Chad. W., E. **nVVs-* ‘to breathe (heavily)’, C. **nVy/wVsV* ‘spirit, soul’ (St. 2005 #492).
- (4) Soq. *šame* // cognate with, rather than loan from Arb. *šmy* ‘tomber roide mort, ê. tué sur place’ (contra Mil. 2010); cf. E.Cush.: LEC: Somali *ḍim-* ‘die’ (can be < Afras. **čim-*).
- ◇ No term in Bib.
- Proto-Semitic **mwt* (#1) < Afras. **mawVt-* ‘die’ (Mil. 2010 #1).

18. DOG

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *kalbu*; Ugr. Pho. Pal. *klb*; Hbr. *kälāb*; Syr. Mnd. Urm. Qur. *kalb-*; Leb. *kaləb*; Mec. *kalb*; Mlt. *kelp*; Gez. Tgr. *käləb*; Tna. *kälbi*; Mhr. *kawb* (*k. mābáył*); Hob. *koób*; Jib. *kob* (acc. to some authors, the MSA terms are < Arb.) // < Sem. **kalb-* (LGz 282).
- (2) Hrs. *mābaył* (syn.: *kawb*, also ‘wolf’ — v. #1) // lit. ‘owned’ (< *kawb mābaył*) < Sem. **bʕl* ‘to own’, **baʕl-* ‘husband, master, owner’ < Afras. **baʕVl-* ‘elder male relative in-law, hus-

band': (?) C.Chad.: Gulfei *belewe*, Kotoko *bəlō* 'man'; Cush. E.: Saho *ballaa* 'father-in-law', LEC: Oromo *obbolaa* 'brothers and sisters; relatives', Dasenech *beel* 'husband, lover' (or < Amh. *bal* id.?), HEC: Burji *beeli* 'friend' (less likely < Amh.), S.: Qwadza *ayi-balaʔo* 'cross-cousin' (ADB).

◇ Amh. *wušša*, *wəšša*, Arg. *wəšša*, Gaf. *wəššā*, Sod. *wəssa* < HEC; Cha. Wol. *bučo*, Har. *buči* < Oromo (v. Mil. 2010), Soq. *kalb* rather < Arb. (contra Mil. 2010 #1). No terms in Bib. and Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic **kalb-* (#1), perhaps, with suffixed **-b*, < Afras. **k^wVl-* 'dog, wolf' (Mil. 2010).

19. DRINK

(1) Akk. (OB) *šatû*; Ugr. Hbr. Pal. Syr. Urm. *šty*; Bib. *štʔ*; Mnd. *šta*; Gez. *satya* (syn.: *š/saraba* — v. #2), Tna. *sätäyā*; Tgr. *säta*; Arg. *šäčča*; Har. *säča*; Wol. *säče* (-č- < *t) // < Sem. **šty* (Mil. 2010).

(2) Qur. *šrb*; Leb. *šarab*; Mec. *širib*; Mlt. *šōrop* // < Sem. **šrþ* (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **čVrVþ-* 'to drink': Chad. **šVrVþ-* 'to sip': W.: Hausa *sùrba* 'to sip', C.: Podoko *šaraba šaraba* 'sobbing', E.: Mokilko *surbību* 'drink in little gulps' (St. 207 #263).

(3) Sod. *säččäm*; Cha. *säčäm* (-č < *k); Hrs. *teḵ* (caus. *heḵō*; *h-* < *š-); Mhr. *hutḵi* (< *s-t-ḵy); Jib. *šuši* // < Sem. **šḵy* 'to drink, give to drink; to water, irrigate' (Mil. 2010).

(4) Soq. *re* // < Sem. **rVwVy/?-* 'abundant water; watering, irrigating; to drink (one's fill)' (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **riway/?-* ~ **?Vraw/y-* 'abundant water; watering; rain; river; to drink': Egp. (MK) *iwvy* to water (field), pour out (liquid); Chad. **rVw-* 'water, to wet', 'river' (St. 2005 #659, 660), E.: Mokilko *ʔáró* 'to drink'; Cush. C.: Aungi *ári*, E.: LEC: Arbore *ʔíríy*, Elmolo *iri*, Dasenech *ʔir*, Dullay **ʔirraw-*, S.: Maʔa *mare* (likely < *ma-re*); N. Omot. **ʔir-* 'rain' (ADB; considered by some authors a lw. in Cush. < Omot. or vice versa, but rather a common Cush.-Omot. root).

◇ Amh. *ṭätṭa* and Gaf. *ṭittä* presumably < Oromo *ḍuḍan*. No terms in Pho. and Sab.

→ North and West Semitic **šty* (#1) with a C.Chad. parallel (Mil. 2010; add Muyang *sūt* 'to drink quickly and completely' St. 2009 #115).

→ South and West (Gur.) Semitic **šḵy* (#3) < Afras. **sVḵy/w-* 'to drink, give to drink': Chad. **sVḵ-* 'swallow' (St. 2009 #209), W.: Tangale *soke* 'give water (to a child)' (ibid. #209a); C.Cush.: Khamir *süḵ* 'to drink' (Reinisch), Kemant *šəy^w* 'to swallow' (CDA 131).

20. DRY

(1) Akk. (OB) *šābulu* (MB *ablu*) // < *abālu* 'to dry up, dry out' < Sem. **ʔbl* 'to dry up' (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **(?V)bVl-* 'dry': C.Chad.: Mofu *-bál-* 'secher (poisson)', Podoko *mbálala* 'to dry'; Cush. N.: Beja *bál-ama* 'dry', E.: HEC: Hadiya *billee* 'dry season of year' (ADB).

(2) Hbr. *yābēš*; Pal. *ybyš*; Syr. *yabbīš-*; Mnd. *yabuš-*; Qur. *yābis-*; Sab. *ybs₁* ('dry up'); Gez. Tgr. *yəbus* // < Sem. **ybš* 'to be dry' (v. in LGz 626).

(3) Leb. *nešif*; Mec. *naššaf*; Mlt. *nīšef* // likely < **na-šalif*, with a fossilized *n-* prefix < Afras. **šip-* 'sunlight, heat': Brb. **a-sif* (< **-šif*) 'day'; Egp. (Pyr.) *sšp* (likely < **šVp*) 'to be light, shine (of the sun and moon); light' (ADB); Chad. **zVfV* 'hot (weather)' (St. 2007 #437).

(4) Tna. *nəḵus* // < Sem. *nḵš/š* 'to dry up, wane' (v. Mil. 2010), likely, with fossilized *n-* prefix, < Afras. **kVsw-* ~ **saḵ^w-* 'dry': Sem.: Arb. *ḵsw* 'ê. sec et durci' (BK 2 735); Chad. **ḵVs-* 'to dry, dry season' (St. 2011 #322); C.Cush. **s/caḵ^wən-* 'be thirsty' (cf. CDA 135); N.Omot.: Kafa *šuk*, Mocha *šūqqi-*, Bworo *šuk*, Mao (Sezo) *ḵusa-kus* 'dry' 'be dry' (ADB).

(5) Amh. Arg. Sod. Har. Wol. *däräk*; Cha. *ṭäräk* // < Mod. Eth. **daraḵ* with a plausible Arb. parallel (Mil. 2010).

- (6) Hrs. *ḵōša*; Mhr. *ḵayšaḥ*; Hob. *ḵiūšə?*; Jib. *ḵəšaḥun*; Soq. *ḵəšaḥ* // < Arb.-MSA (since it is represented in all MSA, hardly < Arb., cf. Mil. 2010) with highly debatable Afras. parallels.
 ◇ Urm. *bārūz-*, with no parallels outside Neo-Aramaic, is, perhaps, to be treated as a loanword. No terms in Ugr. Pho. Bib. and Gaf.
 → West Semitic **ybš* (#2), perhaps < Afras. **bVs-* (Mil. 2010 #2).

21. EAR

- (1) Akk. (OB) *uznu*; Ugr. *ʔudn*; Hbr. *ʔōzān*; Pal. *ʔdn*; Syr. *ʔedn-*; Mnd. *ʔudn-*; Qur. *ʔudn-*; Leb. *ʔəḏən*; Mec. *ʔidin*; Mlt. *widna*; Sab. *ʔdn* (Stein; 2 attestations); Gez. Tgr. *ʔəzən*; Tna. *ʔəzni*; Arg. *izin*, *əzən*; Gaf. *əznä*; Sod. *ənzən*; Cha. *ənzər*; Har. *uzun*; Wol. *əzən*; Mhr. *hayḏin*; Hob. *ḥayḏēn*; Jib. *ʔidən*; Soq. *idihən* // < Sem. **ʔu/idn-* (SED I #4).
 (2) Urm. *nāt-* // hardly rel. to #1, perhaps an unidentified borrowing (cf. Mil. 2011).
 (3) Hrs. *mēšmē?* (so acc. to my informants; syn.: *ḥeyḏēn* — v. #1) // < Sem. **šmḥ* ‘to hear’ (v. HEAR #1).
 ◇ Amh. *ḥoro* < Oromo *gurra* (Mil. 2010). No terms in Pho. and Bib.
 → Proto-Semitic **ʔu/idn-* < Afras. **ʔi/uḥ-n-* ~ *ʔi/udn-* ‘ear’ (Mil. 2010; add N.Omot.: Anfillo *waaḥo*, Bworo *waaza* ‘ear’ (ADB)).

22. EARTH

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *eršetū*; Ugr. *ʔarḥ(u)*; Hbr. *ʔārāš*; Pho. *ʔrḥ*; Bib. *ʔāraḥ*; Pal. *ʔrḥ*; Syr. Urm. *ʔarḥ-*; Mnd. *arḥ-*; Qur. *ʔarḥ-*; Leb. *ʔaraḥ*; Mec. *ʔarḥ*; Mlt. *art*; Sab. *ʔrḥ*; Hob. *ārḥ*; Jib. *ʔerḥ* (syn.: *gadrēt* — v. Mil. 2010 #5) // < Sem. **ʔarḥ-* (v. in. DLU 51).
 (2) Gez. *mədr* (syn.: *mareḥ*); Tna. *mədri*; Tgr. Amh. Arg. *mədər* (in all four latter cases syn.: *māret* < Afras. — v. Mil. 2010 #3); Sod. *mədər* // < Sem. **midr-* (Mil. 2010); cf. Egypt. (Med.) *mʔd* ‘ein mineralischer Stoff’ (strangely comp. in EDE III 127 with Eth.-ESA **mVr-t*).
 (3) Gaf. *afärä*; Cha. Har. *afär*; Wol. *afär* (syn.: *däčče* < E.Cush. — v. Mil. 2010) // hard to say if < Sem. **ʔapar-* ‘dust, soil; ashes’ < Afras. (v. ASHES #3) or < Sem. **ʔapar-* ‘dust, soil’ (v. CLOUD #9).
 (4) Hrs. *ḥōhi* (syn.: *kā* — v. #5); Soq. *ḥóyhi* // < Sem. **ḥašaw/y-* < Afras. (v. SAND #5).
 (5) Mhr. *kā* // < Arb.-MSA **kāl-* (< **kʷʷ*), perhaps rel. to Egypt. *kʔh* (v. Mil. 2010 #7) and Chad. **kVy-(kVy)-* ‘gravel, rough sand’, in St. 2011 #31 united with C. Chad. **kʷV?* ‘stone, rock’.
 → Proto-Semitic: **ʔarḥ-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔariḥ-*: Egypt. *ʔd* ‘watered ground’ (probably dissimilated < **ʔʔd* < **ʔVrḥ-*) and Chad. **(ʔV-)rVḥ-* ‘earth’ (v. Mil. 2010).

23. EAT

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *akālu*; Hbr. Pho. Bib. Syr. Urm. Qur. *ʔkl*; Mnd. *akal*; Leb. *ʔakal*; Mec. *ʔakal*; Mlt. *kiel*; Sab. *ʔkl* (Stein; 1 attestation) // < Sem. **ʔkl* (Mil. 2010).
 (2) Ugr. *lḥm* // < Sem. **laḥm-* ‘food (bread or meat); to eat’ (Mil. 2010), rel. to Chad.: **IVVmV* ‘corn, corn meal’ (St. 2005 #277) and W.: Mburku *laamù*, Guruntum *läam* ‘meat’, E.: Bidiya *kà-lāamò* ‘meat-lover’ (ADB).
 (3) Pal. *ʔḥm* (syn.: *ʔkl* — v. #1) // < Sem. **ʔḥm* ‘to taste’ (v. in LGz 583) < Afras. **ʔḥm* ‘to taste food or drink’: C.Chad.: Mofu *-təm-* ‘eat (smth. dry)’, Balda *tí-tímí* ‘to taste’; E.Cush.: LEC: Konso, Dirayta, Mashile *ḏam-* ‘eat’, Rendille *ḏam-*, Baiso *ḏame*, *ḏam-* ‘to drink’; N.Omot.: Kafa *ḏamo* ‘to drink’ (or < LEC?).
 (4) Gez. *blḥ*; Tna. *bälḥ*; Tgr. *bälḥa*; Amh. *bälla*; Arg. *bälla*, *alʔa*; Gaf. *bällä*; Sod. *bällam*; Cha. *bänam*; Har. *bälaʔa*; Wol. *bälä* // < Sem. **blḥ* ‘to swallow, eat’ (cf. DRS 68) < Sem. **balVḥ/y-* ‘uvula; gullet, gorge’ (SED I #36) < Afras. **balVḥ-* ‘neck, throat, gullet, uvula’: Brb.: Ghat *bēlabēlé*,

Figig *ta-bilul-t* ‘uvula’; Egyp. (Pyr.) *bʕn* (< *bʕl*, with met.) ‘neck’; Chad. W. **bVIV?*- ~ **bilbil-* ‘uvula, uvular, crop’, E.: Bidiya *béle* ‘throat, voice’; Cush. N.: Beja *balaʕa* ‘gullet’, E.: Afar *biliʕa* ‘necklace’; N.Omot. Koyra *balaa* ‘neck’ (ADB).

- (5) Hrs. *tewō*; Mhr. *tu*; Hob. *twú*; Jib. *te*; Soq. *té* // < Sem. **tʔw/y* < Afras. **tiʔw-* (Mil. 2010).
→ North and West Semitic: **ʔkl* (#1), cf. W.Chad.: Hausa *kālā-čī* ‘food’ (ADB).

24. EGG

- (1) Akk. (OB) *pelû* // likely < Afras. **pil(?)*- ~ **pulpul-* ‘egg’ (Mil 2010 #1).
(2) Hbr. *bēyṣā*; Pal. *byʕh*; Syr. *bēʕt-* (syn.: *bar-t-* — v. Mil. 2010 #3); Mnd. *bit-*; Urm. *biyy-*; Qur. *baydat-*; Leb. Mec. *bayda*; Mlt. *bayda*; Mhr. *bižayt* (syn.: *ḳáwḥal* — v. #4, *bēḏáyṭ* — v. Mil. 2010 #7) // < Sem. **bayṣ-at-* (SED I #43).
(3) Gez. *ʔanḳokəḥo*; Tna. *ʔanḳ^waḳ^wəḥo*; Tgr. *ʔanḳokḥo*; Gaf. *anḳ^wä*; Sod. *anḳo*; Har. *aḳuḥ*; Wol. *anḳaḳot* // (contra Mil. 2010 #4 not < Sem. **ḳ^waḳ^way-*) < Eth. *(*ʔan-*)*ḳ^wahḳ^wah-* ‘egg’ (likely rel. is Syr. *ḳawḳiḥ* ‘clamavit (gallina)’ Brock 656) < Afras. *(*ʔan-*)*ḳ^wa(n)ḥ-* ‘egg’ (Mil. 2010 #4; add. W.Chad. *(*n*)*ḳwahi(n)-* ‘egg’: Hausa *ḳwái*, Gerka *nkie*, *ijkyéʔ*, Tal *hàs-khē* (‘egg-egg’), Diri *ákin* ADB).
(4) Amh. Arg. *anḳulal*; Cha. *anḳura*; Hob. *aḳḥalwúin*; Jib. *ḳeḥzín* (syn.: *béd* — v. Mil. 2010 #7); Soq. *ḳḥolhin* // < Sem. **ḳa(w)ḥil-* (cf. SED I #170); for possible Afras. cognates v. Mil. 2010 #5.
(5) Hrs. *bekelēt* (syn.: *bēḏeh* — v. Mil. 2010 #7) // < Sem. **baḳ^wal-* ‘plant, vegetation’ (v. in LGz 100).
◇ No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib. or Sab.
→ West and South Semitic 1 **bayṣ-at-* (#2) < Afras. **bayḥ-* (Mil. 2010).
→ West (Amh., Arg.) and South Semitic 2 **ḳa(w)ḥil-* (#4); for possible Afras. cognates v. Mil. 2010 #5.

25. EYE

- (1) Akk. (O)Akk on) *īnu*; Ugr. Pho. *ʕn*; Hbr. *ʕayin*; Pal. *ʕyyn*; Syr. Urm. Qur. *ʕayn-*; Mnd. *ayn-*; Leb. Mec. *ʕayn*; Mlt. (*gh*)*ayn*; Sab. *ʕyn*; Gez. *ʕayn*; Tna. *ʕayni*; Tgr. *ʕan*; Amh. *ayn*; Arg. Cha. *en*; Gaf. *inä*; Sod. Wol. *in*; Har. *in*; Hrs. *ʔāyn*; Mhr. Hob. Soq. *ʕayn*; Jib. *ʕihn* // < Sem. **ʕayn-* (SED I #28).
→ Proto-Semitic **ʕayn-* < Afras. **ʕayVn-* (Mil. 2010).

26 FAT (n.)

- (1) Akk. (OB) *lūpū* (*lipiu*, *lī/ēpu*; syn.: *šamnu* — v. #2) < Sem. **li/apiʔ-* ‘fatty, fleshy tissue’ (cf. SED I 180) < Afras. **la/ipʔ-* (ADB) ‘inner organ; chest and belly with interior’: Egyp. (CT) *np*; ‘guts’; Chad. **nV-lapV* ‘spleen’ (St. 2005 #119); Cush. E.: Afar *aleefu* ‘spleen’, LEC: Oromo *lappēe* ‘heart’, S.: Dahalo *lafī* ‘lungs’; Omot. N.: Basketo *lippē* ‘belly’, S.: Ari (Uba-mer) *lip/ḥ-* ‘heart’ (otherwise < **li/ubb-* ‘heart’).
(2) Ugr. *šmt*, *šmn*; Pal. *šwmnʔ* (syn.: *trb* — v. #4); Syr. *šumn-* (syn.: *terb-* — v. #4); // < Sem. **šam(-an)-* ‘fat, oil’ (v. SED I 248) < Afras. **sim-an-* ~ **sin-am-* ‘oil, fat, (fat) milk’ (Mil. 2010).
(3) Hbr. *ḥēlāb*; Pho. *ḥlb* // < Sem. **ḥilb-* ‘fatty tissue covering internal organ; caul’ (v. SED I #131) or, less likely, < **ḥal/iVb-* ‘milk, fat’ (cf. LGz 229); however, if the latter, plausibly rel. to Chad. W.: Hausa *lāllabā* ‘smear thick substance on any part of body’, Diri *lāḥā* ‘fat, grease’, C.: Gude *lāḥā* ‘dip out thick substance, ointment’; cf. also Chad. **iVḥ-* (< **HVIVb-*) ‘to smear, to smooth’ (comp. in St. 2005 #69 to Arab. *lwb* II ‘enduire d’ongulent’) < Afras. **ḥalib-* ‘fat, ointment, milk’, perhaps < **ḥa-lib-*, with **ḥa-* prefixed (on this hypothetical “class marker” v. Tak. 1997) < Afras. **la/ib-* ‘(fat) milk’: Sem. **laban-* (< **lab-an-*) ‘milk; Cush. C.: Kemant *lab-əγ^w* ‘to milk’, S.: Iraqoid **ʔilib-* (< **ʔV-lib-*) ‘milk’ (all ADB).

- (4) Mnd. *tirb-* (syn.: *šamina, šumna* — v. #2); Urm. *tarb-* (syn.: *šahr-* — v. Mil. 2010 #5) // < Sem. **tarb-* (SED I #283).
- (5) Qur. *šahm-*; Mec. *šaham*; Mlt. *šahām* // < Sem. **šahm-* (SED I #263), matching E.Cush. (Mil. 2010 #6).
- (6) Leb. *dihn* // < Sem. **duhn-* (v. in SED I #48) < Afras. **duhan-* ‘fat’: Brb. **duHan-* ‘fat’; W.Chad **diHVn-*: Sura *dóŋ* ‘fat’, Polchi *điin* ‘oil’ (ADB).
- (7) Gez. *šabḥ*; Tna. *sabḥi*; Tgr. *šabeh*; Amh. *sab* (syn.: *mora* ‘animal fat, suet’ — v. #8); Cha. *sawä*; Har. *sābah*; Hrs. *šabḥ*; Mhr. *šabaḥ* (in both syn.: *šayleḥ* — v. Mil. 2010 #11); Hob. *šabḥ*; Jib. *šabḥ* (syn.: *ḥāḥ* — v. Mil. 2010 #12); Soq. *šabḥ* (syn.: *ḥimat* — v. Mil. 2010 #13) // < Sem. **šabḥ-* (SED I #261).
- (8) Sod. *mora*; Wol. *morä* // either < Oromo (in this case, not to be scored) or < Sem. **mr?* ‘to fatten’, **mari?* ‘fat’ < Afras. **marVʔ/y-* ‘fat, oil’ (Mil. 2010 #9).
- (9) Gaf. *buššara* // if met. < **tarb-* (v. #4), to score with #4; for other suggestions v. Mil. 2010 #10.
 ◇ Arg. *čoma* < Cush. (v. Mil. 2010). No terms in Bib. or Sab.
 → South and West (Eth.) Semitic **šabḥ-* (#8) < Afras. **čabḥ-* ‘fat’ (Mil. 2010 #8; add Chad. **šVḥV* ‘meat (on bone)’ (St. 2007 #63).

27. FEATHER

- (1) Akk. (SB) *nāšu*; Hbr. *nōšā* (syn.: *ʔābrā, ʔēbār* ‘pinion’, v. #2) // < Sem. **nāš(y)-* (SED I #202).
- (2) Syr. *ʔebr-* (syn.: *merṭ-* — v. Mil. 2010 #2) // < Sem. **ʔa/ibr-* ‘pinion, wing’ (SED I #1); together with N.Cush.: Beja *ʔan/mbur* ‘wing’ < Afras. **bi/ar-* ‘to fly, jump’: Sem.: pB Hbr. *ʔābar* ‘to soar, to take wing’, Amh. *bārrārā*, Har. *bārārā* ‘to fly’ (unless < Cush.), Jib. *ebṛé* ‘jump high’; Chad. W.: Hausa *bur-burniya* ‘leaping’, C. *(*m*)*balir-*, E. **bVr-* ‘to fly, jump, hop’; Cush. N.: Beja *bir* ‘jump’, C.: Khamir *bir-* ‘jump’, Aungi *berer-an*, E.: LEC: Oromo *barara*, HEC: Hadiya *barar* ‘to fly’, Burji *burr* ‘to fly, jump’; N.Omot.: Male *baran* ‘to fly’ (ADB).
- (3) Mnd. *guspart-*; Urm. *par-*; Hrs. *ferfayr* // < Sem. **par-* (on the reasons for uniting these terms v. Mil. 2010 #4); v. direct cognates in Brb. (ibid.), very likely < Afras. **pVr-* ‘to fly’ (v. FLY #9).
- (4) Leb. *rīši*; Mec. *riyša*; Mlt. *rīš* // no cognates found.
- (5) Tna. *kāntit*; Har. *kāt* // v. Mil. 2010 #6.
- (6) Cha. *zoyä* // the only likely etymology is < Sem. *(*ʔa/iw(a)z-* ~ **waz(z)-* ‘goose’ (SED II #22) < Afras. *(*ʔa-*)*wa33-* ~ *(*ʔa-*)*zaw-* ‘k. of (large) bird’: Brb.: Ghadames *awəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* ‘autruche’, Igerwan *wawužž*, Izayan *wawiž*, etc. ‘perdriz’; Egypt. (Pyr.) *z.t* ‘Ente, Ganz’, *k*; *zw.t* ‘Erpel’ (i.e. ‘male of a duck; cf. *k*; ‘bull’ written with the phallos determinative); E.Chad.: Mokilko *ʔūzú* ‘chick, cock’ (ADB).
- (7) Mhr. *šif(f)* (syn.: *kaṭfif* — v. Mil. 2010 #9); Jib. *šəf d-ḥešfōr* (lit. ‘hair of bird’; syn.: *kaṭaf* — v. Mil. 2010 #9) // v. HAIR #5.
- (8) Soq. *milyaṭ* (syn.: *šéf(f)* — v. #7) // likely rel. to Arb. *malīṭ-* (v. Mil. 2010 #10) and further to Arb. *līṭ-* ‘peau’ with possible Afras. parallels: Egypt. (Med.) *ntnt* ‘skin’ (if < **IVṭIVṭ*); Chad. **IVt/d-* ‘to skin’ (St. 2005 #138), **IVVtV* ‘skin, loin cloth leather’ (ibid. #138a.).
 ◇ Tgr. *čəgär* < C. or E. Cush. (v. in Mil. 2010); Amh. *laba, läboba*, Arg. *laba* < Oromo *laboba* (ibid.); Sod. *balle* < E. Cush. (ibid.); Wol. *zorro* < HEC (ibid.). No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Gez., Gaf. or Hob.
 → North and West Semitic: **nāš(y)-* (#1); likely rel. to N.Omot. **nāč-* ‘tail’: Dorze *nasé*, Koyra, Ganjule, Gidicho, Kachama *naačə, naace* (ADB).

28. FIRE

- (1) Akk. (OB) *išātu*; Ugr. *ʔiš-t*; Hbr. *ʔēš*; Pho. *ʔš*; Gez. *ʔəsāt* (syn.: *haw, haw* — v. #3); Tgr. *ʔəsāt*; Amh. Arg. Cha. *əsāt*; Gaf. *əsātä*; Sod. *äsāt*; Har. *isāt* // < Sem. **ʔiš-āt-* (v. in LGz 44).

- (2) Pal. *nūr* (syn.: *ʔyšh*, *ʔāššā* — v. #1); Syr. Mnd. Urm. *nūr*-; Qur. *nār*-; Leb. Mec. Mlt. *nār*- // < Sem. **nū/ār*- (Mil. 2010).
- (3) Sab. *šl-t* (Stein, two attestations; *š=s₂*) // Arab. *šl* ‘allumer (le feu)’, *šālat*- ‘flamme, torch’ (Mhr. *šāl*, Jib. *šāāl* ‘to spark’ are likely Arabisms), rel. to Chad. **šVl*- ~ **ʔVšVl*- ‘to burn’ (St. 2007 #202) < Afras. **čVʔVl*- ‘to burn, spark fire’ (ADB).
- (4) Tna. *ḥawwi* // < Eth., likely rel. to MSA **nḥy/w* ‘to burn’ (v. BURN #11) < Afras. **ḥV(w)ʔ*- ‘fire; smoke; burn’ — v. Mil. 2010, add: Brb. **a-ḥuH*- (likely < **H^wVʔ*-) ‘smoke’ and S.Cush.: Bu-runge *eḥa* ‘smoke’ (ADB).
- (5) Hrs. *šewēt* (syn. *zawt* — v. Mil. 2010 #4); Mhr. *šiwōt*; Hob. *šiwóot*; Jib. *šoṭ*; Soq. *šíát* (*šeyót*) // < Sem. **šiw/yāt*- ‘fire’ (v. Mil. 2010 #5).
- ◇ Wol. *žirä* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2010).
- North and West Semitic **ʔiš-āt*- (#1) < Afras. **ʔis*- ‘fire’ (Mil. 2010).
- West Semitic: **nū/ār*- < Afras. **nur*- ‘fire; coal, ashes’ (Mil. 2010).

29. FISH

- (1) Akk. (OB) *nūnu*; Pal. *nūn*; Syr. Mnd. Urm. *nun*-; Leb. *nun* // either < Sem. **nūn*- or a chain of borrowings from an unknown source > Akk. > Arm./Hbr. > Arb. (a common opinion, optional until the source of this presumed borrowing is discovered; note, perhaps, Uralic **ńowna* ‘salmon?’).
- (2) Ugr. *dg*; Hbr. *dāg* // v. possible Sem. parallels in Mil. 2010; cf. Chad. C.: Zime (Daria) *dūgūwā* ‘clarias lazera’ (catfish). Note Indo-European **dhg’hū*- ‘fish’.
- (3) Qur. *ḥūt*-; Mlt. *ḥūta* // only Arb. If < **ḥaw-t* with a fossilized suffix *-t*, v. possible Afras. parallels in Mil. 2010.
- (4) Mec. *samak* // only Arb. (v. Mil. 2010).
- (5) Har. *tulām* // no parallels; if < **tu-lam*, note Egyp. (OK) *rm* (< **lVm*-?).
- (6) Hrs. *šayd*; Mhr. *čayd*; Hob. *šáyid*; Jib. *čod*; Soq. *šode* // < Sem. **šyd* ‘to hunt, fish’ (v. Mil. 2010); note Chad. C.: Gude *caḏā* ‘lie in wait for pray’, E.: Somrai *čwádá* ‘poursuivre’ (St. 2009 #681: **čV(wV)d*- ‘to hunt’).
- ◇ Gez. *šāšā*, Tna. Tgr. *šasa*; Amh. Arg. Sod. Cha. *asa*; Gaf. Wol. *asä* < Cush. or Omot. (Mil. 2010). No term in Sab.
- (?) North and West Semitic **nūn*- (#1), if not borrowed.

30. FLY (v.)

- (1) Akk. *naprušu* (OB) // < Sem. **prš* ‘to spread out’ (Mil. 2010).
- (2) Ugr. *ʃp*; Hbr. *ʃwp* // < Sem. **ʃwp* ‘to fly’ (v. Mil. 2010 BIRD #4).
- (3) Pal. *prḥ* (syn.: *ṭws* — v. #4); Syr. Urm. *prḥ* // < Sem. **prḥ* ‘to fly’ (v. Mil. 2010), likely rel. to **parḥ*- ‘chick, brood’ (SED II #179).
- (4) Mnd. *ṭus* (syn.: *phr* — v. #2) // < Sem. **ṭwš* ‘to fly, flutter, jump’ (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ṭVč*- ‘fly, go away’: (?) Egyp. (MK) *tšy* ‘move away’ (*t* sometimes continues **ṭ*); W.Chad. **tVš*-: Hausa *tāši* ‘rise, get up’, Geji *túšya* ‘to fly’ (ADB).
- (5) Qur. *ṭyr*; Leb. Mec. *ṭār*; Mlt. *tār* // < Sem. **ṭayr*- ‘bird; divination from birds, augury’ (cf. SED II #235) < Afras. (v. BIRD #3).
- (6) Gez. *s/šarara* (syn.: *barra* — v. #8) // < Eth. with possible Sem. parallels (Mil. 2010), likely rel. to C.Chad.: Mofu *šára* ‘plume, élytre’, Gisiga *šara* ‘feather’ (St. 2007 #603).
- (7) Tna. *nāfārä*; Tgr. *nāfra* (syn.: *bārra* — v. #8) // < **n-pr*, with a fossilized prefix *n*- (Mil. 2010 #8).
- (8) Amh. Sod. *bārrärä*; Arg. *bārrära*; Cha. *bānärä*; Harari *bārära*; Wol. *bārärä* // v. Mil. 2010 #7 and FEATHER #3.

- (9) Hrs. *fer*; Mhr. *farr*, Hob. *fúr*; Jib. *ferr*; Soq. *fer* // < Afras. **pi/ar-* ‘to fly’ (Mil. 2010 #9; add Brb. **Hafir-* ~ **fVrfVr-* ‘to fly’ ADB).
 ◇ No terms in Pho., Bib., Sab. or Gaf.
 → No Common Semitic.

31. FOOT

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *šēpu*; Soq. *šab* (syn.: *sukał* — v. Mil. 2010 #11) // < Sem. **šayp-* ‘foot, sole of foot; shoe’ (SED I #269).
 (2) Ugr. *pfn*; Pho. *pfm*; Mhr. *fēm* (syn.: *gēdel* — v. #9); Hob. *fá?m* (syn.: *žēedel* — v. #9; both also ‘leg’); Jib. *fa?m* (syn.: *gédal* — v. #9) // < Sem. **pa?m/n-* (SED I #207).
 (3) Hbr. *rägäl*; Bib. *rägäl*; Plm. *rgl*; Syr. *regl-*; Mnd. *ligr-* (with met.; syn.: *kraia* — v. Mil. 2010 #4); Qur. *rižl-*; Sab. *rgl* // < Sem. **rigl-* (SED I #228).
 (4) Urm. *ʔaql-* // v. Mil. 2010 #5.
 (5) Leb. *ʔəžar*; Gez. *ʔəgər*; Tna. *ʔəgri*; Amh. *əgər*; Arg. *ingir*, *ägər*; Gaf. *əg^wrä*; Sod. Cha. *ägər*; Har. *ingir*; Wol. *əngər* // < Arb.-Eth. **ʔi(n)gi/ur-* (SED I #7).
 (6) Mec. *gadam* // < Sem. **kadam-* or **gad-am-* (v. Mil. 2010 #7), in the latter case < **gVd-* with the fossilized suffix *-m* (v. #9).
 (7) Mlt. *si?* // < **siḳ* < Sem. **šāḳ-* ‘thigh, leg’ (SED I #241) < Afras. **sVḳ-* ‘thighbone, leg, claw’: Chad. **sVḳ-* (possibly < **sVḳ-*) ‘upper leg, bone’ (St. 2009 #190); Omot. **šukum-* ~ **sonḳ-claw*: Ganza *sinsḳom*, Ubamer *šuk(u)ma*, Ari *ʔuqšmi*, Hamer *šoḳma*, Ongota *sonḳe*, *sonḳitte* (ADB).
 (8) Tgr. *ʔəḳəb* (syn.: *ʔəgər* — v. #5) // < Sem. **ʔaḳib-*, **ʔiḳb-* ‘heel’ (SED I #14) < Afras. **ʔaḳ(V)b-* ~ **ḳa(ʕa)b-* ‘hoof, heel, finger, claw’: Chad. W. **ḳu/imb-* ~ *(*m*)*by/wak-* ‘nail, claw’ (Hausa *ḳùmbaa* ‘finger-nail’, Fyer *ḳwákàat* ‘claw’, etc.), C.: Logone *kábē* ‘hoof’; E.Cush.: LEC: Oromo *ḳup-aya* ‘claw’, *ḳuba*, Konso *ḳup-itta* ‘finger’, HEC: Sidamo *ḳubbe*, Burji *ḳuḳee*, etc. id., Dullay: Tsamay *ḳoba-kko* ‘finger’, *ḳobu-ko* ‘claw’, etc. (ADB).
 (9) Hrs. *gedel* // < Sem. **gVd(V)l-* ‘limb’ (SED I #73), likely < **gVd-* ‘foot, leg’ with root extension *-l*: Chad. C.: Gude *gede-hán*, Nzangi *géd-ātyi* (second elements are not clear) ‘leg’, E.: Somrai *gəd-* ‘foot’; N.Omot. **gid-* ‘foot, knee’ (ADB).
 → Proto-Semitic **šayp-* (#1) < Afras. **čayp-* ‘foot, sole of foot; shoe’ (Mil. 2010; add N.Omot.: Kafa *čubo* ‘thigh’, Mocha *čuppo* (č by assimilation to p) ‘calf of leg’ ADB).
 → South and West Semitic **pa?m/n-* (#2) < Afras. **pa?un/m-* ‘leg, thigh, foot’ (Mil. 2010).
 → West Semitic 1 **rigl-* (#3) < Afras. **rigal/ul-* ‘limb, leg’ — v. Mil. 2010; add: Chad. W.: Angas *tú-rgül* ‘ankle, ankle bone’, E. **dV-rgVl-*: Mawa *dərgəl* ‘genou’, Sokoro *dergel*, *durkál* ‘knee’ (ADB; referring to St. 2005 #233 in Mil. 2010 is a misprint; contra Mil. 2010 v. Egypt. (Pyr.) *ʔg.t* in West Semitic 2: **ʔi(n)gi/ur-*).
 → West Semitic 2 **ʔi(n)gi/ur-* (#5) < Afras. *(*ʔi-n*)*gur-* ‘leg, knee’ — v. Mil. 2010; add: Egypt. (Pyr.) *ʔg.t* ‘hoof (of cow and ass)’, (NK) *ʔg^ʔ.t* ‘claw (of lion and bird)’ likely < **ʔg^ʔ* (< **ʔrg*, with met. < **ʔgr*) with dissimilation of ʕ and ʔ; Chad. **gVr-* ‘knee; lower leg’ (St. 2011 #690, 690c.).

32. FULL

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *malû*; Ugr. *ml?*; Hbr. *malä?*; Pal. *mly*; Syr. *mälē*; Mnd. Urm. *mily-*; Qur. *malʔān-*; Leb. *mālīn*; Mec. *malʔān*; Mlt. *memli*; Sab. *ml?* (Stein: ‘voll, ganz’, two attestations); Gez. *məlu?*; Tna. *mulu?*; Tgr. *malu?*; Amh. *məlu*; Arg. *muli*; Sod. *mulä*; Cha. *mura*; Har. *mullu?*; Wol. *mulli*; Mhr. *mīla?*; Hob. *malyuún*; Jib. *miži?*; Soq. *mili* // < Sem. **ml?* ‘to fill, be full’ (v. in LGz 342).
 ◇ No terms in Pho., Bib., Gaf. or Hrs.
 → Proto-Semitic **ml?* < Afras. **ml?* ‘be full, filled’ (v. Mil. 2010).

33. GIVE

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *nadānu* (*tadānu*, *idinu*) // < Sem. **dyn* with plausible Afras. parallels (v. Mil. 2010 #1).
 - (2) Ugr. *ytn*; Hbr. Bib. Pal. *ntn*; Pho. *ytn* (*n-tn*) // < Sem. **ytn* ~ **ntn* (v. in HALOT 733).
 - (3) Bib. Pal. *yhb* (syn. in both: *ntn* — v. #2); Syr. *y(h)b*; Mnd. *ahb* (syn.: *ntn* — v. #2); Urm. *yhb*; Sab. Gez. *whb*; Tna. *habä*; Tgr. *haba*; Arg. *hawä*; Gaf. *wabä*; Sod. *abä*; Wol. *wabä* // < Sem. **whb* (LGz 609).
 - (4) Qur. *ʔty* IV; Leb. *ʔaʔta*; Mec. *ʔaʔtā*; Mlt. *ta* // only Arb.
 - (5) Amh. *säʔtā*; Har. *sāʔa* // < Sem. *(y/w)ʔtw ‘to hold out, give/take’ (v. in LGz 520).
 - (6) Hrs. *wezōm*; Mhr. *wazōm*; Hob. *wzōom*; Jib. *əzōm* // also ‘to lend’; rel. to Arb. *wzm* ‘payer, acquitter (la dette)’, *wazima* ‘éprouver quelques pertes dans son avoir’ (BK 2 1529), *zām* ‘quart (de toute chose)’ (ibid. 1 1029), Akk. *zummû* ‘lack, miss, be deprived of’ (CAD z 156) < Sem. **wzm* ~ **zmw* ‘(have to) give, be deprived of’ < Afras. *ʔVm-* ‘to give, lend, be deprived of; acquire, deprive of, defraud’: Chad. **zVm-* ‘to rob, cheat a person’ (St. 2009 #476), cf. also **zVm-* ‘to inherit, earn, possess’ (ibid. #477), W.: Mupun *zuum*, Angas *zum* ‘gift’ (otherwise < Arb.; ADB).
 - (7) Soq. *ʔef* (syn.: *ʔendek*) // cf. *ʔayif* ‘toucher’ (DRS 1074); both likely rel. to Arb. *ʔhf* ‘donner à quelq’un une partie, une portion de biens’ (BK 2 115) and *ʔff* ‘étendre, déployer les ailes (se dit d’un oiseau); soulever quelque chose avec le pied ou avec la main’ (ibid. 87), all < Afras. **ʔVp-* ‘to hold, stretch, reach out (one’s hand) to grasp or give’: Brb. **ʔVf-* ‘grasp, seize’; W.Chad.: Mupun *típ* ‘hold smth’, Kirfi *twaf-* ‘catch’; E.Cush.: HEC: Sidamo *ʔeep* ‘stretch (hands)’ (ADB).
- West Semitic **whb* (#3) < Afras. **wahab-* ~ **hVwab-* ‘to bring, give, take’ (v. Mil. 2010).

34. GOOD

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *ʔābu* (syn.: *damḵ-* v. Mil. 2010 #2); Hbr. *ʔōb*; Bib. *ʔāb*; Pal. *ʔb*; Syr. *ʔāb-* (syn.: *šappīr-* — v. #3); Mnd. *ʔāb-*; Qur. *ʔayyib-* (syn.: *ḥasan-* v. Mil. 2010 #5); Mec. *ʔayyib*; Mlt. *ʔayyip* // < Sem. **ʔayVb-* (v. in HALOT 370).
- (2) Ugr. Pho. *nʔm* // < Sem. **nʔm* ‘to be pleasant’ (v. in HALOT 705) < Afras. **naʔ(a)m-* ‘honey, sweet’ (Mil. 2010 #3; add Chad. **nVm-* ‘sweet(ness); honey’ St. 2005 #549 and comment to S.Cush.: Maʔa *naʔá* ‘honey’: *-m* in word-final position may be dropped — v. Tak. 2011: 116).
- (3) Urm. *šapīr-* // < Sem. **špr* ‘to be beautiful, clean; to shine’ (v. in HALOT 1635), obviously related (triconsonantal roots!) to isolated E.Chad.: Migama *sùpìrò* ‘blanchir’, Dangla *sopire* ‘devenir blanc’.
- (4) Leb. *mləḥ* (*mnəḥ*) // on various possible etymologies v. Mil. 2010 #6.
- (5) Sab. *ʔdk* // (the meaning ‘good’ is debatable) < Sem. *ʔdk* ‘to be just, true’ (v. in HALOT 1003; LGz 548).
- (6) Gez. *šannāy*; Tgr. *sānni* // only Eth.; v. also Mil. 2010 #8.
- (7) Tna. *šəbbuḵ* (syn.: *sānnay*, rare) // for a debatable parallel in Arb. v. Mil. 2010 #9).
- (8) Amh. *ʔəru* // for several etymological hypotheses v. 2010 #10.
- (9) Arg. *damma* // for two etymological possibilities v. Mil. 2010 #11; if < Sem. **ʔadam-* ~ **dVʔVm-* ‘red’, v. Afras. in RED #2.
- (10) Gaf. *gunnä* // likely < Eth.-Arb. **gmn* (v. Mil. 2010 #12).
- (11) Cha. *wāke* // for possible Sem. and Afras. parallels v. Mil. 2010 #13.
- (12) Har. *ʔoññam* // eventually < Sem. **ʔnʔ* ‘to make, act skillfully’ (Mil. 2010 #15).
- (13) Wol. *bēzzä* // unless < E.Cush. (Kambatta *bizza*), < Sem. **bzḥ* ‘to abound, be abundant, become more’, etc. (Mil. 2010 #15).

- (14) Jib. *fəḳš-ún* // for a possible etymology v. Mil. 2010 #16.
- (15) Soq. *díye* (syn.: *dí-šker* < Arb. *šukr*- ‘thankfulness, thanks; praise, adulation’ < Sem. *šV_kVr- ‘to reward, be generous’ HALOT 1330: if genuine, the Soq. term have been in š- vs. Arb. š vs. Hbr. š) // rel. to Hbr. **day* ‘sufficiency’ etc.; for several tenable parallels in Afras. v. Mil. 2010 #17.
- ◇ Sod. *fäyya* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2010); Hrs. *ged*, Mhr. *gīd*, Hob. *žiid* are likely (but not certain) < Arb. *žayyid*- (Mil. 2010).
- North and West Semitic **ṭayVb*- (#1).

35. GREEN

- (1) Akk. (OB) (*w*)*arḳu*; Ugr. *yrḳ* ‘greenish-yellow (of metal)’ (rather not to score); Hbr. *yārōḳ*, *yəraḳraḳ*; Pal. *yrḳ*; Syr. *yūrāḳ*-; Mnd. *yuraḳ*-; Har. *wariḳ* // < Sem. **warḳ*- ‘yellow, green’ (Mil. 2011).
- (2) Qur. *ṯahḍar*-; Leb. Mec. *ṯahḍar*; Mlt. *aḥḍār* // < **ḥṣr* (for broader and debatable connections in Sem. and Afras. v. Mil. 2011).
- (3) Gez. *h/hamalmil*; Tna. *hamālmil* (syn.: *kaṭālyā* — v. Mil. 2011 #5; acc. to Bulakh quoted in Kog. LE 478, < Amh.); Wol. *ṯaməl dānā* // < Eth. **ḥaml* ‘vegetation, herbs; cabbage’ rel. to Arb. *hamilat*- ‘terrain couvert de végétation, etc.’ (and hence not borrowed from but into Cush.; v. Mil. 2011 contra Bulakh quoted in Kog. LE 478).
- (4) Tgr. *saḥarsaḥaro* (syn.: *lämläm* — v. #6); Cha. *sārimäsər* // < Eth.-Arb. **šaḥar*- ‘grass, vegetation’ < Afras. **caḥar*- ‘green, vegetation’: Chad. **šVrV* ‘green’ (St. 2007 #270), rel., in its turn, with Afras. **carVy*- ‘barley, cultured cereals’ (v. in Mil. 2011; add Chad. W.: Pa’a *šārdóya*, pl. *šāráa-ni*) ‘cassava’, (?) C.: Mofu *šawara* ‘*Eragrostis diplachnoides*’).
- (5) Amh. *ärang^wade* (syn.: *kaṭälamma*, *kaṭälayya*, *kaṭälṯal* — v. Mil. 2011 #5) // v. debatable Afras. comparanda in Mil. 2011 #6.
- (6) Sod. *lämläm* (syn.: *aräng^wade* — v. #5) // < Eth. **lm̄m* ‘be verdant, bud’ LGz 315, and *ləmuḥ* < Arb.-Eth. **lm̄* ‘shine, blossom, be tender’ — v. ibid. < Afras.: Chad. **IVVm*- ‘soft, tender’ (St. 2005 #266); C.Cush.: **lim*- ‘be tender’ (ADB).
- (7) Hrs. *hežōr*; Mhr. *hežōr*; Hob. *hašoór*; Jib. *šəḥrōr*; Soq. *šežhor* // < MSA **šešōr*- with no direct cognates and the combination š-ḥ unusual for Sem. (and *š-ḥ, for Afras. in general); on a hypothetical connection with Arb. **ḥṣr* v. Mil. 2011.
- ◇ Urm. *mīl* < Iranian. No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Sab. and Gaf.
- North and West Semitic **warḳ*- (# 1) < Afras. **wVraḳ*- ‘green, yellow’ (Mil. 2011).

36. HAIR

- (1) Akk. (OB) *šartu*; Ugr. *šr*; Hbr. *šeṯār*; Bib. *šaḥar*; Pal. *šr*, *sṯr*; Syr. *səḥart*-; Qur. *šaḥr*-; Leb. Mec. *šaḥar*; Mlt. *šā(gh)ir*; Gez. *šaḥar-t* // < Sem. **šaḥr(-at)*- (SED I #260).
- (2) Mnd. *manzy*-; Urm. *mizt*- // < Arm. **miṣanz-ay*- ‘hair’; for likely further Sem. and Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011.
- (3) Sod. *gunnän*; Cha. *gunär* // also ‘head’, likely < Sem. **gul/in*- ~ **ʔ/wVgn*- ‘cheek-bone’ (SED I #84) < Afras. **gi/un(Vn)*- ‘cheek; jaw; face; head’ (Mil. 2011).
- (4) Wol. *dumi* // < Eth. **dVmāh/h*, with likely Arb. parallels and variant roots (v. Mil. 2011).
- (5) Hrs. *šāfēt*; Mhr. *šēfī-t*; Hob. *šféet*; Jib. *šfe-t*; Soq. *šef* // < Sem. **šV(ʔ)p(-at)*- ‘(tuft of) hair’ (SED I #259) < Afras. **caḥVp*- ‘tuft of hair’ (Mil. 2011).
- ◇ Tna. *čäg^wər*, *šäg^wər*; Tgr. *čägär*; Amh. *ṯägur*; Arg. *čägär*; Gaf. *šägärä*; Har. *čigär*, all < Cush. (Mil. 2011). No term in Pho. or Sab.
- North and West Semitic **šaḥr(-at)*- (# 1) < Afras. **caḥVr*- (v. Mil. 2011; perhaps to add Chad. **čVr*- ‘to comb’ St. 2007 #259a).

37. HAND

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *kātu* (pl. *ḫātātu*) // if *-t* is a fossilized suffix, perhaps rel. to Afras. **ḫawiḫ-* ‘claw, fingernail, hand’ (Mil. 2011); another (if somewhat bizarre) comparison may be with Arb. *ḫaṭaḫ-* ‘moignon d’une main amputée’ (BK 1 770), *ḫṭḫ* ‘couper la main, faire subir au voleur l’amputation de la main’ (ibid. 767–8), which may be merely a meaning derived from *ḫṭḫ* ‘couper’ (ibid. 767) with Sem. cognates, but may be not (why specifically ‘hand?’); in this case Akk. *t* would be < **ṭ* by a well-known rule of incompatibility of two emphatics in Akk.
- (2) Ugr. *yd*; Hbr. *yād*; Pho *yd*; Bib. *yad*; Pal. *yad*, *ṯīd*; Syr. *ṯid-*; Mnd. *ṯ(i)d-*; Urm. *ṯayd-*; Qur. *yad-*; Leb. *ṯad-*; Mec. *yad*; Mlt. *idey*; Sab. *yd*; Gez. *ṯad*; Tna. *ṯid*; Tgr. *ṯade*; Amh. *ṯāṣ*; Arg. *anṣ*; Sod. *āṣ*; Har. *iṣi*; Wol. *anṣ*; Cha. *āṣ*; Hrs. *ḫayd*; Mhr. *ḫayd* (‘hand incl. arm’; syn.: *kaf* ‘palm of the hand, paw, claw’ — v. #4); Jib. *ed*; Soq. *eṯed* // < Sem. **yad-* ~ **ṯid-* (SED I #291).
- (3) Gaf. *ṣatä* // < Sem. **ṣVbṯ(-at)-* ‘finger’ < Afras. **ṣibVṯ-* ‘finger’ (Mil. 2011); cf. also Chad. C. **ṣVḫV* ~ W. **bVḫV* ‘five’ and C. **ṣVḫV* ‘left and right (direction)’ (cf. St. 2007 #432), perhaps implying the notions of five fingers and pointing with a finger.
- (4) Hob. *káf* ‘hand from wrist to finger-tip’ (i.e. exactly ‘hand’, while *ḫiid* is ‘hand incl. arm’ — v. #2) // Mhr. *kaf*, Jib. *kef* ‘palm of the hand, paw, claw’ < Sem. **kapp-* ‘palm, flat of hand or foot; paw; claw’ (v. SED I #148) < Afras. **ka/u(n)p-* ‘claw, flat of hand or foot’: Egyp. (NE) *kp* ‘sole’ (unless a Semitism); Chad. W.: Hausa *ákáifā* and *káifafá* ‘claw, talon’, E.: Kera *kámpá* ‘leg’; E.Cush.: LEC: Arbore *kunúf* ‘claw, nail, hoof’, Dasenech *konof* ‘finger, hoof’, Elmolo *kúnuf* ‘nail’ (ADB).
- South and West Semitic **yad-* ~ **ṯid-* (#2) with scarce Afras. parallels (Mil. 2011); cf. also S.Omot. (if. < **du-t-*): Ari *duti*, Dime *dothu* ‘foot’ (ADB).

38. HEAD

- (1) Akk. (OB) *ḫaḫḫadu* // < Sem. **ḫal/udḫa/ud-* ‘skull, head’ (SED I #159); perhaps < Afras. **ḫ^wad-* ‘calabash, vessel’ (Mil. 2011).
- (2) Ugr. *riš*; Hbr. *rō(?)š*; Pho. *rīš*; Bib. *rēṯš*; Pal. *rē(?)š*, *ryš*; Syr. *rēš-*; Mnd. *riš-*; Urm. *rīš-*; Qur. *raṯs-*; Leb. *rās*; Mec. *rās*; Mlt. *rās*; Sab. *rṯs₁*; Gez. *rəṯas*; Tna. *rəṯas-i*; Tgr. *rūṯas*; Amh. *ras*; Har. *urūs*; Hrs. *ḫerih*; Mhr. *ḫəröh*; Hob. *ḫaareéh*; Jib. *reš*; Soq. *rey* // < Sem. **raṯ(i)š-* (SED I #225).
- (3) Arg. *dəmah*; Gaf. *də^wä*; Wol. *dumi* // v. **HAIR** #4.
- (4) Sod. *gunnän*; Cha. *gunär* // v. **HAIR** #3.
- South and West Semitic **raṯ(i)š-* (#2) < Afras. **raṯis-* ‘brains, head’ (Mil. 2011).

39. HEAR

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *šemû*; Ugr. *šmṯ*; Hbr. *šmṯ*; Pho. *šmṯ*; Bib. *šmṯ*; Pal. *šmṯ*; Syr. *šmṯ*; Mnd. *šma*; Urm. *šmṯ*; Qur. *šmṯ*; Leb. *səməṯa*; Mec. *simiṯ*; Mlt. *sēma(gh)*; Sab. *simṯ*; Gez. *smṯ*; Tna. *sāmṯe*; Tgr. *sāmṯa*; Amh. *sām^ma*; Arg. *sām^ma*; Gaf. *sämmä*; Sod. *sämmam*; Har. *sāmaṯa*; Wol. *sāmä*; Cha. *sāmam*; Hrs. *hōma*; Mhr. *hēma*; Hob. *húimə?*; Jib. *šīṯ*; Soq. *hemaṯ* // < Sem. **šimṯ-*.
- Proto-Semitic **šimṯ-* < Afras. **sim(ṯ)-* ‘hear’ (Mil. 2011).

40. HEART

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *libbu*; Ugr. *lb*; Hbr. *lēb*; Pho. *lb*; Bib. *lēb*; Pal. *lb*; Syr. *lebb-*; Mnd. *lib*; Urm. *lib-*; Sab. *lbb*; Gez. *labb*; Tna. *labb_i*; Tgr. *lab*; Amh. *labb*; Arg. *labb*; Sod. *labb*; Hrs. *ḫelbēb*; Mhr. *ḫalbīb*; Hob. *elbiib*; Jib. *ub*; Soq. *ilbib* // < Sem. **libb-* (SED I #174).
- (2) Qur. *ḫalḫb-*; Leb. *ṯaləb*; Mec. *ḫalb*; Mlt. *alp* // v. Sem. and Afras. parallels in Mil. 2011.
- ◊ Har. *ḫälbi*, likely an Arabism; Wol. *wäzän* < HEC; Cha. *ḫ[?]ən* < Oromo *onnē* ‘heart?’ (v. Mil. 2011). No term in Gaf.
- Proto-Semitic **libb-* (#1) < Afras. **li/ub(b)-* ‘inner organ, heart’ (ADB; Mil. 2011).

41. HORN

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

◇ No term in Bib. or Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic **ḫarn-* < Afras. **ḫar(-n)-*: Omot. **ḫar-* ‘horn’ (Mil. 2011), perhaps also, with different, but plausible meaning shifts: Brb.: Qabylian *a-qarru* ‘head’; Chad. **ḫ^wVr-* ‘tortoise shell’ (St. 2011 #407); E.Cush.: LEC: Konso *ḫaarta*, Dirayta *ḫara*, HEC: Hadiya *ḫaara* ‘sharp(ness)’ (ADB).

42. I

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

- (2) Sod. *ādi* // no Sem. parallels; cf. C.Chad. in Mil. 2011.

- (3) Wol. *ihe* // likely < **ʔik-*, rel. to the **-k-* pronominal element in Sem. and other Afras. (Mil. 2011).

- (4) Hrs. *hoh*; Mhr. *hoh*; Hob. *hoó*; Jib. *he*, *he?*; Soq. *hoh(on)* // hardly a distorted form of **ʔan-* (#1) — v. Mil. 2011.

→ North and West Semitic **ʔan(-akV)* (#1) < Afras. **ʔa-na(-k/tV)* ‘T’ (Mil. 2011).

43. KILL

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *nēru* (syn.: *dāku* — v. Sem. cognates and Chad. parallels in Mil. 2011 #1).

- (2) Ugr. *mḫṣ* // < Sem. **mḫṣ* ‘hit’ (Mil. 2011 #3).

- (3) Hbr. *hrg* // < Sem. **hrg* ‘to slaughter’ (Mil. 2011 #4).

- (4) Bib. Pal. Syr. *ḫtl*; Mnd. *gṭl*; Urm. Qur. *ḫtl*; Leb. *ʔətəl*; Mec. *ḫatal*; Mlt. *ātel*; Sab. *ḫtl* (syn.: *hrg* — v. #3); Gez. *ḫtl*; Tna. *ḫätälä*; Tgr. *ḫätla*; Wol. *ḫätälä*; Cha. *ḫätäräm* // < Sem. **ḫtl* ‘to kill, slaughter’.

- (5) Amh. *gäddälä*; Arg. *gäddäla*; Sod. *gäddäläm*; Har. *gädälä* // < Arb.-Eth. **gdl* (Mil. 2011); comparable with a triconsonantal root with met. in E.Cush.: LEC: Jidda *legdi*, Bayso *lagad-* ‘kill’ (ADB).

- (6) Hrs. *letōy*; Mhr. *lutōy*, Hob. *lóotay*; Soq. *ḫataḫ* // < Arb.-MSA (Mil. 2011 #7).

- (7) Jib. *enúsum* (syn.: *letay* — v. #6) // < Sem. **nšm* ‘to breathe’ (v. DIE #3).

◇ No term in Pho. or Gaf.

→ West Semitic *ḫtl* (#4), perhaps, derived with fossilized *-l* < Afras. **ḫVṭ/t-* ‘strike, kill’ (Mil. 2011 #5; ADB).

44. KNEE

- (1) Akk. (OB) *birku*; Ugr. *brk*, *birku*; Hbr. *bārāk*; Bib. **barak*; Pal. *brk*; Syr. *burk-*; Mnd. *burk-*; Urm. *birk-*; Gez. *bārk*; Tna. *bārki*; Tgr. *bārāk*; Wol. *bārk*; Hrs. *bark*; Mhr. *barak*; Hob. *bārk*; Jib. *berk*; Soq. *bark* // < Sem. **bi/ark-* (SED I #39).

- (2) Bib. **ʔarkubbā*; Qur. *rukbat-*; Leb. *rikbi*; Mec. *rukba*; Mlt. *arkoppa* // < Sem. **rVk(u)b(-at)-* ‘knee’ (SED I #232); a metathetic variant of **bi/ark-* (on reasons for scoring differently from #1 v. Mil. 2011).

◇ Amh. *gulbät*; Arg. *gulbät*, *gulot*; Gaf. *gulbät*; Sod. *gulbät*; Har. *gəlib*; Cha. *g^wərbät* < Cush. (v. Mil. 2011). No term in Pho. or Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic **bi/ark-* (#1), perhaps derived, with a hypothetical root extension *-k*, < Afras. **bar(bar)-* ‘knee; (bone of) leg, arm’: Sem. **ʔi-bar-at-* ~ **bar(bar)-* ‘bone(s) of a fore-leg/forearm; radius’ (v. SED I #3); Chad. W.: Ngamo *buru*, Maha *burum*, Galambu *bubur*, Paʔa *burmí*, Guruntum *varan*, etc. ‘knee’, C.: Bachama *m̄bwàrà* ‘leg’, Gude *burà* ‘elbow’, Garwa *baare* ‘shin’, Podoko *bár-na* ‘knee’, Zime-Bata *ḥurú* ‘to kneel, to crawl’, E.: Mokilko *ʔobbírà* ‘to kneel on river shore to drink’; E.Cush.: LEC: Rendille *bárbar* ‘shoulder’; Omot.: Kafa *borboroo*, Ubamer *barr*, Jinka *bar* ‘thigh’ (ADB, Mil. 2011).

45. KNOW

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *idû*; Ugr. *ydʕ*; Hbr. *ydʕ*; Pho. *ydʕ*; Bib. *ydʕ*; Pal. *ydʕ* (syn.: *ḥkm* — v. Mil. 2011 #2); Syr. *ydʕ*; Mnd. *yda*; Urm. *dʕy* (met.) // < Sem. **ydʕ*.
- (2) Qur. *ʕalima*; Sab. *ʕlm* (also ‘make acknowledgement; sign, mark’ SD 15; syn.: *dʕ*, apparently less attested — v. #1) // < Sem. **ʕlm*, presumably ‘to hide, conceal; find, discern smth. hidden’ (cf. Mil. 2011 #3).
- (3) Leb. *ʕarəf*; Mec. *ʕirif* // < Arb. *ʕrf*; no parallels (Mil. 2011 #4).
- (4) Mlt. *kin yaf* // < Arb. *ḳwf*; no parallels (Mil. 2011 #5).
- (5) Gez. *ʔaʔmara*; Tgr. *ʔammärä* // < Eth. **ʔmr* ‘to show, indicate’ < Sem. **ʔmr* ‘to see, show, indicate, know’ (v. SEE #1).
- (6) Tna. *fäläṭä* // < Eth.-ESA **flṭ* ‘to split, separate’, perhaps rel. to Sem. **plṭ* ‘to save’ (Mil. 2011 #7).
- (7) Gaf. *šalä*; Sod. *šalä*; Wol. *čalä*; Cha. *ḳaräm* // < Sem. **khl* ‘to be able’ (LGz 277), rel to Chad. **kVl-* ‘to win, overtake; be able, strong’: W.: Karekare *kùlò* ‘casting lots or flipping a coin to determine a winner’, C.: Bura *kili* ‘overtake’, Buwal *kʷula* ‘be able to’, Makeri *kla* ‘victory’, E.: Dormo *kilma* ‘chief’, etc. (St. 2011 #188, 188a) < Afras. **khl* ‘be able, overtake, win’.
- (8) Hrs. *yerōb*; Mhr. *yerōb*; Hob. *yerōob*; Jib. *yarob*; Soq. *ʕarub* (in all MSA syn. are: Hrs. *yōda*, Mhr. *wēda*, Hob. *wiidəʔ*, Jib. *édaʕ*, Soq. *ʔédaḥ* — v. #1) // hypothetically from Sem. **yarb-* ‘sunset, west’ > ‘to go west’ > ‘to go to an unknown place’ > ‘to come to know/ learn’ (v. in Mil. 2011 #9; cf. Kog. LE 478).
 ◇ Amh. *awwākä*; Arg. *wōnka*, *ōnka*; Har. *āka* < C. Cush. (Mil. 2011).
 → North and West Semitic **ydʕ* (#1) < Afras. **(y)daʕ-* ‘know’ (Mil. 2011; ADB).

46. LEAF

- (1) Akk. (OB) *aru*, *eru*, *ḥaru* ‘frond, leaf of the date palm’, (NB, SB) *artu* ‘foliage’, presumably < Sem. **yar-* (Mil. 2011).
- (2) Hbr. *ʕālā* // (no reliable cognates in Sem.) < Afras. **ʕal-* ‘leaf’ (Mil. 2011 #3).
- (3) Pal. *ṭrp*, *ṭrb*; Syr. *ṭarp-*; Mnd. *a-ṭirp-*; Urm. *ṭarp-* // < Sem. **ṭarp-* ‘tamarisk’ (Mil. 2011 #4).
- (4) Qur. *waraḳ-at-*; Leb. *waraʔa*; Mec. *waraḡa*; Mlt. *werʔa* // < Sem. **waraḳ-* ‘green, yellow’ (v. GREEN #1).
- (5) Gez. *ḳʷäšal*; Tna. *ḳʷäšl-i*; Amh. *ḳaṭäl*; Arg. *ḳaṭäl*, *hätal*; Gaf. *ḳaṭälä*; Sod. *ḳaṭäl*; Har. *ḳuṭṭi*; Wol. *ḳuṭäl*; Cha. *ḳaṭär* (syn.: *ənzər* — v. EAR #1) // v. GREEN in Mil. 2011 #5.
- (6) Tgr. *ḳäṭfät* // < Sem. **ḳṭp* ‘to pluck (leaves, fruit)’ (Mil. 2011 #7).
- (7) Mhr. *çyā(l)fōt*; Hob. *šyalfōot*; Jib. *çyizfot*; Soq. *šaʕlifoh* (syn.: *ḥeš* < Sem. **ḥVç-* ‘palm leaf’, v. LS 168; < Afras. **ḥVç-* ‘leaf’: C. Cush.: Khamir *ḥāša*, *ḥača*, Khamta *ḥāca*, Aungi *ḥāci*; Omot. N.: Kachama *yēčē*, Chara *yēča*, Mao (Diddesa) *yaç-*, S.: Hamar *ača*, Galila *hača* id. — ADB) // no reliable cognates (v. Mil. 2011 #9).
 ◇ No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Sab. or Hrs.
 → No Common Semitic.

47. LIE

- (1) Akk. (OB) *itūl-* < **nyl* : *nālu*, *niālu*, *i/utūlu* ‘to lie (down)’ (syn.: *ṣalālu* — v. Mil. 2014 #1) // likely with met. < Sem. **lyn* ‘to sleep, spend the night’ (Mil. 2014 SLEEP #2).
 - (2) Ugr. *škb*; Hbr. *škb*; Pho. *škb*; Syr. *škb* (syn.: *gny* — Mil. 2011 #6); Mnd. *škb* (syn.: *gna* — Mil. 2011 #6, *rba* — ibid. #5, and *zga* — v. #8); Gez. *sakaba* // < Sem. **škb* // Mil. 2011 #3.
 - (3) Pal. *dmk* (syn.: *rbʕ* — v. Mil. 2011 #5); Urm. *dmk* // Arm. only (v. Mil. 2011 #4).
 - (4) Leb. *lʔh* // < **lqh* (Mil. 2011 #7).
 - (5) Mec. *tamaddad*; Mlt. *kin mindud* (syn.: *imtēt* — v. Mil. 2011 #9); Hob. *mútted/yaṃaddúud* (less likely < Arb.) // < Sem. **mdd* ‘to stretch, spread’ (Mil. 2011 #8).
 - (6) Tna. *tä-gadämä*; Amh. *tä-gaddämä* (syn.: *zäg alä* — v. #8) // Mod. Eth. only; for Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011 #10 and/or Chad. **n-gVd-* ‘lazy’ (St. 2011 #505).
 - (7) Tgr. *ʔəkrur həlla* // < Sem. **kr* ‘to put, throw, fall, lie’ (v. Mil. 2011 #11), rel. to Chad. **kVr-* ‘to throw, fall down’ (St. 2011 #256), perhaps also **kVr-* ‘down, buttock’ (ibid. #276).
 - (8) Har. *zäg bāya* (syn.: *ñēʔa* — v. #9) // < Sem. **zVg-* ‘to lie down, stretch out’ (v. DRS 682), rel. to Chad. **zVg-* ‘to put, place; to descend; to last, wait’ (St. 2009 #43).
 - (9) Arg. (*b*)*angerru t-eñña*; Sod. *aññäm*; Wol. *aññe* (syn.: *rebätä-* v. Mil. 2011 #5) // < Sem. **nhy* (v. SLEEP #8); for Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011 #13).
 - (10) Gaf. (*tä*)*gäddälä*; Cha. (*tä*)*gätäräm* // < Eth.-Arb. with possible Cush. connections (Mil. 2011 #14).
 - (11) Hrs. *enbelṭáh* (syn.: *engerdōš* — v. Mil. 2011 #16); Mhr. *ənbalṭəh* (syn.: *šə-wkūf* — v. Mil. 2011 #17); Jib. *bóṭṭah*, *ənbalṭáh* (syn.: *štékél* — v. Mil. 2011 #18) // < Sem. **b(l)ṭh* (Mil. 2011 #15).
 - (12) Soq. *šéʔef* (syn.: *bṭh*, *blṭh* — v. #11, and *dyaḥ*, *šédah*, likely < Sem. **dhy* ‘to push down, spread’: Hbr. *dhy* ‘to push down’ HALOT 218, Arb. *dḥw/y* ‘étendre comme un tapis; pousser violemment; jeter, lancer’ BK 1 676) // v. discussion in Mil.2011 #19.
- ◇ No term in Bib., Qur. or Sab.
- West and South (Hob., unless < Arb.) Semitic **mdd* (#5); cf. W.Chad. **muḏ-* (< **muHd-*?) ‘lie down’ (ADB).
- West Semitic: **škb* (#2).

48. LIVER

- (1) Akk. (OB) *amūtu* // v. SED I #185 and BELLY #4.
 - (2) Ugr. *kbd*; Hbr. *kābēd*; Pal. *kbd*; Syr. Mnd. Urm. *kabd-*; Qur. *kabid-*; Leb. *kābdi*; Mec. *kabed*; Gez. *kābəd*; Tna. *kābdi*; Tgr. *kābdät*; Har. *kūd*; Wol. *häbd*; Cha. *kāpt*; Hrs. *šəbdēt*; Mhr. *šəbdīt*; Hob. *šəbdīit*; Jib. *šubdet*; Soq. *šibde* // Mil. 2011 #2.
 - (3) Amh. *gubbät*; Sod. *gəbbot* // not of the same root as #2 — v. Mil. 2011 #3.
 - (4) Arg. *amfəha* // Mil. 2011 #4.
- ◇ Mlt. *fuiet* is borrowed from a Romance language. No term in Pho., Bib., Sab. or Gaf.
- West and South Semitic **kab(i)d-* (#2).

49. LONG

- (1) Akk. (OB) *arku*; Ugr. *ʔrk* (verb); Hbr. *ʔārök*; Pho. *ʔrk*; Pal. *ʔryk*; Syr. *ʔarrīk-*; Mnd. *aruk-*; Urm. *yarīk-*; Sab. *ʔrk* (verb) // < Sem. **ʔarVk-* (Mil. 2011).
- (2) Qur. *ṭawīl-*; Leb. *ṭawīl*; Mec. *ṭawīyl*; Mlt. *twīl* // < Sem. **ṭwl* with possible Afras. parallels (Mil. 2011).
- (3) Gez. *nāwīḥ*; Tna. *nāwīḥ* // < Sem. **nwh* ‘be extended, stretched out, repose’; for possible Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011.
- (4) Tgr. *räyim*; Jib. *rihm*; Soq. *riyyom* // < Sem. **rym* ‘to be high, long’ (Mil. 2011).

- (5) Amh. *rāžim*; Arg. *rāžžim* (syn.: *gudor* — v. #6) // < Eth.-Arb. **rz*m (Mil. 2011).
- (6) Gaf. *gaddärmä*; Har. *gudör*; Wol. *gudär* // < Eth.-Arb. **gdr*; for possible further Sem. and Afras. connections v. BIG #9.
- (7) Sod. *gällaf*; Cha. *gef* // < Eth.-Arb. **galif*- ‘long’ (Mil. 2011).
 ◇ Hrs. *ṭewīl*, Mhr. *ṭəwīl* and Hob. *ṭwīl* are, rather than not, < Arb. No term in Bib.
 → North and West Semitic **ʔarV*k- (#1).
 → West (Tgr.) and South Semitic **ry*m (#4) < Afras. **rVy/wVm*- ‘be raised, high, long’ (Mil. 2011; add Chad. **rVm*- ‘to rise, jump’ St. 2005 #902).

50. LOUSE

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *kalmatu* (syn.: OB *uplu* — < Sem. **pVl*(y)- < Afras. *(*ʔV*-)*pil*- Mil. 2011 #1); Pal. *klmh* // < Sem. **kalm*- (cf. SED II #130; v. discussion *ibid.*).
- (2) Syr. *ḳalmət*-; Urm. *ḳalm*-; Qur. *ḳummal*-; Leb. *ḳamal*; Mec. *gamīl*; Mlt. *āmel*; Gez. *ḳ^wəmal* (syn.: *ḳ^wəṭni* < Sem. **ḳ^wVṭVn*- < Afras. — v. Mil. 2011 #4); Tna. *ḳ^wəmal*; Tgr. *ḳəmal*; Amh. *ḳəmal*; Arg. *ḳəmal*; Sod. *ḳəmal*; Har. *ḳumāy*; Wol. *ḳumal*; Cha. *ḳəmar* // < Sem. **ḳ^(w)aml*- ~ **ḳalm*- (SED II #130).
- (3) Hrs. *kenemōt*; Mhr. *kenmūt*; Hob. *kinmūt*; Jib. *šinit*; Soq. *konum* // < Sem. **ki/ann*(-*Vm*)- ‘a harmful insect’ (SED II #116).
 ◇ No term in Ugr., Hbr., Pho. Bib., Mnd., Sab. or Gaf.
 → North and West Semitic **kalm*- (#1) < Afras. **k^(w)a/il*(-*m*)- ‘a biting insect’ (Mil. 2011).
 → West Semitic **ḳ^(w)aml*- ~ **ḳalm*- (#2), possibly rel., with fossilized *-l*, to Chad. **ḳVm*- ‘louse’ (St. 2011 #377), comp. (*ibid.*) with E.: Mokilko *kímàalà* ‘caterpillar’.

51. MAN

- (1) Akk. (OB) *zikaru* // < Sem. **dakar*-: ‘man, male’ (HALOT 270, DUL 269).
- (2) Ugr. *mt* // meaning debatable, probably ‘husband’ (v. Kog. Ug.) < Sem. **mVt* < Afras. **mVt*- ‘man, husband’ (Mil. 2001).
- (3) Pho. *ʔš* (syn.: *gbr*); Hbr. *ʔš* ‘man’; Sab. *ʔys₁* (syn.: *ʔns₁* — v. #5) // < Sem. **ʔiš*- ‘man’ < Afras. **ʔaw/ys*- ‘human being, man’ (Mil. 2011).
- (4) Bib. *gəbar*; Pal. *g^ebar*; Syr. *gabr*-; Mnd. *gabr*- // < Sem. **gabr*- ~ **gabbār*- < Afras. **gabar*- ‘man’ (Mil. 2011); add W.Chad.: Hausa *gwábró* (and *gwáuró*) ‘a man who no longer has a wife’ < Chad. **gVbVr*- ‘man’ (St. 2011 #464; the E.Cush. forms quoted *ibid.* are < Amh.).
- (5) Urm. *ʔānāš*-; Tgr. *ʔanas* // < Sem. *(*ʔi*-)*naš*- ‘man’ < Afras. *(*ʔi*-)*nus*- ‘human being, man, male in-law, son’ (Mil. 2011).
- (6) Qur. *raʕul*-; Leb. *ražžēl*; Mec. *rižžāl*; Mlt. *rāžal* // with a semantic shift ‘foot’ > ‘pedestrian, foot-soldier’ (Mil. 2011) < Sem. **rigl*- ‘foot’ < Afras. **rigal/ul*- ‘limb, leg’ — v. FOOT #3.
- (7) Gez. *bəʔəs-i* (syn.: *ʔəd* < Sem. **ʔi/add*- ‘assembly, gathering of people, community’ < Afras. **ʔV(n)d*-, v. Mil. 2011 #8) // N.Eth. only; rel., perhaps, to Arb. *bʔs* ‘ê. brave, courageux, audacieux; ê. fort et violent’ (BK 1 79); likely < Afras. **bVʔVs*- ‘son, boy, coeval’ (Mil. 2014 #6).
- (8) Tna. *səbʔay*; Arg. *su*, *səwy*; Gaf. *səwä*; Har. *usuʔ* (< **subʔ*?); Wol. *səb*; Cha. *səb* // < Eth. **sabʔ*-; for plausible Sem. parallels v. Mil. 2011.
- (9) Amh. *wänd* (syn.: *səb*, *səwu* — v. #8) // < Sem. **wald*- ‘child’ < Afras. **walad*- ~ **wadal*- ~ **dawal*- ‘child; young’ (Mil. 2011).
- (10) Sod. *mäss* // < S.Eth. (Mil. 2011), either < **miš*(š) or < **mit*(t). If the former (no Sem. cognates), < Afras. **mVs*- ‘male, husband’ (Mil. 2011); if the latter, with possible parallels in Akk. *māšu*, *maššû*, *mašû* ‘twin’ (CAD m1 401; acc. to AHW 631, a Sumerism) and Ugr. *mṭ* ‘infant, baby boy’ (DUL 604; tentatively compared to Akk. *māšu* and Hbr. *Mōšā* ‘Moses’)

< Afras. *mič- ‘child’: Egyp. (Pyr.) *ms* ‘Kind’ (EG II 139), *msy* ‘gebären’ (ibid. 139); E. Chad. *mič-: Dangla *mičò* ‘small boy’, Migama *mûčà* ‘child’, *mičá* ‘son’, Bidiya *mičo* ‘child’ (ADB).

(11) Hrs. *γayg*; Mhr. *γayg*; Hob. *γayg*; Jib. *γeg*; Soq. *γagg, γayg* // no direct parallels (on some tentative Sem. comparanda v. Mil. 2011).

→ No common Semitic.

52. MANY

(1) Akk. (OAKk on) *mādu*; Ugr. *mʔud, maʔdu* // < Sem. **mVʔad*- (Mil. 2011).

(2) Hbr. *rab*; Pho. *rb* (syn.: *šgy(-t)* – v. #3); Urm. *rāb-* // < Sem. **rabb-* ‘big’, v. BIG #1.

(3) Bib. *šaggī?*; Pal. *saggī*; Syr. *saggī* // < Sem. **šgʔ* ‘to be numerous, large’, rel. to C.Cush. (Mil. 2011).

(4) Mnd. *napš-* // also ‘soul, personality, self’ < Sem. **nap(i)š-* ‘soul, person, etc.’ < **npš* ‘to breathe’ < Afras. *nVfVs-* ‘breathing’ (Mil. 2011).

(5) Qur. *kaṭīr-*; Leb. *ktir*; Mec. *kaṭīyr* // likely < Sem. **kṭr* ‘to fit, achieve, be optimal, plentiful, etc.’, presumably < Afras. **kVč(-Vr)-* ‘many, big, all’ (v. in Mil. 2011).

(6) Mlt. *ħafna* // < Sem. **ħVpn-* ‘hollow of the hand, handful; fist’ (Mil. 2011).

(7) Gez. *bəzuḥ*; Tna. *bəzuḥ*; Tgr. *bəzuḥ*; Amh. *bəzu*; Har. *bäžīḥ*; Wol. *bəžži*; Cha. *bəzä* // < Eth.-Arb. with scarce E.Chad. parallels (Mil. 2011 #8).

(8) Arg. *nəbbur* // < Sem. **nbr* ‘to elevate, raise, place atop’ (Mil. 2011 #9).

(9) Gaf. *täbbä, täb^{wä}* // also ‘è. abundant’, presumably a non-trivial meaning shift < Eth. **tbʕ* ‘to be courageous’ (Mil. 2011 #10).

(10) Sod. *yädənk* // v. Mil. 2011 #11.

(11) Hrs. *meken*; Mhr. *mēken*; Hob. *máakən*; Jib. *məkən* // < MSA-Arb. with E.Cush. parallels (Mil. 2011 #12).

(12) Soq. *di-laḵ* // rel. to Eth. **liḵ* ‘chief’ and **lhḵ* ‘to grow’ (v. Mil. 2011 #13) with a parallel in Chad. **IVk-* (possibly **IVḵ-*) ‘to surpass, be a chief’ St. 2005 #188.

→ North and West Semitic **mVʔad-* (#1) < Afras. **mVʔVd-* ‘big, many, entire, all’ (Mil. 2011).

53. MEAT

(1) Akk. (OB) *šīru*; Pho. *šīr* // < Sem. **šiʔr-* ‘flesh’ (SED I #238).

(2) Ugr. *bšr*; Hbr. *bāšār*; Bib. *bāšār*; Pal. *bēšar*; Syr. *besr-*; Mnd. *bisr-*; Urm. *bisr-*; Gaf. *bāsārä*; Sod. *bāsār*; Har. *bāsār*; Wol. *bāsār*; Cha. *bāsār* // < Sem. **bišr-/bašar-* ‘flesh, (human) body’ (SED I #41).

(3) Qur. *laḥm-*; Leb. *laḥm*; Mec. *laḥam*; Mlt. *lāḥam-* // < Sem. **laḥm-* ‘food’ with Chad. parallels (v. Mil. 2011 and St. 2005 #277)

(4) Hrs. *tewi*; Mhr. *tīwi*; Hob. *teé*; Jib. *te?*; Soq. *te* // < Sem. **tʔw/y* ‘to eat’ (v. EAT #5).

◇ Gez. *šəgā*; Tna. *səga*; Tgr. *səga*; Amh. *səga*, considered a lw. < C. Cush. (questionable, since neither any individual Agaw nor the Proto-Agaw form contains *-g; formally only Dullay **sagan-*, possibly < **sag-an-*, corresponds to the Eth. terms).

◇ Arg. *šāw* < C. Cush. (v. Mil. 2011). No term in Sab.

→ North and West Semitic **šiʔr-* (#1) < Afras. **sVʔur-* ‘meat, flesh’ (Mil. 2011).

→ West Semitic **bišr-* ~ **bašar-* (#2), presumably with root extension *-r* < Afras. **bač(-Vr)-* ‘skin; to (cut) skin’ (Mil. 2011).

54. MOON

(1) Akk. (OB) *warḥu*; Ugr. *yrḥ*; Hbr. *yārēḥ*; Pho. *yrḥ*; Gez. *wārḥ*; Tna. *warḥ-i*; Tgr. *wārəḥ*; Har. *wahri*; Wol. *wari* // < Sem. **warḥ-* ‘moon’ (Mil. 2011).

- (2) Pal. *shr* (syn.: *z^hhar* < Sem. **zhr* ‘to shine’ < Afras. **ʒa/ihr-* — v. Mil. 2011 #3); Syr. *sahr-*; Mnd. *sir-*; Urm. *sahr-* // < Sem. **šahr-* ‘new moon’ (v. Kog. LE 479) < Afras. **ĉa/ihar-* ‘night celestial body: moon, star’ (Mil. 2011; the S.Cush. forms quoted there should be disregarded as belonging to another Afras. root **šVh/w-* ‘luminary’).
- (3) Qur. *qamar-*; Leb. *qamar-*; Mec. *gamar*; Mlt. *āmar* // for two highly hypothetical etymological opportunities v. Mil. 2011 #4.
- (4) Amh. *čäräqä*; Arg. *čäräqä*; Gaf. *šäräqä*; Sod. *därraqqa* // rel. to Arb. *ṭāriq-* ‘étoile du matin’ (Mil. 2011 #5). Note that the idea of these S.Eth. forms borrowed from Cush. (of which only C.: Beja *terig/k* is adduced, most likely a lw. from the above Arb. word), put forth in Dolg. 1973: 48–9 (and repeated in Kog. LE 478: footnote 103), is quite unsubstantiated, to say nothing of the fact that there are six unrelated S.Eth., Cush., Omot. and Chad. terms for ‘moon’ there combined in one entry.
- (5) Cha. *bāna* // only Gur., the “tempting” etymology in LGur. 146 being far-fetched (v. Mil. 2011 #6).
- (6) Hrs. *ḥārēt*; Mhr. *ḥārīt*; Hob. *ḥaaréet*; Jib. *ṣerät*; Soq. *ṣere* // < MSA **ṣar-* ‘moon’ (for possible Sem. cognates v. Mil. 2011 #7), with a direct parallel in Brb. (Mil. 2011 footnote 56).
- ◇ No term in Bib. or Sab.
- North and West Semitic **warḥ-* (#1); on the debatable relations with Egyp. *iṣḥ* ‘moon’ v. Mil. 2011.

55. MOUNTAIN

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *šadû*, *šaddû* // < Sem. **šad(d)-* (Mil. 2012), with possible parallels in Cush.: LEC: Somali (May-Digil dial.) *šiid*, Jiddu *šit* ‘stone’, Oromo *sida?* ‘heavy and compact stone’.
- (2) Ugr. *yr* (*y* < **ḍ*); Bib. *ṭūr*; Pal. *ṭwr*; Syr. *ṭūr-*; Mnd. *ṭur-*; Urm. *ṭūr-* // < Sem. **ṭul/ir-* ‘flint, rock’ with a few parallels implying Afras. **čur-* id. (Mil. 2012; add: N.Omot.: Gimira (Bench) *čar* ‘rock’ ADB).
- (3) Hbr. *hār*; Pho. *hr* // with Ugr. *hr* ‘mountain’ < Sem. **har-* < Afras. **hawr-* (Mil. 2012).
- (4) Qur. *šabal-*; Leb. *šabel*; Mec. *šabal* // < Sem. **gVbVl-* ‘mountain; boundary, border’, perhaps derived with root extension *-l* < Afras. **ga/ub-* ‘mountain’ (v. Mil. 2012; disregard the Dulay forms).
- (5) Sab. *ṣr* // < Sab.-Arb. **ṣu(ṣu)r-* (v. Mil. 2012).
- (6) Gez. *dābər*; Tgr. *dābər* // < Sem. **dabr-* ‘mountain valley, meadow’ (Mil. 2012), perhaps < **dab-* with root extension *-r* < Afras. **dV(m)b-* ‘rock’ (Mil. 2012).
- (7) Amh. *tārara*; Arg. *tārara* // no parallels in Sem.; for possible Cush. sources of borrowing and/or Afras. connections v. Mil. 2012.
- (8) Har. *sāri* // < S.-E. Eth.-Arb. **sary/w-* (v. Mil. 2012).
- (9) Hrs. *kermaym*; Mhr. *karmaym* // < Sem. **karm-*; for further Sem. and Afras. connections v. Mil. 2012 (add Chad. **kV(wV)r-* ‘stone, hill’ St 2011 #287 and, perhaps, **kVr-* ‘forest’ ibid. #273).
- (10) Jib. *ḥēr* // < Sem. **ḥil/amār-*: Arb. *ḥimārat-* ‘gros pierre’ (BK I 490), Hbr. *ḥāmōr* ‘heap’ (HALOT 327) and, perhaps, Akk. *amāru* ‘to pile up (bricks)’ (CAD a2 27).
- (11) Soq. *félidehon* // probably < Sem. **pad(d)Vn-* ‘path in the mountains’ with W. Chad. parallels (Mil. 2012).
- ◇ Mlt. *montaṅa* < Italian *montagna*; Sod. *gara* < E. Cush.; Cha. *ḳwāto* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2012); Mhr. *gabēl*; Hob. *šabeél*; Jib. *giēil* are more likely < Arb. than genuine (contra Mil. 2012 #4). No term in Gaf. or Wol.
- No Common Semitic.

56. MOUTH

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *pû-*; Ugr. *p*; Hbr. *pā*; Pho. *py*; Bib. *pum*; Pal. *pām*; Syr. *pūm-*; Mnd. *pum-*; Urm. *pūm-*; Qur. *fam-* (*fuw-*); Mec. *famm*; Sab. *f, fm*; Gez. *ʔaf*; Tna. *ʔaf*; Tgr. *ʔaf*; Amh. *ʔaf*; Arg. *af*; Sod. *af*; Har. *af*; Wol. *af*; Cha. *āf* // < Sem. **(ʔa-)pay/w(-m)-* ‘mouth’ (cf. SED I #223, Mil. 2012).
- (2) Leb. *ḥalʔ*; Mlt. *ḥalʔa* // < Sem. **ḥalk-* ‘Adam’s apple, throat’ (v. SED I #117) < Afras. **(ḥa-)IVk(-um)-* ‘throat and upper part of neck’ (Mil. 2012).
- (3) Gaf. *səmotä* // for the presumed non-trivial meaning shift < Eth. **sɛm* ‘to kiss’ instead of borrowing < E.Cush. v. Mil. 2012.
- (4) Hrs. *ḥah*; Mhr. *ḥōh*; Hob. *ḥoh*; Jib. *ḥoh*; Soq. *ḥe* // < Sem. **ḥVwVy-* ~ **ḥawḥ-* ‘hole, aperture’ supposedly < Afras. **qaw/ʔ-* ‘hole’ with arguable **q* (Mil. 2012).
→ North and West Semitic **(ʔa-)pay/w(-m)-* (#1) < Afras. **(ʔa-)pay/w-* ‘mouth’ (Mil. 2012).

57. NAME

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *šumu*; Ugr. *šm*; Hbr. *šēm*; Pho. *šm*; Bib. *šum*; Pal. *šēm, šwm*; Syr. *šəm*; Mnd. *šum-*; Urm. *šimm-*; Qur. *ʔism-*; Leb. *ʔəsəm*; Mec. *ism*; Mlt. *isem*; Sab. *s₁m*; Gez. *səm*; Tna. *səm*; Tgr. *səm*; Amh. *səm*; Arg. *səm*; Gaf. *səm^wä*; Sod. *səm*; Har. *sum*; Wol. *sum*; Cha. *šəm*; Hrs. *hem*; Mhr. *ham*; Hob. *húm*; Jib. *šum*; Soq. *šem* // < Sem. **(ʔi-)šim-*.
→ Proto-Semitic **(ʔi-)šim-* < Afras. **(ʔi-)sim-* ‘name’ (Mil. 2012).

58. NECK

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *kišādu*; Gez. *kaśad*; Tna. *kaśad* // < Sem. **ki(n)šād-* ‘neck, top of shoulder’ (SED I #147).
- (2) Hbr. *šawwā(ʔ)r*; Bib. *šawwāʔr*; Pal. *šw₁wr*; Syr. *šawr-*; Mnd. *šawr-* // < Sem. **šaw(ʔ)ar-* ‘neck’ (v. SED I #258).
- (3) Qur. *ʔunḵ-*; Mlt. (*gh*)*onaʔ* // < Sem. **ʔVnḵ-* ‘neck’ (SED I #15); cf. N.Cush.: Beja *ankūa* ‘Häcker, Buckel’ (if < **ʔanḵw-*).
- (4) Leb. *raʔabi*; Mec. *ragaba* // < Common Arb. **raḵb-*; for possible cognates with met. v. Mil. 2012.
- (5) Tgr. *səgad* // likely, with an unusual meaning shift, < *sägda* ‘prostrate oneself’ < Sem. **sgd* ‘prostrate’ (LGz 490).
- (6) Amh. *angät*; Arg. *angäd, hangät*; Gaf. *angät*; Sod. *angät*; Har. *angät*; Wol. *angät*; Cha. *angät* // with Arg. *h-* vs. Har. *0-* (**h > ḥ, *ʔ > 0* in Har.), it is hard to say if < Sem. **ʔVng(-at)-* or < **ḥVng(-ar)-* ‘neck’ (Mil. 2012); in the latter case v. Egypt. (18 Dyn.) *ḥngg* ‘gorge’ (ibid.).
- (7) Hrs. Mhr. *yōṭi*; Hob. *yóotə*; Jib. *yotē* // only MSA.
- (8) Soq. *faḵrere* (syn.: *ḵar* — v. Sem. and Afras. parallels in Mil. 2012 #8) // < Sem. **pi/arḵ-at-* ~ **pi/aḵr-at-* (SED I #219), perhaps, with fossilized *-r* extension, < **pVḵ-* ‘neck’ (ibid. #213).
◇ Urm. *ḵādāl-* < Arb. *ḵidāl-* rather than genuine (Mil. 2012). No term in Pho. or Sab.
→ North and West Semitic **kišād-* (#1).

59. NEW

- (1) Akk. (OB) *eššu*; Ugr. *ḥdt*; Hbr. *ḥādāš*; Pho. *ḥdš*; Bib. *ḥādat*; Pal. *ḥdt*; Syr. *ḥadət-*; Mnd. *hadt-*; Urm. *ḥā(d)t-*; Gez. *ḥāddis*; Tna. *ḥāddis*; Tgr. *ḥāddis*; Amh. *addis*; Arg. *hažəs*; Sod. *ažžis*; Har. *ḥažis*; Wol. *ažis* // < Sem. **ḥadiṭ-* (DRS 837).
- (2) Qur. *žadīd-*; Leb. *ždīd*; Mec. *žadiyd*; Mlt. *ždīd* // for a plausible Sem. etymology incl. Arb. *žadīd-* ‘new, jeunesse, jeune âge’ and Syr. *gaddūd-* ‘adolescens’ v. Mil. 2012; cf. Chad. **gVdVn-* ‘younger, the youngest’ (St. 2005 #500) and N.Omot.: Yemsa *gaddo* ‘new’.

- (3) Sab. *ks₂b* // < Arb.-Sab. **kašīb*- (Mil. 2012).
- (4) Gaf. *wayä* // acc. to LGur 666, a loan from HEC (Sidamo *hāro*, etc.) “with loss of *r* through palatalization” (ibid. 673), which is unconvincing; cf., hypothetically, E.Cush.: LEC **ʔawt-it*:- Dirayta *áwšitt*, Mashile *áwtitta* ‘new’ and C.Chad.: Ouldeme *āwéhē*, Mada *ewwe*, Zulgo *awíyá*, Cuvok *waya* id.
- (5) Cha. *gädär* // for possible Sem. connections v. Mil. 2012.
- (6) Hrs. *heydīn*; Mhr. *heydīn*; Hob. *haydīn*; Jib. *odīn* // < MSA-Arb. **wayd-Vn* < MSA-Arb. with plausible Afras. connections (Mil. 2012).
- ◇ Soq. *gadid* is more likely an Arabism than genuine.
- North and West Semitic **ḥadiṭ*- (#1).

60. NIGHT

- (1) Akk. (OB) *mūšu*; Sod. *māšūt*; Cha. *māšūtä* // < Sem. *(*ʔa*-)*mušy*- ‘night, yesterday, evening’ (Mil. 2012).
- (2) Ugr. *ll*; Hbr. *laylā*; Pho. *ll*; Bib. *lēly-ā*; Pal. *lēlē*; Syr. *lely-*; Mnd. *lily-*; Urm. *layl-*; Qur. *laylat-*; Leb. *layl*; Mec. *layl*; Mlt. *leyla*; Sab. *lly*; Gez. *lelit*; Tna. *läyt-i*; Tgr. *lali*; Amh. *let*; Gaf. *litä* // < Sem. **layl*-.
- (3) Arg. *hadara* (syn.: *etta*, *yet* — v. Mil. 2012 #4) // (unless < E.Cush.) < Sem.: **ḥadar*- ‘darkness’ (Mil. 2012); cf. E.Cush.: Saho *hadar*, Afar *hadar* (perf. *áḥdera*) ‘spend the night doing something’; N.Omot.: Anfilo *diihro* (met.) ‘night’ (ADB).
- (4) Har. *artu*, *örtu* (syn.: *läyl-i*, *lēl-i* — v. #2); Wol. *arot* // < S.-E. Eth., likely < Sem. **ʔarb*- ‘sunset, evening, west’ (v. in Mil. 2012 #5).
- (5) Hrs. *ʔāšer*; Mhr. *ʔaçar*; Hob. *ʔáašar*; Jib. *ʔaçar* // rel. to Arb. *ʔal-ʔašr*- ‘le jour et la nuit, ou le soir et le matin’, likely < Sem. **ʔašr*- ‘feast, time, season, night’ (Mil. 2012 #6).
- (6) Soq. *ḥte* // perhaps rel. to Arb. *ḥalitāt* ‘sommeil’ (BK 1 377).
- North and West (Sod., Cha.) Semitic *(*ʔa*-)*mVšy*- (#1) < Afras. *(*ʔa*-)*mas(y)*- ‘night, evening’ (Mil. 2012; N. Omot. **ʔumars*-, which is a different Afras. root /**mVšVr*- ~ **rVmVš*- ~ *(*ʔu*-)*mars*- ADB, should be replaced with N.Omot. **ʔVmVs/c*:- Malo *ʔomáca*, Basketo *ʔumac* ‘night’, Mao (Sezo) *ʔemsi* ‘moon’, perhaps Dizi (Maji) *acim* (met.) ‘id.’.
- West Semitic **layl*- (#2); cf. Afras.: W.Chad. **IV(V/y)* ‘moon’: Tala *lii*, Boghom *lio*; S.Cush.: Asa *ʔalalaya* ‘star’; Maʔa *-lašu* (dissim. < **lalu?*) ‘evening’; N.Omot.: Bworo *illa* ‘evening’, Yemsa *wāli* ‘night’ (ADB; cf. EDE III 43–44).

61. NOSE

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *appu*; Ugr. *ʔap*; Hbr. *ʔap*; Pal. *ʔp*; Qur. *ʔanf*; (?) Sab. *ʔf* (Stein: 1 attestation with a question mark); Gez. *ʔanəf*; Tgr. *ʔanəf*; Gaf. *āf^wä*; Sod. *afunna*; Har. *ūf*; Cha. *āfunna* // < Sem. **ʔanp*- ‘nose’ (SED I #8).
- (2) Syr. *nəḥīr*-; Mnd. *nhir*-; Urm. *nāḥīr*-; Leb. *mənḥar*; Mlt. *ənniḥer*; Hrs. *nḥerīr*; Mhr. *neḥrīr*; Hob. *nəḥrīr*; Jib. *nəḥrer*; Soq. *nəḥrīr* // < Sem. **nəḥīr*- ‘nostril, nose’ (SED I #198).
- (3) Mec. *ḥušum* // Class. Arb. *ḥayšūm*- ‘cartilages du nez’ (v. Mil. 2012).
- (4) Tna. *ʔafənča*; Amh. Arg. *afənča* // an enigmatic term (v. Mil. 2012).
- (5) Wol. *bärbäre* // < *bärbäre* ‘pepper’ (LGur 151), v. Mil. 2012.
- ◇ No term in Pho., Bib. or Sab.
- North and West Semitic **ʔanp*- (#1) < Afras. *(*ʔa*-)*nalif*- ‘breath’ (v. in Mil. 2012).
- South and West Semitic **nəḥīr*- (#2) < Afras. **nəḥVr*- ‘nose’ (Mil. 2012), perhaps going back, with root extension *-r*, to Afras. (incl. Sem.) **nəḥ*- ‘referring to the nose, nasal mucus, phlegm’ (Mil. 2012).

62. NOT¹

- (1) Akk. (OB) *ul* (and *lā* — v. #2); Pho. *ʔl* (and *ʔy* — v. #3); Sab. *ʔl*; Amh. *al...*(*m*); Arg. *al...*(*w/u*); Gaf. *al*; Sod. *al-*; Har. *al*; Wol. *al-*; Soq. *al* // < Sem. **ʔal*, var. **ʔul* (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471).
 - (2) Ugr. *l*, *la-a* (and *ʔal* — v. #1); Hbr. *lō(?)* (and *ʔāl* — v. #1); Bib. *lā*; Pal. *lāʔ*; Syr. *lā*; Mnd. *la*; Urm. *lā*; Qur. *lā* (and *mā* — v. #4); Hrs. *laʔ*; Mhr. (*ʔal...*) *laʔ*; Hob. *lāʔ*; Jib. (*ʔol...*)*lɔʔ* // < Sem. **laʔ* (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471).
 - (3) Gez. *ʔi*; Tna. *ʔay(...n)*; Tgr. *ʔi* // < Sem. **ʔay* < Afras. **ʔay* (v. Mil. 2012).
 - (4) Leb. *mā...š*; Mec. *mā*; Mlt. *mā* // < Sem. **ma(?)* < Afras. **ma* (Mil. 2012).
 - (5) Cha. *an-* // < Sem. **ʔayn-* ‘(there) is not’ (otherwise a sporadic change < **al-*) < Afras. **ʔayn-* ~ **nay-* v. Mil. 2012 #5).
- Proto-Semitic **ʔal* ~ **ʔul* (#1) < Afras. **ʔa/ul-* (Mil. 2012, ADB).
- West and South Semitic **laʔ* (#2), with several Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012, ADB). Both proto-forms may be eventually related through metathesis, but at the Proto-Afrasian rather than at the Proto-Semitic level.

63. ONE

- (1) Akk. (OB) *ʔištēn* m., *ištīat* f. // < Sem. **ʔišt(-Vn/t)-* ‘one; eleven’: Ugr. *ʔšt ʔšr(h)*, Hbr. *ʔašattē*, Egypt. Arm. *ʔštʔ*, Sab. *ʔst(n)* m., *ʔst* f. ‘11’ < Sem. **ʔišt-t(-Vn/t)-* (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471; add Sab. *ʔs,tn* ‘eins’ Stein, one attestation) < Afras. **ʔis-n/t-* ‘one’ (Mil. 2012).
 - (2) Ugr. *ʔahd*; Hbr. *ʔāhad*; Pho. *ʔhd*; Bib. *had*; Pal. *had*; Syr. *had-*; Mnd. *had*; Urm. *had-*; Qur. *wāhid-*; Leb. *wəhad*; Mec. *wāhid*; Mlt. *wīhet*; Sab. *ʔhd*; Gez. *ʔahadu*; Tna. *hadä*; Tgr. *hatte* f. (*woro* m.); Amh. *ʔand*; Arg. *hand*; Gaf. *əʒʒä*; Sod. *at(t)*; Har. *aḥad*; Wol. *add*; Cha. *at* // < Sem. **ʔ/wahad-* ‘one, single, alone, united’ (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471).
 - (3) Hrs. *ḫād*; Mhr. *ḫād, ḫāt, ḫáyṭ*; Hob. *ḫáat*; Jib. *ḫād* (m.), *ḫit* (f.); Soq. *ḫad* (m.), *ḫey* (f.) // likely rel. to Arb. *ḫuʔaʔ* ‘quelqu’un’, presumably < MSA-Arb. **ḫu/aʔ/y-* ‘(some)one’ (> MSA **ḫay(-t)*, dissimilated > **ḫad* or assimilated > *ḫat* in masc., and remaining **ḫay(-t)* in fem.); cf. Afras.: W.Chad.: North Bauchi **wuti* ‘one’ (Warji, Kariya, Siri, Jimbin. etc.) and E.Cush.: HEC: Burji *dé-kki* (m.), *dé-tti* (f.) ‘one, single’ (**dV-* < **tV*) ADB.
- West Semitic *(*ʔ/wa-*)*had-* (#2) < Afras. *(*ʔ/wa-*)*had-* ‘one’ (Mil. 2012).

64. PERSON

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *ʔawīlu* // no plausible Sem. parallels; presumably < Afras. *(*Ha*)*wil-* ‘child’ (Mil. 2012).
- (2) Ugr. *bnš* (< *bn nš*; syn.: *ʔadm* — v. #3); Bib. (*bar-*)*ʔānāš*; Mnd. (*a*)*naš-*, *barnāša*; Qur. *ʔins-ān-*; Leb. *ʔinsēn*; Sab. *ʔns₁* (syn.: *ʔs₁* — v. #4) // < Sem. *(*bin-/bar-*)*ʔi-naš-* (v. MAN #5).
- (3) Pho. *ʔdm* // < Sem. **ʔadam-* (not < *(*ʔa-*)*dam-* ‘red’ as is often stated), likely < Afras. **ʔadam-* ~ **daʔam-* ‘kin, family member’ (Mil. 2012).
- (4) Hbr. *ʔiš* (syn.: *ʔänōš* — v. #2); Sab. *ʔs₁* (syn.) // < Sem. **ʔiš-* (v. MAN #3).
- (5) Pal. *gəḫar* (syn.: *brnš, ʔānaš* — v. #2); Syr. *gabr-* (syn.: *bar-(?)nāš-* — v. #2); Urm. *gabr-* (syn.: *barnāš-* — v. #2) // v. MAN #4.
- (6) Mec. *šahs* // < Sem. **š:hš* ‘to be high, great, lofty (> haughty)’ (Mil. 2012).
- (7) Gez. *baʔəs-i* // < Afras. **bVʔVs-* ‘son, boy, coeval’ (v. MAN #7).
- (8) Tna. *sāb*; Amh. *sāw*; Arg. *su*; Gaf. *sāwä*; Sod. *sāb*; Har. *usuʔ*; Wol. *sāb*; Cha. *sāb* // v. MAN #9.
- (9) Mhr. *nafs*; Jib. *nafs* // (arguments contra borrowing < Arb. v. in Mil. 2012) < Sem. **nap(i)š-* ‘soul; vitality, life; person, personality; self’ < Afras. **nafVs-* ‘breathing’ (ibid.).

¹ The forms listed below are only partial synonyms, since their sentential functions are different.

- (10) Soq. *həyhi* // with three possible alternative etymologies, perhaps eventually related: (a) if meaning ‘(the) living (one)’, < Sem. **hwy* ‘to live’ < Afras. **hayVw-* ‘live, be born, give birth to’ (Mil. 2012); (b) < Arb.-MSA **hay(y)-* ‘tribe; neighbor; fraternity’: Arb. *hayy-* ‘tribe; man of the same tribe, neighbour’, Jib. *aḥa (wḥy)* ‘run to help’, Soq. *ḥiyo* ‘fraternité’ < Afras. **hay/w/?-* ‘tribe, clan, kin’: Egyp. (MK) *wḥy* ‘tribe, clan, family, house (of nomads?)’; Cush. E.: Saho *ḥeaw* ‘people’, S. **ḥay?*- ‘kin, clan; brother, sister’: Iraqw *ḥay* ‘kinsfolk, clan’, *ḥiya* ‘brother’, *ḥaḥe* ‘siblings’, Qwadza *heḥe* ‘sister’, etc.; (c) < Afras. **hawVy-* ‘man, husband’: Chad. W.: Gera *hàwí* ‘chief’, C. Logone *ḡuyē* ‘husband’; S. Cush.: Iraqw Alagwa Burunge *ḥaw-ata* ‘man, husband’, Dahalo *ḥááyo* ‘man, husband’ (ADB).
- ◇ Mlt. *persūna* < Latin or Italian *persona* (interestingly, must have been a source of borrowing, likely through the Order of Malta, into Russian *нарсуна*, a “primitive” portrait genre in 17th century Russia); Hob. *insí* < Arab.
- West Semitic *(*bin-/bar-*)?*i-naš-* < Afras. (v. MAN #5).

65. RAIN

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *zunnu*; Sab. *ḏnm*; Gez. *zənām*; Tna. *zənam, zənab* (syn.: *may* — v. WATER #1); Tgr. *zəlam*; Amh. *zənab*; Arg. *zənab*; Gaf. *zənab^{wä}*; Sod. *zənab*; Har. *zənāb*; Wol. *zəlam*; Cha. *zərab* // < Sem. **ḏun(a)m-* (Mil. 2012).
- (2) Ugr. *mṭr* (syn.: *gšm* — v. Mil. 2012 #3); Hbr. *māṭār* (syn.: *gäšäm* v. Mil. 2012 #3); Pal. *mṭr*; Syr. *meṭr-*; Mnd. *miṭr-*; Urm. *miṭr-*; Qur. *maṭar-*; Mec. *maṭar* // < Sem. **miṭar-* (Mil. 2012).
- (3) Leb. *šitā*; Mlt. *šita* // < Sem. **šitaw/?-* ‘rainy, windy season’ (Mil. 2012 #4).
- (4) Hrs. *me-lsēn* (syn.: *reḥemet* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Mhr. *ma-lsi* (syn.: *reḥemét* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Hob. *ma-lsée*; Jib. *mó-sé* (syn.: *raḥmēt* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Soq. *me-se* // < Sem. **liš(IVš)-* ‘efflux, outflow’ (Mil. 2012 #6), rel. to **IV(V)s-* ‘to be moist, ooze’ (St. 2005 #227, tentatively comp. with Sem. **IVz-*).
- ◇ No term in Pho. or Bib.
- North and West Semitic **ḏun(a)m-* (#1) < Afras. **ḏVn(-Vm)-* ~ **ḏVm(-Vn)-* ‘rain’ (Mil. 2012).
- West Semitic **miṭar-* (#2) < Afras. *(*mi-*)*ṭar(ar)-* (Mil. 2012).

66. RED

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *sāmu* // for possible Sem. etymologies of this complicated case and respective Afras. parallels, v. Mil. 2012.
- (2) Hbr. *ʔādōm*; Cha. *dämyät* // < Sem. **ʔadam-* ~ **dVʔVm-* ‘red’ (Mil. 2012).
- (3) Pal. *swmḵ, symwḵ, smwḵ*; Syr. *sūmāḵ-, summāḵ-*; Mnd. *sumaḵ-*; Urm. *səməḵ-* // for two alternative etymologies v. Mil. 2012.
- (4) Qur. *ḥumr-* (pl.); Leb. Mec. Mlt. *aḥmar* // < Sem. **ḥamr-* ‘red’ (Mil. 2012).
- (5) Gez. *ḳayyih*; Tna. *ḳäyyih*; Tgr. *ḳäyāḥ* (syn. *ṭālā* — v. Mil. 2012 #6); Amh. *ḳäyy*; Arg. *ḳäyyāḥ, ḳäy*; Gaf. *ḳäyä*; Har. *ḳēḥ* // < Sem. **ḳayḥ-* ‘light red, rose’ (Mil. 2012); for a possible cognate in Afras. **ḳay/wḥ-* ‘luminary (moon, sun)’ v. ibid.; add E.Cush.: Dullay *(*wV*)*ḳḳayḥ-* ‘sun’ and, perhaps, HEC: Dasenech *ḡúy* ‘moon’ (ADB).
- (6) Hrs. *ʔáfer*; Mhr. *ʔōfər*; Hob. *ʔóofər*; Jib. *ʔǝfər*; Soq. *ʔáfer* // likely < Sem. **ʔapar-* ‘dust, soil’, v. EARTH #3.
- ◇ Sod. *bəšša*; Wol. *bušä*; Cha. *bəša* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2012). No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib. or Sab. (cf. *ḥmrt* ‘red’ in SD 68, attested once and with a question mark).
- West (Hbr. and Cha.) Semitic **ʔadam-* ~ **dVʔVm-* (#2) < Afras. *(*ʔa-*)*dVm-* ~ **diʔm-* ‘(dark) red’ (Mil. 2012).

67. ROAD

- (1) Akk. (OB) *urḫu* (syn.: *girru* — v. Mil. 2012 #2, and *ḥarrānu* — v. Mil. 2012 #1); Bib. *ʔarḫā*; Pal. *ʔwrḫ*; Syr. *ʔurḫ-* (syn.: *darb-* — v. #6); Mnd. *ʔuhr-*; Urm. *ʔūrəḫ-* // < Sem. **ʔurḫ-* ‘way, road’ — v. Mil. 2012 #5; add Arb. *rḫw* ‘éloigner’ (BK 1 841); note that the Arm. forms are suspected by some authors of being < Akk. on grounds that I fail to understand.
- (2) Ugr. *ntb(-t)* // for Sem. cognates and curious parallels (or look-alikes) in Chad. v. Mil. 2012 #3.
- (3) Hbr. *dārāk*; Pho. *drk* // < Sem. **drk* ‘(quickly) follow/tread a path, walk’; for what seems Afras. variant roots, but of unusual correlation v. Mil. 2012 #4.
- (4) Qur. *ʔarīḳ-*; Mec. *ʔariyg*; Mlt. *triʔ* // for a possible provenance < Sem. **ʔtarVḳ-* ‘night luminary’ and/or an Akk. cognate v. Mil. 2012 #6.
- (5) Leb. *darab* (syn.: *ʔarīʔ* — v. #4) // Class. Arb. *darb-*; if (following Lane) a lw., must be, together with Leb. *darab* < Syr. *darb-* (v. Mil. 2012 #7); anyway, v. Afras. parallels (ibid.).
- (6) Sab. *ms₁bʔ* // < *s₁bʔ* ‘carry out an undertaking (e.g., military expedition, etc.)’ (SD 122) < Sem. **šb(?)* ‘to walk’ with Chad. parallels in **sVb-* ‘to go (back, out)’, etc. (St. 2009 #39, add Hausa *saḫō* ‘return’ pointing to **sVbVʔ-*), cf. Mil. 2012 #8.
- (7) Gez. *ma-ngad* (syn.: *fənot* — v. Mil. 2012 #9 with Afras. parallels in ADB); Tna. *mā-gādd-i*; Amh. *mā-ngād* : *mā-gādd-i* // < Eth. **nagada* ‘go on a journey, travel, trade’, likely < Sem. **na-gad-* with Afras. cognates (Mil. 2012 #10).
- (8) Tgr. *gābāy* // likely < Sem. **ga(n)b-* ‘side; beside; back; body’ with Afras. cognates (Mil. 2012 #11).
- (9) Arg. *hema*, *ḥəyəma*; Cha. *ema* // rel. to Arb. *hmy* < Afras. **haym-* ‘walk, come and go’ (Mil. 2012 #11).
- (10) Sod. *moça* // acc. to LGz 606, < Sem. **wʕʔ* ‘go out’.
- (11) Hrs. *wōrem*; Mhr. *ḥūrum*; Hob. *ʔóorəm*; Jib. *ʔorm*; Soq. *ʔórim* // MSA-Arb. **ʔu/irm-* (with fossilized *-m*) < Afras. **ʔ/war-* ‘road’ (Mil. #13; add Brb.: Shenwa *wur* ‘go’, etc.).
 ◇ Gaf. *mäyā* < Oromo *meya* (LGur 441); Har. *uga* and Wol. *ungä* < Omot. (Mil. 2012).
 → North and West Semitic **ʔurḫ-* (#1); cf. Chad. **rVV[ɣ]-*: Hausa *rùugā* ‘drive on/away’, Bokkos *roh* ‘senden, schicken’ (compared with Ngizim *rəgú* ‘migrate’ and Arb. *rḫw* ‘éloigner’), cf. derived E.: Ubi *ʔùrgin* ‘drive away, hunt’ (St. 2011 #803).

68. ROOT

- (1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šuršu*; Ugr. *šrš*; Hbr. *šōrāš*; Pho. *šrš*; Bib. *šōrēš*; Mnd. *širš-*; Leb. *širəš* // < Sem. **š_xVu/irš_x-*.
- (2) Pal. *ʔyḳr* (syn.: *šrš* — v. #1); Syr. *ʔēḳār-* (syn.: *šerš-* — v. #1); Urm. *ʔiḳr-* // < Sem. **ʔiḳ(k)ār-* ‘root; medicine’ (v. in SED I #20); cf. Chad. C.: Bachama *kwire*, E.: Jegu *kyāro* ‘root’ (ADB; possibly < **ḳw/yar-* or **ʔVḳw/yar-*).
- (3) Qur. *ʔašl-* // likely rel. to Sem. **ʔaš/al-* ‘join, attach’ and ‘(noble) origin’ (cf. DRS 30) and **wašil-* ‘joint, articulation’ (cf. SED I #289), with a possible Chad. parallel **çVl-* ‘string’ (St. 2009 #747).
- (4) Mec. *ʔirḳ* (syn.: *žizir* < Arm.-Arb. **gizar-* ‘root vegetable’, v. Mil. 2012 #5); Mlt. *(gh)eruʔ*; Hrs. *ʔark*; Mhr. *ʔark*; Hob. *ʔárḳ* // < Sem. **ʔal/irḳ-* ‘tendon, muscle, vein, nerf; root’ (SED I #20).
- (5) Gez. *šaraw*; Tna. *sur*; Amh. *sər*; Arg. *šarit*, *sər*; Gaf. *sər*; Sod. *sər*; Har. *sər*; Wol. *sər*; Cha. *äsər* // probably different from #1 (contra Mil. 2012 #1 and Kog. LE 480); rel. to Chad. **çVHVrV* ~ **çVrVHV* (St. 2011 #287); cf. also C. Cush. **sər-*, more probable < Eth.
- (6) Tgr. *ḳərd* // cognates not found.
- (7) Jib. *široḫ*; Soq. *šeraḫ* // < MSA-Arb. (v. Mil. 2012; different from #1 contra Kog. LE fn. 109); justly comp. (through metathesis) with C.Chad.: Biu-Mandara **šəḫaray* ‘root’ in St. 2011 #287.
 ◇ No term in Sab.

- North and West Semitic * $\hat{s}_x u / ir \hat{s}_x$ - (#1).
 → West and South Semitic * $\hat{s} a / ir \hat{k}$ - (#4; unless MSA < Arb.).

69. ROUND

- (1) Akk. (OB) *garru* // < Sem. **gar(gVr)*- < Afras. **gVr(gVr)*- (Mil. 2012).
- (2) Hbr. *ṯāgōl*; Soq. *gáflhel* (met.) // < Sem. **ṯgl* (v. reasons for uniting these terms in Mil. 2012).
- (3) Syr. *gālil*-; Urm. *gālül*- // < Sem. **g^wVlVl*- < Afras. **g^wVlVl*- ‘round’ (Mil. 2012).
- (4) Mnd. *kulul*- // < Sem. **k^wVlVl*- ‘round, surround’ < Afras. **k^wVl*- ‘round, circular’ (Mil. 2012; add Copt.: Sahidic *kelkōl* ‘ê. rond’ Vyc. 76).
- (5) Leb. *m-dawwar*; Mec. *mu-dawwar* // < Sem. **dwr* ‘to be/go round’ (arguments contra borrowing in MSA < Arb. v. in Mil. 2012) with a few Afras. parallels (ibid.).
- (6) Gez. *kābub*; Tna. *kābib* (syn.: *ʔən-kāblāl* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Tgr. *kābib*, *kābub*; Amh. *kābb*; Sod. *kābb*; Wol. *kub*; Cha. *kāb* // < Sem. **kVb(kVb)*- ‘round’ (Mil. 2012).
- (7) Har. *dulālu* // < Sem. **dVbVl*- ‘round, ball-shaped’ with possible scarce Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #8).
- (8) Jib. *ḥalkēt* // < Sem. **ḥalk-at*- ‘circle, ring’ (Mil. 2012 #9).
 ◇ Mlt. *tont* likely < Ital. *tondo*; Mhr. *madāwwar*, Hob. *mdāwwar* more likely < Arb. than genuine (counter Mil. 2012 #5). No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Arg. or Gaf.
 → West (Hbr.) and South (Soq.) Semitic **ṯagVl*- (#2); eventually interrelated, with root extension -*ṯ*, to Sem. **g^wVlVl*- < Afras. **g^wVlVl*- (#3).

70. SAND

- (1) Akk. (OB) *bāṣu* (*baṣṣu*) // < Sem. **bVṣ*- (Mil. 2012); cf. E.Cush.: LEC: Oromo *boṭṭoo* ‘muddy’.
- (2) Hbr. *ḥōl*; Pal. *ḥāl*; Syr. *ḥāl*-; Mnd. *hal*- // < Sem. **ḥawl*- ‘sand, mud’ (v. Mil. 2012).
- (3) Leb. *ramāl*; Mec. *ramal*; Mlt. *rāmel* // common Arb. and, perhaps, Sab. *rml* ‘building sand’ quoted in SD 117 with a question mark (v. Mil. 2012; add identical terms rel. to geomancy in different languages in LGz 471).
- (4) Gez. *ḥoṣa*; Tna. *ḥuṣa*; Tgr. *ḥəṣä* (syn.: *čäbäl*) // < Sem. **ḥ/hVw/yVṣ*- ‘sand, gravel’ < hypothetical Afras. **qas/ç*- (Mil. 2012).
- (5) Amh. *aššāwa*; Arg. *hašawa*; Sod. *ašawa*; Wol. *ašawa*; Cha. *ašawa* // < Sem. **ḥašw/y*- < Afras. **ḥas(a)y*- (Mil. 2012; correction: Jib. *ḥāši* is not ‘sand’ but ‘soil’, which eliminates Common South and West Semitic **ḥašw/y*-).
- (6) Har. *sēlāt* (syn.: *šihšēra* — v. Mil. 2012 #6) // rel. to (unless borrowed from) Arb. *sihlat*-; cf. Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #7).
- (7) Hrs. *baṭeḥ*; Mhr. *baṭḥ*; Jib. *baṭḥ* // < MSA-Arb. **baṭḥ*- ‘sand’, likely derived < **bṭḥ* ‘to lie down (on the sand?); to spread, extend (of sand?)’ (v. LIE #11).
- (8) Soq. *šéme* // < Soq.-Arb. **ṣaym*- (v. Mil. 2012 #9); cf. Afras. parallels (ibid.), in which the origin of the sibilant remains debatable until detailed and well-grounded consonant correspondences for all Afrasian languages have been established).
 ◇ Urm. *sīl*- is < Turkish. Hob. *rāmléet* < Arb. No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Qur., Sab. or Gaf.
 → No Common Semitic.

71. SAY

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *kaḇū* // < Sem. **k^(w)Vbb*- ‘say, shout, curse’ < Afras. **kaḇ*- ‘speak, shout, curse’ (Mil. 2012).
- (2) Ugr. *rgm* // < Sem. **rgm* ‘to blame, curse’ (Mil. 2012).
- (3) Hbr. *ʔmr*; Pho. *ʔmr*; Bib. *ʔmr*; Pal. *ʔmr*; Syr. *ʔmr*; Mnd. *ʔmr*; Urm. *ʔmr* // < Sem. **ʔmr* ‘to say, order’.

- (4) Qur. *ḵwl*; Leb. *ḡāl*; Mec. *ḵāl*; Mlt. *āl* // < Sem. *ḵwl* ‘to say’, **ḵawl-* ‘voice’ < Afras. **ḵawl-* ‘to talk, shout’ (Mil. 2012).
- (5) Sab. *bhl* (Stein: two attestations; syn.: *ḵwl* Stein: one attestation — v. #4); Gez. *bhl*; Tna. *bälä*; Tgr. *bela*; Amh. *alä*; Arg. *ala*; Gaf. *balä*; Sod. *baläm*; Har. *baya*; Wol. *balä*; Cha. *baräm* // < Sem. **bhl* ‘to say, curse’ (Mil. 2012).
- (6) Hrs. *ḡamōr*; Mhr. *ḡamūr*; Jib. *ḡōr*; Soq. *ḡemor* // v. other (correction from “another” in Mil. 2012) meanings in MSA and Arb. *ibid.*; < MSA-Arb. **ḡmr* presumably ‘causing to existence or accomplishment by force of magic speech/formula’ (to be treated as a variant root of **ḡmr* (#3)).
- West Semitic (Sab.-Eth.) **bhl* (#5) with a likely W.Chad. parallel **biHal-* ‘angry’ (Mil. 2012).

72. SEE

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *amāru* // < Sem. **ḡmr* ‘to see; show, indicate; know’ < Afras. *(*ḡV-*)*mVr-* ‘to see, look, show, search for’ (Mil. 2011 KNOW #5)
- (2) Ugr. *phy* (syn.: *ḡn* — v. EYE #1) // the only imaginable etymology is a hypothetical Ugr.-Arb. **phy* ~ **pʔh* (perhaps also Sab. *bhʔt* ‘scout, intelligence agent’), v. Mil. 2012.
- (3) Hbr. *rʔy*; Qur. *rʔy*; Mlt. *rā*; Sab. *rʔy*; Gez. *rəʔya*; Tna. *rāʔäyä*; Tgr. *rəʔa*; Arg. *re*; Har. *rīʔa* // < Sem. **rʔy* ‘to see’.
- (4) Pho. *ḡz* (*rʔy*, a verbal noun — v. #3); Bib. *ḡzy*; Syr. *ḡzy*; Mnd. *hza*; Urm. *ḡzy*; Amh. *ayyä*; Arg. *hanʒa*; Gaf. *aʒʒä*; Sod. *aʒʒäm*; Wol. *anʒe*; Cha. *aʒ/šäm* // < Sem. **ḡzy* ‘to see, watch’ (Mil. 2012 #5).
- (5) Pal. *ḡmy* // < Hbr.-Arm. **ḡmy* ‘to see, watch, beware’ < Sem. **ḡmy* ‘to watch, protect’ with some weak Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #6).
- (6) Leb. *šēf*; Mec. *šāf* // < Sem. **šw/yp* ‘look out, observe, protect’ (Mil. 2012 #7).
- (7) Hrs. *šēni*; Mhr. *šīnuh*; Hob. *šānu*; Jib. *šīni*; Soq. *šīni* // < MSA-Arb. **šV(?)n-* ‘see, know, care’ < Afras. **šVn-* (Mil. 2012 #8).
- West Semitic 1 **rʔy* (#3) < Afras. **rayʔ-* ~ **ʔayr-* ‘to see’ (Mil. 2012 #4).
- West Semitic 2 **ḡzy* (#4) with one isolated C.Chad. parallel (*ibid.*).

73. SEED

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *zēru*, *zarʔu*; Hbr. *zāraʔ*; Bib. *zəraʔ*; Pal. *zrʔ*; Syr. *zarʔ-*; Urm. *zarʔ-*; Qur. *zarʔ-* (‘seed, corn’, etc. in the Qur’an (Pen.), with *bḡr* attested as ‘to sow’ only — cf. otherwise Kog. LE 471); Mlt. *zerri(gh)a*; Gez. *zārʔ/ʔ*, Tna. *zārʔ-i*; Tgr. *zārʔ*; Amh. Arg. Gaf. Sod. Har. Wol. *zār*; Cha. *zənä* // < Sem. **zarʔ/ʔ-* (Mil. 2012, cf. otherwise Kog. LE 471–2).
- (2) Ugr. *d/ḡrʔ*; Mec. *dirra* // < Sem. **dVrʔ/ʔ-* (Mil. 2012).
- (3) Mnd. *baz(i)r-* (syn. *zira* — v. #1) // < Sem. **bVzr-* (Mil. 2012) with a few debatable Chad. parallels (Mil. 2012).
- (4) Leb. *bḡar* // < Arm.-Arb. **baḡr-* (Mil. 2012).
- (5) Har. *sāñi*; Wol. *sāññe* (otherwise < E.Cush., then most likely < Oromo); Soq. *šāne* (syn.: Soq. *deri* — v. #2) // < Sem. **ʔa-šnVʔ/n-* (Mil. 2012).
- ◇ Hrs. *baḡr*, Mhr. *biḡar*, Hob. *béḡar*, Jib. *béḡar* likely < Arb. No term in Pho.
- North and West Semitic **zarʔ/ʔ-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔVryʔ/ʔ-* ‘seed, sowing, sown field, to sow, plant, cultivate’: Egyp. (late, Gr.) *z*; (< **ʔVr* or **ʒVr*) ‘Bez. der achtel Arure, acht Aruren Acker’ (EG III, 411), (Gr.) ‘Art Acker’ (*Ibid.*, 414); Chad. W.: Karekare *zīrue* (< **zīr-*) ‘planting across ridgerows’, C. **zVr-* ‘to sprout’: Mbuko *zaray* ‘pousser par terre (haricot)’, Zulgo *zárá* ‘long sprouts’ (St. 2009 #542), E.: Kera *zòoru*, Kwang *seeré* ‘to sow’; Cush. N.: Beja *deráʔ* (< **ʔVrʔ-* or **ʒVrʔ-* or < Arb.) ‘seed’, C. **zVr-*: Khamir *ziirú* ‘wheat’, *zir-*, Kemant *zar-* ‘to sow’, Aungi *zer* ‘to cultivate’; N.Omot. **ʒVry-* or **ʔVry-*: Wolamo *zer-* ‘to spread, to seed’,

zer-etta, Malo zere-c, Gamu, Dache zere-cci, Gimira (Bench) zar ‘seed’, Kachama zeer- ‘to sow’ (ADB; Cush. and Omot. terms may be borrowed from Amh.).

- South and West (if the Har. Wol. terms are genuine) Semitic *ʔa-šnVʔ/n- (#5) < Sem. *ʔa-šnVʔ/n- ‘seed, grain, cereal’ < Afras. *sany- id. (Mil. 2012).
- West Semitic (Ugr. and Mec.) *dVrʔ/?- (#2; -ʔ perhaps due to contamination with *zarʔ/?-) < Sem. *dVry/w- ‘to scatter, sow, winnow; seeds’: Akk. zarû ‘to sow seed, broadcast; scatter, sprinkle; winnow’ (CAD z 70), Ugr. dry to winnow’ (DUL 282), Hbr. zry ‘to scatter, winnow’ (HALOT, 280), Jud. dry, drʔ ‘to scatter, strew; winnow’ (Ja., 322), Syr. drʔ ‘sparsit, dispersit’, madray- ‘vannus’ (Brock., 165), Arb. ḍry/w ‘répandre la semence (en semant), semer; vanner, nettoyer (le grain) en le lançant au vent avec une pelle ou avec un van’ (BK 1, 771), ḍurat- ‘dorra, espèce de millet’ (BK 1, 772), Gez. zārāwā ‘to scatter’, (ʔa)zrāwā, (ʔa)zrāyā ‘to winnow’ (LGz., 644 with other Eth. data), Mhr. ḍar ‘to spread out; to spread (gravy, curry, seed)’ (JM 47), Jib. ḍerr ‘to spread out’ (JJ 47), Soq. deri ‘semence’ (LS, 135) < Afras. *ʒVr- ‘to scatter, spread (seed), winnow, process grain; grain, seeds’: Brb. *uzzar ‘to winnow’ (common Brb. incl. Tuareg, hardly < Arb.); (?) Eyp. (OK) dy.w.t (< *ʒVr-w-Vt? Not very likely, supported primarily by the meaning ‘winnow’) ‘Arbeiterin auf dem Gut bei der Ernte: Worflerin’ (EG, V 421); Chad. W.: Podoko n̄ʒira ‘trier (les bons grains des mauvais)’ (cf. also Pero ʒūrā, Guruntum ʒāaʒār ‘groundnuts’), C. *(n)ʒVr- ‘a grain mortar’ (St. 2009 #1158), (?) E.: Somrai ʒār ‘throw’ (ADB).

74. SIT

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) wšb; Ugr. ytb, ʔaṭib; Hbr. yšb; Pho. yšb; Bib. ytb; Pal. ytb; Syr. ytb; Mnd. ytb; Urm. ytb; Sab. wtb // Sem. *wtb (Mil. 2012).
- (2) Qur. kʔd; Lbn. ʔaʕad // < Sem. *kʔd ‘bend, sit, put down’ < Afras. *kV(ʔ)d- ‘bend, sit, lie down’ (Mil. 2012).
- (3) Mec. ʒalas // < Sem. *glš ‘to sit (in a special way, atop, on an elevated place)’ (Mil. 2012).
- (4) Gez. nabara // < Sem. *nbr ‘to be elevated, raise(d), place(d)/sit atop’ (Mil. 2012).
- (5) Tna. kof bälä (syn.: tā-kämmäṭä — v. #7) // < Sem. *wkp ~ *kwp ‘to lie, sit’ (Mil. 2012 #5) with an isolated parallel in E.Cush.: Yaaku (ibid.); unclear if Chad. *kVp- ‘to put upright’ (St. 2011 #57) can be compared, pointing to Afras. *kVp- ‘to sit upright’.
- (6) Tgr. gəsuy hälla (syn.: käf belä — v. #5) // perhaps < Sem. *gišš- ‘torso, body, side of body’ (cf. SED I No. 92) < Afras. *gičč- ‘torso, chest, side of body’ (Mil. 2012).
- (7) Amh. tā-kämmäṭä; Arg. (tä)kämmäṭa // < Eth.-Arb. *kmt ‘bind, hold tightly; sit’ (Mil. 2012).
- (8) Gaf. täwannä; Sod. tonnam; Cha. čonam // only S.Eth. < *wnʔ/? (LGur 599), likely < Afras. *wVnVʔ- ~ *ʔVwVn- (contra Mil. 2012) ‘sleep; sit’: Eyp. (19 Dyn.) ʔwn ‘sleep’; Chad. C. *ʔ/wiyan- id., E. *wanH-: Kwang wéj id., Migama wāànò ‘to dream’ (ADB).
- (9) Har. (tä)gēbä(la); Wol. (tä-)göbälä // either < Eth.-Arb. *gVb(b) + ala (auxiliary verb) or < Afras. *gVbbVr/l- ‘to sit, prostrate oneself; a (sacred?) seat’ (Mil. 2012; add W. Chad. Kifri gobbil- ‘to crawl’).
- (10) Hrs. šhewlöl; Mhr. šhulul; Hob. šhoolúul // cf. a suggested Arb. parallel (Mil. 2012).
- (11) Jib. skof // < Sem. *(ʔa-)skup(p)- ‘threshold’ (Mil. 2012).
- (12) Soq. izsem // v. three etymological options and a Chad. parallel to one of them in Mil. 2012.
 ◇ Mlt. poža < Italian (ap)poggiare.
 → North and West Semitic: *wtb (#1); for a presumed, quite different, primary meaning with an Afras. etymology v. Mil. 2012.

75. SKIN

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) mašk-; Pal. mšk; Syr. mešk- (syn.: geld- — v. #3); Mnd. mišk // < Sem. *mašk- ‘skin’ (Mil. 1914).

- (2) Ugr. *yr*; Hbr. *ōr*; Pho. *ṛ* // < Sem. **ya/ur-/yaryar-* ‘(loose) skin, dewlap’ (SED I #105) < Afras. **yur-* (highly tentative; v. Mil. 2014).
- (3) Urm. *gild-*; Qur. *žild-*; Leb. *žild*; Mec. *žild*; Mlt. *žilda* // < Sem. **gi/ald-* (SED I #78).
- (4) Gez. *māʔ/ʕs* // < Sem. **maʕaš-* or **maʕas-* (Mil. 2014).
- (5) Tna. *ḳ^wərbät*; Tgr. *ḳərbät* // < Eth.-Arb. **ḳ^wirb-at-* < Afras. **ḳ^wirab-* ‘bark, skin’ (Mil. 2014).
- (6) Amh. *ḳodä* (syn.: *ḳ^wərbät*, absent from other S.Eth., likely < Tna — v. #5) // < Eth.-Arb. **ḳ^(w)ad-* ‘skin’; rel to W. Chad. **ḳad-* ‘skin’ (St. 2011 #315).
- (7) Mhr. *bəšārēt*; Jib. *bəšārét* // < Sem. **bi/ašar-* ‘flesh, (human) body’ (SED I #41); perhaps < Afras. **bVĉ(-Vr)-* ‘skin, skinning’: Brb.: Ghadames *bzər* ‘to be peeled’; E.Chad.: W.Dangla *buusu* ‘faire une coupure de la peau au couteau’, E.Dangla *bésé* ‘scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair’; Cush. C.: Khamir *bas-* ‘Einschnitte in die Haut machen... tätowieren’, E.: HEC: Somali *búš-e* ‘chaff’, S.: Maʔa *buše* ‘skin’; N.Omot.: Kafa *bāš-* ‘schlachten, die Gurgel durchschneiden’, Anfillo *baš* ‘to slaughter cattle’ (ADB).
- (8) Soq. *širhi* // < Sem. **šir-* ‘skin, hide of cattle’ (incl. Mhr. *šarū*, Jib. *šéré* ‘to skin a cow with a knife’) SED I #267; cf. W.Chad. **ĉVr-* ‘to peel (bark, husk)’ (St. 2007 #2491a).
- ◇ Gaf. *g^wagä*, Sod. *goga*, Har. *gōga*, Wol. *gogä* and Cha. *goga* are < Oromo *googa*; Hob. *žood* < Arb. *žild*. No term in Bib. and Sab.
- North and West Semitic: **mašk-* (#1) < Afras. **mask-* (Mil. 1914).

76. SLEEP

- (1) Akk. (OB) *šalālu* // likely < Sem. **šll* ‘to lie or go down, be in a horizontal position’ (Mil. 2014).
- (2) Ugr. *yšn*; Hbr. *yšn* // < Sem. **šin(-at)-* ‘sleep, dream’ < Afras. **wisan-* ~ **sawin-* ‘sleep, dream’ (Mil. 2014 #3).
- (3) Pal. *dmk* (syn.: *nwm* — v. #4); Syr. *dmk* (syn.: *škb* — v. #5); Urm. *dmk* (syn.: *ʔlʕ* — Mil. 2014 #7) // no cognates (v. Mil. 2014 #4).
- (4) Qur. *nwm*; Leb. *nēm*; Mec. *nām*; Gez. *nwm* // < Sem. **nwm* ‘to sleep, slumber’.
- (5) Mnd. *škb*; Tgr. *sākāb hälla* // < Sem. **škb* ‘lie (down), sleep’ (v. LIE #2).
- (6) Mlt. *raʔat* // < Arb. *rġd* ‘to sleep’; no visible Sem. parallels.
- (7) Tna *dākḳāsä* // Eth. with no parallels (v. Mil. 2014 #9).
- (8) Amh. *tāññä*; Arg. *teñña*, *eñä*; Sod. *aññām*; Har. *ñēʔa*; Wol. *aññe*; Cha. *nəyām* // < Sem. < Afras. **nhy* ~ **hwn* (Mil. 2014 #10).
- (9) Gaf. *(tä)gäddälä*; Cha. *(tä)gätäräm* // v. LIE #10.
- (10) Hrs. *še-wkōf*; Mhr. *š-ūkūf*; Hob. *šu-ukōof*; Jib. *šef* // < Sem. **wkp* ~ **kwp* ‘to lie, sit’ (v. Mil. 2012 SIT #17).
- (11) Soq. *deme* (syn. *henod* — v. Mil. 2014 #14) // < Sem. **dVm-/dVwVm-* ‘to be still, last, stay a long time in one place’ < Afras. **dam-* ‘dwell, stay, rest’ (Mil. 2014 #13).
- ◇ No terms registered in Pho., Bib. or Sab.
- West (Arb., Gez.) Semitic 1 **nwm* (#4) < Afras. (Mil. 2014 #5; to add as a possibility Chad. W.: Hausa *néemáa* ‘adultery, fornication’, E.: Lele *nōm* ‘courtiser’ (with a meaning shift ‘to sleep’ > ‘to sleep with a woman’ > ‘fornicate?’).
- West (Mnd., Tna.) Semitic 2 **škb* (#5).

77. SMALL

- (1) Akk. (OB) *šeḫru* (with irregular *ḫ?* — cf., however, Jib. *maṣṣəḫórrót* ‘little finger’ (JJ 243) pointing, perhaps, to a different Sem. root **šḫr*; syn.: *dakḳ-* < Sem. **dalikḳ-* ~ **dakikḳ-* < Afras. **dalikḳ-* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Pho. *šṛ*; Qur. *šayīr-*; Leb. *zyīr* (< **šyr*); Mec. *šayiyr*; Mlt. *zā(gh)ir*; Sab. *šyr* (syn.: *ḳṭn* — v. #2) // < Sem. **šayīr-*.
- (2) Hbr. *ḳāṭān* // < Sem. **ḳatan-* < Afras. **ḳ^(w)Vt-* (Mil. 2014 #3).

- (3) Bib. *zəḏēr*; Pal. *zḏwr*, *zḏē(y)r* (syn.: *dḵyḵ* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Syr. *zəḏōr-*; Urm. *zəḏōr-* // < Sem. **zḏr* ‘be small, thin’, rel. to Chad. **zVr-* ‘to be narrow’ (St. 2009 #563; Mil. 2014 #4).
- (4) Mnd. *zuṭ-* (syn.: *ḵotān-* v. #2) // < Aram. **zḏṭ* (Mil. 2014 #5).
- (5) Gez. *nəḏus* (syn.: *daḵiḵ* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Tna *nuḏus*; Tgr. *nəḏuṣ*; Arg. *mans*, *mass*; Gaf. *ansä*; Sod. *maläs*; Cha. *ars* (syn.: *ḵəsi* — v. Mil. 2014 #8) // < Sem. **ʔVnVš-* (Mil. 2014 #6).
- (6) Amh. *ṭannəš* // v. Mil. 2014 #7.
- (7) Har. *ṭit*; Wol. *ṭit* (in both syn.: *(y)anäsä* — v. #5) // No etymology found.
- (8) Hrs. *ḵennōn*; Hob. *ḵannuún*; Soq. *ḵéyhen* // < MSA-Arb. with Chad. parallels — Mil. 2014; add **kVn-* ‘(the youngest) son; calf; small’ (St. 2011 241), perhaps < **ḵVn-*.
- (9) Jib. *niṣan* // no parallels found.
→ Noth and West Semitic **ṣayīr-* (#1).

78. SMOKE:

- (1) Akk. (OB) *ḵutr-*; Ugr. *ḵṭr*; Mnd. *guṭr-* // < Sem. **ḵuṭār-*.
- (2) Hbr. *ḡāšān*, Soq. *ḡeto* (with a loss of *-n*? Less likely rel. to Arb. *ḡayṭ-* ‘pluie abondante et qui s’étend aux environs’ — v. Mil. 2014 footnote 9; syn.: *ḡélaḵ*) // < Sem. **ḡVṭan-* (v. Mil. 2014).
- (3) Pal. *tʿnan*; Syr. *tān-*; Urm. *tin-*; Gez. *tann* (syn.: *ṭis*, *ṭesa* — v. #6); Tgr. *tānan*; Gaf. *tännä*; Sod. *tän*; Har. *tän*; Wol. *tän*; Cha. *tän* // < Arm.-Eth. **tan(a)n-* (v. Mil. 2014).
- (4) Qur. *duḡān-*; Leb. *dḡan*; Mec. *duḡḡān*; Mlt. *duḡḡān*; Hrs. *nedēḡ*; Mhr. *nidiḡ*; Hob. *ndóoh*; Jib. *məndoh* (met. in all MSA) // on this difficult case v. Mil. 2014.
- (5) Tna. *təkk-i* // Tigre *tāka* ‘put on fire’ (no other Sem. cognates found) < Afras. **tVk-* ‘burn, put on fire’ (Mil. 2014).
- (6) Amh. *čəs*; Arg. *čis* (syn.: *tan* — v. #3) // < **ṭays* (only Eth. acc. to LGz. 601), likely rel. to Arb. *ṭassān-* ‘poussière soulevée et qui voltige et tourbillonne dans l’air’ with controversial parallels in C.Cush. (v. Mil. 2014) and a probable cognate in S.Cush.: Asa *toḡusayok* ‘smoke’ (< **toḡus-*?).
- ◇ No term in Pho., Bib. or Sab.
→ North and West Semitic **ḵuṭr-* (#1); if < **ḵuṭ-r* with root extension *-r*, v. possible Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).
→ South and West (Arb.) Semitic 1 **nidVḡ-* ~ **duḡān-* (#4).
→ (?) South and West (Hbr.) Semitic 2 **ḡVṭan-* with parallels in Afras.: W.Chad. **čaHan-* ‘burn’: Mupun *čāan*, Sura *čaan*, Chip *šan*; E.Cush.: Yaaku *ise*, pl. *isehnen* ‘smoke’ (< **ḡisVn-* < AA **ḡičVn-*?).
→ West Semitic (Arm.-Eth.) **tan-* (#3).

79. STAND

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *u/izuzz-* // with a likely cognate in Arb. (Mil. 2014).
- (2) Ugr. *ḵm* (‘stand up’); Bib. *ḵwm*; Pal. *ḵwm*; Syr. *ḵwm*; Mnd. *ḵwm*; Qur. *ḵwm* (syn.: *wḵf* — v. #5); Sab. *ḵwm*; Gez. *ḵwm*; Tna. *ḵomä* (syn.: *däw bälä*, a lw. < Cush. — v. Mil. 2014); Amh. *ḵomä*; Arg. *ḵoma*, *oma*; Gaf. *ḵomä*; Sod. *ḵomäm*; Cha. *ḵwämäm* // < Sem. **ḵwm* (Mil. 2014).
- (3) Hbr. *ḡmd* // < Sem. **ḡmd* with debatable W.Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).
- (4) Urm. *kl?* // no etymology found (suspicious as a possible borrowing).
- (5) Lbn. *wəḏəf*; Mec. *wagaf*; Mlt. *wiḏf* // < Sem. **wḵp* (Mil. 2014).
- (6) Tgr. *bäṭra* // seems a singular semantic development from Eth.-Arb. **bṭr* ‘to be arrogant, haughty’ (Mil. 2014).
- (7) Har. *ḵānāna*; Wol. *ḵānānā* // with a cognate in Arb. (v. Mil. 2014) and Chad. **kVn-* (possibly < **ḵVn-*) ‘to stand (straight)’ (St. 2011 #235, where it is comp. with Akk. *kānu* ‘be firm in place, etc.’): C.: Gude *kəḡ* ‘standing straight’, Bachama *kāḡḏ*, E.: E.Dangla *kòkìnē* ‘to stand’.

- (8) Hrs. *šōr*; Mhr. *šōr*; Hob. *šoor*; Jib. *šōr* // < Sem. **šw/yr* ‘to stand, support, carry’ (Mil. 2014; correction: Sab. *h-šr* ‘to stay, stand’ with a question mark), rel. to W.Chad. **čVr-* ‘to stand’ (St. 2009 #772; Mil. 2014).
- (9) Soq. *ḳéšaḥ* (< **ḳešaḥ*) // likely rel. to Arb. *ḳṣf* II ‘ne pas quitter la maison’.
- ◇ No term in Pho.
- West Semitic **ḳwṃ* (#2) < Afras. **ḳaw/ym-* ‘stand up, rise’ (Mil. 2014).

80. STAR

- (1) Akk. (OB) *kakkab-*; Ugr. *kbkb*; Hbr. *kōkāb*; Pho. *kbb*; Pal. *kebkīb*; Syr. *kawkāb-*; Mnd. *kukb-*; Urm. *kāwkāb-*; Qur. *kawkāb-* (syn.: *našm-* — v. #2); Sab. *kwkb*; Gez. *kokāb*; Tna. *ḳ^waḳob*; Tgr. *kokāb*; Amh. *kokāb*; Arg. *kokāb*; Gaf. *kokobä*; Sod. *kokāb*; Cha. *ḳ^wäḳ^wab*; Hrs. *kebkīb*; Mhr. *kebkīb*; Jib. *kābkēb*; Soq. *kibšib* // < Sem. **kabkib-*, perhaps “circles” < Sem. **kVbb-*, *kVbkVb-* ‘(to be) round’ (Mil. 2014).
- (2) Lbn. *nižmi*; Mec. *našma* // no etymology found.
- (3) Har. *ṭūy* // no clear etymology found; perhaps < Sem. **šVḥ-* ‘be white, clear; shimmer’ (v. WHITE #6): in Har. *ṭ* can continue **š* while **ḥ* is normally preserved, though cases of **ḥ* > 0 seem to occur.
- ◇ Mlt. *stilla* < Italian; Wol. *kälbäžo* < Cush.? (v. LGur 342). No term in Bib.
- Proto-Semitic **kabkib-* (#1).

81. STONE

- (1) Akk. (Oakk on) *abn-*; Ugr. *?bn*; Hbr. *?äbän*; Pho. *?bn*; Bib. *?äbän*; Pal. *?äḫēn*; Sab. *?bn*; Gez. *?abən*; Tna. *?əmn-i*; Tgr. *?əmən*; Sod. *əmmayyä*; Har. *ün*; Wol. *un*; Cha. *əmər*; Soq. *?óben* // < Sem. **?abn-*.
- (2) Syr. *ḳap-* (syn.: *?abn-* — v. #1); Urm. *kī?p-* // < Sem. **ḳap-* ‘stone, stone structure’: Akk. (SB) *kāpu* (*kābu*, *kappu*) ‘cliff, embarkment’ (CAD *k* 191), *kāpītu* ‘stony ground’ (ibid. 184), Hbr. *kēpīm* ‘rock’ (< Arm.? v. HALOT 492), Arb. *kūb-at-* ‘pierre avec laquelle on broie les aromates’ (BK 2 941), Yemenite Arb. *kāba* ‘pillar’ (LGz 272), Sab. *k?b* ‘part of dam structure’ (SD 76), Gez. *kab* ‘fortress, fort’ < Amh. (LGz 272), Amh. *kab* ‘fort’ (acc. to Leslau, possibly of Cush. origin: Oromo *kab* id.; vice versa in the light of Sem. etymology), Gafat *kabā* ‘village’, Gurage **kab* ‘wall made of stone’ (ibid.). Note: the above *p* ~ *b* correspondence accounted for by Sem **ḳ* neatly fits this consonant hypothesis (v. SED I CV–CXVI).
- (3) Mnd. *glal-* // < Sem. **ga/ul-* ~ **gīlal-* ‘stone’, perhaps < Sem. **gll* ‘be round’ < Afras. **g^walVl-* ‘be round’ (Mil. 2014).
- (4) Qur. *ḥašar-*; Lbn. *ḥašar*; Mec. *ḥašar* // Arb. only with two Eth. parallels suspicious as possible borrowings; possibly related, with metathesis, to Brb. **Hirg-* ‘stone’ (Mil. 2014).
- (5) Mlt. *žebła* // < Sem. **gVbVl-* ‘mountain; boundary, border’, v. MOUNTAIN #4.
- (6) Amh. *dəngay*; Arg. *dəngay*, *gənžela* (< **gVndVl-*, with met. < **dVngVl-*); Gaf. *dānga* // Tgr., Tna. *dāng^wälla* ‘rocher’ < Mod. Eth. **dang^wal-* with no Sem. cognates; perhaps < Cush.: N.: Beja *dangeer* ‘a stone suitable for throwing’, C. **dāng^wər-* ‘stone (large), rock’ (CDA 130), but with an unaccountable *r* > *l*; cf. obviously rel. C.Chad.: Tera *ndogu*, Malgwa *dōḡwala*, Makeri *dagwi* ‘stone’; one wonders if on this basis Afras. **da(n)g^w(-ir/l)-* (ADB) can be reconstructed (cf. Kog. LE footnote 112, quoting only the S.Eth. terms and calling them Cushitisms with a reference to Dolg. 1973: 124 for possible source-words. The cited pioneering work by the late Aharon Dolgopolsky, undoubtedly a great linguist, while paving the way to a new stage in Afrasian comparison, is nevertheless full of anticipatory and erroneous etymologies, many of which he himself revised or rejected later. The quoted entry **čVlgVḥ-* ‘stone, rock’ contains four unrelated roots, none of which can be a source for the terms in question.)

- (7) Hrs. *šewwer*; Mhr. *šowwer*; Hob. *šóor* // < Sem. *šVwwVr- ~ *šir(a)r- ‘pebble, dust’ (Mil. 2014; cf. otherwise Kog. LE footnote 114).
- (8) Jib. *fúduín* (also ‘rock’) // probably < Sem. *pad(d)an- ‘path in the mountains’, v. MOUNTAIN #11 and Kog. LE footnote 115.
- Proto-Semitic *ʔabn- (#1) < Afras. *(ʔa)bun- ‘stone, millstone’ (Mil. 2014).

82. SUN

- (1) Akk. (OB) *šamš-*; Hbr. *šämš*; Pho. *šmš*; Bib. *šamaš*; Pal. *šmš*; Syr. *šemš-*; Mnd. *šam(i)š-*; Urm. *šimš-*; Qur. *šams-*; Lbn. *šaməs*; Mec. *šams*; Mlt. *šemeš*; Sab. *s₂ms₁*; Soq. *šam* // < Sem. *š_xam(š_xam)-.
- (2) Ugr. *špš* // (no Sem. cognates found) < Afras. *šip- ‘sunlight, brightness’ (Mil. 2014).
- (3) Gez. *dāḥay*; Tna. *šāḥay*; Tgr. *šāḥay*; Amh. *ṭay*; Arg. *čāhed* // < Eth.-Arb. *šVḥy- < Afras. *čVḥay/w- ‘burning sun’ (Mil. 2014; add. N.Omot. *čiHač- (redupl.) ‘sun’: Dizi (Maji) *čaž*, (Sheko) *šeašù*, *čiaču*, (Nao) *šaž* ADB).
- (4) Gaf. *äymärä*, Sod. *yimər*, *imər* // only Eth. incl. Gez. *ʔamir* ‘sun, day, time’ < Afras. *(ʔa-)mVr- ‘(sun)light’ (cf. Mil. 2014).
- (5) Har. *ir*; Wol. *ayr*, Cha. *eyat* // Eth. incl. Gez. (Sawasew) *ʔer* < Sem. *ʔVr- ‘daylight’ (less likely “of possible Cushitic origin”, v. Kog. LE footnote 70) < Afras. *ʔay/wr- ‘sunlight’ (Mil. 2014).
- (6) Hrs. *heyom*; Mhr. *heyum*; Hob. *ḥyuuím*; Jib. *yum* (syn.: *šum* ‘sun’ or ‘heat of the sun’ — v. Kog. LE footnote 71) // < Sem. *yawm- ‘day’ < Afras. *yam- ‘day, sun’.
- Proto-Semitic *š_xam(š_xam)- (#1) < Afras. *šam- ‘burning heat’ (Mil. 2014).

83. SWIM

- (1) Hbr. *šḥy*; Syr. *šḥy*; Urm. *šḥy* // < Hbr.-Arm. *šḥy or *šḥy, probably < Afras. *čah/ḥ- ‘bathe, wash oneself, swim’ (Mil. 2014, ADB)
- (2) Pal. *šwṭ* // no etymology found.
- (3) Qur. *sbḥ*; Lbn. *sabaḥ* // no etymology found unless MSA *sbḥ is genuine, which is less likely.
- (4) Mec. *šām*; Mlt. (gh)ōm // Arb. only.
- (5) Gez. *wānaya* (syn.: *ḥ/ḥammaša* — v. #6; *šal(l)ala* ‘to float, swim’ < Sem. *šll ‘to float’: Tna. *šälälä* ‘to float’, etc., Hbr. *šll* ‘to sink’ HALOT 1027); Amh. *waññe*; Arg. *wañña*; Sod. *waññäm* // only Eth. < Afras. *wny/*ynw/*ʔnw/y (Mil. 2014 #6).
- (6) Tna. *ḥambäsä*; Tgr. *ḥämmäsa* // cf. Arb. *ḥāmišat* ‘petit ruisseau ou cours d’eau’ (Mil. 2014 #5).
- (7) Cha. *darag’ä* // for two etymological opportunities v. Mil. 2014.
- (8) Jib. *reḥ* (< *rbḥ*) // Soq. *rābah* ‘se baigner’, no other cognates found.
- ◇ Har. (*tä*)*wāka* and Wol. *wače* < E.Cush. (HEC) — v. LGur 650; Hrs. *sebōḥ*, Mhr. *sūbah*, Hob. *sóobah*, Soq. *sbḥ* are Arabisms rather than genuine terms. No term in Akk., Ugr., Pho., Bib., Mnd., Sab. or Gaf.
- No common Semitic.

84. TAIL

- (1) Akk. (OB) *zibbat-*; Ugr. *ḏnb*; Hbr. *zānāb*; Syr. *dunb-*; Mnd. *dinabt-*; Mlt. *demp*; Gez. *zānāb*; Tna. *zānāb* (syn.: *mälaläs* — v. Mil. 2014); Tgr. *zännab*; Hrs. *ḏenēb*; Mhr. *ḏanūb*; Jib. *ḏúnub*; Soq. *dínob* // < Sem. *ḏal/inab-(at-) (SED I #64).
- (2) Pal. *Ḥkws* // most likely < Sem. *Ḥkš* ‘curl, braid’ with an isolated N.Omot. parallel (Mil. 2014).
- (3) Urm. *ṭipr-* // perhaps a semantic shift < Sem. *ṭip(V)r-* ‘claw’: see CLAW #1.

- (4) Lbn. *ḍayl*; Mec. *dayl* // with a semantic shift < Arb.-Arm. **ḍyl* ‘to be low, humble’ (Mil. 2014); cf. Egyp. (MK) *zunny* ‘to suffer, be distressed’ (if *-n* < **l*) and W.Chad. **ḷeel* ‘suffering, troubles’ (ADB; unless < Nigerian Arb.).
- (5) Har. *ḳānāwa* // < Sem. **ḳayn-* < Afras. **ḳayn-* ~ **ḳany-* ‘lower part of back’ (Mil. 2014 #6).
- (6) Sod. *wādinna* // no etymology found.
 ◇ Amh., Arg. and Gaf. *ḷara* < E.Cush.; Wol. *goññä* < HEC; Cha. *ḷawä* presumably < E.Cush. (all in Mil. 2014). No term in Pho., Bib., Qur. and Sab.
 → Proto-Semitic **ḍal/inab-*(*at-*)- (#1).

85. THAT²

- (1) Akk. *ullû*; Tgr. *loha* // < Sem. **hulli* (cf. SL 71).
- (2) Ugr. *hnk*; Mnd. *hanata* // scored together, since two of the three deictic elements are common; scored separately from other Sem. forms, since it is hard to say which of the three deictic elements is the main one (if *h-*, to score with #3).
- (3) Hbr. *hahū*(?); Pho. *h?*; Pal. *hāhū*(?); Syr. *haw*, *huw*; Urm. *hō*; Sab. *h?* // < Sem. **hā* (or, rather, **hV?*) “an additional deictic element” (SL 71; the attribute “additional” raises certain doubts since in this case, it is the main or even the only one), likely rel. to Brb.: Ahaggar *wah*, Nefusa *wūh* ‘this’, Qabyle (Ayt Mangellat) *wihin* ‘that’, etc. (ADB and ND 751, 752).
- (4) Bib. *dēk*; Qur. *ḍā(li)ka*; Lbn. *haḍak*; Mec. *ḍak*, *hāḍāk*; Mlt. *dak*; Gez. *zəkku*; Hrs. *ḍek*; Mhr. *ḍēk*; Hob. *ḍēek*; Jib. *ḍḷkun* // < Sem. **ḍā-kV* — cf. SL 71.
- (5) Tna. *ḷati*, *ḷatuy* // origin obscure.
- (6) Amh. *ya* (syn.: *zzəya* — v. #4), Har. *ya?* // < Eth. **yV?* (“an element of obscure origin”, acc. to SL 71) < Afras. **ḷay-* ~ **ḷa?*- (ADB): Coptic *ph-ē* (m.), *th-ē* (f.), *n-ē* (pl.) < *-*ē* < *-*ḷVy* (cf. Vyc 157–8); Brb. **ḷay(a/i)* ‘this’; Chad. W.: Ngamo *yweḷu* ‘that one’, E.: Mokilko *ḷēḷ* (m.), *ḷéttu* (f.) ‘this (< **ḷe-n/t* < **ḷay-n/t?*).
- (7) Arg. *hod*, *wod* // < **h/w-ad*, cf. Afras. *-*d* ~ **d-*: Brb.: Siwa *dawa*, Zenaga *aḍ* ‘this’, E.Tawlllemmet *adi* ‘that’, etc.; C.Cush.: Khamtanga *aḍ* ‘that’, etc. (CDA 134).
- (8) Gaf. *aññā*, Wol. *annä* // v. THIS #1.
 → North and West (Tgr.) Semitic **hulli* (#1).
 → South and West Semitic **ḍā-kV* (#4).

86. THIS (v. note on THAT)

- (1) Akk. (OB) *annū*; Gaf. *aññā*; Wol. *annä* // < Sem. **ha/inna/i* (cf. SL 71).
- (2) Ugr. *hnd*; Hbr. *hazzā*; Pho. *z*, *zn*; Bib. *ḍanā*; Pal. *dē(y)n*, *hādē(y)n*; Syr. *hādākā* (syn.: *hānā* — v. #1); Mnd. *hazin*; Qur. *hādā*; Lbn. *hēḍā*; Mec. *hāḍa*; Mlt. *dan*; Sab. *ḍ-n/t* (syn.: *h?* — v. #3); Gez. *zəntu*; Tna *ḷazu(y)*; Sod. *zi*; Cha. *zə(k)*; Hrs. *ḍen* (also *ḍah*, *ḍi*); Mhr. *ḍome*; Hob. *ḍāanəh*; Jib. *ḍenu*; Soq. *de* // < Sem. **ḍV-/ḍV* (combined with additional deictic elements **hā* and *-Vn(V)* — v. SL 71).
- (3) Urm. *ḷāhā* // < *-*hā* — v. THAT #3.
- (4) Tgr. *ḷalli/a* // v. THAT #1.
- (5) Amh. *yih* (< **yik?*) // apparently united with Har. *yi(?)* in Kog LE 473, which is far from evident: in Amh. **h* normally > 0, while **k* may yield *h*, whereas in Har. normally **h* > *ḷ* and not > ? or 0 (if with few exceptions); as for the uncertainty “whether Southern Ethiopian forms like Amh. *yih*, Har *yī?* can be derived from **ḍa*” (ibid.), they undoubtedly cannot.

² The method for grouping deictic pronouns has been completely revised and changed compared to the one chosen in Mil. 2014 (v. footnote 20); Afras. parallels have been also added when found.

- (6) Arg. *hud* (m.), *hudette* (f.) // < **hud-* — v. **THAT** #7.
 (7) Har. *yi(?)* // v. **THAT** #6.
 → North and West (Gaf. and Wol.) Semitic **halinnali* (#1) < Afras.: Brb. **wihin* (v. **THAT** #3), **win* (Ahaggar *wîn*, etc.), *(*H*)*an* (Zenaga *a/in*, Mzab *ənni*, etc.) ‘that’; N.Omot.: Bworo *hánní*, Kafa *hini*, Yemsa *han* ‘this’ (ADB). If the main deictic element in **halinnali* is *-*n-*, cf. Afras.: Egyp. (Pyr.) -*n* (less likely < **l*) in *p-n* (m.), *t-n* (f.), *n-n* (pl.) ‘this’; Brb. -*n-* (in the above forms); Chad. W.: Angas *nyə*, Kirfi *na*, Gera *nu*, Buli, Mangas -*nà*, etc. ‘this’, C.: **nV?*(*nV*), **?Vn(n)V* ‘this’; Cush. N.: Beja *ûn* (m.), *t-ûn* (f.) ‘this’, C. **?Vn-* ~ **nVn-* ‘this’ (CDA 136), Kemant *yîn*, Aungi *an* ‘that’ (ibid. 134), E.: LEC *-(*a*)*n* ~ **-na/i* ‘this’, HEC: Sidamo *ku-ni* (m.), *ti-ni* (f.) ‘this’, Dullay **na/u* ‘this’; N.Omot.: Yemsa *ʔóonu-*, Mao *na* ‘this’ (ADB).
 → South and West Semitic *(*hā-*)*dV(-nV)* (#2); cf. C.Cush. **Hinžay* : Bilin *inžā* ‘that’ (CDA 134), Khamtanga *ənzay* ‘this’ (ibid. 136).

87. THOU

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *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. *antā*; Gaf. *ant*, *antā*; Wol. *atā* // < Sem. **ʔanta* (ADB).
 (2) Tna. *nəssə-ka* // < **nəfsu-ka* < Sem. **nap(i)š-* ‘soul; vitality, life; person, personality; self’ < Afras. (v. **PERSON** #9).
 (3) Arg. *ank(u)*; Har. *akā-*; Cha. *akā-* // S.Eth. only (likely of the same origin as the Sem. possessive pronoun *-*k* of the 2nd person) < Afras. **ʔa-(n)kV(k)-* ‘thou’ (in Mil. 2014 #2 erroneously united with Tna. *nəssə-ka*).
 (4) Sod. *dāhā* // no etymology found.
 (5) Hrs. *hēt*; Mhr. *hit*; Hob. *hēt*; Jib. *hēt*; Soq. *het* // < **hit* (hardly < **ʔanta*; cf. Kog. LE 473), matching N.Omot.: Dizi (Maji) *yetu*, (Sheko) *yeta*, (Nao) *yeta*, possibly < **hitV* (not < **ʔa(n)tV*: acc. to Bnd Om 230, in all Dizi **h-* > 0, *-*n-* > -*n-*, in all *-*nC* series *n* is preserved).
 → Proto-Semitic **ʔant-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔa(n)tV* (Mil. 2014).

88. TONGUE

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *lišān-*; Ugr. *lšn*; Hbr. *lāšōn*; Bib. *liš(š)ān*; Pal. *lyšn*, *läššān*; Syr. *leššān-*; Mnd. *lišān-*; Urm. *lišān-*; Qur. *lisān-*; Lbn. *lsen*; Mec. *lisān*; Mlt. *lsin*; Sab. *lsin*; Gez. *lassan*; Tgr. *nəssal* (met.); Hrs. *lēšen*; Mhr. *ewšēn*; Jib. *elšēn*; Soq. *leşin* // Sem. **liš(š)ān-* (SED I #181).
 (2) Tna. *mālhās*; Amh. *mālas*; Arg. *mālas*; Gaf. *mālasā* // < Sem. **lḥs* ‘to lick’, rel. to W.Chad. **IVs-* ‘to lick’ (St. 2005 #240; rather < **IVHVs-*, cf. Hausa *lāasā*, Gwandara *lihye*).
 ◇ Sod. *alāmāt*; Har. *arrāt*; Wol. *arāmāt*; Cha. *anābat* < E.Cush. (LGur. 89). No term in Pho.
 → Proto-Semitic **liš(š)ān-* (#1) < Afras. *(*ʔi-*)*lis(-an)-* ‘tongue’ (Mil. 2014; add N.Omot.: Oyda *ilāns* (with met., hardly < Eth. which is odd for a lw.) id. (ADB).

89. TOOTH

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *šinn-*; Ugr. *šn*; Hbr. *šēn*; Bib. *šēn*; Pal. *šn*; Syr. *šenn-*; Mnd. *šin-*; Qur. *sinn-*; Lbn. *sən*; Mec. *sinn*; Mlt. *sinna*; Sab. *ʔn*, Gez. *sənn*; Tna. *sənni*; Arg. *sən*; Gaf. *sənā*; Sod. *sənn*; Har. *sən*; Wol. *əsən*; Cha. *sən*; Jib. *šnin* // Sem. **šinn-* (SED I #249).
 (2) Urm. *kīk-* // Sem. **kVkk-* ‘tooth’ < Afras. **ʔik-* ~ **kakk-* ‘tooth’ (Mil. 2014).
 (3) Sab. *ʔn* (Stein, one attestation), Hob. *mʔanyóot* // < Sem. **ʔVny-* ‘front tooth, incisor’, likely < **ʔinay-* ‘two’ < Afras. (v. **TWO** #1).
 (4) Tgr. *nibāt* // < Sem. **nī/āb-* ‘(canine) tooth’ (Mil. 2014).
 (5) Amh. *ʔərs*; Hrs. *mežrəḥ*; Mhr. *məžrāḥ* // < Sem. **širš-* ‘molar tooth’ (Mil. 2014 #4); cf. W.Chad.: Ankwe *šəɾ* ‘molar tooth’ (š may originate from *č).

- (6) Soq. *šále* (syn.: *mitníoh* ‘dent’ in LS 443 — v. #5; *šášal* “of uncertain origin” Kog. LE 473, but with Afras. parallels — v. Mil. 2014 #7) // acc. to LS 309, “originnairement ‘dents supérieures’“ < *šélhe* ‘haut’ < Sem. **šly* ‘be high, rise’ < Afras. **šaly-* ‘to rise, climb; mountain’ (ADB).
 ◇ No term in Pho.
 → Proto-Semitic **šinn-* (#1) < Afras. **sin-* ‘tooth’ (Mil. 2014).

90. TREE

- (1) Akk. (OB) *iš(š)-*; Ugr. *šš*; Hbr. *šš*; Gez. *šad*; Tgr. *šadžät*; Gaf. *ənča*; Wol. *ənče*; Cha. *äčä* // < Sem. **š/i/ušš-* (Mil. 2014).
 (2) Bib. *šilān*; Pal. *šilān*; Syr. *šilān-*; Mnd. *alan-*; Urm. *šilān-* // < Sem. **ša/i-l(y)ān-* ‘(oak)tree’ < Afras. **(šV)-lVn-* ‘(kind of) tree’ (v. Mil. 2014).
 (3) Qur. *šažar-*; Lbn. *šažar*; Mec. *šažara*; Mlt. *sižra* // < Arb. (or Arb.-MSA) **šagar-* (Mil. 2014; cf. Kog. LE in footnote 117 wondering if an internal Sem., not very convincing etymology, may fit) < Afras. **šagVr-* with only Chad. but a triconsonantal parallel (Mil. 2014).
 (4) Tna. *šom* // no etymology found (Mil. 2014).
 (5) Hrs. *herōm*; Mhr. *harmáyt*; Hob. *harmíit* (and *šadžréet* < Arb.?); Jib. *heyrōm* // < Sem. **harūm-* ~ **harm-ay-* (Mil. 2014; cf. Kog. LE footnote 118 surprisingly overlooking Akk. (MB) *urūmu* ‘a tree in mountains’ (CDAk 427).
 (6) Soq. *širohom* // < **širVm-* or **š_xirVm-* (the similarity with #5 is delusive); for two alternative Sem. etymologies and Afras. parallels to one of them v. Mil. 2014.
 ◇ Amh., Arg. and Sod. *zaf* < C.Cush. (Mil. 2014); Har. *läfu* likely < deverbal Arb. *laff-* ‘arbre touffu’ < *lff* ‘ê. touffu’ (ibid.). No term in Pho. or Sab.
 → North and West Semitic **š/i/ušš-* (#1) < Afras. **š(i)nč-* (Mil. 2014).

91. TWO

- (1) Akk. (OB) *šinā*; Ugr. *tn*; Hbr. *šonayim*; Pho. *šnm*; Qur. *šitnāni*; Lbn. *tneyn*; Mec. *šitnayn*; Mlt. *tnēyn*; Sab. *tny* // < Sem. **tinay-*.
 (2) Bib. *tārē(y)n*; Pal. *tray(y)n*, *tryy*; Syr. *tārē(y)n-*; Mnd. *trin*; Urm. *tārī*; Hrs. *terō*; Mhr. *terōh*; Hob. *itrōh*; Jib. *trōh*; Soq. *tiro* // < Sem. **tiray/w-*; surprisingly neither Arm. nor the MSA terms are mentioned in a very thorough Kog. LE (p. 473).
 (3) Gez. *kalʔe*; Tna. *kalattä, kaltä*; Tgr. *kalʔot m., kalʔe f.*; Amh. *hulät*; Arg. *ket, häʔat*; Gaf. *alattä*; Sod. *kitt*; Har. *koʔot*; Wol. *hoyt*; Cha. *k^wet* // < 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).
 → North and West Semitic **tinay-* (#1) < Afras. **čin-* ‘two’ (Mil. 2014).
 → West (Arm.) and South Semitic **tiray/w-* (#2); for a possible connection with Chad. **cVr-* ‘two’ v. Mil. 2014 footnote 24 (add another controversial parallel: S.Cush. **c/čar-* or **c/čad-* ‘two’: Iraqw *cár*, Alagwa *car*, Burunge *čada*; reflexes of **c-* and **č* coincide in these languages; *d* in Burunge vs. *r* in other Iraqoid is usually considered to reflect **d*, which is confirmed by convincing examples; however, there are several examples of the same correspondence pointing to **r*.)

92. WALK

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *alaku*; Ugr. *hlk*; Hbr. *hlk*; Pho. *hlk*; Bib. *hlk*; Syr. *hlc* (syn.: *ʔzl* — v. #2) // < Sem. **hlc-* (Mil. 2014).

- (2) Pal. *ʔzl* (syn.: *hlk* — v. #1); Urm. *ʔzl* (syn.: *rḥš* < Sem. **rḥš* ‘to move’ HALOT 1222) // < Sem. **(ʔ)zl* < Afras. **(ʔa)ʕVl-* ‘walk; run’ (Mil. 2014).
- (3) Mnd. *sga* // < Sem. **š_xgy* ‘walk, stray’ with Chad. parallels pointing to Afras. **šVg-* ‘to roam, stray, err’ (Mil.2014).
- (4) Qur. *mšy*; Lbn. *māša*; Mec. *mišiy*; Mlt. *meša* // no Sem. etymology found; for debatable Afras. parallels v. Mil. 2014. Perhaps, with met. < Arb. *šym* ‘entrer, penetrer dedain’ (BK 1 1300) < Afras. **čVyVm-* or **šVyVm-* depending on what Chad. root fits better: **šVm-* ‘to take and carry’ (St. 2007 #215) or **žVm-* ‘pursue, chase’; Egyp. (Pyr.) *šm* ‘to go’ (ADB).
- (5) Sab. *mzʔ* // v. COME #2 (contra Mil. 2014 #5).
- (6) Gez. *ḥwr*; Gaf. (*a*)*horä*; Har. *ḥāra*; Cha. *wərwər, wärä* // < Eth.-Arb. **ḥwr* ‘to walk, go, return < Afras. **ḥwr* ~ **ḥry* ‘walk, go away’ (v. Mil. 2014 #7).
- (7) Tna. *kädä, kedä*; Tgr. *kedä*; Amh. *hedä*; Arg. *heda*; Wol. *hedä* // < Eth.-Arb. **kyd* ~ **kdkd* ‘to walk, walk slowly’ < Afras. **ky/wd* ‘to walk, run’ (v. Mil. 2014 #8).
- (8) Sod. *alläfäm* // < Sem. **ḥlp* ‘to pass’ (Mil. 2014).
- (9) Jib. *aḡad* // etymology unclear; perhaps < Arb. (v. Mil. 2014 #10).
- (10) Soq. *ʕód* (syn.: *ṭaher* — v. Mil. 2014 #11) // (unless rel. to Jib. *aḡad* — #9) < Sem. **ʕdw/y* ‘walk, pass by’ < Afras. **ʕad-* ‘walk, come and go’ (Mil. 2014 #5).
- ◊ Hrs. *seyōr*; Mhr. *səyūr*, Hob. *syóor* seem to be Arabisms; cf., however, Soq. *š(t)ry* ‘entrer’ (LS 422), which may point to common (and in that case, quite likely genuine) MSA **syr* ~ **sry* < Sem. (MSA-Arb.) **šyr* with a Chad. parallel **sVr-* ‘to go’ (St. 2009 #323).
- North and West Semitic **hlc* (#1), cf. Afras. **lkw* ~ **lwk* ‘to walk’ (Mil. 2014).

93. WARM

- (1) Akk. (OB) *emmu* (‘hot’; syn.: *šaḥānu* ‘to become warm, to warm oneself’ — v. #2); Hbr. *ḥām*; Pal. *ḥmym, ḥmyn*; Syr. *ḥamīm-* // < Sem. **ḥamm-* ‘heat’ (HALOT 325).
- (2) Syr. *šhen*, Urm. *šāḥīn-*; Lbn. *səḥni*; Mlt. *shūn*; Jib. *šhan* // < Sem. **šḥn* (Mil. 2014).
- (3) Mec. *ḥārr* // < Sem. **ḥrr* ‘be hot’ (Mil. 2014).
- (4) Gez. *məwuk*; Tna. *məwuk*; Amh. *muk*; Arg. *ʔamo*; Gaf. *moḳä*; Sod. *muḳəḥna*; Cha. *m^wäk*; Har. *muk*; Wol. *muḳamuk* // only Eth. **mwk* ‘to be hot, warm’ ~ **mkk* ‘to burn’ (metaphorically); cf. also, with met., Akk. *ḳamû* ‘burn up’ CDAk 283); < Afras. (Mil. 2014; add. Brb.: Adghaq *a-māḡay* ‘grilled grains’, E.Tawllemmet *əmyəḡ* ‘to grill (grains); be grilled’ (ADB).
- (5) Tgr. *ḥəfun* (syn.: *moḳa* — v. #4) // no Sem. cognates found; < Afras. **ḥVf-* ~ **fVḥ-* ‘fire; burn’ (Mil. 2014 #5).
- (6) Hrs. *hwob*; Mhr. *hōb* (syn.: *gōna* < Sem. **gawn-* < Afras. — v. Mil. 2014 #7) // < Sem. **hawb-* with debatable Cush. parallels (Mil. 2014).
- (7) Soq. *di-yenāḥa* // only MSA (v. BURN #11 and Mil. 2014 #8).
- ◊ In Ugr., only the verb *šḥn* ‘to be hot, have fever, warm oneself’ (DUL 812) that should rather not be scored; no term in Pho., Bib., Mnd., Qur. (outside the Qur’an it is *suḥn-*) and Sab.
- North and West Semitic **ḥamm-* (#1).
- South and West Semitic **šḥn* (#2) with debatable (no traces of *-ḥ-*) Afras. parallels: W.Chad.: Pero *čénò* ‘to warm’, Kulere, Daffo-Butura *sān* ‘warm’; Omot.: Ongota *šōni* ‘warm’ (ADB).

94. WATER

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *mū*; Ugr. *my, mym* (syn.: *mh* — v. #3); Hbr. *mayim*; Pal. *may(y)ⁱn, 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* // < Sem. **maʔ/y-*.

- (2) Arg. *ʔofa* // no Sem. cognates found, likely, with met., < Afras. **piʔaʕ-* ‘rain’ (Mil. 2014).
- (3) Hrs. *ḥemyoh*; Mhr. *ḥemūh*; Hob. *ḥmóh*; Jib. *mih* // < Sem. **mawh-* ~ **mahw-* (likely a variant root of **maʔ/y-* #1, to be scored separately): Ugr. *mh* ‘water’ (DUL 534–5 also quoting Aram. *mwh* id.), *mhyt* ‘meadow, irrigated land’ or ‘waters’ (ibid. 537; comp. with Egyp. *mhy* ‘water’ which is in fact *mḥy*, unrelated), Arb. *mwh* ‘av. beaucoup d’eau (puits)’, *mi-yāh-*, *ʔamwāh-* (pl.), *māh-* ‘eau’ (BK 2 1169), *mahw-* ‘lait clair, aqueux, délayé d’eau’, *muhāt-* ‘sperme’ (ibid. 1164), Gez. *məhwa* ‘melt (intr.), be liquefied, dissolve, make dwindle’ (LGz 334–5), Tgr. *māha* ‘melt, be melted’, Har. *mōḥa* ‘be melted’ (ibid.).
- (4) Soq. *riho* // < Sem. **rVwVy-* ‘abundant water; watering, irrigating’ < Afras. **riway/ʔ-* ~ **ʔVraw/y-* (Mil. 2014 #3).
- ◇ Amh. *wəha*, Gaf. *ägä*, Sod. *yiga*, Cha. *əka* are considered Cushitisms (however, the S.Eth. consonants cannot be explained from any Cush. source-words available – v. Mil. 2014). No term in Pho. or Bib.
- North and West Semitic **maʔ-* (#1) < Afras. **maʔ/w/y-* (Mil. 2014).

95. WE

- (1) Akk. (OB) *nīnu*; Ugr. *nḥn*; Hbr. *anaḥnū*; Pho. *ʔnḥn*; Bib. *ʔānaḥnāʔ*; Pal. *ʔānan* (curiously, with *-ḥ-* dropped); Syr. *ḥənan*; Mnd. *anin*; Urm. *ʔaḥənan*; Qur. *naḥnu*; Lbn. *nəḥn(i)*; Mec. *ʔiḥna*; Mlt. *aḥna*; Gez. *nəḥnä*; Tna. *nəḥna*; Tgr. *ḥəna*; Amh. *ʔəñña*; Arg. *ənnā*; Gaf. *ənni*; Sod. *əñña*; Har. *əñña*; Wol. *iñña*; Cha. *yəna*; Hrs. *neḥa*; Mhr. *nəḥa*; Jib. *nəḥan*; Hob. *nəḥa*; Soq. *ḥanhen* // Sem. **(ʔa)naḥnu* ~ **(ʔa)ḥan(an)* ‘we’.
- ◇ No term in Sab.
- Proto-Semitic **(ʔa)naḥnu* ~ **(ʔa)ḥan(an)* < Afras. **naḥ(n-)* ~ **ḥi/an(a/in)-* ‘we’ (Mil. 2014; conventionally united: perhaps to be treated not as one root with met., but as two variant roots to be scored separately; the Brb., Sidamo and Dizi (Nao) forms should be probably treated as constituting one more different Afras. root).

96. WHAT?

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *mīnu*; Gez. *mənt*; Tna. *məntay*; Amh. *mən*; Arg. *mən*; Gaf. *mən, məni*; Sod. *mən*; Har. *min*; Wol. *mən*; Cha. *mər* // < Sem. **min-*.
- (2) 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)*, *-h* likely “a... deictic element” (v. THAT #3) variant **mi* (Tgr.).
- (3) Lbn. *šū*; Mec. *ʔayš*; Mlt. *še*; Hrs. *hašen*; Mhr. *həšəḥan* (*h-* most probably identical to *-h* in #2) // < Sem. **šayʔ-* ‘thing; what?’ (Mil. 2014).
- (4) Hob. *inih*; Jib. *ʔinε*; Soq. *inim* (**ʔini-maʔ*) // < MSA **ʔini-* < Sem. **ʔay(y)-Vn-* < Afras. **ʔVy/wVn-* ~ **nay(n)-* ‘what?’ (Mil. 2014; add E.Chad.: Migama *ʔini-méu* and N.Cush.: Beja *naa* ‘what?’).
- North and West (Eth.) Semitic **min-* (#1) < Afras. **mVn-* ‘what?’ (Mil. 2014 #2; I would like to change my opinion about a secondary parallel development in favor of a common Afras. pronoun).
- South and West (Arb.) Semitic **šayʔ-* ‘thing; what?’ (#3) < Afras. **čayʔ-* ~ **ʔiç-* ‘thing; what? who?’ (Mil. 2014) ; in the light of *hV-* and *-n* in Hrs. and Mhr. absent in Arb. and the Afras. parallels, these MSA forms seem more plausibly genuine than borrowed from Arb.
- West Semitic **ma(-h)* (#2) < Afras. **ma/i* or **may* ‘what?’ (Mil. 2014 #1; add to Egyp. “what?” another meaning “who?”).

97. WHITE

- (1) Akk. (OAKk on) *pešū* // < Sem. **pVšVḥ-* ‘be bright’ with tenable Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).

- (2) Ugr. *lbn*, *labanu*; Hbr. *lābān*; Pho. *lbn*; Mnd. *lbina*; Hrs. *elbōn*; Mhr. *əwbōn* (pl. *lēbən*); Hob. *lboón*; Jib. *lūn*; Soq. *libnon* // < Sem. **lbn* ‘be white’ (Mil. 2014).
- (3) Bib. *ḥiwār*; Pal. *ḥwōr*, *ḥyōr*; Syr. *ḥewwār-*; Mnd. *hiuar-* (syn.: *ṣuhar* — v. Mil. 2014 #4); Urm. *ḥəwār-* // < Sem. **ḥwr* ‘be black and white’ (Mil. 2014).
- (4) Qur. *ʔabyaḍ-*; Lbn. *ʔabyaḍ*; Mec. *ʔabyaḍ*; Mlt. *abyat* // < Sem. **bayṣ-* ‘egg’ with a reliable Chad. parallel < Afras. **bayṣ-* (v. Mil. 2014 #5; disregard N.Omot. **bawṣ-* ‘white’ since it is more likely rel. to Sem. **biṣṣ-* ‘bright, brilliant, yellow’ — v. YELLOW #4).
- (5) Gez. *ṣāʕdā*, *ṣaʕadā*, *ḍaʕadā*; Tna. *ṣaʕda*; Tgr. *ṣaʕda* // no Sem. cognates found; if < **ṣaʕd-*, cf. C.Chad. **ṣVd-* ‘to shine, be light, clear’: Muyang *ácàḍāy* ‘to shine’, Moloko *caḍay* ‘to clear’, *waḍaḍay* ‘to shine’, Gude *cáḍákə* ‘early morning’, Hitkalanchi *sdókó* ‘morning, tomorrow’ (St. 2009 #687); *-*ḍ-* probably points to *-*Hd-*.
- (6) Amh. *näčč*; Gaf. *nəṣwä*; Sod. *näččä*; Har. *näčṯh*; Cha. *näčč* // < Sem. **nṣḥ* ‘be pure, clean, brilliant’ < **ṣVḥ-* ‘be white, clear, shimmer’ with fossilized *n-* < Afras. **ṣaḥ-* ‘be clear, bright, white’ (Mil. 2014 #7).
- (7) Arg. *zah*, *zahi* // (unless same as syn.: *zelläha* in Mil. 2014 #8 with *-lli* > *-y/i*, cf. LArg 7) < Sem. **zhy* ‘be brilliant’ (Mil. 2014 #8) with a parallel in Chad. W.: Bokkos *zàwà* ‘white’, C.: Mandara *zeyé*, *zéžé* ‘white’, Gisiga *zīzan* (< **zVz-Vn*) ‘yellow’ < Afras. **ṣVhVy-* ‘be bright, white, shine’ (ADB).
- (8) Wol. *gumārä* // < South Eth.; for possible Sem. cognates v. Mil. 2014 #10.
- (9) Cha. *g^wad* // probably < Eth. **g^wVhd* < Eth.-Arb. **ghd* ‘be clear, visible’ (Mil. 2014 #11).
 ◇ No term in Sab.
 → South and West Semitic **lbn* (#2) < Afras. **li/ab(-an)-* ‘white’ (Mil. 2014).

98. WHO?

- (1) Akk. (O)Akk on) *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* (syn.: *ma* — v. #2); Gaf. *man*; Har. *mān*; Cha. *m^wan*; Hrs. *mōn*; Mhr. *mon*; Jib. *mun*; Soq. *mon* // < Sem. **man-* (ADB); perhaps eventually related to **min* ‘what?’ with vocalic opposition (v. WHAT? #1).
- (2) Ugr. *my*; Hbr. *mī*; Pho. *mī*; Sod. *ma* (syn.: *man* — v. #1); Wol. *ma* // < Sem. **mi/a*; perhaps eventually related to **ma(-h)* ‘what?’ (v. WHAT? #2).
 → Proto-Semitic **man-* (#1) < Afras. **man(V)*, rarely **min(V)* — v. EDE III 12–13.
 → West Semitic **mi/a* < Afras. **mi/a* — v. EDE III 9–12.

99. WOMAN

- (1) Akk. (OB) *sinništu* // no cognates whatsoever. As a probably far-fetched hypothesis: could this not be a unique compound word, made up of *sūnu* ‘lap, crotch; euphemism for sexual parts’ (CAD s 386–7) and *ništu* either < Sem. **niš-* or < **niṯ-* (v. #2)?
- (2) Ugr. *ʔatt*; Hbr. *ʔiššā*; Pho. *ʔšt*; Pal. *ʔä(y)ttā*, *ʔth*; Syr. *ʔi(n)tāt-*; Mnd. *ant-*; Sab. *ʔnṯt*; Tgr. *ʔəssit*; Arg. *ənəšča*; Gaf. *ansätä* // < Sem. **ʔa/inṯ-at-*.
- (3) Urm. *niḳva* // < Hbr.-Arm. **naḳb-at-* ‘woman’ < Sem. **nḳb* ‘to drill, bore through’ (Mil. 2014).
- (4) Qur. *ʔimraʔat-*, *marʔat-*; Lbn. *marā*; Mlt. *mara* // fem. < Sem. **marʔ-* ‘male human’ < Afras. **marʔ-* ‘man/woman, child, human being’ (Mil. 2014).
- (5) Mec. *ḥurma* // < Arb. *ḥurmat-* ‘chose sacrée; famille d’un homme, surtout sa femme ou sa fille’ < Sem. **ḥrm* ‘forbid, dedicate, declare sacred’ (Mil. 2014).
- (6) Gez. *bəʔəsit* (syn.: *ʔanəst* — v. #2 and Kog. LE 483) // fem. < *bəʔəs-i* ‘man’, N.Eth. only with a plausible Arb. parallel < Afras. **bVʔVs-* ‘son, boy, coeval’ (Mil. 2014#6).

- (7) Tna. *sābüy-ti*; Amh. *set* // fem. < Eth. **sabʔ-*; for possible Sem. connections and Chad. parallels v. Mil. 2011 #11).
- (8) Sod. *məšt*; Wol. *məšt*; Cha. *məšt* // no Sem. cognates found; for Afras. parallels see MAN #10.
- (9) Har. *idōč*, *indōč* // (-oč like in *abōč* ‘male’ < **ʔab-* ‘father’?) < Sem. **ʔVd-at-* ‘lady’ (otherwise < Cush., so in Kog. LE footnote 126) < Afras. **ʔa(n)d-* ‘elder female relative’ (Mil. 2014).
- (10) Hrs. *teṭ*; Mhr. *tiṭ*; Hob. *téet*; Jib. *teṭ* // no etymology, unless < **t-it* < **tV-ʔit-* < **ʔa/int-at-* (this is certainly the case with pl. **ʔiniṭ-* — v. #2, Mil. 2014 and Kog LE 482) with a prefixal rather than suffixal fem. formative.
- (11) Soq. *ḡāže* // fem. < *ḡayg* ‘man’; for MSA, plausible Sem. and highly tenable Afras. parallels v. MAN #12 in Mil. 2011.
- ◇ No term in Bib.
- West Semitic **ʔa/int-at-* (#2) with an attractive parallel in Omot. **Hinč-* (Mil. 2014; add N.Omot.: Mao (Bambeshi) *êntê* ‘man’).

100. YELLOW

- (1) Akk. (OB) (*w*)*arḳ-* (also ‘green’); Ugr. *yrḳ* (‘greenish yellow’); Pal. *yrḳ* (also ‘green’); Syr. *yūrāḳ-* (also ‘green’); Mnd. *yuraq-* (also ‘green, pallid’) // < Sem. **warḳ-* ‘yellow, green’ (Mil. 2014).
- (2) Hbr. *šāhōb* // perhaps should be excluded, since the color is uncertain (v. Mil. 2014).
- (3) Qur. *šafrāʔ-* (f.); Lbn. *ʔašfar*; Mec. *šfar*; Mlt. *isfar* // only Arb. (contra (Mlt. 2014)).
- (4) Gez. *beša*, *bəšā*; Tna. *biča*; Amh. *biʔača*; Arg. *bəča*; Wol. *bičä* // < Sem. **bišš-* ‘bright, brilliant’ (Mil. 2014).
- (5) Tgr. *šāgray* // (also ‘greyish brown, light-coloured’) either < Arb.-Eth. **šag^wVr-* ‘k. of unidentified color’ or a lw. < Sudanic Arb. *ʔašgar* (Mil. 2014).
- (6) Sod. *weṭa*; Cha. *weṭa* // identification with #4 is justly doubted in LGur 672; more likely rel. to Arb. *wāḏiḥ-* ‘clair, brilliant, etc’ (v. Mil. 2014).
- (7) Hrs. *hežōr*; Mhr. *həžáwr*; Jib. *šəžrór* // also ‘green’ (v. GREEN #7).
- ◇ Urm. *zārdā* is an Iranism; Hob. *karkmí*; Soq. *kirkam* (and *kérkham* ‘safran’ LS 225) are considered to be borrowed from Arb. *kurkum-* ‘safran indien, curcuma; henna’ (acc. to DRS 1275, “mot voyageur” of obscure origin, attested in most Sem. languages; Sem. origin cannot be ruled out, which would probably qualify the Hob. and Soq. terms as genuine); Mhr. *šāfār* (‘yellow, green; brass’), Jib. *šəfrór* are most likely Arabisms. No term in Pho., Bib., Sab., Gaf. and Har.
- North and West Semitic **warḳ-* (#1) < Afras. **wVraḳ-* ‘green, yellow’ (Mil. 2014).

A few comments on the results and some working conclusions

First of all, it needs to be mentioned that I usually trust genealogical classifications based on lexicostatistics more than those that are based on morphological and/or phonological isoglosses (even if those tend to be more popular). The latter tend to be scarce (and, consequently, largely useless for any kinds of statistical calculations — unlike lexical isoglosses that may rely on both etymology *and* statistics), often heterogenous and contradictory within the same taxon, and lacking (for now, at least) any widely accepted and coherent typological hierarchy that would be universally relevant for producing genealogical classifications.

The classification resulting from the present study and presented graphically in Fig. 1 confirms my previous conclusions:

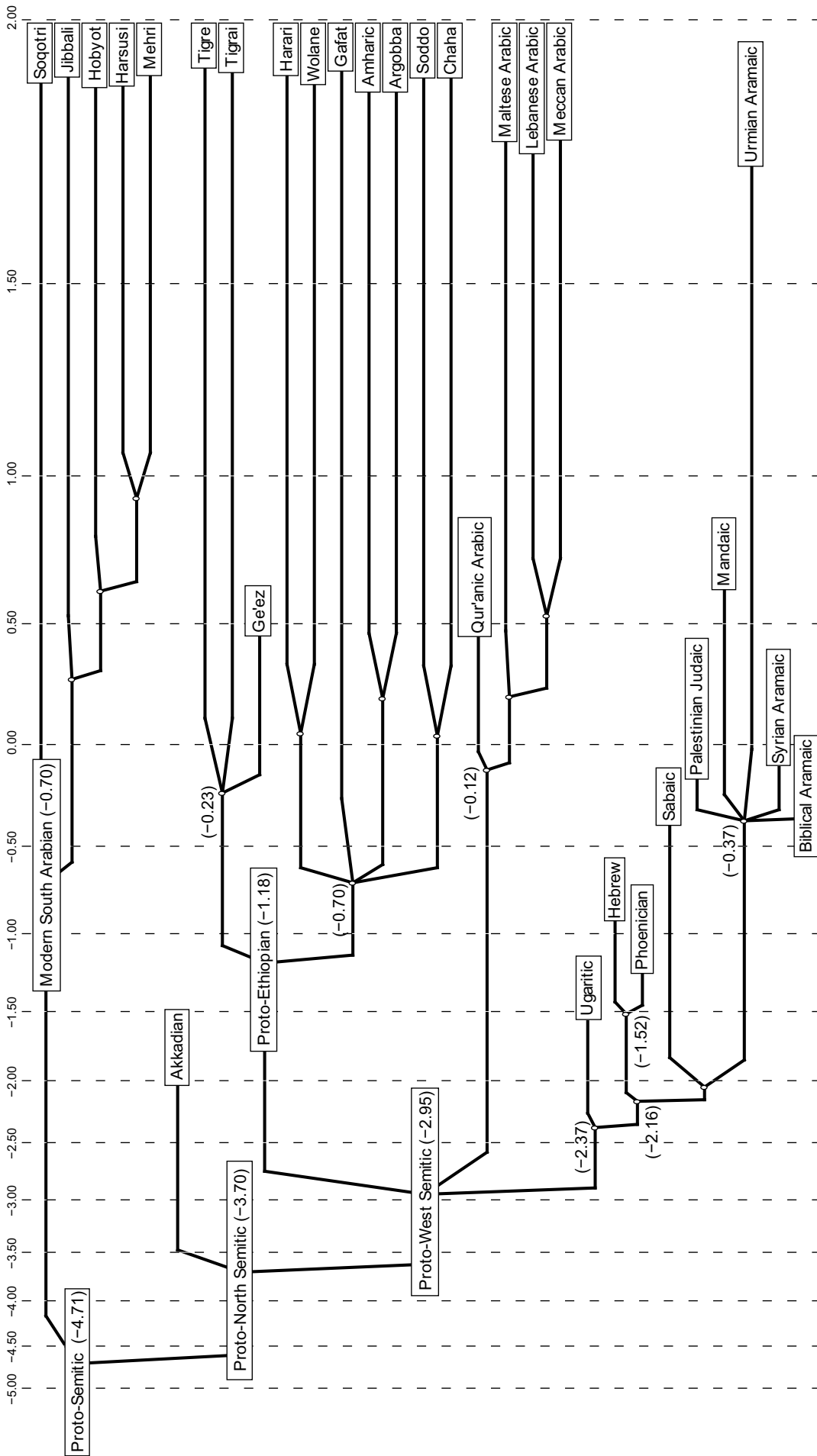


Fig. 1. Genealogical classification of Semitic languages (based on the application of Sergei Starostin's glottochronological formula to 100-item Swadesh wordlists).

A. In genetic classification:

- (1) an early separation of what I call South Semitic (Proto-MSA) from the main bulk of Semitic, apparently including Akkadian; this implies a lack of close genetic affinity between MSA, on one hand, and either ESA or Ethiosemitic or Arabic, on the other;
- (2) a synchronous tripartite branching of what I conventionally call West Semitic into Proto-Ethiopian, Proto-Arabic and “Proto-Levantine”;
- (3) separation of Ugaritic (the 100-item wordlist contains 69 items whose appropriate Swadesh meanings are attested reliably) from the latter group and, hence, a slightly bigger genetic distance between Ugaritic and the Canaanite (represented by Hebrew and Phoenician) subgroup than between Canaanite and Aramaic;
- (4) a very tentative (based on a highly incomplete list of 45 reliable items and 14 arguable or attested only once or twice) classification of Sabaic with the “South Levantine” group, perhaps by a slim margin closer to Aramaic than to Canaanite, and clearly closer to both than to Ethio-Semitic or Arabic;
- (5) a probably synchronous branching of Proto-North Ethiopian into Geez, Tigre and Tigray;
- (6) branching of Proto-South Ethiopian into four equidistant subgroups, represented by Amharic-Argobba, Gafat, Southeast (Harari, Wolane and undoubtedly Selti and Zway, not included into the present study) and Southwest (Soddo, Chaha, and the rest of the “Gurage” cluster, compared in my previous studies);
- (7) an early separation of an Arabic dialect that later evolved into the language of the Qur’an from the rest of Arabic and a somewhat odd early separation of another dialect, underlying Maltese, from the rest of Arabic dialects.

B. In glottochronologically obtained dating:

- (1) Proto-Semitic (4,800 B.C.E.) on the verge of its first split is roughly synchronous with Proto-Indo-European (it makes sense to wonder whether this is pure coincidence or a reflection of some common prehistorical event);
- (2) it is separated from the split of Proto-North Semitic by a thousand years — a considerable time gap, hardly accidental;
- (3) the split of Proto-West Semitic roughly coincides with the beginning of the Early Bronze Age II, the early dynastic period of Sumer and the rise of the Akkadian Empire, early Assyria and Sumero-Akkadian states;
- (4) the split of Proto-South Levantine falls on the verge of the 3rd and 2nd millennia, when Akkad was usurped by Gutian invaders from the Zagros and the entire region faced severe famine and skyrocketing grain prices. In particular, it is curious that the separation between Proto-Aramaic and Proto-Hebrew-Phoenician roughly agrees with the internal chronology of the Bible inasmuch as it dates the separation of Abram’s family from the rest of Terah’s clan that stayed behind in Haran;
- (5) the split between Hebrew and Phoenician is dated to about mid-15th century B.C.E. (earlier than in my previous calculations); under the assumption that the internal chronology of the Bible, despite its religious or mythological associations, at least indirectly reflects some historical reality, it is perhaps worth noting that this dating is coherent with the claimed time and the very event of Exodus, up till now not confirmed by any serious archaeological evidence;
- (6) the dating of the split of Proto-Ethiopian (the very end of the 2nd mill. B.C.E.) seems to be compatible with the time of the presumed first migration wave from South Arabia to the Horn of Africa which brought Proto-South Ethiopian speakers to the African coast, followed a few centuries later by speakers of Proto-North Ethiopian;

- (7) it would be instructive to compare the separation of Soqotran (7th century B.C.E.) from the main bulk of MSA with the datings for the first archaeological traces of South Arabian settlers in the Island of Socotra.

As a final conclusion, it is necessary to stress that all of these speculations on the connections of the datings obtained above with concrete historical events are highly tentative and preliminary. Nevertheless, such coincidences are still worthy of our attention, if only as potentially useful “pointers” to further, more detailed interdisciplinary research.

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А. Ю. Милитарев. Дополнения к стословному списку семитских языков и филогенетические выводы.

Статья завершает серию из четырех публикаций, в которых автором был предложен подробный этимологический анализ 100-словных списков Сводеша по всем известным семитским языкам, для которых такой список в принципе может быть составлен. В настоящей, финальной части исследования автор подводит закономерный итог в виде перечня всех реконструкций, которые на том или ином хронологическом уровне удалось получить для элементов 100-словного списка, сопровождаемых краткими комментариями. В завершение автором предлагается новая, усовершенствованная версия генеалогического древа семитских языков, полученная с помощью глоттохронологической формулы С. А. Старостина и сопровождаемая кратким историческим комментарием.

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