

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Data.

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

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

Abbreviations of languages, language periods and ancient sources.

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

Transcription and transliteration.

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

Conventions for reconstructed protoforms.

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

75. SKIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

76. SLEEP

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

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

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

77. SMALL

- (1) Akk. *šeḫru*; Pho. *šṛ* ; Qur. *ṣayīr-*; Leb. *zyīr* (< **šyr*); Mec. *ṣayīyr*; Mlt. *zā(gh)ir*; Sab. *šyr* // < Sem. **ṣayīr-* (Kog. DD): Ugr. *šyr-* ‘young’, Hbr. *šāʔir* ‘the smaller one, little’ (HALOT 1041), Syr. *šāʔir-* ‘contemptus, turpis’ (Brock. 634).
- (2) Akk. (syn.) *daḫḫ-*; Gez. *daḫiḫ* // < Sem. **da/iḫḫ-* ~ **daḫiḫ-* ‘small, tiny, fine’: Ugr. *dḫ* ‘tiny, fine; weak’ (DUL 276–7), Arb. *diḫḫ-* ‘menu, fin, etc.’ (BK 1 715), Amh. *dāḫḫākā* ‘be fine, minute’ (LGz 140), Soq. *dḫḫ* ‘devenir mince’ (LS 133)⁶.
- Cf. Afras.: W. Chad.: Boghom *kō-dók*, Dwot *ndək* ‘short’; E.Cush. **d/ṭi/uḫḫ-*: LEC: Somali *dīq-* ‘to become faint, tenuous’, Oromo *diqqa* ‘small’, HEC: Hadiya *ṭuḫḫa*, Burji *ṭiḫḫó* ‘narrow’ (ADB).
- (3) Hbr. *qāṭān*; Mnd. *ḳotān-*; Sab. *ḳṭn* ‘small’ // < Sem. **ḳatan-* (Kog. DD): Akk. *ḳatnu* ‘thin, fine, narrow’ (CAD q 173), Syr. *ḳṭn* ‘grow thin’, Arb. *ḳatīn-* ‘thin iron of a spear’, Gez. *ḳṭn* ‘be thin, fine, lean, etc.’ (LGz 453), Mhr. *ḳáyṭen*, Jib. *ḳétən* ‘become thin’, Soq. *ḳáṭhon* ‘thin’ (JM 245).
- with extension -n (see Mil. RE) < Afras. **ḳ^(w)Vt-* ‘small, thin: Chad **k/ḳ^wVt/ṭ-*: W.: Ngas *kwiit* ‘small, narrow’, Tangale *kate* ‘diminish, decrease, reduce, abate’, C.: Tera *katà* ‘decrease’, Mafa *kwitee* ‘small’, Zime-Batna *kwétété* ‘étroit’ (St. 2011 #110; compared with Agaw); Cush.C. **ʔəḳ^wt-* ‘be small, few’: Bilin *ʔəḳ^wt-əw* ‘few’ (in App CDA 66 compared with E.Cush. with metathesis — see #2, but not with Sem. **ḳatan-*), E.: Dullay: Harso *tiḫḫ-assa* (rather metathesis from **ḳit-* than related to E.Cush. **d/ṭi/uḫḫ-* in #2, with *t-* hard to explain) ‘small’ (ADB).
- (4) Bib. *zəṣēr*; Pal. *zṣwr*, *z^ṣē(y)r*; Syr. *zəṣōr-*; Urm. *zəṣōr-* // < Sem. **zṣr* ‘be small, thin’: Hbr. *zāʔir* ‘a little’ (< Aram? HALOT 276), Arb. *zṣr* ‘ê. clairsemé (se dit des plumes, du poil)’ (BK 1 990).

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

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

78. SMOKE

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

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

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

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

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

79. STAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

80. STAR

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

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

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

81. STONE

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

82. SUN

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ According to LGur 118, forms with *-r* are either borrowed from Cushitic or represent the Ethiopic root *?mr* with weakened *m*, including the possibility of Eth. *?mr* “taken over as *ir* into Cushitic and then borrowed under this form by the various Ethiopic languages”. The idea of “weakened” *-m-* does not hold water, if only because *?er* is attested in Sawasew; the Eth. forms are hardly the source of borrowing into East Cushitic, where it is a widespread term for ‘sun’. As for Cha. *eyat* (and similar forms in other Gurage), it is “perhaps to be identified with *aret*, by palatalization of *r*”, according to LGur 118; though I am somewhat skeptical about the loss of *-r-* “by palatalization”, I am including the Cha. term into this entry for lack of a better etymology (another possibility is a borrowing from Omotic: cf. Chara *oyá*, Dime (*?iyy-u*, etc.; cf. also E.Cush.: LEC: Arbore *?awaté*, Elmolo *áóte?* < **?awa3/ž-*, all meaning ‘sun’). ADB.

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

83. SWIM

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

84. TAIL

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

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

85. THAT²⁰

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

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

86. THIS

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

87. THOU (m.)

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

88. TONGUE

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

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

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

89. TOOTH

- (1) Akk. *šinn*-; Ugr. *šn*; Hbr. *šēn*; Bib. *šēn*; Pal. *šn*; Syr. *šenn*-; Mnd. *šin*-; Qur. *sinn*-; Lbn. *sən*; Mec. *sinn*; Mlt. *sinna*; Gez. *sənn*; Tna. *sənni*; Arg. *sən*; Gaf. *sənä*; Sod. *sənn*; Har. *sən*; Wol. *əsən*; Cha. *sən*; Jib. *šnin* // Sem. **šinn*- (SED I #249).
 - < Afras. **sin*- ‘tooth’: Brb. **sīn*- ‘tooth’; Chad. W. **sin*-, C. **šyan*- (with a “secondary lateralization”), E. **syān*-; S.Cush. **siḥin*- (with the presumptive body part marker **ḥ* inserted, see Tak. **ḥ*): Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge *siḥino* (ADB).
 - (2) Urm. *kīk*- // Sem. **kVkk*- ‘tooth, thorn’: Syr. *kakk*- ‘dens molaris’ (Brock. 326), Akk. *kakk*- ‘weapon, tool, shaft, barb, thorn’ (CAD *k* 50); Gez. *kokaṛwa* ‘to break or chip the teeth; set the teeth on edge’, Tna (*ʔa*)*koḵ^wäyā* ‘set the teeth on edge’ (LGz 281) are denominal verbs. < Afras.
 - Cf. Cush.: E.: Saho, Afar *ikoó* ‘tooth’, S.: Maʔa *iṛike* ‘tooth’ (< Afras. **ʔik*- ~ **kak(k)*-?).
 - (3) Sab. *ṭn*, Hob. *mṭanyóot* (also ‘incisor’; no other term for ‘tooth’ in Nak.Hob.); Soq. (syn.) *mitníoh* (quoted as ‘dent’ in LS 443) // Mhr. *mṭanyēt* (JM 418), Jib. *muṭnút* ‘incisor tooth’ (JJ 285), Arb. *ṭaniyyat*- ‘dent de devant (l’une de quatre, dont deux supérieures et deux inférieures)’ (BK 1 239), Sab. *ṭny* ‘front-teeth’ (SD 151), with a very likely semantic development from Sem. **ṭinay*- ‘two’ < Afras. **čīn*- ‘two’: see below No. 91 ‘two’ (#1).
 - (4) Tgr. *nibāt*, pl. *ʔānyab* // < Sem. **nūb*-, **nāb*- ‘(canine) tooth’: Akk. *nayabtu* ‘floating rib or cartilage at the tip of the rib’ (CAD *n1* 151; according to AHW 717, ‘ein innerer Körper. nahe der Galle’), Hbr. pB *nīb šəpātayim* ‘upper lip’ (Ja 902), Syr. *nīb*-, *nāb*- ‘dens maxilaris’ (Brock. 427), Arb. *nāb*- (pl. *nuyūb*-) ‘dent canine’ (BK 2 1375).
 - (5) Amh. *ṭars*; Hrs. *mežréḥ*; Mhr. *məžrāḥ* // non-etymological -*ḥ* may be the body part marker **ḥ* in postposition; < Sem. **šīrs*- ‘molar tooth’: Eblaitic *za-ra-sa-tum* /*ḳaraštum*/ ‘scheggia-tura dei dente’ (after Conti), Syr. *ṣaršā*, Arb. *ḍīrs*-, Sab. (pl.) *ṭrs₁*, Gez. *ḍars* (SED I #275).
 - (6) Soq. *ṣāle* (the main term for ‘tooth’, according to Kogan’s list) // In LS 309, quoted as *ṣélhe* ‘dents’ (“originairement ‘dents supérieures’”), deriving it from *ṣélhe* ‘haut’ < Sem. **ʕly* ‘être haut’, which seems the only plausible etymology for lack of better ones.
 - (7) Soq. (syn.) *šāṣal* // One more term for ‘dent’ adduced in LS 431 with no Sem. etymology, save for a tentative, according to Leslau (and impossible) comparison with Arb. *sinn*-.
 - Cf. Brb. **ta-zal-t* (rather **ta-zHal-t*) ‘dent canine’: Ahaggar *tā-hal-at*, Ayr *ta-zal-at*, etc. (compared with a question mark in Tak 2001 85 with Egyp. OK *zḥ.t* (also *zḥr.t*) ‘ein Meissel’) which is ideally compatible with the Soq. term both phonetically (< Afras. **čāṣ(a)l*-) and semantically.
 - ◇ No term registered in Pho.
- Common Semitic **šinn*- (#1).

90. TREE

- (1) Akk. *iš(š)*-; Ugr. *ʕš*; Hbr. *ʕēš*; Gez. *ʕad*; Tgr. *ʕāčūt*; Gaf. *ənča*; Wol. *ənče*; Cha. *äčä* // < Sem. **ʕi/ušš*-: Bib. *ʔāṣā* ‘wood’ (HALOT 1821), Arb. *ʕuḍḍ*- ‘gros chicot d’arbre; gros morceaux de bois’, *ʔaṣḍāḍ*- (pl.) ‘arbres ou arbrisseaux à épines’ (BK 2 277)

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

91. TWO

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

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

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

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

92. WALK

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

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

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

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

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

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

93. WARM

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

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

94. WATER

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

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

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

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

95. WE

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

96. WHAT?

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

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

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

97. WHITE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

◇ No term registered in Sab.

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

98. WHO?

- (1) Akk. *mannu*; Bib. *man*; Pal. *man*, *mʔn*; Syr. *man(-nu)*; Mnd. *man*; Urm. *man*; Qur. *man*; Lbn. *meyn*; Mec. *miyn*; Mlt. *mīn*; Sab. *mn*; Gez. *mannu*; Tna. *mān*; Tgr. *mān*; Amh. *man*; Arg. *man*; Gaf. *man*; Sod. *man*; Har. *mān*; Cha. *mʔan*; Hob. *moón*; Hrs. *mōn*; Mhr. *mon*; Jib. *mun*; Soq. *mon* // Sem. **man-* (ADB; see also. EDE III 9–13)
 - < Afras.: Brb.: Rif *man*, Shawiya *mani*, Mzab *manayn*, etc. 'who?' (see also No. 96 'what?' #2).
 - (2) Ugr. *my*; Hbr. *mī*; Pho. *mī*; Arg. (syn.) *ma*; Sod. (syn.) *ma*; Wol. *ma* // < Sem. **mi/a* (< **may-*?). See also EDE III 9–13.
 - < Afras.: Cush. E.: LEC 'who?': Somali *–uma*, Arbore *ma(h)*, Elmolo *máa* (also 'what?'), Dasenech *maya*, S. 'who?': Iraqw *heemá* (he 'person'), Alagwa *miyyaa*, Burunge *miya* (see also No. 96 'what?' #1).
- Common Semitic **man-* (1).

99. WOMAN

- (1) Akk. *sinništ-* // One of the most enigmatic Semitic words. No etymology.
- (2) Ugr. *ʔatt*; Hbr. *ʔiššā*; Pho. *ʔšt*; Pal. *ʔä(y)ttā*, *ʔth*; Syr. *ʔi(n)tāt-*; Mnd. *ant-*; Sab. *ʔtt* (pl. *ʔnt*); Gez. *ʔanəst*; Tgr. *ʔəssit*; Arg. *ənəšča*; Gaf. *ansətä* // < Sem. **ʔa/int-_{at-}*.
 - Probably to be related with S. Omot. **Hinč-*: Dime *nic*, *nith*, Galila *yinc*, Ari *yinc-i* 'child', Ongota *ʔinta*, *hinta* 'man' (ADB).
- (3) Urm. *niḳva* // < Hbr.-Arm. **naḳb-at-* 'woman' (< Sem. **nḳb* 'to drill, bore through', Akk. 'to deflower, rape'): Syr. *naḳbāt-*, Hbr. *nəḳēbā*, etc. (HALOT 719).
- (4) Qur. *ʔimraʔat-*, *marʔat-*; Lbn. *marā*; Mlt. *mara*; Sab. (syn.) *mrʔ-t* // fem. < Sem. **marʔ-* 'male human' (ADB): Akk. *māru* 'son, boy', Arab. *marʔ-*, *murʔ-* 'man, husband', Qatabanian *mrʔ* 'child', Sab. *mrʔ* 'man; male child, lord; social superior', Mhr. (pl.) *ḥə-mrō* 'children' (ADB).
 - < Afras. **marʔ-* 'man/woman, human being': Egyp (OK) *mr.w* 'people'; Chad. W.: Dera *mura* 'woman, sister', Dwot *meer* 'family; woman', Wangday *mar* 'person', Kulere, Fyer *mor* 'woman' Fyer *mará* 'male', *mor*, Kulere *mor* 'woman', Daffo-Butura *määr* 'boy', *māra* 'masculine', C.: Bura *mara* 'co-wife', Gudu *már*, Nzangi *mùre*, Fali-Muchella *muru*, Bachama *mùré*, Bata *muré* 'man', E.: Dangla *ùmìrnè* 'person', Kera *mar* 'wife', Migama *máar-tù* 'my uncle', Mawa *mər* 'clan, family'; Cush. E.: LEC: Dasenech *mār-ti* 'girl', HEC: Sidamo *mure* 'child, baby'; Omot. N: Mao (Hozo) *mēri*, (Sezo) *méri* 'boy, child, son', S.: Ongota *mara* 'baby' (ADB; on possible broader connections see EDE III 357–358, 380–382).
- (5) Mec. *ḥurma* // < Arb. *ḥurmat-* 'chose sacrée; famille d'un homme, surtout sa femme ou sa fille' (BK 1 415) < Sem. **ḥrm* 'forbid, dedicate, declare sacred' (see HALOT 353).
- (6) Gez. (syn.) *bəʔəsīt* // fem. < *bəʔəs-i* 'man, male, husband, someone', Tgr. *bəʔəs* 'husband' (see No. 51 'man' (#7) in Mil. 2011)
 - < Afras. **bVʔVs-* 'son, boy, coeval': Chad. W.: Siri *beʔsi* 'son, boy', C.: Tera *bəsonka* (< **beso-n-k?*) 'boys'; Cush. C.: Kemant *baas* 'beget, become father', S.: Qwadza *boʔos-iko* 'friend', Dahalo *ḥosóʔo* (met.) 'friend of same age, coeval'; N. Omot.: Dawro *biša* 'brother', Malo *biša* 'child', Yemsa *buʔsa* (pl.) 'boys', Kafa *bušō* 'boy, son', Mocha *buš(o)* 'child', Bworo (Shinasha) *bušoo* 'son' (ADB).

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

100. YELLOW

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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