

## A complete etymology-based hundred wordlist of Semitic updated: Items 55–74

The paper represents the third part of the author's etymological analysis of the Swadesh wordlist for Semitic languages (the first two parts having already appeared in Vols. 3 (2010) and 5 (2011) of the same Journal). Twenty more items are discussed and assigned Proto-Semitic reconstructions, with strong additional emphasis on suggested Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) cognates.

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

The present study contains the analysis of the third portion of a 100-wordlist of Semitic. It is a follow-up to the author's second attempt at compiling a complete Swadesh wordlist for most Semitic languages that would fully represent all the branches, groups and subgroups of this linguistic family and provide etymological background for every item wherever available. It is another step toward figuring out the taxonomy and building a detailed and comprehensive genetic tree of said 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, and Mil. 2011), have been undertaken since M. Swadesh introduced his method of glottochronology (Sw. 1952 and Sw. 1955). In this paper, as well as in my previous studies in genetic classification, I have relied on Sergei Starostin's glottochronological method (v. Star.) which is a radically improved and further elaborated version of Swadesh's method.

The present portion includes twenty more items out of the 100-wordlist. I hope to fill all the Afrasian gaps in the first two portions as a supplement to the last (forthcoming) portion. It should be stressed once more that my aim is not to give complete data from all the non-Semitic Afrasian languages for all the items (i.e. *not* the complete etymological entries), but only to present available data demonstrating the Afrasian origin of all Semitic words involved, *inter alia*, to eliminate or reduce the possibility of the latter items to have been borrowed. Compared with the same 12 items (Nos. 55–66) of the list included in my previous paper (Mil. 2008), these ones are updated, corrected in some points, and some more reliable etymologies are suggested.

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of Socotra) compiled during his recent expedition to Socotra in November 2010, which made it possible for me to check a few items and cancel several synonyms that, for lack of more precise data, I had to treat on par with the corresponding main term in my previous list.

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

### The Data.

The data consist of items 55–74 of Swadesh’s 100-wordlist of 28 Semitic languages, representing all groups within the family. Each item unites all the synonyms that are different in origin, i.e. form different sub-entries within the same entry, each of which is preceded by its own number (in round brackets). Each sub-entry, in its turn, consists of one or several cognate lexemes divided by a semicolon; the etymological comments including a Sem. protoform follow after a double slash; non-Semitic Afrasian parallels and a suggested Afrasian proto-form follow after the symbol □. Note that for cases when the choice of only one representative lexeme in the same language is too difficult,<sup>1</sup> Starostin’s procedure allows for several synonyms in the same language to be scored; in this case, synonyms from the same language would be present in two or more entries. Within each item there may occur two kinds of cases which are not scored at all — borrowings and lack of a corresponding term in the available sources; such cases form a separate section within the item, preceded by the symbol ◇. Each item is completed (after the symbol →) with its Semitic proto-form(s) if any on the deepest level of reconstruction available (Proto-Semitic, Common West and South Semitic, etc.) in accordance with my classification of Semitic.

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

### Abbreviations of languages, language periods and ancient sources.

A, Ass. — Assyrian; Afras. — Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Akk. — Akkadian; Amh. — Amharic; Arb. — Arabic; Arg. — Argobba; Arm. — Aramaic; B — Babylonian, BD — Book of the Dead; Brb. — Berber; Bib. — Biblical Aramaic; C. — Central; Cha. — Chaha;

<sup>1</sup> Even in cases when making such a choice was possible, I sometimes adduced more than one synonym, unable to resist the temptation of providing more terms with Semitic and/or Afrasian etymology. In the concluding phase of this study, I will do my best to make the selection procedure as strict as possible, and eliminate all superfluous synonyms from the final scoring.

Chad. — Chadic; Clas. — Classical; CT — Coffin Texts; Cush. — Cushitic; Daṭ — Daṭīna Arabic; Dem. — Demotic; ʔof. — ʔofar Arabic; Dyn. — Dynasty; E. — East; Egyp. — Egyptian; ESA — Epigraphic South Arabian; Eth. — Ethiopian; Frah. — Frahang-i-Pahlavik (Aramaic); Gaf. — Gafat; Gez. — Geʿez; Gr. — Greek; Gur. — Gurage; Har. — Harari; Ḥḍr — Ḥaḍramawt Arabic; HEC — Highland East Cushitic; Hbr. — Hebrew; Hrs. — Harsusi; Jib. — Jibbali; Jud. — Judaic Aramaic; LL — lexical lists; Leb. — Lebanese Arabic; LEC — Lowland East Cushitic; Mlt. — Maltese Arabic; Mec. — Meccan Arabic; Med. — Medical Texts; met. — metathesis; Mhr. — Mehri; MK — Middle Kingdom; Min. — Minean; Mnd. — Mandaic Aramaic; Mod. — Modern; MSA — Modern South Arabian; N — New, N. — North; NE — New Egyptian; NK — New Kingdom; O — Old; OK — Old Kingdom; Omot. — Omotic; Pal. — Palestinian Judaic Aramaic; pB. — postbiblical; Pho. — Phoenician; Pyr. — Pyramid Texts; Qat. — Qatabanian; Qur. — Qur’anic Arabic; 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.<sup>2</sup>

*p̣* — bilabial emphatic voiceless stop; *ḅ* — bilabial emphatic voiced stop; *b̥* — bilabial voiced spirant; *ṭ* — dental emphatic voiceless stop; *ḍ* — dental emphatic voiced stop; *t̥* — voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyptian, a conventional symbol most likely conveying *č*); *d̥* — voiced interdental fricative (in Egyptian, a conventional symbol most likely conveying *ž*); *c* — alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; *ɟ* — alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; *č* — palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ]; *ž* — palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dʒ]; *ɬ* — alveolar emphatic voiceless fricative; *ɮ* — alveolar emphatic voiced fricative; *ẓ* — conventionally stands for what was likely *ḍ*, emphatic voiced interdental fricative, or *ṭ*, emphatic voiceless interdental fricative; *č̣* — palato-alveolar emphatic affricate; *ɬ̣* — lateral voiceless fricative (denoted by *ɬ̣* in Sem. reconstructed proto-forms); *č̣̣* — lateral voiceless affricate; *ɬ̣̣* — lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; *č̣̣̣* — lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; *ẓ̣̣̌* — lateral voiced emphatic sibilant (or perhaps affricate); *ẓ̣̣̣̌* — lateral voiced sibilant; *g̣* — voiced velar fricative (in Berber); *ḳ* or *q̣* — emphatic velar stop; *q̣̣* — hypothetical velar affricate [kʰ] (only in reconstructed Afrasian proto-forms); *ɣ* — uvular voiced fricative (Arabic “ghain”); *ħ* — uvular voiceless fricative; *ḥ* — presumably velar voiceless fricative (only in Egyptian); *ħ̣* — pharyngeal voiceless fricative; *ʕ* — pharyngeal stop (“ayin”); *ḥ̣̣* — laryngeal voiceless fricative; *ʔ* — glottal stop (“aleph”, “hamza”); *y* — palatal resonant; *ʔ* and *ʔ̣* — conventional transcription symbols accepted in Egyptology.

### Conventions for reconstructed proto-forms.

- 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. *\*ʔi/abar-* should be read “either *\*ʔibar-* or *\*ʔabar-*”.
- ( ) a symbol in round brackets means “with or without this symbol”, e.g. *\*ba(w)r-* should be read “*\*bawr-* or *\*bar-*”.
- ~ means “and” pointing to two or more co-existing proto-forms.

<sup>2</sup> I should stress again, as I usually do in my publications, that the vocalism in the reconstructed Semitic and, especially, Afrasian proto-forms is often conventional and hypothetical.

## 55. MOUNTAIN

- (1) Akk. *šadû*, *šaddû* (Oakk., OB, OA) // < Sem. \**šad(d)*:- Ugr. *šd* ‘field, land, steppe, mountain’ (DUL 807); Arb. *sadd-* ‘montagne’ (BK 1 1068).
- (2) Ugr. *γr* (*γ* < \**ḏ*)<sup>3</sup>; Bib. *ṭūr*; Pal. *ṭwr*; Syr. *ṭūr*-; Mnd. *ṭur*-; Urm. *ṭūr*-; Sab. *zwr* // < Sem. \**ṭul/ir-* ‘flint, rock’: Akk. *šurru*, Hbr. *šōr*, Arb. *zurar-*, *zirr-* ‘flint’, etc.
- Cf. Brb.: Qabyle *i-zra* ‘flint’ (otherwise an Arabism?), Ahaggar *a-zəru* ‘rock’ and W. Chad.: Hausa *ćūrā* ‘knife or sword without handle’, presumably implying Afras. \**čur-* ‘flint’ (ADB).
- (3) Hbr. *hār*; Pho. *hr* // Only Ugr. *hr* ‘mountain’ (DUL 345; not a basic term).
- There are isolated parallels outside Sem. suggesting Afras. \**hawr-* (ADB): Brb.: Ahaggar *āhor* ‘amoncellement des rochers’; W. Chad.: Geruma *yuworo* ‘stone’, Zar *wur* ‘mountain’; E. Cush.: Yaaku *hērɔ?* ‘(big) rock’.
- (4) Qur. *ḡabal-*; Leb. *žabel*; Mec. *ḡabal*, Mhr. *gābēl*, Jib. *giēil* // < Sem. \**gVbVI-* ‘mountain; boundary, border’: Ugr. *gbl* ‘limit, frontier’ and ‘summit, mount’ (in DUL 293, two “possibly related” different entries; v. Kog. Ug.-Sem. 11), Hbr. *gābūl* ‘mountain; boundary; territory’, etc. (HALOT 171), Baṭṭhari *gābālēl* ‘mountain’ (JM 113). Whether the MSA forms are genuine or borrowed from Arb. (note lack of the root in Soq.) is hard to decide.
- Probably < \**gVb-VI-* with the *-l* root extension (v. Mil. RE 115–18) < Afras. \**ga/ub-* ‘mountain’ (ADB): Sem. \**ga/ibʕ-* (with the *-ʕ* root extension?): Akk. *gabʔu* ‘(mountain) peak, hill’, Ugr. *gbʕ* ‘hill, height, peak’, Hbr. *gibʕā* ‘hill’, Arb. *ḡubaʕ-* ‘little hill town’; (?) E. Chad.: Bidiya *gab-ga* (partial redupl.) ‘mountain’; Cush. N.: Beja *gwob* ‘heap of stones; the ground with little or no vegetation’, E.: Afar *gubb-i* ‘high spot in undulating country’, LEC: Oromo *gubba* ‘summit’, HEC: Burji *gubba* ‘highland’, Dullay: Tsamay *gupo*, Harso *gúpo* ‘mountain’, S.: Dahalo *guba* ‘plains’ (with a plausible semantic shift: cf. #6 below). Cf. Egypt. (Pyr.) *gbb* ‘Erdgott; Erde’.
- (5) Sab. *ʕr* (syn.) // also ‘citadel; hill-town’ (SD 20). In HALOT 821, compared to Hbr. *ʕir*, Ugr. *ʕr* ‘city, town’, which is acceptable only if the meaning ‘hill-town’ is a primary one (this is not very likely since, first, the semantic shift to ‘mountain’ is rather strange; second, there is nothing pointing to a ‘hill-town’ in Ugr. and Hbr.; and, third, the Ugr.-Hbr. term is regarded as a Sumerism *ibid.*); for an alternative etymology cf. Arb. *ʕuʕurat-* ‘sommets (d’une montagne)’ (BK 225).
- (6) Gez. *dabr*; Tgr. *dābər* // < Sem. \**dabr-* ‘mountain valley, pasture’: Hbr. *dobār* ‘pasture’, Mnd. *dibra* ‘field’ (HALOT 212), Arb. *dabr-* ‘champ, pré’ (BK 1 664), Tna. *dābri* ‘mountain’ (Kane T 2114; not common, according to my informants).
- Probably < \**dab-* with *-r* extension (v. Mil. RE 110–15) < Afras. \**dV(m)b-* ‘rock’: Sem.: Arb. *dabbat-*, Tgr. *dābb* ‘sand hill’, Tna. *dābb* ‘banc de sable’ (DRS 205), Harari *dabba* ‘raised ground’ (acc. to LGz < Cush.); E. Chad.: Migama *dāmbá* ‘mountain’, Bidiya *dōmbà* *id.*, *dāmba* ‘stone’; Cush. N.: Beja *dabba*, *dibba* ‘mound of earth or sand’ (perhaps an Arabism), C.: Bilin *dabba* ‘elevated place; mountain; uninhabited country’, Qwara, Kailiña, Kemant *dāba*, Dembea *debba* ‘mountain’, Aungi *dab* ‘stone’ (Fleming); E.: LEC: Somali *dabo* ‘hill, small mountain’, HEC: Sidamo *dubbo* ‘forest, uninhabited place’, Yaaku *tepu* < \**deb-* ‘stone’; N. Omot. Mao *démphê* ‘mountain’ (ADB; partially ND 497a, App. CDA 102).
- (7) Amh. *tārara*; Arg. *tārara* // No reliable parallels in Sem.

<sup>3</sup> As an alternative etymology suggesting Ugr. *γ* < Sem. \**γ* proposed by De Moor, the words allegedly meaning ‘rock’, ‘woodland’ are quoted in DUL 324: Arb. *γār-*, Syr. *farō* and Akk. *ēru*; while the first one is glossed as ‘terrain plat, pays plat, caverne’ in BK 2 516, I could not find the latter two with these meanings in corresponding dictionaries.

- Obviously connected with C. Cush.: Kemant *tarārā*, E.: Cush.: LEC: Muniye *tarra* ‘mountain’, but the direction of borrowing is unclear. Should perhaps be related, with a semantic shift, to Egypt. (Pyr.) *tw* ‘to raise, hold up, support, lean on’ (if < \**tw*) and Chad. W.: Pero *túrù* ‘climb’, Tangale *ture* ‘jump, wake up, rise’, C.: Ga’anda *itiri*, Gabin, Boka *tiri*, Hwona *ture-ŋ* ‘lift’, Zeghwana *átirá* ‘above’ (ADB).
- (8) Har. *sāri* // Zway ‘id.’, cf. a parallel in Arb. *sarw-* ‘légère élévation de terrain’, *sarāt-* ‘hauteurs, partie la plus élevée d’un pays’ (unless a semantic shift from id. ‘dos’ and/or ‘milieu’ BK 1 1085); less likely a loan, with semantic shift, from Somali *seeri* ‘forest’ (LGur 557).
- (9) Hrs. *kermaym*; Mhr. *karmaym* (syn.) // probably < Sem. \**karm-*, if so, then meaning something like a ‘hill with a vineyard in it’: Akk. *karmu-* ‘Ödland(-Hügel)’ (AHw 449; ‘ruin, ruin heap’ in CAD k 218), Ugr. *krm*, Hbr. *kārām*, Arb. *karm-* ‘vineyard’ (DUL 455; HALOT 498), etc.
- With a much-discussed parallel in Egypt. (MK) *k̄m.w* ‘vineyard’, which may belong to a small group of the earliest Canaanisms in Egypt. (cf. also W. Chad.: Hausa *kúrmì* ‘wood, forest’); cf. a variant root: Akk. (OA, OB on) *karānu* (*kirānu*) ‘wine, grapevine, grapes’ (CAD k 202) and Egypt. (MK) *k̄n-w* ‘vineyard’, creating a rather enigmatic tangle (ADB).
- It is also possible to compare the MSA root, with a fossilized *-m* (v. Mil. RE 105–8), with Sem. \**kur-*: Arb. *kūrat-* ‘country, land, town’, Sab. *kw* ‘hill, high-place’ < Afras. \**kur(-Vm)-* (cf. also Sum. *kur* ‘mountain, highland’ < Afras.): Chad. W.: Gerka *kir* ‘hill’, C.: Dghwede *kwire*, Glavda *ákura*, Musgu *kuríi* ‘stone’, Logone, Kuseri *kur* ‘mountain’, Makari *kur* ‘round rock’; Cush. C. \**karVŋ-* (< \**karVm-*) ‘stone’: Bilin, Kemant *kərŋa*, Aungi *kárəŋ*, etc. (App. CDA 129): E.: LEC: Somali, Rendille *kúr* ‘mountain’ (ADB).
- (10) Soq. *fē/idehon* // Jib. *fúdún* ‘rock, stone’ (JJ 51); if joined to Akk. (Oakk. on) *padānu*, *paddānu* ‘path, way’ (CAD p 2), implies Sem. \**pad(d)Vn-* ‘path in the mountains’; cf. also, with metathesis, Arb. *fand-* ‘grande montagne, grande hauteur qui s’étend au loin’ (BK 2 637).
- Note a curious triconsonantal parallel in W. Chad.: Tangale *pandī*, Mangas *nədap* (another met.?), Kir *ladààp* (< \**nədap?*) ‘path’.
- ◇ Mlt. *montaña* < Italian *montagna*; Tna. *ʔamba* < C. Cush. (cf. Bilin *ambā*, Khamir *ʔaba*, etc.); Sod. *gara* < E. Cush (Oromo *gaára*, Sidamo *gaaro*, etc., v. LGur 288); Cha. *ḱʷāto* < E. Cush. (Qabenna, Alaba *kōtá-ta*, v. LGur 506). No term in Gaf. and Wol.
- No common Semitic (or, if MSA terms are inherited, Common West and South Semitic \**gVbVL-* #4).

## 56. MOUTH

- (1) Akk. *pû-*; Ugr. *p*; Hbr. *pā*; Pho. *py*; Bib. *pummā*; Pal. *pām*, *pymh*; Syr. *pūmm-*; Mnd. *pum-*; Urm. *pūm-*; Qur. *fam-* (also *fū/uh-* and *fuw-*); Mec. *famm*; Gez. *ʔaf*; Tna. *ʔaf*; Tgr. *ʔaf*; Amh. *ʔaf*; Arg. *af*; Sod. *af*; Har. *af*; Wol. *af*; Cha. *āf* // < Sem. \*(*ʔa-*)*pay/w(-m)-* ‘mouth’ (cf. SED I No. 233). The decision to include the Eth. forms into the Sem. root was taken with much hesitation, as they formally coincide with a common Cush. term for ‘mouth’, the grounds for regarding them as related to or borrowed from Cushitic being nearly equal, cf. below.
- Anyway, < Proto-Afras. \*(*ʔa-*)*pay/w-* ‘mouth’: Brb. Shillh, Senhaja, Qabyle *fa*, Rif *fa*, *afa*, Mzab *fafa* ‘to yawn’ (N-Z 515); Chad. W. \**pVw-* ‘mouth’: Angas *po*, *pwo*, Chip *pwə*, Tangale *pɔ-k*, Boghom *piap*, *pyòk*, Fyer, Bokkos *fo*, etc. (and very likely Hausa *áfà* ‘throw into the mouth’, Mupun *áap*, Sura *ap* ‘yawn’, Angas *ep* ‘yawn’ < \**ʔap*), C.: Hya *funɛ*, Musey *funu-no* (and *vun* in several languages, likely < \**fun-* < \**fu-n-*); Cush. N.: Beja *yaf*, C.: Bilin (pl.) *afaf*, Khamir *af*, E. \**ʔaf-* ‘mouth’: Saho, Afar *af*, LEC: Somali *áf*, Rendille *af*, Dasenech *ʔàfù*, Oromo *áfaa-ni*, Konso *áfaa*, HEC: Darasa *afaʔo*, Sidamo, Kambatta *afoo*, Burji *afée*, S. \**ʔaf-*: Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *afa*, Asa *afo-k*, Qwadza *afu-ko*, Dahalo *ʔafo*; S. Omot. \**ʔVpp/ff-*



- 'mouth' (seems an inherited root rather than borrowed from Cush.): Dime *ʔappo*, Ari *aaffa*, Karo *ʔapo*, Banna *aapo*, Hamar *a(a)fo*, *ap-*, Ongota *ʔiifa* (ADB).
- (2) Leb. *ħaləʔ*; Mlt. *ħalʔa* // < Sem. *\*ħalk(-um)-* 'Adam's apple, throat': Akk. *\*alēl/āku* in *līk* (*laḳ, alīḳ, elāḳ*) *pī* 'palate' (lit. "the *l.* of the mouth"), Arb. *ħalk-* 'gosier, gorge', *ħalkūm-* 'gorge', Gez. *ħalk* 'throat, gullet, palate', Amh. *əlləḳt* 'depression at the base of the neck directly below the Adam's apple', Mhr. *ħalkəmūt* 'Adam's apple', etc. (v. SED I No. 117).
- < Afras. *\*(ħa-)lVḳ(-um)-* 'throat and upper part of neck' (ADB): Cush. C.: Khamtanga *ḳálma*, Khamta *ḳ/kälma* (met.) 'neck', E.: LEC *\*luḳ/k(-um)-* 'neck': Somali *luḳun*, pl. *luḳum-mo*, Arbore *lúko* (< *\*luḳ-* or *\*luk-*), Elmolo *lúku* (< *\*luk-*), Konso *holma* (< *\*kVlm-*), Oromo *luḳum* 'chew, munch, eat without opening the mouth', S.: Dahalo *laḳa* 'area under chin'; S. Omot.: Banna *lukum-*, Ongota *luḳoma* 'neck'.
- (3) Gaf. *səmotä* // In LGaf 231, qualified as a loanword from E. Cush. Gudella *súme*; a possible origin from *samä* 'embrasser' is admitted as an alternative (neither assumption is very convincing); cf. Gez. *saʕ/ʔama*, Tna. *sāʕamä*, Amh. *samä*, etc. 'to kiss', compared in LGz 481 with Arb. (Yemen) *saʕam* 'kiss', evidently implying the meaning 'kisser' for the Gafat form.
- (4) Hrs. *ħah*; Mhr. *ħōh*; Jib. *ħoh*; Soq. *ħe* // < Sem. *\*ħawh-* ~ *\*ħawh-* 'hole, aperture': Hrs. *ħəwwēt* 'tunnel', Mhr. *ħōh* 'mouth; entrance, opening' (JM 454), *ħəwū(t)* 'to have a space left uncovered' (ibid.), Hbr. *ħāwāḥ-īm* (pl.) 'hole, crevice' (HALOT 296), Arb. *ħwy* 'ê. vide' (BK 1 651), *ħawḥat-* 'lucarne dans un mur; petite fenêtre; anus' (ibid. 644), Sab. *ħwh* 'passageway, corridor' (SD 64), Gez. *ħohat* 'door, doorway, etc.' (LGz 260).
- Cf. debatable external parallels, pointing, if valid, to Afras. *\*qaw/ʔ-* 'hole':<sup>4</sup> Egypt. (Gr.) *ḥ-t* 'pit'; Chad. W.: Pero *kāā* 'hole in a stone for mashing grains, beans', C.: Bura *ku* 'hole in the ground', Bachama *kwa* 'vine door (hole hut)', Bana *kāʔú* 'hole without an outlet', etc. (St. 2011 #179a), Chibak *kaw*, Margi *kāʔo* 'hole', E.: Kera *ku*, Kwang *kuh*, *kuu* 'mouth' (not in St. 2011); N. Omot.: Kafa *koko* 'mouth' (ADB).
- Common North and West Semitic *\*(ʔa-)pay/w(-m)-* (#1).

## 57. NAME

- (1) Akk. *šumu*; Ugr. *šm*; Hbr. *šēm*; Pho. *šm*; Bib. *šum*; Pal. *šēm*, *šwm*; Syr. *šəm*; Mnd. *šum-*; Urm. *šimm-*; Qur. *ʔism-*; Leb. *ʔasəm*; Mec. *ism*; Mlt. *isem*; Sab. *sī m*; Gez. *səm*; Tna. *səm*; Tgr. *səm*; Amh. *səm*; Arg. *səm*; Gaf. *səmʷä*; Sod. *səm*; Har. *sum*; Wol. *sum*; Cha. *šəm*; Hrs. *hem*; Mhr. *ham*; Jib. *šum*; Soq. *šēm* // < Sem. *\*(ʔi-)šim-*.
- < Afras. *\*(ʔi-)sim-* 'name' (ADB): Brb. *\*(H)ism-* (borrowing from Arabic is unlikely, since the term is attested all over the Berber-speaking area, but cannot be completely ruled out); Chad. W. *\*(ʔV-)si/um-*: Hausa *súnā*, Sura *súm*, Kirfi *šímí*, Pa'a *sim*, *sun*, Mangas *wusim*, Boghom *yìsim*, Kir *wùsum*, Tala *sum*, Kulere *ʔasím*, etc., C. *\*šim-* (with a secondary lateralization): Gabin *šime*, Mbara *šim*, Gudu *lim*, Logone *šémī*, Zime-Batna *sém*, etc., E. *\*sVm-*: Somrai *súmí*, Kera *sám*, Dangla *sīḥ*, Mokilko *sùmá*, etc.; Cush. *\*sim-* (borrowing from Eth. is less probable, but cannot be excluded): N.: Beja *sim*, *sum*, C.: Bilin, Khamir, Kemant *šəḥʷ* (hardly a loan), Aungi *səm* (likely an Amharism), E.: HEC: Darasa, Hadiya *summa*, Sidamo, Kambatta *suʔma* (cf. also LEC: Oromo *sima* 'to welcome'); N. Omot. *\*sum-t-* 'name' (in view of *\*-t* less likely a loan from Eth.): Wolaita *sunta*, Basketo *sumsa*, Koyra *súunci*, Chara *sumá*, Gimirra (She) *sum*, Bworo *šuuca*, Dizi (Maji) *simu*, etc. Probably related is Egypt. (MK) *smy* 'berichten, anzeigen' (with a semantic shift 'tell the name' > 'report, inform?').
- Common Semitic *\*(ʔi-)šim-*.

<sup>4</sup> The hypothetical *\*q* (standing for a presumed Afras. affricate *\*kʰ*) is expected to yield *\*h* in Sem. and Egypt. and *\*k* in other Afras. branches.

## 58. NECK

- (1) Akk. *kišādu*; Gez. *kāsād*; Tna. *kasad* // < Sem. \**ki(n)šād*- ‘neck, top of shoulder’ (SED I No. 147).
- (2) Hbr. *šawwāʔ(r)*; Bib. *šawwaʔr*; Pal. *šwrr*; Syr. *šawr*-; Mnd. *šawr*- // < Sem. \**šawʔar*-: Arb. *šawr*- ‘side of the neck’, etc. (v. SED I No. 258).
- (3) Qur. *ʕunḵ*-; Mlt. *(gh)onaʔ* // < Sem. \**ʕVnḵ*- ‘neck’: Jud. *ʕunḵ*- ‘neck, throat’, Gez. *ʕanaḵa* ‘to carry around the neck’, etc. (SED I No. 15).
- (4) Leb. *raʔabi*; Mec. *ragaba* // Class. Arb. *raḵb*- ‘cou, nuque’ (BK 1 905). No visible cognates in Sem.
- Cf., with metathesis, possible parallels in Egyp. (NE) *bʕk* (neck or throat determinative) ‘gorge (?)’ (if < \**brḵ*, v. EDE II 94) and Brb.: Rif *a-berḵuḵ* ‘bosse, tumeur’ (N-Z 117).
- (5) Tgr. *səgad* // < *sägda* ‘prostrate oneself’ (implying an exotic semantic shift “prostrate” > “to bow down one’s neck” > “neck”) < Sem. \**sgd* ‘prostrate’ (LGz 490)?
- (6) Amh. *angät*; Arg. *angäd*, *hangät*; Gaf. *angät*; Sod. *angät*; Har. *angät*; Wol. *angät*; Cha. *angät* // Judging by Arg. *hangät*, rather < Sem. \**hVng(-ar)*- than < \**ʕVng(-at)*- ‘neck’ (as in SED I No. 15 note): Gez. *ḥangat* ‘goiter’ (*ḥ*- instead of the expected \**h*- may be purely graphic), Har. *ḥangūr* ‘throat’ (also ‘food’), Zway *angäro*, Wol. *angoro*, Selti *angōro* id. (all of these S. Eth. forms are considered Arb. loans in LLw 132), Arb. *ḥanḡarat*-, *ḥunḡūr*- ‘larynx’ (cf. *ḥunḡūd*- id.) (SED I No. 15 note).
- With a clear parallel in Egyp. (18 Dyn.) *ḥngg* ‘gorge’ (cf. also Brb.: Ghadames *əngər* ‘pleurer un mort’ — a kind of “gorge” singing?).
- (7) Hrs. Mhr. *ḡōṭi* (*ḡōḍi*, acc. to Jahn); Jib. *ḡoṭe* // Could not find any etymology.
- (8) Soq. *ḡar* // Likely related are Mhr. *ḡārīr* ‘nape’ (SSL 291), with Mhr. *ḡ* rendering palatalized \**ḡ* (cf. in \**šawʔar*- SED I No. 258 note) and Arb. *ḡaraʕ* (< \**ḡarw*-) ‘dos’ (BK 2 730).
- < Afras. \**ḡawr*- ‘(back of) neck’: E. Chad.: Kwang *kàrī*, Kera *kur*, Lele *kwarə* ‘neck’, possibly < \**ḡVwar*- (otherwise < \**k-ur*-); E. Cush.: LEC: Somali *qōr* ‘neck’; Omot. N.: Wolamo *kōriya*, Cancha, Gemu, Dorze *kōre*, S.: Banna *ḡorči* (< \**ḡor-t*-) id.
- (9) Soq. *ḡakrere* (syn.)<sup>5</sup> // < Sem. \**pi/arḡ-at*- ~ \**pi/aḡr-at*-. Hbr. *maprākāt* ‘neck’, Arb. *ḡakrat*-, *ḡikrat*- ‘vertèbre’ (BK 2 619–20), etc. (SED I No. 219).
- ◇ Urm. *ḡādāl*- is < Arb. *ḡidāl*- ‘derrière de la tête; toupet’ (BK 2 697). No term in Ugr., Pho. and Sab.
- Common North and West (Eth.) Semitic. \**kišād*- (#1).

## 59. NEW

- (1) Akk. *eššu*; Ugr. *ḡdt*; Hbr. *ḡādāš*; Pho. *ḡdš*; Bib. *ḡadat*; Pal. *ḡdt*; Syr. *ḡadət*-.; Mnd. *ḡadt*-.; Urm. *ḡā(d)t*-.; Gez. *haddis*; Tna. *ḡaddis*; Tgr. *ḡaddis*; Amh. *addis*; Arg. *haḡəs*; Sod. *aḡḡis*; Har. *ḡaḡis*; Wol. *aḡis* // < Sem. \**ḡadiṭ*- (DRS 837).
- (2) Qur. *ḡadīd*-.; Leb. *ḡdīd*; Mec. *ḡadiyd*; Mlt. *ḡdīd* // In Kog. LE 470, reasonably related with Sab. *h-gdd* ‘endorse, validate (a decree)’ and Qat. *s<sub>1</sub>-gdd* ‘renew, validate’; compared (with a question mark) with Syr. *gaddūd*- ‘adolescent’ in DRS 100, which also seems reasonable, especially in view of another meaning of Arb. *ḡadīd*- — ‘jeunesse, jeune âge’ (BK 1 261).<sup>6</sup>
- Note a curious coincidence with N. Omot.: Yemsa *gaddo* ‘new’.
- (3) Sab. *ḡs<sub>2</sub>b-m* // also *ḡs<sub>2</sub>b-n* ‘new construction’ < *ḡs<sub>2</sub>b* ‘build, construct, make’ (SD 108). Clearly connected with Arb. *ḡašīb*- ‘tout neuf, nouvellement fait’ (BK 2 741; seems isolated from

<sup>5</sup> *fikeriroh* in Kogan MS, given on par with *ḡar* as an equireight synonym.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps from still another meaning of the same Arb. term — ‘hereuse, fortune’ (ibid.) < Sem. \**gadd*- ‘fortune, chance’ (DRS 100, a different entry), attested in Hbr., Arm. and Eth. (incl. ‘augur’ in Amh.), with the semantic shift “new” < “future” < “read the future, tell one’s fortune” < “fortune”.

other meanings of the verb *ḵšb*) that looks like a loan from (or into?) Sab. No other Sem. parallels.

- (4) Cha. *gädär* // Also in Eža, Gyeto, Masqan (LGur 264, no etymology adduced). May be tentatively compared either with Wol. and Zway *gädärä* ‘to grow up (child)’, Amh. (*tä*)*gäddärä* ‘to germinate’ (with the semantic shift ‘produce new plants’ > ‘new’; for broader connections v. BIG No. 8) or, with an -*r* root extension, to Sem. *\*gadi/ūd-* (#2).
  - (5) Hrs. *heydīn*; Mhr. *heydīn*; Jib. *odīn* // < MSA *\*waydīn-*. If these forms could be analyzed as *\*wady-Vn* (for the -*Vn-* suffix in MSA cf., e.g., Jib. *ʔəmšīna*, Soq. *ʔəmšin* vs. Hrs. *yemši*, Mhr. *yemšē* ‘yesterday’; or Mhr. diminutive *tawēy-ēn* < *tāywi* ‘meat’), comparable with Arb. *wadiyy-* ‘premiers germes d’un palmier qui sortent de la terre’ (BK 2 1513), with the primary meaning ‘new, young’.
    - Should be further connected with Egyp. (MK) *id* ‘young man’; C. Chad.: Matakam *wúdá*, Zime-Batna *údò* ‘children’, perhaps allowing to reconstruct Afras. *\*wayd-* (ADB).
    - ◇ Gaf. *wayä*, together with several Gurage languages (LGur 666) is a loan from HEC (Kambatta, Sidamo *hāro*, Hadiya *hāri-ččo*), according to LGur 673, “with loss of *r* through palatalization”; Soq. *gedid* must be an Arabism.
- Common North and West Semitic *\*ḥadīt-* (#1).

## 60. NIGHT

- (1) Akk. *mūšu*; Sod. *māšāt*; Cha. *māšātä* // < Sem. *\*(ʔa-)mVšy-* ‘night, yesterday, evening’ (ADB): Eblaite */mūšum/* ‘night’, Hbr. *ʔāmāš* ‘last night, yesterday’, Arb. *ʔamsi*, *musy-* ‘yesterday’, *masāʔ-* ‘evening’, Gez. *maset* ‘evening, twilight’, Tgr. *maset*, Tna *māšāt*, Amh. *māšet* ‘evening’, Hrs. *yemši*, Mhr. *yemšē*, Jib. *ʔəmšīn*, Soq. *ʔəmšin* ‘yesterday’ (Hrs.-Mhr. *y-* instead of *\*ʔ-* and, especially, MSA *-š/ š-* vs. Arb. *-s-* speak against judging these forms as Arabisms, which they may resemble upon first glance).
  - < Afras. *\*(ʔa-)mas(y)-* ‘night, evening’ (ADB): Egyp. (OK) *msw-t*, (MK) *msy-t* ‘supper, evening meal’; C. Chad.: Gudu *māšū* ‘evening’, Logone *méeše* ‘midnight’, (?) Daba *àmusku* ‘yesterday’; Cush. N.: Beja *amas* ‘late evening, night, twilights’ (hardly < Arb.), *ámse* ‘today’ (perhaps an Arabism), S. *\*ʔamas-*: Iraqw, Gorowa *amsi*, Alagwa, Burunge *amasi* ‘middle of the night’, Qwadza *amasi-ya* ‘tomorrow’, Asa *eramesa* ‘night’ (with a secondary -*r*); N. Omot. *\*ʔumars-<sup>7</sup>*: Wolaita *ʔomársa*, Malo *ʔomars-* ‘night’, Gofa *ʔumarsa*, Dorze *omarsa* ‘night, evening’, etc. (ADB; cf. EDE III<sup>8</sup> 558–562 and 630).
- (2) Ugr. *ll*; Hbr. *laylā*; Pho. *ll*; Bib. *lēly-ā*; Pal. *lēlē*; Syr. *lely-*; Mnd. *lily-*; Urm. *layl-*; Qur. *laylat-*; Leb. *layl*; Mec. *layl*; Mlt. *leyla*; Sab. *lly*; Gez. *lelit*; Tna. *läyt-i*; Tgr. *lali*; Amh. *let*, *lelit*; Gaf. *litä*; Har. *läyl-i*, *lēl-i* // < Sem. *\*layl-*: Akk. *lilāt-* (*liliāt-*) ‘evening, night’, MSA (< Arb.?): Hrs. *léylet* (JH86), Mhr. *láylat* ‘night’ (JM 259: “in certain contexts only”), Soq. *lílhe* id.
  - For various suggested Afras. etymologies cf. EDE III 43–44, where they are justly considered “uncertain”.
- (3) Arg. *hadara* // < Eth. *\*ḥdr*: Gez. *ḥadara* ‘reside, dwell, stay overnight’, Tna. *ḥadärä* ‘stay overnight’, Tgr. *ḥadra* ‘dwell, stay’, etc. (LGz 258–9) < Sem. *\*ḥdr* ‘spend the night, dwell’, *\*ḥalidr-* ‘dwelling, chamber, tent’: Eblaite */ḥadrum/*, Ugr. *ḥdr* (DUL 355; *ḥ-* is irregular), Hbr. *ḥädär* ‘room’, Pho. *ḥdr* ‘(burial) chamber’, Arb. *ḥdr* ‘remain and keep to a place’, *ḥidr-*

<sup>7</sup> As for the secondary *r*, cf. also Eth. Gur.: Cha., Eža *mäsarä*, Ennemor, Gyeto *mäsaʔarä* ‘night’ and Mil. RE 113.

<sup>8</sup> In EDE III 562, this root is reasonably related with Brb.: Semlal *a-mušša*, Ntifa *muššu* and C. Chad.: Padoko *musa* ‘black’ (though with a strange formula “remotely connected” hard to understand to what historical linguistic reality it may refer, and a somewhat unintelligible remark “Note the anomaly with PBrb. *\*[m]-s-y*”) and erroneously (ibid. 559–560) with Brb. *\*əns* ‘spend the night’ and its derivative *\*ma-nsaw* ‘evening meal’.



- ‘women’s quarters of a tent’ (LGz 259), Sab. *ḥdr* ‘chamber, funeral chamber’ (SD 59), Hrs., Mhr. *ḥedōr* ‘to put up a sunshade’, Jib *ḥodor* id., Soq. *ḥādōr* ‘to build’ (JM 438). Surprisingly, the MSA forms are overlooked in all the quoted dictionaries. For the meanings ‘stay overnight’ and ‘night’ in Eth. cf. also Arb. *ḥadar*- ‘obscurité de la nuit’ and *ḥdr* ‘ê. très noir’ (BK 1 544–5), perhaps a contamination of two roots.
- (4) Arg. *etta*, *yet* (syn.); Soq. *ḥte* // Likely < Sem. \**ḥayt*- ‘time; night’ (for this semantic connection cf. #6 below): Hbr. *ḥēt* ‘point in time, occasion, time’ (HALOT 899); cf. also what looks like a variant stem \**ḥant*-, with secondary -n- infixed: Ugr. *ḥnt* ‘now’ (DUL 169), Hbr. *ḥattā* ‘now’ (HALOT 901), etc.
- If Sem. \**ḥayt*- may be analyzed as \**ḥay-t*-, with the fossilized suffix -t-, there are possible, if sparse, Afras. parallels: W. Chad.: Montol *yi* ‘time’, Angas *yii* ‘year’, etc. (unless related with Egyp. (MK) *iḥ-t* ‘time, moment’), N. Cush.: Beja *ṣā* ‘time, period’ (more likely < \**ḥā* than \**ṣā*, as normally \**ḥ* > *ṣ*, while \**ṣ* > *∅* in Beja); S. Omot.: Ongota *ḥuo* ‘night’, perhaps allowing to reconstruct Afras. \**ḥay/w*- (ADB).
- (5) Har. *artu*, *ōrtu*; Wol. *arot* // < S.-E. Eth.: Selti *arōt* ‘night’, Zway *arūt* ‘evening’; according to LGur 92, from Cushitic (Qabenna *aworruta*, Sidamo *hawarro*, Afar *harrä* are quoted), but the “comparison with Semitic \**ḥrb*, \**ḡrb*... with disappearance of *b*... is possible.” The provenance from Sem. \**ḥrb* is more likely than from Cush., since \**ḡ* > *∅* in S.-E. Eth., while \**ḥ/h* (reconstructible for the E. Cush. forms quoted) > *ḥ* in Har. If this is true, the word is related to Sem. \**ḡarb*- ‘sunset, evening, west’: Akk. *erebu* (*erbu*) ‘setting of the sun, west’, Arb. *ḡarb*- ‘coucher du soleil’, Gez. *ṣarab* ‘west, sunset’, *ṣarba* ‘to set (sun), become evening’, Mhr. *ḡarbēt* ‘strange place, unknown place, abroad’, Jib. *oyórb* ‘to go west’ (ADB).<sup>9</sup>
- (6) Hrs. *ṣāṣer*; Mhr. *ṣaṣar*; Jib. *ṣaṣar* // < Sem. \**ṣaṣr*- ‘feast, time, season, night’ (ADB): Hbr. *ṣāṣrā* ‘holiday, celebration, festive assembly’, Syr. *ṣāṣart*- ‘sacrificium’, Arb. *ṣal/i/ṣr*- ‘temps; saison, moment propre, temps nécessaire; age, siècle, époque’, *ṣal-ṣaṣr*- ‘le jour et la nuit, ou le soir et le matin’, Soq. *ṣāṣer* ‘temps’ (perhaps an Arabism).
- Common North and West Semitic (S. Eth.) \*(*ṣa*-)*mVṣy*- (#1).  
West Semitic \**layl*- (#2).

## 61. NOSE

- (1) Akk. *appu*; Ugr. *ṣap*; Hbr. *ṣap*; Pal. *ṣp*; Qur. *ṣanf*-; Gez. *ṣanf*; Tgr. *ṣanāṣ*; Gaf. *āṣṣā*; Sod. *afunna*; Har. *ūṣ*; Cha. *āṣuna* // < Sem. \**ṣanp*- ‘nose’, including Arm.: Jud. *ṣappā*, *ṣanpā* ‘nose; face’, Bib. *ṣanpōhī* (with a dual suffix), Syr. *ṣappē*, *ṣappayyā* (pl.), Mnd. *anpia* ‘face’ (SED I No. 8).
- With prefixed \**ṣa*- < Afras. \*(*ṣa*-)*nalif*- ‘breath (> life, soul, heart), blowing of wind’ (ADB; cf. EDE I 117–18): Brb.: Ahaggar *a-nāfo* ‘breath’, Ayr. E. Tawllemmet *a-nāfo* ‘fresh humid wind’, etc.; Egyp. (OK) *nf-t* ‘fan’, (NK) *nf* ‘breath; wind’; C. Chad.: Daba *nāp* ‘to rest, to breathe’, Tera *nifi* ‘life’, Logone *nāfu* ‘life; heart’, Fali-Kirya *nāffā* ‘heart’, etc.; Cush. N.: Beja *nifi* ‘to blow (wind)’, E.: Saho *naf* ‘breath, soul, life’ (perhaps also Afar *neef* ‘face’), LEC: Somali *neef* ‘breath’, *naf* ‘soul; life’, Boni *nēf* ‘breath’, Baiso *neefo* ‘breath; soul’ (perhaps Oromo *nafa* ‘haste, urgency’ < “heavy breathing?”), S.: Dahalo *afo* ‘nose’ (if < \**ṣanf*-).
- (2) Syr. *nāḥīr*-; Mnd. *nḥir*-; Urm. *nāḥīr*-; Leb. *mānḥar*; Mlt. *amniḥer*; Hrs. *nḥērīr*; Mhr. *nḥīrīr*; Jib. *nāḥrer*; Soq. *nāḥrir* // < Sem. \**nāḥīr*- ‘nostril, nose’: Akk. *nāḥīru* ‘nostril’, etc. (SED I No. 198).
- < Afras. \**nāḥVr*- ‘nose’ (ADB): Brb.: Ahaggar *a-nḥur*, Ghat *a-nḥur*, Semlal *ti-nḥar-t*, etc. ‘nose’; S. Cush. \**ṣa-nḥari* ‘phlegm’: Iraqw *aḥari*, Burunge *anḥari*. Seems to go back, with the root extension \*-r-, to Afras. \**nāḥ*- ‘referring to the nose, nasal mucus, phlegm (> saliva),

<sup>9</sup> For an alternative etymology cf. Gez. *ṣar* ‘time’ (LGz 36) with no Sem. parallels (cf. Egyp. (Pyr.) *rr* ‘time’ and C. Chad.: Higi-Nkafa *ri* ‘time’); on the semantic connection between ‘night’ and ‘time’ see Nos. 4 and 6.

- etc.’ (ADB), perhaps onomatopoeic: Sem.: Akk. *naḥnaḥatu* ‘nose cartilage’, Syr. *naḥnaḥt-‘tonsillae’*, Arb. *nuḥmat-* (with fossilized suffixed *-m*) ‘ce que l’on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.’, Jib. *nhḥ* ‘phlegm’ (SED I No. 197); Brb.: Ghadames *naḥnaḥ* ‘speak through the nose’; Egypt. (Pyr.) *nh* ‘saliva; spit out’; E. Cush.: Yaaku *núka?* ‘nose’ < *\*nug-* (if *-g* renders *\*-h*, which is not clear; perhaps < *\*nuk-* then to compare with S. Omot.: Dime *nuku*, Hamar, Ari *nuki* id.).
- (3) Mec. *ḥuṣum* // Class. Arb. *ḥayṣūm-* ‘cartilages du nez’ (BK 1 578). Cf. Soq. *in-ḥáṣim* ‘sneeze’ (LS 194), unless < *\*ḥšm* (compared with Mhr., Jib. *ḥáṣm* ‘phlegm’ in DRS 934); most likely, a variant root with a plausible semantic shift.
- (4) Tna. *ʔafənča*; Amh. Arg. *afənča* // An enigmatic word, with no parallels in other Sem.
- The only possible parallel is Egypt. *fnḏ* ‘nose’, possibly < *\*fVnVç/č/č-*, but alternatively < *\*fVnVg-*, comparable with Chad. W.: *\*fVng-* (Hausa *fāfungà* ‘toothless mouth’, Siri *vengi* ‘mouth’, Sura Angas Fyer *fun* ‘hole’, C.: Mulwi *finḡi* ‘wipe one’s nose’, etc.) and, with metathesis, N. Cush.: Beja *gənuf* ‘nose’ (ADB; cf. EDE II 575–8 containing all the above comparanda plus a weak cognation with Afras. *\*f-n*).
- (5) Wol. *bārbäre* // Leslau (LGur 151) speculates about possible connections with *bārbäre* ‘pepper’, quoting the same semantic shift in Gogot *anfuna* ‘nose’ and ‘pepper’ (note, however, that in Wolane it may be ‘pepper’ > ‘nose’ only, while in Gogot it is vice versa).
- ◇ No term in Pho., Bib. and Sab.
- Common North and West Semitic *\*ʔanp-* (#1).  
Common West (Arm.) and South Semitic *\*naḥīr-* (#2).

## 62. NOT<sup>10</sup>

- (1) Akk. *ul*; Hbr. *ʔāl*; Pho. *ʔl*; Sab. *ʔl*; Amh. *al...(m)*; Arg. *al (...w/u)*; Gaf. *al*; Sod. *al-*; Har. *al*; Wol. *al-*; Hrs. *ʔel*, Mhr. *ʔal (... laʔ)*, Jib. *ʔol (...lɔʔ)*; Soq. *ʔal, ɔl* // < Sem. *\*ʔal*, with a var. *\*ʔul* in Akk. and Ugr. *ʔal*, a negative functor (DUL 46).
- < Afras. *\*ʔa/ul*: Brb.: Seghrushen, Shenwa, Mzab *ul*, Maṭmaṭa *ūl*, Zwara, Nefusa *wal* ‘not’; E. Cush.: Afar *alēy* ‘no’, Saho *allō* ‘nothing’, LEC: Arbore (*má...*) *ala*; N. Omot.: Kafa, Anfillo *allo*, Bworo *āli* ‘there is not’ (ADB; ND No. 24).
- (2) Akk. *lā*; Ugr. *l*; Hbr. *lō(?)*; Bib. *lā*; Pal. *lāʔ*; Syr. *lā*; Mnd. *la*; Urm. *lā*; Qur. *lā*; Hrs. *laʔ*; Mhr. (*ʔal...*) *laʔ*; Jib. (*ʔol...*) *lɔʔ* // < Sem. *\*laʔ* (perhaps eventually related, with metathesis, to *\*ʔa/ul*).
- Cf. scarce parallels in other Afras.: C. Chad.: Makeri *la* ‘not’; C. Cush.: Bilin, Aungi *la* id.
- (3) Pho. *ʔy*; Gez. *ʔi*; Tna. *ʔay (...n)*; Tgr. *ʔi* // < Sem. *\*ʔay*: Akk. *ay, ē*, prohibitive, Hbr. *ʔi* ‘not’ (HALOT 38, hapax), Arb. *ʔa-*, Soq. *ʔē* ‘not’ (ND No. 3).
- With a few Afras. parallels, probably allows for Afras. *\*ʔay*: Egypt. (OK) *ʔw.ʔ* ‘welcher nicht’ (quoted in ND No. 3 with two question marks); E. Cush.: HEC: Burji *-ayʔ*, Hadiya *-yyo*, suffixed negative markers of verbs (ibid.); S. Omot.: Ari *-ai* ‘no’, Dime *ʔeekai* (< *ʔee-kai*, cf. Basketo *-kkaye*, Chara *káyay*, Seze *keiēiʔw* ‘not’) id., Ongota (*ma-*)...*-ʔi* ‘not’ (ADB; ND No. 3).
- (4) Qur. *mā*; Leb. *mā (...š)*; Mec. *mā*; Mlt. *mā*; Amh. (*al...*) *m*, Gaf. *-m* // < Sem. *\*ma(?)*: Har. *mēʔ* ‘no!’ (LHar 102).
- < Afras.: Egypt. (OK) *m* ‘do not!’; Brb.: Ayr *ma*, Shawiya *ma* ‘not’, Nefusa *mō* ‘no’, Tazelwalt *a-mia* ‘nothing’; Chad. W.: Chip *ma*, Goemai *mou*, Tangale *-m*, Bade *-m* ‘not’, C.: Bura *am* (met.) ‘no! never!’, Glavda *maay*, Gisiga, Masa *máy*, Lame *mì*, Zime-Batna, Zime-Dari *mì* ‘not’; Cush. C.: Khamir *-m* ‘not’, E.: Afar *ma-...(-in)*, Saho *mā-...(-in)*, LEC: Somali *máʔ (...in)*, Boni *mo/a/i*, Rendille, Dasenech, Arbore *ma-*, Elmolo *má-*, Oromo (Wellega) *mū* ‘not’ (cf. also Yaaku *-meá-* ‘dispense with’), S.: Iraqw *ma* ‘do not!’; Omot. N.: Yemsa *miyo*

<sup>10</sup> The forms below are not marked (syn.), since their functions are differently distributed in most cases.

- 'ban, prohibition', S.: Hamer *m-* 'not, no', *-ma* 'no', Ongota *ma-* (...-ʔi) 'not' (ADB; EDE III 13–14).
- (5) Tna. (*ʔay...*) *n*; Cha. *an-* // < Sem. \**ʔayn-* '(there) is not': Akk. *yaʔnu*, *yānu* 'is not', Ugr. *ʔin*, Hbr. *ʔēn* 'there is no', *ʔayin* 'non-existence; nothing' (HALOT 41–42), Cha. *enā*, Gyeto *enā-tā*, Eža, Masqan, Gogot *ennā* 'there is not' (LGur 54).
- < Afras.: \**ʔayn-* (< \**ʔay-n?*) ~ \**nay-* (< \**n-ʔay?*): Eyp. (Pyr.) *n* 'not' (Coptic *n-*), (NE) (*bn ...*) *in* 'not' (Coptic *an*); Chad. W.: Zakshi, Zangwai *nai*, Tala *nú*, Juu *nu* 'not', C.: Bana *nyáà*, Malgwa *ḡa* 'no'; E. Cush.: Afar (*ma...*) *-in*, Saho (*mā...*) *-in* 'not', LEC: Somali (*má...*) *-in*, Dase-nech *-ḡ*, *-an*, Konso *in* (...*u*), (?) Yaaku *ḡʔinin* 'no' (< \**ʔinin?*); N. Omot.: Wolaita *gid-ēnna* (*gid-* 'be'), Kullo, Gofa *gid-enna*, Chara *an-*, Yemsa *ainē* 'not' (ADB; cf. ND No. 48).
- Common Semitic \**ʔa/ul*.  
Common Semitic \**laʔ*.

### 63. ONE

- (1) Akk. *ʔištēn m.*, *ištāt f.* // < Sem. \**ʔišt(-Vn/t)-* 'one; eleven': Ugr. (DUL 190) *ʔšt(y)* 'one' (less common than *ʔahd*), *ʔšt ʔšr(h)*, Hbr. *ʔaštē ʔāšar* (HALOT 898) 'eleven', Min. *ʔsīt* id. (LM 15), Qat. *ʔsīt-n-m* 'one' (Ricks 125).
- Sem. \**ʔišt(-Vn/t)-* < \**ʔišt-t-* (with a fossilized \*-t suffix) continues Afras. \**ʔis-n/t-* 'one' (with *-n* masculine and *-t* feminine suffixes?): Chad. \**say/w(-t)-* (met.): W.: Hausa *sāu* 'times' (*sau uku* 'three times'), Angas *šii*, Goemai *ʃà* id. (or < Hausa), Guruntum *ša* 'one' (St. 2009 #38a), C.: Mafa *sátá-ḡ* 'one' (id. 111), Podoko *sayə* 'seul'; Ouldeme *sáy* 'sauf, seulement', E.: Mokilko *sò* 'one; suffix of singularity'; N. Omot. \**is-ta/na* 'one': Wolaita *issō*, *istā*, *issinō*, Gamo, Dorze, Cancha *issino*, Dawro *itta* (assim. < \**ista*), Zala *ista*, Dache *isiyno*, Chara *issá*, Yemsa *isa*, *isson*, Dizi (Nayi) *isn*, etc. (ADB).
- (2) Ugr. *ʔahd*; Hbr. *ʔāhad*; Pho. (Pun.) *ʔhd*; Bib. *ḡad*; Pal. *ḡad*; Syr. *ḡad-*; Mnd. *had*; Urm. *ḡad-*; Qur. *wāhid-*; Leb. *wəḡad*; Mec. *wāhid*; Mlt. *wiḡet*; Sab. *ʔhd*; Gez. *ʔahadu*; Tna. *ḡadä*; Tgr. *ḡatte f.* (*woro m.*); Amh. *and*; Arg. *hand*; Gaf. *əžžä*; Sod. *at(t)*; Har. *aḡad*; Wol. *add*; Cha. *at* // < Sem. \*(*ʔ/wa-*)*ḡad-* 'one, single, alone, united': Akk. *wēdu* 'single, sole, alone' (CDA 438), Hbr. *yḡd* 'to be united' (HALOT 405), Arb. *wḡd* 'to be alone' (ibid.), Gez. *wāḡad* 'unique, only, one' (LGz 609; Gez. *wēḡda* 'to be few', quoted in HALOT 405 as *wēḡda*, is a different root), Mhr. *wəḡáyd* 'alone, solitary, liking to be on one's own' (JM 425; Hrs. *wāḡid* 'one (in telling time)' in JH 135, is an Arabism), Jib. *aḡdi* 'by oneself, all alone', š-*ēḡad* 'to unite' (JJ 289), etc. (cf. DRS 831–2; in Kog. LE n. 68, the MSA forms "are likely borrowed from Arab.", which is debatable, especially in view of Soq.), Soq. *ḡōd* 'couple (homme et femme)' (LS 166 with no etymology, but both phonetically and semantically — as 'union' — fairly fitting).
- < Afras. \*(*ʔ/wa-*)*ḡad-* 'one': Chad. \**daHw/y-* ~ \**waHid-* 'one': W.: Hausa *ḡáyá* (< \**daH-*), Karekare *wáḡi*, *ʔwáḡi* (< \**H<sup>w</sup>ad-*), C.: Munjuk *ḡaw*, Nzangi *hidō*, Bachama *hido*, Bata *hido*, Musgu *deu*, *day*, Zime-Batna *ḡáo*, *ḡāuʔ*, Masa *deu* (cf. also Logone *səy-díá*), E.: \**ka-yiḡ-* (*ka-* 'head'): Dangla *kì-ḡá*, Migama *ká-ḡyì*, Birgit *key-do*; (?) E. Cush.: Yaaku *wēḡe*, *wēḡetu* (< \**wVḡVd-*, with hypercorrection in *wēḡe*, where *-t* was perceived as a feminine suffix and dropped?).
- (3) Hrs. *ḡād* (m.), *ḡāt* (f.); Mhr. *ḡāt* (m.; LS 199 quotes *ḡad*), *ḡáy* (f.; same in LS); Jib. *ḡād* (m.), *ḡit* (f.) (JM 406); Soq. *ḡad* (m.), *ḡey* (f.) (LS 199) // An enigmatic term. Beside an isolated Qat. *ḡd* 'one' (Ricks 77), this looks like a loan from some early stage of MSA, the only hypothetical parallel I could find is Arb. *ḡuʔan* (< \**ḡwʔ*) 'quelqu'un' (BK 2 116).<sup>11</sup>
- Common West Semitic \*(*ʔ/wa-*)*ḡad-* (#2).

<sup>11</sup> If this comparison is acceptable, the MSA term should be analyzed as \**ḡay-/ḡay-t*, with an unexpected voicing \**-t* > *-d*, perhaps a dissimilation due to the complete incompatibility of *ḡ* and *t* as root consonants in

## 64. PERSON

(1) Akk. *ʔawīlu* // No plausible Sem. parallels.

- The only tenable Afras. etymology (for a similar semantic shift v., e.g., MAN Nos. 3, 7, 10) is (*Ha*)*wil-* ‘child’ (ADB); Brb.: Nefusa *illi*, Ahaggar *ul-ət*, E. Numidian *wl-t* ‘daughter’ (cf. Zenaga *iž* ‘man’ < \**Hil*, unless < \**Hill-* ‘to be, exist’); Chad. W.: Bokkos *ʔál*, Sha *hál* ‘child’, E.: Mokilko *ʔúló*, Somrai *wīl* ‘child’; Cush. E.: Afar *il(i)mo* ‘bastard’ (with suffixed *-m*), LEC: Somali *wi(i)l* ‘boy’, *wáláal* ‘brother; sister’, Boni *wēel* ‘child’, Rendille *walal* ‘brother’, HEC: Sidamo, Kambatta *il-* ‘to give birth’, S.: Asa *ille-to* ‘daughter’; N. Omot.: Dorze *yelo(?)* ‘boy’, Koyra *yelē* ‘child’, *yel-* ‘be born’, Male *às-éll-ó* ‘person female’.

(2) Ugr. *bnš* (*bu-nu-šu* < *bn nš*); Hbr. *ʔānōš*; Bib. (*bar-*)*ʔānāš*; Pal. *brnš*, *ʔānāš*; Syr. *bar-(?)nāš-*; Mnd. (*a*)*nāš-*, *barnāša*; Urm. *barnāš-*; Qur. *ʔinsān-*; Leb. *ʔinsēn*; Sab. *ʔns<sub>1</sub>* // < Sem. \*(*bin-/bar-*)*ʔi/a-nāš-* (v. Afras. cognates in MAN No.5).

(3) Pho. *ʔdm*<sup>12</sup> // also ‘man, someone’ < Sem. \**ʔadam-*: Akk. *adamu* ‘an important, noble person’ (CAD *a1* 95: LL), ‘eine Person’ (AHw. 10), Ugr. *ʔadm* ‘man, mankind’ (DUL 17); Hbr. *ʔādām* ‘mankind, people; individual man; Adam’ (HALOT 14), Sab. *ʔdm*, *ʔdwm-t*, *ʔdym* ‘vassals, servants, adepts’ (SD 2), Qat. *ʔdm* ‘men, people; subjects, vassals (of a king, etc.)’ (Ricks 5), Arb. (Daṭ., Ḥḍr.) *ʔawādim* ‘people, mankind’,<sup>13</sup> Jib. *bīrdém* (JJ 27)<sup>14</sup> (v. Mil. SE 238–9; ADB).

- Perhaps < Afras. \*(*ʔa-*)*dam-* kin, family member(s)’ (ADB):<sup>15</sup> Chad. W.: Mupun *adâm* (pl. *dande*) ‘legitimate child’, C.: Podoko *dama* ‘brother, sister’, Cuvok *dēm* ‘daughter’, *dāmà*

MSA. While *ʔ* and *d* are also incompatible in continental MSA (with the exception of \**ʔad-*), there are at least two more cases of *ʔ* and *d* in one and the same root in Soq., perhaps reflecting the proto-MSA (in)compatibility pattern: *ʔādah* ‘dos’ and *ʔādi* ‘provision’ (LS 199). In view of this, somewhat far-fetched reasoning, one may surmise that the Proto-MSA masculine form was \**ʔā-t*, with the singulative suffix *-t*, later perceived as the second radical, incompatible with the first one, and thus voiced, whereas the feminine form \**ʔay* acquired the feminine suffix *-t* in “Proto-Continental” MSA (after the separation of Soq.), which was then duly perceived as a suffix and, hence, was not subject to the root consonants’ incompatibility pattern.

<sup>12</sup> I realize, of course, that it is highly conventional to ascribe such differences in meaning as ‘person’ vs. ‘man’ to the terms under discussion in languages where they are scarcely attested, like Pho, Ugr. or Sab.

<sup>13</sup> Both are *pluralia tantum* from the unattested singular form \**ʔadam-* and may as well continue the common Semitic term, since they do not look like loanwords either from classical Arb., where the plural ‘men, people’ is expressed by the word combination *banū ʔadam-* ‘sons of Adam’, or from the quoted ESA forms with somewhat different semantics, or from Hbr. *ʔādām*. While Class. Arb. *ʔadam-* ‘Adam, forefather of mankind’ (BK 1 20) is more likely borrowed from or influenced by the Hbr. word, it is not necessarily so for *ʔadamiyy-* ‘human’ (ibid.). The same can be said about Gez. *ʔaddām* ‘Adam’ and *ʔaddāmāwi* ‘human’ (LGz 7). There are also Tna. *ʔaddam* ‘humanity, mankind, everybody’ and Tgr. *ʔaddam* ‘people, men’ (pl. *ʔaddamatat* ‘crowds of men’, *ʔaddemay* ‘little man’ LH 384), whose meaning and collective plural make the possibility of borrowing from Arb. or Gez. very doubtful.

<sup>14</sup> The first stem of this compound form, *bīr*, casts certain doubts on the possibility of direct borrowing from Arb. (cf. the Omanic Arb. *bin ʔadam-*) with the reinterpretation and replacement of the first component by its Jib. equivalent. The alternative, though less likely, is that the term is inherited from Proto-Semitic. Note that rendering of the notion ‘man, person, human being’ by the compound word with the first component ‘son’ goes back to a much earlier period (see #2) than the beginning of Arabic influence on MSA.

<sup>15</sup> Not quite solid because of its scarce representation in Afras., yet this etymology still seems more tenable to me than various alternative etymologies of Sem. \**ʔadam-* (for them and their parallels in other Afras. see Mil. SE 249–252). Interestingly, there is another, better represented Afras. root, presumably related to or contaminated with this one, namely \*(*ʔ*)*dm* ‘to participate, join, be part of an aggregate/clan, comprise a whole’ (ibid.; ADB): Sem.: Akk. (Ass.) *adāmu* ‘to own a share in a common fund’ (CAD *a1* 95), *admūtu* ‘share in a common enterprise’ (ibid. 128), Arb. *ʔdm* ‘to join, aggregate; reconcile; integrate someone into one’s clan’, Gez. *ʔadamdama* (redupl.) ‘to go together (army)’ (LGz 133); Egyp. (OK) *dmy* ‘to join, be attached to so.’, (MK) *s-dmy* (caus.) ‘to attach (of family attachment)’, (NK) *dmy* ‘to share with so. (joy, crops)’; Chad. W.: Tangale *dom* ‘to collect, put together’, Boghom *dume* ‘to gather’ (cf. perhaps also Hausa *doma* ‘to urge smb. to an evil course’), C.: Zeghwana *ḍamme* ‘together’, *ba*



- ‘sister’, Sukun *dām* ‘daughter; female’, E.: Bidiya *nii-dimo*, pl. *mii-dime* ‘boy’; (?) S. Cush.: Asa *daʔam-ok* (with metathesis, if belonging here) ‘elder, married man’.
- (4) Hbr. *ʔiš* (syn.); Sab. *ʔs<sub>1</sub>* (syn.) // < Sem. \**ʔiš-* (v. MAN No. 3).
- (5) Pal. *g<sup>e</sup>har*; Urm. (both syn.) *gabr-* // v. MAN No. 4.
- (6) Mec. *šaḥṣ* // Class. Arb. *šaḥṣ-* ‘personne, individu’ (BK 1 1202). A rare root composition of radicals leaves only one possible etymology, namely, < Sem. \**š<sub>x</sub>ḥṣ*<sup>16</sup> ‘to be high, great, lofty (> haughty)’: Arb. *šḥṣ* (a) ‘è. el e<sup>é</sup> s’éléver’, *šḥṣ* (u) ‘è. grand, gros’, *šaḥṣ-* ‘grand, gros, considerable, marquant (homme, personnage); seigneur, maître’ (BK 1 1202),<sup>17</sup> Hbr. (hapax in Job 28:8) *šāḥaṣ* ‘size, pride’ (HALOT 1463), pB. *šaḥaṣ* ‘pride, conceit’, *šḥṣ* (pi.) ‘to strut’, (hitp.) ‘to hold oneself aloof’, Jud. *šaḥṣ-* ‘pride’ (ibid.), Gez. *šaḥṣa* (with irregular *ḥ*, which must be a scribe’s error) ‘be insolent, arrogant, insult, offend, etc.’ (LGz 528).
- (7) Gez. *bəʔas-i* // also ‘man, male, husband, someone’ (v. MAN No. 7).
- (8) Tna. *sāb*; Amh. *sāw*; Arg. *su*; Gaf. *sāwā*; Sod. *sāb*; Har. *usuʔ*; Wol. *sāb*; Cha. *sāb* // v. MAN No. 9.
- (9) Mhr. *naḥs*; Jib. *naḥs* // ‘person, individual’ (probably influenced by rather than borrowed from Arb.<sup>18</sup>) < Sem. \**nap(i)š-* ‘soul; vitality, life; person, personality; self’ (related to \**npš* ‘to breathe’, cf. SED I Verbal Roots # 46, 47)
- With Afras. parallels, some of which, however, may be loans from Sem. (ADB): Brb.: Izayan *unfus*, Ahaggar *unfas* ‘respiration’, Ayr *anfas*, E. Tawllemmet *infas* ‘respiration; vie’, Semlal *sūnefs* ‘respirer’, etc.;<sup>19</sup> Chad. W.: Hausa *númfāasaa*, *lúmfāasaa* ‘breathe; take a rest’, Bokkos *lafos*, Sha *lufwos*, Daffo-Butura *naḥos* ‘breathe’ (St. 2005 #390a), C. (met.): Mofu *-sāfn-*, Musgu *súmfa*, Munjuk *sinfi* ‘to breathe’ (St. 2009 #65)<sup>20</sup>; Cush. C.: Aungi *nefes-an* ‘blow’, E.: Saho *naḥse* ‘breathing’ (both likely < Eth.), LEC: Boni *neefso* ‘breathe’, Rendille *nefs’i* ‘breath’, *nefsó*, *nefs’-áda* ‘breathe’ (hardly < Amh.)<sup>21</sup>
- (10) Soq. *ḥay* (Kogan MS: *ḥéyhi*) // the original meaning likely being ‘(the) living (one)’ < Sem. \**ḥwy* ‘to live’ (v. in HALOT 309, LGz 252).
- < Afras. \**ḥayVw-* ‘live, be born, give birth to’ (ADB): Brb. \**Hiway* ‘be born’: Ayr *ahw*, E. Tawllemmet *ahw* (*āṣaho* ‘native of’), Ahaggar *iwi*; Chad. \**Hay-* (if < \**ḥay-*, unless < \**hay-*): C.: Tera *hya*, Margi *iyà*, Higi *iḥya*, Matakam *ya*, etc. ‘give birth’, E.: Somrai *yá*, Kabalai *yàyə*

*dómme*, Nakatsa *bà dómà* ‘all’; Cush. C.: Khamir *edem*, *yedem* (< \**ʔadam-*?) ‘to invite to a feast’, E.: Afar *adm-is*, LEC: Oromo (*h*)*adama*, Arbore *ʔadam-is*, Dasenech *adam-* ‘to hunt’ (as a collective action?), HEC: Hadiya *dumm-* ‘to gather (of people)’, *dumm-ičča* ‘gathering of elders’, S.: Iraqw *dam-* ‘to copulate’.

<sup>16</sup> \**š<sub>x</sub>* (instead of \**š*) is tentatively reconstructed on the basis of the correspondence Arb. *š* ~ Hbr. *š* ~ MSA \**š* (on \**š<sub>x</sub>* see, e.g., SED I XCVIII-CV). While Sem. \**š* continues Afras. \**č*, Sem. \**š<sub>x</sub>* reflects Afras. \**š*.

<sup>17</sup> According to Lane’s explanation, “it is applied... to a body, or material substance, composed, [not simple,] and having height... or any body, or material thing or substance, [that is somewhat high, and conspicuous, or] having height and appearance... Then used as signifying A man himself; a man’s self, or person.” (Lane 1517).

<sup>18</sup> This assumption is sustained by two arguments: (1) in both languages, the root *nfs* with related verbal meanings (e.g. Mhr. *antafūs*, Jib. *antfēs* ‘to be safely delivered (of a child)’, Mhr. *ša-nfūs*, Jib. *ša-nfēs* ‘to welcome so.’, Jib. *antfēs* ‘to sigh’, etc.) is well represented, (2) the root is widely represented in all Sem. and MSA languages (on this argument for interpreting a term as inherited rather than borrowed see SED I LIV). It is an unsettled problem in lexicostatistics: should one eliminate such cases from the scores or give them the same score as the “influencing term” in another language?

<sup>19</sup> The form of the Brb. words and their wide attestation are arguments against borrowing from Arb., although it cannot be ruled out completely.

<sup>20</sup> Considering these forms to be derivatives with *-n/-m-* suffixation from \**sVf-* ‘to breathe’, which is debatable.

<sup>21</sup> Heine (SAM 1978 70) compares the Boni and Rendille forms with Somali *neef* and Boni *nēf*, which is improbable.

- ‘give birth’, Mokilko *ʔéʔiyó* ‘birth’; Cush. N.: (?) Beja *haay-* ‘live’ (acc. to LGz, < Eth.), E.: Saho, Afar *hay* id. (acc. to LGz, < Eth.), HEC: Hadiya *heeʔ-*, Kambatta *heʔ-*, Burji *ye-d* ‘live’.<sup>22</sup>
- ◇ Mlt. *persūna*, most probably < Italian; Tgr. *nāfār* < Arb.; Hrs. *benēdem*, Mhr. *menēdem* (syn.) < Omanic Arb. *bin ʔādam* (JH 18).
- Common West Semitic *\*(bin-/bar-)?i-naš-* (#2)

## 65. RAIN

- (1) Akk. *zunnu*; Sab. *ḏnm*; Gez. *zanām*; Tna. *zanam*, *zanab*; Tgr. *zalam*; Amh. *zanab*; Arg. *zanab*; Gaf. *zanab*<sup>wā</sup>; Sod. *zanab*; Har. *zanāb*; Wol. *zalam*; Cha. *zarab* // < Sem. *\*ḏun(a)m-* (DRS 336) with phonetic variations due to low compatibility of *-n-* and *-m-*.
- < Afras. *\*ǰVn(-Vm)-* ~ *\*ǰVm(-Vn)-*: (?) Brb. *\*-Zam-* (if *\*Z-* < *\*ǰ-*): Ahaggar *tî-ham-t*, Ayr *ti-sam-t*, E. Tawllemmet *ti-šam-t* ‘réservoir artificiel’; C. Chad.: Bana *nzámá* ‘pleuvoir’, Gude *nzama* ‘rain’, Podoko *nžúme* ‘soak’, Sukun *žimun* ‘first rains season’ (acc. to St. 2009 < *\*(n-ǰVm-)*).
- (2) Ugr. *mṭr*; Hbr. *māṭār*; Pal. *mṭr*; Syr. *meṭr-*; Mnd. *miṭr-*; Urm. *miṭr-*; Qur. *maṭar-*; Mec. *maṭar* // < Sem. *\*miṭar-*: Akk. *miṭirtu*, *miṭru* ‘watercourse, canal; a type of irrigation’ (CDA 213).
- Comparable, with a fossilized prefix *m-*, to several scarce terms possibly allowing to reconstruct Afras. *\*(mi-)ṭar(ar)-* (ADB): Brb.: Ahaggar *e-ḏrer* ‘sprinkle’; etc.; Chad. W.: Hausa *tàrarà* ‘drip or pour out’, Jimi *taari* ‘flow’, E.: Migama *tárró* ‘water flow’; E. Cush.: LEC: Somali *ḏarar* ‘dripping’ (note a coincidence of two radical *-r* in most of the forms).<sup>23</sup>
- (3) Hbr. *gāšām* (syn.) // < Sem. *\*gašm* ~ *\*šgm* ‘rain; pour’: Ugr. *gšm* ‘rain, downpour’ (DUL 310; Kog. Ug-Can 24 and n. 68), Syr. *\*šegm-* (in *šegmē dā-meṭrā* ‘magni imbres’ Brock. 755), Arb. *sšm* ‘couler (se dit des larmes)’, IV ‘verser (les larmes, la pluie)’ (BK 1 1055), Tna. *gāssāmā* ‘to drink a lot, to quench one’s thirst’ (Kog. Ug-Can. 25).
- (4) Leb. *šitā*; Mlt. *šita* // Class. Arb. *šitāʔ-*, *šatwat-*, *šātāt-* ‘hiver’, *ʔaš-šatāwiyy-* ‘pluie d’hiver’ (BK 1 1190) < Sem. *\*šitawʔ-* ‘rainy, windy season’: Akk. *šūtu* ‘south; south wind’ (CAD š<sub>3</sub> 408–9), Hbr. *sātāw* (*s-* instead of the expected *\*š-* suggests a loan from Arm.) ‘rainy season, winter’ (hapax in Song 2:11), Old Arm. *štw*, Syr. *satw-*, Jud., Mnd. *sitw-* ib. (all in HALOT 770–71), Mhr. *šētaw*, Jib. *šéteʔ* ‘winter’, Soq. *šētā* ‘north, north wind’ (JM 387; Arabisms are likely in Mhr. and Jib., but less so in Soq. because of the meaning difference), etc.
- (5) Tna. *may* (syn.) // < Sem. *\*maʔ/y-* ‘water’ (v. WATER No. 1).
- (6) Hrs. *me-lsēn*; Mhr. *ma-lsi*; Jib. *mó-sé*; Soq. *me-se*<sup>24</sup> // < Sem. *\*liš(IVš)-* ‘efflux, outflow’: pB Hbr. *lišlūšāt* ‘secretion, chicken’s dirt, spittle’ (Ja. 720), Jud. *lišlūšāt-* ‘foam (of nostrils)’ (ibid.), Syr. *lišlūš* ‘mucus’ (Brock. 371).
- (7) Hrs. *reḥemet*; Mhr. *reḥemét*; Jib. *raḥmēt* (all syn.) // Considered a metaphor < Sem. *\*rḥm* ‘to be merciful, kind’ < Sem. *\*raḥ(i)m-/riḥim-* ‘womb’ (SED I No. 231).
- ◇ No term in Pho. and Bib.
- Common North and West (Eth.) Semitic *\*ḏun(a)m-* (#1).  
Common West Semitic *\*miṭar-* (#2).

## 66. RED

- (1) Akk. *sāmu* // ‘red’ (CAD s 126), ‘rot, braun’ (AHw 1019); represents a rare case of a sibilant rendered by the SA SI SU series, regarded by Goetze as a separate Sem. phoneme *\*s<sub>x</sub>* re-

<sup>22</sup> According to EDE III 656, Eyp. (Pyr.) *ḥw* ‘food’ may be cognate with Sem. *\*ḥyw* ~ *\*ḥwy* ‘to live’; that source quotes are direct Afras. parallels to the Eyp. root: E. Chad.: Somrai *hàye*, Ndam *āy* ‘food’; S. Cush.: Asa *haiu-g* id.

<sup>23</sup> For alternative, less tenable interpretations see EDE III 737–8.

<sup>24</sup> Also *lí(y)soh* ‘pleuvoir’ (compared in LS 234 with Arb. *lṭy* ‘è. mouillé, humecté’ with an irregular correspondence between the second radicals: Arb. *ṭ* corresponds to Soq. *t*).

flected in Hbr. as both š and š̂ (v. discussion in Bulakh. Akk. 7–8). In spite of the irregular reflexation of \*š as s in Akk (it should be š, though several more cases of this irregularity have been encountered), it was compared by Bulakh (ibid.) to Ugr. *šmt* denoting red color and, alternatively, after Goetze, to Hbr. *šōham* denoting some precious stone (note that Akk. *sāmtu* is ‘a red stone, mostly designating carnelian’ CAD s 121, likely derived from *sāmu*, cf. AHW 1019). Another parallel for Akk. *sāmu*, now with regular correspondences, is Arb. *saḥm*- ‘noir’ (BK 1 1063), with both going back to Sem. \**saḥm*- ‘red, black’.

- Both options, for a Sem. root with \*š- (with a problematic second radical) and for \**saḥm*- have possible parallels in C. Chad. \**sVm-sVm*- (St. 2009 #287) ‘yellow’ (otherwise < \**cVm-cVm*- as, according to Stolbova ibid. 7, none of these languages distinguish between the reflexes of Chadic \*s- and \*c-):<sup>25</sup> Boka *šummaà*, Hildi *mī-šišimā*, Gude *šišima*, Zelgwa *sisim sisim*, and C. Cush. \**šaman*- ‘black’ (according to CDA 34, derivatives of \**cam*-): Qwara, Kemant *šāmāna*, Falasha *čamana* or *šamana*. Note also S. Cush. \**ce?am*-: Iraqw *ce?ama* ‘sun’, Qwadza *ce?ema* ‘bile’ (acc. to HRSC 355, < ‘yellow’; compared with Akk. *siāmu*, *sāmu* ‘rot, braun s.’ in Tak 2001 3), which is compatible with the Akk. root, but neither with Sem. \*š- nor with \**saḥm*-.
- (2) Ugr. *šdm*;<sup>26</sup> Hbr. *šādōm*; Cha. *dämyät* // < Sem. \*(?a-)dam- ‘dark red’: Akk. *da?mu* (met.?) ‘dark-colored, dark-red’ (CAD d 74 < *da?āmu* ‘become dark’ ibid. 1)<sup>27</sup>, (?) Sab. *šdmhy* (v. discussion in Bulakh Hbr. 200–201), Arb. *šudmat*- ‘red color’ (Blachère 63), *dmm* ‘teindre en rouge’ (BK 1 728), Gez. *šaddāmāwi* ‘red’ (LGz 8), Tna. *dama* ‘blackish (horse’s coat)’ (Kane T 2061), Amh. *dama* ‘dark red (horse’s coat)’ (Kane A 1720), Har. *dāma* ‘brown, of dark color (man)’ (LHar 56), Zway *diimä* ‘red’.<sup>28</sup>
- < Afras. \*(?a-)dVm- ~ \**dī?m*- ‘(dark) red’ (ADB): Brb. \**-dVm(dVm)*-: Tamazight *adəmman* ‘brown, bronze coloured’, Shilh *adəmmani* ‘brown, bronze coloured’ (N-Z 343), Qabyle *ddəmdə* ‘violet’; Egyp.(OK) *šdmy* ‘red linen cloth’; Cush. C.: Aungi *dāmmā*, Kunfāl *demé* ‘red’, E.: Saho *duma* ‘red’, LEC: Oromo *diima?*, Konso *tīm*- ‘red’, HEC: Darasa *duu?mo* ‘red’, Darasa *diimma* ‘become red’, S.: Qwadza *dimayi*- ‘red’; Omot. N.: Kafa *damme* ‘red’, S.: On-gota *dama?ta* ‘yellow’. Probably related to Afras. \**dam*- (with a variant stem \**?a-dam*- in some Sem.) ‘blood’ (ADB), as early as on the pre-Proto-Afras. level.
- (3) Pal. *swmḵ*, *symwḵ*, *smwḵ*; Syr. *sūmāk*-, *summāk*- (also ‘sumac’ Brock. 482); Mnd. *sumāk*;- Urm. *səmuḵ*- // < Sem. \**sumāk*-. Cf. Arb. *sumāk*- ‘ce qui est pur, franc, sans mélange’ (BK 1 1141) and Akk. *sameka*, a plant (CAD s 114). Otherwise, could be compared with Arb. *šašmaḵ*- ‘écume mêlée de sang que jette un chameau’ (BK 1 1271), then < Sem. \**šumāk*- ‘red(dish)’ (see Bulakh Dis.)

<sup>25</sup> This root is equated (ibid.) with \**sVm-sVm*- ‘kind of tree with yellow fruit or bark’, containing Mafa *šéšém*- that points to \*s-, but it can alternatively go back to Afras. \**simah*- ‘kind of tree, bush’ (ADB), perhaps having taken the ‘yellow’ element in some of the forms due to contamination.

<sup>26</sup> The verb ‘become red’; for the meaning cf. Kog. Ugr.-Can. 10: “the supporting evidence is more etymological than contextual”. Both these factors probably demand the elimination of this Ugr. form from the final scoring.

<sup>27</sup> For an alternative etymology < \**dhm* see Bulakh Akk. 198.

<sup>28</sup> According to Bulakh Hbr. 201–2, where my equation of the Gur. forms with this root is doubted because “the first laryngeal (or any traces of it) [are] missing” (cf., however, the Tna and Amh. terms, Akk. *da?mu* and Arb. *dmm*) and “in view of the fact that a plausible Cushitic etymology can be suggested for these terms” (which is a weak argument *per se*), all Mod. Eth. forms are borrowed from E. Cush.: Darasa *diimmo* ‘lean meat, red’, Sidamo *daama* ‘red’, Afar *dum* ‘finster, dunkel werden’, Oromo *diimaa* ‘red, red-brown; raw’ (Burji *duwawaa* ‘red’, stereotypically equated with this root, is not related because \**-m*- does not normally yield Burji *-w-* and because it has a different, and quite plausible, Afras. etymology). Though the borrowing into Mod. Eth. from E. Cush. (and *vice versa*) is not impossible, I am still inclined to count this as common inheritance in view of wide distribution both in Sem. and Cush.

- (4) Qur. *ḥumr*- (pl.); Leb. Mec. Mlt. *aḥmar*, (?) Sab. *ḥmrt* ‘red’ (SD 68; syn.) // < Sem. \**ḥumr*- ‘red’: Akk. *ummuru* ‘a kind of bronze’ (CDA 422: LL), ‘eine besonders geläuterte Bronze’ (AHw. 1417), (?) Ugr. *ḥmr* ‘red, reddish’ (DUL 364; v. Kog. Ug.-Sem. 12), Hbr. *ḥmr* (poʕalʕal) ‘to glow’ (HALOT 330; hapax in Job 16:16), Jud. *ḥammār* ‘dark’ (Ja. 480), Mnd. *ḥmr* ‘to be red, inflamed’ (DM 150), Gez. *ḥamr* ‘kind of color, complexion’, *ḥamar* ‘red berry’ (LGz. 234), Tna. *ḥamra* ‘reddish (bovine coat)’, *ḥamray* ‘reddish, bay, auburn’ (Kane T 172), Tgr. *ḥamār* ‘red-brown (horse, cow)’ (LH 384), Amh. *ḥamār* ‘reddish bay (horse)’ (Kane A 7), *amār* ‘bay (horse)’ (ibid. 1122).<sup>29</sup>
- (5) Gez. *kayyih*; Tna. *kāyyih*; Tgr. *kāyāh*; Amh. *kāyy*; Arg. *kāyyāh*, *kāy*; Gaf. *kāyā*; Har. *kēh* // < Sem. \**kayh*- ‘light red, rose’: (?) Akk. *kū* (*gū*) ‘copper, bronze’ (CAD k 291), Jud. *kəḥāl*- ‘faint-colored, gray (?)’ (Ja. 1345), Arb. *kuḥḥ*- ‘pur, franc, sans mélange (en parlant des boissons); non mûr (en parlant d’une qualité, d’une vertu, d’un vice, etc.)’ (BK 2 677), *kayh*- ‘pus (qui n’est pas mêlé de sang)’ (ibid. 844), (?) Ḥḍr. *kyh* ‘red (applied to bronze)’ (v. Bulakh Gez. 740–41).
- For possible Afras. parallels see either (1) Eyp. (BD) *khy* ‘moon’ and Chad. \**kVy/wVH*- ‘moon’ (in St. 2011 #181, adducing Eyp. *khy* as a possible cognate): W.: Duwai *kíyà*, C. \**kíy*-. Mofu *kíyà*, Gisiga, Matakam *kíyà*, Buduma *kyèá*, etc., E.: W. Dangla *kóyè*, Migama *kóoyò*, Bidiyo *koya* (all reflecting Eyp.-Chad. \**kVyh*-, and, if related with Sem., allowing to reconstruct Afras. \**kayh*- ‘moonlight’), or, more problematic, (2) Omot. \**ʔak*- (< \**Hal/ik*-?): N.: Kafa, Mocha *aaʔo*, Anfillo *ʔaako*, Bworo *aaʔa* ‘black’, S.: Hamar *ʔek* ‘green’ (ADB).<sup>30</sup>
- (6) Tgr. *ʔala* (syn.) // (in LH 606) < Sem. \**ʔl*? ‘to be spotty, have red and white spots’ (cf. Bulakh Dis.): Tna. *ʔala* ‘ashen white (ox’s coat); light brown (cow’s coat)’ (Kane T 2398), *čelay* ‘fawn-colored, tawny, beige (lion’s, ox’s coat)’ (ibid. 2495), Amh. *ʔala* ‘red marks on cotton bolls caused by insects’, *ʔalāt* ‘white fleck in the eye, cataract; skin disease which makes dark red scabs and spots’ (Kane A 2087), Hbr. *ʔālūʔ* (part. pass., qal) ‘spotted (sheep), multicoloured (pillows), patched (shoes)’ (HALOT 375), Arb. *ʔullāʔ* ‘sang’ (BK 2 104), Mhr. *ʔālū* ‘to paint, colour, daub; to colour (the face), make up’ (JM 410), Jib. *ʔélé* ‘id.’ (JJ 278), Soq. *ʔal* ‘queue blanche d’un mouton’ (LS 203).
- (7) Hrs. *ʔáfer*; Mhr. *ʔōfār* (*ʔófār*); Jib. *ʔófār*; Soq. *ʔáfer* // Very likely < Sem. \**ʔapar*- ‘dust, soil’: Akk. *ep(e)ru* ‘dust; earth, loose earth; territory, soil; etc.’ (CAD e 184), Ugr. *ʔpr* ‘dust; earth, ground’ (DUL 174), Hbr. *ʔapār* ‘dust’ (HALOT 861–2), Arb. *ʔafar*-, *ʔafr*- ‘terre, poussière’; *ʔufrat*- ‘couleur grisâtre de poussière’, *ʔaʕfar*- ‘rougeâtre mêlé; sable rougeâtre’ (BK 2 298), Tgr. *ʔāfār* ‘dust, desert’ (LH 492), etc.
- ◇ Sod. *bəšša*; Wol. *bušä*; Cha. *bəša* < E. Cush.: Hadiya *bišo* ‘brown’, Sidamo *biša* ‘red’, Afar *bisu*, Oromo *bifa* ‘color’ (LGur. 161, v. in Bulakh Dis.). No term in Pho. and Bib.
- Common West Semitic: \**ʔadam*- (#2).

## 67. ROAD

- (1) Akk. *ḥarrānu* // < *ḥarr-ānu* (Oakk. on; acc. to CAD h 106, possibly connected with Hurrian *hari*). Judging by lack of visible parallels with *h*- (except for Ugr. *hrn* ‘gang, caravan’ DUL

<sup>29</sup> Bulakh (Bulakh Dis.) critically analyzes all Sem. examples given above, placing under doubt the correctness of some of the interpretations, connecting them with red color (in Akk., Ugr., Hbr., Arm. and Gez.), and treating others (Mod. Eth.) as Arabisms; she admits, however, that some of the forms originate from Sem. \**ḥumr* ‘to be swollen, inflamed (of inner and outer organs)’ with a semantic development toward ‘to be reddened’ (ibid.).

<sup>30</sup> In the latter comparison, as in some others, the problem of consonantal correspondences worries me more than that of semantic differences: variance in color names, even such remote ones as ‘red’ and ‘black’, in presumably or evidently the same roots, is surprisingly common in various branches of Afras., and, naturally, even more so in Proto-Afras. roots.



- 405 which looks, with its suffix *-n*, very much like a loan from Akk. *ḥarrānu*, where the meanings ‘caravan’, ‘raid’ and ‘army’ clearly derive from ‘road’; for this reason, the comparison of Ugr. *ḥrn* with Gez. *ḥarā* ‘army, troops’ < Sem. *ḥVr-* (with various triconsonantizers) ‘free’ (LGz 240–41), considered in Kog Ugr.-Sem. 20 “semantically more suitable”, is untenable. Presumably another case of Akk. *ḥ* < *\*ḥ* (v. #5), then < Sem. *\*ḥarr-* ~ *\*ḥaw(a)r-*: Arb. *ḥarat-* ‘quarter of a city’ (orig. ‘road’?), *ḥwr* ‘to return’, Gez. *ḥurat* ‘course, walking’, *ḥora* ‘to go, proceed, depart’, Har. *ḥāra* ‘to go’, etc. (v. LGz 249, DRS 851).
- < Afras. *\*ḥa(w)r-*: Egypt. (Pyr.) *ḥry* ‘go far from, move away’, *ḥr-t* ‘road’; E. Chad. *\*Har-* ‘go’: Nanchere *āre*, Gabri *ōre*, Kabalai *ārrà*, Dormo *erauá*; E. Cush.: HEC: Sidamo *hár* ‘to go’ (ADB).
  - (2) Akk. *girru* (syn.) // From OB on (CAD g 90) < Sem. *\*gi/arr-* ‘path’ (possibly the one leading to a watercourse): Arb. *ḡarrat-* ‘chemin, sentier qui conduit à l’eau’, *ḡārūr-* ‘cours d’eau, canal’ (BK 1 272; cf. *ḡry* ‘run, flow’ *ibid.* 284), Hrs. *gerō* ‘run (blood, water)’, Mhr. *gerō* ‘to pass’, (JH 41), (?) Soq. *le-ger* ‘à travers’ (cf. DRS 191–2, where these forms are united with others, hardly related, like ‘rumination’, ‘rond’, ‘tírer’ or ‘soumettre’).
  - < Afras. *\*gaw/yr-* ‘walk, run, come and go’ (ADB): Brb. *\*gVwVr-* ‘to walk’: Nefusa, Senhadja *ugur*, Rif *uḡur*, Mzab *iḡur* (also ‘flow’), Shawiya *ugir*, etc.; Chad. *\*gVr-* ‘to go, come, run’ (cf. Stolb. 2011 #674): W.: Dera *gur-* ‘come out’, C.: Tera *gīri* ‘return’, Logone *gār-* ‘go into’, Banana *gwəra* ‘follow’, E.: Somrai *gār* ‘come’, E. Dangla *ógiré* ‘go by’, Nanchere *gúr*, Dormo *geré*, Kaba *gó-gira*, Mubi *ḡgira* ‘to run’; Cush. N.: Beja *agir* ‘to return’, E.: (?) LEC: Oromo *gora* ‘turn off (towards)’, HEC: Hadiya *geer* ‘run’.
  - (3) Ugr. *ntb(-t)* // glossed ‘path, way’ in DUL 651. Restrictedly attested, with very limited attestation in other Sem. as well: Hbr. *nātib* ‘pathway’ (poet.), *nātibā*, Jud. *nātibat-* ‘path’ (HALOT 732; the Jud. form seems a borrowing from Hbr.).
  - There are curious parallels (or look-alikes) in Chad. W: Mangas *nədap*, Kir *ladāap*, Jimi *təboo*, Zeem *topəi*, Dokshi *tuup*, Tule *təbò*, C.: Fali-Kiria *ladāp* ‘road’, E.: Migama *təbbò* ‘walk’, probably implying Common Chad. *\*n/la-tVb-* ‘road’ (ADB).
  - (4) Hbr. *dārāk*; Pho. *drk* // < Sem. *\*drk* ‘(quickly) follow/tread a path, walk’: Akk. *darāku* ‘to follow (?)’, *darku*, *derku* ‘following, later’ (CDA 56–7), Hbr. *drk* ‘to tread, travel’, Pho., Syr., Mnd. *drk* ‘to walk’, Old Arm. *drk* ‘to walk to, enter’, Arb. *drk* ‘attain, reach, come up with’ (Lane 833), Sab. *h-drk* ‘pursue, catch up with’, (?) Gez. *daraka* ‘be well-trodden’, *madrak* ‘doorway, etc.’ (cf. LGz 142, HALOT 231–2, DRS 313–14),<sup>31</sup> Gur. (*tä*)*drakātä* ‘hurry, rush’ (LGur 220), Mhr. *dārōk* ‘come quickly to help’ (JM 73), Jib. *dórók* ‘to rescue’ (JJ 41).
  - Without Afras. parallels (not taking into account a casual W. Chad. one: Diri *dirki* ‘road’); interestingly, although inexplicably, has partial similarity, perhaps fortuitous, to (1) Afras. *\*da(H)r-* ‘way, road’ (ADB): Sem.: Arb. *darar-* ‘the right course or direction of a road’ (Lane 864; unless < *drr* ‘to flow, stream abundantly’ *ibid.* 862; cf. DRS 319); W. Chad. *\*dVHVr-* ~ *\*dVrVH-* ‘road’ (a widely spread term); E. Cush.: Yaaku *dar* ‘way, road’; (2) Sem. *\*darag-* ‘path’: Akk. *daragg-*, Arb. *daraḡ-* (etc. — cf. DRS 308); (3) (?) Afras. *\*darb-* ‘road’ (see #7).
  - (5) Bib. *ṯarḥā*; Pal. *ṯwrḥ*; Syr. *ṯurḥ-*; Mnd. *ṯuhr-*; Urm. *ṯūrəḥ-* // < Sem. *\*ṯurḥ-* ‘way, road’: Akk. *urḥu* ‘way’, Hbr. *ṯōrah* ‘way’ (rare), Soq. *ṯērah* ‘come, arrive’. Reconstructed as *\*urḥ-* in DRS 32 (omitting *ṯ-*, misprint?), where Gez. *marḥa* ‘montrer le chemin’ is quoted with a question mark (v. LGz. 358 with cognates in other Eth.), pointing, unless there has been a scribe error, to *\*mrḥ*, not *\*mrḥ*; since the comparison seems valid, Sem. *\*ṯurḥ-* is to be re-

<sup>31</sup> In all these sources, especially in DRS, several more forms meaning ‘power’ or ‘be hard, cruel’ or ‘press, oppress’ are quoted, with a non-trivial semantic shift; they certainly do not represent the basic meaning and should perhaps be attributed to a homonymous Sem. root.

- constructed rather than \*ʔurh- (the semantic connection with Sab. ʔrh ‘affair, matter, undertaking’ SD 7, compared by some authors, is far from evident).<sup>32</sup>
- (6) Qur. *ṭarīḳ-*; Leb. *ṭarīḳ-*; Mec. *ṭariyg*; Mlt. *triʔ* // The coincidence with *ṭarīḳ-* ‘étoile du matin’ < Sem. \*ʔtarVḳ- ‘night luminary’ (v. MOON No. 5) is probably not accidental (cf. *ṭrk* ‘venir de nuit; faire une sortie de nuit, etc.’ BK 2 75). If so, the original meaning is to be reconstructed as something like ‘road used in the night time’. Cf., however, Akk. (SB) *tarqu* ‘path’ (quoted in CAD d 108 as a variant of *daraggu*), which, if it reflects phonetic reality, can be < \*ʔarḳ- due to incompatibility of two emphatic radicals in Akk.; otherwise, Arb. *ṭarīḳ-* can be < \*tarīḳ-, with assimilation.
- (7) Leb. *darab* (syn.) // Class. Arb. *darb-* (acc. to Lane, not a word of Arabic origin)<sup>33</sup> ‘any place of entrance, narrow pass, gate, by-street (> street)’ (Lane 866–7), Syr *darb-* ‘road, way’.
- Possible Afras. parallels (ADB): Brb. \**-barid* (metathesis?) ‘road’: Ahaggar *ā-barid*, Ghat *a-barid*, Ghadames *a-brīd*, Izdeg, Seghrushen, Mzab *a-brīd*, Shawiya, Qabyle *a-brīd*, Nefusa *brīd*, etc. (compared in Bla Om 68.4 with disparate Omot., Cush. and Chad. terms, which are, furthermore, not cognate with each other) and C. Chad.: Logone *dārbā* (< Arab?), Buduma *turbo* ‘road’; Cush. E.: (?) Oromo *darabaa* ‘enclosure’ (if it fits semantically; N.: Beja *darib*, C.: Bilin *dārib*, E.: Saho, Afar *darib* ‘road’ must be Arabisms).
- (8) Sab. *ms<sub>1</sub>b* // also ‘way, watercourse’ (SD 122) < *s<sub>1</sub>b*? ‘to carry out an undertaking (e.g. military expedition, journey, etc.)’ < Sem. \**sb?* ~ \**sbsb* ~ \**sbb* ‘walk, go, come’ : Arb. *sbsb* ‘walk slowly’, *subʔat-* ‘long voyage’, *ma-sbaʔ-* ‘chemin’ (BK 1 1040; borrowing of the latter form from Sab. is not to be ruled out), Tgr. *šbb* ‘to come’.
- With parallels in Chad. W.: Diri *səbū-* ‘to go’, Warji *səmbə* ‘come in’, Tangale *simbe* ‘meet’, C.: Bura *šiva* ‘come to the compound’, Hildi *sabi* ‘to exit’, Daba *sub* ‘follow’, Gude *saba* ‘drive away’, E.: Somrai *səba* ‘walk (n.)’ (Stol 2009 #39; ADB).
- (9) Gez. *fənot* // < *fnw* ‘to send, send away, off, forth’ < Sem.: Akk. *panû* ‘to turn towards; go in front’, Hbr. *pānā* ‘to turn to one side, head in a particular direction’ (HALOT 937), Arb. *finn* ‘to drive (camels)’, Tgr. *fāna* ‘to depart’, Soq. *fini* ‘go forward’, etc. (v. LGz 163).
- (10) Gez. *ma-ngad* (syn.); Tna. *mā-gādd-i*; Amh. *mā-ngād* // < Eth. \**nagada* ‘go on a journey, travel, trade’ (LGz 390–91, LGur. 453); if < \**na-gad-*, probably related to Arb. *žāddat-* ‘grand route, chemin large, route royale’ (BK 1 261; unless < *ždd* ‘ê. considérable, respectable’ ibid. 259), cf. also Sab. *gwd* ‘swift riding beast’ (SD 51).
- Cf. W. Chad.: Bade *əgdədū* ‘ferry across’, Duwai *əgdo* ‘ford a river’ (in St. 2011 #492a); E. Cush.: Afar *giddā* (RAf; *gita* PH), LEC: Somali *jid* (< \**gid-*) ‘road’; N. Omot.: Wolaita, Kullo *ged-īya* ‘road’ (all these forms may be loans from Arb. *žāddat-*, though the difference in vocalism is notable). Cf. also Chad. W.: Hausa *gūdū* ‘flee, run away’, C.: Mbuko *gad*, Muy *gudu-gudu* ‘running’ (cf. *ngad* ‘go back’), E.: Sokoro *gedē* ‘run, escape’, Ubi *gədín*, Mawa *gədan*, W. Dangla *gədə*, Bidiyo *gad* ‘run’ (St. 2011 #479). Cf. ADB.
- (11) Tgr. *gābāy* // (LH 585). Most likely, a semantic shift (cf. the same shift in a reverse direction in Egyp. *w<sup>2</sup>-t* ‘road, side’ below) from *gābo* ‘side’ (ibid. 582) < Sem.: Syr. *gabb-*, Arb. *žanb-*, Mhr. *ganb* ‘side’ (v. SED I No. 85 \**ga(n)b-* ‘side; beside; back; body’).

<sup>32</sup> To which probably belongs Arb. *rwḥ* ‘aller, s’en aller, partir, s’eloigner’, whose other meaning ‘faire quelque chose le soir; voyager le soir’ (BK 1 945) may then be due to contamination with the main semantics of that Arb. root, namely ‘evening, night’ = ‘time of (pleasant) wind, breeze’ (cf. *rwḥ* ‘to be a cool and pleasant day because of the wind’ quoted in HALOT 1196 after Lane), or ‘time of (easy) breathing (after a hot day)’ < Sem. \**raw/yḥ-* ‘(pleasant) wind, breeze, (easy) breathing, rest’, all of these meanings being distributed among various Sem. languages (cf. ibid.).

<sup>33</sup> If Lane is right, this is a borrowing from Syr., and the Leb. term should be eliminated from scoring.

- < Afras. \**gab-* ‘side, beside, nearby, on the other side’: Eyp. (Westcar) *gb?* ‘side of a room’; Chad. W.: Hausa *gāba* ‘across, on the other side of’, Dwot *gāp* ‘side’, C.: Higi-Baza *gōbio*, Musgu *gubbi*, *gobi*, Masa *gob* ‘nearby’; Cush. N.: Beja *gāb*, *geb* ‘side’, *geb* ‘by, near’, C.: Bilin *gāba* ‘side (of body)’, Khamir *gaba* ‘side’, E.: Afar *gabbe* ‘side (of back)’, LEC.: Konso, Gidole *kapa* (< \**gab-*) ‘next to, near, beside’, HEC: Burji *gāb-a*, Dullay: Harso, Dihina *kapa* (< \**gab-*) ‘side’ (v. ADB, EDE I 223, Bla. Review 501).
- (11) Arg. *hema*, *hayəma*; Cha. *ema* // < S. Eth. \**haym-*, likely related to Arb. *hmy* ‘errer çà et là, errer à l’aventure (se dit d’un troupeau)’ (BK 2 1450); *yahmā?* ‘desert sans aucune signe à l’aide duquel un voyageur puisse s’orienter et où il périclité facilement’ (ibid. 1637).
- Very likely < Afras. \**haym-* ‘walk, come and go’ (ADB): Eyp. (ME) *ihm* ‘go slowly’; Chad. W.: Karekare *yim-* ‘return’, C.: Tera, Ga’anda *ayim-si*, Boka *yim-si* ‘enter’, E.: Migama *ḡòòmò* ‘go out’; Cush. E.: HEC: Sidamo *ham-* ‘walk’, S.: Iraqw *-hiḡim-it-* id.; N. Omot.: Wolaita *ham-ett-*, Zaise, Chara *hām-*, Kafa *ham(m)-*, Anfillo *ham-*, Bworo (*h*)*aam-*, Gimirra (Bench) *hamu*, Dizi (Sheko) (*h*)*am* ‘walk’.
- (12) Sod. *moča* // According to LGur 672 and LGz 606, < Sem. \**wṣ?* ‘go out’.
- (13) Hrs. *wōrem*; Mhr. *ḡūrum*; Jib. *ḡorm*; Soq. *ḡórim* // Arb. *ḡirm-*, *ḡarūmat-* ‘(grosse) pierre destinée à indiquer le chemin dans le desert’ (BK 1 26) < Sem. \**u/irm-*.
- With the fossilized suffix *-m*, presumably < Afras. \**war-* ~ \**iraw-* ‘road’ (ADB; cf. Bla. Om # 68.3): Eyp. (Pyr.) *wṣ-t* ‘road; street; side’ (Copt. \**wāḡiy-at* Vyc. 231); Chad. \**ḡar-* ~ \**war-* ‘road’: W.: Mupun *ár(è)*, Sura *ár*, Angas *ar*, Ankwe *war*, Kulere *ḡáraw*, E.: Bidiya *ḡóorà*; Kajakse *irí*, Mawa *ar* ‘road’; Cush. E.: HEC: Darasa *ora* ‘road’, S.: Iraqw *irwā*, Alagwa, Gorowa *uruwa* ‘path, way’; N. Omot.: Kafa *wore-tō* ‘way, street’, Mocha *wora-to*, Bworo *wéera* ‘road’.<sup>34</sup>
- ◇ Gaf. *māyā* is considered a loan from Oromo *meya* id. in LGaf 218 (but not in LGur 441, where the comment is “also in Ga. *meya*”); Har. *ūga*; Wol. *ungä* (together with Selti *ungä*, Zway *ūngä*) ‘road, way’ are, according to LGur 60, “from Cushitic” (what most Afrasianists, including the present author, now call Omotic): Haruro, Wolaita *ogē*, Badditu *ogge*, Janjero *wugnā*.
- No common Semitic.

## 68. ROOT

- (1) Akk. *šuršu*; Ugr. *šrš*; Hbr. *šōrāš*; Pho. *šrš*; Bib. *šōrēš*; Pal. *šrš*, Syr. *šerš-*; Mnd. *širš-*; Leb. *širāš*; Gez. *šarw*; Tna. *sur*; Amh. *sər*; Arg. *šarit*, *sər*; Gaf. *sər*; Sod. *sər*; Har. *sər*; Wol. *sər*; Cha. *äsər* // < Sem. \**š<sub>x</sub>Vrš-* (dissim. < \**š<sub>x</sub>Vrš<sub>x</sub>Vr-*?)<sup>35</sup> ~ \**Šur-*.<sup>36</sup>
- Cf. the main common Chad. term for ‘root’ \**čVHVrV* ~ \**čVrVHV* (reconstructed in a different conventional notation in St. 2011 #287), likely related to the Sem. one, but not without problems in correspondences (cf. ibid. p. 11). Cf. also Proto-Agaw (C. Cush.) \**sər-* id., which, according to CDA 116, “clearly looks like a borrowing from EthSem”.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. EDE I 54: Eyp. (translated as ‘way’), W. and C. Chad., Gorowa. Cf. Nostratic \**ḡur(H)V* ‘road’.

<sup>35</sup> For \**š<sub>x</sub>* see footnote 16 above.

<sup>36</sup> An interesting, if controversial, case is the reflexation of this root in Class. Arb.: on the one hand, there is *širš-* ‘root’, quoted after Dozy in LGz 535 with the comment “does not give the impression of being an original Arabic root” (a borrowing from Syr.?); on the other hand, there are *šaras-* ‘plante à épines’ (BK 1 1214) and *širs-* ‘small, thorny trees; growing in depressed tracts, and in the deserts’ (Lane 1532), both quoted by Leslau (LGz 535) after Schwally, who connects these terms with Hbr. *šōrāš*, assuming the basic meaning to be ‘knotty, gnarled’ > ‘root’. The comparison seems valid, but the explanation may be different: many desert thorny plants have markedly long roots and could be named after this feature.

- (2) Pal. *fykr* (syn.); Syr. *ḫēkār-* (syn.); Urm. *ḫīkr-* // < Sem. *\*ḫīk(k)ār-* ‘root; medicine’: Arb. *ḫaḫkār-* ‘simple, racine, plante aromatique’, Soq. *ḫēkre* ‘shoot, sprout’, etc. (v. in SED I No. 20 comment on p. 22).
- (3) Qur. *ḫaṣl-* // also ‘the lower part of a thing (bottom or foot)’, *ḫsl* ‘have root or foundation, grow and become firm in its root (tree), etc.’ (Lane 64) most likely < Sem. *\*ḫ/wṣl* ‘join together, be firmly rooted, be linked with’, presumably having evolved into terms with such diverse meanings as *\*waṣil-* ‘joint, articulation’ (SED I 289) and *\*ḫaṣil/al-* ‘(noble) origin’ (cf. DRS 30).
- Cf. a few possible, though scarce, parallels in Chad. *\*ḫVI-* ‘string’ (St. 2009 #747): W.: Angas *sāl* ‘tree sp., strings are made of fibre of its bark’, Bolewa *coli* ‘rope’, C.: Mwulien *saalu* id.
- (4) Mec. *ḫīrk*; Mlt. *(gh)eru?*; Hrs. *ḫarḫ*; Mhr. *ḫarḫ*; Jib. *ḫarḫ* // in Hrs. and Mhr. also ‘artery, sinew, nerve’ < Sem. *\*ḫa/irḫ-* ‘tendon, muscle, vein, nerf; root’: Arb. *ḫīrk-* ‘veine (dans le corps des animaux et dans les végétaux)’, Tgr. *ḫārāk* ‘tendon, nerf’, etc. (v. in SED I No. 20). Probably related, with metathesis, to *\*ḫīk(k)ār-* (No. 2) on the pre-Proto-Sem. level.
- (5) Mec. *ḫizir* (syn.) // Class. Arb. *ḫazar-* ‘carrot; a certain root, which is eaten’ (Lane 419), Syr. *gezār-* ‘radish’, Mnd. *gizar* ‘carrot’ (DRS 111 2) < Arm.-Arb. *\*gizar-* ‘root vegetable’ (or a chain of borrowings from Persian, cf. Brock. 113, in which case Mec. *ḫizir* is to be eliminated from the scoring).
- (6) Tgr. *ḫard* // I have not been able to find any parallels whatsoever.
- (7) Jib. *ḫīrḫ* (syn.); Soq. *ḫērah* // Soq. also *ḫērah-hinīten* (pl.) ‘jet, rejeton’ (LS 434). More likely related to than borrowed from Arb. *ḫarḫ-* ‘racine (de toute chose); produi annuel de chameaux en petits; postérité, enfants’, *ḫrḫ* ‘grandir; av. grandi (jeune homme), pousser (dent)’ (BK 1 1213). The basic meaning of this MSA-Arb. term appears to be ‘root shooting out sprouts, suckers; to grow from the root’;<sup>37</sup> formally it is different from Sem. *\*ḫ<sub>x</sub>Vrṣ-* ~ *\*ḫ<sub>u</sub>r-* (#1), unless it acquired *\*ḫ* due to some undetected contamination (no matter how tempting it could be to relate the two roots).<sup>38</sup>
- Cf. C. Chad.: Biu-Mandara *\*ḫḫaray* ‘root’ (different notation in St. 2011 #287). Note that if *\*H* in Chad. *\*ḫVHVrV* ~ *\*ḫVrVHV* (#1) can reflect *\*ḫ*, it may be compared to this root instead of Sem. *\*ḫ<sub>x</sub>Vrṣ-* ~ *\*ḫ<sub>u</sub>r-*.
- (8) Jib. (syn.) *ḫéd* // also ‘vein, artery, nerve, sinew’ (JJ 70) < Sem. *\*gīd-* ‘sinew, nerve’ (SED I No. 72).
- Cf. N. Cush.: Beja *gadām* ‘root’.
- ◇ No term in Sab.
- Common North and West Semitic *\*ḫ<sub>x</sub>Vrṣ-* ~ *\*ḫ<sub>u</sub>r-* (#1).  
Common South and West Semitic (Arb.) *\*ḫa/irḫ-* (#5)

## 69. ROUND

- (1) Akk. *garru* // < Sem. *\*gar(gVr)-*: Arb. *ḫrḫ* ‘tourner en cercle (p. ex., un bague trop grand pour le doigt)’ (BK 274), Gez. *ḫan-gargara* ‘to wallow, revolve, roll, spin, drive round, etc.’, *nagargar* ‘rolling, spinning, epilepsy’, Tgr. *ḫangärgärä* ‘to roll, wallow’, etc. (LGz 202).
- < Afras. *\*gVr(gVr)-*: Chad. *\*gV(Vw)r-* ‘round; to roll’ (St. 2011 #710): W.: Hausa *gàrà* ‘roll any circular object’, Ngas *gwaar*, Guruntum *ḫgòori* ‘round’, *gwoori* ‘circle’, C.: Mada *ḫgwààr* ‘round’, E.: Sokoro *gúgergúger* ‘turn around’, Birgit *gèrgèrí* ‘se retourner’, etc.; E. Cush.:

<sup>37</sup> For the semantic shift cf. in No. 2 Soq. *ḫēkre* ‘shoot, sprout’ < Sem. *\*ḫīk(k)ār-* ‘root’.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. SED I No. 268 comment on p. 240, where Soq. *ḫērah* is “likely < *\*ḫrḫ*”, which is wrong in the light of Jib. and Arb. cognates).



- Saho *gur, gargar* ‘to roll’ (LGz 202; Leslau also compares Somali *girāngir* ‘wheel’), (?) Yaaku *-gorgorsi?* (< \**-gorgor-si?* -*si* is not clear) ‘round’; N. Omot.: Bworo *gúra* id. (ADB).
- (2) Hbr. *ṯāgōl*; Soq. *gāṯlhel* // I prefer to treat the Soq. term, which has no visible direct parallels,<sup>39</sup> as the result of a metathesis in Sem. \**ṯgl* (which, on the contrary, should rather be scored on the Semitic level differently from Aram. \**gll* < Sem. \**g<sup>w</sup>VlVI*- #3, to which it is likely to eventually go back with \**ṯ*- added on the Proto-Sem. level): Jud. *ṯgl* ‘to be round’ (Ja 1041), Syr. *ṯgl* (pa.) ‘volvit’ (Brock 510), Gez. *ṯagala* ‘to surround with a wall, etc.’ (LGz 59), Tgr. *ṯāggälä* ‘to put in a circle’ (LH 487).
- (3) Syr. *gālil*-; Urm. *gālül*- // Sem. \**g<sup>w</sup>VlVI*-: Akk. *galālu*, Hbr. *gll* ‘to roll’, Arb. *ḡwl* ‘aller, tourner, voltiger en circle’ (BK 1 358), *ḡullat*-, *ḡallat*-, *ḡillat*- ‘boule de fiente’ (ibid. 308), Tgr. *gälälä*, Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ällälä* ‘tournoyer’ (DRS 125), etc.
- < Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>VlVI*- ‘round’ (ADB; cf. EDE III 816–20): Brb.: Ahaggar *ḡalall-at*, Ayr *galall-at* ‘to be round’, Adghaq *a-g<sup>w</sup>ilalləw-an* ‘round’, etc.; Chad. W.: Hausa *gùlulù* ‘ball (of earth, cotton)’, Ngas *gwaal* ‘small lumps or balls’, Bolewa *golgol* ‘small and round’, C.: Mofu *-ḡgāḡgāl*- ‘to make a ball’, Logone *ḡgoló* ‘round’, E.: Lele *ḡililì* ‘round’, Mokilko *ḡüllä* ‘boule (de farine)’ (St. 2011 # 597, 597b).<sup>40</sup>
- (4) Mnd. *kulul*- // < Sem. \**k<sup>w</sup>VlVI*-: Arb. *ḡiklil*- ‘chair autour de la naissance des ongles; nuage qui semble entouré d’une légère enveloppe’ (BK 2 919; also ‘crown’, presumably from Arm. from Akk. *kalilu*, which is, anyway, likely related to this root — v. LGz 283), Gez. *kallala* ‘to surround, encircle’, *ḡank<sup>w</sup>alala* ‘to roll, etc.’, Tgr. *källa* ‘to go around’, *kälkäla* ‘encircle’, Tna. *k<sup>w</sup>ällälä* ‘to go around’, Amh. *källälä* ‘surround, crown’ (LGz 283).
- < Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>VI*-: Chad. W.: Angas *kool* ‘crooked, not straight’, Bolewa *kòðoloki* ‘hoe handle with curved end’, Ngamo *kùlè* ‘bowleggedness’, C.: Mulwi *kālā* ‘circular’, E.: Kajaksa *koolo* ‘hump’, etc. (St. 2011 #191); (?) Cush. N.: Beja *kwalāl* ‘round’ (< Eth.?), C.: Bilin *kaläl*, E.: Saho *kulel* ‘circle’ (both < Eth., acc. to LGz 283), LEC: Oromo *kallee* ‘egg’ (ADB).
- (5) Leb. *m-dawar*; Mec. *mu-dawwar*; Hrs. *me-dawwer*; Mhr. *mə-dāwwər* // Because of the diversity of non-derived forms, hardly an Arabism in MSA (though Arb. influence in the forms with *m*- cannot be ruled out): Hrs. *dōr* ‘to go round’, *dawr* ‘turn’ (JH 26), Mhr. *dawr* ‘turn’, *dōr* ‘to wander around’ (JM 76), Jib. *dēr* ‘to wander around’ (JJ 42) < Sem. \**dwr*: Ugr. *dr* ‘to surround (?)’, *dr* ‘circle (of relatives and friends); cycle, generation’ (DUL 279), Hbr. *dūr* (hapax) ‘to stack in circles’ (HALOT 217), Arb. *dwr* ‘aller tout autour, tourner’ (BK 1 747), *dārat*- ‘cercle; halo’ (ibid. 748), Tgr. *dorä* ‘go around’, *dəwar* ‘circle’ (LH 536; an Arabism?).
- With scarce parallels in E. Chad.: Kabalai *wəðdərə* ‘turn’, Migama *kā-dārdirò* ‘turn around’ and C. Cush.: Aungi *dərdər* ‘turn, rotate’ (ADB).
- (6) Gez. *kəbb*; Tna. *kəbib*; Tgr. *kəbib*, *kəbub*; Amh. *kəbb*; Sod. *kəbb*; Wol. *kub*; Cha. *kəb* // < Sem.: Hbr. pB. *kirkeb* ‘to encircle’ (with secondary insertion of *-r*-), Arb. *kubbat*- ‘ball, ball of thread, lump’, *kəbkāb*- ‘ball of thread’ (LGz 273 after Dozy), *kbb* II ‘to form into a ball’ (ibid.), etc.
- (7) Tna. (syn.) *ḡən-kəbləl* // < N. Eth.: Tna. *k<sup>w</sup>äblälä* ‘to stroll about’, Tgr. (*tə*)*käblälä* ‘to roll while falling’ (LGz 274); probably connected with Sem. \**kabl*- ‘hook, ring, shackle, fetter’ (v. LGz 274); otherwise < \**kVb-l*- with a root extension *-l* (v. Mil. RE 115–118)..
- (8) Har. *dulālu* // *andölälä* ‘make round’, with reduction of *-b-* to vowel < Eth. \**dbll* ~ \**dblbl* ‘be round’ (LGur 196) < Sem. \**dVbVI*- ‘round’: Ugr. *dblt*, Hbr. *dəbēlā*, Syr. *dəbalt*-, Hrs. *debelet*

<sup>39</sup> A formally impeccable parallel, however, may be Arb. *ḡuṯ(a)l*- ‘scarabée, fouille-merde’ (BK 1 301); dung beetles are noted for rolling dung into spherical balls (cf. Arb. *ḡu/a/illat*- ‘boule de fiente’ in #3).

<sup>40</sup> Probably further related are Afras. \**g<sup>(w)</sup>VI*- ‘egg’ and/or \**gVI(gVI)*- ‘head; skull’ (ADB; for Chad. \**gVI*- ‘skull’ see St. 2011 #597a).

- ‘cake of figs’ (cf. DRS 209), Arb. *dublat-* ‘boulette, tout ce qui est formé en boule’ (BK 1 668).
- Most likely, related to Egyp. (Pyr) *dbn* ‘be round’, (OK) ‘ring, round box’ (if *-n* < *\*-l*). There is also N. Cush.: Beja *debāl* ‘round’ (ADB), looking quite like an Ethiopism, although I have been unable to detect an exactly similar-looking source term in Eth.
  - (9) Jib. *ḥalkét* // < Sem. (less likely an Arabism in MSA): Mhr. *ḥōlāk* ‘to circle in the air’, *ḥewkāt* ‘circle, ring’, Soq. *ḥālḳəḥ* ‘hook, ear-ring’ (JM 178), Arb. *ḥalkat-* ‘ring of metal’, *ḥlk* II ‘to draw a circle’, Gez. *ḥalaḳa* ‘to become, grow round’, etc. (LGz 230). This Sem. root is probably related to Sem. *\*ḥalk-* ‘Adam’s apple, throat’ (SED I No. 117).
  - ◇ Mlt. *tont* very likely < Ital. *tondo*. No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Arg. and Gaf.
  - Common South and West Semitic *\*ḥagl-* ~ *\*gaḥl-* (# 2).

## 70. SAND

- (1) Akk. *bāṣu* // < Sem. *\*bVṣ-*: Hbr. *bōṣ* ‘silt’, *biṣṣā* ‘waterlogged ground’, Pal. *bṣyn* ‘marsh’, Arb. *baḍḍat-* ‘waterlogged ground’ (HALOT 147 after Bauer; neither in Lane nor in BK), *bḍḍ* ‘have little water (well, source)’ (Lane 213).
- (2) Hbr. *ḥōl*; Pal. *ḥāl*; Syr. *ḥāl-*; Mnd. *hal-* // < Sem. *\*ḥawl-*: Arb. *ḥāl-* ‘terre mêlée de sable, boue noire, vase’ (DRS 846).
- (3) Qur. *raml-*; Leb. *raməl*; Mec. *ramal*; Mlt. *rāmel* // Perceived as an isolated Arb. term; cf., however, Sab. *rml* ‘building sand?’ (SD 117), Gez. *ramal* ‘sand’ (acc. to LGz 471, < Arb.). There are also Hrs. *remlēṭ*, Mhr. *rəmlēt*, Jib. *rēl* ‘sand’, apparently Arabisms, if not for a nuance that causes certain doubts: the apparently denominal verbs in MSA are Mhr. *rátmal* ‘to be covered with sand’, Jib. *rōl* ‘to roll in the dust, to lie in wait’ and Soq. *rémol* ‘to lie hidden, crouch down’ (JM 327; ‘s’étendre’ in LS 401 with the following comment: “est peut-être un dénominatif de *ramal-* ‘sable’; le verbe aurait le sens ‘se coucher sur le sable’”; for the semantic connection see No. 9 below). The nuance is that there is no corresponding noun meaning ‘sand’ in Soq., whereas the verb in Soq. is obviously connected with at least the one in Jib. This is difficult to explain other than by suspecting that the former is an inherited word, which may cast some new light on the status of the MSA noun.
- (4) Gez. *ḥoṣā*; Tna. *ḥuṣa*; Tgr. *ḥəṣā* // < Sem. *\*ḥ/hVṣ-* ‘sand, gravel’: Akk. *ḥiṣṣu* ‘rubble, gravel’ (CAD ḥ 204), Hbr. *ḥāṣāṣ* ‘pebble, gravel’, Arb. *ḥaṣaṣ* ‘cailloux’, *ḥiṣḥiṣ-* (redupl.) ‘terre; pierres’, etc. (v. LGz 266, DRS 908).
  - Perhaps < Afras. *\*qas/ç-*<sup>41</sup> ‘hard sand’ (ADB): Chad. W.: Hausa *ḳásá* ‘earth, soil’, Boghom *kāas* ‘earth’, C: Malgwa *késa* ‘sand’, Cuvok *kóskò* ‘sable aggloméré assez dur’, etc., E.: Nanchere *kəsə* ‘terre’, W. Dangla *kòskò* ‘hard sand’ (St. 2011 #328); C. Cush: Bilin *ḳuṣa* ‘sand’ (App. CDA 118); Omot. N.: Dokka *ḳaḳe*, Kafa *ḳaḳo*, Gimirra (She) *ḳaḳ*, Dizi (Nayi) *ḳaṣa* ‘sand’, Mao (Hozo) *keci* ‘earth’, S.: Galila *ḳaḳ* ‘sand’ (v. Bla. Om # 71.1., Bnd. Om.).
- (5) Amh. *aššāwa*; Arg. *hašawa*; Sod. *ašawa*; Wol. *ašawa*; Cha. *ašawa*; Jib. *ḥāši* // < Sem. *\*ḥašw/y-*: Arb. *ḥisaṣ* ‘puit creusé dans un terrain sablonneux; sol dur recouvert de sable’ (BK 1 429; overlooked both in LGur 102 and DRS 937), Tna *ḥašāwa* ‘sand’ (LGur 102), Hrs. *ḥōhi* ‘ground’, Soq. *ḥóhi* ‘ground’ (JJ 118; both < *\*ḥoṣy-*); as for Jib. *ḥāši*, it is glossed as ‘soil’ in JJ 118, but translated as ‘sand’ in *ḥāši kóds* ‘the sand piled up’ and *ekdés ḥāši* ‘covered with sand’ in JJ 126, while also given in the entry for ‘sand, soil’ in Nak. #780.
  - < Afras. *\*ḥas(a)y-* (ADB): Chad. W.: Ankwe *hēs*, Tala *hēs*, Fyer *hós* (and several other forms without *h-*, perhaps representing a different root), C.: Ngwahyi *hašù* ‘sand’; Cush. N.: Beja

<sup>41</sup> The hypothetical *\*q-* yields Sem. and Egyp. *\*ḥ* vs. *\*ḳ* in other Afras. branches.

- hissay*, *issa* (and *hāš*, which may be an Ethiopism), S.: Iraqw *ḥasam* (< \**ḥas-am*-; v. MQK 49), Qwadza *hasin-ko* ‘sand’.
- (6) Har. *šihšera* // < Mod. Eth.: Zway *šaršara* id., Amh. *šārāšār* ‘kind of red earth’, Tgr. *šāšār* ‘small stone’ (LGur 586). No observable cognates in Sem.
- Cf. also in Cush. C.: Bilin *šašara*, E.: HEC: Hadiya *šaššara* ‘sand’ (LGur 586).
- (7) Har. *sēlāt* (syn.) // Related to (or borrowed from?) Arb. *sihlat*- ‘gros sable que l’eau charrie’ (BK 1 1158). If related, < Sem. \**sihl*- or \**sihl*- (Sem. \**h* > Har. *ḥ* or *∅*).
- < Afras. \**sihl*- ‘sand’: Chad. \**sil*- (in St. 2011 #150, reconstructed as \**sVl*-, but \**i*- seems natural): W.: Tsagu *siliye* ‘fine sand’, C.: Podoko *sasāla* ‘sable’, Malgwa *šiliye* ‘grainy sand, gravel’, E.: Toram *šil* ‘dune’; cf. also C. \**sVγVl*- ‘sand’ (ibid.; \**γ*- points to \**h*-?): Glavda *sáyāla*, Cinene *səyāla*, Mandara *šili*, Nakatsa *siyle* (cf. also Bidiya *ʔisín-silaalà* ‘sable alluvial’ in Jg. Bid., where *ʔisín* is ‘sand’); (?) E. Cush.: Afar *saḥlyta* ‘sand’ (*h*- is expected to render \**ḥ*, not \**h*); N. Omot.: Male *māšala* (< *ma-šal*-?), Dache *siliimo*, Zergulla *silemo* (< *sil-em*-?) ‘sand’ (ADB).
- (8) Hrs. *baṭeḥ* (also ‘soil’), Mhr. *baṭḥ*; Jib. *boṭḥ* (syn.) // Soq. *mbéṭaḥ* ‘coteau’ (LS 85). A borrowing from Arb. (cf. Hdr. *baṭḥa* ‘gros sable’, Dof. *beṭāḥ* ‘Sandtal’ LS 85, Class. Arb. *baṭḥat*- ‘sol déprimé comme le lit d’un torrent à sec couvert des cailloux’ BK 1 135) is unlikely in view of the hardly unrelated Soq. term with a different but compatible meaning and Jib. *bóṭṭaḥ* ‘to lie down on the belly on the soil’ (JJ 30) < Sem. \**bṭḥ* ‘to lie down (on the sand?)’; to spread, extend (of sand?)’ (v. No. 3 for semantic connections and LIE No. 14).
- (9) Soq. *šéme*<sup>42</sup> // The only cognate in Sem. that I was able to unearth is Arb. *šiyām*- ‘dust or earth, soft or uncompact earth’ (Lane 1635). Arb. *š* vs. Soq. *š* implies the reconstruction of the first radical as \**š<sub>x</sub>*- < Afras. \**š*-.
- Cf. scarce possible parallels in Chad. (implying, however, Afras. \**č*-, not \**š*-, cf. St. 2007 8): C.: Gisiga *šimiyew* ‘sand’, E.: Mokilko *sāàmè* ‘uncultivated land, fallow’; Omot. N.: Chara *ámša*, S.: Hamar *šami*, Ari (Bako) *šaami* ‘sand’.
  - ◇ Urm. *sil*- is < Turkish (a curious chance coincidence with No. 7 above). No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Qur., Sab. and Gaf.
- Common South and West Semitic \**ḥašw/y*- (#5).  
(Perhaps also Common South and West Semitic \**raml*- #3).

## 71. SAY

- (1) Akk. *ḫabû* // < Sem. \**ḫ<sup>(w)</sup>Vbb*- ‘say, shout, curse’: Pho. (Punic) *ḫbb* ‘to curse’, Hbr. *ḫbb* ‘to curse, enchant’ (HALOT 1060), Arb. *ḫbb* ‘faire du tapage, du vacarme (se dit de ceux qui sont en rixe)’ (BK 2 656; not compared in HALOT), *ḫbḫb* ‘utter a sound’ (both compared in LGur 468), (?) Tgr. *ḫābbū* ‘despise, abuse, ignore’ (compared in HALOT, but not in LGur.), Amh. *ḫ<sup>w</sup>āba* ‘talkative’, Chaha *ḫ<sup>w</sup>ab amānā*, Eža, Muher *ḫ<sup>w</sup>ab amānnā* ‘produce a sound’ (LGur 468).
- With some parallels in Afras. (ADB): Chad. W. \**kaḫ*- (< \**ḫab*-): Tangale *kebi* ‘to name’, Polchi *kāḫə* ‘to answer’, E.: Ndam *kāba* ‘to talk’; Cush. E.: LEC: Somali *qabqab*- ‘shout’ (n.); (?) N. Omot.: Bworo *kewa* ‘talk’ (Bnd. Om. 172, possibly < \**ḫVb*-, see ibid. 184–5).
- (2) Ugr. *rgm* // also ‘tell, announce, communicate, inform, answer’ (DUL 732) < Sem. \**rgm* ‘to blame, prosecute, curse’ (on the connection with Sem. \**rgm* ‘to stone’ see Maizel 201): Akk. *ragāmu* ‘to shout, prosecute, raise claim’ (CDA 295), Arb. *rǧm* ‘to curse, abuse’, Gez. *ragama* ‘to curse, insult, execrate, excommunicate’, etc. (v. LGz 465).

<sup>42</sup> According to Kogan MS (quoting two more synonyms absent in LA: *taḥk* and *šāḳere*, to none of which I could find parallels in the continental MSA); cf. *šimih* ‘sable de mer’ (LS 418), *šimi* ‘sand’ (the only Soq. term for ‘sand’ adduced in Nac. #780).

- (3) Hbr. *ʔmr*; Pho. *ʔmr*; Bib. *ʔmr*; Pal. *ʔmr*; Syr. *ʔmr*; Mnd. *ʔmr*; Urm. *ʔmr* // < Sem. *\*ʔmr*: Arb. *ʔmr* ‘ordonner’ (BK 1 53), Jib. *ʔōr* ‘to order’, *ʔemr* ‘matter, order’ (JJ 3; unless < Arb.), etc.<sup>43</sup>
- (4) Qur. *kwl*; Leb. *ʔāl*; Mec. *kāl*; Mlt. *āl* // < Sem. *\*kawl-* ‘voice’: Ugr. Pho. *kl*, Hbr. *kōl*, Syr. *kāl-*, Mnd. *kala* ‘voice’, Gez. *kāl* ‘voice; saying, speech; word’, etc. (LGz 426).
- < Afras. *\*kawl-*: Chad. *\*k<sup>w</sup>VI-* ‘to talk, speech’: W.: Angas *kwal* ‘to talk, talking’, E.: Tobanga *kwāl* ‘word, languages, tale, talk’ and *\*kVwVI-* ‘shouting; to call’: W.: Kirfi *k<sup>w</sup>alala* ‘war shouting’, Bolewa *kèlè* ‘greeting’, Bade *kəluwà* ‘shouting’, C.: Fali-Kiria *kəlwə* ‘shout, scream’, Mada *kullar* ‘grand cri’, E.: ‘to call’: E. Dangla *kólé*, Bidiya *kol*, Migama *kólló*, Jegu *kol-*, etc.;<sup>44</sup> Cush. E.: Afar *-kal-* ‘think, say’, HEC: Oromo *qaalii* ‘word’ (likely < Amh.); N. Omot.: Mao (Bambeshi) *kəli*, *koli*, (Diddesa) *kyoli* ‘say, speech’ (ADB).
- (5) Gez. *bəhla*; Tna. *bälä*; Tgr. *bela*; Amh. *alä*; Arg. *ala*; Gaf. *balä*; Sod. *baläm*; Har. *baya*; Wol. *balä*; Cha. *baräm* // < Sem. *\*bhl* ‘to speak, beseech, pray, curse’: Akk. *baʔālu*, *bālu* ‘to pray, beseech’ (CAD b 2), Arb. *bhl* ‘maudire (se dit de Dieu)’, VIII ‘implorer, supplier’ (BK 1 173), etc., Hrs. *behelēt* (JH 16), Mhr. *behlīt*, Jib. *behlēt* ‘word’ (JM 45), etc. (v. LGz 89, DRS 48).
- With scant plausible parallels in W. Chad. *\*biHal-* (ADB): Mupun *byal* ‘vicious, angry, cruel’, Montol *bial* ‘anger’, Tangale *pule* (*p-* may render *\*b-*) ‘to be, become annoyed, angry’.
- (6) Hrs. *ʔāmōr*; Mhr. *ʔamūr*; Jib. *ʔōr*; Soq. *ʔemor* // A difficult case which cannot be immediately equated with Sem. *\*ʔmr* on formal grounds though a semantic contamination is possible. Another meanings in MSA are: Hrs. *ʔāmer* ‘to mend’ (JH 9), Mhr. *ʔāmōr* ‘compose, sing poetry’, *hāmōr* ‘develop, order, repair’ (JM 25), Jib. *ʔōr* ‘to order’, *oʔōr* ‘repair, build’ (JJ 13), Soq.: *ʔémor* ‘faire, remplir, mettre dans, porter’, corresponding to Arb. *ʔmr* ‘become many, become in a state of good repair; cultivate, promote; worship, pray’ (Lane 2154). The only semantics, from which all these diverse meanings could derive seems to be causing to existence or accomplishment by force of magic speech/formula.<sup>45</sup>
- ◇ No term in Sab.
- No Common Semitic.

## 72. SEE

- (1) Akk. *amāru* // < Sem. *\*ʔmr* ‘to see; show, indicate; know’ (v. KNOW No. 6).
- (2) Ugr. *phy* // also ‘espy, look at’, ‘know, recognize’ and ‘visit’ (DUL 667). No direct parallels. In DUL 667 tentatively compared with Akk. (*w*)*apû* ‘to become visible, appear’ (CAD a2 201), which does not work, since the Akk. term is cognate with Ugr. *ypʃ* ‘to leave, depart, appear’, (N) ‘to rise, present oneself’ (DUL 972–3), Hbr. *ypʃ* (hif.) ‘to cause

<sup>43</sup> Joined, both in DRS 23–24 and EDE III 32 (with the comment “the semantic shift “to say” vs. “see”... is widely attested”), with *\*ʔmr* ‘see’, which I prefer to treat as a separate root, although for at least a few forms it is, indeed, hard to decide from which of the two verbs they are derived — perhaps due to contamination. It should be noted that Sem. *\*ʔmr* ‘to see’ has wide Afras. connections (see No. 72 below), while *\*ʔmr* ‘say’ seems to have none, implying the shift “see” > “say”, which I perceive as neither self-evident nor “widely attested”.

<sup>44</sup> In St. 2011 #192 and 192b., where the Chad. root is compared with Sem. *\*kwl* with the comment: “According to R. Blench, there are some words with initial *k-* in Fali Kiriya. All other Chadic languages presented in this issue do not distinguish between Ch *\*k-* and *\*k-*”.

<sup>45</sup> A similar semantic phenomenon, likely rooted in the ancient magic mentality, is the famous association in Semitic between “word”, “matter, affair” and “thing”, cf. Hbr. *dābār* ‘word, matter, affair, (some)thing’ (HALOT 211); Gez. and other Eth. *nagar* ‘speech, word, affair, matter’ (LGz 392); MSA: Hrs. *behel-ēt* (JH 16), Mhr. *behlīt*, Jib. *behlēt* ‘word’ (JM 45) vs. Soq. *bīleh* < *bīhl-eh* ‘chose’ (LS 83).



to shine, to rise, shine forth’, etc. (HALOT 424). The only imaginable, if problematic comparison, made in EDE II 488, is with a bunch of Arb. variant roots: *bʔh*, *ʔbh* ‘porter son attention (sur)’ (DRS 2 and 40), *bhʔ* ‘comprendre; s’habituer à qc.’,<sup>46</sup> *wbh* ‘connaître, faire attention à, avoir soin de’ (DRS 484). However, this comparison is justified only if one accepts the debatable Sem. phoneme *\*p* (see SED I CV-CXVI), which Takács does not seem to accept.

- On two series (with *\*p*- and *\*b*-) of phonetically and semantically problematic Afras. parallels to both Ugr. and Arb. verbs, see EDE II 487–8.
- (3) Ugr. *ʕn* (syn.) // also ‘to look, watch, spy’ (DUL 167). A denominative verb from *\*ʕayn*- ‘eye’ (v. EYE No. 1 in Mil. 2010).
- (4) Hbr. *rʔy*; Qur. *rʔy*; Mlt. *rā*; Sab. *rʔy*; Gez. *rəʔya*; Tna. *rāʔäyā*; Tgr. *rəʔa*; Arg. *re*; Har. *rīʔa* // < Sem. *\*rʔy* ‘to see’ (HALOT 1157, LGz 458–9).
  - < Afras. *\*rayʔ*- ~ *\*ʔayr*- ‘see’: Chad. *\*rayʔ*- ~ *\*ʔayr*- ‘eye’ (St. 2005 #651 and ADB): W.: Kulere *rī(h)*, Jimi *yāra*, Polchi *yir*, Zaar *yīr*, Sayanchi *yīr*, Fyer *yèèr*, etc., C.: Zeghwana *ire*, Gisiga *re*, Musgoy *riya*, Gidar *arā*, Munjuk *aray*, Mbara *rée* ‘face, eyes’, Banana *irā*, Zime-Batna *ʔir* (*rāʔā* ‘stare at’: note metathesis and -ʔ-), etc., E.: Mubi *ir-in* (pl. *ar-an*), Mokilko *ʔēr-sá* (-*sa* is a body-part suffix); Cush. N.: Beja *iray* ‘see’, S. *\*ʔar*- ‘see’: Iraqw *ara*, Alagwa *ar-*, Burunge *ar-im*- (ADB).
- (5) Pho. *hzy*;<sup>47</sup> Bib. *hzy*; Syr. *hzy*; Mnd. *hza*; Urm. *hzy*; Amh. *ayyā*; Arg. *hanʒa*; Gaf. *ažžä*; Sod. *ažžäm*; Wol. *anže*; Cha. *až/šäm* // < Sem. *\*hzy* ‘to see’. In DRS 854 (and, similarly, in HALOT 301), this entry includes Arb. *hzy* ‘partir les oiseaux (pour tirer des augures de leur vol), tirer des augures’, *hāzi* ‘voyant (qui prédit l’avenir), conaaisseur’, whose semantic connections with ‘see’ are less evident than those of Arb. *hzz* III ‘contrôler, examiner, scruter avec le plus grand soin’ (BK 1 418).
  - Note a single, perhaps accidental, parallel in C. Chad.: Matakam *húz*- ‘regarder’ (ADB).
- (6) Pal. *hmy* // < Hbr.-Arm. *\*hmy* ‘to see, watch, beware’: Hbr. *hmy* ‘see’, imp. ‘beware!’ (HALOT 326), Syr. *hmy* ‘vidit; taeduit eum am; omisit’ (Brock. 239) < Sem. *\*hmy* ‘to watch, protect’: Sab *hmy* ‘to protect’ (SD 69), Arb. *hmy* ‘défendre, protéger’ (BK 1 497), Mhr *hōmi* ‘to defend’ (JM 182), etc. (see Kog. Ugr.-Can. #35).
  - Cf. Egyp. (Dem.) *mḥ* ‘see’, Copt. *\*moH*- ‘to look; appearance’ (EDE III 483), perhaps related (not compared with the Sem. root in EDE), with metathesis, to a couple of possible cognates in E. Chad. *\*HamVy*:- Tobanga *āmē* ‘guard’ and Birgit *ʔúm* ‘see’ (ADB).
- (7) Leb. *šēf*; Mec. *šāf* // Class. Arb. *šwf* IV ‘regarder du haut de...; dominer un objet; avoir peur de qn.’, etc., *šayfat*- ‘reconnaissance, détachement de troupes qui observe les mouvements de l’ennemi’ (BK 1 1228) < Sem. *\*šwp* ‘look out, observe, protect’: Sab. *s₂wf* ‘look after, protect, defend’ (SD 136), (?) MSA: Hrs. *me-šwāf* ‘sight (of a gun)’ (LHrs 125, Omani Arb. *mi-šwāf* *ibid.*), Mhr. *me-šwōf* ‘back-sight of a rifle’ (both probably < Omani Arb.), *mā-šāwafāt* ‘protected (tabu) person, thing; protection’ (JM 387; unless a borrowing from an Arb. dialect, implies the verb *\*šwf* ‘protect’), Jib. *šift* ‘front sight of a rifle’ (JJ 257).
- (8) Hrs. *šēni*; Mhr. *šīnī*; Jib. *šīni*; Soq. *šīni* // also Hrs. *šnō* ‘to show’ (LHrs 120), Mhr. *šīnī* ‘to consider’ (JM 381), Soq. *šēnne* ‘montrer’ (LS 431). Cognate with Arb. *šʔn* ‘connaître; s’informer; avoir soin; veiller sur quelque chose’, etc. (BK 1 1179).
  - < Afras. *\*čVnʔ/y*: Egyp. (NE) *šnw* ‘examination, inspection’ (compared in EDE I 130 with the MSA verb); (?) Chad. W.: *\*čVn*:- Chip *len gwe* ‘remember’, Dera *šēnī* ‘remember, re-

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 47, where it is further compared with Sab. *bhʔt*, glossed as ‘enter’ in SD 27, cf. *bhʔt* meaning ‘scout, intelligence agent’ (*ibid.*).

<sup>47</sup> Unless borrowed from or influenced by Arm.

- mind' (St. 2011 #230a.), \**ĉVn*- (< \**ĉVnH*-?): Angas *läng*, *leen* 'meditate', C.: Zulgo *žánjá* (with irregular voicing) 'penser, réfléchir' (ibid. #230b.).<sup>48</sup>  
 → Common West Semitic. \**rʔy* (#4) and \**hzy* (#5).

### 73. SEED

- (1) Akk. (Oakk. on) *zēru*, *zarʔu*; Hbr. *zāraʕ*; Bib. *zəraʕ*; Pal. *zrʕ*; Syr. *zarʕ*-; Mnd. *zira*; Urm. *zarʕ*-; Qur. *zarʕ*-; Mlt. *zerri(gh)a*; Gez. *zarʔ*, Tna. *zārʔ-i*; Tgr. *zārəʔ*; Amh. *zār*; Arg. *zār*; Gaf. *zār*; Sod. *zār*; Har. *zār*; Wol. *zār*; Cha. *zənä* // < Sem. \**zarʕ/ʔ*-.<sup>49</sup> Jud. *zəraʕ*, *zarʕ*- 'seed', *zrʕ* 'to strew, sow' (Ja. 414), Mnd. *zra* 'to sow, scatter' (DM 170), Arb. *zrʕ* 'semer, répandre la semence; ensementer un champ de quelque graine', *zurʕ*- 'semence; céréales sur pied, champ cultivé' (BK 1 124), Gez. *zarʔ/ʕa* 'to sow, seed, scatter' (LGz 642), Mhr. *zūra* '(plants) to grow', *ha-zrē* 'to cultivate', S. Mhr. *zərēt* 'plantation, cultivated area' (JM 469), Jib. *zéraf* '(plants) to grow', *ezóraʕ* 'to plant many seeds', *zéraf* 'farmer' (JJ 320).
- (2) Ugr. *d/ḏrʕ*; Mec. *dirra*; Soq. *deri*<sup>50</sup> // < Sem. \**ḏVrʕ/ʔ/y*-. Jud. *dəraʕ*, *darʕ*- 'seed, produce, offspring' (Ja. 324), Arb. *ḏrʕ* 'ensemencer (la terre)' (BK 1 767), *ḏry/w* 'répandre la semence (en semant), semer' (ibid. 771), *ḏurat*- 'dorra, espèce de millet' (ibid. 772), Sab. *m-ḏrʔ-t* 'sown field, sown ground' (SD, 40).<sup>51</sup>
  - < Afras. \**ḏVr*-. (?) Egyp. (Gr., late) *zʔ* (if < \**zr*) 'Bez. der achtel Arure, acht Aruren Acker' (EG III 411), (Gr.) 'Art Acker' (ibid. 414); Chad. W.: Pero *žúrà*, Guruntum *žàažàr* 'ground-nuts', C.: Malgwa *zar-va* 'Sesam' (in St. 2009 #550 in the entry for 'fodder grass'), (?) Munjuk *zaraw* 'botte de céréales avec des épis; fascicle of cereals with ear' (in St. 2009 # 550a. in the entry for 'pile of stalks'), (?) Mbuko *zaray* 'pousser par terre (haricots)', Zulgo *zárá* 'faire de pousses, long sprouts' (both in St. 2009 #542 in the entry 'to sprout'), (?) E.: Bidiya *zùuri* (< \**z*-) 'valée favorable a la culture du petit mil'; Cush. (?) N.: Beja *deráʔ* 'seed' (probably an Arabism), C.: Khamtanga *zirwa*, Khamta *zirwä*, Kailiña *zärwa* 'wheat',<sup>52</sup> E. (all < Eth.?): Saho *dara*, Afar *diriyyi* 'seed', LEC: Gidole *zare* 'seed; cultivate', HEC: Hadiya, Qabenna *zare-tta*, Alaba *zari-ta* 'seed'; N. Omot. (< Eth. or E. Cush.?): Wolaita *zer*- 'to spread, to seed', *zere-tta*, Malo *zere-c*, Gamu, Dache *zere-cci*, Gimirra (Bench) *zar* 'seed', Kachama *zeer*- 'to sow' (ADB).
- (3) Mnd. *baz(i)r*- (syn.)<sup>53</sup> // < \**bVzr*-. Hbr. *bzr* 'to scatter' (otherwise < \**bḏr* as in HALOT 118, where it is compared with Arb. *bḏr* and Bib. *bdr*), Frah. *bzr* 'corn, seed' (HJ 150), Syr. *bazr*- 'oleum e semine lini expressum' (Brock. 65), Jud. *bzr* 'to strew, scatter', *bizr*- 'seed' (Ja. 154), Pal. *bizr*-, Arb. *balizr*- 'semences, graines' (BK 1 121; hardly < Arm., in view of several related meanings, including verbal ones).<sup>54</sup> Cf. Kog. LE # 73 with a different interpretation. Cf. also LGz 118.

<sup>48</sup> Alternatively, related to C. and E. \**ĉVn*- 'listen, hear' (ibid. #230, where it is compared with Mhr. *šny*, with the remark: "NN 230a,b are not necessarily related to N230").

<sup>49</sup> It is difficult to choose whether some of the forms should be related to this root or to \**ḏVrʕ/ʔ/y*- (#2 below); \**z*- is supported by all of the listed Arm. and Arb. forms and MSA data, whereas Akk., Hbr. and all the Eth. forms may as well go back to \**ḏarʕ/ʔ*-. As for \**-ʕ* and \**-ʔ*, there is an indiscriminate mess in both variant roots, \**zarʕ/ʔ*- and \**ḏVrʕ/ʔ*-, very likely due to contamination (cf. also Gez. *zarawa*, *zaraya* 'scatter' LGz. 644)..

<sup>50</sup> Acc. to Kogan MS, one of two equal synonyms, on par with *šáne*.

<sup>51</sup> Mhr. *ḏaráyyat* 'offspring' (JM 81), Jib. *ḏarrít* 'progeny, offspring' (JJ 47) as well as Mhr. *ḏarēt* (JM 82) and Jib. *ḏére* 't' 'sorghum, *dhurah*' (JJ 47) are most likely Arabisms.

<sup>52</sup> Acc. to App. CDA 146, all < \**žārg<sup>w</sup>-a*, counter to the table of regular correspondences (ibid. 13), where \**g* > Khamtanga *g*, not *w*.

<sup>53</sup> Less likely to be an Arabism, in view of Arm. cognates with *-z*-.

<sup>54</sup> Note Hrs. Mhr. Jib. Soq. *bəzār* 'peppers', marked in JM 61 as Arabisms (from some South Arabic dialect? No term for 'pepper' in Class. Arb. \**bzr*).

- Cf. Chad. W.: Mburku, Jimbin *vazar* ‘seed’, Tala *bazr* ‘corn’ (probably Arabisms), C.: Daba *va/uzal* (< \**buzar*?) ‘yellow corn’, (?) E.: Mokilko *búzu* ‘seed’.
- (4) Leb. *bḍar* // < Sem. \**baḍr*:-<sup>55</sup> Class. Arb. *baḍr*- ‘semence’,<sup>56</sup> *bḍr* ‘semer, répandre pour semer’ (BK 1 101), Syr. *bḍr* ‘sparsit, dispersit’ (Brock. 60), Jud. *bḍr* ‘to scatter, strew’ (Ja. 141), Mnd. *bḍr* id. (DM 52). Cf. Kog. LE # 73 with a different interpretation. Cf. also LGz 118.
- (5) Har. *sāñi*; Wol. *sāññe* (unless < Cush., see below); Soq. *šáne* (syn.) // also ‘semence, blé qui est sur les tiges’, *héne* ‘semer’ (LS 145) < Sem. \**šanaʔ/y/n*:- Mhr. *mā-hnoy* ‘farm near a town’ (JM 159), Jib. *mā-šnuʔ* ‘garden on the mountain for *dhura* or beans’, *ešné* ‘to have a garden, field’ (JJ 263), Akk. (OB, MB, SB) *ašnan* (*asnan*) ‘grain, cereal (as a generic term)’ (in AHw. 82 marked as a loanword; CAD a2 450; < \**ʔa-šnan*-, with prefixed *ʔa*- or metathesis; contra Kog. LE # 79: “apparently, no Semitic cognates”), Zw. *sāñi* ‘seed, crop’ (LGz 555).<sup>57</sup>
- < Afras. \**sany*- ‘seed, grain, cereal’ (Mil. Farm. 142, ADB): Egyp. (MK) *sn.w* ‘Opferbrote’ (EG IV, 155); Chad. \**sin*- ‘seed, cereal’ (\**sVn*- ‘sprout, seed’ in St. 2009 # 300): W.: Tangale *sijini* ‘sprout, germ’ (and Goemai *song* ‘millet’, quoted by Stolbova with hesitations), C.: Daba *sēsīn*, Kola *sīsīn* ‘seed’, E.: Kera *sēne* ‘Negerhirse, petit mil’, Saba *bi-sinya*, Migama *bú-sini* ‘seed’, W. Dangla *sínà* ‘sorgho’;<sup>58</sup> Cush. E.: LEC: Somali *šuni*, Oromo *saññii*, Dase-nech *sanne*, HEC (probably < Oromo): Darasa *sanne*, Burji *saññee* ‘seed’; S. Omot.: Hamar *isin* ‘sorghum’.<sup>59</sup>
- ◇ Hrs. *baḍr*; Mhr. *biḍar*; Jib. *béḍar*, probably Arabisms (note, however, the verbs: Mhr. *baḍōr*, Jib. *bóḍór* ‘to sow, cultivate’ JM 44, JJ 23). No term in Pho. (*zrʔ* is glossed only as ‘offspring’ Tomb. 96).
- Common North and West Semitic \**zarʔ/?*- (#1).  
Common South and West Semitic \**dVrʔ/?*- (#2) and \**šanaʔ/y/n*- (#5).<sup>60</sup>

#### 74. SIT

- (1) Akk. *wšb*; Ugr. *yṯb*, *ʔaṯib*; Hbr. *yšb*; Pho. *yšb*; Bib. *yṯb*; Pal. *yṯb*; Syr. *yṯb*; Mnd. *yṯb*; Urm. *yṯb*; Sab. *wṯb* // < Sem. \**wṯb* ‘sit, dwell, live’ (HALOT 444, DRS 656). If it is permissible to make a conjecture about this verb’s “proto-meaning”, I would bet on ‘occupying foreign territory or raiding it for women (or ritually imitating this action)’, which would account for some most likely related terms (the root with initial \**w*- and \**t*, rare in Sem., is too phonetically unique to represent homonyms) with meanings that are different from ‘sit, dwell, live’, preserved in various languages: (1) Sab. *wṯb* ‘sit, reside, settle, occupy’ and *t-wṯb* ‘commit an assault on; ambush’ (quoted as two separate entries in SD 165), Arb. *waṯbat*- ‘assaut, attaque, agression’, *wṯb* V ‘faire une invasion injuste sur la propriété de quelqu’un’ (BK 2 1482), (2) Syr. *ʔawteb* ‘marry’, Gez. *ʔawsaba* ‘take a wife, marry’, Tna. *ʔawäsäbü* id., Amh. (*a*)*wässäbü* ‘copulate’ (LGz 619; cf. aslo redupl. Gez. *sabsaba* ‘marry off (a son or a daughter in a religious ceremony)’ and ‘commit a carnal sin’ ibid. 485). Cf. DRS 656.
- If said hypothesis is valid, possibly < Afras. \**čVb*- ‘kill, war, assault’: Chad. \**čVb*- ‘to kill, war’ (compared in St. 2011 #800 with Arb. *waṯbat*- ‘agression, attaque’): C.: Wandala *čibā*

<sup>55</sup> Eventually must be a root variant of \**bVzr*-, to be scored differently from the latter.

<sup>56</sup> Although this is the main Class. Arb. term for ‘seed’ (Kog. LE 471), it is not attested in the Qur’an as a noun.

<sup>57</sup> According to Leslau (ibid.), from Cush, which is not necessarily so in view of Sem. cognates; note especially a full coincidence with Soq. (both < \**s/šany*-), which can hardly be accidental.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. also \**sin*- ‘farm, field’ (ibid. #299, likely related): W.: Sura *sēn* ‘Hirsefeld’, Warji *usina*, *sənāna*, Tsagu *šinan*, Kariya *sān*, *sīn*, Siri *šināwi*, Diri *sāna*, Paa *sina* ‘farm’, C.: Masa *sine*, *sénēna*, Zime-Batna *sīné*, etc.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Sumerian *išin* ‘ears of corn’ (Heimpel 449), ‘grain-stalk’ (Lieberman), *isin* ‘stalk’ (Sum. Dict. 217): an early borrowing from some Afras. (non-Semitic) language?

<sup>60</sup> Originally, hardly synonyms: rather terms denoting different seeds or various stages of seed/plant growth.

- ‘kill (many)’, Malgwa *čáha* ‘to kill a lot of people’, Glavda *čib-*, Podoko *čihe*, Musgu *šiba* (ADB, not in St. 2011) ‘kill’, E.: Mubi *čoḥi*, Zerenkel *žabuki* ‘war’; Omot. (ADB) N.: Koyra *šúpe*, Gimirra (Bench) *šup* (*-p* < *\*-b*?) ‘slaughter’, Dizi *šub-* ‘die’, S.: Ongota *šup/b-* ‘kill’ (cf. *tiip/b-* ‘die’, possibly < *\*čib-*).
- (2) Qur. *ḵḵd*; Leb. *ʔaḵad* // Class. Arb. also *ḵāḵidat-* ‘base (d’une colonne); fondations (d’un édifice)’ (BK 2 778) < Sem. *\*ḵḵd* ‘bend, sit, put down’: Syr. *ḵḵd* ‘bend down, kneel, prostrate’ (Sok. Syr. 1388), Jib. *eḵeḵéd* ‘paralyze, put so. down psychologically’, Soq. *áḵḵad* ‘take, bring down’ (JM 139).<sup>61</sup>
- < Afras. *\*ḵV(ḵ)d-* ‘bend, sit, lie down’ (ADB): Egyp. (Pyr.) *ḵd* ‘to sleep’; (?) Chad. C.: Daba *kāḵ* ‘(be) down’, E.: Kajakse *kāḵi* ‘bas’ (both possibly < *\*ḵad-*, cf. St. 2011 #81 with the comment: “Likely, loans from Arabic *ḵāḵid-at-* ‘base, foundation’ < *ḵḵd* ‘être assis’”, which is not quite convincing because of the difference in meanings), C.: Musgu *gúḵ* (regressive voicing) ‘back side’, Gizey *kùḵú* ‘behind’, E.: Kera *gùḵ* (regressive voicing), Mokilko *kùḵḵi-só* ‘buttocks’ (ibid.); E. Cush.: HEC: Burji *ḵud-ee* ‘behind’ (compared ibid.); S. Omot.: Ongota *ḵaada* ‘to lie, sleep’.
- (3) Mec. *žalas* // Qur. *žls* ‘to sit in Eastern fashion’ (Pen. 28) < Sem. *\*glš* ‘to sit (in a special way, atop, on an elevated place)’, tentatively reconstructed from identical triconsonantal roots with such different meanings as Akk. *gilšu*<sup>62</sup> ‘hip(-bone)’ (CDA 93), Hbr. *glš* ‘to hop (alt. move down)’ (HALOT 195, after Palache: basic meaning ‘to jump (on one’s riding animal)’, Gez. *galās*, Tgr., Amh., Har. *galas* ‘saddle cover’ (LGz 192), Selti *galas*, Wol. *gilas* ‘cloth of saddle’ (LGz 275; for the meaning shift see Arb. in No. 5), Soq. *galas* ‘montagne, cap’ (LS 109; for the meaning shift see No. 4), *aglīsoh* ‘high plain’ (JM 119).
- (4) Gez. *nabara* // also ‘to stay, live, etc.’, *tanābara* ‘to be placed (one thing upon another)’, *ma-nbar* ‘seat, chair, high place, pulpit, throne’ (LGz 383–4)<sup>63</sup> < Sem. *\*nbr* ‘to elevate, raise, place/sit atop’: pB Hbr. (likely < Jud.), Jud. *nbr* ‘(of the swine) to turn the ground up with the snout’ (Ja. 870), Syr. *nbr* ‘excitavit (terram)’ (Brock. 412), Arb. *nbr* ‘élever, exhausser (une chose); grandir, av. grandi (se dit d’un petit garçon)’, *mi-nbar-* ‘estrade, place un peu élevée au dessus du sol; chaire, prône où se place l’imam ou un khatib pour réciter la prière ou haranguer le peuple’ (BK 2 1183), Amh. *annābabbārā* ‘heap, pile up’, Arg. *nābbur* ‘abundant, much, very, many’ (LArg 215).
- (5) Tna. *kof bālā* // < Sem. *\*wkp* ~ *\*kwḵ* ‘to bend, lie, sit’: Tgr. *kāf belā* ‘sit down, sit’ (LH 425), Arb. *wkf* ‘ê. incliné, penché; mettre bâṭ sur une bête de somme’, *wakf-* ‘tapis ou peau qui l’on étend par terre pour s’y asseoir’, Hrs. *še-wkōf* ‘sleep’ (JH 135), Mhr. *šā-wkūf* ‘sleep, go to sleep, lie down’, Jib. *šef* ‘sleep’ (JM 426).<sup>64</sup>
- With two parallels, one of which, Cush. C.: Bilin *kaf y* ‘to sit’, isolated in Agaw, is clearly a borrowing from N. Eth. (cf., however, the remark in Appl CDA 124: “also in Ti., Tna. *kāf bālā*”), while the other, E.: Yaaku *kopehm* (< *\*kop-ah-m-*?) id., is evidently not, being either a look-alike or a remnant of the common Afras. verb, randomly spared through many millennia in an isolated language.

<sup>61</sup> Likely with a secondary *-ḵ-*: cf. Akk. *ḵadādu* ‘bow down’ (CDA 282), Hbr. *ḵdd*, *ḵwd* ‘bow, kneel down’ (HALOT 1065). See Mil. RE 97.

<sup>62</sup> If semantically compatible, this is probably a “real” term alongside *giššu* instead of a “result of the scribes’ effort to render laterality” as suspected in SED I No. 90, cf. #7 below).

<sup>63</sup> See the discussion (ibid. 384) about whether Gez. *manbar* is to be derived from Arb. *minbar-* or vice versa: both hypotheses seem superfluous, as both nouns are nicely derived from the corresponding verbs in each of the languages.

<sup>64</sup> One might ask whether Eth. *\*wkf* ‘take, accept, receive’ (LGz 611–12) could not have evolved from ‘bow down’.



- (6) Tna. (syn.) *tä-kämmätä*;<sup>65</sup> Amh. *tä-kämmätä*; Arg. (*tä*)*kämmäta* // < Eth. *\*kmt* ‘bind, hold tightly; rest, sit’ (LGz 433);<sup>66</sup> Gez. *ḡammaṭa* ‘hold tightly, bind sheaves, bend’ (also *taḡammaṭa* ‘sit down, remain’, acc. to Leslau, < Amh.), Har. *aḡāmāṭa* ‘rest on a base’ (ibid.), cognate with Arb. *kmt* ‘lier avec la corde tous les quatre pieds à la fois; emmailotter un enfant au berceau; cohabiter avec une femme, etc.’ (BK 2 813).
- (7) Tgr. *gəsuy hälla* // The only etymology I can suggest is < Sem. *\*gišš-* ‘torso, body, side of body’ (cf. SED I No. 92), including Akk. *giššu* ‘hip, flank’ (CAD g 73; on its presumable variant *gilšu* placed in the same entry, see #3 above) and Gur. *g’išä* ‘back of body’ (see in SED I No. 92 arguments against its qualifying by Leslau as Cushitism). If this etymology satisfies the semantic criteria, then:
- < Afras. *\*gičč-* ‘torso, chest, side of body’: Chad. *\*gV(yV)š-* ‘chest’ (St. 2011 #561): W.: Boghom *gyaas*, Geji *gyéši* ‘chest’, *isu ngeši* ‘rib’, Polchi *gwəš* ‘shoulder’ (ADB, not in St.), Zul *ṅgéše* ‘chest’, Duwai *əgžà* ‘chest, cough’; C.: Zelgwa *gəžəṅ* ‘chest, heart’; (?) N. Omot.: Kafa *gašo* ‘riverbank, edge, border’, Mocha *gášo* ‘border’ (suggested for comparison with Sem. in Bla. Review 502).
- (8) Gaf. (*tä*)*wannä*; Sod. *tonnam*; Cha. *čonam* // Acc. to LGur III 599, from the root *wnʔ/ʕ* with the meaning ‘sit’ derived in *tä*-stem from *awāna*, *wanna*, etc. ‘place, deposit, put aside, put’. Since it is rather uncommon for the basic term to have no etymology (in this case, outside Gaf. and Gur.), I suggest that it may be related, as a variant with metathesis (*\*wnh*), to Eth. *\*nhy* ‘repose, be in peace, sleep’ (LGz 394 giving no Sem. cognates outside Eth.): Gez. *nəhya* ‘recover; repose; feel relieved; find consolation, peace; be quiet’, Amh. *täññä*, Arg. *teñña*, *eñä*, Har. *ñēṭa*, Wol. *əññe*, Sod. *əññäm*, Cha. *nəyäm*, etc. ‘sleep’<sup>67</sup>, to be further related, with metathesis, to Arb. *hwn* ‘être léger, facile à faire ou endurer; se reposer, se calmer’, *hawn-* ‘repos, tranquillité; aise, facilité, aisance, commodité’ (BK 2 1460–61) < Sem. *\*hwn* ‘repose, rest, be at ease’: Hbr. *hwn* (hif) ‘regard as easy’ (HALOT 242),<sup>68</sup> Thamudic *hwn* ‘repos’ (DRS 389), Sab. *hwn* ‘soften (one’s heart)’ (SD 57), *hyn* ‘ease, give ease to (?)’ (ibid. 58), (?) MSA: Hrs. *\*hwn* ‘to think cheap’, Soq. *hawin* ‘better (than)’ (JH 53). Cf. also DRS 388–9. Whether all these forms should be regarded as metathetic variations within one root (Sem. *\*wnh* ~ *\*nhy* ~ *\*hwn* ‘repose, rest, be at ease’) or as three variant roots, is a somewhat scholastic question that requires a voluntary decision. Anyway, there are plausible parallels outside Semitic:
- Egyp. (MK) *hnn* ‘attend to, consider, trust’, *hnn ib* ‘be well-disposed to’ (Faul 159; lit. ‘incline one’s heart (to)’? Translated as ‘neigen (d. Herz)’ in EG II 494: *ib* is ‘heart’); Chad. W.: Ron *\*n(V)yah-* ‘to sleep’: Kulere *nyà* ‘(sich) legen, schlafen’, Sha *nyà*, Daffo-Butura *nyah* ‘schlafen’ (St. 2011 # 424, ADB), C. *\*hwVn-*: Gabin *ʔyenè*, Kilba *hány*, Margi *ʔànyi*, Gudu *wiyèñù*, Fali-Kilba *wunyi* ‘sleep’ (n.), Glavda *xan*, Daba *wan* ‘to sleep’, E. *\*wVHVn-*: Kwang *wéŋ* ‘to sleep’, Migama *wààndò* ‘to dream’ (ADB); N. Cush.: Beja *nay* ‘sleep, rest’ (LGz 304; < Eth.?).
- (9) Har. (*tä*)*gēbä(la)*; Wol. (*tä*-)*gÖbälä* // Probably < Eth.-Arb. *\*gVb(b)-* (with the auxiliary verb *ala* incorporated into the stem, cf. Zway (*tä*)*gūb* ‘sit down, ride’ and Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>abbälä* ‘sit down’, (*tä*)*g<sup>w</sup>äbbälä* ‘sit down’ LGur 256): Arb. *žbb* ‘se jeter la face contre terre, se pros-

<sup>65</sup> The meaning ‘sit’ in Tna has been obtained from native speakers (glossed as ‘rest on a base’ in LGz 433).

<sup>66</sup> The Eth. verbs are related by Leslau to Akk. *kamāšu* ‘bend the knee, kneel down, squad’, pB Hbr. *ḡamšūš* ‘bent up’ and Ugr. *ḡmš* ‘to curl up, bend’, all < Sem. *\*ḡmš* (to which Jib. *ḡōš* ‘(snake, etc.) to curl up’, *ḡōtmāš* ‘(animal) to curl os. up’ JJ 146 should be added), which can be compared with *\*kmt* only as a variant root.

<sup>67</sup> Speculatively, Ugr. *nḡmmt* ‘drowsiness, fainting fit’ or ‘deep sleep (of death)’ (< *nḡm* + *mt* DUL 626) could also be related as *nḡm*, with the fossilized suffix *-m-*.

<sup>68</sup> Perhaps also *hōn* ‘wealth, property’, with a possible semantic shift, but much more dubious in the case of Arm. terms meaning ‘ability, means, reason, mind’, quoted in HALOT 242 and DRS 388–9 as unproblematic cognates.

- terner en appuyant les mains contre la terre (en priant Dieu); tenir ses joues appuyées sur ses mains en restant debout' (BK 1 251).
- With a different interpretation, perhaps, from highly hypothetic Afras. *\*gVbb-Vr/l-* 'sit, prostrate oneself; a (sacred?) seat' (ADB): Eg. *ḏb?* (< *\*gbr/l?*) 'k. of altar, temple seat made of granite; a throne socle?'; E. Cush.: LEC: Somali (Benadir) *gāmbār* 'round small chair with four legs'; N. Omot.: Kafa *gab(b)ir-ō*, Anfillo *gabbbero* 'seat'.
- (10) Hrs. *ṣḥewlōl*; Mhr. *ṣḥawəlūl* // Also 'stay, live' in Hrs. (JH 123) and 'stay, stay where one is' in Mhr. (JM 390). A real challenge for the etymologist: no parallels either in other MSA or other Sem., the only one, irreproachable phonetically but purely conjectural semantically, being Arb. *ṣḥl* III 'traire (une chamelle)' (BK 1 1202), perhaps implying the nomads' stopover for milking she-camels.
- (11) Jib. *skɔf* // No parallels in other MSA. The only possible etymology is Sem. *\*(?a-)skup(p)-* 'threshold': Akk. (OB on) *askuppu* (and, with metathesis, OA *aksuppu*), 'stone slab, threshold, doorsill, lower edge, step (of a wagon)' (CAD *a*<sub>2</sub> 333), (OB on) *askuppātu* 'slab, threshold, door-sill' (ibid. 334), Hbr. *mašḵōp* 'lintel, doorstep' (HALOT 652, hapax), *šāḵāp* 'door-jamb, door support' or 'a space in a wall for a door or for a window' (HALOT 1646–7, hapax), *šḵp* (nif) 'to look down from above' (ibid. 1645), pB. *ʔiskuppā* 'threshold, lintel, lower door-sill' (Ja 97; from or influenced by Jud.), Arm.: Hatra *ʔskp* 'threshold' (HJ 86), Syr. *ʔeskūpat-* 'limen; rupes' (Brock. 35), Jud. *ʔiskūpt-* 'door-sill' (Ja. 94), *ʔiskūpt-* 'threshold, lintel, lower door-sill' (ibid. 97), Sab. *sḵf* 'roof, roofing, ceiling, floor (of multi-storied building)' and 'to roof (a building)' (SD 127–8), Arb. *ʔuskuffat-* 'the threshold of a door, upon which one treads', *sāḵif-* 'the lintel of a door, the upper and lower extremity of the door' (Lane 1391), *sakf-* 'ceiling, roof, or covering' (ibid. 1383). An entangled case of what seems a chain of borrowings (Akk. *askuppu* > Arm. > Hbr. and Arb.?) and contamination of two unrelated (or variant?) roots: *\*skp* forms the terms for 'threshold' and *\*šḵp* forms the terms for 'roof, ceiling, etc.' Anyway, Jib. *skɔf* neatly fits in with Sem. *\*skp*, suggesting that the primary meaning of the Jib. verb was 'to sit on a threshold, in the door/gate'.
- (12) Soq. *ízēm* // Also 'rester' (LS 155 with no Sem. parallels). There are several highly hypothetical etymological options. One is to suppose for the Soq. verb the original meaning 'sit at the head or at the helm', later generalized as simply 'sit': cf. Mhr. *zəṣim* 'head of a family' (JM 463), Jib. *zṣim* 'the most important person in, head of the family' (JJ 314, tentatively comparing it with Soq. *ízēm* 'sit' and what is quoted ibid. as *mózzhim* 'majlis', not in LS), Arb. *zaṣim-* 'chef, prince, représentant d'une communauté, agent plénipotentiaire qui parle au nom d'elle', likely from or contaminated with *zṣm* 'parler, dire' (both BK 1 992), related to Hbr. *zṣm* 'curse', Syr. *zṣm* 'scold' (HALOT 276) and Sab. *zṣm* 'declaration' (SD 170; cf. DRS 770). Another option is comparison with Jib. *zṣit* 'buggalow, kind of ship', Arb. *zaṣāʔim-* (pl.), Tgr. *zəṣimāt* 'bateau, barque' (the Jib. and Tgr. terms are likely Arabisms; all three are quoted in DRS 770, without raising the borrowing issue) that implies the original meaning 'sit in a boat' for the Soq. verb. A third option is to compare it with Arb. *zṣm* III 'serrer quelqu'un dans la foule' (BK 1 992, cf. a variant root *zḥm* III), in which case the original meaning in Soq. should have been 'to sit crowded together, sit squashed up'. With none of the three options convincing enough, there are, however, direct external parallels meaning 'to sit' in Chad.<sup>69</sup>
- Chad. W.: Hausa *zámáa* 'be, become, happen, keep on doing, sitting, settling room', Sura *zum* 'stoop, bend down', Bolewa *zuum*, *ṣuum*, Ngamo *žoom* 'to squat' (note the hiatus in

<sup>69</sup> Somewhat compromised, as in many other cases, by the hugeness of the cumulative Chadic *lexica*, which considerably increases the probability of chance resemblance (reminding of a similar problem with Arabic), and by the low representativeness of Chadic lexemes brought to comparison vs. the great number of Chadic languages.

the latter forms, probably pointing to a lost laryngeal: cf. -ʕ- in Soq.), C.: Gude žāmú ‘sitting on smth. to press down’, Ouldem zām yār ‘to incline’ (yār ‘head’), Masa zām ‘wait’ (adduced as two different entries in St. 2011 #478 and 479).

◇ Mlt. *poža* likely < Italian (*ap*)*poggiare*.

→ Common North and West Semitic. \*wṭb (#1).

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Статья является третьей частью этимологического разбора, проделанного автором для стословного списка Сводеша по семитским языкам (первые две части были уже опубликованы в третьем и пятом номерах «Вопросов языкового родства»). Анализуются очередные двадцать элементов списка, для каждого из которых предлагается прасемитская реконструкция и обсуждаются возможные параллели в других языках афразийской макросемьи.

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

