

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,¹ 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.; Gefez, 500 C.E.; Tigray, 2000; Tigre, 2000; Amharic, 2000; Argobba, 2000; Gafat, 1900; Soddo, 2000; Harari, 2000; Wolane, 2000; Chaha, 2000; Har-susi, 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;

¹ 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; Ḳof. — Ḳofar Arabic; Dyn. — Dynasty; E. — East; Egyp. — Egyptian; ESA — Epigraphic South Arabian; Eth. — Ethiopian; Frah. — Frahang-i-Pahlavik (Aramaic); Gaf. — Gafat; Gez. — Geζez; Gr. — Greek; Gur. — Gurage; Har. — Harari; Ḥdṛ — Ḥadramawt 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. — Tigriñā (=Tigray); Tgr. — Tigre; Ugr. — Ugaritic; Urm. — Urmian Neo-Aramaic; W. — West.; Wol. — Wolane, Y — Young.

Transcription and transliteration.²

p — bilabial emphatic voiceless stop; *b* — bilabial emphatic voiced stop; *ł* — bilabial voiced spirant; *t* — dental emphatic voiceless stop; *d* — dental emphatic voiced stop; *ł* — voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyptian, a conventional symbol most likely conveying č); *d* — voiced interdental fricative (in Egyptian, a conventional symbol most likely conveying ž); *c* — alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; *z* — alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; *č* — palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tš]; *ž* — palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dž]; *s* — alveolar emphatic voiceless fricative; *ç* — alveolar emphatic voiceless affricate; *ż* — conventionally stands for what was likely *ł*, emphatic voiced interdental fricative, or *t*, emphatic voiceless interdental fricative; *ć* — palato-alveolar emphatic affricate; *ś* — lateral voiceless fricative (denoted by *š* in Sem. reconstructed proto-forms); *ć* — lateral voiceless affricate; *ś* — lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; *ć* — lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; *ź* — lateral voiced emphatic sibilant (or perhaps affricate); *ź* — lateral voiced sibilant; *ǵ* — voiced velar fricative (in Berber); *k* or *q* — emphatic velar stop; *q* — hypothetical velar affricate [kʰ] (only in reconstructed Afrasian proto-forms); *γ* — uvular voiced fricative (Arabic “ghain”); *ḥ* — uvular voiceless fricative; *ḥ* — presumably velar voiceless fricative (only in Egyptian); *ḥ* — pharyngeal voiceless fricative; *ʕ* — pharyngeal stop (“ayin”); *ḥ* — laryngeal voiceless fricative; *ʔ* — glottal stop (“aleph”, “hamza”); *y* — palatal resonant; *ȝ* and *i* — conventional transcription symbols accepted in Egyptology.

Conventions for reconstructed protoforms.

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

² I should stress again, as I usually do in my publications, that the vocalism in the reconstructed Semitic and, especially, Afrasian protoforms is often conventional and hypothetic.

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. *yr* (*y* < **d*)³; Bib. *tūr*; Pal. *twr*; Syr. *tūr-*; Mnd. *tur-*; Urm. *tūr-*; Sab. *zwr* // < Sem. **tu/ir-* ‘flint, rock’: Akk. *surru*, Hbr. *ṣor*, Arb. *zurar-, zurr-* ‘flint’, etc.
 - Cf. Brb.: Qabyle *i-zra* ‘flint’ (otherwise an Arabism?), Ahaggar *a-żaru* ‘rock’ and W. Chad.: Hausa *çúrá* ‘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 *ăhor* ‘amoncellement des rochers’; W. Chad.: Geruma *yuworo* ‘stone’, Zar *wur* ‘mountain’; E. Cush.: Yaaku *hérə?* ‘(big) rock’.
- (4) Qur. *žabal-*; Leb. *žabel*; Mec. *žabal*, Mhr. *gəbəl*, Jib. *giēl* // < Sem. **gVbVl-* ‘mountain; boundary, border’: Ugr. *gbl* ‘limit, frontier’ and ‘summit, mount’ (in DUL 293, two “possibly related” different entries; v. Kog. Ug.-Sem. 11), Hbr. *gəbūl* ‘mountain; boundary; territory’, etc. (HALOT 171), Baṭhari *gəbəlēl* ‘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-Vl-* with the *-l* root extension (v. Mil. RE 115–18) < Afras. **ga/ub-* ‘mountain’ (ADB): Sem. **ga/ib̥-* (with the *-f* root extension?): Akk. *gabu* ‘(mountain) peak, hill’, Ugr. *gb̥* ‘hill, height, peak’, Hbr. *gib̥ā* ‘hill’, Arb. *žubař-* ‘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. Egyp. (Pyr.) *gbb* ‘Erdgott; Erde’.
- (5) Sab. *fr* (syn.) // also ‘citadel; hill-town’ (SD 20). In HALOT 821, compared to Hbr. *īr*, Ugr. *fr* ‘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. *ñufurat-* ‘sommet (d’une montagne)’ (BK 225).
- (6) Gez. *dabr*; Tgr. *däbər* // < Sem. **dabr-* ‘mountain valley, pasture’: Hbr. *dobär* ‘pasture’, Mnd. *dibra* ‘field’ (HALOT 212), Arb. *dabr-* ‘champ, pré’ (BK 1 664), Tna. *däbri* ‘mountain’ (Kane T 2114; not common, according to my informants).
 - Probably < **dab-* with *-r* extention (v. Mil. RE 110–15) < Afras. **dV(m)b-* ‘rock’: Sem.: Arb. *dabbat-*, Tgr. *däbb* ‘sand hill’, Tna. *däbb* ‘banc de sable’ (DRS 205), Harari *dabba* ‘raised ground’ (acc. to LGz < Cush.); E. Chad.: Migama *dâmbá* ‘mountain’, Bidiya *dòmbà* id., *dàmbo* ‘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 *daba*, 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 *démpħē* ‘mountain’ (ADB; partially ND 497a, App. CDA 102).
- (7) Amh. *tärara*; Arg. *tärara* // No reliable parallels in Sem.

³ As an alternative etymology suggesting Ugr. *y* < Sem. **y* proposed by De Moor, the words allegedly meaning ‘rock’, ‘woodland’ are quoted in DUL 324: Arb. *yār-*, Syr. *yarō* 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: Munskiye *tarra* ‘mountain’, but the direction of borrowing is unclear. Should perhaps be related, with a semantic shift, to Egyp. (Pyr.) *tw̥* ‘to raise, hold up, support, lean on’ (if < **twr*) 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. *säri* // Zway ‘id.’, cf. a parallel in Arb. *sarw-* ‘légère élévation de terrain’, *sarāt-* ‘hau-teurs, partie la plus élevée d’un pays’ (unless a semantic shift from id. ‘dos’ and/or ‘mi-lieu’ 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. *käräm*, Arb. *karm-* ‘vineyard’ (DUL 455; HALOT 498), etc.
- With a much-discussed parallel in Egyp. (MK) *kəm.w* ‘vineyard’, which may belong to a small group of the earliest Canaanisms in Egyp. (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 Egyp. (MK) *kən-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. *kwr* ‘hill, high-place’ < Afras. **kur(-Vm)-* (cf. also Sum. *kur* ‘mountain, highland’ < Afras.?): Chad. W.: Gerka *kir* ‘hill’, C.: Dghwede *kwire*, Glavda *ákura*, Musgu *kurií* ‘stone’, Logone, Kuseri *kur* ‘mountain’, Makari *kur* ‘round rock’; Cush. C. **karVŋ-* (< **karVm-*) ‘stone’: Bilin, Kemant *kərja*, Aungi *kárónj*, etc. (App. CDA 129): E.: LEC: Somali, Rendille *kúr* ‘mountain’ (ADB).
- (10) Soq. *félídehon* // Jib. *fídún* ‘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 *pandi*, Mangas *nədap* (another met.?), Kir *ladàáp* (< **nadap*?) ‘path’.
- ◊ Mlt. *montaña* < Italian *montagna*; Tna. *ʔomba* < C. Cush. (cf. Bilin *ambá*, Khamir *ʔaba*, etc.); Sod. *gara* < E. Cush (Oromo *gaára*, Sidamo *gaaro*, etc., v. LGur 288); Cha. *kʷäto* < E. Cush. (Qabenna, Alaba *kötá-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. *päm*, *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. *(*a-*)*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. *(*a-*)*pay/w-*‘mouth’: Brb: Shilh, Senhaja, Qabyle *fa*, Rif *fa*, *afa*, Mzab *fafa* ‘to yawn’ (N-Z 515); Chad. W. **pVw-* ‘mouth’: Angas *po*, *pwo*, Chip *pwà*, 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’ < **ap*), C.: Hya *funje*, Musey *funu-no* (and *vun* in several languages, likely < **fun-* < **fu-n-*); Cush. N.: Beja *yaf*, C.: Bilin (pl.) *afəf*, Khamir *af*, E. **ʔaf-* ‘mouth’: Saho, Afar *af*, LEC: Somali *áf*, Rendille *af*, Dasenech *ʔàfù*, Oromo *áfaa-ni*, Konso *áfaa*, HEC: Darasa *afəo*, Sidamo, Kambatta *afoo*, Burji *afée*, S. **ʔaf-*: Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *afa*, Asa *qfo-k*, Qwadza *afu-ko*, Dahalo *ʔafø*; S. Omot. **ʔVpp/ff*

- ‘mouth’ (seems an inherited root rather than borrowed from Cush.): Dime *?appo*, Ari *aaffa*, Karo *?apo*, Banna *aapo*, Hamar *a(a)fo*, *ap-*, Ongota *?iifa* (ADB).
- (2) Leb. *ḥaləʔ*; Mlt. *ḥalʔa* // < Sem. **ḥalq(-um)-* ‘Adam’s apple, throat’: Akk. **a/elī/āku* in *līk* (*lak*, *alič*, *elač*) *pī* ‘palate’ (lit. “the *l.* of the mouth”), Arb. *ḥalk-* ‘gosier, gorge’, *ḥalkūm-* ‘gorge’, Gez. *ḥalq* ‘throat, gullet, palate’, Amh. *allakt* ‘depression at the base of the neck directly below the Adam’s apple’, Mhr. *ḥalqamūt* ‘Adam’s apple’, etc. (v. SED I No. 117).
- < Afras. *(*ha-*)*lv̥k(-um)-* ‘throat and upper part of neck’ (ADB): Cush. C.: Khamtanga *kálma*, Khamta *k/kálma* (met.) ‘neck’, E.: LEC **luk/k(-um)-* ‘neck’: Somali *lučun*, pl. *lučum-mo*, Arbore *lučo* (< **luč-* or **luk-*), Elmolo *luču* (< **luk-*), Konso *ḥolma* (< **kVlm-*), Oromo *lučum* ‘chew, munch, eat without opening the mouth’, S.: Dahalo *lača* ‘area under chin’; S. Omot.: Banna *lučum-*, Ongota *lučoma* ‘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. *saʔ/ʔama*, Tna. *säʔamä*, Amh. *samä*, etc. ‘to kiss’, compared in LGz 481 with Arb. (Yemen) *sařam* ‘kiss’, evidently implying the meaning ‘kisser’ for the Gafat form.
- (4) Hrs. *ḥah*; Mhr. *ḥōh*; Jib. *ḥoh*; Soq. *he* // < Sem. **ḥaw- ~ ḥawħ-* ‘hole, aperture’: Hrs. *ḥawwēt* ‘tunnel’, Mhr. *ḥōh* ‘mouth; entrance, opening’ (JM 454), *ḥawū(t)* ‘to have a space left uncovered’ (ibid.), Hbr. *ḥawāḥ-īm* (pl.) ‘hole, crevice’ (HALOT 296), Arb. *ḥwy* ‘é. vide’ (BK 1 651), *ḥawħat-* ‘lucarne dans un mur; petite fenêtre; anus’ (ibid. 644), Sab. *ḥwħ* ‘passageway, corridor’ (SD 64), Gez. *ḥohat* ‘door, doorway, etc.’ (LGz 260).
- Cf. debatable external parallels, pointing, if valid, to Afras. **qaw?*- ‘hole’:⁴ Egyp. (Gr.) *ḥ-t* ‘pit’; Chad. W.: Pero *káà* ‘hole in a stone for mashing grains, beans’, C.: Bura *ku* ‘hole in the ground’, Bachama *kwa* ‘vine door (hole hut)’, Bana *kōú* ‘hole without an outlet’, etc. (St. 2011 #179a), Chibak *kaw*, Margi *kào* ‘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. *?ism-*; Leb. *?əsəm*; Mec. *ism*; Mlt. *isem*; Sab. *s₁m*; 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. *šəm* // < Sem. *(*i-*)*šim-*.
- < Afras. *(*i-*)*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. *(*V*)*si/um-*: Hausa *súná*, Sura *súm*, Kirfi *šímí*, Pa’*a sim*, *sun*, Mangas *wusim*, Boghom *yísím*, Kir *wúsüm*, Tala *sum*, Kulere *?asím*, etc., C. **šim-* (with a secondary lateralization): Gabin *šíme*, Mbara *ším*, Gudu *lim*, Logone *šémī*, Zime-Batna *sém*, etc., E. **sVm-*: Somrai *súmí*, Kera *sám*, Dangla *sīŋ*, Mokilko *súmá*, etc.; Cush. **sim-* (borrowing from Eth. is less probable, but cannot be excluded): N.: Beja *sim*, *sum*, C.: Bilin, Khamir, Kemant *šəmʷ* (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 *síunci*, Chara *sumá*, Gimirra (She) *sum*, Bworo *šuuca*, Dizi (Maji) *simu*, etc. Probably related is Egyp. (MK) *smy* ‘berichten, anzeigen’ (with a semantic shift ‘tell the name’ > ‘report, inform?’).
- Common Semitic *(*i-*)*šim-*.

⁴ The hypothetical **q* (standing for a presumed Afras. affricate **kʰ*) is expected to yield **ḥ* in Sem. and Egyp. and **k* in other Afras. branches.

58. NECK

- (1) Akk. *kišādu*; Gez. *kəsād*; Tna. *kəsad* // < Sem. **ki(n)šād-* ‘neck, top of shoulder’ (SED I No. 147).
- (2) Hbr. *ṣawwā(?)r*; Bib. *ṣwwr*; Pal. *ṣwwr*; Syr. *ṣawr-*; Mnd. *ṣawr-* // < Sem. **ṣawwār-*: Arb. *ṣawr-* ‘side of the neck’, etc. (v. SED I No. 258).
- (3) Qur. *ʕunk-*; Mlt. *(gh)ona?* // < Sem. **ʔvnk-* ‘neck’: Jud. *ʕunk-* ‘neck, throat’, Gez. *ʕanaħa* ‘to carry around the neck’, etc. (SED I No. 15).
- (4) Leb. *raʔabi*; Mec. *ragaba* // Class. Arb. *rakb-* ‘cou, nuque’ (BK 1 905). No visible cognates in Sem.
 - Cf., with metathesis, possible parallels in Egyp. (NE) *bɔk* (neck or throat determinative) ‘gorge (?)’ (if < **brk*, v. EDE II 94) and Brb.: Rif *a-berkuč* ‘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 < **ʔVng(-at)-* ‘neck’ (as in SED I No. 15 note): Gez. *ḥəngat* ‘goiter’ (*ḥ-* instead of the expected *ḥ-* 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. *ḥanžarat-, hunžür-* ‘larynx’ (cf. *hunžūd-* id.) (SED I No. 15 note).
 - With a clear parallel in Egyp. (18 Dyn.) *ḥn̩gg* ‘gorge’ (cf. also Brb.: Ghadames *əngər* ‘pleurer un mort’ — a kind of “gorge” singing?).
- (7) Hrs. Mhr. *yōti* (*yōdi*, acc. to Jahn); Jib. *yotə* // Could not find any etymology.
- (8) Soq. *kar* // Likely related are Mhr. *šārīr* ‘nape’ (SSL 291), with Mhr. *š* rendering palatalized **k̥* (cf. in **ṣawwār-* SED I No. 258 note) and Arb. *karaw* (< **karw-*) ‘dos’ (BK 2 730).
 - < Afras. **ḳawr-* ‘(back of) neck’: E. Chad.: Kwang *kərī*, Kera *kur*, Lele *kwarə* ‘neck’, possibly < **ḳVwar-* (otherwise < **k-ur-*); E. Cush.: LEC: Somali *qōr* ‘neck’; Omot. N.: Wolamo *ḳōriya*, Cancha, Gemu, Dorze *ḳōre*, S.: Banna *ḳorči* (< **kor-t-*) id.
- (9) Soq. *fakrere* (syn.)⁵ // < Sem. **pi/ark-at- ~ pi/akr-at-*: Hbr. *mapräkät* ‘neck’, Arb. *fakrat-, fikrat-* ‘vertèbre’ (BK 2 619–20), etc. (SED I No. 219).
 - ◊ Urm. *kədāl-* is < Arb. *kiḍāl-* ‘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. *hdt*; Hbr. *ḥādāš*; Pho. *ḥdš*; Bib. *ḥādat*; Pal. *ḥdt*; Syr. *ḥadət-*; Mnd. *hadt-*; Urm. *ḥā(d)t-*; Gez. *haddis*; Tna. *ḥäddis*; Tgr. *häddis*; Amh. *addis*; Arg. *hažəs*; Sod. *ažžis*; Har. *hažis*; Wol. *ažžis* // < Sem. **hadit-* (DRS 837).
- (2) Qur. *žadīd-*; Leb. *ždīd*; Mec. *žadiyd*; Mlt. *ždīd* // In Kog. LE 470, reasonably related with Sab. *h-gdd* ‘endorse, validate (a decree)’ and Qat. *s1-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. *žadīd-* — ‘jeunesse, jeune âge’ (BK 1 261).⁶
 - Note a curious coincidence with N. Omot.: Yemsa *gaddo* ‘new’.
- (3) Sab. *ks₂b-m* // also *ks₂b-n* ‘new construction’ < *ks₂b* ‘build, construct, make’ (SD 108). Clearly connected with Arb. *kašib-* ‘tout neuf, nouvellement fait’ (BK 2 741; seems isolated from

⁵ *fikeriroh* in Kogan MS, given on par with *kar* as an equiright synonym.

⁶ Perhaps from still another meaning of the same Arb. term — ‘hereuse, fortuné’ (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 *kšb*) 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 *gädärrä* ‘to grow up (child)’, Amh. (*tä*)*gäddärrä* ‘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. ?*əmšīna*, Soq. ?*əmšīn* vs. Hrs. *yemšī*, Mhr. *yemšē* ‘yesterday’; or Mhr. diminutive *təwēy-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.: Matakom *wúdá*, Zime-Batna *údō* ‘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-čo*), according to LGur 673, “with loss of *r* through palatalization”; Soq. *gedíd* must be an Arabism.
 - Common North and West Semitic **hadił-* (#1).

60. NIGHT

- (1) Akk. *mūšu*; Sod. *məšät*; Cha. *məšätä* // < Sem. *(?a-)mVšy- ‘night, yesterday, evening’ (ADB): Eblaite /*mūšum/ ‘night’, Hbr. *ʔümäš* ‘last night, yesterday’, Arb. ?*əmsi*, *musy-* ‘yesterday’, *masā?-* ‘evening’, Gez. *məset* ‘evening, twilight’, Tgr. *məset*, Tna *məšät*, Amh. *məšet* ‘evening’, Hrs. *yemšī*, Mhr. *yemšē*, Jib. ?*əmšīn*, Soq. ?*əmšīn* ‘yesterday’ (Hrs.-Mhr. *y-* instead of *?- and, especially, MSA -š/ ū- vs. Arb. -s- speak against judging these forms as Arabisms, which they may resemble upon first glance).

 - < Afras. *(?a-)mas(y)- ‘night, evening’ (ADB): Egyp. (OK) *msw-t*, (MK) *msy-t* ‘supper, evening meal’; C. Chad.: Gudu *məšü* ‘evening’, Logone *méése* ‘midnight’, (?) Daba *ámusku* ‘yesterday’; Cush. N.: Beja *amas* ‘late evening, night, twilights’ (hardly < Arb.), *ámse* ‘today’ (perhaps an Arabism), S. *?*amas-*: Iraqw, Gorowa *əmsi*, Alagwa, Burunge *amasi* ‘middle of the night’, Qwadza *amasi-ya* ‘tomorrow’, Asa *eramesa* ‘night’ (with a secondary -r); N. Omot. *?*umars-:*⁷ Wolaita ?*omársa*, Malo ?*omars-* ‘night’, Gofa ?*umarsa*, Dorze *omarsa* ‘night, evening’, etc. (ADB; cf. EDE III⁸ 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. *lilät-* (*liliät-*) ‘evening, night’, MSA (< Arb.?): Hrs. *léylet* (JH86), Mhr. *láylat* ‘night’ (JM 259: “in certain contexts only”), Soq. *lilhe* id.
 - For various suggested Afras. etymologies cf. EDE III 43–44, where they are justly considered “uncertain”.
- (3) Arg. *hadara* // < Eth. **hdr*: Gez. *hadara* ‘reside, dwell, stay overnight’, Tna. *hadärrä* ‘stay overnight’, Tgr. *hadra* ‘dwell, stay’, etc. (LGz 258–9) < Sem. **hdr* ‘spend the night, dwell’, **ha{idr}* ‘dwelling, chamber, tent’ : Eblaite /*hadrum/*, Ugr. *hdr* (DUL 355; *h-* is irregular), Hbr. *ħädär* ‘room’, Pho. *hdr* ‘(burial) chamber’, Arb. *hdr* ‘remain and keep to a place’, *ħidr*

⁷ As for the secondary *r*, cf. also Eth. Gur.: Cha., Eža *məsarä*, Ennemor, Gyeto *məsaʔarä* ‘night’ and Mil. RE 113.

⁸ 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. *hdr* ‘chamber, funeral chamber’ (SD 59), Hrs., Mhr. *hedōr* ‘to put up a sunshade’, Jib *hodor* id., Soq. *hádor* ‘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. *hadar-* ‘obscurité de la nuit’ and *hdr* ‘é. très noir’ (BK 1 544–5), perhaps a contamination of two roots.
- (4) Arg. *etta, yet* (syn.); Soq. *hte* // Likely < Sem. **ȝayt-* ‘time; night’ (for this semantic connection cf. #6 below): Hbr. *ȝet* ‘point in time, occasion, time’ (HALOT 899); cf. also what looks like a variant stem **ȝant-*, with secondary *-n-* infixated: Ugr. *ȝnt* ‘now’ (DUL 169), Hbr. *ȝattā* ‘now’ (HALOT 901), etc.
- If Sem. **ȝayt-* may be analyzed as **ȝay-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) *ȝ̥-t* ‘time, moment’), N. Cush.: Beja *?ā* ‘time, period’ (more likely < **?ā* than **?ā*, as normally **? > ?*, while **? > Ø* in Beja); S. Omot.: Ongota *ȝuo* ‘night’, perhaps allowing to reconstruct Afras. **ȝay/w-* (ADB).
- (5) Har. *artu, ȝrtu*; 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 **ȝrb*, **ȝrb...* with disappearance of *b...* is possible.” The provenance from Sem. **ȝrb* is more likely than from Cush., since **ȝ > Ø* in S.-E. Eth., while **ȝ/h* (reconstructible for the E. Cush. forms quoted) > *h* in Har. If this is true, the word is related to Sem. **ȝarb-* ‘sunset, evening, west’: Akk. *erebu* (*erbu*) ‘setting of the sun, west’, Arb. *ȝarb-* ‘coucher du soleil’, Gez. *ȝarab* ‘west, sunset’, *ȝarba* ‘to set (sun), become evening’, Mhr. *ȝarbēt* ‘strange place, unknown place, abroad’, Jib. *oyórb* ‘to go west’ (ADB).⁹
- (6) Hrs. *?aṣer*; Mhr. *ȝaṣar*; Jib. *ȝaṣar* // < Sem. **ȝaṣr-* ‘feast, time, season, night’ (ADB): Hbr. *ȝaṣrā* ‘holiday, celebration, festive assembly’, Syr. *ȝaṣart-* ‘sacrificium’, Arb. *ȝa/i/uṣr-* ‘temps; saison, moment propre, temps nécessaire; age, siècle, époque’, *?al-ȝaṣr-* ‘le jour et la nuit, ou le soir et le matin’, Soq. *ȝaṣer* ‘temps’ (perhaps an Arabism).
- Common North and West Semitic (S. Eth.) *(*a*-)*mVṣy-* (#1).
West Semitic **layl-* (#2).

61. NOSE

- (1) Akk. *appu*; Ugr. *?ap*; Hbr. *?ap*; Pal. *?p*; Qur. *?anf-*; Gez. *?anf*; Tgr. *?anaf*; Gaf. *ȝfʷä*; Sod. *afunna*; Har. *ȝif*; Cha. *ȝfuna* // < Sem. **?anp-* ‘nose’, including Arm.: Jud. *?appā*, *?anpā* ‘nose; face’, Bib. *?anpōhī* (with a dual suffix), Syr. *?appē*, *?appayyā* (pl.), Mnd. *anpia* ‘face’ (SED I No. 8).
- With prefixed **?a-* < Afras. *(*a*-)*na/if-* ‘breath (> life, soul, heart), blowing of wind’ (ADB; cf. EDE I 117–18): Brb.: Ahaggar *a-nəfо* ‘breath’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *a-nəfо* ‘fresh humid wind’, etc.; Egyp. (OK) *nf-t* ‘fan’, (NK) *nf* ‘breath; wind’; C. Chad.: Daba *nəp* ‘to rest, to breathe’, Tera *nifi* ‘life’, Logone *nəfu* ‘life; heart’, Fali-Kirya *naffə* ‘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 < **?anf-*).
- (2) Syr. *nəhīr-*; Mnd. *nhir-*; Urm. *nāhīr-*; Leb. *mənħar*; Mlt. *əmniħer*; Hrs. *nħerīr*; Mhr. *nəħrīr*; Jib. *nħrer*; Soq. *nahrīr* // < Sem. **nahīr-* ‘nostril, nose’: Akk. *nahīru* ‘nostril’, etc. (SED I No. 198).
- < Afras. **nahVr-* ‘nose’ (ADB): Brb.: Ahaggar *a-ñğur*, Ghat *a-nȝur*, Semlal *ti-nħər-t*, etc. ‘nose’; S. Cush. **?a-nħari* ‘phlegm’: Iraqw *ħħari*, Burunge *anħari*. Seems to go back, with the root extension *-r, to Afras. **nah-* ‘referring to the nose, nasal mucus, phlegm (> saliva),

⁹ For an alternative etymology cf. Gez. *?ar* ‘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. *nahnaḥatu* 'nose cartilage', Syr. *nahnaḥt-* 'tonsillae', Arb. *nūḥmat-* (with fossilized suffixed *-m*) 'ce que l'on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.', Jib. *nħiħ* 'phlegm' (SED I No. 197); Brb.: Ghadames *nħiħnħiħ* 'speak through the nose'; Egyp. (Pyr.) *nh* 'saliva; spit out'; E. Cush.: Yaaku *núka?* 'nose' < **nug-* (if -*g* renders *-*ħ*, which is not clear; perhaps < **nuk-* then to compare with S. Omot.: Dime *nuku*, Hamer, Ari *nuki* id.).
- (3) Mec. *ħušum* // Class. Arb. *hayšūm-* 'cartilages du nez' (BK 1 578). Cf. Soq. *in-hášim* 'sneeze' (LS 194), unless < **ħ̴m* (compared with Mhr., Jib. *ħášm* 'phlegm' in DRS 934); most likely, a variant root with a plausible semantic shift.
- (4) Tna. *?afanča*; Amh. Arg. *afanča* // An enigmatic word, with no parallels in other Sem.
- The only possible parallel is Egyp. *fnd* 'nose', possibly < **fVnVč/č/č-*, but alternatively < **fVnVg-*, comparable with Chad. W.: **fVng-* (Hausa *fafungà* 'toothless mouth', Siri *vengi* 'mouth', Sura Angas Fyer *fuŋ* 'hole', C.: Mulwi *fingí* '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 cognition with Afras. **f-n*).
- (5) Wol. *bärbare* // Leslau (LGur 151) speculates about possible connections with *bärbare* '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 **?anp-* (#1).
 - Common West (Arm.) and South Semitic **nahīr-* (#2).

62. NOT¹⁰

- (1) Akk. *ul*; Hbr. *ʔal*; Pho. *ʔl*; Sab. *ʔl*; Amh. *al... (m)*; Arg. *al (...w/u)*; Gaf. *al*; Sod. *al-*; Har. *al*; Wol. *al-*; Hrs. *ʔel*, Mhr. *ʔal (...la?)*, Jib. *ʔol (...lɔ?)*; Soq. *ʔal*, *ol* // < Sem. **?al*, with a var. **?ul* in Akk. and Ugr. *ʔal*, a negative functor (DUL 46).
- < Afras. **?a/ul*: Brb.: Seghrushen, Shenwa, Mzab *ul*, Maṭmaṭa *ūl*, Zwara, Nefusa *wəl* 'not'; E. Cush.: Afar *alēy* 'no', Saho *ʔallō* '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. *la?*; Mhr. *(ʔal...) la?*; Jib. *(ʔol...) lɔ?* // < Sem. **la?* (perhaps eventually related, with metathesis, to **?a/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. **?ay*: 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. **?ay*: Egyp. (OK) *ʔw.i* 'welcher nicht' (quoted in ND No. 3 with two question marks); E. Cush.: HEC: Burji *-ay?*, Hadiya *-yyo*, suffixed negative markers of verbs (ibid.); S. Omot.: Ari *-ai* 'no', Dime *ʔeekai* (< *ʔee-kai*, cf. Basketo *-kkaye*, Chara *káyay*, Seze *keʔieiw* 'not') id., Ongota (*ma-*)...*-i* 'not' (ADB; ND No. 3).
- (4) Qur. *mā*; Leb. *mā (...š)*; Mec. *mā*; Mlt. *mā*; Amh. (*al...*) *m*, Gaf. *-m* // < Sem. **ma(?)*: Har. *mē?* 'no!' (LHar 102).
- < Afras.: Egyp. (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 *má?* (...*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*

¹⁰ 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-* (...-?i) ‘not’ (ADB; EDE III 13–14).
- (5) Tna. (*?ay...*) *n*; Cha. *an-* // < Sem. **?ayn-* ‘(there) is not’: Akk. *yañnu*, *yānu* ‘is not’, Ugr. *?in*, Hbr. *?ēn* ‘there is no’, *?ayin* ‘non-existence; nothing’ (HALOT 41–42), Cha. *enä*, Gyeto *enätä*, Eža, Masqan, Gogot *ennä* ‘there is not’ (LGur 54).
- < Afras.: **?ayn-* (< **?ay-n?*) ~ **nay-* (< **n-?ay?*): Egyp. (Pyr.) *n* ‘not’ (Coptic *n-*), (NE) (*bn ...*) *in* ‘not’ (Coptic *an*); Chad. W.: Zakshi, Zangwai *nai*, Tala *nú*, Juu *nu* ‘not’, C.: Bana *ŋyáà*, Malgwa *ŋa* ‘no’; E. Cush.: Afar (*ma-...*) *-in*, Saho (*mā-...*) *-in* ‘not’, LEC: Somali (*má-...*) *-in*, Dase-nech *-ŋ*, *-an*, Konso *in* (...*u*), (?) Yaaku *ŋ'inin* ‘no’ (< **?in in?*); N. Omot.: Wolaita *gid-ēnna* (*gid-* ‘be’), Kullo, Gofa *gid-enna*, Chara *an-*, Yemsa *aìnè* ‘not’ (ADB; cf. ND No. 48).
- Common Semitic **?a/ul*.
Common Semitic **la?*.

63. ONE

- (1) Akk. *ištēn* m., *ištiat* f. // < Sem. **išt(-Vn/t)-* ‘one; eleven’: Ugr. (DUL 190) *išt(y)* ‘one’ (less common than *?ahd*), *išt* *ſ̥r(h)*, Hbr. *Naštē ſāšar* (HALOT 898) ‘eleven’, Min. *iſt* id. (LM 15), Qat. *iſt-n-m* ‘one’ (Ricks 125).
- Sem. **išt(-Vn/t)-* < **iš-t-* (with a fossilized *-*t* suffix) continues Afras. **iſt-n/t-* ‘one’ (with *-n* masculine and *-t* feminine suffixes?): Chad. **say/w(-t)-* (met.): W.: Hausa *sàu* ‘times’ (*sau uku* ‘three times’), Angas *šii*, Goemai *s̥à* id. (or < Hausa), Guruntum *ša* ‘one’ (St. 2009 #38a), C.: Mafa *sátá-d* ‘one’ (id. 111), Podoko *saya* ‘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. *?ahd*; Hbr. *?āħad*; Pho. (Pun.) *?hd*; Bib. *ḥad*; Pal. *ḥad*; Syr. *ḥad-*; Mnd. *had*; Urm. *ḥad-*; Qur. *wāħid-*; Leb. *wəħad*; Mec. *wāħid*; Mlt. *wīħet*; Sab. *?hd*; Gez. *?ahadu*; Tna. *ḥadā*; Tgr. *hatte* f. (*woro* m.); Amh. *and*; Arg. *hand*; Gaf. *ՃՅԱ*; Sod. *at(t)*; Har. *ahad*; Wol. *add*; Cha. *at* // < Sem. **(?/wa-)ħad-* ‘one, single, alone, united’: Akk. *wēdu* ‘single, sole, alone’ (CDA 438), Hbr. *yħid* ‘to be united’ (HALOT 405), Arb. *wħd* ‘to be alone’ (ibid.), Gez. *wāħad* ‘unique, only, one’ (LGz 609; Gez. *weħda* ‘to be few’, quoted in HALOT 405 as *weħda*, is a different root), Mhr. *wəħáyd* ‘alone, solitary, liking to be on one’s own’ (JM 425; Hrs. *wāħid* ‘one (in telling time)’ in JH 135, is an Arabism), Jib. *ahdi* ‘by oneself, all alone’, *š-ēħad* ‘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. *ħōd* ‘couple (homme et femme)’ (LS 166 with no etymology, but both phonetically and semantically — as ‘union’ — fairly fitting).
- < Afras. **(?/wa-)ħad-* ‘one’: Chad. **daHw/y-* ~ **waHid-* ‘one’: W.: Hausa *dáyá* (< **daH-*), Kare-kare *wádi*, *?wádi* (< **Hʷad-*), C.: Munjuk *ḍaw*, Nzangi *hidō*, Bachama *hido*, Bata *hido*, Musgu *deu*, *day*, Zime-Batna *ḍao*, *ḍāu?*, Masa *deu* (cf. also Logone *sɔy-diá*), E.: **ka-yid-* (*ka-* ‘head’): Dangla *kì-dá*, Migama *ká-dyì*, Birgit *key-do*; (?) E. Cush.: Yaaku *weħe*, *weħetu* (< **wVħVd-*, with hypercorrection in *weħe*, where *-t* was perceived as a feminine suffix and dropped?).
- (3) Hrs. *ṭād* (m.), *ṭāt* (f.); Mhr. *ṭāṭ* (m.); LS 199 quotes *ṭad*, *ṭāyt* (f.; same in LS); Jib. *ṭād* (m.), *ṭit* (f.) (JM 406); Soq. *ṭad* (m.), *ṭey* (f.) (LS 199) // An enigmatic term. Beside an isolated Qat. *ṭd* ‘one’ (Ricks 77), this looks like a loan from some early stage of MSA, the only hypothetical parallel I could find is Arb. *ṭuʔa"* (< **ṭw?*) ‘quelqu’un’ (BK 2 116).¹¹
- Common West Semitic **(?/wa-)ħad-* (#2).

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

64. PERSON

- (1) Akk. *?awīlu* // 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 *iš* ‘man’ < **Hil*, unless < **Hill-* ‘to be, exist’); Chad. W.: Bokkos *ȝál*, Sha *hál* ‘child’, E.: Mokilko *ȝiló*, Somrai *wil* ‘child’; Cush. E.: Afar *il(i)mo* ‘bastard’ (with suffixed *-m*), LEC: Somali *wi(i)l* ‘boy’, *wáláal* ‘brother; sister’, Boni *wheel* ‘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. *?änōš*; Bib. (*bar-*)*?änāš*; Pal. *brnš*, *?änāš*; Syr. *bar-(?)nāš-*; Mnd. (*a)naš-*, *barnāša*; Urm. *barnāš-*; Qur. *?insān-*; Leb. *?insēn*; Sab. *?ns₁* // < Sem. *(*bin-/bar-*)*?i/a-naš-* (v. Afras. cognates in MAN No.5).

(3) Pho. *?dm¹²* // also ‘man, someone’ < Sem. *(*ʔadam-*): Akk. *adamu* ‘an important, noble person’ (CAD *a1* 95: LL), ‘eine Person’ (AHw. 10), Ugr. *?adm* ‘man, mankind’ (DUL 17); Hbr. *?ādām* ‘mankind, people; individual man; Adam’ (HALOT 14), Sab. *?dm*, *?dwm-t*, *?dym* ‘vassals, servants, adepts’ (SD 2), Qat. *?dm* ‘men, people; subjects, vassals (of a king, etc.)’ (Ricks 5), Arb. (Dat., Hdr.) *?awādim* ‘people, mankind’,¹³ Jib. *bírdém* (JJ 27)¹⁴ (v. Mil. SE 238–9; ADB).

 - Perhaps < Afras. *(*ʔa)-dam-* kin, family member(s)’ (ADB):¹⁵ Chad. W.: Mupun *adám* (pl. *dande*) ‘legitimate child’, C.: Podoko *dama* ‘brother, sister’, Cuvok *dèm* ‘daughter’, *dòmà*

MSA. While *t* and *d* are also incompatible in continental MSA (with the exception of **ṭad-*), there are at least two more cases of *t* and *d* in one and the same root in Soq., perhaps reflecting the proto-MSA (in)compatibility pattern: *ṭádah* ‘dos’ and *ṭádi* ‘provision’ (LS 199). In view of this, somewhat far-fetched reasoning, one may surmise that the Proto-MSA masculine form was **ṭā-t*, with the singulative suffix *-t*, later perceived as the second radical, incompatible with the first one, and thus voiced, whereas the feminine form **ṭay* 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.

¹² 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.

¹³ Both are *pluralia tantum* from the unattested singular form **ʔādām-* 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 ʔādām-* ‘sons of Adam’, or from the quoted ESA forms with somewhat different semantics, or from Hbr. *?ādām*. While Class. Arb. *?ādām-* ‘Adam, forefather of mankind’ (BK 1 20) is more likely borrowed from or influenced by the Hbr. word, it is not necessarily so for *?ādāmiyy-* ‘human’ (ibid.). The same can be said about Gez. *?addām* ‘Adam’ and *?addāmāwi* ‘human’ (LGz 7). There are also Tna. *?addam* ‘humanity, mankind, everybody’ and Tgr. *?addam* ‘people, men’ (pl. *?addamatat* ‘crowds of men’, *?addemay* ‘little man’ LH 384), whose meaning and collective plural make the possibility of borrowing from Arb. or Gez. very doubtful.

¹⁴ The first stem of this compound form, *bír*, casts certain doubts on the possibility of direct borrowing from Arb. (cf. the Omani Arb. *bin ʔādām-*) 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.

¹⁵ 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 *(*?)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. *?dm* ‘to join, aggregate; reconcile; integrate someone into one’s clan’, Gez. *?adāmdama* (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 *đómme* ‘together’, *ba*

- ‘sister’, Sukun *dəm* ‘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. *?iš* (syn.); Sab. *?s₁* (syn.) // < Sem. **?iš-* (v. MAN No. 3).
- (5) Pal. *g̊bar*; Urm. (both syn.) *gabr-* // v. MAN No. 4.
- (6) Mec. *šahṣ* // Class. Arb. *šahṣ-* ‘personne, individu’ (BK 1 1202). A rare root composition of radicals leaves only one possible etymology, namely, < Sem. **šahṣ*¹⁶ ‘to be high, great, lofty (> haughty)’: Arb. *šahṣ* (*a*) ‘ê. él evê s’éléver’, *šahṣ* (*u*) ‘ê. grand, gros’, *šahīṣ-* ‘grand, gros, considerable, marquant (homme, personnage); seigneur, maître’ (BK 1 1202),¹⁷ Hbr. (hapax in Job 28:8) *šāḥaṣ* ‘size, pride’ (HALOT 1463), pB. *šahṣ* ‘pride, conceit’, *šahṣ* (pi.) ‘to strut’, (http.) ‘to hold oneself aloof’, Jud. *šahṣ-* ‘pride’ (ibid.), Gez. *šəḥṣa* (with irregular *h*, which must be a scribe’s error) ‘be insolent, arrogant, insult, offend, etc.’ (LGz 528).
- (7) Gez. *bələs-i* // also ‘man, male, husband, someone’ (v. MAN No. 7).
- (8) Tna. *säb*; Amh. *säw*; Arg. *su*; Gaf. *säwwä*; Sod. *säb*; Har. *usu?*; Wol. *säb*; Cha. *säb* // v. MAN No. 9.
- (9) Mhr. *nafs*; Jib. *nafs* // ‘person, individual’ (probably influenced by rather than borrowed from Arb.¹⁸) < 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 *ənfas*, E. Tawllemmet *infas* ‘respiration; vie’, Semnal *sūnefs* ‘respirer’, etc.;¹⁹ Chad. W.: Hausa *númfáasaa*, *límfaásaa* ‘breathe; take a rest’, Bokkos *lafos*, Sha *lufwos*, Daffo-Butura *nafos* ‘breathe’ (St. 2005 #390a), C. (met.): Mofu *-səfn-*, Musgu *súmfə*, Munjuk *sinjfi* ‘to breathe’ (St. 2009 #65)²⁰; Cush. C.: Aungi *nefes-ən* ‘blow’, E.: Saho *nafse* ‘breathing’ (both likely < Eth.), LEC: Boni *neefso* ‘breathe’, Rendille *nefs’i* ‘breath’, *nefsó*, *nefs’-áda* ‘breathe’ (hardly < Amh.)²¹
- (10) Soq. *hay* (Kogan MS: *hēyhi*) // the original meaning likely being ‘(the) living (one)’ < Sem. **hw̥y* ‘to live’ (v. in HALOT 309, LGz 252).
- < Afras. **hayVw-* ‘live, be born, give birth to’ (ADB): Brb. **Hiway* ‘be born’: Ayr *əhw*, E. Tawllemmet *ahw* (*ăsəho* ‘native of’), Ahaggar *iwi*; Chad. **Hay-* (if < **hay-*, unless < **hay-*): C.: Tera *hya*, Margi *iyà*, Higi *i?ya*, Matakam *ya*, etc. ‘give birth’, E.: Somrai *yá*, Kabalai *yàyà*

đámme, Nakatsa *bà đómà* ‘all’; Cush. C.: Khamir *edem*, *yedem* (< **adam-*?) ‘to invite to a fiest’, 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’.

¹⁶ **š_x* (instead of **š*) is tentatively reconstructed on the basis of the correspondence Arb. *š* ~ Hbr. *š* ~ MSA **š* (on **š_x* see, e.g., SED I XC VIII-CV). While Sem. **š* continues Afras. **č*, Sem. **š_x* reflects Afras. **š*.

¹⁷ 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).

¹⁸ This assumption is sustained by two arguments: (1) in both languages, the root *nfs* with related verbal meanings (e.g. Mhr. *əntafūs*, Jib. *əntfés* ‘to be safely delivered (of a child)’, Mhr. *šə-nfūs*, Jib. *šə-nfés* ‘to welcome so.’, Jib. *əntfés* ‘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?

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

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

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

'give birth', Mokilko *?é?iyó* 'birth'; Cush. N.: (?) Beja *haay-* 'live' (acc. to LGz, < Eth.), E.: Saho, Afar *hay* id. (acc. to LGz, < Eth.), HEC: Hadiya *hee?-*, Kambatta *he?-*, Burji *ye-d* 'live'.²²

- ◊ Mlt. *persūna*, most probably < Italian; Tgr. *näfär* < Arb.; Hrs. *benēdem*, Mhr. *menēdem* (syn.) < Omani Arabic *bin ?ādam* (JH 18).
- Common West Semitic *(*bin-/bar-*)*?i-naš-* (#2)

65. RAIN

- (1) Akk. *zunnu*; Sab. *dn̩m*; Gez. *zənām*; Tna. *zənam*, *zənab*; Tgr. *zəlam*; Amh. *zənab*; Arg. *zənab*; Gaf. *zənabwü*; Sod. *zənab*; Har. *zənāb*; Wol. *zəlam*; Cha. *zərab* // < Sem. **dun(a)m-* (DRS 336) with phonetic variations due to low compatibility of -*n*- and -*m*-.
- < Afras. **žVn(-Vm)-* ~ **žVm(-Vn)-*: (?) Brb. *-*Zəm-* (if **Z-* < **ž-*): Ahaggar *tī-həm-t*, Ayr *ti-səm-t*, E. Tawllemmet *ti-šəm-t* 'réservoir artificiel'; C. Chad.: Bana *nʒámá* 'pleuvoir', Gude *nʒəmə* 'rain', Podoko *nʒúme* 'soak', Sukun *ʒimun* 'first rains season' (acc. to St. 2009 < **(n-)žVm-*).
- (2) Ugr. *m̩r*; Hbr. *māṭār*; Pal. *m̩r*; 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-ḍrer* 'sprinkle'; etc.; Chad. W.: Hausa *tàrarà* 'drip or pour out', Jimi *taari* 'flow', E.: Migama *tárró* 'water flow'; E. Cush.: LEC: Somali *ḍarer* 'dripping' (note a coincidence of two radical -*r* in most of the forms).²³
- (3) Hbr. *gāšäm* (syn.) // < Sem. **gašm* ~ **šgm* 'rain; pour': Ugr. *gšm* 'rain, downpour' (DUL 310; Kog. Ug.-Can 24 and n. 68), Syr. **šegm-* (in *šegmē də-meṭrā* 'magni imbræ' Brock. 755), Arb. *sžm* 'couler (se dit des larmes)', IV 'verser (les larmes, la pluie)' (BK 1 1055), Tna. *gässämä* 'to drink a lot, to quench one's thirst' (Kog. Ug.-Can. 25).
- (4) Leb. *šítā*; Mlt. *šítā* // Class. Arb. *šítā?*, *šatwat-*, *šātāt-* 'hiver', *?aš-šatāwiyy-* 'pluie d'hiver' (BK 1 1190) < Sem. **šítaw/?-* 'rainy, windy season': Akk. *šūtu* 'south; south wind' (CAD š₃ 408–9), Hbr. *sətāw* (s- instead of the expected **š-* suggests a loan from Arm.) 'rainy season, winter' (hapax in Song 2:11), Old Arm. *št̪w*, Syr. *satw-*, Jud., Mnd. *sitw-* ib. (all in HALOT 770–71), Mhr. *šētəw*, Jib. *šēte?* 'winter', Soq. *šētə* '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. **ma?/y-* 'water' (v. WATER No. 1).
- (6) Hrs. *me-lsēn*; Mhr. *ma-lsi*; Jib. *mō-sé*; Soq. *me-se*²⁴ // < Sem. **liš(lVš)-* 'efflux, outflow': pB Hbr. *lišlăšät* 'secretion, chicken's dirt, spittle' (Ja. 720), Jud. *lišlūšat-* 'foam (of nostrils)' (ibid.), Syr. *lšlwš* 'mucus' (Brock. 371).
- (7) Hrs. *rehemet*; Mhr. *rehemét*; Jib. *rahmét* (all syn.) // Considered a metaphor < Sem. **rḥm* 'to be merciful, kind' < Sem. **rah(i)m-/riḥm-* 'womb' (SED I No. 231).
 - ◊ No term in Pho. and Bib.
 - Common North and West (Eth.) Semitic **dun(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_x* re-

²² According to EDE III 656, Egyp. (Pyr.) *hw* 'food' may be cognate with Sem. **hyw* ~ **hw̩y* 'to live'; that source quotes are direct Afras. parallels to the Egyp. root: E. Chad.: Somrai *hāyē*, Ndam *āy* 'food'; S. Cush.: Asa *haiu-g* id.

²³ For alternative, less tenable interpretations see EDE III 737–8.

²⁴ Also *lī(y)sōh* 'pleuvoir' (compared in LS 234 with Arb. *lty* 'é. mouillé, humecté' with an irregular correspondence between the second radicals: Arb. *t* corresponds to Soq. *t*).

flected in Hbr. as both š and ṣ (v. discussion in Bulakh. Akk. 7–8). In spite of the irregular reflexion 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-):²⁵ Boka šummaā, Hildi mī-šišimā, Gude šišima, Zelgwa sisím sisím, and C. Cush. *šaman- ‘black’ (according to CDA 34, derivatives of *cam-): Qwara, Kemant šämäna, Falasha čamana or šamana. Note also S. Cush. *ceʔam-: Iraqw ceʔama ‘sun’, Qwadza ceʔema ‘bile’ (acc. to HRSC 355, < ‘yellow’; compared with Akk. siāmu, sâmu ‘rot, braun s.’ in Tak 2001 3), which is compatible with the Akk. root, but neither with Sem. *š- nor with *saḥm-.
- (2) Ugr. ?dm;²⁶ Hbr. ?ādōm; Cha. dāmyät // < Sem. *(?a-)dam- ‘dark red’: Akk. daʔmu (met.?) ‘dark-colored, dark-red’ (CAD d 74 < daʔamu ‘become dark’ ibid. 1)²⁷, (?) Sab. ?dmhy (v. discussion in Bulakh Hbr. 200–201), Arb. ?udmat- ‘red color’ (Blachère 63), dmm ‘teindre en rouge’ (BK 1 728), Gez. ?addāmāwi ‘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’.²⁸
- < Afras. *(?a-)dVm- ~ *diʔm- ‘(dark) red’ (ADB): Brb. *-dVm(dVm)-: Tamazight adəmman ‘brown, bronze coloured’, Shilh adəmmani ‘brown, bronze coloured’ (N-Z 343), Qabyle ddəmdəm ‘violet’; Egyp.(OK) ?dmy ‘red linen cloth’; Cush. C.: Aungi dāmmá, Kunfäl 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?tə ‘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. swmk, symwk, smwk; Syr. sūmāk-, summāk- (also ‘sumac’ Brock. 482); Mnd. sumak-; Urm. səmūk- // < 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. ?ašmak- ‘écume mêlée de sang que jette un chameau’ (BK 1 1271), then < Sem. *sumāk- ‘red(dish)’ (see Bulakh Dis.)

²⁵ This root is equated (ibid.) with *sVm-sVm- ‘kind of tree with yellow fruit or bark’, containing Mafa šešém- 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.

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ For an alternative etymology < *dhm see Bulakh Akk. 198.

²⁸ 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. daʔmu 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 duwwaa ‘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. *humr-* (pl.); Leb. Mec. Mlt. *ahmar*, (?) Sab. *hmrt* ‘red’ (SD 68; syn.) // < Sem. **hamr-* ‘red’: Akk. *ummuru* ‘a kind of bronze’ (CDA 422: LL), ‘eine besonders geläuterte Bronze’ (AHw. 1417), (?) Ugr. *hmr* ‘red, reddish’ (DUL 364; v. Kog. Ug.-Sem. 12), Hbr. *hmr* (*poṣalṣal*) ‘to glow’ (HALOT 330; hapax in Job 16:16), Jud. *hammār* ‘dark’ (Ja. 480), Mnd. *hmr* ‘to be red, inflamed’ (DM 150), Gez. *hamr* ‘kind of color, complexion’, *hamar* ‘red berry’ (LGz. 234), Tna. *hamra* ‘reddish (bovine coat)’, *hamray* ‘reddish, bay, auburn’ (Kane T 172), Tgr. *hamär* ‘red-brown (horse, cow)’ (LH 384), Amh. *hamär* ‘reddish bay (horse)’ (Kane A 7), *amär* ‘bay (horse)’ (ibid. 1122).²⁹
- (5) Gez. *kayyiḥ*; Tna. *käyyiḥ*; Tgr. *käyəḥ*; Amh. *käyy*; Arg. *käyyah*, *käy*; Gaf. *käyä*; Har. *kēḥ* // < Sem. **kayḥ-* ‘light red, rose’: (?) Akk. *kû* (*gû*) ‘copper, bronze’ (CAD կ 291), Jud. *kəḥāḥ-* ‘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), *kayḥ-* ‘pus (qui n'est pas mêlé de sang)’ (ibid. 844), (?) Hdr. *kyḥ* ‘red (applied to bronze)’ (v. Bulakh Gez. 740–41).
- For possible Afras. parallels see either (1) Egyp. (BD) *khy* ‘moon’ and Chad. **kVY/wVH-* ‘moon’ (in St. 2011 #181, adducing Egyp. *khy* as a possible cognate): W.: Duwai *kiyà*, C. **kiy-*: Mofu *kiyá*, Gisiga, Matakam *kiyà*, Buduma *kyèá*, etc., E.: W. Dangla *kýé*, Migama *kóoyò*, Bidiyo *koya* (all reflecting Egyp.-Chad. **kVYḥ-*, and, if related with Sem., allowing to reconstruct Afras. **kayḥ-* ‘moonlight’), or, more problematic, (2) Omot. **?ak-* (< **Ha/ik-?*): N.: Kafa, Mocha *aa?o*, Anfillo *?aako*, Bworo *aaķa* ‘black’, S.: Hamar *?ɛk* ‘green’ (ADB).³⁰
- (6) Tgr. *tala* (syn.) // (in LH 606) < Sem. **tl?* ‘to be spotty, have red and white spots’ (cf. Bulakh Dis.): Tna. *tala* ‘ashen white (ox’s coat); light brown (cow’s coat)’ (Kane T 2398), *čeløy* ‘fawn-colored, tawny, beige (lion’s, ox’s coat)’ (ibid. 2495), Amh. *tala* ‘red marks on cotton bolls caused by insects’, *ṭalūt* ‘white fleck in the eye, cataract; skin disease which makes dark red scabs and spots’ (Kane A 2087), Hbr. *ṭalū?* (part. pass., qal) ‘spotted (sheep), multicoloured (pillows), patched (shoes)’ (HALOT 375), Arb. *ṭullā?* ‘sang’ (BK 2 104), Mhr. *ṭolū* ‘to paint, colour, daub; to colour (the face), make up’ (JM 410), Jib. *télé* ‘id.’ (JJ 278), Soq. *ṭal* ‘queue blanche d’un mouton’ (LS 203).
- (7) Hrs. *?áfer*; Mhr. *?ōfər* (*?ɔfər*); Jib. *ɛ́fər*; Soq. *ɛ́fer* // Very likely < Sem. **ʕapar-* ‘dust, soil’: Akk. *ep(e)ru* ‘dust; earth, loose earth; territory, soil; etc.’ (CAD e 184), Ugr. *ʕpr* ‘dust; earth, ground’ (DUL 174), Hbr. *ʕapār* ‘dust’ (HALOT 861–2), Arb. *ʕafar-*, *ʕafr-* ‘terre, poussière’; *ʕufrat-* ‘couleur grisâtre de poussière’, *ʔaʃfar-* ‘rougeâtre melé; sable rougeâtre’ (BK 2 298), Tgr. *ʕufär* ‘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: **?adam-* (#2).

67. ROAD

- (1) Akk. *harrānu* // < *harr-ānu* (OAKK. on; acc. to CAD *ḥ* 106, possibly connected with Hurrian *hari*). Judging by lack of visible parallels with *ḥ-* (except for Ugr. *hṛn* ‘gang, caravan’ DUL

²⁹ 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. **hmr* ‘to be swollen, inflamed (of inner and outer organs)’ with a semantic development toward ‘to be reddened’ (ibid.).

³⁰ 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. *ḥārat-* ‘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. **ha(w)r-*: Egyp. (Pyr.) *ḥry* ‘go far from, move away’, *ḥr-t* ‘road’; E. Chad. **Har-* ‘go’: Nanchere *āre*, Gabri *ōre*, Kabalai *àrrà*, 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. *žarrat-* ‘chemin, sentier qui conduit à l’eau’, *žārūr-* ‘cours d’eau, canal’ (BK 1 272; cf. *žry* ‘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’, ‘tirer’ or ‘soumettre’).
 - < Afras. **gaw/yr-* ‘walk, run, come and go’ (ADB): Brb. **gVwVr-* ‘to walk’: Nefusa, Senhadja *ugur*, Rif *uğur*, Mzab *iżur* (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 *gér-* ‘go into’, Banana *gwərə* ‘follow’, E.: Somrai *gər* ‘come’, E. Dangla *ógíré* ‘go by’, Nanchere *gúr*, Dormo *geré*, Kaba *gó-gira*, Mubi *ŋgira* ‘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 *ladàáp*, Jimi *təboo*, Zeem *topəi*, Dokshi *tuup*, Tule *tòbò*, C.: Fali-Kiria *ladāp* ‘road’, E.: Migama *tèbbò* ‘walk’, probably implying Common Chad. **n/la-tVb-* ‘road’ (ADB).
 - (4) Hbr. *däräk*; 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),³¹ Gur. (*tü*)*drakätä* ‘hurry, rush’ (LGur 220), Mhr. *dərōk* ‘come quickly to help’ (JM 73), Jib. *dárók* ‘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. *daraž-* (etc. — cf. DRS 308); (3) (?) Afras. **darb-* ‘road’ (see #7).
 - (5) Bib. *?arḥā*; Pal. *?wrḥ*; Syr. *?urḥ-*; Mnd. *fuhr-*; Urm. *?ürəḥ-* // < Sem. **?urḥ-* ‘way, road’: Akk. *urḥu* ‘way’, Hbr. *?ōraḥ* ‘way’ (rare), Soq. *?erah* ‘come, arrive’. Reconstructed as **urḥ-* in DRS 32 (omitting *?-*, 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. **?urḥ-* is to be re-

³¹ 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 **?urh-* (the semantic connection with Sab. *?rh* ‘affair, matter, undertaking’ SD 7, compared by some authors, is far from evident).³²
- (6) Qur. *ṭarik-*; Leb. *ṭariʔ*; Mec. *ṭariyg*; Mlt. *tri?* // The coincidence with *ṭārik-* ‘étoile du matin’ < Sem. **t/tarVk-* ‘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 *daraggū*), which, if it reflects phonetic reality, can be < **ṭark-* due to incompatibility of two emphatic radicals in Akk.; otherwise, Arb. *ṭarik-* can be < **tarik-*, with assimilation.
- (7) Leb. *darab* (syn.) // Class. Arb. *darb-* (acc. to Lane, not a word of Arabic origin)³³ ‘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 *ă-barid*, Ghat *a-barid*, Ghadames *a-brīd*, Izdeg, Seghrushen, Mzab *a-brid*, Shawiya, Qabyle *a-brid*, 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 *dárbà* (< Arab?), Buduma *turbo* ‘road’; Cush. E.: (?) Oromo *darabaa* ‘enclosure’ (if it fits semantically; N.: Beja *darib*, C.: Bilin *därib*, E.: Saho, Afar *darib* ‘road’ must be Arabisms).
- (8) Sab. *msib* // also ‘way, watercourse’ (SD 122) < *sib?* ‘to carry out an undertaking (e.g. military expedition, journey, etc.)’ < Sem. **sb?* ~ **sbsb* ~ **sbb* ‘walk, go, come’ : Arb. *sbsb* ‘walk slowly’, *sub?at-* ‘long voyage’, *ma-sba?-* ‘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 *sòbú-* ‘to go’, Warji *sámbà* ‘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 *sàba* ‘walk (n.)’ (Stol 2009 #39; ADB).
- (9) Gez. *fənot* // < *fnw* ‘to send, send away, off, forth’ < Sem.: Akk. *panū* ‘to turn towards; go in front’, Hbr. *pānā* ‘to turn to one side, head in a particular direction’ (HALOT 937), Arb. *fin* ‘to drive (camels)’, Tgr. *fäna* ‘to depart’, Soq. *fini* ‘go forward’, etc. (v. LGz 163).
- (10) Gez. *ma-ngad* (syn.); Tna. *mää-gädd-i*; Amh. *mä-ŋääd* // < Eth. **nagada* ‘go on a journey, travel, trade’ (LGz 390–91, LGur. 453); if < **na-gad-*, probably related to Arb. *žäddat-* ‘grand route, chemin large, route royale’ (BK 1 261; unless < *ždd* ‘é. considérable, respectable’ ibid. 259), cf. also Sab. *gwd* ‘swift riding beast’ (SD 51).
- Cf. W. Chad.: Bade *ংgdədù* ‘ferry across’, Duwai *ংgdo* ‘ford a river’ (in St. 2011 #492a); E. Cush.: Afar *giddā* (RAF; *gita* PH), LEC: Somali *žid* (< **gid-*) ‘road’; N. Omot.: Wolaita, Kullo *ged-iya* ‘road’ (all these forms may be loans from Arb. *žäddat-*, though the difference in vocalism is notable). Cf. also Chad. W.: Hausa *gúdù* ‘flee, run away’, C.: Mbuko *gad*, Muy *gudu-gudu* ‘running’ (cf. *ngad* ‘go back’), E.: Sokoro *gédē* ‘run, escape’, Ubi *gèdín*, Mawa *gadan*, W. Dangla *gádé*, Bidiyo *gađ* ‘run’ (St. 2011 #479). Cf. ADB.
- (11) Tgr. *gäbäy* // (LH 585). Most likely, a semantic shift (cf. the same shift in a reverse direction in Egyp. *ẉt-* ‘road, side’ below) from *gäbo* ‘side’ (ibid. 582) < Sem.: Syr. *gabb-*, Arb. *žanb-*, Mhr. *ganb* ‘side’ (v. SED I No. 85 **ga(n)b-* ‘side; beside; back; body’).

³² To which probably belongs Arb. *rwħ* ‘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. *rwħ* ‘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/yħ-* ‘(pleasant) wind, breeze, (easy) breathing, rest’, all of these meanings being distributed among various Sem. languages (cf. ibid.).

³³ 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’: Egyp. (Westcar) *gb²* ‘side of a room’; Chad. W.: Hausa *gàba* ‘across, on the other side of’, Dwot *gáap* ‘side’, C.: Higi-Baza *góbio*, Musgu *gubbi*, *gobi*, Masa *gob* ‘nearby’; Cush. N.: Beja *gåb*, *geb* ‘side’, *geb* ‘by, near’, C.: Bilin *gåba* ‘side (of body)’, Khamir *gåba* ‘side’, E.: Afar *gabbe* ‘side (of back)’, LEC.: Konso, Gidole *kapa* (< **gab-*) ‘next to, near, beside’, HEC: Burji *gáb-a*, Dullay: Harso, Dihina *kapa* (< **gab-*) ‘side’ (v. ADB, EDE I 223, Bla. Review 501).
- (11) Arg. *hema*, *hayama*; Cha. *ema* // < S. Eth. **haym-*, likely related to Arb. *hmy* ‘errer ça et là, erreer 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 périt facilement’ (ibid. 1637).
- Very likely < Afras. **haym-* ‘walk, come and go’ (ADB): Egyp. (ME) *ihm* ‘go slowly’; Chad. W.: Karekare *yim-* ‘return’, C.: Tera, Ga’anda *àyim-si*, Boka *yim-si* ‘enter’, E.: Migama *ʔòòmò* ‘go out’; Cush. E.: HEC: Sidamo *ham-* ‘walk’, S.: Iraqw -*hiʔim-it-* id.; N. Omot.: Wolaita *ham-ett-*, Zaise, Chara *hám-*, 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. **wš?* ‘go out’.
- (13) Hrs. *wōrem*; Mhr. *hürum*; Jib. *ʔorm*; Soq. *ʔórim* // Arb. *ʔirm-*, *ʔarūmat-* ‘(grosse) pierre destinée à indiquer le chemin dans le desert’ (BK 1 26) < Sem. **u/irm-*.
- With the fossilized suffix *-m*, presumably < Afras. **war-* ~ **ʔiraw-* ‘road’ (ADB; cf. Bla. Om # 68.3): Egyp. (Pyr.) *wȝ-t* ‘road; street; side’ (Copt. **wāʔiy-at* Vyc. 231); Chad. **ʔar-* ~ **war-* ‘road’: W.: Mupun *ár(e)*, Sura *ár*, Angas *ar*, Ankwe *war*, Kulere *ʔáraw*, E.: Bidiya *ʔóorà*; Kakakse *írí*, Mawa *ør* ‘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 *wééra* ‘road’.³⁴
- ▽ Gaf. *mäyä* 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. *širəš*; Gez. *šərw*; Tna. *sur*; Amh. *sər*; Arg. *šərit*, *sər*; Gaf. *sər*; Sod. *sər*; Har. *sər*; Wol. *sər*; Cha. *äsər* // < Sem. **š_xVrš-* (dissim. < **š_xVrš_xVr-?*)³⁵ ~ **Šur-*³⁶
- Cf. the main common Chad. term for ‘root’ **čVHViV* ~ **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”.

³⁴ Cf. EDE I 54: Egyp. (translated as ‘way’), W. and C. Chad., Gorowa. Cf. Nostratic **?ur(H)V* ‘road’.

³⁵ For **š_x* see footnote 16 above.

³⁶ 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. *ȝykr* (syn.); Syr. *ʕēkār-* (syn.); Urm. *ʕikr-* // < Sem. **ʕik(k)ār-* ‘root; medicine’: Arb. *ʕakkār-* ‘simple, racine, plante aromatique’, Soq. *?ekre* ‘shoot, sprout’, etc. (v. in SED I No. 20 comment on p. 22).
- (3) Qur. *?aṣl-* // also ‘the lower part of a thing (bottom or foot)’, *?sl* ‘have root or foundation, grow and become firm in its root (tree), etc.’ (Lane 64) most likely < Sem. **?wsl* ‘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 **?aṣi/al-* ‘(noble) origin’ (cf. DRS 30).
- Cf. a few possible, though scarce, parallels in Chad. **çVl-* ‘string’ (St. 2009 #747): W.: Angas *sàl* ‘tree sp., strings are made of fibre of its bark’, Bolewa *coli* ‘rope’, C.: Mwulien *saalu* id.
- (4) Mec. *ʕirk*; Mlt. (*gh)eru?*; Hrs. *?ark*; Mhr. *?ark*; Jib. *ʕark* // in Hrs. and Mhr. also ‘artery, sinew, nerve’ < Sem. **ʕalirk-* ‘tendon, muscle, vein, nerf; root’: Arb. *ʕirk-* ‘veine (dans le corps des animaux et dans les végétaux)’, Tgr. *ʕäräk* ‘tendon, nerf’, etc. (v. in SED I No. 20). Probably related, with metathesis, to **ʕik(k)ār-* (No. 2) on the pre-Proto-Sem. level.
- (5) Mec. *ȝizir* (syn.) // Class. Arb. *ȝazar-* ‘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. *ȝizir* is to be eliminated from the scoring).
- (6) Tgr. *kord* // I have not been able to find any parallels whatsoever.
- (7) Jib. *šírɔḥ* (syn.); Soq. *šéraḥ* // Soq. also *šeráḥ-hiníten* (pl.) ‘jet, rejeton’ (LS 434). More likely related to than borrowed from Arb. *šarḥ-* ‘racine (de toute chose); produi annuel de chameaux en petits; postérité, enfants’, *šṛḥ* ‘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’;³⁷ formally it is different from Sem. **š_xVrš-* ~ **šur-* (#1), unless it acquired *-*ḥ* due to some undetected contamination (no matter how tempting it could be to relate the two roots).³⁸
- Cf. C. Chad.: Biu-Mandara **šəḥərəy* ‘root’ (different notation in St. 2011 #287). Note that if **H* in Chad. **çVHVRv* ~ **çVrVHV* (#1) can reflect **ḥ*, it may be compared to this root instead of Sem. **š_xVrš-* ~ **šur-*.
- (8) Jib. (syn.) *ȝéd* // 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 **š_xVrš-* ~ **šur-* (#1).
 - Common South and West Semitic (Arb.) **ʕa/irk-* (#5)

69. ROUND

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

³⁷ For the semantic shift cf. in No. 2 Soq. *?ekre* ‘shoot, sprout’ < Sem. **ʕik(k)ār-* ‘root’.

³⁸ Cf. SED I No. 268 comment on p. 240, where Soq. *šéraḥ* is “likely < **šr̥*”, 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. *Σāgōl*; Soq. *gállhel* // I prefer to treat the Soq. term, which has no visible direct parallels,³⁹ as the result of a metathesis in Sem. **fgl* (which, on the contrary, should rather be scored on the Semitic level differently from Aram. **gll* < Sem. **gʷVIVl-* #3, to which it is likely to eventually go back with **f-* added on the Proto-Sem. level): Jud. *fgl* ‘to be round’ (Ja 1041), Syr. *fgl* (pa.) ‘volvit’ (Brock 510), Gez. *fagala* ‘to surround with a wall, etc.’ (LGz 59), Tgr. *fgggälä* ‘to put in a circle’ (LH 487).
- (3) Syr. *gälil-*; Urm. *gälil-* // Sem. **gʷVIVl-*: Akk. *galalu*, Hbr. *gll* ‘to roll’, Arb. *ȝwl* ‘aller, tourner, voltiger en circle’ (BK 1 358), *ȝullat-*, *ȝallat-*, *ȝillat-* ‘boule de fiente’ (ibid. 308), Tgr. *gälälä*, Amh. *gʷällälä* ‘tournoyer’ (DRS 125), etc.
- < Afras. **gʷVIVl-* ‘round’ (ADB; cf. EDE III 816–20): Brb.: Ahaggar *ȝalall-at*, Ayr *gallat-at* ‘to be round’, Adghaq *a-g'illawən* ‘round’, etc.; Chad. W.: Hausa *gùlùlù* ‘ball (of earth, cotton)’, Ngas *gwaal* ‘small lumps or balls’, Bolewa *golgol* ‘small and round’, C.: Mofu *-ŋáŋgál-* ‘to make a ball’, Logone *ŋoló* ‘round’, E.: Lele *gílili* ‘round’, Mokilko *gùllà* ‘boule (de farine)’ (St. 2011 # 597, 597b).⁴⁰
- (4) Mnd. *kulul-* // < Sem. **kʷVIVl-*: Arb. *?iklil-* ‘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’, *?ankʷalala* ‘to roll, etc.’, Tgr. *källä* ‘to go around’, *kälkäla* ‘en-circle’, Tna. *kʷüllälä* ‘to go around’, Amh. *källälä* ‘surround, crown’ (LGz 283).
- < Afras. **kʷVl-*: Chad. W.: Angas *kool* ‘crooked, not straight’, Bolewa *kòòloki* ‘hoe handle with curved end’, Ngamo *kùlè* ‘bowleggedness’, C.: Mulwi *kálà* ‘circular’, E.: Kajaksa *koolo* ‘hump’, etc. (St. 2011 #191); (?) Cush. N.: Beja *kwalál* ‘round’ (< Eth.?), C.: Bilin *kalül*, 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-dáwwər* // 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 *wàdàrà* ‘turn’, Migama *kà-dārdìrò* ‘turn around’ and C. Cush.: Aungi *dərdər* ‘turn, rotate’ (ADB).
- (6) Gez. *kabb*; Tna. *kabib*; Tgr. *käbib*, *kəbub*; Amh. *kabb*; Sod. *kabb*; Wol. *kub*; Cha. *kab* // < Sem.: Hbr. pB. *kirkeb* ‘to encircle’ (with secondary insertion of *-r-*), Arb. *kubbat-* ‘ball, ball of thread, lump’, *kabkāb-* ‘ball of thread’ (LGz 273 after Dozy), *kbb* II ‘to form into a ball’ (ibid.), etc.
- (7) Tna. (syn.) *?ən-kəblal* // < N. Eth.: Tna. *kʷäblälä* ‘to stroll about’, Tgr. (ta)*käbläla* ‘to roll while falling’ (LGz 274); probably connected with Sem. **kabl-* ‘hook, ring, shackle, fetter’ (v. LGz 274); otherwise < **kVb-l-* with a root extention *-l* (v. Mil. RE 115–118)..
- (8) Har. *dulālu* // *andōlāla* ‘make round’, with reduction of *-b-* to vowel < Eth. **dbll* ~ **dblbl* ‘be round’ (LGur 196) < Sem. **dVbVl-* ‘round’: Ugr. *dblt*, Hbr. *dəbəlā*, Syr. *dəbalt-*, Hrs. *debelet*

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

⁴⁰ Probably further related are Afras. **g(ʷ)Vl-* ‘egg’ and/or **gVl(gVl)-* ‘head; skull’ (ADB; for Chad. **gVl-* ‘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. *ḥalkēt* // < Sem. (less likely an Arabism in MSA): Mhr. *ḥolək* 'to circle in the air', *ḥewkāt* 'circle, ring', Soq. *ḥálkāh* 'hook, ear-ring' (JM 178), Arb. *ḥalqat-* 'ring of metal', *ḥlk* II 'to draw a circle', Gez. *ḥalaqa* '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 **ṭagl-* ~ **gafl-* (# 2).

70. SAND

- (1) Akk. *bāṣu* // < Sem. **bVṣ-*: Hbr. *bōṣ* 'silt', *biṣṣā* 'waterlogged ground', Pal. *bṣyn* 'marsh', Arb. *badḍat-* 'waterlogged ground' (HALOT 147 after Bauer; neither in Lane nor in BK), *bdd* 'have little water (well, source)' (Lane 213).
- (2) Hbr. *ḥol*; Pal. *ḥäl*; Syr. *ḥäl-*; Mnd. *hal-* // < Sem. **ḥawl-*: Arb. *ḥäl-* '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. *remlēt*, Mhr. *romlēt*, Jib. *rēl* 'sand', apparently Arabisms, if not for a nuance that causes certain doubts: the apparently denominal verbs in MSA are Mhr. *rātməl* '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. *ḥəṣə* // < Sem. **ḥ/ḥVṣ-* - 'sand, gravel': Akk. *hiṣṣu* 'rubble, gravel' (CAD ḥ 204), Hbr. *ḥāṣāṣ* 'pebble, gravel', Arb. *ḥaṣan* 'cailloux', *hiṣhiṣ-* (redupl.) 'terre; pierres', etc. (v. LGz 266, DRS 908).
- Perhaps < Afras. **qas/ç*⁴¹ 'hard sand' (ADB): Chad. W.: Hausa *kásá* 'earth, soil', Boghom *kāas* 'earth', C: Malgwa *késa* 'sand', Cuvok *kóskò* 'sable aggloméré asses dur', etc., E.: Nan-chere *kasa* 'terre', W. Dangla *kòskò* 'hard sand' (St. 2011 #328); C. Cush.: Bilin *kuša* 'sand' (App. CDA 118); Omot. N.: Dokka *kače*, Kafa *kačo*, Gimirra (She) *kaç*, Dizi (Nayi) *kaşa* 'sand', Mao (Hozo) *keci* 'earth', S.: Galila *kač* 'sand' (v. Bla. Om # 71.1., Bnd. Om.).
- (5) Amh. *aššäwa*; Arg. *hašawa*; Sod. *ašawa*; Wol. *ašawa*; Cha. *ašawa*; Jib. *ḥáši* // < Sem. **ḥašw/y-*: Arb. *ḥisa* 'puit creusé dans un terrain sablonneux; sol dur recouvert de sable' (BK 1 429; overlooked both in LGur 102 and DRS 937), Tna *ḥašäwa* 'sand' (LGur 102), Hrs. *ḥöhi* 'ground', Soq. *höhi* 'ground' (JJ 118; both < **hošy-*); as for Jib. *ḥáši*, it is glossed as 'soil' in JJ 118, but translated as 'sand' in *eḥáši kódós* 'the sand piled up' and *ekdés háši* 'covered with sand' in JJ 126, while also given in the entry for 'sand, soil' in Nak. #780.
- < Afras. **has(a)y-* (ADB): Chad. W.: Ankwe *hés*, Tala *hēs*, Fyer *hós* (and several other forms without *h-*, perhaps representing a different root), C.: Ngwahyi *hašù* 'sand'; Cush. N.: Beja

⁴¹ The hypothetic **q-* yields Sem. and Egyp. **ḥ* vs. **k* in other Afras. branches.

- híssay, íssa (and *hāš*, which may be an Ethiopism), S.: Iraqw *ḥasam* (< *ḥas-am-; v. MQK 49), Qwadza *hasin-ko* ‘sand’.
- (6) Har. *ṣihšéra* // < Mod. Eth.: Zway *ṣərṣəra* id., Amh. *ṣäräṣär* ‘kind of red earth’, Tgr. *ṣäṣär* ‘small stone’ (LGur 586). No observable cognates in Sem.
- Cf. also in Cush. C.: Bilin *ṣaṣara*, E.: HEC: Hadiya *ṣaṣara* ‘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. *ṣihl- or *sihl- (Sem. *h > Har. ḥ or Ø).
- < Afras. *sihl- ‘sand’: Chad. *sil- (in St. 2011 #150, reconstructed as *sVl-, but *-i- seems natural): W.: Tsagu *siliye* ‘fine sand’, C.: Podoko *səsälə* ‘sable’, Malgwa *ṣiliye* ‘rainy sand, gravel’, E.: Toram *ṣil* ‘dune’; cf. also C.*sVjVl- ‘sand’ (ibid.; *-γ- points to *-h-?): Glavda *säyəla*, Cinene *säyəla*, Mandara *ṣili*, Nakatsa *siyle* (cf. also Bidiya *?isín-silaala* ‘sable alluvial’ in Jg. Bid., where *?isín* is ‘sand’); (?) E. Cush.: Afar *sahlyta* ‘sand’ (-h- is expected to render *ḥ, not *h); N. Omot.: Male *māšala* (< *ma-ṣal-*?), Dache *siliimo*, Zergulla *silemo* (< *sil-em-*?) ‘sand’ (ADB).
- (8) Hrs. *bateḥ* (also ‘soil’), Mhr. *baṭḥ*; Jib. *bɔṭḥ* (syn.) // Soq. *mbéṭah* ‘coteau’ (LS 85). A borrowing from Arb. (cf. Ḥdr. *baṭha* ‘gros sable’, Ḳof. *beṭāḥ* ‘Sandtal’ LS 85, Class. Arb. *baṭhat-* ‘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. *bɔṭṭaḥ* ‘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*⁴² // The only cognate in Sem. that I was able to unearth is Arb. *ṣiyām-* ‘dust or earth, soft or uncompact earth’ (Lane 1635). Arb. š vs. Soq š implies the reconstruction of the first radical as *ṣ_x- < Afras. *ṣ̄-
- Cf. scarce possible parallels in Chad. (implying, however, Afras. *c̄-, not *ṣ̄-, cf. St. 2007 8): C.: Gisiga *ṣimiyew* ‘sand’, E.: Mokilko *sáumè* ‘uncultivated land, fallow’; Omot. N.: Chara *ámša*, S.: Hamar *ṣami*, Ari (Bako) *ṣaami* ‘sand’.
 - ◊ Urm. *sīl-* 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 Semiticic *raml- #3).

71. SAY

- (1) Akk. *kabû* // < Sem. *k(ʷ)Vbb- ‘say, shout, curse’: Pho. (Punic) *ḳbb* ‘to curse’, Hbr. *ḳbb* ‘to curse, enchant’ (HALOT 1060), Arb. *ḳbb* ‘faire du tapage, du vacarme (se dit de ceux qui sont en rixe)’ (BK 2 656; not compared in HALOT), *ḳbḳb* ‘utter a sound’ (both compared in LGur 468), (?) Tgr. *käbbä* ‘despise, abuse, ignore’ (compared in HALOT, but not in LGur.), Amh. *kʷäba* ‘talkative’, Chaha *kʷab amänä*, Eža, Muher *kʷab amännä* ‘produce a sound’ (LGur 468).
- With some parallels in Afras. (ADB): Chad. W. *kaḥ- (< *kab-): Tangale *kebi* ‘to name’, Polchi *kābə* ‘to answer’, E.: Ndam *kába* ‘to talk’; Cush. E.: LEC: Somali *qabqab-* ‘shout’ (n.); (?) N. Omot.: Bworo *kewa* ‘talk’ (Bnd. Om. 172, possibly < *kVb-, 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. *r̄ṣm* ‘to curse, abuse’, Gez. *ragama* ‘to curse, insult, execrate, excommunicate’, etc. (v. LGz 465).

⁴² According to Kogan MS (quoting two more synonyms absent in LA: *tahk* and *ṣákere*, to none of which I could find parallels in the continental MSA); cf. *ṣimih* ‘sable de mer’ (LS 418), *ṣimi* ‘sand’ (the only Soq. term for ‘sand’ adduced in Nac. #780).

- (3) Hbr. *?mr*; Pho. *?mr*; Bib. *?mr*; Pal. *?mr*; Syr. *?mr*; Mnd. *?mr*; Urm. *?mr* // < Sem. **?mr*: Arb. *?mr* ‘ordonner’ (BK 1 53), Jib. *?ör* ‘to order’, *?emr* ‘matter, order’ (JJ 3; unless < Arb.), etc.⁴³
- (4) Qur. *kwl*; Leb. *࠵ල*; Mec. *࠵ଳ*; Mlt. *ଅଳ* // < Sem. **kawl-* ‘voice’: Ugr. Pho. *kl*, Hbr. *kol*, Syr. *kal-*, Mnd. *kala* ‘voice’, Gez. *kal* ‘voice; saying, speech; word’, etc. (LGz 426).
- < Afras. **kawl-*: Chad. **kʷVl-* ‘to talk, speech’: W.: Angas *kwal* ‘to talk, talking’, E.: Tobanga *kwál* ‘word, languages, tale, talk’ and **kVwVl-* ‘shouting; to call’: W.: Kirfi *kʷalala* ‘war shouting’, Bolewa *kélè* ‘greeting’, Bade *kəluwà* ‘shouting’, C.: Fali-Kiria *kəlwa* ‘shout, scream’, Mada *kullar* ‘grand cri’, E.: ‘to call’: E. Dangla *kólé*, Bidiya *kol*, Migama *kólló*, Jegu *kol-*, etc.⁴⁴ Cush. E.: Afar *-kal-* ‘think, say’, HEC: Oromo *qaalii* ‘word’ (likely < Amh.); N. Omot.: Mao (Bambeshi) *kolli*, *koli*, (Diddesa) *kyoli* ‘say, speech’ (ADB).
- (5) Gez. *bhla*; 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. *baʔalu*, *bâlu* ‘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. *behlit*, Jib. *behlét* ‘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. *ʕamōr*; Mhr. *ʕamūr*; Jib. *ʕör*; Soq. *ʕemor* // A difficult case which cannot be immediately equated with Sem. **?mr* on formal grounds though a semantic contamination is possible. Another meanings in MSA are: Hrs. *ʕámer* ‘to mend’ (JH 9), Mhr. *ʕāmōr* ‘compose, sing poetry’, *ħāmōr* ‘develop, order, repair’ (JM 25), Jib. *ʕör* ‘to order’, *oʕör* ‘repair, build’ (JJ 13), Soq.: *ʕémor* ‘faire, remplir, mettre dans, porter’, corresponding to Arb. *ʕmr* ‘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.⁴⁵
- ◊ No term in Sab.
- No Common Semitic.

72. SEE

- (1) Akk. *amāru* // < Sem. **?mr* ‘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. *ypf* ‘to leave, depart, appear’, (N) ‘to rise, present oneself’ (DUL 972–3), Hbr. *ypf* (hif.) ‘to cause

⁴³ Joined, both in DRS 23–24 and EDE III 32 (with the comment “the semantic shift “to say” vs. “see”... is widely attested”), with **?mr* ‘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. **?mr* ‘to see’ has wide Afras. connections (see No. 72 below), while **?mr* ‘say’ seems to have none, implying the shift “see” > “say”, which I perceive as neither self-evident nor “widely attested”.

⁴⁴ 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-*”.

⁴⁵ 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. *behlit*, Jib. *behlét* ‘word’ (JM 45) vs. Soq. *bileh* < *bihl-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: *b?h*, *?bh* ‘porter son attention (sur)’ (DRS 2 and 40), *bh?* ‘comprendre; s’habituer à qc.’,⁴⁶ *wbh* ‘connaître, faire attention à, avoir soin de’ (DRS 484). However, this comparison is justified only if one accepts the debatable Sem. phoneme **p̪* (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. *ɛn* (syn.) // also ‘to look, watch, spy’ (DUL 167). A denominative verb from **ɛyñ-* ‘eye’ (v. EYE No. 1 in Mil. 2010).
- (4) Hbr. *r?y*; Qur. *r?y*; Mlt. *rā*; Sab. *r?y*; Gez. *rə?ya*; Tna. *rä?äyä*; Tgr. *rə?a*; Arg. *re*; Har. *rī?a* // < Sem. **r?y* ‘to see’ (HALOT 1157, LGz 458–9).
- < Afras. **ray?l-* ~ **ayr-* ‘see’: Chad. **ray?/-~?ayr-* ‘eye’ (St. 2005 #651 and ADB): W.: Kulere *rī(h)*, Jimi *yára*, Polchi *yir*, Zaar *yīr*, Sayanchi *yīr*, Fyer *yèèr*, etc., C.: Zeghwana *ire*, Gisiga *re*, Musgoy *riya*, Gidar *aqra*, Munjuk *aray*, Mbara *rée* ‘face, eyes’, Banana *irà*, Zime-Batna *zír* (*rá?á* ‘stare at’: note metathesis and -?-), etc., E.: Mubi *ír-ín* (pl. *ar-an*), Mokilko *?ér-sá* (-sa is a body-part suffix); Cush. N.: Beja *iray* ‘see’, S. **?ar-* ‘see’: Iraqw *ara*, Alagwa *ar-*, Burunge *ar-im-* (ADB).
- (5) Pho. *ħzy*;⁴⁷ Bib. *ħzy*; Syr. *ħzy*; Mnd. *ħza*; Urm. *ħzy*; Amh. *ayyä*; Arg. *hanža*; Gaf. *ažžä*; Sod. *ažžäm*; Wol. *anže*; Cha. *ažšäm* // < Sem. **ħzy* ‘to see’. In DRS 854 (and, similarly, in HALOT 301), this entry includes Arb. *ħzy* ‘partir les oiseaux (pour tirer des augures de leur vol), tirer des augures’, *ħāzi* ‘voyant (qui prédit l’avenir), conisseur’, whose semantic connections with ‘see’ are less evident than those of Arb. *ħzz* III ‘contrôler, examiner, scruter avec le plus grand soin’ (BK 1 418).
- Note a single, perhaps accidental, parallel in C. Chad.: Mataksam *ħúz-* ‘regarder’ (ADB).
- (6) Pal. *ħmy* // < Hbr.-Arm. **ħmy* ‘to see, watch, beware’: Hbr. *ħmy* ‘see’, imp. ‘beware!’ (HALOT 326), Syr. *ħmy* ‘vidit; taeduit eum am; omisit’ (Brock. 239) < Sem. **ħmy* ‘to watch, protect’: Sab *ħmy* ‘to protect’ (SD 69), Arb. *ħmy* ‘défendre, protéger’ (BK 1 497), Mhr *ħōmi* ‘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 *?úm* ‘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-ēwōf* ‘back-sight of a rifle’ (both probably < Omani Arb.), *ma-šāwfat* ‘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. *šini*; Soq. *šini* // also Hrs. *šnō* ‘to show’ (LHrs 120), Mhr. *šīnī* ‘to consider’ (JM 381), Soq. *šēnne* ‘montrer’ (LS 431). Cognate with Arb. *š?n* ‘connaître; s’informer; avoir soin; veiller sur quelque chose’, etc. (BK 1 1179).
- < Afras. **čVn?/y*: Egyp. (NE) *šnw* ‘examination, inspection’ (compared in EDE I 130 with the MSA verb); (?) Chad. W.: **čVn-*: Chip *len gwe* ‘remember’, Dera *šēní* ‘remember, re-

⁴⁶ Ibid. 47, where it is further compared with Sab. *bh?t*, glossed as ‘enter’ in SD 27, cf. *bh?t* meaning ‘scout, intelligence agent’ (ibid.).

⁴⁷ Unless borrowed from or influenced by Arm.

mind' (St. 2011 #230a.), **čVŋ-* (< **čVnH-*?): Angas *läng*, *leeŋ* ‘meditate’, C.: Zulgo *žáŋjá* (with irregular voicing) ‘penser, réfléchir’ (ibid. #230b.).⁴⁸
 → Common West Semitic. **r?y* (#4) and **ħizy* (#5).

73. SEED

- (1) Akk. (OAkk. on) *zēru*, *zarūu*; Hbr. *zäraš*; Bib. *zəraš*; Pal. *zrš*; Syr. *zarš-*; Mnd. *zira*; Urm. *zarš-*; Qur. *zarš-*; Mlt. *zerri(gh)a*; Gez. *zar?*, Tna. *zär?-i*; Tgr. *zäro?*; Amh. *zär*; Arg. *zär*; Gaf. *zär*; Sod. *zär*; Har. *zär*; Wol. *zär*; Cha. *zənä* // < Sem. **zarš?-i*:⁴⁹ Jud. *zəraš*, *zarš-* ‘seed’, *zrš* ‘to strew, sow’ (Ja. 414), Mnd. *zra* ‘to sow, scatter’ (DM 170), Arb. *zrš* ‘semer, répandre la semence; ensemencer un champ de quelque graine’, *zurš-* ‘semence; céréales sur pied, champ cultivé’ (BK 1 124), Gez. *zar?/ša* ‘to sow, seed, scatter’ (LGz 642), Mhr. *zūra* ‘(plants) to grow’, *ha-zrē* ‘to cultivate’, S. Mhr. *zərēt* ‘plantation, cultivated area’ (JM 469), Jib. *zéraš* ‘(plants) to grow’, *ezóraš* ‘to plant many seeds’, *zéraš* ‘farmer’ (JJ 320).
- (2) Ugr. *d/drš*; Mec. *dirra*; Soq. *deri*⁵⁰ // < Sem. **dVrš/?y-*: Jud. *dəraš*, *darš-* ‘seed, produce, offspring’ (Ja. 324), Arb. *drš* ‘ensemencer (la terre)’ (BK 1 767), *dry/w* ‘répandre la semence (en semant), semer’ (ibid. 771), *durat-* ‘dorra, espèce de millet’ (ibid. 772), Sab. *m-drš-t* ‘sown field, sown ground’ (SD, 40).⁵¹
- < Afras. **žVrš-*: (?) Egyp. (Gr., late) *zž* (if < **zr*) ‘Bez. der achtel Arure, acht Aruren Acker’ (EG III 411), (Gr.) ‘Art Acker’ (ibid. 414); Chad. W.: Pero *žúrà*, Guruntum *žāažār* ‘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 *zùurì* (< **z-*) ‘valée favorable a la culture du petit mil’; Cush. (?) N.: Beja *deriū* ‘seed’ (probably an Arabism), C.: Khamtanga *zirwa*, Khamta *zirwā*, Kailiña *zärwa* ‘wheat’,⁵² E. (all < Eth.?): Saho *dara*, Afar *diriyi* ‘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.)⁵³ // < **bVzr-*: Hbr. *bzr* ‘to scatter’ (otherwise < **bdr* as in HALOT 118, where it is compared with Arb. *bdr* 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. *ba/izr-* ‘semences, graines’ (BK 1 121; hardly < Arm., in view of several related meanings, including verbal ones).⁵⁴ Cf. Kog. LE # 73 with a different interpretation. Cf. also LGz 118.

⁴⁸ Alternatively, related to C. and E. **čVn-* ‘listen, hear’ (ibid. #230, where it is compared with Mhr. *šny*, with the remark: “NN 230a,b are not necessarily related to N230”).

⁴⁹ It is difficult to choose whether some of the forms should be related to this root or to **dVrš/?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 **darš?-i*. As for *-*š* and *-*y*, there is an indiscriminate mess in both variant roots, **zarš?-i* and **dVrš/?y-*, very likely due to contamination (cf. also Gez. *zarawa*, *zaraya* ‘scatter’ LGz. 644)..

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

⁵¹ Mhr. *dəráyyat* ‘offspring’ (JM 81), Jib. *dərrit* ‘progeny, offspring’ (JJ 47) as well as Mhr. *dərēt* (JM 82) and Jib. *dère t* ‘sorghum, *dhurah*’ (JJ 47) are most likely Arabisms.

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

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

⁵⁴ Note Hrs. Mhr. Jib. Soq. *bəzär* ‘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 *búzú* ‘seed’.
- (4) Leb. *bdar* // < Sem. **badr*:⁵⁵ Class. Arb. *badr-* ‘semence’,⁵⁶ *bdr* ‘semer, répandre pour semer’ (BK 1 101), Syr. *bdr* ‘sparsit, dispersit’ (Brock. 60), Jud. *bdr* ‘to scatter, strew’ (Ja. 141), Mnd. *bdr* id. (DM 52). Cf. Kog. LE # 73 with a different interpretation. Cf. also LGz 118.
- (5) Har. *säñi*; Wol. *säññe* (unless < Cush., see below); Soq. *šáne* (syn.) // also ‘semence, blé qui est sur les tiges’, *héne* ‘semer’ (LS 145) < Sem. **šana?*/*y/n-*: Mhr. *mə-hnoy* ‘farm near a town’ (JM 159), Jib. *mə-šnu?* ‘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; < **?a-šnan-*, with prefixed *?a-* or metathesis; contra Kog. LE # 79: “apparently, no Semitic cognates”), Zw. *säñi* ‘seed, crop’ (LGur 555).⁵⁷
- < 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 *sijni* ‘sprout, germ’ (and Goemai *song* ‘millet’, quoted by Stolbova with hesitations), C.: Daba *sèsin*, Kola *sísín* ‘seed’, E.: Kera *séeye* ‘Negerhirse, petit mil’, Saba *bi-sinya*, Migama *bú-sìnì* ‘seed’, W. Dangla *sínà* ‘sorgho’;⁵⁸ Cush. E.: LEC: Somali *šuni*, Oromo *saññii*, Dase-nech *sanne*, HEC (probably < Oromo): Darasa *sanne*, Burji *saññee* ‘seed’; S. Omot.: Hamar *isin* ‘sorghum’.⁵⁹
- ◊ Hrs. *badr*; Mhr. *bidar*; Jib. *béðar*, probably Arabisms (note, however, the verbs: Mhr. *bæððr*, Jib. *bóððr* ‘to sow, cultivate’ JM 44, JJ 23). No term in Pho. (*zrf* is glossed only as ‘offspring’ Tomb. 96).
- Common North and West Semitic **zar?*/*?-* (#1).
- Common South and West Semitic **dVr?*/*?-* (#2) and **šana?*/*y/n-* (#5).⁶⁰

74. SIT

- (1) Akk. *wšb*; Ugr. *ytb*, *?atib*; Hbr. *yšb*; Pho. *yšb*; Bib. *ytb*; Pal. *ytb*; Syr. *ytb*; Mnd. *ytb*; Urm. *ytb*; Sab. *wtb* // < Sem. **wtb* ‘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. *wtb* ‘sit, reside, settle, occupy’ and *t-wtb* ‘commit an assault on; ambush’ (quoted as two separate entries in SD 165), Arb. *waṭbat-* ‘assaut, attaque, agression’, *wtb* V ‘faire une invasion injuste sur la propriété de quelqu’un’ (BK 2 1482), (2) Syr. *?awteb* ‘marry’, Gez. *?awsaba* ‘take a wife, marry’, Tna. *?awäsäbä* id., Amh. (*a*)*wässäbä* ‘copulate’ (LGz 619; cf. also 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. *waṭbat-* ‘aggression, attaque’): C.: Wandala *čiba*

⁵⁵ Eventually must be a root variant of **bVzr-*, to be scored differently from the latter.

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

⁵⁷ 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.

⁵⁸ Cf. also **sin-* ‘farm, field’ (ibid. #299, likely related): W.: Sura *sèn* ‘Hirsefeld’, Warji *usina*, *sònána*, Tsagu *śinan*, Kariya *sân*, *sîn*, Siri *śinawî*, Diri *sâna*, Paa *sina* ‘farm’, C.: Masa *síne*, *sénëna*, Zime-Batna *sîné*, etc.

⁵⁹ 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?

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

- ‘kill (many)’, Malgwa *čába* ‘to kill a lot of people’, Glavda *čib-*, Podoko *čibe*, Musgu *šiba* (ADB, not in St. 2011) ‘kill’, E.: Mubi *čobi*, 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. *kfd*; Leb. *ʔaʕad* // Class. Arb. also *kāʕidat-* ‘base (d’une colonne); fondations (d’un édifice)’ (BK 2 778) < Sem. **kfd* ‘bend, sit, put down’: Syr. *kfd* ‘bend down, kneel, prostrate’ (Sok. Syr. 1388), Jib. *ekeʃéd* ‘paralyze, put so. down psychologically’, Soq. *ákʃad* ‘take, bring down’ (JM 139).⁶¹
- < Afras. **kV(ʕ)d-* ‘bend, sit, lie down’ (ADB): Egyp. (Pyr.) *kđ* ‘to sleep’; (?) Chad. C.: Daba *kād* ‘(be) down’, E.: Kajakse *kādi* ‘bas’ (both possibly < **kad-*, cf. St. 2011 #81 with the comment: “Likely, loans from Arabic *kāʕid-at-* ‘base, foundation’ < *kfd* ‘être assis’”, which is not quite convincing because of the difference in meanings), C.: Musgu *gūd* (regressive voicing) ‘back side’, Gizey *kùdú* ‘behind’, E.: Kera *gùd* (regressive voicing), Mokilko *kùdđi-só* ‘buttocks’ (ibid.); E. Cush.: HEC: Burji *kud-ee* ‘behind’ (compared ibid.); S. Omot.: Ongota *kaada* ‘to lie, sleep’.
- (3) Mec. *ʒalas* // Qur. *ʒls* ‘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*⁶² ‘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. *gəlās*, Tgr., Amh., Har. *galas* ‘saddle cover’ (LGz 192), Selti *galas*, Wol. *gilas* ‘cloth of saddle’ (LGur 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)⁶³ < 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. *annäabbärä* ‘heap, pile up’, Arg. *nəbbur* ‘abundant, much, very, many’ (LArg 215).
- (5) Tna. *kof bälä* // < Sem. **wkp* ~ **kwp* ‘to bend, lie, sit’: Tgr. *käf belä* ‘sit down, sit’ (LH 425), Arb. *wkf* ‘ê. incliné, penché; mettre bât sur une bête de somme’, *wakf-* ‘tapis ou peau qui l’on etend par terre pour s’y asseoir’, Hrs. *še-wkōf* ‘sleep’ (JH 135), Mhr. *še-wkūf* ‘sleep, go to sleep, lie down’, Jib. *šeef* ‘sleep’ (JM 426).⁶⁴
- 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. *käf bälä*”), 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.

⁶¹ Likely with a secondary -f-: cf. Akk. *ḳadādu* ‘bow down’ (CDA 282), Hbr. *kdd*, *kwd* ‘bow, kneel down’ (HALOT 1065). See Mil. RE 97.

⁶² 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).

⁶³ 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.

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

- (6) Tna. (syn.) *tä-kämmätä*⁶⁵; Amh. *tä-kämmätä*; Arg. (*tä*)*kämmätä* // < Eth. **km̥t* ‘bind, hold tightly; rest, sit’ (LGz 433);⁶⁶ Gez. *kammaṭa* ‘hold tightly, bind sheaves, bend’ (also *taṭammaṭa* ‘sit down, remain’, acc. to Leslau, < Amh.), Har. *akämmätä* ‘rest on a base’ (ibid.), cognate with Arb. *km̥t* ‘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)ṣ-* ‘chest’ (St. 2011 #561); W.: Boghom *gyaas*, Geji *gyési* ‘chest’, *isu ngeši* ‘rib’, Polchi *gwəṣ* ‘shoulder’ (ADB, not in St.), Zul *ŋgēše* ‘chest’, Duwai *ἀḡzā* ‘chest, cough’; C.: Zelgwa *gàžəŋ* ‘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 *wn?/n* with the meaning ‘sit’ derived in *tä*-stem from *awäna*, *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. *nshya* ‘recover; repose; feel relieved; find consolation, peace; be quiet’, Amh. *täññü*, Arg. *teñña*, *eñä*, Har. *ñeñä*, Wol. *əññe*, Sod. *əññäm*, Cha. *nayäm*, etc. ‘sleep’⁶⁷, to be further related, with metathesis, to Arb. *hvn* ‘être leger, facil à faire ou endurer; se reposer, se calmer’, *hawn-* ‘repos, tranquilité; aise, facilité, aisance, commodité’ (BK 2 1460–61) < Sem. **hvn* ‘repose, rest, be at ease’: Hbr. *hvn* (hif) ‘regard as easy’ (HALOT 242),⁶⁸ Thamudic *hvn* ‘repos’ (DRS 389), Sab. *hvn* ‘soften (one’s heart)’ (SD 57), *hyn* ‘ease, give ease to (?)’ (ibid. 58), (?) MSA: Hrs. **hvn* ‘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* ~ **hvn* ‘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) *hn̥n* ‘attend to, consider, trust’, *hn̥n 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 *?yenè*, Kilba *hány*, Margi *yányi*, Gudu *wiyènù*, Fali-Kilba *wunyi* ‘sleep’ (n.), Glavda *xan*, Daba *wan* ‘to sleep’, E. **wVHVn-*: Kwang *wéj* ‘to sleep’, Migama *wáànò* ‘to dream’ (ADB); N. Cush.: Beja *nay* ‘sleep, rest’ (LGz 304; < Eth.?).
- (9) Har. (*tä*)*gebä(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. *gʷəbbalä* ‘sit down’, (*tä*)*gʷäbbälä* ‘sit down’ LGur 256): Arb. *žbb* ‘se jeter la face contre terre, se pros-

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

⁶⁶ The Eth. verbs are related by Leslau to Akk. *kamāṣu* ‘bend the knee, kneel down, squad’, pB Hbr. *ḳamṣūṣ* ‘bent up’ and Ugr. *km̥ṣ* ‘to curl up, bend’, all < Sem. **km̥ṣ* (to which Jib. *kōṣ* ‘(snake, etc.) to curl up’, *kítmaṣ* ‘(animal) to curl os. up’ JJ 146 should be added), which can be compared with **km̥t* only as a variant root.

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

⁶⁸ 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. *db*? (< **gbr/l?*) ‘k. of altar, temple seat made of granit; a throne socle?'; E. Cush.: LEC: Somali (Benadir) *gämbär* ‘round small chair with four legs'; N. Omot.: Kafa *gab(b)ir-ō*, Anfillo *gabbero* ‘seat’.
 - (10) Hrs. *šhewlōl*; Mhr. *šhəwəlūl* // 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. *šhl* III ‘traire (une chameele)’ (BK 1 1202), perhaps implying the nomads’ stopover for milking she-camels.
 - (11) Jib. *skf* // 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 *a₂* 333), (OB on) *askuppatu* ‘slab, threshold, door-sill’ (ibid. 334), Hbr. *maškōp* ‘lintel, doorstep’ (HALOT 652, hapax), *šākāp* ‘door-jamb, door support’ or ‘a space in a wall for a door or for a window’ (HALOT 1646–7, hapax), *škp* (nif) ‘to look down from above’ (ibid. 1645), pB. *?iskūppā* ‘threshold, lintel, lower door-sill’ (Ja 97; from or influenced by Jud.), Arm.: Hatra *?skp* ‘threshold’ (HJ 86), Syr. *?eskūpāt-* ‘limen; rupes’ (Brock. 35), Jud. *?iskūpt-* ‘door-sill’ (Ja. 94), *?iskūpt-* ‘threshold, lintel, lower door-sill’ (ibid. 97), Sab. *sikf* ‘roof, roofing, ceiling, floor (of multi-storied building)’ and ‘to roof (a building)’ (SD 127–8), Arb. *?uskuffat-* ‘the threshold of a door, upon which one treads’, *sākif-* ‘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 **škp* forms the terms for ‘roof, ceiling, etc.’ Anyway, Jib. *skf* 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. *ízəem* // 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. *zəsim* ‘head of a family’ (JM 463), Jib. *z̄im* ‘the most important person in, head of the family’ (JJ 314, tentatively comparing it with Soq. *ázəam* ‘sit’ and what is quoted ibid. as *mózəhim* ‘majlis’, not in LS), Arb. *zañim-* ‘chef, prince, représentant d'une communauté, agent plénipotentiaire qui parle au nom d'elle’, likely from or contaminated with *z̄m* ‘parler, dire’ (both BK 1 992), related to Hbr. *z̄m* ‘curse’, Syr. *z̄m* ‘scold’ (HALOT 276) and Sab. *z̄m* ‘declaration’ (SD 170; cf. DRS 770). Another option is comparison with Jib. *z̄it* ‘buggalow, kind of ship’, Arb. *zañāñim-* (pl.), Tgr. *zəsimät* ‘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. *z̄m* III ‘serrer quelqu'un dans la foule’ (BK 1 992, cf. a variant root *z̄hm* 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.⁶⁹
 - Chad. W.: Hausa *zámáa* ‘be, become, happen, keep on doing, sitting, settling room’, Sura *zum* ‘stoop, bend down’, Bolewa *zuum*, *žuum*, Ngamo *žoom* ‘to squat’ (note the hiatus in

⁶⁹ 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 žàmú ‘sitting on smth. to press down’, Ouldem zàm yàr ‘to incline’ (*yàr* ‘head’), Masa zàm ‘wait’ (adduced as two different entries in St. 2011 #478 and 479).

- ◊ Mlt. *poža* likely < Italian (*ap*)*poggiare*.
- Common North and West Semitic. **wtb* (#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»). Анализу подвергаются 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.

