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

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

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

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

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

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

This study was carried out within the frames of two projects: "Elaboration of a comrehensive system of regular correspondences in consonantism between the Afrasian languages and a pilot reconstruction on its basis of Proto-Afrasian terms featuring the inner world of the Neolithic man" (supported by the Russian Foundation for the Humanities, project №12-04-

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

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

Abbreviations of languages, language periods and sources:

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

Other abbreviations:

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

Transcription and transliteration:

ṗ — bilabial emphatic voiceless stop; *ḃ* — bilabial emphatic voiceḍ stop; *b̲* — bilabial voiced fricative; *ṭ* — dental emphatic voiceless stop; *ḍ* — dental emphatic voiced stop; *t̲* — voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol most likely conveying *č*); *d̲* — voiced interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol most likely conveying *ǯ*); *c* — alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; *ʒ* — alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; *č* — palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tš]; *ǯ* — palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dž]; *ṣ* — hissing emphatic voiceless fricative; *ḉ* — emphatic voiceless affricate; *ẓ* — conventionally stands for what was likely *d̲*, emphatic voiced interdental fricative, or *t̲*, emphatic voiceless interdental fricative; *č̣* — palato-alveolar emphatic affricate; *ŝ* — lateral voiceless fricative (denoted by $\hat{s}_x$ in Sem. reconstructed proto-forms); *ĉ* — lateral voiceless affricate; *ṣ̂* — lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; *ĉ̣* — lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; *ẓ̂* — lateral voiced emphatic sibilant (or perhaps affricate); *ẑ* — lateral voiced sibilant; *ḡ* — voiced velar fricative (in Brb.), *ḳ* or *q* — emphatic velar stop; **q* — hypothetic velar affricate [k^h] (only in reconstructed Afrasian proto-forms); *γ* — uvular voiced fricative (Arabic "ghain"); *ḫ* — uvular voiceless fricative; *h̲* — presumably velar voiceless

fricative (only in Egyptian); *ḥ* — pharyngeal voiceless fricative; ʕ — pharyngeal stop ("ayin"), *h* — laryngeal voiceless fricative; ʔ — glottal stop ("aleph", "hamza"), *y* — palatal resonant; *ꜣ* and *i̓* — conventional transcription symbols accepted in Egyptology.

Conventions for reconstructed protoforms.

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

1. ALL

(1) Akk. (OB), MB *kalû*; Ugr. *kl*; Hbr. *kōl*; Pho. *kl*; Bib. *kōl*; Pal. *kwl, kol*; Syr. *kul*; Mnd. *kul*; Urm. *kəl*; Qur. *kull-*; Leb. *kəll*; Mec. *kull*; Mlt. *kolla*; Sab. *kll*; Gez. *kʷəllu*; Tna. *kʷəllu*; Tgr. *kəllu*; Amh. *hullu*; Gaf. *yəlhʷä* (< **yəlkʷ-*, met.); Sod. *kulləm*; Cha. *ənnəm*; Har. *kullu*; Wol. *hulləm*; Hrs. *kal*(*l*); Mhr. *kal*; Hob. *kall*; Jib. *ka*(*h*)*l* // < Sem. **kʷall-u*.

(2) Arg. *muli* // < Sem. **mlʔ* 'to be full' (v. **FULL** #1).

(3) Soq. *faḥere* // < Sem. **pḫr* 'to gather', **paḫir-* 'totality, gathering' (Mil. 2010; Kog. LE 466).

→ Proto-Semitic **kʷall-u* (#1) < Afras. **k*(ʷ)*al-* 'all, each, much' (Mil. 2010).

2. ASHES

(1) Akk. (MB) *ṭ/dikmēnu* ('ashes, soot, residue'; wr. syll. *ṭi-ki-ni* CAD *ṭ* 110); Pal. *ḳṭm*; Syr. *ḳeṭm-*; Mnd. *giṭm-*; Urm. *ḳiṭm-* // Arb. *ḳatām-* 'poussière' (BK 2 675) < Sem. **ḳiṭām-* ~ **ṭiḳm-* < Afras. **ṭiḳm/n-*: N.Omot. **çiak/ḳn-* (< **ṭVyak/ḳn-*) 'ashes': Gimirra (Benesho, She) *çiakn*, Dizi (Sheko) *çiakin*, (Maji) *çeyaḳn* (ADB).

(2) Ugr. *ʕmr* // likely < *(*tV-*)*ʕVmr-* (v. Mil. 2010 #1); cf. W.Chad.: S.Bauchi: Jum *mùrúŋ*, Mangas *mwúrùn, ŋúruŋ*, Kir *mwuríŋ*, Laar *ŋŋoro* 'ashes' (< **murun-*) and with met. (a variant root?): E.Cush.: Afar *rama* 'hot ashes', LEC: Arbore *rómm*, Elmolo *rôm* 'ashes', Yaaku *hroon*, pl. *hroómê* (*h-* is not < *ʕ; allegedly < Masai) 'ashes' (ADB).

(3) Hbr. *ʔēpär* // < Sem. **ʔapar-* 'dust, soil; ashes' (Mil. 2010) < Afras. *(*ʔa-*)*far-* 'k. of poor, unfertile soil': Egyp. (Pyr.) *ꜣ.t* (if < **fVr-t*) 'dust (?)'; Chad. W.: Hausa *fàrà* 'dry soil'. C.: Gaanda *fīr-tà*, Boka *fur-tà* 'ground', Masa *fūl-là* (*-l* can be < **r* — v. St. 2005 9) 'uncultivated land', E.: Migama *paar* 'barren soil', Mokilko *pùùré* 'dust' (*p* < **p/f*); E.Cush.: LEC: Dasenech *faara* 'clay' (ADB).

(4) Pho. *ʔry* // < Sem. **ʔūr-* ~ **ʔirr-* 'fire', **ʔry* ~ **wry* 'set fire to' (v. Mil. 2010 #3) < Afras. **ʔu/ir-* 'fire, to burn': Egyp. (Gr.) *i̓r.t* 'flame'; Chad. W.: Boghom *yarwi* 'burn', C. **war-* ~ **ʔur-* 'burn, roast in ash, hot', E. **ʔy/war-* 'burn, warm oneself'; Cush. E.: Afar *ur-* 'burn' (ADB).

(5) Qur. *ramād-*; Leb. *rməd*; Mec. *rumād*; Mlt. *ərmit*; Hrs. *remēd*; Mhr. *rmid*; Hob. *rmiid*; Jib. *rĩd*; Soq. *rimid* (less likely < Arb.: common MSA term with derived forms in all the languages) // < Arb.-MSA **rVmVd-*.

(6) Gez. *ḥamad*; Tna. *ḥamäḳʷəsti* or *ḥamäd ḳʷəsti* (on *ḳʷəsti* see Mil. 2010); Tgr. *ḥamäd*; Amh. *amäd* (syn.: *afär* — v. #3); Arg. *hamäd*; Sod. Cha. *amäd*; Har. *ḥamäd*; Wol. *amäd* // Either < Sem. **ḫmd* (with *ḥ-* in Gez. to be treated as a scribe's mistake for **ḫ-*) or, less likely, < Sem. **ḥmd* 'to be hot' (v. discussion in Mil. 2010).

◊ No terms in Bib., Sab. and Gaf.

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

3. BARK

(1) Akk. (OB) *ḳuliptu*; Syr. *ḳəlāpət-*; Urm. *ḳalpa*; Hrs. *ḳelfēt*; Mhr. *ḳalifūt*; Jib. *ḳiẑifɔ́t* (syn.: *ḳaŝrot* 'husk, peel, skin' in JJ, but 'bark', acc. to my informants — v. #3); Soq. *ḳalifoh* // < Sem. *ḳal(i)p- (Mil. 2010; cf. Kog. LE 474).
(2) Mnd. *masik-* // < Sem. *ma/išk- 'skin' (v. **SKIN** #1).
(3) Leb. *ʔišri*; Mec. *gišra* // < Sem. *ḳVŝr- (Mil. 2010).
(4) Gez. *ləḥṣ*; Tna. *ləḥṣi* (syn.: *ḳʷərbät* — v. Mil. 2010 #5 and Note, *ḳäräf* — v. #5); Tgr. *ləḥəṣ* (syn.: *ḳärəf* — v. #5); Amh. *ləṭ* (syn.: *ḳärfit* — v. #5); Arg. *lihinṭo*; Har. *inči ləḥiṭ* ("tree bark"); Wol. *ləčča̱če* // < Eth. *lḥṣ 'to peel, bark', likely < Sem. *lḫṣ/ḫlṣ 'to draw off, peel' (Mil. 2010).
(5) Har. *ḳärfit* // < Arb.-Eth. *ḳVrp- (LGz 441) < Afras. *ḳ(ʷ)arp- (Mil. 2010 Note).
(6) Sod. *kana* (syn.: *ḳərfit* — v. #5), Cha. *ḵara* // only Gur. (Mil. 2010).
◊ Mlt. *barka* is a lw., likely < English; no terms in Ugr., Hbr.; Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Gaf. and Hob.
→ Proto-Semitic *ḳal(i)p- (#1) < Afras.*ḳalp- (Mil. 2010); add Chad. W.: Bade *kulbàk* (*-lb-* < *-*lf-*), pl. *kulbàn* 'bark of tree', C.: Cuvok *kàkàlàf* 'bark' (St. 2011 #349b *[ḳ]VlV[f]- assumed to be a derived noun < *kVl-). Note that *ḳal(i)p-, *ḳVrp- (and *ḳʷirb-at-) are variant roots not at the Proto-Sem. but at the Proto-Afras. level; cf. Kog. LE 475).

4. BELLY

(1) Akk. (OB) *karšu*; Syr. *kars-*; Mnd. *kars-*; Urm. *ki(r)s-*; Gez. *karŝ* (syn.: *kabd* — v. #2); Tna. *kärsi* (and *käbdi* — v. #2); Tgr. *käršät* (syn.: *käbəd* — v. #2); Arg. *kärs, hars*; Gaf. *ərsä*, Sod. *kärs*; Har. *kärsi* // < Sem. *kar(i)ŝ- (SED I #151).
(2) Ugr. *kbd* (?); Amh. *hod* // < Sem. *kabid(-at)-, v. in **LIVER** #2 (for a possible meaning 'belly' in Ugr. see Kog. LE).
(3) Hbr. *bäṭän*; Qur. *baṭn-*; Leb. *baṭan*; Mec. *baṭin* // < Sem. *baṭn- (SED I #42).
(4) Bib. *məʕē (pl. suff. *məʕṓhī*) // (debatable: in Gn. 3:14 translates Hbr. *gāḥōn* 'belly (of snakes and reptiles)' HALOT 187) < Sem. *maʕay/w-at-'intestines, entrails' (SED I #185) < Afras. *mVʕay- 'entrails, liver': E.Chad.: Gadang *mùyò* 'liver'; Cush. E.: LEC: Oromo *moʔo* 'loins, back', Bussa *mā́yē* 'liver'; N.Omot. *maʔay- 'liver; heart' (not < *mayz- contra Mil. 2010) ADB.
(5) Wol. *däl*; Cha. *dän* // either < Sem. *dan(V)n- 'viscera, inner organ, intestine' (SED I #54) with a parallel in Brb. or < Arb.-Eth. *dawl- 'stomach, interior' (Mil. 2010).
(6) Hrs. *hōfel* (syn.: *kērəŝ* — v. #1); Mhr. *hōfel* (syn. *kīrəŝ* — v. #1); Hob. *hóofəl*; Jib. *šofəl* (syn.: *s̃irŝ* — v. #1) // < Sem. *$ŝ_x$V(n)pVl- (SED I 271; on $ŝ_x$ v. ibid. XLVIII–CV). Note that my continental MSA informants gave preference for the forms derived from *šofəl; the same follows from Nak. 1986 (cf. discussion in Kog. LE 475) and is corroborated by Hob.
(7) Soq. *mer* (syn.: *ḥant* — v. Mil. 2010 #8 and Kog. LE 476) // either < Sem. *marʔ- 'fat' (v. **FAT** #9) or, less likely, < *mi/ar(V)r-(at-) 'gall, gall-bladder' (SED I #188).
◊ Mlt. *stonku* < Italian or English; no term in Pho., Pal., Sab.
→ North and West Semitic (Proto-Semitic with the MSA syn.) *kar(i)ŝ- (#1).
→ West Semitic *baṭn- (#3) < Afras. *ba/uṭ(n)- 'belly': Brb. *buṭ-: Ntifa *a-buḍ* 'belly', Audjila *a-bûṭ* 'navel', etc.; (?) Egyp. (Med.) *bnd* 'difficult delivery'; Chad. W. *buṭ- 'belly, stomach', C.: Bata *butiye* 'navel', Hurso *búdubúdu* 'stomach' (ADB).

5. BIG

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *rabû*; Ugr. *rb*, *rabbu*; Pho. *rb*; Bib. *rab*; Pal. *rb*; Syr. *rabb-*; Mnd. *rba* // < Sem. **rabb-* (HALOT 1170); Arm. forms are thought by some authors of being < Akk. on grounds I fail to understand.

(2) Hbr. *gādōl* // < Sem. **gVdVl-* (Mil. 2010) // perhaps derived, with root extension *-l* < Afras. **gVd-* 'big, many' (v. #9).

(3) Qur. *kabīr-*; Leb. *kbeyr*; Mec. *kabiyr*; Mlt. *kbīr* // < Sem. **kbr* 'be big, thick, plenty' (v. Mil. 2010 #4) < Afras. **kabir-* 'big, thick': W.Chad.: Hausa *kábrī́*, *kauri* 'thickness', Mangas *gibər* 'be thick', Boghom *kìbur-de*, Tala *kibùr* 'be heavy'; N.Omot.: Yamsa *kuṗira* 'all'.

(4) Sab. *bht̲* // one attestation (Stein 721), strangely isolated (v. DRS).

(5) Gez. *ʕabiy*; Tna. *ʕabiy*; Tgr. *ʕabi* // < Sem. **ʕ/γby* 'to be big, thick' (LGz 55; add Arb. *wʕb* 'prendre tout, s'emparer de toute la chose; amasser, amonceler' BK 2 1565) < Afras. *(*w/yV-*)*ʕ/γVb-* 'to be big, piled up': Egyp. (OK) *yʕb* 'vereinigen'; (?) Chad. (if *h-* may continue **ʕ* or *γ*) W.: Hausa *háḃì* ˊthe increase in size', C.: Mafa *haḃ-* ˊfaire grandir (plaie)' (ADB).

(6) Amh. *tə-lläḳ*; Sod. *ma-läḳ* (syn.: *gəddər* — v. #9); Cha. *nəḳ* (syn.: *əmmiyä* — v. #8) // < Sem. **lhḳ* 'to grow, be big, numerous' (cf. LGz 309).

(7) Arg. *läham, näham* // < Sem. **lVhVm-*; cf. a couple of Afras. parallels (Mil. 2010).

(8) Gaf. *əmmuna* // likely < Sem. **ʔu/imm-* 'mother' (v. Mil. 2010).

(9) Har. *g*(*i*)*dīr*, Wol. *gädärä* // < Eth.-Arb. **gdr* 'to grow, grow big', presumably, with fossilized **-r* < Afras. **gVd*(*d*)- 'big, many' (Mil. 2010; add Chad. **gVd-* 'big, strong, many' St. 2001 #504).

(10) Hrs. *ŝoḫ* (f. *nyōb* — v. Mil. 2010 #11); Mhr. *ŝoḫ* (also 'old'; f. *nōb* — v. Mil. 2010 #11); Hob. *ŝóoḫ* // < Sem. **ŝyḫ-* 'to grow big or old' (Mil. 2010).

(11) Jib. *ʔeb* (m.; f. *ʔum* — v. #8) // likely < Sem. **ʔab-* 'father' (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ʔab-* 'father'.

(12) Soq. *ʕeḳar* (syn.: m. *ʔeb*, *heb* — v. #11, f. *ʔā́m* — v. #8) // < Arb.-MSA **ʕḳr* 'to grow up, big' < Afras. **ʕVḳ^{w}Vr-* id.: Brb. **a-mVḳḳ^{w}ar-an* 'big'; Chad. **ḳVr-* 'to increase' (St. 2011 #392) and W.: Tala *kwoorì* 'big' (ADB).

◊ Urm. *gūr* < Kurdish *gaur, gûr.*

→ North and West Semitic: **rabb-* (#1) < Afras.**rVb-*: Chad. W.: Hausa *ríibà, rúbà* ˊmultiply, exceed', C.: Bura *rioribu* ˊmany' (St. 2005 #706); Omot.: Ongota *arba* 'big'.

6. BIRD

(1) Akk. (OB) *iṣṣuru*, Ugr. *ʕṣr* // < Akk.-Ugr. **ʕVṣṣūr-*.

(2) Hbr. *ṣippōr*; Pho. *ṣpr*; Bib. *ṣippar*; Pal. *ṣypr*; Syr. *ṣeppər-* (syn.: *ṭayr-* — v. #3, *pāraḥ-t-* v. Mil. 2010 #4); Mnd. *ṣipr-*; Urm. *siṗr-* (syn.: *ṭayr-* — v. #3), Mlt. (*gh*)*asfūr* (with a common Arb. root extension *ʕ-*) // < Sem. **ṣVp*(*p*)*Vr-* (Mil. 2010).

(3) Qur. *ṭayr-*; Leb. *ṭayr*; Mec. *ṭayr* // < Sem. **ṭayr-* (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ṭay/wr-* 'bird': E.Chad.: Tumak *dərí* 'bird' (likely < **ṭVri*, not **dVHr-*: cf. Tumak *dōr* 'turtle-dove'); N.Omot.: Kafa *ṭōro* 'vulture'.

(4) Gez. *ʕof*; Tna. *ʕuf*; Tgr. *ʕuf*; Amh. *wof*; Arg. *of, wof*; Gaf. *yəf^{w}ä*; Sod. *wof, of*; Cha. *af^w*; Har. *ūf*; Wol. *ũf^w* // < Sem. *ʕawp-* 'bird' < Afras. **ʕa*(*w*)*p-* 'bird; to fly' (Mil. 2010 #5).

(5) Tgr. *särerät* // acc. to LGz 514, < Sem. **šrr* 'to fly, jump' (Eth.; quoted ibid. forms in other Sem. are not in the main dictionaries); likely rel. to Chad. **sVwVr-* 'kite' (St. 2009 #341).

(6) Hrs. *ʔaḳāb*; Mhr. *ʔaḳabit*; Hob. *ʔiḳiibit*; Jib. *ʕeṣ̌yet* // < Arb.-MSA **ʕaḳVb-* 'vulture; bird' (Mil. 2010 #7; cf. probably with met. and an odd meaning shift, Syr. *ḳūʕb-* 'avis cantans' Brock. 667a); cf. isolated C.Chad.: Boka *koḃi* 'kite' (ADB).

(7) Soq. *noyhir* // < Sem. **nVšr-* 'eagle, vulture' (SED II #166), perhaps, with fossilized *n-*, rel. to #5.
◊ No term in Sab.
→ North and West Semitic (Ugr.) **ʕVṣṣūr-* (#1), with met. < Afras. **çirāʕ-* (Mil. 2010).
→ West Semitic **ṣVp(p)Vr-* (#2) < Afras. **çi/apur-* (Mil. 2010).

7. BITE

(1) Akk. (OB) *našāku*; Ugr. *nṯk*; Hbr. *nšk*; Gez. *nsk*; Hrs. *neṯōk*; Mhr. *neṯk* // < Sem. **nṯk* (LGz 420).
(2) Pal. Syr. Mnd. *nkt*; Tna. *näḵäsä*; Tgr. *näkša*; Amh. Arg. Gaf. *näkkäsä*; Sod. *näkkäsäm*; Cha. *näkäsäm*; Har. *näḵäsä*; Wol. *näkäsä* // < Sem. **nkṯ* (v. Mil. 2010).
(3) Urm. *ḳrṭ* // < Sem. **ḳʷrṭ* 'to cut, pinch' (Mil. 2010).
(4) Qur. Leb. Mec. *ʕḍḍ* // < Sem. **ʕṣṣ* with Afras. parallels, eventually likely < Arb.-MSA **ʕVṣ̂ā/īṣ̂-* < Afras. **ʕaç̂(ʕaç)-* 'cheekbone, (lower)jaw' (v. **BONE** #3).
(5) Mlt. *gidem* // Either < **gdm* or < **kdm* (Mil. 2010).
(6) Hob. *ṣ̂əʔáar* (syn.: *súṭ*); Jib. *ç̂aʕar* // for debatable Sem. parallels v. Mil. 2010; cf. Chad. verbs **ç̂VVr-* 'to rip, tear away' (St. 2007 #357) and **ç̂Vr-* 'to split (wood)' (ibid. #360).
(7) Soq. *ḍuʕob* (syn.: *ḳarḍeb* — v. Mil. 2010 #7)// perhaps with met. < Soq. *ʕaḍob* (not in LS) 'wound', Mhr. *ʔāẓ̂áwb* 'to be imperfectly healed (a broken bone)', *māźəbēt* 'cut', Jib. *maʕç̂ɔt* id., Hrs. *ʔāẓ̂ōb* 'to wound' (all JM 39).
◊ No terms in Pho., Bib., or Sab.
→ Proto-Semitic **nṯk* (#1) with probable Chad. and problematic Egyp. parallels (Mil. 2010).
→ West Semitic **nkṯ* (#2) < Afras. **(nV-)kVč-* 'tooth; biting' (Mil. 2010). The reasons why these two roots are scored differently are given in Mil. 2010, footnote 26.

8. BLACK

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *ṣalmu*; Sab. *ẓlm* (?); Gez. *ṣallim*; Tna. *ṣällim*; Tgr. *ṣällim*; Gaf. *ṣälläma* (syn.: *ṭəḳurä* — v.#5); Harari *ṭäy*; Wol. *ṭem* // < Sem. **ṭlm* 'to be black' (Mil. 2010).
(2) Hbr. *šāḥōr* // < Sem. **šḥr* 'to be black' (Mil. 2010).
(3) Pal. *ʔwkm, ʔkwm*; Syr. *ʔukkām-* (syn.: *ḳənāʔ* — v. Mil. 2010 #4) < Sem. **(ʔa-)kawm-* 'black, dark' < Afras. **kVm-* 'black' (Mil. 2010).
(4) Qur. *ʔaswad-*; Leb. *ʔaswəd*; Mec. *ʔaswad*; Mlt. *ʔiswet* // for possible Sem. cognates and parallels in Chad. v. Mil. 2010 #5, for Chad. v. also **sVwVḍ-* 'dark, black' (St. 2009 #100) and **swaḍ-* 'faeces' (ibid. #99).
(5) Amh. *ṭəḳʷər*; Arg. Sod. Cha. *ṭəḳur* // < Eth. **ṭḳr* 'to be black', **ṭaḳar* 'soot' (Mil. 2010 #6).
(6) Hrs. *ḥéwer*; Mhr. *ḥōwər* (*ḥɔr*); Hob. *ḥóowər*; Jib. *ḥɔ́r*; Soq. *ḥohar, ḥaur* // < Sem. **ḥwr* 'to be black and white' (Mil. 2010 #7); cf. C.Chad. **waraʔ-* (with met. < **Hwr*?) 'black': Masa *wuraʔa*, Peve *oraʔ*, Musey *waraʔa*, Zime-Batna *rowa* (ADB).
◊ No terms in Ugr., Pho., or Bib.
→ North and West Semitic **ṭlm* (#1) < Afras. **çilam-* 'to be dark, black' (Mil. 2010).

9. BLOOD

(1) Akk. (OB) *dāmu*; Ugr. *dm*; Hbr. *dām*; Pho. *dm*; Pal. *ʔădam, ʔydm*; Syr. *dəm-*; Urm. *dim-*; Qur. *dam-*; Leb. Mec. *damm*; Mlt. *dem*; Sab. *dm*; Gez. Tna. Tgr. Amh. Arg. Sod. Cha. Har. Wol. *däm*; Gaf. *dämʷä* // < Sem. **dam-* (SED I #50).
(2) Mnd. *zma* // < Sem. **zam-* < Afras. **ʒam(ʔ)-* 'blood' (Mil. 2010).
(3) Hrs. *ḏōreʔ*; Mhr. *ḏōr-əh*; Jib. *ḏohr*; Soq. *dör* // < MSA **ḏrʔ/y/w* 'to bleed' < Sem. **ḏrʔy/w* ~ **ḏrr* ~ **ḏrḏr* 'to scatter, spread (seed), disperse, winnow' (DRS 340, 342) < Afras. **ǯVr-* (v. **SEED** #2).

◊ No term in Bib.
→ North and West Semitic *dam- (#1) < Afras. *dam- 'blood' (Mil. 2010).

10. BONE

(1) Akk. (OB) *eṣemtu*; Ugr. *ʕẓm*; Hbr. *ʕäṣäm*; Pho. *ʕṣm*; Qur. *ʕaẓm-*; Leb. *ʕaẓam*; Mec. *ʕaẓum*; Mlt. (*gh*)*adma*; Gez. *ʕaṣəm*; Tna. *ʕaṣmi*; Tgr. *ʕäčəm*; Amh. *ʔaṭənt*; Arg. *haṭəm, aṭənt*; Gaf. *aṣmʷä*; Sod. Cha. Wol. *aṭəm*; Har. *āṭ* // < Sem. *ʕaṭm(-at)- (SED I #25).
(2) Bib. *gəram*; Pal. *grm*; Syr. Urm. *garm-*; Mnd. *girm-* // < Sem. *gVrm- 'body; bone' (SED I #94).
(3) Hrs. *ʔāẑayẑ*; Mehri *ʕaẓayẓ*; Hob. *ʔiiṣeéṣ*; Jib. *ʕayçeç* // < Arb.-MSA *ʕVṣā/īṣ- (v. SED I #24) < Afras. *ʕaç(ʕaç)- 'cheekbone, (lower) jaw' (Mil. 2010).
(4) Soq. *ṣéḥloh* // perhaps with met. < Sem. *ḥVlṣ- 'loin, hip' (Mil. 2010); otherwise, cf. Arb. *ḫlṣ* 'to be fractured (bone)' and *ḫaṣīl-* 'tail'.
◊ No term in Sab.
→ North and West Semitic *ʕaṯm(-at)- (#1).

11. BREAST

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *irtu*; Ugr. *ʔirt* (syn. *ṯd* — v.#2) // < Sem. *ʔir(r)-at- (Mil. 2012).
(2) Hbr. *šōd* (partial syn.: *ḥāzā* 'breast of a sacrificial animal', 7 attestations, in the "Priestly" narrative only HALOT 301 — v. #3); Pal. *td*; Hrs. *ṯōdi*; Mhr. *ṯodi*; Hob. *ṯóodə*; Jib. *ṯodɛʔ* (syn.: *gɛ́hɛʔ* — v.#6) // < Sem. *ṯVdy- 'breast' (SED I #280).
(3) Bib. *ḥădē*; Syr. *ḥady-* (syn.: *təd-* 'pectus' — v. #2); Mnd. *hady* // < Hbr.-Arm. *ḥaḏ(V)y- 'breast' (SED I #112).
(4) Qur. *ṣadr-*; Leb. *sidr-*; Mec. *ṣadr*; Mlt. *sidēr* // for debatable parallels outside Arb. v. Mil. 2010.
(5) Gez. *ṭəb* ('breast, teat'; syn.: *ʔəngədʔ/ʕā* 'chest, breast' — v. Mil. 2010 #5); Tna. *ṭub*; Tgr. *ṭəb*; Amh. Arg. *ṭut*; Gaf. *ṭŭwwä*; Sod. *ṭəbuyyä*; Cha. *ṭu*; Har. *ṭōt*; Wol. *ṭub* // < Sem. *ṭVb- 'teat' (SED I #277).
(6) Soq. *gehe* (syn.: *todi* — v. #2) // presumably < Sem. *gaw(w)iʔ- '(front part of) body; chest, belly; interior' (SED I #99) < Afras. *gʷay- 'body; corpse; belly; breast': Egyp.(Pyr.) *ḏ.t* 'body' (if < *gV-t), *ngʔyy* 'belly'; Chad. *gaw- 'corpse, carcass' (St. 2011 #434), C.: Gidar *gu-duf-ko* ˊbody' (*def* ˊperson'), E.: Tumak *gàu*, Ndam *gàwu*, Kera *gàw* 'breast', Sokoro *goi* 'corpse'; N.Omot. *gaw- 'belly', Kafa *gētō* 'breast' (ADB).
◊ No terms in Pho. and Sab. Urm. *ṣadr-* < Arab.
→ North and West Semitic (Ugr.) *ʔir(r)-at- (#1) < Afras. *ʔVr(a)r- chest and belly' (Mil. 2010).
→ South and West Semitic *ṯVdy- (#2); cf. E.Cush.: LEC: Konso *sataata* (< *sadad-), Arbore *sɛde* 'heart' (ADB).

12. BURN (tr.)

(1) Akk. (OB) *šarāpu*; Ugr. *šrp* (syn.: *ḥrr* — v. #8); Hbr. *ŝrp* // < Sem. *ŝrp (HALOT 1358).
(2) Bib. Pal. *yḳd*; Syr. *ʔ-yḳd*; Urm. *ḳwd* (with met.) // < Sem. *y/wḳd (HALOT 430) < Afras. *wVḳVd- ~ *ḳVwVd- 'to burn': Brb. *(w/yV)ḳVd- 'to burn', *iɣd 'ashes' (ADB); Chad. *kVḍ- (< *ḳVd-) 'to burn; to boil' (St. 2011 #75).
(3) Mnd. *ḳla* // < Sem. *ḳlw (LGz 431) < Afras. *kVl(-Vm)- 'hot, burning': Coptic: Fayumic *klōm* 'hot'; Chad. *kVl-, *kVlVm- ~ *kVmVl- 'charcoal' (St. 2011 #205), C.: Bachama *kwalkwal* 'hotness'; Cush. E.: LEC *kul- 'warm, hot', Dullay *kāl- 'sun', S.: Qwadza *kalem-uko* 'charcoal'; perhaps N.Omot. *ko/al- 'dry' (ADB).
(4) Qur. *ḥrḳ* VIII; Leb. *ḥarraʔ*; Mec. *ḥaraḳ*; Cha. *mäk'ärä* (revised from Mil. 2010 #11 where a different etymology relying on LGur 400 was accepted) // cf. variant roots with met. in Eth.:

ḳrḥ 'burn, be hot' (LGz 441) and **ḳḥr* id. (ibid. 425), all < Afras. **ḥVrVḳ- ~ *rVḳVḥ- ~ *ḳaraḥ-* 'burning, drying' (v. Mil. 2010; add E.Cush.: LEC: Somali *ḳorráḥ* 'sun', *ḳaraḥ-* 'dry', Boni *òráh*, Rendille *orra*(*h*) 'sun' ADB).

(5) Mlt. *ṭabbat* // for possible parallels v. Mil. 2010.

(6) Sab. *wfṭ* // < Eth.-Sab.; for possible Afras. parallels v. Mil. 2010.

(7) Gez. *ʔandada* (syn.: *ʔaḥrara-* v.#8, *wafaṭa* — v. Mil. 2010 #7, *ʔawʕaya* — v. Mil. 2010 #9); Tna. *ʔanäddädä* (syn.: *ḥarärä, ʔaḥrärä* — v. #8, *ʔaḳḳaṣälä* — v. #9); Sod. *änäddädä* // for possible Sem. parallels v. Mil. 2010.

(8) Tgr. *ḥarärä* // < Sem. **ḥrr* (HALOT 357, LGz 243).

(9) Amh. *aḳaṭṭälä*; Arg. *əḳḳaṭṭäla*; Gaf. (*tä*)*ḳaṭṭälä* // < Mod. Eth. **ḳṣl* (Mil. 2010 #11).

(10) Har. *māgäda*; Wol. *magäda* // only Mod. Eth. (v. Mil. 2010 #12).

(11) Mhr. *hə-nḥū*; Hob. *anḥú*; Jib. *e-nḥé*; Soq. *ə-nḥi* // likely < **n-ḥw/y* (v. **FIRE** #4).

◊ Hrs. *ḥrōḳ* must be < Arb.; no term in Pho.

→ North and West Semitic: **ŝrp* (#1).

13. CLAW (FINGERNAIL)

(1) Akk. (OB) *ṣupru*; Hbr. *ṣippōrän*; Bib. *ṭəpar*; Pal. *ṭpr*; Syr. *ṭepr-*; Mnd. *ṭupr-*; Urm. *ṭarp-* (with met.); Qur. *ẓufr-*; Leb. *ẓafir*; Mec. *ẓafr*; Mlt. *dufrēy*; Gez. *ṣəfər*; Tna. * č̣əfri*; Tgr. *č̣əfər*; Amh. Sod. Cha. Wol. *ṭəfər*; Arg. *č̣əfər*; Gaf. *ṣəfrä*; Har. *ṭifir*; Hrs. *ḏefir* (syn.: *kef* — v. #2); Hob. *ṯiifeér*; Soq. *ṭifer* // < Sem. **ṯip*(*V*)*r-* (SED I #285).

(2) Mhr. *kaf* (syn.: *ḏfēr* — v. #1); Jib. *kéf* (syn.: *ḏíféř* — v. #1) // < Sem. **kapp-* 'palm, flat of hand or foot' (SED I #148) < Afras. **ka/u*(*n*)*p-* 'claw, flat of hand or foot': Egyp. (NE) *kp* 'sole'; Chad. W.: Hausa *ákáifā, káifàfā́* 'claw, talon', E.: Kera *kámpá* 'leg'; E.Cush.: LEC: Arbore *kunúf* 'claw, nail, hoof', Dasenech *konof* 'finger, hoof', Elmolo *kúnuf* 'nail' (ADB).

◊ No terms in Ugr., Pho. and Sab.

→ Common Semitic: **ṯip*(*V*)*r-* (#1) < Afras. **č̣ipar- ~ ǯafir- ~ *ǯaruf-* (part of the correspondences irregular) 'claw, fingernail'; add (?) W.Chad. Ngamo *šàptirò* 'fingernail'; N.Omot.: Gamo *worṣofa* (with met.) 'claw', Kafa *yafaroo* (< **ǯafar-*?) 'finger' (ADB).

14. CLOUD

(1) Akk. (OB) *erpetu*; Ugr. *ʕrp-t* // < Sem. **ʕVrp-* (Mil. 2010).

(2) Hbr. *ʕānān* (syn.: *ʕāb* — v. #3); Bib. *ʕānān*; Pal. *ʕănan*; Syr. *ʕənān-*; Mnd. *anan-* (syn.: *īb*(*a*) — v. #2) // < Sem. **γayn*(*an*)- (v. Mil. 2010).

(3) Urm. *ʕayb-* (syn.: (*ʕ*)*nān-* — v. Mil. 2010) // < Sem.**γayb-* (HALOT 773), likely < Afras. **γay/wb-* 'cloud': Egyp. (Gr.) *wʕb.t* 'sky'; Chad. W. **H*(*y*)*ab-* 'cloud': Dear *áḃé*, Pero *yə́ḃu*, E. Tumak *ūbəy* id. (ADB).

(4) Qur. *saḥāb-*; Mec. *siḥāb*; Mlt. *sḥāp* // apparently < Arb. *sḥb* 'traîner par terre' (BK 1 1957, cf. *saḥāb-* 'nuage (surtout quand poussé par le vent il est en mouvement)' ibid.) < Sem. **sḥb* 'to drag, pull' (LGz 492–3; HALOT 749; LS 284).

(5) Leb. *γeym*; Sab. *γymt* (Stein; one attestation) // < Sem.:**γaym-*: Arb. *γaym-*, Syr. *ʕaym-* 'nebula' (Brock. 522).

(6) Gez. *dammanā*; Amh. Gaf. *dämmäna*; Arg. *dammäna, dona* // < Eth. **daman-* < Sem. **da/im*(*-an*)- 'cloud, fog, rain' < Afras. **dim*(*-an*)- 'cloud, rain' (v. Mil. 2010).

(7) Tna. *däbäna* (syn.: *dämmäna* — v. #6); Har. *dāna*; Wol. *däbäna*; Sod. *dabäna* (syn.: *dämmäna* — v. #6); Cha. *dabära* // < Mod. Eth. **daban-* < Sem. **dVb*(*a*)*b-* 'to fall, flow drop by drop': Hbr. *dobēb* 'qui coule goutte à goutte', Amh. *dubb* alä 'couler, tomber goutte à goutte', etc. (DRS 204) < Afras. **dub*(*-an*)-: E.Chad.: Kera (of Fianga) *dubueni* 'rain'; E.Cush.: LEC: Rendille *dubbat*, Bayso *dumbo*, Hadiya *duuba* 'cloud'; Omot. N.: Dizi (Maji) *dieb* 'to rain', S.: Dime

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

(8) Tgr. *gimät* // < Eth. **gim-* with Cush. parallels (or sources of borrowing), v. Mil. 2010 #7.

(9) Hrs. *ʔāfor*; Mhr. *ʔafur*; Jib. *ʕafor* // likely a meaning shift from 'dust cloud' (cf. Hrs. *ʔāfor* 'cloud, dust wind' JH 6) < Sem. **ʕapar-* 'dust, soil', incl. Sab. *ʕpr* 'sowing (land) before rain' (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ʕapur- ~ *pVrʕ- ~ *rV(HV)p-* 'rain-watered or irrigable land/soil; sowing or planting (in such soil)' (ADB; one of the terms likely pointing to agriculture practiced at least by Proto-North Afrasian speakers, differs from Mil. 2010): Brb.: Ahaggar *a-fara*, pl. *i-ferw-ân* 'lieu couvert de végétation persistante'; Egyp. (Pyr.) *p;ʕ.t* 'irrigable land'; Chad. W.: Zul *rupi* 'dig ground for planting', C.: Mofu *-rəv-* 'planter' (St. 2005 #739), E.: Sokoro *ripe* 'earth' (cf. ibid. #744).

(10) Soq. *ʕálhel* // < MSA **γVlVl-* with debatable Arb. parallels (Mil. 2010).

◊ No terms in Pho.; Hob. *kəḏáʔ* 'black c.' (preferably not to be scored; no parallels found), and *sḥóob* 'white c.' < Arab.

→ North and West (Ugr.) Semitic **ʕVrp-* (#1) with parallels in E.Chad. (Mil. 2010; add: cf. with met. W. Chad.: Dera *àpəre* 'to shed, pour out', E.: Kera *pə́ərú* 'Regenzeit').

15. COLD

(1) Akk. (OB) *kaṣû*; Mlt. *kiesaḥ* // < Sem. **kVṣaḥ-* (Mil. 2010); surprising as this comparison may seem, there is no other etymology for either of these two triconsonantal terms, whose phonetic structures correspond to each other regularly.

(2) Hbr. *ḳar*; Pal. *ḳryr* (syn.: *ṣᵉnin* — v. Mil. 2010 #3; likely rel. to E.Cush.: HEC **çeen-* 'rain' ADB); Syr. *ḳarīr-*; Mnd. *ḳarir-* (syn.: *ḳaruš-* — v. Mil. 2010 #4; rel. to Brb. **ḳVris-* 'frozen water, ice' ADB); Urm. *ḳayr*; Gez. *ḳʷärir* (syn.: *bərud* — v. #3) // < Sem. **ḳʷr(r)* 'to be cold' (Mil. 2010, Kog. LE 476).

(3) Qur. *bārid-*; Leb. *berid*; Mec. *bārid*; Tna. *bärid* (syn.: *ḳʷärri* — v. #2, < Gez. acc. to LGz 444, and *zəḥul* — v. Mil. 2010 #6); Tgr. *bərud* (syn.: *ḳərur* — v. #2); Sod. Wol. *bərd*; Har. *bäräd* // < Sem. **barad-* 'hail; cold', **brd* 'to be cold' (Mil. 2010 #5, Kog. LE 476).

(4) Sab. *ḥbr* 'Kälte' (Stein, one attestation; perhaps should not be scored, since it is a noun); Hrs. *ḥebūr* (syn.: *ḳaṣm* — v. #6); Mhr. *ḥəbūr* (syn.: *ḳāṣəm* — v. #6); Hob. *ḥəbboór*; Jib. *ḥōr* (syn.: *ḳéṣm* — v. #6) // < Sab.-MSA **ḥVbūr-* (for possible Arb. and Chad. parallels v. Mil. 2010 #8, Kog. LE 476–7).

(5) Amh. *ḳäzḳazza* (syn.: *bärid, bärrad* — v. #3), Arg. *ḳäzḳazza* // v. Mil. 2010 #7.

(6) Soq. *ḳéṣam* (syn.: *ḥebhor* — v. #4, *šeḳaḳ* — v. Mil. 2010 #11) // < MSA **ḳaṣm-* < Afras. **ḳVç-* (the Chad. examples are to be transferred here from Mil. 2010 #7).

◊ No terms in Ugr., Bib., Pho. Cha. *ziza* < Omot.

→ (?) North and West (Mlt.) Semitic **kVṣaḥ-* (#1; if valid).

→ West Semitic 1: **ḳʷr(r)* 'to be cold' (#2), possibly related to Afras. **ḳVr-* 'dry' (if the latter is associated with cold rather than heat), v. Mil. 2011 #2 and St. 2011 #275a.

→ West Semitic 2 **barad-* 'hail; cold', **brd* 'to be cold', with a tenable cognate in Egyp. (NK) *brd* 'to be stark, stiff' .

16. COME

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *alāku* // < Sem. **hlk* (v. **WALK** #1).

(2) Ugr. *mγy*; Gez. *mṣʔ* (syn.: *ʔatawa* — v. #4); Tna. *mäṣʔe*; Tgr. *mäṣʔa*; Amh. Arg. *mäṭṭa*; Sod. *mäṭṭa*; Wol *mäṭä*; // < Sem. **mṭʔ* 'to reach, arrive' (Mil. 2010; for reconstruction difficulties due to the variant roots v. EDE III 724–5).

(3) Hbr. *bwʔ* // < Sem. **bwʔ* < Afras. **baʔ-* 'walk, go' (v. Mil. 2010 #4).

(4) Pho. *ʔtʔ*; Bib. *ʔty/ʔ*; Pal. Syr. Urm. *ʔty*; Mnd. *ata*; Qur. *ʔty* (syn.: *ǯyʔ* — v. #5) // < Sem. **ʔty/w* (v. in LGz 46–7).

(5) Leb. *ʔəža* (with met.); Mec. *ǯāʔ*; Mlt. *aǯa* (with met.) // < Sem. **gʷVy(ʔ)-* 'come, run' < Afras. **gʷay-* 'to move, run' (v. Mil. 2010; add S.Cush.: Iraqw *gow-* 'run away' ADB).

(6) Sab. *ʔys₁* (Stein, 2 attestations; syn.: *ʔtw* — ibid., 1 attestation) // (no Sem. cognates found) < Afras. **ʔays-* 'come, go': Brb. **(H)as-* 'come'; Egyp. (ME) *ʔs* 'hurry, hasten'; Chad. W.: Mupun *iso*, Bokos *yês*, Daffo-Butura *yes*, E. **ʔas-* 'come'; E.Cush.: Dullay **ʔaššʔ-* 'go' (ADB).

(7) Gaf. *sällä* // S. Eth. only (LGur 542; hardly < Omot.) < Afras. **sawl-* 'come and go, wander, walk': Chad. **sVl-* 'go out', **sVwVl-* 'wander' (St. 2009 #221); N. Omot.: Chara *s'álm-*, Gimirra (She) *šila* 'walk' (ADB).

(8) Har. *dižа* // likely < Sem. **dydy* 'to arrive, come, walk' (v. HALOT 214 and DRS 223) < Afras. **dVy/w-* ~ **ʔ/wVd-* 'come': Brb.: Izdeg *addu*, Zenaga *š-ed*, etc.; Chad. W.: Kirfi *ndo*, Dera *do-*, etc., E.: Mokilko *ʔĩdó*; Omot.: Chara *wod*, Dime *aad-* (ADB).

(9) Cha. *čänä-m* // likely < **tan-* (v. Mil. 2010 #8).

(10) Hrs. *nōka*; Mhr. *nūkaʕ*; Hob. *núukəʔ*; Jib. *nikaʕ* (syn.: *zaḥám* — v. Mil. 2010 #10) // < Arb.-MSA **nkʕ* (v. Mil. 2010 #9); cf. isolated C.Chad.: Mofu *-nakwá-* 'aller, marcher' (ADB).

(11) Soq. *gédaḥ* (syn.: *nkʕ* — v. #10, *ʔéraḥ* — v. Mil. 2010 #11) // possibly < **gḏʕ* — cf. Arab. *ǯḏʕ* 'passer rapidement' and C.Cush. (met.?): Bilin *gaʕd* 'move', *giʕd*, pl. *giʕz* 'way', Kemant, Kailinya *gaz* 'road', Kunfäl *gaz-* 'go' (if < **gʕǯ*; if < **gʕʒ*, rel. to or borrowed from Eth. **gʕz* 'move, change camp, emigrate' LGz 175) ADB.

→ West Semitic 1: **mṭʔ* (#2), perhaps < **m-ṭʔ* < Afras. **ç̣Vʔ-*, cf. Chad. *ç̣Vw-* 'to come, arrive': W.: Pa'a *čùwí* 'come', C.: Fali-Kirua *cù* 'walk, to go', Podoko *cawa* 'to reach, arrive at', Gisiga *če* 'eintreten', Masa *čò* 'to arrive' (St. 2009 #939).

→ West Semitic 2 **ʔty/w* (#4) < Afras. **ʔa/it-* 'walk, come and go' (Mil. 2010 #3; add N. Omot. Gimirra (Benesho, She) *at-* 'come' ADB).

17. DIE

(1) Akkadian (OAkk on) *mâtu*; Ugr. Pho. *mt*; Hbr. Pal. Qur. Sab. Gez. *mwt*; Syr. Urm. *myt*; Mnd. *mit*; Leb. *mət*; Mec. *māt*; Mlt. *mīt*; Tna. *motä*; Tgr. Amh. Wol. *motä*; Arg. *moda*; Sod. *motäm*; Cha. *mʷätäm*; Har. *mōta*; Hrs. *mōt* (syn.: *ɣāb* < 'faint' — v. Mil. 2010 #3); Mhr. *mōt* (syn.: *ɣəzōl* < 'to spin' — v. Mil. 2010 #4); Hob. *móot* // < Sem. **mwt* (v. in LGz 375–6).

(2) Gaf. *fättärä* // < S. Eth. with a probable Arb. parallel, perhaps < Sem. **p(w)t* with root extension *-r* (v. Mil. 2010 #2).

(3) Jib. *enúsum, əntsím* (so acc. to my informants; syn.: *ḫárǵ* — v. Mil. 2010 #5 and Kog. LE 467) // also 'to breathe one's last' < 'to breathe' < Sem. **nšm* 'to breathe' (SED I Verb #50), perhaps < Afras. **nVs-* with fossilized *-m*; cf. Chad. W., E. **nVVs-* 'to breathe (heavily)', C. **nVy/wVsV* 'spirit, soul' (St. 2005 #492).

(4) Soq. *ṣame* // cognate with, rather than loan from Arb. *ṣmy* 'tomber roide mort, ê. tué sur place' (contra Mil. 2010); cf. E.Cush.: LEC: Somali *ḍim-* 'die' (can be < Afras. **çim-*).

◊ No term in Bib.

→ Proto-Semitic **mwt* (#1) < Afras. **mawVt-* 'die' (Mil. 2010 #1).

18. DOG

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *kalbu*; Ugr. Pho. Pal. *klb*; Hbr. *käläb*; Syr. Mnd. Urm. Qur. *kalb-*; Leb. *kaləb*; Mec. *kalb*; Mlt. *kelp*; Gez. Tgr. *käləb*; Tna. *kälbi*; Mhr. *kawb* (*k. mābáyl*); Hob. *koób*; Jib. *kob* (acc. to some authors, the MSA terms are < Arb.) // < Sem. **kalb-* (LGz 282).

(2) Hrs. *mābayl* (syn.: *kawb*, also 'wolf' — v. #1) // lit. 'owned' (< *kawb mābayl*) < Sem. **bʕl* 'to own', **baʕl-* 'husband, master, owner' < Afras. **baʕVl-* 'elder male relative in-law, hus-

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

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

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

19. DRINK

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

(2) Qur. *šrb*; Leb. *šərəb*; Mec. *širib*; Mlt. *šōrop* // < Sem. **ŝrṗ* (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ĉVrVṗ*- 'to drink': Chad. **ŝVrVḃ*- 'to sip': W.: Hausa *sùrḃa* ´to sip', C.: Podoko *ŝərəba ŝərəba* 'sobbing', E.: Mokilko *surḃíḃu* 'drink in little gulps' (St. 207 #263).

(3) Sod. *säččäm*; Cha. *säčäm* (*-č* < **ḳ*); Hrs. *teḳ* (caus. *heḳō*; *h-* < **š-*); Mhr. *hutḳi* (< **s-t-ḳy*); Jib. *šuṣ̃i* // < Sem. **šḳy* 'to drink, give to drink; to water, irrigate' (Mil. 2010).

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

◊ Amh. *ṭäṭṭa* and Gaf. *ṭiṭṭä* presumably < Oromo *ḍuḍan*. No terms in Pho. and Sab.

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

→ South and West (Gur.) Semitic **šḳy* (#3) < Afras. **sVḳy/w*- 'to drink, give to drink': Chad. **sVḳ*- 'swallow' (St. 2009 #209), W.: Tangale *soke* 'give water (to a child)' (ibid. #209a); C.Cush.: Khamir *süḳ* 'to drink' (Reinisch), Kemant *šəɣ*^{w} 'to swallow' (CDA 131).

20. DRY

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

(2) Hbr. *yābēš*; Pal. *ybyš*; Syr. *yabbīš-*; Mnd. *yabuš-*; Qur. *yābis-*; Sab. *ybs*$_1$ ('dry up'); Gez. Tgr. *yəbus* // < Sem. **ybš* 'to be dry' (v. in LGz 626).

(3) Leb. *nešif*; Mec. *naššaf*; Mlt. *nīšef* // likely < **na-ša/if*, with a fossilized *n*- prefix < Afras. **ŝip*- 'sunlight, heat': Brb. **a-sif* (< **-ŝif*) 'day'; Egyp. (Pyr.) *sšp* (likely < **ŝVp*) 'to be light, shine (of the sun and moon); light' (ADB); Chad. **ẑVfV* 'hot (weather)' (St. 2007 #437).

(4) Tna. *nəḳ̱us* // < Sem. *nḳš/ṣ* 'to dry up, wane' (v. Mil. 2010), likely, with fossilized *n*-prefix, < Afras. **ḳVsw*- ~ **saḳ*^{w}- 'dry': Sem.: Arb. *ḳsw* 'ê. sec et durci' (BK 2 735); Chad. **ḳVs*- 'to dry, dry season' (St. 2011 #322); C.Cush. **s/caḳ*^{w}*ən*- 'be thirsty' (cf. CDA 135); N.Omot.: Kafa *šuḳ*, Mocha *šûqqi-*, Bworo *šuḳ*, Mao (Sezo) *ḳusa-kus* 'dry' 'be dry' (ADB).

(5) Amh. Arg. Sod. Har. Wol. *däräḳ*; Cha. *ṭäräḳ* // < Mod. Eth. **daraḳ* with a plausible Arb. parallel (Mil. 2010).

(6) Hrs. *ḳōŝa*; Mhr. *ḳayŝaʕ*; Hob. *ḳíiŝəʔ*; Jib. *ḳəŝaʕun*; Soq. *ḳeŝaʕ* // < Arb.-MSA (since it is represented in all MSA, hardly < Arb., cf. Mil. 2010) with highly debatable Afras. parallels.

◊ Urm. *bārūz-*, with no parallels outside Neo-Aramaic, is, perhaps, to be treated as a loanword. No terms in Ugr. Pho. Bib. and Gaf.

→ West Semitic **ybš* (#2), perhaps < Afras. **bVs-* (Mil. 2010 #2).

21. EAR

(1) Akk. (OB) *uznu*; Ugr. *ʔudn*; Hbr. *ʔōzän*; Pal. *ʔdn*; Syr. *ʔedn-*; Mnd. *ʕudn-*; Qur. *ʔuḏn-*; Leb. *ʔəḏən*; Mec. *ʔiḏin*; Mlt. *widna*; Sab. *ʔḏn* (Stein; 2 attestations); Gez. Tgr. *ʔəzən*; Tna. *ʔəzni*; Arg. *izin, əzən*; Gaf. *əznä*; Sod. *ənzən*; Cha. *ənzər*; Har. *uzun*; Wol. *əzən*; Mhr. *hayḏin*; Hob. *ḥayḏeén*; Jib. *ʔiḏɛn*; Soq. *idihən* // < Sem. **ʔu/iḏn-* (SED I #4).

(2) Urm. *nāt-* // hardly rel. to #1, perhaps an unindentified borrowing (cf. Mil. 2011).

(3) Hrs. *mēšmēʔ* (so acc. to my informants; syn.: *ḥeyḏēn* — v. #1) // < Sem. **šmʕ* 'to hear' (v. **HEAR** #1).

◊ Amh. *ǯoro* < Oromo *gurra* (Mil. 2010). No terms in Pho. and Bib.

→ Proto-Semitic **ʔu/iḏn-* < Afras. **ʔi/uǯ-n-* ~ *ʔi/udn-* 'ear' (Mil. 2010; add N.Omot.: Anfillo *waaǯo*, Bworo *waaza* 'ear' (ADB).

22. EARTH

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *erṣetu*; Ugr. *ʔarṣ(u)*; Hbr. *ʔäräṣ*; Pho. *ʔrṣ*; Bib. *ʔăraʕ*; Pal. *ʔrʕ*; Syr. Urm. *ʔarʕ-*; Mnd. *arḳ-*; Qur. *ʔarḍ-*; Leb. *ʔaraḍ*; Mec. *ʔarḍ*; Mlt. *art*; Sab. *ʔrḍ*; Hob. *árṣ̂*; Jib. *ʔɛrç̣* (syn.: *gədrét* — v. Mil. 2010 #5) // < Sem. **ʔarṣ̂-* (v. in. DLU 51).

(2) Gez. *mədr* (syn.: *maret*); Tna. *mədri*; Tgr. Amh. Arg. *mədər* (in all four latter cases syn.: *märet* < Afras. — v. Mil. 2010 #3); Sod. *mədər* // < Sem. **midr-* (Mil. 2010); cf. Egyp. (Med.) *mꜣd* 'ein mineralischer Stoff' (strangely comp. in EDE III 127 with Eth.-ESA **mVr-t*).

(3) Gaf. *afärä*; Cha. Har. *afär*; Wol. *afär* (syn.: *däččе* < E.Cush. — v. Mil. 2010) // hard to say if < Sem. **ʔapar-* 'dust, soil; ashes' < Afras. (v. **ASHES** #3) or < Sem. **ʕapar-* 'dust, soil' (v. **CLOUD** #9).

(4) Hrs. *ḥōhi* (syn.: *ḳā* — v. #5); Soq. *ḥóyhi* // < Sem. **ḥašaw/y-* < Afras. (v. **SAND** #5).

(5) Mhr. *ḳā* // < Arb.-MSA **ḳāʕ-* (< **ḳwʕ*), perhaps rel. to Egyp. *ḳꜣḥ* (v. Mil. 2010 #7) and Chad. **kVy-(kVy)-* 'gravel, rough sand', in St. 2011 #31 united with C. Chad. **kʷVʔ-* 'stone, rock'.

→ Proto-Semitic: **ʔarṣ̂-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔariç̣-*: Egyp. *ʕꜣḏ* 'watered ground' (probably dissimilated < **ʔʔḏ* < **ʔVrç̣-*) and Chad. **(ʔV-)rVṣ̂-* 'earth' (v. Mil. 2010).

23. EAT

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *akālu*; Hbr. Pho. Bib. Syr. Urm. Qur. *ʔkl*; Mnd. *akal*; Leb. *ʔakəl*; Mec. *ʔakal*; Mlt. *kiel*; Sab. *ʔkl* (Stein; 1 attestation) // < Sem. **ʔkl* (Mil. 2010).

(2) Ugr. *lḥm* // < Sem. **laḥm-* 'food (bread or meat); to eat' (Mil. 2010), rel. to Chad.: **lVVmV* 'corn, corn meal' (St. 2005 #277) and W.: Mburku *laamù*, Guruntum *lǎam* 'meat', E.: Bidiya *kà-láamò* 'meat-lover' (ADB).

(3) Pal. *ṭʕm* (syn.: *ʔkl* — v. #1) // < Sem. **ṭʕm* 'to taste' (v. in LGz 583) < Afras. **ṭʕm* 'to taste food or drink': C.Chad.: Mofu *-təm-* 'eat (smth. dry)', Balda *tí-tímí* 'to taste'; E.Cush.: LEC: Konso, Dirayta, Mashile *ḍam-* 'eat', Rendille *ḍam-*, Baiso *ṭame, ḍam-* 'to drink'; N.Omot.: Kafa *ṭamo* 'to drink' (or < LEC?).

(4) Gez. *blʕ*; Tna. *bälʕe*; Tgr. *bälʕa*; Amh. *bälla*; Arg. *bälla, əlʔa*; Gaf. *bällä*; Sod. *bällam*; Cha. *bänam*; Har. *bälaʔa*; Wol. *bälä* // < Sem. **blʕ* 'to swallow, eat' (cf. DRS 68) < Sem. **balVʕ/γ-* 'uvula; gullet, gorge' (SED I #36) < Afras. **balVʕ-* 'neck, throat, gullet, uvula': Brb.: Ghat *bēləbēlé*,

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

(5) Hrs. *tewō*; Mhr. *tu*; Hob. *twú*; Jib. *te*; Soq. *té* // < Sem. **tʔw/y* < Afras. **tiʔw-* (Mil. 2010).

→ North and West Semitic: **ʔkl* (#1), cf. W.Chad.: Hausa *kālā-čī* 'food' (ADB).

24. EGG

(1) Akk. (OB) *pelû* // likely < Afras. **ṗil(ʔ)-* ~ **ṗulṗul-* 'egg' (Mil 2010 #1).

(2) Hbr. *bēyṣā*; Pal. *byʕh*; Syr. *bēʕt-* (syn.: *bar-t-* — v. Mil. 2010 #3); Mnd. *bit-*; Urm. *biyy-*; Qur. *bayḍat-*; Leb. Mec. *bayḍa*; Mlt. *bayda*; Mhr. *bīẓayt* (syn.: *ḳáwḥəl* — v. #4, *bēḍáyt* — v. Mil. 2010 #7) // < Sem. **bayṣ-at-* (SED I #43).

(3) Gez. *ʔanḳoḳəḥo*; Tna. *ʔənḳ̣ʷaḳ̣ʷəḥo*; Tgr. *ʔənḳoḳḥo*; Gaf. *anḳʷä*; Sod. *anḳo*; Har. *aḳuḥ*; Wol. *ənḳaḳot* // (contra Mil. 2010 #4 not < Sem. **ḳʷaḳʷay-*) < Eth. **(ʔan-)ḳʷaḥḳʷaḥ-* 'egg' (likely rel. is Syr. *ḳawḳiḥ* '*clamavit* (*gallina*)' Brock 656) < Afras. **(ʔan-)ḳʷa(n)ḥ-* 'egg' (Mil. 2010 #4; add. W.Chad. **(n)ḳwahi(n)-* 'egg': Hausa *ḳwái*, Gerka *nkie*, *ŋkyɛ́ʔ*, Tal *hàs-khɛ̄* ('egg-egg'), Diri *ákìn* ADB).

(4) Amh. Arg. *ənḳulal*; Cha. *ənḳura*; Hob. *aḳḥalwíin*; Jib. *ḳɛḥẑin* (syn.: *béḏ* — v. Mil. 2010 #7); Soq. *ḳḥolhin* // < Sem. **ḳa(w)ḥil-* (cf. SED I #170); for possible Afras. cognates v. Mil. 2010 #5.

(5) Hrs. *beḳelēt* (syn.: *bēḏeh* — v. Mil. 2010 #7)// < Sem. **baḳʷal-* 'plant, vegetation' (v. in LGz 100).

◊ No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib. or Sab.

→ West and South Semitic 1 **bayṣ-at-* (#2) < Afras. **bayẓ-* (Mil. 2010).

→ West (Amh., Arg.) and South Semitic 2 **ḳa(w)ḥil-* (#4); for possible Afras. cognates v. Mil. 2010 #5.

25. EYE

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

→ Proto-Semitic **ʕayn-* < Afras. **ʕayVn-* (Mil. 2010).

26 FAT (n.)

(1) Akk. (OB) *lūpû* (*lipiu, lī/ēpu*; syn.: *šamnu* — v. #2) < Sem. **li/apiʔ-* 'fatty, fleshy tissue' (cf. SED I 180) < Afras. **la/ipʔ-* (ADB) 'inner organ; chest and belly with interior': Egyp. (CT) *np*; 'guts'; Chad. **nV-lapV* 'spleen' (St. 2005 #119); Cush. E.: Afar *aleefu* 'spleen', LEC: Oromo *laṗṗee* 'heart', S.: Dahalo *lafi* 'lungs'; Omot. N.: Basketo *lippē* 'belly', S.: Ari (Ubamer) *liṗ/ḅ-* 'heart' (otherwise < **li/ubb-* 'heart').

(2) Ugr. *šmt, šmn*; Pal. *šwmnʔ* (syn.: *trb* — v. #4); Syr. *šumn-* (syn.: *terb-* — v. #4); // < Sem. **šam(-an)-* 'fat, oil' (v. SED I 248) < Afras. **sim-an-* ~ **sin-am-* 'oil, fat, (fat) milk' (Mil. 2010).

(3) Hbr. *ḥēläb*; Pho. *ḥlb* // < Sem. **ḫilb-* 'fatty tissue covering internal organ; caul' (v. SED I #131) or, less likely, < **ḥa/ilVb-* 'milk, fat' (cf. LGz 229); however, if the latter, plausibly rel. to Chad. W.: Hausa *làllaḅâ* 'smear thick substance on any part of body', Diri *láḅà* 'fat, grease', C.: Gude *ləḅə* 'dip out thick substance, oinment'; cf. also Chad. **lVḅ-* (< **HVlVb-*) 'to smear, to smooth' (comp. in St. 2005 #69 to Arab. *lwb* II 'enduire d'ongulent') < Afras. **ḥalib-* 'fat, oinment, milk', perhaps < **ḥa-līb-*, with **ḥa-* prefixed (on this hypothetical "class marker" v. Tak. 1997) < Afras. **la/ib-* '(fat) milk': Sem. **laban-* (< **lab-an-*) 'milk; Cush. C.: Kemant *lab-əɣʷ* 'to milk', S.: Iraqoid **ʔilib-* (< **ʔV-lib-*) 'milk' (all ADB).

(4) Mnd. *tirb-* (syn.: *šamina, šumna* — v. #2); Urm. *tarb-* (syn.: *šahr-* — v. Mil. 2010 #5) // < Sem. **ṯarb-* (SED I #283).
(5) Qur. *šaḥm-*; Mec. *šaḥam*; Mlt. *šaḥām* // < Sem. **ŝaḥm-* (SED I #263), matching E.Cush. (Mil. 2010 #6).
(6) Leb. *dihn* // < Sem. **duhn-* (v. in SED I #48) < Afras. **duhan-* 'fat': Brb. **-duHan-* 'fat'; W.Chad **diHVn-*: Sura *ḍóŋ* 'fat', Polchi *ḍiin* 'oil' (ADB).
(7) Gez. *ŝəbḥ*; Tna. *səbḥi*; Tgr. *šəbeḥ*; Amh. *səb* (syn.: *mora* 'animal fat, suet' — v. #8); Cha. *səwä*; Har. *säbaḥ*; Hrs. *ŝabḥ*; Mhr. *ŝabaḥ* (in both syn.: *ṣáyleḥ* — v. Mil. 2010 #11); Hob. *ŝábḥ*; Jib. *ŝabḥ* (syn.: *ʕəç̣* — v. Mil. 2010 #12); Soq. *ŝabḥ* (syn.: *ʕínat* — v. Mil. 2010 #13) // < Sem. **ŝabḥ-* (SED I #261).
(8) Sod. *mora*; Wol. *morä* // either < Oromo (in this case, not to be scored) or < Sem. **mrʔ* 'to fatten', **mariʔ-* 'fat' < Afras. **marVʔ/y-* 'fat, oil' (Mil. 2010 #9).
(9) Gaf. *buššəra* // if met. < **ṯarb-* (v. #4), to score with #4; for other suggestions v. Mil. 2010 #10.
◊ Arg. *ç̌oma* < Cush. (v. Mil. 2010). No terms in Bib. or Sab.
→ South and West (Eth.) Semitic **ŝabḥ-* (#8) < Afras. **ĉabḥ-* 'fat' (Mil. 2010 #8; add Chad. **ŝVḃV* 'meat (on bone)' (St. 2007 #63).

27. FEATHER

(1) Akk. (SB) *nāṣu*; Hbr. *nōṣā* (syn.: *ʔäbrā, ʔēbär* 'pinion', v. #2) // < Sem. **nāṣ(y)-* (SED I #202).
(2) Syr. *ʔebr-* (syn.: *merṭ-* — v. Mil. 2010 #2) // < Sem. **ʔa/ibr-* 'pinion, wing' (SED I #1); together with N.Cush.: Beja *ʔan/mbur 'wing'* < Afras. **bi/ar-* 'to fly, jump': Sem.: pB Hbr. *ʔābar* 'to soar, to take wing', Amh. *bärrärä*, Har. *bärärä* 'to fly' (unless < Cush.), Jib. *ebré* 'jump high'; Chad. W.: Hausa *bur-burniya* 'leaping', C. **(m)ba/ir-*, E. **bVr-* 'to 'fly, jump, hop'; Cush. N.: Beja *bir* 'jump', C.: Khamir *bir-* 'jump', Aungi *berer-ən*, E.: LEC: Oromo *barara*, HEC: Hadiya *barar* 'to fly', Burji *burr* 'to fly, jump'; N.Omot.: Male *baran* 'to fly' (ADB).
(3) Mnd. *guspart-*; Urm. *par-*; Hrs. *ferfayr* // < Sem. **par-* (on the reasons for uniting these terms v. Mil. 2010 #4); v. direct cognates in Brb. (ibid.), very likely < Afras. **pVr-* 'to fly' (v. **FLY** #9).
(4) Leb. *rīši*; Mec. *riyša*; Mlt. *rīš* // no cognates found.
(5) Tna. *kəntit*; Har. *kät* // v. Mil. 2010 #6.
(6) Cha. *zoyä* // the only likely etymology is < Sem. **(ʔa/iw(a)z-* ~ **waz(z)-* 'goose' (SED II #22) < Afras. **(ʔa-)waʒʒ-* ~ **(ʔa-)zaw-* 'k. of (large) bird': Brb.: Ghadames *awəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* 'autruche', Igerwan *wawužž*, Izayan *wawiž*, etc. 'perdrix'; Egyp. (Pyr.) *z.t* 'Ente, Ganz', *k*; *zw.t* 'Erpel' (i.e. 'male of a duck; cf. *k*; 'bull' written with the phallos determinative); E.Chad.: Mokilko *ʔùzú* 'chick, cock' (ADB).
(7) Mhr. *ŝíf(f)* (syn.: *ḳətfīf* — v. Mil. 2010 #9); Jib. *ŝɔf ḏ-ʕeṣfɔ̄r* (lit. 'hair of bird'; syn.: *ḳaṭaf* — v. Mil. 2010 #9) // v. **HAIR** #5.
(8) Soq. *milyaṭ* (syn.: *ŝéf(f)* — v. #7) // likely rel. to Arb. *malīṭ-* (v. Mil. 2010 #10) and further to Arb. *līṭ-* 'peau' with possible Afras. parallels: Egyp. (Med.) *ntnt* 'skin' (if < **lVṭlVṭ*); Chad. **lVt/d-* 'to skin' (St. 2005 #138), **lVVtV* 'skin, loin cloth leather' (ibid. #138a.).
◊ Tgr. *ç̌əgär* < C. or E. Cush. (v. in Mil. 2010); Amh. *laba, läboba*, Arg. *laba* < Oromo *laboba* (ibid.); Sod. *balle* < E. Cush. (ibid.); Wol. *zorro* < HEC (ibid.). No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Gez., Gaf. or Hob.
→ North and West Semitic: **nāṣ(y)-* (#1); likely rel. to N.Omot. **nāç̣-* 'tail': Dorze *nasé*, Koyra, Ganjule, Gidicho, Kachama *naaçɛ*, *naace* (ADB).

28. FIRE

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

(2) Pal. *nūr* (syn.: *ʔyšh, ʔäššā* — v. #1); Syr. Mnd. Urm. *nūr-*; Qur. *nār-*; Leb. Mec. Mlt. *nār-* // < Sem. **nū/ār-* (Mil. 2010).
(3) Sab. *šʕl-t* (Stein, two attestations; *š*=*s*$_2$) // Arab. *šʕl* 'allumer (le feu)', *šāʕlat-* 'flamme, torch' (Mhr. *šāl*, Jib. *šaʕál* 'to spark' are likely Arabisms), rel. to Chad. **ŝVl-* ~ **ʔVŝVl-* 'to burn' (St. 2007 #202) < Afras. **ĉVʕVl-* 'to burn, spark fire' (ADB).
(4) Tna. *ḥawwi* // < Eth., likely rel. to MSA **nḥy/w* 'to burn' (v. **BURN** #11) < Afras. **ḥV(w)ʔ-* 'fire; smoke; burn' — v. Mil. 2010, add: Brb. **a-ḫuH-* (likely < **H^{w}Vʔ-*) 'smoke' and S.Cush.: Burunge *eḥa* 'smoke' (ADB).
(5) Hrs. *ŝēwēṭ* (syn. *ẑawt* — v. Mil. 2010 #4); Mhr. *ŝīwōṭ*; Hob. *ŝiiwóoṭ*; Jib. *ŝoṭ*; Soq. *ŝiáṭ* (*ŝeyóṭ*) // < Sem. **ŝiw/yāṭ-* 'fire' (v. Mil. 2010 #5).
◊ Wol. *ǯirä* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2010).
→ North and West Semitic **ʔiš-āt-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔis-* 'fire' (Mil. 2010).
→ West Semitic: **nū/ār-* < Afras. **nur-* 'fire; coal, ashes' (Mil. 2010).

29. FISH

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

30. FLY (v.)

(1) Akk. *naprušu* (OB) // < Sem. **prŝ* 'to spread out' (Mil. 2010).
(2) Ugr. *ʕp*; Hbr. *ʕwp* // < Sem. **ʕwp* 'to fly' (v. Mil. 2010 **BIRD** #4).
(3) Pal. *prḥ* (syn.: *ṭws* — v. #4); Syr. Urm. *prḥ* // < Sem. **prḫ* 'to fly' (v. Mil. 2010), likely rel. to **parḫ-* 'chick, brood' (SED II #179).
(4) Mnd. *ṭus* (syn.: *phr* — v. #2) // < Sem. **ṭwŝ* 'to fly, flutter, jump' (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ṭVĉ-* 'fly, go away': (?) Egyp. (MK) *tšy* 'move away' (*t* sometimes continues **ṭ*); W.Chad. **tVŝ-*: Hausa *tāšì* 'rise, get up', Geji *túŝya* 'to fly' (ADB).
(5) Qur. *ṭyr*; Leb. Mec. *ṭār*; Mlt. *tār* // < Sem. **ṭayr-* 'bird; divination from birds, augury' (cf. SED II #235) < Afras. (v. **BIRD** #3).
(6) Gez. *s/ŝarara* (syn.: *barra* — v. #8) // < Eth. with possible Sem. parallels (Mil. 2010), likely rel. to C.Chad.: Mofu *ŝára* 'plume, éllytre', Gisiga *ŝara* 'feather' (St. 2007 #603).
(7) Tna. *näfärä*; Tgr. *näfra* (syn.: *bärra* — v. #8) // < **n-pr*, with a fossilized prefix *n-* (Mil. 2010 #8).
(8) Amh. Sod. *bärrärä*; Arg. *bärrära*; Cha. *bänärä*; Harari *bärära*; Wol. *bärärä* // v. Mil. 2010 #7 and **FEATHER** #3.

(9) Hrs. *fer*; Mhr. *farr*, Hob. *fúr*; Jib. *ferr*; Soq. *fer* // < Afras. **pi/ar-* 'to fly' (Mil. 2010 #9; add Brb. **Hafir-* ~ **fVrfVr-* 'to fly' ADB).

◊ No terms in Pho., Bib., Sab. or Gaf.

→ No Common Semitic.

31. FOOT

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šēpu*; Soq. *ŝab* (syn.: *suḳal* — v. Mil. 2010 #11) // < Sem. **ŝayṗ-* 'foot, sole of foot; shoe' (SED I #269).

(2) Ugr. *pʕn*; Pho. *pʕm*; Mhr. *fēm* (syn.: *gēdel* — v. #9); Hob. *fáʔm* (syn.: *ʒéedel* — v. #9; both also 'leg'); Jib. *faʕm* (syn.: *gédəl* — v. #9) // < Sem. **paʕm/n-* (SED I #207).

(3) Hbr. *rägäl*; Bib. *rägäl*; Plm. *rgl*; Syr. *regl-*; Mnd. *ligr-* (with met.; syn.: *kraia* — v. Mil. 2010 #4); Qur. *rižl-*; Sab. *rgl* // < Sem. **rigl-* (SED I #228).

(4) Urm. *ʔaḳl-* // v. Mil. 2010 #5.

(5) Leb. *ʔəžər*; Gez. *ʔəgər*; Tna. *ʔəgri*; Amh. *əgər*; Arg. *ingir, ägər*; Gaf. *əgʷrä*; Sod. Cha. *ägər*; Har. *ingir*; Wol. *əngər* // < Arb.-Eth. **ʔi(n)gi/ur-* (SED I #7).

(6) Mec. *gadam* // < Sem. **ḳadam-* or **gad-am-* (v. Mil. 2010 #7), in the latter case < **gVd-* with the fossilized suffix *-m* (v. #9).

(7) Mlt. *siʔ* // < **siḳ* < Sem. **šāḳ-* 'thigh, leg' (SED I #241) < Afras. **sVḳ-* 'thighbone, leg, claw': Chad. **sVk-* (possibly < **sVḳ-*) 'upper leg, bone' (St. 2009 #190); Omot. **šuḳum-* ~ **sonḳ-* claw': Ganza *sinsḳom*, Ubamer *šuḳ(u)ma*, Ari *ʔuqšmi*, Hamer *šoḳma*, Ongota *soŋke, sonḳitte* (ADB).

(8) Tgr. *ʕəḳəb* (syn.: *ʔəgər* — v. #5) // < Sem. **ʕaḳib-*, **ʕiḳb-* 'heel' (SED I #14) < Afras. **ʕaḳ(V)b-* ~ **ḳa(ʕa)b-* 'hoof, heel, finger, claw': Chad. W. **ḳu/imb-* ~ **(m)ḅy/wak-* 'nail, claw' (Hausa *ḳùmbaa* 'finger-nail', Fyer *ḅwákàat* 'claw', etc.), C.: Logone *kā̃bē* 'hoof'; E.Cush.: LEC: Oromo *ḳup-aya* 'claw', *ḳuba*, Konso *ḳup-itta* 'finger', HEC: Sidamo *ḳubbe*, Burji *ḳuṗee*, etc. id., Dullay: Tsamay *ḳoba-kko* 'finger', *ḳobu-ko* 'claw', etc. (ADB).

(9) Hrs. *gedel* // < Sem. **gVd(V)l-* 'limb' (SED I #73), likely < **gVd-* 'foot, leg' with root extension *-l*: Chad. C.: Gude *gede-hán*, Nzangi *géd-ātyi* (second elements are not clear) 'leg', E.: Somrai *gəd-* 'foot'; N.Omot. **gid-* 'foot, knee' (ADB).

→ Proto-Semitic **ŝayṗ-* (#1) < Afras. **ĉayṗ-* 'foot, sole of foot; shoe' (Mil. 2010; add N.Omot.: Kafa *čubo* 'thigh', Mocha *čuṗṗo* (*č* by assimilation to *ṗ*) 'calf of leg' ADB).

→ South and West Semitic **paʕm/n-* (#2) < Afras. **paʕun/m-* 'leg, thigh, foot' (Mil. 2010).

→ West Semitic 1 **rigl-* (#3) < Afras. **riga/ul-* 'limb, leg' — v. Mil. 2010; add: Chad. W.: Angas *tú-rgùl* 'ankle, ankle bone', E. **dV-rgVl-*: Mawa *dərgəl* 'genou', Sokoro *dergel, durkál* 'knee' (ADB; referring to St. 2005 #233 in Mil. 2010 is a misprint; contra Mil. 2010 v. Egyp. (Pyr.) *ʕʔg.t* in West Semitic 2: **ʔi(n)gi/ur-*).

→ West Semitic 2 **ʔi(n)gi/ur-* (#5) < Afras. **(ʔi-n)gur-* 'leg, knee' — v. Mil. 2010; add: Egyp. (Pyr.) *ʕʔg.t* 'hoof (of cow and ass)', (NK) *ʕgʔ.t* 'claw (of lion and bird)' likely < **ʔʔg* (< **ʔrg*, with met. < **ʔgr*) with dissimilation of *ʕ* and *ʔ*; Chad. **gVr-* 'knee; lower leg' (St. 2011 #690, 690c.).

32. FULL

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *malû*; Ugr. *mlʔ*; Hbr. *malāʔ*; Pal. *mly*; Syr. *məlē*; Mnd. Urm. *mily-*; Qur. *malʔān-*; Leb. *məlīn*; Mec. *malʔān*; Mlt. *memli*; Sab. *mlʔ* (Stein: 'voll, ganz', two attestations); Gez. *məluʔ*; Tna. *muluʔ*; Tgr. *maluʔ*; Amh. *məlu*; Arg. *muli*; Sod. *mulä*; Cha. *mura*; Har. *mulluʔ*; Wol. *mulli*; Mhr. *mīlaʔ*; Hob. *məlyuún*; Jib. *miẑiʔ*; Soq. *mili* // < Sem. **mlʔ* 'to fill, be full' (v. in LGz 342).

◊ No terms in Pho., Bib., Gaf. or Hrs.

→ Proto-Semitic **mlʔ* < Afras. **mlʔ* ' be full, filled' (v. Mil. 2010).

33. GIVE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *nadānu* (*tadānu*, *idinu*) // < Sem. **dyn* with plausible Afras. parallels (v. Mil. 2010 #1).

(2) Ugr. *ytn*; Hbr. Bib. Pal. *ntn*; Pho. *ytn* (*n-tn*) // < Sem. **ytn* ~ **ntn* (v. in HALOT 733).

(3) Bib. Pal. *yhb* (syn. in both: *ntn* — v. #2); Syr. *y*(*h*)*b*; Mnd. *ahb* (syn.: *ntn* — v. #2); Urm. *yhb*; Sab. Gez. *whb*; Tna. *habä*; Tgr. *haba*; Arg. *hawa*; Gaf. *wabä*; Sod. *abä*; Wol. *wabä* // < Sem. **whb* (LGz 609).

(4) Qur. *ʕṭy* IV; Leb. *ʔaʕṭa*; Mec. *ʔaʕṭā*; Mlt. *ta* // only Arb.

(5) Amh. *säṭṭä*; Har. *säṭa* // < Sem. *(*y*/*w*)*šṭw* 'to hold out, give/take' (v. in LGz 520).

(6) Hrs. *wezōm*; Mhr. *wəzōm*; Hob. *wzóom*; Jib. *əzōm* // also 'to lend'; rel. to Arb. *wzm* 'payer, acquitter (la dette)', *wazima* 'éprouver quelques pertes dans son avoir' (BK 2 1529), *zām-* 'quart (de toute chose)' (ibid. 1 1029), Akk. *zummû* 'lack, miss, be deprived of' (CAD *z* 156) < Sem. **wzm* ~ **zmw* '(have to) give, be deprived of' < Afras. *ʒVm-* 'to give, lend, be deprived of; acquire, deprive of, defraud': Chad. **zVm-* 'to rob, cheat a person' (St. 2009 #476), cf. also **zVm-* 'to inherit, earn, possess' (ibid. #477), W.: Mupun *zuum*, Angas *zum* 'gift' (otherwise < Arb.; ADB).

(7) Soq. *ṭef* (syn.: *ʔendeḳ*) // cf. *ṭayif* 'toucher' (DRS 1074); both likely rel. to Arb. *ṭhf* 'donner à quelq'un une partie, une portion de biens' (BK 2 115) and *ṭff* 'étendre, déployer les ailes (se dit d'un oiseau); soulever quelque chose avec le pied ou avec la main' (ibid. 87), all < Afras. **ṭVp-* 'to hold, stretch, reach out (one's hand) to grasp or give': Brb. **ṭVf-* 'grasp, seize'; W.Chad.: Mupun *típ* 'hold smth', Kirfi *twaf-* 'catch'; E.Cush.: HEC: Sidamo *ṭeep* 'stretch (hands)' (ADB).

→ West Semitic **whb* (#3) < Afras. **wahab-* ~ **hVwab-* 'to bring, give, take' (v. Mil. 2010).

34. GOOD

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *ṭābu* (syn.: *damḳ-* v. Mil. 2010 #2); Hbr. *ṭōb*; Bib. *ṭāb*; Pal. *ṭb*; Syr. *ṭāb-* (syn.: *šappīr-* — v. #3); Mnd. *ṭāb-*; Qur. *ṭayyib-* (syn.: *ḥasan-* v. Mil. 2010 #5); Mec. *ṭayyib*; Mlt. *tayyip* // < Sem. **ṭayVb-* (v. in HALOT 370).

(2) Ugr. Pho. *nʕm* // < Sem. **nʕm* 'to be pleasant' (v. in HALOT 705) < Afras. **naʕ*(*a*)*m-* 'honey, sweet' (Mil. 2010 #3; add Chad. **nVm-* 'sweet(ness); honey' St. 2005 #549 and comment to S.Cush.: Maʔa *naʔá* 'honey': *-m* in word-final position may be dropped — v. Tak. 2011: 116).

(3) Urm. *šapīr-* // < Sem. **špr* 'to be beautiful, clean; to shine' (v. in HALOT 1635), obviously related (triconsonantal roots!) to isolated E.Chad.: Migama *sùpìrò* 'blanchir', Dangla *sopire* 'devenir blanc'.

(4) Leb. *mləḥ* (*mnəḥ*) // on various possible etymologies v. Mil. 2010 #6.

(5) Sab. *ṣdḳ* // (the meaning 'good' is debatable) < Sem. *ṣdḳ* 'to be just, true' (v. in HALOT 1003; LGz 548).

(6) Gez. *ŝannāy*; Tgr. *sänni* // only Eth.; v. also Mil. 2010 #8.

(7) Tna. *ṣəbbuḳ* (syn.: *sännay*, rare) // for a debatable parallel in Arb. v. Mil. 2010 #9).

(8) Amh. *ṭəru* // for several etymological hypotheses v. 2010 #10.

(9) Arg. *dəmma* // for two etymological possibilities v. Mil. 2010 #11; if < Sem. **ʔadam-* ~ **dVʔVm-* 'red', v. Afras. in **RED** #2.

(10) Gaf. *gunnä* // likely < Eth.-Arb. **gnn* (v. Mil. 2010 #12).

(11) Cha. *wäḵe* // for possible Sem. and Afras. parallels v. Mil. 2010 #13.

(12) Har. *ṭoññam* // eventually < Sem. **ṣnʕ* 'to make, act skillfully' (Mil. 2010 #15).

(13) Wol. *bēzzä* // unless < E.Cush. (Kambatta *bīzza*), < Sem. **bzḫ* 'to abound, be abundant, become more', etc. (Mil. 2010 #15).

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

35. GREEN

(1) Akk. (OB) (*w*)*arḳu*; Ugr. *yrḳ* 'greenish-yellow (of metal)' (rather not to score); Hbr. *yārōḳ, yəraḳraḳ*; Pal. *yrḳ*; Syr. *yūrāḳ-*; Mnd. *yuraḳ-*; Har. *warīḳ* // < Sem. **warḳ-* 'yellow, green' (Mil. 2011).
(2) Qur. *ʔaḥḍar-*; Leb. Mec. *ʔaḥḍar*; Mlt. *aḥdār* // < **ḫṣ̂r* (for broader and debatable connections in Sem. and Afras. v. Mil. 2011).
(3) Gez. *ḥ/ḫamalmil*; Tna. *ḥamälmil* (syn.: *ḳəṭälya* — v. Mil. 2011 #5; acc. to Bulakh quoted in Kog. LE 478, < Amh.); Wol. *ʔaməl dänä* // < Eth. **ḥaml* 'vegetation, herbs; cabbage' rel. to Arb. *ḫamilat-* 'terrain couvert de végétation, etc.' (and hence not borrowed from but into Cush.; v. Mil. 2011 contra Bulakh quoted in Kog. LE 478).
(4) Tgr. *saʕarsaʕaro* (syn.: *lämläm* — v. #6); Cha. *särimäsər* // < Eth.-Arb. **ŝaʕar-* 'grass, vegetation' < Afras. **ĉaʕar-* 'green, vegetation': Chad. **ŝVrV* 'green' (St. 2007 #270), rel., in its turn, with Afras. **ĉarVy-* 'barley, cultured cereals' (v. in Mil. 2011; add Chad. W.: Pa'a *ŝàrdóya*, pl. *ŝàráa-nì*) 'cassava', (?) C.: Mofu *ŝawara* '*Eragrostis diplachnoides*').
(5) Amh. *ärang^{w}äde* (syn.: *ḳəṭäləmma, ḳəṭäləyya, ḳəṭəlṭal* — v. Mil. 2011 #5) // v. debatable Afras. comparanda in Mil. 2011 #6.
(6) Sod. *lämläm* (syn.: *aräng^{w}ade* — v. #5) // < Eth. **lmlm* 'be verdant, bud' LGz 315, and *ləmuʕ* < Arb.-Eth. **lmʕ* 'shine, blossom, be tender' — v. ibid. < Afras.: Chad. **lVVm-* 'soft, tender' (St. 2005 #266); C.Cush.: **lim-* 'be tender' (ADB).
(7) Hrs. *heẑōr*; Mhr. *heẓ̌ōr*; Hob. *həṣ̌oór*; Jib. *šəçr̂ōr*; Soq. *šeẑhor* // < MSA **šeṣ̌ōr-* with no direct cognates and the combination *š-ṣ̌* unusual for Sem. (and **ŝ-ç̂*, for Afras. in general); on a hypothetic connection with Arb. **ḫṣ̂r* v. Mil. 2011.
◊ Urm. *mīl* < Iranian. No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Sab. and Gaf.
→ North and West Semitic **warḳ-* (# 1) < Afras. **wVraḳ-* 'green, yellow' (Mil. 2011).

36. HAIR

(1) Akk. (OB) *šārtu*; Ugr. *šʕr*; Hbr. *ŝeʕār*; Bib. *ŝəʕar*; Pal. *ŝʕr, sʕr*; Syr. *səʕart-*; Qur. *šaʕr-*; Leb. Mec. *šaʕar*; Mlt. *šā*(*gh*)*ir*; Gez. *ŝəʕər-t* // < Sem. **ŝaʕr*(*-at*)- (SED I #260).
(2) Mnd. *manzy-*; Urm. *mizt-* // < Arm. **miʕanz-ay-* 'hair'; for likely further Sem. and Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011.
(3) Sod. *gunnän*; Cha. *gunär* // also 'head', likely < Sem. **gu/in-* ~ **ʔ/wVgn-* 'cheek-bone' (SED I #84) < Afras. **gi/un*(*Vn*)- 'cheek; jaw; face; head' (Mil. 2011).
(4) Wol. *dumi* // < Eth. **dVmāh/ḫ*, with likely Arb. parallels and variant roots (v. Mil. 2011).
(5) Hrs. *ŝāfēt*; Mhr. *ŝefī-t*; Hob. *ŝféet*; Jib. *ŝfe-t*; Soq. *ŝef* // < Sem. **ŝV*(*ʕ*)*p*(*-at*)- '(tuft of) hair' (SED I #259) < Afras. **ĉaʕVp-* 'tuft of hair' (Mil. 2011).
◊ Tna. *ç̌äg^{w}ər, ṣäg^{w}ər*; Tgr. *ç̌əgär*; Amh. *ṭägur*; Arg. *ç̌əgär*; Gaf. *ṣəgärä*; Har. *ç̌igär*, all < Cush. (Mil. 2011). No term in Pho. or Sab.
→ North and West Semitic **ŝaʕr*(*-at*)- (# 1) <Afras. **ĉaʕVr-* (v. Mil. 2011; perhaps to add Chad. **ĉVr-* 'to comb' St. 2007 #259a).

37. HAND

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *ḳātu* (pl. *ḳātātu*) // if *-t* is a fossilized suffix, perhaps rel. to Afras. **ḳawiʕ-* 'claw, fingernail, hand' (Mil. 2011); another (if somewhat bizarre) comparison may be with Arb. *ḳaṭaʕ-* 'moignon d'une main amputée' (BK 1 770), *ḳṭʕ* 'couper la main, faire subir au voleur l'amputation de la main' (ibid. 767–8), which may be merely a meaning derived from *ḳṭʕ* 'couper' (ibid. 767) with Sem. cognates, but may be not (why specifically 'hand'?); in this case Akk. *t* would be < **ṭ* by a well-known rule of incompatibility of two emphatics in Akk.

(2) Ugr. *yd*; Hbr. *yād*; Pho *yd*; Bib. *yad*; Pal. *yaḏ, ʔīḏ*; Syr *ʔid-*; Mnd. *ʕ(i)d-*; Urm. *ʔayd-*; Qur. *yad-*; Leb. *ʔəd-*; Mec. *yad*; Mlt. *idey*; Sab. *yd*; Gez. *ʔəd*; Tna. *ʔid*; Tgr. *ʔəde*; Amh. *ʔəǯ*; Arg. *ənǯ*; Sod. *äǯ*; Har. *iǯi*; Wol. *ənǯ*; Cha. *äǯ*; Hrs. *ḥayd*; Mhr. *ḥayd* ('hand incl. arm'; syn.: *kaf* 'palm of the hand, paw, claw' — v. #4); Jib. *ed*; Soq. *eʔed* // < Sem. **yad- ~ *ʔid-* (SED I #291).

(3) Gaf. *ṣatä* // < Sem. **ṣVbʕ(-at)-* 'finger' < Afras. **çibVʕ-* 'finger' (Mil. 2011); cf. also Chad. C. **ŝVḃV* ~ W. **bVĉV* 'five' and C. **ŝVḃV* 'left and right (direction)' (cf. St. 2007 #432), perhaps implying the notions of five fingers and pointing with a finger.

(4) Hob. *káf* 'hand from wrist to finger-tip' (i.e. exactly 'hand', while *ḥiíd* is 'hand incl. arm' — v. #2) // Mhr. *kaf*, Jib. *kɛf* 'palm of the hand, paw, claw' < Sem. **kapp-* 'palm, flat of hand or foot; paw; claw' (v. SED I #148) < Afras. **ka/u(n)p-* 'claw, flat of hand or foot': Egyp. (NE) *kp* 'sole' (unless a Semitism); Chad. W.: Hausa *ákáifā* and *káifàfā́* 'claw, talon', E.: Kera *kámpá* 'leg'; E.Cush.: LEC: Arbore *kunúf* 'claw, nail, hoof', Dasenech *konof* 'finger, hoof', Elmolo *kúnuf* 'nail' (ADB).

→ South and West Semitic **yad- ~ *ʔid-* (#2) with scarce Afras. parallels (Mil. 2011); cf. also S.Omot. (if. < **du-t-*): Ari *duti*, Dime *dothu* 'foot' (ADB).

38. HEAD

(1) Akk. (OB) *ḳaḳḳadu* // < Sem. **ḳa/udḳa/ud-* 'skull, head' (SED I #159); perhaps < Afras. **ḳ^{w}ad-* 'calabash, vessel' (Mil. 2011).

(2) Ugr. *riš*; Hbr. *rō(ʔ)š*; Pho. *rʔš*; Bib. *rēʔš*; Pal. *rē(ʔ)š, ryš*; Syr. *rēš-*; Mnd. *riš-*; Urm. *rīš-*; Qur. *raʔs-*; Leb. *rās*; Mec. *rās*; Mlt. *rās*; Sab. *rʔs$_1$*; Gez. *rəʔəs*; Tna. *rəʔəs-i*; Tgr. *räʔas*; Amh. *ras*; Har. *urūs*; Hrs. *ḥerih*; Mhr. *ḥəröh*; Hob. *ḥaareéh*; Jib. *reš*; Soq. *rey* // < Sem. **raʔ(i)š-* (SED I #225).

(3) Arg. *dəmah*; Gaf. *dəm^{w}ä*; Wol. *dumi* // v. **HAIR** #4.

(4) Sod. *gunnän*; Cha. *gunär* // v. **HAIR** #3.

→ South and West Semitic **raʔ(i)š-* (#2) < Afras. **raʔis-* 'brains, head' (Mil. 2011).

39. HEAR

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šemû*; Ugr. *šmʕ*; Hbr. *šmʕ*; Pho. *šmʕ*; Bib. *šmʕ*; Pal. *šmʕ*; Syr. *šmʕ*; Mnd. *šma*; Urm. *šmʕ*; Qur. *šmʕ*; Leb. *səməʕa*; Mec. *simiʕ*; Mlt. *sēma(gh)*; Sab. *s$_1$mʕ*; Gez. *smʕ*; Tna. *sämʕe*; Tgr. *sämʕa*; Amh. *sämma*; Arg. *sämma*; Gaf. *sämmä*; Sod. *sämmam*; Har. *sämaʔa*; Wol. *sämä*; Cha. *sämam*; Hrs. *hōma*; Mhr. *hēma*; Hob. *híimaʔ*; Jib. *šīʕ*; Soq. *hemaʕ* // < Sem. **šimʕ-* .

→ Proto-Semitic **šimʕ-* < Afras. **sim(ʕ)-* 'hear' (Mil. 2011).

40. HEART

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *libbu*; Ugr. *lb*; Hbr. *lēb*; Pho. *lb*; Bib. *lēb*; Pal. *lb*; Syr. *lebb-*; Mnd. *lib*; Urm. *lib-*; Sab. *lbb*; Gez. *ləbb*; Tna. *ləbbi*; Tgr. *ləb*; Amh. *ləbb*; Arg. *ləbb*; Sod. *ləbb*; Hrs. *ḥelbēb*; Mhr. *ḥalbīb*; Hob. *elbiíb*; Jib. *ub*; Soq. *ilbib* // < Sem. **libb-* (SED I #174).

(2) Qur. *ḳalb-*; Leb. *ʔaləb*; Mec. *ḳalb*; Mlt. *alp* // v. Sem. and Afras. parallels in Mil. 2011.

◊ Har. *ḳälbi*, likely an Arabism; Wol. *wäzän* < HEC; Cha. *ḵ'ən* < Oromo *onnē* 'heart'? (v. Mil. 2011). No term in Gaf.

→ Proto-Semitic **libb-* (#1) < Afras. **li/ub(b)-* 'inner organ, heart' (ADB; Mil. 2011).

41. HORN

(1) Akk. (OB) *ḳarnu*; Ugr. *ḳrn*; Hbr. *ḳärän*; Pho. *ḳrn*; Pal. *ḳrn*; Syr. *ḳarn-*; Mnd. *ḳarn*; Urm. *ḳa*(*r*)*n-*; Qur. *ḳarn-*; Leb. *ʔaran*; Mec. *ḳarn*; Mlt. *rūn*; Gez. *ḳärn*; Tna. *ḳärn-i*; Tgr. *ḳär*; Amh. *ḳänd*; Arg. *ḳərara, ḳänd*; Gaf. *ḳändä*; Sod. *ḳär*; Har. *ḳär*; Wol. *ḳär*; Cha. *ḳän*; Hrs. *ḳōn*; Mhr. *ḳōn*; Hob. *ḳuún*; Jib. *ḳuhn*; Soq. *ḳan* // < Sem. **ḳarn-* (SED I #168).

◊ No term in Bib. or Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic **ḳarn-* < Afras. **ḳar*(*-n*)-: Omot. **ḳar-* 'horn' (Mil. 2011), perhaps also, with different, but plausible meaning shifts: Brb.: Qabylian *a-qarru* 'head'; Chad. **ḳ^{w}Vr-* 'tortoise shell' (St. 2011 #407); E.Cush.: LEC: Konso *ḳaarta*, Dirayta *ḳara*, HEC: Hadiya *ḳaara* 'sharp(ness)' (ADB).

42. I

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

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

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

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

→ North and West Semitic **ʔan*(*-akV*) (#1) < Afras. **ʔa-na*(*-k/tV*) 'I' (Mil. 2011).

43. KILL

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

(2) Ugr. *mḫṣ* // < Sem. **mḫṣ* 'hit' (Mil. 2011 #3).

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

(4) Bib. Pal. Syr. *ḳṭl*; Mnd. *gṭl*; Urm. Qur. *ḳtl*; Leb. *ʔətəl*; Mec. *ḳatal*; Mlt. *ātel*; Sab. *ḳtl* (syn.: *hrg* — v. #3); Gez. *ḳtl*; Tna. *ḳätälä*; Tgr. *ḳätla*; Wol. *ḳätälä*; Cha. *ḳäṭäräm* // < Sem. **ḳtl* 'to kill, slaughter'.

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

(6) Hrs. *letōɣ*; Mhr. *lutōɣ*, Hob. *lóotəɣ*; Soq. *ḷataʕ* // < Arb.-MSA (Mil. 2011 #7).

(7) Jib. *enúsum* (syn.: *letəɣ* — v. #6) // < Sem. **nšm* 'to breathe' (v. **DIE** #3).

◊ No term in Pho. or Gaf.

→ West Semitic *ḳtl* (#4), perhaps, derived with fossilized *-l* < Afras. **ḳVṭ/t-* 'strike, kill' (Mil. 2011 #5; ADB).

44. KNEE

(1) Akk. (OB) *birku*; Ugr. *brk, birku*; Hbr. *bäräk*; Bib. **bərak*; Pal. *brk*; Syr. *burk-*; Mnd. *burk-*; Urm. *birk-*; Gez. *bərk*; Tna. *bərki*; Tgr. *bərək*; Wol. *bərk*; Hrs. *bark*; Mhr. *barak*; Hob. *bárk*; Jib. *bɛrk*; Soq. *bark* // < Sem. **bi/ark-* (SED I #39).

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

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

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

45. KNOW

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *idû*; Ugr. *ydʕ*; Hbr. *ydʕ*; Pho. *ydʕ*; Bib. *ydʕ*; Pal. *ydʕ* (syn.: *ḥkm* — v. Mil. 2011 #2); Syr. *ydʕ*; Mnd. *yda*; Urm. *dʕy* (met.) // < Sem. *ydʕ .

(2) Qur. *ʕalima*; Sab. *ʕlm* (also 'make acknowledgement; sign, mark' SD 15; syn.: *dʕ*, apparently less attested — v. #1) // < Sem. *ʕlm, presumably 'to hide, conceal; find, discern smth. hidden' (cf. Mil. 2011 #3).

(3) Leb. *ʕarəf*; Mec. *ʕirif* // < Arb. *ʕrf*; no parallels (Mil. 2011 #4).

(4) Mlt. *kin yaf* // < Arb. *ḳwf*; no parallels (Mil. 2011 #5).

(5) Gez. *ʔaʔmara*; Tgr. *ʔammärä* // < Eth. *ʔmr 'to show, indicate' < Sem. *ʔmr 'to see, show, indicate, know' (v. **SEE** #1).

(6) Tna. *fäläṭä* // < Eth.-ESA *flṭ 'to split, separate', perhaps rel. to Sem. *plṭ 'to save' (Mil. 2011 #7).

(7) Gaf. *šalä*; Sod. *šalä*; Wol. *čalä*; Cha. *ḵaräm* // < Sem. *khl 'to be able' (LGz 277), rel to Chad. *kVl- 'to win, overtake; be able, strong': W.: Karekare *kùlò* 'casting lots or flipping a coin to determine a winner', C.: Bura *kili* 'overtake', Buwal *kʷula* 'be able to', Makeri *kla* 'victory', E.: Dormo *kilma* 'chief', etc. (St. 2011 #188, 188a) < Afras. *khl 'be able, overtake, win'.

(8) Hrs. *γerōb*; Mhr. *γerōb*; Hob. *γəróob*; Jib. *γarob*; Soq. *ʕarub* (in all MSA syn. are: Hrs. *yōda*, Mhr. *wēda*, Hob. *wíidəʔ*, Jib. *édaʕ*, Soq. *ʔédaḥ* — v. #1) // hypothetically from Sem. *γarb- 'sunset, west' > 'to go west' > 'to go to an unknown place' > 'to come to know/ learn' (v. in Mil. 2011 #9; cf. Kog. LE 478).

◊ Amh. *awwäḳä*; Arg. *wōnḳa, ōnḳa*; Har. *āḳa* < C. Cush. (Mil. 2011).

→ North and West Semitic *ydʕ (#1) < Afras. *(y)daʕ- 'know' (Mil. 2011; ADB).

46. LEAF

(1) Akk. (OB) *aru, eru, ḫaru* 'frond, leaf of the date palm', (NB, SB) *artu* 'foliage', presumably < Sem. *γar- (Mil. 2011).

(2) Hbr. *ʕālā̄* // (no reliable cognates in Sem.) < Afras. *ʕal- 'leaf' (Mil. 2011 #3).

(3) Pal. *ṭrp, ṭrb*; Syr. *ṭarp-*; Mnd. *a-ṭirp-*; Urm. *ṭarp-* // < Sem. *ṭarp- 'tamarisk' (Mil. 2011 #4).

(4) Qur. *waraḳ-at-*; Leb. *waraʔa*; Mec. *waraga*; Mlt. *werʔa* // < Sem. *waraḳ- 'green, yellow' (v. **GREEN** #1).

(5) Gez. *ḳʷäṣəl*; Tna. *ḳʷäṣl-i*; Amh. *ḳəṭäl*; Arg. *ḳəṭäl, hätal*; Gaf. *ḳəṭälä*; Sod. *ḳəṭäl*; Har. *ḳuṭṭi*; Wol. *ḳuṭäl*; Cha. *ḳəṭär* (syn.: *ənzər* — v. **EAR** #1) // v. **GREEN** in Mil. 2011 #5.

(6) Tgr. *ḳäṭfät* // < Sem. *ḳṭp 'to pluck (leaves, fruit)' (Mil. 2011 #7).

(7) Mhr. *çγā(l)fōt*; Hob. *ṣγalfóot*; Jib. *çγiẑfot*; Soq. *ṣaʕlifoh* (syn.: *ḥeṣ* < Sem. *ḫVç- 'palm leaf', v. LS 168; < Afras. *ḫVç- 'leaf': C. Cush.: Khamir *ḫáṣa, ḫača*, Khamta *ḫáca*, Aungi *ḫāci*; Omot. N.: Kachama *yēčē*, Chara *yēča*, Mao (Diddesa) *yaç-*, S.: Hamar *ača*, Galila *hača* id. — ADB) // no reliable cognates (v. Mil. 2011 #9).

◊ No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Sab. or Hrs.

→ No Common Semitic.

47. LIE

(1) Akk. (OB) *itūl-* < **nyl* : *nâlu, niālu, i/utūlu* 'to lie (down)' (syn.: *ṣalālu* — v. Mil. 2014 #1) // likely with met. < Sem. **lyn* 'to sleep, spend the night' (Mil. 2014 **SLEEP** #2).
(2) Ugr. *škb*; Hbr. *škb*; Pho. *škb*; Syr. *škb* (syn.: *gny* — Mil. 2011 #6); Mnd. *škb* (syn.: *gna* — Mil. 2011 #6, *rba* — ibid. #5, and *zga* — v. #8); Gez. *sakaba* // < Sem. **škb* // Mil. 2011 #3.
(3) Pal. *dmk* (syn.: *rbʕ* — v. Mil. 2011 #5); Urm. *dmk* // Arm. only (v. Mil. 2011 #4).
(4) Leb. *lʔḥ* // < **lḳḥ* (Mil. 2011 #7).
(5) Mec. *tamaddad*; Mlt. *kin mindud* (syn.: *imtēt* — v. Mil. 2011 #9); Hob. *mútted/yəmaddúud* (less likely < Arb.) // < Sem. **mdd* 'to stretch, spread' (Mil. 2011 #8).
(6) Tna. *tä-gadämä*; Amh. *tä-gaddämä* (syn.: *ʒäg alä* — v. #8) // Mod. Eth. only; for Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011 #10 and/or Chad. **n-gVd-* 'lazy' (St. 2011 #505).
(7) Tgr. *ʔəkrur hälla* // < Sem. **krr* 'to put, throw, fall, lie' (v. Mil. 2011 #11), rel. to Chad. **kVr-* 'to throw, fall down' (St. 2011 #256), perhaps also **kVr-* 'down, buttock' (ibid. #276).
(8) Har. *zäg bāya* (syn.: *ñēʔa* — v. #9) // < Sem. **zVg-* 'to lie down, stretch out' (v. DRS 682), rel. to Chad. **zVg-* 'to put, place; to descend; to last, wait' (St. 2009 #43).
(9) Arg. (*b*)*angerru t-eññа*; Sod. *əññäm*;; Wol. *əññe* (syn.: *rebätä-* v. Mil. 2011 #5) // < Sem. **nhy* (v. **SLEEP** #8); for Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011 #13).
(10) Gaf. (*tä*)*gäddälä*; Cha. (*tä*)*gätäräm* // < Eth.-Arb. with possible Cush. connections (Mil. 2011 #14).
(11) Hrs. *enbelṭáḥ* (syn.: *engerdōŝ* — v. Mil. 2011 #16); Mhr. *ənbalṭəh* (syn.: *šə-wkūf* — v. Mil. 2011 #17); Jib. *bɔ́ṭṭaḥ, ənbəlṭáḥ* (syn.: *ʕtéḳél* — v. Mil. 2011 #18) // < Sem. **b*(*l*)*ṭḥ* (Mil. 2011 #15).
(12) Soq. *šéʔef* (syn.: *bṭḥ, blṭḥ* — v. #11, and *dyaḥ, šédaḥ*, likely < Sem. **dḥy* 'to push down, spread': Hbr. *dḥy* 'to push down' HALOT 218, Arb. *dḥw/y* 'étendre comme un tapis; pousser violemment; jeter, lancer' BK 1 676) // v. discussion in Mil.2011 #19.
◊ No term in Bib., Qur. or Sab.
→ West and South (Hob., unless < Arb.) Semitic **mdd* (#5); cf. W.Chad. **muḍ-* (< **muHd-*?) 'lie down' (ADB).
→ West Semilic: **škb* (#2).

48. LIVER

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

49. LONG

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

(5) Amh. *räǯim*; Arg. *räžžim* (syn.: *gudor* — v. #6) // < Eth.-Arb. **rzm* (Mil. 2011).
(6) Gaf. *gaddärmä*; Har. *gudōr*; Wol. *gudär* // < Eth.-Arb. **gdr*; for possible further Sem. and Afras. connections v. **BIG** #9.
(7) Sod. *gälləf*; Cha. *gef* // < Eth.-Arb. **galif-* 'long' (Mil. 2011).
◊ Hrs. *ṭewīl*, Mhr. *ṭəwīl* and Hob. *ṭwiíl* are, rather than not, < Arb. No term in Bib.
→ North and West Semitic **ʔarVk-* (#1).
→ West (Tgr.) and South Semitic **rym* (#4) < Afras. **rVy/wVm-* 'be raised, high, long' (Mil. 2011; add Chad. **rVm-* 'to rise, jump' St. 2005 #902).

50. LOUSE

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

51. MAN

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

< Afras. *mič- 'child': Egyp. (Pyr.) *ms* 'Kind' (EG II 139), *msy* 'gebären' (ibid. 139); E. Chad. *mič-: Dangla *míčò* 'small boy', Migama *míìčà* 'child', *mìčá* 'son', Bidiya *mičo* 'child' (ADB).

(11) Hrs. *ɣayg*; Mhr. *ɣayg*; Hob. *ɣayg*; Jib. *ɣeg*; Soq. *ʕagg, ʕayg* // no direct parallels (on some tentative Sem. comparanda v. Mil. 2011).

→ No common Semitic.

52. MANY

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

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

(3) Bib. *ŝaggīʔ*; Pal. *saggī*; Syr. *saggī* // < Sem. *ŝgʔ 'to be numerous, large', rel. to C.Cush. (Mil. 2011).

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

(5) Qur. *kaṯīr-*; Leb. *ktir*; Mec. *kaṯiyr* // likely < Sem. *kṯr 'to fit, achieve, be optimal, plentiful, etc.', presumably < Afras. *kVč(-Vr)- 'many, big, all' (v. in Mil. 2011).

(6) Mlt. *ḥafna* // < Sem. *ḥVpn- 'hollow of the hand, handful; fist' (Mil. 2011).

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

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

(9) Gaf. *täbbä, täb^{w}ä* // also 'ê. abondant', presumably a non-trivial meaning shift < Eth. *tbʕ 'to be courageous' (Mil. 2011 #10).

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

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

(12) Soq. *di-laḳ* // rel. to Eth. *liḳ 'chief' and *lhḳ 'to grow' (v. Mil. 2011 #13) with a parallel in Chad. *lVk- (possibly *lVḳ-) 'to surpass, be a chief' St. 2005 #188.

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

53. MEAT

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

(2) Ugr. *bšr*; Hbr. *bāŝār*; Bib. *bəŝar*; Pal. *b^{e}ŝar*; Syr. *besr-*; Mnd. *bisr-*; Urm. *bisr-*; Gaf. *bäsärä*; Sod. *bäsär*; Har. *bäsär*; Wol. *bäsär*; Cha. *bäsär* // < Sem. *biŝr-/*baŝar- 'flesh, (human) body' (SED I #41).

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

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

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

◊ Arg. *ǯäw* < C. Cush. (v. Mil. 2011). No term in Sab.

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

→ West Semitic *biŝr- ~ *baŝar- (#2), presumably with root extension -*r* < Afras. *baĉ(-Vr)- 'skin; to (cut) skin' (Mil. 2011).

54. MOON

(1) Akk. (OB) *warḫu*; Ugr. *yrḫ*; Hbr. *yārē^{a}ḥ*; Pho. *yrḥ*; Gez. *wärḫ*; Tna. *warḥ-i*; Tgr. *wärəḥ*; Har. *waḥri*; Wol. *wari* // < Sem. *warḫ- 'moon' (Mil. 2011).

(2) Pal. *shr* (syn.: *zᵉhar* < Sem. **zhr* 'to shine' < Afras. **ʒa/ihr-* — v. Mil. 2011 #3); Syr. *sahr-*; Mnd. *sir-*; Urm. *sahr-* // < Sem. **ŝahr-* 'new moon' (v. Kog. LE 479) < Afras. **ĉa/ihar-* 'night celestial body: moon, star' (Mil. 2011; the S.Cush. forms quoted there should be disregarded as belonging to another Afras. root **ŝVh/w-* 'luminary').

(3) Qur. *ḳamar-*; Leb. *ʔamar-*; Mec. *gamar*; Mlt. *āmar* // for two highly hypothetic etymological opportunities v. Mil. 2011 #4.

(4) Amh. *č̣äräḳa*; Arg. *č̣äräḳa*; Gaf. *ṣäräḳä*; Sod. *därrakḳa* // rel. to Arb. *ṭāriḳ-* 'étoile du matin' (Mil. 2011 #5). Note that the idea of these S.Eth. forms borrowed from Cush. (of which only C.: Beja *terig/k* is adduced, most likely a lw. from the above Arb. word), put forth in Dolg. 1973: 48–9 (and repeated in Kog. LE 478: footnote 103), is quite unsubstantiated, to say nothing of the fact that there are six unrelated S.Eth., Cush., Omot. and Chad. terms for 'moon' there combined in one entry.

(5) Cha. *bäna* // only Gur., the "tempting" etymology in LGur. 146 being far-fetched (v. Mil. 2011 #6).

(6) Hrs. *ḥārēt*; Mhr. *ḥārīt*; Hob. *ḥaaréet*; Jib. *ʔɛrət*; Soq. *ʔere* // < MSA **ʔar-* 'moon' (for possible Sem. cognates v. Mil. 2011 #7), with a direct parallel in Brb. (Mil. 2011 footnote 56).

◊ No term in Bib. or Sab.

→ North and West Semitic **warḫ-* (#1); on the debatable relations with Egyp. *ỉʕḥ* 'moon' v. Mil. 2011.

55. MOUNTAIN

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šadû*, *šaddû* // < Sem. **šad(d)-* (Mil. 2012), with possible parallels in Cush.: LEC: Somali (May-Digil dial.) *šiid*, Jiddu *šiit* 'stone', Oromo *sidaʔ* 'heavy and compact stone' .

(2) Ugr. *γr* (*γ* < **ḏ*); Bib. *ṭūr*; Pal. *ṭwr*; Syr. *ṭūr-*; Mnd. *ṭur-*; Urm. *ṭūr-* // < Sem. **ṯu/ir-* 'flint, rock' with a few parallels implying Afras. **č̣ur-* id. (Mil. 2012; add: N.Omot.: Gimira (Bench) *č̣ar* 'rock' ADB).

(3) Hbr. *hār*; Pho. *hr* // with Ugr. *hr* 'mountain' < Sem. **har-* < Afras. **hawr-* (Mil. 2012).

(4) Qur. *ʒabal-*; Leb. *žabel*; Mec. *ʒabal* // < Sem. **gVbVl-* 'mountain; boundary, border', perhaps derived with root extension *-l* < Afras. **ga/ub-* 'mountain' (v. Mil. 2012; disregard the Dullay forms).

(5) Sab. *ʕr* // < Sab.-Arb. **ʕu(ʕu)r-* (v. Mil. 2012).

(6) Gez. *däbər*; Tgr. *däbər* // < Sem. **dabr-* 'mountain valley, meadow' (Mil. 2012), perhaps < **dab-* with root extension *-r* < Afras. **dV(m)b-* 'rock' (Mil. 2012).

(7) Amh. *tärara*; Arg. *tärara* // no parallels in Sem.; for possible Cush. sources of borrowing and/or Afras. connections v. Mil. 2012.

(8) Har. *säri* // < S.-E. Eth.-Arb. **sary/w-* (v. Mil. 2012).

(9) Hrs. *kermaym*; Mhr. *karmaym* // < Sem. **karm-*; for further Sem. and Afras. connections v. Mil. 2012 (add Chad. **kV(wV)r-* 'stone, hill' St 2011 #287 and, perhaps, **kVr-* 'forest' ibid. #273).

(10) Jib. *ḥẽr* // < Sem. **ḥi/amār-*: Arb. *ḥimārat-* 'gros pierre' (BK I 490), Hbr. *ḥămōr* 'heap' (HALOT 327) and, perhaps, Akk. *amāru* 'to pile up (bricks)' (CAD *a*2 27).

(11) Soq. *fé/ídehon* // probably < Sem. **pad(d)Vn-* 'path in the mountains' with W. Chad. parallels (Mil. 2012).

◊ Mlt. *montaña* < Italian *montagna*; Sod. *gara* < E. Cush.; Cha. *ḳʷäto* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2012); Mhr. *gəbēl*; Hob. *ʒəbeél*; Jib. *giɛìl* are more likely < Arb. than genuine (contra Mil. 2012 #4). No term in Gaf. or Wol.

→ No Common Semitic.

56. MOUTH

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *pû-*; Ugr. *p*; Hbr. *pā̄*; Pho. *py*; Bib. *pum*; Pal. *päm*; Syr. *pūm-*; Mnd. *pum-*; Urm. *pūm-*; Qur. *fam-* (*fuw-*); Mec. *famm*; Sab. *f, fm*; Gez. *ʔaf*; Tna. *ʔaf*; Tgr. *ʔaf*; Amh. *ʔaf*; Arg. *af*; Sod. *af*; Har. *af*; Wol. *af*; Cha. *ãf* // < Sem. *(*ʔa-*)*pay/w*(*-m*)- 'mouth' (cf. SED I #223, Mil. 2012).

(2) Leb. *ḥalaʔ*; Mlt. *ḥalʔa* // < Sem. **ḥalḳ-* 'Adam's apple, throat' (v. SED I #117) < Afras. *(*ḥa-*)*lVḳ*(*-um*)- 'throat and upper part of neck' (Mil. 2012).

(3) Gaf. *səmotä* // for the presumed non-trivial meaning shift < Eth. **sʕm* 'to kiss' instead of borrowing < E.Cush. v. Mil. 2012.

(4) Hrs. *ḫah*; Mhr. *ḫōh*; Hob. *ḫoh*; Jib. *ḫoh*; Soq. *ḥe* // < Sem. **ḫVwVy-* ~ **ḫawḫ-* 'hole, aperture' supposedly < Afras. **qaw/ʔ-* 'hole' with arguable **q* (Mil. 2012).

→ North and West Semitic *(*ʔa-*)*pay/w*(*-m*)- (#1) < Afras. *(*ʔa-*)*pay/w-*'mouth' (Mil. 2012).

57. NAME

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šumu*; Ugr. *šm*; Hbr. *šēm*; Pho. *šm*; Bib. *šum*; Pal. *šēm, šwm*; Syr. *šəm*; Mnd. *šum-*; Urm. *šimm-*; Qur. *ʔism-*; Leb. *ʔəsəm*; Mec. *ism*; Mlt. *isem*; Sab. s_1m; Gez. *səm*; Tna. *səm*; Tgr. *səm*; Amh. *səm*; Arg. *səm*; Gaf. *səm^{w}ä*; Sod. *səm*; Har. *sum*; Wol. *sum*; Cha. *šəm*; Hrs. *hem*; Mhr. *ham*; Hob. *húm*; Jib. *šum*; Soq. *šem* // < Sem. *(*ʔi-*)*šim-*.

→ Proto-Semitic *(*ʔi-*)*šim-* < Afras. *(*ʔi-*)*sim-* 'name' (Mil. 2012).

58. NECK

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *kišādu*; Gez. *kəsad*; Tna. *kəsad* // < Sem. **ki*(*n*)*šād-* 'neck, top of shoulder' (SED I #147).

(2) Hbr. *ṣawwā*(*ʔ*)*r*; Bib. *ṣawwaʔr*; Pal. *ṣwwr*; Syr. *ṣawr-*; Mnd. *ṣawr-* // < Sem. **ṣaw*(*ʔ*)*ar-* 'neck' (v. SED I #258).

(3) Qur. *ʕunḳ-*; Mlt. (*gh*)*onaʔ* // < Sem. **ʕVnḳ-* 'neck' (SED I #15); cf. N.Cush.: Beja *ankŭa* 'Häcker, Buckel' (if < **ʕanḳw-*).

(4) Leb. *raʔabi*; Mec. *ragaba* // < Common Arb. **raḳb-*; for possible cognates with met. v. Mil. 2012.

(5) Tgr. *səgad* // likely, with an unusual meaning shift, < *sägda* 'prostrate oneself' < Sem. **sgd* 'prostrate' (LGz 490).

(6) Amh. *angät*; Arg. *angäd, hangät*; Gaf. *angät*; Sod. *angät*; Har. *angät*; Wol. *angät*; Cha. *angät* // with Arg. *h-* vs. Har. *0-* (**h* > *ḥ*, **ʕ* > *0* in Har.), it is hard to say if < Sem. **ʕVng*(*-at*)- or < **ḥVng*(*-ar*)- 'neck' (Mil. 2012); in the latter case v. Egyp. (18 Dyn.) *ḥngg* 'gorge' (ibid.).

(7) Hrs. Mhr. *γōṯi*; Hob. *γóoṯə*; Jib. *γoṯɛ* // only MSA.

(8) Soq. *faḳrere* (syn.: *ḳar* — v. Sem. and Afras. parallels in Mil. 2012 #8) // < Sem. **pi/arḳ-at-* ~ **pi/aḳr-at-* (SED I #219), perhaps, with fossilized *-r* extension, < **pVḳ-* 'neck' (ibid. #213).

◊ Urm. *ḳədāl-* < Arb. *ḳiḏāl-* rather than genuine (Mil. 2012). No term in Pho. or Sab.

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

59. NEW

(1) Akk. (OB) *eššu*; Ugr. *ḥdṯ*; Hbr. *ḥādāš*; Pho. *ḥdš*; Bib. *ḥădat*; Pal. *ḥdt*; Syr. *ḥadət-*; Mnd. *hadt-*; Urm. *ḥā*(*d*)*t-*; Gez. *ḥäddis*; Tna. *ḥäddis*; Tgr. *ḥäddis*; Amh. *addis*; Arg. *haǯəs*; Sod. *aǯǯis*; Har. *ḥaǯīs*; Wol. *aǯis* // < Sem. **ḥadiṯ-* (DRS 837).

(2) Qur. *ǯadīd-*; Leb. *ždīd*; Mec. *ǯadiyd*; Mlt. *ǯdīd* // for a plausible Sem. etymology incl. Arb. *ǯadīd-* 'new, jeunesse, jeune âge' and Syr. *gaddūd-* 'adolescens' v. Mil. 2012; cf. Chad. **gVdVn-* 'younger, the youngest' (St. 2005 #500) and N.Omot.: Yemsa *gaddo* 'new'.

(3) Sab. *ḳs₂b* // < Arb.-Sab. **ḳaŝīb-* (Mil. 2012).
(4) Gaf. *wayä* // acc. to LGur 666, a loan from HEC (Sidamo *hāro*, etc.) "with loss of *r* through palatalization" (ibid. 673), which is unconvincing; cf., hypothetically, E.Cush.: LEC **ʔawt-it-*: Dirayta *áwšitt*, Mashile *áwtitta* 'new' and C.Chad.: Ouldeme *āwéhē*, Mada *ewwe*, Zulgo *awíyá*, Cuvok *waya* id.
(5) Cha. *gädär* // for possible Sem. connections v. Mil. 2012.
(6) Hrs. *ḥeydīn*; Mhr. *ḥeydīn*; Hob. *ḥaydiín*; Jib. *odīn* // < MSA-Arb. **wayd-Vn* < MSA-Arb. with plausible Afras. connections (Mil. 2012).
◊ Soq. *ǵadid* is more likely an Arabism than genuine.
→ North and West Semitic **ḥadiṯ-* (#1).

60. NIGHT

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

61. NOSE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *appu*; Ugr. *ʔap*; Hbr. *ʔap*; Pal. *ʔp*; Qur. *ʔanf-*; (?) Sab. *ʔf* (Stein: 1 attestation with a question mark); Gez. *ʔanəf*; Tgr. *ʔanəf*; Gaf. *ãfʷä*; Sod. *afunna*; Har. *ūf*; Cha. *ãfuna* // < Sem. **ʔanp-* 'nose' (SED I #8).
(2) Syr. *nəḫīr-*; Mnd. *nhir-*; Urm. *nāḫīr-*; Leb. *mənḫar*; Mlt. *əmniḥer*; Hrs. *nḫerīr*; Mhr. *neḫrīr*; Hob. *nəḫriír*; Jib. *naḫrer*; Soq. *naḥrir* // < Sem. **naḫīr-* 'nostril, nose' (SED I #198).
(3) Mec. *ḫušum* // Class. Arb. *ḫayšūm-* 'cartilages du nez' (v. Mil. 2012).
(4) Tna. *ʔafənčə*; Amh. Arg. *afənčə* // an enigmatic term (v. Mil. 2012).
(5) Wol. *bärbäre* // < *bärbäre* 'pepper' (LGur 151), v. Mil. 2012.
◊ No term in Pho., Bib. or Sab.
→ North and West Semitic **ʔanp-* (#1) < Afras. *(*ʔa-*)*na/if-* 'breath' (v. in Mil. 2012).
→ South and West Semitic **naḫīr-* (#2) < Afras. **naḫVr-* 'nose' (Mil. 2012), perhaps going back, with root extension *-r*, to Afras. (incl. Sem.) **naḫ-* 'referring to the nose, nasal mucus, phlegm' (Mil. 2012).

62. NOT [1]

(1) Akk. (OB) *ul* (and *lā* — v. #2); Pho. *ʔl* (and *ʔy* — v. #3); Sab. *ʔl*; Amh. *al*...(*m*); Arg. *al*...(*w*/*u*); Gaf. *al*; Sod. *al-*; Har. *al*; Wol. *al-*; Soq. *al* // < Sem. **ʔal*, var. **ʔul* (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471).

(2) Ugr. *l*, *la-a* (and *ʔal* — v. #1); Hbr. *lō*(*ʔ*) (and *ʔăl* — v. #1); Bib. *lā*; Pal. *lāʔ*; Syr. *lā*; Mnd. *la*; Urm. *lā*; Qur. *lā* (and *mā* — v. #4); Hrs. *laʔ*; Mhr. (*ʔəl*...) *laʔ*; Hob. *láʔ*; Jib. (*ʔol*...)*lɔʔ* // < Sem. **laʔ* (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471).

(3) Gez. *ʔi*; Tna. *ʔay*(...*n*); Tgr. *ʔi* // < Sem. **ʔay* < Afras. **ʔay* (v. Mil. 2012).

(4) Leb. *mā*...*š*; Mec. *mā*; Mlt. *mā* // < Sem. **ma*(*ʔ*) **<** Afras. **ma* (Mil. 2012).

(5) Cha. *an-* // < Sem. **ʔayn-* '(there) is not' (otherwise a sporadic change < **al-*) < Afras. **ʔayn-* ~ **nay-* v. Mil. 2012 #5).

→ Proto-Semitic **ʔal* ~ **ʔul* (#1) < Afras. **ʔa/ul-* (Mil. 2012, ADB).

→ West and South Semitic **laʔ* (#2), with several Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012, ADB). Both proto-forms may be eventually related through metathesis, but at the Proto-Afrasian rather than at the Proto-Semitic level.

63. ONE

(1) Akk. (OB) *ʔištēn* m., *ištiat* f. // < Sem. **ʕišt*(*-Vn/t*)- 'one; eleven': Ugr. *ʕšt ʕšr*(*h*), Hbr. *ʕašəttē*, Egyp. Arm. *ʕštʔ*, Sab. *ʕst*(*n*) m., *ʕst* f. '11' < Sem. **ʕiš-t*(*-Vn/t*)- (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471; add Sab. *ʕs₁tn* 'eins' Stein, one attestation) < Afras. **ʕis-n/t-* 'one' (Mil. 2012).

(2) Ugr. *ʔaḥd*; Hbr. *ʔāḥad*; Pho. *ʔḥd*; Bib. *ḥad*; Pal. *ḥad*; Syr. *ḥad-*; Mnd. *had*; Urm. *ḥad-*; Qur. *wāḥid-*; Leb. *wəḥad*; Mec. *wāḥid*; Mlt. *wīḥet*; Sab. *ʔḥd*; Gez. *ʔaḥadu*; Tna. *ḥadä*; Tgr. *ḥatte* f. (*woro* m.); Amh. *ʔand*; Arg. *hand*; Gaf. *əǯǯä*; Sod. *at*(*t*); Har. *aḥad*; Wol. *add*; Cha. *at* // < Sem. **ʔ/waḥad-* 'one, single, alone, united' (Mil. 2012, Kog. LE 471).

(3) Hrs. *ṭād*; Mhr. *ṭād*, *ṭāṭ*, *ṭáyṭ*; Hob. *ṭáaṭ*; Jib. *ṭād* (m.), *ṭit* (f.); Soq. *ṭad* (m.), *ṭey* (f.) // likely rel. to Arb. *ṭuʔa*^{n} 'quelqu'un', presumably < MSA-Arb. **ṭu/aʔ/y-* '(some)one' (> MSA **ṭay*(*-t*), dissimilated > **ṭad* or assimilated > *ṭaṭ* in masc., and remaining **ṭay*(*-t*) in fem.); cf. Afras.: W.Chad.: North Bauchi **wuti* 'one' (Warji, Kariya, Siri, Jimbin. etc.) and E.Cush.: HEC: Burji *ḍé-kki* (m.), *ḍé-tti* (f.) 'one, single' (**ḍV-* < **ṭV*) ADB.

→ West Semitic *(*ʔ/wa-*)*ḥad-* (#2) < Afras. *(*ʔ/wa-*)*ḥad-* 'one' (Mil. 2012).

64. PERSON

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *ʔawīlu* // no plausible Sem. parallels; presumably < Afras. *(*Ha*)*wil-* 'child' (Mil. 2012).

(2) Ugr. *bnš* (< *bn nš*; syn.: *ʔadm* — v. #3); Bib. (*bar-*)*ʔănāš*; Mnd. (*a*)*naš-*, *barnāša*; Qur. *ʔins-ān-*; Leb. *ʔinsēn*; Sab. *ʔns₁* (syn.: *ʔs₁* – v. #4) // < Sem. *(*bin-/bar-*)*ʔi-naš-* (v. **MAN** #5).

(3) Pho. *ʔdm* // < Sem. **ʔadam-* (not < *(*ʔa-*)*dam-* 'red' as is often stated), likely < Afras. **ʔadam-* ~ **daʔam-* 'kin, family member' (Mil. 2012).

(4) Hbr. *ʔīš* (syn.: *ʔänōš* — v. #2); Sab. *ʔs₁* (syn.) // < Sem. **ʔiš-* (v. **MAN** #3).

(5) Pal. *gᵉḇar* (syn.: *brnš*, *ʔănaš* — v. #2); Syr. *gabr-* (syn.: *bar-*(*ʔ*)*nāš-* — v. #2); Urm. *gabr-* (syn.: *barnāš-* — v. #2) // v. **MAN** #4.

(6) Mec. *šaḫs* // < Sem. **ŝₓḫṣ* 'to be high, great, lofty (> haughty)' (Mil. 2012).

(7) Gez. *bəʔəs-i* // < Afras. **bVʔVs-* 'son, boy, coeval' (v. **MAN** #7).

(8) Tna. *säb*; Amh. *säw*; Arg. *su*; Gaf. *säwwä*; Sod. *säb*; Har. *usuʔ*; Wol. *säb*; Cha. *säb* // v. **MAN** #9.

(9) Mhr. *nafs*; Jib. *nafs* // (arguments contra borrowing < Arb. v. in Mil. 2012) < Sem. **nap*(*i*)*š-* 'soul; vitality, life; person, personality; self' < Afras. **nafVs-* 'breathing' (ibid.).

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

(10) Soq. *ḥéyhi* // with three possible alternative etymolgies, perhaps eventually related: (a) if meaning '(the) living (one)', < Sem. **ḥwy* 'to live' < Afras. **ḥayVw-* 'live, be born, give birth to' (Mil. 2012); (b) < Arb.-MSA **ḥay(y)-* 'tribe; neighbor; fraternity': Arb. *ḥayy-* 'tribe; man of the same tribe, neighbour', Jib. *aḥa* (*wḥy*) 'run to help', Soq. *ḥiyo* 'fraternité' < Afras. **ḥay/w/ʔ-* 'tribe, clan, kin': Egyp. (MK) *wḥy* 'tribe, clan, family, house (of nomads?)'; Cush. E.: Saho *ḥeaw* 'people', S. **ḥayʔ-* 'kin, clan; brother, sister': Iraqw *ḥay* 'kinsfolk, clan', *ḥiya* 'brother', *ḥaʔe* 'siblings', Qwadza *heʔe* 'sister', etc.; (c) < Afras. **ḥawVy-* 'man, husband': Chad. W.: Gera *hàwí* 'chief', C. Logone *γuye* 'husband'; S. Cush.: Iraqw Alagwa Burunge *ḥaw-ata* 'man, husband', Dahalo *ḥááyo* 'man, husband' (ADB).

◊ Mlt. *persūna* < Latin or Italian *persona* (interestingly, must have been a source of borrowing, likely through the Order of Malta, into Russian *парсуна*, a "primitive" portrait genre in 17th century Russia); Hob. *insí* < Arab.

→ West Semitic **(bin-/bar-)ʔi-naš-* < Afras. (v. MAN #5).

65. RAIN

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *zunnu*; Sab. *ḏnm*; Gez. *zənām*; Tna. *zənam, zənab* (syn.: *may* — v. **WATER** #1); Tgr. *zəlam*; Amh. *zənab*; Arg. *zənab*; Gaf. *zənab^{w}ä*; Sod. *zənab*; Har. *zənāb*; Wol. *zəlam*; Cha. *zərab* // < Sem. **ḏun(a)m-* (Mil. 2012).

(2) Ugr. *mṭr* (syn.: *gšm* — v. Mil. 2012 #3); Hbr. *māṭār* (syn.: *gäšäm* v. Mil. 2012 #3); Pal. *mṭr*; Syr. *meṭr-*; Mnd. *miṭr-*; Urm. *miṭr-*; Qur. *maṭar-*; Mec. *maṭar* // < Sem. **miṭar-* (Mil. 2012).

(3) Leb. *šitā*; Mlt. *šita* // < Sem. **ŝitaw/ʔ-* 'rainy, windy season' (Mil. 2012 #4).

(4) Hrs. *me-lsēn* (syn.: *reḥemet* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Mhr. *ma-lsi* (syn.: *reḥemét* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Hob. *ma-lsée*; Jib. *mó-sɛ́* (syn.: *raḥmɛ́t* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Soq. *me-se* // < Sem. **liš(lVš)-* 'efflux, outflow' (Mil. 2012 #6)., rel. to **lV(V)s-* 'to be moist, ooze' (St. 2005 #227, tentatively comp. with Sem. **lVz-*).

◊ No term in Pho. or Bib.

→ North and West Semitic **ḏun(a)m-* (#1) < Afras. **ǯVn(-Vm)-* ~ **ǯVm(-Vn)-* 'rain' (Mil. 2012).

→ West Semitic **miṭar-* (#2) < Afras. **(mi-)ṭar(ar)-* (Mil. 2012).

66. RED

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *sāmu* // for possible Sem. etymologies of this complicated case and respective Afras. parallels, v. Mil. 2012.

(2) Hbr. *ʔādōm*; Cha. *dämyät* // < Sem. **ʔadam-* ~ **dVʔVm-* 'red' (Mil. 2012).

(3) Pal. *swmḳ, symwḳ, smwḳ*; Syr. *sūmāḳ-, summāḳ-*; Mnd. *sumaḳ-*; Urm. *səmūḳ-* // for two alternative etymologies v. Mil. 2012.

(4) Qur. *ḥumr-* (pl.); Leb. Mec. Mlt. *aḥmar* // < Sem. **ḥamr-* 'red' (Mil. 2012).

(5) Gez. *ḳayyiḥ*; Tna. *ḳäyyiḥ*; Tgr. *ḳäyəḥ* (syn. *ṭālā* — v. Mil. 2012 #6); Amh. *ḳäyy*; Arg. *ḳäyyəh, ḳäy*; Gaf. *ḳäyä*; Har. *ḳēḥ* // < Sem. **ḳayḥ-* 'light red, rose' (Mil. 2012); for a possible cognate in Afras. **ḳay/wḥ-* 'luminary (moon, sun)' v. ibid.; add E.Cush.: Dullay **(wV)ḳḳayḥ-* 'sun' and, perhaps, HEC: Dasenech *ġúy* 'moon' (ADB).

(6) Hrs. *ʔáfer*; Mhr. *ʔōfər*; Hob. *ʔóofər*; Jib. *ʕɔ́fər*; Soq. *ʕáfer* // likely < Sem. **ʕapar-* 'dust, soil', v. **EARTH** #3.

◊ Sod. *bəšša*; Wol. *bušä*; Cha. *bəša* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2012). No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib. or Sab. (cf. *ḥmrt* ʿredʿ in SD 68, attested once and with a question mark).

→ West (Hbr. and Cha.) Semitic **ʔadam-* ~ **dVʔVm-* (#2) < Afras. **(ʔa-)dVm-* ~ **diʔm-* '(dark) red' (Mil. 2012).

67. ROAD

(1) Akk. (OB) *urḫu* (syn.: *girru* — v. Mil. 2012 #2, and *ḫarrānu* — v. Mil. 2012 #1); Bib. *ʔarḥā*; Pal. *ʔwrḥ*; Syr. *ʔurḥ-* (syn.: *darb-* — v. #6); Mnd. *ʕuhr-*; Urm. *ʔūrəḥ-* // < Sem. **ʔurḫ-* 'way, road' — v. Mil. 2012 #5; add Arb. *rḫw* 'éloigner' (BK 1 841); note that the Arm. forms are suspected by some authors of being < Akk. on grounds that I fail to understand.

(2) Ugr. *ntb*(*-t*) // for Sem. cognates and curious parallels (or look-alikes) in Chad. v. Mil. 2012 #3.

(3) Hbr. *däräk*; Pho. *drk* // < Sem. **drk* '(quickly) follow/tread a path, walk'; for what seems Afras. variant roots, but of unusual correlation v. Mil. 2012 #4.

(4) Qur. *ṭarīḳ-*; Mec. *ṭariyg*; Mlt. *triʔ* // for a possible provenance < Sem. **ṭ/tarVḳ-* 'night luminary' and/or an Akk. cognate v. Mil. 2012 #6.

(5) Leb. *darab* (syn.: *ṭarīʔ* — v. #4) // Class. Arb. *darb-*; if (following Lane) a lw., must be, together with Leb. *darab* < Syr. *darb-* (v. Mil. 2012 #7); anyway, v. Afras. parallels (ibid.).

(6) Sab. *ms₁bʔ* // < *s₁bʔ* 'carry out an undertaking (e.g., military expedition, etc.)' (SD 122) < Sem. **šb*(*ʔ*) 'to walk' with Chad. parallels in **sVb-* 'to go (back, out)', etc. (St. 2009 #39, add Hausa *saḃō* 'return' pointing to **sVbVʔ-*), cf. Mil. 2012 #8.

(7) Gez. *ma-ngad* (syn.: *fənot* — v. Mil. 2012 #9 with Afras. parallels in ADB); Tna. *mä-gädd-i*; Amh. *mä-ngäd* : *mä-gädd-i* // < Eth. **nagada* 'go on a journey, travel, trade', likely < Sem. **na-gad-* with Afras. cognates (Mil. 2012 #10).

(8) Tgr. *gäbäy* // likely < Sem. **ga*(*n*)*b-* 'side; beside; back; body' with Afras. cognates (Mil. 2012 #11).

(9) Arg. *hema, həyəma*; Cha. *ema* // rel. to Arb. *hmy* < Afras. **haym-* 'walk, come and go' (Mil. 2012 #11).

(10) Sod. *moč̣a* // acc. to LGz 606, < Sem. **wṣ̂ʔ* 'go out'.

(11) Hrs. *wōrem*; Mhr. *ḥürum*; Hob. *ʔóorəm*; Jib. *ʔorm*; Soq. *ʔórim* // MSA-Arb. **ʔu/irm-* (with fossilized *-m*) < Afras. **ʔ/war-* 'road' (Mil. #13; add Brb.: Shenwa *wur* 'go', etc.).

◊ Gaf. *mäyä* < Oromo *meya* (LGur 441); Har. *uga* and Wol. *ungä* < Omot. (Mil. 2012).

→ North and West Semitic **ʔurḫ-* (#1); cf. Chad. **rVV[γ]-*: Hausa *rùugā* 'drive on/away', Bokkos *roh* 'senden, schicken' (compared with Ngizim *ràgú* 'migrate' and Arb. *rḫw* 'éloigner'), cf. derived E.: Ubi *ʔùrgin* 'drive away, hunt' (St. 2011 #803).

68. ROOT

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šuršu*; Ugr. *šrš*; Hbr. *šōräš*; Pho. *šrš*; Bib. *šōrēš*; Mnd. *širš-*; Leb. *širəš* // < Sem. **ŝ$_x$Vu/irŝ$_x$-*.

(2) Pal. *ʕyḳr* (syn.: *šrš* — v. #1); Syr. *ʕēḳār-* (syn.: *šerš-* — v. #1); Urm. *ʕiḳr-* // < Sem. **ʕiḳ*(*ḳ*)*ār-* 'root; medicine' (v. in SED I #20); cf. Chad. C.: Bachama *kwire*, E.: Jegu *kyāro* 'root' (ADB; possibly < **ḳw/yar-* or **ʕVḳw/yar-*).

(3) Qur. *ʔaṣl-* // likely rel. to Sem. **ʔaṣi/al-* 'join, attach' and '(noble) origin' (cf. DRS 30) and **waṣil-* 'joint, articulation' (cf. SED I #289), with a possible Chad. parallel **çVl-* 'string' (St. 2009 #747).

(4) Mec. *ʕirḳ* (syn.: *ǯizir* < Arm.-Arb. **gizar-* 'root vegetable', v. Mil. 2012 #5); Mlt. (*gh*)*eruʔ*; Hrs. *ʔarḳ*; Mhr. *ʔarḳ*; Hob. *ʔárḳ* // < Sem. **ʕa/irḳ-* 'tendon, muscle, vein, nerf; root' (SED I #20).

(5) Gez. *ŝərəw*; Tna. *sur*; Amh. *sər*; Arg. *šərit, sər*; Gaf. *sər*; Sod. *sər*; Har. *sər*; Wol. *sər*; Cha. *äsər* // probably different from #1 (contra Mil. 2012 #1 and Kog. LE 480); rel. to Chad. **ĉVHVrV* ~ **ĉVrVHV* (St. 2011 #287); cf. also C. Cush. **sər-*, more probable < Eth.

(6) Tgr. *ḳərd* // cognates not found.

(7) Jib. *ŝiroḫ*; Soq. *ŝeraḥ* // < MSA-Arb. (v. Mil. 2012; different from #1 contra Kog. LE fn. 109); justly comp. (through metathesis) with C.Chad.: Biu-Mandara **ŝəḫəray* 'root' in St. 2011 #287.

◊ No term in Sab.

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

69. ROUND

(1) Akk. (OB) *garru* // < Sem. **gar*(*gVr*)- < Afras. **gVr*(*gVr*)- (Mil. 2012).
(2) Hbr. *ʕāgōl*; Soq. *gáʕlhel* (met.) // < Sem. **ʕgl* (v. reasons for uniting these terms in Mil. 2012).
(3) Syr. *gəlīl*-; Urm. *gəlūl*- // < Sem. **g*^{w}*VlVl*- < Afras. **g*^{w}*VlVl*- 'round' (Mil. 2012).
(4) Mnd. *kulul*- // < Sem. **k*^{w}*VlVl*- 'round, surround' < Afras. **k*^{w}*Vl*- 'round, circular' (Mil. 2012; add Copt.: Sahidic *kelkōl* 'ê. rond' Vyc. 76).
(5) Leb. *m-dawar*; Mec. *mu-dawwar* // < Sem. **dwr* 'to be/go round' (arguments contra borrowing in MSA < Arb. v. in Mil. 2012) with a few Afras. parallels (ibid.).
(6) Gez. *kəbub*; Tna. *kəbib* (syn.: *ʔən-kəbləl* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Tgr. *käbib, kəbub*; Amh. *kəbb*; Sod. *kəbb*; Wol. *kub*; Cha. *kəb* // < Sem. **kVb*(*kVb*)- 'round' (Mil. 2012).
(7) Har. *dulālu* // < Sem. **dVbVl*- 'round, ball-shaped' with possible scarce Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #8).
(8) Jib. *ḥalḳɛ́t* // < Sem. **ḥalḳ-at*- 'circle, ring' (Mil. 2012 #9).
◊ Mlt. *tont* likely < Ital. *tondo*; Mhr. *madáwwər*, Hob. *mdáwwər* more likely < Arb. than genuine (counter Mil. 2012 #5). No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Arg. or Gaf.
→ West (Hbr.) and South (Soq.) Semitic **ʕagVl*- (#2); eventually interrelated, with root extension -ʕ, to Sem. **g*^{w}*VlVl*- < Afras. **g*^{w}*VlVl*- (#3).

70. SAND

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

71. SAY

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *ḳabū* // < Sem. **ḳ*(^{w})*Vbb*- 'say, shout, curse' < Afras. **ḳab*- 'speak, shout, curse' (Mil. 2012).
(2) Ugr. *rgm* // < Sem. **rgm* 'to blame, curse' (Mil. 2012).
(3) Hbr. *ʔmr*; Pho. *ʔmr*; Bib. *ʔmr*; Pal. *ʔmr*; Syr. *ʔmr*; Mnd. *ʔmr*; Urm. *ʔmr* // < Sem. **ʔmr* 'to say, order'.

(4) Qur. *ḳwl*; Leb. *ʔāl*; Mec. *ḳāl*; Mlt. *āl* // < Sem. *ḳwl* 'to say', **ḳawl-* 'voice' < Afras. **ḳawl-* 'to talk, shout' (Mil. 2012).
(5) Sab. *bhl* (Stein: two attestations; syn.: *ḳwl* Stein: one attestation — v. #4); Gez. *bhl*; Tna. *bälä*; Tgr. *bela*; Amh. *alä*; Arg. *ala*; Gaf. *balä*; Sod. *baläm*; Har. *baya*; Wol. *balä*; Cha. *baräm* // < Sem. **bhl* 'to say, curse' (Mil. 2012).
(6) Hrs. *ʕamōr*; Mhr. *ʕamūr*; Jib. *ʕōr*; Soq. *ʕemor* // v. other (correction from "another" in Mil. 2012) meanings in MSA and Arb. ibid.; < MSA-Arb. **ʕmr* presumably 'causing to existence or accomplishment by force of magic speech/formula' (to be treated as a variant root of **ʔmr* (#3).
→ West Semitic (Sab.-Eth.) **bhl* (#5) with a likely W.Chad. parallel **biHal-* 'angry' (Mil. 2012).

72. SEE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *amāru* // < Sem. **ʔmr* 'to see; show, indicate; know' < Afras: **(ʔV-)mVr-* 'to see, look, show, search for' (Mil. 2011 **KNOW** #5)
(2) Ugr. *phy* (syn.: *ʕn* — v. **EYE** #1) // the only imaginable etymology is a hypothetic Ugr.-Arb. **ṗhy ~ *ṗʔh* (perhaps also Sab. *bhʔt* 'scout, intelligence agent'), v. Mil. 2012.
(3) Hbr. *rʔy*; Qur. *rʔy*; Mlt. *rā*; Sab. *rʔy*; Gez. *rəʔya*; Tna. *räʔäyä*; Tgr. *rəʔa*; Arg. *re*; Har. *rīʔa* // < Sem. **rʔy* 'to see'.
(4) Pho. *ḥz* (*rʔy*, a verbal noun — v. #3); Bib. *ḥzy*; Syr. *ḥzy*; Mnd. *hza*; Urm. *ḥzy*; Amh. *ayyä*; Arg. *hanǯa*; Gaf. *aǯǯä*; Sod. *aǯǯäm*; Wol. *anže*; Cha. *až/šäm* // < Sem. **ḥzy* 'to see, watch' (Mil. 2012 #5).
(5) Pal. *ḥmy* // < Hbr.-Arm. **ḥmy* 'to see, watch, beware' < Sem. **ḥmy* 'to watch, protect' with some weak Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #6).
(6) Leb. *šēf*; Mec. *šāf* // < Sem. **ŝw/yp* 'look out, observe, protect' (Mil. 2012 #7).
(7) Hrs. *ŝēni*; Mhr. *ŝinuh*; Hob.*ŝənú*; Jib. *ŝini*; Soq. *ŝini* // < MSA-Arb. **ŝV(ʔ)n-* 'see, know, care' < Afras. **ĉVn-* (Mil. 2012 #8).
→ West Semitic 1 **rʔy* (#3) < Afras. **rayʔ- ~ *ʔayr-* 'to see' (Mil. 2012 #4).
→ West Semitic 2 **ḥzy* (#4) with one isolated C.Chad. parallel (ibid.).

73. SEED

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *zēru, zarʔu*; Hbr. *zäraʕ*; Bib. *zəraʕ*; Pal. *zrʕ*; Syr. *zarʕ-*; Urm. *zarʕ-*; Qur. *zarʕ-* ('seed, corn', etc. in the Qur'an (Pen.), with *bḏr* attested as 'to sow' only — cf. otherwise Kog. LE 471); Mlt. *zerri*(*gh*)*a*; Gez. *zärʔ/ʕ*, Tna. *zärʔ-i*; Tgr. *zärəʔ*; Amh. Arg. Gaf. Sod. Har. Wol. *zär*; Cha. *zənä* // < Sem. **zarʕ/ʔ-* (Mil. 2012, cf. otherwise Kog. LE 471–2).
(2) Ugr. *d/ḏrʕ*; Mec. *dirra* // < Sem. **ḏVrʕ/ʔ-* (Mil. 2012).
(3) Mnd. *baz*(*i*)*r-* (syn. *zira* — v. #1) // < Sem. **bVzr-* (Mil. 2012) with a few debatable Chad. parallels (Mil. 2012).
(4) Leb. *bḏar* // < Arm.-Arb. **baḏr-* (Mil. 2012).
(5) Har. *säñi*; Wol. *säññe* (otherwise < E.Cush., then most likely < Oromo); Soq. *šáne* (syn.: Soq. *deri* — v. #2) // < Sem. **ʔa-šnVʔ/n-* (Mil. 2012).
◊ Hrs. *baḏr*, Mhr. *biḏar*, Hob. *béeḏər*, Jib. *béḏər* likely < Arb. No term in Pho.
→ North and West Semitic **zarʕ/ʔ-* (#1) < Afras. **ʒVry/ʔ/ʕ-* 'seed, sowing, sown field, to sow, plant, cultivate': Egyp. (late, Gr.) *z*; (< **ʒVr* or **ǯVr*) 'Bez. der achtel Arure, acht Aruren Acker' (EG III, 411), (Gr.) 'Art Acker' (Ibid., 414); Chad. W.: Karekare *źirue* (< **ʒir-*) 'planting across ridgerows', C. **zVr-* 'to sprout': Mbuko *zaray* 'pousser par terre (haricot)', Zulgo *zárá* 'long sprouts' (St. 2009 #542), E.: Kera *zòoru*, Kwang *seeré* 'to sow'; Cush. N.: Beja *derá*ʔ (< **ʒVrʔ-* or **ǯVrʔ- or* < Arb.) 'seed', C. **zVr-*: Khamir *zürû* 'wheat', *zir-*, Kemant *zar-* 'to sow', Aungi *zer* 'to cultivate'; N.Omot. **ǯVry-* or **ʒVry-*: Wolamo *zer-* 'to spread, to seed',

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

→ South and West (if the Har. Wol. terms are genuine) Semitic **ʔa-šnVʔ/n-* (#5) < Sem. **ʔa-šnVʔ/n-* 'seed, grain, cereal' < Afras. **sany-* id. (Mil. 2012).

→ West Semitic (Ugr. and Mec.) **ḏVrʕ/ʔ-* (#2; -ʕ perhaps due to contamination with **zarʕ/ʔ-*) < Sem. **ḏVry/w-* 'to scatter, sow, winnow; seeds': Akk. *zarû* 'to sow seed, broadcast; scatter, sprinkle; winnow' (CAD *z* 70), Ugr. *dry* to winnow' (DUL 282), Hbr. *zry* 'to scatter, winnow' (HALOT, 280), Jud. *dry, drʔ* 'to scatter, strew; winnow' (Ja., 322), Syr. *drʔ* 'sparsit, dispersit', *madrəy-* 'vannus' (Brock., 165), Arb. *ḏry/w* 'répandre la semence (en semant), semer; vanner, nettoyer (le grain) en le lançant au vent avec une pelle ou avec un van' (BK 1, 771), *ḏurat-* '*dorra*, espèce de millet' (BK 1, 772), Gez. *zäräwä* 'to scatter', (*ʔa*)*zräwä*, (*ʔa*)*zräyä* 'to winnow' (LGz., 644 with other Eth. data), Mhr. *ḏər* 'to spread out; to spread (gravy, curry, seed)' (JM 47), Jib. *ḏerr* 'to spread out' (JJ 47), Soq. *deri* 'semence' (LS, 135) < Afras. **ǯVr-* 'to scatter, spread (seed), winnow, process grain; grain, seeds': Brb. **uzzar* 'to winnow' (common Brb. incl. Tuareg, hardly < Arb.); (?) Egyp. (OK) *dy.w.t* (< **ǯVr-w-Vt*? Not very likely, supported primarily by the meaning 'winnower') 'Arbeiterin auf dem Gut bei der Ernte: Worflerin' (EG, V 421); Chad. W.: Podoko *nǯɨra* 'trier (les bons grains des mauvais)' (cf. also Pero *ǯúrà*, Guruntum *ǯàaǯàr* 'groundnuts'), C. **(n)ǯVr-* 'a grain mortar' (St. 2009 #1158), (?) E.: Somrai *ǯár* 'throw' (ADB).

74. SIT

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *wšb*; Ugr. *yṯb, ʔaṯib*; Hbr. *yšb*; Pho. *yšb*; Bib. *ytb*; Pal. *ytb*; Syr. *ytb*; Mnd. *ytb*; Urm. *ytb*; Sab. *wṯb* // Sem. **wṯb* (Mil. 2012).

(2) Qur. *ḳʕd*; Lbn. *ʔaʕad* // < Sem. **ḳʕd* 'bend, sit, put down' < Afras. **ḳV(ʕ)d-* 'bend, sit, lie down' (Mil. 2012).

(3) Mec. *ǯalas* // < Sem. **glš* 'to sit (in a special way, atop, on an elevated place)' (Mil. 2012).

(4) Gez. *nabara* // < Sem. **nbr* 'to be elevated, raise(d), place(d)/sit atop' (Mil. 2012).

(5) Tna. *kof bälä* (syn.: *tä-ḵämmäṭä* — v. #7) // < Sem. **wkp* ~ **kwp* 'to lie, sit' (Mil. 2012 #5) with an isolated parallel in E.Cush.: Yaaku (ibid.); unclear if Chad. **kVp-* 'to put upright' (St. 2011 #57) can be compared, pointing to Afras. **kVp-* 'to sit upright'.

(6) Tgr. *gəsuy hälla* (syn.: *käf belä* — v. #5) // perhaps < Sem. **giŝŝ-* 'torso, body, side of body' (cf. SED I No. 92) < Afras. **giĉĉ-* 'torso, chest, side of body' (Mil. 2012).

(7) Amh. *tä-ḳämmäṭä*; Arg. (*tä*)*ḳämmäṭa* // < Eth.-Arb. **ḳmṭ* 'bind, hold tightly; sit' (Mil. 2012).

(8) Gaf. *täwannä*; Sod. *tonnam*; Cha. *čonam* // only S.Eth. < **wnʔ/ʕ* (LGur 599), likely < Afras. **wVnVʕ-* ~ **ʕVwVn-* (contra Mil. 2012) 'sleep; sit': Egyp. (19 Dyn.) *ʕwn* 'sleep'; Chad. C. **ʔ/wiyan-* id., E. **wanH-*: Kwang *wéŋ* id., Migama *wáànò* 'to dream' (ADB).

(9) Har. (*tä*)*gēbä*(*la*); Wol. (*tä-*)*göbälä* // either < Eth.-Arb. **gVb*(*b*) + *ala* (auxiliary verb) or < Afras. **gVbbVr/l-* 'to sit, prostrate oneself; a (sacred?) seat' (Mil. 2012; add W. Chad. Kifri *gobbil-* 'to crawl').

(10) Hrs. *ŝḫewlōl*; Mhr. *ŝḫulul*; Hob. *ŝḫoolúul* // cf. a suggested Arb. parallel (Mil. 2012).

(11) Jib. *skof* // < Sem. **(ʔa-)skup*(*p*)- 'threshold' (Mil. 2012).

(12) Soq. *izʕem* // v. three etymological options and a Chad. parallel to one of them in Mil. 2012.

◊ Mlt. *poǯa* < Italian (*ap*)*poggiare*.

→ North and West Semitic: **wṯb* (#1); for a presumed, quite different, primary meaning with an Afras. etymology v. Mil. 2012.

75. SKIN

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

(2) Ugr. *γr*; Hbr. *ʕōr*; Pho. *ʕr* // < Sem. **γa/ur-/*γarγar-* '(loose) skin, dewlap' (SED I #105) < Afras. **γur-* (highly tentative; v. Mil. 2014).
(3) Urm. *gild-*; Qur. *ǯild-*; Leb. *žild*; Mec. *ǯild*; Mlt. *ǯilda* // < Sem. **gi/ald-* (SED I #78).
(4) Gez. *māʔ/ʕs* // < Sem. **maʕaš-* or **maʕas-* (Mil. 2014).
(5) Tna. *ḳʷərbät*; Tgr. *ḳärbät* // < Eth.-Arb. **ḳʷirb-at-* < Afras. **ḳʷirab-* 'bark, skin' (Mil. 2014).
(6) Amh. *ḳodä* (syn.: *ḳʷärbät*, absent from other S.Eth., likely < Tna — v. #5) // < Eth.-Arb. **ḳ(ʷ)ad-* 'skin'; rel to W. Chad. **ḳad-* 'skin' (St. 2011 #315).
(7) Mhr. *bəŝərēt*; Jib. *bəŝərɛ́t* // < Sem. **bi/aŝar-* 'flesh, (human) body' (SED I #41); perhaps < Afras. **bVĉ(-Vr)-* 'skin, skinning': Brb.: Ghadames *ḇzər* 'to be peeled'; E.Chad.: W.Dangla *buusu* 'faire une coupure de la peau au couteau', E.Dangla *bésé* 'scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair'; Cush. C.: Khamir *bas-* 'Einschnitte in die Haut machen... tätowieren', E.: HEC: Somali *bū́š-e* 'chaff', S.: Maʔa *buŝe* 'skin'; N.Omot.: Kafa *bāš-* 'schlachten, die Gurgel durchschneiden', Anfillo *baš* 'to slaughter cattle' (ADB).
(8) Soq. *ŝirhi* // < Sem. **ŝir-* 'skin, hide of cattle' (incl. Mhr. *ŝərū*, Jib. *ŝéré* 'to skin a cow with a knife') SED I #267; cf. W.Chad. **ĉVr-* 'to peel (bark, husk)' (St. 2007 #2491a).
◊ Gaf. *gʷagä*, Sod. *goga*, Har. *gōga*, Wol. *gogä* and Cha. *goga* are < Oromo *googa*; Hob. *ǯoód* < Arb. *ǯild.* No term in Bib. and Sab.
→ North and West Semitic: **mašk-* (#1) < Afras. **mask-* (Mil. 1914).

76. SLEEP

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

77. SMALL

(1) Akk. (OB) *ṣeḫru* (with irregular *ḫ*? — cf., however, Jib. *mənṣəḫɔ́rrɔ́t* 'little finger' (JJ 243) pointing, perhaps, to a different Sem. root **ṣḫr*; syn.: *daḳḳ-* < Sem. **da/iḳḳ-* ~ **daḳiḳ-*< *Afras. *da/iḳḳ-* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Pho. *ṣʕr*; Qur. *ṣaγīr-*; Leb. *zγīr* (< **ṣγr*); Mec. *ṣaγiyr*; Mlt. *zā*(*gh*)*ir*; Sab. *ṣγr* (syn.: *ḳṭn* — v. #2) // < Sem. **ṣaγīr-*.
(2) Hbr. *ḳāṭān* // < Sem. **ḳatan-* < Afras. **ḳ(ʷ)Vt-* (Mil. 2014 #3).

(3) Bib. *zəʕēr*; Pal. *zʕwr, zᵉʕē(y)r* (syn.: *dḳyḳ* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Syr. *zəʕōr-*; Urm. *zəʕōr-* // < Sem. **zʕr* 'be small, thin', rel. to Chad. **zVr-* 'to be narrow' (St. 2009 #563; Mil. 2014 #4).
(4) Mnd. *zuṭ-* (syn.: *ḳotān-* v. #2) // < Aram. **zʕṭ* (Mil. 2014 #5).
(5) Gez. *nəʔus* (syn.: *daḳiḳ* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Tna *nuʔus*; Tgr. *nəʔuš*; Arg. *mans, mass*; Gaf. *ənsä*; Sod. *maläs*; Cha. *ərs* (syn.: *ḳəsi* — v. Mil. 2014 #8) // < Sem. **ʔVnVš-* (Mil. 2014 #6).
(6) Amh. *ṭənnəš* // v. Mil. 2014 #7.
(7) Har. *ṭīt*; Wol. *ṭit* (in both syn.: *(y)anäsä* — v. #5) // No etymology found.
(8) Hrs. *ḳennōn*; Hob. *ḳannuún*; Soq. *ḳéyhen* // < MSA-Arb. with Chad. parallels — Mil. 2014; add **kVn-* '(the youngest) son; calf; small' (St. 2011 241), perhaps < **ḳVn-*.
(9) Jib. *niṣan* // no parallels found.
→ Noth and West Semitic **ṣayīr-* (#1).

78. SMOKE:
(1) Akk. (OB) *ḳutr-*; Ugr. *ḳṭr*; Mnd. *guṭr-* // < Sem. **ḳuṭār-*.
(2) Hbr. *ʕāšān*, Soq. *ʕeto* (with a loss of *-n*? Less likely rel. to Arb. *ɣayṯ-* 'pluie abondante et qui s'étend aux environs' — v. Mil. 2014 footnote 9; syn.: *ḥélaḳ*) // < Sem. **ʕVṯan-* (v. Mil. 2014).
(3) Pal. *tᵉnan*; Syr. *tān-*; Urm. *tin-*; Gez. *tann* (syn.: *ṭis, ṭesa* — v. #6); Tgr. *tänan*; Gaf. *tännä*; Sod. *tän*; Har. *tän*; Wol. *tän*; Cha. *tän* // < Arm.-Eth. **tan(a)n-* (v. Mil. 2014).
(4) Qur. *duḫān-*; Leb. *dḫan*; Mec. *duḫḫān*; Mlt. *duḥḥān*; Hrs. *nedēḫ*; Mhr. *nidiḫ*; Hob. *ndóoḫ*; Jib. *məndoḫ* (met. in all MSA) // on this difficult case v. Mil. 2014.
(5) Tna. *təkk-i* // Tigre *täka* 'put on fire' (no other Sem. cognates found) < Afras. **tVk-* 'burn, put on fire' (Mil. 2014).
(6) Amh. *čəs*; Arg. *čis* (syn.: *tan* — v. #3) // < **ṭays* (only Eth. acc. to LGz. 601), likely rel. to Arb. *ṭassān-* 'poussière soulevée et qui voltige et tourbillonne dans l'air' with controversial parallels in C.Cush. (v. Mil. 2014) and a probable cognate in S.Cush.: Asa *toʔusayok* 'smoke' (< **ṭoʔus-*?).
◊ No term in Pho., Bib. or Sab.
→ North and West Semitic **ḳuṭr-* (#1); if < **ḳuṭ-r* with root extension *-r*, v. possible Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).
→ South and West (Arb.) Semitic 1 **nidVḫ- ~ *duḫān-* (#4).
→ (?) South and West (Hbr.) Semitic 2 **ʕVṯan-* with parallels in Afras.: W.Chad. **čaHan-* 'burn': Mupun *čāan*, Sura *čaan*, Chip *šan*; E.Cush.: Yaaku *ise*, pl. *isehnɛn* 'smoke' (< **ʕisVn-* < AA **ʕičVn-*?).
→ West Semitic (Arm.-Eth.) **tan-* (#3).

79. STAND
(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *u/izuzz-* // with a likely cognate in Arb. (Mil. 2014).
(2) Ugr. *ḳm* ('stand up'); Bib. *ḳwm*; Pal. *ḳwm*; Syr. *ḳwm*; Mnd. *ḳwm*; Qur. *ḳwm* (syn.: *wḳf* — v. #5); Sab. *ḳwm*; Gez. *ḳwm*; Tna. *ḳomä* (syn.: *däw bälä*, a lw. < Cush. — v. Mil. 2014); Amh. *ḳomä*; Arg. *ḳoma, oma*; Gaf. *ḳomä*; Sod. *ḳomäm*; Cha. *ḳʷämäm* // < Sem. **ḳwm* (Mil. 2014).
(3) Hbr. *ʕmd* // < Sem. **ʕmd* with debatable W.Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).
(4) Urm. *klʔ* // no etymology found (suspicious as a possible borrowing).
(5) Lbn. *wəʔəf*; Mec. *wagaf*; Mlt. *wiʔf* // < Sem. **wḳp* (Mil. 2014).
(6) Tgr. *bäṭra* // seems a singular semantic development from Eth.-Arb. **bṭr* 'to be arrogant, haughty' (Mil. 2014)
(7) Har. *ḳānäna*; Wol. *ḳanänä* // with a cognate in Arb. (v. Mil. 2014) and Chad. **kVn-* (possibly < **ḳVn-*) 'to stand (straight)' (St. 2011 #235, where it is comp. with Akk. *kânu* 'be firm in place, etc.'): C.: Gude *kəŋ* 'standing straight', Bachama *káŋɔ̀*, E.: E.Dangla *kòkìnē* 'to stand'.

(8) Hrs. *ṣōr*; Mhr. *ṣōr*; Hob. *ṣóor*; Jib. *ṣɔ́r* // < Sem. **ṣw/yr* 'to stand, support, carry' (Mil. 2014; correction: Sab. *h-ṣr* 'to stay, stand' with a question mark), rel. to W.Chad. **çVr-* 'to stand' (St. 2009 #772; Mil. 2014).
(9) Soq. *ḳéṣaḥ* (< **ḳeṣaʕ*) // likely rel. to Arb. *ḳṣʕ* II 'ne pas quitter la maison'.
◊ No term in Pho.
→ West Semilic **ḳwm* (#2) < Afras. **ḳaw/ym-* 'stand up, rise' (Mil. 2014).

80. STAR

(1) Akk. (OB) *kakkab-*; Ugr. *kbkb*; Hbr. *kōkāb*; Pho. *kkb*; Pal. *kebkīb*; Syr. *kawkəb-*; Mnd. *kukb-*; Urm. *kāwkəb-*; Qur. *kawkab-* (syn.: *naǯm-* — v. #2); Sab. *kwkb*; Gez. *kokäb*; Tna. *k̲ʷak̲ob*; Tgr. *kokäb*; Amh. *kokäb*; Arg. *kokäb*; Gaf. *kokobä*; Sod. *kokäb*; Cha. *k̲ʷäk̲ʷab*; Hrs. *kebkīb*; Mhr. *kebkib*; Jib. *kəbkēb*; Soq. *kibšib* // < Sem. **kabkib-*, perhaps "circles" < Sem. **kVbb-*, *kVbkVb-* '(to be) round' (Mil. 2014).
(2) Lbn. *nižmi*; Mec. *naǯma* // no etymology found.
(3) Har. *ṭūy* // no clear etymology found; perhaps < Sem. **ṣVḥ-* 'be white, clear; shimmer' (v. **WHITE** #6): in Har. *ṭ* can continue **ṣ* while **ḥ* is normally preserved, though cases of **ḥ > 0* seem to occur.
◊ Mlt. *stilla* < Italian; Wol. *kälbäžo* < Cush.? (v. LGur 342). No term in Bib.
→ Proto-Semitic **kabkib-* (#1).

81. STONE

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

(7) Hrs. *ṣewwer*; Mhr. *ṣowwer*; Hob. *ṣóor* // < Sem. **ṣVwwVr-* ~ **ṣir(a)r-* 'pebble, dust' (Mil. 2014; cf. otherwise Kog. LE footnote 114).
(8) Jib. *fúdún* (also 'rock') // probably < Sem. **pad(d)an-* 'path in the mountains', v. **MOUNTAIN** #11 and Kog. LE footnote 115.
→ Proto-Semitic **ʔabn-* (#1) < Afras. **(ʔa)bun-* 'stone, millstone' (Mil. 2014).

82. SUN

(1) Akk. (OB) *šamš-*; Hbr. *šämäš*; Pho. *šmš*; Bib. *šəmaš*; Pal. *šmš*; Syr. *šemš-*; Mnd. *šam(i)š-*; Urm. *šimš-*; Qur. *šams-*; Lbn. *šaməs*; Mec. *šams*; Mlt. *šemeš*; Sab. s_2ms_1; Soq. *šam* // < Sem. **ŝ$_x$am(ŝ$_x$am)-*.
(2) Ugr. *špš* // (no Sem. cognates found) < Afras. **ŝip-* 'sunlight, brightness' (Mil. 2014).
(3) Gez. *ḍäḥay*; Tna. *ṣäḥay*; Tgr. *ṣäḥay*; Amh. *ṭay*; Arg. *čähed* // < Eth.-Arb. **ṣ̂Vḥy-* < Afras. **ç̂Vḥay/w-* 'burning sun' (Mil. 2014; add. N.Omot. **çiHaç-* (redupl.) 'sun': Dizi (Maji) *čaž*, (Sheko) *ṣeaṣù, çiaçu*, (Nao) *šaž* ADB).
(4) Gaf. *äymərä*, Sod. *yimər*, *imər* // only Eth. incl. Gez. *ʔamir* 'sun, day, time' < Afras. **(ʔa-)mVr-* '(sun)light' (cf. Mil. 2014).
(5) Har. *īr*; Wol. *ayr*, Cha. *eyat* // Eth. incl. Gez. (Sawasew) *ʔer* < Sem. **ʔVr-* 'daylight' (less likely "of possible Cushitic origin", v. Kog. LE footnote 70) < Afras. **ʔay/wr-* 'sunlight' (Mil. 2014).
(6) Hrs. *ḥeyom*; Mhr. *ḥeyum*; Hob. *ḥyuúm*; Jib. *yum* (syn.: *ũm* 'sun' or 'heat of the sun' — v. Kog. LE footnote 71) // < Sem. **yawm-* 'day' < Afras. **yam-* 'day, sun'.
→ Proto-Semitic **ŝ$_x$am(ŝ$_x$am)-* (#1) < Afras. **ŝam-* 'burning heat' (Mil. 2014).

83. SWIM

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

84. TAIL

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

(4) Lbn. *ḏayl*; Mec. *dayl* // with a semantic shift < Arb.-Arm. **ḏyl* 'to be low, humble' (Mil. 2014); cf. Egyp. (MK) *znny* 'to suffer, be distressed' (if *-n* < **l*) and W.Chad. **ǯeel* 'suffering, troubles' (ADB; unless < Nigerian Arb.).
(5) Har. *ḳänāwa* // < Sem. **ḳayn-* < Afras. **ḳayn-* ~ **ḳany-* 'lower part of back' (Mil. 2014 #6).
(6) Sod. *wədinna* // no etymology found.
◊ Amh., Arg. and Gaf. *ḉəra* < E.Cush.; Wol. *goññä* < HEC; Cha. *ǯəwä* presumably < E.Cush. (all in Mil. 2014). No term in Pho., Bib., Qur. and Sab.
→ Proto-Semitic **ḏa/inab-(at-)-* (#1).

85. THAT [2]
(1) Akk. *ullû*; Tgr. *loha* // < Sem. **hulli* (cf. SL 71).
(2) Ugr. *hnk*; Mnd. *hanata* // scored together, since two of the three deictic elements are common; scored separately from other Sem. forms, since it is hard to say which of the three deictic elements is the main one (if *h-*, to score with #3).
(3) Hbr. *hahū(ʔ)*; Pho. *hʔ*; Pal. *hāhū(ʔ)*; Syr. *haw, huw*; Urm. *hō*; Sab. *hʔ* // < Sem. **hā* (or, rather, **hVʔ*) "an additional deictic element" (SL 71; the attribute "additional" raises certain doubts since in this case, it is the main or even the only one), likely rel. to Brb.: Ahaggar *wah*, Nefusa *wūh* 'this', Qabyle (Ayt Mangellat) *wihin* 'that', etc. (ADB and ND 751, 752).
(4) Bib. *dēk*; Qur. *ḏā(li)ka*; Lbn. *haḏak*; Mec. *dak, hādāk*; Mlt. *dak*; Gez. *zəkku*; Hrs. *ḏek*; Mhr. *ḏēk*; Hob. *ḏɛ́ek*; Jib. *ḏɔ́kun* // < Sem. **ḏā-kV* — cf. SL 71.
(5) Tna. *ʔəti, ʔətuy* // origin obscure.
(6) Amh. *ya* (syn.: *zzəya* — v. #4), Har. *yaʔ* // < Eth. **yVʔ* ("an element of obscure origin", acc. to SL 71) < Afras. **ʔay-* ~ **yaʔ-* (ADB): Coptic *ph-ē* (m.), *th-ē* (f.), *n-ē* (pl.) < **-ē* < **-ʔVy* (cf. Vyc 157–8); Brb. **ʔay(a/i)* 'this'; Chad. W.: Ngamo *ywɛʔu* 'that one', E.: Mokilko *ʔêŋ* (m.), *ʔéttu* (f.) 'this (< **ʔe-n/t* < **ʔay-n/t*?).
(7) Arg. *hod, wod* // < **h/w-ad*, cf. Afras. **-d* ~ **d-*: Brb.: Siwa *dawa*, Zenaga *aḏ* 'this', E.Tawllemmet *adi* 'that', etc.; C.Cush.: Khamtanga *əd* 'that', etc. (CDA 134).
(8) Gaf. *aññə*, Wol. *annä* // v. **THIS** #1.
→ North and West (Tgr.) Semitic **hulli* (#1).
→ South and West Semitic **ḏā-kV* (#4).

86. THIS (v. note on **THAT**)
(1) Akk. (OB) *annû*; Gaf. *əññə*; Wol. *ənnä* // < Sem. **ha/inna/i* (cf. SL 71).
(2) Ugr. *hnd*; Hbr. *hazzā̆*; Pho. *z, zn*; Bib. *dənā*; Pal. *dē(y)n, hādē(y)n*; Syr. *hādākā* (syn.: *hənā* — v. #1); Mnd. *hazin*; Qur. *hāḏā*; Lbn. *hēḏā*; Mec. *hāḏa*; Mlt. *dan*; Sab. *ḏ-n/t* (syn.: *hʔ* — v. #3); Gez. *zəntu*; Tna *ʔəzu(y)*; Sod. *zi*; Cha. *zə(ḳ)*; Hrs. *ḏen* (also *ḏah, ḏi*); Mhr. *ḏome*; Hob. *ḏáanəh*; Jib. *ḏɛnu*; Soq. *de* // < Sem. **ḏV-/*-ḏV* (combined with additional deictic elements **hā* and *-Vn(V)* — v. SL 71).
(3) Urm. *ʔāhā* // < **-hā* — v. **THAT** #3.
(4) Tgr. *ʔəlli/a* // v. **THAT** #1.
(5) Amh. *yih* (< **yik*?) // apparently united with Har. *yi(ʔ)* in Kog LE 473, which is far from evident: in Amh. **h* normally > *0* , while **k* may yield *h*, whereas in Har. normally **h* > *ḥ* and not > *ʔ* or *0* (if with few exceptions); as for the uncertainty "whether Southern Ethiopian forms like Amh. *yih*, Har *yīʔ* can be derived from **ḏa*" (ibid.), they undoubtedly cannot.

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

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

87. THOU

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *atta*; Ugr. *ʔat, ʔattā*; Hbr.*ʔattā*; Pho. *ʔt*; Bib. *ʔantā*; Pal. *ʔat*(*t*); Syr. *ʔa*(*n*)*t*; Mnd. *anat*; Urm. *ʔa*(*n*)*t*; Qur. *ʔanta*; Lbn. *ʔint*(*ə*); Mec. *ʔinta*; Mlt. *int*; Sab. *ʔnt*; Gez. *ʔanta*; Tna. *ʔanta* (only in addressing); Tgr. *ʔənta*; Amh. *antä*; Gaf. *ant, antä*; Wol. *atä* // < Sem. **ʔanta* (ADB).
(2) Tna. *nəssə-ḵa* // < **nafsu-ka* < Sem. **nap*(*i*)*š-* 'soul; vitality, life; person, personality; self' < Afras. (v. **PERSON** #9).
(3) Arg. *ank*(*u*); Har. *aḵā-*; Cha. *aḵä-* // S.Eth. only (likely of the same origin as the Sem. possessive pronoun **-k* of the 2nd person) < Afras. **ʔa-*(*n*)*kV*(*k*)- 'thou' (in Mil. 2014 #2 erroneously united with Tna. *nəssə-ḵa*).
(4) Sod. *dähä* // no etymology found.
(5) Hrs. *hēt*; Mhr. *hit*; Hob. *héet*; Jib. *hɛt*; Soq. *het* // < **hit* (hardly < **ʔanta*; cf. Kog. LE 473), matching N.Omot: Dizi (Maji) *yetu*, (Sheko) *yɛtá*, (Nao) *yeta*, possibly < **hitV* (not < **ʔa*(*n*)*tV*: acc. to Bnd Om 230, in all Dizi **h- > 0*, **-n- > -n-*, in all **-nC* series *n* is preserved).
→ Proto-Semitic **ʔant-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔa*(*n*)*tV* (Mil. 2014).

88. TONGUE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *lišān-*; Ugr. *lšn*; Hbr. *lāšōn*; Bib. *liš*(*š*)*ān*; Pal. *lyšn, läššān*; Syr. *leššān-*; Mnd. *lišan-*; Urm. *līšān-*; Qur. *lisān-*; Lbn. *lsen*; Mec. *lisān*; Mlt. *lsin*; Sab. *lsi̯n*; Gez. *ləssan*; Tgr. *nəssal* (met.); Hrs. *lēšen*; Mhr. *ɛwšēn*; Jib. *ɛlšɛ́n*; Soq. *léšin* // Sem. **liš*(*š*)*ān-* (SED I #181).
(2) Tna. *mälḥäs*; Amh. *məlas*; Arg. *mälas*; Gaf. *məlasä* // < Sem. **lḥs* 'to lick', rel. to W.Chad. **lVs-* 'to lick' (St. 2005 #240; rather < **lVHVs-*, cf. Hausa *làasā*, Gwandara *lihye*).
◊ Sod. *alämät*; Har. *arrāt*; Wol. *arämät*; Cha. *anäbat* < E.Cush. (LGur. 89). No term in Pho.
→ Proto-Semitic **liš*(*š*)*ān-* (#1) < Afras. **(ʔi-)lis*(*-an*)- 'tongue' (Mil. 2014; add N.Omot.: Oyda *iláns* (with met., hardly < Eth. which is odd for a lw.) id. (ADB).

89. TOOTH

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šinn-*; Ugr. *šn*; Hbr. *šēn*; Bib. *šēn*; Pal. *šn*; Syr. *šenn-*; Mnd. *šin-*; Qur. *sinn-*; Lbn. *sən*; Mec. *sinn*; Mlt. *sinna*; Sab. *ṯn*, Gez. *sənn*; Tna. *sənni*; Arg. *sən*; Gaf. *sənä*; Sod. *sənn*; Har. *sən*; Wol. *əsən*; Cha. *sən*; Jib. *šnin* // Sem. **šinn-* (SED I #249).
(2) Urm. *kīk-* // Sem. **kVkk-* 'tooth' < Afras. **ʔik-* ~ **kakk-* 'tooth' (MIl. 2014).
(3) Sab. *ṯn* (Stein, one attestation), Hob. *mṯanyóot* // < Sem. **ṯVny-* 'front tooth, incisor', likely < **ṯinay-* 'two' < Afras. (v. **TWO** #1).
(4) Tgr. *nibät* // < Sem. **nī/āb-* '(canine) tooth' (Mil. 2014)
(5) Amh. *ṭərs*; Hrs. *meẑréḥ*; Mhr. *məẑrāḥ* // < Sem. **ṣirš-* 'molar tooth' (Mil. 2014 #4); cf. W.Chad.: Ankwe *šɔ̀ɔr* 'molar tooth' (*š* may originate from **ç̂*).

(6) Soq. *ʕále* (syn.: *mitníoh* 'dent' in LS 443 — v. #5; *ŝáʕal* "of uncertain origin" Kog. LE 473, but with Afras. parallels — v. Mil. 2014 #7) // acc. to LS 309, "originairement 'dents supérieures'" < *ʕélhe* 'haut' < Sem. **ʕly* 'be high, rise' < Afras. **ʕaly-* 'to rise, climb; mountain' (ADB).

◊ No term in Pho.

→ Proto-Semitic **šinn-* (#1) < Afras. **sin-* 'tooth' (Mil. 2014).

90. TREE

(1) Akk. (OB) *iṣ(ṣ)-*; Ugr. *ʕṣ*; Hbr. *ʕēṣ*; Gez. *ʕəḍ*; Tgr. *ʕəčät*; Gaf. *ənča*; Wol. *ənče*; Cha. *äčä* // < Sem. **ʕi/uṣṣ-* (Mil. 2014).

(2) Bib. *ʔīlān*; Pal. *ʔīlān*; Syr. *ʔīlān-*; Mnd. *alan-*; Urm. *ʔīlān-* // < Sem. **ʔa/i-l(y)ān-* '(oak)tree' < Afras. **(ʔV)-lVn-* '(kind of) tree' (v. Mil. 2014).

(3) Qur. *šažar-*; Lbn. *šažar*; Mec. *šažara*; Mlt. *siǯra* // < Arb. (or Arb.-MSA) **ŝagar-* (Mil. 2014; cf. Kog. LE in footnote 117 wondering if an internal Sem., not very convincing etymology, may fit) < Afras. **ĉagVr-* with only Chad. but a triconsonantal parallel (Mil. 2014).

(4) Tna. *ʔom* // no etymology found (Mil. 2014).

(5) Hrs. *herōm*; Mhr. *hərmáyt*; Hob. *hərmíit* (and *ŝəǯréet* < Arb.?); Jib. *heyrōm* // < Sem. **harūm- ~ *harm-ay-* (Mil. 2014; cf. Kog. LE footnote 118 surprisingly overlooking Akk. (MB) *urūmu* 'a tree in mountains' (CDAk 427).

(6) Soq. *širohom* // < **širVm-* or **ŝ$_x$irVm-* (the similarity with #5 is delusive); for two alternative Sem. etymologies and Afras. parallels to one of them v. Mil. 2014.

◊ Amh., Arg. and Sod. *zaf* < C.Cush. (Mil. 2014); Har. *läfu* likely < deverbal Arb. *laff-* 'arbre touffu' < *lff* 'ê. touffu' (ibid.). No term in Pho. or Sab.

→ North and West Semitic **ʕi/uṣṣ-* (#1) < Afras. **ʕi(n)ĉ-* (Mil. 2014).

91. TWO

(1) Akk. (OB) *šinā*; Ugr. *ṯn*; Hbr. *šənayim*; Pho. *šnm*; Qur. *ʔiṯnāni*; Lbn. *tneyn*; Mec. *ʔiṯnayn*; Mlt. *tnēyn*; Sab. *ṯny* // < Sem. **ṯinay-*.

(2) Bib. *tərē(y)n*; Pal. *tray(y)^{i}n, tryy*; Syr. *tərē(y)n-*; Mnd. *trin*; Urm. *tərī*; Hrs. *ṯerō*; Mhr. *ṯerōh*; Hob. *iṯróh*; Jib. *ṯroh*; Soq. *tiro* // < Sem. **ṯiray/w-*; surprisingly neither Arm. nor the MSA terms are mentioned in a very thorough Kog. LE (p. 473).

(3) Gez. *kəlʔe*; Tna. *kələttä,kəltä*; Tgr. *kəlʔot m., kəlʔe f.*; Amh. *hulät*; Arg. *ket, häʔət*; Gaf. *ələttä*; Sod. *kitt*; Har. *koʔot*; Wol. *hoyt*; Cha. *k̲^{w}et* // < Sem. **kilʔ-* 'both'-: Akk. *kilallū*, Ugr. *kla-t* 'both', Hbr. *kilʔ-ayim* 'of two kinds', Arb. *kilā*, Sab. *klʔy*, Soq. *keʔala* 'both' (ADB) < Afras. **ki/alVʔ-* 'the two equal, one and the other': Egyp. (Pyr.) *ky* 'other' (if < **kVl-*); C.Chad.: Mada *kal* 'to be equal', Mofu *kal kal* 'pareil' (considered by some Chadicists a loan from Fulfulde); S.Cush.: Burunge *kalel-* 'to be similar' (ADB).

→ North and West Semitic **ṯinay-* (#1) < Afras. **čin-* 'two' (Mil. 2014).

→ West (Arm.) and South Semitic **ṯiray/w-* (#2); for a possible connection with Chad. **cVr-* 'two' v. Mil. 2014 footnote 24 (add another controversial parallel: S.Cush. **c/čar-* or **c/čad-* 'two': Iraqw *cár*, Alagwa *car*, Burunge *čada*; reflexes of **c-* and **č* coincide in these languages; *d* in Burunge vs. *r* in other Iraqoid is usually considered to reflect **d*, which is confirmed by convincing examples; however, there are several examples of the same correspondence pointing to **r*.)

92. WALK

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

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

93. WARM

(1) Akk. (OB) *emmu* ('hot'; syn.: *šaḫānu* 'to become warm, to warm oneself' — v. #2); Hbr. *ḥām*; Pal. *ḥmym, ḥmyn*; Syr. *ḥamīm-* // < Sem. **ḥamm-* 'heat' (HALOT 325).
(2) Syr. *šḥen*, Urm. *šāḥīn-*; Lbn. *səḫni*; Mlt. *sḥūn*; Jib. *šḫan* // < Sem.**šḫn* (Mil. 2014).
(3) Mec. *ḥārr* // < Sem. **ḥrr* 'be hot' (Mil. 2014).
(4) Gez. *məwuḳ*; Tna. *məwuḳ*; Amh. *muḳ*; Arg. *ʔamo*; Gaf. *moḳä*; Sod. *muḳənna*; Cha. *m^{w}äḳ*; Har. *muḳ*; Wol. *muḳamuḳ* // only Eth. **mwḳ* 'to be hot, warm' ~ **mḳḳ* 'to burn' (metaphorically); cf. also, with met., Akk. *ḳamû* 'burn up' CDAk 283); < Afras. (Mil. 2014; add. Brb.: Adghaq *a-măɣaɣ* 'grilled grains', E.Tawllemmet *əmɣəɣ* 'to grill (grains); be grilled' (ADB).
(5) Tgr. *ḥəfun* (syn.: *moḳa* — v. #4) // no Sem. cognates found; < Afras. **ḥVf-* ~ **fVḥ-* 'fire; burn' (Mil. 2014 #5).
(6) Hrs. *hwob*; Mhr. *hōb* (syn.: *gōna* < Sem. **gawn-* < Afras. — v. Mil. 2014 #7) // < Sem. **hawb-* with debatable Cush. parallels (MIl. 2014).
(7) Soq. *di-yenáḥa* // only MSA (v. **BURN** #11 and Mil. 2014 #8).
◊ In Ugr., only the verb *šḫn* 'to be hot, have fever, warm oneself' (DUL 812) that should rather not be scored; no term in Pho., Bib., Mnd., Qur. (outside the Qur'an it is *suḫn-*) and Sab.
→ North and West Semitic **ḥamm-* (#1).
→ South and West Semitic **šḫn* (#2) with debatable (no traces of *-ḫ-*) Afras. parallels: W.Chad.: Pero *čénò* 'to warm', Kulere, Daffo-Butura *sân* 'warm'; Omot.: Ongota *šōni* 'warm' (ADB).

94. WATER

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *mū*; Ugr. *my, mym* (syn.: *mh* — v. #3); Hbr. *mayim*; Pal. *may*(*y*)^i*n, myy*; Syr. *mayyē*; Mnd. *mi-*; Urm. *məy-*; Qur. *māʔ-*; Lbn. *may*; Mec. *mayya*; Mlt. *ilma* (*il-ma*, with the article); Sab. *mw, mwy*; Gez. *may*; Tna. *may*; Tgr. *may*; Har. *mīy*; Wol. *mäy* // < Sem. **maʔ/y-*.

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

95. WE

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

96. WHAT?

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *mīnu*; Gez. *mənt*; Tna. *məntay*; Amh. *mən*; Arg. *mən*; Gaf. *mən, məni*; Sod. *mən*; Har. *min*; Wol. *mən*; Cha. *mər* // < Sem. **min-*.
(2) Ugr. *mh*; Hbr. *mā*; Pho. *m*; Bib. *mā*; Pal. *mh*; Syr. *mā*; Mnd. *mahu*; Urm. *mū*(*-dī*); Qur. *mā*; Sab. *m*; Tgr. *mi/ə* // Sem. **ma*(*-h*), *-h* likely "a... deictic element" (v. **THAT** #3) variant **mi* (Tgr.).
(3) Lbn. *šū*; Mec. *ʔayš*; Mlt. *še*; Hrs. *haŝen*; Mhr. *hēŝən* (*h-* most probably identical to *-h* in #2) // < Sem. **ŝayʔ-* 'thing; what?' (Mil. 2014).
(4) Hob. *inih*; Jib. *ʔinɛ*; Soq. *inim* (**ʔini-ma*?) // < MSA **ʔini-* < Sem. **ʔay*(*y*)*-Vn-* < Afras. **ʔVy/wVn-* ~ **nay*(*n*)- 'what?' (Mil. 2014; add E.Chad.: Migama *ʔínì-méu* and N.Cush.: Beja *naa* 'what?').
→ North and West (Eth.) Semitic **min-* (#1) < Afras. **mVn-* 'what?' (Mil. 2014 #2; I would like to change my opinion about a secondary parallel development in favor of a common Afras. pronoun).
→ South and West (Arb.) Semitic **ŝayʔ-* 'thing; what?' (#3) < Afras. **ĉayʔ-* ~ **ʔiĉ-* 'thing; what? who?' (Mil. 2014) ; in the light of *hV-* and *-n* in Hrs. and Mhr. absent in Arb. and the Afras. parallels, these MSA forms seem more plausibly genuine than borrowed from Arb.
→ West Semitic **ma*(*-h*) (#2) < Afras. **ma/i* or **may* 'what?' (Mil. 2014 #1; add to Egyp. "what?" another meaning "who?").

97. WHITE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *peṣû* // < Sem. **pVṣVḥ-* 'be bright' with tenable Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).

(2) Ugr. *lbn, labanu*; Hbr. *lābān*; Pho. *lbn*; Mnd. *lbina*; Hrs. *elbōn*; Mhr. *əwbōn* (pl. *lēbən*); Hob. *lboón*; Jib. *lūn*; Soq. *ḷibnon* // < Sem. **lbn* 'be white' (Mil. 2014).

(3) Bib. *ḥiwār*; Pal. *ḥwwr, ḥywr*; Syr. *ḥewwār-*; Mnd. *hiuar-* (syn.: *ṣuhar* — v. Mil. 2014 #4); Urm. *ḥəwār-* // < Sem. **ḥwr* 'be black and white' (Mil. 2014).

(4) Qur. *ʔabyaḍ-*; Lbn. *ʔabyaḍ*; Mec. *ʔabyaḍ*; Mlt. *abyat* // < Sem. **bayṣ̂-* 'egg' with a reliable Chad. parallel < Afras. **bayç̣̂-* (v. Mil. 2014 #5; disregard N.Omot. **bawç-* 'white' since it is more likely rel. to Sem. **biṣṣ-* 'bright, brilliant, yellow' — v. **YELLOW** #4).

(5) Gez. *ṣāʕdā, ṣaʕadā, ḍaʕadā*; Tna. *ṣaʕda*; Tgr. *ṣaʕda* // no Sem. cognates found; if < **ṣaʕd-*, cf. C.Chad. **çVd-* 'to shine, be light, clear': Muyang *ácàḍāy* 'to shine', Moloko *caḍay* 'to clear', *waçaḍay* 'to shine', Gude *cáḍákə* 'early morning', Hitkalanchi *sdókó* 'morning, tomorrow' (St. 2009 #687); **-ḍ-* probably points to **-Hd-*.

(6) Amh. *näčč*; Gaf. *nəṣwä*; Sod. *näčča*; Har. *näčīh*; Cha. *näčä* // < Sem. **nṣḥ* 'be pure, clean, brilliant' < **ṣVḥ-* 'be white, clear, shimmer' with fossilized *n-* < Afras. **çaḥ-* 'be clear, bright, white' (Mil. 2014 #7).

(7) Arg. *zah, zahi* // (unless same as syn.: *zelläha* in Mil. 2014 #8 with *-lli* > *-y/i*, cf. LArg 7) < Sem. **zhy* 'be brilliant' (Mil. 2014 #8) with a parallel in Chad. W.: Bokkos *zàwà* 'white', C.: Mandara *ʒɛyé, zéʒé* 'white', Gisiga *zīzaŋ* (< **zVz-Vn*) 'yellow' < Afras. **ʒVhVy-* 'be bright, white, shine' (ADB).

(8) Wol. *gumärä* // < South Eth.; for possible Sem. cognates v. Mil. 2014 #10.

(9) Cha. *gʷad* // probably < Eth. **gʷVhd* < Eth.-Arb. **ghd* 'be clear, visible' (Mil. 2014 #11).

◊ No term in Sab.

→ South and West Semitic **lbn* (#2) < Afras. **li/ab(-an)-* 'white' (Mil. 2014).

98. WHO?

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *mannu*; Bib. *man*; Pal. *man, mʔn*; Syr. *man(-nu)*; Mnd. *man*; Urm. *man*; Qur. *man*; Lbn. *meyn*; Mec. *miyn*; Mlt. *mīn*; Sab. *mn*; Gez. *mannu*; Tna. *män*; Tgr. *män*; Amh. *man*; Arg. *man* (syn.: *ma* — v. #2); Gaf. *man*; Har. *mān*; Cha. *mʷan*; Hrs. *mōn*; Mhr. *mon*; Jib. *mun*; Soq. *mon* // < Sem. **man-* (ADB); perhaps eventually related to **min* 'what?' with vocalic opposition (v. **WHAT?** #1).

(2) Ugr. *my*; Hbr. *mī*; Pho. *mī*; Sod. *ma* (syn.: *man* — v. #1); Wol. *ma* // < Sem. **mi/a*; perhaps eventually related to **ma(-h)* 'what?' (v. **WHAT?** #2).

→ Proto-Semitic **man-* (#1) < Afras. **man(V)*, rarely **min(V)* — v. EDE III 12–13.

→ West Semitic **mi/a* < Afras. **mi/a* — v. EDE III 9–12.

99. WOMAN

(1) Akk. (OB) *sinništu* // no cognates whatsoever. As a probably far-fetched hypothesis: could this not be a unique compound word, made up of *sūnu* 'lap, crotch; euphemism for sexual parts' (CAD *s* 386–7) and *ništu* either < Sem. **niš-* or < **niṯ-* (v. #2)?

(2) Ugr. *ʔaṯt*; Hbr. *ʔiššā*; Pho. *ʔšt*; Pal. *ʔä(y)ttā, ʔth*; Syr. *ʔi(n)tət-*; Mnd. *ant-*; Sab. *ʔnṯt*; Tgr. *ʔəssit*; Arg. *ənəšča*; Gaf. *ansətä* // < Sem. **ʔa/inṯ-at-*.

(3) Urm. *niḳva* // < Hbr.-Arm. **naḳb-at-* 'woman' < Sem. **nḳb* 'to drill, bore through' (Mil. 2014).

(4) Qur. *ʔimraʕat-, marʕat-*; Lbn. *marā*; Mlt. *mara* // fem. < Sem. **marʔ-* 'male human' < Afras. **marʔ-* 'man/woman, child, human being' (Mil. 2014).

(5) Mec. *ḥurma* // < Arb. *ḥurmat-* 'chose sacrée; famille d'un homme, *surtout* sa femme ou sa fille' < Sem. **ḥrm* 'forbid, dedicate, declare sacred' (Mil. 2014).

(6) Gez. *bəʔəsit* (syn.: *ʔanəst* — v. #2 and Kog. LE 483) // fem. < *bəʔəs-i* 'man', N.Eth. only with a plausible Arb. parallel < Afras. **bVʔVs-* 'son, boy, coeval' (Mil. 2014#6).

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

100. YELLOW

(1) Akk. (OB) *(w)arḳ-* (also 'green'); Ugr. *yrḳ* ('greenish yellow'); Pal. *yrḳ* (also 'green'); Syr. *yūrāḳ-* (also 'green'); Mnd. *yuraq-* (also 'green, pallid') // < Sem. **warḳ-* 'yellow, green' (Mil. 2014).
(2) Hbr. *ṣāhōb* // perhaps should be excluded, since the color is uncertain (v. Mil. 2014).
(3) Qur. *ṣafrāʔ-* (f.); Lbn. *ʔaṣfar*; Mec. *ṣfar*; Mlt. *isfar* // only Arb. (contra (Mlt. 2014).
(4) Gez. *beṣa, bəṣā*; Tna. *biče*; Amh. *bi/əče*; Arg. *bəče*; Wol. *biččä* // < Sem. **biṣṣ-* 'bright, brilliant' (Mil. 2014).
(5) Tgr. *šägray* // (also 'greyish brown, light-coloured') either < Arb.-Eth. **šag(ʷ)Vr-* 'k. of unidentified color' or a lw. < Sudanic Arb. *ʔašgar* (Mil. 2014).
(6) Sod. *weṭa*; Cha. *weṭa* // identification with #4 is justly doubted in LGur 672; more likely rel. to Arb. *wāḍiḥ-* 'clair, brillant, etc' (v. Mil. 2014).
(7) Hrs. *hezôr*; Mhr. *həẑáwr*; Jib. *šəẓrɔ́r* // also 'green' (v. **GREEN** #7).
◊ Urm. *zärdä* is an Iranism; Hob. *karkmí*; Soq. *kírkam* (and *kérkham* 'safran' LS 225) are considered to be borrowed from Arb. *kurkum-* 'safran indien, curcuma; henna' (acc. to DRS 1275, "mot voyageur" of obscure origin, attested in most Sem. languages; Sem. origin cannot be ruled out, which would probably qualify the Hob. and Soq. terms as genuine); Mhr. *ṣāfər* ('yellow, green; brass'), Jib. *ṣɔfrɔ́r* are most likely Arabisms. No term in Pho., Bib., Sab., Gaf. and Har.
→ North and West Semitic **warḳ-* (#1) < Afras. **wVraḳ-* 'green, yellow' (Mil. 2014).

A few comments on the results and some working conclusions

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

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

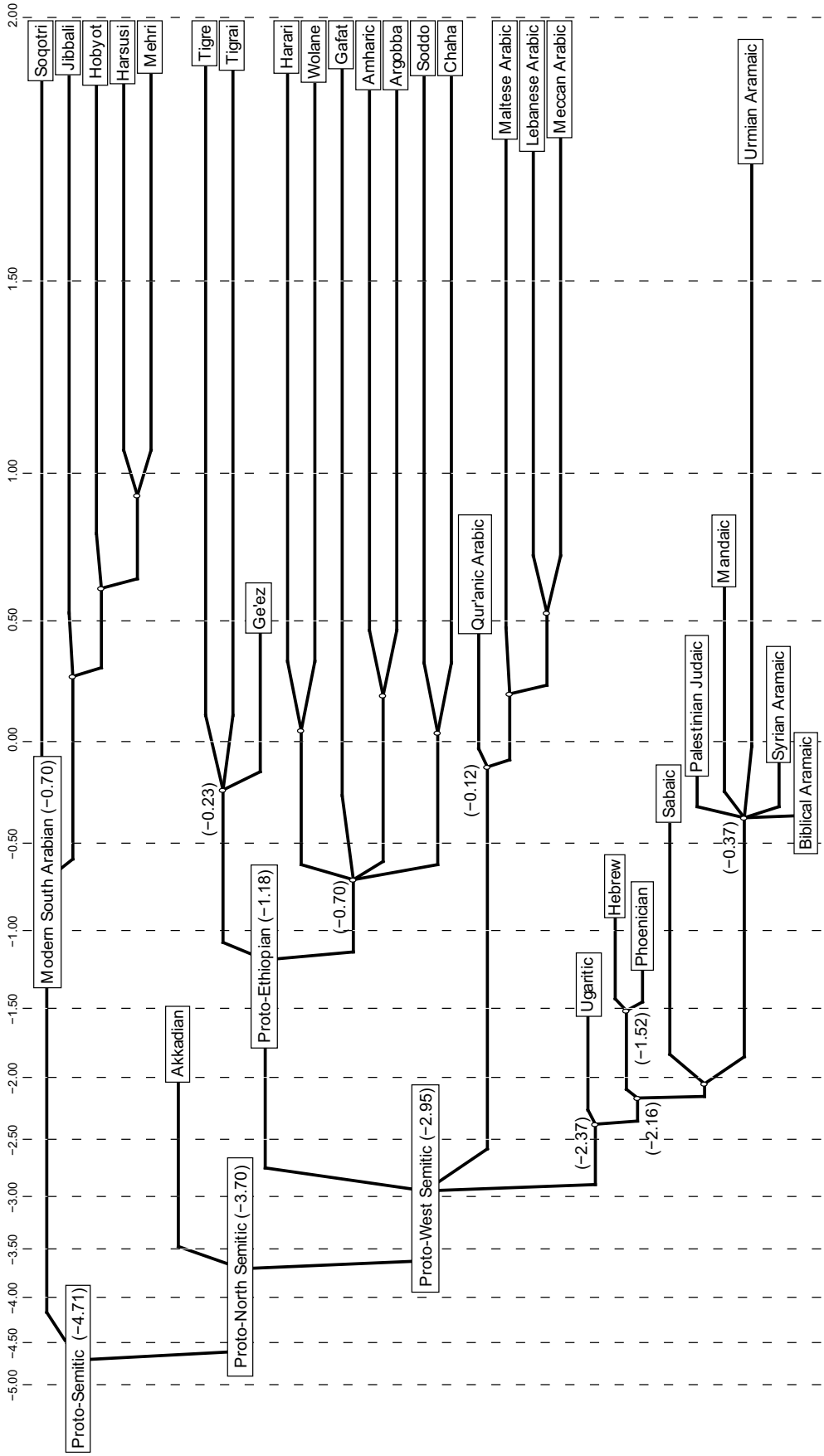

Fig. 1. Genealogical classification of Semitic languages
(based on the application of Sergei Starostin's glottochronological formula to 100-item Swadesh wordlists).

A. In genetic classification:

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

B. In glottochronologically obtained dating:

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

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

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

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

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

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