

## Root extension and root formation in Semitic and Afrasian

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There are many understudied and even unnoticed cases of root extension, including a very common phenomenon of triconsonantization, and fossilized formants in Semitic, to say nothing of other Afrasian branches. Investigating this delicate field involves much risk of arbitrary conclusions (of which Ehr OTC is a salient example). To reduce the risk, I chose to adhere to the following principles in singling out and classifying these cases:

(1) A consonantal element (I intentionally leave aside the problem of an accompanying vocalic element) in Semitic and other Afrasian is classified as a "triconsonantizer" on the ground of comparison of a triconsonantal root containing this element with a synonymous or semantically compatible biconsonantal root without this element in the same or related language(s); a special, less verifiable case is that of two or more triconsonantal roots containing different presumed triconsonantizers in the absence of a corresponding biconsonantal base root attested in any of the related languages (thus "attested" in the reconstructed form only). Though a triconsonantal root may show certain meaning difference from its biconsonantal match, a triconsonantizer has no semantic value of its own and does not cause any regular meaning shift. Formally, any consonant may be classified as a triconsonantizer in a broader sense, if it meets the above conditions. However, I prefer to classify as triconsonantizers in Semitic and, most probably, other Afrasian languages only the following consonants: *w*, *y*, *ʔ* (and, with hesitations, much less common *t*, *ʕ* and *h*). All of them occur in the An-, In- and Auslaut position.

(2) A consonantal element may be classified as a fossilized formant (or a class marker?) on the ground of comparison of the root containing this element with another root in the same or related language(s), lacking the element in question, provided the additional relational (grammatical) or derivational (lexical) meaning brought about by the affixation of this element is ascertained by a series of such comparisons; the reliability of this classification is in direct proportion to a number of series presented and a transparency and regularity of the meaning shift caused by the affixation. Part, but not all, of the hypothetic fossilized formants is represented by the same consonants that otherwise function as productive or commonly recognized affixes in Semitic and some other Afrasian languages. The potential fossilized formants (still in the process of being revealed and confirmed by more data) are at present as follows: *m*, *n*, *t*, *r*, *l*, *ʔ*, *h*, *b* and *k* (as for *h*, a presumed suffix denoting body-parts, v. Takács). Theoretically, any consonant can prove to be a fossilized formant, but I doubt the above list may be considerably expanded. Usually fossilized formants occur in the An- and Auslaut position, but sometimes also in the Inlaut, which in some cases may be a result of a secondary metathesis caused by their low compatibility with some of the primary base root's consonants in certain positions.

(3) "Root extenders" (RE) is a conventional name that may be given to consonantal elements which are singled out in the same way as the two above types but for this or that reason cannot be classified with any of them. Some of such elements formally coincide with "triconsonantizers" (*w*, *y*, *ʔ*, *ʕ*, *h* and *t*), but serve to extend not biconsonantal but tri- or more consonantal roots; for others no relational or derivational meaning can be demonstrated so far; finally, there are cases when an "added" consonantal element cannot be classified as a regular affix for the only reason that the corresponding regular affix serves to derive *deverbal* nouns while its homonym in question is used to derive a *denominal* noun, e.g.: Arb. *minḥar*- 'narine, nez' (not a deverbal noun < \**nḥr* 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. *nuḥrat*-, *nuḥarat*- 'nostril' or Arb. Daḡ. *maḥbalah* 'utérus' (at first glance may be taken for a deverbal noun of place, but no corresponding verb is attested in Arb.; rather to be understood as 'a place for foetus') vs. Arb. *ḥabal*- 'foetus'.

Since numerous cases of triconsonantization in Semitic are more obvious, better studied and pose no grave problem, the data to follow consist of examples of root extension (tentatively included are also certain cases of the "weak" consonants extending biconsonantal roots but which, for this or that reason, I prefer not to treat as triconsonantizers). Among them, only a few cases of infixation and suffixation of *r* seem to show a certain semantic regularity suggesting that *r* might be regarded as a fossilized formant or class marker imparting the meaning 'large, many/much'. Hopefully, further accumulation of data and their deeper analysis may expand the opportunities of reclassifying some of the "root extenders" into fossilized formants. It would not be realistic, however, to expect too much from this direction of research. The vast majority of root extension instances may ever remain unexplained otherwise than by analogy, or contamination, but this is a far more difficult task as every case of contamination will require a student an "individual approach", i. e. the revealing of a concrete form, the "contaminant", that once served a sample for the analogy. Another problem deserving a future study is what consonants falling into the category of RE occur as productive affixes in any of the Afrasian languages and whether their function in this capacity may throw light on a semantic value of the same consonantal elements assumed to be RE in the same or other Afrasian languages.

One more question, of a purely theoretical nature not to be discussed here, is whether root extension may be regarded as a phenomenon of a secondary "root formation". As far as I understand, an "orthodox" viewpoint of a comparative linguist –strongly asserted, for instance, by such an unquestionable authority as Aharon Dolgopolsky– is that such a phenomenon does not exist at all except for few exotic cases like proper names becoming appellatives (e. g. *gas*). My experience, on the contrary, suggests that what can be called "root formation" is a common phenomenon, at least in Afrasian.

Some of the RE proposed below have been touched upon in several earlier studies (see references under corresponding headings) but usually briefly and with no sufficient examples supported by convincing etymologies, which is an indispensable precondition of a serious study in these and similar matters. The most daring attempt to reveal traces of root extenders in Semitic and treat them as relics of class markers was made by N. V. Yushmanov (Yush 170-181); though this attempt can hardly be viewed as successful for the same reason of limiting the argumentation to Arabic chiefly, I would not, however, rule out a possibility of future discoveries in the direction outlined by his theory taking into consideration Yushmanov's intuition of a genius. Worth mentioning is also CHVAL (and HCVA, its slightly updated English version) where many more consonants than in the present contribution are treated as "compliments" without ascribing them any specific meanings; though, by definition, etymologies / comparative data were adduced, after 20-25 years that have passed since publication of the three issues of this collective study headed by Igor Diakonoff and which the present author was part of, some of the comparisons seem far-fetched or even outright wrong, while others are worth consideration if not for lack of references, a lamentable fashion with Afrasian linguistics, partly shared at that time by the author.

Finally, part of the examples adduced below were treated in section 3.3 of the Introduction to SED I (pp. CXL-CXLIX) and SED II (pp. LXXII-LXXXVIII).

Before turning to the examples of supposed root extension, I would like to stress that the present study does not claim to be anything more than an empirical collection of etymology-based data, hopefully to be helpful for a more systematic and explicit analysis in perspective. Since the data had to be arranged according to *some* principle –and as such a certain order of languages, quite formal though, was chosen (see below)– other principles of their structuring had to be ignored, hence an inevitable heterogeneity and lack of order in many aspects. Thus, the difference between nominal and verbal roots is not taken into consideration, i.e. examples of both types of roots are quoted indiscretely (verbal roots occur in the Anatomy and Varia sections). The same is true of adducing RE on a par with what may be productive affixes in less studied African Afrasian languages. Examples quoted below are also heterogeneous in what concerns a number of root consonants, i.e. from the point of view of their formal reliability: postulating a fourth consonant as a root extender by comparing a quadri- and a triconsonantal root is naturally more convincing than ascribing it to a third radical by comparing a tri- and a biconsonantal root; however, comparisons of the latter type are also included for the same reason –a risk of losing potentially pertinent cases because of a too puristic self-control seems to me less justifiable than a risk of including several cast-offs. Finally, examples well compatible semantically were included on a par with quite debatable and even questionable comparisons; this is done deliberately because until the additional meaning brought about by the presumed affixation of this or that RE is established, the comparison limited by identical or similar meaning leads a student into a kind of deadlock while a wider choice of forms to compare, on the contrary, gives a chance to reveal repeated meaning shifts which is worth a risk of finally rejecting some percentage of comparisons as rubbish.

The data are arranged in the following way: first come prefixed REs, then infixes and finally suffixed ones. The first part of each entry contains form(s) with a hypothetical root extender and the second part, after *vs.* (*versus*), contains matches without this root extender implying that the second part usually though not always represents, in the author's view, a primary "base" root and the first part represents a derived root; in certain cases, however, especially when the first part is represented by a much wider scope of languages than the second (say, a Common Semitic root containing \*-*m* in the Auslaut *vs.* an Arabic root without it) a secondary apocope of an original radical cannot be excluded. Since most of the examples are quoted, sometimes updated, after the two volumes of the Semitic Etymological Dictionary (whence the headings, which represent Semitic protoforms, are quoted in bold type letters), they are divided into three sections: animal names after SED II, anatomic terms after SED I and varia (semantically diverse examples collected by the author with a focus on agricultural terms and items from the "Swadesh's" 100-word list whenever pertinent). This division is justified not only by the fact that the anatomic, faunal, agricultural or "basic" (in the lexicostatistical method's sense) lexicons are better studied by and more familiar to the author, but also because the above-mentioned choice helps avoid a temptation of taking premature results for granted: thus, if *-n* claimed to be a class marker of body parts (Dietrich, Yushmanov, *v.* in Yush 177) is widely attested as a suffixed element in animal names or a non-anatomic "basic" lexicon, the anatomic hypothesis needs a more cautious treatment.

Within each section, first come examples of this or that RE in individual Semitic languages in the following order: Akk., Ugr., Hbr., Pho., Arm., Arb., Sab., Eth., MSA; then come examples of Common or Proto-Semitic RE; then of RE in non-Semitic Afrasian in the following order: Egyptian, Berber, Chadic, Cushitic, Omotic; and, finally, of Common Afrasian RE.

It goes without saying that some five hundred cases of presumed root extension presented below are only "top of the iceberg" and, at least for some of root extenders, this number can be *ad libitum* enlarged both in Semitic and other Afrasian.

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Abbreviations of languages and language periods:

Afras. - Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Akk. - Akkadian; Amh. - Amharic; Anc. - Ancient; Arb. - Arabic; Arg. - Argobba; Arm. - Aramaic; Azr. - Neo-Aramaic of Persian Azerbaijan; BD - Book of the Dead; Bib. - Biblical Aramaic; Brb. - Berber; C. - Central; Cha. - Chaha; Chad. - Chadic; Copt. - Coptic; Cush. - Cushitic; Dat. - Datinā Arabic; Dem. - Demotic; Dof. - Dofar Arabic; Dyn. - Dynasty; E. - East; Ebl. - Eblaite; Egypt. - Egyptian; Emp. - Empire Aramaic; End. - Endegeñ; Enn. - Ennemor; Eth. - Ethiopian; Gaf. - Gafat; Gez. - Geez; Gog. - Goggot; Gr. - Greek period; Gur. - Gurage; Gye. - Gyeto; Har. - Harari; Hbr. - Hebrew; Hrs. - Harsusi; Jib. - Jibbali; Jud. - Judaic Aramaic; lex. - Lexical Texts; Maʿl. - Maʿlula (Neo-Aramaic); Med. - Medical Texts; Mhr. - Mehri; MK - Middle Kingdom; Mnd. - Mandaic; Mod. - Modern; MSA - Modern South Arabian; Msq. - Masqan; Min. - Minean; Muh. - Muher; N. - North; Nab. - Nabatean; NK - New Kingdom; N.-Syr. - Neo-Syrian Aramaic; Oakk. - Old Akkadian; OAss. - Old Assyrian; OB - Old Babylonian; Off. - Official Aramaic; OK - Old Kingdom; Omot - Omotic; P - Proto; Pal. - Palestinian Aramaic; pB. - post-Biblical; Pho. - Phoenician; Pyr. - Pyramid Texts; S. - South; Sab. - Sabaic, Sam. - Samaritan, SB - Standard Babylonian, Sel. - Selti; Sem. - Semitic; Sod. - Soddo; Soq. - Soqotri; Sum. - Sumerian, Syr. - Syrian Aramaic; Tgr. - Tigre; Tna. - Tigriñña (Tigrai); Tur. - Turoyo (Neo-Aramaic); Ugr. - Ugaritic; W. - West; Wol. - Wolane; Yem. - Yemenite Arabic; Zw. - Zway.

Conventions:

[] marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Semitic data

<> marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Afrasian data

- separates affixed elements from the stem

\* marks a reconstructed proto-form

*in reconstructed proto-forms:*

*V* renders a non-specified vowel, e.g. \**bVr*- should be read 'either \**bar*, or \**bir*, or \**bur*'

*H* renders a non-specified laryngeal or pharyngeal

*S* renders a non-specified sibilant

/ when separates two symbols means 'or', e.g. \**ʔ/abar*- should be read 'either \**ʔbar*- or \**?abar*-'

( ) a symbol in round brackets means 'with or without this symbol', e.g. \**ba(w)r*- should be read '\**bawr*- or \**bar*-'

Transcription and transliteration of some of the consonants:

*c* - alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]

*ʒ* - alveolar voiced affricate [dz]

*č* - palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ]

*ǰ* - palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dʒ]

*ʃ* - hissing emphatic voiceless fricative

*ç* - emphatic voiceless affricate

*ʒ* - emphatic voiced affricate

ʕ - palato-alveolar emphatic affricate  
 s - lateral voiceless fricative  
 ʕ̣ - lateral voiceless affricate  
 ʕ̣̣ - lateral emphatic affricate  
 ʔ, q - emphatic velar stop  
 ʕ - uvular voiced fricative (Arabic "ghain")  
 ʕ̣ - uvular voiceless fricative  
 ʕ̣̣ - uvular voiceless fricative (only in Egyptian)  
 ʕ̣̣̣ - pharyngeal voiceless fricative  
 ʕ̣̣̣̣ - laryngeal voiceless fricative  
 y - palatal resonant

### Consonantal Prefixation

*mV-* (cf. Barth 233-73, GVG 375-82)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *mūrānu* (*mūrānu*) 'young dog, puppy; cub of a wild animal' vs. Ugr. *ʕrn* 'puppy, puppy-dog' (in \*ʕVran- ~ \*ʕVnar- 'small predatory animal' SED II No. 8). [] Arb. *minhas-* vs. *nahhās-*, *nahūs-* 'lion' in \**nVhVš-* 'lion' (SED II No. 159). [] Gez. *māʕanaḳ*, *māʕnaḳ* 'turtledove, locust-eating crane' (with the ʕ~ʔ variation) vs. *ʕanḳe*, *ʕanḳet* 'hawk, kite' < \*ʕan(V)ḳ- 'a bird of prey' (SED II No. 6). [] Wol. *mofän*, Sel. *mōfän*, Sod. *mofen*, *mofän* vs. Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen* < \**yapan-* 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Jib. *maʕzél* 'big flock (of goats, sheep)' (JJ 92) vs. Sem. \**ʕVzāl-* 'gazelle' (SED II No. 92; cf. metathetic Brb. \**-za/ulay-* 'goat, sheep': Nefusa *zaləʕ* 'belier', Ahaggar *a-hūlay*, Ayr *azulay* 'bouc' *ibid.*). [] Soq. *mibkéroh* 'jeune chamelle' vs. *békər* 'animal with one young only' (JJ 25, not in LS), Mhr. *bōkər* 'young female camel' < \**bVḳVr(-at)-* 'young (she-)camel' (SED II No. 56). [] Sem. \**ma/iʕ(a)z-* 'goat': Arb. *maʕz-*, Min. *mʕzy*, etc. (SED II No. 148) vs. \**ʕVnz-* *id.*: Ugr. *ʕz*, Arb. *ʕanz(-at)-*, Sab. *ʕnz*, etc. (SED II No. 35).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *nešbettu* (*n-* is very likely <\**m-*) vs. \**ʕibʕ(-at)-*, \**ʕV-šbaʕ-* 'finger': Ugr. *ʕušb ʕ*, Hbr. *ʕišba ʕ*, Syr. *seb ʕā*, etc. (SED I No. 256). [] Hbr. *mətallə ʕōt* vs. \**IVʕ-* 'jaw': Jud. Syr. *lō ʕā*, Mhr. *lyənín*, etc. (perhaps also Hbr. *lōā ʕ* 'gullet or jaw' SED I No. 177). [] Hbr. *malḳōḳayim* (dual; met.) 'gums' vs. \**ḳalḳ-*, \**ḳalḳū/um-* 'Adam's apple, throat': Arb. *ḳalḳ-* 'gosier, gorge', Gez. *ḳalḳ* 'throat, gullet, palate', etc. (SED I No. 117). [] Syr. *marbə ʕā* 'uterus', Mnd. *marba* 'womb, uterus' (<\**ma-rbaš-*) vs. \**ru/abš-* 'womb, uterus': Akk. *rubšu*, etc. (SED I No. 226). [] Arb. *mkn* 'av. des oeufs, ê. oeuvé', *makn-* 'oeufs des reptiles et des insectes', *makinat-* 'oeufs (d'oiseaux, de lézard, de sauterelle, etc.; nid d'oiseau' (BK 2 1139) vs. *wkn* 'couvrir ses oeufs', *ʕawkun-*, *wukunāt-* 'nid (d'oiseau)' (*ibid.* 1600), *ʕuknat-* 'nid d'oiseau' (*ibid.* 144) < Afras. \**ʕa-wkin-* 'egg': W. Chad. Diri *akin* (Sk NB 19), E. Cush. Somali (Benadir) *ʕukun*, *ukkun*, Rendille *ukun*, Oromo (Borana) *okokan*, N. Omot. Anfillo *keenno* (Dolg 1973 282). [] Arb. Dat. *maḳbalah* 'utérus' vs. Arb. *ḳabal-* 'foetus' < \**ḳabal-*, \**ḳibl-* 'foetus; umbilical cord' (SED I No. 110). [] Arb. *manḳūr-* 'partie du corps autour de la clavicule' vs. *naḳr-* 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum' < \**naḳ(a)r-* 'upper part of chest': Tgr. *nāḳar* 'breast', Jib. *nāḳar* 'windpipe and lungs' (SED I No. 196). [] Arb. *maḳāl-*, *maḳālat-* 'milieu du dos, vertèbre' vs. *ḳāl-* 'dos du cheval' < \**ḳa/ul(l)-* 'spinal column with thigh bones': Akk. *ḳallu* 'crotch, region between the thighs', Hbr. pB. *ḳulyā* 'limb; vertebra of the spinal column' (SED I No. 114). [] Arb. *mišfalat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac' vs. \**š<sub>x</sub>V(n)pVl-* 'stomach (of an animal, bird)': Tgr. *šənfəlla* 'one of ruminant's four stomachs', Jib. *šəfəl* 'belly', etc. (SED I No. 271). [] Gez. *mazrə ʕt*, Tgr. *māzrə ʕt*, Tna *māzra ʕti* 'shoulder' vs. \**dVrā ʕ-* 'arm': Ugr. *dr ʕ*, Arb. *dirā ʕ* (also Tgr. *zāra ʕ* unless an Arabism; SED I No. 65). [] Gez. (met.) *matkaḳ*, *matkaḳt* 'shoulder, shoulder blade', Tgr. *māktəf* 'shoulder' vs. Hbr. *kātəp*, Arb. *katif-*, etc. < \**kat(a/i)p-* '(back of) shoulder, shoulder

blade' (SED I No. 154). [] Tgr. *märkäb* 'shoulder-joint' vs. Gez. *rākub* 'shoulder blade' < \*rVk(u)b-at-'knee': Arb. *rukbat*-, etc. (SED I No. 232). [] S. Eth. \**manḳurt*: Amh. *manḳurt* 'Adam's apple, larynx', Zw. *manḳurt*, Gog. *manḳurt*, Sod. *manḳur* 'goitre' vs. Eth. \*ʕ/?*anḳar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *?anḳa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *fanḳär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *fanḳär* 'ugola', Amh. *anḳä/ar* 'uvula', Arg. *anḳart* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har. *anḳarti*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *anḳart* 'goitre'. [] Jib. *māzrēš*, Soq. *māzrah* 'molar tooth' (<\*ma-šrVš) vs. \*širš-: Arb. *ḏirs*-, Gez. *ḏars*-, etc. (SED I No. 275). [] Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *māsōt*, Soq. *mānsūb* vs. Soq. *?ənsōb*, Arb. *ʕsb*-, etc. <\*š/sVb-, \*ʕV-š/sVb- 'pubic hair' (SED I No. 239). [] Hrs. *mešhāwt* 'armpit' vs. Jib. *šḥṯ*, Soq. *šḥoh* < \*šahw/y-at- 'armpit': Jud. *šahātā*, etc. (SED I No. 240). [] Soq. *mīqṣeh* 'articulation, falangue' vs. Arb. *qaṣāṣ*-, etc. 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', Amh. *kaṭay* 'joint of foot', etc. < \*k<sup>(w)</sup>ayṣ-, \*k<sup>(w)</sup>aṣṣ- 'joint, point of connection between bones' (SED I No. 172). [] Soq. *maʕgāboh* 'fesse' vs. Hbr. pB. *ʕgābā* 'rump, buttocks', Arb. *ʕaḣb*- 'l'os sacrum' < \*ʕagb- 'rump, buttocks' (SED I No. 13). [] (?) Soq. *mōnḥes* 'reins, hanche' < \*mV-nḥVš (met.) vs. \*ḥam/nṣ- 'waist': Akk. *ḥanṣātu* (pl. t.) 'part of human body, possibly waist', Arb. *ḥaḣmaṣ*- 'milieu du corps' (SED I No. 132). [] Sem. (Arm.-Arb.) \**mVnḥar*- 'nose': Arm. Dem. *mnḥr* and Maʕl. *manḥra* (unless < Arb.) 'nose', Arb. *minḥar*- 'narine, nez' (hardly < \*nḥr 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. \**naḥīr*- 'nostril': Akk. *naḥīru*, Arb. *nuḥrat*-, *nuḥarat*- id., etc. (SED I No. 198). [] Sem. \**mVsVra ʕ*:- Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. t.) 'limbs', Soq. *mésərəʕ* 'tendon d'Achille' vs. Sem. \*šVry/w/ʕ-, \*šVry/ʕ-ān- '(Achilles) tendon; sinew, muscle (of leg)': Akk. *šerʕānu* 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jib. *šarín* 'muscles of the back', etc. (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. \**malaḥ*:- Gez. *maltāḥt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *māta/ələḥ* 'temple', *mātalāḥti* 'the upper forepart of the skull', Mhr. *mālḥāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleḥāw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *māzḥét* 'jaw', Soq. *malāḥi* 'cheek' vs. \**liḥ(a)y(-at)*- 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləḥe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lēḥi* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləḥi* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178). [] Sem. \**mapraḳ*:- Hbr. *maprāḳūt* 'neck', Jib. *māfrōḳ* 'hairline (in women)' vs. \**pi/arḳ-at*-, \**pi/aḳr-at*- 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Jud. *pwrḳh* 'neck', Soq. *fiḳeriroh* 'cou, nuque' (SED I No. 219).

Varia:

[] Arb. *mḥr* 'labourer (la terre)' (Belot 659; only 'fendre, sillonner l'eau' in BK 2 1072, 'to plough the waves' in Pen 137) vs. Akk. *ḥarāru* 'to dig with a hoe' (also 'to groove' CAD H 91); for a possible etymology of the Akk. verb cf. LGz 265 (comparison problematic in view of a variety of meanings of both verbs). [] Gez. *makala*, *makkola* (acc. to LGz 339, for *makk<sup>w</sup>ala*, a secondary derivation with *m*- prefixed) 'to cut with a sickle, mow', Tna. *mākälä* 'to mow, cut', Tgr. *māklay* 'halm of durra, halm of corn' vs. Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>ālawa* 'to reap, mow' (cf. also Amh. *kalkal* 'pasture') < Sem.: Akk. *ukullū* 'Viehfutter; Verpflegung(sration), Verköstigung', Arb. *klʕ* 'abonder en fourrage (se dit d'un pays)', *kalaʕ* 'fourrage (sec ou vert)' < Afras. \**k<sup>(w)</sup>alaʕ/w*- 'forage, fodder; pasture; mowing, cutting grass' (Mil Farm 145). [] Hrs. *mābayl* 'dog' (JH 14), Mhr. *mābāyl* 'owned' (*kawb mābayl* 'dog'), Soq. *māb ʕḥal* 'slave' (JM 41), formally a passive participle < \**b ʕl* 'to own' (lit. 'owned'); however, the verb is not present in Hrs. and Mhr. (of all MSA it is attested in the meaning 'to own' only in Jib. *ba ʕāl* JJ 22 < Sem. \**b ʕl* 'to own', v. in HAL 142-3; in Soq. *bā ʕal* means 'se marier (homme ou femme)' LS 90 and semantically cannot serve a verbal base for deriving a noun *māb ʕḥal* 'slave') and has to be treated as a "denominal noun" from Hrs. *bāl*, *byāl* 'master, lord; possessor' (JH 14), Mhr. *bāl*, *bāyli*, *bā ʕēli* 'owner, possessor' (JM 41). [] Sem. \**mkr* 'to be red': Akk. *makrū* 'red', *makru* 'red spot' CAD M 138, Arb. *mkr* 'ê. rouge' BK 2 1138 (cf. also Egypt. Gr. *mkrr* 'zwischen "schwarz" und "weiss" als Farbenbezeichnung' EG II 163) vs. Afras.: Sem. Arb. *karik*- 'rouge' (BK 2 888; < \**karkVr*-, unless a loanword), Egypt. Pyr. *tr* 'das Rote' (EG V 386; < \**kVr*-). <> C. Chad. Peve *māčīn* 'mahogany' vs. Boka *tīn-da*, Hona *tīnə*, Banana *čīn-dà*, Masa *čīn-da* 'mahogany; tamarind' < Afras. \**ti ʕ(i)n*- 'fig-tree': Sem. Hbr. *tə ʕēnā* 'fig, *figus Carica*', Arb. *tīn*- 'figue', etc., Brb. Ahaggar *təyne*, Taneslemt *teḥayne*, Semlal *tiyni*, etc. 'datte' (Mil Farm 142).

*nV-*

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *nādāl* 'polyp, centipede', Jud. *naddal* id., Syr. *naddālā* 'scolopendra' vs. Sem. \**dVIVl-* 'kind of small creature': Akk. *dālilu*, *dallālu* 'a small animal, probably a frog', Syr. *dandālā* 'scolopendra, forticula auricularia vel millepeda', Jib. *dololét* 'kind of slow-moving snake' < Afras.: E. Chad. Dangla *didǎnyà* 'limace', E. Cush. Darasa *daddalʔe*, Kambatta *diill-ičču*, Sidamo *dandale* 'lizard' (SED II No. 68). [] (?) Arb. *nibr-* 'teigne; mouche ou autre insecte qui incommode les chameaux et dont la piqûre cause une enflure' vs. \**bur-* 'kind of insect': Akk. \**būrtu* (in *burt/di šamḫat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burā* 'insect that eats the root of the *āsāt*' (SED II No. 62). [] Tgr. *nāsālāt* 'serpent boa', Gez. *nestāli*, *nesātāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *ʔashalāt* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔasālāt*, *ʔashalāt* 'mythical creature, like a crocodile in appearance; python', Syr. *ʔātalyā* 'draco' < Sem. \**ʔat(h)al-* 'a mythical reptile, dragon' < Afras. \**ʔač(h)al-* ~ \**čaʔal-* ~ \**haylač-* 'a large reptile': Brb. \**HaššVI-* '(large) snake' (Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *âššel*, etc.), S. Cush. Dahalo *táʔala* 'puff-adder', N. Omot. Gemu *haylašo*, S. Omot. Ari *hayleša* 'crocodile', etc. (SED II No. 20). [] Sem. \**nVḲVr-* 'kind of bird': Jud. *nəḫīrā* 'name of small birds (pickers)', Arb. *naḫḫār-* 'sorte d'oiseau du genre des passereaux', etc. (SED II No. 162) vs. Sem. \**ḳ(ʷ)āriʔy-* // \**ḳāriʔy-* 'kind of bird, partridge': Jud. *ḳōrēʔā*, Arb. *ḳāriy-at-*, etc. (SED II No. 134). [] Sem. \**nVṢVr-* 'cricket': Hbr. pB. *nēšār*, Syr. *nāšorā*, etc. (SED II No. 167) vs. \**šaršaʔur-* 'cricket': Akk. *šaršaru*, Hbr. pB. *šaršūr*, *šaršūrā*, etc. (ibid. No. 213). [] Sem. \**namir-* 'leopard': Akk. *nimru*, Hbr. *nāmēr*, etc. vs. Afras. \**maʔur-* 'large feline': W. Chad. Dera *muumuru* 'cheetah', C. Chad. Lame-Peve *mereo* 'cat', Zime *miēr* 'genette', E. Cush. Oromo *morre* 'zibetto' (Thiene 153), S. Cush. Gorowa *mariri-ka* 'leopard', Asa *mer-ok* 'lion', etc. (SED II No. 164). [] Sem. \**na(ya)l-* 'a wild hoofed animal': Akk. *nayalu* (*nālu*) 'roe deer', Tna. *nəyala* 'mountain antelope', etc. (SED II No. 169) vs. Sem. \**ʔayyal-* 'stag, deer': Akk. *ayalu*, Hbr. *ʔayyāl*, etc. < Afras. \**ʔayVI-* 'stag; kind of antelope': E. Chad. Lele *òl*, Kabalai *yile* 'duiker', E. Cush. Somali *eelo* 'tipo de gazella (antilope giraffa)', S. Cush. Dahalo *ʔèle* 'hartebeest', etc. (ibid. No. 25).

Anatomy:

[] Sem. \**nšp* 'to blow': Akk. *našāpu*, Hbr. *nšp*, Jud. *nəšap*, etc. (SED I Vb. No. 51) vs. \**šwp* 'to blow, smell': Hbr. pB., Jud. *šwp*, etc. (ibid. Vb. No. 63). [] Sem. \**npš* 'to breathe': Akk. *napāšu*, Hbr. *npš*, etc. (SED I Vb. 46) vs. \**pš* id.: Akk. *pašū*, Hbr. pB. *pwš*, etc. (ibid. 56). [] Sem. \**nph/h* 'to blow, breathe, inflate': Akk. *napāhu*, Jud. *nəpaḥ*, Arb. *nfh*, *nfh*, etc. (cf. SED I Vb. No. 45) vs. \**ph/h* 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)': Jud. *pwh*, Arb. *fhh*, *fhh*, etc. (ibid. No. 54); note that in all the three above pairs of matching roots, the roots with *n-* in the Anlaut are reconstructible on a deeper level of Semitic as they occur in a wider scope of languages than those without *n-* (which may be accounted for by a morphological process other than a prefixation of *n-*; one wonders whether it can be a secondary loss of *n-*). [] Sem. \**nkt* 'to bite': Jud. Syr. Mnd. *nkt* 'to bite' (DM 301), Arb. *nkt* 'détordre, défaire (une corde); se fourcher, etc.' (BK 2 1338), Tna. *nəḳāsā*, Tgr. *nəḳša*, Amh. *nəḳāsā*, etc. (LGz 402) vs. Afras. \**kVč-*: Brb. Ahaggar *əkš* (Fouc 736), Taneslemt *n-əkš* 'manger', Ayr *ənkəs* 'téter' (Aloj 147), C. Chad. Malgwa *kùčā* 'abreissen, abbeissen' (Löhr 298), E. Cush. Sidamo *kis-* 'mordere' (Cer Sid 209).

Varia:

[] Akk. *nadānu* 'to give, offer a sacrifice, etc.' (CAD N 42; rather unrelated to Sem. \**ntn*, v. below) vs. Arb. *dyn* 'prêter; rétribuer' (BK 1 757), Mhr. *adyēn* 'to lend (money, supplies), to give credit' (JM 78), Jib. *edyín* id. (JJ 44), Soq. \**šedyen* caus.-refl. 's'emprunter' (LS 127; unless all MSA < Arb.) < Afras.: Eyp. Pyr. *wdn* 'opfern' (EG I 391). [] Eth. \**ndḳ* 'to build' (LGz 386) vs. W. Chad. \**dik-* id.: Sura Chip *dik* (<\**diḳ-* HSED No. 703). [] Tna. *nəfārā* 'to fly', Tgr. *nəfra* 'to jump, fly' (LH 346) vs. Hrs. Mhr. Soq. *fer* 'to fly, jump' (JH 33), Jib. *ferr* 'to fly, jump up quickly' (JJ 59) < Afras. \**pVr-* 'to fly': Brb. Nefusa *far*, Jerba *ferfer*, etc. (DRB 597-9), Eyp. Pyr. *p* 'fliegen' (EG I 494), N. Cush. Beja *fir*, *firr*, C. Cush. Bilin *fir* (RBeq 81), etc. [] MSA: Mhr. *nəḫāg*, Jib. *naḫāg* '(women) to dance; (men) to be at leisure; (children) to

play; to joke with so.' (JM 291, JJ 186), Soq. *nóhog*, *nóhog* 'jouer, s'amuser' (LS 259) vs. Sem.: Hbr. *hgg* 'to walk in procession, to celebrate a pilgrim's feast, to celebrate a day', *hag* 'procession, round dance, festival' (HAL 289), Syr. *haggā* 'dies festus' (Brock 213), Arb. *hǰǰ* 'se réjouir de quelque chose' (BK 1 379) < Afras.: Eyp. MK *hǰg* 'sich freuen' (EG III 34; v. Mil EF 9-20). [] Hbr. Pho. Bib. Pal. *ntn* 'to give' vs. Ugr. Pho. *ytn* id. (HAL 733; DLU 543). [] Sem.: Akk. *nākidu*, Ugr. *nkd*, Hbr. *nōkēd*, Arb. *naḳḳād* 'shepherd, sheep-breeder' (HAL 720) vs. Afras. \**ḳVd*:- Brb. Ayr W. Tawllemmet *ə-yadyad* 'troupeau de chèvres' (Aloj 65), N. Omot. Moča *qiddo* 'shepherd' (LMč 46; likely also Kafa *qidō* 'guardian' id.); not quite reliable as the Afras. data are scarce. <> Eyp. MK *nḳdd* 'schlafen' (EG II 345) vs. Pyr. *ḳd-t* 'Schlaf' (ibid. V 79) < Afras. \**ḳVd*- or \**ḳVt*-? Cf. S. Omot. Ongota *ḳaaḳé* 'to lie down' (ST 121), *ḳaaḳe* 'to sleep, lie down' (Fl Ong 56) < \**ḳāt*- or \**ḳād*- (v. also Mil Ong).

*tV*- (cf. Barth 274-311, GVG 383-88)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *titkurru* 'dove' (in CAD L 48) vs. Tgr. *tukor* 'tourterelle' (in \**tVkur(r)*- 'kind of bird' SED II No. 226). [] Arb. *taḥmūr*- 'onagre' vs. *ḥimār*- 'âne; âne sauvage, onagre' < \**ḥimār*- 'ass': Akk. *imēru*, Hbr. *ḥāmōr*, etc. (SED II No. 98). [] Arb. *taḥmūr*- 'espèce de chamois' vs. *ʔa/immār*- 'agneau' < \**ʔimmār*- 'lamb': Ugr. *ʔmr*, Hbr. *ʔimmēr*, etc. (SED II No. 5). [] Gez. *tayfan* (*tafen*, *tefan*), Tna. *täfin* vs. Amh. *wäyfan*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen*, etc. < \**yapan*- 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Gez. *tomni* 'bedbug' vs. Syr. *mānīnā* 'curculio; cynips, musca', Arb. *minanat*-, *manūnat*- 'aragnée' < \**mVn(Vn)*- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 152). [] Sem.: Akk. *turāḥu* 'Bergziegenbock, Steinbock', Syr. *ta(ʔ)rāḥā* (*tārūḥā*) 'capra caucasica' vs. Akk. *arḥu* 'cow', Arm. Dem. *ʔrḥ* 'cow', etc. < \**ʔarḥ*- 'cow, heifer' (SED II No. 12). <> Cush. \**tak<sup>w</sup>il*- 'wolf': N. Cush. Beja *ták<sup>w</sup>la*, C. Cush. Bilin *täg<sup>w</sup>la*, *təy<sup>w</sup>la*, Qwara *taḥ<sup>w</sup>əla*, Kemant *takwila*, Kunfāl *tuhula*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *taḥla* (unless < C. Cush.) vs. Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>Vl*- 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ā-kālen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *kūlam* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kàlè* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kūlkò* 'cynhyène', etc. (v. in \**kalb*- 'dog' SED II No. 115).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *timtān*-, *timtīn*- 'couture des pièces qui composent la tente' vs. *matn*- 'nerf' < \**matn*- 'sinew, tendon; nerve' (SED I No. 191; semantically tenable, though not fully reliable). [] Mhr. *təbəlōt* 'uvula; tonsil(s); tonsillitis', Hrs. *tebelōt* 'tonsil; uvula', Jib. *təbḏəʔḏ* 'uvula' (cf. *mūbləy* 'tonsil'), Soq. (Qadhub) *təblaḃah* 'amygdale; luette' vs. \**balVʕγ*-, \**balʕVm*- 'pharynx, fauces': Syr. *bāla ʔā*, Arb. *bul ʕum*-, etc. (SED I No. 36). <> C. Cush. Bilin *ta ʔänge*, Quara *tanāgā* 'Gaumen' vs. Kemant *angī* 'palais de la bouche', likely < Afras. \**ʕVng*- (v. in SED I, No. 15).

Varia:

[] Amh. *təlləḳ* 'grand' (Baet 486) vs. *laḳā* 'grow, grow up' < Eth. \**lhḳ* id. < Sem. (LGz 309). <> C. Chad. Fali (Bwagira) *takurm-in* 'hoe' vs. Hona *kūra*, W. Chad. Hausa *kóramé* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kūrəm* 'hoe' (Mil Farm 146). <> E. Cush. Dobase *takale* 'Grabstock ohne Klinge' vs. Burji *kál-te* 'shaft (of plough); small axe', Oromo Qabenna Kambatta *kal-ta* 'small axe', Baiso *kal-te* 'axe' < Cush. \**k<sup>w</sup>al*- < Afras. \*(*ʔa*-)*k<sup>w</sup>al*- or \*(*ʔa*-)*kawal*- 'k. of hoe, a hammer/axe-like tool, a pick-axe': Sem. Akk. *akkullu* 'a hammer-like tool, tool for field work', *kullu* 'hoe', Syr. *ʔakl*- 'malleus', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *káálài* 'a worn-out long-handled hoe', C. Chad. Hildi *kwūlū*, etc. (Mil Farm 145-6).

*ʔV*- (cf. Barth 218-26, Zab)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' vs. Sem. \**pVl(y)*- 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā*, 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyat*- 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Akk. *ušummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Ebl. *ù-šu-mu-um* id. vs. Akk. *šummu* id., Arb. *šīm*- 'rat' (v. in \**šVm*- 'kind



of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] Akk. *aslu* (if this reading is correct) 'young (male) sheep' vs. \**l*VI- 'head of small cattle': Arb. *ṭilal-*, *ṭilāl-* 'troupe de brebis', Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Hbr. *ṣāprōāḥ*, Jud. *ṣāprōḥā* vs. Hbr. *pirḥaḥ* 'brood', pB. *pārah* 'young chicken', Jud. *parḥātā*, Syr. *pāraḥtā* 'bird' <\**parḥ-* 'chick, brood' (SED II No. 179). [] Hbr. pB. *ṣānākā*, Jud. *ṣānākā* vs. Hbr. pB. *nākā* *ṣā*, *nākā*, Jud. *nā* (?) *ḥātā*, *nākā* <\**nāk-at-* 'she-camel' (SED II No. 161). [] Jud. *ṣākroktā* vs. \**ḥ*Vr(V)r- 'frog': Arb. *ḥirr-*, *ḥurr-*, Gez. *ḥāḥer*, etc. (SED II No. 137). [] Jud. *ṣānbā* vs. *nibbā* 'eggs of lice' <\**nāb-* ~ \**nib(b)-* 'louse, nit': Akk. *nābu*, Syr. *nābā*, etc. (SED II No. 157). [] Arb. *ṣāṣwar-* 'corbeau' vs. diminutive *ṣawayr-* <\**ṣarw/y-* ~ \**ṣawr-* 'bird of prey': Akk. *erū* (*arū*) 'eagle', Jud. *ṣar* 'a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 40). [] Arb. *ṣāḥyal-* 'k. of falcon' vs. Hbr. *ḥōl* 'phoenix' <\**ḥ*VI- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 107). [] S. Eth.: Gaf. *ṣṣ'ārā*, Sel. *uṣr*, Wol. Zw. Gog. Sod. *āṣur* (all <\**ṣafur*; to be alternatively treated as metathetic <\**fa ṣur-*) vs. Har. *fūr*, End. Enn. Gyt. *fu ṣur*, Cha. Eža Muh. Msq. *fur* <\**pa ṣr-* 'mouse' (SED II No. 170). [] Soq. *ṣedbiboh* vs. Mhr. *ḍabbēt*, Jib. *ḍabbēt* <\**ḍ*Vb(V)b- 'fly' (SED II No. 73). [] Soq. *ṣṣfēroh* (to be alternatively treated as a variant root in respect to Jib. *ṣṣfērēt*, Arb. *ṣṣfūr-*, with *ṣ* vs. *ṣ*) vs. *ṣāfirōte* <\**ṣ*Vp(p)Vr- '(kind of) small bird': Ugr. *ṣpr*, Hbr. *ṣippōr*, etc. (SED II No. 212). [] Soq. *ṣēlḥeh* vs. Jib. *lé?* (pl. *lhōti*) <\**li ḥ-at-*, \**la ṣay-at-* 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu*, Arb. *la ṣāt-*, etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Sem. \**ṣ*VbbVI- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 3): Akk. *ibbiltu* 'a bird', Arb. *ṣabābīl-* (pl.) 'nom d'oiseaux fabuleux', Tgr. *ṣambāla* 'Webervogel' vs. \**b*VI- 'kind of small bird': Akk. *bulīlu* 'a species of crested bird', Arb. *bulbul-* 'rossignol', Tgr. *bāla* 'a small brown bird', Amh. *bullal* 'dove', etc. < Afras. \**b*VI(*b*VI)- 'kind of (small) bird': Brb. Ahaggar *ā-bīlbil* 'nom d'un oiseau plus grand que le pigeon', Wargla *bibelli* 'volaille quelconque', W. Chad. Hausa (dial.) *bōlō*, Ankwe *bel* 'dove', Dera *ḥilbil* 'swallow', etc., C. Chad.: Pižimdi *mboḥ-dī*, E. Chad. Gabri *bēlu* 'dove', N. Cush. Beja *belbel* 'wilde Taube', E. Cush. Oromo *bulula* 'dove' (probably < Amh.), Sidamo *bulo ṣe* 'bird' (SED II No. 60). [] Sem. <\**ṣa/iw(a)z-* 'goose': Ugr. *ṣuz*, Hbr. pB. *ṣāwāz*, Jud. *ṣawzā*, *ṣāwāzā*, Mnd. *auaza*, Arb. *ṣwazz-* vs. \**waz(z)-* id.: Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *wazz-* < Afras. \*(*ṣa-*)*waṣ-* 'kind of large bird; goose': Egyp. *z-t*, *zw-t* 'Ente, Gans', Brb. Igerwan *wawūžž*, Izayan *wawīžž*, Messiwa Ait Amran *wauž* 'perdrix', Ghadames *a-wəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* 'autruche', (?) W. Chad. Sha *ṣawūš* 'Vogel', Bokkos *ṣavūš* id. (Jung R 389; -š <\**-z* devoiced in Auslaut?), E. Chad. Mokilko *ṣuzū* 'poulet, coq, volaille' (SED II No. 22). [] Sem. \**ṣ*abbVk- 'kind of bird': Jud. *ṣabbākā* 'large cock', Syr. *ṣābakkā* 'gallus', Tgr. *ṣabbākiki* 'a small bird of light-yellow colour (probably a sort of lapwing)' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Bidiya *ṣābūkà* 'outarde') vs. Afras. \**b*Vkay-: Sem. Syr. *bakkā* 'gallus', Egyp. Old *byk* 'Falke', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *bəkət*, C. Chad. Gisiga *bokoy* 'hen', N. Omot. *bakke* 'hen, fowl', etc. (v. in SED II No.1). [] Sem. \**ṣ*mmar- 'lamb' (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Fyer *ṣamara* 'Widder', Sha *āmarā* id.) vs. Afras. \**mar-* 'goat, ram': W. Chad. Tangale *mara* 'large castrated he-goat', Polchi Buli *maar* 'goat', Bokkos *maray* 'ram', E. Cush. Saho Afar *māruu* 'Schafbock, Widder', N. Omot. Wolaita *mara* 'offspring of sheep or goat', Male *marai*, Shinasha *meréerā* 'sheep' (SED II No. 5). [] Sem. \**ṣa(n)z/ḍar-*: Akk. *azaru* (*azzaru*) 'lynx', (?) Arb. *ṣazram-* 'chat', Gez. *ṣanzar* 'wild cat' < Afras. \**ṣa(n)ṣ/ṣ*Vr- (to be alternatively treated as a metathesis of \**ṣ/ṣ*V(V)r-): E. Cush. Konso *aturra-ta* 'civet cat, viverra', Oromo *adurree*, Darasa Sidamo *adurre* 'cat', etc. (<\**ṣadurr-* <\**ṣaṣ/ṣurr-*) vs. Afras. \**ṣ/ṣ*V(V)r-: Brb. Ahaggar *tā-hūri*, Ayr *tə-zorəy* 'hyène', W. Chad. Galambu *zə̀rəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzūrmā*, Bachama *ṣhara*, *ṣṣārā*, Bata *ṣṣire*, E. Chad. Gabri *ṣṣur*, Mubi *ṣṣūrūk* 'leopard', S. Cush. Alagwa *ṣṣe ṣṣira*, Burunge *ṣṣi ṣṣerare* 'wild cat', N. Omot. Kafa *yeeroo*, *ṣṣiro* 'viverra abessinica' (SED II No. 5).

#### Anatomy:

[] Jud. *ṣapḥōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *apḥuta* 'neck, throat' vs. Mnd. *pḥuta*, Arb. *fā ṣṣḥ* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête' <\**p*Vḥ- 'neck' (SED I No. 213). [] Arb. *ṣafakk-* 'endroit où les deux mâchoires se joignent' vs. *fakk-* 'charnière; jointure de deux mâchoires; partie de la bouche qui comprend la mâchoire supérieure et l'inférieure' <\**pakk-* 'jaw': Syr. *pakkā* 'mala, bucca; maxilla', etc. (SED I No. 212). [] Eth. \**ṣag(w)ad-*: Gez. *ṣagadā* 'thighbone, shinbone, tibia, leg, large bone of the leg, shoulder of animal', Amh. *agūda* 'leg

(of a man), hind leg (of a cow), bone of the upper arm or the shin bone', *ag<sup>w</sup>äda* 'hoof, foot', Gaf. *agat* 'bras', Enn. End. *agad*, etc. 'arm above the elbow, shoulder, shoulder blade' (in \*(?a-)g<sup>w</sup>)ad- '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' SED I No. 71) < Afras. \*?ag<sup>w</sup>)Vd-: E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo*, *abbuuduu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadā*, *ägūd* (pl.) 'Arm', Sidamo *agoda* 'shoulder' vs. Sem. \*gud(gud)-: Akk. *gudgudātu* (pl.) 'part of the lower leg of a quadruped', Tgr. *gadet* 'a piece of meat (severed from the bone); shoulder-blade' < Afras. \*gVd(Vm)-: E. Chad. Somray *gīdam* 'foot', C. Chad. Gude *gedehán* 'leg', E. Cush. Burji *gudūm-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kaffa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Wolamo *gāddea* 'leg', Kullo *gādeiya* 'foot'. [] Eth. \*?af-: Gez. Tna. *?af*, etc. vs. Sem. \*pay- 'mouth': Akk. *pū*, Hbr. *pā*, etc. (SED I No. 223). [] N. Eth. Gez. *?əngəd ?ā* (*?əngəd ?ā*) 'breast, chest', Tna. *?əngədə ?a* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *na?d*- 'mamelle' (v. in \*nagd- 'breast' SED I No. 195). [] S. Eth. \*?uras (otherwise to be treated as metathesis <\*ra ?Vš-): Amh. *əras*, Har. *urūs* vs. Amh. *ras*, Gez. *rə?ə)s* < \*ra ?(i)š- 'head'; Akk. *rāšu*, Arb. *ra?š*-, etc. (SED I No. 225). [] Soq. *?edmi?a* (probably also Ebl.) vs. Mhr. *dəmət*, Jib. *dəm ?āt* 'tear-drop' < \*dim ?(at)- 'tear(-drop)' (SED I No. 51). [] Soq. *?ilbib* vs. Hrs. *he-lbēb*, etc. < \*libb- 'heart' (SED I No. 174). [] Sem. \*?ibr-(at-) 'membrum virile; (membrum, limb)': Hbr. pB. *?ēbār*, Arb. *?ibrat*-, etc. vs. Arb. Daḡ. *burrat* 'gland du pénis', *barbūr*, Oman *barbur* 'penis' < Afras. \*bVr- 'membrum virile': W. Chad. Hausa *būrā*, C. Chad. Bura *bura* 'penis', etc. (SED I No. 2). [] Sem. \*?ibr-at- (\*?(i-)bVr-at- in SED I No. 3): Akk. *ibrētu* (pl. t.) 'radius and ulna (the two bones of the human forearm)', Hbr. pB. *?ēbār* 'limb', Syr. *?ēbrā* 'membrum', Arb. *?ibrat*- 'radius; (du.) les deux phalanges du cheval' vs. Sem. \*bar(bar)-: Amh. *bərri* 'bone above the hoof of a cow', Muh. *bārrā*, Gog. Sod. *bārrā* 'thigh', Soq. *berbéroh* 'cuisse' < Afras. \*bar(bar)- '(bone of) leg, thigh': C. Chad. Bachama *mbwàrà* 'leg', Bata-Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), E. Cush. Rendille *bárbar* 'shoulder' (probably also Somali *barbar* 'side'), N. Omot. Kafa *borboroo* 'thigh', S. Omot. Ari-Jinka *bar* 'thigh, lap' (ibid.). [] Sem. \*?adam-: Akk. *adamatu*, Hbr. *?admātō*, Jud. *?ādām*, etc. vs. \*dam- 'blood': Akk. *damu*, Hbr. *dām*, Jud. *dāmā*, etc. (SED I No. 50) < Afras. \*dam(m)- (cf. Bla SED 500). [] Sem. \*?Vbhān/m- 'thumb, big toe': Akk. *ub/pānu*, Arb. *?bhām*- vs. \*bVhā/īn/m- id.: Ebl. *ba-?ā-nūm/nu(-um) /bahānum/*, Hbr. *bōhān*, Arb. *bahīm*-, Mhr. *hābēn* (met.) (cf. \*bVhā/īn-, \*?V-bhān- SED I No. 34). [] Sem. \*?agap(p)- 'wing': Akk. *agappu*, Hbr. pB. *?āgap* vs. \*gapp- id.: Akk. *gappu*, Hbr. pB. *gap*, Syr. *geppā*, etc., Arb. *?ff* 'agiter les ailes' (in \*gapp-, \*?a-gapp- 'wing' SED I No. 88). [] Sem. \*?Všba? 'finger': Ebl. *?šba ?um*, Ugr. *?ušb ?*, Hbr. *?ūšba ?*, Jud. *?ūšbā ?ā*, Arb. *?ašba ?*, Gez. *?ašbā ?(ə)t*, Tna. *?ašabə ?ti* (pl.), Jib. *?šbá ?*, Sab. *?šb ?* (used to denote fractions), Soq. *?éšbah*, etc. vs. \*šib ?(at)- id.: Jud. *šib ?ā*, Min. *šb ?*, Tgr. *čəb ?ət*, Mhr. *šbá ?* (SED I No. 256) < Afras. \*čibV? id.: Egypt. Pyr. *db ?* (EG V 562), (?) N. Omot. Hozo *zaba* (Bla SED 506). [] Sem. \*?šVt-: Syr. *?ēštā*, *?ēštātā*, etc. 'podex, nates; fundus', Mnd. *?šta* (<\*?Všt-) 'basis, bottom, posterior, anus, buttocks', Arb. *?št*- (with *?alif wašlah*) 'derrière, fondement, cul', End. *ušt* 'waist', etc. vs. \*šVt-: Hbr. *šēt*, *šətōt*- 'Gesäss, Grundlage, Fundament', Mnd. *šata* 'buttocks, pubic regions', Sel. *suto* 'flesh of back above the hip', Mhr. *šīt* 'backside, buttocks; anus; root', Jib. *šō* 'back, spine', Soq. *šéh* 'parties sexuelles de la femme' (SED I No. 255). [] Sem. \*?arib(Vb)y-at-: Arb. *?urbiyyat*- 'aïne; racine de fémur', Muh. *āribā* 'abdomen below the navel, hip', Soq. *?erbéboh* 'rein, cuisse, giron, genou', etc. vs. \*rib(Vb)y-at-: Akk. *rebītu* 'Unterleib', Amh. *reb* 'anus, buttocks', Mhr. *rəbbūt* 'giron; (knee-)cap', Soq. *rebóboh* 'genou' (SED I No. 227). [] Sem. \*?iraḡ- 'palm of hand': Gez. *?rāḡ*, Jib. *ir?ḡš*, Hrs. *ərhāt* (< Afras. \*?rVḡ-? Cf. C. Chad. Sukur *iri* 'arm' CLR 179) vs. \*rāḡ-(at)-, \*riḡ-at-: Akk. *rittu*, Ugr. *rḡt*, Arb. *rāḡat*-, Tgr. *rāḡat*, Mhr. *rāḡāt*, Hrs. *rīḡet*, Soq. *rīḡoh* (SED I No. 230) < Afras. \*rayaḡ-: W. Chad. Kulere *riyáw*, Daffo-Butura *rā* 'hand', Bökkos *rā* 'arm', C. Chad. Mafa *rây* 'arm' (CLR 1790). [] Sem. \*?anšVy-: Ugr. *?anš* 'músculo, tendón', Arb. *?al-?ansā* 'muscle du bas de la jambe', Amh. *anisa* 'iliac bone', etc. vs. Sem. \*našy- 'sciatic tendon/nerve': Hbr. *nāšā* (in: *gīd hannāšā*), Jud. *našyā*, Arb. *nasa*' (SED I No. 201). [] Sem. \*?am ?ut-: Akk. *amūtu* 'liver', Gez. *?amā ?ut* 'intestine', Tna. *?am ?ut* 'intestine' vs. Sem. \*ma ?ay/w(-at)-: Akk. *mu-ù-tum* 'liver', Hbr. *mē ?ayim* (pl.) 'entrails, intestines', Tgr. *mə ?o*, *mə ?otay*, *mə ?otāt* (pl. *?am ?it*) 'bowels', etc. (SED I No. 185). <> Afras.

\**ʔambar-*: Brb. Nefusa *anbūr* (Lao 252), Wargla *ambur* 'lèvre' (R Bass Mz 230), N. Cush. Beja *ambarey* (also *ambaley*) 'lip' (Bla Beḍ 38), E. Cush. Dasenech *ʔaḥáar* 'lip' (Tos Das 477) vs. Afras. \**mabVr-*: W. Chad. Hausa *mábárí* 'mouth' (Barg 734), N. Cush. Beja *mburoi* 'lip' (Bla Beḍ 38; otherwise loss of *a-* is an independent process in Hausa and Beja; cf. also Brb. Siwa *ambu*, pl. *mbawen* 'bouche' (Lao 204).

Varia:

[] Sem. \**ʔtmāl-*: Hbr. *ʔtmōl*, *ʔātmūl*, etc., Syr. *ʔtmāly*, Mnd. *ʔtmal* 'yesterday' (HAL 103) vs. \**timāl-*: Hbr. *tāmōl*, Akk. *timāli*, Gez. *tāmālām*, etc. id. (ibid. 1746). [] Sem. \**ʔamši(l)n-*: Akk. *amšali* 'yesterday' (<\**ʔams-al-*), Hbr. *ʔāmāš* 'last night, yesterday', Arb. *ʔamsi* 'yesterday', Soq. *ʔmšīn* 'evening', etc. (HAL 68, LGz 368) < Afras. \**ʔamsVy-* (cf. also HSED No. 38): S. Cush. Iraqw *ʔamsiʔ* 'midnight', Alagwa Burunge *ʔamasi* 'night' (WR 55), Qwadza *amasiya* 'tomorrow' (HRSC 297), (?) N. Cush. Beja *amás* 'der späte Abend, Nacht' (RBeḍ 19; unless < Arb.) vs. Sem. \**mVšy-*: Akk. *mūšu* 'night' (CAD M 291), Arb. *masāʔ* 'soir' (BK 2 1107), *muʔisy-* id. (ibid. 1108), Gez. *māsyat* 'evening, twilight' (LGz 368), etc. < Afras. \**masy/w-*: Eyp. Pyr. *msw-t* 'Abendbrot' (EG II 142), C. Chad. Gudu *māšū* 'shadow' (HSED No. 38; unless < Arb.). [] Sem. \**ʔak(u)l-*: Akk. *akkullu* (less likely *aḳḳullu* in view of the comparative data) 'a hammer-like tool, tool for field work' (Oakk. on; acc. to AHw 30, from Sum. <sup>g18</sup>NIN-GUL, but more likely <\**ʔa-kull-*), Syr. *ʔaklā* 'malleus', Arb. *ʔaklat-* 'marteau, mailloche?' (< Afras.? Cf. Eyp. MK *iknw* 'Hacke': -n- <\*-l-?) vs. Sem. \**ka/ul-*: Akk. lex. *kullu* 'hoe', S. Arg., Har. *kalka* 'axe' (acc. to LArg 208, from E. Cush. *kalta* "with an occasional alternance *k:t*"; more likely redupl. <\**kalkal*) < Afras. \**kʷal-* or \**kawal-* 'k. of hoe, a hammer/axe-like tool, a pick-axe': Chad. \**kawal-*, Cush. \**kʷal-*, N. Omot. \**kal(l)-* (Mil Farm 145-6). <> Afras. \**ʔ/abar-* 'fig-tree': Sem.: Arb. *ʔibrat-* 'figuier sycamore', Amh. *abʷar* 'tree like the *warka*' (*warka* means 'sycamore'), Wol. *abro* 'k. of tree', Brb. Ghadames *eḥrər* 'être fécondé (palmier)', *aḥerīr* 'fleur de palmier mâle' (<\**ʔ/abVrir*), W. Chad. Hausa *ḥaure* 'fig-tree, fig-fruit' (<\**ʔVbawr-*), E. Cush. Oromo *habru*, *abru*, *harbū* 'sycamore' vs. Afras. \**baw/yar-*: Sem. Gez. *burāt* 'olive tree', End. *burat* 'k. of tree', E. Chad. Migama *báará* 'figuier (rouge)', N. Cush. Beja *bīr* 'Dumpalm', E. Cush. Somali *báar* 'tree top; *Commelina* spec.', Rendille *báar* '*Hyphaene coracea* Gaertn., *Palmae*' (Mil Farm 139).

ʔVn-

Animal names:

[] Gez. *ʔanḳāl* 'louse, vermin' vs. Sem. \**ʔalm-* 'louse' (probably < \**ʔal-m-*, cf. S. Omot. Dime *ḳalḳal* 'ant' Bnd Om 346): Syr. *ḳalmā*, Sab. *ḳlm*, etc. (SED II 130 b). [] Eth. \**ʔan-ḳura(rV)ʔ-* 'frog': Tgr. *ʔanḳorəʔ*, Tna. *ənḳoroʔ*, Har. *anḳurāraḥti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *ənḳurarit* vs. \**ḳVr(V)r-* id. (SED II No. 137; v. in ʔV- Animal names). [] Mod. Eth. \**ʔən-ḣərər* 'cricket': Tgr. *ʔənḣərər*, Amh. *ənḳərər* (Tna. *ʔənḳərər*) vs. \**ḣarḣa/ūr-* 'cricket': Akk. *ḣarḣaru*, Hbr. pB. *ḣarḣur*, *ḣarḣūrā*, etc. (SED II No. 213). [] (?) Gez. *ʔnāḥoli* 'young camel', Amh. *ənāḥoli* 'young female camel' vs. Gez. *wayḥal* 'kind of wild she-goat, roe, kind of gazelle', Tna. *wäyḥäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ḥali* 'goat, kid' < \**ḥalay-* 'lamb, kid' (SED II No. 232); comparison semantically problematic.

Anatomy:

[] Eth. \**ʔən-ḳulaliḥ*: Tna. *ʔənḳulaliḥ*, Amh. *ənḳulal* or *ənḳʷəlal*, etc., metathetically related to \**ḳa(w)ḥil-* 'egg': Mhr. *ḳáwḥəl*, Jib. *ḳḥlət*, *ḳaḥézín*, Soq. *ḳəḥélhin* (v. in SED I No. 170). [] Sem. \**ʔVbVʔ(bVʔ)-at-*: Hbr. *ʔāba ʔbū ʔōt* 'blisters, ulcers', Jud. *ʔāba ʔbū ʔīn* (pl.) 'pustules', Gez. *ʔənḣāḣḣe* 'ulcers resulting from elephantiasis, pustules', Sel. (*h*)*umbobbo*, Wol. *əmbʷəbbo*, Cha. *əmbʷəpʷä*, etc. 'blister' vs. \**bVʔ(bVʔ)-at-*: Akk. *bubuʔtu* (*bubūtu*, etc.) 'inflammation, boil, pustule', Jud. *bū ʔā* 'swelling, abscess' (SED I No. 30).

## ʃV-

## Animal names:

[] Tna. *ʃafäl* 'insects or fleas which live in grass' (< Sem., if Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' is <\*ʃupl- and not <\*ʃupl-) vs. \*pVl(y)- 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā, palyā bēʔārī* 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *ʃāliyat-* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *ʃəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Arb. *ʃuʃūr-* 'passerou; tout petit oiseau', Jib. *ʃeʃfēr-ət* 'bird' (<\*ʃVʃpVr-) vs. Arb. *ʃāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau de la famille des passereaux; tout oiseau qui n'est pas oiseau de proie', Jib. *ʃefirōt* 'Vogel' <\*ʃVp(p)Vr- '(kind of small) bird' (SED II No. 212; ʃV- can alternatively be explained by contamination with \*ʃVʃʃūr- 'bird', No. 43). [] Sem. \*ʃak(u)ruk(k)- 'frog': Syr. *ʃakrūkā*, Arb. *ʃukuruḳḳ-* vs. \*ḳVr(V)r- id. (SED II No. 137; v. in ʔV- Animal names; cf. also Syr. *yaḳrūrā*). [] Sem. \*ʃakrab- 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʃakrāb*, Arb. *ʃakrab-*, etc. vs. Arb. *ḳaranbā* < Afras. \*ḳVrab-: W. Chad. Galambu *kurbā* 'ant', C. Chad. Buduma *kīrbābo* 'flea', E. Cush. Burji *ḳórbur-o* (and *ḳóobr-oo* with metathesis) 'scorpion', S. Omot. Ongota *ḳarrābati* 'spider' (SED II No. 31). [] Sem. \*ʃig<sup>w</sup>al-/\*ʃigl- 'calf' (Hbr. *ʃēgāl*, Arb. *ʃiǰl-*, etc.) < Afras.? Cf. Egyp. *ʃgny* 'Name einer Stadt bei Esneh (wo die Hathor als Kuh verehrt wird)' (EG I 236; cow depicted) vs. Afras. \*gal-: Sem. Eth. Tgr. *gəlgäl* 'foal (mule, horse)', Amh. *gəlgäl* 'the young of domestic animals (goat, sheep, horse, donkey)', etc., W. Chad. Sayanci *gāl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyel* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf' (SED II No. 28).

## Anatomy:

[] Mhr. *ʔākərmōt*, Hrs. *ʔākərmōt*, Jib. *ʃakərūt* 'pelvis' < MSA \*ʃakVrm-ut vs. Sem. \*ḳVr(V)m-: Akk. *kirimmu* 'hold, position of the arms of a mother to cradle a small child', Arb. *karmat-* 'tête de l'os du fémur', Amh. *kurma* 'elbow', etc. (SED I No. 149).

## Varia:

[] Hbr. *ʃāgōl* 'round' (adj.; HAL 784), Soq. *gáʃhel* 'rond' (LS 113; metathesis or a case of infix -ʃ-?) vs. Syr. *gəlīlā* 'rotundus' (Brock 115), Arb. *ǰallat-, ǰallat-, ǰillat-* 'boule de fiente' (BK 1 308), Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ilālāt* 'chapiteau, coupole' (Baet 1052) < Afras. \*g<sup>w</sup>alVl-: Brb. Ghat *ǰilallaw-ət* 'rond' (Neh 202), Ayr *gəlall-ət* 'ê. rond, circulaire' (Aloj 52), etc., W. Chad. Hausa *gùlulu* 'ball' (Abr Hs 340).

## hV-

## Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *hādāyā*, Jud. *br hwdyy*, Mnd. *hadia* vs. Hbr. *dāʔā, dayyā*, Jud. *dyyh*, Mnd. *dita* <\*daʔy (-at)- 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 64). [] Arb. *habūr-* 'araignée', *habbūr-* 'petite fourmi' vs. \*bur- 'kind of insect': Akk. \*būrtu (in *burt/di šamḫat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burā*, etc. 'insect that eats the root of the *āsāt*' (SED II No. 62). Both examples questionable.

## yV-

## Animal names:

[] Syr. *yaḳrūrā* vs. \*ḳVr(V)r- 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in ʔV- Animal names). [] Arb. *yaʃūr-, yuʃūr-* 'gazelle; petit de gazelle ou de biche' vs. *ʃifr-, ʃufr-* 'porc, verrat; petit cochon, pourceau' (v. in \*y/ʃVpr- 'young of ungulate' SED II No. 88). [] Arb. *yaʔmūr-* 'espèce de chamois' vs. *ʔimmar-, ʔammar-* 'agneau' <\*ʔimmar- 'lamb' (SED II No. 5). [] Arb. *yaḥmūr-* 'onager' vs. *ḥimār-* 'donkey, onager' <\*ḥimār- 'donkey' (SED II 98). [] Mhr. *yətáyyl*, Hrs. *yetáyyl*, Jib. *iṯ ʔél* vs. Hbr. *šū ʃāl*, Arb. *tū ʃāl-*, Jib. *te ʃáyyl* (<\*tVʃVl- ~ \*tāʃlab- 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Sem.: Akk. *enšūpu* 'a bird', Hbr. *yanšūp* 'ibis' vs. Arb. *nussāf-* 'sorte d'oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' (v. in \*nVʃVp- 'kind of bird' SED II No. 165). [] Sem. \*yapan- 'young bull': Ugr. *ypt*, Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. vs. Afras. \*fa(?)Vn- 'bull': Sem. Arb. *fanāt-* 'vache', W. Chad. Montol *feoy*, Siri *te-vni*, C. Chad. Higi-Dakwa *funu*, S. Cush. Asa *faʔanok* 'elephant', (?) Qwadza *faʔamo* 'buffalo' (cf. SED II No. 250). [] Cf. also Sem. \*yarbVʃ- 'kind of rodent' (SED II No. 251) where

\**ya-* seems a secondary extension of the triconsonantal root, though no parallels without \**ya-* confirming such analysis have been found so far.

Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *yph* (hitp.) 'to gasp for breath, groan' vs. *pwḥ* 'to fan, to waft through', pB. *pəḥī* 'blowing out, expiration' < \**ph/ḥ* 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)' (v. in *nV-* Anatomy above; SED I Vb. No. 54).

*wV-*

Animal names:

[] Tna. *wäyfän*, Amh. *wäyfän*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen* 'young bull' (< Afras. \**wa(y)fan-*? Cf. C. Chad. Gaʔanda *ufana*, Gude *uwená*, Nzangi *uwune* 'buffalo') vs. Sem. \**yapan-* 'young bull': Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. (< Afras. \**fa(?)Vn-* 'bull' above; v. all the variants of this root in SED II No. 250). [] Gez. *wayṭal* 'kind of wild goat, roe, gazelle', Tna *wäyṭäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ṭali* 'goat, kid', Tna. *ṭäl*, *ṭel* 'goat' < \**ṭalay-* 'lamb, kid' (Hbr. *ṭālā*, Arb. *ṭala*ʔ, *ṭalw-*, etc. in SED II No. 232). [] Sem. \**wābil-* 'ram': Hbr. *yōbēl*, Arb. *wābilat-*, etc. (probably < Afras. \**y/wabil-*, if Eyp. *ibšw* 'ovis tragelaphus' is from \**yVbVl-*) vs. Akk. *būlu* 'herd of cattle, sheep or horses' < Afras. \**bVl-* 'small cattle': Brb. Gurara Tuat Tidikelt *belli* 'moutons', etc., E. Chad. Lele *bùlóbùló*, Kabalai *bâl*, C. Chad. Boka *ḥwə̀lə* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Oromo *buläl-ē* 'lamb', etc. (cf. SED II No. 245).

Varia:

[] Arb. *wzm* 'payer, acquitter (la dette); éprouver quelques pertes dans son avoir', *wazmat-* 'pertes...' (BK 2 1529) < Sem.: Mhr. *wəzūm* (JM 434), Jib. *ezūm*, Soq. *əzəm* (JJ 295) 'to give, lend' (phonetically and semantically more likely authentic than borrowed from Arb.) vs. Arb. *zām-* 'quart (de toute chose)' (BK 1 1029) < Afras.: W. Chad. Hausa *zāmā* 'to defraud a person of his proper share' (Barg 1126), C. Chad. Logone *zəm* 'plundern' (cf. Luk Log 127), Buduma *ham* id. (Luk Bud 102), Gude *zəmə* 'to cheat, neglect to pay debts' (Hos 296). [] Gez. *wāzēmā*, Tna. Amh. *wazema* 'chants of a vigil, hymns sung on the eve of a holiday' (LGz 624) vs. Gez. *zēmā* 'song, liturgical chant', Tna. Amh. Gur. *zema* 'song, mode of singing', Gez. *zəmmāme*, Tna. Amh. *zemmama* 'rhythm of singing, etc.' (ibid. 638) < Sem.: Syr. *zam* 'susurravit, sonuit' (Brock 198), Mnd. *zmm* 'to hum, resound' (DM 169), *zwm* 'to hum, buzz' (ibid. 164), Arb. *zmzm* 'produire un murmure qu'on peut entendre au loin' (BK 1 1011). [] Sem.: Arb. *wlm* 'donner un repas' (BK 2 1605), Mhr. *awōlem*, Hrs. *awlōm*, Jib. *ulm* 'to prepare a meal' (JH 136; perhaps < Arb.) < Afras. \**wlm* 'to eat, feed': Eyp. OK *wnm* 'essen' (EG I 320), E. Chad. Kabalai *wəlmə* 'food' vs. Akk. *lamāmu* 'to chew' (CAD L 59) < Afras. \**lVm-* 'to eat, chew': W. Chad. Hausa *lāluma* 'chewing by a toothless mouth' (Barg 717), C. Chad. Mbara *lūm* 'mordre' (TSL 294), Musgu *lāma* 'essen, beissen' (Luk Msg 64).

## Consonantal Infixation

-*n-* (cf. Ružička; some of the examples point to the original -*n-* lost in part of the forms, sometimes - but not always - leaving traces by the reduplication of the following consonant)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *mī/andīnu* (and *middīnu*, with -*dd-* likely < \**-nd-*) 'tiger?' vs. Arb. *ʔal-madīn-* 'lion' (and Ebl. *mu-da-ne-nūm?*) in \**mV(n)dīn-* 'a large wild cat' (SED II No. 151; cf. also C. Chad. Afade *maudá* 'Hyäne', E. Chad. Mubi *ʔāmdāwūt* 'cat' likely implying Afras. \**maday/w(n)-* 'k. of feline'). [] Arm. Off. *šnpṛ* 'bird' (Hbr. *šippōr*, Jud. *šippar*, *šippārā*, Syr. *šepparā* can go back to \**šinpar-* with \**-np-* > -*pp-*) vs. Arb. *šāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau', Hrs. *šēferot* 'sandpiper', etc. < \**šVp(p)Vr-* '(kind of small) bird' < Afras. \**šapVr-*: W. Chad. Mburku *šāpūr*, C. Chad. Bura *cəvūr*, Margi *cəvūr* 'guinea fowl' (SED II No. 212). [] Mnd. *anglia* vs. Jud. *šēgal*, Syr. *šēglā* etc. < \**šigʷal-* // \**šigl-* 'calf' (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *šandab-*, *šundub-* vs. Tna. *gʷādābā* (in \**gʷa(n)dab-* // \**ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *ḵʷarnana šāt*, Amh.

*kʷ*ärnänat vs. Tgr. *korə* ʃ, Tna. *kʷər* ʃo in \**kʷr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʃV-* Animal names). [] N. Eth. \**ʃanšaw/y-*: Gez. *ʃanša/e/owā* 'mouse, weasel', Tgr. *ʃʃanšay* 'mouse', Tna. *ʃančəwə* 'mouse, rat' (cf. C. Cush. \**ʃinčaw-*, N. Omot. Shinasha *iinčà*, Anfillo *inšo* id.; < Afras. \**ʃančaw-* or Eth. borrowing into Cush. and Omot.?) vs. Sem. \**ʃayaš-*: Akk. *ayāšu* 'weasel', Amh. *ay(ə)ʃ* 'mouse' < Afras. \**ʃay/waç-* 'kind of small mammal': W. Chad. Hausa *çiyō* 'field rat', E. Cush. Oromo *wawwačoo* 'mongoose', N. Omot. Basketo *iici*, Kafa *ičoo* 'rat', etc. (cf. \**ʃayaš-* ~ \**ʃanšaw/y-* 'weasel, mouse' SED II No. 26). [] Tna. *gʷändäran*, Amh. *gʷändä/ora* 'k. of worm' (< Afras. \**gʷandVr-?* Cf. semantically heterogenous but phonetically impeccable W. Chad. Daffo-Butura *gändir* 'Eidechse' and E. Chad. Dangla *göndyir-kò* 'petites termites') vs. Mhr. *gədarēt*, Hrs. *gederēt* 'k. of worm', Jib. *əždirət* 'small insect (which eats clothes, wood)' (cf. \**gʷa(n)dVr-* // \**gʷV(n)dVr-* 'kind of worm' SED II No. 81). [] Tgr. *fərnəg*, *fənrəg* 'quail' vs. \**parg-* 'kind of bird (hen, quail)': Hbr. pB. *pargūt* 'young poultry', Syr. *parrūgā* 'pullus', etc. (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Pero *pàragò* 'partridge') SED II No. 178. [] Tna. *ʃančərabit* vs. \**ʃačrab-* 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʃačrāb*, Gez. *ʃʃačrab*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Tna. *həngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water' vs. Jib. *həzət* (< \**hag-*) 'large, blind black segmented centipede oftenest seen during the rainy season' (v. \**hV(n)g-* 'kind of worm, centipede' SED II No. 100). [] Mnd. *kunpud*, Arb. *kunfuḍ-*, Gez. *kʷənʃəz*, etc. vs. Jud. *kupdā* (and Ebl. *kī-pā-šūm* ?) in \**kʷ(ʷ)inpad-* // \**kunpud-* 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133; -n- is a root extender or part of the primary root?). [] Arb. *hinzīr-*, Gez. *hanzir*, Mhr. *hənzīr*, Jib. *hənzīr* 'pig' (three latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Akk. *huzīru*, Ugr. */huzīru/*, Hbr. *həzīr*, Jud. *həzīr* etc. (in \**hV(n)zīr-* 'pig' SED II No. 111). [] Akk. *e/inzu*, Syr. *ʃənez* (st. const.), Arb. *ʃanz(-at)-*, etc. '(she-)goat' vs. Ugr. *ʃz*, Jib. *ʃz* 'goat', etc. < \**ʃV(n)z-* 'goat' (cf. SED II No. 35; cf. ibid. E. Cush. Saho *ʃidoo*, S. Cush. Asa *ʃando* and other possible Afras. parallels). [] Sem. \**ʃa(n)z/dar-* 'kind of feline': Gez. *ʃanzar*, Akk. *azaru* (and *azzaru*, likely pointing to \**ʃanzar-*) vs. Afras. \**ʃa-ʃʃVr-* id. (SED II No. 9; v. above in *ʃV-* Animal names).

## Anatomy:

[] Arb. *siṅt-* 'poignet' vs. Hbr. pB. \**sīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger', Syr. *sītā* 'palmus' < \**si(n)t-* 'flat hand with wrist' (SED I 209). [] Arb. *hinsi/ar-* vs. Hbr. pB. *həšər*, Syr. *hešrā*, Mhr. *həšərrəʃ* 'little finger', etc. (in < \**hi(n)šVr-* '(little) finger' SED I 134). [] Gez. *kʷərnā ʃ*, Tna. *kʷərna ʃ* 'elbow, forearm', Amh. Arg. *kərn* 'elbow' (cf. also Jib. *kərnó ʃ* 'heel') vs. Sem. \**kʷirā ʃ-* 'knee and shin-bone; lower leg (of animal)': Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)', Sab. *kr ʃ* 'leg of a camel', etc. (SED I No. 157). [] Tgr. *sənzər* 'palm', Tna. *sənzərə* 'to measure with the span', Amh. Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti* (prob. also End. *zəssər*, Eža Muh. etc. *zəzzər* if < \**zənzər* assim. < \**sənzər*) vs. Gez. *səz(ə)r*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *səzər* 'span' (in \**šV(n)zVr-* 'span', SED I No. 251). [] Mod. Eth. \**šənfəl(la)* 'ruminant's stomachs' (Tgr. Tna. Amh. Zw. Gog. Sod.) vs. Arb. *mišfalat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac', MSA \**šafəl* 'belly, stomach' (in \**šV(n)pVl-* 'stomach (of an animal, bird)', SED I No. 271). [] S. Eth. \**gandya* (Har. *gānčə*, Sel. *gānčə*, Wol. *gančə*, Msq. *gančə*, prob. Eža *gaččə*) vs. \**gadya* (Zw. *gādiyō*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *gačə*, End. *gačə*) 'tendon of leg' < Sem. \**gīd-* 'sinew, nerve' (SED I 72). [] Tgr. *ʃʃanšəbāt* 'sinew' vs. Arb. *ʃašab-* 'nerves', Mhr. *ʃəšbīt* 'sinew, nerve' < Sem. \**ʃa(n)šab-* 'sinew, nerves' (SED I No. 16). [] Soq. *ʃaronik* 'mollet' vs. Mhr. *ʃarək* 'artery, sinew, nerve', Arb. *ʃirək-* 'veine', etc. < Sem. \**ʃa/irək-* 'tendon, muscle, vein, nerf' (SED I No. 20). [] MSA \**kənsīd-* '(top of) shoulder' vs. Akk. *kišādu* 'neck, throat; necklace', Mnd. *kšada* 'throat', Eth. \**kəsād* 'neck' < \**ki(n)šād-* 'neck, top of shoulder' (SED I No. 147). [] Sem.: Akk. *šernettu* (also *šennettu*, *šennītu*) 'a skin disease', Gez. *šərnə ʃt* 'scab, malignant ulcer' vs. Hbr. *šāra ʃat* 'skin disease', Jud. *ši/ur ʃā* 'leprosy' (in \**širmay-at-*, SED I No. 257). [] Arb. *šnf* 'avoir la lèvre supérieure relevée, retroussée', Tgr. *šənəf* 'mouth (of animals)', Tna. *šənfəwə* 'to have disproportionate lips' vs. Akk. *šaptu*, Ugr. *špt*, Hbr. *šāpā*, Syr. *septā*, Arb. *ša/ifat-*, etc. 'lip' < Sem. \**ša(n)p-at-* (SED I No. 265).

## Varia:

[] Amh. *gʷänäddäbä* 'to cut, curve' vs. *gʷaddäbä* 'to dig, cut' < Eth. \**gʷdb* 'to cut' (LGz 181).

-t-

Animal names:

[] Arb. *taytal*- 'vieux bouc de montagnes; espèce d'antilope' vs. *ṭilal*-, *ṭilāl*- 'troupe de brebis, ou de brebis mêlée aux chèvres' < \**t*VL- 'head of small cattle': Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Gez. *nes(ā)tāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *nāsälāt* 'serpent boa' (in \**ṭat(h)al*- 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20). [] Tgr. *ṭotāl* 'esp. d'antilope' vs. *ṭālit* (coll. *ṭel*) 'goat' < \**ṭalay*- 'lamb, kid': Hbr. *ṭālā*, Arb. *ṭala*"', *ṭalw*- 'petit de gazelle' etc. (SED II No. 232).

Anatomy:

[] Eth.: Gez. *maltāht* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *māta/əlah* 'temple', *mätalāhti* 'the upper forepart of the skull' vs. Mhr. *mālḥāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleḥāw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *māzhét* 'jaw', Soq. *malāḥi* 'cheek' < \**liḥ(a)y(-at)*- 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləḥe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lēḥī* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləḥī* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178).

-ʕ- (v. also in Maizel 185)

Animal names:

[] Arb. Dof. *faʕḥr* 'bull', Mhr. *fōr*, Jib. *fəʕḥr*, Soq. *fāʕhar* 'young bull' vs. \**parr*- 'young of small or large cattle': Ugr. *pr* 'young bull', Hbr. *par* 'bull, steer', etc. (SED II No. 181). [] (?) Sem. \**bVʕVr*- 'household animal; beast of burden': Hbr. *bəʕr* 'livestock, cattle', Syr. *bəʕrā* 'brutum, jumentum', Arb. *baʕr*- 'chameau; toute bête de charge', Mhr. *bəʕāyr* 'male camel' (< Arb.?), etc. vs. \**bVr*- 'cattle': Akk. *bīru* 'bull (for breeding); young cattle' (less likely < \**bVʕVr*-), Mnd. *bira* 'domestic cattle', Mhr. *hə-bēr* 'camels', Hrs. *ḥe-byār* 'female camels' (SED II No. 53). <> Eyp. NK *pʕr-t* 'ein Geflügel (neben Tauben)' (EG I 504) vs. Pyr. *pr* 'ein Vogel' (ibid. 504) < Afras. \**pVr(w)*- 'kind of (small) bird': Sem. Jud. *parwā* 'name of an unclean bird', Gez. *fərfərt* 'quail', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *fērū* 'name of small bird', S. Cush. Iraqw *piryoó* 'small bird sp.' (v. in \**pVrpVr*-, \**parr/w*- 'kind of bird', SED II No. 180).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *lʕk* 'lécher' (BK 2 1003) vs. *lkk* id. < Sem.: Hbr. *lkk* 'to lick up, lap', Tgr. *läkläkä* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). [] Arb. *dʕs* 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' (BK 1 700) vs. *dws* 'fouler le sol avec les pieds' (ibid. 750) < Sem.: Akk. *d(i)āšu*, Hbr. *dw/yš* 'to trample, thresh', Tgr. *däwšäšä* 'to crush' (HAL 218). <> Eyp. MK *wʕr-t* 'Bein' (EG I 287) vs. Afras. \**war*-: Arb. *warr*- 'os de la hanche' (BK 2 1516), W. Chad. Ankwe *warr* 'leg' (ADB), C. Chad. Musgu *werē* 'Knie' (Luk Msg 81), S. Cush. Iraqw *uryee* 'backside of upper side of leg, thigh' (MQK 113), Burunge *ʕuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310).

Varia:

[] Sem. \**kʕd*: Syr. *kʕd* 'inclinavit, flexit (genua)' (Brock 681), Arb. *kʕd* 'ê. assis, s'asseoir (après avoir été debout)' (BK 2 776) vs. \**kdd*: Akk. *kadādu* 'to bow very low, bend', Hbr. *kdd* (and *kwd*) 'to bow, kneel down' (HAL 1065).

-h- (v. also in Maizel 185-6)

Animal names:

[] Arb. *šayham*- 'porc-épic' vs. Akk. *ušummu*, *šummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Arb. *šīm*- (pl.) 'rat' (v. in \**šVm*- 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] (?) Arb. *rahw*- 'crane' vs. Hbr. *rāʕā* 'red kite', Tgr. *rawya* 'stork', Tna. *rawya* 'kind of very large vulture; falcon, sparrow hawk, kite' in \**raʕw/hy*- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 187; otherwise to be interpreted as a case of root variation with -h- vs. -ʕ- vs. -w/y-). [] Gez. *nəhb*, Tgr. *nəhəb*, Tna. *nəhbi* vs. Sem. \**nūb(-at)*- 'bee': Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb*- etc. (SED II No. 156). [] Gez. *kʕāhilā* 'fox-like animal' vs. Sem. \**kalb*- 'dog', supposedly < \**kal-b*- < Afras. \**k<sup>(w)</sup>VL*- 'wolf, dog, fox' (v. in *tV*- Animal names). [] Tna. *gahret* 'doe antilope' (for the laryngeal in the same root probably implying Afras. \**g<sup>(w)</sup>arh*-, cf. Brb. Zenaga *əgrərḥ* 'bélier', E. Chad. Kera *agerhe* 'Esel', S. Cush. Burunge *gwereha*,

Gorowa Alagwa *gwerehe* 'dikdik antelope') vs. Tgr. *gärwa* 'kudu antelope', Akk. *gurratu*, *agurratu* 'ewe' < Sem. \**gVrr/w(-at)-* 'small hoofed animal' < Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-*, \**garw-* (SED II No. 85). [] Tgr. *wuhər*, pl. *ʔawhər*, *ʔawhərät* 'bull' (LH 427) vs. Afras. \**war-*: Eyp. MK *wr-t* 'göttliche Kuh' (EG I 331), W. Chad. Hausa *wariyya* 'a k. of antelope' (Barg 1084; cf. *warari* 'a vicious bull' *ibid.*), E. Cush. Sidamo *war-aamo* 'older calf' (HEC 35). [] Mhr. *läháyən*, Hrs. *lähētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti*, Soq. *ʔélheh* 'cow' vs. Sem. \**liʔ(-at)-*, \**laʔay-at-* 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow', Arb. *lāʔa<sup>n</sup>* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', *laʔāt-* 'vache sauvage' (SED II No. 142; otherwise to be interpreted as a *ʔ ~ h* root variation case). [] Sem. \**ʔaṯhal-*: Syr. *ʔatehləyā*, Tgr. *ʔashalät* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔashalät* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (-*h-* is probably a primary, not inserted, radical, cf. Brb. \**HaššVl-* '(large) snake': Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *âššēl*, etc., Omot. \**haylaš-* with metathesis: Wolayta *aylaaš-*, Gemu *haylašo*, Gofa *haaylašo*, Ari *hayleša* 'crocodile') vs. \**ʔaṯal-*: Syr. *ʔātalyā* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔasälät* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (< Afras. \**ʔačal-?* Cf. S. Cush. Dahalo *ṯáʔala* 'puff-adder' (EEN 8), likely < \**čaʔal-* with metathesis), v. \**ʔat(h)al-* 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20. [] (?) Sem. \**pahd-* 'cheetah': Syr. *pahdā* 'panther', Mnd. *pahad* 'cheetah', Arb. *fahd-* 'guepard', etc. vs. Eyp. OK *mʔd-t* 'katzenartiges Tier mit scharfen Krallen (Art Gepard<sup>3</sup>)' (< \**mV-ʔʔVd-* or \**ma-fVd-*, with *ʔ* standing for *-a-?*); a striking semantic coincidence makes this comparison interesting in spite of only a partial formal similarity.

## Anatomy:

[] Arb. *lhs* 'lécher' (BK 2 1032; < Sem. if Akk. *lāšu* 'to taste, lick' is < \**lhš* and not < \**lhš*, cf. Arb. *lhs* 'lécher' BK 2 973 and Eth. \**lhs* 'to lick' LGz 311) vs. *lss* 'lécher, manger' (BK 2 989), *lws* 'goûter, tourner un morceau dans la bouche' (*ibid.* 1041). [] Jib. *géhεʔ* 'chest, breast', Soq. (Noged) *géhεʔ* *id.* vs. Jud. *gawwā* 'belly, innermost', Arb. *ǰuʔǰuʔ-* (redupl.) 'poitrine', etc. < Sem. \**gaw(w)iʔ-* or \**g<sup>w</sup>ay(y)aʔ-* '(front part of) body; chest, belly; interior' (SED I No. 99).

## Varia:

[] Hbr. pB. *mhl* 'to circumcize' (Ja 373) vs. Hbr. *mwl*, *mll* *id.* (HAL 555, 594). [] Arb. *kahd-* 'peine, fatigue' (*ibid.* 938; cf. *khd* 'se mettre à courir vite (se dit d'un âne)' *ibid.*) vs. *kadd-* 'travail, peine, fatigue' (< *kdd* 'travailler; se fatiguer à force de travailler' BK 2 872). [] Arb. *ths* 'entrer sous terre, disparaître' (BK 2 115) vs. *ṯss* 'plonger (dans l'eau); s'en aller, disparaître' (*ibid.* 80; cf. *mā ʔadrī ʔayna ṯassa* 'Je ne sais pas ce qu'il est devenu' *ibid.* and *mā ʔadrī ʔayna ṯahasa* *id.* *ibid.* 115). [] Arb. *ǰhd* 'travailler avec assiduité, avec zèle, faire des efforts' (BK 1 341) vs. *ǰdd* 'agir avec zèle et assiduité, s'efforcer de...' (*ibid.* 259), likely related to Eth. \**gdd* 'to force, compel' (cf. LGz 181). [] Arb. *mhd* 'étendre également', *mahhada* 'étendre comme un tapis' (BK 2 1160) vs. *mdd* *id.* (*ibid.* 1075) < Sem.: Soq. *med* 'étendre', etc. (LS 238). [] Arb. *lhṯ* 'frapper, atteindre quelqu'un d'une flèche' (BK 2 1033) vs. *lwṯ* *id.* (*ibid.* 1041). [] Arb. *dhḳ* 'couper en morceaux; briser en serrant; frapper, battre' (BK 1 742) vs. *dkḳ* 'ê. pilé, broyé fin; casser, concasser; battre, frapper' (*ibid.* 715) < Sem. \**dkḳ*: Akk. *duḳḳuḳu*, Hbr. *daḳ*, Gez. *daḳaḳa* 'to crush', Soq. Mhr. *daḳḳ* 'to pound', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dhk* 'briser, broyer; moude; fouler le sol' (BK 1 743) vs. *dkk* 'concasser, piler, broyer' < Sem. \**dkk*: Akk. Lex. *dakāku* 'to crush' (CAD D 34), Hbr. *dkʔ* (pi.), \**dkk* 'to crush' (HAL 221), Soq. *dekdek* 'to beat', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dahr-* 'temps, âge, siècle' (BK 1 741) vs. *dawr-* 'period', Akk. *dāru* 'eternity' (otherwise < \**dahr-*), Hbr. *dōr* 'cycle, lifetime, generation', etc. (HAL 217). [] Arb. *rhk* 'fatiguer une femme par la violence de coït', *ʔrtahaka* 'ê. mou, lâche, n'avoir pas de vigueur' (BK 1 940) vs. *rkk* 'ê. très-mince; ê. très-faible, très chetif; tourmenter et fatiguer' (*ibid.* 911-2) < Sem.: Hbr. *rkk* 'to be tender, gentle; to be timid, faint-hearted', Syr. *rak* 'to be soft', etc. (HAL 1236-7). [] Arb. *mahīn-* 'faible, débile; méprisé' (BK 2 1164) vs. Gez. *manana* 'to be insignificant, incomplete, lack', Tna. *mānmānā*, Amh. *mānāmmānā* 'to become lean or emaciated' (LGz 351) < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *mányò*, Tumak *mānū* (Bla EC), S. Cush. Dahalo *ʔāmīna* (EEN 20), Maʔa *m ʔnyí* (Bla-Tos), N. Omot. Mao (Bambeshi) *amintā-* (Bnd Om 279) 'small', S. Omot. Ongota *munna ʔenə* 'small, narrow' (SLLE 10). []



Sem. *\*bħt* 'to be ashamed': Akk. *baʔāšu* (likely <*\*bħt*) 'to come to shame' (CAD *B*<sub>1</sub> 5), Ugr. *bħt* 'vergüenza' (DLU 106), Syr. *bħt* 'puduit eum; confusus, perturbatus est', *behtātā* 'pudor' (Brock 61-2), Arb. *bah̄tat*- 'fils de prostituée' (BK 1 170; cf. *bħt* 'accueillir qqn. avec un visage riant' *ibid.*) vs. *\*bwt* 'to be ashamed': Ugr. *b̄t* 'avergonzarse' (DLU 123), Hbr. *bws̄* 'to be ashamed', *būšā*, Emp. Arm. *bwt* 'shame' (HAL 116-7) < Afras. *\*bVwič-* '(feminine) pudenda': Brb. Siwa *bašša* (Lao 314), Semlal *bāssi* (Dest 288), Rif Iznassen *a-bātš-un* (Ren 291) 'vagin', N. Cush. Beja *bus* 'hinterbacken, podex' (RBeđ 52), E. Cush. Saho Afar *bus* 'die weibliche Scham' (RAf 831), Hadiya *bisso* 'vagina' (HEC 161). [] Sem. *\*nahār-* 'light, day': Hbr. *nəhārā* 'light', Syr. Jud. *nūhārā* '(gleam of) light' (HAL 677), Arb. *nahār-* 'jour, journée' (BK 2 1354) vs. *\*n̄r-* 'light, fire': Akk. *namāru* (*nawāru*) 'to shine brightly' (CAD *N*<sub>1</sub> 209), Ugr. *nr* 'brillar; brillo, resplendor' (DLU 331), Hbr. *n̄r* 'light, lamp' (HAL 697), Arb. *nūr-* 'lumière' (BK 2 1365). [] Sem. *\*khn* 'to be/act as a priest': Ugr. *khn* 'sacerdote' (DLU 212), Hbr. *khn* 'to act as a priest', Syr. *khn* (pe.) id. (HAL 461), Mnd. *khn* 'to serve as priest' (DM 205), Arb. *khn* 'è. devin, aruspice, prêtre; prédire l'avenir' (BK 2 940) vs. Afras. *\*ki/an-* 'to know': W. Chad. Kirfi *kinn-* 'to know' (Stolb Ms), E. Chad. Mokilko *kónyà* 'le savoir; la capacité' (JMkk 125), N. Cush. Beja *kān-* 'kennen, wissen' (RBeđ 142), C. Cush. *\*kint-* 'to learn', E. Cush. Hadiya *ken-* 'to know' (v. Dolg 1973 212-3 where the above Cush. forms are compared to Sem. *\*khn*; other comparisons are less convincing).

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Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *ḵurpəday* 'mole' vs. Hbr. *ḵippōd*, pB. *ḵuppād*, Jud. *ḵupdā*, etc. in *\*ḵ(w)inpad-* // *\*ḵunpud-* 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133). [] Hbr. *šəpardēāʕ* vs. Arb. *ḍifdiʕ-* (in *\*šVpardiʕ-* 'frog', SED II No. 22; otherwise interpreted, -r- is a primary radical preserved in Hebrew but lost in other languages). [] Jud. *ḥurzīlā* (and *ḥurzīlā*) vs. *ḥwzl*, Syr. *ḥūzaylā* <*\*yVzāl-* 'gazelle': Arb. *yazāl-* etc. (SED II No. 92).

Anatomy:

[] Arm. *\*garmīdā*: Jud. *garmīdā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ūrmīdā*, *gūrmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmād* 'a linear measure, short cubit', likely <*\*kVm(V)d-* 'forearm, cubit' (SED I No. 144): Akk. *gamatu* 'a measure' (<*\*gamattu* <*\*gamad-t-u* or <*\*gamadu* with -ad- mistaken for the -at- suffix), (?) Arb. *kumuddat-* 'verge, pénis', Amh. *kənd* 'cubit (distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, appr. 48 cm.); arm, forearm', Gaf. *kəndā* 'bras', Mhr. *məkəndēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *mišəndət* 'thumb, big toe'. [] Mod. Eth. *\*brəḵ* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bərčəḵā* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərčəḵčəḵ bāl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tən/mboraččəḵā* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. *\*bḥḵ* 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bḥḵ* 'cracher', Sel. *bəčəḵ bālā* 'to spit'. [] S. Eth. *\*mḥḥ* 'to spit in a spurt': Har. *mičriḵ āša*, Gog. *məčərəḵ bea* (and other Gur. dialects in LGur 390) vs. *\*mḥḵ* 'to spit, spirt': Har. *mičriḵ āša* 'to squeeze something so that it spurts', Gog. Sod. *mičriḵ \*balā* 'to spit in a spurt' (*ibid.* 389). [] Sem *\*ḥarṭūm-* ~ *\*ḥurṭimm-* 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. differently in SED I No. 137): (?) Akk. *ḥurṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (-ṭt- < \*-rt-?), Hbr. pB. *ḥarṭōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *ḥarṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephanti)', Mnd. *ḥarṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *ḥurṭum-*, *ḥurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'éléphant, etc.' vs. *\*ḥu/aṭm-* 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. differently in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḥṭm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥuṭmā* id., Arb. *ḥaṭm-* 'bec, museau'. [] Sem. *\*ka/urka/ub-* 'stomach (of animals, birds)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 167): (?) Akk. *kukkubātu*, *kukkubānu*, *ḵuḵḵubātu*, *ḵuḵḵubānu* 'part of the animal stomach' (<*\*ḵurḵubān/tu* or *\*ḵubḵubān/tu*), Hbr. pB. *ḵorḵəbān* 'the thick muscular stomach of birds, crow', Jud. *ḵurḵəbānā* id., Syr. *ḵarḵəbānā*, *ḵurḵəbānā* 'guttur, ingluvies (avis)', Arb. *ḵarḵab-*, *ḵurḵub-*, *ḵurḵubb-* 'ventre' vs. *\*ḵVb-at-* 'stomach, ventricle, maw (of animals)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 158): Hbr. *ḵəbā* 'abomasum, stomach', Jud. *ḵəbātā* 'maw', *ḵybh* 'stomach', Arb. *ḵibat-*, *ḵibbat-* 'ventricle', *ḵabḵab-* (redupl.) 'ventre' (cf. also *ḵabḵāb-* 'vagin'), Tgr. *ḵābbūt* 'a stuffed goat's stomach', Tna. *ḵobo*

'hernia'. [] Sem. \**ḳVrs/š(-ull)-* 'ankle' (cf. in SED I No. 169): Hbr. \**ḳarsullayim* 'ankles' (dual), Jud. *ḳarsullā, ḳarsūlā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḳurṣəlā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *ḳarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḳərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənḳərša*, Mhr. *ḳərṣāt* 'kneecap' (-ā- points either to \*-aw or to \*-al) vs. \**ḳ(w)Vyṣ-, \*ḳ(w)Vṣṣ-* 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimṣu, kinṣu, kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *ḳaṣāṣ-, ḳuṣāṣ-, ḳiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *ḳaṣāṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *ḳaṣṣ-, ḳuṣaṣ-* id. (cf. *ḳayṣ-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *ḳʷəyṣ, ḳʷəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *ḳəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gye. *ḳəṭayä* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mīḳṣeh* 'articulation, falange'. [] Sem. \**kʷirāʕ-* 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru, kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *ḳərāʕayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *ḳarʕā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *ḳərāʕā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *ḳurāʕ-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *krʕ* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *kʷərnāʕ* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *kʷərnaʕ* 'elbow', Amh. *ḳərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *ḳərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuruʕ* 'cubitus, arm', Sel. *ḳəre*, Wol. *həri*, Zw. *hərə* 'arm, cubitus, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *ḳərrā* id. vs. \**ku/aʕ(-at)-* or \**kʷaʕ(-at)-* 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *kōʕā* 'articulus', Arb. *kāʕ-, kūʕ-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os *zind*', Amh. *kotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *kotte* 'hoof'.

Varia:

[] Syr. *dardūḳē* 'pueri' (Brock 166), Jud. *dardaḳ* 'tender, young, small (esp. pupil of a primary class)' (Ja 321), Mnd. *dirdiḳia* 'small, little, young (children)' (DM 101), Arb. *dardaḳ-* 'enfants, petits de chameaux, etc.' (BK 1 688; supposedly an Aramaism, v. DM 101) vs. Sem. \**dḳḳ* 'to be small (of a child)': Akk. *daḳḳu* 'small (child)' (CAD D 107), Ugr. *dḳ* 'pequeño, fino; débil' (DLU 135), Gez. *dḳḳ* 'to be small, to be a child' (LGz 140; unseparated ibid. from Sem. \**dḳḳ* 'to crush, pound, reducer to powder' which I prefer to treat as a homonym). [] Jud. *ʕarəggēl* 'to roll' (Ja 1113), Syr. *ʕargel* 'volvit, volutavit' (Brock 547) vs. Jud. *ʕgl* 'to be round' (Ja 1041) < Sem.: Hbr. *ʕāgōl* 'round' (HAL 784), Tgr. *ʕāggälä* 'to put in a circle' (LH 487), etc. [] Sem. \**ḳrṭb* 'to be prickly, sharp': Syr. *ḳūrṭabā* 'tribulus (planta)' (Brock 695), Arb. *ḳrṭb* 'couper les os' (BK 2 715), Gez. *ḳərṭab* 'kind of insect that stings or eats leaves and bark' (LGz 445) vs. Arb. *ḳrṭb* 'couper, partager en coupant' (BK 2 754), *ḳuṭb-* 'thorn' (LGz 453, HAL 1092 after Brock 695; not in BK), Gez. *ḳaṭaba* 'to make a mark, trim, shorten' (LGz 453), etc. [] Sem. \**ḳrṣb*: Arb. *ḳrṣb* 'couper; manger des choses sèches, croquer' (BK 2 714), Soq. *ḳárḳeb* 'mordre' (LS 387) vs. Arb. *ḳṛḳb* 'couper' (BK 2 759) < Sem.? Cf. Hbr. *ḳṣb* 'to cut off', otherwise related to Arb. *ḳṣb* id. (HAL 1119). [] Sem. \**grdm* 'to cut, split': Hbr. pB. *grdm* 'to cut off, lop' (Ja 266), Syr. *ʕetgardam* 'mutilatus est' (Brock 132), (?) Arb. *ʕrdm* 'manger, dévorer' (BK 1 278; a meaning shift 'cut off' > 'bite off' > 'eat?'), Tna. *gʷärdämä* 'to break', etc. (v. in LGz 182-3) vs. Sem. \**gdm* 'to cut': Akk. *gadāmu* 'to cut off hair' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdm* 'to lop off, stump' (Ja 213), Syr. *gdm* 'cecidit, absceidit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ʕdm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599).

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Animal names:

[] Akk. *ḫulmiṭtu* 'a snake or lizard' (Syr. *ḫulmāṭā* 'large lizard' is probably an Akkadism) vs. Hbr. *ḫōmät* 'reptile', Jud. *ḫumṭā* 'chameleon', Arb. *ḫamaṭī-* 'serpent' <\**ḫVm(V)t-* (SED II No. 99).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. *zubbānā, zəlūbānā* 'veretrum (cervi et equi)' vs. \**zubb-* '(male) genitalia': Hbr. pB. *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member', Arb. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle)' (SED I No. 293). [] Soq. *gēlmes* 'dent' (LS 109) vs. *gīmses* 'qui a des dents tordues' (ibid. 111).

Varia:

[] Sem. \**blḥ* (unless the MSA forms are Arabisms): Arb. *blḥ* (and *bldḥ*) 'ê. couché à terre' (BK 1 161), Mhr. *ənbaltəḥ* (JM 49), Hrs. *enbelṭáḥ* (JH 17), Jib. *ənbəltáḥ* 'to lie down' (JJ 26), Soq. *enbálteḥ* id. (JH 17) vs. Sem. \**bṭḥ*: Hbr. *bṭḥ* 'to fall on the ground' (HAL 120) Arb. *bṭḥ* 'renverser, faire tomber quelqu'un la face contre terre' (BK 1 135), Jib. *bəṭṭaḥ* 'to lie down on the belly on the soil' (JJ 30), Soq. *bṭḥ* 'se coucher, s'étendre' (LS 85).

Consonantal Suffixation

-(V)n (cf. Barth 316-45, GVG 389-96)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *kaḫānu*, Ebl. *ḫū-ḫí-a-nu-um* 'a bird' (cf. also Arm. Tur. *kaḫwonīto* 'partridge', etc. unless *w* < \**b*) vs. Sem. \**k<sup>(w)</sup>aḫ(k<sup>(w)</sup>)aḫ*- // \**kaḫ(kaḫ)*- 'kind of bird': Akk. *kaḫū* 'a bird', Jud. *ḫā(ḫ)ḫā(ḫ)* 'goose', *ḫāḫā*, Syr. *ḫāḫā* 'pelican', Amh. *koḫ* 'partridge', etc. < Afras. \**k<sup>v</sup>aḫ(y)(k<sup>v</sup>)aḫ(y)*- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 126). [] Akk. *ḫarsapnu* (*ḫarasapnu*, *ḫarsapanu*) vs. Arb. *ḫaršaf*- < \**ḫaršap*- 'young of animals, larva' (SED II No. 104). [] Akk. *bukānu* (*bukannu*) 'an insect or worm' vs. Hbr. pB. *bukyā* 'the spider', Tna. *bəkk<sup>v</sup>* 'gnawing insect, worm', etc. < \**bik<sup>(w)</sup>ay*- // \**bukay*- 'kind of insect or worm' (SED II No. 57). [] Akk. *mikkānu*, *meḫiḫānu* 'a louse affecting cloth, animals and people' vs. Jud. *maḫḫāk* 'k. of worm or insect', Arb. *mūḫ*- 'sorte de fourmi ailée' < \**mVḫ(Vḫ)*- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 150). [] Akk. *šammānu* 'a snake' vs. Hbr. *šāmāmīt* (var. *šāmāmīt*) 'gecko', Arb. *sāmm*- (in *sāmm- ḫabraš*-) 'espèce de gros lézard' < \**š/šVmm*- 'kind of reptile (snake, lizard)' (SED II No. 204). [] Akk. *zizānu* 'a locust' vs. Hbr. *zīz* 'the small creatures that ruin the fields', Arb. *zīz*- (pl. *zīzān*-) 'cigale', etc. < \**zīz*- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 255). [] Akk. *tišānu* 'a (wild) ram' (cf. *tušēnu*, *tešēnu* 'eine Art Büffel<sup>2)</sup>'), Ebl. *ti-sa-na* id. (the interpretation of both Akk. and Ebl. terms is debatable) vs. Sem. \**tayš*- 'he-goat': Hbr. *tayiš*, Arb. *tays*-, etc. (SED II No. 231). [] Akk. *dimānu* 'an insect' (cf. W. Chad. Hausa *dāmanā* 'spider' and Egypt. *dnm* 'Würmer (welche die Leiche fressen)', perhaps metathetically related; one wonders whether these forms imply Afras. \**dVman*- or are accounted for by independent morphonological processes in the three languages) vs. Sem. \**dim*- 'kind of insect': Akk. *dim-tu* 'a locust or bird' (CAD D 143), 'eine Art Heuschrecke<sup>3)</sup>' (AHw 170), Arb. *dimm-at*- 'pou; fourmi' < Afras. \**dVm*- 'kind of insect': Egypt. *dm* 'Wurm', E. Chad. Tumak *dām* 'abeille' (SED II No. 69). [] Ebl. *nu-bí-a-nūm* vs. Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb*- (pl.), etc. < \**nūb(-at)*- 'bee' (SED II No. 156; v. in *-h*-Animal names). [] Ebl. *lí-a-nūm* (= Sum. ALIM 'bull'; note *-n*- as a marker of the male animal; for *-ān*- as a masculine marker in Sem. v. GVG I 392 and Gelb 1969 37ff.) vs. Ebl. *lí-a-tum* (= Sum. ALIM.SAL; note the feminine gender), Arb. *la ḫāt*- 'vache sauvage', *lā ḫa<sup>n</sup>* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', Akk. *littu* (*lītu*), etc. in \**li ḫ(-at)*-, \**la ḫay-at*- 'head of large cattle' (SED II No. 142). [] Hbr. *šəpīpōn*, Jud. *šəpīpōnā* (likely a Hebraism) vs. Syr. *šappāpā*, Arb. *siff*-, *suff*-, etc. < \**šVpp*- 'kind of snake, worm, insect larvae' (SED II No. 207). [] Hbr. *dīšōn* 'aurochs' (cf. Akk. *ditānu*, *didānu* id. with irregular correspondences of the second radical) vs. Akk. *daššu* (also *taššu*) 'buck (said of gazelles and goats)' < Afras.: N. Cush. Beja *dees* 'young gazelle', N. Omot. Wolayta Gamo Kullo *dešša*, Gofa Zala Koyra Chara *deesha*, Dorze Cancha *dešš*, Malo *deše*, Dače *deyšše*, Basketo *dayša*, Kachama *deyše* 'goat' (v. in SED II No. 231 \**tayš*- 'he-goat'). [] Hbr. *fozniyyā* 'an unclean bird: sea eagle<sup>3)</sup>', Syr. *ḫzn?* 'avis rapacis species' vs. Hbr. pB. *ḫōz* 'name of a bird, prob. black eagle', Syr. *ḫzyā* 'ardea cinerea', etc. < \**ḫVz*- 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 51). [] Syr. *purta ḫnā*, Jud. *purta ḫnā*, Mal. *furt ḫnō* vs. Akk. *perša ḫu*, Hbr. *par ḫōš* etc. < \**pVrḫyVt*- ~ \**pVrḫay*- 'flea' (SED II No. 185). [] Jud. *rēmānā* vs. Akk. *rīmu* (*rēmu*, *ri ḫmu*), Hbr. *rə ḫēm* etc. < \**ri ḫm*- 'wild bull' (SED II No. 186). [] Jud. *ḫurdə ḫān*, Sam. *ḫrd ḫn* vs. Jud. *ḫurdə ḫā*, Syr. *ḫurdə ḫā* (with dissimilation), Hbr. *šəpardēā* (pl.), etc. < \**šVpardi*ḫ- 'frog' (SED II No. 222). [] Jud. *šumšəmānā*, Syr. *šawšəmānā*, Mnd. *šušmana* vs. Arb.

*sumsum-* < \**šumšum-* 'ant' (SED II No. 205). [] Arm.: Jud. *hōgānā*, *hōgānā* 'young camel or dromedary' (Ja 337), Syr. *hūgnō gamlō* 'dromedarius', in fabul. aram. 'asinus' (Brock 171) vs. Afras. \**hug-*: Brb. Ahaggar *āhug* 'poulin' (Fouc 529), Ayr *əhug* id. (Aloj 77), etc. (v. Kossm 101), N. Cush. Beja *hig* '3 years old camel' (Bl FB 12), E. Cush. Burji *hogom-áy* 'horses' (Sas Burji 99). [] Arb. *daybarān-* 'guêpe' vs. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', *dabr-*, *dibr-* 'essaim (d'abeilles ou de frelons)' < \**di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp' (SED II No. 66). [] Arb. *dayažān-* 'grande nuée de sauterelles' vs. Tna. *duga* 'a kind of reddish fly which afflicts cows', Mhr. *dəgdīg* 'insect like a grasshopper', etc. < \**dVg-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 67). [] Arb. *hunzuwānat-* 'mouche qui s'attaque au chameau' vs. Akk. *hanzizītu* 'a green winged insect', Tna. *hənžəž*, etc. < \**hVnz(i/uz)-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Arb. *silkānat-* 'poussin de perdix' vs. Hbr. *šālāk* 'an unclean bird' < \**šVI(V)k-* 'kind of bird', probably < Afras.: E. Chad. Kera *sùlku*, Kwang *sùlkō*, Mobu *sùlgó* 'guinea-fowl' (SED II No. 203). [] Arb. *sumānat-*, *sumānā* 'espèce de caille' vs. *samāmat-* 'sorte de petit oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' vs. Sem. \**sVm(V)m(-at)* 'kind of bird': Akk. *summu*, *summatu* etc. 'dove' (SED II No. 196). [] Arb. *ʔafʔawān-* 'vipère mâle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general term *ʔafʔa* 'vipère'; one wonders whether what seems *-n* suffixed in Amh. *affuññat*, *fuññat* 'vipère' points to a common Arb.-Amh. protoform with \**-n* or rather to a different origin of the latter in each case) vs. Sem. \**ʔapʔaw-*: Hbr. *ʔəp ʔā* 'kind of snake', etc. (SED II No. 10). [] Arb. *ʔukru(b)bān-* 'scorpion mâle' vs. *ʔaḵrab-*, *ʔaḵrab-at-*, *ʔaḵrabāʔ-* 'scorpion femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked feminine *ʔaḵrab-* and two marked feminine forms) < Sem. \**ʔaḵrab-* 'scorpion': Ugr. *ʔḵrb*, Hbr. *ʔaḵrāb*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Arb. *ḍib ʔān-* 'hyène mâle', *ḍib ʔānat-* 'hyène femelle' vs. *ḍabuʔ-*, *ḍabʔ-* 'hyène', *ḍabuʔat-* 'hyène femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general term *ḍab(u)ʔ-* and feminine *ḍabuʔat-*) < Sem. \**šab(u)ʔ-* 'hyena': Hbr. *šābūāʔ*, etc. (SED II No. 220). [] Arb. *ḍaywan-* 'chat mâle, matou' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal) vs. Hbr. *šī* 'animals of the desert' < \**šayw-* 'wild cat' (SED II No. 224). [] Arb. *žirdawn-* 'rat' (also Mhr. *gərdīn*, Hrs. *gerdīn* 'rat, mouse', likely Arabisms) vs. *žurad-* 'espèce de gros rat des champs', Syr. *gārādā* 'castor' < \**gVrVd (-Vn)-* 'kind of rodent' < Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>Vrž-*: Brb. Shawiya *a-g<sup>w</sup>erziz*, etc. 'hare' (SED II No. 84). [] Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan* 'a kind of black ant' vs. Arb. *žudžud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (also Ebl. *gù-du-gù-du-wu-um* ?) in \**g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab-* // \**ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>arnana ʔāt*, Amh. *ḵarnanot* 'frog' (< Afras.? Cf. Chad. \**k/ḵVr-Vn-* id.: W. Chad. Ngizim *kàriinákáu*, E. Chad. Birgit *ʔəngükürünà*, C. Chad. Daba *kirriḡ*, Mofu-Gudur *kakəraḡ*) vs. Sem. \**ḵVr(V)r-* 'frog' (v. in *ʔV-* Animal names) < Afras. \**ḵVr-* id.: Eyp. *ḵrr*, Brb. Rif *aḵarḵur*, etc., N. Omot. Zaysse *ʔooḵḵaro*, etc. (in SED II No. 137). [] Gez. *ḵəradīn*, *ḵərdān* 'field mouse' vs. Brb. \**ḵard-* 'rat': Fojaha *yərdé*, Rif *ayarda*, Mzab Shawiya Qabyle Shilh *ayərda*, etc. (v. in \**gVrVd(-Vn)-* 'kind of rodent' SED II No. 84). [] Tgr. *gərdžən*, pl. *gärəggən* 'cub of lions or of leopards' (< \**garg-Vn*; unless dissim. < \**gurgur*) vs. \**gūr-* ~ \**gury/w-* 'whelp, cub': Hbr. *gūr*, Arb. *žurw-*, etc. (SED II No. 82). [] Amh. *wāl(l)ani* 'Walia ibex' vs. *waliya*, *wala* id. < \**wa ʔil-* 'ibex': Gez. *wə ʔəlā*, Arb. *wa ʔl-*, etc. (SED II No. 244). [] Amh. *šālan* 'marten, ferret' vs. *šāla* id. (v. in \**ʔVʔVI-* ~ \**ʔa ʔlab-* 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Eža *wizännä* 'kind of a bird' and similar Gur. forms vs. \**ʔaw(a)z-* ~ \**waz(z)-* 'goose': Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *ʔwazz-*, *wazz-*, etc. (SED II No. 22). [] Mhr. *fərháyn*, Hrs. *ferhín* (< \**fVrsīn*) vs. \**paraš-* 'horse': Hbr. *pārāš*, Arb. *faras-*, etc. (SED II No. 182). [] Sem.: Syr. *ʔarwānā* 'vitulus, vitula', Arb. *ʔrān-* 'oryx mâle' vs. Amh. *awra* 'male (animal), bull', etc. < \**ʔ/arw-ān-* ~ \**ʔawr-* 'calf, bull' < Afras. \**ʔa/irw-* ~ \**ʔawr-* 'calf, bull': Eyp. MK *ʔr-t* 'Kalb', W. Chad. Sha *ʔarwà* 'Ochse', E. Cush. Bayso *aar*, Arbore *ʔaar*, Burji *arr-áy* 'bull', Sidamo *wa ʔr-iččo* 'older calf', etc. (SED II No. 16). [] Sem.: Ebl. *ir-bí-nùm* (= Sum. NAM.KUR), Arb. *ʔrbiyān-* vs. Akk. *erbu* (*erebu*, *aribu*), Hbr. *ʔarbā*, etc. < \**ʔarbay-* 'locust' (SED II No. 11). [] Sem. \**kut(t)ān-* 'bug': Arb. *kuttān-* 'sorte d'insecte rouge et dont la picûre est douloureuse', Tgr. *kətan* '(bed-)bug(s)', Mhr. *kettôn* 'Wanze' (SED II No. 122; the two latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Tgr. *kəta*, Tna. *kuta*, *k<sup>w</sup>əta* 'young locust'. [] Sem. \**tuk<sup>w</sup>ān-* // \**tukān-*

'bug' (SED II No. 122; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. \**takwan* 'bleeding, cupping blood', semantically questionable) vs. Jud. *takak* 'kind of worm' < Afras.: Egyp. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Burunge *tika fya* 'tsetse fly', Maʿa *twángé* 'gadfly', Dahalo *tákkwa ʔe* 'dung beetle'. [] Sem. \**ṭapan-* 'rock hyrax': Hbr. *šāpān*, Mhr. *tōfān*, Jib. *tǝfun* vs. E. Cush. Oromo *šuffee* 'badger' (<\*čuff-?), N. Omot. Kafa *šifō* 'marten', Sheko *šimfa* 'mouse' (v. in SED II No. 240). [] Sem. \**kawdan-* 'mule': Akk. *kūdanu*, Syr. *kūdanyā*, etc. vs. metathetic Afras. \**dakw-*: Chad. Hausa *dōkì*, Hausa *dōki*, Jimbin *dáákwa*, etc. 'horse', E. Chad. Dangla *dewki* 'antilope-cheval', S. Cush. Iraqw *daketi* 'zebra' (v. in SED II No. 124). [] Sem. \**šurān-* (and the metathetic form \**šu/in(n)ār-*) 'cat': Akk. *šurānu*, Jud. *šūrānā*, etc.) vs. Afras. \**sawir-* 'kind of feline or civet': W. Chad. Hausa *sara*, *sawawara* 'civet', Daffo-Butura *šūwír* 'Wildkatze', etc., E. Chad. Tumak *sàwàr* 'chat doré', Dangla *sàrààrà* 'panthère femelle', E. Cush. Gawwada Dobaze Harso Gollango *sarii-ko* 'leopard', N. Omot. Ganjule *šuro* 'cat' (cf. \**šu/in(n)ār-* ~ \**šurān-* 'cat' SED II No. 206). [] Sem. \**ʔarn-*: Syr. *ʔarnā* 'caper montanus', Gez. *ʔornā* 'kind of antelope', Jib. *ʔerùn* 'goats', etc. < Afras.: Brb. \**a-nHir* (met. <\**ʔVrin?*) 'the mohor antelope': Ahaggar *enir*, Taneslemt *tinhirt*, etc., E. Cush. Bayso *orén* 'goat' (v. in \**ʔarm-* ~ \**ʔarn-* 'wild goat' SED II No. 13) vs. Sem. \**ʔarwiy-* '(wild) goat, gazelle': Akk. *arm/wû*, Arb. *ʔurwiyyat-*, etc. < Afras. \**ʔarwVy-*: Brb. \**iHarw-/Hyar-* 'small cattle; young of gazelle': Ghat *ihəri*, Ahaggar *ehere*, etc., W. Chad. Hausa *árà-árà* 'type of long-legged ram, goat, sheep', E. Chad. Lele *ōrē* 'goats', E. Cush. Burji *aráy* 'sheep', S. Cush. Iraqw *ari* 'goat', etc. (SED II No. 18). <> Brb. Ayr *ā-kūlen* 'wolf' vs. Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>VI-* 'wolf, dog, fox': C. Chad. Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kàlè*, Buduma *keli* 'dog', etc. (v. in \**kalb-* 'dog', SED II No. 115). <> W. Chad. Hausa *ḥakwan* 'dwarf buffalo' vs. E. Chad. Kera *beke* 'Vieh' < Afras. \**baḥw-*: Brb. Nefusa *byu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bāyāw* 'vieux boeuf' (v. in \**baḥar-* 'large cattle' SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Hausa *báḥurnā* 'red-flanked duiker' vs. Sem. \**baḥar-* 'large cattle' (Hbr. *bāḥār*, Arb. *baḥar-*, etc.), perhaps < Afras. \**baḥVr-*: Brb. E. Tawllemmet *abu yer* 'chamelon d'un an' (v. in SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Warji *íyànà* vs. Kariya *í*, Miya *í* 'dog' < Afras. \**ʔway-* 'wild dog, jackal': Sem. Hbr. *ʔ* 'jackal', Egyp. *ʔw*, *ʔwʔw* 'Art Hund', E. Cush. Somali *yéèy* 'wild dog', etc. (v. in \**ʔwVy-* 'jackal', SED II No. 21). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *birbiríny* 'caille' vs. Dangla *bààrè*, Migama *bàaré* 'perdrix' < Afras. \**bVr-* ~ \**bVrbVr-* 'kind of bird (quail, partridge, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *barbūr* 'a bird fattened to be eaten by king Solomon', Tna. *bareto* 'turtledove', W. Chad. Hausa *bi/ùrabirà* 'quail', E. Cush. Burji *bùr-o* 'partridge', etc. (in \**bar-* 'kind of bird', SED II No. 61). <> E. Cush. Dobaze *koren-te* 'goat' vs. Arbore *kaaríy* 'heifer goat' < Afras. \**karr-* ~ \**karw-* 'ram, goat' (v. in \**ka/irr-* 'ram', SED II No. 118). <> E. Cush. Darasa *ḥissan-e*, Kambatta *ḥissoonna-ta* 'spider' vs. Tsamai *ḥiske* 'louse' (<\**ḥis-k-*), S. Cush. Dahalo *ḥūci* 'bee larva', etc. < Afras. \**ḥVc/c-* 'kind of insect' (v. in \**ḥVšam-* 'locust, (locust) larva', SED II No. 139). <> E. Cush. Sidamo *garran-čo* 'Agazen antelope' vs. N. Cush. N.: Beja *garuwa* 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw *gwarʔaay* 'antelope', etc. < Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-* ~ \**garw-* 'kind of ungulate' (v. in \**gVrr/w(-at)-* 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). <> E. Cush. Burji *ḥorʔan-čo*, Darasa *ḥoraan-de*, Hadiya *ḥoraan-ta*, Kambatta *ḥorʔan-čo* vs. Alaba Tembaro *ḥura* 'crow' < Afras. \**ḡ<sup>w</sup>ar-* 'crow, raven' (v. in \**yārib-* ~ \**yurāb-* 'crow, raven' SED II No. 89). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *dóóroání* 'large stinging insect' vs. E. Cush. Kambatta *zeer-a* 'locust' < Afras. \**ḡVr-* 'kind of insect, worm': Sem. Arb. *darr-* 'très-petites fourmis', W. Chad. Galambu *ḡur* 'worm', E. Chad. Bidiya *ḡariyo* 'criquet sp.', etc. (v. in \**dVr(r)-* 'kind of worm, insect' SED II No. 74). <> (?) Egyp. (OK) *ḡbn-w* 'antelope' (if from Afras. \**čVb-Vn-*) vs. Sem. \**ṭaby(-at)-* 'gazelle': Akk. *šabītu*, Arb. *ḡaby-* 'gazelle', etc. (SED II No. 242).

#### Anatomy:

[] Akk. *dadānu* (*diadānu*, *daddānu*) 'neck muscles' vs. Ugr. *dd*, Hbr. *dad* 'breast' < \**dadd-*, \**dayd-* 'breast, teat' (SED I No. 47). [] Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchiae' (also Jud. *simpōnā* id., likely a Hebraism) vs. Akk. *sinib/ptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Gez. *san/mbuʔ* 'lung' < \**si/anḡ-* 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Hbr. *šippōrān* vs. Jud. *ṭprā*, Gez. *šəfr*, etc. < \**ṭip(V)r-* 'nail' (SED I No. 285). [] Arb. *firsin-* 'pied, patte' vs. Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsātā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. < \**pa/irs-*

'sole (of foot, hoof)': Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsētā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. (SED I No. 220). [] Tgr. *ḥafān* 'hoof' vs. Arb. *ḥuff-*, Mhr. *ḥaf*, etc. < \**ḥu/ap-* 'hoof' (SED I No. 135). [] Mhr. *kōbān* 'dry cow-pat, piece of dry cow-dung' vs. Jib. *kō* 'cow-dung', *ekbé* '(cow) to excrete' < \**kVbaw/y(-at)-* '(dry cow's) dung' (SED I No. 142). [] Mhr. *mā ḥwāyēn*, Hrs. *m ḥeyīn* vs. Hbr. *mē ḥayim* (pl.), Arb. *ma ḥy-*, etc. < \**ma ḥay/w(-at)-* 'intestine, entrails' (SED I No. 185). [] Soq. *ḫəḥēlhin* vs. Jib. *ḫəḥlāt*, etc. < \**ḫa(w)ḥil-*, \**ḥVn-ḫulaliḥ-* 'egg' (SED I No. 170). [] Sem.: Hbr. pB. *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member', Arb. (N. Yem.) *zibbin* 'penis' (also Syr. *zūlbānā*, *zālūbānā* 'veretrum (cervi et equi)') vs. \**zubb-* '(male) genitalia': Arb. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle)', (N. Yem.) *zibb*, *zubb* 'penis' (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. \**lab(y)-ān-*: Akk. *labānu* (*labiānu*, *libānu*) 'tendon of the neck; neck', Arb. *labān-* 'poitrine, surtout la partie entre les mamelles, poitrail (de tout animal à sabot)' vs. \**labb(-at)-*: Arb. *lubbāt-* 'le haut de la poitrine', etc., Tgr. *lābbāt* 'place of the fillet steak on the back of animals; midst, side', Wol. *lābāt* 'waist', Zw. *lābāt* 'podex, anus, buttocks', Muh. Sod. etc. *laba* 'waist' (< \**labb(-at)-*, \**lab(y)-ān-* '(animal's) body from neck to rump' SED I No. 173). [] Sem. \**dVm(a)n-*: Arb. *dimn-* 'crottin, fiente des bêtes, particulièrement, globuleuse', *damān-* 'fumiere', Hbr. *dōmān* 'dung' vs. Arb. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente (de chameau ou d'autre animaux semblable)' (in SED I No. 52). [] Sem. \**sVry/ḥān-*: Akk. *šer ḥānu* (*šir ḥānu*) 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jud. *šuryānē*, *suryānē* (pl. constr.) 'muscles (of the eye)', Syr. *šeryānā* 'articulus; arteria; pulsus arteriarum', Mnd. *širiana* 'vein, artery, membrane, fibre', Arb. *šariyyān-* 'artère', Mhr. *šārān* 'leg', Jib. *šārīn* 'muscles of the back' vs. \**sVry/w/ḥ-*: Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. tant.), Syr. *šārītā* 'articulus', Arb. *ši/arḥat-*, etc. 'corde de l'arc', *ḥusrūḥ-* 'tendon de la jambe de la gazelle', Gez. *šarw*, etc. 'sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle', Amh. *sarasər* 'blood vessel', Soq. *mésəräḥ* 'tendon d'Achille' (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. \**dap-an-*: Hbr. pB. *dōpān* 'the chest surrounding the lungs; ribs; a single rib; the parties of the abdomen; board-partition', Syr. *dapnā* 'latus, lumbus', Sel. Wol. *dāfāna* 'part of body between the shoulder-blades', etc. vs. \**dapp-at-*: Arb. *daff-* 'côté, flanc; face', Tgr. *dāffāt* 'place between shoulder-blade and neck', Mhr. *dəf(f)ēt* 'body, side' (in \**dap-an-* vs. \**dapp-at-* 'side of body; chest, ribs; back' SED I No. 55). [] Sem. \**darān-*: Arb. *darān-* 'tumeurs dures sur le corps', Tgr. *dārān* 'cutaneous eruptions like blisters', etc. vs. Arb. *dr?* 'avoir le bubon pestilentiel au dos (se dit des chameaux)', Cha. Eža Gye. *dāra* 'leprosy that causes the whiteness of skin' (in SED I No. 57). [] Sem. \**gVb(b)-an-*: Hbr. *gibbēn* 'hunchbacked?', Jud. *gibnā* 'hump', Muh. *g<sup>w</sup>ābān*, Gog. *g<sup>w</sup>ābana* 'hunchbacked' vs. \**gab(V)b-*: Syr. *gabībā* 'gibbosus', Arb. *ḡabab-* 'plaie...à la bosse du chameau', Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ābābb alā* 'to be hunchbacked' (in \**gab(V)b-*, \**gVb(b)-an-* 'hump, hunch' SED I No. 67). [] Sem. \**gab(b)īn-*: Jud. *gabīnā* 'eyebrow, eyelash', Arb. *ḡabīn-* 'front', etc. (SED I No. 69) vs. Sem. \**gabb(-at)-*: Hbr. *gabbōt ḥēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *ḡubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66). [] Sem. \**baḥn-*: Hbr. *bāḥān*, Mnd. *baḥna* 'large belly; pregnancy', Arb. *baḥn-* 'ventre', etc. (SED I No. 42) vs. Sem.: Arb. (*ta*)*ba ḥaḥa*, Gez. *baḥaḥa* 'lie on the stomach' (LGz 114) < Afras. \**buḥ-* 'belly, navel': Brb. Shilḥ *a-buḥ* 'nombril', Zenaga *buḥ* 'gros nombril', etc. (DRB 29), W. Chad. Sura *ḥut*, Mupun *būt*, etc. 'belly' (CLR 20), Fyer *ḥuto*, Kariya *būḡà*, etc. (note also Miya *bāḡi* and *būḡān*) 'navel' (ibid. 250). [] Sem. \**šam(a)n-* 'oil, fat': Akk. *šamnu*, Ugr. *šmn*, Arb. *sammn-*, etc., probably < Afras. \**sVm(V)n-*: W. Chad. Diri *šinama* (met. < \**siman-?*), E. Chad. Sokoro *sūnne* 'melted butter' (< \**sumne*, according to Stolbova) vs. Tgr. *šāmut* 'ointment' (cf. also *səmsəm wāda* 'to become fat in the neck') and, perhaps, Ugr. *šmt* 'cebo, grasa' (unless < \**šamattu* < \**šaman-t-*; cf. DLU 445-6), in which case < Sem. \**šam-Vt-* < Afras. \**sim-at-* 'melted fat, butter, oil': Brb.: Ahaggar *ésîm* 'graisse fondue', Qabyle *ta-səm-t* 'graisse animal', Egyp. Med. *smy* 'fette Milch, Sahne', N. Cush. Beja *simuum* 'suet, fatty covering of kidneys' (v. in SED No. 248). [] Sem. \**liš(š)ān-* 'tongue; language': Akk. *lišānu*, Hbr. *lāšōn*, Arb. *lišān-*, etc. vs. Afras. \**lis-* 'tongue' (cf. also Arb. *lss* 'lécher; manger' and similar forms): Brb. \**ḥ-lis-*, Egyp. Pyr. *ns* (Copt. \**lsy*), Chad. \**lis-* (SED I No. 181). <> Brb. Ahaggar *teddumman* 'morceau de cuir dur formant le fond de l'égerouci' (Fouc 201; < \**tV-dum-an*) vs. AA \**ḥa-dVm-* 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *ḥadam-* 'peau humaine', *ḥadīm-* 'peau de visage; peau d'un animal, surtout

grand, large' (BK 1 19; rather homonymous to, than derived from, *ʔdm* 'ê. rouge' *ibid.*), Eth. \**ʔadim* (Gez *ʔadim* 'skin, red leather; red', Tgr. Tna. *ʔadim* 'leather', Amh. *adim* 'red leather'; according to LGz 8, from Arb. *ʔadīm*- "possibly from the red or brown color"), (?) W. Chad. Tangale *hadam* 'skin, hide, leather' (JungT 88; < \**ʔadam*?), E. Cush. Somali *idin*, pl. *idmo* 'tanned skin' (Dolg 1973 237; hardly < Sem. as in LGz 8).

Varia:

[] Gez. *masyān* vs. *mes* 'drink made from fermented honey' (LGz 377) < Sem. \**mayt*- (v. in -*Vr* Varia). [] Sem. \**kaṭVn*- 'small, thin': Akk. *kaṭnu* 'thin, fine, narrow' (CAD Q 173), Hbr. *kaṭān* 'small' (HAL 1092-3), Gez. *kaṭīn* 'to be thin, fine', etc. (LGz 453) vs. \**k<sup>v</sup>Vt*-: Hbr. (hapax leg.) *kaṭ* 'small' (HAL 1091), Gez. *k<sup>v</sup>aṭaṭa* 'to be slender, thin' (LGz 455). [] Sem. \**ʔadan*- 'lord, master': Ugr. *ʔadn*, Hbr. *ʔādōn*, Pho. Nab. Palm. *ʔdn*, etc. (cf. HAL 12-13; DLU 9), with -*n* likely a masculine marker, vs. Sem. \**ʔad-at*- 'lady' (hardly < \**ʔadatt*- < \**ʔadan-t*-; cf. DRS 8): Ugr. *ʔadt*, Pho. Nab. Palm. *ʔdt*, etc. (cf. HAL 12; DLU 11), tenably related to Tna. *addē*, Cha. *adot*, Gye. *adōt*, etc. 'mother', Cha. *ado/i*, Gog. *adde*, etc. 'mother!' (possibly but not necessarily < Cush. as in LGur 18; cf. *ibid.*: "The connection of this root with Ug., Punic, Palmyrean *ʔad-t* 'lady' is enigmatic") < Afras. \**ʔa/i(n)d*- 'elder female relative': C. Chad. Munjuk *adi* 'grandmother', E. Chad. Kera *áḏīdà* 'Grossmutter' (Eb 113), N. Cush. Beja *enda/e*, C. Cush. Bilin *adé* 'Mutter' (RBeḏ 21), Somali *eddo* 'paternal aunt' (Abr Som 72), Oromo *aaddee* 'older sister, aunt; general term of address for women' (Gr 1), Hadiya Kambatta *adda* 'mother' (LGur 18), Gollango *taatíté* 'älteste Schwester' (AMS 267; likely < \**ta-ʔadid*-), N. Omot. Mocha *ʔinde*, Haruro *endo*, Malo *indo* 'mother' (LMč 20), etc. [] Afras. \**tiʕ(i)n*- 'fig-tree': Sem. \**tiʕn*- 'fig(-tree)': Akk. *tittu*, *tiʕittu* (pl. *tīnātu*), Hbr. *təʕēnā*, Arb. *tīn*-, etc., Brb. Ahaggar *təyne*, Taneslem *teḥəyne*, etc. 'datte', W. Chad. Angas *teung* 'tree, fig-tree', etc. vs. \**tiʔ*-: Akk. (Lex. SB) *ti ʕu* 'Feige', N. Omot. Janjero *te ʔā* 'sicomoro' (Mil Farm 142).

-(*V*)*m* (cf. Barth 349-54, GVG 396, Torczyner pp. 1 ff.)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' vs. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow' < \**liʕ-at*-, \**laʔay-at*- 'head of large cattle': Arb. *lāʔa* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Arb. *ʕardam*- vs. *ʕarād*- 'locust' < \**garad*- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 83). [] Arb. *ʔazram*- (< Afras. \**ʔa-ʕVr-am*-? Cf. W. Chad. Galambu *zə̀rəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzùrmà* 'leopard' < \**zarzur-m*-) vs. Sem. \**ʔa(n)z/dar*- 'kind of wild cat' < Afras. (v. *ʔV*- Animal names; SED II No. 9). [] Arb. *ʕulʕim*- 'taureau vieux' vs. *ʕiʕl*- 'veau' < \**ʕig<sup>w</sup>al*- // \**ʕigl*- 'calf': Ugr. *ʕgl*, Syr. *ʕeglā*, etc. (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *burām*- 'tique' (also Tgr. *bəram* 'tick' unless an Arabism) vs. \**bur*- 'kind of insect': Akk. \**burtu* (in *burt/di šamḥat*) 'caterpillar', Eža *bəre*, Cha. *bre* 'insect (such as a bug or a louse that eats human excrements or cereal)', etc. (SED II No. 62). [] Gez. *lāhm* 'ox, bull, cow', Tna. *lahmi* 'cow' (LGz 309; < Sem. \**lVhm*-? Cf. Arb. *lihm*- 'agé (taureau)' BK 2 1034 and Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' above) vs. Mhr. *ləháyə̀n*, Hrs. *ləhētə̀h* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti*, Soq. *ʕélheh* 'cow' (v. in \**liʕ-at*-, \**laʔay-at*- 'head of large cattle' SED II No. 142). [] S. Eth. Amh. *kurma* 'bull (not castrated)', Har. *korma* 'male (animal)', Muh. *k<sup>w</sup>ärma* 'the young male of a sheep, male (animal), bull' (cf. also Yaaku *kùrùma* 'goat' below) vs. Arb. *kawr*- 'troupeau nombreux (de chameaux, de boeufs)', probably continuing Sem. \**ka/irr*- 'ram': Akk. *kirru*, Hbr. *kar*, etc. < Afras. \**karr*-, \**karw*- '(young male) ram, goat': Brb. Nefusa *a-krar* 'bouc', Ghat *a-kərwāt* 'agneau', etc., W. Chad. Dera *kwáarà* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Arbore *kaaríy* 'heifer goat', etc. (SED II No. 118; cf. also W. Chad. Tangale *káarwà* 'cow' CLR 92). [] Sem. \**kinVm*-: Hbr. *kinnām* 'gnats', pB. *kənimā* 'vermin, moth', Mhr. *kə̀nəmūt*, Hrs. *kenemōt*, Jib. *šínút* (pl. *kùnùm*), Soq. *kónem* (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Migama *kákkùmá* 'pou', possibly < \**kan/mkum*-, and S. Cush. Iraqw *konkomó* 'bean seed borer') vs. \**kinn*-: Hbr. *kēn* 'gnat', pB. *kinnā*, Jud. *kinnā* 'vermin, louse' < Afras. \**ka/inn(kVn)*- 'kind of insect': E. Chad. Dangla *kə̀kkínèènè* 'sauterelle de saison sèche, comestible', E. Cush. Somali *šinn-i*, Oromo (Borana) *kinn-iisa*, Konso *han-ta* 'bee', N. Omot. Janjero *kenako*, *kenaḳo*

'flea', Hozo *konni* 'louse', *keekanki*, Sezo *kāṅkākāṅk(i)* 'spider' (v. in *\*ki/ann(-Vm)-* 'a harmful insect', SED II No. 116). [] Sem. (unless a series of interborrowings): Syr. *būmā*, Mnd. *bum*, *buma*, N. Syr. *būmā*, Arb. *būm-* 'owl' vs. *\*bVʕ(w)-* ~ *\*būh-* id.: Hbr. pB. *bā(ʔ)wāt*, Syr. *baʔwā*, *bawwā*, Arb. *būh-* (SED II No. 52; perhaps onomatopoeitic). [] Sem. *\*kVʕam-* 'locust, (locust) larva': Ugr. *kšm* 'grasshopper(s)', Arb. *kašam-* 'oeufs de sauterelles', *kašām-* 'sauterelle', Amh. *kačam* 'nit, louse' vs. Tgr. *kāš*, *kāč* 'flea', Amh. *kʷəčač* 'tiny black ants' < Afras. *\*kVc/č-* 'kind of insect (locust or ant larva?)': E. Cush. Darasa *kissane* 'spider', Tsamai *kiske* 'louse', S. Cush. Dahalo *kuči* 'bee larva', N. Omot. Kachama *kačo* 'black ant', etc. (v. in SED II No. 139). [] Sem. *\*šVIVm-* 'kind of insect': Syr. *šalmūnəyā* 'tarantula', Arb. *ʔal-ʔašlam-* 'puce', Tna. *šāllam tel* 'dark spider, tarantula' vs. Hbr. *šālāšal* 'locust, cricket' (perhaps also Tgr. *šəlšəl*) < Afras.? Cf. S. Omot. Hamar *čilu* 'ant sp.' (SED II No. 210). <> Brb. *\*(H)iķirdam* 'scorpion': Siwa *tigerdemt*, Ahaggar *éyirdem*, pl. *iḃōrdām*, Semlal *iḃirdem*, pl. *iḃardmiun*, Qabyle *iḃirdem*, etc. vs. Sem. *\*kʷVrVd-* // *\*kVrd-* 'tick': Syr. *kerdā*, Arb. *ķurd-*, Tna. *kʷərdid*, etc. (SED II No. 135). <> E. Cush. Sidamo *gurum-iččo* 'gazelle' vs. N. Cush. Beja *garuwa* 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw *gwarʔaay* 'antelope (big)', etc. < Afras. *\*gʷar-* ~ *\*garw-* 'kind of ungulate' (v. in *\*gVrr/w(-at)-* 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). <> E. Cush. Yaaku *kūrūma* 'goat' vs. Afras. *\*karr-*, *\*karw-* '(young male) ram, goat' (v. in *\*ka/irr-* 'ram', SED II No. 118; v. above). <> E. Cush. Burji *gárm-i*, Gidole *karm*, Konso *karm-aa*, Gawwada-Dalpena Harso Dihina Gollango *kármō* (< *\*garm-*), N. Omot. Zaysse Koyra Ganjule *garma* 'lion' (unless Cush. and Omot. are interborrowings) vs. Afras. *\*gi/ar-* 'cat; lion': Sem. Akk. *girru* 'lion', Har. *gārgōra* (*gāngōra*) 'leopard', W. Chad. Dwoṭ *gewart* '(an animal) smaller than civet', E. Cush. Gidole *kiro-ta*, Burji *giraaʔw-ee* 'cat', N. Omot. Zala *gawar-ya*, Dawro *garawa*, Malo *gaware*, Gamu/Dače *gawara*, Zaysse *garawa*, Koyra *giraawwe?* id., etc. (v. in *\*gūr-* ~ *\*gury/w-* 'whelp, cub', SED II No. 82). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *ngólome* <*\*nV-gʷVI-am-* vs. Afras. *\*ŋ-gʷal-*: W. Chad. Sayanchi *gāl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyèl* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf', etc. (v. in *\*ŋgʷal-* // *\*ŋgl-* 'calf', SED II No. 28). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *kibowašimo* 'sp. small gazelle' vs. Sem. *\*kabs-* 'young ram': Akk. *kabsu*, Hbr. *kābās*, Arb. *kabš-*, etc. (SED II No. 114). <> Afras. *\*ga/udam-* 'kind of of ungulate' (unless the suffixation of *-m* is an independent process in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Kariya *gudam* 'Western kob' (cf. E. Chad. Migama *dāgāyām* 'sheep', perhaps related metathetically), E. Cush. Oromo *gadam-sa*, Burji *gadám-a* 'greater kudu' vs. *\*ga/uday/w-* 'kind of ungulate': Sem. *\*gady-* 'kid' (Hbr. *gādī*, Arb. *žady-*, etc.), W. Chad. Hausa *gādāa*, Ngizim *gādūwà* 'duiker', C. Chad. Zime-Batna *gódày* 'buck', E. Cush. Sidamo *goda* 'deer, gazelle', N. Omot. Zaysse *gaaidé* 'cattle', etc. (SED II No. 76). <> Afras. *\*kVI(V)m-* 'vermin' (Sem. Akk. *kalmatu* 'parasite, louse', Arm. Anc. *klmh* 'parasite, louse', Jud. *kalmā*, *kalmətā* 'vermin', C. Chad. Bura *kulamya* 'general term for worms', E. Chad. Dangla *kelēēmā* 'coléoptère Hydrophyle', E. Cush.: Saho Afar *kilim*, Somali *šilin*, pl. *šilm-o*, Rendille *čilim*, Oromo *šilm-a*, etc. 'tick') vs. Afras. *\*kʷVI(kʷVI)-* 'kind of insect': Sem. Akk. *kulīlu* 'dragonfly', Gez. *kʷəlkʷəl(t)* 'kind of black ant', Brb. Ayr E. Tawillemmet *kālkāt* 'être pouilleux', C. Chad. Bura *kalakala* 'a species of locust', E. Chad. Tumak *kùlál* 'mille-pattes' (v. in SED II No. 130 *\*kʷ(ʷ)aml-* // *\*kumāl-* ~ *\*kalm-* 'louse', b. *\*kalm-*). <> Afras. *\*ka/ul(l)um-*: W. Chad. Hausa *kulma/e/i* 'the name of a large fish' (Barg 636), E. Cush. Afar *kullu(u)m* 'Fisch' (RAF 867), Somali *kallun*, pl. *kalluumo* 'fish' (Abr Som 148) vs. Sem. Mehri *kell*, Jibbali *kāl* 'whale' (ADB after Thomas; cf. Akk. *kulīlu*, *kulullu* 'a fabulous creature, part man and part fish' CAD K 526: Sum. lw.), (?) C. Chad. Bura *kaliko* 'a k. of fish' (Bura 96), *kila kila* id. (ibid. 103); cf. Dolg AN 424. <> Afras. *\*(ʔa-)žagum-* (unless *-m* is suffixed independently in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Ngizim *āžagùm* 'hippopotamus' (Bla Eleph 204), E. Cush. Yaaku *sogómèi* 'elephant' (Hei Ya 124; possibly <*\*zogom-* <*\*žogom-*) vs. Afras. *\*(ʔa-)žVgw-* 'hippopotamus': C. Chad. Diri Paʔa *žungwa*, Siri *žḃwa* (Sk NB 26), N. Omot. Kačama *azāgē*, Koyra *azzāgē*, Ganjule *azagé* (Bla Eleph 204), cf. also Egyp. MK *z.ḡ-t* 'Fabeltier' (EG III 422; hardly 'hippopotamus' well-known to Egyptians: an elephant or rhinoceros?).



## Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *šāpām* 'moustache' vs. *šāpā* 'lip' < \**ša(n)p-at-* 'lip': Akk. *šaptu*, Arb. *šafat-*, etc. (SED I No. 265). [] Arb. *ʔadram-* 'édenté' vs. *ʔadrad-* id. < \**dVr(dVr)-* 'toothless mouth, gum': Jud. *dārārā* 'gum', Tgr. *dārdār gāʔa* 'to grow toothless', etc. (SED I No. 56). [] Arb. *nuḥmat-*, *nuḥāmat-* 'ce que l'on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.' vs. \**naḥ-* 'mucus; mucus membrane': Akk. *naḥnaḥatu* (redupl.) 'Nasenscheidewand', Jib. *nḥḥ* 'phlegm', etc. (SED I 197). [] Tgr. *fərsəm* 'ankle (of men); heel tendon' vs. \**pa/irs-* 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220; v. in *-(V)n* Anatomy). [] Soq. *ḥaryómoh* 'excrément' vs. \**ḥVrʔ/y-* 'excrement, dregs': Ugr. *ḥrʔu*, Syr. *ḥerāyā*, Arb. *ḥarr-*, *ḥurʔ-*, etc. (SED I No. 136). [] Sem.: Arb. *sanām-* 'bosse de chameau', Gez. *sə/anām* 'hump' (unless < Arb.), Tgr. *səlam* (dissim.) 'hump of camel or of cattle' vs. Arb. *sinsinat-* 'sommel de la bosse du chameau', Arg. *sañña*, Gog. Sod. *šañña* 'hump of animal', (?) Hrs. *sensīn de-ḡahr* 'spine' < \**š/sVn(-ām)-* 'hump of animal (camel, etc.)' (SED I No. 250). [] Arb. *ḥalḵūm-* (also MSA \**ḥalḵam-ut* 'Adam's apple', Tgr. *ḥalḵəm* 'throat, larynx', both probably < Arb.) vs. *ḥalḵ-* 'gorge' < \**ḥalḵ-*, \**ḥalḵū/um-* 'Adam's apple, throat' (SED I No. 117). [] Sem.: Mnd. *balḥuma* 'gullet' (unless < Arb.), Arb. *bulḥum-* 'oesophage, canal de déglutition', Soq. *bālḥam* 'viveur' vs. \**balVʔ/y-*: Syr. *bāla ʔtā* 'guttur', Jib. *təbʔəʔt* 'uvula', etc. (cf. SED I No. 36). [] Sem. *tu/alḥīm-* 'spleen': Akk. *tuḥīmu*, MSA \**talḥaym* vs. \**tiḥāl-* id.: Ugr. *ṭḥl*, Hbr. pB. *təḥōl*, Syr. *təḥālā*, etc., Arb. *tiḥāl*, Muh. Sod., etc. *ṭala* 'spleen', Jib. *ṭəḥ* 'blood and discharge with an afterbirth' (SED I No. 278). [] Arm. \**pum-*, Arb. *fum-*, *fam(m)-*, *fim-* 'mouth' vs. Akk. *pū*, Ugr. *p*, Hbr. *pā*, Arb. *fū-*, Eth. \**ʔaf-* id. (in \**pay-* 'mouth', SED I No. 223; v. in *ʔV-* Anatomy). [] Sem. \**lḵm-*: Arb. *lḵm* 'to eat, swallow up', Gez. *laḵama* 'to chew', Tna. *lāḵāmā* 'to eat roasted grain', Tgr. *lāḵma* 'to eat' (LGz 317) vs. Sem. \**IVḵ(IVḵ)-*: Hbr. *lḵḵ* 'to lick up, lap', pB. *lḵḵ* id., Arb. *lḵḵ*, Tgr. *lḵḵ* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). <> E. Chad. Somrai *gídám* 'foot', E. Cush. Burji *gudūm-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder' (< Afras. \**gVdVm-* unless independent processes of *-m* suffixation) vs. Sem. \**gVd-at-* '(part or bone of the) leg of animal', E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo*, *abbuuduu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadā*, *āgūd* (pl.) 'arm', Hadiya *angʷoda*, Tambaro *angāta* 'upper part of arm', Darasa *agōdā* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kafa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Omoto (Wolamo) *gāddea* 'leg', (Kullo) *gād'ya* 'foot' < Afras. \*(*ʔa-*)*gVd-* 'limb' (SED I No. 71; v. in *ʔV-* Anatomy). <> Afras.: Brb. Kel-Ui *uləm*, S. Omot. Hamar *weylēm* (Bnd Om 211) 'heart' vs. Brb.: Ahaggar *ul*, Ayr *əwəl*, Siwa *uli*, Semlal *ul*, Qabyle *ul*, etc., id. (counter to a wide-spread opinion, unrelated to Afras. \**IVb-* 'heart') and perhaps S. Omot. Ongota *ləata* id. (< \**IV-t-ʔ* Mil Ong).

## Varia:

[] Arb. *šubrum-* 'espèce de plante dont la graine ressemble aux lentilles' (also Sam. *šabrimma* 'grain') vs. Hbr. *šābār* 'grain' (also Sam. *šabru* id.) < Sem. \**šabr(-Vm)-* < Afras. \**šV(m)bar-* 'k. of corn; chickpea' (on Afras. \**š-* > Sem. \**šx-* > Hbr *š-* Arb. *š-* v. SED I, XCVIII-CV): C. Cush. Aungi *šəmbər-i* 'chickpea', Bilin *sabbar-ā* 'Hülsenfrucht', E. Cush.: Saho Afar *sabbar-é* 'eine bestimmte Hülsenfrucht', Oromo *šumbur-ā*, Geleba Kambatta *šumbur-a*, Burji Hadiya Sidama *šimbur-a* 'chickpea', Gollango *sumbur-o* 'Erbse' (Mil Farm 142). [] Gez. *təmāləm* 'yesterday' vs. Tgr. *tāmāle*, Tna. *təmāli*, Hbr. *təmōl*, Akk. *timāli*, etc. id. (LGz 575-6). [] Gez. *gesam*, *gešām*, Tgr. *gesām* 'tomorrow' vs. Gez. *ges/ša* 'to be early, do things early in the morning', Tna. *gäsäggäsä* 'to leave early in the morning', Har. *gāš* 'tomorrow', etc. (LGz 208-9; v. discussion *ibid.*). [] Sem. \**gdm* 'to cut': Akk. *gadāmu* 'to cut off hair' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdm* 'to lop off, stump' (Ja 213), Syr. *gdm* 'cecidit, abscidit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ḡdm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599), etc. (v. LGz 182-3; well-looking Afras. parallels, such as E. Chad. Dangla *gāddūm-nè* 'instrument for cutting wood', N. Cush. Beja *gaduūm*, E. Cush. Saho *gədumaa*, Somali *gudimo*, etc. are probably borrowed from Arb. *ḡad(d)ūm-* 'axe'; cf. RBeḡ 91) vs. \**gdd* 'to cut' (v. in LGz 180): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ḡdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gādda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). <> W. Chad. Angas *gürm* vs.

C. Chad. Glavda *ʔagùrà*, Mandara *gíre*, E. Chad. Somrai *giri*, *ǰrī*, Jegu *giri*, *gír(k)* 'bean' < Afras. \*g<sup>(w)</sup>i/ar- ~ \*garga/ir- 'bean' (Mil Farm 141). <> Chad. \*kawira(-mi)- 'hoe' (-mi is an instrumental suffix?): W. Chad. Hausa *kórámé* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kùrəm*, C. Chad. Fali-Bwagira *ta-kurmi-n* 'hoe', S. Cush. Iraqw Alagwa *kurumo* 'hoe', Asa *kurim-* 'to cultivate' vs. C. Chad. \*kwr ~ \*krw: Hona *kūra*, Lame *kāruá*, Banana *kàwirà* 'hoe', Mofu *kərw*, Lame *kura* 'to hoe, prepare field for sowing', S. Cush. Maʔa *-kùru* 'to cultivate' < Afras. \*kwr (Chad., Cush.) ~ \*ʔkr (Sem.) 'to cultivate' (Mil Farm 146). <> W. Chad. Hausa *sàkwami* 'hoe with a long handle' vs. Sura *sak* 'to hoe, plow', Tangale *suk* 'to plow' < Afras. \*skk, \*swk, \*skw/y/? 'to cultivate, to hoe and sow' (Mil Farm 147). <> Afras. \*çlm 'to be dark, black' (cf. also Stolb 1996 47): Sem. \*ʔlm 'to be dark': Akk. *šalāmu* 'to become dark, turn black' (CAD S 70), Arb. *zlm* 'to be dark', Gez. *šalma* 'to grow dark, be black', etc. (v. in LGz 556), C. Chad. Buduma *čilum* (Luk Bud 95), Kotoko *səlamm*, E. Chad. Dangla *zìlim-* (CLR II 29) 'black', Migama *zìlmó* 's'assombrir' (Jung Mig 136; cf. also *čùlùmtì* 'l'ouest' *ibid.* 75), Mokilko *zímòlò* 'ténébreux, obscure, sombre' (Jung Mkk 200; metathesis), E. Cush. Somali *ḍelmanayya* 'to move in the evening' (v. Abr Som 56; <\*çVlm-an-), S. Cush. Qwadza *calam-* 'green' (HRSC 388) vs. Afras. \*čā/il-: Sem. \*ʔil(a)- 'shadow, shade': Akk. *šullulu* 'obscure, dark' (CAD S 239), *šillu* 'shadow, shade' (*ibid.* 189), Arb. *zill-* 'shadow', Gez. *šəlālot* 'shadow, shade, darkness' (LGz 555), etc., W. Chad. Angas *ǰil* 'shade under trees' (Stolb 1996 48 after Foulkes), Sha *čalā* 'Shatten (Person, Sache)' (Jung R 283), C. Chad. Gisiga *nɣala* 'west' (Stolb 1996 48), E. Cush. Sidamo *çaale* 'shade' (HEC 131), S. Cush. Dahalo *ʔiilali* 'shadow' (EEN 8).

-(V)?

Animal names:

[] Arb. *šaḵrabāʔ-* vs. *šaḵrab-* (in *šaḵrab-* 'scorpion', SED II No. 31).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *ḥarmāʔ-* 'oreille percée' vs. *ḥarmat-* 'endroit où le nez est percé pour y passer une boucle' < \*ḥrm 'to have a notch, cut in the skin (nose, ear, lip)' (SED I Vb. No. 30). [] Arb. *ḥawbāʔ-* 'poitrine' vs. Hbr. pB. *ḥōb*, Jud. *ḥubbā* <\*ḥubb- or \*ḥawb- 'chest, bosom' (SED I No. 109). [] Arb. *ḥammāʔ-* 'fesses' vs. *ḥammām-at-* 'milieu de la poitrine, du poitrail, sternum, etc.' <\*ḥVmm(-at)- 'breast, stomach, entrails' (SED I No. 119). [] Gez. *sanbuʔ* 'lung', Tgr. *sän/mbuʔ* 'lung; pulmonary disease', Tna. *san/mbuʔ* 'lung' vs. Akk. *sinibtu*, *siniptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchiae', etc. < Sem. \*si/anḫ- < Afras. \*Si/anḫ- 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Gez. *naḥāʔ* (also *naʔah*) 'phlegm' vs. Jib. *nḥḥ* id. < \*naḥ- 'mucus; mucus membrane' (SED I No. 197). [] Mhr. (Jadib) *ḥəšərrəʔ* vs. E. Jib. *ḥəšréer*, Arb. *ḥinšir-*, etc. < \*ḥi(n)ḥVr- '(little) finger' (SED I No. 134).

-(V)ʔ

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ḵirdiʔ-*, *ḵirdaʔ-* 'poux (chez les chameaux ou chez les poules)', *ḵurdūʔ-* 'petite fourmi' vs. *ḵurd-* 'teigne qui attaque les chevaux, les chameaux' < \*ḵ<sup>w</sup>VrVd- // \*ḵVrd- 'tick' (SED II No. 135; v. in -Vm Animal names). [] Arb. *ǰāndaʔ-*, *ǰūnduʔ-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire' (possibly also Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ande*, Sel. *gōndä*, Wol. *g<sup>w</sup>ändä*, Gog. *g<sup>w</sup>ändä* and similar Gur. forms 'kind of ant', if <\*g<sup>w</sup>andaʔ) vs. Arb. *ǰudǰud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (v. in \*g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab- // \*ga(n)dab- 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *ḵorəʔ*, Tna. *ḵ<sup>w</sup>ərfo* 'frog' vs. Sem. \*ḵVr(V)r- 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in ʔV- Animal names). <> S. Cush. Alagwa *čembe ſu*, Burunge *čambe ſu* 'frog' vs. Iraqw *čambebé* 'small insect drifting on top of water, tadpole', W. Chad. Hausa *çumbē* id. < Afras. \*čamb- 'frog', probably related to Sem. \*šabb- 'kind of lizard' (SED II No. 221).

## Anatomy:

[] Syr. *parsū šā* 'ungula' vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea' < \**pa/irs-* 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED II No. 220). [] Arb. *ḵirdi šat-* 'cou' vs. *ḵard-* id., *ḵurdūd-* 'dos (toute la largeur du dos chez l'homme depuis les fesses jusqu'aux épaules)', *ḵurdūdat-* 'le haut du dos' < Sem. \**ḵard-* 'neck, throat': Jib. *ḵerd* 'throat', etc. < Afras.: Brb. \**ḵard-* 'neck' (Ayr E. Tawllemmet *ti-ḵard-en* 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates') SED II No. 166. [] Sem. \**g<sup>w</sup>Vrʕ-*: Arb. *šrʕ* 'boire par gorgées, absorber', Gez. *g<sup>w</sup>arʕe*, *gurʕe* 'throat, neck, palate', *g<sup>w</sup>arʕaya* 'to stab the throat, slaughter, strangle', Tgr. *gəraʕ*, *gərʕat* 'neck, throat', Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ärräʕe* 'to crack (adolescent's voice)', *g<sup>w</sup>ärʕamä* 'to drink greedily, taking big gulps', Mhr. *gorā* 'to finish up a drink', Hrs. *gōra*, *gēro* 'to drink up', Jib. *gōtraʕ* 'to be all drunk, drunk up' (stem with the infix -t-) vs. Hbr. *gargərōt* 'pharynx, neck', Syr. *gaggartā* 'gutter', Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ərg<sup>w</sup>ərīt* 'gozzo', *g<sup>w</sup>äräro* 'gola, trachea', etc. < \**g<sup>w</sup>ar(g<sup>w</sup>)ar-* 'throat, gullet' (SED II No. 102). [] N. Eth. \**ʕV-ngVdʕ-*: Gez. *ʕəngədʕ/ʕā* 'breast, chest', Tna. *ʕəngədə ʕa* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *naʕd-* 'mamelle', Hbr. *nəgād* 'that which is opposite, in front of, before' (< \**nagd-* 'breast' SED II No. 195). [] Sem. \**šmʕ-* 'to hear' (v. in LGz 501-2, DLU 441) vs. Afras. \**sim-* 'ear': Brb. Ghadames *ī-səm*, pl. *semm-en* 'oreille' (Lan 338; likely related are Ahaggar *a-sāmu* 'oreiller' Fouc 1834, Qabyle *ta-sumta* id. Dal 781, etc.), Egypt. Pyr. *smt* 'hören' (EG IV 144), C. Chad. Margi *šimì*, Mandara *šimà*, Mofu *sùmày*, Logone *sìm*, E. Chad. Somrai *sùmí*, Lele *sùmá*, Mubi *sùmámù*, etc. 'ear' (CLR 114-5).

## Varia:

[] Sem. \**gdʕ* 'to cut': Hbr. *gdʕ* 'to cut off' (HAL 180), Syr. *gdʕ* 'amputavit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ǰdʕ* 'mutiler quelqu'un' (BK 1 264), Gez. *g<sup>w</sup>ad ʕa* 'to strike, smite, etc.' (LGz 180; also *g<sup>w</sup>ad ʕa* id., Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>äd ʕe* 'to crush, damage', etc. *ibid.*) vs. \**gdd* 'to cut' (*ibid.*): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscedit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ǰdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180).

## -(V)h

## Animal names:

<> N. Cush. Beja *andírho/u* 'fowl', C. Cush. Qwara Dembea *dirh<sup>w</sup>ā*, E. Cush. Saho Afar *dorohō*, *dorhō* 'hen' (rather borrowed into than from Gez. *dorho*, *doroho*, Tgr. *derho* 'chicken', Tna. *dārho* 'hen, chicken, fowl'; cf. also E. Chad. Tumak *dèrì* 'bird' < \**dVHVr-*) vs. Afras. \**dVr-* 'kind of bird (hen, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *dərōr* 'a kind of bird (swallow, dove<sup>3</sup>)', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *dürwā* 'lark-quail', Dera *dárirù* 'type of swift nightbird', Buli *dádár* 'weaver bird', C. Chad. Gude *dárá* 'type of bird', Mbara *ndòrò* 'green pigeon', E. Chad. Somrai *dürē* 'chicken', Mokilko *dēre* 'pigeon', E. Cush. Somali *dóoro* 'chicken, hen', S. Cush. Dahalo *déere* 'woodpecker', N. Omot. Zergulla *deri*, Chara *díra*, *dērā* 'chicken' (v. in SED II No. 71; part of the forms may go back to \**dVrh-*).

## Anatomy:

[] Arb. *fūh-* vs. *fū*, *fum-*, etc. < \**pay-* 'mouth' (SED I No. 223). [] Sem. \**gVbh(-at)-* (unless an Arabism in Tgr. and MSA; v. also Hbr. pB. *gōbah*): Arb. *ǰabhat-* 'front', *ǰabah-* 'front large, vaste et beau', Tgr. *gəbbəhūt* 'forehead', Jib. *gəbhét* 'front, brow', etc. (SED I No. 68) vs. Sem. \**gabb(-at)-*: Hbr. *gabbōt* *ʕēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *ǰubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66).

## Varia:

<> W. Chad. Miya *darhi*, Kariya *derahi* 'road, path, way' (Sk NB 37) vs. Jimbin *dāru*, Mburku *dēri* (*ibid.*), Gerka *der* (Fitz 219), Karekare *n-dārù* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *dèrālū* 'to go' (CLR 162) < Afras. \**dar-*: Sem. Arb. *darar-* 'tracé; ligne d'une route, surtout droite' (BK 1 682), E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

-(V)y (of the same origin as the relative suffix \*-Vy(y)?)

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *kurpəday* vs. *kippōd* 'hedgehog' (< *k<sup>w</sup>*)*inpad-* // \**kunpuḍ-* SED II No. 133; v. in -r- Animal names). [] Jud. *nōšīšəyētā* 'pelican'<sup>7</sup> vs. *nəšāšā*, etc. 'hawk' < \**na/iš(š)-* 'kind of bird': Ugr. *nš* 'bird, wild bird' (perhaps a raptor, esp. 'hawk, falcon'), Hbr. *nōšā* 'falcon', etc. (SED II No. 168). [] Arb. *hubšīyyat-* 'espèce de fourmis grandes et noires' vs. Syr. *ḥabšūstā* 'scarabaeus', Tgr. *ḥabuš* 'a species of locusts' < \**ḥVbVš<sub>x</sub>-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 96). [] Gez. *bə frāy*, Tgr. and Tna. *bə fray* vs. Gez. *bə fr* in \**bVʃVr-* 'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in -ʃ- Animal names). [] Gez. *dagobəyā* (*dagabəyā*, *dagobiyā*, *dogabiyā*), Amh. *däg<sup>w</sup>äbe*, *dägebəyā* vs. Tgr. *dängübät*, Tna. *däg<sup>w</sup>äbä* (in \**g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab-* // \**ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *komḥay* 'fourmi qui mange le miel' vs. metathetic *ʔaḵ(ə)ḥma* (*ʔaḵḥomä*) 'ants', Gez. *ḵāhm* (*ḵəhm*, *kāhm*) 'kind of ant; drone' (v. in \**ḵVmḥ-* 'kind of insect' SED II No. 129). [] Amh. *waliya* vs. *wala* in \**wa ʃil-* 'ibex' (SED II No. 244; v. in -(V)n Animal names). [] Sem. \**ʔa/irbay-* 'locust': Ugr. *ʔrby*, Sab. *ʔrby*, Soq. *ʔerbhīyoh*, etc. vs. Akk. *erbu* and, probably, Amh. *arabo* 'tick afflicting cattle, etc.', Cha. Eža Muh. *wäräba*, Enn. Gyt. *wäräba*, Sod. *woraba* 'kind of cockroach' (SED II No. 11).

-(V)r

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ḥinzīr-* (< Sem \**ḥV(n)zīr* 'pig': Akk. *ḥuzīru*, Hbr. *ḥāzīr*, Gez. *ḥanzir*, etc.) vs. *ḥanzuwān-* id. (and W. Chad. Hausa *gūnzū* 'wild boar' < \**ḥunʒ-*) SED II No. 111. [] Arb. *ḍabayṭarā* 'hyène' (BK 2 7; perhaps < \**ḍabay-t-ar-*, with -t- < \**-t-* assimilated to *ḍ-* or -y-) vs. *ḍabuʃ-*, *ḍabʃ-* 'hyène', *ḍabuʃat-*, *ḍib ʃānat-* 'hyène femelle' (ibid.) < Sem. \**ʃab(u)ʃ-* 'hyena' (SED II 220; v. in -(V)n Animal names). [] Tgr. *ḥənʒūr* 'wasp or scarab' (less likely < Bilin *ḥenʒūr* 'eine Käfersorte', quoted in Lmb-Sot 410 as *ḥanʒū-ra* "with singulative suffix -ra") vs. Tna. *ḥənʒəʒ*, *ḥənʒiʒ*, *ḥənʒiʒ* 'kind of greenish-black beetle, scarab, cockchafer', Amh. *ənʒəz*, *ənʒiz* 'beetle', Cha. Eža Enm. End. Gyt. *ənʒəz*, Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənʒizza* 'May bug' in \**ḥVnz(i/uz)-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Sem. \**g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dVr-* // \**ga(n)dVr-* 'kind of worm' (SED II No. 81; v. in -n- Animal names) vs. \**gudgud-* (Arb. *ʒudʒud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle'), \**g<sup>w</sup>andaʃ-* (Arb. *ʒandaʃ-*, *ʒunduʃ-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire', Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', etc.) and \**g<sup>w</sup>Vndan-* (Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan*, *g<sup>w</sup>əndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite') cf. also \**g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab-* // \**ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust') to be eventually reduced to a common protoform \**gV(n)d-* with different extensions. [] (?) Sem. \**bVʃVr-* 'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in -ʃ- Animal names) vs. Cush.-Omot. \**bVʃ-*: E. Cush. Yaaku *pēʃe*, S. Cush. Dahalo *bēʃa* 'buffalo', S. Omot. Hamar *buʃ* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 53). [] Sem. \**baḵar-* 'large cattle': Hbr. *bāḵār*, Arb. *baḵar-*, etc. (< Afras. \**baḵVr-*? Cf. Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuʔer* 'chamelon d'un an' and W. Chad. Hausa *bāḵurnā* 'red-flanked duiker') vs. Afras. \**baḵw-*: Brb. Nefusa *bju* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bāʔəw* 'vieux boeuf', W. Chad. Hausa *ḥakwan* 'dwarf buffalo', E. Chad Kera *beke* 'Vieh' (SED II No. 59). [] Sem. \**zVn/mbVr-*: Jud. *zibbōrā* 'bee, wasp', *zybwry* 'hornet', Mnd. *zimbura* 'hornet, bee', *zambura* 'wasp, hornet', Arb. *zanbūr-*, *zīnbār-* 'guêpe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Eth. \**zVn/mb-*: Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zəmbi*, Amh. *zəmb*, *zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly' (v. in SED II No. 73; Eth. *z-* < \**d-* or \**z-*; in the latter case comparable to Arb. *zibb-* 'espèce de ver (*fistularia vitata*)' and C. Chad. Tera *zàḥà* 'termite' < \**ʒaHb-*). <> W. Chad. Jimi *walaróo* 'antelope' (Cosp No. 252) vs. Geji *wùlli* 'gazelle' (ibid.) < Afras. \**wa ʃil-* 'k. of goat, gazelle' (v. in \**wa ʃil-* 'ibex' SED II No. 244). <> Chad. \**IVbVr-* '(large) feline': W. Chad. Sura *rəḥəl* 'wild cat' (met.), E. Chad. Somrai *lārbə* 'leopard' (met.), C. Chad. Hona *līfāri*, Chibak *ʔalvāri*, Kilba *lēvāri*, Margi *ḥa-livāri*, Higi-Nkafa *livēri*, Gude *livyàrá*, Malgwa *óval* (met.) 'lion' vs. Sem. \**labVʔ-* 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*lab ʔu*), Hbr. *lābī* (?), etc. (SED II No. 144). <> C. Cush. \**daḵ<sup>w</sup>ar-* 'donkey': Bilin *dūqārā*,

Khamir *dūḥarā*, Kemant *duḥwarā*, Qwara *dekarā*, Damot *dokuarī*, Aungi *duḥuarī* (CR Kem 184) vs. S. Cush. \**daḵʷay-* id.: Iraqw Gorowa Alagwa Burunge *daqway* (KM 88), Qwadza *daḵwaiḵwayiko* (HRSC 345). < (?) C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *sáfal*) 'Schlange', Khamir *sibrá* (pl. *sibir, sibil*) id. vs. Sem. Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' (not fully reliable), Gyt. *sība*, Cha. Eža *šiba*, etc. 'kind of worm', Hrs. *šebšebēt* 'small red worm, centipede', Mhr. *šəbšib*, E. Jib. *šəbšəb* 'red waterworm' < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm', E. Cush. Oromo *siiba* 'worm', Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm' (v. in \**šibb-* 'kind of snake, worm' SED II No. 200). < E. Cush. Somali *tákár* 'gadfly, horsefly, camelfly' vs. Afras. \**tVkʷ(-an)-* 'kind of insect': Egyp. Pyr. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Dahalo *tákkwaʔe* 'dung beetle', etc. (in \**kʷVt(t)ān-*, \**tukʷān-* // \**kut(t)ān-*, \**tukān-* 'bug' SED II No. 122). < E. Cush. Somali *dámèer* 'male donkey' (Abr Som 46), Bayso *demər* 'ass' (Dolg 1973 275) vs. Afras. \**dam(dam)-* 'k. of equid/camel': Sem. Akk. *damdammu* (*damdāmu, daddāmu*) 'a mule' (CAD D 64), Brb. Zenaga *damma* 'mahari (camel)' (R Bass Zen 204), Afar *daami* 'Zebra' (RAF 834). < E. Cush. Tsamai and S. Omot. Ongota *ḥangarar-o* 'worm' (a loan from Tsamai into Ongota or vice versa) vs. Sem. \**ḥV(n)g-* 'kind of worm, centipede': Tna. *ḥəngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water', Jib. *ḥažš* 'large, blind black segmented centipede' (SED II No. 100). < Afras. \**ʒVmVr-* '(wild) ungulate': Sem. Ugr. *zmr*, Hbr. *zāmār*, etc. 'gazelle', Brb. Siwa *i-zmər*, Semlal *izimer* 'bélier', Nefusa *zamər*, Zenaga *əžiḥmər*, Qabyle *izimer* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *ʒumūru* 'male waterbuck' vs. Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr E. Tawlemmet *ezəm, ešəm* 'antilope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, pl. *izamm-an* 'gazelle', Zenaga *ə-žəmmi* 'gazelle à front roux' and, perhaps, W. Chad. Kulere *ḥzám* 'Widder' (in \**zVmr-* 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). < Afras. \**dV(n)gur-*: E. Chad. Gabri *dūgūrū* 'elephant', Sokoro *dūger* 'rhinoceros', N. Omot. Zaise *dongor* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), S. Omot. Ari *dangór*, Kara *doṅgur* id., etc. (Bnd Ar 149) vs. Cush.-Omot. \**dangw-*: S. Cush. Iraqw *daangw-* 'elephant' (KM 87), N. Omot. Kafa *dangiyō*, Mocha *dāngao* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), Shinasha *dāngaso, dāngiyō* (Bnd Om 163). < Afras. \**dVbVr-* 'kind of insect': Sem. Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dibʷara* (in *dibʷara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., W. Chad. Ngamo *ndəbūrō* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dəvūrəḥá* 'sausage fly', etc. vs. Afras. \**dVb-* 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *dabaʷ* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis' (cf. Arb. Omn. *dabiyy* 'abeilles'), W. Chad. Dera *dīhín, díwín* 'fly', E. Chad. Kera *ádəbdəbə* 'Tsetsefliege' ('termite' in other Chad.), N. Omot. Hozo *dabbi* 'termite' (\**di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp' SED II No. 66). < Afras. \**ʒVbir-* 'hornet': Sem. Hrs. *dəbēr*, Mhr. *dəbēr*, Jib. *əd̪bir* 'hornet, fly' (probably also Soq. *əd̪behir* 'abeille'), Brb. Ahaggar *əzənbībər* 'esp. de coléoptères (4 cm long)', Ayr E. Tawlemmet *əzəbbenbər* (unless *z-* < \**ʒ*) 'bubreste' (v. in \**di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Afras. \**ʒībab-* 'kind of flying insect': Mhr. *dəbbēt*, Hrs. *dəbbēt*, Jib. *dəbbəš* (perhaps also Soq. *ʔedbīboh*) 'fly', W. Chad. Hausa *ʒībā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *ʒábùwà* 'honey; bee' (Sch Ng 183), C. Chad. Bura *ʒəba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *ʒībi* 'fly', Bata *ʒēbi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʒīmbè* 'bee, honey' (in \**dVb(V)b-* 'fly', No. 73). Afras. \**ča/iw(a)r-* 'bull; elephant' (cf. \**tawr-* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 241)): Sem. Akk. *šūru*, Arb. *tawr-*, etc. 'bull', C. Chad. Bura-Pele *čiwař*, Chibak *isiwař*, Kilba *čuwar*, Margi *čúwār*, Nzangi *čuware* 'elephant', S. Cush. Maʔa *čurū* 'bull', N. Omot. Kačama *šoro* 'rhinoceros' vs. C. Chad. Higi-Nkafa *čuwe*, Bata *čūé* 'elephant' (CLR 124-5), probably also N. Cush. Beja *šu* 'rhinoceros' (Bla Beja 270 after Hudson; < \**čVw-* or \**sVw-*) and N. Omot. Basketo *ošáʔ*, Wol. *oswā*, Zala *osoā* 'rhinoceros' (Bla Eleph 201; < \**ʔV-čVw-* or \**ʔV-sVw-*).

#### Anatomy:

[] Arb. *kuzr-* 'graisse des reins' (BK 2 905; perhaps related to W. Chad. Bolewa *šidər*, Ngamo *šidār* 'fat' if the latter forms are from \**kičar-*, cf. Stolb 1987 208) vs. Afras. \**kVw/yač-* 'fat': W. Chad. Hausa *kícē* (less likely < \**kičVr-*), E. Chad. Kwang *kāysi*, Sokoro *káisi*, C. Chad. Muktele *əkwās*, Logone *kāysə* (CLR 132-3), N. Omot. Shinasha *kòcà, kosa, kʷoça*, Kafa *kočō* (Bnd Om 164), Mao (Seze) *kòssí*, Hozo *koça* (ibid. 272), S. Omot. Dime *kuuštu* (ibid. 209). [] Eth. \**ʔʔanḵar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *ʔanḵa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *šanḵär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *šanḵär* 'ugola', Amh. *anḵä/ar*

'uvula', Arg. *ənḵart* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har. *ənḵarti*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənḵart* 'goitre' vs. \*ʕ/ʔ/unḵ- 'neck': Jud. *ʕ/unḵā*, *ʕunḵā*, Arb. *ʕunḵ-*, *ʕunuḵ-*, *ʕunaḵ-* 'cou', etc. (cf. SED I No. 15). [] S. Eth.: Sel. *gubr*, Cha. Eža Enn. *g<sup>w</sup>əbər*, Gye. *gub<sup>w</sup>ər* 'hunchbacked' vs. Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>əbābb alā* 'to be hunchbacked', Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', etc. < \*gVb(V)b-, \*gVb(b)-an- 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67). [] Mod. Eth. \*dnḵ<sup>w</sup>r: Tna. *dānḵ<sup>w</sup>ärä* 'to be dumb', Amh. *dānaḵḵ<sup>w</sup>ärä* 'to be deaf, dumb', Msq. Gog. *dānaḵḵ<sup>w</sup>ärä* 'to be deaf', Sel. *donḵōro* 'deaf, stupid', etc. (LGur 215) vs. Eth. \*dnḵ(w): Gez. *danḵawa* 'to be deaf, stupid', Har. Sel. *dōnḵa*, Wol. *donḵä* 'deaf' < Sem. \*dnḵ 'to be deaf, stupid': Arb. *dāniḵ-* 'sot, bête' (SED I Vb. No. 9). [] MSA: Mhr. *gəšōr* 'side of chest' and perhaps 'chest cavity', Soq. *gīšor* 'poitrine' (probably related to Arb. *ǧušrat-* 'aspérité de la voix, enrrouement et toux', *ǧəšar-* 'dureté, aspérité de la voix, provenant de l'enrouement, du rhume') vs. Mhr. *gəšēt* 'body, corpse', Jib. *gəsət* 'side' < Sem. \*gišš- 'torso, side, body': Akk. *giššu* (*gilšu*) 'hip, flank', Hbr. pB. *gäsäs* 'side, arm', Syr. *gessā* 'coxa, latus (linguae, palati); cingulum pubis', Arb. *ǧawš-* 'poitrine', likely < Afras. \*gay/wč-: W. Chad.: Diri *ngèšè*, Geji *ngesì* 'chest', Polchi *gwəš* 'shoulder' (differently interpreted in Stolb 1996 119; cf. SED I No. 97). [] Soq. *m<sup>š</sup>sīmbəhər* 'moustaches longues' (< \*mV-si(m)bVr or, with -m- of the second syllable < -n- before -b, < \*mV-sinbVr, with metathesis < \*mV-nsibVr) vs. *mənsūb* (< \*mV-nsūb, cf. *ʔənsōb*, with ʔV- prefixed), Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mənsōb*, Jib. *məsət* (< \*mVsVb-Vt) 'pubic hair' (in < \*š/sVb-, \*ʔV-š/sVb- 'pubic hair' SED I No. 239). [] Sem. \*ḵanṭir- 'clitoris, vulve': Arb. Daḡ. *ḵanṭār* 'clitoris', Soq. *ḵanṭhir* 'vulve', Amh. Sel. Wol. Cha., etc. *ḵanṭər* 'clitoris, female genital organ' (< Afras.? Cf. Oromo Qabenna *ḵinṭira*, Somali *ḵinṭir*, Saho *ḵinṭar* id., unless < Amh.; cf. SED I No. 163) vs. \*ḵV(n)t- 'sexual parts': Tur. *ḵūto* 'vulva' (Ritter 404), N.-Syr. *ḵūtā* 'womb' (Mcl 272), Arb. *ḵant-* 'verge chez un petit garçon' (BK 2 822; -t < \*-t- by dissimilation from ḵ-), Tna *ḵanṭ* 'vulva; lower or back part' (LH 252), Amh *ḵit* 'buttocks, anus' (K 826) < Afras. \*ḵV(n)t/d-: W. Chad. Hausa *ḵōdā*, C. Chad. Gava *kiḵi-nwa*, Paduko *kūda-ma* 'testicles' (Stolb 1996 66), Mofu *kuḵey* 'pénis' (Bar 148), etc., C. Cush. Bilin *qit* 'vulva' (RBeḡ 247), Khamir *ḵūdā* 'vulva; anus' (RKham 369), E. Cush. Somali *qoḡd* 'penis with testicles' (Abr Som 203), Konso *qand-itta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Burji *ḵānd-i* 'clitoris' (Sas Burji 124, with a different interpretation), S. Cush. Burunge *qendī*, Qwadza *ḵendi* 'vulva' (HRSC 368), S. Omot. Ari Galila *ḵanti* 'testicles' (Bla Beḡ 61, with a different interpretation of Cush.-Omot. data). [] Arb. *zanbūr-* 'membrum virile' vs. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle); bout de la barbe; nez', Hbr. pB *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member' < \*zubb- (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. \*pi/akr-at- 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Azr. *pḵarta* 'neck, nape', *faḵrat-*, *fiḵrat-* 'vertèbre', Soq. *fiḵeriroh* 'cou, nuque' (cf. also metathetic \*pi/ark-at-: Hbr. *maprāḵāt* 'neck', Syr. *pāraḵtā* 'cervices', etc.; v. in SED No. 219) vs. \*pVḵ- 'neck': Jud. *ʔapḵōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *pḵuta*, *apḵuta* 'neck, throat', Arb. *fāʔiḵ-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête', Tgr. *foḵay* 'shoulder' (SED I No. 213). [] Sem. \*š(x)nzr- 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', \*š(x)VnzVr- 'span' (cf. differently in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošzār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanziria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sənzərə* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sənzərə* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šezər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hāzər* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šezr*, (C.) *šezər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šézir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizū* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD Š3 152; AHw 1254). [] Sem. \*SVt(V)r- 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *štr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *štr* (*aph*) 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šēṭər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' (though Mhr. *šēṭər* points to \*š- rather than to \*s-, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. \*sīt cannot be accidental) vs. \*si(n)t- 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. \*sīt in *ha-ssīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *sēt* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *sītā* 'palms', Arb. *sint-* 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main'. <> Afras. \*di(m)bur- 'back': Sem. \*dVb(V)r- 'back, hind part' (Mnd.

*dibra* 'back, tail', Arb. *dubr-* 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos; nuque', etc. (SED I No. 46), W. Chad. Hausa *dùbùrà* 'anus' (Abr Hs 227; unless < Arb.), Chip *bàder* 'buttocks' (Kr I 39; metathesis), C. Chad. W. Margi *dīmbur* id. (ibid. II 72), (?) E. Cush. Somali *ḍabar* 'back' (Abr Som 39; *ḍ-* instead of *d-* is unusual) vs. Afras. *\*dub-* ~ *\*damb-* 'tail; back': W. Chad. Sura *tup* 'tail' (<*\*dub-* Stolb 1987 169), C. Chad. Gisiga *duba*, Mafa *dāba*, Gidar *dùbo*, Musgu *dēba*, etc. 'back' (CLR 7), C. Cush. Bilin *dän/mbi* 'Rücken' (RBil 107), E. Cush. Somali *dabo* 'tail, buttocks' (Abr Som 40; cf. *dambe* 'at the back' ibid. 46), Oromo *duboo* 'sheep's tail' (Gr 110), Alaba *dubbo* 'tail', Hadiya *dubbo* 'behind', etc. (PEC 16), N. Omot. Kullo *dupia* (Bnd Om 25), Kafa Anfillo *dombō* 'vulva' (Cer Caf 430), S. Omot. Hamar *dibini* 'tail' (Bnd Om 218). <> Afras. *\*hankar-* 'larynx, gorge': Brb. Ahaggar *t-ankar-t* 'gosier' (Fouc 1380), N. Cush. Beja (Amar'ar) *hānkar* 'uvula' (Bla Beḍ 58), *ankar* 'Gaumen, Schlund, Kehle' (ibid. after RBeḍ) vs. Afras. *\*hank-* 'palate, gorge': Sem. *\*hanak-*, *\*hink-*: Syr. *henkā* 'palatum', Mnd. *hinka* 'palate, throat', Arb. *hanak-* 'palais', Gez. *hanaka* 'to munch, chew', Hrs. *hēnek* 'palate and uvula' (SED I No. 124), Brb. Ahaggar *hanakk-ət* 'râler de la gorge' (Fouc 618), N. Cush. Beja *hanāk* 'Gaumen, Kehle' (RBeḍ 123; possibly but not necessarily borrowed from Arb.).

Varia:

[] Akk. *ḥamadīru* 'shrivelled or withered' (CAD *H* 57), *ḥamadīrūtu* 'shrivelling (said of trees)' (ibid. 58) vs. Sem *\*ḥmd* 'to be shrivelled, extinguished': Hbr. pB. *ḥmd* 'to produce shrivelling by heat' (Ja 475), Arb. *ḥmd* 'cesser de flamber (se dit du feu, quand la flamme s'éteint)' (BK 1 630), Mhr. *ḥamūd* 'to be extinguished, burnt out' (JM 443). [] Akk. *diḳāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' (CAD *D* 157; cf. C. Cush. Bilin *darawqā*, *daraq"ā* 'Ton, Tonerde, Lehm': metathesis or *-r-* inserted?) vs. Soq. *deḳāḫhān* 'boue' (LS 133) < Afras. *\*dVḳ-* 'clay, earthenware': Brb. Semlal *idəḳḳi* 'argile à poteries' (Dest 20), W. Chad. *\*dVḳ-* 'to build, make of clay' (Stolb 1987 174); < *\*diḳ-* 'to build, establish, marry' (acc. to Stolb 1996 38; which is semantically less convincing): Hausa *ḍákō* 'dark, rich, dry clay-soil' (Abr Hs 175), Karekare *ḍako* 'to build, make earthenware pots', Sura *ḍik*, Chip *ḍik* 'to build' (Stolb 1987 174), C. Cush. Qwara *daḥ"ā*, Khamir *doq"ā* 'Ton, Lehm' (RQw 48); differently in Dolg 1973 56-7. [] Jud. *zūṭār* 'small, young' (Ja 386), Syr. *zuṭarā* 'puellus' (Brock 194), Mnd. *zṭr* 'to be small' (DM 165) vs. Jud. *zūṭā* 'slender, young, small' (Ja 385), Syr. *zūṭā* 'puellus' (Brock 192), Mnd. *zuṭa* 'small, little' (DM 164). [] Arb. *ḳmṭr* 'nouer, lier une outre, etc.' (BK 2 813) vs. *ḳmṭ* 'lier avec la corde tous les quatre pieds à la fois; réunir (les chameaux) de manière qu'ils se suivent à la file' (ibid.), Gez. *ḳammaṭa* 'to hold tightly, bind sheaves, bend' (LGz 433; counter to Leslau, not directly related to Sem. *\*ḳmṣ*, unless to be treated as a variant root). [] Amh. (*tä*)*gäddärä* 'germinate', Har. *g(i)dīr* 'big', Wol. Zw. *gädärä* 'to grow up (child), be big' (LGur 264), Arb. *ḡḍr* 's'élever au-dessus du sol (se dit des plantes)' (BK 1 263) < Sem. *\*gdr* 'to become big, grow' vs. Afras. *\*gVd(d)-*: Arb. *ḡdd-* 'beaucoup, extrêmement' (ibid. 260), Brb. C. Morocco (without specifying the language) *gudy* 'ê. nombreux, beaucoup, abonder', *sgudy* 'produire beaucoup, en grande quantité' (DRB 737-8; cf. Ahaggar *egdeh*, Ayr *egdu* 'suffire' ibid. 727), W. Chad. Bolewa *gòdo* 'many' (Kr I 87), N. Cush. Beja *gwud* 'many', E. Cush. Arbore *guudá* 'many', Dasenech *guddu* 'big' (Bla Om No. 5.2), Oromo *guddaa* 'big; greatly, very' (Gr 184), S. Omot. Dime *gēed* 'big' (Bnd Om 205), Ongota *gadaḥ/hune*, *gaddahino* (FI Ong 42), *gadda ṣuni*, pl. *gidde ṣeta* 'big, old' (ST 117). [] Arb. *kaṭīr-* 'beaucoup, nombreux' (BK 2 867) vs. *ktī* 'ê. épais, épaissi (liquide)' (BK 1 865), Akk. *kašāšu* 'massig werden' (AHw 462; not in CAD) < Afras. *\*kVč-?* Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *kočo* 'many, much' (TSL 283), C. Cush. Khamta *eksät* 'molto' (CR Khmt 204). [] Cha. Eža *məsarä*, Enn. Gye. *məsa ṗarä* 'night' (LGur 430: "probably from the root *msy* 'be evening' (see *mäšä*) with an enigmatic suffix *-rā*") vs. Cha. Gye. *mäšä*, Eža *mäššä*, etc. 'to be evening' < Sem. *\*(ʔa-)mVš-* 'evening, night': Gez *mäsyä* 'evening', Hbr. *ʔämäs* 'yesterday evening', Arb. *msy* 'to become evening' (ibid. 432). [] Cha. Eža etc. *mäčra* 'when?' (for the past) vs. Cha. Eža Gye. etc. *mäčä* 'when?' (for the future) < Sem.: Amh. *mäčä*, Arb. *matā*, Hbr. *māṭay* id. (LGur 387). [] Enn. *näḥʔatəra*,

Gye. *nābʔatra* 'fourth day ago' vs. Enn. Gye. *nābʔatä* 'fourth day from today' < *nābʔüt* 'four days' < *arbät* < *rbʔ* (LGur 447). [] Cha. Eža Gye. Msq. *gädär* 'new' (LGur 264) vs. Arb. *ǰādīd-* 'neuf, nouveau, récent' (BK 1 261). [] Jib. *gadrét* 'earth' (compared in JJ 71 with Soq. *gadhār* 'reddish-brown', not in LS) vs. Arb. *ǰādad-* 'terrain uni et dur' (BK 1 260) < Afras.: C. Chad. Banana *nā-gada* 'Erde' (Lk ZSS 129), E. Chad. Sokoro *gédē* 'fertile soil' (ibid. 42), S. Cush. Dahalo *gudde* 'land' (EEN 32). [] Arb. *mizr-* 'sorte de boisson faite de millet', *mazar-* 'sorte de boisson enivrante préparée de froment' (BK 2 1099), Sab. *mzr-m* 'date-wine' (SD 89), Gez. *mazara* 'to prepare beer from grain', *məzr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 379) vs. Akk. *mazû* adj. qualifying beer OA, SB (CAD M1 439) < Afras.: C. Cush. Bilin *māz*, Qemant *mīz*, E. Cush. Saho *mez* 'mead' (LGz 377; cf. Afar *mes* id. below). [] Gez. *məsr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 367; cf. *məzr* 'beer, ale' above) vs. Gez. *mys*, *mesa* 'to serve mead at a banquet', *mes* 'drink made from fermented honey, mead', Tna. Tgr. *mes* 'mead' id. (ibid. 377; otherwise all from Cush.) < Sem. *\*mayt-*: Arb. *myt* 'dissoudre quelque chose dans l'eau, et macérer une drogue dans l'eau'; VIII 'boire quelque chose après avoir délayé d'eau' (BK 2 1170) < Afras. *\*miwač-* 'alcoholic drink': W. Chad. Mupun *mwés* 'alcoholic drink' (Fr Mup 39), Sura *mwəs* 'Bier' (Jung Sura 206), Ankwe *mwess*, Montol *mūs* 'beer' (Fitz 214), E. Cush. Afar *mēs* 'Honigwein, Hydromel' (RAf 884; < Eth? Cf. Saho *mez*, v. above), Oromo *mačč-aawa* (HEC 54; cf. comments in HSED No. 1702: "note -č- preserved in Oromo in contrast to the expected reflex of *\*č* > LEC *\*s*, *\*š*"; on the contrary, I expect Oromo *f* < Afras. *\*č* while -čč- in the above case seems unusual), Konso *maašš-ooč-* 'to get drunk' (Lmb-Sot 475), Darasa *maččoʔ-*, Burji *mass-aaw-* 'to be drunk' (HEC 54; cf. Sidamo *maččarar-*, Kambatta *maččaar-* 'to be crazy', commented in Lmb-Sot 475 as "addition of a formative suffix"), Gawwada *mečč-aw-*, Dobase *mass-aʔ-* 'to get drunk, intoxicated' (Lmb-Sot 475), N. Omot. Wolayta *matt-oot-*, Gamo *matts-ott-*, Kafa *maš-*, Bworo *mašš-* 'to get drunk' (ibid. 474-5). [] Jib. *esber* 'to fence off' (JJ 232) < Afras. *\*cVbVr-ʔ* Cf. Egyp. Pyr. *sbʔ* 'Tor, Tür' (EG IV 83; likely < *\*sbr*), W. Chad. Hausa *čábārā* 'wooden stakes used to strengthen a mat screen' (Barg Hs 1021) vs. Arb. (Oman) *sība* 'fortification', Gez. *sibā* 'outskirts of a city' (according to LGz 482, probably from Omanic Arb.) < Afras. *\*cVb-ʔ* Cf. C. Chad. Bura *čība* 'a fence or pen; an outside enclosure for cattle' (Bura 37), E. Cush. Afar *sabsab* 'Mauer' (RAf 895); cf. CHVAL 3 20-21. [] Sem. *\*zmr* 'to sing, play an instrument': Akk. Ugr. Hbr. Syr. Arb. Eth. (HAL 273; LGz 639; DRS 751) vs. *\*zm(m) ~ \*zmzm* 'to sound, resound; sing': Syr. *zam* 'susurravit, sonuit' (Brock 198), Mnd. *zmm* 'to hum, resound' (DM 169), *zwm* 'to hum, buzz' (ibid. 164), Arb. *zmzm* 'produire un murmure qu'on peut entendre au loin' (BK 1 1011), Gez. *zemā* 'song, liturgical chant', Tna. Amh. Gur. *zema* 'song, mode of singing', Gez. *zəmmāme*, Tna. Amh. *zemmama* 'rhythm of singing, etc.' (LGz 638). [] Sem. *\*kīdr-* 'earthenware' (cf. Akk. *diḳāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' above): Hbr. pB. *ḳādēr*, Jud. *ḳīdārā* 'pot' (Ja 1318), Syr. *ḳedrā* 'olla' (Brock 649), Arb. *ḳīdr-* 'chaudron, marmite en cuivre' (BK 2 686), Mhr. *ḳādər* 'pot' (JM 224; probably an Arabism) vs. Afras. *\*ḳʷad-* or *\*ḳadw-*: (metathetically related to Afras. *\*dVḳ-* 'clay, earthenware' above?): Akk. *ḳadūtu* 'mud, sediment' (CAD Q 52), Egyp. Med. *ḳd* 'Topf' (EG V 72), Pyr. *iḳd-w* 'Topfer' (EG V 74), W. Chad. Kirfi *ḳwaḳo*, Gera *ḳwaḳa* 'calabash', E. Chad. Dangla *ḳḳa* 'pot' (HSED No. 1579), E. Cush. Oromo *qodā* 'furniture; vessel' (Gr 325), *qadāda* 'cover; vessel; gourd' (ibid. 314), S. Cush. Dahalo *k'ōḳo* 'long narrow calabash' (EEN 19; cf. HSED Nos. 1579 and 1534). <> Brb. Ahaggar *asafar* 'médicament' (Fouc 1808; cf. also Qabyle *asafar* 'ingrédient' Dal 761) vs. Sem. Arb. *sifāʔ-* 'médicament', *sfw* III 'traiter un malade' (BK 1 1104), Tgr. *säffä* 'to cure, treat medically' (LH 202; hardly < Arb., cf. Tna. *säfäfü* 'to rub, anoint, massage' K Tna 800), probably < Afras., cf. Brb. Ahaggar *ésafé* (Fouc 1806), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *esäfe* (Aloj 170) 'ventouse', C. Chad. Musgu *šimfi* 'heilen' (Luk Msg 76); cf. CHVAL 3 19. <> W. Chad. Ngizim *gāzḳā* 'tall, long, deep' (Sch Ng 73) vs. Afras. *\*gVžVb-* 'long': Sem. Arb. *ǰadbat-* 'certaine distance, certaine étendue de route, distance entre deux relais', *ǰlb* 'tirer; éloigner un objet d'un autre en le tirant à soi' (BK 268), Jib. *gǰḳḳ* 'to pull out' (JJ 71), Mhr. *gəḳḳ* id. (JM 115), E. Cush. Gawwada *sikāpa* (< *\*zigab-*), Harso Gollango *sikaapa* (AMS 254; metathesis) 'lang', S. Omot. Hamar *gūdūb* 'long' (Bnd Om 213; synchronically treated as



*gùd+ùb* which needs argumentation). <> Afras. \**bVhVr-*: Sem. Hbr. Jud. Syr. Mnd. *bhr* 'to shine, be bright' (HAL 112), Arb. *bhr* 'to shine', *brh* (met.) 'to be white', Gez. *barha* (met.) 'to shine, be bright, light', Soq. *birihot* (met.) 'light' (LGz 103-4), Chad. \**buhar-* 'to shine' (Stolb 1996 25): W. Chad. Tangale *ḥər*, Boghom *ḥuur*, C. Chad. Bachama *ḥura*, Musgu *bara* vs. Afras. \**bVhVw-*: Arb. *bhw* 'briller', *bahāʔ* 'éclat, splendeur' (BK 1 174), W. Chad. Bokkos *ḥwè* 'Sonne' (Jung R 140), Daffo-Butura *ḥwè* 'Sonne, Tag' (ibid. 213), C. Chad. Dghwede *bíyà* 'light' (Frick), Glavda *mḥi* 'shine' (RM 65). <> (?) Afras. \**ca(m)bVr-* 'musical instrument': Tgr. *sābara* 'a flute-melody' (LH 183), W. Chad. Hausa *sāmbārá* 'piece of corn-stalk rubbed between hands as accompaniment to fiddle' (Abr Hs 774), N. Omot. Mocha *šumbiro* 'flute of shepherd' (LMč 51) vs. \**cabVb-* 'reed pipe, flute': (?) Akk. OAKk. *šabītu* 'a musical instrument' (Gelb OA 263), Arb. *šabābat-* 'flûte, roseau à jouer' (BK 1 1181), Egyp. Med. *šbb* 'Röhre aus Schilfrohr' (EG IV 439). <> Afras. \**(ʔa-)da(n)g<sup>(w)</sup>Vr-* 'kind of beans': Sem. Syr. *dagr-*, Arb. *daǰr-, duǰr-, duǰur-*; Mhr. *dēǰir*, Jib. *dəǰarāt*, pl. *dugur*, Soq. *dígir* (Tgr. *ʔadung<sup>w</sup>əra*, Tna. *ʔadang<sup>w</sup>əra*, Amh. *adäng<sup>w</sup>are*, Gaf. *adäng<sup>w</sup>arä*, S. Arg. *adongure*, Gur. *adäng<sup>w</sup>arre* id. are likely Cushitisms), E. Chad. Sokoro *dagir* 'millet', C. Cush. Bilin Khamir *adogur*, Damot Aungi *adangwari* 'bean', E. Cush. Som. *digir* 'fagioli', Oromo *adang<sup>w</sup>ar* 'beans' (cf. also *otongora* id.), Saho *adagur* id. vs. Afras. \**da/ing<sup>(w)</sup>-* 'kind of beans; corn': Sem. Soq. *dengo* 'haricots', Egyp. OK *dḏw* 'kind of grain', Brb. Ayr *te-dängǎw-t* 'grenier de céréales', W. Chad. Hausa *dangwa-mi* 'a gruel made with the mealy pulp found inside locust-bean pods', Angas *tang* 'corn', E. Chad. Nanchere *tínge* 'bean', (?) C. Cush. Bilin *baldang<sup>w</sup>ā* 'Bohne, Faba', E. Cush. Saho *bar/ldangā* 'ein bestimmte Bohnengattung' (the meaning of the first element of these composed words is not clear); v. in Mil Farm 140.

-(V)l (Brock. ZS)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *ḥurbabillu* (*urbabillu*) vs. Arb. *ḥirbāʔ* and, possibly, Ebl. *ḥur-ba-um* in \**ḥVrb-* 'chameleon' (SED II No. 101). [] Arb. *ǰadlāʔ* 'chienne' (BK 1 267; < Afras.? Cf. E. Cush. Oromo *gedallo* 'sciacallo' Thiene 126) vs. W. Chad. Ngizim *gádá-mùzái* 'hyena' (CLR 204), C. Chad. Dghwede *gdè*, Mofu *gidéy*, E. Chad. Mokilko *gedè* 'dog' (ibid. 107; cf. also Arb. *ʔabū ǰaʔdat-* 'loup' Belot 63). [] Gog. Muh. Msq. *ḵamčəlla* 'gnat' (č < \*š with dissimilation from ḵ-? Cf. also Cha. Enn. Gye. *ḵamčəna*, Eža *ḵamčənnna*) vs. \**ḵam(a)š-* 'kind of (harmful) insect': Jud. *ḵamšā* 'locust', Arb. *ḵamaš-* 'petites mouches ou petits insectes qui rasant la surface d'une eau stagnante; petites sauterelles qui viennent d'éclore', Jib. *ḵiēš* 'kind of camel bug' (SED II No. 131). [] Sem. \**gawzal-* 'young bird, fledgling' (cf. SED II No. 86): Hbr. *gōzāl* 'turtledove; young eagle', Jud. *gōzālā* 'brood, chick, esp. pigeon', Arb. *ǰawzal-* 'petit (de pigeon)' (likely related is Amh. *gəz(z)al* 'k. of bird of prey' –cf. the second meaning of the Hbr. term), probably metathetically related to Afras. (cf. also Syr. *zūgallā* 'pullus columbinus' with the same order of radicals as in Chad. and Cush. below): W. Chad. Hausa *ǰǰàl* 'vulture', C. Cush. \**ǰǰVgl-* 'bird' (Bilin *ǰaǰalā*, Dembea Qwara *ǰǰlā*) vs. Sem. \**g<sup>w</sup>az-* or \**gVz-* (SED II No. 87): Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>əza* 'a kind of hawk', Gez. *g<sup>w</sup>əzā*, *guzā* 'bird of prey, falcon, hawk', Hbr. pB. *gaz* (*gas*) 'name of a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 87; cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *gùzì* 'passereau' ibid.). [] Sem. \**ḥaml-* ~ \**ḥVlVm-* 'kind of insect': Akk. *ḥilammu* 'a locust', Hrs. *ḥemlēt* 'animal bug, pest', etc. (SED II No. 109) vs. Akk. *ḥamītu* 'Sandwespe' < Afras.? Cf. Egyp. NE *ḥmy* 'Sandfliege' (unless <\*ḥml). [] Sem. \**nam(V)l-* 'ant': Akk. *namalu*, Hbr. *nəmālā*, Arb. *naml-*, etc. vs. Arb. *nimm-at-* 'ant, louse' likely < Afras.: C. Chad. Daba *nīmī* 'termite qui vole' (unless an Arabism) and S. Cush. Alagwa *namahā* 'termites' (in SED II No. 163). [] (?) Sem. \**ḵVr(Vl)l-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 136): Syr. *ḵurlā* 'grus', Arb. *ḵirillā* 'espèce d'oiseau', Gog. *ḵarulle* 'kind of bird' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Dangla *kǰǰrla* 'oiseau passériforme, très coloré', E. Cush. Yaaku *kil'ériúá* 'Egyptian vulture', met.) vs. \**ḵ<sup>w</sup>āriʔy-* // \**ḵāriʔy-* 'kind of bird, partridge': Hbr. *ḵōrē(ʔ)* 'partridge', Arb. *ḵāriy-at-*, *ḵāriyy-at-* 'sorte d'oiseau aux jambes courtes, au bec long et au plumage du dos vert', Amh. *ḵ<sup>w</sup>ərayye* (*ḵuriyyā*) 'migrating

crane; large white crane with a long beak', probably related to Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>*ayr- 'kite, raven, crow': Sem. Gez. *kāker* 'crow', Amh. *k<sup>w</sup>əra* (*qura*) 'crow, raven' (< C. Cush.?), etc., E. Chad. Dangla *kòré* 'espèce de corbeau noir', C. Cush. Khamta *qurā*, Qwara *qurā*, Aungi *qura*, E. Cush. E.: Oromo *kurruu*, Hadiya *kor-aan-ta*, N. Omot. Wolayta *kuuruwa*, Bworo *aqokora*, etc. 'crow' (SED II No. 134). [] Afras. \**dVbal*- 'ram, goat, calf': Sem. Arb. *dawbal*- 'wild boar, suckling pig', Gez. *dābelā* 'billy goat, bull, male of any animal', Tgr. *dābela* 'ram', Tna. *dibāla*, Amh. *dabela*, *dābāl* 'billy goat' (LGz 120-21; in view of a very tenable Arb. parallel, less likely < Cush. as Leslau asserts, while E. Cush. Saho Afar *dabeēla* 'billy goat' are rather borrowed from Eth.), N. Cush. Beja *debala* 'einjährige Kuh', E. Cush. Baiso *dabaalo* 'heifer' (cf. in Bla FB 243) vs. Afras. \**dab*(Vy)- 'young bull': Sem. Arb. *dabab*- 'veau qui vient de naïtre' (BK 1 662), Har. *dābāy* 'female calf, heifer' (LHar 53; otherwise < \**dabāl*- to be placed with the forms in -l), (?) Egyp. Med. *db* 'horn', N. Cush. Beja *dʔabi* 'stallion, male (of all kinds of domestic cattle) kept for breeding', E. Cush. Somali *dibi* 'calf, bull', Oromo (Wellega) *dibi-čča* 'young bull' (cf. Bla FB 242; counter to Blažek, nothing in common either semantically or phonetically with Cushitic and Omotic forms meaning 'lion' and Sem. and Egyp. forms meaning 'jackal, hyena', all < Afras. \**ʒVʔVb*- 'kind of predator', v. in SED II No. 72). <> W. Chad. Hausa *tākàli* 'a variety of grasshopper' vs. Afras. \**tVk<sup>w</sup>*(-an)- 'kind of insect' (in \**k<sup>w</sup>Vt(t)ān*- ~ \**tuk<sup>w</sup>ān*- // \**kut(t)ān*- ~ \**tukān*- 'bug' SED II No. 122; v. in -Vr Animal names). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *ḡārākilo* vs. Dangla *ḡārko*, Migama *ḡārākù* 'grue couronnée' < Afras.? Cf. Sem.: Akk. *urnīku* 'Kranich'<sup>3</sup>, Arb. *ḡirnīk-*, *ḡurnūk-*, etc. 'grue' (v. in \**ḡVrnīk*- 'crane' SED II 91). <> E. Chad. Kera *tókorlé* 'Rebhuhn' (Eb 125) vs. Dangla *tòðkrò* 'oiseau (petit barbu)' (Fedry 168), Tumak *dòkòrīyà* 'oiseau sp.' (Capr 123; \**t*- > Tumak *d*-, according to Stolb 1996 30, 97) < Afras.: Sem. \**tVkur(r)*- 'kind of bird' (SED II 226; v. in *tV*- Animal names). <> E. Cush. Oromo *bučulā*, Alaba *buččilla*, Darasa *bučulla* 'puppy' (LGur 130; according to Leslau, "to be identified with *bučo* 'dog' with augmented -l to express the diminutive") vs. Oromo *buči* 'dog', Kambatta *buččo* 'interjection one uses to call a dog', Qabenna *bučbučča* 'puppy' (ibid.) <> (?) Afras. \**wa fil*- 'k. of goat, gazelle': Sem. \**wa fil*- 'ibex' (v. in -(V)n Animal names), Brb. Ghadames *welli*, *wulli*, Ahaggar *ulli* 'chèvre', Qabyle *ulli* 'brebis', W. Chad. Jimi *walaróo* 'antelope', Geji *wùlli* 'gazelle', E. Cush. Somali *fawl*- 'Soemmering's Gazelle', Rendille *hoól* 'gazelle' (both < \**fawVl*- with metathesis), Sidamo *wilii'l-icco* 'young (of sheep, goat)' vs. Afras. \**wa f-* 'goat': Egyp. OK *w f-ty* 'Ziege', W. Chad. Bokkos Daffa-Butura *wòʔ* 'Ziegenbock', C. Chad. Mbara *wàháy* 'chèvre', N. Cush. Beja *weeyu* 'ibex' (v. in \**wa fil*- 'ibex' SED II No. 244).

#### Anatomy:

[] Akk. *kišallu*, *kišillu*, *kisallu*, *kisillu* 'ankle bone' (< \**kiša/illu*) vs. \**k<sup>w</sup>*Vyş-, \**k<sup>w</sup>*Vşş- (cf. SED I No. 172 with a different interpretation): Arb. *kašāš-*, *kušāš-*, *kišāš-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *kašīš-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *kaşş-*, *kuşaş-* id., Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>əyş*, *k<sup>w</sup>əş* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', Gye. *kəṭəyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *míqşeh* 'articulation, falangue', etc. [] Hbr.-Arm. \**k<sup>w</sup>Vrsul*-: Hbr. \**qarsullayim* (dual) 'ankles', Jud. *qarsullā*, *qarsulā* 'ankles', Syr. *qurşālā* 'talus; ala, axilla' (cf. also Soq. *kárṭəlləh* 'mollet', a variant root) vs. Sem. \**qarsaw*-: Tgr. *qarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənqərša*, Gog. Sod. *ənqərša* 'ankle', Mhr. *qərşāt* 'kneecap' (otherwise < \**k<sup>w</sup>Vrşal*) in \**k<sup>w</sup>Vrs/ş(-ull)*- 'ankle' SED I No. 169. [] Syr. *purşālā* 'ungula (caprae)' (-š- instead of the expected -s-) vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', Jud. *prsh*, *prsth* (det.) 'hoof, split hoof', Mnd. *pras* (st. constr. only) 'palm (of hand)' < \**pa/irs*- 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220). [] Arb. *ḡiskilat-āni* 'les testicules' (dual) vs. Soq. *ḡošk* 'vulve' (v. in \**ḡ/ušk(-at)*- 'testiculus', SED I No. 11). [] Arb. *damāl*- 'fumière' vs. *dimmat*- 'crottin, boule de fiente', *dimn*- 'crottin, fiente des bêtes' < \**dVm(a)n*- 'dung' (SED I No. 53; v. in -(V)n Anatomy). [] Arb. *ḡablat*-, *ḡublat*- 'bosse du chameau' vs. *ḡabab*- 'plaie faite par le bât à la bosse du chameau' < \**gVb(V)b*-, \**gVb(b)-an*- 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67; v. in -(V)r Anatomy). [] Amh. *šəfāl*, Arg. *šəffāl* 'eyebrow' vs. Amh. *šəfašəft*, Tna *šifašəfti* 'eyebrow'

< \*šV(ʔ)p-at- 'tuft of hair': Arb. *ša ffat-* 'mèche de cheveux, tupet, cheveux', Hrs. *šafēt* 'hair', etc. (SED I No. 259). [] Sem. \*šimaʔl- 'left hand (side)': Akk. *šumēlu*, Arb. *šimāl-*, Jib. *šamlēt*, etc. (and metathetic Sab. *h-s₂ʔml* 'to be northward (?)', Min. *s₂ʔml-s₁* 'vers le nord'), likely < Afras.: Brb. \*a-zəlməḍ 'left' (Ahaggar *ahelmaḍ* Fouc 595, Qabyle *azelmaḍ* Dal 944, etc.), supposedly < \*a-zəlməʔ-t < \*cīlmaʔ-t, metathetically related to Sem. \*šimaʔl- vs. \*šaʔm- 'left': Arb. *šaʔmat-* 'côté gauche', Sab. *s₂ʔm* 'North', Min. *s₂ʔm* 'nord', Jib. *šīn* 'gauche' (< \*šimn influenced, according to LS 64, by *īn* 'droite'); v. in SED I No. 264. [] Sem. \*š/suḵl- 'leg, thigh; elbow' (SED I No. 242): Arb. *suḵl-* 'flancs, hypocondres', *šuḵl-*, *šuḵlat-*, *šaḵlat-* id., Tgr. *čənkəlit* 'coude', Amh. *čəḵəll*, Zw. *čḵile* 'elbow', Soq. *suḵal* 'pied' vs. \*šāḵ- 'leg bones (thigh-, splint- and shinbone)' (SED I No. 241): Akk. *sīḵu* 'lap, thigh', Ugr. *šḵ* 'thigh', Hbr. *šōḵ* 'Schenkel, Wadenbein', Bib. *šāḵōhī* (du. suff.) 'shin, leg', Jud. *šāḵā*, *šaḵḵā*, *šōḵā* 'joint, leg, foreleg', Syr. *šāḵā* 'femur, crus', Mnd. *šaḵa* 'limb, leg, shin', Arb. *sāḵ-* 'jambe, tibia', Tgr. *səkuḵa* 'forearm, lower part of the leg' < Afras. \*saḵ-: W. Chad: Bolewa Ngamo *šēke* 'leg' (CLR 220), Sha *səka ʔū* 'Bein, Fuss' (Jung R 288), C. Chad.: Muktele *šīk*, Mafa *sāk* 'leg' (CLR 221), Masa *sok* 'bone' (ibid. 37). [] Sem. \*gVd(V)l- 'limb' (SED I No. 73): Hbr. pB. *gūdāl*, *ʔāgūdāl* 'thumb, great toe' (otherwise < *gādāl* 'to be high, large'), Arb. *ǧād-*, *ǧīd-* 'membre quelconque du corps; verge, penis; tendon (des mains ou des jambes); os entier, non facturé', Mhr. *gēdāl* (*gədāwwal*, *həgdōl*), Hrs. *gēdel*, Jib. *gēdāl* 'foot' vs. \*(ʔa-)g(w)ad- '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' (SED I No. 71; v. in ʔV- Anatomy). [] Sem. \*tpl 'to spit' (SED I No. 73): Arb. *tfl*, Mhr. *təfūl*, Hrs. *tefōl*, Jib. *tfəl* (cf. also Hbr. *tāpēl* 'something unsalted, insipid, dull', *tpl* 'to utter stupidity, speak foolishly') vs. \*tpp 'to spit' (SED I No. 72): Hbr. *tōpāt* 'spittle, expectoration', Jud. *təpap*, *təpē*, Arb. *tff*, Gez. *tafʔa*, Tgr. *täfʔa*, Tna. *täfʔe*, Amh. *täffa*, Arg. *täffa*, Har. *tuf bāya*, Wol. *tuf balä*, Cha. *täfa*, etc., (?) Jib. *tféf* 'worthlessness in this world and perdition in the next'. [] Sem. \*ka(w)hil- ~ \*ʔVn-ḵulaliḥ- 'egg' (SED I No. 170): Tna. *ʔənḵulaliḥ*, Amh. *ənḵʷəlal*, Mhr. *kāwḥəl*, etc. vs. Eth. \*ʔan-ḵʷaḵʷVh-: Gez. *ʔanḵoḵʷəḥ/ho*, Tgr. *ʔənḵoḵḥo*, Tna. *ʔənḵʷaḵʷəḥo*, Har. *aḵuḥ*, etc. id. (SED I No. 160) < Afras.: (?) N. Cush. Beja *kʷāhi* (RBeḍ 137; < \*ḵʷaḥ- or \*kʷaḥ-), E. Cush. Oromo *hanqāqūw* (Gr 200; < \*ḥanḵaḵʷ- with metathesis?), S. Cush. Maʔa *hoḥoha*, *ikokoha* (< \*ḵVḥḵVh-), Iraqw *qānḥi* (HRSC 253). <> S. Omot. Dime *kəsīl*, Ari *kasel* 'tooth', Ongota *kāasala* 'molar' (Bla Omot No. 90.3; E. Cush. Tsamai *kāasala* 'molar' is more likely a loan from S. Omot. than vice versa) vs. Afras.: Arb. *kss* 'avoir les dents petites et courtes', *kasas-* 'petitesse des dents' (BK 2 894; otherwise from, or contaminated with, *kss* 'casser, broyer en très-petits morceaux' ibid.), Brb. Semlal *á-ḵus* 'tooth', Zenaga *ūḵš-ən* 'teeth', N. Cush. Beja *kōs* 'tooth', S. Cush. Qwadza *koʔosi-ko* 'molar' (Bla Om No. 90.3). <> Cush. \*ḵV(n)ḵal- 'sexual parts': N. Cush. Beja *kanḵal* 'penis' (Bla Beḍ 61), S. Cush. Qwadza *ḵucalu* 'clitoris' (ibid. after Ehret; likely also C. Cush. Khamir *qʷacel* 'scrotum' ibid., though -c- < \*t- is difficult), probably < Afras. \*ḵʷa(n)ḵal-: W. Chad. Hausa *ḵwālātāi* 'testicles' (Abr Hs 539; metathesis < \*ḵʷalaḵ-?), vs. Afras. \*ḵV(n)ḵd- 'sexual parts' (v. in -Vr Anatomy).

Varia:

[] Akk. *amšali* (also *šamšali*, likely by contamination with *šamš-* 'the sun') 'yesterday' OB, Mari, SB (CAD A₂ 79-); *l* in Akk. is usually explained by analogy with *timāli* 'yesterday' (v. in ʔV- Varia), attested, however, in later texts, v. CAD A₂ 79) vs. *amšat* SB id. ("probably...a scribal error" ibid.), *mūšu* 'night' (ibid. M₂ 291), v. in ʔV- Varia. [] S. Eth. Amh. (*tä*)gʷābbälä, Har. (*tä*)gēbāla 'to sit down', Wol. (*tä*)gobälä, Sel. (*tä*)gōbälä 'to sit (down), ride' (LGur 256) vs. Amh. *gʷābb alä*, Har. (*tä*)gēba 'to sit down', Zw. (*tä*)gūbī 'to sit down, ride' (ibid.; Leslau wonders whether Amh. *gʷābb alä* is in any connection with the Zw. form and regards Har. (*tä*)gēba as an abbreviated form from (*tä*)gēbāla while the three forms quoted could hardly "lose" the Auslaut -l independently from each other) < Sem.? Cf. Arb. *šḥw* 'se jeter la face contre terre, se prosterner' (BK 1 251). [] Sem. \*yarpal- 'cloud, mist': Ugr. *yrpl* 'nube, nubarrón' (DLU 160), Hbr. *ʔārāpāl* 'thick darkness' (HAL 888), Jud. *šarpillā* 'cloud, spray, mist' (Ja 1123), Syr. *šarpellā* 'vapor, nubes' (Brock 549), etc. vs. Sem. \*ʔVr- 'cloud, rain': Akk. *erpetu* 'cloud' (CAD E 302), Ugr. *šrpt* 'nube' (DLU 90), Hbr. *šrp* 'to drip' (HAL 887), Arb. *ḡarrāf-* 'abondant, copieux (se dit d'un

torrent de pluie)', cf. *ɣurfat*- 'ciel, septième ciel' (BK 2 458-9). [] Sem. \**gVdVl*- '(to be) big': Ugr. *gdl* 'ancho, amplio; bien crecido, grande (?)' (DLU 144), Hbr. *gdl* 'to grow (up), become strong, be great' (HAL 179), Arb. *ǧāl* 'grandir, grossir' (BK 1 265), etc. < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. \**digal*- (met.?): Kilba *dūgōlū* (Kr II 95), Wamdiu *digàlu* (ibid. 115), Margi *digàl* (ibid. 124) 'large' vs. Afras. \**gVd(d)*- (v. above in -(V)r Varia). <> Afras. \*(*ʔa*-)*dang*<sup>(w)</sup>*al*- 'corn; beans': Sem. Tgr. *ʔādāngāl* 'bean(s)' (LH 384; < C. Cush. Bilin? Cf., however, Tgr. *ʔādāggāla*, *dāggāla* poet., Tna. *dāggāla* 'a sort of corn growing wild; Eleusine aegyptiaca' LH 385; cf. also Har. *dāngulle* 'pea' LH 1963 57 < Oromo), Gez. *dālg<sup>w</sup>ammā* 'porridge', Amh. *dālg<sup>w</sup>ām* 'a variety of sorghum' (LGz 131; < \**dalg<sup>w</sup>-am*- with metathesis), W. Chad. Karekare *dāgwəlò* 'gruel' (Kr I 62), C. Chad. Mada *édīngèl* 'tige de mil (dont on a coupé l'épi)' (BB 93), E. Chad. Migama *dāgàlààwé* 'noix de palmeir doum' (Jung Mig 76; metathetic <\**dagwal*-), C. Cush. Bilin *adāng<sup>w</sup>al* 'Bohne' (RBil 15), E. Cush. Oromo *dāngulle* 'bean' (LGur 17) vs. Afras. \**da/ing<sup>w</sup>*- 'kind of beans; corn' (v. above in -(V)r Varia). <> Afras. \**gambVl*- 'black': E. Chad. Mokilko *gāmmilī*, *gāmḃilī* (Jung Mkk 99), E. Cush. Bayso *ka-gamballi* (Hay Bai 120) vs. E. Cush. \**gumb*- id.: Gawwada *kummay* (AMS 266), Tsamai *gumma* (SLLÉ 4), Yaaku *-kumpuʔ* (Hei Ya 121).

-Vb

Animal names:

[] Jud. *ʔaršubā* 'a species of locusts' vs. \**ʔVrʕ*- 'kind of insect': Arb. *ʔird*- 'nuée de sauterelles', Tgr. *ʔaršat*, *ʔaršātīt* 'termites' (SED II No. 38). [] Jud. *karzabā*, *karzubbā* 'a species of locusts' vs. *kārāzā* 'name of two species of winged locusts', Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>arāzi* 'ant' (<\**k<sup>w</sup>araz*- // \**karaz*- 'kind of insect' SED II No. 119). [] Jud. *ʔakšəbōnūtā* 'name of a disease, prob. wound from a spider's bite' (cf. also Hbr. *ʔakšūb* 'horned viper (or adder)' and Dem. Arm. *ʔkšb* 'viper') vs. Arb. *ʔukkāš*- 'araignée; toile d'araignée' (v. in SED II No. 33). [] Tgr. *sosānab* 'a kind of ants whose bite is very painful' (LH 180; less likely < \**sos* + \**nab*) vs. Tgr. *šašənte* 'ants' (ibid. 214), Tna. *šišo* 'ant or termite colony; large black ant which can give a painful bite' (K Tna 831), v. in \**sā/ūs*- 'moth' (SED II 198). [] Tna. *Ḳ<sup>w</sup>ər ʔob*, *Ḳ<sup>w</sup>ār ʔob* (and *ʔənḲ<sup>w</sup>ər ʔob*, *ʔənḲ<sup>w</sup>ār ʔob*) vs. *Ḳ<sup>w</sup>ər ʔo*, *Ḳ<sup>w</sup>ur ʔo*, *Ḳ<sup>w</sup>ār ʔo* in \**ḲVr(V)r*- 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV*- Animal names). [] Sem. \**ʔa ʔlab*- 'fox': Akk. *šēlebu*, Arb. *ʔa ʔlab*- (pl. *ʔa ʔlālī<sup>w</sup>*), very likely < Afras. \**čVʔVb*-: C. Chad. Musgu *čičēlebe* 'jackal', E. Chad. Mokilko *sùllībè* 'kind of wolf' vs. Sem. \**ʔVʔ*- 'fox': Hbr. *šū ʔāl*, Syr. *ʔa ʔlā*, Arb. *ʔu ʔāl*-, Mhr. *ʔaṭáyl*, etc. (SED II No. 237). [] Sem. \**ʔankab(ṭ)*- 'spider': Hbr. *ʔakkābīš*, Jud. *ʔakkōbītā*, Arb. *ʔankab*-, Jib. *ʔənšyét* (pl. *ʔonókub*) id. vs. Eth. \**ʔa(n)k*-: Tgr. *ʔako* 'spider', Tna. *ʔakk<sup>w</sup>ät*, *ʔakkot* 'a kind of very poisonous wasp', Gez. *ʔakot* (*ʔakot*) 'small locust, dog-fly, wasp', Amh. *anko* 'young locust' (SED II No. 33). [] Sem. \**g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab*- // \**ga(n)dab*- 'cricket, locust': Arb. *ǧandab*-, *ǧundub*- 'espèce de sauterelle', Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ādābā* 'a kind of harmless grasshopper' vs. \**gV(n)d*- with different extensions; v. SED II No. 80. [] Sem. \**ɣārib*- ~ \**ɣurāb*- 'crow, raven': Hbr. *ʔōrēb*, Arb. *ɣurāb*-, Jib. *ʔaɣərəb*, etc. (perhaps < Afras.: E. Cush. Burji *gurruba*, Dullay \**Ḳ/kurrub*- 'crow') vs. Afras. \**ɣ<sup>w</sup>ar*- 'raven, crow': Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *a-ɣrut* 'corbeau', W. Chad. Sura *gooroo*, E. Chad. Ndam *ʔàgrà* 'crow', S. Cush. Iraqw *ḥwa ʔari*, Burunge *ḥwanḥwarariya*, Alagwa *ḥoḥora ʔi*, Maʔa *ihuré ʔi*, *ihuré ʔa* 'crow' (SED II No. 89). [] Sem. \**kalb*- 'dog': Akk. *kalbu*, Hbr. *kālāb*, Arb. *kalb*-, etc. vs. Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>Vl*- 'wolf, dog, fox' (v. in *tV*- Animal Names). [] Sem. \**ʔa/irbay*- 'locust': Akk. *arabū*, Hbr. *ʔarbā*, Soq. *ʔerbhíyoh*, etc. (< Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *ʔárbàtétè* 'cricket' SED II No. 11) vs. S. Cush. \**ʔuurù* 'locust (sp.)': Alagwa *ʔuurù*, Burunge *ʔuuri* (KM 310), (?) Maʔa *í ʔe* 'locust' (compared with Burunge *uri* 'grasshopper' in HRSC 295). <> E. Cush. \**warāb*- (< \**warhab*-) 'hyena': Somali *warāb-e*, Oromo *warāb-esa*, Gidole *warāb-e*, Gawwada *orāp-atte*, Harso *orāp-ičče* (PEC 42) vs. E. Cush. Konso *orayta* id. ("with unexplained loss of *b*" ibid.-sic! < \**waray-t*). S. Cush. Maʔa *waré* id. (HRSC 337), Egypt. Dem. *whr* 'Kündin' (EG I 346, cf. also EDE 144), Brb. Senhadja *i-uhart*, Rif *a-whar*, etc. 'renard' (Ren 228) < Afras. \**wahr*- 'kind of canine; hyena'. <> S. Cush. Dahalo *dánnaḃa* 'female elephant' (EEN 28), *dánnaḃe* (Tos Dah 132) 'elephant' <\**ǧannab*- vs. Afras. \**ǧa(Hw)n*-

id.: E. Cush. Sidamo *dāni-ččo*, Hadiya *dānē-ččo*, Qabenna *zānō*, Kambatta *zanō*, etc. (LSid 400), C. Cush. Bilin *žānā*, Khamir *zohón*, etc. (Bla Eleph 199), W. Chad. Ngizim *žūnāk*, C. Chad. Tera *žūwàn* (CLR 124), Fali-Jilvu *žū žwùni*, E. Chad. Nanchere *žena?*, Kabalai *žuno*, etc. (Bla Eleph 200). <> N. Omot. Sheko *goržube* 'lizard' (cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *gíržibó* 'varan') vs. *góržu* 'gecko' (v. in SED II 182).

Anatomy:

[] Afras. \**garab-* 'stomach, belly': Sem. Arb. *žuržub-*, *žuržubān-* 'ventre', Sab. *grb*, Tgr. *gärob* 'body', W. Chad. Miya *garabu* 'chest', E. Chad. Tumak *būrōōg* 'stomach' (met.), C. Chad. Mandara *broguè* 'intestines' (met.), E. Cush. Saho Afar *garbā* 'Bauch, Magen, Eingeweide, Herz', Oromo *gārāba* 'big stomach of ruminants', N. Omot. Janjero *garba* 'belly' (Bnd Om 159), etc. (v. in \**gVrVb-* SED II No. 90) vs. Afras. \**gVra?* 'stomach, belly': Arb. *žirri?at-*, *žirriyyat-* 'gésier (chez certains oiseaux), estomac (d'oiseau)' (BK 1 272), Brb. Siwa *žar* 'ventre' (Lao 309), E. Chad. Migama *gūr-mūdù* 'estomag' (Jung Mig 89), C. Chad. Gudu *gurā-cu* 'heart' (Kr III 76), N. Cush. Beja *gari* 'body, trunk' (Roper 186), C. Cush. Bilin *gir*, *žir*, Qwara *žir* 'Darm, Eingeweide' (RBil 158), E. Cush. Oromo *garaa* 'stomach, heart, mind' (Gr 167), Arbore *geré?* 'belly, abdomen' (Hay Arb 360), Dasenech *geer-e* 'stomach, belly, womb, interior' (Tos Das 499), S. Cush. Iraqw Gorowa *gura?*, Alagwa Burunge *gura?a* 'belly' (KM 122). [] Sem. \**k<sup>w</sup>irb-at-* 'skin, leather bag': Arb. *ķirbat-* 'grande outre à lait ou à eau faite d'une seule peau' (BK 2 704), Gez. *ķ<sup>w</sup>arbābit* 'leather bag' (LGz 440), Tna. *ķorbāt* 'skin, hide, bark, rind, peel' (K Tna 941), Amh. *ķorbāt* 'peau, cuir' (Baet 379), probably < Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>i/arab-* 'bark, skin': N. Omot. Male *ķurubi* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67) and perhaps E. Chad. forms (v. in the following entry) vs. Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>ar-* 'bark, shell': W. Chad. Hausa *ķwáryà* 'shell of a tortoise' (Barg 692), N. Omot. Oyda *ķuuro*, Basketo *ķura*, Male *ķuru* (Bnd Om 54), Shinasha *ķōōķirā* (ibid. 158) 'bark'. <> Cush. \**kurb-* 'skin, bark': N. Cush. Beja *ķūrbe* 'Haut' (RBeđ 145), C. Cush. Khamta *ķerbir* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67), Qwara *ķōrbē* 'Haut, Leder' (RQua 86) < Afras. if E. Chad. forms (Kwan *kābārōw*, Sumrai *kābārāw* 'bark' CLR 9) are metathetic < \**kVrbVw-* (otherwise < \**ķVrbaw-*, related to the previous entry) vs. Afras. \**kur-* (note variant roots with *h* in Sayanchi, Yaaku and S. Cush., hardly a chance coincidence) id.: W. Chad. Pa?a *kurri*, Kiir *ķwār*, Buli *ķuur* 'skin' (CLR 296), Geji *ķūr*, Barawa *ķūru*, *ķwor*, Sayanchi *ķūrahi*, Tule *ķākā-ķārēe* 'bark' (ADB), E. Chad. Dangla *ķōr-ke* (?), Birgit *ķūrōrō* 'egg-shell' (?), E. Cush. Yaaku *ķreke* 'skin' (Hei Ya 133), S. Cush. Iraqw *ķaahari* 'skin', Alagwa *ķaari*, *ķahari* 'skin, hide', Burunge *ķaariya* 'sheep's hide' (KM 169-70; in spite of Gorowa *ķaahari* 'dried cow hide', hardly < \**ķahar* 'dry' < \**ķah* 'to be dry' ibid. 169, as the meaning 'dried' about hide is not confirmed by other languages except Gorowa where this meaning is rather due to contamination with *ķaahaar* 'dry'). <> Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>ažab-* 'stomach, internal organ': Sem. Arb. *židāb-* 'moelle du palmier' (BK 1 268, with a meaning shift?), W. Chad. Hausa *gážēbā* (also *gidibi*) 'kidneys' (Barg 347), (?) C. Chad. Gidar *gədař* 'belly' (CLR 21; \*-*b* devoiced into -*f* in Auslaut?), E. Cush. Hadiya *gódabo*, Sidamo *godobá*, Kambatta *g<sup>w</sup>ādeeba*, etc. 'belly' (HEC 26) vs. Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>až-* 'stomach, intestines': Brb. \*-*gazaw-* (Ghat *te-žahu-t* 'estomag, ventre', Ahaggar *tā-gəhu-t* 'panse, intérieur du ventre', E. Tawlllemmet *te-gāžāw-t* 'panse des ruminants' DRB 927), W. Chad. Hausa *gùžyá* 'an internal organ in a bird' (Barg 405), E. Chad. Ndam *gūž*, Kera *giidə* 'belly' (CLR 21), C. Cush. \**g<sup>w</sup>az(g<sup>w</sup>az)-* 'stomach' (Bilin *g<sup>w</sup>ādə*, Khamir *gəzu*, Kemant *g<sup>w</sup>āzɡ<sup>w</sup>ə*, Aungí *g<sup>w</sup>əzəg* (Appl IC 46), E. Cush. Afar *gūdē* 'Mitte, Inneres, Bauch, Leib' (RAf 848). <> Cush.-Omot. \**ʕ/ʕr(n)ab-* ~ \**ʕ/ʕr(n)rab-* 'tongue' (note -*b* in pl. Dasenech and Yaaku which is hardly accidental): E. Cush. Saho *anrāb*, Afar *arrabā* (RSa 40), Dasenech pl. *ʕerb-u* (Tos Das 480), Somali *ʕárrab*, Rendille *ħarrab*, Boni *arub*, Oromo *arraba*, Elmolo *ʕerreɓ*, Sidamo Darasa *arraba*, Hadiya *allaabo*, Burji *arraba*, Gawwada *arrap-ko*, Yaaku pl. *erepa* (PEC 23), N. Omot. Dizi *ʕerib* (Bnd Om 218) 'tongue' vs. Afras. \**ʕ/ʕr(n)ay-* ~ \**ʕ/ʕV(r)n-* id.: W. Chad. (?) Hausa *yàré* 'any language which one does not understand' (Barg 1109), C. Chad. Higi-Nkafa *ane*, Mofu *ʕərné*, Gisiga *ʕerne*, Mandara *aara*, *nárà* (met.) 'tongue' (CLR 328-9), E. Cush. Somali *éray* 'word' (Abr Som 74), Dasenech *ʕére* (Tos Das 481), Yaaku *ere* (PEC 480), S. Cush. Dahalo *ʕééna* (EEN 13), N. Omot. Malo *ʕirin-c* (Bnd Om 25), Doko *eren-*

*çā* (ibid. 63), Anfillo *erri-co*, *ʔere-çō* (ibid. 176), Koyra -*ʔe/or-* (ibid. 96), etc. 'tongue'. <> C. Cush. Bilin *girib*, Khamir Qwara Aungi *girb* 'Knie und Ellbogen' (RKham 361), E. Cush. Rendille *gárab* 'shoulder' (PG 387; < Cush.-Omot. Cf. N. Omot. Shinasha *gubrà* id. Lmb Sh 306, with metathesis?) vs. C. Cush. Khamir *giyùr*, Waag *gerím* (?) id. <Afras. \*(*ʔ-n*)*gur(gur)-* 'knee, foot': Sem. \**ʔ(n)gi/ur-* 'foot' (Syr. Arb. *ʔžər*, Daṭ. Arb. *ʔžr*, Gez. *ʔagr*, Har. *igir*, *ingir*, etc. SED II No. 7), W. Chad. Warji *ʔgàràí*, C. Chad. Zime-Dari *gore*, E. Chad. Lele *gàrmà* 'foot' (CLR 220-21), Kera *gàgàr* 'knee' (ibid. 215), S. Cush. Iraqw *gurungura*, Gorowa *gurungura?*, Alagwa *gurunguuda*, Burunge *guruguunda* (KM 122-3), N. Omot. Mocha *gurāto*, She *gurət* 'knee' (Bnd Om 168). <> Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>il(V)b-* 'knee': E. Chad. Sokoro *bógolō* 'ankle' (Luk ZS 45; met.), C. Cush. Dembea *gūlbē* (RBil 159; or < \**girb-*? See previous entry), E. Cush. Saho Afar *gūlūb*, Somali *ǰilib*, Oromo *ǰilba* (ibid.), Konso *hilpa*, *kilpa*, Bayso *gilib*, Burji *gilba*, Hadiya *gurubbo* (< \**gulubb-*), Sidamo *gulube*, Gawwada *kilpay-(ho)*, Tsamai *gilib-ko* (PEC 18), Dahalo (pl.) *gillibe* (Tos Dah 134), N. Omot. Wolamo *gulba-ta*, Kullo Gofa Gamu Zergulla *gulbata* (Bnd Om 19; according to Bender, all Omot. forms are from Amh. *gulbat*, which is unlikely in view of their widest attestation in Cush. and Omot. and lack of Sem. etymology for the Amh. term, evidently borrowed from Cush.), Kafa *gilbatò* (ibid. 58), S. Omot. Ari *gulbé* (ibid. 212), Ongota *gibila*, *giliba* (Fl Ong 51) vs. Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>il-* 'knee': W. Chad. Hausa *gwí-wà*, pl. *gwīyā* 'knee' (Abr Hs 355; most likely < \**gwil-*), C. Chad. Mofu *gəlaw* 'hanche' (Bar 118), E. Cush. Dasenech *gíl* 'hand' (Tos Das 500), S. Cush. Qwadza *guhulu-ko* 'ankle', Asa *ɲuluet*, Dahalo *gilli* 'knee' (Tos Dah 134). <> S. Omot. Hamar *təróbó*, *tərbə* 'liver' (in Bnd Om 213; the labial consonant is treated as a productive suffix which needs proof) vs. Ari *tùri* (according to Bender, "a universal loan < Oromo *tiruu*", which is questionable in view of a wide spread of the corresponding forms in Omot.), N. Omot. Malo Gerese *tire*, Dorze *tiré*, Kullo *tiriya*, etc. 'liver' (ibid. 20; cf. Malo *tira*, Kullo Dorze *tira* etc. 'chest' ibid. 13) < Afras. \**tirw-* 'liver': W. Chad. Polchi *wàtèraʔè* 'liver' (met.), C. Chad. Mada *totrom* 'reins' (BB 254), E. Cush. Saho *tiraw*, Afar *tiroo*, Somali *traw*, Oromo *tiru*, Konso *tirā*, Hadiya *tiroo*, Gawwada *tire*, etc. 'liver' (Dolg 1973 203), S. Cush. Maʔa *tirao* 'liver' (HRSC 387).

Varia:

[] Soq. *ḍuʃob* 'mordre' (LS 363) vs. Arb. *ḍyḍy* 'mâcher, broyer avec les mâchoires' (BK 2 29), *ḍym* 'mordre, saisir avec la bouche' (ibid.), *ḍyt* 'mâcher, broyer légèrement avec les dents' (ibid. 28). [] Eth. \**g<sup>w</sup>db* 'to cut' (LGz 181; otherwise to be treated as a variant root of \**gdm*, v. *ibid.*): Gez. *g<sup>w</sup>adaba* 'to cut with an axe, dig a ditch', *g<sup>w</sup>adb*, Tgr. *gədəb* 'axe', Tna *gädäbä* 'to cut', Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>addäbä* 'to dig, cut' vs. Sem. \**gdd* 'to cut': Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ǰdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädäda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). [] Sem. \**krb* 'to plait, braid, tie up': Arb. *krb* 'tordre, tresser (une corde)' (BK 2 880), Gez. *karabo* 'woven basket; pouch', Tgr. *kärba* 'to tie up', Amh. *käräbo* 'basket' (LGz 290) vs. \**kr̥r/y* id.: Hbr. *kry* 'to bind together' (HAL 497; Arb. *kwr* 'to wind a turban' compared ibid. is rather from Afras. \**kwr* 'to be round'), Arb. *karr-* 'corde tressée de feuilles ou de fibres de palmier' (BK 2 879), Tna. *kärärä* 'to be twisted (thread), to be made (rope) by twisting' (K Tna 1591). <> Afras. \**darb-*: Sem. Jud. *darbān* 'Pforte, weiter Eingang' (Dolg 1973 50 after Levy), Syr. *darb-* 'via' (Brock 165: "ex Arb. *darb-*"), Arb. *darb-* 'porte; défilé, rue, chemin', Anc. Yemen 'muraille', Daṭ. *darraba* 'entourer d'un mur' (DRS 307), Mhr. *darb* 'village street; yard' (JM 73), Jib. *derb* 'village street; unroofed enclosure, yard' (JJ 40; both MSA forms look as Arabisms, note, however, partial differences in meaning), Brb. Ayr *ābarid*, Ghadames Qabyle *abrid*, etc. 'chemin, route' (DRB 100; met.), N. Cush. Beja *derēb*, C. Cush. Bilin *därəb*, pl. *därfif* 'way, road', E. Cush. Saho *darib* 'way, trace' (Dolg 1973 50; according to Dolgopolsky, all < Cush. \**dVrVP-*; these Cush. forms, however, look as Arabisms), Oromo *darabaa* 'place for keeping cows in common; place where common activity is done' (Gr 99; semantic evolution of the borrowed Arb. *darb-* 'street?') vs. Afras. \**dar-*: Sem. Arb. *darar-* 'tracé; ligne d'une route, surtout droite; côté (d'une maison qui nous fait face)' (BK 1 682), Mhr. *šə-dēri* 'to

go by a good route', *šə-drō*, Jib. *šə-dré* 'to get to the top' (JM 74), W. Chad. Jimbin *dāru*, Mburku *dēri*, Miya *darhi*, Kariya *derahi* 'road, path, way' (Sk NB 37), Gerka *der* (Fitz 219), Karekare *n-dārū* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *dèrāū* 'to go' (CLR 162) E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

-Vk

Animal names:

⟨⟩ W. Chad. Ngizim *žāunàk* 'elephant' (CLR 124) vs. Afras. \**žā(Hw)n-* id. (v. in -Vb Animal names).  
 ⟨⟩ E. Cush. Saho Afar *lubāk* 'lion' vs. Sem. \**labVʔ-* 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*labū*, etc.) 'lion', Arb. *labuʔat-*, *labwat-* 'lionne', etc. (SED II No. 144).

Anatomy:

[] Sem. \**bi/ark-* 'knee': Akk. *birku*, Hbr. *bārāk*, etc. (SED I No. 39) < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Mburku *varka cāma* 'foot' (CLR 220; *varka* < \**bVrk-*? Cf. Siri *cùmà* 'leg' *ibid.*), C. Chad. Mofu *pāpārakw* 'patte' (Bar 219), Gisiga *poporok* 'knee' (CLR 215; < \**babarak?*), E. Cush. Yaaku *loipurukuçi* (Hei Ya 128; composed of *loi-porokuçi* < \**porokuki* < \**borok-*?) vs. \*(*ʔ-*)*bar-(at-)* '(bone of) leg, thigh, arm' (cf. SED I No. 3; v. in *ʔV-* Anatomy) < Afras. \**bar(bar)-* '(bone of) leg, thigh, knee': W. Chad. Ngamo *buru* (Meek 37), Dera *bó-bèrəm*, Karekare *bèrəsù* (CLR 214), Galambu *bùbur* (Sch BT 82), C. Chad. Bachama *m̀bwàrà* 'leg' (CLR 221), Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), Paduko *bárna* 'knee' (CLR 215), Gude *bùurá* 'elbow' (Hos 164), Zime-Batna *hūrù* 'marcher sur les genoux' (Cooper 3), E. Chad. Mokilko *ʔəbbírà* 's'agenouiller' (Jung Mkk 151), E. Cush.: Rendille *bárbar* 'shoulder' (PG 387), N. Omot. Kafa *borborō* 'coscia' (Cer Caf 415), S. Omot. Ubamer *barr* 'thigh' (Bla SED 499). [] Sem. \**warik-(at-)* 'hip(-bone)': Hbr. *yārēk*, Arb. *wark-*, *wirk-*, etc. (SED I No. 288) vs. Afras. \**war-* 'thigh(-bone), leg': Arb. *warr-* 'os de la hanche' (BK 2 1516), Egypt. MK *wʔr-t* 'Bein' (EG I 287), W. Chad. Mburku *wirin*, Miya Kariya *wurum* 'knee' (Sk NB 28; unless < \**bVr-*, v. above), C. Chad. Musgu *werē* 'Knie' (Luk Msg 81), S. Cush. Iraqw *uryee* 'backside of upper side of leg, thigh' (MQK 113), Burunge *ʔuuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310). ⟨⟩ W. Chad. Chip *fə̀lək* 'liver' (Kr I 39), Sura *fə̀lək* (Jung Sura 213), Mupun *f̀lòk*, *f̀l̀f̀ùk* (Fr Mup 87) 'lungs' vs. Ankwe *fə̀lè* 'liver' (Kr I 51), *f̀l̀l̀l̀* 'lungs' (*ibid.*), C. Chad. Bachama *fə̀fulàwəy* 'lungs' (Kr III 66) < Afras. (*ʔʔa-*)*fal-* 'liver, lungs, stomach': Sem. Soq. *ʔefelóti* (dual) 'estomac' (LS 319), E. Cush. Sidamo *affale*, Burji *affala*, Kambatta *afali-ta*, Hadiya *afáre* (< \**Hafal-*) 'liver' (HEC 93). ⟨⟩ W. Chad. \**ti/uk-* 'belly': Hausa *č̀k̀k̀* < \**tik-*, Kiir *tùk*, Geji *tùki*, Tule *tùkò* (CLR 20) vs. Chad. \**tu/a-* id.: Daffa-Butura *tùh* (unless < \**tuk-*), pl. *tùtuwái*, Wangdai Zaar *tuù*, C. Chad. Kilba *ta* 'belly' (*ibid.*). ⟨⟩ (?) Chad. \**baw/yk-* 'mouth': W. Chad. Hausa *bàk̀k̀*, Dera *bwóók*, E. Chad. Dangla *h̄iykíko* (CLR 244-5) vs. \**biw/y-* id.: Dera *bwó*, Karekare *bòò*, Jimi *bi*, Tule *biyì*, etc., E. Chad. Sumrai *bi*, Migama *bí*, Jegu *bè̀tó*, C. Chad. Nzangi *bōá* (*ibid.*). ⟨⟩ C. Cush. Bilin *lābākā*, Dembea Qwara *lābakā* 'Herz' (RBil 251) vs. Afras. \**IVb-* 'heart' (v. in Bla SED 503-4, where all the comparisons are convincing except Brb. \**luHi*, which, together with S. Omot. Hamar *wə̀yləm* and probably Ongota *lə̀ta* 'heart', go back to Afras. \**wVli(m)-*): Sem. Akk. *libbu*, Arb. *lubb-*, etc. (SED II No. 174), Egypt. Pyr. *ib* (EG I 59), N. Cush. Beja *ləw* 'pylorus' (Roper 213; otherwise < \**IVw-*, met. < \**wVl-*, v. above), E. Cush. (perhaps < Eth.) Afar *lùbbi* (PH 156), Oromo *lubbuu* 'soul, spirit' (Gr 267), etc. ⟨⟩ C. Cush. Bilin *nabakā* 'Mitte' (RBil 280) vs. Qwara *nabeow* 'middle (adj.)', *nabea* 'centre' (RQua 104; according to Reinisch, < *nābē* 'spalten' which seems to me less probable), Dembea *nabēā* 'middle (adj.)' (*ibid.*), likely < Afras. \**nVb-* 'heart' (a variant root of \**IVb-*?): C. Chad. Daba *nùv* 'heart' (Kr III 156; cf. *liḥi* 'stomach' *ibid.*), N. Omot. Shinasha *nibbà*, Sheko Kafa *nibbo*, Janjero *niba* 'Herz' (Lmb Sh 367). ⟨⟩ N. Omot. \**ʔačk-* 'meat' (Bender separates *-k* as if it were a productive suffix which needs proof): Male *aski* (Bnd Om 59), Dizi *ačku*, *ašku* (*ibid.* 213), Mao (Sezo) *ǎ̀k̀e* (*ibid.* 276) vs. \**ʔač-* id.: Gofa *ašo*, Chara *ačča*, Koyra *ʔáččo*, Gimirra *ač*, Mao (Sezo) *ǎ̀ssi*, *ʔəs* (*ibid.* 20, 59, 90, 169, 276), S. Omot. Ongota *čata* (< \**ča-t-*?) 'meat' < Afras. \**čaʔw-* ~ 'small cattle; meat' (v. \**taʔ(w/y)-at-* 'ewe' SED II No. 236): Sem. \**taʔ(w/y)-at-* 'ewe' (Ugr. *tʔat*, Arb. *taʔwat-*, etc.), W. Chad. Kirfi *wüči* 'sheep' (met.), E. Chad. Kwang

*čūwī* 'goat', E. Cush. Somali *soʔ*, Oromo *foo-ni* (Oromo *f-* implies \*č-), Bussa *soʔ-o*, Dasenech *so*, Gidole *soʔ-ha* 'meat' (PEC 50). <> Afras. \**ħark-* 'limb, arm': Sem. Arb. *ħarkakat-* 'haut de la hanche' (BK 1 413; cf. Jib. *ħarkùn* 'lame, broken-legged' JJ 115), W. Chad. Dera *áràk* 'hand' (CLR 178), N. Cush. Beja *hárka*, *hérka* 'Arm, Oberarm, Schulter, Achsel' (RBeq 126), E. Cush. Oromo *harka* 'hand' (Gr 202), Konso *harka* id. (Black 297), Gawwada *ħarkó*, Tsamai *harko* 'hand' (SLLE 7), S. Cush. Maʔa *iharega* 'arm' (HRSC 387) vs. Afras. \**ħar-* 'arm, hand': C. Chad. \**Har-* 'arm, hand': Tera *ħar*, Ngweshe *ħará*, Mofu *hár* 'hand' (CLR 178-9), etc., E. Cush. Saho *hará* 'Hand, Arm' (RSa 190), Oromo *hirree*, *irree* 'arm' (Gr 227), N. Omot. Anfillo *hiro* 'fathom' (?).

Varia:

[] End. *masakkä* 'night' (LGur 427: "one recognizes the element *massa* for 'evening, night' but the ending *-kkä* is enigmatic") vs. Cha. Gye. *mäšä*, Eža *mäššä*, etc. 'to be evening' < Sem. \*(*ʔa-*)*mVš-* 'evening, night' v. in *-Vr* Varia). [] Sem. Hbr. *dārāk*, Pho. *drk* 'way, road' (HAL 231), Mnd. *dirka* id. (DM 109), etc. vs. Afras. \**dVr-* 'road' (v. in *-Vb* Varia). <> (?) Brb. Siwa *t-fūk-t*, Senhaja *ta-fuk-t*, Ahaggar *tā-fuk*, Zenaga *tu-fuk-t* 'soleil' (DRB 547-8) vs. Ghadames *t-ūfā-t* 'soleil, éclat du soleil, lumière solaire' (Lan 86), Ahaggar *tā-ffaw-t* 'clarté crépusculaire', *ufu*, *ifaw* 'commencer à faire clair (jour) pour', Ayr *ifu* 'faire jour pour', Iznasen *t-faw-t* 'lumière (d'une lampe, du soleil)', etc. (DRB 675-7) < Afras. \**yafaw-* 'sunlight: W. Chad. Warji *fei*, Kariya *áfai*, Ngizim *afa*, E. Chad. Sokoro *píyò*, *fūyo*, etc. 'sun' (CLR 312-3), E. Cush. Saho *īfo*, Somali *if*, Oromo *ifā* 'light' (Dolg 1973 232). <> Afras. \**pVrVk-* 'bark, shell': (?) Sem. Arb. *farik-* 'qui a l'écorce cassée', *frk* 'écraser quelque chose entre deux doigts' (BK 2 586), Brb. Ahaggar *tā-fər-k-it* 'morceau d'écorce d'arbre sèche', Ntifa *ti-ferk-it* 'écorce d'un arbre; peau d'un animal', Zenaga *ta-ferki* 'écorce', etc. (DRB 626), E. Chad. Kera *fékré* (met.) 'hard shell (of a nut)', Mokilko *pákir-tè*, Sokoro *furkía* 'bark' (CLR 9) vs. Sem. \**par(r/w)-* 'skin, shell, husk' (SED I No. 217) < Afras. \**pVr-* 'bark, shell': Brb. Ghadames *ti-fra*, Sened *ti-fre-t* 'écorce' (DRB 607), W. Chad. Hausa *fùurùu*, *hùurùu* 'skin of monkey nuts' (Barg 331, 470), Tangale *paara* 'skin or pod of the fruit of the locust tree' (Jung T 128), Diri *fufùr* 'bark' (CLR 8), E. Chad. Bidiya *pir* 'décortiquer l'arachide' (AJ 108).

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Instances of *r* in various positions in Semitic (and Afrasian?) roots presumably conveying a meaning of a "larger dimension/quantity":

1. A Semitic or Semito-Chadic triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger insect ('bee/wasp' or 'bee/wasp, locust') vs. Arb., Chad. and Omot. forms based on a biradical root without \**-r* denoting a smaller insect ('small locust/ant, termite, fly'):

Sem. \**dī/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp': Hbr. *dābōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dīb<sup>w</sup>ara* (in *dīb<sup>w</sup>ara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., probably < Afras.: W. Chad. Ngamo *nḍàbūrō* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dāvūrāṅá* 'sausage fly', (?) Fali-Bwagira *dāvūr-ṅān* 'termite; anthill' vs. Afras. \**dVb-* 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *daba<sup>w</sup>* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis', W. Chad. Dera *dībīn*, *dīwīn* 'fly', Jimbin *duba*, C. Chad. Lame *daḥ*, *dāḥai*, E. Chad. Mokilko *dībé* 'termite', Migama *dībídībí* 'termite ailé (grand, rouge)', Kera *ádābdābā* 'Tsetsefliege', N. Omot. Hozo *dabbi* 'termite' (SED II No. 66).

2. A Semitic (MSA) or Semito-Berber triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger insect ('hornet') vs. MSA and various Afrasian forms based on a biradical root without \**-r* denoting a smaller insect ('fly' etc.):

Sem. Hrs. *debēr*, Mhr. *dābēr*, Jib. *ēdbir* 'hornet, fly' (perhaps also Soq. *ēdbehir* 'abeille') and, probably, Brb. (if *-z-* is <\*ž and not \*ž) Ahaggar *āzānbībār* 'esp. de de coléoptères' (4 cm long), Ayr E. Tawlemmet *əzābbenbār* 'bubreste' < Afras. \**žVbir-* (v. in \**dī/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Mhr.



*ḏabbēt*, Hrs. *ḏebbēt*, Jib. *ḏabbōt*, Soq. *ʔedbíboh* 'fly' < Afras. \**ǰb(a)b-* 'kind of flying insect': Brb. Ghat *a-zab(b)*, Ahaggar *a-həb*, Ayr *e-zəb*, *izəb*, E. Wlm. *i-zəbb*, Taneslemt *i-zəbb*, *a-šəbb*, *a-šəb* 'mouche plate', Izayan *izeb* 'mouche de cheval', W. Chad. Hausa *ǰbā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *zeboa* 'bee', C. Chad. Bura *ǰeba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *ǰibi*, Bata *ǰēbi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʔǰimbè* 'bee, honey', E. Cush. Tsamai *zuba ʔee* 'ant' (in \**dVb(V)b-* 'fly', No. 73).

3. A Semitic quadriradical root with *-r* as a fourth radical denoting a larger insect ('hornet, wasp') vs. an Eth. triradical root denoting a smaller insect ('fly') probably related to Arb. and C. Chad. forms based on a biradical root:

Jud. *zibbōrā* 'bee, wasp', *zybwry* 'hornet', Mnd. *zimbura* 'hornet, bee', *zambura* 'wasp, hornet', Arb. *zanbūr-*, *zinbār-* 'guêpe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zənbī*, Amh. *zəmb*, *zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly', likely related to Arb. *zibb-* 'espèce de ver (*fistularia vitata*)', probably < Afras.: cf. C. Chad. Tera *zàbà* 'termite' < \**zaHb-* (v. in SED II No. 73).

4. A Semitic triradical or quadriradical root with *-r* as a last radical denoting measuring with a larger measure ('span') vs. an Akk. form based on a biradical root without \**-r* denoting a smaller measure ('one-third cubit'):

Sem. \**š(x)nzr-* 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', \**š(x)VnzVr-* (diff. in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošzār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanziria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sənzärä* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sənzärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šezər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hāzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šezr*, (C.) *šézər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šézir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizû* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD Š<sub>3</sub> 152; AHw 1254).

Note that a cubit equals to 45 cm. and one-third cubit to 15 cm., while a span to 22,5 cm.)

5. A Semitic triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger measure (span) vs. biradical (in Arm. and pB. Hbr.) or triradical (in Arb.) forms without \**-r* denoting what seems a smaller measure:

Sem. \**SVṭ(V)r-* 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *štr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *štr* (aph) 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šēṭər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' vs. \**si(n)ṭ-* 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. \**sīṭ* in *ha-ssīṭ* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *sēṭ* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *sīṭā* 'palmus', Arb. *sinṭ-* 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main'. Though Mhr. *š* points to \**š* rather than to \**s*, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. \**sīṭ* cannot be accidental): note the second meaning of the Hbr. term given by Jastrow: 'the distance...between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' which implies a shorter distance than that implied by the Mhr. term. Cf. also Mnd. *šidra* 'twisting, spinning by hand' (DM 460), Tgr. Tna. *säddärä* 'to measure by spans' (LH 196; K Tna 770).

6. A Central Cushitic triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger creature ('boa snake') vs. Afrasian forms based on a biradical root without \**-r* denoting a smaller creature ('kind of worm'):

C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *sáfal*) 'Schlangensorte, Art von Boa', Khamir *sibrā* (pl. *sibír*, *sibíl*) id. vs. Sem. (?) Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' MB on (not fully reliable), Gyt. *sība* 'kind of worm', Cha. Eža *šiba*, Enm. *šība*, Gyt. *šība*, End. *šīwä* 'kind of worm', Hrs. *šebšebēt* 'small red worm, centipede', Mhr. *šəbšīb*, E. Jib. *šəbšēb* 'red waterworm' < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm' (HSED No. 2227), E. Cush. Oromo *sībā* id., Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm', v. in \**šibb-* 'kind of snake, worm' (SED II No. 200).

7. An Ethiopian quadrilateral root with *-r-* as a second radical apparently denoting a larger output of substance ('squirt, spit') vs. a presumably common Semitic trilateral without \**-r-* denoting a smaller output ('spit'):

Eth. \**brsq* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bärčäkä* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərčəḳčəḳ bäl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tän/mboraččäkä* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. \**brsq* 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bšq* 'cracher', Selti *bəčəḳ bälä* 'to spit'.

8. An Aramaic quadriradical root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting a larger measure ('long/full cubit') vs. a Semitic triradical root without \**-r-* probably denoting a smaller measure ('short cubit?'):

Arm. \**garmidā*: Jud. *garmidā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ürmīdā*, *gürmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmād* 'a linear measure, short cubit', likely <\**kVm(V)d-* 'forearm, cubit' (SED I No. 144): Akk. *gamatu* 'a measure' (<\**gamattu* <\**gamad-t-u* or <\**gamadu* with *-ad-* mistaken for the *-at-* suffix), (?) Arb. *kumuddat-* 'verge, pénis', Amh. *kənd* 'cubit (distance from the elbow to the tip of of the middle finger, appr. 48 cm.); arm, forearm', Gaf. *kəndä* 'bras', Mhr. *məkəndēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *mišəndgt* 'thumb, big toe'.

9. A Semitic quadriradical root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting a longer or larger object ('long, prominent nose, trunk') vs. a Semitic trilateral root without \**-r-* denoting a smaller object ('nose'):

Sem. \**ḥartūm-* ~ \**ḥurṭimm-* 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 137): Akk. *ḥurṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (*-ḥṭ* < \**-rt-*?), Hbr. pB. *ḥarṭōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *ḥarṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephant)', Mnd. *ḥarṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *ḥurṭum-*, *ḥurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'éléphant, etc.' vs. \**ḥu/aṭm-* 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḥṭm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥuṭmā* id., Arb. *ḥaṭm-* 'bec, museau'.

10. A Semitic quadriradical (with *-l* as the fourth radical) or triradical root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting what seems a larger object ('ankle') vs. Semitic forms without \**-r-* based on a biliteral stem denoting a smaller object ('joint'):

Sem. \**ḳVrs/š(-ull)*- 'ankle' (cf. SED I No. 169): Hbr. \**ḳarsullayim* 'ankles' (dual), Jud. *ḳarsullā*, *ḳarsulā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḳuršālā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *ḳarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḳərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənḳərša*, Mhr. *ḳəršāt* 'kneecap' (*-ā-* points either to \**-aw* or to \**-al*) vs. \**ḳ<sup>(v)</sup>Vyš-*, \**ḳ<sup>(w)</sup>Vyš-* 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimšu*, *kinšu*, *kiššu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *ḳašāš-*, *ḳušāš-*, *ḳiṣāš-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *ḳašīš-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *ḳašš-*, *ḳušaš-* id. (cf. *ḳayš-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *ḳ<sup>v</sup>əyṣ*, *ḳ<sup>w</sup>əṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *ḳəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gyeto *ḳəṭəyä* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mīḳṣeh* 'articulation, falangue'.

11. A Semitic triradical (and quadriradical in part of Eth.) root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting a larger object ('leg, shin') vs. forms without \**-r-* denoting what seems a smaller object:

Sem. \**k<sup>w</sup>irāš-* 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru*, *kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *ḳərāšayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *ḳaršā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *ḳərāšā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *ḳurāš-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *krš* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>ərnāš* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *k<sup>w</sup>ərnāš* 'elbow', Amh. *ḳərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *ḳarra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuruš* 'cubit, arm', Selti *ḳəre*, Wolane *ḥəri*, Zway *ḥərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *ḳərrä* id. vs. \**ku/a ṣ(-at)*- or \**k<sup>w</sup>a ṣ(-at)*- 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *ḳōšā* 'articulus', Arb. *ḳāš-*, *ḳūš-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os *zind*', Amh. *kotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *kotte* 'hoof'.

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