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 *ḥ*, 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. *minḫar-* 'narine, nez' (not a deverbal noun <**nḫr* 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. *nuḫrat-*, *nuḫarat-* 'nostril' or Arb. Daṯ. *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 asumed 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, al 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 infixed and finally suffixed ones. The first part of each entry contains form(s) with a hypothetic 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 extention presented below are only "top of the iceberg" and, at least for some of root extenders, this humber can be *ad libitum* enlarged both in Semitic and other Afrasian.

This study was carried out within the frames of several projects supported by the Russian Foundation for Sciences (A Computerized Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Etymologies), the Russian Foundation for the Humanities (Semitic Etymological Dictionary), The Santa Fe Institute (Evolution of Human Languages), and by Eugene Satanovsky (The Tower of Babel). I am also grateful to Prof. O. Stolbova and Dr. Leonid Kogan for consultations concerning Chadic and Semitic data respectively.

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; Dat̲. - Dat̲ina Arabic; Dem. - Demotic; Dof. - Dofar Arabic; Dyn. - Dynasty; E. - East; Ebl. - Eblaitic; Egyp. - 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; Maʕl. - Maʕlula (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. - Tigriññа (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. ** ʔi/abar-* should be read 'either ** ʔibar-* or ** ʔabar-*'
( ) a symbol in round brackets means 'with or without this symbol', e.g. **ba(w)r-* should be read '**bawr-* or **bar-*'

Transcription and transliteration of some of the consonants:

c - alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]
ʒ - alveolar voiced affricate [dz]
č - palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tš]
ǯ - palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dž]
ṣ - hissing emphatic voiceless fricative
ç - emphatic voiceless affricate
ʒ - emphatic voiced affricate

č̣ - palato-alveolar emphatic affricate
s - lateral voiceless fricative
ĉ - lateral voiceless affricate
ç̣ - lateral emphatic affricate
ḳ, q - emphatic velar stop
ɣ - uvular voiced fricative (Arabic "ghain")
ḫ - uvular voiceless fricative
ẖ - uvular voiceless fricative (only in Egyptian)
ḥ - pharyngeal voiceless fricative
h - laryngeal voiceless fricative
y - palatal resonant

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

Animal names:

[] Akk. *mīrānu* (*mūrānu*) 'young dog, puppy; cub of a wild animal' vs. Ugr. *ʔrn* 'puppy, puppy-dog' (in **ʔVran-* ~ **ʔVnar-* 'small predatory animal' SED II No. 8). [] Arb. *minhas-* vs. *nahhās-, nahūs-* 'lion' in **nVhVš-* 'lion' (SED II No. 159). [] Gez. *māʕənaḳ, māʕnəḳ* 'turtledove, locust-eating crane' (with the *ʕ* ~ *ʔ* variation) vs. *ʔanḳe, ʔanḳet* 'hawk, kite' < **ʔan(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. *maɣzél* 'big flock (of goats, sheep)' (JJ 92) vs. Sem. **ɣVzāl-* 'gazelle' (SED II No. 92; cf. metathetic Brb. **-za/ulaɣ-* 'goat, sheep': Nefusa *zalaɣ* 'belier', Ahaggar *a-hûlaɣ,* Ayr *azulaɣ* 'bouc' ibid.). [] Soq. *mibkéroh* 'jeune chamelle' vs. *békər* 'animal with one young only' (JJ 25, not in LS), Mhr. *bōkər* 'young female camel' < **bVkVr(-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. *neṣbettu* (*n-* is very likely <**m-*) vs. **ṣibʕ-(at-), *ʔV-ṣbaʕ-* 'finger': Ugr. *ʔuṣbʕ,* Hbr. *ʔäṣbaʕ,* Syr. *sebʕā,* etc. (SED I No. 256). [] Hbr. *mətallaʕōt* vs. **lVɣ-* 'jaw': Jud. Syr. *lōʕā,* Mhr. *lɣənín,* etc. (perhaps also Hbr. *lōăʕ* 'gullet or jaw' SED I No. 177). [] Hbr. *malḳōḥayim* (dual; met.) 'gums' vs. **ḥalḳ-, *ḥalḳū/um-* 'Adam's apple, throat': Arb. *ḥalḳ-* 'gosier, gorge', Gez. *ḥəlḳ* 'throat, gullet, palate', etc. (SED I No. 117). [] Syr. *marbəʕā* 'uterus', Mnd. *marba* 'womb, uterus' (<**ma-rbaṣ̂-*) vs. **ru/abṣ̂-* 'womb, uterus': Akk. *rubṣu,* 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* 'couver ses oeufs', *ʔawkun-, wukunāt-* 'nid (d'oiseau)' (ibid. 1600), *ʔuknat-* 'nid d'oiseau' (ibid. 144) < Afras. **ʔa-wkin-* 'egg': W. Chad. Diri *akin* (Sk NB 19), E. Cush. Somali (Benadir) *ʔukun, ukkun,* Rendille *ukun,* Oromo (Borana) *okokan,* N. Omot. Anfillo *keenno* (Dolg 1973 282). [] Arb. Daṯ. *maḫbalah* 'utérus' vs. Arb. *ḥabal-* 'foetus' < **ḥabal-, *ḥibl-* 'foetus; umbilical cord' (SED I No. 110). [] Arb. *manḥūr-* 'partie du corps autour de la clavicule' vs. *naḥr-* 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum' <**naḥ* (*a*)*r-* 'upper part of chest': Tgr. *näḥar* 'breast', Jib. *náḥar* 'windpipe and lungs' (SED I No. 196). [] Arb. *maḥāl-, maḥālat-* 'milieu du dos, vertèbre' vs. *ḥāl-* 'dos du cheval' <**ḥa/ul(l)-* 'spinal column with thigh bones': Akk. *ḫallu* 'crotch, region between the thighs', Hbr. pB. *ḥulyā* 'limb; vertebra of the spinal column' (SED I No. 114). [] Arb. *mišfalat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac' vs. **ŝ$_x$V(n)pVl-* 'stomach (of an animal, bird)': Tgr. *šənfəlla* 'one of ruminant's four stomachs', Jib. *šɔ́fəl* 'belly', etc. (SED I No. 271). [] Gez. *mazrāʕt,* Tgr. *mäzrəʕt,* Tna *mäzraʕti* 'shoulder' vs. **ḏVrāʕ-* 'arm': Ugr. *ḏrʕ,* Arb. *ḏirāʕ-* (also Tgr. *zäraʕ* unless an Arabism; SED I No. 65). [] Gez. (met.) *matkaf, matkaft* 'shoulder, shoulder blade', Tgr *mäktäf* 'shoulder' vs. Hbr. *kātēp,* 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/ʔanḳar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *ʔanḳa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *ʕanḳär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *ʕanḳär* '*ugola*', Amh. *anḳä/ar* 'uvula', Arg. *ənḳərt* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har. *ənḳərti*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənḳərt* 'goitre'. [] Jib. *məẓ̱réš*, Soq. *máẓ̱rəh* 'molar tooth' (<**ma-ṣ̂rVš*) vs. **ṣ̂irš-*: Arb. *ḍirs-*, Gez. *ḍərs*, etc. (SED I No. 275). [] Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *mɔ́sōt*, Soq. *mánsub* vs. Soq. *ʔánsöb*, Arb. *ʔisb-*, etc. <**š/sVb-*, **ʔV-š/sVb-* 'pubic hair' (SED I No. 239). [] Hrs. *mešḫáwt* 'armpit' vs. Jib. *šḫɔt*, Soq. *šḫoh* < **šaḫw/y-at-* 'armpit': Jud. *šaḥătā*, etc. (SED I No. 240). [] Soq. *míḳṣeh* 'articulation, falangue' vs. Arb. *ḳaṣāṣ-*, etc. 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', Amh. *ḳəṭay* 'joint of foot', etc. < **ḳ(ʷ)ayṣ-*, **ḳ(ʷ)aṣṣ-* 'joint, point of connection between bones' (SED I No. 172). [] Soq. *maʕgə́boh* 'fesse' vs. Hbr. pB. *ʕăgābā* 'rump, buttocks', Arb. *ʕaǯb-* 'l'os sacrum' < **ʕagb-* 'rump, buttocks' (SED I No. 13). [] (?) Soq. *mónḥeṣ* 'reins, hanche' < **mV-nḥVṣ* (met.) vs. **ḫam/nṣ-* 'waist': Akk. *ḫanṣātu* (pl. t.) 'part of human body, possibly waist', Arb. *ʔaḫmaṣ-* 'milieu du corps' (SED I No. 132). [] Sem. (Arm.-Arb.) **mVnḫar-* 'nose': Arm. Dem. *mnḥr* and Maʕl. *manḫra* (unless < Arb.) 'nose', Arb. *minḫar-* 'narine, nez' (hardly <**nḫr* 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. **naḫīr-* 'nostril': Akk. *naḫīru*, Arb. *nuḫrat-*, *nuḫarat-* id., etc. (SED I No. 198). [] Sem. **mVsVraʕ-*: Akk. *mešrêtu* (pl. t.) 'limbs', Soq. *mésərəʕ* 'tendon d'Achille' vs. Sem. **ṣ̂Vry/w/ʕ-*, **ṣ̂Vry/ʕ-ān-* '(Achilles') tendon; sinew, muscle (of leg)': Akk. *šerʔānu* 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jib. *ṣ̂ərín* 'muscles of the back', etc. (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. **malaḥ-*: Gez. *maltāḥt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *mäta/ələḥ* 'temple', *mätaläḥti* 'the upper forepart of the skull', Mhr. *məlḥāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleḥáw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *məźḥét* 'jaw', Soq. *maláḥi* 'cheek' vs. **liḥ(a)y(-at)-* 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləḥe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lḗḥī* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləḥī* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178). [] Sem. **mapraḳ-*: Hbr. *maprä̆ḳät* 'neck', Jib. *məfrɔ́ḳ* 'hairline (in women)' vs. **pi/arḳ-at-*, **pi/aḳr-at-* 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Jud. *pwrḳh* 'neck', Soq. *fiḳeríroh* 'cou, nuque' (SED I No. 219).

Varia:

[] Arb. *mḫr* 'labourer (la terre)' (Belot 659; only 'fendre, sillonner l'eau' in BK 2 1072, 'to plough the waves' in Pen 137) vs. Akk. *ḫarāru* 'to dig with a hoe' (also 'to groove' CAD *Ḫ* 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 *makkʷala*, a secondary derivation with *m-* prefixed) 'to cut with a sickle, mow', Tna. *mäḵälä* 'to mow, cut', Tgr. *mäklay* 'halm of durra, halm of corn' vs. Gez. *kʷālawa* 'to reap, mow' (cf. also Amh. *kəlkəl* 'pasture') < Sem.: Akk. *ukullû* 'Viehfutter; Verpflegung(sration), Verköstigung', Arb. *klʔ* 'abonder en fourrage (se dit d'un pays)', *kalaʔ-* 'fourrage (sec ou vert)' < Afras. **k(ʷ)alaʔ/w-* 'forage, fodder; pasture; mowing, cutting grass' (Mil Farm 145). [] Hrs. *mābayl* 'dog' (JH 14), Mhr. *mābáyl* 'owned' (*kawb mābayl* 'dog'), Soq. *məbʕhəl* 'slave' (JM 41), formally a passive participle <**bʕl* '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. *baʕál* JJ 22 < Sem. **bʕl* 'to own', v. in HAL 142-3; in Soq. *báʕal* means 'se marier (homme ou femme)' LS 90 and semantically cannot serve a verbal base for deriving a noun *məbʕhəl* 'slave') and has to be treated as a "denominal noun" from Hrs. *bāl, byāl* 'master, lord; possessor' (JH 14), Mhr. *bāl, báyli, bəʕēli* 'owner, possessor' (JM 41). [] Sem. **mkr* 'to be red': Akk. *makrû* 'red', *makru* 'red spot' CAD *M* 138, Arb. *mkr* 'ê. rouge' BK 2 1138 (cf. also Egyp. Gr. *mkrr* 'zwischen "schwarz" und "weiss" als Farbenbezeichnung' EG II 163) vs. Afras.: Sem. Arb. *karik-* 'rouge' (BK 2 888; < **karkVr-*, unless a loanword), Egyp. Pyr. *ṯr* 'das Rote' (EG V 386; <**kVr-*). <> C. Chad. Peve *məčin* 'mahogany' vs. Boka *tiîn-da*, Hona *tînə*, Banana *čin-dà*, Masa *čin-da* 'mahogany; tamarind' < Afras. **tiʔ(i)n-* 'fig-tree': Sem. Hbr. *təʔēnā* 'fig, *ficus Carica*', Arb. *tīn-* 'figue', etc., Brb. Ahaggar *təyne*, Taneslemt *tehəyne*, Semlal *tiyni*, etc. 'datte' (Mil Farm 142).

nV-

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *nādāl* 'polyp, centipede', Jud. *naddal* id., Syr. *naddālā* 'scolopendra' vs. Sem. **dVlVl-* 'kind of small creature': Akk. *dālilu, dallālu* 'a small animal, probably a frog', Syr. *dandālā* 'scolopendra, forticula auricularia vel millepeda', Jib. *dololɛ́t* 'kind of slow-moving snake' < Afras.: E. Chad. Dangla *dìdɔ̀lnyà* '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. **bŭrtu* (in *burt/di šamḫat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burä* 'insect that eats the root of the *äsät'* (SED II No. 62). [] Tgr. *näsälät* 'serpent boa', Gez. *nestāli, nesātāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *ʔashalät* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔasälät, ʔashalät* 'mythical creature, like a crocodile in appearance; python', Syr. *ʔātalyā* 'draco' < Sem. **ʔaṯ(h)al-* 'a mythical reptile, dragon' < Afras. **ʔač(h)al-* ~ **čaʔal-* ~ **haylač-* 'a large reptile': Brb. **HaššVl-* '(large) snake' (Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *âššel*, etc.), S. Cush. Dahalo *ṯáʔala* 'puff-adder', N. Omot. Gemu *haylašo*, S. Omot. Ari *haylɛša* 'crocodile', etc. (SED II No. 20). [] Sem. **nVḳVr-* 'kind of bird': Jud. *nəḳīrā* 'name of small birds (pickers)', Arb. *naḳḳār-* '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. *nēṣär*, Syr. *nāṣorā*, etc. (SED II No. 167) vs. **ṣarṣa/ūr-* 'cricket': Akk. *ṣarṣaru*, Hbr. pB. *ṣarṣūr, ṣarṣūrā*, etc. (ibid. No. 213). [] Sem. **namir-* 'leopard': Akk. *nimru*, Hbr. *nāmēr*, etc. vs. Afras. **ma/ur-* '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. **ʔayVl-* '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. *pašû*, Hbr. pB. *pwš*, etc. (ibid. 56). [] Sem. **npḫ/ḥ* 'to blow, breathe, inflate': Akk. *napāḫu*, Jud. *nəpaḥ*, Arb. *nfḫ, nfḥ*, etc. (cf. SED I Vb. No. 45) vs. **pḫ/ḥ* 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)': Jud. *pwḥ*, Arb. *fḫḥ, fḥḥ*, 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 morphonological process other than a prefixation of *n-*; one wonders whether it can be a secondary loss of *n-*). [] Sem. **nkṯ* 'to bite': Jud. Syr. Mnd. *nkt* 'to bite' (DM 301), Arb. *nkṯ* 'détordre, défaire (une corde); se fourcher, etc.' (BK 2 1338), Tna. *näḵäsä*, Tgr. *näkša*, Amh. *näkkäsä*, etc. (LGz 402) vs. Afras. **kVč-*: Brb. Ahaggar *əkš* (Fouc 736), Taneslemt *n-əkš* 'manger', Ayr *ənkəs* 'téter' (Aloj 147), C. Chad. Malgwa *kùča* '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. **šédyen* caus.-refl. 's'emprunter' (LS 127; unless all MSA < Arb.) < Afras.: Egyp. Pyr. *wdn* 'opfern' (EG I 391). [] Eth. **ndḳ* 'to build' (LGz 386) vs. W. Chad. **ḍik-* id.: Sura Chip *ḍik* (<**diḳ-* HSED No. 703). [] Tna. *näfärä* 'to fly', Tgr. *näfra* '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), Egyp. Pyr. *pꜣ* 'fliegen' (EG I 494), N. Cush. Beja *fir, firr*, C. Cush. Bilin *fir* (RBeḍ 81), etc. [] MSA: Mhr. *nəḥāg*, Jib. *naḥág* '(women) 'to dance; (men) to be at leisure; (children) to

play; to joke with so.' (JM 291, JJ 186), Soq. *nóhog, nóḥog* 'jouer, s'amuser' (LS 259) vs. Sem.: Hbr. *ḥgg* 'to walk in procession, to celebrate a pilgrim's feast, to celebrate a day', *ḥag* 'procession, round dance, festival' (HAL 289), Syr. *ḥaggā* 'dies festus' (Brock 213), Arb. *ḥǯʔ* 'se réjouir de quelque chose' (BK 1 379) < Afras.: Egyp. MK *ḥ,ʾg* '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. *nāḳidu*, Ugr. *nḳd*, Hbr. *nōḳēd*, Arb. *naḳḳād-* 'shepherd, sheep-breeder' (HAL 720) vs. Afras. **ḳVd-*: Brb. Ayr W. Tawllemmet *ə-ɣadɣad* '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. <> Egyp. MK *nḳdd* 'schlafen' (EG II 345) vs. Pyr. *ḳd-t* 'Schlaf' (ibid. V 79) < Afras. **ḳVd-* or **ḳVṭ-*? Cf. S. Omot. Ongota *ḳaaḍé* 'to lie down' (ST 121), *ḳaade* 'to sleep, lie down' (Fl Ong 56) < **ḳāṭ-* 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. *ḥămōr*, etc. (SED II No. 98). [] Arb. *taʔmūr-* 'espèce de chamois' vs. *ʔa/immar-* 'agneau' < **ʔimmar-* 'lamb': Ugr. *ʔimr*, Hbr. *ʔimmēr*, etc. (SED II No. 5). [] Gez. *tayfan* (*tafen, tefan*), Tna. *täfin* vs. Amh. *wäyfän*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen*, etc. < **yapan-* 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Gez. *tomni* 'bedbug' vs. Syr. *mənīnā* 'curculio; cynips, musca', Arb. *minanat-*, *manūnat-* 'aragnée' < **mVn(Vn)-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 152). [] Sem.: Akk. *turāḫu* 'Bergziegenbock, Steinbock', Syr. *ta(ʔ)rāḥā* (*tārūḥā*) 'capra caucasica' vs. Akk. *arḫu* 'cow', Arm. Dem. *ʔrḫ* 'cow', etc. < **ʔarḫ-* 'cow, heifer' (SED II No. 12). <> Cush. **tak^{w}il-* 'wolf': N. Cush. Beja *tákʷla*, C. Cush. Bilin *täg^{w}la*, *təγ^{w}la*, Qwara *taḫ^{w}əla*, Kemant *takwila*, Kunfäl *tuhula*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *taḫla* (unless < C. Cush.) vs. Afras. **k^{w}Vl-* 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ă-kûlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *kŭ́ləm* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kəlè* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kùlkò* '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); tonsilitis', Hrs. *tebelōt* 'tonsil; uvula', Jib. *tɔbẑɔʕɔ́t* 'uvula' (cf. *mùblɔɣ* 'tonsil'), Soq. (Qadhub) *tə́blaɣah* 'amygdale; luette' vs. **balVʕ/ɣ-*, **balʕVm-* 'pharynx, fauces': Syr. *bālaʕtā*, Arb. *bulʕum-*, etc. (SED I No. 36). <> C. Cush. Bilin *taʔánge*, 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. *laḳä* 'grow, grow up' < Eth. **lhḳ* id. < Sem. (LGz 309). <> C. Chad. Fali (Bwagira) *takurm-in* 'hoe' vs. Hona *kūra*, W. Chad. Hausa *kórámḗ* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kùrəm* 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^{w}al-* < Afras. **(ʔa-)k^{w}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 *kwùlū*, 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 **śVm-* 'kind

of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] Akk. *aslu* (if this reading is correct) 'young (male) sheep' vs. **ṯVl-* 'head of small cattle': Arb. *ṯilal-*, *ṯilāl-* 'troupe de brebis', Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *ṯal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Hbr. *ʔäprōăḥ*, Jud. *ʔäprōḥā* vs. Hbr. *pirḥaḥ* 'brood', pB. *päraḥ* 'young chicken', Jud. *parḥătā*, Syr. *pāraḥtā* 'bird' <**parḥ-* 'chick, brood' (SED II No. 179). [] Hbr. pB. *ʔănāḳā*, Jud. *ʔanḳā* vs. Hbr. pB. *nəḳāʔā*, *nāḳā*, Jud. *nā (ʔ)ḳətā*, *nāḳā* < **nāḳ-at-* 'she-camel' (SED II No. 161). [] Jud. *ʔaḳroḳtā* vs. **ḳVr(V)r-* 'frog': Arb. *ḳirr-*, *ḳurr-*, Gez. *ḳāḳer*, etc. (SED II No. 137). [] Jud. *ʔinbā* vs. *nibbā* 'eggs of lice' < **nāb-* ~ **nib(b)-* 'louse, nit': Akk. *nābu*, Syr. *nābā* , etc. (SED II No. 157). [] Arb. *ʔaʕwar-* 'corbeau' vs. diminutive *ʕuwayr-* < **ʕarw/y-* ~ **ʕawr-* 'bird of prey': Akk. *erû* (*arû*) 'eagle', Jud. *ʕar* 'a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 40). [] Arb. *ʔaḫyal-* 'k. of falcon' vs. Hbr. *ḥōl* 'phoenix' <**ḫVl-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 107). [] S. Eth.: Gaf. *ũfʷərä*, Sel. *ufr*, Wol. Zw. Gog. Sod. *äfur* (all < **ʔafur*; to be alternatively treated as metathetic < **faʔur-*) vs. Har. *fūr*, End. Enn. Gyt. *fuʔur*, Cha. Eža Muh. Msq. *fur* < **paʔr-* 'mouse' (SED II No. 170). [] Soq. *ʔedbíboh* vs. Mhr. *ḏəbbēt*, Jib. *ḏəbbɔ́t* < **ḏVb(V)b-* 'fly' (SED II No. 73). [] Soq. *ʔṣféroh* (to be alternatively treated as a variant root in respect to Jib. *ʕɛ̃ṣférɔ́t*, Arb. *ʕuṣfūr-*, with *ʔ* vs. *ʕ*) vs. *ṣafiró-te* < **ṣVp(p)Vr-* '(kind of) small bird': Ugr. *ṣpr*, Hbr. *ṣippōr*, etc. (SED II No. 212). [] Soq. *ʔélheh* vs. Jib. *léʔ* (pl. *lhóti*) < **liʔ(-at)-*, **laʔay-at-* 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu*, Arb. *laʔāt-*, etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Sem. **ʔVbbVl-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 3): Akk. *ibbiltu* 'a bird', Arb. *ʔabābīl-* (pl.) 'nom d'oiseaux fabuleux', Tgr. *ʔambäla* 'Webervogel' vs. **bVl-* 'kind of small bird': Akk. *bulīlu* 'a species of crested bird', Arb. *bulbul-* 'rossignol', Tgr. *bäla* 'a small brown bird', Amh. *bullal* 'dove', etc. < Afras. **bVl(bVl)-* 'kind of (small) bird': Brb. Ahaggar *ă-bîlbil* 'nom d'un oiseau plus grand que le pigeon', Wargla *bibelli* 'volaille quelconque', W. Chad. Hausa (dial.) *bɔ́lɔ́*, Ankwe *bɛl* 'dove', Dera *ḃilḃil* 'swallow', etc., C. Chad.: Piẑimdi *mbolè-di*, E. Chad. Gabri *bélu* 'dove', N. Cush. Beja *belbel* 'wilde Taube', E. Cush. Oromo *bulula* 'dove' (probably < Amh.), Sidamo *buloʔe* 'bird' (SED II No. 60). [] Sem. <**ʔa/iw(a)z-* 'goose': Ugr. *ʔuz*, Hbr. pB. *ʔāwāz*, Jud. *ʔawzā*, *ʔăwāzā*, Mnd. *auaza*, Arb. *ʔiwazz-* vs. **waz(z)-* id.: Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *wazz-* < Afras. **(ʔa-)waʒ-* 'kind of large bird; goose': Egyp. *z-t*, *zw-t* 'Ente, Gans', Brb. Igerwan *wawužž*, Izayan *wawīž*, Messiwa Ait Amran *wauž* 'perdrix', Ghadames *a-wəz*(*z*), pl. *wəzz-ān* 'autruche', (?) W. Chad. Sha *ʔawùš* 'Vogel', Bokkos *ʔavûš* id. (Jung R 389; *-š* < **-z* devoiced in Auslaut?), E. Chad. Mokilko *ʔùzù* 'poulet, coq, volaille' (SED II No. 22). [] Sem. **ʔabbVk-* 'kind of bird': Jud. *ʔabbākā* 'large cock', Syr. *ʔābakkā* 'gallus', Tgr. *ʔabbəkiki* 'a small bird of light-yellow colour (probably a sort of lapwing)' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Bidiya *ʔàbùkà* 'outarde') vs. Afras. **bVkay-*: 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. **ʔimmar-* 'lamb' (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Fyer *ʔamara* 'Widder', Sha *àmará* 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 *máruu* 'Schafbock, Widder', N. Omot. Wolaita *mara* 'offspring of sheep or goat', Male *marai*, Shinasha *meréerà* 'sheep' (SED II No. 5). [] Sem. **ʔa(n)z/ḏar-*: Akk. *azaru* (*azzaru*) 'lynx', (?) Arb. *ʔazram-* 'chat', Gez. *ʔanzar* 'wild cat' < Afras. **ʔa(n)ʒ/ǯVr-* (to be alternatively treated as a metathesis of **ʒ/ǯVʔVr-*): E. Cush. Konso *aturra-ta* 'civet cat, viverra', Oromo *adurree*, Darasa Sidamo *adurre* 'cat', etc. (<**ʔadurr-* < **ʔaʒ/ǯurr-*) vs. Afras. **ʒ/ǯV(ʔV)r-*: Brb. Ahaggar *tă-hûri*, Ayr *tə-zorəy* 'hyène', W. Chad. Galambu *zàrəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzùrmà*, Bachama *ǯhara*, *ǯará*, Bata *ǯĩre*, E. Chad. Gabri *ǯur*, Mubi *ǯyùrùk* 'leopard', S. Cush. Alagwa *ǯeʔra*, Burunge *ǯiʔerare* 'wild cat', N. Omot. Kafa *yeeroo*, *ǯäro* 'viverra abessinica' (SED II No. 5).

Anatomy:

[] Jud. *ʔapḳōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *apḳuta* 'neck, throat' vs. Mnd. *pḳuta*, Arb. *fāʔiḳ-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête' <**pVḳ-* 'neck' (SED I No. 213). [] Arb. *ʔafakk-* '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. **ʔag(ʷ)ad-*: Gez. *ʔagadā* 'thighbone, shinbone, tibia, leg, large bone of the leg, shoulder of animal', Amh. *agäda* 'leg

(of a man), hind leg (of a cow), bone of the upper arm or the shin bone', *ag^{w}äda* 'hoof, foot', Gaf. *agat* 'bras', Enn. End. *agad*, etc. 'arm above the elbow, shoulder, shoulder blade' (in *(*ʔa-*)*g(^{w})ad-* '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' SED I No. 71) < Afras. **ʔag(^{w})Vd-*: E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo, abbuuduu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadǎ, ǎgūd* (pl.) 'Arm', Sidamo *agoda* 'shoulder' vs. Sem. **gud(gud)-*: Akk. *gudgudātu* (pl.) 'part of the lower leg of a quadruped', Tgr. *gədet* 'a piece of meat (severed from the bone); shoulder-blade' < Afras. **gVd(Vm)-*: E. Chad. Somray *gídam* 'foot', C. Chad. Gude *gedehán* 'leg', E. Cush. Burji *gudùm-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kaffa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Wolamo *gáddea* 'leg', Kullo *gädeiya* 'foot'. [] Eth. **ʔaf-*: Gez. Tna. *ʔaf*, etc. vs. Sem. **pay-* 'mouth': Akk. *pû*, Hbr. *pā̄*, etc. (SED I No. 223). [] N. Eth. Gez. *ʔəngədʔā (ʔəngədʕā)* 'breast, chest', Tna. *ʔəngədəʕa* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *naǯd-* 'mamelle' (v. in **nagd-* 'breast ' SED I No. 195). [] S. Eth. **ʔuras* (otherwise to be treated as metathesis <**raʔVš-*): Amh. *əras*, Har. *urūs* vs. Amh. *ras*, Gez. *rəʔ(ə)s* < **raʔ(i)š-* 'head'; Akk. *rāšu*, Arb. *raʔs-*, etc. (SED I No. 225). [] Soq. *ʔedmíʕa* (probably also Ebl.) vs. Mhr. *dəmāt*, Jib. *dəmʕát* 'tear-drop' < **dimʕ(-at)-* 'tear(-drop)' (SED I No. 51). [] Soq. *ʔílbib* vs. Hrs. *ḥe-lbēb*, etc. < **libb-* 'heart' (SED I No. 174). [] Sem. **ʔibr-(at-)* 'membrum virile; (membrum, limb)': Hbr. pB. *ʔēbär*, Arb. *ʔibrat-*, etc. vs. Arb. Daṯ. *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. **ʔibr-at-* (**ʔi(-)bVr-at-* in SED I No. 3): Akk. *ibrētu* (pl. t.) 'radius and ulna (the two bones of the human forearm)', Hbr. pB. *ʔēbär* 'limb', Syr. *ʔebrā* 'membrum', Arb. *ʔibrat-* 'radius; (du.) les deux phalanges du cheval' vs. Sem. **bar(bar)-*: Amh. *bərri* 'bone above the hoof of a cow', Muh. *bärrä*, Gog. Sod. *bərrä* 'thigh', Soq. *berbéroh* 'cuisse' < Afras. **bar(bar)-* '(bone of) leg, thigh': C. Chad. Bachama *m̀bwàrà* '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. **ʔadam-*: Akk. *adamatu*, Hbr. *ʔadmātō*, Jud. *ʔădām*, etc. vs. **dam-* 'blood': Akk. *damu*, Hbr. *dām*, Jud. *dəmā*, etc. (SED I No. 50) < Afras. **dam(m)-* (cf. Bla SED 500). [] Sem. **ʔVbhān/m-* 'thumb, big toe': Akk. *ub/pānu*, Arb. *ʔibhām-* vs. **bVhā/īn/m-* id.: Ebl. *ba-ʔà-nùm/nu(-um) /bahānum/*, Hbr. *bōhän*, Arb. *bahīm-*, Mhr. *hābḗn* (met.) (cf. **bVhā/īn-*, **ʔV-bhān-* SED I No. 34). [] Sem. **ʔagap(p)-* 'wing': Akk. *agappu*, Hbr. pB. *ʔăgap* vs. **gapp-* id.: Akk. *gappu*, Hbr. pB. *gap*, Syr. *geppā*, etc., Arb. *ǯff* 'agiter les ailes' (in **gapp-*, **ʔa-gapp-* 'wing' SED I No. 88). [] Sem. **ʔVṣbaʕ-* 'finger': Ebl. *ʔiṣbaʕum*, Ugr. *ʔuṣbʕ*, Hbr. *ʔäṣbaʕ*, Jud. *ʔäṣbəʕā*, Arb. *ʔaṣbaʕ-*, Gez. *ʔaṣbāʕ(ə)t*, Tna. *ʔaṣabəʕti* (pl.), Jib. *ʔiṣbáʕ*, Sab. *ʔṣbʕ* (used to denote fractions), Soq. *ʔéṣbah*, etc. vs. **ṣibʕ(-at)-* id.: Jud. *ṣibʕā*, Min. *ṣbʕ*, Tgr. *ç̌əbʕət*, Mhr. *ṣ̌əbáʔ* (SED I No. 256) < Afras. **çibVʕ-* id.: Egyp. Pyr. *ḏbʕ* (EG V 562), (?) N. Omot. Hozo *zaba* (Bla SED 506). [] Sem. **ʔi-šVt-*: Syr. *ʔeštā*, *ʔeštātā*, etc. 'podex, nates; fundus', Mnd. *ʕšta* (<**ʔVšt-*) 'basis, bottom, posterior, anus, buttocks', Arb. *ʔist-* (with *ʔalif waṣlah*) '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. *šɔ̄* 'back, spine', Soq. *šéh* 'parties sexuelles de la femme' (SED I No. 255). [] Sem. **ʔarib(Vb)y-at-*: Arb. *ʔurbiyyat-* 'aine; racine de fémur', Muh. *äribä* 'abdomen below the navel, hip', Soq. *ʔerbéboh* 'rein, cuisse, giron, genou', etc. vs. **rib(Vb)y-at-:* Akk. *rebītu* 'Unterleib', Amh. *reb* 'anus, buttocks', Mhr. *rəbbūt* 'groin; (knee-)cap', Soq. *rebóboh* 'genou' (SED I No. 227). [] Sem. **ʔiraḥ-* 'palm of hand': Gez. *ʔərāh*, Jib. *irɔ́ḥɔ́t* , Hrs. *ərḥāt* (< Afras. **ʔirVḥ-*? Cf. C. Chad. Sukur *iri* 'arm' CLR 179) vs. **rāḥ-(at)-*, **riḥ-at-*: Akk. *rittu*, Ugr. *rḥt*, Arb. *rāḥat-*, Tgr. *räḥat*, Mhr. *rəḥāt*, Hrs. *rīḥet*, Soq. *ríḥoh* (SED I No. 230) < Afras. **rayaḥ-*: W. Chad. Kulere *riyáw*, Daffo-Butura *rá* 'hand', Bokkos *râ* 'arm', C. Chad. Mafa *rây* 'arm' (CLR 1790. [] Sem. **ʔanšVy-*: Ugr. *ʔanš* 'músculo, tendón', Arb. *ʔal-ʔansā* 'muscle du bas de la jambe', Amh. *anisa* 'iliac bone', etc. vs. Sem. **našy-* 'sciatic tendon/nerve': Hbr. *nāšā̄* (in: *gīd hannāšā̄*), Jud. *našyā*, Arb. *nasa^{n}* (SED I No. 201). [] Sem. **ʔamʕut-*: Akk. *amūtu* 'liver', Gez. *ʔamāʕut* 'intestine', Tna. *ʔamʕut* 'intestine' vs. Sem. **maʕay/w(-at)-*: Akk. *mu-ù-tum* 'liver', Hbr. *mēʕayim* (pl.) 'entrails, intestines', Tgr. *məʕo*, *məʕotay*, *məʕotät* (pl. *ʔamʕit*) '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 *ʔaḃáar* '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. **ʔitmāl*: Hbr. *ʔitmōl*, *ʔätmūl*, etc., Syr. *ʔetmāly*, Mnd. *ʔitmal* 'yesterday' (HAL 103) vs. **timāl-*: Hbr. *təmōl*, Akk. *timāli*, Gez. *təmāləm*, etc. id. (ibid. 1746). [] Sem. **ʔamši(l/n)-*: Akk. *amšali* 'yesterday' (<**ʔams-al-*), Hbr. *ʔämäš* 'last night, yesterday', Arb. *ʔamsi* 'yesterday', Soq. *ʔimšin* '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), *mu/isy-* id. (ibid. 1108), Gez. *məsyat* 'evening, twilight' (LGz 368), etc. < Afras. **masy/w-*: Egyp. Pyr. *msw-t* 'Abendbrot' (EG II 142), C. Chad. Gudu *məšü* '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. ^{giš}NIN-GUL, but more likely <**ʔa-kull-*), Syr. *ʔaklā* 'malleus', Arb. *ʔaklat-* 'marteau, mailloche?' (< Afras.? Cf. Egyp. MK *ỉknw* '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. **k^{w}al-* or **kawal-* 'k. of hoe, a hammer/axe-like tool, a pick-axe': Chad. **kawal-*, Cush. **k^{w}al-*, N. Omot. **kal(l)-* (Mil Farm 145-6). <> Afras. **ʔi/abar-* 'fig-tree': Sem.: Arb. *ʔibrat-* 'figuier sycomore', Amh. *ab^{w}ar* 'tree like the *warka*' (*warka* means 'sycamore'), Wol. *abro* 'k. of tree', Brb. Ghadames *eḇrər* 'être fécondé (palmier)', *aḇerīr* 'fleur de palmier mâle' (<**ʔi/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 *báàrá* 'figuier (rouge)', N. Cush. Beja *bīr* 'Dumpalm', E. Cush. Somali *báar* 'tree top; *Commelina* spec.', Rendille *báàr* '*Hyphaene coracea* Gaertn., Palmae' (Mil Farm 139).

ʔVn-

Animal names:

[] Gez. *ʔanḳāl* 'louse, vermin' vs. Sem. **ḳalm-* 'louse' (probably < **ḳal-m-*, cf. S. Omot. Dime *ḳalḳal* 'ant' Bnd Om 346): Syr. *ḳalmā*, Sab. *ḳlm*, etc. (SED II 130 b). [] Eth. **ʔan-ḳura(rV)ʕ-* 'frog': Tgr. *ʔanḳorəʕ*, Tna. *ənḳoroʕ*, Har. *anḳurāraḥti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *ənḳurarit* vs. **ḳVr(V)r-* id. (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] Mod. Eth. **ʔən-ṣərar* 'cricket': Tgr. *ʔənṣərar*, Amh. *ənčərar* (Tna. *ʕənčərar*) vs. **ṣarṣa/ūr-* 'cricket': Akk. *ṣarṣaru*, Hbr. pB. *ṣarṣur*, *ṣarṣūrā*, etc. (SED II No. 213). [] (?) Gez. *ʔnāṭoli* 'young camel', Amh. *ənaṭoli* 'young female camel' vs. Gez. *wayṭal* 'kind of wild she-goat, roe, kind of gazelle', Tna. *wäyṭäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ṭali* 'goat, kid' < **ṭalay-* 'lamb, kid' (SED II No. 232); comparison semantically problematic.

Anatomy:

[] Eth. **ʔən-ḳulaliḥ*: Tna. *ʔənḳulaliḥ*, Amh. *ənḳulal* or *ənḳ^{w}əlal*, etc., metathetically related to **ḳa(w)ḥil-* 'egg': Mhr. *ḳáwḥəl*, Jib. *ḳɔḥlət*, *ḳaḥéẑín*, Soq. *ḳəḥélhin* (v. in SED I No. 170). [] Sem. **ʔVbVʕ(bVʕ)-at-*: Hbr. *ʔăbaʕbūʕōt* 'blisters, ulcers', Jud. *ʔăbaʕbūʕīn* (pl.) 'pustules', Gez. *ʔənṗāṗṗe* 'ulcers resulting from elephantiasis, pustules', Sel. *(h)umbobbo*, Wol. *əmb^{w}äbbo*, Cha. *əmb^{w}äp^{w}ä*, etc. 'blister' vs. **bVʕ(bVʕ)-at-*: Akk. *bubuʔu (bubūtu*, etc.) 'inflammation, boil, pustule', Jud. *būʕā* 'swelling, abscess' (SED I No. 30).

ʕV-

Animal names:

[] Tna. *ʕafäl* 'insects or fleas which live in grass' (< Sem., if Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' is <**ʕupl-* and not <**ʔupl-*) vs. **pVl(y)-* 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā, palyā bēʔārī* 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyat-* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Arb. *ʕuṣfūr-* 'passerau; tout petit oiseau', Jib. *ʕɛṣférɔ́t* 'bird' (<**ʕVṣpVr-*) vs. Arb. *ṣāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau de la famille des passereaux; tout oiseau qui n'est pas oiseau de proie', Jib. *ṣefirót* 'Vogel' < **ṣVp(p)Vr-* '(kind of small) bird' (SED II No. 212; *ʕV-* can alternatively be explained by contamination with **ʕVṣṣūr-* 'bird', No. 43). [] Sem. **ʕaḳ(u)ruḳ(ḳ)-* 'frog': Syr. *ʕaḳrūḳā*, Arb. *ʕuḳuruḳḳ-* vs. **ḳVr(V)r-* id. (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names; cf. also Syr. *yaḳrūrā*). [] Sem. **ʕaḳrab-* 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʕaḳrāb*, Arb. *ʕaḳrab-*, etc. vs. Arb. *ḳaranbā* < Afras. **ḳVrab-*: W. Chad. Galambu *kùrbá* 'ant', C. Chad. Buduma *kīrbābo* 'flea', E. Cush. Burji *ḳórbur-o* (and *ḳóobr-oo* with metathesis) 'scorpion', S. Omot. Ongota *ḳarrábati* 'spider' (SED II No. 31). [] Sem. **ʕgʷal-*//**ʕgl-* 'calf' (Hbr. *ʕēgäl*, Arb. *ʕiǯl-*, etc.) < Afras.? Cf. Egyp. *ʕgny* '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 *găl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyɛl* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf' (SED II No. 28).

Anatomy:

[] Mhr *ʔākərmōt*, Hrs. *ʔākermōt*, Jib. *ʕakərũt* 'pelvis' < MSA **ʕakVrm-ut* vs. Sem. **kVr(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. *ʕāgōl* 'round' (adj.; HAL 784), Soq. *gáʕhel* 'rond' (LS 113; metathesis or a case of infixed -ʕ-?) vs. Syr. *gəlīlā* 'rotundus' (Brock 115), Arb. *ǯullat-, ǯallat-, ǯillat-* 'boule de fiente' (BK 1 308), Amh. *gʷiləlāt* 'chapiteau, coupole' (Baet 1052) < Afras. **gʷalVl-*: Brb. Ghat *ǯiləllaw-ət* 'rond' (Neh 202), Ayr *gələll-ət* 'ê. rond, circulaire' (Aloj 52), etc., W. Chad. Hausa *gùlūlu* 'ball' (Abr Hs 340).

hV-

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *hădāyā*, 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. **bŭrtu* (in *burt/di šamḫat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burä*, etc. 'insect that eats the root of the *äsät'* (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. *yaʕfūr-*, *yuʕfūr-* 'gazelle; petit de gazelle ou de biche' vs. *ʕifr-*, *ʕufr-* 'porc, verrat; petit cochon, pourceau' (v. in **ɣ/ʕVpr-* '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. *yəṯáyl*, Hrs. *yeṯáyl*, Jib. *iṯʕél* vs. Hbr. *šūʕāl*, Arb. *ṯuʕāl-*, Jib. *ṯeʕáyl* (< **ṯVʕVl-* ~ **ṯaʕlab-* '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**nVšVp-* 'kind of bird' SED II No. 165). [] Sem. **yapan-* 'young bull': Ugr. *ypt*, Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. vs. Afras. **fa(ʔ)Vn-* 'bull': Sem. Arb. *fanāt-* 'vache', W. Chad. Montol *feoŋ*, Siri *te-vni*, C. Chad. Higi-Dakwa *funu*, S. Cush. Asa *faʔanok* 'elephant', (?) Qwadza *faʔamo* 'buffalo' (cf. SED II No. 250). [] Cf. also Sem.**yarbVʕ-* 'kind of rodent' (SED II No. 251) where

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

Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *ypḥ* (hitp.) 'to gasp for breath, groan' vs. *pwḥ* 'to fan, to waft through', pB. *pəḥī* 'blowing out, expiration' < **pḥ/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(ʔ)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. *ṭālā̄*, Arb. *ṭala*^{n}, *ṭalw-*, etc. in SED II No. 232). [] Sem. **wābil-* 'ram': Hbr. *yōbēl*, Arb. *wābilat-*, etc. (probably < Afras. **y/wabil-*, if Egyp. *ỉbʕw* '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 *ḥwələ* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Oromo *bulā́l-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. *ezùm*, Soq. *ə́zɔm* (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 *zā̆mā* '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. *wāzemā*, Tna. Amh. *wazema* 'chants of a vigil, hymns sung on the eve of a holiday' (LGz 624) vs. Gez. *zemā* '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': Egyp. OK *wnm* 'essen' (EG I 320), E. Chad. Kabalai *wə́lmə̀* 'food' vs. Akk. *lamāmu* 'to chew' (CAD *L* 59) < Afras. **lVm-* 'to eat, chew': W. Chad. Hausa *là̆luma* 'chewing by a toothless mouth' (Barg 717), C. Chad. Mbara *lùm* 'mordre' (TSL 294), Musgu *láma* '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. *mi/andinu* (and *middinu*, with *-dd-* likely <**-nd-*) 'tiger?' vs. Arb. *ʔal-madīn-* 'lion' (and Ebl. *mu-da-ne-nùm*?) in **mV(n)dīn-* 'a large wild cat' (SED II No. 151; cf. also C. Chad. Afade *maudá* 'Hyäne', E. Chad. Mubi *ʔàmdàwùt* 'cat' likely implying Afras. **maday/w(n)-* 'k. of feline'). [] Arm. Off. *ṣnpr* 'bird' (Hbr. *ṣippōr*, Jud. *ṣippar*, *ṣippərā*, Syr. *ṣeppərā* can go back to **ṣinpar-* with **-np-* > *-pp-*) vs. Arb. *ṣāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau', Hrs. *ṣ̌eferot* 'sandpiper', etc. < **ṣVp(p)Vr-* '(kind of small) bird' < Afras. **ç̣apVr-*: W. Chad. Mburku *ç̣ápùr*, C. Chad. Bura *cə̀vŭr*, Margi *cə̀vŭr* 'guinea fowl' (SED II No. 212). [] Mnd. *anglia* vs. Jud. *ʕēgal*, Syr. *ʕeglā* etc. <**ʕg*^{w}*al-* // **ʕgl-* 'calf' (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *ǯandab-*, *ǯundub-* vs. Tna. *g*^{w}*ädäbä* (in **g*^{w}*a(n)dab-* // **ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *ḳ*^{w}*arnanaʕāt*, Amh.

ḳʷärnänat vs. Tgr. *ḳorəʕ*, Tna. *ḳʷərʕo* in **ḳVr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] N. Eth. **ʔanṣaw/y-*: Gez. *ʔanṣa/e/owā* 'mouse, weasel', Tgr. *ʔ/ʕanṣay* 'mouse', Tna. *ʔančəwa* 'mouse, rat' (cf. C. Cush. **ʔinčaw-*, N. Omot. Shinasha *iinčà*, Anfillo *inṣo* id.; < Afras. **ʔançaw-* or Eth. borrowing into Cush. and Omot.?) vs. Sem. **ʔayaṣ-*: Akk. *ayāṣu* 'weasel', Amh. *ay(ə)ṭ* 'mouse' < Afras. **ʔay/waç-* 'kind of small mammal': W. Chad. Hausa *çíyō* 'field rat', E. Cush. Oromo *wawwačoo* 'mongoose', N. Omot. Basketo *iiçi*, Kafa *ičoo* 'rat',etc. (cf. **ʔayaṣ-* ~ **ʔanṣaw/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 *gàndir* 'Eidechse' and E. Chad. Dangla *gòndyìr-kò* 'petites termites') vs. Mhr. *gədərēt*, Hrs. *gederēt* 'k. of worm', Jib. *əždírə́t* 'small insect (which eats clothes, wood)' (cf. **gʷa(n)dVr- // *gV(n)dVr-* 'kind of worm' SED II No. 81). [] Tgr. *fərnəg, fənrəg* 'quail' vs. **parg-* 'kind of bird (hen, quail)': Hbr. pB. *pargīt* 'young poultry', Syr. *parrūgā* 'pullus', etc. (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Pero *pàrágò* 'partridge') SED II No. 178. [] Tna. *ʕənḳərəbit* vs. **ʕaḳrab-* 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʕaḳrāb*, Gez. *ʕ/ʔaḳrab*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Tna. *ḥəngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water' vs. Jib. *ḥažɔ́t* (< **ḥag-*) 'large, blind black segmented centipede oftenest seen during the rainy season' (v. **ḥV(n)g-* 'kind of worm, centipede' SED II No. 100). [] Mnd. *ḳunpud*, Arb. *ḳunfuḏ-*, Gez. *ḳʷənfəz*, etc. vs. Jud. *ḳupdā* (and Ebl. *ḳì-pá-šùm* ?) in **ḳ(ʷ)inpaḏ- // *ḳunpuḏ-* 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133; *-n-* is a root extender or part of the primary root?). [] Arb. *ḫinzīr-*, Gez. *ḫanzir*, Mhr. *ḫənzīr*, Jib. *ḫanzír* 'pig' (three latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Akk. *ḫuzīru*, Ugr. /*ḫuzīru*/, Hbr. *ḥăzīr*, Jud. *hăzīr* etc. (in **ḫV(n)zīr-* 'pig' SED II No. 111). [] Akk. *e/inzu*, Syr. *ʕənez* (st. const.), Arb. *ʕanz(-at)-*, etc. '(she-)goat' vs. Ugr. *ʕz*, Jib. *ʔɔz* 'goat', etc. <**ʕV(n)z-* 'goat' (cf. SED II No. 35; cf. ibid. E. Cush. Saho *ʕidoo*, S. Cush. Asa *ʔando* and other possible Afras. parallels). [] Sem. **ʔa(n)z/ḏar-* 'kind of feline': Gez. *ʔanzar*, Akk. *azaru* (and *azzaru*, likely pointing to **ʔanzar-*) vs. Afras. **ʔa-ʒ/ǯVr-* id. (SED II No. 9; v. above in *ʔV-* Animal names).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *sinṭ-* 'poignet' vs. Hbr. pB. **sīṭ* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger', Syr. *sīṭā* 'palmus' <**si(n)ṭ-* 'flat hand with wrist' (SED I 209). [] Arb. *ḫinṣi/ar-* vs. Hbr. pB. *ḥāṣēr*, Syr. *ḥeṣrā*, Mhr. *ḥɔṣərrɔ́ʔ* 'little finger', etc. (in <**ḫi(n)ṣVr-* '(little) finger' SED I 134). [] Gez. *kʷərnāʕ*, Tna. *kʷərnaʕ* 'elbow, forearm', Amh. Arg. *kərn* 'elbow' (cf. also Jib. *kermóʕ* 'heel') vs. Sem. **kʷirāʕ-* 'knee and shin-bone; lower leg (of animal)': Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)', Sab. *krʕ* 'leg of a camel', etc. (SED I No. 157). [] Tgr. *sənzər* 'palm', Tna *sänzärä* '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 **š/ŝV(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 **ŝ$_x$V(n)pVl-* 'stomach (of an animal, bird)', SED I No. 271). [] S. Eth. **gandya* (Har. *gānǰa*, Sel. *gānǰä*, Wol. *ganǰä*, Msq. *ganǰa*, prob. Eža *gaǰǰa*) vs. **gadya* (Zw. *gādiyō*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *gaǰa*, End. *gaǰä*) 'tendon of leg' < Sem. **gīd-* 'sinew, nerve' (SED I 72). [] Tgr. *ʕ/ʔanṣäbät* 'sinew' vs. Arb. *ʕaṣab-* 'nerves', Mhr. *ʔāṣbīt* 'sinew, nerve' < Sem. **ʕa(n)ṣab-* 'sinew, nerves' (SED I No. 16). [] Soq. *ʕaroniḳ* 'mollet' vs. Mhr. *ʔarḳ* 'artery, sinew, nerve', Arb. *ʕirḳ-* 'veine', etc. < Sem. **ʕa/irḳ-* '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. *ṣernettu* (also *ṣennettu, ṣennītu*) 'a skin disease', Gez. *ṣərnəʕt* 'scab, malignant ulcer' vs. Hbr. *ṣāraʕat* 'skin disease', Jud. *ṣi/urʕā* 'leprosy' (in **ṣirnaɣ-at-*, SED I No. 257). [] Arb. *šnf* 'avoir la lèvre supérieure relevée, retroussée', Tgr. *šanəf* 'mouth (of animals)', Tna. *šänfäwä* 'to have disproportionate lips' vs. Akk. *šaptu*, Ugr. *špt*, Hbr. *ŝāpā*, Syr. *septā*, Arb. *ša/ifat-*, etc. 'lip' < Sem. **ŝa(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. *ṯaytal-* 'vieux bouc de montagnes; espèce d'antilope' vs. *ṯilal-*, *ṯilāl-* 'troupe de brebis, ou de brebis mêlée aux chèvres' <**ṯVl-* 'head of small cattle': Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *ṯal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Gez. *nes(ā)tāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *näsälät* 'serpent boa' (in **ʔaṯ(h)al-* 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20). [] Tgr. *ṭotäl* 'esp. d'antilope' vs. *ṭälit* (coll. *ṭel*) 'goat' <**ṭalay-* 'lamb, kid': Hbr. *ṭālā̄*, Arb. *ṭala*^{n}, *ṭalw-* 'petit de gazelle' etc. (SED II No. 232).

Anatomy:

[] Eth.: Gez. *maltāḥt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *mäta/ələḥ* 'temple', *mätaläḥti* 'the upper forepart of the skull' vs. Mhr. *məlḥāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleḥáw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *məźḥét* 'jaw', Soq. *maláḥi* 'cheek' < **liḥ(a)y(-at)-* 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləḥe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lḗḥī* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləḥī* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178).

-ʕ- (v. also in Maizel 185)

Animal names:

[] Arb. Dof. *faʕôr* 'bull', Mhr. *fōr*, Jib. *fɔʕɔ́r*, Soq. *fáʕhar* '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-* 'houshold animal; beast of burden': Hbr. *baʕīr* 'livestock, cattle', Syr. *baʕīrā* 'brutum, jumentum', Arb. *baʕīr-* 'chameau; toute bête de charge', Mhr. *baʕáyr* 'male camel' (< Arb.?), etc. vs. **bV̄r-* '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). <> Egyp. 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 *fḗrū́* '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. *lʕḳ* 'lécher' (BK 2 1003) vs. *lḳḳ* id. < Sem.: Hbr. *lḳḳ* 'to lick up, lap', Tgr. *läḳläḳä* '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). <> Egyp. 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 uppper side of leg, thigh' (MQK 113), Burunge *ʔuuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310).

Varia:

[] Sem. **ḳʕd*: Syr. *ḳʕd* 'inclinavit, flexit (genua)' (Brock 681), Arb. *ḳʕd* 'ê. assis, s'asseoir (après avoir été debout)' (BK 2 776) vs. **ḳdd*: Akk. *ḳadādu* 'to bow very low, bend', Hbr. *ḳdd* (and *ḳwd*) '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 **śVm-* 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] (?) Arb. *rahw-* 'crane' vs. Hbr. *rāʔā* 'red kite', Tgr. *rawya* 'stork', Tna. *rawya* 'kind of very large vulture; falcon, sparrow hawk, kite' in **raʔ/w/hy-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 187; otherwise to be interpreted as a case of root variation with *-h-* vs. *-ʔ-* vs. *-w/y-*). [] Gez. *nəhb*, Tgr. *nəhəb*, Tna. *nəhbi* vs. Sem. **nūb(-at)-* 'bee': Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb-* etc. (SED II No. 156). [] Gez. *k*^{w}*āhilā* 'fox-like animal' vs. Sem. **kalb-* 'dog', supposedly < **kal-b-* < Afras. **k*$^{(w)}$*Vl-* 'wolf, dog, fox' (v. in *tV-* Animal names). [] Tna. *gahret* 'doe antilope' (for the laryngeal in the same root probably implying Afras. **g(*^{w}*)arh-*, cf. Brb. Zenaga *əgrərh* '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^{w}ar-*, **garw-* (SED II No. 85). [] Tgr. *wuhər*, pl. *ʔawhər*, *ʔawhərät* 'bull' (LH 427) vs. Afras. **war-*: Egyp. 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. *ləháytən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti*, Soq. *ʔélheh* 'cow' vs. Sem. **liʔ(-at)-*, **laʔay-at-* 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow', Arb. *lāʔa^{n}* '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 *âššel*, etc., Omot. **haylaš-* with metathesis: Wolayta *aylaaš-*, Gemu *haylašo*, Gofa *haaylašo*, Ari *haylɛša* '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. **ʔaṯ(h)al-* 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20. [] (?) Sem. **pahd-* 'cheetah': Syr. *pahdā* 'panther', Mnd. *pahad* 'cheetah', Arb. *fahd-* 'guepard', etc. vs. Egyp. OK *mʿfd-t* 'katzenartiges Tier mit scharfen Krallen (Art Gepard?)' (<**mV-ʔVfVd-* or **ma-fVd-*, with *ʿ* 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. *lâšu* 'to taste, lick' is < **lhš* and not < **lḥš*, cf. Arb. *lḥs* 'lécher' BK 2 973 and Eth. **lḥs* 'to lick' LGz 311) vs. *lss* 'lécher, manger' (BK 2 989), *lws* 'goûter, tourner un morceau dans la bouche' (ibid. 1041). [] Jib. *géhɛʔ* 'chest, breast', Soq. (Noged) *géhɛʔ* id. vs. Jud. *gawwā* 'belly, innermost', Arb. *ǧuʔǧuʔ-* (redupl.) 'poitrine', etc. < Sem. **gaw(w)iʔ-* or **g^{w}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. *ṭhs* 'entrer sous terre, disparaître' (BK 2 115) vs. *ṭss* 'plonger (dans l'eau); s'en aller, disparaître' (ibid. 80; cf. *mā ʔadrī ʔayna ṭassa* 'Je ne sais pas ce qu'il est devenu' ibid. and *mā ʔadrī ʔayna ṭahasa* id. ibid. 115). [] Arb. *ǧhd* 'travailler avec assiduité, avec zèle, faire des efforts' (BK 1 341) vs. *ǧdd* '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. *lhṭ* 'frapper, atteindre quelqu'un d'une flèche' (BK 2 1033) vs. *lwṭ* id. (ibid. 1041). [] Arb. *dhḳ* 'couper en morceaux; briser en serrant; frapper, battre' (BK 1 742) vs. *dḳḳ* 'ê. pilé, broyé fin; casser, concasser; battre, frapper' (ibid. 715) < Sem. **dḳḳ*: Akk. *duḳḳuḳu*, Hbr. *daḳ*, Gez. *daḳaḳa* 'to crush', Soq. Mhr. *daḳḳ* 'to pound', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dhk* 'briser, broyer; moudre; 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', *ʔirtahaka* '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. *mänmänä*, Amh. *mänämmänä* 'to become lean or emaciated' (LGz 351) < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *mányò*, Tumak *mɔ́nîì* (Bla EC), S. Cush. Dahalo *ʔāmína* (EEN 20), Maʔa *mʔnyí* (Bla-Tos), N. Omot. Mao (Bambeshi) *amintə-* (Bnd Om 279) 'small', S. Omot. Ongota *munnaʔɛnə* 'small, narrow' (SLLE 10). []

Sem. *bht̲* 'to be ashamed': Akk. *baʔāšu* (likely <*bht̲*) 'to come to shame' (CAD B_1 5), Ugr. *bht̲* 'vergüenza' (DLU 106), Syr. *bht* 'puduit eum; confusus, perturbatus est', *behtətā* 'pudor' (Brock 61-2), Arb. *baht̲at-* 'fils de prostituée' (BK 1 170; cf. *bht̲* 'accueillir qqn. avec un visage riant' ibid.) vs. *bwt̲* 'to be ashamed': Ugr. *bt̲* 'avergonzarse' (DLU 123), Hbr. *bwš* 'to be ashamed', *būšā*, Emp. Arm. *bwt* 'shame' (HAL 116-7) < Afras. *bVwič- '(feminine) pudenda': Brb. Siwa *bašša* (Lao 314), Semlal *bəssi* (Dest 288), Rif Iznassen *a-bətš-un* (Ren 291) 'vagin', N. Cush. Beja *bus* 'hinterbacken, podex' (RBeḍ 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. *nūhərā* '(gleam of) light' (HAL 677), Arb. *nahār-* 'jour, journée' (BK 2 1354) vs. *nV̄r- 'light, fire': Akk. *namāru* (*nawāru*) 'to shine brightly' (CAD N_1 209), Ugr. *nr* 'brillar; brillo, resplandor' (DLU 331), Hbr. *nīr* '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* 'ê. 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' (RBeḍ 142), C. Cush. *kin-t- '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).

-r-

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *ḳurpəday* 'mole' vs. Hbr. *ḳippōd*, pB. *ḳuppād*, Jud. *ḳupdā*, etc. in *ḳ(ʷ)inpad̲- // *ḳunpud̲- 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133). [] Hbr. *ṣəpardēăʕ* vs. Arb. *ḍifdiʕ-* (in *ṣ̂Vpardiʕ- 'frog', SED II No. 22; otherwise interpreted, *-r-* is a primary radical preserved in Hebrew but lost in other languages). [] Jud. *ʕurzīlā* (and *ʔurzīlā*) vs. *ʕwzl*, Syr. *ʕūzaylā* <*ɣVzāl- 'gazelle': Arb. *ɣazāl-* 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. *gōmäd* '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. *kəndä* 'bras', Mhr. *məkəndēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *miʃ̃əndɔ̃t* 'thumb, big toe'. [] Mod. Eth. *brṣḳ 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bärčäḳä* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərčəḳčəḳ bäl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tän/mboraččäḳä* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. *bṣḳ 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bṣḳ* 'cracher', Sel. *bəčəḳ bälä* 'to spit'. [] S. Eth. *mṣrḳ 'to spit in a spurt': Har. *miči̇riḳ āša*, Gog. *məčərəḳ bea* (and other Gur. dialects in LGur 390) vs. *mṣḳ 'to spit, spirt': Har. *miči̇ḳ āša* 'to squeeze something so that it spurts', Gog. Sod. *miči̇ḳ *balä* 'to spit in a spurt' (ibid. 389). [] Sem *ḫarṭūm- ~ *ḫurṭimm- 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. differently in SED I No. 137): (?) Akk. *ḫuṭṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (*-ṭṭ* -< *-rt-?), Hbr. pB. *ḥarṭōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *ḥarṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephanti)', Mnd. *ḥarṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *ḫurṭum-*, *ḫurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'élephant, etc.' vs. *ḫu/aṭm- 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. differently in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḫṭm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥuṭmā* id., Arb. *ḫaṭm-* 'bec, museau'. [] Sem. *ḳa/urḳa/ub- 'stomach (of animals, birds)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 167): (?) Akk. *kukkubātu, kukkubānu, ḳuḳḳubātu, ḳuḳḳubānu* 'part of the animal stomach' (<*ḳurḳubān/tu or *ḳubḳubān/tu), Hbr. pB. *ḳorḳəbān* 'the thick muscular stomach of birds, crow', Jud. *ḳurḳəbānā* id., Syr. *ḳarḳəbānā, ḳurḳəbānā* 'guttur, ingluvies (avis)', Arb. *ḳarḳab-*, *ḳurḳub-*, *ḳurḳubb-* 'ventre' vs. *ḳVb-at- 'stomach, ventricle, maw (of animals)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 158): Hbr. *ḳēbā* 'abomasum, stomach', Jud. *ḳēbətā* 'maw', *ḳybh* 'stomach', Arb. *ḳibat-*, *ḳibbat-* 'ventricule', *ḳabḳab-* (redupl.) 'ventre' (cf. also *ḳabḳāb-* 'vagin'), Tgr. *ḳäbbät* 'a stuffed goat's stomach', Tna. *ḳobo*

'hernia'. [] Sem. *ḳVrs/ṣ(-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. ḳərṣā́t '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', ḳaṣīṣ- '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. ḳəṭəyä 'joint of foot', Soq. míḳṣeh 'articulation, falangue'. [] 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. kərāʕayim (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. karʕā 'knee, leg', Syr. kərāʕā 'crus', Mnd. kraia 'foot, leg', Arb. kurāʕ- '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. kərn 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. kərra 'arm, elbow', Har. kuruʔ 'cubit, arm', Sel. kəre, Wol. həri, Zw. hərə 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. kərrä 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. ʕäggälä 'to put in a circle' (LH 487), etc. [] Sem. *ḳrṭb 'to be prickly, sharp': Syr. ḳūrṭəbā 'tribulus (planta)' (Brock 695), Arb. ḳrṭb 'couper les os' (BK 2 715), Gez. ḳərṭəb 'kind of insect that stings or eats leaves and bark' (LGz 445) vs. Arb. ḳṭb '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. ḳrḍb 'couper; manger des choses sèches, croquer' (BK 2 714), Soq. ḳárḍeb 'mordre' (LS 387) vs. Arb. ḳḍb '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. ʔetgardam 'mutilatus est' (Brock 132), (?) Arb. ǯrdm '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, abscidit' (Brock 105), Arb. ǯdm 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. gəddom 'pickaxe' (LH 599).

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Animal names:

[] Akk. ḫulmiṭṭu 'a snake or lizard' (Syr. ḥulmāṭā 'large lizard' is probably an Akkadism) vs. Hbr. ḥōmäṭ 'reptile', Jud. ḥumṭā 'chameleon', Arb. ḥamaṭīṭ- 'serpent' <*ḥVm(V)ṭ- (SED II No. 99).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. zulbānā, 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. gélmes 'dent' (LS 109) vs. gímses 'qui a des dents tordues' (ibid. 111).

Varia:

[] Sem. *blṭḥ (unless the MSA forms are Arabisms): Arb. *blṭḥ* (and *bldḥ*) 'ê. couché à terre' (BK 1 161), Mhr. *ənbalṭəḥ* (JM 49), Hrs. *enbelṭáḥ* (JH 17), Jib. *ənbəlṭáḥ* 'to lie down' (JJ 26), Soq. *enbálṭeḥ* 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. *bɔ́ṭṭaḥ* '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. *ḳaḳânu,* Ebl. *ḳù-ḳí-a-nu-um* 'a bird' (cf. also Arm. Tur. *ḳaḳwonīṯo* 'partridge', etc. unless *w* < *b*) vs. Sem. *ḳ(ʷ)aʔ(ḳ(ʷ)aʔ)- // *ḳaʔ(ḳaʔ)- 'kind of bird': Akk. *ḳaḳû* 'a bird', Jud. *ḳā(ʔ)ḳā(ʔ)* 'goose', *ḳāḳā,* Syr. *ḳāḳā* 'pelican', Amh. *ḳoḳ* 'partridge', etc. < Afras. *ḳʷaʔy(ḳʷaʔy)- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 126). [] Akk. *ḫarsapnu* (*ḫarasapnu, ḫarsapanu*) vs. Arb. *ḫaršaf-* <*ḥarSap- 'young of animals, larva' (SED II No. 104). [] Akk. *bukānu* (*bukannu*) 'an insect or worm' vs. Hbr. pB. *bukyā* 'the spider', Tna. *bəkkʷ* 'gnawing insect, worm', etc. < *bik(ʷ)ay- // *bukay- 'kind of insect or worm' (SED II No. 57). [] Akk. *miḳḳānu, meḳiḳānu* 'a louse affecting cloth, animals and people' vs. Jud. *maḳḳāḳ* 'k. of worm or insect', Arb. *mūḳ-* 'sorte de fourmi ailée' < *mVḳ(Vḳ)- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 150). [] Akk. *šammānu* 'a snake' vs. Hbr. *ŝəmāmīt* (var. *šəmāmīt*) 'gecko', Arb. *sāmm-* (in *sāmm- ʔabraṣ-*) 'espèce de gros lézard' < *š/ŝVmm- '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 Büfel[?]'), 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 *dàmanā* 'spider' and Egyp. *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[?]' (AHw 170), Arb. *dimm-at-* 'pou; fourmi' < Afras. *dVm- 'kind of insect': Egyp. *dm* 'Wurm', E. Chad. Tumak *dəm̄* 'abeille' (SED II No. 69). [] Ebl. *nu-bí-a-nùm* vs. Akk. *nūbtu,* Arb. *nūb-* (pl.), etc. < *nūb(-at)- 'bee' (SED II No. 156; v. in *-h-* Animal names). [] Ebl. *lí-a-nùm* (= 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. *laʔāt-* 'vache sauvage', *lāʔaⁿ* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', Akk. *littu* (*lītu*), etc. in *liʔ(-at)-, *laʔay-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 *deeš* 'young gazelle', N. Omot. Wolayta Gamo Kullo *dešša,* Gofa Zala Koyra Chara *deeša,* Dorze Cancha *dešš,* Malo *ḍeše,* Dače *deyšše,* Basketo *dayša,* Kachama *deyše* 'goat' (v. in SED II No. 231 *tayš- 'he-goat'). [] Hbr. *ʕozniyyā* 'an unclean bird: sea eagle[?]', Syr. *ʕznʔ* 'avis rapacis species' vs. Hbr. pB. *ʕōz* 'name of a bird, prob. black eagle', Syr. *ʕizyā* 'ardea cinerea', etc. < *ʕVz- 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 51). [] Syr. *purtaʕnā,* Jud. *purṭaʕnā,* Mal. *furtʕnō* vs. Akk. *peršaʔu,* Hbr. *parʕōš* etc. < *pVrɣVṯ- ~ *pVrṯaɣ- 'flea' (SED II No. 185). [] Jud. *rēmānā* vs. Akk. *rīmu* (*rēmu, riʔmu*), Hbr. *rəʔēm* etc. < *riʔm- 'wild bull' (SED II No. 186). [] Jud. *ʕurdəʕān,* Sam. *ʕrdʕn* vs. Jud. *ʔurdəʕā,* Syr. *ʔurdəʕā* (with dissimilation), Hbr. *ṣəpardēăʕ* (pl.), etc. < *ŝVpardiʕ- 'frog' (SED II No. 222). [] Jud. *šumšəmānā,* Syr. *šawšəmānā,* Mnd. *šušmana* vs. Arb.

sumsum- < **šumšum-* 'ant' (SED II No. 205). [] Arm.: Jud. *hōgānā, hōgənā* 'young camel or dromedary' (Ja 337), Syr. *hūgnō gamlō* 'dromedarius', in fabul. aram. 'asinus' (Brock 171) vs. Afras. **hug-*: Brb. Ahaggar *ăhug* 'poulain' (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. *dayaǯān-* '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. *ḫunzuwānat-* 'mouche qui s'attaque au chameau' vs. Akk. *ḫanzizītu* 'a green winged insect', Tna. *ḥənǯəǯ,* etc. < **ḫVnz(i/uz)-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Arb. *silkānat-* 'poussin de perdix' vs. Hbr. *šālāk* 'an unclean bird' < **šVl(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. *ʔafʕawān-* 'vipère mâle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general term *ʔafʕa*^{n} 'vipère'; one wonders whether what seems *-n* suffixed in Amh. *əffuññət, fuññət* 'viper' points to a common Arb.-Amh. protoform with **-n* or rather to a different origin of the latter in each case) vs. Sem. **ʔapʕaw-*: Hbr. *ʔäpʕā̄* 'kind of snake', etc. (SED II No. 10). [] Arb. *ʕuḳru(b)bān-* 'scorpion mâle' vs. *ʕaḳrab-, ʕaḳrab-at-, ʕaḳrabāʔ-* 'scorpion femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked feminine *ʕaḳrab-* and two marked feminine forms) < Sem. **ʕaḳrab-* 'scorpion': Ugr. *ʕḳrb,* Hbr. *ʕaḳrāb,* etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Arb. *ḍibʕān-* 'hyène mâle', *ḍibʕānat-* 'hyène femelle' vs. *ḍabuʕ-, ḍabʕ-* 'hyène', *ḍabuʕat-* 'hyène femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general term *ḍab*(*u*)*ʕ-* and feminine *ḍabuʕat-*) < Sem. **ṣab(u)ʕ-* 'hyena': Hbr. *ṣābūăʕ,* etc. (SED II No. 220). [] Arb. *ḍaywan-* 'chat mâle, matou' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal) vs. Hbr. *ṣī* 'animals of the desert' < **ṣayw-* 'wild cat' (SED II No. 224). [] Arb. *ǯirḏawn-* 'rat' (also Mhr. *gərḏīn,* Hrs. *gerḏīn* 'rat, mouse', likely Arabisms) vs. *ǯuraḏ-* 'espèce de gros rat des champs', Syr. *gārədā* 'castor' < **gVrVḏ* (*-Vn*)- 'kind of rodent' < Afras. **g*^{w}*Vrǯ-*: Brb. Shawiya *a-g*^{w}*erziz,* etc. 'hare' (SED II No. 84). [] Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan* 'a kind of black ant' vs. Arb. *ǯudǯud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (also Ebl. *gù-du-gù-du-wu-um* ?) in **g*^{w}*a(n)dab-* // **ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *ḳ*^{w}*arnanaʕāt,* Amh. *ḳərnanot* 'frog' (< Afras.? Cf. Chad. **k/ḳVr-Vn-* id.: W. Chad. Ngizim *kàrìinàkáu,* E. Chad. Birgit *ʔàŋgùkùrùnà,* C. Chad. Daba *kìrriŋ,* Mofu-Gudur *kakəraŋ*) vs. Sem. **ḳVr(V)r-* 'frog' (v. in *ʔV-* Animal names) < Afras. **ḳVr-* id.: Egyp. *ḳrr,* Brb. Rif *aḳarḳur,* etc., N. Omot. Zaysse *ʔóoḳḳaro,* etc. (in SED II No. 137). [] Gez. *ḳərādin, ḳərdān* 'field mouse' vs. Brb. **ḳard-* 'rat': Fojaha *ɣérdé,* Rif *aɣarda,* Mzab Shawiya Qabyle Shilḥ *aɣerda,* etc. (v. in **gVrVḏ*(*-Vn*)- 'kind of rodent' SED II No. 84). [] Tgr. *gərǯən,* pl. *gäräggən* 'cub of lions or of leopards' (<**garg-Vn*; unless dissim. <**gurgur*) vs. **gūr-* ~ **gury/w-* 'whelp, cub': Hbr. *gūr,* Arb. *ǯurw-,* etc. (SED II No. 82). [] Amh. *wäl(l)ani* '*Walia* ibex' vs. *waliya, wala* id. < **waʕl-* 'ibex': Gez. *wəʕəlā,* Arb. *waʕl-,* etc. (SED II No. 244). [] Amh. *šälan* 'marten, ferret' vs. *šäla* id. (v. in **ṯVʕVl-* ~ **ṯaʕlab-* '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. *ʔirān-* 'oryx mâle' vs. Amh. *awra* 'male (animal), bull', etc. < **ʔ/arw-ān-* ~ **ʔawr-* 'calf, bull' < Afras. **ʔa/irw-* ~ **ʔawr-* 'calf, bull': Egyp. MK *ʔir-t* 'Kalb', W. Chad. Sha *ʔarwà* 'Ochse', E. Cush. Bayso *aar,* Arbore *ʔáar,* Burji *arr-áy* 'bull', Sidamo *waʔr-iččo* 'older calf', etc. (SED II No. 16). [] Sem.: Ebl. *ir-bí-nùm* (= Sum. NAM.KUR), Arb. *ʔirbiyān-* vs. Akk. *erbu* (*erebu, aribu*), Hbr. *ʔarbā̄,* 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*^{w}*əta* 'young locust'. [] Sem. **tuk*^{w}*ān-* // **tukān-*

'bug' (SED II No. 122; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. **takwan* 'bleeding, cupping blood', semantically questionable) vs. Jud. *təkak* 'kind of worm' < Afras.: Egyp. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Burunge *tikaʕiya* 'tsetse fly', Maʔa *twángé* 'gadfly', Dahalo *t̠ákkwaʔe* 'dung beetle'. [] Sem. **t̠apan-* 'rock hyrax': Hbr. *šāpān,* Mhr. *t̠ōfən,* Jib. *t̠ɔ́fun* 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 *dɔ́kì,* Hausa *dɔ́kì,* Jimbin *dáákwà,* 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 *šùwír* 'Wildkatze', etc., E. Chad. Tumak *sàwàṛ* 'chat doré', Dangla *sàrààrá* 'panthère femelle', E. Cush. Gawwada Dobaze Harso Gollango *sarii-ko* 'leopard', N. Omot. Ganjule *šuuro* 'cat' (cf. **šu/in(n)ār-* ~ **šurān-* 'cat' SED II No. 206). [] Sem. **ʔarn-*: Syr. *ʔarnā* 'caper montanus', Gez. *ʔornā* 'kind of antelope', Jib. *ʔɛ́rùn* '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 *ă-kûlen* 'wolf' vs. Afras. **k^{w}Vl-* 'wolf, dog, fox': C. Chad. Bura-Pela *kila,* Logone *kɔ̀lè,* Buduma *keli* 'dog', etc. (v. in **kalb-* 'dog', SED II No. 115). <> W. Chad. Hausa *ḍakwan* 'dwarf buffalo' vs. E. Chad. Kera *beke* 'Vieh' < Afras. **baḳw-*: Brb. Nefusa *bɣu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bă ɣăw* 'vieux boeuf' (v. in **baḳar-* 'large cattle' SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Hausa *báḳùrnā* 'red-flanked duiker' vs. Sem. **baḳar-* 'large cattle' (Hbr. *bāḳār,* Arb. *baḳar-,* etc.), perhaps < Afras. **baḳVr-*: Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuɣer* 'chamelon d'un an' (v. in SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Warji *íyànà* vs. Kariya *íí,* Miya *í* 'dog' < Afras. **ʔway-* 'wild dog, jackal': Sem. Hbr. *ʔī* 'jackal', Egyp. *ʔw, ʔwʔw* 'Art Hund', E. Cush. Somali *yéèy* 'wild dog', etc. (v. in **ʔVwVy-* 'jackal', SED II No. 21). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *bìrbìríny* 'caille' vs. Dangla *báàrè,* 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 *bì/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 *ḳissan-e,* Kambatta *ḳissoonna-ta* 'spider' vs. Tsamai *ḳiske* 'louse' (<**ḳis-k-*), S. Cush. Dahalo *ḳùci* 'bee larva', etc. < Afras. **ḳVc/ç-* 'kind of insect' (v. in **ḳVṣam-* '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^{w}ar-* ~ **garw-* 'kind of ungulate' (v. in **gVrr/w(-at)-* 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). <> E. Cush. Burji *ḳorʔan-čoo,* Darasa *ḳoraan-de,* Hadiya *ḳoraan-ta,* Kambatta *ḳorʔan-čo* vs. Alaba Tembaro *ḳura* 'crow' < Afras. **ɣ^{w}ar-* 'crow, raven' (v. in **ɣārib-* ~ **ɣurăb-* 'crow, raven' SED II No. 89). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *ḏóóroání* 'large stinging insect' vs. E. Cush. Kambatta *zeer-a* 'locust' < Afras. **ǯVr-* 'kind of insect, worm': Sem. Arb. *ḏarr-* 'très-petites fourmis', W. Chad. Galambu *ǯùur* 'worm', E. Chad. Bidiya *ǯaarìyo* 'criquet sp.', etc. (v. in **ḏVr(r)-* 'kind of worm, insect' SED II No. 74). <> (?) Egyp. (OK) *ḏbn-w* 'antelope' (if from Afras. **ç̌Vb-Vn-*) vs. Sem. **t̠aby(-at)-* 'gazelle': Akk. *ṣabītu,* Arb. *ḍaby-* '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/anṗ-* 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Hbr. *ṣippōrän* vs. Jud. *ṭuprā,* Gez. *ṣəfr,* etc. < **ṭip(V)r-* 'nail' (SED I No. 285). [] Arb. *firsin-* 'pied, patte' vs. Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. < **pa/irs-*

'sole (of foot, hoof)': Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. (SED I No. 220). [] Tgr. *ḥəfən* 'hoof' vs. Arb. *ḫuff-*, Mhr. *ḫaf*, etc. < **ḫu/ap-* 'hoof' (SED I No. 135). [] Mhr. *kōbən* 'dry cow-pat, piece of dry cow-dung' vs. Jib. *kɔ̄* 'cow-dung', *ekbé* '(cow) to excrete' <**kVbaw/y(-at)-* '(dry cow's) dung' (SED I No. 142). [] Mhr. *məʔwəyēn*, Hrs. *mʕeyīn* vs. Hbr. *mēʕayim* (pl.), Arb. *maʕy-*, etc. < **maʕay/w(-at)-* 'intestine, entrails' (SED I No. 185). [] Soq. *ḳəḥɛ́lhin* vs. Jib. *ḳɔḥlət*, etc. < **ḳa(w)ḥil-*, **ʔVn-ḳulaliḥ-* '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. *zulbānā, zəlūbānā* '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. *labânu (labiānu, libânu)* 'tendon of the neck; neck', Arb. *labān-* 'poitrine, surtout la partie entre les mamelles, poitrail (de tout animal à sabot)' vs. **labb(-at)-*: Arb. *lubbat-* 'le haut de la poitrine', etc., Tgr. *läbbät* 'place of the fillet steak on the back of animals; midst, side', Wol. *läbät* 'waist', Zw. *läbät* '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. *dōmän* 'dung' vs. Arb. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente (de chameau ou d'autre animaux semblable)' (in SED I No. 52). [] Sem. **ŝVry/ʕān-*: Akk. *šerʔānu (širʔānu)* '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. *ŝəráyn* 'leg', Jib. *ŝərín* 'muscles of the back' vs. **ŝVry/w/ʕ-*: Akk. *mešrêtu* (pl. tant.), Syr. *šārītā* 'articulus', Arb. *ši/arʕat-*, etc. 'corde de l'arc', *ʔusrūʕ-* tendon de la jambe de la gazelle', Gez. *ŝərw*, etc. 'sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle', Amh. *sərasər* 'blood vessel', Soq. *méŝərä ʕ* '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. *däfäna* 'part of body between the shoulder-blades', etc. vs. **dapp-at-*: Arb. *daff-* 'côté, flanc; face', Tgr. *däffät* '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. **daran-*: Arb. *daran-* 'tumeurs dures sur le corps', Tgr. *därän* 'cutaneous eruptions like blisters', etc. vs. Arb. *drʔ* 'avoir le bubon pestilentiel au dos (se dit des chameaux)', Cha. Eža Gye. *dära* 'leprosy that causes the whiteness of skin' (in SED I No. 57). [] Sem. **gVb(b)-an-*: Hbr. *gibbēn* 'hunchbacked[?]', Jud. *gibnā* 'hump', Muh. *gʷəbən*, Gog. *gʷäbana* 'hunchbacked' vs. **gab(V)b-*: Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', Arb. *ǯabab-* 'plaie...à la bosse du chameau', Amh. *gʷäbäbb alä* 'to be hunchbacked' (in **gab(V)b-*, **gVb(b)-an-* 'hump, hunch' SED I No. 67). [] Sem. **gab(b)īn-*: Jud. *gəbīnā* 'eyebrow, eyelash', Arb. *ǯabīn-* 'front', etc. (SED I No. 69) vs. Sem. **gabb(-at)-*: Hbr. *gabbōt ʕēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *ǯubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66). [] Sem. **baṭn-*: Hbr. *bäṭän*, Mnd. *baṭna* 'large belly; pregnancy', Arb. *baṭn-* 'ventre', etc. (SED I No. 42) vs. Sem.: Arb. *(ta)baʔaṭa*, Gez. *baṭaṭa* 'lie on the stomach' (LGz 114) < Afras. **buṭ-* 'belly, navel': Brb. Shilḥ *a-buḍ* 'nombril', Zenaga *buṭ* 'gros nombril', etc. (DRB 29), W. Chad. Sura *ḅut*, Mupun *būt*, etc. 'belly' (CLR 20), Fyer *ḅuto*, Kariya *bùḍà*, etc. (note also Miya *bəḍi* and *bùḍán*) 'navel' (ibid. 250). [] Sem. **šam(a)n-* 'oil, fat': Akk. *šamnu*, Ugr. *šmn*, Arb. *samn-*, etc., probably < Afras. **sVm(V)n-*: W. Chad. Diri *šinama* (met. <**siman-*?), E. Chad. Sokoro *sùnne* 'melted butter' (<**sumne*, according to Stolbova) vs. Tgr. *šämut* 'ointment' (cf. also *səmsəm wäda* '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 *ṯa-səm-ṯ* '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. *lisān-*, etc. vs. Afras. **lis-* 'tongue' (cf. also Arb. *lss* 'lécher; manger' and similar forms): Brb. **ʔi-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 **ʔa-dVm-* 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *ʔadam-* 'peau humaine', *ʔadīm-* '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. **mayṯ-* (v. in *-Vr* Varia). [] Sem. **ḳaṭVn-* 'small, thin': Akk. *ḳatnu* 'thin, fine, narrow' (CAD Q 173), Hbr. *ḳāṭān* 'small' (HAL 1092-3), Gez. *ḳaṭīn* 'to be thin, fine', etc. (LGz 453) vs. **ḳ^{w}Vṭ-*: Hbr. (hapax leg.) *ḳāṭ* 'small' (HAL 1091), Gez. *ḳ^{w}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 enygmatic") <Afras. **ʔa/i(n)d-* 'elder female relative': C. Chad. Munjuk *adi* 'grandmother', E. Chad. Kera *ádìdə* 'Grossmutter' (Eb 113), N. Cush. Beja *enda/e*, C. Cush. Bilin *adé* 'Mutter' (RBeḍ 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. **tiʔn-* 'fig(-tree)': Akk. *tittu*, *tiʔttu* (pl. *tīnātu*), Hbr. *təʔēnā*, Arb. *tīn-*, etc., Brb. Ahaggar *təyne*, Taneslemt *tehəyne*, etc. 'datte', W. Chad. Angas *teung* 'tree, fig-tree', etc. vs. **tiʔ-*: Akk. (Lex. SB) *tiʔu* 'Feige', N. Omot. Janjero *teʔā* '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^{n}* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Arb. *ǯardam-* vs. *ǯarād-* 'locust' < **garad-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 83). [] Arb. *ʔazram-* (<Afras. **ʔa-ʒVr-am-*? Cf. W. Chad. Galambu *zàrəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzùrmà* 'leopard' <**ʒarʒur-m-*) vs. Sem. **ʔa(n)z/ḏar-* 'kind of wild cat' < Afras. (v. *ʔV-* Animal names; SED II No. 9). [] Arb. *ʕulǯūm-* 'taureau vieux' vs. *ʕiǯl-* 'veau' < **ʕig^{w}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 šamḫat*) '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. *ləháytən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti* , Soq. *ʔélheh* '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^{w}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. *kənimmā* 'vermin, moth', Mhr. *kənəmūt*, Hrs. *kenemōt*, Jib. *šínít* (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 *kɔ̀kkínɛ̀ɛnɛ̀* 'sauterelle de saison sèche, comestible', E. Cush. Somali *šinn-i*, Oromo (Borana) *kinn-iisa*, Konso *ḫan-ta* 'bee', N. Omot. Janjero *kenako*, *kenaḳo*

'flea', Hozo *konni* 'louse', *kɛɛkaŋki*, Sezo *káŋkàkàŋk*(*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. *bûmâ*, Arb. *būm-* 'owl' vs. **bVʔ(w)-* ~ **būh-* id.: Hbr. pB. *bā(ʔ)wāt*, Syr. *baʔwā, bawwā*, Arb. *būh-* (SED II No. 52; perhaps onomatopoetic). [] Sem. **ḳVṣam-* 'locust, (locust) larva': Ugr. *ḳṣm* 'grasshopper(s)', Arb. *ḳaṣam-* 'oeufs de sauterelles', *ḳaṣām-* 'sauterelle', Amh. *ḳəčam* 'nit, louse' vs. Tgr. *ḳäṣ, ḳäč* 'flea', Amh. *ḳʷəčač* 'tiny black ants' < Afras. **ḳVc/ç-* 'kind of insect (locust or ant larva[?])': E. Cush. Darasa *ḳissane* 'spider', Tsamai *ḳiske* 'louse', S. Cush. Dahalo *ḳućі* 'bee larva', N. Omot. Kachama *ḳaço* 'black ant', etc. (v. in SED II No. 139). [] Sem. **ṣVlVm-* 'kind of insect': Syr. *ṣalmūnəyā* 'tarantula', Arb. *ʔal-ʔaṣlam-* 'puce', Tna. *ṣällam ṭel* 'dark spider, tarantula' vs. Hbr. *ṣəlāṣal* 'locust, cricket' (perhaps also Tgr. *ṣəlṣəl*) < Afras.? Cf. S. Omot. Hamar *ç̌ilu* 'ant sp.' (SED II No. 210). <> Brb. **(H)iḳirdam* 'scorpion': Siwa *tiqerḍemt*, Ahaggar *éɣîrdem*, pl. *iɣôrdâm*, Semlal *iɣirdem*, pl. *iɣardmiun*, Qabyle *iɣirdem*, etc. vs. Sem. **ḳʷVrVd-* // **ḳVrd-* 'tick': Syr. *ḳerdā*, Arb. *ḳurd-*, Tna. *ḳʷərdid*, 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 *kùrùma* '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 *kármo* (< **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. *gärgōra* (*gängōra*) 'leopard', W. Chad. Dwot *gewar* '(an animal) smaller than civet', E. Cush. Gidole *kiro-ta*, Burji *giraaʔw-ee* 'cat', N. Omot. Zala *gawar-ya*, Dawro *garawa*, Malo *gaware*, Gamu/Dačе *gawara*, Zaysse *garawa*, Koyra *giraawweʔ* id., etc. (v. in **gūr-* ~ **gury/w-* 'whelp, cub', SED II No. 82). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *ngólome* <**nV-gʷVl-am-* vs. Afras. **ʕi-gʷal-*: W. Chad. Sayanchi *găl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyèl* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf', etc. (v. in **ʕigʷal-* // **ʕigl-* 'calf', SED II No. 28). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *kiḇowaŝimo* 'sp. small gazelle' vs. Sem. **kabŝ-* 'young ram': Akk. *kabsu*, Hbr. *käbäŝ*, 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 *dágàyàm* '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. *gədī*, Arb. *ǯady-*, etc.), W. Chad. Hausa *gàdáa*, Ngizim *gádùwà* 'duiker', C. Chad. Zime-Batna *gódày* 'buck', E. Cush. Sidamo *goda* 'deer, gazelle', N. Omot. Zaysse *gaaiddé* 'cattle', etc. (SED II No. 76). <> Afras. **kVl(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 *kɛlɛ̀ɛ̀mà* 'coléoptère Hydrophyle', E. Cush.: Saho Afar *kilim*, Somali *šilin*, pl. *šilm-o*, Rendille *čilim*, Oromo *šilm-a*, etc. 'tick') vs. Afras. **kʷVl(kʷVl)-* 'kind of insect': Sem. Akk. *kulīlu* 'dragonfly', Gez. *kʷəlkʷəl*(*t*) 'kind of black ant', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *kălkăt* 'être pouilleux', C. Chad. Bura *kalakala* 'a species of locust', E. Chad. Tumak *kùlɔ́ə̀l* 'mille-pattes' (v. in SED II No. 130 **ḳ(ʷ)aml- // *ḳumāl-* ~ **ḳalm-* 'louse', b. **ḳalm-*). <> 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-)ǯagum-* (unless *-m* is suffixed independently in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Ngizim *àžagùm* 'hippopotamus' (Bla Eleph 204), E. Cush. Yaaku *sogómèì* 'elephant' (Hei Ya 124; possibly <**zogom-* <**ǯogom-*) vs. Afras. **(ʔa-)ǯVgw-* 'hippopotamus': C. Chad. Diri Paʔa *ǯuŋgwa*, Siri *ǯiŋwa* (Sk NB 26), N. Omot. Kačama *azāgē*, Koyra *azzāgē*, Ganjule *azagé* (Bla Eleph 204), cf. also Egyp. MK *zꜣg-t* 'Fabeltier' (EG III 422; hardly 'hyppopotamus' well-known to Egyptians: an elephant or rhinoceros?).

Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *ŝāpām* 'moustache' vs. *ŝāpā* 'lip' <**ŝa(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. *dərārā* 'gum', Tgr. *dərdər gäʔa* 'to grow toothless', etc. (SED I No. 56). [] Arb. *nuḫmat-*, *nuḫāmat-* 'ce que l'on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.' vs. **naḫ-* 'mucus; mucus membrane': Akk. *naḫnaḫatu* (redupl.) 'Nasenscheidewand', Jib. *nḥɔḥ* '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. **ḫVrʔ/y-* 'excrement, dregs': Ugr. *ḫrʔu*, Syr. *ḥerāyā*, Arb. *ḫarr-*, *ḫurʔ-*, 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-* 'sommet de la bosse du chameau', Arg. *sañña*, Gog. Sod. *šañña* 'hump of animal', (?) Hrs. *sensīn ḏe-ḏahr* 'spine' <**š/sVn(-ām)-* 'hump of animal (camel, etc.)' (SED I No. 250). [] Arb. *ḥalḳūm-* (also MSA **ḥalḳam-ut* 'Adam's apple', Tgr. *ḥəlḳəm* 'throat, larynx', both probably < Arb.) vs. *ḥalḳ-* 'gorge' <**ḥalḳ-*, **ḥalḳū/um-* 'Adam's apple, throat' (SED I No. 117). [] Sem.: Mnd. *balʕuma* 'gullet' (unless < Arb.), Arb. *bulʕum-* 'oesophage, canal de déglution', Soq. *bálḥam* 'viveur' vs. **balVʕ/ɣ-*: Syr. *bālaʕtā* 'guttur', Jib. *tɔbẑɔʕɔ́t* 'uvula', etc. (cf. SED I No. 36). [] Sem. *ṭu/alḥīm-*'spleen': Akk. *ṭulīmu*, MSA **ṭalḥaym* vs. **ṭiḥāl-* id.: Ugr. *ṭḥl*, Hbr. pB. *ṭəḥōl*, Syr. *ṭəḥālā*, etc., Arb. *ṭiḥāl*, Muh. Sod., etc. *ṭala* 'spleen', Jib. *ṭɔlḥ* 'blood and discharge with an afterbirth' (SED I No. 278). [] Arm. **pum-*, Arb. *fum-*, *fam(m)-*, *fim-* 'mouth' vs. Akk. *pû*, Ugr. *p*, Hbr. *pā̄*, Arb. *fū-*, Eth. **ʔaf-* id. (in **pay-* 'mouth', SED I No. 223; v. in *ʔV-* Anatomy). [] Sem. **lḳm*: Arb. *lḳm* 'to eat, swallow up', Gez. *laḳama* 'to chew', Tna. *läḳämä* 'to eat roasted grain', Tgr. *läḳma* 'to eat' (LGz 317) vs. Sem. **lVḳ(lVḳ)-*: Hbr. *lḳḳ* 'to lick up, lap', pB. *lḳlḳ* id., Arb. *lḳḳ*, Tgr. *lḳlḳ* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). <> E. Chad. Somrai *gídam* 'foot', E. Cush. Burji *gudùm-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 *agadā́*, *ā́gūd* (pl.) 'arm', Hadiya *ang*^{w}*oda*, Tambaro *angäta* 'upper part of arm', Darasa *agōdà* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kafa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Ometo (Wolamo) *gáddea* 'leg', (Kullo) *gäd'iya* 'foot' < Afras. **(ʔa-)gVd-* 'limb' (SED I No. 71; v. in *ʔV-* Anatomy). <> Afras.: Brb. Kel-Ui *uləm*, S. Omot. Hamar *weylêm* (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. **lVb-* 'heart') and perhaps S. Omot. Ongota *ləəta* id. (<**lV-t-*? Mil Ong).

Varia:

[] Arb. *šubrum-* 'espèce de plante dont la graine ressemble aux lentilles' (also Sam. *šabrimma* 'grain') vs. Hbr. *šäbär* 'grain' (also Sam. *šabru* id.) < Sem. **ŝ$_x$abr(-Vm)-* < Afras. **ŝV(m)bar-* 'k. of corn; chickpea' (on Afras. **ŝ-* > Sem. **ŝ$_x$-* > Hbr *š-* Arb. *š-* v. SED I, XCVIII-CV): C. Cush. Aungi *šəmbər-i* 'chickpea', Bilin *sabbar-ā́* 'Hülsenfrucht', E. Cush.: Saho Afar *sabbar-ḗ* '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. *tämale*, Tna. *təmali*, Hbr. *təmōl*, Akk. *timāli*, etc. id. (LGz 575-6). [] Gez. *gesam*, *geŝam*, Tgr. *gesäm* 'tomorrow' vs. Gez. *ges/ŝa* 'to be early, do things early in the morning', Tna. *gäsäggäsä* 'to leave early in the morning', Har. *gīš* '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. *ǯdm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599), etc. (v. LGz 182-3; well-looking Afras. parallels, such as E. Chad. Dangla *gáddùm-nè* 'instrument for cutting wood', N. Cush. Beja *gaduum*, E. Cush. Saho *gɔdumaa*, Somali *gudimo*, etc. are probably borrowed from Arb. *ḳad(d)ūm-* 'axe'; cf. RBeḍ 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. *ǯdd* '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). <> W. Chad. Angas *gürm* vs.

C. Chad. Glavda *ʔagùrà*, Mandara *gíre*, E. Chad. Somrai *giri*, *ǯirī*, Jegu *giri*, *gír(k)* 'bean' < Afras. **g(ʷ)i/ar-* ~ **garga/ir-* 'bean' (Mil Farm 141). <> Chad. **kawira(-mi)-* 'hoe' (*-mi* is an instrumental suffix?): W. Chad. Hausa *kórámḗ* '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 *kâruá*, 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/ʔ* 'to cultivate, to hoe and sow' (Mil Farm 147). <> Afras. ** ç̌lm* 'to be dark, black' (cf. also Stolb 1996 47): Sem. **ṯlm* 'to be dark': Akk. *ṣalāmu* 'to become dark, turn black' (CAD Ṣ 70), Arb. *ẓlm* 'to be dark', Gez. *ṣalma* 'to grow dark, be black', etc. (v. in LGz 556), C. Chad. Buduma *čilum* (Luk Bud 95), Kotoko *sələmm*, E. Chad. Dangla *zìlìm-* (CLR II 29) 'black', Migama *zílmó* 's'assombrir' (Jung Mig 136; cf. also *čùlùmtì* 'l'ouest' *ibid*. 75), Mokilko *zímòló* 'ténébreux, obscure, sombre' (Jung Mkk 200; metathesis), E. Cush. Somali *ḍelmanayya* 'to move in the evening' (v. Abr Som 56; <**ç̌Vlm-an-*), S. Cush. Qwadza *calam-* 'green' (HRSC 388) vs. Afras. **ç̌a/il-*: Sem. **ṯil(a)l-* 'shadow, shade': Akk. *ṣullulu* 'obscure, dark' (CAD Ṣ 239), *ṣillu* 'shadow, shade' (ibid. 189), Arb. *ẓill-* 'shadow', Gez. *ṣəlālot* 'shadow, shade, darkness' (LGz 555), etc., W. Chad. Angas *ǯil* 'shade under trees' (Stolb 1996 48 after Foulkes), Sha *čalâ* 'Shatten (Person, Sache)' (Jung R 283), C. Chad. Gisiga *nǯala* 'west' (Stolb 1996 48), E. Cush. Sidamo *çaale* 'shade' (HEC 131), S. Cush. Dahalo *t̲iilali* 'shadow' (EEN 8).

-(V)ʔ

Animal names:

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

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *ḫarmāʔ-* 'oreille percée' vs. *ḫarmat-* 'endroit où le nez est percé pour y passer une boucle' < **ḫrm* '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 desease', Tna. *san/mbuʔ* 'lung' vs. Akk. *sinibtu*, *siniptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchiae', etc. < Sem. **si/anṗ-* <Afras. **Si/anṗ-* 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Gez. *naḫāʔ* (also *naʔaḫ*) 'phlegm' vs. Jib. *nḫɔḫ* id. < **naḫ-* 'mucus; mucus membrane' (SED I No. 197). [] Mhr. (Jadib) *ḥɔṣšərrɔʔ* vs. E. Jib. *ḫəṣrér*, Arb. *ḫinṣir-*, etc. < **ḫi(n)ṣVr-* '(little) finger' (SED I No. 134).

-(V)ʕ

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ḳirdiʕ-*, *ḳirdaʕ-* 'poux (chez les chameaux ou chez les poules)', *ḳurdūʕ-* 'petite fourmi' vs. *ḳurd-* 'teigne qui attaque les chevaux, les chameaux' < **ḳʷVrVd-* // **ḳVrd-* 'tick' (SED II No. 135; v. in *-Vm* Animal names). [] Arb. *ǯandaʕ-*, *ǯundu*ʕ- 'espèce de sauterelle noire' (possibly also Amh. *gʷande*, Sel. *gōndä*, Wol. *gʷändä*, Gog. *gʷändä* and similar Gur. forms 'kind of ant', if <**gʷandaʕ*) vs. Arb. *ǯudǯud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (v. in **gʷa(n)dab-* // **ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *ḳorəʕ*, Tna. *ḳʷərʕo* 'frog' vs. Sem. **ḳVr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). <> S. Cush. Alagwa *ĉembeʕu*, Burunge *ĉambeʕu* 'frog' vs. Iraqw *ĉambebé* 'small insect drifting on top of water, tadpole', W. Chad. Hausa *çùmbē* id. < Afras. **ç̌amb-* 'frog', probably related to Sem. **ṣabb-* 'kind of lizard' (SED II No. 221).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. *parsūʕā* 'ungula' vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea' <**pa/irs-* 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED II No. 220). [] Arb. *ḳirdiʕat-* 'cou' vs. *ḳard-* id., *ḳurdūd-* 'dos (toute la largeur du dos chez l'homme depuis les fesses jusqu'aux épaules)', *ḳurdūdat-* 'le haut du dos' < Sem. **ḳard-* 'neck, throat': Jib. *ḳɛrd* 'throat', etc. < Afras.: Brb. **ḳərd-* 'neck' (Ayr E. Tawllemmet *ti-ɣərd-en* 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates') SED II No. 166. [] Sem. **gʷVrʕ-*: Arb. *ǧrʕ* 'boire par gorgées, absorber', Gez. *gʷərʕe*, *gurʕe* 'throat, neck, palate', *gʷarʕaya* 'to stab the throat, slaughter, strangle', Tgr. *gərəʕ*, *gərʕat* 'neck, throat', Tna. *gʷärräʕe* 'to crack (adolescent's voice)', *gʷärʕamä* 'to drink greedily, taking big gulps', Mhr. *gorā* 'to finish up a drink', Hrs. *gōra, gēro* 'to drink up', Jib. *gɔ́traʕ* 'to be all drunk, drunk up' (stem with the infixed *-t-*) vs. Hbr. *gargərōt* 'pharynx, neck', Syr. *gaggartā* 'gutter', Tna. *gʷərgʷərit* 'gozzo', *gʷäräro* 'gola, trachea', etc. < **gʷar(gʷ)ar-* 'throat, gullet' (SED II No. 102). [] N. Eth. **ʔV-ngVdʕ-*: Gez. *ʔəngədʕ/ʔā* 'breast, chest', Tna. *ʔəngədəʕa* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *naǧd-* 'mamelle', Hbr. *nägäd* '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-sâmu* 'oreiller' Fouc 1834, Qabyle *ṯa-sumta* id. Dal 781, etc.), Egyp. Pyr. *smt* 'hören' (EG IV 144), C. Chad. Margi *ŝimì*, Mandara *ŝímà*, Mofu *ŝùmày*, Logone *sìm*, E. Chad. Somrai *sùmí*, Lele *sùmá*, Mubi *sùmǎmù*, etc. 'ear' (CLR 114-5).

Varia:

[] Sem. **gdʕ* 'to cut': Hbr. *gdʕ* 'to cut off' (HAL 180), Syr. *gdʕ* 'amputavit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ǧdʕ* 'mutiler quelqu'un' (BK 1 264), Gez. *gʷadʕa* 'to strike, smite, etc.' (LGz 180; also *gʷadʔa* id., Tna. *gʷädʔe* '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* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ǧdd* '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 *dirhʷā*, E. Cush. Saho Afar *dorohõ*, *dorhõ* 'hen' (rather borrowed into than from Gez. *dorho, doroho*, Tgr. *derho* 'chicken', Tna. *därho* 'hen, chicken, fowl'; cf. also E. Chad. Tumak *ḍèrí* 'bird' < **dVHVr-*) vs. Afras. **dVr-* 'kind of bird (hen, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *dərōr* 'a kind of bird (swallow, dove?)', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *dùrwā́* 'lark-quail', Dera *dárirù* 'type of swift nightbird', Buli *dədər* 'weaver bird', C. Chad. Gude *dárá* 'type of bird', Mbara *ndòrò* 'green pigeon', E. Chad. Somrai *dùrē* 'chicken', Mokilko *dɛ́re* 'pigeon', E. Cush. Somali *dóoro* 'chicken, hen', S. Cush. Dahalo *ḏéere* 'woodpecker', N. Omot. Zergulla *dɛri*, 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. *ǧabhat-* 'front', *ǧabah-* 'front large, vaste et beau', Tgr. *gəbbəhīt* 'forehead', Jib. *gəbhɛ́t* 'front, brow', etc. (SED I No. 68) vs. Sem. **gabb(-at)-*: Hbr. *gabbōt ʕēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *ǧubbat-* '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-dàrù* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *dèrʌ̄ū* '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. *ḳurpəday* vs. *ḳippōd* 'hedgehog' (<*ḳ*(*ʷ*)*inpaḏ- // *ḳunpuḏ-* SED II No. 133; v. in *-r-* Animal names). [] Jud. *nōṣīṣəyētā* 'pelicanʔ' vs. *nəṣāṣā*, etc. 'hawk' < **na/iṣ(ṣ)-* 'kind of bird': Ugr. *nṣ* 'bird, wild bird' (perhaps a raptor, esp. 'hawk, falcon'), Hbr. *nōṣā* 'falcon', etc. (SED II No. 168). [] Arb. *ḥubšiyyat-* 'espèce de fourmis grandes et noires' vs. Syr. *ḥabšuštā* 'scarabaeus', Tgr. *ḥabuš* 'a species of locusts' < **ḥVbVŝ*$_x$- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 96). [] Gez. *bəʕrāy*, Tgr. and Tna. *bəʕray* vs. Gez. *bəʕr* in **bVʕVr-* 'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in *-ʕ-* Animal names). [] Gez. *dagobəyā* (*dagabəyā, dagobiyā, dogabiyā*), Amh. *däg*^{w}*äbe, dägobəya* vs. Tgr. *dängäbät*, Tna. *däg*^{w}*äbä* (in **g*^{w}*a(n)dab-* // **ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *ḳomḥay* 'fourmi qui mange le miel' vs. metathetic *ʔaḳ(ə)ḥma* (*ʔaḳḥomä*) 'ants', Gez. *ḳāhm* (*ḳəhm, ḳāḥm*) 'kind of ant; drone' (v. in **ḳVmḥ-* 'kind of insect' SED II No. 129). [] Amh. *waliya* vs. *wala* in **waʕl-* 'ibex' (SED II No. 244; v. in *-(V)n* Animal names). [] Sem. **ʔa/irbay-* 'locust': Ugr. *ʔirby*, Sab. *ʔrby*, Soq. *ʔerbhíyoh*, etc. vs. Akk. *erbu* and, probably, Amh. *arabo* 'tick afflicting cattle, etc.', Cha. Eža Muh. *wäräba*, Enn. Gyt. *wäräḇa*, Sod. *woraba* 'kind of cockroach' (SED II No. 11).

-(V)r

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ḫinzīr-* (< Sem**ḫV(n)zīr* 'pig': Akk. *ḫuzīru*, Hbr. *ḥăzīr*, Gez. *ḥanzir*, etc.) vs. *ḥanzuwān-* id. (and W. Chad. Hausa *gùnzū́* 'wild boar' <**ḫunʒ-*) SED II No. 111. [] Arb. *ḍabaɣṭarā* 'hyène' (BK 2 7; perhaps <**ḍabaɣ-t-ar-*, with *-ṭ-* <**-t-* assimilated to *ḍ-* or *-ɣ-*) vs. *ḍabuʕ-*, *ḍabʕ-* 'hyène', *ḍabuʕat-*, *ḍibʕānat-* 'hyène femelle' (ibid.) < Sem. **ŝab(u)ʕ-* 'hyena' (SED II 220; v. in *-(V)n* Animal names). [] Tgr. *ḥənǯur* 'wasp or scarab' (less likely < Bilin *ḥenǯūr* 'eine Käfersorte', quoted in Lmb-Sot 410 as *ḥanǯu-ra* "with singulative suffix *-ra*") vs. Tna. *ḥənǯəǯ, ḥənǯiǯ, ḥənžiž* 'kind of greenish-black beetle, scarab, cock-chafer', Amh. *ənzəz, ənziz* 'beetle', Cha. Eža Enm. End. Gyt. *ənzəz*, Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənzizza* 'May bug' in **ḫVnz(i/uz)-* 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Sem. **g*^{w}*a(n)dVr-* // **ga(n)dVr-* 'kind of worm' (SED II No. 81; v. in *-n-* Animal names) vs. **gudgud-* (Arb. *ǯudǯud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle'), **g*^{w}*andaʕ-* (Arb. *ǯandaʕ-, ǯunduʕ-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire', Amh. *g*^{w}*ande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', etc.) and **g*^{w}*Vndan-* (Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan, g*^{w}*əndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite') cf. also **g*^{w}*a(n)dab-* // **ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust') to be eventually reduced to a common protoform **gV(n)d-* with different extensions. [] (?) Sem. **bVʕVr-* 'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in *-ʕ-* Animal names) vs. Cush.-Omot. **bVʕ-*: E. Cush. Yaaku *pēʔɛ*, S. Cush. Dahalo *ḍēʕa* 'buffalo', S. Omot. Hamar *buʔ* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 53). [] Sem. **baḳar-* 'large cattle': Hbr. *bāḳār*, Arb. *baḳar-*, etc. (< Afras. **baḳVr-*? Cf. Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuɣer* 'chamelon d'un an' and W. Chad. Hausa *báḳùrnā* 'red-flanked duiker') vs. Afras. **baḳw-*: Brb. Nefusa *bɣu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bă*ɣ*ăw* 'vieux boeuf', W. Chad. Hausa *ḫakwan* '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-, zinbār-* 'guêpe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Eth. **zVn/mb-*: Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zənbi*, Amh. *zəmb, zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly' (v. in SED II No. 73; Eth. *z-* <**ḏ-* or **z-*; in the latter case comparable to Arb. *zibb-* 'espèce de ver (*fistularia vitata*)' and C. Chad. Tera *zàḃà* 'termite' <**ʒaHb-*). <> W. Chad. Jimi *walaróo* 'antelope' (Cosp No. 252) vs. Geji *wùlli* 'gazelle' (ibid.) < Afras. **waʕl-* 'k. of goat, gazelle' (v. in **waʕl-* 'ibex' SED II No. 244). <> Chad. **lVbVr-* '(large) feline': W. Chad. Sura *rəḃəl* 'wild cat' (met.), E. Chad. Somrai *lārbə́* 'leopard' (met.), C. Chad. Hona *lìfārì*, Chibak *ʔalvàri*, Kilba *lɛ̄vàri*, Margi *ḥa-livàr̃ì*, Higi-Nkafa *lìvɛ̀ri*, Gude *lìvyàrá*, Malgwa *ə́rval* (met.) 'lion' vs. Sem. **labVʔ-* 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*labʔu*), Hbr. *lābī (ʔ)*, etc. (SED II No. 144). <> C. Cush. **daḳ*^{w}*ar-* 'donkey': Bilin *dŭq̇ārā*,

Khamir *dŭḫarā*, Kemant *duḫwarā*, Qwara *dekarā*, Damot *dokuarī*, Aungi *duḫuarī* (CR Kem 184) vs. S. Cush. **daḳ^{w}ay-* id.: Iraqw Gorowa Alagwa Burunge *daqway* (KM 88), Qwadza *daḳwaiḳwayiko* (HRSC 345). <> (?) C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā́* (pl. *sáfal*) 'Schlange', Khamir *sibrā́* (pl. *sibír, sibíl*) 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. *šəbšīb*, E. Jib. *šəbšéb* 'red waterworm' < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *sùbó* '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. **tVk^{w}(-an)-* 'kind of insect': Egyp. Pyr. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Dahalo *t̲ákkwaʔe* 'dung beetle', etc. (in **k^{w}Vt(t)ān-*, **tuk^{w}ān-* // **kut(t)ān-*, **tukān-* 'bug' SED II No. 122). <> E. Cush. Somali *dámèer* 'male donkey' (Abr Som 46), Bayso *deme̲r* 'ass' (Dolg 1973 275) vs. Afras. **dam(dam)-* 'k. of equid/camel': Sem. Akk. *damdammu (damdāmu, daddāmu)* 'a mule' (CAD *D* 64), Brb. Zenaga *dəmma* '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. *ḥazɔ̃t* 'large, blind black segmented centipede' (SED II No. 100). <> Afras. **ʒVmVr-* '(wild) ungulate': Sem. Ugr. *zmr*, Hbr. *zämär*, etc. 'gazelle', Brb. Siwa *i-zmər*, Semlal *izimer* 'bélier', Nefusa *zamər*, Zenaga *əziʔmər*, Qabyle *izimer* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *ǯumùru* 'male waterbuck' vs. Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr E. Tawlemmet *ezəm*, *ešəm* 'antilope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, pl. *izammən* 'gazelle', Zenaga *ə-žəmmi* 'gazelle à front roux' and, perhaps, W. Chad. Kulere *ʔìzám* 'Widder' (in **zVmr-* 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). <> Afras. **dV(n)gur-*: E. Chad. Gabri *dūgūrù* 'elephant', Sokoro *dùger* 'rhinoceros', N. Omot. Zaise *dongor* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), S. Omot. Ari *dangór*, Kara *doŋgur* id., etc. (Bnd Ar 149) vs. Cush.-Omot. **dangw-*: S. Cush. Iraqw *daangw-* 'elephant' (KM 87), N. Omot. Kafa *dangiyō*, Mocha *dängao* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), Shinasha *dángaso*, *dəngiyō* (Bnd Om 163). <> Afras. **dVbVr-* 'kind of insect': Sem. Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib^{w}ara* (in *dib^{w}ara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., W. Chad. Ngamo *nḍàbùrô* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dàvùrəŋá* 'sausage fly', etc. vs. Afras. **dVb-* 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *daba^{n}* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis' (cf. Arb. Omn. *dabiyy* 'abeilles'), W. Chad. Dera *díḃín*, *díwín* 'fly', E. Chad. Kera *ádəbdəbə̀* 'Tsetsefliege' ('termite' in other Chad.), N. Omot. Hozo *dabbi* 'termite' (**di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp' SED II No. 66). <> Afras. **ǯVbir-* 'hornet': Sem. Hrs. *ḏebēr*, Mhr. *ḏəbēr*, Jib. *ɛḏbir* 'hornet, fly' (probably also Soq. *édbehir* 'abeille'), Brb. Ahaggar *ăzənbîbər* 'esp. de coléoptères (4 cm long)', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *əzəbbenbər* (unless *z-* <**ʒ*) 'bubreste' (v. in **di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Afras. **ǯibab-* 'kind of flying insect': Mhr. *ḏəbbēt*, Hrs. *ḏebbēt*, Jib. *ḏəbbɔ́t* (perhaps also Soq. *ʔedbíboh*) 'fly', W. Chad. Hausa *ǯḭḃā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *žábùwà* 'honey; bee' (Sch Ng 183), C. Chad. Bura *ǯeba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *žiḃi* 'fly', Bata *ǯébi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʔǯìmbè* 'bee, honey' (in **ḏVb(V)b-* 'fly', No. 73). Afras. **ča/iw(a)r-* 'bull; elephant' (cf. **t̲awr-* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 241)): Sem. Akk. *šūru*, Arb. *t̲awr-*, etc. 'bull', C. Chad. Bura-Pele *čiwaɾ̃*, Chibak *isiwaɾ̃*, Kilba *čuwar*, Margi *čùẃar*, Nzangi *čuwarɛ* 'elephant', S. Cush. Maʔa *čurù* '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. *kuẓr-* 'graisse des reins' (BK 2 905; perhaps related to W. Chad. Bolewa *šiḍər*, Ngamo *šíḍàr* 'fat' if the latter forms are from **kiḉar-*, cf. Stolb 1987 208) vs. Afras. **kVw/yaḉ-* 'fat': W. Chad. Hausa *kícē* (less likely <**kiḉVr-*), E. Chad. Kwang *kăysì*, Sokoro *káisi*, C. Chad. Muktele *àkwas*, Logone *kàysə̀* (CLR 132-3), N. Omot. Shinasha *ḳɔ̀cà*, *kosa*, *ḳ^{w}oça*, Kafa *kočṓ* (Bnd Om 164), Mao (Seze) *ḳɔ̀ssí*, Hozo *ḳoca* (ibid. 272), S. Omot. Dime *kuuštu* (ibid. 209). [] Eth. **ʕ/ʔanḳar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *ʔanḳa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *ʕanḳär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *ʕanḳär* '*ugola*', Amh. *anḳä/ar*

'uvula', Arg. *ənḳərt* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har. *ənḳərti*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənḳərt* 'goitre' vs. **ʕ/ʔi/unḳ-* 'neck': Jud. *ʕi/unḳā, ʔunḳā*, Arb. *ʕunḳ-*, *ʕunuḳ-*, *ʕunaḳ-* 'cou', etc. (cf. SED I No. 15). [] S. Eth.: Sel. *gubr*, Cha. Eža Enn. *g^{w}əbər*, Gye. *gub^{w}ər* 'hunchbacked' vs. Amh. *g^{w}äbäbb alä* 'to be hunchbacked', Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', etc. < **gVb(V)b-*, **gVb(b)-an-* 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67). [] Mod. Eth. **dnḳ^{w}r*: Tna. *dänḳ^{w}ärä* 'to be dumb', Amh. *dänaḳḳ^{w}ärä* 'to be deaf, dumb', Msq. Gog. *dänaḳḳ^{w}ärä* 'to be deaf', Sel. *donḳōro* 'deaf, stupid', etc. (LGur 215) vs. Eth. **dnḳ(w)*: Gez. *danḳawa* 'to be deaf, stupid', Har. Sel. *dōnḳa*, Wol. *donḳä* 'deaf' < Sem. **dnḳ* 'to be deaf, stupid': Arb. *dāniḳ-* 'sot, bête' (SED I Vb. No. 9). [] MSA: Mhr. *gəŝōr* 'side of chest' and perhaps 'chest cavity', Soq. *gīŝor* 'poitrine' (probably related to Arb. *ǯušrat-* 'aspérité de la voix, enrouement et toux', *ǯašar-* 'dureté, aspérité de la voix, provenant de l'enrouement, du rhume') vs. Mhr. *gəŝŝēt* 'body, corpse', Jib. *géŝə́t* 'side' < Sem. **giŝŝ-* 'torso, side, body': Akk. *giššu* (*gilšu*) 'hip, flank', Hbr. pB. *gäsäs* 'side, arm', Syr. *gessā* 'coxa, latus (linguae, palati); cingulum pubis', Arb. *ǯawš-* 'poitrine', likely < Afras. **gay/wĉ-*: W. Chad.: Diri *ngèŝè*, Geji *ngeŝì* 'chest', Polchi *gwəŝ* 'shoulder' (differently interpreted in Stolb 1996 119; cf. SED I No. 97). [] Soq. *m^{ə}sə́mbəhər* 'moustaches longues' (<**mV-si(m)bV̄r* or, with *-m-* of the second syllable < *-n-* before *-b*, < **mV-sinbVr*, with metathesis <**mV-nsibVr*) vs. *mə́nsub* (<**mV-nsub*, cf. *ʔə́nsöb*, with *ʔV-* prefixed), Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *mɔ́sə̄t* (<**mVsVb-Vt*) 'pubic hair' (in <**š/sVb-*, **ʔV-š/sVb-* 'pubic hair' SED I No. 239). [] Sem. **ḳanṭir-* 'clitoris, vulve': Arb. Daṯ. *ḳanṭār* 'clitoris', Soq. *ḳánṭhir* 'vulve', Amh. Sel. Wol. Cha., etc. *ḳənṭər* 'clitoris, female genital organ' (< Afras.? Cf. Oromo Qabenna *ḳinṭira*, Somali *kinṭir*, Saho *ḳinṭar* id., unless < Amh.; cf. SED I No. 163) vs. **ḳV(n)ṭ-* 'sexual parts': Tur. *ḳūṭo* 'vulva' (Ritter 404), N.-Syr. *ḳūṭā* 'womb' (Mcl 272), Arb. *ḳant-* 'verge chez un petit garçon' (BK 2 822; *-t-* < **-ṭ-* by dissimilation from *ḳ-*), Tna *ḳənṭ* 'vulva; lower or back part' (LH 252), Amh *ḳiṭ* 'buttocks, anus' (K 826) < Afras. **ḳV(n)ṭ/d-*: W. Chad. Hausa *ḳɔ́dà*, C. Chad. Gava *kiḍi-nwa*, Paduko *kùda-ma* 'testicles' (Stolb 1996 66), Mofu *kuḍey* 'pénis' (Bar 148), etc., C. Cush. Bilin *qiṭ* 'vulva' (RBeḍ 247), Khamir *ḥŭdǎ* 'vulva; anus' (RKham 369), E. Cush. Somali *qooḍ* 'penis with testicles' (Abr Som 203), Konso *qanḍ-itta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Burji *ḳánḍ-i* 'clitoris' (Sas Burji 124, with a different interpretation), S. Cush. Burunge *qendi*, Qwadza *ḳendi* 'vulva' (HRSC 368), S. Omot. Ari Galila *ḳanti* 'testicles' (Bla Beḍ 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/aḳr-at-* 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Azr. *pḳarta* 'neck, nape', *faḳrat-*, *fiḳrat-* 'vertèbre', Soq. *fiḳeríroh* 'cou, nuque' (cf. also metathetic **pi/arḳ-at-*: Hbr. *mapräḳät* 'neck', Syr. *pāraḳtā* 'cervices', etc.; v. in SED No. 219) vs. **pVḳ-* 'neck': Jud. *ʔapḳōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *pḳuta*, *apḳuta* 'neck, throat', Arb. *fāʔiḳ-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête', Tgr. *foḳay* 'shoulder' (SED I No. 213). [] Sem. **ŝ(ₓ)nzr-* 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', **ŝ(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', *sänzärä* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sänzärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *ŝɛzər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hâzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *ŝɛzr*, (C.) *ŝɛ́zər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šézir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizû* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD Š3 152; AHw 1254). [] Sem. **SVṭ(V)r-* 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *sṭr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *sṭr* (*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. **sīṭ* cannot be accidental) 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'. <> 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 *bɔ̀dɛr* '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 *dəḅa*, Gidar *dùbo*, Musgu *dəba*, 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. **ḥankar-* 'larynx, gorge': Brb. Ahaggar *t-ankar-t* 'gosier' (Fouc 1380), N. Cush. Beja (Amar'ar) *hánkar* 'uvula' (Bla Beḍ 58), *ankar* 'Gaumen, Schlund, Kehle' (ibid. after RBeḍ) vs. Afras. **ḥank-* palate, gorge': Sem. **ḥanak-*, **ḥink-*: Syr. *ḥenkā* 'palatum', Mnd. *hinka* 'palate, throat', Arb. *ḥanak-* 'palais', Gez. *ḥanaka* 'to munch, chew', Hrs. *ḥénnek* 'palate and uvula' (SED I No. 124), Brb. Ahaggar *hənəkk-ət* 'râler de la gorge' (Fouc 618), N. Cush. Beja *hanǎk* 'Gaumen, Kehle' (RBeḍ 123; possibly but not necessarily borrowed from Arb.).

Varia:

[] Akk. *ḫamadīru* 'shrivelled or withered' (CAD *Ḫ* 57), *ḫamadīrūtu* 'shrivelling (said of trees)' (ibid. 58) vs. Sem **ḫmd* 'to be shrivelled, extinguished': Hbr. pB. *ḥmd* 'to produce shrivelling by heat' (Ja 475), Arb. *ḫmd* 'cesser de flamber (se dit du feu, quand la flamme s'éteint)' (BK 1 630), Mhr. *ḫəmūd* '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 *darawqǎ*, *daraq*^{w}*ā* 'Ton, Tonerde, Lehm': metathesis or *-r-* inserted?) vs. Soq. *deḳáḳhān* 'boue' (LS 133) < Afras. **dVḳ-* 'clay, earthenware': Brb. Semlal *idəḳḳi* 'argile à poteries' (Dest 20), W. Chad. **ḍVk-* 'to build, make of clay' (Stolb 1987 174); < **diḳ-* 'to build, establish, marry' (acc. to Stolb 1996 38; which is semantically less convincing): Hausa *ḍákŏ* 'dark, rich, dry clay-soil' (Abr Hs 175), Karekare *ḍako* 'to build, make earthenware pots', Sura *ḍik*, Chip *ḍík* 'to build' (Stolb 1987 174), C. Cush. Qwara *daḫ*^{w}*ā*, Khamir *doq*^{w}*ā* 'Ton, Lehm' (RQw 48); differenly in Dolg 1973 56-7. [] Jud. *zūṭār* 'small, young' (Ja 386), Syr. *zuṭərā* '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. *ǧdr* 's'élever au-dessus du sol (se dit des plantes)' (BK 1 263) < Sem. **gdr* 'to become big, grow' vs. Afras. **gVd(d)-*: Arb. *ǧidd-* '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 *gɛɛd* 'big' (Bnd Om 205), Ongota *gadaḫ/hune*, *gaddahino* (Fl Ong 42), *gaddaʕuni*, pl. *giddeʕeta* 'big, old' (ST 117). [] Arb. *kaṯīr-* 'beaucoup, nombreux' (BK 2 867) vs. *kṯṯ* '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. *məsaʔarä* 'night' (LGur 430: "probably from the root *msy* 'be evening' (see *mäšä*) with an enigmatic suffix *-rä*") 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. *mātay* id. (LGur 387). [] Enn. *näḇʔatəra*,

Gye. *näḫʔatra* 'fourth day ago' vs. Enn. Gye. *näḫʔatä* 'fourth day from today' < *naḫʔät* 'four days' < *arbät* < *rbʕ* (LGur 447). [] Cha. Eža Gye. Msq. *gädär* 'new' (LGur 264) vs. Arb. *ǯadīd-* 'neuf, nouveau, récent' (BK 1 261). [] Jib. *gədrét* 'earth' (compared in JJ 71 with Soq. *gədhar* 'reddish-brown', not in LS) vs. Arb. *ǯadad-* 'terrain uni et dur' (BK 1 260) < Afras.: C. Chad. Banana *ná-gada* 'Erde' (Lk ZSS 129), E. Chad. Sokoro *gɛ́dē* 'fertile soil' (ibid. 42), S. Cush. Dahalo *guḏḏe* 'land' (EEN 32). [] Arb. *mizr-* 'sorte de boisson faite de millet', *mazar-* 'sorte de boisson enivrante preparée 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 *M*1 439) < 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. **mayṯ-*: Arb. *myṯ* '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 *mwɔ̀s* '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-ooḍ-* '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-*? Cf. Egyp. Pyr. *sbʾ* 'Tor, Tür' (EG IV 83; likely < **sbr*), W. Chad. Hausa *ɕábárā* '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-*? Cf. C. Chad. Bura *čiba* '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. **ḳidr-* 'earthenware' (cf. Akk. *diḳāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' above): Hbr. pB. *ḳādēr*, Jud. *ḳīdərā* 'pot' (Ja 1318), Syr. *ḳedrā* 'olla' (Brock 649), Arb. *ḳidr-* '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 *kwaḍo*, Gera *kwaḍa* 'calabash', E. Chad. Dangla *kɔḍa* 'pot' (HSED No. 1579), E. Cush. Oromo *qodā* 'furniture; vessel' (Gr 325), *qadāda* 'cover; vessel; gourd' (ibid. 314), S. Cush. Dahalo *k'ōḏo* '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. *säfäfä* 'to rub, anoint, massage' K Tna 800), probably < Afras., cf. Brb. Ahaggar *ésafé* (Fouc 1806), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *esăfe* (Aloj 170) 'ventouse', C. Chad. Musgu *šimfi* 'heilen' (Luk Msg 76); cf. CHVAL 3 19. <> W. Chad. Ngizim *gâzbə́r̃* 'tall, long, deep' (Sch Ng 73) vs. Afras. **gVǯVb-* 'long': Sem. Arb. *ǯaḏbat-* 'certaine distance, certaine étendue de route, distance entre deux relais', *ǯḏb* 'tirer; éloigner un objet d'un autre en le tirant à soi' (BK 268), Jib. *gɔ́ḏɔ́b* 'to pull out' (JJ 71), Mhr. *gəḏōb* id. (JM 115), E. Cush. Gawwada *sikāpa* (<**zigab-*), Harso Gollango *sikaapa* (AMS 254; metathesis) 'lang', S. Omot. Hamar *gùdùb* '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. **ĉa(m)bVr-* 'musical instrument': Tgr. *säbara* 'a flute-melody' (LH 183), W. Chad. Hausa *sámḥárá* 'piece of corn-stalk rubbed between hands as accompaniment to fiddle' (Abr Hs 774), N. Omot. Mocha *šùmbiro* 'flute of shepherd' (LMč 51) vs. **ĉabVb-* 'reed pipe, flute': (?) Akk. OAkk. *šabîtu* '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$^{(w)}$Vr-* 'kind of beans': Sem. Syr. *dagr-*, Arb. *daǧr-*, *duǧr-*, *duǧur-*; Mhr. *dêǧir*, Jib. *dəgərät*, pl. *dugur*, Soq. *dígir* (Tgr. *ʔadung^{w}əra*, Tna. *ʔadang^{w}əra*, Amh. *adäng^{w}are*, Gaf. *adäng^{w}arä*, S. Arg. *adongure*, Gur. *adäng^{w}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^{w}ar* 'beans' (cf. also *otongora* id.), Saho *adagur* id. vs. Afras. **da/ing$^{(w)}$-* 'kind of beans; corn': Sem. Soq. *dengo* 'haricots', Egyp. OK *dḏw* 'kind of grain', Brb. Ayr *te-dăngăw-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^{w}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. *ḫurbabillu* (*urbabillu*) vs. Arb. *ḥirbāʔ-* and, possibly, Ebl. *ḫur-ba-um* in **ḥVrb-* 'chameleon' (SED II No. 101). [] Arb. *ǧadlāʔ-* '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 *ǵdè*, Mofu *gìdɛ́y*, E. Chad. Mokilko *gédè* 'dog' (ibid. 107; cf. also Arb. *ʔabū ǧaʕdat-* 'loup' Belot 63). [] Gog. Muh. Msq. *ḳəmčəlla* 'gnat' (*č* < **ṣ* with dissimilation from *ḳ-*? Cf. also Cha. Enn. Gye. *ḳəmčəna*, Eža *ḳəmčənna*) vs. **ḳam*(*a*)*ṣ-* 'kind of (harmful) insect': Jud. *ḳamṣā* 'locust', Arb. *ḳamaṣ-* 'petites mouches ou petits insectes qui rasent la surface d'une eau stagnante; petites sauterelles qui viennent d'éclore', Jib. *ḳĩɛ̃ṣ* '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. *ǧawzal-* '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 *ǧígàl* 'vulture', C. Cush. **ǯ/ʒVgl-* 'bird' (Bilin *ǯaɣalá*, Dembea Qwara *ǯaglā*) vs. Sem. **g^{w}az-* or **gVz-* (SED II No. 87): Amh. *g^{w}əza* 'a kind of hawk', Gez. *g^{w}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. **ḫaml-* ~ **ḫVlVm-* 'kind of insect': Akk. *ḫilammu* 'a locust', Hrs. *ḫemlēt* 'animal bug, pest', etc. (SED II No. 109) vs. Akk. *ḫamītu* 'Sandwespe' < Afras.? Cf. Egyp. NE *ḫmy* 'Sandfliege' (unless <**ḫml*). [] Sem. **nam*(*V*)*l-* 'ant': Akk. *namalu*, Hbr. *nəmālā*, Arb. *naml-*, etc. vs. Arb. *nimm-at-* 'ant, louse' likely < Afras.: C. Chad. Daba *nìmī* 'termite qui vole' (unless an Arabism) and S. Cush. Alagwa *namahá* 'termites' (in SED II No. 163). [] (?) Sem. **ḳVr(Vl)l-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 136): Syr. *ḳurlā* 'grus', Arb. *ḳirillā* 'espèce d'oiseau', Gog. *ḳarulle* 'kind of bird' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Dangla *kɔ̀ɔ̀rla* 'oiseau passériforme, très coloré', E. Cush Yaaku *kil'érúá* 'Egyptian vulture', met.) vs. **ḳ^{w}āriʔ/y-* // **ḳāriʔ/y-* 'kind of bird, partridge': Hbr. *ḳōrē(ʔ)* 'partridge', Arb. *ḳāriy-at-*, *ḳāriyy-at-* 'sorte d'oiseau aux jambes courtes, au bec long et au plumage du dos vert', Amh. *ḳ^{w}ərəyye* (*ḳuriyyä*) 'migrating

crane; large white crane with a long beak', probably related to Afras. *ḳ^{w}ayr- 'kite, raven, crow': Sem. Gez. *ḳāḳer* 'crow', Amh. *ḳ^{w}əra* (*ḳura*) 'crow, raven' (< C. Cush.?), etc., E. Chad. Dangla *kɔ̀ré* 'espèce de corbeau noir', C. Cush. Khamta *qurā́*, Qwara *qurā*, Aungi *ḳura*, E. Cush. E.: Oromo *ḳurruu*, Hadiya *ḳor-aan-ta*, N. Omot. Wolayta *ḳuuruwa*, Bworo *aḳoḳora*, 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. *däbela* 'ram', Tna. *dibäla*, Amh. *dabela*, *däbäl* 'billy goat' (LGz 120-21; in view of a very tenable Arb. parallel, less likely < Cush. as Leslau asserts, while E. Cush. Saho Afar *dabeèla* '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 naître' (BK 1 662), Har. *däbāy* '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-ččа* '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. *ǯVʔVb- 'kind of predator', v. in SED II No. 72). <> W. Chad. Hausa *tȁkàli* 'a variety of grasshopper' vs. Afras. *tVk^{w}(-an)- 'kind of insect' (in *k^{w}Vt(t)ān- ~ *tuk^{w}ān- // *kut(t)ān- ~ *tukān- 'bug' SED II No. 122; v. in -*Vr* Animal names). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *ŋàrākilo* vs. Dangla *ŋārko*, Migama *ŋàṛȁkù* 'grue couronnée' < Afras.? Cf. Sem.: Akk. *urnīḳu* 'Kranich?', Arb. *ɣirnīḳ-*, *ɣurnūḳ-*, etc. 'grue' (v. in *ɣVrnīḳ- 'crane' SED II 91). <> E. Chad. Kera *tókórlé* 'Rebhuhn' (Eb 125) vs. Dangla *tòòkrò* 'oiseau (petit barbu)' (Fedry 168), Tumak *dɔ̀kɔ̀ṛīyà* '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. *waʕl- 'k. of goat, gazelle': Sem. *waʕl- '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 *ʕawl-* 'Soemmering's Gazelle', Rendille *ḥoól* 'gazelle' (both < *ʕawVl- with metathesis), Sidamo *wilii'l-icco* 'young (of sheep, goat)' vs. Afras. *waʕ- 'goat': Egyp. OK *wʕ-ty* 'Ziege', W. Chad. Bokkos Daffa-Butura *wòʔ* 'Ziegenbock', C. Chad. Mbara *wàháy* 'chèvre', N. Cush. Beja *weeyu* 'ibex' (v. in *waʕl- 'ibex' SED II No. 244).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *kiṣallu*, *kiṣillu*, *kisallu*, *kisillu* 'ankle bone' (<*ḳiṣa/illu) vs. *ḳ(^{w})Vyṣ-, *ḳ(^{w})Vṣṣ- (cf. SED I No. 172 with a different interpretation): Arb. *ḳaṣāṣ-*, *ḳuṣāṣ-*, *ḳiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *ḳaṣīṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *ḳaṣṣ-*, *ḳuṣaṣ-* id., Gez. *ḳ^{w}əyṣ*, *ḳ^{w}əṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', Gye. *ḳəṭəyä* 'joint of foot', Soq. *míḳṣeh* 'articulation, falangue', etc. [] Hbr.-Arm. *ḳVrsul-: Hbr. *ḳarsullayim* (dual) 'ankles', Jud. *ḳarsullā*, *ḳarsūlā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḳurṣəlā* 'talus; ala, axilla' (cf. also Soq. *kárṭɔlləh* 'mollet', a variant root) vs. Sem. *ḳarsaw-: Tgr. *ḳarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḳərša*, Gog. Sod. *ənḳərša* 'ankle', Mhr. *ḳərṣā́t* 'kneecap' (otherwise <*ḳVrṣal) in *ḳVrs/ṣ(-ull)- 'ankle' SED I No. 169. [] Syr. *puršālā* '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. *ḥiskilat-āni* 'les testicules' (dual) vs. Soq. *ḥošk* 'vulve' (v. in *ʔi/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. *ǯablat-*, *ǯublat-* 'bosse du chameau' vs. *ǯabab-* '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. *šəfäl*, Arg. *šəffäl* 'eyebrow' vs. Amh. *šəfašəft*, Tna *šifašəfti* 'eyebrow'

<*ŝV(ʕ)p-at- '(tuft of) hair': Arb. *šaʕfat-* 'mèche de cheveux, tupet, cheveux', Hrs. *ŝafēt* 'hair', etc. (SED I No. 259). [] Sem. **ŝimaʔl-* 'left hand (side)': Akk. *šumēlu*, Arb. *šimāl-*, Jib. *ŝəmlēt*, etc. (and metathetic Sab. *h-s₂ʔml* 'to be northward (?)', Min. *s₂ʔml-s₁* 'vers le nord'), likely < Afras.: Brb. **a-zəlmaḍ* 'left' (Ahaggar *ahelmaḍ* Fouc 595, Qabyle *azelmaḍ* Dal 944, etc.), supposedly < **a-zəlmaʔ-t* <*-*ĉilmaʔ-t*, metathetically related to Sem. **ŝimaʔl-* vs. **ŝaʔm-* 'left': Arb. *šaʔmat-* 'côté gauche', Sab. *s₂ʔm* 'North', Min. *s₂ʔm* 'nord', Jib. *ŝĩn* 'gauche' (<**ŝimn* influenced, according to LS 64, by *ĩn* 'droite'); v. in SED I No. 264. [] Sem. **š/suḳl-* 'leg, thigh; elbow' (SED I No. 242): Arb. *suḳl-* 'flancs, hypocondres', *ṣuḳl-*, *ṣuḳlat-*, *ṣaḳlat-* id., Tgr. *ç̌ənḳəlit* 'coude', Amh. *ç̌əḳəll*, Zw. *ç̌ïḳile* 'elbow', Soq. *suḳal* 'pied' vs. **šāḳ-* 'leg bones (thigh-, splint- and shinbone)' (SED I No. 241): Akk. *sīḳu* 'lap, thigh', Ugr. *šḳ* 'thigh', Hbr. *šōḳ* 'Schenkel, Wadenbein', Bib. *šāḳōhī* (du. suff.) 'shin, leg', Jud. *šāḳā*, *šaḳḳā*, *šōḳā* 'joint, leg, foreleg', Syr. *šāḳā* 'femur, crus', Mnd. *šaḳa* 'limb, leg, shin', Arb. *sāḳ-* 'jambe, tibia', Tgr. *səḳuḳa* 'forearm, lower part of the leg' < Afras. **saḳ-*: W. Chad: Bolewa Ngamo *šɛkɛ* 'leg' (CLR 220), Sha *səkaʕù* 'Bein, Fuss' (Jung R 288), C. Chad.: Muktele *šík*, Mafa *sâk* 'leg' (CLR 221), Masa *sok* 'bone' (ibid. 37). [] Sem. **gVd(V)l-* 'limb' (SED I No. 73): Hbr. pB. *gūdāl*, *ʔăgūdāl* 'thumb, great toe' (otherwise <*gādal* 'to be high, large'), Arb. *ǯadl-*, *ǯidl-* 'membre quelconque du corps; verge, penis; tendon (des mains ou des jambes); os entier, non facturé', Mhr. *gēdəl* (*gədə́wwəl*, *ḥəgdōl*), Hrs. *gédel*, Jib. *gɛ́dəl* '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. *tfɔl* (cf. also Hbr. *tāpēl* 'something unsalted, insipid, dull', *tpl* 'to utter stupidity, speak foolishly') vs. **tpp* 'to spit' (SED I No. 72): Hbr. *tōpät* '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. **ḳa(w)ḥil- ~ *ʔVn-ḳulaliḥ-* 'egg' (SED I No. 170): Tna. *ʔənḳulaliḥ*, Amh. *ənḳʷəlal*, Mhr. *ḳáwḥəl*, etc. vs. Eth. **ʔan-ḳʷaḳʷVḥ-*: Gez. *ʔanḳoḳʷəḥ/ho*, Tgr. *ʔənḳoḳḥo*, Tna. *ʔənḳʷaḳʷəḥo*, Har. *aḳuḥ*, etc. id. (SED I No. 160) < Afras.: (?) N. Cush. Beja *kʷáhi* (RBeḍ 137; < **ḳʷaḥ-* or **kʷaḥ-*), E. Cush. Oromo *hanqāqū/ō* (Gr 200; <**ḥanḳaḳʷ-* with metathesis?), S. Cush. Maʔa *ḫoḫoha*, *ikokoha* (<*-*ḳVḥḳVḥ-*), Iraqw *qânḥi* (HRSC 253). <> S. Omot. Dime *kəsil*, Ari *kasel* 'tooth', Ongota *káasala* 'molar' (Bla Omot No. 90.3; E. Cush. Tsamai *káasala* '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 *ūkš-ən* 'teeth', N. Cush. Beja *kōs* 'tooth', S. Cush. Qwadza *koʔosi-ko* 'molar' (Bla Om No. 90.3). <> Cush. **ḳV(n)ṭal-* 'sexual parts': N. Cush. Beja *kanṭal* 'penis' (Bla Beḍ 61), S. Cush. Qwadza *ḳucalu* 'clitoris' (ibid. after Ehret; likely also C. Cush. Khamir *qʷacel* 'scrotum' ibid., though *-c-* < *-ṭ-* is difficult), probably < Afras. **ḳʷa(n)ṭal-*: W. Chad. Hausa *ḳwàlàtái* 'testicles' (Abr Hs 539; metathesis <**ḳʷalaṭ-*?), vs. Afras. **ḳV(n)ṭ/d-* 'sexual parts' (v. in *-Vr* Anatomy).

Varia:

[] Akk. *amšali* (also *šamšali*, likely by contamination with *šamš-* 'the sun') 'yesterday' OB, Mari, SB (CAD A_2 79-); *l* in Akk. is usually explained by analogy with *timāli* 'yesterday' (v. in *ʔV-* Varia), attested, however, in later texts, v. CAD A_2 79) vs. *amšat* SB id. ("probably...a scribal error" ibid.), *mūšu* 'night' (ibid. M_2 291), v. in *ʔV-* Varia. [] S. Eth. Amh. *(tä)gʷäbbälä*, Har. *(tä)gēbäla* 'to sit down', Wol. *(tä)gobälä*, Sel. *(tä)gōbälä* 'to sit (down), ride' (LGur 256) vs. Amh. *gʷəbb alä*, Har. *(tä)gēba* 'to sit down', Zw. *(tä)gūbī* 'to sit down, ride' (ibid.; Leslau wonders whether Amh. *gʷəbb alä* is in any connection with the Zw. form and regards Har. *(tä)gēba* as an abbreviated form from *(tä)gēbäla* while the three forms quoted could hardly "lose" the Auslaut *-l* independently from each other) < Sem.? Cf. Arb. *ǯbw* 'se jeter la face contre terre, se prosterner' (BK 1 251). [] Sem. **ɣarpal-* 'cloud, mist': Ugr. *ɣrpl* 'nube, nubarrón' (DLU 160), Hbr. *ʕărāpäl* 'thick darkness' (HAL 888), Jud. *ʕarpillā* 'cloud, spray, mist' (Ja 1123), Syr. *ʕarpellā* 'vapor, nubes' (Brock 549), etc. vs. Sem. **ʕ/ɣVrp-* 'cloud, rain': Akk. *erpetu* 'cloud' (CAD *E* 302), Ugr. *ʕrpt* 'nube' (DLU 90), Hbr. *ʕrp* 'to drip' (HAL 887), Arb. *ɣarrāf-* '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. *ǯdl* 'grandir, grossir' (BK 1 265), etc. < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. **digal-* (met.?): Kilba *dǔ̀gōlù* (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$^{(w)}$al-* 'corn; beans': Sem. Tgr. *ʔädängäl* 'bean(s)' (LH 384; < C. Cush. Bilin? Cf., however, Tgr. *ʔädäggäla, däggäla* poet., Tna. *däggäla* 'a sort of corn growing wild; *Eleusine aegyptiaca*' LH 385; cf. also Har. *dāngulle* 'pea' LH 1963 57 < Oromo), Gez. *dəlg^{w}əmmā* 'porridge', Amh. *dälg^{w}äm* 'a variety of sorghum' (LGz 131; < **dalg^{w}-am-* with metathesis), W. Chad. Karekare *dàgwàlò* 'gruel' (Kr I 62), C. Chad. Mada *édìŋgèl* 'tige de mil (dont on a coupé l'épi)' (BB 93), E. Chad. Migama *dágàláàwé* 'noix de palmeir doum' (Jung Mig 76; metathetic <**dagwal-*), C. Cush. Bilin *adäng^{w}al* 'Bohne' (RBil 15), E. Cush. Oromo *dāngulle* 'bean' (LGur 17) vs. Afras. **da/ing^{w}-* 'kind of beans; corn' (v. above in –*(V)r* Varia). <> Afras. **gambVl-* 'black': E. Chad. Mokilko *gâmmìlí, gâmḿìlí* (Jung Mkk 99), E. Cush. Bayso *ka-gamballi* (Hay Bai 120) vs. E. Cush. **gumb-* id.: Gawwada *kummay* (AMS 266), Tsamai *gumma* (SLLE 4), Yaaku *-kumpuʔ* (Hei Ya 121).

-Vb

Animal names:

[] Jud. *ʕarṣubyā* 'a species of locusts' vs. **ʕVrṣ̂-* 'kind of insect': Arb. *ʕirḍ-* 'nuée de sauterelles', Tgr. *ʕarṣat, ʕarṣätit* 'termites' (SED II No. 38). [] Jud. *karzəbā, karzubbā* 'a species of locusts' vs. *kərāzā* 'name of two species of winged locusts', Gez. *k^{w}arāzi* 'ant' (<**k^{w}araz-* // **karaz-* 'kind of insect' SED II No. 119). [] Jud. *ʕakšəbōnītā* 'name of a disease, prob. wound from a spider's bite' (cf. also Hbr. *ʕakšūb* 'horned viper (or adder)' and Dem. Arm. *ʕkšb* 'viper') vs. Arb. *ʕukkāš-* 'araignée; toile d'araignée' (v. in SED II No. 33). [] Tgr. *sosänab* '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^{w}ərʕob, ḳ^{w}ärʕob* (and *ʕənḳ^{w}ərʕob, ʕənəḳ^{w}ərʕob*) vs. *ḳ^{w}ərʕo, ḳurʕo, ḳ^{w}ärʕo* in **ḳVr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] Sem. **ṯaʕlab-* 'fox': Akk. *šēlebu*, Arb. *ṯaʕlab-* (pl. *ṯaʕāli^{n}*), very likely < Afras. **čVʕlVb-*: C. Chad. Musgu *čičèlebe* 'jackal', E. Chad. Mokilko *sùllíbè* 'kind of wolf' vs. Sem. **ṯVʕl-* 'fox': Hbr. *šūʕāl*, Syr. *taʕlā*, Arb. *ṯuʕāl-*, Mhr. *yəṯáyl*, etc. (SED II No. 237). [] Sem. **ʕankab(īṯ)-*'spider': Hbr. *ʕakkābīš*, Jud. *ʕakkōbītā*, Arb. *ʕankab-*, Jib. *ʕənšyɛ́t* (pl. *ʕonókub*) id. vs. Eth. **ʕa(n)k-*: Tgr. *ʕako* 'spider', Tna. *ʕəkk^{w}ät, ʕəkkot* 'a kind of very poisonous wasp', Gez. *ʕakot* (*ʔakot*) 'small locust, dog-fly, wasp', Amh. *anko* 'young locust' (SED II No. 33). [] Sem. **g^{w}a(n)dab-* // **ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust': Arb. *ǯandab-, ǯundub-* 'espèce de sauterelle', Tna. *g^{w}ädäbä* 'a kind of harmless grasshopper' vs. **gV(n)d-* with different extensions; v. SED II No. 80. [] Sem. **ɣārib-* ~ **ɣurăb-* 'crow, raven': Hbr. *ʕōrēb*, Arb. *ɣurāb-*, Jib. *ʔaɣəréb*, etc. (perhaps < Afras.: E. Cush. Burji *gurruba*, Dullay **ḳ/kurrub-* 'crow') vs. Afras. **ɣ^{w}ar-* 'raven, crow': Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *a-ɣrut* 'corbeau', W. Chad. Sura *gooroo*, E. Chad. Ndam *ʔàgrà* 'crow', S. Cush. Iraqw *ḫwaʔari*, Burunge *ḫwanḫwarariya*, Alagwa *ḫoḫoraʔ*, Maʔa *ihuréʔ, iḫuréʔa* 'crow' (SED II No. 89). [] Sem. **kalb-* 'dog': Akk. *kalbu*, Hbr. *käläb*, Arb. *kalb-*, etc. vs. Afras. **k^{w}Vl-* 'wolf, dog, fox' (v. in *tV-* Animal Names). [] Sem. **ʔa/irbay-* 'locust': Akk. *arabû*, Hbr. *ʔarbā̄*, Soq. *ʔerbhíyoh*, etc. (< Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *ʔárbàtɛ̄́tə̀* 'cricket' SED II No. 11) vs. S. Cush. **ʔuurù* 'locust (sp.)': Alagwa *ʔuurù*, Burunge *ʔuuri* (KM 310), (?) Maʔa *íʔe* '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), Egyp. 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 *ḏánnaḇa* 'female elephant' (EEN 28), *dánnabe* (Tos Dah 132) 'elephant' <**ǯannab-* vs. Afras. **ǯa(Hw)n-*

id.: E. Cush. Sidamo *dāni-ččo*, Hadiya *dānē-ččo*, Qabenna *zänő*, Kambatta *zanő*, etc. (LSid 400), C. Cush. Bilin *ǯānā*, Khamir *zo̱hón*, etc. (Bla Eleph 199), W. Chad. Ngizim *ǯàunàk*, C. Chad. Tera *ǯùwàn* (CLR 124), Fali-Jilvu *ǯùʔwùni*, E. Chad. Nanchere *ǯenaʔ*, Kabalai *ǯuno*, etc. (Bla Eleph 200). <> N. Omot. Sheko *goržube* 'lizard' (cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *gírzìbó* 'varan') vs. *góržu* 'gecko' (v. in SED II 182).

Anatomy:

[] Afras. **garab-* 'stomach, belly': Sem. Arb. *ǯurǯub-*, *ǯurǯubān-* 'ventre', Sab. *grb*, Tgr. *gärob* 'body', W. Chad. Miya *garabu* 'chest', E. Chad. Tumak *būròōg* 'stomach' (met.), C. Chad. Mandara *broguè* 'intestines' (met.), E. Cush. Saho Afar *garbā́* 'Bauch, Magen, Eingeweide, Herz', Oromo *gäräba* 'big stomach of ruminants', N. Omot. Janjero *garba* 'belly' (Bnd Om 159), etc. (v. in **gVrVb-* SED II No. 90) vs. Afras. **gVraʔ-* 'stomach, belly': Arb. *ǯirrīʔat-*, *ǯirriyyat-* 'gésier (chez certains oiseaux), estomac (d'oiseau)' (BK 1 272), Brb. Siwa *ǯar* 'ventre' (Lao 309), E. Chad. Migama *gùr-mùḍù* '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*, *ǯir*, Qwara *ǯir* 'Darm, Eingeweide' (RBil 158), E. Cush. Oromo *garaa* 'stomach, heart, mind' (Gr 167), Arbore *geréʔ* 'belly, abdomen' (Hay Arb 360), Dasenech *geer-e* 'stomach, belly, womb, interior' (Tos Das 499), S. Cush. Iraqw Gorowa *guraʔ*, Alagwa Burunge *guraʔa* 'belly' (KM 122). [] Sem. **ḳʷirb-at-* 'skin, leather bag': Arb. *ḳirbat-* 'grande outre à lait ou à eau faite d'une seule peau' (BK 2 704), Gez. *ḳʷərbābit* 'leather bag' (LGz 440), Tna. *ḳorbät* 'skin, hide, bark, rind, peel' (K Tna 941), Amh. *ḳorbät* 'peau, cuir' (Baet 379), probably < Afras. **ḳʷi/arab-* 'bark, skin': N. Omot. Male *ḳurubi* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67) and perhaps E. Chad. forms (v. in the following entry) vs. Afras. **ḳʷar-* 'bark, shell': W. Chad. Hausa *ḳwáryà* 'shell of a tortoise' (Barg 692), N. Omot. Oyda *ḳuuro*, Basketo *ḳura*, Male *ḳuru* (Bnd Om 54), Shinasha *ḳòoḳirà* (ibid. 158) 'bark'. <> Cush. **kurb-* 'skin, bark': N. Cush. Beja *kŭ́rbe* 'Haut' (RBeḍ 145), C. Cush. Khamta *kerbir* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67), Qwara *kōrbē* 'Haut, Leder' (RQua 86) < Afras. if E. Chad. forms (Kwan *kābárōw*, Sumrai *kàbàráw* 'bark' CLR 9) are metathetic < **kVrbVw-* (otherwise < **ḳVrbaw-*, 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. Paʔa *kurri*, Kiir *kwār*, Buli *kuur* 'skin' (CLR 296), Geji *kūr*, Barawa *kūru*, *kwor*, Sayanchi *kùrahi*, Tule *kàkə̀-kərèe* 'bark' (ADB), E. Chad. Dangla *kɔ̂r-ke* (?), Birgit *kùrŏ́rò* 'egg-shell' (?), E. Cush. Yaaku *hreke* 'skin' (Hei Ya 133), S. Cush. Iraqw *kaahari* 'skin', Alagwa *kaari*, *kahari* 'skin, hide', Burunge *kaariya* 'sheep's hide' (KM 169-70; in spite of Gorowa *kaahari* 'dried cow hide', hardly < **kahar* 'dry' < **kah* '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 *kaahaar* 'dry'). <> Afras. **gʷaǯab-* 'stomach, internal organ': Sem. Arb. *ǯiḏāb-* 'moelle du palmier' (BK 1 268, with a meaning shift?), W. Chad. Hausa *gáǯèbā* (also *gidibì*) 'kidneys' (Barg 347), (?) C. Chad. Gidar *gədəf* 'belly' (CLR 21; **-b* devoiced into *-f* in Auslaut?), E. Cush. Hadiya *gódabo*, Sidamo *godobá*, Kambatta *gʷɔdeeba*, etc. 'belly' (HEC 26) vs. Afras. **gʷaǯ-* 'stomach, intestines': Brb. **-gazaw-* (Ghat *te-ǯahu-t* 'estomag, ventre', Ahaggar *tă-gəhu-t* 'panse, intérieur du ventre', E. Tawllemmet *te-găzăw-t* 'panse des ruminants' DRB 927), W. Chad. Hausa *gùǯīyā́* 'an internal organ in a bird' (Barg 405), E. Chad. Ndam *gūǯ*, Kera *gìidə̀* 'belly' (CLR 21), C. Cush. **gʷaz(gʷaz)-* 'stomach' (Bilin *gʷädə* , Khamir *gəzu*, Kemant *gʷäzgʷə*, Aungi *gʷəzəg* (Appl IC 46), E. Cush. Afar *gŭdḗ* 'Mitte, Inneres, Bauch, Leib' (RAf 848). <> Cush.-Omot. **ʕʔr(n)ab-* ~ **ʕʔ(n)rab-* 'tongue' (note *-b* in pl. Dasenech and Yaaku which is hardly accidental): E. Cush. Saho *anrā́b*, Afar *arrabā́* (RSa 40), Dasenech pl. *ʔerb-u* (Tos Das 480), Somali *ʕárrab*, Rendille *ḥarrab*, Boni *arub*, Oromo *arraba*, Elmolo *ʔɛrrɛb*, Sidamo Darasa *arraba*, Hadiya *allaabo*, Burji *arraba*, Gawwada *arrap-ko*, Yaaku pl. *ɛrɛpa* (PEC 23), N. Omot. Dizi *ʔɛrib* (Bnd Om 218) 'tongue' vs. Afras. **ʕʔr(n)ay-* ~ **ʕʔV(r)n-* id.: W. Chad. (?) Hausa *yàrḗ* 'any language which one does not understand' (Barg 1109), C. Chad. Higi-Nkafa *anɛ*, Mofu *ʔərné*, Gisiga *ʔirne*, Mandara *aara*, *nárà* (met.) 'tongue' (CLR 328-9), E. Cush. Somali *éray* 'word' (Abr Som 74), Dasenech *ʔére* (Tos Das 481), Yaaku *ɛrɛ* (PEC 480), S. Cush. Dahalo *ʕééna* (EEN 13), N. Omot. Malo *ʔirin-c* (Bnd Om 25), Doko *eren-*

çā (ibid. 63), Anfillo *erii-co*, *ʔere-čō* (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.-Omotic? Cf. N. Omot. Shinasha *gubrà* id. Lmb Sh 306, with metathesis?) vs. C. Cush. Khamir *giyùr*, Waag *gerím* (?) id. <Afras. **(ʕi-n)gur(gur)-* 'knee, foot': Sem. **ʕi(n)gi/ur-* 'foot' (Syr. Arb. *ʕižər*, Daṯ. Arb. *ʕiǯr*, Gez. *ʔəgr*, Har. *igir*, *ingir*, etc. SED II No. 7), W. Chad. Warji *ŋgàrái*, C. Chad. Zime-Dari *gore*, E. Chad. Lele *gàrmà* 'foot' (CLR 220-21), Kera *gəgər* '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^{w}il(V)b-* 'knee': E. Chad. Sokoro *bógolō* 'ankle' (Luk ZS 45; met.), C. Cush. Dembea *gŭlbē* (RBil 159; or < **girb-*? See previous entry), E. Cush. Saho Afar *gŭlŭ́b*, Somali *ǯilib*, Oromo *ǯilba* (ibid.), Konso *hilpa*, *kilpa*, Bayso *gilib*, Burji *gilba*, Hadiya *gurubbo* (<**gulubb-*), Sidamo *gulube*, Gawwada *kilpay-(ho)*, Tsamai *gilib-ko* (PEC 18), Dahalo (pl.) *gíllibe* (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. *gulbət*, 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 *gilbətò* (ibid. 58), S. Omot. Ari *gulbé* (ibid. 212), Ongota *gibila*, *giliba* (Fl Ong 51) vs. Afras. **g^{w}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 *ŋuluet*, Dahalo *gilli* 'knee' (Tos Dah 134). <> S. Omot. Hamar *təróḃó*, *tɔrɔbɔ* '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 *tírā*, Hadiya *tiroo*, Gawwada *tire*, etc. 'liver' (Dolg 1973 203), S. Cush. Maʔa *tirao* 'liver' (HRSC 387).

Varia:

[] Soq. *ḍuʕob* 'mordre' (LS 363) vs. Arb. *ḍɣḍɣ* 'mâcher, broyer avec les mâchoires' (BK 2 29), *ḍɣm* 'mordre, saisir avec la bouche' (ibid.), *ḍɣt* 'mâcher, broyer légèrement avec les dents' (ibid. 28). [] Eth. **g^{w}db* 'to cut' (LGz 181; otherwise to be treated as a variant root of **gdm*, v. *ibid*.): Gez. *g^{w}adaba* 'to cut with an axe, dig a ditch', *g^{w}ədb*, Tgr. *gədəb* 'axe', Tna *gädäbä* 'to cut', Amh. *g^{w}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. *ǯdd* '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). [] 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. **krr/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', Daṯ. *darraba* 'entourer d'un mur' (DRS 307), Mhr. *darb* 'village street; yard' (JM 73), Jib. *dɛrb* 'village street; unroofed enclosure, yard' (JJ 40; both MSA forms look as Arabisms, note, however, partial differences in meaning), Brb. Ayr *ăbarid*, Ghadames Qabyle *abrid*, etc. 'chemin, route' (DRB 100; met.), N. Cush. Beja *derḗb*, 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-dàrù* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *dèrʌ̄ū* 'to go' (CLR 162) E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

-Vk

Animal names:

<> W. Chad. Ngizim *ʒàunàk* 'elephant' (CLR 124) vs. Afras. **ǯa(Hw)n-* id. (v. in *-Vb* Animal names). <> E. Cush. Saho Afar *lubā́k* 'lion' vs. Sem. **labVʔ-* 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*labʔu*, etc.) 'lion', Arb. *labuʔat-*, *labwat-* 'lionne', etc. (SED II No. 144).

Anatomy:

[] Sem. **bi/ark-* 'knee': Akk. *birku*, Hbr. *bäräk*, etc. (SED I No. 39) < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Mburku *vərka cəma* 'foot' (CLR 220; *vərka* < **bVrk-*? Cf. Siri *cùmà* 'leg' ibid.), C. Chad. Mofu *pápərakw* 'patte' (Bar 219), Gisiga *poporok* 'knee' (CLR 215; <**babarak*?), E. Cush. Yaaku *loipurukuçi* (Hei Ya 128; composed of *loi-porokuçi* <**-porokuki* <**borok-*?) vs. **(ʔi-)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-bərəm*, Karekare *bɛ̀ràsù* (CLR 214), Galambu *bùbur* (Sch BT 82), C. Chad. Bachama *m̀bwàrà* 'leg' (CLR 221), Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), Paduko *bə́rna* 'knee' (CLR 215), Gude *bùurá* 'elbow' (Hos 164), Zime-Batna *ḅūrù* 'marcher sur les genoux' (Cooper 3), E. Chad. Mokilko *ʔòbbírà* '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), Egyp. MK *wʕr-t* 'Bein' (EG I 287), W. Chad. Mburku *wīrin*, 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 uppper side of leg, thigh' (MQK 113), Burunge *ʔuuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310). <> W. Chad. Chip *fəlɔ̀k* 'liver' (Kr I 39), Sura *fə̀lɔ̀k* (Jung Sura 213), Mupun *flòk*, *fùlfùk* (Fr Mup 87) 'lungs' vs. Ankwe *fələ̀* 'liver' (Kr I 51), *fílɪ́l* 'lungs' (ibid.), C. Chad. Bachama *fàfulàwɛy* 'lungs' (Kr III 66) < Afras. *(ʔ/ʕa-)fal-* 'liver, lungs, stomach': Sem. Soq. *ʕefelóti* (dual) 'estomac' (LS 319), E. Cush. Sidamo *affale*, Burji *affala*, Kambatta *afali-ta*, Hadiya *afére* (<**Hafal-*) 'liver' (HEC 93). <> W. Chad. **ti/uk-* 'belly': Hausa *číkī* <**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 *bàkī*, Dera *bwɔ́ɔ́k*, E. Chad. Dangla *ḅiykíko* (CLR 244-5) vs. **biw/y-* id.: Dera *bwɔ́*, Karekare *bòò*, Jimi *bi*, Tule *biyì*, etc., E. Chad. Sumrai *bi*, Migama *bī́*, Jegu *bɛ̀tó*, C. Chad. Nzangi *bōá* (ibid.). <> C. Cush. Bilin *läbākā́*, Dembea Qwara *läbakā* 'Herz' (RBil 251) vs. Afras. **lVb-* 'heart' (v. in Bla SED 503-4, where all the comparisons are convincing except Brb. **luHi*, which, together with S. Omot. Hamar *wɔ̄yləm* and probably Ongota *ləəta* 'heart', go back to Afras. **wVli(m)-*): Sem. Akk. *libbu*, Arb. *lubb-*, etc. (SED II No. 174), Egyp. Pyr. *ib* (EG I 59), N. Cush. Beja *lɛw* 'pylorus' (Roper 213; otherwise < **lVw-*, met. < **wVl-*, v. above), E. Cush. (perhaps < Eth.) Afar *lùbbi* (PH 156), Oromo *lubbuu* 'soul, spirit' (Gr 267), etc. <> C. Cush. Bilin *nabakā́* 'Mitte' (RBil 280) vs. Qwara *nabeow* 'middle (adj.)', *nabea* 'centre' (RQua 104; according to Reinisch, < *näbē* 'spalten' which seems to me less probable), Dembea *nabēā* 'middle (adj.)' (ibid.), likely < Afras. **nVb-* 'heart' (a variant root of **lVb-*?): C. Chad. Daba *nùv* 'heart' (Kr III 156; cf. *lìḅi* '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) *ɔ̌škɛ* (ibid. 276) vs. **ʔač-* id.: Gofa *ašo*, Chara *ačča*, Koyra *ʔáččo*, Gimirra *ač*, Mao (Sezo) *ɔ̌ssi*, *ʔɔ̌s* (ibid. 20, 59, 90, 169, 169, 276), S. Omot. Ongota *čata* (<**ča-t-*?) 'meat' < Afras. **čaʔw-* ~ 'small cattle; meat' (v. **ṯaʔ(w/y)-at-* 'ewe' SED II No. 236): Sem. **ṯaʔ(w/y)-at-* 'ewe' (Ugr. *ṯʔat*, Arb. *ṯaʔwat-*, etc.), W. Chad. Kirfi *wüči* 'sheep' (met.), E. Chad. Kwang

čùwī 'goat', E. Cush. Somali *soʔ*, Oromo *foo-ni* (Oromo *f-* implies **č-*), Bussa *soʔ-o*, Dasenech *so*, Gidole *soʔ-ha* 'meat' (PEC 50). <> Afras. **ḥark-* 'limb, arm': Sem. Arb. *ḥarkakat-* 'haut de la hanche' (BK 1 413; cf. Jib. *ḥarkùn* 'lame, broken-legged' JJ 115), W. Chad. Dera *árə̀k* 'hand' (CLR 178), N. Cush. Beja *hárka, hérka* 'Arm, Oberarm, Schulter, Achsel' (RBeḍ 126), E. Cush. Oromo *harka* 'hand' (Gr 202), Konso *harka* id. (Black 297), Gawwada *ḥarkó*, Tsamai *harko* 'hand' (SLLE 7), S. Cush. Maʔa *iharega* 'arm' (HRSC 387) vs. Afras. **ḥar-* 'arm, hand': C. Chad. **Har-* 'arm, hand': Tera *ḫar*, Ngweshe *ḫárà*, Mofu *hár* 'hand' (CLR 178-9), etc., E. Cush. Saho *harā́* '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. *däräk*, 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 *tă-fuk*, Zenaga *tu-fuk-t* 'soleil' (DRB 547-8) vs. Ghadames *t-ūfə-t* 'soleil, éclat du soleil, lumière solaire' (Lan 86), Ahaggar *tă-ffaw-t* 'clarté crépusculaire', *ufu, ifaw* 'commencer à faire clair (jour) pour', Ayr *ifu* 'faire jour pour', Iznaṣen *t-faw-t* 'lumière (d'une lampe, du soleil)', etc. (DRB 675-7) < Afras. **yafaw-* 'sunlight: W. Chad. Warji *fei*, Kariya *áfài*, 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 *tă-fərk-it* 'morceau d'écorce d'arbre sèche', Ntifa *ti-ferk-it* 'écorce d'un arbre; peau d'un animal', Zenage *ta-ferki* 'écorce', etc. (DRB 626), E. Chad. Kera *fékré* (met.) 'hard shell (of a nut)', Mokilko *pákìr-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 *fùfûr* '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. **di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp': Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib^{w}ara* (in *dib^{w}ara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., probably < Afras.: W. Chad. Ngamo *nḍəbùrô* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dəvùrə̀ŋá* 'sausage fly', (?) Fali-Bwagira *dəvùř-ŋən* 'termite; anthill' vs. Afras. **dVb-* 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *daba^{n}* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis', W. Chad. Dera *díḥín, díwín* 'fly', Jimbin *duba*, C. Chad. Lame *daḥ, dəḥai*, E. Chad. Mokilko *díbé* 'termite', Migama *díibídíibí* 'termite ailé (grand, rouge)', Kera *ádə̀bdə̀bə̀* '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. *ḏebēr*, Mhr. *ḏəbēr*, Jib. *ɛḏbir* 'hornet, fly' (perhaps also Soq. *édbehir* 'abeille') and, probably, Brb. (if *-z-* is <**ǯ* and not **ʒ*) Ahaggar *ăzənbîbər* 'esp. de de coléoptères' (4 cm long), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *əzəbbenbər* 'bubreste' < Afras. **ǯVbir-* (v. in **di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Mhr.

ḏəbbēt, Hrs. *ḏebbēt*, Jib. *ḏəbbɔ́t*, Soq. *ʔedbíboh* 'fly' < Afras. **ǯib(a)b-* 'kind of flying insect': Brb. Ghat *a-zəb*(*b*), Ahaggar *a-həb*, Ayr *e-zəb*, *izbəb*, E. Wlm. *i-zəbb*, Taneslemt *i-zəbb*, *a-šəbb*, *a-šbəb* 'mouche plate', Izayan *izeḇ* 'mouche de cheval', W. Chad. Hausa *ǯíḥā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *zɛboa* 'bee', C. Chad. Bura *ǯeba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *žiḥi*, Bata *ǯḗbi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʔǯímbè* 'bee, honey', E. Cush. Tsamai *zubaʔee* 'ant' (in **ḏVb*(*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. *zənbi*, 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 *zàḥà* 'termite' <**ǯaHb-* (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. **ŝ*$_{(x)}$*nzr-* 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', **ŝ*$_{(x)}$*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', *sänzärä* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sänzärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *ŝɛzər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hâzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *ŝɛzr*, (C.) *ŝɛ́zər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šézir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizû* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD $Š_3$ 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. *sṭr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *sṭr* (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 *sabarǵ* (pl. *sáfal*) 'Schlangensorte, Art von Boa', Khamir *sibrǵ* (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. *šīḇa*, End. *šñwä* 'kind of worm', Hrs. *šebšebēt* 'small red worm, centipede', Mhr. *šəbšīb*, E. Jib. *šəbšéb* 'red waterworm' < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *sùbó* '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 quadriliteral 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. **brṣḳ* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bärčäḳä* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərčəḳčəḳ bäl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tän/mboraččäḳä* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. **bṣḳ* 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bṣḳ* '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. **garmīdā*: Jud. *garmīdā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ūrmīdā, gūrmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmäd* '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 triliteral root without **-r-* denoting a smaller object ('nose'):

Sem. **ḫarṭūm- ~ *ḫurṭimm-* 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 137): Akk. *ḫuṭṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (*-ṭṭ* -< **-rt-*?), Hbr. pB. *ḥarṭōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *ḥarṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephanti)', Mnd. *ḥarṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *ḫurṭum-, ḫurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'élephant, etc.' vs. **ḫu/aṭm-* 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḫṭm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥuṭmā* id., Arb. *ḫaṭm-* '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/ṣ(-ull)-* 'ankle' (cf. 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. *ḳərṣā̆t* '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', *ḳaṣīṣ-* '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', Gyeto *ḳəṭəyä* 'joint of foot', Soq. *míḳṣeh* '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. **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. *kərāʕayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *karʕā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *kərāʕā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *kurāʕ-* '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. *kərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *kərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuruʔ* 'cubit, arm', Selti *kəre*, Wolane *həri*, Zway *hərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *kərrä* 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'.

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