Once more about glottochronology and the comparative method: the Omotic-Afrasian case

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"The large Data Base (76 pages)... can be used to check on my analyses or conclusions or to make some of your own. The cognate decisions are based on my best knowledge of Afroasiatic... I believe that most of the proposed cognations are accurate. Like Joe Greenberg I think you can look at an assemblage of data like this for 36 languages for an hour or so and reach rough and ready conclusions about classification."

"How does a reconstruction prove something?... Or what do we know about the validity of a language classification after a reconstruction that we didn't know before the reconstruction? Can reconstruction or the statement of "sound laws" take place in the absence of the original etymologies of the original classification? Is reconstruction anything else than a way of spelling out or elaborating on the original etymologies? Finally, can a poor, lousy or otherwise inadequate reconstruction - such as recent ones in Afrasian - really be a valid test of a genetic relationship?"

"What I am opposing is the sweeping over-simplification of our work called proof by reconstruction. It is basically an Indo-Europeanist invention... and a dogma held by Russian historical linguists long after its usefulness had expired."

"...there were independent centers of inquiry which did not automatically genuflect before Indo-Europeanismus... back in the 1950s there was a strong and healthy Americanist tradition, in which Kroeber, Sapir, Swadesh and Greenberg participated... How much of that progress do you think they would have made if they had been brain-washed in I-E theory and methods, like the current generation of timid souls?"

"Sergei (Starostin - A. M.) seemed to lack a distinction between lexicostatistics and glottochronology; they are like Siamese twins but they have been separated successfully without killing either one - in American thinking. One can be used for sub-classification or internal taxonomy while the other is used for dating... Otherwise you have no control over borrowings and look-alikes..."

"In empirical science testing of or confirmation or rejection of hypotheses are not matters of mathematical proof but rather of confrontations with the data, reality, facts, or whatever you want to call the empirical aspects of things."

"Having gotten 1% or 0% or 0.9% or 1.8% and such like between the extremes of Afrasian, I bore the general conclusion of 'zero to one percent'... As I said several times in Santa Fé, proto-Afrasian is at least 20,000 years old and by one reckoning 30,000 years old."

"...one misjudged cognate scoring can distort results".

"I see you guys heading for a paradigm of shallow prehistory while everything about the whole scene screams "older, older!" at me. So I am bound to argue the point with you. If we are unable to agree, perhaps we can find some tests or natural experiments which can help us resolve these disagreements. In any case we are not in a love affair; this is an affair of the head!"

(Harold Fleming.
Excerpts from Letters to Murray Gell-Mann,
Sergei Starostin, Merritt Ruhlen, Christopher Ehret. 2002)

These letters are formally addressed to other people, not myself. However, they present a challenge not only to the "Russian historical linguists" (or, in other words, to the Moscow "Nostratic" school of distant language relations headed by Sergei Starostin) in general, and to Starostin with his version of glottochronology ("Sergeichronology" as Hal Fleming puts it), in particular, but also to myself, with my Afrasian classification based on this version, my dating proto-Afrasian to the 9-10th millennia and placing the proto-Afrasian homeland in the Levant rather than in Africa. So the present paper is my reply to H. Fleming's letters - a reply to which Hal is obviously calling his opponents.

I

If I chose to abstain from this polemics for years it was not because I did not have any questions to pose to Fleming and some other fellow Afrasianists, but because the answers to these questions seemed too evident. I kept saying to myself: "The Afrasian dictionary of which you were one of the main authors 20-25 years ago was also full of things now unacceptable to you. Other people's approaches that are so different from yours are their own business. You must be grateful for the opportunity to use the invaluable data they collect and publish, while nobody prevents you from

having your own way of seeing and describing things." However, Hal Fleming's letters proved to be the proverbial "last drop". And it was not really because of his criticism of "Russian historical linguists" to whom I have the honor to belong. I appreciate and accept any seriously argumented criticism of my studies regardless of whether it hurts my professional ambitions.

What I am actually opposing, to use Fleming's own formula, is the *over-simplification* of our work, called "method of mass comparison" - a method that disregards reconstruction and sound laws and implies that *like Joe Greenberg you can look at an assemblage of data like this for 36 languages for an hour or so and reach rough and ready conclusions about classification.* I am afraid this approach is shared by many linguists outside old school Indo-Europeanists as well as a small Moscow school currently headed by the addressee of this Festschrift. I am not denying mass comparison as a first rough approximation to classification, but it differs from the established comparative method the way the work of a wood-cutter differs from that of a jeweler. Besides, not everyone can work "like Joe Greenberg". Joe Greenberg had the intuition of a genius, which helped him make his African and Eurasian classifications; but he also had a brilliant knack for making use of such underestimated linguistic phenomena as typology or compatibility of root consonants.

I firmly believe that any research in the area of comparative linguistics or etymology can only be truly successful if one rigorously observes certain principles. In my case, they do not stem from some sophisticated linguistic theory or even from the Indo-Europeanist tradition (my knowledge of which, frankly speaking, is rather vague), but from common sense and more than thirty years of practical work. These principles are as follows:

(1) all the data used for comparison must be well documented, i. e., provided with accurate references to the sources used (I am unfortunate to say that 20 years ago I myself followed that principle rather loosely). This rule is often not observed even in Semitic, to say nothing of Afrasian studies;

(2) toying with isolated etymologies is fun, but it does not allow the etymologist to advance from the level of guesses and hypotheses to that of proof: unlike Fleming, I do believe in reasonable arguments and valid tests in my science - otherwise I would have chosen a different one. Etymologies, except for certain exotic instances, should be based on regular sound correspondences and coherently reconstructed proto-forms, with all the controversial and problematic cases openly evaluated and discussed (the

principle my co-author Leonid Kogan and myself follow in our Semitic Etymological Dictionary); really solid, comprehensive argumentation should be presented in the form of a professionally compiled comparative/etymological dictionary representing the bulk of the compared languages' lexicons;

(3) sound correspondences are reliable only when confirmed by sufficient lexical data; deviant cases must be explained by special rules, and all the phonemes - in the case of Afrasian, primarily consonant phonemes - attested in each individual language must be compared and presented in the tables of sound correspondences;

(4) separation of loanwords from the inherited lexicon is not only indispensable, but must be supported, whenever possible, by precise references to the source words, and explicit argumentation, both linguistic and cultural-historical;

(5) semantic comparison should be at least based on some sort of common sense; the less similar are the compared meanings, the more they need confirmation by other examples of similar meaning shifts;

(6) without observing the above principles no final conclusions can be made either on the genetic classifications and the dating of our proto-languages or on the features of human societies who spoke them and the location of their homelands - all those correlations with archaeology and genetics we are so anxious to establish.

Let us briefly review the Afrasian field outside Semitic. There are practically no works meeting all or even most of the above requirements. There is a more or less accurate reconstruction (subtitled "A First Approximation", regrettably never followed by a second one) of the consonant system of a large language group, containing some 300 proto-forms, where even two thousand would hardly be enough. There is a small group of well-documented languages of crucial importance for whom vocalic correspondences are claimed to have been established while the consonant ones are still obscure; plans to compile a comparative dictionary were reported at least 20 years ago (a year of hard work for a professional, and the only established expert in these languages *is* a professional). At the same time, there is a huge whole-family comparative dictionary full of new and ingenious cognations, but compiled so hastily and carelessly that the main problem of a reader (myself) is to tell incorrect quotations (naturally, with no references) from mistakes and slips. Both in this dictionary and in a more recent etymological dictionary of an ancient language, tables of correspondences contain, instead of reflexes of proto-phonemes in individual

languages, only starred reconstructed phonemes of group/branch proto-languages, which makes them useless for any practical purposes (what use is, say, Agaw *γ if you cannot find anywhere a reliable set of its reflexes either within the Agaw group or outside sustained by sufficient lexical data?).

Another author, one of the most hard-working in the field, includes into his table of correspondences only half of the consonants of Dahalo, the phonetically richest Afrasian language. And the merits of yet another comparative study containing unique data and a good deal of convincing sound correspondences is counterbalanced with improbably sophisticated proto-phonemes and apparently an unbridled imagination of the author who relates the words meaning 'armpit' and 'to thatch roof' ("armpit is a covered area of the body"); 'forest' and 'thirst' ('waterless place, desolation' as the reconstructed proto-meaning); 'woman', 'small' and 'few'; 'to take, marry' and 'thumb'; 'pregnant', 'molar tooth' and 'to spread out'; 'widow' and 'thief' ('to impoverish' as the proto-meaning); 'to sink', 'knee' and 'egg'; 'churning calabash' and 'to know'; 'mane' and 'callus'; 'sugar cane' and 'to be sad'; 'log' and 'old cow'; 'to brand cow', 'God' and 'soot' (with 'to scorch, to sear' as the proto-meaning); 'be, become', 'fresh milk', 'to sprout' and 'God'. Not to mention some of the dictionaries of individual languages with an insane alphabetic ordering of lexemes, where finding a word requires a special investigation, and with many words given no other explanation than 'Ariangulo', 'Bajuni', 'greenbul' or 'large pupa' (what on earth is a *small* pupa, I would like to know?).

However, Fleming's diagnosis of the recent state of reconstruction in Afrasian as "*poor, lousy or otherwise inadequate*" seems to me somewhat aggravated. I would have called it "stagnant", if not for a series of most recent studies with a somewhat less arbitrary approach to etymology and reconstruction. In any case, both of us, Fleming and myself, must be also held responsible for a rather lamentable state of the arts in our field of study. Everything is relative in this world; we may, however, console ourselves with the thought that Afrasian comparison is more elaborated than Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo, Australian, Indo-Pacific or Amerind, although there is little doubt we are lagging behind the North Caucasian and Altaic comparison now that Starostin and his co-authors have published respective etymological dictionaries.

And, of course, we are way behind Indo-Europeanists. Incidentally Fleming's attitude toward "Indo-Europeanismus" strangely reminds me of the attitude of Soviet mass media toward the United States - a fetishist

attitude with a negative value. However, analyzing his reasoning, I came to the conclusion that what Fleming means by "Indo-Europeanismus" for me is merely a synonym of "good work": reconstruction, sound laws, and a mistrust towards suggestions to *look at an assemblage of data for 36 languages for an hour or so and reach rough and ready conclusions about classification.* Actually, I am not sure Indo-Europeanists' work always deserves so much credit. We all know that to err is human, and, if I were Fleming, I would not risk going so far in my self-confident criticism. Instead, I'd try to be more objective about my own competence and more wary of taking on so many languages lest I should commit such mistakes as:

- Eg *mꜣz-t* and *myz-t* 'liver' quoted as *mꜣst* (ignoring the well-known fact that *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache* conventionally uses *s* to render the voiced sibilant [z] while the voiceless [s] is rendered by graphic *ś*) and scored differently from Male *mayzi* 'liver', its undoubted cognate; that it is not a slip ensues from yet another example: Eg *z(y)* 'person' (quoted by Fleming as *z/s*) is scored (as if it were *s*) together with Mao *eesâ* and similar Omotic forms (<*ʔis-*, rel. to Sem *ʔiš-*);

- Akk *eššu* 'new' is scored differently from Amh *addis*, though both are from Sem *ḥad(i)t-*;

- Akk *šamn-um* 'oil, fat, cream' is quoted as 'red', which is *sām-* in Akk.;

- Jib *gôd* is scored with Amh *ḳoda*; to do that one must be completely unfamiliar with "sound laws" as well as specific information adduced in the dictionaries: Jib *gôd*, pl. *gíźėd* (<*gilad-*) is <*gild-*, to be scored with ArabSyr *žild* <*gild-*, having nothing in common with Amh *ḳoda* (cognate with Argobba *ḳoda*, Gafat *ḳodä*, Eža Muher *ḵʷäda* 'skin' and further with Arab *ḳadd-* 'skin of a new-born lamb or kid');

- Amh *žoro* 'ear' is scored with Or *gurra*, which is the source for the Amh loanword;

- Tuar *ihaggaɣen* (by Tuar I mean the Ahaggar dialect - see below) is scored differently from Siwa *azgaɣ*, Izd *azuggwaɣ*, though the Ahg word is <*-hawwaɣ-* (*ihwaɣ* 'be red') and all the three are <*zawwaɣ* <*zawḳ* implying a common score with Male *zoḳe* (cf. Oyda *zoḳo*, Bencho *zōḳə*) overlooked by Fleming;

- Tuar *ṛaim* (a long outdated French way of rendering *ɣ* as *ṛ*; *ɣaym* is the correct form) 'sit' is scored differently from Siwa Izd *qim*, all <*ḳaym*; a synonym for 'sit' in Tuar is quoted as *assis*, a phantom word, which is in fact the French 'assis');

- Izd *a-ryaz* 'man' (<*a-rgaz*, *-g* regularly > Izd *-y*) is scored with Tuar *a-lâs* <*a-haləs*;

- Kiir *kwor kwota* 'louse' is a loan from Hs *ḳwarḳwatà* (<*ḳʷar-ḳʷat-*, cf. *ḳwaro* 'insect'), and not cognate with it.

There are hundreds and hundreds of similar mistakes in Fl, even in those languages where Fleming is in fact one of the leading experts - Cushitic and Omotic. Here's just one example:

- Gwt *ʕakkaḍ* 'sit' is scored with ArabSyr *ḳaʕad*, although we know that in the Dullay group of East Cushitic to which Gwt belongs, *-Vḍ* is a current verbal suffix (cf. Dobase *gup-aḍ-*, Harso *gup-aḍ-* and *gup-* 'to build'; Gwt *ḥeʔiḍ-* and *ḥaʕ-* 'to fly'), so Gwt *ʕakk-aḍ* has nothing in common with Arab *ḳʕd*.

Let us take at random one of the 100 word list items - 'warm'.

One of the two Akk terms cited by Fleming is *ḫumṭ-*, which is actually not the adjective 'warm' required by the lexicostatistical procedure (which, as far as I understand, Fleming in general accepts) but the noun 'heat, fever', not to be scored at all; however, it is scored "d", same as ArabSyr *ḥmu*. The latter, on the contrary, is cognate with another Akk term *emm-*, the main word for 'warm, hot' (not cited by Fleming) <*ḥmm.* Neither Akk *ḫumṭ-* nor ArabSyr *ḥmu* has a single consonant common with Jib *hub,* also scored "d" (besides, it is also a noun meaning 'warmth, heat', not to be scored at all; *šḥán-un* is the Jib adjective for 'warm', not cited in Fl, v. JJ 264).

One more term marked "d", Izd *ḥmu*, should not be scored as it is an obvious loanword from Arab. Then, Fleming gives no term for Mkk though it is quoted in JMkk 194 as *wèʔìní* and is cognate to Tum *wây* (scored "l"). He scores Hs *zāfi* as "h?" and ArabSyr *dafi* (< Sem *dfʔ*) as "h" while they are actually not related, as Sem *d* does not correspond to Hs *z*. Finally he scores as an "x" Dah *ḅúguḅúgu*, qualified as a loan in EEN 44.

Such mistakes, while pardonable in a pioneer etymological study, are fatal, when met in such numbers, for lexicostatistics and glottochronology where every choice of lexeme or etymological decision affects the results of classification and dating. Of course, Fleming's formula *"...one misjudged cognate scoring can distort results"* is too rigoristic. A modest percentage of mistakes is both inevitable and statistically irrelevant. I am sorry to state it is certainly not so in Fleming's case when mistakes reach 40% (see below).

I wonder whether these mistakes are accounted for by carelessness or a consciously applied *method of mass comparison* neglecting regular correspondences, sound laws and morphemic segmentation. I would prefer Fleming's case to have been carelessness as I see it as less dangerous. I also realize that some of Fleming's data I am reviewing remain unpublished, so the demands should not, of course, be too severe. However, to quote

Fleming, this Data Base "*can be used to check on my analyses or conclusions or to make some of your own*"; besides, I see practically no difference in the quality of etymologizing between the unpublished study discussed in the present paper and the previous publications of my opponent. (I must stress that this critical judgement does not concern his invaluable pioneer field work in Omotic and Cushitic languages).

That said, I am grateful to Hal Fleming for sharing his unpublished data with Starostin (and, indirectly, with me), thus stimulating this study. I have greatly benefited, too, from Vaclav Blažek's manuscript containing 100-word lists for most Cushitic and Omotic languages and his several unpublished papers on Cushitic, Omotic and Ongota with etymological comments, which he also generously shared with Starostin and myself. My special thanks are due to Olga Stolbova whose expert and time-consuming consultations in Chadic etymology helped a great deal; without her assistance my selection and etymologization of the Chadic forms, often different from Fleming's, would have been much less reliable, considering that etymologizing and reconstruction in Chadic are far more difficult than in any other branch of Afrasian. I am also indebted to Leonid Kogan for his constant consultations in Semitic etymologies and choice of terms for the 100-word list, and to Sergei Starostin for both a never-ceasing improvement of his glottochronology method and computer database technique which I rely on, and our numerous discussions on linguistic matters.

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Fleming's 100-word list contains some 2.100 etymologies (the sum total of forms united by a common score within each item of the list). The total number of our differences in scoring, including what I treat as unrevealed and false loanwords, forms not confirmed by reliable lexical sources or having unacceptable meanings, and cases of wrong etymologization is over 800, that is, 40% of Fleming's etymologies. These are cases I am more or less sure of. There are also over 500 debatable cases where my decisions seem to me preferable to Fleming's scores; these make up about 25% of Fleming's etymologies.

This is my answer to my opponent's question:*"...what's wrong with what I do or where have I made my mistakes or whatever?"*. The qualified reader

may judge for himself or herself who, and to what degree, is right or wrong in this controversy.

II

The many cases of differences between Fleming's scoring and mine can be conventionally divided into four groups.

Group One includes around 60 terms whose meaning is different from the one required for the corresponding item of the 100-word list ("dominant forms per meaning" as Fleming put it) by the lexicostatistical procedure, according to which they should be replaced by the forms that do have that required meaning. Several examples: for 'ashes' Fleming adduces Eg *zz* (*zz.w* is the correct form) 'dust', quoted in EG III 474 with a question mark, to be replaced by *ı̓tnw*, attested in Med with the meaning 'ashes'; for 'lie', Akk *nʔḫ* (*nâḫu*), actually meaning 'to rest', to be replaced by *niālu* 'to lie'; for 'stand', Jib *ʕeśś*, meaning 'to get up, rise', to be replaced by *ṣor* 'to stand'; for 'bark', Siwa *ssuak*, meaning 'kind of nut-shell' (Lao, the term for 'bark' absent). This group also includes nearly 50 examples cited by Fleming but either absent in available sources (when I have serious reasons to believe that such an example does not exist at all) or adduced in such a shape or transliteration which makes it impossible to identify (e. g. Eg *awi* 'all'). If we add 15 terms lacking in Fl but well attested in corresponding sources, part of whom have cognates in other languages represented in Fleming's list, we will get over 120 cases of disagreement between Fleming and myself.

Group Two consists of 61 loanwords (or what I consider loanwords giving my reasons or referring to corresponding sources), which Fleming scores other than "lw.", treating them as inherited terms. In accordance with Starostin's method loanwords should be eliminated from the scores (Swadesh paid no attention to this problem), a principle Fleming does not seem to deny; naturally they should be replaced by inherited terms with the same meaning wherever available, e. g.: Dah *mawiiŋgu* 'cloud' scored "q" is marked as a loanword from Swahili in EEN 37, *ŋgúmine* being the inherited term in Dah likely related to Sidamo *goma* and Wolayta *guma*. A small subgroup is made of 4 more terms marked "lw." by Fleming which I consider inherited lexemes. Altogether there are 65 cases.

Group Three contains differences in etymological evaluation ("cognate scoring" as Fleming puts it). They may be divided into three subgroups:

(a) debatable etymologies, over 500, where my choice seems to me preferable to that of Fleming (a short argumentation is always adduced). Several examples: I deduce Kiir *wasâm* 'foot', scored "i" in Fl, from W. Ch **ʔasam-* (Jimi *assam*, Miya *ʔsúmá*, etc.), very likely met. rel. to Maʕa *saʔamu* scored "q" in Fl.; I am inclined to treat Yaaku *risin* 'hair' (scored "p" in Fl) as going back to **riz-in-* < AA **riʒ/ǯ-* and relate it to Had *odda* (scored "q") which I presume to go back to **ʔord-* <Cu **ʔV-rVʒ/ǯ-* (cf. Kambatta *orza-t*, Burji *orda* id. and Dah *ráḏà-ne* 'feather');

(b) cases of what I consider wrong etymologies while realizing why this or that mistake was made by Fleming (my counter-argumentation is adduced). The total number of misjudged cognate scores counting between every pair of languages amounts to almost 600. Only a couple of examples: Siwa *ǯar* 'belly' is scored differently from Or *gáraʔ* because Fleming is probably unaware that Siwa *ǯ* continues **g*; Akk *eṣem-tu*, Amh *ʔaṭ ənt* and ArabSyr *ʕaẓam* 'bone' (<Sem **ʕaṭm-* <AA **ʕačm-*) are scored with Jib *ʕiẓéz* (in Fleming's notation) looking very much alike, though the latter is a different root, since *ʕíẓéẓ* (the correct form, v. JJ) goes back to**ʕiṣaṣ̂-* <AA **ʕiĉaĉ̂-* (see SED Nos. 24 and 25), which makes three wrong scorings - between Akk and Jib, Amh and Jib, and ArabSyr and Jib;

(c) cases (nearly 70) of what seems to me to have been Fleming's slips of pen (or, rather, computer), when I see no ground at all for equal scoring, e. g. Dah *gāno* scored with Bil *bahar* or Mao *kêmê* scored with Or *gúddaʔ*.

Group Four consists of items, mostly pronouns, which I treat, unlike Fleming, as compound terms giving each of the components its own score (resulting in two or even more scores given to one and the same term). For example, I treat Jib *ḏɛnu* 'this' as a compound pronoun consisting of two elements - *ḏV-* and *-nu*, scored because of its *ḏV-* element with ArabSyr *hāda/hādi* (<*ha-ḏa), and because of its *-nu* element, with Kiir *nani*, Hs *nnan*, a: Mnd (*bo*)-*na*, Gis *hana*, Beḍ *un/t-un*, etc. I chose this palliative method after much hesitation, fully realizing its vulnerability; however, all the other scoring approaches I have applied to various similar cases seem to me even worse. Of course, in such cases my scores are highly debatable and cannot serve as strong arguments in my dispute with Fleming.

Analyzing Fleming's procedure

"*The process is clear enough, as follows:*
First, select the phylum to be dated. Choose by the quality of work done on it.
Second, select specific languages to represent most or all salient internal taxa.

Third, set out the data in terms of dominant forms per meaning, noting bor-rowings.

Fourth, reckon cognation as between forms in all languages, i. e., score the cognates.

Fifth, count the cognates found between any two languages and obtain a percentage.

Sixth, look up the chronological value for any given percentage."

<div align="right">(quoted after Fleming's letter)</div>

Comments on the first and second steps:

Having selected the languages Fleming, in several cases, does not take any advantage of the "quality of work done" on them. Instead of standard, updated and reliable sources, he often seems to consult outdated or mar-ginal ones. Thus, in Old Egyptian such forms as *awi* for 'all', *geg* for 'bark', *aat* for 'yellow' are presented in a kind of transliteration not used in estab-lished Egyptological sources, first of all in the "Wörterbuch der aegypti-schen Sprache" by Erman and Grapow (EG) and "A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian" by Faulkner. Other examples: these dictionaries quote *mrḥ-t* as 'Salböl' (EG) and 'oil, grease' (Faulkner), but not as 'fat' (Fl); they quote *nmʕ* (not *nm* as in Fl) as 'schlafen; im Todesschlaf liegen' (EG) and 'go to sleep' (Faulkner), but not as 'lie' (in the standard Swadesh list) or 'lie down' (in Fl); I wonder where Fleming took the alternative forms from.

Comments on the third step:

Section III below contains dozens of cases of non-dominant or wrong forms per meaning and unnoted borrowings, as well as debatable cases of what is considered to be borrowings by Fleming and inherited forms by myself.

Comments on the fourth step:

See (in Section III) hundreds of cases of wrong cognation and debat-able cases of our differences in cognation.

Comments on the fifth step:

Fleming's statement about the percentage of cognates between Omotic and "North Afrasian" (*"Having gotten 1% or 0% or 0.9% or 1.8% and such like between the extremes of Afrasian, I bore the general conclusion of 'zero to one percent'"*) seems to run counter even to his own scores. The number of cognates between Male and all North AA (Eg/Copt, Sem, Brb and Ch), and

between selected Omot and North AA languages, according to Fleming's scores, is as follows (see Section IV): Male-Eg 2, Male-Copt 2, Male-Akk 3, Male-Jib 2, Male-Amh 4, Male-ArabSyr 2, Male-Tuar 3, Male-Siwa 1, Male-Izd 3, Male-Mkk 1, Male-Tum 2, Male-Kiir 2, Male-Hs 1, Male-Mnd 1, Male-Gis 1 & 1 debatable; Ong-Eg 2 & 2 debatable, Ong-Akk 3, Ong-Hs 2; Shin-Jib 4; Mao-Hs 2 & 1 debatable; Dime-Copt 3, Dime-Amh 1, Dime-Izd 3, Dime-Hs 2. Considering that the lists for most of the languages contain less than 100 items (because of borrowings and lack of words), the percentage of cognates will be still higher - between two and three. The average percentage I obtained is much higher - from five to six (see Section IV).

Comments on the sixth step:

See the resulting genetic tree of Afrasian with dates indicated according to my scoring and Starostin's formula.

Analyzing Fleming's data

Fleming adduces diagnostic lists of 37 languages, out of which I have omitted what Fleming calls Neo-Aramaic (Targum) and Ik (Nilo-Saharan). I have analyzed only those items which make the standard Swadesh 100-word list adding No. 62. 'not' omitted by Fleming. In Section III I have commented only on those cases where there is disagreement between Fleming and myself. The 35 languages are as follows:

Egyptian
1. Old Egyptian: unreliable sources seem to be used; in several cases, there is a confusion of forms containing graphic *s* which affects the scoring (see above). Confusion of symbols, unfortunately, quite common for Afrasian studies, is another problem: the same Eg consonant is rendered in Fl as *ḏ* (traditional notation for Egyptology), *ǯ* (a "modernist" way) and *j* (sporadically also renders [*y*] in Fl), e.g. Eg *jʒb* 'leaf' (Fl) instead of NK *ḏbʒ* and Med *gʒbt* (EG) <*gʒb* or *gbʒ*.
2. Coptic: the dialect is not specified. The data points to Sahidic, although inconsistently: thus, Copt *ʔuphaǯi* 'liver' is a Bohairic word (there is no term for 'liver' in Sahidic in Vyc). In many cases, well established Egyptian-Coptic etymologies are ignored, e. g.: Copt *kloʔl-e* 'cloud', scored "c", in fact continues Dem *ḳlʕl, ḳll* and Eg *ḳri* scored "b" (Pyr *ḳrr*, MK *ḳry*) <*ḳVlVl* (Vyc 76); Copt *lōks* 'bite' is marked "lw.", though it continues late Eg

nsk̲ (Vyc 96); Copt *ǯo* 'head', scored "a", in fact continues not Eg *tp*, also scored "a", but *d̲ʔd̲ʔ* scored "s"; Copt *emašo* 'many' (also *m-ašo*) scored "c" continues Eg *ʕš* scored "a" (<AA*ʕVĉVr-); Copt *hinēb* 'to sleep', scored "d", is dissimilated from **hinēm* (Bohairic *hinīm*), thus continuing Eg *nmʕ*, scored "b".

Semitic

3. Akkadian: meanings of quite a few forms quoted by Fleming are unreliable as they differ from those adduced in both standard Akk dictionaries, CAD and AHw.

4. Jibbali: forms are quoted indiscriminately from Bit and JJ, probably describing two different dialects (which may account for quite a few differences even in the basic lexicon, e. g. Jib *erqet*, quoted by Fl as 'leaf' after Bit 13, is represented in JJ 292 as *έrέk̲t* 'sheet of paper'; *t̲eʕl* 'leaf' in Bit 65 is missing in JJ). Several forms are quoted neither from one of these Jibbali dictionaries nor from Nak, the only three large lexical sources I know of (e. g. none of them contains *kezzem* 'cold' or *guśun* 'dry'), but from a source I cannot identify. Quite a few obvious Arabic loanwords are scored as if they were inherited words, e. g. *ḥut* 'fish', *nafs* and *ʔɛnsí* 'person' (besides, the latter is not 'person', but the adjective 'human' JJ 4 - 'menschlich' Bit 13).

5. Amharic: several clear Cushitic loans (I am not speaking here of debatable cases) are treated as inherited terms, e.g. 'ear', 'fat', 'feather', 'tail'.

6. Syrian Arabic. As in many other cases, inter-Semitic correspondences are ignored, e. g. Fl regards ArabSyr *tumm* 'mouth' scored "b" as a continuation of *fumm* relating it to Akk *pû-*, Amh *af* and the similar terms scored "b", while *tumm* is <**t̲umm-* (cf. Jordanian Arabic *t̲imm*), probably to be compared to Had *suume*, scored "j" (both forms perfectly fit into each other and AA **čumm-*, although, each of them being isolated in its language group, they can as well be look-alikes).

Berber

7. Tuareg: the language is not specified; considering that the percentage of inter-Tuareg cognates within the 100-word list is approximately the same as of inter-Slavic or inter-Romance ones (I date the Proto-Tuareg split as having taken place in the 4-5th century AD), to produce a "Tuareg" list is the same as to produce an indiscriminate "Slavic" or "Romance" list (not "Proto-Slavic" or "Proto-Romance"!) without specifying the exact language. This creates a major confusion that affects the scoring: such forms as *a-həni* 'blood', *haḡr-ət* 'long', etc., containing *h* (<*z), unambiguously point to

Ahaggar/Tahaggart, while other forms like *emen* 'fish', not used in Ahg (see Fouc 1207), point to different Tuareg languages.

8. Siwa: quite a few forms are quoted not after Lao, but after other sources - alas, without any references - that I am unable to identify; however, judging by such examples as *bitin/bâttin*, *tin* quoted as 'who?' (these are in fact relative, not interrogative, pronouns), or *ssuak* quoted as 'bark' (actually 'kind of nut-shell' according to Lao), I am afraid these sources are either unreliable or maybe even fictitious.

9. Ait Izdeg: several evident Arabisms are scored as inherited words, e. g. *ḥmu* 'warm', *raʔa* 'see', *aʕari* 'mountain' (*aʕari* is the correct form <Arab ʕurʕat- 'mountain top').

Chadic

10. Mokulu, or Mokilko (East Chadic): a number of terms quoted not after JMkk or CLR differ a lot from these most recent and reliable sources, both in form and meaning.

11. Tumak (East Chadic).

12. Kiir (West Chadic): several loanwords are treated as inherited terms, e. g. *gằžìmàre* 'cloud' from Hausa *gažimare*; *kwor kwota* 'louse' from Hausa *ḳwarḳwatằ*; *namààsi* 'woman' from Hausa *namiži*; *pyaŋ* 'moon' (cf. PW Nigritic *-pian- CLR I 119); *pyelè* 'new' and *rap* 'two' from Nilo-Saharan.

13. Hausa of Kano (West Chadic).

14. Mandara, or Wandala (Central Chadic).

15. Gisiga (Central Chadic).

Cushitic

16. Beja, or Beḍauye (North Cushitic; considered by some authors a separate branch of Afrasian): in my tree it joins with Agaw, probably due to several unrevealed loanwords (from North Agaw?).

17. Bilen, or Bilin (Central Cushitic, or Agaw).

18. Khamta, or Khamtanga (Central Cushitic, or Agaw).

19. Awngi, or Awiya (Central Cushitic, or Agaw).

20. Boran Oromo (East Cushitic).

21. Arbore (East Cushitic).

22. Hadiya ("Highland" East Cushitic).

23. Gawwata, or Gawwada ("Dullay" branch of East Cushitic).

24. Yaaku (a separate unit of East Cushitic).

25. Dahalo (a controversial position, cf. the title of a paper by Blažek and Tosco: "Between South and East Cushitic: Reconsidering the Position of Dahalo"): in my tree, part of South Cushitic.

26. Mbugu, or Maʕa (the most controversial position; its Afrasian status is clearly confirmed by lexicostatistics, while the grammar is said to be Bantu): in my tree, part of South Cushitic.

27. Iraqw ("classical" South Cushitic).

28. Ongota (considered by Fleming a separate branch of Afrasian and by Blažek, a non-Afrasian language): my tentative results, with reservations about regular correspondences and possible loans, place it with Omotic - specifically with Aroid Omotic (according to Bender's classification).

Omotic
29. Diddesa Mao.
30. Shinasha, or Bworo.
31. Chara.
32. Male.
33. Dizi Adikas.
34. Dime (South Omotic; Aroid, acc. to Bender).
35. Hamar, or Hamer (South Omotic; Aroid, acc. to Bender).

III

Comments on the author's disagreements with H. Fleming (scoring, choice of words, etc.).

1. 'all' ◊ **a: Eg *awi*** // form transliterated in unusual way and impossible to identify; *nb* and *tm* are Eg terms for 'all'. ◊ **c: Akk *kalû*, Jib *kôl*, Amh *hullu*, ArabSyr *kull*** // <Sem **kʷall-* = **p: Dah *ʔákkàle*** <**ʔa-kal-* or **ʔak-kal-*; not = **c: Hamar *wull*** (**k-* not >*w* or *0* in Hamar), which, in its turn, = **lw.?: Aun *ull-k*,** also *wullá* (Hamar, Aun and Dasenech *lulli* are rather cognates than loans from Amh *hullu*).

2. 'ashes' ◊ **a: Eg *zz*** // probably 'dust' ('Staub?' EG III 474) but not 'ashes' (not sc.); anyway, cannot = **a?: Tuar *iẓâd*** (*êzəḍ*, acc. to Fouc); *ìtnw* Med. is 'ashes' (not in Fl) = **s: Ong *tauni*.** ◊ **c: Jib *riñd*** // rather not = **c: ArabSyr *rimād-*,** but a loan from Arab. ◊ **e: Siwa *yirrud*** // not in Lao; in any case, looks like an Arabism (*yirrumd* ?). ◊ **h: Bil *šebar*, Khmt *tsâbir*** // < Eth:

Gz *ṣabal*, etc. LGz 546; anyway, not = **h: Tum dàbár** <*ta-bar* (otherwise met.
< *rVbVd-*, cf. HSA *rúbúḍî* 'hot fine ash'). ◊ **c: Arb romm** // to comp. to **c:
ArabSyr rimad-** only if <*romd*, in which case not a cognate, but a lw.
<Arab. ◊ **q: Dah ʔīṯu** // acc. to EEN, <Bantu. ◊ **p?: Mao púsê** // not = **p: Had
bučča** <*but-*; likely = **l: Gis a-fc-o** (*fucu* CLR II) <*puc-*.

3. 'bark' ◊ **a: Eg geg ?**// unusual transliteration: judjing by **a: Copt
kūk-e**, Eg (Gr) *ḳḳ-ty* is meant; possibly rel. to **s: Ong ʔaġata** (and *aqata*
<*ʔaḳ-at-*; cf. also *qaqqa* [ST], likely borrowed from TSA *qaqqatte* ibid., *ḳaḳe*
SLLE) and further to **t: Mao ḳóḳíšê** (comp. to Moča *óqqo* in Bla Om implying
the primary stem *ḳoḳ-* in Mao; unless <Koman *ḳoḳoš*) and Shin *ḳooḳra*
(comp. in Lamb Sh to Gollango *ḳooḳḳe* which implies the primary stem
ḳooḳ- in Shin; not in Fl). ◊ **c: Akk ḳulpu, Gwt ġofolto** // <*ḳofol-*, met. <*ḳolf-*,
neither = **c: Amh ḳärf-it**, nor **c: Bil ḳarif** (lw., v. below), nor **c: Male ḳurubi**
<*ḳurub-* (the Amh and Male forms are neither rel. at least on the PAA level,
cf. Tigriñña *ḳäräf* and *ḳorb-ät* 'skin, bark' KT). ◊ **e: Siwa ssuak** // 'kind of
nut-shell' (Lao), not sc. ◊ **h?: Hs ḅāwō** // <*baH-* (= Bolewa *boi rewe* id.; *rewe*
'tree'), not = **h: Tum ḅogòón** <*bVHg-* ~ *gVHb-* (cf. Tera *gəḅà*). ◊ **c: Bil ḳarif**
// < Eth (not vice versa, cf. Arab *ḳrf* 'to peel'; v. LGz 441); *ḳāf* is 'bark' (RBil
236) = **m: Aun qafi, Iraqw qafi.** ◊ **?: Maʔa** // *igome* HRSC 386.

4. 'belly' ◊ **f: Tuar t-asa** // Ahg *t-esa* = **k: Beḍ ésse** = **o: Maʔa mas** (*maso*
HRSC 387; likely <*ma-so*). ◊ **g: Siwa ǯar** // <*gar* = **m: Or gáraʔ, Arb geréʔ,
Gwt karʕétto, Iraqw guraʔ** MQK, *guraʕa* Bl Ms after Dempwolff; all
<*gʷarʕ/ʔ-* (cf. Arab *ǯirîʔ-at-*, *ǯiriyy-at-* 'stomach of a bird'). ◊ **m?: Had gód-
abo** // <*gʷažab-* (cf. Hs *gážêbā* 'kidney' <*gažVb-*); though -*b-* as a fossilized
suffix is debatable, rather = **l: Bil gwadug** <*gʷaž/ʒgʷ(až/ʒ)-*, **Khmt gizú** (sic!
'belly' in Appl Khm; glossed as 'cuore, fegato' in CR Khm 215), **Aun guzg**;
certainly not = **m: Or gáraʔ**, etc.; either the latter or Had has nth. in com. w.
m?: Yaaku irêh (a slip?). ◊ **u: Dizi čōnu** // <*cVn-*? Either rel. to **v: Dime
šíne** or both are lws. <Surma: Meqan *šini* (v. Bla Omot No. 40.3.).

5. 'big' ◊ **i: Izd ẖatar** // *ẖiter* (vb.), not sc.; *a-moqr-an* is the main term for
'big' = **g: Tuar amɣar** <*-ma-ḳar-*. ◊ **n: Gis madaḍaŋ** // <*ma-dadang-*, likely =
r: Aun duŋguri (*dəngulí* Bl Ms after Hetzron) <*dung-ur/l-*. ◊ **p: Dah gāno** //
nth. in com. w. **p: Bil bahar** (a slip?). ◊ **q: Maʔa gilu** // *giḷu* Mein 309, -*giru*
HRSC 386; not = **q: Khmt ẖiyaw** but = **j: Kiir gor**. ◊ **r: Iraqw ur** // not = **r:
Aun duŋguri** (a slip?). ◊ **s: Mao kɛmɛ** // nth. in com. w. **s: Or gúddaʔ, Arb
guḍḍá, gudíy-ḍa** (a slip?); the latter forms are likely rel. to Ong *gadaẖ/hune*

'big, many' (Fl Ong 42), *gaddahino* 'big' (SLLE 4), *gaddaʕuni, giddeʕeta* 'big, old' (Sava 126) <*gVddaʕ/h- (also related to Dime *gēd* 'big'). ◊ **x: Hamar *oŋa*** // = **o: Shin *ééna*, Beḍ *wən*** (cf. also Janjero *innya*, Somali *wéyn*, Elmolo *wányá*; all < *wany- ~ *wayn-).

6. 'bird' ◊ **b: Akk *iṣṣūru*** // <*ʕVṣṣūr- (Ugaritic *ʕṣr*), not = **b: Jib *ʕɛṣférɔ́t*** <*ʕVṣpūr- <*ʕV-çVpVr- (Fleming is innocent in this case; relating these two roots is a traditional Semitists' mistake); met. rel. to **p: Iraqw *çirʕo*.** ◊ **e: Tum *ḍèrǐ*, Mkk *ḍot*, Kiir *ḍot*, Gis *ḍiyew*** (also Migama *ḍìḍú*) // <*dVH(-at)- ~ *dVHdVH-, neither = **e?: Mnd *giye, ǯiye*** (see below) nor = **e: ArabSyr *ṭayr*** (the Mnd and Arab words have nth. in com. either). ◊ **j: Aun *čara/čaḡa*** // *čáɣa* Hetz, *čaḡǎ* CR Aw; <*ç/čak/ḳ-, rather not the same as **j: Bil *ǯaɣala*, Khmt *zīla*** <*ǯVḫVl-. ◊ **a: Dime *îft*, Hamar *atti*** // *ap/ft-i* <*HVf-t- = **d: Amh *wof*** <*ʕVp- (Geʕez *ʕof*, etc.), and not = **a: Eg *ꜣpd*** (Dime and Hamar *-t* is not <*-d or *-ṭ; Eg ꜣ- is not <*ʕ-). ◊ **q: Ong *karbo*** // hardly a separate root; either a met. <*kabr- <*kambVr-, rel. to **k: Or *simpirrē̠*, Arb *kirma-te*, Maʕa *ḫimero*** or a lw. <NS, cf. 'bird' in Bla NS: Nara *karba*, Surma: Kwegu *kubər*, etc.

7. 'bite' ◊ **lw.: Copt *lōks*** // continues late Eg *nsḳ* (Vyc 96); not a lw. ◊ **b: Akk *našāku*** // <*nṭk (Hebrew *nšk*, Geʕez *nsk*, Mehri *neṭk*, etc.); rather to be separated, at least on the proto-Semitic level, from **b: Amh *näkkäsä*** <*nkṯ (Syrian Aramaic *nkt*, Tigre *näkša*, etc.). ◊ **d: ArabSyr *ʕaḍḍ*** // <*ʕĉ̣ĉ̣, not = **d?: Tuar *addəd*, Siwa *əddəd*** <*Hadd- and **d?: Mkk *ʔiʔid*** <*ʔayVd-, but likely = **r: Dizi *wâç̣*.** ◊ **j: Bil *ṭaʔan*** // 'to mill' RBil 345 (not sc.) <Sem *ṭḥn; cannot = **j: Male *ḍaiʔ*** (*kwaŋ* is 'bite' in Bil). ◊ **q: Dah *ḳaḥ*** prob. = **q: Iraqw *kiḥ*** (note that *k- <*ḳ is irregular), but not = **q: Shin *šač̣*, Chara *sač̣*.** ◊ **q: Maʕa *ne*** // *-ŋe* HRSC 388, likely = **l: Aun *əŋə-ŋ*.** ◊ **o: Mao *tāsi*** // nth. in com. w. **o: Gwt *ġaw*, Yaaku *-qau-*** <*ḳaw (a slip?).

8. 'black' ◊ **a: Eg *km*** // neither = **a: Had *hḗmača*, Dah *hímmàṭe*, Maʕa *hame*,** all <*hi/am(-at)-, nor = **a: Yaaku *kumpuʔ*, Gwt *kummay*** (<*gumbVʕ-: obeze *kumʕa*, Tsamai *guma*, Bayso *ka-gamb-alli* id.); the Had-Dah-Maʕa are neither rel. to Yaaku-Gwt. ◊ **b: Akk *adru*, c: *ṣalmu*** // *adru* 'sad, dark', not sc.; *ṣalmu* < Sem *ṭalm- < AA *ĉal-m-, not = **c: Tum *dâlmi*** (Tum *d* not <*ĉ), but poss. = **o: Bil *nišir*, Khmt *nič̣îr*** (prob. also **o: Aun *car-ki***) <*ni-čar- <*-čal-. ◊ **e: Amh *ṭəḳur*** // <Agaw: Waag *ṣiḳur*, Aun *ṣarḳi, carki*. ◊ **i: Izd *abeḥḥuš*** // <*-bVḥḥ-uš <*bVḳḳ- (cf. Izayan *a-b̩ǝḥḥ-an*) = l: Hs *báḳĭ*.

9. 'blood' ◊ **a: Eg *snf*** // *znf* (in EG the voiced *z* is conventionally rendered by the symbol *s*) <*zn-f* 'his blood' <*ʒ/ǯVn-* = **d: Tuar *a-heni*** <*a-zini* (Ayr *a-zni*, Ghat *a-zəni*) and **Hs *žinī*** <*žini* (all <AA *žin-*). ◊ **b: Hamar *zumʔ*** // <AA *ʒVm-* (SED 267: Sem, Chad), not = **b: Akk, Amh, ArabSyr** (< Sem *dam-*). ◊ **h: Ong *šuḫo*** // <*šuḫ-* hardly = **h: Yaaku *sog'o*** (Fl; *sógó* Hei Ya, *soqo* Ehr PC 97; regarded ibid. as a lw. < S. Cu) and **h: Maʕa *saḫo*** (*sako* HRSC CTP. Cf. MEINHOF**)** <*saḵ-*; relation to **h: Chara *sū-ta*, Male *sugu-c*** is unclear as the reflexes of *ḫ* in Omot. are not reliably established.

10. 'bone' ◊ **b: Akk *eṣem-tu*, Amh *ʔaṭənt*, ArabSyr *ʕaẓam*** // <*ʕaṭm-*, not = **b: Jib *ʕiẓéẓ* (*ʕíẓèẓ*** JJ**)** < Sem **ʕiṣaṣ̂-* <AA **ʕiĉaĉ-*. ◊ **a: Mkk *ʔòssé*, Mnd *šéše*,** a?: **Gis *ʔateĉ*, Dizi *ʔus*** // all < **ʔVs-*, not = **a: Eg *ḵs*** and the rel. forms (**Copt, Tuar, Siwa, Izd, Hs, Dime**) < AA **ḵas-*. ◊ **lw.: Khmt *acən*** // where from? *ŋáç* Appl Khm = **e: Bil *naž*** RBil (*nāš* Bnd LE), **Aun *nac*** (*ŋac* Bl Ms after Hetzron) <*ŋaç-* (Khamir *ŋaç*) <*maç- <*maĉ-*, **Yaaku *moĉo*** = **e?: Dah *miĉĉo*** (<*miĉĉ-*; hardly a lw. as in HRSC 386), **Ong *miča*** and likely = **i: Mao *malṭɛ́*** (<*maĉĉ-?*); the latter hardly = **i: Chara *mêrta*.**

11. 'breast' ◊ **b: Akk *tulū*** // *tulû* is rather 'nipple, teat' ('Brust(warze), mamma' AHw 1369); *irtu* is 'breast' ('chest, breast' AHw i 184; 'Brust' AHw 386) <*ʔir-t-* (Ugaritic *ʔrt*) = **r: Mao *ʔaare*.** ◊ **e?: Arb *eḍu-ma-n*** // *eḍum-an* = **e?: Gwt *ʕaḍun-ko*** (<*ʕadūm-ko*), **Yaaku *ɛ́dúm-ín*** (pl.), **Chara *ḍama*** and the rel. Omot terms (all <*ʕaḍum- <*ʕaṭum-*), neither of which = **e: Amh *ṭut*** <*ṭub-* (Geʕez *ṭəb*, etc.), or **e: Gis *ḍuwa*** <*duHw-*, or **e?: Dah *!ōne*** (form with a "click" < Sandawe EEN 48); Amh and Gis, to say nothing of Dah, are not rel. either. ◊ **lw.?: Bil *ʕəṭəb*** // so Bnd LE (lw. < Eth); *ungú̃* RBil (*ʔəŋgʷí* Bl Ms after Palmer) is the inherited term, same as **n: Aun *aŋgu*.**

12. 'burn' (trans.) ◊ **a: Eg *rkḥ*** // *rkḥ* (and *rḵḥ*) is 'light fire; burn down' (anyway, not = **a?: Tum *ṛuž*** <*ruž-*, **rud-* or **rug-*, but not <*ruḵ/k-*). ◊ **c: Akk *karuru*** // no *karuru* in CAD and AHw. ◊ **f: Jib *śerof*** // 'build a fire, put on fire' (JJ 254; 'anzünden' Bit 69), not sc.; *e-nḥé* is 'burn' (JJ 187; 'brennen' Bit 54). ◊ **e: Amh *ndd*** // *ndd* has nth. in com. w. **e: Copt *mūh*** (a slip?) <Eg *mꜣḫ* (anyway intr. vb. in all Copt. dialects Vyc 131; not sc.). ◊ **i: Tuar *âg*** // Ahg *aɣu* (Ayr *aghu*) <*Haḵw*; not = **i: Mkk *ʔogg*** (<*HVgg-*, not <*HVḵ-*), **Arb *ʔōg-aḍ*.** ◊ **c: Bil *harar*** // rather a lw. <Sem **ḥrr*. ◊ **s: Khmt *hau*** // *hau-š* 'to warm up' ('riscaldare' [CR Khm 218]), not sc. and nth. in com. (a slip?) w. **s: Or *gub-*.** ◊ **x: Ong *ḵow, ḵoyka*** = **x: Hamar *koo-ka*** // *ḵoḵa* (Bnd Om 207), likely rel. to Maʕa *-ka* (HRSC 388; same as **i: *aha*** in Fl?) <*-ḵa* (v. HRSC 26).

13. 'claw' ◊ **e: Izd *a-ḫbaš*** // likely an Arabism; *iššer* and *i-sker* are the inherited terms for 'claw', same as **d: Tuar and Siwa** (<*i-skar*). ◊ **g: Tum *pulâl*** // <*par/l-*: Migama *pùrrùn*; Jegu *fílló* = **i: Hs *farčē* <*far-t-*.** ◊ **c?: Bil *čiffer*** // *čiffer*, a lw. < Eth.. ◊ **j: Gis *dlelek*** // *ẑelek*, *ẑenek* <*ŝVl/nVḳ-*, likely met. rel. to **l: Khmt *ḥičela*** (<*ḳičel-*), **n: Or *ḳēnsa*, p: Had *ṭuraŋka*** (<*ṭulu(n)k/ḳ-* = Sidama *čulunḳ-iččo*, with *č- <*ŝ- by assim. with *-ḳ-*; acc. to Sas Brj 183, <Ometo; however, the form with -l- is typical for the Cu, not Omot, variant of the present root), **r: Yaaku *seġil*** (<*sVḳil*, cf. Konso *šoloḳloḳ*; the latter hardly = **r: Dah *coolo***, not <*coḳol-* as *-ḳ > Dah *ḳ*, not *0*), rel. to **t: Ong *soŋke*** (*sonqitte* Bla Ong), **Shin *ṣúŋgú-sa*, Chara *ṣugŋa*, Male *çüŋgo*;** all < AA*ŝunḳ-al-*, with diverse assimilations, dissimilations and metatheses in different languages.

14. 'cloud' ◊ **c: Copt *kloʔl-e*** // continues Dem *ḳlʕl*, *ḳll* = **b: Eg *ḳrl̥*** (Pyr *ḳrr*, MK *ḳry*) <*ḳVlVl* (Vyc 76). ◊ **lw.: Amh *dämmäna*** // an inherited Semitic term (cf. Arab *damm*, *dimām-*, AramSyr *dīm-ət-*), while **m: Khmt *dimena*, Or *duúman-sa*** and, likely, **Shin *dáwna*** (<*damn-*) are rather lws. < Eth. ◊ **h: Tum *ubây*** // rather <*Hubay*, hardly rel. to **h?: Beḍ *bâl*.** ◊ **i: Kiir *gȁ̀žìmàre*** // lw. <Hs *gažimare*. ◊ **n: Aun *gunḳânni*** // dissim. <*gungan-?* (cf. *gun* 'fog') likely = **f: Tuar *t-agnu-t*** (Ahg *a-ḡənna*), **Izd *i-s-ignu*** <*-ginaw-*. ◊ **q: Dah *mawiiŋgu*** // lw. <Swahili (EEN 37); *ŋgúmine* is the inherited term in Dah rel. to Sidamo *goma* and Wolayta *guma*. ◊ **t: Ong *pfolo*** // *foolo* ST 117 = **t: Hamar *polo*.** The Ong form prob. a lw. < Hamar or Tsamai *poolo* [ST] and [SLLE]. ◊ **w: Male *šàri*** // = **r: Maʔa *hlari*** (*iŝare* HRSC 387) < Cu-Omot *ĉar-* or *ŝar-*.

15. 'cold' ◊ **b: Jib *kezzem*, c: *qiṣem*** // no *kezzem* either in JJ or Bit; *ḳéṣm* is 'cold' (n.) JJ 152, likely rel., with suffixed -m, to **b: Akk *ḳaṣū*** (*ḳaṣû* is the correct form) <*ḳaṣw/y-*, and **c: Dizi *ḳeč-us*** <*ḳVs-*, but not = **b: Had *ḳīd*** <*ḳiẑ/ʒ-*; the latter = Amh *ḳäzḳazza* (not in Fl) and **b: Dime *ḳîžin*** and **Hamar *ḳâʒi*** <*ḳaž/ʒi.* ◊ **?: Mkk** // *réélé* [JMkk 166], *màyé* 'cold (of wind)' CLR II 81. ◊ **g: Tum *da*** // *had* (CLR II 81) <*sad <*samd-* = **i: Hs *sañi*** (*sányí* ibid.), likely <*saniri <*sanid- <*samiḍ-* = **e: Tuar *semmeḍ-en*, Izd *a-səmmaḍ*** and **perhaps o: Ong *ṣanodi*** (<*ṣamVd-*, with *-m- > -n- assimilated to -d, < *samVḍ-*, with a shift of "emphatization"? The cognation based on this hypothetic reconstruction makes sense only if Fleming's record of -d- is correct; cf. *ṣantuni/cantoni/ṣanodi* [Fl Ong 44] and *can-* 'to be cold' [Sava 124]). ◊ **n: Dah *wiliʕine*** // <*-liʕin-*, likely = **j: Beḍ *lʔa*** (*láʔa* RBeḍ) <*laʕ-*, **Gis *leleŋ*** <*lVʔlVn* (Jegu *ʔôlân*, met.) and, probably, Mkk *réélé* (not in Fl), dissim. <*lVʔlVʔ-*, all

<*liʕ(-an)-. ◊ **f?: Maʔa** *saʔa* // <*caʔ- (Quadza *caʔu*); not = **f: Siwa** *šqi* (<*sḳVḳVy) and Iraqw *çaqwa* (<*çaḳw-, likely assimilated <*saḳw-) as *-ḳ not > Maʔa ʔ (HRSC 26).

16. 'come' ◊ **c: Akk** *kašādu* 'reach, arrive (moment of time), amount to, approach' (CAD *k* 271), not sc.; *alāk-* is the main term for 'come'. ◊ **g: Siwa** *us* and **Ahg** *as* (not in Fl where Tuar/Ahg imp. *éo* is quoted) = **k: Mnd** *so* (not <*zo), **Gis** *sawa*, not = **k: Hs** *zō* (not <*sō). ◊ **b: Mkk** *b̩* // *ʔòb̩í* with a different meaning JMkk (not sc.); for 'come' CLR II gives *ʔìdó* = **h: Izd** **addu-d** <*Hadw = **s: Chara** *wod* = **l?: Dime** *ād*, all <AA *Hi/adw- ~ *(HV-)wad-. ◊ **j: Kiir** *wade* <*wat- <*Hwat- (cf. Tule *wutò*, Tangale *watṵ*, Karekare *eti*, Sokoro *ɔ́tí*), not = **j?: Had** *wār*. ◊ **s: Shin** *w-* // *wà* LambSh, not = **s: Chara** *wod*; rather = **a: Eg** *iy, iw*, **Copt** *n̄*, **Tuar** *éo*, **Beḍ** *ʔi*, **Ong** *ʔē*, **Dizi** *y-* = **i?: Tum** *ò* <*ʔaw-, etc. (all <AA *ʔayaw-, cf. Janjero *iyɔ̄wa* id.).), but not = **i: Mkk** *ʔāʔ* ('aller à la maison, chez soi, etc.' JMkk 55; not sc.). ◊ **p: Maʔa** *lita* // <*liʔ-t-? Likely = **m: Yaaku** *lɛʔɛ* (rel. in HRSC 389).

17 'die' ◊ **b: Beḍ** *ya* // *yāʔi*, nth. in com. w. **b: Jib** *ḫárɔ́g* (a slip?). ◊ **h: Yaaku** *kɛhɛ* // rather <*gVh- = **i: Maʔa** *ga*, Iraqw *gwʔ* (*gwā̀ʔ-* MQK 42); note, however, that Yaaku *-h* vs. IRQ *-ʔ* is irregular.

18. 'dog' ◊ **f: Mkk** *gédè* // <*gid- (cf. Mofu-Gudur *gədéy* id.), not = **f: Tum** *ga*, pl. *garak* (<*gar-: Lele *girà*, Kabalay *gàra*). ◊ **i: Bil** *gidiŋ*, **Khmt** *gəzəŋ*, **Aun** *gəséŋ* // <*giʒ/žin- = **e: Siwa** *agurzəni* <*gu(r)ʒ/žin-, with *-r-* inserted; hardly rel. to **i?: Hamar** *aksi* (acc. to Bnd Ar 148, Hamar *ḳaski*, Ari *áksi*; rel. to Brb: Ahg *aɣsi* 'loup' F 1529, Ayr *ta-ɣəs-t*, E Wlm *ši-ɣəss* 'chien-loup' Aloj 73 < AA *ḳasy-); neither Agaw nor Hamar = **i: Yaaku** *kwehm* (*kohen*, pl. *kwehman* Hei Ya) <*kʷahn-; the latter very likely = **l: Mao** *kānê* and the rel. Omot terms. ◊ **k: Iraqw** *seʔay* // met. <AA *ʔays- = **h: Beḍ** *yās*, **Had** *wušša* (*waši-ččo*, pl. *wuša*).

19. 'drink' ◊ **a: Eg** *zwr* // = **a: Copt** *sō/sū* <*zwr, but not = **a: Tuar** *əsu*, **Siwa** and **Izd** *su*, **Tum** *hè*, **Kiir** *se*, **Hs** *šá̄*, **Mnd** *še* (*šá, šúšé*), **Gis** *še* (and *si*), which = **n: Mao** *iš*, **Shin** *uš*, **Chara** *uš*, **Male** *ûške* (*ūš-ke*), all < AA *suy- ~ *wis-. ◊ **a: Eg** *bʕbʕ* (noun) // vb. (must be sc. differently from **a: Eg** *zwr*); very likely rel. to **p: Dizi** *bê-* (*bē, bay*). ◊ **h: Arb** *ʔīg-e* // not = **h: Or** *ḍug*, but = **i: Had** *ag* and **j: Gwt** *ukk*, all <*ʕVg(g)-; likely met. rel. to **g: Beḍ** *gwʔ* (*gū̀ʔ* RBeḍ) <*guʕ-. ◊ **i: Yaaku** *eġ* // *-eq-* Hei Ya (*-q* <*ḳ*), not = **i: Had** *ag*.

20. **'dry'** ◊ **a: Eg *šw*, Copt *šowe*** // < AA **čVw-* (> Kafa *šuʔō* id.), likely met. rel. to **v: Dime *wučum*, Hamar *wâčči* <**waĉ-*;** the Eg and Copt forms have nth. in com. w. **a?: Akk *šâbul-um*** (*šābul-*, *š*-stem <**ʔbl*); the latter = **k: Beḍ *balama*** (*bál-ama* RBeḍ). ◊ **b: Jib *guśun*, c: *qiśaʕ*** // no *guśun* either in JJ or Bit; *ḳéŝaʕ* is 'dry'. ◊ **?: Mkk** // *méeḍí* JMkk 138. ◊ **i: Hs *busaššē*** // < *buše* (vb.), very likely = **e: ArabSyr *yabis*.**

21. **'ear'** ◊ **a: Eg **iṭn*** // if this unusually looking form is a reconstructed proto-form for *iḏn*, it is not the case, as *iḏn* is rel. to Sem **ʔuḏn-* <AA **ʔu/iǯ-n-*; besides, *iḏn* is a graphic sign depicting ear and as such can hardly be sc. ◊ **c: Copt *maʔǯ*** // (Bohairic *maššе*), continues Eg *m-sḏr* (the main Eg Pyr term for 'ear', not in Fl), likely <**m-s-gVl-*, cf. Med *gry-t* and *gny-t* 'part of ear', which, if rel., point to **gly*; anyway, nth. in com. w. either **c?: Tuar *t-amẓuk*** and the rel. Brb terms (<**ta-mV-ẓug-* < AA **čug-*, cf. E. Cu **ḏe/og-* 'hear') or **c?: Had *mačča*** (the Brb and Had terms are neither rel. to each other). ◊ **d: Amh *ǯoro*** // lw. (not sc.) < **d?: Or *gurra*.** ◊ **h: Hs *kunne*** // <**ḳum-n-* = **g: Kiir *kâm* <**ḳam-*, g?: Dime Hamar *ḳam*** and **Gwt *qaanté*** (so Black 295 and AMS; Fl quotes **k: Gwt *ḫaḥḥaw***) <**ḳam-t-*. ◊ **q: Mao *waale*** // probably = **q: Shin *wááza*, Male *woyzi*** (cf. Mao *mele* 'liver' vs. Male *mayzi*, Chara *mayya* <**mayʒ/ǯ-*), but may alternatively = **n: Maʔa *ilama*** (<**ʔila-maʔ*); the Shin and Male forms <**waʒ-* are anyway rel. to **a: Akk *uznu*** and the rel. Sem terms <**ʔu/iḏn-* <AA **ʔu/iǯ-n-*). ◊ **p: Ong *ʔoowa*** // rather = **q: Chara *woya*** (hardly <**waz-*: **-z* is not expected to yield Chara *-y* or *0*), **o: Dizi *ʔáái*** and **o: Iraqw *eʔa*.**

22. **'earth'** ◊ **e: Amh *afär*** // 'ashes, soil', not 'earth' (not sc.; *mare-t* and *mədər* correspond to 'earth' in Amh). ◊ **f: ArabSyr *trab*** // 'soil', not sc. ◊ **m: Bil *bira*** // < **bir-*, not = either **m: Aun *bəti*** < Agaw **bə-t-* (> Bil Khamir *bəta*, cf. Appl IC 38) or **o: Or *bīyyeʔ*** (< Cu **biy-t-*, cf. PEC 45); rather not = **m: Beḍ *būt*,** accus. < *būr-t* (RBeḍ 50) < Cu **bi/ur-* (**biy-t-* and **bi/ur-* are two different roots, cf. Arb *biyy* 'land, earth, field' *and bóore* 'earth', not in Fl). ◊ **t: Dah *guḏḏe*** // <**gud-* (HRSC 239) = **Siwa *i-ždi* <**-gidy* 'sand'** (cf. Ntifa *i-gidi* id., etc.). ◊ **x: Mao *ḳéṣê*** // <**ḳas/ṣ-* (=Kafa *ḳačinō*, Bil *ḳǔšā* 'sand') = **k: Hs *ḳaasa*.**

23. **'eat'** ◊ **e: Kiir *ši*** // 'eat soft things' <**či* (cf. Diri, Zaar, Wang *či*) = **c: Siwa *əč*, Izd *č/čat*** (*t-š*), **Dime *əts*, Hamar *its*** (*is* Bnd Ar) <**ʔič-*, not = either **e: Tuar *əkš* <**-kVs*) or **c: Jib *té*, Hs *čí*** ('eat soft things' <**ti*), **Had *it*** (met.). ◊ **a: Tum *wâm*** // *əm* ('eat hard things'), not = **a: Copt *wōm*** continuing Eg *wnm* (caus. *s-nm*) <AA *(w)lm* (Sem: Akk *lamāmu* 'chew', Arab *wlm* IV 'regale',

Mehri *awōlem* 'prepare food'), but = **j: Mkk ʔṓmi** 'eat hard things' <*ʔaym-
(cf. Migama *ʔáymó*, Sokoro *áymè* id.), **Beḍ ʔām** (not in Fl where **g: Beḍ tam**,
rather an Arabism, is quoted), **Arb ʔôhôm** (*ʔōhōm*, with an inserted -*h*-), all
<AA *ʔaym-, likely met. rel. to **o: Mao mii, Shin m** (*ma*-), **Chara ma, Male
muʔ** < AA *mayʔ-. ◊ **g: Bil ṭam** // 'to taste' <Arab ṭʕm id., not sc.; *qwi* is 'eat'
(RBil) = **h: Khmt ḫu, Aun ɣu-ŋ** and **Maʔa kuʔ** (all < Cu *ḳʷiʔ-).

24. 'egg' ◊ **lw.: Amh êŋḳulal** // *ǝnḳʷǝlal* (not a lw.) <*ʔVn-ḳulaliḥ- (SED
153-4), met. rel. to **b: Jib ḳôḥl-ât** (*ḳɛ̌ḥẑin* JJ = Mehri *ḳáwḥǝl*, Soqotri *ḳḥol-hin*)
<*ḳa(w)ḥil- (less likely = **b: Mao kyale**, as *ḳ- normally yields Mao *ḳ-); fur-
ther rel. to **l: Bil kagaluna** (*kaġalű̄nā* RBil) <*kakal- <*ḳaḥal-, **Khmt qululûna**
<*ḳulul- <*ḳuḥul-, all < AA *(ʔan-)ḳʷaḥil- ~ *(ʔan-)ḳʷaliḥ- (met.), probably
eventually rel., with *-*l* suffixed, to Cu *ḳʷa(n)ḥ- (v. below) ~ Sem.
*(ʔan-)ḳʷaḥ-. ◊ **d: Tuar t-ekaki-t** // not sc. as not used in Ahg (Ayr *te-kaki-t*
'egg'); *ta-s-ǝdal-t* is 'egg' in Ahg. ◊ **l: Aun âŋḳulualuwa** // *ǝnkʷlal* (Hetz), not
sc. as it is rather a lw. <Amh *ǝnḳʷǝlal* (as well as Bil *ǝnḳʷɔlalɛḥ* RBil and
Khmt *enqulālíh* CR Khm, lws. synonymous to the inherited forms quoted
above). ◊ **i: Mnd ŝey** // *šéya*, *ŝaẑa* CLR II 123 = **j: Gis teĉ** <t-Vĉ- (Muktele *ĉáĉáì*)
<*ŝay-, likely with a secondary lateralization < Ch *sayH- ~ (met.) *Hays-
(Goemai *haas*, Fyer *hyés*, Tsagu *sóhoyì*, Jimbin *áshú*, Zime-Dari *shae*, Birgit
íísìyà) = **a: Eg swḥ-ṭ, Copt sōwh-i** (all < AA *saw/yḥ-). ◊ **k: Ong ʕugaḥe** //
also *ʔukahɛɛ-da* SLLE 6; hardly rel. to **k: Gwt ukāḥe**, but can be a lw. <
Tsamai *ʔugaʔati* id. (SLLE 6), *ukaḥay-te* (Bl Lists); cf., however, Ong ʕ- vs.
Tsamai ʔ-, and the striking affinity of the Ong form with = **m: Dah ʕogooe**
(*ʕógohi* Tos Dah 137). ◊ **k: Maʔa ḥoḥoha** // and *ikokoha* <*-ḳVḥḳVḥ- (cf. HRSC
26), not = **k: Gwt ukāḥe** (<*ʔukaḥ-), **Ong ʕugaḥe** (v. above), but = **o: Had
ḳunḳa, Iraqw qânḥi** < Cu *ḳu/a(n)ḥ- or *ḳʷa(n)ḥ-.

25. 'eye' ◊ **d: Mkk ʔer-(sá), Kiir yir, Gis re** (and *hiri*) <*Hu/ir- not = **d:
Tuar t-eḍ-t** (Ahg *t-iṭ*), **Siwa ṭ-ǝṭṭ, Izd t-iṭ** (<*t-Hiḍ-t), **Hs ʔídɔ̀, Mnd iče**
(<*ʔid-, cf. Jimbin *ʔìda*, Migama *ʔíḍè*, etc.) < Brb-Ch *ʔid/ṭ-. ◊ **d: Tum tùwá** //
tùúr (CLR II) may be either <*tu-Hur- (sc. with Mkk, Kiir and Gis), or
<*tu-Hud- (sc. with Hs and Mnd).

26. 'fat' ◊ **b: Eg mrḥ-t** // 'oil', not sc. (< *wrḥ* 'to oil' EG II 111); nth. in com.
w. either **b: Hs may** (*mài* 'oil, fat, grease' Abr Hs 638), likely <*ma(H)r- (cf.
Sura *m̀mùùr*, Bata *māré*, Bachama *mare* CLR 132-3; cf. also Stolb 82), **b: Ong
mōra** < AA *mar- (unless a lw. < Tsamai or Or; cf. Tsamai *mooru*, Arbore
moora SLLE 6; cf. also Aun *mori*, not in Fl, Or *moora*; Akk *marû* id., Ugaritic

mru, Hebrew *mərīʔ* 'fat cattle'; Male *mōrɛsi* Bla Omot <*mor-as-*), or **b: Mao mál̀ɛ, Male māli** (in Bla Omot No. 26.5. reasonably comp. to CCh: Kilba *mal*, Margi *maél*, etc.) < AA *mal-*; *mar-* and *mal-* are better to be treated as two different roots. ◊ **c: Akk šummun-um** // 'to oil'; *šamnu* is 'oil, fat' <AA *saman-* = **c: ArabSyr saman**, not = **c?: Jib śabḥ** (*ŝəbḥún* JJ) 'fat' = Amh *säb* (the inherited term for 'fat', not in Fl., where **Amh lw. čoma** is quoted) <*ŝabḥ-* (Geʕez *ŝəbəḥ*) <AA *ĉabḥ-*. ◊ **a?: Tuar udi** // 'oil', not sc. (anyway, not = **a: Eg ʕḏ**, as Eg *ḏ* does not correspond to Brb *d*); *t-âdən-t* is 'fat' in Ahg < *-dVhʷVn-* = **e: ArabSyr dihn** = Khmt *didn-o* (not in Fl where **p: Khmt widlim** is quoted, which is an adj., not sc.). ◊ **s: Gwt kōpi** // <*gōb-* (Tsamai *gōb-i*), hardly = **s: Diz kobab** (*g-* > Dizi *g*, not *k*). ◊ **n: Dah ʔahli** (in Fleming's notation) // *ʔaŝi* < AA *ʔaŝ-* (Qwadza *aŝito*), not = **n: Yaaku lɛhɛn, Beḍ lāʔ** (<*lah-ʔ* Note, however, that Yaaku *-h* vs. Beḍ *-ʔ* is irregular).

27. 'feather' ◊ **e: Jib ferfir** // only in Bit 27 ('hasty person' in JJ 60; 'feather' in Harsusi); even if real, rel. to **e: Tuar a-fraw**, but not to **e: Khmt fälfäl̇á.** ◊ **c: Amh lab** // more likely a lw. < Omot *lababa* than an inherited Sem root (cf. LGur 373).

28. 'fire' ◊ **t: Akk iš-um** (*išātu* is the correct form) // = **b: Amh îsat** (*əs-at-*) < *ʔiš-at-* <AA *ʔis-*, not = **b: Jib ŝôṭ** <*ŝiwaṭ-* (Soqotri *ŝiyaṭ* id., Arab *šiwāṭ-* 'flame') <AA *ĉiwaṭ-*. ◊ **a: Tuar a-ku** // 'be lit', not sc.; anyway, not rel. either to **a: Eg ḫt** (*ḫ-t*) or to **a: Izd a-fa, a?: Gis ʔavo** (<*ʔafaw-*, cf. Gider *afá*, Kotoko *fo*); the latter two forms = Ahg *efew* 'fire' (not in Fl), but they have nth. in com. w. **a: Eg ḫt**; *tə-mse* is the other Ahg term for 'fire' = **f: Siwa t-imsi.** ◊ **a: Mkk ʔùwwó** // likely <*HVww-* (cf. Mofu *áwɔ̀w*, etc.), probably = Tigriñña *ḥaww-i* id., but not = either **a: Eg ḫt** or **a: Izd a-fa, a?: Gis ʔavo.** ◊ **a?: Arb ʔéeg, a: Yaaku iku, Dah ʔēga** // all <*ʔig-*, not rel. either to any of the above discussed forms sc. "a", or to **a: Gwt ḫatte** <*kat-* (Tsamai *kátte*), likely <*kaʔ-t-*; the latter form is neither rel. to any of the above discussed forms sc. "a". ◊ **o: Ong ʔoḥona** // very likely <*ʔoḥ-on-* = **a: Eg ḫt** (*ḫ-t* Pyr, *ʾḫ-t* BD-Gr) <*ʔVḫ-t* (also = Qwadza *ḫaʔo* id., met.).

29. 'fish' ◊ **d: Jib ḥut** // lw. <Arab, not sc. ◊ **g: Tuar emen** // not used in Ahg (see Fouc 1207); *a-sulm-əy* is 'fish' in Ahg = **h: Izd a-slem.** ◊ **o: Gwt ḫaáre** // < Dull *kar-* (v. Bla Ong), hardly = **o: Ong kaare, Ham kaara**; rather a lw., as the distribution of languages (also Dasenech *kắra*) points to an areal term likely of SOmot origin (cf. also Banna *kaara* id. Bla Ong after Fleming). ◊ **q: Iraqw siyyo** // *sīyɒmō, sīyó*; if, acc. to MQK, < Bantu, not sc.

30. 'fly' ◊ **c: Akk** *šaʔu* // 'fly about, flutter', not sc.; *na-pruš-* is the main term for 'to fly'. ◊ **t: Amh** *-brer* // *bärrärä*, a debatable case: rather <Cu than an inherited term (cf. SED I 4), in which case not = **t: Had** *barar-* and the rel. forms <*brr*; the latter hardly = **t: Shin** *bíd* as Shin *-d* <*-r* needs proof (cf. LambSh 281). ◊ **f: Tuar** *illai* // Ahg *elli*, Ayr *alləy*, etc. 'soar', not sc. ◊ **g: Tuar** *iggad* // Ahg *iggad* (not *iggaḍ*) 'fly' <*-wwad*. ◊ **u: Siwa** *âmfâr* // *əm-fər* = **a: Eg** *pʾ y/pʾ w*, **Jib** *ferr*, **Bil** *fir*, **Maʕa** *puru*, **Dime** *far*, as for **a: Yaaku** *pêri*, it can be either <*pir-* or <*bir-* (= **t: Had** *barar-* and the rel. forms). ◊ **l: Ong** *ʔaḫay* // does not mean 'to fly', but 'to rise, stand up' (Sava 112, Fl Ong 47; 'to fly' is conveyed by the compound *ʔaḫaibəkurru* SLLE 6); cannot be rel. to **l: Arb** *hate*, **Gwt** *ḫeʔ-iḍ*.

31. 'foot' ◊ **i: Kiir** *wasâm* // <*ʔasam-* (Jimi *assam*, Miya *ʔsúmá*, etc.), very likely met. rel. to **q: Maʕa** *saʔamu*. ◊ **l: Bil** *zaguana* // *zaġʷanā* 'heel, hoof, foot'; *luk* is 'foot, leg' = **m: Khmt** *lúkw* and the rel. terms. ◊ **aʔ: Dime** *dooto* // not = **a: Hamar** *rro*; neither one = **a: Eg** *rd* (Eg *r* <*r* or **l*, *d* <**d* or **ṭ*).

32. 'full' ◊ **c: Tuar** *itkar* // Ahg *əṭkar* = **d: Siwa** *čūr* <*tšur* <*tkur* <*ṭkur* and, probably, **h: Hs** *čikakkē* (<*tikkar-* <*ṭikkar-?*); nth. in com. w. **c?: Bil** *intaɣ-aux* (*intāġ* 'be full' < *insaġ* 'fill' RBil 40 <*ʔinč/çaḳ-*) which = **k: Khmr** *yečaq* (<*yičaḳ-*). ◊ **b?: Izd** *a-mmer* // *ʕammer* < Arab (anyway nth. in com. w. **b: Akk** *malāʔ-um* and the rel. Sem forms <*mlʔ*; a slip?). ◊ **f: Tum** *an* // = **i: Mnd** *ánnáha*, **Gis** *nah* (<*ʔa-nahw-*, cf. Bade *nuhwi*, Migama *ʔúnáw*, Ndam *ʔə́nâ* 'fill', etc.). ◊ **o: Had** *woʔma* // acc. to Sas Brj 101, = Burji *hūm-áa* (adj.), *huʔ-* (vb.), both <*huʔ-m-*; = **s: Maʕa** *hu* <*huʔ-* or **ḥuʔ-*. ◊ **r: Dah** */ook* // a conspicuous lw. with a "click" (v. HRSC 388; acc. to Bla-Tos, < Sandawe).

33. 'give' ◊ **d: Copt** *tī* // <*dy-* (considered an irregular formation from **b: Eg** *rdy* Vyc 209); neither = **d?: Tum** *tàg* <*tak-* (Boghom *tak/ɣ*), nor = **d: Gwt** *teḥ* <*daḥ-* (Tsamai *daḥ-*), nor = **d: Mao** *ta*; the Tum, Gwt and Mao forms are, in their turn, unrel. to each other. ◊ **h: Tuar** *əkf* <**əfk* // Ahg *əkf* <*Hakf-* (Ghadames *ekf*, Adghaq *akfa*, Baamrani *əkf*, etc.) and *əfk* <*Hafk-* (Semlal, Nefusa, Qabyle *əfk*) are two different roots at least on the Proto-Berber level. ◊ **i: Mnd** *so* // <*cay* (Musgum *sa*, Mburku *cey-*, Miya *câ*) not = **i: Siwa** *ūš*, **Izd** *š* <*Huk*, but very likely = **n: Arb** *sihis* (Hay Arb; *siy* Black), **Yaaku** *iseʔe* (and Somali *sīy-*) < ECu *siyʔ-* < AA **cayʔ-*. ◊ **m: Beḍ** *nun* // (*inīyu* Bl Ms after Thelwall) likely = **p: Ong** *naʔa*, but not = **m: Or** *kên* (a slip?). ◊ **q: Shin Chara Hamar** *im*, **Dime** *ʔîm*, **Male** *îng* // all <*ʔim-* (Male <*ʔing- <*ʔim-?*) = **a: Eg** *ỉmỉ* (the common notation is *ỉmy*; imp.).

34. 'good' ◊ **d: Jib** *ḫar,* **e:** *êrḥím* // *ḫar* is a noun 'well-being, good' (JJ 311; not in Bit), *ɛrḥím* is 'beautiful' (JJ 210; 'schön' in Bit 57), both not sc.; *fǝḳŝun* 'good, helpful, prosperous, (tree) flourishing' (JJ 56, not in Bit) fits better. ◊ **g: Tuar** *ifrar* // vb. = **a: Eg** *nfr* (vb.) *<*nV-fVr.* ◊ **h: Siwa** *a-zaʕim* // <Arab. ◊ **i: Izd** *rwu* // vb. < Arab *rwy* 'live well', *rawiyy-* 'abundant' < 'well-watered'. ◊ **m: Hs** *kirkii* // 'excellence' (Abr Hs 525), 'uprightness' (Barg 611), not sc.; *(dà) kyâu* (Abr Hs 602) fits better. ◊ **t: Or** *dánsa* // *<*dan-t-* = **u: Had** *deenamo* *<*dan-amo.* ◊ **x: Dah** *wíne* // = Ong *wanna* 'good (for self)' (Fl Ong 48). ◊ **$: Shin** *šênga* // perhaps = **o: Gis** *medleŋ* (= *meẑeŋ*) *<*mV-ŝVng-.*

35. 'green' ◊ **j: Hs** *šūḍī* // 'blue', not sc. with **j?: Beḍ** *sota* (*sṓt/day* RBeḍ); *kōrȅ* is 'green' in Hs (Abr Hs 538; not in Fl) = **y: Male** *karci* *<*kar-t-* (cf. *karc,* Chara *karta* 'black'). ◊ **m: Bil** *ḳutan* // *qŭṭ-ắn* RBil, probably = **u: Iraqw** *qansar* (*qancar* MQK 84 < Cu **ḳa(n)ṭ-ar-,* cf. Burunge *qančeri* 'green', *qanča* 'unripe, raw', Dah *ḳáṭṭe* id. HRSC 250). ◊ **n: Khmt** *limlim* // a lw. <Eth (< Sem: Arab *lmm* 'av. les dattes presque mûres' BK 2 1022, Akk. *lammu* 'almond tree; sapling' CAD *L* 68; comp. by L.Kogan). ◊ **r: Gwt** *illaḥa* // hardly unrel. to **p: Arb** *ʔiliʔi* (<E. Cu **ʔilaḥ-*), though **ḥ* is expected to yield Arb *h,* not *ʔ.* ◊ **?: Maʔa** // (no term in Fl) *-hako* HRSC 388, likely = **?: Hamar** (no term in Fl) *ʔɛḳ* (Bnd Ar). ◊ **?: Ong** // *carkamuni, čarḳa-muni* (in Bla Ong 'green, wet' comp., on the one hand, to Ong *čarki* 'dew', Tsamai *čarke* id., and, on the other, to Aun *carki* 'black', which looks preferable) *<*carḳ-* or **çark-?*

36. 'hair' ◊ **b: Akk** *peertu/šaartu* // two different roots: *pēr-t- <*paʕr-* *<*parʕ-* = **c: Copt** *fōe* continuing Dem *fʕy,* OEg *f:ʕ <*fVrʕ* (EDE II 564); and *šār-tu* = **b: ArabSyr** *šaʕra* (<Sem **ŝaʕr-*) and **g: Izd** *a-zzar <*-zHar,* all <AA **ĉaʕr-.* ◊ **e: Amh** *ṣägur* // *ṭägur* <Cu (cf. Bil *šuǵŭr* R Bil, Afar *ḍàgor* P-H id.), not sc. with **e?: Shin** *ṣiraa.* ◊ **o: Aun** *cîcîfi* // *cicifi* Appl VS, *ṣiṣifi* CR Aw < AA **ĉifĉif-,* cf. Arab *ḏfḏf* 'plait (hair)' and Hs *çéfè* 'comb (the beard)'; not = **o: Bil** *šîbka,* **Khmt** *ṣîvḳa <*çibk-.* ◊ **p: Or** *rifeensa* // since Or *f* continues both **f/p* and **s* (< AA **č*), can either = **p: Arb** *ruufan* (*-f- <*p/f* only), or, less likely, = **p: Yaaku** *risin* (if *<*ris- <*rič-*); the latter term, however, is rather *<*riz-in-* *<*riʒ/ž-* (obviously not = Arb *ruufan;* cf. also Dah *ráḍà-ne* 'feather') = **q: Had** *odda <*ʔord- <*Cu **ʔV-rVʒ/ž-* (cf. Kambatta *orza-t,* Burji *orda* id.). ◊ **k: Gwt** *kaaso* // *<*gaz-* (Tsamai *gaz-o*), not = **k: Hs** *gāši* (*gášĭ*) *<*gač-;* the latter = **l: Mnd** *ugʒ* (*ugže, úkže*) *<*gʷVč-* (otherwise *<*gʷaʒ-* = Hs *gìzō* 'k. of hair' = **Gwt** *kaaso <*gaz-*), **Gis** *ŋwič* (= Mofu *áŋgwɛ̀č <*ʔan-gwVč-*).

37. 'hand' ◊ **a: Eg *d*** // a sign depicting hand, not sc. ◊ **d: Copt *tor*** // continues **b: Eg *ḏꜣt*** (*ḏꜣ-t*, *ḏry-t* <**gVry*?). ◊ **g: Tum *genǐ*** // *gēŋ* <**gVnH-*, very likely = **o: Yaaku *kiʔine*** <**giʔn-*, met. <**gVnʕ-* (Bayso *gene*, Burji *gan-áa*, cf. PEC 17), which may further met. rel. to **m: Had *anga***; the latter, anyway, not = **m: Or *harka*, Gwt *ḥarkó*** (a slip?). ◊ **l: Aun *taf*** // <**ṭaf* (Damot *ṭäf*), not = **l: Dah *ḏaba*** <**dab-*.

38. 'head' ◊ **a: Copt *ǯo*** // continues not **a: Eg *tp*,** but **s: *ḏꜣḏꜣ*** (a slip?). ◊ **c: Tuar *a-gayu*** // not sc. as not found in the available sources (*a-gayu* is 'head' in Shilḥ); *eɣəf* is the main Ahg (and other Tuar) term for 'head' = **d: Siwa *a-ḫfi*, Izd *iɣf*** (<**-ḳafy*). ◊ **c: Hs *kay*** // cannot be sc. with **c: Tuar *a-gayu*** (see above; anyway, Hs *k-* does not correspond to Brb **g-*), very likely = **Kiir g: *kām*** <**ka-m* (also = Bolewa *kɔi,kòyí*, Migama *kàyà*, etc.). ◊ **j: Beḍ *girma*** // <**gir-m-*, nth. in com. w. **j: Gwt *pukkaʕ-ate*** (a slip?), but likely = **l: Aun *ŋari*** (Hetz), *ngári* (Bla Ms after Beke) <**ʔan-gar-*? The latter, anyway, has nth. in com. w. **l: Or *mataʔ*** and the rel. Cu and Omot terms (a slip?) <**matḥ-* (PEC), which, in their turn, hardly = **l?: Maʕa *-muʔa*** (acc. to HRSC 387, = Dah *ʕani*, which is doubtful) which has parallels with no *-t-*: Afar *amṓ, amū́*, Sidamo *umo* (besides, **-t-* > Maʕa *0* would be difficult to prove).

39. 'hear' ◊ **c: Izd *sfeld*** // *s-fəld* (caus. *s-*stem), nth. in com. w. **c: Tuar *sel*** (*əsəl*) and **Siwa *sel*** <Brb **islaw*. ◊ **i: Beḍ *masu*** // probably = **i: Bil *was*, Khmt *waš*** (unless <**waǯ-*, cf. Khamir *waz/ǯ*), which are likely rel. to **o: Ong *ʔãš*** and met. rel. to **q: Shin *šiša*, *ši*** (<**siʔ-/*siʔsaʔ-*; rel. to Ong in Bla Ong), but either one has nth. in com. w. **i: Had. *maččč-ɛs*.** ◊ **p: Mao *ḳewe*** // <**ḳeb-* (cf. Moča *ḳäbbi*, etc.) = **l: Gwt *ḳapaġ*** <**ḳa(b)ḳab-* (cf. Tsamai *qʼabay-s-*).

40. 'heart' ◊ **a: Tuar *ul/ulaw-en*, Siwa *uli*, Izd *ul*** // <**wVli(m)-* (cf. Kel-Ui *uləm*), not = **a: Eg *ỉb*, Akk *libbu*** and the rel. forms <**lib-* (both have nth. in com. w. **a: Tum *tuwaṛ*),** but = **?: Hamar *weylêm*** and, more hypothetically, **s: Ong *ləəta*.** ◊ **k: Or *onneʔ*** // <**wadn- *wazn-* (PEC 20) = **m: Had *wodáno*** = **i: Khmt *îîzên*** (*əzãn* in Appl Khm; however, glossed as 'fegato' in CR Khm 208 while *gizú* is given for 'heart'), **Bil *wadän*,** pl. *wazan* (RBil; not in Fl); all <AA **waǯin/m-* (Sem: Arab *waḏam-* 'belly with intestines'). ◊ **l: Arb *zazzá*, Male *saaza*** // <**ʒaʕʒaʕ-* = **n: Gwt *saʕa-ko*** <**ʒaʕ-* (= Tsamai *záʕ-kó*). ◊ **r: Maʕa *ŝawaho*** // acc. to HRSC 387, *swaho*; <**s/ŝawah-*, likely = **j: Aun *šəw*** <**ŝVw- or *sVw-*.

41. 'horn' ◊ **a: Mkk *ʔopi-só*** // hardly = **a: Eg *ʕb*** (*-b* is expected to yield Mkk *b*, not *p*). ◊ **i?: Aun *žênž*** // <*ʒ/žanʒ/ž-? Hardly = **i: Bil *giḫ*** (pl. *gíꝁik*), **Khmt *ži*** (pl. *žíꝁ*) <*giḫ- (Appl VS); the latter probably = **j?: Arb *gah-mo*,** pl. *gáh* (perhaps <*gaḫ-); the latter is hardly rel. to **j: Or *gaáfa*, Gwt *kaas-ko*, Ong *gattakko*** <*gač-? (I suppose *-č- because of Or *-f-* vs. *-s-* in other E. Cu and a very tentative assumption that if the Ong example is rel. and not borrowed < Dullay, it is *č more than any other sibilant expected to yield *-t(t)-* in Ong). ◊ **b?: Maʕa *ḫaḷemu*, Iraqw *ḫarmo*** // <*ḫaad- (acc. to HRSC 256 quoting Maʕa *lu-haremú, lu-ḫaremú*; for S. Cu *-d* see ibid. 22) or *ḫar-; anyway, not <*ꝁar- (for S. Cu *ḫ and *ꝁ see HRSC 26-7), not = **b: Akk *karn-*** (a mistake for *ꝁarn-*) and the rel. forms <*ꝁar-n-*.

42. 'I' ◊ **b: Kiir *am*** // nth. in com. w. **b: Jib *hai*** (*he, heʔ* JJ). ◊ **f: Shin *ta/taani*, Chara *ta/taani*, Male *tani*** // <*ta-ʔa-ni; these composed forms by second and third or only third of their components are met. rel. to **a: Dizi *inu*, Dime *aat-o/e*** (*ʔatə* Bla Om), **Hamar *inta*, Beḍ *ane*, Bil *an*, Khmt *ān*, Aun *an*, Or *ani*, Had *ani*, Gwt *ano*, Dah *ana/aňi*, Maʕa *ani*, Iraqw *an/ani*, Eg. *ỉn-k*, Copt *anok*, Akk *anā-ku*, Amh *ani*, ArabSyr *ana*, Tuar *nek*, Siwa *niš*** (<*ni-k), **Izd *nekk*, Mkk *nu-ŋ/nūno*, Tumak *nâ*, Hs *nī/nā*.** ◊ **a: Eg. *ỉn-k*, Copt *anok*, Akk *anā-ku*, Tuar *nek*, Siwa *niš*, Izd *nekk*** // are rel. by their *-k* component to **e: Ong *ka/kāta*.**

43. 'kill' ◊ **Akk b: *mqt*, c: *dāku, nēru*** // three, not two, different roots, of which *diāku* is the main term for 'kill', *nēru* 'kill, slay' fits less, while *maꝁātu* is 'fall down, collapse; attack' (*šu-mꝁutu* 'strike, kill in a hunt'), not sc. ◊ **f: Amh *g-d-l*** // **gäddälä** <*gdl (Eth and Arab 'to fight'), not = **f: ArabSyr *qatal*** <*ꝁtl (cf. Arab *gdl* 'to fight'; cf. two different roots, *gdl and *ꝁtl, in Gurage LGur 262, 508). ◊ **Mkk h: *t-*, k: *īd*** // no *t-* in JMkk and CLR II (probably *t-ídè* CLR II 213 is erroneously separated into two different roots); may rel. to **k: Tum *až*** (if the latter is <*ʔad-), but not **k: Mnd *ža*** (<*ž/ʒa, not *da), which, in its turn, may = **k: Tum *až*** (if <*ʔaʒ/ž-) and very likely = **t: Dah *ʒeʔeḍ*** <*ʒeʔ-eḍ (caus. of *ʒā̃ʔ- 'die') and **Ong *ži?*** (Fl Ong 50), all <AA *ʒaʔ- or *žaʔ-. ◊ **z: Dime *dēs*, Hamar *dees*** <*de-es (caus. of *di- or *day-'die'); if *d-* reflects AA *d-, may rel. to **k: Mkk *īd*,** if *d-* reflects AA *ʒ- or *ž-, may rel. to **t: Dah *ʒeʔeḍ*, Ong *ži?*.** ◊ **p: Arb *ʔêꝁês*, *igis*** // if *ʔêꝁês* is correct, must be two different roots: *ʔeꝁes- <*ʔVꝁVs-, either = **l: Hs *kašē*** (<*ꝁas-) or, if <*ʔeꝁ-es (caus.), = **s: Yaaku *ġai*** (*-qʿai-* Hei Ya) <*ꝁay- and **o: Khmt *ꝁūw*** and the rel. Agaw terms <*ꝁuw- (very likely rel. to Yaaku); *igis* Hay Arb 340

<*ʔigi-s- = **p: Or *ažēs* <*ʔagi-s-* (caus. of 'die') = **u: Maʔa *gaʔa* (met.; cf. *ga* 'die')
and **Iraqw *gās* (caus. of *gwāʔ-* 'die'), all <*ʔagi/g(ʷ)aʔ-s.

44. 'knee' ◊ **a: Eg *mˁs.t, pˁd* // two different roots: *mˁs.t* (Med)
<*mVlVs-* rather than *mVrVs-*, very likely = **g: Gis *miluwes*; *pˁd* (Dem) = **c:
**Copt *pat*, Tuar *a-fud* and the rel. terms. ◊ **b: Akk *birku*, Jib *bɛrk*, ArabSyr
rikbi // *birk-* and *rikb-* are perhaps to be treated as two different roots at
least on the Sem level (cf. *bārikat-* and *rukbat-* id. in Arab, etc.: see SED Nos.
39 and 232). ◊ **d: Mkk *ziibe* // not <*gib-*, neither = **d: Tum *gub* (<*gup-*, cf.
Migama *gìppì*, Jegu *gifo*), nor = **d: Hs *gwiiyaa* (pl., *gwí-wà* sing.); the Tum
and Hs terms are not rel. either. ◊ **i: Arb *kilik* // <*kilk(il)-*, likely = **p: Dizi
kola, but as *g-* does not yield Arb *k-* and *-b* does not yield Arb *0*, the Arb
form neither = **i: Or *žilba*, Had *gurubbo* (<*gulubb-*, cf. Sidamo *gulube*),
**Gwt *kilpay-(ho)* (<*gilb-*, cf. Tsamai *gilib-ko*), **Dah *gíllibe* (pl.), *gilli* (sing.),
**Ong *gibila* (met.), all < AA *gilb-*, nor = **i: Bil *girb* (with the rel. Agaw
forms) and Shin *gūbra* (met.) < AA *girb-* (to be rather treated separately
from AA *gilb-*), nor = **i: Iraqw *guruŋgura* <*gʷVr(un)gʷVr-* (cf. Alagwa
gurunguda, Burunge *gurungunda*), rel. to Omot: Mocha *gur-āto*, She *gur-āt*;
Ch: Kera *gə̀gə̀r*, Sokoro *gorungorundu* 'knee'; Sem: Arab (dial.) *ʔəžər*, Eth
**ʔi(n)-gir* 'foot' (v. SED I, 9), all < AA *gʷVr(gʷVr)-*; whether the latter is rel.
to AA *girb-* with *-b suffixed is a difficult question.

45. 'know' ◊ **b: Eg *rḫ* // hardly = **b: Bil *arʔ*, Gwt *ar*, Chara *ar*, Male *er*
<*ʔar-* (less probably <*ʔarḫ-*, though the reflexes of AA *ḫ in Cu and Omot
are not clear), probably including **b: Mao *ald-* (<*ʔar-d-*, acc. to Bla Omot
45.1.) and **l: Had *laʔ-*, poss. <*raʔ-*; neither all these forms nor Eg *rḫ* = **b:
**Khmt *aarqu* <*ʔarḳ-* <AA *ʕarḳ- (> Eg 18 Dyn *ʕrḳ* 'understand'). ◊ **f: Amh
awḳ // *awwäḳä* <Cu (not. sc.). ◊ **h: Mnd *diy* // <*diHiy-* (cf. Zime-Batna *dìʔi*,
Mkk *dóóyè* 'teach'), likely met. rel. to **t: Akk *wadaaʔ-, eduua* (*idû* and *edû* are
the commonly quoted forms), **Jib *édaʕ* <*ydʕ.* ◊ **e: Kiir *mam* // <*man-* (Buli
man); nth. in com. w. **e: Jib *ɣárôb* (a slip?). ◊ **i: Beḍ *kan* // likely <*ḳan-* (cf.
Somali *oḳŏ́n*) = **m: Yaaku *ġêêno* (*qɛɛnoʔ* Hei Ya) <*ḳēn-.

46. 'leaf' ◊ **a: Eg *jˁb* // NK *ḏbˁ* and Med *gˁbt* are the correct forms (<*gˁb*
or *gbˁ*). ◊ **b: Jib *erqet*, **c: *ṭeʕl* // *erqét* is 'leaf' in Bit 13 (acc. to JJ 292, *ɛrɛ́ḳt* is
'sheet of paper'), an Arabism (not. sc.); *ṭeʕl* is 'leaf' in Bit 65, not in JJ; *ṣɣiẑ̂f-ot*
is 'leaf' in JJ 237 < common MSA *ṣaɣilf-at.* ◊ **m: Bil *aša* // = **n: Khmt *ḫaca*
(*háṣa* Bl Ms after Appl, *ḫaaça* Bnd LE), **Aun *ḫaaci* <*ḫaç-*, but not = **m?: Gwt
aaḫi-ǯče <*ʔaki-t-*, which is rather rel. to **m: Yaaku *êši ʔ* (*ɛçeni*, pl. *ɛçi ʔ* Hei Ya;

< *ʔVki* unless a lw. < GWT); **n: Khmt** *ḫaca*, **Aun** *ḫaaci*, in their turn, have nth. in com. (a slip?) w. **n: Dah** *ŝáb̲ùne* (<*ŝab-un*), likely = **p: Arb** *seeb* (<*ŝeb-?*). ◊ **o: Maʔa** *hopi* // nth. in com. w. **o: Or** *bāla*, **Arb** *báal* (a slip?). ◊ **q: Mao** *yaç, waale* // two different roots, neither having anything in common with **q: Had** *búyya* (slips?); Mao *waale* (<*waʕl-?*) is probably met. rel. to **p: Iraqw** *loʕo* and Male *ʔilaši* Bnd Om 59 (not in Fl) <*ʔil-aš-* <*ʕil-?* Cf. also Hebrew *ʕälä* and Somali *ʕáléen*, pl. *ʕáléemó* id.

47. '**lie**' ◊ **a: Eg** *nm* // not *nm*, but *nmʕ* 'sleep' ('schlafen; im Todesschlaf liegen' EG II 266), not sc. as 'lie' with **a: ArabSyr** *nam*. ◊ **c: Akk** *nʔḫ* // *nâḫu* is 'to rest'; *niāl-* is 'to lie'. ◊ **d: Copt** *ʔenkot-* // continues Eg *ḳd-t* 'sleep' (<*ḳd*), nth. in com. w. **d?: Or** *erkaḏu* <*hirk-aḏ-*, but = **Ong** *ḳaada* 'sleep, lie' <*ḳad-*. ◊ **h: Tuar** *enser* // not in available sources; *ǝns* is 'to lie'. ◊ **z: Iraqw** *honguʕus* // *hunguʕ-us* 'heal, rest' (MQK; not sc.); *qaat* is 'lie' (MQK, Magh; 'sleep' in Whit) <*ḳat-*, perhaps = **m: Hs** *kwanta* <*ḳ/kwant-*. ◊ **w: Dah** *kaaj* // misleading transcription (*j* inconsistently renders [y], see in 46. 'leaf'): *kāy-* 'lie or put down' EEN 10 (not sc.); *ḫom-* is 'lie, sleep' (<*bVʔ-Vm-?*), probably = **p: Beḏ** *bʔa* (*biʔ, embiʔ* RBeḏ) and **y: Maʔa** *bodi* <*bo-di* (acc. to HRSC 388, *-bo*).

48. '**liver**' ◊ **a: Eg** *mꜣst* // (wrong transliteration: *s* renders *z* in EG; *mꜣz-t* and *myz-t* are the correct forms) undoubtedly = **p: Male** *mayzi* <*mayʒ/ǯ-* (cf. also Basketo *māyiz*, Dokka *maiz*); as to **p: Mao** *mēle* it may or may not be rel. (< *miʒ/ʒ-*? Cf. Mao *waale* 'ear' rel. to Male *woyzi* <*waʒ-* ?). ◊ **g: Hs** *ha-ntā* (atypical assim. <*ham-t-?*), probably = **m: Yaaku** *ahman* <*ʔa-hVm-an*. ◊ **?: Copt** *ʔuphaǯi* // a Bohairic word; no term for 'liver' attested in Sahidic. ◊ **e: Tum** *telu* <*tiHl-* or rather *ṭil-* (probably rel. to Sem: *ṭiḫāl-* ~ *ṭu/alhīm-* 'spleen' SED 278), not = **e?: Or** *tiruʔ*, **Arb** *tirá*, **Gwt** *tire*, and **Maʔa** *tiḷao* (*tirao* HRSC), all < AA *tir-*, with unclear relations to **e?: Dime** *taaRte* (if *R* renders [ɣ] as in other cases in Fl, *-r* > Dime *ɣ* needs to be proved) and Hamar *tîrób̲ó* (*tirá+ḫo* and *tɔ'rɔ+bɔ*, acc. to Bnd Om 213; *-b/b* a fossilized suffix?); the latter is a lw. < Or, acc. to Bnd Om 213. ◊ **l: Had** *afáre* // <*ʔafal-* (Had *-r-* <*-l-* is regular, cf. Sidamo *afale*, Kambatta *afali*), hardly = **l: Shin** *ʔafára*, rather <*Hafar-* (> Moča *ap̃áro*, Anfillo *afāro*). ◊ **?: Dizi** (no term) // *bo, bow* is the term (in [Bla Omot No. 48.5.] rel. to Shako *bo* 'belly' and NOmot *būp-* 'chest'; add Sezo *bèi* 'liver').

49. '**long**' ◊ **d: Jib** *rihm* // <Sem *rym* 'be high, long' (see LGz 478), not = **d: Amh** *räžžim* <*rzm* (Amh *räzzämä* 'be tall, long'), but = **g?: Dah** *rumāt̲e*

<*rum-at- and, probably, **g: Ong ʔorma** <*ʔV-rVm- (both have nth. in com. w. **g: Izd ɣzif**; a slip?); the problem is there are also Hamar *orma* (Bla Ong; not in Fl), Banna id. and Tsamai *orma* 'tall, long' (a lw. < Tsamai or Hamar into Ong or a common SOmot root > Tsamai?). ◊ **c?: Mkk soʔor** // neither = **c: Copt šiai** continuing Eg Dem *ḫy, ḫʕiy* (Vyc 259), nor = **c?: Gis subor** <*subor- (the Copt and Gis forms have nth. in com. either), but = Beḍ *serắra* (not in Fl) and **e: Bil šer** (*šīr* R Bil), all < AA *sVʔVr- having nth. in com. w. **e: ArabSyr ṭawîl** (a slip?) and not = **e: Or ḍēraʔ, Arb ḍērá** <*<*ḍer-; the latter not = **e: Iraqw c̣er** (*c̣eer* MQK; acc. to HRSC 216, <*ĉeed-: Burunge *ĉedi*, Alagwa *ĉer*), which, in its turn, = **?: Mnd ŝâḍe** (<*ĉadH-) and, very likely, **r: Dizi šadn-îs** <*ĉad-n-; none of the above = **e?: Had kērắʔla** (*k̟ērāla*) <*k̟ērār-. ◊ **i: Kiir kâsŋai** // possibly <*kac̣-n- = **o: Mao kwāṣâ** < AA *k̟ʷac̣-. ◊ **l: Gwt sikāpa** // <*žigab- (Tsamai *zigaba*), met. rel. to **s: Hamar gúdúb**, all AA <*gʷižab- (Sem *gVḍVb-: Arab *žaḏbat-* 'certain length of a route, distance between two stations', *žḏb* 'to pull out' BK 1 268, Jib *gɔ́ḏɔ́b*, Mehri *gəḏōb* id. JMhr 115); **s: Hamar gúdúb**, whatever alike, rather not = **s: Dime gudum** < AA *gʷimaʒ- (Sem: Arab *žmz* 's'eloigner, marcher d'un pas large' <*gmz) to which **k?: Shin génzá** (-n- assim. <*m before z) is likely met. rel.

50. 'louse' ◊ **b: Copt kakte, a: sib** // no *kakte* in Vyc. ◊ **d: Akk kalma-tu** // not = **d: ArabSyr k̟amli (k̟amel), Amh k̟əmal** (v. SED II, forthcoming). ◊ **h: Kiir kwor kwota** // lw. (not sc.) < **h: Hs k̟wark̟watằ** < *k̟ʷatk̟ʷat-, rather than <*k̟ʷaro 'insect'+*k̟ʷat-), which has nth. in com. (a slip?) w. **h: Had ibiba** (a slip?); the latter likely = **k: Bil bita** <*bi-t-, Khmt **bît**. ◊ **Maʔa n: ŝo, o: pákác̆á** // not in my sources; *gīŝo* is 'louse' in Mein 309 and HRSC 386. ◊ **q: Mao k̟īšê, Dime k̟as, Hamar k̟asa** // very likely = **m: Gwt isg̟é** <*k̟isk̟- (Tsamai *q'isk-e*; unless a lw. < Omot or vice versa) < AA *k̟a/ic-am- (Sem: Ugaritic *k̟ṣm* 'grasshopper', Arab *k̟aṣām-* 'locust', v. SED II). ◊ **p: Ong ṣamiṣa** // probably met. <*ṣaṣ-Vm- (cf. the -am- suffix in insect names, like in Sem *k̟aṣ-am- above), in which case = **r: Shin ṣusa, Chara c̆uuc̆, Dizi c̆užžu**; as to **r: Male c̆uguc̆**, it may be a different root as -g- is hard to explain (cf., however, Bnd Om 59).

51. man ◊ **b: Akk eṭl-um** // rather 'young man'; *zikar-* is the common term for 'man'. ◊ **c: Copt rem** // Bohairic *rōm-i*; continues Dem *rmt*, Eg *rmṯ* <*rVmk or, rather, *lVmk, cf. Fayumic *lōm-i*. Nth. in com. w. **c?: Beḍ raba**, which is not sc. at that as it is an adj. 'männlich' RBeḍ188 (*tak* is 'man' in Beḍ). ◊ **g?: Izd a-ryaz** // <*a-rgaz (Rif *a-rgāz*, etc.) <* -rgaž/ʒ; not = **g: Tuar a-lâs** (*aləs*) <*a-haləs. Likely met. rel. to **p: Aun ŋirž̌I** (*ngắrži* Bl Ms after Beke)

<*nV-garǯ/ʒ-. ◊ **k: Kiir ḅyèt** // probably <Jarawan Bantu CLR I 115, not sc. ◊
s: Dah ḥaaǯo // <*ḥayy- = **t: Iraqw ḥawata** (also rel. by HRSC 386). ◊ **u: Ong
šoqota** // rather 'male, masculine, vir' (Fl Ong 52; *šoqta* 'male, bull' ST 129)
than 'man' (not sc.); *ʔinta, hinta* is 'man' (ibid.) = **v: Mao êntê/ênṭê.**

52. 'many' ◊ **c: Copt emašo** // also *m-ašo*, continues **a: Eg ʕš**;
<AA*ʕVĉVr-. ◊ **h: Siwa kum** // unless <Arab *kawm-at-* 'heap', likely = **v: Dah
káʕîme** and, perhaps, **h?: Maʔa kumuḷe** (*kumúre* HRSC 246) <*kum-ur-? ◊ **i:
Izd šigan** // <*ki-yiga-n = **g: Tuar a-iǯe-n** (Ahg *a yəḡḡîn*) <*ya-ggay-n and
Siwa *wažin* (not in Fl) <*wa-gVy-n (all < Brb *-gay-) = **x: Mao gyaayê**. ◊ **n: Hs
yawằ** // perhaps = **y: Shin ayá**. ◊ **o: Mnd kwottya** // <*kʷVt- (= Jegu *kot* 'all')
hardly = **o: Beḍ gweda-bi, Arb guudi-da, Ong gedahuni** (all <*gʷVd-). ◊ **q:
Bil bayaǯ, Khmt biǯeḳ** // lws. <Eth (LGz 117); *gari-* is the inherited term in
Bil (= **m: Kiir gâri**) and *eksät*, in Khmt. ◊ **s: Or hêdu** // likely = **p: Gis haḍa**
<*hada (*-d- > -ḍ after a laryngeal).

53. 'meat' ◊ **a: Eg ἰwf** // met. rel. to **o: Iraqw fuʔunai** (<*ʔuf; cf. Burunge
fuʔum/nay, Asa *fuʔumay* id.). ◊ **e: Tuar i-san** // pl. of *-say-*, most likely < AA
*ŝaʕ- 'large cattle, meat', definitely neither = **e: Mkk séì, Kiir ĉo, Mnd ĉuwa**
< AA *ĉaw- (AA *ĉ yields Brb *z, not *s), nor = **e: Gis ʔiše** (most likely <*ʔič-;
acc. to Stolb, AA *ŝ yields Gis ẑ, AA *ĉ yields Gis ŝ, so Gis *ʔiše* is hardly rel.
to the Mkk, Kiir and Mnd forms); the latter likely = **j: Khmt siyya, Aun îši**
<*îški (acc. to Appl VS, Khmt *siyya* is <*siḥ, but, together with Aun *îši*, it is
rather <AA *čVʔw- ~ *ʔačw-), **Mao oške, Male aški, Dizi ačku, Chara ačča**
(<*ač- in Bnd Om 213) = **e: Or fóni** <*soʔ-n- (f < *s in Or points to AA *č), **Arb
soʔ**; none of the forms quoted above = **j: Bil ziga** (*zeǵấ*, pl. *zik* RBil, *sîḫa* Bnd
LE) <*sig-, Gwt *sakan-ko* <*sagan- (Tsamai *sagan-ku*).

54. 'moon' ◊ **b?: Jib ʔɛrət** // <*ʔari-t-, not = **b: Akk warḫu** <*warḫ-, but =
a?: Tuar éor, Izd a-yur <*HVyur (hardly = **a: Eg ἰʕḥ** <*yVʕḥ-, cf. ECu:
Rendille *yéyaḥ* id.) <AA *ʔary- ~ *ʔayur-. ◊ **q: Kiir pyaŋ** // lw., cf. PW Ni-
gritic *-pian- CLR I 119. ◊ **g: Beḍ terig** // also *terik*; as -*k/g* added to *ter-*
cannot be explained by any phonetic or morphologic process, rather not
cognate to **g: Mkk térè, Tum dâṛ, Mnd tre** (all <*tVr-), but a lw. <S. Eth
*ṭaraḳ- including Amh *čäräḳ-a* id. cog. to Arab *ṭāriḳ-* 'morning star'; either
the Beḍ or Ch terms have nth. in com. w. **g: Gis kiya** (said in note 41 to be
"scored cognate with Mandara purely on the authority of Jungraithmayr &
Ibriszimow"). ◊ **j: Had agána, Male agina** // one of the forms seems bor-
rowed from the other (cf. Bnd Om 118 comments on "Macro-Ometo" forms

vs. HEC *agan-a: "Possible loan, but which direction?"), rather the Had term being the inherited one (in which case the Male term should be considered lw. and not sc.) < HEC *HagVn- (Burji agun-čo, Sidamo agana), which may well be <*Hag-Vn-, with -Vn- suffixed = **k: Dah háge** (< Cu *hag-; cf. also Dasenech agen-ǯo id.). ◊ **i: MaꞀa klaꞀhe** // mistaken for mŝihe (HRSC 387)? = **i: Iraqw ŝaha-ŋw** (also rel. ibid.), but not = **i: Gwt leꞋayo** and the rel. terms <*liꞋ; in Iraqw and MaꞀa neither ŝ- <*l-, nor -h <*-Ꞌ. ◊ **k: Dizi acim** // <*Ꞌac-in/m- (Nao acin; cf. Bnd Om 214); nth. in com. w. **k: Dah háge** (a slip?), but likely rel. met. to **l: Mao Ꞌaansê** and, perhaps, **m: Shin ašísa** <*Ꞌacic-? ◊ i: Ong leꞋa = i: Gwt leꞋayo and other Cu // undoubtedly a lw. < Tsamai leeꞋ-o (v. Bla Ong A. 172), not sc.

   55. 'mountain' ◊ **a?: Tum dâây** // <*ꞀVday (Ndam doi, Miya ḍəy), not = **a: Eg ḏw/ǯw** (<*gVw or *c̣/č/ĉVw, but not <*dVw), **Copt toow-pi** (tōw continuing Eg ḏw); likely = **z: Dime êdo** <*ꞀadVw-. ◊ **c: Jib giê'l** // giɛl JJ 69 (<*gibl), rather a lw. < Arab than = **c: ArabSyr ǯabal** <*gabal-; ḥẽr <*ḥimr- is the inherited Jib term for 'mountain' (not in Bit and Fl). ◊ **d: Amh tärara** // perhaps <Cu (e.g. Kemant tarārā, Munsiye tarra); in any case, neither = **d: Tuar and Siwa a-drar** (= Chara dera 'mountain', not in Fl), nor = **d?: Izd aꞀari** (aꞋari is correct) <Arab ꞋurꞋat- 'mountain top' (obviously, the Tuar and Siwa terms have nth. in com. w. the Izd one). ◊ **g: Hs tudu** // 'high ground' (not sc.); duç̣ḕ is 'mountain; stone'. ◊ **n: Arb Ꞁel** // nth. in com. w. **n: Bil giit** pl. (a slip?). ◊ **s: MaꞀa bwꞀao** // likely met. rel. to **l: Khmt aba** and Bil ambấ (RBil, not in Fl) <*Ꞁab-. ◊ **@: Hamar ḍuka** // acc. to Bnd Om 214, ḍuka (assim. <*duḳ-), very likely = Tuar a-dɣaɣ (one of the two main terms for 'mountain' in Ahg; not in Fl) <*-daḳaḳ-.

   56. 'mouth' ◊ **b: ArabSyr tumm <fumm** // <*t̲umm-, not <*fumm- (cf. Jordanian Arabic t̲imm), not = **b: Akk pû-, Amh af** and the similar terms sc. "b"; probably = **j: Had suume** (both <AA *čumm-). ◊ **d: Tuar e-mi, Izd i-mi, etc.** // <*Ꞁimi or *yVmi (the Anlaut i- is stable: pl. imaw-ən) = **d: Yaaku mɛ̄Ꞁ** and = **i: MaꞀa (mu)-Ꞁo** if, acc. to HRSC 387, mu- is not a prefix, but, on the contrary, represents a root (in this case, not = **i: Arb Ꞁohó**); all these forms rather not = **d: Siwa ambu** (pl. mba-wən) <*Ꞁa(m)bVw-, which is probably rel. to **e: Hs bāki, Tum bâg, Kiir pyik** <*ba/ik-, likely <*ba/i-k-, with a body-part -k suffix (cf. Migama bĭ́, Bolewa bò id.); the latter ones rather not = **e: Gwt pa-ko** (the morpheme division should be pak-o, as -k- etymologically is not a suffix, but part of the root) <*bag- (Tsamai bago). ◊ **l: Male ḍango** // not = **l: Shin noona, Chara nona**.

57. 'name' ◊ **a: Eg *rn*** // as there is no known AA cognates, can it be a lw. <NS? Cf. Dinka *rin*, Moro *irəŋ*. ◊ **b: Siwa *smiât*** // lw. <Arab, not sc. ◊ **c: Or maḳa?** // nth. in com. w. **c: Mnd *žira*** (*zhírạ* CLR II; <*zir-*, cf. Laamang *zə́rá*); a slip? ◊ **e: Dah *sáre*** // <Bantu EEN 24; not sc. ◊ **h: Ong *miša*, Dime *mîzi*** // rather met. <*sim-* than an unrelated root; anyway, Dime *-z-* <*s needs proof.

58. 'neck' ◊ **c: Akk ḫarur-tu** // 'throat', not sc.; *kišād-* is 'neck', met. rel. to **w: Mao *kidiše*.** ◊ **h: Tuar *i-ri*** // *iri* <*yiri* or *Hiri*, not = **h? Tum gēr** (<*gVr-*, cf. Sokoro *gèrè*), but = **k: Kiir *uyar*** (acc. to Fl, <*gwar*, but this is not so) and, probably, **h?: Hs wuyā**, both <*wuyar-* (cf. also Jimi *yaro*, Miya *wir*, Siri *yere*, Kulere *wur*, etc.). ◊ **k: Mkk neeḍe** // not in Jg Mkk (*góllá* and *ʔóré* are given for 'neck'); anyway nth. in com. w. **k: Kiir *uyar*** (a slip?). ◊ **n: Bil halḳum** // 'throat' (not sc.) and very likely a lw. <Eth (e. g. Tigre *ḥəlḳəm*) <Sem *ḥalḳum-* 'fauces; Adam's apple' (e. g. Mhr *ḥəlḳəmūt*, v. SED No. 117); hence, not = **n: Arb lúko and Ong luyoma** (which are perhaps met. rel. to **o: Khmt qälmā** [CR Khm], *qâlma* [Appl Khm]); *kirmä́* (= Ghadames *ta-kurəm-t*, Shawiya *ṭa-krum-ṭ* id.) and *gúrg* are the main terms for 'neck' in Bil, the latter = **j?: Aun gurgum** (both <*gurg-um-*, cf. also SED I, No. 93) to be treated as non-cog. to **j: Izd a-gerḍ**, at least on our present level of knowledge, as, on the one hand, the dentals do not yield *0* in Agaw and, on the other, no *-ḍ* nominal suffix is established in Brb (cf., however, Cu-Omot *sin- ~ *sinḍ/ṭ-* 'nose' below); the latter probably = **z: Male ḳorčo and lw?: Hamar ḳorči** (hardly a lw. as Fl suspects; cf. Ari *ḳurči*, *guúrzi* Bnd Om 214), <*gurṭ/č-*, with *ḳ-* assim. <*g-* under the influence of *-č-*?

59. 'new' ◊ **b: Akk *eššu*** // = **e: Amh addis**, both <Sem *ḥad(i)š-* <AA *ḥads-*; not = **b?: Aun əskawi.** ◊ **h: Mkk dáàlà, Mnd dâwale** // <*dawal-*, nth. in com. w. **h: Siwa a-trar.** ◊ **c?: Kiir pyelè** // acc. to CLR I 127, a lw. <NS. ◊ **k: Gis nawaya** // <*naway- ~ *yawin-* (cf. Daba *yìwīn*), very likely = **g: Tuar inai** (vb.) <*yVnay*. ◊ **n: Khmt aayir** // <*hayir* (Waag *háir*) = **o: Or haaraá, Arb hāráay, Had hāre-ččo.** ◊ **v: Chara meera** // probably = **a: Eg *mʔwy*** (if <*mVr*; cf. also E. Chad. Migama *máràwtà* id.).

60. 'night' ◊ **b: Akk mūšu** // = Iraqw *amsiʔ* (MQK, not in Fl). ◊ **e: Tuar e-hoḍ, Izd īḍ** // = **f: Siwa dagiaṭ** (*dag-yaḍ* is rather 'at night'; *iṭ* is 'night'), all either <*yiHʷaḍ-* (then likely = **l: Beḍ hawad** <AA *ḥawad/ṭ-* or *hawad/ṭ-*, cf. E. Cu.: Dirayta *awwaḍḍ* id. and S. Cu: Dah *hèḍḍo* 'evening') or *biHaḍ-* (Ghadames *īḅed*; then <Brb-Ch *biHaḍ-*: Karekare *bèèḍi*, Gude *vida*, Glavda

áávəḍà, Sokoro *bàḍúm*, etc.). ◊ **q: Maʔa ama** // <*ham-* = **p: Had hiima and Dah hiima**, and not = **q: Gwt awne, Yaaku awn**. ◊ **a?: Ong ʕuo, Eg wḫ-t** // doubtful as Eg *ḫ* hardly corresponds to Ong *ʕ-*. ◊ **s: Shin ṭuwa, Male ḍuumi, Mao dúúmê** // rel. if *-m-* is suffixed in Male and Mao or if *-m-* > Shin *-w-*, which needs proof.

61. 'nose' ◊ **a: Eg fnd/fnḍ** // *fnḍ*, either <*fVnVc̣/ṭ/ĉ-* (then rel. to **a: Amh afənča**) or *fVnVg-* (cf. C. Ch: Muktele fíngí 'blow one's nose'), then likely met. rel. to **h: Beḍ ginuf**, which hardly = **h: Bil ḳunba**, as neither *ḳ-* > Beḍ *g*, nor *-b* > Beḍ *f*). ◊ **d: Tuar a-nǯur** // Ahg *a-ñḡur* <*-ngur* <AA *nVḫur* = **d?: Jib naḫrer, ArabSyr mənḫar**, but not = **d: Siwa ta-nzär-t, Izd a-nzar** <*nVzar-* (Brb *z* may continue AA *ʒ, *ǯ, *c* and *ĉ*). ◊ **e: Hs (ha)-nči** // *hánčìi*, pl. *hantuna* <*ha-n-tun-*, not = **e: Mkk ʔonde** (not in JMkk and CLR II which gives *búndì-só*), but rel. to **g: Gis hâtan** (cf. also Migama *ʔítín*, Jegu *ʔètèntó*, etc.) and probably g: Mnd *âtare* (<*hatan-* ?). ◊ **i: Iraqw duŋgaʔ** // <*dung-* or *rung-*, not *nung-* (cf. HRSC 389), not = **i: Yaaku núkaʔ, Maʔa nuŋa, Dime nuku, Hamar núki** <*nu(n)k-*. ◊ **f: Tumak hun** <*sun*, **Kiir (i-)sâ, Khmt îsîŋ, Aun îsan, Or fuññān, Arb sōnó, Had sané, Dah sína, Ong siina, Dizi sin ~ siŋ** // all <*sVn-* (only tentatively = **f: Gaw sinḍe, Mao šiinṭê, Shin šínṭa, Cha sinḍa, Male siiḍi**, all <*sinḍ/ṭ-*. As the origin of *-ḍ/-ṭ* is not clear (another fossilized body-part suffix? a result of some unknown contamination?), Cu-Omot *sinḍ/ṭ-* is probably to be treated as a separate root.

62. 'not' (not included into Fleming's lists) ◊ **Ong mi-** 'verb prefix, negative, non-imperative' (Fl Ong 40) = Hamar *-ma* [Bla Omot after Fleming], (?) **Arb máala** <*ma-ala*? (also Afar *mā-*, Somali *má...in*), **ArabSyr mū**.

63. 'one' ◊ **a: Eg wʕ, Copt waʔ, Maʔa we** // <*wVʕ-*, perhaps = **d: Tuar ien** (m.), **iet** (f.) and other Brb <*yaw-n/t*, possibly <*yaʕw-*, but not = **a: ArabSyr waḥid, Amh and** < Sem *w/ʔaḥVd-*; the latter likely = **h: Hs ḍàyáa** (cf. Karekare *wáḍî*, Bachama *híḍò*, Zime-Bata *ḍāuʔ*, all <*Haday- ~ *wVHid-*) and = **a: Yaaku wêhêt** (*wɛhɛ, wɛhɛtu* Hei Ya), possibly <*wVḥVd-*. ◊ **i: Mnd palle, Gis pal, j: Gis ḅula** // both Gis forms seem variants of the same root; acc. to CLR I, 131, likely < Kanuri *fal* (cf., however Aun *empèl* [CR Aw 143], prob. implying AA *ʔVm-pal-*). ◊ **m: Or tokko, Arb takká** // rel. to **t: Dah watt-ukwe** (*waṭṭúkʷe* EEN 43). All are compound words consisting of two main components: *tV(ʔ)-* and *-(V)kaw*, or *-(V)kʷ*, the first = **m?: Gwt toʔon** (<*tVʔ-*, cf. Afar *tiya* id.) and the second = **a: Iraqw wak** and **p: Shin ikke** (cf. also Afar *in-ík*, Som *kow*), **Mao iške** (<*ʕis-kV*); the latter's first component,

iš <*ʕis-* = **p?: Chara *issa*** (cf. also Wolaita *issō, istā, issinō*) = **b: Akk *ištēn-*** (<*ʕišt-ān-* <AA *ʕis-t-an-*) and probably **e: Mkk *sòò*** (cf. *sòŋ* 'each one' <*san*? Cf. Guruntum *ša*).

64. 'person' ◊ **a: Eg *z/s*** // *z(y)*, not = **a: Mao *eesâ*, Shin *ʔaša*, Chara *atse*** (*accā* and *asā* Bnd Om 92 after Cerulli)**, Male *asi*** (*ʔas-*, rel. to Sem *ʔayš-*). ◊ **d: Jib *nafs*, e: *ensi*** // both are lws. <Arab, not sc. (besides, *ʔɛnsí* is an adjective 'human' JJ 4; 'menschlich' acc. to Bit 13). ◊ **h: Tuar *awadem*** // *aw Adəm* 'son of Adam', an Arabism (not sc.); *yən* 'one' <*yaw-n/t* (<*yaʕw-*) is used for 'person' in Ahg and other Tuar, likely = **t: Yaaku *yieʔ*** and **Dime *î'yyí*** (in this case, also rel. to the terms for 'one'). ◊ **h: Mkk *wèdì-sú*** // cannot = h: Tuar *awadem* (see above), but likely = **x: Hamar *eedi*.** ◊ **m: Beḍ *tak*** // rather 'man', while *ha* is 'person' (RBeḍ), likely = **u: Maʔa *he*** and **Iraqw *hee*.** ◊ **s: Gwt *ġawho*** // *qawḥo* <*ḳaw-ko* (Tsamai *qau-ko* 'man'), not = **s: Dah *gúḥo*,** but probably = **o: Aun *aqi*** <*ʔaḳ-* (cf. Khmt pl. *ôḳ*).

65. 'rain' ◊ **f: Tuar *i-wot*** // not in my sources; the regular term is *a-ḡ ənna* <*gVn-*. ◊ **e: Siwa *a-nzar*, Izd *a-nẓar*** // <*-nẓar* (Brb *ẓ* may continue AA *ç, *č* and *ç̂*), neither = **e: ArabSyr *maṭar*** nor **e?: Mkk *mizzi*** (the latter two are neither rel.). ◊ **l: Bil *zuwa*, Khmt *suwa*** // <*suw-*, hardly = **l: Yaaku *sôḫô*** (*-ḫ* must not yield *0* in Bil and Khmt), but prob. met. rel. to **a?: Ong *haaje*** (in fact, *haaže* , cf. SLLE); the latter is hardly rel. to **a: Eg *ḥwy-t*** unless Ong *ž* can reflect *-y(y)-* (besides in Ong *ḥ* is expected to render *ḥ* not *h*). ◊ **g: Hs *ruwa-n-samā*** // lit. 'water of the sky'; *rúwā* 'water; rain' = **i: Aun *ri/êri*** (*órí*), **Arb *ʔíríy*, Gwt *irrawo*, Maʔa *re*, Dizi *iru*, Chara *ira*** (also Soqotri *riho* 'water'), all < AA <*ʔi-ra/iw-*; probably rel. to **i: Male *irzi*** (though the origin of -*zi* attested in Male nouns still needs clarification). ◊ **p: Iraqw *ç̂uway*** // <*ç̂ubay* (cf. Alagwa Burunge *ĉubay*), not = **p: Dizi *diêb*, Dime *deebi*, Hamar *doobi*.**

66. 'red' ◊ **b: Akk *šamn-um*** // 'oil, fat, cream', probably a slip mistake for *sām-* 'red'. ◊ **f: Tuar *ihaggaɣen*** // Ahg <*-hawwaɣ-* (*ihwaɣ* 'be red') = **g: Siwa *azgaɣ*, Izd *azuggwaɣ*** (all <*zawwaɣ*) and **y: Male *zoḳe*** (Oyda *zoḳo*, Bencho *zōḳə*) <AA *ȝ/žawḳ-*. The relation of Male *zoḳe* to **y: Hamar *zia*, *zo*** <*ȝ/žiʔw-* is problematic as *-ḳ* does not seem to yield *0* in Hamar; as to **y: Chara *zua*** (or *zoʔa*), it may continue either <*ȝ/žV?-* or <*ȝ/žawḳ-*. The Hamar (and Chara?) term may alternatively = **h: Mkk *tēze*,** likely <*ta-ȝ/ža,* and **k: Hs *ȝ̌ā*** <*ža(ʔ)-* (cf. Jimbin *žiyu*, Bokkos *žuwi* 'yellow') and **v: Iraqw *daʕat*** (likely <*ȝ/žaʕ-at-*). ◊ **k: Mnd *ȝ̌a-gana*** // *žagana* (hardly a compound

word, whose first element = **k: Hs *ǯā***, see above) <*ǯagan-, likely rel. met. to
l: Gis *gagazaŋ* <*ga(ʒ/ǯ)gaʒ/ǯan-.

67. 'road' ◊ **a: Eg *wꜣt*** // *wꜣ-t* <*wVr- = **d: Jib *ʔorm*** (Mehri *ḥürum*,
Harsusi *wōrem*, Soqotri *ʔórim* <*ʔ/wVr-m-) = **x: Shin *wééra*** <*wVr- (Kafa *wore-tō*),
likely met. rel. to Iraqw *irwā* (not in Fl), all <*ʔ/wVr-m- (probably also **i:
Mkk *ʔûrzí*** <*ʔur-si* <*ʔur-? Cf. Bidiya *ʔóora* id.). ◊ **f: ArabSyr *darb*** // met. rel.
to **g: Tuar *a-barad*, Izd *a-brid*** and, perhaps, **k: Kiir *ladap*** (<*radab-?). ◊ **e?:
Mnd *ʔuŋgule*** // *úŋŋùlè*, not = **e: Amh *mängäd*** <*ma-ngad-. ◊ **lw.: Beḍ *darab***
// the inherited terms are *lagi* and *sálla.* ◊ **n: Bil *dakw*** // not in the sources
available; in PBil 101 means 'vorübergang, zeitforge' < *dakw* 'vorüberziehen,
vorbeigehen'; *gūg*, pl. *gúkek*, and *giʕd*, pl. *giʕz* are terms for 'road' in Bil. ◊ **p:
Aun *dad*** // <*dad* (redupl., cf. Burji *dáw-a* 'path'), hardly = **p?: Yaaku *dār*** (*-r*
yields in Aun neither *-d* nor *0*). ◊ **z: Male *goyci*, Hamar *goyti*** // <Omot
goy-t- (Anfillo *gɔ̄tto*) ~ *go(y)g(oy)-* (Ari *gōgi*) = **o: Khmt *gug*, Had *goga*,** all
<AA *g⁽ʷ⁾Vy(-t)- ~ *g⁽ʷ⁾Vyg⁽ʷ⁾Vy-.

68. 'root' ◊ **c: Copt *nuun-iti*** // *nowne* continues Dem *nn.t* Vyc143, nth. in
com. w. either **c: Mkk *sòttó*** or **c: Or *hídda*** <*hind- (Borana dial. *hunda*),
Arb *hízz*, Gwt *ḥitte* <*ḥinʒ/ǯ-* (cf. PEC 20); the latter three have nth. in com.
w. Mkk either. ◊ **b: Akk *šuršu*, ArabSyr *širš*, Amh *sər*** // < Sem *ŝu/ir(ŝ)- = **b:
Tum *hɔ̄rāu*** <*siraw (Ndam *sírwé*) <*ĉiraw, **Kiir *ŝéri*** <*ĉVr-, **Hs *saye*** <*sal
(*sâywáá* CLR II; rather <*sar- <*ĉar-), **Mnd *šalwa/talwa*** (*šállwā*) <*ĉar(w)-,
Gis *ŝaŝalak* (<*ĉarĉar-ak), all < AA *ĉVr(ĉVr)-, probably = **c: Mkk *sòttó*,**
likely assim. <*sorto (<*ĉur-t); relation to **b: Jib *ŝiroḫ*** is problematic, as the
origin of *-ḫ* lacks explanation. ◊ Neither of the above forms = **b: Tuar *a-zar /
a-sur*** as Ahg *a-ẓar* (not *a-zar*) and *a-sur* mean 'nerve' (*eke* is 'root'), or = **b:
Khmt *sur/sir*, Aun *sirwâ*,** which are lws. < Eth (Aun *žabi* is the inherited
term for 'root'), or = **b: Bil *zir*,** the latter likely = **h: Iraqw *deʕar*,** possibly
<*ʒ/ǯVʕVr-, and Dah *ḍara* 'root' (Bl Ms after Tosco; Fl quotes **f: Dah
múrunge,** which is a lw. acc. to EEN 39), possibly <*ʒ/ǯar- (Iraqw *-ʕ-* vs.
Dah *0* remains unexplained) and probably **b: Izd *a-ẓur*** (if *ẓ* reflects *-zH-,
cf. Iraqw).

69. 'round' ◊ **a: Eg *dbn*** // <*dVbVl- = Beḍ *debāl* RBeḍ (not in Fl) and
perhaps = **n: Male *dulaʔo*** (<*dVwVl- <*dVbVl-?). ◊ **e: Akk *kippa-tu*** // 'circle,
loop, hoop', not sc. (anyway, hardly rel. to **e: Amh *kibb*); *garr-* is 'round
(spherical or cylindrical)' CAD *g* 51 = **g?: Shin *gúúra*** and, perhaps, **g: Ya-
aku,** if it is *gorgorsiʔ* (Hei Ya) <*gorgor- (not cognate, if *ġorġorsiʔ* as in Fl,

<*ḳorḳor-). ◊ **c: Jib *ǯaʔalor,* d: *mḥer*** // as for *ǯaʔalor,* it is hard to say what is meant (nothing of the kind either in JJ or Bit); *mḥer* is 'rund' in Bit 51 (not in JJ; unless < Arab *miḥwar-,* name of various round implements, see BK 1 511). ◊ **g: Tuar *i-kriri,* Had *kululeta*** // <*kʷVr(ir)- (Ahg *keruri* means 'être en boule' Fouc 890, not sc.; *ḡələll-ət* is 'être rond' Fouc 433), neither = **g: Yaaku** (see above), nor = **g?: Shin *gúúra*** <*gur, nor = **g: Dah *kiriŋgeriŋg,*** a lw. <Bantu (EEN 11), nor = **g: Beḍ *kwaḍaḍ*** (after Roper and Hudson 1964, not in RBeḍ) as Beḍ *ḍ* is < AA *ṭ, not *r; the latter is poss. <*kʷaṭaṭ- = **b: Copt *koote*** 'to encircle, turn, etc.' (conventionally sc.) continuing Eg *ḳdy* [Vyc 89], poss. <*ḳVṭy-. ◊ **h: Kiir *šuwe,* Mnd *so*** // nth. in com. w. **h: Or *nanno*** (a slip?). ◊ **?: Hs** // perhaps *ḳawanya* (not quite 'round', but a series of close meanings Abr Hs 508), probably = Had *ḳūnḳamma* (not in Fl; though said to be derived from *ḳúnḳa* 'egg' HEC, formally fits Hs *ḳawanya* exactly) <*ḳawan(ḳ)-. ◊ **i: Arb *mar-*** // 'be wrapped, wound round', not sc. (in any case, hardly = **i: Ong *mulqʼo*** (neither in ST nor in SLLE) and Dime *mil/mul,* as Arb *-r* does not continue *l, while *-r > -l in Ong and Dime needs proof); the relations between the Ong and Dime words also problematic as *-qʼ-* in Ong lacks explanation.

70. 'sand' ◊ **b: Jib *aṭaḥ*** // Bit 14 (not in JJ); anyway, hardly = **b: Gwt *taḥa-kko*** and Yaaku *tɛhɛi,* both <*taḥay-, as *ṭ does not seem to yield *t* in Gwt and Yaaku. ◊ **f: Siwa *iʒidi*** // not in Lao where *ərrəmel* (<Arab) is given for 'sable' and *i-ždi* for 'terre'. ◊ **a: Beḍ *asse*** // *híssay, íssa* RBeḍ, *haš* Bnd LE (<*ḫVs-) = **a?: Amh *aššäwa*** <*ḫašaw- <AA *ḫasaw- and **t: Iraqw *ḥasam*** <*ḥas- (see MQK 49), but not = **a: Eg *šʕy,* Copt *šoo-pi.*** ◊ **e: Tuar *a-mlal*** // only in Taneslemt, another Tuareg language, but not in Ahg where *e-dəhi* is 'sand'. ◊ **m: Gis *ĉimiyew*** // <*ĉimiH-, probably = **u: Ong *šumaḥa*** [Fl] (*šumaḥa* SLLE, *šumaḥa* ST; <*ĉumaH-? Unless <Tsamai *šomah-tu* SLLE) = **z: Hamar *šami.*** ◊ **v: Chara *amča*** // and *ámša* (cf. Bnd 93), likely <*ʔa-mans/č-: Kachama *mansa,* Koyra *manča,* Basketo *mašint* (met.), perhaps = **o: Or *maánsa,*** unless the latter is *maán-sa* <*man-t- or a lw. <Omot (so Sas Brj 138).

71. 'say' ◊ **a: Eg *jd*** // *j* is again inconsistently used for *ǯ* or *ḍ* (cf. **b: Akk *qabaj,*** where *j* stands for [y]; note that Akk *ḳabû* is the accepted form); in the present case it is *ḍd* (otherwise *ǯd*) <*gVṭ, correctly rel. in Fl to **a?: Or *ǯêḍ,* Arb *geḍ*** <*geṭ-, but erroneously to **a?: Shin *êta/êrá*** (*êt > êr'* Bnd Om 172 after Plazikowsky-Brauner; anyway, nth. in com. w. the Eg or Or forms). ◊ **e: Gwt *pay*** // <*bay- (Tsamai *bey*), **Maʔa *baʔ*** = **e?: Gis *bẹ*** <*bVʔ- or

*ʔVbay- (probably also **e?: Mnd *bane** or *bənbà* Kraft <*ba(n)ba*?) = Dah *ʔiḇey-*
(EEN 22; Fl gives no term for Dah), all <AA *ʔibay- ~ *baʔ-*, but not = **e: Amh:**
bäl (the same root as **d: Amh *alä* <** *bhl* LGz 89). ◊ **Tuar g: *in*, h: *enniɣ*** // in
Ahg only *ənn* <**yannaw* (Ayr *ănnu*, etc.) = **g: Izd *ini* = m: Kiir *nwi*.** ◊ **j: Izd**
siwel // 'speak (parler)', not sc. ◊ **q: Iraqw *oʔ*** // *ooʔ* MQK = **s: Mao *wi***, both
<**wiʕ-* (rel. to E. Cu **waʕ-* PEC 42); neither = **q: Khmt Aun *duq*** (a slip?), nor
= **q: Yaaku *oḫ/ok*** (*okhoi* Bla Ms; *oko* 'speak' Hei Ya); the latter may be <
ʔoghoy-* = **u: Male *gɛʔ*, Dizi *gɛg* (redupl.)**, Dime *gēmu*** (<**gayH-m-*)**, Hamar**
gi*, all < Omot**gayh-*.

72. 'see' ◊ **Izd h: *raʔa*, i: *mnid*** // *raʔa* is a lw. <Arab; *mnid* is 'look for-
ward', not sc. (anyway, nth. in com. w. **i: Khmt *qalu*;** a slip?); *inni* is 'see' =
b: Tuar *aṅhi*. ◊ **k: Tum *kà*, Kiir *kwe* = k?: Gaw *ḫiʔ*** <**kiʔ-*, not = **k: Hs**
ga/ganii. ◊ **h: Bil *arîk*** // not in my sources; *qʷal* is 'see' R Bil (*qʷal-* Appl IC)
= **i: Khmt *qalu*.** ◊ **h: Beḍ *erh*** // <**ʔVrh* or, rather, <**ʔVrḥ*, likely = Copt Sa-
hidic *eiorḥ*, Bohairic *iorḥ* 'see, look' (not in Fl; hardly <*ir.t* with "added", i.e.
unmotivated *ḥ*, as in Vyc 67), cannot = **h: Izd *raʔa*** which is a lw. <Arab;
neither = **h: Or *arg*, Arb *ʔaarg*** (**g- > g*, not *h*, in Beḍ), nor = **h: Iraqw**
an/ar (no *an* in my sources; *ar* is < Cu-Omot **ʔar-* 'know, find, see'); the latter is
not rel. to the Or and Arb forms either. ◊ **n: Ong *yop*** // undoubtedly = **s:**
Dime *yeef*.

73. 'seed' ◊ **d: Tuar *t-i-fes-ṭ*, Izd *i-fs*, Bil *fadan*** // Bil *fäd-än* <**faʒ/ʒ-an-*
(cf. Kemant *fäz-än*) not rel. to Berb **fis-*. ◊ **e: Arb *báádo*, e?: Gwt *poḍaho*, e:**
Hamar *beta*, lw: Ong *baḍaho* // also *bodoḫo* Fl Ong, cf. "Both the Gawwata
and Ongota forms are isolated, direction of borrowing is unclear" (Fl note
48). Arb and Gwt (<**baḍaḥ- <*baṭaḥ-*) are rather lws. <Omot: Hamar Galila
beta, Karo *ṗeta* (v. Bnd Om 216), Zergulla *bičĕtta* (Bla Om), all <POmot
biṭaH-*; nth. in com. w. **e: Hs *iri* (a slip?); the latter likely = **b?: Chara *yɛr***
(hardly <**ʒ/ʒVr-*, as **ʒ* and *ʒ* seem to yield *z*, not *y* in Chara; cf. also Bnd
Om 93), not = **b: Akk *zēr-*, Amh *zär*,** as for **b?: Male *zêrci*,** it is rather a lw. <
Amh than an inherited word (cf. Bnd Om 93).

74. 'sit' ◊ **g: Tuar *ṛaim*** (an outdated French way of rendering *ɣ* as *r*;
ɣaym is the correct form) = **i: Siwa Izd *qim*,** all Berb forms <**ḳaym*. ◊ **f: Tuar**
assis // no *assis* in Tuar or anywhere (a mistake for 'être assis'). ◊ **c?: Bil**
kaf-y // a lw. < Tigriñña *kof bälä* (with a safe Sem. etymology: Arab *wukf-*
'tapis...pour s'y asseoir', Mehri *šə-wkūf* 'to lie'). ◊ **h: Siwa *nan/ʕaʕan*** // no
nan in my sources; *ʕanʕan* is an Arabism, not sc. ◊ **n: Mnd *nʒa*** // <**nVʒa* or

*nVžak (Mofu *-nž-, nžókwám*, Glavda *ndzaẖ*, Guduf *ndzᵊgàna*, Daba *ndzhà*), likely = **r: Aun *inžku-ŋ*** *<*ʔin-žVk-* or **ʔinž-Vk-* (Kunfal *enž*; cf. also Dasenech *dik-* *<*ʒ/žik-*) and probably = **w: Maʕa *zoho-di*** (-*zoko* HRSC 388) *<*žok-*. ◊ **q: Khmt *qôy-u*** // acc. to Appl Khm and CR Khm, *gwâyyu* *<*gʷay(H)-* = **v: Dah *gwaẖ*.** ◊**p?: Arb *siyʔ/siḍi*** // *-siye* (*siḍi* is *<*siʔ-ḍ-*) = **p: Beḍ *sāʔ*.** ◊ **e?: Gwt *ʕakkaḍ*** // *ʕakk-aḍ*, not = **e: ArabSyr *qaʕad*,** but probably met. rel. to **q: Mao *kú-i,*** Chara *kot-ət* (*<*kuʕ-*? Cf. also Konso *kutiʕ-*, likely met. *<*kuʕ-t-*). ◊ **z: Shin *beo*** // *bèỳ-* LambSh; *<*bVy-t-* (cf. Oyda *bɛʼt-*), likely = **x: Iraqw *iwit*** *<*ʔibit-* (Burunge *ibid-*, Alagwa *ibit*) *<*ʔibi-t-*. ◊ **$: Dime *dáhân*** // *dah* (in Bnd Om 216 rel. to Ari *doʔ-* and *dook-, doḳ-* *<*doḳ-*; the latter is rather rel. to Hamar *dorrḳ*); hardly unrel. to **@: Male *dêʔ-*.**

75. 'skin' ◊ **d: Jib *gôd*** // *<*gild-*, pl. *gíźéd*, not = **d: Amh *ḳoda*,** but = **e: ArabSyr *žild*** *<*gild-*, and likely **g: Mkk *golmodo*** (met. *<*gVld-Vm-*?). ◊ **j: Kiir *kwaar*** // either *<*kʷaHar-* (then likely = **q: Yaaku *hreke*,** with met., and **q?: Iraqw *kahari***) or *<*ḳʷaHar-* (= Elmolo *úrat*, poss. *<*ḳur-at*, and Tsamai *qúuro*); anyway, not = **j?: Gis *garak*,** rather *<*gara-k* (cf. Sumrai *gàré*, Ndam *gōré*). ◊ **b?: Had *omačČo*** // *<*Homad-t-*, pl. *omadda* HEC 79, not = **b: Akk *mašku*.**

76. 'sleep' ◊ **d: Copt *hinēb*** // dissim. *<*hinēm* (Bohairic *hinīm*) = **b: Eg *nmʕ*.** ◊ **Mkk i: *mōn*, j: *(t)ùgídè*** // *mòonè* (noun), not sc.; *(t)ùgídè* *<*ʔugi-d-* likely met. rel. to **w: Chara *giʔ*,** Dah *giiṯ* HRSC 388 (not in Fl; *<*gī-t-*?) and Iraqw *gūʔ-ut* (not in Fl, v. below). ◊ **Arb l: *barž*, s: *ḳīf*** // *barž* is 'pass the night', *ḳīf* is 'lie down' (none is sc.); *ʔiñḳó* is 'to sleep' likely *<*ʔi-nVḳ-* = **y: Dime *naẖt*** *<*naḳ-t* (Cf. Bnd Ar 137-8). ◊ **t: Had *dirir*** // noun (HEC 136), not sc.; *iinseʔ-* is 'to sleep'. ◊ **lw?: Gaw *raf*** // a common Dullay root (Gollango and Tsamai id.), hardly a lw. (<Or). ◊ **q: Maʕa *sai*** // HRSC 388 gives *-ʔi* for 'sleep'; anyway, *sai* not = **q: Aun *saqi-ŋ*** *<*saḳ-* and **q?: Dizi *sog*** (even if Dizi *-g* continues **ḳ*), as **-ḳ > k/ẖ*, not *0*, in Maʕa. ◊ **a: Iraqw *qat*** // 'lie' HRSC and MQK, not sc. (in any case, not = **a: Eg *ḳd*** and Ong *ḳaada*, as **-d* does not yield *-t* in Iraqw); *gūʔ-ut* is 'to sleep' in Iraqw (v. above). ◊ **u: Mao *hāl-a*** // nth. in com. w. **u: Dah *ḅom*** and Yaaku *pom* (a slip?).

77. 'small' ◊ **e: Amh *ṭᵊnnᵊš*** // lw. <Or *ṭinnoo-šee*, not sc., so cannot = **e?: Khmt *âtni*** (*ʕᵊṭᵊn* Bl Ms after Appl), which is met. rel. to Yaaku *-dein* 'small' (Hei Ya; not in Fl) and Saho Afar *ʕunḍ* id. ◊ **g: Siwa *žir*** // no *žir* in my sources; *aḥkik* is 'small' in Siwa. ◊ **n: Gis *mečiḍek*** // *<*mV-ṭiṭik-*, likely assim. <AA **dVḳ-* (WCh: Boghom *kō-ḍók*, Dwot *nḍᵊk* 'short', Sem **dḳḳ* 'be thin,

small', ECu: Somali *dīq-* 'become faint, tenuous') = **m?: Or *diqqaʔ*, Male
ḍaka (<**ṭak-*, with a "shift of emphasis"); neither of the above forms seems
rel. to **m?: Dime *čêkk̲*,** which, if assim. <**čigg-*, is rel. to **h: Izd *mz̲y***
<**mV-z̲ig* (cf. Zenaga *mə-z̲z̲ūg*, Semlal *im-z̲ig* vb.) and **p: Bil *šug/ġ*** (vb.) R Bil
(cf. Dembea Qwara *šegŭ*) <**cəgʷ-*, acc. to Appl VS, prob. further <**čigʷ-* (cf.
Khamir *çiqŭ*, assim. <**çigʷ-*?) < AA **ç/čigʷ-* (cf. also Bla Omot No. 78.3.),
probably met. rel. to **n: Arb *gīččá*** < AA **gʷiç/č-* (NOmot: Ganjule Gidicho
Kachama *gúçi*). ◊ **q: Aun *cîli*** // <**çil-* (cf. Kunfal *ṣeliy*, Damot *ṣellá̃*), nth. in
com. w. **q: Ong *monnuʕeni*** (a slip?), *munnaʔɛnə* SLLE, *munnuʕuni* ST
<**munnVʕ/ʔ-uni*, rel. to **j: Tum *mániì*** and **j?: Dah *ʔààmína*,** Maʕa *mʔinyí*
(not in Fl). ◊ **o: Had *hóffo*, o: Beḍ *dabal*, o: Male *šanki*** // three different
roots having nth. in com. (all slips?). ◊ **p: Yaaku *niʔin*,** Iraqw *niina* (also =
Dasenech *ninen*, Elmolo *ninina*) cannot = **p: Bil *šug*** (a slip?).

78. 'smoke' ◊ **d: Jib *mândôḫ*** // *mə-ndoḫ* (Mehri *nidiḫ*), met. rel. to **e:
ArabSyr *duḫan*.** ◊ **a: Tuar *a-hu*** // = **f: Izd *a-ggu*** (Izd *-gg-* is <**-ww-*; Ahg *ahu*
and Izd *aggu* as *a-* is "stable", i.e. not a prefix but part of the root), both
<**Hab* or **Haw* (cf. Ghadames *uḇu*); if <**Haw*, perhaps = **a?: Maʕa** *(mu)-aʔu*;
neither one seems rel. to **a: Eg *ḥty*.** ◊ **f?: Beḍ *egâ*** // <**ʔVg-*, not rel. to **f: Izd
*aggu*** (*-gg-* <**-ww-*, see above). ◊ **q: Dah *ṭugwgwa*** // acc. to EEN 17
<Khoisan.

79. 'stand' ◊ **b: Akk *nemed-um* ?** // *nēmed-* 'support' (noun), not sc.;
izuzzu is 'to stand'. ◊ **c: Jib *ʕeśś*** // 'to get up, rise' JJ 17 ('sich erheben, auf-
stehen' Bit 18), not sc. (therefore, cannot = **c: Dizi *as/aš*)**; *ṣor* is 'to stand' (JJ
243; 'stehen' Bit 61), either <**ṣbr* (trans. *eṣbér*), or <**ṣwr*, in which case = **j: Hs
*caya*** (*çáyà̃* CLR II) <**çar-* (cf. Kirfi *coriyo*, Siri *cerro*, Miya *ṣər* id.). ◊ **g: Izd
*kker*** // 'rise, sprout' (not sc.); in any case, not = **g: Mkk *ʔòʔìra*,** Tum
wóóriwóóri < AA **ʔVwir-* = Had *uull* <**ʔurr-* (cf. HEC; not in Fl giving **r:
Had *kiʔ*** 'get up', not sc.), Sidamo *uurr-*, Janjero *yɛrōwa* (met.). ◊ **s: Gwt
*sikkar*** // nth. in com. w. **s: Arb *êlḍ/ell*** (*ʔel-ḍ-*); a slip? ◊ **r?: Yaaku *ġah*** // 'get
up', not sc. (no word for 'stand' in Hei Ya). ◊ **t: Dah *saaḍ*** // probably a lw.
from a Konsoid language (cf. Dirayta *soh-aḍ-*). ◊ **e?: Maʕa *huma*** // *-ʔuma*
HRSC 388, nth. in com. w. **e: ArabSyr *qaf*** (a slip?). ◊ **u: Ong *yaw*** //
<**yaw(ʔ)-* = **h: Dime *wuy*,** Hamar *weey-u* (cf. Ari *wóʔ-* etc. Bnd Om 217)
<**wVyʔ-*, likely = **z: Chara *yeʔ*** (acc. to Fl, <**yeṭ* which needs arguments),
rather <**yeʔ-* (cf. Zayse Zergula *ɛʔa*, Gidicho Koyra *ēʔ* id).

80. 'star' ◊ **d?: Tuar *a-tri*** // <*tari* (rel. to Chad **tir-* 'moon': Jegu *tere*, Mkk *tɛ̀rɛ̀*, Bolewa *tɛrɛ*, Mnd *tré*, etc.), prob. to sc. with **h: Mnd *tre-yokwa*;** neither = **d?: Siwa *iri*** (rel. to AA **ʔiwVr-* 'moon': Jib *ʔɛrət*, Ahg *eôr*, NOmot: Anfillo *wəro*, etc.), nor **d?: Hs *tawrārō*,** also *tàmrarò̀* (AbrHs 848) <**ta-mrar-*, possibly <**-mVlal-* (neither rel. to Siwa), in which case rel. to **e: Mkk *mooli-so*** (also Angas *mal-m*, etc.). ◊ **j: Or *urʒi?*** // <**wVrg-* or **Hurg-*, not = **j: Beḍ *hayuk*, Arb *húzzuḳ*, Gwt *ḥiske*, Yaaku *hinso?*** <**ḥi(n)ʒ-uk-* (cf. PEC 35, 36). ◊ **l: Aun *biwa*** // not = **l?: Dizi *bííz*, Dime *bez*** (**-z* > Aun *s*, not *w* or *0*). ◊ **k: Dah *!íngiliʕe*** // a conspicuous Khoisan lw. with a "click", not sc.

81. 'stone' ◊ **a: Eg *ı̇nr*, Copt *ʔoone-*** // (Bohairic *ʔōni*), very likely <**ʔVnil-*, met. rel. to **y: Dizi *nyalu*** and **Dime *laalo*** (assim. <**naal*, cf. also Bencho *niʸēl*, Nao *nʸelu*). ◊ **d: Amh *dəŋgay*** // <Or or Agaw (cf. Bil *däŋgʷara*). ◊ **Izd h: *i-selli*, i: *t-aggun-t*** // both mean 'big stone', not sc.; *azru* is 'stone'. ◊ **n: Beḍ *ʔawê*** // <**ʔab-* (cf. Khmt *aba*, Khamir *ʔabə*, Bil *ambá̄*, Maʕa met. *bwʔao* 'mountain') = **b: Akk *abnu*** (<**ʔabn-* <AA **ʔab-n-*). ◊ **r: Had *kina*** // likely <**kirn-* (with a full assim. of **-r-*) = **o: Bil *kriŋ*, Khmt *kerŋá̄*, Aun *karn*** (*káráŋ*). ◊ **w: Iraqw *ĉaʕanu*, Ong *ĉaʕa*** // rather than not rel. to **x: Mao *šṍwê*** (and Janjero *šuʔā*, Qwadza *ĉaʔ-iko* id., all < AA **ĉaʕ-*), but not to **x: Shin *šúsa*** [Fl], *šucca* [Lmb Sh], *šuça* [Bnd Om 175] <**šuṭ-* [ibid.], **Chara *šuča*, Male *šuči*,** all < N. Omot **šut/ṭ-*.

82. 'sun' ◊ **a: Copt *re/le*** // Boheiric *rē*, Sahidic *re*, Fayumic *le* continuing Eg *rʕ*, more likely <**lVʕ* = **a?: Iraqw *loʔa*** <**loʕ-* (counter to HRSC 34, but cf. ibid. 141; rel. to E. Cu **leʕ-* 'moon' PEC, Afar *laʕố* 'day', all <AA **lVʕ-* 'luminary, light', cf. also Sem: Arab *laʕlaʕ-* 'mirage in the afternoon heat' and W. Ch: Daffa-Butura *leʔ* 'to break (of day)'); hardly = **a?: Hs *rana*** (rel. to Daffo-Butura *reén* '(mid)day'; in view of no other matches in AA prob. a lw. <NS, e.g. Dagu of Darfur *uroŋei*). ◊ **i: Beḍ *yin*** // a lw. <Kordofanian **nei/*ini* cannot be excluded.

83. 'swim' ◊ **a?: Jib *reḥ* <*rbeḥ*** // not = **a: Eg *nby*** (<**nby* or **lby*), **Copt *neʔēbe*.** ◊ **s: Male *ċub-e*** // a lw. (not sc.) <Amh *ṣäbb-ätä*, borrowed, in its turn, < Geʕez *ṣabata*, *ṣabaya* (LGz 547); *wayz* is the inherited term in Male (Bnd Om 62), likely rel. to **m: Arb *zawaḥaḍ*** (*zawaḥ-aḍ* Hay Arb) <**ʒ/ǯawaḥ-* (contra Sas Brj 52, where Arb *zaw-* <**zak-*; **-k* >*0* or *-ḥ* in Arbore is unusual; cf. also Burji *daḥ-aḍ-* <**ʒ/ǯaḥ-*, contra Sas Brj 52 <**zak-*), probably = **p: Iraqw *yaʔe warḥêma*** (*waraḥem-* Bla Ir; comp. ibid. to Alagwa *daraḥasu* 'fish') <

wadaḥ- <(wa)ʒ/ẓaḥ-? ◊ **c: Ong šap** // not = **c: ArabSyr sabaḥ**, but very likely = **e: Siwa siyâf, Izd ššef**.

84. 'tail' ◊ **c?: Amh č̣əra** // lw. < Cu or, less likely, Omot (v. below). ◊ **c: Khmt č̣erā́** = **m: Bil šemar, Aun cəmar** (<*čimar-, met. <*čir-am-), **Had šerímo** (<*čir-im-, cf. Sidamo čira) = **c?: Chara ṣeera** (Kafa č̄erō), **Dizi čər-u** (čiru Bla Om), all <AA *čihr- (> Sem *ṯVhr- 'back'). ◊ **d: Tuar emellaur, aryal** // e-məllawɣ (ɣ is mistaken for r; <*mV-lawḳ) and a-rḡal (ḡ is mistaken for ɣ; <*ragl) are two different roots. ◊ **lw.: Siwa a-mabus** // a-ma-ʕbūs Lao; ʕ usually implies an Arabism, but there seems to be no source word in Arab. ◊ **h: Kiir kâr** // kə̀r <*kitr- (cf. Tala kítər, etc.) = **j: Mnd uktere**. ◊ **lw.: Hamar dubânâ** // gul-i is an inherited term = **u: Dime golan** (also Ari gooli Bnd Ar).

85. 'that' ◊ **a/b: Beḍ be-m/be-t** // be- is the deictic component, not = **a/b: Eg pf꜄ /pfy/tf/nf (pl.)**, where f is the deictic component.

86. 'this' ◊ **a/b: Copt pai/tai/nai (pl)** // ai is the deictic component (<*ʔay), not = **a/b: Eg pn/p꜄ y/tn/nn (pl.)**, where n is the deictic component in most forms; Eg -n = **d: Akk ann-iyum**, the correct form being anniw <*ha-nn-iw (**c: šina** adduced by Fl is 'those'), with -n- as the deictic component pointing to a close object (cf. ulliw 'that') = the n component in **e: Jib ḏɛnu** <*ḏV-nu, **h/b: Siwa wan/tan, d: Kiir nani, Hs nnan, a: Mnd (bo)-na, k: Gis hana** <ha-na, **h/b: Beḍ un/t-un, d: Bil niin, h: Khmt yen, en, d: Aun ni, l/b: Or kana/tana** <*-na, **d: Ong ʔinda** < ʔin-da, **d: Mao na, k: Shin han** <ha-n, **o/c: Dizi ɛŋkɛ/yɛŋk** <*-n-k-. ◊ **f: Amh yih <*zik** // < *yi-h (cf. Harari yīʔ) = **h: Tuar wah** (<wa-h) and is rather rel. to the h component in **g/c: ArabSyr hāda/hādi** (<*ha-ḏa), **k: Gis hana** (<ha-na), **Shin han** (<ha-n), **Chara hāna/hari** <hā-, **n/f: Male hay/hana** < ha-. ◊ **e: Jib izenu (pl.)** // iźénu is the correct form (JJ 2) <*ʔila-nu (elyénu 'diese' Bit 9), likely = **m, b: Arb hálo/tálo** <*h/t-alo, -alo being the deictic component.

87. 'thou' ◊ **a: Eg nt-k, Copt ntok** (both <*nV-tV-k), **Akk atta/atti** (<*ʔa-n-t-), **Amh antä, ArabSyr int, Bil inti** = **b: Izd kun** (<*ku-n), **Mkk keŋ/koŋ** (<*kV-n), **Iraqw kuŋ/kiŋ** (<*ku/i-n-) = **e: Aun yêna** (ə́nt Appl IC <*ʔV-n-t-), **Male nêni**; all rel. by the common deictic component *n. ◊ **a: Jib hɛt / hit** // <*hi(-t), cf. Mehri hit, Soqotri ʔê (m.), ʔî (f.), rather not = **a: Akk atta/atti, Amh ʔantä**, etc.; the latter ones hardly = **a: Maʕa ari**, as -r- <*-t- in Maʕa needs proof.

88. 'tongue' ◊ **c: Tum *duž*** // <**du-ls-* (cf. Somray *dì-lèsè*) <**tu-lis-* = **a: Akk *lišān-*** and the rel. forms. ◊ **e: Mnd *aara*, Gis *ʔirne*** // Mnd also *nárà* CLR II (<**ʔa/irn- ~ *nar-*), all <*ʕVrn- ~ *ʕVnr-* = **j: Dah *ʕééna***, likely <*ʕarn-* = **i: Or *arraba*, Arb *ʔêrréb*, Had *állaaba*, Gwt *arrap(-ko)*, Yaaku *êrê ~ êrêp*** (*ɛrɛp-a* is pl. Hei Ya) <**ʕarr-ab-* (cf. Dasenech *ʔere*, pl. *ʔerb-u*, see PEC 23; cf. also Omot: Shabo *ɛrib*), likely rel. to **m: Shin *albéra***, met. <**ʕalrab-*, assim. <**ʕanrab-*, and **n: Dizi *ʔéabîl***, met. <**ʕalb-* (cf. Nao *yalb*) <**ʕar(n)b-*; all <**ʕarn-ab- ~ *ʕanr-ab-* (cf. Saho *anráb*), with *-b* of obscure origin (a fossilized suffix? See next). ◊ **f: Beḍ *mida-(b)*** // also *midála* RBeḍ, *mīdálāb* Bnd LE <**midal(-ab)-* (*-b* may be an objective case suffix or a fossilized suffix) <**mi-ʕi(n)d-al(-ab)-* (cf. Qwadza *ondalimo* id. <**ʕand-al-*) = **j: Maʕa *ʔanda*** (*luʔanda* HRSC 387), **Ong *ʕadaba*** (unless a lw. < Hamar)**, Dime *idîm*, Hamar *atâp*** (also *adəb*, v. Bnd Om 218), all likely <**ʕand(-al/ab)-*; on the present level of the AA reconstruction rather to be separated from **ʕanr-ab- ~ *ʕarn-ab-* (above), though eventual cognation cannot be ruled out.

89. 'tooth' ◊ **d: Izd *tu-ɣməs-t*** // nth in com. w. **d: Amh *ṭərs*** (a slip?). ◊ **f: Maʕa *iki*** // *iʔike* <**ʔik-* (cf. Burunge *ike*, Afar *ikő*), hardly = **f: Or *ilkān*** (<**ʔilk-*), **Arb *ilig*** (<**ʔilg-*), **Gwt *ilġe*** (*ilqe* AMS; <**ʔilḳ-*), all < AA **ʔilg/k/ḳ-*, with irregular variations of the third radical (anyway, **l-*, even in the *-l-* plus velar cluster, is not expected to fall in Maʕa, Burunge and Afar), not rel. to (prob. contaminated with) **f: Had *inḳē*** <**Hinḳ-* (irregular vs. Sidamo *hinko* <**hink-*, both irregular vs. Gollango *ʕanko* 'molar'), **Yaaku *inj'e-ni*** (*inže-ni*; may be <**ʔ/ʕing- <*ʕink-*), in its tur not rel. to **f: Bil *eruk*** (*erúk* R Bil), **Khmt *îruq*** (*ərák̫* Appl Khm), **Aun *irukwi*** (Damot *erqwî*) < Agaw **ʔiruk/ḳ̫-*. ◊ **h: Iraqw *siḥino*** // likely met. <**sin-ḥ-* (with the fossilized **ḥ* body-part marker?) = **b: Akk *šinn-*** and the rel. forms <AA **sin-*.

90. 'tree' ◊ **e: Amh *zaf*** // lw. <Agaw, not sc. ◊ **h: Siwa *ažibaɣra*** // not in my sources; Lao gives *tissəžrət* <Arab. ◊ **k: Mkk *ʔúndùmú*** // pl. *ʔîndá* <**Hind-* = **q: Beḍ *hindi***. ◊ **t: Gwt *ġarġo*** // *karkó* AMS <**gar-* (Tsamai *gar-ko*); if the transcription in AMS, not in Fl, is correct, not = **t: Arb *ḳoro*** (<**ḳor-* PEC 48), **Dah *ḳoro*.** ◊ **q: Ong *hanča, iinsê*, Mao *încâ*, Dizi *inč*** // also *ínč* (Bnd Om 219) <**Hinč̣-* (cf. Gimirra-She *inč, enč* Bnd Om 176 , likely = **b: Akk *iṣu*** <**ʕiṣ̂- <AA*ʕiĉ̣-*; neither = **q: Beḍ *hindi***, nor = **q: Shin *mita*, Chara *mica*, Male *mici*** <**mi(n)ṭ-* (cf. Kafa *miṭō*, Zayse *minça*, etc.) <AA**mayṭ-* (not rel. to **q: Beḍ *hindi*** either): Sem **mVyṭ-* 'branch, rod, stick', Eg *mdw* 'stick, staff', E. Cu **mayṭ-* 'palm-tree' (Or *meeṭii*, Burji *mayče*, Dasenech *meeṭṭe*), C. Ch **mVṭ-* 'baobab'.

91. 'two' ◊ **d: Kiir *rāp*** // lw. < Bantu (e.g. Jarawan *rwap*) CLR I 171; not sc. ◊ **e: Hs *biyyu*, Mnd *bua*** // <*bir*- or *bil*-, presumably lws. < Benue-Congo CLR I 171; not sc. ◊ **lw: Ong *lama*** // not necessarily a lw. (< Hamar < Or?) ; present in both Omot branches, cf. SOmot: Hamer *lama* and NOmot: Male *lamʔo,* Koyra *lamʔe* (comp. in Bla Ong Appendix), likely rel. to **h: Mao *lumbo*** (to distinguish from **h: Chara *nanta*** <*nam-t*- = Janjero *namma,* etc.; cf. Afar *namā́yā* vs. Saho *lammā́,* Dasenech *nama* vs. Arb *lamma*).

92. 'walk' ◊ **Copt a: *mōʔše*, d: *bōk*** // *bōk* is 'go, leave' (not sc. for 'walk, go'). ◊ **i: Siwa *ḥ*** // not in my sources; anyway, *ḥ* implies a lw. < Arab; *ukəl* is 'walk' (met. rel. to **b: Akk *alāku*** <*hlk* ?). ◊ **Izd j: *ddu*, k: *sara*** // *sara* 'se promener' (not sc.: I hold French 'aller, marcher' better renders what Swadesh meant by 'walk'). ◊ **k: Mkk *sōr*** // *sòor/ʔòzírè* 'se promener' JMkk (not sc.); *ʔìdó* is 'to go' = **j: Izd *ddu*** <*Hiddaw* (cf. Zenaga *edda,* Senhaja *addu,* etc.). ◊ **u?: Male *ad/aaḍ*** // rather *aaḍ*- than *ad*- (v. Bnd Om 58); in any case, the latter neither = **u?: Gwt *ačč*** (also *ašš* AMS 244) <*ʔas/č*-, nor **u: Arb *ʔiʔit*-** <*ʔit*- (the Gwt and Arb terms are hardly rel. to each other either). ◊ **@: Mao *hoyʔ*** // likely = Iraqw *hiʔiit* (not in Fl); it is difficult to say whether such phonetically poorly preserved roots as **z: Hamar *yi*** and **g?: Tum *á*** (acc. to Fl, <*ar*, but rather <*ha*, cf. Somrai *há*) may be related.

93. 'warm' ◊ **Akk c: *baḫīr*-, d: *ḥumṭ*-** // *baḫr*- (not *baḫīr*-) is 'hot', *ḥumṭ*- is 'heat, fever' (not sc.); in any case, not = **d: ArabSyr *ḥmu*** which, on the contrary, = Akk *emm*- 'warm, hot' (not in Fl) <*ḥmm*, but neither = **d: Jib *hub*** (having not a single radical common with **d: ArabSyr *ḥmu*** and meaning 'warmth, heat', not sc.), nor = **d: Izd *ḥmu*** as the latter is an obvious lw. < Arab. ◊ **e: Jib *gêll*** // vb.; *šḥán-un* is an adj. 'warm' JJ 264. ◊ **?: Mkk** // *wèʔìní* JMkk 194 = **l: Tum *wây*.** ◊ **h?: Hs *zāfī*** // *zā́fī̃,* not = **h: ArabSyr *dafi*,** as *d* cannot yield *z* in Hs. ◊ **n: Mnd *ombra*** // <*ʔa-(m)bVr*-, likely = **q: Bil *bir*, Khmt *bêro*** (*báru* vb. Appl Khm). ◊ **x: Dah *ḅúguḅúgu*** // lw., v. EEN 44.

94. 'water' ◊ **d: Mkk *ʔàʔú*** // not = **d: Bil *aqu*,** Khmt *āqw* <*ʔaḳw.* ◊ **c: Mnd *yowe*, Gis *yam*, Beḍ *yam*** // <*yam*- (= Sem *yamm*- 'sea'; the Mnd form is problematic), rather not = **c: Tuar, Siwa, Izd *ama-n*** (pl.) <*Ham-an*; the latter = another Ch root, *ham*- (E.: Migama *àmmî̀,* Mubi *ʔàm,* C.: Kotoko *ʔàm,* W.: Tal *hàm,* Fyer *ham,* etc.). ◊ **e: Or *bisāni*, Arb *bíyče*** // <*bič*- or *bik*-; acc. to PEC 15, <*bik-ee*; a debatable case, probably two different roots, cf. Somali *biyo,* Rend *bič'e,* Boni *biy'o* <*SAM *biče(o)* Hei SAM 54, Baiso *bek-e,*

Dasenech *biye* (<Or?), Elmolo *píče* (Hei Elm), Konso *piš-a*. In any case, nth. in com. w. **e: Tum *nām*** (a slip?). ◊ **h: Ong *čaʕawa*** // *čaahawa* SLLE, rather met. rel. to **i: Mao *háče*, Shin *aassa*** Fl, *ʔàacá, āça* [Bnd Om 177], **Chara *āṣa*** <**Hawç/č-* and likely **i?: Male *wāci*.**

95. 'we' ◊ **b: Mkk *kineŋ/kayeŋ*** // <**ki-nVn/*kay-Vn*; hardly unrel. to **a: Izd *nukni*, Siwa *nčini*, Izd *nukni*.** ◊ **c: Tum *di/na*** // two different roots: *di* (inclusive), possibly <**ti*, perhaps = **f: Iraqw *aten*** and *at* [MQK 16] <**ʔat-*, while *na* (exclusive) = **a: Eg *ȋnn*, Akk *nīnu*** (<**na-ḫ-n-*), etc.

96. 'what?' ◊ **Eg b: *ȋn m*, d: *sȋ*** // *ȋn m* is 'who?', not 'what?' (not sc. with **b: Jib *ʔinε***); *si* is again mistaken for *zy*. ◊ **e: Tuar *awa*** // a relative pronoun in Ahg and other Tuar (not sc.); cannot = **e: Copt *ʔuu*** (<**wʕ or *ʕw* Vyc 228) and **Dime *úyúú*** (*wɔyɔɔ*). ◊ **h: Siwa *tantu*** // no such word meaning 'what?' in my sources (must be a relative pronoun). ◊ **j: Beḍ *nān*, Ong *neeni*** // rel. by the **n* component to **a: Akk *mīnu*, Amh *mən*, b: Jib *ʔin*, e: Kiir *wun*, a: Or *maána*, m: Yaaku *n̥ɔh*, Maʕa *aḫoni*, n: Dizi *naki*.** ◊ **k: Bil *wura*, Khmt *wura/wôôr-êŋa*** // nth. in com. w. **k: Mao *kónsiya*** (a slip?); likely = **m: Dizi *yîri*,** which has nth. in com. w. **m: Yaaku *n̥ôh*** or *(di)nyɔh* Hei Ya <**-ni-wa-h* (a slip?), but probably = **o: Hamar *har/are*.** ◊ **l: Shin *ʔeega/ege*, Male *aigo*** // nth. in com. w. **l: Aun *îndarmai*** (a slip? Appl IC gives *wó(t)-* for Aun).

97. 'white' ◊ **h: Mkk *tùwàré*** // <**tuwar-* = **i: Tum *dur*** <**tur-* (**t-* > Tum *d-*). ◊ **l: Mnd *dzeye*** // *zéžé* CLR II 345 <**ʒ/žVʒ/ž-* (possibly <**HVʒ/ž-*), likely = **q: Or *adiʔ*, Arb *ʔezz-*** (<**ʕVʒʒ/žž-*, cf. PEC 36). ◊ **n: Beḍ *ela, era*** // likely a lw., cf. Barea *er*, Kenuzi Dongola *áro* id. ◊ **o: Bil *čaʕed*** // a lw. <Eth: Tigriñña Tigre Geʕez *ṣaʕəda*. ◊ **u: Maʕa *ahu/aku*** // *ʔaku* HRSC 388; <**ʔakw*, very likely met. rel. to **w: Mao *káwu-t*.** ◊ **e: Shin *nésa*** // *neça* (Anfillo *nēço*, Kafa *naččō*) Bnd Om 177 <Amh *näčč* (<Sem **naṣVḥ-*); not sc.

98. 'who?' ◊ **d: Eg *sȋ*** // *zy* (cf. *z* 'man, person') = **g: Maʕa *ži*** <**ži*, not = **g: Gwt *yeḥa*, Yaaku *iyo*, Dime *iyay*** (below); it is hard to say if the Eg and Maʕa forms are rel. to **g: Dah *jiko*** (<**ži-ko* or **yi-ko*) as Dah *ž* may continue both **ž* and **y*. ◊ **e: Tuar *wa*** // a relative pronoun (not sc.); *mi* is 'who?'. ◊ **f: Siwa *bitin/bâttin, tin*** // relative pronouns, not sc. ◊ **g: Gwt *yeḥa*, Yaaku *iyo*, Dime *iyay*** // <**(ʔV-)yV-ḥa*, rather to sc. with **e: Aun *ay*, Had *ay*,** etc. (<**ay-*). ◊ **h: Ong *haakà, saay*** // two different roots, cannot have the same score; *haakà* (<**ha-k-*) by its *-k-* component is rel. to **g: Dah *žiko*, i: Mao *kiya*** and **j: Shin *kone*.** ◊ **f: Male *oni*, Or *eenu, ēññu*** // <**ʔa-w-ni*, by their *-n-*

component rel. to **b: Copt *nīm* = a: Akk *mannu*, Jib *mun*, Amh *man*, Ar-abSyr *mīn* (<Sem *mV-n).

99. 'woman' ◊ **k: Kiir *namààsi*** // rather lw. < Hs *namiʒi*. ◊ **x: Mnd *moksa*** // *muskǝ*, *múksɛ́* CLR II 347 (<*mV-gsa) = **l: Gis *ŋgos*** (<**mV-gos-*). ◊ **g?: Had *meentíčo*** // <**man-t-it-* <**man(-t)-* 'man', not = **g: Tuar *t-ameṭ*** (Ahg *t-a-mǝṭ* with "unstable" *a-*), **Izd *t-a-mǝṭṭ-ut*** (*ṭ > Had *ṭ*, not *t*) and not = **g?: Iraqw *amêni*** (*ʕameeni* [Tos Irq]); the Iraqw and Brb forms are not rel. either. ◊ **j: Tum *deem*** // probably <**tām-* (cf. Lele *tāmá*), less likely <**dVm-* (even in this case not = **j?: Yaaku *ḍamatu*** or, acc. to Hei Ya, *damat'ú* <**ṭam-at-* as *ṭ > Tum *t*, not *d*). ◊ **r: Dah *naṭa*** // = **o: Or *niiti?*** <**niḍḍ-* <**niṭṭ-* (cf. Wallaga dial. *naḍḍēn*, pl. *naḍḍ*); a lw. into Dah from Or cannot be ruled out. ◊ **g?: Chara *mašna*** // <**mas-n-*, hardly = **g?: Had *meentíčo*** <**man-t-it-* (see above) and certainly not = **g: Tuar *t-amǝṭ*** (Chara *-š* is unlikely <*t and not <*ṭ), but rel. to **g?: Shin *máása***, if the notation in Fl is correct; if it is *maacá* as in LambSh 360, the latter may originate <**ma-t-* = **g?: Hamar *maa*** <AA **maʔ-* 'mother, woman' (cf. also Beḍ *maʔ* 'women'); if Shin is *maaça* as in Bnd Om 178, = **g: Tuar *t-ameṭ*, Izd *t-a-mǝṭṭ-ut*** and **g: Hs *màčè*** (also *màtá̃* <**mat-*, likely <**maṭ-*). ◊ **u: Male *lali*** // a reduplicated stem, probably = **h: Siwa *ta-lti*** <**ta-la/i-t* (Ghadames *ta-lta* and *a-le-t*). ◊ **g?: Dime *ʔamze*** // dissim. < **ʔanȝ/ʒ-*, cf. Ari Hamar *anz-a* 'girl' Bnd Ar 151; not = any term sc. "g" (see above).

100. 'yellow' ◊ **a: Eg *aat* ?**// unusable transliteration; no term for 'yellow' in available sources. ◊ **?: Akk** // *warḳ-* is 'yellow, green' = **f: Tuar and Izd *a-wraɣ*** (<*warḳ). ◊ **g: Mkk *gurus*** // *gúrùs* 'argent (monnaie)' JMkk 108; *ḅólìlé* is 'yellow' ibid. 73. ◊ **?: Mnd** // *ḍùvǝ̀ŋè* <**dub/f-Vn-*. ◊ **h?: Beḍ *âdâr*** // *ádar/lo* 'red' (RBeḍ); *ásfar* (ibid.) and *kwikumi* (Bl Ms after Thelwall) are 'yellow', but both are Arabisms (not sc.) ◊ **k: Bil *kadaraɣ*** // a lw. < Tigre *kädära* <Arab (cf. LGz 15); not sc. ◊ **n: Arb *liywan-ḍa*** // possibly <**liʕw-an-*, met. rel. to **p: Gwt *ʕawlette*** <**ʕawl-* 'yellow, brown' PEC 46. ◊ Dah **q: randzi-nuni** // *raanʒi* 'paint' < Bantu, acc. to EEN 41 (not in Tos Dah).

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IV

Cognates in selected individual languages

</div>

"Having gotten 1% or 0% or 0.9% or 1.8% and such like between the extremes of Afrasian, I bore the general conclusion of 'zero to one percent'...As I said several

times in Santa Fé, proto-Afrasian is at least 20,000 years old and by one reckoning 30,000 years old."

a) Forms in Male versus non-Omot AA (excluding Ong) given in H. Fleming's 100-word lists and scored as cognates by the author
(Fleming's scores are marked by a:, n:, x?:, etc.)

'bone': **g: Male *migu-ci* = g: Had *miḳē*, Gwt *miġġe*** (< Cu-Omot **miḳ-*, cf. Sidamo *miḳ-iččo*, Tsamay *meqʼ-te*, Shin *máḳǝ-sa*, Wolaita *meḳe-tta*).

'breast': **e?: Male *ḍan-ci* = e?: Arb *eḍuma-n*, Gwt *ʕaḍun-ko*, Yaaku *ɛ́dúm-ín*** (< Cu-Omot **ʕaṭum-*; cf. Chara *ḍama*, Dizi *ṭiam-u*).

'claw': **t: Male *c̣üŋgo* = l: Khmt *ẖičela*** (<**ḳičel-*), presumably = **p: Had *ṭuraŋka* = r: Yaaku *seġil* = j: Gis *dlelek*, *ẑelek*, *ẑenek*** (< AA **ŝunḳ-al-*).

'cloud': **w: Male *šári* = r: Maʕa *hlari*, *iŝare*** HRSC 387 (< Cu-Omot **čar-* or **ŝar-*, cf. Beḍ *šāy*, Elmolo *sɛ́r* and Rendille *seréy* 'sky', Janjero *šāru* 'cloud', etc.; cf. Bla Omot No. 14.1.).

'come': **a: Male *yêʔ* = a: Eg *iy*, *iw*, Copt *ʔii*, Tuar *ayu*** (*éo*, imp.), **Beḍ *ʔi*** (also *yiʔ*), **Ong *ʔē*.**

'dog': **l: Male *kana* = i: Yaaku *kohen*** (< AA **kʷahn-*).

'drink': **n: Male *ûške*** (<**ʔus-k-*, cf. Mao *iš*, Shin *uša*, Chara *uš*, etc.), very likely = **a: Tuar *ǝsu*, Siwa *su*, Izd *su*, Tum *hè*** < **sè*, **Kiir *se*, Hs *šá*, Mnd *še*, Gis *še*** (< AA **ʔus- ~ **ʔisaw-*).

'ear': **q: Male *wôyzi*** (also **Shin *wááza*, etc.) = a: Akk *uznu*, Jib *ʔiḍɛn*, ArabSyr *udn*** (< AA **wayǯ- ~ **ʔi/uǯ-n-*).

'eat': **o: Male *muʔ*, very likely = Beḍ *ʔām*** (not in Fl), **j: Arb *ʔôhôm*** (*ʔōhōm*), **Mkk *ʔŏ́mi* = a: Tum *wâm*** (< AA **mVʔ- ~ **ʔam-*).

'egg': **p: Male *b̭ûla* = p: Yaaku *b̭olb̭ol*, Akk *pelû*** (< AA **ṗul- ~ **ṗVlw/y-*, cf. Wolaita *ṗuṗul-iya*, Hamar *b̭ûla*).

'fly': **t: Male *baran*, = t: Amh *bärrärä*, Beḍ *birʔik*** (<**bir-ik?*), **Khmt *bir*, Aun *berer-ǝŋ*, Or *barr-is*, Had *barar*** (< AA **br(r)-*).

'give': **q: Male *îng*** (<**ʔiŋ* <**ʔim* = **q: Shin *im*, Dime *ʔîm*, etc.) = a: Eg** (imp.) *imy* (< AA **ʔim-*).

'good': **y: Male *koši* = y: Maʕa *kusa*, *kuŝó*** Bla Omot No. 34.3 (< Cu-Omot **kuS-*).

'heart': **l: Male *saaza* = l: Arb *zazzá* = n: Gwt *saʕa-ko*** <**ʒaʕ-* (cf. Tsamai *záʕ-kó*) < Cu-Omot **ʒaʕ(ʒaʕ)-*.

'I': **f: Male *tani*** <**ta-ʔa-ni* (cf. Shin, Chara *taani*) by its *-n-* component rel. to **a: Beḍ *ane*, Bil *an*, Khmt *ān*, Aun *an*, Or *ani*, Had *ani*, Gwt *ano*, Dah *ana/aňi*, Maʕa *ani*, Iraqw *an/ani*, Eg. *in-k*, Copt *anok*, Akk *anā-ku*, Amh**

ani, **ArabSyr** *ana*, **Tuar** *nek*, **Siwa** *niš* (<*ni-k*), **Izd** *nekk*, **Mkk** *nu-ŋ/nūno*, **Tumak** *nâ*, **Hs** *nī/nā*.

'know': **b: Male** *er* = **b: Bil** *arʔ*, **Gwt** *ar*, likely = **l: Had** *laʔ-* <*raʔ-?* (< Cu-Omot *ʔar- ~ *raʔ-*).

'liver': **p: Male** *mayzi* = **a: Eg** *mȝst* (wrong transliteration: *mȝz-t* and *myz-t* are correct).

'meat': **j: Male** *aški* (<*ʔač-ki*) = **j: Khmt** *siyya*, **Aun** *îši* = **e: Or** *fōni* <*soʔ-n-* (*f* < *s* in Or points to AA *č*), **Arb** *soʔ*, **Gis** *ʔiše* (< AA *čVʔw- ~ *ʔačw-*).

'name': **b: Male** *sûn-ci* **(<*sum-t-)** = **b: Akk** *šumu*, **Jib** *šum*, **Amh** *səm*, **ArabSyr** *ism*, **Tuar** *i-səm*, **Izd** *i-səm*, **Mkk** *suma*, **Tum** *him*, **Kiir** *(wu-)sum*, **Hs** *suunaa*, **Gis** *ŝim(-ed)*, **Beḍ** *səm*, **Bil** *siŋ* (*šiŋ*), **Had** *summa* < AA *(ʔi-)su/im-*.

'neck': **z: Male** *ḳorčo* (very probably assim. <*gVrṭ-*), prob. = **j: Izd** *a-gerḍ*.

'nose': **f: Male** *siiḍi* (cf. Shin *šínṭa*, Dizi *sin ~ siŋ*), perhaps = **f: Khmr** *əsə́ŋ*, **Aun** *ə́ssán*, **Or** *fúnnaa-n*, **Arb** *sōnó*, **Had** *sáne*, (?) **Gwt** *sinḍe* (acc. to Fl, rel. to Omot; acc. to Bla Omot No. 61.1., borrowed <NOmot, which seems more plausible), **Dah** *sína*, **Tum** *hun* (<*sun*), **Kiir** *(i)sâ* (*nyìsən*).

'rain': **i: Male** *irzi* (<*ʔir-zi?*), perhaps = **i: Aun** *ri/êri* (*ə́rí*), **Arb** *ʔiríy*, **Gwt** *irrawo*, **Maʔa** *re* = **g: Hs** *ruwa-n-samā* (*rúwā* 'water; rain') < AA *ʔi-ra/iw-*.

'red': **y: Male** *zoḳe* (cf. Oyda *zoḳo*, Bencho *zōḳə*), undoubtedly = **f: Tuar** *ihaggaɣen* (<*-hawwaɣ- <*zawwaḳ*) = **g: Siwa** *a-zəggəɣ* (<*-zVwwaḳ*), **Izd** *azuggwaɣ* (< AA *ʒ/ǯawḳ-*).

'road': **z: Male** *goyci* < *g(ʷ)Vy-t-* = **Bil** *gūg* (not in Fl) = **o: Khmt** *gug*, **Had** *goga* < AA *g(ʷ)Vy(-t)- ~ *g(ʷ)Vyg(ʷ)Vy-* (cf. also WChad: Bolewa *goggo*, etc.).

'say': **u: Male** *gɛʔ* (Dizi redupl. *gɛg*, Dime *gēmu* <*gayH-m-*, Hamar *gi*) = **q: Yaaku** *oḫ/ok* (*okhoi* Bla Ms), likely < *ʔoghoy* (also Tsamai *gəhə* id.) < Cu-Omot *gayh-*.

'sleep': **h: Male** *gînʔ* = **h: Bil** *gan-y*, **Izd** *gen* < AA *gin(ʔ)-*.

'small': **m?: Male** *ḍaka* = **m?** Or *diḳḳaʔ* = **m: Mnd** *čiko* (<*ṭik-<*ṭiḳ-*, assim. <*diḳ*), likely = **n: Gis** *mečiḍek* (<*mV-ṭiṭik- <*ṭikṭik-*, assim. <*diḳdiḳ-*) < AA *di/aḳ-*.

'sun': **k: Male** *abi* = **k: Aun** *awa*.

'that': **x: Male** *sêk* (<*sV-k*, cf. Shin *ěkê*, Dizi *yêk* id.), rel. by its *sV-* component to **p: Or** *suni* (<*su-ni*, cf. Konso *se*, Elm *asu* id.) and to **s: Yaaku**

—

se/saʔa; rel. by its *-k* component to **c: Jib** *ḏɔ́kun*, **g: Siwa** *dawok* (m.), *tatok* (f.).

'this': **n/f: Male** *hay/hana*, rel. by its *h-* component to **g/c: ArabSyr** *hāda/hādi* (*<*ha-ḏa*) = **f: Amh** *yih* (*< *yi-h*), perhaps = **h: Tuar** *wah* (*<wa-h*) = k: Gis *hana* (*<ha-na*).

'thou': **e: Male** *nêni* = **e: Aun** *yêna* = the *n* component in **a: Bil** *inti*, **Eg** *nt-k*, **Copt** *ntok* (both *<*nV-tV-k*), **Akk** *atta/atti* (*<*ʔa-n-t-*), **Amh** *antä*, **ArabSyr** *int*, **b: Izd** *kun* (*<*ku-n*), **Mkk** *keŋ/koŋ* (*<*kV-n*), **Iraqw** *kuŋ/kiŋ* (*<*ku/i-n-*).

'two': **h: Male** *lamʔo* = **h: Bil** *laŋa*, **Khmt** *liŋa*, **Aun** *laŋa*, **Or** *lama*, **Arb** *lamma*, **Had** *lamo*, **Dah** *lǐma*.

'we': a: Male *nuni* = **a: Beḍ** *henên* (*hanín*), **Bil** *yin*, **Khmt** *yīn*, **Aun** *no-ži* (*ənnó-ži* Hetz), **Or** *nuu*, **Arb** *ʔonó-(lo)*, **Had** *nēs* (*<*nV-s*), **Gwt** *íne*, **Yaaku** *niiniʔ*, **Dah** *ňaňǐ*, **Maʕa** *nine*, **Eg** *ỉnn*, **Copt** *anon*, **Akk** *nīnu* (*<*na-ḥ-n-*), **Jib** *nḥan*, **Amh** *əñña*, **ArabSyr** *niḥna*, **Tuar** *nəkkan-iḍ*, **Siwa** *nčini*, **Izd** *nukni* = the *n* component in **b: Mkk** *kineŋ/kayeŋ*, **c: Tum** *na*, and **f: Iraqw** *atēn*.

'white': **m?: Male** *bore* = **m: Gis** *babaraŋ* *<*ba(r)bar-* (cf. Mofu *mɔ́bàrá*, Lele *bòré*, etc.).

'who?': **f: Male** *oni* (*<*ʔa-w-ni*) = **f: Or** *eenu*, *ēññu*, by their *-n-* component rel. to **b: Copt** *nīm*, **a: Akk** *mannu*, **Jib** *mun*, **Amh** *man*, **ArabSyr** *mīn* (all four < Sem **mV-n*).

'woman': **u: Male** *lali* = **h: Siwa** *ta-lti* (*<*ta-la-t-*, cf. Ghadames *ta-lta*, *walet*, *alet*).

b) Forms in Male cognate to non-Omot AA given by the author as additions or corrections/substitutions to Fleming's lists:

'ashes': **u: Male** *bîdîn-c* = Hs *hábḍì* *<*habd-* or **ha-bdVH-* (Ngizim *bébéḍ*, Yedina *budén*, Mas *búdu* id. CLR 4-5) < AA **bi/ud(-Vn)-*.

'fat': Male *mōr-ɛsi* (Bnd Om 57 after Siebert; unless a lw. < Or *moora* or Amh *mora*), Aun *mori*, Arb *moora* = **b: Hs** *may* (*mài* 'oil, fat, grease' Abr Hs 638), likely *<*mar-* (cf. Sura *m̀mùùr*, Bata *māré*, Bachama *mare* CLR 132-3).

'green': **y: Male** *karci* (*<*kar-t-*, cf. Male *karc*, Chara *karta* 'black') = Hs *kōrɛ̀*.

'leaf': Male *ʔilaši* (Bnd Om 59; *<*ʔil-aši* *<*ʕil-?* Cf. **q: Mao** *waale* *<*waʕal-?*), likely = **p: Iraqw** *loʕo* (met.; cf. also Hebrew *ʕälä* id.) < AA **ʕi/al-*.

'mountain': Male *ḍuka* (Bla Omot) = Tuar *a-dɣaɣ* (both < AA **duḳaḳ-*).

'name': **lw: Aun *səm*** // *šuŋi* [Appl IC], hardly to score differently from other Agaw (scored **b** in Fl); prob. = Yaaku *īši* Bla Lists (unless a loan <Ma'a).

'night': Male *wānte* (Chara *únta*) = **q: Gwt *awne*, Yaaku *awn*** (unless < Dullay) < Cu-Omot *$\hbar$a-wan-.

'not' (omitted in Fl): Male *pɛtɛtaʔo*, by its *-t-* component rel. to Maʔa *tu*.

'skin': Male *ʔilʔi* (also *ilzi* Bnd Om 62), likely = Eg *ỉnm*, Copt *ʔanom* (not in Fl) = **a: Tuar *äläm*, Siwa *iläm*** < AA *$\hbar$ilam-.

'small': **m?: Male *ḍaka*** = Akk *daḳḳ-*.

'stand': **r?: Male *ɛḳ*** (Wolayta *ʔeḳ-*, etc.) met. rel. to Arb *ḳeʔ* (not in Fl; cf. Burji *ḳa-aḍ-*, Dasenech *ġeê*) < Cu-Omot *ḳeʔ- ~ *ʔeḳ-.

'swim': Male *wayz* (Bnd Om 62), likely = **m: Arb *zawaḥaḍ*** (*zawaḥ-aḍ* Hay Arb), poss. = Iraqw *waraḥem-* (<*wadaḥ- < Cu-Omot *wayʒ/ǯVḥ- ~ *ʒ/ǯawaḥ-?).

'that': **x: Male *sêk*** (<*sV-k*), rel. by its *-k* component to Maʔa *ká* [Mous 191].

'tooth': **j: Male *āči*** (also *ʔači*, cf. Doko *hāč̣č̣e*, etc. Bnd Om 63; = Aroid *ač-i* ibid. 219) = Eg OK *nḫʒ-t* <*nV-ḫVč- (not in Fl) < AA *ḥač- (> WCh *ḥācwV* 'teeth' Stolb; Sem. *ḫVṭ- 'arrow').

c) Male items cognate to non-Omot AA and their number, according to Fleming (Fl) and the author (Mil)

(The first figure shows the number of those 100-word items where both languages have non-borrowed matches; matches treated by Fl or Mil as cognates are marked by "+", as non-cognate, by "-", absent in Fl and given by Mil, by "0"; debatable cases are marked as "deb".)

Male-Beḍ (95; Fl 5 = 5.3%, Mil 7 = 7.4%): 'come' (Fl+, Mil+), 'eat' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'fly' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+), 'what?' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Bil (93; Fl 5 = 5.4%, Mil 6 & 1 deb = 7.1%): 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'know' (Fl+, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'road' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'sleep' (Fl+, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'two' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Khmt (86; Fl 5 = 5.8%, Mil 6 & 2 deb = 8%): 'claw' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'fly' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'meat' (Fl+, Mil+), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil+ deb), 'road' (Fl-, Mil+), 'two' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Aun (91; Fl 8 = 8.8%, Mil 9 & 1 deb = 10.4%): 'fly' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'meat' (Fl+, Mil+), 'name' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil+ deb), 'rain'

(Fl+, Mil+), 'sun' (Fl+, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl+, Mil+), 'two' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Or (96; Fl 5 & 1 deb = 5.8, Mil 7 & 3 deb = 8.8%): 'fat' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'fly' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'meat' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil+ deb), 'small' (Fl+ deb, Mil+), 'that' (Fl-, Mil+), 'two' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+), 'who?' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Arb (95; Fl 5 & 1 deb = 5.8%, Mil 7 & 4 deb = 9.5%): 'breast' (Fl+deb, Mil+), 'eat' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'fat' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'heart' (Fl+, Mil+), 'meat' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil+ deb), 'rain' (Fl+, Mil+), 'stand' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'swim' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'two' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Had (97; Fl 6 = 6.2%, Mil 7 & 2 deb = 8.2%): 'bone' (Fl+, Mil+), 'claw' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'fly' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), nose (Fl+, Mil+ deb), 'road' (Fl-, Mil+), 'two' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Gwt (93; Fl 5 & 1 deb = 5.9%, Mil 8 = 8.6%): 'bone' (Fl+, Mil+), 'breast' (Fl+ deb, Mil+), 'heart' (Fl-, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'know' (Fl+, Mil+), 'night' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil 0), 'rain' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Yaaku (91; Fl 3 & 1 deb = 3.8%, Mil 6 & 3 deb = 8.2%): 'breast' (Fl+ deb, Mil+), 'claw' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'dog' (Fl+, Mil+), 'egg' (Fl+, Mil+), 'name' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'night' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'say' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'that' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Dah (87; Fl 3 = 3.4%, Mil 3 & 1 deb = 4%): 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil+ deb), 'two' (Fl+, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Maʔa (93; Fl 3 = 3.3%, Mil 7 = 7.5%): 'cloud' (Fl-, Mil+), 'good' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'not' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'rain' (Fl+, Mil+), 'that' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Iraqw (97; Fl 0 = 0%, Mil 4 & 1 deb = 4.6%): 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'leaf' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'swim' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Eg (96; Fl 2 = 2.1%, Mil 6 & 2 deb = 7.3%): 'come' (Fl+, Mil+), 'give' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'liver' (Fl-, Mil+), 'skin' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'tooth' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Copt (96; Fl 2 = 2.1%, Mil 6 = 6.2%): 'come' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'skin' (Fl-, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+), 'who?' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Akk (97; Fl 3 = 3.1%, Mil 8 = 8.2%): 'ear' (Fl-, Mil+), 'egg' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'small' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+), 'who?' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Jib (97; Fl 2 = 2.1%, Mil 5 = 5.1%): 'ear' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'that' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+), 'who?' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Amh (83; Fl 4 = 4.8%, Mil 7 = 8.4%): 'fly' (Fl+, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'this' (Fl+, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+), 'who?' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-ArabSyr (98; Fl 2 = 2%, Mil 7 = 7.1%): 'ear' (Fl-, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'this' (Fl-, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+), 'who?' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Tuar (98; Fl 3 = 3%, Mil 6 & 3 deb = 7.6%): 'come' (Fl+, Mil+), 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'mountain' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'red' (Fl-, Mil+), 'skin' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'this' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Siwa (75; Fl 1 = 1.3%, Mil 4 & 2 deb = 6.6%): 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'red' (Fl-, Mil+), 'skin' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'that' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Izd (90; Fl 3 = 3.3%, Mil 6 & 2 deb = 7.2%): 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'neck' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'red' (Fl-, Mil+), 'sleep' (Fl+, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl+, Mil+).

Male-Mkk (97; Fl 1 = 1%, Mil 4 & 1 deb = 4.6%): 'eat' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'thou' (Fl-, Mil+), 'we' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Tum (93; Fl 2 = 2.1%, Mil 5 & 2 deb = 6.4%): 'come' (Fl-, Mil+), 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+), 'eat' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil+ deb), 'we' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Kiir (85; Fl 2 = 2.3%, Mil 2 & 1 deb = 2.9%): 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'nose' (Fl+, Mil+ deb).

Male-Hs (97; Fl 1 = 1%, Mil 5 & 2 deb = 6.2%): 'ashes' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+), 'fat' (Fl 0, Mil+ deb), 'green' (Fl 0, Mil+), 'I' (Fl-, Mil+), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'rain' (Fl-, Mil+ deb).

Male-Mnd (93; Fl 1 = 1.1%, Mil 4 = 4.3%): 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+), 'knee' (Fl-, Mil+), 'louse' (Fl-, Mil+), 'small' (Fl+, Mil-), 'we' (Fl-, Mil+).

Male-Gis (92; Fl 1 & 1 deb = 1.6%, Mil 4 & 3 deb = 6%): 'claw' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'drink' (Fl-, Mil+), 'meat' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'name' (Fl+, Mil+), 'small' (Fl-, Mil+ deb), 'this' (Fl-, Mil+), 'white' (Fl+deb, Mil+).

As one can see, the average percent of cognates between Male and non-Omotic languages (i.e. "*between the extremes of Afrasian*" since Fleming opposes the Omotic branch to all other AA branches), according to Fleming's own cognations, is by no means equal to *'zero to one percent'* (the few exceptions being Male-Iraqw = 0 and Male-Mkk, Male-Hs, Male-Mnd = 1%). Even if we equal two debatable cognates to one reliable, it will amount to almost 5% with Cushitic, 2.1 with Eg/Copt, 3 with Semitic, 2.5

with Berber, and 1.5 with Chadic (average with non-Omotic Afrasian, 2.8). My equations naturally give a higher percent: 7.7 with Cushitic, 6.7 with Eg/Copt, 7.2 with Semitic, 7.1 with Berber, and 5.1 with Chadic. The average percent of cognates between Omotic, represented by Male as a random Omotic language, and other Afrasian branches is 2.82 for Fleming and 6.76 for myself. According to the table adduced in Fleming's letter, Greenberg's counting of cognates gives for his percentage a period between 16,000 and 15,500 BP for the Afrasian split, and 10,000 BP for the split between Cushitic and Omotic, while, for my percentage, between 9,000 and 8,500 for the Afrasian split, and 8,000, for the Cushitic-Omotic split. The correlation table by Kruskal, Dyen and Black gives, for Fleming's percentage, 14,700 - 26,950 (20,825 Mid Point) BP for an Afrasian split, and 16,000 BP as a Mid Point, for a Cushitic-Omotic split; for my percentage, it gives 13,500 BP as a Mid Point, for an Afrasian split, and 13,000, for a Cushitic-Omotic split (see my datings in an Afrasian Genetic Tree below).

d) Cognates in selected Omot and other AA and their number, according to Fleming and the author

"Ongota is not Omotic, not Cushitic either, but rather a new branch of Afrasian."

In Fleming's List, 13 items in Ong are marked lws. Though I have serious doubts about some of these cases, in my calculations I not only eliminated 12 of these 13 items from scores (for 'green' no word is given in Fl while I took *čarḳa-muni* 'green, wet, green tree' from Fl Ong 48, *čɛrkamun* 'green' SLLE), but added to them seven more ('cloud', 'egg', 'fat', 'long', 'sand', 'tongue' and 'two') - practically exhausting a list of possible Ong loan-words. This was done intentionally to avoid any bias towards the "Ongota is Omotic" hypothesis.

Ong-Dime (82; Fl 8 = 9.7%, Mil 9 & 7 deb = 15.2%):
'big': Ong *gadaḫ/hune* (Fl Ong 42; not in Fl list), *gaddahino* SLLE (also 'many'), *gaddaʕuni*, pl. *giddeʕeta* ST 117 (also 'old') = Dime *gad* (Bnd Ar 145; not in Fl).
'bite': **n: Ong *gaʕa* = n: Dime *gaʔ*.
'breast': **q: Ong *ʔāma* = q: Dime *ʔɛmɛ*.
'drink': **m: Ong *čạʕaw*, likely met. rel. to **q: Dime *wūč̣* (Fl; *ʔuču* Bla Omot <*ʕuč̣-*?).

'eye': **f: Ong ʔááfa** = **f: Dime āffo ~ āppo**.

'hair': **u: Ong b̯ine** rather than not = **z: Dime band-e** (<*ban-t-? Rel. in Bla Omot No. 36.3. to WOL *binnana*).

'kill' Ong *ǯiʔ* (Fl Ong 50), rel. to **z: Dime dēs** (caus. <*dē-* 'die'), if the latter is < *ʒ/ǯV-*.

'mouth': **b: Ong ʔíífa** = **b: Dime ʔapf ~ ab̯b̯**.

'name': **h: Ong miša** likely met. <*sim-*, prob. = **h: Dime mîzi** (Dime -*z*- <*-s-* needs proof).

'one': **o: Ong akala** = **o: Dime wokêl**.

'round': **i: Ong mulq'o** = **i: Dime mil/mul** (problematic as -*q'*- in Ong lacks explanation).

'say': Ong *gisa* (Fl Ong 55; not in Fl) <*gi-is* = **u?: Dime gēmu** (gee-m(o) Bnd Om 216; cf. **u: Hamar gi**).

'see': **n: Ong yop** = **s: Dime yeef**.

'stand': **u: Ong yaw** = **h: Dime wuy**.

'tongue': **j: Ong ʕadaba**, prob. not rel. to, but a lw. from Hamar *atâp*, *adəb* (v. Bnd Om 218), then not = **j: Dime îdîm.**

'who?': **h: Ong saay** (<*sa-ay*?), likely rel. by the -*ay* component to **g: DIM iyai** Fl, *ʔaye*, *āyɔ* Bnd Ar.

Ong-Shin (79; Fl 3 = 3.8%, Mil 4 & 6 deb = 8.9%):

'bark': **s: Ong ʔag̯ata/aqata** (cf. also *qaqqa* ST), likely rel. to Shin *ḳooḳ-ra* (Lmb Sh 337; not in Fl).

'claw': **t: Ong soŋke** = **t: Shin ṣúŋgú-sa**.

'come': **a: Ong ʔē**, likely = **s: Shin w-** (*wā* LambSh) <AA *ʔayaw-*, cf. Janjero *iyɔ̄wa* id.

'eye': **f: Ong ʔááfa** = **f: Shin ʔáwa**.

'hear': **o: Ong ʔāš**, likely met. rel. to **q: Shin šiša**, *ši* (<*siʔ-/*siʔsaʔ-*; rel. to Ong in Bla Ong).

'name': **h: Ong miša**, likely met. <*sim-*, prob. = **b: Shin šū́sa** (rel. by Fl to **b:** *sim-*, though loss of -*m* needs explanation).

'nose': **f: Ong siina**, perhaps = **f: Shin šínṭa**.

'this': **d: Ong ʔinda**, rel. by the -*n* component to **k: Shin han**.

'water': **h: Ong c̣aʕawa**, likely met. rel. to **i: Shin aassa** (Fl; *ʔàacá*, *āça* Bnd Om 177; cf. **Mao hác̣e**).

'who?': **h: Ong haakà**, rel. by the *k* component to **j: Shin kone**.

Ong-Beḍ (80; Fl 4 = 5%, Mil 7 & 1 deb = 9.4%):

'come': **a: Ong ʔē** = **a: Beḍ ʔi**.

'give': **p: Ong *naʔa*** = **m: Beḍ *nun*** (*inīyu* Bl Ms after Thelwall).
'hand': **k: Ong *ʔīʔa*** = **k: Beḍ *eyi*** <*ʔVy-*.
'many': **o: Ong *geda-huni*** = **o: Beḍ *gweda-bi*.**
'mouth': **b: Ong *ʔíífa*** = **b: Beḍ *yaf*.**
'name': **h: Ong *miša*** likely met. <*sim-*, prob. = **b: Beḍ *sim*.**
'this': **d: Ong *ʔinda*,** rel. by its *n* component to **h/b: Beḍ *un/t-un*.**
'what?': **j: Ong *neeni*** = **m: Beḍ *nān*.**

Ong-Bil (76; Fl 3 = 3.9%, Mil 4 & 2 deb = 6.6%):
'bone': **e: Ong *miča*** = **e: Bil *naž*** (*naš* <*ŋaç* <*maĉ-*).
'hear': **o: Ong *ʔāš*** = **i: Bil *wās*.**
'knee': **i: Ong *gibila*,** hardly = **i: Bil *girb*.**
'mouth': **b: Ong *ʔíífa*** = **b: Bil *ab*,** pl. *áfif* .
'name': **h: Ong *miša*** likely met. <*sim-*, prob. = **b: Bil *siŋ*.**
'rain': **a?: Ong *haaja*** (*hažа*), prob. met. rel. to **l: Bil *zuwa*.**
'this': **d: Ong *ʔinda*,** rel. by its *n* component to **d: Bil *niin*.**

Ong-Had (81; Fl 3 = 3.7%, Mil 3 & 3 deb = 5.5%):
'bite': **n: Ong *gaʕa*** = **n: Had *gaʔm*.**
'claw': **t: Ong *soŋke*,** likely = **p: Had *ṭuraŋka*** (<*ṭulu(n)k/ḳ-* = Sidama *čulunḳ-iččo* < E. Cu *ŝV(n)ḳ-Vl-*, with metathesis and *č- <*ŝ-* by assim. with *-ḳ-*).
'knee': **i: Ong *gibila*** met. rel. to **i: Had *gurubbo*** <*gulubb-*.
'name': **h: Ong *miša*** likely met. <*sim-*, prob. = **b: Had *summa*.**
'nose': **f: Ong *siina*** = **f: Had *sané*.**
'who?': **h: Ong *saay*** (<*sa-ay?*), likely rel. by the *-ay* component to **e: Had *ay*.**

Ong-Yaaku (75; Fl 1 = 1.3%, Mil 2 & 5 deb = 6%):
'bone': **e: Ong *miča*** = **e: Yaaku *močo*.**
'claw': **t: Ong *soŋke*,** perhaps = **r: Yaaku *seġil*** (<*sVḳil*, cf. Konso *šoloḳloḳ*).
'I': **e: Ong *kaata*** <*ka-ta*, rel. by the *k* component to **d: Yaaku *iišeʔ*** (in fact, *iíçeʔ*, most probably <*yikʸ-*).
'name': **h: Ong *miša*,** likely met. <*sim-*, prob. = **Yaaku *īši*** (Bla Lists; not in Fl) <*ʔi-sim-?*

'say': Ong *gisa* (SLLE; not in Fl), *gis-* (ST), very likely <*gi-is* (-*is* as a caus. suffix ST 92; cf. Ari *gay-* and *gay-s* id. Bnd Om 216), prob. rel. to **q: Yaaku: oḫ/ok** (*okhoi* Bla Lists, *oko* Hei 'speak'), possibly <*ʔoghoy-*.

'what?': **j: Ong neeni = m: Yaaku ňɔh, (di)nyɔh** (rel. by the **n* component).

'who?': **h: Ong saay** (<**sa-ay*?), likely rel. by the -*ay* component to **g: Yaaku iyo** (Fl; not in Nei Ya) <**ʔV-y-*.

Ong-Dah (72; Fl 5 & 1 = 7.6% deb, Mil 9+1 deb = 13.2%):
'bone': **e: Ong miča = e?: Dah miĉĉo.**
'dry': **p: Ong ḅaʕa-tuni = p: Dah ḅaʔ-ama** (hardly unrel. in spite of Ong -ʕ- vs. DAH -ʔ-).
'good': **Ong wanna** 'good (for self)' (Fl 34, note 19) = **x: Dah wíne.**
'kill': Ong *ži*ʔ (Fl Ong 50; not in Fl) = **t: Dah ʒeʔeḍ** <*ʒeʔ-eḍ* (caus. of *ʒāʔ-* 'die').
'knee': **i: Ong gibila** met. rel. to **i: Dah gíllibe** (pl.; *gilli* sing.).
'mouth': **b: Ong ʔíífa = b: Dah ʔafo.**
'nose': **f: Ong siina = f: Dah sína.**
'small': **q: Ong monnuʕeni** Fl, *munnaʔɛnə* SLLE <**munnVʕ/ʔ-uni*= **j?: Dah ʔààmína.**
'walk': **x: Ong rō/rota = x: Dah roʔ/raṯ.**
'who?': **h: Ong haakà** (<**ha-k-*) by its -*k-* component is rel. to **g: Dah žiko** (< *ži-ko*)**.**

Ong-Eg (79; Fl 2 & 2 deb = 3.8%, Mil 6 & 1 deb = 8.2%):
'ashes': **s: Ong tauni = a: Eg ỉtnw** (Med).
'come': **a: Ong ʔee = a: Eg ỉy, ỉw.**
'fire': **o: Ong ʔoḫona** (<** ʔoḫ-on-*) = **a: Eg ḫ-t** (Pyr), *ꜣḫ-t* (BD-Gr).
'I': **e: Ong ka/kāta** rel. to **a: Eg ỉnk** by the latter's -*k* component.
'night': **a?: Ong ʕuo** (ʕ-<**ḫ-ʔ*), hardly rel. to **a: Eg wḫ-t.**
'rain': **a? Ong haaja**, hardly rel. to **a: Eg ḥwy-t** (in this case *j* in Fleming's transcription for Ong conveys *ž*, not *y*).
'sleep': **a: Ong ḳaada = a: Eg ḳd.**
'this': **d: Ong ʔinda**, rel. by the *n* component to **a/b: Eg pn/tn/nn** (*n* is the deictic element).

Ong-Akk (80; Fl 3 = 3.7%, Mil 6 & 1 deb = 8.1%):
'big': **b: Ong arba = b: Akk rabû.**
'I': **e: Ong ka/kāta** rel. to **a: Akk anāku** by the latter's -*k* component.

'mouth': **b: Ong** *ʔíífa* = **b: Akk** *pû.*

'name': **h: Ong** *miša* likely met. **rel. to b: Akk** *šumu*.

'this': **d: Ong** *ʔinda* (<*ʔi-n-da), rel. by its second component to = **d: Akk anniw**.

'tree': **q: Ong** *hanča, iinsɛ̂* = **b: Akk** *iṣu*.

'what?': **j: Ong** *neeni* = **a: Akk** *mīnu* <**mi-n-* (rel. by the *n component).

Ong-ArabSyr (81; Fl 2 = 2.5%, Mil 2 & 2 deb = 3.7%):

'mouth': **b: Ong** *ʔiifa*, not = **b: ArabSyr** *tumm-* < *fumm-* (in fact, < **ṯumm-*).

'name': **h: Ong** *miša*, likely met. rel. to **b: ArabSyr** *ism.*

'not': Ong *ma-* = ArabSyr *mū*.

'swim': **c: Ong** *šap*, not = **c: ArabSyr** *sabaḥ*.

'that': Ong *ʔatakwida* (SLLE; not in Fl), rel. by the *-k-* and, prob., *-d-* component to **c, d: ArabSyr** *hadaak/hadiik* (<**ha-ḏā/ī-k*).

'this': **d: Ong** *ʔinda*, prob. rel. by the *-d-* component to **g, c: Arab Syr haada/haadi**.

Ong-Jib (80; Fl 0 = 0%, Mil 2 & 1 deb = 3.1%):

'name': **h: Ong** *miša*, likely met. rel. to **b: Jib** *šum*.

'that': Ong *ʔatakwida* SLLE (not in Fl), rel. by the *-kw-* component to **Jib ḏɔ́kun.**

'this': **d: Ong** *ʔinda*, rel. by the *-n-* component to **e: Jib** *ḏɛnu*.

'what?': **j: Ong** *neeni* = **b: Jib** *ʔin*.

Ong-Amh (67; Fl 1 = 1.5%, Mil 3 & 1 deb = 5.2%):

'mouth': **b: Ong** *ʔíífa* = **b: Amh** *ʔaf.*

'name': **h: Ong** *miša,* likely met. rel. to **b: Amh** *səm*.

'not': Ong *ma-*, by the *m-* component rel. to Amh *al...m*.

'what?': **j: Ong** *neeni* = **b: Jib** *ʔin* (rel. by the *n component).

Ong-Izd (75; Fl 1 = 1.3%, Mil 2 & 3 deb = 4.7%):

'cold': **o: Ong** *ṣanodi*, prob. = **e: Izdeg** *a-semmaḍ*.

'heart': **s: Ong** *ləəta* (<**la-t-*), very likely = **a: Izd** *ul*.

'I': **e: Ong** *ka/kāta* rel. by the *-k* component to **a: Izd** *nekk*.

'name': **h: Ong** *miša*, likely met. <**sim-* = **b: Izd** *isəm*.

'swim': **c: Ong** *šap* = **e: Izd** *ššef*.

Ong-Hs (81; Fl 2 = 2.5%, Mil 1 & 3 deb = 3.1%):

'breast': **q: Ong** *ʔāma*, likely = Hs *màmā́* (not in Fl).

'fat': **b: Ong** *mora*, rather a lw., not = **b: Hs** *mai*.

'name': **h: Ong** *miša*, likely met. <*sim- = **b: Hs** *sū́nā́*.

'burn': **x: Ong** *ḳow, ḳoyka*, prob. = l: Hs *ḳṓnà̃* (= l: Mao *ḳiyan*), if < AA**ḳiw-an-*.

'this': **d: Ong** *ʔinda* = **d: Hs** *nnan* (*wannan*).

As follows from the above data, the average percent of Ong cognates (out of 81 items, and, again, equating two debatable cognates to one reliable) amounts, in Fleming's cognation, to 6.75 with Omotic (9.7 with Dime and 3.8 with Shin), 4.3 with Cushitic (Had, Yaaku, Beḍ, Bil, Dah), 3.8 with Eg, 1.9 with Semitic (Akk, ArabSyr, Jib and Amh), 1.3 with Berber (Izd), and 2.5 with Chadic (Hs). My cognation again gives a much higher percentage: 12 with Omotic (15.2 with Dime, 8.9 with Shin), 8.1 with Cushitic, 8.2 with Eg, 5 with Semitic, 4.7 with Izd, and 3.1 with Hs. According to Fleming's real, not claimed, cognation, only one "zero case", between Ong and Jib, is attested, and there are three cases with 1% cognation: with Yaaku, Amh and Izd; the average percent of cognates between Ong and other Afrasian branches is 3.42. According to my cognation, it is 7. According to Greenberg's counting of cognates, Fleming's percentage corresponds to 14,000 BP as a time of a split between Ong and other Afrasian while my percentage corresponds to 8,500 BP. The correlation table by Kruskal, Dyen and Black gives, for Fleming's percentage, 20,212 BP (Mid Point) BP, and for my percentage, 13,500 BP (Mid Point).

Several more random pair cognations:

Shin-Jib (95; Fl 4 =4.2%, Mil 7 & 2 deb = 8.4%):

'ear': **q: Shin** *wááza* = **a: Jib** *ʔiḏɛn*.

'heart': **a: Shin** *niba*, likely (if <*lib-) = **a: Jib** *ub* (<*lub-).

'horn': **b: Shin** *ḳála* (cf. Anfillo Kafa Mocha *ḳáro*) = **b: Jib** *ḳun* (<*ḳurn).

'name': **b: Shin** *šúúsa* (<*sum-t-) = **b: Jib** *šum*.

'road': **x: Shin** *wḗra* = **d: Jib** *ʔorm* <*ʔur-m.

'that': **ṭ: Shin** *ɛ̆kê* (*ekkewí*), rel. by the -k- component to **c: Jib** *ḏɔ́kun*.

'this': **k: Shin** *han*, rel. by the -n- component to **e: Jib** *ḏenu.*.

'we': **a: Shin** *nona* = **a: Jib** *nḥan*.

'who?': **j: Shin** *kone*, rel. by the -n- component to **a: Jib** *mun*.

Mao-Hs (99; Fl 2 & 1 deb = 2.5%, Mil 3 & 2 deb = 4%):

'burn': **l: Mao *ḳiyan* = l: Hs *ḳóónàà*.

'drink': **n: Mao *iš*,** likely met. rel. to **a: Hs *šã̂*.**

'earth': **x: Mao *ḳḗṣê* = k: Hs *ḳaasa*.**

'this': **d: Mao *na* = d: Hs *wannan*.**

'woman': **g?: Mao *mūncê*** (*múnçèē* Bla Omot <*munṭ-) = **g: Hs *màčě*** (also *màtã́* <*mat-*, likely <*maṭ-*).

Dime-Copt (98; Fl 3 = 3.1%, Mil 3 & 2 deb = 4.1%):

'bone': **a: Dime *ḳûs* = a: Copt *kas*.**

'dry': **v: Dime *wučum*** (Hamar *wâčči*), likely met. rel. to **a: Copt *šowe*.**

'sand': **a: Dime *šayi*,** likely **= a: Copt *šō*.**

'stone': **y: Dime *laalo*** (assim. <*nāl*, cf. Dizi *nyalu*, Bencho *niʸl*, Naa *nʸelu*) = **a: Copt *ʔōne-*** (continues Eg *ìnr* <*ʔVnil-*).

'what?': **e: Dime *úyúú* = e: Copt *ʔū*** (<*wʕ* or *ʕw*, cf. Vyc 228).

Dime-Izd (91; Fl 3 = 3.3%, Mil 4 & 2 deb = 5.5%):

'bone': **a: Dime *ḳûs* = a: Izd *i-ɣs*.**

'come': **l?: Dime *ād* = h: Izd *addu-d*.**

'eat': **c: Dime *îts*** (<*ʔič*?), likely **= c: Izd *t-š*** (*t-*stem).

'fly': **a: Dime *far* = a: Izd *afru*.**

'small': **m?: Dime *čêḳḳ*** (assim. <*čigg-*?), prob. **= h: Izd *mẓy*** (<*mV-ẓig*).

'that': **e: Dime *cana*** (*sánú* masc., *sáná* fem.), rel. by the *-n-* component to **h: Izd *-in*** (*aynna*).

Dime-Amh (85; Fl 1 = 1.2%, Mil 3 = 3.5%):

'bird': **a: Dime *îft*** (<*Hi/af-t-*) = **d: Amh *wof*** (<*ʕVp-*).

'cold': **b: Dime *ḳiž-, ḳɛž-in* = Amh *ḳäzḳazza*** (not in Fl).

'mouth': **b: Dime *ʔaafo* = b: Amh *af*.**

Dime-Hs (99; Fl 2 = 2%, Mil 6 & 2 deb = 7%):

'ashes': **u: Dime *bind-*** (Hamar *bidini* <AA *bid-n-*) = Hs *hábḍì* <*ha-bdVH-* (not in Fl).

'bone': **a: Dime *ḳûs* = a: Hs *ḳàší̂*.**

'breast': **q: Dime *ʔɛmɛ*,** prob. = Hs *màmá* (not in Fl).

'ear': **g?: Dime *ḳam* = h: Hs *kunne*** (<*ḳum-n-*).

'fat': **w: Dime *kūštu* = k: Hs *kíçȅ*** (<*ḳic-*).

'hand': **i: Dime *ʔane* = i: Hs *hánnű̄*.**

'red': Dime *zu(u)* Hay Omot 265, *zuu* Bnd Ar 156, likely = **k: Hs *ǯā̂*.**

'that': **e: Dime *cana*** (*sánú* masc., *sáná* fem.), rel. by the *-n-* component to
l: Hs *nčan* (*wančan*).

<center>*   *   *   *   *</center>

As a final conclusion, my tentative results for Afrasian classification
(to be specified in detail but hardly to be principally changeable) are ad-
duced below (the numbers in square brackets, when placed after the name
of a language branch, indicate the approximate date of the splitting of said
branch; when placed after two languages separated by commas, indicate
the date of their bifurcation, in millennia B.C. or A.D.)**.** In this paper, as
well as in my previous studies in genetic classification, for my glotto-
chronological and lexicostatistical calculations I relied on Sergei Starostin's
method (see Star) which is a radically improved and elaborated version of
Swadesh's method.

<center>***Proto-Afrasian*** [-9.97].</center>

I. **South Afrasian/Cushomotic** [-7.87].

I.1. *Proto-Omotic* [-5.36].
I.1.1. North Omotic [-3.99]: a) Dizi /Adikas/; b) Mao /Diddesa/; c)
Gonga [-1.14] (Shinasha=Bworo, Kafa); d) Janjero=Yemsa; e) Chara; f)
Ometo [-1.30] (Wolayta, Male).
I.1.2. South Omotic [-4.63]: a) Ongota; b) Aroid [-0.98] (Dime, Hamar).

I.2. *Proto-Cushitic* [-6.51].
I.2.1. North-Central Cushitic [-4.73].
    I.2.1.1. Bedauye.
    I.2.1.2. Agaw/Central Cushitic [-1.33]: a) Aungi=Auwiya; b) North
    Agaw [-0.04] (Bilin, Khamta).
I.2.2. South Cushitic [-4.65]: a) Dahalo; b) Maa=Mbugu; c) Iraqw,
Qwadza [-2.65].
I.2.3. East Cushitic [-5.57].
    I.2.3.1. Yaaku /= Mogogodo/.
    I.2.3.2. Dullay [-0.05]: a) Gawwata; b) Tsamay.
    I.2.3.3. Highland East Cushitic [-1.39]: a) Burji; b) Hadiya, Sidamo
    [-0.36].
    I.2.3.4. Afar.

I.2.3.5. Lowland East Cushitic [-2.57]: a) Somaloid [-1.95] (Somali, Bayso); b) Oromoid [-0.79] (Oromo (Welegga), Konso); c) Galaboid [-1.07] (Dasenech=Geleba; Arbore, Elmolo [-0.04]).

II. **North Afrasian** [-8.96].

II.1. *Proto-Semitic* [-4.51].
II.1.1. South Semitic/Modern South Arabian [-0.68]: a) Soqotri; b) Continental South Semitic [0.42] (Mehri, Jibbali).
II.1.2. North Semitic [-3.55].
    II.1.2.1. Akkadian.
    II.1.2.2. West Semitic [-2.85].
    II.1.2.2.1. Ethiopian [-0.89]: a) South Ethiopian [-0.30] (Amharic, Harari); b) North Ethiopian [-0.39] (Tigrai=Tigrinya, Geez).
    II.1.2.2.2. Common Arabic [0.32]: Qur'anic, Syrian Arabic, etc.
    II.1.2.2.3. Levantine [-2.01]: a) Ugaritic; b) South Levantine [-1.73] (Aramaic [-0.09], Hebrew).

II.2. *African North Afrasian* [-7.71].

II.2.1. *Egyptian*: a) Egyptian (Old Kingdom) [-2.55]; b) Coptic Bohairic [0.45].

II.2.2. *Chado-Berber* [-5.89].
    II.2.2.1. *Proto-Berber* [-1.11].
    II.2.2.1.1. North-West Berber [-0.88].
    II.2.2.1.1.1. Zenaga.
    II.2.2.1.1.2. North Berber [-0.42]: a) Atlas [0.07] (Semlal, Izdeg); b) Zenata [-0.16] (Shawiya, Qabyle (Mangellat)).
    II.2.2.1.2. South-East Berber [-1.01].
    II.2.2.1.2.1. South Berber/Tuareg [0.46]: a) Ahaggar; b) Ayr.
    II.2.2.1.2.2. East Berber [-0.81]: a) Ghadames; b) Siwa.
    II.2.2.2. *Proto-Chadic* [-5.41].
    II.2.2.2.1. Central Chadic [-4.35]: a) Musgu; b) Mandara-Gudur [-1.73] (Mandara; Gisiga, Mofu-Gudur [-1.04]).
    II.2.2.2.2. East Chadic [-3.64]: a) Tumak; b) Mokilko; c) Migama, Jegu [-0.85].
    II.2.2.2.3. West Chadic [-4.10]: a) Bolewa; b) Kiir, Hausa [-3.87].

Abbreviations and conventions:

adj.	adjective
comp.	compare, comparable
deb.	debatable
imp.	imperative
lw.	loanword
met.	metathesis, metathetic(ally)
not sc.	not scored
nth. in com. w.	nothing in common with (usually referring to slip scores by Fl)
rel.	related, relates
vb.	verb

a: b: $: etc.	Fleming's scores of the cognates
?	lack of the appropriate term in Fl
-666	in Starostin's procedure, a "zero" score marking a loanword or lack of the appropriate term
=	the author's score meaning "cognate with"
not =	the author's score meaning "not cognate with"
//	precedes the author's corrections, additions, substitutions or comments on Fleming's scores and data
◊	in Section IV, precedes Fleming's score and data and the author's comment on one item or several items united by a common discussion
-	separates affixed elements from the stem
*	marks a reconstructed proto-form

in reconstructed protoforms:

V	renders a non-specified vowel, e.g. *bVr-* should be read 'either *a*, *i*, or *u*'
H	renders a non-specified laryngeal or pharyngeal
S	renders a non-specified sibilant
/	when separating 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-'*
~	'and' (points to two or more co-existing proto-forms)

Notes:

(1) Certain symbols for vowels used by Fleming (supposedly due to a lack of corresponding diacritics in his computer fonts) are in most cases replaced by more accustomed symbols, e. g. Amh *â* is replaced by *ä*, *î* by *ə*.

(2) Forms in individual languages adduced by Fleming and scores (or the lw. mark) he ascribes to them are given in bold letters to distinguish them from the author's comments, e. g.: **b: Akk *našāku*, d?: Tuar *addəd*, lw.: Copt *lōks.***

Abbreviations of languages and language periods:

AA - Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Ahg - Ahaggar (Tahaggart); Akk - Akkadian; Amh - Amharic; Arab - Arabic; ArabSyr - Syrian Arabic; Arb - Arbore; Aun - Aungi; BD - Book of the Dead; Beḍ - Beḍauye (Beja); Bil - Bilin; Brb - Berber; C. - Central; Ch - Chadic; Copt - Coptic; Cu - Cushitic; Dah - Dahalo; Dem - Demotic; Dyn - Dynasty; E. - East; Eg - Egyptian; Eth - Ethiopian; Gis - Gisiga; Gr - Greek Period; Gwt - Gawwata; Had - Hadiya; Hs - Hausa; Izd - Izdeg; Jib - Jibbali; Khmt - Khamta; Med - Medical Texts; MK - Middle Kingdom; Mkk - Mokilko; Mnd - Mandara; MSA - Modern South Arabian; N. - North; NK - New Kingdom; NS - Nilo-Saharan; Omot - Omotic; Ong - Ongota; Or - Oromo; P - Proto; Pyr - Pyramid Texts; S. - South; Sem - Semitic; Shin - Shinasha; Tuar - Tuareg; Tum - Tumak; W. - West.

Conventions in transcription:

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

ẓ - emphatic voiced affricate

č̣ - palato-alveolar emphatic affricate

ŝ - lateral voiceless fricative

ĉ - lateral voiceless affricate

ĉ̣- lateral emphatic affricate

ḳ, q   - emphatic velar stop

γ - 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

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