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**Root extension and root formation in Semitic and Afrasian**

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

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

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

(3) "Root extenders" (RE) is a conventional name that may be given to consonantal elements which are singled out in the same way as the two above types but for this or that reason cannot be

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

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

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

Some of the RE proposed below have been touched upon in several earlier studies (see references under corresponding headings) but usually briefly and with no sufficient examples supported by convincing etymologies, which is an indispensable precondition of a serious study in these and similar matters. The most daring attempt to reveal traces of root extenders in Semitic and treat them as relics of class markers was made by N. V. Yushmanov (Yush 170-181); though this attempt can hardly be viewed as successful for the same reason of limiting the argumentation to Arabic chiefly, I would not, however, rule out a possibility of future discoveries in the direction outlined by his theory taking into consideration Yushmanov's intuition of a genius. Worth mentioning is also CHVAL (and HCVA, its slightly updated English version) where many more consonants than in the present contribution are treated as "compliments" without ascribing them

any specific meanings; though, by definition, etymologies/comparative data were adduced, after 20-25 years that have passed since publication of the three issues of this collective study headed by Igor Diakonoff and which the present author was part of, some of the comparisons seem far-fetched or even outright wrong, while others are worth consideration if not for lack of references, a lamentable fashion with Afrasian linguistics.

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

The data are arranged in the following way: first come prefixed REs, then infixes and finally suffixed ones. The first part of each entry contains form(s) with a hypothetic root extender and the second part, after vs. (versus), contains matches without this root extender implying that the second part usually though not always represents, in the author's view, a primary "base" root and the first part represents a derived root; in certain cases, however, especially when the first part is represented by a much wider scope of languages than the second (say, a Common Semitic root containing \*-m in the Auslaut vs. an Arabic root without it) a secondary apocope of an original radical cannot be excluded. Since most of the examples are quoted, sometimes updated, after the two volumes of the Semitic Etymological Dictionary (whence the headings, which represent Semitic protoforms, are quoted in bold type letters), they are divided into three sections: animal names after SED II, anatomy after SED I and varia (semantically diverse examples collected by the author with a focus on agricultural terms and items from the "Swadesh's" 100-word list whenever pertinent). This division is justified not only by the fact that the anatomic, faunal, agricultural or "basic" (in the lexicostatistical method's sense) lexicons are better studied and more

familiar to the author, but also because the above-mentioned choice helps avoid a temptation of taking premature results for granted: thus, if *-n* claimed to be a class marker of body parts (Dietrich, Yushmanov, v. in Yush 177) is widely attested as a suffixed element in animal names or a non-anatomic "basic" lexicon, the anatomic hypothesis needs a more cautious treatment.

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

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

This study was carried out within the frames of several projects supported by the Russian Foundation for Sciences (A Computerized Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Etymologies), the Russian Foundation for the Humanities (Semitic Etymological Dictionary), The Santa Fe Institute (Evolution of Human Languages), and by Eugene Satanovsky (The Tower of Babel).

Abbreviations of languages and language periods:

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

Conventions:

□ marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Semitic data

◊ marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Afrasian data

### **Consonantal Prefixation**

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

## Animal names:

[] Akk. *mīrānu* (*mūrānu*) 'young dog, puppy; cub of a wild animal' vs. Ugr. *ʔim* 'puppy, puppy-dog' (in **\*ʔVran-** ~ **\*ʔVnar-** 'small predatory animal' SED II No. 8). [] Arb. *minhas-* vs. *nahhās-*, *nahūs-* 'lion' in **\*nVhVš-** 'lion' (SED II No. 159). [] Gez. *māʔənaḳ*, *māʔnəḳ* 'turtledove, locust-eating crane' (with the *ʔ* ~ *ʔ* variation) vs. *ʔanḳe*, *ʔanḳet* 'hawk, kite' < **\*ʔan(V)ḳ-** 'a bird of prey' (SED II No. 6). [] Wol. *mofān*, Sel. *mōfān*, Sod. *mofen*, *mofān* vs. Muh. Msq. Gog. *wāfen* < **\*yapan-** 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Jib. *mayzəl* 'big flock (of goats, sheep)' (JJ 92) vs. Sem. **\*yVzāl-** 'gazelle' (SED II No. 92; cf. metathetic Brb. *\*-za/ulay-* 'goat, sheep': Nefusa *zaləy* 'belier', Ahaggar *a-hūlay*, Ayr *azulay* 'bouc' ibid.); [] Soq. *mibkəroh* 'jeune chamelle' vs. *bəkər* 'animal with one young only' (JJ 25, not in LS), Mhr. *bōkər* 'young female camel' < **\*bVḳVr(-at)-** 'young (she-)camel' (SED II No. 56). [] Sem. **\*maʔf(a)z-** 'goat': Arb. *maʔz-*, Min. *mʔzy*, etc. (SED II No. 148) vs. **\*ʔVnz-** id.: Ugr. *ʔz*, Arb. *ʔanz(-at)-*, Sab. *ʔnz*, etc. (SED II No. 35).

## Anatomy:

[] Akk. *neṣbettu* (*n-* is very likely < *\*m-*) vs. **\*sibf(-at)-**, **\*ʔV-sbaʔ-** 'finger': Ugr. *ʔuṣbʔ*, Hbr. *ʔəṣbaʔ*, Syr. *sebʔā*, etc. (SED I No. 256). [] Hbr. *mətalḷəʔōt* vs. **\*IVy-** 'jaw': Jud. Syr. *lōʔā*, Mhr. *lyənīn*, etc. (perhaps also Hbr. *lōʔʔ* 'gullet or jaw' SED I No. 177). [] Hbr. *maḳḳōḥayim* (dual; met.) 'gums' vs. **\*halk-**, **\*halkū/um** 'Adam's apple, throat': Arb. *ḥalk-* 'gosier, gorge', Gez. *ḥəlk* 'throat, gullet, palate', etc. (SED I No. 117). [] Syr. *marbəʔā* 'uterus', Mnd. *marba* 'womb, uterus' (< *\*ma-rbaʔ-*) vs. **\*ru/abs-** 'womb, uterus': Akk. *rubṣu*, etc. (SED I No. 226). [] Arb. *mkn* 'av. des oeufs, ê. oeuvé', *makn-* 'oeufs des reptiles et des insectes', *makinat-* 'oeufs (d'oiseaux, de lézard, de sauterelle, etc.; nid d'oiseau' (BK 2 1139) vs. *wkn* 'couvrir ses oeufs', *ʔawkun-*, *wukunāt-* 'nid (d'oiseau)' (ibid. 1600), *ʔuknat-* 'nid d'oiseau' (ibid. 1 44) < Afras. *\*ʔa-wkin-* 'egg': W. Chad. Diri *akin* (Sk NB 19), E. Cush. Somali (Benadir) *ʔukun*, *ukun*, Rendille *ukun*, Oromo (Borana) *okokan*, N. Omot. Anfillo *keenno* (Dolg 1973 282). [] Arb. Daḡ. *maḥbalah* 'uterus' vs. Arb. *ḥabal-* 'foetus' < **\*habal-**, **\*hibl-** 'foetus; umbilical cord' (SED I No. 110). [] Arb. *manḥūr-* 'partie du corps autour de la clavicule' vs. *naḥr-* 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum' < **\*nah(a)r-** 'upper part of chest': Tgr. *nāḥar* 'breast', Jib. *nāḥar* 'windpipe and lungs' (SED I No. 196). [] Arb. *maḥāl-*, *maḥālat-* 'milieu du dos, vertèbre' vs. *ḥāl-* 'dos du cheval' < **\*ha/ul(l)-** 'spinal column with thigh bones': Akk. *ḥallu* 'crotch, region between the thighs', Hbr. pB. *ḥulyā* 'limb; vertebra of the spinal column' (SED I No. 114). [] Arb. *mišʔalat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac' vs. **\*s<sub>x</sub>V(n)pVI-** 'stomach (of an animal, bird)': Tgr. *šənfəlla* 'one of ruminant's four stomachs', Jib. *šəfəl* 'belly', etc. (SED I No. 271). [] Gez. *mazrəʔt*, Tgr. *māzrəʔt*, Tna *māzraʔti* 'shoulder' vs. **\*dVāʔ-** 'arm': Ugr. *drʔ*, Arb. *dirāʔ-* (also Tgr. *zāraʔ* unless an Arabism; SED I No. 65). [] Gez. (met.) *matkaʔ*, *matkaʔt* 'shoulder, shoulder blade', Tgr. *māktāʔ* 'shoulder' vs. Hbr. *kātēp*, Arb. *katif-*, etc. < **\*kat(a)p-** '(back of) shoulder, shoulder blade' (SED I No. 154). [] Tgr. *mārkāb* 'shoulder-joint' vs. Gez. *rākub* 'shoulder blade' < **\*rVḳ(u)b-at-** 'knee': Arb. *rukbat-*, etc. (SED I No. 232). [] S. Eth. *\*manḳurt*: Amh. *manḳurt* 'Adam's apple, larynx', Zway *manḳurt*, Goggot *manḳurt*, Soddo *manḳur* 'goitre' vs. Eth. *\*ʔ/ʔanḳar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *ʔanḳa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *ʔanḳär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *ʔanḳär*

'ugola', Amh. *anḳä/ar* 'uvula', Arg. *ənḳərt* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har. *ənḳərti*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənḳərt* 'goitre'. [] Jib. *məzrēš*, Soq. *māzrəh* 'molar tooth' (<\*ma-šrVš) vs. \**šis*: Arb. *ḏirs-*, Gez. *ḏərs*, etc. (SED I No. 275). [] Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *mōsōt*, Soq. *mənsūb* vs. Soq. *ʔənsōb*, Arb. *ʔisb-*, etc. <\**š/sVb-*, \**ʔVš/sVb-* 'pubic hair' (SED I No. 239). [] Hrs. *mešhāwt* 'armpit' vs. Jib. *šḥot*, Soq. *šḥoh* <\**šahwī-at* 'armpit': Jud. *šahātā*, etc. (SED I No. 240). [] Soq. *mīkṣeḥ* 'articulation, falange' vs. Arb. *ḳašāš-*, etc. 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', Amh. *ḳəṭay* 'joint of foot', etc. <\**ḳ(w)ays-*, \**ḳ(w)əss-* 'joint, point of connection between bones' (SED I No. 172). [] Soq. *maʔgəbōh* 'fesse' vs. Hbr. pB. *ʔāgābā* 'rump, buttocks', Arb. *ʔažb-* 'l'os sacrum' <\**ʔagb-* 'rump, buttocks' (SED I No. 13). [] (?) Soq. *mōnḥeš* 'reins, hanche' <\**mV-nḥVš* (met.) vs. \**ḥamns-* 'waist': Akk. *ḥanšātu* (pl. t.) 'part of human body, possibly waist', Arb. *ʔaḥmaš-* 'milieu du corps' (SED I No. 132). [] Sem. (Aram.-Arb.) \**mVnḥar-* 'nose': Arm. Dem. *mnḥr* and Maʔl. *manḥra* (unless < Arb.) 'nose', Arb. *minḥar-* 'narine, nez' (hardly <\**nḥr* 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. \**naḥīr-* 'nostril': Akk. *naḥīru*, Arb. *nuḥrat-*, *nuḥarat-* id., etc. (SED I No. 198). [] Sem. \**mVšVraʔ-*: Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. t.) 'limbs', Soq. *mēsəraš* 'tendon d'Achille' vs. Sem. \**šVry/wʔ-*, \**šVry/ʔ-ān-* '(Achilles') tendon; sinew, muscle (of leg)': Akk. *šerʔānu* 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jib. *šərin* 'muscles of the back', etc. (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. \**malaḥ-*: Gez. *maltāḥt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *māta/ələḥ* 'temple', *mātalāḥti* 'the upper forepart of the skull', Mhr. *məlḥāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleḥāw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *məzhət* 'jaw', Soq. *malāḥi* 'cheek' vs. \**lib(a)y(-at)* 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləḥe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lēḥī* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləḥī* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178). [] Sem. \**mapraḳ-*: Hbr. *maprākāt* 'neck', Jib. *məfrək* 'hairline (in women)' vs. \**pi/ak-at*, \**pi/akr-at* 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Jud. *pwrḳh* 'neck', Soq. *fiḳeriroh* 'cou, nuque' (SED I No. 219).

Varia:

[] Arb. *mḥr* 'labourer (la terre)' (Belot 659; only 'fendre, sillonner l'eau' in BK 2 1072, 'to plough the waves' in Pen 137) vs. Akk. *ḥarāru* 'to dig with a hoe' (also 'to groove' CAD *H* 91); for a possible etymology of the Akk. verb cf. LGz 265 (comparison problematic in view of a variety of meanings of both verbs). [] Gez. *makala*, *makkola* (acc. to LGz 339, for *makkwala*, a secondary derivation with *m-* prefixed) 'to cut with a sickle, mow', Tna. *mākälä* 'to mow, cut', Tgr. *māklay* 'halm of durra, halm of corn' vs. Gez. *kwālawa* 'to reap, mow' (cf. also Amh. *kəlkəl* 'pasture') < Sem.: Akk. *ukullū* 'Viehfutter; Verpflegung(sration), Verköstigung', Arb. *klʔ* 'abonder en fourrage (se dit d'un pays)', *kalaʔ-* 'fourrage (sec ou vert)' < Afras. \**k(w)alaʔ/w-* 'forage, fodder; pasture; mowing, cutting grass' (Mil Farm 145). [] Hrs. *mābayl* 'dog' (JH 14), Mhr. *mābayl* 'owned' (*kawb mābayl* 'dog'), Soq. *məbʔhəl* 'slave' (JM 41), formally a passive participle <\**bʔl* 'to own' (lit. 'owned'); however, the verb is not present in Hrs. and Mhr. (of all MSA it is attested in the meaning 'to own' only in Jib. *baʔal* JJ 22 < Sem. \**bʔl* 'to own', v. in HAL 142-3; in Soq. *baʔal* means 'se marier (homme ou femme)' LS 90 and semantically cannot serve a verbal base for deriving a noun *məbʔhəl* 'slave') and has to be treated as a "denominal noun" from Hrs. *bāl*, *byāl* 'master, lord; possessor' (JH 14), Mhr. *bāl*, *bāyli*, *bəʔēli* 'owner, possessor' (JM 41). [] Sem. \**mkr* 'to be red': Akk. *makrū* 'red', *makru* 'red spot' CAD *M* 138, Arb. *mkr* 'ē. rouge' BK 2 1138 (cf.

also Egyp. Gr. *mkrr* 'zwischen "schwarz" und "weiss" als Farbenbezeichnung' EG II 163) vs. Afras.: Sem. Arb. *karik-* 'rouge' (BK 2 888; < \**karkVr-*, unless a loanword), Egyp. Pyr. *tr* 'das Rote' (EG V 386; < \**kVr-*). < C. Chad. Peve *məčīn* 'mahogany' vs. Boka *tīn-da*, Hona *tīnə*, Banana *čīn-dā*, Masa *čīn-da* 'mahogany; tamarind' < Afras. \**tīʔ(i)n-* 'fig-tree': Sem. Hbr. *təʔēnā* 'fig, *figus Carica*', Arb. *tīn-* 'figue', etc., Brb. Ahaggar *təyne*, Taneslemt *tehəyne*, Semlal *tiyni*, etc. (Mil Farm 142).

### **nV-**

Animal names:

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

Anatomy:

[] Sem. \***nšp** 'to blow': Akk. *našāpu*, Hbr. *nšp*, Jud. *nəšap*, etc. (SED I Vb. No. 51) vs. \***šwp** 'to blow, smell': Hbr. pB., Jud. *šwp*, etc. (ibid. Vb. No. 63). [] Sem. \***npš** 'to breathe': Akk. *napāšu*, Hbr. *npš*, etc. (SED I Vb. 46) vs. \***pš** id.: Akk. *pašū*, Hbr. pB. *pwš*, etc. (ibid. 56). [] Sem. \***npḥ/h** 'to blow, breathe, inflate': Akk. *napāḥu*, Jud. *nəpah*, Arb. *nḥḥ*, *nḥḥ*, etc. (cf. SED I Vb. No. 45) vs. \***ph/h** 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)': Jud. *pwh*, Arb. *ḥḥḥ*, *ḥḥḥ*, etc. (ibid. No. 54); note that in all the three above pairs of matching roots, the roots with *n-* in the Anlaut are reconstructible on a

deeper level of Semitic as they occur in a wider scope of languages than those without *n-* (which may be accounted for by a morphonological process other than a prefixation of *n-*; one wonders whether it can be a secondary loss of *n-*) [] Sem. *\*nkt* 'to bite': Jud. Syr. Mnd. *nkt* 'to bite' (DM 301), Arb. *nkt* 'detordre, défaire (une corde); se fourcher, etc.' (BK 2 1338), Tna. *nākāsā*, Tgr. *nākšā*, Amh. *nākkāsā*, etc. (LGz 402) vs. Afras. *\*kVč-*: Brb. Ahaggar *əkš* (Fouc 736), Taneslemt *n-əkš* 'manger', Ayr *ənkəs* 'téter' (Aloj 147), C. Chad. Malgwa *kūča* 'abreissen, abbeissen' (Löhr 298), E. Cush. Sidamo *kis-* 'to bite' (HSED No. 1453; not in other available sources).

Varia:

[] Akk. *nadānu* 'to give, offer a sacrifice, etc.' (CAD N 42; rather unrelated to Sem. *\*ntn*, v. below) vs. Arb. *dyn* 'prêtre; rétribuer' (BK 1 757), Mhr. *adyēn* 'to lend (money, supplies), to give credit' (JM 78), Jib. *edyin* id. (JJ 44), Soq. *\*šedyen* caus.-refl. 's'emprunter' (LS 127; unless all MSA < Arb.) < Afras.: Egyp. Pyr. *wdn* 'opfern' (EG I 391). [] Eth. *\*ndk* 'to build' (LGz 386) vs. W. Chad. *\*dik-* id.: Sura Chip *dik* (<*\*dik-* HSED No. 703). [] Tna. *nāfārā* 'to fly', Tgr. *nāfra* 'to jump, fly' (LH 346) vs. Hrs. Mhr. Soq. *fēr* 'to fly, jump' (JH 33), Jib. *ferr* 'to fly, jump up quickly' (JJ 59) < Afras. *\*pVr-* 'to fly': Brb. Nefusa *far*, Jerba *ferfer*, etc. (DRB 597-9), Egyp. Pyr. *p* 'fliegen' (EG I 494), N. Cush. Beja *fir*, *firr*, C. Cush. Bilin *fir* (RBeđ 81), etc. [] MSA: Mhr. *nəḥāg*, Jib. *naḥāg* '(women) 'to dance; (men) to be at leisure; (children) to play; to joke with so.' (JM 291, JJ 186), Soq. *nóhog*, *nóhog* 'jouer, s'amuser' (LS 259) vs. Sem.: Hbr. *ḥgg* 'to walk in procession, to celebrate a pilgrim's feast, to celebrate a day', *ḥag* 'procession, round dance, festival' (HAL 289), Syr. *ḥaggā* 'dies festus' (Brock 213), Arb. *ḥǰ?* 'se réjouir de quelque chose' (BK 1 379) < Afras.: Egyp. MK *ḥ'g* 'sich freuen' (EG III 34; v. Mil EF 9-20). [] Hbr. Pho. Bib. Pal. *ntn* 'to give' vs. Ugr. Pho. *ytn* id. (HAL 733; DLU 543). [] Sem.: Akk. *nākidu*, Ugr. *nkd*, Hbr. *nōkēd*, Arb. *naḳkād-* 'shepherd, sheep-breeder' (HAL 720) vs. Afras. *\*kVd-*: Brb. Ayr **@@@E!** W. Tawllemmet *ə-yadyad* 'troupeau de chèvres' (Aloj 65), N. Omot. Moča *qiddo* 'shepherd' (LMč 46; likely also Kafa *qidō* 'guardian' id. **ibid.@@@**); not quite reliable as the Afras. data are scarce. <> Egyp. MK *nḳdd* 'schlafen' (EG II 345) vs. Pyr. *ḳd-t* 'Schlaf' (ibid. V 79) < Afras. *\*kVd-* or *\*kVt-*? Cf. S. Omot. Ongota *ḳaadé* 'to lie down' (ST 121), *ḳaade* 'to sleep, lie down' (Fl Ong 56) < *\*kāt-* or *\*kād-* (v. also Mil Ong).

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

Animal names:

[] Akk. *titkurru* 'dove' (in CAD L 48) vs. Tgr. *tukor* 'tourterelle' (in **\*tVkur(r)-** 'kind of bird' SED II No. 226). [] Arb. *taḥmūr-* 'onagre' vs. *ḥimār-* 'âne; âne sauvage, onagre' < **\*ḥimār-** 'ass': Akk. *imēru*, Hbr. *ḥāmōr*, etc. (SED II No. 98). [] Arb. *taʔmūr-* 'espèce de chamois' vs. *ʔa/immār-* 'agneau' < **\*ʔimmār-** 'lamb': Ugr. *ʔimr*, Hbr. *ʔimmēr*, etc. (SED II No. 5). [] Gez. *tayfan* (*tafen*, *tefan*), Tna. *tāfīn* vs. Amh. *wäyfān*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wāfen*, etc. < **\*yapan-** 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Sem.: Akk. *turāḥu* 'Bergziegenbock, Steinbock', Syr. *ta(?)rāḥā* (*tārūḥā*) 'capra caucasica' vs. Akk. *arḥu* 'cow', Arm. Dem. *ʔrḥ* 'cow', etc. < **\*ʔarḥ-** 'cow, heifer' (SED II No. 12). [] Gez. *tomni* 'bedbug' vs. Syr. *mənīnā* 'curculio; cynips, musca', Arb. *minanat-*, *manūnat-* 'aragnée' < **\*mVn(Vn)-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 152). <> Cush. *\*takʷil-* 'wolf': N. Cush.



Beja *ták<sup>w</sup>la*, C. Cush. Bilin *täg<sup>w</sup>la*, *təy<sup>w</sup>la*, Qwara *taḥ<sup>w</sup>əla*, Kemant *takwila*, Kunfāl *tuhula*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *taḥla* (unless < C. Cush.) vs. Afras. *\*k<sup>w</sup>VI-* 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ǎ-kūlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ̀* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kùlkò* 'cynhyène', etc. (v. in *\*kalb-* 'dog' SED II No. 115).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *timtān-*, *timtūn-* 'couture des pièces qui composent la tente' vs. *matn-* 'nerf' < *\*matn-* 'sinew, tendon; nerve' (SED I No. 191; semantically tenable, though not fully reliable). [] Mhr. *təbəlōt* 'uvula; tonsil(s); tonsillitis', Hrs. *tebelōt* 'tonsil; uvula', Jib. *təbḏəḏōt* 'uvula' (cf. *múbləy* 'tonsil'), Soq. (Qadhub) *təblayah* 'amygdale; lulette' vs. *\*balVI/γ-*, *\*balVIm* 'pharynx, fauces': Syr. *bālaḥtā*, Arb. *bulḥum-*, etc. (SED I No. 36). <> C. Cush. Bilin *taʾänge*, Quara *tanāgā* 'Gaumen' vs. Kemant *angī* 'palais de la bouche', likely < Afras. *\*ʿVng-* (v. in SED I, No. 15).

Varia:

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

*ʿV-* (cf. Barth 218-26, Zab)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' vs. Sem. *\*pVI(y)-* 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā*, 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyat-* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Akk. *ušummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Ebl. *ù-šū-mu-um* id. vs. Akk. *šummu* id., Arb. *šīm-* 'rat' (v. in *\*sVIm* 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] Akk. *aslu* (if this reading is correct) 'young (male) sheep' vs. *\*tVI-* 'head of small cattle': Arb. *tilal-*, *tilāl-* 'troupe de brebis', Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Hbr. *ʿäprōāḥ*, Jud. *ʿäprōḥā* vs. Hbr. *pirḥaḥ* 'brood', pB. *pārah* 'young chicken', Jud. *parḥātā*, Syr. *pāraḥtā* 'bird' < *\*paḥ-* 'chick, brood' (SED II No. 179). [] Hbr. pB. *ʿānākā*, Jud. *ʿanḳā* vs. Hbr. pB. *nəḳāʿā*, *nāḳā*, Jud. *nā(?)ḳətā*, *nāḳā* < *\*nāk-at-* 'she-camel' (SED II No. 161). [] Jud. *ʿakroḳtā* vs. *\*kVI(V)r-* 'frog': Arb. *ḳirr-*, *ḳurr-*, Gez. *ḳāker*, etc. (SED II No. 137). [] Jud. *ʿinbā* vs. *nibbā* 'eggs of lice' < *\*nāb-* ~ *\*nib(b)-* 'louse, nit': Akk. *nābu*, Syr. *nābā*, etc. (SED II No. 157). [] Arb. *ʿaḥwar-* 'corbeau' vs. diminutive *ʿuwayr-* < *\*ʿarwiy-* ~ *\*ʿawr-* 'bird of prey': Akk. *erû* (*arû*) 'eagle', Jud. *ʿar* 'a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 40). [] Arb. *ʿaḥyal-* 'k. of falcon' vs. Hbr. *ḥōl* 'phoenix' < *\*ḥVI-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 107). [] S. Eth.: Gaf. *ūf<sup>w</sup>ərä*, Sel. *ufr*, Wol. Zw. Gog. Sod. *āfur* (all < *\*ʿafur-*, to be alternatively treated as metathetic < *\*fāʿur-*) vs. Har. *fūr*, End. Enn. Gyt. *fuʿur*, Cha. Eža Muh. Msq. *fur* < *\*paʿr-* 'mouse' (SED II No. 170). [] Soq. *ʿedbīboh* vs. Mhr. *dəbbēt*, Jib. *dəbbōt* < *\*dVb(V)b-* 'fly' (SED II No. 73). [] Soq. *ʿiḥfəroh* (to be alternatively treated as a variant root in

respect to Jib. *ʕeʕfērōt*, Arb. *ʕuʕfūr-*, with *ʔ* vs. *ʕ*) vs. *ʕafīrō-te* < \**sVp(p)Vr-* 'kind of) small bird': Ugr. *ʕpr*, Hbr. *ʕippōr*, etc. (SED II No. 212). [] Soq. *ʕélheh* vs. Jib. *léʔ* (pl. *lhóti*) < \**liʔ(-at)-*, \**laʔay-at-* 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu*, Arb. *laʔāt-*, etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Sem. \**ʔVbbVI-* 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 3): Akk. *ibbiltu* 'a bird', Arb. *ʔabābīl-* (pl.) 'nom d'oiseaux fabuleux', Tgr. *ʔambāla* 'Webervogel' vs. \**bVI-* 'kind of small bird': Akk. *bulīlu* 'a species of crested bird', Arb. *bulbul-* 'rossignol', Tgr. *bāla* 'a small brown bird', Amh. *bullal* 'dove', etc. < Afras. \**bVI(bVI)-* 'kind of (small) bird': Brb. Ahaggar *ā-bīlbil* 'nom d'un oiseau plus grand que le pigeon', Wargla *bibelli* 'volaille quelconque', W. Chad. Hausa (dial.) *bóló*, Ankwe *beI* 'dove', Dera *ḥilḥil* 'swallow', etc., C. Chad.: Pižimdi *mbole-di*, E. Chad. Gabri *bélu* 'dove', N. Cush. Beja *belbel* 'wilde Taube', E. Cush. Oromo *bulula* 'dove' (probably < Amh.), Sidamo *buloʔe* 'bird' (SED II No. 60). [] Sem. < \**ʔa/iw(a)z-* 'goose': Ugr. *ʔuz*, Hbr. pB. *ʔāwāz*, Jud. *ʔawzā*, *ʔāwāzā*, Mnd. *auaza*, Arb. *ʔiwazz-* vs. \**waz(z)-* id.: Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *wazz-* < Afras. \*(*ʔa-*)*waz-* 'kind of large bird; goose': Egyp. *z-t*, *zw-t* 'Ente, Gans', Brb. Igerwan *wawužž*, Izayan *wawīž*, Messiwa Ait Amran *wauž* 'perdrix', Ghadames *a-wəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* 'autruche', (?) W. Chad. Sha *ʔawūš* 'Vogel', Bokkos *ʔavūš* id. (Jung R 389; -š < \*-z devoiced in Auslaut?), E. Chad. Mokilko *ʔuzú* 'poulet, coq, volaille' (SED II No. 22). [] Sem. \**ʔabbVk-* 'kind of bird': Jud. *ʔabbākā* 'large cock', Syr. *ʔābakkā* 'gallus', Tgr. *ʔabbəkiki* 'a small bird of light-yellow colour (probably a sort of lapwing)' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Bidiya *ʔābūkā* 'outarde') vs. Afras. \**bVkay-*: Sem. Syr. *bakkā* 'gallus', Egyp. Old *byk* 'Falke', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *bəkət*, C. Chad. Gisiga *bokoy* 'hen', N. Omot. *bakke* 'hen, fowl', etc. (v. in SED II No.1). [] Sem. \**ʔimmar-* 'lamb' (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Fyer *ʔamara* 'Widder', Sha *amarā* id.) vs. Afras. \**mar-* 'goat, ram': W. Chad. Tangale *mara* 'large castrated he-goat', Polchi Buli *maar* 'goat', Bokkos *maray* 'ram', E. Cush. Saho Afar *māruu* 'Schafbock, Widder', N. Omot. Wolaita *mara* 'offspring of sheep or goat', Male *marai*, Shinasha *mercéra* 'sheep' (SED II No. 5). [] Sem. \**ʔa(n)z/dar-*: Akk. *azaru* (*azzaru*) 'lynx', (?) Arb. *ʔazram-* 'chat', Gez. *ʔanzar* 'wild cat' < Afras. \**ʔa(n)z/žVr-* (to be alternatively treated as a metathesis of \**z/žVʔVr-*): E. Cush. Konso *aturra-ta* 'civet cat, viverra', Oromo *adurree*, Darasa Sidamo *adurre* 'cat', etc. (< \**ʔadurr-* < \**ʔaž/žurr-*) vs. Afras. \**z/žV(ʔV)r-*: Brb. Ahaggar *tā-hūri*, Ayr *tə-zorəy* 'hyène', W. Chad. Galambu *zərəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzūrmā*, Bachama *zhara*, *žarā*, Bata *žire*, E. Chad. Gabri *žur*, Mubi *žyúruk* 'leopard', S. Cush. Alagwa *žeʔira*, Burunge *žiʔerare* 'wild cat', N. Omot. Kafa *yecroo*, *žäro* 'viverra abessinica' (SED II No. 5).

Anatomy:

[] Jud. *ʔapḳōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *apḳuta* 'neck, throat' vs. Mnd. *pḳuta*, Arb. *fāʔiḳ-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête' < \**pVḳ-* 'neck' (SED I No. 213). [] Arb. *ʔafakk-* 'endroit où les deux mâchoires se joignent' vs. *fakk-* 'charnière; jointure de deux mâchoires; partie de la bouche qui comprend la mâchoire supérieure et l'inférieure' < \**pakk-* 'jaw': Syr. *pakkā* 'mala, bucca; maxilla', etc. (SED I No. 212). [] Eth. \**ʔag(w)ad-*: Gez. *ʔagadā* 'thighbone, shinbone, tibia, leg, large bone of the leg, shoulder of animal', Amh. *agāda* 'leg (of a man), hind leg (of a cow), bone of the upper arm or the shin bone', *agwāda* 'hoof, foot', Gaf. *agat* 'bras', Enn. End. *agad*, etc. 'arm above the elbow, shoulder, shoulder blade' (in \*(*ʔa-*)*g(w)ad-* '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' SED I No. 71) <

Afras. \*ʔag<sup>(w)</sup>Vd-: E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo*, *abuuuuu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadā*, *āgūd* (pl.) 'Arm', Sidamo *agoda* 'shoulder' vs. Sem. \*gud(gud)-: Akk. *gudgudātu* (pl.) 'part of the lower leg of a quadruped', Tgr. *gədet* 'a piece of meat (severed from the bone); shoulder-blade' < Afras. \*gVd(Vm)-: E. Chad. Somray *gídám* 'foot', C. Chad. Gude *gedehán* 'leg', E. Cush. Burji *gudúm-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kaffa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Wolamo *gáddea* 'leg', Kullo *gādeiya* 'foot'. [] Eth. \*ʔaf-: Gez. Tna. *ʔaf*, etc. vs. Sem. \*pay- 'mouth': Akk. *pū*, Hbr. *pā*, etc. (SED I No. 223). [] N. Eth. Gez. *ʔəngədʔā* (*ʔəngədʔā*) 'breast, chest', Tna. *ʔəngədəʔa* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *naʔd-* 'mamelles' (v. in \*nagd- 'breast' SED I No. 195). [] S. Eth. \*ʔuras (otherwise to be treated as metathesis <\*raʔVš-): Amh. *əras*, Har. *urūs* vs. Amh. *ras*, Gez. *rəʔ(ə)s* < \*raʔ(i)š- 'head'; Akk. *rāšu*, Arb. *raʔs-*, etc. (SED I No. 225). [] Soq. *ʔedmíʔa* (probably also Ebl.) vs. Mhr. *dəmət*, Jib. *dəməʔat* 'tear-drop' < \*dirmf(-at) 'tear(-drop)' (SED I No. 51). [] Soq. *ʔilbib* vs. Hrs. *ḥe-lbēb*, etc. < \*libb- 'heart' (SED I No. 174). [] Sem. \*ʔibr(-at)- 'membrum virile; (membrum, limb)': Hbr. pB. *ʔēbār*, Arb. *ʔibrat-*, etc. vs. Arb. Dat. *burrat* 'gland du pénis', *barbūr*, Oman *barbur* 'penis' < Afras. \*bVr- 'membrum virile': W. Chad. Hausa *būrā*, C. Chad. Bura *bura* 'penis', etc. (SED I No. 2). [] Sem. \*ʔibr-at- (\*ʔi-)bVr-at- in SED I No. 3): Akk. *ibrētu* (pl. t.) 'radius and ulna (the two bones of the human forearm)', Hbr. pB. *ʔēbār* 'limb', Syr. *ʔebrā* 'membrum', Arb. *ʔibrat-* 'radius; (du.) les deux phalanges du cheval' vs. Sem. \*bar(bar)-: Amh. *bərrī* 'bone above the hoof of a cow', Muh. *bārrā*, Gog. Sod. *bərrā* 'thigh', Soq. *berbéroh* 'cuisse' < Afras. \*bar(bar)- '(bone of) leg, thigh': C. Chad. Bachama *m̄bwārā* 'leg', Bata-Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), E. Cush. Rendille *barbar* 'shoulder' (probably also Somali *barbar* 'side'), N. Omot. Kafa *borboroo* 'thigh', S. Omot. Ari-Jinka *bar* 'thigh, lap' (ibid.). [] Sem. \*ʔadam-: Akk. *adamatu*, Hbr. *ʔadmātō*, Jud. *ʔādām*, etc. vs. \*dam- 'blood': Akk. *damu*, Hbr. *dām*, Jud. *dəmə*, etc. (SED I No. 50) < Afras. \*dam(m)- (cf. Bla SED 500). [] Sem. \*ʔVbhān/m- 'thumb, big toe': Akk. *ub/pānu*, Arb. *ʔibhām-* vs. \*bVhā/in/m- id.: Ebl. *ba-ʔa-nūm/nu(-um) /bahānum/*, Hbr. *bōhān*, Arb. *bahīm-*, Mhr. *hābēn* (met.) (cf. \*bVhā/in-, \*ʔVbhān- SED I No. 34). [] Sem. \*ʔagap(p)- 'wing': Akk. *agappu*, Hbr. pB. *ʔāgap* vs. \*gapp- id.: Akk. *gappu*, Hbr. pB. *gap*, Syr. *geppā*, etc., Arb. *ʔff* 'agiter les ailes' (in \*gapp-, \*ʔa-gapp- 'wing' SED I No. 88). [] Sem. \*ʔVšbaʔ- 'finger': Ebl. *ʔišbaʔum*, Ugr. *ʔuʔbʔ*, Hbr. *ʔāšbaʔ*, Jud. *ʔāšbəʔā*, Arb. *ʔašbaʔ-*, Gez. *ʔašbāʔ(ə)t*, Tna. *ʔašabəʔti* (pl.), Jib. *ʔišbāʔ*, Sab. *ʔšbʔ* (used to denote fractions), Soq. *ʔešbah*, etc. vs. \*šibʔ(-at)- id.: Jud. *šibʔā*, Min. *šbʔ*, Tgr. *čəbʔət*, Mhr. *šəbāʔ* (SED I No. 256) < Afras. \*čibVʔ- id.: Egyp. Pyr. *dbʔ* (EG V 562), (?) N. Omot. Hozo *zaba* (Bla SED 506). [] Sem. \*ʔi-šVt-: Syr. *ʔeštā*, *ʔeštātā*, etc. 'podex, nates; fundus', Mnd. *ʔšta* (<\*ʔVšt-) 'basis, bottom, posterior, anus, buttocks', Arb. *ʔist-* (with *ʔalif wašlah*) 'derrière, fondement, cul', End. *ušt* 'waist', etc. vs. \*šVt-: Hbr. *šēt*, *šətōt-* 'Gesäss, Grundlage, Fundament', Mnd. *šata* 'buttocks, pubic regions', Sel. *suto* 'flesh of back above the hip', Mhr. *šīt* 'backside, buttocks; anus; root', Jib. *šō* 'back, spine', Soq. *šéh* 'parties sexuelles de la femme' (SED I No. 255). [] Sem. \*ʔarib(Vb)y-at-: Arb. *ʔurbiyyat-* 'aine; racine de fémur', Muh. *āribā* 'abdomen below the navel, hip', Soq. *ʔerbéboh* 'rein, cuisse, giron, genou', etc. vs. \*rib(Vb)y-at-: Akk. *rebītu* 'Unterleib', Amh. *reb* 'anus, buttocks', Mhr. *rəbbūt* 'groin; (knee-)cap', Soq. *rebóboh* 'genou' (SED I No. 227). [] Sem. \*ʔiraḥ- 'palm of hand': Gez. *ʔərāḥ*, Jib. *irḥət*, Hrs. *ərhāt* (< Afras. \*ʔirVḥ-? Cf. C.

Chad. Sukur *iri* 'arm' CLR 179) vs. **\*rāh(-at)-**, **\*rīh-at-**: Akk. *rittu*, Ugr. *rīt*, Arb. *rāḥat-*, Tgr. *rāḥat*, Mhr. *rəḥāt*, Hrs. *rīḥet*, Soq. *rīḥoh* (SED I No. 230) < Afras. **\*rayah-**: W. Chad. Kulere *riyáw*, Daffo-Butura *rá* 'hand', Bokkos *râ* 'arm', C. Chad. Mafa *rây* 'arm' (CLR 1790). [] Sem. **\*ʔansVy-**: Ugr. *ʔans* 'músculo, tendón', Arb. *ʔal-ʔansā* 'muscle du bas de la jambe', Amh. *anisa* 'iliac bone', etc. vs. Sem. **\*našy-** 'sciatic tendon/nerve': Hbr. *nāšā* (in: *gīd hannāšā*), Jud. *našyā*, Arb. *nasa*<sup>n</sup> (SED I No. 201). [] Sem. **\*ʔamʕut-**: Akk. *amūtu* 'liver', Gez. *ʔamāʕut* 'intestine', Tna. *ʔamʕut* 'intestine' vs. Sem. **\*maʕay/w(-at)-**: Akk. *mu-ú-tum* 'liver', Hbr. *mēʕayim* (pl.) 'entrails, intestines', Tgr. *məʕo*, *məʕotay*, *məʕotāt* (pl. *ʔamʕit*) 'bowels', etc. (SED I No. 185). < Afras. **\*ʔambar-**: Brb. Nefusa *anbūr* (Lao 252), Wargla *ambur* 'lèvre' (R Bass Mz 230), N. Cush. Beja *ambarey* (also *ambaley*) 'lip' (Bla Beḍ 38), E. Cush. Dasenech *ʔaḥaar* 'lip' (Tos Das 477) vs. Afras. **\*mabVr-**: W. Chad. Hausa *mábárí* 'mouth' (Barg 734), N. Cush. Beja *mburoi* 'lip' (Bla Beḍ 38; otherwise loss of *a-* is an independent process in Hausa and Beja; cf. also Brb. Siwa *ambu*, pl. *mbawen* 'bouche' (Lao 204).

Varia:

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

### ʔVn-

Animal names:

[] Gez. *ʔanḳāl* 'louse, vermin' vs. Sem. **\*kalm-** 'louse' (probably < *\*kal-m-*, cf. S. Omot. Dime

*ḳalkal* 'ant' Bnd Om 346): Syr. *ḳalmā*, Sab. *ḳlm*, etc. (SED II 130 b). [] Eth. \**ʔan-ḳura(rV)ʕ-* 'frog': Tgr. *ʔanḳoroʕ*, Tna. *ənḳoroʕ*, Har. *anḳurāraḥti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *ənḳurarit* vs. \**ḳVr(V)r-* id. (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] Mod. Eth. \**ʔən-ṣərar* 'cricket': Tgr. *ʔənṣərar*, Amh. *ənṣərar* (Tna. *ʔənṣərar*) vs. \**nVṣVr-* id.: Hbr. pB. *nēšār*, Syr. *nāšorā* (SED II No. 167). [] (?) Gez. *ʔināṭoli* 'young camel', Amh. *ənāṭoli* 'young female camel' vs. Gez. *wayṭal* 'kind of wild she-goat, roe, kind of gazelle', Tna. *wäyṭäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ṭali* 'goat, kid' < \**ṭalay-* 'lamb, kid' (SED II No. 232); comparison semantically problematic.

Anatomy:

[] Eth. \**ʔən-ḳulalih:* Tna. *ʔənḳulalih*, Amh. *ənḳulal* or *ənḳwəlal*, etc., metathetically related to \**ḳa(w)hil-* 'egg': Mhr. *ḳawḥəl*, Jib. *ḳəhlət*, *ḳaḥézin*, Soq. *ḳəḥəlhin* (v. in SED I No. 170). [] Sem. \**ʔVbVʕ(bVʕ)-at-*: Hbr. *ʔābaʕbūʕōt* 'blisters, ulcers', Jud. *ʔābaʕbūʕīm* (pl.) 'pustules', Gez. *ʔənpāppə* 'ulcers resulting from elephantiasis, pustules', Sel. (*h*)*umbobbo*, Wol. *əmbwəbbo*, Cha. *əmbwəp wä*, etc. 'blister' vs. \**bVʕ(bVʕ)-at-*: Akk. *bubuʔtu* (*bubūtu*, etc.) 'inflammation, boil, pustule', Jud. *būʕā* 'swelling, abscess' (SED I No. 30).

*ʕV-*

Animal names:

[] Tna. *ʔafäl* 'insects or fleas which live in grass' (< Sem., if Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' is <\**ʕupl-* and not <\**ʔupl-*) vs. \**pVI(y)-* 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā*, *palyā bēʔārī* 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyāt-* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Tna. *ʔənṣ/ṣərar* vs. \**nVṣVr-* 'cricket': Hbr. pB. *nēšār*, Syr. *nāšorā* (SED II No. 167). [] Arb. *ʔuṣfūr-* 'passerau; tout petit oiseau', Jib. *ʔeṣfērōt* 'bird' (<\**ʕVṣpVr-*) vs. Arb. *ṣāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau de la famille des passereaux; tout oiseau qui n'est pas oiseau de proie', Jib. *ṣefirōt* 'Vogel' < \**sVp(p)Vr-* '(kind of small) bird' (SED II No. 212; *ʕV-* can alternatively be explained by contamination with \**ʕVṣṣūr-* 'bird', No. 43). [] Sem. \**ʔaḳ(u)ruk(k)-* 'frog': Syr. *ʔaḳrūkā*, Arb. *ʔuḳuruk-* vs. \**ḳVr(V)r-* id. (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names; cf. also Syr. *yaḳrūrā*). [] Sem. \**ʔaḳrab-* 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʔaḳrāb*, Arb. *ʔaḳrab-*, etc. vs. Arb. *ḳaranbā* < Afras. \**ḳVrab-*: W. Chad. Galambu *kūrbā* 'ant', C. Chad. Buduma *kīrbābo* 'flea', E. Cush. Burji *ḳórbur-o* (and *ḳóobr-oo* with metathesis) 'scorpion', S. Omot. Ongota *ḳarrābati* 'spider' (SED II No. 31). [] Sem. \**ʔigʷal-/\*ʔigl-* 'calf' (Hbr. *ʔēgäl*, Arb. *ʔiḳl-*, etc.) < Afras.? Cf. Egypt. *ʔgny* 'Name einer Stadt bei Esneh (wo die Hathor als Kuh verehrt wird)' (EG I 236; cow depicted) vs. Afras. \**gal-*: Sem. Eth. Tgr. *gəlgäl* 'foal (mule, horse)', Amh. *gəlgäl* 'the young of domestic animals (goat, cheep, horse, donkey)', etc., W. Chad. Sayanci *gäl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyəl* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf' (SED II No. 28).

Anatomy:

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

Varia:

[] Hbr. *ʔāgōl* 'round' (adj.; HAL 784), Soq. *gáʕlhel* 'rond' (LS 113; metathesis or a case of

infixed -ʔ-?) vs. Syr. *gəlilā* 'rotundus' (Brock 115), Arb. *žullat-*, *žallat-*, *žillat-* 'boule de fiente' (BK 1 308), Amh. *gʷiləlāt* 'chapiteau, coupole' (Baet 1052) < Afras. \**gʷalVI-*: Brb. Ghat *žiləllaw-ət* 'rond' (Neh 202), Ayr *gələll-ət* 'ê. rond, circulaire' (Aloj 52), etc., W. Chad. Hausa *gūlūlu* 'ball' (Abr Hs 340).

### hV-

Animal names:

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

### yV-

Animal names:

[] Syr. *yaḫrūrā* vs. \**ḫVr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] Arb. *yaʔfūr-*, *yuʔfūr-* 'gazelle; petit de gazelle ou de biche' vs. *ʔifr-*, *ʔufr-* 'porc, verroat; petit cochon, pourceau' (v. in \**yʔVʔr-* 'young of ungulate' SED II No. 88). [] Arb. *yaʔmūr-* 'espèce de chamois' vs. *ʔimmar-*, *ʔammar-* 'agneau' < \**ʔimmar-* 'lamb' (SED II No. 5). [] Arb. *yaḫmūr-* 'onager' vs. *ḫimār-* 'donkey, onager' < \**ḫimār-* 'donkey' (SED II 98). [] Mhr. *yəṭāyl*, Hrs. *yeṭāyl*, Jib. *itʔél* vs. Hbr. *šūʔāl*, Arb. *tuʔāl-*, Jib. *teʔāyl* (< \**tVʔVl-* ~ \**taʔlab-* 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Sem.: Akk. *enšūpu* 'a bird', Hbr. *yanšūp* 'ibis' vs. Arb. *nussāf-* 'sorte d'oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' (v. in \**nVšVp-* 'kind of bird' SED II No. 165). [] Sem. \**yapan-* 'young bull': Ugr. *ypt*, Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. vs. Afras. \**fā(?)Vn-* 'bull': Sem. Arb. *fānāt-* 'vache', W. Chad. Montol *feoṅ*, Siri *te-vni*, C. Chad. Higi-Dakwa *funu*, S. Cush. Asa *fāʔanok* 'elephant', (?) Qwadza *fāʔamo* 'buffalo' (cf. SED II No. 250). [] Cf. also Sem. \**yarbVr-* 'kind of rodent' (SED II No. 251) where \**ya-* seems a secondary extension of the triconsonantal root, though no parallels without \**ya-* confirming such analysis have been found so far.

Anatomy:

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

### wV-

Animal names:

[] Tna. *wäyfän*, Amh. *wäyfän*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen* 'young bull' (< Afras. \**wa(y)fan-*? Cf. C. Chad. Gaʔanda *ufana*, Gude *uwena*, Nzangi *uwune* 'buffalo') vs. Sem. \**yapan-* 'young bull': Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. (< Afras. \**fā(?)Vn-* 'bull' above; v. all the variants of this root in SED II No. 250). [] Gez. *wayṭal* 'kind of wild goat, roe, gazelle', Tna *wäyṭäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ṭali* 'goat, kid', Tna. *ṭäl*, *ṭel* 'goat' < \**ṭalay-* 'lamb, kid' (Hbr. *ṭālā*, Arb. *ṭala<sup>n</sup>*, *ṭalw-*, etc. in SED II No. 232). [] Sem. \**wābil-* 'ram': Hbr. *yōbēl*, Arb. *wābilat-*, etc. (probably < Afras. \**y/wabil-*, if Egypt. *ibʔw*)

'ovis tragelaphus' is from \*yVbVl-) vs. Akk. *būlu* 'herd of cattle, sheep or horses' < Afras. \*bVl- 'small cattle': Brb. Gurara Tuat Tidikelt *belli* 'moutons', etc., E. Chad. Lele *bùlóbùló*, Kabalai *bâl*, C. Chad. Boka *ḥwə̀lə* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Oromo *bulāl-ē* 'lamb', etc. (cf. SED II No. 245).

Varia:

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

### Consonantal Infixation

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

Animal names:

[] Akk. *mi/andinu* (and *middinu*, with -*dd*- likely < \**-nd-*) 'tiger' vs. Arb. *ʔal-madīn-* 'lion' (and Ebl. *mu-da-ne-núṃ?*) in \**mV(n)ḏīn-* 'a large wild cat' (SED II No. 151; cf. also C. Chad. Afade *maudá* 'Hyäne', E. Chad. Mubi *ʔamdə̀wut* 'cat' likely implying Afras. \**maday/w(n)-* 'k. of feline'). [] Aram. Off. *šnpr* 'bird' (Hbr. *šippōr*, Jud. *šippar*, *šippərā*, Syr. *šəppərā* can go back to \**šīnpar-* with \**-np-* > *-pp-*) vs. Arb. *šāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau', Hrs. *šəferot* 'sandpiper', etc. < \**šVp(p)Vr-* '(kind of small) bird' < Afras. \**čapVr-*: W. Chad. Mburku *čápūr*, C. Chad. Bura *cə̀vūr*, Margi *cə̀vūr* 'guinea fowl' (SED II No. 212). [] Mnd. *anglia* vs. Jud. *ʔēgal*, Syr. *ʔeglā* etc. < \**ʔig<sup>w</sup>al-* // \**ʔigl-* 'calf' (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *žandab-*, *žundub-* vs. Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ādäbä* (in \**g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab-* // \**ga(n)dab-* 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *ḵwarnanaʔāt*, Amh. *ḵwärmänat* vs. Tgr. *ḵorəʔ*, Tna. *ḵwərʔo* in \**ḵVr(V)r-* 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in *ʔV-* Animal names). [] N. Eth. \**ʔanšaw/y-*: Gez. *ʔanša/e/owā* 'mouse, weasel', Tgr. *ʔʔanšay* 'mouse', Tna. *ʔančə̀wa* 'mouse, rat' (cf. C. Cush. \**ʔinčaw-*, N. Omot. Shinasha *iinčä*, Anfillo *inšo* id.; < Afras. \**ʔančVyaw-* or Eth. borrowing into Cush. and Omot.?) vs. Sem. \**ʔayaš-*: Akk. *ayāšu* 'weasel', Amh. *ay(ə)ʔ* 'mouse' < Afras. \**ʔayač-* 'kind of small mammal': W. Chad. Hausa *çiyō*, E. Cush. Oromo *wawwaçoo*, N.

Omot. Basketo *iici*, Kafa *içoo* etc. (cf. **\*ʔayas-** ~ **\*ʔansawɣy-** 'weasel, mouse' SED II No. 26). [] Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ändäran*, Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ändä/ora* 'k. of worm' (< Afras. *\*g<sup>w</sup>andVr-*? Cf. semantically heterogenous but phonetically impeccable W. Chad. Daffo-Butura *gändir* 'Eidechse' and E. Chad. Dangla *göndyir-kö* 'petites termites') vs. Mhr. *gəderēt*, Hrs. *gederēt* 'k. of worm', Jib. *əzdírət* 'small insect (which eats clothes, wood)' (cf. **\*g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dVr-** // **\*gV(n)dVr-** 'kind of worm' SED II No. 81). [] Tgr. *fərnəg*, *fənrəg* 'quail' vs. **\*pərg-** 'kind of bird (hen, quail)': Hbr. pB. *pargīt* 'young poultry', Syr. *parrūgā* 'pullus', etc. (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Pero *parāgō* 'partridge') SED II No. 178. [] Tna. *ʔənkərəbit* vs. **\*ʔakrab-** 'scorpion': Hbr. *ʔakrāb*, Gez. *ʔ/ʔakrab*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Tna. *ḥəngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water' vs. Jib. *ḥəzót* (< *\*ḥag-*) 'large, blind black segmented centipede oftenest seen during the rainy season' (v. **\*ḥV(n)g-** 'kind of worm, centipede' SED II No. 100). [] Mnd. *ḥunpud*, Arb. *ḥunfud-*, Gez. *ḥ<sup>w</sup>ənfəz*, etc. vs. Jud. *ḥupdā* (and Ebl. *ḥi-pá-šúm?*) in **\*ḥ<sup>(w)</sup>inpad-** // **\*ḥunpud-** 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133; *-n-* is a root extender or part of the primary root?). [] Arb. *ḥinzīr-*, Gez. *ḥanzir*, Mhr. *ḥənzīr*, Jib. *ḥanzīr* 'pig' (three latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Akk. *ḥuzīru*, Ugr. */ḥuzīru/*, Hbr. *ḥəzīr*, Jud. *ḥəzīr* etc. (in **\*ḥV(n)zīr-** 'pig' SED II No. 111). [] Akk. *e/inzu*, Syr. *ʔənez* (st. const.), Arb. *ʔanz(-at)-*, etc. '(she-)goat' vs. Ugr. *ʔz*, Jib. *ʔəz* 'goat', etc. < **\*ʔVz-** 'goat' (SED II No. 35; cf. *ibid.* E. Cush. Saho *ʔidoo*, S. Cush. Asa *ʔando* and other possible Afras. parallels). [] Sem. **\*ʔa(n)z/dar-** 'kind of feline': Gez. *ʔanzar*, Akk. *azaru* (and *azzaru*, likely pointing to *\*ʔanzar-*) vs. Afras. *\*ʔa-z/ǰVr-* id. (SED II No. 9; v. above in **ʔV-** Animal names).

#### Anatomy:

[] Arb. *siŋt-* 'poignet' vs. Hbr. pB. *\*sīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger', Syr. *sītā* 'palms' < **\*si(n)t-** 'flat hand with wrist' (SED I 209). [] Arb. *ḥinši/ar-* vs. Hbr. pB. *ḥāšēr*, Syr. *ḥešrā*, Mhr. *ḥəšərrəʔ* 'little finger', etc. (in < **\*ḥi(n)sVr-** '(little) finger' SED I 134). [] Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>ərnāf*, Tna. *k<sup>w</sup>ərnaʔ* 'elbow, forearm', Amh. Arg. *kərn* 'elbow' (cf. also Jib. *kərnəʔ* 'heel') vs. Sem. **\*k<sup>w</sup>ināf-** 'knee and shin-bone; lower leg (of animal)': Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)', Sab. *krʔ* 'leg of a camel', etc. (SED I No. 157). [] Tgr. *sənzər* 'palm', Tna *sənzärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. Selti Wolane Zway *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti* (prob. also End. *zəssər*, Eža Muh. etc. *zəzzər* if < *\*zənzər* assim. < *\*sənzər*) vs. Gez. *səz(ə)r*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *səzər* 'span' (in **\*šsV(n)zVr-** 'span', SED I No. 251). [] Mod. Eth. *\*šənfəl(la)* 'ruminant's stomachs' (Tgr. Tna. Amh. Zw. Gog. Sod.) vs. Arb. *mišfəlat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac', MSA *\*šafəl* 'belly, stomach' (in **\*š<sub>x</sub>V(n)pVl-** 'stomach (of an animal, bird)', SED I No. 271). [] S. Eth. *\*gəndya* (Har. *gānža*, Sel. *gānžä*, Wol. *ganžä*, Msq. *ganža*, prob. Eža *gažža*) vs. *\*gədyə* (Zw. *gādiyō*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *gaža*, End. *gažä*) 'tendon of leg' < Sem. **\*gīd-** 'sinew, nerve' (SED I 72). [] Tgr. *ʔ/ʔanšəbät* 'sinew' vs. Arb. *ʔašab-* 'nerves', Mhr. *ʔəšbīt* 'sinew, nerve' < Sem. **\*ʔa(n)sab-** 'sinew, nerves' (SED I No. 16). [] Soq. *ʔaronik* 'mollet' vs. Mhr. *ʔark* 'artery, sinew, nerve', Arb. *ʔirḥ-* 'veine', etc. < Sem. **\*ʔaḥḥ-** 'tendon, muscle, vein, nerf' (SED I No. 20). [] MSA *\*kənsīd-* '(top of) shoulder' vs. Akk. *kišādu* 'neck, throat; necklace', Mnd. *kšada* 'throat', Eth. *\*kəšād* 'neck' < **\*ki(n)šād-** 'neck, top of shoulder' (SED I No. 147). [] Sem.: Akk. *šənettu* (also *šənettu*, *šənnītu*) 'a skin disease', Gez. *šəməʔt* 'scab, malignant ulcer' vs. Hbr. *šāraʔat* 'skin disease', Jud. *ši/urʔā* 'leprosy' (in **\*šiməy-at-**, SED I No. 257). [] Arb. *šnf* 'avoir la lèvre supérieure relevée,



retroussée', Tgr. *šanəf* 'mouth (of animals)', Tna. *šänfäwä* 'to have disproportionate lips' vs. Akk. *šaptu*, Ugr. *špt*, Hbr. *šāpā*, Syr. *septā*, Arb. *ša/ifat*, etc. 'lip' < Sem. **\*sa(n)p-at** (SED I No. 265).

Varia:

[] Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>änäddäbä* 'to cut, curve' vs. *g<sup>w</sup>addäbä* 'to dig, cut' < Eth. **\*g<sup>w</sup>db** 'to cut' (LGz 181).

**-t-**

Animal names:

[] Arb. *taytal-* 'vieux bouc de montagnes; espèce d'antilope' vs. *tilal-*, *tilāl-* 'troupe de brebis, ou de brebis mêlée aux chèvres' < **\*tVI-** 'head of small cattle': Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Gez. *nes(ā)tāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *näsälät* 'serpent boa' (in **\*?at(h)al-** 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20). [] Tgr. *totäl* 'esp. d'antilope' vs. *tälit* (coll. *tel*) 'goat' < **\*talay-** 'lamb, kid': Hbr. *ṭālā*, Arb. *ṭala<sup>n</sup>*, *ṭalw-* 'petit de gazelle' etc. (SED II No. 232).

Anatomy:

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

**-ḥ-** (v. also in Maizel 185)

Animal names:

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

Anatomy:

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

Varia:

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

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

Animal names:

[] Arb. *šayham-* 'porc-épic' vs. Akk. *ušummu, šummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Arb. *šim-* (pl.) 'rat' (v. in \***sVm-** 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] (?) Arb. *rahw-* 'crane' vs. Hbr. *rāʔā* 'red kite', Tgr. *rawya* 'stork', Tna. *rawya* 'kind of very large vulture; falcon, sparrow hawk, kite' in \***raʔ/wʔhy-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 187; otherwise to be interpreted as a case of root variation with *-h-* vs. *-ʔ-* vs. *-w/y-*). [] Gez. *nəhb*, Tgr. *nəhəb*, Tna. *nəhbi* vs. Sem. \***nūb(-at)-** 'bee': Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb-* etc. (SED II No. 156). [] Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>āhilā* 'fox-like animal' vs. Sem. \***kalb-** 'dog', supposedly < \**kal-b-* < Afras. \**kVI-* 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ā-kūlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *kūləm* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kūlkò* 'cynhyène', N. Cush. Beja *ták<sup>w</sup>la* 'Wolf; Lycaon pictus', etc. (v. SED II No. 115). [] Tna. *gahret* 'doe antelope' (for the laryngeal in the same root probably implying Afras. \**g<sup>(w)</sup>arh-*, cf. Brb. Zenaga *əgrərḥ* 'bélier', E. Chad. Kera *agerhe* 'Esel', S. Cush. Burunge *gwereha*, Gorowa Alagwa *gwerehe* 'dikdik antelope') vs. Tgr. *gārwa* 'kudu antelope', Akk. *gurratu, agurratu* 'ewe' < Sem. \***gVr/w(-at)-** 'small hoofed animal' < Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>ar-*, \**garw-* (SED II No. 85). [] Tgr. *wuhər*, pl. *ʔawhər, ʔawhərät* 'bull' (LH 427) vs. Afras. \**war-*: Egypt. MK *wr-t* 'göttliche Kuh' (EG I 331), W. Chad. Hausa *wariyya* 'a k. of antelope' (Barg 1084; cf. *warari* 'a vicious bull' *ibid.*), E. Cush. Sidamo *war-aamo* 'older calf' (HEC 35). [] Mhr. *ləhəytən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti*, Soq. *ʔélheh* 'cow' vs. Sem. \***liʔ(-at)-**, \***laʔay-at-** 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu (lītu)* 'cow', Arb. *lāʔa<sup>n</sup>* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', *laʔāt-* 'vache sauvage' (SED II No. 142; otherwise to be interpreted as a ? ~ h root variation case). [] Sem. \***ʔathal-**: Syr. *ʔatehləyā*, Tgr. *ʔashalāt* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔashalāt* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (*-h-* is probably a primary, not inserted, radical, cf. Brb. \**HaššVI-* '(large) snake': Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *āššel*, etc., Omot. \**haylaš-* with metathesis: Wolayta *aylaaš-*, Gemu *haylašo*, Gofa *haaylašo*, Ari *hayleša* 'crocodile') vs. \***ʔatal-**: Syr. *ʔātalyā* 'dragon', Tna. *ʔasälāt* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (< Afras. \**ʔačal-?* Cf. S. Cush. Dahalo *taʔala* 'puff-adder' (EEN 8), likely < \**čaʔal-* with metathesis), v. \***ʔat(h)al-** 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20. [] (?) Sem. \***pahd-** 'cheetah': Syr. *pahdā* 'panther', Mnd. *pahad* 'cheetah', Arb. *fahd-* 'guépard', etc. vs. Egypt. OK *mʔfd.t* 'karzenartiges Tier mit scharfen Krallen (Art Gepard?)' (< \**mV-ʔVfVd-* or \**ma-fVd-*, with ʔ standing for *-a-*?); a striking semantic coincidence makes this comparison interesting in spite of only a partial formal similarity.

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *lhs* 'lécher' (BK 2 1032; < Sem. if Akk. *lašū* 'to taste, lick' is < \**lhš* and not < \**lhš*, cf. Arb. *lhš* 'lécher' BK 2 973 and Eth. \**lhš* 'to lick' LGz 311) vs. *lss* 'lécher, manger' (BK 2 989), *lws* 'goûter, tourner un morceau dans la bouche' (*ibid.* 1041). [] Jib. *géhéʔ* 'chest, breast', Soq. (Noged) *géhéʔ* *id.* vs. Jud. *gawwā* 'belly, innermost', Arb. *ʔuʔʔuʔ-* (redupl.) 'poitrine', etc. < Sem.

\**gaw(w)iʔ*- or \**gʷay(y)aʔ*- '(front part of) body; chest, belly; interior' (SED I No. 99).

Varia:

[] Hbr. pB. *mhl* 'to circumcize' (Ja 373) vs. Hbr. *mwl*, *mll* id. (HAL 555, 594). [] Arb. *kahd-* 'peine, fatigue' (ibid. 938; cf. *khd* 'se mettre à courir vite (se dit d'un âne)' ibid.) vs. *kadd-* 'travail, peine, fatigue' (< *kdd* 'travailler; se fatiguer à force de travailler' BK 2 872). [] Arb. *ths* 'entrer sous terre, disparaître' (BK 2 115) vs. *ʔss* 'plonger (dans l'eau); s'en aller, disparaître' (ibid. 80; cf. *mā ʔadrī ʔayna ʔassa* 'Je ne sais pas ce qu'il est devenu' ibid. and *mā ʔadrī ʔayna ʔahasa* id. ibid. 115). [] Arb. *ʔhd* 'travailler avec assiduité, avec zèle, faire des efforts' (BK 1 341) vs. *ʔdd* 'agir avec zèle et assiduité, s'efforcer de...' (ibid. 259), perhaps related to Eth. \**gdd* 'to force, compel' (cf. LGz 181). [] Arb. *mhd* 'étendre également', *mahhada* 'étendre comme un tapis' (BK 2 1160) vs. *mdd* id. (ibid. 1075) < Sem.: Soq. *med* 'étendre', etc. (LS 238). [] Arb. *lht* 'frapper, atteindre quelqu'un d'une flèche' (BK 2 1033) vs. *lwʔ* id. (ibid. 1041). [] Arb. *dhk* 'couper en morceaux; briser en serrant; frapper, battre' (BK 1 742) vs. *dkk* 'ê. pilé, broyé fin; casser, concasser; battre, frapper' (ibid. 715) < Sem. \**dkk*: Akk. *dukkuku*, Hbr. *daḳ*, Gez. *daḳaḳa* 'to crush', Soq. Mhr. *daḳḳ* 'to pound', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dhk* 'briser, broyer; moudre; fouler le sol' (BK 1 743) vs. *dkk* 'concasser, piler, broyer' < Sem. \**dkk*: Akk. Lex. *dakāku* 'to crush' (CAD D 34), Hbr. *dk* (pi.), \**dkk* 'to crush' (HAL 221), Soq. *dekdek* 'to beat', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dahr-* 'temps, âge, siècle' (BK 1 741) vs. *dawr-* 'period', Akk. *dāru* 'eternity' (otherwise < \**dahr-*), Hbr. *dōr* 'cycle, lifetime, generation', etc. (HAL 217). [] Arb. *rhk* 'fatiguer une femme par la violence de coit', *ʔirtahaka* 'ê. mou, lâche, n'avoir pas de vigueur' (BK 1 940) vs. *rkk* 'ê. très-mince; ê. très-faible, très chetif; tourmenter et fatiguer' (ibid. 911-2) < Sem.: Hbr. *rkk* 'to be tender, gentle; to be timid, faint-hearted', Syr. *rak* 'to be soft', etc. (HAL 1236-7). [] Arb. *mahīn-* 'faible, débile; méprisé' (BK 2 1164) vs. Gez. *manana* 'be insignificant, incomplete, lack', Tna. *mānmānā*, Amh. *mānāmmānā* 'become lean or emaciated' (LGz 351) < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *mānyò*, Tumak *mānī* (Bla EC), S. Cush. Dahalo *ʔāmīna* (EEN 20), Maʔa *mʔinyī* (Bla-Tos), N. Omot. Mao (Bambeshi) *amintə-* (Bnd Om 279) 'small', S. Omot. Ongota *munnaʔenə* 'small, narrow' (SLLE 10). [] Sem. \**bht* 'to be ashamed': Akk. *baʔāšu* (likely < \**bht*) 'to come to shame' (CAD B<sub>1</sub> 5), Ugr. *bht* 'vergüenza' (DLU 106), Syr. *bht* 'puduit eum; confusus, perturbatus est', *behtōtā* 'pudor' (Brock 61-2), Arb. *bahtat-* 'fils de prostituée' (BK 1 170; cf. *bht* 'accueillir qqn. avec un visage riant' ibid.) vs. \**bwt* 'to be ashamed': Ugr. *bt* 'avergonzarse' (DLU 123), Hbr. *bwš* 'to be ashamed', *būšā*, Emp. Arm. *bwt* 'shame' (HAL 116-7) < Afras. \**bVwič-* '(feminine) pudenda': Brb. Siwa *bašša* (Lao 314), Semlal *bəssi* (Dest 288), Rif Iznassen *a-bəts-un* (Ren 291) 'vagin', N. Cush. Beja *bus* 'hinterbacken, podex' (RBeḍ 52), E. Cush. Saho Afar *bus* 'die weibliche Scham' (RAf 831), Hadiya *bisso* 'vagina' (HEC 161). [] Sem. \**nahār-* 'light, day': Hbr. *nəhārā* 'light', Syr. Jud. *nūhārā* '(gleam of) light' (HAL 677), Arb. *nahār-* 'jour, journée' (BK 2 1354) vs. \**nVr-* 'light, fire': Akk. *namāru* (*nawāru*) 'to shine brightly' (CAD N<sub>1</sub> 209), Ugr. *nr* 'brillar; brillo, resplendor' (DLU 331), Hbr. *nīr* 'light, lamp' (HAL 697), Arb. *nūr-* 'lumière' (BK 2 1365). [] Sem. \**khn* 'to be/act as a priest': Ugr. *khn* 'sacerdote' (DLU 212), Hbr. *khn* 'to act as a priest', Syr. *khn* (pe.) id. (HAL 461), Mnd. *khn* 'to serve as priest' (DM 205), Arb. *khn* 'ê. devin, aruspice, prêtre; prédire l'avenir' (BK 2 940) vs. Afras. \**ki/an-* 'to know': W. Chad. Kirfi *kinn-* 'to know' (Stolb Ms), E.

Chad. Mokilko *kónyà* 'le savoir; la capacité' (JMkk 125), N. Cush. Beja *kān-* 'kennen, wissen' (RBeđ 142), C. Cush. *\*kin-t-* 'to learn', E. Cush. Hadiya *ken-* 'to know' (v. Dolg 1973 212-3 where the above Cush. forms are compared to Sem. *\*khn*; other comparisons are less convincing).

**-r-**

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *ḵurpəday* 'mole' vs. Hbr. *ḵippōd*, pB. *ḵuppād*, Jud. *ḵupdā*, etc. in *\*k<sup>(w)</sup>inpad-* // *\*ḵurpud-* 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133). [] Hbr. *ṣəpardēā* vs. Arb. *ḍifdiṣ-* (in *\*šVpardif-* 'frog', SED II No. 22; otherwise interpreted, *-r-* is a primary radical preserved in Hebrew but lost in other languages). [] Jud. *ʕurzīlā* (and *?urzīlā*) vs. *ʕwzl*, Syr. *ʕūzaylā* < *\*yVzāl-* 'gazelle': Arb. *yaḏāl-* etc. (SED II No. 92). [] Syr. *ḥarpuštā* 'scarabaeus niger' vs. Jud. *ḥippūsītā*, *ḥpwšyt?* 'scarabee, beetle' (in SED II No. 96 *\*hVbVš<sub>x</sub>* 'kind of insect'; cf. also No. 104 *\*ḥarSap-* 'young of animals, larva': Akk. *ḥarsapnu*, Arb. *ḥaršaf-*).

Anatomy:

[] Aram. *\*garmīdā*: Jud. *garmīdā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ūrmīdā*, *gūrmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmād* 'a linear measure, short cubit', likely < *\*kVm(V)d-* 'forearm, cubit' (SED I No. 144): Akk. *gamatu* 'a measure' (< *\*gamattu* < *\*gamad-t-u* or < *\*gamadu* with *-ad-* mistaken for the *-at-* suffix), (?) Arb. *kumuddat-* 'verge, penis', Amh. *kənd* 'cubit (distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, appr. 48 cm.); arm, forearm', Gaf. *kəndā* 'bras', Mhr. *məkəndēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *mišəndət* 'thumb, big toe'. [] Mod. Eth. *\*brṣḵ* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bärčäkä* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərčəḳčəḳ bäl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tän/mboraččäkä* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. *\*bṣḵ* 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bṣḵ* 'cracher', Sel. *bəčəḳ bälä* 'to spit'. [] S. Eth. *\*mṣrḵ* 'to spit in a spurt': Har. *mičirik āša*, Gog. *məčərəḳ bea* (and other Gur. dialects in LGur 390) vs. *\*mṣḵ* 'to spit, spirt': Har. *mičik āša* 'to squeeze something so that it spurts', Gog. Sod. *mičik \*balä* 'to spit in a spurt' (ibid. 389). [] Sem *\*ḥarṭūm- ~ \*ḥurṭimm-* 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. differently in SED I No. 137): (?) Akk. *ḥurṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (-ṭt < *\*-rt-*?), Hbr. pB. *ḥarṭōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *ḥarṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephanti)', Mnd. *ḥarṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *ḥurṭum-*, *ḥurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'éléphant, etc.' vs. *\*ḥu/aṭm-* 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. differently in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḥṭm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥuṭmā* id., Arb. *ḥaṭm-* 'bec, museau' (note *\*ḥarṭūm- ~ \*ḥurṭimm-* 'long, prominent nose, trunk' vs. *\*ḥu/aṭm-* 'nose'). [] Sem. *\*ka/urḵa/ub-* 'stomach (of animals, birds)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 167): (?) Akk. *kukkubātu*, *kukkubānu*, *ḵuḵḵubātu*, *ḵuḵḵubānu* 'part of the animal stomach' (< *\*ḵurḵubān/tu* or *\*ḵubḵubān/tu*), Hbr. pB. *ḵorḵəbān* 'the thick muscular stomach of birds, crow', Jud. *ḵurḵəbānā* id., Syr. *ḵarḵəbānā*, *ḵurḵəbānā* 'guttur, ingluvies (avis)', Arb. *ḵarḵab-*, *ḵurḵub-*, *ḵurḵubb-* 'ventre' vs. *\*kVb-at-* 'stomach, ventricle, maw (of animals)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 158): Hbr. *ḵēbā* 'abomasum, stomach', Jud. *ḵēbətā* 'maw', *ḵybh* 'stomach', Arb. *ḵibat-*, *ḵibbat-* 'ventricle', *ḵabḵab-* (redupl.) 'ventre' (cf. also *ḵabḵāb-* 'vagin'), Tgr. *ḵābbät* 'a stuffed goat's stomach', Tna. *ḵobo* 'hernia'. [] Sem. *\*kVrs/s(-ull)-* 'ankle' (cf. in SED I No. 169): Hbr. *\*ḵarsullayim* 'ankles'

(dual), Jud. *ḳarsullā*, *ḳarsūlā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḳurṣəlā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *ḳarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḳərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənḳərša*, Mhr. *ḳərṣāt* 'kneecap' (-ā-points either to \*-aw or to \*-al) vs. **\*ḳ(w)Vṣṣ-**, **\*ḳ(w)Vṣṣ-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimṣu*, *kiṣu*, *kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *ḳaṣāṣ-*, *ḳuṣāṣ-*, *ḳiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *ḳaṣīs-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *ḳaṣṣ-*, *ḳuṣaṣ-* id. (cf. *ḳayaṣ-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *ḳwəyṣ*, *ḳwəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *ḳəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gye. *ḳəṭəyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mīḳṣeh* 'articulation, falangue'. [] Sem. **\*ḳwīnāṣ-** 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru*, *kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *ḳərāʿayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *ḳarʿā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *ḳərāʿā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *ḳurāṣ-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *krʿ* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *ḳwərnāṣ* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *ḳwərnaṣ* 'elbow', Amh. *ḳərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *ḳərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *ḳuruʔ* 'cubit, arm', Sel. *ḳərə*, Wol. *həri*, Zw. *hərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *ḳərrā* id. vs. **\*ḳu/af(-at)-** or **\*ḳwaf(-at)-** 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *ḳōʿā* 'articulus', Arb. *ḳāʿ-*, *ḳūʿ-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os *zind*', Amh. *ḳotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *ḳotte* 'hoof'.

Varia:

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

**-l-**

Animal names:

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

Anatomy:

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

Varia:

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

### Consonantal Suffixation

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

Animal names:

[] Akk. *kaḫānu*, Ebl. *ḫú-ḫí-a-nu-um* 'a bird' (cf. also Arm. Tur. *kaḫwonḫto* 'partridge', etc. unless *w* < \**b*) vs. Sem. \***ḫ(w)aʔ(ḫ(w)aʔ)- // \*ḫaʔ(ḫaʔ)-** 'kind of bird': Akk. *kaḫū* 'a bird', Jud. *ḫā(?)ḫā(?)* 'goose', *ḫāḫā*, Syr. *ḫāḫā* 'pelican', Amh. *koḫ* 'partridge', etc. < Afras. \***ḫ<sup>w</sup>aʔ/y(ḫ<sup>w</sup>aʔ/y)-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 126). [] Akk. *ḫarsapnu* (*ḫarasapnu, ḫarsapanu*) vs. Arb. *ḫaršaf-* < \***ḫarSap-** 'young of animals, larva' (SED II No. 104). [] Akk. *bukānu* (*bukannu*) 'an insect or worm' vs. Hbr. pB. *bukyā* 'the spider', Tna. *bəkk<sup>w</sup>* 'gnawing insect, worm', etc. < \***bik<sup>w</sup>ay- // \*bukay-** 'kind of insect or worm' (SED II No. 57). [] Akk. *mikḫānu, meḫikānu* 'a louse affecting cloth, animals and people' vs. Jud. *maḫḫāḫ* 'k. of worm or insect', Arb. *mūḫ-* 'sorte de fourmi ailée' < \***mVḫ(Vḫ)-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 150). [] Akk. *šammānu* 'a snake' vs. Hbr. *šəməmīṭ* (var. *šəməmīṭ*) 'gecko', Arb. *sāmm-* (in *sāmm- ʔabraṣ-*) 'espèce de gros lézard' < \***š<sup>s</sup>Vmm-** 'kind of reptile (snake, lizard)' (SED II No. 204). [] Akk. *zizānu* 'a locust' vs. Hbr. *zīz* 'the small creatures that ruin the fields', Arb. *zīz-* (pl. *zīzān-*) 'cigale', etc. < \***zīz-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 255). [] Akk. *tišānu* 'a (wild) ram' (cf. *tušēnu, tešēnu* 'eine Art Büffel'), Ebl. *ti-sa-na* id. (the interpretation of both Akk. and Ebl. terms is debatable) vs. Sem. \***taysš-** 'he-goat': Hbr. *tayiš*, Arb. *tays-*, etc. (SED II No. 231). [] Akk. *dimānu* 'an insect' (cf. W. Chad. Hausa *dāmanā* 'spider' and Eyp. *dnm* 'Würmer (welche die Leiche fressen)', perhaps metathetically related; one wonders whether these forms imply Afras. \**dVman-* or are accounted for by independent morphological processes in the three languages) vs. Sem. \***dim-** 'kind of insect': Akk. *dimītu* 'a locust or bird' (CAD D 143), 'eine Art Heuschrecke' (AHw 170), Arb. *dim-at-* 'pou; fourmi' < Afras. \**dVm-* 'kind of insect': Eyp. *dm* 'Wurm', E. Chad. Tumaḫ *dəḫm* 'abeille' (SED II No. 69). [] Ebl.

*nu-bí-a-núm* vs. Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb-* (pl.), etc. < \***nūb(-at)**- 'bee' (SED II No. 156; v. in **-h** Animal names). [] Ebl. *lí-a-núm* (= Sum. ALIM 'bull'; note *-n-* as a marker of the male animal; for *-ān-* as a masculine marker in Sem. v. GVG I 392 and Gelb 1969 37ff.) vs. Ebl. *lí-a-tum* (= Sum. ALIM.SAL; note the feminine gender), Arb. *laʔāt-* 'vache sauvage', *lāʔa<sup>n</sup>* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', Akk. *littu* (*lītu*), etc. in \***liʔ(-at)**-, \***laʔay-at**- 'head of large cattle' (SED II No. 142). [] Hbr. *šəpīpōn*, Jud. *šəpīpōnā* (likely a Hebraism) vs. Syr. *šappāpā*, Arb. *siff-*, *suff-*, etc. < \***šVpp-** 'kind of snake, worm, insect larvae' (SED II No. 207). [] Hbr. *dīšōn* 'aurochs' (cf. Akk. *ditānu*, *didānu* id. with irregular correspondences of the second radical) vs. Akk. *daššu* (also *taššu*) 'buck (said of gazelles and goats)' < Afras.: N. Cush. Beja *deēš* 'young gazelle', N. Omot. Wolayta Gamo Kullo *dešša*, Gofa Zala Koyra Chara *deēša*, Dorze Cancha *dešš*, Malo *deše*, Dače *deyšše*, Basketo *dayša*, Kachama *deyšē* 'goat' (v. in SED II No. 231 \***taysš-** 'he-goat'). [] Hbr. *ʔozniyyā* 'an unclean bird: sea eagle', Syr. *ʔznʔ* 'avis rapacis species' vs. Hbr. pB. *ʔōz* 'name of a bird, prob. black eagle', Syr. *ʔizyā* 'ardea cinerea', etc. < \***ʔVz-** 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 51). [] Syr. *purtaʔnā*, Jud. *purtaʔnā*, Mal. *furtʔnō* vs. Akk. *peršaʔu*, Hbr. *parʔōš* etc. < \***ʔVryVt-** ~ \***ʔVrtay-** 'flea' (SED II No. 185). [] Jud. *rēmānā* vs. Akk. *rīmu* (*rēmu*, *riʔmu*), Hbr. *rəʔēm* etc. < \***nīʔm-** 'wild bull' (SED II No. 186). [] Jud. *ʔurdəʔān*, Sam. *ʔrdʔn* vs. Jud. *ʔurdəʔā*, Syr. *ʔurdəʔā* (with dissimilation), Hbr. *šəpardēāʔ* (pl.), etc. < \***šVpardīʔ-** 'frog' (SED II No. 222). [] Jud. *šumsəmənanā*, Syr. *šawsəmənanā*, Mnd. *šušmana* vs. Arb. *sumsum-* < \***šumsšum-** 'ant' (SED II No. 205). [] Arm.: Jud. *hōgānā*, *hōgənā* 'young camel or dromedary' (Ja 337), Syr. *hūgnō gamlō* 'dromedarius', in fabul. aram. 'asinus' (Brock 171) vs. Afras. \***hug-**: Brb. Ahaggar *āhug* 'poulain' (Fouc 529), Ayr *əhug* id. (Aloj 77), etc. (v. Kossm 101), N. Cush. Beja *hig* '3 years old camel' (B1 FB 12), E. Cush. Burji *hogom-āy* 'horses' (Sas Burji 99). [] Arb. *daybarān-* 'guêpe' vs. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', *dabr-*, *dibr-* 'essaim (d'abeilles ou de frelons)' < \***dī/ab(b)ūr-** 'bee, wasp' (SED II No. 66). [] Arb. *dayažān-* 'grande nuée de sauterelles' vs. Tna. *duga* 'a kind of reddish fly which afflicts cows', Mhr. *dəgdīg* 'insect like a grasshopper', etc. < \***dVg-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 67). [] Arb. *hūnzuwānat-* 'mouche qui s'attaque au chameau' vs. Akk. *hūnzizītu* 'a green winged insect', Tna. *həŋəʔəʔ*, etc. < \***hVnz(i/uz)-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Arb. *silkānat-* 'poussin de perdix' vs. Hbr. *šālāk* 'an unclean bird' < \***šVI(V)k-** 'kind of bird', probably < Afras.: E. Chad. Kera *súlku*, Kwang *súlkō*, Mobu *sùlgó* 'guinea-fowl' (SED II No. 203). [] Arb. *sumānat-*, *sumānā* 'espèce de caille' vs. *samāmat-* 'sorte de petit oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' vs. Sem. \***sVm(V)m(-at)** 'kind of bird': Akk. *summu*, *summatu* etc. 'dove' (SED II No. 196). [] Arb. *ʔafʔawān-* 'vipère mâle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general term *ʔafʔa<sup>n</sup>* 'vipère'; one wonders whether what seems *-n* suffixed in Amh. *əffūññət*, *fūññət* 'vipère' points to a common Arb.-Amh. protoform with *-n* or rather to a different origin of the latter in each case) vs. Sem. \***ʔapʔaw-**: Hbr. *ʔəpʔā* 'kind of snake', etc. (SED II No. 10). [] Arb. *ʔukru(b)bān-* 'scorpion mâle' vs. *ʔakrab-*, *ʔakrab-at-*, *ʔakrabāʔ-* 'scorpion femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked feminine *ʔakrab-* and two marked feminine forms) < Sem. \***ʔakrab-** 'scorpion': Ugr. *ʔkrb*, Hbr. *ʔakrāb*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Arb. *dībʔān-* 'hyène mâle', *dībʔānat-* 'hyène femelle' vs. *ḍabuʔ-*, *ḍabʔ-* 'hyène', *ḍabuʔat-* 'hyène femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general

term *ḍab(u)ʕ*- and feminine *ḍabuʕat*- < Sem. **\*šab(u)ʕ**- 'hyena': Hbr. *šābūāʕ*, etc. (SED II No. 220). [] Arb. *ḍaywan*- 'chat mâle, matou' (note *-ān*- as a marker of the male animal) vs. Hbr. *šī* 'animals of the desert' < **\*šayw**- 'wild cat' (SED II No. 224). [] Arb. *žirdawn*- (also Mhr. *gərdīn*, Hrs. *gerdīn* 'rat, mouse', likely Arabisms) vs. *žurad*- 'espèce de gros rat des champs', Syr. *gārədā* 'castor' < **\*gVrVd(-Vn)**- 'kind of rodent' < Afras. **\*g<sup>w</sup>Vrž**-: Brb. Shawiya *a-g<sup>w</sup>erziz*, etc. 'hare' (SED II No. 84). [] Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan* 'a kind of black ant' vs. Arb. *žudžud*- 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (also Ebl. *gú-du-gú-du-wu-um* ?) in **\*g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab** // **\*ga(n)dab**- 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>arnanaʕāt*, Amh. *kəmanot* 'frog' (< Afras.? Cf. Chad. **\*k/kVr-Vn**- id.: W. Chad. Ngizim *kəriinakáu*, E. Chad. Birgit *ʔangúkúrúná*, C. Chad. Daba *kirriṅ*, Mofu-Gudur *kakəraṅ*) vs. Sem. **\*kVr(V)r**- 'frog' (v. in **ʔV**-Animal names) < Afras. **\*kVr**- id.: Egyp. *kr*, Brb. Rif *aḱarḱur*, etc., N. Omot. Zaysse *ʔooḱḱaro*, etc. (in SED II No. 137). [] Gez. *kəradīn*, *kərdān* 'field mouse' vs. Brb. **\*ḱard**- 'rat': Fojaha *yərdé*, Rif *ayarda*, Mzab Shawiya Qabyle Shilh *ayerda*, etc. (v. in **\*gVrVd(-Vn)**- 'kind of rodent' SED II No. 84). [] Tgr. *gəržən*, pl. *gäräggən* 'cub of lions or of leopards' (< **\*garg-Vn**; unless dissim. < **\*gurgur**) vs. **\*gūr**- ~ **\*gury/w**- 'whelp, cub': Hbr. *gūr*, Arb. *žurw*-, etc. (SED II No. 82). [] Amh. *wäl(l)ani* 'Walia ibex' vs. *waliya*, *wala* id. < **\*wafīl**- 'ibex': Gez. *wəʕälā*, Arb. *wafīl*-, etc. (SED II No. 244). [] Amh. *šālan* 'marten, ferret' vs. *šāla* id. (v. in **\*tVʕVl**- ~ **\*taʕlab**- 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Eža *wizännä* 'kind of a bird' and similar Gur. forms vs. **\*ʔaw(a)z**- ~ **\*w**

**az(z)**- 'goose': Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *ʔiwazz*-, *wazz*-, etc. (SED II No. 22). [] Mhr. *fərhayn*, Hrs. *ferhīn* (< **\*fVrsīn**) vs. **\*parāš**- 'horse': Hbr. *pārāš*, Arb. *fāras*-, etc. (SED II No. 182). [] Sem.: Syr. *ʔarwānā* 'vitulus, vitula', Arb. *ʔirān*- 'oryx mâle' vs. Amh. *awra* 'male (animal), bull', etc. < **\*ʔi/arwān**- ~ **\*ʔawr**- 'calf, bull' < Afras. **\*ʔa/irw**- ~ **\*ʔawr**- 'calf, bull': Egyp. MK *ʔir-t* 'Kalb', W. Chad. Sha *ʔarwā* 'Ochse', E. Cush. Bayso *aar*, Arbore *ʔáar*, Burji *arr-áy* 'bull', Sidamo *waʔr-iččo* 'older calf', etc. (SED II No. 16). [] Sem.: Ebl. *ir-bí-núm* (= Sum. NAM.KUR), Arb. *ʔirbiyān*- vs. Akk. *erbu* (*erebu*, *aribu*), Hbr. *ʔarbā*, etc. < **\*ʔarbay**- 'locust' (SED II No. 11). [] Sem. **\*kut(t)ān**- 'bug': Arb. *kuttān*- 'sorte d'insecte rouge et dont la picûre est douloureuse', Tgr. *kətan* '(bed-)bug(s)', Mhr. *kettôn* 'Wanze' (SED II No. 122; the two latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Tgr. *kəta*, Tna. *kuta*, *k<sup>w</sup>əta* 'young locust'. [] Sem. **\*tuk<sup>w</sup>ān**- // **\*tukān**- 'bug' (SED II No. 122; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. **\*takwan** 'bleeding, cupping blood', semantically questionable) vs. Jud. *təkak* 'kind of worm' < Afras.: Egyp. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Burunge *tikaʕiya* 'tsetse fly', Maʔa *twángé* 'gadfly', Dahalo *tákkwaʕe* 'dung beetle'. [] Sem. **\*tapan**- 'rock hyrax': Hbr. *šāpān*, Mhr. *tōfən*, Jib. *tófun* vs. E. Cush. Oromo *šuffee* 'badger' (< **\*čuff**?), N. Omot. Kafa *šifō* 'marten', Sheko *šimfa* 'mouse' (v. in SED II No. 240). [] Sem. **\*kawdan**- 'mule': Akk. *kūdanu*, Syr. *kūdanyā*, etc. vs. Afras. **\*dakw**-: Chad. Hausa *dóki*, Hausa *dóki*, Jimbin *daákwa*, etc. 'horse', E. Chad. Dangla *dewki* 'antilope-cheval', S. Cush. Iraqw *daketi* 'zebra' (v. in SED II No. 124). [] Sem. **\*šurān**- (and the metathetic form **\*šu/in(n)ār**-) 'cat': Akk. *šurānu*, Jud. *šūrānā*, etc.) vs. Afras. **\*sawir**- 'kind of feline or civet': W. Chad. Hausa *sara*, *sawawara* 'civet', Daffo-Butura *šúwír* 'Wildkatze', etc., E. Chad. Tumak *sawār* 'chat doré', Dangla *saraàrà* 'panthere femelle', E. Cush. Gawwada Dobaze Harso Gollango *sarii-ko* 'leopard', N. Omot. Ganjule *šuro* 'cat' (cf.



**\*švín(n)ār- ~ \*šurān-** 'cat' SED II No. 206). [] Sem. **\*ʔam-**: Syr. *ʔarnā* 'caper montanus', Gez. *ʔornā* 'kind of antelope', Jib. *ʔerún* 'goats', etc. < Afras.: Brb. *\*a-nHir* (met. < \*ʔVrin?) 'the mohor antelope': Ahaggar *enir*, Taneslemt *tinhirt*, etc., E. Cush. Bayso *orén* 'goat' (v. in **\*ʔarm- ~ \*ʔam-** 'wild goat' SED II No. 13) vs. Sem. **\*ʔarwiy-** '(wild) goat, gazelle': Akk. *arm/wû*, Arb. *ʔurwiyyat-*, etc. < Afras. **\*ʔarwVy-**: Brb. *\*iHarw-/Hyar-* 'small cattle; young of gazelle': Ghat *ihəri*, Ahaggar *chere*, etc., W. Chad. Hausa *ára-ára* 'type of long-legged ram, goat, sheep', E. Chad. Lele *ōrē* 'goats', E. Cush. Burji *aráy* 'sheep', S. Cush. Iraqw *ari* 'goat', etc. (SED II No. 18). <> Brb. Ayr *ā-kūlen* 'wolf' vs. Afras. **\*k<sup>w</sup>VI-** 'wolf, dog, fox': C. Chad. Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kòlè*, Buduma *keli* 'dog', etc. (in **\*kalb-** 'dog', SED II No. 115). <> W. Chad. Hausa *bakwan* 'dwarf buffalo' vs. E. Chad. Kera *beke* 'Vieh' < Afras. **\*bakw-**: Brb. Nefusa *byu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bāyāw* 'vieux boeuf' (v. in **\*bakar-** 'large cattle' SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Hausa *bākúmā* 'red-flanked duiker' vs. Sem. **\*bakar-** 'large cattle' (Hbr. *bāḳār*, Arb. *baḳar-*, etc.), perhaps < Afras. **\*bakVr-**: Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuyər* 'chamelon d'un an' (v. in SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Warji *íyana* vs. Kariya *íí*, Miya *í* 'dog' < Afras. **\*ʔiway-** 'wild dog, jackal': Sem. Hbr. *ʔī* 'jackal', Eyp. *ʔiw*, *ʔiwʔiw* 'Art Hund', E. Cush. Somali *yéey* 'wild dog', etc. (in **\*ʔVwVy-** 'jackal', SED II No. 21). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *birbiríny* 'caille' vs. Dangla *baāre*, Migama *baare* 'perdrix' < Afras. **\*bVr- ~ \*bVrbVr-** 'kind of bird (quail, partridge, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *barbūr* 'a bird fattened to be eaten by king Solomon', Tna. *bareto* 'turtledove', W. Chad. Hausa *bi'urabira* 'quail', E. Cush. Burji *búr-o* 'partridge', etc. (in **\*bar-** 'kind of bird', SED II No. 61). <> E. Cush. Dobaze *koren-te* 'goat' vs. Arbore *kaariy* 'heifer goat' < Afras. **\*karr- ~ \*karw-** 'ram, goat' (in **\*ka/irr-** 'ram', SED II No. 118). <> E. Cush. Darasa *ḳissan-e*, Kambatta *ḳissoonna-ta* 'spider' vs. Tsamai *ḳiske* 'louse' (< \*ḳis-k-), S. Cush. Dahalo *ḳúci* 'bee larva', etc. < Afras. **\*ḳVc/ç-** 'kind of insect' (in **\*ḳVṣam-** 'locust, (locust) larva', SED II No. 139). <> E. Cush. Sidamo *garran-čō* 'Agazen antelope' vs. N. Cush. N.: Beja *garuwa* 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw *gwarʔaay* 'antelope', etc. < Afras. **\*g<sup>w</sup>ar- ~ \*garw-** 'kind of ungulate' (v. in **\*gVrr/w(-at)-** 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). <> E. Cush. Burji *ḳorʔan-čōo*, Darasa *ḳoraan-de*, Hadiya *ḳoraan-ta*, Kambatta *ḳorʔan-čō* vs. Alaba Tembaro *ḳura* 'crow' < Afras. **\*y<sup>w</sup>ar-** 'crow, raven' (in **\*yārib- ~ \*yuāb-** 'crow, raven' SED II No. 89). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *dóoroání* 'large stinging insect' vs. E. Cush. Kambatta *zeer-a* 'locust' < Afras. **\*žVr-** 'kind of insect, worm': Sem. Arb. *dar-* 'très-petites fourmis', W. Chad. Galambu *žuur* 'worm', E. Chad. Bidiya *žariyo* 'criquet sp.', etc. (in **\*dVr(r)-** 'kind of worm, insect' SED II No. 74). <> (?) Eyp. (OK) *dbn-w* 'antelope' (if from Afras. **\*čVb-Vn-**) vs. Sem. **\*taby(-at)-** 'gazelle': Akk. *šabītu*, Arb. *ḏaby-* 'gazelle', etc. (SED II No. 242).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *dadānu* (*diadānu*, *daddānu*) 'neck muscles' vs. Ugr. *dd*, Hbr. *dad* 'brest' < **\*dadd-**, **\*dayd-** 'breast, teat' (SED I No. 47). [] Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchiae' (also Jud. *simpōnā* id., likely a Hebraism) vs. Akk. *sinib/ptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Gez. *san/mbuʔ* 'lung' < **\*si/anp-** 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Hbr. *šippōrān* vs. Jud. *ṭuprā*, Gez. *šəfi*, etc. < **\*tip(V)r-** 'nail' (SED I No. 285). [] Arb. *firsin-* 'pied, patte' vs. Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. < **\*pa/firs-** 'sole (of foot, hoof)': Hbr. *parsā* 'hoof', Syr. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. (SED I No. 220). [] Tgr. *ḥəfən* 'hoof' vs. Arb. *ḥuff*, Mhr. *ḥaf*,

etc. < **\*ḡu/ap-** 'hoof' (SED I No. 135). [] Mhr. *kōbən* 'dry cow-pat, piece of dry cow-dung' vs. Jib. *kō* 'cow-dung', *ekbē* '(cow) to excrete' < **\*kVbaw(y)-(-at)-** '(dry cow's) dung' (SED I No. 142). [] Mhr. *məʔwəyēn*, Hrs. *mʕeyīn* vs. Hbr. *mēʕayim* (pl.), Arb. *maʕy-*, etc. < **\*mafay/w(-at)-** 'intestine, entrails' (SED I No. 185). [] Soq. *ḳəḥēlhin* vs. Jib. *ḳəḥlət*, etc. < **\*ḳa(w)ḥil-**, **\*ʔVn-ḳulalih-** 'egg' (SED I No. 170). [] Sem.: Hbr. pB. *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member', Arb. (N. Yem.) *zibbin* 'penis' (also Syr. *zulbānā*, *zəlūbānā* 'veretrum (cervi et equi)') vs. **\*zubb-** '(male) genitalia': Arb. *zubb-* 'verge, penis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle)', (N. Yem.) *zibb*, *zubb* 'penis' (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. **\*lab(y)-ān-**: Akk. *labānu* (*labiānu*, *libānu*) 'tendon of the neck; neck', Arb. *labān-* 'poitrine, surtout la partie entre les mamelles, poitrail (de tout animal à sabot)' vs. **\*labb(-at)-**: Arb. *lubbāt-* 'le haut de la poitrine', etc., Tgr. *läbbät* 'place of the fillet steak on the back of animals; midst, side', Wol. *läbät* 'waist', Zw. *läbät* 'podex, anus, buttocks', Muh. Sod. etc. *laba* 'waist' (< **\*labb(-at)-**, **\*lab(y)-ān-** '(animal's) body from neck to rump' SED I No. 173). [] Sem. **\*dVm(a)n-**: Arb. *dimn-* 'crottin, fiente des bêtes, particulièrement, globuleuse', *damān-* 'fumiere', Hbr. *dōmān* 'dung' vs. Arb. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente (de chameau ou d'autre animaux semblable)' (in SED I No. 52). [] Sem. **\*ŝVry/ʕān-**: Akk. *šerʔānu* (*širʔānu*) 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jud. *šuryānē*, *suryānē* (pl. constr.) 'muscles (of the eye)', Syr. *šeryānā* 'articulus; arteria; pulsus arteriarum', Mnd. *širiana* 'vein, artery, membrane, fibre', Arb. *šariyyān-* 'artère', Mhr. *šərayn* 'leg', Jib. *šərin* 'muscles of the back' vs. **\*ŝVry/w/ʕ-**: Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. tant.), Syr. *šārītā* 'articulus', Arb. *ši/arʕat-*, etc. 'corde de l'arc', *ʔusrūʕ-* tendon de la jambe de la gazelle', Gez. *šərw*, etc. 'sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle', Amh. *sərasər* 'blood vessel', Soq. *mésərašʕ* 'tendon d'Achille' (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. **\*dap-an-**: Hbr. pB. *dōpān* 'the chest surrounding the lungs; ribs; a single rib; the parties of the abdomen; board-partition', Syr. *dapnā* 'latus, lumbus', Sel. Wol. *dāfāna* 'part of body between the shoulder-blades', etc. vs. **\*dapp-at-**: Arb. *daff-* 'côté, flanc; face', Tgr. *däffät* 'place between shoulder-blade and neck', Mhr. *dəf(f)ēt* 'body, side' (in Sem. **\*dap-an-** vs. **\*dapp-at-** 'side of body; chest, ribs; back' SED I No. 55). [] Sem. **\*daran-**: Arb. *daran-* 'tumeurs dures sur le corps', Tgr. *därän* 'cutaneous eruptions like blisters', etc. vs. Arb. *drʔ* 'avoir le bubon pestilentiel au dos (se dit des chameaux)', Cha. Eža Gye. *dāra* 'leprosy that causes the whiteness of skin' (in SED I No. 57). [] Sem. **\*gVb(b)-an-**: Hbr. *gibbēn* 'hunchbacked?', Jud. *gibnā* 'hump', Muh. *gʷəbən*, Gog. *gʷäbana* 'hunchbacked' vs. **\*gab(V)b-**: Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', Arb. *žabab-* 'plaie...à la bosse du chameau', Amh. *gʷäbäbb alä* 'to be hunchbacked' (in **\*gab(V)b-**, **\*gVb(b)-an-** 'hump, hunch' SED I No. 67). [] Sem. **\*gab(b)īn-**: Jud. *gəbīnā* 'eyebrow, eyelash', Arb. *žabīn-* 'front', etc. (SED I No. 69) vs. Sem. **\*gabb(-at)-**: Hbr. *gabbōt ʕēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *žubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66). [] Sem. **\*batn-**: Hbr. *bätän*, Mnd. *batna* 'large belly; pregnancy', Arb. *batn-* 'ventre', etc. (SED I No. 42) vs. Sem.: Arb. (*ta*)*baʔaṭa*, Gez. *baṭaṭa* 'lie in the stomach' (LGz 114) < Afras. *\*buṭ-* 'belly, navel': Brb. Shilh *a-buḍ* 'nombril', Zenaga *buṭ* 'gros nombril', etc. (DRB 29), W. Chad. Sura *buṭ*, Mupun *būt*, etc. 'belly' (CLR 20), Fyer *ḥuto*, Kariya *būḍə*, etc. (note also Miya *bəḍi* and *būḍən*) 'navel' (ibid. 250). [] Sem. **\*šam(a)n-** 'oil, fat': Akk. *šamnu*, Ugr. *šmn*, Arb. *samn-*, etc., probably < Afras. **\*sVm(V)n-**: W. Chad. Diri *šinama* (met. < *\*siman-*?), E. Chad. Sokoro *sünne* 'melted butter' (< *\*sumne*, according to Stolbova) vs. Tgr. *šämüt* 'ointment' (cf. also *səmsəm wāda* 'to become fat in the neck') and, perhaps,

Ugr. *šmt* 'cebo, grasa' (unless < \**šamattu* < \**šaman-t-*; cf. DLU 445-6), in which case < Sem. \**šam-Vt-* < Afras. \**sim-at-* 'melted fat, butter, oil': Brb.: Ahaggar *ésîm* 'graisse fondu', Qabyle *ta-səm-t* 'graisse animal', Egypt. Med. *smy* 'fette Milch, Sahne', N. Cush. Beja *simuum* 'suet, fatty covering of kidneys' (v. in SED No. 248). [] Sem. \***liš(s)ān-** 'tongue; language': Akk. *lišānu*, Hbr. *lāšōn*, Arb. *lisān-*, etc. vs. Afras. \**lis-* 'tongue' (cf. also Arb. *Iss* 'lécher; manger' and similar forms): Brb. \**ʔi-lis-*, Egypt. Pyr. *ns* (Copt. \**Isy*), Chad. \**lis-* (SED I No. 181). <> Brb. Ahaggar *teddumman* 'morceau de cuir dur formant le fond de l'égerouci' (Fouc 201; <\**tV-dum-an*) vs. AA \**ʔa-dVm-* 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *ʔadam-* 'peau humaine', *ʔadīm-* 'peau de visage; peau d'un animal, surtout grand, large' (BK 1 19; rather homonymous to, than derived from, *ʔdm* 'ê. rouge' ibid.), Eth. \**ʔadim* (Gz *ʔadim* 'skin, red, leather; red', Tgr. Tna. *ʔadim* 'leather', Amh. *adim* 'red leather'; according to LGz 8, from Arb. *ʔadīm-* "possibly from the red or brown color"), (?) W. Chad. Tangale *hadam* 'skin, hide, leather' (JungT 88; < \**ʔadam?*), E. Cush. Somali *idin*, pl. *idmo* 'tanned skin' (Dolg 1973 237; hardly < Sem. as in LGz 8).

Varia:

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

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

Animal names:

[] Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' vs. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow' < \***liʔ(-at)**, \***laʔay-at-** 'head of large cattle': Arb. *lāʔa<sup>n</sup>* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Arb. *ʔardam-* vs. *ʔarād-* 'locust' < \***garad-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 83). [] Arb. *ʔazram-* (< Afras. \**ʔa-ʔVr-am-*? Cf. W. Chad. Galambu *zəṛəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzūrma* 'leopard' < \**ʔarʔur-m-*) vs. Sem. \***ʔa(n)z/dar-** 'kind of wild cat' < Afras. (v. **ʔV-** Animal names; SED II No. 9). [] Arb. *ʔulʔūm-* 'taureau vieux'

vs. *ʕiʒl-* 'veau' < **\*ʕigʷal-** // **\*ʕigl-** 'calf': Ugr. *ʕgl*, Syr. *ʕeglā*, etc. (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *burām-* 'tique' (also Tgr. *bəram* 'tick' unless an Arabism) vs. **\*bur-** 'kind of insect': Akk. *\*būrtu* (in *burt/di šamḥat*) 'caterpillar', Eža *bəre*, Cha. *bre* 'insect (such as a bug or a louse that eats human excrements or cereal)', etc. (SED II No. 62). [] Gez. *lāhm* 'ox, bull, cow', Tna. *lahmi* 'cow' (LGz 309; < Sem. *\*IVhm-*? Cf. Arb. *lihm-* 'agē (taureau)' BK 2 1034 and Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' above) vs. Mhr. *ləháyətən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhóti*, Soq. *ʔélheh* 'cow' (v. in **\*liʔ(-at)-**, **\*laʔay-at-** 'head of large cattle' SED II No. 142). [] S. Eth. Amh. *kurma* 'bull (not castrated)', Har. *korma* 'male (animal)', Muh. *kʷärma* 'the young male of a sheep, male (animal), bull' (cf. also Yaaku *kúruma* 'goat' below) vs. Arb. *kawr-* 'troupeau nombreux (de chameaux, de boeufs)', probably continuing Sem. **\*kaʕir-** 'ram': Akk. *kirru*, Hbr. *kar*, etc. < Afras. *\*karr-*, *\*karw-* '(young male) ram, goat': Brb. Nefusa *a-krar* 'bouc', Ghat *a-kərwāt* 'agneau', etc., W. Chad. Dera *kwáara* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Arbore *kaaríy* 'heifer goat', etc. (SED II No. 118; cf. also W. Chad. Tangale *kaarwā* 'cow' CLR 92). [] Sem. **\*kinVm-**: Hbr. *kinnām* 'gnats', pB. *kənimma* 'vermin, moth', Mhr. *kənəmūt*, Hrs. *kenemōt*, Jib. *šínít* (pl. *kúnúm*), Soq. *kónem* (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Migama *kákkumá* 'pou', possibly < *\*kan/mkum-*, and S. Cush. Iraqw *konkomó* 'bean seed borer') vs. **\*kinn-**: Hbr. *kēn* 'gnat', pB. *kinnā*, Jud. *kinnā* 'vermin, louse' < Afras. *\*kaʕinn(kVn)-* 'kind of insect': E. Chad. Dangla *kəkkínɛɛnɛ* 'sauterelle de saison sèche, comestible', E. Cush. Somali *šinn-i*, Oromo (Borana) *kinn-iisa*, Konso *han-ta* 'bee', N. Omot. Janjero *kenako*, *kenaḳo* 'flea', Hozo *konni* 'louse', *kəekaḳki*, Sezo *kaḳkaḳk(i)* 'spider' (v. in **\*kiʕann(-Vm)-** 'a harmful insect', SED II No. 116). [] Sem. (unless a series of interborrowings): Syr. *būmā*, Mnd. *bum*, *buma*, N. Syr. *būmā*, Arb. *būm-* 'owl' vs. **\*bVʔ(w)-** ~ **\*būh-** id.: Hbr. pB. *bā(ʔ)wāt*, Syr. *baʔwā*, *bawwā*, Arb. *būh-* (SED II No. 52; perhaps onomatopoeitic). [] Sem. **\*kVʕsam-** 'locust, (locust) larva': Ugr. *ḳšm* 'grasshopper(s)', Arb. *ḳašam-* 'oeufs de sauterelles', *ḳašām-* 'sauterelle', Amh. *ḳəḳam* 'nit, louse' vs. Tgr. *ḳāš*, *ḳāč* 'flea', Amh. *ḳʷəḳač* 'tiny black ants' < Afras. **\*kVc/ç-** 'kind of insect (locust or ant larva)': E. Cush. Darasa *ḳissane* 'spider', Tsamai *ḳiske* 'louse', S. Cush. Dahalo *ḳúci* 'bee larva', N. Omot. Kachama *ḳačo* 'black ant', etc. (v. in SED II No. 139). [] Sem. **\*šVIVm-** 'kind of insect': Syr. *šalmūnəyā* 'tarantula', Arb. *ʔal-ʔašlam-* 'puce', Tna. *šállam ṭel* 'dark spider, tarantula' vs. Hbr. *šəlāšal* 'locust, cricket' (perhaps also Tgr. *šəlšəl*) < Afras.? Cf. S. Omot. Hamar *čiiilu* 'ant sp.' (SED II No. 210). <> Brb. **\*(H)ikirdam** 'scorpion': Siwa *tiqerḳemt*, Ahaggar *éyirdem*, pl. *iyôrdâm*, Semlal *iyirdem*, pl. *iyardmiun*, Qabyle *iyirdem*, etc. vs. Sem. **\*kʷVʕVd-** // **\*kVʕd-** 'tick': Syr. *ḳerdā*, Arb. *ḳurd-*, Tna. *ḳʷərdid*, etc. (SED II No. 135). <> E. Cush. Sidamo *gurum-iččo* 'gazelle' vs. N. Cush. Beja *garuwa* 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw *gwarʔaay* 'antelope (big)', etc. < Afras. **\*gʷar-** ~ **\*garw-** 'kind of ungulate' (in **\*gVʕr/w(-at)-** 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). <> E. Cush. Yaaku *kúruma* 'goat' vs. Afras. **\*karr-**, **\*karw-** '(young male) ram, goat' (in **\*kaʕir-** 'ram', SED II No. 118; v. above). <> E. Cush. Burji *gárm-i*, Gidole *karm*, Konso *karm-aa*, Gawwada-Dalpena Harso Dihina Gollango *kármō* (< **\*garm-**), N. Omot. Zaysse Koyra Ganjule *garma* 'lion' (unless Cush. and Omot. are interborrowings) vs. Afras. **\*gi/ar-** 'cat; lion': Sem. Akk. *girru* 'lion', Har. *gārgōra* (*gāngōra*) 'leopard', W. Chad. Dwot *gəwar* '(an animal) smaller than civet', E. Cush. Gidole *kiro-ta*, Burji *giraaʔw-ee* 'cat', N. Omot. Zala *gawar-ya*, Dawro *garawa*, Malo *gaware*, Gamu/Dače *gawara*, Zaysse *garawa*, Koyra *giraawweʔ* id., etc. (in

**\*gūr-** ~ **\*gury/w-** 'whelp, cub', SED II No. 82). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *ngólome* < \*nV-g<sup>w</sup>VI-am- vs. Afras. \*ʔi-g<sup>w</sup>al-: W. Chad. Sayanchi *gāl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyél* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf', etc. (in **\*ʔig<sup>w</sup>al-** // **\*ʔigl-** 'calf', SED II No. 28). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *kibowašimo* 'sp. small gazelle' vs. Sem. **\*kabs-** 'young ram': Akk. *kabsu*, Hbr. *kābās*, Arb. *kabš-*, etc. (SED II No. 114). <> Afras. **\*ga/udam-** 'kind of of ungulate' (unless the suffixation of -m is an independent process in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Kariya *gudam* 'Western kob' (cf. E. Chad. Migama *dāgayām* 'sheep', perhaps related metathetically), E. Cush. Oromo *gadam-sa*, Burji *gadām-a* 'greater kudu' vs. **\*ga/uday/w-** 'kind of ungulate': Sem. **\*gady-** 'kid' (Hbr. *gādī*, Arb. *ʔady-*, etc.), W. Chad. Hausa *gādaa*, Ngizim *gādūwā* 'duiker', C. Chad. Zime-Batna *goday* 'buck', E. Cush. Sidamo *goda* 'deer, gazelle', N. Omot. Zaysse *gaiddé* 'cattle', etc. (SED II No. 76). <> Afras. **\*kVI(V)m-** 'vermin' (Sem.: Akk. *kalmatu* 'parasite, louse', Arm. Anc. *klmh* 'parasite, louse', Jud. *kalmā*, *kalmōtā* 'vermin', C. Chad. Bura *kulamya* 'general term for worms', E. Chad. Dangla *kēlēemā* 'coléoptère Hydrophyle', E. Cush.: Saho Afar *kilim*, Somali *šilin*, pl. *šilm-o*, Rendille *čilim*, Oromo *šilm-a*, etc. 'tick') vs. Afras. **\*k<sup>w</sup>VI(k<sup>w</sup>VI)-** 'kind of insect': Sem. Akk. *kulilu* 'dragonfly', Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>əl<sup>w</sup>əl(t)* 'kind of black ant', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *kālkāt* 'être pouilleux', C. Chad. Bura *kalakala* 'a species of locust', E. Chad. Tumak *kulōəl* 'mille-pattes' (v. in SED II No. 130 **\*k<sup>(w)</sup>am-** // **\*kumāl-** ~ **\*kalm-** 'louse', b. **\*kalm-**). <> Afras. **\*ka/ul(l)um-**: W. Chad. Hausa *kulma/e/i* 'the name of a large fish' (Barg 636), E. Cush. Afar *kullu(u)m* 'Fisch' (RAf 867), Somali *kallun*, pl. *kalluumo* 'fish' (Abr Som 148) vs. Sem. Mehri *kell*, Jibbali *kāl* 'whale' (ADB after Thomas); cf. Akk. *kulilu*, *kulullu* 'a fabulous creature, part man and part fish' CAD K 526: Sum. lw.), (?) C. Chad. Bura *kaliko* 'a k. of fish' (Bura 96), *kila kila* id. (ibid. 103); cf. Dolg AN 424. <> Afras. **\*(?a-)ʔagum-** (unless -m was suffixed independently in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Ngizim *āzagúm* 'hippopotamus' (Bla Eleph 204), E. Cush. Yaaku *sogómēi* 'elephant' (Hei Ya 124; possibly < \*zogom- < \*ʔogom-) vs. Afras. **\*(?a-)ʔVgw-** 'hippopotamus': C. Chad. Diri Paʔa *ʔungwa*, Siri *ʔiŋwa* (Sk NB 26), N. Omot. Kačama *azāgē*, Koyra *azzāgē*, Ganjule *azagé* (Bla Eleph 204), cf. also Egypt. MK *z:g-t* 'Fabeltier' (EG III 422; hardly 'hyppopotamus' well-known to Egyptians: an elephant or rhinoceros?).

#### Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *šāpām* 'moustache' vs. *šāpā* 'lip' < \*šā(n)p-at- 'lip': Akk. *šaptu*, Arb. *šafat-*, etc. (SED I No. 265). [] Arb. *ʔadram-* 'édenté' vs. *ʔadrad-* id. < \*dVr(dVr)- 'toothless mouth, gum': Jud. *dārārā* 'gum', Tgr. *dərdər gāʔa* 'to grow toothless', etc. (SED I No. 56). [] Arb. *nuḥmat-*, *nuḥāmat-* 'ce que l'on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.' vs. **\*naḥ-** 'mucus; mucus membrane': Akk. *naḥnaḥatu* (redupl.) 'Nasenscheidewand', Jib. *nḥḥ* 'phlegm', etc. (SED I 197). [] Tgr. *fərsəm* 'ankle (of men); heel tendon' vs. **\*pa/irs-** 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220; v. in **-(V)n** Anatomy). [] Soq. *ḥaryómoh* 'excrément' vs. **\*ḥVrʔ/y-** 'excrement, dregs': Ugr. *ḥrʔu*, Syr. *ḥerāyā*, Arb. *ḥarr-*, *ḥurʔ-*, etc. (SED I No. 136). [] Sem.: Arb. *sanām-* 'bosse de chameau', Gez. *sə/anām* 'hump' (unless < Arb.), Tgr. *səlam* (dissim.) 'hump of camel or of cattle' vs. Arb. *sinsinat-* 'somet de la bosse du chameau', Arg. *sañña*, Gog. Sod. *šañña* 'hump of animal', (?) Hrs. *sensīn de-ḍahr* 'spine' < \*š/sVn(-ām)- 'hump of animal (camel, etc.)'. [] Arb. *ḥalkūm-* (also MSA *\*ḥalkam-ut* 'Adam's apple', Tgr. *ḥəlḳəm* 'throat, larynx', both probably <

Arb.) vs. *ḥalk-* 'gorge' < **\*ḥalk-**, **\*ḥalkū/um-** 'Adam's apple, throat' (SED I No. 117). [] Sem.: Mnd. *baḥsuma* 'gullet' (unless < Arb.), Arb. *buḥsum-* 'oesophage, canal de déglutition', Soq. *baḥham* 'viveur' vs. **\*baIV/y-**: Syr. *bālaʿtā* 'guttur', Jib. *təbẓəʿot* 'uvula', etc. (cf. SED I No. 36). [] Sem. **tu/alhīm-** 'spleen': Akk. *tuḥīmu*, MSA *\*talḥaym* vs. **\*tīhāl-** id.: Ugr. *ṭhl*, Hbr. pB. *ṭəḥōl*, Syr. *ṭəḥālā*, etc., Arb. *tīḥāl*, Muh. Sod., etc. *ṭala* 'spleen', Jib. *ṭəlh* 'blood and discharge with an afterbirth' (SED I No. 278). [] Arm. *\*pum-*, Arb. *fūm-*, *fam(m)-*, *fīm-* 'mouth' vs. Akk. *pū*, Ugr. *p*, Hbr. *pā*, Arb. *fū-*, Eth. *\*ʔaf-* id. (in **\*ʔay-** 'mouth', SED I No. 223; v. in **ʔV-** Anatomy). [] Sem. **\*lk̄m-**: Arb. *lk̄m* 'to eat, swallow up', Gez. *laḳama* 'to to chew', Tna. *lākāmā* 'to eat roasted grain', Tgr. *lākma* 'to eat' (LGz 317) vs. Sem. **\*IVk̄(IVk̄)-**: Hbr. *lk̄k* 'to lick up, lap', pB. *lk̄k* id., Arb. *lk̄k*, Tgr. *lk̄k* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). < E. Chad. Somrai *gídám* 'foot', E. Cush. Burji *gudúm-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder' (< Afras. **\*gVdVm-** unless independent processes of *-m* suffixation) vs. Sem. **\*gVd-at-** '(part or bone of the) leg of animal', E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo*, *abuuuuu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadā*, *ágūd* (pl.) 'arm', Hadiya *angʷoda*, Tambaro *angāta* 'upper part of arm', Darasa *agōdā* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kafa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Omoto (Wolamo) *gāddea* 'leg', (Kullo) *gādeiya* 'foot' < Afras. **(ʔa-)gVd-** 'limb' (SED I No. 71; v. in **ʔV-** Anatomy). < Afras.: Brb. Kel-Ui *uləm*, S. Omot. Hamar *weylēm* (Bnd Om 211) 'heart' vs. Brb.: Ahaggar *ul*, Ayr *əwəl*, Siwa *uli*, Semlal *ul*, Qabyle *ul*, etc., id. (counter to a wide-spread opinion, unrelated to Afras. **\*IVb-** 'heart') and perhaps S. Omot. Ongota *ləəta* id. (< **\*IV-t-?** Mil Ong). < AA **\*ʔa-dVm-** 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *ʔadam-* 'peau humaine', *ʔadīm-* 'peau de visage; peau d'un animal, surtout grand, large' (BK 1 19; rather homonymous to, than derived from, *ʔdm* 'é. rouge' ibid.), Eth. *\*ʔadim* (Gez. *ʔadim* 'skin, red, leather; red', Tgr. Tna. *ʔadim* 'leather', Amh. *adim* 'red leather' (according to LGz 8, from Arb. *ʔadīm-* "possibly from the red or brown color"), Brb. Ahaggar *teddumman* 'morceau de cuir dur formant le fond de l'égerouci' (Fouc 201; < **\*tV-HVdum-an**), (?) W. Chad. *hadam* 'skin, hide, leather' (JungT 88; < *\*ʔadam?*), E. Cush. Somali *idin*, pl. *idmo* 'tanned skin' (Dolg 1973 237; hardly < Sem. as in LGz 8) vs. Afras. **\*ʔa-daw-**: N. Cush. Beja *ada* 'Haut' (RBeç 7), E. Cush. Sidamo *diddaawe* 'leather mat' (HEC 79), Yaaku *ata* 'bull hide' (Dolg 1973 237; < *\*ʔad-*).

Varia:

[] Arb. *šubrum-* 'espèce de plante dont la graine ressemble aux lentilles' (also Sam. *šabrimma* 'grain') vs. Hbr. *šābār* 'grain' (also Sam. *šabru* id.) < Sem. **\*š<sub>x</sub>abr(-Vm)-** < Afras. **\*š<sub>V</sub>(m)bar-** 'k. of corn; chickpea' (on Afras. **\*š-** > Sem. **\*š<sub>x</sub>-** > Hbr. *š* ~ Arb. *š-* v. SED I, XCVIII-CV): C. Cush. Aungi *šəmbər-i* 'chickpea', Bilin *sabbar-ā* 'Hülsenfrucht', E.: Saho Afar *sabbar-é* 'eine bestimmte Hülsenfrucht', Oromo *šumbur-ā*, Geleba Kambatta *šumbur-a*, Burji Hadiya Sidama *šimbur-a* 'chickpea', Gollango *sumbur-o* 'Erbse' (Mil Farm 142). [] Gez. *təmələm* 'yesterday' vs. Tgr. *tāmāle*, Tna. *təmāli*, Hbr. *təməl*, Akk. *timāli*, etc. id. (LGz 575-6). [] Gez. *gesam*, *gešam*, Tgr *gesäm* 'tomorrow' vs. Gez. *ges/ša* 'be early, do things early in the morning', Tna. *gäsäggäsä* 'leave early in the morning', Har. *gīs* 'tomorrow', etc. (LGz 208-9; v. discussion *ibid.*). [] Sem. **\*gdm** 'to cut': Akk. *gadāmu* 'to cut off hair' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdm* 'to lop off, stump' (Ja 213), Syr. *gdm* 'cecidit, abscidit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ǰdm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599), etc. (v. LGz 182-3; well-looking Afras. parallels, such as E. Chad. Dangla *gāddum-né*

'instrument for cutting wood', N. Cush. Beja *gadium*, E. Cush. Saho *gɔdumaa*, Somali *gudimo*, etc. are probably borrowed from Arb. *ḳad(d)ūm-* 'axe'; cf. RBeḳ 91) vs. \**gdd* 'to cut' (v. in LGz 180): Akk. *ḡadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ḡdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). <> W. Chad. Angas *gürm* vs. C. Chad. Glavda *ʔagūrā*, Mandara *gíre*, E. Chad. Somrai *giri*, *ḡirī*, Jegu *giri*, *gír(k)* 'bean' <Afras. \**g(w)i/ar-* ~ \**garga/ir-* 'bean' (Mil Farm 141). <> Chad. \**kawira(-mi)-* 'hoe' (-*mi* is an instrumental suffix?): W. Chad. Hausa *kórámé* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kūrəm*; C. Chad. Fali-Bwagira *ta-kurmi-n* 'hoe', S. Cush. Iraqw Alagwa *kurumo* 'hoe', Asa *kurim-* 'to cultivate' vs. C. Chad. \**kwr* ~ \**krw*: Hona *kūra*, Lame *kāruá*, Banana *kāwirá* 'hoe', Mofu *kərw*, Lame *kura* 'to hoe, prepare field for sowing', S. Cush. Maʔa *-kúru* 'to cultivate' < Afras. \**kwr* (Chad., Cush.) ~ \**ʔkr* (Sem.) 'to cultivate' (Mil Farm 146). <> W. Chad. Hausa *sakwami* 'hoe with a long handle' vs. Sura *sak* 'to hoe, plow', Tangale *suk* 'to plow' < Afras. \**skk*, \**swk*, \**skw/y/ʔ* 'to cultivate, to hoe and sow' (Mil Farm 147). <> Afras. \**člm* 'to be dark, black' (cf. also Stolb 1996 47): Sem. \**člm* 'to be dark': Akk. *šalāmu* 'to become dark, turn black' (CAD Š 70), Arb. *zlm* 'to be dark', Gez. *šalma* 'to grow dark, be black', etc. (v. in LGz 556), C. Chad. Buduma *čilum* (Luk Bud 95), Kotoko *sələmm*, E. Chad. Dangla *zīlīm-* (CLR II 29) 'black', Migama *zīlmó* 's'assombrir' (Jung Mig 136; cf. also *čúlūmti* 'l'ouest' *ibid.* 75), Mokilko *zímóló* 'ténébreux, obscure, sombre' (Jung Mkk 200; metathesis), E. Cush. Somali *ḡelmanayya* 'to move in the evening' (v. Abr Som 56; <\**čVlm-an-*), S. Cush. Qwadza *calam-* 'green' (HRSC 388) vs. Afras. \**ča/il-*: Sem. \**čil(a)-* 'shadow, shade': Akk. *šullulu* 'obscure, dark' (CAD Š 239), *šillu* 'shadow, shade' (*ibid.* 189), Arb. *zill-* 'shadow', **Gz.** *šəlālot* 'shadow, shade, darkness' (LGz 555), etc., W. Chad. Angas *žil* 'shade under trees' (Stolb 1996 48 after Foulkes), Sha *čalá* 'Shatten (Person, Sache)' (Jung R 283), C. Chad. Gisiga *nzala* 'west' (Stolb 1996 48), E. Cush. Sidamo *čaale* 'shade' (HEC 131), S. Cush. Dahalo *tiilali* 'shadow' (EEN 8).

### -VP

Animal names:

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

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *ḡarmāʔ-* 'oreille percée' vs. *ḡarmat-* 'endroit où le nez est percé pour y passer une boucle' < \***ḡmm** 'to have a notch, cut in the skin (nose, ear, lip)' (SED I Vb. No. 30). [] Arb. *ḡawbāʔ-* 'poitrine' vs. Hbr. pB. *ḡōb*, Jud. *ḡubbā* < \***ḡubb-** or \***ḡawb-** 'chest, bosom' (SED I No. 109). [] Arb. *ḡammāʔ-* 'fesses' vs. *ḡammām-at-* 'milieu de la poitrine, du poitrail, sternum, etc.' < \***ḡVmm(-at)-** 'breast, stomach, entrails' (SED I No. 119). [] Gez. *sanbuʔ* 'lung', Tgr. *sän/mbuʔ* 'lung; pulmonary disease', Tna. *san/mbuʔ* 'lung' vs. Akk. *sinibtu*, *siniptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchiae', etc. < Sem. \***si/anḡ-** < Afras. \**Si/anḡ-* 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Gez. *naḡāʔ* (also *naʔaḡ*) 'phlegm' vs. Jib. *nḡḡ* id. < \***naḡ-** 'mucus; mucus membrane' (SED I No. 197). [] Mhr. (Jadib) *ḡəḡərrəʔ* vs. E. Jib. *ḡəḡér*, Arb. *ḡinšir-*, etc. < \***ḡi(n)šVr-** '(little) finger' (SED I No. 134).

## -Vʃ

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ḵirdiʃ-*, *ḵirdaʃ-* 'poux (chez les chameaux ou chez les poules)', *ḵurdūʃ-* 'petite fourmi' vs. *ḵurd-* 'teigne qui attaque les chevaux, les chameaux' < **\*ḵ<sup>w</sup>VrVd-** // **\*ḵVrd-** 'tick' (SED II No. 135; v. in **-Vm** Animal names). [] Arb. *ḵandaʃ-*, *ḵundūʃ-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire' (possibly also Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ande*, Sel. *gōndä*, Wol. *g<sup>w</sup>ändä*, Gog. *g<sup>w</sup>ändä* and similar Gur. forms 'kind of ant', if < **\*g<sup>w</sup>andaʃ**) vs. Arb. *ḵudḵud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (v. in **\*g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab-** // **\*ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *ḵorəʃ*, Tna. *ḵ<sup>w</sup>ərʃo* 'frog' vs. Sem. **\*ḵVr(V)r-** 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **?V-** Animal names). <> S. Cush. Alagwa *ĉembeʃu*, Burunge *ĉambeʃu* 'frog' vs. Iraqw *ĉambəbé* 'small insect drifting on top of water, tadpole', W. Chad. Hausa *ĉumbē* id. < Afras. *\*ĉamb-* 'frog', probably related to Sem. **\*sabb-** 'kind of lizard' (SED II No. 221).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. *parsūfā* 'ungula' vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea' < **\*paʃis-** 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED II No. 220;). [] Arb. *ḵirdiʃat-* 'cou' vs. *ḵard-* id., *ḵurdūd-* 'dos (toute la largeur du dos chez l'homme depuis les fesses jusqu'aux épaules)', *ḵurdūdat-* 'le haut du dos' < Sem. **\*ḵard-** 'neck, throat': Jib. *ḵerd* 'throat', etc. < Afras.: Brb. *\*ḵard-* 'neck' (Ayr E. Tawllemmet *ti-γərd-en* 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates') SED II No. 166. [] Sem. **\*g<sup>w</sup>Vrʃ-** ~ **\*g<sup>w</sup>rʃ-**: Arb. *ḵrʃ* 'boire par gorgées, absorber', Gez. *g<sup>w</sup>ərʃe*, *gurʃe* 'throat, neck, palate', *g<sup>w</sup>arʃaya* 'to stab the throat, slaughter, strangle', Tgr. *gərəʃ*, *gərʃat* 'neck, throat', Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ärṛäʃe* 'to crack (adolescent's voice)', *g<sup>w</sup>ärʃamä* 'to drink greedily, taking big gulps', Mhr. *gorā* 'to finish up a drink', Hrs. *gōra*, *gēro* 'to drink up', Jib. *gōtraʃ* 'to be all drunk, drunk up' (stem with the infix -t-) vs. Hbr. *gargərōt* 'pharynx, neck', Syr. *gaggartā* 'gutter', Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ərg<sup>w</sup>ərīt* 'gozzo', *g<sup>w</sup>äräro* 'gola, trachea', etc. < **\*g<sup>w</sup>ar(g<sup>w</sup>)ar-** 'throat, gullet' (SED II No. 102). [] N. Eth. **\*?V-ngVdʃ-**: Gez. *?əngədʃ/?ā* 'breast, chest', Tna. *?əngədʃa* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *naʃd-* 'mamelle', Hbr. *nägäd* 'that which is opposite, in front of, before' (< **\*nagd-** 'breast' SED II No. 195). [] Sem. **\*šmʃ-** 'to hear' (v. in LGz 501-2, DLU 441) vs. Afras. *\*sim-* 'ear': Brb. Ghadames *ī-səm*, pl. *semm-en* 'oreille' (Lan 338; likely related are Ahaggar *a-sāmu* 'oreiller' Fouc 1834, Qabyle *ta-sumta* id. Dal 781, etc.), Egyp. Pyr. *smt* 'hören' (EG IV 144), C. Chad. Margi *šimī*, Mandara *šimā*, Mofu *šumāy*, Logone *šim*, E. Chad. Somrai *súmí*, Lele *sumā*, Mubi *súmāmū*, etc. 'ear' (CLR 114-5).

Varia:

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



**-(V)h**

Animal names:

<> N. Cush. Beja *andírho/u* 'fowl', C. Cush. Qwara Dembea *dirh<sup>wā</sup>*, E. Cush. Saho Afar *dorohó*, *dorhó* 'hen' (rather borrowed into than from Gez. *dorho*, *doroho*, Tgr. *derho* 'chicken', Tna. *dārho* 'hen, chicken, fowl'; cf. also E. Chad. Tumaq *ḍerí* 'bird' < \*dVHVr-) vs. Afras. \*dVr- 'kind of bird (hen, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *dərōr* 'a kind of bird (swallow, dove?)', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *dúr<sup>wā</sup>* 'lark-quail', Dera *dáriru* 'type of swift nightbird', Buli *dédór* 'weaver bird', C. Chad. Gude *dára* 'type of bird', Mbara *ndoró* 'green pigeon', E. Chad. Somrai *dūrē* 'chicken', Mokilko *dére* 'pigeon', E. Cush. Somali *dóoro* 'chicken, hen', S. Cush. Dahalo *déere* 'woodpecker', N. Omot. Zergulla *deri*, Chara *díra*, *dērā* 'chicken' (v. in SED II No. 71; part of the forms may go back to \*dVrh-).

Anatomy:

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

Varia:

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

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

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *ḳurpəday* vs. *ḳippōd* 'hedgehog' (< *ḳ<sup>(w)</sup>inpad-* // \**ḳunpud-* SED II No. 133; v. in -r Animal names). [] Jud. *nōšišəyētā* 'pelican?' vs. *nəšāšā*, etc. 'hawk' < \*na/š(s)- 'kind of bird': Ugr. *nš* 'bird, wild bird' (perhaps a raptor, esp. 'hawk, falcon'), Hbr. *nōšā* 'falcon', etc. (SED II No. 168). [] Arb. *ḥubšiyat-* 'espèce de fourmis grandes et noires' vs. Syr. *ḥabšūštā* 'scarabaeus', Tgr. *ḥabuš* 'a species of locusts' < \*hVbVš<sub>x</sub>- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 96). [] Gez. *bəḥrāy*, Tgr. and Tna. *bəḥray* vs. Gez. *bəḥr* in \*bVrVr- 'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in -f- Animal names). [] Gez. *dagobəyā* (*dagabəyā*, *dagobiyā*, *dogabiyā*), Amh. *däg<sup>wā</sup>əbe*, *dägobəya* vs. Tgr. *dängäbät*, Tna. *däg<sup>wā</sup>äbä* in \*g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab // \*ga(n)dab 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *ḳomḥay* 'fourmi qui mange le miel' vs. metathetic *ʔaḳ(ə)ḥma* (*ʔaḳḥomä*) 'ants', Gez. *ḳāhm* (*ḳəhm*, *ḳāhm*) 'kind of ant; drone' (v. in \*ḳVmh- 'kind of insect' SED II No. 129). [] Amh. *waliya* vs. *wala* in \*wafil- 'ibex' (SED II No. 244; v. in -(V)n Animal names). [] Sem. \*ʔa/itbay- 'locust': Ugr. *ʔirby*, Sab. *ʔrby*, Soq. *ʔerbhíyoh*, etc. vs. Akk. *erbu* and, probably, Amh. *arabo* 'tick afflicting cattle, etc.', Cha. Eža Muh. *wäräba*, Enn. Gyt. *wäräba*, Sod. *woraba* 'kind of cockroach' (SED II No. 11).

**-Vr**

Animal names:

[] Arb. *hinzīr*- (< Sem **\*hV(n)zīr** 'pig': Akk. *huzūru*, Hbr. *ḥāzīr*, Gez. *hanzir*, etc.) vs. *hanzuwān*-id. (and W. Chad. Hausa *gūnzú* 'wild boar' < *\*hunz*-) SED II No. 111. [] Arb. *ḍabayṭarā* 'hyène' (BK 2 7; perhaps < *\*ḍabay-t-ar-*, with *-t* < *\*-t* assimilated to *ḍ*- or *-y*-) vs. *ḍabuʿ*-, *ḍabʿ*- 'hyène', *ḍabuʿat*-, *ḍibʿānat*- 'hyène femelle' (ibid.) < Sem. **\*ṣab(u)ʿ**- 'hyena' (SED II 220; v. in **-(V)n** Animal names). [] Tgr. *ḥənžur* 'wasp or scarab' (less likely < Bilin *ḥenžūr* 'k. of beetle', with a singulative suffix *-ra*) vs. Tna. *ḥənžəž*, *ḥənžīž*, *ḥənžīž* 'kind of greenish-black beetle, scarab, cock-chafer', Amh. *ənzəz*, *ənziz* 'beetle', Cha. Eža Enm. End. Gyt. *ənzəz*, Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənzizza* 'May bug' in **\*hVnz(i)uz**- 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Sem. **\*g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dVr-** // **\*ga(n)dVr-** 'kind of worm' (SED II No. 81; v. in **-n** Animal names) vs. *\*gudgud*- (Arb. *žudžud*- 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle'), *\*g<sup>w</sup>andaʿ*- (Arb. *žandaʿ*-, *žunduʿ*- 'espèce de sauterelle noire', Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', etc.) and *\*g<sup>w</sup>Vndan*- (Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan*, *g<sup>w</sup>əndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite') cf. also **\*g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab** // **\*ga(n)dab**- 'cricket, locust' ibid. No. 80) to be eventually reduced to a common protoform *\*gV(n)d-* with different extensions. [] (?) Sem. **\*bVʿVr-** 'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in **-ʿ** Animal names) vs. Cush.-Omot. *\*bVʿ*-. E. Cush. Yaaku *pēʿe*, S. Cush. Dahalo *ḥēʿa* 'buffalo', S. Omot. Hamar *buʿ* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 53). [] Sem. **\*bakar-** 'large cattle': Hbr. *bākār*, Arb. *baḳar-*, etc. (< Afras. *\*baḳVr*-? Cf. Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuyər* 'chamelon d'un an' and W. Chad. Hausa *bākūmā* 'red-flanked duiker') vs. Afras. *\*baḳw*-. Brb. Nefusa *byu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bāyāw* 'vieux boeuf', W. Chad. Hausa *ḥakwan* 'dwarf buffalo', E. Chad Kera *beke* 'Vieh' (SED II No. 59). [] Sem. *\*zVn/mbVr*-. Jud. *zibbōrā* 'bee, wasp', *zybwry* 'hornet', Mnd. *zimbura* 'hornet, bee', *zambura* 'wasp, homet', Arb. *zanbūr*-, *zinbār*- 'guêpe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Eth. *\*zVn/mb*-. Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zəmbi*, Amh. *zəmb*, *zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly' (v. in SED II No. 73; Eth. *z*- < *\*d*- or *\*z*-; in the latter case comparable to Arb. *zibb*- 'espèce de ver (*fistularia vitata*)' and C. Chad. Tera *zabā* 'termite' < *\*zaHb*-). <> W. Chad. Jimi *walaróo* 'antelope' (Cosp No. 252) vs. Geji *wúlli* 'gazelle' (ibid.) < Afras. *\*waʿil*- 'k. of goat, gazelle' (v. in **\*wafil**- 'ibex' SED II No. 244). <> Chad. *\*IVbVr*- '(large) feline': W. Chad. Sura *rəḥəl* 'wild cat' (met.), E. Chad. Somrai *lārbə* 'leopard' (met.), C. Chad. Hona *līfāri*, Chibak *?alvāri*, Kilba *lēvāri*, Margi *ḥa-livāri*, Higi-Nkafa *liveri*, Gude *līvyārá*, Malgwa *érval* (met.) 'lion' vs. Sem. **\*labVʿ**- 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*labʿu*), Hbr. *lābī*(?), etc. (SED II No. 144). <> C. Cush. *\*daḳ<sup>w</sup>ar*- 'donkey': Bilin *dūqārā*, Khamir *dūḥarā*, Kemant *duḥwarā*, Qwara *dekarā*, Damot *dokuarī*, Aungi *duḥuarī* (CR Kem 184) vs. S. Cush. *\*daḳ<sup>w</sup>ay*- id.: Iraqw Gorowa Alagwa Burunge *daqway* (KM 88), Qwadza *daḳwaikwayiko* (HRSC 345). <> (?) C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *sáfal*) 'Schlange', Khamir *sibrā* (pl. *sibír*, *sibíl*) id. vs. Sem. Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' (not fully reliable), Gyt. *sība*, Cha. Eža *šiba*, etc. 'kind of worm', Hrs. *šəbšəbēt* 'small red worm, centipede', Mhr. *šəbšīb*, E. Jib. *šəbšəb* 'red waterworm' < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm', E. Cush. Oromo *siiba* 'worm', Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm' (v. in **\*šibb**- 'kind of snake, worm' SED II No. 200).

<> E. Cush. Somali *tákar* 'gadfly, horsefly, camelfly' vs. Afras. *\*tVk<sup>w</sup>(-an)-* 'kind of insect':  
 Egypt. Pyr. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Dahalo *tákkwaʔe* 'dung beetle', etc. (in  
*\*k<sup>w</sup>V(t)ān-*, *\*uk<sup>w</sup>ān-// \*ku(t)ān-*, *\*tukān-* 'bug' SED II No. 122). <> E. Cush. Somali *dámēer*  
 'male donkey' (Abr Som 46), Bayso *demēr* 'ass' (Dolg 1973 275) vs. Afras. *\*dam(dam)-* 'k. of  
 equid': Sem. Akk. *damdammu* (*damdāmu*, *daddāmu*) 'a mule' (CAD D 64), Brb. Zenaga *dəm̄ma*  
 'mahari (camel)' (R Bass Zen 204), Afar *daami* 'Zebra' (RAf 834). <> E. Cush. Tsamai and S.  
 Omot. Ongota *hangarar-o* 'worm' (a loan from Tsamai into Ongota or vice versa) vs. Sem.  
*\*hV(n)g-* 'kind of worm, centipede': Tna. *həngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water', Jib.  
*hazót* 'large, blind black segmented centipede' (SED II No. 100). <> Afras. *\*ʒVmVr-* '(wild)  
 ungulate': Sem. Ugr. *zmr*, Hbr. *zāmār*, etc., Brb. Siwa *i-zmər*, Semlal *izimer* 'bélier', Nefusa  
*zamər*, Zenaga *əʒiʔmər*, Qabyle *izimer* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *ʒumúru* 'male waterbuck' vs.  
 Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr E. Tawlemmet *ezəm*, *ešəm* 'antilope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, pl. *izamm-ən*  
 'gazelle', Zenaga *ə-ʒəm̄mi* 'gazelle à front roux' and, perhaps, W. Chad. Kulere *ʔnzām* 'Widder'  
 (in *\*zVmr-* 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). <> Afras. *\*dV(n)gur-*: E. Chad. Gabri *dūgūru* 'elephant',  
 Sokoro *dúger* 'rhinoceros', N. Omot. Zaise *dongor* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), S. Omot. Ari  
*dangór*, Kara *doṅgur* id., etc. (Bnd Ar 149) vs. Cush.-Omot. *\*dangw-*: S. Cush. Iraqw *daangw-*  
 'elephant' (KM 87), N. Omot. Kafa *dangiyō*, Mocha *dāngao* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), Shinasha  
*dāngaso*, *dəngiyō* (Bnd Om 163). <> Afras. *\*dVbVr-* 'kind of insect': Sem. Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild)  
 honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib<sup>w</sup>ara* (in  
*dib<sup>w</sup>ara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., W. Chad. Ngamo *ndəbūrō* 'locust', C.  
 Chad. Gude *dəvūrəǵá* 'sausage fly', etc. vs. Afras. *\*dVb-* 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb.  
*daba<sup>n</sup>* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis' (cf. Arb. Omn. *dabiyy* 'abeilles'), W. Chad. Dera *díbin*,  
*díwín* 'fly', E. Chad. Kera *ádəbdəbə* 'Tsetsefliege' ('termite' in other Chad.), N. Omot. Hozo  
*dabbi* 'termite' (*\*di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp' SED II No. 66). <> Afras. *\*ʒVbir-* 'homet': Sem. Hrs.  
*debēr*, Mhr. *dəbēr*, Jib. *edbir* 'homet, fly' (probably also Soq. *édbehir* 'abeille'), Brb. Ahaggar  
*əzənbībər* 'esp. de de coléoptères (4 cm long)', Ayr E. Tawlemmet *əzəbbenbər* (unless *z- <\*ʒ*)  
 'bubreste' (v. in *\*di/ab(b)ūr-* 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Afras. *\*ʒibab-* 'kind of flying insect': Mhr.  
*dəbbēt*, Hrs. *debbēt*, Jib. *dəbbót* (perhaps also Soq. *ʔedbiboh*) 'fly', W. Chad. Hausa *ʒībā* 'small  
 anthill', Ngizim *ʒábūwā* 'honey; bee' (Sch Ng 183), C. Chad. Bura *ʒeba* 'locust in the hopper  
 state', Fali-Gili *ʒibi* 'fly', Bata *ʒébi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʒimbe* 'bee, honey' (in *\*dVb(V)b-*  
 'fly', No. 73). <> Afras. *\*ʒVmVr-* 'k. of ungulate': Sem. *\*zVmr-* 'gazelle', Brb. Fodjaha *zamar*,  
 Siwa *i-zmər* 'bélier', Zenaga *əʒiʔmər*, Qabyle *izimər* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *ʒumúru* 'male  
 waterbuck' vs. Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr *ezamm* 'antilope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, Zenaga *əʒəm̄mi*  
 'gazelle', (?) W. Chad. Kulere *ʔnzām* 'Widder' (v. in *\*zVmr-* 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). <> Afras.  
*\*ča/iw(a)r-* 'bull; elephant' (cf. *\*tawr-* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 241)): Sem. Akk. *šūru*, Arb. *tawr-*,  
 etc., C. Chad. Bura-Pele *čiwār*, Chibak *isiwār*, Kilba *čúwar*, Margi *čúwār*, Nzangi *čúware*  
 'elephant', S. Cush. Maʔa *čurú* 'bull', N. Omot. Kačama *šoro* 'rhinoceros' vs. C. Chad.  
 Higi-Nkafa *čuwe*, Bata *čūé* 'elephant' (CLR 124-5), probably also N. Cush. Beja *šu* 'rhinoceros'  
 (Bla Beja 270 after Hudson; < \*čVw- or \*sVw-) and N. Omot. Basketo *ošáʔ*, Wol. *oswā*, Zala *osoā*  
 'rhinoceros' (Bla Eleph 201; < \*ʔV-čVw- or \*ʔV-sVw-).

## Anatomy:

[] Arb. *kuḍr-* 'graisse des reins' (BK 2 905; perhaps related to W. Chad. Bolewa *šiḍər*, Ngamo *šiḍār* 'fat' if the latter ones are from *\*kič̣ar-*, cf. Stolb 1987 208) vs. Afras. *\*kVw/yač-* 'fat': W. Chad. Hausa *kíçè* (less likely *<\*kič̣Vr-*), E. Chad. Kwang *kāysi*, Sokoro *káisi*, C. Chad. Muktele *ákwas*, Logone *kāysə* (CLR 132-3), N. Omot. Shinasha *kòcà*, *kosa*, *ḵ<sup>w</sup>oça*, Kafa *kočó* (Bnd Om 164), Mao (Seze) *kòssí*, Hozo *ḵoca* (ibid. 272), S. Omot. Dime *kuuštu* (ibid. 209). [] Eth. *\*ʔ/ʔanḵar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *ʔanḵa/ār* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *ʔanḵär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *ʔanḵär 'ugola*', Amh. *anḵä/ar* 'uvula', Arg *ənḵərt* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har *ənḵərti*, Masqan Goggot Soddo *ənḵərt* 'goitre' vs. *\*ʔ/ʔi/unḵ-* 'neck': Jud. *ʔi/unḵā*, *ʔunḵā*, Arb. *ʔunḵ-*, *ʔunūḵ-*, *ʔunak-* 'cou', etc. (cf. SED I No. 15). [] S. Eth.: Sel. *gubr*, Cha. Eža Enn. *g<sup>w</sup>əbər*, Gye. *gub<sup>w</sup>ər* 'hunchbacked' vs. Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>äbäbb alä* 'to be hunchbacked', Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', etc. *<\*gVb(V)b-*, *\*gVb(b)-an-* 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67). [] Mod. Eth. *\*dnḵ<sup>w</sup>r*. Tna. *dänḵ<sup>w</sup>ärä* 'to be dumb', Amh. *dänakḵ<sup>w</sup>ärä* 'to be deaf, dumb', Msq. Gog. *dänakḵ<sup>w</sup>ärä* 'to be deaf', Sel. *donḵōro* 'deaf, stupid', etc. (Lgur 215) vs. Eth. *\*dnḵ(w)*: Gez. *danḵawa* 'to be deaf, stupid', Har. Sel. *dōnḵa*, Wol. *donḵä* 'deaf' *< Sem. \*dnḵ* 'to be deaf, stupid': Arb. *dāniḵ-* 'sot, bête' (SED I Vb. No. 9). [] MSA: Mhr. *gəšōr* 'side of chest' and perhaps 'chest cavity', Soq. *gīšor* 'poitrine' (probably related to Arb. *ḵušrat-* 'aspérité de la voix, enrrouement et toux', *ḵašar-* 'dureté, aspérité de la voix, provenant de l'enrouement, du rhume') vs. Mhr. *gəššēt* 'body, corpse', Jib. *gəšət* 'side' *< Sem. \*gišš-* 'torso, side, body': Akk. *giššu (gilšu)* 'hip, flank', Hbr. pB. *gäsäs* 'side, arm', Syr. *gessā* 'coxa, latus (linguae, palati); cingulum pubis', Arb. *ḵawš-* 'poitrine', likely *< Afras. \*gay/wê-*: W. Chad.: Diri *ngēšè*, Geji *ngēšī* 'chest', Polchi *gwəš* 'shoulder' (differently interpreted in Stolb 1996 119; cf. SED I No. 97). [] Soq. *m<sup>s</sup>šimbəhər* 'moustaches longues' (*<\*mV-si(m)bVr* or, with *-m-* of the second syllable *< -n-* before *-b*, *<\*mV-sinbVr*, with metathesis *<\*mV-nsibVr*) vs. *mənsūb* (*<\*mV-nsūb*, cf. *ʔənsōb*, with *ʔV-* prefixed), Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *mōsōt* (*<\*mVsVb-Vt*) 'pubic hair' (in *<\*š/sVb-*, *\*ʔV-š/sVb-* 'pubic hair' SED I No. 239). [] Sem. *\*ḵantir-* 'clitoris, vulve': Arb. Dat. *ḵantār* 'clitoris', Soq. *ḵanḵir* 'vulve', Amh. Sel. Wol. Cha., etc. *ḵəntər* 'clitoris, female genital organ' (*< Afras.?* Cf. Oromo Qabenna *ḵintira*, Somali *ḵintir*, Saho *ḵintar* id., unless *< Eth.*; cf. SED I No. 163) vs. *\*ḵV(n)ḵ-* 'sexual parts': Tur. *ḵūto* 'vulva' (Ritter 404), N.-Syr. *ḵūtā* 'womb' (Mcl 272), Arb. *ḵant-* 'verge chez un petit garçon' (BK 2 822; *-t* *< \*-ḵ-* by dissimilation from *ḵ-*), Tna *ḵənt* 'vulva; lower or back part' (LH 252), Amh *ḵit* 'buttocks, anus' (K 826) *< Afras. \*ḵV(n)ḵ/d-*: W. Chad. Hausa *ḵōdā*, C. Chad. Gava *ḵiḵi-nwa*, Paduko *ḵūda-ma* 'testicles' (Stolb 1996 66), Mofu *ḵuḵey* 'pénis' (MG 148), etc., C. Cush. Bilin *ḵit* 'vulva' (RBeḵ 247), Khamir *ḵudá* 'vulva; anus' (RKham 369), E. Cush. Somali *ḵooḵ* 'penis with testicles' (Abr Som 203), Konso *ḵand-itta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Burji *ḵand-i* 'clitoris' (Sas Burji 124, with a different interpretation), S. Cush. Burunge *ḵendi*, Qwadza *ḵendi* 'vulva' (HRSC 368), S. Omot. Ari Galila *ḵanti* 'testicles' (Bla Beḵ 61, with a different interpretation of Cush.-Omot. data). [] Arb. *zanbūr-* 'membrum virile' vs. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle); bout de la barbe; nez', Hbr. pB *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member' *<\*zubb-* (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. *\*pi/akr-at-* 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Azr. *pḵarta* 'neck, nape', *fakrat-*, *fikrat-* 'vertèbre', Soq. *fikəriroh* 'cou, nuque' (cf. also metathetic *\*pi/ank-at-*:

Hbr. *maprākāt* 'neck', Syr. *pāraḳtā* 'cervices', etc.; v. in SED No. 219) vs. \***pVḳ-** 'neck': Jud. *?apḳōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *pḳuta, apḳuta* 'neck, throat', Arb. *fā?iḳ-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête', Tgr. *fōḳay* 'shoulder' (SED I No. 213). [] Sem. \***š(V)nzr-** 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', \***š(V)nzr-** 'span' (cf. differently in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošzār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanziria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sənzārā* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sənzārā* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šezər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hāzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šezr*, (C.) *šézər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šezir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizū* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD Š<sub>3</sub> 152; AHw 1254). [] Sem. \***SVṭ(V)r-** 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *štr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *štr (aph)* 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šētər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' vs. \***si(n)t-** 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. \**sīt* in *ha-ssīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *sēt* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *sītā* 'palmus', Arb. *sint-* 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main' (though Mhr. *šētər* points to \*š- rather than to \*s-, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. \**sīt* cannot be accidental). <> Afras. \**di(m)bur-* 'back': Sem. \***dVb(V)r-** 'back, hind part' (Mnd. *dibra* 'back, tail', Arb. *dubr-* 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos; nuque', etc. SED I No. 46), W. Chad. Hausa *dúbura* 'anus' (Abr Hs 227; unless < Arb.), Chip *bəder* 'buttocks' (Kr I 39; metathesis), C. Chad. W. Margi *dīmbur* id. (ibid. II 72), (?) E. Cush. Somali *ḍabar* 'back' (Abr Som 39; ḍ- instead of d- is unusual) vs. Afras. \**dub-* ~ \**damb-* 'tail; back': W. Chad. Sura *tup* 'tail' (<\**dub-* Stolb 1987 169), C. Chad. Gisiga *duba*, Mafa *dəḅa*, Gidar *dúbo*, Musgu *dəba*, etc. 'back' (CLR 7), C. Cush. Bilin *dän/mbi* 'Rücken' (RBil 107), E. Cush. Somali *dabo* 'tail, buttocks' (Abr Som 40; cf. *dambe* 'at the back' ibid. 46), Oromo *duboo* 'sheep's tail' (Gr 110), Alaba *dubbo* 'tail', Hadiya *dubbo* 'behind', etc. (PEC 16), N. Omot. Kullo *dupia* (Bnd Om 25), Kafa Anfillo *dombō* 'vulva' (Cer Caf 430), S. Omot. Hamar *dibini* 'tail' (Bnd Om 218). <> Afras. \**ḥankar-* 'larynx, gorge': Brb. Ahaggar *t-ankar-t* 'gosier' (Fouc 1380), N. Cush. Beja (Amar'ar) *ḥānkar* 'uvula' (Bla Beḍ 58), *ankar* 'Gaumen, Schlund, Kehle' (ibid. after RBeḍ) vs. Afras. \**ḥank-* 'palate, gorge': Sem. \**ḥanak-*, \**ḥink-*: Syr. *ḥenkā* 'palatum', Mnd. *hinka* 'palate, throat', Arb. *ḥanak-* 'palais', Gez. *ḥanaka* 'to munch, chew', Hrs. *ḥénnek* 'palate and uvula' (SED I No. 124), Brb. Ahaggar *ḥənəkk-ət* 'râler de la gorge' (Fouc 618), N. Cush. Beja *hanāk* 'Gaumen, Kehle' (RBeḍ 123; possibly but not necessarily borrowed from Arb.).

Varia:

[] Akk. *ḥamadīru* 'shrivelled or withered' (CAD H 57), *ḥamadīrūtu* 'shrivelling (said of trees)' (ibid. 58) vs. Sem \**ḥmd* 'to be shrivelled, extinguished': Hbr. pB. *ḥmd* 'to produce shrivelling by heat' (Ja 475), Arb. *ḥmd* 'cesser de flamber (se dit du feu, quand la flamme s'éteint)' (BK I 630), Mhr. *ḥəmūd* 'to be extinguished, burnt out' (JM 443). [] Akk. *dikāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' (CAD D 157; cf. C. Cush. Bilin *darawqā, daraq<sup>wā</sup>* 'Ton, Tonerde, Lehm': metathesis or -r- inserted?) vs. Soq. *deḳāḳhān* 'boue' (LS 133) < Afras. \**dVḳ-* 'clay, earthenware':

Brb. Semlal *idəkkī* 'argile à poteries' (Dest 20), W. Chad. \**dV*k- 'to build, make of clay' (Stolb 1987 174) < \**dik*- 'to build, established, marry' (Stolb 1996 38; semantically less convincingly): Hausa *ḍakō* 'dark, rich, dry clay-soil' (Abr Hs 175), Karekare *ḍako* 'to build, make earthenware pots', Sura *ḍik*, Chip *ḍík* 'to build' (Stolb 1987 174), C. Cush. Qwara *ḍah<sup>wā</sup>*, Khamir *doq<sup>wā</sup>* 'Ton, Lehm' (RQw 48); differently in Dolg 1973 56-7. [] Jud. *zūṭār* 'small, young' (Ja 386), Syr. *zuṭarā* 'puellus' (Brock 194), Mnd. *ztr* 'to be small' (DM 165) vs. Jud. *zūṭā* 'slender, young, small' (Ja 385), Syr. *zūṭā* 'puellus' (Brock 192), Mnd. *zuṭa* 'small, little' (DM 164). [] Arb. *ḵmṭr* 'nouer, lier une outre, etc.' (BK 2 813) vs. *ḵmṭ* 'lier avec la corde tous les quatre pieds à la fois; réunir (les chameaux) de manière qu'ils se suivent à la file' (ibid.), Gez. *ḵammaṭa* 'to hold tightly, bind sheaves, bend' (LGz 433; counter to Leslau, not directly related to Sem. \**ḵmṣ*, unless to be treated as a variant root). [] Amh. (*tä*)*gäddärä* 'germinate', Har. *g(i)dīr* 'big', Wol. Zw. *gädärä* 'to grow up (child), be big' (LGur 264), Arb. *ḵdr* 's'élever au-dessus du sol (se dit des plantes)' (BK 1 263) < Sem. \**gdr* 'to become big, grow' vs. Afras. \**gVd(d)*:- Arb. *ḵidd*- 'beaucoup, extrêmement' (ibid. 260), Brb. C. Morocco (without specifying the language) *gudy* 'ê. nombreux, beaucoup, abonder', *sgudy* 'produire beaucoup, en grande quantité' (DRB 737-8; cf. Ahaggar *egdeh*, Ayr *egdu* 'suffire' ibid. 727), W. Chad. Bolewa *godo* 'many' (Kr I 87), N. Cush. Beja *gwud* 'many', E. Cush. Arbore *guuda* 'many', Dasenech *guddu* 'big' (Bla Om No. 5.2), Oromo *guddaa* 'big; greatly, very' (Gr 184), S. Omot. Dime *gēed* 'big' (Bnd Om 205), Ongota *gadaḥ/hunc*, *gaddahino* (Fl Ong 42), *gaddaṣuni*, pl. *giddeṣeta* 'big, old' (S-T 117). [] Arb. *kaṭīr*- 'beaucoup, nombreux' (BK 2 867) vs. *ktṭ* 'ê. épais, épaissi (liquide)' (BK 1 865), Akk. *kašāšu* 'massig werden' (AHw 462; not in CAD) < Afras. \**kVč*-? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *kočo* 'many, much' (TSL 283), C. Cush. Khamta *eksät* 'molto' (CR Khmt 204). [] Cha. Eža *məsarä*, Enn. Gye. *məsaṗarä* 'night' (LGur 430: "probably from the root *msy* 'be evening' (see *mäšä*) with an enigmatic suffix *-rā*") vs. Cha. Gye. *mäšä*, Eža *mäššä*, etc. 'to be evening' < Sem. \**(ṗa)mVš*- 'evening, night': Gez *mäsyä* 'evening', Hbr. *ṗämäs* 'yesterday evening', Arb. *msy* 'to become evening' (ibid. 432). [] Cha. Eža etc. *mäčra* 'when?' (for the past) vs. Cha. Eža Gye. etc. *mäčä* 'when?' (for the future) < Sem.: Amh. *mäčä*, Arb. *matā*, Hbr. *mätay* id. (LGur 387). [] Enn. *näbṗatəra*, Gye. *näbṗatra* 'fourth day ago' vs. Enn. Gye. *näbṗatä* 'fourth day from today' < *nabṗät* 'four days' < *arbät* < *rbṑ* (LGur 447). [] Cha. Eža Gye. Msq. *gädär* 'new' (LGur 264) vs. Arb. *ḵadīd*- 'neuf, nouveau, récent' (BK 1 261). [] Jib. *gədrēt* 'earth' (compared in JJ 71 with Soq. *gədhar* 'reddish-brown', not in LS) vs. Arb. *ḵadad*- 'terrain uni et dur' (BK 1 260) < Afras.: C. Chad. Banana *nā-gada* 'Erde' (Lk ZSS 129), E. Chad. Sokoro *gēde* 'fertile soil' (ibid. 42), S. Cush. Dahalo *gudde* 'land' (EEN 32). [] Arb. *mizr*- 'sorte de boisson faite de millet', *mazar*- 'sorte de boisson enivrante préparée de froment' (BK 2 1099), Sab. *mzr-m* 'date-wine' (SD 89), Gez. *mazara* 'to prepare beer from grain', *məzr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 379) vs. Akk. *mazû* adj. qualifying beer OA, SB (CAD M1 439) < Afras.: C. Cush. Bilin *māz*, Qemant *mīz*, E. Cush. Saho *mez* 'mead' (LGz 377; cf. Afar *mes* id. below). [] Gez. *məsr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 367; cf. *məzr* 'beer, ale' above) vs. Gez. *mys*, *mesa* 'to serve mead at a banquet', *mes* 'drink made from fermented honey, mead', Tna. Tgr. *mes* 'mead' id. (ibid. 377; otherwise all from Cush.) < Sem. \**mayt*:- Arb. *myt* 'dissoudre quelque chose dans l'eau, et macérer une drogue dans l'eau'; VIII 'boire quelque chose après avoir délayé d'eau' (BK 2 1170) < Afras. \**miwač*- 'alcoholic

drink': W. Chad. Mupun *mwés* 'alcoholic drink' (Fr Mup 39), Sura *mwəs* 'Bier' (Jung Sura 206), Ankwe *mwess*, Montol *mūs* 'beer' (Fitz 214), E. Cush. Afar *mēs* 'Honigwein, Hydromel' (RAF 884; < Eth? Cf. Saho *mez*, v. above), Oromo *mačč-aawa* (HEC 54; cf. comments in HSED No. 1702: "note -č- preserved in Oromo in contrast to the expected reflex of \*č > LEC \*s, \*š"; on the contrary, I tend to Oromo *f* < Afras. \*č while -čč- in the above case seems unusual), Konso *maašš-ooq-* 'to get drunk' (Lmb-Sot 475), Darasa *maččo?*-, Burji *mass-aaw-* 'to be drunk' (HEC 54; cf. Sidamo *maččarar-*, Kambatta *maččaar-* 'to be crazy', commented in Lmb-Sot 475 as "addition of a formative suffix"), Gawwada *mečč-aw-*, Dobase *mass-a?* 'to get drunk, intoxicated' (Lmb-Sot 475), N. Omot. Wolayta *matt-oot-*, Gamo *matts-ott-*, Kafā *maš-*, Bworo *mašš-* 'to get drunk' (ibid. 474-5). [] Jib. *esber* 'to fence off' (JJ 232) < Afras? Cf. Egyp. Pyr. *sb'* 'Tor, Tür' (EG IV 83; likely < \**sbr*), W. Chad. Hausa *čábarā* 'wooden stakes used to strengthen a mat screen' (Barg Hs 1021) vs. Arb. (Oman) *sība* 'fortification', Gez. *sibā* 'outskirts of a city' (according to LGz 482, probably from Omanic Arb.) < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Bura *čiba* 'a fence or pen; an outside enclosure for cattle' (Bura 37), E. Cush. Afar *sabsab* 'Mauer' (RAF 895); cf. CHVAL 3 20-21. [] Sem. \**zmr* 'to sing, play an instrument': Akk. Ugr. Hbr. Syr. Arb. Eth. (HAL 273; LGz 639; DRS 751) vs. \**zm(m)* ~ \**zmzm* 'to sound, resound; sing': Syr. *zam* 'susurravit, sonuit' (Brock 198), Mnd. *zmm* 'to hum, resound' (DM 169), *zwm* 'to hum, buzz' (ibid. 164), Arb. *zmzm* 'produire un murmure qu'on peut entendre au loin' (BK 1 1011), Gez. *zemā* 'song, liturgical chant', Tna. Amh. Gur. *zema* 'song, mode of singing', Gez. *zəmmāme*, Tna. Amh. *zemmama* 'rhythm of singing, etc.' (LGz 638). [] Sem. \**kidr-* 'earthenware' (cf. Akk. *diḫāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' above): Hbr. pB. *ḳādēr*, Jud. *ḳīdērā* 'pot' (Ja 1318), Syr. *ḳedrā* 'olla' (Brock 649), Arb. *ḳidr-* 'chaudron, marmite en cuivre' (BK 2 686), Mhr. *ḳādər* 'pot' (JM 224; probably an Arabism) vs. Afras. \**ḳ<sup>w</sup>ad-* or \**ḳadw-*: (metathetically related to Afras. \**dVḳ-* 'clay, earthenware' above?): Akk. *ḳadūtu* 'mud, sediment' (CAD Q 52), Egyp. Med. *ḳd* 'Topf' (EG V 72), Pyr. *iḳd-w* 'Topfer' (EG V 74), W. Chad. Kirfi *ḳwaḳo*, Gera *ḳwaḳa* 'calabash', E. Chad. Dangla *ḳoḳa* 'pot' (HSED No. 1579), E. Cush. Oromo *qodā* 'furniture; vessel' (Gr 325), *qadāda* 'cover; vessel; gourd' (ibid. 314), S. Cush. Dahalo *k'ōdo* 'long narrow calabash' (EEN 19; cf. HSED Nos. 1579 and 1534). <> Brb. Ahaggar *asafār* 'médicament' (Fouc 1808; cf. also Qabyle *asafar* 'ingrédient' Dal 761) vs. Sem. Arb. *sifā?* 'médicament', *sfw* III 'traiter un malade' (BK 1 1104), Tgr. *sāffā* 'to cure, treat medically' (LH 202; hardly < Arb., cf. Tna. *sāffā* 'to rub, anoint, massage' K Tna 800), probably < Afras., cf. Brb. Ahaggar *ésafé* (Fouc 1806), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *esāfe* (Aloj 170) 'ventouse', C. Chad. Musgu *šimfi* 'heilen' (Luk Msg 76); cf. CHVAL 3 19. <> W. Chad. Ngizim *gāzbār* 'tall, long, deep' (Sch Ng 73) vs. Afras. \**gVžVb-* 'long': Sem. Arb. *žadbat-* 'certain distance, certaine étendue de route, distance entre deux relais', *ždb* 'tirer; éloigner un objet d'un autre en le tirant à soi' (BK 268), Jib. *gódób* 'to pull out' (JJ 71), Mhr. *gədób* id. (JM 115), E. Cush. Gawwata *sikāpa* (<\**zigab-*), Harso Gollango *sikaapa* (AMS 254; metathesis) 'lang', S. Omot. Hamar *gúdúb* 'long' (Bnd Om 213: synchronically treated as *gúd+úb* which needs argumentation). <> Afras. \**bVhVr-*: Sem. Hbr. Jud. Syr. Mnd. *bhr* 'to shine, be bright' (HAL 112), Arb. *bhr* 'to shine', *brh* (met.) 'to be white', Gez. *barha* (met.) 'to shine, be bright, light', Soq. *birihot* (met.) 'light' (LGz 103-4), Chad. \**buhar-* 'to shine' (Stolb 1996 25): W.

Chad. Tangale *ḥər*, Boghom *ḥuur*, C. Chad. Bachama *ḥura*, Musgu *bara* vs. Afras. \**bVhVw-*: Arb. *bhw* 'briller', *bahā?*- 'éclat, splendeur' (BK 1 174), W. Chad. Bokkos *ḥwè* 'Sonne' (Jung R 140), Daffo-Butura *ḥwè* 'Sonne, Tag' (ibid. 213), C. Chad. Dghwede *bíyà* 'light' (Frick), Glavda *mḥi* 'shine' (RM 65). <> (?) Afras. \**ĉa(m)bVr-* 'musical instrument': Tgr. *sābara* 'a flute-melody' (LH 183), W. Chad. Hausa *sámḥará* 'piece of corn-stalk rubbed between hands as accompaniment to fiddle' (Abr Hs 774), N. Omot. Mocha *šúmbiro* 'flute of shepherd' (LMč 51) vs. \**ĉabVb-* 'reed pipe, flute': (?) Akk. OAkk. *šabītu* 'a musical instrument' (Gelb OA 263), Arb. *šabābat-* 'flûte, roseau à jouer' (BK 1 1181), Egypt. Med. *šbb* 'Röhre aus Schilfrohr' (EG IV 439). <> Afras. \**(?a-)da(n)g<sup>(w)</sup>Vr-* 'kind of beans': Sem. Syr. *daḡr-*, Arb. *daḡr-*, *duḡr-*, *duḡur-*; Mhr. *dēḡir*, Jib. *dəḡərät*, pl. *dugur*, Soq. *dígir* (Tgr. *?adung<sup>wəra</sup>*, Tna. *?adang<sup>wəra</sup>*, Amh. *adäng<sup>wəre</sup>*, Gaf. *adäng<sup>wərä</sup>*, S. Arg. *adongure*, Gur. *adäng<sup>wəre</sup>* id. ibid. are likely Cushitisms), E. Chad. Sokoro *dagir* 'millet', C. Cush. Bilin Khamir *adogur*, Damot Aungi *adangwari* 'bean', E. Cush. Som. *digir* 'fagioli', Oromo *adang<sup>wəre</sup>* 'beans' (cf. also *otongora* id.), Saho *adagur* id. vs. Afras. \**da/ing<sup>(w)</sup>-* 'kind of beans; corn': Sem. Soq. *dengo* 'haricots', Egypt. OK *ddw* 'kind of grain', Brb. Ayr *te-dängāw-t* 'grenier de céréales', W. Chad. Hausa *dangwa-mi* 'a gruel made with the mealy pulp found inside locust-bean pods', Angas *tang* 'corn', E. Chad. Nanchere *tinge* 'bean', (?) C. Cush. Bilin *baldang<sup>wə</sup>* 'Bohne, Faba', E. Cush. Saho *bar/ldangā* 'ein bestimmte Bohngattung' (the meaning of the first element of these composed words is not clear); v. in Mil Farm 140.

#### -**V**(Brock. ZS)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *ḥurbabillu* (*urbabillu*) vs. Arb. *ḥirbā?*- and, possibly, Ebl. *ḥur-ba-um* in \**ḥVrb-* 'chameleon' (SED II No. 101). [] Arb. *ḡadlā?*- 'chienne' (BK 1 267; < Afras.? Cf. E. Cush. Oromo *gedallo* 'sciacallo' Thiene 126) vs. Chad. (cf. also Arb. *?abū ḡaḡdat-* 'loup' Belot 63): W. Chad. Ngizim *ḡadá-múzái* 'hyena' (CLR 204), C. Chad. Dghwede *ḡdē*, Mofu *ḡidēy*, E. Chad. Mokilko *ḡdē* 'dog' (ibid. 107). [] Gog. Muh. Msq. *ḡəməčəlla* 'gnat' (č < \*š with dissimilation from ḡ-? Cf. also Cha. Enn. Gye. *ḡəməčəna*, Eža *ḡəməčənnə*) vs. \**ḡam(a)s-* 'kind of (harmful) insect': Jud. *ḡamšā* 'locust', Arb. *ḡamaš-* 'petites mouches ou petits insectes qui rasant la surface d'une eau stagnante; petites sauterelles qui viennent d'éclore', Jib. *ḡīēš* 'kind of camel bug' (SED II No. 131). [] Sem. \**ḡawzal-* 'young bird, fledgling' (cf. SED II No. 86): Hbr. *ḡōzāl* 'turtledove; young eagle', Jud. *ḡōzālā* 'brood, chick, esp. pigeon', Arb. *ḡawzal-* 'petit (de pigeon)' (likely related is Amh. *ḡəz(z)al* 'k. of bird of prey' -- cf. the second meaning of the Hbr. term), probably metathetically related to Afras. (cf. also Syr. *zūgallā* 'pullus columbinus' with the same order of radicals as in Chad. and Cush. below): W. Chad. Hausa *ḡigāl* 'vulture', C. Cush. \**ḡ/ḡVgl-* 'bird': Bilin *ḡayalā*, Dembea Qwara *ḡaglā* vs. Sem. \**ḡ<sup>w</sup>az-* or \**ḡVz-* (SED II No. 87): Amh. *ḡ<sup>w</sup>əza* 'a kind of hawk', Gez. *ḡ<sup>w</sup>əzā*, *ḡuzā* 'bird of prey, falcon, hawk', Hbr. pB. *ḡaz* (*ḡas*) 'name of a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 87; cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *ḡúzi* 'passereau' ibid.). [] Sem. \**ḡamI- ~ \*ḡVVM-* 'kind of insect': Akk. *ḡilammu* 'a locust', Hrs. *ḡemlēt* 'animal bug, pest', etc. (SED II No. 109) vs. Akk. *ḡamītu* 'Sandwespe' < Afras.? Cf. Egypt. NE *ḡmy* 'Sandfliege' (unless < \**ḡmI*). [] Sem. \**ḡam(V)I-* 'ant': Akk. *namalu*, Hbr. *nəməlā*, Arb. *naml-*, etc. vs. Arb. *nimm-at-* 'ant, louse'



likely < Afras.: C. Chad. Daba *nīmī* 'termite qui vole' (unless an Arabism) and S. Cush. Alagwa *namahá* 'termites' (in SED II No. 163). [] (?) Sem. **\*kVr(Vl)-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 136): Syr. *ḵurlā* 'grus', Arb. *ḵirillā* 'espèce d'oiseau', Gog. *ḵarulle* 'kind of bird' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Dangla *kōrla* 'oiseau passériforme, très coloré', E. Cush Yaaku *kil'érúá* 'Egyptian vulture') vs. **\*kʷānʷ/y-** // **\*kānʷ/y-** 'kind of bird, partridge': Hbr. *ḵōrē(?)* 'partridge', Arb. *ḵāriy-at-*, *ḵāriyy-at-* 'sorte d'oiseau aux jambes courtes, au bec long et au plumage du dos vert', Amh. *ḵʷərəyye* (*ḵuriyyä*) 'migrating crane; large white crane with a long beak', probably related to Afras. **\*kʷayr-** 'kite, raven, crow': Sem. Gez. *ḵāḵer* 'crow', Amh. *ḵʷəra* (*ḵura*) 'crow, raven' (< C. Cush.?), etc., E. Chad. Dangla *kōrē* 'espèce de corbeau noir', C. Cush. Khamta *qurā*, Qwara *qurā*, Aungi *ḵura*, E. Cush. E.: Oromo *ḵurruu*, Hadiya *ḵor-aan-ta*, N. Omot. Wolayta *ḵuruwa*, Bworo *aḵoḵora*, etc. 'crow' (SED II No. 134). [] Afras. **\*dVbal-** 'ram, goat, calf': Sem. Arb. *dawbal-* 'wild boar, suckling pig', Gez. *dābelā* 'billy goat, bull, male of any animal', Tgr. *dābela* 'ram', Tna. *dibāla*, Amh. *dabela*, *dābāl* 'billy goat' (LGz 120-21; in view of a very tenable Arb. parallel, less likely < Cush. as Leslau asserts, while E. Cush. Saho Afar *dabeēla* 'billy goat' are rather borrowed from Eth.), N. Cush. Beja *debala* 'einjährige Kuh', E. Cush. Baiso *dabaalo* 'heifer' (cf. in Bla FB 243) vs. Afras. **\*dab(Vy)-** 'young bull': Sem. Arb. *dabab-* 'veau qui vient de naître' (BK 1 662), Har. *dābāy* 'female calf, heifer' (LHar 53; otherwise < **\*dabāl-** to be placed with the forms in -l), (?) Egyp. Med. *db* 'horn', N. Cush. Beja *dʷabi* 'stallion, male (of all kinds of domestic cattle) kept for breeding', E. Cush. Somali *dibi* 'calf, bull', Oromo (Wellega) *dibi-čča* 'young bull' (cf. Bla FB 242; counter to Blažek, nothing in common either semantically or phonetically with Cushitic and Omotic forms meaning 'lion' and Sem. and Egyp. forms meaning 'jackal, hyena', all < Afras. **\*ǰVʷVb-** 'kind of predator', v. in SED II No. 72). <> W. Chad. Hausa *tākali* 'a variety of grasshopper' vs. Afras. **\*tVkʷ(-an)-** 'kind of insect' (in **\*kʷVt(t)ān- ~ \*tukʷān- // \*ku(t)ān- ~ \*tukān-** 'bug', SED II No. 122; v. in -Vr Animal names). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *ḵārākilo* vs. Dangla *ḵārko*, Migama *ḵārākú* 'grue couronnée' < Afras.? Cf. Sem.: Akk. *umīḵu* 'Kranich?', Arb. *ḵirnik-*, *ḵurnūk-*, etc. 'grue' (v. in **\*yVmiḵ-** 'crane' SED II 91). <> E. Chad. Kera *tókorlé* 'Rebhuhn' (Eb 125) vs. Dangla *tòokrò* 'oiseau (petit barbu)' (Fedry 168), Tumak *dòkòrīyā* 'oiseau sp.' (Capr 123; **\*t->** Tumak *d-*, according to Stolb 1996 30, 97) < Afras.: Sem. **\*tVkur(r)-** 'kind of bird' (SED II 226; v. in **tV-** Animal names). <> E. Cush. Oromo *bučulā*, Alaba *bučilla*, Darasa *bučulla* 'puppy' (LGur 130; according to Leslau, "to be identified with *bučo* 'dog' with augmented -l to express the diminutive") vs. Oromo *buči* 'dog', Kambatta *buččo* 'interjection one uses to call a dog', Qabenna *bučbučča* 'puppy' (ibid.) <> (?) Afras. **\*waʕil-** 'k. of goat, gazelle': Sem. **\*waʕil-** 'ibex' (v. in **(Vn)** Animal names), Brb. Ghadames *welli*, *wulli*, Ahaggar *ulli* 'chèvre', Qabyle *ulli* 'brebis', W. Chad. Jimi *walaróo* 'antelope', Geji *wulli* 'gazelle', E. Cush. Somali *ʕawl-* 'Soemmering's Gazelle', Rendille *ḵool* 'gazelle' (both < **\*ʕawVl-** with metathesis), Sidamo *wilii'l-icco* 'young (of sheep, goat)' vs. Afras. **\*waʕ-** 'goat': Egyp. OK *wʕ-ty* 'Ziege', W. Chad. Bokkos Daffa-Butura *wòʔ* 'Ziegenbock', C. Chad. Mbara *wahay* 'chèvre', N. Cush. Beja *wecyu* 'ibex' (v. in **\*wafil-** 'ibex' SED II No. 244).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *kišallu, kišillu, kisallu, kisillu* 'ankle bone' (<\**kīša/illu*) vs. *kimšu, kinšu, kiššu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg' vs. \**k(w)Všš-*, \**k(w)Všš-* (cf. SED I No. 172 with a different interpretation): Arb. *kašāš-*, *kušāš-*, *kišāš-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *kašš-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *kašš-*, *kušāš-* id., Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>əyš*, *k<sup>w</sup>əš* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', Gye. *kəṭəyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mīkšeh* 'articulation, falange', etc. [] Hbr.-Aram. \**kVrsul-*: Hbr. \**ḳarsullayim* (dual) 'ankles', Jud. *ḳarsullā, ḳarsulā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḳuršālā* 'talus; ala, axilla' (cf. also Soq. *ḳartʿalləh* 'mollet', a variant root) vs. Sem. \**ḳarsaw*: Tgr. *ḳarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḳərša*, Gog. Sod. *ənḳərša* 'ankle', Mhr. *ḳəršāt* 'kneecap' (otherwise <\**kVršal*) in \**kVrs/š(-ull)-* 'ankle' SED I No. 169. [] Syr. *puršālā* 'ungula (caprae)' (-š- instead of the expected -s-) vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', Jud. *prsh, prsth* (det.) 'hoof, split hoof', Mnd. *pras* (st. constr. only) 'palm (of hand)' <\**paʿis-* 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220). [] Arb. *ḥiskilat-āni* 'les testicules' (dual) vs. Soq. *ḥošk* 'vulve' (v. in \**?i/ušk(-at)-* 'testiculus', SED I No. 11). [] Arb. *damāl-* 'fumière' vs. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente', *dimn-* 'crottin, fiente des bêtes' <\**dVm(a)n-* 'dung' (SED I No. 53; v. in *-(V)n* Anatomy). [] Arb. *žablat-*, *žublat-* 'bosse du chameau' vs. *žabab-* 'plaie faite par le bât à la bosse du chameau' <\**gVb(V)b-*, \**gVb(b)-an-* 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67; v. in *-Vr* Anatomy). [] Amh. *šəfāl*, Arg. *šəffāl* 'eyebrow' vs. Amh. *šəfašəfti*, Tna *šifašəfti* 'eyebrow' <\**šV(?)p-at-* '(tuft of) hair': Arb. *šaʿfat-* 'mèche de cheveux, tupet, cheveux', Hrs. *šāfēt* 'hair', etc. (SED I No. 259). [] Sem. \**šimaʿl-* 'left hand (side)': Akk. *šumēlu*, Arb. *šimāl-*, Jib. *šəmlēt*, etc. (and metathetic Sab. *h-s<sub>2</sub>?ml* 'to be northward (?)', Min. *s<sub>2</sub>?ml-s<sub>1</sub>* 'vers le nord'), likely < Afras.: Brb. \**a-zəlmaḍ* 'left' (Ahaggar *ahelmaḍ* Fouc 595, Qabyle *azelmaḍ* Dal 944, etc.), supposedly < \**a-zəlmaʿt* <\**-čilmaʿt*, metathetically related to Sem. \**šimaʿl-* vs. \**šaʿm-* 'left': Arb. *šaʿmat-* 'côté gauche', Sab. *s<sub>2</sub>?m* 'North', Min. *s<sub>2</sub>?m* 'nord', Jib. *šīn* 'gauche' (<\**šimn* influenced, according to LS 64, by *īn* 'droite'); v. in SED I No. 264. [] Sem. \**š/suḳl-* 'leg, thigh; elbow' (SED I No. 242): Arb. *suḳl-* 'flancs, hypocondres', *šuḳl-*, *šuḳlat-*, *šaḳlat-* id., Tgr. *čənḳəlit* 'coude', Amh. *čəḳəll*, Zw. *čikile* 'elbow', Soq. *suḳal* 'pied' vs. \**šāk-* 'leg bones (thigh-, splint- and shinbone)' (SED I No. 241): Akk. *sīku* 'lap, thigh', Ugr. *šk* 'thigh', Hbr. *šōḳ* 'Schenkel, Wadenbein', Bib. *šāḳōhī* (du. suff.) 'shin, leg', Jud. *šākā, šāḳkā, šōḳā* 'joint, leg, foreleg', Syr. *šākā* 'femur, crus', Mnd. *šaka* 'limb, leg, shin', Arb. *sāḳ-* 'jambe, tibia', Tgr. *səḳuḳa* 'forearm, lower part of the leg' < Afras. \**sak-*: W. Chad: Bolewa Ngamo *šeke* 'leg' (CLR 220), Sha *səkaʿu* 'Bein, Fuss' (Jung R 288), C. Chad.: Muktele *šīk*, Mafa *sāk* 'leg' (CLR 221), Masa *sok* 'bone' (ibid. 37). [] Sem. \**gVd(V)l-* 'limb' (SED I No. 73): Hbr. pB. *gūdāl, ʾāgūdāl* 'thumb, great toe' (otherwise <*gādāl* 'to be high, large'), Arb. *žadl-*, *židl-* 'membre quelconque du corps; verge, penis; tendon (des mains ou des jambes); os entier, non facturé', Mhr. *gēdəl* (*gədəwwəl, həgdöl*), Hrs. *gēdel*, Jib. *gēdəl* 'foot' vs. \**(ʾa-)g(w)ad-* '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' (SED I No. 71; v. in *?V-* Anatomy). [] Sem. \**ṭpl* 'to spit' (SED I No. 73): Arb. *tfl*, Mhr. *təfūl*, Hrs. *tefōl*, Jib. *tfəl* (cf. also Hbr. *tāpēl* 'something unsalted, insipid, dull', *ṭpl* 'to utter stupidity, speak foolishly') vs. \**ṭpp* 'to spit' (SED I No. 72): Hbr. *tōpāt* 'spittle, expectoration', Jud. *təpap, təpē*, Arb. *tff*, Gez. *tafʿa*, Tgr. *tāfʿa*, Tna. *tāfʿe*, Amh. *tāffa*, Arg. *tāffa*, Har. *tuf bāya*, Wol. *tuf balä*, Cha. *tāfa*, etc., (?) Jib. *tfēf* 'worthlessness in this world and perdition in the next'. [] Sem. \**ka(w)hil-* ~ \**?Vn-ḳulalih-* 'egg' (SED I No. 170):

Tna. *ʔənḵulalih*, Amh. *ənḵ<sup>w</sup>əlal*, Mhr. *ḵáwhə̀l*, etc. vs. Eth. \**ʔan-ḵ<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>Vḥ-*: Gez. *ʔanḵok<sup>w</sup>əho*, Tgr. *ʔənḵokḵo*, Tna. *ʔənḵ<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>əḥo*, Har. *aḵuḥ*, etc. id. (SED I No. 160) < Afras.: (?) N. Cush. Beja *k<sup>w</sup>áhi* (RBeḍ 137; < \**ḵ<sup>w</sup>aḥ-* or \**k<sup>w</sup>aḥ-*), E. Cush. Oromo *hanqāqū̄ō* (Gr 200; < \**ḥanḵak<sup>w</sup>-* with metathesis?), S. Cush. Maʔa *ḥohoha*, *ikokoha* (< \**ḵ<sup>w</sup>Vḥḵ<sup>w</sup>Vḥ-*), Iraqw *qānḥi* (HRSC 253). <> S. Omot. Dime *kəsil*, Ari *kasel* 'tooth', Ongota *kaasala* 'molar' (Bla Omot No. 90.3; E. Cush. Tsamai *kaasala* 'molar' is more likely a loan from S. Omot. than vice versa) vs. Afras.: Arb. *kss* 'avoir les dents petites et courtes', *kasas-* 'petitesse des dents' (BK 2 894; otherwise from, or contaminated with, *kss* 'casser, broyer en très-petits morceaux' *ibid.*), Brb. Semlal *á-kus* 'tooth', Zenaga *ūks̄-ən* 'teeth', N. Cush. Beja *kōs* 'tooth', S. Cush. Qwadza *koʔosi-ko* 'molar' (Bla Om No. 90.3). <> Cush. \**ḵ<sup>w</sup>V(n)ḥal-* 'sexual parts': N. Cush. Beja *kantál* 'penis' (Bla Beḍ 61), S. Cush. Qwadza *ḵucalu* 'clitoris' (*ibid.* after Ehret; likely also C. Cush. Khamir *q<sup>w</sup>acel* 'scrotum' *ibid.*, though *-c-* < \**-ḥ-* is difficult), probably < Afras. \**ḵ<sup>w</sup>a(n)ḥal-*: W. Chad. Hausa *ḵwālātái* 'testicles' (Abr Hs 539; metathesis < \**ḵ<sup>w</sup>alaḥ-?*), vs. Afras. \**ḵ<sup>w</sup>V(n)ḥ/d-* 'sexual parts' (v. in **-Vr** Anatomy).

Varia:

[] Akk. *amšali* (also *šamšali*, likely by contamination with *šamš-* 'the sun') 'yesterday' OB, Mari, SB (CAD A<sub>2</sub> 79-; *l* in Akk. is usually explained by analogy with *timāli* 'yesterday' < Sem.: Hbr. *təmōl*, *ʔitmōl*, *ʔātmūl*, etc., Syr. *ʔetmāli*, Gez. *təmāləm*, etc. 'yesterday' LGz 368, attested, however, in later texts, v. CAD A<sub>2</sub> 79) vs. *amšat* SB id. ("probably...a scribal error" *ibid.*), *mūšu* 'night' (*ibid.* M<sub>2</sub> 291), Hbr. *ʔāmāš* 'last night, yesterday', Arb. *masāʔ-* 'evening', *musy-*, *ʔamsi* 'yesterday', Gez. *məsyat* 'evening, twilight', Soq. *ʔimšin* 'evening', etc. (LGz 368) < Afras.: S. Cush. Iraqw *amsiʔ* 'wee hours of the night', Burunge Alagwa *amasi* 'night', Qwadza *amasi-ya* 'tomorrow' (HRSC 297; probably also N. Cush. Beja *amās* 'späte Abend, Nacht, Dunmkelheit, Finsterniss' RBeḍ 19, unless < Arb). [] S. Eth. Amh. (*tä*)*g<sup>w</sup>əbbälä*, Har. (*tä*)*gēbäla* 'to sit down', Wol. (*tä*)*gobälä*, Sel. (*tä*)*gōbälä* 'to sit (down), ride' (LGur 256) vs. Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>əbb alä*, Har. (*tä*)*gēba* 'to sit down', Zw. (*tä*)*gūbī* 'to sit down, ride' (*ibid.*; Leslau wonders whether Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>əbb alä* is in any connection with the Zw. form and regards Har. (*tä*)*gēba* an abbreviated form from (*tä*)*gēbäla* while the three forms quoted could hardly "lose" the Auslaut *-l* independently from each other) < Sem.? Cf. Arb. *ḵbw* 'se jeter la face contre terre, se prosterner' (BK 1 251). [] Sem. \**ʔarpal-* 'cloud, mist': Ugr. *ʔrpl* 'nube, nubarrón' (DLU 160), Hbr. *ʔārāpāl* 'thick darkness' (HAL 888), Jud. *ʔarpillā* 'cloud, spray, mist' (Ja 1123), Syr. *ʔarpellā* 'vapor, nubes' (Brock 549), etc. vs. Sem. \**ʔ/ḡVrḥ-* 'cloud, rain': Akk. *erpetu* 'cloud' (CAD E 302), Ugr. *ʔrpt* 'nube' (DLU 90), Hbr. *ʔrḥ* 'to drip' (HAL 887), Arb. *ʔarrāf* 'abondant, copieux (se dit d'un torrent de pluie)', cf. *ʔurfat-* 'ciel, septieme ciel' (BK 2 458-9). [] Sem. \**gVdVl-* '(to be) big': Ugr. *gdI* 'ancho, amplio; bien crecido, grande (?)' (DLU 144), Hbr. *gdI* 'to grow (up), become strong, be great' (HAL 179), Arb. *ḵdl* 'grandir, grossir' (BK 1 265), etc. < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. \**digal-* (met.?): Kilba *dūgōlū* (Kr II 95), Wamdiu *digalu* (*ibid.* 115), Margi *digāl* (*ibid.* 124) 'large' vs. Afras. \**gVd(d)-* (v. above in **-Vr** Varia). <> Afras. \**(ʔa-)dang<sup>(w)</sup>al-* 'corn; beans': Sem. Tgr. *ʔädängäl* 'bean(s)' (LH 384; < C. Cush. Bilin? Cf., however, Tgr. *ʔädäggäla*, *däggäla* poet., Tna. *däggäla* 'a sort of corn growing wild; *Eleusine aegyptiaca*' LH 385; cf. also Har. *dāngulle* 'pea' LH 1963 57 < Oromo), Gez. *dəlg<sup>w</sup>əmmā* 'porridge', Amh. *dälg<sup>w</sup>ām* 'a variety of sorghum' (LGz 131; <> \**dalg<sup>w</sup>-am-* with metathesis), W. Chad. Karekare *dəgwə̀lò* 'gruel' (Kr I 62), C. Chad. Mada *édīngel* 'tige de mil (dont on a coupé l'épi)' (BB 93), E. Chad. Migama

*dāgàláawé* 'noix de palmeir doum' (Jung Mig 76; metathetic <\**dagwal*-), C. Cush. Bilin *adäng<sup>wal</sup>* 'Bohne' (RBil 15), E. Cush. Oromo *dāngulle* 'bean' (LGur 17) vs. Afras. \**da/ing<sup>w</sup>*- 'kind of beans; corn' (v. above in -**Vr** Varia). <> Afras. \**gambVI*- 'black': E. Chad. Mokilko *gāmmīlí*, *gāmbīlí* (Jung Mkk 99), E. Cush. Bayso *ka-gamballi* (Hay Bai 120) vs. E. Cush. \**gumb*- id.: Gawwata *kummay* (AMS 266), Tsamai *gumma* (SLLE 4), Yaaku *-kumpu?* (Hei Ya 121).

### -Vb

Animal names:

[] Jud. *ʿaršubiyā* 'a species of locusts' vs. \***ʿVrs̄**- 'kind of insect': Arb. *ʿird-* 'nuée de sauterelles', Tgr. *ʿaršat*, *ʿaršätit* 'termites' (SED II No. 38). [] Jud. *karzobā*, *karzubbā* 'a species of locusts' vs. *kəṛāzā* 'name of two species of winged locusts', Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>arāzi* 'ant' (<\***k<sup>w</sup>araz-** // \***karaz-** 'kind of insect' SED II No. 119). [] Jud. *ʿakšəbōnītā* 'name of a disease, prob. wound from a spider's bite' (cf. also Hbr. *ʿakšūb* 'horned viper (or adder)' and Dem. *ʿkšb* 'viper') vs. Arb. *ʿukkāš-* 'araignée; toile d'araignée' (v. in SED II No. 33). [] Tgr. *sosānab* 'a kind of ants whose bite is very painful' (LH 180; less likely < \**sos* + \**nab*) vs. Tgr. *šəšənte* 'ants' (ibid. 214), Tna. *šišo* 'ant or termite colony; large black ant which can give a painful bite' (K Tna 831), v. in \***sāūs-** 'moth' (SED II 198). [] Tna. *k<sup>w</sup>ərʿob*, *k<sup>w</sup>ärʿob* (and *ʿənək<sup>w</sup>ərʿob*, *ʿənək<sup>w</sup>ərʿob*) vs. *k<sup>w</sup>ərʿo*, *k<sup>w</sup>ärʿo* in \***k<sup>w</sup>Vi(V)r-** 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **?V-** Animal names). [] Sem. \***taʿlab-** 'fox': Akk. *šēlebu*, Arb. *taʿlab-* (pl. *taʿālī<sup>ṯ</sup>*), very likely < Afras. \***čVʿIVb-**: C. Chad. Musgu *čičēlebe* 'jackal', E. Chad. Mokilko *sullībē* 'kind of wolf' vs. Sem. \***tVʿl-** 'fox': Hbr. *šūʿāl*, Syr. *taʿlā*, Arb. *tuʿāl-*, Mhr. *yətāyl*, etc. (SED II No. 237). [] Sem. \***ʿankab(ī)**- 'spider': Hbr. *ʿakkābīš*, Jud. *ʿakkōbītā* vs. Arb. *ʿankab-*, Jib. *ʿənšyēt* (pl. *ʿonókub*) id. vs. Eth. \**ʿa(n)k-*: Tgr. *ʿako* 'spider', Tna. *ʿəkkwät*, *ʿəkkot* 'a kind of very poisonous wasp', Gez. *ʿakot* (*?akot*) 'small locust, dog-fly, wasp', Amh. *anko* 'young locust' (SED II No. 33). [] Sem. \***g<sup>w</sup>a(n)dab-** // \***ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust': Arb. *žandab-*, *žundub-* 'espèce de sauterelle', Tna. *g<sup>w</sup>ädäbä* 'a kind of harmless grasshopper' vs. Arb. *žudžud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle', Arb. *žandaʿ-*, *žunduʿ-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire, à deux antennes; en gén. insectes qu'on rencontre en creusant la terre', Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>ande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', Wol. Gog. *g<sup>w</sup>ändä*, etc. 'kind of ant', Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>əndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite' (<\**gudgud-*, \**gandaʿ-* and \**gundan-* to be eventually reduced to a common protoform \**gV(n)d-* with different extensions; v. SED II No. 80). [] Sem. \***yārib-** ~ \***yurāb-** 'crow, raven': Hbr. *ʿōrēb*, Arb. *yurāb-*, Jib. *?ayərəb*, etc. (perhaps < Afras.: E. Cush. Burji *gurruba*, Dullay \**k/kurrub-* 'crow') vs. Afras. \**y<sup>w</sup>ar-* 'raven, crow': Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *a-yrut* 'corbeau', W. Chad. Sura *gooroo*, E. Chad. Ndam *?agrà* 'crow', S. Cush. Iraqw *hwaʿari*, Burunge *hwanhwarariya*, Alagwa *hoḥoraʿi*, Maʿa *ihurēʿi*, *ihurēʿa* 'crow' (SED II No. 89). [] Sem. \***kalb-** 'dog': Akk. *kalbu*, Hbr. *kālāb*, Arb. *kalb-*, etc. vs. Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>VI-* 'wolf, dog': Brb. Ayr *ă-kūlen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *kūlēm* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ*, Buduma *keli* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kùlkò* 'cynhyène', Cush. \**ta-k<sup>w</sup>VI-* 'wolf': N. Cush. Beja *ták<sup>w</sup>la*, C. Cush. Bilin *täg<sup>w</sup>la*, *təy<sup>w</sup>la*, Qwara *taḥ<sup>w</sup>əla*, Kemant *takwila*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *taḥla*, etc. (SED II No. 115). [] Sem. \***ʿaʿirbay-** 'locust': Akk. *arabū*, Hbr. *?arbā*, Soq. *?erbhíyoh*, etc. (< Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *?árbatētə* 'cricket' SED II No. 11) vs. S. Cush. \**ʿuurú* 'locust (sp.)':

Alagwa *ʔuuru*, Burunge *ʔuuri* (KM 310), (?) Maʔa *íʔe* 'locust' (compared with Burunge *uri* 'grasshopper' in HRSC 295). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *dánnaba* 'female elephant' (EEN 28), *dánnabe* (Tos Dah 132) 'elephant' < \**ʒannab-* vs. Afras. \**ʒa(Hw)n-* id.: E. Cush. Sidamo *dāni-ččo*, Hadiya *dānē-ččo*, Qabenna *zānó*, Kambatta *zanó*, etc. (LSid 400), C. Cush. Bilin *žānā*, Khamir *zohón*, etc. (Bla Eleph 199), W. Chad. Ngizim *žāunak*, C. Chad. Tera *žūwān* (CLR 124), Fali-Jilvu *žūʔwūni*, E. Chad. Nanchere *ženaʔ*, Kabalai *žuno*, etc. (Bla Eleph 200). <> N. Omot. Sheko *goržube* 'lizard' (cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *gírziḃó* 'varan') vs. *góržu* 'gecko' (v. in SED II 182).

Anatomy:

[] Afras. \**garab-* 'stomach, belly': Sem. Arb. *žuržub-*, *žuržubān-* 'ventre', Sab. *grb*, Tgr. *gārob* 'body', W. Chad. Miya *garabu* 'chest', E. Chad. Tumak *būrōōg* 'stomach' (met.), C. Chad. Mandara *brogue* 'intestines' (met.), E. Cush. Saho Afar *garbá* 'Bauch, Magen, Eingeweide, Herz', Oromo *gārāba* 'big stomach of ruminants', N. Omot. Janjero *garba* 'belly' (Bnd Om 159), etc. (v. in \**gVrVb-* SED II No. 90) vs. Afras. \**gVraʔ-* 'stomach, belly': Arb. *žirriʔat-*, *žirriyyat-* 'gésier (chez certains oiseaux), estomac (d'oiseau)' (BK 1 272), Brb. Siwa *žar* 'ventre' (Lao 309), E. Chad. Migama *gúr-múḃú* 'estomag' (Jung Mig 89), C. Chad. Gudu *gurā-cu* 'heart' (Kr III 76), N. Cush. Beja *gari* 'body, trunk' (Roper 186), C. Cush. Bilin *gir*, *žir*, Qwara *žir* 'Darm, Eingeweide' (RBil 158), E. Cush. Oromo *garaa* 'stomach, heart, mind' (Gr 167), Arbore *geréʔ* 'belly, abdomen' (Hay Arb 360), Dasenech *geer-c* 'stomach, belly, womb, interior' (Tos Das 499), S. Cush. Iraqw Gorowa *guraʔ*, Alagwa Burunge *guraʔa* 'belly' (KM 122). [] Sem. \**ķwírb-at-* 'skin, leather bag': Arb. *ķirbat-* 'grande outre à lait ou à eau faite d'une seule peau' (BK 2 704), Gez. *ķwərbābit* 'leather bag' (LGz 440), Tna. *ķorbāt* 'skin, hide, bark, rind, peel' (K Tna 941), Amh. *ķorbāt* 'peau, cuir' (Baet 379), probably < Afras. \**ķwi/arab-* 'bark, skin': N. Omot. Male *ķurubi* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67) and perhaps E. Chad. forms (v. in the following entry) vs. Afras. \**ķwar-* 'bark, shell': W. Chad. Hausa *ķwáryā* 'shell of a tortoise' (Barg 692), N. Omot. Oyda *ķuuro*, Basketo *ķura*, Male *ķuru* (Bnd Om 54), Shinasha *ķōōķira* (ibid. 158) 'bark'. <> Cush. \**ķurb-* 'skin, bark': N. Cush. Beja *ķúrbe* 'Haut' (RBed 145), C. Cush. Khamta *ķerbir* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67), Qwara *kōrbē* 'Haut, Leder' (RQua 86) < Afras. if E. Chad. forms (Kwan *kābārōw*, Sumrai *kābərāw* 'bark' CLR 9) are metathetic < \**ķVrbVw-* (otherwise < \**ķVrbaw-*, related to the previous entry) vs. Afras. \**ķur-* (note variant roots with *h* in Sayanchi, Yaaku and S. Cush., hardly a chance coincidence) id.: W. Chad. Paʔa *ķurri*, Kiir *ķwār*, Buli *ķuur* 'skin' (CLR 296), Geji *ķūr*, Barawa *ķūru*, *ķwor*, Sayanchi *ķuraḃi* 'bark' (?), E. Chad. Dangla *ķōr-ke* (?), Birgit *ķúrōrō* 'egg-shell' (?), E. Cush. Yaaku *ķreke* 'skin' (Hei Ya 133), S. Cush. Iraqw *ķaahari* 'skin', Alagwa *ķaari*, *ķahari* 'skin, hide', Burunge *ķaariya* 'sheep's hide' (KM 169-70; in spite of Gorowa *ķaahari* 'dried cow hide', hardly < \**ķahar* 'dry' < \**ķah* 'to be dry' ibid. 169, as the meaning 'dried' about hide is not confirmed by other languages except Gorowa where this meaning is likely due to contamination with *ķaahaar* 'dry'). <> Afras. \**gʷažab-* 'stomach, internal organ': Sem. Arb. *židāb-* 'moelle du palmier' (BK 1 268, metathetic with a meaning shift?), W. Chad. Hausa *gážčbā* (also *gidibī*) 'kidneys' (Barg 347), (?) C. Chad. Gidar *gəḃəf* 'belly' (CLR 21; \*-b devoiced into -f in Auslaut?), E. Cush. Hadiya *gódabo*, Sidamo *godobá*, Kambatta *gʷoḃeeba*, etc. 'belly' (HEC 26) vs. Afras. \**gʷaž-* 'stomach, intestines': Brb. \*-*gazaw-* (Ghat *te-žahu-t* 'estomag, ventre', Ahaggar *tā-gəhu-t* 'panse, intérieur

du ventre', E. Tawllemmet *te-gǎzǎw-t* panse des ruminants' DRB 927), W. Chad. Hausa *gúǝíyá* 'an internal organ in a bird' (Barg 405), E. Chad. Ndam *gūǝǝ*, Kera *gúidə* 'belly' (CLR 21), C. Cush. \**g<sup>w</sup>az(g<sup>w</sup>az)*- 'stomach' (Bilin *g<sup>w</sup>ǎdǎg<sup>w</sup>*, Khamir *gǎzu*, Kemant *g<sup>w</sup>ǎzg<sup>w</sup>ə*, Aungi *g<sup>w</sup>ǎzǎg* (Appl IC 46), E. Cush. Afar *gúǎǎ* 'Mitte, Inneres, Bauch, Leib' (RAf 848). < Cushomot. \**ʔ/ʔir(n)ab-* ~ \**ʔ/ʔi(n)rab-* 'tongue' (note *-b* in pl. Dasenech and Yaaku which is hardly a chance coincidence): E. Cush. Saho *anrǎb*, Afar *arrabǎ* (RSa 40), Dasenech pl. *ʔerb-u* (Tos Das 480), Somali *ʔǎrrab*, Rendille *ħarrab*, Boni *arub*, Oromo *arraba*, Elmolo *ʔerrǎb*, Sidamo Darasa *arraba*, Hadiya *allaabo*, Burji *arraba*, Gawwata *arrap-ko*, Yaaku pl. *ǎǎpa* (PEC 23), N. Omot. Dizi *ʔǎrib* (Bnd Om 218) 'tongue' vs. Afras. \**ʔ/ʔir(n)ay-* or ~ \**ʔ/ʔV(r)n-* id.: W. Chad. (?) Hausa *yǎǎ* 'any language which one does not understand' (Barg 1109), C. Chad. Higi-Nkafa *anǎ*, Mofu *ʔǎǎ*, Gisiga *ʔirne*, Mandara *aara*, *nǎǎ* (met.) 'tongue' (CLR 328-9), E. Cush. Somali *ǎray* 'word' (Abr Som 74), Dasenech *ʔǎǎ* (Tos Das 481), Yaaku *ǎǎ* (PEC 480), S. Cush. Dahalo *ʔǎǎ* (EEN 13), N. Omot. Malo *ʔirin-c* (Bnd Om 25), Doko *ǎǎ-cǎ* (ibid. 63), Anfillo *ǎǎ-co*, *ʔǎǎ-cǎ* (ibid. 176), Koyra *-ʔǎ/ǎ-* (ibid. 96), etc. 'tongue'. < C. Cush. Bilin *ǎrib*, Khamir Qwara Aungi *ǎrib* 'Knie und Ellbogen' (RKham 361), E. Cush. Rendille *ǎǎǎ* 'shoulder' (PG 387; < Cushomotic? Cf. N. Omot. Shinasha *ǎǎ* id. Lmb Sh 306, with metathesis?) vs. C. Cush. Khamir *ǎǎǎ*, Waag *ǎǎǎ* (?) id. < Afras. \**(ʔi-n)ǎǎ(ǎǎ)-* 'knee, foot': Sem. \**ʔi(n)ǎǎ-* 'foot' (Syr. Arb. *ʔǎǎ*, Dat. Arb. *ʔǎǎ*, Gez. *ʔǎǎ*, Har. *ǎǎ*, *ǎǎ*, etc. SED II No. 7), W. Chad. Warji *ǎǎǎ*, C. Chad. Zime-Dari *ǎǎ*, E. Chad. Lele *ǎǎǎ* 'foot' (CLR 220-21), Kera *ǎǎǎ* 'knee' (ibid. 215), S. Cush. Iraqw *ǎǎǎǎ*, Gorowa *ǎǎǎǎ*?, Alagwa *ǎǎǎǎ*, Burunge *ǎǎǎǎ* (KM 122-3), N. Omot. Mocha *ǎǎǎ*, She *ǎǎǎ* 'knee' (Bnd Om 168). < Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>il(V)b-* 'knee': E. Chad. Sokoro *bǎǎǎ* 'ankle' (Luk ZS 45; met.), C. Cush. Dembea *ǎǎǎ* (RBil 159; or < \**ǎǎǎ*-? See previous entry), E. Cush. Saho Afar *ǎǎǎ*, Somali *ǎǎǎ*, Oromo *ǎǎǎ* (ibid.), Konso *ǎǎǎ*, *ǎǎǎ*, Bayso *ǎǎǎ*, Burji *ǎǎǎ*, Hadiya *ǎǎǎǎ* (< \**ǎǎǎǎ*-), Sidamo *ǎǎǎǎ*, Gawwata *ǎǎǎǎ* (ho), Tsamai *ǎǎǎǎ-ko* (PEC 18), Dahalo (pl.) *ǎǎǎǎ* (Tos Dah 134), N. Omot. Wolamo *ǎǎǎǎ-ta*, Kullo Gofa Gamu Zergulla *ǎǎǎǎ* (Bnd Om 19; according to Bender, all Omot. forms are from Amh. *ǎǎǎǎ*, which is unlikely in view of their widest attestation in Cush. and Omot. and lack of Sem. etymology for the Amh. term, evidently borrowed from Cush.), Kafa *ǎǎǎǎ* (ibid. 58), S. Omot. Ari *ǎǎǎ* (ibid. 212), Ongota *ǎǎǎ*, *ǎǎǎ* (Fl Ong 51) vs. Afras. \**g<sup>w</sup>il-* 'knee': W. Chad. Hausa *ǎǎǎ-wǎ*, pl. *ǎǎǎǎ* 'knee' (Abr Hs 355; most likely < \**ǎǎǎ*-), C. Chad. Mofu *ǎǎǎ* 'hanche' (Bar 118), E. Cush. Dasenech *ǎǎ* 'hand' (Tos Das 500), S. Cush. Qwadza *ǎǎǎǎ-ko* 'ankle', Asa *ǎǎǎǎ*, Dahalo *ǎǎǎ* 'knee' (Tos Dah 134). < S. Omot. Hamar *ǎǎǎǎ*, *ǎǎǎǎ* 'liver' (Bnd Om 213; the labial consonant is treated by Bender as a suffix which needs proof) vs. Ari *ǎǎǎ* (according to Bender, "a universal loan < Oromo *ǎǎǎ*", which is questionable in view of a wide spread of the corresponding forms in Omot.), N. Omot. Malo Gerese *ǎǎ*, Dorze *ǎǎ*, Kullo *ǎǎǎ*, etc. 'liver' (ibid. 20; cf. Malo *ǎǎ*, Kullo Dorze *ǎǎ* etc. 'chest' ibid. 13) < Afras. \**ǎǎǎ-* 'liver': W. Chad. Polchi *ǎǎǎǎǎ* 'liver' (met.), C. Chad. Mada *ǎǎǎǎ* 'reins' (BB 254), E. Cush. Saho *ǎǎǎ*, Afar *ǎǎǎ*, Somali *ǎǎǎ*, Oromo *ǎǎ*, Konso *ǎǎǎ*, Hadiya *ǎǎǎ*, Gawwata *ǎǎ*, etc. 'liver' (Dolg 1973 203), S. Cush. Maʔa *ǎǎǎ* 'liver' (HRSC 387).

Varia:

[ ] Soq. *duʃob* 'mordre' (LS 363) vs. Arb. *ḏyḏy* 'mâcher, broyer avec les mâchoires' (BK 2 29), *ḏym* 'mordre, saisir avec la bouche' (ibid.), *ḏyt* 'mâcher, broyer légèrement avec les dents' (ibid. 28). [ ] Eth. \**gʷdb* 'to cut' (LGz 181; otherwise to be treated as a variant root of \**gdm*, v. *ibid.*): Gez. *gʷadaba* 'to cut with an axe, dig a ditch', *gʷədb*, Tgr. *gəḏəb* 'axe', Tna *gädäbä* 'to cut', Amh. *gʷaddäbä* 'to dig, cut' vs. Sem. \**gdd* 'to cut' (v. in LGz 180): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ḏdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəḏdu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädäda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). [ ] Sem. \**krb* 'to plait, braid, tie up': Arb. *krb* 'tordre, tresser (une corde)' (BK 2 880), Gez. *karabo* 'woven basket; pouch', Tgr. *kärba* 'to tie up', Amh. *käräbo* 'basket' (LGz 290) vs. \**krr/y* id.: Hbr. *kry* 'to bind together' (HAL 497; Arb. *kwr* 'to wind a turban' compared ibid. is rather from Afras. \**kwr* 'to be round'), Arb. *karr-* 'corde tressée de feuilles ou de fibres de palmier' (BK 2 879), Tna. *kärärä* 'to be twisted (thread), to be made (rope) by twisting' (K Tna 1591). < Afras. \**darb-/bVrid-*: Sem. Jud. *darbān* 'Pforte, weiter Eingang' (Dolg 1973 50 after Levy), Syr. *darb-* 'via' (Brock 165: "ex Arb. *darb-*"), Arb. *darb-* 'porte; défilé, rue, chemin', Anc. Yemen 'muraille', Dat. *darraba* 'entourer d'un mur' (DRS 307), Mhr. *darb* 'village street; yard' (JM 73), Jib. *ḏərb* 'village street; unroofed enclosure, yard' (JJ 40; both MSA forms look as Arabisms, note, however, partial differences in meaning), Brb. Ayr *ābarid*, Ghadames Qabyle *abrid*, etc. 'chemin, route' (DRB 100), N. Cush. Beja *derēb*, C. Cush. Bilin *dārəb*, pl. *dārḏif* 'way, road', E. Cush. Saho *darib* 'way, trace' (Dolg 1973 50; according to Dolgopolsky, all < Cush. \**dVrVP-*; the three forms, however, look as Arabisms), Oromo *darabaa* 'place for keeping cows in common; place where common activity is done' (Gr 99; semantic evolution of the borrowed Arb. 'street?') vs. Afras. \**dar-*: Sem. Arb. *darar-* 'trace; ligne d'une route, surtout droite; côté (d'une maison qui nous fait face)' (BK 1 682), Mhr. *šəḏəri* 'to go by a good route' (< Arb.?), *šə-drō*, Jib. *šə-drē* 'to get to the top' (JM 74), W. Chad. Jimbin *dāru*, Mburku *dəri*, Miya *darhi*, Kariya *derahi* 'road, path, way' (Sk NB 37), Gerka *der* (Fitz 219), Karekare *n-darū* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *ḏerlū* 'to go' (CLR 162) E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

### -Vk

Animal names:

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

Anatomy:

[ ] Sem. \***bi/ark-** 'knee': Akk. *birku*, Hbr. *bārāk*, etc. (SED I No. 39; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Mburku *vərka cəma* 'foot' (CLR 220; *vərka* < \**bVrk-*? Cf. Siri *cúma* 'leg' ibid.), C. Chad. Mofu *pápərakw* 'patte' (Bar 219), Gisiga *poporok* 'knee' (CLR 215; < \**babarak?*), E. Cush. Yaaku *loipuruḏuḏi* (Hei Ya 128; composed of *loi-porokuḏi* < \**-porokuki* < \**borok-*?) vs. \***(ʔi)bar-(at)** '(bone of) leg, thigh, arm' (cf. SED I No. 3; v. in **ʔV-** Anatomy) < Afras. \**bar(bar)-* '(bone of) leg, thigh, knee': W. Chad. Ngamo *buru* (Meck 37), Dera *bó-bərəm*, Karekare *bērāsù* (CLR 214),

Galambu *búbur* (Sch BT 82), C. Chad. Bachama *m̀bwàrà* 'leg' (CLR 221), Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), Paduko *b̀orna* 'knee' (CLR 215), Gude *búurá* 'elbow' (Hos 164), Zime-Batna *ḥūru* 'marcher sur les jenux' (Cooper 3), E. Chad. Mokilko *ʔobbíra* 's'agenouiller' (Jung Mkk 151), E. Cush.: Rendille *barbar* 'shoulder' (PG 387), N. Omot. Kafa *borborō* 'coscia' (Cer Caf 415), S. Omot. Ubamer *barr* 'thigh' (Bla SED 499). [] Sem. **\*warik(-at)-** 'hip(-bone)': Hbr. *yārēk*, Arb. *wark-*, *wirk-*, etc. (SED I No. 288) vs. Afras. *\*war-* 'thigh(-bone), leg': Arb. *warr-* 'os de la hanche' (BK 2 1516), Egyp. MK *wʔr-t* 'Bein' (EG I 287), W. Chad. Mburku *wīrin*, Miya Kariya *wurum* 'knee' (Sk NB 28; unless < \**bVr-*, v. above), C. Chad. Musgu *werē* 'Knie' (Luk Msg 81), S. Cush. Iraqw *uryee* 'backside of upper side of leg, thigh' (MQK 113), Burunge *ʔuuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310). <> W. Chad. Chip *fə̀lɔk* 'liver' (Kr I 39), Sura *fə̀lɔk* (Jung Sura 213), Mupun *flok*, *f̀lɔfuk* (Fr Mup 87) 'lungs' vs. Ankwe *fə̀lə* 'liver' (Kr I 51) *fííl* 'lungs' (ibid.), C. Chad. Bachama *f̀fulàwey* 'lungs' (Kr III 66) < Afras. (*ʔ/ʔa-*)*fəl-* 'liver, lungs, stomach': Sem. Soq. *ʔefelóti* (dual) 'estomac' (LS 319), E. Cush. Sidamo *affale*, Burji *affala*, Kambatta *afali-ta*, Hadiya *afare* (< \**Hafal-*) 'liver' (HEC 93). <> W. Chad. *\*ti/uk-* 'belly': Hausa *číkí* < \**tik-*, Kiir *túk*, Geji *túki*, Tule *túkò* (CLR 20) vs. Chad. *\*tu/a-* id.: Daffa-Butura *tuh* (unless < \**tuk-*), pl. *tutuwaí*, Wangdai Zaar *tuú*, C. Chad. Kilba *ta* 'belly' (ibid.). <> Chad. *\*bVk-* 'mouth': W. Chad. Hausa *bákí*, Dera *bwóók*, E. Chad. Dangla *ḥiykíko* (CLR 244-5) vs. *\*biw/y-* id.: Dera *bwó*, Karekare *boò*, Jimi *bi*, Tule *biyi*, etc., E. Chad. Sumrai *bi*, Migama *bí*, Jegu *bétó*, C. Chad. Nzangi *bōá* (ibid.). <> C. Cush. Bilin *lábāká*, Dembea Qwara *lábakā* 'Herz' (RBil 251) vs. Afras. *\*IVb-* 'heart' (v. in Bla SED 503-4) where all the comparisons are convincing except Brb. *\*luHi*, which, together with S. Omot. Hamar *wōyləm* and probably Ongota *lə̀ta* 'heart' go back to Afras. *\*wVli(m)-*: Sem. Akk. *libbu*, Arb. *lubb-*, etc. (SED II No. 174), Egyp. Pyr. *ib* (EG I 59), N. Cush. Beja *lɛw* 'pylorus' (Roper 213), E. Cush. (perhaps < Eth.) Afar *lubbi* (PH 156), Oromo *lubbuu* 'soul, spirit' (Gr 267), etc. <> C. Cush. Bilin *nabaká* 'Mitte' (RBil 280) vs. Qwara *nabeow* 'middle (adj.)', *nabea* 'centre' (RQua 104; according to Reinisch, < *nābē* 'spalten' which seems to me less probable), Dembea *nabēá* 'middle (adj.)' (ibid.), likely < Afras. *\*nVb-* 'heart' (a variant root of *\*IVb-*?): C. Chad. Daba *núv* 'heart' (Kr III 156; cf. *lìbi* 'stomach' ibid.), N. Omot. Shinasha *nibba*, Sheko Kafa *nibbo*, Janjero *niba* 'Herz' (Lmb Sh 367). <> N. Omot. *\*ʔačk-* 'meat' (Bender separates *-k* as if it were a productive suffix which needs proof): Male *aski* (Bnd Om 59), Dizi *ačku*, *ašku* (ibid. 213), Mao (Sezo) *ǝške* (ibid. 276) vs. *\*ʔač-* id.: Gofa *ašo*, Chara *ačča*, Koyra *ʔáččo*, Gimirra *ač*, Mao (Sezo) *ǝssi*, *ʔǝs* (ibid. 20, 59, 90, 169, 276), S. Omot. Ongota *čata* (< \**ča-t-*?) 'meat' < Afras. *\*čaʔw-* ~ *\*ʔačw-* 'small cattle; meat' (v. **\*taʔ(wy)-at-** 'ewe' SED II No. 236): Sem. *\*taʔ(w/y)-at-* 'ewe' (Ugr. *tʔat*, Arb. *taʔwat-*, etc.), W. Chad. Kirfi *wüci* 'sheep', E. Chad. Kwang *čúwī* 'goat', E. Cush. Somali *soʔ*, Oromo *foo-ni* (Oromo *f-* implies \**č-*), Bussa *soʔ-o*, Dasenech *so*, Gidole *soʔ-ha* 'meat' (PEC 50). <> Afras. *\*ḥark-* 'limb, arm': Sem. Arb. *ḥarkakat-* 'haut de la hanche' (BK 1 413; cf. Jib. *ḥarkún* 'lame, broken-legged' JJ 115), W. Chad. Dera *árək* 'hand' (CLR 178), N. Cush. Beja *hárka*, *hérka* 'Arm, Oberarm, Schulter, Achsel' (RBeđ 126), E. Cush. Oromo *harka* 'hand' (Gr 202), Konso *harka* id. (Black 297), Gawwata *ḥarkó*, Tsamai *harko* 'hand' (SLLE 7), S. Cush. Maʔa *iharega* 'arm' (HRSC 387) vs. Afras. *\*ḥar-* 'arm, hand': C. Chad. *\*Har-* 'arm, hand': Tera *ḥar*, Ngweshe *ḥarà*, Mofu *hár* 'hand' (CLR 178-9), etc., E. Cush. Saho *hará* 'Hand, Arm' (RSa 190), Oromo



*hirree, irree* 'arm' (Gr 227), N. Omot. Anfillo *hiro* 'fathom' (?).

Varia:

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

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

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

Sem. **\*di/ab(b)ūr-** 'bee, wasp': Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib<sup>w</sup>ara* (in *dib<sup>w</sup>ara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., probably < Afras.: W. Chad. Ngamo *ndəbūrō* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dəvūrəṅa* 'sausage fly', (?) Fali-Bwagira *dəvūr-ṅən* 'termite; anthill' vs. Afras. *\*dVb-* 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *daba<sup>n</sup>* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis', W. Chad. Dera *dībīn, dīwīn* 'fly', Jimbin *duba*, C. Chad. Lame *dab, dəḅai*, E. Chad. Mokilko *díbé* 'termite', Migama *dībídībí* 'termite ailé (grand, rouge)', Kera *ádəbdəbə* 'Tsetsefliege', N. Omot. Hozo *dabbi* 'termite' (SED II No. 66).

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

Sem. Hrs. *dēbēr*, Mhr. *dəbēr*, Jib. *ēdbir* 'hornet, fly' (prob. also Soq. *édbehir* 'abeille') and, probably, Brb. (if -z- is <\*ž and not \*ḡ) Ahaggar *ǎzənbîbər* 'esp. de de coléoptères' (4 cm long), Ayr E. Tawlemmet *əzəbbenbər* 'bubreste' < Afras. \*žVbir- (v. in \***di/ab(b)ūr**- 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Mhr. *dəbbēt*, Hrs. *dēbbēt*, Jib. *dəbbōt*, Soq. *ʔedbíboh* 'fly' < Afras. \*žib(a)b- 'kind of flying insect': Brb. Ghat *a-zəb(b)*, Ahaggar *a-həb*, Ayr *e-zəb*, *izbəb*, E. Wlm. *i-zəbb*, Taneslemt *i-zəbb*, *a-šəbb*, *a-šbəb* 'mouche plate', Izayan *izeb* 'mouche de cheval', W. Chad. Hausa *žīḃā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *žēboa* 'bee', C. Chad. Bura *žeba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *žibi*, Bata *žēbi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *ʔžimbè* 'bee, honey', E. Cush. Tsamai *zubaʔe* 'ant' (in \***dVb(V)b**- 'fly', No. 73).

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

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

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

Sem. \***š(x)zr-** 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', \***š(x)VzVr-** (diff. in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošzār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanziria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sənzərə* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sənzərə* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Selti Wolane Zway *sənzər*, Chaha Ennemor Gyeto *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šezər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hāzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šezr*, (C.) *šézər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šézir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizû* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD š3 152; AHW 1254).

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

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

Sem. \***SVt(V)r-** 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *štr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *štr* (*aph*) 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šētər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' vs. \***si(n)t-** 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. \**šī* in *ha-ssī* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *sēt* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *šīā* 'palmus', Arb. *šint-* 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main' (though Mhr. *š* points to \*š rather than to \*s, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. \**šī* cannot be accidental); note the second meaning of the Hbr. term given by Jastrow: 'the distance...between

the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' which implies a shorter distance than that implied by the Mhr. term.

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

C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *sáfal*) 'Schlangensorte, Art von Boa' (RBil. 294, Khamir *sibrā* (pl. *sibir, sibil*) id. (RCham. 405) vs. Sem. (?) Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' MB on (CAD Š2 375, AHw. 1226; not fully reliable), Gyt. *sība* 'kind of worm' (LGur. 531, acc. to Leslau, from Oromo), Cha. Eža *šiba*, Enm. *šība*, Gyt. *šība*, End. *šīwā* 'kind of worm' (ibid. 571), Hrs. *šebšebēt* 'small red worm, centipede' (JH 123), Mhr. *šəbšīb*, E. Jib. *šəbšəb* 'red waterworm' (JM 392) < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm' (HSED No. 2227), E. Cush. Oromo *sībā* 'worm', Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm' (Abr. Som. 228), v. in *\*šibb-* 'kind of snake, worm' (SED II No. 200).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sem. **\*kVrs̄(-ull)** 'ankle' (cf. SED I No. 169): Hbr. *\*karsullayim* 'ankles' (dual), Jud. *ḵarsullā*, *ḵarsūlā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḵurṣēlā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *ḵarso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənḵərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənḵərša*, Mhr. *ḵərṣāt* 'kneecap' (-ā- points either to \*-aw or to \*-al) vs. **\*k<sup>(w)</sup>Vys̄-**, **\*k<sup>(w)</sup>Vss̄-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimṣu*, *kinṣu*, *kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *ḵaṣāṣ-*, *ḵuṣāṣ-*, *ḵiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *ḵaṣāṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *ḵaṣṣ-*, *ḵuṣaṣ-* id. (cf. *ḵays-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *ḵwəyṣ*, *ḵwəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *ḵəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gyeto *ḵəṭəyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mīḵṣeh* 'articulation, falange'.

11. A Semitic triradical root with -r as a second radical denoting a larger object ('leg, shin') vs. bi- (in Aram. and pB. Hbr.) or triradical (in Arb.) forms without \*-r denoting what seems a smaller measure ('joint, hoof'):

Sem. **\*k<sup>w</sup>iāṣ-** 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurātu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru*, *kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *kəṛāʿayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *karʿā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *kəṛāʿā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *kurāṣ-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *krʿ* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>ərnāṣ* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *k<sup>w</sup>ərnaṣ* 'elbow', Amh. *kərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *kərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuruʿ* 'cubit, arm', Selti *kəre*, Wolane *həri*, Zway *hərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *kərrā* id. vs. **\*k<sup>w</sup>aṣ(-at)** or **\*k<sup>w</sup>aṣ(-at)** 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *kōʿā* 'articulus', Arb. *kāṣ-*, *kūṣ-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os *zind*', Amh. *kotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *kotte* 'hoof'.

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