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Серия «Филология. Вопросы языкового родства»

Редакционная коллегия серии

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Isoglosses sud-arabiques archaïques

L'article ci-dessous expose les faits lexicaux découverts dans les langues sémitiques, notamment l'arabe classique de la poésie préislamique et des textes des premiers siècles de l'Islam (Arab), les dialectes arabo-yéménites modernes (Yém), les langues sud-arabiques épigraphiques (ESA), les langues sud-arabiques modernes (MSA). Les correspondances avec d'autres langues sémitiques et non-sémitiques peuvent également être ajoutées. Les exemples d'isoglosses cités et examinés ci-dessous montrent des vestiges du substrat sud-arabique présemitique (non-sémitique) et des traces de l'héritage afro-asiatique commun.

Mots-clés : langues sémitiques, arabe classique, dialectes arabo-yéménites, langues sud-arabiques épigraphiques, langues sud-arabiques modernes, isoglosses, substrat.

Dans cet article, il sera question de certaines isoglosses lexicales reliant l'arabe classique précoce, les dialectes arabo-yéménites et les langues sud-arabiques épigraphiques et modernes dont la sémantique est révélatrice de la vision du monde des ethnies porteuses de ces langues. Il s'agit, en premier lieu, de quelques verbes, parfois dénominatifs, ayant développé des sens spécifiques.

Dans le lexique des langues sud-arabiques modernes ainsi qu'anciennes, on peut discerner des isoglosses particulières. Celles-ci sont représentées : (a) par des verbes de « spécification » ; (b) par des termes mythologiques qui ne sont connus que des langues à usage oral.

Nous ajoutons à notre analyse lexicale une notion de « spécification » (on peut aussi utiliser le terme de « spécialisation » du sens), un terme pertinent pour distinguer ce phénomène sémantique dans nos langues, d'autres faits connus comme « restriction du sens d'un mot ». Habituellement, on considère la restriction du sens comme un processus historique. Or, dans notre cas, nos données sont clairement en faveur d'une dérivation synchronique. Les verbes spécifiés comportent deux sèmes, par exemple : « action + temps d'action », « mouvement + orientation/but d'action », etc. Le verbe peut remonter à une racine nominale monosémique. Dans le lexique arabe moderne, on peut observer l'extension (généralisation) du sens des verbes spécifiés, par exemple Arab. *wrd* (v.) « descendre la pente pour aller à l'eau, à l'abreuvoir » > « arriver » ; *ṣbḥ* (v.) « faire qqch. (« venir, manger, boire » etc.) au matin » > « devenir » (par exemple « devenir peintre »).

La plupart des verbes spécifiés peuvent être définis comme verbes dérivés, verbes dénominatifs. Pourtant, il existe également des verbes spécifiés dont l'origine reste inconnue. À la différence du premier groupe lexical (a), les termes mythologiques ne sont pas des dérivations : au contraire, ils présentent des thèmes nominaux primaires. Ces termes sortent des limites sud-arabiques et forment une isoglosse afro-asiatique.

Il faut souligner un fait remarquable : la plupart des unités arabes examinées dans l'article sont déjà tombées en désuétude ou bien leur sens et leurs fonctions ont changé tandis que leurs correspondances dans les langues sud-arabiques modernes restent en usage et sont attestées dans les dictionnaires au XXème siècle.

La vie nomade

1.0. Le temps d'action

1.1. « matin/morning » — *ṣbḥ*
Arab. *ṣubḥ-/ṣabāḥ-* (n.) : *ṣbḥ* (v.) « faire quelque chose au matin : venir, se trouver quelque part ; manger, boire », etc. aussi IIème et IVème thèmes [BK I : 1303—1304] ;
ESA : Sab. *ṣbḥ* (v.) « faire quelque chose de grand matin » [SD : 140] ;
Éthiosém. : Gz. *ṣǝbāḥ* 'morning' [Leslau 1987 : 545]: les correspondances du lexème sont aussi attestées dans la plupart de langues éthiosémitiques modernes : Tna. *ṣǝbbaḥ* (Kane 2000: 2575), Tgr. *ṣǝbaḥ*, *ṣǝbḥat* (Littmann — Höfner 1962: 639), Amh. *ṭäbat*, *ṭǝbat*, *ṭʷat* (Kane 1990: 2140), Arg. *ṭǝwwah* (Leslau 1997: 224), Zay *ṭǝb*, Muh., Gog. *ṭǝbä*, Muh. *ṭǝbena*, Sod. *ṭäbṭät*, *ṭäṭbät* (Leslau 1979: 608), Gaf. *ṣäbbä* « faire jour » (Leslau 1956: 233) ;
MSA : Mhr. *a-ṣōbǝḥ*, Jibb. *e-ṣōḥ* 'to take the goats/cows out for a while in the morning; to come to s-o in the morning'; Mhr. *hǝ-ṣbāḥ*, E., C. *e-ṣbáḥ* 'to be / become / go in the morning' [Johnstone 1987: 356—357], Soq. *ṣbaḥ* et *ʔeṣbaḥ* « entrer dans la matinée, devenir tel ou tel le matin » [Leslau 1938 : 344].

1.2.1. « nuit/night » — *ġmd*
Arab. *ġmd* (v.), VIIIème thème « entrer dans la nuit, dans l'obscurité » [BK II : 501] ;
MSA : Jibb. *o-ġōd* Mhr., Jibb. *gǝ-ġmōd* 'to go at sunset' ; 'to be / come in the early evening', Soq. *á'mǝd*, Ḥars. *a-ġmod* 'to pass the night' [Johnstone 1987: 137—138].

1.2.2. « nuit/night » — *ǧhm*
Arab. *ǧhm* (v.), IVème thème « être sombre », VIIIème thème « s´en aller dans la partie de la nuit dite *ǧahm-at-* ; *ǧahm-at-* (n. f.) « la partie la plus obscure de la nuit, c.-à-d. soit minuit, soit la troisième partie de la nuit » [BK I : 346—347] ;
MSA : Mhr. *gǝhem*, E. *ghɛm*, C. *gɛhém* 'to go in the morning', š-thème: *šǝ-ghōm*, C. *śǝ-ghím* 'to come at the end of the night' [Johnstone 1987: 116—117]. Voir encore Soq. *gehem* « faire quelque chose à midi, arriver à midi, se reposer » [Leslau 1938: 103].

1.2.3. « obscurité, ténèbres » — *ṭlm*
Arab. *ʔaḏlama* IVème thème « se trouver dans l'obscurité ; voyager dans l'obscurité » [BK II : 140—141] ;
MSA : Mhr. *a*-thème *a-ḏōlǝm* 'to take camels out at night', E. *ɛḏúlm*, C. *eḏúlm* 'to go out late at night'; Mhr. *ǝ-ḏalōm* 'to go (livestock) out to night pasture' [Johnstone 1987: 84]. Voir encore Soq. *ṭelim* « manger le soir » [Leslau 1938: 204]. (Sém. * člm* « obscurité, ténèbres »).

1.2.4. *ṭwy* est attesté en arabe comme thème nominal :
Arab. *'a-ṭwā'-* (n. pl.) « parties, heure de la nuit » [BK II : 125—126]' cf. Yém. *ṭā/yi-ṭī* (imperf.) «(herunter) kommen» [Behnstedt : 792—793].
MSA : Mhr. *ṭǝwū* 'to come, visit at night', *hǝ-ṭwū*, E., C. *e-ṭbē*, Ḥars. *a-ṭwō* 'to bring at night' [Johnstone 1987: 413];

Deux exemples cités ci-dessous présentent d'autres thèmes verbaux en Arab. et en MSA dont les correspondances nous échappent.

1.2.5. **ṭrq*

Arab. *ṭrq* (v.) « venir de nuit chez qqn / dans un lieu ; sortir de nuit ; faire une incursion de nuit » ; *ṭāriq-* (prt. act. du Ier thème) « qui voyage / qui rôde pendant la nuit » > « hôte de nuit » ; « étoile »[1] [BK II : 75—78]. Cf. arabe moderne *ṭaraqa-ṭ-ṭarīq* « cheminer, voyager, marcher », ou *ṭarīq-* (n.) « chemin, route (en général) » [Dozy 2, 1881 : 38]. Le thème verbal *ṭrq* « venir de nuit » n'est attesté pour ce sens que dans le lexique arabe. Il semblerait que ce verbe ne soit pas dénominatif.

1.2.6. Voir encore dans MSA : Mhr. *bār/yə-bōr* (v. < **bʿr*) 'to go by night, be out at night', Soq. *bɔʿor* 'to come / go / happen at night' [Johnstone 1987: 41, Leslau 1938: 92].

1.2.7. **nfś*

Arab. *nfś* (v.) 'the sheep/goats/camels pastured by night / dispersed themselves by night' [Lane I, VIII: 2829—2830];

MSA : Mhr. *nĕfūś*, Jibb. *enféś* 'to take the goats to pasture in the afternoon; to take away in the afternoon, early evening' [Johnstone 1987: 285], Soq. *nofóś* « aller dans l'après-midi, le soir » [Leslau 1938: 272]. Dans les textes de [SE, VII]: Jibb. *nfoś ad be-eñheg*, Soq. **nófóś** *ʿaf yhe be-filigoh* «er ging **am Nachmittag** als er auf dem Hochweg war» [SE, VII: 24, № 10(3)].

R e m a r q u e : La plupart des verbes cités (1.2.1.—1.2.7) chez les tribus nomades arabiques se rapportent au temps de la nuit. Cela ne semble pas étonnant puisque ce temps est le plus favorable pour faire paître le bétail, le plus propice au voyage, aux incursions, etc.

2.0. Façon d'agir, but de l'action

2.1. **raġad-* (n.) « vie dans l'aisance »

Arab. *raġad-* (n.) « vie aisée au sein de l'abondance », *rġd* (v., caus. IV. thème) « laisser paître librement les bestiaux » [BK I: 888; Lane I, III: 1112] ;

MSA : Mhr. *a-roġad* (caus) 'to leave camels somewhere by themselves', Jibb. *e-roġud* 'to spoil a child', Ḥars. *reġād* 'left unattended' [Johnstone 1987: 319].

2.2. **zml* « charge d'une bête de somme »

Arab. *ziml-/zamil-/zamīl-* (n.) « qui est en croupe ; qui monte une monture derrière un autre ; charge d'une bête de somme » [BK I : 1013] ; verbe : *zml* 'to ride behind another on a camel and to carry the food, household goods' [Lane I, III : 1252—1253][2].

Yém. *zml* (v.) 'to carry a load on large cattle; to sing *zāmil*' [Piamenta: 204—205]; «singen bei Marschieren» [Behnstedt: 508]; Ḥaḍr. *zaml* « bât (pour monter à dos de chameau) » [Landberg Ḥḍr : 67, 94, 599];

MSA : Mhr. *zəmūl* (v.) 'to put the pack-saddle-girth on a camel's back', E., C. *zōl* 'to put grass-filled pads on a camel's back and tie this on with a long rope', Soq. *zóməl* 'to follow the pastures'; Mhr. *zəmul* (n.) 'camel-gear' [Johnstone 1987: 468].

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[1] Dans le Qur'ān [81 — 1, 3] *wa s-samā'i wa **ṭ-ṭāriqi*** « [je jure] du ciel et de l'**étoile du matin** ! » Selon le commentaire traditionnel : *aṭ-ṭāriq — an-naǧmu z-zāhir laylan / aṭ-ṭāriq —* « c'est une étoile qui paraît la nuit » (voir aussi [Kračkovskij 1963 : 484, 630]).

[2] Cf. arabe moderne : *zamīl-* (n.) « compagnon de route ; collègue » [Wehr 1952 : 346 ; Baranov 1976 : 334].

2.3. *raḥl-* « selle de chameau »

Arab. *raḥl-* (n.) « selle de chameau » ; verbe du Vème thème « bâter un chameau ; se mettre en route » [BK I : 836] ;

ESA : Sab. *rḥl* « équipement (e. g. saddle) » [SD : 116] ;

Éthiosém. : Gz. *raḥala* 'to saddle, put equipment (on a beast)' [Leslau 1987: 466];

Syr. *raḥl* id. [Zammit : 191].

R e m a r q u e : En plus du sens général du thème, *rḥl* Arabe et MSA ont le même thème verbal au sens spécifié. Arab. **rḥl* (v.) et Mhr. *raḥal* (v.) 'to bring water from a distance (use by camel)' [Johnstone 1987: 321]. En arabe un vestige de la spécification est attesté dans la forme nominale dérivée *mi-rḥāl-* « homme chargé du service d'eau nécessaire pour les voyageurs » [BK I : 838—839].

2.4. **ṣdr* — antonyme à Sém. **wrd* « descendre à l'eau, à l'abreuvoir »

Arab. *ṣdr* (v.) « retourner de l'abreuvoir » [BK I : 1318—1320] ;

Yém. : Ḍof. *ṣdr* (v.) «vom Wasser, Tränke zurückkehren, emporsteigen» [SE, X: 33];

MSA : Mhr. *ṣadūr* 'to come up from water', E., C. *ṣɔ́dɔ́r* id., Ḥ. *ṣədōr* id.

2.5. **kbw/*kbb*

Arab. *kbw/kbb* (v.) « tomber le visage contre terre ; renverser » [BK II : 856] ;

Yém. *kbb* (v.) 'to lean ; recline' [Piamenta: 423];

Ḍof. *kbw* (part.) «kopfhängerisch: mit der Nase im Staube»; *kbb* (IVème thème) «sich bücken» [SE X: 51];

MSA : Mhr. *kbb* (v.) 'go down / sich beugen, verbeugen', Ḥars. *kbūb* Jibb. *ekbéb* 'to stoop, lower (head)'. Mhr. *káttəb* (dériv.) 'to lie face down' [Johnstone 1987: 201].

De la spécification à l'extension (généralisation) du sens :

2.6. **mrq̇*

Arab. *mrq* (v.) « percer (d'un coup de lance) » ; VIIème thème « traverser de part en part au point de sortir de l'autre côté (une flèche) » [BK II : 1094—1095] ;

MSA : Mhr. *məruq̇*, E., C. *mérɔq̇* 'to go in and out, through; to stick out' [Johnstone 1987: 269].

3.0. Le domaine de la vie quotidienne

3.1. l'adoption et l'élevage — **rbb*

Arab. *rbb* (v.) Ier et IIème thèmes « élever, donner l'éducation à un enfant » ; *rābb-* (pzt.) « beau-père », *rābb-at-* (f.) « belle-mère », *rabīb-* (adj. pass.) « esclave élevé ; beau-fils, fils adoptif (*rabīb-* id. f.) » [BK I : 798]. Voir encore Nab. *rbb* 'foster-father' (< arabe?) (HJ 1052) ;

Yém. *rabīb* (m.), *rabīb-a(t)* (f.) «Stiefsohn, Stieftochter» [Behnstedt : 422], 'stepson (from wife)' [Piamenta: 172]; Ḍof. *rbb* (v.) IIème thème «erziehen; Tier halten, aufziehen» [SE, X, II: 21].

ESA : Sab. *rbb* (n.) « otage/hostage », *'-rbb-w* (n. pl.) « protégé / person under protection »; *rbb* (v.) « posséder / own, possess » [SD : 114].

MSA : Mhr. *rəb/tə-rbūb* (v. f.) '(she-camel) to become disoriented, accept a "*tulcan*" as substitute for a lost young one', E. *réb*, C. *rbe* (v. f.) id.; Mhr. *hə-rbūb* (caus.) 'to induce a she-camel to take a young one not her own and rear it', C. *e-rbéb* id. [Johnstone 1987: 311].

R e m a r q u e : Voir encore: Arab. *rabb-* (n.) « maître, seigneur ; possesseur, propriétaire d'une chose » [BK I : 798—800] ;

Yém. *rabb* «Herrgott» [Behnstedt : 421—422] ;

ESA : Sab. *rb-m* (n.) 'Lord (divine title)' [Biella : 475] ; *'-rbb-w* (n. pl.) «Eigentümer, Schiffseigner» [Müller 2010: 199];

MSA : Mhr., E., C. *rab* 'Lord' [Johnstone 1987 : 310], probablement un arabisme ;

Éthiosém. : Gz. *rabbi* 'teacher' (< Hbr. *rabbī*) [Leslau 1987: 460]; Amh. *räbbi* 'teacher' (< Hbr. *rabbī*) [Kane 1990: 390], Tna. *räbi* 'the Lord, God' (< Arb. *rabbī*) [Kane 2000: 262], Te. *rabbi* 'God' (< Arb. *rabbī*) [Littmann — Höfner 1962: 152] ;

Aussi Sém. : Akk. *rabu* (in Titel) [KB 868], *rabbû* [CAD R 16], *rabû* 'large; main, principal, chief; elder, senior; adult; important; great, weighty, grievous' (CAD R 26—27), Hbr. *rab* «Oberst, Anführer» [KB : 868], 'zahlreich, viel' [KB 1092]; *rbb* «zahlreich sein/werden; gross sein (Js 6:12)» [KB 1096], *rābā* «zahlreich werden, sich mehren» [KB 1097] ;

Ug. *rb* 'great, large' [DUL 727], 'chief, sheikh, grandee' (DUL 728), Pho. *rb* 'chief' (T 298), 'great' (T 300); *rb* 'many; greatly' (T 300), Aram. Anc. *rbh* 'master, sir' [HJ 1052], *rb* 'head, chief, commander; numerous; big, large; important, great' (HJ 1047—51), *rby* 'to be great, to become great' [HJ 1053], *rbw* 'greatness, magnificence' (HJ 1052), Syr. *rbā*(?) 'magnus evasit; crevit; adolevit; auctus est' (Brock. 707), *rab* 'magnus evasit, fuit', *rabbā*(?) 'magnus' (Brock. 706) ;

Arab. *rabā* « augmenter, s'accroître ; gravir une hauteur, une colline ; grandir, être élevé » (BK I 813), dérivé de la racine sémitique commune « être grand ».

Par conséquent, le thème 3.1. *rbb* « possesseur / possession » peut entrer dans le champ sémantique plus large du Sém. **rbb/rbV* « être grand ».

3.2. *'ll < ġll* « substituer quelque chose pour calmer, consoler quelqu'un »

Arab. *'ll* (v.) (*i, u*) « tenir lieu d'une autre chose (se dit de toute nourriture, d'un amusement qui fait que l'enfant ne pense plus au lait de sa nourrice, de tout objet qui distrait la pensée d'une autre chose) » ; IIème thème « calmer un enfant qui pleure en lui donnant quelque chose pour l'amuser ; distraire quelqu'un de ses pensées, de ses soucis » ; thème V. « être allaité (aussi : nourri, apaisé) par qqch. donné en guise de lait (de l'enfant à qui on a donné à téter pour le calmer) » ; « s'occuper de quelque chose et s'en contenter au point de se distraire et de ne plus songer à autre chose » [BK II : 334—336] ;

Yém. *'ll* (*'alā*) 'to libel, accuse falsely' [Piamenta: 336]. Voir encore Arab. *ġll*[3] (v.) « tromper, frauder » [BK II : 487] ;

ESA : Sab. *y-ġl-n* (v. imp.) « s'approprier, retenir frauduleusement » [SD : 53] ;

MSA : Mhr. *ġəl* (v.) 'to console a (crying) child', C. *ġell* id. ; 'to be happy and as a result neglect duties' (aussi — formes verbales dérivées) [Johnstone 1987: 135].

R e m a r q u e : Nous y observons l'exemple du développement sémantique « substituer qqch. pour calmer, consoler qqn » > « tromper ».

On peut ainsi citer des exemples de la spécification dans deux directions :

3.3. Sém. **plg* « fendre en deux »

ESA : Sab. *h-flg* « creuser un chenal pour l'eau » [SD : 44] ;

Arab. *flǧ* (IIème thème) « faire espace entre les dents (pour être belle) » ; MSA : Mhr. *fōləg* (v.) '(woman) to make a separation between the teeth (for cosmetic reasons)' [Belova 2010: 276, № 1.0—1.1].

4.0. Nom d'un objet matériel et ses dérivés

4.1. **nṣb/*nčb nḍb < *nĉb* (n.) « arc, flèche; matière brute »

Arab. *ta-nḍub-* (n.) « sorte d'arbre à épines qui croît dans le Hedjaz et dont on fait des flèches » ; *nḍb* (v.) du IVème thème « tirer à soi la corde de l'arc au point qu'elle rende un son » [BK II : 1278 ; Lane I, VIII : 2805] ;

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[3] L'alternance consonantique (phonétique) *'/ġ* en arabe mérite également d'être mentionnée [Yuchmanov (1938) 1998 : 143—148 ; Majzel' 1983 : 165].

Yém. (Daṯina) *mi-nṭab/mi-nṭāb* (où *ṭ* < *ḍ*) n. « arc qui est hors d'usage ; actuellement, il est usité comme un jouet pour enfants » [Landberg Daṯ : 2770] Yém. (est) *mi-nṭāb* «Schleuder, catapult» [Behnstedt : 1218] ;

MSA : Mhr. *mə-ns̆əb-ēt*, E., C. *nṭɔb*, Ḥars. *nəs̆īb-ət* 'bow' ; *nəs̆āwb* 'to shoot an arrow', E., C. *nṭɔb* id. [Johnstone 1987 : 303], Hōbyot *mə-nṭōb* id. [Nakano 2013 : 83].

R e m a r q u e : Voir encore en Arab. (avec un réflexe latéral *š* < **ś*) *nuššāb-* (coll.) « flèches en bois » [BK II : 1257][4]. On peut supposer ici l'alternance des consonnes latérales **ś/ĉ*.

5.0. Termes du rite ancien (ordalie)

Dans cette cérémonie, on peut mettre en valeur certains termes qui sont d'origine locale.

5.1. **rbʻ* « protection ; aide, secours ». Sur la base de cette racine, un large champ dérivationnel s'est formé en Arabie Méridionale, en produisant des termes spécifiques.

Yém. *ta-rbī*ʻ 'an ordeal by a red-hot rod of iron on which the accused passes his tongue three times' [Piamenta: 173—174] et — nom d'agent *mu-rabbi*ʻ (prt. act. du IIème thème) « personne autoritaire qui exécute le *tarbī*ʻ ; qui sait établir un criminel (ou — le trouver) » ; Voir encore Yém. *mi-rabbi*ʻ «Sterndeuter» [Behnstedt : 428]. La spécification des termes revient au sens plus général : Yém. Ḥaḍr. *rb*ʻ 9v.) IIème thème « protéger ; demander protection ; demander à être le « *rabī*ʻ » (n.) de qqn » ; *rabī*ʻ « voisin, compagnon » [Landberg Ḥḍr : 582—585] ; Yém. d'ouest, Tihāma *rab*ʻ (n.) «Schutzsuchender» [Behnstedt : 426]. Le développement sémantique : « demander protection contre un crime, un criminel » donne en résultat certains termes du métier particulier.

MSA : Mhr. *a-rōba* (< *rb*ʻ), Ḥars. *a-rbyā* 'to give s-o protection' [Johnstone 1987: 312];

ESA : On peut supposer que l'épithète de la divinité du panthéon sud-arabique *RB*ʻ-n 'Quarter-moon' [Biella : 477] a un sens complémentaire de « protecteur ». Finalement, tous ces dérivés entrent dans le champ plus large de *rab*ʻ-, *rabī*ʻ — « hommes de la même tribu ». Cf. Sab. *rb*ʻ-n (n.) « résidence » ; *'-rb*ʻ-w (n. pl.) « groupe dans la population urbaine ; citadins » [SD : 113].

Arabe classique *rab*ʻ « troupe d'hommes » ; *rab*ʻ-/*rabā*ʻ-at- (n.) « habitation, village » [BK I : 807—810].

R e m a r q u e : Au Yémen, les termes spécifiques *tarbī*ʻ/*murabbi*ʻ ont les synonymes plus complets *baš*ʻ-a(h) / *ta-bšī*ʻ / *mu-bašši*ʻ « ordalie ; personne qui exécute, *tabšī*ʻ, celui qui sait trouver un criminel » [Al-Baradūnī : 55—56 ; Luqmān : 21—22 ; Dostal 1990 : 200—201 ; 211—212] ; aussi *bš*ʻ (v.) du IIème thème «wahrsagen», *mubašši*ʻ *as-sarīgah* «Wahrsager, der Diebstähle aufdeckt» [Behnstedt : 87 ; Piamenta : 32]. A la différence de *RB*ʻ, la racine *BŠ*ʻ n'a aucune correspondance dans les autres langues sémitiques. Dans [DRS, I : 88], la base *bašša*ʻ est marquée comme « méridionale ».

5.2. **mrt* « chauffer, mettre sur le feu ; être chauffé au rouge/à blanc (se dit de la pierre, du fer) »

Yém (Ḍofār) *mrt* (v.) «glühen, weissglühen (vom Eisen, von Steinen)» [SE, X, II : 55] ;

MSA : Mhr. *mērət/yə-mrōt*, Jibb. *mért*, Soq. *mérət* 'to be heated red-hot, become red-hot' [Johnstone 1987: 270; 1981: 174; Stroomer: 290—291], Soq. *mérot* « chauffer, mettre sur le feu » [Leslau 1938: 251];

ESA : Qat., Min. *mrt* (n.) «Keramik/Terrakotta» [Sima 2000 : 299—301].

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[4] Les autres désignations de « flèche » en arabe sont *sahm-* et *qadaḥ-*. Ils désignent des flèches de roseau.

Spécification : la racine verbale a ses dérivés avec le sens spécifique : « chauffer le fer pour réaliser l'ordalie ».

Yém. (Ḍofār) *mrt* v. IIème thème > prt. act. *me-marrit* / prt. act. du IVème thème *mi-mrit*. Cette forme nominale «bezeichnet den Mann, der das Eisen oder Messer glühend macht und der dieses Gottesurteil vollzieht» ; verbe du Xème thème «um dieses Gottesurteil gegen jemanden bitten» [SE, VIII : 34—35 ; SE, X, II : 55].

MSA : Mhr. *hə-mrūt/yə-hə-mrūt*, E., C. *e-mrét*, Soq. *mórət*, Ḥars. *a-mrōt* (caus.) 'to try by ordeal with a glowing iron' ; *šə-mrūt* (pass.) 'to be tried by ordeal with a hot iron' [Johnstone 1987: 270; 1981: 174]; il y a aussi des termes dérivés : *mə-há-mrət* 'ordeal giver, who lays a glowing blade on the tongue of a suspect', E. *īmrət*, C. *mú-mrət* id. [ibid.].

Par rapport à l'étymologie de la racine *MRT*, nous pouvons émettre deux considérations :

1) pour le sens étendu « chauffer qqch. », elle demeure une unité sud-arabique locale, tout à fait isolée ;

2) pour le sens plus spécifique « réaliser l'ordalie ; dévoiler un criminel », on peut lui trouver une correspondance avec évolution du sens. Éthiosém. : Gz. *marat-* (v.) 'foretell the future, divine' [Leslau 1987: 361], Amh. (*a*)*mʷarrätä* 'prophesy, foretell, cast a spell to injure s-o' [Kane 1990: 187], *mʷart-äňňa* 'foreteller of evil things; magician' [Kane 1990: 188] > Couch. (Qwmant *amʷarät* 'foretell' [Conti Rossini 1912: 232, Leslau 1987: 362]). Selon [Leslau 1987: 362], cette racine est une formation secondaire du thème synonyme *mry*, mais on peut quand même y voir deux racines différentes.

Dans le cas (2), la racine *MRT* constitue une isoglosse sud-sémitique en présentant une unité commune de l'héritage sud-arabique. Dans le lexique arabe classique, la racine *MRT* n'est pas attestée au sens examiné ci-dessus[5]. Le sens essentiel de *MRT* « mettre quelque chose sur le feu » préservé dans MSA et dans les dialectes arabo-yéménites peut nous donner une explication supplémentaire pour le terme *mrt* dans ESA[6].

Termes mythologiques

6.1. **budā*

Yém. *budā* / *bidah* / *bideh* (f.) « elle peut transformer un homme en animal (âne, cheval). D'habitude, les *budā* sont des femmes de familles riches. Leurs grands-mères savent des secrets de magie » [Al-Baradūnī : 37—38] ; *bidah*, pl. *bidāt* «eine Hexe» [Behnstedt : 64] ; *bideh* 'witch, sorceress, monster' ; *biddäh* 'a witch who transforms a person into an ass' [Piamenta: 23];

MSA : Ce terme spécifique n'est pas attesté.

Éthiosém. : Gz. *budā* 'one who causes harm by means of the evil eye' [Leslau 1987: 86]; Tna. *buda* 'sorcerer, person who can cast the evil eye' [Kane 2000: 1195], Amh. *buda* id. [Kane 1990: 934], Har. *buda* id. [Leslau 1963: 39], Gur. *buda* id. [Leslau 1979: 132], Te. *bozzāy* (où

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[5] La racine arabe *mrt* « être nu, chauve » n'est qu'un homonyme consonantique.

[6] La question de cette racine est traitée dans un contexte le plus large dans A. Sima [2000 : 299 —301]. A. Sima suppose que le terme *mrt* (selon l'auteur arabo-yéménite al-Iryānī 1996) remonte au yém. — arab. *murr-* «von Erdmaterial, guter Ton… für guten Keramikgegenstände» [ib. 301]. Mais dans ce cas, il nous faut expliquer la forme *mrt* comme une dérivation avec le suffixe du genre féminin **mr-t*. Compte tenu du sens du verbe *mrt* « mettre sur le feu », on peut en proposer une autre interprétation. ESA *mrt* remonte, quant à lui, à la racine trilitère signifiant « argile cuite ».

d > *z*) 'magician' [Littmann — Höfner 1962: 291]; voir encore Leslau 1987: 86; Mondon-Vidailhet: 4—5.

Couch. : Bilin *bōda / bawda*, Xamir, Qemant, Afar *buda*, Somali *bida*, Oromo *bawda*, Omot, Kafičo, Bworo *budo* < **bawad* « werewolf/loup-garou; sorcier, magicien » [Dolgopol'skij 1973: 238];

La reconstruction du tchadien de l'ouest : **bad* « sorcier »;

La reconstruction afro-asiatique : **bawVd* « sorcier » [HSED, № 247: 62].

6.2. **zār* (n.)

Yém. *zār* (n.) « une espèce de *ǧinn* qui provoque un accès d'épilepsie ». Selon une autre explication, « *zār* peut se transformer en beau garçon ou en belle fille » [Al-Baradūnī : 39] ; *zār* '*jinni*s coming from the Red Sea and living in the plains of Tihāmah' [Piamenta : 195] ; de même — on trouve sous la racine *zwr* 'a species of *jinni* that inflicts with epilepsy' ; IIème thème verbal — 'to cause epilepsy' [Piamenta : 208] ;

MSA : Soq. (sous la racine verbale *zrr*) « user de sorcellerie » ; *zehereh* (n. f.) « sorcière » [Leslau 1938 : 151—152] ; également Soq. *zer* (v.) 'to cast a spell' [Johnstone 1987 : 468] ;

Éthiosém. : Tna. *zar* 'a spirit that possesses people, possession by this spirit' [Kane 2000 1970], Te. *zār* 'evil spirit' [Littmann — Höfner 1962: 495], Amh. *zar* 'spirit which inhabits lakes, wilderness areas or trees and which possesses people' [Kane 1990: 1624], Gur. *zar* 'spirit that possesses a person' [Leslau 1979: 713] ; voir aussi Majzel' 1983 : 213.

Le monde des *jinnis*, invisible et imaginaire, existait en parallèle de toutes les religions et cultes en Arabie. Ce monde était plus ancien et archaïque que les panthéons complexes avec des temples, des objets sacrés et des statues. De plus, celui-ci reste toujours plus stable que ceux-là. Le nom de l'esprit maléfique peut être en rapport avec la racine signifiant « tourner, faire des détours » :

Éthiosém. : Gz. *zora/yə-zur* (< *zwr*) v. 'go around, turn around', Tna., Amh., Gur, Te., Arg. id. [Leslau 1987: 646]. Cf. Akk. Ass. *zār-u* 'to twist, turn round' [CDA: 445].

Couch. : **ǯAR* (II) « nom d'un démon malfaisant / evil ghost » (données de Bilin, Xamta, Awija, Rendille et quelques autres) [Dolgopol'skij 1973 : 129].

R e m a r q u e : Professeur A. Dolgopol'skij a reconstruit une protoforme couchitique comme **ǯAR* « divinité du ciel » (I) ; « esprit malin, démon malfaisant » (II), mais il considère les variantes des peuples Bilin, Xamta et Awija comme « amharismes » [ibid.]. Selon les données des ethnographes (Prof. M. Rodionoff, Prof. W. Doum), le terme *zār* est largement répandu dans toute l'Arabie, en Tihāma et dans les dialectes arabes le long de la vallée du Nil.

En pleine conformité avec ce monde parallèle, son lexique et les noms de ses personnages nous font revenir aux temps les plus éloignés de l'époque historique. On peut supposer que certains lexèmes (verbes et noms) reflètent la situation présémitique. Les correspondances trouvées dans des langues africaines révèlent des traces de substrats anciens ou de contacts culturels historiques entre les habitants de l'Arabie Méridionale et ceux de l'Afrique orientale.

A b r é v i a t i o n s

Akk — akkadien ; Amh — amharique ; Arab — arabe classique ; Aram — araméen ; Aram Anc — araméen ancien, Arg — argobba (Éthiosém) ; C — dialecte central du jibbali (MSA) ; Chad — tchadien ; Couch — couchitique ; Ḍof — dialecte arabe en Ḍofar (Yémen, Oman) ; E — dialecte oriental du jibbali (MSA) ; ESA — langues sud-arabiques épigraphiques ; Éthiosém — éthiosémitiques ; Gaf —gafat (Éthiosém), Gog — gogot (langue éthiosémitique guragué), Gur — langue éthiosémitique guragué ; Gz — guèze ; Hbr — hébreu ; Ḥaḍr — dialecte arabe de Ḥaḍramoût ;

Ḥars — ḥarsūsi (MSA) ; Jibb — jibbali (MSA) ; Mhr — mehri (MSA) ; Min — minéen ; Mnd — mandéen ; MSA — langues sud-arabiques modernes ; Muh — muher (langue éthiosémitique guragué) ; Nab — nabatéen ; Qat — qatabanique (ESA) ; Sab — sabéen (ESA) ; Sém — sémitique ; Sod — soddo (langue éthiosémitique guragué), Soq — langue soqotri (MSA) ; Syr — syrien (langue) ; Te — tigré (éthiosém) ; Tna — tigrigna (éthiosém) ; Ug — ugaritique ; Yém — dialectes arabes du Yémen.

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Anna Belova. On some archaic lexical parallels between the languages of South Arabia

The paper discusses a number of lexical matches encountered between such Semitic languages as the classical Arabic of pre-Islamic poetry and early Islamic texts, modern Yemeni Arabic dialects, epigraphic

South Arabian and modern South Arabian languages. Correspondences with other Semitic and non-Semitic Afro-Asiatic languages are also suggested. It is shown that the parallels in question point both to traces of a pre-Semitic (non-Semitic) South Arabian substratum and to elements of common Afro-Asiatic heritage.

А. В. Белова. Некоторые архаические изоглоссы в южно-аравийских языках.

В ходе этимологической работы над лексикой арабского языка доисламского и раннеисламского периодов выявляются архаические южноаравийские изоглоссы, охватывающие древние и современные языки Южной Аравии и сопредельных районов. В статье рассматриваются две лексические группы: (а) лексика, связанная с кочевым образом жизни, скотоводством, семейным обиходом, местными обычаями; (б) лексика, связанная с древними поверьями, изоглоссы которой охватывают также языки Восточной Африки. Соответствия этой лексике обнаруживаются в кушитских и чадских языках.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations of languages, language periods and sources:

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

Other abbreviations:

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

Transcription and transliteration:

ṗ — bilabial emphatic voiceless stop; ḅ — bilabial emphatic voiceḍ stop; ḇ — bilabial voiced fricative; ṭ — dental emphatic voiceless stop; ḍ — dental emphatic voiced stop; ṯ — voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol most likely conveying č); ḏ — voiced interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol most likely conveying ǯ); c — alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; ʒ — alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; č — palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tš]; ǯ — palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dž]; ṣ — hissing emphatic voiceless fricative; c̣ — emphatic voiceless affricate; z̧ — conventionally stands for what was likely ḍ, emphatic voiced interdental fricative, or ṯ̣, emphatic voiceless interdental fricative; č̣ — palato-alveolar emphatic affricate; ŝ — lateral voiceless fricative (denoted by ŝ_x in Sem. reconstructed proto-forms); ĉ — lateral voiceless affricate; ṣ̂ — lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; ĉ̣ — lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; ẓ̂ — lateral voiced emphatic sibilant (or perhaps affricate); ẑ — lateral voiced sibilant; ḡ — voiced velar fricative (in Brb.), ḳ or q — emphatic velar stop; *q — hypothetic velar affricate [kʰ] (only in reconstructed Afrasian proto-forms); γ — uvular voiced fricative (Arabic "ghain"); ḫ — uvular voiceless fricative; ẖ — presumably velar voiceless

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

Conventions for reconstructed protoforms.

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

    H   renders a non-specified laryngeal or pharyngeal.

    S   renders a non-specified sibilant.

    /   when separates two symbols means "or", e.g. **ʔi/abar-* should be read "either **ʔibar-* or **ʔabar-*".

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

    ~   means "and" pointing to two or more co-existing proto-forms.

1. ALL

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

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

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

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

2. ASHES

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

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

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

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

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

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

◊   No terms in Bib., Sab. and Gaf.

→ North and West Semitic *ṭikm- ~ *kiṭām- (#1).

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

3. BARK

(1) Akk. (OB) ḳuliptu; Syr. ḳəlāpət-; Urm. ḳalpa; Hrs. ḳelfēt; Mhr. ḳalifūt; Jib. ḳiẑifɔ́t (syn.: ḳaŝrot 'husk, peel, skin' in JJ, but 'bark', acc. to my informants — v. #3); Soq. ḳalifoh // < Sem. *ḳal(i)p- (Mil. 2010; cf. Kog. LE 474).

(2) Mnd. masik- // < Sem. *ma/išk- 'skin' (v. SKIN #1).

(3) Leb. ʔišri; Mec. gišra // < Sem. *ḳVŝr- (Mil. 2010).

(4) Gez. ləḥṣ; Tna. ləḥṣi (syn.: ḳʷərbät — v. Mil. 2010 #5 and Note, ḳäräf — v. #5); Tgr. ləḥəṣ (syn.: ḳäräf — v. #5); Amh. ləṭ (syn.: ḳärfit — v. #5); Arg. lihinṭo; Har. inči ləḥiṭ ("tree bark"); Wol. ləččäče // < Eth. *lḥṣ 'to peel, bark', likely < Sem. *lḥṣ/ḥlṣ 'to draw off, peel' (Mil. 2010).

(5) Har. ḳärfit // < Arb.-Eth. *ḳVrp- (LGz 441) < Afras. *ḳ(ʷ)arp- (Mil. 2010 Note).

(6) Sod. kana (syn.: ḳərfit — v. #5), Cha. ḵara // only Gur. (Mil. 2010).

◊ Mlt. barka is a lw., likely < English; no terms in Ugr., Hbr.; Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Gaf. and Hob.

→ Proto-Semitic *ḳal(i)p- (#1) < Afras.*ḳalp- (Mil. 2010); add Chad. W.: Bade kulbàk (-lb- < *-lf-), pl. kulbə̀n 'bark of tree', C.: Cuvok kàkàlàf 'bark' (St. 2011 #349b *[ḳ]VlV[f]- assumed to be a derived noun < *kVl-). Note that *ḳal(i)p-, *ḳVrp- (and *ḳʷirb-at-) are variant roots not at the Proto-Sem. but at the Proto-Afras. level; cf. Kog. LE 475).

4. BELLY

(1) Akk. (OB) karšu; Syr. kars-; Mnd. kars-; Urm. ki(r)s-; Gez. karŝ (syn.: kabd — v. #2); Tna. kärsi (and käbdi — v. #2); Tgr. käršät (syn.: käbəd — v. #2); Arg. kärs, hars; Gaf. ərsä, Sod. kärs; Har. kärsi // < Sem. *kar(i)ŝ- (SED I #151).

(2) Ugr. kbd (?); Amh. hod // < Sem. *kabid(-at)-, v. in LIVER #2 (for a possible meaning 'belly' in Ugr. see Kog. LE).

(3) Hbr. bäṭän; Qur. baṭn-; Leb. baṭan; Mec. baṭin // < Sem. *baṭn- (SED I #42).

(4) Bib. *məʕē (pl. suff. məʕóhī) // (debatable: in Gn. 3:14 translates Hbr. gāḥōn 'belly (of snakes and reptiles)' HALOT 187) < Sem. *maʕay/w-at-'intestines, entrails' (SED I #185) < Afras. *mVʕay- 'entrails, liver': E.Chad.: Gadang mùyò 'liver'; Cush. E.: LEC: Oromo moʔo 'loins, back', Bussa mā́yē 'liver'; N.Omot. *maʔay- 'liver; heart' (not < *mayz- contra Mil. 2010) ADB.

(5) Wol. däl; Cha. dän // either < Sem. *dan(V)n- 'viscera, inner organ, intestine' (SED I #54) with a parallel in Brb. or < Arb.-Eth. *dawl- 'stomach, interior' (Mil. 2010).

(6) Hrs. hōfel (syn.: kērəŝ — v. #1); Mhr. hōfel (syn. kīrəŝ — v. #1); Hob. hóofəl; Jib. šofəl (syn.: ŝirŝ — v. #1) // < Sem. *ŝxV(n)pVl- (SED I 271; on ŝx v. ibid. XLVIII–CV). Note that my continental MSA informants gave preference for the forms derived from *šofəl; the same follows from Nak. 1986 (cf. discussion in Kog. LE 475) and is corroborated by Hob.

(7) Soq. mer (syn.: ḥant — v. Mil. 2010 #8 and Kog. LE 476) // either < Sem. *marʔ- 'fat' (v. FAT #9) or, less likely, < *mi/ar(V)r-(at-) 'gall, gall-bladder' (SED I #188).

◊ Mlt. stonku < Italian or English; no term in Pho., Pal., Sab.

→ North and West Semitic (Proto-Semitic with the MSA syn.) *kar(i)ŝ- (#1).

→ West Semitic *baṭn- (#3) < Afras. *ba/uṭ(n)- 'belly': Brb. *buṭ-: Ntifa a-buḍ 'belly', Audjila a-bûṭ 'navel', etc.; (?) Egyp. (Med.) bnd 'difficult delivery'; Chad. W. *buṭ- 'belly, stomach', C.: Bata butiye 'navel', Hurso búdubúdu 'stomach' (ADB).

5. BIG

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(12) Soq. *ʕeḳar* (syn.: m. *ʔeb, heb* — v. #11, f. *ʔắm* — v. #8) // < Arb.-MSA **ʕḳr* 'to grow up, big' < Afras. **ʕVḳʷVr-* id.: Brb. **a-mVḳḳʷar-an* 'big'; Chad. **ḳVr-* 'to increase' (St. 2011 #392) and W.: Tala *kwoorì* 'big' (ADB).

◊ Urm. *gūr* < Kurdish *gaur, gûr*.

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

6. BIRD

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

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

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

(4) Gez. *ʕof*; Tna. *ʕuf*; Tgr. *ʕuf*; Amh. *wof*; Arg. *of, wof*; Gaf. *yəfʷä*; Sod. *wof, of*; Cha. *afʷ*; Har. *ūf*; Wol. *ũfʷ* // < Sem. *ʕawp-* 'bird' < Afras. **ʕa(w)p-* 'bird; to fly' (Mil. 2010 #5).

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

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

(7) Soq. *noyhir* // < Sem. **nVšr-* 'eagle, vulture' (SED II #166), perhaps, with fossilized *n-*, rel. to #5.

◊ No term in Sab.

→ North and West Semitic (Ugr.) **ʕVṣṣūr-* (#1), with met. < Afras. **ćirāʕ-* (Mil. 2010).

→ West Semitic **ṣVp(p)Vr-* (#2) < Afras. **ćilapur-* (Mil. 2010).

7. BITE

(1) Akk. (OB) *našāku*; Ugr. *nṯk*; Hbr. *nšk*; Gez. *nsk*; Hrs. *neṯōk*; Mhr. *neṯk* // < Sem. **nṯk* (LGz 420).

(2) Pal. Syr. Mnd. *nkt*; Tna. *näḵäsä*; Tgr. *näkša*; Amh. Arg. Gaf. *näkkäsä*; Sod. *näkkäsäm*; Cha. *näkäsäm*; Har. *näḵäsä*; Wol. *näkäsä* // < Sem. **nkṯ* (v. Mil. 2010).

(3) Urm. *ḳrṭ* // < Sem. **ḳʷrṭ* 'to cut, pinch' (Mil. 2010).

(4) Qur. Leb. Mec. *ʕḍḍ* // < Sem. **ʕṣ̂ṣ̂* with Afras. parallels, eventually likely < Arb.-MSA **ʕVṣ̂ā/īṣ̂-* < Afras. **ʕaĉ(ʕaĉ)-* 'cheekbone, (lower)jaw' (v. BONE #3).

(5) Mlt. *gidem* // Either < **gdm* or < **kdm* (Mil. 2010).

(6) Hob. *ṣ̌əʔáar* (syn.: *sút*); Jib. *ĉaʕar* // for debatable Sem. parallels v. Mil. 2010; cf. Chad. verbs **ĉVVr-* 'to rip, tear away' (St. 2007 #357) and **ĉVr-* 'to split (wood)' (ibid. #360).

(7) Soq. *ḍuʕob* (syn.: *ḳarḍeb* — v. Mil. 2010 #7)// perhaps with met. < Soq. *ʕaḍob* (not in LS) 'wound', Mhr. *ʔāẑáwb* 'to be imperfectly healed (a broken bone)', *māẑəbēt* 'cut', Jib. *maʕĉɔt* id., Hrs. *ʔāẑōb* 'to wound' (all JM 39).

◊ No terms in Pho., Bib., or Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic **nṯk* (#1) with probable Chad. and problematic Egyp. parallels (Mil. 2010).

→ West Semitic **nkṯ* (#2) < Afras. **(nV-)kVč-* 'tooth; biting' (Mil. 2010). The reasons why these two roots are scored differently are given in Mil. 2010, footnote 26.

8. BLACK

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *ṣalmu*; Sab. *ẓlm* (?); Gez. *ṣallim*; Tna. *ṣällim*; Tgr. *ṣällim*; Gaf. *ṣälläma* (syn.: *ṭəḵurä* — v.#5); Harari *ṭäy*; Wol. *ṭem* // < Sem. **ṯlm* 'to be black' (Mil. 2010).

(2) Hbr. *šāḥōr* // < Sem. **šḥr* 'to be black' (Mil. 2010).

(3) Pal. *ʔwkm, ʔkwm*; Syr. *ʔukkām-* (syn.: *ḳənāʔ* — v. Mil. 2010 #4) < Sem. **(ʔa-)kawm-* 'black, dark' < Afras. **kVm-* 'black' (Mil. 2010).

(4) Qur. *ʔaswad-*; Leb. *ʔaswəd*; Mec. *ʔaswad*; Mlt. *ʔiswet* // for possible Sem. cognates and parallels in Chad. v. Mil. 2010 #5, for Chad. v. also **sVwVḍ-* 'dark, black' (St. 2009 #100) and **swaḍ-* 'faeces' (ibid. #99).

(5) Amh. *ṭəḵʷər*; Arg. Sod. Cha. *ṭəḵur* // < Eth. **ṭḵr* 'to be black', **ṭakar* 'soot' (Mil. 2010 #6).

(6) Hrs. *ḥéwer*; Mhr. *ḥōwər* (*ḥɔr*); Hob. *ḥóowər*; Jib. *ḥɔ́r*; Soq. *ḥohar, ḥaur* // < Sem. **ḥwr* 'to be black and white' (Mil. 2010 #7); cf. C.Chad. **waraʔ-* (with met. < **Hwr*?) 'black': Masa *wuraʔa*, Peve *oraʔ*, Musey *waraʔa*, Zime-Batna *rowa* (ADB).

◊ No terms in Ugr., Pho., or Bib.

→ North and West Semitic **ṯlm* (#1) < Afras. **čilam-* 'to be dark, black' (Mil. 2010).

9. BLOOD

(1) Akk. (OB) *dāmu*; Ugr. *dm*; Hbr. *dām*; Pho. *dm*; Pal. *ʔădam, ʔydm*; Syr. *dəm-*; Urm. *dim-*; Qur. *dam-*; Leb. Mec. *damm*; Mlt. *dem*; Sab. *dm*; Gez. Tna. Tgr. Amh. Arg. Sod. Cha. Har. Wol. *däm*; Gaf. *dämʷä* // < Sem. **dam-* (SED I #50).

(2) Mnd. *zma* // < Sem. **zam-* < Afras. **ʒam(ʔ)-* 'blood' (Mil. 2010).

(3) Hrs. *ḏōreʔ*; Mhr. *ḏōr-əh*; Jib. *ḏohr*; Soq. *dör* // < MSA **ḏrʔ/y/w* 'to bleed' < Sem. **ḏrʔy/w ~ *ḏrr ~ *ḏrḏr* 'to scatter, spread (seed), disperse, winnow' (DRS 340, 342) < Afras. **ǯVr-* (v. SEED #2).

◊   No term in Bib.

→   North and West Semitic *dam- (#1) < Afras. *dam- 'blood' (Mil. 2010).

10. BONE

(1) Akk. (OB) *eṣemtu*; Ugr. ʕẓm; Hbr. *ʕäṣäm*; Pho. ʕṣm; Qur. *ʕaẓm-*; Leb. *ʕaẓam*; Mec. *ʕaẓum*; Mlt. (gh)adma; Gez. *ʕaṣəm*; Tna. *ʕaṣmi*; Tgr. *ʕäčəm*; Amh. *ʔaṭənt*; Arg. *haṭəm, aṭənt*; Gaf. *aṣmʷä*; Sod. Cha. Wol. *aṭəm*; Har. *āṭ* // < Sem. *ʕaṭm(-at)- (SED I #25).

(2) Bib. *gəram*; Pal. grm; Syr. Urm. garm-; Mnd. girm- // < Sem. *gVrm- 'body; bone' (SED I #94).

(3) Hrs. *ʔāẑ̂ayẑ̂*; Mehri *ʕaẑ̂ayẑ̂*; Hob. *ʔiiṣ̂eéṣ̂*; Jib. *ʕayẑ̂eẑ̂* // < Arb.-MSA *ʕVṣ̂ā/īṣ̂- (v. SED I #24) < Afras. *ʕaẑ̂(ʕaẑ)- 'cheekbone, (lower) jaw' (Mil. 2010).

(4) Soq. *ṣéḥloh* // perhaps with met. < Sem. *ḫVlṣ- 'loin, hip' (Mil. 2010); otherwise, cf. Arb. ḫlṣ 'to be fractured (bone)' and *ḫaṣīl-* 'tail'.

◊   No term in Sab.

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

11. BREAST

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *irtu*; Ugr. ʔirt (syn. ṯd — v.#2) // < Sem. *ʔir(r)-at- (Mil. 2012).

(2) Hbr. *šōd* (partial syn.: *ḥāzā* 'breast of a sacrificial animal', 7 attestations, in the "Priestly" narrative only HALOT 301 — v. #3); Pal. ṯd; Hrs. *ṯōdi*; Mhr. *ṯodi*; Hob. *ṯóodə*; Jib. *ṯodɛʔ* (syn.: *géhɛʔ* — v.#6) // < Sem. *ṯVdy- 'breast' (SED I #280).

(3) Bib. *ḥădē*; Syr. *ḥady-* (syn.: *ṯəd-* 'pectus' — v. #2); Mnd. *hady* // < Hbr.-Arm. *ḥaḏ(V)y- 'breast' (SED I #112).

(4) Qur. *ṣadr-*; Leb. *sidr-*; Mec. *ṣadr*; Mlt. *sidēr* // for debatable parallels outside Arb. v. Mil. 2010.

(5) Gez. *ṭəb* ('breast, teat'; syn.: *ʔəngəḏʔ/ʕā* 'chest, breast' — v. Mil. 2010 #5); Tna. *ṭub*; Tgr. *ṭəb*; Amh. Arg. *ṭut*; Gaf. *ṭŭwwä*; Sod. *ṭəbuyyä*; Cha. *ṭu*; Har. *ṭōt*; Wol. *ṭub* // < Sem. *ṭVb- 'teat' (SED I #277).

(6) Soq. *gehe* (syn.: *todi* — v. #2) // presumably < Sem. *gaw(w)iʔ- '(front part of) body; chest, belly; interior' (SED I #99) < Afras. *gʷay- 'body; corpse; belly; breast': Egyp.(Pyr.) *ḏ.t* 'body' (if < *gV-t), ngꜣyy 'belly'; Chad. *gaw- 'corpse, carcass' (St. 2011 #434), C.: Gidar *gu-duf-ko* ˈbodyˈ (def ˈperson'), E.: Tumak *gàu*, Ndam *gàwu*, Kera *gàw* 'breast', Sokoro *goi* 'corpse'; N.Omot. *gaw- 'belly', Kafa *gētō* 'breast' (ADB).

◊   No terms in Pho. and Sab. Urm. *ṣadr-* < Arab.

→   North and West Semitic (Ugr.) *ʔir(r)-at- (#1) < Afras. *ʔVr(a)r- chest and belly' (Mil. 2010).

→   South and West Semitic *ṯVdy- (#2); cf. E.Cush.: LEC: Konso *sataata* (< *sadad-), Arbore *sɛde* 'heart' (ADB).

12. BURN (tr.)

(1) Akk. (OB) *šarāpu*; Ugr. šrp (syn.: ḥrr — v. #8); Hbr. ŝrp // < Sem. *ŝrp (HALOT 1358).

(2) Bib. Pal. yḳd; Syr. ʔ-yḳd; Urm. ḳwd (with met.) // < Sem. *y/wḳd (HALOT 430) < Afras. *wVḳVd- ~ *ḳVwVd- 'to burn': Brb. *(w/yV)ḳVd- 'to burn', *iɣd 'ashes' (ADB); Chad. *kVḍ- (< *ḳVd-) 'to burn; to boil' (St. 2011 #75).

(3) Mnd. *ḳla* // < Sem. *ḳlw (LGz 431) < Afras. *kVl(-Vm)- 'hot, burning': Coptic: Fayumic *klōm* 'hot'; Chad. *kVl-, *kVlVm- ~ *kVmVl- 'charcoal' (St. 2011 #205), C.: Bachama *kwalkwal* 'hotness'; Cush. E.: LEC *kul- 'warm, hot', Dullay *kāl- 'sun', S.: Qwadza *kalem-uko* 'charcoal'; perhaps N.Omot. *ko/al- 'dry' (ADB).

(4) Qur. *ḥrḳ* VIII; Leb. *ḥarraʔ*; Mec. *ḥaraḳ*; Cha. *mäkʼärä* (revised from Mil. 2010 #11 where a different etymology relying on LGur 400 was accepted) // cf. variant roots with met. in Eth.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

→ North and West Semitic: *ŝrp (#1).

13. CLAW (FINGERNAIL)

(1) Akk. (OB) ṣupru; Hbr. ṣippōrän; Bib. ṭǝpar; Pal. ṭpr; Syr. ṭepr-; Mnd. ṭupr-; Urm. ṭarp- (with met.); Qur. ẓufr-; Leb. ẓafir; Mec. ẓafr; Mlt. dufrēy; Gez. ṣǝfar; Tna. čǝfri; Tgr. čǝfär; Amh. Sod. Cha. Wol. ṭafär; Arg. čǝfär; Gaf. ṣafrä; Har. ṭifir; Hrs. ḍefīr (syn.: kef — v. #2); Hob. ṭiifeér; Soq. ṭifer // < Sem. *ṭip(V)r- (SED I #285).

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

◊ No terms in Ugr., Pho. and Sab.

→ Common Semitic: *ṭip(V)r- (#1) < Afras. *čipar- ~ žafir- ~ *žaruf- (part of the correspondences irregular) 'claw, fingernail'; add (?) W.Chad. Ngamo šàptìrò ´fingernail'; N.Omot.: Gamo worṣofa (with met.) 'claw', Kafa yafaroo (< *žafar-?) 'finger' (ADB).

14. CLOUD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15. COLD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. COME

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17. DIE

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

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

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

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

◊ No term in Bib.

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

18. DOG

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

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

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

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

→ Proto-Semitic **kalb-* (#1), perhaps, with suffixed **-b*, < Afras. **kʷVl-* 'dog, wolf' (Mil. 2010).

19. DRINK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. DRY

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

(2) Hbr. *yābēš*; Pal. *ybyš*; Syr. *yabbīš-*; Mnd. *yabuš-*; Qur. *yābis-*; Sab. *ybs₁* ('dry up'); Gez. Tgr. *yəbus* // < Sem. **ybš* 'to be dry' (v. in LGz 626).

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

(4) Tna. *nəḵus* // < Sem. *nḵš/ṣ* 'to dry up, wane' (v. Mil. 2010), likely, with fossilized *n*-prefix, < Afras. **ḵVsw-* ~ **saḵʷ-* 'dry': Sem.: Arb. *ḵsw* 'ê. sec et durci' (BK 2 735); Chad. **ḵVs-* 'to dry, dry season' (St. 2011 #322); C.Cush. **s/caḵʷən-* 'be thirsty' (cf. CDA 135); N.Omot.: Kafa *šuḵ*, Mocha *šûqqi-*, Bworo *šuḵ*, Mao (Sezo) *ḵusa-kus* 'dry' 'be dry' (ADB).

(5) Amh. Arg. Sod. Har. Wol. *däräḵ*; Cha. *ṭäräḵ* // < Mod. Eth. **daraḵ* with a plausible Arb. parallel (Mil. 2010).

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

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

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

21. EAR

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

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

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

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

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

22. EARTH

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

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

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

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

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

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

23. EAT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

24. EGG

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

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

(3) Gez. *ʔankokəho*; Tna. *ʔənk̄ʷak̄ʷəho*; Tgr. *ʔankokho*; Gaf. *ank̄ʷä*; Sod. *anko*; Har. *ak̄uḥ*; Wol. *ənkakot* // (contra Mil. 2010 #4 not < Sem. **k̄ʷak̄ʷay-*) < Eth. **(ʔan-)k̄ʷaḥk̄ʷaḥ-* 'egg' (likely rel. is Syr. *k̇awk̇iḥ* 'clamavit (gallina)' Brock 656) < Afras. **(ʔan-)k̄ʷa(n)ḥ-* 'egg' (Mil. 2010 #4; add. W.Chad. **(n)k̇wahi(n)-* 'egg': Hausa *k̇wái*, Gerka *nkie*, *ńkyɛʔ*, Tal *hàs-khē* ('egg-egg'), Diri *ák̇ìn* ADB).

(4) Amh. Arg. *ənk̇ulal*; Cha. *ənk̇ura*; Hob. *ak̄halwíin*; Jib. *k̇eḥ̂in* (syn.: *béḏ* — v. Mil. 2010 #7); Soq. *k̄holhin* // < Sem. **k̇a(w)ḥil-* (cf. SED I #170); for possible Afras. cognates v. Mil. 2010 #5.

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

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

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

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

25. EYE

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

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

26 FAT (n.)

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

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

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

(4) Mnd. *tirb-* (syn.: *šamina, šumna* — v. #2); Urm. *tarb-* (syn.: *šahr-* — v. Mil. 2010 #5) // < Sem. **ṯarb-* (SED I #283).

(5) Qur. *šaḥm-*; Mec. *šaḥam*; Mlt. *šaḥām* // < Sem. **ŝaḥm-* (SED I #263), matching E.Cush. (Mil. 2010 #6).

(6) Leb. *dihn* // < Sem. **duhn-* (v. in SED I #48) < Afras. **duhan-* 'fat': Brb. **-duHan-* 'fat'; W.Chad **diHVn-*: Sura *ḍɔ́ŋ* 'fat', Polchi *ḍiin* 'oil' (ADB).

(7) Gez. *ŝəbḥ*; Tna. *səbḥi*; Tgr. *šəbeḥ*; Amh. *səb* (syn.: *mora* 'animal fat, suet' — v. #8); Cha. *səwä*; Har. *säbaḥ*; Hrs. *ŝabḥ*; Mhr. *ŝabaḥ* (in both syn.: *ṣáyleḥ* — v. Mil. 2010 #11); Hob. *ŝábḥ*; Jib. *ŝabḥ* (syn.: *ʕəĉ* — v. Mil. 2010 #12); Soq. *ŝabḥ* (syn.: *ʕínat* — v. Mil. 2010 #13) // < Sem. **ŝabḥ-* (SED I #261).

(8) Sod. *mora*; Wol. *morä* // either < Oromo (in this case, not to be scored) or < Sem. **mrʔ* 'to fatten', **mariʔ-* 'fat' < Afras. **marVʔ/y-* 'fat, oil' (Mil. 2010 #9).

(9) Gaf. *buššəra* // if met. < **ṯarb-* (v. #4), to score with #4; for other suggestions v. Mil. 2010 #10.

◊ Arg. *čoma* < Cush. (v. Mil. 2010). No terms in Bib. or Sab.

→ South and West (Eth.) Semitic **ŝabḥ-* (#8) < Afras. **ĉabḥ-* 'fat' (Mil. 2010 #8; add Chad. **ŝVḅV* 'meat (on bone)' (St. 2007 #63).

27. FEATHER

(1) Akk. (SB) *nāṣu*; Hbr. *nōṣā* (syn.: *ʔäbrā, ʔēbär* 'pinion', v. #2) // < Sem. **nāṣ(y)-* (SED I #202).

(2) Syr. *ʔebr-* (syn.: *merṭ-* — v. Mil. 2010 #2) // < Sem. **ʔa/ibr-* 'pinion, wing' (SED I #1); together with N.Cush.: Beja *ʔan/mbur* 'wing' < Afras. **bi/ar-* 'to fly, jump': Sem.: pB Hbr. *ʔābar* 'to soar, to take wing', Amh. *bärrärä*, Har. *bärärä* 'to fly' (unless < Cush.), Jib. *ebré* 'jump high'; Chad. W.: Hausa *bur-burniya* 'leaping', C. **(m)ba/ir-*, E. **bVr-* 'to 'fly, jump, hop'; Cush. N.: Beja *bir* 'jump', C.: Khamir *bir-* 'jump', Aungi *berer-ən*, E.: LEC: Oromo *barara*, HEC: Hadiya *barar* 'to fly', Burji *burr* 'to fly, jump'; N.Omot.: Male *baran* 'to fly' (ADB).

(3) Mnd. *guspart-*; Urm. *par-*; Hrs. *ferfayr* // < Sem. **par-* (on the reasons for uniting these terms v. Mil. 2010 #4); v. direct cognates in Brb. (ibid.), very likely < Afras. **pVr-* 'to fly' (v. **FLY** #9).

(4) Leb. *rīši*; Mec. *riyša*; Mlt. *rīš* // no cognates found.

(5) Tna. *kəntit*; Har. *kät* // v. Mil. 2010 #6.

(6) Cha. *zoyä* // the only likely etymology is < Sem. **(ʔa/iw(a)z- ~ *waz(z)-* 'goose' (SED II #22) < Afras. **(ʔa-)waʒʒ- ~ *(ʔa-)zaw-* 'k. of (large) bird': Brb.: Ghadames *awəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* 'autruche', Igerwan *wawužž*, Izayan *wawiž*, etc. 'perdrix'; Egyp. (Pyr.) *z.t* 'Ente, Ganz', *k*; *zw.t* 'Erpel' (i.e. 'male of a duck; cf. *k*; 'bull' written with the phallos determinative); E.Chad.: Mokilko *ʔùzú* 'chick, cock' (ADB).

(7) Mhr. *ŝif(f)* (syn.: *kətfif* — v. Mil. 2010 #9); Jib. *ŝɔf ḏ-ʕeṣfɔ̄r* (lit. 'hair of bird'; syn.: *kaṭaf* — v. Mil. 2010 #9) // v. **HAIR** #5.

(8) Soq. *milyaṭ* (syn.: *ŝéf(f)* — v. #7) // likely rel. to Arb. *malīṭ-* (v. Mil. 2010 #10) and further to Arb. *līṭ-* 'peau' with possible Afras. parallels: Egyp. (Med.) *ntnt* 'skin' (if < **lVṬlVṭ*); Chad. **lVt/d-* 'to skin' (St. 2005 #138), **lVVtV* 'skin, loin cloth leather' (ibid. #138a.).

◊ Tgr. *čəgär* < C. or E. Cush. (v. in Mil. 2010); Amh. *laba, läboba*, Arg. *laba* < Oromo *laboba* (ibid.); Sod. *balle* < E. Cush. (ibid.); Wol. *zorro* < HEC (ibid.). No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Gez., Gaf. or Hob.

→ North and West Semitic: **nāṣ(y)-* (#1); likely rel. to N.Omot. **nāç-* 'tail': Dorze *nasé*, Koyra, Ganjule, Gidicho, Kachama *naaçɛ, naace* (ADB).

28. FIRE

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

(2) Pal. *nūr* (syn.: *ʔyšh, ʔäššā* — v. #1); Syr. Mnd. Urm. *nūr-*; Qur. *nār-*; Leb. Mec. Mlt. *nār-* // < Sem. **nū/ār-* (Mil. 2010).

(3) Sab. *ššl-t* (Stein, two attestations; *š=s₂*) // Arab. *ššl* 'allumer (le feu)', *šāʕlat-* 'flamme, torch' (Mhr. *šāl*, Jib. *šaʕál* 'to spark' are likely Arabisms), rel. to Chad. **ŝVl- ~ *ʔVŝVl-* 'to burn' (St. 2007 #202) < Afras. **ĉVʕVl-* 'to burn, spark fire' (ADB).

(4) Tna. *ḥawwi* // < Eth., likely rel. to MSA **nḥy/w* 'to burn' (v. ʙᴜʀɴ #11) < Afras. **ḥV(w)ʔ-* 'fire; smoke; burn' — v. Mil. 2010, add: Brb. **a-ḫuH-* (likely < **HʷVʔ-*) 'smoke' and S.Cush.: Burunge *eḥa* 'smoke' (ADB).

(5) Hrs. *ŝēwēṭ* (syn. *ẑawt* — v. Mil. 2010 #4); Mhr. *ŝīwōṭ*; Hob. *ŝiiwóoṭ*; Jib. *ŝoṭ*; Soq. *ŝiáṭ* (*ŝeyɔ́ṭ*) // < Sem. **ŝiw/yāṭ-* 'fire' (v. Mil. 2010 #5).

◊ Wol. *žirä* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2010).

→ North and West Semitic **ʔiš-āt-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔis-* 'fire' (Mil. 2010).

→ West Semitic: **nū/ār-* < Afras. **nur-* 'fire; coal, ashes' (Mil. 2010).

29. ꜰɪꜱʜ

(1) Akk. (OB) *nūnu*; Pal. *nūn*; Syr. Mnd. Urm. *nun-*; Leb. *nun* // either < Sem. **nūn-* or a chain of borrowings from an unknown source > Akk. > Arm./Hbr. > Arb. (a common opinion, optional until the source of this presumed borrowing is discovered; note, perhaps, Uralic **ńowŋa* 'salmon'?).

(2) Ugr. *dg*; Hbr. *dāg* // v. possible Sem. parallels in Mil. 2010; cf. Chad. C.: Zime (Daria) *dūgūwā* 'clarias lazera' (catfish). Note Indo-European **dhg'hū-* 'fish'.

(3) Qur. *ḥūt-*; Mlt. *ḥūta* // only Arb. If < **ḥaw-t-* with a fossilized suffix *-t*, v. possible Afras. parallels in Mil. 2010.

(4) Mec. *samak* // only Arb. (v. Mil. 2010).

(5) Har. *tuläm* // no parallels; if < **tu-lam*, note Egyp. (OK) *rm* (< **lVm-*?).

(6) Hrs. *ṣayd*; Mhr. *çayd*; Hob. *ṣáyd*; Jib. *çod*; Soq. *ṣode* // < Sem. **ṣyd* 'to hunt, fish' (v. Mil. 2010); note Chad. C.: Gude *cəḍə* 'lie in wait for pray', E.: Somrai *čwádá* 'poursuivre' (St. 2009 #681: **çV(wV)d-* 'to hunt').

◊ Gez. *ʕāŝā*, Tna. Tgr. *ʕasa*; Amh. Arg. Sod. Cha. *asa*; Gaf. Wol. *asä* < Cush. or Omot. (Mil. 2010). No term in Sab.

→ (?) North and West Semitic **nūn-* (#1), if not borrowed.

30. ꜰʟʏ (v.)

(1) Akk. *naprušu* (OB) // < Sem. **prŝ* 'to spread out' (Mil. 2010).

(2) Ugr. *ʕp*; Hbr. *ʕwp* // < Sem. **ʕwp* 'to fly' (v. Mil. 2010 ʙɪʀᴅ #4).

(3) Pal. *prḥ* (syn.: *ṭws* — v. #4); Syr. Urm. *prḥ* // < Sem. **prḥ* 'to fly' (v. Mil. 2010), likely rel. to **parḥ-* 'chick, brood' (SED II #179).

(4) Mnd. *ṭus* (syn.: *phr* — v. #2) // < Sem. **ṭwŝ* 'to fly, flutter, jump' (Mil. 2010) < Afras. **ṭVĉ-* 'fly, go away': (?) Egyp. (MK) *tšy* 'move away' (*t* sometimes continues **ṭ*); W.Chad. **tVŝ-*: Hausa *tāšì* 'rise, get up', Geji *túŝya* 'to fly' (ADB).

(5) Qur. *ṭyr*; Leb. Mec. *ṭār*; Mlt. *tār* // < Sem. **ṭayr-* 'bird; divination from birds, augury' (cf. SED II #235) < Afras. (v. ʙɪʀᴅ #3).

(6) Gez. *s/ŝarara* (syn.: *barra* — v. #8) // < Eth. with possible Sem. parallels (Mil. 2010), likely rel. to C.Chad.: Mofu *ŝára* 'plume, éllytre', Gisiga *ŝara* 'feather' (St. 2007 #603).

(7) Tna. *näfärä*; Tgr. *näfra* (syn.: *bärra* — v. #8) // < **n-pr*, with a fossilized prefix *n-* (Mil. 2010 #8).

(8) Amh. Sod. *bärrärä*; Arg. *bärrära*; Cha. *bänärä*; Harari *bärära*; Wol. *bärärä* // v. Mil. 2010 #7 and ꜰᴇᴀᴛʜᴇʀ #3.

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

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

→ No Common Semitic.

31. FOOT

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

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

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

(4) Urm. *ʔaḳl-* // v. Mil. 2010 #5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

32. FULL

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

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

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

33. GIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

34. GOOD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(14) Jib. *fəḳŝ-ún* // for a possible etymology v. Mil. 2010 #16.

(15) Soq. *díye* (syn.: *dí-šker* < Arb. *šukr* 'thankfulness, thanks; praise, adulation' < Sem. **ŝVkVr-* 'to reward, be generous' HALOT 1330: if genuine, the Soq. term have been in ŝ- vs. Arb. š vs. Hbr. ŝ) // rel. to Hbr. **day* 'sufficiency' etc.; for several tenable parallels in Afras. v. Mil. 2010 #17.

◊ Sod. *fäyya* < E. Cush. (Mil. 2010); Hrs. *ged,* Mhr. *gīd,* Hob. *žíid* are likely (but not certain) < Arb. *žayyid-* (Mil. 2010).

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

35. GREEN

(1) Akk. (OB) *(w)arḳu;* Ugr. *yrḳ* 'greenish-yellow (of metal)' (rather not to score); Hbr. *yārōḳ, yəraḳraḳ;* Pal. *yrḳ;* Syr. *yūrāḳ-;* Mnd. *yuraḳ-;* Har. *warīḳ* // < Sem. **warḳ-* 'yellow, green' (Mil. 2011).

(2) Qur. *ʔaḫḍar-;* Leb. Mec. *ʔaḫḍar;* Mlt. *aḥdār* // < **ḫṣr* (for broader and debatable connections in Sem. and Afras. v. Mil. 2011).

(3) Gez. *ḥ/ḫamalmil;* Tna. *ḥamälmil* (syn.: *ḳəṭälya* — v. Mil. 2011 #5; acc. to Bulakh quoted in Kog. LE 478, < Amh.); Wol. *ʔaməl dänä* // < Eth. **ḥaml* 'vegetation, herbs; cabbage' rel. to Arb. *ḫamilat-* 'terrain couvert de végétation, etc.' (and hence not borrowed from but into Cush.; v. Mil. 2011 contra Bulakh quoted in Kog. LE 478).

(4) Tgr. *saʕarsaʕaro* (syn.: *lämläm* — v. #6); Cha. *särimäsər* // < Eth.-Arb. **ŝaʕar-* 'grass, vegetation' < Afras. **čaʕar-* 'green, vegetation': Chad. **ŝVrV* 'green' (St. 2007 #270), rel., in its turn, with Afras. **ĉarVy-* 'barley, cultured cereals' (v. in Mil. 2011; add Chad. W.: Pa'a *ŝàrdóya,* pl. *ŝàráa-nì*) 'cassava', (?) C.: Mofu *ŝawara 'Eragrostis diplachnoides'*).

(5) Amh. *ärangʷäde* (syn.: *ḳəṭäləmma, ḳəṭäləyya, ḳəṭalṭal* — v. Mil. 2011 #5) // v. debatable Afras. comparanda in Mil. 2011 #6.

(6) Sod. *lämläm* (syn.: *arängʷade* — v. #5) // < Eth. **lmlm* 'be verdant, bud' LGz 315, and *ləmuʕ* < Arb.-Eth. **lmʕ* 'shine, blossom, be tender' — v. ibid. < Afras.: Chad. **lVVm-* 'soft, tender' (St. 2005 #266); C.Cush.: **lim-* 'be tender' (ADB).

(7) Hrs. *heẑōr;* Mhr. *heẑōr;* Hob. *həṣoór;* Jib. *šəĉrōr;* Soq. *šeẑhor* // < MSA **šeṣōr-* with no direct cognates and the combination š-ẑ unusual for Sem. (and **ŝ-ĉ,* for Afras. in general); on a hypothetic connection with Arb. **ḫṣr* v. Mil. 2011.

◊ Urm. *mīl* < Iranian. No terms in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Sab. and Gaf.

→ North and West Semitic **warḳ-* (# 1) < Afras. **wVraḳ-* 'green, yellow' (Mil. 2011).

36. HAIR

(1) Akk. (OB) *šārtu;* Ugr. *šʕr;* Hbr. *ŝeʕār;* Bib. *ŝəʕar;* Pal. *ŝʕr, sʕr;* Syr. *səʕart-;* Qur. *šaʕr-;* Leb. Mec. *šaʕar;* Mlt. *šā(gh)ir;* Gez. *ŝəʕər-t* // < Sem. **ŝaʕr(-at)-* (SED I #260).

(2) Mnd. *manzy-;* Urm. *mizt-* // < Arm. **miʕanz-ay-* 'hair'; for likely further Sem. and Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011.

(3) Sod. *gunnän;* Cha. *gunär* // also 'head', likely < Sem. **gu/in- ~ *ʔ/wVgn-* 'cheek-bone' (SED I #84) < Afras. **gi/un(Vn)-* 'cheek; jaw; face; head' (Mil. 2011).

(4) Wol. *dumi* // < Eth. **dVmāh/ḫ,* with likely Arb. parallels and variant roots (v. Mil. 2011).

(5) Hrs. *ŝāfēt;* Mhr. *ŝefī-t;* Hob. *ŝféet;* Jib. *ŝfe-t;* Soq. *ŝef* // < Sem. **ŝV(ʕ)p(-at)-* '(tuft of) hair' (SED I #259) < Afras. **ĉaʕVp-* 'tuft of hair' (Mil. 2011).

◊ Tna. * čägʷər, ṣägʷər;* Tgr. *čəgär;* Amh. *ṭägur;* Arg. *čəgär;* Gaf. *ṣəgärä;* Har. *čigär,* all < Cush. (Mil. 2011). No term in Pho. or Sab.

→ North and West Semitic **ŝaʕr(-at)-* (# 1) <Afras. **ĉaʕVr-* (v. Mil. 2011; perhaps to add Chad. **ĉVr-* 'to comb' St. 2007 #259a).

37. HAND

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

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

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

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

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

38. HEAD

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

(2) Ugr. *riš*; Hbr. *rō(ʔ)š*; Pho. *rʔš*; Bib. *rēʔš*; Pal. *rē(ʔ)š, ryš*; Syr. *rēš-*; Mnd. *riš-*; Urm. *rīš-*; Qur. *raʔs-*; Leb. *rās*; Mec. *rās*; Mlt. *rās*; Sab. *rʔs₁*; Gez. *rəʔəs*; Tna. *rəʔəs-i*; Tgr. *räʔas*; Amh. *ras*; Har. *urūs*; Hrs. *ḥerih*; Mhr. *ḥəröh*; Hob. *ḥaareéh*; Jib. *reš*; Soq. *rey* // < Sem. **raʔ(i)š-* (SED I #225).

(3) Arg. *dəmah*; Gaf. *dəmʷä*; Wol. *dumi* // v. **HAIR** #4.

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

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

39. HEAR

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šemû*; Ugr. *šmʕ*; Hbr. *šmʕ*; Pho. *šmʕ*; Bib. *šmʕ*; Pal. *šmʕ*; Syr. *šmʕ*; Mnd. *šma*; Urm. *šmʕ*; Qur. *šmʕ*; Leb. *səməʕa*; Mec. *simiʕ*; Mlt. *sēma(gh)*; Sab. *s₁mʕ*; Gez. *smʕ*; Tna. *sämʕe*; Tgr. *sämʕa*; Amh. *sämma*; Arg. *sämma*; Gaf. *sämmä*; Sod. *sämmam*; Har. *sämaʔa*; Wol. *sämä*; Cha. *sämam*; Hrs. *hōma*; Mhr. *hēma*; Hob. *híiməʔ*; Jib. *šĩʕ*; Soq. *hemaʕ* // < Sem. **šimʕ-* .

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

40. HEART

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

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

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

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

41. HORN

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

◊   No term in Bib. or Sab.

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

42. I

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

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

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

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

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

43. KILL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

◊   No term in Pho. or Gaf.

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

44. KNEE

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

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

◊   Amh. *gulbät*; Arg. *gulbät, gulot*; Gaf. *gulbät*; Sod. *gulbät*; Har. *gəlib*; Cha. *gʷərbät* < Cush. (v. Mil. 2011). No term in Pho. or Sab.

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

45. KNOW

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

◊ Amh. awwäḵä; Arg. wōnḵa, ōnḵa; Har. āḵa < C. Cush. (Mil. 2011).

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

46. LEAF

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

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

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

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

(5) Gez. ḵʷäṣäl; Tna. ḵʷäṣl-i; Amh. ḵäṭäl; Arg. ḵäṭäl, hätal; Gaf. ḵäṭälä; Sod. ḵäṭäl; Har. ḵuṭṭi; Wol. ḵuṭäl; Cha. ḵäṭär (syn.: ənzər — v. **EAR** #1) // v. **GREEN** in Mil. 2011 #5.

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

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

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

→ No Common Semitic.

47. LIE

(1) Akk. (OB) *itūl-* < **nyl* : *nâlu, niālu, i/utūlu* 'to lie (down)' (syn.: *ṣalālu* — v. Mil. 2014 #1) // likely with met. < Sem. **lyn* 'to sleep, spend the night' (Mil. 2014 SLEEP #2).

(2) Ugr. *škb*; Hbr. *škb*; Pho. *škb*; Syr. *škb* (syn.: *gny* — Mil. 2011 #6); Mnd. *škb* (syn.: *gna* — Mil. 2011 #6, *rba* — ibid. #5, and *zga* — v. #8); Gez. *sakaba* // < Sem. **škb* // Mil. 2011 #3.

(3) Pal. *dmk* (syn.: *rbʕ* — v. Mil. 2011 #5); Urm. *dmk* // Arm. only (v. Mil. 2011 #4).

(4) Leb. *lʔḥ* // < **lḳḥ* (Mil. 2011 #7).

(5) Mec. *tamaddad*; Mlt. *kin mindud* (syn.: *imtēt* — v. Mil. 2011 #9); Hob. *mútted/yəməddúud* (less likely < Arb.) // < Sem. **mdd* 'to stretch, spread' (Mil. 2011 #8).

(6) Tna. *tä-gadämä*; Amh. *tä-gaddämä* (syn.: *ʒäg alä* — v. #8) // Mod. Eth. only; for Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011 #10 and/or Chad. **n-gVd-* 'lazy' (St. 2011 #505).

(7) Tgr. *ʔəkrur hälla* // < Sem. **krr* 'to put, throw, fall, lie' (v. Mil. 2011 #11), rel. to Chad. **kVr-* 'to throw, fall down' (St. 2011 #256), perhaps also **kVr-* 'down, buttock' (ibid. #276).

(8) Har. *zäg bāya* (syn.: *ñēʔa* — v. #9) // < Sem. **zVg-* 'to lie down, stretch out' (v. DRS 682), rel. to Chad. **zVg-* 'to put, place; to descend; to last, wait' (St. 2009 #43).

(9) Arg. *(b)angerru t-eñña*; Sod. *əññäm;;* Wol. *əññe* (syn.: *rebätä-* v. Mil. 2011 #5) // < Sem. **nhy* (v. SLEEP #8); for Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011 #13).

(10) Gaf. *(tä)gäddälä*; Cha. *(tä)gätäräm* // < Eth.-Arb. with possible Cush. connections (Mil. 2011 #14).

(11) Hrs. *enbelṭáḥ* (syn.: *engerdōŝ* — v. Mil. 2011 #16); Mhr. *ənbalṭəh* (syn.: *šə-wkūf* — v. Mil. 2011 #17); Jib. *bóṭṭaḥ, ənbəlṭáḥ* (syn.: *ʕtéḳél* — v. Mil. 2011 #18) // < Sem. **b(l)ṭḥ* (Mil. 2011 #15).

(12) Soq. *šéʔef* (syn.: *bṭḥ, blṭḥ* — v. #11, and *dyaḥ, šédaḥ*, likely < Sem. **dḥy* 'to push down, spread': Hbr. *dḥy* 'to push down' HALOT 218, Arb. *dḥw/y* 'étendre comme un tapis; pousser violemment; jeter, lancer' BK 1 676) // v. discussion in Mil.2011 #19.

◊   No term in Bib., Qur. or Sab.

→   West and South (Hob., unless < Arb.) Semitic **mdd* (#5); cf. W.Chad. **muḍ-* (< **muHd-?*) 'lie down' (ADB).

→   West Semilic: **škb* (#2).

48. LIVER

(1) Akk. (OB) *amūtu* // v. SED I #185 and BELLY #4.

(2) Ugr. *kbd*; Hbr. *kābēd*; Pal. *kbd*; Syr. Mnd. Urm. *kabd-*; Qur. *kabid-*; Leb. *kəbdi*; Mec. *kabed*; Gez. *käbəd*; Tna. *käbdi*; Tgr. *käbdät*; Har. *kūd*; Wol. *häbd*; Cha. *ḳäpt*; Hrs. *šebdēt*; Mhr. *šəbdīt*; Hob. *šəbdíit*; Jib. *šubdet*; Soq. *šibde* // Mil. 2011 #2.

(3) Amh. *gubbät*; Sod. *gəbbot* // not of the same root as #2 — v. Mil. 2011 #3.

(4) Arg. *amfəha* // Mil. 2011 #4.

◊   Mlt. *fuiet* is borrowed from a Romance language. No term in Pho., Bib., Sab. or Gaf.

→   West and South Semitic **kab(i)d-* (#2).

49. LONG

(1) Akk. (OB) *arku*; Ugr. *ʔrk* (verb); Hbr. *ʔārōk*; Pho. *ʔrk*; Pal. *ʔryk*; Syr. *ʔarrīk-*; Mnd. *aruk-*; Urm. *yarīk-*; Sab. *ʔrk* (verb) // < Sem. **ʔarVk-* (Mil. 2011).

(2) Qur. *ṭawīl-*; Leb. *ṭawil*; Mec. *ṭawiyl*; Mlt. *twīl* // < Sem. **ṭwl* with possible Afras. parallels (Mil. 2011).

(3) Gez. *näwiḥ*; Tna. *näwwiḥ* // < Sem. **nwḥ* 'be extended, stretched out, repose'; for possible Afras. connections v. Mil. 2011.

(4) Tgr. *räyim*; Jib. *rihm*; Soq. *riyyom* // < Sem. **rym* 'to be high, long' (Mil. 2011).

(5) Amh. *räžim*; Arg. *räžžim* (syn.: *gudor* — v. #6) // < Eth.-Arb. **rzm* (Mil. 2011).

(6) Gaf. *gaddärmä*; Har. *gudōr*; Wol. *gudär* // < Eth.-Arb. **gdr*; for possible further Sem. and Afras. connections v. **BIG** #9.

(7) Sod. *gälləf*; Cha. *gef* // < Eth.-Arb. **galif-* 'long' (Mil. 2011).

◊   Hrs. *ṭewīl*, Mhr. *ṭəwīl* and Hob. *ṭwiíl* are, rather than not, < Arb. No term in Bib.

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

→   West (Tgr.) and South Semitic **rym* (#4) < Afras. **rVy/wVm-* 'be raised, high, long' (Mil. 2011; add Chad. **rVm-* 'to rise, jump' St. 2005 #902).

50. LOUSE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *kalmatu* (syn.: OB *uplu* — < Sem. **pVl(y)-* < Afras. **(ʔV-)pil-* Mil. 2011 #1); Pal. *klmh* // < Sem. **kalm-* (cf. SED II #130; v. discussion ibid.).

(2) Syr. *ḳalmət-*; Urm. *ḳalm-*; Qur. *ḳummal-*; Leb. *ʔaməl*; Mec. *gamil*; Mlt. *āmel*; Gez. *ḳʷəmal* (syn.: *ḳʷəṭni* < Sem. **ḳʷVṭVn-* < Afras. — v. Mil. 2011 #4); Tna. *ḳʷəmal*; Tgr. *ḳəmal*; Amh. *ḳəmal*; Arg. *ḳəmal*; Sod. *ḳəmal*; Har. *ḳumāy*; Wol. *ḳumal*; Cha. *ḳəmar* // < Sem. **ḳ(ʷ)aml- ~ *ḳalm-* (SED II #130).

(3) Hrs. *kenemōt*; Mhr. *kenmīt*; Hob. *kinmíit*; Jib. *šinit*; Soq. *konum* // < Sem. **ki/ann(-Vm)-* 'a harmful insect' (SED II #116).

◊   No term in Ugr., Hbr., Pho. Bib., Mnd., Sab. or Gaf.

→   North and West Semitic **kalm-* (#1) < Afras. **k(ʷ)a/il(-m)-* 'a biting insect' (Mil. 2011).

→   West Semitic **ḳ(ʷ)aml- ~ *ḳalm-* (#2), possibly rel., with fossilized *-l*, to Chad. **ḳVm-* 'louse' (St. 2011 #377), comp. (ibid.) with E.: Mokilko *kímàalà* 'caterpillar'.

51. MAN

(1) Akk. (OB) *zikaru* // < Sem. **d̠akar-*: 'man, male' (HALOT 270, DUL 269).

(2) Ugr. *mt* // meaning debatable, probably 'husband' (v. Kog. Ug.) < Sem. **mVt* < Afras. **mVt-* 'man, husband' (Mil. 2001).

(3) Pho. *ʔš* (syn.: *gbr*); Hbr. *ʔīš* 'man'; Sab. *ʔys₁* (syn.: *ʔns₁* – v. #5) // < Sem. **ʔiš-* 'man' < Afras. **ʔaw/ys-* 'human being, man' (Mil. 2011).

(4) Bib. *gəbar*; Pal. *gᵉbar*; Syr. *gabr-*; Mnd. *gabr-* // < Sem. **gabr- ~ *gabbār-* < Afras. **gabar-* 'man' (Mil. 2011); add W.Chad.: Hausa *gwábró* (and *gwáuró*) 'a man who no longer has a wife' < Chad. **gVbVr-* 'man' (St. 2011 #464; the E.Cush. forms quoted ibid. are < Amh.).

(5) Urm. *ʔānāš-*; Tgr. *ʔənas* // < Sem. **(ʔi-)naš-* 'man' < Afras. **(ʔi-)nus-* 'human being, man, male in-law, son' (Mil. 2011).

(6) Qur. *ražul-*; Leb. *ražžēl*; Mec. *rižžāl*; Mlt. *rāžal* // with a semantic shift 'foot' > 'pedestrian, foot-soldier' (Mil. 2011) < Sem. **rigl-* 'foot' < Afras. **riga/ul-* 'limb, leg' — v. **FOOT** #3.

(7) Gez. *bəʔəs-i* (syn.: *ʕad* < Sem. **ʕi/add-* 'assembly, gathering of people, community' < Afras. **ʕV(n)d-*, v. Mil. 2011 #8) // N.Eth. only; rel., perhaps, to Arb. *bʔs* 'ê. brave, courageux, audacieux; ê. fort et violent' (BK 1 79); likely < Afras. **bVʔVs-* 'son, boy, coeval' (Mil. 2014 #6).

(8) Tna. *säbʔay*; Arg. *su, säw*y; Gaf. *säwwä*; Har. *usuʔ* (< **subʔ*); Wol. *säb*; Cha. *säb* // < Eth. **sabʔ-*; for plausible Sem. parallels v. Mil. 2011.

(9) Amh. *wänd* (syn.: *säb, säwu* — v. #8) // < Sem. **wald-* 'child' < Afras. **walad- ~ *wadal- ~ *dawal-* 'child; young' (Mil. 2011).

(10) Sod. *məss* // < S.Eth. (Mil. 2011), either < **miš(š)* or < **mit̠(t)*. If the former (no Sem. cognates), < Afras. **mVs-* 'male, husband' (Mil. 2011); if the latter, with possible parallels in Akk. *māšu, maššû, mašû* 'twin' (CAD *m*1 401; acc. to AHw 631, a Sumerism) and Ugr. *mt̠* 'infant, baby boy' (DUL 604; tentatively compared to Akk. *māšu* and Hbr. *Mōšā* 'Moses')

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

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

→ No common Semitic.

52. MANY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

53. MEAT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

54. MOON

(1) Akk. (OB) *warḫu*; Ugr. *yrḫ*; Hbr. *yārēᵃḫ*; Pho. *yrḫ*; Gez. *wärḫ*; Tna. *warḫ-i*; Tgr. *wäraḫ*; Har. *waḥri*; Wol. *wari* // < Sem. *warḫ- 'moon' (Mil. 2011).

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

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

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

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

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

◊ No term in Bib. or Sab.

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

55. MOUNTAIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

→ No Common Semitic.

56. MOUTH

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

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

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

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

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

57. NAME

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šumu*; Ugr. *šm*; Hbr. *šēm*; Pho. *šm*; Bib. *šum*; Pal. *šēm, šwm*; Syr. *šəm*; Mnd. *šum-*; Urm. *šimm-*; Qur. *ʔism-*; Leb. *ʔəsəm*; Mec. *ism*; Mlt. *isem*; Sab. *s₁m*; Gez. *səm*; Tna. *səm*; Tgr. *səm*; Amh. *səm*; Arg. *səm*; Gaf. *səmʷä*; Sod. *səm*; Har. *sum*; Wol. *sum*; Cha. *šəm*; Hrs. *hem*; Mhr. *ham*; Hob. *húm*; Jib. *šum*; Soq. *šem* // < Sem. **(ʔi-)šim-*.

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

58. NECK

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

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

(3) Qur. *ʕunk̮-*; Mlt. (*gh*)*onaʔ* // < Sem. **ʕVnk̮-* 'neck' (SED I #15); cf. N.Cush.: Beja *ank̮ŭa* 'Häcker, Buckel' (if < **ʕank̮w-*).

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

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

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

(7) Hrs. Mhr. *γōṭi*; Hob. *γóoṭə*; Jib. *γoṭɛ* // only MSA.

(8) Soq. *fak̮rere* (syn.: *k̮ar* — v. Sem. and Afras. parallels in Mil. 2012 #8) // < Sem. **pi/ark̮-at-* ~ **pi/ak̮r-at-* (SED I #219), perhaps, with fossilized *-r* extension, < **pVk̮-* 'neck' (ibid. #213).

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

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

59. NEW

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

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

(3) Sab. *ḵs₂b* // < Arb.-Sab. **ḵaŝīb-* (Mil. 2012).

(4) Gaf. *wayä* // acc. to LGur 666, a loan from HEC (Sidamo *hāro*, etc.) "with loss of *r* through palatalization" (ibid. 673), which is unconvincing; cf., hypothetically, E.Cush.: LEC **ʔawt-it-*: Dirayta *áwšitt*, Mashile *áwtitta* 'new' and C.Chad.: Ouldeme *āwéhē*, Mada *ewwe*, Zulgo *awíyá*, Cuvok *waya* id.

(5) Cha. *gädär* // for possible Sem. connections v. Mil. 2012.

(6) Hrs. *ḥeydīn*; Mhr. *ḥeydīn*; Hob. *ḥaydiín*; Jib. *odīn* // < MSA-Arb. **wayd-Vn* < MSA-Arb. with plausible Afras. connections (Mil. 2012).

◊ Soq. *gadid* is more likely an Arabism than genuine.

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

60. NIGHT

(1) Akk. (OB) *mūšu*; Sod. *məšät*; Cha. *məšätä* // < Sem. **(ʔa-)mušy-* 'night, yesterday, evening' (Mil. 2012).

(2) Ugr. *ll*; Hbr. *laylā*; Pho. *ll*; Bib. *lēly-ā*; Pal. *lēlē*; Syr. *lely-*; Mnd. *lily-*; Urm. *layl-*; Qur. *laylat-*; Leb. *layl*; Mec. *layl*; Mlt. *leyla*; Sab. *lly*; Gez. *lelit*; Tna. *läyt-i*; Tgr. *lali*; Amh. *let*; Gaf. *litä* // < Sem. **layl-*.

(3) Arg. *hadara* (syn.: *etta, yet* — v. Mil. 2012 #4) // (unless < E.Cush.) < Sem.: **ḥadar-* 'darkness' (Mil. 2012); cf. E.Cush.: Saho *hadar*, Afar *hadar* (perf. *áḥdera*) 'spend the night doing something'; N.Omot.: Anfilo *diihro* (met.) 'night' (ADB).

(4) Har. *artu, ōrtu* (syn.: *läyl-i, lēl-i* — v. #2); Wol. *arot* // < S.-E. Eth., likely < Sem. **ɣarb-* 'sunset, evening, west' (v. in Mil. 2012 #5).

(5) Hrs. *ʔāṣer*; Mhr. *ʕaṣar*; Hob. *ʔáaṣər*; Jib. *ʕaṣ̌ər* // rel. to Arb. *ʔal-ʕaṣr-* 'le jour et la nuit, ou le soir et le matin', likely < Sem. **ʕaṣr-* 'feast, time, season, night' (Mil. 2012 #6).

(6) Soq. *ḥte* // perhaps rel. to Arb. *ḥa/iṯāṯ* 'sommeil' (BK 1 377).

→ North and West (Sod., Cha.) Semitic **(ʔa-)mVšy-* (#1) < Afras. **(ʔa-)mas(y)-* 'night, evening' (Mil. 2012; N. Omot. **ʔumars-*, which is a different Afras. root /**mVŝVr- ~ *rVmVŝ- ~ *(ʔu-)mars-* ADB, should be replaced with N.Omot. **ʔVmVs/c-*: Malo *ʔomácə*, Basketo *ʔumac* 'night', Mao (Sezo) *ʔɛmsi* 'moon', perhaps Dizi (Maji) *acim* (met.) 'id.'.

→ West Semitic **layl-* (#2); cf. Afras.: W.Chad. **lV(V/y)* 'moon': Tala *lii*, Boghom *lio*; S.Cush.: Asa *ʔalalaya* 'star'; Maʕa *-laŝu* (dissim. < **lalu?*) 'evening'; N.Omot.: Bworo *illa* 'evening', Yemsa *wāli* 'night' (ADB; cf. EDE III 43–44).

61. NOSE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *appu*; Ugr. *ʔap*; Hbr. *ʔap*; Pal. *ʔp*; Qur. *ʔanf-*; (?) Sab. *ʔf* (Stein: 1 attestation with a question mark); Gez. *ʔanəf*; Tgr. *ʔanəf*; Gaf. *ãfʷä*; Sod. *afunna*; Har. *ūf*; Cha. *ãfuna* // < Sem. **ʔanp-* 'nose' (SED I #8).

(2) Syr. *nəḥīr-*; Mnd. *nhir-*; Urm. *nāḥīr-*; Leb. *mənḥar*; Mlt. *əmniḥer*; Hrs. *nḥerīr*; Mhr. *neḥrīr*; Hob. *naḥriír*; Jib. *naḥrer*; Soq. *naḥrir* // < Sem. **naḥīr-* 'nostril, nose' (SED I #198).

(3) Mec. *ḫušum* // Class. Arb. *ḫayšūm-* 'cartilages du nez' (v. Mil. 2012).

(4) Tna. *ʔafənča*; Amh. Arg. *afənča* // an enigmatic term (v. Mil. 2012).

(5) Wol. *bärbäre* // < *bärbäre* 'pepper' (LGur 151), v. Mil. 2012.

◊ No term in Pho., Bib. or Sab.

→ North and West Semitic **ʔanp-* (#1) < Afras. **(ʔa-)na/if-* 'breath' (v. in Mil. 2012).

→ South and West Semitic **naḥīr-* (#2) < Afras. **naḥVr-* 'nose' (Mil. 2012), perhaps going back, with root extension -*r*, to Afras. (incl. Sem.) **naḥ-* 'referring to the nose, nasal mucus, phlegm' (Mil. 2012).

62. NOT [1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

63. ONE

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

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

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

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

64. PERSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

65. RAIN

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

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

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

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

◊ No term in Pho. or Bib.

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

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

66. RED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

67. ROAD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

68. ROOT

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šuršu*; Ugr. *šrš*; Hbr. *šōräš*; Pho. *šrš*; Bib. *šōrēš*; Mnd. *širš-*; Leb. *širəš* // < Sem. **ŝₓVu/irŝₓ-*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

◊ No term in Sab.

→ North and West Semitic *$\hat{s}_x u/ir\hat{s}_x$- (#1).

→ West and South Semitic *$\Omega a/irk$- (#4; unless MSA < Arb.).

69. ROUND

(1) Akk. (OB) *garru* // < Sem. *$gar(gVr)$- < Afras. *$gVr(gVr)$- (Mil. 2012).

(2) Hbr. *$\Omega \bar{a}g\bar{o}l$*; Soq. *gáΩlhel* (met.) // < Sem. *Ωgl (v. reasons for uniting these terms in Mil. 2012).

(3) Syr. *gəlīl-*; Urm. *gəlūl-* // < Sem. *$g^w VlVl$- < Afras. *$g^w VlVl$- 'round' (Mil. 2012).

(4) Mnd. *kulul-* // < Sem. *$k^w VlVl$- 'round, surround' < Afras. *$k^w Vl$- 'round, circular' (Mil. 2012; add Copt.: Sahidic *kelkōl* 'ê. rond' Vyc. 76).

(5) Leb. *m-dawar*; Mec. *mu-dawwar* // < Sem. *dwr 'to be/go round' (arguments contra borrowing in MSA < Arb. v. in Mil. 2012) with a few Afras. parallels (ibid.).

(6) Gez. *kəbub*; Tna. *kəbib* (syn.: *ʔən-kəbləl* — v. Mil. 2012 #7); Tgr. *käbib, kəbub*; Amh. *kəbb*; Sod. *kəbb*; Wol. *kub*; Cha. *kəb* // < Sem. *$kVb(kVb)$- 'round' (Mil. 2012).

(7) Har. *dulālu* // < Sem. *$dVbVl$- 'round, ball-shaped' with possible scarce Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #8).

(8) Jib. *ḥalḳɛ́t* // < Sem. *$ḥalk-at$- 'circle, ring' (Mil. 2012 #9).

◊ Mlt. *tont* likely < Ital. *tondo*; Mhr. *madáwwər*, Hob. *mdáwwər* more likely < Arb. than genuine (counter Mil. 2012 #5). No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Pal., Qur., Sab., Arg. or Gaf.

→ West (Hbr.) and South (Soq.) Semitic *$\Omega agVl$- (#2); eventually interrelated, with root extension -Ω, to Sem. *$g^w VlVl$- < Afras. *$g^w VlVl$- (#3).

70. SAND

(1) Akk. (OB) *bāṣu* (*baṣṣu*) // < Sem. *$bV\hat{s}$- (Mil. 2012); cf. E.Cush.: LEC: Oromo *booṭoo* 'muddy'.

(2) Hbr. *ḥōl*; Pal. *ḥāl*; Syr. *ḥāl-*; Mnd. *hal-* // < Sem. *$ḥawl$- 'sand, mud' (v. Mil. 2012).

(3) Leb. *raməl*; Mec. *ramal*; Mlt. *rāmel* // common Arb. and, perhaps, Sab. *rml* 'building sand' quoted in SD 117 with a question mark (v. Mil. 2012; add identical terms rel. to geomancy in different languages in LGz 471).

(4) Gez. *ḥoṣa*; Tna. *ḥuṣa*; Tgr. *ḥəṣä* (syn.: *čäbäl*) // < Sem.*$ḫ/ḥVw/yV\ṣ$- 'sand, gravel' < hypothetic Afras. *$ġas/ç$- (Mil. 2012).

(5) Amh. *aššäwa*; Arg. *hašawa*; Sod. *ašawa*; Wol. *ašawa*; Cha. *ašawa* // < Sem. *$ḥašw/y$- < Afras. *$ḥas(a)y$- (Mil. 2012; correction: Jib. *ḥáši* is not 'sand' but 'soil', which eliminates Common South and West Semitic *$ḥašw/y$-).

(6) Har. *sēlāt* (syn.: *šiḥšēra* — v. Mil. 2012 #6) // rel. to (unless borrowed from) Arb. *sihlat-*; cf. Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #7).

(7) Hrs. *baṭeḥ*; Mhr. *baṭḥ*; Jib. *bɔṭḥ* // < MSA-Arb. *$baṭḥ$- 'sand', likely derived < *$bṭḥ$ 'to lie down (on the sand?); to spread, extend (of sand?)' (v. LIE #11).

(8) Soq. *šéme* // < Soq.-Arb. *$\hat{s}_x aym$- (v. Mil. 2012 #9); cf. Afras. parallels (ibid.), in which the origin of the sibilant remains debatable until detailed and well-grounded consonant correspondences for all Afrasian languages have been established).

◊ Urm. *sīl-* is < Turkish. Hob. *rəmléet* < Arb. No term in Ugr., Pho., Bib., Qur., Sab. or Gaf.

→ No Common Semitic.

71. SAY

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *ḳabū* // < Sem. *$ḳ(^w)Vbb$- 'say, shout, curse' < Afras. *$ḳab$- 'speak, shout, curse' (Mil. 2012).

(2) Ugr. *rgm* // < Sem. *rgm 'to blame, curse' (Mil. 2012).

(3) Hbr. *ʔmr*; Pho. *ʔmr*; Bib. *ʔmr*; Pal. *ʔmr*; Syr. *ʔmr*; Mnd. *ʔmr*; Urm. *ʔmr* // < Sem. *$ʔmr$ 'to say, order'.

(4) Qur. *ḳwl*; Leb. *ʔāl*; Mec. *ḳāl*; Mlt. *āl* // < Sem. *ḳwl* 'to say', *ḳawl-* 'voice' < Afras. *ḳawl-* 'to talk, shout' (Mil. 2012).

(5) Sab. *bhl* (Stein: two attestations; syn.: *ḳwl* Stein: one attestation — v. #4); Gez. *bhl*; Tna. *bälä*; Tgr. *bela*; Amh. *alä*; Arg. *ala*; Gaf. *balä*; Sod. *baläm*; Har. *baya*; Wol. *balä*; Cha. *baräm* // < Sem. *bhl* 'to say, curse' (Mil. 2012).

(6) Hrs. *ʕamōr*; Mhr. *ʕamūr*; Jib. *ʕõr*; Soq. *ʕemor* // v. other (correction from "another" in Mil. 2012) meanings in MSA and Arb. ibid.; < MSA-Arb. *ʕmr* presumably 'causing to existence or accomplishment by force of magic speech/formula' (to be treated as a variant root of *ʔmr* (#3).

→ West Semitic (Sab.-Eth.) *bhl* (#5) with a likely W.Chad. parallel *biHal-* 'angry' (Mil. 2012).

72. SEE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *amāru* // < Sem. *ʔmr* 'to see; show, indicate; know' < Afras: *(ʔV-)mVr-* 'to see, look, show, search for' (Mil. 2011 KNOW #5)

(2) Ugr. *phy* (syn.: *ʕn* — v. EYE #1) // the only imaginable etymology is a hypothetic Ugr.-Arb. *ṗhy ~ *ṗʔh* (perhaps also Sab. *bhʔt* 'scout, intelligence agent'), v. Mil. 2012.

(3) Hbr. *rʔy*; Qur. *rʔy*; Mlt. *rā*; Sab. *rʔy*; Gez. *rəʔya*; Tna. *räʔäyä*; Tgr. *rəʔa*; Arg. *re*; Har. *rīʔa* // < Sem. *rʔy* 'to see'.

(4) Pho. *ḥz* (*rʔy*, a verbal noun — v. #3); Bib. *ḥzy*; Syr. *ḥzy*; Mnd. *hza*; Urm. *ḥzy*; Amh. *ayyä*; Arg. *hanža*; Gaf. *aǯǯä*; Sod. *ažžäm*; Wol. *anže*; Cha. *až/šäm* // < Sem. *ḥzy* 'to see, watch' (Mil. 2012 #5).

(5) Pal. *ḥmy* // < Hbr.-Arm. *ḥmy* 'to see, watch, beware' < Sem. *ḥmy* 'to watch, protect' with some weak Afras. parallels (Mil. 2012 #6).

(6) Leb. *šēf*; Mec. *šāf* // < Sem. *ŝw/yp* 'look out, observe, protect' (Mil. 2012 #7).

(7) Hrs. *ŝēni*; Mhr. *ŝinuh*; Hob.*ŝənú*; Jib. *ŝini*; Soq. *ŝini* // < MSA-Arb. *ŝV(ʔ)n-* 'see, know, care' < Afras. *ĉVn-* (Mil. 2012 #8).

→ West Semitic 1 *rʔy* (#3) < Afras. *rayʔ- ~ *ʔayr-* 'to see' (Mil. 2012 #4).

→ West Semitic 2 *ḥzy* (#4) with one isolated C.Chad. parallel (ibid.).

73. SEED

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *zēru, zarʔu*; Hbr. *zäraʕ*; Bib. *zəraʕ*; Pal. *zrʕ*; Syr. *zarʕ-*; Urm. *zarʕ-*; Qur. *zarʕ-* ('seed, corn', etc. in the Qur'an (Pen.), with *bḏr* attested as 'to sow' only — cf. otherwise Kog. LE 471); Mlt. *zerri(gh)a*; Gez. *zärʔ/ʕ*, Tna. *zärʔ-i*; Tgr. *zärəʔ*; Amh. Arg. Gaf. Sod. Har. Wol. *zär*; Cha. *zənä* // < Sem. *zarʕ/ʔ-* (Mil. 2012, cf. otherwise Kog. LE 471–2).

(2) Ugr. *d/ḏrʕ*; Mec. *dirra* // < Sem. *ḏVrʕ/ʔ-* (Mil. 2012).

(3) Mnd. *baz(i)r-* (syn. *zira* — v. #1) // < Sem. *bVzr-* (Mil. 2012) with a few debatable Chad. parallels (Mil. 2012).

(4) Leb. *bḏar* // < Arm.-Arb. *baḏr-* (Mil. 2012).

(5) Har. *säñi*; Wol. *säññe* (otherwise < E.Cush., then most likely < Oromo); Soq. *šáne* (syn.: Soq. *deri* — v. #2) // < Sem. *ʔa-šnVʔ/n-* (Mil. 2012).

◊ Hrs. *baḏr*, Mhr. *biḏar*, Hob. *béeḏər*, Jib. *béḏər* likely < Arb. No term in Pho.

→ North and West Semitic *zarʕ/ʔ-* (#1) < Afras. *ʒVry/ʔ/ʕ-* 'seed, sowing, sown field, to sow, plant, cultivate': Egyp. (late, Gr.) *z*; (< *ʒVr* or *ǯVr*) 'Bez. der achtel Arure, acht Aruren Acker' (EG III, 411), (Gr.) 'Art Acker' (Ibid., 414); Chad. W.: Karekare *źirue* (< *ʒir-*) 'planting across ridgerows', C. *zVr-* 'to sprout': Mbuko *zaray* 'pousser par terre (haricot)', Zulgo *zárá* 'long sprouts' (St. 2009 #542), E.: Kera *żòoru*, Kwang *seeré* 'to sow'; Cush. N.: Beja *deráʔ* (< *ʒVrʔ-* or *ǯVrʔ-* or < Arb.) 'seed', C. *zVr-*: Khamir *zürû* 'wheat', *zir-*, Kemant *zar-* 'to sow', Aungi *zer* 'to cultivate'; N.Omot. *ǯVry-* or *ʒVry-*: Wolamo *zer-* 'to spread, to seed',

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

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

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

74. SIT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(10) Hrs. *ŝḥewlōl*; Mhr. *ŝḥulul*; Hob. *ŝḥoolúul* // cf. a suggested Arb. parallel (Mil. 2012).

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

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

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

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

75. SKIN

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

(2) Ugr. *ɣr*; Hbr. *ʕōr*; Pho. *ʕr* // < Sem. **ɣa/ur-/*ɣarɣar-* '(loose) skin, dewlap' (SED I #105) < Afras. **ɣur-* (highly tentative; v. Mil. 2014).

(3) Urm. *gild-*; Qur. *žild-*; Leb. *žild*; Mec. *žild*; Mlt. *žilda* // < Sem. **gi/ald-* (SED I #78).

(4) Gez. *māʔ/ʕs* // < Sem. **maʕaš-* or **maʕas-* (Mil. 2014).

(5) Tna. *ḳʷərbät*; Tgr. *ḳärbät* // < Eth.-Arb. **ḳʷirb-at-* < Afras. **ḳʷirab-* 'bark, skin' (Mil. 2014).

(6) Amh. *ḳodä* (syn.: *ḳʷärbät*, absent from other S.Eth., likely < Tna — v. #5) // < Eth.-Arb. **ḳ(ʷ)ad-* 'skin'; rel to W. Chad. **ḳad-* 'skin' (St. 2011 #315).

(7) Mhr. *bəŝərēt*; Jib. *bəŝərɛ́t* // < Sem. **bi/aŝar-* 'flesh, (human) body' (SED I #41); perhaps < Afras. **bVĉ(-Vr)-* 'skin, skinning': Brb.: Ghadames *bzər* 'to be peeled'; E.Chad.: W.Dangla *buusu* 'faire une coupure de la peau au couteau', E.Dangla *bésé* 'scarifier, faire une entaille dans la chair'; Cush. C.: Khamir *bas-* 'Einschnitte in die Haut machen... tätowieren', E.: HEC: Somali *búŝ-e* 'chaff', S.: Maʕa *buŝe* 'skin'; N.Omot.: Kafa *bāš-* 'schlachten, die Gurgel durchschneiden', Anfillo *baš* 'to slaughter cattle' (ADB).

(8) Soq. *ŝirhi* // < Sem. **ŝir-* 'skin, hide of cattle' (incl. Mhr. *ŝərū*, Jib. *ŝéré* 'to skin a cow with a knife') SED I #267; cf. W.Chad. **ĉVr-* 'to peel (bark, husk)' (St. 2007 #2491a).

◊ Gaf. *gʷagä*, Sod. *goga*, Har. *gōga*, Wol. *gogä* and Cha. *goga* are < Oromo *googa*; Hob. *žoód* < Arb. *žild.* No term in Bib. and Sab.

→ North and West Semitic: **mašk-* (#1) < Afras. **mask-* (Mil. 1914).

76. SLEEP

(1) Akk. (OB) *ṣalālu* // likely < Sem. **ṣll* 'to lie or go down, be in a horizontal position' (Mil. 2014).

(2) Ugr. *yšn*; Hbr. *yšn* // < Sem. **šin(-at)-* 'sleep, dream' < Afras. **wisan- ~ *sawin-* 'sleep, dream' (Mil. 2014 #3).

(3) Pal. *dmk* (syn.: *nwm* — v. #4); Syr. *dmk* (syn.: *škb* — v. #5); Urm. *dmk* (syn.: *ṭlʕ* — Mil. 2014 #7) // no cognates (v. Mil. 2014 #4).

(4) Qur. *nwm*; Leb. *nēm*; Mec. *nām*; Gez. *nwm* // < Sem. **nwm* 'to sleep, slumber'.

(5) Mnd. *škb*; Tgr. *säkäb hälla* // < Sem. **škb* 'lie (down), sleep' (v. **LIE** #2).

(6) Mlt. *raʔat* // < Arb. *rḳd* 'to sleep'; no visible Sem. parallels.

(7) Tna *däḳḳäsä* // Eth. with no parallels (v. Mil. 2014 #9).

(8) Amh. *täññä*; Arg. *teñña, eñä*; Sod. *əññäm*; Har. *ñēʔa*; Wol. *əññe*; Cha. *nəyäm* // < Sem. < Afras. **nhy ~ *hwn* (Mil. 2014 #10).

(9) Gaf. *(tä)gäddälä*; Cha. *(tä)gätäräm* // v. **LIE** #10.

(10) Hrs. *še-wkōf*; Mhr. *š-ūkūf*; Hob. *šu-ukóof*; Jib. *ŝef* // < Sem. **wkp ~ *kwp* 'to lie, sit' (v. Mil. 2012 **SIT** #17).

(11) Soq. *deme* (syn. *henod* — v. Mil. 2014 #14) // < Sem. **dVm-/*dVwVm-* 'to be still, last, stay a long time in one place' < Afras. **dam-* 'dwell, stay, rest' (Mil. 2014 #13).

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

→ West (Arb., Gez.) Semitic 1 **nwm* (#4) < Afras. (Mil. 2014 #5; to add as a possibility Chad. W.: Hausa *néemáa* 'adultery, fornication', E.: Lele *nōm* 'courtiser' (with a meaning shift 'to sleep' > 'to sleep with a woman' > 'fornicate'?).

→ West (Mnd., Tna.) Semitic 2 **škb* (#5).

77. SMALL

(1) Akk. (OB) *ṣeḫru* (with irregular *ḫ*? — cf., however, Jib. *mənṣəḥɔ́rrɔ́t* 'little finger' (JJ 243) pointing, perhaps, to a different Sem. root **ṣḥr*; syn.: *daḳḳ-* < Sem. **da/iḳḳ- ~ *daḳiḳ-< Afras. **da/iḳḳ-* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Pho. *ṣʕr*; Qur. *ṣaɣīr-*; Leb. *zɣīr* (< **ṣɣr*); Mec. *ṣaɣiyr*; Mlt. *zā(gh)ir*; Sab. *ṣɣr* (syn.: *ḳṭn* — v. #2) // < Sem. **ṣaɣīr-*.

(2) Hbr. *ḳāṭān* // < Sem. **ḳatan-* < Afras. **ḳ(ʷ)Vt-* (Mil. 2014 #3).

(3) Bib. *zəʕēr*; Pal. *zʕwr, zᵉʕē(y)r* (syn.: *dḳyḳ* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Syr. *zəʕōr-*; Urm. *zəʕōr-* // < Sem. *zʕr* 'be small, thin', rel. to Chad. *zVr-* 'to be narrow' (St. 2009 #563; Mil. 2014 #4).

(4) Mnd. *zuṭ-* (syn.: *ḳotān-* v. #2) // < Aram. *zʕṭ* (Mil. 2014 #5).

(5) Gez. *nəʔus* (syn.: *daḳiḳ* — v. Mil. 2014 #2); Tna *nuʔus*; Tgr. *nəʔuš*; Arg. *mans, mass*; Gaf. *ənsä*; Sod. *maläs*; Cha. *ərs* (syn.: *ḳəsi* — v. Mil. 2014 #8) // < Sem. *ʔVnVš-* (Mil. 2014 #6).

(6) Amh. *ṭənnəš* // v. Mil. 2014 #7.

(7) Har. *ṭīt*; Wol. *ṭit* (in both syn.: *(y)anäsä* — v. #5) // No etymology found.

(8) Hrs. *ḳennōn*; Hob. *ḳannuún*; Soq. *ḳéyhen* // < MSA-Arb. with Chad. parallels — Mil. 2014; add *kVn-* '(the youngest) son; calf; small' (St. 2011 241), perhaps < *ḳVn-*.

(9) Jib. *niṣan* // no parallels found.

→ Noth and West Semitic *ṣaɣīr-* (#1).

78. SMOKE:

(1) Akk. (OB) *ḳutr-*; Ugr. *ḳṭr*; Mnd. *guṭr-* // < Sem. *ḳuṭār-*.

(2) Hbr. *ʕāšān*, Soq. *ʕeto* (with a loss of *-n*? Less likely rel. to Arb. *ɣayṯ-* 'pluie abondante et qui s'étend aux environs' — v. Mil. 2014 footnote 9; syn.: *ḥélaḳ*) // < Sem. *ʕVṯan-* (v. Mil. 2014).

(3) Pal. *tᵉnan*; Syr. *tān-*; Urm. *tin-*; Gez. *tann* (syn.: *ṭis, ṭesa* — v. #6); Tgr. *tänan*; Gaf. *tännä*; Sod. *tän*; Har. *tän*; Wol. *tän*; Cha. *tän* // < Arm.-Eth. *tan(a)n-* (v. Mil. 2014).

(4) Qur. *duḫān-*; Leb. *dḫan*; Mec. *duḫḫān*; Mlt. *duḫḫān*; Hrs. *nedēḫ*; Mhr. *nidiḫ*; Hob. *ndóoḫ*; Jib. *məndoḫ* (met. in all MSA) // on this difficult case v. Mil. 2014.

(5) Tna. *təkk-i* // Tigre *täka* 'put on fire' (no other Sem. cognates found) < Afras. *tVk-* 'burn, put on fire' (Mil. 2014).

(6) Amh. *čəs*; Arg. *čis* (syn.: *tan* — v. #3) // < *ṭays* (only Eth. acc. to LGz. 601), likely rel. to Arb. *ṭassān-* 'poussière soulevée et qui voltige et tourbillonne dans l'air' with controversial parallels in C.Cush. (v. Mil. 2014) and a probable cognate in S.Cush.: Asa *toʔusayok* 'smoke' (< *ṭoʔus-*?).

◊ No term in Pho., Bib. or Sab.

→ North and West Semitic *ḳuṭr-* (#1); if < *ḳuṭ-r* with root extension *-r*, v. possible Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).

→ South and West (Arb.) Semitic 1 *nidVḫ- ~ *duḫān-* (#4).

→ (?) South and West (Hbr.) Semitic 2 *ʕVṯan-* with parallels in Afras.: W.Chad. *čaHan-* 'burn': Mupun *čāan*, Sura *čaan*, Chip *šan*; E.Cush.: Yaaku *ise*, pl. *isehnɛn* 'smoke' (< *ʕisVn-* < AA *ʕičVn-*?).

→ West Semitic (Arm.-Eth.) *tan-* (#3).

79. STAND

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *u/izuzz-* // with a likely cognate in Arb. (Mil. 2014).

(2) Ugr. *ḳm* ('stand up'); Bib. *ḳwm*; Pal. *ḳwm*; Syr. *ḳwm*; Mnd. *ḳwm*; Qur. *ḳwm* (syn.: *wḳf* — v. #5); Sab. *ḳwm*; Gez. *ḳwm*; Tna. *ḳomä* (syn.: *däw bälä*, a lw. < Cush. — v. Mil. 2014); Amh. *ḳomä*; Arg. *ḳoma, oma*; Gaf. *ḳomä*; Sod. *ḳomäm*; Cha. *ḳʷämäm* // < Sem. *ḳwm* (Mil. 2014).

(3) Hbr. *ʕmd* // < Sem. *ʕmd* with debatable W.Chad. parallels (Mil. 2014).

(4) Urm. *klʔ* // no etymology found (suspicious as a possible borrowing).

(5) Lbn. *wəʔəf*; Mec. *wagaf*; Mlt. *wiʔf* // < Sem. *wḳp* (Mil. 2014).

(6) Tgr. *bäṭra* // seems a singular semantic development from Eth.-Arb. *bṭr* 'to be arrogant, haughty' (Mil. 2014)

(7) Har. *ḳānäna*; Wol. *ḳanänä* // with a cognate in Arb. (v. Mil. 2014) and Chad. *kVn-* (possibly < *ḳVn-*) 'to stand (straight)' (St. 2011 #235, where it is comp. with Akk. *kânu* 'be firm in place, etc.'): C.: Gude *kəŋ* 'standing straight', Bachama *káŋɔ̀*, E.: E.Dangla *kòkìnē* 'to stand'.

(8) Hrs. *ṣōr*; Mhr. *ṣōr*; Hob. *ṣóor*; Jib. *ṣɔ́r* // < Sem. *ṣw/yr* 'to stand, support, carry' (Mil. 2014; correction: Sab. *h-ṣr* 'to stay, stand' with a question mark), rel. to W.Chad. *çVr-* 'to stand' (St. 2009 #772; Mil. 2014).

(9) Soq. *ḳéṣaḥ* (< *ḳeṣaʕ*) // likely rel. to Arb. *ḳṣʕ* II 'ne pas quitter la maison'.

◊ No term in Pho.

→ West Semilic *ḳwm* (#2) < Afras. *ḳaw/ym-* 'stand up, rise' (Mil. 2014).

80. STAR

(1) Akk. (OB) *kakkab-*; Ugr. *kbkb*; Hbr. *kōkāb*; Pho. *kkb*; Pal. *kebkīb*; Syr. *kawkəb-*; Mnd. *kukb-*; Urm. *kāwkab-*; Qur. *kawkab-* (syn.: *naǧm-* — v. #2); Sab. *kwkb*; Gez. *kōkäb*; Tna. *kʷakob*; Tgr. *kokäb*; Amh. *kokäb*; Arg. *kokäb*; Gaf. *kokobä*; Sod. *kokäb*; Cha. *kʷäkʷab*; Hrs. *kebkīb*; Mhr. *kebkib*; Jib. *kəbkēb*; Soq. *kibšib* // < Sem. *kabkib-*, perhaps "circles" < Sem. *kVbb-, kVbkVb-* '(to be) round' (Mil. 2014).

(2) Lbn. *nižmi*; Mec. *nažma* // no etymology found.

(3) Har. *ṭūy* // no clear etymology found; perhaps < Sem. *ṣVḥ-* 'be white, clear; shimmer' (v. WHITE #6): in Har. *ṭ* can continue *ṣ* while *ḥ* is normally preserved, though cases of *ḥ > 0* seem to occur.

◊ Mlt. *stilla* < Italian; Wol. *kälbäžo* < Cush.? (v. LGur 342). No term in Bib.

→ Proto-Semitic *kabkib-* (#1).

81. STONE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *abn-*; Ugr. *ʔbn*; Hbr. *ʔäbän*; Pho. *ʔbn*; Bib. *ʔäbän*; Pal. *ʔăḇēn*; Sab. *ʔbn*; Gez. *ʔäbən*; Tna. *ʔämn-i*; Tgr. *ʔämən*; Sod. *əmmayyä*; Har. *ūn*; Wol. *un*; Cha. *əmər*; Soq. *ʔóben* // < Sem. *ʔabn-*.

(2) Syr. *kəp-* (syn.: *ʔabn-* — v. #1); Urm. *kīʔp-* // < Sem. *kaṗ-* 'stone, stone structure': Akk. (SB) *kāpu* (*kābu, kappu*) 'cliff, embarkment' (CAD *k* 191), *kāpītu* 'stony ground' (ibid. 184), Hbr. *kēpīm* 'rock' (< Arm.? v. HALOT 492), Arb. *kūb-at-* 'pierre avec laquelle on broie les aromates' (BK 2 941), Yemenite Arb. *kāba* 'pillar' (LGz 272), Sab. *kʔb* 'part of damb structure' (SD 76), Gez. *kab* 'fortress, fort' < Amh. (LGz 272), Amh. *kab* 'fort' (acc. to Leslau, possibly of Cush. origin: Oromo *kab* id.; vice versa in the light of Sem. etymology), Gafat *kabā* 'village', Gurage *kab* 'wall made of stone' (ibid.). Note: the above *p ~ b* correspondence accounted for by Sem *ṗ* neatly fits this consonant hypothesis (v. SED I CV–CXVI).

(3) Mnd. *glal-* // < Sem. *ga/ul-* ~ *gilal-* 'stone', perhaps < Sem.*gll* 'be round' < Afras. *gʷalVl-* 'be round' (Mil. 2014).

(4) Qur. *ḥažar-*; Lbn. *ḥažar*; Mec. *ḥažar* // Arb. only with two Eth. parallels suspicious as possible borrowings; possibly related, with metathesis, to Brb. *Hirg-* 'stone' (Mil. 2014).

(5) Mlt. *žebla* // < Sem. *gVbVl-* 'mountain; boundary, border', v. MOUNTAIN #4.

(6) Amh. *dəngay*; Arg. *dəngay, gənžela* (< *gVndVl-*, with met. < *dVngVl-*); Gaf. *dänga* // Tgr., Tna. *dängʷälla* 'rocher' < Mod. Eth. *dangʷal-* with no Sem. cognates; perhaps < Cush.: N.: Beja *dangeer* 'a stone suitable for throwing', C. *dängʷər-* 'stone (large), rock' (CDA 130), but with an unaccountable *r > l*; cf. obviously rel. C.Chad.: Tera *ndogu*, Malgwa *dóŋwala*, Makeri *dagwi* 'stone'; one wonders if on this basis Afras. *da(n)gʷ(-ir/l)-* (ADB) can be reconstructed (cf. Kog. LE footnote 112, quoting only the S.Eth. terms and calling them Cushitisms with a reference to Dolg. 1973: 124 for possible source-words. The cited pioneering work by the late Aharon Dolgopolsky, undoubtedly a great linguist, while paving the way to a new stage in Afrasian comparison, is nevertheless full of anticipatory and erroneous etymologies, many of which he himself revised or rejected later. The quoted entry *ĉV[g]Vḥ-* 'stone, rock' contains four unrelated roots, none of which can be a source for the terms in question.)

(7) Hrs. *ṣewwer*; Mhr. *ṣowwer*; Hob. *ṣóor* // < Sem. **ṣVwwVr-* ~ **ṣir(a)r-* 'pebble, dust' (Mil. 2014; cf. otherwise Kog. LE footnote 114).

(8) Jib. *fúdún* (also 'rock') // probably < Sem. **pad(d)an-* 'path in the mountains', v. MOUNTAIN #11 and Kog. LE footnote 115.

→ Proto-Semitic **ʔabn-* (#1) < Afras. **(ʔa)bun-* 'stone, millstone' (Mil. 2014).

82. SUN

(1) Akk. (OB) *šamš-*; Hbr. *šämäš*; Pho. *šmš*; Bib. *šəmaš*; Pal. *šmš*; Syr. *šemš-*; Mnd. *šam(i)š-*; Urm. *šimš-*; Qur. *šams-*; Lbn. *šaməs*; Mec. *šams*; Mlt. *šemeš*; Sab. *s₂ms₁*; Soq. *šam* // < Sem. **ŝₓam(ŝₓam)-*.

(2) Ugr. *špš* // (no Sem. cognates found) < Afras. **ŝip-* 'sunlight, brightness' (Mil. 2014).

(3) Gez. *ḍäḥay*; Tna. *ṣäḥay*; Tgr. *ṣäḥay*; Amh. *ṭay*; Arg. *čähed* // < Eth.-Arb. **ṣVḥy-* < Afras. **ĉVḥay/w-* 'burning sun' (Mil. 2014; add. N.Omot. **ĉiHaĉ-* (redupl.) 'sun': Dizi (Maji) *čaž*, (Sheko) *ṣeaṣù*, *ĉiaĉu*, (Nao) *šaž* ADB).

(4) Gaf. *äymərä*, Sod. *yimər*, *imər* // only Eth. incl. Gez. *ʔamir* 'sun, day, time' < Afras. **(ʔa-)mVr-* '(sun)light' (cf. Mil. 2014).

(5) Har. *īr*; Wol. *ayr*, Cha. *eyat* // Eth. incl. Gez. (Sawasew) *ʔer* < Sem. **ʔVr-* 'daylight' (less likely "of possible Cushitic origin", v. Kog. LE footnote 70) < Afras. **ʔay/wr-* 'sunlight' (Mil. 2014).

(6) Hrs. *ḥeyom*; Mhr. *ḥeyum*; Hob. *ḥyuúm*; Jib. *yum* (syn.: *ŝum* 'sun' or 'heat of the sun' — v. Kog. LE footnote 71) // < Sem. **yawm-* 'day' < Afras. **yam-* 'day, sun'.

→ Proto-Semitic **ŝₓam(ŝₓam)-* (#1) < Afras. **ŝam-* 'burning heat' (Mil. 2014).

83. SWIM

(1) Hbr. *ŝḥy*; Syr. *sḥy*; Urm. *sḥy* // < Hbr.-Arm. **ŝḥy* or **ŝḥy*, probably < Afras. **ĉaḥ/ʕ-* 'bathe, wash oneself, swim' (Mil. 2014, ADB)

(2) Pal. *šwṭ* // no etymology found.

(3) Qur. *sbḥ*; Lbn. *sabaḥ* // no etymology found unless MSA **sbḥ* is genuine, which is less likely.

(4) Mec. *ʕām*; Mlt. (*gh*)*ōm* // Arb. only.

(5) Gez. *wānaya* (syn.: *ḥ/ḥammasa* — v. #6; *ṣal(l)ala* 'to float, swim' < Sem. **ṣll* 'to float': Tna. *ṣälälä* 'to float', etc., Hbr. *ṣll* 'to sink' HALOT 1027); Amh. *waññe*; Arg. *wañña*; Sod. *waññäm* // only Eth. < Afras. **wny/*ynw/*ʔnw/y* (MIl. 2014 #6).

(6) Tna. *ḥambäsä*; Tgr. *ḥämmäsa* // cf. Arb. *ḥāmišat-* 'petit ruisseau ou cours d'eau' (Mil. 2014 #5).

(7) Cha. *darag'ä* // for two etymological opportunities v. Mil. 2014.

(8) Jib. *reḥ* (< *rbḥ*) // Soq. *rábaḥ* 'se baigner', no other cognates found.

◊ Har. (*tä*)*wāka* and Wol. *wače* < E.Cush. (HEC) — v. LGur 650; Hrs. *sebōḥ*, Mhr. *sūbaḥ*, Hob. *sóobəḥ*, Soq. *sbḥ* are Arabisms rather than genuine terms. No term in Akk., Ugr., Pho., Bib., Mnd., Sab. or Gaf.

→ No common Semitic.

84. TAIL

(1) Akk. (OB) *zibbat-*; Ugr. *ḏnb*; Hbr. *zānāb*; Syr. *dunb-*; Mnd. *dinabt-*; Mlt. *demp*; Gez. *zänäb*; Tna. *zänäb* (syn.: *mälaläs* — v. Mil. 2014); Tgr. *zännab*; Hrs. *ḏenēb*; Mhr. *ḏənūb*; Jib. *ḏúnub*; Soq. *dínob* // < Sem. **ḏa/inab-(at-)* (SED I #64).

(2) Pal. *ʕḳwṣ* // most likely < Sem. *ʕḳṣ* 'curl, braid' with an isolated N.Omot. parallel (Mil. 2014).

(3) Urm. *ṭipr-* // perhaps a semantic shift < Sem. *ṭip(V)r-* 'claw': see CLAW #1.

(4) Lbn. *ḏayl*; Mec. *dayl* // with a semantic shift < Arb.-Arm. **ḏyl* 'to be low, humble' (Mil. 2014); cf. Egyp. (MK) *znny* 'to suffer, be distressed' (if *-n* < **l*) and W.Chad. **ǯeel* 'suffering, troubles' (ADB; unless < Nigerian Arb.).

(5) Har. *ḳänāwa* // < Sem. **ḳayn-* < Afras. **ḳayn-* ~ **ḳany-* 'lower part of back' (Mil. 2014 #6).

(6) Sod. *wədinna* // no etymology found.

◊ Amh., Arg. and Gaf. *čəra* < E.Cush.; Wol. *goññä* < HEC; Cha. *ǯəwä* presumably < E.Cush. (all in Mil. 2014). No term in Pho., Bib., Qur. and Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic **ḏa/inab-(at-)-* (#1).

85. THAT [2]

(1) Akk. *ullû*; Tgr. *loha* // < Sem. **hulli* (cf. SL 71).

(2) Ugr. *hnk*; Mnd. *hanata* // scored together, since two of the three deictic elements are common; scored separately from other Sem. forms, since it is hard to say which of the three deictic elements is the main one (if *h-*, to score with #3).

(3) Hbr. *hahū(ʔ)*; Pho. *hʔ*; Pal. *hāhū(ʔ)*; Syr. *haw, huw*; Urm. *hō*; Sab. *hʔ* // < Sem. **hā* (or, rather, **hVʔ*) "an additional deictic element" (SL 71; the attribute "additional" raises certain doubts since in this case, it is the main or even the only one), likely rel. to Brb.: Ahaggar *wah*, Nefusa *wūh* 'this', Qabyle (Ayt Mangellat) *wihin* 'that', etc. (ADB and ND 751, 752).

(4) Bib. *dēk*; Qur. *ḏā(li)ka*; Lbn. *haḏak*; Mec. *dak, hādāk*; Mlt. *dak*; Gez. *zəkku*; Hrs. *ḏek*; Mhr. *ḏēk*; Hob. *ḏɛ́ek*; Jib. *ḏɔ́kun* // < Sem. **ḏā-kV* — cf. SL 71.

(5) Tna. *ʔəti, ʔətuy* // origin obscure.

(6) Amh. *ya* (syn.: *zzəya* — v. #4), Har. *yaʔ* // < Eth. **yVʔ* ("an element of obscure origin", acc. to SL 71) < Afras. **ʔay-* ~ **yaʔ-* (ADB): Coptic *ph-ē* (m.), *th-ē* (f.), *n-ē* (pl.) < **-ē* < **-ʔVy* (cf. Vyc 157–8); Brb. **ʔay(a/i)* 'this'; Chad. W.: Ngamo *ywɛʔu* 'that one', E.: Mokilko *ʔêŋ* (m.), *ʔéttu* (f.) 'this (< **ʔe-n/t* < **ʔay-n/t?*).

(7) Arg. *hod, wod* // < **h/w-ad*, cf. Afras. **-d* ~ **d-*: Brb.: Siwa *dawa*, Zenaga *aḏ* 'this', E.Tawllemmet *adi* 'that', etc.; C.Cush.: Khamtanga *əd* 'that', etc. (CDA 134).

(8) Gaf. *aññə*, Wol. *annä* // v. **THIS** #1.

→ North and West (Tgr.) Semitic **hulli* (#1).

→ South and West Semitic **ḏā-kV* (#4).

86. THIS (v. note on **THAT**)

(1) Akk. (OB) *annû*; Gaf. *əññə*; Wol. *ənnä* // < Sem. **ha/inna/i* (cf. SL 71).

(2) Ugr. *hnd*; Hbr. *hazzǟ*; Pho. *z, zn*; Bib. *dənā*; Pal. *dē(y)n, hādē(y)n*; Syr. *hādākā* (syn.: *hənā* — v. #1); Mnd. *hazin*; Qur. *hāḏā*; Lbn. *hēḏā*; Mec. *hāḏa*; Mlt. *dan*; Sab. *ḏ-n/t* (syn.: *hʔ* — v. #3); Gez. *zəntu*; Tna. *ʔəzu(y)*; Sod. *zi*; Cha. *zə(k̭)*; Hrs. *ḏen* (also *ḏah, ḏi*); Mhr. *ḏome*; Hob. *ḏáanəh*; Jib. *ḏɛnu*; Soq. *de* // < Sem. **ḏV-/*-ḏV* (combined with additional deictic elements **hā* and *-Vn(V)* — v. SL 71).

(3) Urm. *ʔāhā* // < **-hā* — v. **THAT** #3.

(4) Tgr. *ʔəlli/a* // v. **THAT** #1.

(5) Amh. *yih* (< **yik?*) // apparently united with Har. *yi(ʔ)* in Kog LE 473, which is far from evident: in Amh. **h* normally > 0 , while **k* may yield *h*, whereas in Har. normally **h* > *ḥ* and not > *ʔ* or *0* (if with few exceptions); as for the uncertainty "whether Southern Ethiopian forms like Amh. *yih*, Har *yīʔ* can be derived from **ḏa*" (ibid.), they undoubtedly cannot.

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

(6) Arg. *hud* (m.), *hudette* (f.) // < **hud-* — v. THAT #7.

(7) Har. *yi(ʔ)* // v. THAT #6.

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

→ South and West Semitic **(hā-)ḏV(-nV)* (#2); cf. C.Cush. **Hinžay* : Bilin *inǯā* 'that' (CDA 134), Khamtanga *ənzay* 'this' (ibid. 136).

87. THOU

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *atta*; Ugr. *ʔat, ʔattā*; Hbr.*ʔattā*; Pho. *ʔt*; Bib. *ʔantā*; Pal. *ʔat(t)*; Syr. *ʔa(n)t*; Mnd. *anat*; Urm. *ʔa(n)t*; Qur. *ʔanta*; Lbn. *ʔint(ə)*; Mec. *ʔinta*; Mlt. *int*; Sab. *ʔnt*; Gez. *ʔanta*; Tna. *ʔanta* (only in addressing); Tgr. *ʔənta*; Amh. *antä*; Gaf. *ant, antä*; Wol. *atä* // < Sem. **ʔanta* (ADB).

(2) Tna. *nəssə-ka* // < **nafsu-ka* < Sem. **nap(i)š-* 'soul; vitality, life; person, personality; self' < Afras. (v. PERSON #9).

(3) Arg. *ank(u)*; Har. *akā-*; Cha. *akä-* // S.Eth. only (likely of the same origin as the Sem. possessive pronoun **-k* of the 2nd person) < Afras. **ʔa-(n)kV(k)-* 'thou' (in Mil. 2014 #2 erroneously united with Tna. *nəssə-ka*).

(4) Sod. *dähä* // no etymology found.

(5) Hrs. *hēt*; Mhr. *hit*; Hob. *héet*; Jib. *hɛt*; Soq. *het* // < **hit* (hardly < **ʔanta*; cf. Kog. LE 473), matching N.Omot: Dizi (Maji) *yetu*, (Sheko) *yɛtá*, (Nao) *yeta*, possibly < **hitV* (not < **ʔa(n)tV*: acc. to Bnd Om 230, in all Dizi **h- > 0*, **-n- > -n-*, in all **-nC* series *n* is preserved).

→ Proto-Semitic **ʔant-* (#1) < Afras. **ʔa(n)tV* (Mil. 2014).

88. TONGUE

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *lišān-*; Ugr. *lšn*; Hbr. *lāšōn*; Bib. *liš(š)ān*; Pal. *lyšn, läššān*; Syr. *leššān-*; Mnd. *lišan-*; Urm. *līšān-*; Qur. *lisān-*; Lbn. *lsen*; Mec. *lisān*; Mlt. *lsin*; Sab. *ls₁n*; Gez. *ləssan*; Tgr. *nəssal* (met.); Hrs. *lēšen*; Mhr. *ɛwšēn*; Jib. *ɛlšɛ́n*; Soq. *léšin* // Sem. **liš(š)ān-* (SED I #181).

(2) Tna. *mälḥäs*; Amh. *məlas*; Arg. *mälas*; Gaf. *məlasä* // < Sem. **lḥs* 'to lick', rel. to W.Chad. **lVs-* 'to lick' (St. 2005 #240; rather < **lVHVs-*, cf. Hausa *làasā*, Gwandara *lihye*).

◊ Sod. *alämät*; Har. *arrāt*; Wol. *arämät*; Cha. *anäbat* < E.Cush. (LGur. 89). No term in Pho.

→ Proto-Semitic **liš(š)ān-* (#1) < Afras. **(ʔi-)lis(-an)-* 'tongue' (Mil. 2014; add N.Omot.: Oyda *iláns* (with met., hardly < Eth. which is odd for a lw.) id. (ADB).

89. TOOTH

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *šinn-*; Ugr. *šn*; Hbr. *šēn*; Bib. *šēn*; Pal. *šn*; Syr. *šenn-*; Mnd. *šin-*; Qur. *sinn-*; Lbn. *sən*; Mec. *sinn*; Mlt. *sinna*; Sab. *ṯn*, Gez. *sənn*; Tna. *sənni*; Arg. *sən*; Gaf. *sənä*; Sod. *sənn*; Har. *sən*; Wol. *əsən*; Cha. *sən*; Jib. *šnin* // Sem. **šinn-* (SED I #249).

(2) Urm. *kīk-* // Sem. **kVkk-* 'tooth' < Afras. **ʔik- ~ *kakk-* 'tooth' (MIl. 2014).

(3) Sab. *ṯn* (Stein, one attestation), Hob. *mṯanyóot* // < Sem. **ṯVny-* 'front tooth, incisor', likely < **ṯinay-* 'two' < Afras. (v. TWO #1).

(4) Tgr. *nibät* // < Sem. **nī/āb-* '(canine) tooth' (Mil. 2014)

(5) Amh. *ṭərs*; Hrs. *meẑréḥ*; Mhr. *məẑrāḥ* // < Sem. **ṣ́irš-* 'molar tooth' (Mil. 2014 #4); cf. W.Chad.: Ankwe *šɔ̀ɔr* 'molar tooth' (*š* may originate from **ĉ*).

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

◊ No term in Pho.

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

90. TREE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

91. TWO

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

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

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

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

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

92. WALK

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

(2) Pal. *ʔzl* (syn.: *hlk* — v. #1); Urm. *ʔzl* (syn.: *rḥš* < Sem. **rḥš* 'to move' HALOT 1222) // < Sem. **(ʔ)zl* < Afras. **(ʔa)ӡVl-* 'walk; run' (Mil. 2014).

(3) Mnd. *sga* // < Sem. **ŝₓgy* 'walk, stray' with Chad. parallels pointing to Afras. **ŝVg-* 'to roam, stray, err' (Mil.2014).

(4) Qur. *mšy*; Lbn. *māša*; Mec. *mišiy*; Mlt. *meša* // no Sem. etymology found; for debatable Afras. parallels v. Mil. 2014. Perhaps, with met. < Arb. *šym* 'entrer, penetrer dedain' (BK 1 1300) < Afras. **ĉVyVm-* or **ŝVyVm-* depending on what Chad. root fits better: **ŝVm-* 'to take and carry' (St. 2007 #215) or **ẑVm-* 'pursue, chase'; Egyp. (Pyr.) *šm* 'to go' (ADB).

(5) Sab. *mẓʔ* // v. **COME** #2 (contra Mil. 2014 #5).

(6) Gez. *ḥwr*; Gaf. (*a*)*horä*; Har. *ḥāra*; Cha. *wərwər, wärä* // < Eth.-Arb. **ḥwr* 'to walk, go, return < Afras. **ḥwr ~ *ḥry* 'walk, go away' (v. Mil. 2014 #7).

(7) Tna. *kädä, kedä*; Tgr. *kedä*; Amh. *heddä*; Arg. *heda*; Wol. *hedä* // < Eth.-Arb. **kyd ~ *kdkd* 'to walk, walk slowly' < Afras. **ky/wd* 'to walk, run' (v. Mil. 2014 #8).

(8) Sod. *alläfäm* // < Sem. **ḫlp* 'to pass' (Mil. 2014).

(9) Jib. *aɣad* // etymology unclear; perhaps < Arb. (v. Mil. 2014 #10).

(10) Soq. *ʕód* (syn.: *ṭaher* — v. Mil. 2014 #11) // (unless rel. to Jib. *aɣad* — #9) < Sem. **ʕdw/y* 'walk, pass by' < Afras. **ʕad-* 'walk, come and go' (Mil. 2014 #5).

◊ Hrs. *seyōr*; Mhr. *səyūr*, Hob. *syóor* seem to be Arabisms; cf., however, Soq. *š(t)ry* 'entrer' (LS 422), which may point to common (and in that case, quite likely genuine) MSA **syr ~ *sry* < Sem. (MSA-Arb.) **šyr* with a Chad. parallel **sVr-* 'to go' (St. 2009 #323).

→ North and West Semitic **hlk* (#1), cf. Afras. **lkw ~ *lwk* 'to walk' (Mil. 2014).

93. WARM

(1) Akk. (OB) *emmu* ('hot'; syn.: *šaḫānu* 'to become warm, to warm oneself' — v. #2); Hbr. *ḥām*; Pal. *ḥmym, ḥmyn*; Syr. *ḥamīm-* // < Sem. **ḥamm-* 'heat' (HALOT 325).

(2) Syr. *šḥen*, Urm. *šāḥīn-*; Lbn. *səḥni*; Mlt. *sḥūn*; Jib. *šḥan* // < Sem.**šḥn* (Mil. 2014).

(3) Mec. *ḥārr* // < Sem. **ḥrr* 'be hot' (Mil. 2014).

(4) Gez. *məwuḵ*; Tna. *məwuḵ*; Amh. *muḵ*; Arg. *ʔamo*; Gaf. *moḵä*; Sod. *muḵənna*; Cha. *mʷäḵ*; Har. *muḵ*; Wol. *muḵamuḵ* // only Eth. **mwḵ* 'to be hot, warm' ~ **mḵḵ* 'to burn' (metaphorically); cf. also, with met., Akk. *ḳamû* 'burn up' CDAk 283); < Afras. (Mil. 2014; add. Brb.: Adghaq *a-măɣaɣ* 'grilled grains', E.Tawllemmet *əmɣəɣ* 'to grill (grains); be grilled' (ADB).

(5) Tgr. *həfun* (syn.: *moḵa* — v. #4) // no Sem. cognates found; < Afras. **ḥVf- ~ *fVḥ-* 'fire; burn' (Mil. 2014 #5).

(6) Hrs. *hwob*; Mhr. *hōb* (syn.: *gōna* < Sem. **gawn-* < Afras. — v. Mil. 2014 #7) // < Sem. **hawb-* with debatable Cush. parallels (MIl. 2014).

(7) Soq. *di-yenáḥa* // only MSA (v. **BURN** #11 and Mil. 2014 #8).

◊ In Ugr., only the verb *šḥn* 'to be hot, have fever, warm oneself' (DUL 812) that should rather not be scored; no term in Pho., Bib., Mnd., Qur. (outside the Qur'an it is *suḥn-*) and Sab.

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

→ South and West Semitic **šḥn* (#2) with debatable (no traces of -*ḫ-*) Afras. parallels: W.Chad.: Pero *čénò* 'to warm', Kulere, Daffo-Butura *sân* 'warm'; Omot.: Ongota *šōni* 'warm' (ADB).

94. WATER

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

(2) Arg. *ʔofa* // no Sem. cognates found, likely, with met., < Afras. *piʔaʕ-* 'rain' (Mil. 2014).

(3) Hrs. *ḥemyoh*; Mhr. *ḥemūh*; Hob. *ḥmóh*; Jib. *mih* // < Sem. *mawh-* ~ *mahw-* (likely a variant root of *maʔ/y-* #1, to be scored separately): Ugr. *mh* 'water' (DUL 534–5 also quoting Aram. *mwh* id.), *mhyt* 'meadow, irrigated land' or 'waters' (ibid. 537; comp. with Egyp. *mhy* 'water' which is in fact *mḥy*, unrelated), Arb. *mwh* 'av. beaucoup d'eau (puits)', *mi-yāh-*, *ʔamwāh-* (pl.), *māh-* 'eau' (BK 2 1169), *mahw-* 'lait clair, aqueux, délayé d'eau', *muhāt-* 'sperme' (ibid. 1164), Gez. *məhwa* 'melt (intr.), be liquefied, dissolve, make dwindle' (LGz 334–5), Tgr. *mäha* 'melt, be melted' , Har. *mōḥa* 'be melted' (ibid.).

(4) Soq. *riho* // < Sem. *rVwVy-* 'abundant water; watering, irrigating' < Afras. *riway/ʔ-* ~ *ʔVraw/y-* (Mil. 2014 #3).

◊ Amh. *wəha*, Gaf. *ägä*, Sod. *yiga*, Cha. *əka* are considered Cushitisms (however, the S.Eth. consonants cannot be explained from any Cush. source-words available — v. Mil. 2014). No term in Pho. or Bib.

→ North and West Semitic *maʔ-* (#1) < Afras. *maʔ/w/y-* (Mil. 2014).

95. WE

(1) Akk. (OB) *nīnu*; Ugr. *nḥn*; Hbr. *anaḥnū*; Pho. *ʔnḥn*; Bib. *ʔănaḥnāʔ*; Pal. *ʔănan* (curiously, with -*ḥ*- dropped); Syr. *ḥanan*; Mnd. *anin*; Urm. *ʔaḥanan*; Qur. *naḥnu*; Lbn. *nəḥn(i)*; Mec. *ʔiḥna*; Mlt. *aḥna*; Gez. *nəḥnä*; Tna. *nəḥna*; Tgr. *ḥəna*; Amh. *ʔəñña*; Arg. *ənna*; Gaf. *ənni*; Sod. *əñña*; Har. *əñña*; Wol. *iñña*; Cha. *yəna*; Hrs. *neḥa*; Mhr. *nḥah*; Jib. *nḥan*; Hob. *nḥah*; Soq. *ḥanhen* // Sem. *(ʔa)naḥnu* ~ *(ʔa)ḥan(an)* 'we'.

◊ No term in Sab.

→ Proto-Semitic *(ʔa)naḥnu* ~ *(ʔa)ḥan(an)* < Afras. *naḥ(n-)* ~ *ḥi/an(a/in)-* 'we' (Mil. 2014; conventionally united: perhaps to be treated not as one root with met., but as two variant roots to be scored separately; the Brb., Sidamo and Dizi (Nao) forms should be probably treated as constituting one more different Afras. root).

96. WHAT?

(1) Akk. (OAkk on) *mīnu*; Gez. *mənt*; Tna. *məntay*; Amh. *mən*; Arg. *mən*; Gaf. *mən, məni*; Sod. *mən*; Har. *min*; Wol. *mən*; Cha. *mər* // < Sem. *min-*.

(2) Ugr. *mh*; Hbr. *mā*; Pho. *m*; Bib. *mā*; Pal. *mh*; Syr. *mā*; Mnd. *mahu*; Urm. *mū(-dī)*; Qur. *mā*; Sab. *m*; Tgr. *mi/ə* // Sem. *ma(-h)*, -*h* likely "a... deictic element" (v. **THAT** #3) variant *mi* (Tgr.).

(3) Lbn. *šū*; Mec. *ʔayš*; Mlt. *še*; Hrs. *haŝen*; Mhr. *hɛ̂ŝən* (*h*- most probably identical to -*h* in #2) // < Sem. *ŝayʔ-* 'thing; what?' (Mil. 2014).

(4) Hob. *inih*; Jib. *ʔinɛ*; Soq. *inim* (*ʔini-maʔ*) // < MSA *ʔini-* < Sem. *ʔay(y)-Vn-* < Afras. *ʔVy/wVn-* ~ *nay(n)-* 'what?' (Mil. 2014; add E.Chad.: Migama *ʔìnì-méu* and N.Cush.: Beja *naa* 'what?').

→ North and West (Eth.) Semitic *min-* (#1) < Afras. *mVn-* 'what?' (Mil. 2014 #2; I would like to change my opinion about a secondary parallel development in favor of a common Afras. pronoun).

→ South and West (Arb.) Semitic *ŝayʔ-* 'thing; what?' (#3) < Afras. *ĉayʔ-* ~ *ʔiĉ-* 'thing; what? who?' (Mil. 2014) ; in the light of *hV*- and -*n* in Hrs. and Mhr. absent in Arb. and the Afras. parallels, these MSA forms seem more plausibly genuine than borrowed from Arb.

→ West Semitic *ma(-h)* (#2) < Afras. *ma/i* or *may* 'what?' (Mil. 2014 #1; add to Egyp. "what?" another meaning "who?").

97. WHITE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

◊ No term in Sab.

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

98. WHO?

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

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

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

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

99. WOMAN

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

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

(3) Urm. *niḵva* // < Hbr.-Arm. **naḵb-at-* 'woman' < Sem. **nḵb* 'to drill, bore through' (Mil. 2014).

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

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

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

(7) Tna. *säbäy-ti*; Amh. *set* // fem. < Eth. **sabʔ-*; for possible Sem. connections and Chad. parallels v. Mil. 2011 #11).

(8) Sod. *məšt*; Wol. *məšt*; Cha. *məšt* // no Sem. cognates found; for Afras. parallels see MAN #10.

(9) Har. *idōč, indōč* // (-*oč* like in *aboč* 'male' < **ʔab-* 'father'?) < Sem. **ʔVd-at-* 'lady' (otherwise < Cush., so in Kog. LE footnote 126) < Afras. **ʔa(n)d-* 'elder female relative' (Mil. 2014).

(10) Hrs. *teṯ*; Mhr. *tiṯ*; Hob. *téeṯ*; Jib. *tɛṯ* // no etymology, unless < **t-iṯ* < **tV-ʔiṯ-* < **ʔa/inṯ-at-* (this is certainly the case with pl. **ʔiniṯ-* — v. #2, Mil. 2014 and Kog LE 482) with a prefixal rather than suffixal fem. formative.

(11) Soq. *ʕāže* // fem. < *ʕayg* 'man'; for MSA, plausible Sem. and highly tenable Afras. parallels v. MAN #12 in Mil. 2011.

◊   No term in Bib.

→   West Semitic **ʔa/inṯ-at-* (#2) with an attractive parallel in Omot. **Hinč-* (Mil. 2014; add N.Omot.: Mao (Bambeshi) *êntê* 'man').

100. YELLOW

(1) Akk. (OB) *(w)arḳ-* (also 'green'); Ugr. *yrḳ* ('greenish yellow'); Pal. *yrḳ* (also 'green'); Syr. *yūrāḳ-* (also 'green'); Mnd. *yuraq-* (also 'green, pallid') // < Sem. **warḳ-* 'yellow, green' (Mil. 2014).

(2) Hbr. *ṣāhōb* // perhaps should be excluded, since the color is uncertain (v. Mil. 2014).

(3) Qur. *ṣafrāʔ-* (f.); Lbn. *ʔaṣfar*; Mec. *ṣfar*; Mlt. *isfar* // only Arb. (contra (Mlt. 2014).

(4) Gez. *beṣa, bəṣā*; Tna. *biča*; Amh. *bi/əča*; Arg. *bəča*; Wol. *bičä* // < Sem. **biṣṣ-* 'bright, brilliant' (Mil. 2014).

(5) Tgr. *šägray* // (also 'greyish brown, light-coloured') either < Arb.-Eth. **šag(ʷ)Vr-* 'k. of unidentified color' or a lw. < Sudanic Arb. *ʔašgar* (Mil. 2014).

(6) Sod. *weṭa*; Cha. *weṭa* // identification with #4 is justly doubted in LGur 672; more likely rel. to Arb. *wāḍiḥ-* 'clair, brillant, etc' (v. Mil. 2014).

(7) Hrs. *heẑôr*; Mhr. *həẑáwr*; Jib. *šəẑrɔ́r* // also 'green' (v. GREEN #7).

◊   Urm. *zärdä* is an Iranism; Hob. *karkmí*; Soq. *kírkam* (and *kérkham* 'safran' LS 225) are considered to be borrowed from Arb. *kurkum-* 'safran indien, curcuma; henna' (acc. to DRS 1275, "mot voyageur" of obscure origin, attested in most Sem. languages; Sem. origin cannot be ruled out, which would probably qualify the Hob. and Soq. terms as genuine); Mhr. *ṣāfər* ('yellow, green; brass'), Jib. *ṣɔfrɔ́r* are most likely Arabisms. No term in Pho., Bib., Sab., Gaf. and Har.

→   North and West Semitic **warḳ-* (#1) < Afras. **wVraḳ-* 'green, yellow' (Mil. 2014).

A few comments on the results and some working conclusions

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

The classification resulting from the present study and presented graphically in Fig. 1 confirms my previous conclusions:
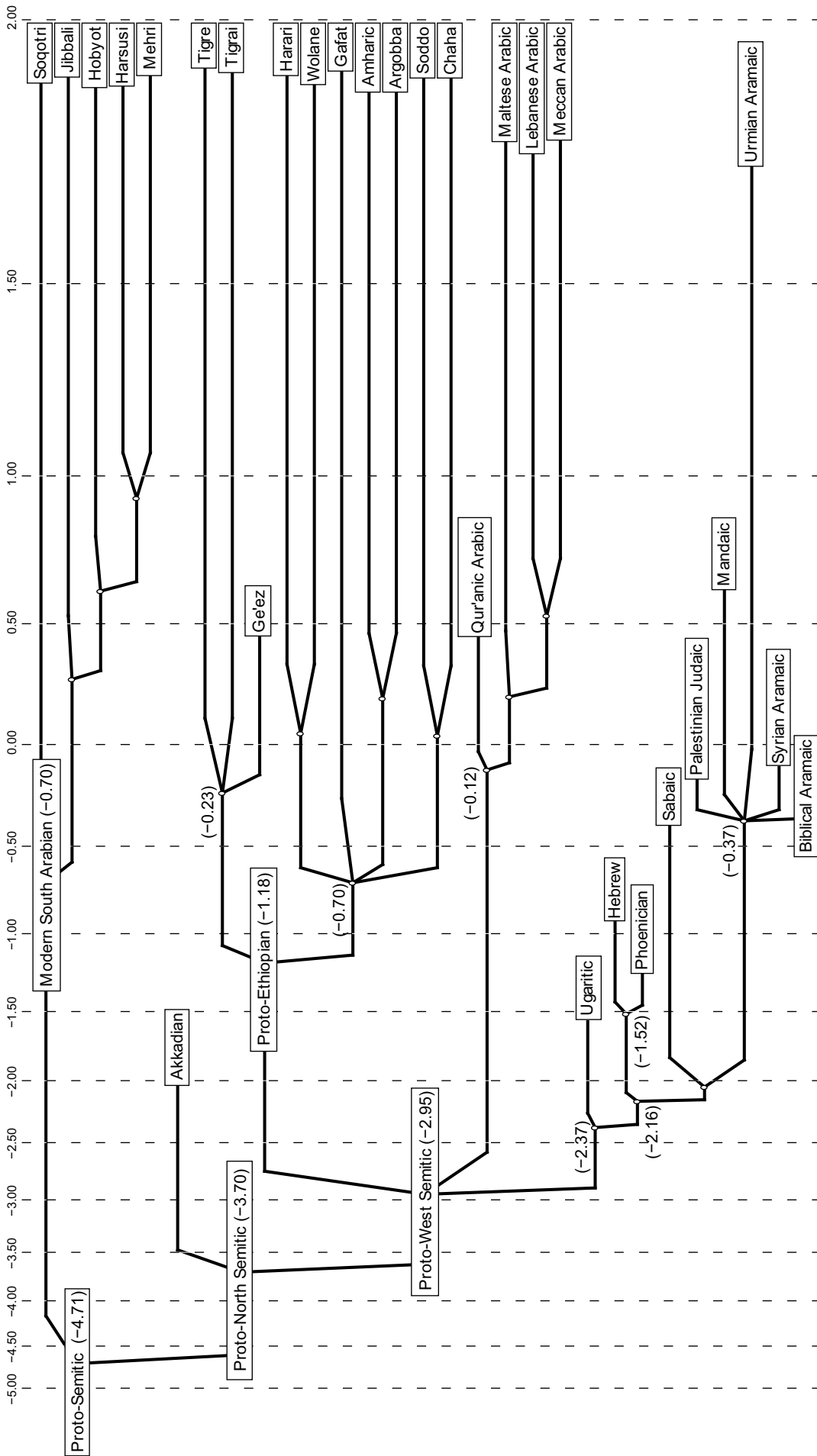
Fig. 1. Genealogical classification of Semitic languages
(based on the application of Sergei Starostin's glottochronological formula to 100-item Swadesh wordlists).

A. In genetic classification:

(1) an early separation of what I call South Semitic (Proto-MSA) from the main bulk of Semitic, apparently including Akkadian; this implies a lack of close genetic affinity between MSA, on one hand, and either ESA or Ethiosemitic or Arabic, on the other;

(2) a synchronous tripartite branching of what I conventionally call West Semitic into Proto-Ethiopian, Proto-Arabic and "Proto-Levantine";

(3) separation of Ugaritic (the 100-item wordlist contains 69 items whose appropriate Swadesh meanings are attested reliably) from the latter group and, hence, a slightly bigger genetic distance between Ugaritic and the Canaanite (represented by Hebrew and Phoenician) subgroup than between Canaanite and Aramaic;

(4) a very tentative (based on a highly incomplete list of 45 reliable items and 14 arguable or attested only once or twice) classification of Sabaic with the "South Levantine" group, perhaps by a slim margin closer to Aramaic than to Canaanite, and clearly closer to both than to Ethio-Semitic or Arabic;

(5) a probably synchronous branching of Proto-North Ethiopian into Geez, Tigre and Tigrai;

(6) branching of Proto-South Ethiopian into four equidistant subgroups, represented by Amharic-Argobba, Gafat, Southeast (Harari, Wolane and undoubtedly Selti and Zway, not included into the present study) and Southwest (Soddo, Chaha, and the rest of the "Gurage" cluster, compared in my previous studies);

(7) an early separation of an Arabic dialect that later evolved into the language of the Qur'an from the rest of Arabic and a somewhat odd early separation of another dialect, underlying Maltese, from the rest of Arabic dialects.

B. In glottochronologically obtained dating:

(1) Proto-Semitic (4,800 B.C.E.) on the verge of its first split is roughly synchronous with Proto-Indo-European (it makes sense to wonder whether this is pure coincidence or a reflection of some common prehistorical event);

(2) it is separated from the split of Proto-North Semitic by a thousand years — a considerable time gap, hardly accidental;

(3) the split of Proto-West Semitic roughly coincides with the beginning of the Early Bronze Age II, the early dynastic period of Sumer and the rise of the Akkadian Empire, early Assyria and Sumero-Akkadian states;

(4) the split of Proto-South Levantine falls on the verge of the 3rd and 2nd millennia, when Akkad was usurped by Gutian invaders from the Zagros and the entire region faced severe famine and skyrocketing grain prices. In particular, it is curious that the separation between Proto-Aramaic and Proto-Hebrew-Phoenician roughly agrees with the internal chronology of the Bible inasmuch as it dates the separation of Abram's family from the rest of Terah's clan that stayed behind in Haran;

(5) the split between Hebrew and Phoenician is dated to about mid–15th century B.C.E. (earlier than in my previous calculations); under the assumption that the internal chronology of the Bible, despite its religious or mythological associations, at least indirectly reflects some historical reality, it is perhaps worth noting that this dating is coherent with the claimed time and the very event of Exodus, up till now not confirmed by any serious archaeological evidence;

(6) the dating of the split of Proto-Ethiopian (the very end of the 2nd mill. B.C.E.) seems to be compatible with the time of the presumed first migration wave from South Arabia to the Horn of Africa which brought Proto-South Ethiopian speakers to the African coast, followed a few centuries later by speakers of Proto-North Ethiopian;

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

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

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

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

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

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Syntax or Phonology? Proclitics, Enclitics, and Stress in Hittite*

The paper deals with the syntax of *mān* "if", *namma* "then", *našma* "or", perfectivising *kāša/ kāšma*, relative and indefinite pronouns as well as some subordinators in Hittite against the background of other Indo-European languages, particularly Latin and Greek. It has been recently proposed that their position in the clause and syntactic behaviour are either partially or fully determined by their being either proclitics or enclitics. We review the proposals and argue that purely phonological rules are highly unlikely for any of the constituents. A purely syntactic account is put forward to fully capture the data. It is particularly noteworthy that from the IE perspective Hittite is radically different from Narrow IE languages (like Old Greek) where indefinite pronouns *are* normally unstressed: all the Hittite data which are at first sight similar to Narrow IE turn out to be secondary independent innovations of Hittite and cannot serve as the basis of Indo-Hittite reconstruction.

Keywords: syntax, second position, enclitics, proclitics, stress, relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns.

0. Introduction

Recently there has been a positive flood of studies independently proposing prosodic solutions for syntactic phenomena in Hittite [Kloekhorst 2014; Huggard 2014; Becker 2014]. Three groups of words have been discussed: (a) *mān* "if", *kui-* "which" in indeterminate clauses, *namma* "then", *našma* "or", perfectivising *kāša/ kāšma*; (b) relative pronouns; (c) indefinite pronouns. In the paper we will reexamine the data from synchronical and diachronical Hittite perspective as well as against the background of other IE languages, primarily Latin and Greek, and show that their syntactic behaviour is determined not by prosody, but rather by syntax. Comparing the Hittite data to those of Greek and Latin, we suggest that the features at first sight identical in Hittite and Narrow IE languages should be assessed as independent innovations.

1. Hittite Proclitics

Standardly, only sentence connectives like *nu, ta, šu* are analyzed as proclitics in Hittite, i.e. as words that form one phonological word with the following fully stressed word, see for an overview most recently [Kloekhorst 2014]. Kloekhorst proposes to broaden the class of Hittite proclitics from sentence connectives *nu, šu, ta* to all the constituents that delay contrastively

topicalizing particle -(*m*)*a* to the next stressed word. These are *mān* "if", *kui-* "which" in indeterminate clauses[1], *namma* "then", *našma* "or", perfectivising *kāša/ kāšma*.

The argument is based on the parallel behaviour of the prototypical proclitic *nu*, on the one hand, and *mān* etc, on the other.[2]

(**a**) Prototypical proclitics like *nu* etc. host prototypical Wackernagel enclitics, as illustrated by[3]:

(1) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 20–21

n=ašta	*mān*	GI	*appezziš*	DUMU É.GAL	*parā*	*ue-zzi* #
CONN=LOC	if	reed	last	palace servant	out	come-3SG.PRS

"Then if a low-ranking palace servant comes out (*for*) *reed*".

It is perfectly well known that prototypical proclitics do not host topicalizing/contrastive -(*m*)*a* delaying it to the next word:

(2) OH/OS (CTH 1.A) KBo 3.22 obv. 3

n=ašta	ᴰIM-*unn-i=**ma***	*mān*	*āššu-š*	*ēš-ta* #
CONN=LOC	Stormgod-DAT.SG=but	when	dear-NOM.SG.C	be-3SG.PST

"And when he was dear to the Stormgod" (following [CHD L–N: 148]).

What is not usually taken notice of[4] is that proclitics do not count either when the second position of relative pronouns in determinate relative clauses, some subordinators like *kuit* "as" (see now [Huggard 2013]) and *maḫḫan* "as"[5] as well as indefinite pronouns is calculated:

(3) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 61–62

nu	1	ᴸᵁ*MEŠEDI*	***kui-š***	*šarkanti-n*	*widāi-zzi* #
CONN	1	bodyguard	who-NOM.SG.C	petitioner-ACC.SG.C	bring-3SG.PRS

"A bodyguard **who** brings a petitioner, …".

(4) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 22–23

nu	GAL	*MEŠEDI*	***kuit***	ᴳᴵˢGIDRU	*ḫar-zi* #
CONN	chief	bodyguard	since	staff	hold-3SG.PRS

"**Since** the chief of the bodyguard holds a staff".

(5) MH/NS (CTH 259.B) KUB 13.20 obv. i 30–31

1.
nu=za	*šummeš*	***maḫḫan***	*tuekkašš=a*	*ANA*
CONN=REFL	you.NOM.PL	as	persons-DAT.PL=and	to
DAMᴹᴱˢ=*KUNU* DUMUᴹᴱˢ=*KUNU*		Éᴹᴱˢ=*KUNU*	*genzu*	*ḫar-teni* #
wives=your	sons=your	homes=your	dear	have-2PL.PRS

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[1] As is standardly assumed in the current Hittitological tradition going back to [Held 1957], *kui-* "which" in determinate clauses is clause second and thus is irrelevant for the placement of -*ma*. Cf. [Becker 2014].

[2] The word the usage of which we illustrate with the example is in bold. The underlined word marks the second relevant word in citation. Sign # marks the end of the clause. Italic marks text in Hittite, all caps mark Sumerograms, all caps in italic mark Akkadograms.

[3] We draw examples mostly from our database of Hittite syntax and information structure. At present it includes MH/MS letters and instructions.

[4] But cf. now [Becker 2014: 101], without observing the parallelisms between relative pronouns and -*ma*.

[5] The subordinator is not normally assessed as second position, see [CHD L–N sub *maḫḫan*]. However, there are a number of attestations which can only be assessed as indicating second position, see [Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 417] and below.

2. LUGAL-*uwaš*   *šakli-ya*   *genzu*   *QATAMMA*   *ḫar-ten* #
    king.GEN.PL   imperative-DAT.SG   affection   thus   have-2PL.IMP

"(1) And just **as** you hold dear (your own) persons, your wives, your sons (and) your homes, (2) you shall also feel affection for the imperative of the king" (following [Miller 2013: 150–1]).

(6) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. iv 8

[*nu*]   LÚ^MEŠ ŠUKUR   ***māḫḫan***   *ḫilammar*   *arḫa*   *takšan*   *šarr-i* #
CONN   spear-men   when   gatehouse   away   middle   pass-3SG.PRS

"[And] **as soon as** the spear-men pass through the middle of the gatehouse…" (following [Miller 2013: 118–9]).

(**b**) Just like *nu*, constituents like *mān* "if" host Wackernagel enclitics, too, but not -(*m*)*a*. The same class of constituents does not count when the second position of relative pronouns in determinate relative clauses, subordinators *kuit* and *maḫḫan* "as" and indefinite pronouns is calculated:

(7) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 57

mān=wa=[ka]n *šarā=**ma*** *kui-š*   *antūwaḫḫa-š*   *ḫandāi-zzi* #
if=QUOT=LOC   up=but   some-NOM.SG.C   man-NOM.SG.C   manage-3SG.PRS

"if some man *manages* (*to go*) up".

(8) NH/NS (CTH 62.A) KBo 5.9+ rev. iii 7

*mān memiya-š=**ma***   <u>*kui-š*</u>   *iya-uwa-š* #
if   matter-NOM.SG.C=but   which-NOM.SG.C   do-INFIN-GEN.SG

"**But** if it is a matter <u>which</u> needs to be done, …" (following [G. Wilhelm — F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 62 (TX 16.10.2013, TRde 15.10.2013)]; cf. [Held 1957: 41, Beckman 1996: 57]).

(9) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 50

našma=wa=kan   *katta=**ma***   *īt* #
or=QUOT=LOC   down=BUT   go.IMP.2SG

"Or you go down!".

(10) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 rev. iv 22–23

nu   *kui-š*   LÚ*MEŠEDI=**ma***   *ar-ta* #
CONN   which-NOM.SG.C   bodyguard=but   stand-3SG.PRS

"Then whatever bodyguard is standing there".

(11) MH?/NS (CTH 258.1.A) KUB 13.9 obv. ii 3–4

*mān ēšḫan-ašš=**a***   ***kuiški***   *šarnikzil*   *piy-an*   *ḫar-zi* #
if   blood-GEN.SG=and   someone.NOM.SG.C   compensation.ACC.SG.N   give-PRTC.NOM.SG.N   have-3SG.PRS

"If **someone** has paid compensation for blood(shed), too, …" (following [Miller 2013: 136–7]).

(12) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. ii 63

mān=ši *peran=**ma*** ***kuwapi***   KASKAL-*i-š*   *ḫatku-š* #
if=him ahead=but   where   road-NOM.SG.C   narrow-NOM.SG.C

"If the road ahead is **at some point** too narrow for him, …" (following [Miller 2013: 112–3]).

[Kloekhorst 2014] summarizes the existing literature on the points above and comes to the conclusion that the data can only be interpreted as not only *nu* being unstressed and proclitic, but also the class comprising *mān* "if" etc. Thus it is assumed that -(*m*)*a* is the only clitic which imposes the constraint on its host that it must bear stress or accent; see generally [Halpern 1996: xi] for an overview of similar accounts in phonological terms. However, the account is simply circular: -(*m*)*a* is different from other clitics just because it is different.

In the cross-linguistic perspective, which is not considered in [Kloekhorst 2014], such cases where a given word may host one class of clitics, but not another, are quite frequently described [Halpern 1996: xi]. The cases are termed *clitic cluster split*: some clusterizing clitics are in the clausal second position while other clusterizing clitics show up in the next position to the right of it, see, e.g., for Slavic languages [Zaliznjak 2008, Zimmerling, Kosta 2013, Zimmerling 2013], for West Flemish [Haegeman 1996: 153, 155–8].

We will illustrate it by a few examples. In Bulgarian clitic cluster split occurs with future tense proclitic *šte* and negation marker *ne*: they host all the clitics, but not the question particle *li* which is, in linear terms, delayed to the next word [Zimmerling, Kosta 2013: 197–8]:

(13) *Ще* *ми го продадеш* **ли** *този часовник*?
　　 FUT.PRTC me it sell.2SG.FUT　Q this　watch
　　 "Will you sell me this watch?"[6]

In Macedonian clitic cluster splits if clitics are hosted by the negation marker *ne*: it hosts auxiliary clitics, but not pronominal ones, the latter move one step to the right [Zimmerling, Kosta 2013: 197–8]. For Old Russian two groups of enclitics are delimited: strong enclitics, which very seldom occur outside of Wackernagel position, and weak enclitics, which occur outside this position much more frequently [Zaliznjak 2008: 51–52]. If the clitic cluster is not split, in the majority of cases the strong enclitics precede weak ones in the enclitic chain. If there is a cluster split, strong clitics stand in the second position, whereas weak ones show up in the next position to the right[7]. Old Russian, for one, attests two main triggers of split clitics. The first is when the initial part of the clause, hosting the first part of the enclitic chain, obtains certain predicative features. The second is attested when the weak reflexive enclitic cliticizes to the verb. Other constituents triggering split clitics are: (a) the fronted constituent which belongs to two coordinated clauses simultaneously; (b) embedded subordinate clause, finite and infinite; (c) vocatives, (d) *wh*-words, relatives and indefinite pronouns, subordinators [Zaliznjak 2008: 54–5].

It is important to mention here that in the cross-linguistic perspective clitic cluster split is not necessarily caused by the proclitic nature of the first constituent in the clause. Neither is the evidence for some constituents not counting as first for second position constituents limited to clitics. E.g., in Germanic verb second languages there are several constituents that systematically cause violation of the verb second order. In Scandinavian languages it consists of a set of focus adverbs like Swedish *bara* "only", *nästan* "nearly", *till och med* "even", *helt enkelt* "simply" [Holmberg 2015]:

(14) *Han* *nesten* *brølte* *hurra*
　　 he　 almost　 roared　 hooray [Holmber 2015: ex. 30b].

1.2. Is *mān* Proclitic? The cross-linguistic evidence on cluster splits is well supported by the Hittite material. As far as *nu* is concerned, it is clearly and unambiguously a proclitic, see the data summarized by [Kloekhorst 2014]. But all the rest of the constituents which [Kloekhorst 2014] attempted to reclassify as proclitics, are most likely **not** proclitics. Contra [Kloekhorst 2014: 612–3], apart from some extremely problematic and scanty data from 'poetic' texts[8], for

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[6] The example was provided by M. N. Belova.

[7] This is not so in Bulgarian where *li* normally precedes the rest of clitics, but it shows up on the next host to the right if there is a negation marker in the clause.

[8] "*mān* does not seem to count as an accented word in the meter" [Kloekhorst 2014: 612] is characteristically unassertive.

which see J. Korovina in [Sideltsev, Molina forthcoming], there is no independent evidence at all that *mān* "if/when" was ever unstressed[9]. Moreover, all the evidence we possess points in the direction of *mān* "if/when" being stressed. It is particularly probative if we apply to *mān* "if/when" the criteria employed by [Kloekhorst 2014: 601–2] to demonstrate that *nu* was unstressed. The evidence pertaining to *mān* "if/when" will then be dramatically different from that concerning *nu*. It goes as follows:

(**a**) *mān* "if/when" is rarely, but consistently written at the end of a line, e.g., in the limited corpus of MH/MS letters (1300 clauses) there are 5 cases of line final *mān*, (**7**), out of 43 entries of *mān* "if/when". If it was a proclitic, the writing would be unattested, as it is completely unattested with much more frequently occurring *nu*:

(15) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 25 rev. 15–16

15.[10] *nu=ššan* **mān**

CONN=LOC if

16. *ḫalki-ēš* *ar-ant-eš* #

crop-NOM.PL.C arrive-PRTC-NOM.PL.C

"**If** the crops have ripened, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 140–1]).

(16) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 37 obv. 15–16

15. *karū* *ar[ant-]eš* # **mān**=*wa*=*kan*

already arrive-PRTC-NOM.PL.C **if**=QUOT=LOC

16. *antuḫšā[tar* *parā* *ḫ]ūdāk* *nai-tti* #

Workforce out promptly dispatch-2SG.IMP

"… already ripe, **if** you promptly dispatch workers…" (following [Alp 1991: 188–9]; cf. [Hoffner 2009: 163, 166]).

(17) MH/MS (CTH 186?) HKM 43 obv. 8'–10'

8'. *n=ašta* **mān**

CONN=LOC when

9'. *tuzzi-n* *š[a]rā* […]

army-ACC.SG.C up

10'. *uwat-er* # …

bring-3PL.PST

"And **when** they have brought the army up to …, then" (following [Hoffner 2009: 169]).

(18) MH/MS (CTH 186?) HKM 66 obv. 15–17

15. *nu=war=aš* ᵐ*Imra-*LÚ*-i-š* ᵐ*Dula[k]k[i]-š*

CONN=QUOT Imra-ziti (and?) Dulakki

16. *tūri-ške-ddu* # *nu=wa=kan* **mān**

hitch-IMPF-3SG.IMP CONN=QUOT=LOC **if**

17. *uit* # *namma* *kuitki* *āšš-an* #

go-3SG.PST then something.NOM.SG.N remain-PRTC.NOM.SG.N

"Let Imra-ziti (and?) Dulakki hitch them up! And **if** it has happened that something is again left over" (following [Hoffner 2009: 220]).

(19) MH/MS (CTH 186?) HKM 66 obv. 22–24

22. *widdu=wa* DUMU ᵐ*Š[a]parta anda*

go-3SG.IMP son Šaparta's in

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[9] There is even less evidence for other members of the class.

[10] Line numbers in the original cuneiform tablets are being reproduced here.

23. *w[e]miya-ddu #*   *n=aš*   *[m]ān*
    find-3SG.IMP   CONN=he if

24. *k[a]rū*   *pānza # …*
    already   go.PRTC.NOM.SG.C

"Let him proceed to   find Šaparta's son!" **If** he has already gone, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 220–1]).

(**b**) *mān* "if/when" is never spelt together with the following word (i.e., there is always space between *mān* and the following phonological word);

(**c**) plene spellings of *mān* "if/when" clearly dominate, both when it stands on its own and when it hosts enclitics;

(**d**) *mān* "if/when" is occasionally in a clause internal position, which we interpret as clause second[11], as in (20). The free position in the clause, identical to other non-proclitic subordinators, would be hard to reconcile with the putative proclitic character of *mān*.

(20) OH/OS (CTH 1.A) KBo 3.22 obv. 3

n=ašta   ᴰIM-*unn-i=ma*   **mān** *āššu-š*   *ēš-ta #*
CONN=LOC Stormgod-DAT.SG=but when dear-NOM.SG.C be-3SG.PST

"And **when** he was dear to the Stormgod" (following [CHD L–N: 148]).

(21) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 rev. iii 55

nu   LUGAL-*u-š*   **mān** ᴳᴵˢGIGIR *wek-zi #*
CONN   king-NOM.SG.C when chariot   request-3SG.PRS

"**When** the king requests the chariot".

(22) MH/MS (CTH 41.II.2) KUB 36.127 obv. 9'

ANA   ᵐ*Šunaššura=ma* **mān** *āššu #*
to   Sunassura=but   if   good.NOM.SG.N

"**If** it suits Sunassura" (following [Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 41.II.2 (INTR 2011–08–24; Beckman 1996: 22]).

(23) NH/NS (CTH 69.A) KBo 19.70+ obv. i 52–53

kīdaš   **mān** *kui-š*   *Š[A   MĀMĪT]I #*
this.DAT.PL if   which-NOM.SG.C of   oath

"**If** there is someone of oath among these (men), …" (following [Wilhelm & Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 69 (TX 17.02.2014, TRde 17.02.2014; Beckman 1996: 80]).

Cf. the following lexically identical pair of examples where in (24) *mā[n* follows the first constituent[12] whereas in (10) it is in its canonical clause initial position:

(24) MH/NS (CTH 259.B) KUB 13.20 obv. i 13–15

1. ***tuzzi-ya=ma***   ***peran mā[n*** DUMU   LUGAL)] *našma BĒL* GAL
    army-LOC.SG=but   before if   son   king   or   great lord
    kuinki   *wātarnaḫ-mi #*
    some.ACC.SG.C   place-1SG.PRS

2. *nu*   *maḫḫan* *ŠA* ᴰUTUˢ⁼ᴵ   *išḫiūl*   *apell=a*   *QATAM-⟨(MA)⟩ ē[-šša-tten] #*
    CONN like   of majesty=my command   his.GEN.SG.C=and   likewise   do-IMPF-2PL.IMP

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[11] We will provide a more detailed analysis elsewhere.

[12] And not the first *word*, which is actually quite unusual for the second position in Hittite as normally the second position is determined after the first phonological word, as is done for *-ma* in the same context.

3. [*n=a*]*n*   *tuzzi-š*   *ḫūmanza*   *ištamaš-(š)ke-ddu* #
    CONN=him   army-NOM.SG.C   whole.NOM.SG.C   listen-IMPF-3SG.IMP

"(1) and if I place some [(prince)] or great lord in command of the army, (2) then just like the command of My Majesty [you must] ca[rry out] his (command) likew⟨(ise)⟩ (3) [and] the whole army must obey [hi]m" (following [Miller 2013: 148–9]).

(25) MH/NS (CTH 259.B) KUB 13.20 obv. i 26–27

1. ***mān=****kan* ***apāš=ma***   DUMU   LUGAL   *našma* BELU₄
    if=LOC   that.NOM.SG.C=but   son   king   or   lord

    tuzzi-ya   ***peran*** *arḫa*   *idālu*   *uttar*   *pēḫute-*[*zzi*] #
    army-LOC.SG   before away   evil   word   bring-3SG.PRS

2. *n=ašta*   ᵈUTU^{Š=I}   *zammurāi-zzi* #
    CONN=LOC   majesty=my   disparage-3SG.PRS

3. *šumašš=a=an*   *ēp-ten* #
    you.NOMˡ.PL=and=him   seize-2PL.IMP

4. *n=an*   MAḪAR ᴰUTU^{Š=I}   *uwate-tten* #
    CONN=him   before   majesty=my   bring-2PL.IMP

"(1) However, if that prince or great lord in charge of the army speak[s] a malevolent word (2) and he disparages My Majesty (3) then you must seize him (4) and you must bring him before My Majesty" (following [Miller 2013: 150–1]).

The following set of examples demonstrates the same variation between clause first and clause second position in very similar contexts from the same text:

(26) NH/NS (CTH 42.A) KBo 5.3+ rev. iii 12'–13'

zig=a[(=*šši*   ***mān*** *pāi-š*)]*i*   *apūn*   *memiyan*   EGIR-*pa* *mema-tti* #
you=but=him   if   go-2SG.PRS   that.ACC.SG.C word.ACC.SG.C   back   say-2SG.PRS

"But **if** it so happens that you pass that word on to him" (following [G. Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 42 (INTR 2013–02–24)])

(27) NH/NS (CTH 42.A) KBo 5.3+ rev. iii 23'

zig=[*a=šma*]*š*[*a*]*t* ***mān*** *pāi-tti*   EGI[R-*pa*] *mema-tti* #
you=but=them=it   if   go-2SG.PRS   back   say-2SG.PRS
"But **if** it so happens that you pass it on to them"

(28) NH/NS (CTH 42.A) KBo 5.3+ rev. iii 16'

nu   ***mān*** *pāi-*[*tti*]   *apūn*   *memiyan*   *apēdani*   EGIR-*pa* *mema-tti* #
CONN   if   go-2SG.PRS   that.ACC.SG.C word.ACC.SG.C   that.DAT.SG.C   back   say-2SG.PRS
"**If** it so happens that pass that word on to him"

(29) NH/NS (CTH 42.A) KBo 5.3+ rev. iii 20'

z[*ig=*]*a*   ***mān*** *apēdani*   KUR-*e*   *našma* URU-*r-i*   EGI[R-*pa*]   *mema-tti* #
you=but   if   that.DAT.SG.   land.DAT.SG   or   city-DAT.SG   back   say-2SG.PRS
"But **if** you pass (it) on to that country or city"

Besides, *mān* "if/when" is usually spelt plene, which for Hittite does not imply *synchronic* accent, but in the majority of cases goes back to an *accented* vowel (see now [Kloekhorst 2014: 222]). Therefore, there is no positive evidence in favour of *mān* being unstressed.

The evidence can also be supported by somewhat indirect considerations. There are NH/NS examples where *mān* "if/when" does host -*ma* [Kloekhorst 2014: 614; Sideltsev, Molina forthcoming]. In the logic of Kloekhorst, it is an unambiguous demonstration that *mān* "if/when" *was*

stressed. [Kloekhorst 2014: 614] rather assesses them as analogical after *māḫḫan* "when". However, *-ma* was hosted even more frequently by all the rest of the constituents that originally delayed *-ma* and for which there is no unambiguous evidence in favour of their being unstressed — again except clearly proclitic *nu*. *These* words (*našma* "or", *namma* "then", perfectivizing *kāša*) are not obviously analogical after subordinators. Thus the diachronic development we see in Hittite is rather different from that outlined by [Kloekhorst 2014] and rather speaks in favour of the hypothesis that initially there was a set of words delaying *-ma* irrespectively of being stressed. Then there was a diachronic reanalysis of the class: the proclitic *nu* still delayed *-ma* whereas all the rest of the class which were originally stressed started hosting it, just like any stressed word in Hittite. So, the system that Kloekhorst proposes to account for the special behaviour of *-ma* paradoxically testifies against his own proposal.

2. Relative Pronouns: Enclitic, Proclitic or Stressed?

The second group of words which Kloekhorst assessed as proclitic is relative pronouns.

2.1. Hittite Relative Sentences: Basic Data. Here it is necessary to remind that traditionally, starting at least from [Held 1959], only relative pronouns in determinate relative clauses are described as being clause second. Relative pronouns in indeterminate relative clauses are clause initial or first if sentence connectives like *nu* are available in a clause.

Determinate relative clauses is the traditional Hittitological term for referential relative clauses with the relative pronoun in the clause second position, which are illustrated by:

(30) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 62

UGULA DUMU^MEŠ.KIN=*za* **kui-n** par[*ā* *pi*]*yē-ške-zzi* #

chief messengers=REFL who-ACC.SG.C out send-IMPF-3PL.PRS

"The one **whom** the chief of the messengers di[sp]atches".

(31) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 61–62

nu 1 ^LÚ*MEŠEDI* **kui-š** *šarkanti-n* *widāi-zzi* #

CONN 1 bodyguard who-NOM.SG.C petitioner-ACC.SG.C bring-3SG.PRS

"A bodyguard **who** brings a petitioner, …".

(32) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 45

^LÚ*MEŠED*[*I=m*]*a* **kui-š** *šeḫuna* *pai-zzi* #

bodyguard=but which-NOM.SG.C pee.INF go-3SG.PRS

"**What** bodygua[rd] goes to pee (without asking)".

(33) NH/NS (CTH 61.II.7.A) KBo 5.8 rev. iii 24–5

nu **uni** <u>*kuin*</u> 9 *LIM* ÉRIN^MEŠ ^m*Pitaggatalli-š* *uwate-t* #

CONN **this** <u>who</u> 9000 troops <u>Pitaggatalli-NOM.SG.C</u> bring-3SG.PST

"**That** 9,000-man army <u>which</u> <u>Pitaggatalli</u> led (joined battle with me)" (following [Goetze 1967: 158–9; Held 1957: 18; Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 158]).

Indeterminate relative clauses are generic with the relative pronoun in the first/initial position, as illustrated by (34):

(34) MH/NS (CTH 259.B) KUB 13.20 obv. i 11

kui-š *arḫa* *tarnu-mmaš=ma* ÉRIN^MEŠ-*az* #

which-NOM.SG.C away release-INF.GEN.SG=but troops.NOM.SG.C

"**Whatever** troops are to be released, …" (following [Miller 2013: 148–9]).

Actually, the distinction between the second position of determinates and first/initial position of indeterminates is not absolute. On the basis of (35) [Yates 2014] proposed that indeterminate relative pronouns in Hittite can occupy the second position, just like determinate ones:

(35) NH/lNS (CTH 67) KBo 5.4 rev. 32–3

1. *namma*   *ANA* ᴰUTUˢ⁼ᴵ   **kui-š**   ᴸᵁ́KÚR #

    furthermore   to   majesty=my   who-NOM.SG.C   enemy

2. [*n=aš=tta*]   ᴸᵁ́KÚR   *ēš-du* #

    CONN=he=you   enemy   be-3SG.IMP

3. *tuk=ma*   **kui-š**   ᴸᵁ́KÚR #

    you.DAT.SG=but   who-NOM.SG.C   enemy

4. *ANA* ᴰUTUˢ⁼ᴵ*=ya=aš*   ᴸᵁ́KÚR #

    to   majesty=my=and=he   enemy

"(1) Furthermore, **whoever** is an enemy to His Majesty (2) shall be an enemy to you, (3) (while) **whoever** is an enemy to you (4) is also an enemy to His Majesty" (following [Yates 2014]).

However, as Yates observes (pers.comm.), there is just a handful of examples like (35) against thousands of first/initial position of indeterminate *kui-* and second position of determinate *kui-*. Actually, the only example Yates quotes is ambiguous between second and preverbal position. [Becker 2014] went further and questioned the very validity of the difference between first and second position of relative pronouns. Whereas her criticism of the traditional assessment is certainly well grounded, it is far from being clear to what extent her own proposals[13] capture the data.

2.2. Enclitic, Proclitic or Stressed? Now after the short excursus which is important for the following argument, we will return to the topic of the paper. [Kloekhorst 2014] proposes that relative pronouns are unstressed in order to explain that they do not host *-ma*[14]. His logic is exactly the same as with *mān* "if": as *nu* is unambiguously proclitic and it does not host *-ma*, it is sufficient for him to demonstrate that all other constituents which do not host *-ma* are proclitic, in order to account for the data. However, the explanation of the relative pronouns faces the same difficulties as that of *mān* "if": there is no unambiguous evidence in favour of relative pronouns being unstressed. As was said before, there are no cross-linguistic universals that clitic cluster split is caused exclusively by proclitics. What is more, even in comparison with *mān* "if" the proclitic hypothesis faces additional problems when it comes to the relative pronoun. If one assesses relative pronouns along the lines of Kloekhorst, one will have to assess clause initial/first relative pronouns as proclitics to explain the fact that they do not host *-ma*. At the same time, one will have to explain why in determinate relative clauses relative pronouns are in the second position. Kloekhorst does not consider determinate relative clauses, but [Huggard 2014] analyzes indefinite pronouns, which are also optionally clause second, and assesses them as unstressed and [Becker 2014] analyzes second position relative pronouns as unstressed. If one follows them, one will have to assume that clause second relative pronouns are *enclitics* to capture the fact that they are clause second whereas clause initial/first relative pronouns are proclitics. The solution is distinctly unwelcome.

As was observed above, for [Becker 2014] unstressed character of relative pronouns is one of the three factors that determine the position of relative pronouns in a clause. The main ar-

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[13] Interplay of three factors — SOV word order, enclitic second position placement and topicalization.

[14] Delaying *-ma* by relative pronouns happens much less regularly than by *nu* or *mān*, but the frequency and consistency is of no direct relevance for us now.

gument against this analysis is the following: the position of a constituent in a clause cannot be *simultaneously* determined in the same uses[15] *in some cases* by information structure and *in some cases* by the fact that it is unstressed. In Becker's account relative pronouns occupy the second position in the clause in 66% of cases. The statistics is interpreted by Becker to the effect that relative pronouns are enclitics [Becker 2014: 101–3]. However, prototypical enclitics do not demonstrate 2/3 *tendency* to be in the second position, they *are* in the second position. Statistics is in this case convincing only if it is about 90% and does not represent a *tendency*.

The scenario by which unstressed forms could obtain stress was offered by [Huggard 2014][16] who put it forward for indefinite pronouns. For him a form may acquire stress and consequently can occur in the first position if it is topicalized. However, the account works only for some cases of first/initial position of relative pronouns. There is indeed contrastive topicalization accompanied by *-ma* as, e.g., in Becker's ex. (83). But with some other clause first/initial relative pronouns there is no contrastive topicalization at all, as in, Becker's exx. (84), (97) and many others.

What is more, as was exposed in the previous section, indefinite clause initial *kui-* delays *-ma* in a number of cases, i.e. *-ma* is cliticized to the word that follows *kui-*, and not to *kui-* it-self[17]! Even if clause first/initial indefinite pronouns were systematically topicalized and hereby received stress, the fact that they delayed *the topicalizing* particle is extremely hard to understand.

Besides, and probably more important, as was demonstrated by [Huggard 2011], relative pronouns as well as relative phrases are also preverbal, both in determinate and indeterminate relative clauses[18]:

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[15] We leave apart partitive use and focus only on properly relative function.

[16] Becker does not put forward the explanation. It looks like for her the same pronoun can be both stressed and unstressed depending on the factors she did not reveal.

[17] As different from, e.g., *mān*, the delay is always optional.

[18] The same three positions (preverbal, second and first/initial) are attested for subordinators *māḫḫan* "when, as" and *kuit* "as". See above for the preverbal and second positions. The first/initial position is illustrated by:

(i) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. ii 29
nu=šši=kan   *māḫ*[*ḫa*]*n* LÚ.MEŠ*MEŠEDI* DUMUMEŠ É.GAL=*ya* *ḫandā-nta* #
CONN=him=LOC   when   bodyguards   servants   palace=and   be.aligned-3PL.PRS
"**When** bodyguards are aligned with palace servants, …"

(j) MH/NS (CTH 259.B) KUB 13.20 obv. i 10
maḫḫan=*ma*   LÚKÚR*ak-i* #
when=but   enemydie-3SG.PRS
"However, **as soon as** the enemy has been vanquished, …", following [Miller 2013: 148–9].

(k) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 17 rev. 36
n=*aš*=*ši*   **kuit**   NU.GÁL *kuiški* #
CONN=he=him because   no   someone.NOM.SG.C
"**Because** there is no one for him", cf. [Hoffner 2009: 125].

(l) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 55 rev. 33–34
man=*kan* **kuit** *maḫḫan*   *anda* #
OPT=LOC   how   how   in
"**How** it is there", following [Hoffner 2009: 201].

In this last example optative *man* is likely to behave like conditional *mān* and thus not constitute the first position. The position is actually dominating for *māḫḫan* "when, as", see [CHD L–N sub *māḫḫan*], and very sporadic for *kuit* "as".

(35) NH/OS (CTH 292.II.a.B) KBo 6.26 rev. iii 15 (§ 185)

2	GU₄	GAL	UZU=*ŠUNU*	*kui-š*	*wāš-i* #
2	cattle	big	meat=their	who-NOM.SG.C	buy-3SG.PRS

"Whoever buys the meat of 2 fullgrown cattle" (following [Hoffner 1997: 147]).

(36) MH/MS (CTH 190) HKM 71 rev. 24–26

kāša=kan	*kī*	*tuppi*	**kuedani**	**UD-t-i**	*parā*	*ne-ḫḫun* #
PRF=LOC	this	tablet	which	day-LOC.SG	out	send-1SG.PST

"**On the day** that I have dispatched this tablet" (following [Hoffner 2009: 228]).

How do we assess the preverbal relative pronouns — as enclitic or as proclitic? Needless to say, none of the unambiguously unstressed constituents (either enclitics or proclitics) in Hittite have an optional, but systematic preverbal position. See the discussion on indefinite pronouns below where it is shown that the pronouns which are unambiguously unstressed in Latin and Greek never attest systematic preverbal position.

2.3. Now we will present the synchronic Hittite data against both the enclitic and proclitic character of relative pronouns. Here, just like in the section concerning *mān* "if", we arrange the material along the lines in the cuneiform tablet:

(37) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 2 obv. 4–5

4.	*ŠA*	ANŠE.KUR.RA^HI.A=*mu*
	of	horses=me

5.	**kuit**	*uttar*	*ḫatrāe-š* #
	which	matter	write-2SG.PST

"Concerning the matter of chariotry about **which** you wrote to me, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 98]).

The example clearly shows the difference between Wackernagel enclitics like the pronoun =*mu* "me" and relative pronouns: here the unambiguous enclitic directly follows its host in the same line whereas the relative pronoun *kuit* "which" starts a new line!

The following example does the same for yet another enclitic vs relative pronoun:

(38) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 2 obv. 10–11

10.	*ŠA* ŠEŠ	^m*Ḫimu*-DINGIR^LIM=*ma*
	of brother	Ḫimmuili=but

11.	**kuit**	*uttar*	*ḫatrāe-š* #
	which	matter	write-2SG.PST

"Concerning the matter of Ḫimmuili's brother about **which** you wrote, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 99]).

This example likewise clearly shows the difference between the two second position constituents (which are non-Wackernagel, see [Sideltsev, Molina forthcoming]) — prototypical enclitic =*ma* and relative pronoun *kuit* "which": the unambiguous enclitic directly follows its host in the same line, the relative pronoun starts a new line.

The situation seems analogous to the one in Homer Greek, where the relative pronoun (although derived from the other PIE root **yo-*) can easily start a new line, host enclitic constituents and is never regarded as a proclitic or enclitic form:

(38) **ὅς** τέ ποτ' ὔμμι διαφθέρσει πόλιν αἰπήν (Il., XIII, 625)[19]

ὅς	τέ	ποτ'
who.REL.PRON.NOM.SG.M	and.ENCL.CONJ	someday.ENCL.INDEF.PRON

---

[19] In the middle of the verse, starting a new sentence; τέ also is enclitic having acute due to attraction.

ὔμμι   Διαφθέρσει   πόλιν   αἰπήν

for us-PERS.PRON.DAT.PL   destroy.FUT.3SG   city.ACC.SG.F   lofty.ACC.SG.F

"and who someday will destroy us [our] lofty city";

(39) **ἥ** ῥά θ' ὑπὸ βροντῆς πατρὸς Διὸς εἶσι πέδον δέ (Il., XIII, 796: the whole verse):

ἥ   ῥά θ'   ὑπὸ   βροντῆς

which.REL.PRON.NOM.SG.F   really.PRAGM.PART.ENCL   and.ENCL.CONJ   with.thunder.GEN.SG.F

πατρὸς   Διὸς   εἶσι   πέδον   δέ

father.GEN.SG.M   Zeus.GEN.SG.M   goes.PRS.3SG   valley.ACC.SG   and-ENCL.PART

"and [it was the storm] which with thunder of father Zeus goes to the valley".

In the latter example it is notable that ἥ (which-NOM.SG.F) is followed by the pragmatic particle ῥά "which is enclitic and used after monosyllables, ἥ, ὅς, γάρ, etc., or words ending in a vowel or diphthong, e.g. ἐπεί" [LSJ: s.v. ἄρἄ].

The same holds good for the two additional Hittite cases which come from the same context:

(40) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 9 obv. 3–7

3.   13 ^LÚ.MEŠ^*pítteand-uš=<u>kan</u>*

      13 fugitives-ACC.PL.C=LOC

4.   **kuit**   *parā*   *nai-tta*

      what   out   send-2SG.PST

5.   *n=aš*   *uwater* # §

      CONN=them   bring.3PL.PST

6.   *ŠA*   ANŠE.KUR.RA^ḪI.A^=<u>*ma=mu*</u>

      of   horses=but=me

7.   **kuit**   *uttar*   *ḫatrāe-š* #

      what   word   write-2SG.PST

      which matter write-2SG.PST

"Concerning the fact **that** you dispatched (to me) 13 (apprehended) fugitives: They have brought them here. § **Which** word you wrote to me about the horse troops (I received your message)" (following [Hoffner 2009: 113]).

(41) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 36 l.e. 29–30

29.   *ŠA* ÉRIN^MEŠ^   ^URU^*Išḫūpitta=<u>ma=mu</u>*

      of   troops   Ishupitta=but=me

30.   **kuit**   *uttar*   *ḫatrāe*-[š] #

      what.ACC.SG.N   matter.ACC.SG.N   write-2SG.PST

"Concerning the matter of the troops of the town Išḫupitta **which** you wrote <u>to me</u>" (following [Hoffner 2009: 132–3]).

Naturally, the examples can be interpreted *ad hoc* as testifying for the *proclitic* character of *preverbal kui-* "which". However, unambiguously second position of the relative pronoun is attested by the following examples. The pronouns in these examples are clearly not enclitic as they are in the next line from the first position constituent:

(42) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 10 obv. 20–21

20.   …   *nu*   LÚ^MEŠ^   ^URU^*Gašga*

         CONN   people   Gasga

21.   **kui-ēš**   *takšul-i*   *iya-ndari* #

  who-NOM.PL.C   peace-DAT.SG.C   go-3PL.PRS.MED

"The Kaškaean men **who** are coming to make peace, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 113]).

(43) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 31 obv. 8–10

8. *ŠA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Gašaša=ma=mu*

    of   Gasasa=but=me

9. **kuit** *ŠA* ᴳᴵˢGEŠTIN   *uttar*

    what of vineyard   matter

10. *ḫatrā-eš* # …

    write-2SG.PST

"Concerning the matter of the vineyards of (the city) Kašaša about **which** you wrote to me" (following [Hoffner 2009: 156]).

(44) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 31 obv. 13–15

13. *ŠA* É   ᴰUTU^{Š=I}*=ma=mu*

    of house Majesty=My=but=me

14. **kuit** ᴸᵁ*maniyaḫḫiy-aš*

    what administrative.district-GEN.SG.C

15. EN-*aš*   *uttar*   *ḫatrā-eš* # …

    lord-GEN.SG.C   matter.ACC.SG.N write-2SG.PST

"Concerning the matter of the district lord of the house of My Majesty about **which** you wrote" (following [Hoffner 2009: 156]).

(45) MH/MS (CTH 190) HKM 52 rev. 42 — l.e.3

42. *ŠA* ANŠE.KUR.RA ᴳᴵˢGIGIR*=ya=mu*

    of horse   chariot=and=me

43. **kuit**   *uttar*   *ḫatrā-eš* #

which.ACC.SG.N   matter.ACC.SG.N write-2SG.PRS

"Concerning the matter of the horse(s) and chariot **which** you wrote" (following [Hoffner 2009: 195]).

(46) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 54 obv. 18–20

18. *ŠA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Kašipūra*   GU₄ᴴᴵ·ᴬ

    of Kašipūra   cattle

19. **kue**   ᴬ·ŠÀ*terippi*

    which.ACC.PL.N field.ACC.PL.N

20. ᴬ·Š[À]*terippiya-t* # …

    plow-2SG.PRS

"Regarding the fields **that** you plowed with the cattle of Kašipūra" (following [Hoffner 2009: 199]).

The next examples are against the enclitic character of the unambiguously preverbal relative pronouns:

(47) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 21 obv. 6–7

6. EGIR^!-*an=mu*   *kappūwar*

    back=me   number.ACC.SG.N

7. [*ku*]*it*   *ḫatrāe-š* # …

    what.ACC.SG.N   write-2SG.PST

 "The number (of workers) **which** you wrote to me" (following [Hoffner 2009: 132–3]).

(48) MH/MS (CTH 188) HKM 48 obv. 18–19

18. *nu=kan*   *kē*   MUŠENᴴᴵ·ᴬ

    CONN=LOC   these birds

19. **kue-dani**   KASKAL-*š-i anda*

    which-LOC.SG   road-LOC.SG on

20. *šanḫ-weni* # …
   seek-1PL.PRS

"In **which** direction (literally: on which road) we should seek these birds" (following [Hoffner 2009: 183]).

(49) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 54 obv. 4–5

4. *ŠA* NUMUN^{ḪI.A}=*mu uttar*   **kuit**
   of seeds=me   matter.ACC.SG.N which. ACC.SG.N

5. *ḫatrā-eš* #
   write-2SG.PRS

"Concerning what you wrote me about seed" (following [Hoffner 2009: 199]).

The following example is against the proclitic nature of the preverbal subordinator *kuit* "as", homonymous with the ACC.SG.N form of the relative pronoun:

(50) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 17 obv. 28–29

28. ^{URU}*Kapapaḫšuwaš*   *mekki* **kuit**
   Kapapahsuwa   much as

29. [*paḫḫašn*]*uwanza* #…
   protected

"**Since** Kapapahsuwa is well protected, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 124]).

The following examples are against the enclitic character of the second position subordinator *kuit* "as":

(51) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 10 obv. 28–29

28. … *nu*   *karū*
        CONN already

29. **kuit** DINGIR^{MEŠ} [*i*]*mmanx*[…] #
   as gods   x

"Just **because** the gods already […], …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 113]).

(52) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 44 l.e.2—rev. 5

2. [*a*]*nda=ma=kan*   *kā*[*š(m)aʔ*]
   furthermore=but=LOC   PERF

3. ^m*Marakui-n*
   Marakui-ACC.SG.C

4. **kuit**   ^{LÚ}*QARTAP⟨PU⟩*
   since   charioteer

5. *parā*   *ne-ḫḫun* #
   outsend-1SG.PST

"**Since** I have just dispatched (to you) Marakui, the charioteer, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 170–1]).

The following example is particularly telling against both enclitic and proclitic nature of the subordinator *kuit* "as". Here it follows the nominal part of the predicate and is in the next line from it. Thus it is the only part of the previous clause which is in a separate line from all the rest of the clause:

(53) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 18 l.e.2–3

2. *ḫalki-š=ma=⟨ašm⟩aš/šmaš*   *apiya aniyanza*
   grain-NOM.SG.C=but=them/you/them/you   there done.NOM.SG.C

3. **kuit** #   *nu*   EGIR-*an tiya-tten* #
   because CONN back   step-2PL.IMP

"**Because** grain has been sown/cultivated there or them/you, get busy" (following [Hoffner 2009: 128]).

It is important that the examples are not isolated. They come from a very limited corpus of MH/MS letters and instructions. A broader corpus brings more examples. Thus, synchronic Hittite data are identical to the data from Narrow IE languages exemplified here by Greek and give no reason to assume some special enclitic or proclitic character of relative pronouns in Hittite. Becker [2014] attempted to provide the comparative IE evidence supporting her claim that Hittite enclitic relative pronouns go back to proto-IE situation, but all the evidence she produced concerns indefinite pronouns and will be reviewed in the following section.

3. Indefinite Pronouns — Enclitics or Lexically Unstressed?

The third category that has been suggested to be unstressed is indefinite pronouns. Detailed arguments in favour of indefinite pronouns being lexically unstressed have been provided by [Huggard 2014].

Just like relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns occupy three positions in a clause (see for more detail [Huggard 2014; Sideltsev 2014a, 2014b]): they are preverbal, second position, and they can also be, albeit extremely seldom, clause initial/first. The difference between relative and indefinite pronouns is statistical: indefinite pronouns are preverbal in the absolute majority of cases, much more seldom in the second position and extremely rarely in the first/initial position.

Preverbal position:

(54) OH/OS (CTH 291.I.a.A) KBo 6.2 rev. iv 19 (§ 83)

[*t*]*akku*	ŠAḪ	*arnuand-an*	**kuiški**	*taye-zzi* #
if	sow	pregnant-ACC.SG.C	somebody.NOM.SG.C	steal-3SG.PRS

"If **anyone** steals a pregnant sow, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 86–87]).

(55) MH/MS (CTH 190) HKM 66 obv. 16–17

nu=wa=kan	*mān*	*ui-t*	*namma*	**kuitki**	*āššan* #
CONN=QUOT=LOC	if	come-3SG.PST	again	something	leave.PRTC.NOM.SG.N

"And if it **has happened** that something is again left over, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 220]).

Particularly intriguing in this respect are the examples where only the indefinite pronoun is preverbal whereas the head NP is not preverbal:

(56) OH/OS (CTH 291.I.a.A) KBo 6.2 obv. i 39 (§ 19b)

[(*takku* ᵁᴿᵁ)]*Ḫattuš-i=pat*	LÚ	ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫatti*	LÚ	ᵁᴿᵁ*Luī-n*	**kuiški**	*tāye-zzi* #
if	Hattusa-LOC.SG=EMPH	man	Hatti	man	Luwian-ACC.SG.C	somebody.NOM.SG.C steal-3SG.PRS

"If **a** Hittite abducts a Luwian man in the land of Hatti itself, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 31]).

(57) MH/NS (252.A) KUB 13.8 obv. 11–12

mān ŠA É.NA₄=*ma*	*ḫinqan-aš*	*waštul*
if	of stone.house=but	death-GEN.SG.C	crime.ACC.SG.N

kuiški	*waštai* #
anyone.NOM.SG.C	sin.3SG.PRS

"If, however, **anyone** from the royal funerary structure commits a capital crime, …" (following [Miller 2013: 210–1]).

(58) MH/NS (CTH 264.A) KUB 13.4 rev. iv 61–62

mān=ma=kan	ŠÀ	KASKAL-*NI*	ᴸᵁSIPAD.GU₄	*našma*
if=but=LOC	middle	way	cowherd	or

ᴸᵁSIPAD.UDU   _maršatar_   **_kuiški_**   _iya-zi_ #
shepherd   fraud.ACC.SG.N   some.NOM.SG.C   do-3SG.PRS
"But if along the way **some** <u>cowherd or shepherd</u> commits <u>fraud</u>,…" (following [Miller 2013: 264–5]).

(59) NH/NS (CTH 577) KBo 2.2 obv. i 41–46

1. _nu=kan_ ᴰUTU^{ŠI} _ḫup⟨pi⟩allaza=ma kuedaš_ UD.KAM^{ḪI.A} _wal(a)ḫḫanzi_ #

2. _peran=kan kuedani memiyani laḫlaḫḫešgaueni_ #

3. _n=an=kan_   <u>_tapašša-š_</u>   _apiya_ **_kuiški_**   _anda_   _wemiyazi_ #
    CONN=him=LOC   fever-NOM.SG.C   then   some-NOM.SG.C   in   find-3SG.PRS

"(1) Or on which days they beat His Majesty with the huppialla, — (2) for which matter we keep worrying in advance -, (3) will **some** <u>fever</u> befall him then?" (following [Goedegebuure 2014: 405]).

(60) NH/NS (CTH 106.A.1) Bo 86/299 obv. ii 99–100

mān=ma   <u>DUMU=_KA_</u> <u>DUMU.DUMU=_KA_</u> _katta_[20] _wašta-i=ya_   **_kuiški_** #
if=but   son=your   grandson=your   later   sin-3SG.PRS=and   someone.NOM.SG.C
"But if **any** <u>son or grandson of yours</u> later commits an offense, …"[21].

Second position:

(61) NH/NS (CTH 62.II.A) KBo 5.9+ rev. iii 23–24

našma _mān_ **KUR**^{ᵀᵁᴹ} **_kuitki_**   _zaḫḫiya-za_   <u>LUGAL   KUR</u> ^{URU}<u>_Hatti_</u>   _anda_   _ḫatkišnu-zzi_ #
or   if   **land**   **some.ACC.SG.N** battle-ABL   <u>king   land Ḫatti</u>   in   besiege-3SG.PRS
"Or if <u>the King of Ḫatti</u> besieges **some land** in battle" (following [del Monte 1986: 170–1; Beckman 1996: 58]).

Huggard [2014] explains the difference between the preverbal and second position by the fact that preverbal indefinite pronouns are existential whereas second position indefinite pronouns are topicalized or at least presupposed. Sideltsev will show elsewhere that the hypothesis works only for the minor part of the data and cannot be upheld[22].

First/initial position:

(62) NH/NS (CTH 255.2.A) KBo 26.1+ rev. iii 16

_nu=za_   **_kui-t_**   GIM-_an_ _kiš-ari_ #
CONN=REFL   which-NOM.SG.N   when   happen-3SG.PRS.MED
"If **something** happens …" (following [Miller 2013: 300–1]).

(63) NH/NS (CTH 266) KBo 16.54+ rev. iii? 16'

man(a)=šan **_kuwapi_**   URU-_r-iya_   EGIR-_pa_   [_ar-ti_] #
if/IRR=LOC   when   city-LOC.SG   back   come-2SG.PRS
"Should you **at some point** re[turn] to the city, …" (following [Miller 2013: 268–9]).

(64) MH/NS (CTH 258.2) KUB 13.7 obv. 9

mān=an=za   **_kuwapi_**=_ma_ _appezzian_ LUGAL-_u-š_   EGIR-_an_ _kappūē-zzi_ #
if=him=REFL   when=but   later   king-NOM.SG.C   back   count-3SG.PRS
"If, however, the king reassesses him (i.e., his case) **at some point**" (following [Miller 2013: 140–1]).

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[20] Contra [Garrett 1990: 79; Salisbury 2005: 85], _katta_ is not here a preverb, rather an adverb with the meaning "later", which follows from its meaning which is identical to the unambiguous adverb [Salisbury 2005: 83–5]. It is true that _katta_ is not normally clause internal in this meaning, but it is also very obvious that the aberrant syntactic behaviour should tip the balance in favour of _katta_ being an adverb.

[21] Following [Otten 1988: 20–21; Beckman 1996: 113]. The example also involves the non-canonical clause internal verb position.

[22] Besides, the theory is obviously unapplicable to the subordinators which attest the same distribution.

(65) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 69–71

1. LÚ.MEŠ*MEŠEDI=ma* É*arkiw-i*   *tapušza* ZAG-*za* *tie-nzi* #

    bodyguards=but   passageway-LOC.SG   alongside   right-ABL   stand-3PL.PRS

2. *mān*   **kuedani**=*ma*   URU-*r*[-*i*   ZA]G-*az*   *tiya-wanzi*   UL?   *tarḫan* #

    if   which.LOC.SG=but   town-LOC.SG   right-ABL   stand-INF   NEG   possible

"(1) but the bodyguards stand to the right alongside the passageway. (2) If, however, in **some** town standing to the [rig]ht is not possible, (then they stand on the left)" (following [Miller 2013: 106–9]).

We suppose it is not incidental that the absolute majority of indefinite pronouns in the first position are identical to relative pronouns or subordinators, i.e., they do not attest the enclitic =*ki* and are attested in post-OH time in conditional clauses. It is important that *kuedani* is not topicalized in cl. 2 of the last example of (65), -*ma* is here contrastive with sentential scope. The only case in our corpus where the genuine indefinite pronoun is in the first position is:

(66) MH/MS (CTH 199) ABoT 1.65 rev. 5'–7'

mam=man=za=kan   **kuiški**   É-*er*   <u>*tamai-š*</u>   *arnu-t* #

if=IRR=REFL=LOC.PART   someone.NOM.SG.C   house   else-NOM.SG.C   relocate-3SG.PST

"If **someone** <u>else</u> had relocated (your) household/ family, (would you not become upset?)" (following [CHD L–N: 141; Hoffner 2009: 244; Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 422]).

It is not contrastively topicalized either.

But it is the following long context which is particularly revealing as the only indefinite pronoun in the first position in a clause is actually relative in form (cl. 3, where [Miller 2013] reads *kuin⟨ki⟩*). All the rest of numerous indefinite pronouns are either preverbal or in the second position:

(67) NH/NS (CTH 255.1.A) KUB 21.42 + rev. iv 22–31

1. *našma* <u>*kēl*</u>   *ŠA* ŠEŠ^MEŠ   ᴰUTU^Š=I   *ḫaššant-eš*   *našma*   DUMU   MUNUS*NAPTIRTI*

    or   he.GEN.SG   of brothers   Majesty=My   born-NOM.PL.C   or   son   secondary.wife

    m[e]mian   **GÙB-***an*^!   **kuin**^!**ki**   DÙ-*an*   ⟨*ḫar-zi*⟩ #

    thing.ACC.SG.C   wicked-ACC.SG.C   some.ACC.SG.C   done.PRTC.NOM.SG.N   have-3SG.PRS

2. MUD *našma* BAL #

    blood   or   rebellion

3. [*na*]*šma*   **kuin**   **memian**   **GÙB-***an*   *awan*   GAM I*DE* #

    or   some.ACC.SG.C   matter.ACC.SG.C   wicked.ACC.SG.C   INTENS   down know

4. [*na*]*šma*=*za*   **DUMU**   **LUGAL**   **kuiški**   <u>**GÙB-***an*</u>

    or=REFL   son   king   some.NOM.SG.C   wicked.ACC.SG

    <u>*uttar*</u>   <u>*ANA* LÚSAG</u>   *awan*   GAM *memai* # …

    matter.ACC.SG.N   to   courtier   INTENS   down tell.3SG.PRS

5'. [*naš*]*ma*   <u>LÚSAG   *kuinki*</u>   **DUMU**   **LUGAL**

    or   courtier   some.ACC.SG.C   son   king

    ŠEŠ   **LUGAL**   **kuiški**   [LÚ*ar*]*an*   DÙ-*zi* #

    brother   king   some.NOM.SG.C   associate   makes

6'. *nu*=*šši*   *ŠA* LUGAL   **kuitki** **ḪUL-***lu*   [*uttar*   **GÙ**]**B-***tar*   *parā*   *memai* #

    CONN=him   of king   some evil.ACC.SG.N matter   inopportune   out   tell.3SG.PRS

"(1) Or (if) <u>the full brothers of My Majesty and a son of a secondary wife</u> has ⟨done⟩ **some wicked thing,** (2) (e.g.,) blood(shed) or rebellion (3) or he has foreknowledge of **some wicked matter**; (4) [o]r **some prince** divulges <u>a wicked matter</u> <u>to a courtier</u>, (or he has also already [to]ld you, but you do not report it to the king;) (5') [o]r **some prince (or) brother of the king** makes <u>some courtier</u> (his) [<u>ass]ociate</u>, (6') and he divulges to him **some evil, [inopp]ortune [matter]** regarding the king, (but does not report it to the king: under the oath)" (following [Miller 2013: 290–1]).

Huggard proposes that indefinite pronouns are unstressed, or, rather, that they are lexically unstressed. Lexical unstressability for him is different from the unstressability of clitics as lexically unstressed words can bear topic stress as in:

(68) NH/NS (CTH 40.IV.1.A) KBo 5.6 obv. i 21

1. *nu=kan*   *kui-t*   *kuenn-ir #*

   CONN=LOC   some-ACC.SG.N   kill-3PL.PST

2. ***kuit**=<u>ma</u>=za=kan*   *anda*   *ēpp-ir #*

   some-ACC.SG.N=but=REFL=LOC   in   seize-3PL.PST

"(1) And some they slew, (2) <u>but</u> **some** they seized." (Borrowed from [Huggard 2014: ex. (15)]).

Here it must immediately be observed that no unambiguous *indefinite* pronoun ever hosts -*ma* in our corpus[23]. As follows from above and from the data of Huggard [2014], all the cases where indefinite pronouns host -*ma* actually involve relative pronouns or subordinators functioning as indefinite pronouns after *mān* "if". Alternatively, the relative pronouns/ subordinators have a distributive function, as in Huggard's example above.

As for unstressability in the second position, cross-linguistically the second position of a constituent in a clause is not tied in to unstressability — e.g., verb in the second position is not unstressed in Germanic languages [Bošković 2001]. The same holds good for second position relative pronouns and subordinators in Kashmiri [Munshi, Bhatt 2009]. I.e. if a word stands in 2P, the lack of stress does not immediately follows.

Moreover, indefinite pronouns in Hittite are productively built from relative pronouns/subordinators with the help of indefinite enclitic -*ki* [Hoffner, Melchert 2009]. This formant is not a suffix as it cliticizes to the inflected form of the pronoun bearing case, number and gender affixes. It clearly produces the impression of an enclitic. What is important is that the enclitic is not a second position enclitic. All other non–2P (or at least not necessarily 2P) enclitics like -*pat* cliticize only to stressed words. This is admittedly a very indirect argument, but quite a sound one[24].

One of the arguments of [Huggard 2014] and Becker [2014: 100–1] in favour of indefinite pronouns being unstressed is that other Indo-European languages attest unstressed indefinite pronouns and thus the Hittite system which they construe as unstressed should be diachronically equated with the Narrow IE one.

The Narrow IE system[25] is best preserved in Latin and Greek where *wh*-words are stressed in their primary function and unstressed when they function as indefinite pronouns (see now [Haug forthcoming]).

In Greek wh-words like τίς 'who', πότε 'when', πῶς 'how' and many others can be simply converted into indefinite pronouns by dropping their phonological accent. See, e.g., the following examples from Greek (Homer, Ilias):

(69) Ἦν δέ **τις** ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης ἀφνειὸς ἀμύμων // ἱρεὺς Ἡφαίστοιο· (V, 9–10[26]).

Ἦν	Δέ	**τις**	ἐν Τρώεσσι
be. IMPF.3.SG	but-ENCL.PART	some.ENCL.PRON.NOM.M	among Trojans.DAT.PL.

Δάρης	ἀφνειὸς	ἀμύμων	ἱρεὺς	Ἡφαίστοιο
Dares.NOM.SG.	rich.NOM.SG.M	blameless.NOM.SG.M	priest.NOM.SG	Hephaestus.GEN.SG.

"But there was among Trojans one (so-called) Dares, a rich and blameless man, a priest of Hephaestus".

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[23] Here the broader corpus of diplomatic texts, oracles, dreams and prayers was studied.

[24] We thank A.Kassian for the idea.

[25] See for further examples [Haug forthcoming; Becker 2014; Huggard 2014], all with references.

[26] In a stable epic expression before proclitic; cf. 10, 314.

(70) οὔτέ **τί** με δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον οὔτέ **τις** ὄκνος (V, 817[27]):

οὔτέ	**τί**	με	δέος	ἴσχει
neither	some.NOM.SG.N	me.ACC.SG	fear.NOM.SG.N	possess.PRS.3.SG

ἀκήριον	οὔτέ	**τις**	ὄκνος
inglorious.NOM.SG.N	nether	some.NOM.SG.M	hesitation-NOM.SG.M

"Neither [a kind of] inglorious fear, nor [a k.of] hesitation do possess me".

(71) ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω // πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσ' οὔ πώ **τις** ἑῇ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί (IX, 147–148[28])

ἐγὼ	δ'	ἐπὶ	μείλια	δώσω
I.NOM.SG	but.ENCL.PART	PRV	gifts-ACC.PL.n	give-FUT.1SG

πολλὰ	μάλ'	ὅσσ'	οὔ	πώ
many.ACC.PL.N	very	which.ACC.PL.N	not.PROCL.PART	anyway.ENCL.PRON

τις	ἑῇ	ἐπέδωκε	θυγατρί
anyone.ENCL.NOM.SG.M	his.POSS.PRON.DAT.SG.F	has.given-AOR.3SG	daughther-DAT.SG.F

"And I will add [to Briseis] gifts, so many, that no one had ever given to his own daughter".

Main evidence in favour of *wh*-words functioning as indefinite pronouns being unstressed in Greek comes from ancient grammarians and is supported by the well-known facts of the history of Greek writing[29]. Some particular cases could be determined on bases of Greek common accent and phonological[30] rules.

In Latin we do not have such strong arguments coming from the writing tradition, but the system is clear enough:

(72) *Quis est?* — "Who is it?" vs. *Sī_quis ad mē ueniat* "If anyone comes to me" = Εἴ τις in Greek.

Wh-words function as indefinite pronouns in Latin normally after *sī, nē* and thus are in the second position as dramatically different from *wh*-words in their original function which are clause initial. It is notable that dropping accent in Latin is not the most preferable way for producing indefinite pronouns (they usually are derived from *wh*-words by old enclitic particles: *quis-quam, quis-piam etc. 'anyone'*), but in some clear circumstances (e.g. after *sī, nē*) this way becomes favorable. In the whole PHI–5 Latin corpus one can find only 33 entries for *sī_quisquam* and only 2 archaic cases for *sī_quispiam* (in Plautus), whereas there are thousands of entries for *sī_quis*. It could be regarded as indirect evidence for the fact that an indefinite pronoun, standing in the enclitic-host position, can hardly host an enclitic-like particle (*-quam* or *-piam*) itself. Also it is notable that *quisquam* (instead of indefinite *quis*) in several cases, presumably rhetorical questions, can start the sentence and even host some other enclitic particles (like interrogative *-ne*) behaving as "monolithic" compound rather than a set of separate enclitic pieces: *Quisquam istuc negat* (Cic. N.D. III, 70)? — "How could anyone deny it?". *Quisquam-ne… in lite cantat* (Quint. XI, 3, 59) — "Can anyone sing in the court"? The indefinite pronoun *quīdam* (also of enclitic origin: cf. fem. *quae-dam* and neut. *quod-dam*) can occupy the first position of the phrase much more easily.

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[27] In the negative enclitic construction; τί has an acute accent of phrase origin which is due to the enclitic attraction. For rules see [Belov 2015: 260 ff.].

[28] Same to (70), but before a possessive pronoun with uncertain prosodic status. Acute accents on οὔ and πώ are due to the enclitic attraction.

[29] See [Tronsky 1962; Probert 2006]. Some uncertain cases, especially concerning enclitics and enclinomena (like ἐχθρῶν τινῶν ἐστι 'it belongs to some enemies') are discussed in [Belov 2015: 262 ff.], where the phonological stress of the indefinite τινῶν is questioned.

[30] See also [Janse 1995/6: 163], who shows that in many cases Greek enclitics have stronger assimilation with the host word (πρῶτομ_μὲν) than the orthotonic words.

These are the IE parallels that Huggard bases his argument on and traces the Hittite system back to. However, we believe that it is exactly these parallels that show that synchronically the Hittite system is radically different from the one which is preserved in Latin and Greek and which is likely to be reconstructed for Narrow IE. Moreover, the Hittite system cannot even be traced back to the Narrow IE one diachronically.

As shown above, in Hittite, indefinite pronouns are both second position and preverbal, which is unreconcilable with the suggested unstressed character. Neither Latin nor Greek display preverbal position of uncompounded *wh*-phrases (of the type τις, *quis*) functioning as indefinite pronouns, their position is that of Wackernagel second position.

A caveat is due here. Naturally, derived indefinite forms like Latin *quidam, quisquam* do not attest the constraint — they can be both preverbal and first, but they are stressed. What is significant is that Lat. *quis* etc. can be only clause second in their indefinite use, and never seem to be clause internal, including the preverbal position.

As for Greek, the placement of *wh*-words used as indefinite pronouns (τις, etc.) can at face value produce the impression of being clause internal and even preverbal as in the following example from Ilias (XII, 8–9):

(73) οὐ γὰρ ὅ γ᾽ ἀθανάτων **τινα** ἔλπετο ὃν κατὰ θυμὸν // ἐλθόντ᾽ ἢ Τρώεσσιν ἀρηξέμεν ἢ Δαναοῖσιν

οὐ	γὰρ	ὅ		γ᾽
not.PROCL.PART	for.ENCL.PART	who.REL.PRON.NOM.SG.M		truly.PRAGM.PART.ENCL

ἀθανάτων	**τινα**	ἔλπετο	ὃν		κατὰ θυμὸν
immortals.GEN.PL	one.ACC.SG.M.ENCL	believe.IMP.3SG	his.DEM.PRON.ACC.SG		in.the.soul-ACC.SG

ἐλθόντ᾽	ἢ	Τρώεσσιν	ἀρηξέμεν	ἢ	Δαναοῖσιν
come.ACC.SG.PRTC.AOR	either	Trojan.DAT.PL	bring.aid.INF.AOR	either	Greek.DAT.PL

"Because he couldn't believe in his soul that it would be one of the immortals, who came to provide [military] assistance to Trojans or Greeks".

Here at first sight the placement of τινα is clause internal and even preverbal, but a closer look at the information structure of the clause reveals that ἀθανάτων, the word immediately preceding τινα, is contrastively focused as counterexpectant focus. Cross-linguistic studies show that focusing is often marked by insertion of a prosodic boundary immediately in front of the focused constituent in SOV languages [Büring 2009]. Thus such deviating examples are easy to fit into the proposed scheme. We believe that there should be a prosodic boundary to the left of ἀθανάτων triggered by the information structure. Consequently τινα is in the expected second position, although the boundary in front of the first position is not clausal. As dramatically different from Greek, Hittite indefinite pronouns are preverbal both when they follow constrastive focus and when they do not.

It is also highly significant that it is the preverbal position which should be primary for Hittite indefinite pronouns. There is not a single OH/OS *unambiguous* attestation of second position indefinite pronouns, only preverbal ones or ambiguous between preverbal and second position. The only example from the Laws which at first sight produces the impression of unambiguous second position indefinite pronoun is

(74) OH/NS (CTH 291.III) KBo 6.4+ obv. i 4 (§ 35)

takku	UNUTE^{MEŠ}	**kuiški**		*našma* GU₄	UDU	ANŠE.KUR.RA
if	implements	somebody.NOM.SG.C	or	ox	sheep	horse

ANŠE	*wemiya-zi* #
ass	find-3SG.PRS

"If **anyone** finds implements or an ox, a sheep, a horse, [or] an ass, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 54]).

However, as [Hoffner 1997: 54] observes, the paragraph it occurs in is a late version of §§ 45 and 71. The OH/OS starting point in either case does not contain a list between the indefinite pronoun and the verb. The word order is the expected OSV one in both cases with the indefinite pronoun ambiguous between second and preverbal position:

(75) OH/OS (CTH 291.III) KBo 6.2+ obv. ii 36 (§ 45)

[*takku*]	*ā*[*š*]*šu*[31]	*k*[*uiški*	*w*]*emiya-zi* #
if	goods.ACC.SG.N	somebody.NOM.SG.C	find-3SG.PRS

"If **anyone** finds <u>implements</u>, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 53]).

(76) OH/OS (CTH 291.III) KBo 6.2+ rev. iii 4 (§ 71)

takku	<u>GU₄-*un*</u>	ANŠE.[KUR.RA	ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N]A-*an*	ANŠE-*in*
if	ox-ACC.SG.C	horse	mule-ACC.SG.C	ass-ACC.SG.C

kuiški	*wemiya-zi* #
somebody.NOM.SG.C	find-3SG.PRS

"If **anyone** finds <u>a (stray) ox, a horse, a mule (or) an donkey</u>, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 54]).

Thus, (74) has nothing to do with the OH usage. The *copies* of the OH/OS original do not introduce the addition (see [Hoffner 1997: 53, 79]). It appears only in the NH *modification* of the OH original combining two earlier paragraphs and reflects NH usage. Besides, it may simply be a scribe's slip, inserting the list in the wrong place. This is suggested by the following example which shows that scribes could mechanically extend the clause and insert the addition in the wrong place:

(77) OH/NS (CTH 292.II.a.B) KBo 6.26+ obv. ii 23–4 (§ 176a)

1.

takku	DUMU	*UMMIĀN*	*kuiški*	*wāš-i* #
if	son	trained	somebody.NOM.SG.C	buy-3SG.PRS

2.

naššu	ᴸᵁBAḪAR	ᴸᵁSIMUG.A	ᴸᵁNAGAR	ᴸᵁAŠGAB	ᴸᵁAZLAG
either	porter	smith	carpenter	leather-worker	fuller

ᴸᵁUŠ.BAR	*naššu*ˀ	ᴸᵁEPIŠ	ᵀᵁᴳKABALLI	*kuiški*	*wāš-i* #
weaver	or	maker	leggings	somebody.NOM.SG.C	buy-3SG.PRS

"(1) If **anyone** buys a trained artisan, (2) either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leather-worker, a fuller, a weaver, or a maker of leggings **anyone** buys, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 140–1]).

Here the list inserted *after* the clause and the indefinite pronoun as well as the verb are repeated after the list. We suppose the same mechanics might be at work for (74) producing the illusion of second position indefinite pronoun in Old Hittite.

Besides, the use of Hittite "indefinite pronouns" in the first position, for which see exx. (62–68) above, is also dramatically different from Latin/Greek model. In Latin/Greek it is usually the *wh*-phrases in their interrogative meaning that are in the first position.[32]

In Hittite the function is indefinite, but the form is of relative pronouns/ subordinators which thus simply retain one of their prototypical positions after *mān* "if". What is noteworthy

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[31] *UNUTE*ᴹᴱˢ in NS/OH KBo 6.3+ obv. ii 57.

[32] The classic example is (Il. I, 8):

Τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι

Τίς	τάρ	σφωε	θεῶν	ἔριδι
who.NOM.SG	then.PRAGM.PART.ENCL	them.ACC.DU	god.GEN.PL	anger.DAT.SG

ξυνέηκε	μάχεσθαι
send.AOR.3.SG	fight.INF.PRS

"But who among the gods made them fight in anger?"

diachronically is that the use attested in Latin, Greek and the majority of other IE languages cannot be directly traced to the Hittite usage. In Hittite the use of relative pronouns/subordinators in the function of indefinite pronouns is post-OH and should be considered an independent innovation from the Narrow IE. Hittite attests the use of relative pronouns as indefinite only in post-OH period [CHD sub *mān*]. The oldest attested Hittite texts (OH/OS originals) have only indefinite pronouns in conditional clauses and after negation markers. Sideltsev's count of OH/OS corpus revealed 62× *mān kuiški/kuitki* vs 0× **mān kuiš/kuit*. The latter is sporadically attested only in later copies of OH texts and is very likely to reflect MH/NH usage. The statistics is impressive enough to be just a matter of coincidence[33].

3.1. Moreover, it can be demonstrated that none of Huggard's synchronic Hittitological arguments in favour of indefinite pronouns being unstressed are compelling evidence. His arguments run as follows: apart from being in the second position (for which now see [Sideltsev 2014a]), indefinite pronouns always follow their head noun, indefinite pronouns "participate in the distraction (hyperbaton) of two constituents, whether it be a periphrastic perfect, postpositional phrase, genitival phrase, or a noun phrase composed of an adjective plus noun" [Huggard 2014].

Now we will critically reassess the argument and show that they do not hold. Just like for *mān* "if/when" and relative pronouns, it can be demonstrated that indefinite pronouns synchronically behave in a very different way from enclitics in the second position and from proclitic *nu*. It is clearly seen in:

(78) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 8 obv. 15–16

15. *mān=an*   *ḫandā-ši*
    OPT =him   locate-2SG.PRS
16. ***kuwapiki*** # …
    somewhere
"You should locate him **somewhere**" (following [Hoffner 2009: 99]).

This example shows the difference between phonologically placed second position constituents — in this case =*an* "him" and syntactically placed second position constituent *kuwapiki* "somewhere". Whereas the former directly follows its host and stays in the same line, the latter starts a new line, as obviously different from unambiguous enclitics.

The following example is similar. It also unambiguously testifies against another claim of Huggard. The sequence head noun — indefinite pronoun is written over two lines, which is extremely unexpected if the indefinite pronoun is enclitic to the head noun:

(79) MH/MS (CTH 188) HKM 46 obv. 15–16

15. *man=kan* ᴰUTU*Š=I*   *BELÍ=YA BELU*
    if=LOC   Majesty=My lord=my lord
16. ***kuinki***   *parā*   *nai-tti* #
    some.ACC.SG.C out   send-2SG.PRS
"If Your Majesty, my lord, were to send **some** lord, …" (following [Hoffner 2009: 174]).

The following example demonstrates that even within negative pronouns the indefinite pronoun is not enclitic to the negation marker as it starts a new line:

(80) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 30 rev. 16–17

16. *kinun=a=mu*   *na*[*mma*] *UL*
    now=but=me   then   NEG

---

[33] Sideltsev proposes to set out the detailed arguments elsewhere.

17. ***kuitki***   *ḫ[a]trā-ši #*

    anything.ACC.SG.N   write-2SG.PRS

"But now you no longer write anything" (following [Hoffner 2009: 154]).

As for indefinite pronoun always following its head noun, the generalization of Huggard is simply too strong. Even in our limited corpus of MH/MS letters and instructions there are at least two counterexamples. Contra [Huggard 2014], second position indefinite pronouns precede its head noun in the following examples:

(81) OH-MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 57

*mān=wa=[ka]n šarā=**ma** **kui-š***   *antūwaḫḫa-š*   *ḫandāi-zzi #*

if=QUOT=LOC up=but some-NOM.SG.C man-NOM.SG.C manage-3SG.PRS

"If some man *manages* (*to go*) up, …" (following [Miller 2013: 112–3]).

(82) OH–MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 obv. i 19–20

1. *mān*   *andurza*   ***kuiški*** ^{URUDU}*zakke-š*   *UL*   *karpan-za #*

    if   inside   **some** doorbolt-NOM.SG.C NEG   lift-PRTC-NOM.SG.C

2. *našma* É.^{NA4}KIŠIB   ***kuitki*** *ḫašš-anzi #*

    or   storehouse   **some** open-3PL.PRS

"(1) If inside **some** doorbolt has not been lifted, (2) or if they open **some** storehouse" (following [Miller 2013: 104–5]).

Both of indefinite pronouns in (81, 82) are in the second position. In the following case the indefinite pronoun precedes its head noun in the preverbal position:

(83) OH/OS (CTH 291.I.a.A) KBo 6.2 obv. i 36 (§ 19a)

[(*takku* LÚ.U₁₉] LU-*an*   LÚ-*n=aku* MU[(NUS-*n=aku*   ^{URU}*Ḫattuš-az*

if   free.person   man=or woman=or   Hattusa-ABL

kuiš*)*ki   (LÚ   ^{URU}*Luī-š*)]   [*tā*]*ye-zzi #*

some.NOM.SG.C   man   Luwian-NOM.SG.C   steal-3SG.PRS

"If **a** <u>Luwian</u> abducts a free person, man or woman, from the land of Hatti, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 30]).

Besides, if we interpret predominance of the position after the head NP as indicative of the unstressed character, attributive participles, *ḫūmant-* "all" and *dapiyant-* "all" which regularly follow head nouns [Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 271, 339] will also be unstressed.

The final argument of Huggard in favour of indefinite pronouns being unstressed and behaving like an ordinary second position enclitic is that indefinite pronouns "participate in the distraction (hyperbaton) of two constituents, whether it be a periphrastic perfect, postpositional phrase, genitival phrase, or a noun phrase composed of an adjective plus noun" [Huggard 2014].

However, the same distraction can be caused by many other constituents, not only enclitics[34]. It is also important that the same type of connections can be broken in positions different from the second position.

For example, indefinite pronouns break up the nexus *noun + adjective*. But the same connection is broken up in the following example, although neither indefinite pronouns nor second position enclitics are envolved:

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[34] Besides, it is a common fact in the generative literature even on second position enclitics that only those constituents that can be "distracted" in other position, are "distracted" by enclitics [Bošković 2001]. Thus even enclitics do not bring about any unique "distractions".

(84) NH/NS (CTH 578) KUB 22.61 rev. 18'–19'

1. *kuiš=mu*   ᴸᵁA.ZU   SIxSÀ-*ri* #

   which-NOM.SG.C=me   physician   determine.by.oracle-3SG.PRS.MED

2. *nu=kan*   **Ù**   *ANA*   ᴰUTU*ˢ⁼ᴵ*   ŠÀ   IGIᴴᴵ·ᴬ *apāt*   :*pari-tti* #

   CONN=LOC   herb   to   Majesty=My   inside   eyes   that   apply-3SG.PRS

"(1) Which physician is determined by oracle for me (2) will apply <u>that</u> **herb** (and no other) to His Majesty eyes" (following [Goedegebuure 2013: 32, ex. 20]).

In (84) only the noun Ù "herb" moves to the clause first position whereas the other part of the same NP, pronoun *apāt* "that", stands preverbally[35]. A similar mechanics lies behind the following example. Here only a part of the NP *kī ŠA* ᵐ*Kur uttar* "this matter of Kur" is fronted to the initial position (*kī* "this"), whereas the rest of the NP (*ŠA* ᵐ*Kur uttar* "matter of Kur") is in front of the preverb:

(85) NH/NS (CTH 577) KUB 5.24+ obv. ii 13–14

kī=wa   <u>ᴰUTU</u>   ᵁᴿᵁ<u>PÚ-*na*</u>   **ŠA ᵐ*Kur***   <u>*kuwatqa*</u>   **uttar**   EGIR-*pa*   SUD-*at* #

this=QUOT   sungoddess   Arinna   of Kur   somehow   matter.ACC.SG.N   back   draw-3SG.PST

"<u>The Sungoddess of Arinna</u> wanted to prolong **this matter of Kur** <u>somehow,</u> …" (following [van den Hout 1995: 256–7; Mouton 2007: 199–200]).

Canonical word order is attested in the lexically identical context from the same text:

(86) NH/NS (CTH 577) KUB 5.24+ obv. ii 19–20

mān=ma   <u>DINGIR-*LUM*</u>   <u>*kēl*</u>   *ŠA* ᵐ*Kur*   *uttar*

if=but   god   this.GEN.SG   of Kur   matter.ACC.SG.N

[E]GIR-*pa*   **UL**   ***kuitki***   SUD-*at* #

back   NEG   something.ACC.SG.N   draw-3SG.PST

"But if <u>the goddess</u> did not **at all** want to prolong <u>the matter of this Kur</u>, …" (following [van den Hout 1995: 256–7; Mouton 2007: 199–200]).

The indefinite pronoun might also clause internally break up an NP which it does not belong to. It does so in (85) above where *kuwatqa* is inside part of the NP (*ŠA* ᵐ*Kur uttar*) and it does it again in the following examples:

(87) NH/NS (CTH 68.E) KUB 6.44+ obv. iv 26'–27'

[*nu*   *mān*   <u>*t*]*uk*</u>   *ANA* ᵐ*Kupanta-*ᴰLAMMA   <u>*ŠA* ᴰUTU*ˢ⁼ᴵ*</u>   [(***kuiški***)

CONN   if   you   to   Kupanta-Kurunta   of   Majesty=My   some.NOM.SG.C

ḪU]L-*lu-n*   ⟨*memian*⟩   *peran*   *memai* #

bad-ACC.SG.C   matter.ACC.SG.C   before   speak.3SG.PRS

"If **someone** speaks <u>[an evil] word</u> concerning <u>My Majesty</u> before <u>you, Kupanta-Kurunta</u>, …" (= rev. iv 28'–29'. Following [Friedrich 1926: 136–9; Beckman 1996: 75]).

(88) NH/NS (CTH 76.A) KBo 19.73+ rev. iii 26–27

mān   <u>*tuk=ma*</u>   *ANA*   ᵐ*Alakša*[(*nd*)]*u*   <u>*ŠA*   ᴰUTU*ˢ⁼ᴵ*</u>

or=LOC   you.DAT.SG=but   to   Alaksandu   of   Majesty=My

ku[(*išk*)]***i***   <u>ḪUL-*lu-n*</u> .... <u>*memiya*[*n*</u>   *p*]*eran*   *memai* #

some.NOM.SG.C   evil-ACC.SG.N   word.ACC.SG.C   before   say.3SG.PRS

"If **someone** speaks <u>an evil word</u> <u>concerning My Majesty</u> before <u>you, Alaksandu,</u> …" (following [Friedrich 1930: 70–1; Beckman 1996: 85]).

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[35] See [Goedegebuure 2013: 32, ex. 20] for the information structure analysis.

In both of the examples of (87, 88) the indefinite pronoun *kuiški* breaks up the NP *ŠA* ᴰU-TU^{ŠI} ḪUL-*lun memiya*[*n* "an evil word concerning My Majesty".

The following example is very curious. It attests the process quite opposite to that postulated by Huggard, *indefinite* NP (ᴸᵁ*araš kuiški* "some colleague") break up by another NP (ᴸᵁ*ari* "colleague"):

(89) MH/NS (CTH 260.1) KUB 31.44+ obv. ii 6–7

našma=kan	ᴸᵁ__*ara-š*__	ᴸᵁ__*ar-i*__	***kuiški***
or=LOC	colleague-NOM.SG.C	colleague-DAT.SG	some.NOM.SG.C

__*kurur-aš*__	__*mem*[(*ia*)]*n*__	*peran pēḫute-zzi* #
enemy-GEN.SG	word.ACC.SG.C	before bring-3SG.PRS

"Or (if) **some** <u>colleague</u> expresses <u>a hostile re[(ma)]rk</u> against (another) <u>colleague</u>, …" (following [Miller 2013: 288–9]).

The example is all the more extraordinary as the indefinite NP was in the second position — before the break up! Should we consider ᴸᵁ*ari* enclitic on the basis of this example? We suppose not. Other examples involving the indefinite NP break up are:

(90) NH/NS (CTH 380.A) KBo 4.6 obv. 10'–11'

nu	*mān*	DINGIR-*LIM*	EN=*YA*	*ammel*	***kuitki***	*Š*[*A*
CONN	if	god	lord=my	I.GEN.SG	some.ACC.SG.N	of

MUNUS=*YA*[?]]	ḪUL-*lu*	*šanḫe-ški-ši* #
wife=my	evil.ACC.SG.N	seek-IMPF-2SG.PRS

"If you, O god, my lord, are seeking **some evil** in my [wife(?)]…" (following [Tischler 1981: 12–3; Singer 2002: 72]).

(91) NH/lNS (CTH 67) KBo 5.4 rev. 21–22

mān tuk=ma	***kuiški***	*ANA* ᵐ*Targaš*[*nalli*	ᴸᵁKÚR]	*arāi* #
if	you.ACC.SG=but	some.NOM.SG.C	to Targasnalli	enemy	arise.3SG[!].PRS

"But [if] **some** [**enemy**] arises against you, Targasnalli…" (following [Friedrich 1926: 64–5; Beckman 1996: 67]).

Apart from the data about constituent break up by indefinite pronouns or indefinite NP break up by other constituents, there are data that other second position constituents also break up constituents. In the following cases it is the subordinator *maḫḫan* "as, when" that breaks up the NP:

(92) NH/NS (CTH 42.A) KBo 5.3+ obv. i 18

nu=tta	*mān*	<u>*tuel*</u>	***maḫḫan***	<u>SAG.DU=*KA*</u>	*nakki-š* #
CONN=you	if	your	as	head=your	heavy-NOM.SG.C

"And if (His Majesty's head is not as dear to you) **as** your own head is dear to you" (following [G. Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 42 (INTR 2013–02–24), Beckman 1996: 24; CHD L–N: 365]).

(93) NH/NS (CTH 42.A) KBo 5.3+ obv. i 22

nu=za	*mān*	<u>*tuel*</u>	***maḫḫan***	<u>*ANA* SAG.DU=*KA*</u>	ZI=*KA*	*Ù*
CONN=REFL	if	your	as	to head=your	soul=your	and

ANA	*RAMĀNI=KA*	*genzu*	*ḫar-ši* #
to	body=your	affection	have-3SG.PRS

"If (you are not well-disposed to the person of My Majesty, the soul of My Majesty, and the body of My Majesty and do not me in a protective embrace) in the same way as you are well-disposed to to your person, soul and body" (following [G. Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 42 (INTR 2013–02–24), Beckman 1996: 24]).

See above fn. 18 for the distribution of *maḫḫan* "as, when" in the clause second position is the least common of the three of the subordinators. It looks like second position subordinators

are the only type of second position constituents that have not yet been assessed as enclitic. And we believe ex. (92) cannot be interpreted in this way.

Another nexus which is often broken up by second position indefinite pronouns is *NP — postposition*. But the same connection can be broken by indefinite pronouns within the clause, i.e. without any connection with the second position, as the following case shows:

(94) NH/OS (CTH 291.III) KBo 6.4+ obv. i 4 (§ III)

[*takku=kan*	ᴸᵁDAM.GÀR	ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫ*]*atti*	*āššuw-aš*	**kuiški**		*anda*	*kuen-zi* #
if=LOC	merchant	Hittite	goods-LOC.PL	somebody.NOM.SG.C		in	kill-3SG.PRS

"[If] **anyone** kills a Hittite [merchant] <u>in the midst</u> <u>of his goods</u>, …" (following [Hoffner 1997: 19–20])[36].

In the following example it is the preverbal indefinite pronoun that breaks up the NP + postposition construction:

(95) NH/NS (CTH 89.A) KUB 21.29+ rev. iv 8–9

mān=ma=[*ka*]*n*	UN-*aš*=*ma*		*kuiški*	*ŠA* URU-*LIM*
if=but=LOC	person-NOM.SG.C=but	some.NOM.SG.C	of city

ANA	LÚᴹᴱˢ	[U]ᴿᵁ*Gašga*	**kuiški**		*anda*	*dammek-tari* #
to	people	Gasga	somebody.NOM.SG.C		in	join-3SG.PRS.MED

"If <u>any person of the city</u> — **anybody** — joins <u>people of Gasga</u>, …"[37].

An example not involving an indefinite pronoun and involving a very clear fronting of the NP, but not the postposition which stays in the preverbal position with the ensuing split of the postpositional phrase is:

(96) MH/NS (CTH 261.1.B) KUB 13.2+ rev. iv 13'–14'

[*m*]*aniyaḫḫiya*=*ta*=*kkan*	*kue*	É.GAL-*LÌ*ᴴᴵ·ᴬ-*TÌ*	Éᴴᴵ·ᴬ	*BELUTI*=*ya*	[(*and*)]*a* #
province.LOC.SG=you=LOC	which.NOM.PL.N	palace.officials	houses	lord=and	in

"(And you shall inquire regularly into) the palaces and noble estates that are <u>in</u> your **[p]rovince**, …" (following [Miller 2013: 232–3]).

Ex. E (KUB 31.89(+)) of the text where (96) comes from, see [Miller 2013: 232], has canonical word order as it starts in rev. iv 6' with [É*ḫa*]*lentūwa*=*ya*=*ta*=*kkan* É.GALᴴᴵ·[ᴬ. According to Miller [2013: fn. 452], *maniyaḫḫi*- presumably followed and was lost in the lacuna. The regular position of the locative immediately in front of the postposition is also seen in the same text:

(97) MH/NS (CTH 261.1.B) KUB 13.2+ rev. iv 9'–10'

[…] É.GAL-*LÌ*ᴴᴵ·ᴬ	*kue*	*maniyaḫḫiya*	[(*an*)*da*] #
palaces	which.NOM.PL.N	province.LOC.SG	in

"(You must [(also)] keep an eye on al[l] the …] (and) the palaces [(<u>i</u>)<u>n</u> your] **province**" (following [Miller 2013: 232–3]).

An analogous case of split of postpositional phrase is not involving indefinite pronouns is:

(98) MH/NS (CTH 264.A) KUB 13.4 obv. ii 19

n=*ašta*	**kuedani**	*ḫāl-i*	*waštul*	*anda*	*kīš-a* #
CONN=LOC	which-LOC.SG	watch-LOC.SG	offense.NOM.SG.N	in	occur-3SG.PRS

"<u>In **which watch**</u> an offense occurs, …" (following [Miller 2013: 256–7]).

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[36] The example is even more extraordinary in view of the older version of the same text (KBo 6.2 obv. i 3) where *āššuwaš anda* "in the midst of (his) goods" was not employed.

[37] Cf. [González Salazar 1994: 164, 167]: "Anybody of the city or anybody (else)".

Thus the Latin and Greek system of stressed *wh*-words vs unstressed *wh*-words in the second position functioning as indefinite pronouns which Huggard and Becker very explicitly base their arguments on is only very distantly cross-linguistically similar to the attested Hittite system. The first difference of Hittite from Greek/Latin system is that indefinite pronouns behave in syntactical terms identically to relative pronouns and some subordinators. The second is that Hittite indefinite pronouns are not limited to the second position, they are at least as frequently attested in the preverbal position. These two major differences show it beyond any reasonable doubt that Hittite indefinite pronouns are not unstressed.

The diachronic inner Hittite data show that the peculiarities of Hittite indefinite pronouns appeared within the history of Hittite and cannot be traced back to the Narrow IE system retained in Latin, Greek and other IE languages. Thus, the Hittite system and the Narrow IE one must be regarded as independent innovations from the Indo-Hittite system.

4. Consolidation of Prosodic Accounts

It is particularly instructive to confront independently formulated arguments of Huggard, Becker and Kloekhorst in favour of unstressed character of relative pronouns, subordinator *mān* "if/when" and indefinite pronouns and see that they plainly contradict each other and make all the three hypotheses even less tenable than they are separately. Thus, Kloekhorst argues that frequently spelt plene *maḫḫan* "when, as" is stressed as different from consistently spelt plene *mān* "if, when". However, *maḫḫan* is optionally second position which in the logic of Huggard and Becker is one of the arguments in favour of second position constituents being unstressed!

5. Syntactic Account of the Data

Thus, if one does not *a priori* tie in second position with unstressability[38], there is no independent ground to posit lack of lexical stress on indefinite and relative pronouns in Hittite. If they were just unstressed and if the second position was intimately connected with unstressability, how can it be explained that they are not always in the second position, just like regular Wackernagel clitics? On the contrary, they behave like second position stressed verbs in Germanic/Kashmiri and stressed second position relative pronouns/subordinators[39] in Kashmiri where they can occupy other positions [Bošković 2001; Munshi, Bhatt 2009], see, e.g., for Kashmiri relative phrases:

(99) [*sami:r-an*   [*yosɨ kita:b*]   *ra:j-as*   *dits*]   [*so   kita:b…*]
     Samir-ERG   which book.F   Raj-DAT   give.PST.F.SG   that   book.F
"The book that Samir gave to Raj, that book…." [Munshi, Bhatt 2009: 215].

5.1. Hittite Second Position: Structural Account. What is then the explanation of the Hittite second position system? Starting from the distribution we suggest the following linear positions in the left periphery of the Hittite clause. Each position is marked by [ ]. They need not be necessarily filled in a clause, the only exception is the obligatory position 3:

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[38] For which there is no independent cross-linguistic support.

[39] More precisely relative phrases, complementizers *yeli* "when", "until", "since", *agar* "if", and comparatives are clause second [Munshi, Bhatt 2009: 214–8]. However, all these constituents can appear not only in the second position, but also in the first one, but not further down [Munshi, Bhatt 2009: 215]. Thus the constraint is more accurately described as ½ constraint. The same is applicable to many Hittite second position constituents.

(100) $_1[nu^{40}]$ $_2[m\bar{a}n/kui\check{s}^{41}]$ $_3[X_{topicalized/contrasted}]^{42}$ $_4[=ma]$ $_5[kui\check{s}^{43}/kui\check{s}ki/\text{subordinators}]^{44}$ $_6[_{etc}$ ……

The description implies that -(m)a as well as *kuiš*[45]/*kuiški*/subordinators have fixed positions in a Hittite clause that do not depend on phonology. There are two arguments in favour of this. The first one is that -(m)a occupies position 4 only if it is topicalizing/contrastive. It is contrastively focusing, it can be clause internal, see [Sideltsev, Molina forthcoming]. Thus, its position in the clause is determined by its information structure status, and not by phonology. The second argument is that other second position constituents like *kuiš*[46]/*kuiški*/subordinators are actually ½ position, i.e. all of them, albeit with different frequency, can occupy not only the second, but also the first position. So the same account is applicable to them as the one put forward for Kashmiri subordinators and relative pronouns, see [Munshi, Bhatt 2009].

6. Summary

Thus we have shown that there is no unambiguous synchronic evidence in favour of Hittite second position constituents (as well as the constituents that do not count as the first position for *-ma*) being unstressed. In the Indo-European perspective the Hittite system of second position indefinite and relative pronouns cannot be directly equated with and traced back to the system attested in the Narrow Indo-European languages of *wh*-words being unstressed in the indefinite function. The Hittite second position system of indefinite and relative pronouns and the Narrow Indo-European system represent independent innovations and provide yet another evidence in favour of Indo-Hittite hypothesis.

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[40] Wackernagel enclitics cliticize to the first filled position in the clause, i.e. to the first available of the five.

[41] In indeterminate clauses.

[42] The position must be filled in any clause. In case of absence of topicalized or contrasted constituents, any constituents — closest to the position — fills position 3.

[43] In determinate clauses.

[44] All the constituents from this position can be optionally preverbal.

[45] In determinate clauses.

[46] In determinate clauses.

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А. В. Сидельцев, М. А. Молина, А. М. Белов. Синтаксис или фонология? Проклитики, клитики и ударение в хеттском языке.

Статья рассматривает синтаксис *mān* 'если', *namma* 'затем', *našma* 'или', перфективирующего *kāša/kāšma*, относительных и неопределенных местоимений, а также некоторых подчинительных союзов в хеттском. В ряде недавних работ выдвигается гипотеза, что синтаксис данных слов в предложении определяется полностью или частично фонологически, то есть их проклитической либо энклитической природой. В нашей работе проанализированы и опровергнуты аргументы в пользу фонологического анализа, показано, что хеттские данные не поддерживают гипотезы упомянутых авторов. Имеющиеся данные предлагается объяснять чисто синтаксически. В индоевропейской перспективе хеттский язык радикальным образом отличается от прочих индоевропейских языков типа древнегреческого, которым свойственно как раз энклитическое употребление неопределенных местоимений: все факты, которые на первый взгляд объединяют хеттский с остальным и.-е. ареалом, при более внимательном рассмотрении оказываются вторичными и независимыми инновациями хеттского, с одной стороны, и узкого и.-е. ареала, с другой.

Ключевые слова: клитики, вторая позиция, энклитики, проклитики, ударение, относительные местоимения, неопределенные местоимения.

Reports / Хроника

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Х традиционные чтения памяти С. А. Старостина
Москва, РГГУ, 26—27 марта 2015 г.

В конце марта 2015 года Институт восточных культур и античности РГГУ уже в десятый раз провел традиционные ежегодные чтения памяти Сергея Анатольевича Старостина (1953—2005). Все материалы конференции, как обычно, доступны на сайте «Вавилонская башня»[1].

Утренняя сессия первого дня чтений была посвящена в основном проблемам лексикостатистики. Заседание открылось докладом Виктора Порхомовского (ИЯз РАН) на тему «Генеалогическая классификация языков и парадигма сравнительного языкознания». Виктор Яковлевич предложил свое видение сравнительного языкознания как парадигматической науки. Он, с одной стороны, указал на те аспекты исторического языкознания, которые удовлетворяют критериям научной парадигмы по Т. Куну, но также отметил особый статус в этом отношении проблематики генеалогической классификации языков, чьи методы во многом не соответствуют принципам компаративистской парадигмы. Это и определяет отсутствие в научном сообществе согласия по многим важнейшим аспектам генеалогической классификации языков мира. Специальное внимание было уделено в докладе сильным и слабым сторонам лексикостатистики в контексте лингвистической компаративистики и генеалогической классификации языков. Докладчик обратил внимание на случаи, когда классификации, построенные на данных лексикостатистики, расходятся с выводами, полученными традиционными методами. По его мнению, это не свидетельствует о ненадежности лексикостатистики, но лишь указывает на необходимость искать причины подобных статистических аномалий за рамками генеалогических моделей, например, в области социальной и культурной антропологии и истории носителей соответствующих языков.

В докладе Михаила Васильева (ШАГИ РАНХиГС) «Можно ли доверять дереву? Анализ согласован-

ности лексикостатистических данных как критерий надежности полученной классификации» речь шла о том, как увеличить надежность получаемых результатов при построении генеалогического древа. Ситуация, когда полученное дерево не удовлетворяет исследователя по каким-либо причинам, и надежность его построения ставится под сомнение, особенно часто возникает при работе с малоизученными языками. Как получить формальную оценку корректности генеалогического древа, не зависящую от эмпирического опыта? Между двумя сравниваемыми языками всегда есть определенный процент совпадений. Если взять три языка, триаду по терминологии Васильева, и сравнить процент совпадений между любыми тремя из них, то в случае определенных расхождений между цифрами можно констатировать, что входные данные содержат ошибку. В работе, представленной на конференции, на примере индийских языков было показано, что ряд языков (в их числе, например, такой язык, как хинди) чаще оказываются в триадах с большим процентом ошибок. Если построить градацию по частотности вхождения идиомов в триады с большим процентом ошибок, теоретически можно исключить наиболее проблемные идиомы из выборки, тем самым повысив конечную надежность построения дерева.

Антон Коган (Институт востоковедения РАН) выступил с докладом «Дардские языки и пятидесятисловная лексикостатистика». В докладе обсуждался вопрос о генетических отношениях дардских и индоиранских языков. По его подсчетам, совпадения между дардскими и индоарийскими языками составляют 43,5%, а между дардскими и иранскими 39,3%. В связи с этим, считает он, для построения генеалогического древа для расчетов стоит использовать пятидесятисловный список. Кроме прочего, при работе с таким списком в исследование можно вовлечь больше идиомов, чем при работе со стословным списком. Одной из проблем при исследовании дардских языков с помощью

лексикостатистики является то, что в этих языках наиболее изученную большую часть представляют восточнодардские языки, которые подвержены сильному влиянию индоарийских языков, что отражается на получаемых результатах. Хорошим решением может стать использование метода корневой глоттохронологии, поскольку такие данные меньше подвержены контактному влиянию. Расчеты при помощи этимостатистики показали отсутствие дардско-индоарийской близости. Из этого следует, что увеличение совпадений происходит за счет контактных данных. Уменьшить влияние таких данных на топологию древа можно, если удалить восточнодардские языки из выборки, но это значительно уменьшит количество рассматриваемых идиомов.

Михаил Саенко (Южный федеральный университет) представил работу «Балкано-романские языки и лексикостатистика», в котором лексикостатистическим методом попытался определить, являются ли «малые» балкано-романские идиомы (истрорумынский, мегленорумынский и арумынский), а также молдавский отдельными языками или же диалектами румынского языка. Кроме того, он рассчитал возможное время распада прарумынского языка. Материалом для исследования послужили стодесятисловные списки Сводеша, которые собирались по словарям и при помощи опросника у носителей. Проведенный анализ показал высокий процент совпадения (86—93%) между истрорумынским, мегленорумынским и арумынским идиомами, при этом молдавский имеет 100% совпадений с румынским языком. Полученные данные подтверждают, что молдавский является диалектом румынского, а все остальные вышеперечисленные идиомы — отдельными языками. Расчеты при помощи программы Starling подтвердили небольшую глубину подгруппы: распад прарумынского языка датируется временем 1200—1300 лет назад. Подсчет инноваций по сто- и стодесятисловным спискам (двенадцать инноваций в стословном списке и четырнадцать — в стодесятисловном) подтверждает существование прарумынского единства на достаточно долгом периоде времени.

Завершил утреннюю сессию доклад Сергея Болотова (ИВКА РГГУ) «Квадратный трехчлен, или придыхательные против звонких: независимые свидетельства неклассических и.-е. языков в пользу глухости придыхательных». В докладе приводится материал таких индоевропейских языков, как славянские и балтийские, которые подтверждают первоначальную глухость придыхательных смычных (т. е. *T*, *Th*, *D* против традиционно восстанав-

ливаемых *T*, *Dh*, *D*). В качестве примера докладчик приводит, в частности, слова из славянской группы языков с суффиксом *-sl-*, который соответствует греческому суффиксу *-dl-*. Первоначальная глухость придыхательных смычных доказывает тождество модальных характеристик подсистем смычных этих праязыков так называемым классическим языкам.

Дневную часть заседания открыл доклад Ильи Якубовича (РГГУ / Марбургский университет) «К происхождению латинского герундива». Известно, что в латинской грамматике различаются значения герундия (или глагольного имени) и герундива (или модального причастия). На сегодняшний день нет единого мнения о происхождении этих форм. Также возникают разногласия об их древности. У латинского герундива выделяются две функции: собственно герундив в качестве модального причастия и герундив в значении герундия, отличающийся от собственно герундия своими синтаксическими свойствами. В италийских языках есть только герундивы, а форма герундия не встречается. Поэтому резонно реконструировать лишь форму герундива на общеиталийском уровне и считать герундий собственно латинским развитием, сначала функциональным, а затем и формальным. Что касается развития герундива, то интересной представляется теория Эдгара Стертеванта, согласно которой латинские герундивы на *-ndos* могут быть связаны с хеттскими генитивами от глагольных имен на *-tnos* > *-dnos* > *-nnas*: например, *huiswannas* 'жизни' (им. п. ед. ч. *huiswadar*), *harkannas* 'гибели' (им. п. ед. ч. *harkadar*). Предполагается, что латинский герундив также мог зародиться в предикативной позиции в результате реинтерпретации архаичного генитива на *-us* от индоевроевропейского глагольного имени (прим.: *equus dandus est* > 'лошадь (для) давания > лошадь должна быть дана'). Однако в отличие от Стертеванта, считавшего метатезу *-tnos* > *ndus* в истории латинского языка чисто фонетическим процессом, докладчик склонен усматривать в ней аналогический компонент.

Владимир Дыбо (РГГУ) выступил с докладом «Акцентная система кельтского глагола на индоевропейском фоне». Докладчик доказывает, что в пракельтском индоевропейские долгие вторично сокращались или же сохранялись в зависимости от их положения по отношению к праиндоевропейскому ударению, место которого определяется по его месту в прабалтославянском. В ударной позиции долгие плавные давали рефлексы *-rā-* и *-lā-*. В предударном же положении долгие плавные со-

кращались и давали -*ar*- и -*al*-. Краткие плавные слоговые в ударном положении давали рефлексы -*ri*-, -*li*-, -*ni*-, а в безударном положении — -*ir*-, -*il*-, -*in*-, которые в положении перед -*a*- следующего слога расширялись в -*e*-. В докладе был приведен полный материал на такие типы рефлексации для отглагольных имен на -*t*- и -*n*-, а также для презентных основ. Следующим этапом этой работы Владимир Антонович видит проведение анализа всего именного корпуса кельтских имен.

Доклад Татьяны Михайловой (МГУ / ИЯз РАН) «От древнеирландского к среднеирландскому: данные стословного списка» был посвящен анализу данных стословного списка для среднеирландского языка. После скандинавского завоевания Ирландии в 800 г. н. э. случился перелом старой традиции, которая была преимущественно связана с монастырской деятельностью. Под скандинавским влиянием в среднеирландский период стали появляться новые формы, часть из которых не получила дальнейшего развития. При этом стоит учитывать, что письменная традиция, как правило, не отражает всей языковой нормы, и это сказывается на результатах работы со стословным списком. Согласно проведенным расчетам, за 500 лет в списке было утрачено 8% лексики. Подсчет данных за 850 лет (от среднеирландского к языку XX в.) дал шесть замен. От 700 г. до 2000 г. ирландский показывает 88% сопадений с шотландским и 78% совпадений с древнеирландским. *Данные по среднеирландскому языку показывают восемь утрат за 400 лет начиная с древнеирландского периода*. В итоге, отмечает докладчик, анализ данных показал, что среднеирландский язык не является предком современного ирландского и шотландского языков. Более того, подсчет данных показал, что «литературная» норма древнеирландского языка, которую принято было связывать с монастырской традицией, на самом деле сложилась уже примерно в 250 г. н. э.

Максим Кудринский (Институт востоковедения РАН) представил доклад «К проблеме порядка слов в хеттских гетерографических написаниях». В хеттской клинописи наряду с фонетическими знаками использовались также гетерограммы — шумерские и аккадские слова. Принято считать, что они являлись лишь одним из средств записи соответствующих хеттских слов и не имели собственной языковой реальности. В последние годы гетерограммы начали рассматриваться хеттологами как предмет, достойный самостоятельного изучения. Интересным является наблюдение, что гетерограммы могли изменять обычный для хеттского языка порядок слов в клаузе. Известно, что в хетт-

ском предложении большинство клитик занимают ваккернагелевскую позицию (позицию после первого слова в клаузе). В частности, если предложение начинается с именной группы, ваккернагелевские клитики ставятся после первой составляющей этой группы. В хеттских именных группах нормальный порядок слов — «зависимое слово + вершина», а в шумерографических и аккадографических, наоборот, «вершина + зависимое». Если ваккернагелевские клитики разбивают хеттскую именную группу, они обычно ставятся после зависимого слова (ЗАВ=КЛИТ ВЕРШ), а при разбиении шумерографической или аккадографической именной группы они часто ставятся после вершины (ВЕРШ=КЛИТ ЗАВ). Подобное положение дел нельзя объяснить при помощи чисто графической метатезы в соответствующих гетерографических конструкциях, поэтому приходится предположить, что они либо читались по-шумерски/по-аккадски, либо, как минимум, произносились с шумерским / аккадским порядком слов.

Заключительным докладом первого дня чтений стал доклад Александры Евдокимовой (ИЯз РАН) «Проблема заимствований в византийских греческих граффити». В византийских греческих граффити, найденных на разных территориях и датированных разными периодами, встречаются, кроме формульных выражений, имен и диалектных слов, заимствования из разных языков. Чаще всего это происходит на территориях, где коренное население говорило на других языках, — в таких случаях заимствования указывают на распространенные слова и обороты, иногда такие, которые не всегда очевидным образом переводятся на греческий. В докладе на примере латинского языка показано, как подобное двуязычие могло быть реализовано в речи. *Латинское слово могло вводиться в текст в греческой орфографии или даже записываться латиницей*. В материалах автора есть также примеры комбинации греческого корня и латинских аффиксов. В общей сложности в византийских записях можно встретить примерно половину текстов на греческом и половину на латыни.

Второй день чтений открылся докладом Михаила Живлова (ИВКА РГГУ / ШАГИ РАНХиГС) «Неиндоевропейский субстрат в финно-волжских языках». Автор доклада предлагает выделить субстратный пласт лексики в финно-волжских языках (саамские, прибалтийско-финские, мордовские и марийские) на основании определенных критериев. Некоторые ученые возводят такие слова к прауральским (Хелимский, Айкио). Но в представленном докладе опровергается данная гипотеза. Осно-

ваниями служат следующие параметры. Во-первых, автор обращает внимание на фонотактику, а именно на инлаутные кластеры. В уральских языках существует запрет на тип кластеров «шумный + сонорный», также невозможен кластер «носовой + *s или *š» и трехконсонантные кластеры. Кроме того, отсутствуют геминированные сонорные. Во-вторых, в приведенных примерах наблюдаются нерегулярные фонетические соответствия между сравниваемыми языками (*kaswa-: фин. kasva- 'расти'; мокш., эрз. kas- 'расти'; луг. мар., горн. мар. kuška- 'расти'). Также приведено несколько примеров («осина», «звезда», «десять») неуральской этимологии, которые иллюстрируют вытеснение исконной лексики. Стоит упомянуть, что представленные слова включают в себя земледельческую и животноводческую лексику, а также наименования различных видов деревьев. Можно предположить, что заимствования происходят из несохранившегося субстратного языка, не принадлежавшего ни к уральской, ни к индоевропейской семье, но, возможно, родственного «палеосаамскому» языку, послужившему источником субстратных заимствований в саамских языках.

Следующей в утренней сессии выступила Анна Дыбо (ИЯз РАН / ИВКА РГГУ) с докладом на тему «Отражение гуттуральных в тюркизмах венгерского языка». В докладе продемонстрированы типы отражения тюркских заднеязычных согласных в венгерских словах тюркского происхождения в разных позициях. Заимствование в венгерский из тюркских языков шло в несколько этапов. Предполагается, что ранние заимствования случились при контактах венгров, булгаров и аланов еще до возникновения Великой Булгарии, т. е. примерно в V—VI вв. н. э. Позднее — примерно с VII в. н. э. — можно выделить заимствования в венгерский из дунайского булгарского. И, наконец, есть заимствования, датируемые после IX в. н. э., когда венгры осели непосредственно в Венгрии. Кроме того, предполагаются также ранние кыпчакские (куманско-печенежские) заимствования, заимствования ногайского типа послемонгольского периода, а также османско-турецкие заимствования. Выделяют слой раннетюркских заимствований в венгерский, где начальное *k в заднерядных словах отражается венгерским *h. Согласно венгерской этимологической традиции, такие слова относят к самым ранним заимствованиям из булгарского в венгерский, связывая особенность рефлексации с правенгерским развитием *k > *h в заднерядных словах. Однако это развитие определенно произошло еще до контактов с аланским языком, по-

скольку в заимствованиях из аланского *h и *k различаются уже независимо от рядности слов. Следовательно, такая рефлексация тюркизмов (заведомо заимствованных не раньше контактов венгров с аланами) не объясняется правенгерским переходом, а должна иметь источником особенность конкретного тюркского языка-источника. По версии докладчика, тюркизмы с начальным *h в венгерском не могут быть булгаризмами, а, скорее, относятся к кумано-печенежскому уровню заимствования.

Ольга Мазо (ИВКА РГГУ) и Илья Грунтов (ИЯз РАН) представили доклад на тему «Место олетского диалекта в монгольской семье языков по данным глоттохронологии». Олеты — это монгольская народность, проживающая, главным образом, на северо-западе Монголии, а олетский диалект традиционно относится к ойратской диалектной группе. Представленные материалы — результат работы полевой экспедиции. В монгольских языках лексика стословника делится на три группы по степени устойчивости. Большая часть сохраняется во всех монгольских языках, другая часть (шестнадцать слов) отличается лишь в одном-двух языках, и, наконец, двадцать слов представляют неустойчивую часть стословника, поскольку различаются в большинстве монгольских языков. Такая картина является стандартной для неглубокой по времени распада семьи языков. В ходе расчетов выяснилось, что олетский диалект внутри северно-монгольской группы языков оказывается ближе всего к халхасскому языку, с которым он имеет почти 97% совпадений, а не к калмыцкому (95%) или к синцзян-ойратскому (96%), как скорее бы ожидалось.

Алексей Касьян (ИЯз РАН / ШАГИ РАНХиГС) представил исследование «Филогения цезской языковой группы: лексикостатистика и грамматические инновации», выполненное совместно с Яковом Тестельцом (ИЛ РГГУ / ИЯз РАН). В докладе рассматривались цезские языки, представляющие хронологически неглубокую группу, входящую в состав нахско-дагестанской (восточнокавказской) языковой семьи. В дискуссиях о структуре цезской группы по-разному оценивается положение гинухского языка. Согласно всем критериям, группа делится на две ветви: восточную (бежтинский, гунзибский) и западную (собственно цезский, гинухский, хваршинский). Двухэтапный лексикостатистический анализ показывает, что цезский — ближайший родственник хваршинского, а бросающаяся в глаза лексическая близость цезского и гинухского объясняется контактно обусловленными гомопластичными процессами. Для исследования были составлены стодесятисловные списки по де-

вяти языкам и диалектам, которые в дальнейшем были обработаны с помощью лексикостатистических методов: метод ближайших соседей, UPGMA, метод Монте-Карло с цепями Маркова в рамках байесовского подхода, метод максимальной парсимонии. Также были привлечены этнографические свидетельства, согласно которым гинухский язык находится в тесном контакте с соседними языками. Первоначальная лексикостатистическая классификация позволила предположить, что цезский и гинухский составляют отдельную кладу, что, в принципе, подтверждается общими инновациями в морфологии (напр., причисление существительных женского рода к неодушевленному классу) и фонологии (напр., потеря назализации; смешение працезских плавных *r и *l). Однако после очистки лексических списков от случаев параллельного семантического развития все методы объединили цезский язык с хваршинским, а гинухский оказался отдельным таксоном. В ходе дальнейшего исследования не было найдено никаких общих черт цезского и гинухского, которые могли бы быть с уверенностью реконструированы на общий протоуровень. Эти два языка не представляют собой единой генетической общности, а схожие фонетические, грамматические и лексические черты обусловлены тесными межъязыковыми контактами и обычно должны объясняться как заимствования из цезского в гинухский.

Завершая утреннюю сессию, Олег Мудрак (ИЯз РАН / ИВКА РГГУ) выступил с докладом «К вопросу о рядах соответствий начальных носовых в восточнокавказских языках». Соответствия между сонантами в начальной позиции в восточнокавказских языках довольно нетривиальны, и это привело к выделению большого количества соответствий и в конце концов к постулированию значительного количества комплексных сущностей для правосточнокавказского языка. В кавказских языках существуют классы согласования. Мотивированные классы — *w (мужские человеческие имена), *j (женские человеческие имена). Они не завязаны на внешний вид основы. В части языков есть различия по немотивированным классам имен — *b, *d (или *r), реже *y. Иными словами, представлены «губной», «нейтральный» и «йотовый» классы. Эти классы имеют взаимосвязь с внешним видом основы. В работе, представленной докладчиком, была предпринята попытка семантически определить эти классы, но стало очевидно, что никакие семантические критерии к этому материалу не приложить. Удалось выявить следующие закономерности: в начале слова на шумный губной согласный

(*b или *p) или на носовой согласный, *b / носовой согласный в большинстве примеров переходит в *w. То же самое можно наблюдать и в примерах с начальным *r — доминирование нейтрального *b-класса. На материале лакского и арчинского языков было выявлено, что подобного рода переходы возможны только при определенном типе основ, и согласовательные ряды зависят от качества последнего гласного основы. Можно предположить наличие кластеров с ларингалом для правосточнокавказского уровня, заключил докладчик.

Дневную сессию открыл доклад Ольги Столбовой (Институт востоковедения РАН) «К структуре слова в чадских языках». В докладе рассматриваются последствия строгих ограничений, накладываемых на структуру слова в чадских языках. Такие ограничения способствовали нескольким процессам, которые можно было бы определить как борьбу между тенденцией присоединения аффиксов и стремлением сохранить двусложную структуру слова. Последнее привело к возникновению лабиализованных велярных и ларингалов, а также эмфатических звонких фонем (к примеру, структура wk_1C_2 или kwC_2 в семитских языках, но kwC_2 — в чадских: арабский *k̟wl* 'говорить' ~ чад. *kwal* 'разговаривать'). Было установлено, что фонемы *b* и *d* в чадских языках восходят к сочетаниям с ларингалом. Кроме того, присоединение именных префиксов при стремлении сохранить биконсонантную структуру дало толчок к фонетическим изменениям, которые выходят за рамки регулярных соответствий. При присоединении аффикса к двусложному имени происходит редукция гласного префикса или корня и ассимиляция одного из согласных корня в образовавшемся кластере (например, *ta-ruz-* 'вена' > болева *tezze*, *rwze*, кирфи *tažži*, гера *tiizi*). В докладе выдвигается гипотеза о том, что аналогичным образом могли трансформироваться и афразийские трехсогласные основы в чадских языках — *$C_1VC_2VC_3$ > $C_1VC_2C_3$ / $VC_1C_2VC_3$ > $C_1VC_3C_3$ / $VC_2C_2VC_3$ > C_1VC_3 / $(V)C_2VC_3$.

Галина Сим (ИЯз РАН) выступила с докладом «К реконструкции системы консонантизма в праэкоидном языке». Экоидные языки — группа близкородственных идиомов, распространенных на юго-востоке Нигерии и прилегающих территориях Камеруна. Генетическое отнесение их неоднозначно, но традиционно они помещаются в южнобантоидную ветвь бантоидных языков внутри семьи бенуэ-конго. Консонантные системы рассматриваемых в докладе идиомов в среднем насчитывают около 15—20 согласных звуков. Ряд изменений, характеризующих переход от праэкоидно-

го к современным идиомам, типологически частотен. Так, общей тенденцией является редукция конечных сегментов слова, в результате чего бантуским структурам *CVCV* соответствуют экоидные *CVC* и *CV*. В экоидных языках происходила спирантизация незаднеязычных смычных и палатализация заднеязычных с последующей спирантизацией аффрикат. Особенностью, не нашедшей пока полноценного объяснения, является расщепление рефлексов смычных по глухости/звонкости в языках экпарабонг и балеп. В докладе была высказана гипотеза о зависимости рефлексации от тоновой характеристики последующего гласного.

В докладе «К вопросу о лексическо-грамматических маркерах языкового родства: восточносуданское 'дерево' на восточносуданском дереве» Георгий Старостин (ИВКА РГГУ / ШАГИ РАНХиГС) представил исследование, в котором рассматривались параллели между реконструированными формами для понятия «дерево» в разных подгруппах восточно-суданской семьи языков. Восточносуданская семья делится на две ветви, северо- и юговосточную, разделение правосточносуданского глоттохронологически датируется VI—VII тыс. до н. э. Любопытной особенностью многих восточносуданских языков является наличие в их именных основах «застывшего» префиксального элемента **k*, который, по-видимому, на прауровне являлся продуктивной морфемой с неясным значением; регулярно обнаруживается он и в формах слово «дерево», например в правосточнонилотской основе **[k]=aye-* / **[k]=eye-* или в праюжнонилотском **kɛːt* «дерево», **kwɛːn* (собирательная форма) «деревья», «лес». Сопоставление нилотских данных с другими ветвями семьи (языки даджу, сурмийская группа, восточноджебельская группа) дает возможность вывести на глубокий прауровень парадигматическую оппозицию, где единственное число маркируется показателем **-t*, а множественное — показателем **-n*. В докладе подчеркивается, что столь яркие случаи реконструкции на правосточносуданском уровне парадигматической морфологии встречаются чрезвычайно редко, но даже один наглядный пример такого рода имеет огромную важность для доказательства исторической реальности восточносуданской гипотезы.

Сергей Кулланда (ИЛ РГГУ / ИВ РАН) выступил с докладом «Акцентуация в малайской и яванской эпиграфике», в котором обсуждались долготы гласных в раннесредневековой древнемалайской и древнеяванской эпиграфике. Докладчик предположил, что в древнемалайском долгота обозначала не качество звука, а ударение. Об этом свидетельствует переход долготы на следующий слог в суффигированных формах: др.-мал. *dātu* 'правитель' — *datūa* 'сан правителя' и т. п. (видимо, ударение не могло падать дальше второго слога от конца), а также то, что знаком долготы часто бывают помечены этимологически краткие слоги. В то же время в тех же надписях встречаются и слова без обозначения долготы, resp. ударения, в том числе и при добавлении энклитик и суффиксов: *winiña* 'их жены', *maṁhidupi* 'выращивать, вскармливать', и т. п. Можно предположить, что это фонологически безударные слова, подобные японским атонным (дзэнхэйным) формам. Тем самым древнемалайская акцентная система обнаруживает сходство с тагальской. Несколько иначе обстояло дело в древнеяванском, где долгота была фонологически значима, явно ощущалась носителями языка, и потому ее обозначение не могло использоваться для маркировки ударения на этимологически кратком гласном, как в древнемалайском. Однако если в результате словообразовательных процессов в словоформе появлялись два долгих гласных, обозначение долготы сохранялось только на втором из них: др. яв. *rāma* 'старейшина' — *karamān* 'совет старейшин' и т. п., из чего следует, что в древнеяванском долгота была в том числе и маркером ударения.

Евгения Коровина (ИВКА РГГУ) в докладе «„Начальные гласные" в языках майя» рассказала о словах, начинающихся со звука, который условно называется «гласным». Условно — потому что в изолированном произношении слово в языках майя не может начинаться на гласный. Представленная работа имела целью продемонстрировать возможность использования данных морфологии для реконструкции фонетической системы протомайя и отдельных ветвей этого языка. Основной словоизменительной категорией имени в этих языках является категория принадлежности. Почти во всех языках майя различаются как минимум два варианта показателей этой категории, и выбор показателя определяется тем, на какой звук начинается слово. Обычно выделяются показатели для слов на гортанную смычку (орфографически — слова на гласную) и для слов на другие согласные, однако есть и исключения. Так, в юкатекских языках (ица, мопан, юкатекский майя) существует значительный класс слов на гортанную смычку, которые присоединяют набор посессивных показателей, присущих словам на другие согласные. Набор этих слов в различных юкатекских языках сильно пересекается. Возможно, это связано с тем, что во многих таких словах реконструируется ве-

ляризованный гласный. Различие двух видов гортанных смычек (или слов на «гласную» и слов на гортанную смычку) могло произойти еще в праюкатекском языке. Подобное явление — использование «согласного» показателя в словах на ? — наблюдается и в других языках майя (в чонталь, чорти, иероглифическом майя, языках восточных майя и канхобальской группы). Однако там оно менее распространено и, видимо, появлялось в каждом из языков независимо. Интересен обратный процесс, присутствующий в чух и хакальтек, когда слова на «согласный» получают «гласный» показатель. В чух это слова на *h-* и *y-*, а в хакальтек часть слов на *h-*.

Юлия Норманская (ИЯз РАН) выступила с докладом «Реконструкция парадигматической акцентной системы в обско-угорском глаголе». По данным ранее опубликованного словаря, мансийское разноместное ударение присутствует только в системе глагола. По тем же материалам, в тавдинском (южном) мансийском диалекте для всех глаголов имеется форма третьего лица множ. ч. настоящего времени, где ударение может падать как на первый, так и на второй слог. Спорадически в словаре приводятся и другие глагольные формы, в

которых также часто присутствует ударение на втором слоге. Но в северных и восточных диалектах разноместное ударение ранее не было зафиксировано. В докладе рассматриваются системы ударения в глагольной парадигме обского (северного) и юкондинского (восточного) диалекта мансийского языка. Исследование основано на полевых данных двух экспедиций (2013 год, кондинский диалект). Удалось установить, что в обоих диалектах восстанавливаются три акцентных парадигмы: первая с ударением, фиксированным на корне; вторая с ударением, фиксированным на окончании и третья с разноместным ударением, где в единственном числе ударение падает на первый слог, в дуалисе в первом лице на первый слог, в форме дуалиса второго лица, а также во втором и третьем лице дуалиса — на второй слог. Полексемное сопоставление акцентных кривых глаголов с помощью программы PRAAT указывает на необходимость реконструкции четырех акцентных парадигм на прамансийском уровне, что подтверждается и сопоставлением мансийских данных с южнохантыйскими материалами, найденными в архиве М. А. Кастрена и точно совпадающими с современным низямским диалектом.