

## Appendix 1: Contradictory

Entries are arranged under Ehret's (1995) reconstructed consonants (Orel & Stolbova 1995 in parentheses where different), ordered by point of articulation, front-to-back, and within point of articulation in the order stop–fricative–affricate–nasal–approximant, voiceless–ejective–voiced. “Lateral” is treated as a place rather than a manner, and placed between dental and palatal. Abbreviations and references follow the main document.

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E42 *paḥ* ‘take into the mouth’ contra OS 1970 *peḥas* ‘wet, sprinkle’. Same Ar. *faḥs*, *f-ḥ-s* (E ‘take out of the hand with tongue or lips’, OS ‘wet, moisten’; not in Wehr 1979, Leslau 1987 has Sm ‘twist, rub’), dif. WCh (E Ng. *paad* ‘suck’ and *paatk* ‘lick’; OS Hs. *fe:sa* ‘spurt water from one’s mouth’, Ng., Hs. /p/:/f/ correspondence is OK, but Ng. /d/ and /t/ should correspond to Hs. /d/ and /t/, respectively and not /s/, Jungrauthmayr & Ibrizimow 1994: xxii).

E43 *paḥ*, *peḥ* ‘break off’ contra OS 1994 *poḥatʿ* ‘separate, split’. Same Eg (*phḏ*), dif. Sm (Ar. E *fḥd* ‘break’; OS *fḥḏ* ‘split’, neither in Wehr 1979, nor Leslau 1987) and dif. Cu (E PSC *paḥ* ‘break into pieces’, OS LEC Arbore *foḏ* ‘separate’, HEC Kambatta *faats* ‘cut maize’). Although the Cu contradiction involves different branches, the OS proposal relates Sm C3 to Cu C final, while E compares Sm C2 to Cu C final, and the proposals cannot be reconciled, since neither source allows an internal Cu correspondence of pharyngeal fricative to dental emphatic.

E48 *paṅ<sup>w</sup>* ‘clear away’ contra OS 1945 *panekʿ* ‘container’. Same Eg (*pnk*, E ‘to bail out (boat)’; OS ‘bucket’), dif. Sm (Ar. E *fann* ‘throw away, reject’, not in Wehr 1979; OS *fani:q-at* ‘big sack’ not in Wehr 1979; no likely Leslau 1987 for either). Different gloss given for Eg root. E’s ‘bail out’ denominal? i.e. ‘use a bucket’?

E50 *par* ‘separate’ contra OS 1984 *pirax* ‘sprout, flower’. Same Eg (*prḥ*, E ‘to open’, OS ‘flower (n)’), dif. Sm (E *\*p-r-ts*, which by E’s correspondences should yield Ar. *\*f-r-s* ‘kill’ or ‘horse’; OS *\*pira:x*, Ar. *farx* ‘sprout’—though normally ‘chick’). Also possibly contra OS 2014 *purVs* ‘cut’. Same Sm (OS *p-r-f*, with OS PSm *\*f* reflecting same internal Sm correspondence set as E PSm *\*ts*), dif. Ch (E Ng. *pārt* ‘undo, take apart’, OS ECh *purVs* ‘split’, Sok purse). Although Ch forms are from different languages and branches, the more plausible ECh (and CCh)

cognates to the Ng. form is included under a different entry, namely OS 2013 *pur* ‘untie’, e.g. ECh Lele *poor* ‘untie’, CCh Bachama *para* ‘untie’. But if the CCh and ECh forms of OS 2013 are cognate with E’s Ng. form, then E50 is possibly comp. with OS 2013 *pur* ‘untie’. OS propose no B or Sm cognates here. For Cu, they have HEC Som. *furayya*, Oromo *furra* ‘untie, disengage’. E has Cu PSC *pareh* ‘calabash shard’ and SC Iraqw *paratl* ‘to separate’. These proposed Cu words are technically comp. since different branches of Cu are involved, but problematic (IIP) because of semantics, rt.ext. and possibly sound correspondences (since E generally takes Cu /f/ back to AA /f/, rather than /p/).

E53 *pas’/tj/ts* ‘light up’ contra OS 2001 *puts* ‘burn’. Same Ch (CCh ‘roast’ E *\*ps*, OS *\*pVts*), dif. Eg (E *psi*, *fsi* ‘cook’; OS *wps* ‘burn’).

E54 *poof* ‘be worn out’ contra OS 820 *fosax* ‘be bad’. Same Sm (Ar. *fasx*, *f-s-x*), dif. Ch (E has WCh Ng. *pəs* ‘to be worn out’; OS have WCh *\*fwas* ‘bad’ exemplified by DB *fwaf*).

E55 *put* ‘step along’ contra OS 783 *fat* ‘move’. Same WCh (E *\*pəta* ‘go out’ OS *\*fat/fit* ‘go out’), dif. Sm (Ar. E *faty* ‘tread to pieces’, not in Wehr 1979; OS *f-w-t* ‘pass, go (of time)’—but Wehr 1979 ‘vanish’).

E57 *pax* ‘bend’ contra OS 1931 *paxud* ‘leg, thigh’. Same Sm (E PMSA *\*pxð* ‘thigh’; OS MSA Mehri *faxed*), dif. Eg (E *phr* ‘turn’; OS *hpd* ‘thigh’) dif. Cu (E PEC *\*bax* ‘bow’; OS LEC *baʔud* ‘hip’, Som. *baʔudo*).

E58 *pax* ‘scrape off’ contra OS 771 *faxat* ‘dig, pierce’. Same Sm (Ar. *faxt*, *f-x-t* ‘dig’) dif. Cu (E Alagwa *paxus* ‘peel’; OS Dhl. *faat* ‘dig’). Contradiction arises because E has 1–2 corr. OS have 1–3 corr.

E61 *paʔr* ‘dig up’ contra OS 1913 *paʔir* ‘mouse, rat’. Same Sm (Ar. *faʔr*), dif. WCh (E Ng. *paar* ‘make holes with planting hoe to drop seeds in’; OS Hs. *bera*: ‘mouse, rat’). Also IIP semantics, OS take the nominal sense of the Sm root as basic, E takes the verbal sense.

E64 *puʔ* ‘spill out’ contra OS 1993 *poʔ* ‘give birth’. Same Eg (*pʔpʔ* ‘give birth’) dif. Ch (E Ch *\*pə* ‘pour’; OS CCh *\*pway/pwaH* ‘give birth’). Also IIP semantics.

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?E1 *bu* ‘place’ contra OS 244 *bu* ‘place’. Same Eg (*bw*), dif. (?) Cu (E PCu *\*bu* ‘ground’; OS HEC *\*bay* ‘place’, e.g. Sidamo *bay*). Possibly comp., but it is not clear what actual Cu words underly E’s reconstruction.

- E5 *bah* ‘go secretly’ contra OS 327 *buhar* ‘shine’. Same Sm (Ar. *bahr*, *b-h-r*, E gloss ‘astonishment’, OS gloss ‘shine’) dif. WCh (E Ng. *baata* ‘lurking nearby, following secretly’; OS Tangale *ber* ‘shine’).
- E6 *baḥ* ‘strike with a blade or point’ contra OS 188 *baḥar/baḥir* ‘cut, tear’. Same Sm (Ar. *bahr*, *b-ḥ-r*) dif. WCh (E Ng. *va* ‘shoot’; OS Tangale *ber* ‘cut’). Ng. /v/,/b/ should correspond with Tangale /p/, Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow 1994: xx, dif. Cu (E PSC *\*baḥ* ‘kill’; OS Dhl. *biir* ‘cut grass, mow’). Contradiction thus arises because E has C2–Cfinal Sm–Cu correspondence, while OS have C3–Cfinal Sm–Cu correspondence.
- E7 *baaḥ* ‘voice’ contra OS 158 *baʔ/biʔ* ‘hole, pit’. Same Ch (E *\*ba* ‘mouth’; OS WCh *baʔ* ‘hole’, e.g. Tangale *ba*), dif. Cu (E PSC *\*baaḥ* ‘shout, cry, yell’; OS Rift *\*baʔ* ‘pit’, Iraqw *baʔi*), dif. Eg (E *bḥn* ‘to bark, bay’; OS *b3b3*, *b33*, *b3y.w* ‘hole’). Note that where Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow (1994) reconstruct a single PCh etymon *\*b-k* ‘hole, mouth’, OS reconstruct three etyma on the basis of the same data. The other two are OS 803 *finax* ‘opening’ and OS 817 *fo(?)* ‘mouth’. If E’s Ch *\*ba* includes the same range of data as Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow’s *\*b-k* then the latter two OS proposals are potentially comp., since neither includes Eg or Cu proposals; and E has only Eg and Cu besides Ch. But as E references Newman (1977) here it is unlikely that he intended to include the broader Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow set of proposed Ch cognates. Cf. also the contradiction at E65–OS46.
- E9 *booḥ* ‘to flow’ contra OS 199 *bakʔ* ‘pour’. Apparently same Cu (E *\*booḥ* ‘to spill, intr.’, OS Agaw *\*bakʔw* ‘flow’, Kwara *boyʔ*, *bov*), dif. Sm (E Ar. *bahr* ‘sea’, OS Ar. *b-q-q* ‘to rain’). But E9 technically comp. with OS 305 *boḥVr* ‘sea, lake’ (same Ar., OS have only Ch; E9 has only Cu), but difficult because dif. semantics and C2 vs. C3 problem.
- E12 *bokʔ* ‘leak, seep out’ contra OS 194 *bak* ‘squeeze, strike’. Same Sm (Ar. *bakk*, *b-k-k*; E gloss ‘vomit’, OS gloss ‘to tear’), dif. Cu (E *\*bokʔ* or *\*pokʔ* ‘mist, drizzle’, OS Afar *bak* ‘destroy’). Note Ar. *b-k-k* not in Wehr (1979). E’s Cu forms included under OS 199 *bakʔ* ‘pour’, which is thus also contra E12 since same Cu, dif. Sm (OS Ar. *b-q-q* vs. E *bakk*).
- E14 *bal* ‘move’ possibly contra OS 209 *balakʔ* ‘stone’. Same Sm root (*b-l-q*), but represented by dif. Ar. words (thus possibly not contra), dif. Ch E’s ‘move’ depends on root determiners and strange Ar.: *buluuq* ‘reach, come to’. Mistake for *balayʔ*? If so then proposed Cu *blk* cognate is no longer consistent with sound

correspondences. Also *balʔaz* (not in Wehr 1979), *balhas* (not in Wehr 1979), *balhas* (not in Wehr 1979). OS 209 give Ar. *balaq* with meaning ‘marble’ also not in Wehr (1979), with cognates in WCh, ECh. Both Ar. *balaq* ‘marble’ and Ar. *balaq* ‘go rapidly’ are in Leslau (1987: 96–97) with Ge’ez cognates, but unlikely that both homonyms go back to PAA, at least one is probably innovated at the (South?) Sm stage. Obviously OS’s proposed Ch cognates meaning ‘stone’ difficult to reconcile with E’s proposed Ch cognate meaning ‘pass by’.

E18 *bin/ban* ‘beget’ contra OS 288 *bin* ‘man, male relative’. Same Sm (PSm *\*bin*, Ar. *(i)bn* ‘son’), dif. Ch (E *\*ban* ‘father’; OS WCh *\*mV-bVn* ‘person’, Buli *mban*, CCh *bin* ‘brother’). It is possible that the Ch forms are related. But Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow (1994) derive the Buli and comparable WCh words for ‘person’ from a PCh root *\*b<sub>2</sub>-l-n*, with medial /l/, and nothing like “bin” is reconstructed by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow for ‘brother’. (Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow do not treat words for ‘father’.)

E19 *bin* ‘build’ contra, but possibly reconcilable with OS 261 *ben* ‘build’. Same Ch (E *\*bn* ‘build’, OS ECh *\*byani(H)*, Mubi *be:ni* ‘build’), dif. Sm (E *\*bnn* ‘build’; OS *\*bVn*, Ar. *b-n-y* ‘build’). OS reconstruct a PSm CvC- stem based on the diverse reflexes of the third “weak” radical in the individual Sm languages, but this diversity has arisen due to different analogic restructurings of this verb class in the various languages. On the other hand the source of E’s Sm geminate *\*bnn* is unclear and may simply be a mistake. Also contra OS 1723 *man/min* ‘house’. Same Cu (*\*min/man* ‘house’), dif. Ch (E *\*bn* ‘build’, *\*bən* ‘house’; OS WCh *\*man/min* ‘house’, CCh *\*min* ‘door’, ECh *man* ‘place’). Note that OS have what appear to be the reflexes of E’s Ch *\*bən* ‘house’ under a different entry: OS 264 *ben* ‘building’ (WCh *\*byaniH* ‘upper floor, hut’, CCh *binVH* ‘hut’, ECh *byaHin* ‘hut’), where they are connected with Eg *bnbn* ‘stela’. This Eg word E has under E 32 *baayn* ‘grindstone’, see below.

E20 *bar* ‘leak, seep, bleed’ contra OS 258 *bel* ‘blood’. Contradictory within Cu (Afar and Agaw). E reconstructs Proto-Agaw *\*ber* ‘blood’ and connects it with Afar *baraaraco* ‘sound of falling rain’ and words for ‘damp, moist, rain’ etc. with final /r/ in Eg, Sm, Om; OS take Bilin /bir/ ‘blood’ back to Proto-Agaw *\*bill* ‘blood’ and connect it with Afar *bil* ‘blood’ and other /l/ final words for ‘blood, vein’ etc. in Ch. Both proposals include both Ch and Cu words for ‘blood’. There is probably a good Cu–Ch cognate set here in spite of r~l alternation.

Jungrauthmayr & Ibrizimow (1994) reconstruct Ch forms with final r. But E's holding the sound correspondences constant while allowing broad semantic leeway has probably let in a lot of things that do not belong.

- E21 *ber* 'hold' contra OS 215 *bar* 'take'. Same Cu (E *\*ber* 'grasp', OS SA *\*bar* 'grasp'), dif. Ch (E has *\*br* 'give'—a well-attested Ch root based on Jungrauthmayr & Ibrizimow 1994; OS have CCh *\*mV-bwar* 'seize, grasp'). But Ch forms may be derivationally related.
- E22 *bir* 'to burn brightly' contra OS 223 *bar/bur* 'morning'. OS Som. *barii* 'morning'; E Som. *bir* 'glitter'. The contradiction arises here because both sources propose a connection between the different Som. words and a three-consonant root meaning 'shine, lightning' (E 23 *birk'/bark'* 'to flash'; OS 231 *barik'* 'shine, be bright' and 226 *barak'* 'lightning'). This latter is an agreeing set, supported in both sources by Eg, Sm, Cu, and Om. One of the Som. forms could then be related to this by consonant loss and semantic shift but not both. (Conclusion: OS 'morning' word probably not related.)
- E24 *bas'* 'start' contra OS 295 *bisVr* 'plant'. Same Sm (Ar. *basr*, *busr-at*) but with different basic meaning, (E 'first beginning, begin, commence'; OS 'sprout, shoot'), dif. Eg (E *bs* 'to introduce, install'; OS *iʔs3* 'plant').
- E32 *baayn* 'grindstone' contra OS 264 *ben* 'building'. Same Eg (*bɛbn* E gloss 'sacred stone', OS gloss 'stela'), dif. Ch (E *\*bana*, 'grinding stone', Ng. *vənyi*; OS WCh *\*byani(H)* 'upper floor, hut', Hs. *be:ne:*). See also E19.
- E34 *ba?* 'be ruined' contra OS160 *ba?as* 'be rotten, bad'. Same Sm (Ar. *baʔs*, *b-ʔ-s*), dif. Cu (E PEC *\*ba?* 'destroy'; OS LEC *\*ba?as* 'spoiled', Som. *baas*, HEC *\*buf* 'bad' Sidamo *bufa*).
- E36 *bu?* 'flow' contra OS 158 *ba?/bi?* 'hole, pit'. Apparently related Eg (E *b3b3t* 'inshore eddy', Coptic *bεbε* 'to bubble, well up'; OS *b3b3* 'hole'), dif. SC (E PSC *\*bu?* 'to pour'; OS Rift *\*ba?* 'pit', Iraqw *baʔi*). Also OS tentatively suggest that Rift *\*bu?* 'pour' should be grouped under OS 180 *baʔ* 'pour' with dif. Eg (*bʔhy-* 'pour') cognate, see comment on E39.
- E37 *baʔ* 'increase' contra OS 303 *boʔboʔ* 'pour, drink'. Same Sm, dif. glosses (E Ar. *baʔbaʔ* 'prime of youth'; OS Ar. *baʔbaʔ-t* 'gurgling sound of water'), dif. Eg (E *bʔh* 'abundance'; OS *bʔ bʔ* 'drink'). Ar. word not in Wehr (1979)—assumed semantics incompatible.
- E39 *baaʔ* 'to flow heavily, to defecate' contra OS 179 *baʔ* 'dirt, mud'. Same Cu (E PSC *\*baaʔ* 'defecate'; OS Rift *baʔ* 'mud', Dhl. *baaʔ* 'defecate', though connection

of Dhl. form suggested only tentatively), dif. Ch (E Ng. *ba* ‘excrete’; OS CCh *\*ba*, Tera *ba* ‘dirt’). E’s Cu–Ch comparison is attractive, but Ch data is erroneous. ‘Excrete’ in Ng. is *ba shau*, *ba* = ‘make’, *shau* = ‘faeces’ (Jungrauthmayr & Ibrizimow 1994: vol.I, p.61). Also contra OS 180 *baƒ* ‘pour’. Same Sm (Ar. *bff* glossed ‘rain’ in OS and E1989, not in Wehr 1979), dif. Ch (E’s erroneous Ng. *ba* ‘excrete’, actually ‘make’ contra E, WCh *\*baƒ* ‘pour’), and dif. Cu (E PSC *baaf* ‘defecate’; OS Rift *bu?* ‘pour’, see comment on E36 above). And contra OS 303 *bofbof* ‘pour, drink’; same Eg (*bƒ bƒ* OS ‘drink’; E ‘stream’), dif. Sm (E *bŕ* ‘drop dung’, OS *bff* ‘pour’, not in Wehr 1979) and Ch (OS ECh *\*bwaaH* ‘pour’).

#### f: 14

E65 *af* ‘mouth’ contra OS 46 *?ap* ‘mouth’. Same Cu, Om (E Cu *?af* ‘mouth’, SOm *ap* ‘mouth’; OS LEC, etc. *?af* ‘mouth’, Om *?af/?ap*) dif. Sm (E Sm *-p* ‘mouth’; OS Sm *?anp* ‘nose’). In OS 817 Sm ‘mouth’ is connected with a set of Ch words treated by E under E7.

E69 *fad* ‘pull out’ contra OS 790 *fed* ‘to tear’. Same Eg (E *fdi* ‘pluck’; OS *fdy* ‘pluck off’); dif. Cu (E PSC *\*fad* ‘go out’; E HEC *\*fed* ‘tear cloth’). Possibly comp. since different branches of Cu. involved, but semantics makes that unlikely.

E71 *foy* ‘spread apart (intrans.)’ contra OS 827 *fuyVr* ‘to open’. Same Sm (E *\*py* ‘to spread’ includes Ar. *fayr* ‘open the mouth’ Ehret 1989: 129; OS *\*pVyVr*, Ar. *fyr* ‘open wide’); dif. Cu (E PLEC *\*fog* ‘far’; OS LEC *fur* ‘open, free, untie’). E has C2–Cfinal, OS have C3–Cfinal in Sm–Cu correspondences.

E73 *fuy* ‘inhale’ contra OS 814 *fiwaq* ‘blow’. Same WCh (E *\*pk* ‘blow’; OS *\*fiqu* ‘blow’ represented in both cases by, e.g., Siri *fikuu*, Fyer *vivik*—since E refers to Jungrauthmayr & Shimizu 1981 for the Ch reconstruction, I take the forms from Jungrauthmayr & Ibrizimow 1994), dif. Sm (E Ar. *faym* ‘kiss one’s wife’, not in Wehr 1979 vs. OS Ar. *f-w-x* ‘blow’ also not in Wehr 1979, possibly mistake for *f-w-ħ?*).

E75 *faah* ‘blow (with the mouth)’ contra OS 813 *fiwaħ* ‘smell, blow’. Same Cu (E PSC *\*faah* ‘blow (with the mouth)’, OS Rift *\*faħ* ‘blow’); dif. Sm (E Ar. *fahh* ‘hiss’ vs. OS Ar. *f-w-ħ* ‘spread (of a smell)’; both OK).

E80 *fal* ‘accomplish’ contra OS 2022 *pVſal* ‘work, make’. Same Om (E Mocha *pall-* ‘to create’, OS Mocha *palli* ‘to create’), possibly same Cu (E PSC *\*fal* ‘do’; OS Dhl.

- fal* ‘do’); dif. Sm (E Jibbali *fɔlbk* ‘be clever’, OS PSm *\*p-ʕ-l* ‘make’). Another example of C2 vs. C3 matching; cf. E98, also contra OS 2022.
- E86 *foor* ‘to defeat’ contra OS 1950 *par* ‘cattle’. Same Eg, dif. gloss (*pry*, E ‘ferocious bull’, OS ‘bullfight’), dif. Sm (E MSA *farʔ* ‘brave’; OS Ar. *farr* ‘young bull’, this meaning not in Wehr 1979; mistake for *faraʔ* ‘wild ass’).
- ?E87 *f-s* ‘to take apart’ contra OS 2002 *puts* ‘tear into pieces’. Same Sm (E *\*ps* ‘move apart’; OS *\*pVs-ʔ*, Ar. *f-s-ʔ* ‘tear into pieces’, not in Wehr 1979), dif. Ch (E *\*faʕə* ‘break’; OS CCh *\*puts* ‘tear into pieces, pluck’, Mafa *puts*). There are a number of problems here, but there may not actually be a contradiction. OS’s Ar. is not in Wehr (1979). Nor is this specific root in Ehret (1989), although presumably Ehret could incorporate it in his biradical root, if it is valid. The Ch forms are close enough in form and sense that they could be related, but since both E and OS reconstruct /p/ and /f/ as distinct for PCh the forms as reconstructed can not be the same. The question is what actual Ch words E’s reconstruction includes.
- E88 *fat* ‘excrete’ contra OS 2003 *putf* ‘urine’. Same Ch (E *\*psʔr* ‘urine’ from Jungrathmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *putfʔi-ar* ‘urine’; both OS and Jungrathmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 include e.g. Hausa *fitsarii*), dif. Sm (E *\*pʔ* ‘excrete’, supported by three Ar. *faʔ* + rt.ext., none in Wehr 1979 with this meaning; OS *\*paθθ*, Ar. *fazz* ‘horse urine’, Wehr ‘crude’). Contradiction arises through different assumed sound correspondences.
- E89 *feet*/*foot* ‘separate’ contra OS 812 *fiʔaʔ* ‘destroy’. Same Sm (Ar. *faʔʔ* ‘break’, not in Wehr 1979), dif. Cu (E PEC *\*feet*/*\*foot* ‘separate’; OS LEC *fiʔ* ‘destroy’).
- E91 *fox*/*fox*<sup>w</sup> ‘hole’ contra OS 771 *faxat* ‘dig, pierce’. Same Sm (Ar. *faxt* ‘pierce’, OK) dif. Cu (E SC West Rift *\*fox* ‘hole, opening’; OS Dhl. *faaʔ* ‘dig’). Another case of C2 vs. C3 matching.
- E92 *fayt* ‘remove, take off’ contra OS 822 *fot* ‘wipe, scrape’. Same Eg (*ftt*, E ‘obliterate’, OS ‘erase’), dif. Sm (E *\*pʔh* ‘open’, also MSA *ftk* ‘come out, take out’; OS *\*pt*, MSA Jibbali *fett* ‘wipe oneself with small stones after excreting’), also dif. Ch (E Ng. *fət* ‘extract’ vs. OS WCh *\*fwat*, Angas *fwot* ‘scratch ground’), also dif. Om (E Ometo, Malo *pett* ‘sweep’; OS Om *\*fut*, Kafa *hut* ‘oil’). Also possibly contra OS 1989 *piʔah* ‘open’. Same Sm (*\*pʔh* ‘open’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *fət* ‘extract’; OS CCh *\*pVtVH* ‘open’). But since dif. Ch branches involved this could be comp., except for semantics. No *p-t-H* type root reconstructed by

Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow 1994 with this meaning, though eight Ch roots meaning ‘open’ are identified.

E96 *faʔ* ‘to smell’ contra OS1913 *paʔir* ‘mouse’. Same Sm (Ar. *faʔr* ‘mouse’, source of E’s gloss ‘musk’ unclear, possibly simple error) dif. Ch (E Ng. *faun* ‘to smell at, sniff at’; OS WCh *pyar*, Hs. *beraa* ‘rat’).

E98 *fiiʔ* ‘do, make’ contra OS 2022 *pVʔal* ‘work, make’. Same Sm (*\*pVʔal* ‘work, do, make’), dif. Cu (E Som. *fiiʔ* ‘good, of good quality’, OS LEC *\*pal*, Som. *fal* ‘make’), cf. E80.

### m: 9

E570 *-im-* ‘come’ contra OS 1746 *mat* ‘go, walk’. Apparently same Cu (E *\*-ʔim(t)* ‘come’; OS SA *\*mat-*, Saho *amat*, *emet*, Afar *-mat-* ‘come’), dif. Eg (E *my* ‘come’; OS *nmt* ‘march’), possibly same Ch (E *-mb-* ‘come’ based on Jungrathmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *\*mat* ‘come’), although Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow 1994 give different words for ‘come’ for the WCh languages treated by OS.

E579 *moodz* ‘become wet’ contra OS 1757 *meħas* ‘big snake, crocodile’. Same Eg (*mzħ* ‘crocodile’), dif. Cu (E EC Afar *mooyat* ‘waves’; OS LEC *\*mas* ‘snake’, HEC *\*hamas* ‘snake’), and dif. Ch (E WCh *mz(t)* ‘soil’; OS *\*myaHas*, Hs. *meesaa* ‘python’). Contradiction arises because of different semantic assumptions.

E580 *muy<sup>w</sup>* ‘hit’ contra OS 1802 *muqVʔ* ‘strike, pierce’. Same SC (E PSC *\*mux* ‘to fight’, OS Rift *\*muχ*, Iraqw *muχ* ‘fight’); dif. Eg (E *mxt* ‘whip’, OS *mx3* ‘pierce with a spear’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *mayθ* ‘beat lightly’; OS PSm *\*mVxVʔ* ‘beat, flog’). Contradiction arises because of different assumed velar/post velar correspondences.

E591 *mar* ‘bind’ contra OS 1730 *mar* ‘bind, roll up’. Same Eg (*mr* ‘bind’), dif. Cu (E *\*mar* ‘bind’; OS LEC *\*mar* ‘roll up, turn’, Rift *\*mar* ‘twist’). Though the forms of Cu reconstructions are the same and semantics are not incompatible, these are contradictory because E apparently groups the Cu ‘twist’ words under a different root *\*mar*, E 594 *mir*, see below.

E594 *mir* ‘take in fingers’ contra OS 1730 *mar* ‘bind, roll up’. Same Cu (see E591), dif. Ch (E Ng. *mərməs* ‘rub lightly’, *məřged* ‘wring out’, *məřtek* ‘twist’; OS WCh *\*mar*, Tangale *mari* ‘twist’), although if the first syllable of the Ng. words can be legitimately analyzed as an independent morpheme these are potentially compatible with the Tangale form.



E595 *mur* ‘flow’ contra OS 1774 ‘river’. Same Eg (*mr*, E ‘canal, artificial lake’, OS ‘channel, pond’), dif. Ch (E \**mrs* ‘to vomit’, see Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS CCh \**mir* ‘river, pool’). E’s Om entry (Ari *miri* ‘river, stream’) here seemingly comp. with OS’s Eg, Ch.

E599 *moots* ‘baby’ contra OS 1769 *mitf* ‘son child’. Same Eg (*ms*, Copt *mas*), dif. Sm (E *maθaanat* ‘womb’, not in Wehr 1979, ‘bladder’; OS Sm \**mVθ*, Ug. *mθ* ‘son’). But comp. if Sm excluded, since E has Cu, Om, and OS have Ch.

E601 *max*<sup>w</sup> ‘move water about’ contra OS 1726 *maq* ‘pour’. Same Sm (E \**mx* ‘produce water, fluid’; OS \**mvX* ‘pour’), dif. Eg (E *mx3* ‘boat’; OS *mħy* ‘pour’ < *mxy*).

E603 *maʔ/miʔ* ‘bend, fold’ contra OS 1752 *may* ‘go, come’. Same Ch (E \**ma* ‘return’; OS WCh \**may* ‘return’), dif. Eg (E *m3s* ‘kneel’; OS *nmy* ‘go’).

#### w: 6

E958 *waag* ‘lower face’ contra OS 2556 *wVgVm* ‘strike, grind’. Same Sm (E \**wgm/wgn* ‘face’; OS \**wVgVm* ‘strike with fist’; source of either meaning obscure; Wehr 1979 has ‘be silent’ for Ar. *w-j-m*), dif. Eg (E *wgi* ‘chew’, *wgyt* ‘jaw’; OS *wgm* ‘grind’).

E961 *waħ* ‘look’ contra OS 2512 *waħiʔ* ‘fish, catch’, and 2513 *waħiʔ* ‘loosen, uncover’. Same Eg with dif. glosses (E *wħʔ* ‘investigate’; OS *wħʔ* ‘fish’ in 2512 and ‘loosen’ 2513; unclear which meaning is basic), dif. WCh (E *w-* ‘see’; OS \**waHi* ‘fish, catch’ in 2512, and \**waH* ‘loosen, uncover’ in 2513).

E974 *war* ‘grow’ contra OS 2529 *war* ‘be big, strong’. Same Eg (*wr*, E ‘greatness of size’, OS ‘big, strength’), dif. Sm (E \**wr* includes Ar. *warf* ‘stretch’, *waram* ‘swelling’, *warq* ‘leaves’, Ehret 1989: 122; OS *wVrVy* represented by Ar. *wry* ‘be fat’, although since OS suggest an original biconsonantal root \**wr* here, could be comp. under biradical hypothesis), also dif. Ch (E CCh \**wr* ‘old’; OS WCh \**war* ‘strength, surpass’), and Cu (E SC Proto-Rift \**war* ‘mature young person’; OS Rift \**?ur*, Iraqw *ur* ‘big, large’). May be possible to reconcile some of these, though proposed cognate sets clearly reflect different semantic fields: age/maturity in the case of E, size/strength in the case of OS.

E975 *waar* ‘soak’ contra OS 2560 *wVrik* ‘be green’. Same Sm (E Ar. *warq* ‘dropping blood or pus’, not in Wehr 1979; OS Ar. *w-r-q* ‘be green’, usual meaning), dif. Eg (E *wryt* ‘cloth for straining liquids’, *wrħ* ‘annoint’; OS *w3d* ‘green color’).

E985 *wiz* ‘organ of chest’ contra OS 2496 *wad* ‘love, want’. Same Sm (Ar. *wadd* ‘love’), dif. Ch (E \**wādī* ‘breast milk’; OS CCh \**wad* ‘want’). Also contra OS 2539 *waḡan* ‘heart, intestines’. Same Cu, Om (E PEC \**wizn* ‘heart’, NOM Ometo *wizn* ‘heart’, indicated as loan from Cu; OS LEC \**wāzin*, HEC *wāzan* ‘heart’, Om *wāzen*, Ometo *wāzena* ‘heart’), dif. Ch (E \**wādī* ‘breast milk’; OS CCh \**wyanḡi*, Daba *wenḡi* ‘intestines’).

E989 *waf* ‘run, run out (fluid)’ contra OS 2502 *wafab* ‘wash’. Same Eg (*wfb* ‘pure, to bathe, cleanse, purify’; OS ‘wash’), dif. Ch (E \**wa* ‘give birth’; OS CCh *yaHab* ‘wash’). C2–C2 match vs. C3–C3 match). Also contra OS 2504 *wafar* ‘go, run’. Same Eg (E *wfr* ‘rush forth’; OS *wfr* ‘run away’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *wafy* ‘pus’; OS PSm *wVfVr* ‘walk’), and dif. Ch (E \**wa* ‘give birth’; OS CCh *wVraw* ‘return’), though not incompatible Cu (E PSC \**waf* ‘spill out, flow’; OS HEC *waHar* ‘come’).

#### t: 5

E160 *ta* ‘be hot’ contra OS 2344 *ta?/taw* ‘ash’. Same Eg (*t3* ‘be hot’; OS also *t3.w* ‘ash’), dif. Ch (E WCh *tyl* ‘sun’; OS WCh *taw-taw* ‘ash’).

E161 *tib/tiib* ‘rise, grow’ contra OS 2432 *tVb* ‘move upwards’. Same Eg (*tbtb*, E ‘hoist’; OS ‘pull up, raise’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *tabtab* ‘grow old’, not in Wehr 1979; OS Ak. *tebû* ‘rise’).

E167 *ta:k/tu:k* ‘stick, prick’ contra OS 2357 *tak* ‘fly, moth’. Same Cu (E PSC \**taanka?* ‘stinging fly’; OS Dhl. *θakkwa?e* ‘dung beetle’), dif. Eg (E *tk*s ‘pierce’; OS *tkk.t* ‘ichneumon fly’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *takk* ‘cut’, not in Wehr 1979; OS PSm \**takk* ‘moth’, not in Ar.). E allows the same Ar. verb \**tkk* (with two different meanings, the one here ‘pierce’ not in Wehr 1979) to participate in two dif. cognate sets, the other E *tek/tok* ‘tread’ agreeing with OS 2416.

E177 *taar* ‘cut into’ contra OS 2389 *ter* ‘weapon’. Same SC (E PSC *taar* ‘to spear, pierce with a weapon’; OS Dhl. *θaar* ‘pierce’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *tarr* ‘be cut off’; OS PSm \**tir*, Tigre *tir* ‘stick with a weapon’), dif. Ch (E ECh \**tr* ‘hollow out’; OS ECh \**tVr*, Kera *tər-tə* ‘knife’).

E178 *ter/tor* ‘earth’ contra OS 2386 *te?* ‘earth’. Same Eg (*t3* ‘earth’), dif. Cu (E \**ter* ‘dust’; OS LEC \**ta?-*, Oromo *taa?oo* ‘fertile soil’), dif. Ch (E WCh \**tr* ‘fields, bush’; OS CCh \**tya?/tyay* ‘sand’, ECh \**tyaw/tyay* ‘earth, clay’). There is no direct contradiction here since data from the same languages in Cu and Ch is not cited. The contradiction arises because E assumes Eg /3/ corresponds to

Cu, Ch /r/, while OS assume a correspondence of Eg /3/ to Cu, Ch glottal stop or glide, and neither source allows an internal Cu or Ch correspondence of /r/ to glottal stop/glide.

**d: 11**

E121 *dab* ‘have honey’ contra OS 691 *di(m)bur* ‘back’. Same Ar. (*dubr*, E ‘swarm of bees’, OS ‘back’; OS meaning the usual one, E’s not in Wehr 1979), dif. Ch (E Ng. *dabas* ‘thickness, viscosity’; OS CCh *\*di(m)bur* ‘buttocks’). OS also suggest connections with this and OS 731 *dub* ‘back, tail’ with Ch, Cu, Om cognates proposed.

E122 *doob* ‘stick up’ contra OS 730 *dub* ‘horn’. Same Eg (*db* ‘horn’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *dab* ‘erect’, *dabay* ‘become fat’; OS ECh *\*ba-dub*, Tum *ba-dubo* ‘horn’).

E123 *dats* ‘flow’ contra OS *dif* ‘sneeze’. Same Ar. (E PS *\*dθ* includes Ar. *daθθ* ‘slight rain’; OS *daθθ-at* ‘cold, catarrh’; root not in Wehr 1979), dif. Ch (E ECh *\*ds* ‘fish’; OS WCh *dif*, Sha *dəf* ‘sneeze’).

E124 *dVf* ‘leak, seep’ contra OS 615 *daf* ‘heat, sweat’. Apparently same Cu (E EC Som. *diif*, *duuf* ‘snot, nose mucus’; OS Bed. *duf*, Agaw *\*dif*, HEC *\*daff* ‘sweat’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *ndafak* ‘cold, stuffiness, phlegm’; OS Ng. *daafau* ‘sweat’).

E129 *dah* ‘move’ contra OS 738 *duham* ‘be dark’. Same Ar. (E *dahm* ‘come unexpectedly’; OS *duhm-* ‘black’, both OK), dif. Ch (E *\*d-* ‘go’; OS ECh *\*dVHam*, Kabalay *dama* ‘darkness’), dif. Cu (E *\*dah* ‘travel’; OS SA *\*dum* ‘be dark’). Problem only arises if we assume Ar. words are related, with one meaning basic; potentially no problem if two different, unrelated words with homonymous root. (OS also include another Ar. word with this root, *dahmaa* ‘pot’, not in Wehr 1979, at OS 623 *daham* ‘vessel’, with proposed Ch cognates meaning ‘bag, pot’ etc.)

E131 *deh* ‘lie flat’ contra OS 625 *daḥ* ‘fall’. Same Ar. (E PS *\*dḥ* including Ar. *daḥw* ‘lie with’; OS *d-ḥ-w* ‘push’; Wehr 1979 ‘spread out, flatten’), dif. Om (E NOm *\*de:s* ‘kill’; SOm *di*, *duu* ‘sit and rest’; OS *\*dih*, Mocha *dih(ye)* ‘fall’).

E145 *dap* ‘touch’ contra OS 753 *dip* ‘push’. Same Sm (E *\*dp* ‘touch, put the hands on’; OS *\*dVp* ‘push’; represented in both cases by e.g. Ar. *d-f-f* ‘push’), dif. Om (E NOm *\*dap/dip* ‘nail, claw’; OS Om *\*dup*, Kafa *dup* ‘throw’).

E 151 *dir* ‘step’ contra OS 719 ‘press, beat’. Same Sm (E *\*d-r-ts* ‘trample’; OS *\*dVrVs* ‘trample’), dif. Ch (E ECh *dr* ‘thigh’, Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *dirVtf* ‘press down’, CCh *dirats* ‘push’). Technically compatible since dif.

branches of Ch involved, but only if root extensions and broad semantic leeway are allowed.

E153 *daw* ‘walk’ contra OS 593 *da?* ‘move’. Same Ch (E WCh, CCh \**dw* ‘go’ based on Jungrauthmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *da?*/*di?* ‘go, come, follow’, CCh *da?*/*di?* ‘run, lead, migrate’), dif. Cu (E EC Som. *daw* ‘road’; OS HEC \**dV*, Sidamo *d-* ‘come’). Possibly agreeing at some deeper level?

E155 *dax* ‘cover up, conceal from view’ contra OS 675 *dexan* ‘smoke’. Same Sm (E \**daxan*, OS *dVxan* ‘be smoked’), dif. Ch, specifically CCh, Gudu (E \**d-k* ‘to darken’, \**dk* ‘black’ from Jungrauthmayr & Shimizu 1981, Jungrauthmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 give Gudu *cikcik* ‘black’ reflex of this root; OS \**dyaHVn*, Gudu *mi-deni* ‘smoke’). Contradiction arises from rt.ext. and different assumed Ch correspondences to Sm /x/.

E156 *duux* ‘close’ contra OS 739 *duk* ‘bury’. Same Om (E \**duuk*, Mocha *duuk-* ‘bury’; OS \**duk*, Mocha *duukki* ‘bury’), dif. Ch (E \**dk(l)* ‘close’; OS CCh \**dVk-*, Gisiga *dik* ‘bury’). Ch forms possibly related at a deeper level?

### s: 3

E213 *sak* ‘walk’ contra OS 2179 *saq* ‘leg’. Same Ch (E \**skr* ‘leg’; OS WCh \**saḳu*, Bokkos *saku-r* ‘leg’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *sakaḥ* ‘depart’; Wehr 1979 only verb ‘grope about’), OS Ar. *saaq* ‘leg’).

E217 *sil* ‘pull off’ contra OS 2274 *sol* ‘pull’. Same Sm (E \**sl* ‘draw out, pull off’; OS \**ful* ‘pull, draw’, Ar. *sll*), dif. Ch (E Ng. *səlt* ‘undress’; OS WCh \**sol* ‘pull’). Also contra OS 2184 *salaq* ‘to skin’. Same Sm (E \**sl* ‘draw out, pull off’ includes Ar. *slq*, *slx* < Ehret 1989: 172, no. 21; OS Ar. *s-l-x* ‘change skin (of serpents)’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *səlt* ‘undress’; OS ECh \**salak* ‘to skin’).

E231 *saraar/siraar* ‘muscle sinew’ contra OS 2298 *sur* ‘rope’. Same Sm (Ar. *surr* ‘umbilical cord’), dif. Cu (E EC PSom \**saraar* ‘muscles of back’; OS Werizoid \**sur*, Gaw *surre* ‘rope’).

### n: 8

E619 *nok* ‘to run out (water)’ contra OS 1873 *nik’ip* ‘bush’. Same Sm root with dif. meanings (E *naqf* ‘strain’; OS \**nik’ip* ‘bush’; but Wehr 1979 *naqf* ‘chick’ and Leslau 1987 ‘break off, peel, skin’), dif. Eg (E *nḳwt* ‘moisture’; OS *ndf.t* ‘tree’). Contradiction due to different Sm–Eg sound correspondences, rt.ext., and semantics.

- E620 *nuuk* ‘suck’ contra OS 1872 *nik*’/*nuk*’ ‘lick’. Same Eg (*snk* E ‘suckle’; OS ‘suck’), possibly same Cu (E *\*nuuk*’ ‘suck in’; OS Dhl. *nuuk*’ ‘suck beer through a straw’), but dif. Sm (E *\*nq* represented by Ar. *naqθ*, *naqh*, *naqt*, *naqy*, all glossed as ‘suck marrow out of a bone’, *naqʃ* ‘quench one’s thirst’, and *naqm* ‘eat greedily’—not in Wehr 1979, ‘to prune’, not in Wehr 1979, ‘pure’, OK, ‘take revenge’; OS *yVnvq* ‘lick’). Contradiction arises because OS allow C1 to be ignored as prefix while E allows C3 to be ignored as suffix.
- E626 *naʃ* ‘be soft’; this and following both contra OS 1908 *nVyVʃ* ‘turn’. Possibly same Eg (E *nʃi* ‘be mild’; OS *nʃy* ‘turn’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *naʃʃ* ‘be weak’, not in Wehr 1979; OS Ar. *n-y-ʃ* ‘turn’, not in Wehr 1979).
- E627 *naʃʃ/niiʃ* ‘to go, to come’ contra OS 1908 *nVyVʃ* ‘turn’. Possibly same Eg (E *nʃi* ‘to travel’; OS *nʃy* ‘turn’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *naʃʃ* ‘pace vigorously along’, Wehr 1979 ‘ewe’; OS Ar. *n-y-ʃ* ‘turn’). Possibly two different Eg words with same consonant skeletons are involved in E626 and E627, but neither can be reconciled with OS 1908, since E’s proposals require matching Sm C2 with Eg Cfinal, while OS’s proposal requires matching Sm C3 with Eg Cfinal.
- E637 *ɲaan* ‘boy’ contra OS 1842 ‘god’. Seemingly same Eg (*nn*, E ‘child’; OS ‘primeval god’), dif. WCh (E some WCh *nan* ‘brother’ < Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *nan* ‘god’). Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 only give *nan* ‘brother’ for one language, Fyer, and treat this as an isolate with no deeper Ch etymology; OS’s examples come mostly from a single group within WCh, namely Sura-Angas (Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow’s SG group).
- E641 *ɲiiwr* ‘flames’ contra OS 1906 *nVwur* ‘light’. Same Sm (E *nwr* ‘light’; OS *ni:r*/*nu:r* ‘light’), dif. Ch (E *\*ɲurɲ* ‘embers’, WCh *\*ɲrɲ* ‘ashes’; OS CCh *nVwur* ‘light’, Logone *nu:r* ‘light’). For E’s ‘ashes’ Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 have only one language (Kir, South Bauchi group), which has a word of this shape, *ɲurəɲ*, which they treat as an isolate with no deeper Ch etymology.
- E645 *ɲuuk* ‘rub’ contra OS 1871 *nik*’ ‘grind’; same WCh (E *nk*’ ‘grind’; OS *nik*’*u* ‘grind’), dif. Eg (E *nk*’*m* ‘bald’, *nk*’*ʃ* ‘scrape, polish’; OS *nɔ̄* ‘grind’). Also maybe contra OS 1873 (treated above under E 619), which has possibly same Sm, definitely dif. Eg.
- E650 *ɲaw* ‘be moist’ contra OS 1860 *ni* ‘water’. Same Eg (*nwy* ‘water’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *nawək*, *nawawin* ‘saliva’; OS CCh *\*ni*, Mesme *ni*: ‘water’). Note that the Ng. for ‘water’ is *am* and that Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 analyze this word (and not the word for ‘saliva’) as cognate with the CCh forms like *\*ni*.

**r: 6**

E926 *ra/raw* ‘continue, keep on’ contra OS 2103 *rawaḥ* ‘move, walk’. Same Ar. (*r-w-ḥ* ‘go’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *raakən* ‘walk’; OS Ng. *rəwə* ‘run’), and dif. Cu (E EC, Arbore *rot/root* ‘travel on foot’; OS LEC *\*ra(w)aḥ*, Rendille *raaḥ* ‘follow’). Cf. also OS 2124, OS 2125, which seem to include the Eg words of E 926, but with quite different glosses, and different proposed Ch cognates.

E931 *rd* ‘walk’ possibly contra OS 2083 *rad* ‘foot, trace’. Probably cognate Cu (E *\*-r-d* ‘to go on foot’, Agaw *\*dad* ‘road, path’; OS LEC *\*rad*, Som. *raad* ‘footprint’), dif. Eg (E *rdḥ* ‘advance’; OS *rd* ‘foot’). But possibly comp. with OS 2084 *rad/rid* ‘go, run’. Same Sm (E Ar. *rady* ‘go away’, among others; OS Sm *\*rVdVw/rVdVy* ‘go’, Ar. *r-d-y* ‘beat the ground in running’; but Wehr 1979 ‘perish’), and possibly comp. Cu (E *\*-r-d* ‘to go on foot’; OS LEC *\*rid*, Som. *ord* ‘run’). The problem here is that it is not clear which (if either) of the two LEC roots reconstructed by OS (*\*rad* or *\*rid*) would connect with E’s PCu root (*\*-r-d*). It is possible too, as OS in fact suggest, that the two LEC roots are derivationally related somehow. In this case there would be agreement with E 931 for Cu–Sm, though still a contradiction for Cu–Eg (and thus also Eg–Sm). The issue is further complicated by E 944 *\*raaz/riiz* ‘foot’ which appears to be a better match for OS 2083, and is treated as agreeing.

E932 *r-ḷ* ‘flow out’ contra OS 2082 *ratlaḥ* ‘pour, soak’. Same Ch (E Ng. *raḷ-* ‘become wet’, *reḷ-* ‘moisten’; OS WCh *\*rVtḷ-*, Ng. *rəḷu* ‘moisten’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *radḥb* ‘to stream violently’; OS Ar. *r-f-ḥ* ‘leak’). Contradiction arises because of different assumed correspondences in the lateral series.

E935 *\*rig/rag* ‘move’ contra OS 2113 *rigad* ‘foot, leg’. Same Cu (E *\*ragad/rigid* ‘foot’; OS Bed. *ragad* ‘foot, leg’, SA *\*rigid* ‘foot, leg’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *rəg* ‘migrate, move living quarters’; OS WCh *\*gVrVd* ‘leg’).

E938 *ruk* ‘bend’ contra OS 2133 *rukub* ‘knee’. Same Sm (*\*rukḥ*, based on Ar. *rukḥ-at*, although standard Sm reconstruction is *b-r-k*, with metathesis assumed in Ar., see *b-r-k* in Leslau 1987), dif. Ch (E WCh, CCh *\*rukḥn* ‘snake’; OS CCh *\*rukub* ‘thigh’).

E942 *raw/ray* ‘rise’ contra OS 2101 *raw* ‘sky’. Same Ch (E *\*rw* ‘sky’ < Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *\*rVw* ‘sky’), dif. Eg (E *ris*, *rs* ‘be awake’, *rwdw* ‘stairway’, *rwd* ‘flourish’; OS *rw* ‘sky’), also dif. Cu (E *\*r-w* ‘rise’, *\*r-w-m* ‘grow’; OS Rift *\*raw* ‘sky’). Also contra OS 2103: same Sm (Ar. *r-w-ḥ* glossed by E as

‘be wide, be spacious’ here, though the same root is also included under E 926 with different and more usual gloss), dif Ch and Cu. For OS proposals see comments under E 926.

#### ‡: 8

E862 *aaʔ* ‘burn’ contra OS 573 *tʔur* ‘make warm’. Same Eg (*ʔfr* ‘roast’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *ʔayy* ‘roast’; OS Ar. *ʔrr* ‘keep in the sun’). Also technically comp. but IIP on semantic grounds with OS 2341 *ʔVw* ‘light, lightning’: same Eg (*ʔw* ‘sunlight’); OS have CCh ‘lightning’, E has Sm and Cu words for ‘roast, burn’.

E863 *ʔe* ‘stand up’ contra OS 516 *tʔaʔ* ‘move upwards’. Same Ch (Ng. *ʔa* ‘stand up’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *ʔaul* ‘ascend’, *ʔauh* ‘rise higher’, but Wehr 1979 ‘be ugly’, etc.; OS Ar. *n-ʔ-ʔ* ‘rise, raise’), dif. but similar Eg (E *ʔw* ‘ascend’; OS *ʔwy* ‘raise’).

E864 *ʔab* ‘grow’ contra OS 2318 *ʔab* ‘plant’. Same Cu (E PSC *\*ʔab* ‘foliage, vegetation’; OS Iraqw *\*ʔab* ‘bush’), dif. Eg (E *ʔbn* ‘to mix’; OS *ʔ3b* ‘kind of plant’).

?E865 *ʔaf* ‘grow, live’ contra OS 540 *tʔap* ‘leaf’. Same Ch (E *ʔ2p* ‘leaf, grass’; OS WCh *\*tʔaHVp*, Miya *ʔepi* ‘leaf’, CCh *ʔapVH*, Lame *ʔapa* ‘leaf’), dif. Cu (E PSC *\*ʔaf* ‘grow’, *\*ʔafi* ‘health’; OS EC *\*ʔaf* ‘leaf’). Cu words possibly related?

E887 *ʔaʔ*, *ʔaaʔ* ‘grassy area, scrub’ contra OS 544 *tʔar/tʔaʔVr* ‘barley’. Same Sm (E *\*ʔʔr* ‘grass stalks’, WSm ‘barley’; OS *ʔaʔa:r/ʔaʔi:r* ‘barley’), dif. Eg (E *ʔ3* ‘field, meadow’; OS *ʔr.t* ‘barley’). E’s Eg connected with OS 542 *tʔar* ‘tree’.

E888 *ʔoʔ* ‘cattle’ contra OS 517 *tʔaʔ* ‘meat’. Same Sm (E *\*ʔʔ* ‘sheep’; OS *\*ʔa:ʔ* ‘sheep’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *ʔa* ‘cow’; OS *ʔuwai* ‘meat’), probably also dif. Cu (E *ʔow* ‘cow’; OS LEC *\*sow/soH* ‘meat’). E also includes an Eg word for ‘pig’. Meat and cattle are semantically related of course, so there may be some deep connection.

E889 *ʔ-ʔ-r* ‘hair’ contra OS 528 *tʔaʔar* ‘hair’. Same Sm (Ar. *ʔaʔar* ‘hair’), dif. Ch (E *\*ʔ2araw* ‘root’; OS WCh *\*tʔaHar*, Hs. *ʔa:ri* ‘hair on the chest of a ram’). E’s Ch etymon found under OS 551 *tʔer* ‘root’.

E891 *ʔaʔf* ‘to claw’ probably contra OS 519 *tʔaʔVp* ‘foot’. Probably same Sm (E *\*ʔʔp* ‘foot’; OS *\*ʔaʔp*, Ak. *ʔe:pu*, MSA Soqotri *ʔaf* ‘foot’; doubt arises because it is not clear what actual words E’s reconstruction includes, but since all the words included by OS here lack evidence for the exact quality of the medial consonant, /ʔ/ or /ʔ/, E’s reconstruction would also yield them), dif. Cu (E *\*ʔʔf* ‘to claw’; OS *\*ʔanp* ‘foot’, which are incompatible on basis of semantics and

sound correspondences, although here too it is not clear what actual words E includes).

#### **dl (dɫ): 4**

E839 *dlabʃ* ‘stretch out’ contra OS 434 *tsibVʃ* ‘finger’. Same Eg (*dbʃ* ‘finger’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *ḏabʃ* ‘arm, armpit’, normally ‘hyena’, so in Wehr 1979 and Leslau 1987, mistake for *ḏibnʃ*?; OS Ar. *ʃiʃbaʃ* ‘finger’). Contradiction arises from different sound correspondences. E’s Cu proposal here, including Afar *ḏabʃe* ‘armpit’, etc. is found under OS 2644 *ḏab* ‘breast’, with proposed WCh cognates only.

E854 *dlapʻ* ‘set on top of’ contra OS 2647 *ḏabiʔ* ‘clothes’. Same Eg (*dbʒ*, E ‘to clothe’, OS ‘kind of clothes’), dif. Ch (E *\*ɫb* ‘to close’; OS CCh *\*ḏabiH*, Bura *ḏabi* ‘loin cloth’). Contradiction due to incompatible semantics and sound correspondences.

E855 *dlair* ‘to harm’ contra OS 583 *tʻar* ‘enemy’. Same Sm (Ar. *ḏarr*, E ‘injure’, OS ‘enemy’), dif. Eg (E *drt* ‘harm’; OS *dʒdʒ* ‘enemy’).

E857 *dlay* ‘bite’ contra OS 2659 *ḏiʔ* ‘insect’. Same Eg (*dwt* ‘midge, kind of insect’), dif. Cu (E *\*dlay*, *\*dlaw* ‘bite’; OS Rift *\*ḏuʔ* ‘gnat’).

#### **l: 3**

E804 *la/li* ‘be moist, damp’ contra OS 1664 *len* ‘be soft’. Same Ar. (*l-y-n* ‘become soft’), dif. Eg (E *nt* ‘water’; OS *nny* ‘be tired, lazy’), dif. Ch (E *\*ly*, Ng. *layi* ‘cold’, WCh, CCh *\*lw* ‘rain, sky’; OS WCh *\*lyan*, Angas *len* ‘soft’). Cf. also OS 1650 *lam* ‘be soft’ (WCh and Agaw), OS 1653 *lap/lawap* ‘be wet’ (Eg and ECh), and OS 1659 *lay* ‘water, pour’ (which seems to include the Cu forms of E 804 with a different set of Ch words).

E819 *leeḥ* ‘come out’ contra OS 1641 *laḥakʻ* ‘clay’. Same Sm (Ar. *laḥaq*, with different glosses, E ‘reach, overtake, pursue’; OS ‘clay’, both OK, but core meaning of ‘adhere, stick’, hence sticky stuff—clay, mud—may be the link), dif. Cu (E *leeḥ* ‘come out’; OS Bed. *likʷ* ‘clay’). Contradiction arises from semantics and C2 vs. C3 match.

E826 *laas* ‘become weak’ contra OS *litf* ‘be weak’. Apparently same Cu (E *\*laas* ‘be soft, weak, limp’; OS Agaw *litf*, Xmr *lis* ‘be soft’, SA *lis-lis*, Saho *lislis* ‘soft’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *lasam* ‘grow silent’; OS Ar. *lθlθ*, ‘linger, tarry’). Contradiction arises from different sound correspondences (E: Cu /s/ = Sm /s/; OS: Cu /s/ = Sm /θ/) and rt.ext.



### tʃ' (c'): 3

?E555 *tʃ'il* 'darken' contra OS 503 *tʃ'al* 'shadow'. Same Sm (\**θll*, Ar. *ḏʕill* 'shadow'), dif. HEC (E \**tʃ'il* 'ember, charcoal', based on Oromo; OS \**tʃ'al*, Sidamo \**tʃ'aale* 'shade'), but possibly comp. since different languages are involved. E's Eg (*snkt*, *snkkw* 'darkness') incompatible because of sound correspondences and root extensions. OS also have Ch proposals. Cohen (1947: 352) has this Sm with Cu: Agaw: Bilin *tʃ'alal* 'shade', thus agreeing with OS.

E559 *tʃ'iin* 'observe' contra OS 505 *tʃ'amon* 'think, know'. Same Sm (Ar. *ḏʕnn* 'think'), dif. Ch (E CCh \**s'n* 'to hear', but only provisionally; OS WCh \**tʃ'amwan* 'think, remember', Hs. *ts'amma:ni*).

E567 *tʃ'eɸ* 'rise' contra (probably) OS 500 *tʃ'a?* 'bird' and OS 512 *tʃ'otVh* 'bird'. Same Ch (E \**s'(n)t* 'bird'; OS 500 ECh \**tʃ'atʃ'* 'kind of bird', OS 512 WCh *tʃ'wat* 'bird'—these both taken back to same root by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994), different Cu (E PEC \**tʃ'eɸ* 'rise'; OS 500 HEC \**ts'i?* 'bird', OS 512 HEC \**ts'i-ts'ut* 'bird'). Incompatibility arises from both different sound correspondences and different semantics. OS seem to be unnecessarily splitting.

### y: 4

E994 *yuf* 'swell' seemingly contra OS 2592 *yipaɸ* 'shine'. Possibly same Sm (E Ar. *yafaɸ* 'ascend, grow up', Wehr 1979 'reach adolescence'; OS Sm \**yVpVɸ*, Hb. *ypɸ* 'shine'), dif. Cu (E \**yuf* 'swell'; OS LEC \**[y]if*, Oromo *ifa* 'shine').

E1003 *-yaar* 'grow up, grow large' possibly contra OS 2581 *yara?*/*yaraw* 'reed' and 2580 *yar/yaraḥ* 'cereal'. E's CCh \**yr* 'grass' looks like a plausible cognate to either or both OS 2581 WCh \**yVraw*, Tangale *yiro* 'reed' and OS 2580 ECh \**yar*, Sokoro *yerε* 'corn'; yet E's proposed Eg cognates (*i3w* 'old man', *i3yt* 'old woman', *i3wi* 'to be aged') are clearly different from the Eg cognates proposed at either OS 2581 (*iʔy.t* 'corn') or OS 2580 (*i3rw* 'reed, rush').

E1002 *yam* 'sea' contra OS 2575 *yam* 'water, sea'. Same Sm (\**yam* 'sea'), dif. Ch (E Ng. *yam* 'submerge, go under water'; OS CCh \**yami* 'water'). Since different branches of Ch are involved these could be comp., but Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow (1994) take the CCh words treated at OS 2575 back to the same root as Ng. *am* 'water' (not Ng. *yam*), which is clearly a different word and treated as such in E 569, see comments thereon. If all of the Ch 'water' words go back to a single etymon, this can only be cognate with Sm 'sea' or 'water',

not both, since these are distinct etymons. OS explicitly reject E's proposed Eg cognate (*ym* 'sea') as a Sm loanword into Eg, cf. Cohen (1947: 494).

E1008 *-ya?* 'drip' contra OS 2584 *yaw* 'pour, flow'. Same Ch (Ng. *yau* 'leak, drip'), dif. Eg (E *i3dt* 'dew, pouring rain'; OS *i'wy* 'pour out').

## k: 5

E314 *kuuf/kaaf* 'wrap up, cover by wrapping' contra OS 1402 *kaʔup* 'close, shut'. Same Cu (E PSC *\*kuuf* 'close, shut'; OS Rift *\*kuf* 'close, shut'), dif. Eg (E *kf3* 'be discrete'; OS *sk3p* 'cover'), but possibly same Ch (E WCh *kp* 'bark of tree', OS *kVʔup* 'cover, thatch, wrap'). Also contra OS 1428 *kap* 'hand'. Same Sm (Ar. *kaff*, OS with normal gloss 'hand', E with obscure, not in Wehr 1979, gloss 'wrap up in bandages'), dif. Eg (E *kf3* 'be discrete'; OS *kp* 'cut-off hand'). But OS 1428 is partially agreeing and comp. with E 327 *kop* 'sole of foot'. Same Sm, Eg; E also has Cu, Ch, which OS do not have.

E321 *kam* 'hold' contra OS 1497 *kum* 'take, get'. Same SC (E PSC *\*kam* 'hold'; OS Rift *\*kom*, Iraqw *kom-* 'have'), dif. Ar. (E *kamz*, not in Wehr 1979, 'to roll into a ball', *kamf* 'to grasp', OK, *kamhal*, not in Wehr 1979, 'to gather'; OS *hkm* 'take'). The contradiction arises because OS ignore C1, as prefix, E ignores C3, as suffix.

E328 *kar* 'turn around, go around' contra OS *kor* 'be round'. Same Ar. (E's *karw*, *kary* 'make in the form of balls', OS *kur-at* 'ball', *k-r-w* 'give spherical shape to something'), apparently dif. Ch (E ECh *\*kr* 'dance'; OS WCh *kwarkwar* 'round'), and dif. Cu (E PSC *\*kar* 'to turn around'; OS Dhl. *kiir-ooð* 'make into a ball'). E's Ar. form with *-w/y* 'inchoative' is obviously a late denominal form II verb with *-w/y* default (like *sammaya* 'to name').

E329 *kur* 'dig out' contra OS 1483 *koraʔ* 'field'. Apparently same Ch (E *\*kr* 'fields'; OS *\*kwaHar*, Ng. *kori*, etc. 'farm'), dif. Eg (E *kʔp* 'scrape out'; OS *trʔ* 'field').

E336 *ka?* 'cover, enclose' contra OS 1402 *kaʔup* 'close, shut'. Same Eg (E *k3p* 'cover, hide'; OS *sk3p*, Demotic *kp* 'cover'—the status of Eg *s-* as a frozen prefix is uncontroversial), dif. SC (E PSC *\*kaʔa* 'shell, sheath' and *\*kaʔafu* 'doorway'; OS Rift *\*kuf* 'close, shut'), cf. E 314 above, also contra this OS entry.

## k': 12

E411 *k'ats* or *k'atf* 'to cut off' contra OS 1531 *k'atf'/kutf'* 'cut'. Same SC (E PSC *\*k'ats* 'circumcise'; OS Dhl. *k'ats* 'circumcise'), dif. Sm (E Ar. *qaθθ* 'cut down, pull

- out'; OS Ar. *qasʿsʿ* 'cut') and dif. Om (E Mocha *qatʿfo* 'half'; OS Om *\*qutʿ*, Maji *\*qutʿ* 'circumcise'). Contradiction arises from different sound correspondences. See also E 432, also contra OS 1531.
- E413 *kʿadɓ* 'cut' contra OS 1600 *kʿutʿ* 'cut, pierce'. Same Sm (E *\*kɗ* = *kʿɓ*, including Ar. *qadd* 'cut'; OS Ar. *q-ɗɗ* 'cut'), dif. Cu (E *kʿadɓ* 'split apart'; OS Rift *\*kutʿ*, Burunge *quutʿ* 'cut'). Also possibly contra OS 1601 *kʿud* 'cut, tear'. Possibly same Cu? (OS LEC *\*kʿod* 'divide'), dif. Sm (OS Ar. *q-d-d* 'cut, tear'). See also OS 1621 *kʿVtʿeb* 'cut': same Ar., possibly comp.
- E414 *kʿuudɓ* 'go out' also contra OS 1600 *kʿutʿ* 'cut, pierce'. Same Sm (Ar. *qadd* glossed here by E with the obscure, not in Wehr 1979, sense 'send horse men'), dif. WCh (E Ng. *gubɓ* 'wake up'; OS WCh *\*kʿV tʿ*, Jimbin *kəʿ* 'cut, split').
- E419 *kʿal* 'burn' contra OS 1584 *kʿol* 'be hot, burn'. Same Ar. (*qalw*, *q-l-w* 'roast'), dif. Ch (E *\*kʿ-n*, *\*kʿ-l* 'smoke'; OS CCh *\*kwal*, Bachama *kwul* 'hotness'). Also contra OS 1553. Same Eg (E *kr* 'to fire (pottery), glaze pots'), dif. Ch (E *\*kʿ-n*, *\*kʿ-l* 'smoke'; OS WCh *\*kʿar*, Karekare *karu* 'burn', CCh *\*kar*, Mandara *kara* 'fire').
- E420 *kʿum*, *kʿuum* 'grumble, sigh' contra OS 1545 *kʿamVh* 'floor'. Same Sm root (E MSA *kʿmh* 'be in despair'; OS *\*kʿamh* 'flour'; the latter sense is attested in all classical Sm languages, Leslau 1987, the MSA sense is purely local), dif. Cu (E PSC *kʿum*, *kʿuum* 'grumble'; OS HEC *\*kʿamay*, Bambala *kʿamay* 'flour').
- E423 *kʿar* 'to last, endure' contra OS 1554 *kʿar* 'be cold'. Same Ar. (E *qarr* 'stay permanently in a place'; OS *kʿarr* 'be cold'; both senses well attested in Ar., 'cold' also found in NW Sm, Leslau 1987), dif. WCh (E *\*dʿar* 'stand'; OS *\*kʿarar*, Hausa *karara*: 'cold'). See also OS 1568 'dwelling' and OS 1589 'house' for Ch meanings closer to sense of 'endure', though connected with dif. Sm roots, actually sg. and pl. variants of the same Sm root, *q-r-y*.
- E424 *kʿar* 'tip, peak, point' contra OS 1549 *kʿar* 'horn'. Same Sm (*kʿarn* 'horn') and Om (*\*kʿar*); but dif. Eg (E *krnt* 'phalli, foreskin'; OS *kr.ty* 'horns (dual)'). Also contra OS 1552 *kʿar* 'mountain'. Same LEC (E *\*kar* 'peak, top', OS *\*kar*, Som. *qar* 'mountain, summit'), dif. Sm (E *\*kʿarn* 'horn'; OS Ar. *qa:r-at* 'hill') and dif. Eg (E *krnt* 'phalli, foreskin'; OS *k33* 'hill').
- E425 *kʿeer/kʿoor* 'cut into' contra OS 1556 *kʿaraʃ* 'cut'. Same SC (E *\*kʿeer* 'cut meat'; OS Dhl. *kʿeer* 'cut'), dif. Sm (E *\*kʿr* 'cut'; OS *\*kʿVʃar*, Ar. *qʃr* 'cut'), and dif. Ch (E Ng. *gerid* 'cave, hollow in tree'; OS WCh *\*kʿar(aH)*, Hs. *kʿira*, Ng. *kara* 'cut'). Contradiction resulting from rt.ext.

- E432 *k'utl'* 'cut up' contra OS 1531 *k'atf/k'utf* 'cut'. Same Sm (Ar. *qs'sf* 'cut'), dif. SC (E PSC *\*k'utl* 'cut up'; OS Dhl. *k'ats* 'circumcise'), dif. Om (E Gongga *\*k'ut-* 'cut in two'; OS *\*k'uts?*, Maji *k'uts?* 'circumcise'). Contradiction arises because of different affricate correspondences. See also E 411, also contra OS 1531.
- E435 *k'oɸ* 'bend' contra OS 1622 *k'Vɸoħ* 'shoulder, arm'. Same Eg (E *ḵɸħ* 'be bent (arm, shoulder)'; OS *ḵɸħ* 'arm, shoulder'), dif. Cu (E Dullay *qoɸ-akko* 'finger'; OS Rift *\*kwaħ*, Iraqw *kwaħa* 'shoulder'). Not strictly contra since different Cu languages involved, but the Cu forms are unlikely to be cognate due to semantics and internal Cu sound correspondences.
- E436 *k'w* 'eat' possibly contra OS 1623 *k'Vk'* 'eat, bite'. Possibly same WCh (E Ng. *gagɸ* 'to chew off'; OS WCh *\*k'Vk'*, Kariya *kəki* 'eat'), dif. Eg (E *ḵw* 'loaf or cake'; OS *ḵḵ* 'eat'). Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow (1994: 24) analyze Kariya *kəki* 'bite' as cognate with Ng. *gaadə* 'bite' (not same, but possibly related to E's Ng. form?); reconstruct as PCh *\*k'-d*.
- ?E442 *k'wal* 'call' possibly contra OS 1541 *k'al/k'awal* 'speak'. An unusual case. Both sources have reconstructions which are remarkably similar in form and sense, but it is not clear whether the same supporting words are involved in any branch: Sm (E Ar. *qalzam* 'rebuke, blame', not in Wehr 1979; OS Ar. *q-w-l* 'say'), Cu (E *\*k'wal?* 'call out'; OS SA *\*k'al* 'say, think'), Ch (E *\*k'l* 'count'; OS ECh *\*kawal* 'cry, shout, speak, call'). Sm proposals clearly different, but Cu proposals possibly the same, and Ch proposals probably different. See also OS 1547 *k'an* 'say, shout', with Ch and Om proposed cognates.

### **g: 13**

- E262 *gab* 'great' contra OS 860 *gabar* 'male'. Same Sm (E *\*gb* includes Ar. *jabba:r* 'strong, powerful'; OS *\*gabr* 'man'), dif. Cu (E PSC *\*gab* 'stout, strong'; OS Dhl. *gaβar* 'male lion').
- E263 *gab* 'top' seemingly contra OS 992 *gūbaɸ* 'mountain'. Seemingly same Cu (E PSC *\*gab* 'above, up, on'; OS LEC *\*gubb* 'summit'), dif. Sm (E *\*gabl* 'mountain'; OS *\*gabɸ* 'hill, height').
- E264 *gub/gab* 'trunk' contra OS 996 *gVbVl* 'edge'. Same Sm root with different basic sense assumed (E Ar. *jibaal* 'body', not in Wehr 1979; OS *g-b-l* 'edge'), dif. Eg (E *gbw* 'stick'; OS *gb3* 'side of a room'), WCh (E Ng. *guvu* 'stem of a plant'; OS Dera *galba* 'edge'). OS 996 also IIP with E262 and E263, which also include Sm *\*gbl* but with no 'edge' meaning. OS also include this Eg at OS 850 *gaʔab* 'dwelling'

with a different gloss and a different proposed Ch cognate (internal inconsistency).

- E265 *gad* ‘be big’ contra OS 867 *gad* ‘be old’ same Sm (E Ar. *jadd* ‘be great’; OS Ar. *g-d-d* ‘be considerable, be respectable’), dif. Ch (E \**g-d* ‘many’; OS ECh \**gad-*, Ngamo *gade* ‘old’), but Cu is possibly the same (E \**gad/gud*, PSC \**agad* ‘man, adult male’; OS \**gad*, Burunge *gad-uwa* ‘old man’).
- E266 *gad* ‘lower, put down’ contra OS 871 *gadel* ‘fertile soil’. Same Ar. root (E *jadl* ‘to throw down’; OS *gadi:l* ‘land, beach’, neither meaning in Wehr 1979), dif. Ch (E \**gad* ‘fall’; OS ECh *gVdya:l* ‘(clay) earth’). Also contra OS 920 *gidol* ‘be big’. Same Sm (OS \**gVdVl*, Ar. *g-d-l*, *ga:dil* ‘big, strong’), dif. Ch (OS CCh \**digwal* ‘big’).
- E267 *gaad* ‘stay’ contra OS 973 *gud* ‘house’. Same Ch (E WCh, CCh *gd-* ‘house’; OS CCh \**gud-* ‘house’), dif. Cu (E \**gaad* ‘stay’; OS LEC \**god* ‘hut’, HEC \**god* ‘place, cattle pen’, Werizoid *kot* ‘house’).
- E273 *guf* ‘bend’ contra OS 983 *gup/gump* ‘knee’. Same Ch (E \**gəfu* ‘knee’; OS ECh \**gupi*, Jegu *gifo*, Mubi *gip* ‘knee’), dif. Cu (E ECh Oromo *guguf* ‘stoop, bend over’; OS Bed. *gumba* ‘knee’), dif. Om (E Mocha *gu:p-* ‘turn over’; OS \**gumb-*, Nao *gum-ta* ‘knee’). Also possibly contra OS 993 *gül/gül-ib* ‘knee’, which also connects various Ch and Cu words for ‘knee’. It is not clear exactly what E’s Ch ‘knee’ reconstruction includes, but Jungrraithmayr & Ibrizimow (1994) unite the Ch words in OS 983 and OS 993 under a single reconstruction *g-r-p*. E seems to have this at E 302, see below.
- E 279 *gam/gum* ‘break off, tear off’ contra OS 981 *gum* ‘cut’. Same CCh (E \**gm* ‘to carve wood’; OS \**gum*, Matakam *gum* ‘carve’), dif. Cu (E \**gam/gum* ‘break to pieces’; OS Rift \**goʔim*, Iraqw *goʔim* ‘carve’).
- E 282 *guup* ‘soak, drench, of rain’ contra OS 970 *gub* ‘hole, well’. Same Sm (Ar. *jubb* ‘well’), dif Ch (E Ng. *gub* ‘to soak’; OS ECh \**gub*, Somrai *gubu* ‘hole’).
- E 285 *gir* ‘sit’ contra OS 985 *gur* ‘pull’. Same Ar. (E *jarr* ‘foot of mountain’; OS *g-r-r* ‘pull’), dif. CCh (E \**gr* ‘stand’; OS \**gur*, Mofu *-gur-* ‘pull’).
- E286 *gus* ‘drive away’ contra OS 902 *gas/gus* ‘move’ and OS 997 *gVsVy* ‘go, move’. E links Eg *gsi* ‘run’ with Cu *guf* ‘drive out’. But OS have this Cu word at 902 with WCh \**gusya* ‘move’ and the Eg word at 997 with Sm \**gi:f* ‘go’.
- E294 *g<sup>w</sup>ab* ‘to not do’ contra OS 861 *gabVh* ‘be weak’. Same Eg (*gby* ‘be weak’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *jabʔ* ‘desist, detest, abhor’, not in Wehr 1979, *jabh* ‘see water without being able to reach it’, Wehr 1979 ‘to face, confront’; OS \**gVbVh* ‘be weak,

soften'), dif. Cu (E \**g<sup>w</sup>ab* 'stop (intrans.)'; OS LEC \**ga-gab*, Oromo *gaggaba* 'be exhausted'). Also IIP with OS 858 \**gab* 'front'. Both have Ar. *jabh* (with normal gloss 'forehead, front, brow' in OS). OS relate this to WCh words for 'physical front of a person, breast, chest', while E connects Eg, Cu, and Om words for 'be weak', 'stop', 'be satisfied', respectively.

E295 *g<sup>w</sup>ad/g<sup>w</sup>id* 'cut' contra OS 868 *gad* 'cut, split'. Same Sm (E *jadd* 'cut, prune'; OS \**g-d-d* 'cut off'), dif. Ch (E \**g<sup>w</sup>ad/g<sup>w</sup>dm* 'spear'; OS ECh \**gad*, Tum *ga:d* 'split'). Also contra OS 872. Same Sm (Ar. *gdm* 'cut off'), dif. Cu (E ECh Som. *gud* 'circumcise'; OS LEC \**gudum*, Som. *guddum* 'axe'). Note too that for Som. 'circumcise' Farah & Heck (1993) have *gudid*, and for 'axe' *guddin*. In fact OS give *gudin*, final /n/ rather than /m/, as the Som. word for 'axe' at OS 976. Also contra OS 940. Same Sm (Ar. *gdʕ* 'mutilate'), dif. Cu (E Som. already noted; OS Agaw \**gwad* 'injure'). In short three of the four Sm three-C roots included under E's biconsonantal root here are taken up by OS but connected with different Cu or Ch words than those proposed by E.

E302 *g<sup>w</sup>ar* 'turn (intr)' contra OS 993 *gül/gül-ib* 'knee'. Same Ch (E \**g<sup>w</sup>rp/grf* 'knee, kneel'; OS CCh \**gVl-*, *gəl-aw* 'thigh', Musgum *gurfa* 'knee', although the connection of this last word, which is the source of the contradiction, is made only tentatively), dif. Cu (E *g<sup>w</sup>ar* 'turn (intr.)'; OS Agaw \**gwillib*, SA \**gulub*, LEC \**gilib*, HEC \**gilub*, Werizoid \**kilVp* 'knee'), and dif. Om (E *gart* 'to roll (intr.)'; OS \**gu(l)lVb* 'knee'). Also possibly contra OS 983, see E 301 above. The problem is that there are several Ch words meaning 'knee' that start with *g-*, followed by either a liquid or a labial, or both. Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow (1994) unite these under a single root \**grp* (which they further connect with Cu *g<sup>w</sup>AlAb*, citing Dolgopolsky 1973). E and OS both split these into two different roots but in different ways, and OS further include some Ch words meaning 'thigh'. In any case a contradiction arises because OS link both sets of Ch words with Cu and Om words meaning 'knee', while E links both of his Ch sets with Cu and Om verbal roots meaning 'turn, bend', etc.

## h: 7

E742 *hed* 'become fat, grow' contra OS 1215 *hadur* 'go down'. Same Sm root, different basic semantics assumed, both in Wehr (1979): (E Ar. *hadr* 'to swell and get hard'; OS Ar. *h-d-r* 'go down'), dif. Ch (W ECh \**hd* 'leaf'; OS WCh \**dwar*

‘descend’). In addition to semantic differences, contradiction arises from ignoring C3 (E) or C1 (OS).

E747 *ham* ‘strip away’ contra OS 1298 *hVmVr* ‘be red’. Same Sm (E *\*hm* ‘remove’ includes Ar. *hamr* with gloss ‘scrape off skin’; OS *\*hVmVr*, Ar. *h-m-r* ‘red’; E’s sense obviously secondary, ‘red’ sense attested across Sm, Leslau 1987), dif. Eg (E *hmm* ‘surgeon’s knife’, *hms* ‘castrate’; OS *im3w* ‘red color’, which is however incompatible with their own proposed Eg–Sm sound correspondences).

E748 *ham* ‘spoil, be sour’ contra OS 1296 *hVmatʔ* ‘be sour’. Same Sm (Ar. *hamḡʃ*, *h-m-ḡʃ* ‘be sour’), dif. Eg (E *hm3t* ‘salt’; OS *hmd* ‘vinegar’), although OS derive both Eg ‘salt’ and ‘vinegar’ from a proposed Afas root *\*ham* ‘salt’ (OS 1231).

E752 *hon* ‘stick up’ contra OS 1262 *henin* ‘penis, testicles’. Same Eg (E *hnn* ‘phallus, penis’), dif. Cu (E SCu Dhl. *honto* ‘crown of head’; OS LEC *henin*, Som. *heeniin* ‘testicles’). But weakly comp. with OS 1233 *han* ‘tumor’. Same Eg (*hnhn.t* ‘swelling, tumor’); OS have ECh *\*ʔan* ‘tumor’; E has only the Cu form already noted.

E753 *huun* ‘bite into’ partially contra and partially agreeing with OS 1234 *hankar* ‘throat’. Same Sm (E *\*hn* ‘bite into’ includes Ar. *hanjar* ‘throat’; OS Ar. *hangar-at* ‘larynx’), dif. Cu (E PSC *\*huntʔ* ‘chew’, PEC *hiintʔ* ‘chew’, PLEC *hantʔuf* ‘saliva’; OS Bed. *hankar* ‘throat’, SA *ʔank’ar*, Saho *ank’ar* ‘throat’). But also probably same Cu (E *\*hank* ‘palate’; OS Dhl. *hank’ara* ‘hard palate’).

E761 *h-y/h-w* ‘travel’ contra OS 1250 *haw/haway* ‘return, go’. Same Eg (E *hwi* ‘tread, roam’; OS *hwy* ‘go’), dif. SCu (E SC Proto-Rift *\*huyu(ma)* ‘journey’; OS Rift *\*xaw*, Iraqw *xaw*, etc. ‘come’). Also contra OS 1255. Same Ar., dif. basic semantics (*hawl*, E ‘approach’, not in Wehr 1979, OS ‘year’); OS connect with Ch ‘year’, E with Eg, Cu ‘travel’.

E766 *hef* ‘be weak’ contra OS 1218 *haʃ* ‘child’. Same Eg (E *hʃ3w* ‘children’; OS *hʃ3* ‘child, boy’, -w is plural suffix); dif. SC (E PSC *\*heeʃ* ‘weak’; OS Rift *\*haʔ*, *haw*, Alagwa *haʔay* ‘children’).

## ʕ: 9

E674 *ʕag* ‘take a mouthful’ contra OS 1052 *ʕagom* ‘tree’. Same Ar. with fundamentally dif. basic meaning (E Ar. *ʕajm* ‘chew’, not in Wehr 1979; OS Ar. *ʕajmat* ‘palm tree’ also not in Wehr 1979), dif. Cu (E *\*ʕag* ‘to take a swallow’; OS LEC *\*ʕagam* Oromo *agam-sa* ‘a kind of bush’).

- E681 *ʕil* ‘move to and fro’ contra OS 1063 *ʕalal* ‘drink, chew’. Same Ar. with dif. basic meaning, neither in Wehr (1979): *ʕll* E ‘repeat’, OS ‘drink for second time’, Wehr ‘be ill’), dif. Cu Som. (E *ʕillaal* ‘impede’; OS *ʕalaal* ‘chew’, neither in Farah & Heck 1993).
- E682 *ʕaam* ‘raise, tip’ contra OS 1122 *ʕumʕam* ‘animal’. Same Sm root *ʕmʕm* (E Ar. *ʕamʕam* ‘to enlarge’, not in Wehr 1979; OS Ak. *umaamu* < \**ʕumʕam?* ‘animals’), dif. Eg (E *ʕmm* ‘brain’; OS *ʕmʕm.w* ‘animal’).
- E686 *ʕa(a)n* ‘come into view, appear’ contra OS 1139 *ʕVn* ‘turn’. Same Ar., dif. gloss (E *ʕann* ‘present itself to view’; OS *ʕ-n-n* ‘displace’; E in Wehr 1979, OS not in Wehr), dif. Eg (E *ʕndw* ‘dawn’; OS *ʕn* ‘turn’). Also IIP with OS 1141 *ʕandʕaw* ‘day, sunshine’: OS have E’s Eg ‘dawn’ here with Ch \**nVʕaH* ‘day’; for E C3 and C4 of Eg form ignored, for OS C1 of Eg form ignored.
- E687 *ʕaan* ‘to seep (of bodily fluids)’ contra OS 1072 *ʕanon* ‘breast, chest’. Same WCh (E Ng. *anyi*, OS Hs. *no:no* ‘breast’; Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994: 46 identify these as cognate), dif. Cu (E PLEC \**ʕaan* ‘milk’ and PEC \**ʕandiu:f* ‘saliva’; OS HEC \**?anon*, Sidamo *ununa* ‘breast’).
- E688 *ʕon* ‘swallow’ contra OS 1092 *ʕenʕen* ‘monkey’. Same Eg with dif. gloss (*ʕnʕn*, E ‘chin’, OS ‘baboon’), dif. Ch (E \**ʕun/ʕon* ‘swallow’; WCh \**ʕyamyan* ‘monkey’).
- E695 *ʕir* ‘to be raised (sky)’ contra OS 1125 *ʕurag* ‘be lame’ and OS 1113 *ʕoreb* ‘mix’. E’s Sm 2C root \**ʕr* ‘to be raised’ includes several 3C roots which OS connect with different WCh forms. At OS 1113, same Sm (E \**ʕarb* ‘to swell and superate’, not in Wehr 1979; OS 1113 \**ʕVrVb* ‘mix’ based on Hb.), dif. WCh (E \**-rm* ‘mountain’; OS \**ryab*, Fyer *rep* ‘mix’). At OS 1125 same Sm root (E Ar. *ʕarj* ‘mount’; OS Ar. *ʕ-r-g* ‘be lame’; actually two different senses distinguished by different vowels, so possibly not contra), dif. WCh (E \**-rm* ‘mountain’; OS 1125 \**ʕurVg*, Hs. *gurgu* ‘lame person’).
- E 704 *ʕats* ‘to ask, beg for’ contra OS 1034 *ʕatʕatʕ* ‘insect’. Same Sm root (E Ar. *ʕaθθ* ‘importune’, not in Wehr 1979; OS \**ʕaθθ* ‘moth’, based on Ak., Hb., Aram., Ar., Wehr 1979 also has *ʕuθθ* ‘moths (coll.)’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *asasa* ‘let’s hear it’; OS WCh \**ʕutʕatʕ*, DB *?uʕaʕ* ‘ant’). Leslau (1987) also has “moth-worm”, no indication of E’s sense.
- E708 *ʕaʕ* ‘cry’ maybe contra OS 1104 *ʕiw/ʕiy* ‘cry’. Possibly same Cu (E PSC \**ʕaʕ* or \**ʕa?* ‘cry’; OS LEC \**ʕiy*, Som. *ʕiyy* ‘cry’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *ʕaʕiha-t* ‘clamor’; OS Ar. *ʕ-w-y* ‘shout’).



## ʔ: 2

E717 *ʔaak<sup>w</sup>* ‘burn, fire’ contra OS 1055 *ʔak* ‘be hot, fire’. Same Ch (E *\*ak<sup>w</sup>a*, *\*aku*, Ng. *aka* ‘fire’; OS WCh *\*ʔakwa*, Ng. *aka* ‘fire’), dif. Sm (E *ʔkk* ‘be very hot’; OS *ʔ-k-k* ‘be hot’, Wehr 1979 ‘be sultry, muggy’; E’s root with initial glottal stop not in Wehr 1979, could be simple mistake for *ʔ-k-k*?). Also contra OS 2507 *\*wahig*/*\*yahig* ‘burn’. Apparently same Cu (E Arbore *ʔeeg* ‘fire’, *ʔoog* ‘burn’; OS Rift *\*yog*, Asa *yogo* ‘fire’), dif. Ar. (E *ʔkk*, see above; OS *\*wVhig*/*yVhig*, Ar. *w-h-g*, *y-h-g* ‘burn’), dif. Ch (E *\*ak<sup>w</sup>a*, *\*aku*, see above; OS ECh *\*Hig* < *\*wVHig*, Migama *ʔiggo*, Bidiya *ʔegey* ‘burn’).

E720 *ʔil/ʔal* ‘to see, eye’ contra OS 112 *ʔir* ‘eye’. Same Eg (*ir.t* ‘eye’), dif. Ch (E *\*ʔal* ‘see’, based on Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981, but ‘see’ words similar to this in Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994 (WCh Dera *ʔal*, ECh Migama *ʔello*) are reconstructed to a root *\*wl-*; OS WCh, CCh, and ECh *\*ʔir* ‘eye’, but the ‘eye’ words included here are reconstructed by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994 to a root *\*ydn*, clearly distinct from the ‘see’ root (WCh Dera *yero*, ECh Migama *ʔide*). Also contra OS 1101 *ʔil* ‘eye’. Same Cu (E *\*ʔil* ‘eye’; OS Agaw *\*ʔil*, LEC *\*ʔil*, HEC *\*ʔill*, Dhl. *ʔila*, Mogogodo *ila*, Rift *\*ʔila* ‘eye’), dif. Ch (E *\*ʔal* ‘see’; OS CCh *\*ʔil* ‘eye’; similar looking reconstructions, but OS Ch words included here are also reconstructed by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow to *\*ydn*, not related to ‘see’ words.) The contradiction arises here because OS split the Ch ‘eye’ words (lumped by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow) into two sets based on quality of final liquid /l/ vs. /r/, and connect one set with Cu /l/ and another set with Eg /r/. E on the other hand lumps not only Cu /l/ and Eg /r/ ‘eye’ words together, but also roots meaning ‘see’ in Ch, ignoring the Ch ‘eye’ words altogether.

## h: 5

E768 *haa* ‘open ground, area outside residence’ contra OS1054 *ʔaħ* ‘earth’. Apparently same CCh (E *\*hy*, *\*hn*, *\*ht* ‘earth, soil’; OS *\*ħaxħ*, Gisiga *hahay* ‘earth, clay’; CCh ‘earth’ words with initial /x/ and /h/ are grouped under the same root by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994), dif. Eg (E *h* ‘courtyard’; OS *ʔħ.t* ‘field’). Contradiction arises from different assumptions about semantics and sound correspondences.

E770 *hab* ‘beat’ contra OS 1192 *hubag* ‘strike’. Same Ar. (*habj*, *h-b-j* ‘beat, strike’, but not in Wehr 1979), dif. LEC (E Som. *habbi* ‘beat someone with stick’; OS Som. *bog* ‘slap’). Also IIP with and possibly contra OS 1204 *hVbat*/*hVbit* ‘throw

down'. Same Ar. (*habt*, *h-b-t* 'strike down, throw down'), probably dif. LEC (E's Som. *habbi*, already noted; OS Oromo *aboota* 'give a blow'); E also has Om Mocha *awur* 'throw a spear' (/w/ < /b/, but /r/ treated as rt.ext.), while OS connect WCh *\*HVbat*, Angas *bat* 'push, throw down'. Basically E's proposals involve match on C1 and C2, OS's on C2 and C3.

E771 *haad* 'move along' contra OS 1153 *had* 'take'. Same Eg with dif. gloss (*hd*, E 'encroach', OS 'grasp, seize'), dif. Sm (E Ar. *hadf* 'appear, enter, approach'; OS Sm *\*hi:d*, Ge'ez *h-y-d* 'take by force').

E772 *hid* 'drive' contra OS 1193 *hud* 'break'. Apparently same Eg with dif. gloss (*hd*, E 'attack', OS 'break'), dif. Sm Ar. (E *hady* 'lead on the right path'; OS *hadd* 'break').

E781 *hom* 'take into mouth' contra OS 1157 *ham* 'eat'. Same CCh *\*ham* 'chew', dif. Ar. (Ehret 1989 *hm* + various C3 /j, z, s, ʃ, sʰ, tʰ, l/; OS *n-h-m* 'be insatiable').

### Abbreviations

AA	Afroasiatic	Hs.	Hausa
Ak.	Akkadian	IIP	incompatible in principle
Ar.	Arabic	LEC	Lowland East Cushitic
Aram.	Aramaic	MSA	Modern South Arabian
B	Berber	Ng.	Ngizm
Bed.	Bedawie (Beja)	NOM	North Omotic
CCh	Central Chadic	Om	Omotic
Ch	Chadic	OS	Orel & Stolbova (1995)
comp.	complementary	P	Proto-
Cu	Cushitic	rt.ext.	root extension
DB	Daffo-Batura	SA	Saho-Afar
Dhl.	Dahalo	SC	South Cushitic
dif.	different	Sm	Semitic
E	Ehret (1995)	SOM	South Omotic
ECh	East Chadic	Som.	Somali
Eg	Egyptian	Ug.	Ugaritic
Hb.	Hebrew (Biblical)	WCh	West Chadic
HEC	Highland East Cushitic	WSm	West Semitic

### References



## Appendix 2: Agreeing

For explanation of entry order, abbreviations and references, see Appendix 1: Contradictory.

### p: 1

E51 *pir* ‘fly’ agrees with OS 1981 *pir* ‘fly’. Same Sm, Eg, Ch, Cu. E also has Om. OS also have B. See also Cohen (1947: 366).

### b: 4

E3 *bof/bop* ‘upper chest’ agrees with OS 167 *bab/bib* ‘shoulder’. Same Eg (*bb.wy* ‘collarbones’), same Cu (*\*bob* ‘armpit’), but seemingly dif. Om (E *\*bup* ‘chest’, Maji ‘liver’; OS *\*bVb(i)*, Macha *bəbbiiho* ‘armpit’). OS also have Ch (*\*bi-bi* ‘back, shoulder’).

?E10 *b-ǧ-(r)* ‘seed’ technically contra but probably agrees with OS 269 *beǧar* ‘corn’. Same Ch (E *\*bz(r)* ‘seed’; OS WCh *\*baǧar* ‘corn’, the forms given correlate with those reconstructed as *bdr/bzr* ‘seed’ by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994, but OS have Tala *bazr*, while Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow have a form *pater* for this language, which they nonetheless derive from *bdr/bzr*), technically dif. Sm (E Ar. *bǧr* ‘seed, to sow’; OS *\*bizr*, Ar. *bizr* ‘seed’), but since the meanings of the Ar. words are close, one suspects that these are doublets, with *bizr* representing perhaps a borrowing from another Sm language or Ar. dialect in which the change /ǧ/ > /z/ has taken place, rather than two distinct etyma going back to PSm.

E23 *birk* ‘flash’ agrees with OS 226 *barak* ‘lightning’. Same Sm and Cu. Also agrees with OS 231 *barik* ‘shine, be bright’. Same Sm and Om, but possibly dif. Eg (E *brk* ‘shine, glitter, flash’; OS *b3k* ‘be light, be bright’). One of several cases where OS split verbal and nominal forms of the same Sm root into different entries with cognates in dif. languages or branches.

E35 *bi?* ‘go’ agrees with OS 157 *ba?/baw/bay* ‘walk, go’. Same Sm, Cu, Om, whether same Ch or not unclear (E *\*mb-* ‘go’; OS *\*ba?/baw/bay*, with only one prenasalized variant Diri *mbu* ‘come’, with *m-* analyzed as a prefix). Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow (1994) *b2* (= *mb*) ‘go’ would appear to include most of OS’s Ch forms. OS also have B.

### f: 3

- E78 *faak* ‘break off’ agrees with OS 844 *fVki/ur* ‘pierce, tear’. Same Sm (Ar. *f-q-r*. ‘dig’, among others for E), same Eg (*fk3*, E ‘pick, fall out’, OS ‘tear off’). E also has Cu. But contra OS 772 *fak* ‘pierce, tear’. Same Sm (Ar. *f-q-ʔ* ‘break’, among others for E), dif. Eg (E *fk3*, already noted, OS *fk*, *fkw* ‘of a lion tearing his prey’). Possibly same Cu (E *faak*’/*fik*’ ‘to cut apart, break open’; OS Agaw \**fak*’, Bilin *fak*’ ‘tear’, Dhl. *pak*’*k*’-*eeð* ‘uncover’).
- E81 *fil* ‘cut hole in’ agrees with OS 830 *ful* ‘bore a hole’. Same ECh (E \**pl* ‘hollow out’, OS \**pul* ‘big hole (deverbative)’), same Cu (E \**ful*/*fil* ‘pierce, bore hole’; OS LEC \**ful* ‘pierce through’). But contra OS 832 *funVg* ‘nose’. Same Eg (*fnḏ* ‘nostril’), dif. Cu (E already noted, OS LEC \**fung*, Oromo *fuyṅ-aan* ‘nose’). Also E’s Sm proposal (\**pl* ‘slit, nick’) included under OS 845 *fVl* ‘divide, pierce’ along with proposed B cognate. Cohen (1947: 369) seems to have same Sm with dif. Cu.
- E85 *fir* ‘to flower’ agrees with OS 1983 *pir* ‘fruit, corn’. Same Eg (*pr.t* ‘fruit, seed’), same Cu (E \**fir* ‘to flower, bear fruit’; OS Agaw \**fir* ‘fruit’, SA \**fir* ‘flowers, fruit’, LEC \**fir* ‘fruit’); but dif. Sm (E MSA \**frγ* ‘to ripen, bloom’; OS Sm \**pir* ‘fruit’, MSA Mehri, Harsusi *ferra:t* ‘unripe, fruit’). Also contra OS 2012 *pur* ‘flower, grass’. Same Ch (\**pr* ‘grass’), dif. Cu (E already noted, OS LEC \**fur* ‘kind of grass’, etc.). Cohen (1947: 367) has same Eg and Cu with yet dif. Sm.

### m: 3

- E569 *-m-* ‘be wet’, *am* ‘water’ agrees with OS1699 *ma?* ‘water’. Same Eg (*mw* ‘water’), apparently same Sm (E \**my*/\**my* ‘become wet’: OS \**ma?*/*may* ‘water’), probably some of the same Ch, but the specific Ng. form cited by E (*am* ‘water’) is connected by OS with a different root, OS 1156 *ham*. OS also have B and Ch here, while E also has Om. A problem to note here is that OS reconstruct eight different Afas words for ‘water’ (243 *baw/bay*, 1156 *ham*, 1699 *ma?*, 1770 *min*, also ‘river’, 1860 *ni*, 2575 *yam*, also ‘sea’, 2586 *yawin*) on the basis of words for ‘water’ in different Ch languages, usually in comparison with ‘water’ words at different stages of Eg. Words for ‘water’ in some other Ch languages are also included under OS 123 *?ow*, *?oy* ‘river, tide’. All of these Ch words are taken back to a single Ch root \**ymn* by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow (1994). And E seems to be following an earlier version of this work here. See Cohen (1947: 485).

E593 *mir/mar* ‘pass, pass by’ agrees with OS 1731 *mar* ‘walk’. Same Sm (Ar. *m-r-r* ‘pass’), apparently same Cu (E *\*mar/mir* ‘pass along’, OS HEC *\*mar* ‘go’). In any case comp. Besides Sm and Cu, E has Eg, while OS have B and Ch.

E600 *maaw* ‘die’ agrees with OS 1751 *mawut* ‘die’. Same Sm, Eg, Ch, probably same Cu. OS also have B. A well established AA root. See Cohen (1947: 488).

#### w: 5

E970 *wan* ‘open’ agrees with OS 2524 *wan* ‘open’. Same Eg (*wn* ‘open’), same Ch. E’s Cu proposal is IIP with OS because of rt.ext.

E977 *wis* ‘fall asleep’ agrees with OS 2541 *wisan* ‘sleep’. Same Sm (*\*w-s-n* ‘sleep’), same Ch (E WCh, CCh *\*wsn*, *\*sn* ‘sleep’, OS CCh *\*wisan-H*). E’s Eg and Cu proposals problematic due to semantics and rt.ext.

E982 *wax* ‘look at’ agrees with OS 2514 *wax* ‘want’. Same Sm (Ar. *waxy* ‘intend, plan’), same Eg (*wx3* ‘seek, look for’). E also has Cu (PEC *\*wax* ‘watch’). OS also have CCh (*\*way* < *waH* ‘want, look for’) and ECH (*\*wVh* ‘look for’).

E984 *ways* ‘to expand’ agrees with OS 2531 *wasaf* ‘be big’. Same Sm (Ar. *w-s-f* ‘be spacious’, among others for E), same Ch (E Ng. *wus* ‘swell up due to infection’; OS WCh *\*was* ‘swell’, ECh *waHas* ‘swell’). E also has Eg and Cu, although these are probably IIP, because of rt.ext. and sound correspondences.

E987 *waa?* ‘get up to leave’ possibly agrees with OS 2489 *wa?/way* ‘go, come’. Same Eg (E *w3i* ‘go, march against’, among others; OS *w3y* ‘come’), same or dif. Ch (E *\*w-*, *\*wt-* ‘pass by’; OS WCh *\*wa?* ‘return, go away, come’, CCh *\*wa?i* ‘go, come’, ECh *\*wa?* ‘run’). Om ‘come’ in both probably also agreeing.

#### t: 6

E159 *iit* ‘eat’ agrees with OS 2343 *ta?* ‘eat’. Same Sm (MSA *twy*, e.g. Mehri *tewo*: ‘eat’), same Ch (*\*ti* ‘eat’). But E’s Cu (HEC *\*iit*) is found under a dif. entry—OS 83 *?et* ‘eat’, with Ch *\*yat* ‘eat’, represented by Fyer *?et*. Since Jungrauthmayr & Ibriszimow (1994) derive both the Fyer forms and the Ch forms cited at 2343 from the same PCh root, the two OS entries can legitimately be collapsed into one and regarded as agreeing. See Cohen (1947: 315).

E162 *tuf* ‘spit’ agrees with OS 2413 *tuf* ‘spit’. Same Sm, Eg, Cu, Ch. Strong cognate set, even if onomatopoeia can be suspected. Cf. OS 2433 *tVfal/tVfil* ‘spit’. See Cohen (1947: 319).

- E168 *tek/tok* ‘tread’ agrees with OS 2416 *tuk* ‘beat, press’. Same Sm (Ar. *t-k-k*, E ‘tread under the feet’, OS ‘destroy, cut’, Wehr 1979 ‘trample down’) and Ch (Ng. E *takɗ*, OS *tak-du* ‘step on’), but dif. Cu (E Som. *\*teg* ‘go, walk’; OS Afar *tak* ‘strike’), Om (E Bench *tok* ‘stamp’; OS Kafa *tuk-* ‘strike’). Cf. OS 2414 *tug* ‘strike’, with Ch and Om proposals.
- E172 *tuul* ‘rise, form a mound’ agrees with OS 2429 *tūl* ‘hill’. Same Sm (Ar. *tall* ‘hill’), same Cu (E PEC *\*tuul* ‘to rise, hill, heap’; OS LEC *\*tul*, Oromo *tuluu* ‘hill’, HEC *\*tul*, Sidamo *tullo* ‘hill’), but dif. Ch (E ECh *\*tlŋ* ‘hang’; OS WCh *\*tul-*, Hs. *tull-uwa*: ‘hill-top’).
- E173 *tum* ‘beat’ agrees with OS 2421 *tum* ‘break, beat’. Same Cu (*\*tum* ‘pound, beat’, same reconstruction in both!), same Ch (E WCh, ECh *\*tm* ‘beat’; OS WCh *\*tumi* ‘destroy, break’, CCh *\*tum* ‘hit’).
- E179 *tir* ‘liver’ agrees with OS 2403 ‘liver, vein’. Same Ch (E *\*trn* ‘liver’, OS WCh *\*tir* ‘liver, kidney, vein’), same Cu (*\*tir* ‘liver’), Om (*\*tir* ‘liver’).

#### d: 9

- E119 *dab* ‘back’ agrees with OS 731 *dub* ‘back, tail’. Same Ch (E *\*dab* ‘back’, OS CCh *\*dub* ‘back’), same Cu (E PEC *\*dab/dib/dub* ‘tail’, OS LEC *dib/dub*, HEC *dub* ‘tail’), possibly dif. Om (E Kara *dibini* ‘tail’, OS *\*dup*, Ometo *duup’iya* ‘tail’).
- E125 *dug* ‘obscure’ agrees with OS 758 *dVgVy* ‘hide’. Same Sm (Ar. *d-g-y* ‘cover’), same Eg (*dgi* ‘hide’), but E’s Cu (Som. *dugul* ‘dark, black’) IIP on basis of rt.ext.
- E126 *dag<sup>w</sup>* ‘walk about’ agrees with OS 619 *dag* ‘go’. Same Sm (Ar. *d-g-g*, E ‘walk along’, OS ‘go slowly’, Wehr 1979 ‘walk slowly’), same Eg (*dg3*, E ‘walk’, OS ‘go’), but dif. Cu (E PSC *\*ḍak<sup>w</sup>* (= *ḍak<sup>w</sup>*?) ‘be going’, OS Agaw *\*dig* ‘come close’, HEC *\*dag* ‘come, go, escape’).
- E132 *dik* ‘pound’ agrees with OS 633 *dak/duk* ‘beat, pound’. Same Sm (Ar. *d-k-k* ‘pound’), same Ch (E *\*dək*, OS *dak/duk* ‘pound’). E also has Cu, Om.
- E135 *duk’/duk<sup>w</sup>*. ‘break to pieces by hitting’ agrees with OS 635 *dak’/duk’* ‘break, pound’. Same Sm (Ar. *d-q-q* ‘crush’), apparently same SCu (E PSC *\*ḍuk* ‘be broken to pieces’, OS *ḍuk’-uḏ* ‘destroy’, semantics slightly different—intrans. vs. trans., but forms identical). E also has Eg (*dk* ‘flour’). OS also have B and WCh. Cohen (1947: 326) has Sm, Eg, B, Cu, Ch.
- E140 *dim/dam* ‘blood’ agrees with OS 639 *dam* ‘blood’. Same Sm, Ch, Om. OS also have B. E also has Eg and Cu words for ‘red’. See Cohen (1947: 335).

E142 *dum* ‘proclaim’ agrees with OS 761 *dVm* ‘utter’. Same Eg (*dm* ‘pronounce’), same WCh (Ng. *dəma*, E ‘oath’, OS ‘swear’), but dif. Sm (E Ar. *damdam* ‘address angrily’, Wehr 1979 ‘snarl’; OS \**dVm* ‘moan’).

E143 *dumn* ‘cloud’ agrees with OS 678 *diman* ‘cloud’. Same Ch (WCh Ng. *dəman* ‘rainy season’), same Cu (E \**dumn/damn* ‘cloud’; OS Agaw \**dimin*, HEC \**duman* ‘cloud’), and Om (Ometo E *damāna*, OS *dämmānaa* ‘cloud’ apparently the same word, some dif. in transcription).

E158 *daʃ* ‘call’ possibly agrees with OS 696 *diʃ/duʃ* ‘speak, call’. Same Sm (Ar. *d-ʃ-w* ‘call’), possibly same Cu (E \**daʃ* ‘speak forcefully’; OS Bed. *di* ‘speak, call’, SA *daʃ* ‘call’).

### s: 5

E214 *suk* ‘stay’ probably agrees with OS 2240 *sikun* ‘dwell, sit’. Same Ar. (*s-k-n* ‘dwell’), apparently same Ch (E \**sk(r)* ‘sit down’; OS WCh\* *sikun* ‘sit, rest’), possibly comp. Cu (E \**suk* ‘sit’, Rift \**sukunun* ‘squat’).

E219 *sim* ‘pay attention’ agrees with OS 2245 *sim/simaʃ* ‘hear, ear’. Same Sm (Both Ar. *s-m-ʃ*, OS PSm \**ʃVmaʃ*), same Eg (*smt*, E ‘hear’, OS ‘ears’) and Ch (E *ʃami* ‘ear’; OS CCh \**ʃim*, ECh \**sim/sum* ‘ear’).

E220 *sum/sim* ‘name’ agrees with OS 2304 *süm* ‘name’. Same Sm and Ch. E also has Eg, Cu, Om. But OS includes the Sm verbal forms of this root (‘to name, call’) and E’s Eg, as well as B and dif. Cu proposals under OS 2244 *sim* ‘call, speak’.

E223 *sin/san* ‘point, tip’ agrees with but also contra OS 2250 *sin* ‘tooth’. Same Sm, Ch, but dif. Cu (E PEC \**san* ‘nose’; OS Rift \**sihin*, Iraqw *sihino* ‘tooth’) and OS also have B. OS put the Cu ‘nose’ words under a different root (OS 2194), which includes only Cu and Om exemplars. Cohen (1947: 262) has OS’s Sm and B.

E230 *sar/sir* ‘root’ agrees with OS 551. Same Sm (E \**sərs* ‘root’; OS *ʃVrʃ* ‘root’), same Cu (Agaw \**sər*, E, or \**sVr* ‘root’); although E’s reconstruction of the Sm root is at odds with standard Semiticist practice: the sibilant must be lateral not plain /s/. Also contra OS 528. Same Om (Maji *saru* or *sa:ru* ‘hair’), dif. Sm. The Sm–Agaw cognate already proposed in Cohen (1947: 260).

### n: 3

E610 *nab* ‘call’ agrees with OS 1822 *nab* ‘speak, name’. Same Sm, Ch, Om. E also has Cu.



E611 *naf/nif* ‘exhale’ agrees with three OS entries and contradicts another: OS 1828 *naf* ‘breath’ (same Eg *nf.(t)* ‘breath’, same EC Som. *naf* ‘breath’); OS 1830 *nafus* ‘breath’ (same Sm *nafs* < Ehret 1989, maybe same Cu E PEC *\*nafs* ‘to breathe’, OS SA *\*nafVs* ‘breathing’; OS also have Ch and B); OS 1865 *nif* ‘smell, breathe’ (same Eg E Coptic *ni:fε*, OS *nfy* ‘breathe’, maybe same Sm OS Ar. *n-f-ḥ* ‘smell’, also in Ehret 1989?). Of course the fact that OS reconstruct three entries where E has one is problematic. Also Contra OS 46 *?ap* ‘mouth’ (same Sm *\*?anp* ‘nose’, dif. Cu E *\*nafs* ‘breathe’, OS *\*?af* ‘nose’, dif. Om E Mocha *nap* ‘blow’, OS *\*?af/?ap* ‘nose’), cf. notes to E65 and E7 in Appendix 1. Cohen (1947) also has three etyma: 455 for *nfs*, 457 for *nfh*, 35 for *?anf*.

E621 *nim/nam* ‘person’ agrees with OS 1841 *nam* ‘man’. Same Cu, Om, apparently same Ch (E *\*nām* ‘person’, OS ECh *\*nam* ‘people’). E also has Eg and Sm.

### r: 1

E944 *riiz/raaz* ‘foot’ agrees with OS 2083 *rad* ‘foot, trace’. Same Eg (*rd* ‘foot’), same Cu (E SLEC *\*raaz* ‘footprint’ and OS LEC *\*rad* ‘footprint’ both include Som. *raad* ‘footprint’, for E see his Appendix 2).

### ɬ: 3

(Note: E’s fricative lateral set more often than not correlates with OS’s lateral affricate set.)

E867 *ɬuuf* ‘sip’ agrees with OS 572 *ɬup* ‘lip’. Same Sm (E *\*ɬp(t)*, OS *ɬap*, Ar. *ɬaf-at* ‘lip’), same SC (E PSC *\*ɬuuf*; OS Rift *ɬuf*, Iraqw *ɬufi* ‘lip’). Cohen (1947: 287) connects this Sm with Eg *sp.t* ‘lip’.

?E874 *ɬaak<sup>w</sup>* ‘pierce’ agrees or comp. with OS 569 *ɬuk* ‘cut, pierce’. Same Sm (E *\*ɬkk* ‘pierce, thorn’; OS *\*ɬuk*, Ar. *ɬ-k-k* ‘pierce’); apparently same WCh (E *\*ɬk* ‘hole’, OS *\*ɬuk*, Hs. *so:ka*, *su:ka* ‘pierce, slaughter’; formally same but semantics troublesome). In addition E has SC *\*ɬaak<sup>w</sup>* ‘stab, pierce’, OS have Om *\*ɬuk* ‘slaughter’.

E890 *ɬeɣ* ‘cut off’ agrees with OS 525 *ɬaɣ* ‘cut’. Same Eg (*ɣ* ‘cut, cut off’), apparently same Ch (E *\*ɬa* ‘cut’; OS WCh *\*ɬaw* ‘scratch, cut’, CCh *\*ɬaH/ɬay* ‘cut’).

### l: 3

E809 *lib* ‘heart’ agrees with OS 1668 *lib/lub* ‘heart’. Same Sm, Eg, Ch, Cu, Om. OS also have B. See Cohen (1947: 443).

E822 *lak* ‘to lap up’ agrees with OS 1697 *lvk* ‘lick’. Same Sm, Cu. OS also have Ch, B. E’s Eg proposal (Coptic *loks* ‘bite, sting’) IIP, rt.ext. See Cohen (1947: 435).  
E827 *lis* ‘lick’ agrees with OS 1666 *les* ‘tongue’. Same Sm, Eg, Ch, dif. Om. OS also have B. See Cohen (1947: 436).

### **tʃ’ (c’): 2**

E556 *tʃilm/tʃalm* ‘black’ agrees with OS 511 *tʃilam* ‘black’. Same Sm (E *θlm*, OS \**θVlam*, Ar. *ḏ<sup>h</sup>-l-m* ‘be dark, black’), same Ch Buduma (E *s’aləm* ‘black’; OS *tʃilim* ‘dark’, also Gulfey *selem* ‘black’, Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994 have *culum*, *celəm* and *sələm* ‘black’ for Buduma (Yedina), affricate or sibilant, but no ejective/emphatic). E classes this language as WCh, while OS and Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow have it as CCh. Cohen (1947: 353) has this Sm word with proposed Cu, no Ch cognates.

E564 *tʃirf* or *tʃifr* ‘nail, claw’ agrees with OS 513 *tʃupar* ‘fingernail’. Same Sm (E *θpr*, OS *θupr*, Ar. *ḏ<sup>h</sup>ufr* ‘fingernail’), same SC (E SC West Rift *ts’araf* ‘nail, claw’; OS Rift \* *tʃaraf*, Alagwa *tʃarafu* ‘fingernail’ with metathesis). OS have additional Cu (Agaw, HEC), Om proposals. Cohen (1947: 351) has this Sm word with Agaw and B.

### **y: 3**

E991 *yo* ‘say’ agrees with OS 2564 *ya* ‘say, speak’. Same Eg, Cu, Om. OS also have WCh, CCH, and ECh.

E1005 *yaw* ‘bull’ agrees with OS 2595 *yuw* ‘cow, bull’. Same Eg (*iw3* ‘bull’), apparently same or at least probably comp. Cu (E \**yaw*/\**?aw* ‘bull’, OS Bed. \**yuwe* ‘cow’).

E1007 *ya?* ‘come’ agrees with OS 2566 *ya?* ‘go, come, run’. Same Cu, Ch, Om. E also has Eg. OS also have B. Cohen (1947: 25) has Eg, B, Cu.

### **k: 4**

E324 *kanf/kinf* ‘wing’ agrees with OS 1426 *kanap* ‘wing’. Same Cu, Sm.

?E327 *kop* ‘sole of foot’ apparently agrees with OS 1428 *kap* ‘hand’. Same Sm (MSA *kaf(f)* ‘hand’), apparently same Eg but with different gloss (*kp*, E ‘sole, palm’, OS ‘enemy’s hands separated from his arms’). But contra OS 1406 *kab* ‘shoe, sandal’, which has E’s Cu (E \**kob* ‘sandal’) and Ch (E \**kb* ‘shoe’) with a dif. Eg (OS *tb.t*, *tbw* ‘sandal’). Some of the Ch, Cu ‘shoe/sandal’ words are also found at

OS 1408 *kabel/kaber* ‘shoe, sandal’. Cohen (1947: 176) notes Sm–Late Eg ‘hand’ but describes it as borrowing from Sm into Eg.

E334 *kits* ‘expand’ agrees with OS 1467 *kotf* ‘be big’. Same Sm (E Ar. *kaθθ* ‘be thick’; OS Ak. *kafa:fu* ‘be massive’), same Ch (E some ECh *\*ks* ‘long’; OS Fyer *koos* ‘high, long’). E also has Om.

E343 *ink<sup>w</sup>al* ‘kidney’ agrees with OS 1493 *kul* ‘kidney’; apparently agreeing based on Sm, Cu, but E’s reconstructions for PSm, PCu are mysterious: Sm (E *\*kl(l)*, OS *\*kuly*, Ar. *kuly-at* ‘kidney’), Cu (E *\*ink<sup>w</sup>al*; OS LEC *\*kal*, *\*kual*, Som. *kalli* ‘kidney’). OS also have CCh. See Cohen (1947: 191).

## k’: 5

E408 *k’ab* ‘cold’ agrees with OS 1527 *k’ab* ‘cold’. Same Eg and LEC. E also has Om.

E428 *k’os* ‘bone’ agrees with OS 1557 *k’as* ‘bone’. Same Eg, Ch, Om. OS also have B, and E also has Sm (unusual Ar.). Cohen (1947: 225) links the Eg, B, and Ch (Hs.) words.

E431 *k’at* ‘cut’ agrees with OS 1558 *k<sup>ʿ</sup>at<sup>ʿ</sup>/k<sup>ʿ</sup>ut<sup>ʿ</sup>* ‘cut’. Same Sm (Ar. *qat<sup>ʿ</sup>t<sup>ʿ</sup>*) same LEC (E PEC *k’at* ‘cut’; OS LEC *k’at* ‘circumcise’), but seemingly dif. Om (E Mocha *qat<sup>ʿ</sup>* ‘harvest’; OS *\*k’ut*, Kafa *k’ut* ‘cut’). Also possibly comp. with OS 1597 *k<sup>ʿ</sup>ot<sup>ʿ</sup>iʿ* ‘end, finish’, which compares another of the Ar. words included in E’s entry (Ar. *qat<sup>ʿ</sup>iʿ* ‘cut’) with Ch exemplars (reconstructed as WCh *\*kwat<sup>ʿ</sup>i* ‘end, finish’; CCh *kat* ‘end, finish’). (E431 has no Ch exemplars). This association with OS 1597 is technically IIP because of rt.ext., but since OS assume loss of final /ʿ/ in Ch, it makes no practical difference here.

E433 *k’ey* ‘excrete’ agrees with OS 1524 *k<sup>ʿ</sup>aʔ/k<sup>ʿ</sup>ay* ‘spit’. Same Sm (*\*ki:ʔ*, E ‘vomit’, OS ‘spit’), same Eg (*kʔʿ*, E ‘vomit’, OS ‘spit out’), but dif. Ch (E *\*d<sup>ʿ</sup>iis* ‘faeces’; OS ECh *\*kaʔak*, Dangla *kaake* ‘spit’). Cohen (1947: 247) has Sm, Eg, B, Cu.

E445 *k<sup>w</sup>ilf/k<sup>w</sup>alf* ‘cover’ agrees with OS 1585 *k’olif* ‘bark’. Same Sm (Ar. *qilf* ‘bark, rind’), same Cu (E PEC *\*k’olp* ‘bark’; OS LEC *k’olof* ‘bark’). E also has Om (Yem *kulf* ‘close’). E’s semantics strange: normal verbal sense in Sm is ‘peel’, which would seem to be denominal. Cohen (1947: 242) has Sm, Cu.

## g: 1

E280 *gim* ‘come upon, meet up with’ agrees with OS 952 *gomaʿ* ‘meet, gather’. Same Sm (Ar. *j-m-ʿ*), same Ch (E *\*g-mə* ‘meet’, OS *\*gwama* < *\*gwamaH* ‘meet together’, represented by Hs. *gamu*). E also has Eg (*gmi* ‘find’) and Cu (Som.

*jimee* ‘compare, measure’). But contra OS 926. Same Eg (*gmi* ‘receive, find’), dif. Ch (OS WCh *gVm* ‘get’).

### h: 1

E749 *ham* ‘warm up’ agrees with OS 1285 *hum* ‘be hot’. Same Sm (Ar. *h-m-m* ‘be hot’), apparently same Cu (E PSC \**ham* ‘be warm’, OS Rift \**ham* ‘to heat’), possibly dif. Eg (E Coptic *hmom* ‘to be hot’, OS *hm* ‘be inflamed’).

### ʕ: 2

E664 *ʕob* ‘take a swallow’ agrees with OS 1027 *ʕab* ‘drink’. Same Sm (Ar. *ʕ-b-b* ‘gulp’), same Cu (Som. *ʕabb* ‘drink’). Cf. Cohen (1947: 56), which is contra, but assumes dif. basic semantics for Sm root.

E679 *ʕal* ‘ascend, go up’ agrees with OS 1061 *ʕal* ‘top’. Same Sm (E *ʕl* ‘on, above’; OS *ʕal* ‘top, height, upper part’), same Cu (LEC \**ʕal* ‘mountain’). Comp. with OS 1060 *ʕal* ‘rise’, which includes the verbal senses of the Sm root plus B and Ch. See Cohen (1947: 58).

### ʔ: 5

E719 *ʔil* ‘oath’ agrees with OS 98 *ʔil* ‘swear oath’. Same Sm (Ar. E *ʔalw*, OS *ʔ-l-y* ‘swear’, neither in Wehr 1979), same SC (E PSC \**ʔilo* ‘oath’, OS Dhl. *ʔilo* ‘oath’). E also has Eg (*iri* ‘swear’).

E730 *ʔark* ‘notice’ agrees with OS1074 *ʕarek* ‘see, understand’. Same Eg (*ʕrk* ‘perceive, understand’), same Cu (E \**ʔark* ‘see’, OS LEC \**ʔare(k)*), Som. *ark*, *areg* ‘see’). but E’s Ar. proposal (*ʔaraq* ‘be awake’) is IIP because of initial C sound correspondence.

E731 *ʔaf* ‘walk, leg’ agrees with OS 59 *ʔas* ‘come’. Same Ch (E (*a*)*sə* ‘come’, also ‘foot, leg’; OS WCH, ECh *ʔas* ‘come’), apparently same or comp. Cu (E EC Dullay *aff* ‘go’; OS Werizoid \**ʔas*, Gaw *ʔaff* ‘go’), in spite of irregularities in sibilant correspondences.

E732 *ʔaat* ‘set out for’ agrees with OS 63 *ʔat* ‘walk, come’. Same Sm (Ar. *ʔ-t-y* ‘come’), same Om (E Bench *at* ‘arrive’, OS Gim *at-* ‘come’). But apparently dif. Cu (E Som. *aad* ‘to go into, set our for’, OS SA \**ʕat*, Bed. *ʔat* ‘tread’). OS also have B.

E735 *ʔaayf* ‘flesh, meat’ agrees with OS 13 *ʔatf/ʔitf* ‘meat’. Same Cu (Ag Awngi *əffī* ‘meat’), same Om (Mocha *ʔatfiffo*, etc. ‘body’). E’s Eg proposal (*ʕis* ‘viscera’) comp. with OS sound correspondences (/s/ or /ʃ/ expected); but OS’s CCh

proposal (\*ʔitf, Gisiga ʔife ‘flesh’) IIP with E’s sound correspondences (/s/, not /tʃ/ expected).

**h: 1**

E769 *hu(u)* ‘fall’ agrees with OS 1163 *haw/y* ‘fall’. Same Sm (Ar. *h-w-y* ‘fall’), same SC (Rift \**hu(?)* ‘fall’). OS also have Eg, Ch, and B. Cohen (1947: 93) has Sm, Eg.

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