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 pah ‘take into the mouth’ contra OS 1970 pehas ‘wet, sprinkle’. Same Ar. fahs, f-h-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/, Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994: xxii).

E43 pah, peh ‘break off’ contra OS 1994 pohatt’ ‘separate, split’. Same Eg (phḏ), dif. Sm (Ar. E fḥd ‘break’; OS ḡḏ ‘split’, neither in Wehr 1979, nor Leslau 1987) and dif. Cu (E PSC pah ‘break into pieces’, OS LEC Arbores food ‘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 payw ‘clear away’ contra OS 1945 panek’ ‘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 (prüḥ, 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. pořɪt ‘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 *parat ‘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’/tf/tis ‘light up’ contra OS 2001 *puts ‘burn’. Same Ch (CCh ‘roast’ E *ps, OS *pVs), 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. *pas ‘to be worn out’; OS have WCh *fwas ‘bad’ exemplified by DB *fwa).

E55 *put ‘step along’ contra OS 783 *fat ‘move’. Same WCh (E *peta ‘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. ɓera: ‘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 pof ‘give birth’. Same Eg (pφp½ ‘give birth’) dif. Ch (E Ch *pə ‘pour’; OS CCh *pway/pwaH ‘give birth’). Also IIP semantics.

b: 18

?E1 *bu ‘place’ contra OS 244 *bu ‘place’. Same Eg (*bu), 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 bah ‘strike with a blade or point’ contra OS 188 bahar/bahir ‘cut, tear’. Same Sm (Ar. bahr, b-h-r) dif. WCh (E Ng. va ‘shoot’; OS Tangale ber ‘cut’). Ng. /v/, /b/ should correspond with Tangale /p/, Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994: xx, dif. Cu (E PSC *bah ‘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 baah ‘voice’ contra OS 158 ba?/bi? ‘hole, pit’. Same Ch (E *ba ‘mouth’; OS WCh ba? ‘hole’, e.g. Tangale ba), dif. Cu (E PSC *baah ‘shout, cry, yell’; OS Rift *ba? ‘pit’, Iraqw ba?i), dif. Eg (E bḥn ‘to bark, bay’; OS b3b3, b33, b3y.w ‘hole’). Note that where Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow (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 Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow’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 Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow set of proposed Ch cognates. Cf. also the contradiction at E65–OS46.

E9 booh ‘to flow’ contra OS 199 bak’ ‘pour’. Apparently same Cu (E *booh ‘to spill, intr.’, OS Agaw *bak’w ‘flow’, Kwara boy”, bov), dif. Sm (E Ar. bahr ‘sea’, OS Ar. b-q-q ‘to rain’). But E9 technically comp. with OS 305 bohVr ‘sea, lake’ (same Ar., OS have only Ch; E9 has only Cu), but difficult because dif. semantics and C2 vs. C3 problem.

E12 bok’w ‘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 *bok’w or *pok’w ‘mist, drizzle’, OS Afar bak ‘destroy’). Note Ar. b-k-k not in Wehr (1979). E’s Cu forms included under OS 199 bak’ ‘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 balak’ ‘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 balay? If so then proposed Cu blk cognate is no longer consistent with sound
correspondences. Also balaz (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 & Ibriszimow (1994) derive the Buli and comparable WCh words for ‘person’ from a PCh root *b₂-ḷ-n, with medial /l/, and nothing like “bin” is reconstructed by Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow for ‘brother’. (Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 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:i ‘build’), dif. Sm (E *bnn ‘build’; OS *bVn, Ar. b-ṇ-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-Agar *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-Agar *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.
Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow (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 Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 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 meaning, (E ‘first beginning, begin, commence’; OS ‘sprout, shoot’), dif. Eg (E bs ‘to introduce, install’; OS ibs3 ‘plant’).


E34 *ba? ‘be ruined’ contra OS160 *ba?:as ‘be rotten, bad’. Same Sm (Ar. *ba?:s, b?:-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 bebe ‘to bubble, well up’; OS b3b3 ‘hole’), dif. SC (E PSC *bu?: ‘to pour’; OS Rift *ba?: ‘pit’, Iraqw ba?:i). Also OS tentatively suggest that Rift *bu?: ‘pour’ should be grouped under OS 180 *ba?: ‘pour’ with dif. Eg (b3hy- ‘pour’’) cognate, see comment on E39.

E37 *ba?: ‘increase’ contra OS 303 *bo?:bo?: ‘pour, drink’. Same Sm, dif. glosses (E Ar. ba*:ba?: ‘prime of youth’; OS Ar. ba*:ba?:-t ‘gurgling sound of water’), dif. Eg (E b3h ‘abundance’; OS b?: b?: ‘drink’). Ar. word not in Wehr (1979)—assumed semantics incompatible.

E39 *baa?: ‘to flow heavily, to defecate’ contra OS 179 *ba?: ‘dirt, mud’. Same Cu (E PSC *baa?: ‘defecate’; OS Rift *ba?: ‘mud’, Dhl. ba?: ‘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’ (Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994: vol.I, p.61). Also contra OS 180 baʕ ‘pour’. Same Sm (Ar. bʕʕ glossed ‘rain’ in OS and E1989, not in Wehr 1979), dif. Ch (E’s erroneous Ng. ba ‘excrete’, actually ‘make’ contra E, WCh *baʕ ‘pour’), and dif. Cu (E PSC baʕ ‘defecate’; OS Rift buʔ ‘pour’, see comment on E36 above). And contra OS 303 boʕbʕ ‘pour, drink’; same Eg (bʕ bʕ OS ‘drink’; E ‘stream’), dif. Sm (E bʕr ‘drop dung’, OS bʕʕ ‘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 fiku, Fyer vivik—since E refers to Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981 for the Ch reconstruction, I take the forms from Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 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-h?).

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

E80 fal ‘accomplish’ contra OS 2022 pVtal ‘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 *f blobs* ‘be clever’, OS PSm *p-f-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 *far*? ‘brave’; OS Ar. *farr* ‘young bull’, this meaning not in Wehr 1979; mistake for *fara*? ‘wild ass’).

?E87 *f-s* ‘to take apart’ contra OS 2002 *puts* ‘tear into pieces’. Same Sm (E *ps* ‘move apart’; OS *pVs*-?, Ar. *f-s*-? ‘tear into pieces’, not in Wehr 1979), dif. Ch (E *fazz* ‘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 cannot be the same. The question is what actual Ch words E’s reconstruction includes.

E88 *fat* ‘excrete’ contra OS 2003 *puf* ‘urine’. Same Ch (E *ps*r ‘urine’ from Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *pufi*-ar ‘urine’; both OS and Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 include e.g. Hausa *fiisarrii*), dif. Sm (E *pt* ‘excrete’, supported by three Ar. *fat* + 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 *fiata?* ‘destroy’. Same Sm (Ar. *fat?* ‘break’, not in Wehr 1979), dif. Cu (E PEC *feet’/”foot* ‘separate’; OS LEC *fit* ‘destroy’).


E92 *fayt* ‘remove, take off’ contra OS 822 *fot* ‘wipe, scrape’. Same Eg (*ftt*, E ‘obliterate’, OS ‘erase’), dif. Sm (E *pth* ‘open’, also MSA *fik* ‘come out, take out’; OS *pt*, MSA Jibbali *fett* ‘wipe oneself with small stones after excreting’), also dif. Ch (E Ng. *fot* ‘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 *pita?* ‘open’. Same Sm (*pth* ‘open’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *fat* ‘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
Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 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 ʔyar, Hs. beraa ‘rat’).

E98 fiiʕ ‘do, make’ contra OS 2022 pVʕal ‘work, make’. Same Sm (*pVʕal ‘work, do, make’), dif. Cu (E Som. fiiʕ ‘mouse’, source of E’s gloss ‘musk’ unclear, possibly simple error) dif. Ch (E Ng. faun ‘to smell at, sniff at’; OS WCh ʔyar, Hs. beraa ‘rat’).

Contradiction arises because of different semantic assumptions.

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 Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *mat ‘come’), although Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 give different words for ‘come’ for the WCh languages treated by OS.

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

E580 myʕw ‘hit’ contra OS 1802 muʔVʔ ‘strike, pierce’. Same SC (E PSC *mux ‘to fight’, OS Rift *muʕ, Iraqw muʕ ‘fight’); dif. Eg (E mxt ‘whip’, OS mx3 ‘pierce with a spear’), dif. Sm (E Ar. mayθ ‘beat lightly’; OS PSm *mVxʔ ‘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. mərmas ‘rub lightly’, məfged ‘wring out’, mařtek ‘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.
E975 *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.

E979 *moots* ‘baby’ contra OS 1769 *mîf* ‘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* ‘move water about’ contra OS 1726 *maq* ‘pour’. Same Sm (E *mx* ‘produce water, fluid’; OS *mvX* ‘pour’), dif. Eg (E *mx3* ‘boat’; OS *mhy* ‘pour’ < *mx*).

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 *nym* ‘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 *wah* ‘look’ contra OS 2512 *wahif* ‘fish, catch’, and 2513 *wahif* ‘loosen, uncover’. Same Eg with dif. glosses (E *wHf* ‘investigate’; OS *wHf* ‘fish’ in 2512 and ‘loosen’ 2513; unclear which meaning is basic), dif. WCh (E *w* ‘see’; OS *waHf* ‘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 *ʔur*, 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’, *wṛḥ* ‘annoint’; OS w3ḏ ‘green color’).
E985 *wiz* ‘organ of chest’ contra OS 2496 *wad* ‘love, want’. Same Sm (Ar. *wadd* ‘love’), dif. Ch (E *wadī* ‘breast milk’; OS CCh *waḏ* ‘want’). Also contra OS 2539 *waḏan* ‘heart, intestines’. Same Cu, Om (E PEC *wizn* ‘heart’, NOM Ometo *wizn* ‘heart’, indicated as loan from Cu; OS LEC *waḏin*, HEC *waḏan* ‘heart’, Om *wažen*, Ometo *wažena* ‘heart’), dif. Ch (E *wadī* ‘breast milk’; OS CCh *wyandji*, Daba *wendji* ‘intestines’).

E989 *waḏ* ‘run, run out (fluid)’ contra OS 2502 *waḏab* ‘wash’. Same Eg (wǐb ‘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 *wašar* ‘go, run’. Same Eg (E wǐr ‘rush forth’; OS wǐr ‘run away’), dif. Sm (E Ar. waʃy ‘pus’; OS PSm wVfK ‘walk’), and dif. Ch (E *wa* ‘give birth’; OS CCh wVraw ‘return’), though not incompatible Cu (E PSC *waď* ‘spill out, flow’; OS HEC *waHar* ‘come’).

**t:** 5

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

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

E167 *taːk/tuːk* ‘stick, prick’ contra OS 2357 *tak* ‘fly, moth’. Same Cu (E PSC *taankaʔ* ‘stinging fly’; OS Dhl. *θakkwaʔe* ‘dung beetle’), dif. Eg (E tks ‘pierce’; OS tkt.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 *tkt* (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 *tar-ta* ‘knife’).

E178 *ter/tor* ‘earth’ contra OS 2386 *teʔ* ‘earth’. Same Eg (t3 ‘earth’), dif. Cu (E *ter* ‘dust’; OS LEC *taʔ-,* Oromo *taaʔoo* ‘fertile soil’), dif. Ch (E WCh *tr* ‘fields, bush’; OS CCh *tyaʔ/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. dobas ‘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. dob ‘erect’, dobay ‘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 daf ‘sneeze’).
E124 dVf ‘leak, seep’ contra OS 615 daf ‘heat, sweat’. Apparently same Cu (E EC Som. dii, 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 deeh ‘lie flat’ contra OS 625 dah ‘fall’. Same Ar. (E PS *dh including Ar. dahw ‘lie with’; OS d-h-w ‘push’; Wehr 1979 ‘spread out, flatten’), dif. Om (E NOm *de:s ‘kill’, Som dī, duw ‘sit and rest’; OS *dih, Mocha dihi(ye) ‘fall’).
E145 dap ‘touch’ contra OS 753 diup ‘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’).
branches of Ch involved, but only if root extensions and broad semantic leeway are allowed.

E153 *daw* ‘walk’ contra OS 593 *daʔ* ‘move’. Same Ch (E WCh, CCh *dw* ‘go’ based on Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981; OS WCh *daʔ/*diʔ ‘go, come, follow’, CCh *daʔ/*diʔ ‘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 *dk* ‘to darken’, *dk* ‘black’ from Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981, Jungraithmayr & Ibrisizimow 1994 give Gudu *cikcik* ‘black’ reflex of this root; OS *dyaHVn*, Gudu *mi-ɗeni* ‘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*, Moc *duuk- ‘bury’; OS *duk*, Mocha *dukki* ‘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 *saku, Bokkos *saku*- ‘leg’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *sakaf* ‘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. *sl̪*), dif. Ch (E Ng. *solt* ‘undress’; OS WCh *sol* ‘pull’). Also contra OS 2184 *salaq* ‘to skin’. Same Sm (E *sl* ‘draw out, pull off’ includes Ar. *sl̪q*, *sl̪x* < Ehret 1989: 172, no. 21; OS Ar. *s-l-x* ‘change skin (of serpents)’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *solt* ‘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 *nkwt* ‘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. *naθ*, *naq̩h*, *naqt*, *naqy*, all gossed as ‘suck marrow out of a bone’, *naq̩f* ‘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 *naf* ‘be soft’; this and following both contra OS 1908 nVyw ‘turn’. Possibly same Eg (E nfi ‘be mild’; OS nfy ‘turn’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *nafY* ‘be weak’, not in Wehr 1979; OS Ar. n-y-f ‘turn’, not in Wehr 1979).

E627 *naaf/nifi* ‘to go, to come’ contra OS 1908 nVyw ‘turn’. Possibly same Eg (E nfi ‘to travel’; OS nfy ‘turn’), dif. Sm (E Ar. *naθf* ‘pace vigorously along’, Wehr 1979 ‘ewe’; OS Ar. n-y-f ‘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 *ŋaan* ‘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 *ŋiwr* ‘flames’ contra OS 1906 nVwur ‘light’. Same Sm (E nwr ‘light’; OS ni:r/nur ‘light’), dif. Ch (E *ŋur* ‘embers’, WCh *ŋr* ‘ashes’; OS CCh nVwur ‘light’, Logone nur ‘light’). For E’s ‘ashes’ Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 have only one language (Kir, South Bauchi group), which has a word of this shape, *ŋur* or *ŋer* which they treat as an isolate with no deeper Ch etymology.

E645 *juuk* ‘rub’ contra OS 1871 *nik* ‘grind’; same WCh (E nk ‘grind’; OS nik’u ‘grind’), dif. Eg (E nk’m ‘bald’, nk’Y ‘scrape, polish’; OS nd ‘grind’). Also maybe contra OS 1873 (treated above under E 619), which has possibly same Sm, definitely dif. Eg.

E650 *naw* ‘be moist’ contra OS 1860 *ni* ‘water’. Same Eg (nwy ‘water’), dif. Ch (E Ng. *nawɔk*, *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*. 
E926 ra/raw ‘continue, keep on’ contra OS 2103 rawah ‘move, walk’. Same Ar. (r-w-h ‘go’), dif. Ch (E Ng. raakan ‘walk’; OS Ng. rawa ‘run’), and dif. Cu (E EC, Arbore rot/root ‘travel on foot’; OS LEC *ra(w)ah, Rendille raah ‘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 rdh ‘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-ə ‘flow out’ contra OS 2082 ratlah ‘pour, soak’. Same Ch (E Ng. rağ- ‘become wet’, reğ- ‘moisten’; OS WCh *rVt-, Ng. rağu ‘moisten’), dif. Sm (E Ar. radb ‘to stream violently’; OS Ar. r-f-h ‘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. rag ‘migrate, move living quarters’; OS WCh *gVrVd ‘leg’).

E938 ruk ‘bend’ contra OS 2133 rukub ‘knee’. Same Sm (*ruk, based on Ar. rukb-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 *rukən ‘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-h 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.

48

E862 aal ‘burn’ contra OS 573 thur ‘make warm’. Same Eg (3fr ‘roast’), dif. Sm (E Ar. fayy ‘roast’; OS Ar. fr ‘keep in the sun’). Also technically comp. but IIP on semantic grounds with OS 2341 fVw ‘light, lightning’: same Eg (fw ‘sunlight’); OS have CCh ‘lightning’, E has Sm and Cu words for ‘roast, burn’.

E863 le ‘stand up’ contra OS 516 tla? ‘move upwards’. Same Ch (Ng. la ‘stand up’), dif. Sm (E Ar. faul ‘ascend’, fauh ‘rise higher’, but Wehr 1979 ‘be ugly’, etc.; OS Ar. n-f-? ‘rise, raise’), dif. but similar Eg (E fw ‘ascend’; OS fwy ‘raise’).

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

E865 laf ‘grow, live’ contra OS 540 tap ‘leaf’. Same Ch (E t2p ‘leaf, grass’; OS WCh *taHVp, Miya lepi ‘leaf’, CCh tapHV, Lame taba ‘leaf’), dif. Cu (E PSC *taf ‘grow’, *tafi ‘health’; OS EC *taf ‘leaf’). Cu words possibly related?

E887 lal ‘grass, area, scrub’ contra OS 544 tlar/taVR ‘barley’. Same Sm (E *lfr ‘grass stalks’, WSm ‘barley’; OS fafr:fr:fr ‘barley’), dif. Eg (E jf ‘field, meadow’; OS Jfr ‘barley’). E’s Eg connected with OS 542 tlar ‘tree’.

E888 lo ‘cattle’ contra OS 517 tla ‘meat’. Same Sm (E *lo ‘sheep’; OS *la: ‘sheep’), dif. Ch (E Ng. la ‘cow’; OS luvai ‘meat’), probably also dif. Cu (E Jow ‘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 lo ‘hair’ contra OS 528 tlar ‘hair’. Same Sm (Ar. fafr ‘hair’), dif. Ch (E *t2araw ‘root’; OS WCh *taHar, Hs. fa:ri ‘hair on the chest of a ram’). E’s Ch etymon found under OS 551 tler ‘root’.

E891 taf ‘to claw’ probably contra OS 519 tla?Vp ‘foot’. Probably same Sm (E *tp ‘foot’; OS *la?p, Ak. je:pu, MSA Soqotri taf ‘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, /l/ or /l/, E’s reconstruction would also yield them), dif. Cu (E *tp ‘to claw’; OS *fanp ‘foot’, which are incompatible on basis of semantics and
sound correspondences, although here too it is not clear what actual words E includes).

dl (dɮ): 4

E839 dlabʕ ‘stretch out’ contra OS 434 tʃibʕ ‘finger’. Same Eg (dbʕ ‘finger’), dif. Sm (E Ar. dabʕ ‘arm, armpit’, normally ‘hyena’, so in Wehr 1979 and Leslau 1987, mistake for diban?; OS Ar. fiʃbaʕ ‘finger’). Contradiction arises from different sound correspondences. E’s Cu proposal here, including Afar ɗabʕe ‘armpit’, etc. is found under OS 2644 ʧab ‘breast’, with proposed WCh cognates only.

E854 dlap ‘set on top of’ contra OS 2647 ʧabiʔ ‘clothes’. Same Eg (db3, E ‘to clothe’, OS ‘kind of clothes’), dif. Ch (E *qːb ‘to close’; OS CCh *ʧabiH, Bura ʧabi ‘loin cloth’). Contradiction due to incompatible semantics and sound correspondences.

E855 dlair ‘to harm’ contra OS 583 tɬar ‘enemy’. Same Sm (Ar. ɗarr, E ‘injure’, OS ‘enemy’), dif. Eg (E ɗrt ‘harm’; OS d3d3 ‘enemy’).


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 ɬam ‘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 leeh ‘come out’ contra OS 1641 ləhak ‘clay’. Same Sm (Ar. ləhaq, 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 leeh ‘come out’; OS Bed. likʷ ‘clay’). Contradiction arises from semantics and C2 vs. C3 match.

E826 laas ‘become weak’ contra OS lìf ‘be weak’. Apparently same Cu (E *laas ‘be soft, weak, limp’; OS Agaw lịf, Xmr lịs ‘be soft’, SA lịs-lịs, Saho lịs-lịs ‘soft’), dif. Sm (E Ar. lasam ‘grow silent’; OS Ar. lələ, ‘linger, tarry’). Contradiction arises from different sound correspondences (E: Cu /s/ = Sm /s/; OS: Cu /s/ = Sm /θ/ ) and rt.ext.
tf' (c'): 3

?E555 tf'il ‘darken’ contra OS 503 tf’al ‘shadow’. Same Sm (*ṭall, Ar. ḏill ‘shadow’),
dif. HEC (E *tf’il ‘ember, charcoal’, based on Oromo; OS *tf’al, Sidamo*tf’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 tf’alal ‘shade’, thus agreeing with OS.

E559 tf’iin ‘observe’ contra OS 505 tf’amon ‘think, know’. Same Sm (Ar. ḏ’n ‘think’),
dif. Ch (E CCh *s’n ‘to hear’, but only provisionally; OS WCh *tf’amwan ‘think,
remember’, Hs. ṭ’samman:ni.

E567 tf’eʃ ‘rise’ contra (probably) OS 500 tf’aʔ ‘bird’ and OS 512 tf’otVh ‘bird’. Same
Ch (E *s’n(t) ‘bird’; OS 500 ECh *tf’taf ‘kind of bird’, OS 512 WCh tf’wat
‘bird’—these both taken back to same root by Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow
1994), different Cu (E PEC *tf’eʃ ‘rise’; OS 500 HEC *ts’iʔ ‘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 yipaʃ ‘shine’. Possibly same Sm (E Ar.
yafaʃ ‘ascend, grow up’, Wehr 1979 ‘reach adolescence’; OS Sm *yVpVT, Hb.
ypʃ ‘shine’), dif. Cu (E *yuf ‘swell’; OS LEC *[y]if, Oromo ifa ‘shine’).

E1003 -yaar ‘grow up, grow large’ possibly contra OS 2581 yaraʔ/yaraw ‘reed’ and
2580 yar/yarah ‘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 yere ‘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 (i3ri.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 &
Ibriszimow (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-oood ‘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 koraθ ‘field’. Apparently same Ch (E *kr ‘fields’; OS *kwaHar, Ng. kori, etc. ‘farm’), dif. Eg (E krp ‘scrape out’; OS trf ‘field’).

E336 kaʔ ‘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’af ‘to cut off’ contra OS 1531 k’af/kuf ‘cut’. Same SC (E PSC *k’ats ‘circumcise’; OS Dhl. k’ats ‘circumcise’), dif. Sm (E Ar. qaθθ ‘cut down, pull
out'; OS Ar. qasṣīs ‘cut’) and dif. Om (E Mocha qatfīfo ‘half’; OS Om *qutf’, Maji *qutf’ ‘circumcise’). Contradiction arises from different sound correspondences. See also E 432, also contra OS 1531.

E413 k‘adlq ‘cut’ contra OS 1600 k‘utl ‘cut, pierce’. Same Sm (E *kdl = k‘-lq, including Ar. qaddl ‘cut’; OS Ar. q-dd ‘cut’), dif. Cu (E k‘adlq ‘split apart’; OS Rift *kutl, Burunge qutl ‘cut’). Also possibly contra OS 1601 k‘ud ‘cut, tear’. Possibly same Cu? (OS LEC *k’od ‘divide’), dif. Sm (OS Ar. q-d-d ‘cut, tear’). See also OS 1621 k‘Vt¿eb ‘cut’: same Ar., possibly comp.

E414 k‘uudlq ‘go out’ also contra OS 1600 k‘utl ‘cut, pierce’. Same Sm (Ar. qaḍḍ glossed here by E with the obscure, not in Wehr 1979, sense ‘send horsemen’), dif. WCh (E Ng. guggulq ‘wake up’; OS WCh *k’V tþ, Jimbin kqtl ‘cut, split’).

E419 k‘al ‘burn’ contra OS 1584 k’ol ‘be hot, burn’. Same Ar. (qalw, q-l-w ‘roast’), dif. Ch (E *kq‘-n, *kq‘-l ‘smoke’; OS CCh *kwål, Bachama kwul ‘hotness’). Also contra OS 1553. Same Eg (E krr ‘to fire (pottery), glaze pots’), dif. Ch (E *kq‘-n, *kq‘-l ‘smoke’; OS WCh *k’ar, Karekare karu ‘burn’, CCh *kar, Mandara kara ‘fire’).

E420 k‘um, k‘uum ‘grumble, sigh’ contra OS 1545 k’amVnl ‘floor’. Same Sm root (E MSA k‘nh ‘in despair’; OS *k‘amh ‘flour’; the latter sense is attested in all classical Sm languages, Leslau 1987, the MSA sense is purely local), dif Cu (E PSC k‘um, k‘uum ‘grumble’; OS HEC *k’amay, Bambala k’amay ‘flour’).

E423 k‘ar ‘to last, endure’ contra OS 1554 k‘ar ‘be cold’. Same Ar. (E qarr ‘stay permanently in a place’; OS k‘arr ‘be cold’; both senses well attested in Ar., ‘cold’ also found in NW Sm, Leslau 1987), dif. WCh (E *d‘ar ‘stand’; OS *k‘arar, 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 k‘ar ‘tip, peak, point’ contra OS 1549 k‘ar ‘horn’. Same Sm (k‘arn ‘horn’) and Om (*k‘ar); but dif. Eg (E krnt ‘phalli, foreskin’; OS kr.ty ‘horns (dual’)). Also contra OS 1552 k‘ar ‘mountain’. Same LEC (E *k‘ar ‘peak, top’, OS *kar, Som. qar ‘mountain, summit’), dif. Sm (E *k‘arn ‘horn’; OS Ar. qa:r-at ‘hill’) and dif. Eg (E krnt ‘phalli, foreskin’; OS k33 ‘hill’).

E425 k‘eer/k’oor ‘cut into’ contra OS 1556 k‘arasf ‘cut’. Same SC (E *k‘eer ‘cut meat’; OS Dhl. k‘eer ‘cut’), dif. Sm (E *k‘r ‘cut’; OS *k’Vfr, Ar. q(fr ‘cut’), and dif. Ch (E Ng. gerif ‘cave, hollow in tree’; OS WCh *k‘ar(aH), Hs. k‘ira, 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’š ‘cut’), dif. SC (E PSC *k’utl ‘cut up’; OS Dhl. k’ats ‘circumcise’), dif. Om (E Gonga *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’of ‘bend’ contra OS 1622 k’Vño ‘shoulder, arm’. Same Eg (E křh ‘be bent (arm, shoulder)’; OS kšh ‘arm, shoulder’), dif. Cu (E Dullay qo-akko ‘finger’; OS Rift *kwah, Iraqw kwaha ‘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. gagd ‘to chew off’; OS WCh *k’Vk, Kariya kòki ‘eat’), dif. Eg (E kw ‘loaf or cake’; OS kk ‘eat’). Jungraithmayr & Ibrisimow (1994: 24) analyze Kariya kòki ‘bite’ as cognate with Ng. gaada ‘bite’ (not same, but possibly related to E’s Ng. form?); reconstruct as PCh *k’-d.

?E442 k’w’al ‘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’w?l ‘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. jabbár ‘strong, powerful’; OS *gabr ‘man’), dif. Cu (E PSC *gab ‘stout, strong’; OS Dhl. gaβar ‘male lion’).

E263 gab ‘top’ seemingly contra OS 992 gúbaš ‘mountain’. Seemingly same Cu (E PSC *gab ‘above, up, on’; OS LEC *gubb ‘summit’), dif. Sm (E *gabl ‘mountain’; OS *gabš ‘hill, height’).

E264 gub/gab ‘trunk’ contra OS 996 gVbVl ‘edge’. Same Sm root with different basic sense assumed (E Ar. jibal ‘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 gelba ‘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-usahaan ‘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 gVdyal ‘(clay) earth’). Also contra OS 920 gidol ‘be big’. Same Sm (OS *gVdVl, Ar. g-d-l, gadil ‘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 *gofu ‘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 gil/gil-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 Jungraithmayr & Ibrisimow (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 *go?tim, Iraqw go?tim ‘carve’).

E 282 guup ‘soak, drench, of rain’ contra OS 970 gub ‘hole, well’. Same Sm (Ar. jubb ‘well’), dif Ch (E Ng. gu? ‘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 *gij ‘go’.

E294 gʷab ‘to not do’ contra OS 861 gabVh ‘be weak’. Same Eg (gby ‘be weak’), dif. Sm (E Ar. jab? ‘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 *gʷab ‘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 gʷad/gʷid ‘cut’ contra OS 868 gad ‘cut, split’. Same Sm (E jadd ‘cut, prune’; OS *g-d-d ‘cut off’), dif. Ch (E *gʷad/gʷdm ‘spear’; OS ECh *gad, Tum g:ad ‘split’).

Also contra OS 872. Same Sm (Ar. gdm ‘cut off’), dif. Cu (E ECh Som. gudh ‘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. gdf ‘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 gʷar ‘turn (intr)’ contra OS 993 giil/giil-ib ‘knee’. Same Ch (E *gʷrp/grf ‘knee, kneel’; OS CCh *gVl-, gal-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 gʷar ‘turn (intr.)’; OS Agaw *gwllib, SA *gulub, LEC *gilub, 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 & Ibriszimow (1994) unite these under a single root *grp (which they further connect with Cu gʷALAb, 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 *hVmat*? ‘be sour’. Same Sm (Ar. *hamʃ*, *h-m-ʃ* ‘be sour’), dif. Eg (E *hmʃt* ‘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 *hn* ‘phallus, penis’), dif. Cu (E SCu Dhl. *honto* ‘crown of head’; OS LEC *henin*, Som. *heeniin* ‘tesicles’). 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 *huntt* ‘chew’, PEC *hiiŋf* ‘chew’, PLEC *hantʃuf* ‘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 *heʃ* ‘be weak’ contra OS 1218 *haʃ* ‘child’. Same Eg (E *heʃ3w* ‘children’; OS *heʃ3* ‘child, boy’, -w is plural suffix); dif. SC (E PSC *heef* ‘weak’; OS Rift *haʔ, haw*, Alagwa *haʔay* ‘children’).

§: 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 *ʔagam* Oromo *agam-sa* ‘a kind of bush’).

E682 ʕaam ‘raise, tip’ contra OS 1122 ʕamʕam ‘animal’. Same Sm root ʕamʕam (E Ar. ʕamʕam ‘to enlarge’, not in Wehr 1979; OS Ak. unaamu < ʕamʕam? ‘animals’), dif. Eg (E ʕam ‘brain’; OS ʕamʕam.w ‘animal’).

E683 ʕa(a)n ‘come into view, appear’ contra OS 1139 ʕVn ‘turn’. Same Ar., dif. gloss (E ʕann ‘present itself to view’; OS ʕ-ʕ-n ‘displace’; E in Wehr 1979, OS not in Wehr), dif. Eg (E ʕnʔw ‘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 & Ibrisimow 1994: 46 identify these as cognate), dif. Cu (E PLEC ʕaan ‘milk’ and PEC ʕandʕuf ‘saliva’; OS HEC *ʔanun, Sidamo ununa ‘breast’).

E688 ʕon ‘swallow’ contra OS 1092 ʕonʕen ‘monkey’. Same Eg with dif. gloss (ʕonʕen, E ‘chin’, OS ‘baboon’), dif. Ch (E *ʕon/ʕon ‘swallow’; WCh *ʕyamyan ‘monkey’).

E695 ʕir ‘to be raised (sky)’ contra OS 1125 ʕurag ‘be lame’ and OS 1113 ʔoreb ‘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 *ʕarab ‘to swell and superate’, not in Wehr 1979; OS 1113 *ʕarəb ‘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 ʕafʕaf ‘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 ʕaθθ ‘moths (coll.)’), dif. Ch (E Ng. asasa ‘let’s hear it’; OS WCh *ʕufʕaf, DB ʔufʕaf ‘ant’). Leslau (1987) also has “moth-worm”, no indication of E’s sense.

E708 ʕaf ‘cry’ maybe contra OS 1104 ʕiw/ʕiy ‘cry’. Possibly same Cu (E PSE ʕaf or *ʕaʔ ‘cry’; OS LEC ʕiy, Som. ʕiy ‘cry’), dif. Sm (E Ar. ʕaʔʔaʔ-t ‘clamor’; OS Ar. ʕ-w-y ‘shout’).
ʔ: 2

E717 ʔaakʷ ‘burn, fire’ contra OS 1055 ʔak ‘be hot, fire’. Same Ch (E *akʷa, *aku, Ng. aka ‘fire’; OS WCh ʔakwa, Ng. aka ‘fire’), dif. Sm (E ʔkk ‘be very hot’; OS ʔ-k-ʔ ‘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-ʔ?). 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 *akʷa, *aku, see above; OS ECh ʔHig < *wVHig, Migama ʔiggo, Bidiya ʔegey ‘burn’).

E720 ʔil/ʔal ‘to see, eye’ contra OS 112 ʔir ‘eye’. Same Eg (ʔrt ‘eye’), dif. Ch (E *ʔal ‘see’, based on Jungraithmayr & Shimizu 1981, but ‘see’ words similar to this in Jungraithmayr & Ibrizsimow 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 & Ibrizsimow 1994 to a root *ydn, clearly distinct from the ‘see’ root (WCh Dera yerο, 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 & Ibrizsimow to *ydn, not related to ‘see’ words.) The contradiction arises here because OS split the Ch ‘eye’ words (lumped by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizsimow) into two sets based on quality of final liquid /l/ vs. /ɾ/, and connect one set with Cu /l/ and another set with Eg /ɾ/. E on the other hand lumps not only Cu /l/ and Eg /ɾ/ ‘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 ʕah ‘earth’. Apparently same CCh (E *hy, *hn, *ḥt ‘earth, soil’; OS *χαχα, Gisiga hahay ‘earth, clay’; CCh ‘earth’ words with initial /x/ and /h/ are grouped under the same root by Jungraithmayr & Ibrizsimow 1994), dif. Eg (E ḥ ‘courtyard’; OS ʕḥ.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 avur ‘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, s’, tʲ, l/; OS n-h-m ‘be insatiable’).

**Abbreviations**

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<th>Afroasiatic</th>
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**References**
Appendix 2: Agreeing

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

p: 1

E51 pír ‘fly’ agrees with OS 1981 pír ‘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 bəbbiho ‘armpit’). OS also have Ch (*bi-bi ‘back, shoulder’).

?E10 b-ʤ(r) ‘seed’ technically contra but probably agrees with OS 269 bedkar ‘corn’. Same Ch (E *bz(r) ‘seed’; OS WCh *badkar ‘corn’, the forms given correlate with those reconstructed as bdr/bzr ‘seed’ by Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994, but OS have Tala bazr, while Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow have a form pater for this language, which they nonetheless derive from bdr/bzr), technically dif. Sm (E Ar. bôr ‘seed, to sow’; OS *bîzr, Ar. bîzr ‘seed’), but since the meanings of the Ar. words are close, one suspects that these are doublets, with bîzr representing perhaps a borrowing from another Sm language or Ar. dialect in which the change /ð/ > /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 biʔ ‘go’ agrees with OS 157 baʔ/baw/bay ‘walk, go’. Same Sm, Cu, Om, whether same Ch or not unclear (E *mb- ‘go’; OS *baʔ/baw/bay, with only one prenasalized variant Diri mбу ‘come’, with m- analyzed as a prefix). Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow (1994) b2 (= mb) ‘go’ would appear to include most of OS’s Ch forms. OS also have B.
E78 *faak* ‘break off’ agrees with OS 844 *fVk'i/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-* ‘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’/fiik’ ‘to cut apart, break open’; OS Agaw *fak’, *fik’ ‘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 (*fn³ ‘nostril’), dif. Cu (E already noted, OS LEC *fung, Oromo fung-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 *ymm* by Jungraithmayr & Ibrisizimow (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 because of rt.ext.

E977 *wis* ‘fall asleep’ agrees with OS 2541 *wisan* ‘sleep’. Same Sm (*wn ‘sleep’), same Ch (E WCh, CCh *w3n, *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 *waaʔ* ‘get up to leave’ possibly agrees with OS 2489 *waʔ/way* ‘go, come’. Same Eg (E w3i ‘go, march against’, among others; OS w3y ‘come’), same or dif. Ch (E *w‑, *w‑ ‘pass by’; OS WCh *waʔ ‘return, go away, come’, CCh *waʔi ‘go, come’, ECh *waʔ ‘run’). Om ‘come’ in both probably also agreeing.

t: 6

E159 *iit* ‘eat’ agrees with OS 2343 *taʔ* ‘eat’. Same Sm (MSA *tway, e.g. Mehri tewo: ‘eat’), same Ch (*ti ‘eat’). But E’s Cu (HEC *iit*) is found under a dif. entry—OS 83 *ʔet* ‘eat’, with Ch *ʔat ‘eat’, represented by Fyer *ʔet*. Since Jungraithmayr & Ibrisimow (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-š-š*, E ‘tread under the feet’, OS ‘destroy, cut’, Wehr 1979 ‘trample down’) and Ch (Ng. E *tak*, OS *tak-d* ‘step on’), but dif. Cu (E Som. *te* ‘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 *tīl* ‘hill’. Same Sm (Ar. *ta*l ‘hill’), same Cu (E *tul* ‘to rise, hill, heap’; OS LEC *tul*, Oromo *tul* ‘hill’, HEC *tul*, Sidamo *tul* ‘hill’), but dif. Ch (E ECh *th* ‘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 *duuyi* ‘tail’).

E125 *dug* ‘obscure’ agrees with OS 758 *dVGy* ‘hide’. Same Sm (Ar. *d-g-y* ‘cover’), same Eg (*di* ‘hide’), but E’s Cu (Som. *dugul* ‘dark, black’) IIP on basis of rt.ext.

E126 *dag* ‘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 (*dg*3, E ‘walk’, OS ‘go’), but dif. Cu (E PSC *dac* (= *dac*?) ‘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 *dak*, OS *dak/duk* ‘pound’). E also has Cu, Om.

E135 *dak’*/du**k** ‘break to pieces by hitting’ agrees with OS 635 *dak’*/du**k** ‘break, pound’. Same Sm (Ar. *d-q-q* ‘crush’), apparently same SCu (E PSC *dük* ‘be broken to pieces’, OS *duk*-’u*ō* ‘destroy’, semantics slightly different—intrans. vs. trans., but forms identical). E also has Eg (*d* ‘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. dama, 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. doman ‘rainy season’), same Cu (E *dumn/dawn ‘cloud’; OS Agaw *dimin, HEC *duman ‘cloud’), and Om (Ometo E damäna, OS dämmänaa ‘cloud’ apparently the same word, some dif. in transcription).

E158 daʕ ‘call’ possibly agrees with OS 696 diʕ/duʕ ‘speak, call’. Same Sm (Ar. dʕ-w ‘call’), possibly same Cu (E *daʕ ‘speak forcefully’; OS Bed. di ‘speak, call’, SA daʕ ‘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/simaf ‘hear, ear’. Same Sm (Both Ar. s-m-ʕ, OS PSm *ʃVmaʕ), same Eg (smt, E ‘hear’, OS ‘ears’) and Ch (E ʃəmi ‘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 *sər ‘root’; OS *Vrl ‘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 saɾu ‘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:fe, OS nfy ‘breathe’, maybe same Sm OS Ar. n-f-h ‘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 *nam ‘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).

\[l\] 3

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

E867 tuuf ‘sip’ agrees with OS 572 tuf ‘lip’. Same Sm (E *lp(t), OS ṭap, Ar. ṭaf-at ‘lip’), same SC (E PSC *tuuf; OS Rift ṭuf, Iraqw ṭufi ‘lip’). Cohen (1947: 287) connects this Sm with Eg sp.t ‘lip’.

?tE874 laak ‘pierce’ agrees or comp. with OS 569 tluk ‘cut, pierce’. Same Sm (E *lkk ‘pierce, thorn’; OS *ṭuk, Ar. ḋ-k-k ‘pierce’); apparently same WCh (E *lk ‘hole’, OS *ṭuk, Hs. so:ka, su:ka ‘pierce, slaughter’; formally same but semantics troublesome). In addition E has SC *ṭaak ‘stab, pierce’, OS have Om *ṭuk ‘slaughter’.

E890 lef ‘cut off’ agrees with OS 525 ṭlaʃ ‘cut’. Same Eg (iß ‘cut, cut off’), apparently same Ch (E *ła ‘cut’; OS WCh *ṭlaw ‘scratch, cut’, CCh *ṭaH/lāy ‘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).

tf’ (c’): 2

E556 tfilm/tfal ‘black’ agrees with OS 511 tfilam ‘black’. Same Sm (E θlm, OS *θVlam, Ar. δι-l-m ‘be dark, black’), same Ch Buduma (E s’al ‘black’; OS tfilm ‘dark’, also Gulfey selem ‘black’, Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994 have culum, celam and səlam ‘black’ for Buduma (Yedina), affricate or sibilant, but no ejective/emphatic). E classes this language as WCh, while OS and Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow have it as CCh. Cohen (1947: 353) has this Sm word with proposed Cu, no Ch cognates.

E564 tf’irf or tf’ifr ‘nail, claw’ agrees with OS 513 tf’upar ‘fingernail’. Same Sm (E θpr, OS θupr, Ar. δ’uf ‘fingernail’), same SC (E SC West Rift ts’araf ‘nail, claw’; OS Rift * tf’araf, Alagwa tf’arafu ‘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 *yw/*?aw ‘bull’, OS Bed. *yuwe ‘cow’).

E1007 yaʔ ‘come’ agrees with OS 2566 yaʔ ‘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 *kîts* ‘expand’ agrees with OS 1467 *kotf* ‘be big’. Same Sm (E Ar. *kaθθ* ‘be thick’; OS Ak. *kafa:ju* ‘be massive’), same Ch (E some ECh *ks* ‘long’; OS Fyer *koos* ‘high, long’). E also has Om.

E343 *inkʷal* ‘kidney’ agrees with OS 1493 *kul* ‘kidney’; apparently agreeing based on Sm, Cu, but E’s reconstructions for PSm, P Cu are mysterious: Sm (E *kl(l)*, OS *kuly*, Ar. *kuly-at* ‘kidney’), Cu (E *inkʷal*; OS LEC *kal*, *kulal*, Som. *kall* ‘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’atˤ/k’utˤ* ‘cut’. Same Sm (Ar. *qatˤ*) same LEC (E PEC *k’at* ‘cut’; OS LEC *k’at* ‘circumcise’), but seemingly dif. Om (E Mocha ‘qaf’ ‘harvest’; OS *k’ut*, Kafa *k’ut* ‘cut’). Also possibly comp. with OS 1597 *k’otˤif* ‘end, finish’, which compares another of the Ar. words included in E’s entry (Ar. *qatˤ* ‘cut’) with Ch exemplars (reconstructed as WCh *kwatˤ* ‘end, finish’; CCh *kat* ‘end, finish’). (E431 has no Ch exemplars). This association with OS 1597 is technically II P because of rt.ext., but since OS assume loss of final /ʕ/ in Ch, it makes no practical difference here.

E433 *k’ey* ‘excrete’ agrees with OS 1524 *k’aʔ/k’ay* ‘spit’. Same Sm (*kiʔ*, E ‘vomit’, OS ‘spit’), same Eg (*k3ʕ*, E ‘vomit’, OS ‘spit out’), but dif. Ch (E *dʔiis* ‘faeces’; OS ECh *kaʔak*, Dangla kaake ‘spit’). Cohen (1947: 247) has Sm, Eg, B, Cu.

E445 *kʷ’ilf/kʷ’al’f* ‘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 *gomaʔ* ‘meet, gather’. Same Sm (Ar. *j-m-f*), same Ch (E *g-ma* ‘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 ʔarek ‘see, understand’. Same Eg (ɨrk ‘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 ʔaf ‘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 ʔat ‘arrive’, OS Gim ʔat- ‘come’). But apparently dif. Cu (E Som. ʔad ‘to go into, set our for’, OS SA *ʔat, Bed. ʔat ‘tread’). OS also have B.
E735 ʔayf ‘flesh, meat’ agrees with OS 13 ʔaf/ʔitf ‘meat’. Same Cu (Ag Awngi ʔiʃʃ ‘meat’), same Om (Mocha ʔaffʃo, etc. ‘body’). E’s Eg proposal (3is ‘viscera’) comp. with OS sound correspondences (/s/ or /ʃ/ expected); but OS’s CCh
proposal (*ʔɪʧ, Gisiga ʔɪʃe ‘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(ʔ)* ‘fall’). OS also have Eg, Ch, and B. Cohen (1947: 93) has Sm, Eg.


